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Reconsidering ‘Little’ versus ‘Big’ Periodicals

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ABSTRACT

Launching the special issue, this introduction posits the strong contrast between ‘little’ and ‘big’ periodicals in historical context and within languages, primarily the ‘petite revue’ in French and the ‘little magazine’ in English. Referring to key texts, it looks at the historical birth of this antagonism and examines various uses of the terms that foster an enduring critical category. It stresses the implications of such terminology and addresses some queries. Asking what makes such expressions so resilient, it briefly presents recent scholarly responses to outright rivalry, and concentrates on the way this special issue tackles the topic.

KEYWORDS

petite revue, little magazine, France, Britain

Small is deemed beautiful, small is choice, synonymous with rare, selective, superior. It goes with the young, the bold, the new, and the daring. It is meant for the rare few, capable of empathetic appreciation, who understand. Big is massive and weighty, grand without being great. The established and the widespread, destined for the bourgeois, predictable, unadventurous, and conservative, are fuddy-duddy. Little is brave and avant-garde; big is deemed as gutless as it is spiritless.

Appreciation and evaluation of periodicals have long thrived on these rudimentary differences, if not oppositions, shaping accounts and depictions, stories of decline or development, and assessments of feats or failures. Likewise, methodologies, still used in periodical studies, have often been influenced by similar strong contrasts.

The very idea of 'small but beautiful' refers, however, to precise objects in historical context and within languages, primarily the 'petite revue' in French and the 'little magazine' in English. Both the 'petite revue' and the 'little magazine' are related to innovative trends such as symbolism, decadence, avant-garde, Dada, modernism, surrealism, etc. Inevitably though, 'little review' and 'little magazine' make us think of the periodical field in terms of a rivalry between bulky and reputable publications and small and newfangled ones, striving for recognition. Although recent scholarship has probed this clear-cut antagonism, particularly in Anglophone publications, for a long time critical positions have been very different and their impact is felt even today. In French criticism, the 'petite revue' is still a notion widely used with no reservations.

This special issue on little, and not so little, periodicals from the turn of the century to the 1930s sets out therefore to problematize the dominant paradigm of 'little' versus 'big'. The notion of 'little' reviews and magazines being prevalent in Francophone and Anglophone periodical studies, the five articles offered are based on cases precisely from these areas. Before presenting them in detail, however, it is necessary to put facts and expressions into perspective. This introduction takes a closer look at the historical birth of the 'little' versus 'big' antagonism by referring to key texts, and draws attention to emotional vocabulary, to uses of language disclosing doubt as to the right word, and to terms fostering unquestioned and enduring critical categories. It stresses the implications of such terminology and gauges its outcome by addressing some puzzles. While asking what makes such expressions so resilient, it briefly presents recent scholarly responses to such forthright rivalry and concentrates on the way this special issue intends to tackle the topic.

'Petites Revues' and 'Little Magazines'

The term 'petite revue' [little review] first gained official entry to the literary field at the very moment one century yielded itself to the next: precisely in 1900, *Les Petites revues* became the title of the first French directory of avant-garde periodicals largely linked to symbolism, compiled by Remy de Gourmont, by then a major *Mercure de France* critic, involved in many periodical ventures.¹ Gourmont's name, absent from the cover and title page, ratifies the preface, but his authorship has been repeatedly certified,² although his attitude endorses a certain distance. His booklet accounted for the abundance of literature and art reviews born in France mainly from 1880, and listed some 130 titles to be enriched further. Although Gourmont indicated that the

1 *Les Petites revues: Essai de bibliographie*, preface by Remy de Gourmont (Paris: Librairie du Mercure de France, 1900, republished Paris: Ent'revues, 1992). On Gourmont and reviews, see Alexia Kalantzis, *Remy de Gourmont créateur de formes: Dépassement du genre littéraire et modernisme à l'aube du xx^e siècle* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2012).

2 Karl D. Uitti, *La Passion littéraire de Remy de Gourmont* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press; Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962), p. 294.

'little review' phenomenon dated back to romanticism (mentioning, among others, *La Petite revue* in which Baudelaire had published), his brochure authenticated a complex editorial and generational phenomenon based on new legislative and institutional frameworks, and indebted to substantial technical innovations. Indeed, between June and July 1880, three laws profoundly changed the right to expression and education in France. On 16 June 1880, primary education became compulsory, and on 30 June 1880 the right to hold public meetings without prior authorization was recognized. Additionally, the 29 July 1880 Freedom of the Press Act abolished the restrictions on the book trade, printing, and the periodical press. On the technical side, inexpensive paper, the rotary press, and the halftone block had already made printing cheaper. Photomechanical printing was to further enhance combinations of text and image without the need for engraving. Thus, any ambitious and imaginative writer or artist could publish a periodical thanks to a simple declaration, without prior permission or need for a 'dépôt de cautionnement' [security deposit].³

Thirty years later, in an Anglo-American context, Ezra Pound's snappy 'Small Magazines' attempted to map the field in a comparable way to Gourmont.⁴ Pound is akin to Gourmont as the guiding, sponsoring, and manoeuvring spirit of many periodical ventures. The phenomenon he labelled was still in full growth, as had been the case with Gourmont. However, rather than establishing a list as Gourmont did, his article's aim was twofold: to provoke full recognition of the 'little magazine' as modernist literature gathered momentum, and to signal some of its leading titles and promoters. While the time gap between Gourmont and Pound reflects a historical discrepancy traditionally observed between the French *fin de siècle* (concentrated in the last twenty years of the nineteenth century) and Anglo-American modernism (favouring 1910–30 and beyond), comparing Gourmont and Pound is informative. If recent scholarship has bridged the time disparity by considering the periodical avant-garde movement as an overall international phenomenon from the 1880s onwards, still 'no one has ever quite been sure where the term [little magazine] came from'.⁵ In 1930 Pound did not take it from Gourmont, but the debts of Anglo-American modernism to France are obvious in his pages. Moreover, from 1915 he had often written on Gourmont whom he also translated.⁶ By highlighting the term in his title, he must have intended his essay to match and rival this older French precedent that had set the tone.

