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Surrealism, Photography and the
periodical Press:

An investigation into the use of
photography in surrealist publications
(1924 - 1969) with specific reference to
themes of sexuality and their interaction
with commercial photographic images
of the period

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Ph D

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Volume 1 of 2

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An investigation into the use of
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Hazel Donkin

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements of the
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Abstract

This thesis examines the use of photographs in surrealist publications in Paris between 1924 and 1969, analysing how images functioned both in relation to surrealism and a wider cultural, social and political context. The thesis contends that developments in the illustrated press had a substantial impact on surrealist publications and that commercial photographic practices were both exploited and subverted by the group.

I defend this assertion by demonstrating how photographers associated with the surrealist movement in its formative years, were closely involved in the process by which the photographic image became a major means of communication. I argue that the surrealists were conscious that photography was central to the circulation of ideas and developed a radical notion of the illustration of text.

The thesis examines how photographs used in surrealist publications were integrated into the complex surrealist project and how due to the currency in images in society, the medium offered opportunities for disruption. In each of the five chapters I examine the surrealist deployment of photographic images to articulate cultural and political radicalism. The thesis argues that the photographs published by the surrealists made an important contribution to contemporary discourse on sexuality

This thesis makes an original contribution to knowledge as it expands the understanding of photographs published by the surrealist group by exploring their relationship to contemporary commercial images circulating in the press. It analyses works that have been marginalised, many of the images in the first two journals in the inter war period, the images in the illustrated books *1929*, *Banalité*, *Le septième face du dé* and the images in the post war journals have been neglected as subjects of study.

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Author's declaration

I declare that the work contained in this thesis has not been submitted for any other award and that it is all my own work.

Hazel Donkin

September 2009

Introduction

This thesis examines the use of photography in surrealist publications, analysing how images functioned in relation to both surrealism and a broad cultural, social and political framework. The aim of the research is to understand how photography was used in surrealist publications and the extent to which this related to the use of the medium in the commercial press. Underlying this is a number of objectives involving the identification of 1. factors which would bind photographers in the orbit of surrealism to the development of illustrated magazines, 2. the extent to which the journalistic use of images was used and subverted in surrealist reviews and 3. the contribution of surrealist photography to contemporary political and social debate, with particular reference to sexuality. The thesis asserts that the photographers associated with the group were intimately involved in the development of the illustrated magazine as the mass apparatus of image consumption, that the surrealists understood the photograph as a mass-produced commodity central to the circulation of meanings necessary to the continuing evolution of a consumer society and that they exploited this in their publications to further their revolutionary aims.

From the outset in 1924 Breton's aim was a radical transformation of the world. The *First Manifesto* consolidated his investment in the irrational and the unconscious and defined Surrealism as "Psychic automatism in its pure state, by which one proposes to express -verbally, by means of the written word, or in any other manner - the actual functioning of thought" and as "based on the belief in the superior reality of certain forms of previously neglected associations, in the omnipresence of dream, in the disinterested play of thought".¹ "Surrealism asserts our complete non-conformism" Breton declared.² Although Breton focused on automatism at this stage and emphasised the centrality of the 'marvellous' and the potential of 'chance, fear, extravagance, absurdity and the attraction of the unusual', no formulas were advocated for the surrealist image. Instead Breton

¹ Breton, A. "First Manifesto of Surrealism" *Manifestoes of Surrealism*, University of Michigan Press, 1969, p 26.

² Breton, "First Manifesto of Surrealism" p 47.

suggested that 'there are countless kinds of surrealist images', their greatest virtue being arbitrary and difficult to translate into practical language

either because it contains an immense amount of seeming contradiction or because one of its terms is strangely concealed; or because, presenting itself as something sensational, it seems to end weakly (because it suddenly closes the angle of its compass), or because it derives from itself a ridiculous *formal* justification, or because it is of a hallucinatory kind, or because it very naturally gives to the abstract the mask of the concrete, or the opposite, or because it implies the negation of some elementary physical property, or because it provokes laughter.³

Although addressed primarily to literature, this new perception of reality and the potential for images which were 'a pure creation of the mind' would lead to frenetic experimentation by visual artists who endeavoured to produce surrealist art. The visual images brought into the service of surrealism required intensity and passion and due to Breton's assertion that "Everything is valid when it comes to obtaining the desired suddenness from certain associations", art produced under the influence of the movement had an organic character.⁴

Although the Surrealists published little on their approach to photography, ideas germinated in the context of the movement and the extent and range of their photographic experimentation is testament to freedom in the investigation of reality. Unlike other avant-garde movements, there is no single identifiable photographic style⁵, instead the surrealist "will to disregard authorship, their appetite for image, their conception of surrealist activity as constantly revitalised, as a form of action rather than an aesthetic, made their productions resistant to the notion of style."⁵ Photography became central to all surrealist activities as it was recognised as a medium with multiple applications which could fulfil the desire to reconcile art and life. The many innovations in the production and use of photography based images stemmed from a belief that the source of poetic imagination lay in the resolution of the unconscious and conscious states. Surrealist photographic images are characterised by emotional power and poetic reality; method and process were less important and thus the photographic corpus

³ Breton, "First Manifesto of Surrealism" p 38.

⁴ Breton, "First Manifesto of Surrealism" p 41.

⁵ Bajac, Q., Chéroux, C. et al. "Changer la vue", Bajac, Q. & Chéroux, C. (eds.) *La Subversion des Images: Surréalisme, photographie, film*, Paris: Editions du Centre Pompidou, 2009, p 18.

of the movement includes disparate images. The works discussed in this thesis range from straight documentary images to carefully crafted works including those which are on the border of printmaking and have a tenuous relationship to photography, such as Max Ernst's prints for *Mr Knife Miss Fork* which are based on the *cliché-verre* technique.

The chronological parameters encompass the inter war period as well as the period from 1945 to 1969. World War Two is dealt with briefly. The official end of the movement in 1969 is used as the cut off point. Although the classic period of surrealism figures prominently in research, the decades after the war remain relatively neglected. Significant texts relating to surrealist art in this period in history of surrealism include Alyce Mahon's *Surrealism and the Politics of Eros 1938 - 1968*, which contends that the movement survived the war and continued unabated in post war France and through its deployment of "Eros" played a significant role in the culture of post war reconstruction.⁶ Mahon concludes that post war surrealism reached its apotheosis in the uprising of May 1968. Sarah Wilson's contributions to the exhibition catalogue *Paris: Capital of the Arts 1900 - 1968* defines the movement as vital and influential in the post war period, but essentially breaking down as a coherent group under the pressure of fresh developments such as the Situationist movement.⁷ Nevertheless it is clear that the war was a watershed for the movement and that this thesis deals with two disparate eras both in terms of the socio-historical context and the moment in surrealism. The thesis offers some historical, social and cultural contextualisation in order to define the conditions within which the group operated in these two periods of time.

Geographical parameters have been defined to focus on Paris. Surrealism did, of course, extend internationally but the focus of the thesis is on Breton's group and their journals in the French context. VVV is dealt with briefly as a review in exile during the war years when prominent members of the movement left France for

⁶ Mahon, A. *Surrealism and the Politics of Eros*, London: Thames and Hudson, 2005.

⁷ Wilson, S. "Saint-Germain n-des-Prés: Antifascism, Occupation and Postwar Paris" and "Paris in the 1960's: Towards the Barricades of the Latin Quarter" in *Paris: Capital of the*

Arts 1900 κ 1968, London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2002, pp 236 — 249 and 330 — 351 respectively.

New York. For the purposes of this thesis, Paris provided an opportunity to consider the relationship between commercial and surrealist photography at the time of the conception of surrealism which coincided with the rapid development of the illustrated press in the 1920s. Above all the thesis seeks to establish the extent to which the proliferation of photographs in the press both served as an example to surrealism and provided the movement, through the currency of images, with opportunities for subversion.

Methodology

This section analyses the theoretical and methodological issues underpinning the research and seeks to locate the thesis within the recent scholarship of surrealist photography. It was *L'Amour fou*, the influential exhibition and accompanying catalogue containing two controversial essays by Rosalind Krauss in 1985 that made surrealist photography visible.⁸ Prior to that there was little literature on the topic and the contribution Krauss made to thinking about surrealism in terms of post-structuralist theory and foregrounding Georges Bataille dominated scholarship for some time. Although this shift has been justifiably criticised, it provided a catalyst for the substantial body of work which consequently developed. In the last decade there has been a growing awareness of the need to engage with surrealism as a complex amalgamation of politics, art and psychology. Ian Walker and David Bate have established the need to consider photographic images published in France by the surrealists in the inter-war years in terms of the radical political and cultural ambitions of the movement at the time.⁹ The current project builds on this approach.

Art history has developed a range of methodologies which offer different and enlightening ways of engaging with the complexity of surrealist photography. While I am interested in theoretical approaches to the understanding of the photograph and drawing on that area, the weight of my method has been to read the imagery closely and read it in its material context, by which is meant the

⁸ Krauss, R., Livingstone, J. & Ades, D. *L'Amour Fou: Photography and Surrealism*, New York: Abbeville Press, 1985.

⁹ Walker, I. *City gorged with dreams: Surrealism and documentary photography in interwar Paris*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002; Bate, D. *Photography and Surrealism: Sexuality, Colonialism and Social Dissent*, London: I. B. Taurus, 2004.

journal or illustrated book in which it was published. The thesis develops a way of reading images in terms of the cultural history of their production and reception. In doing so the aim is to study the consequences of the dissemination of surrealist photographs in a visual culture which increasingly used the medium to communicate.

The thesis does not seek to fix meaning in the past but to analyse the fluidity of meaning in the visual communication of thought. The thesis locates the images within two contexts. The first is the development of the illustrated press, which is outlined in some detail in the main body of text. Roland Barthes' 'mythology', use of semiotics and exploration of the relationships between subjectivity, meaning and cultural production and consumption as well as Pierre Bourdieu's social definition of photography have informed the thesis. The approach of both Barthes and Bourdieu addressed the problem of the fragmentary nature of photography, dealt with it as outside of "legitimate" culture and therefore something that people may consume and judge freely. Bourdieu's assertion in *Photography: a Middle-Brow Art* (1965) that "the popular aesthetic expressed in photographs and the judgements passed on photographs follows on logically from the social functions conferred upon photography, and from the fact that it is always given a social function" facilitated a consideration of surrealist photographs as "discussions".¹⁰

Although less sophisticated than Barthes' approach to photography, Bourdieu also provides alternative approaches to the analysis of photographic practices and asserts the fact that the medium was, from the start, an integral part of Western systems of social identification, consumption and expression.¹¹ The ideas which would become central to much of Bourdieu's later work originate in this early, uneven text.¹² David Hesmondhalgh has argued that it is Bourdieu's systematic

⁰ Bourdieu, P. (1965, first English translation 1990) *Photography: A Middle-brow Art*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996, p 80.

¹ For a thorough analysis of Bourdieu's *Photography: A Middle-Brow Art* see González, J. A. 'A Contemporary Look At Pierre Bourdieu's *Photography: A Middle-Brow Art*', *Visual Anthropology Review*, Volume 8, no. 1, (Spring) 1992, pp. 126 - 131.

² Bourdieu's work on cultural consumption, notably *Distinction* (1979), translated into English by Richard Nice, London: Harvard University Press, 1984 and on cultural production notably *The Field of Cultural Production* (a series of essays originally published between 1968

theory of interconnectedness that provides an effective sociology of cultural production. Bourdieu emphasised the drive for autonomy characteristic of the field of cultural production from the early 19th century onwards as well as stressing the interconnectedness of the field of cultural production with other fields, especially the economic and political fields constituting the 'field of power', but also the educational and intellectual fields.¹³ Bourdieu's notion of 'cultural intermediaries', those who mediate between producers and consumers was particularly useful for the discussion in Chapter 1 on the role of prominent critics and experts in the promotion of modernist photography in the developing illustrated periodical market.¹⁴

The second context pertinent to the thesis is the political and social situation in France, with particular reference to sexuality. World War One had accelerated social and cultural changes that had characterised the early years of the twentieth century. Gender distinctions were disrupted as bourgeois women entered the work force in large numbers and working-class women were increasingly employed outside the domestic realm in the rapidly growing tertiary sector.¹⁵ The fact that women could be independent led to endless debates about the implications of "modern woman" and demands for a return to traditional gender relationships. This tension between progression and repression was evident in every area of French life from politics, medicine and psychoanalysis to art and popular culture. Post war demographic concerns led to draconian laws on birth control and abortion but despite this conservatism and the fact that many of the rights that women had enjoyed during the war were lost once it ended, there was a general belief that profound changes were taking place in society with regards

1983) Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993 and *The Rules of Art* (1992), translated by Susan Emanuel, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996.

³ Hesmondhalgh, D. 'Bourdieu, the media and cultural production', *Media, Culture and Society*, Volume 28, no. 2, pp. 211 — 231.

⁴ Bourdieu, *Distinction*, p. 325.

⁵ Mary Louise Roberts provides a useful overview of the effect of the war on women in *Civilisation without Sexes: Reconstructing Gender in Postwar France 1917 — 1927*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994. Chapter 1 of Whitney Chadwick and Tirza True Latimer's *The Modern Woman Revisited: Paris Between the Wars*, Piscataway: Rutgers University Press, 2003 outlines modern challenges to traditional notions of femininity in this period.

to sexuality.¹⁶ The reality may have been that women's role was still fundamentally domestic but there was also an aspiration for freedom and a reevaluation of sexuality.¹⁷ These aspirations were fuelled by a number of factors.

A general liberalisation occurred which increased the visibility of sex. An interest in sexual identity, particularly feminine sexuality, dominated psychoanalytic literature and much of the theorising was popularised. Marie Bonaparte who founded the *Société Psychanalytique de Paris* in 1915 was largely responsible for the dissemination of Freud's ideas in France, regularly publishing articles in newspapers and popular magazines.¹⁸ There was a widespread acceptance that sex education was necessary, a 1927 article in *Détective* is indicative of this in the argument that young people were in need of sex education as "the sexual question is often at the root of criminality."¹⁹ The first gay newspaper *Inversions* was published in Paris in 1924 with Claude Cahun as an editorial advisor.²⁰ Alain Corbin noted that although official brothels were in slow decline at this time, prostitution was increasingly visible because of the acceptance of unaccompanied women in hotel lounges and fashionable bars and because women no longer hesitated to solicit openly on the street, from cars, and in advertisements.²¹ On stage and on film artists such as Josphine Baker, Louise Brooks, Marlene Dietrich and Greta Garbo represented modern sexuality. Proust, Colette and Gertrude Stein and were writing at this time and bringing homosexuality and bisexuality to public attention. To some extent the cultural production of the surrealist group, and those in their orbit, should be seen as part of this discourse.

¹⁶ In 1920 the advocacy of abortion or birth control was forbidden. In 1923 abortion was legally defined as a capital crime punishable by decapitation at the guillotine. Chadwick and Latimer, *The Modern Woman Revisited*, p 5.

¹⁷ McMillan, J. *Housewife or Harlot: The Position of Women in French Society*, New York: St Martin's Press, 1980, pp. 99, 120 — 122 quoted in Roberts, p 6.

¹⁸ For instance see "Freud à Paris" in *Marianne*, 15 June, 1938 and "Freud, l'homme et l'œuvre" in *Le Petit Parisien*, 14 June, 1938.

¹⁹ *Détective*, December 1927, p 5.

²⁰ Claude Cahun Chronology (2007) <http://www.connectotel.com/cahun/cahunchr.html> (Accessed 21/1/09)

²¹ Corbin, A. *Women for Hire: Prostitution and Sexuality in France after 1850*, London: Harvard University Press, 1991, p 337.

This general liberalisation and the attendant discussions on female identity played out in the press occurred at a time when women were increasingly politicised. Although the popular press did not portray women as being politically active during the 1930s, their involvement in the widespread unrest is undisputed.²² Women were also involved in anti-fascist action; Claude Cahun and Dora Maar worked with members of the surrealist groups in *Contre-Attaque* (1935-36) for example. In terms of aspirations the progressive legislation of the Russian revolution had resonance. Post revolutionary Russia was the only country in the world with full freedom of divorce, abortion was decriminalised and legalised in 1920 and communal kitchens and nurseries were established. Despite inherent problems and limitations with this raft of legislation, for a short time these measures represented an unprecedented level of freedom. Trotsky identified Stalin's subsequent reversal of these policies relating to women and the family as a clear sign of treachery in *The Revolution Betrayed* in 1937.²³

In Paris in the inter war years, those who had been radicalised recognised that although a liberalisation was evident the fact that the family remained the nucleus of society meant that women's oppression was concrete. The attraction of the Surrealist group to women is understandable when we juxtapose their violent hatred of the family with Jean Montrevel's article on "Notes on sexual morality in France" published in the socialist journal *Clarté* in 1925

A word on feminism: this doctrine is the predilection of lazy women with intellectual pretensions ... The amazon will always be an exception and physiology will always impose its laws. Everything within the normal constitution of woman gravitates around one central function: the reproduction of the species ...²⁴

Breton's group was uninterested in French feminism, but their insistent

²² Sian Reynolds provides a thorough analysis of female involvement in the industrial unrest during this time in *France Between the Wars: Gender and Politics*, London: Routledge, 1996.

²³ Trotsky, L. (1937) *The Revolution Betrayed*, New York: Dover Publications, 2004.

²⁴ Jean Montrevel in *Clarté* no. 73, 1925, p 15 quoted in Wilson, S. "Femininities-

Masquerades" in Blessing, J. (Ed.) *Rose is a rose is a rrose: Gender Performance in Photography*, New York: The Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, 1997 p 138.

challenges to repressive conventions proved irresistible to female artists.²⁵ The sustained campaign that the surrealists conducted against the institution of the family ensured that, in terms of sexual politics, the group were perceived as radical in the interwar period as well as after World War Two.

The role of "woman" in Surrealism is complex and has been the subject of much theorising as "the attitude to woman was ambivalent from the start."²⁶ The surrealists directly challenged bourgeois morality and conventions and thus proved attractive to many women, but at the same time they understood "woman" as being closely linked to the unconscious, as the incarnation of the marvellous, promoting an ideal of love and women as sexual objects. This dichotomy is evident in surrealist art and photography has often been the site of debates about surrealism and women".²⁷ Problematic economies of desire surrounded the group. The relationships between works which explore notions of desire and fantasy, including the eroticism of aggression and power and politics are complex and any attempt to fix advocacy within them is misguided. The extent

²⁵ French feminism has a long and complex history. At the end of the 19th century and in the early 20th century the battle for the vote was not the primary thrust as most of the numerous feminist associations founded between 1870 and 1914 emphasised other reforms. They were more concerned with issues clearly related to the "natural vocation" of women. Feminists of both sexes - and many early advocates of amelioration in the legal and economic situation of French women were men - sought to achieve an "equality in difference" or "equivalence" based on a clearly defined sexual separation of spheres. They wanted women to fulfil their specifically feminine responsibilities to family and nation. Some termed their proposed reforms "familial feminism". Feminism remained less a movement in France than a mosaic of leaders and groups divided by class and religion who were estranged from the majority of French women. The left generally defined the women's movement as "bourgeois" and at this time united with the Catholic church and Nationalists to attack feminism. For a succinct survey of French feminism see Boxer, M. J. "First wave Feminism in Nineteenth-Century France: Class, Family and Religion", *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol 5, No. 6, 1982, pp. 551 - 559.

²⁶ Ades D. "Notes on two women surrealist painters: Eileen Agar and Ithell Colquhoun" *The Oxford Art Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 1, April 1980, p 40. Key texts which address the relationship between women and surrealism include Gauthier, X. *Surréalisme et sexualité*, Paris: Gallimard, 1971; Sulieman, S. R. *Subversive Intent: Gender, Politics and the Avant-Garde*, London: Harvard University Press, 1990; Caws, M. A., Kuenzli, R. E. and Raaberg, G. G. *Surrealism and Women*, London: MIT Press, 1991; Chadwick, W. *Women artists and the Surrealist Movement*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1991; Belton, R. J. *The Beribboned Bomb: The Image of Woman in Male Surrealist Art*, Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1995; Conley, K. *Automatic Woman: The Representation of Woman in Surrealism*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996; Rosemont, P. *Surrealist Women: An International Anthology*, London: Athlone Press, 1998.

²⁷ See Caws, M. A. "Ladies Shot and Painted: Female Embodiment in Surrealist Art" in Sulieman, S. R. (ed.) *The Female Body in Western Culture*, London: Harvard University Press, 1985; Blessing, J., *Rose is a rose is a rose*; Chadwick, W. (ed.) *Mirror Images: Women, Surrealism and Self-Representation*, London: MIT Press, 1998; Foster, H. "Violation and Veiling in Surrealist Photography: Woman as Fetish, as Shattered Object, as Phallus" in Mundy, J. (ed.)

Surrealism: Desire Unbound, London: Tate Publishing, 2001, pp. 203 - 225.

to which the notion of "libidinal politics" is useful is debatable and it is certainly difficult to come to terms with.²⁸ Alyce Mahon has developed recent scholarship on Hans Bellmer which placed his work in the context of Nazi Germany;

Bellmer's work is typically surrealist, she argues, because it identifies the monstrous female as a challenge to the established order.

Bellmer's art must be understood in the light of his experience of a Nazi regime that despised the Other and operated a libidinal economy of horror, brutalization and suffering. To understand Bellmer is to understand his libidinal politics as the active and subversive transgressing and perverting of that Nazi psyche.²⁹

This contextualisation is, of course, crucial when considering these works. Peter Webb's interview with the artist which ends with Bellmer's comment "If my work is found to scandalise, that is because for me the world is scandalous" is often cited to evidence a political motivation.³⁰ However, Mahon's determinate reading appears to contradict her introductory statement that "Surrealist discourse was an avant-garde discourse of fragmentation, difference and multiplicity, underpinned by an insistence on the indefinable or the process of becoming."³¹

In the interview with Webb, Bellmer unambiguously stated that in the production of the dolls, eroticism was all—important, that they served a cathartic purpose and that he "wanted to help people lose their complexes, to come to terms with their instincts as I was trying to do."³² Hatred of the Nazis was obviously not the only concern of Bellmer and it is unhelpful to ignore the paedophilic aspects of his project. Considering the context of the publication and display of Bellmer's work by the surrealists, we can surmise that for Breton it represented a free treatment of sexuality akin to Sade. The surrealist aesthetic of cruelty was not straightforward and was indicative of a sexual dynamic based on masculine

²⁸ In the 1970's Jean- François Lyotard used Freud's theory of the libido to develop his philosophy in which desire and capitalism are inextricable. Lyotard asserted that libidinal energy can describe the transformations that take place in society. Lyotard, J-F. *Libidinal Economy*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993.

²⁹ Mahon developed Hal Foster's ideas first published in "Armor Fou" *October*, no. 56, Spring 1991, pp. 64 — 97. Mahon, A. "Hans Bellmer's Libidinal Politics" in Spiteri, R. & LaCoss, D. (Eds.) *Surrealism, Politics and Culture*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003, p 266.

³⁰ Webb's interview is reproduced in full in Webb, P. *The Erotic Arts*, London: Secker and Warburg, 1975, pp. 366 — 370.

³¹ Mahon, "Hans Bellmer's Libidinal Politics", p 246.

authority that was common in the movement. The thesis is based on the understanding that there is no need to resolve or downplay the contradictions within surrealist ideas when proposing that the sexual politics of the group had a revolutionary character.

Literature review

The thesis contributes to the debate surrounding the nature of surrealist photography. Literature in relation to surrealist photographers is substantial and has been coloured by a number of factors. Since the 1980s six trends are discernible:

1. The significant body of critical work produced by the *October* scholars, in particular Rosalind Krauss and Hal Foster, provided a catalyst for a radical rethinking of surrealism. A move away from Breton towards Georges Bataille and his notion of "base materialism" led to a focus on extreme images and psychoanalytical approaches to photographs. The interest in Bataille's journal *Documents* and photographic work culminated in an exhibition at the Hayward in 2006.³³ A renewed interest in Hans Bellmer's work led to a reappraisal of his oeuvre in relation to both the context of Nazi ideology and an analytical framework.³⁴

2. Feminist critics have concentrated on uncovering female photographers who were previously neglected or marginalised. The work of Claude Cahun has been made visible and has been the subject of much theorising including an interest in tracing the legacy of surrealism in the work of artists such as Cindy Sherman and Francesca Woodman.³⁵ Francesca Woodman is now often considered as a surrealist photographer".³⁶ The work of Dora Maar has also been the subject of

³³ *Undercover Surrealism: Picasso, Miro, Masson and the Vision of Georges Bataille*, Hayward Gallery, South Bank Centre, London, 11 May — 30 July 2006. Exhibition catalogue *Undercover Surrealism: Georges Bataille and Documents*, London: MIT Press, 2006.

³⁴ See Lichtenstein, T. *Behind closed doors: the art of Hans Bellmer*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001; Taylor, S. *Hans Bellmer: The anatomy of anxiety*, London: MIT Press, 2000; Foster, H. "Armor fou" and Mahon "Hans Bellmer's Libidinal Politics".

³⁵ See Chadwick, *Mirror Images*; Rice, S. *Inverted Odysseys: Claude Cahun, Maya Dean, Cindy Sherman*, London: MIT Press, 1999; Krauss, R. *Bachelors*, London: MIT Press, 2000; Downie, L. *Don't Kiss Me: The art of Claude Cahun and Marcel Moore*, London: Tate Publishing, 2006; Mundy, J. (ed.) *Claude Cahun: Disavowals*, London: MIT Press, 2008; Doy, G. *Claude Cahun: A Sensual Politics of Photography*, London: I. B. Tauris, 2008.

³⁶ Francesca Woodman has been appended to surrealism since her inclusion in Chadwick's *Mirror Images* in 1998. She is prominent in the forthcoming *Angels of Anarchy: Women Artists and Surrealism* at Manchester Art Gallery, 26 September 2009 to 10 January 2010

study, notably by Victoria Combalia who was able to interview Maar shortly before her death in 1997.³⁷

3. The surrealists' complex relationship to gender, including the experiences and conceptions of masculinity of the group has recently been the subject of research. An interest in "surrealist masculinity" has resulted in a number of studies, including work by Dawn Ades, David Hopkins, Amy Lyford and Neil Matheson.³⁸

4. Developments in surrealist photography outside France, including British, Czech and North American works, have generated a range of scholarship.³⁹ As well as the diaspora to the Americas and Europe, surrealism in Japan has been the subject of research. The work of Kansuke Yamamoto and Toshiko Okanoue in particular has been examined in terms of how it related to European surrealism.⁴⁰

and indeed provides the cover image for the catalogue. Allmer, P. *Angels of Anarchy: Women Artists and Surrealism*, London: Prestel, 2009 (forthcoming).

³⁷ Combalia, V. (ed.) *Dora Maar: Bataille, Picasso et les surréalistes*. Marseille: Musées de Marseille, 2002; Combalia, V. & Hobson, M. A. *Dora Maar: Fotógrafa*, Bancaja: Centre Cultural Bancaixa, 1995.

³⁸ Hopkins, D. "Men before the mirror: Duchamp, Man Ray and masculinity" *Art History* Vol. 21, no. 3, September 1998, pp. 303 - 323; Ades, D. "Surrealism, Male-Female" in Mundy, *Desire Unbound*. pp. 171 - 201; Lyford, A. "Advertising Surrealist Masculinities: André Kertész in Paris" in Spiteri, R. & LaCoss (eds.), *Surrealism, Politics and Culture*, pp. 73 - 90; Matheson, N. "He Who Has Never Dreamt of Mae West: Surrealist masculinity in the late collages of E. L. T. Mesens" in Allmer, P. & van Gelder, H. (Eds.) *Collective Inventions: Surrealism in Belgium*, Belgium: University of Leuven, 2007.

³⁹ This is evident in the following publications: Walker, I. *So Exotic, so Homemade: Surrealism, Englishness and Documentary Photography*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007 and the special issue of *History of Photography* dedicated to surrealism guest edited by David Bate and Ian Walker. Papers included Fijalkowski, K. "Objective Post-war Czech Surrealist Photography and the Everyday" pp. 163 - 173 and Matheson, N. "The Phantom of Surrealism: Photography, Cultural Identity and the Reception of Surrealism in England" pp. 149 - 162, *History of Photography*, Vol. 29, Issue 2, Summer, 2005. The themed issue of *Papers of Surrealism* (the online journal of the AHRB Research Centre for Studies of Surrealism and its Legacies) focused on Czech surrealism and included Walker, I. "Between Photograph and Poem: a study of Štyský and Heisler's *On the Needles of these Days*" Issue 3, Spring 2005, http://www.surrealismcentre.ac.uk/papersofsurrealism/journal3/acrobat_files/walker.pdf (Accessed 12 August 2009) and the special issue of the *Journal of Surrealism and the Americas* on photography, Vol. 2, no. 2, 2008, <http://jsa.asu.edu/index.php/jsa/issue/current> (Accessed 12 August 2009).

⁴⁰ Kyoko Jimbo delivered a paper on "Surrealism in Japan: The influence and originality of photographers 1930's - 1950's" to the research seminar hosted by the AHRB Centre for Studies of Surrealism and its Legacies on 8th November 2004 at Tate Britain. John Solt has promoted the work of Yamamoto Kansuke, co-curating the exhibition *Yamamoto Kansuke: Conveyor of the Impossible* at the Tokyo Station Gallery in 2001 and contributing an essay "Perception Misperception Nonperception" to the bi-lingual catalogue of the same, published in 2001 by the gallery. Solt's essay is available to read online at <http://www.milkmag.org/solt-kansuke2.html> (Accessed 18 August 2009).

5. Photographic work published by the French surrealists in the period after World War Two has been neglected in research. However to some extent, photography has been involved in broader projects which consider the post war period. Mahon dealt with some works; Sue Taylor's study on Bellmer included a discussion of his "binding" project with Unica Zürn; Molinier's self portraiture was included in the *Desire Unbound* exhibition and Breton's strategy in the post war years has been examined in a forthcoming paper by Neil Matheson.⁴¹

6. Finally, there has been a desire to re-focus on Breton and the group in Paris in the inter war period with its particular character of political and cultural radicalism as the context for discussion. Both Ian Walker and David Bate produced studies on this theme and surrealist journals were an obvious site of investigation for these authors. Walker's *City gorged with dreams* began to redress the balance from the prevalent focus on staged, studio-based and manipulated photographs by looking at how the surrealists used the tactic of documentary. Walker analysed the photographic content of *La Révolution Surréaliste* and *Nadja* with particular reference to the everyday life of the city of Paris. He looked closely at the work of Atget, Brassai and Henri Cartier-Bresson as well as ethnological materials presented in surrealist journals. Bate's *Photography and Surrealism: Sexuality, Colonialism and Social Dissent* emphatically restored the political side of the movement and presented surrealist photography as a weapon of resistance. Although these two particular works are key starting points, the thesis asks additional questions and employs substantially different methods.

The thesis owes a considerable intellectual debt to the work of French photographic historians, in particular Christian Bouqueret, Christophe Bertoud, Michel Frizot and Cédric de Veigy. These authors have provided an overview of the development of the medium in France during the inter war years and enabled an approach which places surrealist photography within the history of photography. Bouqueret is a prolific collector, curator and scholar who specialises in the photography of the inter war years; his exhibition catalogue *La*

⁴¹ See Mahon, *Surrealism and the Politics of Eros*; Taylor, *Hans Bellmer*, pp. 181 - 187;

Mundy, *Desire Unbound*, pp. 288 — 291 and Matheson, N. "Breton" 's Endgame: Surrealism and the End of History", forthcoming in *Papers of Surrealism*.

Nouvelle Vision en France: des années folles et des années noires, was an invaluable resource.⁴² Scholarship on Roger Parry is scarce in English and Bertoud's collaboration with Bouqueret on the exhibition catalogue *Roger Parry: Le météor fabuleux* proved useful.⁴³ Michel Frizot's *A New History of Photography* provided a helpful broad survey.⁴⁴ The exhibition curated by Frizot and de Veigy based on *Vu* magazine afforded further insights and information pertaining to the development of the illustrated press.⁴⁵

With the issues of the commercial press, the historical and social context, the political and sexual radicalism of the surrealist group and its interdisciplinary nature in the foreground, the enquiry should lead to an assessment of the function of surrealist photography in the two periods in question, analysing its significance in terms of a contribution to discourse on sexuality. The thesis does not pursue a "correct" reading of photographs but seeks to offer original perspectives. The distinctiveness of the thesis is two-fold. Firstly it seeks to expand an understanding of photographs published by the surrealist group, particularly those relating to sexuality, by exploring their relationship to contemporary commercial images circulating in the press. Secondly the thesis looks at works which have hitherto been marginalised. Many images in the first two surrealist journals of the inter-war period, the images in the illustrated books *1929*, *Banalité*, *Le septième face du dé* and the images in the post war journals have been neglected as subjects of study.

Chapter structure

The thesis is divided into five chapters. Chapter One is contextual and locates surrealist photographers within the burgeoning publishing industry in the inter-war years. The remaining chapters each function in the manner of a case study, addressing specific surrealist publications and exploring the relationship between the images published within them and those circulating in the commercial press.

⁴² Bouqueret, C. *La Nouvelle Vision en France: des années folles et des années noires*, Paris: Marval, 1997.

⁴³ Bouqueret, C & Bertoud, C. *Roger Parry: Le météor fabuleux*, Paris: Marval, 1995.

⁴⁴ Frizot, M. (ed.) *A New History of Photography*, Köln: Könemann, 1998.

⁴⁵ *Régardez VU: un magazine photographie 1928 ~ 1940*, 2 Nov 2006 - 25 February 2007, Maison Européenne de la Photographie, Paris. Frizot and de Veigy are due to publish *VU: The story of a magazine that made an Era* in November 2009 with Thames and Hudson.

Chapter 1 "Modernist photography and commerce in the inter war period" outlines the rapid development of illustrated magazines in the inter war period and traces the relationships between the photographers published by the surrealist group and the independent press at this time of great expansion for commercial photography. The illustrated magazine *Vu* is used as a case study to demonstrate how modern photography was established as an essential medium of communication which disseminated ideas and advertised products. The chapter argues that the commercial experience of photographers was central to their development as practitioners.

Chapter 2 "*La Révolution Surréaliste*" focuses on the first surrealist journal published between 1924 and 1929. The chapter provides an overview and analysis of the use of photographs in the journal and argues that because of the surrealists' understanding of the nature of the press, photojournalism shaped their choice of a model of documentary images integrated into text. Bourdieu's social definition of the medium is used as a means of comprehending the duality of surrealist photography as both uncontrollable in terms of meaning and didactic. The thesis asserts that the involvement in the illustrated press of photographers associated with surrealism, particularly Man Ray who would become central to surrealist photography in the mid 1920s, shaped their contributions to the group and that the prevalence of photographs in the press influenced the manner in which their images were understood. The possible meanings of particular photographs are explored with reference to surrealism as a complex amalgam of politics, culture and psychology. Chapter 3 "*Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution*" explores the function of photography in the second surrealist journal, published between 1930 and 1933. This chapter argues that despite being separated from the text, photographs form an integral part of the surrealists' drive towards both political and cultural radicalism and are intimately linked to the textual content of the journal which is coloured by the works of Sade, Lautréamont, Hegel and Lenin.

Chapter 4 "Sexuality, Surrealism and Photography in the 1930's" explores the ways in which surrealism developed the use of photography, with particular reference to the handling of sexuality. The chapter begins with an analysis of

photographs which are pertinent to the theme of sexuality in *Minotaure*, Albert Skira's art review published between 1933 - 1939, which was surrealist in tone due to the editorial dominance of Breton and Paul Éluard. Five case studies of illustrated books are then offered to demonstrate how photography, due to its social role, offered opportunities to challenge convention in sexuality. The books are Péret, Aragon and Man Ray *1929* (1929), Léon-Paul Fargue and Roger Parry *Banalité* (1930), René Crevel and Max Ernst *Mr Knife and Miss Fork* (1931), Paul Eluard and Man Ray *Facile* (1935), and Georges Hugnet *Le Septième Face du Dé* (1936). The images in the books are explored in terms of how they relate to images circulating in visual culture, particularly magazines. The chapter aims to establish how the surrealists' vehement opposition to the institution of the bourgeois family and their desire to establish a cultural alternative was conveyed in these publications.

Chapter 5 surveys the use of photography in the surrealist journals published post 1945. The war years are dealt with briefly and some socio-historical anchorage is offered at the beginning of the chapter. This final section of the thesis argues that in the decades after the Second World War, Breton's group in Paris acted as a political grouping and made a concerted effort to absorb the ideas and images circulating in society and responded to them sharply, using photographs as part of a campaign to challenge Stalinism, nationalism, colonialism and bourgeois morality. Photographs published in the surrealist journals *Médium* (1953 — 55), *Le Surréalisme Même* (1956 — 59), *BIEF* (1958 - 60) and *La Brèche* (1961 - 65) are analysed in order to determine how these images contributed to the surrealist effort to distinguish their radical eroticism in a period of modernisation and increasing sexual freedoms.

The thesis ends with two appendices that form an important supplement to the main text. They consist of a translation of Breton's "Il y aura une fois" (not readily available in translation) to support the discussion of this text in chapter 2 and extensive extracts from Heindrich von Kleist's *Penthesilea* (1808) which support the argument in chapter 5 in relation to Bellmer's cover for *Le Surréalisme Même* no. 2.

Sources

The thesis relies on a range of primary and secondary sources. This section surveys the material utilised. Although the major surrealist journals are widely available in reproduction, three libraries provided access to many of the primary sources not readily accessible. The Penrose collection and the Keiller bequest held by the Dean Gallery Archive Collections and Library in Edinburgh, the National Art Library at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London and the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (the Richelieu site as well as the main Mitterrand research facility) in Paris provided access to extensive collections. These libraries also facilitated the inspection of various editions of illustrated books so in some cases the limited edition as well as the deluxe edition was consulted. The Bibliothèque Nationale holds a substantial collection of original photographs and the major surrealist exhibitions *Desire Unbound* and *La Révolution Surréaliste* also provided opportunities to view photographs first hand.⁴⁶ A substantial survey of the French press was conducted, particularly in relation to coverage of the legal cases of the Papin sisters and Violette Nozière in 1933 and 1934.

Key primary sources include the inter war surrealist journals *La Révolution Surréaliste*, *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution* and the special edition of the Belgian review *Variétés* dedicated to surrealism published in 1929. Inter war art reviews studied include *Minotaure*, *Jazz*, *Cahiers d'Art* and *L'Art Vivant*. A substantial survey of *Vu* was undertaken as well as a selective inspection of the following inter war illustrated magazines known as "revues légères": *Voilà* (launched to rival *Vu* in 1931 by Florence Fels and financed by Gallimard), *Allô Paris* (1933), *Paris-Magazine* (1931 — 39), *Ici Paris* (1934), *Vive Paris* (1935-36), *Paris-Sex-Appel* (1934 — 38) and *Pour lire à deux* (1934). The popular crime magazines *Détective* and particularly *Scandale* were examined as well as French *Vogue*, *Marie-Claire* and *Votre Beauté*. The annual special edition produced by Arts et Métiers Graphiques to promote modern photography *Photographie* (launched in 1930) was also surveyed in full. As well as the illustrated books covered in chapter four, Bras saï's *Paris de Nuit* (1933) and

⁴⁶ *Surrealism: Desire Unbound*, Tate Modern, 20 September 2001 - 1 January 2002; *La Révolution Surréaliste*, Centre Pompidou, 6 March - 24 June 2002.

Voluptés (1935) the edition disowned by the photographer, the French edition of Bellmer's *La Poupée* (1936) as well as Man Ray's *La Photographie n'est pas*

l'art (1937) were examined.

The pamphlet published by the surrealist group in support of Violette Nozière, the young woman convicted of patricide in 1934 was considered. Due to the focus on eroticism it was necessary to read several publications which do not contain photographic material but are central to the development of surrealist eroticism. These include Desnos's *De l'érotisme: considéré dans ses manifestations écrites et du point de vue de l'esprit moderne* (written in 1925 but unpublished until 1953), Aragon's *Le con d'Irene* (1928), Breton and Eluard's

L'Immaculée Conception (1930) and Dali's *La Femme Visible* (1930).

VVV the surrealist journal produced in exile as well as the journals published post 1945 in Paris were surveyed. As well as the titles covered in chapter five, the journals produced after Breton's death including *L'Archibras* (1967 — 69), *Coupure* (1969 — 71) and *Surréalisme* (1977) were consulted. In terms of commercial photographic magazines post war research focused primarily on *Elle*. Because the thesis highlights the inter-disciplinary nature of surrealism it was necessary to engage with the literature that inspired the movement. Primary sources thus include Lautréamont's *Chants de Maldoror* (1846 — 70), Sade's *Justine* (1791), *La Philosophie dans le boudoir* (1795) and *Les 120 jour nées de Sodome* (1785), Jarry's *Le Sûrmaie* (1902) and Heinrich von Kleist's *Penthesilea* and *Kaethchen of Heilbronn* (1808) as well as the major manifestoes, prose and poetry produced by the group, primarily Breton, Aragon, René Crevel and Joyce Mansour.

Apart from the secondary sources mentioned in the literature survey above, a broad survey of scholarship relating to surrealism and photographic history and theory was necessary as well as specialist texts on the social and political history of the inter war and post war periods in France. Key texts relating to surrealism

include Dawn Ades *Dada and Surrealism Reviewed*, Renee Riese Hubert's *Surrealism and the book* and the exhibition catalogue *André Breton: La Beauté*

convulsive.⁴⁷ Key texts on photography include Walter Benjamin's "A Small History of Photography" and "Surrealism: The Last Snapshot of the European Intelligentsia", Roland Barthes' *Mythologies, Image, Music, Text and Camera Lucida* and Bourdieu's *Photography: A middle-brow art*.⁴⁸ In terms of social and historical context both Claire Laubier's *The condition of women in France 1945 to the present* and Claire Duchen's *Women's rights and women's lives in France 1944-68* were invaluable.⁴⁹ Whitney Chadwick and Tirza True Latimer's *The Modern Woman Revisited: Paris Between the Wars* as was insightful as was Susan Weiner's *Enfants Terribles: Youth and Femininity in the Mass Media in France 1945-68*.⁵⁰

The study was designed to facilitate an approach that can take account of the context of the history of photography and its social and commercial roles. The thesis recognises the totality of the surrealist project and recognises intertextuality within the publications of the movement. Central to this procedure will be the consideration of the siting of the photographs and their relationships to surrounding texts. This approach allows a multi-dimensional view of the images and emphasises the extent to which surrealism relied on the unconscious as a dynamic process. The thesis does not see the photographs used by surrealism as discrete but as part of the complex project of the movement to promote political and cultural radicalism. In summary, the thesis examines the use of photographs in surrealist publications and asks how this is linked to the social role of the medium in the mass media and in what ways this contributed to intellectual and political discourse.

⁴⁷ Ades, D. *Dada and Surrealism Reviewed*, London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1978; Hubert, R. R. *Surrealism and the book*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988; André Breton: *La beauté convulsive*, Paris: Editions du Centre Pompidou, 1991.

⁴⁸ Benjamin, W. "A Small History of Photography" and "Surrealism: The Last Snapshot of the European Intelligentsia" in *One Way Street and Other Writings*, London: Verso, 1997; Barthes, R. *Mythologies*, London: Vintage, 1993, *Image, Music, Text*, London: Fontana, 1977 and *Camera Lucida*, London: Vintage, 1993.

⁴⁹ Laubier, C. (Ed.) *The Condition of Women in France 1945 to the present: A documentary anthology*, London: Routledge, 1990; Duchen, C. *Women's Rights and Women's Lives in France 1944-1968*, London: Routledge, 1994.

⁵⁰ Weiner, S. *Enfants Terribles: Youth and Femininity in the Mass Media in France 1945*

Ř 68, Balitmore: John Hopkins University Press, 2001.

Chapter One

Modernist photography and commerce in the inter-war period

Both photography and Surrealism were developing rapidly in the 1920s, the formative years of the movement. Surrealism used photography extensively and found creative success in the medium partly because it could harness the power which photography had achieved at this time in the press and in its ubiquity in everyday life. Artistically this decade was a time of frenetic experimentation with the medium and the range of work exhibited in the *Film und Foto* exhibition in Stuttgart in 1929 was testament to this, including work from various styles of modernist photography as well as examples of documentary photography and scientific applications. Throughout the 1930s photographs were generally presented in Surrealist journals as independent art works reflecting the surrealist vision.

Surrealist journals do not appear to differ greatly from other journals dealing with art and culture as they too made use of photography, including images from contemporary popular culture. Neither is the use of photographs in Surrealist journals innovative in terms of layout. What was innovative and remarkable about the use of photography in surrealist journals is the strength that the medium achieved in documenting and capturing the surreal. The use of documentary photography integrated into text was the model for the first Surrealist journal, *La Révolution Surréaliste* (1924 - 1929) where the use of a medium of scientific documentation satisfied the desire of the group to differentiate their publication from those of Dada. It also met Breton's proposal for an ideal mode of expression for poetic Surrealism, in the *First Manifesto of Surrealism*

But we, who have made no effort whatsoever to filter, who in our works have made ourselves into simple receptacles of so many echoes, modest *recording instruments* who are not mesmerized by the drawings we are making, perhaps we serve an even nobler cause. Thus do we render with integrity the "talent" which has been lent to us. You might as well speak

of the talent of this platinum ruler, this mirror, this door, and of the sky, if you like.⁵¹

Breton goes on in this section to state that in his opinion Robert Desnos had come closest to the Surrealist truth as he was able to "speak Surrealist at will" as "He reads himself like an open book, and does nothing to retain the pages, which fly away in the windy wake of his life."⁵² The documentary photographic images in *La Révolution Surréaliste* also have this lack of pretension; their ability to demonstrate that the surreal is essentially a heightened sense of the real is aided by the fact that photographs do seem, or did so at the time "to have the status of found objects - unpremeditated slices of the world."⁵³

Documents (1929 - 1930, fifteen issues), the journal of the "dissident" surrealists also made use of documentary photographs. Although photography featured in *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution* (1929 - 1933) the role which it played was markedly different to that in the first journal, photographic images were not dispersed throughout the text but displayed at the back of the journal along with reproductions of painting and sculpture. In *Minotaure* (1933 - 1939) also photographers claimed their place alongside other artists and their work was displayed as self-contained surrealist objects. It was only from the 1940's that the movement intermittently adopted the use of documentary photography and returned to a journalistic formula reminiscent of its formative years.

At this time of rapid developments in illustrated magazines, the Surrealists clearly understood the power of the photograph and how it could represent the rhythm of modern life in a manner that was accessible and universal. In the inter war period photography had credibility, there was a concurrence between text and image and photographs were not perceived as intentional. Most of the photographers who were attracted to the Surrealists were formed by the independent press in Paris at a time of great expansion for commercial photography. It is pertinent to this study to consider in what ways the spread of photography and its social and commercial roles impacted upon the artistic and

⁵¹ Breton, "First Manifesto of Surrealism" p 28.

⁵² Breton, "First Manifesto of Surrealism" p 29.

⁵³ Sontag, S. *On Photography*, New York: Doubleday, 1990, p 69.

editorial decisions within Surrealism. This introductory chapter serves to outline the development of photography in the media in the post World War One period and to examine the career of the photographer at a time when photography was in the service of editors as their "eyes on the world"⁵⁴.

Although traditional illustrated magazines such as *L'Illustration* (Paris, 1843) had used photographs as models for artists and engravers to work from, it was in 1880 with the advent of the half-tone process that the press set out definitively on the mechanized reproduction of photographs. This method of printing in relief (half-tone) could be used in conjunction with typesetting and therefore gave photography the opportunity of being disseminated widely, through books and the illustrated press. At the same time engraving techniques were improving and by 1910 the photogravure was adapted to the rotary press. By 1913 rotating photogravure was developing rapidly and facilitated a flush of second generation photographic magazines, inaugurated by *Le Miroir* (1913). After the war the innovation of photo-telegraphy and developments in the rotogravure process revolutionised magazine production and page layout. Rotogravure replaced rigid typographical metal blocks with transparent film on a cylinder, thus facilitating free design including the manipulation and overlaying of titles, photographs and text.⁵⁵ It was in France that this technology was first exploited to its full potential with the launch of *Vu* in 1928, one of the third generation of photo-magazines which also included *Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung* (1925), *Life* (1936), *Match* (1938) and *Picture Post* (1938).

The daily newspapers that had dominated the market before the First World War were eclipsed in the inter war years by the rise of new daily and weekly journals and illustrated magazines which relied heavily on photographs.⁵⁶ Suddenly there were endless opportunities for photographers as the burgeoning publicity

⁵⁴ Steven Heller used this phrase as the title for his article on picture magazines of the 1930's in *Eye*, Vol. 7, no. 26, Autumn 1997, pp 60 — 69.

⁵⁵ Pierre Albert and Gilles Feyel provide a detailed analysis of changes in the illustrated press in "Photography and the Media", in Frizot, *A New History of Photography*, pp. 358 - 369.

⁵⁶ Together *Le Petit Journal*, *Le Petit Parisien*, *Le Matin* and *Le Journal* accounted for seventy-five percent of the market in Paris during the pre war era. Charlet, L, *Histoire Générale de la Presse française, tome 3 : De 1871 à 1940*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1972, p 297.

industry courted the young avant-garde because they could supply images which suited commercial purposes but were also strikingly innovative and fresh. The level of demand for photographs is illustrated by the fact that in 1928 *L'Annuaire de la presse* did not mention any photographic agencies but included eighteen the following year.⁵⁷ Magazines, newspapers, books and advertising all sought originality in their illustrations, as this would set them apart from the competition and arrest the attention of consumers. The vitality of the avant-garde was harnessed to drive mass circulation publications. The career of the photographer in Paris in the period between the two world wars was inextricably linked to commercial photography. In the mid 1920s when photojournalism was just starting, the exposure offered by magazines surpassed all other means of dissemination. Editors supplemented the work of staff photographers with commissions for freelance practitioners and material from nascent agencies.

Photographers enjoyed a great deal of creative freedom in their commissions at a time when agencies, artistic directors and editors were keen and stock photography was embryonic. At this time photographers who operated in the commercial market were recognised as successful artists rather than simply as professional photographers, which is how the next wave of young practitioners came to be regarded. The story that Andre Kertész told of his meeting with Sergei Eisenstein in 1929 illustrates how central photo magazines became in the building of a reputation:

When the Russian filmmaker Eisenstein came to Paris I was told, to my surprise, that he wanted to meet me. We met at 10 o'clock. Where? At the Dôme, of course. And in came this powerful man, and he mentioned to me four photographs of mine from the journal *Vu* that he had in his scrapbook because he was so touched by them. We got on terribly well. I photographed him sitting on my carpet in the Boulevard de Montparnasse.⁵⁸

For young photographers a relationship with the commercial sector was important as it provided a source of income as well as exposure but it was also understood as crucial to their development. In Paris magazines were not part of a giant family owned corporation like their German counterparts and consequently

⁵⁷ Bouqueret, *La Nouvelle Vision en France*, p 191.

⁵⁸ Kertész, A. *Kertész on Kertész*, New York: Abbeville Press, 1985, p 57.

people such as Lucien Vogel, who launched *Vu* in 1928, had direct personal control. The world in which photographers worked during this period was small and magazine publishing was dominated by a group of people who actively promoted modern photography both as a fine art and as a commercial tool.

It is clear that from the very beginning modern photography and commerce were bound together, the press developed in parallel with advertising and photography became an essential medium of communication. Photography was a vehicle for the spread of ideas and lifestyle options and it drove the modern publicity industry. Specialist magazines were devoted to the commercial use of the medium, Roger-Louis Dupuis established *Vendre* in 1923⁵⁹ and *Arts et Metiers Graphiques* (soon to be known as *AGM*) was founded in 1927 by the publishers Gallimard, Lucien Vogel and Charles Peignot with a view to produce a luxurious art review and establish a publishing house.⁶⁰ These three ensured that photography had a high profile and attracted commercial commissions.

Peignot's typefoundry was a mature business and his expertise and forward thinking meant that he would profoundly influence the direction of French typography. He ensured that the editorial staff at *AGM* included people with experience as well as fresh innovators. The contributors to the review were also leaders in their fields; Peignot was heavily involved in the *Union des Artistes Modernes* (UAM) founded after the *Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes* in 1925 by practitioners whose aim was to advance Modernism in all applications of design. Adolphe Cassandre and Alexey Brodovitch were regular commentators on graphic art in *AGM*; Brodovitch was responsible for the highly regarded *Trois Quartiers*, the magazine of the elite store *Madeleine* and would become graphic designer for *Harpers Bazaar* in 1934. Peignot extended his business and opened the *Deberny and Peignot* photographic studio in 1930 and appointed Maurice Tabard as director.⁶¹ Tabard had been an accomplished portrait photographer in North America and on

⁵⁹ Gunther, Thomas Michael "The Spread of Photography: Commissions, advertising, publishing" in Frizot, *A New History of Photography*, p 561.

⁶⁰ <http://el.lie.rit.edu.1213/amghist3.htm> (Accessed 11/10/07) Rochester Institute of Technology, NY maintains this web site, which outlines the history of *AGM* in detail. The web site includes an illustrated database where issues of the review may be browsed.

⁶¹ Bouqueret & Berthoud, *Roger Parry: Le météore fabuleux*, p 12.

his return to Paris in 1930 worked in the fashion, advertising and portrait industries.

From 1929 *AMG* focussed on the use of photographs in advertising to such an extent Christian Bouqueret refers to this campaign as their "hobby horse."⁶² *Photographie*, a special edition of *AMG* devoted to the medium was published in 1930. It concentrated on international developments and Peignot and Emmanuel Sougez selected the 130 photographs, which were published with the address of the photographer. In 1926 Sougez had created the photographic service of *L'Illustration*, for which he became responsible. Sougez wrote the introduction to *Photographie* and like many other photographers himself had taken on advertising work enthusiastically. There is no doubt that this luxurious edition would have attracted commercial work for the *Deberny & Peignot* studio. The special edition *Photographie* was very successful and was subsequently published annually until 1940. The success of this review encouraged *AGM* to publish other photographic titles such as *Publicité* from 1934 to 1939, and *Photo-Cine-Graphie* from 1933, which in 1935 became *La Revue de la Photographie* with Peignot as director.⁶³ The cavernous studio of *Deberny & Peignot* was a marvellous place for young photographers to work and to congregate and discuss their work. Tabard recruited Roger Parry, then aged twenty-three, and encouraged him to nurture a personal style. The studio facilitated learning about new tendencies in photography and graphics as practitioners could browse the press and reviews of the international avant-garde and mingle with artists who frequented the studio; Max Ernst for example was a regular visitor.⁶⁴

Gaston Gallimard was also actively involved in a range of illustrated magazines, his group financed *Voilà*, a contemporary and competitor of *Vu*, which Gallimard edited along with *La Nouvelle Revue Française* and *Détective*. It was to *Editions Gallimard* that Parry presented his illustrated book *Banalité* in 1930, which would catapult him to the forefront of the photography scene. For young photographers commercial work ensured a steady income but it was the

⁶² Bouqueret, *La Nouvelle Vision en France*, p 54.

⁶³ Bouqueret, *La Nouvelle Vision en France*, p 163.

⁶⁴ Bouqueret & Bertoud, *Roger Parry: La Météore Fabuleux*, p 14.

publication of books that brought recognition and success. *AGM* began to publish limited edition books in 1930 and by 1939 had published 46 in total.⁶⁵ These deluxe publications were promoted in the review; a 1933 article on Brassai's Parisian night photography for instance, coincided with the publication of his monograph *Paris de Nuit*. Other crucial individuals in terms of the promotion of modern photography were Jacques Guenne, director of *L'Art Vivant*, his editor Florent Fels and Carlo Rim who edited *Jazz* and subsequently *Vu* for six years from 1930. These influential critics were determined to foreground innovative photography. Fels, along with Vogel played a key role in the selection of work for the *1er Salon de la Photographie Moderne* in May and June of 1928 in the *Théâtre des Champs-Élysées*, which showcased young photographers and presented retrospectives of Atget and Nadar.⁶⁶ Exhibitions of commercial photography encouraged the notion that this was a new art form and natural territory for the avant-garde because such images were becoming an integral part of the urban environment and experience. In 1931 *La Publicité par la Photographie* in Montparnasse secured the participation of Jacques-André Boiffard, Man Ray, Lee Miller, Kértész, Tabard, Parry, Sougez, Germaine Krull, Florence Henri, René Zuber and Eli Lotar among others; further exhibitions followed in 1934 at *Studio St-Jacques* and in 1935 at the *Galerie de la Pleiade*.⁶⁷ Room 1 of the *Film und Foto* exhibition in Stuttgart included advertising images alongside press photographs, x-rays, science pictures and experimental works.⁶⁸

Vogel had considerable experience in the illustrated press before the launch of *Vu* in 1928. In 1906 he was the artistic director of *Fémina* and subsequently founded *Art et Décoration* with his wife, Cosette de Brunhoff. Edward Steichen, who enjoyed a tremendously successful commercial career in America in the 1920s and 30s, produced his first fashion shots for this journal in 1911 when Vogel urged him to produce prints for an extensive thirteen photograph layout of Poiret designs. Vogel edited the elite *La Gazette du bon ton* from 1912 to 1925 and again emphasised the connections between fashion and art by using modern

⁶⁵ <http://ellie.rit.edu:1213/amghist3.htm> (Accessed 11/10/07)

⁶⁶ See Fels, F. "Le premier salon indépendant de la photographie" in *L'Art Vivant*, no. 4, June 1928, p 445.

⁶⁷ Bouqueret, *La Nouvelle Vision en France*, p 54.

* Foresta, M. *Perpetual Motif: The art of Man Ray*, New York: Abbeville Press, 1989, p 202.

artists to produce high quality illustrations in limited editions on handmade paper with no accompanying explanatory texts. In 1921 he founded *L'Illustration des modes* which became the celebrated *Jardin des modes* in 1922. He was appointed to the editorial board of *Les Feuilles d'art* by Conde-Nast, the publishers of *Vogue* and also became a director of French *Vogue*. In 1930 it was Vogel who had the idea for the *AGM* special *Photographie* and it was Vogel who ensured that the most talented of modern photographers were recruited to *Vu*.

Vu

Vu was a pioneer in journal publishing. *Match*, the sports supplement of *L'Intransigeant*, was the first magazine in France to be printed on a rotogravure machine and it used photographs on the cover and innovative *mis-en-page* in 1927, a few months before the launch of *Vu*. Germany, the source of the rotogravure technology, is often understood as a model for France and in relation to *Vu* the absolute model proposed in the literature is the *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung (BIZ)*.⁶⁹ It is clear that there is a relationship between these titles but on inspection the German titles are relatively traditional compared to *Vu*. In 1929 photographs were sparse in *BIZ* as there were many pages with text but without photographs. *Vu* included photographs on all pages; Michel Frizot believes that it has a very distinctive *mis-en-page*, a complex design in which photography, text and narrative are unified.⁷⁰ This unity is reinforced in reportage produced by one person. "La Villette Rouge" featuring Eli Lotar's photographs of the abattoir is a good example of this, the text is credited to Carlo Rim but the article is credited as a "reportage photographique" by Lotar.⁷¹ *Vu* was a pioneer in magazine publishing because of the advanced design process which created a balance between blocks of photographs and exposition.

The stated aims of *Vu* were to "translate" the modern world and to deliver illustrated reportage from around the globe. A photograph *could* translate the modern world as it participated in the acceleration of modern life whereas text

⁶⁹ For example see Osman, C. & Phillips, S. "European Visions: Magazine Photography in Europe between the Wars" in Fulton, M. (Ed.) *Eyes of Time: Photojournalism in America*, Boston: Little Brown, 1988 and Heller, S. "Eyes on the World".

⁷⁰ Author in conversation with Michel Frizot, Paris, 17th January, 2007.

⁷¹ Rim, C. & Lotar, E. "La Villette Rouge" *Vu*, no. 166, 20 March, 1931, pp 698 - 700.

alone was unable to represent this rhythm. The image was universal and immediate, if there was no time to read, a photograph was capable of delivering information quickly. There was a public appetite for images, the development of information during the War had been via photographs and the publication of images accompanied by text appeared to be spontaneous rather than intentional. In 1925 Moholy Nagy wrote

illustrated books, newspapers, magazines are printed — in millions. The unambiguousness of the real, the truth in the everyday situation is there for all classes. **The hygiene of the optical, the health of the visible is slowly filtering through.**⁷²

In fact all of those involved in the process had intentions including the photographer, agency, editor, art director and reader. Context is crucial and the photographs in *Vu* were manipulated and used to "prove" the explanation of the event given in the text.

Every week the editors of *Vu* received more than two thousand agency photographs as well as work from freelance photographers from which about thirty needed to be chosen for inclusion in the magazine each week.⁷³ The exhibition *Regardez VU* demonstrated that the desire to convey information photographically resulted in a selection of images that the reader would consider to be self evident, factual, and allow them to "witness" an event. This predilection for the most convincing photographs implies a choice of images which have the most potent effect on our perception rather than those which may be helpful to our understanding of the facts. The emotional aspect of the reader as spectator essentially replaced the editorial and the text became a description of the photographs rather than an account of the event. Capa's reportage from Spain in 1936 demonstrated this well. Coverage of the war was strong in *Vu* which held a pacifist position and the most popular photographs of the conflict were often not of the actual combat but of individuals caught up in the struggle. The photo essay with a series of shots encourages the idea that the reporting is systematic and temporal like a film sequence. Capa's photographs are of the faces of the

² Moholy-Nagy, L. *Painting Photography Film*, Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1967 [1925], p 38.

³ The curators of the exhibition *Regardez VU* attributed this estimate to Alexandre

Liberman who was appointed to the magazine in 1932.

people involved and they lead the reader through an experience which ends in death.⁷⁴ The reader has identified with these individuals and this focus on faces helped to form an understanding of these events. Iconic images in the media are often those that have an acute emotional impact and achieve symbolic value, encouraging a vision of the world that accommodates a lack of explanations.

Vu aimed to document all aspects of modern life including political events, scientific discoveries, disasters, expeditions, sporting achievements, theatre, cinema, art and fashion and therefore included reports that varied widely in form and content.⁷⁵ Essentially *Vu* carried any contemporary area of pictorial interest. In total between March 1928 and May 1940 *Vu* carried 167 major reportages, 6,000 reports of big events mostly in the realms of politics and science and 3,000 reports on curiosities or exotic topics.⁷⁶ The diversity of coverage is clear when one surveys the content of the front covers of the magazine which ranged from war to frivolity. Inside the magazine this eclecticism resulted in incongruous juxtapositions; a lynching in North America sat alongside a Hollywood chorus line for example.⁷⁷ Many of the photographs have a bizarre quality and display a morbid interest; corpses feature heavily in reports on events such as Chicago gangland murders and prison riots. There is a sustained interest in people who are abnormal or deformed, an article entitled "Quand la nature se trompe"⁷⁸ shows before and after photographs of three people who have had operations to alter their noses and Kertész had his photographs of the fair published showing the hall of mirrors, a person who is half man and half woman and an underwater woman.⁷⁹ Many features offered opportunities to print sexually provocative images and articles on topics such as beauty contests, theatre shows, the history of corsets and sport generally included photographs which exposed much flesh, both male and female. A story entitled "Danse" is illustrated with a photograph of a *revue* at the *Folies-Bergère* which shows a black "Adam

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⁷⁴ Capa, R. "Two deaths" *Vu*, no. 445, 23 September 1936.

⁷⁵ This list was included in the aims of the magazine, set out in the first issue, *Vu* no. 1, 28 March 1928, p 11.

⁷⁶ These figures were compiled by Cédric de Veigy, co-curator of the *Regardez Vu* exhibition.

⁷⁷ *Vu* no. 519, p 229.

⁷⁸ *Vu* no. 113, 14 May 1930, p 462.

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Vu no. 125, 6 August 1930.

wearing scanty rhinestone shorts and a white "Eve" wearing a rhinestone bikini.⁸⁰ The cover of this issue showed Mussolini reviewing his troops and the text within is focused on Hitler because election results had recently been released.

In the pages of *Vu* the reader is confronted with a selection of disparate images presented in a manner which gives the impression that they are snapshots from around the world, encouraging an approach which does not differentiate between them. The abundance of mixed images makes it difficult for the reader to consider each photograph in the context of its production; instead the reader becomes a restless visual tourist. *Vu* used freelance photographers as well as agencies and the avant-garde were in great demand, as they were systematically exploring the difference in perception between the eye and the camera and could produce dazzling images.

The career of the inter war photographer

Increased opportunities to publish and the sheer level of demand for photographs ensured that a large number of talented female photographers entered a profession that had traditionally been dominated by men. Women such as Dora Maar, Laure Albin-Guillot, Nora Dumas, Denise Bellon, Germaine Krull, Lisette Model, Florence Henri and Lee Miller were able to establish themselves and publish widely. Dora Maar's career in the 1930s is in many ways typical and clearly illustrates the domain of ambitious photographers in this period. Maar had returned to Paris in 1927 and enrolled at the *Atelier André Lhote* where Henri Cartier-Bresson was a classmate. She studied painting at the *Union Centrale des Arts Décoratifs* and at the *Académie Julian* as well as photography at the *École de la Photographie de la Ville de Paris* with Sougez. Late in life Maar claimed, "My biggest debt from school onwards was to Sougez".⁸¹ It was he who encouraged her to open a commercial studio in 1930 with Pierre Kefer which was, according to Jacques Guenne, "the biggest and best equipped in Paris."⁸² In four years of business a diverse range of work was produced under the name

⁸⁰ *Vu* no. 132, 24 September 1930, p 945.

⁸¹ Dora Maar interviewed in Combalia, V. "Dora Maar: Vida Y Obra" in *Dora Maar: Fotógrafa*, p 55.

⁸² Guenne, J. "Dora Markovitch" in *L'Art Vivant*, October 1934, p 402 - 403.

Kefer-Dora Maar and this eclecticism was to continue throughout the decade, which defines her relatively short photographic career.⁸³ Her work included fashion assignments, documentary photographs of Gaudi's architecture in Barcelona (1932), archeological illustrations for Germaine Bazin's book on *Mont St. Michel* (1933), film stills for Jean Renoir's *Le Crime de Monsieur Lange* (1935), a collaboration with Raoul Ubac for the collective book *Formes nues* (1935), documents of the creation of Picasso's *Guernica* (1937), advertising images and personal projects including collage works.⁸⁴

The high level of demand for photographs in the press, advertising and publishing ensured the success of Kefer-Dora Maar. In-house photographers were important but could not provide all of the images required by newspapers and magazines so freelance photographers offered images or were commissioned and picture libraries were established by magazines and photographers alike. Photographic agents acted as intermediaries for freelancers and some formed agencies. Major foreign agencies also established themselves in Paris, both Keystone and Wide World did so in 1927. Maar suggested that she did not usually make a distinction between personal work and commissions although agreed that she had undertaken uninteresting subjects.⁸⁵ Commissions encouraged photographers to develop their practice; there was no clear boundary between commercial and personal work and photographic studios were the loci of both artistic creation and regular work which generally had a pre-determined destination or a function to be mindful of.

For a short time in 1934 after the partnership with Kefer folded, Maar used the darkroom of a friend in Montparnasse, also used by Brassai at this time, before she moved into her studio at 29 Rue d'Astorg. It was at this juncture that she met André Breton and the members of the surrealist group at the *Union des Intellectuels contre Le Fascisme*, later to become *Contre-Attaque*. In 1935 she exhibited with the surrealists and was a signatory to both the surrealist tract *On*

⁸³ Maar became a painter in the 1940's and although she continued to take photographs and make photograms they were not made public and consisted mostly of snapshots.

⁸⁴ According to Marie-Loup Sougez, Maar was a regular at the fashion shows. Combalia, *Dora Maar: Bataille, Picasso et les surrealists*, p 93.

⁸⁵ Combalia, V. "Dora Maar, Photographer: An Interview with Victoria Combalia" in *Art*

Press, no. 199, February 1995, p .58.

the Time When the Surrealists were Right and the second edition of the *Contre-Attaque* statement. Maar then produced a number of seminal surrealist photographs which interestingly but for unknown reasons she refused permission for Rosalind Krauss to include in the *L'Amour Fou* exhibition in 1984. Maar seems to have blossomed during the mid 1930s and said, "the good thing about the surrealists was that they took women seriously. If they were talented then they were listened to and appreciated. Breton especially took it all very seriously."⁸⁶

Maar exhibited widely in the 1930s both individually and in group shows.⁸⁷ She exhibited with the surrealists and was included in *Fantastic Art, Dada and Surrealism* in New York in 1936.⁸⁸ She contributed works to exhibitions of contemporary photography and exhibitions of commercial photography; her work was shown in *La Publicité par la Photographie* at the *Galerie de la Pleiade* and in *Affiches-Photos* at *Galerie Billiet-Vorms* in Paris in 1935.⁸⁹ Maar's photographs were widely published in a broad range of both cultural reviews and popular magazines.

This career pattern was common to the majority of the young photographers who orientated towards surrealism; Brassai had also trained as a painter and subsequently found employment through the increasing importance of photographic images in the press. Marja Warehime uncovered a wealth of information concerning Brassai's early career in Paris by reading his letters to his parents, which were at that point untranslated from Hungarian.⁹⁰ She discovered that when he arrived in Paris in 1924 Brassai was immediately employed as a correspondent for a daily political paper from Brassó, his native city on the Hungarian border and this small income, as well as regular contracts from two

⁸⁶ Combalia, "Dora Maar, Photographer", p 57.

⁸⁷ Maar had individual shows at Galerie Vanderberg (1932) and Galerie de Beaune (1934 and 1939)

⁸⁸ Maar contributed to surrealist exhibitions in Tenerife (1935), Belgium (1935), London (1936 and 37), Paris (1936 and 37), Tokyo (1937) and Amsterdam (1938).

⁸⁹ *Constitutions des Artistes Photographes*, Galerie Studio Saint-Jacques, Paris (1932), *Exposition Internationale de la Photographie*, Brussels (1932), *Exposition Internationale de la Photographie Contemporaine*, Paris (1936) and *École Française de Photographie*, Copenhagen (1939).

⁹⁰ Brassai's letters were subsequently translated by Péter Laki and Barna Kántor in *Brassai: Letters to my Parents*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

German newspapers provided scant but regular wages.⁹¹ His initial interest in photography was illustrative, he had learnt something about the medium from the photographers who accompanied him and began to take photographs in 1929 to illustrate his own articles. Brassai claimed that by the end of that year he had so many commissions for articles that he expected to escape constant financial worries as he had sold one article to *L'Illustration* and two to *Vu*. By 1932 AMG had offered to publish his book *Paris de Nuit* which made him famous in 1933 (the same year he became involved in surrealism by agreeing to contribute photographs to *Minotaure*) but in the meantime he sold photographs that would not be included in his book to a wide range of magazines for use as illustrations to such an extent that in the early thirties his work was ubiquitous.

Photo-books allowed practitioners a great deal of creative freedom and were popular with photographers, publishers, collectors and the public. They dealt with a broad range of topics and cities were a particular source of fascination. Brassai's *Paris de Nuit* was one of many dealing with the capital including Germaine Krull's *100 x Paris*, with text by Florent Fels (1929), *Atget. Photographe de Paris* (1930), Moi Ver's *Paris* (1931), *Paris vu par André Kertész*, with preface and captions by Pierre Mac Orlan (1934), Francis Carco's *Envoûtement de Paris*, illustrated with 112 photographs by René-Jacques (1938), *Paris*, by Emmanuel Boudot-Lamotte (1939), and *Paris*, photographed by Marc Foucault (1942).⁹² Warehime suggests that Kertész may have provided useful contacts as he had begun photographing for *Vu* in 1928 and Brassai maintained that his fellow Hungarian offered him advice, indeed his first article for the *Berliner Illustrierte* was a collaboration with Kertész providing the photographs.⁹³

Kertész had already achieved an international reputation both as an artist-photographer and a photojournalist by 1929 and had exhibited and published widely so naturally he was a role model for young photographers who thought of themselves as artists. After his first solo show in 1927 at the *Galerie Le Sacre du Printemps* Kertész was in great demand as a commercial photographer as

⁹¹ Warehime, M. *Brassai: Images of Culture and the Surrealist Observer*, Baton Rouge LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1996, pp. 25 - 26.

⁹² Gunther, "The Spread of Photography" in Frizot, p 573.

⁹³ Warehime, *Brassai*, pp. 28 — 33.

magazines recognised the value of his approach. Later in life, speaking of his 1929 shot of empty chairs in the *Champs-Élysées* he said “At that time photography was zero - only the ordinary commercial kind of shots with little or no artistic value. Nobody photographed the chairs in the parks ... I did. Of course, at that time I did not know that this was modern or unique.”⁹⁴ This originality was attractive to magazine editors as they recognised energy within these powerful images that set them apart from mere illustrations; the work of Kertész is immediately recognisable in a survey of *Vu* due to its exceptional quality and as a result the photographer enjoyed an enviable freedom of expression. Kertész gives this account of how he produced his “distorted nudes” series

A Hungarian friend of mine introduced me to the editor of the magazine *Le Sourire*, a very French sort of magazine - satiric, risqué. Many artists worked for this publication. They had never published photos before. The editor asked me to do something. I bought two distorting mirrors in the flea market - the kind of thing you find in amusement parks. With existing light and an old lens invented by Hugo Meyer, I achieved amusing impressions. Some images like sculptures, others grotesque and frightening. I took about 140 photographs ... *Le Sourire* published a couple of them, and we planned a book.⁹⁵

Similarly, Man Ray was often able to present fashion in settings that inspired him using models of his own choice; he sometimes used his own studio containing his own works of art, those made by friends such as Giacometti, Brancusi or Oscar Dominguez or found objects.⁹⁶ During this decade the conception of young artists of the medium was shaped by photojournalism but also informed by artistic tradition; they wanted their work seen as art and it was. Commerce was keen to embrace the entire catalogue of new visual possibilities provided by modernist photography; surrealist effects, geometric compositions and straight photography all offered a rich resource. The *Foreign Advertising Exhibition* held at the Art Centre in New York in 1931, organised by Abbott Kimball of the American advertising firm Lyddon, Hanford & Kimball, assembled the leading trends in European advertising photography. Exhibitors included Moholy-Nagy, Herbert Bayer, George Hoyningen-Heune, Sougez, Laure Albin-Guillot, Kertész,

⁹⁴ Kertész, *Kertész on Kertész*, p 75.

⁹⁵ Kertész, *Kertész on Kertész*, p 82.

⁹⁶ Hartshorn, W. and Foresta, W. *Man Ray in Fashion*, New York: International Center of Photography, 1990, p 18.

Germaine Krull and Florence Henri; representatives from France won seven of the nine awards, Herbert Bayer won first prize.⁹⁷ The following year many of these photographers also exhibited in the *Modern European Photographers* show at the Julien Levy Gallery. For artists such as Henri who were influenced by the aesthetic philosophy of the Bauhaus, commercial photography was attractive and advertisers applauded an intense focus on the object itself as a novel approach. Previously products had been illustrated by line-drawings of them in use and the focus was generally on the people using them, by contrast these sharp close ups emphasised fashionableness.

Lee Miller was introduced to the world of magazine publishing when she famously met Condé Nast in New York by chance; she was almost ran over by a car and he pulled her out of its path, he subsequently employed her as a model for *Vogue* where she was photographed by Steichen and befriended by Frank Crowninshield, the editor of *Vanity Fair*. These contacts helped Miller on her arrival in Paris in 1928 as she had been given an introduction to both Man Ray and George Hoyningen-Huene, director of French *Vogue*.⁹⁸ In Paris Miller worked on both sides of the camera with Huene and his then assistant Horst as well as working for other titles and on collaborations with Man Ray who often passed unwanted commissions on to his assistant.⁹⁹ On her return to New York in 1932 Miller continued with fashion and advertising work and in 1934 a *Vanity Fair* article described her, alongside Huene and Cecil Beaton and others, as “one of the most distinguished living photographers”.¹⁰⁰ Man Ray had achieved this level of recognition from the commercial sector a decade earlier and his career is particularly of interest because from the mid 1920s became central to the development of surrealist photography. The kind of understanding that he had of the commercial world is something that is evident in his influence on the surrealist journals.

⁹⁷ Du Pont, Diana C., *Florence Henri: Artist-photographer of the avant-garde*, San Francisco: San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, 1990, p 33.

⁹⁸ Penrose, A. *The Lives of Lee Miller*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1988, p 16.

⁹⁹ Penrose suggested that Man Ray offered Miller the assignments that he did not want or did not pay well, *The Lives of Lee Miller*, p 30. Burke, C. “Framing a life: Lee Miller” in *Roland Penrose Lee Miller: The Surrealist and the Photographer*, Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 2001, p 128 - 130 outlines this period of apprenticeship in Paris.

¹⁰⁰ *Vanity Fair*, May 1934, p 51.

On his arrival in Paris in July 1921 Man Ray was quick to establish himself in both the artistic and commercial sectors; in December of that year he had his first solo show in the city and had set up the portrait business which ensured that by the mid 1920s he was very well known and in great demand. He was known as an innovative photographer and as someone who was closely connected to the literary and artistic avant-garde as well as rich and famous socialites. His 1922 portraits of among others Picasso, Gertrude Stein, James Joyce, Hemingway and Proust on his deathbed along with his fashion shots for Poiret and his association with *Le Boeuf* nightclub described by Cocteau as “the meeting place of all the best people in Paris, from all spheres of life”¹⁰¹ cemented his fashionable status. In July 1922 *Vanity Fair* published his portraits of Picasso and Joyce. Frank Crowninshield had bought four rayographs and published them later that year in the November issue along with a portrait of Man Ray in a feature entitled “A New Method of Realizing the Artistic Possibilities of Photography”.¹⁰² This exposure led to an extremely successful, sustained and lucrative commercial career for Man Ray who received commissions from Europe and America. In 1934 Brodovitch was appointed as art director at *Harpers Bazaar* in New York and employed Man Ray, as well as Brassai, Henri Cartier-Bresson and Cassandre. Brodovitch believed that artists

must be able to perceive and preconceive the tastes, aspirations and habits of the consumer-spectator and the mob ... must be a pioneer and a leader, he must fight against routine and the bad taste of the mob... a new aesthetic is born. This is an achievement. To deepen this achievement is the problem of the publicity artist.¹⁰³

By the 1920s technological advances facilitated the development of sophisticated advertising where text was replaced by image and the image was not necessarily a faithful reproduction of the object. In the 1930s Man Ray’s finely crafted and extreme surrealist images, involving deep shadows, solarisation, photograms and negative printing were highly sought after for commercial purposes as they appeared to be both magical and modern. In 1931 he was offered a commission

¹¹ Cocteau quoted by Klüver, B & Martin, J. “Man Ray, Paris” in Foresta, *Perpetual Motif*, p 106.

¹⁰² Hartshorn and Foresta, *Man Ray in Fashion*, p. 14

¹⁰³ Hartshorn and Foresta, *Man Ray in Fashion*, p 20.

to produce a deluxe portfolio for the *Compagnie Parisienne de Distribution d'Électricité* depicting electricity and its applications. For this project he used photograms as well as photographs containing photogrammed elements and signed his work as an artist would.¹⁰⁴ (Fig 1)

In 1934 Brodovitch commissioned Man Ray to produce impressions of the Parisian fashion collections for the November issue of *Harper's Bazaar* which featured five pages of fashions transmitted from France directly by short wave, to appear in New York. For his simulated "wirephoto" Man Ray used the photogram technique, placing a piece of fabric and a paper cut-out on top of the photographic paper to give the impression of a new fashion "coming over" the short waves.¹⁰⁵ (Fig 2) By the end of the 1930s styles of surrealism had been assimilated into fashion photography and advertising. Nancy Hall-Duncan's survey of how forms of surrealism influenced fashion photography concluded that the genre drew what it could use effectively from the style including fantasy, mystery, the dreamlike and humour.¹⁰⁶ Man Ray lamented the steady professionalism of photographers during the 1930s, promoting instead a violation of the medium and proposing that a "certain amount of contempt for the material employed to express an idea is indispensable to the purest realization of this idea."¹⁰⁷ Chapter Two will consider the nature of photography in *La Révolution Surréaliste* under the direction of Man Ray and explore the relationship between the commercial use of the medium and its presence in the surrealist journal.

¹⁰⁴ Lemagny, J-C. & Rouillé, A. (eds.) *A History of Photography: Social and Cultural Perspectives*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, p 122. Ten images were published by the company in a portfolio with an accompanying text by Pierre Bost, *Électricité*, Paris: *Compagnie Parisienne de Distribution d'Électricité*, 1931.

¹⁰⁵ Esten, J. *Man Ray: Bazaar Years*, New York: Rizzoli, 1988, p 13.

¹⁰⁶ Hall-Duncan, N. "Surrealism and Fantasy" in *The History of Fashion Photography*, New York: Alpine Book Co., 1979, p 97.

¹⁰⁷ Man Ray (1934) "The Age of Light" in Plachy, S. & Phillips, C. *Photography in the Modern Era: European Documents and critical Writings 1913 - 1940*, New York: Aperture, 1989, p 53.

Chapter 2

The use of photography in *La Révolution Surréaliste*

In the inter war period photography had long since established its place in everyday life through portraiture. Photographic booths were popular attractions at fairs from the mid 1800s and the modern concept of an automated photo booth with a curtain was invented in America in 1925 and appeared on the streets of Paris in 1928.¹⁰⁸ By 1930 Carlo Rim could comment that “Twenty million Kodaks have clicked this summer on all the beaches of the world. The family albums from now on will be peopled by silly grimaces and human hams.”¹⁰⁹ Photography quickly became increasingly visible in the urban environment as well as in the press in this period. In Paris during the formative years of Surrealism, the conception of photography as a medium was shaped by photojournalism. Photographs made for commercial purposes would have constituted the majority of photographs being made; photographs would generally not have been viewed in isolation as art, but in magazines accompanied by captions or text. The familiarity of this presentation of photography encouraged the viewer to look at the photograph not as a material object but at what the photograph is of, as a window onto another reality, something that the Surrealists were quick to harness. Breton understood the nature of the press with its fragmentation and odd juxtapositions of “newsworthy” events; on the final page of *Nadja* he stated that “A morning paper will always be adequate to give me my news” suggesting a revelatory quality to this “documentation” of everyday reality.¹¹⁰ Benjamin outlined this confusion and fluidity within the newspaper in 1934:

Its content eludes any form of organisation other than that which is imposed upon it by the reader’s impatience ... The editorial offices have long ago learned to exploit the fact that nothing binds the reader to his newspaper so much as this impatience, which demands fresh nourishment every day; they exploit it by continually throwing open new columns for readers’ questions, opinions and protests.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ Jones, J. “André in wonderland”, *The Guardian*, Wednesday June 16, 2004
<http://arts.guardian.co.uk/features/story/0,11710,1239610,00.html> (Accessed 18/5/07)

¹⁰⁹ Rim, C. (1930) “On the snapshot” in Plachy & Phillips, p 39.

¹¹⁰ Breton, A. (1928) *Nadja*, Penguin, London, 1999, p 160.

¹¹¹ Benjamin, W. “The Author as Producer” in Burgin, V. (ed.) *Thinking Photography*, London: Macmillan, 1982, p 19.

Jean-Claude Chamboredon's discussion of the ambiguities of photography in his contribution to Bourdieu's book aimed to analyse the vocation of the photographic artist but his observations on the characteristics of the medium are pertinent to this study. Chamboredon was concerned with the problem faced by photographers who wished to create "meaningful" photographs when photography's signs are often vague, but for the purpose of this thesis we can also consider these remarks in relation to the decision making processes of editors and those responsible for "building something up" with the illustrations in *La Révolution Surréaliste*:

Reference to the object represented always introduces a proliferation of parasitic signs, sketches of uncontrolled meanings, lateral meanings which authorize all possible readings without ever establishing one. Only external and extrinsic signs can remove the ambiguities from photography.¹¹²

Chamboredon identified the caption as the most vulgar way used to render a photograph unambiguous, but recognised more subtle forms of neutralising the proliferation of signs which satisfy the same need, such as works in series. What is of interest here is Chamboredon's conclusion that because of the socially defined characteristics of photography it is barely possible to adopt an aesthetic stance towards it. Of course, the cause for concern for Chamboredon's aesthetes - the social situation of photography and its ambiguous cultural status - delighted the surrealists who relished uncontrolled meanings but they too sought particular responses from the photographs that they published and made use of a variety of methods to do so.

The sentiments contained in the *Manifeste de surréalisme* published in 1924 and the photographic images published the same year in *La Révolution Surréaliste* dovetailed neatly. They met with Breton's broad and developing notion of the surrealist image deriving power from an appeal to the imagination. Despite having only a rudimentary knowledge of Freudian psychoanalysis in the early 1920s Breton was, in his own words "completely occupied" with Freud at this time because of the overwhelming power he accorded the unconscious.¹¹³ The

¹¹² Chamboredon, J-C, "Mechanical Art, Natural Art: Photographic Artists" in Bourdieu, *Photography*, p 142.

¹¹³ Breton, A. (1924) "First Manifesto of Surrealism" in *Manifestoes of Surrealism*, p 22.

First Manifesto therefore focused on dreaming as a state in which the imagination is unrestricted and the photographic images admired by the group and published in their journal were often dreamlike and evocative. Rene Crevel's article in *L'Art Vivant* in 1925 on the nature of photography described it as a powerful medium capable of "unblocking and feeding our dreams."¹¹⁴

It is important however to establish that Surrealism should not be categorised simply as a desire to escape from reality or the rational into fantasy or the irrational. David Bate has suggested that since Alfred Barr Jr. described Surrealism as "the contemporary movement toward an art of the marvellous and irrational" in 1936, there has been a systematic failure to situate surrealist images within the aims of the movement at any given time. Bate foregrounded the activities of the group and their relations with other intellectual and political organisations to demonstrate that Surrealism did not flee reality, rationalism or what is called the social world, but was a *discourse* which entered into a critique and contestation over what was excluded as "irrational" within it.¹¹⁵ Vincent Gille has stated that much recent scholarship has reduced Surrealism to a simple artistic movement as the formal perspective has triumphed over political history and what he terms "a passionately human adventure". Gille suggested that this has resulted in the most spectacular works and most simplistic images enjoying the highest visibility.¹¹⁶ John Roberts has noted that recent scholarship has favoured a history of Surrealism which foregrounds the transgressive imagination of Georges Bataille rather than the politics of Breton which are currently unfashionable.¹¹⁷ The interest in Bataille's concept of the "*informe*" has led to a focus on formally experimental photography. According to Roberts, Rosalind Krauss sees essential anti-realism at the heart of the surrealist enterprise and therefore concentrates on surrealist photography which demonstrates the

¹¹⁴ Crevel, R. 'Le Miroir aux Objets', *L'Art Vivant*, 15th July, 1925, p 24.

¹¹⁵ Bate, D. *Photography and Surrealism*, pp 7 - 9.

¹¹⁶ Gille, V. "Surrealism today: two books, a few questions and the mood of the times", *Papers of Surrealism*, Issue 3, Spring 2005.
<http://www.surrealismcentre.ac.uk/publications/papers/journal3/index.htm> (Accessed 16/5/07)

¹¹⁷ See Roberts, J. "Chapter 5: Surrealism, photography and the everyday", *The art of interruption: Realism, photography and the everyday*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998, pp 98 - 113.

dissolution between reason and unreason at the expense of photographs that establish a very "un-informel" relationship to the world:

Breton's surrealism *was* an attack on representation and the idea of the transparency of meaning in the image ... However, in Krauss's writing surrealism and surrealist photography are assumed to be concerned *principally* with this, as if the photographers set out to fulfil a specific research programme on representation. The result is the academicisation of the surrealist project as a discourse on the signification of signification. The operations of meaning formation are contained *at* the level of the image, doing violence to both the political programme of surrealism and the fact that it is the debate over realism and the everyday that actually sustains the debate on representation.¹¹⁸

This move against representation and the "everyday" is arguably why so much attention has recently been paid to *Minotaure* and particularly to *Documents* whereas *La Révolution Surréaliste* and *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution* have been relatively neglected.

In 1985 J. H. Matthews stated that the most famous photograph in *La Révolution Surréaliste* was possibly the one reproduced in No. 8 over the self-explanatory caption "Our associate Benjamin Péret insulting a priest".¹¹⁹ More recently this accolade would perhaps belong to those photographs which have been the locus of debates about the nature of the relationship between Surrealism and "woman". Photographs such as Man Ray's film still showing Lee Miller nude before a window, Man Ray's image of doubled breasts, the collage with Germaine Berton in the centre¹²⁰, the series of "hysterical" women¹²¹, Atget's corset shop window¹²² and *Je ne vois pas la femme cachée dans la forêt*¹²³ have all been the subject of much deliberation.¹²⁴

¹¹⁸ Roberts, *The art of interruption*, p 102.

¹¹⁹ Matthews, J. H. "Modes of documentation: Photography in *La Révolution surréaliste*", *Modern Language Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 3, (Photography and Literature), Summer, 1985, pp 38 - 48.

¹²⁰ *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 1, p 4, p 15 and p 17 respectively.

¹²¹ *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 11, p 20 - 21.

¹²² *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 7, p 6.

¹²³ *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 12, p 73.

