

Max Ernst : Dada and the dawn of surrealism

**William A. Camfield, with an introductory essay by
Werner Spies, and a preface by Walter Hopps**

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Date

1993

Publisher

**Prestel; Distributed in the USA and
Canada by te Neues Pub. Co.**

ISBN

379131260X

Exhibition URL

www.moma.org/calendar/exhibitions/390

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from our founding in 1929 to the present—is
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primary documents, installation views, and an
index of participating artists.

Max Ernst

DADA

and the

Dawn

of

Surrealism



Prestel

Max Ernst Dada and the Dawn of Surrealism

By William A. Camfield

With an introductory essay by Werner Spies
and a preface by Walter Hopps

376 pages with 432 illustrations, 146 in color

This sumptuous volume is a detailed exploration of the early life and career of Max Ernst (1891–1976), covering the years 1912 to 1927, a time of great social upheaval and intellectual activity in Europe. This period includes Ernst's early and important contributions to Expressionism (1912–19), his breakthrough achievements of Dada (1919–24), and some of his early Surrealist pieces (1924–27).

The author gives an absorbing account of the social and political milieu of Cologne and Paris, of Ernst's participation in various counter-cultural associations, and of his relationship with such influential artists as Arp, Picabia, Klee, and de Chirico. Accounts are included of the Dadaists' staged antics, which were often bizarre and hilarious. Later chapters cover Ernst's collaborations with the poet Paul Eluard and his murals for the Eluards' house in Eaubonne.

Giving expression to Freudian concepts of the subconscious, Ernst's work incorporates elements of dream and mythology, violence and sexuality. His oeuvre is filled with fantastic allusions to living, animate beings in implied gender relationships. The theme of metamorphosis, a central feature of Surrealism, is embodied in his depictions of human beings, machines, and hybrid creatures.

The more than 400 illustrations show the wide variety of media employed by Ernst: painting, drawing, collage, photo-collage, and *frottage* – the technique of applying paper or canvas to a textured surface and rubbing over it with pencil. They also include works by Ernst's contemporaries, documentary photographs, and illustrations from magazines and exhibition catalogues.

This book presents the largest survey to date of Ernst's pioneering early achievement, which, with all its freshness and innovation, has been of such seminal importance to the art of the twentieth century.

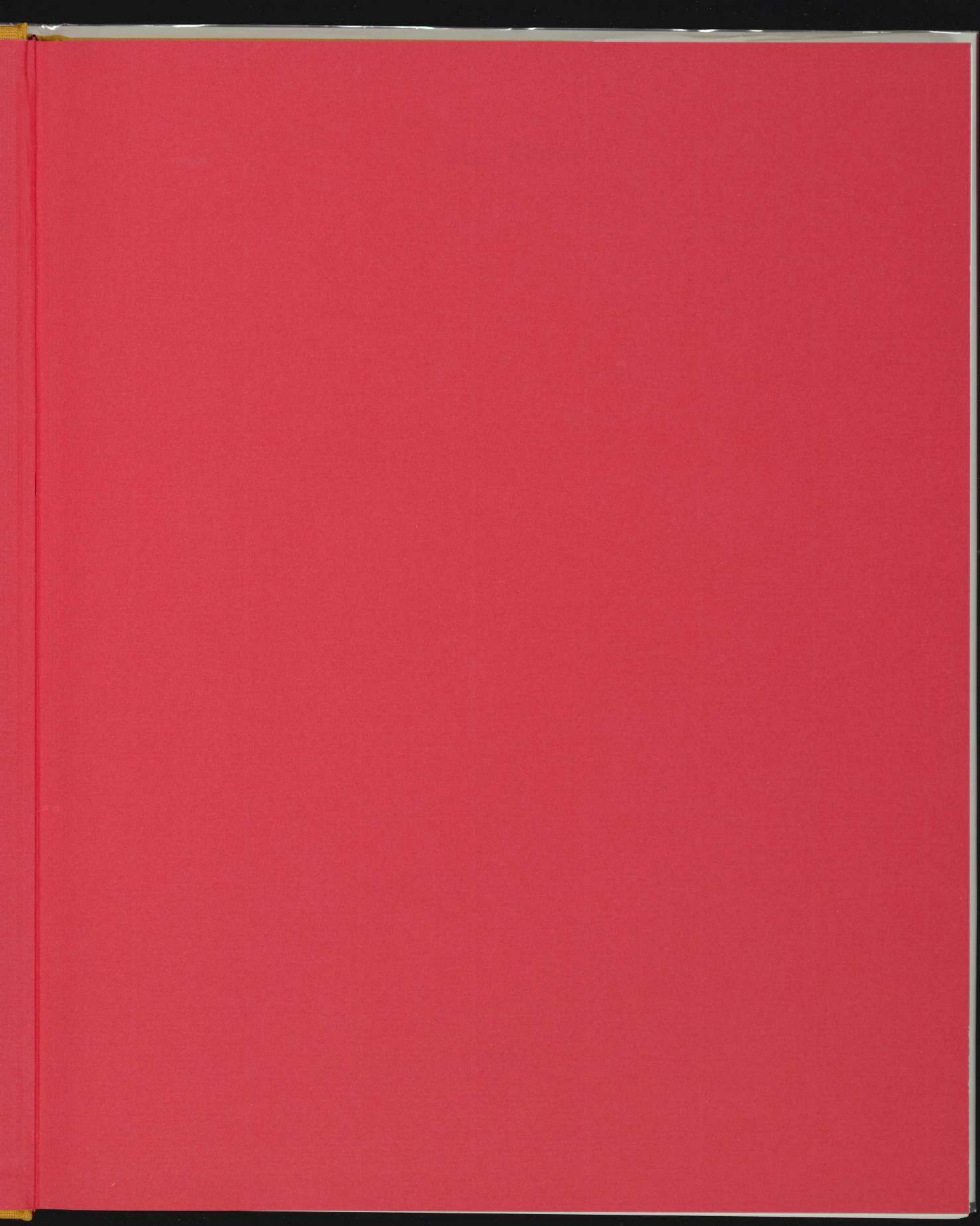
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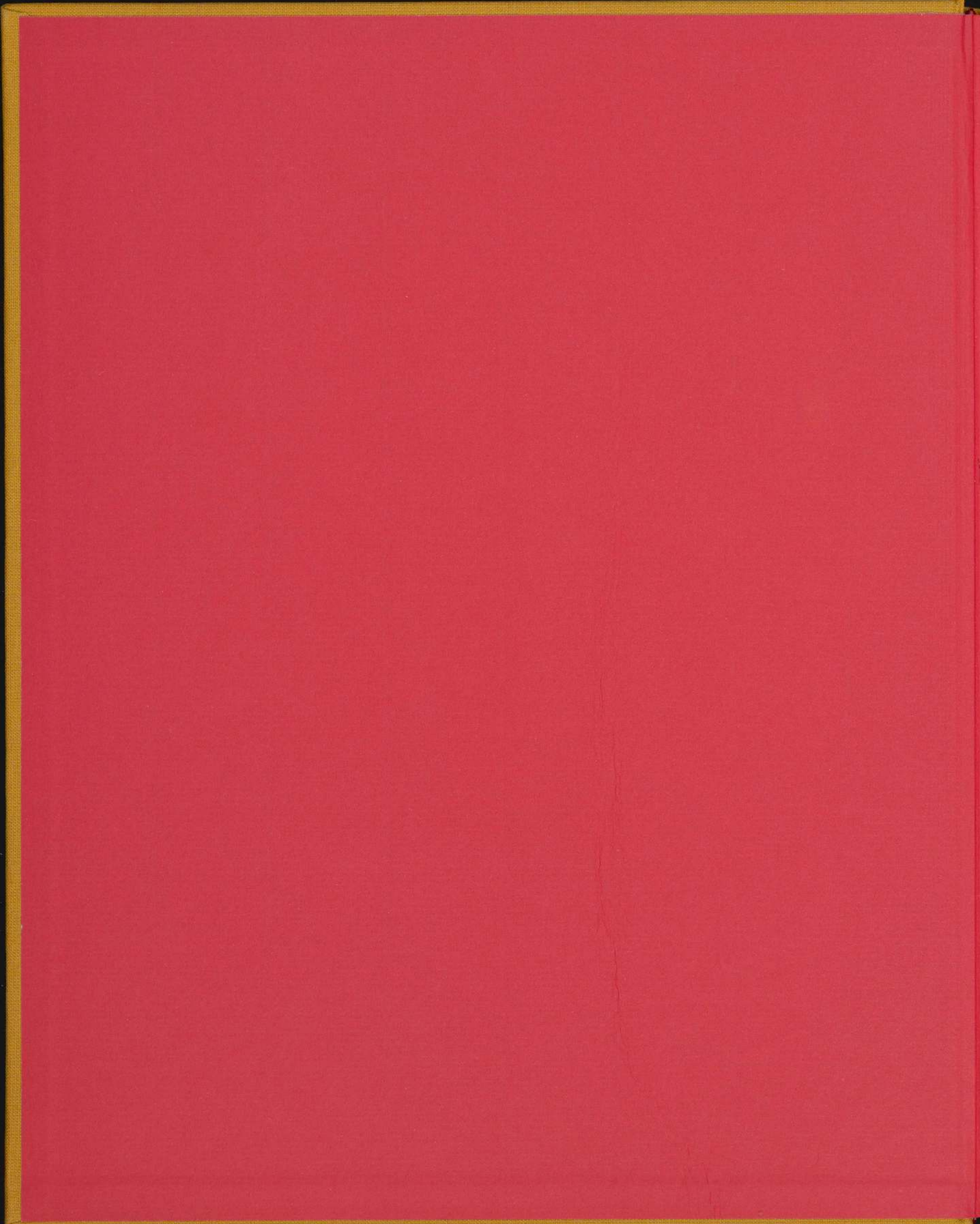
William A. Camfield is a specialist on Dada and Professor of Art History at Rice University, Houston, Texas.

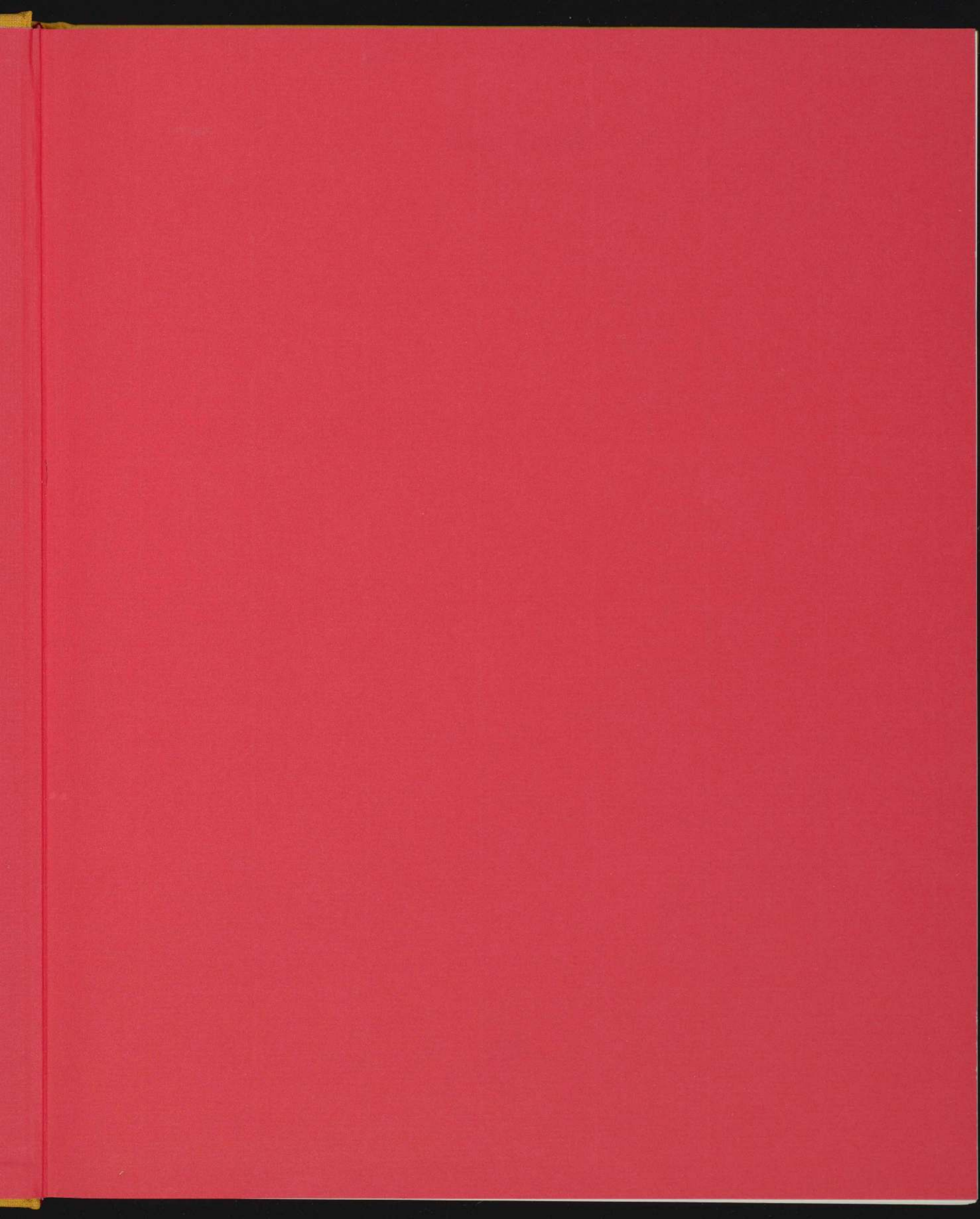
Walter Hopps is Founding Director of The Menil Collection, Houston, and a contributor to numerous books on twentieth-century art.

Werner Spies is Professor of Twentieth-Century Art at the Kunstakademie in Düsseldorf. He is the author of several important publications on Max Ernst and Picasso.

Prestel







Max Ernst





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William A. Camfield

Max Ernst

Dada and the Dawn of Surrealism

With an introductory essay by Werner Spies
and a preface by Walter Hopps

Prestel

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This monograph accompanies the exhibition *Max Ernst: Dada and the Dawn of Surrealism* organized by The Menil Collection, Houston.

The Museum of Modern Art, New York, March 14 – May 2, 1993

The Menil Collection, Houston, May 28 – August 29, 1993

The Art Institute of Chicago, September 15 – November 30, 1993

The publication and exhibition have received the generous support of Lufthansa German Airlines.

Additional funding has been provided by:

National Endowment for the Arts, a Federal agency
Association Française d'Action Artistique, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères
Foreign Office of the Federal Republic of Germany

Daimler-Benz North America Corporation

An indemnity for the exhibition has been granted by the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities

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© of works illustrated by Max Ernst, Hans Arp, Heinrich Campendonk, Marc Chagall, Giorgio de Chirico, Robert Desnos, Marcel Duchamp, George Grosz, Raoul Hausmann, John Heartfield, Hannah Höch, Marcel Janco, Paul Klee, René Magritte, Man Ray, André Masson, Francis Picabia, Anton Raederscheidt, and Kurt Schwitters by VG Bild-Kunst, Bonn, 1993
Photographic Acknowledgments, see p. 375

Prestel-Verlag, Mandlstrasse 26, D-8000 Munich 40, Germany
Tel.: (89) 38 17 090; Fax: (89) 38 17 09 35

Distributed in continental Europe by Prestel-Verlag
Verlegerdienst München GmbH & Co. KG, Gutenbergstrasse 1, D-8031 Gilching, Germany
Tel. (81 05) 38 81 17; Fax (81 05) 38 81 00

Distributed in the USA and Canada on behalf of Prestel by
Neues Publishing Company, 15 East 76th Street, New York, NY 10021, USA
Tel. (212) 288 0265; Fax (212) 570 2373

Distributed in Japan on behalf of Prestel by YOHAN Western Publications Distribution Agency,
14-9 Okubo 3-chome, Shinjuku-ku, J-Tokyo 169
Tel. (3) 32 08 01 81; Fax (3) 32 09 02 88

Distributed in the United Kingdom, Ireland, and all remaining countries on behalf of Prestel by
Thames & Hudson Limited, 30-34 Bloomsbury Street, London WC1B 3QP, England
Tel. (71) 636 5488; Fax (71) 636 1695

Edited by Simon Haviland
"An Open-ended Oeuvre" translated from the German by John Gabriel

Front cover: *The Couple*, 1923 (Pl. 146)
Frontispiece: *The Punching Ball or the Immortality of Buonarroti*, 1920 (Pl. 67)

Offset lithography by Repro Karl Dörfel GmbH, Munich
Typeset by Max Vornehm, Munich
Printed and bound by Passavia Druckerei GmbH, Passau

Printed in Germany
ISBN 3-7913-1260-X

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Foreword

The exhibition and publication *Max Ernst: Dada and the Dawn of Surrealism* offers a comprehensive visual and intellectual exploration of one of this century's great pioneers. Concentrating on the first fifteen years of his career, 1912 to 1927, it reveals the radical evolution of Ernst's style into a unique form of Dada and early Surrealism, and identifies emerging themes that continued to be developed throughout his life. The period addressed illustrates the full spectrum of Ernst's innovations in generating series of remarkable images.

It is particularly appropriate for The Menil Collection to initiate this exhibition. Since 1934, when Dominique and John de Menil began their long-standing friendship with Max Ernst, the Menils' holding of works by the artist has grown to become the most significant in this country. Like other collections in America, however, it contains relatively few examples from the early period of Ernst's career, work which is largely unknown in the United States.

The project was conceived and organized by Dr. William Camfield, Professor of Art History at Rice University, Houston, and Adjunct Curator to The Menil Collection; Walter Hopps, the museum's founding Director; and Susan Davidson, Associate Curator. In curating the exhibition they are joined by Dr. Werner Spies, the premier scholar on Ernst and co-author of the six-volume *Oeuvre-Katalog*, begun in 1969 under the auspices of The Menil Foundation and now nearing completion. This exhibition, like the European retrospective he organized to celebrate the 1991 centennial of Ernst's birth, would not be possible without his commitment, his expertise, and his indefatigable dedication to Max Ernst.

The participation of The Museum of Modern Art, New York, and The Art Institute of Chicago was decisive for the undertaking of the exhibition. Richard Oldenberg, Director of The Museum of Modern Art, enthusiastically embraced the proposal to open the exhibition in New York. This event bears great significance as it was at The Museum of Modern Art under Alfred H. Barr, Jr., that major examples of Ernst's art first became accessible to scholars and a new public. James Wood, Director of The Art Institute of Chicago, immediately understood the relevance of the exhibition to the Art Institute's collection and has offered great encouragement since its inception. Kynaston McShine, Senior Curator, Department of Painting and Sculpture at The Museum of Modern Art, and Charles Stuckey, Curator, 20th Century Painting and Sculpture at The Art Institute of Chicago, have been highly supportive and have borne the responsibilities for the presentation of the exhibition at their respective museums.

Enlightened patronage is rare. We, therefore, are most grateful and indebted to Luft-hansa German Airlines for its generous sponsorship of the exhibition. Their commitment to the art and artists of Germany is exceptional and is evident not only in the financial assistance given to a wide number and range of exhibitions, but also in the acquisition of an extensive collection of graphic works by Max Ernst. The cultural offices of the German, French, and American governments – the three countries from which Ernst held citizenship – have each made financial contributions in his honor for which we are deeply appreciative. Daimler-Benz North American Corporation has provided funding for the exhibition and we thank them for their recognition of the importance of this exhibition in America.

Finally, the success of any exhibition depends a great deal on the generosity of collectors. To the individuals and institutions lending works to the exhibition, we extend our heartfelt gratitude.

Paul Winkler

Director
The Menil Collection

Acknowledgments

This project has depended on the goodwill and support of numerous individuals and institutions. Above all our gratitude is extended to the members of Max Ernst's family; to his widow, Dorothea Tanning; to his sister, Frau Loni Pretzell and her husband, Professor Dr. Lothar Pretzell, and their son, Rainer; and to his daughter-in-law, Dallas Ernst. The cooperation of the families of several associates of Ernst must also be thanked, particularly the heirs of André Breton (Mme. Elisa Breton and Mme. Aube Elléouet), Tristan Tzara (Christophe Tzara), and Francis Picabia (Mme. Olga Picabia).

Invaluable documentary material has been made accessible to Dr. William Camfield through the generous help of Jürgen Pech, François Chapon, Ludger Derenthal, David Hopkins, M. and Mme. Marc Sator, Raoul Schrott, Charlotte Stokes, Dirk Teuber, Walter Vitt, and M. E. Warlick. Their generosity of spirit has been matched by numerous colleagues, including Dawn Ades, Helen Adkins, Vivian Barnett, Frédérique Barret, Béatrix Blavier, Ecke Bonk, John Cavaliero, Marc Dachy, Dieter Daniels, Leo Dohmen, Mme. Marie-Jeanne Dypréau, Susanne Ehrenfried, Robert Evren, Dr. Michel Fraenkel, Jacqueline Chénieux-Gendron, Christopher Green, Prof. Fritz Gruber, Mark Haxthausend, Linda Dalrymple Henderson, Elizabeth Legge, Dr. Regina Mahlke, Herbert Modlerings, J. B. Meinen, M. Apel Muller, Mrs. Alied Ottevanger, Sylvio Pearlstein, Jean F. Preston, Naomi Sawelson-Gorse, Gary Smith, Henri Stauper, Greta Ströh, Heinz Trökes, and Johannes Wasmuth. Peter Schamoni's help and hospitality merit a special recognition. A variety of translators have been relied upon, most notably Danielle Pung and Ann Louise Hagerty for German, with helpful suggestions made by Bertrand Davezac and Mrs. Guttrune Becker; Prof. Dr. Werner Kelber and Harris Rosenstein have translated passages from Hebrew.

Many colleagues have helped facilitate crucial loans. We would like to thank: Jose-Maria Jimenez Alfaro, Ernst Beyeler, Marc Blondeau, Hans Bolliger, Dominique Bozo, Karin Brandhorst, Richard Calvocoressi, Pier Paolo Cimatti, Jim Corcoran, Marcel Fleiss, Stephen Ferguson, Gian Luigi Gabette, Dr. Werner Hofmann, Pontus Hulten, Walburga Krupp, Carlton Lake, Anne London, Guido Magnaguagno, Dr. Peter Nestler, Brigitte Ihnen Oleski, Jussi Pylkkanen, Ruth Rattenbury, Machi Satani, Marc Scheps, Dr. Klaus Schrenk, Dr. Katharina Schmidt, Uli Seitz, Pascal Sernet, Brent Sverdloff, Didier Schulman, Alain Tarica, René-Jean Ullmann, Umberto Vattani, Germain Viatte, Dr. Evelyn Weiss, Shigeru Yokota, and Pascal Zoller.

During the preparations for the exhibition, we have had the pleasure of working with: Roland Aget, Walter Butz, Mme. Micheline Colin, Fereshteh Daftari, Marie-Pascale Deszerots, Dr. G. Dietrich, David Epstein, Dr. Dietmar Elger, Birgit Grosche, Francesca Guidieri, Josef Helfenstein, Dr. Wulf Herzogenrath, Scott Hughes, Didier Imbert, Dr. Christian Klemm, Stefan Kraus, Lutz Laemmerhold, Mario-Andreas von Lüttichau, Jean-Hubert Martin, Karin von Maur, Denise McColgan, Jean-Yves Mock, David Nash, Mme. Gisèle Ollinger, Richard Palmer, Ramon Schwarz, Catherine Schmitt, Meity Tirtadjaya, Françoise Volat, Larry Wall, Alice Whelihan, and Charlotte Wiethoff.

The entire staff of The Menil Collection has been involved in this project. In particular, we wish to acknowledge the able contributions of Julia Addison Bakke, Gayle de Gregori, John Kaiser, Elizabeth Lunning, Carol Mancusi-Ungaro, Alberta Mayo, Lauri G. Nelson, and Don Quaintance of Public Address Design, who served as a design consultant. Also, a most heartfelt appreciation to our colleagues at Prestel.

To the members of the Board of The Menil Foundation and its President, Dominique de Menil, we extend our warmest thanks for their belief in Max Ernst and their continued support of this project.

Preface

The Convulsive Moment

During an extraordinary, convulsive five-year period – from roughly 1914 to 1919 – huge chunks of nineteenth-century social order and culture died or were torn apart. At the same time one can say that the culture of modern art began to grow and consolidate in a spectrum of broad diversity. At the beginning of this period, the Austro-Hungarian conflict propelled Germany to instigate the First World War; Europe was ravaged to an extent greater than anyone could have imagined by the largest, most devastating war the world had known. What was left of the old Habsburg empire crumbled. A virulent influenza epidemic decimated the populations of great cities such as Vienna, Prague, and Munich. The Bolshevik revolutions in the north and east brought the old Russian empire to collapse. New industries and technologies that we conceive of as truly modern (electrification, auto and air travel, photo-engraving, radio, etc.) unfolded and proliferated.

This convulsive moment, defining in the broadest sense the ensuing modern culture of the twentieth century, followed the first two major revolutions in the visual arts: the Fauve liberation of color (centered on Matisse) and the Cubist reconstruction of form (centered on Picasso). From today's vantage point, the Fauve and Cubist revolutions can be seen as a rational fulfillment of advanced nineteenth-century traditions rather than an art truly unique to our century. For the advanced artists who began to mature in this epoch, the Fauve and Cubist achievements were established ground by 1914 – both intellectually and in practice.

Within these five years (1914–19), the disparate and even contradictory lines of development which characterize this century's art were conceived and began to proliferate. This new diversity – figurative Expressionism (as exemplified by Beckmann and Kirchner), and, antithetically, pure non-objective art (such as the new abstraction of Russian Constructivism and the idealized forms of Dutch *de Stijl*), and the hyper-dynamic, even violent aesthetics of Italian Futurism – developed against the sustaining background of Matisse and Picasso. In the hands of a few artists scattered broadly in the world, perhaps the most startlingly spontaneous eruption was the unexpected virus we recognize as Dada. In this convulsive moment, the first mature art of Max Ernst was conceived.

The Project at Hand

This monograph and the accompanying exhibition pursue an in-depth and inclusive review of Ernst's work from 1912 to 1927. This period includes his early and important contributions within Expressionism (from 1912 to 1919); emphasizes his breakthrough achievements of Dada (late 1919 to 1924); and synoptically reviews a select group of crucial works at the inception of Surrealism (1924 to 1927). By 1927, Ernst had developed the essential innovations of technique and image and the visual vocabulary of subjects and themes that were to sustain virtually all his later work.

The art addressed by this project, presented chronologically, represents the largest survey to date of the early years of Ernst's development. Prior to the advent of formal Surrealism in 1924, slightly fewer than 700 works in various media are known from Werner Spies's research. Approximately 600 are extant and of these, over 220 are documented in the monograph and 175 included in the exhibition. In earlier exhibitions and collections in the United States, it has, with few exceptions, been the later work – from the 1930s on – which has been seen and which has provided the dominant view of Ernst's art. It is hoped that with this publication and exhibition a fresh and deeper view of Ernst's seminal achievements will be possible.

Expressionist Origins

Although Ernst's paintings date from as early as 1906, his first mature achievements came in 1912, in the context of the advanced Expressionist milieu in Cologne. Figurative Expressionism had developed in major cities throughout Germany and the rest of Europe since the beginning of the century. Ernst indeed was conscious of the pioneering achievements of many artists, such as Marc Chagall, Wassily Kandinsky, and Franz Marc. His immediate Expressionist contemporaries in Cologne included such accomplished artists as Heinrich Campendonk and August Macke.

It is significant to note that, unlike that of many of his contemporaries, Ernst's art developed in the context of a university education; he had entered the University of Bonn in 1910. His university studies in history, philosophy, and literature, where he had encounters with seminal figures visiting Cologne such as Apollinaire and Delaunay, and the stimulus afforded by an early meeting with his contemporary Hans Arp in 1914, all had a conspicuous impact on his art. Ernst's earliest important Expressionist art, displaying the bright, even lurid colors common to his mode, evolved from a sophisticated employment of Cubist-like structure. Referential images (such as warlike birds and fighting fish) evince a vivid dramatic tension well beyond those found in the more pastoral works of his immediate circle. In turn, many assertive images within Ernst's Expressionist period prefigured those found in his later Dada and Surrealist art.

A second and little acknowledged type of Expressionism created by Ernst is known almost exclusively through drawings dating from the waning moments of the First World War; these were published as line illustrations in two vanguard art journals (*Consolamini* and *Der Strom*) in 1919. These few reproductions (the original drawings are lost) and one extant companion painting, *Submarine Still Life* (Pl. 21), through their anguished anthropomorphic abstraction, are similar to, and prefigure, abstract Expressionist works of the 1940s. They do not so much resemble the early proto-abstract Expressionist works of Kandinsky as seem to prefigure aspects of Pollock's highly charged imagist abstractions. Ernst's few Expressionist works of this type which have survived are most certainly a response to his experiences as a soldier during the War.

The third and best known form of Ernst's Expressionism emerged in 1919. These paintings are populated with recognizable humans and animals in fantastic landscape and city settings. Ernst superficially shared aspects of early Chagall by reinvoking the material of fairy tales and folklore. The fine detail, infrastructure, and scale of these works relate to the canons of work found in pre-sixteenth-century Netherlandish and northern German art. These paintings underscore Ernst's emerging commitment to active, fantasized narratives – an obsession, transformed, which underlies his major innovative works from 1923 onward.

Dada, and Surrealism's Dawn

No manifestation in all twentieth-century art defies definition or coherent identification more than Dada. Spontaneously, and seemingly irrationally, evincing virtually no stylistic unity,

Dada emerged world-wide – in New York, as early as 1915, and subsequently in cities scattered across Europe, including Zurich, Berlin, Hanover, Cologne, Munich, and Paris. The vivid practitioners of Dada were few in number, but their public impact was immediate and pronounced. The death of Dada has been proclaimed repeatedly from as early as 1924 onward, yet its subversive influence remains profound.

With certain of his seminal works, the dominate artist prefiguring Dada was Marcel Duchamp. By 1912, with his readymade object *Bicycle Wheel*, Duchamp had begun a radical critique of art that challenged the nature of aesthetics and the conventions of art making. His influence has reverberated throughout the entire century. It was Duchamp and his French colleague Picabia, along with the American Man Ray, who instigated the earliest Dada activity in New York in 1915.

Curiously, in 1916, the odd word identifying the phenomenon “Dada” was coined in Zurich, where only a small amount of lasting work associated with Dada was actually produced. Zurich’s Dada activity consisted primarily of small publications and performances in the now famous Cabaret Voltaire.

Dada in practice included irascible live performances, public proclamations, and a bewildering array of physical work: non-traditional approaches to drawing, collage, printed matter, and junk sculpture, but rarely painting in any traditional sense. Most of the seemingly absurd Dada objects employed nefarious, anti-aesthetic media that mocked not only traditional but even newer modernist art practices to such a degree that Dada was universally scorned as anti-art. In retrospect, however, the lasting accomplishments at the inception of Dada by such artists as Hans Arp, Hannah Hoch, Francis Picabia, Man Ray, Kurt Schwitters, and indeed Ernst, are now regarded as having high aesthetic value. Instead of being fugitive, these efforts formed a foundation for later vital developments.

Ernst’s active engagement with Dada began abruptly in the fall of 1919 in Cologne. He had previously visited Munich, where he and his wife met Paul Klee, who curiously had participated with Dada in Zurich. In Munich for the first time Ernst encountered Dada publications arriving from Zurich. He also saw reproductions of the haunted narratives of de Chirico (a leader of the earlier Italian metaphysical movement), which had a profound impact on him. His notions of Dada were fused with the imagery of de Chirico, who was to be recognized as the major precursor of Surrealist art.

Returning to Cologne with all of these new stimuli and influences, Ernst, with his new colleague Johannes Baargeld and others, established a small but active Dada group, which sustained activity with important exhibitions and publications over the next two years. His Dada work was progressively exhibited in Berlin and Paris. Cologne remained his base until he relocated to Paris in 1922.

By 1923, much prominent Dada activity had centered on Paris. Ernst had moved there and was in active contact with such vanguard writers and artists as Tristan Tzara, André Breton, and Francis Picabia. Ernst’s intimate colleague was the poet Paul Eluard. The internal contradictory thrusts of Dada and the fractious nature of its highly individualistic artists came to undermine its activity in Paris and throughout the world. The complex history leading to the breakup of Dada, as well as the bitter quarrels between Breton and Picabia regarding the nature of its art (as is well documented in Camfield’s text), led to a sense of crisis for the leading figures.

The disorderly residue spawned by the Dada virus became the essential raw material from which André Breton forged Surrealism. Surrealism, per se, was born as an act of will under this name at a precise time (unlike Dada) in October 1924. Breton’s protean intellectual background (in medicine and the new frontiers of psychiatry, as well as in art and literature) substantiated his role as leader of the self-conscious movement he founded.

David Sylvester in 1977 succinctly characterized Surrealism as an idea beyond matters of literary or visual manifestation, let alone style. He stated that at its foundation, Surrealism assumed a mode of behavior, a code of ethics, and the aspect of a religion. Proclaiming his

views in new journals and carefully organized exhibitions, Breton believed he had harnessed the creative anarchy of Dada. Surrealist publications and exhibitions were the specific vehicles in which Breton recognized practitioners who he felt should be identified within the movement. It is important to understand that for Ernst a sharp distinction between his Dada and Surrealist works was insignificant. The progression became a contiguous fusion. Breton himself embraced Ernst's work of the Dada period within the canon of Surrealism.

Breton passionately envisioned a new revolution of the unconscious that would liberate the hidden world beyond the surface of quotidian experience, thus incorporating the irrational and the unknown. In the visual aspects of Surrealism, Breton embraced the early and sustaining works of Duchamp as seminal achievements, even as Duchamp typically distanced himself from identification as a Surrealist. For Breton, with his pioneering work up to the early 1920s, de Chirico was also a vital precursor. By the time of the inception of Surrealism, de Chirico's new directions deeply disappointed Breton. Ernst's sustaining engagement with imagist and narrative sources beyond consciousness was not only fervently relished by Breton, but also was seen as sustenance for Surrealism's future.

Polymorphic Innovation

From late 1919 through 1927, first in the context of Dada and later in the Surrealist movement, Ernst sustained an ever-changing sequence of innovations in technique and approach to imagery virtually unparalleled in the course of twentieth-century art. From time to time, divergent approaches and activities coexisted. This polymorphism – the variety of images and technical approaches to realizing them – has understandably undermined a clear or signature identity of Ernst's work. In retrospect, this confusion can be recognized positively as the result of his many innovative achievements.

Late in 1919, for a time Ernst all but abandoned easel painting and devoted himself primarily to inventive small collages and related ingenious techniques. The collages of Picasso and his Cubist colleagues consisted of cut papers added to abstract drawings or paintings. In contrast, Ernst's collages fused the graphics of his found, cut, and assembled reproductions with the addition of his drawing, to synthesize a new and holistic image. The resultant depiction takes precedence over traces of the process.

In two differing techniques (analogous to but not technically collage), Ernst discovered similar ways to achieve holistic images. First, utilizing pre-existing printer's blocks in a series of proof prints, he subtly added drawn lines to manipulate the images. His hand-drawn additions can scarcely be differentiated from lines generated by the original imprint. Second, he used both a selective editing and an additive process of overpainting reproductions and graphic matter. Here, too, the resulting synthesis effected amazing transformations of the original material.

Both processes began Ernst's engagement with what today we call the art of appropriation. He chose and recycled even the most banal material from an undifferentiated pool of printed matter, the type of resource we now characterize as a part of mass media. What is striking in all these works, which range from whimsical to mysterious to startling, is not only the unique signature of Ernst's hand and eye but also the thematic function these works established (as a kind of incunabula) for both his art and that of many others in the future.

Ernst's intimate collages of 1920–22 are either specific or general models for easel painting formats that developed after 1922. Unlike many artists associated with Dada, he made no doctrinaire point of abandoning painting. With a new and curious technique he employed an overhead projector (perhaps the first such use) to regenerate the disturbing small collage *The Preparation of Bone Glue* (Pl. 106) as an easel-sized painting. Today such practice is commonplace.

Ernst was not the first to use photographs as the primary components of collage. However, his photo-collage technique of the early 1920s and his process of photographing and

subsequently regenerating photographic enlargements as contiguous photo-montages had few precedents. This method prefigures those widely employed from the advent of Pop Art through current art practices. Ernst's prime appropriations from the detritus of verbal and visual culture place the artist at the vanguard of activity we now identify as post-modernist.

Ernst's final and crucial innovation achieved in his early work was his development of the technique he called "frottage." Frottage involved an automatist application of rubbing techniques derived from textural surfaces where paper or canvas are applied and vigorously rubbed over with pencil or paint. This method of generating spontaneous images, which dominated Ernst's work from 1925, largely supplanted his use of found images resynthesized through collage techniques. Frottage and its allied scraping technique, which Ernst called "grattage," were imaginatively cultivated in an unfolding array of works produced from 1927 to the end of his career.

In most early modernist art (late Cézanne, early Matisse and Picasso) the nominal subjects remained elementary: figures in pastoral landscapes, commonplace interior spaces, still lifes, etc. The subject matter of early modernist art dealt with a repertoire of normality. Ernst's approach was diametrically different. His historical interests delve back into German romantic painting such as the work of Caspar David Friedrich, into the earlier exotic confabulations of Hieronymous Bosch and Pieter Bruegel, and the themes of classical mythology. Ernst's innate affinity for the exotic, coupled with his insight into the contemporary relevance of both romantic and classical themes, gave rise to an art of inherently dramatic narrative.

Virtually from his initial engagement with Dada, Ernst was intrigued with the narrative implications of a mix of recognizable and ambiguous images. Modern precursors in this regard who stimulated Ernst's new course were the markedly dissimilar artists de Chirico and Klee. However, neither the haunted, dreamlike vistas of de Chirico's early work nor the ever-ingenuous and deliberately innocent linear inventions of Klee evince the range of narrative drama or emotional effect found in Ernst's work. Hilarity is never mixed with mystery in de Chirico; a Klee never approaches the degree of menace that can be invoked by Ernst.

The settings in Ernst's art encompass all real-world possibilities. The locus of events can occur in the sky, on the land, and on or underwater. He often depicted near and far shores separated by a body of water, to create the tension implied by a journey or quest. This is the setting for his masterpiece, *Woman, Old Man, and Flower* (Pl. 161), where overtones of Homeric myth conflate with life's course from infancy to old age. No conventional boundaries limit the vista in either the near or the most cosmic view.

Within these varied spacial arenas, events are never neutral or passive; even the skies are articulated by small events, whether whimsical or ominous. The most atavistic plant forms are active. Ernst's primordial forests are not merely landscapes but become lively protagonists with dramatic presence.

Ernst employed a richly mined folklore and mythology – involving an entire bestiary, including bird, fish, horse, and snake – which reoccur and constantly transmutate (throughout visionary realms of sky, earth, and sea). Irascible and inexplicable beasts, such as the great elephant form in *Celebes* (Pl. 117), celebrate metamorphosis. On occasion, Ernst created harshly alienated imagery of industrial and post-industrial facture – machines, circuitry, the engines of war.

Ernst dissected the inner stuff of imagined beings – ventured inside the skin, to mysterious and incomprehensible parts of plants and animals. His most generalized biomorphic beings were arranged in settings that range from stately salons to exotic gardens. In one of his small masterpieces, *Dada Gauguin* (Pl. 61), Ernst united biomorphic and human figures in a witty and provocative allusion to the proto-modernist fascination with atavistic, tribal culture. However, Ernst's atavism cut far deeper, in a phylogenetic as opposed to an ethnographic sense, where humanoids interact with zygote-like beings. Some works reached a micro-cellular scale, evoking a kind of genetic poetry, where biological forms consort in social or sexual intercourse.

Ernst's depiction of human figures, whether literal or more generalized, invariably evoked psychologically charged themes and situations. Such themes include primal struggles between the sexes, the bonds and tensions of family structure, and the violent potential of massed hordes. One of Ernst's most disconcerting depictions of human form is the photographic representation of a nude headless woman. This image was beautifully and hauntingly realized in the photo-collage and painting *Approaching Puberty* (Pl. 105). Though the work initially might seem to evoke misogyny, this figure in a scene of celestial repose, should be understood to exist as a basic *muse* for Ernst, where the power of early sexuality is underscored as transcendently mindless, beyond the conscious will.

Recognition in America

The work of Max Ernst was not part of the first wave of modern art that either came to America or was acknowledged by Americans abroad. He was not shown in Alfred Stieglitz's ground-breaking gallery 291. Neither John Quinn, one of the first American collectors of vanguard art, in New York nor Gertrude Stein in Paris knew or collected Ernst. Ernst was not included in New York's landmark Armory Show of 1913, which first thrust modern art upon a broad American public.

Not until the fall of 1919 did an adventurous American, Katherine Dreier, discover Ernst's work in Cologne. Dreier, who with Duchamp and Man Ray had founded the first modern museum in America (commonly known as the Société Anonyme and active in New York from 1920 to 1924), amazingly located the early Dada exhibition "Bulletin D" in Cologne and was remarkably impressed with Ernst's work. Though Dreier expressed her desire to own and exhibit certain examples from this exhibition, unfortunately, Ernst failed to complete the shipping arrangements. Finally in 1926, when Dreier once again managed to visit Ernst, who was now in Paris, she acquired his painting *Paris Dream* (Pl. 188). This painting, Ernst's first to arrive in America, was exhibited in late 1926 at the "International Exhibition of Modern Art" at the Brooklyn Museum, the most important public presentation of vanguard art since the Armory Show.

After this occasion, Dreier's and Duchamp's interest in Ernst's art was conveyed in turn to the engaged collector Walter Arensberg, who acquired at least one important painting (*Forest*; Pl. 164) from the later 1920s, then to Julien Levy, whom Duchamp guided to Paris in 1927. In 1929 Levy founded in New York the first American gallery devoted to Surrealism and over the next fifteen years he prominently featured Ernst's work in innumerable exhibitions.

Although public interest in the Julien Levy Gallery was, at best, slight, its activities profoundly touched adventurous American artists (conspicuously Joseph Cornell) and many key intellectuals. Two of Levy's acquaintances from Harvard University played crucial roles in promoting understanding in America of Surrealism and specifically Ernst's art. The first, A. Everett "Chick" Austin, a dashing figure who had become director of The Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford, Connecticut, staged the initial museum exhibition of Surrealist art in America ("New Super-Realism," November 1931). This show, primarily selected by Levy, conspicuously included Ernst. Alfred Barr, Levy's other key colleague and the founder of New York's Museum of Modern Art in 1929, became the most significant figure establishing the importance of modern art for an ever-growing public and worldwide body of art historians. Barr's encounters with Surrealist art at Levy's gallery were an important stimulus in the development of Barr's vast survey (featuring over 400 works), "Fantastic Art: Dada and Surrealism" of 1936. Over the following decade, Barr managed to acquire for MoMA the finest, most concise survey of early Ernst works in any institution in the world.