Revealingly, French 'petites revues' and Anglo-American 'little magazines' turn out to be the principle contributors to contemporary scholarly classification insofar as the opposition 'little' versus 'big' has been recorded. A 'kleine Zeitschrift' category does not prevail in German periodical criticism, although periodicals corresponding to the notion are not a rarity. For instance, *Der Zwiebelkisch* (1909–33 and 1934–48), finely printed by Poeschel and Trepte in Leipzig, touts the notion in its very subtitle, 'eine kleine Zeitschrift für Buchwesen und Typographie' [A Small Magazine for Book-Keeping and Typography], but German scholarly vocabulary has not followed suit. Language choices are nuanced in Portuguese: a *Pequena revista* (1893–?) was published in Coimbra by Carlos de Lemos, the co-founder with his wife and writer Beatriz Pinheiro of *Ave Azul* (1899–1900), a well-known art and literature avant-garde magazine. And the

3 See Raymond Bachollet, 'Le catalogue des journaux satiriques', *Le Collectionneur français*, no. 175 (January 1981), 16–17.

4 Ezra Pound, 'Small Magazines', *English Journal*, 19.9 (November 1930), 689–704.

5 Ian Hamilton, *The Little Magazines: A Study of Six Editors* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1976), p. 7.

6 See Richard Sieburth, *Instigations: Ezra Pound and Remy de Gourmont* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978). Remy de Gourmont's translations by Pound include *La Physique de l'amour* (trans. by Pound as *The Natural Philosophy of Love*, 1922), and aphorisms under the title 'Poudre aux moineaux' (trans. by Pound as 'Dust for Sparrows' in the *Dial* between September 1920 and May 1921).

expression 'pequena revista' does endure in critical vocabulary reflecting occurrences in student magazines considered as slight.⁷ However, scholarship to date deems the ephemeral important and acknowledges the presence of the avant-garde in the general press.⁸ Conversely, in Russian, 'thick reviews' [*tolsty žurnal*, pl. *tolstye žurnaly*] refer to literary periodicals welcoming literary creations and essays prior to their publication in book form. To imagine them brimming with literary inspiration (more than others?) could well be a romantic assumption: 'thick reviews' could echo the relation between the periodical press and the book trade, and it would be worth comparing them with the Anglo-American tradition of quarterlies.

In contrast, 'petite revue' and 'little magazine' have shaped categories even outside their original French or English precinct. To take but one example, in the 21 February 1915 issue of the Florentine futurist *Lacerba* (1913–15), Giovanni Papini, its co-founder with Ardengo Soffici, paradoxically punctuates his Italian text with the French 'petite revue' even though targeting the specificities of the Florentine movement his very review represents: 'Florence, be it good or bad, is the city of the periodicals of the young, of the *petites revues* and this is one of the features that make it comparable to Paris.'⁹ Thanks to the established French label, a more international landscape emerges from the Arno riverside.

In truth, neither 'petite revue' nor 'little magazine' withstand scrutiny as categories once critically considered in a European perspective. It is noteworthy that in Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker's authoritative *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, 'little magazine' furnishes the longest and richest index entry only in the first two volumes. These respectively discuss periodicals in Britain and Ireland (vol. I, 1880–1955) or in North America (i.e. the United States and Canada, 1894–1960).¹⁰ Tellingly, the expression has altogether vanished from the index of volume III, *Europe* (1880–1940), where 'petite revue' does not appear either. Throughout its fifty or so chapters, magazines (or reviews or periodicals) are referred to as either 'modernist' or 'avant-garde'.¹¹ What is it then that makes 'little' or 'petit' so captivating in English or French?

Common Ground for 'Petit' and 'Little'

Gourmont's four-page introduction to *Les Petites revues* did not claim to provide scholarly definitions, but the distinctive features of the 'petite revue' are easy to grasp. The review is 'little': a) because of its limited distribution and lack of recognition (referring to symbolism as rare and elite, far from vulgar); b) because it helps ground-breaking writers make their own way and gain space for novel experimentation by opposing big (acclaimed) reviews, and their acknowledged and reputable authors; c) by virtue of its

7 See *Imprensa estudiantil de Coimbra: Repertório analítico (Século XIX)*, ed. by Manuel Alberto Carvalho Prata (Coimbra: Imprensa de Universidade, 2006), pp. 166, 170, 184, 288, 329, 330, 332, 333, 345. 'Pequena' refers to a small number of issues, sometimes also to format.

8 See *História de literatura portuguesa*, ed. by Francisco Lyon de Castro, 7 vols (Lisboa: Alfa, 2002–03), VI (2003), p. 10. See also Fernando Guiramães, 'Principais revistas e publicações literárias desde o surto do Simbolismo até à actualidade (1980)', in *Simbolismo, modernismo e vanguardas* (Vila da Maia: Imprensa nacional, Casa da moeda, 1982), pp. 141–78, and his bibliography.

9 'Firenze, sia bene o sia male, è la città delle riviste dei giovani, delle petites revues ed è questo uno dei caratteri che la fanno assomigliare a Parigi.' Giovanni Papini, 'Fiorentinità', *Lacerba* (21 February 1915), 57–59 (p. 58).

10 See *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, ed. by Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker, 3 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009–13), I (2009), pp. 943–44; and II (2012), p. 1076.

11 I am grateful to Peter Brooker for carrying out this investigation on my behalf through volume 3. I would also like to thank Ada Ackermann, Elisa Grilli, Alexia Kalantzis, Philipp Leu, Adelaide Machado, and Ana Cláudia Suriani da Silva for contributing elements to this inquiry on vocabulary used across Europe.

small size, transience, evanescence, and irregular frequency, although such disadvantages do not prevent it from growing and expanding through time.¹² This last statement (already showing the slippery ground on which the term rests) clearly referred to the *Mercure de France*, already ten years old (it would thrive until 1965!), whose pages had grown from 32 to 300 as Gourmont recorded. Indeed, periodicals that develop in size, grow over time, earn a definite readership and prestige, and impose themselves as a cultural reference, are not rare even if they do not prove as numerous as those that decline and disappear. But this is merely one of the issues such vocabulary raises.