¹²⁴ See Mundy, *Desire Unbound*, specifically Lomas, D. "The Omnipotence of Desire: Surrealism, Psychoanalysis and Hysteria", pp. 72 - 73; Ades, D. "Surrealism, Male-Female", pp 174 - 176 and Foster, H. "Violation and Veiling in Surrealist Photography: Woman as fetish, as shattered object, as phallus", pp. 217 - 218. See also Chadwick, W. "Lee Miller's two bodies"

in

The fact that *La Révolution Surréaliste* was deliberately presented in the style of *La Nature*, a contemporary scientific journal is well documented.¹²⁵ The twelve issues of the journal contain a broad range of photographs and most are naturalistic and purposefully engaged with revealing the intensity of everyday life. The majority of these photographs have attracted little scholarly attention to date with the notable exception of Walker's *City gorged with dreams* which devoted a chapter to the use of documentary photographs in the journal. Walker acknowledged the importance of "siting" and examined the images he chose to deal with in detail in the context of the surrealist journals and books in which they were published. His contribution is seminal because it established the key role of "straight" photography for the surrealists and demonstrated how the group used it as "a simultaneous exploitation and subversion of the standard realist frame within which the medium was then primarily situated".¹²⁶ In terms of the first surrealist journal Walker looked at four anonymous documentary images and used them to "stand for the way that texts and images, theory and poetry, the subjective and the documentary are collaged together in the publication."¹²⁷ This chapter of the thesis develops Walker's analysis of photographs in the journal as part of a "complex web of poetics and politics" by surveying the use of the medium and discussing a number of photographic images which have to date been neglected.¹²⁸

In a total of the seventy one photographs in *La Révolution Surréaliste* forty-eight are documentary photographs, fifteen of which are photographs of sculpture, architectural detail or artefacts.¹²⁹ Thirteen are the kind of documentary photographs of remarkable phenomena that occur in everyday life that are common in photojournalism. Of the remainder, five are photographs taken directly from popular culture including postcards and film stills. Only eighteen

Chadwick and Latimer, *The Modern Woman Revisited*, pp. 199 - 221; Caws, "Ladies shot and painted; and Krauss, R. "Corpus Delicti" in Krauss and Livingstone, *L'Amour Fou*.

¹²⁵ Ades, *Dada and Surrealism Reviewed*, p 189; Walker, I. *City gorged with dreams*, p 68.

¹²⁶ Walker, *City Gorged with Dreams*, p 5.

¹²⁷ Walker, *City Gorged with Dreams* p 72.

¹²⁸ Walker, *City Gorged with Dreams* p 83.

¹²⁹ This total excludes reproductions of 2-d artworks excepting collages which include photographic elements.

photographs in the journal have been manipulated either in the darkroom or in the deliberate arrangement of familiar objects to make them appear strange, yet such interference in the photographic image is often seen as the distinguishing characteristic of "surrealist photography". These figures give an indication of the function of photographs in the journal to "document the surreal unostentatiously".¹³⁰

The idea that photography has an innate ability to estrange was circulating in Europe in the inter war period. Moholy-Nagy explored the power of the technology in a mechanistic way demonstrating that the camera generated new configurations of human sight.¹³¹ Dali saw even the seemingly prosaic photographic document as a potential surrealist object because "the mere fact of transposing something seen to a photograph already implies a total invention: the recording of an UNPRECEDENTED REALITY".¹³² In 1924 when the movement was on the brink of radical politicisation the use of photography in the first surrealist journal was dependent upon a number of factors. The group had two photographers in their midst, Man Ray and his assistant Jacques-André Boiffard.¹³³ Pierre Naville who edited the first three issues of *La Révolution Surréaliste* along with Péret, was hostile to art but not to the anti-aesthetic qualities of photography which fitted well with the documentary focus of the journal.¹³⁴ Breton suggested that Péret and Naville were appointed as editors because "the accent of the review was on pure surrealism ... and that was why the direction was taken by Péret and Naville who were then the most completely animated by the new spirit, the most rebellious against any concession."¹³⁵ The Bureau for Surrealist Research, established in October 1924, was the depository for all texts and illustrations to be considered for inclusion in the review and it is

¹³⁰ Matthews, *Modes of documentation*, p 45.

¹³¹ In 1932 Moholy-Nagy listed eight varieties of photographic vision including: abstract, exact, rapid, slow, intensified, penetrative, simultaneous and distorted in "A new instrument of vision". Wells, L. *The Photography Reader*, London: Routledge, 2003, pp. 93 - 94.

¹³² Dali, S. (1929) "Photographic Testimony" in Plachy and Phillips, *Photography in the Modern Era*, p 35.

¹³³ Boiffard was Man Ray's assistant between 1924 and 1929.

¹³⁴ See Walker pp. 70 - 71 for an account of the influence of Naville's insistent use of images from popular or non-artistic culture on the photographic content of both *La Révolution Surréaliste* including, when Breton took over as editor as well as on subsequent surrealist journals.

¹³⁵ Breton cited in Walker, *City Gorged with Dreams*, p 68 - 69.

clear that editorial decisions were communal. It was Éluard's idea for example to use a Baudelaire quote as the caption for the Germaine Berton montage in the first issue.¹³⁶ It is obvious that Breton was closely involved in the production of the review and that his developing ideas about visual surrealism were influential.¹³⁷ Many of the photographs featured in the journal remained in Breton's ownership until his death suggesting his personal involvement in their publication as the group leader and from issue 4, as a scrupulous editor.¹³⁸

Breton actively sought illustrations for inclusion in the review. As an astute art trader Breton was in regular contact with prestigious dealers such as Kahnweiler and was able to arrange for the reproduction of works for use as illustrations from them as well as directly from artists such as Picasso.¹³⁹ He requested a photograph of Picasso's *Demoiselles D'Avignon* from Jacques Doucet, on whose behalf he had recently acquired the painting, and it was published for the first time in the fourth issue of *La Révolution Surréaliste*.¹⁴⁰ Breton organised the photographic reproductions of works of art meticulously and grouped them together by artist.¹⁴¹ The prints originated from a variety of sources and many carry the stamp, on the back, of the dealer or gallery and many are from Kahnweiler. Breton was of course instrumental in promoting the career of his

¹³⁶ Durozoi, G. *History of the Surrealist Movement*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002, p 80.

¹³⁷ For instance, from October 30th 1925, while the first issue was being prepared, Breton began to note down criticisms in the bureau's notebook and along with Aragon, Eluard, Morise and Naville, he drove to the printer's shop at Alençon to oversee the setting of the first issue. Ades, *Dada and Surrealism Reviewed*, p 190.

¹³⁸ All photographs held in Breton's apartment at 42 rue Fontaine were documented before the sale of contents in 2003 by *L'Association l'Atelier André Breton* and are available to view at <http://atelierandrebreton.com/>

¹³⁹ Breton was a shrewd collector himself and was instrumental in selling the work of favoured artists to dealers. He made his first sale (a Picasso for the sum of 350 francs) to Kahnweiler on 14th June 1921. *André Breton: La beauté convulsive*, p 106. He was employed as an art consultant by Doucet in the summer of 1921 and continued to advise him and purchase pieces on his behalf until the end of December 1924. For a summary of Breton's relationship with Doucet see *André Breton: La beauté convulsive*, pp. 116 — 120. This exhibition catalogue also details Breton's activities in the promotion of artists, his major business transactions with dealers and his key acquisitions as a collector. On 9th June 1925 Breton sent a letter to Picasso expressing his disappointment with the enclosed Man Ray prints of three of his works which he undertook to publish despite his reservations in the next issue of *La Révolution Surréaliste*. *André Breton: La beauté convulsive*, p 176.

¹⁴⁰ *André Breton: La beauté convulsive*, p 177.

¹⁴¹ His collection included six albums of photographs, specifically marked for potential use in *La Révolution Surréaliste*. The six albums included collections devoted to Arp, Braque and Picasso; Duchamp and Ernst; Ernst; Masson and Magritte; Miró and Man Ray and lastly Dali and de Chirico.

favourite artists and often encouraged them to produce portfolios, in some cases writing a preface himself.¹⁴²

Breton's photographic collection included prints ordered from agencies and museums as well as from individuals around the group. The vast number of reproductions of African, Oceanic and South American art and artefacts, again organised into collections, included a set of reproductions of Oceanic objects ordered from a museum in Hamburg; a set of eighteen photographs of objects from Dutch New Guinea from *Musée de Bale* and a set of photographs of pre-Columbian and South American art from *Giraudon*, the prestigious French picture archive. Other photographs include a set of six images of lightning strikes from the Parisian offices of Wide World photos, the agency of *The New York Times*. Many of the reproductions of art and artefacts published in *La Révolution Surréaliste* are included in these dossiers and many of the other photographs found in the first journal were retained by Breton, facilitating a glimpse into the decision making process involved in turning prints into illustrations.¹⁴³

Breton took control of the journal in no. 4 because he was unhappy with the wildness of the third issue and furious at Naville's attack therein on the idea of visual surrealism. The significance of surrealist ideas in relation to the visual arts became a lively debate among the surrealists when it was essentially a literary group in the early 1920's. Purely pictorial expression was judged as unsatisfactory by Max Morise in his article "*Les Yeux Enchantés*" published in

¹⁴² For example in February 1925 Breton wrote to Simone that he had taken Doucet to Masson's studio but had been frustrated that the dealer had chosen the smallest and most superficial canvas. He had thus advised the artist to carefully put together, with the help of Kahnweiler or another editor, an album including the latest drawings that he had shown Breton for which the poet would write a preface, with a view to seeking publication in prestigious reviews and surrealist publications. *André Breton: La beauté convulsive*, p 175.

¹⁴³ A thorough survey of the photographs held in the folders confirmed that many of these reproductions were published in the journal. The following photographic prints which appeared in *La Révolution Surréaliste* were kept by Breton until his death in 1966: *Le Centrale Surréaliste*, the group portrait featured on the cover of no. 1; Desnos dressed for his Holy Communion in 1910 in no. 3, p 9; the collage by Aragon and Breton, a parody of the work of de Chirico in no. 11, p 8; the photograph of the officials in no.11, p 17; the photo-booth shots used to frame Magritte's *La Femme cachée dans le forêt* in no. 12, p 73; the press photo of the overturned car in no. 12, p 56; Albert Valentine's collage *Monument au Morts* in no. 12, p 47; the photograph captioned "*Maison-attendat*" in no. 12, p 25 and Magritte's collage of the Paris Opéra in no. 12, p 46.

the first issue of *La Révolution Surréaliste* on the grounds that it was rarely free of conscious intention. Naville in his article "Beaux Arts" published in no. 3 denied the possibility of any surrealist painting, accepting only the modest spectacles of the street, the cinema and newspaper photographs as valid surrealist material. The subversive potential of film and photography lay in their ability to challenge the fact of reality and although Naville lost the argument historically, the group continued to use the medium as a way to "side-step accustomed aesthetic and social norms".¹⁴⁴ The surrealists understood the revolutionary potential of photography and film

Taking up Rimbaud's behest, they wanted to "change life". But they had also understood the need, first of all, for a profound change in our way of seeing. In order to *change life*, it was necessary to begin by changing vision.¹⁴⁵

Breton found the essential element of the "surrealist image" to be elusive, and believed that it was something which would need to be developed in practice. The artists he favoured were all celebrated for their exposure of different aspects of reality. He was meticulous when considering the reproduction of fine art and it was he who decided on the paintings for inclusion in the journal. Breton supported a diversity of illustrations in the journal, the criteria was simply that they should be poetic, evocative and powerful. It is clear that Breton was responsible for editorial decisions relating to photographic illustrations generally, not just reproductions of paintings and sculpture. The original prints used as illustrations in the journal kept by Breton show inscriptions, in his handwriting on the back, providing instructions pertaining to design and page layout.¹⁴⁶ Under Breton's control the journal included many more paintings as illustrations however they did not replace photography but rather existed alongside it, and the medium continued to play a prominent documentary role in the journal.

¹⁴⁴ See Walker, *City Gorged with Dreams* pp. 69 - 72 for a summary of the dispute between Naville and Breton.

¹⁴⁵ Bajac, Q. & Chóoux, p 19.

¹⁴⁶ The measurements required for the reproduction on the page of the journal were often annotated on the back by Breton. For example, on the back of the photographic collage made by Breton and Aragon which is a parody of de Chirico's work published in no. 11, Breton noted that the print be treated particularly carefully. Photographs documented by *Atelier André Breton*.

Breton had been involved in magazine publishing since 1919 when he founded *Littérature* at the age of twenty-three. The format of the surrealist journal is often attributed to a wish to be taken seriously, a sense of satire or a desire for high public visibility but it has also been suggested that the bright orange cover was chosen by Breton on a visit to the printers where a pile of old paper stock was offered at a bargain rate.¹⁴⁷ André Thirion described his encounter with the journal thus

On leave in Nancy, [Georges Sadoul] had brought that first issue of *La Révolution surréaliste* Sitting in a beerhouse on Saint-Jean Street, I could not tear my eyes away from that glossy red paper cover that looked so much like a pharmaceutical brochure we had to get in touch with them immediately¹⁴⁸

In her discussion of surrealism Sontag argued that “The less doctored, the less patently crafted, the more naive - the more authoritative the photograph was likely to be” and that it was this idea of an object which virtually produced itself as a result of the photographer gazing on reality with curiosity that excited the group. To Sontag it seemed that the surreal could be defined as “what is most local, ethnic, class-bound, dated” rather than something universal or psychological. This seems to be an unnecessarily reductive definition of the surreal given Breton’s notion of the expansive imagination and the “countless kinds of Surrealist images” and Aragon’s definition of what he calls the “vice termed *Surrealism*” as

the disorderly and impassioned use of the narcotic image, or rather the uncontrolled provocation of the image for its own sake and for what it brings in its wake, in the domain of representation, by way of unforeseen upheavals and metamorphoses; for every image, whenever it strikes, forces you to revise the entire Universe.”¹⁴⁹

Nevertheless, Sontag’s comment was insightful. Atget immediately springs to mind and indeed in *La Révolution Surréaliste* many of the photographs published fall into these categories and are characterised by banality.¹⁵⁰ Communication is

¹⁴⁷ Bancquart, Marie-Claire, “1924 - 1929: Une année mentale” postscript to *La Révolution Surréaliste*, Paris: Jean-Michel Place, 1975, p III

¹⁴⁸ González García, A. “The growing impossibility of surrealist photography” in Didi-Huberman, G. (ed.) *Els Cossos Perduts: Fotografia i surrealistes (Lost Bodies: Photography and Surrealists)* Barcelona: La Fundació, 1995, p 21 1.

¹⁴⁹ Aragon in *Paris Peasant* (1926) cited in

¹⁵⁰ Sontag, *On Photography*, pp. 52 - 54.

social and community based and if we understand surrealism as a discourse, the allegorical potential of actively engaging the everyday image and subjecting it to the power of the human imagination is clear. In *La Révolution Surréaliste* the commonplace and the banal are transformed by the photographic process into a poetic, open documentation of modernity at a time when Parisians were increasingly perceptive. “Our culture has become visual” declared Carlo Rim in 1930; the key to the success of surrealist photography is arguably the essential role of photography in communication generally with the proliferation of images in the press, in advertising and in publishing.¹⁵¹ Whereas care was taken to fix meaning in photographs used in these industries, surrealism both exploited and subverted the instability of the photographic image and its public status as a documentary medium.

Despite the fact that since its origins photography has been intimately linked with the development of a commodity culture, the commercial sphere of photography, the everyday image, has been neglected in theorising around Surrealism and photography and has only recently aroused interest. The catalogue for the *Man Ray* show in Paris in 1998 set out to present the full spectrum of his work and raised the fact that “his work extends across various categories, all open to being recycled or deflected into another role or meaning, each feeding off the other” but failed to elaborate on the consequences of this currency in images, instead it focused on technique and process and relied on anecdotes from Man Ray and his associates.¹⁵² For example, Serge Bramley noted the appearance of Man Ray’s photograph of a mannequin wearing a Poiret gown taken for his commission at the *Pavilion d’Elegance*, part of the *International Exposition des Arts Décoratifs* in 1925 on both the cover of no. 4 of *La Révolution Surréaliste* (Fig 3) and in *Vogue* one month later. Bramley provided the respective captions but merely stated that the surrealist caption “*ET GUERRE AU TRAVAIL*” (And war on work) could be interpreted in various ways.¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ Rim, “On the snapshot” in Plachy and Phillips, *Photography in the Modern Era*, p 38.

¹⁵² Frizot, M. “How I Became Man Ray: The Piecework Photographer” in l’Ecotais, E. and Sayag, A. (eds.) *Man Ray: Photography and its double*, London: Laurence King, 1998, p 25.

¹⁵³ Bramley, S. “Man Ray, A Portrait of the Artist as a Fashion Photographer” in l’Ecotais and Sayag, *Man Ray*, p 37.

Whitney Chadwick discussed the appearance of this photograph in both *La Révolution Surréaliste* and *Vogue* in her consideration of the relationship between Man Ray's work as a fashion photographer, his surrealist practice and his collaboration with Lee Miller. She concluded that although important differences remained between fashion's ideal bodies whose polished eroticism allays the threat of female sexuality and the surrealist mannequin which defamiliarised the body and could evoke intense anxiety

The ease with which Man Ray shifted from the reified feminine image signifying glamour and exclusivity to surrealism's revolutionary critique of modern society suggests that surrealist fashion and fashionable surrealism were not so far apart.¹⁵⁴

Chadwick then discussed how the redefinition of the female body at this time relied on an abstraction which conflated "woman" and fashionable object, an aesthetic visible in both Man Ray's fashion photographs and his personal work and argued that his portraits of Miller are essentially collaborations with a performative element nourished by Miller's experience as a fashion model. This insightful analysis constitutes a significant addition to the previous readings of his work in relation to George Bataille's *informe* and fetishism.¹⁵⁵ Chadwick suggested that the reproduction of the *Exposition* photograph on the cover of the surrealist journal represented "a revolutionary critique of modern society" but a closer focus on the specific context is fruitful.

Breton assumed control of the journal in no. 4 and in the preface he explained his reasons for doing so.¹⁵⁶ Breton's text ended with a political commitment to support all revolutionary action and tentatively acknowledged the centrality of the class struggle. The possible meanings of the cover photograph and caption relate to this polemic by Breton as well as specific texts by both Aragon and Eluard and encapsulate the flavour of this issue of the journal remarkably well.

¹⁵⁴ Chadwick, W. "Lee Miller's Two Bodies" in Chadwick and Latimer, *The Modern Woman Revisited*, p 200.

¹⁵⁵ Krauss, "Corpus Delicti" in Krauss and Livingstone, *L'Amour Fou*, p. 74; Foster, "Violation and Veiling in Surrealist Photography: Woman as Fetish, as Shattered Object, as Phallus" in Mundy, *Surrealism: Desire Unbound*, pp 217 - 218.

186 Breton, A. "Pourquoi je prends la direction de *La Révolution Surréaliste* ", *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 4, pp. 1 — 3.

The mannequin is a poetic figure of monumental proportions, an Amazon; the Siégel mannequins used in the display stood seven feet tall and emphasised the strengths of the industrial age and marvels to be found therein, but they also symbolised its weaknesses in their anonymity and lack of emotion. It is telling that the surrealists sent back the first batch of fifteen mannequins that they were sent for use in the 1938 *Exposition Internationale du Surréalisme* in Paris because they were too "maladroit and unlife-like", those eventually used were relatively realistic with a range of hair colours and facial expressions.¹⁵⁷ An idealisation and denaturalisation of the female form was however central to the fashion industry in the mid 1920s and Siégel mannequins were favoured in *Vogue*, a title which was decidedly up market.¹⁵⁸ Whereas titles such as *Marie Claire*, launched in 1937 would carry articles on cookery and beauty tips, the female readership of *Vogue* would not generally be expected to cook and would enjoy salon treatments. Figure 4 shows an advertisement for Cartier in the issue published in December 1928, the same issue featured a ski fashion shoot and the magazine at this time was filled with images of an affluent lifestyle.¹⁵⁹ The July 1927 issue featured yachting, in January 1928 readers were offered advice on how to purchase desirable residences on the Riviera and abroad, the November issue of the same year featured photo essays of the aristocracy enjoying hunting trips. Man Ray's photograph could be seen to present a view of the bourgeoisie and their materialist values as nauseous.

Eluard's text discussed the nature of "revolution" in his review of a conference organised by *Philosophies*, part of a left-wing alliance which included the surrealists and *Clarté*. Eluard reported an unfounded optimism amongst delegates concerning the extent of revolutionary change in Soviet Russia. He suggested that the nature of Russian society may have changed but that it was nevertheless characterised by inequality, disorder and madness and was far from revolutionary order or wisdom". Eluard's concerns about the period of reaction in Russia following the defeats suffered by revolution on an international scale,

¹⁵⁷ Kachur, L. *Displaying the Marvellous*, London: MIT Press, 2001, p 41.

¹⁵⁸ For an analysis of the preoccupation with the modern mannequin and its cancellation of the conventional signs of feminine beauty see Tag Gronberg's "Beware Beautiful Women: The 1920's shopwindow mannequin and a physiognomy of effacement", *Art History*, Vol. 20, No.

3, 1997, pp. 375 - 396.

☞ *Vogue* (French Edition), December 1928, p 23.

notably in Germany, and Lenin's death in 1924, although arguably characterised by naivety, were shrewd. The surrealists maintained an affinity with the ideas and protagonists of "October" at a time when most were falling in behind the Party apparatus in Moscow and moving rapidly to the right. Éluard's fundamental support for the Revolution, his distance from the Party and his naivety facilitated this insight. At this time, when the international bourgeoisie were willing the Soviet state to falter and the left were reluctant to voice concerns, the fact that the surrealists were critical of Russia was extraordinary. They had no personal political ambitions and were unconcerned with the tactical manoeuvres common amongst the organised left. The surrealists' familiarity with revolution was at this stage essentially based on the French Revolution and it was used in the first journal as a reference several times. Eluard ended his brief report with a quote from Saint-Just and a final warning for those who would accept less than absolute freedom, "The war for liberty must be fought with anger" and fought incessantly by all those who do not accept."¹⁶⁰

Aragon's text "Fragments d'une conférence" was also concerned with the nature of revolution and argued that revolt is born from "love" and "poetry".¹⁶¹ He poured scorn on the *Exposition des Arts Décoratifs*, calling it a "joke" and claimed that it was surrealism with its determination to "attack everything" that embodied the "*nouvel esprit*" in 1925. Man Ray's photograph of the monumental modernist tower blocks at the *exposition* site was used to illustrate this point. The photographer's professional investment in the *exposition* once again was harnessed to demonstrate its sterility. The *exposition* aimed to re-establish the primary position of France in the decorative arts and boost industry at a time of economic downturn. The Eiffel tower was transformed into a huge illuminated advertisement for Citroën and the event was seen by the Surrealists as a festival of nationalism.

The caption accompanying the cover photograph "*ET GUERRE AU TRAVAIL*" offers a further layer of meaning. Aragon suggested in his text that men were

¹⁶⁰ "La guerre de la liberté doit être menée avec colère et menée sans cesse par tous ceux qui n'acceptent pas. Eluard, P. "Manifestation Philosophies du 18 Mai 1925", *La Révolution*

Surréaliste, no. 4, p 32.

¶ Aragon, L. "Fragments d'une conférence", *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 4, pp 23 — 25.

consumed by work and referred to it as "the undisputable god in the West", describing it as "squalid". He claimed that his hands were "pure" as he personally would never work. Aragon was, of course, familiar with work and had considerable experience in commerce; he had worked for people who were in the business of buying and selling culture. He was employed by Doucet and as secretary to Jacques Hébertot, the manager of the *Théâtre des Champs Elysées* who asked him to resuscitate the moribund *Paris-Journal* when he acquired it.¹⁶² Aragon resigned from the title in 1924; the young surrealist group rejected work on principle, they saw cultural production for profit as a form of prostitution and followed Breton's lead in abandoning paid journalistic commissions.

Breton had described work as having quasi religious connotations and called for a strike by intellectuals as a means to express solidarity with manual workers in "La dernière grève", his preface to the second issue of *La Révolution Surréaliste*.¹⁶³ Also, as Walker has pointed out, the surrealists rejected the prevalent leftist view of manual work as heroic.¹⁶⁴ The task of modelling haute-couture gowns has been undertaken by mannequins in the image in the same way that many previously labour intensive manual tasks could be automated because of their repetitive and mundane nature. The photograph on the cover of the surrealist journal thus offers myriad associations. Its appearance in *Vogue* shortly afterwards its publication in the surrealist journal added to these layers of ideas. Breton's attack on pretentious writers in his preface, and the fact that tensions ran high within the group about the boundaries of acceptable literary ways to earn money suggest that the "work" in the caption could also refer to professional creative work.¹⁶⁵ This document of the contemporary displays at the *exposition* would thus stand as a prime example of creative energies (mis)directed towards supporting the reclamation of the decorative arts in France as unique and unrivalled. The photograph itself is essentially the result of a journalistic contract secured by Man Ray, symbolic of the contradictions within the "modern world" that Breton refers to in his polemic.

¹⁶² Haslam, M. *The real world of the Surrealists*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1978, p 111.

¹⁶³ "La dernière grève", *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 2, pp. 1 — 3.

¶ Walker, *City Gorged with Dreams*, p 80.

¹⁶⁵ See Chenieux-Gendron, J. and Folkenflik, V. *Surrealism*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1990, p 39.

Photographs never have a single meaning or a static identity and it is crucial to consider context as part of a structure of meaning. Our understanding of the intellectual content of the photographs published by the surrealists benefits from an approach which considers them not in isolation as aesthetic, modernist works of art or as exclusive to surrealism, but in their historical specificity in relation to contemporary concerns and journalistic practices. This approach facilitates enquiry into the function of these images, not only in terms of surrealist tactics but also their contribution, deliberate and incidental, to contemporary debates that were often highly visible in both high and popular culture.

As Ades has noted, the photographs in *La Révolution Surréaliste* are intricately linked to the text.¹⁶⁶ They often supply an opportunity to pause in the dense journal and they are well placed to do this, they augment the text and allow reflection. They invite contemplation and often have the qualities of mystery desired by Breton, they arrest the attention of the reader and assert themselves on the page as they are self-contained but they are also subject to language. These photographs encourage the wandering of the mind and act as the "springboard of the imagination" sought by Breton but are also part of the dynamic of the page and therefore a context is created for them as they are embedded in text. The photographs in *La Révolution Surréaliste* function in a similar way to those in the illustrated press in intentionality. Barthes definition of the press photograph as a message can be applied to the use of photography in the journal; text often connotes "the image, the images chosen "make ready play with the supposed knowledge of readers" to ensure clear communication and "a fully satisfactory reading".¹⁶⁷ However in the context of the surrealist journal this journalistic practice is subverted, images rarely illustrate text in the accepted sense (of making the text clearer) and at times their presence seems arbitrary. Also, reading "the photographic images used by surrealism is problematic not least because the group were so interested in the "visual" of visual images and their pictures often defy linguistics and thus solid meaning to a great extent. Barthes' belief that at the level of mass communication the linguistic message is present

¹⁶⁶ Ades, *Dada and Surrealism Reviewed*, p 189.

¹⁶⁷ Barthes, "The photographic message" in *Image, Music, Text*, pp. 15 - 31.

in every image, even though some are weak in signification while others communicate a frank message, is challenged by surrealism's use of photography in the first journal.¹⁶⁸ Surrealism understood the increasing dominance of visual culture and exploited the power of the image as argument but also subverted this by wresting the visual from the realm of language and asserting its independent power.

Even at the earliest, most Romantic stage of their development the surrealist group were dealing with many of the issues and themes that other publications were airing albeit from a radically different perspective. Their expressed aim was to concern themselves with "all of the problems that confront us in this era" and it is clear that the group surveyed the press closely, including popular titles in order to sharpen their intervention.¹⁶⁹ The surrealists used the letters pages of the press productively to establish a dialogue with people outside of the group.

In the first issue of *La Révolution Surréaliste* the surrealist texts on the subject of suicide are supplemented by a series of extracts from press reports and articles on the subject. These snippets are taken from *Libertaire*, *Petit Parisien*, *Éclair* and *Figaro*. This issue also includes an item which would become a regular feature in the journal entitled "Extraits de Presse", as well as the aforementioned titles in this issue the piece refers to *Les Nouvelles littéraires*, *Le journal littéraire*, *Le Temps*, *Le Journal du peuple*, *L'Éclair*, *Éclair de Nice*, *Comœdia*, *L'indépendance Belge*, *L'Europe nouvelle*, *L'Echo d'Alger*, *L'Information*, *Liberté* and *Le Journal*. Popular titles as well as the major newspapers and cultural reviews were scrutinised.¹⁷⁰

Photographically, Man Ray dominated *La Révolution Surréaliste* and Breton's consistent support for him indicates his position within the group as one able to produce or procure photographs for the journal that could elegantly convey the

¹⁶⁸ Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image" in *Image, Music, Text*, pp 32 — 51.

¹⁶⁹ "tous les problèmes qui se posent à notre époque", *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 1, p 31.

¹⁷⁰ Neil Cox has suggested that this idea of publishing snippets from the popular local press was stolen from André Gide's *Nouvelle revue française*. Gide collected bizarre news stories and published a collection of rather appalling examples in 1930. Cox, N. "Marat/Sade/Picasso" *Art History* Vol. 17, No. 3, September 1994, p 403. The range of press extracts published in surrealist journals however was wider than bizarre news stories and covered mainstream news items and cultural reviews.

spirit of the group's ideas. It was Man Ray who purchased prints from Atget who advertised himself as a documentary photographer and regularly sold photographs to artists.¹⁷¹ The group clearly benefited from Man Ray's expertise, as well as his recent commercial commissions he had acquired a range of skills in his employment as a young man in various companies including a lettering and layout position for an advertising firm, mechanical drafting for a publishing house and handling the artistic production of a map and atlas publisher.¹⁷² He was meticulous and efficient in his practice.¹⁷³ The imaginative employment of photographic illustrations throughout the journal is evidence of his professionalism in a situation where finances were limited and production unsophisticated and prone to mishaps (in the first issue Masson's drawing on page 27 is printed upside down). Photographs are placed carefully, are often prominent and careful attention has been paid to detail.

On the front cover of the first edition of the journal published in December 1924 and on the cover of issue 2 the following January, Man Ray is credited first under illustrations simply with "photos". The first two issues of the journal are arguably the strongest in terms of their use of photographic material and this may be due to the considerable direct input of Man Ray. From issue 3 onwards he is simply credited under "illustrations" along with the other featured artists and his name is absent altogether on the credits for numbers 5 and 12 although in theory he could be present in the "etc." addendum. The quality of the photographic illustrations in the journal is uneven; issues 5, 8, 9/10 and 11 are particularly weak but there is a periodic return to form notably in the final issue published in December 1929.

The fact that *La Nature* was a role model for the journal is visible in the layout of the front cover of issue 1 (Fig. 5) which includes three photographic records of group activities and members illustrating the declaration "il faut aboutir a une nouvelle declaration des droits de l'homme." These photographs convey the

¹⁷¹ In July 1922 Man Ray moved into his studio/apartment at 17 Boulevard de Montparnasse, Atget lived at number 31. Foresta, *Perpetual Motif*, p 123.

¹⁷² Schwarz, A. *Man Ray: The Rigour of Imagination*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1977, p 15.

¹⁷³ See Amaya, M. "My Man Ray: An interview with Lee Miller Penrose" in *Art in America*, May-June 1975, pp 55 - 60 for details of Man Ray's practice.

interests of the group economically; de Chirico's *Tobias "Dream" (1917)* is visible on the wall directly behind Breton, the light in the bottom two photographs is extremely bright as if indicating some kind of illumination and also echoes the shape of the print to the right of the de Chirico in the central group portrait above. The photographs are centralised on the page and imply that the group are serious in their intentions and actively pursue their ambitions in a laboratorial manner. The reproductions are of a good quality with high levels of contrast and the focus is on the faces of the individuals and their total absorption in their experiments. The meaning of these photographs is clear, this is the surrealist revolution and these are cadre. The preface in the first issue is illustrated by a photograph of Man Ray's *Enigma of Isidore Ducasse (1920)* (Fig. 6) which has no caption and is centrally positioned. The reader's attention is shaped by it as it both interrupts the text and refers to a text by the Comte de Lautréamont, whose ideas the surrealists had adopted as proto-surrealist thought.¹⁷⁴ This photograph had previously been reproduced in *Littérature* and stands here as a cipher and as a statement of purpose.

This careful presentation of photographs is continued throughout the first issue, which contains ten photographs as well as ten drawings. This level of use of photographs in the publication is to some extent attributable to the proliferation of photographic illustrations in magazines generally at this time although in the mid 1920s many publications remained committed to the use of drawings. It can also be understood as a deliberate anti-art gesture given the lowly status of photography at the time. In *La Révolution Surréaliste* Man Ray was able to present his work as an independent artist, he used the journal to publish photographs of his art; three of the photographs in the first issue are reproductions of his works as well as *Enigma, New York (1920)* and a film still from *Retour à la Raison (1923)* feature. Photographs of the work of other artists are presented in the journal; the first issue contains a photograph of Picasso's sculpture *Guitar (1924)* constructed from painted, cut-out and folded sheet iron, tin box and wire but there is no aesthetic preoccupation and the vitality of the

¹⁷⁴ "He is fair ... as the chance meeting on a dissecting-table of a sewing machine and an umbrella!" Comte de Lautréamont (1869) *Lautréamont: Maldoror and Poems*, London: Penguin, 1978, p 217.

journal came to a great extent from the mixture of visual material.¹⁷⁵

The photographic content of the first issue is not representative of the journal as a whole as it contains one third of the eighteen images classified above as manipulated".¹⁷⁶ The photographic content of the second issue is very different and even the two images that have been manipulated - Man Ray's distorted nude of Kiki de Montparnasse (p 26) (Fig. 7) and his *Boulevard Edgar-Quinet, à minuit* (p 22) (Fig. 8) are grounded in reality through familiar subject matter in the former and the caption in the latter. The remaining six photographic images in the issue include a photograph of a mannequin's head and hands encased in a box to illustrate "Le Bureau de Recherches surréalistes" (p. 31) (Fig. 9), a film still

(p 5) (Fig. 10), and four photographs that are typical of photo-journalism. These images are documents of extraordinary sights that are common in everyday life and include the scarecrow on the cover with the caption ART FRANÇAIS DEBUT DU XXe SIÈCLE (Fig. 11), the murky industrial scene viewed through a window that illustrates Breton's article on strikes (p 1) (Fig.12), the shot of the sensational escapologist/crocodile show at the fair (p 20) (Fig. 13) and the speeding car (p 30) (Fig. 14). The photographs in the second issue are bound to the text that accompanies them however the photographs are rarely discussed in this context. David Bate noted that the collage of Germaine Berton in issue 1 is generally discussed in relation to her crime record rather than being linked to the texts on suicide in the first issue, despite being placed amongst articles dealing with the subject and a direct reference to this by Aragon on page 12. This lack of attention to context allows the appetite of the scholar to determine the nature and function of the photographs, at the expense of their specific historic journalistic context.

In *Perpetual Motif*, Roger Shattuck compared Man Ray's nude in issue 2 (Fig. 7) to both Ingres' *La Source* (1856) in respect of the pose, and a rare Nadar nude, *Marie Christine Roux* (1855) (Fig. 15). Apart from mentioning that Roux was recognised as the inspiration of Henri Murger's "Musette" in *Scènes de la*

vie de

175 *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 1, p 19.

16 Man Ray's *Enigma* (preface); the *Retour à la raison* film still (p 4); the chair with ghostly hands (p 12); the doubled breasts (p 15) as well as the collage placed before the "Textes Surréalistes" (p 7) and the Germaine Berton collage were included in this category.

bohème (1851), Shattuck did not explore the relationships between these representations further or refer to the text which accompanied this image in the journal. Man Ray's nude originated from a 1924 photograph of Kiki de Montparnasse, part of a series of five increasingly abstracted images (Fig. 16); in the original print Kiki's face is in shadow but she is instantly recognisable, her pubic hair is shaved into the shape of a heart, she wears jewellery and fixes the camera lens with a stare. This photograph does bear close resemblance to the Nadar nude; the women differ in that Roux shields her face and the cloth that she stands upon has become geometric for Kiki but the pose is strikingly similar. Both photographs are of contemporary women who can be placed historically in Paris as seminal figures in French culture. Both Roux and Alice Prin were from working class backgrounds and came to be known as the "queen of bohemia" and the "queen of Montparnasse" respectively.

The version of this photograph in *La Révolution Surréaliste* is the result of dark room manipulation; overexposure and burning in have increased the depth of shadowed areas and the level of abstraction. The comparison to *La Source* is understandable; the pose is similar, the passive body is flooded in light and set against a dark background. In fact Ingres commissioned Nadar to take nude photographs of Roux on the basis of which he painted *La Source*.¹⁷⁷ David Bate noted that when Man Ray arrived in Paris interest in Ingres was a contemporary one¹⁷⁸ and Man Ray himself referred to *La Source* specifically in *Self Portrait* when he recounted the time he made the first nude of Kiki and she came out "modestly holding her hand in front of her, exactly like Ingres's painting of *La Source*."¹⁷⁹ This is a common pose but in Man Ray classicism haunts the image; in his treatment of a traditional genre, the tension between pleasure and discomfort is heightened as the body is reduced to a simple, luminescent outline enveloped in darkness. The sinuous form is sensuous but holds horror and cruelty as the body appears distorted, withdrawn and faceless. The body is devoid of individuality because the face, sex, hands and feet have disappeared into shadow.

¹⁷⁷ Rotzler, W. *Photography as Artistic Experiment*, New York: AMphoto, 1976, p 11.

¹⁷⁸ Bate, *Photography and Surrealism*, p 121.

¹⁷⁹ Man Ray, *Self Portrait*, London: Andre Deutsch, 1963, p 144.

Kirsten Hoving Powell observed that Ingres's own distortion of physical form had been noted in 1856 by the critic Théophile Silvestre and also in the early 1920s when André Lhote argued that his nudes were a product of both violence and deference; she argues that it was essentially Ingres who taught Man Ray about the power of deformation and refers to this photograph as fitting in with the text which "describes the foggy, evaporating, vagueness of the dreamstate."¹⁸⁰ But it is not only in form that this photograph fits the text. In the journal the nude accompanies Rene Crevel's text "Le Sommeil: Je ne sais pas découper".¹⁸¹ The article recounts a dream about tasting human flesh, not through caressing or biting it but actually eating it and Crevel tells of seeing garlands of shed skins, heavy with human fruit decorating his room like the Chinese lanterns seen on Bastille Day. He had woken with a taste of flesh in his mouth and presumed that he had picked one of these fruits in his dream and eaten it, but was struck by the apparent physicality of the taste on his tongue. Man Ray's photograph alludes to this troubling experience with its display of a radiant, immobile body, elongated and suspended in darkness. The text demands a disquieting image and this affinity between text and photography is evident throughout the second issue .

The photograph of the showman placing his head in the mouth of an alligator (Fig. 13) while submersed in a tank of water provides a preface to Robert Desnos' polemic on opium. The text argues that opium use results from desperation and that people who have lost all hope and choose to relieve their pain through drug use should be left in peace. The problem says Desnos, is not the medicine, but the malady and until we can relieve the causes of human misery we should not remove the means to alleviate it. The prevalence of opium was a subject of Brassai's photographs in the 1930s but the article by Desnos was not illustrated literally but with a photograph for which no explanation at all is offered. The reader must marry the text and image and in this process grasp the kernel of Desnos' argument. Desnos wrote of "souls" who are lost in society and

¹⁸⁰ Hoving Powell, K. ,Le Violin d'Ingres: Man Ray's Variations on Ingres, Deformation, Desire and de Sade", *Art History*, Vol. 23, no. 5, December 2000, p 780.

would soon find another way of dealing with their deep sorrow should opium be removed, if this were even possible. This impulse to self harm may be foolish he said but it is impossible to eradicate as nature itself is essentially anti-social; Desnos proposed that it is only through an organised reaction against these natural tendencies of humanity that the "social body" is able to seize power.

The photograph is alarming but this is mitigated by the fact that it is clearly a performance. Danger is literally held at a distance, a horrific outcome is unlikely to confront a live audience who are prepared to risk this for the thrill derived from this type of popular entertainment. The photograph captures the pinnacle of the show and renders it simultaneously magnificent and ignoble. The eye is drawn to the centre of the frame and the proximity of the bald head of the man to the mouth of the animal, the effort involved in prizing open the jaws is tangible. At the same time degradation is mooted by the stains on the tank, the black appearance of the water, the wheel replaced by a brick against the wall, the lack of a visible audience and the fact that this moment of tension is in stasis. There is no risk of danger to the reader who is able to observe this curious document, and in conjunction with the text consider the nature of humanity and the parameters of the "social body" and personal liberty at leisure. The text explains and the photograph offers evidence as well as food for thought.

Desnos' second text in this "*Chroniques*" section in issue 2 is entitled "La Mort" and Man Ray's *Boulevard Edgard-Quinet, à minuit* (Fig. 8) provides a postscript. Unlike the crocodile photograph, this illustration is explained by the caption and has a tenuous link to the text in which Desnos refers to the senses. The article dismisses those who link death to God and the author confides that in death it is not his thoughts or his spirit that concerns him, but his senses. He says he is unable to imagine love without the taste of death because their elusive characters are mixed together somehow,

Merveilleuses satisfactions de la vue et du toucher, perfection des jouissances, c'est par votre entremise que ma pensée peut entrer en relation avec la mort.¹⁸²

182 "You, marvels of touch, of the gaze; perfections of ecstasy: you let my thoughts know death."

La Révolution Surréaliste, no. 2, p 22.

The photograph with its caption encourages the viewer to meditate upon this by suggesting both the sensual pleasures that might be experienced in Paris at midnight but also evokes their fading away. The film still used to illustrate Naville's surrealist text (Fig. 10) is also loosely linked to the text but through specific passages, "Je songe qu'un esprit me menace constamment" and "je songe à ces cadavres accumulés à l'ombre des forêts."¹⁸³ As joint editor, Naville was keen on using anonymous images as illustrations but even when Breton assumed the position, photographs from popular culture featured in the journal.¹⁸⁴

The attraction of such images stems from their distance from high culture but also from their revelatory quality when displaced and the fact that they often indicate something of the moral climate, or the aspirations people have at any given time. The popular press, advertising, the cinema and theatre provided everyday images which displayed contemporary preoccupations and had an immediacy and intensity. This displacement of everyday material had been explored by Ernst in his collage work exhibited by the group in 1920 at the *Galerie Sans Pareil*. In *Surrealism and Painting*, Breton described Ernst's sense of culture as extraordinary and captivating, inherited from

Rimbaud's famous love for the decorative panels over doors, for silly refrains and the revolution in manners and morals, from the systematic taste that Lautréamont is supposed to have had for a sort of spiritual trench extending from Edward Young's *Night Thoughts* to certain medical reports, from Jarry's taunting knowledge of heraldry, and even from the inspiration which Apollinaire sought in catalogues.¹⁸⁵

Robert Motherwell also noted Ernst's concern with contemporary history and his employment of "the paraphernalia of the external world".¹⁸⁶ This displacement of banal everyday material such as advertising is akin to the intelligent use of the same in *La Révolution Surréaliste*.

¹⁸³ "I dream of a spirit that threatens me constantly" and "I dream of these corpses accumulating in the forest." *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 2, p 5.

¹⁸⁴ No. 1 includes a film still from Buster Keaton's *The Electric House* (p. 22), no. 3 features a risqué postcard of the actress Phyllis Hawer.

¹⁸⁵ Breton, A. *Surrealism and Painting*, London: Macdonald, , 1972, p 25.

¹⁸⁶ Ernst, M. *Beyond Painting*, New York: Wittenborn Schultz Inc, 1948, Prefatory note, p v.

In issue 6 of the journal a photograph of John D. Rockefeller illustrates an article by Crevel entitled "Le Bien du siècle".¹⁸⁷ (Fig. 17) Photographs from the collection of Félix Potin were reproduced widely in albums where hundreds of portraits were displayed in this 4 x 7.5 cm format but also as postcards and as trade cards for goods such as cigarettes and chocolate. Potin acquired a vast collection of portraits of contemporary celebrities including portraits of politicians, military figures, royalty, scientists, authors, musicians, artists, athletes and actors and he frequently commissioned commercial studios, including Reutlinger and Nadar to provide the photographs. Like Rockefeller, Potin was from a modest farming background and had built an industrial Empire. The business practices introduced by Potin in the second half of the 19th century constituted a commercial revolution and preceded mass consumption. By the turn of the century Potin's business had become the major food company in Paris and was almost self sufficient. In 1906 Potin employed 1,800 people in its huge factories in Paris, by 1927 this figure had risen to 8,000.¹⁸⁸ Félix Potin was ubiquitous in Paris in 1926 when *La Révolution Surréaliste* was published.

Potin's portrait of Rockefeller, captioned here as "PHILANTHROPE" sits without explanation in the centre of Crevel's text.¹⁸⁹ This article is a polemic principally against the ideas of Drieu La Rochelle which had been expressed in a letter "La Véritable Erreur des Surréalistes" published in *La Nouvelle Revue Française* in August 1925 as well as in an interview which Crevel quotes in his text.¹⁹⁰ Crevel's article noted that it seemed that the writers in the daily press

¹⁸⁷ *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 6, 1 March, 1926, pp 18 — 19.

¹⁸⁸ <http://www.felixpotin.com> (Accessed 8/8/07)

¹⁸⁹ John D Rockefeller Snr, a deeply religious man retired from Standard Oil in 1896, devoted himself to charitable work and developed corporate philanthropy. See Nevins, A., *Study in Power: John D. Rockefeller, Industrialist and Philanthropist*, 2 volumes, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953 for biographical details.

¹⁹⁰ Drieu La Rochelle was attracted by the extremism and vigour of the Paris Dada and surrealist groups. He was close to Aragon in the early 1920's but also had connections with *Action Française* and when the surrealists declared an allegiance to Communism in 1925 his flirtation with the avant garde ceased. He was disgusted by the weakness of France, with the declining population growth, with what he termed the "decadent materialism of democracy" and he resented the influx of immigrants. He became a Fascist in the 1930's. In his article "Le Bien du Siècle" in *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 6, p 28, Crevel refers to an interview and to L' "Erreur des surréalistes". This text and the development of Drieu La Rochelle's ideas are discussed at length by Christopher Terrence Ryan in his dissertation "Two Intellectual Responses

to the Dilemma of Political “Engagement” in Interwar France: André Breton & Pierre Drieu La

and the cultural reviews had all swallowed a pill which had been ingeniously marketed, such was the dissemination of the idea that the spirit of revolution was the new "mal du siècle". Crevel declared that one would need to have a singular love of paradox and a presumptuousness capable of the most sinister of stupid remarks to speak of weakness in those who will not accept enslavement. Crevel borrows from Voltaire's Pangloss when he refers to "la révolte des esprits qui ne croient pas et n'acceptent pas de faire semblant de croire que tout soit pour le mieux dans le meilleur des mondes."¹⁹¹ The article ends with Crevel claiming that the "mal du siècle" resides in resignation and in the speeches of those who renounce communism and he hails the spirit of revolution as the "bien du siècle". Rockefeller and Potin appear in the midst of this discussion as interlopers.

Rockefeller's eyes in the photograph look directly towards the text which declares that charitable efforts by individuals with great personal wealth are driven by egotism. Both Rockefeller and Potin stand here as exemplary representatives of those who bolster inequality and create the conditions for the spirit of revolution. Potin's photograph of Rockefeller in this context does not present him as a worthy celebrity but rather as a parasite and the commandeering of this mass produced image makes this point elegantly.

In issue 3 of the journal, Péret's short poetic text "L'Amour des Heures, La Haine du Poivre" is illustrated by the reproduction of a postcard featuring the popular American actress Phyllis Haver (Fig. 18). Péret's black humour is well served by the image; the text deals with *vérole* or the pox resulting in word play with the actresses first name and syphilis. Haver was well known in France by the time *La Révolution Surréaliste* was launched, she had played female lead alongside Buster Keaton in *Balloonatics* (1923). She was celebrated as one of Mack

Sennett's "bathing beauties" and as a talented comic actress following her performances in his films including *Hearts and Flowers* (1919). *Hearts and Flowers* was notably risqué; Haver's character cross dresses as a man in order to seduce the female lead and the same sex kissing scenes were prolonged.

Rochelle, *Essays in History* 33 (1990-91),

<http://etext.virginia.edu/journals/EH/EH33/ryan33.html> (Accessed January 2006)

¹⁹¹ the revolt of those who do not believe, accept or pay lip service to the idea that all is for the best in the best of all possible worlds." *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 6, p 18.

The disparate photographs published in *La Révolution Sur réaliste* function effectively in engaging with contemporary artistic, social and political issues and the use of "everyday" photographs and a documentary style where the images are tied in some way to the text cements this. In issue 6 Pierre Unik's humorous short story "Vive la Mariée" is framed by two illustrations, a print by Jean Arp *Un Homme* (Fig. 19) is placed at the beginning and a photograph of a group of bourgeois women identified as "the jury of the *Fémima* prize" acts as a postscript and is captioned "no comment".¹⁹² (Fig. 20) The two illustrations occupy as much space on the two pages as text and enhance its playful and irreverent nature. The image infers that these women are not amused by Unik's story with its lack of veneration for the institution of marriage but it also illustrates in an economic manner why the surrealists scorned such awards.

The prize was commonly referred to as *Femina Vie Heureuse* but the fact that the title that the magazine was formerly known as is placed in quotation marks arguably refers to Unik's narrative in which the bride to be loses her bridegroom but luckily is able to replace him immediately, with the encouragement of the men around her, and happily continues with her ceremony and subsequent celebrations. The "lucky life" thus applies to the protagonist in the story and to the affluent women in the photograph who are privileged but given this visual evidence not happy in their conventional and traditional lives. Joseph Delteil had been expelled from the group by Breton in the autumn of 1925 after winning the prize for *Jeanne d'Arc* and this vital story by Unik represents an opposition. Moreover the fresh, abstracted illustration by Arp at the beginning of the text stands in opposition to the documentary photograph at the end. There is a tension between Arp's "homme" and the women. The exclusively female jury represent here the independent, self-assured and capable "modern woman" and her central place in culture at this time, particularly in the illustrated press in which to quote Whitney Chadwick, she was shown to be

¹⁹² Unik, P. "Vive la Mairée", *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 6, pp. 25 - 26. The *prix Femina* is an annual literary award created by the magazine *Femina* (formerly known as *La Vie*

Heureuse); the winner is chosen by a female jury. The photograph is introduced as "Le jury du prix Fémina "vie heureuse"; the caption below the image reads "sans commentaries".

literally “going places”. She was shown at the wheel of an automobile, at the helm of a speedboat, in the cockpit of an airplane. She was in control, self-assured, capable, aggressive, adventurous, independent.¹⁹³

The woman on the far right in the photograph of the *Femina* jury appears to represent the stereotypical modern woman with her cropped hair, fashionable attire and the fact that she is smoking in public. A perceived invasion of the traditionally male territory of the literary elite may have been a cause of rancour among the surrealists but the group were no less contemptuous of powerful male literary figures and in the text it is the institution of marriage which is denigrated rather than the bride or her hapless companions.

Issue 12 of the journal is strong photographically and includes traditional documentary photographs as well as technical trickery. It includes a full page reproduction of Magritte’s photomontage *Je ne vois pas la (femme) dans la forêt* and David Bate has provided an analysis of this image as an allegory of “love”, supported by the fact that it appears in the middle of an “Inquiry into Love” and that the female figure is connoted as Venus, the goddess of love.¹⁹⁴ The final issue of the journal contains many other rich photographic images. “Bonne Année! Bonne Santé”, the three page article by Georges Sadoul examines the nature of the policing in Paris and explores the political implications of journalists in the press, particularly in the popular “crime” title *Déetective*, supporting a stronger police force and promoting draconian laws.¹⁹⁵ The text uses long extracts from *Déetective* to expose the political nature of the magazine. The extracts published present the magazine and those who write for it as vicious and morally bankrupt in their reports and sensational examples of contemporary legal practice. The article is illustrated by two photographs, Magritte’s (uncredited) montage *Paris Opéra* (1929) with the Palais Garnier surrounded by a field complete with trees, grazing cows and a lake, is placed in the centre of the page devoted to *Déetective*.(Fig. 21) This surprising image suggests a deep malaise as it is surrounded by text taken directly from the magazine and its impressive circulation statistics. The article from the magazine which borders

¹⁹³ Chadwick and Latimer, *The Modern Woman Revisited*, p 3.

¹⁹⁴ Bate, *Photography and Surrealism*, pp. 148 — 149.

¹⁹⁵ Sadoul, G. “Bonne Année! Bonne Santé”, *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 12, pp. 45 -

47.

the image is a report from Haiti by Victor Forbin in which he recounts how the governor had consulted him concerning the punishment of a fourteen year old who had killed his father as Forbin was "from France, a land of justice and civilisation".¹⁹⁶ The *Déetective* article from Haiti is headlined "COMMENT J'AI CONDAMNÉ A MORT UN ENFANT NOIR" and a lurid tale follows of how the author called out for the firing squad to "finish him off" after witnessing his prolonged execution, resulting in a hail of bullets so intense that the prisoner's clothes were burnt so that they looked like tinder.¹⁹⁷ The image suggests that civilisation" in France is a veneer, represented by the Palais Garnier, which conceals the quagmire that it is built upon. The existence of a subterranean lake beneath the *Opéra* would have been well known at this time because Gaston Leroux's novel *Phantom of the Opéra* was published in series in 1910 and Rupert Julian's film adaptation was produced in 1925 and re-issued with sound in 1929.

The following page of the article reprints extracts from another recent *Déetective* article which complains that the death penalty against women has merely been a fiction for the preceding forty years. The magazine noted three outstanding death penalties against women and is quoted at length calling for at least one of these sentences to be carried through as a deterrent to criminals such as kleptomaniacs, drug addicts and prostitutes."¹⁹⁸ Sadoul is incensed by this magazine and the fact that it is read widely, he suggests that *Déetective* is replacing the popular illustrated *fantastique* fiction magazine *L'Intrépide*. He warns that France is in moral danger from *Déetective*. The surrealists fostered a deep hatred of *Déetective*, founded in 1928, as it was edited by George Kessel. Kessel's brother Joseph had organised a literary journal with Horace de Carbuccia, the brother-in-law of the chief of police, Jean Chiappe. Subsequently Carbuccia had become editor of the extreme right wing magazine *Gringoire*.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁶ "Vous qui êtes de France, pays de justice et de civilisation, que feriez-vous à ma place?" *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 12, p 46.

¹⁹⁷ "Donnez-l ui donc le coup de grâce cria une voix, la mienne. La vie était puissamment chevi llée dans le corps de ce j eune nègre, 20 ou 30 balles à bout portant, les vêtements brûlaient par places, comme de l'amadou" *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 12, p 46.

- 18 Sadoul, G. "Bonne Année, Bonne Santé", *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 12, p 47.
19 Haslam, *The real world of the Surrealists*, p 229.

This text is illustrated by reproduction of a photcollage, with the title *Monument aux Morts* (1929) (Fig. 22) by Albert Valentin who would become assistant to René Clair the following year. The collage shows a contemporary outdoor summer scene featuring two young women sitting in a park behind a monument, they appear to have undressed to some extent and are sporting fashionable bobbed hairstyles; the women have their backs to the viewer and to the monument but one looks directly at the camera over her left shoulder and we see the other in side profile. The monument has been placed on a brick plinth in a public place as war memorials are but it consists of a reflective metal box contraption which displays the larger than life double image of a young woman. The collage made use of a Metro-Goldwyn-Meyer promotional photograph for "The Song Shop" and "Doll Dance". The back of the original collage reveals text which identifies the image as a photograph of dancers from the new shows and explains that the performers take part in a programme of "fresh air, sunshine and exercise following medical advice". Valentin has superimposed the monument onto the scene. Again the image of the woman on the left gazes directly at the camera with a knowing look, the inverted representation of the woman smiles and raises her eyes. The collage is beautifully reproduced and presented at the end of the essay as a postscript.

The context of this photograph is essential to the reader's understanding of its meaning here but it is also open, it has a complex relationship to the intensely political text and is at once both light and sombre. In this instance the photograph is understandable through the caption, through its attachment to the text both literally and implicitly with its references to contemporary women and to the reference to how popular magazines represented women. The photograph may be interpreted as a means of exposing the discourse of criminology, of contemporary preoccupation with criminality, especially female criminality. Tag Gronberg has highlighted the contemporary psychoanalytic discourse on the modern female consumer as a deviant, threatening figure and shown how 19th century ideas about the propensity of women to steal were still current in the mid

1920s.²⁰⁰ These women may also represent the seemingly calm yet perilous nature of French society in 1929 in which the police were an increasingly visible arm of the state.

Issue 12 featured a text by Jacques Rigaut by way of an obituary as he had committed suicide the previous month. The text had originally been published in *Littérature* in December 1920 and is typically focused on suicide and characterised by a world weariness and morbid humour

La première fois que je me suis tué, c'est pour embêter ma maîtresse ...
Le Deuxième fois que je me suis tué, c'est par paresse. Pauvre, ayant pour tout travail une horreur anticipée, j e me suis tué un jour, sans convictions, comme j 'avais vécu.²⁰¹

The text is illustrated with the type of photograph commonly found in photojournalism which shows a strange sight but one which is plausible in an urban environment. (Fig. 23) A car has mounted the pavement and overturned, it lies there on its side, the reader has no idea at to what has occurred in this instance but in conjunction with the text the image could represent a suicide bid. The car in this unfamiliar, vulnerable position seems to belie its inanimate character and the vehicle itself appears to have expired. The photograph is at once surprising, playful, mysterious and gloomy and thus complemented the text beautifully.

This elegant use of photographs is evident throughout the final issue of the journal. The long article by Thirion on Marx's theory on commodity fetishism and the circulation of capital "Note sur l'argent" is illustrated with a bland photograph of a shop front with a sign that reads "Fortune" and a sinister caption "Maison-Attentat".²⁰² (Fig. 24) Walker has translated the caption as "murdering-house" and

²⁰⁰ Gronberg discussed Gatian de Clérambault's essays (1908 and 1910) "Passion érotique des étoffes chez la femme" in *Cité D' Illusion*, Ph D thesis, 1994, pp. 132 — 134. In a 1925 a book on department stores the author claimed: "le voleur à l'étalage est, dans la proportion de 90 pour cent, une femme" (the thief who steals from the display is, in 90 per cent of cases, female). Valmy-Baysse, "Parasites-Kleptomane", *Tableau des Grands Magasins*, Paris, 1925, p. 155, both cited in Gronberg, T. "Beware beautiful women: the 1920's shop window mannequin" in *Art History*, p 395.

²⁰¹ "The first time I killed myself was to annoy my mistress ... The second time

I killed myself was from laziness. Poor and having a premature horror of every kind of work, I killed myself one day, without conviction, as I had lived." *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 12, p 56.

²⁰² Thirion, A. "Note sur L'argent", *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 12, pp. 24 - 28..

this is a valid interpretation of this strange phrase although it should be noted that *attentat* “often possesses a specifically public sense in French.²⁰³” *Un attentat* “refers to a terrorist attack, a bombing in a public space, the assassination of a public figure for example. As well as Walker’s interpretation of the phrase being suggestive of the fortune within the house being “nefariously and possibly violently acquired” there is the possibility of a general critique of capitalism and its extraction of profit as “terrorism”.

The article by the psycho-analyst J. Frois-Wittmann on suicide is illustrated by two photographs, placed on a double spread to frame and interrupt the text that discusses suicide in youth in terms of the displacement of a death wish upon parents and unresolved “Oedipal” fixation.²⁰⁴ (Fig. 25) The first photograph shows a commonplace domestic item, a small wall mounted shelving unit for housing bric-a-brac above two framed pictures and three vertical empty frames. This item takes on an ominous character because of its juxtaposition with the text. One of the framed pictures shows a crowing Gallic cock, a national symbol of France but also a symbol of paternity and in folklore a harbinger of a death in the family if it should crow at night. The second picture shows a bottle and a single glass on a table, beneath which lie two pairs of shoes or slippers. The photograph is depopulated, human presence is merely suggested and absence is denoted by the vacant frames. The photograph on the opposite page also shows domestic objects, an arrangement of boxes of household implements including scissors, pen nibs, needles and a hatpin. Again because its relationship to the text this photograph has a sinister nature and even the carefully wrapped thread assumes the appearance of a lethal weapon. The design of this double page set up affects a balance and unifies the exposition and the photographs but also asserts the notion of the family generally as a dangerous place.

This illustrative use of photography where images are placed throughout the text to evidence and support it and to provide a stimulus for the imagination was not a feature of the journal which succeeded *La Révolution Surréaliste* and in fact this

²⁰³ Walker discusses the currency of this image in detail in *City gorged with dreams*, see pp. 75 - 79.

²⁰⁴ Frois-Wittmann, J. “Mobiles inconscients du suicide”, *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no.

12, pp 41 — 44.

practice would not return until the period after the Second World War. Chapter 3 will examine the function of photography in *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution* and assert that although images were presented apart from the main body of text, they were nevertheless securely linked to it.

Chapter 3

The function of photographic illustrations in *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution*

Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution differs from its predecessor in many ways and in terms of the use of photography the fact that it differs in format is often noted. It has been suggested that the varied illustrations in the second journal are placed at the back as *hors-textes* for reasons of economy.²⁰⁵ The second review sold substantially less copies than *La Révolution Surréaliste*, the group funded the journal themselves and finance was a problem.²⁰⁶ Both Breton and Eluard regularly sold art from their personal collections to secure publication.²⁰⁷ Matthews however has suggested that this formal change signified an elevation in the status of the medium. He argued that it represented a transformation of the character and function of the contribution made by photographs to the surrealist publication and thus drew a line between the two journals with respect to the role of the medium. He noted the absence of Atget's work and the fact that Man Ray's photographs were generally presented as independent surrealist art works equal to the paintings, sculptures and objects reproduced at the back of each issue, a trend which he believed was merely accelerated rather than instigated in *Minotaure*.²⁰⁸ This is not an analysis that stands up to examination.

Matthews failed to note that in fact Man Ray's work had been presented in this way in the first journal, often accompanied by his signature. In *La Révolution Surréaliste* his work was never given a full page, but other works of art were rarely presented in this way either as they too were integrated into the text.

²⁰⁵ Ades, *Dada and Surrealism Reviewed*, p 252; Bate *Photography and Surrealism*, p 235.

²⁰⁶ *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution* sold 350 copies of its first two issues while *La Révolution Surréaliste* had attained a circulation of over 1,000. Ades, *Dada and Surrealism Reviewed*, p 251.

²⁰⁷ For example in 1931 *Paris-Magazine* reported that Breton and Eluard held a sale of primitive art in July 1931 to finance the journal; in April 1933 Eluard sold some paintings to Vicomte de Noailles to fund issues 5 and 6. See *André Breton: La beauté convulsive* pages 203 and 206 respectively.

²⁰⁸ Matthews, "Modes of documentation: Photography in *La Révolution surréaliste*", pp. 44 - 45.

Matthews failed to elaborate on the wider use of photography in *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution* which certainly reflected a shift in the preoccupations of the group but nevertheless continued to rely on the mass cultural form of the medium to parade them. This was not simply an accidental similarity between surrealism and the mass media but rather a result of an understanding within the group of the contemporary reception of illustrated journalism as progressive and truthful, and of the potential of the photographic image to shake the reader's consciousness. In 1952 Breton stated that of all the surrealist journals, *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution* was

by far the richest, in the sense that mattered to us: the most balanced, the best put together, as well as the most fully alive (with a thrilling and dangerous life). It was in this magazine that Surrealism burned with the most intense flame. For a time, we all saw nothing but this flame, and were not afraid to be consumed by it.²⁰⁹

This chapter aims to carefully examine the function of photographic illustrations in the journal, particularly those which have been hitherto neglected in scholarship, and to establish how they formed an integral part of the surrealists' drive towards both political and cultural radicalism.

Thirty-four of the fifty-two *hors-textes* in *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution* are photographic images, including nine reproductions of sculptures and objects and four Man Ray photographs. Of the remainder, nine are documentary photographs, five are film stills, five are photo-collages, two are taken from popular culture and one is an altered photograph by Dali. The only photograph to appear in the main body of the journal is the reproduction of the telegram from Moscow on the first page of the first issue. Taken as a whole the photographs published in the journal, as well as supporting specific texts, generally contribute to Breton's expressed wish in the second manifesto to use any means necessary to destroy dominant ideas about family, country and religion.²¹⁰ For the surrealists and the commercial press alike, photographs were an indispensable tool of communication used with intention to fix meaning. Despite graphic design even more rudimentary than in the first journal, the

²⁰⁹ Breton, A. with Parinaud, A. *Conversations: The Autobiography of Surrealism*, translated by Polizzotti, M., New York: Paragon House, 1969, p 120.

²¹⁰ "... tous les moyens doivent être bons à employer pour ruiner les idées de famille, de patrie, de religion" Breton, *Manifestes du surréalisme*, Paris: Gallimard, 1970, p 82.

surrealists" use of photography was once again often elegant and incisive. Some photographs, notably those by Man Ray appear less didactic but are nevertheless integral contributions to the themes of the journal, providing images which are open to various interpretations and offer a challenge to the viewer. In the new journal, the reader is led by text and image to engage with a new order of values drawn from the works of Sade, Lautréamont, Hegel and Lenin.

Although the production of the journal is generally understood as signifying a shift towards placing the movement at the service of the Communist Party, tension is evident and the photographs published in the first two issues particularly denote discordance. The first issue, published in July 1930, famously opens with a reproduction of the telegram from the *Bureau International de Littérature Révolutionnaire* which demanded confirmation of allegiance to the USSR. The published response declared loyalty to Moscow in the event of an imperialist war and offered intellectual services. The friction between the "revolution" of the Communist Party and that of the surrealists was illuminated by the response to the recent death of Mayakovsky in April 1930. The first issue of the journal devoted seven pages of text (out of forty-eight pages in total) and a full page photographic illustration to the poet. The text consisted of a long article by Breton, flanked by reproductions of Mayakovsky"s three suicide notes and fragments of his poetry as well as recent press reports and obituaries. The illustration appears on the last page of the journal, in direct opposition to the photographic document of the telegram from Russia.

Both the text and the photograph reveal the difficulties in negotiating a route between poetic freedom of thought and channelling the imagination to practical effect. The journal presents a coherent approach to the death of Mayakovsky; in the response to the telegram from Moscow it was intellectual services that were offered by the group and it is clear that they believed themselves to be in a position to effectively contribute to a live debate on the issue of freedom in cultural production. It is clear that Breton felt an affinity with the futurist poet, they had both invested heavily in love and been disappointed and they understood suicide as a viable option in a world where life became unbearable.

However the article presented a forceful argument on the role of the artist in

society in general and analysed the political exploitation of the poet's death in the mainstream press in France as well as the Communist press in both France and Russia.

Mayakovsky was perceived by Breton as a free thinker, an artist who was imbued with terrific revolutionary energy and wholly committed to Bolshevism but who believed that in a sense, art should be free from "politics". Mayakovsky believed that art should not serve to coerce, and that rather than support a particular brand of revolution, it should be revolutionary in spirit. Stalin's decree in 1932 eventually deemed that the arts must serve and represent the state as a tool of propaganda, but the cultural debate about the role of art had raged during the previous decade and Mayakovsky had increasingly come under attack. He was seen by the Communist Party as being too individualistic and too powerful because of his popularity; his plays were delayed in publication and harshly criticised and he was publicly denounced as a bohemian.²¹¹

Mayakovsky's suicide was attributable to his desire to silence his own voice as he was unable to compromise his revolutionary spirit as much as his personal angst.

The second suicide note addressed to "*Camarades Vappovtsi*" published in the surrealist journal supports this.²¹² The poet asks that his peers do not consider him lazy but understand that he saw no alternative. He then relays a message to Vladimir Ermilov which presumably refers to an incident that took place a month earlier. Mayakovsky's *Bathroom* (1930), a direct assault on the cultural bureaucrats of the regime was declared to be unacceptable by the theatre censorship committee, it was subsequently altered, produced and failed badly. Criticism was harsh, particularly from Ermilov, who suggested in his review in *Pravda* that the poet was "playing the game of the Trotskyist opposition". A few

²¹¹ For an overview of Mayakovsky's work and contemporary reception see Mayakovsky, V., El Lissitzky, and Railing, P. *For the Voice*, (3 volumes), Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000. For an account of Mayakovsky's revolutionary activities from 1922 until his death and documentation of the criticism he suffered see Volume 3, Railing, P. (ed.) "A Revolutionary Spirit" in *For the Voice: Voices of Revolution: Collected Essays*, pp 15 — 30.

²¹² Mayakovsky's second suicide note reads "Ne m'appellez pas lâche. C'est sérieux, il n'y a rien à faire. Salut. Dites à Ermilov que c'est dommage d'avoir abandonné le mot d'ordre, il fallait va incre. V. M." "It's serious, there's nothing to be done. Goodbye. Tell Ermilov that it's a shame he has abandoned the slogan, it was necessary to fight to win". *Le Surréalisme au*

service de la Révolution, no. 1, p 16.

days later Mayakovsky erected a huge banner in the Meyerhold theatre, painted with the slogan

You can't immediately steam out the swarm of bureaucracy.
There wouldn't be enough bathhouses or soap.
Besides, the bureaucrats are aided by the pen of critics - like Ermilov.

Ermilov protested and RAPP, the Russian Association of Proletarian Writers, ordered that the poster be removed.²¹³ Moreover, in 1927 Mayakovsky had written a poem for the anniversary of the Paris Commune which included these lines

Seul nous reste le mot d'ordre: Only we retain the slogan
Vaincre! Vaincre - ou mourir! Victory! Victory - or death!²¹⁴

Mayakovsky understood that in 1930, with Trotsky's deportation and the suppression of the opposition with the arrest of many leaders of the revolution, the struggle of ideas within the Party had been won by those who had abandoned the principles of "October".

At the end of his article Breton berates the "rabble" who, in the case of reporters for *Le Monde*, *Le Soir* and *Nouvelles Littéraires*, took this opportunity to vent a deep hatred of the Soviet Union and to portray futurism as "imperialist" and Mayakovsky as a poet driven by individualism. Breton also attacked the French Communist Party for their report in *L'Humanité* which presented the poet as a bourgeois" who had no understanding of the working class and who had been exposed as a fraud through his resorting to suicide. There is no explicit criticism of the Russian Communist Party but the obituary from *Pravda* is printed in full and it essentially claims Mayakovsky, in death when no longer a threat, as an exemplary "proletarian poet". Trotsky's dismissal of "proletarian art" in *Literature and Revolution* (1924) was widely known, also Victor Serge's article entitled "Is a proletarian literature possible?", written in the Soviet Russia in 1925 but directed at French readers had warned of the dangers of literary constriction.

Breton's own text ends with a refusal to accept any weakening of the spiritual

²¹³ Patricia Blake recounts this story in her introduction to Mayakovsky's *Bedbug*. Blake, P. (ed.) *Vladimir Mayakovsky. The Bedbug and Selected Poetry*, Bloomington: Indiana

University Press, 1975, pp 43 - 44.

²¹⁴ The full text of Mayakovsky's poem, *The First Communards*, (in French) can be found at <http://www.inlibroveritas.net/ire/oeuvre2070-page1.html> (Accessed 12/04/08)

and moral position taken by the poet and a declaration that "proletarian art" was an impossibility.

One of Rodchenko's portraits of Mayakovsky would have been an obvious choice for the illustration of this text if a simple homage was required. Instead a film still was chosen from Mayakovsky's 1918 adaptation of Jack London's *Martin Eden*.²¹⁵ (Fig. 26) Breton's text is thus supplemented by an image so rich in connotation that an intention to convey a complex discourse on the implications of Mayakovsky's death is clear. The photograph, together with the caption which identifies Mayakovsky playing the main protagonist in his film *He who was not born to money* sets up a series of dichotomies; between individualism and political allegiance, love/poetry and revolution, life and death and social classes. The issue of Mayakovsky's death is used to analyse the central friction between the surrealists and the Communist Party around the issue of the relationship between individual freedom and political allegiance. The journal opened with what appeared to be an unequivocal statement of support for the Party, but this is tested in articles throughout the issue and counterpoised on the last page of the journal.²¹⁶ The photograph expressed myriad concerns, reflected the complexity of the relationship between free thought and directed cultural production and hailed Mayakovsky as one who was able to produce work which was both poetic and political. It seems that the surrealists were able to address these issues more productively using a photograph rather than the text, which is fundamentally devoted to a defence of the poet. The surrealist use of photography is successful here because it is so well suited to allegory. *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution* is, according to Ades, a journal of undiluted surrealism" and the deployment of this image demonstrates this

²¹⁵ Jack London's semi-autobiographical *Martin Eden* was published in 1909. It tells the story of a poor worker intellectual who falls in love with a bourgeois woman and becomes a novelist in order to "improve" himself and rise to a position where he would be a suitable husband. Despite his literary success, his project ends in alienation and Eden commits suicide. The novel deals with the difficulties faced by writers and issues of individualism versus socialism.

²¹⁶ For instance Dali's "L'Ané pourri" contained conflicting attitudes to political commitment pp. 9 - 12, on pages 10 and 11 the feature "Le Sottisier Surréaliste" ridiculed the dissident surrealists and attacked Desnos' apparent support for Social Realism in his review of Eisenstein's *La Ligne Générale* published in *Documents*, no. 4, 1930, p 220, while texts such as Breton's "Il y aura une fois" pp. 2 - 4 and Rene Char's "Le jour et la nuit de la liberté" p 23 attempted to marry art and politics in an innovative form.

The novel *Martin Eden* is presented by the author as an attack on individualism and a critique of personal ambition; the central character rejects socialism and pays for this with his life when he loses faith in humanity. Mayakovsky, filled with revolutionary zeal, produced *He who was not born to money* immediately after October 1917 and cast himself as the male lead in the film. In one sense this lends credence to the notion that Mayakovsky was egotistical, and this particular frame, which shows him dressed as a bourgeois, smoking a fat cigar, echoes contemporary accusations of his questionable class consciousness. Breton deals with this in his text and suggests that it is opportunistic of critics to quote Trotsky on the poet in obituaries; in 1923 Trotsky wrote that Mayakovsky had come to the revolution by the shortest possible route, that of "bohemian revolt".²¹⁸ The illustration arguably presents the ruling class as bankrupt in spirit, responsible for and facing death. In the novel Eden died because he had rejected socialism and made poor choices in fighting for personal success rather than for his class. His friend describes the affluent company with which he consorts as a "den of traitors" and arguably, Mayakovsky too was in this position.²¹⁹ An important link between Jack London and the Russian poet is that they had both become disillusioned with the organisations they had committed to; London had joined the Socialist Party after being inspired by *The Communist Manifesto* but had resigned in 1916 "because of its lack of fire and fight, and its loss of emphasis on the class struggle."²²⁰ A few months later, in November of that year, London committed suicide in his Californian mansion. Mayakovsky's death was partly attributable to the fact that he was committed to a struggle for freedom that he felt had slipped away.

²¹⁷ Ades, *Dada and Surrealism Reviewed*, p 252.

²¹⁸ On p.18 Breton cited Trotsky in *Literature and Revolution*, (originally published as articles in *Pravda*). It is however disingenuous of Breton to call Trotsky's judgement of Mayakovsky "cursory" here, given that a chapter of *Literature and Revolution* was devoted to an analysis of the social forces affecting futurism and its strengths and limitations. Much of the text dealt specifically with Mayakovsky, who Trotsky considered to be gifted and able to grow as a poet.

²¹⁹ London, J. *Martin Eden*, New York: Macmillan, 1957, p 264

²²⁰ Manguel, A. "Engine of Destruction", *The Guardian*, Review section, April 12, 2008, p 21.

A reader who was unfamiliar with the film or novel would find the image rich in associations but knowledge of the narrative adds layers of meaning. The protagonist, like Mayakovsky, was obsessed by his love for a woman, Lilya Brik in the case of the poet. In the novel Eden explains that he is powerless to resist as

Love was too fine and noble, and he was too loyal a lover for him to besmirch love with criticism. What did love have to do with Ruth's divergent views on art, right conduct, the French Revolution, or equal suffrage? They were mental processes, but love was beyond reason; it was super-rational. He could not belittle love. He worshipped it. Love lay on the mountain-tops beyond the valley-land of reason. It was a sublimated condition of existence, the topmost peak of living, and it came rarely. Thanks to the school of scientific philosophers he favoured, he knew the biological significance of love; but by a refined process of the same scientific reasoning he reached the conclusion that the human organism achieved its highest purpose in love, that love must not be questioned, but must be accepted as the highest guerdon of life.²²¹

The surrealists highlighted Mayakovsky's diverse talent and modernity in choosing a film still and also aligned him to Luis Buñuel. The first four illustrations in the issue are by Buñuel, the first an unidentified photograph of a bishop fondling the breast of a young woman and three stills from *L'Âge d'Or* (1930). *Celui qui n'est pas né pour l'argent* was similar to *L'Âge d'Or* in that it focused on the theme of frustrated passion and bridged poetics and politics and this is essentially what the surrealist use of the Mayakovsky film still in the journal achieved. The illustration is simultaneously and successfully political and poetic.

The prominent and copious illustrations by Buñuel in the first issue of the new journal demonstrate the importance that Breton placed upon *cultural* radicalism. In *Entretiens* Breton spoke of how "exposed" the surrealists were in 1930 because they had cut ties not only with the "literary world" but also with "civilised conformism" and he offered *L'Âge d'Or* as the best example of their frame of mind.²²² Buñuel's illustrations function as a distillation of this with their vehement anti-clericalism and assertion of erotic desire as a force capable of a violent critique of society. The first illustration is a carefully constructed

²¹ London, *Martin Eden*, p 176.

²² Breton and Parinaud, *Conversations*, p 121.

obscurity which establishes a firm link between blasphemy and eroticism. (Fig. 27) The caption "Are you cold?" echoes the unresponsive expression on the woman's face but also serves to deride the bishop as one who is charged with pastoral duties, signified by the crosier which denotes his role as "caretaker of the flock". It is his right hand that molests the woman and the episcopal ring, indicative of discretion and conjugal fidelity to Christ as it touches the Host during Holy Communion, is clearly visible on his third finger. In Spain this is the wedding ring finger. This finger was significant in *L'Age d'Or* in the context of masturbation; it is prominently bandaged in the final still reproduced in the journal which shows Lya Lys lying on the sofa, satiated. (Fig. 28) This still is captioned with a sub-title from the film "Sometimes on Sunday ..." reinforcing the fact that this activity takes place on the primordial holy day of the Catholic Church. This link between blasphemy and eroticism was also emphasised in the second illustration, a film still showing Lya Lys taking the hand of Modot into her mouth is captioned "I've blasphemed perhaps ...".

Buñuel's illustrations introduce an element of sadism, the caption to the film still of Lya Lys sucking the toe of the statue in the garden reads "I have waited for a long time for this moment. Ah! What joy to have murdered our children!" In the film this scene is followed by Modot declaring "My love, my love, my love" while blood pours out of his eye and is smeared over his face. Buñuel declared his debt to the surrealists for their rehabilitation of de Sade "I discovered in Sade a world of extraordinary subversion, in which there is everything from insects to the customs of human society, sex, theology ... it really dazzled me."²²³ Sade became a pivotal figure in the surrealist journal as one who, like Lautréamont, had refused to impose limits on his imagination and produced exemplary critiques of society through his works. Breton had come to regard Sade as someone who, like Freud, understood sexuality as our central driving force and who was able to attack the hypocrisy of reigning moral laws through the

²²³ de la Colina, J. & Pérez Turrent, T. *Luis Buñuel. Prohibido Asomarse al interior*, Mexico: Planeta, 1986, p. 27, cited in Gee, M. "Surrealist blasphemy" in Cavanagh, D. and Kirk,

T. (eds.) *Subversion and Scurrility: Popular discourse in Europe from 1500 to the Present*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000, p 166.

exposure of his own era as “an entirely corrupted age” where “the safest course is to follow along after the others.”²²⁴

An attempt to marry politics and poetry is evident in Breton’s prominent essay *Il y aura une fois* and the accompanying illustration in issue 1.²²⁵ *Dors*, a short surrealist erotic fantasy by Eluard is placed after the feature on the telegram from Moscow and Breton’s text follows this. It is illustrated by one of Man Ray’s photographs of Lee Miller wearing a wire sabre guard, on her head in this instance. (Fig. 29) There is no doubt that Breton influenced Man Ray’s ideas about the poetics of the image and that there is here an interest in the erotic charge of violence. Jean Gallagher discussed this photograph and agreed with Mary Ann Caws’ reading of the image as one of “female entrapment”, submission to netting and capture” where Miller is “a prey who is rendered simultaneously mute and speaking of objecthood.”²²⁶ Gallagher did not locate the image in the context of an illustration for Breton’s “Il y aura une fois” in *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution*. Caws did so in the short paragraph in her book that dealt with this image, but focused solely on the caption and concluded that “the haunting is more than a little sexually oppressive and less than innocent.” Despite the brevity of her discussion of the image, Caws awarded it a full page illustration on the adjacent page, as if the image should speak for itself, with the caption, its origin in Breton’s essay, and the surrealist journal as a context.

Whitney Chadwick also discussed this series of photographs and focused on the shot where Miller wears the guard on one of her arms which, like her legs, appear to be bound. The publication of one of these images in *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution* is not noted, but she used them to evidence the

²²⁴ In Sade’s *Justine* the author-narrator offers this advice to the reader on the first page and reminds Justine of it repeatedly throughout the text. “..dans une siècle entièrement corrompu, le plus sûr est de faire comme les autres.” Sade, “Justine ou les malheurs de la vertu” in *Œuvres, Vol. II*, Paris: Gallimard, 1995, p 131.

²²⁵ Breton, A. “Il y aura une fois”, *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution*, no. 1, pp. 2 — 4. As this essay is unavailable in translation, the full text in English has been placed in Appendix A.

²²⁶ Gallagher, J. “Vision, Violence and *Vogue*: War and correspondence in Lee Miller’s Photography” in Gallagher, J. *The World Wars through the Female Gaze*, Carbondale: Southern

Illinois Press, 1998, p 71. Caws, M. A. *The art of interference: Stressed readings in verbal and visual texts*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989, p 114.

ambivalence of Miller's relationship to both surrealist and fashion images and to support her argument that these particular photographs contain an element of performance and that Miller had some control over the portrayal of her body in this instance. She noted the visual play with juxtapositions of flesh and metal and the body double of the arm shaped form as well as the fetishist attention to one body part but stated that Miller's subjectivity mediates the representation and conveys strong feelings of defiance offering a challenge to the model's traditionally passive objectification. Essentially the argument is that to perform is to control; Miller is not denied expression in these photographs as she seems to exude, in the words of Judith Blessing "an exhibitionist self-delight"²²⁷ as she looks directly at the camera, at times with a "frankly seductive look" and "engages in a kind of striptease ... for the photographer, who was also her lover".²²⁸ Chadwick's analysis is indebted to recent scholarship which has explored the notion of gender performance and its subversive re-territorialisations of sexuality and she cites both Judith Butler and Amelia Jones.²²⁹ It is doubtful that the sabre guard series as a whole would support Chadwick's analysis as Miller's eyes are averted in most of the shots, and it is direct eye contact with the camera that generally imparts assertiveness here; however this exploration of the complex dynamics of power, however difficult, is important.²³⁰ This thesis acknowledges a tendency in surrealism to present the compliant female body as an object of male desire but also warns against closed interpretations and crucially establishes the need for social, political and cultural contextualisation.

²²⁷ Blessing, *A Rose is a Rose is a Rose*, p 15.

²²⁸ Chadwick, "Lee Miller's Two Bodies", pp. 212 - 213.

²²⁹ See Butler, *J. Bodies that Matter*, London: Routledge, 1993 and Jones, A. *Body Art: Performing the Subject*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998. Jennifer Blessing's exhibition catalogue *Gender Performance in Photography* is also pertinent here as she traces the psychoanalytic roots of current gender theory to the late 1920's when a burst of publications examined female sexuality and identity, notably Joan Rivière's essay on masquerade. Her idea of feminine identity as an alienated social performance rather than inherent was resuscitated by Lacan in 1958 in "The meaning of the phallus" and since the 1970's Lacanian constructions of femininity as masquerade have been developed in various disciplines.

²³⁰ Although Miller addresses the camera directly in the shot published in *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution*, the shot Chadwick uses as an illustration is the only one of five

shots reproduced from the series in L'Écotois and Sayag, *Man Ray: Photography and its Double*, pp. 154 — 157. The model's eyes do not engage the camera in the remaining four.

"Il y aura une fois" is an allegorical fantasy which stresses the primacy of the imagination. The text is mostly devoted to Breton's wish to conduct a surrealist experiment focused on the confinement of young girls in an old, rented house just outside Paris.²³¹ The illustration would initially appear to support Caws' interpretation, as the text is generally characterised by machismo and restriction. However this analysis is inadequate and a closer investigation of the image reveals a reference not only to the main narrative from which the caption is taken, but also to the preface and postscript which enclose this, in which Breton wrestled with the relationship between the creative imagination and politics.²³² Andrew Rothwell has noted that Breton's introductory remarks introduced political elements to the imagery he used to characterise the powers of the imagination. Breton appears to claim practical creative virtues for mental creative ability. Rothwell noted that the text contains an image of technological progress, the hydro-electric dam, common in Soviet propaganda

Breton appears here to be assimilating into Surrealism's discourse a potent *political* symbol of mastery over nature and hope for material improvement, as if to appropriate for the movement a central role, as provider of imaginative resources, in the revolutionary transformation of society.²³³

The dam is able to transform the energy of water and Breton suggests that "Being wary of the practical power of our imagination is like refusing to use electricity."²³⁴ Rothwell observed that Breton steps back from this position in the conclusion to the text when the stream returns and it is the "source" of the unfettered inspiration which, although disruptive and unpredictable, promises much more than the rigidity and control of the dam.

²³¹ A full translation of "Il y aura une fois" is provided in Appendix B as this text is unavailable in translation. This text was kindly translated in full at my request by Eliane Meyer, all translations cited from "Il y aura une fois" belong to her.

²³² The caption reads "... ces jeunes filles étant dernières à s'être signalées dans un scandale de maison hantée ..." (Voir page 3) "these young girls should have had an involvement in some haunted house scandal" (See page 3).

²³³ Rothwell, A. "Commitment or Lip-Service? *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution*, no. 1" in Dolamore, J. (ed.) *Making Connections: Essays in French Culture and Society in*

Honour of Philip Thody, Bern: Peter Lang, 1999, p 111.

²³⁴ “Se défier comme on fait, outre mesure, de la vertu pratique de l’imagination, c’est vouloir se priver, coûte que coûte, des secours de l’électricité” Breton, “Il y aura une fois”, *Le Surréalisme au Service de la Révolution*, no. 1, p 3.

The illustration to the essay visualises tension in many ways. There is tension in the juxtaposition of flesh and steel and this is exacerbated by the fact that the traditional subject of the nude is accessorised with steel, a futuristic material. Although the fact that the wire mesh is a sabre guard is not immediately apparent the object has the appearance of both a fashion item and a protective helmet, something which is simultaneously practical and decorative. When the item is identified as a sabre guard it is recognised as a weapon and a defence. The light reflected on the metal grid and the shadow of the grid upon the flesh give the model an unsettling spectral quality but this is mixed with an allure. The fact that the composition is phallic and the model is exposed but veiled by this cold material creates an erotic frisson.²³⁵ It is difficult to focus on anything except the eyes in the centre of the image, as they do hold a challenge and arrest the viewer’s attention. Despite being spellbound by the eyes the viewer’s attention is drawn to the exposed ear which occupies an equally central position. The ear also offers a challenge as it appears to be open, waiting with a sense of expectancy. The viewer thus becomes implicated in this imagined surrealist exercise. The ear can serve as a substitute for both female genitalia and anus and is a receptive opening. It is a vehicle for language and this emphasis on words along with the absurdity of the sabre guard as headwear reinforces Breton’s text in which he eventually abandons the pragmatic harnessing of the imagination in favour of complete freedom. In the photograph the practical use of the imagination is literally turned on its head with this frivolous use of modern technology. This image is ambiguous and does raise questions about economies of desire but it is also extremely rich in possible meanings when read in conjunction with the text and in the wider context of the first issue of *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution*.

The second issue of the journal is also notable for polemics as the group aligned themselves with the Communist Party but not with those members in France around *L’Humanité*. Two photographs serve to deride the official organ of the PCF, one is a reproduction of a worker’s letter to the paper and the other is an

²⁵ The film still from Buñuel's *L'Age D'or* (1930) reproduced in issue 1, showing the scene where the young woman performs fellatio on the toe of a garden sculpture, also uses this juxtaposition of cold material and warm flesh.

image of a man engrossed in a copy of *Déetective* which sports a typical cover showing a bound woman, gagged in this instance. (Fig. 30) The cover of the crime magazine dominates the image and the slogan on the back page "Nothing but the truth" is highlighted.²³⁶ The caption declares that it shows M. Parain, the ex-editor of the crime weekly, and attacks the appointment of someone who had associated with the Kessel brothers and their fascist colleagues as the literary editor of *L'Humanité*.²³⁷

These swipes at the French Communist Party were not the main focus of the second issue however as the group was determined to continue with their promotion of cultural radicalism. The first *hors texte* in this issue is Man Ray's *Hommage à D. A. F. de Sade*. Chadwick suggests that the photograph of the severed head acknowledges Man Ray's "longtime fascination with the eighteenth-century libertine for whom the normative female body was the violated and denaturalized body."²³⁸ The Surrealists *were* fascinated with Sade, Man Ray in particular. Sade had featured in the list of "honorary" surrealists in the first manifesto in 1924, the first journal had praised him and his rehabilitation dominated issue 2 of *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution* which included Maurice Heine's seminal text "Actualité de Sade" as well as René Char's text "Hommage" which Man Ray's photograph illustrates.²³⁹ At the same time as criticising bourgeois morality the surrealist journal attempted to establish a surrealist morality in opposition to it and Sade was instrumental in this project. Interpretations of Sade differed in the group but for Breton his violence against conformism addressed political and moral issues and the extreme sexual explicitness of the works was thus less important than their allegorical nature. Dali's lecture on "The Moral Position of Surrealism" is useful here; Haim

²³⁶ "Rien que la vérité" *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution*, issue 2, *hors textes*.

²³⁷ The caption reads "M. Parain, ancien gérant de *Déetective*, est actuellement chargé de la rubrique les livres, à l'*Humanité*."

²³⁸ Chadwick, "Lee Miller's Two Bodies" p 214.