Ernst first came to America in 1942 with Peggy Guggenheim and was a central figure in her exotic gallery, Art of This Century. Here, Ernst's current art was shown; public presentation in galleries and museums of his seminal early work (with few exceptions) vastly diminished.

Following the closings of Art of This Century and the Julien Levy Gallery around 1946, one enthusiastic entrepreneur for Surrealism, Alexander Iolas, stepped into the breach. Iolas, who steadfastly represented Ernst's work in New York, facilitated for a young American artist of Surrealist persuasion, William Copley, the possibility of staging an extraordinary historical survey of Ernst's work. This exhibition at The Copley Galleries in Beverly Hills in 1949, including work from the early 1920s through the 1940s, was the most comprehensive for Ernst anywhere in the world up to this time. But if Copley had not acquired works for his own collection, the exhibition would have been a total financial flop. By the early 1950s Ernst was living in relative obscurity with his new wife Dorothea Tanning in Sedona, Arizona. Around this time Iolas did manage to secure for Ernst the major American patrons, John and Dominique de Menil, who had briefly met Ernst in 1934. Their commitment was lifelong. Since the 1950s, The Menil Collection has acquired the largest public holdings of Ernst's art in the world, much of which has been circulated internationally.

In recent years New York's Museum of Modern Art has prominently included Ernst's art in three major thematic exhibitions. William Seitz's "The Art of Assemblage" (1961) placed Ernst in context as a major pioneer of collage technique. William Rubin's "Dada, Surrealism and Their Heritage" (1968) emphasized Ernst's early innovations and made clear his influence on the work of Magritte, Dali, and other Surrealists. The exhibition "High and Low: Modern Art and Popular Culture," (1990) conceived by Kirk Varnedoe and Adam Gopnik, acknowledged Ernst's seminal role in appropriating images from mass media reproduction.

Two important Ernst retrospectives have been mounted in America; unfortunately each occurred at a time when the attention Ernst's work deserved was deflected. William Lieberman's retrospective at The Museum of Modern Art (1961) appeared when most public and critical attention remained focused on the new American Abstract Expressionism and its aftermath. Diane Waldman's retrospective at the Guggenheim Museum (1974) occurred at the ascendancy of minimalist and conceptual art.

Today, within the explosion of new art occurring in America and throughout the world – what is often referred to as the beginnings of post-modernism – one discovers the concerns most aligned with the artistic heritage of Ernst's early achievements. The many affinities which exist with such divergent artists as Sigmar Polke, Richard Prince, or Kenny Scharf and seemingly a myriad of others do not necessarily imply the *direct* influence of Ernst. However Ernst's pioneering achievements inform much of our current milieu. With this new perspective it is hoped that Ernst's extraordinary early achievement may be seen with the same eyes and spirit with which we view art of the present day and may be understood anew for all its startling freshness and innovation.

Walter Hopps

An Open-ended Oeuvre

"Insight into the origins of an œuvre is a concern of the physiologists and vivisectionists of the mind, never and on no account of the aesthetic people, the artists."

Friedrich Nietzsche, "On the Genealogy of Morals"¹

For Françoise
and Claude Hersaint

In 1920, on one of his delightful Dada landscapes, Max Ernst inscribed the words: "Always the best man wins." Time has since robbed this phrase of its self-irony. As the century wanes, the enthusiastic reception given in London, Stuttgart, Düsseldorf and Paris to the retrospective held on the hundredth anniversary of Ernst's birth at last confirmed the outstanding rank of his achievement. Its unprecedented blend of playfulness and profundity of vision is truly without compare.

Max Ernst: Dada and the Dawn of Surrealism is devoted primarily to Max Ernst's work of the early 1920s. A few pieces done prior to that period anticipate the radical break that was to come about after he returned from the war, in 1918–19. Other, later examples have been included to shed light on the year 1925 and the unique and exciting consequences of the artist's discovery of frottage.

The critical fortunes of Ernst's œuvre have been among the most brilliant in twentieth-century art. Breton, Aragon and Tzara, Eluard, Arp and Artaud, Bataille, Leiris, Miller, Beckett and Lévi-Strauss all succumbed to the fascination of its radical newness and poetic magnetism. When his friends saw the works that Ernst sent from Cologne to Paris for an exhibition in spring 1921, they were struck with the force of an epiphany: "I remember very well the occasion when Tzara, Aragon, Soupault and I," wrote André Breton, "first discovered the collages of Max Ernst. We were all in Picabia's house when they arrived from Cologne. They moved us in a way we never experienced again. The external object was dislocated from its usual setting. Its separate parts were liberated from their relationship as objects so that they could enter totally new combinations with other elements."² The sense of incommensurability Breton felt had its parallels in his own approach to language and verbal imagery. His texts, too, were illuminated by the sparks that flew when mutually unfamiliar terms, stripped of their insulation of traditional meaning, were willfully short-circuited. His poetics coincided with Ernst's, employing semantic defects to produce the light of Surrealism.

Beyond Painting

As early as his first one-man show in Paris, in 1921, Ernst had already found the concise and programmatic phrase that was to characterize his life's work: "Beyond painting." This was a challenging definition, because it referred to two distinct if interrelated aspects, content and technique. All of his work from 1919 on, whether in painting, graphic art, sculpture, or writing, drew its sustenance from this transgression of tradition. Yet his revolt against visual and literary habits can be traced back still further. It would be hard to name another artist's biography in which every event, from childhood on, was so strongly colored by a rejection of aesthetic conventions. Max Ernst's artistic calling is the story of a complicated and sophisticated detour around the sacred groves of art. Throughout his life he needed a medium to help him overcome his shyness of what he considered human presumption par excellence – the artist's

confrontation with an empty canvas. As he himself put it with fine irony, a blank sheet of paper filled him with a virginity complex. To overcome it, Ernst resorted to aids of various kinds. These are detectable throughout his *œuvre*, in the form, as it were, of traps he set himself – traces of undiluted reality not yet subjected to artistic interpretation, contained in works of supreme autonomy. Yet knowing how little value he placed in the concept of reality, how did Ernst's visual imagination work?

Seeing with Closed Eyes

Being a painter who was deeply rooted in the German Romantic tradition, Ernst, like Caspar David Friedrich, posited a world that could be perceived only "with closed eyes." The "physical eye," he believed, saw too little and revealed less. Ernst's reliance on inward vision issued in a revolt against the notion of a pragmatic, predictable world, and formed the seed of a skepticism from which, very rapidly, nothing would be immune. It is no wonder that his French friends, with Breton, Aragon and Eluard in the forefront, immediately embraced Ernst as an incredibly free and independent spirit who had transcended the "peu de réalité," the negligibility of the real, in a proliferation of instinctive images and visions. His was a visual poetics of surprise. In dealing with elements of the real, Ernst suggested, an artist's "wonderful ability" to bring two different and distant elements together and strike a spark from their conjunction would produce a kind of superimage that qualified or even obliterated the realities on which it was based. An active and passive approach, a skeptical dissection of reality, and a creation of visionary realms that oscillated between the microscopic and the cosmic, alternated in Ernst's work throughout his career. And much of it emerged from a poetical fascination with nature tempered by doubt in accepted anthropocentric certainties.

Aggressiveness and Exaltation

Ernst's imagery at once attracts and irritates the viewer, an ambiguous effect he strove for because it was innate to his character. "Painting takes place," he once said, "on two different yet complimentary levels. It provides aggressiveness and exaltation."³ This self-description can be taken as a warning against attempting to pigeonhole his achievement in periods or pedantically distinguish its irreverent, Dadaist component from its analogical, Surrealist one. In retrospect, even Breton detected the fundamental antinomy of Ernst's art, which "does not divide Dada and Surrealism: it carries water to the mills of both."⁴ Thus inextricably linked, Dada and Surrealism ceased to exist as separate, mutually exclusive terms; rational critique and irrational exaltation went hand in hand in Ernst's work from the beginning.

A key device in this regard was an abrupt change of tone and level of expression. Ernst recurred to the Romantic irony of Heinrich Heine, in which the banal continually serves as a brake on flights of intoxicating fancy, revellings in the beautiful and the sublime. Not coincidentally, when wishing to characterize his own, antinomian approach in conversation, Ernst frequently cited the title that Christian Dietrich Grabbe had given to one of his plays in the early nineteenth century: *Jest, Satire, Irony and Deeper Meaning*. This early favorite among the artist's readings, like Lichtenberg, Jean Paul, Heine, Arnim, Novalis, Nietzsche, and Stirner – not to mention his friend Arp – contained a number of proto-Surrealist elements on which he would later ring changes in his own art. On review, it becomes apparent that even the early, Cologne period was shot through with visual ideas in which play was made with the sublime and with visionary cosmogonies. *Approaching Puberty* (Pl. 105) and *Above the Clouds Midnight Passes* (Pl. 64) are only two examples among many. Such poetic titles, miniature prose-poems in their own right, evoke a mood in perfect harmony with the metamorphosis of mythical themes found here and in other works of the period, such as *Birth of the Milky Way* and *Sister of Fate*. Admittedly, these Ernstian "Paramyths" did not emerge into full bloom until the discovery of frottage, which in 1925 led to *Histoire Naturelle*.

Dadaist Sublimity

Still, the factor of inexplicability and surprise already quite obviously dominated large stretches of the Dada period. Take, for instance, the aerial perspective, the mountainous regions, the veritably planetary vastness that served as settings for so many of the overpaintings and collages. In hindsight, by comparison to the later landscape visions, these may be read as a symbol of loneliness and of a Nietzschean pride in recognition: "Philosophy, as I have understood it hitherto, is a voluntary retirement into regions of ice and mountain peaks – the seeking out of everything strange and questionable in existence, everything upon which, hitherto, morality has set its ban."⁵ Yet Ernst's recourse to the sublime, combined with a radical, exaggerated perspective that cuts the background off from the foreground and renders it inaccessible to the viewer, also reflects, in formal terms, an involvement with Kant's *Critique of Judgement*.

While the work of the early phase relied largely on the effects of the "mathematically sublime," that of the mid 1920s, thanks to the flowing, Baroque form that emerged from *écriture automatique*, increasingly brought the "dynamically sublime" to the fore. *Celebes* (Pl. 117) and *Sea Piece* (Pl. 115) played with this notion of inexplicable phenomena, wonders of the world, which were to provide so much fuel for the Surrealist epiphany. It is enough to recall the Surrealists' fascination with the giant helmet that suddenly materialized in the courtyard of Horace Walpole's *Castle of Otranto*. Their tendency to search the literature and art of an earlier period for a justification of their own desire for incredible and outrageous imagery was in large part the result of a confrontation with Ernst's unprecedented visual inventions. It is significant in this regard that Breton, in the first essay he devoted to visual art, mentioned the wonders of the world as a referent for a new content.⁶

The Echo Chamber of Literature

All of Ernst's depictions of an irreducible surprise that escapes the tenets of reason and calculability can be associated with passages in his readings which illuminate, if not explain, the monsters and wonders visualized in his imagery. This proximity to literature was something the artist himself often mentioned in conversation. While he never literally illustrated a text, his readings did set up a kind of echo chamber in which, as it were with intimate detachment, his own imagery reverberated. Let us consider only two such passages which shed light on the dual thrust of Ernst's early period. Both stem from favorite books, the first from Jean Paul's *Flegeljahre*: "...still, at the thought that a house might float in his pouch on a single tear, he felt an odd glandular reaction and began to resemble a sick lark to which, with an oiled pinhead – the house was the knob – a clyster had been administered."⁷ The scenes and titles of Ernst's Dadaist period reverberated with just such rhetorical figures.

The second quotation, from Novalis, relates both to *Sea Piece* and to *Woman, Old Man, and Flower* (Pl. 161). It concerns the altered perspective on things brought about by a flight above the earth on which the narrator is taken by a child – an angel. He writes that the child "flew so high with us that the earth was reduced to a golden bowl decorated with delicate carvings. All I can remember after that is that the flower, the mountain, and the old man reappeared."⁸ This vision of the "golden bowl," a world within a world, also familiar from Thomas Cole's dreamlike *Giant's Chalice*, formed the beginning of a superb series of motifs that can be traced from the landscapes of Ernst's *Histoire Naturelle*, of *La femme 100 têtes* (*The Hundred Headed [Headless] Woman*) and of *La ville entière* (*The Entire City*) all the way down to the late paintings on astronomical themes.

In sum we can state that no other artist associated with Dada struck such an ecstatic tone. More, Ernst devoted himself exclusively to this irrational, phantasmagorical realm. Nowhere in his work of the period do we find evidence of a direct involvement in current events or topics, only emblematically encoded references at most. Even where he employed the

medium par excellence of topical criticism, the "authentic" image of photography, he avoided any datable or definable reference to political or social circumstances. Ernst's critique was couched in more universal terms. Examples are such titles as *The Roaring of Ferocious Soldiers* (Pl. 37), *Massacre of the Innocents* (Pl. 100), and the series of vanitas motifs that played on the theme of anatomy (e. g. *The Anatomy*). Not least, the broad range of motifs relating to claustrophobic situations, fettering and duress, reflected a sensitive awareness of the undercurrents of the day.

Still, what remains decisive for the visual effect of this imagery is the iconic message contained in the method by which its materials have been processed. Knife blade and scissors, dissection and amputation, are the key terms here. Ernst's depictions are the result of a cutting-up of the world, and ultimately of a correction and re-evaluation of the consciousness that addresses itself to problems of knowledge.

The Message of Processing

Everything in these depictions took on multiple meanings. The works of the Cologne period, those marvelous first collages Ernst published in *Répétitions* and *Les Malheurs des immortels*, led in 1921 to paintings like *The Preparation of Bone Glue* (Pl. 106), *Celebes*, and *Oedipus Rex* (Pl. 118). It is unfortunate that many virtual paintings of this type were never done. As a hand-colored version of *Les Malheurs des immortels* I found in a private collection shows, Ernst frequently tested his collages for their potential as large-format oils.⁹ Like *The Preparation of Bone Glue*, the first case in which he used an overhead projector to enlarge a collage sketch, many other images of this type would have made superb paintings. *Oedipus Rex*, *La femme chancelante*, and *Souvenir de Dieu* were executed in this way. Consequently, the models for Ernst's paintings of the period can for the most part be found among studies composed of cut-out paper elements. The collages, which he published only in reproductions or, in the few cases in which he parted from an original, colored to conceal the joints, formed the seed of Ernst's "painted collages." One observation is crucial in this connection: that no oils were executed on the basis of the earlier overpainted prints. These apparently lacked the figurative and narrative orientation that would have made them suitable for translation into the other medium. And they lacked the enigmatic eeriness of images like *Celebes* or *Oedipus Rex*, which Ernst described, in a letter to Tzara, as examples of a new visual effect: "J'ai fait quelques tableaux méphistophéliques."¹⁰

We should never lose sight of the fact that at this point, the collage technique as such possessed no intrinsic value for Max Ernst. He viewed it as a means to an end – the autonomous image made up of recognizable individual elements that, in conjunction, produced a visual shock. This was the difference between collage and the Cubists' *papiers collés*. A knowledge of how his collages were made, which like the all-too-obtrusive devices of a theater director might have robbed the homogeneous image of its mysterious effect, was something Ernst purposely suppressed. He was out to produce genuine imagery in which the mental leaps, and physical scissor-cuts, were to remain undetectable to the viewer. This is why the term collage never cropped up during the early period. The reproductions of collages in the little volume *Répétitions* were given out, on the title page, as "dessins," or drawings. Ernst covered his tracks, and managed to lead even the best-informed of his contemporaries astray with this trompe-l'œil. The photocollages, which he made himself, represented the apex of obfuscation. Employing the most objective medium yet invented to reproduce reality, he composed unreal imagery from its fragments, then photographed the result anew and presented his manipulated world in the form of a pristine photographic print. The viewer, unfamiliar with Ernst's studio secrets, became entangled in the puzzle, for to all intents and purposes what confronted him was a photograph of something real which he had never seen.

Good-bye to the Avant-Garde

The production of enigma, so provocatively and compellingly demonstrated in the paintings mentioned, continued in the work Ernst did after his move to Paris in 1922. His shift to a style in which the object appeared in sharp, as if cut-out, contour against the surrounding space, went back to a key decision which can be dated quite precisely to the year 1919. In that year, Ernst abruptly abandoned the Expressionist and Futurist tendencies of his early work. This stylistic change, in which all ties with the avant-garde were severed, might be explained in terms of the Dadaist stance ("Dada ne se donne pas pour moderne" – Dada does not claim to be modern),¹¹ but even more importantly, it represents a critical commentary on the period style of the postwar era, which exhibited an increasing tendency to a "return to order" and hence to a reinstatement of the museum picture.

Seen against this background, Ernst's paintings of the Cologne and early Paris periods bear an affinity with the veristic stream of *Neue Sachlichkeit*, which dominated German art of the 1920s. A comparison with Otto Dix is instructive. In both men's work we find a harsh objectivity with an emphasis on contour which is suffused by the rigor mortis of inanimate things. Yet where Dix sought psychological penetration, Ernst replied with a rejection of normative statements about human beings and their world. Moreover, Ernst's sharp focus on a realistic depiction of unreal situations corresponded to the ideology of an *œuvre* which, in this early phase, was chiefly concerned with a revision of traditional approaches to image-making and a critique of linguistic clichés.

Klee and de Chirico

The key caesura had occurred in 1919. Ernst visited Klee in Munich and during his stay was confronted for the first time with publications illustrating the works of *Pittura Metafisica*. His discovery of Klee and de Chirico, in other words, coincided in time. The experience was subsequently compounded by the Dadaist publications Ernst saw in Zurich, Berlin, and Paris. The important point here is that it was Ernst's knowledge of both Klee and de Chirico that led to his break with post-Expressionist figurative painting. To justify theoretically his own, new approach, devoted to fulfilling the promise of an art "beyond painting," Ernst adopted the concept of "dilettantism." This not only served as a battlecry in his struggle with the conservative expectations of Cologne audiences, which he now began systematically to provoke. The term also surely reflected something of the personal insecurity which Ernst felt upon his return from the First World War. He had not gone back to the university; his father had begged him in vain to resume his interrupted studies, predicting, as Ernst once told me, that otherwise he would "go to the dogs."¹² Ernst was also perfectly aware of the fact that his previous artistic work by no means came up to the standards set by society, and not least by his own father, whose dilettante Sunday painting was considered brilliant in local art circles.

Also significant in this connection was surely his meeting with Carl Einstein, the author of *Bebuquin – Dilettanten des Wunders*. As early as 1914, Hugo Ball, planning to found an artist's theater, noted that "Carl Einstein's 'Dilettantes of Miracle' points the way." Ernst's confrontation with Dada and de Chirico showed him the way to overcome dialectically the dilettantism he had celebrated in the Cologne Dada leaflets, by employing "unprofessional" procedures in a relatively professional manner. The unique character of amateur art was something with which Ernst had become acquainted even before the First World War, in his involvement with the art of the mentally ill. Riegl's conception of "artistic volition," which cast doubt on the denigration of subjective approaches as mere "daubing" by comparison to normative, historically sanctioned styles, surely also played a key role in Ernst's reorientation.

The salient and surprising feature of the pre-Dada phase was Ernst's almost complete waiver of the stylistic devices offered by the avant-garde. When he did turn to Expressionism, Futurism, or Cubism, it was without passion and with an intent to spoof and satirize. His

interest in new, shocking subject matter and critical persiflage was initially stronger than his interest in developing a personal style. Against this background, Ernst's recourse to media outside the realm of fine art took on increasing significance. It announced the coming of the revolution to which his collage ideology was soon to lead – a method of producing combined imagery that fulfilled Lévi-Strauss's definition of the only way to overcome a historically achieved "complete mastery of the technical difficulties," by employing means akin to those of "physique amusante" or popular science.¹³ The role played in Ernst's techniques and subject matter by just such examples of popular science found in nineteenth-century publications can of course be traced without difficulty in any number of works.¹⁴ Less obvious is the fact that his adoption of non-artistic seminal material and marginal techniques ultimately served as the point of departure for new effects in painting.

Fine Structure of the Painted Collages

This has become more apparent with distance in time. There is no point in continuing to categorize Ernst's "painted collages" as anti-art or a rejection of painting. They had nothing in common with the trite chromolithograph style of the day that levelled every element to conform with a low common denominator. Even before his discovery of the completely new techniques of frottage and grattage in 1925, Ernst had developed an inimitable and astonishingly personal touch in his painted collages. It is fascinating to observe the way in which existing printed imagery that was suffused by countless, aesthetically irrelevant patterns and screens was transformed under his hands into a new brand of painting. Elements of content alien to fine art, provided by his collage roughs, took on an autonomy of a kind and quality not found in any other artist's work. Manipulations of structures and textures became exciting aesthetic statements in their own right. Here lies the revolutionary innovation: to convey content of a visionary or ironic nature, Ernst found means of depiction that themselves intrinsically demonstrated the novelty and strangeness of the imaginative world depicted. The details he adopted – sections of arteries or veins, hatchings and screens from the visual jargon of commercial printing – were integrated in representations of a world in which nothing behaved in a rational way. Many features of this imagery obviously represented a persiflage on the "epidemic decoration" of Art Nouveau, in which its proliferating vegetation or zoomorphic ornament were dismembered. A case in point is *The Preparation of Bone Glue* and its similarities with Toorop's *Song of the Ages* (1893), in which the figures are entangled in a labyrinthine, veined web.

Another salient feature is the prominence of certain means of processing and integrating the existing elements in the final composition. Key among these is an exaggerated perspective, a concentration on a focal point that, as it were, symbolizes the slice of Ernst's scissors. He announced this strategy in the invitation to his first Paris exhibition, speaking, in a memorable phrase, of the "mise sous whisky marin" – being "sub-whisky-marine" – that led to the making of the pictures on view. Behind this allusion to a state of intoxication we can detect a search for alienation that would facilitate a "non-human" view of the world, a world sunk below sea-level. This was a parable Ernst frequently cited when describing the catch brought up in the nets he cast into the subconscious mind. Nor was it a coincidence when, looking at his *Celebes* with its sea animals swimming in the sky, he was reminded of Rimbaud's "Salon au fond de la mer."

Klee, from whom Ernst borrowed works for a show at the Gesellschaft für Künste, may well have influenced the landscape-oriented overpaintings and the hybrid plant-animal forms that populated them. Yet it was doubtless the shock of de Chirico's work that inspired Ernst to do oils like *Aquis submersus* (Pl. 20), *The Resurrection of the Flesh*, and *Justitia*. As his autobiographical notes reveal, the confrontation with de Chirico struck Ernst with the force of a déjà vu. It is important to remember that his background had prepared him for the discovery, for Ernst was an artist who had gained his spurs not at an academy but in the lecture halls

of a university. His study of philosophy, psychology, and psychiatry, not to mention art history, can be traced throughout the works of the Dada period. A knowledge of pictorial analysis and iconology played a key role in Ernst's amalgamations of cultural quotations with banal, alienated objects, his nostalgic intertwining of the time lines of culture and civilization.

Pictorial Blasphemy

In this regard, *The Resurrection of the Flesh*, which like a number of other major paintings of the period has since been lost, surely marked the decisive step towards what I should like to term Ernst's systematic revision of the traditional painted image. It is the earliest canvas in which the "pictorial blasphemy" that was to characterize so many later works can be precisely pinpointed. Here, for the first time, Ernst repainted an existing picture, and this in a very concrete sense. In executing *The Resurrection of the Flesh*, he ironically applied a principle familiar to him from seminars in art history, that of "migrating motifs." As point of departure he took Joachim Beuckelaer's composition *Slaughtered Hog* of 1563, a choice inspired by the theme of the opulent kitchen still life. To this he contrasted de Chirico's still life with fish, *I pesci sacri* of 1919. The juxtaposition amounted to a sophisticated and sarcastic combination of the vanitas motif of still life and genre painting with a commentary on the slaughter of war and the poverty of the postwar years.¹⁵

Justitia,¹⁶ likewise done in the first weeks after Ernst's confrontation with the work of de Chirico and Carrà, continued this line of attack. It can be seen as part of an iconographically stringently defined, eschatological suite. Following upon *The Resurrection of the Flesh*, the scene of *Justitia* represents an allusion to the Last Judgment. The woman holding the scales finds that the little piece of meat outweighs the little man. In the context of postwar scarcity, this implies that he, the human being, is condemned to insignificance. As always with Max Ernst, the discovery of an iconographic nucleus of this kind prompts us to review other works for possible associations. One of these in which they indeed turn up is *Augustine Thomas and Otto Flake* (Fig., 81), a collage by Luise Straus into which Ernst pasted depictions of animal carcasses – perhaps the very same ones that served him as models for *The Resurrection*.

Composite Imagery

The distinction between an imaginary, composite image like those of Ernst and an imaginary painted image is a substantial one. The former is predicated on dependence on an existing inventory of reproduced images of the visual world. The conditions governing the use and structuring of such material can be traced back to a very early point in Ernst's oeuvre. This holds for the motif of the imprisoned, truncated human figure, and it holds for the stereotypical movements and gestures which originated not from the realm of art but from the technical illustrations in popular science journals.

One such early, easily overlooked reference to later works is found in the school magazine, *Aus unserm Leben an der Penne* (spring 1910; Fig. 5), in which a drawing by the young Ernst anticipates his major canvas, *At the Rendezvous of the Friends* (Pl. 133). The clash in this painting between Breton's hieratic self-aggrandizement and Dadaist slapstick is already prefigured in the little sketches. One of the captions, "Allegorical Painting: The School of Brühl (after Raphael)," in turn lays the groundwork for Ernst's later recourse to that artist's *Disputa*. Such examples corroborate the fact that Ernst's approach to art was fundamentally one of critical commentary and revision. Further cases in point are the mythological references that crop up in the works of the Cologne and early Paris periods. One of the main lines of reference, the series of Argonaut motifs, reverberates in such titles as *Les Malheurs des immortels* (Pls. 119–26) and *Castor and Pollution* (Pl. 142). To give only a few other examples: *The Tottering Woman* (Pl. 143) relates to Bellini's *Fortuna*, an allegory of happiness; *Woman, Old Man*,

and Flower makes reference to an icon of Romanticism, Friedrich's *Abbey in an Oak Wood*; and the blind *Saint Cecilia (The Invisible Piano*; Pl. 159) with the numerous stone eyes in the pedestal that envelops her alludes both to Dolci's *St. Cecilia* (Dresden)¹⁷ and to Klimt's *Portrait of Fritza Riedler* (1906). Ernst has translated the rigor of pose which Klimt inflicted on the women who sat for him into an actual petrification. References of this type continually occur in his œuvre from this point on.

There can be no doubt that Breton's essay on de Chirico, which Ernst read only a few months after his confrontation with that artist's work, confirmed him in his approach. Seeing as Cologne Dada did not produce much in the way of manifestoes, Breton's reached him just at the right time. One passage must have challenged him especially: "Lorsque Galilée fit rouler sur un plan incliné des boules dont il avait lui-même déterminé la pesanteur... alors une nouvelle lumière vint éclairer tous les physiciens."¹⁸ Not only did this passage refer to scientific material of the kind Ernst had chosen to employ in his collages, but it drew a comparison with the revolution that had been triggered by Galileo's discovery. The shock Ernst must have felt at reading these words had concrete results – his repainting of the composition *Faubourg dada* into *The Emperor from Wahaua* (Pl. 22). In the new version we find, for the first time, the attributes which Breton described Galileo as having employed in his experiment: the inclined plane and the balls. These were the attributes of a new Galileo.

Instructions for Use

Ernst's work, we recall, was received enthusiastically by poets and writers from the beginning. The critics had a great deal more trouble finding access to it. The difficulties were compounded by the obvious discontinuities and what the artist himself called the "restlessness" of his work, as well as by its "sabotage en règle" – the term is Breton's – which was so hard to put into words. This is why most of the subsequent attempts at analysis that went beyond the expression of a subjective fascination seemed mere tilting at windmills. The critics sensed that Ernst's imagery was the result of a sophisticated combination of existing visual material. But when evidence of his sources first turned up in the 1950s, it triggered, of all things, a cry of plagiarism – so little had Max Ernst's fundamental and revolutionary decision to replace a direct working process by a revision of existing visualizations of reality been understood.

On the whole, the bases were lacking for a comprehensive view of the inventory Ernst employed from 1919 onwards, let alone for an outline of its potentials and poetic structure. Nor, for decades, was a knowledge of his œuvre very widespread or profound. It was not until the 1970s that this situation began to change. The catalogue raisonné, which, thanks to the support of the Menil Foundation, began to appear at that time under the editorship of Sigrid and Günter Metken and myself, formed the basis for a new and intensive involvement with Ernst's œuvre. The volumes dealing with the early work, Dada, and incipient Surrealism included numerous pieces that had neither been exhibited nor reproduced previously. Authors and exhibition organizers alike were able to profit from the gaps thus filled.

A further yield of a systematic involvement with the artist's work, my own book *Max Ernst: Collages. The Invention of the Surrealist Universe*, was published in 1974. Included in the appendix, rigorously separated from the works per se, was a selection of Ernst's source materials, the result of a review of numerous nineteenth-century publications. These permitted me to test, on a large scale, the truth of a hypothesis I had long felt would provide a key to the œuvre: that Ernst's art, from start to finish, could be characterized as an art of collage. The analysis undertaken with an eye to the seminal material led to a series of terms describing the various modes by which it was reworked, suggestions which have since found widespread acceptance: printer's plate prints, rubbings, overpaintings, photomontages, total collages, "synthetic" and "analytic" collages, painted collages, and traced collages.

These procedures were eventually, in 1925, supplanted by frottage and grattage. Yet even these can best be described in terms of the general concept of collage, for they too continue

to rely on elements gleaned by the artist from the outside world. Their inventory of form comprises for the most part amorphous textures and shapes brought into focus and given meaning by reworking – string, twine, wooden boards, textured glass, straw hats, mats, bark, seashells, and so on, which were placed under a sheet of paper or a canvas, transferred, and arranged into compositions. This technique fulfilled the demand for an *écriture automatique*, as defined by Breton in the First Surrealist Manifesto, in a unique and unprecedented way. Direct paint application disappeared, but the resulting imagery gained in painterly effect. The new method also altered the aspect of Ernst's oeuvre: the iconographic elements and emblems that dominated the work of the early 1920s began to recede in favor of an increasing concentration on definite themes. The amalgamation and revision of existing imagery were replaced by an involvement with diffuse, open textures that invited interpretation.

Questions of Interpretation

Repeated mention has been made of the material Ernst employed as point of departure for his art. A review of these sources has enabled us to verify the hypothesis that his entire oeuvre can justifiably be characterized as a collage oeuvre. Still, a study of the sources raises entirely new questions as well. Let us take a brief look at some of these.

A key point was the observation that Ernst had recourse to non-artistic material almost exclusively. It belonged to the field of scientific or technical education, or, speaking more generally, to that of an encyclopedically exhaustive visualization of the physical world. The report he gave of his confrontation with this material clearly indicates that it was not its intrinsic semantic message that aroused Ernst's interest. Rather than the obviously educational nature of these illustrations, what struck him was the existential experience of a totally alienated world he had upon viewing them, the hallucinated vision they triggered. Here is his own description of the revelation: "One rainy day in Cologne on the Rhine, the catalogue of a teaching-aids company caught my attention. It was illustrated with models of all kinds – mathematical, geometrical, anthropological, zoological, botanical, anatomical, mineralogical, paleontological, and so forth – elements of such a diverse nature that the absurdity of the collection confused the eye and mind, producing hallucinations and lending the objects depicted new and rapidly changing meanings."

This "panique de l'intelligence," as Breton called it,¹⁹ caused by a confusing and unspecified overall impression, relates to an early observation that Ernst made in 1912, in the context of a review published in *Der Volksmund*, a Bonn newspaper. "To an artist," he noted, "the most mundane and the most uncommon things can be an experience – a harmony of colors, an interweaving of lines."²⁰ This reference to sources of inspiration contains reverberations of Novalis, one of Ernst's favorite authors: "Anything that is strange, accidental, individual can become our portal to the universe. A face, a star, a stretch of countryside, an old tree, etc., may make an epoch in our inner lives. – This is the great reality of fetish worship."²¹

Essentially the material that Max Ernst employed was beyond the range of aesthetic consideration. It possessed no intrinsic aesthetic quality, being, in terms of intention, origin and function, a conveyor of information alone. It is important in this connection to remember that most of the reproductions that Ernst employed after his discovery of extra-artistic illustrations originated from publications that were already obsolete at the time. They were wood engravings, a technique that had already lost currency as a means of reproduction by the close of the nineteenth century. Photographic processes used to reproduce photographic originals – rather than the earlier hand drawings – superseded the hand-cut patterns of the wood engraving, and halftones replaced its fine, precise lines. Now, photo-reproductions were not well adapted to collage, since the separate elements of the image no longer evinced the clear contours which permitted easy cutting. Ernst found it essential in making a collage that the various hatchings and linear patterns be pasted together so that the result created the illusion of an intact whole while, on the other hand, possessing the tense, as it were magnetic push

and pull of interwoven and juxtaposed lines. The extent to which he was aware of the importance of this anachronistic visual material for his collage work is indicated by a letter he wrote to Tzara, requesting that he send him, from Paris, "old department store catalogues, fashion magazines, old illustrations, etc."²² Ernst's interest, far from being merely nostalgic, was in the outmoded, obsolete, aesthetically neutral image.

Collage Constants

A review of the plethora of material he sifted through permits us to characterize the emergence of Ernst's collage universe in terms of an objection on his part to a theoretically unlimited combination of the information it contained and the ideas it suggested. When we compare this material to the resulting collages, certain patterns of processing come to light. The existence of substantial and formal structures, mentioned above, played a key role in this regard. It became the condition for the development of an inventory of form, a visual repository that insured that an aleatory employment of the disparate seminal material would be channeled so that the selections were stylistically recognizable as belonging to Ernst's oeuvre.

Certain structures that can be traced diachronically mitigate the isolation and strangeness of individual collage motifs. Interrelationships emerge which, being linguistically cross-referenced, possess an astonishing coherency. The collages are not separate, unrelated islands of discourse, but parts of a gradually developed, unique visual universe. Into this universe, only such "finds" could be introduced and integrated for which the already extant oeuvre displayed a predisposition. To characterize the unprecedented nature of Ernst's innovations and aesthetic, there is really no better phrase than Aragon's early reference to him as a "personnalité du choix".²³ It is a term suggesting the importance of selection and reworking which runs counter to every notion of Dadaist improvisation and rejection of style. This observation is crucial to an understanding of the oeuvre.

As early as 1919, Ernst's collages came to be dominated by certain technical constants and stereotypes which reflected just as much of an interest in stylistic originality and personal touch as work produced by more conventional means. This tendency became all the more prominent at the point where, instead of limiting himself to painting over and reworking scientific and technical depictions, Ernst began to synthesize collages from diverse elements or to alienate an existing image by means of collaged incursions. At this point, another factor came into play—that of plausibility. Among the categories of choice, this concept indeed took on supreme importance. As Ernst employed the elements he selected "literally," that is, actual size, they had to fit together. For Ernst's collages were convincing, they simply looked right, unlike those of Berlin Dada, for instance, which purposely attacked the notion of correct proportions. This basic condition of plausibility also explains why many spectacular elements and motifs he must have come across in the original publications did not appeal to him—they were technically unsuitable.

The Autonomous Image

At this point, the crucial question arises: To what extent was the original context from which the material was taken related to the message of the resulting collage? To what extent did the latter rely on the former? It should always be kept in mind that Ernst's collage technique was goal-oriented, that is, that the material used in a collage—the "goal"—was invariably deprived of its original meaning in the course of the making process. Ernst never presented such material like a ready-made. The autonomous character of his collages, I am convinced, was of paramount importance to him. Recall his early attempts to conceal, even from his friends, the workings of the collage process.

The autonomous image concerned Ernst foremost. Hence the material on which it was based can be used for a hermeneutic interpretation of the image only with the greatest cau-

tion. The complexity of his work tends to be overlooked whenever commentators seize upon individual "finds," publish them without regard to the overall context of the *œuvre*, and nominalistically appropriate their discrete meaning to Ernst's intentions. Caution is in order with respect to the "epistemological luck" that accompanies such finds. Analyses based on the seminal material tend to be blind to the structural invariants that suffuse the *œuvre*. Seen in isolation, the source elements possess an exclusively internal, endogenous significance within the new image. This approach to Ernst's collages amounts more to autopsy than to interpretation.

The fact that much of the investigation devoted to Max Ernst relies on such dissection is understandable. Never before have art historians been offered such a chance to "verify objectively" the intentions of an artist's *œuvre*, to analyze what Breton called a "véritable photographie de la pensée."²⁴ Yet analysis of this type is ultimately no more than a positivistic reply to the hermeneutic challenge posed by the imagery.

On the other hand, Ernst doubtless puts us as viewers in a state of explanatory duress. It is no wonder that we grasp at the straw of original context – the protocritical level of an involvement with seminal material – in order to escape the pressure. And in the attempt to plumb the significance of the original context – "What did this element mean, what is being concealed here?" – we risk mistaking secondary connotations for primary meaning.²⁵ The fact is that no knowledge of the isolated, hidden context can restore the meaning which the collage process has censored out. This knowledge tends on the contrary to make us blind to the poetic nature of the imagery.

Ernst and Freud

Mounting resistance to every model of systematic scholarly study, whether of iconology or symbolism or emblematic research, Max Ernst's work diverged from the beginning from the rebus or puzzle subject to logical solution. Seen in this light, the repeatedly advanced comparison between Ernstian "collage work" and Freudian "dream work" proves misleading, a deceptive model for interpretation. There can be no doubt that for Ernst, the superadded value represented by the overdetermined image took precedence over a rational analysis that could lead to its transference into meaning or interpretation. He was interested foremost in the superadded value of the dream, the inexplicability produced by dream distortion and dream compression, and not in analysis or explication. It is enough to recall his definition of collage, which brought "distant realities" so close to one another that their electrical charge leapt the gap and produced the flash of a super-real image.

Where Ernst employed his knowledge of Freud at all, it was in an instrumental and ironic way. His unwillingness to countenance the destruction of dreams and manifest dream content is well illustrated by a passage from *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* to which he was fond of referring. By the way, the passage also superbly sums up the artist's revolt against his father's world: "But, dear father, why are you so set against dreams...? Isn't every dream, even the most confused, a special phenomenon which, even leaving divine dispensation out of account, represents a significant rent in the mysterious curtain that drapes our inmost selves in a thousand folds?... To my mind, dreams are like a bulwark against the regularity and habitualness of life, a liberating respite for the fettered imagination in which it jumbles all the pictures of life and interrupts the perpetual earnestness of grown-up men with a merry children's game."²⁶

There is a picture title that puts Ernst's critical view of Freud's analytical efforts in a nutshell: *Man Shall Know Nothing of This* (Pl. 145). In the course of my many conversations with him, Ernst made it abundantly clear that while he did not reject attempts to explain and interpret his art, he considered this insatiable and self-perpetuating hermeneutics in the sense of an open question addressed to himself, and ultimately as the essential message of his work. What he gave us were intransitive images – images without an object that exist in and for

themselves. It is significant in this context that Ernst did not include Freud in his renowned *At the Rendezvous of the Friends*, instead choosing another master of the life of the mind – Dostoyevsky. His surprising interest in this author is echoed in the famous lectures that Gide held on Dostoyevsky in the early 1920s in France: "I recently read, in an interview with Henry Bordeaux, a sentence that surprised me not a little: 'One must first attempt to know oneself,' he stated. . . . An author who searches for himself risks finding himself. . . . The true artist, when he is working, always remains half unaware of himself. . . . Dostoyevsky did not search for himself; he gave himself completely to his work. He lost himself in every character in his books."²⁷

This corresponds to Max Ernst's response to a period which, in the wake of a terrible war, pragmatically attempted to return to normality as quickly as possible. The extent to which he identified, throughout his career, with Gide's acceptance of open-endedness and ambiguity is illustrated by the famous self-description in which he integrated, as if in a collage, Gide's characterization of Dostoyevsky: "A painter may know what he doesn't want. But woe be to him if he wants to know what he does want! A painter is lost when he finds himself. The fact that he has succeeded in not finding himself is what Max Ernst considers his 'sole' honor."²⁸ His achievement, of course, consists of more: a universe of disturbing imagery that, one is tempted to say, lies on the tip of the eye's and mind's tongue.

1 Friedrich Nietzsche, *Zur Genealogie der Moral, Gesammelte Werke*, Munich, 1926–29, XV, p. 329.

2 André Breton, quoted in Hans Richter, *Dada: Art and Anti-Art*, London, 1965, p. 159.

3 Werner Spies (ed.), *Max Ernst: A Retrospective*, exhibition catalogue, London, 1991, p. 9.

4 André Breton, *Entretiens 1913–1952*, Paris, 1952, p. 59.

5 Friedrich Nietzsche, *Ecce Homo*, Munich, 1954, vol. 2, p. 1066.

6 André Breton, "Giorgio de Chirico," *Littérature* (Paris), no. 11, January 1920, pp. 28–29.

7 Jean Paul, *Fliegeljahre, Werke*, Munich, 1959, vol. 2, p. 575.

8 Novalis, *Heinrich von Ofterdingen, Werke und Briefe*, Munich, 1962, p. 152.

9 See *Max Ernst: A Retrospective*, plates 53–56.

10 Letter to Tzara, February 2, 1922, quoted in Werner Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages. The Invention of the Surrealist Universe*, New York, 1991, p. 272.

11 André Breton, "Max Ernst," Paris, 1921.

12 Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 33.

13 Claude Lévi-Strauss, *La Pensée Sauvage*, Paris, 1962, p. 41.

14 Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages, passim*.

15 It is interesting to recall that at the Bulletin D exhibition, where *The Last Judgment* was on display, a work bearing the title *Schweine* (Hogs) figured under the rubric "Anonymous Master, early twentieth century."

16 Exhibited at Bulletin D under the title *Justice*.

17 Information provided by Max Ernst.

18 André Breton, "Giorgio de Chirico: 12 Tavole in Fototopia," *Littérature* (Paris), no. 11, January 1920, p. 28.

19 Breton, "Caractères de l'évolution moderne," *Œuvres complètes*, Paris, 1988, p. 299. The passage in question reads: "Ce jeune homme épie, lui aussi, une sorte de panique de l'intelligence dont il n'a pas manqué de tirer jusqu'ici quelques fulgurations singulières."