Pound, in his piece, repeatedly stressed similar features to prove the ground gained: the ‘free non-commercial reviews’ or ‘fugitive periodicals of small circulation’ had by 1930 ‘well earned their keep’. As intellectual organs motivated by ‘purity of intention’, unlike their successful and commercial rivals, they fulfilled the need for debate and communication, attempted to gratify ‘intellectual hunger’, and ‘wanted to set up civilization in America’. ‘Honest literary experiment’, Pound voiced in characteristic cavalier style, ‘however inclusive, however dismally it fail, is of infinitely more value to the intellectual life of a nation than exploitation (however glittering) of mental mush and otiose habit’.¹³

Nevertheless, the standard idea of the ‘little magazine’ often thought to be short-lived, committed to experiment, in constant financial difficulties, and indifferent or directly opposed to ‘commercial considerations’ has been cautiously reconsidered and evaluated in light of Brooker and Thacker’s ‘General Introduction’ data.¹⁴ The two scholars have called attention to the diversity, complexity, and internal tensions of the modernist periodical field, among other issues, between format and content, as Edward Bishop already showed in 1996.¹⁵ Instead of a unified modernist landscape, a multi-faceted reality has emerged in many cases with obvious dialogue between the public and counter-public sphere.¹⁶

Be that as it may in recent scholarship, criteria such as material fleetingness, economic insufficiency, and experimental production still carry the day in the eyes of the general public as fundamental characteristics of the ‘small’ category. In the latest version of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (2016), a ‘little magazine’ is an avant-garde periodical, whose editing, management, and financing are distinctly non-commercial. It offers publishing opportunities to unknown writers for work ‘unacceptable to commercial magazines’ for ‘any one or all of three reasons — the writer is unknown and therefore not a good risk; the work itself is unconventional or experimental in form; or it violates one of several popular notions of moral, social, or aesthetic behaviour’.¹⁷ The latter criterion refers ostensibly to notorious publications such as James Joyce’s *Ulysses* and the scandal it triggered. Could, then, the Anglo-American ‘little magazine’ be more insolent and bolder than its French counterpart, the ‘petite revue’? Gourmont did not stress the pugnacity and rebelliousness of the ‘little review’, contrary to Pound’s asserted need for ‘the clear announcement of a program — any program’.¹⁸ Similarly, Brooker and Thacker open their introduction with the need of the ‘little magazine’ to ascertain and claim.¹⁹ Is the

12 Gourmont’s ‘Preface’, republished in *La Revue des revues*, no. 5 (1988), p. 14.

13 Pound, pp. 693, 701, 704, 692, 694, 698, 699.

14 Brooker and Thacker, ‘Defining “Littleness”’, in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, ed. by Brooker and Thacker, I (2009), p. 11.

15 Edward Bishop, ‘Re:Covering Modernism — Format and Function in the Little Magazines’, in *Modernist Writers and the Marketplace*, ed. by Ian Willison, Warwick Gould, and Warren Chernaik (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996), 287–319.

16 Brooker and Thacker, ‘Defining “Littleness”’, pp. 12–16.

17 See britannica.com [accessed 17 November 2016].

18 Pound, pp. 702–03.

19 Brooker and Thacker, ‘General Introduction’, in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, ed. by Brooker and Thacker, I (2009), 1–26 (pp. 1–2).

manifesto discourse then a feature differentiating the 'little magazine' from the 'petite revue'? A forthcoming article in the *Europe des revues II: Réseaux et circulation des modèles* would not agree: it underlines the close and continuous relationship between 'petites revues' and manifestos across the nineteenth century from 1820s romanticism to the fin de siècle.²⁰ For the most part therefore, comparison of recurrent period facets and ongoing research data tend to underline that 'petite revue' and 'little magazine' refer not only to analogous characteristics, but also to similar discourses and stances.

The Uses of 'Little'

Considered through today's critical eyes, Gourmont's preface can be seen as mirroring the particular circumstances of a media-ruled era and the emergence of a new class of young, well-read, and polished writers demanding recognition. Pitting *La Revue indépendante* against the mainstream *Revue des deux mondes*, Gourmont mentioned seventeen upcoming little-review writers, among whom the names of Leo Tolstoy, Joris-Karl Huysmans, Jules Laforgue, Stéphane Mallarmé, Auguste de Villiers de L'Isle-Adam, and Émile Verhaeren are striking for today's reader. However, Gourmont turned their literary and aesthetic claims (innovation, choice, creation) and grievances (insecure production conditions, lack of intellectual independence) into a conceptual model through which readers were invited to classify periodicals in two sizeable and opposing groups. Actually, Gourmont's operation was largely self-reflexive: his 'essai de bibliographie' [bibliographical attempt], although provisional, was vindicated through establishing a category; it gained value as an act of preservation of 'little' reviews from oblivion, while it sanctioned the alphabetical list as a cumulative descriptive model. By lining up review entries, Gourmont delineated a field, hoarded its treasures, and inevitably circumscribed it. His global approach hardly catered for shades, grades, or nuances. His preface also ended abruptly: 'This is the first effort to establish a specialized bibliography of the little reviews of our time: that's all',²¹ showing he was conscious of the restricted nature of his exertions and lucid about its limits. Indeed, subject to scrutiny, his entries prove often incomplete and imperfect, as Patrick Fréchet has shown, arguing that omissions added to the booklet would be as long as the booklet itself.²² As Gourmont himself specified, he recorded only the first issue of each publication; he often worked with later issues of the periodical, which implied he did not have a full publication view. And his entries even state wrong years or formats.

Still, from then on, the 'little review' as a coined expression was bandied amongst men of letters, essayists, or investigators, progressing swiftly (though not always smoothly) through the twentieth century. Among many others, three key French fin-de-siècle figures, Henri de Régnier, Adolphe Retté, and Édouard Dujardin, used it to refer to the plethoric phenomenon of reviews published by the young. Following the thread of an extended metaphor in the years closely following Gourmont, Adolphe Retté, particularly active in the field, turned the 'little reviews' into a 'lush garden' lost 'in an iridescent haze', in which theories matured and flourished, while lyrical outpourings shook its foliage. His poetic evocation, based on recollection, was impervious to the fact that the

20 See Audrey Ziane, 'Enquête archéologique en milieu fertile: Les revues et les manifestes artistiques, généalogie d'un genre', in *L'Europe des revues (1860–1930): Réseaux et circulation des modèles*, ed. by Evangelia Stead and Hélène Védrine (Paris: PUPS, forthcoming in 2017).

21 'C'est le premier essai de bibliographie spéciale des petites revues de notre temps: voilà tout.'