²³⁹ The purpose of this thesis is not to attempt to resolve the problems attached to sadistic imagery promoted by the group. The discussion of Sade focuses on surrealist morality in contrast with bourgeois morality. David Bate explored this particular photograph and the relationship between surrealism and Sade in detail in Chapter 5 of *Photography and Surrealism*, pp. 145 — 171. He offered a measured analysis which located the surrealists' interest in visual sadism in their inquiries into the "complex structure of suffering in love." He acknowledged an imbalance of power in favour of men in the economies of desire but suggested that for the female figure, surrealism offered a discourse in which sexuality was represented outside of "bourgeois femininity."

Finkelstein has suggested that although this text offered no sustained theoretical stance, Dali was in this instance firmly allied to Surrealist thinking as he emphasised its subversiveness and its penchant for scandal.²⁴⁰ In this lecture, initially delivered to the Ateneo Club in Barcelona, Dali reaffirmed the surrealist commitment to "lay waste once and for all to the ideas of family, homeland, religion." He stated that "a new moral crisis has been provoked" and threatened those who "persist in the amorality of decent and reasonable ideas." The surrealist journal constantly attacked bourgeois morality and juxtaposed it with an alternative. The *hors textes* were instrumental in this and the photographs included were used with intentionality as acute as that of the commercial press.

In the second issue the group also found it necessary to respond directly to a swelling patriotism. The first issue of *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution* had attacked nationalism through an exploitation of the official response to the antics of Georges Sadoul and Jean Caupenne when they provoked the army to take legal action against them. Sadoul and Caupenne had, by chance, come across a list of the young men who had succeeded in the entrance exam for the French military academy and had sent the top candidate a personally insulting and violently anti-nationalist missive instructing him to decline his placement. The charges against Sadoul and Caupenne of insulting the flag, the homeland and French officers were subsequently dismissed. The Surrealists were delighted with this publicity and devoted over six pages to the scandal in their journal. The article was illustrated with a copy of the letter sent to Sadoul's father from the Military Governor of Paris which reproduced a large part of the offending text in the original letter in which the two surrealists "spit on the tricolour".²⁴¹

Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution continued this campaign to oppose nationalistic values and issue 2 began with a preface consisting of press cuttings relating to the recent Atlantic crossing by the French aviators Dieudonne Costes and Maurice Bellonte and ended with a photograph which ridiculed the actress Marie Costes, the wife of the pilot. The excerpts used represent the nationalist

²⁴⁰ Dali, S. "The Moral Position of Surrealism", *Hélix*, March 22, 1930, pp. 4 - 6, in Finkelstein, H. *The Collected Writings of Salvador Dali*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp. 213, 219 - 222.

²⁴¹ *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution*, no. 1, *hors-textes*.

fervour in the media that resulted from the successful flight wherein Costes' reputation as a fighter pilot in World War 1 was fully exploited. It is clear that the surrealists would have felt the need to respond to this. The cuttings include effusive letters to newspapers from a variety of readers including one from a young child to Marie Costes, telling her that he personally had prayed to Jesus for the safety of her husband. The articles reproduced in this collated display also focus on Mrs Costes. Marie Costes was well known in France as a singer and actress; a Kertész portrait of her had featured on the cover of *Vu* in April of 1930.²⁴² The cuttings included a story in which the French ambassador commended the fact that Costes had refused all offers of commercial publicity on arrival in America as the pilot wanted his success to be solely the preserve of nationalist propaganda. This cutting is juxtaposed with other stories which used the flight to blatantly promote French products ranging from toothpaste to socks. The reader is also informed that Marie Costes took this opportunity to promote her forthcoming film.

Excerpts from the popular press relating to nationalism are peppered throughout the journal and *Vu* in particular was targeted for attack due to its prominent position and visibility on newstands. Nationalism had always been a prominent feature of *Vu*, for example in April 1930 a major article on immigration in New York outlined the system that had been established at Ellis Island in great detail. The focus was on the control of immigrants and the text suggested that the logistics of immigration in North America could teach France valuable lessons in how to filter out "undesirables". The need for manpower was granted but severer medical and morality controls were deemed necessary to ensure that immigrants could "no longer bring poor health and criminality into the country".²⁴³

As part of the survey of the press in issue 2, Eluard ridiculed the special edition of *Vu* published to celebrate the 100th centenary of the tricolour. The special edition was dominated by propaganda about how much Algeria had benefitted from imperialism in terms of education and medical provision. Eluard ridiculed some of the articles in the issue including, "The most seductive women in the

²² *Vu*, no. 109, 16 April 1930.

²³ *Vu*, no. 112, 7 June 1930.

world are French”, “The French military machines are the fastest in the world” and concluded that “La connerie est française, la vérole est française, les porcs sont français ...”.²⁴⁴ Eluard noted that the cover is coloured red, white and blue. It was at this time that the cover design of *Vu* was refined and began to include these three colours, previously covers had been restricted to white and sepia. Photographs were used to evidence the claims made throughout the magazine about the supremacy of France and its produce, French wine was pictured and claimed to be the best in the world, the article on the supremacy of French technology used photographs of factories, the article on the military used photographs of ships. The article on French women being the most seductive in the world was illustrated by photographs of six aristocratic women and the article entitled “The triumph of French taste: Parisian *Couture*” contrasted French elegance to the “hideous Germans” and “monstrous Americans”.²⁴⁵ The surrealist journal also used photographs productively, both to counter nationalism and to promote internationalism.

In the second issue of the surrealist journal internationalism was introduced as a desirable alternative to chauvinism in the form of the two photographs from the Soviet International Congress of Children in Berlin. (Fig 31) These images show gatherings of Communist youth from across the globe involved in educational activities together. They are essentially staged Soviet propaganda shots and the children appear bored and miserable; the surrealists may have chosen to publish these Soviet photographs to suggest an alternative to war for the future generation but they may also have been aware of the ambiguity of these images. At this time in Paris, because of the polarisation of politics in Europe, there was an enormous curiosity about life in the Soviet state, evident in the popularity of (mostly romantic) accounts of visits to Russia written by liberal intellectuals. Eluard highlighted an article by Mme Titayna published in *Lectures pour tous*, a photographic illustrated literary magazine, which was an account of her voyage to Russia, “the perfect model of the workers” state”.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁴ “Damned stupidity is French, the pox is French, pigs are French ...”, *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution*, no. 2, p 25.

²⁵ *Vu*, no. 121, 30^e June 1930

²⁴⁶ *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution*, no. 2, p 24.

The photograph of Marie Costes published at the end of the journal is used to pull together various threads of ideas within the second issue. (Fig. 32) Marie Costes is pictured in a domestic interior surrounded by dolls and soft toys, one of which she comically scolds. We are led to believe that this is in fact the home of the Costes as a photograph of her husband occupies prime position on the wall and a framed photograph of Marie Costes is visible on the furniture. The caption "Damned stupidity in 1930: Marie Costes inside her little home" referred to Eluard's article on *Vu* but also referenced the short text by Lenin's widow, Nadezhda Krupskaya entitled "Sur Lénine". The text described how Lenin detested "bourgeois sentimentality" in the image of

man at home shown with his wife, children, photographs of the members of his family on the bureau, books, dressing gown, a little cat on the knee, his lordly place of residence where he rests from public life.²⁴⁷

Krupskaya had been made responsible for education policies in the Soviet Union in 1917 and this lends her a gravitas in stark contrast to Marie Costes, who is a comic figure in the photograph. This attack on the bourgeois family is expanded because the photograph mirrors the film still from *L'Age d'Or* featured in the first issue of the journal where Lya Lys is shown lounging on the sofa after masturbating. The attacks on bourgeois morality throughout the second issue thus culminated in this ridiculing of Marie Costes in the photograph which personified the insidious nature of bourgeois morality.

The *hors textes* in the third issue were dominated by surrealist objects but also included Man Ray's *Primacy of Matter over thought* and a response to the announcement of Marc Chadourne as the winner of the *Prix Gringoire*. (Fig. 33) The first *hors texte* was simply captioned "Response to the *Prix Gringoire*" and referred to Marc Chadourne's award of the annual literary prize for his popular travel book on China, illustrated by the Mexican artist Miguel Covarrubias. The photograph shows the cover of a Chinese Communist Youth pamphlet which has been designed to conceal the true nature of the publication and disguise it as a romantic novel. The surrealists were keen to counter a romantic image of China

by highlighting the persecution of Communists by the nationalist government.²⁴⁸ The image is complex because it mirrors Covarrubias' illustrations in *Chine*, which are similar in style, and alludes to their superficial character in a book which fails to reveal the chaotic reality of Chinese society. This photograph was held by Breton until his death along with the photographs from the anti-colonial exhibition.

Man Ray's *Primacy of Matter over thought*, (Fig. 34) which shows Meret Oppenheim prone and nude is generally interpreted in the context of surrealism and "woman" or the notion of „informe“²⁴⁹ and its context in the third issue of the review which began with a page devoted to Hegel followed by Aragon's lengthy text "Surrealism and the need to become revolutionary" has been neglected. The preface in the third issue established Hegel as instrumental in the development of Marx's ideas and lamented the fact that his works were marginalised and not readily available in France. Aragon's essay begins "La reconnaissance du matérialisme dialectique comme seule philosophie révolutionnaire, la compréhension et l'acceptation sans réserves de ce matérialisme par des intellectuels ... ce sont là les traits essentiels de l'évolution des surréalistes."²⁵⁰ Hegel was an important figure in the radicalisation of the movement and his ideas were promoted heavily in the third issue as well as no. 5/6 where he was again given the prominent preface position in the journal in Thirion's introduction of Lenin's notes and extracts on Hegel's *Science of Logic*.²⁵¹ Breton would later outline

an adherence to all the principles of dialectical materialism endorsed in their entirety by surrealism: the primacy of matter over thought; adoption of the Hegelian dialectic as the science of the general laws of movement

²⁴⁸ The second Chinese revolution had been defeated in 1927. The Chinese Communist Party had capitulated to the nationalist Kuomintang, leading to the harsh persecution and elimination of Communists. The Communist Party passed into illegality at this time.

²⁴⁹ This image provided the cover photograph for Krauss's *L'Amour fou* exhibition catalogue. Bate discusses it as an example of the "structure of emptiness" that characterised the surrealist female nude, *Photography and Surrealism*, p 157.

²⁵⁰ "The recognition of dialectical materialism as the only revolutionary philosophy, the understanding and unreserved acceptance of this materialism by intellectuals ... these are the essential traits of the evolution of the surrealists." Aragon, L. "Le Surréalisme et le devenir révolutionnaire", *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution*, no. 3, p 2.

²⁵¹ Thirion, A. "En lisant Hegel", *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution*, no. 6, pp. 1 -

5.

of the external world as well as that of human thought; the materialist conception of history in *Non national Boundaries of Surrealism*.²⁵²

Man Ray's photograph, made from two solarised negatives, provided Breton with an image which illustrated the dialectical relationships that exist in both thought and in nature. The site of the female nude is significant due to the centrality of "woman" in surrealist thought and the belief that she was closer to the subconscious. The nude is a useful site in which to introduce the idea of the Hegelian dialectic as it denotes "purity" and demonstrates well the relationship between "being and nothingness" resulting in "becoming". For Hegel existence meant pure "being" but was indistinguishable from "nothing" because what is coming into being is, at the same time, also returning to nothing. This concept is illustrated well by the human body which is generally considered to be a permanent structure, but even in the 1920s it was recognised that in fact, most of our tissues are constantly being renewed in a balance between the constant death of old cells and the constant birth of new ones and Breton would have been aware of this with his medical background. The photograph illustrates this dynamic model of nature and establishes dialectics as a fundamental aspect of the nature of reality.

Primacy of matter over thought is dreamlike, the body seems to float in space and appears to be both melting away and becoming solid from a liquid state. There is a de-familiarisation of the body; body parts are made strange by their positioning which creates an awareness of flesh and bones and a simultaneous sense of both fragility and strength. The photograph is filled with delicate detail. The body appears "tough", the skin on the thigh nearest to the viewer appears thickened with visible pores whereas the feet and ankles melt together. The woman seems to be relaxed but also tense and there is a sinister aspect to the image. The use of light and shade produces shadows, particularly at the waist and up the left side of the torso to the armpit, which are troubling and create an angularity in contrast to the smooth curves of the right side of the body. The

²⁵² Breton, A. (1953) "The Non national Boundaries of Surrealism". Breton, A., Parmentier, M. and d'Amboise, J. *Free Rein (Le clé des champs)*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995, p 9.

sexual charge in the image is very strong. Oppenheim seems to be in an unconscious state, asleep or dreaming, as she cups her right breast and squeezes her nipple between her thumb and forefinger, her tight leg is raised adding tension. The left hand floats freely, palm upward while the left leg seems to sink. The image was clearly chosen to represent dialectical relationships in thought and in nature and the caption, a basic postulate of Marxism, confirms this intention.

The decisive role of photography in the drive to respond to and offer a perspective on issues that preoccupied the press at any given time is epitomised by the surrealists' response to the *Exposition Coloniale* organised by the French government as a celebration of colonial success in 1931 and the trial of the Papin sisters in 1933. Bate has dealt with the anti-colonial images in detail and provided a valuable analysis. He noted the widespread coverage in the press of the colonial exhibition, including numerous special editions featuring photographic picture stories, as well as the fact that the anti-colonial exhibition made extensive use of photographic evidence in displays and in documenting the temporary show.²⁵³ For Bate the surrealist exhibits and their preservation and publication in photographs demonstrated that it was only the surrealists who attacked the *ideology* of colonialism.

In the case of the Papin sisters, the "before and after" photographic montage published in the fifth issue of *Le Surréalisme au service de la révolution* (Fig. 35) has come to represent the case itself. The first published account of the murders appeared in *La Sarthe du soir* on February 3rd, 1933 and reported the events of the previous day as they had unfolded as follows:

The wife and daughter of a *M. Lancelin* had been the victims of an abominable crime, the most odious ever seen in *Mans*, committed by the servants of the house, two sisters, Christine and Léa Papin. On returning home in the evening *M. Lancelin* was alarmed at being unable to enter his home and sought the assistance of a police sergeant and two officers who gained access. They discovered the two bodies on the first floor landing; the head and face of *Mme Lancelin* had been completely smashed in so that her features were unrecognisable. On first examination it was

²⁵³ Bate, *Photography and Surrealism*, pp. 213 . 224.

difficult to ascertain which injuries had killed them but the back of the bodies were horribly torn open. Two deep knife cuts had opened the lower back of the women and their legs had suffered knife wounds that made them resemble *baguettes*.

The police went upstairs to the door of the maids' room from where light had been seen from the street below and the newly arrived police superintendent forced the door. The sisters were asleep in the same bed, the hammer used in the crime lay on the floor. They woke up with a start and they then confessed, in faltering voices, that they had killed in self defence. Other officials, including a legal medic arrived at the house to witness the appalling spectacle. Blood had spurted up the walls and stained a table two metres from the ground. A bloody knife was found under the corpse of *Mme Lancelin*. A crushed pewter jug which had lost its handle due to the force with which one of the women had been hit was found on the steps up to the second floor. Around the victims lay their handbags, keys, hair pins and ornaments, splashed with blood. But the most awful find was an eye, lying on the stairs.

This initial report was accompanied by a photograph of the sisters looking demure, allegedly owned by their mother. Dupré suggested that with this report an iconography had been established which would later be revived by the surrealists.²⁵⁴ The police identification photographs of the sisters were published the following day (Fig 36) and thus the surrealists had the material to produce their "before and after" collage.

The medical report on the victims provided further details. Both women were still wearing their coats when attacked, their skirts had been lifted and their pants pulled down. *Mme Lancelin* suffered injuries predominantly to her head, face and skull, she had been "horribly mutilated", her head crushed so that one could only recognise pieces of skin, broken teeth, brain tissue and blood. The left side of her brain had been reduced to a pulp. Part of her head had been scalped and the skull was visible with fragments of tin encrusted in it. The lip had been torn off, no cheeks or eye sockets remained; an ear and two eyeballs were found underneath the body. Her genital area was unmolested. *Mme Lancelin*'s watch had stopped at 7.22 pm.

²⁵⁴ Dupré, F. *La "solution" du passage à l'acte: le double crime des sœurs Papin*. Toulouse: Eres, 1984. The initial report of the case from *La Sarthe* is reprinted in full on pages 16-18. Dupré identifies the photographs used by the surrealists to create their montage on p 18.

The injuries of *Mlle Lancelin* were similar but one eye remained intact and she held a lock of brown hair in her clenched fist, her thighs were exposed, she was menstruating and her buttocks and legs were covered in deep parallel cuts, her watch had stopped at 7.47 pm. The lack of bleeding from the cuts indicated that these injuries were inflicted after death; the murderers had attacked the body of *Mlle Lancelin* in a particularly relentless fashion. The Doctor concluded that the women had been attacked with the pewter jug and had then had their eyeballs pulled out while still living. The victims had been "finished off" with a hammer and a knife. The women had little opportunity to struggle, the blows from the jug were extremely violent leading to considerable physical damage. The Doctor identified the most distinctive aspect of the case as the fact that the eyeballs were pulled out using fingers, at a stage when the victims would have been alive but unable to defend themselves due to the level of their injuries.²⁵⁵ Details of the case, including the testimonies of the sisters provided material for sensational reports in the press.

An interest in the Papin sisters is often used as an example of the tendency of the group to champion female criminals such as Germaine Berton and Violette Nozière, who was tried in Paris for patricide shortly after the Papin verdict.²⁵⁶ This preoccupation is not the focus of this thesis but it is important to distinguish between these cases and identify the nature of the surrealists' interest and investment in them. It is clear that the group held a romanticised view of all of these women. Also their interest was not driven simply by a concern for the individuals but by a desire to make productive use of the opportunities arising from their predicaments. Chapter 2 has shown how, in the context of *La Révolution Sur réaliste*, Berton's case was used to develop a perspective on suicide, and it was this rather than her crime which was the focus. In the case of the Papin sisters it is important to bear in mind the fact that there was an extraordinary level of interest in the case in Mans and in Paris as the details were made public. Also, the wider context of the fifth issue of the journal is important

²⁵⁵ The medical report of Dr Chartier as well as the police sketch and photographs of the crime scene are reproduced in Dupré, *La "solution" du passage à l'acte*, pp. 20 - 29.

²⁵⁶ See Chadwick, *Women artists and the Surrealist Movement*, pp. 110 - 111 and Gauthier, *Surréalisme et Sexualité*, pp. 195 - 206.

in terms of understanding the short text on the Papin sisters by Éluard and Péret and the accompanying photographs.

The photomontage published by the surrealists has been subject to much theorisation and some of this scholarship is pertinent to this thesis as it offers assistance in locating these images in the context of contemporary press coverage.²⁵⁷ Jonathon Eburne has suggested that the Papin case marked the point at which the group "largely turned away from the investigation of the political and ethical possibilities of violence and turned instead toward clinical analysis of the causes of violence"²⁵⁸ and this is clear, especially following Lacan's contribution.²⁵⁹ However the surrealists, as well a broad section of the public recognised that the excesses of the crime and moreover the conduct of the case had brought morality into sharp relief. The case was exploited by the group to attack the legal system, religion, the state, the bourgeois family and sexual repression in a way that distinguished their position from sensationalist or opportunist interventions.

While the judiciary were hostile to suggestions that the sisters could not be held responsible for their actions due to mental illness, the press were generally

²⁵⁷ Edwards, R and Reader, K. *The Papin Sisters*, Oxford University Press, 2001 provides a concise overview of recent scholarship. See also Jouvre, N. W. *Female Genesis: Creativity, Self and Gender*, Polity Press, 1998, pp. 64 - 84 for an elaboration of Neil Cox's assertion in *Marat/Sade/Picasso*, p 404, that the "after" photomontage emphasises a move away from the femininity" of the "before" shot towards a "maleness". Cox as well as Coffman, C. E. *Insane*

Passions: Lesbianism and Psychosis in Literature and Film, Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2006, pp. 66 - 69 and particularly Lane, C. "The Delirium of Interpretation: Writing the Papin Affair" *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* "5.2, 1993, pp 43 - 46 pay close attention to the positioning of the brief report of the Papin sisters by Éluard and Péret next to an article by Paul Nougé on Magritte and the latter's illustration *Vierge Retrouvée (Trussed-up Virgin)*(1932) which shows a nun winking at the viewer while revealing stockings, suspenders and high heels under her habit. Finally, Jonathon Eburne's recently published book *Surrealism and the art of crime* Ithaca New York: Cornell University Press, 2008 dealt with the Papin case in detail and focused on the surrealists' developing interest in mental illness and paranoia. Eburne expressed a belief that the violence of the Papin sisters was not defended or celebrated in the same way as that of Germaine Berton and Violette Nozière and that it encouraged a fruitful examination of the violence of individual instincts and unconscious desires within the group. Eburne examined the surrealist interest in coming to terms with the analytical potential that paranoia gained through its psychoanalytic study. In terms of the discussion of the photographs, Eburne concentrated on how the images focus on the transformation of the murderers themselves. He also noted that the practice of collaging collective portraits from individual police photographs was common in the press at this time, p 179.

²⁵⁸ Eburne, *Surrealism and the art of crime*, p 184.

²⁵⁹ Lacan, J. "Motives of Paranoiac Crime: The Crime of the Papin sisters", *Minotaure*, no.

3, pp. 25 - 28.

sympathetic. Despite the ruling of the court that they were mentally sound, Christine and Léa Papin were generally considered to be guilty but insane. Apart from notable examples, reports in the mass media in Paris although patronising and lurid at times, were characterised by a genuine curiosity about the psychoanalytic mystery of the case.²⁶⁰ From the beginning the press questioned the motives and sanity of the sisters and this was fuelled by their behaviour in custody.

Jérôme and Jean Tharaud, two prominent journalists who covered the story for *Paris-Soir* and whose reports informed Lacan's article were among the forty journalists in court to report the verdict: "The door opened. Here they are! No photograph can give an idea of the mystery that enters with these two girls... what strange creatures ... the mystery in these girls remains as impenetrable as before the trial."²⁶¹ The article went on to question the wisdom of the three appointed psychiatric experts in the case, who had, on two occasions reported that both sisters were of sound mind and thus wholly responsible for their crimes. The report ended with a claim that the jury had not understood the case fully as the reports of other medical experts such as Dr Logre, the mental health specialist employed by the defence had been censored.²⁶² Dr Logre had been denied access to the accused and denied the right to speak in court, but had subsequently raised the possibility that the attacks stemmed from a "sexual impulse close to sadism" and argued for further tests by mental health specialists at a conference held for journalists.²⁶³ The notes taken at this meeting by reporters revealed his planned contribution, which was not made public until the case had ended. The Tharaud brothers reported Logre's notion that the sisters had an incestuous relationship which was complicated with sadism.²⁶⁴ *Vu* reported the verdict in a front page story entitled "The Papin sisters: A crime without a motive". The article speculated that the murders were the result of a "monstrous personality" disorder

²⁶⁰ Both the extreme right wing *Gringoire* and *Candide* regularly called for beheadings.
²⁶¹ *Paris-Soir*, 30 September, 1933 cited in Dupré, *La "solution" du passage à l'acte*, p 86.

²⁶² Dupré, *La "solution" du passage à l'acte*, p 123.

²⁶³ A journalist from *La Sarthe* reported on the conference with Dr Logre, cited in Dupré, *La "solution" du passage à l'acte*, p 90.

²⁶⁴ The notes of the Tharaud brothers are printed in full in Dupré, *La "solution" du*

passage à l'acte, p 91.

and referred to the judgement of the expert panel of mental health specialists who found them to be sane "a joke", stating that the main questions surrounding the case had simply not been asked. The article suggests that the most startling aspect of the case was the "intimacy" of the sisters and the fact that the crime included an element of "perverse eroticism" of which there was no mention in the experts' report.²⁶⁵ Five weeks after the verdict *Allo Police*, the popular crime magazine interviewed Dr Logre and published an extensive report on the case over a four week period entitled "Have we committed two madwomen?"²⁶⁶

Despite taking morbid pleasure in the facts of the case which were widely published, rather than vengefulness, popular imagination was focused on the *appearance* of the sisters. The "before and after" photographs of the sisters were used in the local press to emphasise the "banality of evil" and the horror of the potential threat to bourgeois families from household staff who were relative strangers in their midst. The photographs were also published widely in the Parisian press. On February 9th *Déetective* published the photographs on the front page accompanied by the caption "Angels or Monsters?" followed by a description of the sisters as "enraged sheep". Christopher Lane highlighted the puns on the visual innocence of the "before" photograph as the oxymoronic term connotes both "faithful members of a flock" as well as derangement "in ways that usefully indicate the precarious social marker between symbolic incorporation and violent expulsion."²⁶⁷ Lane suggests that the immense public prurience that accompanied the trial seemed to occur, in part, because all related factors between psychosis and the wider "neurotic" culture were denied, while all dissimilarities were exaggerated.²⁶⁸ The "before and after" photographs in the popular press emphasised the apparent "normalcy" of the siblings prior to the act implied by the gap between the photographs - the murders - which had demonised the sisters. It was this apparent metamorphosis that had gripped the public imagination. Dr. Logre attempted to address these concerns to the court, and after the trial in the press, when he probed the "abnormal" relationship between the sisters, their persecution complex, their "doubled" morality and their

²⁶⁵ *Vu*, no. 290, 4 October 1933.

- 26 Dupré, *La "solution" du passage à l'acte*, p 92.
- 27 Lane, C. "*The Delirium of Interpretation*"; p 55.
- 28 Lane, C. "*The Delirium of Interpretation*"; p 37.

sexual sadism. The montage produced by the surrealists appears to dissolve the gap between "before" and "after" by placing these words in quotation marks, as if to alert the reader to the dangers of fabricating a story and by bringing the sisters together in the "after" montage. In many ways, the "after" picture is more natural²⁶⁹ than the posed studio photograph and suggests that the potential for psychosis partly stemmed from the unnatural restriction and abuse within the bourgeois family.

The surrealists were particularly interested in sexualised violence and highlighted the sadistic aspect of the crime very early in the proceedings, in May 1933. In 1905 Freud had asserted "the history of human civilisation shows beyond any doubt that there is an intimate connection between cruelty and the sexual instinct"²⁶⁹ and had developed the idea that the interface between pleasure and suffering was narrow in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* in 1920. During the inter war period, because of a general liberalisation of the interpretation of obscenity laws,²⁷⁰ sexualised material became widely available and mild sado-masochistic imagery was common, on postcards and soft pornography but also in crime magazines such as *Déetective* and *Scandale*.²⁷¹ There was also a notable rise in sado-masochistic fantasies in popular literature, notably the *Orties Blanches* and *Prima* series for which authors such as Pierre MacOrlan wrote under pen names

²⁶⁹ Freud, S. *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, New York: Basic Books, 2000, p 25.

²⁷⁰ The law in France relating to obscenity, "outrage aux bonnes mœurs" did not define acceptable behaviour" and thus the law in relation to licentious material was enforced in a haphazard fashion. In the period between the wars a tolerance towards material involving nudity and heterosexuality grew while material including "perverse" or "unwholesome" sexuality, including homosexuality and sado-masochism was increasingly targeted by police. Carolyn Dean provides evidence of this from police reports in the period up to 1939 in *The Frail Social Body: Pornography, Homosexuality, and other fantasies in Inter-War France*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000, pp. 52 — 59.

²⁷¹ A survey of magazines revealed the ubiquity of sado-masochistic imagery. In soft pornography the classified ads for "deluxe" collections of photographs as well as the magazines' content featured sado-masochism heavily. Notable examples include Brassai's full page photograph captioned "The Wisdom Tooth" of a scantily clad woman, lying in a dentist's chair having a tooth extracted, one leg lifted high to expose her suspenders, the dentist gripping her head as he leans over her in *Pour Lire a Deux*, no. 2, July 1934. *Paris-Sex-Appel* provides examples of the contemporary preoccupation with satanism and sexual cruelty with features such as "Le Culte de Satan" a story of torture chambers in Parisian brothels accompanied by photographs of bound women, no. 21, April 1935. *Scandale*, a sensationalist crime magazine launched in 1933 which differentiated itself from *Déetective* through its extensive use of formidable documentation photographie" as declared on the front cover regularly featured similar stories. No. 5, December 1933 for example illustrated "Revelations Scandaleuses" by Georges St. Bonnet with photographs of a woman manacled and chained. This tendency is also

visible in Vu .

and in illustration with artists such as Héroutat.²⁷² This interest in sexualised violence was partly attributed to the war and became a metaphor for moral decline and it is in this context that the surrealists established Sade and Lautréamont as moralist writers and stood in opposition to conventional morality.²⁷³ In his study of literary eroticism in 1923 Desnos had identified Sade as a moralist and his œuvre as “exceptionally intellectual.”²⁷⁴ Lautréamont had himself defined his work in a tradition of moralistic writers.

In *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution* the text and the photographs are bound together by the caption which extracted the last line from the article, They came out, fully armed, from a *chant* of Maldoror.²⁷⁵ Éluard and Péret’s succinct and dramatic text suggested that family life, convent life, and domestic service had fostered a deep hatred in the sisters which had somehow engendered the violence expressed in the murders.

The Papin sisters were brought up in a convent in Le Mans. Then their mother placed them in a “bourgeois” home in this town. For six years they bore duties, demands, insults, with the most perfect submissiveness. Fear, fatigue and humiliations were slowly nurturing hatred inside them: hatred, the sweetest alcohol that secretly consoles, for it promises to marry physical strength to violence one day. The day came when Léa and Christine Papin repaid evil in its own coin, a hot iron coin. They literally massacred their mistresses, plucking out their eyes, crushing their heads. Then they carefully washed themselves and, freed, indifferent, went to bed. Lightening had fallen, the wood was burnt, the sun definitely put out. They came out, fully armed, from a *chant* of Maldoror

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It is significant that the surrealists chose to make use of the photographs which were ubiquitous in the mass media and provided a focus for interest in the case.

²² Nazarieff, S. *Jeux de Dames Cruelles 1850 à 1960*, Köln: Taschen, 1992, p 20.

²³ Dean cites the following texts as contributions to the debate about the causes and effects of the proliferation of sexualised violence in French culture in the inter war period: Professor Malherman, *Le Plaisir dans la souffrance*, Paris: Quignon, 1929; Dr Apertus, *La flagellation dite passionnelle*, Paris: Collection des Orties Blanches, 1927; Dr Englische, *L’Histoire de l’eroticisme en Europe*, Paris: Aldor, 1933 and Anquetil, G, *Satan conduit le bal*, Paris: Anquetil, 1925.

²⁴ Desnos’ book, a *resumé* of erotic literature was written at the behest of Jacques Doucet. “Moraliste, SADE l’est plus que tout autres”; “Du point de vue érotique, l’œuvre de Sade est un œuvre supérieurement intellectuelle.”, Desnos, *De l’eroticisme*, pp. 77 - 78.

²⁵ “Sorties tout armées d’un chant de Maldoror ...” *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution*, no. 5.

²⁶ *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution*, no. 5, p 28.

The prominent reference to *Maldoror* is generally neglected in scholarship, or seen as an extension of the admiration held by the group for the satanic hero to the sisters.²⁷⁷ The surrealists had of course been responsible for the "discovery" of Lautréamont when they chanced upon a copy of *Les Chants de Maldoror* in a bookshop and discovered the only copies of *Poésies* in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*.²⁷⁸ *Maldoror* was at the forefront of their minds in 1933 as Skira was about to publish a luxury edition with illustrations by Dali. Indeed there is a full page advertisement for the publication at the front of issue 5 of the surrealist journal. The *actual* remorseless and sadistic violence of the Papin sisters was a match for that of Lautréamont's poet and the surrealists identified with them as they had renounced conventional morality. In the "after" photograph produced in *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution* the sisters appear not as "monsters" but as anti-heroes. However the allusion to *Maldoror* is arguably more complex than this because the use of the photographs appears to draw attention to the fact that through them a fiction or a series of fictions was being produced around the facts of the case. The viewer is made aware of the fact that the photographs are not "innocent" because the familiar and official "after" photographs had been collaged by the surrealists to bring the sisters together to mirror the "before" photograph.

²⁷⁷ Cox did not address the reference to *Maldoror*. Edwards and Reader stated that the reference to one of the surrealists' favourite texts "gives the action poetic force, lifting it from the realms of everyday and social reality and promoting it to the realms of the literary", p 55. Jouvre (p 70) and Coffman (p 68) explored the notion of gender in relation to the reference and concluded that for the surrealists, criminally psychotic women stand in for the male cultural revolutionary. In her assertion that the surrealists recuperated what was seen as the poetic charge of the murders for themselves, Jouvre made the observation that in the "before" photograph Christine Papin bears a remarkable resemblance to Breton and this is obvious once pointed out. Eburne noted the reference to Lautréamont but argued that this does not place the sisters in the pantheon of revolutionary heroes" as is usually suggested as the group did not heroicise the Papin sisters in the way that they did Breton or Nozières. Indeed he argued that the case was significant for the group precisely because it complicated any efforts to legitimise their violence as heroic or revolutionary, p 183.

²⁷⁸ Lautréamont had only published two books before his early death in 1870 aged 24. His works had little impact and were dismissed as the worthless ramblings of a psychopath. At the end of the 19th century Alfred Jarry and Rémy de Gourmont showed some interest in them but it was only in the early 20th century, with his discovery by the surrealists, that the author became recognised as significant. In 1917 Soupault discovered *Les Chants de Maldoror* and gave it to Breton to read. Aragon and Breton discovered *Poésies* in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* and published the text with a preface by Breton in *Littérature* in April and May in 1919. In 1925 the surrealists published a special edition of *Le Disque Vert* dedicated to the author. *Les Chants de Maldoror* were published in 1927 by Henri Blanchétier and by Skira in 1934 with 42 illustrations

by Dali. In 1940 Breton included the author in his *Anthology of Black Humour*.

Like *Maldoror* the Papin sisters were unique. Lautréamont's novel is concerned with, among other things, the relationship between reality and fiction. The novel periodically veers from fiction to reality when the author simply abandons the narrative. It is fitting therefore that Éluard and Péret's text, as well as the illustration, blur the boundaries between reality and fiction. In the text, with the exception of a few lines, it is difficult to extract one from the other but in the end fiction triumphs. In *La Vie immédiate*, published a year before the murders, Eluard had written "I insist on mixing fiction with fearsome realities."²⁷⁹ At the very start of the first book of *Maldoror* the reader is alerted to the fact that a narrative is being created because they are addressed directly, and this conversation with the reader continues throughout the novel. In the introductory section, Lautréamont warns his readers about the potential for moral contamination, but seduces them nevertheless and positions them as accomplices. The readers of the popular press who were fixated with the photographs of the Papin sisters and simultaneously repelled and intrigued by the case were also implicated in a crime with their own "insatiable thirst for infinity" which echoed that of the sisters.²⁸⁰

There was much speculation in the press about the sexual aspects of the murders when details of the crime emerged. Given this interest, by pushing the sisters together in the montaged "after" photograph the surrealists deliberately evoke lesbianism and sexual abandon, in contrast to the "before" photograph which, taken with the text regarding their upbringing, evokes sexual repression. Unlike *L'Humanité* which supported the sisters but crudely used the case to attack the institution of the "bourgeois family" the surrealists were determined to exploit the transgressive sexuality of the Papin sisters.²⁸¹

²⁷⁹ "Je m'obstine à mêler des fictions aux redoutables réalités." Éluard, P. (1932) "Nuits Partagées" in *La Vie immédiate*, Paris: Gallimard, 1973, p 46.

²⁸⁰ In Book One *Maldoror*'s mother advises him on his dreams of vicious wild dogs, "When you are in bed and you hear the barking of the dogs in the countryside, hide beneath your blanket but do not deride what they do: they have an insatiable thirst for the infinite, as you, and I, and all other pale, long-faced human beings do. I will even allow you to stand in front of your window to contemplate this spectacle, which is quite edifying." Lautréamont, *Maldoror and Poems*, London: Penguin, 1978, p 39.

²⁸¹ Reader and Edwards offer details of the coverage in *L'Humanité* in relation to the

family, *The Papin Sisters*, p 15.

The positioning of the text and the illustration in the journal has been noted by scholars and it is clear that the theme of sexual deviance runs through this issue.²⁸² The Papin article is adjacent to a text by Nougé on Magritte which explores the subversive use of metaphor in his work. The text is illustrated by Magritte's drawing of a haloed, winking nun who has one hand on her heart and the other hitching up her robe to reveal stockings and suspenders. The drawing is placed between the Papin text and Nougé's essay and it appears to illustrate both through the suggestion of concealed promiscuity. Heine's text "Actualité de Sade" is prominent in this issue of the journal and its exploration of sado-masochism ends with a quote from Baudelaire "The charms of horror only intoxicate the strong."²⁸³ The double portrait of the sisters is positioned as the last *hors texte* and it comes directly after Man Ray's *Monument à D. A. F. de Sade*. The two *hors textes* before this are a reproduction of Freud's letter to Breton and Valentine Hugo's illustration of a passage from *Maldoror*.²⁸⁴

The surrealists were intent on probing the complex sexuality of the Papin sisters and this determination to focus on sexual aspects of the case was also seen in their response to the prosecution of Violette Nozière.²⁸⁵ In the absence of a dedicated surrealist journal the group published a pamphlet in defence of the accused. As with the Papin case, the group only had the press to use as a basis for forming an opinion and the aspect of the case which they chose to highlight was the alleged sexual abuse of Nozière by her father. The response, as in the

²⁸² See Lane who noted the relationship of Magritte's drawing of a nun to the essay on the Papin sisters, pp. 43 — 44; Coffman also dealt with the nun drawing in some detail and draws heavily on Lane's analysis, pp. 67 — 69; Cox noted that the Papin illustration is directly preceded by Man Ray's *Monument à D. A. F. de Sade* and Ernst's *Œdipe*, p 404.

²⁸³ "Les charmes de l'horreur n'enivrent que les forts", *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution*, no. 5, p 10.

²⁸⁴ The caption to Hugo's illustration is a quote taken from Book 1, "Tu dois être puissant car tu as une figure plus qu'humaine, triste comme l'univers, belle comme le suicide.", "You must be powerful because you have a face that is more than human, sad like the universe, beautiful like suicide" Lautréamont, *Maldoror and Poems*, p 62.

²⁸⁵ Nozière poisoned her parents in August, 1933 and was put on trial for the murder of her father and the attempted murder of her mother in October 1934. On her arrest she stated that her father had sexually abused her since the age of 12. The case caused a sensation in the press which focused on her personal life. The same medic who declared the Papin's to be sane interviewed Nozière for the prosecution. Nozière was condemned to death but spared by the president, Albert Le Brun, on Christmas Eve 1934. Capital punishment was replaced by life

imprisonment in Haguenau and Rouen. She was released in 1945 and pardoned in 1963.

Papin case, was both poetic and political and according to José Pierre, it was the revelations of incest that spurred the surrealists into action

On the 31 August, the newspapers revealed that the murderess had accused her father of abusing her at the age of twelve and that this sexual relationship had then continued. Opinion immediately divided on this issue and, of course, you can count on that being the moment when the affair was going to fire up the surrealists.²⁸⁶

Both the vitriolic attacks on the young woman in the press and the passionate support of the surrealists were inflamed by her questioning of the sanctity of the family and by her apparently liberal sex life. In contrast to the Papin case, the press were extremely hostile towards Nozière and sympathy was reserved for her mother; *Le Figaro* described her as a "monstrous criminal" who had committed her crimes with the motives of money (she had taken money from her parents after poisoning them) and a desire to "live her life among her many lovers and the deadbeats of the Latin quarter". Claims of sexual abuse were dismissed as a fabrication.²⁸⁷

Vu provided extensive photographic coverage of the case notably the issue featuring a front cover of a large close up of Nozière's face, eyes downcast, with the headline "The DEMON of SEXUALITY AND UNHINGED YOUTH".²⁸⁸

The photographs used in the issue are from Keystone and illustrations in the three page article show the accused with police as well as protesting crowds outside the court, demanding the death penalty and surrounding her car. The article outlined the case and suggested that she had abandoned herself to lewd debauchery. She danced, it said, "at a bar, with a black man, a German, an Egyptian, who knows?" while her parents lay dying. The article suggested that money was not an adequate motive and asked if hate could have been a motivating factor and whether the accusation against her father could be true, but concluded that she was responsible for her actions and showed no remorse. One page of the article is devoted to an essay entitled "The demon of sexuality" by

²⁸⁶ Pierre, J. (ed.) *Violette Nozières : Poemes, dessins, correspondance, documents*, Paris: Terrain Vague, 1991, p 7.

²⁸⁷ "Violette Nozières, l'empoisonneuse, sera jugée aujourd'hui" *Le Figaro*, 10 October, 1934, p 4.

²⁸⁸ "Le DÉMON de la SEXUALITÉ ET LA JEUNESSE DÉTRAQUEE" *Vu*, 6 September 1933.

Magnus Hirschfeld, introduced as Director of the Institute of Sexology in Berlin. Hirschfeld connected the crime to Nozière's "unstable sexuality" and stated that the world was suffering a social and sexual crisis most visible in the cities where youths turned to prostitution merely to satiate themselves. He advocated responsible sex education and the creation of a social climate "in which poisonous flowers like Violette Nozière and her lovers cannot thrive." He stated that it would be dangerous to believe the accusations of incestuous abuse which, he suggests, stemmed from a pubescent "erotic-hysterical imagination".

The Catholic press simply refused to report on the case; a small article at the back of *La Croix* on the first day of the trial stated that prayers were being recited for Mme Nozière and that, unlike the rest of the press, they had no interest in encouraging an interest in the details of such cases, and indeed there were no further reports on the case or the verdict in this title.²⁸⁹ The response of

L'Humanité was dogmatic and focused on the "bourgeois" friends of Nozière, in particular her boyfriend, Jean Daubin, who was involved in fascist activities.

L'Humanité stated that his corrupting influence had pushed the young woman into prostitution and crime. The journal suggested that the debate around the case should move on from the issue of incest because of the lack of evidence.²⁹⁰ It is in this context that the surrealist intervention should be viewed because they stood alone in their acknowledgement of incest and their steadfast support for Violette Nozière.²⁹¹ Unlike the case of the Papin sisters, the surrealists were very much swimming against the stream in their support for the accused.

The pamphlet contained eight poems and eight drawings.²⁹² All of the poems were concerned with incest; Breton's poem drew attention to the fact that M.

²⁸⁹ *La Croix*, 10 December 1934.

²⁹⁰ *L'Humanité*, 11 December 1934, p 2.

²⁹¹ Penelope Rosemont has suggested that neither the Papin sisters nor Nozière received any sympathy from the press and that reports served to stir up hostility against these women. Rosemont states that "in all of France, only one group rose to the defence of the Papin sisters and Nozières: the Surrealist group." Rosemont, P. (Ed.) *Surrealist Women: An International Anthology*, Athlone Press, 1998, p 48. However this is clearly not the case with the Papin sisters as evidenced by contemporary press reports

²⁹² The 1991 facsimile of the pamphlet edited by José Pierre may be misleading as it contains a number of photographs which were not included in the original publication of 1933. Jeannette Baxter in ["The Surrealist Fait-Divers: Uncovering Violent Histories in J. G. Ballard's Running Wild"](#)

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Nozière had chosen an apt name for his daughter (*viol* meaning rape) and quoted directly from the victim's statement that her father had "sometimes forgotten that she was his daughter".²⁹³ Breton dismissed the fact that Nozière's boyfriend was involved in *Action Française* and declared his unconditional support. Éluard's contribution told of a mother's betrayal and of Violette dreaming of a day when there are no more fathers, his poem ends with "Violette dreamt of undoing and defeating the ugly knot of vipers that were blood ties".²⁹⁴ E. L. T. Mesens referred to the father's occupation as a train driver and offered "You do not drive your daughter like a train" ... "How many good mothers, and how many bad fathers, and how many good fathers and bad mothers at the meeting place of bourgeois morality have called you a slutty bitch Violette", and goes on to say that "unfortunately, we are few in number, but we will make a trail with our shadows to scare those who try you."²⁹⁵ Péret also focused on the crime of the father who "could feel the fire of his locomotive" and condemned "all those who piss on the newspapers with their pens".

All of the drawings portrayed Violette Nozière in some form and Magritte's presents her sat on her father's lap, with his hand up her skirt overlooked by another man who holds a briefcase and wears a top hat. The pamphlet was published in Brussels in December 1933 but the package containing the books

suggests that there was more than one photograph in the pamphlet and that photo collages were made from press photographs but there was only one photograph included in the original pamphlet on the cover. p 8

<http://www.surrealismcentre.ac.uk/papersofsurrealism/journal5/index.htm> (Accessed 27/6/08)

²⁹³ "il avait choisi pour sa fille un prénom dans la première partie duquel on peut démêler psychanalytiquement son programme ... Mon père oublie quelquefois que je suis sa fille."

²⁹⁴ Violette a rêvé de défaire

A défait

L'affreux nœud de serpents des liens du sang

Éluard perhaps takes the title of François Mauriac's family drama *Le Nœud de Vipères* (*The Tangle of Vipers*) (1932) as inspiration here.

²⁹⁵ On ne conduit pas sa fille comme un train ...

Combien de bonnes mères

Et combien de mauvais pères

Et combien de bons pères

Et de mauvaises mères

Aux rendez-vous de la morale bourgeoise

Te nommeront garce salop

Violette

Nous ne sommes hélas pas nombreux

Violette
Mais nous ferons cortège à nos ombres
Pour effrayer tes justiciers

was seized by the authorities *en route* to France and the publication was eventually made available in October 1934.²⁹⁶ Nozière was condemned to death on the 12th of that month. The pamphlet would certainly have been defined as morally unacceptable.

The group made no use of the press photographs from the case at the time, these were generally unremarkable images of a bewildered and hopeless young woman or represented Violette Nozière as unrepentant, pouting at the camera wearing garish lipstick. Man Ray's cover photograph simply shows a damaged initial "N". (Fig. 37) The letter could represent both Violette and her father, "V" being integral to the letter "N", born from it and connected to it intimately. Both Violette and her father had been crushed by their respective crimes. The initial is embedded in wilting violets. Eburne has noted that publication by E.L.T. Mesens and *Editions Flamel* provide a link to the medieval alchemist and suggests that alchemy was invoked to portray Violette as an agent of transformation.²⁹⁷ The presence of globules similar to mercury support this and also place Violette in a long tradition of French female poisoners.²⁹⁸ Both the Papin and Nozière cases facilitated a broad and rigorous intellectual enquiry within surrealism based on sexual violence.

Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution ceased publication in May 1933 and the final issue carried an advertisement for *Minotaure*, Skira's new luxurious art review, designed to compete with *Cahiers d'Art* which quickly became a surrealist vehicle under Breton's direction but one devoted to art. The first two surrealist journals and the special edition of *Variétés*, "Le surréalisme en 1929", edited by Breton and Aragon, had all incorporated art *and* politics. In these journals photography had a documentary role. *Le surréalisme en 1929* located surrealism in an artistic context but also distilled the political preoccupations of

²⁹⁶ The exhibition *La Révolution Surréaliste*, held at the Pompidou Centre 6 March - 26 June, 2002, displayed documents pertaining to the seizure and the tax demands from the authorities for the prolonged incarceration.

²⁹⁷ Eburne, *Surrealism and the art of crime*, p 200.

298 In fact Nozière's choice of poison was veronal but mercury is photogenic and instantly recognisable as a toxin. Poisoning was seen as a typically female crime with its connection to the domestic role of women and also as an underhand method of murder. Nozière joined a long list of French female poisoners from the 17th century (Brinvilliers and Deshayes) to Mauriac's *Thérèse* in 1927.

the movement. The photographs in this review provided an overview of Surrealism; there are portraits of the members of the group to denote consolidation but also portraits of Freud, Trotsky and a photograph of Lautréamont's signature. Humour features heavily in the issue with the images of elephants and cathedrals copulating and Man Ray's photographs of the blasphemous wc in the home of Thirion and Sadoul. *Le trésor des jésuites*, Breton and Aragon's blasphemous play which was indebted to Sade, is illustrated with a film still from *Les Vampires* (1915) and a post card of Musidora. At the end of 1933, the group were without a dedicated surrealist journal and published political perspectives in alternative forms, such as the pamphlet used to defend Nozière. In terms of a critique of the bourgeois family, the illustrated book became an unlikely but effective site and the next chapter will examine the photographic illustrations by Roger Parry for Léon-Paul Fargue's *Banalité* and Max Ernst's *Mr Knife Miss Fork* after briefly looking at the photographic content of *Minotaure*.

Chapter 4

Surrealism and sexuality in the 1930s: Photography in *Minotaure* and the illustrated books *Facile*, 1929, *Le Septième du Dé*, *Mr Knife Miss Fork* and *Banalité*

This chapter aims to explore the ways in which surrealism, in the 1930s, developed the use of photography with particular attention to the handling of sexuality. Case studies are mainly focused on illustrated books; Péret, Aragon and Man Ray *1929*, Léon-Paul Fargue and Roger Parry *Banalité*, René Crevel and Max Ernst *Mr Knife Miss Fork*, Paul Eluard and Man Ray *Facile*), and Georges Hugnet *Le Septième Face du Dé*. *Minotaure* is also examined in some detail. The five books have been chosen as they have been neglected in scholarship and because they provide examples of attempts to make the reader conscious of society's moral and sexual limitations and its potential for development. Much attention has recently been focused on Claude Cahun's work and also that of Hans Bellmer in terms of the politics of sexuality, but a broader spectrum of illustrated books reveals how well a fluid engagement with photography served surrealism in its "love revolution". Surrealism had a fruitful relationship with photography because the movement travelled in the slip stream of this rapidly developing medium and arguably took from commercial photography as much as it gave. The relationship between surrealism and commercial photography is complex but bound up with the fact that the group understood the new role of the medium in society, its focus on desire and its images whose meanings were tied to commodification. Even commercial images which sought to explore the potential of passion were thus limited. In relation to sexuality and to the institution of the family, culturally dominant images provided points of possible subversion and the potential to produce disruptive images.

This chapter will examine how photography offered opportunities to challenge conventional views on love and use eroticism as a tool of revolt in the selected works. Some social contextualisation is offered to support the argument that these works, however problematic and filled with the contradictions inherent in

surrealism, were part of an effort to explode the restraint of sexuality in the 1930s. The context of the 1930s is important in terms of the movement generally because of the political crisis that had split the group, the opposition from Georges Bataille, growing international success and the increased active involvement of women at a time of increasing political instability and a left dominated by the Communist Party. *Minotaure* was a departure from the surrealist journals of the previous decade and the function of photography in the new journal is indicative of this.

Minotaure

Minotaure was an ambitious artistic and literary review noted for its high production values and extensive use of colour. Tériade, previously at *Cahiers d'art* was employed as artistic director and, heavily influenced by *Documents*, initially envisaged an editorial team which included Bataille.²⁹⁹ *Minotaure* is generally characterised as a surrealist journal because of Breton and Éluard's considerable editorial input from the third issue onwards and because although not exclusively surrealist in orientation, it increasingly became a vehicle for the movement. Breton's commitment to the review is documented in a letter from Éluard to Gala which notes that he and Breton were spending all of their time working on the review.³⁰⁰ The audience for the art review was much broader than that of the surrealist journals and Breton was not in a position to express political views in Skira's magazine.³⁰¹ On occasion *Minotaure* addressed political issues in a discussion of art, for example the article "Nationalism in art" in issue 11 attacked cultural repression in the Soviet Union, Italy and Germany, the chauvinism of the French art establishment and its legitimisation of such regimes through collaboration.³⁰² Also, Ian Walker has suggested that because of the surrealist tone of *Minotaure*, ethnographical materials such as the photographs from the Dakar-Djibouti mission must have acquired additional

²⁹⁹ In fact Bataille only contributed once, in the first issue.

³⁰⁰ Letter from Éluard to Gala dated December 1933 reproduced in *André Breton: La Beauté Convulsive*, p 209.

³⁰¹ The circulation for Issue 1/2 of *Minotaure* was 3000, this was reduced to 2000 for subsequent issues. See Skira's introduction to the facsimile of *Minotaure*, New York: Arno Press, 1968.

32 Editorial, "Le Nationalisme dans l'art" *Minotaure* no. 12 - 13, pp. 70 - 71.

dimensions, both social and artistic, when reproduced in the context of the review.³⁰³

The audience for the review was of course elite and would have included those who regarded *avant-garde* art as fashionable. The advertisements placed in the review, generally in the back pages, for expensive holidays and *haute couture* evidence a readership with abundant disposable income. Man Ray astutely advertised his portrait studio in the review.³⁰⁴ In the 1930's there was a growing international awareness of surrealism, particularly visual surrealism, due to the large exhibitions in Europe and New York, indeed issue 3/4 of *Minotaure* featured a collage of surrealist exhibition fliers from around the world.³⁰⁵ Surrealism had succeeded in reaching a wide audience, particularly with visual art because of its exportability, but was increasingly viewed as an artistic rather than a revolutionary movement with a political programme. *Minotaure* is often cited as evidence that the group had "moved from the street to the *Salon*" and although the review was challenging and the art was often "discursive" and engaged the viewer, the reader was essentially a consumer rather than an active participant in the project.³⁰⁶

In *Minotaure* Surrealism was "alternative" rather than oppositional. *Minotaure* provided the opportunity to display surrealist visual art sumptuously but unlike in the earlier surrealist journals with their attendant polemics, images were separated from politics. Compared to the early journals *Minotaure* was not at all balanced, as it represented only one side of surrealist activity. The group struggled to sustain a revolutionary identity and although an affiliation to Trotsky provided a fresh perspective and a moral compass, the pull of the French Communist Party with its stand against fascism and its Popular Front strategy had seriously fractured the group who continued to participate in political

³⁰³ Walker, I. "Phantom Africa: Photography between Surrealism and Ethnography", *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*, Vol. 37, Cahier 147, 1997, p 639.

³⁰⁴ Man Ray's new studio was advertised for portrait work in the back pages of no. 7. *Minotaure*, no. 10, pp. 62 - 64.

³⁰⁵ Susan Rubin Suleiman argued that the group were politically marginalised and moved away from an engagement with the working class at this time in her article "Between the Street and the *Salon*: The Dilemma of Surrealist Politics in the 1930's", *Visual Anthropology Review*, Volume 7, no. 1, Spring 1991, pp. 39 - 50.

activity but were completely isolated.³⁰⁷ In such circumstances a focus on the production of luxury editions appears to indicate an abandonment of revolution, Nadeau and Aragon certainly thought so.³⁰⁸ However, Breton's attempt to initiate political activity amongst writers and artists via the establishment of the *International Federation of Independent Revolutionary Art* in association with Trotsky and Rivera in 1938 demonstrates a political tenacity. Although unsuccessful, this drive to form an opposition and to work against the general historic current remains significant. The surrealists were confined, their audience was limited and increasingly artistically based. The luxury market was more robust than others and the avant garde took advantage of this at a time of severe economic crisis when opportunities to publish were limited.

Although photography was abundant in *Minotaure* the scope for its use was limited. The humour and sharp politics evident in the first two surrealist journals were absent. In *Minotaure* "art photography" is recognisable as belonging to the range of modernist prints that were then widely circulated not only in popular culture and the art press but in specialist reviews such as AGM's special edition *Photographie* where the focus was on aesthetics. *Minotaure* was a luxurious product in which photography generally functioned as art and satisfied a taste for beautifully reproduced prints which could stand alone and be appreciated.³⁰⁹ Man Ray's portraits of women and the nudes by both Man Ray and Brassai reproduced in *Minotaure* reflected the resurgence of this subject matter in

³⁰⁷ See Short, R. (1966) "The Politics of Surrealism 1920 - 1936" in Spiteri and LaCoss, *Surrealism, Politics and Culture*, pp. 18 — 36.

³⁰⁸ Nadeau argued that the surrealist movement had failed at the moment "when Breton classifies himself ... in the category of the *artists*" rather than that of the workers. Nadeau, M. *The History of Surrealism*, London: Jonathon Cape, 1968, p 202. Aragon had stated that the surrealists were effectively censored through their work being made available in increasingly limited editions in which their thought was considered a luxury item by a bourgeois audience precisely because of its revolutionary character. Aragon, A. "Le Surréalisme et le devenir révolutionnaire", *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution*, no. 3, p 3.

³⁰⁹ There are over 700 photographs in the review, the majority of them are art photography or reproductions of 3 dimensional art. 192 of the photographs are "photographic art", 143 are art reproductions, 177 are ethnographical documentary photographs (including reproductions of art and artefacts). Of the remaining images 112 are popular culture (although 105 of these are accounted for by Eluard's postcard collection in no. 3-4), 22 are portraits, 8 are advertisement images and 22 are film stills. There are also 127 documentary photographs in the review although most of these are included in a small number of articles as illustrations including Péret's "Au paradis des fantômes" on mechanical toys (no. 3-4), Callois "Mimétisme" (no. 7), the article on birds of the night (no. 7) and the article on Lautreamont in no. 12-13. The photographs

which accompany these articles account for over half of the documentary images used in the review.

modernist photography generally. The first issue of *Photographie* in 1931 had been devoted to the portrait and the content reflected the various formal directions within photography. Similarly the surrealist nude, along with the nudes of New Objectivity and the neo-classical nudes of photographers such as Laure Albin Guillot were circulated widely in reviews, both popular and specialist as well as photographic books. It is inevitable that *Minotaure* became a showcase for the surrealist current in contemporary photography with works presented in the same format as the specialist photographic reviews.

The thirteen issues of the review offer reproductions which include the full spectrum of surrealist art works. Man Ray and Brassai dominated the review in terms of photographic art but full page reproductions of the work of Ubac, Alvarez Bravo, Bellmer and Dali were also published. Work in series such as Brassai's *Graffiti Parisiens*, as well as the *Sculptures Involontaires* that he produced with Dali were collated and displayed in A4 format to enhance their visual impact.³¹⁰ Unsurprisingly, images of the city and of women dominate the subject matter of the full page photographic art reproductions. It is these images of women - Man Ray and Brassai's nudes, Bellmer's dolls and Ubac's Amazons - along with others in which women's bodies are displayed, worshipped, de-familiarised, fragmented and violated, that the debate has centred recently in relation to surrealism and sexuality. This is not the place to revisit these arguments but it is useful to consider these images in the context of *Minotaure* where they promote an emotive alternative aesthetic to the rigid formalism of New Objectivity and neo-classicism. Breton developed his concept of a revelatory experience of visual art at this time and the review offered some of the most experimental modernist photography of the decade both as photographic art reproductions and as allusive illustrations to text.

Speaking of Proust in 1923, Jacques Rivière suggested that he "allowed the work of art its powers of seduction, a certain illusory flight of thought, an unleashing of its instinctive and deceptive powers".³¹¹ The same quality is imbued in both

³⁰ *Minotaure* no. 3-4, *Graffiti Parisiens*, p 7; *Sculptures Involontaires*, p 68.

³¹¹ Rivière, J. "Marcel Proust et l'esprit positif", *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, Hommage à Marcel Proust, Vol. 20, No. 112, 1 January, p 185.

the photographic art reproductions and many of the documentary images used in *Minotaure*. This is clear from the outset in the first issue on page 1 where Éluard devotes a poem to an inspiring and unnerving mask from Bali made of grass. (Fig. 38) The images of a forest which dominate Ernst's "Les Mystères de la Forêt" is a further example of work that relies on the unconscious as a dynamic process and speaks to the visual rather than the verbal.³¹² Brassai's nudes also have this quality, they are seductive in their familiarity but proceed to unnerve. The image which introduced Maurice Raynal's article on the nude in the first issue of *Minotaure* (Fig. 39) bears a resemblance to many nudes prevalent in the commercial press, for example it is superficially close to Heinz von Perckhammer's *Extase*, published in *Secrets de Paris*.³¹³ (Fig. 40) However the fact that Perckhammer's shot and Brassai's study differ considerably becomes apparent almost immediately. The focus in the soft pornography is on the breasts and the woman's orgasmic expression and the body is bathed in light in soft focus. Brassai's nude also emerges from darkness but despite the fact that the body is in sharp focus, it is unfamiliar because of the vantage point, the lighting and the fact that the head is unseen. Images in *Minotaure*, particularly those related to sexuality, are often designed to antagonise rather than for leisure consumption. The nude here has become an object that the viewer is unable to negotiate comfortably.

The three Brassai nudes in the centre spread of the article reinforce the sense that these images are not for leisurely consumption. (Fig. 41) They take the traditional subject of the female nude from the back, but de-familiarise it. The lower image in particular resembles a strange bulbous, phallic fruit, nestled in cloth. The distance of these images from a more conventional treatment is enhanced by their placement opposite drawings by Renoir and Seurat as well as a number of unremarkable contemporary photographic nudes of the kind used by artists as study documents. These rigidly posed compositions have a level of artificiality which emphasises the surreality of Brassai's nudes which accentuate the fine details of the living body. The skin is seen to be sensitive with clearly visible hairs, moles, goose bumps and traces of scars. The challenge to tradition

³¹² Ernst, M. "Les Mystères de la Forêt" *Minotaure*, no. 5. pp 6 — 7.

³¹³ *Secrets de Paris*, no. 6, October 1934.

is made greater by the relationship of Brassai's images to the text. Raynal applauded painters such as Courbet, Seurat and Renoir for their ability to freely re-make the human body but base their aesthetic on a respect for tradition and a knowledge of the old masters. In the mid 1920s Raynal had proposed an idealisation of the perennial monuments of art history and the attempt to establish a new aesthetic orthodoxy and was an enemy of surrealism.³¹⁴ At the end of his article on nudes Raynal invited the reader to dismiss the "live nude photographs" which illustrated the article as "dead".³¹⁵

Minotaure was not alone in publishing nudes. A tolerance of nudity is evident in the inter war years, Bouqueret has noted the widespread dissemination of the photographic nude as it ceased to be a taboo subject and was considered harmless as long as it was presented in a particular way.³¹⁶ The depiction of pubic hair, for instance, was forbidden. The emergence of the nude was related to an interest in physical fitness, the benefits of sporting pursuits and fresh air and a healthy and natural eroticism as well as to psychoanalytic theorising on the need for corporeal knowledge. Bouqueret stated that it was this "new body", both male and female, that was interrogated by modernist photography; as a scientific object by New Objectivity, as neoclassical and as "subversive and subverted, fantastical, of flesh and desire, disturbing and transfigured" by surrealism.³¹⁷

There was an abundance of nudes in *Photographie* and other cultural reviews. *Jazz* regularly included nude studies and produced a special edition on nudism in February 1930.³¹⁸ Three notable "art photography" publications were devoted to the nude, Masclet, D., *La Beauté de la Femme*, the exhibition catalogue for the First International Salon of Nude Photography in Paris in 1933; *Formes Nues*, published by Éditions d'Art Graphique et Photographique in 1935 and Natkin,

³¹⁴ Buchloh, B. H. D. "Figures of Authority, Ciphers of Regression: Notes on the Return of Representation in European Painting" *October*, Vol. 16, Spring 1981, p 43.

³¹⁵ "Nous avons réuni ici quelques nus vivants photographiés: vous reconnaîtrez aisément qu'ils sont morts, plus morts qu'eux-mêmes peut-être." Raynal, M. "Variété du corps humain" *Minotaure*, no. 1, 1933, p 44.

³¹⁶ Bouqueret notes that specialist books as well as popular magazines generally included what were considered to be morally acceptable "nude studies", *La Nouvelle Vision en France*, p 206.

37

Bouqueret, *La Nouvelle Vision en France*, p 199.

38

For example *Jazz*, No. 9, August 1929 included 3 nudes by Krull.

M. *Le Nu en Photographie*, published by Éditions Mana in 1937. The photographers featured in these books were generally the same practitioners who supplied "nude studies" to photographic weeklies such as *Vu* and the *revues légères* which emerged in the 1930s.³¹⁹ Above all it was these frivolous magazines which spread and popularised the nude.

The currency in images did not respect boundaries between art and popular culture; it has been suggested that Dora Maar produced both conventional and experimental nudes, depending on who commissioned them but there appear to have been no discernable borders.³²⁰ Maar's image of Assia, a popular model, wearing a white mask and reaching up to grasp a gymnastic ring (Fig 42) was featured in *Formes Nues* and also in *Secrets de Paris* as a full page spread.³²¹ Her portrait of Assia and her shadow (Fig 43) had been reproduced in the second issue of the magazine as *La Belle et L' Ombre* opposite a short story entitled "Le drame de Loch-Guidel et le secret satanique des renards argentés".³²² *Secrets de Paris* was typical of the genre with its juxtaposition of amusing, mildly titillating material, sensationalism and trivia. Nude photography, Hollywood publicity shots and sporting themes which were generally revealing were displayed alongside landscapes, animal portraits and sentimental portraits of children, sometimes nude or *deshabille*. An interest in the naturalist movement is apparent in articles such as "Secrets of the clandestine Nudist camps".³²³ *Paris-Sex-Appeal* featured "A day at a nudist's house" and such titles generally included many photographs of women and men, barely dressed or nude.³²⁴ An article in the first issue of *Vive Paris*, which was dominated by sanitised nudes, noted the cultural ubiquity of nudity:

If you had to establish the comparisons, the differences, the distinctions or the contrasts between the pre-war era and that in which we live, it would be easy to reduce it to small respective definitions: The sole

³¹⁹ Prolific photographers included Aram Alban, Laure Albin-Guillot, Roger André, Pierre Boucher, Brassai, Frantisek Drtikol, Nora Dumas, Florence Henri, Kertész, Krull, George Platt Lynes, Jean Moral, Man Ray, Dora Maar, Franz Roh, Roger Schall, Sougez, Andre Steiner, Tabard and Moholy-Nagy.

³²⁰ Combalia, *Dora Maar: Bataille, Picasso et les surréalistes*, p 190.

³²¹ *Secrets de Paris*, no. 9, January 1935

³²² *Secrets de Paris*, no. 2, June 1934

³²³ *Secrets de Paris*, "Secrets des camps clandestins de Nudisme integrale", no. 6, October 1934.

occupation of the woman of 1900? To dress herself! That — no less unique — of our contemporaries? To undress themselves! And I would say: - What has been the greatest discovery of this first year of the twentieth century? And I would respond: - Christopher Columbus discovered America . We, without any trouble, we have been able finally to “discover” woman!³²⁵

To some extent the cultural production of the surrealist group and those in their orbit should be seen as part of this discourse.

Sexual tension in *Minotaure* is manifest and the deep eroticism is often disconcerting. Man Ray’s *Minotaure*, the frontispiece to issue 7 holds an ambiguity which cannot be resolved. (Fig. 44) The image is at once a bull’s head and a woman’s torso. The figure is clearly female but is androgynous; the upper arms are pronounced and strong. In Rogi André’s photograph of Jacqueline Lamba as Ondine, used as a preface to Breton’s “La Nuit du Tournesol” (Fig. 45) in the same issue, again the body is not fixed but suggestive and mysterious. Images which are redolent of sexual violence and cruelty indicate Sade’s constant presence in *Minotaure*. Bellmer’s doll, presented in a double page spread in issue 6 and as illustrative material for Eluard’s “Appliquée” in the following issue as well as Uzac’s shattered female warriors are indebted to his exploration of the limits of sexuality. However, the most shocking images in the review are arguably the documentary images that illustrate Heine’s article in issue 8.³²⁶ Heine understood perversion as a highly imaginative, creative activity and Sade represented the highest development of this imaginative creativity. Heine’s book on perversion was published in 1936 and he conducted extensive research on the topic.³²⁷ His piece in *Minotaure* is centred on the sadistic and violent crimes of Sade, Comte de Mesanges (another 18th century aristocratic libertine who appeared in Sade’s *120 Days of Sodom*) and Jack the Ripper. The narrative is an imagined discussion between these shadowy figures about the pleasure taken in the degradation of their victims. They are joined by an expert in forensic autopsy who provides details of

³²⁵ Vive Paris, “Nu 1935”, no. 1., October 1935, p 19.

³²⁶ Heine, M. “Regards sur l’“enfer anthropoclasique” *Minotaure*, no. 8, pp. 41 — 45.

37 Heine, M. *Confessions et observations psycho-sexuelles: tirées de la littérature médicale*, Paris: Crés, 1936.

common traits in sadistic crimes and the effect of various tortures on the human body.

The discussion in Heine's narrative is aided by documentary photographs, handed around by the participants and these constitute the illustrations in the article. (Figs 46, 47 and 48) The first two images were taken from an 1899 book on the sadistic crimes of the Ripper and the remaining images are from legal medical annals.³²⁸ Heine was impressed by Havelock Ellis' idea that perversions (or "erotic symbolisms" as he called them) indicated the "potently plastic force of the imagination" and were what distinguished humans.³²⁹ These documents of sadistic crimes were not included for their sensationalism, as they were in titles such as *Scandale*, but because images are important to the understanding of the sadistic imagination. The materiality of the photographs, taken with the text, conjures up the force of eroticism and the level of violent visual imagery required to satisfy a sadistic imagination. Sade's books resort to visual imagery. These photographs aimed to help the viewer think about desire analytically and scientifically. Although variable, photography which deals in sexuality in *Minotaure* displayed a diversity of ideas about eroticism and generally appealed for a recognition of the sub-conscious and attempts to open up a new landscape of vision.

Breton understood Surrealism as part of a progressive dynamic and believed that the production and reception of art could not be separated from the general social process which included the class struggle. Although *Minotaure* was a radical departure from the political aggression of the earlier reviews it was nevertheless a site of surrealist investigation. The review provided a forum for writers and artists referred to by Breton as those

... who realize that their work confuses and baffles bourgeois society, who very consciously aspire to help bring about a new world, a better world, [and] owe it to themselves to swim against the current that is

³²⁸ The two sources of the images are given at the end of Heine's article on page 45 as Prof. Lacassagne, *Vacher l'Eventreur et les crimes sadiques*, Lyon: Storck, 1899 and *Annales d'Hygiène publique et de Médecine légale*, 3e Série, tome XXXIV, no. 1, Juillet 1895.

³²⁹ Ellis, H. *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, Vol 5, first published in 1927, available to read online at Project Gutenberg <http://www.gutenberg.org/etext/13614> see p 86. (Accessed

12/7/09)

dragging them into passing for mere entertainers, whom the bourgeoisie will never let up on.³³⁰

The surrealists were able to circulate images and ideas in *Minotaure* and in illustrated books. Although the audience was small and narrow, the art review and surrealist illustrated books released photographic images into circulation which challenged prevalent views, particularly on sexuality.

The Illustrated Book

Although the production of illustrated books flourished in the inter war period, it was not until the late 1930s that the widespread use of photographs began to challenge the dominance of drawings which was established in the nineteenth century and "modernised" in this period by artists such as Valentine Hugo. The technology to provide photographic illustrations was available in the 1920s but it was orientated towards the mass production of the illustrated press and although a number of documentary and technical books used the medium, photography as art had failed to find a place in books.³³¹ In the 1920s books which were illustrated with photographs were rare and the Surrealists were pioneers in this area; in 1922 *Champs délicieux*, inspired by Breton and Soupault's *Les champs Magnétiques* (1920) was published in a limited edition of forty copies with a preface by Tzara. *Champs délicieux* included twelve gelatin silver prints of photograms, printed by Man Ray from negatives made by re-photographing the twelve original images. Bouqueret believes this publication to be nothing less than the origin of a new type of work, the prototype of a genre which would blossom at the end of the decade.³³² As well as deluxe limited editions, books were published with a larger audience in mind; Germaine Krull's *Métal* proved popular in 1927 and established the fact that there was a market beyond a small number of elite collectors. It was however, the elite who would have access to the books published by photographers associated with the Surrealist group, with the notable exception of Brassai's work which was more widely consumed in *Paris de Nuit*.

³³⁰ Breton, A. "Political Position of Today's Art" (1935) in *Manifestoes of Surrealism*, p 215.

³³¹ Bouqueret, *La Nouvelle Vision en France* p 146.

³³² Bouqueret, *La Nouvelle Vision en France* p 146.

The illustrated book provided photographers, in collaboration with writers, an opportunity to combine both art and illustration and further explore the potential of the relationship between text and image. Although Breton's comments towards the end of *Nadja* suggest that he considered the photographs to be unsatisfactory his meaning is ambiguous. "La partie illustrée de *Nadja* fût très insuffisante" he said, and given that the photographs that he cites were retained in the revised edition of 1963, one could assume that he meant, at least partly, that he would have liked there to be more, indeed he regrets the absence of particular images.³³³ In 1928 Breton declared "And when will all the books that are worth anything stop being illustrated with drawings and appear only with photographs", artists associated with surrealism rose to the challenge and the book became a site for carefully crafted experimentation.³³⁴

Illustrated books published in the inter war period by artists and writers aligned to surrealism included a number of titles which developed the cohesion of text and photographic image: Péret, Aragon and Man Ray *1929*, Claude Cahun *Aveux nos Avenues* (1930), Léon-Paul Fargue and Roger Parry *Banalité*, René Crevel and Max Ernst *Mr Knife Miss Fork*, Paul Eluard and Man Ray *Facile*, Hans Bellmer *La Poupée*, Georges Hugnet *Le Septième Face du Dé*, Camille Bryen and Raoul Ubac (credited as Raoul Michelet), *Actuation Poétique* (1935), Bryen and Ubac (credited as Ubac Michelet) *L' "Aventure des Objets* (1937), Cahun and Lisa Deharme *Le Coeur de Pic* (1937), Man Ray *La Photographie n' "est pas l' "art*, Hugnet and Bellmer *Oeillades ciselées en branche* and Bellmer and Eluard *Jeux vagues de la poupée* (1939). It is notable that the majority of these titles deal in sexuality. To some extent it was a focus on the notion that eroticism could convey revolt that proved the avant garde credentials of surrealism. Photography was an ideal medium to promote a "love revolution" because it was (and is) widely used to disseminate ideas and norms about sexuality. It is for this reason that films and magazines are often good indicators

³³³ "insuffisant" is the word used . Breton, A. (1929) *Nadja*, Paris: Gallimard, 1945, p 199.

³³⁴ "Et quand donc tous les livres valables cesseront-ils d' "être illustrés de dessins pour ne

plus paraître qu'avec des photographies" Breton, A. *Surrealism and Painting*, p 32.

of sexual mores. Hugnet subverted this in his collages, Bellmer did so also to some extent with his references to images of crime scenes in the doll works. In terms of the audience for illustrated books, photography by this time had an established market and was a medium that interested collectors. Some buyers would have been attracted by the *risqué* nature of some of these titles. However, a focus on sexuality was not just about surrealism or their audience, it is indicative also of a broad cultural trend to foreground sexuality and the demand for surrealist photographic books was linked to this.

Facile

Facile is an ambiguous work. It is revolutionary in form because the cohesion between photography and text and the creative use of solarisation resulting in a *photopoème* “in which “meaning progresses in order with the reciprocity of writing and figures: reading becomes interwoven through alternating restitchings of the signifier into text and image.”³³⁵ The surrealists produced limited and deluxe editions to promote the idea that the book, as a rare object, was an object of passion.³³⁶

The visual impact of *Facile* is dependent to a great extent on the outstanding quality of the production. The de-luxe edition in particular is a perfect example the ambition of the group to promote the idea of the rare book as an object of passion. Because of the production values the tonal range is apparent and the images have remarkable depth. The surprising element of the image in which a silhouette is crossed with a prone portrait is thus accentuated as the image appears to literally emerge from a mist before the reader’s eyes (Fig. 49) The experience of reading the book is breath-taking, such is the shock of revelation and beauty. Solarisation leads the eye around the contours of the body and its undulations in a visual caress. Man Ray’s medium is voyeuristic by nature in both the production of images and photographs as objects.

³⁵ Nicole Boulestreau referred to the work as a *photopoème* in her article “Le photopoème Facile: Un Nouveau Livre dans les années 30” in *Le Livre surréaliste, Mélusine*: Paris, 1982, cited in Hubert, *Surrealism and the book*, p 76.

³⁶ Gille, V. “Love of books, love books” in Mundy, *Surrealism: Desire Unbound*, p 135.

In terms of content *Facile* is an intensely sensual expression of Éluard's love for his wife and as such a testament to the elevated position in which surrealism placed "love". Hugnet described Éluard's love poetry thus

Love poems such as the poems of Eluard are poems of perpetual recognition. Love is clothed in the most beautiful images, unusual, disturbing in their purity, torn trembling and dazzled from the dream which gives them their inevitable, somnambulant air. From the time of his first books, Éluard's poems have always been endowed with this luminosity, with this fine exactness in the flux and reflux of images.³³⁷

Man Ray, once again, met the challenge of surrealism with these remarkable images. Hubert stated, in her illuminating analysis, that neither Eluard or Man Ray aspired to make Nusch immediately recognisable or to distinguish her from others; rather she became the mediator of beauty and thus acquired universality.³³⁸ "You take the place of each one and your reality is infinite" Eluard wrote.³³⁹ Éluard's text is at once a tender homage to his wife and an evocation of the creative power of "woman", the very thing that the surrealists sought to harness; the images represent this idealisation of "woman" and "love" because photographic manipulation has abstracted and de-familiarised the body, given it a spectral luminosity and placed it beyond reach. Nusch is an obscure object of desire in *Facile*. Éluard and Man Ray had "the courage to affront with open eyes the bright daylight of love in which the obsessive ideas of salvation and the damnation of the spirit blend and merge, for the supreme edification of man".³⁴⁰

Hubert stated that Nusch's head is shown only once but in fact she is given her head, if not her face or full facial features, in five of the eleven images.³⁴¹ Although the model is carefully posed, she appears comfortable in her nudity and natural grace and is recognisable as Nusch. These images are a celebration of the female body and sexuality far removed from the images of women found in contemporary magazines which were concerned with surface and based on

³³⁷ Hugnet, G. "1870 to 1936" in Read, H. *Surrealism*, London : Faber and Faber, 1971, p 221.

³³⁸ Hubert, *Surrealism and the book*, p 74.

³³⁹ "Tu prends la place de chacun et ta réalité est infinie", *Facile*, p 5.

³⁴⁰ Breton, "Second Manifesto of Surrealism" *Manifestoes of Surrealism*, p. 80

artifice. Man Ray's photographs are akin to Dora Maar's images of Assia (Fig. 50) which focus on natural beauty and sensuality. At the same time, despite the use of solarisation, the portrayal of the body in Man Ray's photographs matches the requirements of the contemporary ideal for the female nude, including a healthy allure, a clear skin and a sense of freedom. *Facile* renders the multiplicity and confusion of the surrealist attitude toward "woman".

1929

1929, a book of poetry by Aragon and Péret, illustrated by Man Ray was published clandestinely in Belgium with a print run of 215 copies. Breton edited the book and chose the title. The books were seized at the border before reaching France. *1929* was censored because of the overtly pornographic images and the blasphemous nature of the poetry. One line of text is sufficient to comprehend the offense, "The prick and the cunt in a confessional in the church *Saint-Augustin*."³⁴² The book is divided into two and into the four seasons with Péret providing the poems for "Spring" and "Summer" in the first section and Aragon those for "Autumn" and "Winter" in the second. A single photograph by Man Ray measuring 4 inches by 3 is presented alone on the page, one before and one at the end of each suite of poems. Little has been written on the book, perhaps because it is easy to dismiss as mischievous pornography, as surrealist art sometimes is.³⁴³ Mahon stated that the purpose of these images was to shock the public.³⁴⁴ John Baxter has suggested that the book was devised simply to raise funds for the Belgian publishing company, and that this erotic edition was proposed to help E. L. T. Mesens to balance his books.³⁴⁵ Baxter cites Aragon's diary entry which confirms the meeting where Mesens' financial difficulties were discussed. But contrary to Baxter's assertion that *1929* was conceived as potentially lucrative pornography, there is no evidence to suggest that the book

³⁴² "La pine et le con dans un confessional de l'église Saint-Augustin" a fragment of Aragon's poem for August, Aragon, Péret and Man Ray, *1929*, Paris : Éditions Allia, 2004, p 37.

³⁴³ "... some sorts of surrealism are indistinguishable from pornographic trash." Cumming, L. "Surreal Thing" (Review of *Desire Unbound* at the Tate), *The Observer*, September 23, 2001, p 10.

³⁴⁴ Mahon, *Surrealism and the Politics of Eros*, p 136.

³⁴⁵ Baxter, J. "Man Ray laid bare", *Tate Magazine*, Issue 3, January/February 2003

<http://www.tate.org.uk/magazine/issue3/manraylaidbare.htm> (Accessed 11-08-08).

was designed as such even though Durozoi states that *Surréalisme en 1929* was partly financed by sales.³⁴⁶

1929 forms part of surrealist erotic expression and like Aragon's *Le Con d'Irène* involves explicit sexual depictions. Man Ray's photographs, more so than Masson's orgiastic illustrations for Aragon's book, enhance the connection to pornographic modes of representation. However, *1929* is far from straight forward pornographic depiction, it is a parody of "The Song of Songs" in the bible.³⁴⁷ The Song is "lyric verse" and the lyric tends to be defined by brevity, sensuality and musicality as well as being a subjective form, expressive of personal feeling toward specific subject matter and addressed to a particular listener.³⁴⁸ The poems in the *1929* echo this form:

Amour amour amour à mon con
Amour amour amour à ma pine ³⁴⁹

moreover the poems echo the content of the Song. Although traditionally understood as a portrayal of the relationship between God and his people, the Song of Songs is about human sexual fulfilment, fervently sought and consummated in reciprocal love between woman and man, in its literal sense and theologically relevant meaning.³⁵⁰ What links the literal sense of the Song to the visions of synagogue and church is the insight that the love that forms human partnership and community, and sustains the whole of creation, is a gift of God's own self.³⁵¹

What distinguishes the Song most sharply from other works of biblical literature is not the fact that it takes human sexuality seriously but rather the exuberant, thoroughly erotic and non-judgemental manner in which it depicts the love between a man and a woman. The emotions of the two young lovers - their yearnings and pleasure in each other - occupy the textual foreground, almost blotting out conventions to which romance and sexual relations are generally

³⁴⁶ Durozoi, *History of the Surrealist Movement*, p 181.

³⁴⁷ "The Song of Songs" is a book of thirty-one love poems in the bible, also known as Solomon's Songs" or "Book of Canticles".

³⁴⁸ Falk, M. *Love Lyrics from the Bible*. Sheffield: The Almond Press, 1982, p 71.

³⁴⁹ "Love love love to my cunt/ Love love love to my cock" Péret's poem for March, *1929*, p 15

³⁵⁰ Murphy, R. *The Song of Songs*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990, p. 103

¶ Murphy, *The Song of Songs* , p. 105

subordinated elsewhere in scriptural sources, although social context is not entirely absent as there are references to this in the Song. It is not a treatise on free love“, it does not celebrate eroticism for its own sake, and certainly not ribaldry or promiscuous sex, but rather the desires of an individual woman and man to enjoy the bond of mutual possession.³⁵² The mutuality of feelings is a striking feature of the Song, their admiration is reciprocal and comparably intense. There is no sense of masculine dominance and mere submission of the female, it is indeed the woman’s voice that resounds most loudly in the poetry, eager to initiate as well as to respond to affirmations of love. The woman relishes her lover’s ardour and eroticism is given full play. There is nothing inhibited or tentative about the woman’s desire for sexual fulfilment, nor are the man’s physical intentions disguised.³⁵³ „Spring song“ provides a sense of the Songs as a whole:

Stamp me in your heart,
 Upon your limbs,
 Sear my emblem deep
 Into your skin.

For love is strong as death,
 Harsh as the grave.
 Its tongues are flames, a fierce
 And holy blaze.

Endless seas and floods,
 Torrents and rivers
 Never put out love’s
 Infinite fires.³⁵⁴

The Song includes the proposition to “Drink deeply of love”³⁵⁵ and it is this that 1929 sought to exploit. Péret’s April poem reads:

BÉNIS ô rouge pine
 ce jeu de yes deux couilles
 Nous voulons dieu c’est notre pine
 Nous voulons dieu c’est notre con³⁵⁶

³² Murphy, *The Song of Songs*, p. 97

³³ Murphy, p. 102

³⁵⁴ Falk’s translation of poem 28, p 47.

³⁵⁵ Song of Songs, poem 18.

³⁵⁶ Bless oh red cock/ this game of your two balls/ We want our cock to be God/ We

want our cunt to be God", Péret's poem for April, 1929, p 17.

All four of Man Ray's photographs are carefully lit to capture the detail of the sex act portrayed. "Spring" shows a couple in the missionary position, the male is nude and in a (rare) vulnerable and exposed situation, his whole body is visible whereas only the genitals of the woman are shown, her thighs splayed.(Fig. 51) The penis (or possibly a dildo) penetrates the vagina but just enough to allow a full view of the performance. When all of the four photographs are viewed together it is clear that the couple are Kiki and Man Ray. Baxter cites Aragon to confirm this but physically both are recognisable in the images.³⁵⁷ Kiki's mouth is distinctive as is Man Ray's physique, pale skin and dark hair.

What then is the nature of these explicit images in the context of *1929*? Gille has suggested that the publication of *1929* is an example of the group subverting the genre of eroticism in its crudest manifestation and this is clearly one aspect of this publication.³⁵⁸ The images in *1929* are dissimilar to popular contemporary pornography which never depicted sex acts but focused on images of alluring women. Men rarely featured and when they did so, were generally fully dressed.³⁵⁹ Depictions of sex acts were of course available and were advertised in the classified sections of soft pornography. *Librairie de la lune* for example, advertised a series of "photos libertines" including "The 32 poses of love", "Brutal possession" and "Audacious caresses" as "real and daring poses, everything is visible to give you the illusion of real life, of the flesh and the movement of two or more people."³⁶⁰ The photographs published in *1929* are essentially documents of love making, albeit staged for the camera, but nevertheless, far removed from the clinical images in pornography. An

³⁵⁷ Baxter, "Man Ray laid bare", p 2.

³⁵⁸ Gille, V. "Love of books, love books" in *Surrealism: Desire Unbound*, p 130.

³⁵⁹ *Pour lire à deux* was marketed to couples and always featured lovers in an embrace on the front cover in colour. The man was always fully dressed in a variety of outfits including a tuxedo, military uniform, suit and tie etc. while the woman was dressed in a glamorous and revealing way. The cover of no. 4 (September 1934) showed the man in a leather jacket, roughly pulling the woman towards him by her scarf. No. 5 (October 1934) portrayed a sailor in a blue suit and gold epaulettes with a woman wearing a bikini outfit. This continued throughout the publication, men were generally wearing suits of some description while women were scantily clad or nude. Male nudes and men dressed in revealing sportswear did appear in titles such as *Paris-Sex-Appel*, as has been noted, but they generally appeared in isolation. Apart from kissing couples, there are no depictions of love making. *Paris-Sex-Appel*, no. 25, August 1935, published a rare photo of a man intimately touching a woman, almost on the breast, as he rubbed sun oil into her body to illustrate a narrative.

³⁶⁰ Classified advertisement in *Pour lire à deux*, no. 1, June 1934.

understanding of the decision to use these particular images is perhaps aided by Michel Leiris' comments on the artificiality of erotic books

... what generally displeases me about erotic books written to be published underground is that they come out as completely artificial. The characters seldom have any substance, they're placed in all kinds of postures as if they were mannequins. Ultimately, it doesn't mean anything, it's a kind of bluff, without any real authenticity.³⁶¹

An autobiographical approach helped Leiris to avoid this superficiality when he touched on eroticism in *L'Âge d'homme* (1939). René Crevel's disillusionment with the Parisian gay scene in *Mon Corps* (1925) is also pertinent here. Crevel's frank confessions describe the impossibility of expressing his sexuality in a superficial gay culture based on exploitation and crude caricatures. The inclusion of images of "real" sex in *1929* may have been prompted by a desire for genuine depictions.

The illustrations, like the text in *1929*, confront the Church's preoccupation with sex with a parody of the love lyrics in the Bible which celebrates the physicality of love. *1929* was a crucial time for the group and Breton's assertion that the poetic imagination and political action can be reconciled are strengthened by *1929* which arguably places "pornography" in the service of revolution. *1929* is not simply concerned with transgression but advocates the spiritual possibilities of a union based on elective love. Breton, as editor, was able to counter Bataille's "vulgar materialism" and his engagement with "baseness." These photographs do not represent an idealisation of love, or woman, but common sexual practices. In contemporary popular pornography the woman's face was generally visible and was used to involve the viewer in the scene and titillate, where the woman does not entice the viewer with her facial expression another part of her body was foregrounded and submitted to the viewer. The women were represented as available for sex but generally passive, there were exceptions to this but they involved women enacting common male heterosexual fantasies such as domination and lesbianism.³⁶² Images of women pleasuring themselves

³⁶¹ Interview with Michel Leiris by Madeleine Gobeil, *SubStance*, no. 11 - 12, 1975, p 50.

³⁶² On the covers of *Pour lire à deux* the men are always in a dominant position (literally and physically in the image). The women are held in an embrace, eyes closed in abandon, or they

gaze up at their partner having been seduced.

were very rare³⁶³, even the woman depicted reading pornography in the nude in *Pour lire a deux* gazed at the camera, passively waiting for her man.³⁶⁴

The images in 1929 do not favour the woman's body over the male and do not show facial expressions, the viewer is detached from the scene. The second illustration for "Summer" is a close up shot of imminent vaginal penetration, the penis is shown nudging into the *labia minora* and it is the female genitalia which are the focus of the shot, the pubic hair and vagina emphasised in deepest blacks. (Fig. 52) Pubic hair was censored in popular pornography, magazines ensured their market position by packaging sex in a way which ensured that they would not be forced under the counter. The removal of pubic hair was one way of maintaining a "tasteful" presentation and the adoption of the brilliant lighting used by the film industry to achieve the "glamour look" achieved a degree of idealisation which allowed images with undisguised erotic intent to be permitted. There is no idealisation, aestheticisation or mystery in Man Ray's images, they are frank and obtrusive in comparison to sanitised representations. The illustration for "Autumn" shows fellatio, an act that the surrealists would defend against claims that it was "perverted" and "indecent" in their defence of Charlie Chaplin.³⁶⁵ (Fig. 53) Again the image is carefully lit and focused to emphasise the act, Kiki's painted lips are printed in velvet black. "Winter" suggests the anal penetration of the woman.(Fig. 54)

³⁶³ *Paris-Sex-Appel*, no. 19, February 1935, published a photograph of a woman sat upon a table with her legs spread wide, wearing red knickers, both hands at her crotch, smiling at the camera but this is the only example found in the survey.