20 "Kunst und Können," *Der Volksmund* (Bonn), October 30, 1912. English translation quoted in full in Spies (ed.), *Max Ernst: A Retrospective*, p. 288.

21 Novalis, *Neue Fragmente*, no. 259. Quoted in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 11.

22 Letter of October 1921, published in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 272.

23 Louis Aragon, "La Peinture au défi," introduction to *Exposition de collages*, exhibition catalogue, Galerie Goemans, Paris, March 1930.

24 Breton, "Max Ernst."

25 Spies, "The Question of the Original Context of Collage Elements," *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 24.

26 Novalis, *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, p. 148.

27 André Gide, *Dostoiewski*, Paris, 1923, pp. 80–81.

28 Max Ernst, "Lebensdaten," *Max Ernst*, exhibition catalogue, Galerie Stangl, Munich, 1967.

William A. Camfield

Max Ernst

Dada and the Dawn of Surrealism



1 Max Ernst painting, ca. 1909

Matters of Family, Education, Art, and War

1

Max Ernst's art during the epoch of Dada and emerging Surrealism remains today, some seventy years later, one of the most intriguing developments in the history of Modern Art. The visual and intellectual allure of these works of 1919–24 irresistibly tempts and taunts the viewer with questions of meaning, medium, and process, yet they are so complex and personal as to frustrate the most subtle interpretive efforts. They are, moreover, embedded in the equally fascinating, complicated cultural conditions of Western Europe in the aftermath of the First World War. Fortunately, for the study of Ernst, we also have at our disposal substantial sources of information and commentary. In addition to the art works themselves, there are letters, witness accounts, and Dada publications of the epoch, as well as studies of style, interpretive studies, and significant publications on relevant persons, issues, and events in his milieu. Within the diverse viewpoints and sources of information available, perhaps the most important are the autobiographical texts which Ernst began in 1927 and continued until almost the end of his life. Several scholars have observed that these texts are products of a self-conscious adult constructing/reconstructing childhood memories, sometimes in response to conditions in his career.¹ Ernst himself alerted readers to the subjectivity of his offerings, both by the playful tones of some entries and by the title of one text, "Notizen zu einer Biographie: Wahrheitgewebe und Lügengewebe" ("Biographical Notes: Tissue of Truth, Tissue of Lies").² Notwithstanding the acknowledged subjectivity of these texts, there is about them an overriding, fundamental consistency. They are references to memories and concerns of the utmost significance for Ernst, and they will be considered in the account which begins here. I have organized this text as a chronological narrative exploring the artist, his work, the context in which he lived and worked, and the response of his audience, with particular emphasis on criticism in the early 1920s and a crescendo of studies that began in the 1970s. Accordingly, my approach is also synthetic and critical insofar as I will draw on the work of predecessors, profiting from their discoveries, theses, and methodologies and assessing, expanding, and criticizing their work as conditions warrant.

Ernst's parents came from the region of Aachen.³ His father, Philipp Joseph Ernst (1862–1942), was born in Jülich, grew up in Aachen, and returned to teach in a nearby rural district in 1883 after graduating from the teachers' college in Kornelmünster. There he met Louise Kopp (1865–1949), whom he married in 1889 after hav-

ing taken a position as a teaching assistant in 1887 at the Institute for the Deaf and Dumb in Brühl, a town along the Rhine six miles south of Cologne. He remained in service there until retirement in 1930, steadily advancing in his career, first to the post of teacher (1892) and then to that of director of teacher training in the Department of the History of Deaf and Dumb Pedagogy. Philipp and Louise likewise established themselves as solid bourgeois citizens of Brühl. They acquired a house on Schlossstrasse, just across the street from the orangerie that linked the grand eighteenth-century Augustusburg Palace to the Catholic church, where the family worshiped and eventually presented eight children for baptism (Figs. 2, 3). Max was born on April 2, 1891, the third child and the oldest surviving male.⁴ The marriage has been described as essentially a happy one, with the kindly, good-natured Louise complementing Philipp, who could be taciturn, insistent about his privacy, and difficult to know or understand. Philipp was further characterized by those who knew him as a man with a strong bond to the Catholic church, an esteem for an orderly daily life, a love of fatherland, skill as a self-taught amateur artist, and a love of nature which he gratified by study, hiking, and collecting beetles, butterflies, and minerals.⁵ Each trait and value of the father seems to have made its mark in one form or another on the son.

Ernst's comments on his childhood and youth first appeared in 1927, followed by a more extensive account in the Ernst edition of the magazine *View* in 1942.⁶ He presented both environmental conditions and events in his personal life as significant elements of convergence in this autobiographical text. In terms of environmental conditions, Ernst noted the history of Cologne as a former Roman colony and the medieval culture center of the Rhineland, a center "still haunted by the splendid magician Cornelius Agrippa . . . and by Albert the Great."⁷ Writing, as was his custom, in the third person, he underscored also the bones of the three magi, "the wise men of the East . . . preserved in the dome-cathedral," and the:

Eleven Thousand virgins [who] gave up their lives in Cologne rather than give up their chastity. Their gracious skulls and bones embellish the walls of the convent-church in Brühl, the same one where little Max was forced to pass the most boring hours of his childhood.⁸

Geography, food, and politics also figured in Ernst's assessment of growing up in Brühl. Cologne, he observed, was situated on the bor-



2 Ernst Family, 1914. Front row: Louise, Loni, Philipp; back row: Max, Emily, Luise, Elisabeth, and Karl

der between a wine-growing region to the south and Beerland to the north. "Max always preferred wine," and "when later he learned the story of the Thirty Years War (1618–48), he had the impression that this was a war of beer drinkers against wine drinkers." Ernst concluded his musing about Cologne and the Rhineland with these remarks:

The geographical, political and climatic conditions of Cologne may be propitious to create fertile conflicts in a sensible child's brain. There is the crosspoint of the most important European culture-tendencies, early Mediterranean influence, western rationalism, eastern inclination to occultism, northern mythology, Prussian categorical imperative, ideals of the French Revolution and so on. In Max Ernst's work one can recognize a continuous powerful drama of those contradictory tendencies. Maybe one day some elements of a new mythology will spring out of this drama.⁹

In terms of his personal life, Ernst described his childhood as "not particularly unhappy," but marked by some dramatic incidents. These incidents, beginning at the age of three, involved art, life, death, hallucinations, and magical powers:

Little Max's first contact with painting occurred in 1894 when he saw his father at work on a small watercolor entitled *Solitude* which represented a hermit sitting in a beech-forest and reading a book. There was a terrifying, quiet atmosphere in this *Solitude* and the manner it was treated. Every one of the thousand beech-leaves was scrupulously and minutely executed, every one of them had its individual solitary life. . . . Max never forgot the enchantment and terror he felt, when a few days later his father conducted him for the first time into the forest.¹⁰

The painting cited by Ernst – also known as *The Monk of Heisterbach* – is extant (Fig. 4), and recent scholarship has established that Philipp Ernst copied it with painstaking precision after a lithograph by Eugen Krüger (1832–76).¹¹ Two aspects of Ernst's text merit emphasis: the father's practice of making copies after reproductions of art works and the perception of "individual solitary life" in each leaf. The concept of an animated nature has a long tradition in the history of art,

but the young Max Ernst claims to have encountered it firsthand in the local forest and in his father's painting of *The Monk of Heisterbach*. Given this experience, he might also have been sensitive to his father's portrait of Loni on a section of a tree¹² – literally an image of human life within nature. The experience of animated forms came to invest not only Ernst's images of nature throughout his career but his Dadaist machine images as well – and it emerged as one of the most representative features of Surrealist painting.

Another innocent childhood event which came to occupy a prominent place in Ernst's personal "mythology" was his first experience at running away from home at age five. As recounted by Ernst, he joined a passing pilgrims' procession. The pilgrims were enchanted by the "little Jesus Christ," clad only in a red nightshirt and carrying a toy whip, but Max dropped out after a mile or so to take a train ride. When a policeman brought him home the next day, little Max appeased his father's fury by proclaiming "that he was sure he was little Jesus Christ." This remark inspired the father to make a portrait of his son as a little Jesus-child,¹³ still dressed in a red nightshirt, but blessing the world with his right hand and bearing the cross – instead of the whip – in his left. Max recalled that he was "slightly flattered by this image," but had "some difficulty in throwing off the suspicion that daddy took secret pleasure in the idea of being God-the-Father."¹⁴

Experience with death and hallucination are the next "dramatic incidents" singled out by Ernst during his childhood:

(1897) First contact with nothingness, when his sister Maria kissed him and her sisters goodbye and died a few hours afterwards. Since this event the feeling of nothingness and annihilating powers were predominant in his mind, in his behavior and – later – in his work.¹⁵



3 Ernst Family House, Schloßstrasse 21, Brühl, ca. 1910

Attributed to about the same date was a hallucination which is among the most frequently cited passages in Ernst's texts, especially by authors interested in the Freudian elements of his work:

From 5 to 7 years

I see before me a panel, very rudely painted with wide black lines on a red ground, representing false mahogany and calling forth associations of organic forms (menacing eye, long nose, great head of a bird with thick black hair, etc.).

In front of the panel, a glossy black man is making gestures, slow, comical and, according to my memories of a very obscure epoch, joyously obscene. This rogue of a fellow wears the turned-up moustaches of my father.

After having executed some leaps in slow motion, legs spread, knees drawn up, torso bent forward, he smiles and draws from the pocket of his trousers a fat crayon in a soft material which I find I cannot describe more precisely. He sets to work: panting violently he hurriedly traces the black lines on the panel of false mahogany. He quickly imparts to it new forms, which are at once surprising and abject. He accentuates the resemblance to ferocious or viscous animals to such a point that he extracts from it living creatures that fill me with horror and anguish. Content with his art, the fellow tosses his creations in the air, then gathers them in a kind of vase which he paints, intentionally, on the inside. He whirls the contents of the vase by stirring it, faster and faster, with his fat crayon. The vase itself, in whirling, becomes a top. The crayon becomes a whip. Now I realize that this strange painter is my father. He wields the whip with all his force and accompanies his movements with terrible gasps of breath, comparable to the snorts of an enormous and enraged steam-engine. With fiendish passion he causes the top to whirl and leap around my bed, that abominable top which contains all the horrors that my father is capable of evoking in an amiable panel of false mahogany by means of his frightful soft crayon.¹⁶

According to Ernst, the memory of that semi-conscious vision was rekindled when one day:

at the age of puberty, in examining the question of how my father had conducted himself in the night of my conception, there rose in me, as if in response to this question of filial respect, precise and irrefutable, the memory of that vision of half sleep that I had forgotten. For a long time afterward I was unable to disengage myself from a quite unfavorable impression of my father's conduct on the occasion of my conception, an impression perhaps unreasonable and unjust, but carefully thought over....¹⁷

Ernst's own early efforts to make drawings of the family began at the age of six, and, in part, he credited his creative interests to trips made with his father to the Wallraf-Richartz Museum in Cologne.¹⁸ The examples of his father's painting must also have been extremely important, although Ernst chose to record a negative influence in his "second contact with painting":

(1898) Second contact with painting. He saw his father make a painting *après nature* in the garden and finish it in his studio. Father suppressed a tree in his picture, because it disturbed the "composition." Then he suppressed the same tree in the garden so there was no more difference between nature and art. The child felt a revolt growing in his heart against candid realism and decided to direct himself towards a more equitable conception of the relationship between the subjective and the objective world.¹⁹

Ernst singled out one other unforgettable experience involving creation and destruction of another order. In 1906, when Max was fifteen and his mother was near the end of her child-bearing years,

Louise Ernst bore one more child, a daughter Loni, who became Max's favorite, but whose birth constituted a traumatic experience which he described as:

(1906) First contact with occult, magic and witchcraft powers. One of his best friends, a most intelligent and affectionate pink cockatoo, died in the night of January the 5th. It was an awful shock to Max when he found the corpse in the morning and when, at the same moment, his father announced to him the birth of sister Loni. The *perturbation* of the youth was so enormous that he fainted. In his imagination he connected both events and charged the baby with extortion of the bird's life. A series of mystical crises, fits of hysteria, exaltations and depressions followed. A dangerous confusion between birds and humans became encrusted in his mind and asserted itself in his drawings and paintings.²⁰

These self-conscious re-creations of dramatic childhood events have attained the mythical status Ernst projected for them. They loom large in most studies and insinuate themselves to some extent in all the others. The events are, after all, captivating, amusing, and rich in suggestions that invite interpretive studies, particularly psychological interpretations. Certainly, we are ill advised to count on the literal "truth" of these texts, but it seems foolish to discount the possibility of substantial mythical "truth" within those accounts of childhood.



4 Philipp Ernst: *The Monk of Heisterbach (Loneliness)*, ca. 1894. Watercolor on paper, 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Private collection

At this point in his recollections of childhood – that is, Loni's birth in 1906 – Ernst was a fifteen-year-old Gymnasium student, contending simultaneously with the strictures of his parents, "the atrocious absurdities of Wilhelminian education," and what he described as the "doubtful pleasures and torments, the ruses, rages and passions of adolescence."²¹ His graduation report from the Gymnasium does not document a particularly rebellious student, but records an interest in philology (he had studied Greek, Latin, French, and English) and grades of "good" for all course work save his drawing class, which he did not attend.²² Ernst, however, has registered emphatically his mounting "horror and distaste" for the word "duty" ("Pflicht"). His taste was turning instead to "sensual pleasures of brief duration," to rebellious poetry, and to "stories of voyages both real and imaginary."²³

One of the real voyages undertaken by Ernst about 1908 was a hiking and sketching trip through the Rhineland, the Palatinate, Westphalia, Alsace, and Holland.²⁴ The imaginary voyages came about through the adventure tales of Jules Verne, James Fenimore Cooper, and Karl May, writings of the astronomer Wilhelm Tempel, and the Grimm Brothers' collection of Nordic fairy tales. Based on conversations with Ernst, Patrick Waldberg claims that Max had also begun to read extensively such authors of the German Romantic era as Hölderlin, Achim Arnim, Novalis, Brentano, Büchner, Grabbe, Hoffmann, and Goethe. The Danish authors Jens Peter Jacobsen and Johannes Jensen were added to that list, along with Rousseau, Schlegel, Oscar Wilde, Max Stirner, and Otto Weininger. John Russell expanded the list with reports that Ernst read works by Dostoyevsky, Flaubert, and Strindberg.²⁵

It is impractical to discuss so many authors with an eye for the relevance of their writings on the values of Max Ernst, but two publications merit comment for subsequent reference: Stirner's *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum* (*The Ego and His Own*), and Weininger's *Sex and Character*.²⁶

For a young man entering the adventures and rebelliousness of adolescence, Stirner offered heady reading. His message was absolute liberation of the individual for an ego-centered life and a concomitant radical rejection of any authority, cause, or system "higher" than the self. God, government, parents, teachers, reason, love, morality, truth, etc. were all denounced as repressive forces which stifled the instinctive force of the individual and obscured recognition that "Nothing is above me." The "turning point of the world's history," Stirner proclaimed, is that henceforth no longer 'God,' but man, is to appear to man as God.²⁷ "You cannot appeal to your parsons, parents, and good men, for precisely these are... your seducers... corruptors of youth, who busily sow... the tares of self-contempt and reverence to God" (p. 117). "As long as you believe in the truth, you do not believe in yourself, and you are a – 'servant' " (p. 251). "I decide whether it is the 'right thing' in me; there is no right 'outside' me" (p. 127). Egoism "calls you... to self-enjoyment... seek for 'yourselves'... become each of you an 'almighty ego.'... recognize what you really are, and let go your hypocritical endeavors, your foolish mania to be something else than you are" (pp. 118–19).

For today's audience, Weininger's *Sex and Character* is a mad mixture of pseudo-science and mind-boggling prejudice against

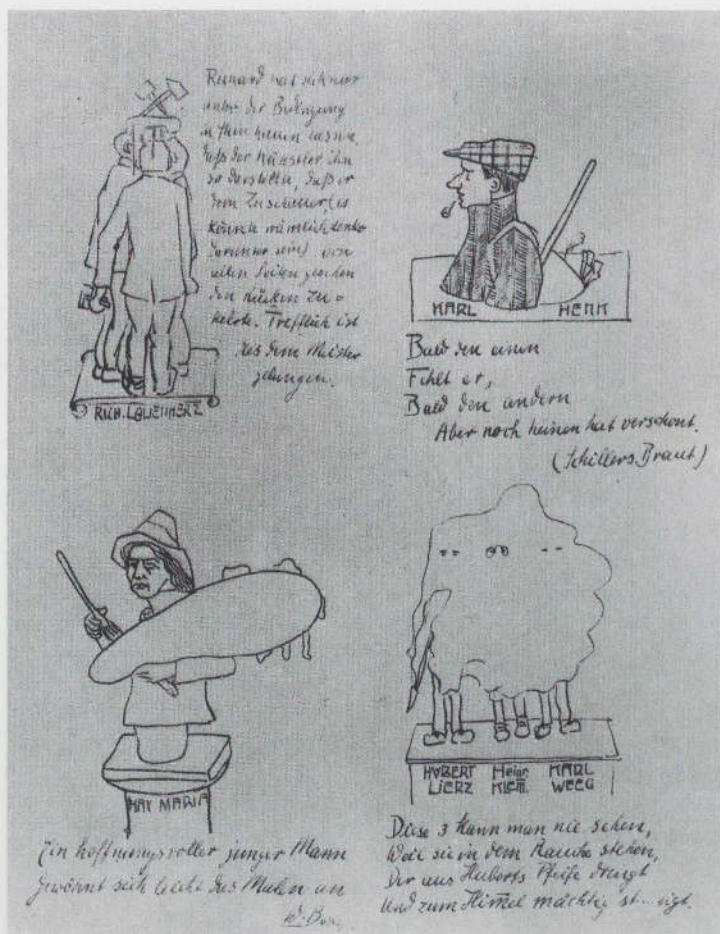
women, Jews, and blacks. But in its day it had an audience, and it was one likely source for Ernst's concepts of both androgynous beings and basic male-female characteristics. Weininger lamented that a sexual identity was assigned to human beings at birth on the basis of one feature only, whereas sexual identity was not simply a matter of genitals but of the entire body and character of the individual. "Sexual differentiation," he asserted, is never complete, and although investigations require the supposition of ideal types of man and woman, such types do not exist – "there exist only the intermediate stages between absolute males and absolute females."²⁸ This viewpoint accommodated sexual inversion and accounted for sexual attraction toward another individual of the same sex as "a normal product of his development from his birth" rather than being "an acquired vice" or a pathological development (pp. 46–47). The female, however, was stereotyped as a being whose life is ruled by instinct and the unconscious, who is "credulous, uncritical... soulless and possesses neither ego nor individuality, personality nor freedom, character nor will" (p. 207). Accordingly, she was debarred from being a genius (p. 189); her life, instead, was devoted to "sexual matters" and "reproduction" (p. 88). The male, on the contrary, was a superior being whose interests ranged beyond sex, whose life was characterized by critical consciousness, ego, action, freedom, logic, soul, and creation. In a far less exaggerated form, Ernst reflected some of Weininger's opinions – and also turned some of those values upside down.

If Ernst had indeed savored writings by all these authors before his graduation from the Gymnasium in 1910, his life of the mind and imagination was far more developed than was his work as an artist. A family photograph of ca. 1909 (Fig. 1) shows an intense young man posed outdoors before an easel that holds a landscape painting reminiscent, in style, of his father's conventional work, though more amateurish in quality. Ernst's other extant paintings of ca. 1906–10 are similar in style and limited in subject matter to conventional landscapes, still lifes, and portraits of family members. Before 1912, little in his painting and drawing foretells the mature artist except his illustrations for a school magazine, *Aus unsem Leben an der Penne* (*From Our Life at School*), at the time of the *Abitur* or graduation from the Gymnasium in the spring of 1910 (Fig. 5). Several motifs in these drawings reappear in Ernst's later work, along with the sarcasm and humor reflected here in a self portrait that parodies the photograph cited above. The young artist is now elevated on a pedestal and equipped with a proper hat, a mane of hair, a big brush, and an enormous, dripping palette.²⁹

Shortly after graduation from the Gymnasium, Ernst enrolled at the University in the neighboring city of Bonn. The autobiographical texts provide little information regarding his studies other than a few debunking comments about an ongoing contempt for duty and an avoidance of anything that might degenerate into a livelihood.³⁰ However, subsequent research into University records indicates that Ernst's formal education was a matter of considerable importance – perhaps as important as his education outside the class.³¹ For the most part, the latter came about through his steadily expanding contact with avant-garde art, moving from keen observer to partisan art critic to full participant in a group of young Rhineland painters and

poets who gathered around the Expressionist painter August Macke during 1912–14. Max's participation in this group will be considered later in the chronological flow of events during his last years as a student at Bonn. While enrolled at the University from 1910 to 1914, Ernst concentrated on four disciplines – the History of Art, Language and Literature, Psychology, and Philosophy, with a miscellany of other courses including Basic Issues in Modern Culture, Early Christian Iconography, practical classes in photography and the measurement of buildings, and a course in Drawing and Sculpting after Nature and Works of Antiquity.

Ernst took at least six courses in Philosophy, including one on "The Problem of Free Will" and another on "Philosophic Trends of Our Times." He told John Russell that Professor Verweien, who



5 Max Ernst: Illustration from school magazine *From Our Life at School*, Spring 1910, p. 5

taught the course on Free Will, introduced him to Nietzsche's *Die Fröhliche Wissenschaft* (*The Gay Science*), a "book which speaks to the future. The whole of surrealism is in it, if you know how to read."³² By temperament and previous exposure to Stirner's writings, Ernst was primed for Nietzsche, who – like Stirner – wrote in this book of the liberation of the exceptional man, the man who was above nationality, religion, law, and the received ideas of the day. This exceptional person possessed secret powers and hidden impulses,

and, in terms of art, he was to oppose "realism" in favor of an art which later came to be identified with the dictates of the unconscious mind.

Ernst's studies in psychology were likewise significant. He enrolled immediately in Professor Hübner's spring semester course on "Selected Topics in Criminal Psychology" and followed that in the fall/winter semester of 1910 with a class on "The Mentality of Abnormal Children." Hübner was a medical doctor who, in addition to his teaching duties, served as the clinical assistant at the University Nerve Clinic, located on the grounds of the Treatment and Care Institute near the University. That institute for the mentally ill was the place later described by Ernst as a group of "sinister-looking buildings," where students could attend classes and do practical work and where he encountered "an astonishing collection of sculptures and paintings executed by patients... especially small figures in bread." Those works, he said, touched him to the core, tempting him to recognize "glimmers of genius" and to make the decision to explore "the vague and dangerous ground situated in the confines of madness."³³ Inasmuch as Hübner was holding forensic-psychiatric practicums during Ernst's student years, that memorable experience probably occurred during Ernst's first year at the University.

Ernst's other psychology teachers, Külpe and Bühler, were both experimental psychologists and, as such, basically opposed to the approach of the psychologist most often associated with Ernst, namely Sigmund Freud. Külpe was an eminent professor and a former student of Wilhelm Wundt, a pioneer in the development of experimental psychology in Germany. As observed by Elizabeth Legge, Wundt and his associates stressed scientific methods in psychology; they developed controlled laboratory experiments to deal with conscious perceptions and measurable sensations or phenomena.³⁴ Freud's methodology was viewed by them as a reversion to archaic, abstract and philosophical discussions which lacked scientific clinical demonstration and focused on the unconscious rather than a proper study of the rational mind. Külpe, however, had the reputation of being open and informed about current studies in psychology/psychiatry, and before settling in Bonn he had also been associated with the Würzburg school, which had challenged the premise of experimental psychologists regarding the supremacy of the conscious mind.³⁵ Külpe, then, could have introduced Ernst to the writings of Freud by 1912. Werner Spies sets the date at 1913; Waldberg claims it happened in 1911 through Karl Otten, a student of Freud's who moved to Cologne from Vienna and soon participated in the circle of artists and poets around August Macke.³⁶ Given Otten's active participation in that group of Rhineland Expressionists during 1913–14, he may well have been the carrier of Freud's writings to Ernst at that time, although a date of ca. 1913 seems more accurate. In this instance, precise dates are not so important as the fact that circumstantial evidence supports Ernst's memories that sometime between 1911 and 1913 he was familiar with Freud's work, most probably including *The Interpretation of Dreams, Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious, Introduction to Psychoanalysis, and The Psychopathology of Everyday Life*.³⁷

Ernst's courses in the History of Art were even more extensive than his classes in psychology, constituting, in effect, the major

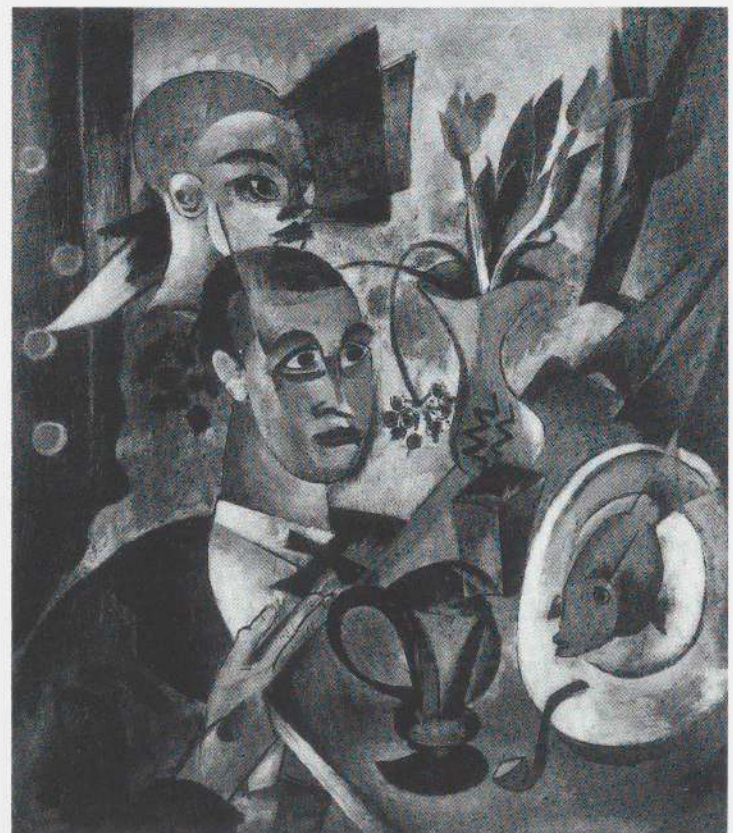
emphasis of his studies at the University. A chronological list indicates a range of courses from antiquity to contemporary art: Provincial Roman Archaeology; Art History of the Middle Ages; The Churches of Cologne; Italian Art; Flemish, Dutch, and French Art of the 17th and 18th Centuries; French Painting of the 19th Century; Germanic Art of the 19th Century; German Painting Since 1850; and Art History of the Rhineland. Without question, Ernst possessed a remarkable knowledge of the History of Art, and it served him in many ways during his future career as an artist. Numerous images from old and modern masters were appropriated and variously honored or parodied in his work, and his childhood discovery of images in the mahogany panel by his bed may have been vivified during his study of Italian Art by encountering similar ideas in Leonardo's Treatise.³⁸ In addition to these reflections of his knowledge of Art History, Ernst's friends have also testified to his profound admiration of a number of artists. A classmate at the University recorded some of their preferences as students, while a younger friend has stressed Ernst's abiding love for the paintings of Altdorfer and Kaspar David Friedrich.³⁹

Ernst's principal teacher of Art History was Professor Paul Clemen, who maintained a study center accessible only to authorized students. The registry for that study center documents something of Ernst's study habits and those of his companions. He first signed as a keyholder in May 1911, followed shortly by Franz Balke, who became a friend and valuable witness to their life within and without the University. Other keyholders during Ernst's years included the former student of Freud, Karl Otten, the painter Paul Seehaus, the future art historian Carola Giedion-Welcker, and Luise Straus, daughter of a well-to-do Jewish businessman, who was to become Ernst's wife in 1918.⁴⁰ Luise recalled later that she was struck by Max's "unbelievable light blue eyes" and a radiant gaiety, which simultaneously evinced qualities of a child-like carefreeness and an ironical superiority. Still, there was nothing special about their relationship until the next year, when Max helped her in a life drawing class on the condition that she join him afterwards for walks.⁴¹ Balke was also attracted to Ernst by virtue of his perceptive, witty remarks, his practice of making sketches in a notebook, and his physical appearance, which he describes as "strikingly handsome" with "classical facial features and animated blue eyes." "Women," he recalled, "ran to him."⁴²

As their friendship developed, Balke was invited to Ernst's home in Brühl, where he noticed a marked contrast between the lifestyles of the father – a strict disciplinarian of "almost numbing seriousness" – and the son, who rejected the piety of his parents and engaged in some "exceptionally erotic escapades." Balke also began to purchase Ernst's drawings, thereby lending financial and moral support to Ernst, who had a very modest budget. Ernst indicated Balke's role as friend and "patron" in a postcard of 1912 (Pl. 1) with a playful invitation to "Herr Balke, Anti-modernist" and *Aufträger* ("commissioner or patron"), to come soon to see the "opus perfectum" – a product mocked by Ernst's accompanying drawing, which refers to the notorious incident where a canvas brushed by a donkey's tail was submitted to the Salon des Indépendants in Paris. Reflections of Jugendstil illustration in this drawing also appear in Ernst's early watercolor *Pool at Bethesda* (Pl. 3), while his humor emerged most pointedly in caricatures of his professors.⁴³ The skill

admired by Balke, namely Ernst's ability to sketch in a dark theater, is exhibited in the drawing of the dancer Gertrude Leistikow (Pl. 2).

One other aspect of Ernst which distinguished him in the eyes of Balke was his activity in avant-garde groups and events separate from their life at the University. Several such organizations and events became important for Ernst during 1912. One was the organization of the Gereonsclub, the private studio of Olga Oppenheimer and Emmy Worringer (sister of Wilhelm Worringer), transformed in January 1911 into a space for lectures, exhibitions, and readings by major figures in avant-garde art and literature.⁴⁴ These events eventually included Kandinsky, Klee, Delaunay, Worringer, and Macke, who was probably responsible for booking the Blue Rider exhibition there in January 1912.⁴⁵ The opening of Otto Feldmann's gallery in February 1912 provided another forum for Modern Art, including an influential exhibition of Futurism in October 1912.⁴⁶ Several museum exhibitions were also of consequence, but, above all, Cologne is celebrated for the extraordinary Sonderbund Exhibition held over the summer of 1912. Nearly 350 works were on display covering almost the entire spectrum of the contemporary avant-garde and significant predecessors from the late nineteenth century.⁴⁷ Balke has testified to the importance of this exhibition for both of them; Waldberg claims it was crucial for Ernst's decision to pursue art as a career, and there is ample evidence of a substantial change in Ernst's art and activity during the latter half of 1912.⁴⁸ He undertook his first experiments in avant-garde painting and began to write art criticism for a local paper in Bonn with the exuberance and polemics of a fresh, young



6 Heinrich Campendonk: *Still Life with Two Heads*, ca. 1914. Oil on canvas, 32 1/4 x 8 1/8 in. Kunstmuseum Bonn

convert to the cause of Modern Art. Within a year, thanks largely to Macke, he also had the opportunity to meet several pioneers of that art and would see his own paintings exhibited alongside theirs.

When Macke and his wife resettled in Bonn in December 1910, he was already familiar with vanguard art in Europe. He had close contacts with both Herwarth Walden in Berlin and Franz Marc, who would soon become one of the founders of the Blue Rider in Munich during 1911.⁴⁹ Robust, gregarious, and blessed with contagious enthusiasm, Macke attracted about him a group of artists and writers which came to number the poets Peter Ronnefeld and Johannes Theodore Kuhlemann and such painters from the region as Heinrich Campendonk (Fig. 6), Paul Seehaus, Joseph Kölschbach, Carlo Mense, Heinrich Nauen, and Franz Henseler.⁵⁰ His energy and organizational skills inspired the group activities, and his intellectual curiosity stimulated a dialogue that ranged over the theories of Marc, Kandinsky, Delaunay, and Worringer.⁵¹ Beyond that, Macke was the magnet who attracted to Bonn such luminaries as Marc, Klee, Kandinsky, Apollinaire, and Delaunay. His paintings (Fig. 7) may not have been as stimulating as his personality, but Ernst remembers that he found them eloquent and charming, a “feast for the eyes,”⁵² and quietly mysterious, and he never forgot the intelligence, generosity, and exuberance of Macke, nor the spirit of the young Rhineland Expressionists:

Spontaneity was “de rigueur.” We had no doctrine, no discipline, no “duties” to fulfill. There were never exclusions or reproaches or other degradations. . . . We were united by a thirst for life, poetry, liberty, the absolute knowledge . . . it was too beautiful.⁵³

The values and enthusiasms of those young artists were reflected in Ernst’s art criticism which he published irregularly from October 1912 into the summer of 1913, primarily in the Bonn newspaper *Volksmund*.⁵⁴ Some of his articles are characterized by a youthful cockiness and a biting contempt for bourgeois art and taste, especially the taste for vapid naturalism. His review of an exhibition at the Oberrhein Museum in Bonn at the end of 1912 is representative: “There is not a single work of art to be seen there,” he writes, “at least, nothing that could advance the cause of art by the breadth of a hair.” After dismissing all of the painting as insignificant, he focuses on the sculpture of his former teacher:

An indwelling God induced Mr. Küppers to bronze-plate five privy councillors. Gisela Zeitelmann . . . likewise possesses the virtues of a photographic apparatus. But Mr. Karl Mense . . . attempts to be overwhelming with his literary things, which he calls ‘Shackled’ and ‘Guilty.’ He has too much from the Greeks, Michaelangelo and Rodin. Let him go to the Negroes to learn sculpture.⁵⁵

In a closing slap at a local critic who had questioned the sanity of modern artists, Ernst added: “Please note: I call no one crazy . . . [instead] my advice to you all is to throw in the towel. I charge you all with insignificance.”

The bourgeois standard of “photographic” fidelity to the model – so scorned in these lines by Ernst – was, of course, the fundamental criterion for Philipp Ernst, who, around this very time, had produced one of his most competent works, a touching portrait of Loni paint-



7 August Macke: *Woman in Front of a Hat Shop*, 1914. Oil on canvas, 43 1/4 x 29 7/8 in. Museum Folkwang, Essen

ing⁵⁶ which records her own childish effort with the scrupulous exactitude that characterized the rest of his painting. By this date, his son Max was interested in the art of the child, not in the mimetic art of the father – and his disdain for the values of the father must have been a painful issue.

More representative of Ernst’s defense of Modern Art is his article on “Art and Ability.” He challenged a local mayor and fellow critics, regarding their judgment of “ability” as nothing more than being able to draw and paint “correctly,” as a camera is “able” to do. In opposition to the concept, Ernst proposes ability based on:

a sensibility for the inherent life of lines and colors (including lines and colors that are divorced from actual objects – absolute painting by analogy to absolute music). Ability presupposes a capacity for vital experience. To an artist the most mundane and the most uncommon things can be an experience – a harmony of colors, an interweaving of lines.⁵⁷

Ernst’s theoretical comments about “absolute painting” and “the inherent life of lines and colors” reflect a common language among European avant-gardists during 1912–13. The obvious, close-at-hand source for his introduction to the concepts of “absolute painting” was Macke, through whom he met Franz Marc and had access to the entire spectrum of the intellectual and aesthetic interests of the Blue Rider artists in Munich.

Publications were also extremely important, including Nietzsche’s exaltation of the great man called to reject the received



8 Max Ernst: *The Street*, 1912. Watercolor on paper, 13 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 17 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. Kunstmuseum Bonn, Gift of Elisabeth Erdmann-Macke and Dr. Wolfgang Macke

realism of a materialist society, and Worringer's influential philosophical-psychological basis for a more abstract art.⁵⁸ Other publications equally relevant for Ernst's emerging aesthetics were Kandinsky's booklet *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* (*Concerning the Spiritual in Art*) and *Der Blaue Reiter* (*The Blue Rider*) almanac. The latter contained a variety of theoretical articles and reproductions of the art of children, Bavarian folk art, medieval art, African masks, and Asian and pre-Columbian art, alongside illustrations of modern German and French artists.⁵⁹ Finally, Ernst himself has recorded his contemporary admiration for the writings of Apollinaire – both the poetry and the theoretical-critical texts. The latter included *The Cubist Painters* and two articles in *Der Sturm* magazine which introduced German artists to the phenomenon of Orphism or "peinture pure" ("pure painting"), particularly in the paintings of Robert Delaunay.⁶⁰ Apollinaire's articles in *Der Sturm* were associated with an exhibition of Delaunay's work at Der Sturm Gallery in Berlin during January–February 1913.⁶¹ Apollinaire and Delaunay went to Berlin on that occasion and, on their return to Paris, stopped for a day in Bonn to visit Macke. Ernst was one of the few invited to share that day, and it was a memorable event for him, even though he allowed that his ineptitude with French and awe of the two guests restricted his role to that of an attentive listener.⁶²

Although Ernst continued to explore a variety of styles in his own paintings during 1913, his voice as an art critic was an empathetic endorsement of those young Rhineland artists who sought a more spiritual expression in the form of "absolute painting." Their first appearance as a group was the exhibition of the "Rheinische Expressionisten" held at Cohen's Buch- und Kunstsalon in Bonn during July 1913.⁶³ That exhibition emerged from enthusiastic gatherings in Macke's home and garden in Grauerhindorf bei Bonn during the spring and early summer. Macke envisioned the show not only as a means of bringing the artists together, but as serving as a trial run for a presentation of the same young Rhineland artists at a major exhibi-

tion planned by Herwarth Walden for the end of the year in Berlin, the First German Autumn Salon.⁶⁴

The participating artists included Heinrich Campendonk, Franz Henseler, Josef Kölschbach, August Macke, Helmut Macke, Carlo Mense, Heinrich Nauen, P.A. Seehaus, and Max Ernst. As Ernst observed in his review of these Rhineland Expressionists, there was no sameness to their work, only a common direction of power, namely the goal of expressing spirituality by form alone. Their aim, he claimed, was "absolute painting," most nearly approached by Orphism, whose means of expression is "light and color."⁶⁵

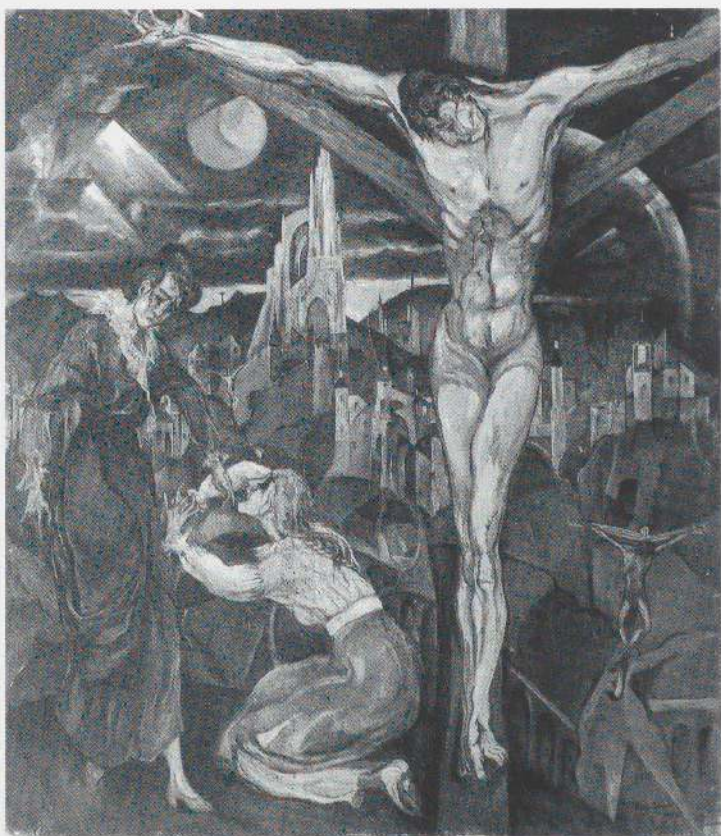
For his own entries to this exhibition – the first public presentation of his work – Ernst selected four items: a *Female Head* (on glass), *Martyrium*, *Christ and the Disciple* (female), and *The Street* (Fig. 8).⁶⁶ Only *The Street* was identified by a critic who correctly associated it with Futurism and further described it as having a singular coloring, as if "electricity is striking."⁶⁷ Another critic credited *Martyrium* and *Christ and the Disciple* with achieving the greatest success in the show for "challenging the misunderstanding of the public."⁶⁸ Surely Ernst was delighted with this first outing – a twenty-two-year-old college student, invited to join with established avant-garde artists in an exhibition which generated lively attention and his own first press reviews. But there must have been a price to pay in the reaction of parents whose son, though still residing at home, had established a life that flouted their standards and painted in a style that rejected the values of the father. Ernst once told an interviewer that his father screamed at him when he did not paint as his father wished. Perhaps that memory reflected conditions in the Brühl household during 1912–13.

Although only the one "futurist" painting has been identified among Ernst's contributions to the "Rheinische Expressionisten" exhibition, other works attributed to 1913 confirm the variety indicated by the titles of his entries. There were additional works on glass which have been lost, a caricatural drawing of a *Family*, the painterly, Expressionistic watercolor *Waiting*,⁶⁹ and the more labored, neo-gothic Expressionism of *Crucifixion* (Fig. 9). Clearly Ernst had not yet developed a personal style, however his subject matter indicates preoccupations which would persist in his mature work. The theme of the family was to figure continuously in Ernst's work from this time onward, as was the motif of the horse which appears in the upper corner of *Waiting* and is the focus of attention for the nude youths in the foreground. "Waiting for what?" is a question posed by the title, and, given the nudity of the young adolescents, it may be observed that the rearing horse is not the harnessed steed of Kandinsky's St. George but a riderless animal more akin to Marc's horses, and most probably implying the imminent, unbridled passions of the youths.

