This was the critic and photographer Claude Santeul’s response to an exhibition of travel photography at the Galerie de la Pléiade in Paris in the spring of 1934.² The two photographers he mentions, Jacques-André Boiffard (1902-1961) and Eli Lotar (1905–1969), had recently returned from a voyage aboard the *Exir Dallen*, a sailing vessel that belonged to a well-off Spanish industrial engineer named Fernando de Cárdenas. Assembling a party comprised of his wife and children, a dozen close acquaintances, and the two photographers, Cárdenas charted a path from Valencia, Spain, to ports in Andalusia and Morocco. From there, the *Exir Dallen* would travel down the west coast of Africa, then around the tip of South America in a rough retracing of Magellan’s voyage to find westward passage to Asia.³ Visiting Spain and Morocco with Cárdenas, Lotar and Boiffard returned to France after six months. Now preserved in Lotar’s personal archives at the Centre Georges Pompidou in Paris, the surviving negatives and prints are largely attributed to him, although they are undoubtedly the product of his close partnership with Boiffard.⁴

Near Málaga, Spain, Lotar and Boiffard photographed the impoverished communities who lived along the coast. A typical shot by Lotar presents the exterior of a fisherman’s ramshackle dwelling framed by a smokestack and a steep hill, atop which one can make out the outline of a 14th century Moorish castle. [fig. 1] Two men, one slumped over in his chair, sit near an open door in front of the house. A child turns back to look at them, standing among the piles of thick rope and twisted net that fill the foreground. On the far right of the composition, more ropes and nets spill over the side of a small boat with two anthropomorphizing eyes painted on either side of its bow. With this careful composition, made using a medium-format camera like the Rolliflex and cropped from the square negative, Lotar conveys how the identity of the shack’s inhabitants is inextricable from the tools of their livelihood and bound up in history of the coastal landscape. In addition to the Rolliflex, Lotar and Boiffard traveled with a single-lens reflex camera, probably a Leica, which they loaded with 35 mm Agfa Pankine film stock.⁵ Armed with

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Cet article se penche sur une série de photographies prises par Eli Lotar lors d’un voyage avec son collègue photographe Jacques-André Boiffard à bord de l’*Exir Dallen*, un voilier appartenant à un ingénieur industriel nommé Fernando de Cárdenas. Rejoignant le groupe de Cárdenas alors que le navire se dirigeait de l’Espagne vers l’Afrique du Nord en 1933 et 1934, les photographes documentèrent les populations pauvres vivant le long des côtes des deux continents. À cette époque, Lotar et Boiffard étaient engagés dans la politique communiste et participaient aux activités de l’Association des écrivains et artistes révolutionnaires (AEAR). En analysant ces photos en relation à la critique de l’AEAR de l’intervention franco-espagnole au Maroc, je soutiens que la série *Exir Dallen* était une tentative pour mobiliser la photographie au service de politiques anticoloniales et antifascistes. Ce faisant, je remets en cause un récit commun en histoire de l’art qui met les deux photographes presque exclusivement en rapport avec le surréalisme.

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Figure 1. Eli Lotar, Homes of Fishermen in Malaga, ca. 1933–1935. Silver gelatin print, 29.9 × 39.6 cm. Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, France. Photo: CNAC/MNAM/Dist. RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY.

Figure 2. Eli Lotar, Beggar Woman at Mazagan, Morocco, ca. 1933–1935. Silver gelatin print, 18.2 × 12.9 cm. Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, France. Photo: CNAC/MNAM/Dist. RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY.

2. Founded in 1931 by Jacques Schirn, a Jewish émigré from Russia, the Galerie de la Pléiade was an outgrowth of his publishing outfit, the Bibliothèque de la Pléiade. Founded in 1923, the Bibliothèque de la Pléiade became known for its small-scale editions of classic works of French literature and Russian literature in translation. In 1933, Schirn sold Pléiade to the publisher Gaston Gallimard, but remained the director of the series. Schirn entrusted the running of the gallery to Rosé Sève, under whose direction the Galerie de la Pléiade began to specialize in exhibiting contemporary photography.

3. The progress of the *Exir Dallen* was covered in Spanish newspapers, most notably *La Libertad* and *El Herald de Madrid*. Many members of the party remained in Uruguay, returning to Spain only as Republican combatants in the Spanish Civil War.


6. Casablanca and Mazagan were located in the region of Morocco under French protectorate. Tangier was in an international zone jointly administered by Spain, the United Kingdom, and France.