³⁶⁴ *Pour lire à deux*, no. 28, 1936.

³⁶⁵ *Hands off Love* was signed by thirty-two surrealists but largely composed by Aragon. It was first published in *Transition* (September 1927) and subsequently in *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 9 - 10 (October 1927), pp. 1 — 6. The tract is translated in Hammond, P. (ed.) *The Shadow and its shadow: Surrealist Writings on the Cinema*, 3rd edition, San Francisco: City Lights Books, 2000. The tract is dominated by a vitriolic personal attack on Mrs Chaplin but it is essentially the institution of marriage and bourgeois hypocrisy that the surrealists had in their sights. Once again a response had been provoked by press reports; full details of Mrs Chaplin's divorce complaint, including scandalous claims of her husband's sadism and a fetish for virgins, had been made public by her lawyer. In North America the document was sold to the public and allegedly introduced a wide section of the population to the word "fellatio". Details of Mrs Chaplin's indictment were published in France, it was in *Le Grand Guignol* that the surrealists read the accusations that in sexual relations Chaplin's attitude and conduct had been "abnormal, perverted, degenerate and indecent." *Hands Off Love* asserted that there was "something comic in taking the practice of fellatio - for example - to be *abnormal, against nature, perverted, degenerate* and *indecent*. (All married people do it, Chaplin rightly remarks)". The Surrealists idealised Chaplin as one who was driven by pure love and spontaneous passion. Lita Grey's

indictment is quoted at length in Lynn, K. S. *Charlie Chaplin and his times*, New York: Cooper Square Press, 2003, p. 310

Surrealist erotic expression was of course, heavily indebted to de Sade. In 1923 Desnos had established his centrality to the development of erotic literature in both spirit and form in *De l'erotisme*. Desnos argued that the serious and philosophical mind considered morality as a search for knowledge of humanity and thus had to include the complete study of sexual faculties without condemnation or apologies. He continued "which man concerned with poetry, inquiring contingent or remote mysteries, does not like to retire in this spiritual retreat where love is at the same time pure and licentious in the absolute."³⁶⁶ Sade had revolutionised erotic literature as an intellectual writer who had known no restrictions in his descriptions of lust, who had accurately examined depravation but had done so "without a single line which was vulgar or out of place."³⁶⁷ The function of *1929* was undoubtedly to shock but it was to Sade's morality that it aspired. The images may have resembled the vulgarity of hard pornography but their power to arouse is diminished by their candour and in the context of *1929* they are far removed from the insipidity of pornography. Man Ray did publish mediocre works akin to pornographic modes of representation, which functioned as such for the reticent collector but the photography published in *1929* is free of the sterility that characterised them.³⁶⁸ *1929* takes love and lust seriously while at the same time telling a joke at the expense of the Church.

La Septième face du Dé

Hugnet's collage work has often been characterised as surrealist in its focus on desire and as a homage to dada, in terms of typographic bravura and a satirical treatment of mass media images.³⁶⁹ Hugnet had extensively researched dada and it was his essays on the movement which initially attracted Breton to this young,

³⁶⁶ Desnos, *De l'erotisme*, pp. 13 — 14.

³⁶⁷ Desnos, *De l'erotisme*, p 81.

³⁶⁸ Man Ray's "lesbian" shots of Nusch Éluard and Amy Fidelin sold well and were famously bought by Henri-Pierre Roche among others. Baxter, "Man Ray laid bare", p 1.

³⁶⁹ See Adamowicz, E. *Surrealist Collage in text and image*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, p 181; Cowling, E., Calvocoressi, R., Elliot, P. and Simpson, A. *Surrealism and After: The Gabrielle Keiller Collection*, Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1997, p 172 and Walker, I. "Between Photograph and poem: a study of Štyrský and Heisler's *On the needles of these Days*", p 5.

<http://www.surrealismcentre.ac.uk/papersofsurrealism/journal3/index.htm> (Accessed 1/08/09)

versatile writer.³⁷⁰ Hugnet's essay on collage focused on Ernst's contribution to the development of the medium and stressed the centrality of irrationality.³⁷¹ This section will argue that although Hugnet's book was clearly indebted to dada, it was wholly steeped in surrealism and aimed to realise the broad political ambition of the surrealist group in the mid 1930s. Breton's interpretation of Hegelian dialectics to resolve oppositions of the unconscious world and the material world and his desire to "break down the barriers in art which divide familiar sights from possible visions, common experience from conceivable initiation" encouraged artists to disrupt sensibility by revealing the marvellous in the everyday.³⁷² Hugnet's subversion of media images and language involved satire and reinforced a surrealist eroticism based on a marriage of poeticism and vulgarity but moreover foregrounded the centrality to surrealism of investigation". Hugnet questioned the nature of reality and the point at which images begin in an

exploration of the mysteries of thought, a means of reconciling consciousness and unconsciousness, dream and life, reason and madness, and of explaining man to himself.³⁷³

Hugnet's "poèmes-dé-coupages" are presented as twenty chapters, each a double page spread, with the poetry on the left hand page including a mixture of graphics and a range of typefaces and symbols and on the page opposite a collage including fragments of both images and text sourced from the mass media.

Hugnet made use of a variety of magazines and journals, but advertising imagery and slogans are prominent and predominant use of photographs from the "revues légères" is evident.³⁷⁴ Women posed provocatively, shielding their faces in

³⁷⁰ Hugnet was a dada critic and historian. His four essays on dada were published in *Cahiers d'Art* between 1932 and 1936. The essays are reprinted in Motherwell, R. *The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology*, London: Harvard University Press, 2007. Hugnet also contributed essays to Alfred H. Barr's catalogue for the "Fantastic Art, Dada and Surrealism" show at the Museum of Modern Art, New York in 1936. See Barr, A. H. (ed.) *Fantastic Art, Dada and Surrealism*, New York: Arno Press, 1968.

³⁷¹ Extracts from Hugnet's essay 'Collage and Montage' from the *Dictionnaire du Dadaïsme, 1916 à 1922*, Paris: Éditions Jean-Claude Simoën, 1976, are reproduced in Baum, T., Buot, F. and Stourdzé, S. *Georges Hugnet: collages*, Paris: Éditions Léo Scheer, 2003, pp. 9 — 17.

³⁷² Breton, A. "Crisis of the Object" first published in *Cahiers d'Art* in 1936, reprinted in Matheson, N (ed.) *The Sources of Surrealism*, Aldershot: Lund Humphries, 2006, p 524.

³⁷³ Hugnet, G. "1870 to 1936" in Read, *Surrealism*, p 218.

³⁷⁴ In his essay 'Détournement d'images', Sam Stourdzé identified a number of sources for Hugnet's collages including the two images from *Allo Paris* (March 1934) that were used to produce the 'Frileuse' collage in *La Septième face du Dé* (Fig. ... in volume 2 of the thesis). See Baum, Buot and Stourdzé, p. 168.

affected modesty, in ecstasy or in sado-masochistic scenarios were their stock in trade. The content as well as the format of Hugnet's work echoes that of these magazines, as the cover of *Voilà* from 1931 testifies. (Fig 55) Pictorial and verbal collage was common in both dada and surrealism as was the recycling of titles which has the same hallucinatory effect. The title of the book originated in Mallarmé's *Un Coup des Dés N'Abolira Jamais le hasard* (1897), and established Hugnet's book in a tradition of experimentation but also raised the surrealist preoccupation with chance and how this is balanced with artistic intention.

The book is well known but relatively neglected in scholarship and it is Duchamp's cover design, featuring Man Ray's photograph of *Why Not Sneeze, Rose Sélavy?* (1921) and elaborately decorated title letters with the names of Surrealist heroes, which has received most attention to date.³⁷⁵ (Fig. 56) The cover is a perfect introduction to the book; Duchamp's work has a sexual dimension, equal attention is devoted to text and image and the artwork includes photography and etching. The reproduction of the readymade had been recycled from the photograph used to illustrate an article on Duchamp in *Cahiers d'art* written by Gabrielle Buffet-Picabia, published as Duchamp completed his design for Hugnet's book.³⁷⁶ The assisted readymade was carefully constructed from multiple parts including a bird's cage, cubes of marble crafted to resemble sugar lumps, a thermometer, and a cuttlefish bone. It alludes to sexual incapacity; the cold marble is incapable of raising the temperature of the thermometer and this is juxtaposed to the violence and involuntary nature of a sneeze. The object is not what it seems to be, its appearance suggests lightness but in fact it is heavy. This echoes the ambiguity of Hugnet's work and its simultaneous characteristics of lightness and something more weighty. The names inscribed into the title letters of the cover include the established literary

³⁵ Duchamp provided the cover for the limited edition of 294 copies as well as a second design for the cover of the twenty deluxe editions featuring a photograph of two unwrapped cigarettes, lit in such a way to present deep shadows to the side of each cylinder of tobacco that had been "stripped bare".

³⁶ Gabrielle Buffet-Picabia's article appeared in *Cahiers d'Art*, XI, Nos 1 — 2, 1936. The reproduction used in the Hugnet design was made from the same photograph by Man Ray that

had been used in the *Cahiers d'Art* article. Naumann, F. *Marcel Duchamp: The art of making art in the age of mechanical reproduction*, Amsterdam: Ludion Press, 1999, p. 128.

heroes of surrealism, Romanticism and Symbolism feature heavily. Sade, Rimbaud, Lautréamont, Vaché, Lewis, Swift, Roussel, Borel, Nouveau and Jarry are all present. Achim von Arnim was pertinent because of his ability to create imagery unified by his aesthetic, moral and political ideas, Maturin because of his confusion of dream and reality. Freud is prominent and the centrality of the clinical unconscious is supported by the inclusion of Paracelsus. Saint-Just stands for revolution and Heraclitus stands as he who Hegel considered as a precursor. Chaplin and Allais, along with Jarry, highlight humour. Uccello is the only visual artist featured. Agrippe signals the surrealists' elevation of woman".³⁷⁷ John Ford was presumably included because of his work *Tis Pity She 's a Whore* (1633) which explored incest as a violent crime of passion, translated into French by Maeterlinck in 1894 as *Annabella*. The play would feature in Artaud's *Le Théâtre et son Double* (1938).³⁷⁸ Maeterlinck's introduction to the play in 1895 offers insight into the surrealists' admiration "The play is a horrifying poem of love without mercy, frank and bloody. It is love in its violence, in all its beauty and in its almost supernatural horror."³⁷⁹

Hugnet's book was carefully crafted throughout. Hugnet's bookbinding studio *Livre-Objet* (1934 - 40) produced innovative work; his 1939 collaboration with Bellmer, *Oeillades ciselées en branche*, an adulation of pubescent femininity was bound with pink paper and a white paper doily and the first 30 copies were perfumed to enhance the sensory experience.³⁸⁰ *La Septième Face Du Dé* was printed in an edition of 294 copies, 20 copies were printed on blue paper, several of the black and white collages were hand coloured and the book was hand sewn. In the book the balance between text and image evident on the cover continues inside; text and images have been juxtaposed carefully and although Hugnet was primarily a writer and the text seems to dominate (the poems appear on the left

³⁷⁷ Henry Cornelius Agrippe's widely translated "Female Pre-eminance: Or the Dignity and Excellence of that Sex, above the Male" (1670) proposed that women were morally, intellectually and physically superior to men. The paper is available at <http://www.pinn.net/~sunshine/book-sum/agrip4.html> (Accessed 11/11/08).

³⁷⁸ Artaud, A. *Le Théâtre et son Double*, Paris: Gallimard, 1985.

³⁷⁹ Maeterlinck's introduction to his translation of *Tis Pity*, 1895. Cited in Shepard, A. "Domage Qu'elle Soit Une Putain" (performance review) *Theatre Journal*, 50.2 (1998) pp 246 - 248. http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/theatre_journal/v050/50.2pr_ford.html (Accessed

7/11/08)

∞ For a thorough analysis of this collaborative effort see Taylor , *Hans Bellmer*, pp. 102 -
103.

hand of the page which the reader would instinctively read first), graphic images connect the facing page and the eye is thus led to the photographic collage and then back to the poem. Hugnet's poems echo the "found" fragments of text, photographs and old engravings on the opposite page in both style and content. Poem number six (Fig. 57) reads

*Devant le feu
les femmes sont des écrans de verre
mannequins de salamandres à tête de hache
mœurs costumes langues différents
double et douloureuse sensation* ³⁸¹

echoing the collage with its doubled, filmic image which holds a threat of violence. The fragments of text in the collage provides a narrative and locates the scene at night, in the desert, "de la vengeance" is the final phrase. A sense of a competition of wills is heightened by the remote and hostile terrain. The photographs reinforce the exotic theme, the head and breasts of a woman, a powerful and magical being accompanied by a lion, loom large as a surrealist version of Paracelsus' salamander (Fig. 58) or alternatively as a monstrous, man-eating Sphinx.³⁸² Robert Sobieszek interpreted this image as "the bust of a female divided in half vertically, presumably by the salamander's axe" but it is ambiguous, a number of interpretations are valid and there is a sense that it is the woman who is the fire element here.³⁸³

Sobieszek's illuminating analysis of *La Septième face du Dé* interpreted the book as a significant contribution to the surrealist corpus. He also established links to Picabia's mechanomorphic lithographics and paintings of the decade 1900 - 1910 and early 1920s as well as Moholy-Nagy's "photoplastiques" and the photographic work of Éluard and Dali published in *Minotaure*. This seminal work, he said, is comparable to Breton and Soupault's *Les champs magnétiques* (1921) and Ernst's pictorial novels because it was the first extended use of

³⁸¹ Literally translated the poem reads "Before the fire/ women are glass screens/ salamander models head axe/ moral disguises various languages/ double and painful sensation"

³⁸² According to Paracelsus, Salamander was one of the four elemental creatures, the mythological fire spirit. This medieval illustration was reprinted in Hall, Manly, P. *The Secret Teachings of All Ages* in 1928 (self published) and identified as a woodcut from Paracelsus's *Auslegung von 30 magischen Figuren*.

³⁸³ Sobieszek, R. "Erotic Photomontages: Georges Hugnet's *La septième face du dé*", *Dada/Surrealism*, no. 9, 1979, p 79.

photomontage in a serial, narrative format. All of the images in Hugnet's book are charged with violence and eroticism and appear to support the view that surrealist images foster hostility towards women and express castration anxiety. Sobieszek noted the fragmented narrative involving the internal voyage of a young girl or girls through sexual initiation, deflowering, submission, confinement and violence but also acknowledged the disintegration of this narrative in the second half of the book and Hugnet's renunciation of his own story at the end, in the text of the last chapter. Sobiesek concludes

.. they are for the most part clearly orchestrated literal and narrative images, albeit somewhat confusing and esoteric. Some are even frightfully complex and hermetically pathological, while others remain more straightforward and simplistically fetishistic.³⁸⁴

Sobieszek also stated that the book was an excursion into the sexual pathologies of the 1930s and that because of their construction, the text and collages are wide open to multiple interpretations. Unfortunately this study was not followed by a great deal of further scholarship although in his 2003 essay on Hugnet, Stourdzé analysed the book as a fine example of visual poetry, akin to Breton's *poèmes-collages* as opposed to a visual narrative.³⁸⁵ Elza Adamowicz suggested that Hugnet's *La Septième face du Dé* may amount to more than the fetishistic exploitation seen in mass media images and likened it to the work of Hannah Höch. Adamowicz concluded however that whether Hugnet's work stages a simplistic pleasure in fetishism or a more complex deconstruction of the mechanisms of fetishisation, his manipulations reduce the image to a closed system of fixed meanings. The literalness of Hugnet's pictorial and verbal statements, she said, leaves little resonance or interstitial space which would trigger the creative engagement of the viewer/reader as the collages are designed for instant gratification. She concluded that the work compares unfavourably with both the metaphorical collages of Breton and Ernst's suggestive compositions.³⁸⁶ This view is challenged by the author.

Hugnet was not a trained artist and certainly not of Ernst's calibre but his collage work is far from simplistic. It is related to Ernst's collage novels as sequential

³⁸⁴ Sobieszek, "Erotic Photomontages: Georges Hugnet's *La septième face du dé*", p 67.

³⁸⁵ See Baum, Buot and Stourdzé, p 176.

³⁸⁶ Adamowicz, *Surrealist Collage in text and image*, pp. 181 — 182.

work based on the notion of changing authorship in elements found in commercial contexts. In "What is Surrealism?" (1934) Ernst drew attention to the fact that the movement was "flowing freely" at this time in terms of ideas about artistic production and noted that surrealist artists developed ambitions to

freely, bravely, and self-confidently move about in the borderland between the internal and external worlds which are still unfamiliar though physically and psychologically quite real ("sur-real"), registering what they see and experience there, and intervening where their revolutionary instincts advise them to do so.³⁸⁷

Hugnet's use of collage was inspired by the poetic approach of both cubism and dada. Ernst's work and Éluard's photomontages were clearly an influence but Hugnet himself compared this work to Breton's "objet-poèmes".³⁸⁸ At this time, when Breton understood Hegel as a unifying force, rather than being simplistic or a response to the process of fetishisation in the mass media, *La Septième face du Dé* can be viewed as a result of what Steven Harris has called

a growing maturity in the surrealists' understanding and use of Hegelian, Freudian and Marxist sources, as well as the development of a parti pris that, while breaking conceptually with bourgeois cultural values and precepts, resisted any instrumentalization of the aesthetic sphere in the political struggle (which would use art as a weapon), in favour of a broader conception of what culture could be.³⁸⁹

Hugnet did not simply respond to mass media images but rather commandeered them because of their ability to aid him in the confusion of image and reality for the purpose of revolt. In this free and violent work Hugnet follows Lautréamont in an attempt to "deliver man from his illusory obsessions; throwing all notions of good and evil into the scales".³⁹⁰ The collages are filled with surrealist motifs including shells, light bulbs, dungeons, bondage, mannequins, corsets, eyes, shoes, feet, hands, limbs, nudes, birds, reptiles, scorpions, flies and octopuses. Because of their focus on particular aspects of sexuality - sado-masochism, the occult, youth - it was the "reveus légers" that provided Hugnet with an endless supply of material which he could re-present in dream-like tableaux. The

³⁷ Ernst, M. "What is Surrealism?" in Matheson, *The Sources of Surrealism*, pp. 508 - 509.

³⁸ Hugnet, G. "In the Light of Surrealism" in Barr, *Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism*, p 51.

³⁹ Harris, S. *Surrealist Art and Thought in the 1930's: Art, Politics and the Psyche*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, p 2.

³⁰ Hugnet, "1870 - 1936" in Read, *Surrealism*, p 189.

collages were inspired by the notion of the surrealist image as an internal vision but the use of mass media images anchored them in the everyday reality.

Although Hugnet joined the surrealists formally in 1932 at the age of thirty-two, he had been involved with the avant-garde for many years and had been particularly close to Desnos in the early 1920s.³⁹¹ He was wholly committed to surrealism, intensely political, heavily influenced by Freud and considered himself to be a sexual radical. His collage work demonstrates an acute awareness of the desired function of the surrealist image at this time. Breton understood the difficulties in both automatic writing and visual automatism however "The Automatic Message" published in *Minotaure* in 1933 reinforced automatism as a goal.³⁹² In terms of visual art Breton was less concerned with process than the creation of images which were revelatory, related to dreams, a manifestation of our unconscious life. In *Les Vases Communicants* (1932) Breton had sought "to cast a conduction wire" between dreaming and consciousness and advocated images that were spontaneous and intuitive and rationally conceived. Breton complained in *Les Vases Communicants* that some of the surrealist objects reproduced in the third issue of *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution* had been overly determined and lacked the suggestive power that certain almost everyday objects were able to acquire by chance.³⁹³ Hugnet maintained a faith in automatism

In my own opinion, it is desirable that Surrealism, in its poetic activity, should give the fullest scope to dream activity and automatism, as it did in the beginning. Surrealism has always upheld what Tzara so clearly defined by the term: *poésie-activité-de-l' "esprit"*.³⁹⁴

The process involved in the production of the *poèmes-découpages* adhered closely to Tzara's dadaist instruction, the text as well as the pictorial elements of the collages were "cut out". Hugnet was close to Breton at this time and his elegant manipulation of "found" materials seemed capable of generating the ever-

³⁹¹ Swarbrick, K. and Goldman, J. "The Flowers of Friendship": Gertrude Stein and Georges Hugnet" *Papers of Surrealism*, Issue 6, Autumn 2007, p 7.
<http://www.surrealismcentre.ac.uk/papersofsurrealism/journal6/index.htm> (accessed 21/12/08)

³⁹² Breton, A. "Le Message Automatique" *Minotaure* no. 3-4, pp. 55 - 65.

³⁹³ Breton, A. *Communicating Vessels*, translated by Caws, M. A., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997, p 55.

³⁴ Hugnet, "1870 - 1936" in Read, *Surrealism*, pp. 214 - 215.

expanding associations which would allow the reader to "wander around the image" in the way that Breton desired. Photographic elements introduced a snippet of reality into the reality created by Hugnet, added a materiality and a series of associations that were not controlled by him. These are open images without fixed meanings.

The cover of *La Septième face du Dé* offers an invitation to view the work as a combination of playfulness and a serious poetic. The prominent reference to Mallarmé encourages a supposition that the book has a philosophical side and deals "with subjects of pure and complex imagination and intellect."³⁹⁵ The page layout of the book echoes that of Mallarmé and when Hugnet stated that in these works he was interested in "suppressing metaphor for the sole advantage of the image",³⁹⁶ it indicates an interest in exploring what he called "extra-literary problems"

Obsessed by the word, Mallarmé devoted himself to the secrets of publicity, its use of typography, the power of attraction given to certain parts of phrases set in larger type. Extra-literary problems: poetic problems.³⁹⁷

Un Coup De Dés asserted that "All Thought expresses a Throw of the Dice" and a mixture of chance and craft represent the nature of *La Septième face du Dé* as a whole.³⁹⁸ The collages are assembled by the artist but strive for "the disintegration of poetry, this contempt for beauty of images, this negation of poetic and non-poetic."³⁹⁹ Mallarmé's work is set out using different font sizes and makes use of empty spaces that create shapes on the page and encourage the reader to read vertically, in opposition to the Western tradition. Hugnet also uses space and composition creatively to both inspire and unnerve the reader. The text and the images have equally significant roles, Hugnet dissolves the rigid boundary between them and uses graphic symbols to create a rhythm and intensify the strange quality of the images.

³⁵ Mallarmé used this phrase in his preface of 1897 to *Un coup de dés jamais n'abolira le hasard*.
http://poetryintranslation.com/PITBR/French/MallarmeUnCoupdeDes.htm#_Toc160699747
(Accessed 1/08/09).

³⁶ Hugnet, "In the Light of Surrealism" in Barr, *Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism*, p 51.

³⁷ Hugnet, "1870 - 1936" in Read, *Surrealism* p 203.

³⁸ Mallarmé's 1897 preface to *Un coup de dés jamais n'abolira le hasard*.

39 Hugnet, G. "1870 - 1936" in Read, *Surrealism*, p 206.

Three quotations function as a preface to the book, one from Lautréamont (credited as Isidore Ducasse) "Poetry must be made by everyone. Not by one", one from Xavier Forneret, "The greatest thief that I know - it's me - if you read me" and one from Saint-Just "The revolution is in the people, not in the fame of some celebrities".⁴⁰⁰ These serve to establish the revolutionary criterion of the work and justify the content of the book as well as the process of the recycling of images and words from popular culture. Forneret is pertinent not only because he experimented with composition, using very large font and printing only on one side of the page, but because his work parodied popular contemporary horror fiction.

Hugnet's melodramatic *poèmes-dé-coupages* mirror the style and content of the *revues légères* in marvellous images which playfully present and celebrate the absurdity of the imagery in these sensationalist magazines. Hugnet's references to Forneret, Lautréamont and Saint-Just link creativity to political struggle and thus place the book in the service of revolution. In the mid 1930s with the ongoing debate on revolutionary culture, Hugnet's book was presented as both aesthetically radical and political. It was not simply "art" but an intervention which involved harnessing some of the "paraphernalia of the external world" which represented a particularly poetic expression of modernity. The material taken from magazines and used by Hugnet is akin to Dali's conception of the post card, particularly the pornographic post card, as the "most lively document of popular modern thought, a thought so profound or so sharp that it eludes psychoanalysis."⁴⁰¹

Hugnet alluded to Mallarmé's other symbol of poetry "the stars" in the first collage.⁴⁰² (Fig. 59) The main text on the collage reads "The stars and the

⁴⁰⁰ "La poesie doit être faite par tous. Non par un." Isidore Ducasse. "Le plus grand voleur que je connais, - c'est moi, - si vous me lisez" Xavier Forneret. "La revolution est dans le peuple, et non point dans la renommée de quelques personnages" Saint-Just. Forneret (1809 - 1884) was neglected as a writer but was brought to public attention by his inclusion in Breton's *Anthologie de l'humour noir* (1939).

⁴¹ Dali, S. (1930) "The Moral Position of Surrealism", in Matheson, *The sources of Surrealism*, p 425.

⁴⁰² In *Un Coup De Dés* Mallarmé's last image is the polar constellation. Dorothy Betz

suggested that with this image Mallarmé posits that which endures out of the poetic act and thus

victims of fur never go out". Three photographic fragments of female faces are displayed side by side with sinister two word captions pasted below which can be read horizontally across the images or vertically beneath each one. The central image, which may not be a photographic representation, shows only a nose and painted lips and is captioned with "POISON GOSSIP." The surrounding images are faces split in half, to the left the woman's eye looks directly at the camera and the caption reads "STARVATION CONFUSION." The face to the right is heavily made up and gazes vacantly past the camera, this face seems to be a drawing rather than a photograph and this emphasises the construction and artificiality of femininity; the caption reads "SUFFOCATION PORTRAITS." These glamorous women appear as sirens, extreme in their femininity and tyrannous. In this first collage, the combination of text and image connect sex to cruelty and this is made explicit in the reference to fur. The extract of text which reads "of fur" is positioned centrally, directly underneath the women and is small in comparison to the other text. It also stands out because it is set against a shaded background. As we read the text from top right to bottom left, as a throw of the dice, there is no definitive order of words but there is a sense of stability to the main text whereas the other text, boxed in and pasted onto the portraits may be read apart, with the photographs.

The representations of women in the collage resemble Leopold von Sacher-Masoch's "goddess of love" in *Venus in Furs* (1870) with her red lips and marble like complexion and indeed it is only the head of the woman that the narrator sees in his dream at the start of the novel as she is wrapped in fur.⁴⁰³ It is no coincidence that the narrator in the novel fell asleep while reading Hegel. Hegel proposed a concept of "genuine love" which could resolve the divisions of the

was attracted to the fixed position of the North star as an image of this permanence. Betz concludes that this image is the most apt analogy with Mallarmé's poetry in its simultaneous appeal to sense and intellect. Betz, D. M. "Un Coup De Des: Mallarme as a Poet of the Absurd", *South Atlantic Bulletin*, Vol. 43, No. 4, (Nov. 1978) p 44.

⁴⁸ The narrator in *Venus in Furs* is awoken from a dream about a "goddess of love" by his servant who notes that he fell asleep while reading Hegel. The main narrative centres on the character of Severin who is obsessed with violence and outlines his ordeals at the hands of his lover Wanda. Severin convinces Wanda to fulfil his fantasies of a woman that treats him like a slave to prove his love. The novel is a psychological study, with an element of comedy, of the lengths humans will go to for love and has a political ending which concludes that women are cruel in love because of social oppression and that men and women can only become equal partners and companions when women achieve equality in work and education. Sacher-Masoch

Venus in Furs, London: Penguin, 2000

world and heal alienation. For Freud fur, among other things, represented the female sex and men developed an attachment to it through a fear of castration.⁴⁰⁴ Flaubert's posthumously published satirical encyclopaedia, the *Dictionary of Received Ideas* (1913) had simply equated fur with wealth but it was in the inter war period that fur had become firmly associated with glamorous women through Hollywood.

A further textual reference to fur appears in the tenth collage which shows an image of a woman whose identity is concealed. (Fig. 60) Her face is obscured by a raised arm as well as two fragments of abstract collage. The reference to fur reinforces the fetishism in the image which transforms the woman into a collection of body parts. The text suggests transformation through the use of a new magic substance" which can work in "a few days", echoing cosmetic advertisements and the superimposed, oversized lips and hand suggest the outcome of such treatment. This fragment is beautifully coloured, emphasising artificiality, the lips and nails are red, the hand itself vibrant pink and the ring green and gold. The text in the bottom half of the collage warns of the dangers of "rummaging about in clothes and furs", suggesting that this artificial beauty had a previous incarnation as "huntresses from a haunted house", reminiscent of Breton's wishes in "Il y aura une fois". "So simple to be beautiful" reads a fragment of text in collage six (Fig. 57) and there is a continual questioning, throughout the book, of the ramifications of beauty and the body as commodities. Unease thus accompanies any pleasure taken from these images.

Contemporary cosmetic advertising campaigns, including the ubiquitous Elizabeth Arden series (Fig. 61) and the Helena Rubenstein campaigns emphasised the scientific basis of beautification (Fig. 62). The artifice of glamour was made explicit in a publicity photograph from Paramount demonstrating the mechanised make-up procedures used by the studio to achieve a flawless finish (Fig. 63). Hugnet appears to parody this in collage nineteen where a beautician, whose head has been replaced by a corset representing the ideal female body shape, treats clients in a room resembling an open dungeon

⁴⁰⁴ Freud, "Fetishism" (1927) in Strachey, J. (ed.) *the Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, London: Hogarth Press, 1974, p 155.

where clients are tied up or appear languid and helpless (Fig. 64). The text reads "The interior of the ruins seemed so bare, poisonous and pink, there more than a year." This satire based on "bourgeois" models of femininity would become a regular feature in surrealist journals after World War Two when Joyce Mansour deployed her caustic wit at the expense of contemporary women's magazines.

Hugnet drew attention to the social and psychic effects of the commoditisation of sexuality as the women in the collage appear unable to resist "beautification" and face their desires. The site of the treatment invokes a ritual and scientific rationality is replaced by the fetish. Hugnet fetishised and confronted the beauty industry, turning its irrationality upon itself.

Fetishism is a theme that runs through *La Septième face du Dé*. For both Freud and Marx the fetish was a meeting of erotic and materialist desire and the *revues légères* provided Hugnet with material to exploit this. Many of the collages focus explicitly on sexual fetishism using images of body parts (Fig. 65), sexual practices (Fig. 66), material objects (shoes) (Fig. 67) or tactile materials (Fig 68). However, the other concept of fetishism, as idolatry, is pertinent here because of the surrealist investment in non-Western religious objects and because of

Hugnet's emphasis on ritualism. Some of the collages involve explicit ceremony (Figs. 66, 69 and 70). All three notions of the fetish involve attributing value or power to an object and the juxtaposition of them in Hugnet's book suggest a political function for surrealist fetishisation aimed at exploiting the interface between irrationality and commodification. The second collage (Fig. 71) in particular offers a sense of giddy helplessness in the face of sexual drives, the commodification of sexuality and a consumerism based on desire. The

fragments of text include "an hour with the blonde", "daily horoscope", "tomorrow is alive in the windows", "dare", "caresses - a full range for rainy days", "big and small little girls are opposed to speed" and "the scandalous one began" contribute to the intoxication and lewdness in the image. The two

cabinets have slots for the insertion of money, on the left a woman sits on top of the box which contains a selection of women, body parts and pieces of machinery as well as a bowl of fruit topped with a phallic object tinted red. The

opposite cabinet holds a collection of objects with sexual connotations including

a crab, fish, wine and a bird. The bottom cabinet shows a scene of satyrs or revellers jumping around a fire in a frenzied dance. Between the cabinets a host of winged creatures are captivated by the incantation of a man. The woman in the lower half of the collage appears to be suffering the consequences of indulgence; she is out of control, a vulgar leer on her face as she desperately claws at her shift. Hugnet brought together these psychic, sexual and social forms and surrealism — what Foster has called “the hidden glue of the collage”⁴⁰⁵ — and married the elements of fantasy and reality, creating a hallucinatory image which interrogated unconscious desire at the same time as contesting the notion of a benign social world.

The vitality of Hugnet’s collages stems from the integration of explicit eroticism, considered as central to the “modern spirit” and revolt against “everything that is disappointing in artificial, everyday life.”⁴⁰⁶ The cruelty inherent in popular magazines is harnessed and re-presented to provide the reader with a disquieting experience which aimed to provoke an intellectual and moral questioning rather than instant gratification. *La Septième face du Dé* demonstrates how at this juncture, in the mid 1930’s, Surrealism strove to unify art and a revolutionary political perspective.

Mr Knife Miss Fork

The relationship between love and marriage is one of the themes explored in René Crevel’s *Babylone* (1927). Crevel’s novel inspired work by Man Ray⁴⁰⁷ as well as Ernst, who produced, with Crevel, an illustrated edition of the first chapter of the novel in 1931 entitled *Mr. Knife Miss Fork*. This section of the text had been published alone in *Transition* in 1929 and had been well received.⁴⁰⁸ The book was produced in a limited edition of 255 copies. The text

⁴⁰⁵ Foster, H. “Exquisite Corpses” *Visual Anthropology Review*, Volume 7, no. 1, Spring (1991), pp. 51 — 61 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1525/var.1991.7.1.51> (Accessed 1/08/09)

⁴⁰⁶ Desnos, R. “Eroticism” first published in *Paris-Journal* (1923) in Matheson, *The sources of Surrealism*, p 761.

⁴⁰⁷ Man Ray *Mr Knife, Miss Fork* (1944)

⁴⁰⁸ On January 21st 1930, F.Scott Fitzgerald wrote to his editor from Paris:

“In the foreign (French) field there is besides Chamson one man, and at the opposite pole, of great, great talent. It is not Cocteau nor Arragon (sic) but young René Crevel. I am opposed to him for being a fairy but in the last Transition (number 18) there is a translation of the

is centred on an extended middle class family who are attempting to deal with the fact that the father has deserted them and fled to England with the mother's beautiful cousin Cynthia, the only character given a name. For most of the text events are relayed through a child narrator, the daughter of the estranged couple, who retreats into a fantasy world to escape the dullness of everyday family life and the defamation of her father and his lover. The child's imagination is unrestrained and preoccupied with recent events, and her innocent musings offer an astute judgement on the bourgeois family. In the child's imagination the two runaway lovers who are represented by cutlery, "Mr Knife and Miss Fork", enjoy the delights and fulfilment brought by love. In Paris the rest of the family are consumed by rancour and the child is able, through her imagination, to refuse "to be caught up in small talk, small things, small people."⁴⁰⁹ The attraction of this novel for Ernst as an illustrator is clear given its black humour, the preponderance of birds, and the child narrator's "absurd imagination and penchant for the bizarre" in the words of her mother.⁴¹⁰

The mother, "on the threshold of her thirtieth year ... already resigned to the dreariest and most useless of virtues" is the epitome of "a good mother of a family."⁴¹¹ This austere, graceless woman has submitted to boredom while her own mother persisted "in the rhythm of contempt that served as metronome for her entire existence."⁴¹² The husband's character is barely sketched and essentially replaced in the text by a figure captivated by Cynthia imagined in his daughter's imagination.⁴¹³

The power of the nineteen illustrations is difficult to appreciate in reproduction. They were made by a process which was a development of the *cliché-verre*

beginning of his current novel which simply knocked me cold with its beauty. The part in Transition is called Mr Knife and Miss Fork and I wish to God you'd read it immediately."

Quoted in Bruccoli, M. J. & Baughman, J. S. *The Sons of Maxwell Perkins: Letters of F. Scott Fitzgerald, Ernest Hemingway, Thomas Wolfe and their Editor*, University of South Carolina Press, 2004, p 109.

⁴⁹ All translations of *Mr Knife Miss Fork*, apart from the captions which are not featured in that reprint and are the author's, are taken from Boyle, K. *Babylon*, London: Quartet Encounters, 1985. The illustrations in the reprint are spread throughout the whole novel and thus play a different role to those in the original. This quote is from p. 18 of Boyle's edition.

⁴⁰ Boyle, *Babylon*, p 6.

⁴¹ Boyle, *Babylon*, p 3.

⁴² Boyle, *Babylon*, p 10.

printmaking technique.⁴¹⁴ The process involved a combination of drawing and frottage on pieces of thin, translucent paper which were then used as photographic negatives to create a reverse image on photosensitive paper. The luminosity of white on black and the "chalky" effect add texture and depth to these images which are presented with captions taken directly from the text and printed in red ink (as are the page numbers) on protective paper. The illustrations are generally positioned adjacent to the quotation that has been chosen as the caption and thus are intimately related to the text. They all present a visualisation of the girl's perception of events and her night and day dreams. The grandfather and Cynthia are the only characters to feature in them. The grandfather is an eminent psychiatrist, presented as a materialistic *paterfamilias* in the text and the caption. He brands Cynthia "a whore" but is not available to explain the term or the meaning of death to his granddaughter when she asks her mother to do so. It is unlikely that he would have been helpful in this situation as we are told that recently, when asked by his daughter about how to approach sex education as a parent, he was unable to offer a satisfactory answer. In the illustration *paterfamilias* is "all hair", a dour, impotent figure, pensive and crushed by the scandal brought on his family.⁴¹⁵ (Fig. 72)

Cynthia is heroic, a stunning and vivacious young woman adored by all the family before her betrayal and a bewitching Venus in the mind of her cousin. (Figs. 73, 74) Cynthia possesses qualities that her own mother lacks; beauty, hedonism, sexual allure, spontaneity, romance, confidence and initiative. In their imagined adventure it is she who leads. The child imagines her father to be very happy with this woman who, unlike when with his wife, he can "have a good time with very often now that there are only the two of them and they can laugh and sing."⁴¹⁶ The child's conception of sexuality is evident in her idea that her father and Cynthia will stay in rooms "always with the twin beds as close as possible to each other, talk a long time before going to sleep and stay in bed late every morning" and that he will buy her "beautiful dresses with very low

⁴¹⁴ Rainwater suggested that the process was developed with Man Ray. Rainwater, R. Max Ernst, Printmaker" in Rainwater, R. *Max Ernst: Beyond Surrealism*, New York: The New York Public Library, 1986, p 16.

⁴¹⁵ Boyle, *Babylon* , p 17.

⁴¹⁶ Boyle, *Babylon* , p 9.

necks.⁴¹⁷ The child describes Cynthia's pretty bosom that moves up and down because she is out of breath. She imagines that her Papa is very happy as he caresses Cynthia, and laughs because he imagines two little birds enclosed in her dress. He declares "You know Cynthia, I love you. I am in love with you. When we go down hallways, I am always mad to kiss you"⁴¹⁸ (Fig. 75)

When the grandmother demands to see the article on the couple printed in the London press, the child commits the "marvellous photograph" of Cynthia to her memory before delivering the newspaper. The image shows Cynthia in her sensuous finery whereas the father is shown in a small portrait pasted onto his lover's skirts. Cynthia is an active champion of love. The cover photograph (Fig. 76) demonstrates her initiative and the passion of the affair. Miss Fork appears to have swept the phallic Mr Knife off his feet, the dotted line behind her suggests a bold movement towards him whereas he seems only to quiver. She has advanced from the corner of the room where a fantastic picture hangs. The abstracted, vibrant image is brilliantly highlighted and seems to pulsate with energy, echoing the bottom half of Mr Knife. Their embrace is very close and the tip of the knife is embedded in the prongs of the fork. The representation of the lovers as cutlery signifies partnership.

In *Entretiens* Breton identified the surrealist idealisation of love as belonging to the Cathari tradition of "courtly love."⁴¹⁹ Bate defined this tradition as one in which love is "unhappy" and where "Perpetually unsatisfied in a sublimated devotion, the loved and longed-for Lady becomes an abstract ideal, exalted beyond any actual woman."⁴²⁰ Bate went on to discuss the female nude in surrealist photography as love personified, as the unattainable thing craved by the group and a basis for inspiration. In Ernst's prints, the nude, and indeed Miss Fork stand in for the image of the idealising of love; the imagery in the book stems from a narrator who glorifies love in the persona of Cynthia who has all of

⁴¹⁷ Boyle, *Babylon*, p 9.

⁴¹⁸ Boyle, *Babylon*, pp. 7 - 8.

⁴¹⁹ In *Entretiens* Breton stated that the Surrealists "elevated to the zenith the meaning of that "courtly" love that is generally thought to derive from the Cathari tradition", Breton and Parinaud, *Conversations*, p 111.

the qualities of the surrealists' ideal woman. She is youthful and inspirational and has strength and passion. The child refuses to surrender her ideal view of the affair in favour of a more realistic version when she has the opportunity to do so on meeting her father. But it is not only in the child's imagination that love has triumphed, it is evidenced on the front page of a London newspaper and in the fact that divorce papers had been issued. The reader is not told whether this happy romantic love can endure but what is clear is that it was not evident in the bourgeois family and that narrow domesticity could never foster it.

Banalité

The final illustration in *Mr Knife Miss Fork* (Fig. 77) shows „ ... Cynthia, her pearls, her feathers, her miracles ...”, an image, the text suggests, as fanciful as the song sung in the forest in Shakespeare's *As You Like It* about the perfection of love in the springtime, the perfect time to wed, but it is this verse "With a hey and a ho and a hey nonino" that the child uses as a mantra. In Shakespeare's romantic comedy the idea that love is tortuous is mocked and love is not portrayed as unattainably perfect. Rosalind, the clever, independent heroine, is aware of the foolishness of romantic love but has fallen in love and believes in a version of it that can survive in the real world. The dangers within the institution of the family were of course recognised by Freud, and also Bataille who understood it as a site where sexuality shifts around beneath a veneer of respectability, his text "*Figure humaine*" was illustrated with a photograph of a wedding party pictured outside the family hardware business.⁴²¹ (Fig. 78) However, while there is no cause for hope with Bataille, the surrealists held on to the possibility of liberation. Roger Parry, who was under the influence of surrealism in the 1930s was attracted by this and produced a work in *Banalité* that was indebted to Breton's idea of the illustrated book and also contributed to this complex discourse on the family.

Banalité is surrealist in atmosphere.⁴²² Léon-Paul Fargue's poems and prose, based on nostalgic recollections of his own childhood and adolescence was

⁴¹ *Documents*, no. 4, 1929

⁴²² In the first manifesto, Breton described Léon-Paul Fargue as "surrealist in atmosphere",

Breton, *Manifestoes of Surrealism*, p 27.

initially published, without illustrations, in 1922 by Gallimard's *Éditions de la Nouvelle Revue Française* and republished in a new edition in 1928. Soon afterwards Gallimard announced the publication of an edition illustrated with photographs, a radical proposition at this time when literature was generally adorned with drawn illustrations, although Breton had experimented with text and photography in *Nadja*. Gallimard aimed to capitalise on the growing market for deluxe editions and had enlisted a number of young artists to produce a series of publications including Dante's *L'Enfer* (1930) with lithographs by Jean Fautrier, Gide's *Les Caves du Vatican* (1929 - 30) with etchings by Jean Emile Laboureur and Mallarmé's *Poesies* (1928) with etchings by Raoul Dufy. These publications, along with *Banalité*, were presented among others at the *Théâtre Pigalle* in January 1930 in an exhibition of *NRF* deluxe editions.⁴²³ Parry had ambitions not to illustrate a book but rather to create a series of photographs to accompany a book that had touched him personally; his friendship with André Malraux (at that time art director at Gallimard) and his contacts at *NRF* facilitated his *Banalité* project.⁴²⁴ *Banalité* brought Parry immediate critical acclaim in France and abroad. Julien Levy bought Parry's photographs from *Banalité* as well as two prints subsequently published in *Photographie Modernes* (n.d) and exhibited them in two shows *Surréalisme* and *Modern European Photography* in early 1932.⁴²⁵

Banalité was published in a limited edition of 332 copies with 16 black and white photogravures, credited to Parry and Fabien Loris. Loris was an artist, actor and musician, and a close friend of Parry who would collaborate with him in future projects in Africa and Tahiti in the early 1930s. The photographs in *Banalité* include straight prints, photomontages, super-impressions, negative reversals and five photograms produced using paper cut outs provided by Loris. Each photograph is printed on a full page and although they relate to an aspect of Fargue's text they are visual interpretations rather than illustrations. Parry's work was hugely influenced by Tabard and his apprenticeship under him at Deberny and Peignot had acquainted the young photographer with the full

⁴²³ Bouqueret and Bertaud, *Roger Parry. Le Météore Fabuleux*, p 95.

⁴²⁴ Bouqueret, *La Nouvelle Vision en France*, p 72.

⁴²⁵ Bouqueret and Bertaud, *Roger Parry. Le Météore Fabuleux*, p 25.

spectrum of modernist experimentation. Tabard had exhibited in Stuttgart at *Film und Foto* (1929) and had returned with a gift for Parry of Roh and Tschichold's *Foto-Auge* (1929) which included Moholy-Nagy's "Peinture Photographie Film" as well as Werner Gräff's seminal anthology of New Vision photography *Es Kommt der neue Fotograf* (1929) and Hans Richter's book on avant garde film illustrated with stills *Filmgegner von heute ≈ filmfreunde von morgen* (1929). Parry had already acquired for himself Renger-Patzsch's *Die Welt ist Schön* (1928).⁴²⁶

Parry shared Tabard's interest in still life and a tendency to produce darkly lit, theatrical compositions and developed a distinctive modernist style, influenced by cinematic *mise-en-scène*. His work is generally characterised as surrealist because it is enigmatic and deals in the subjects and iconography of visual surrealism. *Banalité* presents Paris as a site of the marvellous and once again, the narrator is a child. In the photographs people are often represented by objects such as gloves or a bird. Parry was interested in the relationship between fantasy and reality however, his attraction to surrealism was also based on radical politics; Parry was born into a working class family in the 18th arrondissement in 1905. He was inspired by the Russian Revolution in 1917 and throughout the 1920s he was associated with anarchists and communists. Loris described himself and Parry as "what you could call cheerful bohemians; passing whole evenings putting the world to rights, discussing politics and conjuring up projects that would never see the light of day."⁴²⁷ A central aspect of *Banalité* is an exposure of the bourgeois family. This is not to say that Parry saw the project as political, or that the book itself is political but rather that it engages art philosophically with an area which is part of everyone's human experience.

The title of the book suggests trivia but it is also a concept that has strong positive and negative connotations and Fargue invested it with a powerful emotional charge. Fargue's exploration of the implications of an ordinary view of the extraordinary, and an extraordinary understanding of the world of

the

⁴²⁶ These acquisitions are documented in Bouqueret and Bertaud, *Roger Parry. Le Météore Fabuleux*, p 18.

⁴²⁷ Interview with Fabien Loris, 20 January 1981 (my translation), published in Bouqueret and Bertaud, *Roger Parry. Le Météore Fabuleux*, p 19.

ordinary is arguably indebted to Mallarmé's concept of the ordinary. Fargue's readers are made aware both of the strangeness of Parisian society as seen by the narrator, and of its ordinariness in the same way that in Mallarmé's prose and poems "... the world of the ordinary is defined not as a one dimensional and absolute reality, but as a perception dependent on standpoint and a willingness to engage imaginatively with what could be described as different and other".⁴²⁸ Plate 12 (Fig. 79) relates to the text which describes Fargue's adventures at the Landelle residence which he visited regularly as a boy. The large apartment on Rue Montaigne was located on the fifth floor and featured an immense balcony which ran around the whole house and from which you could look down upon five streets. Fargue told of how he would look down at the cars and the mysterious silhouettes of passers by with his group of friends and, excited by the recent and well publicised murders in Paris (by Gamahut and Marchandon), would predict catastrophes and wish for something terrible to happen.⁴²⁹ In fact two years later, two houses along from the Landelle house, one of the most notorious murderers in 19th century France, Henri Pranzini, killed a prostitute named Madame Regnault, her maid and 12 year old daughter. Parry's photomontage seems to allude to this as the bearded figure holds a large butcher's cleaver, Pranzini's murder weapon.⁴³⁰ What seemed to interest Parry in Fargue's text was how the extraordinary and the uncanny were related to the everyday, the domestic, the familiar. Parry's image attempts to reconcile these opposing terms as it alludes to actual passers-by below the Landelle residence, the boy's interpretation of them as well as murderous villains, both real and imagined.

In *Banalité* Parry was clearly influenced by the developments in experimental photography that he had studied closely (Figs. 80 and 81). Maurice Cloche's *Alphabet* as well as Breton's use of text and photography in *Nadja* were obvious

⁴²⁸ Hélène Stafford, in her book *Mallarmé and the poetics of everyday life: a study of the concept of the ordinary in his verse and prose*, New York: Rodopi, 2000 argues that in Mallarmé's writing there is the powerful pull of the craving to escape ordinariness, but also a need to rejoin it and to explore its positive and negative potential.

⁴²⁹ *Banalité*, p 60.

430 Pranzini's Three Victims: The Triple murder in the Rue Montaigne", *The New York Times*, April 11, 1887. <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?r=1&res=9806E5D91630E633A25752C1A9629C94669FD7CF> Accessed 8/1/09

points of reference but Parry was influenced more generally by surrealism's exploration of the interface between dream and reality.⁴³¹ Both Fargue's text and Parry's images are intense and they correspond closely. However, while the text marries an exuberance and appetite for life with melancholy, Parry's plastic interpretations focus on the strangeness and violence of these memories and place them outside of reality. The images for *Banalité* seem to adhere to Breton's assertion in *Nadja* that "Perhaps life needs to be deciphered like a cryptogram."⁴³² Parry's attraction to Fargue's work is understandable, the author was arguably at the height of his success at this time and his work is a sensitive description of life which made use of popular language and is filled with abundant imagery. In *Banalité* Fargue inhabited an internal zone where reality merged with imagination. Parry's photographs are graphically strong and depopulated apart from ghostly figures in the railway shots and a hand belonging to a dead body but his everyday objects vibrate with energy and this, in part, accounts for the unity of the work because this vibration echoes the energy of Fargue's text. The fact that the images are free from human presence gives them a generality, Fargue's reminiscences are autobiographical and emotional but

Parry's photographs counter this and address a common experience of family life and youth in which darkness and cruelty are present both in reality and in imagination. The text is peppered with extreme violence, explicit and implicit, as the narrator develops an awareness of brutality in everyday life and recalls vividly imagined dangers. This is accompanied by joy and comfort, whereas the photographs highlight themes of sadness, tension and violence.

Two photographs are presented before any text appears in the book and function as epigraphs which establish the fact that the images are not representations of actual objects but are figments of imagination. The first is the most abstract image in *Banalité*, a photogram made using a cut out paper shapes. (Fig. 82) It is

⁴¹ Maurice Cloche was at this time directing *mise-en-page* and typography at Deberny and Peignot along with Maximilien Vox. Cloche had requested instruction in photography from Tabard who refused, but sought permission from Peignot for Cloche to use the studio at night to experiment. Cloche produced the photographs for *Alphabet*, in which each letter is given a word followed by a photograph. *Alphabet* was published in 1929 by AMG. Parry knew Cloche well

and admired his work and Bouqueret and Bertaud have identified similarities in this work and that of Parry and Loris. Bouqueret and Bertaud, *Roger Parry. Le Météore Fabuleux* , p 17.
42 Breton, *Nadja*, p 112.

a complex image which is highly evocative and open but contains references to familiar objects rich in associations. The white cut out shape suggests a pigeon perched upon an urban brick wall facing a clear and expansive night sky. The bird is erect and alert, absorbing the atmosphere, stretching out and exposing as much of its body as possible. There is a sense of adventure and a will to experience life, the whiteness suggests purity and innocence. In the text Fargue expressed the exploratory energy of youth as well as the need for stability. The bird is grounded but has the ability to fly freely before returning home; the narrator in the text was loved and well cared for and could escape to the realm of dreams and imagination. The image has positive associations and introduces an element of mystery.

The second illustration is a close up of a ghostly train engine; trains feature heavily in the poems and prose as the boy loved them passionately.(Fig. 83) In this negative print the engine is magnificent and powerful, much detail is evident and intricacy as well as strength is emphasised. The relationship between reality and dream is further emphasised in the third illustration which is divided into two parts, the lower part shows a pair of eyes and the upper section is filled with floating paper boats. (Fig. 84) The eyes are drawn and do not look directly at the viewer but are dreamy and preoccupied, unidentifiable images are reflected on the pupils and on the brow and boats too. The final image before the long prose which dominates the book is a rail platform.(Fig. 85) The preceding prose is concerned with the "other side" of the town, beyond a border of "a string of wild gardens that smell of absinthe and bugs" where a phantom tramway is found.

This mysterious side of the city is present throughout Fargue's text, viewed from the relative safety of the narrator's life. All of these preliminary photographs of trains, boats and the bird involve mobility or journeying. This fourth image is filled with vertical, horizontal and diagonal lines and the ladder is central. In all of these images the viewer gazes upwards from a low vantage point and is encouraged to aspire to the unrestricted revelations of the mind.

Parry made use of his commercial style which focused sharply on the substance of the object and relied on expressionistic lighting which created extreme highlights and long, deep shadows. In Parry's commercial work (Fig. 86) and in

his personal work Parry developed a careful *mise-en-scène* where the objects functioned as signs. In *Banalité* the viewer encounters a complex array of signs and is aware that they are not looking at an actual object but a memory or a scene visualised by the narrator that the photographer has made plastic. The starkness and generality of Parry's images facilitate an intimacy with the memories and imaginings within the narrative which could not be achieved by text alone.

Plate 5 (Fig. 87) alludes to the suicide of the narrator's friend, Albert. In the text Fargue described his tentative friendship with this boy who was an "outsider". He was invited to Albert's house for dinner and was impressed by the affluence of the family and their homely abode but especially by the attractiveness of his friend's mother. The boys eventually lost touch and Albert's suicide is reported to Fargue some years later by his cousin who tells of how he shot himself in the mouth. The family, he says, had no idea anything was wrong and simply found his body on the landing. In the text there are indications of discord, the mother is, by her own admission "nervous" and Albert says at one point "Me, I need

someone to pull me out of the shit." Fargue was keen to see the boy's collection of framed and mounted insects but was disappointed because although they were housed in an impressive cabinet far superior to his own, they were "not in a good state". Fargue described insects with broken antennas and legs and the top part

of their mouth worn away. There are little piles of yellow dust on the velvet beneath the abdomens which indicated that the insects had been eaten away by parasites.

The photograph seems to echo this sense of decay and disintegration. The gun and hand are the focus of the image but the flooring is central and is lit to emphasise texture and a significant amount of dust. Apart from an upturned palm and fingers the body is unseen and the debris evokes the powdery particles to which something is thought to be reduced by death. Parry's focus on materiality is in contrast to Fargue's treatment of the death which is simply reported in a brief quotation of the cousin's news, after which the narrator's thoughts turn immediately to the boy's mother. The text and particularly the photograph prompt contemplation of Albert's forlorn existence and his

inability to find solace in his materially wealthy, but emotionally dysfunctional bourgeois

family. A critique of the bourgeois family runs through this work and the photographic images contribute to the notion that this institution, relatively new at this point, was poisonous rather than noble.⁴³³ Fargue was deeply wounded by his personal family experience, he was born outside marriage in 1876 to a seamstress, his father was an engineer whose family refused to accept the liaison and although his parents created a family unit, Fargue senior did not legally accept his son until 1892, and did not marry until 1907. Fargue loved his parents intensely and was devastated by his father's early death in 1909 but a sense of melancholy pervades his works which deal with the family. *Vulture*, also published by Gallimard in 1928, is particularly pertinent

There was a family. Its life, its gay moments. Its child The window open to the sun Friends at their table, happy, at the coffee hour. Their return from work. The time of their toilette with their almond soap Their voices in the rooms, calling each other, their poor eyes, their humble gestures. They walked gently alongside life, in the sadness and the shame and the joy All of that, ddead!!⁴³⁴

Plate 6 (Fig. 88) refers to the interest that Fargue's father had in chemistry. The illustration is placed after a passage which revealed the unhappy family life of Fargue senior and his brother who received no money and "more kicks than caresses" from their parents. Fargue recounted an occasion when the boys were taken to the *Champs-Élysées* by their grandfather who stood on the kerb and pointed to the passing carriages saying "That's what I could have had, if I hadn't had you."⁴³⁵ Fargue told of his surprise when finding out from his mother about his late father's intense love of chemistry and that he kept a laboratory, as he had only known him as a sad, sombre man and when "all hope was already lost".

Parry's photograph focuses on lost hope, the "spirit of research" and inventiveness of Fargue's father when young is mourned here. The fingers of the discarded gloves are echoed in the scorch marks on the table which indicate endeavour; the two central measuring jugs, with their spouts aligned seem

⁴³³ Mark Poster argued that the modern family arose among the bourgeoisie in the mid 18th century and emerged as the dominant family structure in the 20th century. Poster, M. *Critical Theory of the Family* London: Pluto Press, 1978.

⁴³⁴ These biographical details are taken from Katherine Knorr's review of Jean-Paul Goujon's biography *Leon-Paul Fargue*, Paris: Gallimard, 1998. The translation of *Vulture* is also hers. See Knorr, K. Leon-Paul Fargue (Review) *New Criterion*, 1 April 1998, Vol. 16, No. 8, p 71.

expectant but the crystallised liquid on the bottle behind them suggests abandonment. Whereas Albert had been unable to establish a place for himself in society, Fargue's father had relinquished the life he could have led because something else was expected of him and he was unable to resist that pressure, such was its strength. Parry's psychological expressiveness conveys a profound sorrow.

The tensions created by family life and the responsibilities of motherhood in particular are expressed in two further episodes interpreted by Parry. Plate 11 (Fig. 89) shows a static carousel horse, Fargue recalled how the children imagined themselves as soldiers and a told of a competition in which they had to hook rings onto lances as they rode, prizes were given to the most successful and to children who had shown bravery or managed to spear a particularly difficult ring. The attendant mothers also battled as their sense of injustice was fuelled by competitiveness on behalf of their offspring, "Yes madame, that is cheating! He got a prize because he went on so many times! And that great big girl, there! Would you put kids of that age on a wooden horse? I ask you!"⁴³⁶ In Parry's photograph the animal too is pierced and will travel in endless circles. The horse assumes a militaristic air. Protectiveness spills into physical violence a few pages later. Fargue recounts an incident at the park when a big boy planted a spade in a heap of sand and said "All the kids who knock this spade over will have their ears pulled!"⁴³⁷ Fargue could not resist temptation and at the moment when the boy threw himself at his heels, Fargue's mother was swiftly upon him. She slapped the boy with deliberate force. Parry's photograph presents a mountainous pile of grainy sand with a bucket, a sand pie battlement already made and a territorial spade atop. (Fig. 90) The bucket is decorated with a picture of an animal which, although difficult to define, resembles a bear, a symbol of ferocity in the protection of kin and particularly maternal protection. Ominous dark clouds gather above.

Fargue communicated a desire for stability and told of how he hated moving house and would be consumed with sorrow when he found out that the family

⁴³⁶ *Banalité*, p 52.

⁴³⁷ *Banalité*, p 55.

was to leave an apartment. His response was to embrace the walls for long periods in the same way that his grief at losing a favourite housemaid 'la mère Jeanne' was manifested in a physical attachment to her old clothes. This short passage which ends the long prose ends on a sombre note in which Fargue considers the final departure of death. Parry interprets this in Plate 14 (Fig. 91) with an image of an abandoned house. The lack of control felt by the narrator is echoed in the upturned photograph; this family has literally been turned upside down. This space is claustrophobic, despite the fact that the door is ajar, because the decoration in the hallway matches that of the room and therefore the opportunity to exit is somewhat limited. The panelling, the crossed pattern of the empty coat hooks and the shadows of the door frame on the wall contribute to a sense of entrapment. The rope lying on the floor lends the flavour of a crime scene and the viewer seems to be backed into a corner. The family home may be a "haven in a heartless world" but it can also be a prison. Parry's photograph evokes the notion of the family as a site of danger.

These two books, *Banalité* and *Mr Knife Miss Fork* differ in many ways but both offered an artistic contribution which stemmed from surrealism, to the discourse on the institution of the family in the early 20th century. Unlike Ernst and Crevel, Fargue and Parry were not surrealists yet within the orbit of the movement produced a work which was essentially held together by surrealism and an important aspect of this adhesive is politics.

The political impact of the group was not confined to wrangling within the left, whether it was with the Communist Party or *Contre-Attaque*. Neither was it confined to tracts, resolutions or gestures and activities. Surrealism failed to galvanise an alternative opposition on the left but the politics in surrealism was also situated in its capacity to present the flip side of modernity, the psychic unrest inevitably produced by capitalism and an alternative to conformity. This is a key to surrealism's longevity; it has resonance in the 21st century because its politics although uneven, were rigorous enough to maintain a consistent moral opposition to nationalism, the state, the church and the family. The political value of art for the surrealists resided in its potential for transcendence. These illustrated books appear to meet Breton's appeal in the First Manifesto for

“fairy

tales for adults”.⁴³⁸ They provide an exploration of inner consciousness but also meet the Hegelian ambitions inherent in the Second Manifesto to project ideas and images into the external world. Chapter 5 deals with the two decades following the end of World War Two in France. While recognising that this is a different historical context and a period when developments in the illustrated press advanced rapidly, this final section aims to explore how the surrealist group continued their interrogation of representations of femininity in the popular press and their investigations into sexuality during the 1950s and the sexual revolution of the 1960s.

⁴³⁸ Breton, “First Manifesto” in *Manifestoes of Surrealism*, p 16.

Chapter 5

Sexual Radicalism: Photography in post-war Surrealist journals

During and after World War Two the surrealist movement continued to mobilise people around political and moral issues. This chapter concentrates on the activities of the surrealists in post war Paris but also deals with the war years very briefly. This brevity is partly because the geographical focus of this study is on Paris and the cadre of the group were in New York and partly because in war conditions there were limited resources available for reproducing photographs. When Breton returned to France from New York in 1946 the situation politically, socially and culturally had changed radically and many of the changes related to the position of women including the establishment of female suffrage in 1944. Breton fought to sustain a surrealist distinctiveness and did so through his preoccupation with the occult. The group was also distinctive in their anti-Stalinism in the French context. Anti-colonialism and eroticism remained as central concerns and it is the latter on which this chapter focuses. Following an outline of surrealist activity during 1940 - 1944 in both Paris and New York, including some discussion of the photographic content of *VVV*, there is a summary of the political and cultural situation in Paris in the post war years with a short analysis of the ways in which Breton's group operated in this new climate. The chapter then looks in some detail at post war sexual norms using *Elle* magazine and the ways in which the surrealist group addressed questions of sexual morality in their journals.

During the war both the surrealists who were in exile and those who remained in France maintained a belief in art as a weapon of resistance. However, life in exile was very different to that under occupation and while Breton's experience nurtured his interest in occultism, myth and primitivism, those in France who wished to promote surrealism were organised in *La Main à plume*, founded by Noël Arnaud and Jean-François Chabrun in 1941. The group published twelve volumes of literature and numerous tracts as well as a review and did not exclude ex-surrealists such as Éluard and Hugnet from activities. The group galvanised people who had been involved in the *Réverbères* group with Chabrun, as well as those around Breton in the South prior to his departure and young artists who

would become prominent in the post-war *avant garde*. The group was active both artistically and politically and became increasingly active in the Resistance.⁴³⁹ The review, published by Lucien Caro, a prominent figure in the underground press during the occupation, was modest but included drawings (usually as a frontispiece in each edition) as well as poems and articles. Only one photograph was reproduced, an anonymous portrait of Péret as a matador, the frontispiece to no. 8 which featured his poems *Les Malheurs d'un Dollar*.⁴⁴⁰

Breton understood his war-time contributions as acts of resistance and *VVV* was founded as a surrealist review in exile in New York in June 1942. The review was a collaborative effort with David Hare, a young sculptor and photographer who was close to the exiled surrealists and the cousin of Kay Sage. Hare edited the review with Breton and Ernst as editorial advisors who were joined by Duchamp in issues 2/3 and 4. Together with Breton's address to Yale students in December of that year, the review represented a confident assertion of the surrealist perspective. Breton's speech to students claimed surrealism as the only credible movement for emancipation.⁴⁴¹ *VVV* was a carefully produced publication which provided a balance between art and ideas that had been absent in surrealist journals since the demise of *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution* in 1933. The editorial in the first issue established the interdependency of art, ideas and action and the rule of creative freedom

We believe that the only valid criteria of the livingness of ideas is their capacity to inspire us to creation ...our goal in everything is freedom ... we support Historical materialism in the social field and Freudian analysis in psychology ... We welcome those images which make us stronger on our way to action ... We don't like propaganda art of the last decade, poor style and a clumsy moral consciousness. Also experimentalism" - art that is conceptionless and lacks social direction is also not attractive to us.

⁴³⁹ See Durozoi, *History of the Surrealist Movement*, pp. 425 - 427 and Mahon *Surrealism and the Politics of Eros*, pp. 101 - 105 for concise summaries of the activities of *La Main à plume*.

⁴⁴⁰ The artists who provided designs for the journal were Tanguy (frontispiece, no. 2); Tita (frontispiece, no. 4); Dali (double page frontispiece, no. 6); Miro (frontispiece, no. 7); Picasso (double page frontispiece, no. 9); Rius (illustrations in text to accompany his poetic text, no. 10); Magritte (frontispiece, no. 11) and Picasso (5 illustrations in the text of this edition which is pays homage to the artist, no. 12). 265 editions of each issue were published between May 1941 and May 1944.

⁴⁴¹ "La situation du Surréalisme entre les deux guerres", reprinted in Rosemount, F. (ed.) *What is Surrealism? Selected Writings of André Breton*, London: Pluto Press, 1974, pp. 236 - 247.

In terms of illustrations, photographs dominated *VVV* and were presented both independently and as illustrations which often complimented text in the incisive manner that was seen in the use of photography in the first two surrealist reviews in the inter war years. Breton's "Prolegomena to a third Manifesto of Surrealism or Else" was illustrated with a photograph credited to the National History Magazine of an unidentifiable and bizarre animal captioned as a "portrait of Père Duchesne", reinstating the surrealists radical credentials.⁴⁴² This use of appropriated photographs, where identity is fluid, was used by Duchamp in the catalogue for the *First Papers of Surrealism* exhibition in New York in 1942. Artists were therein represented by "compensation" photographs, some of which were likenesses. Duchamp's own photographic representation, a Ben Shahn image of a tenant farmer's wife, saturated in social hardship in 1935, certainly was.⁴⁴³

The focus of this study is on France but it is worth noting the dominance of photographs in *VVV* and the increased number of contributions from women artists and writers. It is also worth noting that Duchamp's *Allégorie de genre: portrait de Georges Washington*, published in no. 4 was originally commissioned as a cover for *Vogue*, but was rejected by the magazine; the torn iodine-soaked gauze with stars nailed onto it resembles a blood stained bandage or sanitary towel.⁴⁴⁴ There was photographic art in *VVV*, often presented in full page

⁴⁴² In 1939 and, Aragon and Elsa Triolet had visited New York at the invitation of The League of American Writers, a Communist party front organisation which attracted prominent writers between 1935 and 1942 who were keen to combat fascism. Aragon had spoken at the Third Congress of the organisation at Carnegie Hall and had been received by Roosevelt. Breton may have wished to raise the political position of surrealism in opposition to the Communist party. His photographic reference to the French Revolution(s) established a link with a tradition distinct from the Soviet Union. Two of Aragon's speeches to the Congress are reproduced in Griffiths, D. A. "Les Deux discours inédits d'aragon au 3eme Congres de la 'League of american Writers", le 2 Juin 1939", *The Romantic Review*, Jan - March 2001: 163 (13). <http://find.galegroup.com/itx/start.do?prodId=SPJ.SP01> (accessed 26/02/09)

⁴⁴³ Thanks to David Hopkins for bringing this image to my attention at a workshop on "The Secret Life of Surrealist Photography" organised by the The Centre for Surrealist Research at Manchester University on June 20, 2002.

⁴⁴⁴ Alexander Liberman asked Duchamp to make a portrait of the first president to the United States for the cover of the February 15, 1943 issue of *Vogue*. Duchamp produced a satirical collage images based on the profile portraits of Washington made popular by the English painter James Sharples in the 1790's. The "stain" portrait consists of a double image, featuring Washington's right profile and trademark wigged coiffure, and a map of the United States, with part of Mexico and Canada in black on either side, when the work is turned on its side.

Duchamp's entry was rejected by Liberman and other members of the editorial staff at *Vogue*, who deemed the shoddy and highly suggestive materials used in the assemblage, which was made

spreads and much use of documentary photography but very few of the photographs published displayed the female body.⁴⁴⁵ David Hare published his partially obliterated and headless nude in the first issue whose title "The retroactive wish as a reality" evokes the Stalinist practice of tampering with photographs to remove undesirable individuals and thus rewrite history and Duchamp enclosed a torso behind chicken wire on his remarkably tactile cover for issue 2/3. Seabrook's sensationalist account of his experiences of Haitian Vodou and intense meditation in New York and in Africa, were illustrated by two photographs, one of a naked woman wearing a full mask and collar and one of Seabrook wearing a robe with eyes closed and head bowed.⁴⁴⁶ This was typical of Seabrook's eroticism but it also represented an increasing preoccupation of the surrealists at this time with the occult and the capacity of the mind.⁴⁴⁷ Female contributors included Helen Levitt, Jacqueline Lamba, Maria Macumba, Isabella Waldberg, Bernice Abbott, Dorothea Tanning and Leonora Carrington. The active involvement of women in surrealist publications would become a characteristic of the post war journals which continued the pre-war investigations into sexuality. Three young women in particular, Nora Mitrani, a Jewish poet and Trotskyite who studied philosophy at the Sorbonne during the occupation, Joyce Mansour, a poet whose first collection of violently erotic poems were published in France in 1953 and Mimi Parent, a Canadian

from padded material covered in surgical gauze that had been soaked in iodine and then fixed to the cardboard support by thirteen gold coloured stars, to be inappropriate for a portrait of the father of the country. Although the red streaked gauze was intended to represent the red and white stripes of the American flag, there is no doubt that the associations with violence and death perceived by the *Vogue* editor reflected Duchamp's anti-nationalistic attitudes at a time of patriotic fervour induced by war-time propaganda. When Duchamp contacted the editor to find out why his work had not appeared on the front cover of the magazine he was told that it was not right" for *Vogue* and returned it to him, along with a cheque for fifty dollars for "expenses". Duchamp immediately sold the work to Breton who published it in *VVV*.

Taylor, M. (2008) "The flag: Michael Taylor picks Marcel Duchamp", *The Arts Journal*, http://www.artsjournal.com/man/2008/10/the_flag_michael_taylor_picks.html (Accessed 11/06/09)

⁴⁵ As well as David Hare both Frederick Sommer and Clarence Laughlin were published in *VVV*. Images by Irving Penn and Elen Levitt were used as illustrations. Penn illustrated "Waiting" by Carrington in no. 1 and Levitt provided two illustrations for Callois' text "The Myth of Secret Treasure in Childhood" in the same issue.

⁴⁶ Seabrook, W. "The Door Swung Inward", *VVV*, no. 2/3, March 1943, p 37.

⁴⁷ The image of the masked woman possibly originates from the same photo shoot as Seabrook's three images of women in leather masks and collars published in *Documents* to illustrate Michel Leiris' article "Le "Caput Mortuum" ou la femme de l'alchimiste". No. 8, 1931, pp. 21 - 25. Leiris said of the images reproduced in *Documents* that he was sent the photographs by Seabrook who had "conceived them and had them produced under his instructions in New

York". In his *VVV* article Seabrook's story takes place partly in New York where he met a Quaker girl" and the image is captioned "Quaker girl in mask".

artist, were active and prominent members of Breton's group in the post war period.⁴⁴⁸

On his return to France Breton found that things had changed dramatically. At the end of the war in Paris, elections revealed a new political landscape: the old Radical Party and the right had been decimated due to their submissiveness to Vichy and the Germans. The largest party in France in 1945 was the Communist Party, closely followed by a new party, the *Mouvement Républicain Populaire* (Christian Democrats) and the Socialists.⁴⁴⁹ De Gaulle's "national unity" cabinet of September 1944 included two Communists and representatives from a variety of political groups who had played a vital role in the resistance and liberation.⁴⁵⁰ After the election of 1945 de Gaulle presided over an alliance until his resignation in January 1946 and "tripartism" lasted until tensions stemming from the Cold War led to the expulsion of the Communists from the government in May 1947.⁴⁵¹ The communists retained a high level of political influence through their dominance of the trade unions. Political instability led to no fewer than twenty-four governments taking office between December 1946 and May 1958 until de Gaulle returned to form a new government and French politics was subsequently dominated by the problem of Algeria and civil unrest.

The surrealists were criticised on their return to Paris for their absence during the war. The political and cultural dominance of the Communist Party alongside Jean-Paul Sartre's prominent philosophy and anti-capitalist stance led to their

⁴⁴⁸ Mitrani was born in Bulgaria in 1921 and raised in Paris. Mitrani's mother was sent to Auschwitz when German troops took Paris and her daughter studied at the Sorbonne with a false identity. Mahon, A. "Hans Bellmer's Libidinal Politics", p 257.

Mansour was born in England in 1928 to Jewish Egyptian parents and came to Paris via Cairo in 1953. Later that year her first collection of poems *Cries* were published in France and were acclaimed by Jean-Louis Bédouin in *Médium*. At that point Mansour joined the group.

Parent studied at the *École des Beaux Arts* in Montreal and was married to Jean Benoit. She joined the surrealist group officially in 1959 and was subsequently represented in all of the major collective exhibitions. Durozoi, *History of the Surrealist Movement*, p 682 and p 688.

⁴⁴⁹ In the October 1945 general elections the Communist Party won 26.1 percent of the vote and 148 deputies, the MRP won 25.6 percent of the vote and 143 deputies, the Socialists (SFIO) won 24.6 of the vote and 135 deputies, the Radicals obtained only 9.3 percent of the vote and 31 deputies. Haine, W. Scott, *The History of France*, Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2000, p 172.

⁴⁵⁰ Goubert, P. *The course of French history*, London: Routledge, 1991, p 301.

⁴⁵¹ The socialist prime minister, Paul Ramadier, ejected the PCF from the government because they had voted against the government in a debate on Indochina and economic and social policy (The Marshall Plan) and had voiced support for the Renault strike against government pay cuts. Haine, *The History of France*, p 174; Jones, C. *The Cambridge Illustrated History of France*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, p 281.

marginalisation. Surrealism, with its interest in eroticism, occultism and myth was portrayed as impotent during the war years and ridiculous and irrelevant in post war France.⁴⁵² The power of the Communist Party affected art practice. The debate within the party about the nature of art was a continuum from the debate of the 1930"s, whether you could combine modernist art making with political commitment. Aragon had become the major spokesman on realist art, accepting the Russian re-assertion of socialist realism in the 1940s which led to frequent challenges from Breton in the press.⁴⁵³ André Fougeron was determined to be a militant political artist and committed himself to the aesthetic pronouncements of the Communist Party. The Communist Party also recruited two high profile artists although neither adhered to socialist realism. At the end of the war, Picasso"s work was less aggressively avant-garde than it had previously been, and he partly expressed the theme of human solidarity by joining the Communist Party in 1944 and famously produced the dove for the World Peace Conference of 1949. The other pre-war avant-garde artist to join the PCF was Léger in 1945 who became an official personality of the party.⁴⁵⁴

At this time, as an artist he chose subjects that were edifying with an element of egalitarianism. There was an extremely rich variety of art in Paris at the time including artists such as Boris Taslitzsky and Francis Gruber who made figurative work which related to the period but was not linked to socialist realism.⁴⁵⁵

In art, two opposing tendencies dominated the post war period, realism (often tied to a political significance) and a number of divergent currents which

⁴⁵² For instance, in 1947 Tzara (by then a member of the Communist Party) publically derided Breton and his group during his lecture on "Surrealism and the post-war period" at the Sorbonne; Sartre described Surrealism as an "outmoded, parasitic movement" in his essay "What is Literature" in 1947. Mahon, *Surrealism and the Politics of Eros*, p 113.

⁴⁵³ Stalin had achieved complete state control of the arts in 1932 with his decree that a mythic, heroic representation of class struggle should be the blueprint for "realism". The policy was policed by Zhdanov, whose attacks on "improper" cultural productions became virulent in the summer of 1946. His texts were published in translation in France from 1947 onwards, where socialist realism was reaching its apogee espousing his principles, and its advocates were becoming more and more dogmatic. Wilson, S. „"La Beauté Révolutionnaire"? Réalisme Socialiste and French Painting 1935 — 1954" *The Oxford Art Journal*, October 1980, pp. 61, 66 - 67.

⁴⁵⁴ Lassalle, H. "Art Criticism as strategy: the idiom of "new realism" from Fernand Léger to the Pierre Restany group" in Gee, M. *Art criticism since 1900*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993, p 206.

⁴⁵⁵ For a concise summary of the place of surrealism in post war Paris see Wilson, S. Saint-Germain-des-Près: Antifascism, Occupation and Postwar Paris" in Wilson, *Paris: Capital of the Arts 1900 - 1968*, pp. 240 - 245.

developed within abstraction. Sartre's texts on art were influential and Frances Morris has noted that "much of what Sartre wrote on art had been anticipated and was echoed by others of his generation and drew on the philosophy of Martin Heidegger, was heavily indebted to Henri Bergson and was richly infused with ideas generated by Marxism and Surrealism".⁴⁵⁶ Existentialism is an important element to consider when looking at the art of the period, but the way that artists understood and related to the dada and surrealist legacy also informed developments in abstraction.

The surrealists were active in the art world, (Breton held court in the *Cyrano* as well as being involved in exhibition organisation for galleries such as *L'Étoile scellée*) and arguably provided a touchstone for artists who sought theoretical anchorage.⁴⁵⁷ Sylvain Lecombe has argued that at this time, Surrealism was far from infertile and offered both gestural/lyrical abstractionists as well as "anti-art" artists such as Dubuffet and Fautrier a method and theory, based on "automatism" on which to ground their "painting without tradition".⁴⁵⁸ Sarah Wilson also noted a rapprochement between surrealism and Art Brut.⁴⁵⁹ Breton's *Surrealism and Painting* as well as the collected *Surrealist Manifestoes* were re-printed in 1945-6. Despite some hostile reviews, Breton's group had notable success with their Surrealism in 1947 exhibition at *Galerie Maeght* which opened on July 7th of that year.⁴⁶⁰ The catalogue, generally noted for the cover designed by Duchamp and Donati featuring a false breast, included thirty eight essays expanding of the themes of the show, including contributions from Breton and Péret as well as Bataille's "Absence of Myth".⁴⁶¹ The show established an alternative to art in the service of party politics and displayed a wide range of styles from an

international collection of artists, both established and new. Visitors were introduced to Wifredo Lam, Enrico Donati, Maria Martins, Jean-Paul Riopelle

⁴⁵⁶ Morris, F. *Paris Post War. Art and Existentialism 1945 - 55*, London: Tate Gallery, 1993, p 19.

⁴⁵⁷ Viatte, G. "Paris - chemins de l'art et de la vie - 1937 - 1957" in Pontus, H., Arbaizar, P. and Viatte, G. (eds.) *Paris 1937 - 1957. Creations en France*, Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou, 1981, p 28.

⁴⁵⁸ Lecombe, S. "Vivre une peinture sans tradition" in *Paris 1937 - 1957. Creations en France*, pp. 216 - 220.

Mahon, *Surrealism: The Politics of Eros*, p 107.

⁴⁵⁹ Wilson, *Paris: Capital of the Arts 1900 - 1968*, p 20.

⁴⁶⁰ Durozoi reports that the exhibition had forty thousand visitors, including many young people, including Jean Schuster (aged sixteen at the time) who was inspired to arrange a meeting with Breton following his visit to the show. Durozoi, *History of the Surrealist Movement*, p 472.

⁴⁶¹ Mahon, *Surrealism: The Politics of Eros*, p 138.

and David Hare. Lecombre has noted the prominent role of Camille Bryen (a well-known artist who, along with Michel Tapié, had been involved in *Réverbères* before the war and was on the fringes of surrealism in the post war period) in organising the first group show of "lyrical abstraction" *L'Imaginaire* in 1947 and participating in the first exhibition to bring together American and French abstraction, *Confronted Vehemences*, in 1951.⁴⁶² COBRA emerged in 1948, influenced by surrealism, the Situationists took on board some of the ideas of the surrealists and elements of surrealism were evident in a strand of what was termed "New Realism" by Pierre Restany in 1960.

In terms of politics surrealist activity involved interventions generally in the form of tracts or articles which established a surrealist position regarding key contemporary issues such as the wars in Indochina and Algeria and the revolutions in Hungary in 1956 and Cuba in 1959, as well as participation in anti-colonial activities. Breton and the surrealists played a pivotal role in the high profile "Declaration of the 121", the denunciation of the French government's colonial adventures and terrorism in Algeria signed by intellectuals including Simone de Beauvoir, Sartre, Michel Leiris and Alain Robbe-Grillet in 1960.⁴⁶³ Later that decade, polemics would dominate the surrealist contribution to the struggles of May 1968. Intellectuals in France played an important role in helping to shape public opinion at a traumatic time after the war, when the country was faced with moral uncertainties around collaboration with the Nazis, de-colonisation and Americanisation. The surrealists were therefore marginalised but far from insignificant to cultural and political debate. Along with their new hero in Charles Fourier, Sade continued to play a significant role for the surrealists in both challenging the morality of French society and proposing an alternative based on freedom. "Rupture inaugurale", a surrealist tract on cultural and political liberty published in 1947, criticised the Communist Party as well as Sartre and expressed faith in Sade and Freud. The frontispiece is a photograph of Sade's ruined castle in La Coste (Fig. 92) which has the appearance of a face in profile with eye, nose and mouth, accompanied by the following caption

⁴⁶² Lecombre, S. "Vivre une peinture sans tradition" in *Paris 1937 à 1957. Créations en France*, p 216 and 218 respectively.

⁴⁶³ See Mahon, *Surrealism: The Politics of Eros*, for a full account of the exhibitions held in 1947, 1959 and 1965 and the political activity of the group in Paris in the period after the war.

The hard stone profile of the Marquis de Sade still looks at the horizon, at everything that has disappeared for him on this plain where

men make prisons in which to lock up those who have loved.⁴⁶⁴ This chapter deals with the ways in which the surrealist group, once re-established in Paris, engaged with sexual morality in their journals in a climate of modernisation and in the 1960s, increasing sexual freedoms. There was no dedicated surrealist journal until the launch of *Néon* in January 1948. This journal was primarily a literary review, with a format similar to that of a dense newspaper, and contained negligible photographic images. There was also no engagement with contemporary social or political issues until the final issue. This chapter therefore concentrates on the period from 1953, when *Médium. Communication Surréaliste* was launched. Initially produced in 1952 as *Médium*, a news-sheet, the new series was more ambitious and included a limited number of images, including photographs.⁴⁶⁵ In 1956 *Le Surréalisme Même* was launched with Breton as editor as a broad cultural review with a political aspect. Literature dominated but culturally it had a wide range, including popular culture. New artistic talent was included but work from the 1930's was also reproduced. The review included *enquêtes* and paid close attention to the press both in the analysis of stories which dominated the contemporary news and by publishing a feature "Notes" which was similar to the "Extraits de Presse" column in *La Révolution Surréaliste*. *Le Surréalisme Même* was published by Jean- Jacques Pauvert.⁴⁶⁶

This luxurious review was replaced by *BIEF* in 1958, which was edited by Schuster and published by Eric Losfeld at *Terrain Vague*. It had a circulation of 5000 and a much smaller budget than its predecessor. However, it made

⁴⁶⁴ "Rupture inaugurale" was a statement on cultural and political liberty, published in 1947 with fifty-one signatories, shortly after attacks by Tzara and Sartre on the Surrealists. It criticised the Communist Party as well as Sartre and expressed faith in both de Sade and Freud. The frontispiece has the caption "Ruins of de Sade's castle at La Coste (Vaucluse)" and the quotation:

Le dur profil de pierre du marquis de Sade regarde encore l'horizon, tout ce qui s'est évanoui pour lui dans cette plaine où les hommes font des prisons pour enfermer ceux qui ont aimé" (Pierre Guerre).

The photograph, caption and quotation are reproduced in Pierre, J. *Tracts surréalistes et déclarations collectives. Vol 2. 1940 à 1969*, Paris: Le terrain vague, 1982, pp 29 - 36; 316 - 317.

⁴⁶⁵ In terms of illustrations *Médium* was dominated by drawings but did include 24 photographs over the four issues including 14 portraits, 7 documentary images, 2 reproductions of photographic art and one art reproduction.

⁴⁶⁶ An *enquête* on strip-tease was published in nos. 4 and 5. An *enquête* on a Gabriel Cornelius von Max painting was published in no. 3.

intelligent use of photographs on the cover and offered more engagement with current events.⁴⁶⁷ The photographs are visually attractive and served to entice the reader. They were presented with a caption which was often humorous. With the exception of the sombre portrait of Pêret on the cover of issue 9, published shortly after his death and the portrait of Franco on his yacht on issue 4, the images are visually strong. The images of the parachute show at the *Foire du Trône*, with its doll performers and audience (Fig. 93) and the bioluminescent squid (Fig. 94) are marvellous images. The image of the heavily decorated woman on the cover of issue 12 (Fig. 95) is visually striking and was used to criticise Russia, the caption reads "This woman, wearing several hundred kilos of jewels, was presented to Russian dignitaries during their recent trip to India", followed by a quote from Malzom de Chazal's *Sens Plastique II* "Leave the lectures to the judges, and make a tribunal of flesh".

The first issue of *BIEF* used the arresting image of a nun brandishing a shotgun (Fig. 96) and the caption placed her as a missionary concerned about the physical and moral decadence of the population in French Polynesia where "the church was despised by the indigenous population along all with other foreign institutions". The cover of issue 2 continued with the anti-colonial theme with a photograph of a young African woman typing (Fig. 97), "Write to us, response guaranteed" is the caption, noting that participation and the response may involve helpless laughter. The penultimate issue of the review used a photograph of the huge crowd and a television crew at the preview of the *EROS* exhibition. The caption simply quotes the press as reporting that "the youth of today are not interested in surrealism at all". (Fig. 98) The most bizarre cover is the photograph of the "window display of condoms from Barcelona" in issue 8. (Fig. 99) A range of anthropomorphic condoms which have been "dressed up" as a variety of limbless characters including the devil, a Christian and a clowns have been arranged in a tableau with a number of extended but "bare" condoms in the foreground. The caption includes a quote from Empedocles suggesting that these

⁴⁶⁷ The photographic content of *BIEF* is restricted to a single photographic image on the cover of each of the twelve issues and one full page back cover advertisement for Jean Boullé's *La Belle et la Bête*, Paris: *Terrain Vague*, 1958.

strange beings have been created under the dominance of "Strife".⁴⁶⁸ The covers of *BIEF* often engaged the viewer through humour and the unostentatious documentation of the surreal.

La Brèche followed *BIEF* in 1961, it was also published by Losfeld with a 5000 circulation, and Breton's influence as editor is clear as the eight substantial issues of the review all bear his stamp. *La Brèche* was presented in a clearer, more professional A5 format than the chaotic *BIEF* with a table of contents, lengthy articles and photographic illustrations printed on glossy paper.⁴⁶⁹ The *enquête* was featured and there were "Notes" which engaged directly with current political and cultural debates. The fact that the surrealists could produce this array of publications given the divisions within the group throughout this period is to a great extent testament to Breton's drive. It is Breton's journals, *Le Surréalisme Même* and *La Brèche* that dominate the discussion in this chapter although images from the other journals are featured. *Le Surréalisme Même* had a small square format (approximately 19 cm) and was glossy and professionally produced with extensive use of colour both on the cover and inside. In terms of illustrations the review contains twice as many photographs as either drawings or reproductions of paintings and of the photographs, documentary images are the most numerous.⁴⁷⁰ The use of documentary photography in the review, particularly the early issues, was similar to that in *La Révolution Surréaliste*; the image of the dead crocodile with a human hand extending from its stomach which illustrated Mansour's story "Le Perroquet"⁴⁷¹ (Fig. 100) or Jehan

Mayoux's grotesque postcard from Morocco "*Maroc a la Belle Époque*"⁴⁷² (Fig.

⁴⁶⁸ Empedocles of Agrigentum was a ancient Greek philosopher who wrote on two themes, Nature", the history of the natural physical world including the origin of species and Putrifications", quoted here, on moral topics. According to Empedocles mortal beings were created under the influence of both "Love" and "Strife". Creatures were generated that were fantastical as well as "natural" in appearance, depending on the dominant influence. <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/empeocles/> (Accessed 23/6/09)

⁴⁶⁹ In terms of illustrations *La Brèche* is dominated by drawings and paintings. There are 133 drawing reproduced in the review as well as 106 reproductions of paintings. However, the review also includes 78 photographs, including 21 documentary images, 19 art reproductions, 15 portraits, 14 reproductions of photographic art, 5 film stills and reproductions of 4 photographic commercial advertisements.

⁴⁷⁰ *Le Surréalisme Même* contains 77 drawings and 68 reproductions of paintings compared to a total of 145 photographic reproductions. Of the photographs 13 are taken from popular culture, 41 are reproductions of 3-dimensional art, 15 are photographic art, 26 are

portraits and 50 are documentary.

⁴ Mansour, J. "Le Perroquet" *Le Surréalisme Même*, no. 1, Autumn 1956, p 46.

⁴⁷² *Le Surréalisme Même*, no. 1, Autumn 1956, p 151.