Religious paintings did not have a major role in Ernst's later art, but such subjects were more numerous at this time than has been recognized – possibly reflecting a lingering influence of his upbringing as well as his participation in a strong medievalizing tendency in German Expressionist art.⁷⁰ During 1913 several members of the "Rheinische Expressionisten" in addition to Ernst painted scenes of the crucifixion – Nauen, Campendonk, and Henseler among them. Both Nauen and Ernst seem to have based their paintings on

Grünewald's *Crucifixion* panel from the *Isenheim Altarpiece* in Colmar, although Ernst reversed the relationship of the arms of Christ and the arms of the cross so that the body of Christ does not hang in such a brutal, physical manner. Ernst also seems to have given his own features to the head of Christ – a logical extension of the precedent set years before by his father, but a curious feature given his account of the genesis for the painting. A schoolmate, he said, wanted a painting of a male nude, but in order not to shock his mother, it was decided that a religious painting of St. Sebastian or the *Crucifixion* was in order – and this *Crucifixion* was the result of that commission.⁷¹

Ernst was paid what he considered a “fabulous” sum for that painting, and he decided to spend it on a trip to Paris for about four weeks during August–September.⁷² He was curiously uninformative about this trip, recording simply that he settled in the hotel Ducs de Bourgogne on the lively rue des Halles “far from contact with the artists” and, “too happy with his liberty, he slipped around the thousand marvels of that city as well as the sinister beauty of some neighborhoods.”⁷³ Ernst claimed on other occasions that he wanted to meet Apollinaire and such artists as Braque and Picasso, but he met no one except Jules Pascin, whom he encountered at the Café du Dome around August 20.⁷⁴ Inasmuch as Ernst's visit probably coincided with the French vacation period, most galleries would have been closed and many artists absent from the city. Nevertheless, given Ernst's headlong involvement with the Rhineland avant-garde,



9 Max Ernst: *Crucifixion*, 1913. Oil on paper, 20x17 in. Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne

it seems unlikely that his four weeks in Paris were devoted exclusively to touring and savoring the night life. Currently, only M. E. Warlick has suggested a more purposeful activity for this time in Paris, namely an exploration of the alchemical sites of Paris, many of which were clustered about his hotel, including the Tour St. Jacques and the rue Nicolas Flamel, named after the most famous alchemist of Paris.⁷⁵ I suggest that he also managed to see some contemporary art that did not figure in his later recollections, although it is reflected in his paintings of 1914–19, namely Cubism, and perhaps some work by Chagall and de Chirico. When contemplating the irrational architectural constructions in some of Ernst's paintings (Pl. 6), the models that come to mind, in addition to handy sources in some German Expressionist painting, are paintings by Chagall and de Chirico.⁷⁶

In September, soon after Ernst returned to his studies in Bonn, Herwarth Walden opened his prestigious First German Autumn Salon (*Erster Deutsche Herbstsalon*) in Der Sturm Gallery in Berlin.⁷⁷ Ernst submitted two older paintings of late 1912–early 1913,⁷⁸ but did not go to Berlin to see the exhibition. Subsequently, when one painting disappeared, Ernst told Patrick Waldberg that he did not rue the loss: “I was in a bad way at the time. I had not rid myself of certain constraints, I was held back by too many concerns that I later found to be immature.”⁷⁹ Those were not his sentiments in 1913, for he continued to be invited to participate in such significant exhibitions of modern German art as *Die Neue Malerei* show at the Galerie Ernst Arnold in Dresden (January 1914), an exhibit of *Rheinische Expressionisten* at the Galerie Alfred Flechtheim, Düsseldorf, in May, and a version of the Flechtheim show that traveled to the Neue Galerie in Berlin during June.⁸⁰ These exhibitions may have identified Ernst as an emerging young Expressionist painter of some consequence, but they provide no insight regarding the evolution of his work. A total of only five works by Ernst figured in the three exhibitions, and only one work can be identified – the *Crucifixion* of 1913 (Fig. 9). Among the scanty, seemingly reliable documents for 1913–14, there are, however, a few dated paintings which indicate a significant shift toward more Cubist-looking compositions containing either architectural forms or an architectonic scaffolding of vertical and horizontal lines: *fruit d'une longue expérience* (*Fruit of a Long Experience*; Pl. 4) and *Composition with the Letter E* (Fig. 10).⁸¹ Similar paintings by Rhineland Expressionists could have stimulated this direction in Ernst's painting, but *Fruit of a Long Experience* and *Composition with the Letter E* suggest direct exposure to Cubism, possibly during the trip to Paris or in exhibitions in Cologne and Düsseldorf. Cultural events in those cities continued to afford extensive contact with both the regional and the international avant-garde. Ernst met Kandinsky in January 1914, when that leader of the Blue Rider group visited Cologne for the opening of an exhibition of his work in the Deutsches Theater.⁸² That was followed in March by Wilhelm Worringer's lecture in the Cologne Kunstverein, and in May by an exhibition of art from Paris that provided not only an occasion to see recent works by Braque and Picasso but a chance encounter with enormous significance for Ernst's life and the emergence of Dada activities in Cologne.⁸³ While visiting that exhibition, Ernst noticed a young man his age who was seriously endeavoring:

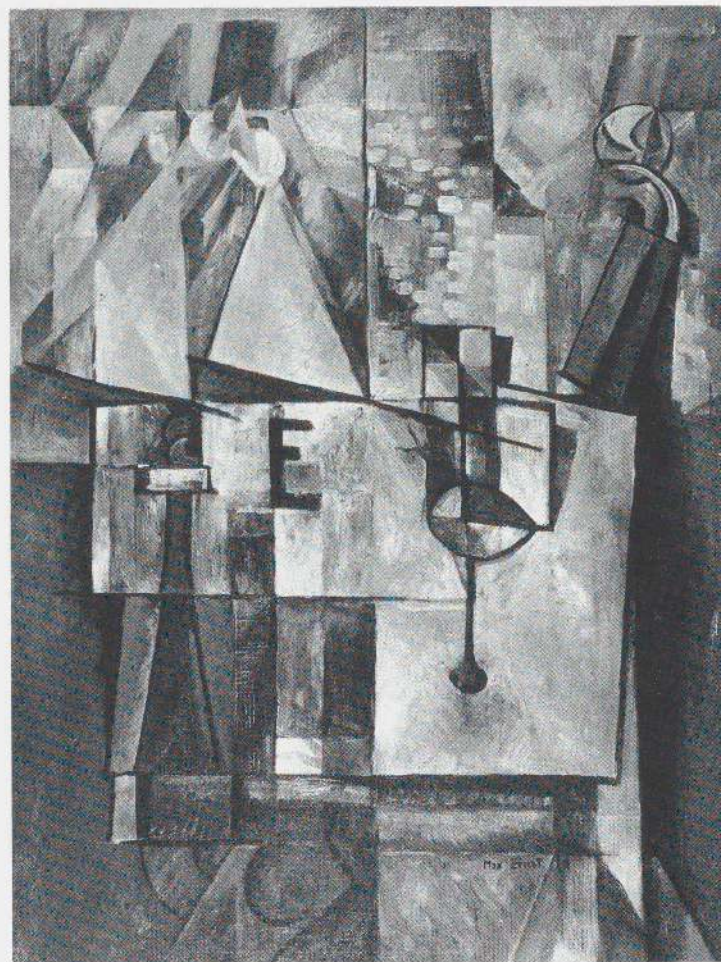
... with the sweetness of a Franciscan monk and an adroitness worthy of Voltaire, to explain modern painting's beauty to an old imbecile. The old imbecile, after having pretended to be convinced, burst into a rage the moment he laid eyes on a couple of Arp's drawings. Shouting and gesturing, he stated that he was 72 years old, that he had dedicated his whole life and all his efforts to painting, and if that was it, the result of all his sacrifices, it might be better. . . . Soothingly, Arp suggested that it might be better if he (the imbecile) were to rise directly into heaven.⁸⁴

With the insults of the elderly bourgeois still resounding in the galleries, Ernst introduced himself to the young man, beginning a lifelong friendship with Hans Arp. A variety of interests and circumstances enriched their relationship. Arp was also a Rhinelander, born in Strasbourg and steeped from his youth in the culture of the Rhineland, in Brentano's *Rheinmärchen* and German Romanticism. Like Ernst, he was also a writer, though a talented poet rather than a critic, and he, too, had become caught up in the excitement of emerging Modern Art. Indeed, Arp – who was four years older than Ernst, more widely traveled, and fluent in French – had emerged as a catalyst for the avant-garde as early as 1910–11. With Oskar Lüthy and Walter Helbig, he founded the *Moderne Bund*, which organized exhibitions of Modern Art in Lucerne (1911) and Zurich (1912). By May 1912 he was collaborating with the Blue Rider in Munich, and for a while in 1913 he worked for *Der Sturm*, where he encountered Ernst's work before they met in Cologne.⁸⁵

Despite this extensive experience, Arp – again like Ernst – had not yet evolved a mature, personal form of expression. Both were open, exploring, looking into the future, and inasmuch as Arp's father had settled in retirement in Cologne, there would be opportunities for continued contact. On this occasion, in May 1914, the visit was prolonged and celebrated by Ernst in his autobiographical texts. Arp was, of course, taken into the group of young artists and poets around Macke, and for one of their gatherings he recited poems that were later published as *Die Wolkenpumpe* (*The Cloud Pump*). Ernst also reminisced about a variety of humorous and amorous adventures. One June evening, primed with poetry and copious amounts of the local red wine, concluded with a memorable prank at the expense of an inebriated comrade and a nearby villager.⁸⁶ Other hawthorn-scented nights of that summer were whiled away with their girlfriends, in the wooded hills around Bonn:

The Mount of Venus dear to Tannhäuser; the seven hills of Snow White and her dwarfs; Rolandseck where Charlemagne heard Ronceveaux's despairing cry; the Drachenfels saturated with the blood of the Dragon; the bridge from Bonn to Beuel where Apollinaire had met The Wandering Jew.⁸⁷

Luise Straus was Max's companion on those outings, and it was camaraderie and courtship which occupied those precious early summer days of 1914, not another long trip to Paris.⁸⁸ Those heady days and nights of communal projects and sensual pleasures, of art and poetry and plotting future activities, came to an abrupt end with Germany's declaration of war against Russia and France on August 1 and 3 respectively. Ernst recalled that Arp was one of the first around him to perceive the accelerating gravity of the political situation during the summer and to speak of the necessity to get out of Germany. In hindsight, the outbreak of war seemed inevitable, given the incred-



10 Max Ernst: *Composition with the Letter E*, 1914. Oil on canvas, 27½ x 21¼ in. Whereabouts unknown

ibly fragile, complicated balance of power in a Europe divided into the two heavily armed camps of the Allies (France, Britain, and Russia) versus the Central Powers (Germany and Austria).⁸⁹ The linkage between Germany and Austria was particularly treacherous, made more so by the blunders of Kaiser Wilhelm II and military dominance of government and civilian opinion. Germany was pledged to full mobilization in the event of war between Austria and Russia; and Austria faced an inflammable dispute with the Serbians and their Russian ally. But war against Russia also meant war against France, and the German contingency plan for war against France – the Schlieffen Plan – was based on a lightning sweep around the flank of the French forces through neutral Belgium, grossly violating international law and virtually guaranteeing Britain's entry into the conflict. There was, briefly, no way to contain or limit that war. If hostilities began, it would be an all-out, global conflict. Until almost the last moment, the German Chancellor, Bethmann Hollweg, worked to avoid war, but any hope for peace quickly unravelled after the murder of Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife in Sarajevo by a Serbian patriot on June 28, 1914. At the end of the tension-filled month of July, Russia mobilized, and Germany, honoring its treaty with Austria, declared war on Russia. On August 3, Germany declared war on France and initiated the Schlieffen Plan, which drew England into the conflict instantly.

Arp managed to leave on one of the last trains before the border with France was closed. He and Ernst did not meet again until 1920, when they joined in a new group activity – Dada in Cologne – of unimaginable contrast to most of the values of the Rhineland Expressionists central to Ernst's life during 1913–14. Owing to his astute flight from Germany, Arp came to have a significant part in the development of the phenomenon of Dada, which began to form in two neutral cities, Zurich and New York, during the war. Arp's sojourn in Paris was useful: he extended his contacts with the avant-garde there, initiated work with collage compositions related to the Cubism of Braque and Picasso, and was introduced to Theosophy and the writings of assorted occultists.⁹⁰ However, conditions there were tenuous at best for an Alsatian (German-occupied territory since 1871), and Arp found it convenient to leave for Switzerland in 1915, settling first in Ascona and then in Zurich, where the word "dada" was first employed in the spring of 1916, in conjunction with early stirrings of the attitudes and activities that eventually characterized that complex phenomenon.

Ernst, meanwhile, had no choice except to enlist or be drafted. "None of us in our circle of friends," he said, "was in a hurry to sacrifice his life to God, to king, to country" – except, to their surprise, August Macke, who enlisted immediately, not "stained with patriotism like Apollinaire" but because he accepted war "as a philosophic necessity (war necessary for the realization of the idea of humanity!)." ⁹¹ Macke's response was not, in fact, such an exception. On the contrary, the declarations of war united and excited the populations of the combatant nations. Opposition parties rallied behind the government and advocates of peace either joined the majority, hushed their voices, or looked for a way out. During those early months, the most commonly expressed beliefs were that the war would solve all the problems which had been building up for years, that the war would even cleanse mankind from its impurities, and that in any event, the war was thrust upon "us" and would be over within a few months. No one was prepared for the horrors of the four-year struggle it became, with statistics of as many as ten million killed and twenty million wounded, statistics which, grim as they are, do not begin to impart the personal tragedies or the direful postwar consequences.

Three weeks after the declaration of war, Ernst and his brother Karl were mobilized in the 23rd Artillery Regiment of the Rhine.⁹² In later accounts of his reaction to the war, Ernst's comments were consistently harsh:

Max Ernst died on the 1st of August 1914.⁹³

1914–1915 Black out.⁹⁴

Finally, it is the big "saloperie" (beastly trashy affair)... What to do against military life – its stupidity, its hideousness, its cruelty? To scream, swear, vomit rage serves no purpose.⁹⁵

During basic training, Ernst was stationed near Cologne and, with the 24-hour pass he received every two weeks, he was able to maintain contact with Luise and other friends still in the city. On several occasions he visited Franz Henseler, who at that time was more preoccupied with spiritualism than with painting. With the aid of a simple studio stool that served as the "*instrument complaisant*," Hen-

seler communicated with the spiritual world via the intercession of Macchab, an ancient biblical character revealed to him in a dream. In a session attended by Ernst during October, Macchab was asked, "What is Macke doing?" "He is dead," was the reply, and upon enquiring about this, it was confirmed that Macke had been killed in battle, although not even his wife had yet been notified.⁹⁶ On another occasion, they asked Macchab if a poet friend, Georg Heym, who had died in a skating accident, had left any unpublished poems, and for two hours Macchab recited poetry which they judged to be of astonishing beauty and in the style of Heym's work.⁹⁷ Ernst described still other bizarre happenings, some of which so unnerved him – and terrified the highly strung Henseler – that Ernst ceased his visits.⁹⁸

With basic training completed, Ernst was sent to the Western front early in 1915. He had little to say about his wartime activities, but something of his frequent changes of location can be traced by letters and cards to his parents and sister Loni. Some contain sketches of the countryside and humorous drawings about the pranks in army life. One postcard to Loni from Soissons in August 1915 (Fig. 11) exhibits the touch of irony in his humor:

Thanks for the package. Very practical. You could also send me some black ink. You see here a protective trench [Schützengrabe]. Because humor doesn't cost anything you can find it everywhere. For example, "A beautiful apartment to rent for a single person" on a sign.⁹⁹



11 Postcard sent by Max Ernst to sister Loni of German trench near Soissons, 1915

Another photograph shows him with a bandaged head and hand, injuries reported to have been sustained by the kick of a mule and the recoil of an artillery piece.¹⁰⁰

Around mid-summer 1915 the conditions of Ernst's life at the front near Laon ameliorated considerably when a Lieutenant Wohlthat recognized him as an artist whose work he had seen at Flechtheim's gallery in Düsseldorf.¹⁰¹ He managed to reassign Ernst to a staff position, where his duties involved telephone directions and/or marking positions on a map for a few hours each day. Ernst took advantage of his free time to prepare paintings and drawings for his two-person exhibition with Georg Muche at Der Sturm Gallery in Berlin during January 1916.¹⁰²

Ernst was also granted a leave to visit the exhibition in Berlin, where he reportedly met George Grosz and Wieland Herzfelde.¹⁰³ This was by far the largest collection of Ernst's work yet assembled – fifty works, including nineteen paintings (four of them on glass) and thirty-one drawings. Once again, however, our ability to trace the development of Ernst's work is frustrated by an inability to identify more than a handful of the catalogue entries – including all the older works, with the exception of an untitled drawing (Pl. 5) reproduced on the cover of *Der Sturm* magazine. This drawing continues the Cubist-derived architectural scaffolding established in the works of 1913–14, one of which was also exhibited here.

Ernst's recollection that a number of the works exhibited were watercolors dealing with plant, animal, and fish forms is not reliable. Those watercolors were produced later in 1916 and in 1917. In the meantime, Ernst returned to the Western front near Laon, a site recorded in an apocalyptic view of Laon (Fig. 12) that opposes the more serene blue/gray passages in the right-hand portion of the canvas to the ominous black towers silhouetted against the flaming orange-red sky on the left. A more abstracted – and sophisticated – evocation of such sinister, destructive forces was realized in the fragmented forms, irrational spaces, and darkly brooding colors of *Towers* (Pl. 6).



12 Max Ernst: *Laon*, 1916.
Oil on canvas, 25 5/8 x 39 3/8 in.
Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne

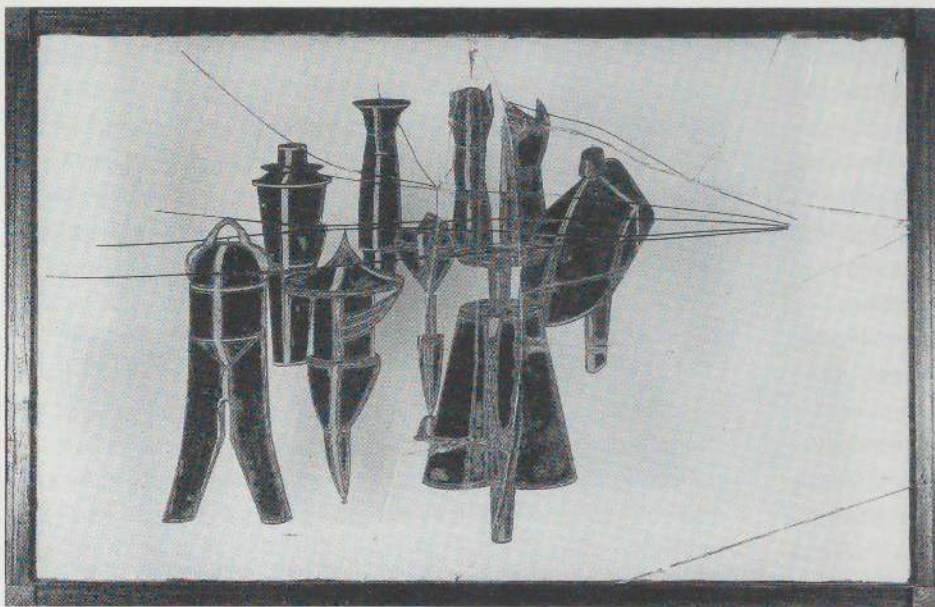
By this point, the war had gone on for eighteen months at a ghastly cost of lives, and no one was any longer talking of a quick victory that would solve international problems and purify mankind. In efforts to break out of what had become a gruesome defensive war of attrition, both the Central Powers and the Allies launched major offensives in 1916 which only succeeded in multiplying the gore. The Germans struck first, attacking at Verdun in February 1916. Six months later they abandoned the attack, having lost 330,000 men to the Allies' 350,000. One of the casualties was Franz Marc, killed near Verdun on March 4. Meanwhile, the Allies struck in the Somme on

July 1, but withdrew in October with staggering losses and nothing of value gained.¹⁰⁴

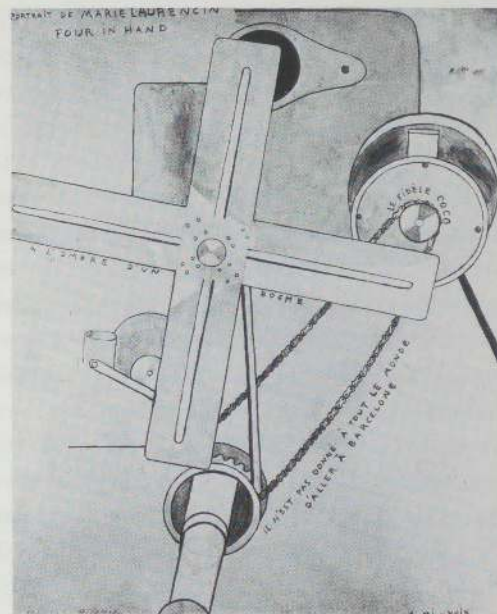
Ernst's future friend Paul Eluard later estimated that during this horrific year they had, for a while, been only one kilometer apart over the no man's land. At the same time, Ernst's old friend Hans Arp had settled in Zurich and was taking a significant part in the activities of the little Cabaret Voltaire, activities to which the participants themselves applied the name Dada as the Verdun offensive got underway. During the first years of its life in Zurich, Dada was less radical and irreverent than its later image, certainly in the visual arts, which by and large continued the avant-garde forms of Cubism, Expressionism, and Futurism. The more innovative visual arts were being produced instead by Duchamp, Picabia, and friends in New York, independent of Dada (Figs. 13, 14).¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, with Hugo Ball, Tristan Tzara, Hans Arp, Richard Huelsenbeck, and others, the critical individuals had come together, and before that year was over, the later course of Dada was being staked out by their sometimes mad-cap performances (Fig. 15), deflation of sacred cultural cows, and elevation of instinct; by their taste for primitivism and for play; and, finally, by experiments with sound poems and simultaneous poems that liberated words from the requirements of logic and conventional meaning.

Ernst's world contrasted sharply with the conditions in Zurich. Although his movements in the military are not well documented, he was apparently transferred to a dismal section of the Eastern front late in 1916 and, after brief service there, was reassigned early in 1917 to the 36th East Prussian Regiment in Koblenz, where he was sent to officer training school.¹⁰⁶ Whatever his assignment, Ernst must have had some leisure time, as a number of paintings and articles date from late 1916 through 1917.¹⁰⁷

The articles began in November 1916 and continued irregularly through April 1918. Most revealing of Ernst's outlook and aesthetics



13 Marcel Duchamp: *Nine Malic Molds*, 1914–15. Painted glass with wire and sheet lead, 21 x 39 13/16 in. Private collection



14 Francis Picabia: *Portrait of Marie Laurencin. Four in Hand*, ca. 1916–17. Ink and watercolor on cardboard, 22 x 17 7/8 in. Sold Sotheby's New York, May 16, 1990, lot 69

are "Vergleichung" ("Comparison") of January 1917 and "Vom Werden der Farbe" ("On the Origins of Color") in August. In "Comparison"¹⁰⁸ Ernst assails Impressionism as an art based on the senses and skillful technique; an art that excludes memory and association, swimming anchorless instead in a feminine, pleasure-seeking world of change where there are no distinct colors, just nuances, and no distinct objects, just connections to the milieu. He proposes instead an art of the "sovereign mind," which gives things form and deals with spirit-determined laws of its being. Cubism, he writes, is an art of the sovereign mind, though he makes some room for Futurism and Expressionism as well.

His article for *Der Sturm*, "On the Origins of Color,"¹⁰⁹ is a heady, complex, and personal version of the color theories of Marc, Kandinsky, and Delaunay, charged with an exaltation of the heroic individual celebrated in the writings of Stirner and Nietzsche. Ernst begins with the color polarities of red and green: when the benevolent spirit who guides Chagall decreed, "become green and fertile, the pious plants obeyed," but red, "hate color of plant green," had to be there simultaneously. "The spirit, when it wanted to grasp itself, realized: its many lives are like red and soul in the body of the plant, in which it can create or sin." "Creation," Ernst continues in a phrase reminiscent of Stirner, "is to become one's self, to attain one's own form"; "sin is to lag behind in the attainment of one's intended form." Red, then, is associated with spirit and—in its creative form as opposed to its sinful form—with "procreant body fluids," with "activity, intellectuality, creation."

Blue and yellow are colors of movement linked to the "mechanically wishing spirit" who guides Delaunay. Yellow is associated with goodness and warmth; blue "escapes into the total lifelessness of space, black or cold moon." They are the "color totalities darkness and light, the measureless sphere of the firmament and the limited



15 Hugo Ball reciting *Karawane*, Cabaret Voltaire, Zurich, 1916

KARAWANE

jolifanto bambia ó falli bambia
 grossiga m'pfa habla horem
 égiga goramen
 higo bloiko russula huju
 hollaka hollala
 anlogo bung
 blago bung
 blago bung
 boooo fataka
 ■ ■ ■
 schampa wulla wussa ólolo
 hej tatta görem
 eschige zunbada
 wulmba ssobudo nlan ssobudo
 tumba ba- umf
 kusagauma
 ba - umf

sphere of the earth." Then, writes Ernst, "the marriage of blue and yellow could take place: green, plants, multiplication. Sea and firmament remained the symbol of the spirit. Earth the symbol of the human race, plants. The first prayer, marriage."

As Ernst moves to colors outside these polarities, he describes pink as "powdered blood wishes" associated with the female who likes "pink tendernesses" and recognizes "her wish limits in the rococo." Glancing references to the war may exist in his comments on brown and gray. "War turns green land gray," he writes, while brown is associated with "mechanical monks, stifling glow of penitential ashes" and with places where passionate will burned: "the bull-naked soul of Goya hated fruitless war."

From comments on individual colors, Ernst moved to color chords which extolled the creativity of Chagall and Delaunay. God ("god of the old league") is credited with inventing "simultaneous colors as the trademark of his covenant," but "men could only see the [rain]



16 Max Ernst: *Animal Forms and Stars*, ca. 1917. Watercolor on paper. Whereabouts unknown

bow," whereas "Delaunay commands his colors. . . . the existence of colors in each other, simultaneous, contradictory." Chagall's color chord is described as cosmic, "birth from hope and white, life in cities, animals and prisms, death in dying, moon and black."

Around the time Ernst was preparing this text, he was also producing the most striking paintings and drawings of his career (Pls. 7, 9, 10; Fig. 16). The works in question were brilliantly colored paintings, dominated by red/green and blue/yellow polarities. They are set in underwater realms with plants and fish, some of which have mutated into spiky, sharp-edged forms resembling mechanized fish or, in the instance of *The Spindle's Victory* (Pl. 10), a fusion of bird, missile, and fish. In the context of Ernst's contemporary theories on the associative and symbolic properties of color, it is tempting to test those theories against these paintings, but no convincing correlation

is evident. On the other hand, there is a direct and potent visual impact of the colors—darker, more somber and silent in *The Spindle's Victory*; shrill and intense in *Battle of the Fish* (Pl. 9). The latter's clashing colors seem commensurate, however, with the impact of the entire painting. Color competes against form, and the forms themselves are in constant internal tension between sliced fragments and suggestions of the whole, between defined forms and abstract, amorphous shapes, between quasi-organic and quasi-geometric forms, which may be perceived as fish turning into machines or machines into fish.

It has long been thought that the forms and titles of these paintings allude to the war. Ernst told Spies that *The Spindle's Victory* "goes back to the air battles he witnessed at the front," and this comment has been extended by Konnertz and Maurer, among others.¹¹⁰ I propose that the reference is more specifically related to submarine warfare. After fierce American denunciation of the sinking of the *Lusitania* in May 1915 (at a cost of almost 2,000 civilian lives), the German government had pulled back from unrestricted submarine warfare, but, faced with a badly deteriorating military situation, resumed that warfare on February 1, 1917. That action was extensively reported and debated—and it did draw the United States into the war at the very time Ernst was producing these works. Later in his career, he (and other colleagues) melded birds and airplanes in reference to the war; it seems probable that Ernst established his own precedents for that by alluding to submarines and the war in these disquieting fish-machine mutants.¹¹¹

These important paintings of 1917 were documented in part by an exhibit of *Das Junge Rheinland* held at the Kölnischer Kunstverein in January 1918. Spies has identified one of Ernst's paintings in that exhibition as *Animal Forms and Stars* (Fig. 16), and two contemporary reviews referred to plants, animals, stars, and towers.¹¹²

Ernst had also been represented in two other exhibitions during 1917 which merit brief attention. In an exhibit of War Art held in a Cologne department store his name appeared for the first time in the company of Franz Seiwert and Anton Räderscheidt, who would be associated briefly with Dada in Cologne.¹¹³ Work by Ernst was also included in a group show of *Der Sturm* artists held in the Galerie Dada, Zurich, in April 1917.¹¹⁴ There was, however, no contact whatsoever between Ernst and the Dadaists in Zurich at this time. The Dadaists were merely presenting an exhibition of Modern Art drawn, in this instance, from the stock of Herwarth Walden, which happened to include some older paintings by Ernst.

Ernst's first—brushing—contact with Dada seems to have come around mid-1918. Spies claims that Luise sent Ernst some Dada publications sometime during 1918. These publications have not been identified, but it seems probable that they would have come from Berlin rather than Zurich, since both Luise and Max had personal contacts there—Max through his visit on the occasion of his exhibition at *Der Sturm* Gallery in January 1916; Luise through a period of study in Berlin during the war. Their most likely source of information was Wieland Herzfelde, an important publisher of Expressionist and Dadaist works, who was completely in touch with the burgeoning activity of Dada and close enough to Max and Luise to participate in their wedding in November 1918.¹¹⁵

Huelsenbeck had worked to establish a Dada cell in Berlin soon after returning there from Zurich in January 1917. Response had been negligible for about a year, but picked up in 1918, particularly after publicity generated by the first official Dada event in Berlin on April 12, 1918. This was a riotous affair that included a presentation of Marinetti's "Bombardment," Tzara's poem "Retreat," Raoul Hausmann's manifesto of new materials, and Huelsenbeck's manifesto "Dada in Life and Art":

The highest art will be that which in its conscious content presents the thousandfold problems of the day, the art which has been visibly shattered by the explosions of last week. . . . Has Expressionism fulfilled our expectations of such an art, which should be an expression of our most vital concerns? No! No! No! Have the Expressionists fulfilled our expectations of an art that burns the essence of life into our flesh? No! No! No! . . . Expressionism . . . has nothing in common with the efforts of active men. The signers of this manifesto have, under the battle cry of Dada!, gathered together to put forward a new art. . . .¹¹⁶

If that was representative of the news of Dada which reached Ernst, he must have been puzzled. The day would come when he, too, denounced Expressionism, but for the time being, he continued

to work within the stream of Expressionism. Orphism, Cubism, Futurism, and Expressionism constituted for him all that was vital in Modern Art. He had no concept of Dada in Zurich or Berlin. He was a newly commissioned lieutenant, caught up in the final shock and deceit of the war.

In the spring of 1918, the German Supreme Commander, Ludendorff was exultant over the collapse of Russia and the treaty imposed on the Bolsheviks, but blind to the exhaustion and unrest in Germany and Austria. He launched another desperate offensive in the West, which after initial successes, ground to a halt and then reeled under British counter-attack during August–September. The German troops and population were unprepared for the stunning truth staring them in the face: Germany was going to lose the war. Unconditional surrender. No new territories, and no payoff for years of sacrifice and death – but more misery, humiliation, confusion, and rage. In those harrowing last weeks of the war, Max and Luise were married in a simple, civil ceremony with the participation of a few friends and two sets of downcast parents – one Catholic, one Jewish – distressed over this union outside the blessing of their respective faiths.¹¹⁷



17 Max Ernst: *Hat in Hand, Hat on Head*, 1919. Oil on paperboard, 14½ x 11½ in. Private collection, England

Expressionist Art and Activism in Postwar Cologne

2

Conditions did not permit much of a honeymoon. After a brief trip to Berlin, Max returned to military duty and Luise resumed her work at the Wallraf-Richartz Museum as an assistant to the curator of sculpture and the collection of ancient art.¹ Ernst must have been stationed in Belgium at the time, inasmuch as he claimed that he visited James Ensor and attended an impassioned harangue in Brussels by the critic and art historian Carl Einstein, who emerged at the end of the war as a leader for the revolutionary soldier-workers council in Brussels.²

Some knowledge of these postwar political events is essential for comprehending Ernst's actions as he resettled in Cologne during the winter of 1918/19. The final collapse of the German government began in Kiel in the first week of November, when sailors refused to serve in what would have been a useless – and suicidal – attack on the British fleet. That resistance escalated into revolutionary activity, with coalitions of sailors, soldiers, and workers springing up overnight in cities throughout the country, throwing out local governments and setting up their own councils. The uprising reached Cologne on November 7, when 200 revolutionary sailors stormed the prisons but did not overthrow the city government, owing apparently to officials who quickly reorganized an Action Committee composed of several parties, including the Independent Socialists (USPD), who had separated from the main Socialist Party (SPD) in 1917 as an anti-war party.³ By November 9, the Kaiser had fled to exile in Holland, and two days later Erzberger signed the surrender in Compiègne. Meanwhile, the new Reich Chancellor, Friedrich Ebert, was charged with calling a Constituent Assembly to determine the new form of government, and elections for delegates to that assembly were scheduled for mid-January, 1919.

Initially, at least in the cities with stronger revolutionary movements, there was elation over prospects for a radically new government, but complications and struggles quickly developed among the leftists themselves over commitment to a parliamentary democracy versus a dictatorship of the proletariat. Ultimately the parties of the left were unable to unite; they contributed instead to the utter chaos of the winter of 1918/19, marked by unemployment, strikes, clashes in the streets, the arrival of occupying forces, and perceptions of a central government powerless to maintain peace and order. Chancellor Ebert believed that the greatest threat to his shaky coalition was posed by the Spartacists, who, on December 30, 1918, became the

Communist Party in Germany (KPD), led by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. Determined to prevent civil war, Ebert had already made a pact with the military leaders who, though bereft of many regular army units, had begun to recruit volunteer forces – the Freier Korps (Free Corps) – with astonishing success. When the Spartacists seemed on the verge of taking over Berlin on January 6, 1919, Ebert called on his commanders, who smashed the ill-prepared leftists within a few days. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were captured and brutally murdered on January 15, and between February and May insurrectionists of any sort were bloodily suppressed throughout Germany. One telling example was a general strike organized by the Independent Socialists and the Spartacists in Berlin during March, for which the government gave the Free Corps carte blanche to execute on site anyone with arms in hand. An estimated 1,200–1,500 were slaughtered in the streets – an accomplishment recorded in a drawing by George Grosz for the cover of Wieland Herzfelde's magazine *Die Pleite (Bankruptcy)*. Grosz depicted the commander offering a toast to Noske, Minister of Defense: *The Proletariat is Disarmed!*⁴

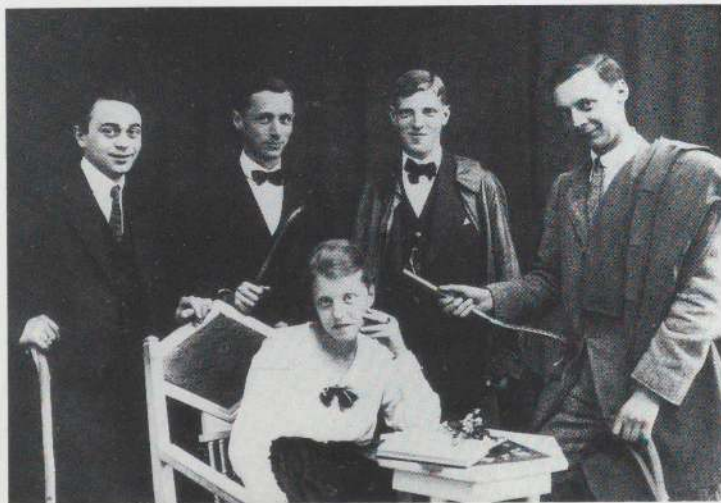
During this period of violence, the government was also consolidating itself. Elections were held on schedule in January, and delegates elected to the National Assembly gathered in Weimar to form a constitution for the new government. That government, the Weimar Republic, was founded in August 1919, not long after the humiliating Treaty of Versailles on June 28, which stripped Germany of its colonies, drastically limited its armed forces, and imposed both a "war guilt" clause and enormous reparations.

Cologne was spared the violence that ravaged Berlin, but conditions were initially tense, given high unemployment, the death toll of the Spanish influenza, a food blockade, and the imposition of both a curfew and press censorship by the British troops who occupied the city on December 6. Certainly there was no way for Ernst, upon his return in late November, to pick up where he had left off in 1914. Macke's group of Rheinland Expressionists no longer existed. Macke and Henseler were dead; Campendonk and Seehaus settled elsewhere, and the companions who had returned were changed men. Luise observed that Max sometimes retreated into himself and spoke little, and his eyes could look "very hard."⁵ His father urged him to finish his studies at the University, but he declined – and never graduated. He was going to be an artist, and for a while he and Lou

(Luise) managed with her paycheck and the unemployment aid he received from the Association of Visual Artists (Arbeitsgemeinschaft Bildender Künstler).⁶ They rented an apartment on the top floor of a building at 14 Kaiser Wilhelm Ring, and Luise records that it soon became a popular gathering place for avant-garde artists and writers (Fig. 18). In her autobiography she recalled:

The convenient location of our apartment, and presumably our personal traits, had made us automatically the center of this circle of young artists and art lovers, who in endless conversations thought they were building a new world.... We went out a lot; we were the leaders of one of those groups that shot up like mushrooms then, with their lectures, concerts, meetings, but especially a lot of big ideas and little scandals.⁷

Ernst participated in two of these new groups, the Gesellschaft der Künste (Society of Arts) and the collaborators on a short-lived magazine entitled *Der Ventilator (The Fan)*. In one basic respect, the purpose of these groups represented the prewar idealism of such earlier Expressionist groups as Die Rheinischen Expressionisten, namely the conviction that art was an agent for the betterment of society. What was distinctive about the new groups was their radical politicization and aggressive participation in public affairs. The artists associated with these two organizations included Johannes Theodor Baargeld, Otto Freundlich, Franz Seiwert, Heinrich and Angelika Hoerle, Anton Räderscheidt, Johannes Theodor Kühlemann, and Hans Hansen.⁸ Some of them had belonged to the Gereon Club and were known to Ernst before the war. Most of them had served in the war and had become involved in anti-war activities – and were often more inclined than Ernst was to place their art at the service of social and revolutionary goals (Figs. 19, 20). The experience of the war turned Seiwert (1894–1933) into an ardent socialist and, ultimately, a Marxist. His convictions were also tinged with Christianity derived from his Catholic background and participation in the Kalltal, a refuge and study center for dissidents and conscientious objectors established around 1916/17 by Käthe and Carl Oskar Jatho.⁹



18 Hans Hansen, Max Ernst, Luise Straus-Ernst (seated), Richard Straus, and Johannes Theodor Baargeld, Cologne, ca. 1919

Seiwert's sentiments are plainly exhibited in a woodcut print of Karl Liebknecht (Fig. 19) and a set of prints entitled *Rufe (Pleas)*, which he published at the Kalltal in 1919:

The one law of the world, is to change the world. And because of that, we as revolutionaries... have the duty to use our work as a weapon against the ruling class so that the way is made clear for the culture of the classless world community.¹⁰

Hoerle, whom Seiwert met in the winter of 1918/19, had contributed texts to the anti-war magazine *Die Aktion* in Berlin, and, according to Seiwert, was never able to overcome the traumatization of his war experiences. His work during 1919 is characterized by unpredictable stylistic shifts between Cubist-derived forms and a curvilinear, caricatural manner with roots in Jugendstil illustrations. Through Hoerle's marriage to Angelika Fick, she and her brother Willy would also figure briefly in the later Dadaist activities in Cologne.

Otto Freundlich (1878–1943) was an older and well-connected artist. He had rented a studio in the Bateau Lavoir in Paris around 1909 and developed what has been described as lively contact with Picasso, Braque, Max Jacob, Léger, and Brancusi. He may also have met Arp, and he was a friend of Raoul Hausmann, Hannah Höch, and Wieland Herzfelde among others in Berlin.¹¹ Freundlich, too, had contributed to *Die Aktion* and was active in revolutionary action at the end of the war. Seiwert reported that he put up revolutionary posters on the evening of November 7 when sailors stormed the prisons in Cologne; he took part in the organizational meeting of the Novembergruppe on December 3, 1918, in Berlin, and he met Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.¹²

For about a year Ernst was to be associated with these artists in the Gesellschaft der Künste, an organization founded in November 1918 by Karl Nierendorf. This society also included a smaller group called *Der Strom (The River)*, with a magazine by the same title which was printed by Nierendorf's publishing house, Kairos-Verlag.¹³ The public announcement of the Gesellschaft der Künste in Cologne newspapers reflects a new-age-a-coming fervor that was common immediately after the war – and not altogether alien to the lofty spiritual ideals characteristic of Expressionist circles before the war:

We stand at the beginning. All ideas about the spirituality of our common world have been proven false. All leaders of this spirituality have proven to be imposters.... We have had enough speeches and promises.... We want action.... Youth is rising up, it alone has the right to issue manifestoes.... The culture of lies dug its own grave through the war. Life awaits a new content; art intends to fight for... its freedom in the new order of things. This is the meaning of the appeal of the Gesellschaft der Künste recently formed in Cologne. It appeals to all who believe in the effectiveness of the spirit in Man and the coming hegemony of the spirit.... It has already joined the Workers Art Council in Berlin.¹⁴

This proclamation also announced the smaller, independent association *Der Strom*, and its magazine. When the first issue of *Der Strom* appeared at the end of January 1919, a brief mission statement declared:

Der Strom stands opposed to Aesthetentum, far from mere literature, independent of every clique. Its goal is unique: to be an expression for people of the Rhineland in its strongest form and the prophet of the creative will of its time.¹⁵

19 Franz Seiwert: *Karl Liebknecht*, 1919.
Woodcut from *Lebendige* portfolio.
Private collection, Belgium



20 Anton Räderscheidt:
Rosa Luxemburg, 1919.
Woodcut from *Lebendige* portfolio.
Private collection, Belgium



In the second issue of *Der Strom*, a more detailed political program was published for the Gesellschaft der Künste:

The Society of Arts in Cologne desires to return to art its social and ethical power, and to the community of men their right to art as the "visible expression of the people's will."

It strives for the union of all artistic minds in common work on the execution of a radical artistic-political program, the goals of which are: a vital community of artistic power with the people, artistic freedom of creative individuals.¹⁶

This statement concluded with practical demands: power for the artists in the appointment of arts officials; a determining influence of artists in art education, including a connection between art and the masses, beginning in elementary school; more public funding for the arts; and conversion of museums into places for living arts.