22 See Patrick Fréchet, 'Sur "le Gourmont"', *La Revue des revues*, no. 5 (1988), p. 15.

phenomenon was still in full development: his was a garden of memory.²³ One year after Gourmont, Henri de Régnier imagined the reviews in motion ‘spreading everywhere under their yellow, red, white, green or blue covers’. Seizing upon key phenomena, such as circulation and agency of periodicals far extending their life span, Régnier refuted the idea of transience or lack of importance. Visibly referring to Gourmont by invoking ‘the era of what was called the little review’, Régnier showed that both concept and coined phrase were to be handled with restraint. The reviews formed ‘an accurate picture of the intellectual preferences and preoccupations of that generation of poets and writers, and ‘record[ed] the fundamental guidelines of the new aesthetics’.²⁴

Nineteen twenty-four may be considered as a key year for statements and viewpoints on periodicals in France, as Maurice Caillard and Charles Forot issued a substantial survey covering many interviews with review editors and key actors.²⁵ In this context, and under the global title *Les Revues d'avant-garde* [*The Avant-Garde Reviews*], Édouard Dujardin, who had founded, managed, and edited several of them, tested three expressions in a row (‘the young reviews, the little reviews, the avant-garde reviews’), as if in doubt which to choose. His hesitant way of naming them makes evident the struggle to find a term for what they have been: ‘the very evolution of literature’ and the place where ‘the history of French literature has materialized’.²⁶ Similarly, Ezra Pound outspokenly asserted in November 1930: ‘The significance of the small magazine has, obviously, nothing to do with format.’²⁷

From the fin de siècle to late modernism, by distancing the expression, by exhibiting it, or by exploring alternatives, writers of the time showed their dissatisfaction or frustration with the term or flaunted their pride in it. Its challenging or dissatisfying implications, its panache and its shortcomings, were some of the reasons it was adopted as a flag for contest. Its very boldness, bellicose excellence, and the niche category it circumscribed were precious trappings in the crusade for recognition. This equivocal past has inadvertently become the mould of a critical category, and we need to better understand why.

Shortcomings

More than a century later, the term’s lack of precision and detachment needs to be emphasized. The reasons are many. To start with, the uncritical use of ‘littleness’ isolates ‘little’ periodicals from their direct opponents but also from their overall environment and background. In a media-driven era, when media perform as interlinked forms of expression, this proves problematic, all the more so since ‘little’ overtly rivals ‘big’. What are we to make of Maurice Barrès’s *Les Taches d'encre* [*The Ink-Blots*], a typical ‘petite

23 ‘Je ne sais si c’est parce que je les revois à travers le prisme du souvenir, mais les petites revues et les journaux éphémères où mûrissaient nos théories et où fleurissaient nos premiers vers m’apparaissent comme des jardins chatoyants, parfois perdus dans une brume irisée, parfois tout sonores de grands souffles lyriques dans les feuillages.’ Adolphe Retté, *Le Symbolisme* (Paris: Vanier, 1903), p. 15.

24 ‘Ce fut l’époque de ce qu’on appella les *Petites Revues*. Elles furent œuvre utile et active. Elles circulaient partout sous leurs couvertures jaunes, rouges, blanches, vertes ou bleues. Elles proclamaient des opinions, et répandaient des idées. Elles duraient peu généralement, mais leur action était plus durable qu’elles. [...] Toutes témoignaient d’une réelle vitalité littéraire. Elles sont précieuses pour l’étude de la vie artistique de cette époque. Elles donnent un tableau exact des préférences et des préoccupations intellectuelles de cette génération de poètes et d’écrivains. C’est là qu’on trouvera, avec ses origines et ses désirs, la doctrine esthétique qu’ils cherchèrent à réaliser dans leurs œuvres.’ Henri de Régnier, *Figures et caractères* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1901), pp. 326–27.

25 See *Les Revues d'avant-garde (1870–1914): Enquête de MM. Maurice Caillard et Charles Forot*, ed. by Olivier Corpet and Patrick Fréchet (Paris: Ent’revues, Jean-Michel Place, 1990). [Facsimile reprint of *Belles-Lettres*, nos 62–66 (December 1924).]

26 Édouard Dujardin, *Les Revues d'avant-garde*, p. 138.

27 Pound, p. 689.

revue' of only four issues (November 1884–February 1885), that was advertised by sandwich men on the boulevards?²⁸ Furthermore, if 'little' was truly insignificant and negligible, how are we to appreciate the regular references of the mainstream press to the phenomenon? Between 15 October 1892 and 6 August 1893, Alfred Vallette, editorial secretary of *Le Scapin* and co-founder of the *Mercure de France*, published around forty articles in *L'Écho de Paris littéraire illustré*, the weekly literary supplement of a major daily, *L'Écho de Paris*, under the title 'Les Jeunes Revues littéraires et artistiques' [The Young Literature and Art Reviews]. These formed a nuanced and lively picture of the 'little reviews' phenomenon thanks to detailed descriptions. It is to be noted that Vallette's column supplanted for ten months the regular and more established 'Review of Reviews' or 'Foreign Reviews', common to any newspaper of the time. If the 'little reviews' impact was negligible, how are we to read such sustained monitoring? Moreover, the concept played an active part in assessing French literature and literary history in the making. What are we to make of several writers' allusions to the periodicals of the young in renowned surveys on literary evolution such as the one by Jules Huret in 1891?²⁹ René Doumic, a conservative critic, called the 'petites revues' an 'institution' in 1896. Although irony prevailed in his pages, he still stated these would remain 'the most interesting component of contemporary literary history'.³⁰ Lastly, Gourmont's critical detachment from the catchword confirms that innovative writers used their reviews while consciously engaged in subtle media competition. Indeed, in 1904 Gourmont, advising Édouard Ducôté on the fortunes of the declining *Ermitage* (1890–1906), compelled the editorial board to abandon the 'petite revue' size (19 × 14 cm), which he preferred, for that of the standard review (25 × 17 cm), prior to raising the price. Booksellers (and the public) classified the periodical just through the format. The former would hide it behind mainstream reviews, jeopardizing its fortunes.³¹ It is obvious that, if their own promoter doubted the term (and all it involved) at the time, the concept cannot remain eternally valid.

Still, 'petite revue' is an established label in current French literary terminology. If it springs up rather instinctively in fin-de-siècle memoirs and chronicles, as by Ernest Raynaud or Jean Ajalbert,³² it runs unquestioned through contributions by Gaston Picard (1913), André Billy (1951), Richard L. Admussen (1970), Pierre Cavinenc (1980 and 1981), or Bénédicte Didier (2009), although these critics gradually move away from

28 Paul Bonnetain, 'À travers les revues — Jeunes revues littéraires', *Le Figaro: Supplément littéraire* (1 August 1891), p. 123.