101) showing corpses shot to pieces would both be at home in the pre-war journal. Similarly, the unrelenting censure of foes and the acidic wit of the pre-war journals was evident in the photograph of Picasso (Fig. 102) which illustrated Péret's long article written in response to the crushing of the Hungarian Revolution. Picasso is shown surrounded by friends, (including Aragon and Cocteau) all smiling and laughing; the caption reads "December 1956: A few days after the bloody repression of the revolution, all is going well in the *Côte d'Azur*".⁴⁷³

In the post war period the surrealist dichotomous notion of love, incorporating a freedom of eroticism and a capacity for cruelty, endured and investigations into desire continued. There was a continued frankness and a tendency to focus on personal experience both in the *enquêtes* and in the photographic art published by the group; Molinier, Bellmer, Oppenheim and Duchamp all produced work which was intimately personal. Playfulness and humour continued to be key modes of expression. As well as promoting the surrealist notion of love, the group maintained their keen interest in the mass media and responded directly to contemporary concepts of "femininity".

The 1950s and the 1960s are distinct in terms of sexuality because although women gained more independence in the 1950s and cultural change was instigated, it was not until the following decade that real revolt occurred, sexuality was discussed openly and political and legislative changes were made.⁴⁷⁴ In the immediate post-war years motherhood was the principal role of women according to the state and their true fulfilment lay in "accepting their feminine nature", expressed in their life in the home.⁴⁷⁵ The 1950s were characterised by consumerism and women's magazines, particularly *Elle* promoted ideal "femininity" in the period. *Elle*, launched in November 1945, is significant not only because it was the best selling magazine for women on the market (according to *Elle* itself, by 1955 one out of six French women read it) but also it could cast itself as representative of the Fourth Republic because it had

⁴⁷³ Péret, B. "Calendrier Accusateur" *Le Surréalisme Même*, no. 2, Spring 1957, p 53.

⁴⁷⁴ Two succinct accounts of the condition of women in France in the post war period are provided by Laubier, *The Condition of women in France 1945 to the present*, and Duchen, *Women's rights and Women's Lives in France 1944 & 1968*. London.

⁴⁷⁵ Robert Prigent, Minister of Population and Public Health, quoted in Duchen, *Women's rights and Women's Lives in France 1944 & 1968*, p 65.

initially been sold as a supplement to *France Soir*, formerly the clandestine *Défense de la France* of the Occupation period.⁴⁷⁶ *Elle* is also indicative of the "americanisation" of French culture after the war, due to the founder Hélène Lazareff having spent five years in the United States working on magazines including *Harper's*.⁴⁷⁷ In the 1950s, although domesticity was the ideal, this was combined with increasing levels of independence and a defiance of traditional morality, particularly among young people. These contradictions are evident in magazines and popular culture and the surrealists exploited them alongside offering an alternative morality based on freedom.

Kristin Ross has noted that it was a mark of the particular rapidity of French modernisation that so much of the country's intellectual effort of the period took the form of a theoretical reflection on "everyday life"

{Henri} Lefebvre evoked the almost cargo-cult-like, sudden descent of large appliances into war-torn French households and streets in the wake of the Marshall Plan. Before the war, it seemed, no one had a refrigerator; after the war, it seemed, everyone did.⁴⁷⁸

The deprivation of the war years gave way to American style consumerism and although ownership of items such as cars and white goods was uneven increasing urbanisation, changing working and living patterns as well as extensive marketing campaigns created consumer demand.⁴⁷⁹ Appliances were heavily promoted and advertisements glamorised domesticity and the home. (Fig. 103) Barthes demonstrated this effect in his essay on "Soap-powders and detergents" where he described the exaltation of cleaning products.⁴⁸⁰

In the media, the image of a neatly dressed and well groomed housewife standing proudly by her refrigerator was ubiquitous. (Fig. 104) In *Médium* the surrealists combined a satire of this phenomenon with anti colonialism by simply

⁴⁶ Weiner, S. "Two Modernities: From *Elle* to *Mademoiselle*. Women's Magazines in Postwar France", *Contemporary European History*, 8, 3, 1999, p 396.

⁴⁷ Ross, K. *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies; decolonization and the Reordering of French Culture*, London: MIT Press, 1995, p 79.

⁴⁸ Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies*, p 4.

⁴⁹ Duchon noted the uneven distribution of domestic appliances in the population in terms of class but also in terms of geography with Paris being ahead of the rest of France in ownership. Duchon, *Women's rights and Women's Lives in France 1944 - 1968*, p 73. Between 1954 and 1957 six times more people moved to cities than between 1945 and 1949, the majority to the Paris area. New housing estates often increased the distance between home and workplace, generating a demand for car ownership and modern work patterns generated a demand for time-saving devices and products. Laubier, *The Condition of women in France 1945 to the present*, p 28.

⁴⁰ Barthes, "Soap-powders and Detergents", *Mythologies*, pp 40 — 42.

reproducing a page from a Frigêco promotional magazine.⁴⁸¹ (Fig. 105) Frigêco, a French company, had engaged in some opportunistic marketing and placed their product in the home of Christian de Castries, the French commander at the battle of Diên Biên Phu. The promotional photograph, dedicated and signed by the general's wife, featured on "La Page Héroïque" and paid homage to the defeated general, it shows Madame de Castries opening the fridge which is placed alongside general's trophies. The surrealists made no comment upon or amendment to the page from the booklet but simply allowed the irony of portraying the commander of the military and political disaster that marked the beginning of the end of the French colonial empire as a hero, five months after his release from captivity, to speak for itself.⁴⁸²

In the late 1950s modern women were active in the public sphere as well as home-makers but despite acquiring rights, the role of women was determined by the Napoleonic Code which legally asserted the subservience of women to their husbands and women's magazines such as *Elle* essentially promoted this as a mindset. The popular weekly advice column in *Elle* "Courier du cœur" penned by Marcelle Ségol and prominent on the first page of the magazine is indicative of this. A reader named as "Petit Miss" wrote that since her marriage the previous year, she had become obsessed with the idea that her husband was unfaithful and when she had confessed her fear to him he had become angry. The letter goes on to describe symptoms of depression. The response was brutal

You exaggerate. There are, of course, sad things. A jealous woman for example, who destroys her happiness and exasperates her husband with vain tears. ⁴⁸³

In *BIEF*, which had a page layout similar to a newspaper, Joyce Mansour parodied the advice column by writing her own "Conseils"

Is your husband evading you? The heavenly master is in need of a regime. Urinate in his soup and content to be near you, he will stretch

⁴⁸¹ *Médium*, no. 4, January 1955.

⁴⁸² In November 1953 the French army decided to occupy the Diên Biên Phu valley, establish an air base there and effectively deny the Viet Minh passage to Laos. A fortified camp was constructed and preparations made for the expected battle which began on March 13th 1954 and lasted for eight weeks. French forces had hugely underestimated their enemy and were relentlessly slaughtered at Diên Biên Phu; 10,863 prisoners were taken, only 3,290 survived to be released four months later, altogether 7,573 bodies were left behind. Castries was among those interned in camps and was released in August 1954. <http://www.dienbienphu.org> (Accessed 11/06/09)

out. Be gentle but skilful at stuffing fatty goose. Octopus, messages. And strands of mandrake. Tease his fondness with a bristle shaving brush, sprinkle his medal with blood and soot. Above all, smile when in your arms he dies and despite himself it's you that he's thinking of.⁴⁸⁴

Mansour also wrote an article entitled "Practical advice on waiting" which began "To be a woman you have to be beautiful, you also have to know how to wait."⁴⁸⁵ Tips were offered on how to wait in a range of locations including a railway station, a restaurant, and at home and how to express feelings of jealousy and nonchalance. Women were advised never to wait in the street. The article ended "Are you at University? Are you fit to marry? Are you good at doing everything? If not, wait until you are before speaking of marriage." This sense of the expanding role of women and their responsibilities is evident in the content of women's magazines which focused on family and a well-run home but contained a broad range of articles on beauty, fashion, the arts, popular culture, marital advice, childcare, D.I.Y, cookery, voting in elections, social and political issues and work. These were often combined, "What to wear to work" for example and saving time was a central theme.⁴⁸⁶ Françoise Giroud's feature "*Je n'ai le temps de rien faire*" expressed frustration with the demands of modernity as early as 1946.⁴⁸⁷ (Fig. 106) Mansour's article used humour to convey this onerousness.

Despite the fact that domesticity defined ideal femininity in this period, social changes and popular culture ensured that the aspirations of young women moved beyond home and family. Role models such as Françoise Sagan and Brigitte Bardot in France and Marilyn Monroe in America foregrounded sexuality and individualism. Despite the fact that *Elle* attempted to domesticate women such as Bardot and Juliette Greco by focusing on their marriages, Sophia Loren by publishing her recipes for Italian food with accompanying photographs of her making pizza and even Simone de Beauvoir by presenting her as a typical French woman who cooked *pot-au-feu* beneath her eccentricities, the challenge to traditional morality was clearly understood.⁴⁸⁸ In *BIEF* José Pierre counterposed

⁴⁸⁴ Mansour, J. "Conseils" *BIEF*, no. 1, 15 November 1958.

⁴⁸⁵ Mansour, J. "Conseils pratiques en attendant" *BIEF*, no. 12, 15 April 1960.

⁴⁸⁶ *Elle*, 13 February 1956.

⁴⁸⁷ *Elle*, 9 April 1946.

⁴⁸⁸ *Elle* covered Greco's marriage and her home life on 6 July 1953, Bardot's marriage on 29 June, 1959, Loren on 30 March 1959 and de Beauvoir on 3 January 1955.

a "cult of virility" in the media characterised by ridiculous militaristic role models (he referred specifically to General Massu in relation to "killers with stripes") with the young and radiant film stars who were idolised because of their exaltation of love and eroticism.⁴⁸⁹ It was above all Bardot, the emblem of l'"érotisme exacerbé" he said, the enemy of good behaviour, *pot-au-feu* and the French family, who represented "our values of eroticism" .⁴⁹⁰

In *Le Surréalisme Même* the surrealists were careful to establish their distinct values of eroticism" from the start with Duchamp"s cover for the first issue, the photograph of *Female Fig Leaf*. (Fig. 107) The original sculpture was made in galvanised plaster in 1950 but how it was made is a matter of debate as Duchamp did not divulge the process; it could be a cast of a real woman"s genitals but it has been linked to the mannequin in *Étant donnés* (1946 — 66).⁴⁹¹ Duchamp made two casts, one for himself and one which he gave to Man Ray as a farewell gift when the latter left New York for Paris in 1951. With Duchamp"s permission, Man Ray made an edition of ten casts in plaster painted brown later that year, ten bronze casts were made in 1961.⁴⁹² The photograph used in *Le Surréalisme Même* is an optical illusion; the sculpture has been photographed in such a way as to present the concave object as convex, using lighting and possibly retouching. It is possible that Duchamp took the photograph himself, or instructed a photographer but no photographer is credited. Jean Clair has suggested that the sculpture was photographed using illuminating gas and this would account for the light green glow of the image.⁴⁹³ Duchamp was fond of optical devices and was known to retouch photographs. He made use of nineteenth century photographic processes and was particularly interested in the experiments in the chronophotography of Etienne Marey⁴⁹⁴ which developed the

⁴⁸⁹ General Massu was instrumental in the "Battle of Algiers" in 1957.

⁴⁹⁰ Pierre, J. "Ne pas confondre" *BIEF*, no. 1.

⁴⁹¹ David Hopkins identified the cast as "obtained from the pudenda of the "nude" in *Étant donnés*. *After Modern Art*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, p 55.

The Tate also connects the work to *Étant don nés*. Tate Online. *Female Fig Leaf* 1950, cast 1961 by Marcel Duchamp.

<http://www.tate.org.uk/servlet/ViewWork?workid=22017&roomid=3533> (Accessed 12/06/09).

⁴⁹² Cowling, E. *Surrealism and After: The Gabrielle Keiller Collection*, p 90.

⁴⁹³ Clair, J. "Femalic Molds", (excerpt from Clair"s *Marcel Duchamp et la fin de l "art*, Paris: Gallimard, 2000) translated by Taylor M. Stapleton in *tout-fait The Marcel Duchamp studies online journal*, Vol. 2, Issue 5, April 2003.

http://www.toutfait.com/issues/volume2/issue_5/news/clair/clair.html (Accessed 11/06/09)

⁴⁹⁴ Duchamp"s use of nineteenth century photographic "tricks" including "spirit"

photography, multiple photography and composite photography were outlined by Rhonda Roland

recording of vibration using ordinary illuminating gas.⁴⁹⁵ This process would also connect the image to Duchamp's *Large Glass* as well as *Étant donnés. 1° la chute d'eau / 2° le gaz d'éclairage* (*Given: 1. The Waterfall 2. The Illuminating Gas*).⁴⁹⁶

The significance of the moulded character of the nude in *Étant donnés* as well as the sculptures which were produced alongside it has been noted. Dalia Judovitz cited d'Harnoncourt's summary of the nature of the mould in relation to *Étant donnés* and subsequently applied it to the small sculptures

The paradox of an impression taken from life, captured in lifeless material, works to create a form of realism that seems highly artificial, so intimately related to the real thing and yet so remote.⁴⁹⁷

Judovitz argued that Duchamp's definition of a mould as a "photographic negative" highlighted the "hyperreality" of the apparition of the nude, alluding to its artificiality as an object but also as an art object.⁴⁹⁸ If we read Duchamp's notes in relation to the photograph of the sculpture it is clear that what has been achieved in the process is a return to the "appearance" of the object. The photographic negative of the mould has become a "positive" photograph. The complexity of Duchamp's self-referentiality in relation to his work contributes to the ambiguity of the image. The concavity of the sculpture and the apparent

Shearer and Stephen Jay Gould in their proposal to Yale University Art Gallery for an exhibition entitled *Hidden in Plain Sight: Decoding Duchamp's Art and Science* in 2001. Their presentation is available to view at http://www.marcel Duchamp.net/multimedia_paul_mellon.php (Accessed 12/06/09)

Michel Frizot, noted that Duchamp's *Nude descending a staircase* (1911-12) was very likely to have been influenced by the studies of movement, similar to those of Muybridge, carried out by Albert Londe and Paul Richer in the late 19th century. Frizot, *A New History of Photography*, p 251.

Neil Cox noted Duchamp's interest in Marey's work in *Cubism*, London: Phaidon, 2000, p 180.

⁴⁹⁵ Braun, M. & Marey, E-J *Picturing Time: The work of Etienne Jules Marey (1833-1904)* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994, p 402.

⁴⁹⁶ In the *Large Glass* the bachelors, underneath the bride, are filled with illuminating gas and the gas then passes from left to right through a chemical apparatus, where it condenses and finally falls to the ground as sludge. The last stage of the transformation was never realised and the other transformations are only fragmentarily indicated. Chalupecký, J. & Wilson, P. "Marcel Duchamp: a Re-Evaluation" *Artibus et Historiae*, Vol. 6, No. 11, 1985, pp 128 - 129. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1483262?origin=JSTOR-pdf> (Accessed 12/06/09)

⁴⁹⁷ Judovitz, D. "Rendezvous with Marcel Duchamp: *Given*" in Kuenzli, R. & Naumann, F. *Marcel Duchamp: Artist of the Century*, London: MIT Press, 1990, p 193.

⁴⁹⁸ Duchamp defined the mould thus "By mould is meant: from the pt of view of form and colour, the negative (photographic); ... e.g. The mould of an object in chocolate is the negative apparition of the plane of several curvatures ..." *Marcel Duchamp: In the infinitive. A typotranslation by Richard Hamilton and Ecke Bonk of Marcel Duchamp's White Box*, Northend: The typosophic society, 1999 p 54.

convexity of the photograph result in a confusion of gender; the female sex is both concave, a cavity, curved inward and convex, bulging outward. It is ambiguous as it veils the sex, in the process of production and in the title but also reveals it. It holds the shock of Courbet's explicit realism but draws attention to the contrived nature of the subject; if the sculpture was based on a mould of the vagina of the mannequin in *Étant donnés* (1946—66) it is entirely artificial and removed from reality. It would also mean that the photograph had made something public, which at that time was private as Duchamp had not disclosed this work. The image is at once intimate and remote, it is familiar but made strange and it evokes the profundity of surrealist eroticism.

In the same issue the reproduction of Jindrich Heisler's frontispiece for de Sade's *La Philosophie dans le boudoir* (Fig. 108) raised the central role of the surrealists in the defence of their publisher Pauvert at his censorship trial in 1956.⁴⁹⁹ Heisler's frontispiece offers a glimpse via a mirror reflection into de Sade's boudoir where "everything is sacrificed to the senses" pleasure". The

image is placed strategically in the journal between extracts from Magloire Saint-Arde's poem *Tabou* from Haiti and a feature on the criminal case of two young women widely reported in the press as the epitome of juvenile "delinquency". The women's audacity, imaginativeness and depravity were celebrated by the surrealists as worthy of Sade, their actions a measure of the reality of post war French society and a challenge to it, satisfying the surrealist aim to "démoraliser" or undermine bourgeois morality.⁵⁰⁰

For women part of the reality of post war France was the increased sophistication of marketing campaigns. In her article "Des chats et des magnolias" Nora Mitrani examined the range of "femininities" offered to women.⁵⁰¹ Alternatives included Dior's red-lipped sex siren modelled on Marilyn Monroe or their exotic distant princess" to the look pioneered by existentialists but subsequently promoted by Elizabeth Arden of bare lips but eyes accentuated with heavy black

⁴⁹⁹ In December 1956 Jean-Jacques Pauvert was put on trial for publishing *Philosophy in the Bedroom, 120 Days of Sodom, Justine and Juliette*. Breton along with others including Bataille and Jean Cocteau defended Pauvert in court. The ruling upheld censorship, although de Sade's position in French literature was established and details of the proceedings were published by Pauvert in 1957 in an edition edited by Maurice Garçon, *L'Affaire Sade*.

⁵⁰⁰ "Le premier vœu du surréalisme ... devient chaque jour plus dévorant: il faut

démoraliser” Sénélier, J. “Passage aux Étoiles” *Le Surréalisme Même*, no. 1, p 32.

¶ Mitrani, N. “Des chats et des magnolias”, *Le Surréalisme Même*, no. 1, pp. 6 — 10.

kohl, illustrated by a photograph of the intellectually glamorous actress and singer Juliette Greco.(Fig. 109) The text examined a variety of ways in which women expressed their identity and responded to contemporary models of femininity. The article begins with a full page photograph of Monroe (Fig. 110), coiffured, made-up, naked except for jewels, leaning into the camera pouting, eyes half closed and averted from the camera. She represented for Mitrani the sumptuous creature of technicolour cinema who, squeezed into red velvet, mouth and eyelids half closed, gain access to the harsh world of men." On the

page opposite, a Man Ray shot of a woman's face has been cropped to show only the eyes, directly addressing the camera. Mitrani suggested that a woman's eyes were revelatory as they could seem to convey a wish to "pierce the cocoon in which she is enclosed as an object of desire and embark up on a dialogue with the world". This text explicitly rejected Jean Paulhan's assertion, expressed in *Happiness is Slavery*", his preface to *Histoire d'O*, that women's true nature was submissive.

Dominique Aury published *Histoire d'O* under a pseudonym in 1954, as a challenge to Paulhan (her lover at the time) as he had suggested that women were incapable of writing erotica. Aury's novel about a young woman's fantasies of sado-masochistic sex with both men and women was written with an erotic intensity that is almost hallucinatory in the introductory section. It won the *Prix Deux Magots* almost a year after it was published which brought it to the attention of the vice squad and led to the prosecution of Pauvert.⁵⁰² The surrealists defended Aury's unfiltered erotic prose, which they understood to be empowering to women but not Paulhan's idea that this frank female sexual fantasy revealed a natural subservience in women in everyday life. Mitrani suggested that in surrealism "woman" is "loved" and "ambiguous", both "the warm inhabitant of the cocoon and that of the external world where her soul is most lucid". Woman assumes two roles, she said, sometimes a carnal creature, a public rose" and sometimes Nadja, a sibyl with "eyes ringed black", but she is neither a beautiful flower nor a helpless animal. Mitrani explored in this text

⁵⁰² Dominique Aury only revealed her authorship of the novel in 1994. Pauvert faced obscenity charges for the publication of *Histoire d'O* a year after its publication in 1954, his eighteenth prosecution for obscenity in three years. Bedell, G. "I wrote the story of O", *The Observer*, 25 July 2004. http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/2004/jul/25/fiction.features3/pri_nt (Accessed 28/3/09)

what it was to be a woman and concluded that this ambiguity and a complexity characterised the female who was very conscious of gender.

This discussion of how women could operate in a climate where many were given increasing access to educational and employment opportunities alongside men continued in Mitrani's article in issue 3.⁵⁰³ Mitrani discussed the various ways in which women could demonstrate their equality with men. She dismissed women who believed they had achieved equality because they had the vote and a cheque-book, as well as women who simply mimicked men in the world of work and thus abandoned their sex. It was in their love-life, she suggested, that women could attain fulfilment, either by following Simone de Beauvoir's advice, conducting a relationship on their own terms, dressing like a man and being the dominant partner" or by turning to literature and "*Madame d'O*" for inspiration. The surrealist group made good use of women members to contribute to contemporary debate and women were prominent in the reviews, particularly Mitrani and Mansour. They contributed articles on a variety of subjects as well as literature and there appears to have been a concerted effort to foreground them; in issue 2, the four photographs of contributors shown opposite the contents page are all women.⁵⁰⁴ (Fig. 111)

Mansour and Mitrani would continue their visible leadership within the group in *BIEF*, the review that succeeded *Le Surréalisme Même*. The preface of the final issue of *BIEF*, "In Defence of Surrealism", is a transcript of a group interview aired on BBC radio, made by Jacques B. Brunius in which Mansour and Mitrani were interviewed along with Octavia Paz and Robert Benayoun.⁵⁰⁵ Mansour noted, in her contribution, that it was sex, above anything else, which continued to provoke moral outrage. Mitrani, in her long speech stated that a political and social revolution in the Marxist sense would never be enough for the surrealists and although reformism had won higher standards of living in the last few years, little had changed in a meaningful way. She argued that the only solution was to band together with those rare individuals who held common spiritual values. There is no doubt that Mitrani was developing a response to Simone de Beauvoir

⁵⁰³ Mitrani, N. "Des Esclaves, Des Suffragettes Du Fouet" *Le Surréalisme Même*, no. 3, pp. 60 - 61.

⁵⁰⁴ The photographs show Leonora Carrington, Meret Oppenheim, Marie Wilson and Nelly Kaplan. *Le Surréalisme Même*, no. 2, p 2.

⁵⁰⁵ *BIEF* no. 12, April 1960.

in her two essays for *Le Surréalisme Même. La Deuxième Sexe*, at the time of its publication in 1949 had been regarded as sexually scandalous rather than an analysis of patriarchy and a call for action but de Beauvoir's critique of Sade was widely read when published in 1951/52 and immediately translated into English.⁵⁰⁶ Although Mitrani teased de Beauvoir, suggesting that her example of dressing like a man and dominating in sexual relations "was a way forward that would make some of her readers smile but not suit others, much of Mitrani's article in *Le Surréalisme Même* echoed elements of de Beauvoir's feminist philosophy in that it insisted on sexual difference and used the concept of ambiguity.

In this period it seems that the group struggled to offer a distinct and rigorous intellectual contribution and it was their vehement anti-Stalinism (including a search for political alternatives to the Communist Party) and their systematic investigations into sexuality that set them apart. Breton's championing of the pioneering socialist-feminist Flora Tristan in the same issue of *Le surréalisme même* as Mitrani's article on de Beauvoir reinforced the group's identification with a tradition of imaginative militancy.⁵⁰⁷ Similarly, Breton's consistent enthusiasm for Fourier (based on his criticism of capitalism and the traditional family) as well as a belief that utopianism was a rich and hopeful vein to mine creatively, led to Jonathon Beecher publishing Fourier's newly discovered

L'Archibras in *La Breche*.⁵⁰⁸

In the late 1950s the surrealists were marginalised in a discourse on eroticism increasingly dominated by the Situationists and those around Bataille's *Critique*, including established figures such as Pierre Klossowski as well as younger writers such as Phillippe Sollers and Barthes. Bataille published *L'Érotisme* in 1957.⁵⁰⁹ In *Médium* the group had attacked Klossowski in an article by Mitrani entitled "Diptyque de l'amour et du sang-froid" which dismissed him as an "old

⁵⁰⁶ De Beauvoir, S. "Faut-il Brûler Sade?" *Les Temps Modernes*, 74 December 1951 pp 1002-33 and 75 January 1952, pp 1197-1230. Reprinted in de Beauvoir, *Privilèges*, Paris: Gallimard, 1955, pp 9 - 29. First published in English as *Must we burn Sade?* London: Peter Nevill, 1953. *La Deuxième Sexe*, Paris: Gallimard, 1949 was published in English in 1984 as *The Second Sex* by Penguin.

⁵⁰⁷ Breton, A. "Flora Tristan", *Le surréalisme même*, no. 3, Autumn 1957, pp 4 - 12.

⁵⁰⁸ Beecher, J. "L'Archibras de Fourier", *La Breche*, no. 7, December 1964, pp. 66 - 71. For a full discussion of Beecher's discovery of the manuscript and its subsequent publication in *La Breche* see LaCoss, D. "Attacks of the fantastic", in Spiteri and LaCoss, *Surrealism, Politics and Culture*, p 275.

priest" and "an apologist for Christianity". Mitrani conceded that Bataille was less catholic with a keener sense of eroticism than Klossowski but was nevertheless his "spiritual brother".⁵¹⁰ Mitrani's article began with a lyrical assertion of the potential power of eroticism, it offered an intense experience, she said, which could overwhelm and produce "a radiant joy in being lost, like a beetle in the heart of a July rose."⁵¹¹ There then follows an account of Walter Ross Ashby's experiments in cybernetics and criticism of the way in which the human mind was therein understood to function, as having the goal of maintaining a balanced state whenever its equilibrium was threatened. Conversely Mitrani celebrated episodes of imbalance in the brain or "head storms", as she understood them to feed creativity. She argued that experiments to create a machine that assumed the functions of the human brain were of interest only if a definition of thinking was used which incorporated chaos. Irrationality was central to surrealism of course but Mitrani is also likely to have been familiar with Trotsky's notion of the "whole mind." In *Literature and Revolution* Trotsky had emphasised that in terms of progressive and creative work a purely logical approach was inadequate:

One must judge this question not with one's reason, which does not go beyond formal logic, but with one's whole mind, which includes the irrational.⁵¹²

Mitrani ended her text with quotations from the climax of Jarry's *Surmâle* when scientists, desperate to force Andre Marcueil, a "superman" capable of endless love-making, to fall in love with a particular woman, create an electro-magnetic device which they hope can inspire love. The machine did produce love but it was the machine that fell in love with the man and their love was fatally consummated.⁵¹³ Jarry's "erotic science-fiction" inspired Jindrich Heisler to make a film of the novel; a study for the project or possibly a still was reproduced in the cover of a special surrealist edition of *L'Age du cinema*.⁵¹⁴

⁵⁰ Mitrani, N. "Diptyque de l' "amour et du sang-froid" " *Médium*, no. 3, May 1954, pp 38, 39 and 48.

⁵¹ Mitrani, "Diptyque de l' "amour et du sang-froid" ", p 38.

⁵² Trotsky, L. *Literature and Revolution*, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1925, p 143.

⁵³ Alfred Jarry's *Surmâle* was published in 1902. It was re-published in Paris in 1945 by *Fasquelle*. The final pages of the book cited here are taken from Jarry, A. *The Supermale* London: Jonathon Cape, 1968, pp. 115 — 122.

⁵¹⁴ *L'Age du cinema*, no. 4/5, August - November 1951. Ado Kyron and Robert Benayoun

launched *L'Age du cinema* in 1950. This special edition included a list of films to be seen and a list of films to avoid as well as articles by Kyrrou, (on *L'Age d'or*), Toyen, Péret, LeGrand, Man Ray,

(Fig. 112) The photograph shows a pain-racked Marcueil who has fled naked from the disastrous experiment and thrown himself upon the entrance gates where he dies, twisted into the iron-work with remnants of the "machine-to-inspire-love" clinging to his head.⁵¹⁵

Two photographs illustrate and supplement "Diptyque de l'amour et du sang-froid", an image conveyed to the group by Oppenheim entitled *La Selle d'abeilles* and Laforet's *L'Enigme* (Fig. 113). Both present the surrealist sense of eroticism as acute when compared to Klossowski's exploration of the connections between mind and body in his novels. Mitrani cited Klossowski's *Roberte ce soir* (1953) extensively in her text and held the mixture of transgression and sacredness in contempt. Also, the surrealist understanding of the human brain is presented as superior to that of contemporary cybernetics. *La Selle d'abeilles* is a photograph that was found by Meret Oppenheim in a magazine in 1952.⁵¹⁶ It is an image redolent of the unostentatious documentation of the surreal and marvellous in *La Révolution Surréaliste*. Both this image and Laforet's *L'Enigme* offer surprising juxtapositions which are humorous and, viewed in conjunction with the accompanying text, encourage an idea of the human brain as incredibly sophisticated and raise the significance of lateral thinking. Oppenheim's found image epitomised the surrealist inquiry into sexuality. It evoked a dangerous eroticism and recalled Mitrani's statement at the start of her article about the potential for intense adventure and the wonders inherent in love, echoing her phrase "the body burning with a thousand stars." For Breton and the surrealists love was both spiritual and carnal, love and eroticism were one

Love, only love that you are, carnal love, I adore, I have never ceased to adore your lethal shadow, your mortal shadow. A day will come where man will be able to recognize you for his only master, honouring you even in the mysterious perversions you surround him with.⁵¹⁷

and Oppenheim's image, with its intense erotic charge, addressed the notion that desire is ubiquitous in life.

Breton, Mitani and Schuster. The 150 deluxe editions included an original signed lithograph by Wilfredo Lam as well as five original strips of film.

⁵¹⁵ Jarry, *The Supermale*, p 122.

⁵⁶ Meyer-Thoss, C. "The Subject-Matter Becoming Lighter" in Curiger, B and Burckhardt, J. (eds.) *Meret Oppenheim: A different retrospective*, Zurich: Edition Stemmlé, 1997, p 18.

⁵¹⁷ Breton, A. *Mad Love*, (trans. Mary Ann Caws) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987, p 76.

An effort to distinguish a surrealist perspective and maintain notoriety for provocation and the antagonism of the bourgeoisie is evident in *Le Surréalisme Même*. A continued emphasis on de Sade and the luxurious reproduction of art and literature outside the limits of bourgeois representations were part of this effort, culminating in the 1959 EROS exhibition. The second issue of the review published a Molinier photograph on the cover. (fig. 114) Breton had identified a convulsive beauty“ in Molinier“s work when introduced to it in 1955 and had arranged for the artist“s first Paris exhibition in January-February 1956. It was Molinier as a painter who produced work with “lightening flashes not seen since Moreau and Munch“ that Breton lauded as a “genius“ in *Surrealism and Painting*.⁵¹⁸ The artist turned to photography in the 1950s and established the erotic iconography which would subsequently characterise his work. Shock was an important element of Molinier“s work and the intensity of his challenge to orthodox morality as well as the blasphemy of his cross-dressing and imagery led to a decade long association with the surrealist group.

The cover for the review is a photographic portrait, in which a face bathed in light, lips parted, peers out of the darkness at the camera. The model is dressed in a veil and gloves of black lace, emphasising the luminosity of the exposed skin. When compared to a Molinier self portrait there is no doubt that this image is a document of the artist“s erotic self transformation. (Fig . 115) The face on the cover of *Le Surréalisme Même* has been identified as that of a doll, whose face was moulded and made-up to resemble the features of one of Molinier“s daughter.⁵¹⁹ This along with the text printed on the inside cover which reads Sheltered in my beauty/ by the window of my eye/ I observe/ “the secret“/ without respite/ without mercy“, offers a violent eroticism and the excessive black lace and blue hue of the cover evoke death“ would support the image as a self-portrait. The ambiguity of the image is fascinating and voyeurism is a central aspect of the work. Molinier“s image is unstable and the viewer confused; the gender of the model is unclear when it should be apparent given the two body parts on show, a face and a hand. The image possesses the qualities

⁵¹⁸ Molinier“s exhibition took place in January - February 1956 at À L “Étoile Scellée“, Paris. Breton discussed the painter in *Surrealism and Painting*, pp. 245 - 247.

9 Mundy, *Surrealism Unbound*, p. 288.

admired by Breton in Molinier's work, a dark symbolism in which woman is presented as a "superb beast of prey", a marvellous creature, "the devilishly insinuating temptation shining in their eyes as they offer themselves without shame".⁵²⁰ Molinier was used as an erotic chimera and the photographs presented in the frontispiece and postscript (Fig. 116) support the idea of Molinier's image here as a "guide or gatekeeper to secret worlds associated with sensuality and visions".⁵²¹ The fishing line is baited with a tiny "angel", a naked, winged creature on a mission to hook the reader and to dissolve the threshold of reality and imagination.

The reconfiguration of the body is also the subject of Bellmer's cover for issue 4 of *Le Surréalisme Même*, entitled *Tenir au Frais*.⁵²² (Fig. 117) Bellmer's cover was produced as part of his work in 1958 which explored binding the female body with string (Figs. 118); he had been inspired to produce these images of Unica Zürn by crime photographs of a female victim tightly bound with wire.⁵²³ The image has been discussed by Mahon and Taylor who both offer insightful analyses. Mahon noted a formal beauty and the viewer's role as voyeur. The title she says, could indicate surrealist "black humour" but could also relate to butchery and Bellmer's interest in the cut-up body and the slippage between flesh and meat. Mahon considered the work as collaborative and interpreted it as an exploration by Zürn of the psychology of violence, similar to Bellmer's interest in the psychology of fascism. Ultimately, Mahon characterised the work as an image of sexual violence haunted by a will to evil which "must be understood in the light of his experience of a Nazi regime that despised the Other and operated a libidinal economy of horror, brutalisation and suffering."⁵²⁴ Taylor identified these images of Zürn as the most spectacular expression of the "tying motif" in

Bellmer's oeuvre. Like Mahon she noted the banal domestic setting which contributes to the shock of the macabre image. She also noted the necrophiliac overtones of the title. Taylor apprehended the work psychoanalytically, leading

⁵²⁰ Breton, *Surrealism and Painting*, p 246.

⁵²¹ Deborah Bright offers a summary of the chimera as utilised by both Symbolism and Surrealism and notes that in genetics, a chimera is defined as an organism that is partly male and partly female. Bright, D. (ed.) *The Passionate Camera: Photography and Bodies of Desire*,

London: Routledge, 1998, pp. 107 - 108.

⁵² *Tenir au Frais* translates as "Keep cool".

⁵³ Mahon, A. "Hans Bellmer's Libidinal Politics" p 263. Taylor, *Hans Bellmer*, p 190.

⁵⁴ Mahon, "Hans Bellmer's Libidinal Politics" p 266.

to an interpretation of it as Bellmer's response to a psychological emergency, namely Zürn's increasing mental instability and his mother's ill health.

Bellmer's interest in constriction was thus the result of a fear of abandonment and "the photographs of Zürn speak most chillingly of the artist's desperate, clinging need for the comfort represented by the female (maternal) body."⁵²⁵

Both Mahon and Taylor noted the use of the Bellmer's work on the cover of *Le Surréalisme Même* but offered no further contextualisation in relation to the review. The issue featured a number of articles, including an article by José Pierre on Heinrich von Kleist, illustrated by a portrait of the writer and a photograph of the actress Maria Wimmer in her recent role as the heroine of *Penthesilea* (1808), which may have led to the editorial choice of Bellmer's image as the cover.⁵²⁶ (Fig . 119) The surrealists were attracted to Kleist's "remarkable portrayal of sexual frenzy" as well as the idea of a sovereign women's state.⁵²⁷ A renewed interest in *Penthesilea* was sparked by Julien Gracq's adaptation of the play in 1953 for Jean-Louis Barrault's production the following year.⁵²⁸ In *Médium* in 1954 Mitrani had interviewed Gracq at an advance-premier of the show at the *Théâtre Marigny*. Gracq stated that his play was a "free translation" that, "pretty much followed Kleist's text line for line in terms of meaning". The theme of the play held a fascination for him he said, because the characters remain relative strangers and rather than behave like actors they unleash natural passions and because *Penthesilea* is, in the end, transfixed by her actions. Gracq observed that the play is filled with constant and sudden alternations of contrary signs, masculine and feminine and the brutality of the warrior against yielding tenderness.⁵²⁹

In his article on Kleist in *Le Surréalisme Même* Pierre noted that in his personal life and in his writing, Kleist was absorbed in extreme feelings.⁵³⁰ He stated that

⁵²⁵ Taylor, *Hans Bellmer*, p 187.

⁵²⁶ Pierre, J. "Heinrich von Kleist ou les rêves accomplis" *La Breche*, no. 4, February 1963, pp 26 - 29.

⁵²⁷ Banham, M. (ed.) *The Cambridge Guide to Theatre*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, p 603.

⁵²⁸ Dawn Ades noted that Kleist was of special interest to the group during this period in

Dada and Surrealism Reviewed, p 430. Ubac had produced his photographic work on the myth in the late 1930s but interest was ignited after the war. Leonor Fini produced illustrations for *Penthesilée de Kleist* in 1958.

☛ Mitrani, N. "Penthesilée"; *Médium*, no. 2, February 1954, pp 15 — 16.

⁵⁰ Kleist is understood to have suffered bouts of mental instability throughout his life. In 1811, aged thirty-four, he shot himself and a companion, Henrietta Vogel thought to have been in his work, Kleist had explored the ecstatic tyranny of love as profoundly as de Sade. For Pierre the fact that Kleist could produce two works "stunningly beautiful in their common obsession with *l'amour fou* was proof of genius".⁵³¹ He was referring to "Penthesilea" and "Kätchen von Heilbronn", a play also written in 1808 as a partner volume to "Penthesilea".⁵³² Both women are driven by a need for love but while Penthesilea is literally consumed by her desire for mastery over her loved one, Kätchen's acquiescence in the face of mistreatment by Count von Strahl, the object of her affections, eventually results in a happy marriage. These characters are completely governed by their devouring passions; Kätchen, on first sight of Strahl in the house of her father was stricken as if by lightning" at his kiss and threw herself out of a window, breaking both of her legs.⁵³³ Despite the fact that Strahl threatens to take a horse whip to her and verbally abuses her, she is compelled to follow and be near him, sleeping in his stables.⁵³⁴ Bellmer's work is imbued with an incredible tension that connects it to the chaotic collisions experienced by the modern individuals portrayed by Kleist.

As well as matching a general surrealist interest in love and violence, Bellmer's cover serves to introduce Kleist's grotesque erotic conflict in which love is brutal and no general solution to human conflict is offered. The image particularly evokes the tragedy of Penthesilea. Kleist's tragedy has two causes, the excess of the queen of the Amazon's passion and the displeasure of the Gods at her infringement of the law of the Amazons. Penthesilea is not destroyed by the internal force of her love for Achilles (as is maintained by the High Priestess of the Amazons, the representative of the state in the play) but by *external* authority, by the angry violence of the Gods; it is Mars who causes the confusion in her mind that leads ultimately to catastrophe.⁵³⁵

suffering from terminal cancer, in a suicide pact. Hebling, R. E. *The Major Works of Heinrich von Kleist*, New York: New Directions Publishing, 1975, p 18.

⁵³¹ Pierre, J. "Heinrich von Kleist", p 28.

⁵³² In a letter to his publisher Kleist said that the two dramas "belonged together like the plus and minus in algebra". Hebling, *The Major Works of Heinrich von Kleist*, p 176.

⁵³³ Kleist, "Kaethechen of Heilbronn" in Pierce, F. E. *Fiction and Fantasy of German Romance: Selections from the German Romantic authors, 1790 - 1830 in English translation*. London: Oxford University Press, 1927, p. 253

⁵³⁴ Kleist, "Kaethechen of Heilbronn", in Pierce, p. 254 and 301 respectively.

⁵³⁵ Stahl, E. L. *Heinrich von Kleist's Dramas*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1948, p. 78 - 86

Bellmer's cover connects with Kleist's drama on a number of levels, it conveys extraordinary emotional distress but also the physical frenzy of the drama. The drama has a high level of general violence, including a scene (here recounted by Meroë, an Amazon princess) where Penthesilea throws herself upon the body of her beloved (him dying by her own hand) tearing at his flesh with her teeth along with her dogs

And throws — throws herself on him, oh Diana!
With the whole pack, and pulling at his crest,
For all the world a dog with other dogs,
One's at his breast, the other takes his neck,
She drags him down so hard it makes the ground quake!
He, crimson with his own blood, writhing, reaches
Out to her soft cheek, touches her, and cries:
Penthesilea! My bride! What are you doing?
Is this the rosy feast you promised me?
But she — a lioness would have heeded him,
However ravenous and wild for prey,
Howling her hunger through the snowy wastes —
She sinks — tearing the armor off his body —
Into his ivory breast she sinks her teeth,
She and her savage dogs in competition,
Oxus and Sphinx chewing into his right breast,
And she into his left; when I arrived,
The blood was dripping from her mouth and hands.⁵³⁶

When Penthesilea realises that it was she who had torn her lover apart she insists that it was a mistake:

So it was a mistake. A kiss, a bite,
The two should rhyme, for one who truly loves
With all her heart can easily mistake them.⁵³⁷

In German, the words "kisses" and "bites" (*küsse* and *bisse*) actually do rhyme and Penthesilea seeks justification for her actions in the coincidence. The theme of binding is evident throughout the drama in relation to both Penthesilea and Achilles. Penthesilea binds Achilles with a garland of roses.⁵³⁸ At the end of scene twenty-one, Odysseus suggests that Achilles should be "tied and gagged" when Diomedes states that he is "mad" as he sets off to meet the attack of

⁵⁶ Kleist, H. von, (1808) *Penthesilea*, translated by Agee, J., London: Harper Collins, 1998, pp. 127 — 128. Please note that extended extracts from Kleist's *Penthesilea* which relate to the themes of the intensity of love, binding and food have been placed in Appendix B.

⁵⁷ Kleist, *Penthesilea*, p 145.

Penthesilea and her dogs.⁵³⁹ At the beginning of scene twenty-two, the high priestess, alarmed at Penthesilea's derangement orders her assistant to bind the queen with ropes.⁵⁴⁰

Bellmer's narrative "Le Père", published in the same issue, a story of the revenge of two young boys on an authoritarian priest, is loosely linked to the cover image with its theme of cruelty. However the violent eroticism, the binding and the references to "food" undoubtedly tie Bellmer's *Tenir au frais* to Kleist.

Bellmer's cover communicates the connection between love and violence; in Kleist's play Penthesilea's death is portrayed as a "moral suicide", an act of

intense volition.⁵⁴¹ The image of Zürn's bound body is in turn testament to "the destructive power of the forces that rule human life - the internal compulsion of passion and the external coercion of authority" in relation to both artist and model.⁵⁴²

A further issue that neither Mahon or Taylor mention is the fact that *Tenir au Frais* is a collage rather than a straight photograph.⁵⁴³ This enhances Mahon's reading of the work as anagrammatical as well as the butchery association. The collage is evidently carefully crafted; collage afforded the artist mutability, allowing him to further formally transform the female body, a necessary requirement of his erotic desire. Even in the coloured reproduction on the cover of the review the detail visible in the string cutting into the flesh expresses immense cruelty and pain. Anatomically and in terms of scale the image is incorrect; the artist has welded body parts together and the torso with visible vertebrae implying leanness is oddly juxtaposed to the fat of the ample bottom and thighs, again reinforcing the butchery associations. Bellmer's cover has a macabre fascination and lends itself well to the general surrealist inquiry into "the complex structure of suffering in love" as well as providing a beautiful allusive illustration to the article on Kleist.⁵⁴⁴

⁵³⁹ Kleist, *Penthesilea*, p 122.

⁵⁴⁰ Kleist, *Penthesilea*, p 124.

⁵⁴¹ Stahl, E. L. *Heinrich von Kleist's Dramas*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1948, Stahl, pp 89 - 90.

⁵⁴² This is Stahl's phrase although he denotes "divine" authority in relation to Kleist's drama. Stahl, p 90.

⁵⁴⁸ The fact that this piece is a collage is well documented. It was catalogued as "collaged photographs and gouache" for instance at the exhibition *Surrealism: Desire Unbound*, 2001 - 02.

⁵⁴⁴ "The complex structure of suffering in love" is Bate's phrase. Bate, *Photography and Surrealism*, p 171.

In terms of distinguishing a surrealist perspective on eroticism, the *enquête* offered an opportunity to situate the group in the midst of a debate when Barthes published his essay on strip tease in *Mythologies* in 1957.⁵⁴⁵ The surrealists responded directly to Barthes in their *enquête* in issues 4 and 5 of *Le Surréalisme Même*, publishing a broad selection of responses and a concluding contribution by Gérard LeGrand. The *enquête* was designed to both challenge Barthes and conduct an extensive survey on the phenomena of strip-tease. The initial three questions (different for men and women) focused on personal experience of and ideas about strip tease. The introduction that followed asked directly "Do you agree with Barthes that strip tease curbs any spontaneity and imaginative, inventive eroticism?" Contributors included writers and artists closely associated with surrealism,⁵⁴⁶ as well writers and performers of erotica,⁵⁴⁷ and writers who were involved in a discourse on sexuality.⁵⁴⁸ It is notable that almost half of the published respondents (eight out of nineteen) were women, women who would have been considered as morally audacious. Michèle Perrein for example, was renowned as the *Elle* journalist who had revealed that Minou Drouet, the eight-year old poet published by Julliard and lauded by critics, was in fact not the author of her works but a fake. The story was a sensation in the press and Julliard subsequently published Perrein's first novel *La Sensitive ou l'innocence coupable* in 1956.⁵⁴⁹ Perrein's story of Odile, a sexually manipulative and dangerous young woman was then published, in an abridged version, in *Elle*. The work of writers such as Perrein, de Ligneris and Kaplan (who wrote as well as directed) represented powerful modern femininity.

The *enquête* approached the topic in typically surrealist "laboratorial" fashion.

Although LeGrand was dismissive of Barthes and his ideas as "bourgeois" in his

⁵⁴⁵ *Mythologies* contains fifty-four (only twenty-eight in the Annette Laver's English translation) short journalistic articles on a variety of topical subjects, the majority of which focus on various manifestations of mass culture. These texts were written between 1954 and 1956 for the left-wing magazine *Les Lettres nouvelles*. McNeill, T. (1999) "Roland Barthes: *Mythologies* (1957)" p.1 <http://seacoast.sunderland.ac.uk/~os0tmc/myth.htm> (Accessed 12/06/09)

⁵⁴⁶ Bellmer, Kyrou, Mitrani, Molinier, Mansour, Oppenheim, André Pierede Mandiargues, Monique Watteau, Max von Svanberg, Henri Raynal and LeGrand,

⁵⁴⁷ Françoise de Ligneris (published the erotic fantasy *Fort Frédéric* in 1957, Paris: Grasset); Henri Raynal (published *Aux Pieds d'Omphale* in 1957, Paris: JJ Pauvert); Nel ly Kaplan and Zinaïde de Rachevski (an exuberant erotic dancer and regular cover girl).

⁵⁴⁸ Edgar Morin, Robert Droguet, Roger Callois and Michèle Perrein.

⁵⁴⁹ See Weiner, S. *Enfants Terribles: Youth and Femininity in the Mass Media in France, 1945 à 1968* Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2001, pp. 76 - 77 for a full account of

the "Minou Drouet Affair".

editorial, “How can we talk about eroticism in the same terms as margarine?” he said, it was only he and Raynal who disagreed with the analysis, others essentially agreed with it (as far as it went).⁵⁵⁰ The surrealists seem to have attempted to outdo Barthes with their investigation. Barthes’ focus was narrow, and despite the fact that this was intentional and that Barthes carefully qualified his statements (he noted that he refers only to Parisian strip-tease for example) the *enquête*, by comparison seemed to examine strip tease from a variety of angles. The responses explored, among other things, strip tease in comparison to erotic film and literature, the perspective of women as spectators, psychology and the male spectator, censorship, the demoralised state of modern eroticism, commercialisation and crucially, the potential of the act as artistry. Barthes, in comparison, with his muted approval of “amateur” events, appeared to lack the insight into “the spontaneity of the erotic imagination” evident in the *enquête*.

Mitrani’s description of the dancing she experienced in Barcelona and LeGrand’s admiration for Lilly Christine, the athletic burlesque star of New Orleans famed for her aggression and feline grace (Fig. 120), suggested that strip tease could, through powerful and magnetic performance, involve the audience in an emotional experience.⁵⁵¹

The debate about erotica was not abstract, at this time the sex industry was developing rapidly as a mass market phenomenon. *Playboy* was launched in the United States in 1953 and the first calendar printed in 1957 for 1958; *Lui*, the French equivalent was launched in 1964. It was the success of American strip tease which had encouraged Alain Bernardin to open the “Crazy Horse Saloon” nightclub in 1951 on the prestigious *Avenue George V*. Bernardin lobbied to have the law against nude performers moving onstage revoked and due to this redefinition of obscenity laws, the club elevated strip tease to performance.⁵⁵²

This relatively new phenomenon inspired a range of responses, including that of Barthes. Le Grand noted that in *Revue Hommes et Mondes*, Emile Vuillermoz had argued that strip tease proved the existence of God as it demonstrated his

⁵⁵⁰ LeGrand, G. “*La Philosophie dans le Saloon*” in *Le Surréalisme Même*, no. 5, p 61.

⁵⁵¹ Mitrani in *Le Surréalisme Même*, no. 4.

⁵⁵² Shteir, R. *Striptease: The Untold History of the Girlie Show*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, p 264.

sculptural genius".⁵⁵³ Joan Miró produced *Striptease* in 1958 and Umberto Eco described Lily Niagara's act at the Crazy Horse in "The Socratic Strip" in 1960.⁵⁵⁴ In 1958 Francois des Aulnoyes published *Histoire et philosophie de l'erotisme* and *Histoire et philosophie du strip tease*,⁵⁵⁵ two volumes notable for their titillating photographic illustrations rather than their paltry text, which used images by Roland Carré of Harcourt Studios among others.⁵⁵⁶ In 1961 Denys Chevalier produced a similar book which concluded with a harsh critique of the surrealist *enquête*. Chevalier saw strip tease as a powerful modern erotic spectacle and was scathing about the debate around "myth" and scornful of the analyses. He picked out the female responses in *Le Surréalisme Même*, particularly those of Mansour and Perrein which denied identification with the stripper, for criticism, describing them as „idiotic.“⁵⁵⁷

The illustrations used for the *enquête* made little use of promotional or documentary images of striptease itself; one Carré portrait of "Melody Bubbles" (Fig. 121) (a shot from the same series was used by Chevalier) introduced the final instalment of the *enquête*.⁵⁵⁸ Two Molinier photographs, one in each issue, appear to challenge Barthes' idea that it was adornments which intervened to bury any initial provocative intention in strip tease. (Fig. 122) Molinier's reliance on the ritualistic "classic props" of stockings, stiletto heels, masks, silk dildos, velvet covered beds and gilded mirrors do not diminish his fierce eroticism. These photographs of rituals, where everything is inflated and theatricalised amount to an interrogation of the viewer, who becomes caught up in the contradictions. Part of the dynamic tension is created by the fact that the viewer becomes a voyeur. Because of the "props" the images conjure up the reassuring ritual which negates flesh" that Barthes speaks of, but this familiarity is dispelled as the intensity and aggressive energy of the photographs tips this

⁵⁵³ *Revue Hommes et Mondes*, a magazine which dealt with politics, literature, economics and science, was a point of reference in the French press in the post war period.

⁵⁵⁴ Eco, Umberto, "The Socratic Strip" (1960), in *Misreadings*, London: Picador, 1994, pp. 27 - 32.

⁵⁵⁵ des Aulnoyes, F. *Histoire et philosophie de l'erotisme* and *Histoire et philosophe du strip-tease*, both Paris: Pensée Moderne, 1958.

⁵⁵⁶ Roland Carré had a prolific career in glamour photography and in the 1950's worked for titles such as *Leg Show*, *Nu Français* and *Folies de Paris et de Hollywood*. In 1957 Barthes said "In France, you are not an actor if you haven't been photographed by Harcourt Studios". Barthes, R. "The Harcourt Actor" in *The Eiffel Tower and other mythologies*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997, p 19.

⁵⁵⁷ Chevalier, D. *Métaphysique du strip-tease*, Paris: J J Pauvert, 1961, p 205.

⁵⁵⁸ Chevalier, *Métaphysique du strip-tease*, p 187.

into something else, an instability which causes unease. Molinier represents genuine eroticism and audacity here and "drags into the light a hidden depth" that Barthes understood to be lacking in strip tease. "My eroticism veers towards reality", Molinier said in his own response to the *enquête*, and it is the spectacle of strip tease, the fact that it channels desire into a mere spectacle, which proved deceptive for many of the respondents.⁵⁵⁹ Authenticity was central to surrealist eroticism and realism in cultural production is a concomitant of the personal nature of surrealist investigation. In 1995 Annette Messenger expressed her admiration for the veracity of Molinier's work and of surrealist photography generally when she compared her own work to fairy tales

And tender, like fairy tales where the ogre devours ten adorable little children. But everyday life is altogether much more cruel, surprising and tender. That's why I much prefer surrealist photography - Paul Nougé, Man Ray, Claude Cahun, André Boiffard and Pierre Molinier — to surrealist painting, because it really is in touch with reality.

When the interviewer adds Bellmer to her list she responds

Yes, of course ... it's so touching and so sordid at the same time.⁵⁶⁰

Overall the responses to the *enquête* are characterised by intrigue rather than dogma and Molinier's images served well as illustrations. The notion of eroticism as a spectacle was an anathema to the surrealists but in 1959, on the cusp of the "sexual revolution," it was something that was in gestation and the discourse around strip tease reflected a real movement of ideas.

In the 1950's feminine sexual allure became a mass market commodity and to succeed as a woman, with the goal of pleasing in mind, it was essential to have either sex appeal or "charm" and preferably a mixture of both, certainly if you were young. *Elle* devoted an issue to it in 1953, with Bardot on the cover in a languid pose and attempted to establish whether "sex appeal" was a desirable quality and alerted readers to the difference between charm and sex appeal and educated them on the judicious use of both. (Fig. 123) When the "teen" magazine *Mademoiselle* was founded in 1962 the target reader, aged between fifteen and twenty was understood as an object of consumer culture who focused on themselves, particularly on their physical appearance. Girls were encouraged to enjoy their independence to the full while ensuring that their "fun" did not

559 Molinier in *Le Surréalisme Même*, no. 4.

50 Annette Messager, interviewed by Robert Storr in *Faire Parade 1971 à 95*, Exh. Cat. Paris: Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris, 1995, p 114.

jeopardise their ultimate goal of domesticity. Weiner claimed that it was the departure from this sentimental notion of feminine youth as a "premarital swan song" which alarmed critics of the young women writers in the 1950"s such as

Michèle Perrein, Françoise Sagan, and Lucette Finas.⁵⁶¹ Whereas a modern erotic spectacle was acceptable, the graphic description of sexual encounters in the context of contemporary life in novels with precocious narrators as young as their authors often met with hostility.⁵⁶² Chevalier"s disdainful treatment of Perrein suggests that his unconditional support for strip tease did not necessarily lead to an appreciation of explicit contemporary literature.

The boundaries of "acceptable" eroticism were shifting quickly at this time; the fact that Fellini"s *La Dolce Vita*, with its frank treatment of sex, including homosexuality, the "orgy" scene and the strip by Nadia Gray, won the *Palme d"Or* at Cannes in 1960 indicates a changing set of values. However, in the period directly prior to the major change in people"s ideas about sex in the 1960"s, liberalisation was a cause of confusion and anxiety as well as excitement. We look upon the joke in the photograph from *Médium* (Fig. 124) as simply sexist today, but it stemmed partly from a negotiation of the excitement generated by increasing sexual freedom and frankness.⁵⁶³ The eroticisation of "girliness" was of particular concern. Bardot was just sixteen when she first appeared on the front cover of *Elle* and it was this that brought her to the attention of Roger Vadim. When she played an immoral adolescent in his *And God Created Woman* in 1956, it was her seventeenth film; she epitomised the *femme-enfant* and was, in person and in her screen roles, as de Beauvoir noted, reduced to a physical identity.⁵⁶⁴ Surrealist investigations into sexuality and photographic works should be situated in this fluid discourse.

⁵⁶¹ Weiner, *Enfants Terribles*, pp. 86 — 88.

⁵⁶² Female writers who included eroticism as a primary theme in their work encountered more

difficulties in publishing than their male counterparts. For example Gallimard had cut Leduc"s *Ravages* (admired by de Beauvoir) in 1955. Anonymous or clandestine publication with publishers such as Pauvert or Losfeld became important. It was only in the 1960"s that women in France were granted the right to publish without the authorisation of a male sponsor. Brulotte, G. and Phillips, J. (eds.) *The Encyclopedia of Erotic Literature. Volume 1*, London: Routledge, 2006, p 1422.

5 *Médium*, no. 4, Jan 1955.

56 De Beauvoir, "Brigitte Bardot and the Lolita Syndrome" *Esquire*, 1959 cited in Weiner, *Enfants Terribles*, p 103.

Challenges to Catholic morality were, of course, welcomed by the Surrealists but many responses to the strip tease *enquête* were measured. Explicitness was not adequate in itself to meet the demands of surrealist eroticism which required honesty. This is why, in 1968, the group applauded Vera Chytilova's *Les petites marguerites* (1966) as

the perfect incarnation of subversive femininity/feminine subversion. Their gestures as free as their bodies. Their bodies are their privilege and their protest. Spontaneity of eroticism is the key to their attitude. Since *L'Age d'Or* or the Marx Brothers films are rare which match surrealist excess in this. *Les Abysses* and *Les petites marguerites* are two sides of the same coin.⁵⁶⁵

The absurdity and playful sexual exploration in *Les petites marguerites* appealed to the surrealists. A celebration of the breaking down of sexual repression is understandable given the real difference to peoples' lives that changes in the 1960's brought about. People won increasing control over their own bodies; the impact of the legalisation of the contraceptive pill in 1967 is evident when we consider a feature from *Elle* in 1961 about a married woman from Nantes (a PhD student) entitled "I am 32. I am desperate. I am pregnant with my 6th child".⁵⁶⁶ The cover of *BIEF* (Fig. 8) contributed to the debate with its reference to birth control.⁵⁶⁷ One result of a change in values was an outpouring of images with a sexual content, the comic results of which are shown by the advertising photographs for Hartog reprinted in *La Brèche*. The visual content of these American advertisements for shirts bore no relation to the product and relied instead on the gratuitous exposure of breasts, they were celebrated in *La Brèche* for their "refreshing extremism".⁵⁶⁸ (Fig. 125)

Both *BIEF* and *La Brèche* rejected the luxury of *Le Surréalisme Même* in favour of a more modest format but *La Brèche* was a more substantial journal and care was clearly taken with the use and reproduction of images. The preface to the first edition justified the new journal as necessary in order to meet the demands of a diverse and changeable audience. This was deemed to require flexibility and a shift "beyond political action", which was "more than ever" problematic, back to the "poetic re-evaluation of thought". The preface proposed that this was productively based on the principal of analogy and concluded with an aphorism

⁵⁶⁵ "Le font de l'air", *Archibras*, no. 3, March 1968.

⁵⁶⁶ *Elle*, 7 July 1961.

⁵⁶⁷ *Bief* 15 July 1959

⁵⁶⁸ *La Brèche* June 1964

from Lichtenberg "Don't judge men on their opinions, but on what their opinions have made of them". Breton as editor was keen to nurture a distinctive identity for the group and thus maintained a vehement hostility to the Communist Party and political dogma, and publicised artists and writers who were broadly faithful to "surreality". The new journal appears to highlight the legacy of historical surrealism as well as promoting artists who identified strongly with the group and produced vital work which could be categorised as surrealist in the post war period.

Film stills from *Les Abysses* (a film inspired by the Papin murder case, directed by Niko Papatakis in 1963) (Fig. 126) were published in *La Brèche* to accompany an article on the film, together with the original "before and after" images from *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution* (Fig. 35) and a Ted Joans photo-collage (Fig. 127).⁵⁶⁹ Papatakis' film was turned down by the Committee of the Cannes Film Festival in 1963. Breton, as well as de Beauvoir, Sartre, Genet and Prévert published texts in *Le Monde* expressing admiration for the film and André Malraux, then Minister of Culture, following a private screening, insisted that the film represent France at the festival where it created a scandal due to the frenzied violence.⁵⁷⁰ Papatakis' film gave the sisters (played by real-life sisters Francine and Colette Berge) a clear motive for the murders and portrayed them as incestuous lesbians who were uncontrollably violent before the crime. The film stills served to place *Les Abysses* in a trajectory of support for the sisters which stemmed from the surrealists declaration in *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution* in 1933, reprinted in full in *La Brèche*. The article predominantly concerned *Les Abysses* but generalised from the Papin case to touch upon the civil rights movement, explicitly with Joans' collage and implicitly in the text. The article concluded that the Papins' crime was inevitable, born from anger, relentless oppression and what Christine Papin had called the "mysteries of life". Papatakis and Vauthier, Joubert said, allowed the viewer to get to the very heart of the excessive violence of those "thirsty for freedom of expression". When Joubert wrote of the inevitability of "others", those "dying like dogs" suffering the fate of the Papins, there is no doubt that he

⁵⁶⁹ Joubert, A. "Le Fer dans la plaie" *La Brèche*, no. 5, October 1963, pp 62 - 65.

⁵⁷⁰ <http://www.filmfestivals.com/cgi->

[bin/fest_content/festival.s.pl?debug=&channelbar=&fest=venisemarket&year=2002&lang=en&pa](http://www.filmfestivals.com/cgi-bin/fest_content/festival.s.pl?debug=&channelbar=&fest=venisemarket&year=2002&lang=en&pa)

[ge=daily&partner=&date=2002/9/6](#) (Accessed 12/06/09)

was referring to blacks in North America; 1963 was a milestone in the fight for civil rights.⁵⁷¹ Joans' collage was placed on the opposite page to these concluding remarks and shows a black man, accompanied by a white woman, rumbling off in a cart as if to the guillotine. Crosses have been placed over what has been denied or censored, including mixed race liaison as indicated by the dancing shoes and the crux of the crime committed, sexual relations; the woman has a large cross between her legs and another at her breasts. Joans juxtaposed misery with hope and affixed signs of change to the imagery of repression.

America's ship has literally come in but the nature of the cargo is unclear. The central figure gazes up at a newt, a sign of transformation, and clutches an anatomical diagram of the reptile, an image of metamorphosis; Malcolm X is evoked in name and image. Joans' collage provided a rich appendix to Joubert's text.

A desire on behalf of the group to highlight their legacy and vitality is also evident in their central role in Seitz's *The Art of Assemblage* show in New York.⁵⁷² Benayoun reported back from the exhibition in issue 6 of *La Brèche*.⁵⁷³ By that time the group had already claimed the sophisticated and skilful, stamping Rauschenberg and Johns with the spirit of surrealism with their inclusion in the 1959 *EROS* exhibition in Paris and would go on to pay homage to James Rosenquist in 1964.⁵⁷⁴ In the New York show the debt of contemporary art to dada and surrealism was made clear in Pierre's preface to the issue.

Happenings", according to Pierre, were indicative of dada enjoying a reprise because the war had re-enforced irony.⁵⁷⁵ Furthermore, in the same issue a film still from Jean Léon's *Aimez-vous les femmes?*, a popular black comedy based on cannibalism scripted by a young Polanski, was juxtaposed with a documentary photograph of Oppenheim's *Banquet* (Fig. 128) at the opening of the *EROS*

⁵⁷¹ In May 1963 images of police brutality against protestors in Birmingham (Alabama) were televised and published widely and gained international support for the Civil Rights movement. The March on Washington where Martin Luther King delivered his "I had a dream" speech was held on August 28th of that year. In September, the bombing of a Baptist church in Birmingham resulted in the deaths of four young girls and led to rioting. Issue 5 of *La Brèche* was published in October, 1963.

⁵⁷² *The Art of Assemblage*, MOMA, New York, October 2 — November 12, 1961.

⁵⁷³ Benayoun, R. & Pierre, J., "Alchimie de l'objet cabotinage du déchet" *La Brèche*, no. 2..

⁵⁷⁴ At *EROS* In 1959 Rauschenberg Pierre, J. "Comment reussire un chef d'œuvre de "pop". En hommage à James Rosenquist" in *La Brèche*, no. 6, June 1964, pp. 48 - 49.

⁵⁷⁵ Pierre, J. Preface to *La Brèche*, no. 6, June 1964.

show, suggesting plagiarism and claiming credit.⁵⁷⁶ The tendency to present new artists in a surrealist tradition is evident in the final issue of *La Brèche* where an article on Rimbaud is illustrated with Heisler's *Objet* (1943) (Fig. 129) as well as work by Jean-Claude Silverman and Ugo Sterpini.⁵⁷⁷ The younger artists are thus presented as a vibrant development on an unwavering surrealist path.

In terms of photographic art, work by young artists is limited in *La Brèche*. Heisler's runner and Štyrský's blasphemous collages are imaginative and

humorous and had enduring appeal. Štyrský's work was reproduced in issue 4 of the journal, which was dedicated to him. (Fig. 130) The collages presenting baby Jesus, Mary and an American cardinal slipped easily into the context of post war consumerism. Baby Jesus' upside down horseshoe foretells misfortune, his halo is a pineapple ring and his bread is represented by a mass produced pre-wrapped loaf. Mary is recognisable from the title *L'Annonciation* and the fact that she is surrounded by religious symbols, but she is receiving her message from Gabriel over the telephone, sat on top of a symbolic dish of eggs, legs somewhat splayed, dressed in high heels and a revealing shift. The cardinal is a baseball pitching machine on legs. With marching boots and armed with balls, the figure has an air of militarism and purposefulness.

Mimi Parent offered new photographic work in the first issue with her idea of creating a series of portraits of the collaborators on *La Brèche*, four of which were published. The text focuses on Parent's own image as it is the most unusual and was surrounded by a set of coincidences that were made much of in the article. Parent designed her portrait to represent how, as a child, she had been afraid of lightning and convinced that she would be struck dead by it. With the other images it is not made clear exactly how they were designed and how much input the individuals pictured had in the composition of the images, but it could be assumed that the choice of character at least was theirs. Benayoun chose to be pictured in an astrological setting, absorbed in a game which would determine birth. Radovan Ivšić's profile was merged to a vast rocky landscape. Breton's choice was less whimsical, he is portrayed as a revolutionary crusader and returned to the birth of surrealism and the metaphorical "black mountain" referred to in *La Révolution Surréaliste* (Fig. 131)

⁵⁷⁶ *La Brèche* no. 6, June 1964.

⁵⁷⁷ Denis, Y. "Deux gloses de Rimbaud", *La Brèche* no. 8, November 1965, pp. 57 - 66.

Nous n' "avons pas trop de toutes nos mains agrippées à une corde de feu le long de la montagne noire ... nous demeurons acquis au principe de toute action révolutionnaire 578

Anonymous photographic material was used by Huguette and Jean Schuster to produce "cartoon" montages dedicated to various members of the group. The image dedicated to Elisa and André Breton shows an attractive young blonde in a bikini who is used to poke fun at André Malraux, then the Minister of Culture, and portray him as lustful. (Fig. 132) The image dedicated to Marianne and Radovan Ivsic shows two young girls who have been made to appear to be having a conversation about their future prospects given the recent changes in the social position of women in France. (Fig. 133) "How am I going to make a living if I can't martyr myself!" one girl laments, understanding that the option of a role as housewife is no longer promoted. "In the best hotel in town!" her young friend replies, suggesting prostitution.

La Brèche was particularly strong in the creative use of documentary photography. The images published to illustrate the articles on "Mme Zka's" sexualised dolls (Figs. 134) and the remarkable "anatomical machines" of the Prince of Sansevero. (Figs. 135 and 136) are particularly notable documentations of the surreal. The dolls were featured in the same issue as Benayoun and Pierre's essays on assemblage and these works were introduced as such in Selz's text.⁵⁷⁹ Over a dozen photographs of the dolls were published in the journal.

The dolls were produced by a woman in a hospital for the mentally ill, "a lady lost in her obsessive daydreams" Selz called her. Her craft is compared to that produced in convents, institutions, and bourgeois and peasant households, performed absent-mindedly (automatically) to the accompaniment of "the purring of prayer" or the "crackle of the hearth". Madame Zka had a talent for dressmaking and the dolls had been meticulously made with close attention to detail. Selz noted that in his conversations with the maker, individual dolls evoked memories of travels and husbands and that an "obsessive sexual fear" dominated and covered all of the dolls' bodies. Madame Zka is described as

⁵⁷⁸ "Our hands cannot grip tightly enough the rope of fire that stretches up the black mountain ...we remain committed in principle to any revolutionary action" Breton, A. "Pourquoi je prends la direction de *La Révolution Surréaliste*", *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 4, p 3.

⁵⁷⁹ Selz, G. "Les doigts de la Mémoire", *La Brèche* no. 2, pp. 32 - 35.

suffering from "ecstatic erotomania in the form of fantastic paranoia" in the text. photographs document how each doll could be undressed and how all had erotic signs in profusion. Erect penises and in some cases a "phallic eruption", a collection of bulging organs, are revealed beneath the carefully reproduced Polish army uniforms. This strange collection serves well as a cover to the second issue of the review. Assemblage is described as part of the structure of dreams where the detail is inscribed in the parts, and the dolls are about confrontation, choice of elements and additions.

The images of the Sansevero anatomical models are equally remarkable. The two models, a man and a woman, are known as "anatomical machines" and depict the system of blood vessels of the human body. They were commissioned by Raimondo de Sangro, Prince of Sansevero and manufactured by the anatomist Guiseppe Salerno in the 1760s and until recently were believed to be the result of anatomical preparations based on the injection of embalming substances. The models were regarded as curiosities as well as teaching objects and are thought to be unique. It has now been proven that the circulatory systems was artificially fabricated with a mixture of pigmented waxes, an iron wire and silk fibres, probably following techniques commonly used by anatomists of the time.⁵⁸⁰

In her article Paule Thévenin noted that in the Sansevero chapel in Naples, the models are displayed in the basement in ornate glass cases, some of which can be seen in the photographs. Due to a lack of evidence as to production methods, legends were attached to the models which nominated Raimondo de Sangro himself as the scientist responsible and even suggested that the experiments were carried out on live subjects. The fact that eyes had been placed in the female model and the tiny heart and bones of a child laid at her feet added to their macabre nature. Thévenin celebrated de Sangro as an accomplished inventor and free thinker who was persecuted during his lifetime as a "sorcerer" who had made a pact with the Devil.⁵⁸¹ The way in which the models have been photographed and presented in the review enhance their fantastic appearance. The close up of the female on the cover, taken from a low vantage point and the cropped shot of the male both remove the context of the glass case, allowing the viewer to

⁵⁸⁰ <http://www.homepages.ucl.ac.uk/~tcnrmrf/machines.htm> (Accessed 26/06/09)

⁵⁸¹ Thévenin, P. "Raimondo de Sangro, Prince de San Severo, Savant Impénitent" *La Brèche* no. 7, pp. 14 - 16.

indulge their fascination. Such proximity to the models facilitates a consideration of their physical make-up but also of materialism. These objects which caused anxiety in the eighteenth century were celebrated in *La Brèche* for this reason as well as their marvellous quality.

There is no doubt that the surrealist group were influential and vital in the 1950s and early 1960s, young artists had refreshed the group and helped to present two cohesive shows in 1959 and 1965 with surrealist eroticism at their core. There is also no doubt that the post war journals did not share the cohesion of the exhibitions and that a chasm had developed between older members of the group and younger people who threw themselves into the "festival of the oppressed" of the late 1960s with faith in change. Sarah Wilson described "orthodox" surrealism as under attack at this time but as "bleeding out into other movements" such as Nouveau Réalisme.⁵⁸² The surrealists were left behind, supportive and excited bystanders. *L'Archibras* marked surrealism as historical and failed in its aim to "bang on doors and windows". Visual images and photography were limited and literature dominated. The first issue displayed the back catalogue of surrealist journals on the cover, and much of the interior was taken up with a feature on the 1965 exhibition, with text by Mansour and photographs by Suzy Emboalong with notable obituaries for Breton.⁵⁸³ It was Duchamp, with a rare lyricism, who stated Breton's insistent commitment to love in a world "adrift",

I never knew a man who had a greater capacity for love. He was a lover of love in a world which believes in prostitution. That was his sign.⁵⁸⁴

There is a tacit condemnation here of the paucity of commercialism and late capitalism generally. In the post war period, the photography in surrealist journals was sometimes able to aid in the subversion of this "prostitution" and offered an alternative of "truth without boundaries". The post war surrealist reviews are variable and those published after Breton's death in September 1966,

L'Archibras and *Coupure*, indicated the disparity of the group, leading to the end of surrealism being announced by Schuster in *Le Monde* in October 1969.⁵⁸⁵

⁵⁸² Wilson, "Paris in the 1960's: Towards the Barricades of the Latin Quarter" in *Paris: Capital of the Arts 1900 à 1968*, p 332.

⁵⁸³ Mansour, J & Embo, S, "L'Écart Absolu", *L'Archibras*, no. 1, pp. 49 - 60.

⁵⁸⁴ Duchamp's obituary to Breton was printed, along with other obituaries taken from the

French press, in *L'Archibras*, no. 1, p 17.

ss Schuster, J. "The Fourth Canto", *Le Monde*, 4 October, 1969 translated and reproduced in Richardson, M. and Fijalkowski, K. (eds.) *Surrealism against the current: tracts and Declarations*, London: Pluto, 2001, pp 198 - 202.

Despite its volatility, Breton's group was able to offer young people an alternative both artistically and to Stalinism in the post war period before it was overtaken by the Situationist International. In an interview in the early 1980's Lefebvre suggested that, partly because of Cuba, in 1956-57 it was felt that

there were going to be a lot of things happening outside the established parties and organised movements ... there was going to be a spontaneity outside of organisations and institutions ... movements that leave behind classic organizations.⁵⁸⁶

One could argue that the Surrealists were part of this sea-change, they were a vital group but also historic and essentially a "classic" organisation in this sense, and for that reason it was inevitable that they would be replaced by small groups like the Situationists as young artists explored new directions.

⁵⁸⁶ Lefebvre on the Situationist International: An Interview conducted by Kristin Ross" printed in *October* no. 79, Winter 1997 and available online at <http://www.notbored.org/lefebvre-interview.html> , p 2 and p 4. (Accessed 21 March 2009)

Conclusion

After 1986, when Rosalind Krauss made 'surrealist photography' visible, scholarship focused on the identification of a 'surrealist aesthetic', often based on Bataille's notion of the *informe* but alternatively rooted in Sontag's declaration that surrealism lay at the very heart of the photographic enterprise in the creation of a duplicate world, of a reality in the second degree.⁵⁸⁷ Since then a considerable amount of photographic work associated with the movement has been uncovered and it has become clear that a single identity for surrealist photography is an impossibility due to its diversity and its range of deployment. The medium proved itself to be such a useful tool in attempts to reconcile external reality and the interior world of the subconscious that it is evident in all of the group's activities and investigations into the poetic force of the visual image both staged and spontaneous. The thesis acknowledged this fragmentation and aimed to investigate how photography, because of its status in visual culture, was developed by the surrealist group in Paris as a medium of *surrealist* communication in their journals and illustrated books.

The argument was centred on the fact that because photography had a social function, whether journalistic, personal, educational or political, it had subversive potential which was exploited by the surrealists to challenge social, sexual and moral codes, provoke a reaction and propose a new morality based on freedom. The concomitant development of Surrealism and illustrated magazines in the 1920s facilitated both a pool of images for appropriation as well as opportunities to circulate Surrealist images in the forefront of contemporary visual culture. The political aspects of Surrealism have arguably been underplayed in recent scholarship and the thesis sought to contribute to the understanding of Surrealist photography by exploring how the medium was used to advance the revolutionary aims of the movement.

The thesis traced the development of illustrated magazines during the formative years of surrealism. It explored the impact of the quickly developing mass media

⁵⁸⁷ Sontag, *On Photography*, p 52.

on photographers who were considered as artists who could supply the industry with innovative images. In the analysis of the photographic content of *La Révolution Surréaliste* in chapter two it was proposed that the illustration of text was heavily influenced by Man Ray, who developed a poetic notion of the image and its relationship to visual surrealism. Man Ray's expertise in meeting commercial demands arguably sharpened his ability to fix his thoughts on paper as well as his understanding of the potential power of the found or re-cycled image which relied on decontextualisation. The third chapter dealt with the use of photography in *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution* and argued that although this second journal used photography in a different way to the first, photographs transcended a straightforward illustrative role and in some cases the text and the photograph were equal rather than the image accompanying the text. Chapters two and three surveyed the use of photography generally in these two publications, emphasising the diversity of the images. The images were understood to be in close communion with the literary, philosophical and political elements of the movement. In chapters four and five which deal with the 1930s and the period after 1945, there is a particular focus on sexuality. The analysis of the illustrated books in chapter four illuminated the extent to which surrealism challenged sexual conventions and the institution of the family and noted the subversion of predominant images to do this.

The distinctiveness of the thesis is two-fold. Firstly the thesis develops the contention that the photographic images used in surrealist publications are organically related to the use of the photographic image in visual culture as the major medium of communication. Although connections between surrealist photography and commercial work has been noted in scholarship, the thesis brings an extra perspective based on an analysis of the relationship between photographers close to Surrealism and the periodical press. Surrealist photography is thus relocated within the framework of the circulation of images in society. The thesis is also distinctive because many of the images discussed have been neglected in scholarship to date: in particular there is a lacuna in scholarship in terms of the photographic images published in surrealist journals in France in the post World War Two period. Many of these images have not been the subject of discussion to date or have been divorced from the context of

the journals in their interpretation. A fresh perspective on images such as Bellmer's *Tenir au Frais* (Fig. 117) is offered which considers possible meanings in this multi-disciplinary context.

The images published in the illustrated books *Banalité* and *1929* have also been neglected in scholarship. In the case of *1929* this is surprising given that the focus of many studies of Surrealism has been desire and eroticism. The neglect of *Banalité* is perhaps less surprising as Parry was on the margins of the movement but the surrealist nature of his work generally and in these particular images is indisputable. Also, the theme of the family, a central aspect of Fargue's book, has not been explored in great detail in research into Surrealism despite its status, along with nationalism and religion, as a major target of the group's violent hostility. The fact that the political side of Breton's group was, and still is to some extent, unfashionable as well as a focus on desire has perhaps contributed to this neglect. Our understanding of the Surrealists' approach to sexuality is aided greatly by considering the priority they awarded the defeat of the institution of the bourgeois family.

The theme of the family was raised in chapter two with the discussions of Unik's short story 'Vive la Mariée' illustrated by an Arp print and a group portrait of the jury of the *Fémina* prize (Figs. 19 and 20). It was also discussed in chapter three in relation to the discussion of the photograph of Marie Costes in the context of the second issue of the journal and in relation to the defence of Violette Nozière. However, it is in chapter four with the discussion of *Mr Knife Miss Fork* and *Banalité* that this theme is developed. The analysis of Ernst's illustrations centres on the ways in which his images of the inner world of the child narrator focus on the triumph of love in stark opposition to the stifling account of middle class family life in Crevel's text. The discussion of *Banalité* analysed the relationship between text and illustration and concluded that a critique of the bourgeois family runs through the work. Parry's images in particular contribute to the notion of the family as a sinister, tense and violent site. Both of these books are exemplary in their exploration of inner consciousness at the same time as projecting ideas about love and marriage into the external world. Chapter four also demonstrated how the illustrated books *1929*, *Facile* and *Le Septième Face*

du Dé proposed an alternative to the clichéd and "passive" desire circulated in consumer culture. The analysis of *1929* demonstrates how Aragon and Péret's poems as well as Man Ray's photographs parodied *The Song of Songs* in the bible. This book is generally understood as mischievous pornography designed to shock but the discussion in the thesis identifies the ways in which the poems and the illustrations subvert the exuberant and erotic depiction of the love between a man and a woman in the biblical text.

In the post war period, when eroticism was incorporated into the consumerist boom, the surrealist group, although intellectually and politically marginalised, made an important and distinctive contribution to the discourse on sexuality. The final chapter examined the impact of the increased involvement of women members in the group. During this period a continued insistence on "love" and therefore eroticism as humanity's major driving force generated literature and visual images which were sexually provocative to a great degree. Even in the late 1950s, on the cusp of the sexual revolution, surrealism's representations and

celebrations of eroticism were shocking. Many images, Duchamp and Bellmer's cover images for *Le Surréalisme Même* for example (Figs. 107 and 117), challenge notions of "taste" and "morality" even today. The discussion on Bellmer's image situated it in relation to Kleist's *Penthesilea* and argued that the cover was directly related to the group's preoccupation with the writer at this time and to the article by Pierre in the same issue. This image has not been interpreted in this way previously and the links between Kleist's text and Bellmer's image are stated clearly and evidenced with extensive textual quotations in the chapter and in Appendix B.

It is clear that surrealist photography had, and continues to have, a profound influence on both commercial and artistic photographic practice. While a rich legacy is evident in the work of artists such as Cindy Sherman and Francesca Woodman it is important to understand surrealism as a project which ended in the latter part of the last century. The thesis established that surrealist photography needs to be seen in the context of the surrealist movement as it

existed at a particular historical moment. Contemporary artists may have strong affinities with the movement but our understanding of surrealist photography is

diminished if we divorce it from the context in which it was produced and the totality of the surrealist vision. It is this surrealist vision, to some extent, which will ensure a continued academic interest in the movement because the ethical engagement of Breton's group, although messy, possessed a gravitas which appears commendable in our unsettled times.

Appendix A André

Breton Once upon tomorrow

(1930)

Translated by Eliane Meyer (10/10/07)

Imagination is not a given, it is conquered. Huysmans asks, “where, when, in which latitude, in what landscape could I find this enormous palace risen, where these domes reaching for the sky, these phallic columns, these pillars emerging from a hard and reflexive surface?” This is a pessimistic if lyrical way to eradicate everything we think, everything that should be. This palace “risen”, this “palace”. Past tense, useless splendour. It dismisses as gratuitous — almost fictitious — our need to behave differently from the norm (only if sexually: “phallic” columns). This is the sign of a guilty weariness, of our unforgivable doubts as to the real power of the mind. The growing use of that hopeless excuse “it was only a dream” (especially in films) confirms the hypocrisy of it, and doesn’t deserve to be argued about.

So, why not say it? Huysmans knew that the visions he had — outside time — were destined to drive the world “forward” as well as “backwards”. Unless it is a somewhat desperate attempt to protect yourself, there is no point in investing what should be with the terrifying impossibility to be and have been simultaneously.

I know how the argument goes: “the mind is always constrained by time and space. The representations it constructs are dependant on the strength of the emotions they arouse.” This is truly fetishistic. What we term the past will always win through our weakness. Anthony’s nights, Mexico in the times before the Spanish invasion, an unknown photograph from last century: all of you here and there, if you need to move, don’t make too much noise.

Where are the snows of tomorrow? My claim is that the borrowings of our imagination (and I shall endeavour to prove it need not borrow) should not bow to life.

Between the so-called clichés and ideas to open, there will always be a difference, giving imagination the winning hand over the mind.

Once more the question of energy transformation is posed. Being wary of the practical power of our imagination is like refusing to use electricity in the hope of bringing hydroelectric power back to its absurd status as a waterfall.

The imaginary is what tends to become real.

A propos of this, I would like to rent (not even buy) a property just outside Paris (1). Not too grand, 30 rooms maybe, with as many long dark corridors as possible (I can darken them myself if need be). It would have 4 or 5 hectares of wooden terrain, a brook or 2, or even better a couple of ponds. I would of course do my best to make the place safe (burglars need not be offended, safety has nothing to do with them!).

The various people I ask to visit should be able to come and go as they please. These preliminaries should be easy to establish; a tunnel (existing or not), not much harder.

From the outside, it should not look so much like a hotel as an old fashioned inn: this is more unsettling. Inside, this inn will welcome those I choose to come and swap exhausted ideas for exhausting ones.

We will invite 3 young women to stay and endow them with an annuity. These girls should have had an involvement in some haunted house scandal. They will be made to feel at home, but if they do not suit, they should be replaced immediately. In an emergency, we shall provide additional help (it might even be a young man, well versed in this kind of thing if unwittingly). However, there should never be more than one man at any given time.

The girls will be provided with the occasional companion. These will be females who have shown promise as mediums, have a particularly strange imagination or are very beautiful.

In each bedroom we will place a tall clock with a dark glass face, which will be wound up to strike midnight especially well. Whilst inside the property walls, no one is allowed to have sex (whatever the temptation) on pain of eviction. Green-shaded desk lamps will provide the only source of light. The shutters are to be kept closed at all times.

The reception room is to be whitewashed and lit by unseen ceiling lamps. The only furniture in this room (save a pair of authentic Merovingian armchairs) is to be a stand on which is placed a perfume phial, bound with a pale coloured ribbon. Inside the bottle a rose is trapped, its petals and stem discoloured, dead.

This very bottle can be seen today June 9th in the south facing window of the chemists which stands at the corner of rue Lafayette and rue du Faubourg Montmartre.

With this ends our list of arbitrary conditions.

Butterflies in natural flight will be taken up by men and commented upon, then we shall see if a bed sheet is made to envelope male and female bodies (which address shall I write?). Or, perhaps, when it is held up, incomprehensibly high, its function is to render a body imaginary, regardless of its reality. This would seem to prove that the human mind does not get away with fear. A while ago, I was told of a charming ghost story; 2 men, sporting a traditional ghost costume were having fun scaring the unsuspecting by walking around a cemetery night after night. On one of these nights, a freethinker dressed like them and started to follow them at close quarters. Upon seeing him, they scarpered. I have to confess to favour the first 2 men over this last one.

We also need a mysterious well, a replica of Luna Park"s, perhaps less free but more diverse, more insistent and a lot prettier.

There will be five bedrooms, their doors and windows sealed up, with no access possible (even if all guests swore never to look in).

In the first and biggest bedroom, we will have all our dummies (made of wax or other materials). They should be neither posed not higgledy-piggledy but arranged in a way reminiscent of total abandon. This, of course, should be done before the room is walled up.

In the second bedroom, there should be a jumble of eccentric looking luggage, tall sunflowers and other party accessories of the mind. Its walls should be entirely papered over with love letters.

The third bedroom will look like a luxurious nursery with only a cradle in it. The cradle should be partly slashed and contain a well-placed knife. It should bring to mind a ship in distress, leaning on floor waves of exaggerated blue.

Only I will know what happens in the fourth bedroom so that another I trust might know the purpose of the fifth one.

Neither him nor me, nor indeed any other person should possess the ideological key to the whole project (2).

The worst of it is, from the outside, the first bedroom will be indistinguishable from the second or the fifth.

The conversion work should be done so as to prevent any indiscretion. I want to keep things simple for the moment, so I won't elaborate on the furnishings for the lived-in spaces; suffice to say the look needs to be austere. The extreme disparity of that whole look needs to appear a necessity, not whimsical. I think our taste can be trusted.

We shall maintain the utmost level of bodily hygiene. I haven't decided yet whether to provide the household staff with two pure blood white Greyhounds or Bull Terriers or forgo them completely.

The point I wish to make here is the advantages to be had when the mind is placed in the best poetic position. We needn't unlock the secrets of such a community just yet. I shall reiterate my reasons for writing this: we need to focus on the poetic point of view to the exclusion of all else. Needless to say, I do not prone the utopian only, I merely point to a source of strange, mostly unpredictable movements.

If we were to agree to find that source (as I'm sure we will) and to follow its path, we would find the promise of a magnificent torrent able to upset the mountains of boredom.

We cannot help but think or project like this when confronted with contemporary blind architectures. They are so much more idiotic even revolting than those of the past. We shall be so bored inhabiting them, secure in the knowledge that nothing will ever happen.

But, what if, what if a man there and then decided that something should happen? What if he dared venture, perhaps on his own, on the path stricken down by chance? What if this man took a risk and wrestled the past for its mysteries?

First, he would have to cleanse his mind of childhood fairy tales, the tales we loved so much before we realised how deceitful they were.

What if the poet decided to enter the lair, open his lips and utter the words: "once upon tomorrow ..."

(1) My only problem is my lack of financial means.

(2) You think me childish? So much the better.

Appendix B

Extracts from Heinrich von Kleist *Penthesilea* (1808)

Penthesilea struggles to comprehend the intensity of her love for Achilles:

Oh cursed by all the gods! Do I not feel,
Just when the Greeks are fleeing me all around,
That the mere sight of this one, single hero
Could touch and paralyze my inmost soul
And make me, *me*, the conquered one, the vanquished?
Where does this feeling come from that has power
To cast me down, yet has no breast to live in?⁵⁸⁸

Meroë, an Amazon princess recounts the moment when Penthesilea throws herself upon the body of Achilles, tearing at his flesh with her teeth along with her dogs:

She cries, and, with the strength of madness, draws
And draws the bow until the two ends kiss,
And raises up the bow and aims and shoots,
And drives the arrow through his throat; he falls:
A yell of triumph rises from our people.
Yet he still lives, most pitiable of men,
The arrow jutting out behind his neck,
He rises, gasping, falls head over heels,
And rises once again and wants to flee;
But now “Attack!” she cries, “Tigris! Attack!
Hyrkaon! Sphinx! Attack, Melampus! Dirke!”
And throws — throws herself on him, oh Diana!
With the whole pack, and pulling at his crest,
For all the world a dog with other dogs,
One’s at his breast, the other takes his neck,
She drags him down so hard it makes the ground quake!
He, crimson with his own blood, writhing, reaches
Out to her soft cheek, touches her, and cries:
Penthesilea! My bride! What are you doing?
Is this the rosy feast you promised me?
But she — a lioness would have heeded him,
However ravenous and wild for prey,
Howling her hunger through the snowy wastes -
She sinks - tearing the armor off his body -
Into his ivory breast she sinks her teeth,
She and her savage dogs in competition,
Oxus and Sphinx chewing into his right breast,
And she into his left; when I arrived,
The blood was dripping from her mouth and hands.⁵⁸⁹

⁵⁸⁸ Kleist, *Penthesilea*, (trans. Joel Agee) New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1998, pp. 31 - 32

The theme of binding is evident throughout the drama in relation to both Penthesilea and Achilles. Penthesilea argues that

... only I
Know how to fell him. Comrades, this metal here
Shall draw him with the tenderest embrace
(Since it's with metal that I must embrace him!)
Closely, and painlessly, unto my heart.⁵⁹⁰

She binds Achilles with a garland of roses:

Around your temples, back behind your neck -
Down to your arms, your hands, your legs, your feet -
Up to your head again - and now it's done.⁵⁹¹

and tells him

For there's another chain I still intend
To wrap around your heart and bind you with,
As light as flowers, more durable than bronze.⁵⁹²

At the beginning of scene twenty-two, the high priestess orders her assistant to bind Penthesilea

...quickly with a rope,
Across those forking paths, lay out a snare,
Covered with brush, for her advancing tread.
And when her foot is caught, pull the rope tight
And drag her down just like a rabid dog;
That we may bind her, carry her back home,
And see if there's a way we still might save her.⁵⁹³

Penthesilea herself, realising that it was she who had "tore him apart" asks

Did I kiss him to death?
HIGH PRIESTESS

Oh Heaven!