This program, calling for individual artistic freedom, communal action, political power, and the participation of "all who believe in the effectiveness of the spirit," was common in the immediate post-war conditions of Germany, particularly among Expressionist artists rebuffed by art institutions and critics before the war, but now facing an opportunity for what they perceived as a rightful place in a new, revolutionary society.¹⁷ Ernst later gave a mocking account of a religious vision that stirred Nierendorf to establish the Gesellschaft der Künste, but over the winter of 1918–19 he was fully involved in the activities of that organization.¹⁸

The address of Ernst's apartment was given in *Der Strom* no. 2 as the place to write for the program and "all the particulars" of the Gesellschaft der Künste; Luise was its first business manager, and on several occasions Max was identified as one of the Gesellschaft's leaders.¹⁹ One of those occasions was the disruption of Raoul Koenig's play *Der junge König* (*The Young King*), which critics in leftist newspapers described as an arch-conservative, monarchist work of low literary quality. The performance at the Schauspielhaus on March 4 was disrupted by whistles, shouts, and a bloody scuffle initiated by a group of young men and women variously identified as Spartacists,

associates of the newspaper *Rheinische Zeitung*, and members of the Gesellschaft der Künste who responded to a signal given by Max Ernst.²⁰ One of the critics who accused the Gesellschaft for this demonstration also commented loosely about "a program of literary Bolshevism" in the form of "Dadaism" being at home in that circle.²¹ Ernst publicly accepted responsibility for his part in the affair – but as an individual, not as an officer of the Gesellschaft or an adherent of Dada.²² In a letter delivered to Cologne newspapers during the interruption of *Der junge König*, Koenig was charged with seeking a position of influence, and the theater management was accused of nepotism, indulging in politics, and playing to the box office with worthless comedies. The letter concluded: "Let's throw the money changers and pharisees from the temple of art."²³ Nothing about this affair had anything to do with Dada. It was, on the other hand, wholly consistent with the published aims of the Gesellschaft der Künste to oppose old cliques and to fight for the new order. Members of the Gesellschaft were also effective in promoting their goal of public funding for the arts. In June 1919, after deliberations over several months, the City of Cologne approved 200,000 marks for public support of the arts, and Max Ernst and Heinrich Hoerle were among the first to receive grants.²⁴

At the same time Ernst was establishing a reputation for himself in activities of the Gesellschaft der Künste, he was stretching his luck with collaboration on *Der Ventilator*.²⁵ Six issues (one a double number) of this magazine were published during February – March 1919 and distributed, according to Ernst's claims, at factory gates in Cologne until banned by the British occupation forces. Although *Der Ventilator* has also been described as a proto-Dadaist venture, there is little – if anything – about it that qualifies as Dadaist, and Ernst's part in the publication is not easily assessed. Only three names appear as contributors. Josef Smeets (organization secretary for the Socialist Party in Cologne) was named as an editor in charge of the contents, Franz Seiwert contributed one woodcut illustration, and the name Jean Kammacher figured on two other illustrations, whose

style suggests that Kammacher was a pseudonym for Heinrich Hoerle. No other names appear – presumably for protection from the authorities – although Seiwert and Ernst later identified the principal contributors as themselves plus Hoerle, Johannes Theodor Baargeld, Otto Freundlich, and Hans Hansen.²⁶ Baargeld (a German term for pocket money) was the pseudonym for Alfred Gruenwald, who seems to have had a role in financing *Der Ventilator*.²⁷ He came from a well-to-do family in Cologne, and had studied at both Oxford and the University of Bonn. Marked deeply by his experience of war and the military, Baargeld joined the Independent Socialist Party, that is, the far left spectrum of the Socialist Party, which split off as an anti-war party in 1917. He remained active in the party well into 1920 but eventually left his mark not as a political activist but as an artist and principal figure in Dada in Cologne. At this time, however, Baargeld had not yet been inspired to try his hand at art, and the only texts in *Der Ventilator* with even a hint of Dadaist spirit were those in the first double issue, number 1/2, with reference to “Macchab,” the name of the medium who had haunted Henseler (see p. 41). In conversation with Werner Spies, Ernst allowed that he was a co-author of those texts, but no subsequent articles of that nature appeared. Instead, the issues were dominated by political-social commentary of a Marxist persuasion, interspersed with occasional articles bearing a religious tone which project something of the atmosphere of *Der Strom*. Typical of the texts in *Der Ventilator* are the “Reichswehrgesetz” (“German Army Bill”) and the “Bürger und Proletarier!” (“Bourgeois and Proletarians!”). The former is a specific attack on the bill which justified the Free Corps.²⁸ The article “Bürger und Proletarier!,” signed Antischmiz, combines an indictment of the civic leaders of Cologne with an admonishment to gullible citizens who, mindlessly citing their “freest constitution in the world,” their German culture and education, are blind to the fact that the “old Cologne, now gray in honor, [is] still trudging along as always,” controlling museums, schools, and civic appointments. This clique is at work to bring us the art hack, the master teacher, and the prominent art historian who sits in his office categorizing and assessing, instead of a man of the people “full of vitality” and a “sense of his mission who would open up the house of art to us, who would cultivate modern art as well as that which is long past and yet eternally present.”²⁹ Other than the more evident Marxist sympathies of the authors in *Der Ventilator*, the values expressed on these pages are similar to those of the Gesellschaft der Künste and *Der Strom*.

As noted earlier, an exception should be made for the Macchab articles, where the word “stupidia” – later significant for Cologne Dada – first appears along with a stream-of-consciousness style, which is evocative of Dada and Surrealism in its irrationality and irreverent humor. A few lines from one of Macchab’s “Morse transmissions” is sufficient to convey these qualities:

Caution advised, sham corpse follows. Nubia’s highways, likewise caravanserais in western and eastern Sudan, already polluted. Annual realization of Mecca questioned this year. Halfway to Medina, 10,000 Hedsha warriors overtaken by thirst. Repeated auto-castration of the Negus, incredible effects: thousands of Christian lip-servers from all parts of the Abyssinian Empire fanaticized. Amok-Garde, identifiable by swimming trunks emblazoned with a, already swimming Red Sea.³⁰

In a post-Dada epoch it is difficult not to sense a proto-Dadaist flavor in the Macchab text. Spies remarks that it is the first in which “the typical note of Cologne Dada was sounded.” Vitt is more cautious, stressing the conservative layout of the magazine and the total absence of the word “Dada,” although he does note the reference to “Stupidia” as “Land of the Dull-witted,” which was taken up by Ernst and his colleagues in Dada – implying some continuity between the era of *Der Ventilator* and Dada in Cologne.³¹ All this notwithstanding, there is finally no evidence to indicate that the author(s) of the Macchab text were responding in any way to the phenomena of Dada elsewhere in Germany and Switzerland. It is inconceivable that the author(s) had no knowledge of Dada, especially if that author was Max Ernst, but there simply was not a Dada movement at work in Cologne until the fall of 1919 – certainly not in the visual arts, as is evident in Ernst’s own works.

All of Ernst’s paintings and drawings that can be documented or attributed to 1918–mid-1919 are essentially Expressionist in style. These include ink drawings of 1918 reproduced in *Der Strom* (Pl. 12) and illustrations for *Consolamini*, a volume of poetry by his friend Kühlemann, published in 1919 by the Kairos-Verlag (Pl. 11).³² These are disturbing drawings, primarily composed of human body parts, but fragmented and mutated almost beyond recognition, and meshed in configurations evocative of physical strife. A recently published drawing from this period (Fig. 21) is particularly noteworthy insofar as it reflects both Ernst’s stylistic references to the work of Chagall³³ and his rare comments on contemporary political conditions. This drawing is inscribed with its title, *Diskussion (Discussion)*, and the words “Freie Wirtschaft” (“free enterprise”) coming from the mouth of the figure with the huge head and comically small hat.



21 Max Ernst: *Discussion*, 1919. Watercolor and ink on paper, 10 7/8 x 8 5/8 in. Fick-Eggert Collection, Ontario

Littlefield has identified the figure as President Ebert employing promises of "free enterprise" to court middle-class burghers fearful of more radical socialism.³⁴ Her interpretation is basically convincing for both the burghers – described as claw-fingered and willing to trample over themselves – and for Ebert – the smiling, dancing trickster, with a clown face on his collar, eyes in the back of his head, talons for fingers, a waist twisted with about-faces, and a three-legged stool inadequate to support him.

Only one painting of 1919 seems to bear an original date (Pl. 15), but that work – in conjunction with others known through reproductions and exhibitions in 1919 – helps to establish a homogeneous body of work for 1918–mid-1919. *Sonntag (Sunday)* and *Lob der Freiheit (Praise of Freedom)* were reproduced in *Der Strom*, no. 3, and *Unsterblichkeit (Immortality)*; Pl. 14) was exhibited with *Das Junge Rheinland* at the Kunsthalle Düsseldorf during June–July 1919.³⁵ Spies identifies all three of these and *Stadt mit Tieren (City with Animals)*; Pl. 18) as Ernst's contributions to the "Der Strom" exhibit in Cologne during April–May 1919.³⁶ These paintings provide the context for attributing still other paintings to 1918–mid-1919: the untitled composition (Fig. 22) and *Hut in der Hand, Hut auf dem Kopf (Hat in Hand, Hat on Head)*; Fig. 17).³⁷

Students of Ernst have been so absorbed in his career as a Dadaist and Surrealist that these paintings have been relatively neglected, often passed over briefly with everything else before 1920 as "Max Ernst before Max Ernst." Whenever the paintings of 1919 have been considered in more detail, it has usually been with the aim of indicating that they are not oddities separated by a gulf from the later works, but that they contain elements which prefigure some aspects of Dada and Surrealism.

This approach has been useful in calling our attention to significant continuities in Ernst's work; it has left completely unaddressed any consideration of these paintings in the context of 1919. Spies was the first to underscore continuity. In *Immortality* (Pl. 14), for example, he notes the stylistic inconsistency of "Cubist cubes dumped beside a Sunday-painter's forest," calling it an "anarchistic approach to style" that "prefigures Dada." In *City with Animals* (Pl. 18), he finds the headlong-diving bird and a "feeling of uncertain dread" very similar to that in the relief painting *2 enfants sont menacés par un rossignol (Two Children Are Threatened by a Nightingale)*; Pl. 162).³⁸

Still other links merit comment. In a manner quite consistent with much of the later Dadaist works, all of these paintings appear to be charged with highly personal, meaningful relationships – some surely of a biographical nature – that kindle a preoccupation with meaning/interpretation which is essentially thwarted by the viewer's lack of "insider" information. It is impossible to know if this was a deliberate method pursued by Ernst or a by-product of the private, personal function of his paintings, but the result is consistent. Most of these paintings also exhibit some anthropomorphizing of plant and animal forms – the animals, for example, in *City with Animals* (Pl. 18), including the small form in the lower center that appears to be a plant metamorphosing into an animal head, and the large central tree in *Hat in Hand, Hat on Head* (Fig. 17), whose trunk and limbs suggest a body supporting a headpiece more extravagant by far than the hats of its human neighbors. Finally, all of the paintings exhibit



22 Max Ernst: Untitled, 1919. Oil on paperboard, 14 $\frac{3}{16}$ x 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Whereabouts unknown

the belief that the artist need not be preoccupied with craftsmanship, fidelity to nature, or public legibility. Art, instead, may become a largely private, personal means to explore and to express oneself and one's relationships with people and nature. Amidst a few inane reviews of his work during 1919, one critic displayed sensitivity to these paintings. Ernst, he wrote, is "a creative artist feeling his way along with admirable honesty, often clearly aiming at a symbolic representation of the human aspect of animals and the animal nature of man, or perhaps the vegetative commonality of all living creatures, including plants."³⁹

Though I am persuaded that interpretive efforts will not penetrate far into the meaning of these paintings, some observations will be offered, beginning with *Immortality* (Pl. 14), whose title – if accepted as an indication of the content of the painting – suggests that we are presented with the ideal of immortality via our progeny. The lower right corner is occupied by the bust-length figures of a man and a woman at the base of a flourishing tree that dominates the entire right half of the painting. Both figures are attired in the formal, bourgeois dress of the period. The woman has an upswept hairstyle; the man is either bald or has short gray hair. He sports a moustache and – like so many of the figures – is cross-eyed, with one

eye looking at or toward the spectator while the other eye looks to our left. This couple resembles – but does not obviously represent – Ernst’s parents when they were in their 40s–50s (Fig. 2). What appears to be the same man reappears at the left center of the composition, accompanied not by his “wife” but by six children, three more or less in his scale and gathered around a table bearing four fish, while three much smaller children – all girls – are to the right of the “father.” Two of those girls are clearly in a landscape behind the father, while a slightly larger girl in a bright yellow-orange dress exists in both the distant landscape space *and* the father’s space. The larger children around the father include an older “son” with a sullen countenance, a more timid-looking younger son, and a young daughter in a red dress, holding a pet rabbit. The daughter’s head resembles the father’s in its shape and crossed eyes, although her head also has vague suggestions of animal features. Still other details may be explored: the empty chair at the table, for example, or the fish on the table, the cat in the lower left, and the bird in the foliage at the upper right; but it seems prudent to hold to a few larger observations. First is the impression – which deepens with extended exposure to this painting – that nothing about the figures and their relationships is casual. Ernst had a purpose for each decision, even if we cannot know what he had in mind. Second is the impression that this painting is autobiographical, that the couple in the lower right corner probably represents his parents, and the children around the father represent the six living children, namely the three older daughters who for some reason are literally diminished in the background, while the three children with the father, Max, Karl, and Loni, represent the privileged progeny, those on whom the father places

greater expectations for an immortality as flourishing as the vegetation that holds its own in this painting with humanity and the works of man.

One or more of the features of this painting appear in virtually every painting of this phase of Ernst’s career: relationships between man and woman, between parents and children and among the siblings themselves; animated vegetation; humans whose faces suggest animal features; animals with anthropomorphic characteristics; and such details as crossed eyes and formally attired men with moustaches. The motif of crossed eyes is an especially puzzling feature, which has attracted no commentary whatsoever, despite the fact that it is obvious in so many figures and occurs in the work of a few other artists whose work Ernst admired, Dürer and Chagall among them.⁴⁰ The silence on this phenomenon leaves us no benchmarks for an unexplored terrain, and I am reduced simply to opening the topic and observing that it is surely not a record of the physical condition of strabismus but a reflection of the age-old concept of the eyes as indicators of the mind or soul within. For the most part, popular myth and tradition attributed derogatory meaning to crossed eyes, but for Ernst, the different perspective implied by crossed eyes need not have been a negative condition. Suggestions of moral or mental flaws should not be ruled out here, although the more likely reference may be to diagnoses for mental illness or to psychiatrists who linked eye disorders with disorders and conflicts of the sex life.⁴¹

In two of these paintings of 1919 (Pl. 15 and Fig. 17), which are focused on a male-female relationship, the men project an animal appearance by the shape of their noses and tusk-like moustaches, which bring to mind Ernst’s “dream” description of the “rogue” with “the turned-up moustaches of my father” (p. 33). Both men also sport black melon hats. This introduces into Ernst’s work another important theme, which may incorporate a Freudian phallic reference. In other paintings of this year, some of the men wear beards rather than moustaches, and they do not resemble particularly the other male figures. Perhaps the one in an untitled composition represents an art teacher (Fig. 22), in which case Ernst’s comment would seem to involve the confrontation of an authoritative teacher-father and an intimidated, downcast young artist – while outdoors awaits a world of flowering nature, a young girl in a flouncing petticoat, and a prancing horse.

The animals which dominate the foreground of *City with Animals* (Pl. 18) may also constitute a family group, but the relationships between those animals seem less significant than the contrast of that placid, bovine group with the disquieting actions and fragmented world of man in the background. Within the irrational scales and spaces of that architectural setting, there is a man in a tower-like structure who appears to be on the verge of “walking the plank,” an implied action made more threatening by the falling images of a small domestic animal and a human figure (or a shadow) near the base of the tower. Next to them is another figure (apparently a young boy), who gestures toward those figures or to the much larger young woman with crossed eyes and one hand touching a table. To our left of this woman, a familiar male figure – in a suit, with a melon hat and a moustache – leans out of a window with his hand raised in a gesture, but to whom? Dark, brooding colors and eerie lighting effects



23 Francis Picabia: *Alarm Clock*, 1919. Title page for *Anthologie Dada 4-5*, 1919

are commensurate with the irrational scale and spatial relationships of the architecture that includes one smokestack, urban dwellings, and vaguely medieval towers. Presiding over this willfully disjointed, disquieting scene is a dark moon and a red bird, the latter plummeting straight down toward the red and maroon bovine creatures like a descending dove of the Holy Ghost.

Insofar as can be determined, Ernst continued this style of painting into the summer of 1919, at which time his career changed course radically after a visit to Munich, where he encountered reproductions of work by Giorgio de Chirico, Carlo Carrà, and perhaps Francis Picabia. In order to comprehend his "discovery" and embrace of Dada in the early fall of 1919, it is useful to pause for a survey of Dadaist art and activity elsewhere in Europe.

During December of 1918, while Ernst was becoming one of the leaders of the *Gesellschaft der Künste*, the Dadaists in Zurich were publishing *Dada 3*, with drawings by Picabia and Tzara's stunning, aggressive "Manifeste Dada 1918," which ridiculed values being promoted by the avant-garde organizations in Cologne. Leaders of *Der Strom* and the *Gesellschaft* extolled values of the spirit and the efficacy of art for education and the future good of humanity, but Tzara proclaimed:

I write a manifesto...yet...in principle I am against manifestoes, as I also am against principles.... I speak only of myself since I do not wish to convince, I have no right to drag others into my river.... And so Dada was born of a need for independence, of a distrust toward unity....

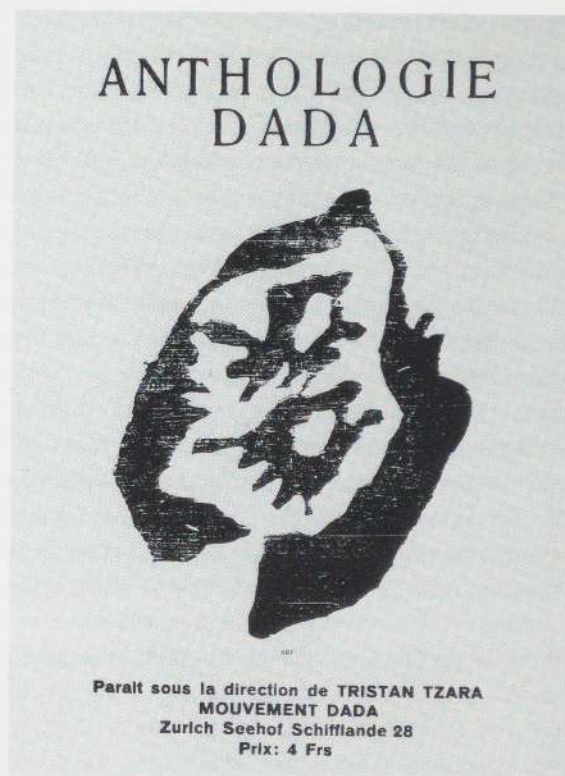
The new artist protests: he no longer paints...but creates — directly in stone, wood, iron, tin, boulders — locomotive organisms capable of being turned in all directions by the limpid wind of momentary sensation. All pictorial or plastic work is useless: let it then be a monstrosity that frightens servile minds....

...art...is not as important as we, mercenaries of the spirit, have been proclaiming for centuries.... Logic is always wrong.... Morality creates atrophy like every plague produced by intelligence....

Let each man proclaim: there is a great negative work of destruction to be accomplished. We must sweep and clean. Affirm the cleanliness of the individual after the state of madness, aggressive complete madness of a world abandoned to the hands of bandits, who rend one another and destroy the centuries.⁴²

An event of enormous consequence for Dada in Zurich and Paris was Picabia's visit to Zurich during January 22–February 8, 1919. Prior to this, only the abstract biomorphic shapes which Arp had begun to develop in drawings and polychromed wood reliefs around 1917 constituted more original work within the group in Zurich. But Picabia — in addition to his memorable model of an unfettered, irreverent lifestyle — introduced a new mechanomorphic art form, which came to provide an image far more central to subsequent concepts of Dada than the quasi-Expressionist, quasi-Cubist and abstract work that had prevailed in Zurich. Arp described the delight of the Zurich Dadaists when they first met Picabia in his hotel room:

We found him very busy pulling a clock to pieces.... He attacked his alarm clock ruthlessly till [sic] he got to the spring which he pulled out triumphantly. He stopped working to greet us, then taking the wheels, the spring, the hands, and other secret parts of the clock, he immediately impressed them upon the paper. He connected these imprints together by lines and added to the drawing sentences full of wit (Fig. 23).⁴³



24 Hans Arp: Untitled, ca. 1919. Woodcut. Cover for *Anthologie Dada* 4–5, 1919

This meeting of Picabia and the Dadaists in Zurich was celebrated in the next issue of Picabia's magazine *391* (no. 8, Paris, February 1919) and in *Anthologie Dada* 4–5, published in Zurich in May 1919. The *Anthologie Dada* is one of the most outstanding Dada publications in both design and content, and it was probably one of the publications Ernst saw in Munich during September. Picabia's *Reveil matin* (*Alarm Clock*; Fig. 23) was reproduced in it, along with representative woodcut prints by Arp (Fig. 24) and a scintillating array of texts, poems, and manifestoes drawn from the Berlin Dadaists, from many individuals later associated with Dada in Paris, and from presentations by the Zurich Dadaists at their tumultuous "Soirée Dada" of April 9.⁴⁴

Although Tzara had brought together work by the artists and writers who would constitute Dada in Paris, he was not initially successful in bringing together the individuals themselves. Throughout most of 1919, mutual reservations kept the Parisians divided into two camps, one in orbit around Picabia, the other associated with the editors of the magazine *Littérature*, founded in March 1919 by André Breton, Philippe Soupault, and Louis Aragon — three young poets whose paths crossed on Apollinaire's doorstep during moments away from their military assignments in 1917. When they eventually met in early January 1920, Breton confided to Picabia that he had been advised to avoid him. Publication of Picabia's *Pensées sans langage* (*Thoughts without Language*) in August 1919 had overcome the reservations of both Breton and another young poet who had entered the orbit of *Littérature*, Paul Eluard. For his part, Picabia had found little to attract him in *Littérature*. It was conventional in design and — excepting the semi-automatic text of *Les Champs magnétiques*

(*The Magnetic Fields*) – balanced in content between the writings of Breton's young friends and such established authors as Gide, Valéry, Reverdy, Romains, Apollinaire, Mallarmé, and Rimbaud.⁴⁵ Picabia's close friends and associates at the time consisted of Marcel Duchamp – who stayed in the Picabia apartment from July 1919 to January 1920 – Georges Ribemont-Dessaignes, Jean Crotti, and his wife Suzanne Duchamp. In hindsight, their work has been appropriated for Dada, although no art or group activities would be presented under the banner of Dada until the two camps finally united in January 1920 – joined a few weeks later by Tzara himself for the climax and demise of Dada in Paris during 1920–22/23.⁴⁶

In contrast to the late flowering of Dada in Paris, the beginnings of Dada in Berlin may be traced to Huelsenbeck's return in January 1917, but little of consequence occurred in terms of activities or publicity until 1918. From then into 1920, events and publicity accelerated. These events included the previously mentioned first official Dada evening on April 12, 1918, followed by a "Dada-Matinée" at the Café Austria in Berlin on June 6, 1918, where Hausmann read his sound poems for the first time. Still more publicity was generated by the outlandish acts of the Oberdada Baader who, for example, demanded that Dadaists be awarded the Nobel Prize and was arrested for blasphemy in November after seizing the pulpit of the Berlin Cathedral and shouting "Christ is a sausage!"⁴⁷ Baader's provocative acts became even more effective in 1919. For an event in the Kaisersaal, *Das Rheingold*, on February 6, he was proclaimed "President of the Earth," although the press was more attracted by announcements of his death and resurrection around Easter, and by the Dadaists' "political" manifesto, "What Is Dada and What Does It Want in Germany?" That manifesto began with a demand for "the international revolutionary union of all creative and intellectual men and women on the basis of radical Communism," but then went on with such supplementary demands as:

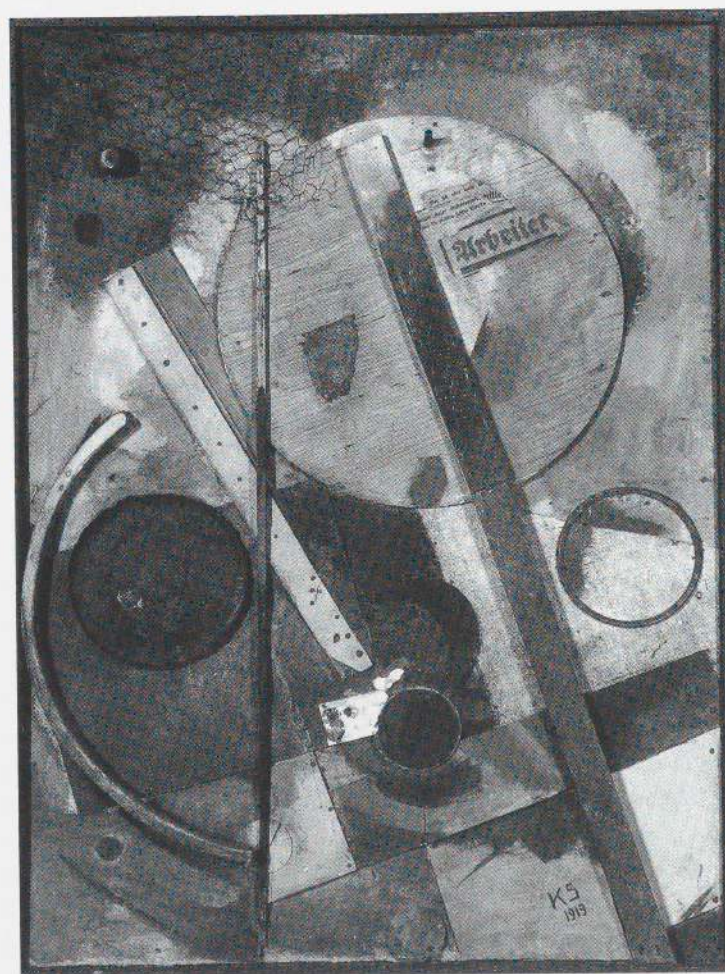
Daily meals at public expense for all creative and intellectual men and women on the Potsdamer Platz.... Compulsory adherence of all clergymen and teachers to the Dadaist articles of faith; ... Introduction of the simultaneist poem as a Communist state prayer; ... Submission of all laws and decrees to the Dadaist central council for approval; [and] Immediate regulation of all sexual relations according to the views of international Dadaism through the establishment of a Dadist sexual center.⁴⁸

Later audiences have laughed at these events, but in the context of a shaky government – brutally suppressing leftist threats in Berlin and a brief Communist government in Munich – no potential source of trouble was taken lightly. When the Dadaists proclaimed a Dada Republic in the Berlin-Nicolassee neighborhood in April, a regiment of troops was put on alert. These provocative gestures were sparks within a broader context of activities during the first half of 1919: two Dada-Soirées in the spring, the first exhibition of Dada painting and sculptures in Berlin at I. B. Neumann's Graphisches Kabinett, the initial appearance of such publications as *Jedermann sein eigener Fussball* (*Each Man His Own Football*) in February, *Die Pleite* (*Bankruptcy*) in March, and *Der Dada I* in June.⁴⁹ The situation in Berlin was so vigorous, in fact, that Huelsenbeck boasted to Tzara in a letter of May 3: "Die Central des Dadaismus ist in Berlin."⁵⁰

Although the unorthodox design and typography typical of Dadaist publications was established in Berlin during 1918, both the style and imagery of the photo-montages which dominated the look of Berlin Dada during its heyday did not emerge until late 1918–19. John Heartfield's collage *Preisausschreiben! Wer ist der Schönste??* (*Open Competition! Who Is the Prettiest??*), done for the cover of *Jedermann sein eigener Fussball*,⁵¹ was one of the earliest examples to be published, while Hausmann's use of photographs and clippings from assorted publications first emerged in such photo-montages as *Dr. Max Ruest* during the summer of 1919.⁵²

The transformation of Kurt Schwitters' Expressionist style into a collage idiom also occurred during the latter part of 1918, at a time when he was in contact with Herwarth Walden in Berlin and had the occasion to meet both Arp and Hausmann, the latter probably in 1919.⁵³ His early Merz assemblages were completed during the first half of 1919 and exhibited for the first time at Der Sturm Gallery in June 1919 (Fig. 25).⁵⁴

This survey of selected Dadaist activities in Europe from approximately the end of the war into late 1919 provides the framework for two observations relevant to Ernst's subsequent participation in Dada. First is the relatively late emergence of art with the "look" that has been identified with Dada from around 1920 to the present.

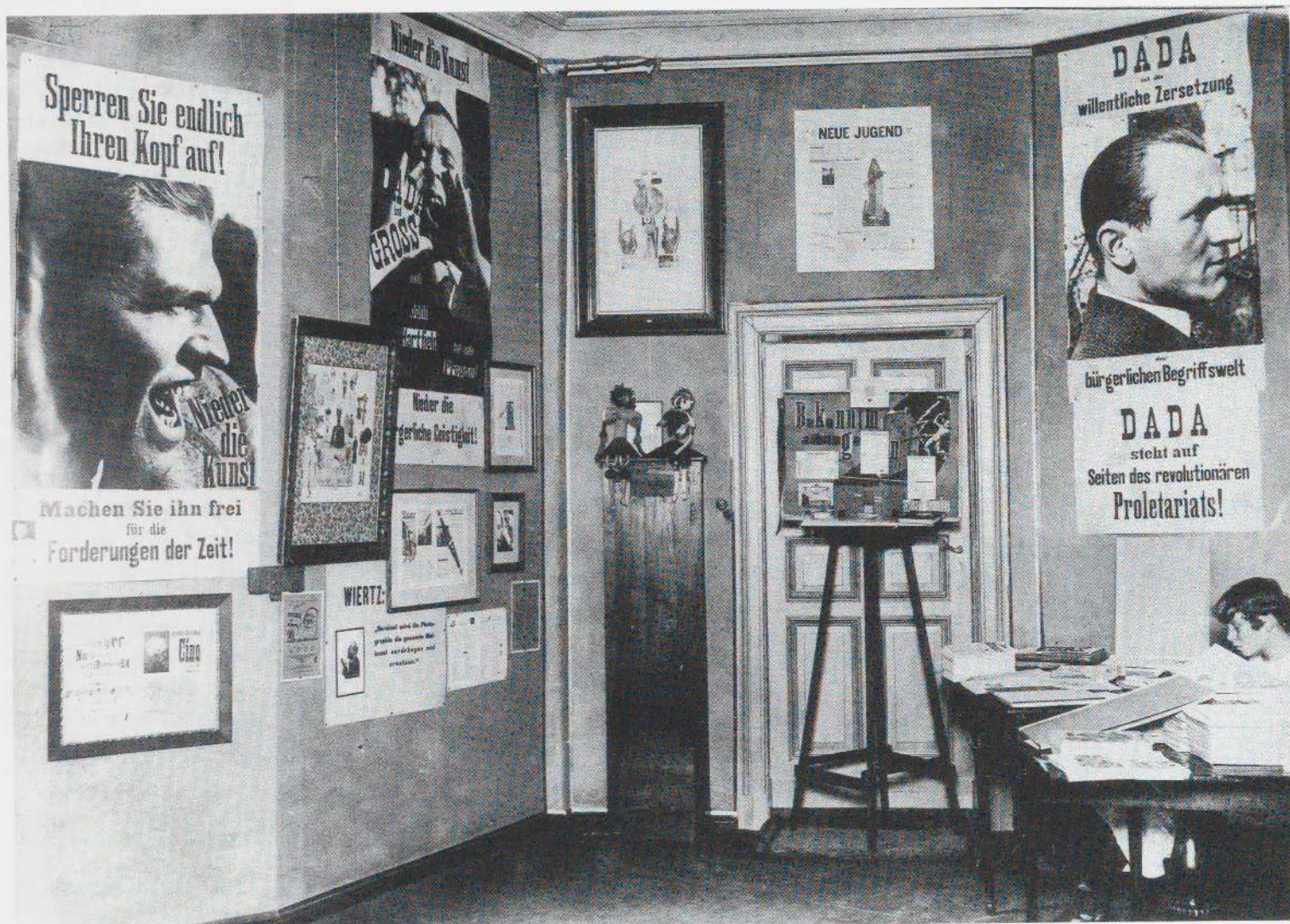


25 Kurt Schwitters: *The Worker Picture*, 1919. Assemblage, 49 1/4 x 35 3/4 in. Moderna Museet, Stockholm

Dada may have begun in Zurich during 1916 and in Berlin during 1917, but its representative art was not produced until after the war – with the exception of some of the work of Arp, scattered objects by other artists, and the work of Duchamp, Picabia, and friends in New York, which was, however, a separate phenomenon, essentially independent of Dada in Switzerland and Germany, and unknown in Europe.⁵⁵ A second, more obvious, observation is the absence of Dada in Cologne. No activities or publications were organized there under the banner of Dada, and no one was producing art that looked or claimed to be Dadaist, certainly not the art of Ernst and his associates. What Ernst knew of Dada prior to the fall of 1919 is not documented, but there can be no doubt that he had at least some knowledge of the activities of the Dadaists in Berlin from around mid-1918 onward. As previously noted, Wieland Herzfelde had been a source of information for Max and Lou since 1918; Freundlich had expanded their information about Dada soon after the war; and there were also, of course, references to Dada in Cologne newspapers throughout the first half of 1919, including the widely re-

ported political platform of the Berlin Dadaists' manifesto "What Is Dada and What Does It Want in Germany?"

Far more speculative is what Ernst may have known about Dada in Zurich, and what he knew about Dadaist art produced anywhere. Pending discovery of additional information, it seems prudent to assume that he would have had little knowledge of what we have come to regard as mature examples of Dadaist art. Those art works were, after all, not produced before the winter of 1918–19 and were not in the public domain until the spring/summer of 1919. These very months of the spring/summer of 1919 coincided with the defeat of the revolutionary movement in Germany, the establishment of a government with all the traditional powers solidly entrenched, and mounting criticism of Expressionism for the impotence of its appeal to the spiritual strengths of German culture – not to mention its total ineffectiveness as an agent of political reform or revolution.⁵⁶ As Vitt observed in his study of Baargeld, the summer of 1919 must have been a time when Ernst and Baargeld reassessed what they were doing – as artists and as activists.



26 Installation: First International Dada Fair, Berlin, June 30 – August 25, 1920.
Collection Berlinische Galerie, Museum for Modern Art, Photography and Architecture, Berlin. Hannah Höch Archive

The First Dada Season in Cologne

3

In August 1919 Max, Lou, and Baargeld vacationed in Bergsteigen on the Königssee near Salzburg. That was to be the first in a series of vacations in the Bavarian Alps that contributed to major developments in Ernst's career, none more important than the consequences of a visit to Munich on the return to Cologne from this vacation.

Toward mid-September, Max and Lou paused in Munich, where they met Paul Klee and secured the loan of some drawings for an exhibition scheduled that fall at the Cologne Kunstverein.¹ In addition to accomplishing that task, Ernst made three momentous discoveries pertaining to Arp, Dada in Zurich, and the work of the Italian metaphysical painters Carlo Carrà and Giorgio de Chirico. According to Lou, they met Hugo Ball and Emmy Hennings and learned from them that Arp was in Zurich, while Max specified a visit to Hans Goltz's gallery/bookstore as the occasion for his discovery of Dada publications from Zurich and the Italian magazine *Valori Plastici* with reproductions of works by Carrà and de Chirico.²

The timing of this exposure to Dada and de Chirico was propitious, catching Ernst at a moment of mounting dissatisfaction with Expressionism and his association with the Gesellschaft der Künste. Within a few months, he had totally transformed his art and established himself as the leader and co-founder (with Baargeld) of Dada in Cologne. For a richer comprehension of those fast-moving developments, it is essential to consider more closely what Ernst may have encountered in Munich, not simply to enumerate influences, but to appreciate that which is unique in his work.

Most scholarly attention has been focused on the specific reproductions of work by Carrà and de Chirico which Ernst is likely to have seen and the qualities of those works which caught his eye.³ *Oval of Apparitions* by Carrà and *The Return of the Prodigal* and *The Grand Metaphysician* by de Chirico (Figs. 27–28) are representative examples of the reproductions available to Ernst. Each is characterized variously by disquieting oneiric scenes composed of irrational spaces, mannikin-like figures, forbidding architecture, mysterious shadows, and banal objects often distorted in scale or combined with unexpected objects in unusual contexts. In a later homage to de Chirico, Ernst wrote:

I had the impression of having met something that had always been familiar to me, as when a déjà-vu phenomenon reveals to us an entire domain of our own dream world that, thanks to a sort of censorship, one has refused to see or comprehend.⁴

Ernst never commented on Picabia and Schwitters in the context of his layover in Munich, but he did say he saw some Dada publications, and the publications from Zurich most likely to have been seen were issues of *Dada*, particularly the more recent issues of *Dada 3* and *Dada 4–5*, which contained reproductions of Picabia's *Dada Movement* and the drawn and stamped design of *Alarm Clock* (Fig. 23). Ernst might also have seen earlier issues with reproductions of Janco's *Construction 3* (Fig. 29) and de Chirico's *Evil Genius of a King*, and it is conceivable that Goltz had publications and reproductions of Schwitters's work from *Der Sturm*, which would have further expanded Ernst's concept of Dada.⁵ Schwitters, probably after seeing Picabia's drawings in *Dada 4–5*, had developed some rubber-stamp drawings (Fig. 30), and in July he had exhibited some of these at *Der Sturm* with his first *Merz* assemblages (Fig. 25). It seems that no catalogue was printed for that exhibition, but some of the works were reproduced in the press. In the July issue of *Der Sturm*, Schwitters published a revealing statement on the principles of his *Merz* assemblages:

Merzbilder are abstract works of art. The word *Merz* denotes essentially the combination of all conceivable materials for artistic purposes, and technically the principle of equal evaluation of the individual materials. *Merzmalerei* makes use not only of paint and canvas, brush and palette, but all materials perceptible to the eye and of all required implements. Moreover, it is unimportant whether or not the material used was already formed for some purpose or other. A perambulator wheel, wire-netting, string and cotton wool are factors having equal rights with paint. The artist creates through the choice, distribution and metamorphosis of the materials.

The metamorphosis of materials can be produced by their distribution over the picture surface. This can be reinforced by dividing, deforming, overlapping, or painting over. In *Merzmalerei*, the box top, playing card and newspaper clipping become surfaces; string, brushstroke and pencil stroke become line; wire-netting becomes overpainting or pasted-on greaseproof paper becomes varnish; cotton becomes softness.