Established in 1929, Documents was an intellectual, philosophical, and aesthetic alternative to what Bataille perceived as the idealism of André Breton and his affiliates. The elevate status of painting and poetry within mainstream Surrealism, Documents privileged photography as a means to illustrate the violence of human desire and the baseness of human thought. Lotar and Boiffard’s photographs were critical to this project. Describing Lotar’s pictures of La Villette, the art historian Yves Alain-Bois writes that his views of dead animals and bloody animal hides offer “a climax, within the journal, of the iconography of horror.” In the same issue, Boiffard’s Le Gros Orteil (1929) accompanied a text by Bataille of the same name. The large toe, which emerges grotesquely from a stark black background, fulfills the journal’s imperative to make even the most banal, familiar body parts seem strange and monstrous.

Standing back from his subjects, Lotar takes in the scene on the dock in Mazagan in its entirety. He had developed this keenly journalistic approach to photography working for the illustrated press and with the documentary filmmaker Joris Ivens, the husband of Lotar’s mentor and former lover, Germaine Krull. In 1929, shortly before he photographed La Villette, Lotar traveled to the Netherlands to film the construction of Zuiderzee dam with Ivens. Upon his return from the region, Lotar authored an article in the journal Jazz, in which he describes life in Zuiderzee as “reduced to exhausting work.” To accompany his text, Lotar chose four photographs, which depict the bleak industrial landscape and fatigued labourers spilled out on the edges of the construction site. Whereas Bataille’s selection of pictures in Documents mirror his interest in ritual and horror, the spread in Jazz reflects Lotar’s own editorial impulse to illustrate the labor conditions in Zuiderzee as straightforwardly as possible. The title of the article, “Ici, on ne s’amuse pas” (“We are not here to have fun”), succinctly communicates Lotar’s philosophy of photography. Taking on a double meaning, the “we” might refer to the workers constructing the dam and locks, but also to the solemn task of the photographer who is there to bear witness.

This conjunction of the photographer and worker drew Lotar to the activities of the Association des écrivains et artistes revolutionnaires (AEAR), a group

negotiating the best way to mobilize photography in service of revolutionary values. While the passengers on the Exir Dallen may not have been concerned with spreading propaganda, they may have been interested with making it.

Consider another picture from the series showing labourers in Mazagan. Fig. 4 A row of four barefooted workers carry bundles of hemp rope on their backs; their hunched forms moving cumbersomely toward the edge of the dock. Having reached the front of the line, a figure tosses his bundle onto a boat filled with rope and large barrels. In the center of the frame, a man who has just finished offloading his cargo walks towards the camera, his reflection in the dock’s wet surface bisected by a triangular dry patch. As a depiction of strenuous labor, its content recalls Lotar’s photographs of the Mazagan slaughterhouse, which appeared in the sixth number of Documents in November 1929. But except for the central figure’s severed reflection, the Mazagan photograph bears little resemblance to those which he and Boiffard contributed to Documents, which depicted objects and people from disorienting oblique angles or in jarring close-up.

A film purportedly made in Málaga is now lost. Some accounts of the ship in Spanish newspapers also refer to a German photographer on board, involved in the production of a documentary film. This could be a misattribution, or perhaps there was a third, unidentified photographer-filmmaker travelling with the party.


15. Lotar and Krull met in 1926, at a salon held by a well-known opera singer, which she describes in her memoir: Germaine Krull, La vie mène la danse (Paris: Éditions Textuel, 2015), 196.


22. This includes a review by Santeul. A copy of an invitation is also preserved in the archives of David Seymour, better known as Chin, in Bethesda, Maryland. It was recently reproduced in Amao, Photographie Arme de classe, 28.
26. This was in line with the official policy of the Communist International, which had adopt-ed “socialist realism” as its official policy. In 1933, “socialist realism” was still inchoate, not yet codified into the archetypal style associated with Stalinist Russia. Debate was still open about the proper mode of realism, as exemplified in the Soviet Union by the fissure be-tween Rodchenko’s constructivist October Group, and the intelligible presentation of reality advocated by photographers like Arkaii Shai-khet. See, Margarita Tupitsyn, The Soviet Photograp-her, 1926–1937 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996), 66–98.
28. Established by representatives of the PCF and the Communist International in December 1931. Organized into sections dedicated to literature, painting and sculpture, architecture, music, theater, film, and photography, the AEAR sought to mobilize artists against the bourgeoisie in service of the proletar-ian revolution. Boiffard, who became a member of the Communist Party in 1927, was one of the earliest adherents to the AEAR, with his former mentor, Man Ray. By the middle of 1933, Lotar had assumed the role of secretary and spokesperson of the photographic section of the organization. In this new period of political engagement, Lotar joined the filmmaker (and fellow mem-ber of the AEAR) Luis Buñuel in Spain, serving as the director of photography for Buñuel’s avant-garde quasi-documentary Las Hurdas, Tierra sin pan (1933).
20. During this same period, Boiffard became involved with ex-Surrealist Jacques Prévert’s agit-prop theatre troupe, Groupe Octobre, which was part of a Com-munist network of organizations promoting working-class theatre. While Lotar was in Spain with Buñuel, Boiffard was travelling in the Soviet Union with Groupe Octobre.