PENTH ESILEA
No? Didn't kiss him? Really tore him? Speak?

HIGH PRIESTESS
Woe unto you! Go hide yourself away!
Let everlasting midnight cover you!
PENTH ESILEA

⁵⁸⁹ Kleist, *Penthesilea*, pp. 127 - 128

⁵⁹⁰ Kleist, *Penthesilea*, p. 38

⁵⁹¹ Kleist, *Penthesilea*, p. 87

⁵⁹² Kleist, *Penthesilea*, p. 89

⁵⁹³ Kleist, *Penthesilea*, p. 124

- So it was a mistake. A kiss, a bite,
The two should rhyme, for one who truly loves
With all her heart can easily mistake them.⁵⁹⁴

Kneeling before Achille's body Penthesilea speaks to him:

How many a maid will say, her arms wrapped round
Her lover's neck: I love you, oh so much
That if I could, I'd eat you up right here;
And later, taken by her word, the fool!
She's had enough and now she's sick of him.
You see, my love, that never was my way.
Look: When *my* arms were wrapped around your neck,
I did what I had spoken, word for word;
I was not quite so mad as it might seem.⁵⁹⁵

⁵⁹⁴ Kleist, *Penthesilea*, p. 145

⁵⁹⁵ Kleist, *Penthesilea*, p. 146

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Surrealism, Photography and the
periodical Press:

An investigation into the use of
photography in surrealist publications
(1924 - 1969) with specific reference to
themes of sexuality and their interaction
with commercial photographic images
of the period

Hazel Donkin

Ph D

2009

Volume 2 of 2

Illustrations

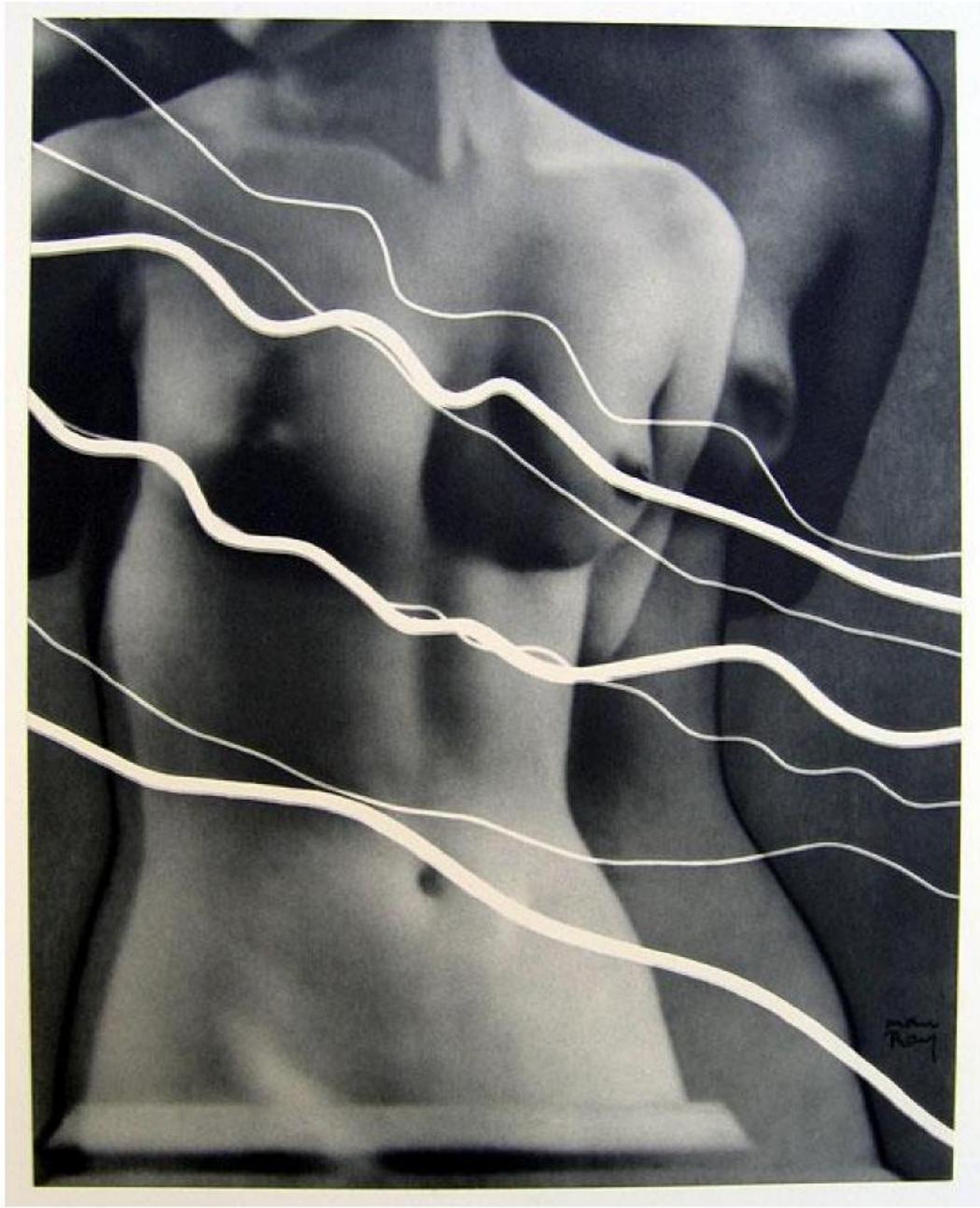


Fig 1 Man Ray, *Electricité* (1930) photogram commissioned by the *Compagnie*



Fig2 Man Ray (1934) Fashion shot for Harper's Bazaar 'Paris over the airwaves'.

LA RÉVOLUTION SURREALISTE

ET
GUERRE



AU
TRAVAIL

SOMMAIRE

Pourquoi je prends la direction de la R. S. :
André Breton.

POÈMES :

Louis Aragon, Paul Éluard.

RÊVES :

Max Morise, Michel Leiris.

TEXTES SURREALISTES :

Philippe Soupault, Marcel Noll, Georges Malkine.

Les parasites voyagent : Benjamin Péret.

La baie de la faim : Robert Desnos.

Glossaire (suite) : Michel Leiris.

Nomenclature : Jacques-André Boiffard.

CHRONIQUES :

Fragments d'une conférence : Louis Aragon.

Le surréalisme et la peinture : André Breton.

Note sur la liberté : Louis Aragon.

Exposition Chirico : Max Morise.

Philosophies. L'étoile au front : Paul Éluard.

Correspondance.

ILLUSTRATIONS :

Giorgio de Chirico, Max Ernst, André Masson,
Joan Miro, Pablo Picasso, Man Ray, Pierre Roy, etc.

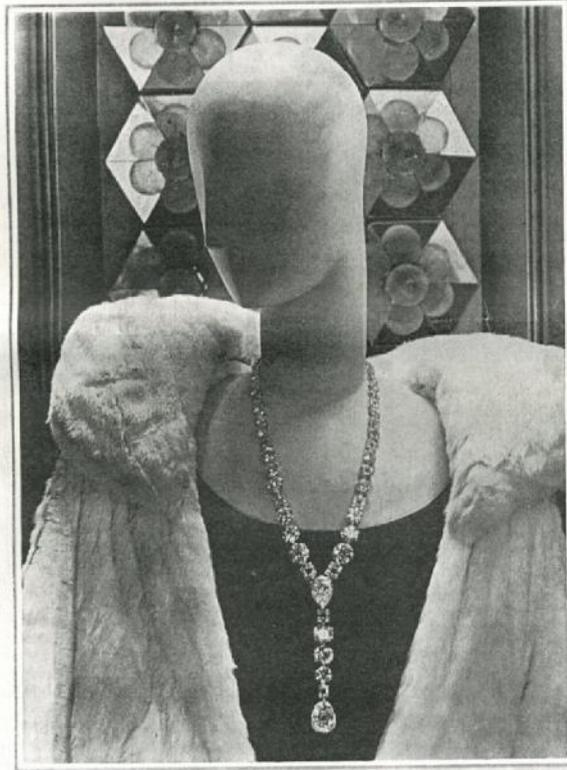
ABONNEMENT,
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Étranger : 55 francs

Dépositaire général : Librairie GALLIMARD
15, Boulevard Raspail, 15
PARIS (VII^e)

LE NUMÉRO :
France : 4 francs
Étranger : 5 francs

Fig3

Man Ray (1925) Cover of *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 4.



MANNEQUIN BIEBEL

HEYRINGEN-HUENE

Le goût délicat de Cartier a composé cette merveille : Un long sautoir au rythme symétrique terminé par une poire. Trois gros diamants de forme



ronde sont réunis par des anneaux de diamants calibrés. Remarquez la beauté et la nouveauté du fermoir. Robe et manteau d'hermine de Worth

TRIOMPHE DES DIAMANTS

Fig 4

Hoyningen-Huene, Advertisement for Cartier using Siegel mannequins, *Vogue* (French Edition), December 1928, p 23.

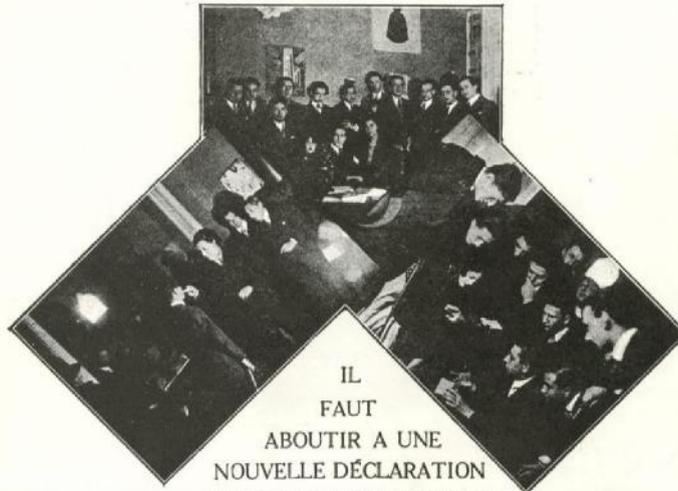
Fig 5

Front cover of *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 1.

N° 1 — Première année

1^{er} Décembre 1924

LA RÉVOLUTION SURREALISTE



IL
FAUT
ABOUTIR A UNE
NOUVELLE DÉCLARATION
DES DROITS DE L'HOMME

SOMMAIRE

Préface : J.-A. Boiffard, P. Eluard, R. Vitrac.

Rèves : Giorgio de Chirico, André Breton,
Renée Gauthier.

Textes surréalistes :

Marcel Noll, Robert Desnos, Benjamin Péret,
Georges Molkine, Paul Eluard,
J.-A. Boiffard, S. B., Max Morise,
Louis Aragon, Francis Gérard.

Le rêveur parmi les murailles : Pierre Reverdy.

Chroniques :

Louis Aragon, Philippe Soupault,
Max Morise, Joseph Delteil,
Francis Gérard, etc.

Notes.

Illustrations : Photos Man Ray.
Max Morise, G. de Chirico, Max Ernst,
André Masson, Pablo Picasso, Pierre Naville,
Robert Desnos.

ABONNEMENT,
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Fig 5

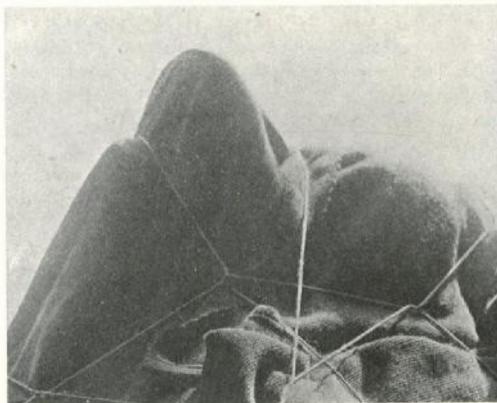
Front cover of *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 1.

PREFACE

Le procès de la connaissance n'étant plus à faire, l'intelligence n'entrant plus en ligne de compte, le rêve seul laisse à l'homme tous ses droits à la liberté. Grâce au rêve, la mort n'a plus de sens obscur et le sens de la vie devient indifférent.

Chaque matin, dans toutes les familles, les hommes, les femmes et les enfants, S'ILS N'ONT RIEN DE MIEUX A FAIRE, se racontent leurs rêves. Nous sommes tous à la merci du rêve et nous nous devons de subir son pouvoir à l'état de veille. C'est un tyran terrible habillé de miroirs et d'éclairs. Qu'est-ce que le papier et la plume, qu'est-ce qu'écrire, qu'est-ce que la poésie devant ce géant qui tient les muscles des nuages dans ses muscles ? Vous êtes là bégayant devant le serpent, ignorant les feuilles mortes et les pièges de verre, vous craignez pour votre fortune, pour votre cœur et vos plaisirs et vous cherchez dans l'ombre de vos rêves tous les signes mathématiques qui vous rendront la mort plus naturelle. D'autres et ce sont les prophètes

dirigent aveu-
forces de la
nir, l'aurore
bouche, et le
s'épouvan te
Le surréalisme
tes du rêve à
qui la nuit est
réalisme est le
enchan te-
meil, de l'al-
de l'éther, de
cocaïne, de la
mais il est aussi
chaines, nous
pas, nous ne
nous ne fu-
ne prisons pas,



glément les
nuit vers l'ave-
parle par leur
monde ravi
ou se félicite.
ouvre les por-
tous ceux pour
avare. Le sur-
carrefour des
ments du som-
cool, du tabac,
l'opium, de la
morphine ;
le briseur de
ne dormons
buvoûs pas,
mons pas, nous
neus ne nous
piquons pas et nous rêvons, et la rapidité des aiguilles des lampes introduit dans nos cerveaux la merveilleuse éponge déflourie de l'or. Ah ! si les os étaient gonflés comme des dirigeables, nous visiterions les ténèbres de la Mer Morte. La route est une sentinelle dressée contre le vent qui nous enlace et nous fait trembler devant nos fragiles apparences de rubis. Vous, collés aux échos de nos oreilles comme la pieuvre-horloge au mur du temps, vous pouvez inventer de pauvres histoires qui nous feront sourire de nonchalance. Nous ne nous dérangeons plus, on [a beau dire : *l'idée du mouvement est avant tout une idée inerte* *, et l'arbre de la vitesse nous apparaît. Le cerveau tourne comme un ange et nos paroles sont les grains de plomb qui tuent l'oiseau. Vous à qui la nature a donné le pouvoir d'allumer l'électricité à midi et de rester sous la pluie avec du soleil dans les yeux, vos actes sont gratuits, les nôtres sont rêvés. Tout est chuchotements, coïncidences, le silence et l'étincelle ravissent leur propre révélation. L'arbre chargé de viande qui surgit entre les pavés n'est surnaturel que dans notre étonnement, mais le temps de fermer les yeux, il attend l'inauguration.

* Berkeley

Fig6

Man Ray (1920) *Enigma of Isidore Ducasse* in *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 1, preface.

Fig7

Front cover of *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 1.

Oui nos rêves. Cette petite fumée, après quoi s'acharber toujours notre course aux sécurités, soudain s'évapore et c'est à recommencer. Et nous cherchons un feu nouveau. Je pense à cette jarre qui dans un décor de Chirico, tout près de cette maison, dont vous disiez, Breton, qu'elle devait abriter un sphinx, reste sur une scène vide après le départ — enfin — des danseurs importuns. Allons-y de notre petit symbole. Les danseurs importuns, ce sont les divertissements quotidiens et qui ne gardent même point cette séduction pittoresque dont la qualité certes n'est pas grande, mais dont nous espérons qu'elle pourrait aider encore à quelque illusoire passe-temps. Mais le temps ne passe, ni ne coule. Les danseurs sont partis et ont bien fait de partir. La jarre est seule sur la scène. Une fumée sort de la jarre. Me direz-vous qu'un bossu y est caché qui fume benoîtement sa pipe ? Qu'on appelle le bossu instinct sexuel ou de conservation, ne montent pas moins de la jarre, de notre sommeil, la fumée, les rêves. Et ces rêves, cette fumée ne sont point la somme d'une jarre, d'un bossu, d'une pipe, non plus que d'un sommeil, d'un corps, d'un instinct.

Nous n'avons pas la stupide consolation de nous séparer en tranches, en quartiers. Réel et impondérable un nuage s'élève de mes heures libres. Mais au réveil il me faut avouer que je me rappelle moins les images que cet état qui en naquit. Re commençant une vie contrôlée, j'essaie avec les moyens de ma petite expérience aux yeux ouverts, de suivre en sens inverse ce que nos pédants baptisent processus, et, parti d'un état vague mais péremptoire cherche des précisions qui ne parviendront du reste point à me sembler indéniables.

Au fur et à mesure que le jour m'éloigne du rêve nocturne, l'état qui en fut le résultat, s'évaporant, je suis, pour le recréer, contraint de courir après un plus grand nombre d'images, de mots. Ainsi naît cette tentation de l'art. On prend la jarre, un bossu. On prend un corps, un sexe. On prend une toile, des pinceaux. On prend du papier, une plume. Hélas il n'y a plus ni fumée, ni rêves. Un enfant interrogé au matin expliquera sa joie ou sa terreur nocturnes par un seul fait. A midi les accessoires du songe auront été multipliés, deux heures après triplés et ainsi de suite.

Donc nous cherchons les sensations nettes et insuffisantes capables de recréer un état vague et suffisant. Je rêve d'un goût de chair humaine (non caressée, ni mordue, mais mangée). Je me réveille avec une surprise dans la bouche. Comment y vint-elle. Je crois que j'ai vu des guirlandes de peau décortiquée. Ces guirlandes ornaient ma chambre, alourdies de fruits humains semblables à ces lampions du 14 juillet. Je suppose que j'ai dû cueillir un de ces fruits, le manger.

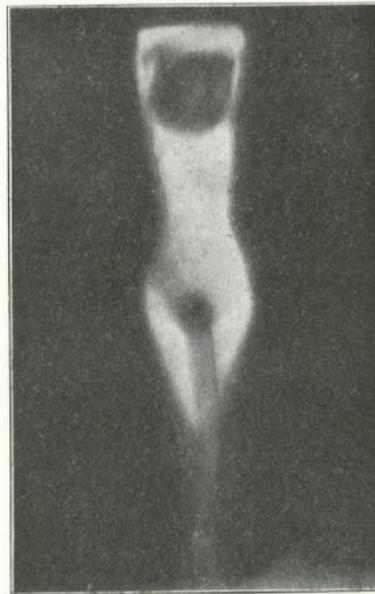
Mais cette hypothèse et les images dont j'ai tentation de l'embellir ne suffisent point. Je suis sûr d'un goût de chair dans ma bouche. La langue est une île inconnue dans la géographie des rêves, et pourtant quand j'ai cessé de dormir, ma langue, oui, ma langue pensait qu'il n'était guère difficile de devenir anthropophage.

Voilà un rêve qui n'est guère pittoresque. Pourtant je le donne pour un de mes plus étranges. Il m'a hanté tout un jour et tout un jour. A la recherche de cette secousse qui me fit l'égal confus de Dieu, j'essaie de bâtir une tour qui n'arrivera jamais à me mener si haut que cette fumée au goût de chair humaine.

Notre sommeil coupé en deux, nous nous apercevons que l'esprit libéré ne s'enchaîne point toujours à ces soi-disant merveilles qu'il plaît à nos minutes lucides d'amorcecler. Bien plus que des dragons ou les éruptions des volcans de porcelaine m'épouvante ce nettoyage par le vide qui me vaut par exemple de rêver que je ne rêve point et aussi une combinaison des plus stricts et plus lucides raisonnements.

Eveillé en sursaut, je me surpris occupé à quelque travail inexorablement logique. Mais suis-je fou car j'ai eu un rêve qui ne l'était pas

RENÉ CREVEL.



Man Rag.

lité. Vous avez d'irrépressibles douleurs dont l'essence est d'être inadaptable à aucun état connu, inajustable dans les mots. Vous avez des douleurs répétées et fuyantes, des douleurs insolubles, des douleurs hors de la pensée, des douleurs qui ne sont ni dans le corps ni dans l'âme, *mais qui tiennent de tous les deux*. Et moi, je participe à vos maux, et je vous le demande : qui oserait nous mesurer le calmant ? Au nom de quelle clarté supérieure, âme à nous-mêmes, nous qui sommes à la racine même de la connaissance et de la clarté. Et cela, de par nos instances, de par notre insistance à souffrir. Nous que la douleur a fait voyager dans notre âme à la recherche d'une place de calme ou s'accrocher, à la recherche de la stabilité dans le mal comme les autres dans le bien. Nous ne sommes pas fous, nous sommes de merveilleux médecins, nous connaissons le dosage de l'âme, de la sensibilité, de la moelle, de la pensée. Il faut nous laisser la paix, il faut laisser la paix aux malades, nous ne demandons rien aux hommes, nous ne leur demandons que le soulagement de nos maux. Nous avons bien évalué notre vie, nous savons ce qu'elle comporte de restrictions en face des autres, et surtout en face de nous-mêmes. Nous savons à quel avachissement consenti, à quel renoncement de nous-même, à quelles paralysies de subtilités notre mal chaque jour nous oblige. Nous ne nous suicidons pas tout de suite. En attendant qu'on nous foute la paix.

1^{er} janvier 1925.

La Mort :

La Muraille de Chêne

C'est le bébé Cadum éternellement souriant sur le mur, c'est la phrase sublime de Robespierre : « *Ceux qui nient l'immortalité de l'âme se rendent justice* », c'est le laurier qui jaunait au pied d'une colonne volontairement tronquée, c'est le reflet du pont, c'est le parapluie brillant comme un monstre marin et vu, un jour de pluie, du haut d'un cinquième étage. Croyais-tu en l'immortalité de l'âme, tribun disparu ? Peu m'importe ; toute assurance est ici vaine. L'inquiétude seule suppose quelque noblesse. L'immortalité au reste, est immonde : Seule l'éternité vaut d'être considérée. L'horrible est que la majorité des hommes lient le problème de la mort à celui de Dieu. Que ce dernier soit un lotisseur céleste et problématique, une superstition attachée à un fétiche assez poétique en soi (croissant, croix, phallus ou soleil) ou une croyance infiniment respectable à un domaine d'infinis successifs, je considérerai toujours son intervention fu-

néraire, de par la volonté humaine, comme une escroquerie.

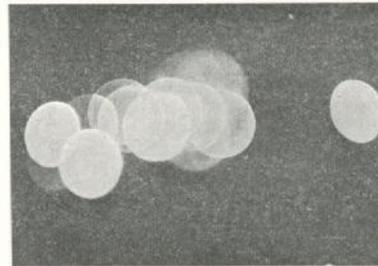
Celui qui ne doute pas de l'inexistence de Dieu rend concrète son inadmissible ignorance, la connaissance des éléments spirituels étant spontanée. Presque toujours celui qui croit en Dieu est un lâche et un matérialiste borné à sa seule apparence anatomique. La mort est un phénomène matériel. Y faire intervenir Dieu, c'est le matérialiser. La mort de l'esprit est un nonsens. Je vis dans l'éternité en dépit du ridicule d'une semblable déclaration. Je crois vivre, donc je suis éternel. Le passé et le futur servent la matière. La vie spirituelle comme l'éternité se conjugue au présent.

Si la mort me touche, ce n'est pas en ce qui concerne ma pensée, mon esprit, que ne saurait voiturier le plus beau corbillard, mais les sens. Je n'imagine pas d'amour sans que le goût de la mort, dépourvue d'ailleurs de toute sentimentalité et de toute tristesse, y soit mêlé. Merveilleuses satisfactions de la vue et du toucher, perfection des jouissances, c'est par votre entremise que ma pensée peut entrer en relation avec la mort. Le caractère fugitif de l'amour est aussi le sien. Si je prononce l'éloge de l'un, c'est celui de l'autre que je commence. O femmes aimées ! vous que j'ai connues, vous que je connais, toi blonde flamboyante dont je poursuis le rêve depuis deux ans, toi brune et couverte de fourrures sacrées, toi encore que je m'obstine à rencontrer et à suivre dans des milieux divers et qui te doutes de ma pensée sans y souscrire encore, femme de trente ans passés, jeune fille de vingt ans et les autres, je vous convie toutes à mon enterrement. Un enterrement comme il se doit, bien grotesque et ridicule, avec des fleurs jaunes et les palotins du père Ubu en croque-mort !

A moins que d'ici là...

Le caractère fugitif de l'amour est aussi celui de la mort.

ROBERT DESNOS.



Boulevard Edgard-Quinet, à minuit.

Man Ray.

Fig8

Man Ray (1925) *Boulevard Edgard-Quinet, à minuit*. La

Révolution Surréaliste, no. 2, p 22.

Fig9

Man Ray (1925) *Kiki nude*. *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 2, p 26



Le Bureau de Recherches surréalistes

Les quelques appels qui ont été lancés pour inviter le public à venir se présenter au Bureau de Recherches ont été entendus. L'indifférence qui demeure le rempart le plus solide des multitudes se trouve enfin forcée. Quelques critiques, ignorant tou. de la question et obéissant à des devoirs de groupe, ont tenté de plaisanter devant l'audace de cette manifestation ; quelques autres mieux informés, se sont émus ; d'autres y ont vu un danger réel. (Certains ont tenté de nous faire à ce sujet un succès de curiosité ; il n'y a qu'une bien pauvre idée de nos intentions qui puisse justifier cet état d'esprit.)

Néanmoins le nombre des personnes que nous accueillons augmente de jour en jour, et bien que l'intérêt de leurs démarches soit variable, il commence à justifier cet espoir que nous plaçons dans l'inconnu que chaque jour doit nous révéler.

Le Bureau des Recherches surréalistes est ouvert depuis le 11 octobre 1924, 15, rue de Grenelle, Paris, tous les jours, sauf le dimanche, de 4 h. 1/2 à 6 h. 1/2. Deux personnes sont chargées chaque jour d'assurer la permanence. Plusieurs communiqués ont été envoyés à la presse à ce sujet, dont celui-ci, que nous reproduisons en partie et qui conserve toute son actualité : « Le Bureau de Recherches surréalistes s'emploie à recueillir par tous les moyens appropriés les communications relatives aux diverses formes qu'est susceptible de prendre l'activité inconsciente de l'esprit. Aucun domaine n'est spécifié à priori pour cette entreprise et le surréalisme se propose de rassembler le plus grand nombre possible de données expérimentales, à une fin qui ne peut encore apparaître. Toutes les personnes qui sont en mesure de contribuer, de quelque manière que ce soit, à la création de véritables archives surréalistes, sont instamment priées de se faire connaître : qu'elles nous éclairent sur la genèse d'une invention, qu'elle nous proposent un système d'investigation psychique inédit, qu'elles nous

fassent juges de frappantes coïncidences, qu'elles nous exposent leurs idées les plus instinctives sur la mode aussi bien que sur la politique, etc... ou qu'elles veuillent se livrer à une libre critique des mœurs, qu'elles se bornent enfin à nous faire confidence de leurs rêves les plus curieux et de ce que ces rêves leur suggèrent. »

Le Bureau de Recherches doit être avant tout un organe de liaison. Et c'est bien le sens que prend son activité. Il faut que cette curiosité que nombre de personnes éprouvent à notre égard devienne de l'intérêt réel, que toutes les visites qui nous sont faites au Bureau de Recherches manifestent véritablement quelque apport nouveau. Indépendamment des journalistes dont les visites nous maintiennent en contact avec un public très étendu, nous avons accueilli des personnes très différentes d'intentions, dont plusieurs ignoraient à peu près tout de la question du surréalisme. Encourageons ceux qui sont venus nous voir par simple sympathie, sans toutefois apporter leur adhésion parfaite ; si ceux-là étaient infiniment nombreux il y aurait un plus grand nombre encore d'individus actifs. Enfin nous avons connu quelques êtres dont les résolutions étaient extrêmement semblables aux nôtres ; ils sont déjà à nos côtés, agissants...

AVIS

En vue d'une action plus directe et plus effective, il a été décidé dès le 30 janvier 1925 que le Bureau de Recherches surréalistes serait fermé au public. Le travail s'y poursuivra, mais différemment. Antonin Artaud assume depuis ce moment la direction de ce Bureau. Un ensemble de projets et de manifestations précises que les différents comités exécutent actuellement en collaboration avec A. Artaud, seront exposés dans le n° 3 de *La Révolution Surréaliste*.

Le Bureau central, plus que jamais vivant, est désormais un lieu clos, mais dont il faut que le monde sache qu'il existe.

Fig9

Uncredited collage, *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 2, p 31.

groupe j'ai pu prêter une oreille attentive aux injonctions de ces personnages, peut-être d'ailleurs que j'ai eu tort ; et au surplus que voyez-vous à signaler contre moi ? Pas même un petit désir maigre comme une fumée, pas même une noire nacelle à l'ancre. Il n'y a qu'une chose que j'aurais voulu exprimer : c'est l'angoisse qui me prend au moment où je descends une rue, seul, et les bras ballants, parce que aussitôt m'assaillent mes diverses naissances. Je songe qu'un esprit me menace constamment, que si je voulais revoir mes amis le lendemain je le pourrais et que cette détermination où me plonge leur refus de s'associer à ma merveille n'est pas précisément faite pour entretenir la joie dont je me croyais constamment capable. Autrement comment me serais-je permis cette confession de foi, comment aurais-je mesuré si bien la distance qui me sépare de vos gouffres ? Je ne menace personne, je pense seulement à m'allonger dans le champ des étoiles, là où elles sont le moins compactement disposées, puis à beugler une chanson que je connais bien, la seule du reste. Ainsi verrai-je apparaître à mes yeux le délicat reliquaire qui transperce les flots bleus. La magicienne qui vit dans les étoiles, et les conduit d'un regard, ne me trompe pas sur ce point. Très exactement elle m'avait renseigné sur ce que je devais faire une fois arrivé à cette conquête rapide comme un éclair, le vent minaudant avec les arbres calcinés. C'est alors que j'entendis très nettement un sanglot tout au fond de ma carcasse ; les pays environnants en furent secoués. Ma grâce s'ébauchait. La terreur voulue par les générations antérieures, et qui portait ineffablement un costume peureux de lui comme lui de son ombre, me refusa de comparaître au tribunal. Les cigarettes grillaient entre nous, joliment, avec la main baguée, les cheveux bien en l'air, c'est-à-dire flambant dans l'éther. Je lui pris la main, je dis mon avenir brisé parce que cette jolie servante avait refusé de déguiser ses merveilles. Les beaux torsos environ sectionnés à la hauteur du bassin, me ragailardaient. Mais puis-je employer cette expression méphitique pour désigner ce que ma vie a toujours eu de plus neuf et de plus instructif, je veux dire ce redressement de l'âme précipitée entre deux lames, je veux dire cette cohue qui me pousse vers le ciel, mais comme si l'état où je me trouvais, passé au crible du malheur, ne me permettait d'autre bonheur que celui de tuer les gens puis de les pleurer ? Ce n'était pas tout. J'avais depuis quelques instants laissé errer un regard sur les prairies dont se tapissait l'envers de ma vue. Rien n'était plus délectable, un peu d'amour, un rien de grave, elles me formaient un gage singulier, sanglant, décisif ; je veux bien qu'on l'accorde.

Mais alors, comment se refuser à ce genre de désirs ? Ainsi voit-on de très jeunes filles ne jamais déborder de l'idée de l'homme qu'elles se sont faite.

Je pensais donc qu'un chien revenu de son pays natal dans de semblables dispositions se trouverait à même d'être pour moi un merveilleux sujet d'expériences. Il faut absolument recommencer ce discours, car la réalité que je lui accorde n'est plus en relation directe avec le nombre des mots qui le composent ; les vermouths feraient mieux mon affaire, même l'eus. Quant aux voyages, je finis par croire que sans but ils sont sans effet, c'est pourquoi j'attends que quelqu'un m'appelle pour aller le rejoindre.

Ah, ces nuées d'électricité blanche, poussées vers une cruauté toujours plus grande ! Comme c'est avec lassitude que je songe à ces cadavres accumulés à l'ombre des forêts, à ces souvenirs empilés sans raison !... Mais voilà, la désagrégation mentale parle à son tour ; on croit devoir lui accorder tout ce qu'elle réclame, et moi, je



reste le bec enfumé dans l'eau, sans autre pensée qu'un œil fixé sur les toits qui ont des drapeaux. Vous voyez que je traîne lamentablement à la remorque de mes semaines un passé détestable, et des troupes qui marquent le pas à mes côtés. Pourquoi m'en voudrait-on de ceci, pourquoi me refuserait-on d'aliéner si peu que ce soit la majeure partie des ficelles que l'on m'a proposées ? Je n'ai pas assez le courage de stationner pour cela ; je préfère m'embarquer sur le silencieux navire, que de me résigner à ces parures fausses. Je vous les donne, abandonne même, et sans rectification de ma part. Je veux seulement que vous songiez à hier, à défaut de demain, que vous discutiez avec le grand ange blanc, que vous lui imposiez votre volonté, et que vous marchiez sur ses traces pour qu'un jour il sente la nuit sur ses épaules et l'étouffement. Car elle descend, la voici qui tombe malgré les régicides, la voici qui balaye d'un long regard brun toutes nos sympathies présentes ; elle enfonce dans le passé toute la force dont elle est capable, et nous laisse pantelants, religieusement défendus,

Fig 10

Uncredited film still, *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 2, p 5.

LA RÉVOLUTION SURREALISTE

ART
FRANÇAIS



DEBUT
DU XX^e SIECLE

SOMMAIRE

LA DERNIÈRE GRÈVE : André Breton.

Textes surréalistes :

Georges Bessière, Pierre Naville,
Paul Eluard, Antonin Artaud.

ENQUÊTE SUR LE SUICIDE :

Francis Jammes, Pierre Reverdy,
Michel Corday, Victor Margueritte,
Monsieur Teste, etc.

Le sanglant symbole : Jacques Vaché.

Chroniques :

Sûreté générale : Antonin Artaud.

La mort : Robert Desnos.
Sciences morales : Louis Aragon.
La vie : André Breton.
Le sommeil : René Crevel.
Le plaisir : Francis Gérard.
Le pays de mes rêves : Michel Leiris.
Communisme et révolution : Louis Aragon.
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Fig 11

Cover of *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 2.

LA DERNIÈRE GREVE



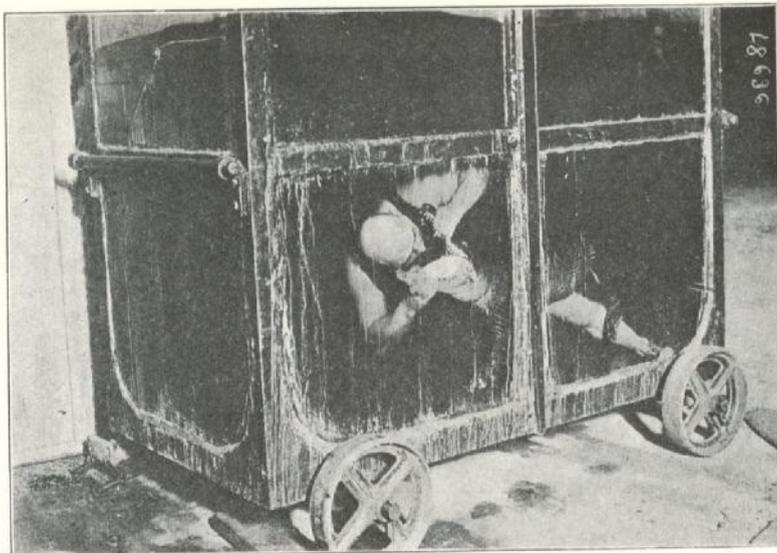
C'est sans doute au sujet du travail que se manifestent les plus sots préjugés dont soit imbue la conscience moderne, au sens collectif du mot. Ainsi les ouvriers, excédés à bon droit du sort inférieur qui leur est fait, se fondent généralement pour affirmer leur droit de vivre sur le principe même de leur esclavage. Au nom du sacrifice individuel qu'ils consentent, qu'ils luttent de ci de là pour obtenir une légère atténuation de leur peine, selon moi c'est trop peu, en vérité. A leurs grands maux, bien sûr ils n'appliquent pas assez les grands remèdes des révolutions. Mais la convention sociale dont ils sont de naissance les prisonniers les plus surveillés leur a fait une âme de misère. Ils se recommandent trop volontiers de leur capacité de travail, par un de ces détours élémentaires qui, dans sa réflexion sur lui-même, conduit l'homme à s'exagérer la valeur de ce qu'on méconnaît en lui.

Si paradoxal que cela puisse paraître, ils cultivent de façon quasi-religieuse l'idée du travail. C'est à croire que par là, comme tous les autres, ils éprouvent le besoin de donner la mesure de leur désintéressement. Il n'est pas jusqu'à la dureté du travail qui ne confère à ceux qu'il courbe le plus le maximum d'autorité. Dans les confédérations les voix qui l'emportent ne sont-elles pas aujourd'hui celles du Bâtiment, de la Terrasse, des Métaux ? Toutes proclament le caractère sacré du travail et tendent à l'exalter d'autant plus que ce travail est plus matériel.

De là la scission qui s'accuse chaque jour entre « manuels » et « intellectuels » au grand profit d'une gent sans scrupules, complètement indigne de pitié, qui les exploite les uns et les autres. Certes je ne nie pas que les premiers aient eu quelques raisons de se plaindre des seconds. Il est inadmissible que la grande colère des ouvriers, si belle, si pleine de sens, se canalise indéfiniment dans les savants discours de ces messieurs. Quelques duperies exemplaires, dont c'étaient toujours les mêmes qui se rendaient coupables, justifient à cet égard les dernières réserves. Il n'en est pas moins vrai qu'ici une distinction s'impose, faute de laquelle le ferment révolutionnaire menace à notre époque de demeurer inactif. Or je pense avec tous les hommes vraiment libres que la Révolution, jusque dans ses abus, demeure la plus haute, la plus émouvante expression qui se puisse donner de cet amour du Bien, réalisation de l'unité de la volonté universelle et des volontés individuelles. Celles-ci n'ont pas à s'identifier avec la loi et la raison, telles du moins qu'on nous les présente. C'est dans une révolution qu'à travers le jeu nécessaire des penchants humains la vérité morale pourra seulement se faire jour. Bon gré mal gré il faut que cette sorte de jugement ne se bute pas à l'hostilité systématique des meneurs ouvriers. Qu'ils ne nous demandent pas de prendre leur cause en mains, encore moins de faire aboutir leurs revendications. Selon nous ils ne sont que depuis trop longtemps le jouet du mirage politique. Là où les paroles les ont trahis eussent toujours été mieux placées des armes.

Fig 12

Breton, A. 'La Dernière Greve', *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 2, p 1.



CHRONIQUES

Sûreté générale :

La liquidation de l'opium

J'ai l'intention non dissimulée d'épuiser la question afin qu'on nous foute la paix une fois pour toutes avec les soi-disant dangers de la drogue.

Mon point de vue est nettement anti-social.

On n'a qu'une raison d'attaquer l'opium. C'est celui du danger que son emploi peut faire courir à l'ensemble de la société.

Or ce danger est faux.

Nous sommes nés pourris dans le corps et dans l'âme, nous sommes congénitalement inadaptés ; supprimez l'opium, vous ne supprimerez pas le besoin du crime, les cancers du corps et de l'âme, la propension au désespoir, le crétinisme né, la vérole héréditaire, la friabilité des instincts, vous n'empêcherez pas qu'il n'y ait des âmes destinées au poison quel qu'il soit, poison de la morphine, poison de la lecture, poison de l'isolement, poison de l'onanisme, poison des coïts répétés, poison de la faiblesse enracinée de l'âme, poison de l'alcool, poison du tabac, poison de l'anti-sociabilité. Il y a des âmes incurables et perdues pour le reste de la société. Supprimez-leur un moyen de folie, elles en inventeront dix mille autres. Elles créeront des moyens plus subtils, plus furieux, des moyens absolument *désespérés*. La nature elle-même est anti-sociale dans l'âme, ce n'est

que par une usurpation de pouvoirs que le corps social organisé réagit contre la pente *naturelle* de l'humanité.

Laissons se perdre les perdus, nous avons mieux à occuper notre temps qu'à tenter une *régénération* impossible et pour le surplus, inutile, *odieuse et nuisible*.

Tant que nous ne serons parvenus à supprimer aucune des causes du désespoir humain, nous n'aurons pas le droit d'essayer de supprimer les moyens par lesquels l'homme essaie de se décrocher du désespoir.

Car il faudrait d'abord arriver à supprimer cette impulsion naturelle et cachée, cette pente *spécieuse* de l'homme qui l'incline à trouver un moyen, qui lui donne *l'idée* de chercher un moyen de sortir de ses maux.

De plus, les perdus sont par nature perdus, toutes les idées de régénération morale n'y feront rien, il y a un *déterminisme inné*, il y a une incurabilité indiscutable du suicide, du crime, de l'idiotie, de la folie, il y a un cocuage invincible de l'homme, il y a une friabilité du caractère, il y a un châtrage de l'esprit.

L'aphasie existe, le tabès dorsalis existe, la méningite syphilitique, le vol, l'usurpation. L'enfer est déjà de ce monde et il est des hommes qui sont des évadés malheureux de l'enfer, des évadés destinés à recommencer *éternellement* leur évaison. Et assez là-dessus.

L'homme est misérable, l'âme est faible, il est des hommes qui se perdront toujours. Peu

Fig 13

'Chroniques', uncredited photograph of 'alligator show', *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 2, p 20.



Le Plaisir :

La Zone du Néant

La morale, encore, se défendait. Elle interdisait à l'esprit de se plier à des fins. Le vouant au désintéressement absolu comme à la nudité, elle écartait de lui les projets qui lui composaient un avenir à court terme, elle le dévêtait des formes auxquelles il se prêtait (d'une certaine hauteur tous les domaines de l'esprit se fondent). Son exercice, en pure perte, était une observance et une distraction. Vendu par ses frères, elle le rend à lui seul.

Là, sa puissance se donne libre cours. Il ignore une durée qui lui cède le pas. Il n'attend plus rien de ses paroles qu'il éparille comme des roses et des dagues dans les spasmes du vent. L'éruption de sa vie dépasse toute préoccupation et la défense morale tombe comme une barricade fanée. Il n'est plus pour lui de point de repère, aucun problème moral ne se pose. Les pieuvres de références s'endorment dans le ruisseau de ses artères.

.*

Celui qui refusa de croire au monde que lui offraient les bouquetières comme des fauvettes décapitées s'est réfugié parmi les idées qui sont l'ombre essentielle des choses. Leur transparence et leur grandeur lui semblaient envelopper de leurs mantres sans scories toutes les forêts de l'univers et il jouait sans fin de ce collier de jais et de piment.

Mais un matin qu'il s'éveille d'un rêve et que se dissipent les brouillards épais comme son sang, il prend conscience d'une existence ardente et exigeante où l'esprit a de lui une appréhension immédiate et unique et se brûle comme sa chair exigeante.

Dès lors les idées lui semblent la monnaie cou-

rante et la partager, c'est encore boire au brouet commun des richesses. Il voit à quelle schématisation générale elles sont soumises et sur quel canevas leur corps est exposé. Dans chacune, il voit l'extension figurée à laquelle la contraint sa nature explicative et compréhensive, comme elle s'expose et se divise, si bien que ses parties s'éloignent et se séparent de sa vie dense. L'esprit à travers ces écrans et ces présentations discursives, même dans la plus unique intuition, étale ses facettes dans une lumière abstraite. Et cela répugne à sa pureté égoïste comme à l'amour de sa vie ardente.

Désormais il ne condescendra plus à donner aux éclairs qui traversent sa nuit chaude cette forme ordonnée, claire et soumise à des lois extérieures. Ses émotions intellectuelles, il ne les trahira plus à les préciser en concepts, peu lui chaut l'architecture. Il vivra seulement l'éruption de l'esprit.

Les collines, l'agathe des pervenches, le deuil des cryptes, le héron et le croup, l'absinthe aux feuilles de chaux, les larmes de songes traversent son regard comme un fil de la vierge. En vain le neveu des dentellières frappe ses ongles contre sa porte.

Et comme les aspects figurés de la pensée sont sans doute les seuls où elle se retrouve et mesure sa marche, évalue l'avenir d'après le passé, l'été par l'hiver, où elle approfondit son pouvoir de possession sur la fuite infinie des dédoublements dont elle est capable, ce refus lui livre tout son domaine. Il est seul et il ignore une durée qui lui cède le pas. Il n'est plus pour lui de point de repère.

Le voilà tout entier à vivre le cours trouble et brûlant de l'esprit. Il ne se traduira peut-être plus que par d'intenses déplacements de masses émotives. Il portera en lui ces élans sourds et bouillonnants, remuant sans fin le maëlstrom brûlant d'une coulée d'or. Voilà hautain, aveugle et sourd, traversant les places désertes et les plages où l'aigle égorge le mouton, celui que le Surréalisme a rendu aussi grand vivant que mort.

FRANCIS GÉRARD.

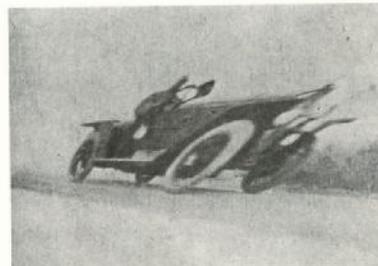


Fig 14

Uncredited photograph of speeding car, *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 2, p 30.

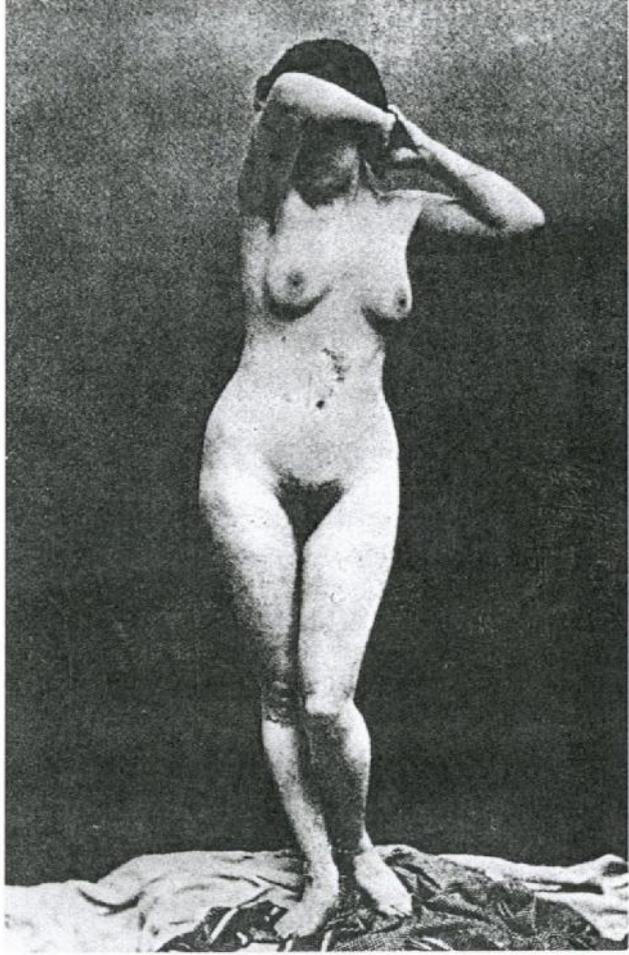


Fig 15 Ingres, J-A-D, *La Source* (1856) and Nadar, *Marie Christine Roux* (1855).



Fig 16 Man Ray (1924) *Kiki*.

tate « on vibole » pour vanter, après cette jolie découverte, l'Amour et Dieu, je me rappelle une chanson de Morin où l'attirail religieux, qui prend aussi un sens réaliste et optimiste, paraît d'une signification plus haute, plus respectable, qu'on en juge d'après les quatre vers de ce couplet :

*Je r'garde entre ses jambes
J'y vois le paradis
Je r'garde entre mes jambes
Et j'y vois Jésus-Christ.*

Mais, pour en revenir à nos moutons, c'est-à-dire à nos critiques rationalisto-réalisto-positivisto-néo-mystiques, si en dépit de leurs efforts vers la pertinence ils ne décolent pas de cette terre où vivent d'ailleurs bien gras, bien luisants des *vers amoureux des étoiles*, c'est que trop sensibles encore à certain esthétisme, dupes de quelques images et syllabes bien ronflantes, ils se paralysent sous des cuirasses de sens commun et d'une contresuite imposée à ce brouillard, leur pensée, croient prendre la notion précise de soi. Ainsi, en est-il d'ailleurs depuis le trop fameux *cogito ergo sum*. Mais que ce soit à Descartes que nous devons d'assister à la revendication d'une propriété intellectuelle dont les droits ne sont pas plus justement fondés que ceux des possessions matérielles individuelles, en dépit du respect communé-



ment voué la fameuse phrase *je pense donc je suis*, comment ne pas condamner un individualisme qui méconnaît les phénomènes d'un échange impondérable mais réel, les richesses de nos domaines indivis en même temps que cette évidence communiste de l'esprit,

une évidence que nul ne peut nier après certaines rencontres, et aussi les transmissions inexplicables et inexplicables si chaque homme se bouche en soi-même, comme une vieille putain croulante dans son corset. A noter d'ailleurs que cet individualisme ne voit la liberté, le progrès que comme un égoïsme dont l'unité se gonfle. Ainsi avons-nous eu l'autre famille, l'autre patrie, l'autre religion. Mais finalement, comme ils manquent de véritable confiance en soi, tous ceux qui font semblant de se soumettre aux objets, au monde extérieur qu'ils disent objectif, en réalité construisent pour leur personne, dont ils ont un goût mesquin encore qu'exclusif, des prisons. Le mal du siècle n'est que dans l'ennui résigné et verbal de ceux qui renoncent

et se vantent de renoncer par bon sens, ou esprit religieux. Le bien du siècle est dans ce principe même de révolution à quoi aboutissent les hommes dociles à l'esprit.

René CREVEL.

EUROPE

Quelle puissance secrète, quel démon tout-puissant a soufflé sur nous ce vent glacé et mortel ? Nous ne sommes plus que cadavres vivants — vivants, hélas ! Nous avons tout rejeté de ce qui fut l'ignoble raison de vivre de nos pères : qu'avons-nous acquis ? Il ne nous reste plus qu'à mourir à l'esprit ou à nous vouer au désespoir. Jadis, j'ai vu auprès de moi mes compagnons faire leur choix tragique et mon dernier orgueil est de penser que ne sont pas à plaindre ceux qui se condamnent à souffrir les transes de l'agonie.

...Ainsi, peu à peu, l'étreinte implacable du néant se resserre sur notre gorge. Français, nous écoutons chaque jour le pouls de la France ralentir ses pulsations ; Européens, nous sentons se figer le sang de la vieille Europe. Europe exsangue, reine d'une bourgeoisie-cadavre et de prolétariats abâtardis, que peux-tu nous offrir ? Tu as laissé se gangréner les derniers de tes fils, capables d'un sursaut sauveur, les révolutionnaires. Mais quelle contagion rapide ! N'ont-ils pas recherché le mal qui les frappe

eux-mêmes ? Le vieil arbre ne portera jamais de vivaces rameaux. Nous n'avons plus qu'un espoir : de lointaines coulées de peuples barbares sur le cadavre décomposé de l'Occident ; mais les gestations profondes de l'invasion sont longues et les années, les décades à passer auprès de ce cadavre empuanti à quelles besognes, à quelles pensées ou à quels rêves les employer ?

INVENTION DE DIEU

L'absolu, leur terreur, ils l'ont appelé Dieu : ils lui ont imposé une barbe sale et des yeux stupides ; Dieu si étriqué que jamais il ne les gênera dans la conclusion de leurs marchés douteux, dans leurs honteuses tractations. Dieu, ils l'assoient sur leurs comptoirs, mascotte grimaçante, et avec l'argent volé ils paient leur voyage à Lourdes. Tous, cagots ou positivistes, sont bien les fils de saint Thomas. Ce Dieu policier, ce Dieu magistrat, c'est bien celui que l'Eglise a forgé au cours des siècles. Dieu et société ne font qu'un : ce n'est qu'au delà de Dieu que l'on peut créer un monde

Fig 17

Portrait of J. D. Rockefeller, *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 6, p 28.

L'AMOUR DES HEURES, LA HAINE DU POIVRE

Un clou, deux clous, trois clous et voici notre maison bâtie. Devant elle se dresse une épée de sucre qui, sous l'influence d'un rayon de soleil, tend à devenir un monde nouveau, une planète de feuilles sèches dont le désir de rotation autour d'un couple de hérons, se manifeste par un léger hululement qui est le signal du départ pour les 48 coureurs engagés dans la course de Paris à l'étoile polaire en passant par tous les nouveaux cinémas des capitales européennes. Les voici partis ; mais, tandis que dans les courses que nous voyons de temps à autre dans les forêts de sel, les coureurs disparaissent un à un comme des gouttes de rosée, cette fois-ci ils se multiplient à mesure que croît la distance qui les sépare de leur point de départ, sans que, pour cela, diminue celle qui les sépare de leur but. Et voici que, maintenant, leur taille devient de plus en plus élevée, si bien qu'on ne tarde pas à les confondre avec les monuments publics, puis avec les arbres des forêts, puis avec les falaises et les montagnes, puis avec l'ombre des montagnes et les voici disparus. Ils ne sont pas morts comme on pourrait le croire, mais ils sont devenus les cinq doigts de ma main qui écrit VÉROLE à l'usage de mes contemporains. Ceux-ci n'en sont pas surpris car



ils savent quel usage les architectes font de la vérole, mais moi qui l'ignore je suis obligé d'attendre l'arrivée de Nestor qui répand devant moi les trésors de son intelligence sous forme de dragées remplies de fourmis, lesquelles n'ont rien de plus pressé que de sortir de leur abri pour dévorer ma chaussure, neuve par la grâce de Dieu.

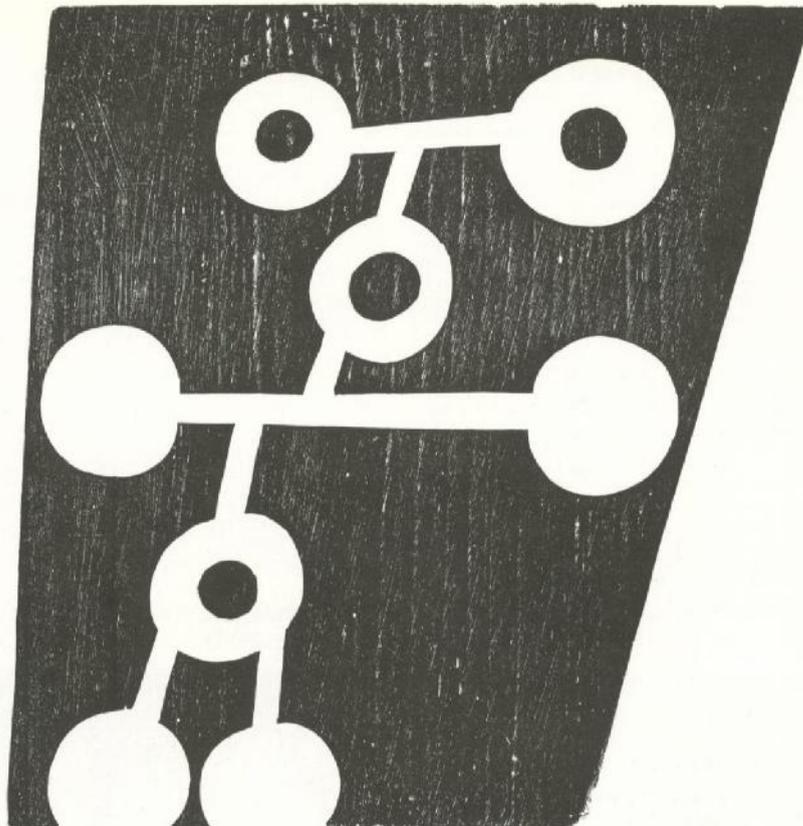
— Eh bien, Nestor, qu'attends-tu pour me parler de la vérole ?

Nestor. — Un jour que je contemplais, avec toute l'attention qui convient à un pareil examen, une porte-fenêtre qui s'agitait faiblement sous la poussée du parfum des roses tapissant un parterre voisin, je vis la vitre se couvrir d'inscriptions chinoises que je ne comprenais pas. Un chien aboya si près de moi que mon fauteuil fondit sous moi comme si l'émotion lui avait coupé les jambes et je me trouvai étendu sur le dos — comme un hanneton — au milieu d'une tarte aux abricots qui s'attendait à un tout autre accueil de ma part et se vengea de mon inconvenance en me lançant au visage un jet de sulfate de cuivre, en sorte que je fus obligé de tenir, pendant un laps de temps que je puis évaluer à cinq années au moins, le rôle d'un cep de vigne atteint de phylloxera. Je n'en fus pas plus satisfait que cela et manifestai hautement mon mécontentement en m'obstinant à produire des haricots verts sautés au lieu du raisin qu'on attendait de moi.

Au bout de cinq ans donc, une ancre de marine tombant près de moi sur un champignon qui ne survécut pas à cet accident, me rendit ma forme humaine, non sans la modifier sensiblement ; par exemple, je n'avais plus que quatre orteils à chaque pied ; par contre j'avais trois testicules dont un, celui du milieu, qui avait la forme, la couleur et les dimensions d'une framboise. C'est alors que l'idée de la vérole se présenta à mon esprit : un dé à jouer dont le chiffre 13 seul était visible se planta devant mes yeux avec l'intention de s'y maintenir envers et contre tous. Néanmoins, vous devez bien penser que la volonté d'un dé à jouer ne compte pas devant celle d'un homme que n'effraye aucun péril, même pas l'idée d'un lacet de chaussure tournant au-dessus de sa tête à la vitesse de 75 nœuds à l'heure. En un clin d'œil, je fis de ce dé la paupière du macaroni. Mais, je vous le demande, que restera-t-il des paupières du macaroni et même du macaroni lorsque les pluies d'hiver et les vents de l'univers auront décoloré son visage ? Peut-être n'en subsistera-t-il même pas une graine de plafond ! Et alors, que voulez-vous qu'il adienne des rochers de céramique qui marquent l'entrée des forteresses où

Fig 18

Post card of Phyllis Hawker, *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 3, p 12.



UN HOMME

Arp.

VIVE LA MARIÉE !

« Vive la Mariée ! » crie un maçon en blouse. Tout le monde regarde. Un grand autocar noir passe sur le boulevard. Il stoppe devant un urinoir. La boutonnière fleurie, descendent le marié et les garçons d'honneur, les pommettes rose vif. Ils entrent dans l'urinoir et font la queue, chacun attendant son tour. Arrive un curé. La mariée cherche autour d'elle du fer à toucher. Le curé s'arrête devant l'urinoir, bouscule ceux qui attendent pour passer avant eux. Le conducteur de l'autocar saute de son siège, et se met à courir. Il revient une minute après avec un agent. L'agent interpelle, mais avec douceur, le curé qui est aux prises avec deux garçons d'honneur. Il lui fait comprendre qu'on ne peut décemment entrer dans un urinoir avec une robe. Le curé s'incline, et fait un geste de désespoir, l'agent s'éloigne.

Le curé, avisant soudain un homme qui passe se précipite vers lui et lui parle à voix basse. Après un petit entretien, ils ont l'air d'accord. Le curé tend une pièce de vingt sous à l'homme. Celui-ci la met entre ses dents, puis enlève son veston, son pantalon, son gilet. Il est en chemise. Le curé alors enlève sa soutane, et revêt les vêtements de l'homme. Celui-ci cherche comment il va bien mettre cette soutane, lorsque l'agent l'aperçoit de loin. Voyant qu'il est en chemise, le représentant de l'Autorité appelle un confrère et court avec lui sur l'homme, qui n'a pas encore endossé la soutane du prêtre. L'homme voit les agents, lâche la soutane et s'enfuit en chemise, poursuivi par les deux agents. Voilà donc le curé en civil, mais avec sa soutane sur les bras. La mariée descend de l'autocar pour

aller toucher la plaque en fonte d'un arbre, croyant qu'elle est en fer. Le curé est embarrassé par la soutane. Ne pouvant réprimer plus longtemps son envie, ne sachant plus ce qu'il fait, il en affuble brusquement la mariée, puis s'engouffre dans l'urinoir. A ce moment le marié en sort. Il voit un curé, et s'aperçoit avec terreur qu'il a le visage de sa femme. A ce spectacle il bondit, et court en criant : « On a changé ma femme en curé. » Justement, sur le trottoir d'en face, voici une boutique d'armurier. Il achète promptement un revolver et revient devant l'urinoir. Le chauffeur de l'autocar trompe pour faire remonter dans sa voiture toute la compagnie. Fou de rage, le marié tire sur la mariée-curé qui s'effondre, puis il se brûle la cervelle en disant, avec une pose théâtrale : « Fatale ! » Mais pendant qu'il achetait le revolver, l'homme en chemise, ayant réussi à dépister les agents, était revenu, juste comme le curé sortait satisfait de l'urinoir. Le curé avait repris sa soutane à la mariée stupéfaite. L'édicule était à nouveau vide, tous les mâles de la noce s'étant soulagés.

L'homme en chemise et le curé y étaient entrés, avaient remis leurs vêtements respectifs, et étaient sortis de l'urinoir. A ce moment précis revenait le marié avec son revolver. Il avait donc tiré sur le curé, le prenant de

loin pour la mariée changée en curé. Mais c'était vraiment le prêtre qu'il avait tué.

Le marié mort, voilà la suite des noces bien compromise. Les parents parlementent. Il est impossible d'en rester là, et de renvoyer chez eux les invités : cela tombe sous le sens. Le chauffeur qu'on a retenu pour plusieurs heures sera furieux, les invités déjà mis en train comptent encore s'amuser, danser, bien dîner surtout. On les mécontentera gravement en leur faisant une telle déception. Et puis le dîner est commandé, une salle retenue pour toute la nuit. Alors... comment faire ? On ne peut tout de même pas continuer sans marié. L'homme qui a prêté ses vêtements au curé est là. On lui propose de faire le marié. Il hésite, mais le père du défunt, le père de la mariée, le chauffeur même l'encouragent. Allons ! il voudra bien faire le marié. Il entre dans l'urinoir, où il change ses vêtements contre ceux du marié mort. Quand il sort, les agents tout penauds reviennent, lamentablement bredouilles, et ne le reconnaissent pas, maintenant qu'il est habillé.

Tout le monde remonte en voiture.

L'autocar démarre.

La noce repart.

Quelqu'un qui passe crie : « Vive la Mariée ! »

Pierre UNIK.

LE JURY DU PRIX FÉMINA " VIE HEUREUSE "



'SANS COMMENTAIRES

Fig 20

Photograph of the jury of the *Prix Fémina*, *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 6, p 25.

policiers de Berlin sont en grande majorité socialistes, les scribes de Paris ont eux aussi, des idées avancées. Notons parmi ces reporters MM. Henri Danjou, Paul Bringuier, Victor Forbin, Emmanuel Bourcier, Louis Roubaud, etc. A ces « journalistes » vinrent se joindre quelques « littérateurs » : MM. Torrès et J. Kessel, comme, bien entendu, M^e Maurice Garçon, le Dr. Henri Drouin, le chroniqueur judiciaire Salmon, le procureur général manqué Campinchi, le beau Frédéric Boutet, André de Lorde, Jean Desbordes et Jean Cocteau.

Cette belle, cette fraîche, cette charmante équipe, s'installa dans les anciens bureaux de la N. R. F., 35, rue Madame.

La réussite de *Détective* fut prodigieuse. Les magazines illustrés atteignent difficilement un tirage de 50.000 exemplaires. *Détective* débuta à 80.000 et doubla en un an. Combien cette publication rap-

porte-t-elle aujourd'hui à ceux qui l'ont fondée. Bon métier, en tout cas. 800.000 personnes lisent chaque semaine, cette publication sans que nul n'ait jamais élevé la moindre protestation. Il faut donc croire que cette année infâme, 1929, porte le képi et le bâton blanc et qu'elle est vêtue du drap de corbillard dont on habille ces Messieurs,

car comment se fait-il qu'on puisse lire sans dégoût des articles comme ceux-ci :

PASSAGE A TABAC

... Un jour, j'assistai à l'interrogatoire d'un fripon qui venait d'être cueilli en flagrant délit de vol.

— Ton nom, j'te le Commissaire.

...
— Quel âge as-tu?

...
— Tu ne comprends pas le français?

L'homme ne soufflait mot. Une règle trainait sur le bureau. Le commissaire en cingla le visage du malfaiteur.

— As-tu déjà été condamné?

...
— Depuis combien de temps es-tu en France?
L'homme demeura muet. Il avait le visage balafre de toutes parts, le sang coulait...

*

Landru a été interrogé pendant 48 heures, sans une seconde d'interruption.

L'interrogatoire, passez-moi ce détail, s'est poursuivi jusque dans le petit endroit. Il a demandé à manger. Dans la soupe qu'on lui a servie j'ai jeté une grosse poignée de sel. Il l'a avalée d'une goulée, tellement il avait faim. Alors sa soif a été terrible. Nous lui avons donné de l'eau en échange de ses demi-aveux... Mais il a fallu cesser et l'aller livrer à Versailles à son juge et à son avocat. Je crois que si nous avions pu le faire souffrir davantage, il n'y aurait eu personne en France pour croire qu'on a guillotiné un innocent. (*Détective* du 27 Juin 1929, N° 35).

ou comme celui-ci qu'a signé Victor Forbin :

COMMENT J'AI CONDAMNÉ A MORT UN ENFANT NOIR

... Un négriton de 14 ans avait tranché la tête de son père qui faisait la sieste. Le gouverneur d'Haïti, le général R. me fit l'honneur de me consulter.

— Vous qui êtes de France, pays de justice et de civilisation, que feriez-vous à ma place?

— Cemonstre est un chien enragé, traitez-le comme tel.

... Le jeune parricide repoussa les avances du prêtre par des insultes.

— Moi pas connais Bon Dieu. Moi pas connais ça. Toul ça c'est joutaise.

Après avoir été promené par la ville, le jeune nègre est fusillé par vingt agents de police, ivres, qui visent mal. Sept salves ne réussissent pas à le tuer.

— Donnez-lui donc le coup de grâce cria une voix, la mienne.

La vie était puissamment chevillée dans le corps de ce jeune nègre, 20 ou 30 balles à bout portant, les vêtements brûlaient par places, comme de l'amadou.

(*Détective* N° 25, 18 avril 1929).

Et dans le même numéro (éditorial) :

« Que prévoit la loi pénale contre Louis Hélie et Emile Le Guel, qui viennent d'assassiner Mme Barry ?

L'un et l'autre étant âgés de moins de 16 ans ne peuvent être condamnés à mort. Le maximum de la peine est un emprisonnement de 20 ans dans une colonie correctionnelle. Ils seront libres, même condamnés au maximum, l'un à 31 ans, l'autre à 35 ans et jetés sur le

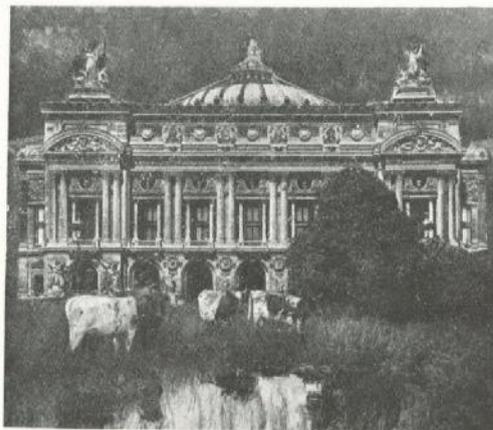


Fig21

Magritte, photomontage of *Palais Garnier, La Révolution*

Surréaliste, no. 12, p 47.

papé. Là est le danger. L'horreur de leur crime exigerait qu'ils fussent définitivement mis hors d'état de nuire.»

ou comme cet autre (éditorial du 6 déc. 1928) :

UNE FEMME A L'ECHAFAUD

Trois femmes ont été jugées dignes de la peine de mort par un jury qui, jusqu'ici, nous avait habitués à des verdicts d'une indulgence souvent scandaleuse. Il ne s'agit pas de les envoyer toutes les trois à l'échafaud mais il faut un exemple. Sinon ce serait jouer indigne avec la justice. Depuis quarante ans, la peine de mort infligée aux femmes n'est qu'une fiction. Or une législation pénale ne saurait le tolérer. Le Président de la République peut faire son choix en toute sérénité. Mais qu'il le fasse, cela est nécessaire.

Je cite encore l'article « Donneurs et donnés » signé par Marius Larique (22 août 1929) :

Il prévient le kleptomane qu'on cachera sa manie, l'intoxiqué que le bon inspecteur lui fournira de la drogue, la femme mariée qui a commis une folie, que nul n'en saura rien si elle est souple entre les mains de l'inspecteur, les prostituées qu'elles ne seront plus traquées si elles pactisent avec l'ennemi. Ailleurs on nous fait l'éloge du régime des prisons, on crée un Détective-Club qui est une école de policiers, on demande d'interner impitoyablement les enfants et les fous, on accable des accusés manifestement innocents, on recrute des engagements pour la légion étrangère, refuge des affligés, on pleure sur la misère de la police, on demande une loi qui punisse ceux qui ont refusé de se faire indicateurs soit par leur silence coupable, soit en se retranchant derrière le secret professionnel, on fournit enfin à la police la piste de criminels présumés, « Où est Dédé de la Java? Le rôle de détective finit où commence celui de ceux qui ont dans leur poche des mandats d'amener et des cabriolets » (Paul Bringuier).

Voilà ce que tout le monde lit, aujourd'hui, dans le métro, sans protester. *Détective* remplace *l'Intrépide*. On nous prépare une belle génération de petits salops. Quelques-uns, en lisant les récits de crime apprendront à tuer, à bien tuer. *Détective* est un agent provocateur et les meurtres qu'il fera commettre serviront à rendre la police plus riche, plus forte.

Les Français d'aujourd'hui se font passer à tabac, emprisonner, guillotiner, en lisant *Détective*. Chacun s'endort en lisant le dernier roman policier. On a pourtant vu, entre 1870 et 1900, les conseils municipaux parisiens refuser systématiquement les crédits de la Préfecture, en prenant motif des brutalités policières. Lépine se vante, dans ses mémoires, d'avoir pu, par sa diplomatie, apaiser ces conflits. La diplomatie n'était pas indispensable. La bourgeoisie a, depuis 30 ans pris conscience du fait que le policier lui était aussi indispensable que le prêtre et le général. Il n'y a plus que quelques attardés ou quelques démagogues qui se méfient du mouchard.

Tout ceux qui serrent aujourd'hui la main des curés, serreront demain celle des brigadiers de la sûreté. Quand on rétablira, la semaine prochaine, la procession de la Fête-Dieu, on instituera en même temps une grande fête annuelle des gardiens de la paix, où ces gens se promèneront en troupe parmi les vivats, comme cela se passe déjà à New-York. L'Amérique donne d'ailleurs l'exemple en tout. La France, qui est maintenant le pays d'Europe qui possède le plus d'or, veut jouer sur le vieux continent le rôle que les Etats-Unis jouent dans le monde. Elle a donc besoin d'une police brutale, forte et cependant populaire, comme celle de New-York. Que ceux qui ne me comprennent pas aillent faire un tour au cinéma du coin. La police est fonction de la puissance industrielle d'une nation bourgeoise; qui dit rationalisation dit police. N'est-il pas significatif de penser qu'il y a en France, pour quarante habitants, une automobile et un policier?

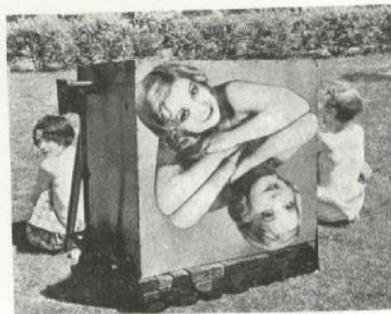
Dans ces conditions on ne s'étonnera pas de m'entendre dire ce qui va suivre avec le plus grand sérieux...

J'étais il y a deux ans, devant un grand journal du matin. C'était l'anniversaire de la Saint-Barthélemy et à cette occasion un grand bal était donné. Les asticots s'étaient rangés en tas le long des murs, et qui les approchait, s'il était seul, était sûr d'être étroitement embrassé par ces vermineux qui le couvraient de déchirures et de fleurs rouges. Voilà ce qu'est aujourd'hui.

A deux pas de là, boulevard Sébastopol, la rue donnait une autre fête. Les vitrines chantaient dans la nuit, les kiosques se tordaient de rire, les pavés se rassemblaient en farandole. Voilà ce qu'on attend.

Où, à quand le prochain 14 juillet? Ce jour-là on me verra parmi les ouvriers, danser sur le tas de viande. Je dois trop à la viande, il me faudra bien cette fois lui exprimer toute ma reconnaissance. Il nous faut, pour danser, des mirlitons. On va bientôt faire une nouvelle nuit du 4 août, on va nous distribuer des flûtes.

Georges SADOUL.



MONUMENT AUX MORTS

Albert Valentin

Fig 22

Valentin, A. (1929) *Monument aux Morts, La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 12, p 47.



trahisons, la fidélité, la solitude, la famille, la liberté, la pesanteur, l'argent, la pauvreté, l'amour, l'absence d'amour, la syphilis, la santé, le sommeil, l'insomnie, le désir, l'impuissance, la platitude, l'art, l'honnêteté, le déshonneur, la médiocrité, l'intelligence, il n'y a pas là de quoi fouetter un chat. Nous savons trop de quoi ces choses sont faites pour y prendre garde; juste bonnes à propager quelques négligeables suicides-accidents. (Il y a bien, sans doute, la souffrance du corps. Moi, je me porte bien : tant pis pour ceux qui ont mal au foie. Il s'en faut que j'aie le goût des victimes, mais je n'en veux pas aux gens quand ils jugent qu'ils ne peuvent endurer un cancer). Et puis, n'est-ce pas, ce qui nous libère, ce qui nous ôte toute chance de souffrance, c'est ce revolver avec lequel nous nous tuons ce soir, si c'est notre bon plaisir. La contrariété et le désespoir ne sont jamais, d'ailleurs, que de nouvelles raisons de s'attacher à la vie. C'est bien commode, le suicide : je ne cesse pas d'y penser ; c'est trop commode : je ne me suis pas tué. Un regret subsiste : on ne voudrait pas partir avant de s'être compromis ; on voudrait, en sortant, entraîner avec soi Notre-Dame, l'amour ou la République.

Le suicide doit être une vocation. Il y a un sang qui tourne et qui réclame une justification à son interminable circuit. Il y a dans les doigts l'impatience de ne se serrer que sur le creux de la main. Il y a le prurit d'une activité qui se retourne sur son dépositaire, si le malheureux a négligé de savoir lui choisir un but. Désirs sans images. Désirs d'impossible. Ici se dresse la limite entre les souffrances qui ont un nom et un objet, et celle-là, anonyme et autogène. C'est pour l'esprit une sorte de puberté, ainsi qu'on la décrit dans les romans (car, naturellement, j'ai été corrompu trop jeune pour avoir connu une crise à l'époque où commence le ventre) mais on en sort autrement que par le suicide.

Je n'ai pas pris grand'chose au sérieux ; enfant, je tirais la langue aux pauvresses qui dans la rue abordaient ma mère pour lui demander l'aumône, et je pinçais, en cachette, leurs marmots qui pleuraient de froid ; quand mon bon père, mourant, prétendit me confier

ses derniers désirs et m'appela près de son lit, j'empoignai la servante en chantant : *Tes parents j'ai les balancer. — Tu verras comme on va s'aimer...* Chaque fois que j'ai pu tromper la confiance d'un ami, je crois n'y avoir pas manqué. Mais le mérite est mince à railler la bonté, à bernier la charité, et le plus sûr élément de comique c'est de priver les gens de leur petite vie, sans motifs, pour rire. Les enfants, eux, ne s'y trompent pas et savent goûter le plaisir qu'il y a à jeter la panique dans une fourmilière ou à écraser deux mouches surprises en train de forniquer. Pendant la guerre, j'ai jeté une grenade dans une cagna où deux camarades s'apprêtaient, avant de partir en permission. Quel éclat de rire en voyant le visage de ma maîtresse qui s'attendait à recevoir une caresse, s'épouvanter quand je l'ai eu frappée de mon coup de poing américain, et son corps s'abatte quelques pas plus loin ; et quel spectacle, ces gens qui luttaient pour sortir du Gaumont-Palace, après que j'y eus mis le feu ! Ce soir, vous n'avez rien à craindre, j'ai la fantaisie d'être sérieux. — Il n'y a évidemment pas un mot de vrai dans cette histoire et je suis le plus sage petit garçon de Paris, mais je me suis si souvent complu à me figurer que j'avais accompli ou que j'allais accomplir d'aussi honorables exploits, qu'il n'y a pas là non plus un mensonge. Quand même, je me suis moqué de pas mal de choses ! D'une seule au monde, je n'ai réussi à me moquer : le plaisir. Si j'étais encore capable de honte ou d'amour-propre, vous pensez bien que je ne me laisserais pas aller à une si pénible confidence. Un autre jour je vous expliquerai pourquoi je ne mens jamais : on n'a rien à cacher à ses domestiques. Revenons plutôt au plaisir, qui, lui, se charge bien de vous rattraper et de vous entraîner, avec deux petites notes de musique, l'idée de la peau et bien d'autres encore. Tant que je n'aurai pas surmonté le goût du plaisir, je serai sensible au vertige du suicide, je le sais bien.

La première fois que je me suis tué, c'est pour embêter ma maîtresse. Cette vertueuse créature refusa brusquement de coucher avec moi, cédant au remords, disait-elle, de tromper son amant-chef d'emploi. Je ne sais pas bien si je l'aimais, je me doute que quinze jours d'éloignement eussent singulièrement diminué le besoin que j'avais d'elle : son refus m'exaspéra. Comment l'atteindre ? Ai-je dit qu'elle m'avait gardé une profonde et durable tendresse ? Je me suis tué pour embêter ma maîtresse. On me pardonne ce suicide quand on considère mon extrême jeunesse à l'époque de cette aventure.

La deuxième fois que je me suis tué, c'est par paresse. Pauvre, ayant pour tout travail une horreur anticipée, je me suis tué un jour, sans convictions, comme j'avais vécu. On ne me tient pas rigueur de cette mort, quand on voit quelle mine florissante j'ai aujourd'hui.

La troisième fois... je vous fais grâce du récit de mes autres suicides, pourvu que vous consentiez à écouter encore celui-ci : Je venais

Fig 23 Photograph of overturned car, *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 12, p 56

et que de ce fait, la valeur qu'il avait essayé de lier par des chaînes d'acier à la durée de la fatigue des prolétaires, reprenait peu à peu sa liberté, animant une foule d'objets de-ci, de-là, au hasard des désirs, des hasards et des escroqueries.

Voici donc mon heureux imbécile qui fait sonner comme il se doit ses pièces de vingt francs dans sa poche. Comme c'est demain le 25 décembre, jour où l'on souhaite leur fête aux gens qui s'appellent Noël (le seul prénom du calendrier que jamais un saint ne porta) il achètera une oie, volatile qu'il aime entre tous et qu'il va échanger contre le petit poids d'or qu'il a dans la main. Il se ravise, il paiera le 26 au matin, en allant à son bureau. Pour quelle raison, ce matin du 26, quand il donnera sa pièce d'or au rôti, ne lui demandera-t-il pas, à cet homme, une nouvelle oie? J'ai connu des escrocs qui reprenaient leur argent à chaque achat qu'ils faisaient, sous prétexte qu'il était inutile que cet argent servit à d'autres pour le même usage. Aucun tribunal ne peut les condamner à l'aide d'un raisonnement logique. Imbécile mon frère, si tu imitais ces escrocs, tu aurais de l'oie tous les jours à ta table.

Je sais ce qui t'empêche de le livrer à des manoeuvres aussi productives. Tu n'as pas d'or dans ta poche (les pièces de la stabilisation étant toujours à la frappe) mais des billets de banque, c'est-à-dire un morceau de papier dont tu te doutes un peu que la valeur n'est pas bien sûre?

On ne te laisse même plus en main, sauf à de rares instants, la substance qui est l'incarnation matérielle de la monnaie. Quoique tout ce qu'il fasse en ce sens s'oppose tous les

jours davantage à cette augmentation, c'est une question de vie ou de mort pour le capitaliste que d'augmenter sans cesse la force productive du travail social. La production de l'or et de l'argent constituant une part importante des faux frais de la production capitaliste, on a été amené à développer les moyens accessoires, le crédit, qui représente de la valeur en marchandises, joue le rôle de la monnaie, mais, sous quelque forme qu'il

aille jusqu'à toi (lettre de change, chèque, billet de banque) ne constitue qu'une habile tromperie, car tu penses bien qu'on n'a jamais eu l'idée sangrueuse de faire du papier un équivalent général.

Pauvre marchand d'hostie, tu reçois des mains du prêtre, amateur d'hostie comme le porc l'est de truffes (que le noble animal porte jambon n'ex-cuse de cette comparaison désobligeante) un petit franc de laiton garanti par les Chambres de commerce sur de la camelote dont tu n'auras jamais la vue, qui est à la merci d'un raz-de-marée aux Antilles, ou plus simplement d'une chiure de mouche, pauvre marchand, tandis que dans l'heureux temps de l'avant-guerre tu avais la joie de

contempler, dans ta main sale, un peu de la sueur humaine que ton idéalisme transformait en argent. Mais rassure-toi, bien que tu vives à l'époque de la Révolution prolétarienne, tu as encore des chances. C'est avec le crédit, cette fausse monnaie sans laquelle la société capitaliste est impossible, que tes pareils du quartier Saint-Sulpice se sont enrichis.

« Dans la mesure (*) où les moyens acces-

(*) Marx : *Capital*, Le procès de circulation du capital, 2^e Section, Ch. XVII.

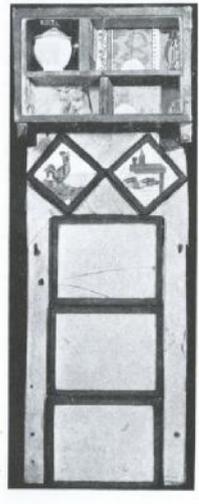


MAISON-ATTENTAT

suicide ne peut jamais être satisfait, parce qu'il ne résout en réalité que l'angoisse de l'objet infantile. Avant de croquer la plus à l'encre et la vie pour eux ne se souviennent-ils être qu'une tromperie et complète frustration. Mais l'angoisse ne peut-être l'angoisse au moyen de cette affectivité de l'inné et d'une extrême agilité contre tout ce qui pourrait le faire surgir, car elle surgit dans le moi en mettant celui-ci dans l'impuissance de la sur le cas où il peut faire pour les

instincts en les jugeant objectivement, en les attachant à l'angoisse, ou en les réprimant. Ainsi le degré de négativisme général qu'il offre la mesure de la haine du moi, de la subordination à la mère et de la progression à l'angoisse. Tout ceci se traduit d'ailleurs généralement pas pour conduire au suicide. Et le suicide, la culpabilité inconsciente et l'auto-punition, c'est le motif le plus fort et peut-être le seul qui détermine l'acte présumé au. Preuve décisive dans la réaction thérapeutique négative que les souffrances de la mortification et des conflits de mort envers les parents. Ces souffrances de mort en fait elles appellent une rétribution en vertu de la loi du talion, et la conscience se charge de l'exiger du moi. Ainsi j'aurais dit que quel que soit son caractère, en ce qui concerne l'acte. Et si nous l'avons bien plus ou moins vu, l'impulsion au suicide dépend de la sévérité de la conscience morale, qui résulte d'une identification avec le père-éducateur, et compense aux instincts et au père leur cruauté. Ce mécanisme réside dans la structure obsessionnelle, mais surtout dans la manie ou il y a pecté de l'objet et où le moi, comme de culpabilité, en arrive à se détruire pour échapper aux reproches qu'une conscience morale sadique lui adresse alors qu'elle étaient destinés à l'objet disparu. Il apparaît aussi dans les rêves et autres hallucinations des déments : « Dans un rêve que je devais avoir parce que j'avais commis un crime insupportable », dit-il. « Un jour, le moi s'élevait donc selon la plus étrange définition de Freud à être celui de la conscience qui représente les parents. Et si, au lieu de la conscience, il se sentait et persécuté par des parents soi-disant méchants, le moi pouvait bien se sacrifier moi-même. Enfin dans un rêve de dément, comme d'insensibilisation obsessionnelle, le même moi se retrouvait que le moi (moi plus haut) et le fait par empathie à l'égard de la haine de la haine et il fait que l'on de moi y passe ».

Des motifs nécessaires peuvent être : « Le crime de se compromettre en souffrant d'angoisse l'angoisse que l'enfant se fait du père, ou que le père se fait de l'enfant, et l'insécurité de supporter de « s'être bien à rien » forme évidemment, depuis d'autres années, venant de la conscience. Le fait souffrir les parents empêche de manquer d'angoisse pour l'enfant en leur disant, pour toujours leur « être » et cela d'autant plus qu'il se



soit prêtés (par exemple au fils unique ou au « jésuite »). La plupart de ces mécanismes sont visibles dans les fréquents suicides d'adolescents. Voici à titre d'exemple, le schéma dynamique d'un cas type, un garçon de vingt-et-un ans que j'ai analysé pendant deux ans à New-York, six mois après une tentative de suicide, et qui a maintenu une carrière universitaire : On trouve dans l'histoire au tout commencement (première conditionnement) avec attachement au vie et insécurité d'objet (L'angoisse et l'angoisse, c'est-à-dire, refus de toute liaison et angulaire indolente devant tout « sacrifice effectif »). Le principe de dressage présente la dualité : marcher vers les lieux où l'angoisse se trouve et vers ceux où elle se défait. Sa haine est projetée sur le monde extérieur qui devient symbole d'hostilité et de danger par rapport à ses satisfactions autoérigées.

La fixation obsessionnelle sur la mère est intense, d'où haine du père, signe de contrainte, peur de se marier et sentiment de culpabilité. A la puberté, alors qu'il remplace la sexualité chez les autres, il lui paraît abominable chez les parents qui devraient être un idéal de parenté : le père est « ignominie et dégoût », la mère est, « une jésuite », il se sent traité, le monde n'est que mensonge et déception, il faut s'en débarrasser. Le dressage et l'angoisse compliqués conduisent donc à un désir de ne pas grandir, de rester l'enfant irresponsable pour montrer au père combien il est inutile. Il est le monde des adultes qui représente le père lui-même et le talon paternel, le rattachement inconscient à lui. Si je deviens un homme, comme mon père et mon rival, je serai châtié. Il est indifférent, à des rêves hallucinatoires, mais devant « être » dans la vie adulte et ne peut mener à bien aucun travail sérieux. En même temps il élabore des idées de persécution et projette l'angoisse des parents en souffrance morale qu'il déesse en termes volants tout à fait disproportionnés à la réalité, poursuit de sa haine et ridiculise. Les souffrances de mort se font conscientes, et les souffrances hémériques se poursuivent, avec régressions obsessionnelles et batailles. La conscience morale est tout de même très présente ; il choisit de « se » faire, mais sait que « deux personnes » existent en lui : un père, et un enfant péroré qui lui donne des embêtements ; mais qui se sent coupable et méritant un châtiement. Le conflit aboutit à une rupture à dix-sept ans, il s'enfuit à Paris où il tente d'allier une méthode scientifique (première tentative d'auto-éducation), la vierge symbolisant l'individu. Il retourne, est seul, se sentant incompréhensible et tout vers après de l'angoisse par l'angoisse (autre tentative d'auto-éducation). Enfin, six ans et demi après sa rupture, il s'enfuit et s'ouvre les veines dans une clinique où il avait pris un bain très chaud, puis un sommeil, usant et oblique de son énergie, satisfait, permettant au moi de retrouver au stade des « couches » de

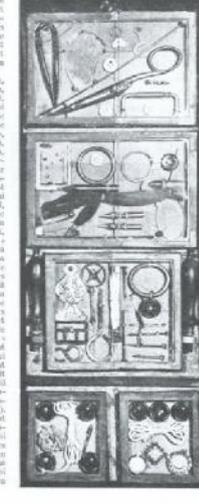
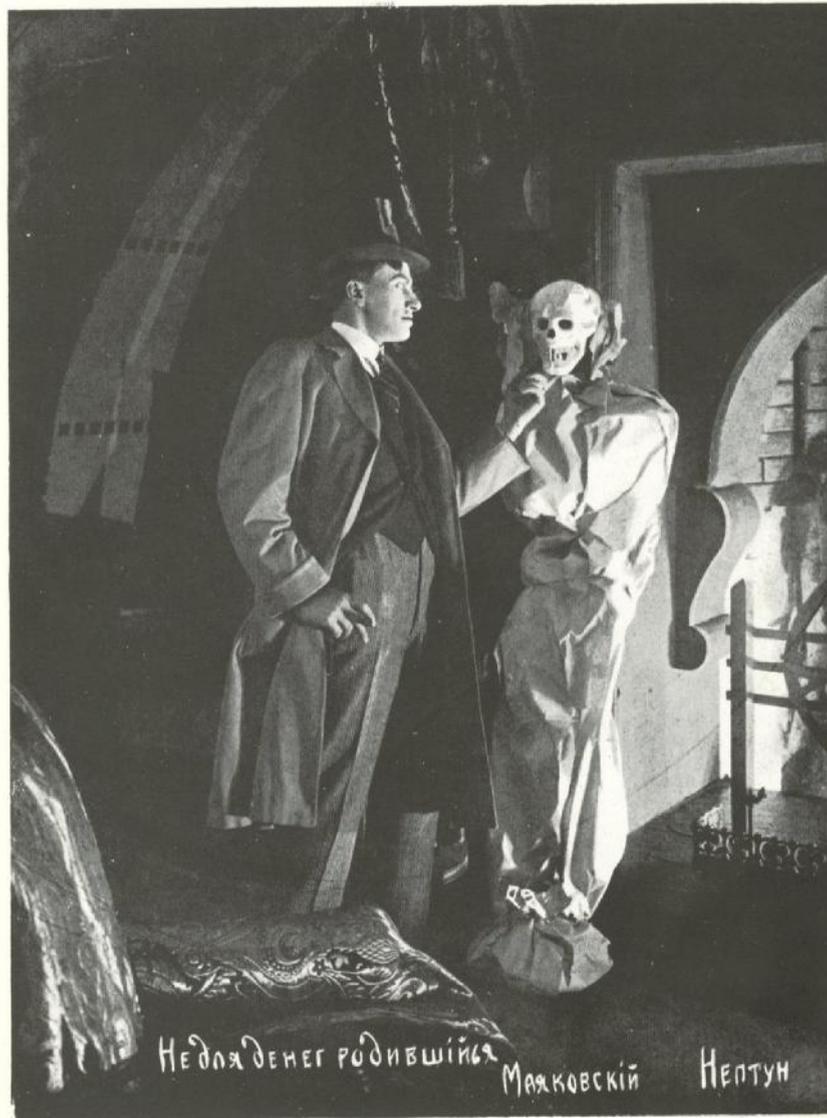


Fig 25 Illustrations for 'Mobiles inconscient du suicide', *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 12, pp. 43 - 43.