Merzmalerei aims at direct expression by shortening the interval between the intuition and realization of the work of art.⁶

Whether or not Ernst did see such reproductions of the work of Picabia and Schwitters in Munich remains conjectural, but his own work soon reflected an acquaintance with their work, and if the connection did not occur in Munich then it probably came via contact with Arp and Tzara after his return to Cologne. The initial correspondence between Ernst and the Dadaists in Zurich has not been found,

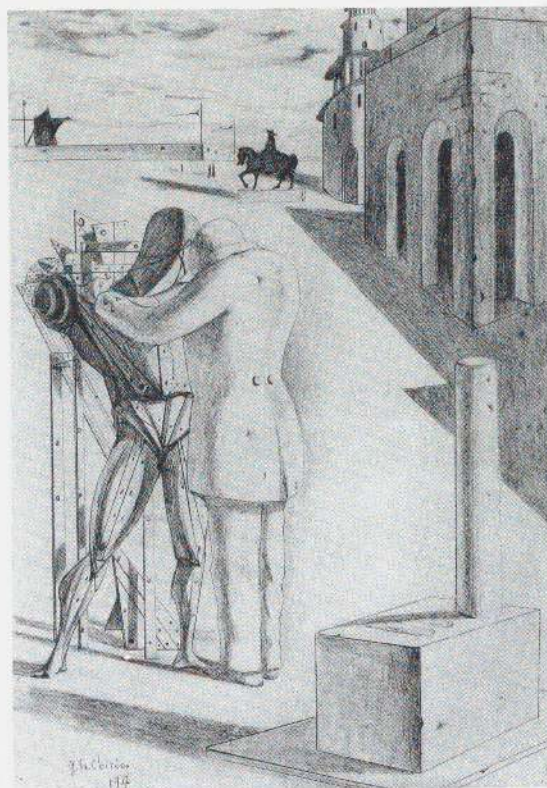
but circumstantial evidence indicates that efforts were soon made to contact Arp, and a letter from Ernst to Tzara at the end of the year confirms that they were exchanging publications and photographs at least as early as December.⁷

At that time, Tzara was – as usual – involved in a variety of activities including not only his imminent move to Paris, but also efforts to secure an exhibition for Archipenko's work in the Kunsthau Zurich, calls for contributions to activities in Zurich, collaborations with Huelsenbeck's *Dadaco*, and correspondence with Schwitters regarding an issue of *Der Zweemann*.⁸ Presumably at the request of Tzara, Ernst had, in fact, already sent photographs of his work to Schwitters in Hanover, although they did not meet until the spring of 1920.⁹

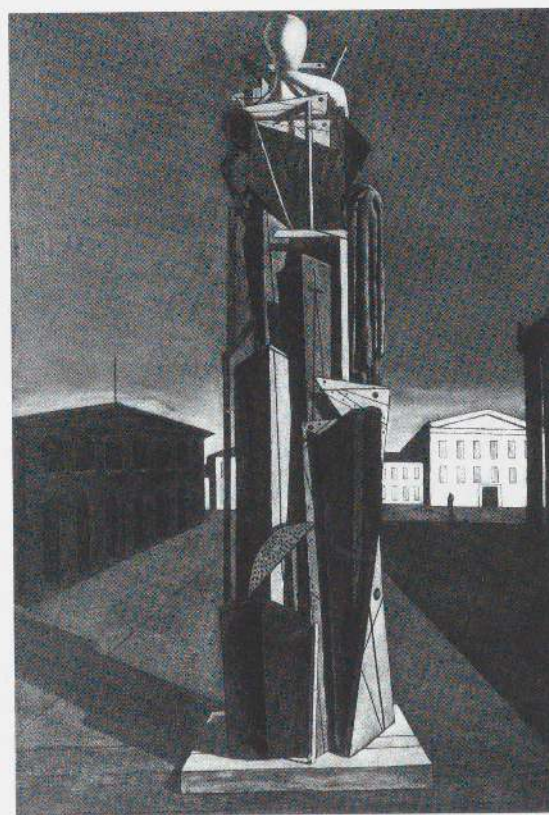
Stimulated by the discoveries in Munich and contacts initiated after returning to Cologne, Ernst and Baargeld moved vigorously to organize a Dada presence in Cologne. Their associates Heinrich and Angelika Hoerle, Räderscheidt, Seiwert, and Freundlich were rallied to the cause, and plans were laid for the first significant available forum, the autumn exhibition of the Gesellschaft der Künste and Der Strom, scheduled to open November 1 in the Kölnischer Kunstverein. The six weeks they had to prepare for that exhibition must have been a period of feverish activity. Baargeld was literally beginning his career as a self-taught artist, while Ernst was in the process of transforming his art, spreading his enthusiasm for Dada and de Chirico, and negotiating with Nierendorf, who balked at including the new work of Ernst and his associates in the Gesellschaft exhibition. Although the sympathetic Director of the Kunstverein, Walter Klug, labored to keep Ernst's faction in the exhibition, Nierendorf finally would have none of it. The result was two exhibitions with separate catalogues and rooms in the Kunstverein, clearly marked by a sign at the entrance, at the request of the Gesellschaft der Künste (Society of Arts):

Dada has nothing in common with the Society of Arts
 Dada is not interested in this group's hobbies
 Signed: Johannes Theodore Baargeld, Max Ernst
 ← To Dada To Society of Arts →¹⁰

Ernst and Baargeld evidently anticipated the split – perhaps with relish – for the catalogue for their exhibition, *Bulletin D* (for Dada), was hardly thrown together at the last minute. On the contrary, it was a significant publication, inventive in layout and so provocative in content that the initial edition may have been confiscated.¹¹ A playful quality characterizes the cover (Fig. 31), with its spiral and leaf form evocative of energy and life, its naïve flying machine of part kite/part bicycle, and Arp's childlike pneumatic figures dancing upside-down over a machine probably stamped with a printer's block that Ernst found in Hertz's print shop.¹² The playfulness of the cover continues inside, but with a bite, as Baargeld, Ernst, Hoerle, and Freundlich enter texts variously characterized by Dadaist chants, word-plays, and irreverent commentary on a host of distinguished artists and art movements – Cézanne, Van Gogh, Expressionism, Picasso, Herwarth Walden, and the "Kurfürsten-Dammdadaism" of George Grosz, among others.¹³ Ernst's statement "About Cézanne" reveals his new-found exaltation of the commonplace at the expense of the craft of painting:

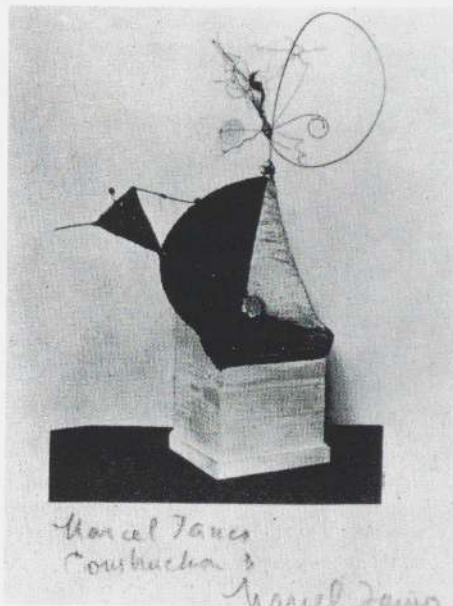


27 Giorgio de Chirico: *Return of the Prodigal*, 1917. Pencil on paper, 12 $\frac{3}{8}$ x8 in. Collection of Judith Rothschild, New York

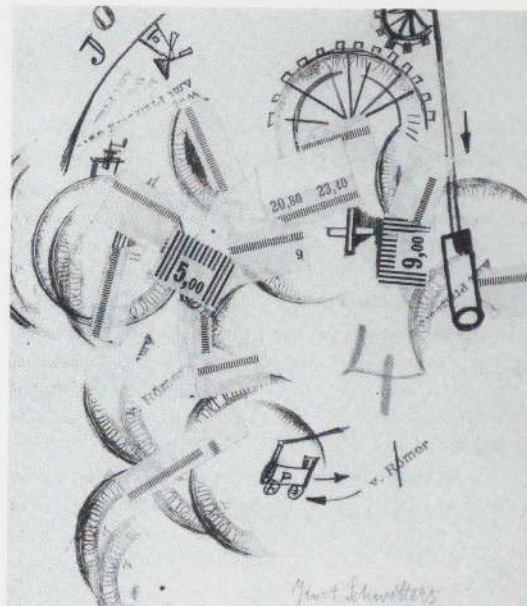


28 Giorgio de Chirico: *The Grand Metaphysician*, 1917. Oil on canvas, 41 $\frac{1}{4}$ x27 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. The Philip L. Goodwin Collection

29 Marco Janco: *Construction 3*, 1917.
Plaster and wire. Whereabouts unknown



30 Kurt Schwitters: (*with red 4*),
ca. 1919. Stamp drawing and collage,
6 7/8 x 6 in. Marlborough International
Fine Art, London



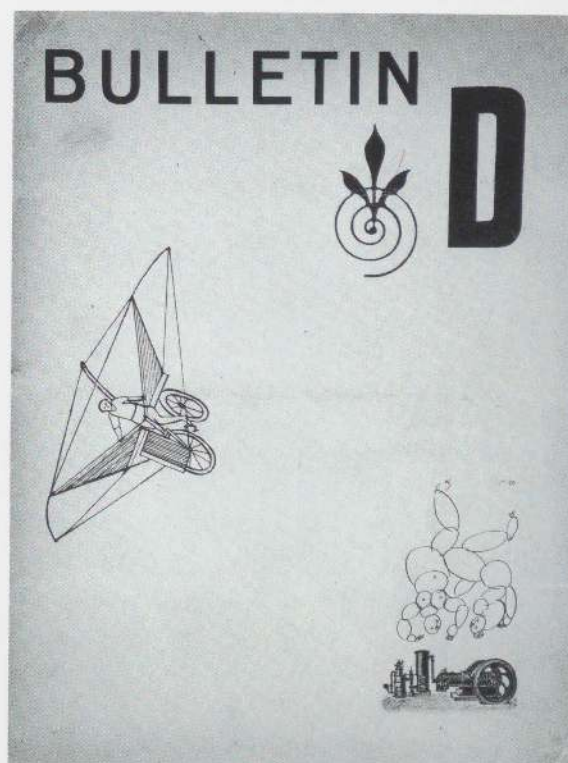
Everyman loves everyman's Cézanne. A[nd] rolls eyes! This painting! Ooo this paintinng! I'm sick of Cézanne, for he is a big piece of painting. Everyman also loves everyman's Expressionists, but turns away with disgust from brilliant drawings in pissoirs. The most fully realized sculpture on the other hand is a piano hammer. Dada.¹⁴

Ernst did not merely claim the status of sculpture for a piano hammer; he exhibited one in a section on sculpture that included African tribal sculpture, models for polarization curves from a teaching aids company, and a large fraternity pipe, which was hung over the entrance to the exhibition. In addition to the work of Baargeld, Ernst, and their associates (the Hoerles, Räderscheidt, and Seiwert), the catalogue list included works by Ernst's friends Arp, Hans Bolz, and Paul Klee, and several other entries intended to irritate – children's drawings, Expressionist photographs by Kokoschka and other artists, and what appears to have been sentimental subjects (*Woman with Harp, Cats, Sacrament*, etc.) by two unknown masters of the twentieth century.¹⁵

This list of exhibits and exhibitors is remarkably inclusive and highly unorthodox, bringing together professional artists and dilettantes, prominent names and anonymous individuals, natural objects, manufactured objects, and even photographs by the now-reviled Expressionists. That mélange confused and agitated not only the public in 1919, but some of the organizing artists; Seiwert and Räderscheidt removed their works before the opening. The remaining Bulletin D artists were accused of irresponsibility toward the community, of sensation-mongering, and of not being serious,¹⁶ and most subsequent accounts of Dada have tended to dwell rather mindlessly on this exhibition as an example of Dada's provocative humor and anti-art. I think it is safe to assume that some of that was indeed present, but we miss what is more important if we leave it at that, for Ernst – like so many Dadaists – was also looking for ways to expand the concepts and means of art, not simply to attack old values and techniques. Luise Straus-Ernst reflected, I think, her husband's mingling of mischief and conviction when she wrote, con-

cerning the Bulletin D exhibition, that "demonstration instruments for optical processes... had been included in the exhibition by the artists because they should be considered the equals of the art works by virtue of their enormous sculptural value and as pure manifestations of the human spirit."¹⁷

Whether or not such an exalted claim would have been made by Ernst and Baargeld for their own entries is moot, but those works which can be identified exhibit an emerging Dadaist style of consequence. The reproduction of Baargeld's drawing $1 \pi d = 10 \text{ arp} =$



31 Max Ernst: Cover for *Bulletin D*, 1919

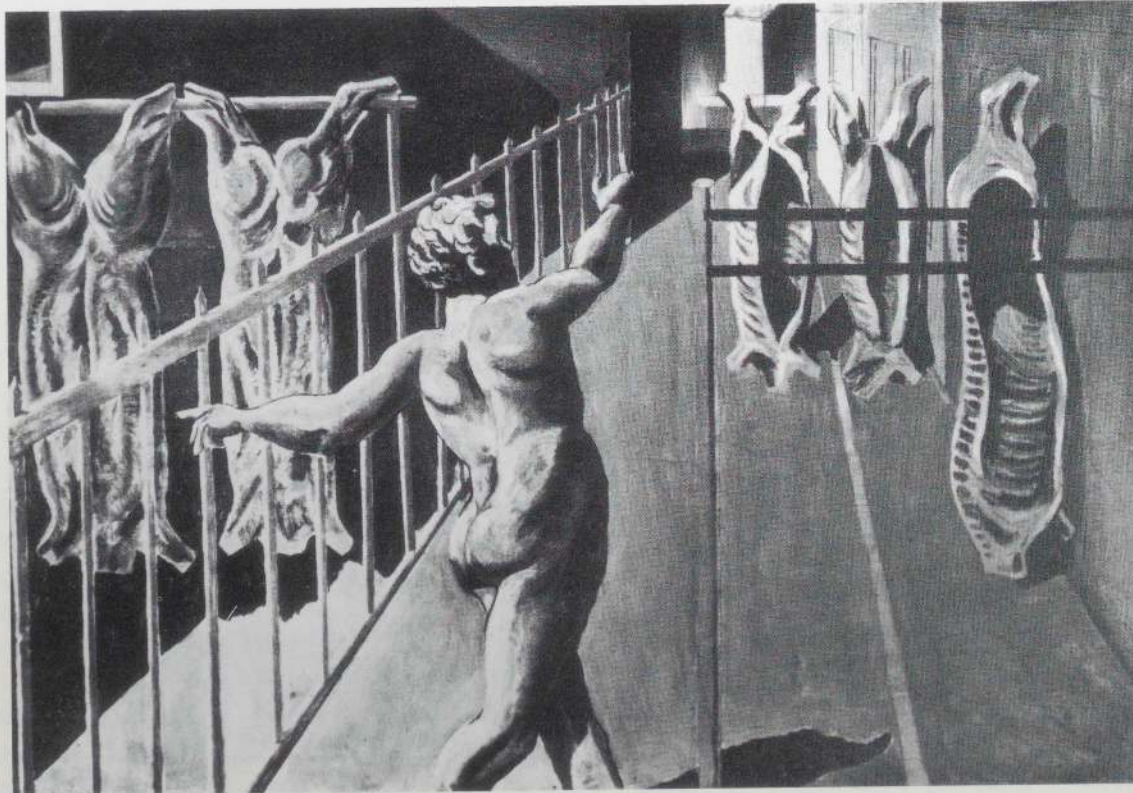
0.01 *dada*¹⁸ records a remarkably inventive effort for a beginner, and three distinct types of work by Ernst are documented: paintings reflecting the style of Carrà and de Chirico, assembled relief sculptures akin to Schwitters's *Merzbilder*, and two free-standing sculptures made with flower pots.

Aquis submersus (Pl. 20), reproduced in the *Bulletin D* catalogue, is the first documented painting by Ernst in a style derived from Carrà and de Chirico. It was probably accompanied in the exhibition by *The Last Judgment* (Fig. 32) and *Justice*.¹⁹ All three possess the tilted ground plane and plunging perspectival space of de Chirico's paintings, joined by such other features as mannikin-like figures, irrational architectural forms, mysterious shadows, and the general impression of a dream experience. The curious imagery of these paintings has stimulated interpretive efforts, especially for *Aquis submersus*. Compared to Ernst's paintings earlier in the year packed with things and psychological relationships (Pls. 14–18 and Fig. 22), *Aquis submersus* seems strikingly empty and even more willfully impoverished in the craft of painting. Yet there is a hauntingly effective dialogue suggested between the distant moon/clock, its faceless reflection in the pool, and the curious standing figure in the foreground. That armless gray figure with a round head, moustache, and club-like shadow also seems to be in a dialogue of sorts with a squared-off shadow over Ernst's signature at the lower left, the distant architecture, and the light-skinned figure in red shorts "diving" into the pool. Spies sees this painting as full of irony, noting the witty play between the moustache and the hands on the moon/clock, and he has also recorded Ernst's conscious reference to Theodore Storm's nineteenth-century novella *Aquis submersus*, which had recently been republished.²⁰ In a similar vein, Leppien described *Aquis submersus* as a parody of de Chirico's *The Grand Metaphysician* (Fig. 28), where

the empty square has become a swimming pool and the gigantic tragic montage of the metaphysician "... a baby doll."²¹

Radically different interpretations have been offered recently by Laura Meixner and Elizabeth Legge. Guided by Ernst's knowledge of Freud's writings and his statement to Spies that he had been deeply impressed by Storm's novella, these scholars find in *Aquis submersus* not irony and parody, but Ernst's first extended use of Freudian imagery, which signifies in this painting Ernst's rebirth after the war, "his transformation from soldier of the fatherland to artist in search of the Oedipal mythology."²²

Storm's novel, set in seventeenth-century Germany, is centered on an orphan, Johannes, who was taken in as a child by his father's loyal, wealthy friend Herr Gerhardus, raised, and sent to study painting in Holland. Johannes falls in love with his protector's daughter, Katherina, but after the death of Gerhardus, he runs afoul of her evil brother, Wulf, who intends to marry her to a rich but uncouth landowner. At a crisis in this situation, Johannes and Katherina cleave to each other during one desperate night and, unbeknownst to Johannes, conceive a son. When the lovers are found out, Johannes is shot by Wulf, and while he recovers in a distant town, Katherina is forced into a marriage of convenience with a respectable minister in another village. Though separated for about five years, Johannes and Katherina meet again by chance, when Johannes is commissioned to paint a portrait of the minister. While Johannes and Katherina once more succumb to a passionate embrace, their son accidentally drowns in a garden pond. The minister demands of Johannes that as penance for his misdeed he paint a portrait of the child, and Johannes, wracked by guilt, complies, concluding with "these letters in the shadowy part of the portrait: C.P.A.S.... 'Culpa Patris Aquis Submersus': 'Drowned in the flood of his father's guilt'."²³



32 Max Ernst: *The Last Judgment*, 1919. Oil on canvas, 47¼x65¾ in. Whereabouts unknown

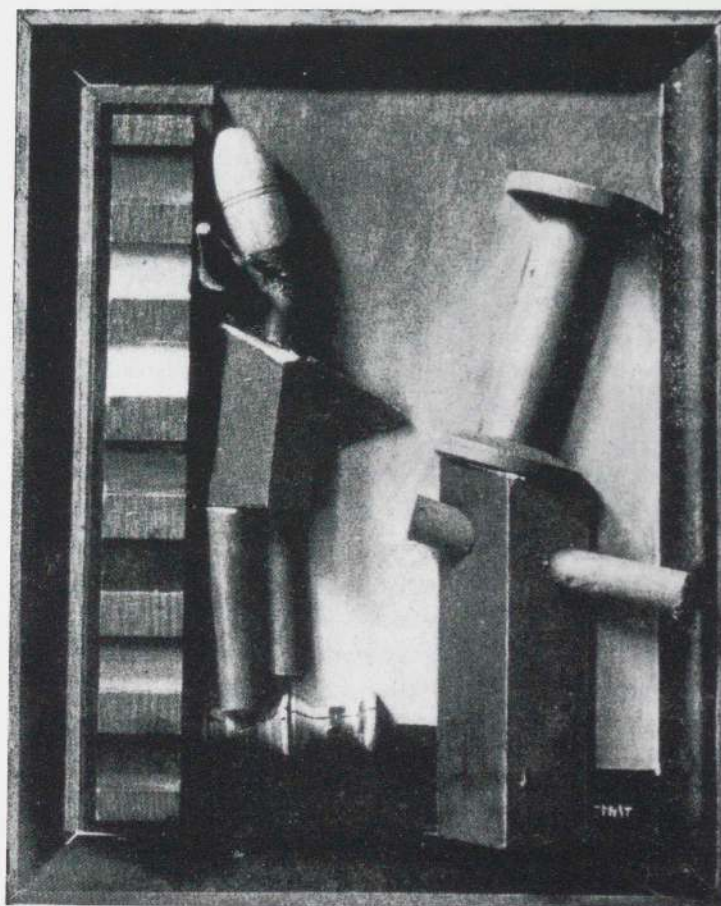
Meixner regards the partially submerged figure in *Aquis submersus* as an allusion to the child drowning in Storm's novella, but she turns to a dream recounted by Freud in *The Interpretation of Dreams* for an extended interpretation involving other images in the painting as well as the "diving" figure. Freud reported that in his patient's dream (the "pretty water dream"), "she dived into the dark water just where the pale moon was mirrored in it. Dreams like this are birth dreams. Their interpretation is reached by reversing the event reported in the manifest dream. Thus instead of 'diving into the water' we have 'coming out of the water', i.e., being born."²⁴ Meixner also proposes Freudian significance for the moon/clock and the male figure in the foreground who, as she observes, has neither arms nor penis. Because Freudian symbolism does not support the identification of both orbs in *Aquis submersus* as moons, Meixner suggests that they represent instead "the solar-lunar sequence that Freud interpreted as patriarchal-matriarchal." Pursuing Spies's perceived link between the hands of the moon/clock and the moustache of the father figure, she proposes that the "clock-moon" is really a "clock-sun," and "as the sun sets [its hands are at 4:40], its human counterpart is confined to darkness and suffers its Freudian equivalent, castration."²⁵ Following an argument that explores the Oedipal conflict of father and son, the myth of Icarus, Ernst's autobiographical statements, and the theme of the "blind swimmer" as a metaphor for profound inner vision, Meixner concludes that *Aquis submersus* portrays Ernst's destiny as "the hero-son who displaces his father, a representative of the old order, from two procreative prominences – sexual and artistic."²⁶

Legge basically concurs with Meixner, noting the Oedipus complex "implicit in the drowning scene in Storm's novel (the unconscious murder of the Oedipal son by the father), and the joyful realization of the son's wish for rebirth" based on the pretty water dream, where diving into the uterine water symbolizes a "desire to be reborn by one's mother."²⁷ Moreover, Legge was struck by the reappearance of Storm's story of patriarchal guilt in the midst of Germany's postwar misery and patrial guilt – a parallel that prompted her to propose that as Johannes had (in Freudian terms) sublimated his guilt by painting the portrait of his son, so Ernst:

seems to cast himself in both the roles of the artist and of the drowned child: the painting then becomes a portrait done by himself-as-artist of himself-as-punished-son. In this way, it becomes a sublimation of the disastrous emotional experience of the war, of the political forms of the paternal.²⁸

Finally, both Meixner and Legge address briefly the visual experience of *Aquis submersus*. Meixner suggests a parallel between the construction of Ernst's iconography and the collage-like manner in which Storm assembled his story. Legge, on the other hand, is conscious that the "poignancy and significance of the painting's meanings" are not evident in "the strangely neutral image of the painting," but proposes that this muted quality reflects a conscious effort on the part of Ernst to approximate "the emotionally neutral symbols characteristic of dreams."²⁹

Whereas the accounts of *Aquis submersus* by Spies and Leppien do not offer enough, the interpretations of Meixner and Legge may seem overstated and too determined in their symbolism. On the basis



33 Max Ernst: *Architecture*, 1919. Assemblage. Whereabouts unknown

of my own experience, I would recommend that matters of meaning and symbolism in Ernst's work are best left more open, more tentative, for the work ultimately does not yield to detailed interpretation. That said, however, the contributions of Meixner and Legge are welcome additions, for surely the conditions of Ernst's life and the writings of Freud and Storm are involved in the dialogue between the forms in *Aquis submersus* – the drab, immobile father figure with no arms or penis to create, the brightly colored diving figure, the two orbs, and the pool. To this dialogue I would add two elements: the role of shadows, especially the squared-off shadow over Ernst's signature, since Johannes inscribed "C.P.A.S." in the shadowy part of the portrait, and a contemporary text by Heinrich Hoerle, which seems related to *Aquis submersus*:

dilettantes rise up and let the perpen swing hurrah around the dicular – the old art is dead – when the artist goes under art starts to swim... the old art was aborted this afternoon at 3:13½ beneath the jordan in the pool for non-swimmers – when man goes under the dilettante begins... the last human being was aborted this afternoon at 3:13½ in society's womb – dilettantes – life is free the dilettantes can begin...³⁰

A second type of work that Ernst developed in the early fall of 1919, the relief assemblage, is also documented by a reproduction of *Architecture* (Fig. 33) in the *Bulletin D* catalogue. The only one of those assemblages known to have survived, *Fruit of a Long Experience* (Pl. 35), indicates that these reliefs were composed of scrap

lumber and a variety of milled wood elements (blocks, rods, spools, parts of practical apparatuses, etc.), nailed or screwed together and further embellished with paint, wire, and paper. They not only resemble some of Schwitters's *Merzbilder*, but according to one art critic reviewing the second venue of the Bulletin D exhibition (Düsseldorf, January–February 1920), Ernst called these assemblages "*merz* paintings," and their descriptions read like an inventory of Schwitters's *Merzbilder*: "nailed-on pieces of wood, spools of thread, wire, tiny gears and the like, embellished with such clever titles as 'An axe in the house spares the bridegroom'."³¹ These reliefs have also attracted interpretative efforts, particularly of a sexual nature, given, for example, in *Fruit of a Long Experience*, the + and – connections in the lower right quadrant, the prominence of penetrating/penetrated forms, and the phallic-like cut into the board at the lower left, which is accompanied by undulating lines one author associates with semen.³² To these erotic themes, Ludger Derenthal has also proposed a reading of broken cylinders as "broken canons" or the open/broken breech of a weapon not being used, a reading which he develops into a more complex mingling of themes of war, eros, death, and peace.³³

The significance of constellation diagrams which appear in this relief (and continue in a number of later works) has yet to be explored fully. Efforts to study them are handicapped by Ernst's teasing references to the subject and by the difficulty of identifying the constellations with certainty. The three-star cluster in the upper center may represent Aries, which was Ernst's zodiac sign, a fire sign associated with masculine, moving qualities and the sun. It shares the southern sky around November with the constellation of Pegasus, which – combined with Andromeda or the Lizard – may be the more complex constellation(s) to the left.³⁴

Additional insight into the status of Ernst's emerging Dadaist work is provided by a letter from Ernst to Tristan Tzara in December 1919 and by the collage elements in a lost relief (Pl. 34). Tzara had recently helped Alexandre Archipenko secure an exhibition of his work at the Kunsthaus Zurich, and evidently one of the posters for that exhibition had been mailed to Ernst, who incorporated fragments of it ("SCULPTO-PEINTURE" and "Kunst") into this relief. He commented to Tzara: "The Poster for Archipenko's show in Zurich has been merzified in Relief 123."³⁵ This important letter establishes four essential facts regarding this relief: the original title, a firm date of December 1919, Ernst's association of his assemblage techniques with Schwitters's *Merzbilder*, and – heretofore unnoticed – his use of images from a teaching aids catalogue, the *Bibliotheca Paedagogica*, also known as the Kölner Lehrmittel-Katalog. In the lower left-hand corner, the letter "i" and the black-and-white cube^{36, 37} were taken from the teaching aids catalogue which was to become a treasure trove for Ernst's Dada compositions throughout most of 1920.³⁸ Ernst did not exploit this discovery immediately, but there can be no doubt about his remembering that it was 1919 when:

One rainy day in Cologne on the Rhine, the catalogue of a teaching-aids company caught my attention. It was illustrated with models of all kinds – mathematical, geometrical, anthropological, zoological, botanical, anatomical, mineralogical, palaeontological, and so forth – elements of such a diverse nature that the absurdity of the collection confused the

eye and mind, producing hallucinations and lending the objects depicted new and rapidly changing meanings. I suddenly felt my "visionary faculties" so intensified that I began seeing the newly emerged objects against a new background. To capture it, a little paint or a few lines were enough, a horizon, a sky, a wooden floor, that sort of thing. My hallucination had been fixed. Now it was a matter of interpreting the hallucination in a few words or sentences. Such as: "Above the clouds midnight passes. Above midnight glides the invisible bird of day. A little higher than the bird the ether spreads and the walls and roofs float." – "At Thunderstone the lovely centrifugal drum hums unconsciously in soundless space." "Carefully poisoned, adolescent girls are put in specimen jars. The little American girl we're promoting this spring gleefully offers her breast to seals and sharks. The human eye is a network of glass tears, salted snow and congealed air."³⁹

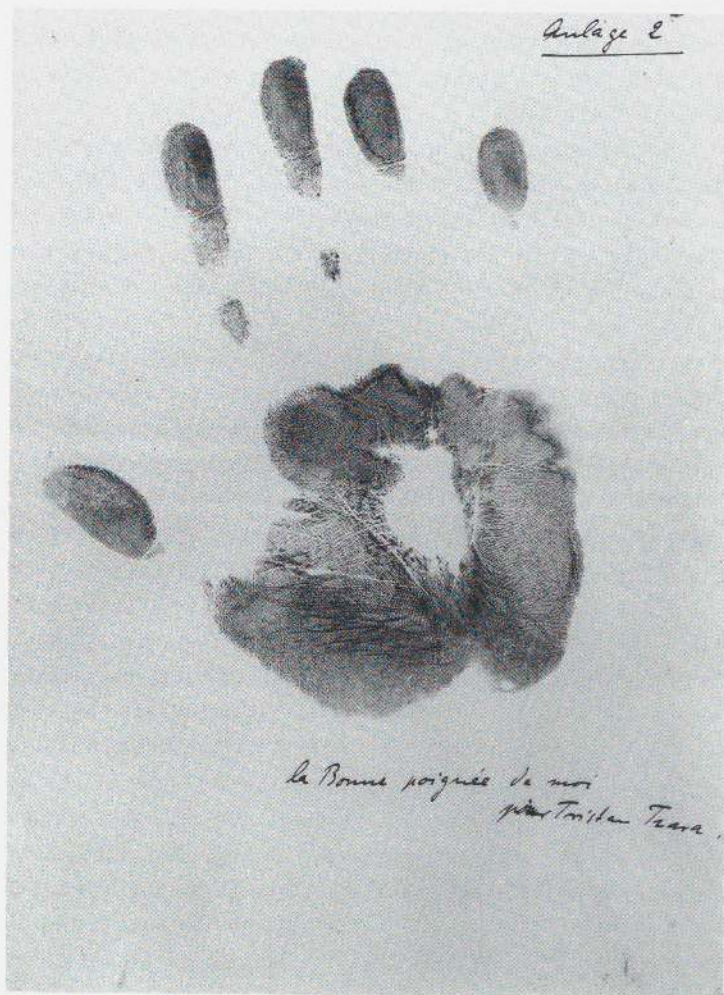
The third type of work exhibited by Ernst at the Bulletin D show was described by a critic as "flower pot sculptures."⁴⁰ They probably coincide with two entries in the catalogue identified only as "sculptures." Spies claims that one of them was an object now lost but known by Ernst's photograph of an assemblage – composed of a glass jar, a doll's hand and a spool – which looks like a Dadaist parody of medieval reliquaries (Pl. 48). When Ernst mailed the photograph to Tzara later in 1920, it had an inscription by Ernst and Baargeld reading: "Armada v. Duldgedalzen/gen. die dadaistische Rosa Bonheur/die rechte hand der zentrale DaDa W/3."⁴¹ The *Armada v. Duldgedalzen* is an untranslatable word and sound play of multiple possibilities, but it is generally agreed that the remainder of the inscription refers to Lou Ernst as the "dadaist Rosa Bonheur" and "the right hand of Dada central W/3" where "W" stands for "Weststupidia" and "3" for the three practicing Dadaists in Cologne at the time the inscription was done in 1920, namely Arp, Baargeld, and Ernst.⁴² The fact that Ernst signed his name immediately under the photograph is also significant, for by 1920 (if not earlier) he accorded the status of art not only to selected manufactured objects but to photographs of those objects. Inasmuch as Ernst had taken a course in photography at the University, he was certainly capable of doing his own photographic work, and Spies writes that Ernst made this photograph. For the most part, this topic has not attracted serious attention – and it may not be a matter of much consequence for some photographs to be considered later in this text. However, in other instances – including *Armada v. Duldgedalzen* – the elements of lighting, context, and viewer position seem significant enough to warrant a search for more information. We also lack documents that securely identify the object in this photograph as one of the sculptures in the Bulletin D exhibition. In my opinion, it is more likely a work from 1920, but the date is arguable, and even if this work is not one of the "flower pot sculptures," it reflects those sculptures in the stacking of appropriated, ready-made objects.⁴³

The public reception of "Bulletin D" in Cologne was marked by a mingling of confusion, indignity, and hostility, but in a muted form compared to public response to Dada in Berlin and Paris. Throughout the brief life of Dada in Cologne, the journalists in particular remained relatively impervious to Dada and pedestrian in their few attempts to assess the phenomenon. An unnamed critic for the *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger* did not believe Group D was to be taken seriously and concluded his review:

It has been said that this art reflects despair over the state of the modern world; admittedly, the human situation on this planet is hopeless; but hope, yearning, faith are and will remain the roots of all art.⁴⁴

The critic for a Düsseldorf newspaper was not so bland in his response to the Dadaist tendency, which "scorns every traditional form and slaps the public in the face":

One doesn't quite know whether to grow indignant or just laugh at these products of methodical madness. It may be that they reflect an aspect of the spirit of the age, though it is probably more the spirit of these gentlemen in which the age reflects itself; whatever the case, the results remain frightening...and I can imagine that this show will lead many, who would like to ban "tradition," to reconsider.⁴⁵



34 Max Ernst: *My Good Hand for Tristan Tzara*, 1919. Watercolor and ink on paper, 11 x 8½ in. Bibliothèque Littéraire Jacques Doucet, Paris

The lure of tradition would indeed claim many artists over the next few years, including some of Ernst's associates, but Max never looked back, and for the time being, the five individuals who constituted W/5 (Weststupidia 5) – Ernst, Baargeld, Heinrich Hoerle, Angelika Hoerle, and Freundlich – proceeded to develop their program within the context of Dada international.

One unexpected contact occurred during the Group D exhibition, when a visitor to the galleries was so visibly amused that Baargeld challenged her. She introduced herself as Katherine S. Dreier, an American from Connecticut, who thought her friend Marcel

Duchamp would be enchanted to see their exhibition. She immediately asked Baargeld and Ernst to send their exhibition to New York, and in the few minutes remaining before her train departed, Miss Dreier spoke enthusiastically of Duchamp. It was the first Ernst had heard of him since encountering reproductions of his work in Apollinaire's *Les Peintres cubistes*. Baargeld and Ernst readily agreed to send the exhibition to New York, although that was eventually vetoed by the British occupation forces. Nevertheless, an important contact had been made. Miss Dreier carried news of Ernst to Paris – where Duchamp was temporarily residing with Picabia – and then on to New York.⁴⁶

In the meantime, activities in Cologne continued at a lively pace. Ernst convened the group early in December to respond to a resolution passed at the first Dada World Congress, organized in Geneva by Walter Serner, a former colleague of Tzara and Arp in Zurich.⁴⁷ The members of W/5 also composed a telegram (now lost) for the Ministry of Science, Art, and Domestic Affairs, which presumably conveyed a Dadaist proposal, and plans were under way for the second venue of the Bulletin D exhibition scheduled for February in Düsseldorf. Ernst was simultaneously contacting Schwitters in Hanover, developing his own work, thinking of new projects for 1920, and pursuing an exciting exchange of letters with Tzara, which he sealed with his imprinted hand on the verge of the new year (Fig. 34).⁴⁸

In December Ernst also participated in an "Exhibition for Working People," organized by the Socialist Party in Cologne for the purpose of developing the workers' taste for art and to "bring artists and workers together in relationships conducive to mutual understanding."⁴⁹ Ernst entered older paintings, including *Laon* (Fig. 12), that were unrelated to his current work, but he does not appear to have taken part in events organized around the exhibition, although Lou did present a lecture.⁵⁰ His inclusion in this event probably represented an earlier commitment and continuing social-political sympathies – but without the passion of such colleagues as Seiwert and Baargeld, who remained active in the Independent Socialist Party. Even earlier in the year Ernst had rarely employed his art for a political program, and any challenge of bourgeois values he accomplished as a burgeoning Dadaist occurred in the context of art and poetry – in forms that were above all individualistic and private, even when a will to baffle and provoke was present.

There was provocation aplenty in Ernst's work over the winter of 1919/20, beginning with *Fiat modes, pereat ars* (*Let There Be Fashion. Down with Art*; Pls. 25–32). This publication may be traced back to an announcement in the first issue of *Der Sturm* as an untitled portfolio of eight lithographs to be tinted in watercolor and published by Kairos-Verlag in an edition of sixty.⁵¹ Later in the year, the project was granted financial support from the city of Cologne through the Visual Artists Collective (the ABK, or Arbeitsgemeinschaft bildender Künstler), but, as the timing worked out, the city became a sponsor for a Dadaist publication rich in affronts to bourgeois concepts of the exalted nature of art. Ernst did not resist the temptation to chide the city:

This is the first case, to our knowledge, in which a municipal administration has set up as donor of a Dadaist work of art. Cologne, it would seem, is on the march.⁵²

Official distress over that turn of events may lie behind a last-minute shift in publisher from Verlag ABK to Schlömilch Verlag, which was housed in Hoerle's studio building.⁵³ The portfolio, as it finally appeared around April 1920, consisted of eight lithographs and a cover designed by a process of imprinting paper with commercial printer's blocks in relief.⁵⁴ This imprinting technique on the cover – along with Ernst's contemporary sculptures of appropriated manufactured objects – looms as a willful, radical challenge to conventional standards regarding both the craft and the intellectual/imaginative dimensions of art. The eight lithographs, on the other hand, were not unorthodox in technique, but in style and content they played irreverently with a host of values and systems.

Ernst later acknowledged the portfolio as a homage to de Chirico,⁵⁵ and the influence of the latter's metaphysical painting is readily apparent, along with the wiry machine forms and droll, hermetic inscriptions of Picabia's mechanical drawings (Figs. 14, 23). However, Ernst had already worked out a style and content distinctly his own. The theme of the portfolio title is reasserted by the figures and large inscription, "Robes" ("Dresses"), in the first plate (Pl. 25). The "artist" is a robot-like tailor, a faceless fashion-maker in a two-button jacket, who recalls the father figure in de Chirico's *Return of the Prodigal* (Fig. 27); his model is a mannikin reminiscent of the central figure in Carrà's *Oval of Apparitions*.⁵⁶ To the left of the tailor/artist is an inscription (reversed) "Pereat ars fiat modes" ("Down with art, let there be fashion"), and across the tailor's legs is inscribed "homo elegans tissi mus" ("most elegant man or mouse"). Despite evocations of Carrà and de Chirico in the puppet-like figures, the humor of the inscriptions and the projectile-like head of the model with her single, sightless "eye" have nothing in common with the enigmatic paintings of those Italian masters.

In the second plate (Pl. 26), the important headless woman theme appears for the first time in Ernst's work. She is not only headless but, in this instance, without arms and legs; only her body is taken into account with additional emphasis on the measurements (proportions) of navel to nipples. Ernst has also included a compass and a puzzling equation, which simultaneously introduce and mock the elements of measure and proportion. By Plate III, *Last Creation through a Fashion Quarrel* (Pl. 27), dresses have given way to essentially unclothed and erotic doll-like forms. Phallic and vaginal forms, holes and pubic hairs abound in the clashing figures above a demure but exhausted fiancée ("*brautliche mattung*").

Reflections of Carrà and de Chirico are still more pronounced in the irrational perspective spaces and specific details of Plates V through VIII, but the final effect seems almost to be a parody of their paintings. The receding floor plane in Plate VI (Pl. 30) evokes de Chirico's paintings, and it has been suggested that the rectangular box surmounted by a cylinder in Plate V (Pl. 29) was derived from *The Return of the Prodigal* (Fig. 27).⁵⁷ But such elements were just the beginning for Ernst. In the box, toppling cylinder, and adjacent pierced cylinder, he is already referring more to his own work *Architecture* (Fig. 33) than to de Chirico, whose architecture implied psychological threats but never the physical threat posed to the male figure trapped here behind the falling tower. Ernst likewise went beyond the exaggerated recession of the floorboards in the lower

right to indicate another room above and beyond that floor and two circles which seem to link these two spaces. Any attempt, however, to perceive these linear forms as constructing a rational, Renaissance depiction of space is ingeniously denied. The larger, "nearer" circle touches both the floorboards in the foreground and the distant wall plane, while the smaller, more "distant" circle hovers in some unmeasurable space independent of the upper room. Whereas the circles thwart any clear two-dimensional suggestion of a three-dimensional space, the angled forms within them clearly imply a physical threat to the tiny female figure comparable to that of the endangered male. Ernst was obviously stimulated by the irrational spaces and simplified, static forms of de Chirico, but those spaces have been expanded and parodied in a manner which seems more playful and willful than mysterious. Moreover, those forms have been activated; they are toppling, pointing, pierced and piercing, as much male and female entities as architecture.

The playful, sexual elements of Plate V are taken further in Plate VII, which bears a title of sorts – reversed in the upper right – *Zur Neuen Kunst? DD (Toward the New Art? DD; Pl. 31)*. A small female figure is projected on a cone by lines from the head and belly of a rotund male, whose exposed penis is doubled in his otherwise featureless head. Immediately adjacent to the image of the woman, the cone has been pierced by a cylinder that casts what is probably intended to suggest a phallic shadow. Inscriptions suggest that the sexual thrust of these forms and the female image may also have something to do with art and Dada. The title *Toward the New Art? D D (Dada?)* is countered in the lower left by what may be taken as its antithesis, namely one inscription which says "*feiner hund und gemeinschaft*" ("a fine dog and community") and another which warns "*finger weg von der hl. [heiligen] kunst*" ("keep your fingers off holy art"). Under that inscription is the name "Ernnn [Ernesto] de Fiori," a contemporary Italian artist, whose selection may have been recommended by his first name and by the style of his paintings, done in a late-Impressionist manner that was anathema to Ernst, who signed here in the stone "Dadamax Ernst."⁵⁸

The final plate (Pl. 32) is more informed by the whimsical mechanical imagery of Picabia than by the work of de Chirico, but signs of the latter linger in the tilted floorboards, and Ernst's hand is evident in the more delicate, ruled lines as opposed to Picabia's more freehand drawings. The functioning of this droll scale seems as personal and obscure as Picabia's machines. A weight in anthropomorphic form, placed in balance against a "1/2 Dada" weight, yields a reading of just under 1 Mark on a scale where Da[da?] is to the plus side of the center and 1 Mark is on the minus side. Between the weights Ernst has placed a palm branch and the Latin word "PACIS" (reversed), while the musical notes and inscription above suggest not the chant "...and give us our daily bread" but "DaDa NoBis vaLuTamTam."⁵⁹

About the time that Ernst was concluding his work on *Fiat modes*, the second venue of the Bulletin D exhibition opened in Düsseldorf at the Graphisches Kabinett von Bergh & Co. No separate catalogue listing for this exhibition has appeared, but letters and reviews indicate both Ernst and Baargeld presented works that were not included in the first showing in Cologne.⁶⁰ Insofar as Ernst was

concerned, this involved drawings that one critic described as "construction drawings or visual puzzles that were obviously executed with ruler and compass."⁶¹ No documents identify the works to which the critic was referring, but his remarks about "construction drawings or visual puzzles" seem appropriate for the lithographs in *Fiat modes*, or the stamped design on its cover, or such related drawings as *Helio Alcohodada* (Pl. 24). This drawing is related in appearance to the lithographs in *Fiat modes*, but the inscription "alcohodada" merits special attention as a play on words, sounds, and meanings which may reflect Ernst's infusion of Freud into a favorite literary conceit of many Dadaists. In *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious*, Freud cites an example from A. A. Brill of an invented word, "Alcoholidays" that represents a joke technique based on the fusion or partial overlapping of words.⁶² Ernst's invented word "alcohodada" suggests a similar fusion and partial overlap, though a more complex play involving "alcohol," "hode" (testicle), and "dada."

Ernst and Baargeld had hardly opened Bulletin D in Düsseldorf before they became involved in an exhibition in Paris, and from that date onwards, Ernst's career as a Dadaist would be intertwined with events in Paris to one degree or another. As previously indicated, Dada was as slow to get underway in Paris as it had been in Cologne. Prior to the war, Paris was rich in individuals of a proto-Dadaist character (Duchamp, Raymond Roussel, and Arthur Cravan, to cite a few), but wartime conditions precluded organized Dada-like activity in the city, which was the center of the Allied military and propaganda effort. Almost every eventual significant participant in Dada was either serving in the armed forces (Breton, Aragon, Eluard, et al.) or had left the country – like Duchamp and Picabia, who in 1915 settled in New York, where they developed Dada-like art and modes of conduct before the phenomenon had a name.

Even after the war, there was no one to galvanize a Dada movement in Paris until 1920, when Picabia and Breton finally joined forces just in time to welcome Tzara, who had arrived on January 17 with his full complement of energy, ambition, and leadership. Together they planned a stupendous season for Paris, which was to become the site of the final and most extravagant flowering of Dada. Different temperaments, aims, and values existed before this extraordinary joining of forces, and within a few months the stress lines of future eruptions would begin to appear – all of which would have some bearing on Ernst – but for the time being, Dada flourished in Paris.