29 Jules Huret, *Enquête sur l'évolution littéraire*, ed. by Daniel Grojnowski (Paris: José Corti, 1999), pp. 190–91 (Zola, the only one to be ironic), 200 (Huysmans), 225–26 (Octave Mirbeau), 257 (Lucien Descaves), 341–42 (Jules Claretie).

30 'C'est dans les "petites revues" que se manifeste chez nous la jeune littérature. Cette institution des petites revues restera comme le fait le plus intéressant de l'histoire des lettres contemporaines.' René Doumic, *Les Jeunes: Études et portraits* (Paris: Librairie Académique Didier, Perrin et Cie, 1896), p. 274.

31 'Gourmont quoi qu'aimant l'aspect présent de *L'Ermitage* est d'avis que cet aspect-là donne pour le public l'air "petite revue"... Les libraires sont ennemis du format actuel, et nous dissimulent derrière les publications plus grandes. Donc il conviendrait de prendre le format classique des revues; et d'augmenter par suite le prix...' Letter from Édouard Ducôté to André Gide, 28 October 1904, in André Gide and Édouard Ducôté, *Correspondance, 1895–1921*, ed. by Pierre Lachasse (Nantes: Université de Nantes, Centre d'Études Gidiennes, 2002), p. 248.

32 Ernest Raynaud, 'Les Petites revues', in *La Mêlée symboliste* (Paris: La Renaissance du Livre, 1918, republished Paris: A. G. Nizet, 1971), pp. 48–62; and Jean Ajalbert, *Mémoires en vrac. Au temps du symbolisme, 1880–1890* (Paris: Albin Michel, [1938]), mainly pp. 187–217.

a personal and emotional approach to favour literary investigation and evaluation.³³ In a recent substantial reference publication based on media culture and circulation of print matter such as *La Civilisation du journal* [*The Newspaper Civilization*] (2011), ‘petite revue’ is an indisputable chapter of the ‘Typologie historique des périodiques’ [Historical periodical typology]. In this, however, Yoan Vérilhac reads the term with obvious acumen as ‘une invention médiatique’ [a media invention], and cleverly shows how the formal mould of standard major periodicals affects and shapes the newer ones while the young review writers obviously play with journalistic codes which they pervert.³⁴

Comparatively, in Anglo-American bibliography, the ‘petite revue’ has long found in the ‘little magazine’ an eloquent equivalent or kindred spirit, with analogous problems and welcome ambiguity, as Ezra Pound’s piece shows. The famed *Little Review* (Chicago, New York, Paris, 1914–1929, originally linked to the Chicago Little Theatre and the Little Theatre Movement), based on transatlantic modernism and publishing American, British, Irish, and French authors — including a serialized version of *Ulysses* by James Joyce — was even defiantly named after the catchphrase. Landmark publications such as *The Little Magazine: A History and a Bibliography* by Frederick J. Hoffman, Charles Allen, and Carolyn F. Ulrich, assuming the term in 1946, made it to a second edition within a year. Still referred to today since it is based on Charles Allen’s deep knowledge of and extensive interest in the field, the book used typical borderline vocabulary and split categories:

Of great value in whatever kind of research or critical investigation we may wish to undertake is a group of magazines which have lived a kind of private life of their own on the margins of culture. These magazines have usually been the sponsors of innovation, the gathering places for the ‘irreconcilables’ of our literary tradition. They have been broadly and amply tolerant of literary experiment; in many cases, they have raised defiantly the red flag of protest and rebellion against tradition and convention.³⁵

Such discourse paid tribute to marvellous rarities tolerated by the Establishment. However, dissatisfaction with the term became manifest: ‘In a sense, therefore, the word “little” is vague and even unfairly derogatory.’ A tactical shift of concept from magazine to audience (deemed as restricted) and readers (seen as the elite) was attempted, and “advance guard” envisaged as a better name.³⁶ Nevertheless, unable to displace the currency of the coined phrase ‘little review’, the proposal did not make the grade. In April 1968, *The Times Literary Supplement* on ‘Little magazines’ was even more ambiguously revealing.³⁷ One would have expected this issue to welcome and celebrate a major safeguarding operation of the time, that is, a substantial number of periodicals (nearly 200) having been reprinted

33 Gaston Picard, ‘Quelques petites revues d’hier’, *Le Temps présent: Revue mensuelle de littérature et d’art* (2 September 1913), 230–42; and (2 March 1914), 294–304. André Billy, ‘Les Petites revues’, in *L’Époque 1900, 1885–1905* (Paris: Jules Tallandier, 1951), 90–104; Richard L. Admussen, *Les Petites revues littéraires, 1914–1939: Répertoire descriptif* (Saint Louis: Washington University Press; Paris: Librairie A. G. Nizet, 1970); Pierre Cavinenc, ‘Une petite revue symboliste’, *La Vogue, Littératures* (Toulouse), no. 1 (1980), 153–71, and ‘Petit glossaire d’une revue symboliste’, *La Vogue, Littératures* (Toulouse), no. 3 (1981), 139–55; Bénédicte Didier, *Petites revues et esprit bohème à la fin du XIX^e siècle, 1878–1889: ‘Panurge’, ‘Le Chat noir’, ‘La Vogue’, ‘Le Décadent’, ‘La Plume’* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2009).

34 Yoan Vérilhac, ‘La Petite revue’, in *La Civilisation du journal: Histoire culturelle et littéraire de la presse française au XIX^e siècle*, ed. by Dominique Kalifa, Philippe Régner, Marie-Ève Thérenty, and Alain Vaillant (Paris: Nouveau Monde Éditions, 2011), 359–73 (p. 365).

35 Frederick J. Hoffman, Charles Allen, and Carolyn F. Ulrich, *The Little Magazine: A History and a Bibliography* [1946], 2nd edn (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1947), p. v.