In November 1933, the AEAR held its first photographic exhibition at the offices of the Éditions sociales internationales, a Communist publishing house in Paris’s Latin Quarter that specialized in French translations of Marxist writings. Roughly twenty photographers contributed to the exhibition, including Boiffard and Lotar, but also Germaine Krull, Man Ray, Henri Cartier-Bress-on, and André Kertész. While it is possible that Lotar and Boiffard sent negatives from Spain and Morocco back to Paris for the exhibition at the PSI, no record of the exhibition survives outside of a few mentions in the con-temporary press. Images from the Exit Dallen series did, however, appear in the AEAR’s second group exhibition, “Documents of Social Life,” held at the Galerie de la Pléiade in the spring of 1935. In one review, the former Surrealist Louis Aragon notes Lotar’s images of “hard labour in one of Algeria’s ports (surely?), [and] dreadful shacks of the Seville area.” A reproduction of a photograph by Boiffard showing two Andalusian peasants appeared in the Communist illustrated magazine, Regards, alongside a review by the novelist Eugène Dabit.

In a 1933 statement entitled “Photography, Class Weapon,” the journalist and photographer Henri Tracol articulated the goals of the photography section of the AEAR, calling on photographers to use the medium in order to “serve the interests of the exploited against the exploiters.” The photography section would assemble and maintain an archive of revolutionary images, which depicted subjects like homelessness, poverty, unemployment, protests, and state violence, in order to support the Communist and working-class press. Privileging revolutionary content over experimental form, the AEAR favored the method of documentary reportage, adopting a model of realism influenced by the Hungarian–born Marxist theorist Georg Lukács. In his 1932 article “Reportage or Portrayal,” Lukács writes that “good” reportage “embraces a large and well-organized body of facts and presents its examples clearly” in order to reflect reality as a social totality. Appealing to the reader’s—or viewer’s—intellect rather than his or her emotion, good reportage “makes the right connection between the general and the particular” in order to present “connections, disclose causes, and propose consequences.” In turn, he
criticizes bad reportage as “recognizing only certain isolated facts,” obscuring class relations through a “fetishistic dismemberment of reality.”29

The fragment was a central concept in the so-called “ethnographic surrealism” of Documents. As James Clifford argued in The Predicament of Culture, the journal’s method was to combine fragmentary representations together into “fortuitous or ironic collage.”30 Unexpected juxtapositions—European folk art alongside African masks, Lotar’s images of the slaughterhouse in dialogue with Hollywood film stills, Boiffard’s big toe paired with photographs of ancient catacombs—were meant to “defamiliarize cultural reality” and critique Western bourgeois culture by “perturbing commonplace symbols.”31 Analogizing the high and the low, the Occidental and the Oriental, Documents called into question naturalized social hierarchies and relationships. Trading fragmentary collage for a serial approach closer to Lukács’s ideal reportage, the Exir Dallen photographs attempted to adapt the ethnographic orientation of Documents to suit the ideological position of the AEAR.

Lotar and Boiffard remained close with members of Bataille’s circle, including Georges-Henri Rivière, an ethnographic museologist and member of the editorial board of Documents.32 With ethnologist Paul Rivet, Rivière ran the Musée d’Ethnographie du Trocadéro, which would become the Musée de l’Homme. In 1933, Rivière and Rivet were redesigning the museum, hoping to organize its incoherent collection of exotic miscellany into a musée-laboratoire, with a scholarly library and active research program, in addition to the exhibition space for the general public. Among the research initiatives was a spate of ethnographic expeditions, or missions, to amass both scholarly knowledge and physical artifacts. The most famous of these was the well-known Dakar-Djibouti Mission (1931–1933), which brought back thousands of artifacts and over 6000 photographs.33 Writing in his capacity as the assistant director of the Trocadéro, Rivière furnished Boiffard with a general letter of introduction in August 1933, which states that Boiffard travelled with Cárdenas under the auspices of providing “photographic documentation” for the museum.34 None of the images from the Exir Dallen voyage, however, made it into the collection, despite Rivière’s privileging of photography in the reorganization.35

This is perhaps because the pedagogical goals of the Trocadéro were at odds with the political goals of the AEAR. Rivet, a prominent socialist intellectual and pacifist, was key to the development of humanist ethnography, which stressed the common humanity of Western and “primitive” cultures. But while Rivet challenged France’s treatment of subjugated peoples, he never called for the abolition of colonial rule. The fieldwork expeditions and exhibitions organized by the Trocadéro were, ultimately, uncritical of France’s colonial position.36 The AEAR, in contrast, adopted a radically anti-imperialist position. Many of its members had participated in the 1931 anti-colonial exhibition “The Truth about the Colonies,” organized by the PCF and members of the Surrealist group, while the Trocadéro participated in the official Colonial Exhibition.37 Following the rise of the Nazi Party in Germany, the AEAR condemned French imperialism as a key factor fueling the development of fascism. In their contribution to the AEAR’s 1933 manifesto, the militant Surrealists Paul Éluard and René Crevel wrote, for example: “We call on all
conscious intellectuals to take up their true role with us against idiotic and bloodthirsty fascism, against the French imperialism responsible, against misery and war, for a uniquely proletarian front.”