МАЯКОВСКИЙ dans Celui qui n'est pas né pour l'argent.

Fig 26

Film still of Mayakovsky in *He who was not born to money* (1918). *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution*, no. 1.



« As-tu froid? »

LUIS BUNUEL.

Fig 27

Luis Buñuel, *As-tu froid ?*, *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution*, no. 1.



« Parfois le dimanche... »

LUIS BUNUEL. — L'Age d'or, film.

Fig 28

Luis Buñuel (1930), *Parfois le dimanche*, film still from *L'Age d'Or, Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution*, no. 1.

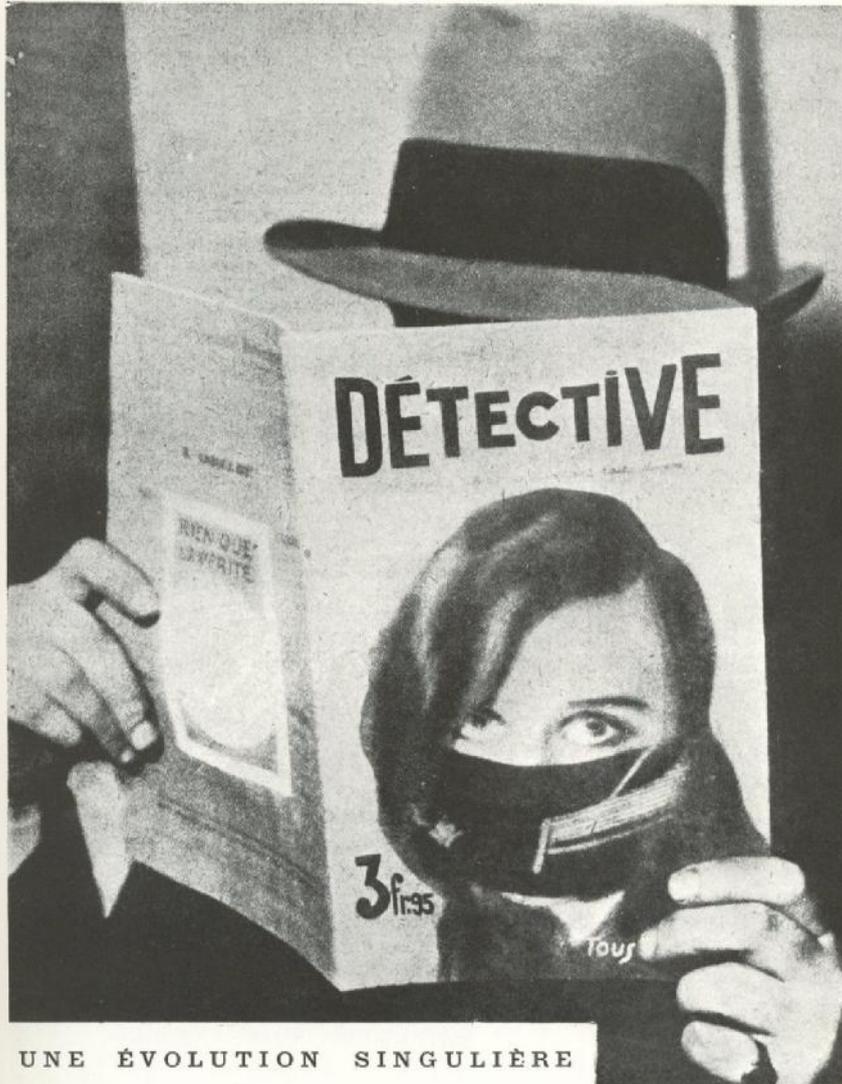
Fig29

Man Ray, *Lee Miller with sabre guard*, *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution*, no. 1.



*« ... ces jeunes filles étant les dernières à s'être signalées dans un scandale de maison hantée... »
(Voir page 3).*

Photo MAN-RAY.



UNE ÉVOLUTION SINGULIÈRE

M. Parain, ancien gérant de Détective, est actuellement chargé de la rubrique les livres, à l'Humanité.

Fig29

Man Ray, Lee Miller with sabre guard, Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution, no. 1.

Fig 30

Photograph of M. Parain reading *Détective, Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution*, no. 2.



Congrès soviétique international des enfants (Berlin 1930). Ecce Photo.



Congrès soviétique international des enfants (Berlin 1930). Ecce Photo.

Fig 31

Documentary photographs of the Soviet Internatinal Congress of children in Berlin, *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution*, no. 2.



LA COYNERIE EN 1930 : Mary Costes, dans son petit intérieur.

Fig 32

Portrait of Marie Costes, *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution*, no. 2.

"La Jeunesse Léniniste"
Publication des Jeunes Communistes
Chinoises.

La couverture est dans le style d'un roman
d'amour et porte ce titre: "Le bonheur conjugal"
pour dissimuler le caractère illégal
de la publication.



Réponse au Prix « Gringoire ».

Fig 33

'Response to the *Prix Gringoire*' , *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution*, no. 3.

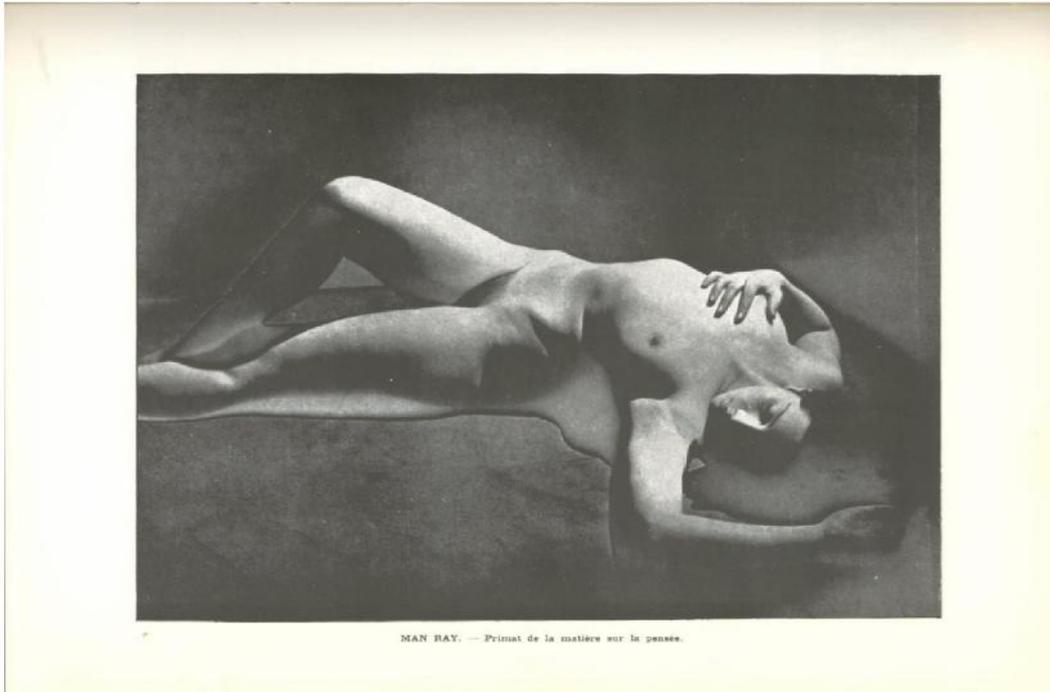


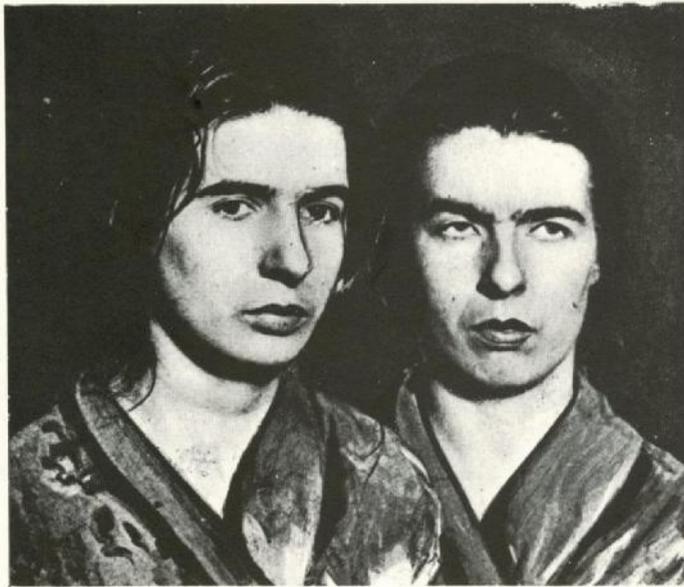
Fig34

Man Ray (1929) *Primacy of Matter over Thought*, *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution*, no. 3.

AVANT



APRÈS



« Sorties tout armées d'un chant de Maldoror... » (Voir page 28).

Fig35

Montage of the Papin sisters, *Le Surréalisme au service de la Révolution*, no. 5.



Fig 36 Police identification photographs of the Papin sisters (1933)



Fig37

Man Ray, Photograph produced for cover of pamphlet produced by the surrealist group in defence of Violette Nozière, 1933.

CHRONIQUE

L'ART DU RUISSEAU

Je préfère avertir tout de suite que je ne sais pas du tout ce qui constituera le tissu organique de l'article qui va peut-être suivre. Je ne sais pas si les idées qui pourraient de point en point y surgir sous la seule responsabilité du hasard pourront servir ou desservir.

Simplement, j'affirme qu'en inscrivant les premiers mots et dès le titre je prétendais prononcer le plus grand éloge du cinéma. Je relève, parmi les décombres informes et déjà presque froids de ma mémoire, quelques gravats particuliers à mon adolescence, le concernant.

Après avoir succombé, comme tout le monde, à l'émotion des premières projections — cri de peur à l'entrée d'un rapide, miraculeusement inoffensif, dans la salle — j'ai nourri pour lui une détestation robuste. Pour sa part, il a contribué à me pousser dehors, je veux dire à me faire hair davantage la ville où je l'ai vu naître et qu'il contribuait à rendre plus haïssable en été — à la quitter.

Le cinéma, je l'ai vu naître dans des circonstances qui m'aident à le comprendre, autrement peut-être qu'on ne s'y attendrait. Je suppose un instant que, quand on pose la question du cinéma considéré en tant qu'art, il s'agit de décider si sa raison d'être, sa nécessité correspondent à un appétit esthétique profond, formulé, nettement défini ou obscur, sinon exclusif du moins primordial. Et l'on sait bien que non. Quelle que soit la lèpre qu'il a gagnée en Europe, et particulièrement en France, au contact des arts périmés, séniles et caducs et qui peut, à certains esprits mal prévenus, le montrer sous un faux jour, il n'a rien qui puisse l'assimiler à un art et rien qu'à perdre à être considéré comme tel.

Le cinéma, je l'ai vu naître dans le ruisseau — devant la foule débandée dans le soir torride, irrespirable, l'écran insinué entre les feuillages durs des platanes, comme un piège à papillons nocturnes — mais bientôt répugnant comme un papier à mouches qui captait sous le rayon lumineux fascinant les buveurs de demis et les mangeurs de glaces. Mais, entre le piège et les buveurs, il y avait, dans le ruisseau et débordant un peu sur le trottoir la populace — hurlante, dans le délire de la joie, de la chaleur et de sa propre odeur affolante, dans les délices de la gratuité.

Le cinéma a vécu de rien dans son enfance ; ce n'est pas un enfant gâté, mais un fils du peuple — il était fait pour lui qui l'a immédiatement adopté et en a fait, par sa faveur frénétique, le plus monstrueux des parvenus. C'est le peuple qui en avait besoin — que l'adhésion de toutes les classes, aujourd'hui et d'ailleurs très vite acquise, ne trompe pas sur la justesse de ce que j'avance. Aucun souci d'art ne fut à sa source ni aux lèvres qui aussitôt avidement s'y abreuvèrent.

Il s'agissait d'un besoin tout autre — d'un moyen plus gros, moins subtil, plus direct, moins lent, plus sûr que l'art — il s'agis-

sait d'atteindre, de remuer, de satisfaire, de soulever des masses énormes, avec rapidité et violence — des masses que la lumière diffuse de l'art, trop dissociée par l'intervention inéluctable de l'individualité trop nuancée, ne parviendra jamais à pénétrer ni à éclairer, par conséquent à toucher directement ni servir ni conquérir. Le cinéma a illuminé le cœur de la foule jusqu'à le brûler. C'est fini, notre époque sera celle du cinéma, notre civilisation celle du cinéma — malgré les révolutions, malgré les guerres et toutes les inventions non moins stupéfiantes que lui. Car une seule chose,

parmi tant d'autres, mauvaises ou indifférentes, a apporté la joie, la distraction, l'émotion, la passion et l'oubli au cœur universel, le cinéma.

Nous sommes bien loin de toutes les complications et finesses aristocratiques et diplomatiques dont l'art ne saurait, sans déchoir et périr, se passer ; il s'agit de tout autre chose — des jeux. Le cinéma ce n'est, ni plus ni moins, — et là s'explique sa foudroyante et aburissante réussite — que les jeux du cirque de notre époque. Du pain et des jeux ! crie toujours le monde, et il le criera peut-être toujours. De plus en plus, sans doute, avec cette variante : un peu moins de pain que de viande et beaucoup plus de cinéma. P. R.



Un visage dans l'herbe.
(Musée ethnographique de Bâle).

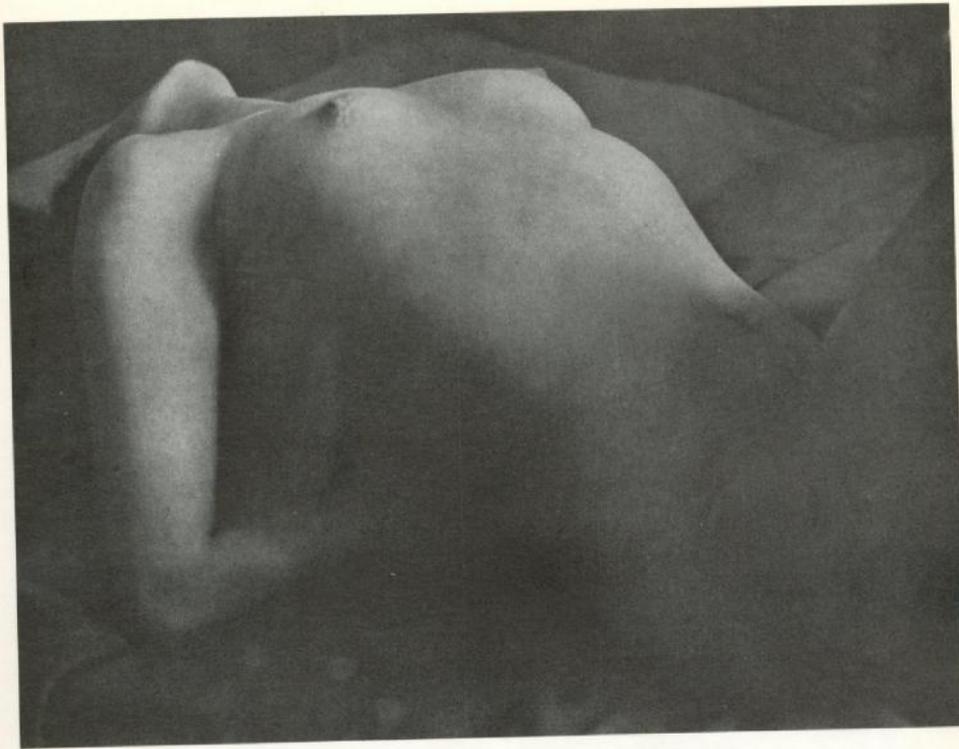
Après l'insecte-feuille, l'homme-feuille.
Un visage défilé dans un nid de verdure.
Le végétal séduit la pluie.
L'eau, dans un trou, se livre au premier venu.
P. E.

COUPS DE FEU CHEZ MOI

En publiant quelques-uns de ses charmants souvenirs, Max Jacob note, dans les *Nouvelles littéraires*, ce goût du revolver sans quoi ne sauraient aller ni s'en aller les années de la première jeunesse. Et à ce propos il fait allusion à une amusante tuerie qui se perpétua chez moi vers 1905 et à laquelle prirent part Alfred Jarry, l'assassin, le sculpteur Manolo et Max Jacob lui-même à titre de victimes.

Il y avait ce soir-là, dans mon petit pavillon de la rue de Rennes, quelques amis dont Apollinaire, Maurice Cremlitz, Picasso, André Salmon, Manolo, Max Jacob, Alfred Jarry, plus trois jeunes filles, enceintes, je crois, toutes les trois. Le dîner avait été assez mouvementé. Un ami chasseur m'avait envoyé de superbes canards sauvages qui constituaient les pièces de résistance du dîner. Quand ils furent posés sur la table, Jarry proposa ses services. « Je sais fort bien découper ces oiseaux », dit-il, puis il empoigna ces volailles à pleines mains et les déchira en morceaux. Max Jacob se souvient aimablement que l'on buvait abondamment chez moi. Le fait est que, cette fois, tout le monde devint assez rapidement ivre, tout le monde sauf Manolo qui buvait peu et qui ce soir-là, promenait une morgue cafardeuse qui fut certainement à l'origine du drame.

Jarry, dès la fin du dîner et celle d'une feuillette d'excellent beaumontais que pour plus de commodité j'avais installée dans la salle à manger, Jarry, dis-je, manifesta une évidente animosité envers ce Manolo dont le calme l'énervait. « Je n'aime pas ce sculpteur Manolo, répétait-il à intervalles réguliers, pas plus que sa



Nu [photographie de Brassai].

Variété du corps humain

par MAURICE RAYNAL

Les variations du corps humain, spécialement du nu féminin, à travers le temps et telles que l'art les a réalisées, semblent dues à des facteurs assez divers pour qu'il soit facile de décider si l'art imite ici la nature ou si la nature copie l'art.

Au fond, l'abondance ou le dénuement et toutes autres circonstances de lieu, de temps, de climat ou d'événements ont été les vrais inspirateurs réalistes des qualités plastiques du corps humain.

Beaucoup plus que les lois de la Divine Proportion, le bonheur ou la vicissitude sont à l'origine des variations de la forme humaine. Pour une fois, et à son tour, l'art est venu après coup dans l'établissement de ces variations, à la façon des théories esthétiques ou scientifiques formulées après la création des mouvements

artistiques ou celle des inventions scientifiques des ignorants. En attendant les transformations possibles dues à la chirurgie esthétique ou à l'élevage, l'art semble n'avoir contribué à l'évolution du corps humain que d'une manière seulement quantitative.

Il faudra donc une fois de plus faire bon marché du croquemitaine de l'éternelle Beauté. Les plus belles conceptions du nu artistique féminin n'ont jamais été le produit pur de la spéculation esthétique. De tout temps, les canons artistiques, ces plus inhumains des codes, servirent seulement à l'enseignement ou à l'Académisme, son couronnement immédiat. Et sans qu'il soit possible de voir dans le Cubisme certaines contradictions puisqu'il constituait avant tout le déclanchement définitif du lyrisme plastique le plus

Fig 39

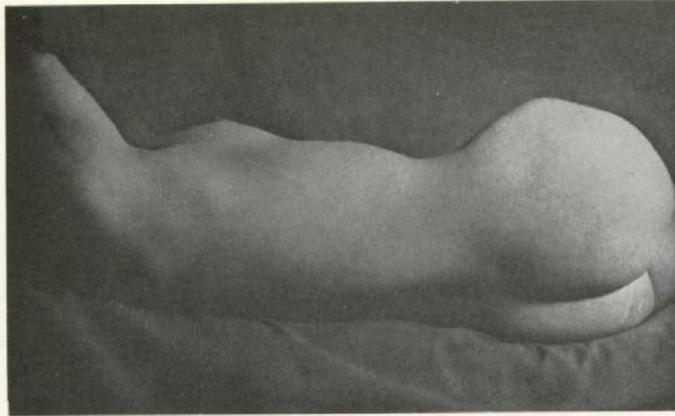
Brassai (1933) *Nude, Minotaure*, no. 1.

EXTASE, par PERCKHAMMER.



Fig 40

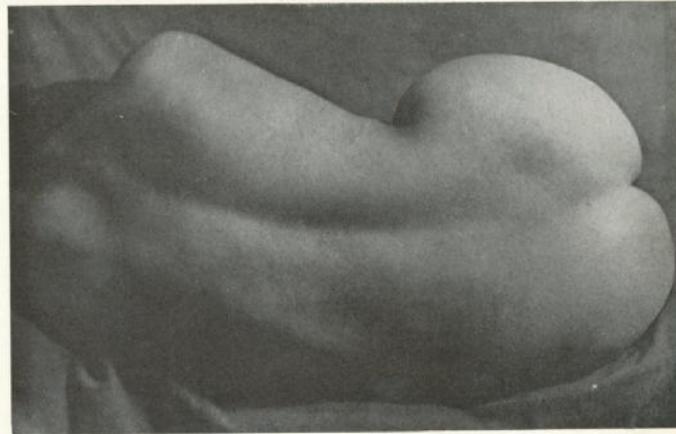
Heinz von Perckhammer (1934) *Extase*, *Secrets de Paris*, no. 6



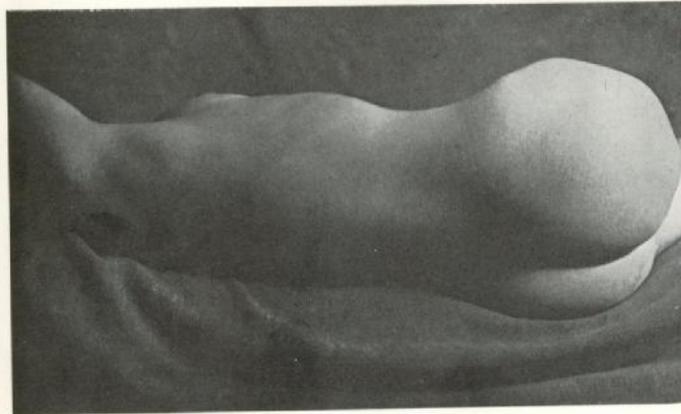
délicatement entrelardée mais plus vivante des Florentines. Nous laisserons en passant à l'art, en l'occurrence celui des Primitifs, la responsabilité d'avoir imposé aux pauvres martyrs romains cette maigreur classique qui n'a pas réussi à faire croire que ces gens-là n'avaient tout de même pas à donner aux fauves de l'arène autre chose que des os à sucer. En revenant aux Vénitiennes et aux Florentines, nous remarquons que le charme de ces fausses

et portée au goût de l'abstraction. Ces vertus ont peut-être contribué en quelque sorte à la création du corps mince d'Isis. Mais il est certain que les rigueurs du climat égyptien, inondation et sécheresse alternées, en attendant les fameuses dix plaies d'Égypte, sont pour quelque chose dans la création de ces corps graciles et de ces visages émaciés.

La Renaissance alternera la vénusté des Vénitiennes bien nourries et casanières avec la grâce



Nus (photographies de Brassai).



grasses, de ces fausses maigres, se rattache bien plus à l'ethnographie qu'à l'art. Venise triomphante, lumineuse et riche ne pouvait admettre qu'un nu capitonné, luxuriant et doré. A Florence, ville bourgeoise, hypocrite, tourmentée, riche et ladre, convenait mieux un nu plus ardent, plus inquiet, plus avare, aux proportions plus discrètes, plus raffinées certainement.

Fig41 Brassai (1933) *Nudes, Minotaure*, no. 1.



Fig 42

Dora Maar (1935) *Assia with ring*, *Secrets de Paris*, no. 9.

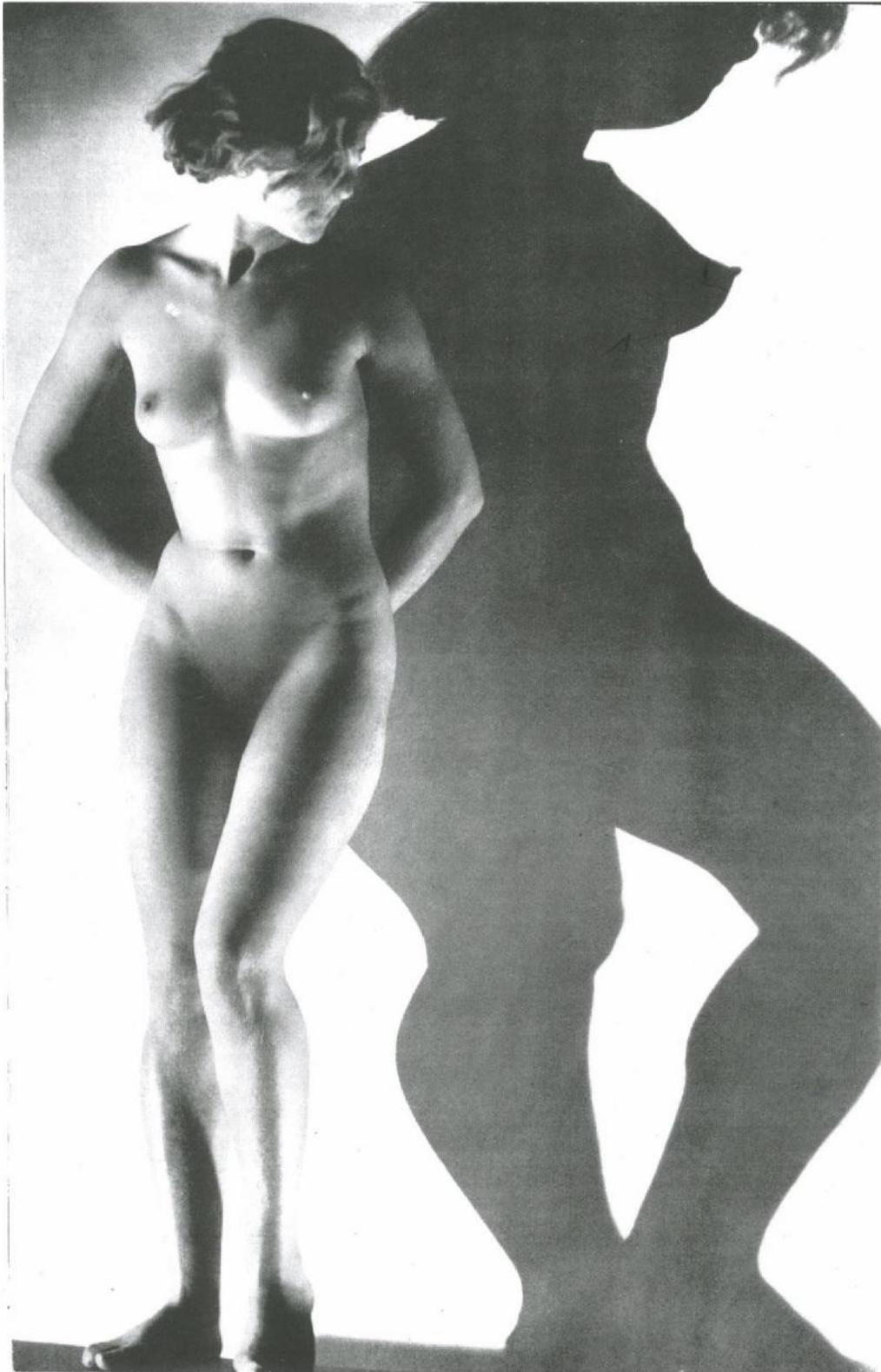
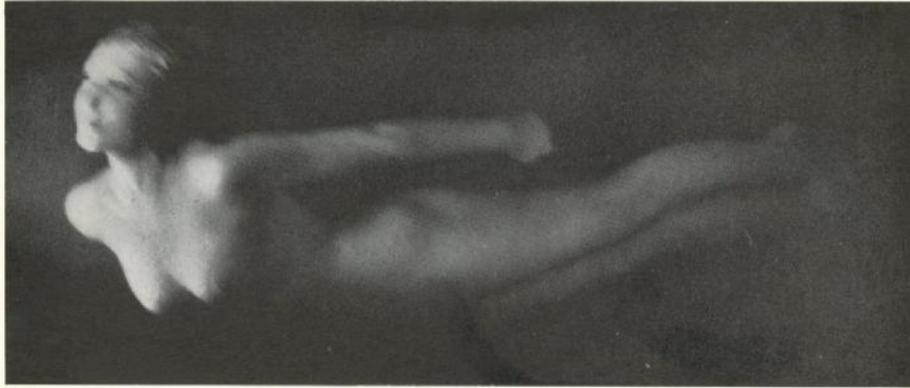


Fig43

Dora Maar (1934) *Assia and her shadow*, *Secrets de Paris*, no. 2.



Rogi André

LA NUIT DU TOURNESOL

Par ANDRÉ BRETON

J'hésite, il faut l'avouer, à faire ce saut, je crains de tomber dans l'inconnu sans limites. Toutes sortes d'ombres s'empresent autour de moi pour me retenir, pour m'opposer de hauts murs que j'ai grand'peine à frapper d'inconsistance. On voudra bien croire qu'à ces ombres ne se mêle rien qui puisse tenir au dévoilement d'un épisode singulièrement émouvant de ma vie : à maintes reprises (*) j'ai été amené à situer par rapport à diverses circonstances intimes de cette vie, une série de faits qui me semblaient de nature à retenir l'attention psychologique, en raison de leur caractère insolite. Seule, en effet, la référence précise, absolument consciencieuse, à l'état émotionnel du sujet au moment où se produisirent de tels faits, peut fournir une base réelle d'appréciation. C'est sur le modèle de l'observation médicale que le surréalisme a toujours proposé que la relation en soit entreprise. Pas un incident ne peut être omis, pas même un nom ne peut être modifié sans que rentre aussitôt l'arbitraire. La mise en évidence de l'irrationalité immédiate, confondante, de certains événements nécessite la stricte authenticité du document humain qui les enregistre. L'heure dans laquelle a pu s'inscrire une interrogation si poignante est trop belle pour qu'il soit permis de rien y ajouter, de rien en soustraire. Le seul moyen de lui rendre justice est de penser, de donner à penser qu'elle s'est vraiment écoulée.

Mais la distinction du plausible et du non-plausible s'impose à moi comme aux autres hommes. Je n'échappe pas plus qu'eux au besoin de tenir le déroulement de la vie extérieure pour indépendant de ce qui constitue spirituellement mon individualité propre et si j'accepte à chaque minute de refléter selon mes facultés particulières le spectacle qui se joue en dehors de moi, il m'est par contre étrangement difficile d'admettre que ce spectacle s'organise soudain comme pour moi seul, ne tende plus en apparence qu'à se conformer à la représentation *antérieure* que j'en ai eue. Cette difficulté s'accroît du fait

(*) Cf. *Nadja* (N. R. F., éditeur), *Les Vases communicants* (Les Cahiers libres, éditeur).

que la représentation en question s'est offerte à moi comme toute fantaisiste et qu'étant donné le caractère manifestement capricieux de son développement, il n'y avait aucune probabilité à ce qu'elle trouvât jamais de corroboration sur le plan réel : à plus forte raison de corroboration continue, impliquant entre les événements que l'esprit s'était plu à agencer et les événements réels un incessant parallélisme. Pour si rare et peut-être si élective qu'elle puisse passer, une telle conjonction est assez troublante pour qu'il ne puisse être question de passer outre. Rien ne servirait, en effet, de se cacher qu'une fois établie elle est susceptible à elle seule de tenir en échec, jusqu'à nouvel ordre, toute la pensée rationaliste. De plus, pour pouvoir être négligée, il faudrait qu'elle n'agitât pas à l'extrême l'esprit qui est amené à en prendre conscience. Il est impossible, en effet, que celui-ci n'y puise pas un sentiment de félicité et d'inquiétude extraordinaires, un mélange de terreur et de joie *paniques*. C'est comme si tout à coup la nuit profonde de l'existence humaine était percée, comme si la nécessité naturelle consentant à ne faire qu'un avec la nécessité logique, toutes choses étaient livrées à la transparence totale, reliées par une chaîne de verre dont ne manquât pas un maillon. Si c'est là une simple illusion, je suis pour l'abandonner mais qu'on *prouve* d'abord que c'est une illusion. Au cas contraire, si, comme je le crois, c'est là l'amorce d'un contact, entre tous éblouissant, de l'homme avec le monde des choses, je suis pour qu'on cherche à déterminer ce qu'il peut y avoir de plus caractéristique dans un tel phénomène et aussi pour qu'on tente de provoquer le plus grand nombre possible de communications de l'ordre de celle qui va suivre. C'est seulement lorsque ces communications auront été réunies et confrontées qu'il pourra s'agir de dégager la loi de production de ces échanges mystérieux entre le matériel et le mental. Je ne me propose encore rien tant que d'attirer l'attention sur eux, les tenant pour moins exceptionnels qu'on est aujourd'hui d'humeur à le croire, en raison de la suspicion en laquelle est tenu le caractère nettement *révélateur* qui les distingue au premier chef.

Fig 45

Rogi André (1934) *L' Ondine* (Jacqueline Lamba), *Minotaure*, no. 7.



PLANCHE II.

JACK. — J'allais tout à l'heure placer sous vos yeux ma dernière victime. (Il présente l'image de la planche II au marquis de Sade qui l'examine en souriant.) Daignez excuser le travail de ces messieurs les médecins légistes : j'avais taillé, ils ont recousu, ici, tout au long de la poitrine et du ventre...

LE PROFESSEUR. — La poitrine est souvent ouverte, avec la régularité et la rectitude d'une ouverture pratiquée à l'autopsie : il n'y a ni déchirure, ni dentelure de la peau...

JACK. — En tout cas, ils n'ont pas pu recoudre les jambes, et je crois qu'elles courent encore le monde toutes seules. Si je n'avais craint d'être surpris d'un moment à l'autre, sous la voûte du chemin de fer, j'aurais aussi amputé les bras.

LE PROFESSEUR. — Les membres sont très fréquemment fracturés, ou si vous aimez mieux, amputés.

JACK. — J'avais pu m'occuper beaucoup plus longtemps de ma neuvième victime, la jeune femme de Chelsea, que je pris tant de plaisir à réduire à l'état de tronc.

LE COMTE. — A la bonne heure, mais votre grand diable de couteau me chagrine. Dans ce dessein, je préfère encore les quatre membres attachés à quatre ressorts qui s'éloignent peu à peu et les tiraillent lentement jusqu'à ce qu'enfin ils se détachent et que le tronc tombe dans un brasier. Ainsi s'ordonnait le quatrième supplice de mon enfer.

JACK. — Vous reprochez à mon couteau d'être trop expéditif, et moi, c'est à votre brasier que j'oppose ce grief. Il m'eût empêché de vérifier si ma partenaire n'était pas enceinte, et par bonheur il se trouva qu'elle l'était.

LE COMTE. — Pour moi, je ne recevais mes victimes que toujours exactement vierges. Mais prétendez-vous donc qu'il soit aisé de brûler une matrice et, qui plus est, une matrice pleine ?

LE PROFESSEUR. — Les organes abdominaux qui opposent à la combustion la plus longue résistance sont la vessie pleine d'urine et l'utérus. Cette résistance de l'utérus à la combustion nous permet de reconnaître le sexe du cadavre, qu'il serait impossible de déterminer, si la matrice n'existait plus.

LE COMTE. — Vous pouvez m'en croire, car je confesse avoir prodigieusement usé du feu dans les divers supplices qui s'appliquaient chez moi. Un de mes bourreaux, par exemple, n'avait pas son pareil pour maintenir sa patiente sous une cloche de fer rouge qui lui servait de bonnet sans appuyer, de manière que sa cervelle fondait lentement, et que sa tête grillait en détail.

LE PROFESSEUR. — La tête est rapetissée ; chez l'adulte elle se réduit, d'après Tardieu, à la dimension de la tête d'un enfant de douze ans. On peut considérer, dans les modifications que subit la tête, deux périodes. Dans la première, les parties molles se racornissent, elles se dessèchent ; la bouche s'ouvre ; nous avons pu constater ce fait sur la plupart des cadavres. La rétraction des parties molles suffit à elle seule pour diminuer le volume de la tête.

LE MARQUIS. — Vous devez ici opiner du bonnet, mon cher comte.

LE PROFESSEUR. — Dans une deuxième période, grâce à la dessiccation à laquelle les os du crâne sont soumis, ils deviennent friables ; et alors le crâne éclate, au niveau des pariétaux, soit qu'il y ait eu, ce qui peut arriver dans un incendie, un choc par suite de la chute d'un corps étranger, ou qu'il se soit fait, à l'intérieur de la boîte crânienne, un dégagement de vapeur qui en disjoint et fait éclater les parois.

LE COMTE. — Parbleu, la chose est d'évidence ! La cervelle se met à bouillir, et c'est l'histoire de la marmite de M. Papin, dont il faut que le couvercle se soulève pour laisser échapper la buée. Voilà pourquoi le bonnet rouge de mon bourreau n'enserrait que lâchement le crâne du sujet. Il fallait voir cela éclater, ah, ah, ah, ah !

LE MARQUIS. — Il est donc prouvé que le feu agit tout aussi bien que le fer sur le corps humain et le découpe, pour ainsi dire, avec une égale autorité.

LE COMTE. — Ce qui m'engage à le préférer au couteau du révérend Jack, c'est qu'il fait mieux encore et qu'un cadavre traité en conscience par le feu...

LE PROFESSEUR. — Je vais, messieurs, vous faire passer l'image d'un cadavre sur lequel on voit le siège des amputations ; la calotte crânienne a éclaté, le thorax et l'abdomen sont ouverts, les côtes sont nettement sectionnées, les os des membres émergent des moignons carbonisés.

JACK. — Voyons donc cela. (Après avoir attentivement considéré la planche III.) Je n'ai rien fait de mieux dans toute ma carrière.

LE COMTE. — Mais il me semble que, d'entrée de jeu, il n'est pas nécessaire de pousser les choses si loin : on a toujours le temps d'y venir et il est bien permis, je pense, de marquer quelques haltes sur le chemin de la perfection. Par exemple, j'aimais exces-

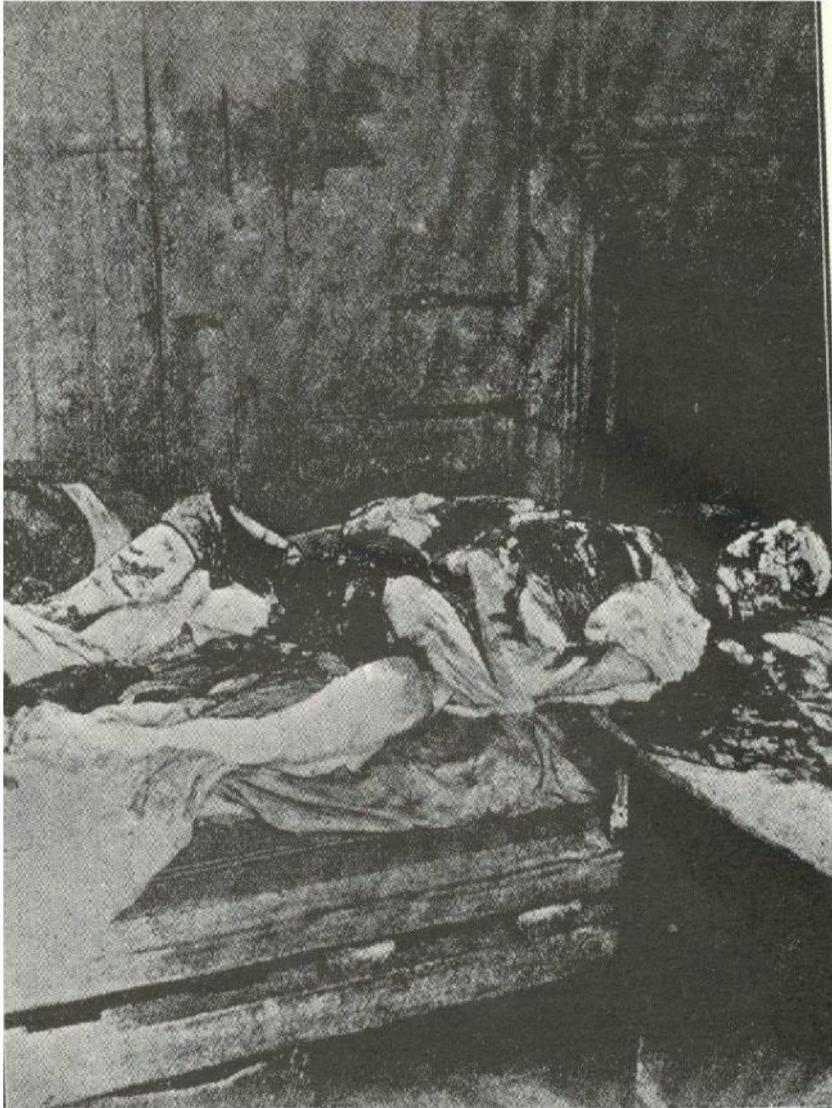


Fig 47 Illustrations for Heine, 'Regards sur l'enfer anthropoclasique'.

LE COMTE. — Les médecins de ce temps n'ont pas, que je sache, renoncé au jargon des anciens docteurs. Mais pour en revenir au fait, vous me ferez crédit, j'espère, si je vous certifie que cette chair humaine, cuite à point, sent furieusement bon et fit bien souvent mes délices.

LE PROFESSEUR. — Veuillez, messieurs, jeter un regard sur ce corps de femme en attitude de combat. La poitrine et le ventre sont ouverts, les organes font hernie au dehors, les yeux et la bouche sont ouverts : les gants sont craquelés, une partie des vêtements sur lesquels on distingue encore des fragments de passementerie sont tombés à côté d'elle.

LE MARQUIS (*très divertie par l'examen de la planche V*). — La plaisante façon de déshabiller une femme !

LE COMTE. — Comment serait-il, messieurs, que les éléments de la nature agissent moins sûrement que la main de l'homme ?

LE PROFESSEUR. — Les poumons sont durs, rétractés et présentent l'aspect du mou de veau cuit. Le cœur, en rigidité, est saillant, sorti de son péricarde, rempli de sang coagulé en masse compacte, et fait sou-

vent hernie au dehors. Voici, d'ailleurs, l'un de ces cœurs cuits...

L'OMBRE DE MARIA DE LOS DOLORES DOMINGUEZ. (*C'est une jeune fille de dix-huit à vingt ans, pieds nus, vêtue en bergère des montagnes de Ségovie, qui se dresse, les yeux égarés, et pousse des cris lamentables.*) — Tiens voilà le cœur de celui qui m'a empêchée d'être la plus heureuse des femmes; de celui qui m'a privée de l'homme que j'adorais. C'est le cœur de mon père que je viens d'assassiner goûtes-en si tu veux, Jua Diaz !... C'est le cœur de mon père !... C'est le cœur de mon père !... (*Au comble de la fureur, elle met ses vêtements en lambeaux et se déchire le sein avec ses ongles.*) Oui, c'est le cœur de mon père que j'ai fait rôtir pour le manger, et si je puis, je mangerai aussi le vôtre ! (*Elle bondit au centre de l'amphithéâtre, arrache aux mains du professeur l'ombre du cœur et s'enfuit en la portant à sa bouche.*)

LE MARQUIS (*se précipitant sur les traces de Dolores*). — Courons vite, mes amis, il faut la rejoindre... Quelle femme est-ce là ! Ma Juliette n'en a pas fait autant...

Un grand flottement agite les ombres, puis tout se désagrège ou s'efface.

MAURICE HEINE.



PLANCHE V.

N. D. L. R. — Les deux premières planches illustrant cette étude sont reproduites d'après l'ouvrage du Professeur A. LACASSAGNE, *Vacher l'Éventreur et les crimes sadiques* (Lyon, Storck, 1899), et les suivantes d'après les *Annales d'Hygiène publique et de Médecine légale*, 3^e Série, tome XXXIV, n^o 1 (Juillet 1895).





Fig49

Man Ray (1935) Plate from *Facile*.

L'ART DE L'IMAGE

UNE brune chasseresse d'images, que les longues étapes ne fatigueront pas. Une franchise de garçon, avec la courtoisie d'une femme. Dora Markovitch. Je regrette qu'elle ait tronqué son nom. Précédé de celui de son associé, M. Kéfer. Ce nom est devenu une onomatopée guerrière : Kéfer-Dora-Maar. Pour moi, je me souviendrai seulement de la jeune fille au cou chargé de colliers lourds, qui m'apportait, il y a déjà longtemps, ces images un peu sèches où les arbres semblaient griffer les maisons. Elle était alors élève de Sougez qui avait discerné son talent, avec cette précision qu'il met à saisir les images. Elle s'est, depuis, émancipée. Mais elle n'a cessé d'appliquer la méthode de son maître. Dans un charmant jardin de Neuilly qu'entoure la villa de ses parents, M. Kéfer a fait construire un studio, une belle architecture et qui est, sans aucun doute, le plus vaste et le mieux aménagé de Paris. Il eut l'esprit de scerner que nulle mieux que Dora Markovitch ne pourrait utiliser ces lumières, ces écrans et ces jouets merveilleux dont il avait enrichi son palais. Au centre du studio, une grande piscine, qu'on peut tour à tour emplir d'eau ou de sable, permet à Dora Markovitch et à M. Kéfer d'imaginer les décors les plus variés : la mer, le désert, le lac aux

lumières, pourquoi pas aux messieurs... Pour savoir quelle passion Dora Markovitch porte à son art, il faut l'avoir vue, vêtue d'une longue blouse blanche, tourner autour du modèle, chercher comment les gestes les plus naturels favorisent les effets plastiques, jouer avec les lumières, obliger les ombres à ne pas grimacer. Le studio prenait à certains moments l'aspect d'une salle d'opération. Un complot contre le modèle était scientifiquement conduit. Dora Markovitch refusait les effets trop faciles. Cette attitude équivoque, les déformations arbitraires, tandis que son associé déplaçait les projecteurs, inclinait les écrans, eut un moment de saturation, pourrait-on dire, où le modèle lui apparut conforme à la vie et à l'idée qu'elle avait

L'Art Vivant. Oct, 1934. p402.



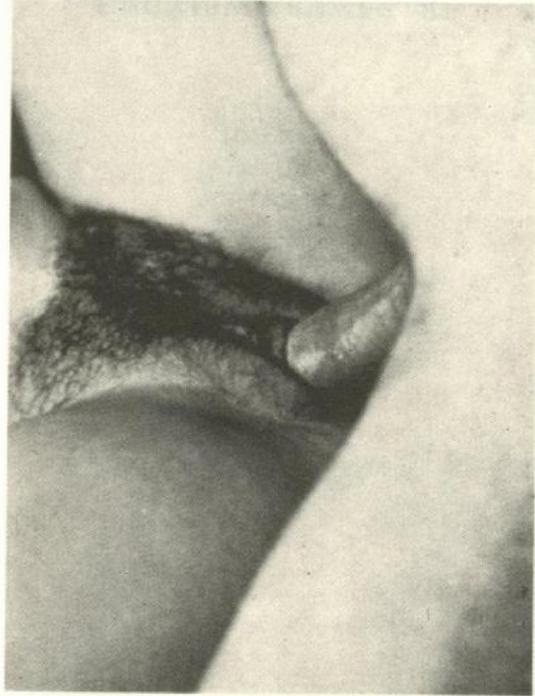
Fig 50

Dora Maar (1934) *Assia*, *L'Art Vivant*, October, 1934.



PRINTEMPS

Fig51 Man Ray (1929) *Spring, 1929*.



ÉTÉ

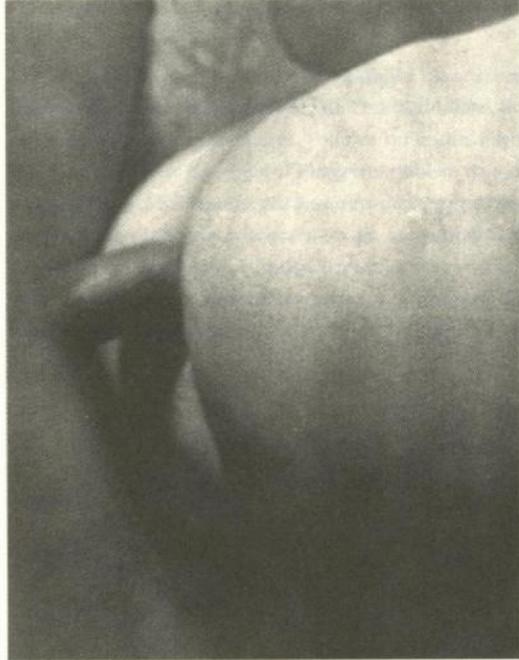
Ray (1929) *Summer, 1929.*

Fig52 Man



AUTOMNE

Fig53 Man Ray (1929) *Autumn*, 1929.



HIVER

Fig54 Man Ray (1929) *Winter*, 1929.

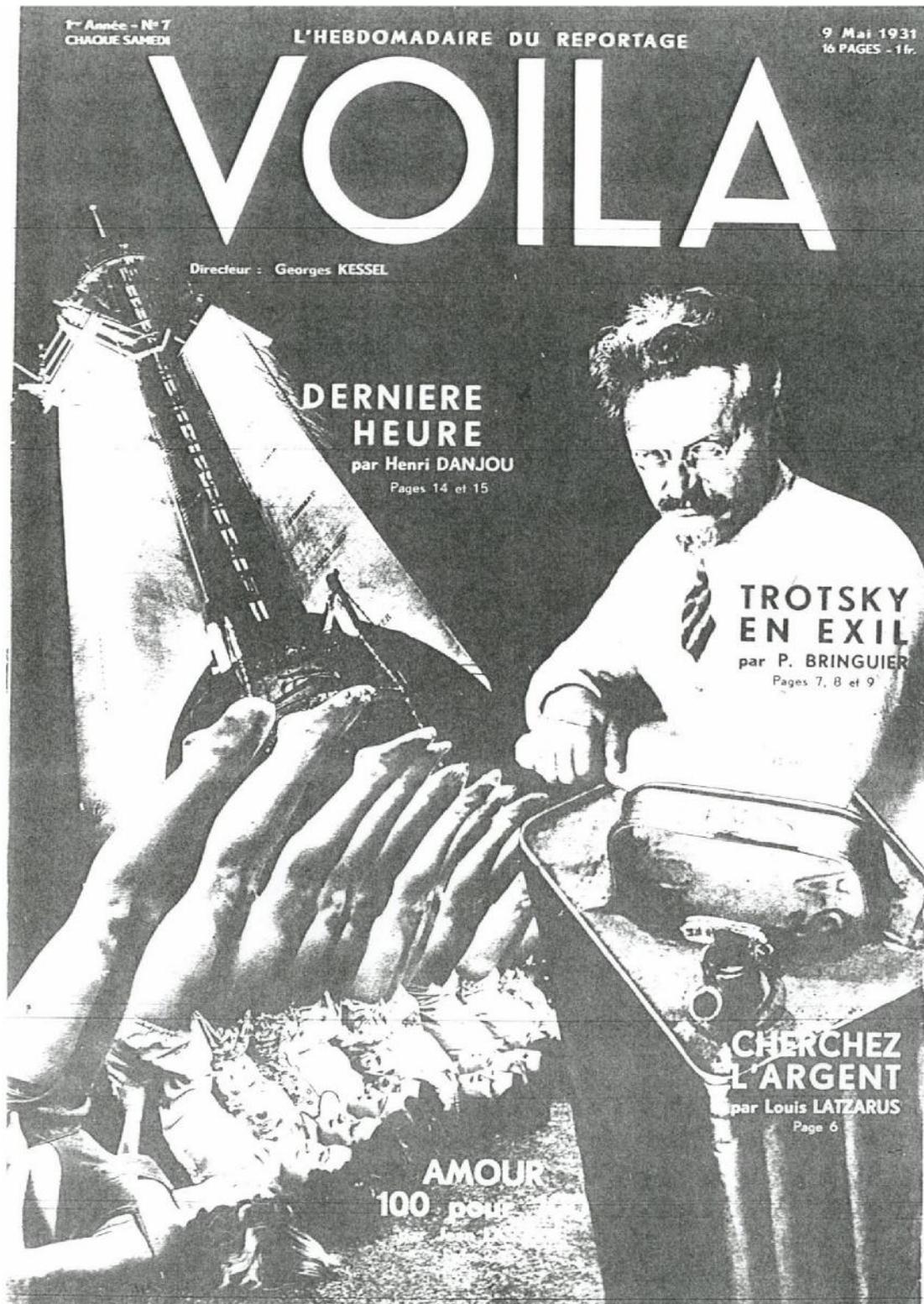


Fig 55

Cover of *Voila*, no. 7, May 9, 1931

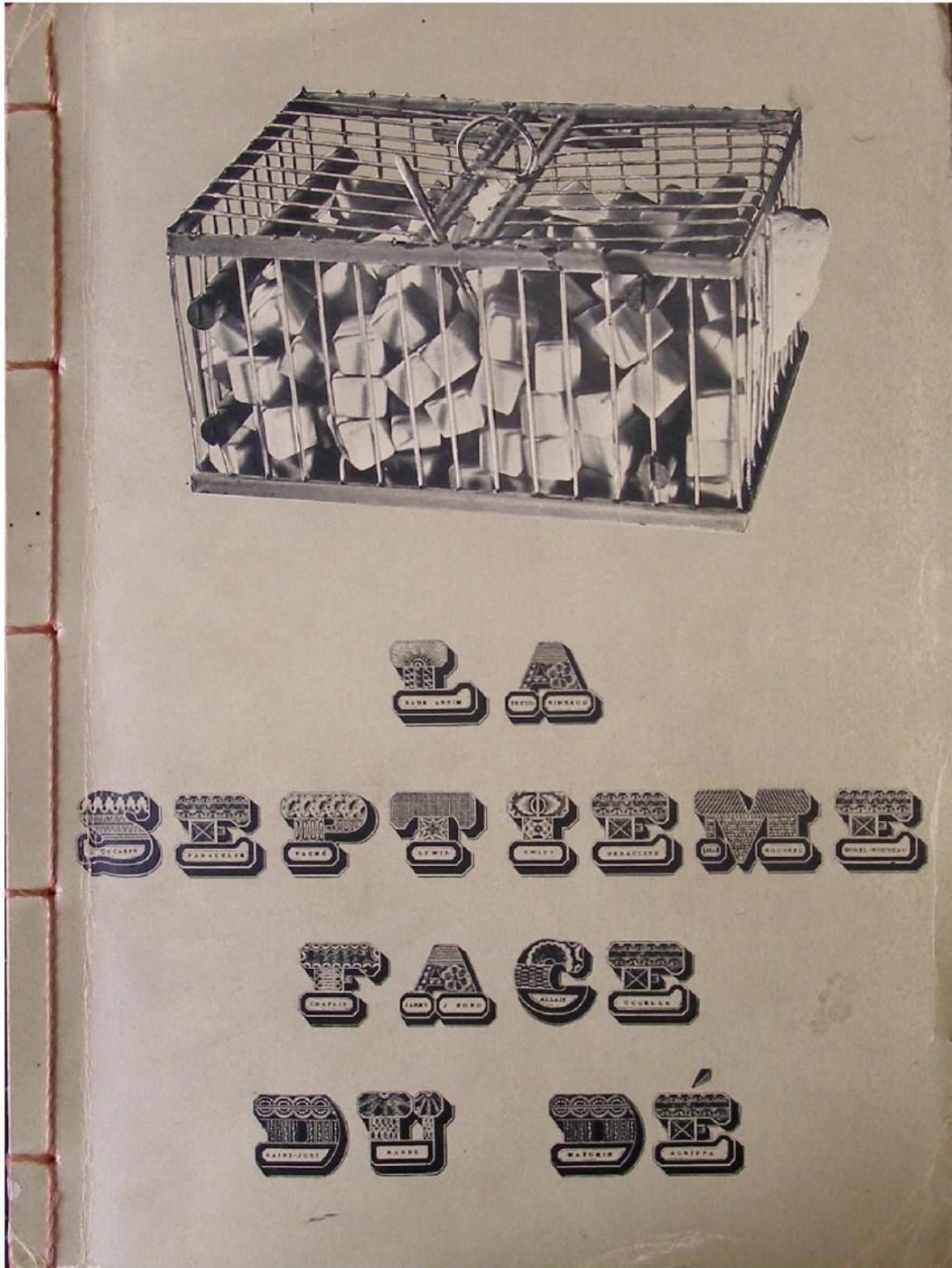


Fig 56 *Cover of La Septième face du Dé (1936)*



Fig 57

Collage 6, *La Septième face du Dé* (1936)



Fig 58

Paracelsus' Salamander

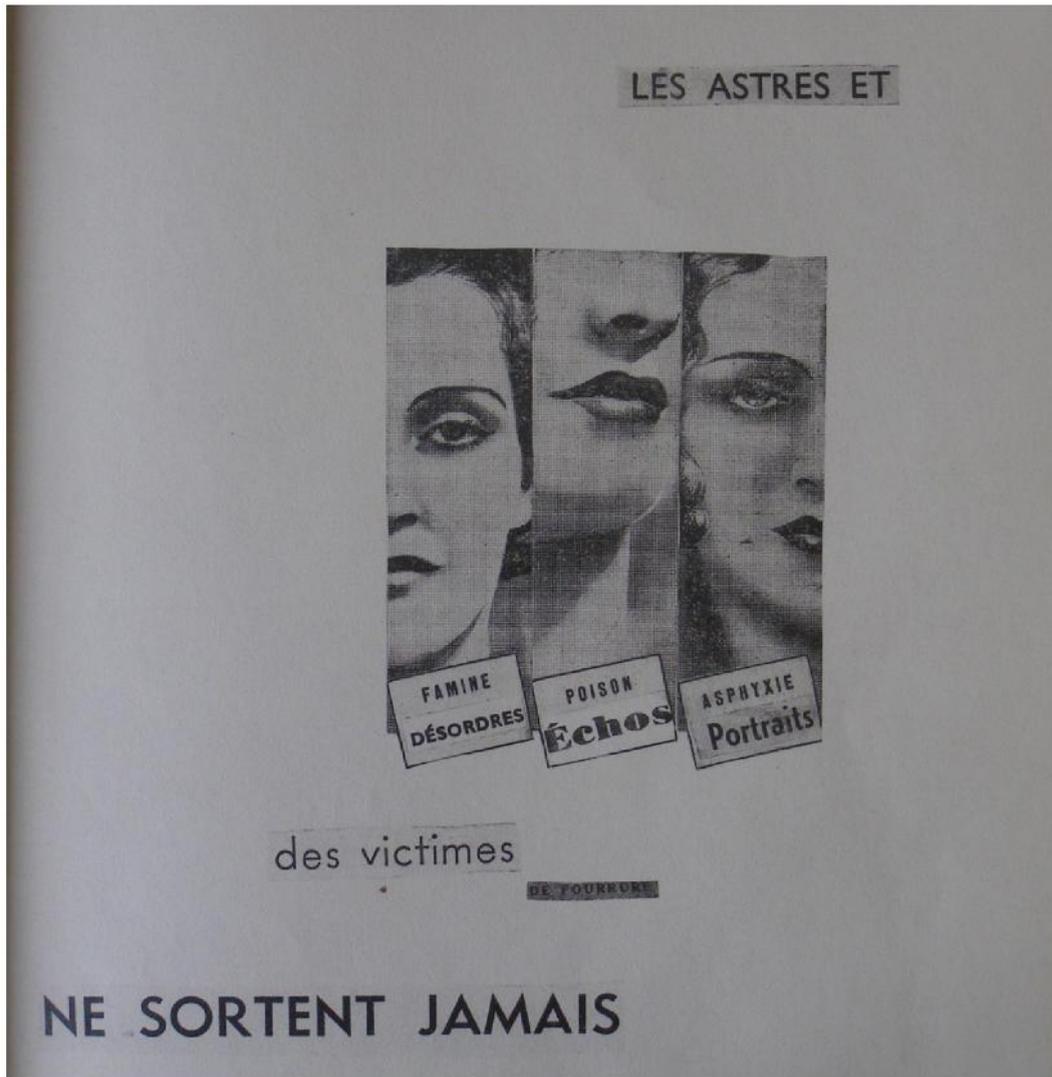


Fig 59

Collage 1, *La Septième face du Dé* (1936)



Fig 60

Collage 10, *La Septième face du Dé* (1936)

UNE FIGURE MAQUILLÉE EST RÉPULSIVE

parce que l'emploi excessif des fards implique la nécessité de cacher quelque imperfection de la peau.

PARTOUT où il y a une réunion de femmes élégantes, il est visible que le maquillage est *démodé*. Le rouge peut être encore employé, mais son usage ne doit jamais être apparent. La poudre peut protéger l'épiderme, mais elle ne doit pas se voir. Une jolie peau est celle qui est *naturellement* belle, si claire, si fine et si douce qu'il n'y a aucune nécessité de cacher sa texture naturelle sous une couche de fards.

Si vous conservez simplement votre peau en bonne santé, elle sera jolie. Vous devez la nettoyer à fond afin que les pores restent ouverts et actifs. Vous devez la tonifier pour stimuler la circulation qui l'éclaircit et la revivifie. Et vous devez alimenter les tissus pour la conserver douce, ferme et non ridée. Miss Arden a créé la *Venetian Cleansing Cream*, l'*Ardena Skin Tonic* et l'*Orange Skin Food* pour subvenir à ces besoins importants de l'épiderme. Si vous employez ces préparations chez vous, matin et soir, selon la méthode d'Elizabeth Arden, vous n'aurez aucun besoin de recourir à des artifices pour que votre peau paraisse fraîche et jeune. *Demandez un spécimen de la brochure d'Elizabeth Arden intitulée : "A LA RECHERCHE DE LA BEAUTÉ", décrivant le traitement rationnel de la peau selon sa méthode scientifique.*

Les Venetian Toilet Preparations d'Elizabeth Arden sont en vente dans tous les magasins de luxe de la France, des Etats-Unis, du Canada et de la Grande-Bretagne, ainsi que dans les principales villes d'Europe, Afrique, Australie, Extrême-Orient, Amérique du Sud, Indes Orientales et dans les Colonies américaines.



Elizabeth Arden
conseille les préparations suivantes
pour soigner chez vous votre peau

Venetian Cleansing Cream. — Elle dissout toute les impuretés qui se trouvent dans les pores. Elle nettoie et adoucit la peau, elle la rend lisse et réceptive.

Venetian Ardena Skin Tonic. — Fortifie, raffermi et clarifie la peau. Un purifiant et un astringent légers.

Venetian Orange Skin Food. — Elle efface les rides et les plis. Essentielle pour un visage maigre, ridé ou fatigué et comme préventif contre les plissements et les rides.

Venetian Velva Cream. — Un aliment délicat pour les peaux sensibles. Conserve la peau douce et lisse. Recom-

mandé aussi pour un visage rougii car il nourrit sans engraisser.

Venetian Special Astringent. — Il remoult et raffermi les tissus, resserre la peau. Tout indiqué pour le traitement d'un contour facial affaissé ou d'un cou flasque.

Venetian Pore Cream. — Une crème anti-irritante sans matières grasses qui referme les pores dilatés, raffermi et affine la peau la plus grossière.

Poudre d'Illusion. — Une poudre de qualité superbe, fine, pure et adhérente. *Flisson (teint de pêche), Roschel, Ocre, Minerve, Hanaan et Blanche.*

ELIZABETH ARDEN

NEW-YORK : 673, Fifth Avenue

PARIS : 2, RUE DE LA PAIX

LONDRES : 25, Old Bond Street

CAGO : 79 E. Walton Place.

PHILADELPHIA : 133 S. 18th St.

LOS ANGELES : 600 W. 7th Street.

BIARRITZ : 2, rue Gambetta.

STON : 24, Newbury Street.

ATLANTIC CITY : Ritz Carlton Block.

PALM BEACH : 2, Via Parigi.

CANNES : 3, Galeries Fleuries.

SHINGTON : 1117, Connecticut Ave.

DETROIT : 318, Book Building.

BUENOS AYRES : Harrods Ltd.

BRUXELLES : Pharmacie Delaere.

SAN FRANCISCO : 233, Grant Avenue.

ANVERS : Pharmacie Delaere.

(Tous droits réservés).

Fig 61 Elizabeth Arden advertisement, *Vogue*, July 1927, p 53.

La Science rénove la Beauté

Le traitement électro-tonique de helena rubinstein.

La beauté, soumise ainsi que toute chose vivante à l'évolution naturelle, subit, en outre, des altérations artificielles : manque de soins, soins mal appropriés, dérèglement glandulaire dont les effets désastreux s'aggravent chez la femme à mesure qu'elle avance en âge.

Sans avoir recours aux moyens extrêmes de la chirurgie esthétique, la femme doit, sous peine de déchoir, employer des traitements plus énergiques, plus puissants, au premier rang desquels se place le nouveau traitement **électro-tonique de helena rubinstein**.

A quel moment doit-on recourir à ce traitement ? Nous dirons que ce moment est venu lorsque l'épiderme perd de sa fermeté et de son élasticité. La peau n'a plus ses couleurs naturelles, et déjà les rides y apparaissent. Les tissus, en se relâchant, altèrent la courbe juvénile des profils, et creusent le pli nasobuccal. Les paupières se plissent, et des boursoffures se forment sous les yeux.

La femme avisée ne se trompe pas, qui s'examine avec soin chaque jour. Elle doit agir sans retard, avant que ces symptômes ne deviennent de véritables dommages.

Grâce au **traitement électro-tonique** que **helena rubinstein** applique avec un succès grandissant dans ses cliniques de Paris, de New-York, d'Hollywood, de Londres, la jeunesse peut véritablement être retenue, la beauté recouvrée et le déclin ajourné.

helena rubinstein, avec son autorité indiscutable, recommande des soins quotidiens essentiels à chaque femme qui veut maintenir sa jeunesse et sa beauté, ou corriger des déficiences causées souvent par la négligence.

La Crème Pasteurisée, qui nettoie profondément les pores, débarrasse l'épiderme de toute trace de maquillage, en le laissant souple, frais et velouté : **20 et 30 francs.**

La Georgine Lactée, tonifie les muscles, leur rend toute leur fermeté. Corrige les contours fatigués du visage, les bajoues et le double-menton : **30 et 55 francs.**

Crème perfection, indispensable pour nourrir les peaux sèches. Efface les rides, les petites lignes et assouplit considérablement : **30 francs.**

L'extrait Valaze, lotion anti-rides, employé en compresses, délassé les yeux et résorbe les bouffissures. Il constitue un merveilleux tonique pour l'ensemble du visage : **40 francs.** Pour celles dont le visage montre des signes de fatigue et un manque de vitalité, **helena rubinstein** a composé les **Crèmes Hormones**, de jour et de nuit, qui nourrissent, régénèrent les tissus appauvris, effacent les rides, grâce aux extraits de glandes qu'elles contiennent. Ces deux crèmes constituent un régime parfaitement équilibré. Les deux crèmes, jour et nuit : **200 francs.**

A la Clinique de Beauté, une séance comportant un nettoyage, un massage, et maquillage : **50 francs.**

helena rubinstein

52, Faubourg Saint-Honoré, Paris. Anjou 47-50

Consultations gratuites à la clinique et examen de la peau au Dermalens. — Conseils par correspondance à titre gracieux, en retournant le questionnaire.

QUESTIONNAIRE			
<input type="checkbox"/> Peau normale.	<input type="checkbox"/> Peau sèche.	<input type="checkbox"/> Peau grasse.	<input type="checkbox"/> Rides, pattes d'oie.
<input type="checkbox"/> Double menton.	<input type="checkbox"/> Couleur de votre carnation.	<input type="checkbox"/> Couleur de vos cheveux.	
<input type="checkbox"/> Muscles relâchés.	<input type="checkbox"/> Teint jauni.	<input type="checkbox"/> Points noirs, boutons.	<input type="checkbox"/> Acné.
<input type="checkbox"/> Mains sèches, rouges.	<input type="checkbox"/> Couleur de vos yeux.		
Nom : _____		Adresse : _____	
Ville : _____		Département : _____	



I. Le masque électro-tonique active la circulation, resserre les tissus et raffermi la peau, dont il fait disparaître les plissements. Il redonne leur galbe aux contours du visage en résorbant les bajoues et le double-menton.



II. La gymnastique électro-passive, lente et pénétrante, atteint en profondeur les muscles les plus légers, tels que ceux, si délicats, des paupières. Elle tonifie et raffermi la charpente du visage.



III. Les rayons, sélectionnés pour leur action salutaire sur la peau, complètent le traitement, parachevé d'ailleurs par un massage sur les fines crèmes aux Hormones.



Une girl du film « Rythmes d'Amour » passe au maquillage en série par pistolet automatique comme une vulgaire carrosserie.
Phot. Paramount.

Sous l'anonymat de *Boum-Films*, il commença par couvrir de publicité les journaux de cinéma, dans lesquels des lettres hautes de dix centimètres annoncèrent :

Boum-Films, 175, av. des Champs-Élysées
commence bientôt
UNE BELLE PINTADE
d'après la célèbre pièce de TRISTAR BERNAND

— Cela consolidera toujours mon « standing », se dit M. Larmény, et puis, lorsqu'un à court d'idées, voyant mon annonce, va peut-être m'offrir de me racheter les droits de *Une belle Pintade*... Comme je ne les ai pas encore payés, ce sera tout bénéfice!

Mais personne ne vint... Au bout de 48 heures, M. Larmény décida de ne plus perdre de temps et il se mit à convoquer, à son bureau, des vedettes en renom (trois ou quatre pour chaque rôle, d'ailleurs).

A la fin de la première journée de cet exercice, il pouvait dresser une liste d'artistes qui — dans le futur — seraient les interprètes de *Une belle Pintade* :

Mary Glory,
Victor Boucher,
René Lefèvre,
Suzy Vernon,
Fernandel,

que suivaient une demi-douzaine d'artistes de moindre importance.

Pendant ce temps, ses « rabatteurs » avaient travaillé.

Et ils avaient découvert un homme du monde d'une quarantaine d'années, désœuvré, grand amateur de petites femmes et qui disposait de deux cent mille francs.

Ils l'amènèrent à Larmény.
— Cher Monsieur, attaqua celui-ci, mon excellent ami Durandard m'a dit que vous vous intéressez au cinéma. C'est très bien... Mais, en ce qui me concerne, j'ai de grandes productions en train et je ne travaille qu'avec mes propres capitaux.

— Cependant, M. Durandard m'avait dit... Le sieur Durandard, en vieil habitué de la « manœuvre », intervint :

— Cher ami, j'avais cru, étant donnée la haute honorabilité de M. de Brisson de Badinquet, que vous feriez une exception en sa faveur. Pour la première fois qu'il veut s'intéresser au cinéma, je ne peux pas l'amener à n'importe qui.

M. Larmény se renversa dans son fauteuil (à crédit) :

— Evidemment... Mais comme je vous l'ai dit, la très grosse partie de mes capitaux est immobilisée dans mes productions actuelles... Ah! mais tenez! J'ai une idée. J'ai acheté, il y a quelque temps, les droits de *La belle Pintade*! Du meilleur Tristar Bernard... De l'or en barre quoi! J'ai une distribution formidable. Voyez... J'attends mes rentrées pour tourner ça... Le devis est d'un million...

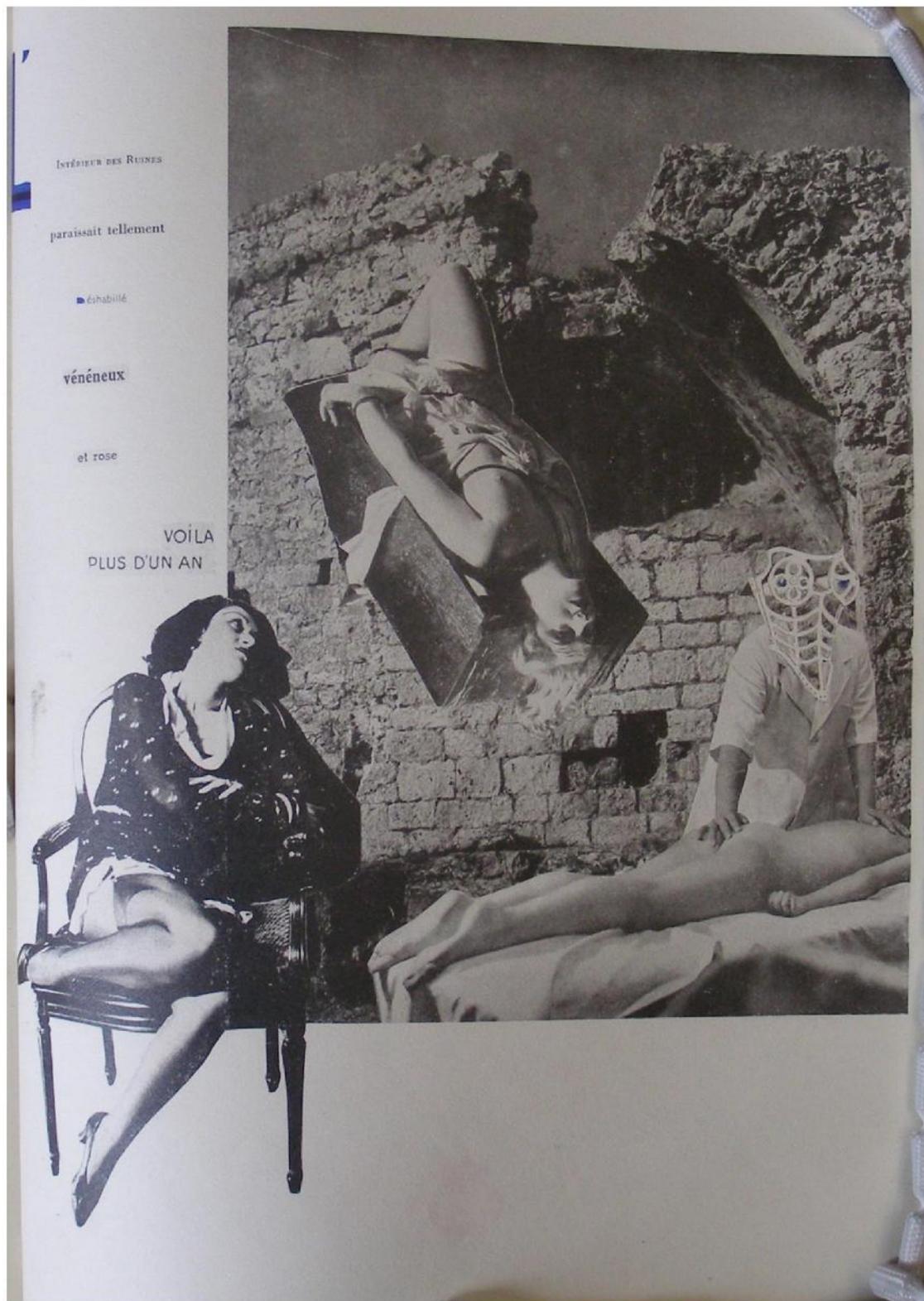


Fig 64

Collage 15, *La Septième face du Dé* (1936)

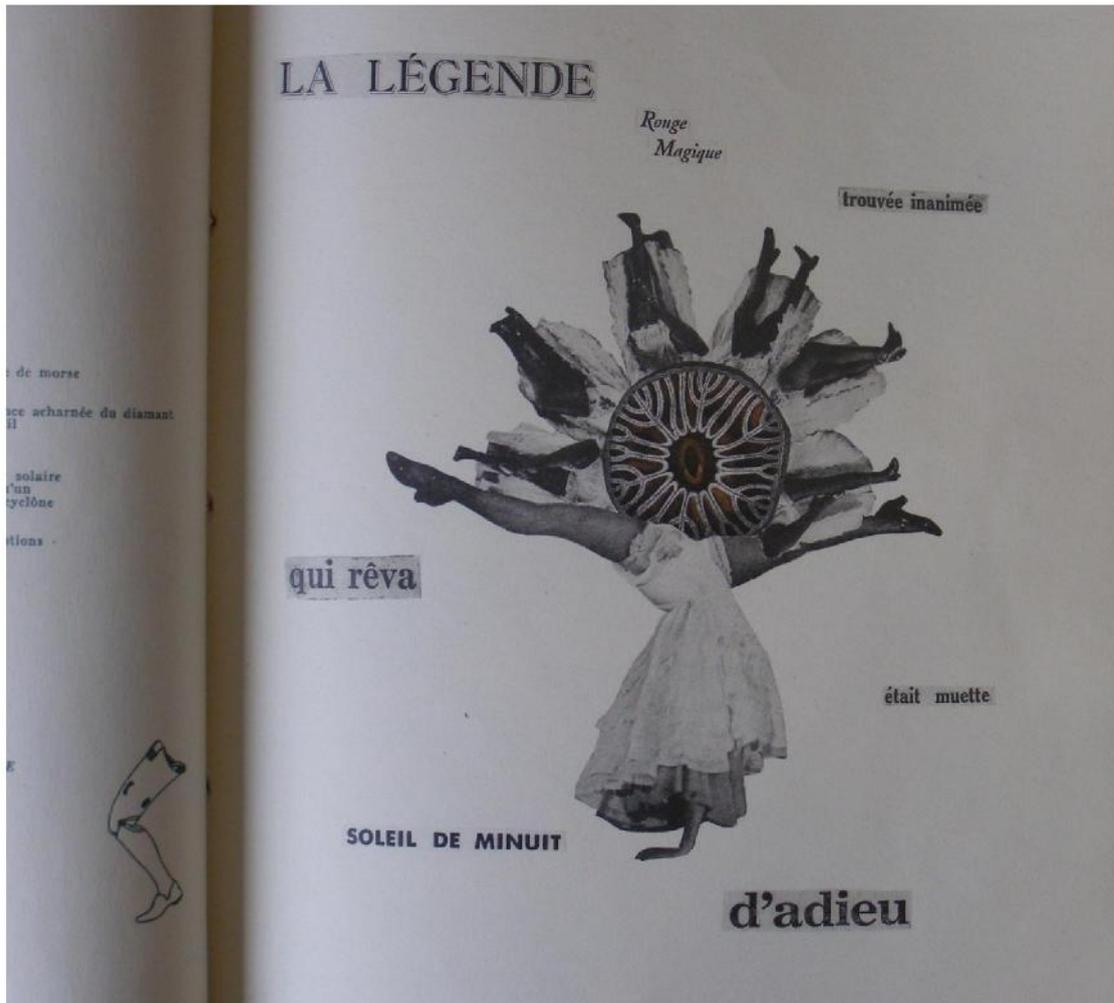


Fig 65

Collage 15, *La Septième face du Dé* (1936)

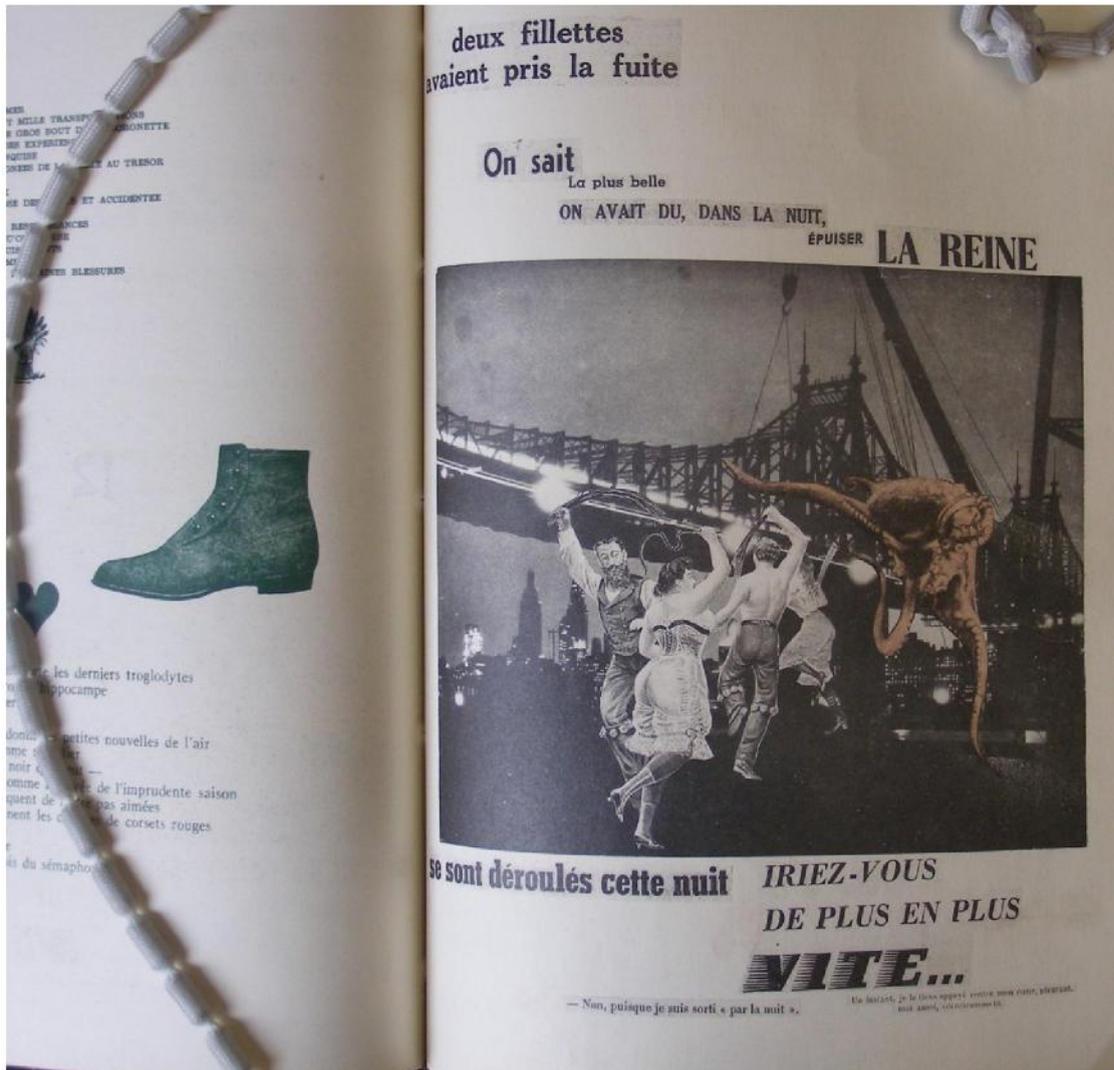


Fig 66

Collage 15, *La Septième face du Dé* (1936)



Fig 67

Collage 15, *La Septième face du Dé* (1936)

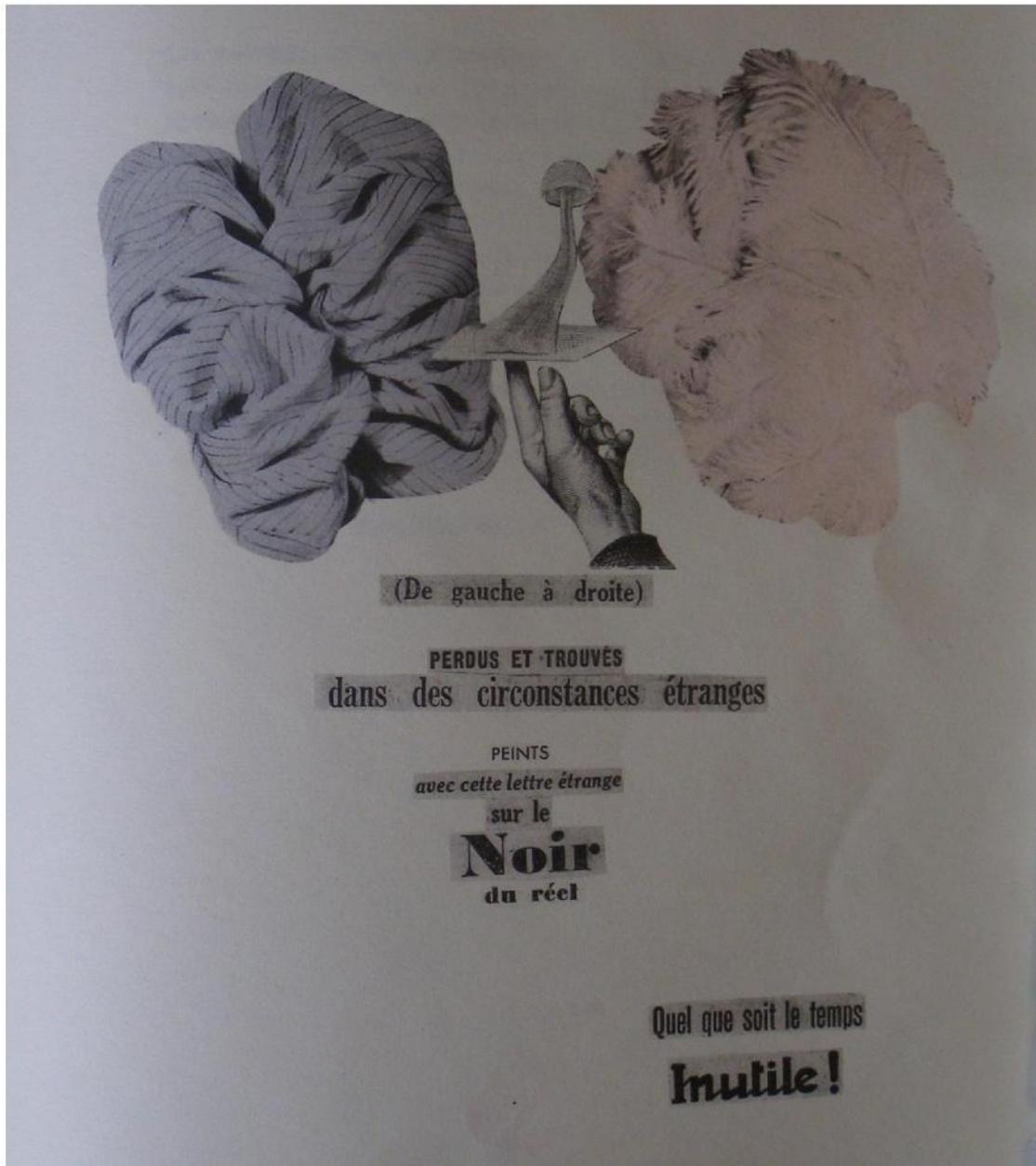


Fig 68

Collage 15, *La Septième face du Dé* (1936)



Fig 69

Collage 15, *La Septième face du Dé* (1936)



Fig 70

Collage 15, *La Septième face du Dé* (1936)



Fig 71 Collage 2, *La Septième face du Dé* (1936)



Fig 72

'Paterfamilias', ill. No. 11, *Mr Knife Miss Fork* (1931)

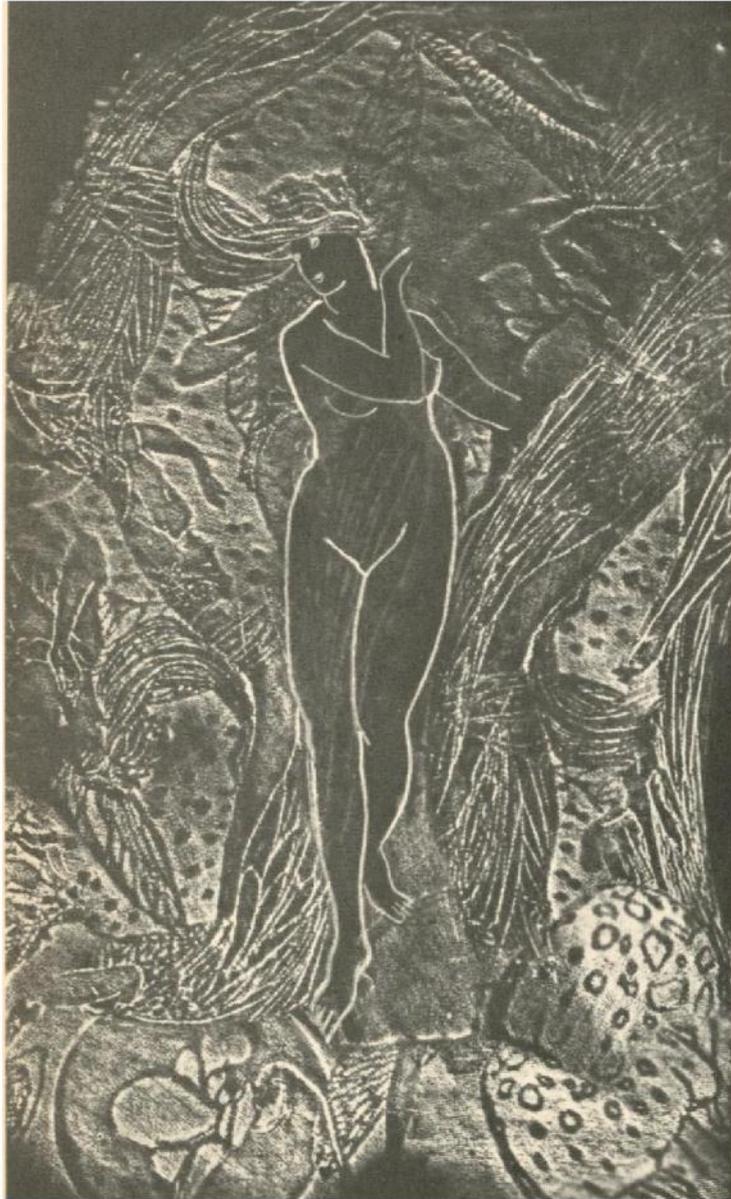


Fig 73 'Death is something like cousin Cynthia', ill. No. 4, *Mr Knife Miss Fork* (1931)

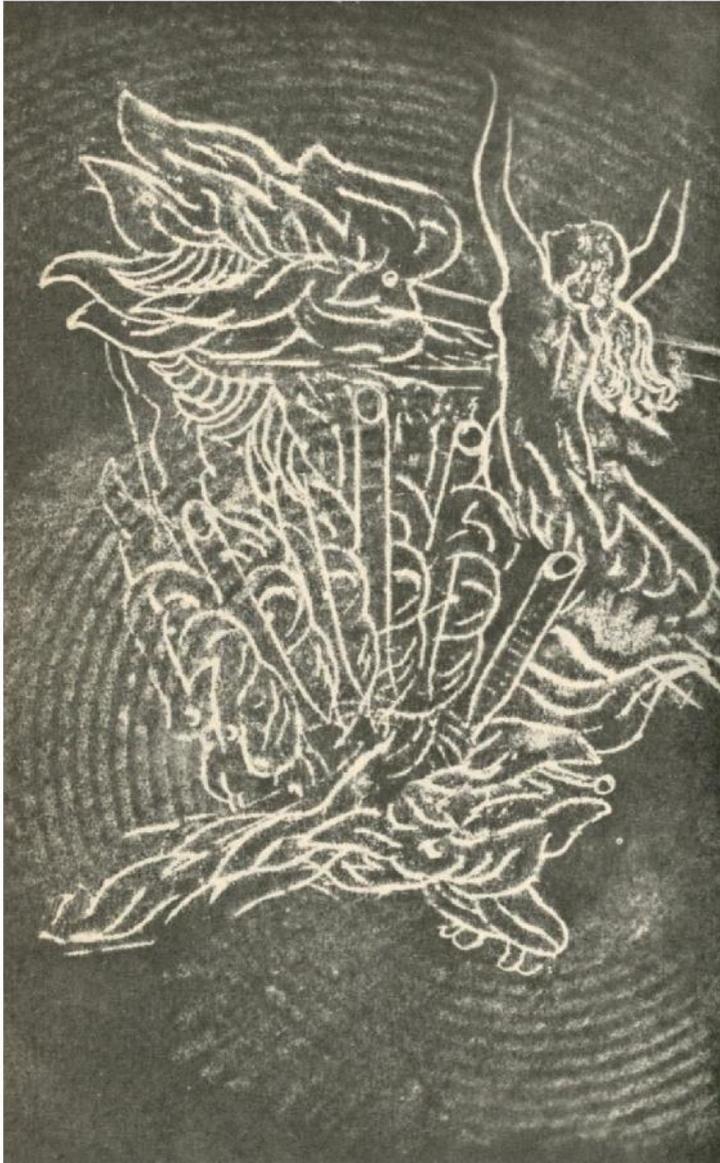


Fig 74 '... flowers as sweet as your hair', ill. No. 9, *Mr Knife Miss Fork* (1931)

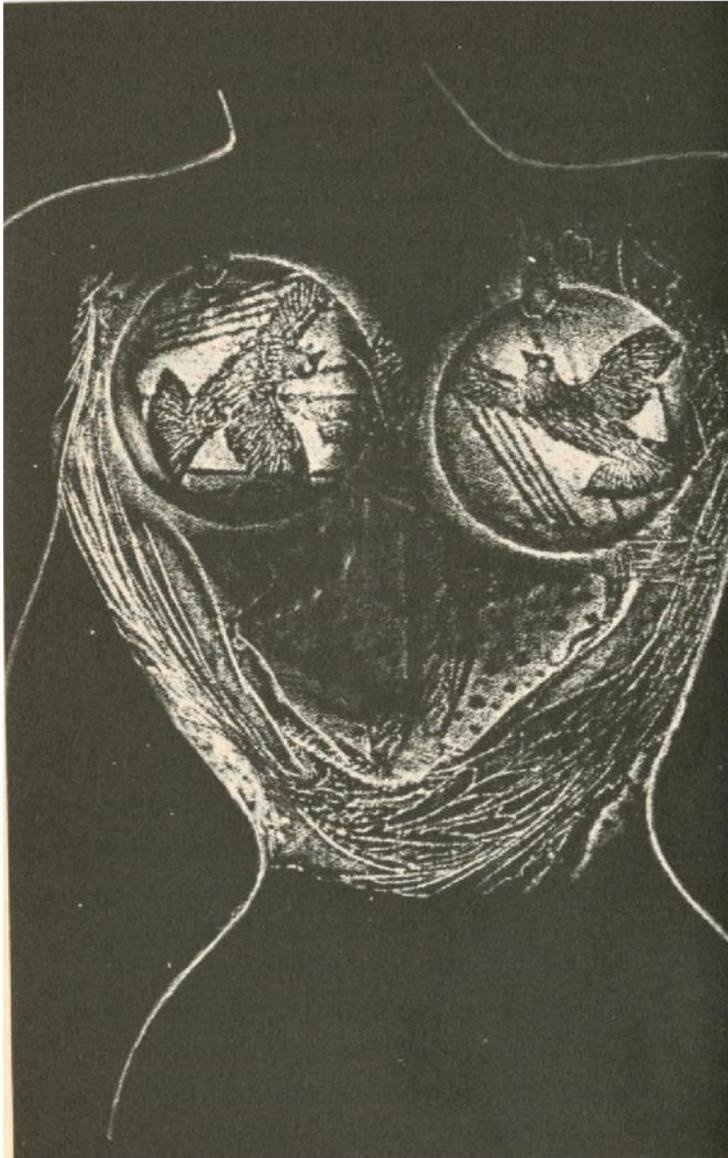


Fig 75

Ernst, M. '... it is two little birds she has closed up in her dress'.
Ill. No. 8, *Mr Knife Miss Fork* (1931)

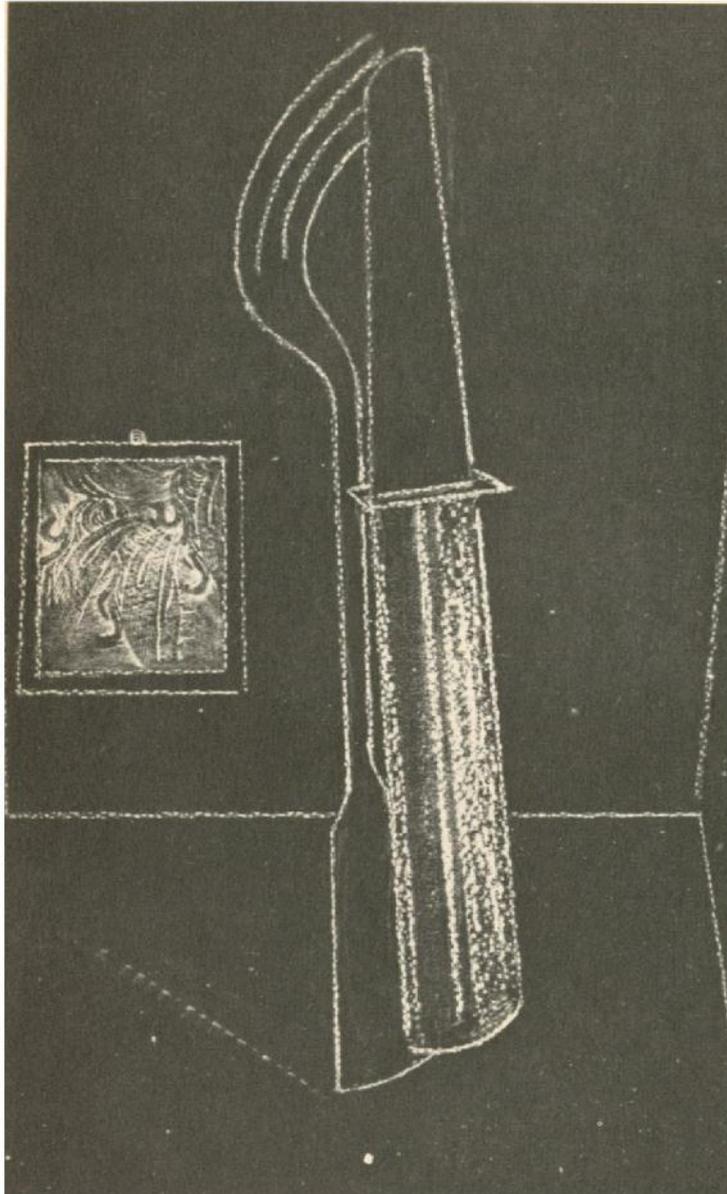


Fig 76

Ernst, M. Cover photograph for *Mr Knife Miss Fork* (1931)



Fig 77 '... Cynthia, her pearls, her feathers, her miracles ...', ill. No. 19, *Mr Knife Miss Fork* (1931)



Fig 78 Illustration for Bataille, G. 'Figure humaine', *Documents*, no, 4, 1929.