36 Hoffman et al., p. 3.

37 ‘The Little Magazine’, *Times Literary Supplement* (25 April 1968), 423–37.

in the previous two years. But this was considered 'a curious new publishing enterprise'. The irony was scathing: 'Many it would have been more charitable to forget, and only the most voracious academic machine will be able to assimilate them.'³⁸

Current Anglo-American bibliography still considers 'little magazine' a category in directories, though recently (2006) entered between inverted commas, which is telling.³⁹ In fact, since Mark Morrisson's pioneering study *The Public Face of Modernism: Little Magazines, Audiences, and Reception, 1905–1920* (2001), the limitedness of the elite public such reviews were deemed to have addressed has been strongly questioned. Morrisson's astute reading of advertisements in 'little reviews' demonstrated that these publications were intended for a broader, mainstream marketplace.⁴⁰ Scholars who preserve the concept, such as Suzanne Wintch Churchill and Adam McKimble, noticeably look for new approaches,⁴¹ and turn to 'a diverse range of editorial policies, aesthetics, political views and commercial interests'.⁴² Characteristically the term has been abandoned in Brooker and Thacker's magisterial history of modernist magazines, which encompasses the 1880s and 1890s, and discusses several of the so-called French 'petites revues' as well as their Anglo-American counterparts. Tellingly, the eager discourse of a stimulating recent article on 'little magazines' and 'little magazinists' [*sic*] from a cultural studies perspective subliminally misquotes this title as *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of **Little** Magazines* (my emphasis in bold).⁴³

'Little' as Posture versus 'Little' as Object

What is it then that makes the term 'little' review/magazine so resilient? Is it really suitable for analysis and investigation? Or should we consider it deceptive, even deliberately misleading?

I argue that an important distinction is to be made between *posture* and *object*. The 'little review' stance encapsulates a spirit and the posture of several groups of artists and writers. Because it hints, suggests, and echoes, it fits the inverted commas of coined, specialized vocabulary. Still, this corresponds only to the second element in Gourmont's reasoning (innovative writers versus acknowledged and reputable authors, young authors versus established ones). Conversely, Gourmont's first and third arguments define an *object*: small, limited, impecunious, transient, unacknowledged. And the fact is that similar criteria are still regularly used to define 'little reviews', even though Pound stressed that the 'significance of the small magazine has, obviously, nothing to do with format'.

Precisely, 'little' puts into an unvaryingly ephemeral category those periodicals that will gain a readership of unmistakable longevity. It also puts into the straight jacket of a limited formula (pages, copies, matter) a great variety of publications, often more puzzling than expected. As an intermediate print category, reviews and magazines

38 [Unsigned statement after title, front page], *Times Literary Supplement* (25 April 1968), p. 409. The announcement ends: 'But the few really important ones make sense of the whole venture, and in this week's *TLS* we feature special articles on some of these.'

39 *Comprehensive Index to English-Language Little Magazines, 1890–1970*, ed. by Marion Sader, 8 vols (Millwood, New York: Kraus-Thomson Organisation, 1976). David Miller and Richard Price, *British Poetry Magazines, 1914–2000: A History and Bibliography of 'Little Magazines'* (London: British Library, 2006).

40 Mark Morrisson, *The Public Face of Modernism: Little Magazines, Audiences, and Reception, 1905–1920* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001).

41 Suzanne Wintch Churchill and Adam McKimble, eds, *Little Magazines and Modernism: New Approaches* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

42 Karen Leick, 'Little Magazines and Modernism: New Approaches (review)', *American Periodicals: A Journal of History, Criticism, and Bibliography*, 19.1 (2009), 113–15 (p. 113).

43 See Kirsten MacLeod, 'American Little Magazines of the 1890s and the Rise of the Professional-Managerial Class', *English Studies in Canada*, 41.1 (2015), 41–68 (p. 43, although correctly stated in the bibliography, p. 65).

are much harder to grasp than books or newspapers. Bearing features of both, they are neither one nor the other, forming their own varied and hybrid category, easily modifiable. Categorizing some of them as 'little' can level or warp their material identity. The latter does not always correspond to a cliché, it can quickly evolve and expand, and examples are numerous.

Time and periodicity are a second issue. Where are we to set the boundary between big and small, between the ephemeral and the enduring? Ian Hamilton argued that 'ten years is the ideal life-span for a little magazine' — even when they last much longer. When they do, he chose to study only the first ten years.⁴⁴ Adopting a diametrically opposed stance, Roméo Arbour limited his directory to Paris-based reviews that had lasted less than four years.⁴⁵ Richard L. Admussen arbitrarily excluded from his any reviews that had lasted more than five years or survived ten issues.⁴⁶ What of the very transient ones then? Does 'little' cease to be interesting when it is minute? And when they grow larger, should we not look at them fully? It is to forget that within the very idea of *periodical* is inscribed the notion of time. The very birth of *any* periodical implicitly programs its expected end: *ephemeros* lasts etymologically but a day, and in Greek *ephemeris* (*ephemerida*) is a daily, just as in French *journal* [newspaper, daily] bears on the idea of a day [*jour*]. Beginning with etymology, not to mention other aspects, periodicals, however ephemeral, are closely associated with the press. Should we deduce that the more transitory a periodical is, the more revolutionary it is? The very idea leads to extremes.

Last but not least, 'little reviews' are the hotbed of important texts, touchstones of modernity that would perhaps never have existed without those journals, a fact commonly admitted. The paradox 'slight but important' has obviously pleased authors and scholars. Is modernity barred, then, from the larger press? Literature and art history would not agree. More pointedly, how was recognition of 'minute but central' achieved, if publication means were limited and audience scarce or non-existent? Hoffman, Allen, and Ulrich suggested a model based on hearsay (name-spreading), attempting to explain how Ernest Hemingway attracted the attention of commercial publishers. Commenting on his first story published in the *Double Dealer* in 1922, they presumed it was read by the editor and a few others who talked of it enthusiastically, enticing their colleagues and associates to read his next, which amplified the number of his fans.⁴⁷ This would have seemed implausible, if the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries were not a major information age. However, the reviews' main communication mode is not so much the oral but the printed word. Print is modernity's first and most important medium. Hoffman, Allen, and Ulrich recognized this fully when they stated that '[a] half-dozen little magazines are printing Hemingway stories and he has several thousand readers'. And they assumed that publication of his first novel by a non-commercial publisher in Paris did the rest, attracting Scribner's attention. As this example shows, reviews acted as media gestures, both as scenes and as podiums. In terms of numbers, their overall networking agency could sometimes rival large-circulation periodicals for results. Still, a piece seems to be missing from the puzzle, the one provided by the mainstream magazines. As Robert Scholes has suggested, 'we tend, perhaps rightly to privilege the little magazines, but we cannot adequately understand even them without an understanding of the mass magazines and those Pound called "the elder magazines",

44 Hamilton, p. 9.

45 Roméo Arbour, *Les revues littéraires éphémères paraissant à Paris entre 1900 et 1914: Répertoire descriptif* (Paris: José Corti, 1956), p. 7.