In December 1933, the AEAR’s journal, Commune, edited by Louis Aragon, devoted a special section to Morocco, articulating how French imperialism and German fascism were inexorably united by the forces of capitalism. The issue included extracts from a poem by Jean Fernand, entitled “Moroccans in Morocco, Soviets in Paris,” a calendar of France’s military action in Morocco from 1912 to 1933, and a history of the French intellectual response to France’s involvement in the Rif War during the mid-1920s. Beginning the section is a collection of “Brief illustrated précis on the Moroccan question” with texts by the Spaniard Francisco Galán and illustrations by French caricaturist René Henri Dubosc. It provides a history of European imperialism in Morocco since 1898, when Spain forfeited its colonies in Cuba and the Philippines after the Spanish–American War and launched a military campaign in the northern Morocco in order to mitigate those losses. The texts and images condense nearly three decades of colonial negotiations between European powers. Dubosc’s first drawing, for example, shows allegorical figures representing France, Great Britain, Spain, and Italy carving up North Africa with a handsaw. Galán traces Franco-Spanish relations in Morocco from the Treaty of Fez (1912), which officially established Spanish and French “zones of influence,” or protectorates, in Morocco, to the Rif War (1920–1927), during which France aided Spain in squashing the rebellion of the indigenous Berber tribes. For many Surrealists, including Boiffard, the Rif War provided the impetus to join the Communist Party, which protested France’s involvement.

Having provided an account of Spanish and French influence in Morocco, Galán turns to the present-day situation. He accuses French centrist Social Democrat politicians of exploiting Spain’s economic position as a way shore up its defenses along the Mediterranean against possible German and Italian aggression. In a brief section titled “Spain, Vassal of French Imperialism,” Galán writes that “the capital invested in Spanish affairs by French financiers” renders Spain in “political servitude” to French interests. Galán describes this “state of vassalage” as an “intermediate step between imperialist nation and colony.” The conception of Spain as occupying a liminal status between Europe and Africa, and between colonizer and colony, was not a new one, but it was typically construed in racial and ethnic terms, rather than economic
Gálan’s text updates an old trope to emphasize the connections between empire, capital, and war. Dubrosc’s drawing | fig. 5 | helps to illustrate the economic ties between Spain and France. In it, a large Marianne figure stands before the Bank of France, slackening a cord of thread or rope that is tied to the foot of a small woman dressed in traditional Spanish costume. She walks away, still tethered to France, carrying a sack bearing the word “loan” (prêt).

The Exir Dallen series complemented this issue of Commune, exposing the entanglement of Spain and Morocco within a capitalist, imperialist system. To picture extreme poverty in Spain, where conservative leaders had recently defeated a Socialist-led government, was also to picture a symptom of French imperialism. Placed alongside images of poverty and labour in Morocco, the images produce a view of capitalist oppression as an interconnected totality. Lotar pays close attention to ropes, threads, and nets in his compositions, so that they become a metaphor for the working-class labour which provides France with raw and human resources. Think back to the “dreadful shack” in Málaga with its endless heaps of rope used in fishing, or the bound bundles of hemp rope hauled by Arab workers in Mazagan (not, as Aragon suggests, Algeria) for export out of Morocco. In Málaga, fishermen’s wives mend nets and clothing and, while aboard the ship, sailors mend a broken sail, with cords of rope at their feet. In its repetition of these motifs, the series unravels the common threads between the Spanish and Moroccan proletariat, both victims of France’s imperial ambitions.

Viewed as a series in the intimate space of the Galerie de la Pléiade, which played host to Paris’s leftist intellectual elite, the photographs would have read like a call to action, imploring the viewers to align themselves not just with the French working class, but with a broader global proletariat. Gálan’s text similarly entreats French workers to serve their Spanish and Moroccan counterparts by struggling against French imperialism. “The enemy,” he writes, “is in our home.” For Lotar and Boiffard, Spain and Morocco provided fertile ground to explore the limits of revolutionary photography in service of the “exploited against the exploiters.” Although Santeul fails to grasp the political import of the images, his observation that the term “document” could not quite encapsulate Lotar and Boiffard’s project is an astute one. Santeul’s equivocation as to the documentary status of photographs, and his recourse to the “psychology of photography,” might be an unconscious acknowledgement of what he would elsewhere call the “propagandistic force that photographic imagery possesses.”

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