Among the various activities that occupied the Dadaists early in 1920 was a plan to revive the "Section d'Or." In 1912 a mixed group of avant-garde artists – at that time mostly associated with Cubism (Albert Gleizes, Jean Metzinger, Picabia, and the Duchamp brothers) – had organized an exhibition of seminal importance with the title "Salon de la Section d'Or."⁶³ Late in 1919, Gleizes, Léopold Survage, and Archipenko proposed a second Section d'Or, which, like its predecessor, was to be an open forum for significant contemporary movements in art, literature, and music. In that spirit, Picabia had become a collaborator, and he and the newly formed Dadaist group planned a Dada program of anti-art, anti-music, and anti-literature for March 2. They promptly issued an invitation to their new col-

leagues in Cologne to participate, and by mid-February Ernst had written Tzara that he had sent him five of his drawings and two by Baargeld, and would try to send two reliefs.⁶⁴

A moment of high spirits radiates from the letters of Ernst and Baargeld at this time, magnified by the presence of Arp in Cologne for about ten days in February. Though there to visit his ailing father, the timing of Arp's visit could not have been more propitious for the activities of Dada in Cologne.⁶⁵ No one was better suited than Arp to reinforce the theme of dilettantism featured in the Bulletin D catalogue. His aversion to work and to sanctimonious notions about art, his openness to an element of chance, and, finally, his amateurish construction of rough wood reliefs made him an ideal colleague. This was apparently Arp's first postwar visit to Cologne, and, as revealed in a letter by Ernst, he brought "wonderful things" from Tzara. Ernst's letter also exhibits his pleasure over an invitation to visit Paris and his inclusion as one of the presidents of Dada listed in *Bulletin Dada* (*Dada* 6). Travel to Paris by a German was virtually out of the question then, but Ernst and Baargeld countered with an invitation for the "whole Dada family" to come to Cologne, and Ernst asked about the possibility of circulating the Section d'Or around Germany. There was discussion, too, of printing the next issue of *Dada* in Cologne, and Ernst was seeking substantial contributions from the Parisian Dadaists for *Die Schammade*, a major publication of Cologne Dada scheduled for March.⁶⁶ But, in the midst of this invigorating exchange of poems, drawings, and publications, collaboration on the Section d'Or did not go as anticipated.

The more Gleizes, Survage, and Archipenko saw of Dada during January–February 1920, the more distressed they became, and at a meeting in the Cloiserie des Lilas on February 25, they informed the Dadaists that they could not hold their program. A tumult erupted which did not subside until the proprietor turned off the lights. The exhibition went on – tepidly – without the Dadaists, who retaliated in the press and in their own publications.⁶⁷

Tzara quickly sent Ernst news of the Section d'Or affair, along with more contributions from the Parisian Dadaists for *Die Schammade*. Ernst replied on March 8:

The news of our separation from Section d'Or was enjoyed by all; it's just fine, because this has put those "serious idiots" into exactly the position they belong. No amount of formalist-revolutionary posing will help them now. I will announce the news in the German newspapers and periodicals with which I have connections.⁶⁸

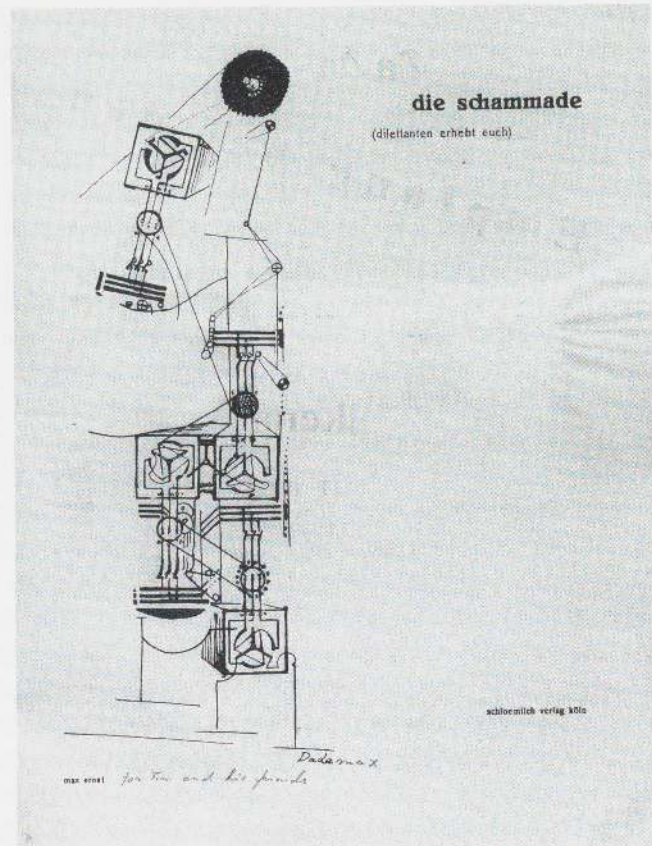
As for Archipenko, Ernst added that there was a reproduction of his work in *Die Schammade* "and it is now sadly too late to remove it... [but] we will publish a few notes on Archipenko in *Die Schammade*...." However, when publication of *Die Schammade* was delayed until April, the reproduction of Archipenko's work was removed and Baargeld (under the pseudonym "Zentrodada") attacked him as a "tasty cadaver" in a brief text entitled "The Little Slice of Appetite."⁶⁹ Baargeld also attacked Gleizes for his part in the Section d'Or in a collage entitled *Vulgar Mess: Cubist Transvestite at an Alleged Crossroad* (Fig. 35). He cut out a photograph of Gleizes as a well-dressed, "serious" artist from Apollinaire's book on *Les Peintres cubistes* and pasted him at the feet of a much larger, sumptuously attired young woman smiling directly out at the viewer. The



35 Johannes Theodor Baargeld:
*Vulgar Mess: Cubist Transvestite at
Alleged Crossroad*, 1920. Photo collage,
12 $\frac{3}{8}$ x6 in. Private collection

same teaching aids catalogue previously raided by Ernst in his *Relief 123* (Pl. 34) provided two more collage elements, a gesticulating general in the upper right and geometric forms in the lower left, one portion of which was further divided in order to function as an erect penis for Gleizes.⁷⁰ The military figure has been identified as General Yorck, clipped from a reproduction of Ludwig Dettmann's painting *The Holy War*, which depicts the general exhorting troops in the Prussian war of independence against Napoleon.⁷¹ While any attempt to interpret this work is necessarily speculative, these images within the context of the brouhaha over the Section d'Or do support the plausibility of Dirk Teuber's thesis that Baargeld is chastising Gleizes for expunging the Dadaists. Viewed from this perspective, the geometric forms may represent the purity of Cubism, while General Yorck serves as a demonstrative leader in The Holy War against the smiling giantess, who is perhaps the personification of Dada. Gleizes is literally at her feet, aroused but also allied by that organ to both the formal purity of Cubism and the righteous wrath of the gesturing general. At the same time, the reference in the title to a "Cubist Transvestite at an Alleged Crossroad" invites additional readings, including another idea from Teuber that places Gleizes in the moral dilemma of Hercules at the crossroad between virtue and pleasure.⁷²

As indicated in the Cologne–Paris correspondence regarding the Section d'Or, work was also under way in Cologne for publication of *Die Schammade* (Fig. 36).⁷³ Ernst, Baargeld, and Hoerle chose "Dilettantes Rise Up" as the motto for *Die Schammade*. That motto was a blatant affront to bourgeois standards for conventional talent and training in the arts, but there was little about *Die Schammade* that was genuinely dilettantish. On the contrary, it was the climax of



36 Max Ernst: Cover for *Die Schammade*, 1920



37 Hans Arp: Jacket for *Die Schammade*, 1920

Dada publications in Cologne and an outstanding example of Dada publications anywhere – masterful in its unorthodox design and typography, in its balance of texts and images, and in the quality of the contributions that celebrate the “international” scope of Dada, with particular emphasis on the Paris–Cologne axis. Aragon, Breton, Eluard, Picabia, Ribemont-Dessaignes, Soupault, and Tzara were all represented, whereas Huelsenbeck was the sole Dadaist included from Berlin, and the Dadaists still active in Switzerland were represented only by Serener. Ernst’s embrace of Dada had not altered his low esteem for his counterparts in Berlin. He wrote Tzara that there were “counterfeits of Dada (in Berlin). They call themselves ‘Dada-Neo-expressionists.’ That’s truly German. The German intellectuals can neither shit nor pee without ideologies.”⁷⁴

Whereas the Berlin Dadaists were slighted by omission from *Die Schammade*, Archipenko, Herwarth Walden, Wilhelm Worringer, and Kurt Schwitters, among others, were openly ridiculed. The latter was referred to as “The ‘Sturm’-pubescent [*Sturmpuben*] Schwitters,” a “Schleiermacher epigon,” and a “Majority Dada,” that is, a Dadaist equivalent of the discredited majority party Socialists, who had relinquished their revolutionary goals.⁷⁵ As analyzed by Walter Vitt, “Sturmpuben” is a punning composite word probably meant to imply that Schwitters was a vassal of Herwarth Walden (a *Sturm Bube*, or “Storm boy”) and to play on the concept of *Sturm und Drang* (“Storm and stress”) with *Sturm und Pubertät* (“Storm and puberty”). Such compound invented words abound in Ernst’s texts in *Die Schammade*, along with irreverent manipulation of liturgical chants in Latin and child-like sound plays common to Dada in Zurich. All of these techniques are evident in his parody of the daily diary of “Worringer, prophet of the Dadaists”:

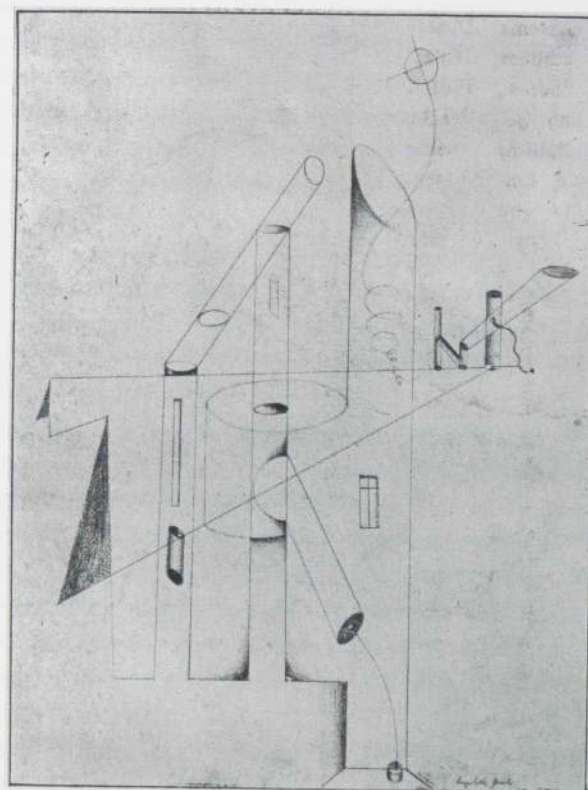
9:26 to 10:13 a.m. would a man a priori be good to the new mankind conturbine DaDa? pffifi
 10:14 to 10:14 a.m. ubi bene ibi Dada. pippi bibbi
 10:14 a.m. photograph of the unending testicity of the gothic lilli in irish gown minni.
 10:15 a.m. today red, tomorrow gothic mimmi. kri.
 10:16 to 11:09 a.m. with the empathy finger of the right hand DadainDadaout – but!!
 willi.⁷⁶

The title *Die Schammade* is itself a product of Dadaist wordplay which has been analyzed by several authors. The most plausible idea to date is the suggestion that “Schammade” is a composite of the words “Scham” (“genitals”) and “Made” (“maggot,” or “worm”) that embodies a sort of burrowing with an erotic connotation.⁷⁷

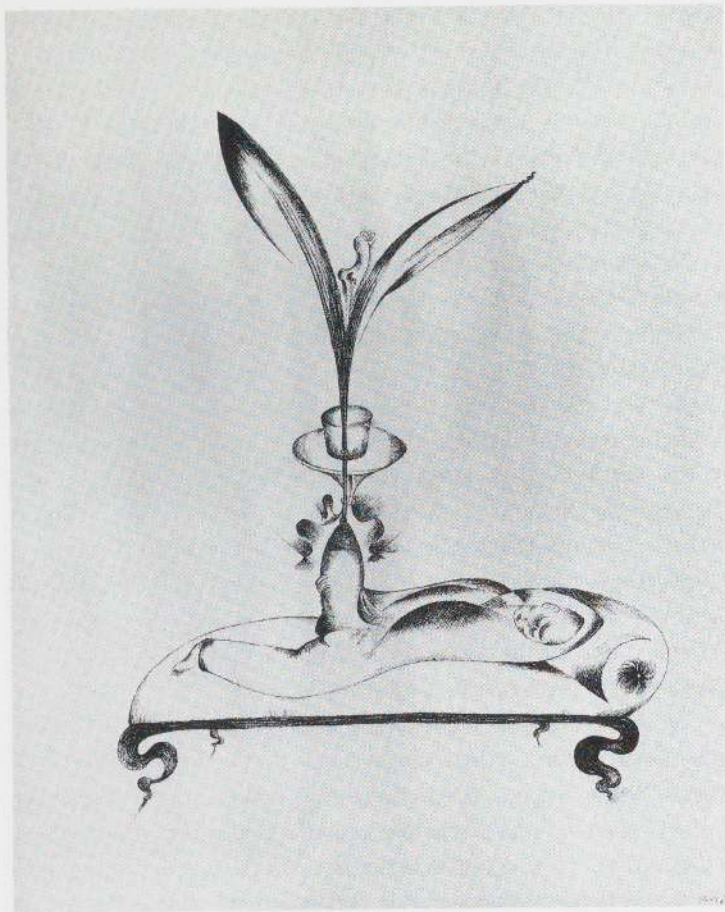
With the exception of one drawing by Picabia and two photographs of “pin-up” female bicyclists, the art reproduced in *Die Schammade* is dominated by Arp, Ernst, Baargeld, and the Hoerles. Arp was represented by a wood relief and three ink drawings, including one on the slip cover (Fig. 37).⁷⁸ Angelika Hoerle submitted a drawing that reflects her interest in the style of de Chirico’s work (Fig. 38), but Heinrich Hoerle’s abstract woodcut seems only marginally related to Dada, as confirmed in fact by other documents at that time. The Hoerles were of unquestionable importance in the produc-

tion of *Die Schammade* which, like *Bulletin D*, was published by Schlömilch Verlag in Heinrich Hoerle’s studio. But they were drifting away from Ernst and Baargeld as early as February, and were to break away completely by April, before the next Dada event, the “Dada – Early Spring Exhibition” in May. Ernst advised Tzara as early as February 17 that there were really only two presidents of Dada in Cologne, namely himself and Baargeld, and just two days later a newspaper article based on an interview with the Hoerles suggested that Heinrich Hoerle might be deposed as “prince of the Rheinisch Dada dilettantes” because he revealed too much talent in his portfolio on *Die Kruppel* (*The Cripples*).⁷⁹ The lithographs in this portfolio (Fig. 39) – also financed by the city of Cologne – have nothing to do with Dada but comment instead on conditions of the mutilated veterans of the war, in this instance, a projection of new life from the phallic stump of the cripple’s leg. As suggested by Dirk Backes, Hoerle seems to have conceived of Dada less as a direction in the arts than as a form of aggressive action in the arts geared to serving revolutionary politics.⁸⁰ He was already in the process of discovering his greater affinity for the direction taken by Seiwert and Räderscheidt, and soon *Weststupidia 5* would become *Weststupidia 3*.

Ernst and Baargeld, on the other hand, were rapidly expanding their range as Dada artists. Baargeld was represented by a reproduction of a drawing (Fig. 40) and a relief, *Anthropophiliac Tapeworm* (Fig. 41), which is one of only two remaining records of his work in that medium.⁸¹ Though difficult to assess in this grainy photograph, it appears to be as artless in style and as venturesome in the use of junk material as any contemporary Dadaist work. His drawing *Men/Be Careful Dear Heinz* (Fig. 40) also exhibits the attainment of a per-



38 Angelika Hoerle: Untitled, ca. 1919–20. Whereabouts unknown. Reproduced in *Die Schammade*, 1920



39 Heinrich Hoerle: *The Friendly Dream*, 1920. Lithograph from *The Cripple Portfolio*. Museum Ludwig, Cologne

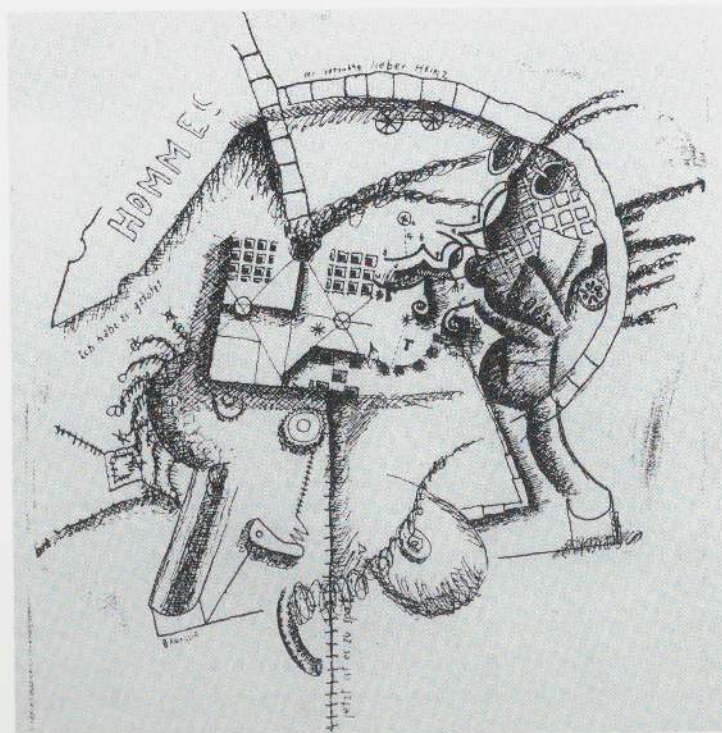
sonal manner. This drawing is clearly stimulated by Picabia's work in the incorporation of machine parts and curious inscriptions in a seemingly off-hand, doodle-like style but, it is less dependent on machine forms and even more uninhibited, pitting geometric abstract patterns against scruffy freehand passages suggestive of such natural forms as earth, smoke, hair, and parts of the human anatomy. The inscriptions here – as in Picabia's drawings – suggest the presence of a coherent theme linking words and forms of a personal, biographical order which elude the comprehension of any viewer other than the artist and perhaps an inner circle of friends.⁸²

For his part, Ernst reproduced two more of the imprinted drawings first seen on the cover of *Fiat modes* and one of his first sculptures (Pl. 47), a junky upright construction composed of what seem to be metal rods, wires, small wheels, a wooden spool, cord, and perhaps paper. One of the two imprinted drawings submitted by Ernst, *Hypertrophic Trophy* (Pl. 36), is known in seven almost identical versions, all made with relief blocks presumably available to Ernst in Max Hertz's printing shop. Typical of Ernst's working procedures for the immediate future was his repetition of the same forms, though varied by being combined with other forms and turned in different directions, as demonstrated here in his re-use of a sunburst form and the tower-like structure on the cover of *Fiat modes* (n. 54) which is present – upside-down – in the lower center of *Hypertrophic Trophy*.⁸³ The crescent moon and star motif immediately above this

form were repeated twice in another imprinted drawing, *The Roaring of Ferocious Soldiers* (Pl. 37), which can be attributed to the winter of 1919–20 on the basis of style. Also repeated within this drawing is the mechanical rendering of two cylindrical forms (in two and three dimensions) in the lower half of the composition, which was rotated clockwise approximately 140° and registered in the upper right quadrant. Ernst then connected those two imprinted images with inked lines and a circle that transform a static mechanical rendering into a machine with belts and pulleys. Lines added within and between the circles at the bottom prompt the viewer to read them as the wheels of a delicate but bizarre vehicle with a cross-bar above the wheels. Wires or thin rods attached to that cross-bar support the star, the crescent moon, and an inverted schematic rendering of an internal combustion engine at the upper left. Finally, the printed caption in German, *Druck in kg. pro. gm* ("Pressure in kg. per gram"), was joined by two passages in French, the title around the circle at left center and, to the right of that, *Vous qui passez / priez pour DaDa* ("You who pass/pray for DaDa").

The internal combustion engine in this drawing reappears in another contemporary imprinted and drawn composition, *Farewell My Beautiful Land of Marie Laurencin* (Pl. 38). This time the engine is almost upright, atop a tower-like construction supported by a base that resembles the body and tread of a tank.⁸⁴ In this instance, Ernst has embellished the printed forms with more lines and shading and inscriptions, which read from top to bottom:

"To work is always not good"
 "Mama always FJC-FICK"
 "help!!!" [in French]
 Farewell my beautiful land of Marie Laurencin
 "Help!! Help!!" [in German]



40 Johannes Theodor Baargeld: *Men / Be Careful Dear Heinz*, 1920. Ink on paper. Whereabouts unknown. Reproduced in *Die Schammade*, 1920.



41 Johannes Theodor Baargeld: *Anthropophilic Tapeworm*, 1920. Assemblage. Whereabouts unknown. Reproduced in *Die Schammade*, 1920

These inscriptions appear to be humorous, but Ernst's intentions are obscure. Marie Laurencin's notorious sexual appetite may have had something to do with the inscription "Mama toujours FJC-FICK," and Schneede thinks the title is a reference to her efforts to obtain a French visa for Max.⁸⁵

The tank-tread form in this composition reappears in another imprinted drawing devoid of inscriptions but known as *Ambiguous Object* (Pl. 40). The major form here is a diagram of a chain – presented in a three-dimensional rendering and in a two-dimensional cross-section – which Ernst has registered twice on the page and elaborated with other forms, both drawn and imprinted. The climactic work in this group of drawings from early 1920 is *Stamens and Marseillaise of Arp* (Pl. 39). This color-enhanced composition includes a veritable inventory of the forms already introduced – the two chain or tread-like forms, the star, the crescent, the sunburst, and the cylinders in *The Roaring of Ferocious Soldiers* (almost wholly transformed in the upper right quadrant) – all combined in vertical components that refer back to such relief constructions as *Architecture* (Fig. 33) and anticipate such compositions as *The Hat Makes the Man* (Pl. 55).⁸⁶

Two other drawings, *Canalisation of Refrigerated Gas* (Pl. 42) and *Portable Handbook You Are Warned* (Pl. 41) appear to be made by a process of stamping rather than imprinting. They are of approximately the same date as *Stamens and Marseillaise of Arp* and, like it, made on paper of irregular contour that has been mounted on another, heavier paper support. Both compositions are dominated by circular forms consisting of bicycle wheels and two different types of roulette wheels, which have been embellished with red, blue, yellow, and green watercolor. It is also evident that Ernst has used a straight edge to ink other lines, which create irrational spatial illusions comparable to those in *Fiat modes*. However, what is not evident to the

naked eye is the actual extent to which Ernst has controlled *Canalisation of Refrigerated Gas* (Pl. 42).⁸⁷ Under magnification, it becomes clear that he drew the spring-like form in the lower right and the organic elements that resemble a heart, lungs, and hair or fibers in the four wheels on the left. He also employed a template or masking device to secure partial registration of the bicycle wheels, and a straight edge was used to strengthen some of the imprinted lines as well as to create others. Likewise, a compass was used to strengthen the outer circumference of the roulette wheels in the upper right, as well as to connect them by arcing lines to the bicycle wheel below. Finally, a few pencil guidelines can be detected, indicating that Ernst had a precise plan for at least some of the composition before he began to ink and stamp this drawing – although in all of this he chose to conceal his hand as much as possible by making his own marks imitate the appearance of the stamped forms. As his father Philipp Ernst had done, Ernst was – in his own way – attempting to match his model, but their models represented different traditions and values. The father strove to imitate the illusion of reality in respected figurative art; the son geared his hand to emulating commercial printing blocks and toyed with illusions of three dimensions. By overlapping the roulette wheels in the upper right and linking them with an axle-like shaft, Ernst created the illusion of three-dimensional space in blatant conflict with the materiality of the paper and the two-dimensional process of stamping. There is also tension in the imagery which, though composed of wheels, no longer suggests vehicles but human figures. On the left a smaller, essentially two-dimensional figure composed of four wheels bends to the left as though recoiling from the towering three-dimensional figure at the right. Once these wheel constructions are perceived as anthropomorphic forms, the red and blue organic shape in one wheel on the left is in a position to be seen as a penis – which opens questions of identity and relationships. Is the relationship presented one of gender, of parent and child, of student-teacher, of a specific autobiographic situation, or something more general? The images themselves are evocative but ambiguous, and if we turn to the extended title-inscription for illumination, no "answer" emerges although it does imply the presence of numbers, motion, and an anthropomorphic presence:

The canalisation of refrigerated gas activates sputtering little numbers /
The compressed heart flees in time / we lean against the delphic poet.⁸⁸

Further interpretation is handicapped by too many "unknowns," but the animated, anthropomorphic forms and relationships established in this drawing will continue to be a major element of Ernst's work and interpretive studies of that work.⁸⁹

Through the publication of *Die Schammade* in April, the public image of Ernst's art had been formed by *Fiat modes* and a limited sampling of three other types of work: relief (Fig. 33), sculpture (Pl. 47), and the stamped and imprinted drawings just discussed. A few weeks later, however, Ernst exposed the full range of his work – including two new techniques – in an exhibition that left the citizens of Cologne aghast and provided an event of mythic proportion in the history of Dada.

This exhibition also came about as the result of the rejection of the work which Ernst and Baargeld had submitted to a "respectable"

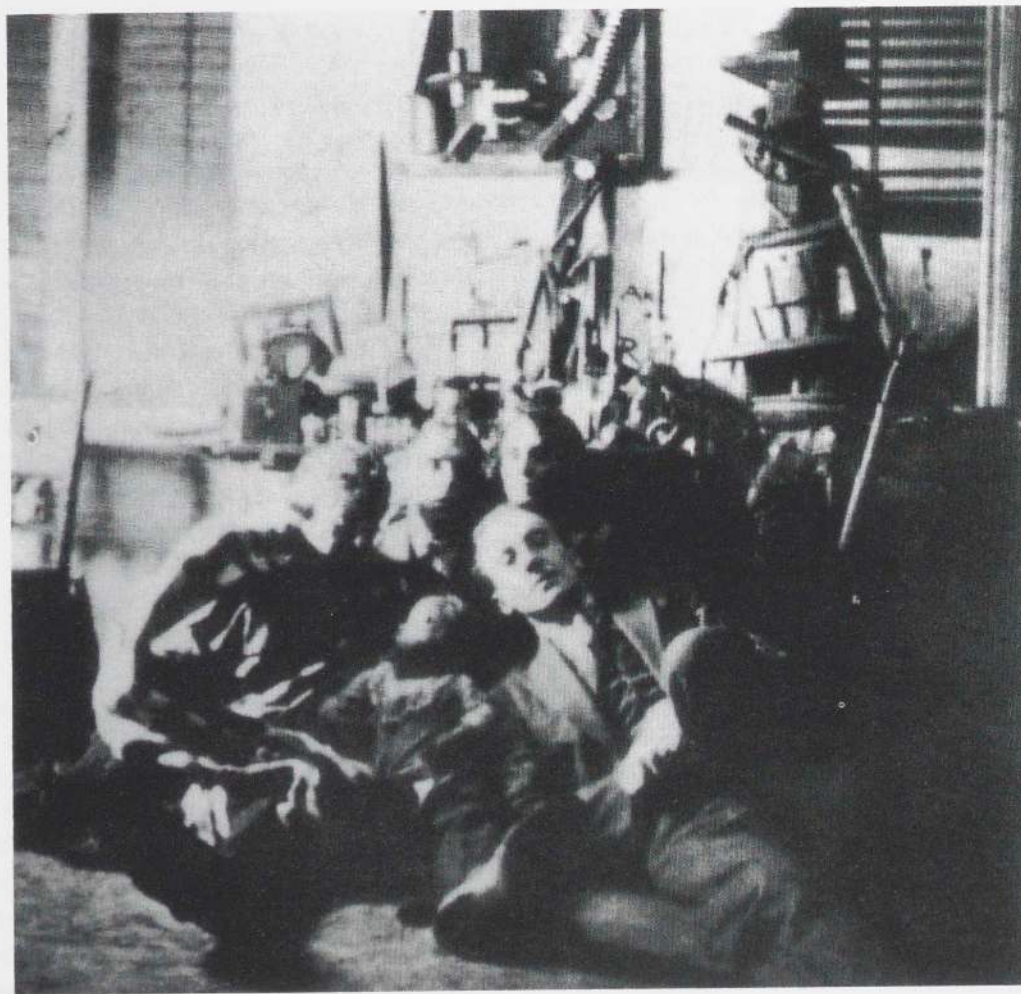
exhibition, this time the Arts and Crafts Museum. As reported in a contemporary statement by Lou Ernst, the personal intervention of a Professor Schäfer caused Ernst and Baargeld to be excluded from the spring exhibition of the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft bildender Künstler* at the Kunstgewerbe Museum.⁹⁰ Working quickly to mount their own exhibition, they secured a room and a partly open courtyard at the Brauhaus Winter on Schildergasse and produced a simple catalogue of one folded sheet of paper for the "Dada Exhibition: Dada—Early Spring" (*Dada Ausstellung: Dada—Vorfrühling*). At a later date, popular accounts generally described the exhibition space as accessible only through a public toilet, and, once inside, the intrepid visitor encountered — or at least until the show was closed on charges of indecency — a young girl in communion dress reciting obscene poems, along with a variety of bizarre objects, including Baargeld's "Fluidoskeptic" and a sculpture by Ernst with an attached axe and an invitation to attack the sculpture.⁹¹ More reliable contemporary reports are no less entertaining. Not counting a brief commentary from Lou Ernst, there was only one review of the exhibition, suggesting either a boycott or an opinion among the critics that the exhibition was unworthy of attention as art. That single, unsigned review, however, merits extensive quotation:

On Sunday, I could not follow the invitation, painted on an unhinged door, to visit the Spring exhibition of Dadaist art in Cologne. . . . The show was re-arranged on Monday, and on Tuesday the exhibition rooms finally opened. . . .

You go through a door in a building behind a Cologne bar and run into an old stove; to your left is a vista of stacked-up bar chairs, and to your right, the art begins. (My companion thought the left-hand view was nicer.) At first the room is a little dark, making it difficult to read the catalogue, which is printed on red paper; but around the corner to the right it gets lighter, though here the rain starts dripping on your head. . . .

It is almost touching to see the way people walk around in it [the exhibition], desperately attempting, though sadly in vain, to find some relationship to this Dadaist art. . . . As far as the drawings go, I shall not even dare to attempt to describe them. . . . But then there is, for instance, a work of plastic art, which according to the catalogue bears the splendid title 'Bone-Mill for Non-Violent Barbers.' Imagine a good, solid board on which, devoid of all rhyme or reason, using only hammer and nails, are fastened spools jutting with nails, lengths of boards, telegraph wires, and construction lumber of every caliber, and the result subsequently painted in all colors of the rainbow. . . .

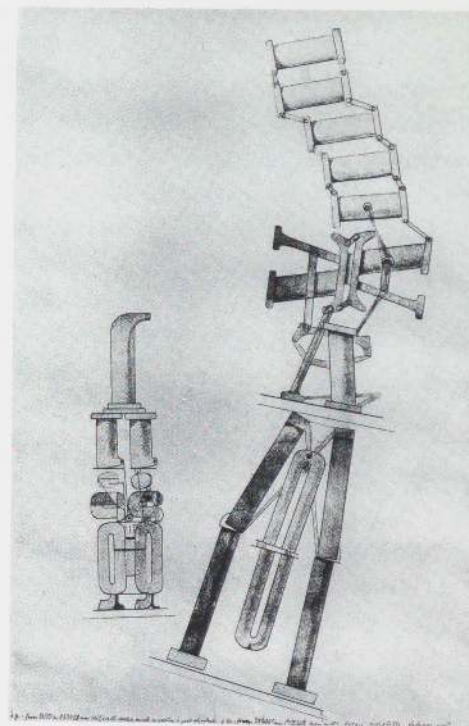
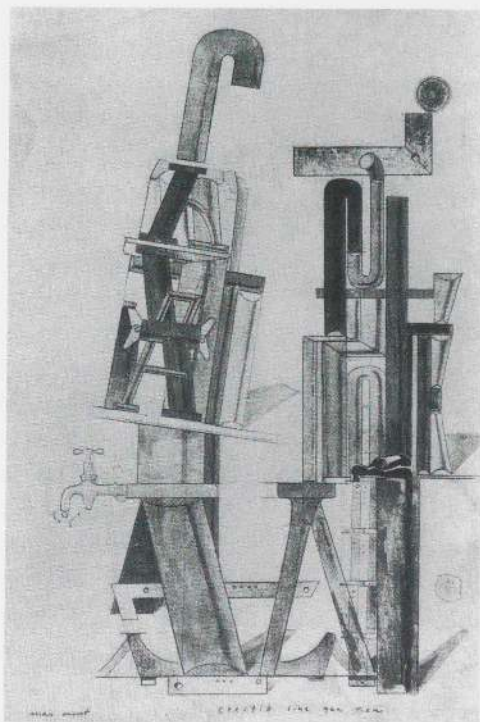
Some will ask themselves whether these people are fools or wise men having a laugh at the public's expense and seeing how far they can go in distorting art and scorning the public. . . . in one of the incomprehensible "drawings" there was a lot of white paper left over, and beneath it was written, "Every visitor to this exhibition is entitled to enter a dadaist or



42 Luise Straus-Ernst, Max Ernst and son Jimmy Ernst with Gala and Paul Eluard in the Ernst atelier, Cologne, November 1921. At far right is Max Ernst's *An Old Lecher in Front of a Gun Shields the Museum's Spring Toilet* from *Dada's Interferences (The State. It is Me!)*, 1920. Wood assemblage. Destroyed

43 Max Ernst: *erectio sine qua non*, 1920. Drawing: pencil rubbings of printer's blocks with ink, watercolor and gouache on paper, 18 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 12 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. Private collection, Turin

44 Max Ernst: *Beautiful Woman and Standing Woman*, 1920. Drawing: pencil rubbings of printer's blocks with ink on paper, 19 $\frac{5}{16}$ x 12 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. Private collection, Switzerland



anti-dadaist motto on this drawing. Trespassers will not be prosecuted." A considerable number of visitors took advantage of this invitation. It turned out that none of them was a Dadaist, though some certainly made no bones about their opinion.... Actually, the exhibition is nothing but a practical joke. On the one hand, it makes fun of old-style art, while on the other, the participants subject one another to ridicule or irony or criticism.... The audience, by the way, provides a barometer of human temperament. While some get angry at being hoaxed, others laugh it off, and still others leave, shaking their heads.... And on the way out, they pass a couple of open garbage cans full of eggshells and all kinds of junk, and cannot decide whether these belong to the exhibition or are "natural originals."⁹²

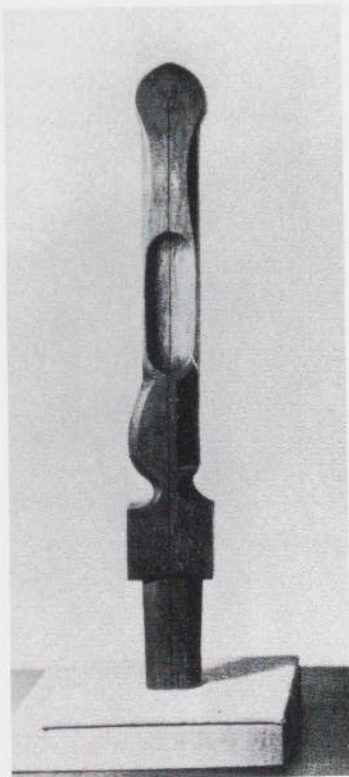
Compared to this remarkable description, Luise Straus-Ernst's article was brief but also useful, confirming that the exhibition was indeed closed for a day on charges of fraud and offense against public decency.⁹³ While she wrote that those charges were not pursued, Ernst later recalled that the obscenity charge was dropped when the authorities discovered the pornographic work in question was a reproduction of Dürer's engraving of *Adam and Eve* (Ch. 5, n. 66) that had been incorporated in a work by Ernst. Charges of fraud were answered by claiming: "We said quite plainly that it is a Dada exhibition. Dada has never claimed to have anything to do with art. If the public confuses the two, that is no fault of ours."⁹⁴ While details of that police closure may never be fully documented, Ernst was persistent about the part played by the Dürer print of Adam and Eve, and the reopening was celebrated in an eye-catching poster (Pl. 49) proclaiming "Dada Triumphs! Reopening of the Police-Closed Exhibition... Dada is for Peace and Order!" A second edition of the catalogue was also reproduced for the reopening: this differed from the first edition in superficial ways, save for replacing a text in Hebrew (regarding Kosher considerations for Passover) by a text in German announcing a waiver of events on Ash Wednesday in favor of a strike to celebrate May 1.⁹⁵

Otherwise, Dada nonsense and playful provocation characterizes this simple catalogue. Each visitor to the exhibition is warned that he is a predestined Dadaist, and Ernst protests that "What the newspapers accuse me of is untrue. I have never used abdominal wall reflexes to heighten the light effects of my paintings. I restrict myself to rhinoserized burptweezers."⁹⁶ As in other Dada publications in Cologne, conventional art is challenged by the presence of "vulgar dilettantism." Dadamax concludes, "I greet now only 'simulators'." Later Willy Fick claimed he was the "vulgar dilettante" responsible for two items in the catalogue,⁹⁷ but other than those two works, one drawing by Picabia, and three works by Arp, the exhibition consisted solely of works by Baargeld and Ernst, including their joint entry of the "simultantriptychon," which was simply a list of Dadaists and friends based on the list of presidents established by Tzara in *Bulletin Dada* 6.⁹⁸ Among nine entries for Baargeld, only one can be identified with an extant photograph, *Anthrophiliac Tapeworm* (Fig. 41); four of Ernst's twenty entries are documented:

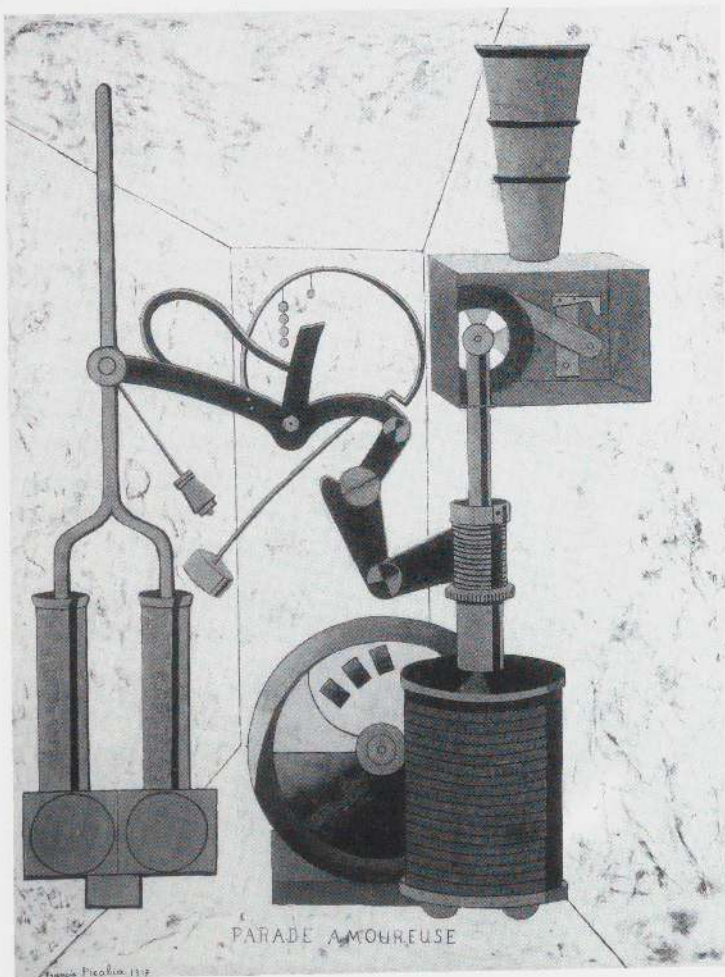
ein lustgreis vor gewehr... (An Old Lecher in Front of a Gun...) [Fig. 42];
erectio sine qua non [Fig. 43]; hypertrophie-trofäe (Hypertrophic Trophy)
[Pl. 36]; and lächeln sie nicht (Don't Smile) [Pl. 44].

Though spare in number, these four works – plus the pages and covers of a manifesto reportedly made for this exhibition (Pls. 50–53) – document every major technique or process developed by Ernst in this early phase of his association with Dada and provide a framework for dating many other works.

Ein lustgreis vor gewehr... (Fig. 42) has been identified by Spies as the work which caused "Dada–Early Spring" to be closed temporarily.⁹⁹ It is a life-sized sculpture composed of hat forms, wooden rods, and other items, assembled in an upright, anthropomorphic configuration. Hanging under the genitals of this figure was a waiter's tray, on which Ernst had spilled red paint, and, topping off the



45 Man Ray: *By Itself*, 1918. Wood sculpture. Whereabouts unknown



46 Francis Picabia: *Amorous Procession*, 1917. Oil on canvas, 38x29 in. Morton G. Neumann Family Collection, on loan to the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

decoration, was Dürer's engraving of *Adam and Eve* (Ch. 5, n. 66). Three other sculptures and four reliefs, listed in the catalogue—some of which can be documented later in the summer in Berlin—indicate that assembled constructions continued to constitute a major part of Ernst's art. However, collage, which was just emerging, was to displace sculpture completely in the near future. Drawings were also well represented in the exhibition, including a newer type first documented here by *erectio sine qua non* (Fig. 43). The drawings in this group are, for the most part, made by pencil rubbings on paper laid over printing blocks (Pls. 43–46; Fig. 44). Some are accompanied by stamped forms; most are tinted with watercolor and/or gouache, and all are embellished with additional drawing, titles, and inscriptions. Most of these drawings consist of two upright constructions composed by combining individual letters, which almost—but not quite—lose their identity as letters, given the context in which they have been turned every which way, reversed, stacked, fused, overlaid, and modified by drawing and color. They seem related instead to the forms in *Stamens and Marseillaise* of Arp (Pl. 39) or to the stacked forms in Ernst's relief constructions (Fig. 33). And, indeed, Ernst has gone beyond suggestions in those earlier reliefs to develop more complex anthropomorphic references. In *Self-constructed Little Machine* (Pl. 43), the letter units function both visually and verbally. The construction in the right half of the drawing may be perceived as an upright figure with long legs composed of joined cylinders (initially, two "i"s), a torso composed of an "A," outreaching arms formed by two more "A"s, and a neck and head indicated by three "I"s. At the same time, the two "U"s between the legs enable us to "read" that section of the figure as an "M," which fits with the rest of the form to make "MAX" or, counting the head, "I MAX."¹⁰⁰ This "reading" seems to be confirmed by the inscriptions below in German and French—humorous, puzzling extended titles—which refer to two anatomies (French text) and identify the "Little Machine" as male, even though the gender for "machine" is feminine in both French and German. In *erectio sine qua non* (Fig. 43)—a willful garbling of the Latin homily "conditio sine qua non"—the masculine identity of the left-hand figure is indicated by the title and the spigot-penis always (*toujours*) dripping.¹⁰¹ *Beautiful Woman and Standing Woman* (Fig. 44) includes a combination of letters that again suggests "MAX," but the extended title and modifications by Ernst underscore the female identity of both forms. The inscription below identifies the figure on the left as the "Beautiful Woman of the Trees." She is described as nude, and Ernst has added a vulva slit between the two "O"s forming her legs and dots for nipples on the breast-like forms that support a long neck and head, evocative of the bird heads which appear later in Ernst's work. The figure to the right, described as "Standing Woman without Heart," was also gendered by the addition of a bit of pubic hair in the "crotch" of the upper "U," where it overlaps the joining of the legs.