46 Admussen, pp. 8–9.

47 *The Little Magazine: A History and Bibliography*, p. 14.

against which they situated themselves'.⁴⁸ Alternative forms of cultural capital such as the so-called 'little reviews' make sense when seen in an overall media system, in relation to mainstream forums. Instead, antagonistic vocabulary such as 'small' versus 'big' splits the field of research artificially in two. The same can obviously be said about mainstream versus unconventional.

In a nutshell, what has been termed 'little reviews' or 'little magazines' was an important shift in periodical creation, but also, just as significantly if not more so, in media communication. If the term stuck, it is because it had immediate appeal in announcements, statements, and media negotiation. At the same time, apparently taken at face value, the catchword has shaped a category, pre-programming avant-garde journals as small (how small is small?), short-lived (average life?), penniless, albeit containing valuable texts (and what if they do not?). While cautiously handling such data, regularly contested by facts, our interest in periodicals has also widened and faces new questions, including how legitimacy was gained; how their economics worked; how extended fields of periodical publications interacted; and how avant-garde journals interlinked with more popular journalism and literature.

A Significant Turn

Many initiatives and studies have contributed to questioning 'the Great Divide', i.e. 'the categorical distinction between high art and mass culture', to start with Andreas Huyssen's very study, precisely questioning critics' clear-cut and resounding distinctions (1986).⁴⁹ In *Politics of Modernism* (1988), Raymond Williams endorsed networks as communities of medium and practices, upholding the links of literature with institutions, cultural history, and geography. The Modernist Studies Association in 1999 reframed the field and encouraged looking into modernism's relations with the wider arena of press and periodical history, reflected in the work of scholars such as Laurel Brake and Ann Ardis, to name but two. The *Journal of Modern Periodical Studies* (founded in 2010) welcomes contributions 'investigat[ing] from a wide variety of angles daily newspapers, weeklies, monthlies, quarterlies, and irregularly published small magazines published from 1880 to 1950 in the English-speaking world'.⁵⁰ Studies on materiality, book history scholarship, cultural history, and the phenomenal expansion of digital humanities giving access to extended periodical resources have considerably reshaped approaches to periodicals, encouraging a shift from the avant-garde model towards accounts that straddle high, medium, and popular cultures, and look into other forms of cultural response.

This special issue offers a contribution to the recent turn in periodical scholarship. Since the terms 'petite revue' and 'little magazine' have been so prominent in French and Anglo-American scholarship, we question the 'small' versus 'big' antagonism in francophone and Anglo-American contexts while attempting to ensure chronological continuity without major interruptions from the fin de siècle to the 1930s. All articles build on first-hand research (archive material, unpublished correspondence, and primary investigation into titles, devoid of preconceived ideas). The issue embraces a Parisian so-called fin-de-siècle 'little review', a British aesthetic magazine, a French bourgeois periodical in the 1890s, a selection of Belgian and French fin-de-siècle, avant-garde, and surrealist magazines from the 1890s to the 1930s, and a middlebrow American periodical

48 See Robert Scholes, 'Afterword: Small Magazines, Large Ones, and Those In-between', in *Little Magazines and Modernism*, 215–26 (pp. 217–18).

49 Andreas Huyssen, *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1986), vii–xii (p. viii).

50 psupress.org [accessed 4 March 2016].

in the 1930s. In the first two articles, Elisa Grilli and Philipp Leu throw new light on the fin-de-siècle *La Plume* (Paris, 1889–1914) and the aesthetic *Evergreen* (Edinburgh, 1895–97). With the help of new, unpublished material, they question their traditional classification as ‘little’ from different points of view. Taking a diametrically opposite view, this guest editor shows how characteristic fin-de-siècle subject matter and iconography are not limited to ‘little reviews’: they are also embedded in a bourgeois French family magazine, the *Revue illustrée* (Paris, 1885–1912), that proves to be, amongst other things, a pivot between the book trade and the periodical press. Unforeseen uses of advertisement — that unquestionable commercial sign — emerge when Hélène Védrine decodes the use of visual techniques in experimental periodicals between France and Belgium from the 1890s to the 1930s. And Céline Mansanti looks at the variety of discourses on Anglo-American modernism in the middlebrow *Life* magazine (New York, 1883–1936).

Methods used refer to several sessions of the TIGRE seminar (Texte et Image, Groupe de Recherche à l’École), directed by Evangelhia Stead at the École Normale Supérieure in Paris since 2004.⁵¹ These have stressed the materiality of periodicals as language and code, along with the contents, and invited us to read them while analyzing and deciphering their visual impact; underlined the formal and material plasticity of periodicals and their flexible, innovative language combining art and literature; considered images as media and language, not just illustrations, introducing the user to a varied corpus of originals, copies, replicas, and reproductions. The TIGRE seminar has also encouraged an interdisciplinary approach to books and periodicals involving literary critics, press and media historians, comparative literature specialists, art historians, historians of book and print culture, and museum curators. Discussions have targeted cultural transfers and cultural interactions of periodicals (with the stage, the book trade, galleries, etc.) on a national or transnational basis.⁵² Periodicals have thus been considered as nexuses in a broad cultural history that seeks to understand their role as complex media, mixed and multifaceted.

This issue proposes to look at them as ingenious and dynamic producers of culture in a changing world, and as aesthetic platforms of great plasticity and flexibility. The issue probes in particular the bonds between aesthetics, ideas, and economics, showing interactions between avant-garde and middlebrow, and stressing the importance of networks.