Fig 79

Parry, R. Plate 12, *Banalité* (1930)



Fig80

Moholy-Nagy, L. *Untitled* (1923)



Fig 81 El Lissitzky, *Mannequin* (c. 1925)

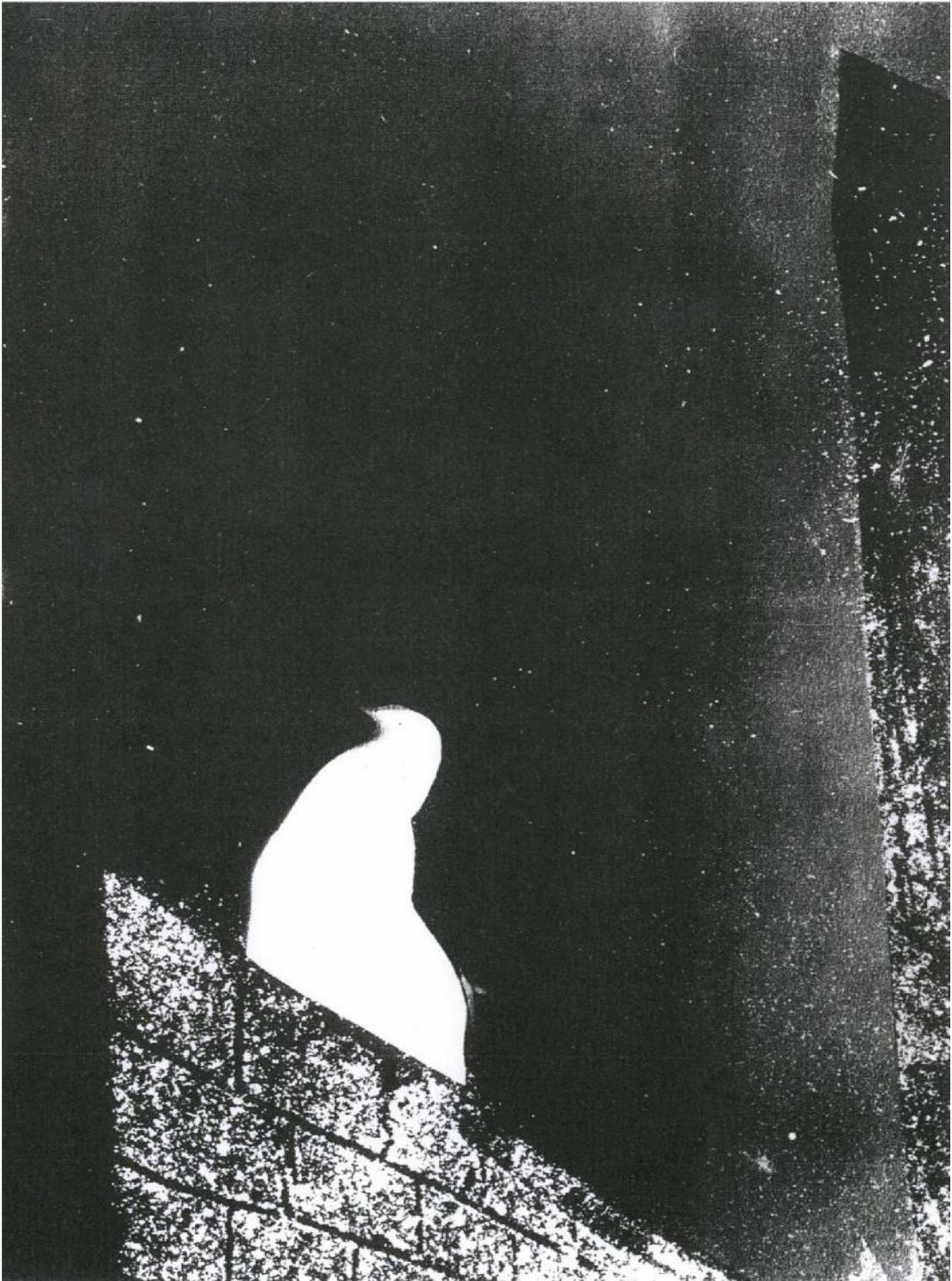


Fig 82

Parry, R. Plate 4, *Banalité* (1930)

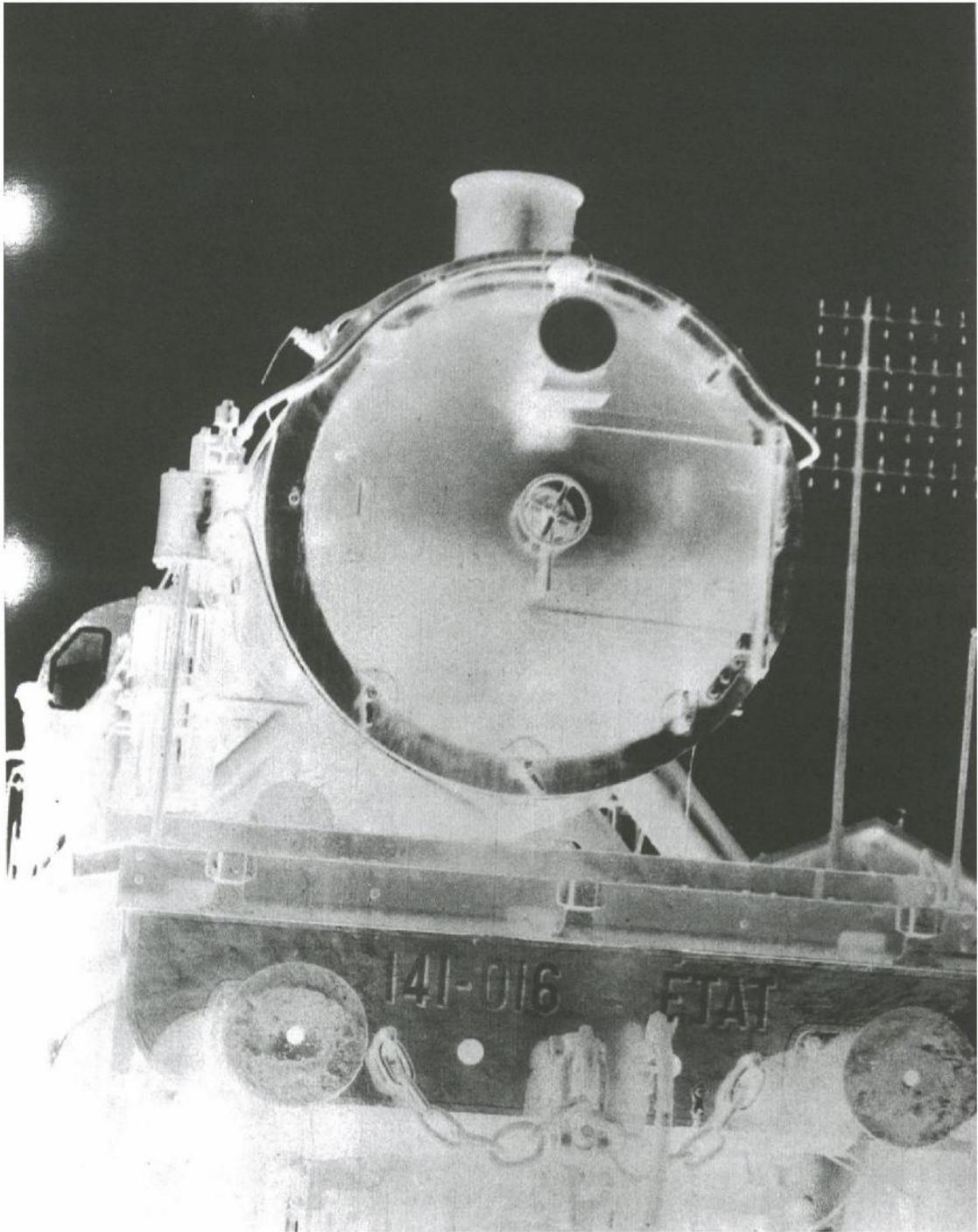


Fig 83 Parry, R. Plate 4, *Banalité* (1930)

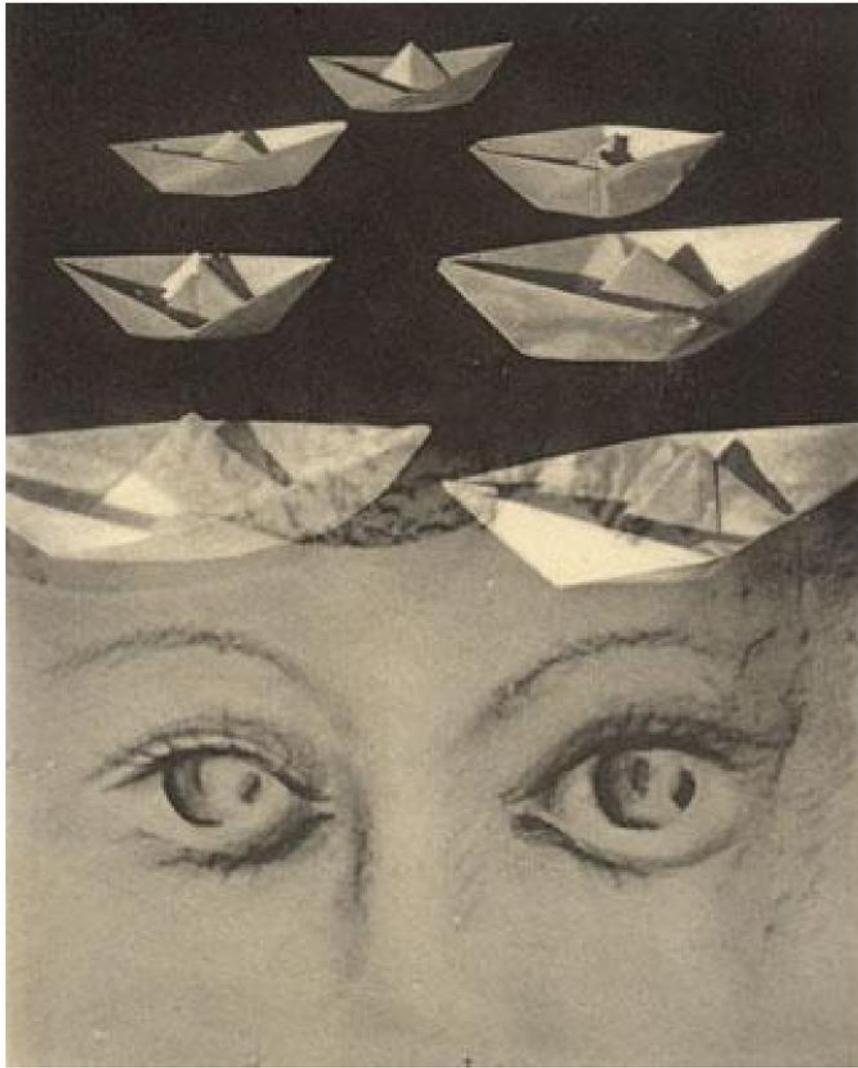


Fig 84

Parry, R. Plate 4, *Banalité* (1930)



Fig 85 Parry, R. Plate 4, *Banalité* (1930)



Fig 86 Parry, R. Advertising work for Nouveltex (c. 1930)



Fig 87 Parry, R. Plate 6, *Banalité* (1930)



Fig 88

Parry, R. Plate 6, *Banalité* (1930)



Fig 89

Parry, R. Plate 11, *Banalité* (1930).

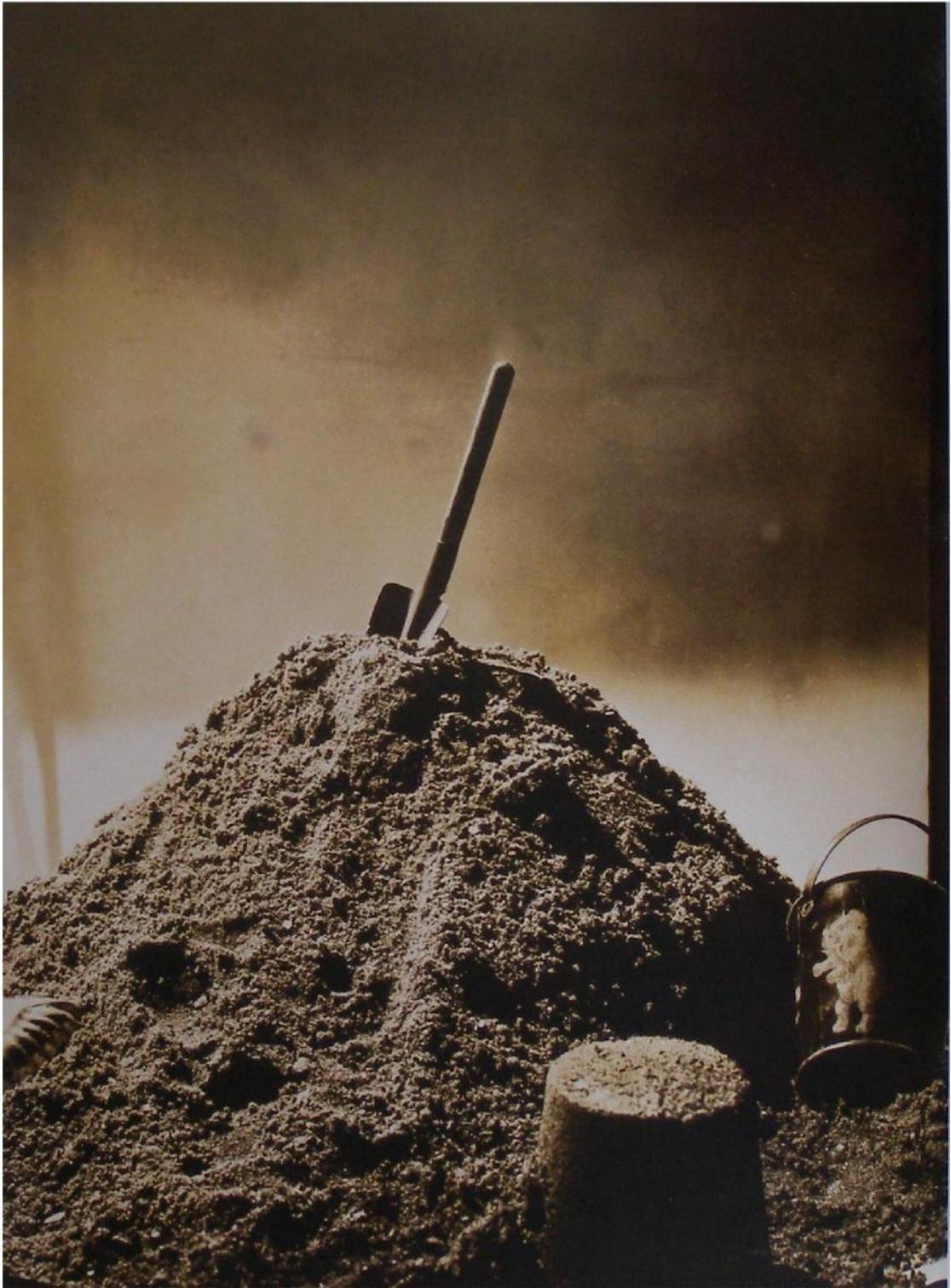


Fig 90

Parry, R. Plate 14, *Banalité* (1930)



Fig 91

Parry, R. Plate 14, *Banalité* (1930)

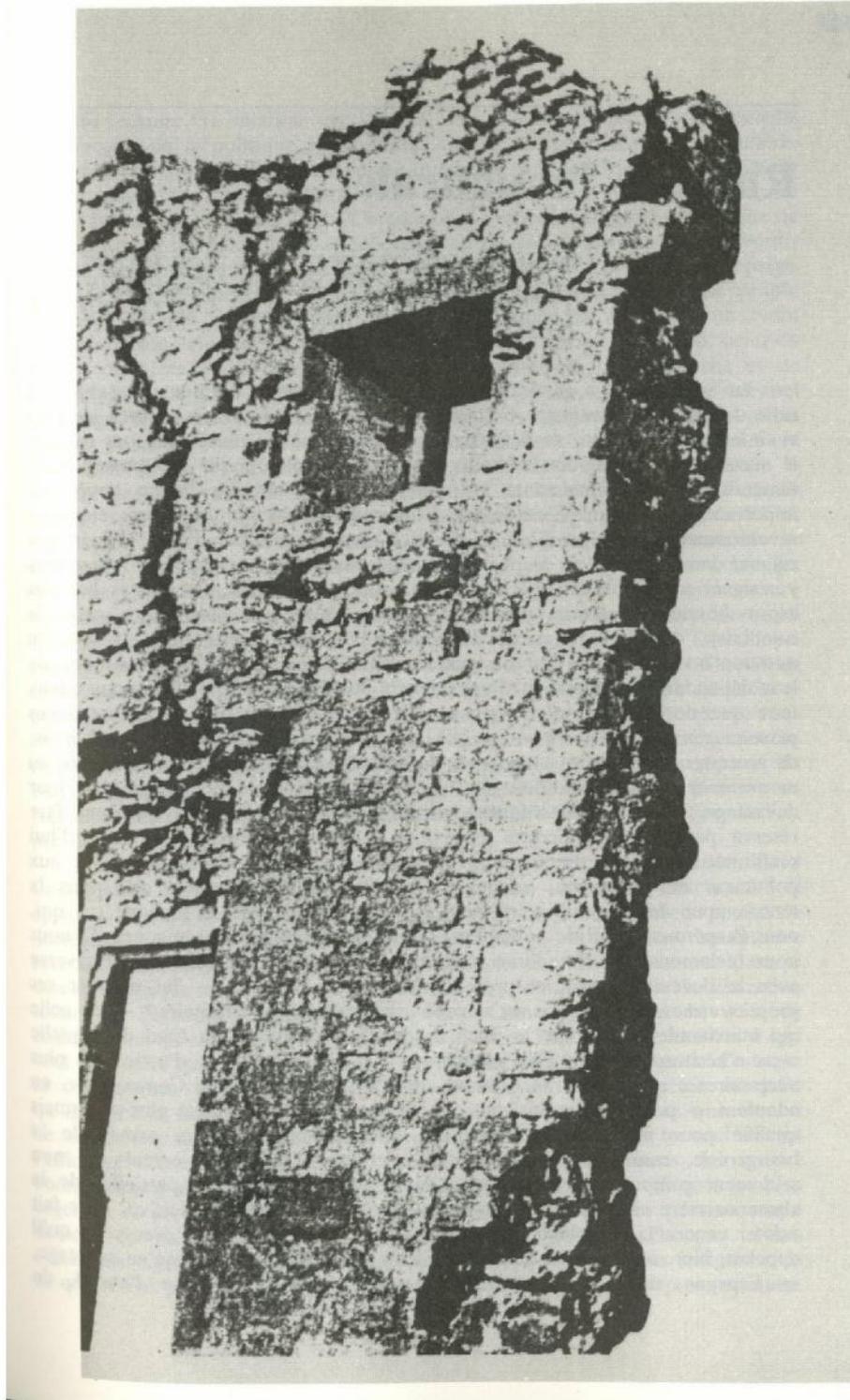
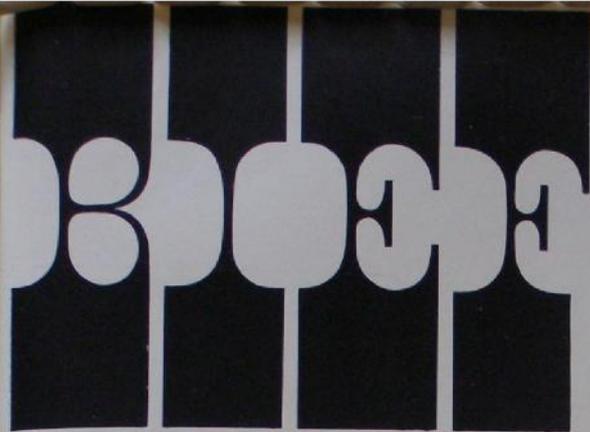


Fig 92 Frontispiece for '*Rupture inaugurale*', 1947.



JONCTION SURREALISTE



Photo Joubert.

A LA FOIRE DU TRONE.

« les squelettes des fêtes qui descendent des nuages en parachute
atterrissent dans les firoirs pleins de mollets
les petits hommes et les petites femmes deviennent encore plus petits
vive les mollets. »

ARP

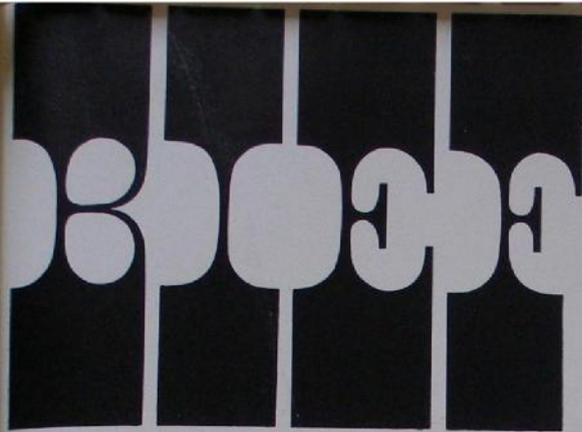
(poème écrit en 1937, reproduit dans « le siège de l'air », 1946).

N° 7. 1^{er} Juin 1959

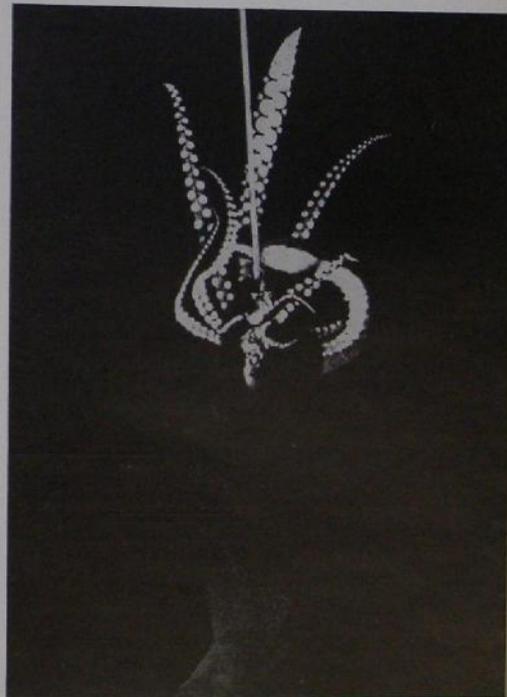
Editeur : LE TERRAIN VAGUE

Fig 93

Cover of *BIEF*, no. 8.



JONCTION SURREALISTE



N° 6. 15 Avril 1959

Éditeur : LE TERRAIN VAGUE

*Par 600 mètres de fond, la secousse imprimée à Flameçon
déclenche un flash électronique : la proie fait son propre portrait.
(D'après Frank Lane, Kingdom of Octopus, New York, 1957).*

« Au regard de soi, même. »

Fig 94 Cover of *BIEF*, no. 8.



Fig 95

Cover of *BIEF*, no. 8.

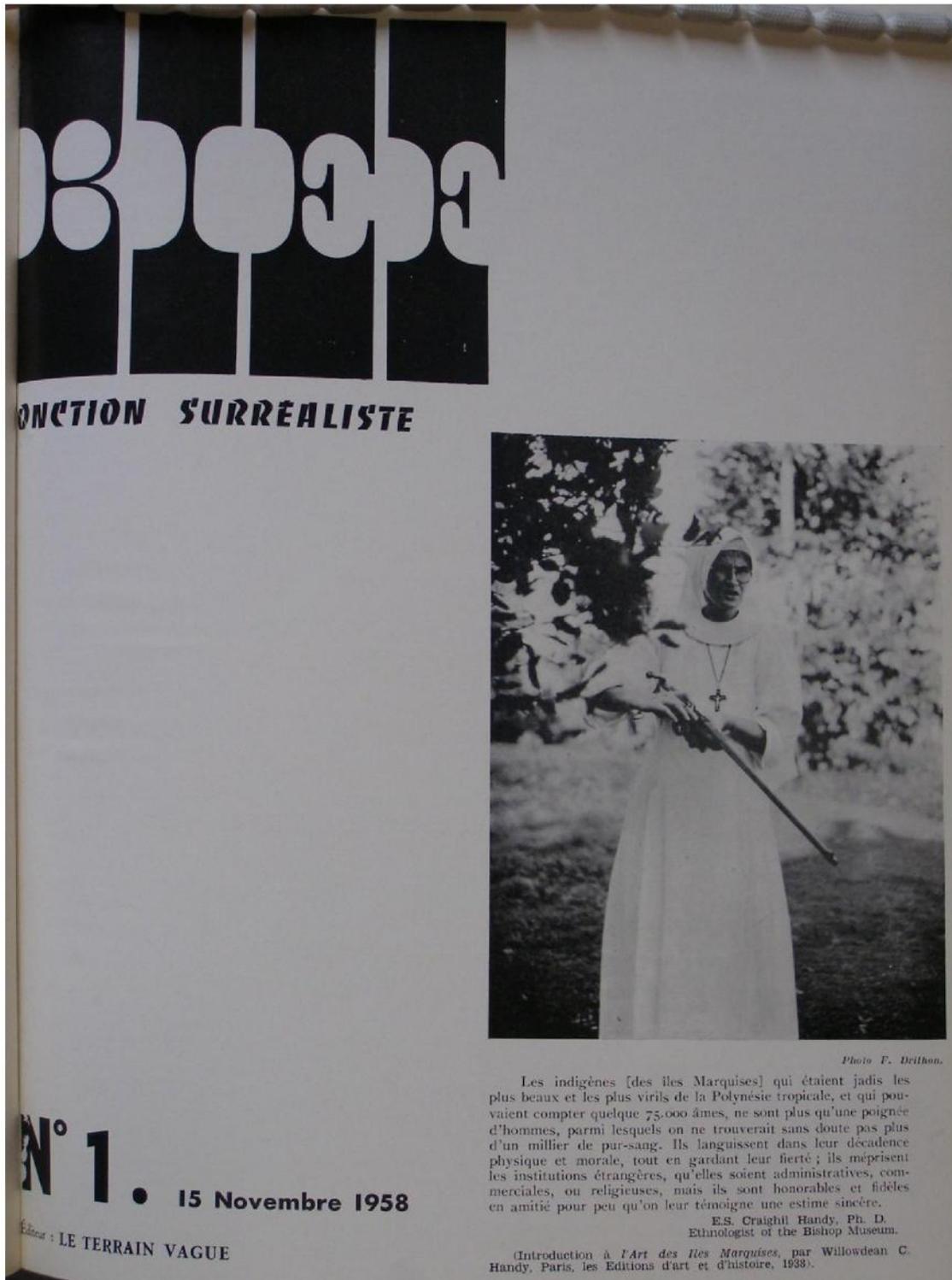
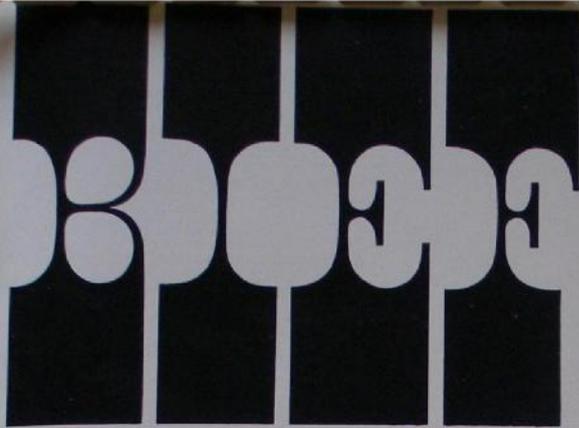
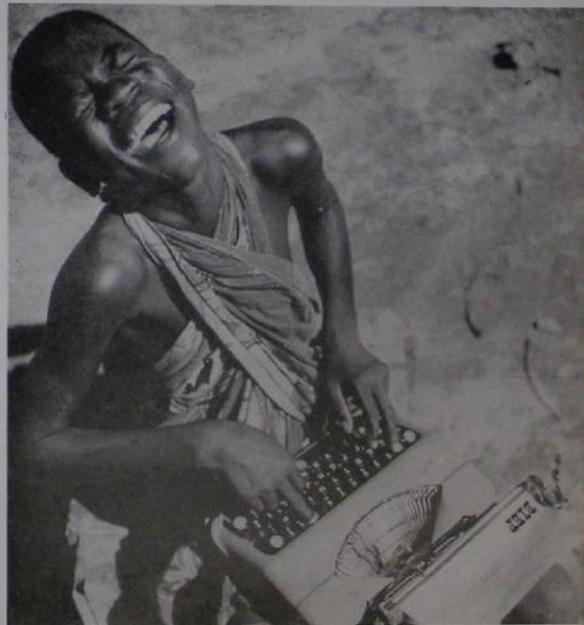


Fig 96

Cover of *BIEF*, no. 8.



JONCTION SURREALISTE

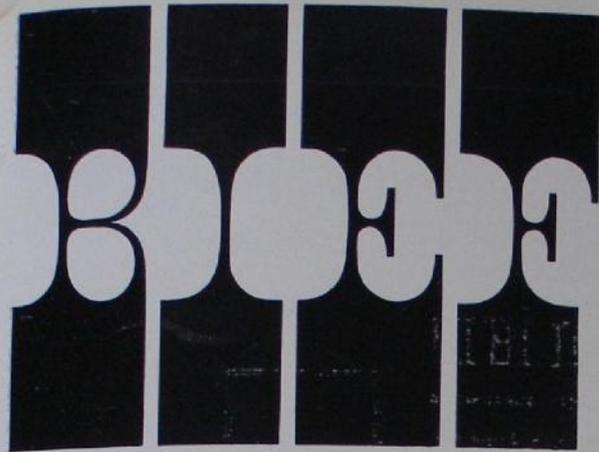


ECRIVEZ-NOUS. REPOSE ASSUREE.

N° 2. 15 Décembre 1958

Editeur : LE TERRAIN VAGUE

Fig 97 Cover of *BIEF*, no. 8.



JONCTION SURREALISTE



Photo Van Hock

« La jeunesse d'aujourd'hui se désintéresse totalement du surréalisme »
LES JOURNAUX.

(AU VERNISSAGE DE L'EXPOSITION INTERNATIONALE DU SURREALISME,
15 décembre 1959)

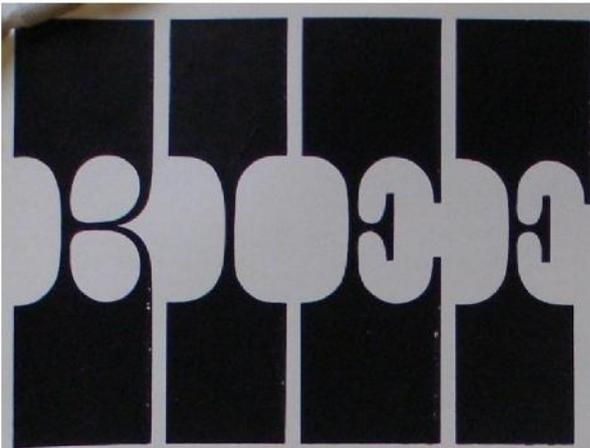
Numéro spécial **10-11**

15 Février 1960

Editeur : LE TERRAIN VAGUE

Fig 98

Cover of *BIEF*, no. 8.



JONCTION SURREALISTE



VITRINE DE PRESERVATIFS (Barcelone)

« Hélas ! ô malheureuse race des mortels, ô très douloureuse ! De quelles disputes, de quels gémissements êtes-vous nés ! »

EMPÉDOCLE D'AGRIGENTE.
(Purifications).

N° 8. 15 Juillet 1959

Editeur : LE TERRAIN VAGUE

Fig 99 Cover of *BIEF*, no. 8.

cruauté, incapable de fuir un supplice qu'elle approuvait, oiseau humain dans sa fourrure humide, proie d'un chasseur qu'elle avait choisi.

Le perroquet rota. C'était un perroquet belge.

Le soir, tandis que la mer, énervée par la froide incandescence lunaire, se frottait contre les galets sur la plage, Marie ouvrit grande la fenêtre, car un désespoir l'habitait. Le monde secret de la haine, l'amour des femmes jalouses, la lumière minérale de la cérébralité : tout ceci faisait partie de son être, et le désir d'une autre façon de vivre



Rhodésie. Document communiqué par le professeur Jacques Millot.

était devenu intolérable. Les journées sortaient en ligne droite du marécage et l'assassin se déplaçait dans le fumier de son existence avec la lourde et foudroyante rapidité d'un racoon. « Il faut en finir », se disait-elle, mais l'assassin ne la tuait guère et Jérémie, le vieux, la surveillait jour et nuit.

— Pour t'empêcher de faire une bêtise, disait-il.

Le perroquet jouait au taille-crayon avec Jérémie pendant les longs silences. Ils s'offraient des coïts interminables devant le miroir, prenant plaisir à se répandre ensuite généreusement dans un pot fêlé. Seul l'assassin dormait. Fatigué de sa journée à l'abattoir, il dormait, taillé dans le granit de sa supériorité sociale. Il était le roi, l'aristocrate de la force, et ses sujets sans ressources s'abandonnèrent au silence pendant son sommeil.

Fig 100

Illustration for Mansour, J. 'Le Perroquet', *Le Surréalisme Même*, no. 1.



Fig 101

Mayoux, J. Post card 'Maroc a la Belle Époque', *Le Surréalisme Même*, no. 1.



Le Cannet, *Décembre 56* : quelques jours après la répression sanglante de la révolution hongroise, tout va manifestement pour le mieux sur la Côte d'Azur (De gauche à droite : Laurent Casanova, Maurice Thorez, Aragon, Picasso, Cocteau, Henri Matarasso, Tabaru).
(Photo Paul Louis.)

Fig 102 Portrait of Picasso and friends, *Le Surréalisme Même*, no. 2.

BENDIX

la

plus

"reposante"

des

machines

à laver

présente...

la nouvelle

BENDIX "Gyramatic"



LA GAMME BENDIX
compte désormais
7 modèles
à automatisme intégral
ou à automatisme contrôlé
à partir de
119.500f.
DÉPART USINE + T. L.

**Encore plus de confort
pour votre linge et pour vous!**

- La suspension Gyramatic à équilibre compensé donne le maximum de souplesse et d'efficacité au fameux cycle de blanchissage BENDIX : Trempage, chauffage, lavage, rinçages, essorage. Traite avec une telle douceur, votre linge durera plus longtemps encore.
- C'est la plus élégante et la plus perfectionnée des machines à laver : aucune manipulation du linge mouillé, aucune surveillance.
- Pas de fixation au sol.
- Chauffante tous Gaz ou à l'Électricité.

Demandez une démonstration à l'un de nos 1.500 Dépositaires ou Agents

**6 MILLIONS DE BENDIX EN SERVICE DANS LE MONDE
PROUVENT QUE BENDIX LAVE MIEUX !**

BENDIX - 40, rue du Colisée, Paris 8^e - BAL. 67-90

Fig 103

Advertisement for Bendix washing machines, 1950's.

Preuve par neuf...

"FRIGIDAIRE" présente en 1957 neuf modèles nés sous le double signe de la commodité et de la qualité. C'est la gamme la plus complète et la plus prestigieuse de l'année. Le savoir-faire des ingénieurs "FRIGIDAIRE" va de 102 litres pour le Club à 274 litres pour l'Impérial. Ces chiffres ne sont pas des hauts, ils correspondent à des besoins bien définis.

Tous les appareils de la gamme possèdent les mêmes éléments de base : rendement élevé, silence, longue durée et surtout économie. Tous sont dotés d'aménagement fonctionnels d'une remarquable valeur pratique. La gamme "FRIGIDAIRE" continue la production 1957 : elle a déjà battu ses propres records de vente.

La grande compression reçoit le prestigieux "ELECTRA" dans sa mécanique tout fait "FRIGIDAIRE" son élément capital et sa caractéristique d'une grande économie de consommation de courant. Son efficacité se traduit par une économie d'énergie et par une plus longue durée de vie. Il fonctionne dans un silence remarquable.

Les modèles de la gamme "FRIGIDAIRE" sont en vente dans les magasins de la marque "FRIGIDAIRE" et dans les magasins de la marque "FRIGIDAIRE".

Les modèles de la gamme "FRIGIDAIRE" sont en vente dans les magasins de la marque "FRIGIDAIRE" et dans les magasins de la marque "FRIGIDAIRE".

FRIGIDAIRE

Marque déposée

le vrai

PRODUCTION GENERAL MOTORS (FRANCE) 54-60, avenue Louis Roche - GENEVILLERS (Seine) 682 - 44 30

Fig 104 Frigidaire advertisement, 1950's.

LA PAGE HÉROÏQUE



"FRIGÉCO" REND HOMMAGE AU HÉROS DE DIEN-BIEN-PHU

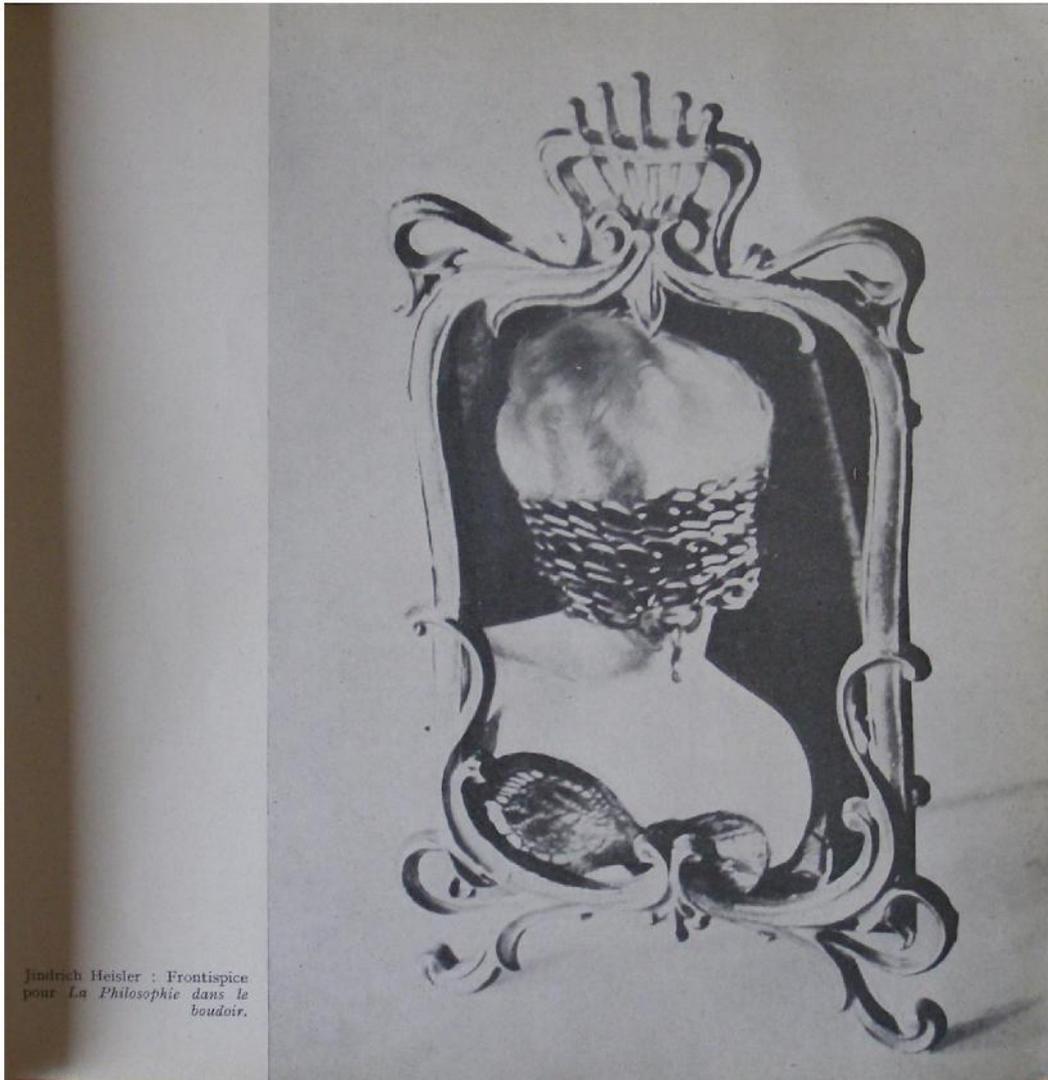
Après quatre mois d'une pénible captivité, le général Christian de Castries, dont le nom reste glorieusement attaché à celui de Dien-Bien-Phu comme le symbole de l'héroïsme national, est rentré en France. A son retour à Paris, dans son domicile de la rue Copernic, il a retrouvé un FRIGÉCO que l'on voit sur la photo ci-dessus à côté des nombreux trophées remportés au cours de sa brillante carrière de cavalier. Mme Christian de Castries, dont on connaît l'attachable activité auprès des blessés d'Indochine, a bien voulu, par sympathie pour FRIGÉCO, dédicacer cette photographie pour les lecteurs de notre journal.

Fig 105

Frigêco promotional photograph, republished in *Medium*, no. 4.



Fig 107 Duchamp, Cover for *Le Surréalisme Même*, no. 1.



Jensrich Heisler : Frontispice
pour *La Philosophie dans le
boudoir*.

Fig 108

Heisler, J. Frontispiece for Sade's *La Philosophie dans le*

boudoir,
Le Surréalisme Même, no. 1.

Fig 109 Portrait of Juliette Greco, illustration for Mitrani, N. 'Des chats et
des magnolias', *Le Surréalisme Même*, no. 1.

*Mais peut-être saura-t-elle, sait-elle déjà assumer simultanément les deux rôles ?
(Alors, les catégories masculines ne vaudront plus très cher, et les hommes auront peur.)
L'ambiguïté de la femme-femelle se communique à l'amour dont elle est l'objet ou la complice.*

NORA MITRANI.



Juliette Gréco,
par Man Ray.

Fig 109 Portrait of Juliette Gréco, illustration for Mitrani, N. 'Des chats et des magnolias', *Le Surréalisme Même*, no. 1.

des chats et des magnolias



Les femmes raffinent au vu et de la dentelle Chaudilly, et du parfum des roses bulgares, et des marins glacés que leur froignent tous les climatiseurs de tout les continents de mode du monde. Elles se laissent tenter par les vapours de l'été, douces jusqu'à l'excès, dans les professionnels du châtiaud et du satin thermal leur composant un monde californien, soleil, soleil, animal (mais de ses végétaux, de ces animaux familiers dont on extrait les essences), un monde étranger à l'âme dévot par le mal d'être. « C'est qu'on ne vous regarde plus dans les yeux quand on vous aime ; on vous regarde prononcer « magnolia », et alors, une chose étrange se passe... Parce que l'expression de la bouche compte plus que celle des yeux, parce que c'est elle qui est devenue le miroir de l'âme... ». C'est dans ces formes que ce prince idéal de la mode (1) orchestre la publicité de sa nouvelle gamme de soignes à lèvres. Elle est habile, elle flatte la femme, elle l'insulte et l'affirme, brève offerte et prise tout à la fois, dans l'incertitude, se cache ou son corps visible, allège de n'être que corps et de plaisir. Elle est l'écho publicitaire, la stratégie et la tactique, comme de ces films de Paulhan : « ... qui tout est sexe ou elles (les femmes) et jusqu'à l'esprit. On le faudrait sans cesse les moquer, sans cesse les louer et les louer, sans cesse les louer » (2).

Ces femmes, ce sont les Marilyn et autres somptueuses créatures de cinématographique qui, vultures de valeurs roses, dansent, bouche et paupières mi-closes, s'effondrent dans le monde après des hommes. De toutes parts, des vagues de rires et de larmes naissent, mais pour se briser, ne laissant qu'un peu d'humour amère au coin des lèvres, pour se lécher contre les lanches de Marlboro. Ils ne réalisent pas, ces rires qui défilent, à composer le manque de perfection, à noyer les battements du cœur et le vertige délectable provoqué par celles-elles qui tout est sexe...

Mais le vertige est préférable à la confusion des genres... Que, cette sexualité de nos violents, les hommes de tout temps la leur reprochant, comme le prétend Paulhan,

(1) Christian Dior.

(2) Poésie de Jean Paulhan à Histoire d'Or.

Fig 110

Portrait of Munroe, illustration for Mitrani, N. 'Des chats et des magnolias'

LEONORA CARRINGTON, la secrétaire de Mexico, dit :
*Naïve le soir et très adoucie,
 Les hommes me poursuivent jusqu'à ce qu'ils soient las.
 L'épave abaisé, l'épave humaine.
 Résolvez cette énigme si vous le pouvez. (p. 67)*



Au bord du lac de Thonon, MERET OPPENHEIM
 se donne les vols de cygne et de canard qu'elle repartie
 sur les nuages. Esprit de la terre et de l'eau, elle réarrie
 le tonnerre plus que les peurs-noir et les mystères
 puissants que voit être bien au soleil.



Échappée de silence, Myriam comme écho de châteaux forts,
 cette voix d'ALICE IN WONDERLAND glisse dans la
 pénombre verte d'un monde où le monde d'ici elle rêve
 visible à chaque instant de découvrir pour la première
 fois, plus lumineux et plus délicat que la haute lumière
 qui défile sa course dans la clarté de ses grands yeux :
 toute du grand merveilleux, MERET OPPENHEIM nous a red
 onné à l'innocence des eaux de niche et à la gaieté grave
 des rivières, en murmurant, comme si elle se penchait.



Le demi-sourire de NÉLLY KAPLAN, qu'elle poète,
 d'un regard de son front, souriant de l'eau, n'est
 il pas le masque du son, à la fois grave et naturel, de
 quelconque son langage de l'écriture? Aux côtés d'Abel
 Gance, Nelly Kaplan a fait de la poésie d'interme
 ment le plus poète à travailler sur les écrans le regard
 délicat de l'analyse. Grâce à elle, le cinéma sera possi
 ble au jour merveilleux.



Gérard Legn
 Joyce Mans
 Lancelot Lang

Julien Gr
 André Bre
 José Pie
 Na

Robert Le
 Benjamin Pi
 Henri Rey

Léonora Carring
 Adrien I

Jean-Jacques Le
 Robert Benay

Gérard Legn
 J.-B. Bru

Charles Flam
 Jean Mar

Nora Mit
 Fernando Pes

Jean-Louis Béd
 Benjamin P

Jean-Claude Silberm
 Abel Gance, Nelly Kap

Jean Schu
 Charles Estie

Jehan Moy
 Pierre de Mas

X
 Illustrati

Le Surréal

Dirac
 Rédacteur en
 Rédac
 Administra
 Edit

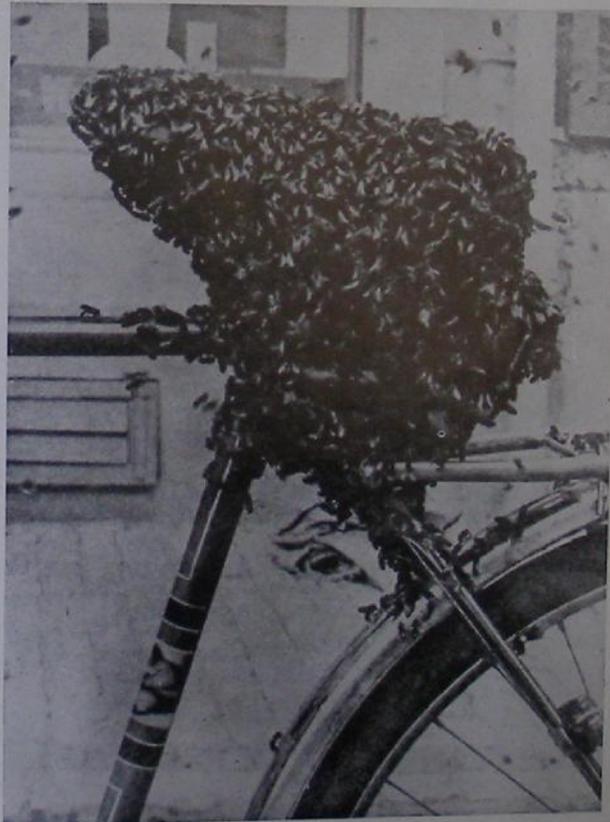
Fig 111

Photographs of women contributors, contents page of *Le Surréalisme Même*, no. 2.



Fig 112 Cover of *L'Age du Cinema*, no. 4/5, August - November 1951.

LAFORET : *l'Enigme* (1952).



LA SELLE D'ABEILLES
(Document communiqué
par Meret Oppenheim.)

Fig 113 Oppenheim, M. and Laforet, illustrations for Mitrani, 'Diptyque de l'amour et du sang-froid', *Medium*, no. 3.

Fig 114 Cover of *L'Age du Cinema*, no. 4/5, August - November 1951.



Fig 114 Molinier, P. Cover for *Le Surréalisme Même*, no. 2.



Fig 115 Molinier, P. Photographic collage documentation, n.d.

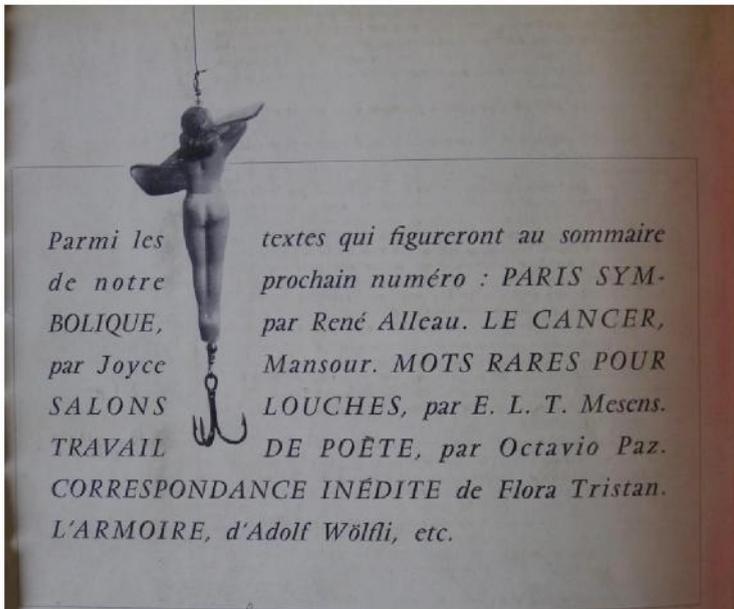
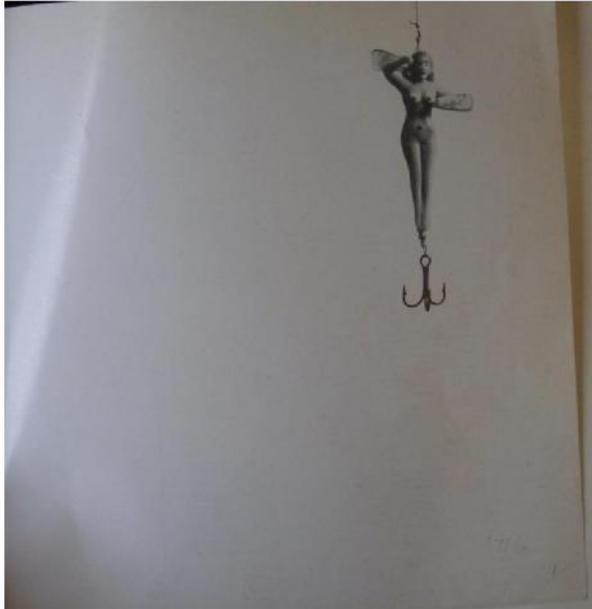


Fig 116 Molinier, P. Photographs for frontispiece and postscript, *Le Surréalisme Même*, no. 2.



Fig 117 Bellmer, H. *Tenir au frais*, (1958) Cover for *Le Surréalisme Même*, no. 4.



Fig 118 Bellmer, H. *Unica*, 1958.



Fig 119

Maria Wimmer as Penthesilea, *Le Surréalisme Même*, no. 4.



Fig 120 Photograph of Lilly Christine, burlesque star, 1950's

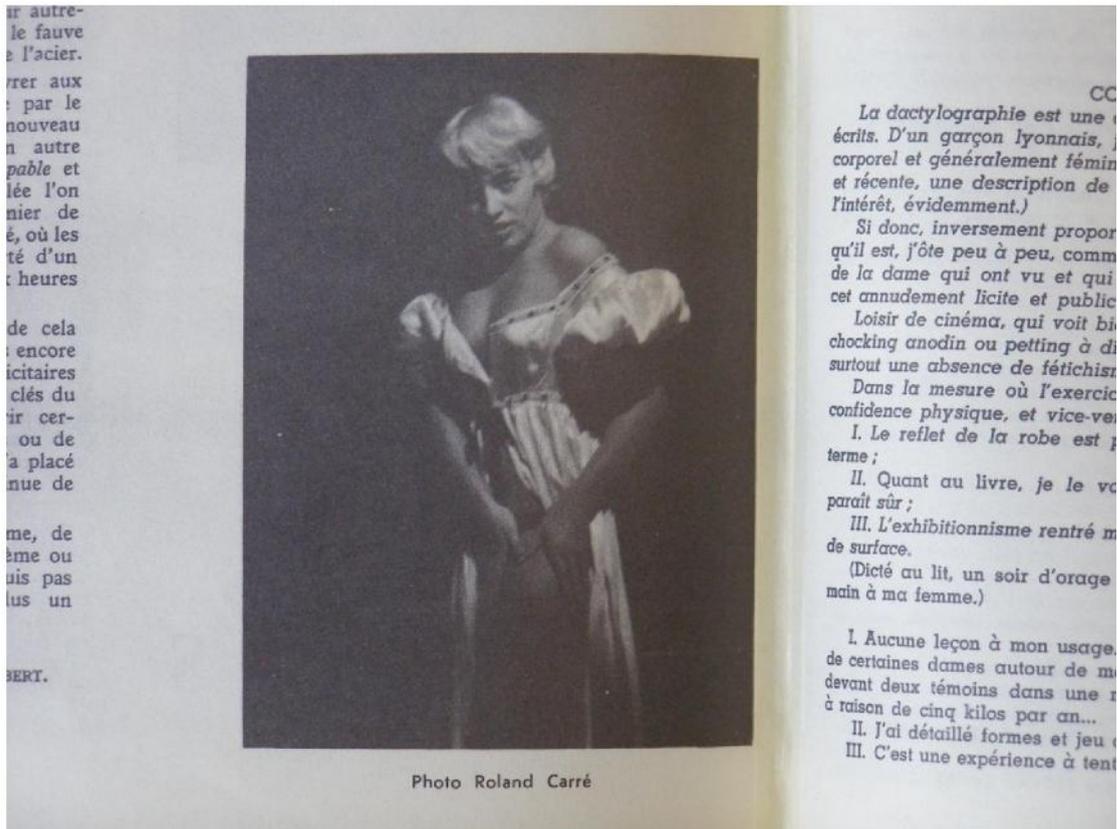


Fig 121

Photography of 'Melody Bubbles', 'Un enquête sur le strip tease',
Le Surréalisme Même, no. 5.

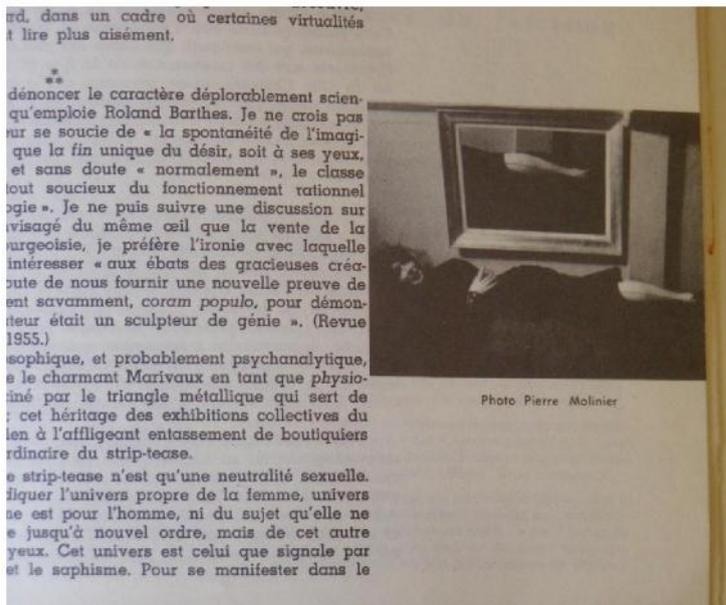
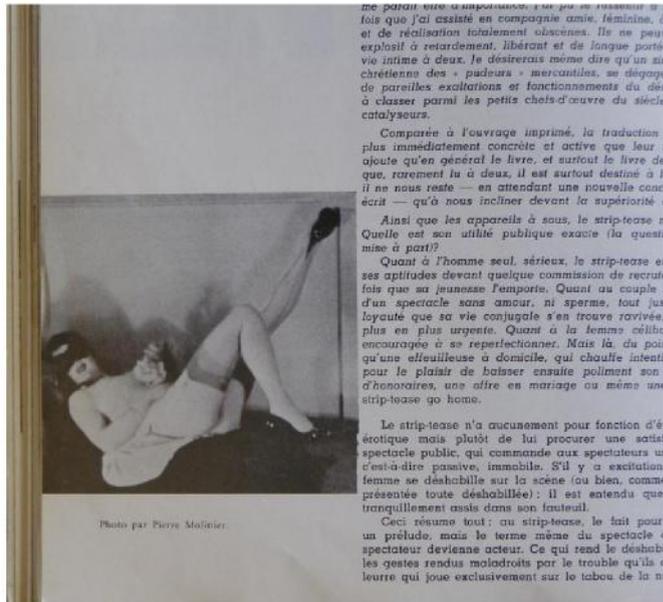


Fig 122 Molinier, P. Illustrations for 'Un enquête sur le strip tease', *Le Surréalisme Même*, nos . 4 and 5.



Fig 123 Bardot on the cover of *Elle*, 27 July 1953.

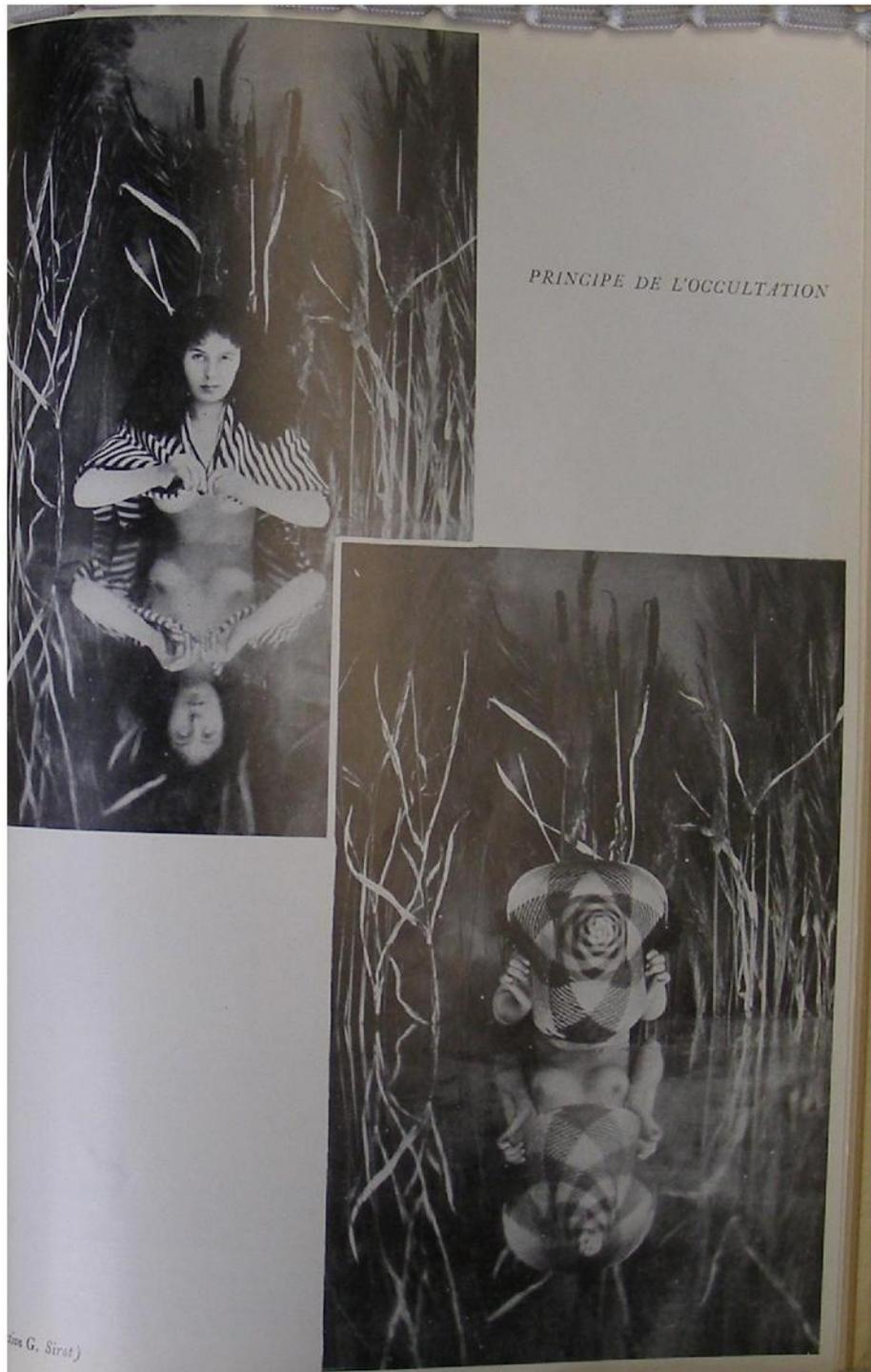


Fig 124 Principe de l'occultation, *Medium*, no. 4.

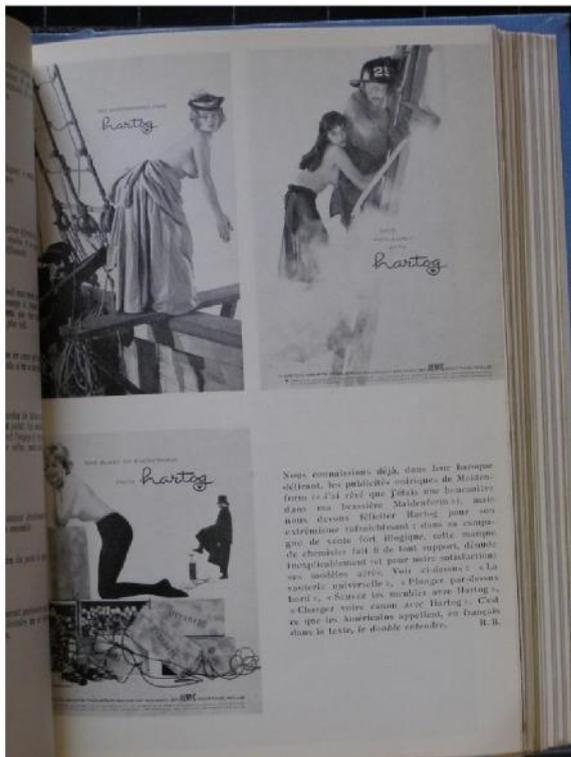


Fig 125

Advertisements for Hartog shirts, published in *La Brèche*, June 1964.

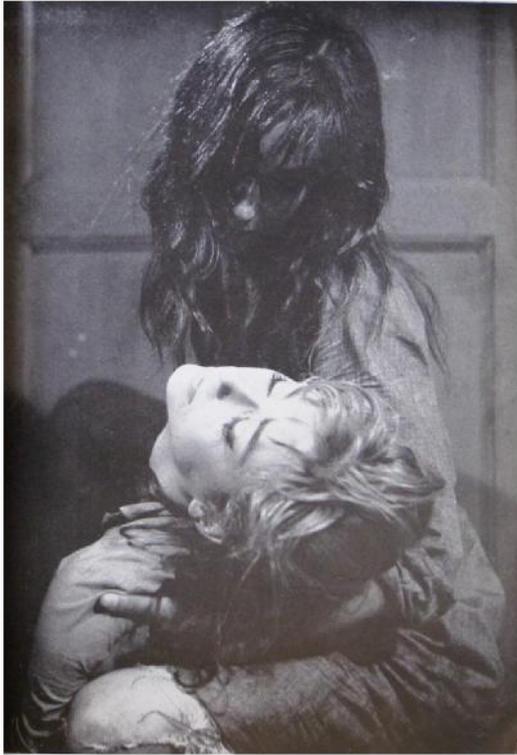


Fig 126 Film stills from *Les Abysses* (1963), *La Brèche*, no. 5.



Fig 127 Joans, T. (1963) X: Extrait d'Alphabet Surreal, La Brèche, no. 5.

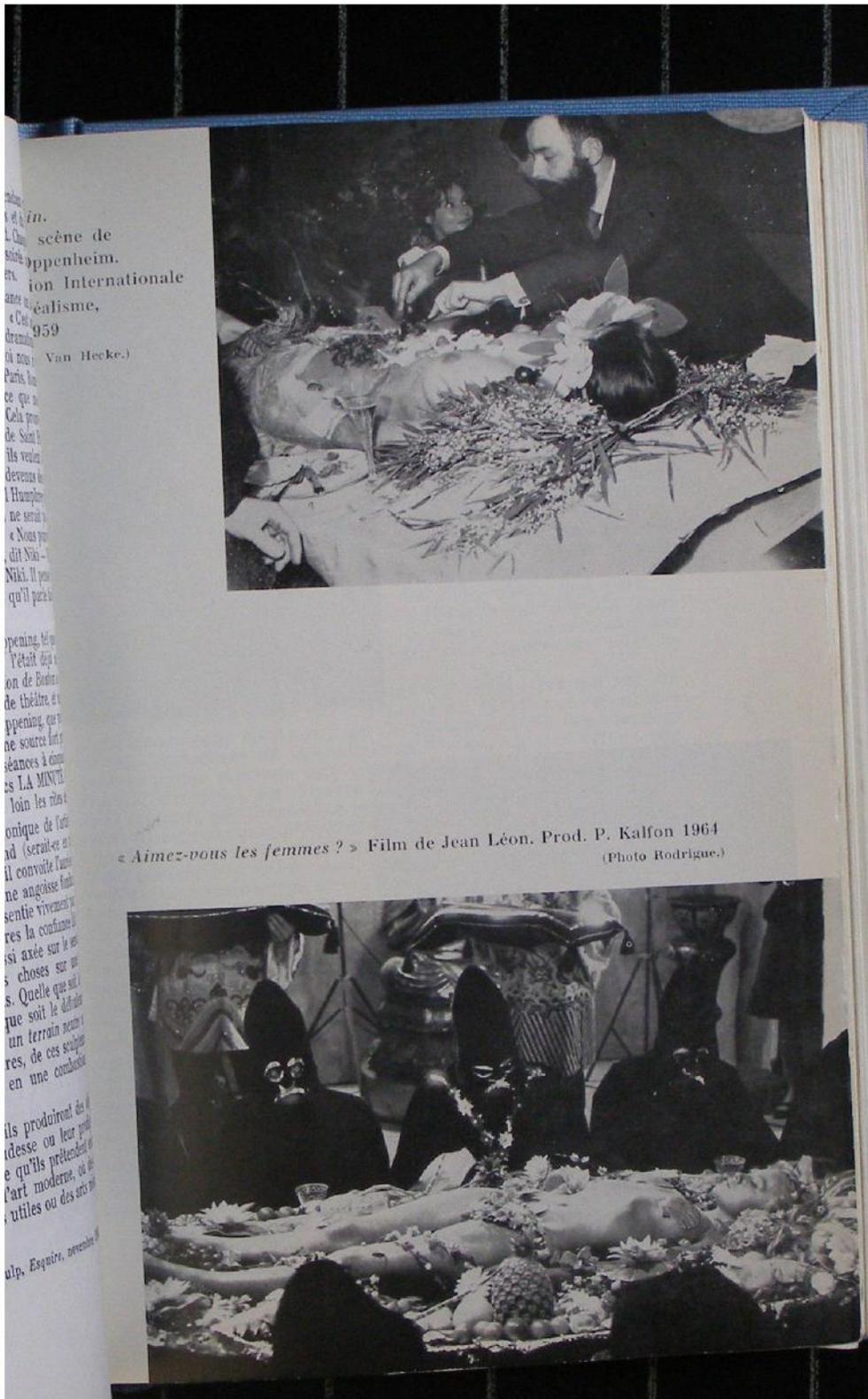


Fig 128

Oppenheim, M. *Banquet* and film still from Léon, J. *Aimez-vous les femmes?*, *La Brèche*, no. 6.



Jindrich Heisler : *Objet*. 1943.

Fig 129

Heisler, J. *Objet* (1943), *La Brèche*, no. 8.



Jindřich ŠTYRSKÝ : L'annonciation, 1941.
Célestins : Cardinal américain, 1941.

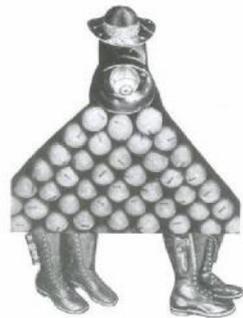


Fig 130 Štyrský, J. *L'annonciation* (1941), *Cardinal américain* (1941), *Le petit Jésus* (1941), *La Brèche*, no. 4.



André BRETON : Duc... la Montagne Noire

Fig 131

Parent, M. *André Breton : Duc ... la Montagne Noire, La Brèche,*
no. 1.



Fig 132 Hugette and Jean Schuster, collage dedicated to Elisa and André Breton,
La Brèche, no. 8.



Fig 133

Hugette and Jean Schuster, collage dedicated to Marianne and Radovan Ivsic, *La Brèche*, no. 8

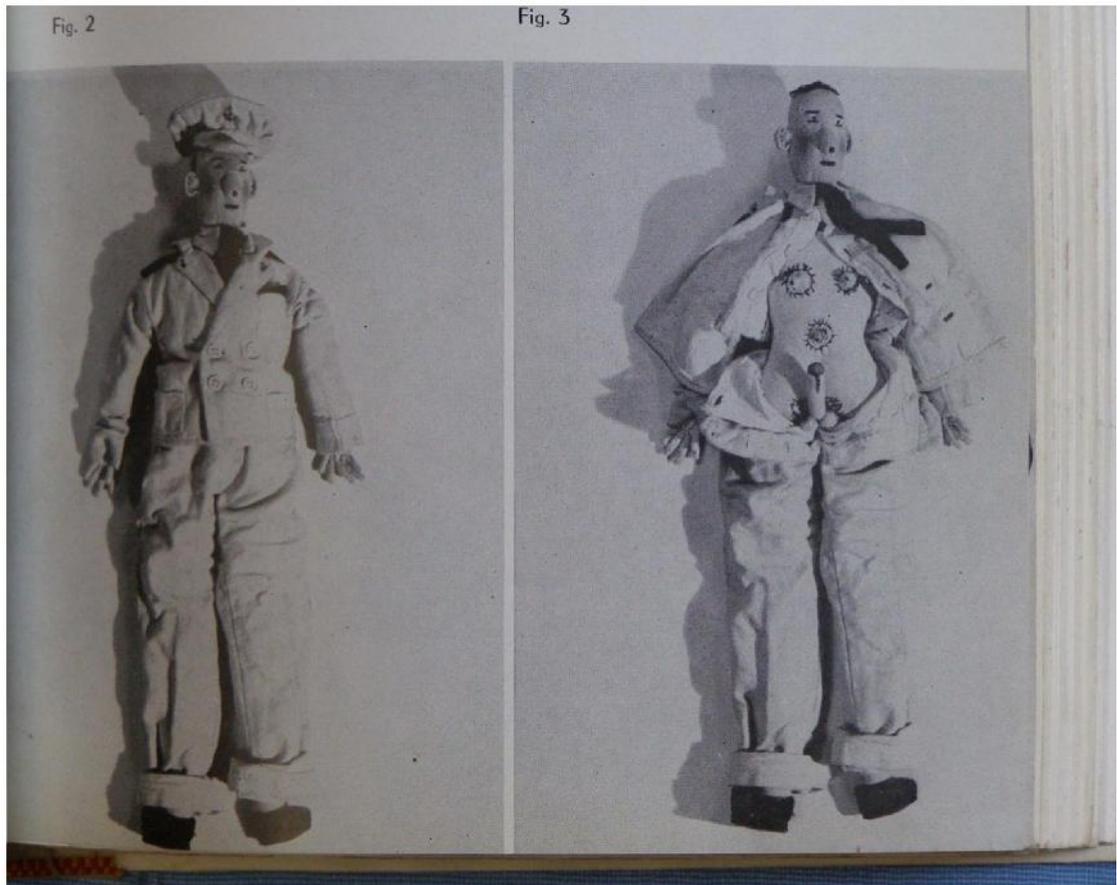


Fig 134 Illustrations for Selz, G. 'Les Doigts de la Mémoire', *La Brèche*, no. 2.

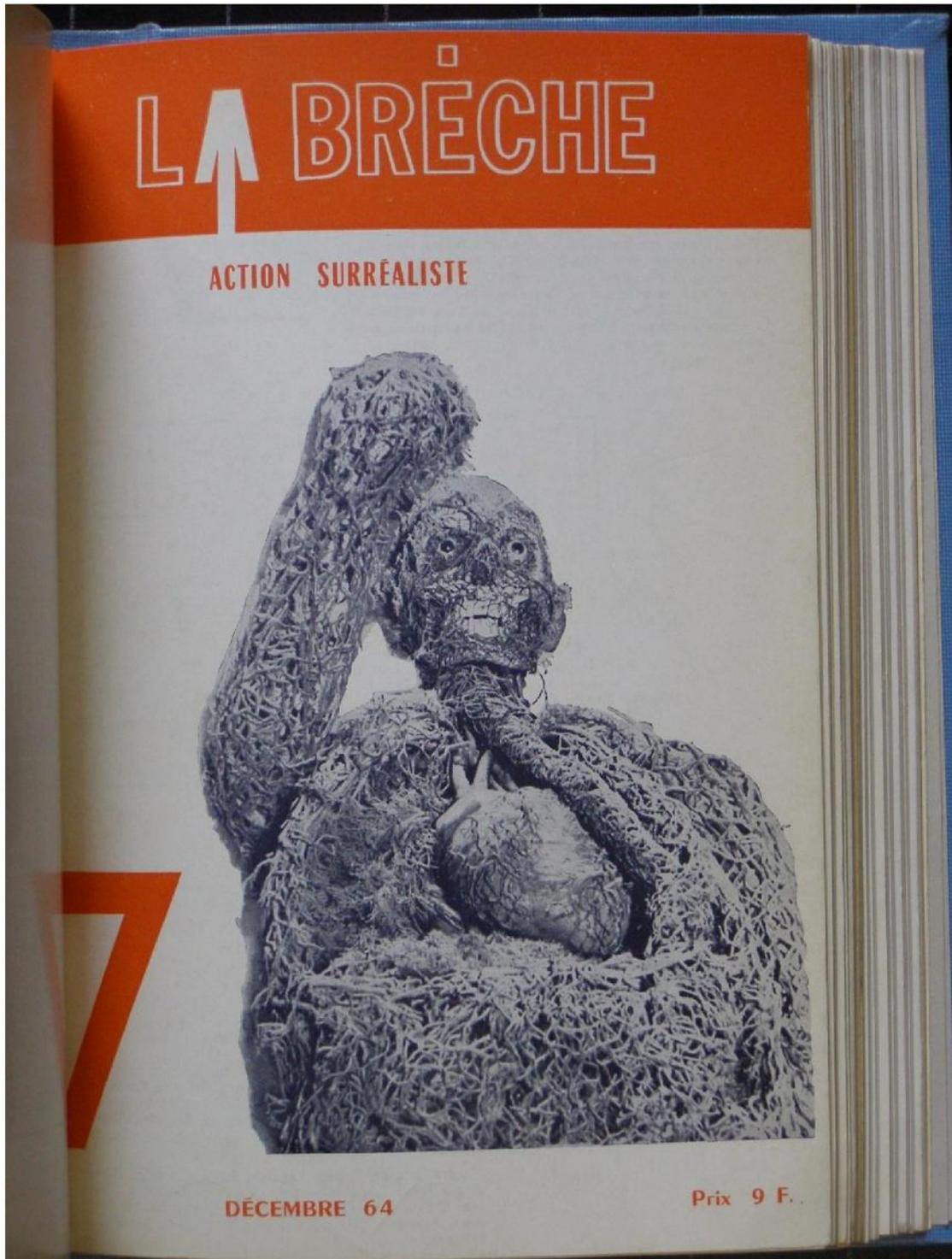


Fig 135

Cover of *La Brèche*, no. 7.

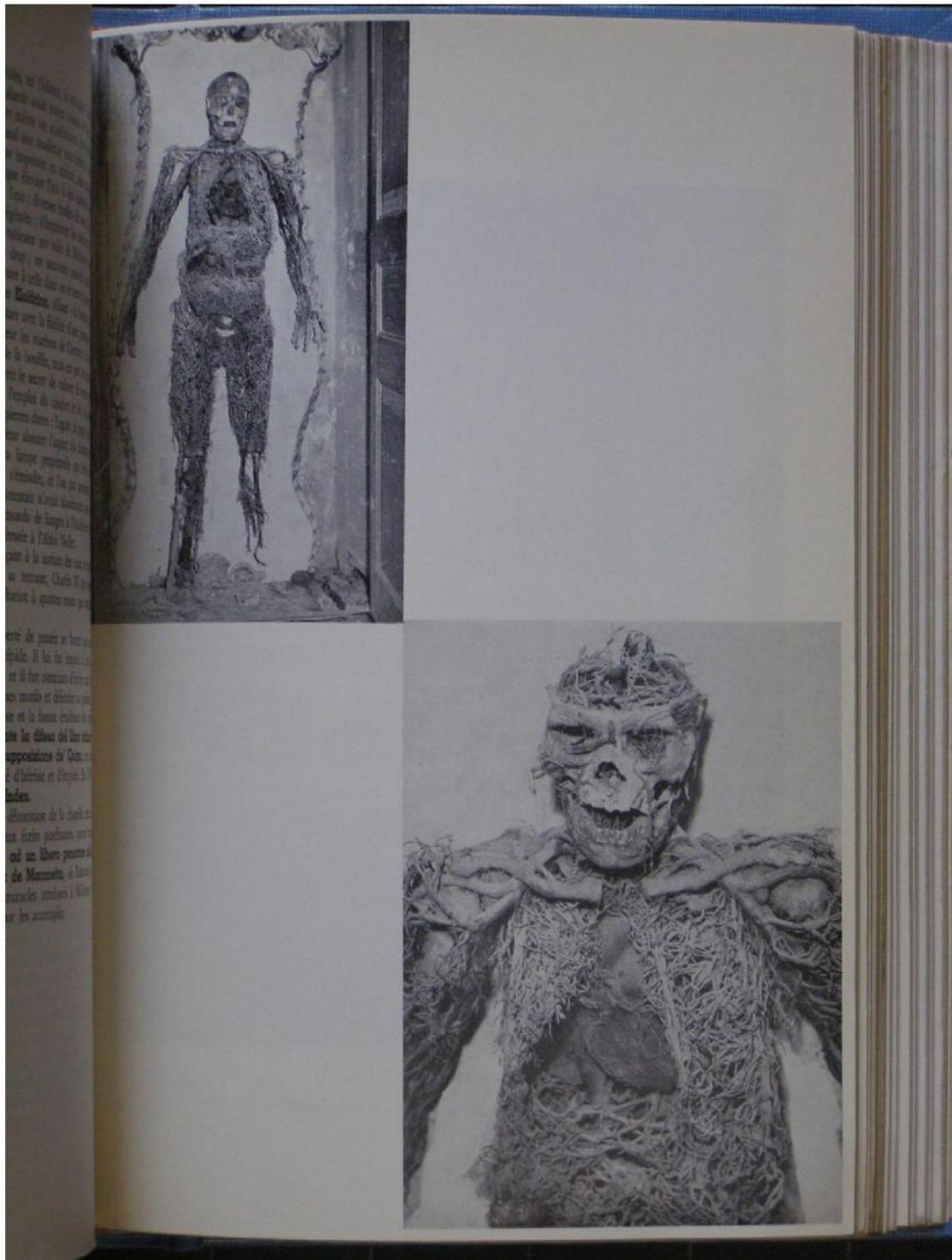


Fig 136 Illustrations for Thévenin, P, 'Raimondo de Sangro, Prince de San

Severo, Savant Impénitent', *La Brèche*, no. 7.

Fig 135 Cover of *La Brèche*, no. 7.