Links between aesthetic preoccupations and financial or commercial requirements are not only fundamental in understanding periodicals, they also shape their policies, contents, and configuration. A typically aesthetic magazine such as the *Evergreen* was part of a publishing company, capable of doing better than London publishers in selling and distributing books, even though its finances prove to be unbalanced (E. Grilli). The fin-de-siècle review *La Plume*, regularly presented as a ‘petite revue’, acted as a means of promotion for young writers by cleverly using subscriptions to supplant the frequent habit of other periodicals for the young to have them pay a fee per line. This may well correspond to the limited circulation of a literary periodical for fledgling writers. Philipp Leu shows, however, how Léon Deschamps, its astute editor, turned *La Plume* into a broader circulation magazine appealing to the bourgeoisie and to women. The means he employed transformed *La Plume* into a limited company and gradually modified its

51 On the history and objectives of this inter-university seminar, see Evangelhia Stead, ‘TIGRE et travaux: Le TIGRE, séminaire interuniversitaire de recherche’, *La Revue des revues*, no. 42 (2009), 88–90.

52 See particularly *L’Europe des revues (1880–1920): Estampes, photographies, illustrations*, ed. by Evangelhia Stead and Hélène Védrine (Paris: PUPS, 2008, reprinted 2011), and the forthcoming *L’Europe des revues II (1860–1930): Réseaux et circulation des modèles*.

appearance according to bibliophilic criteria. Conversely, an all-round stylish magazine, the *Revue illustrée*, turned the century's craving for images to its advantage, spiced its fin-de-siècle texts with a sophisticated and sumptuous iconography, and benefited from a large selection of low-cost artistic talents thronging in Paris. Artists were paid cash, but below the average rate for illustration, while writers received money vouchers (E. Stead). Advertisements as financial backing were vital for the reviews' survival. Hélène Védrine takes further Mark Morrisson's conclusions on the invigorating aesthetics of advertisement in modernist reviews by showing how visual advertisement culture helped to develop key stances of modernity in the French and Belgian fin de siècle and surrealism. Her study progresses from hidden aesthetic or political manifestos to explicit encouragement to use advertisement as poetic inspiration. 'The September issue is offered as a Want Ad', famously declared the *Little Review* in September 1916 publishing thirteen blank pages for want of literature worth printing.⁵³ This provocative statement, confounding literature and commerce, is a typical modernist sleight of hand, twisting marketing habits into an aesthetic manifesto.

Interactions between innovative and smaller periodicals on the one hand, and middlebrow journals on the other, or even the mainstream press, show how media interacted to spread new forms, ideas, and aesthetics. Céline Mansanti looks into the connection of major modernist writers such as James Joyce and Gertrude Stein with a large audience thanks to *Life* magazine through a series of discourses (criticism, promotion, quotation, parody, and didactic criticism). Evanghelia Stead shows how fin-de-siècle texts, particularly tales, and songs on evanescent themes, decked with Art Nouveau imagery and ornament, found their way into the bourgeois *Revue illustrée*, reflecting fin-de-siècle sensibility widespread throughout France. *La Plume* promoted its collaborators into the mainstream Parisian journals, cleverly using its Banquets to ensure coverage in the dailies. Deschamps's methods were imitated in England and America at the time, according to the *Boston Evening Transcript* (Ph. Leu). Advertisements show how the popular press, the political journals, the anarchist periodicals, and the art and literature reviews intersect (H. Védrine). Similarly the aesthetic *Evergreen* was widely commented upon in the press at home and abroad, as the 'Newspaper cuttings' scrapbook shows from its archive in Strathclyde University. Its editors defiantly benefited even from sarcastic comments, which shows an acute grasp of media communication, confirmed by their use of two press coverage companies, Durrant's Press Cuttings and the French *Courrier de la presse* (E. Grilli). Our retroactive separation of elite versus popular seems a naïve assumption, induced by the way literature and art histories have been written, not by the complex realities these publications reveal.

Periodical networking is also crucial, a notion we expand in a forthcoming collective volume of forty-two chapters.⁵⁴ It is striking to read in Elisa Grilli's piece on the *Evergreen* that "the new Scottish quarterly is *not* primarily an organ of art and literature at all" (my emphasis). The short-lived 'Seasonal' was indeed but a part of Patrick Geddes's ambitious world-view encompassing national revival, sciences, ecology, urban planning, and a summer-time popular university. Its many international connections included members of the French Academy, collaborators of the well-established and today still extant *Revue des deux mondes*, elite university personalities, politicians, even historical societies. Similarly, *La Plume* anchored its fame and success through its many relations, establishing a successful picture gallery and exhibition hall, trading a collection of some 3,000 posters, launching a publishing house, and leveraging its publication

53 *Little Review* (September 1916), p. 1.

54 *L'Europe des revues II (1860–1930): Réseaux et circulation des modèles*, ed. by Evanghelia Stead and Hélène Védrine (Paris: PUPS, forthcoming in 2017).

through its dinners in honour of artists, writers, and well-known figures of the Parisian daily press (Ph. Leu). As for the appealing *Revue illustrée*, it supplied the international illustration market. Its editorial secretary, Jérôme Doucet, was connected to an impressive network of artists and art trades within France but also to a publisher such as Albertus Willem Sijthoff in Leiden (E. Stead). Advertisements help reconstitute networks indicating circulation and reception between periodicals, theatres and galleries, strong links between culture and commerce, the fine and the applied arts, professional designers, architects, and artists, when modernism proves to be one of the very ingredients of a global consumerist culture and no longer its opponent (H. Védrine). Text circulation between the modernist reviews and the middlebrow *Life* is sufficiently varied to include Gertrude Stein herself, who provokingly declared her ambition was to be published in mainstream journals (C. Mansanti). Parody as promotion intrigues; the many voices of parody can turn into innovative discourse. When Stein sends some of her poems to *Life* because she finds some of the parodies of her texts too bad, one may wonder: was the purpose didactic (teach them true modernism) or were they to be taken as better parodies? The use and power of parody in modern rhetoric needs further exploration.⁵⁵

Periodicals reveal action chains that extend well beyond the hackneyed antagonism of ‘little’ versus ‘big’. This is what makes them particularly fascinating, especially when textual studies, literary and historical analysis, print and visual studies, and transnational cultural history join forces.

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55 On this exciting subject, see Michèle Hannoosh, *Parody and Decadence: Laforgue’s Moralités légendaires* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1989); Margaret Rose, *Parody: Ancient, Modern, and Post-Modern* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); *Poétiques de la parodie et du pastiche de 1850 à nos jours*, ed. by Catherine Dousteyssier-Khoze and Floriane Place-Verghnes (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2006); Daniel Sangsue, *La relation parodique* (Paris: José Corti, 2007).

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