These drawings suggest comparisons with earlier work by Picabia and Man Ray in New York. More than a year before Ernst made *Self-constructed Little Machine* (Pl. 43), Man Ray had registered his concept of art generating itself when he applied the title *By Itself* to both an appropriated object/sculpture (Fig. 45) and a related air-brushed painting. Picabia's paintings and drawings of 1915–19 exhibited two

other relevant precedents, namely erotic machine couples (Fig. 46) and the most likely model for Ernst's development of allusive titles and inscriptions. Notwithstanding the manifest impact of Picabia, the distinctive character of Ernst's work was evident from the beginning. In his drawings there is a delicacy and control to the forms that is unlike the more spontaneous, freehand compositions of Picabia. Similar distinctions mark the inscriptions. Picabia prefers capital letters for phrases that are rather casually printed and prominently scattered around in the vicinity of the forms to which they refer. Ernst writes in a tiny lower-case script, neatly compressed into lines or blocks at the bottom and/or top of the drawing. Ernst is also unique in his form of the widespread Dada practice of representing human beings and functions in machine forms – or the reverse, that is, to anthropomorphize machines and mechanical-industrial forms, processes, and techniques. For the most part, Ernst's figures are not machines; they simply look like mechanical constructions and sometimes contain discrete machine parts like wheels and faucets. They are perhaps closer in appearance to constructions in paintings by de Chirico (Fig. 28) – and several of the drawings retain cast shadows and vestiges of perspectival spaces – but finally, de Chirico is as distant as Picabia. Ernst anthropomorphizes and animates his constructions; de Chirico does not. And whereas both de Chirico and Picabia paint/draw in a conventional manner, Ernst proceeds by stamping, rubbing, and tracing, constructing whole images out of separate parts taken from the context of commercial printing and then assembled like a collage. Picabia did not pursue the stamping technique he employed in *Alarm Clock* (Fig. 23), but for Ernst, these unorthodox methods – techniques alien, at least, to "fine" art – were developed into a significant art form.

Not all of these drawings necessarily harbor anthropomorphic references. *Little Chili Saltpetre* (Pl. 45), for example, includes a roulette table diagram and an inscription "every number wins," which bear no manifest anthropomorphic suggestions. Veiled references are extensive, however. Spies's perception of an erotic significance in *Ambiguous Figure* (Pl. 46) has recently been confirmed by Jürgen Pech's discovery of missing inscriptions, which read: "Voluptuousness," "the gymnasium," and "ambiguous figure they rest on the beauty of the two sexes..."¹⁰²

The longer I look, read, and think about these drawings, the more I am convinced that they harbor willed relationships and specific meanings. But without a program from the artist, I prefer to offer only the observations registered above rather than entering into the highly subjective speculations of a detailed interpretation. Even with a program from the artist, my hunch is that the realm of meaning would still elude us, for there is also a playful, intuitive quality about these drawings, their inscriptions and the relationship between the two. Perhaps what is most significant about these texts and images is not the presence of some private, coded meaning but an experience which is suggestive, provocative, ambiguous, and private, and meant to be just that.

One final work remains to be discussed in regard to the Dada–Early Spring exhibition, namely a manifesto and accompanying cover designs claimed to have been intended for presentation at the openings (Pls. 50–53).¹⁰³ The three-page manifesto, composed with

Baargeld, is a Dadaist text that would tax efforts to comprehend it under the best of conditions, much less in the form presented: words which are fused, invented, abbreviated and misspelled; unorthodox punctuation and capitalization and a break running diagonally through the texts of pages one and two. The text purports to be a report of an extraordinary conference of Dada Control No. 5 to the government of the Social Democratic Republic of Germany regarding the No. 5 (Weststupidia) proposal to establish a government piano devaluation place solution. Insofar as I can judge, the text was intended to amuse and/or provoke, but the images for both text and cover designs clearly document Ernst's work in collage, relying in this instance on images cut out of the teaching aids publication he had discovered at the end of 1919.¹⁰⁴

The cover designs are striking. Two – which, by the binding holes, indicate they were to serve as the front (Pl. 50) and back (Pl. 51) covers – have collage elements glued to a deep blue/purple ground covered with abstract, biomorphic shapes in a contrasting yellow-green color. The shapes resemble Arp's woodcut prints, but were sup-



47 Installation: First International Dada Fair, Berlin, June 30 – August 25, 1920. Collection Berlinische Galerie, Museum for Modern Art, Photography and Architecture, Berlin. Hannah Höch Archive

posedly made by potatoes dipped in the yellow-green pigment and applied to the cover. The cocky display of strength in the weight lifter on the cover and the instruction on the back cover to "talk loudly! be brave!" ("re-de laut! sei tap-fer!") seem to reflect the spirit of the *Dada Triumphs!* poster (Pl. 49).¹⁰⁵ The remaining cover design seems more complex. It consists of five collaged elements from five different pages of the teaching aids catalogue, plus a red stamp that provides a color accent amidst the stark black, white, and gray design. The "W" and "5" probably refer to Weststupidia 5, suggesting that this design preceded the defection of the Hoerles around March–April 1920. The row of hands across the "W" comes from a counting and reading apparatus but is perhaps to be read as a salute to W/5.

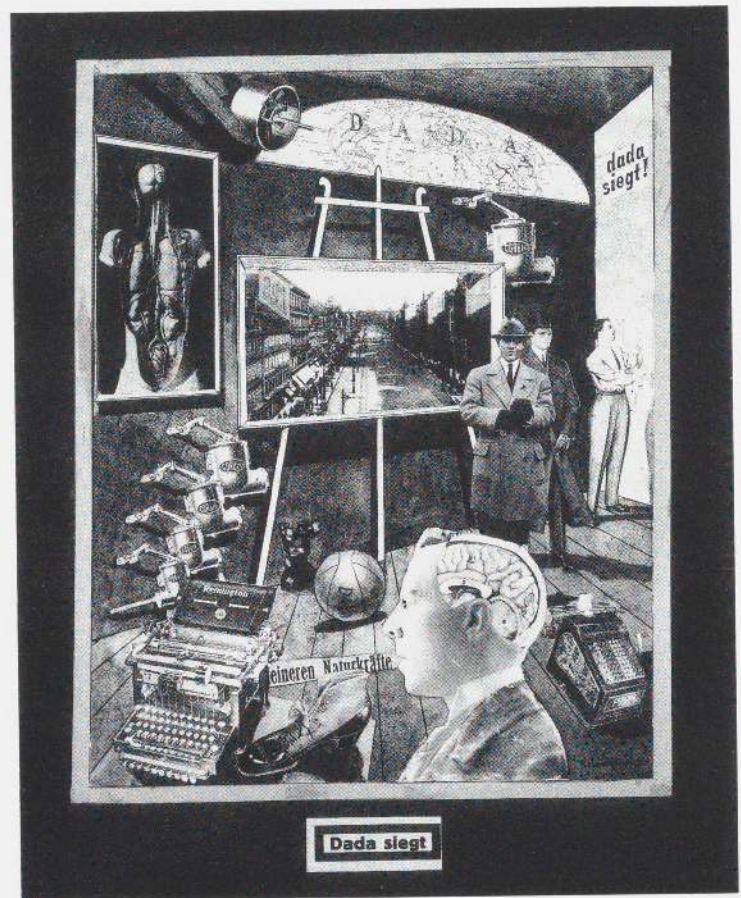


48 Hannah Höch: *Cut with the Kitchen Knife*, 1919–20. Photomontage, 44 $\frac{7}{8}$ x35 $\frac{7}{16}$ in. Nationalgalerie, Berlin

The geometrical forms in the center represent a materialization of the mass of a cube and tangential circles of a triangle, and while they do not seem to refer in an evident way to Weststupidia 5, Ernst has juxtaposed with them a play of two- and three-dimensional forms and the basic formulas of circle, square, and triangle.¹⁰⁶

In hindsight, the Dada–Early Spring exhibition was the climactic event of Dada in Cologne. Though not marked by the outraged press which accompanied comparable activities in Paris and Berlin, Ernst and Baargeld clearly staged an event that rattled, amused, and angered their audience in a manner worthy of the legendary position it came to acquire in the history of Dada. Some were deeply offended. Those included Ernst's father, who wrote: "I curse you. You have dishonored us..."¹⁰⁷ But, notwithstanding the deliberately provocative anti-art objects and acts, Baargeld had also fashioned a biting, coherent style of drawing, which has held up over the decades. For his part, Ernst had developed a substantial body of work, ranging from junk sculptures to the beginnings of a collage idiom, as well as sets of subtle drawings, cohesive in style and content, rich in allusions, and rich in sources for his later art.

The stimulating, fast-paced events of the spring carried on into the early summer. A son, Ulrich (later called Jimmy), was born to Lou and Max on June 24, and although contacts with Paris diminished as the Dadaists dispersed for the summer, there was continued correspondence with Katherine Dreier and an invitation from the Dadaists



49 Raoul Hausmann: *Dada Triumphs!*, 1920. Collage, 23 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 17 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Private collection

in Berlin.¹⁰⁸ Relations between Ernst and colleagues in Berlin were not cordial. He had called them "counterfeit Dadas" and did not invite a single Berlin artist to participate in the Dada–Early Spring exhibition. But the Berlin Dadaists had planned an International Dada Fair in the gallery of Dr. Otto Burchard, and when Ernst and Baargeld were invited, they accepted. George Grosz wrote Hausmann on June 9: "Dear Dadasoph! Please come tomorrow evening (Sunday) at 8 to Dr. Burchard's private home. All Dadas are there. (Dada Max from Cologne is also there)... Dada Max has brought many things with him."¹⁰⁹

Despite the dominance of the Berlin artists, and some lacunae (Duchamp and Man Ray from New York, and the continued exclusion of Schwitters), the First International Dada Fair was both international in scope and stunning in effect (Figs. 26, 47). The entries of Ernst, Baargeld, and the Dadaists from Paris were overwhelmed by Dix's wrenching paintings of war cripples and the mature photomontages of Hannah Höch and Hausmann (Figs. 48, 49), and by strange sculptures of assembled objects and aggressive posters proclaiming "Art is Dead" and "Dada Stands on the Side of the Revolutionary Proletariats." A lively response in the press continued well beyond the close of the exhibition, owing to charges brought against the organizers of the exhibit and Rudolph Schlichter for his "Prussian Archangel," consisting of a dummy of a German army officer with a pig's head hanging from the ceiling (Fig. 26). Immediately below the

dummy was a small sculpture by Ernst entitled "Falustrata," which is now known only by this photograph. Two other works by Ernst have been attributed to this exhibition: *The Punching Ball or the Immortality of Buonarroti* (Pl. 67), and *Stamens and Marseillaise of Arp* (Pl. 39), although neither conforms to the catalogue or to installation photographs.¹¹⁰ The latter do record two lost drawings (framed in the upper center of Figs. 26 and 47), and one previously documented drawing, *erectio sine que non* (Fig. 43), can be identified in the catalogue listing. Otherwise, none of the works submitted by either Ernst or Baargeld can be securely identified, suggesting that a number of works from this period have disappeared. Nothing new is

evident in the few works by Ernst which are known to have been in Berlin, but subsequent events make clear that major developments occurred in his work during the last half of 1920, while Dada was dissolving in Berlin. Activities related to Dada continued for another year or two, but, in hindsight, the First International Dada Fair was the climax of Dada in Berlin, and the work of a number of the participants began to reflect a change of style and interests. Before the year was out, Hausmann, for example, had withdrawn from social criticism to address a concept of the practical New Man rendered in traditional artistic media. Ernst's development was to follow quite another direction.

LA MISE SOUS WHISKY MARIN

se fait en crème kaki & en 5 anatomies

VIVE LE SPORT

AU SANS PAREIL

37, AVENUE KLÉBER

PARIS 16^e

VOUS
N'ÊTES
QUE
DES
ENFANTS

du 3 mai au 3 juin

**EXPOSITION DADA
MAX ERNST**

dessins mécanoplastiques plasto - plasti-
ques peintopeintures anaplastiques ana-
tomiques antizymiques aérographiques
antiphonaires arrosables et républicains.

ENTRÉE LIBRE

mains dans les poches

SORTIE FACILE

tableau sous le bras

AU-DELA DE LA PEINTURE

comme
un
seul
homme

blague
dans
le
coin

les dames sont priées d'apporter tous leurs bijoux

Dadamax Amid Dissension in Dada, Cologne and Paris

4

Any European who followed current events could hardly have escaped some knowledge of Dada by the summer of 1920. The Dadaists' publicity skills and scandalous events in Berlin and Paris had captured the attention of the press, and literally hundreds of magazines and newspapers across the continent were carrying news items which stirred up public reaction. For the most part, Dada's absurdity and iconoclastic threat to bourgeois values generated anger, confusion, and indignation, but amusement was also a response and, as a synonym for "zany," "dada" was already being applied as an adjective to politicians, chefs, and fashion designers. In brief, Dada was in its heyday, or so at least it seemed to the public. Among some of the Dadaists themselves, however, Dada had reached its zenith and was entering a period of dissension. Changing conditions within Berlin Dada have already been indicated, and events in Paris were to follow a similar course.¹ Much would yet be presented in the name of Dada over the course of the next two years or so, but the spirited group activities of the spring and summer of 1920 would never be recaptured.

This was particularly true in Cologne. After the appearance of *Die Schammade* and the Dada–Early Spring exhibition, there simply was no public presence of Dada in Cologne – no exhibitions, publications, manifestoes, or events of any kind. Ernst's former associates – Seiwert, the Hoerles, Räderscheidt, Hegemann, and Willy Fick – came together during the summer under the name "Stupid" and installed a group exhibition in Räderscheidt's studio, for which they evidently sought Tzara's attention. But there was nothing Dada about these individuals or their activities other than the name "Stupid." In the work of Seiwert and the Hoerles, the mannikin-like forms of Carrà and de Chirico were developed into highly simplified schematic figures, dedicated to their ongoing political concerns (Fig. 51). Seiwert wrote:

we want to say what we can so clearly, so simply that everyone can understand it. . . . We have turned away from all individualistic anarchy. . . . We wish to be the voices of the people. . . . Our pictures stand in the service of the exploited. . . . Therefore, we reject the supposed anti-middle-class buffoonery of Dada, which only served to amuse the middle class.²

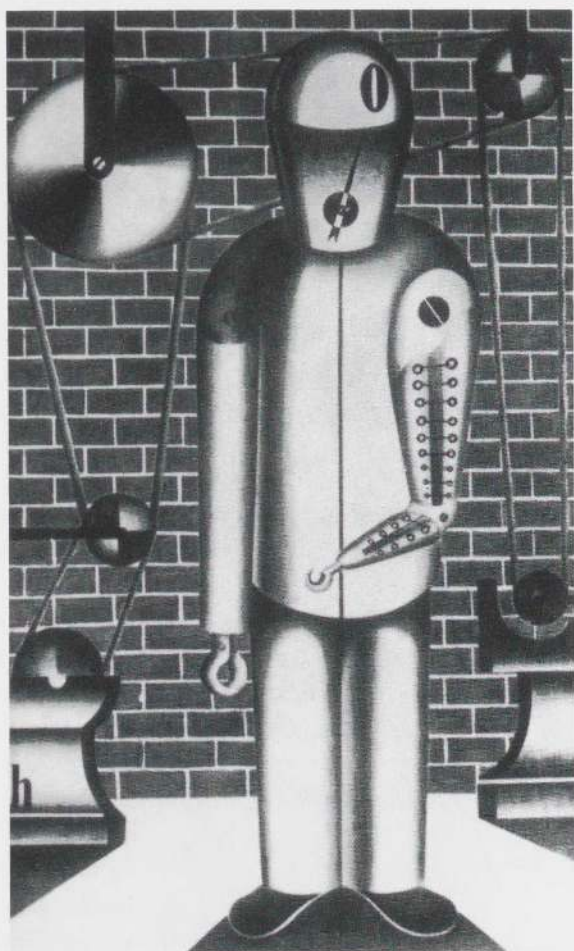
Nothing could be further removed from Ernst's aims, and he responded to Tzara's inquiry about Stupid: " 'Stupid' is a matter for 'Stupid'. You might call them Archipenko-kolos. . . . They were affiliated

with Dada for a while, inasmuch as they liked to see their names in print, but otherwise they are as torpid and lifeless as only boches can be."³

By the last half of 1920, Ernst's interests seem to have been shared by only three people in Cologne – Luise, Baargeld, and an attorney-art collector named Haubrich, supplemented by Arp on his occasional but significant visits.⁴ But soon even Baargeld began to redirect the course of his life, withdrawing first as an activist in leftist politics and then gradually distancing himself from art and Dada during 1921. This coincided with his resumption of advanced studies in economics at the University of Cologne over the winter of 1920–21, and by mid-summer of 1921 Ernst was in a position of explaining to Tzara that "Baargeld didn't have the time to do any work for Dada. He is now working day and night to become filthy rich."⁵

Lacking colleagues for any significant group activity, Ernst focused his energy on his own work and looked to renewed contact with the Dadaists in Paris once they had reassembled after the traditional summer interlude.⁶ The results were momentous: a watershed in Ernst's work, which I propose as the emergence of what was later to be called Surrealism in the visual arts, and an exhibition of his work in Paris in May 1921, which contributed substantially to both the dissolution of Dada and the early, halting steps toward the proclamation of Surrealism at the end of 1924.

The relationship between Dada and Surrealism has been confusing and controversial from the early 1920s to the present, and there are ample grounds for this state of affairs. Although Dada had emerged, flourished, and disintegrated before Surrealism crystallized, a number of the most significant Surrealists – including their leader, André Breton – had been active participants in Dada and had already developed many visual and literary forms, values, and attitudes central to Surrealism. Some, like Ernst, did not acknowledge any demarcation between Dada and Surrealism, but most participants in the movement and subsequent historians have sought to identify a chronological watershed between Dada and Surrealism and to clarify their differences of aim, style, and spirit. Various accounts have been proposed, ranging from Michel Sanouillet's concept of Surrealism as the French form of Dada to Breton's experience of Surrealism as a parallel movement which could be traced from 1919 onwards, even though it was nourished by Dada and intertwined with Dada for several years before emerging clearly as an



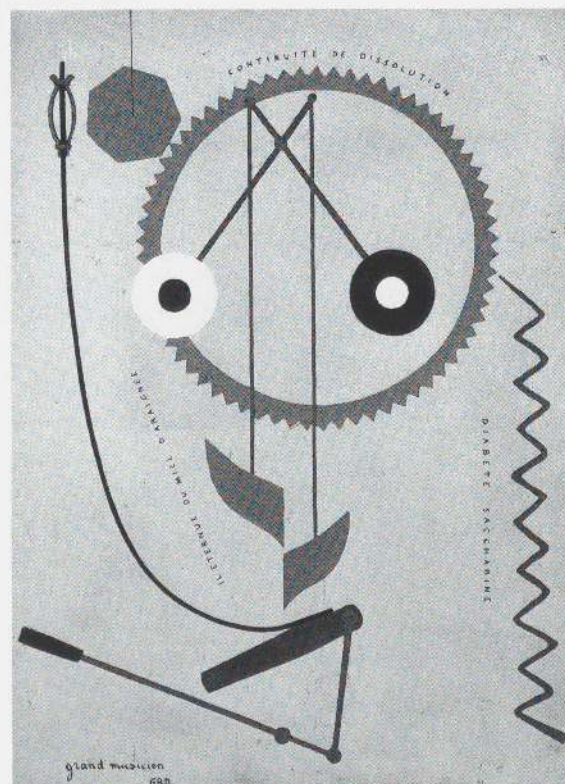
51 Heinrich Hoerle: *Factory Worker*, 1922. Destroyed

independent entity in 1924. These issues will be considered in greater detail later in the text, but they are registered here to alert the reader that, in my opinion, Ernst's career basically lends support to Breton's view of the matter. Insofar as the relationship between Dada and Surrealism is concerned, this is not to claim that Breton got it "right" while everyone else missed the mark. Indeed, I believe there is no "correct" version of that relationship but a multitude of more or less valid, instructive accounts, each somewhat different and reflective of its time, place, and author. But this author's study of Ernst and his work in its historical context has led to a view relatively sympathetic to Breton's perception of a nascent Surrealist art existing independently within Dada, even though it was only dimly perceived and sporadically articulated until 1924.

The diverging temperaments of Dada and Surrealism were discernible in Paris as early as the summer of 1920, and it is useful to consider that briefly before returning to Ernst. At the end of May, the Dadaists in Paris had concluded a spectacular season, consisting of exhibitions, numerous publications, and a series of public manifestations. Among the proliferation of Dadaist magazines, two were dominant – the primly designed *Littérature*,⁷ edited by Aragon, Breton, and Soupault and devoted exclusively to serious literature, and Picabia's *391*, which was more unorthodox in design and laced with provocative texts, insulting one-liners, and prime examples of Dada art. The latter included a reproduction of Duchamp's androgynous

Mona Lisa.⁸ This was itself a commercial reproduction of Leonardo's *Mona Lisa*, whose gender Duchamp first challenged by the addition of a moustache and goatee, then reasserted with a play of sounds on the title – "L.H.O.O.Q." or "elle a chaud au cul" ("she has a hot ass"). The same issue of *391* was graced with Picabia's presentation of *The Blessed Virgin* as a splash of ink or, more irreverent still, as the white paper splashed with the seed of the creator in a not-so-immaculate conception.⁹

The visual image of Dada in Paris was established by paintings which Picabia, Georges Ribemont-Dessaignes (Fig. 52), Jean Crotti, and Suzanne Duchamp exhibited at the Au Sans Pareil Gallery and the Independent and Autumn Salons.¹⁰ Picabia's contributions fell into two categories: a continuation of the mechanomorphic paintings, and such masterpieces of anti-art as the infamous *Dada Portrait* (Fig. 53). Picabia abandoned his desire to use a real monkey in this work, settling instead for a toy monkey mounted on a board inscribed in his inimitable graffiti-like penmanship: "Portrait of Cézanne – Portrait of Renoir – Portrait of Rembrandt – Still Lifes." By pulling the monkey's tail between his legs, Picabia transformed that organ and aimed it at the audience, targeting them (us) and our inflated notions of art more, perhaps, than the art of Cézanne, Renoir, and Rembrandt. *Child Carburetor* (Fig. 54), which represents the continued mechanomorphic style begun in 1915, provides instructive comparison to Ernst's work. In an early interview regarding that style, Picabia remarked, "In seeking forms through which to interpret ideas or by which to expose human characteristics I have come at length upon the form which appears most brilliantly plastic and fraught with symbolism. I have enlisted the machinery of the



52 Georges Ribemont-Dessaignes: *Great Musician*, ca. 1919–20. Ripolin and oil on paperboard, 30x22 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Private collection

modern world. . . .¹¹ In this instance, he appropriated the diagram of an automobile carburetor, modified and enlarged it, and added some curious inscriptions: "Flux and Reflux of Resolutions," "Dissolution of Prolongation," "Sphere of the Migraine," "To Destroy the Future," and "Crocodile Method." Although such paintings were generally dismissed as nonsense, reflection upon their forms, inscriptions, and sources often suggests intelligible relationships. If one bears in mind Duchamp's contemporary works with brides as machines that operate on "love gasoline," it may be significant that Picabia has used a carburetor, which blends air and gasoline for the smooth firing of an engine – particularly given visual and verbal allusions of a sexual nature in *Child Carburetor*.¹² The inscription "Crocodile Method," for example, appears in the lower left, at the top of the spring placed to receive the phallic form above it consisting of a shaft and two circles. Conditions in Picabia's personal life – he was torn at the time between wife and mistress, each carrying a child by him – may also inform the inscription "Flux and Reflux of Resolutions."

Although Picabia's paintings bewildered and angered the public, the Dada manifestations were even more inflammatory. Mounting controversy, shrewd publicity, and a gullible, self-righteous press brought a packed house to the concluding "Festival Dada" in the Salle Gaveau on May 26. Contrary to publicity, the Dadaists did not have their hair sheared on stage, but they scandalized the crowd with a combination of direct audience provocation, absurd plays (Tzara's *Second Adventure of Mr. Aa Antipyrine*), inane music (Ribemont-Dessaignes's *Unauthorized Belly Button*), and insulting manifestoes. The audience howled, made animal calls, and bombarded the stage with coins, fruit, vegetables, eggs, and a beefsteak. Mme. Gaveau was struck by a stray tomato, and one livid spectator invited Picabia to meet him outside.¹³

This outbreak of Dada activity in Paris was greeted with an avalanche of criticism, most of it derogatory and classifiable either as inane reaction or as an angry nationalistic response by writers who sought to discredit Dada by implying it was linked to Germany, Bolshevism, or something alien to France. There were, however, a few thoughtful critics, including some who referred to Freud and attributed "surrealist" attributes to the Dadaist activities before that word entered the critical debate. Renée Dunan perceived a new philosophy evolving from the work of Freud and other psychologists who were preoccupied with the subconscious and its fundamental control over life. She concluded her criticism with the observation that: "A new psychology will correspond to a renewed aesthetic. The Dada group searches in extravagance the mysterious law which will become the next aesthetic. . . . Dada is not a mystification: it is the entire human mystery."¹⁴

The most perceptive critics were the Dadaists themselves. From the outside, Dada loomed as a burgeoning, virulent movement; but from within, almost all of the chief participants gave witness to tensions that would never be overcome. Breton, among others, was exasperated by Tzara's incessant need for activity and publicity. "Every time a Dada manifestation was anticipated – naturally by Tzara," he wrote, "Picabia invited us to his salon and we, one after the other, were to have ideas for this manifestation. Finally, the har-

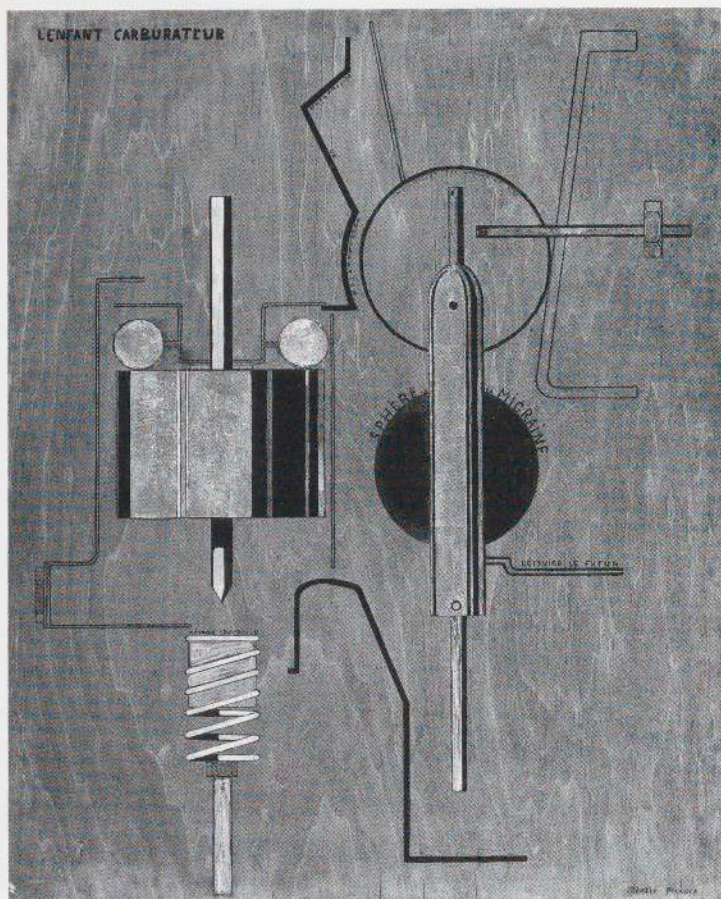


53 Francis Picabia: *Dada Portrait*, 1920. Toy monkey and oil on paperboard. Whereabouts unknown

vest is not very abundant. The *pièce de résistance* will inevitably be . . . the first, or the second, . . . or the ninth 'adventure of [Tzara's] Mr. Antipyrine'."¹⁵ Breton also found that he had to assume responsibility for implementing the manifestation, organizing the program, hiring the hall, and paying the bills. Picabia grumbled that the fun-filled meetings in his apartment had become too serious, and Ribemont-Dessaignes later described their vague uneasiness that Dada was on the verge of becoming a noisy but artful form of entertainment, a "success" which "as far as liberation and disorganization were concerned [was] merely organizing and chaining itself."¹⁶

Expectations for a second Dada season in Paris barely survived such reservations and feuds that began over the summer between Picabia and Ribemont-Dessaignes on one side and Breton and his associates on the other. Tzara was removed from the quarrels, having left in June for an extended trip through Switzerland, eastern Europe, and Italy, where he established a number of contacts for Dada and gathered material for his proposed anthology entitled "Dadaglobe." But temperamentally he was closer to Picabia, who informed him in an angry letter in July that " 'Littérature' screws us, 'Sans Pareil' hides our books and magazines, finally I am in the presence of facts – Breton is an accomplished comedian and his two little friends think like him that it is possible to change a man as one changes boots. . . . I have refused to collaborate with *Littérature*."¹⁷

Breton was in the process of reassessing his relation to Dada. He had entered one of the periods of doubt and reflection that plagued his entire career, and he was also distracted by a young woman, Simone Kahn, who was soon to become his fiancée. He confided to



54 Francis Picabia: *Child Carburetor*, ca. 1919. Oil, gilt, pencil, and metallic paint on plywood, 49¾ x 39⅞ in. Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York

her that the Festival Dada had seemed gross and impoverished,¹⁸ and during the very weeks when he was writing an article entitled "For Dada," he infuriated both Ribemont-Dessaignes and Picabia by his part in blocking Dada publications at Au Sans Pareil, censoring an article Ribemont-Dessaignes had submitted to *Littérature*, and refusing to write a promised preface for a book by Picabia.¹⁹

Breton's article on Dada was published in the August issue of the prestigious magazine *La Nouvelle Revue française*. He concluded his cautiously worded text with a suggestion of the demise of Dada and the existence of something beyond:

Our common exception to the artistic and moral rule only brings us passing satisfaction. We know well that beyond this an irrepressible personal imagination, more 'Dada' than the present movement, will be given free rein.²⁰

Breton's text was followed in the same issue by an article from the editor of the magazine, Jacques Rivière, who was respectful of Breton and implied a future for Dada once a critical creative spirit displaced its reigning nihilism. He discussed Dada in proto-Surrealist terms, and both Breton and Rivière introduced the term "surrealism" in reference to an undefined ideal of Apollinaire's which would be fought over by several admirers of that poet until Breton seized the word for Surrealism in 1924.²¹

Breton initiated reconciling efforts soon after his return to Paris in October, writing Tzara that "everything Picabia may have told you

about me is unhappily true, I have behaved toward him in a manner too bizarre for him not to be angry. . . . tell him, my dear friend, that I regret it with all my heart."²² Such efforts notwithstanding, relationships remained cool. Picabia kept Dada in the public eye with his magazine *391* and a provocatively entertaining exhibition of his work in December.²³ But it took a public appearance by the Futurist Marinetti in January 1921 to reunite the Dadaists for a group activity.²⁴ After disrupting Marinetti's performance, discussions began for a series of activities later in the spring – activities defined essentially by Breton and his friends, with Tzara, and, especially, Picabia, participating in varying degrees on the margin. Those events included an exhibit of the works of Dadamax at the Au Sans Pareil Gallery.

While relationships were chilly in Paris over the fall and winter of 1920–21, Ernst experienced one of the most productive moments in his entire life. The basic course of his work during this time is established by a number of dated works, by his correspondence with Tzara and Breton, and by two exhibitions: one a group exhibition with Das Junge Rheinland in February–March 1921, and the other his important solo show at Au Sans Pareil in May.²⁵ This evidence indicates that by the end of 1920 Ernst was working simultaneously with a variety of themes in four or five different processes: overpaintings of illustrations taken chiefly from the teaching aids catalogue, collages made with parts of photographs and illustrations (many from the same teaching aids catalogue), combinations of overpaintings and collages, photographic enlargements of some collages, and, finally, a special category Ernst called "Fatagaga," standing for *Fabrication de Tableaux Gasométriques Garantis* ("Fabrication of Guaranteed Gasometric Paintings").

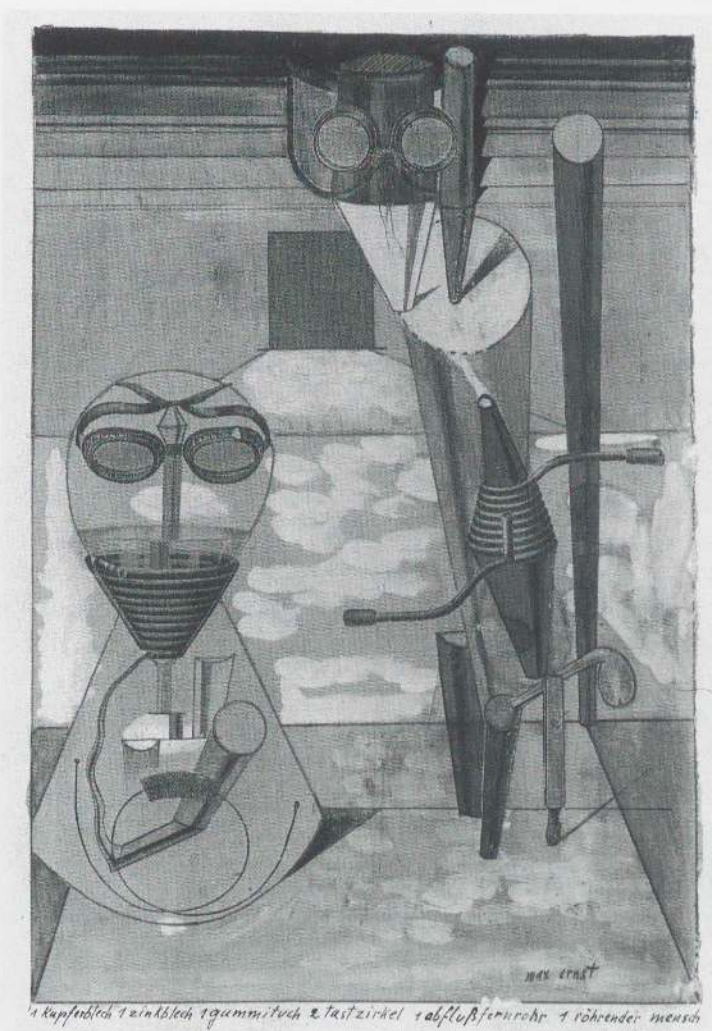
Ernst's work at this time is, in fact, so prolific and varied that the goal of presenting it in a coherent, structured manner becomes a daunting task. The work simply does not yield readily to standard forms of organization. Chronological evolution, for example, is not particularly evident, and, accordingly, will receive only occasional attention. Material and processes are important – essential, even, for knowing how Ernst sees, thinks, and creates – but these processes do not provide an adequate structure for the study of this period. Indeed, given Ernst's will and adeptness for concealing his working methods, the specific process employed is not always apparent, and to this day errors of media and process persist in publications of his work. Still more significant is the fact that the imagery – and often a dialogue between images and inscriptions – is of paramount importance. The processes Ernst employs serve his intellect and vision, and our own personal experience of these works begins with a visual-literary encounter. Consequently, in this chapter I will rely primarily on thematic structure, employing several broad genres or classifications of imagery – sometimes subdivided into more specific themes, and accompanied as relevant by attention to matters of technique, chronology, and historical context. This approach entails problems of its own, however, and the reader is forewarned that themes in Ernst's work are rarely – if ever – clear and simple. They are instead multivalent, veiled, and overlapping, and quickly expose the arbitrariness of any effort to impose a rigid thematic order.

Types of Beings

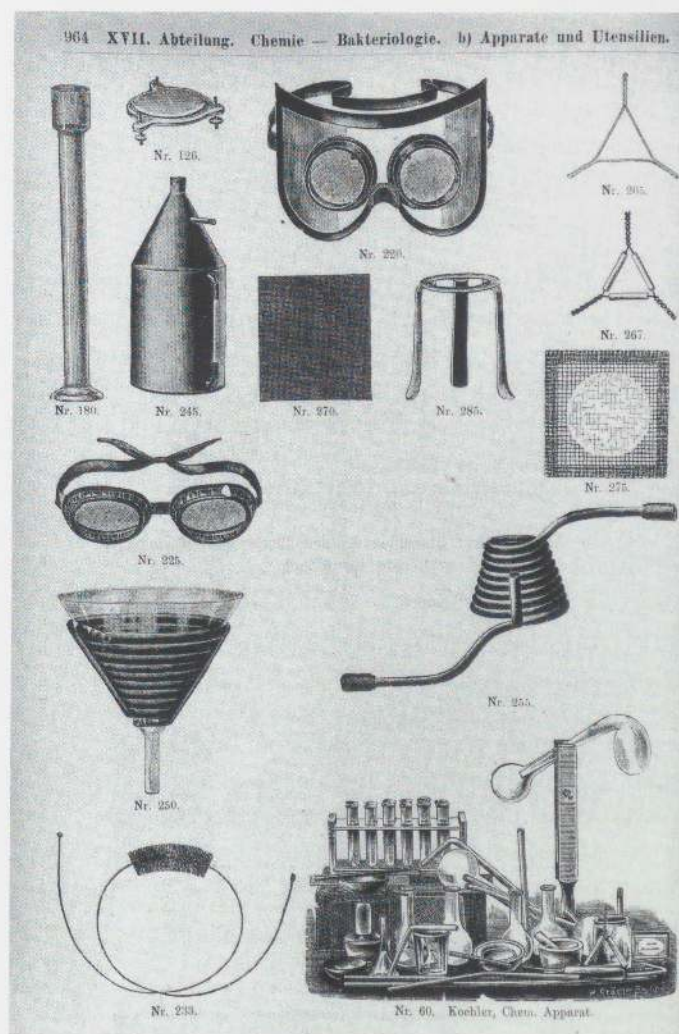
I propose that the broadest, least constrictive thematic structure might be based on "types of beings." Almost everything produced by Ernst has the appearance of being animated. In addition to human beings and animals, there are machine beings (Fig. 55, Pl. 54), nature creatures – botanical, zoomorphic, and entomological – (Figs. 57, 58; Pl. 97), hybrid creatures (Pls. 66, 75, 101), and constructed figures fashioned out of fragments of clothing, wallpaper, and other common materials (Pls. 55–57, 59). Within these broad classifications there are more specific subjects, themes, and motifs. Animated landscapes, for example, dominate subject matter in the botanical and zoological beings (Pls. 88, 89, 93), while the category of human beings embraces such diverse themes as portraiture, couples, family groups, and references to war, religion, and instruction. Pervasive throughout most of his works is a current of sexuality and implied gender relationships.

The prominent theme which emerged from Ernst's earlier stamped and rubbed drawings (Pls. 42, 43, 46; Figs. 43, 44) was the anthropomorphic character of stacked-up shapes composed of

ready-made forms. Often these shapes had appeared as couples with gender relationships, and Ernst continued to deal with that theme in new works over the fall and winter of 1920. This continuity is clear in two works illustrating different classifications and techniques listed above: *The Hat Makes the Man* (Pl. 55), which I offer as an example of a "constructed figure," and a "machine being" represented by *1 Copper Plate 1 Zinc Plate 1 Rubber Cloth 2 Calipers 1 Drainpipe Telescope 1 Pipe Man* (Fig. 55). They look similar in the way they are conceived and constructed, but the processes by which they were made differ markedly. *The Hat Makes the Man* is a collage made from images of hats cut out of a catalogue and reassembled with the addition of color, shading, and lines connecting the hats into tubular forms. The other composition is an overpainting of a full page from the teaching aids catalogue illustrating apparatuses and utensils for work in chemistry and bacteriology (Fig. 56).²⁶ The process here is, in some respects, the reverse of collage. Ernst has not removed images from their context and reassembled them; instead he accepted the original context, but removed (painted over) what



55 Max Ernst: *1 Copper Plate 1 Zinc Plate 1 Rubber Cloth 2 Calipers 1 Drainpipe Telescope 1 Pipe Man*, 1920. Gouache, ink, and pencil on printed reproduction, 9½ x 6¼ in. Whereabouts unknown



56 Utensils and apparatuses for work in chemistry and biology from *Bibliotheca Paedagogica*, 1914, p. 964

he did not wish to retain and added what was needed to complete his vision of the transformed context. The layout of the items on the page provided Ernst with a ready-made, collage-like juxtaposition of objects, but the creative process was a matter of discovery, of perceiving within the given context something unintended by the publisher, seizing that vision, eliminating anything extraneous to it, and adding whatever was needed to enhance it. Ernst described the process forthrightly in his recollection of that rainy day on the Rhine in 1919 when "the catalogue of a teaching aids company caught my attention. It was illustrated with models of all kinds... elements of such a diverse nature that the absurdity of the collection confused the eye and mind, producing hallucinations and lending the objects depicted new and rapidly changing meanings. I suddenly felt my 'visionary faculties', so intensified that I began seeing the newly emerged objects against a new background. To capture it, a little paint or a few lines were enough, a horizon, a sky, a wooden floor, that sort of thing."²⁷ At this point in his statement, Ernst turned to the matter of titles and inscriptions: "Now," he continues, "it was a matter of interpreting the hallucination in a few words or sentences."

In comparing Ernst's overpainting to its source in the teaching aids catalogue, the unpredictable nature of his decisions is as astonishing as the eerie presence of these disturbing machine beings presented with the matter-of-factness of a conventional husband-wife photograph. This overpainting process was new in Ernst's work, but ancient in the history of art, a twentieth-century equivalent of humans discovering themselves in their environment, not unlike the way prehistoric peoples found human and animal forms in the bones, rocks, and cave walls of their world.

Ernst's discovery of these machine beings in his environment occurred after his vision had been informed by the earlier stamped and rubbed drawings, and by at least some exposure to the mechanomorphic concepts of Picabia and Duchamp. Predispositions springing from the past also include here the presence of shadows and irrational spatial constructions derived from *Fiat modes* – more evident in the overpainting than in *The Hat Makes the Man*. But Spies links the hat forms in the latter to even earlier works, namely to Ernst's painting *Hat in Hand*, *Hat on Head* (Fig. 17) and to his memory of Macke's preoccupation with fashion. Not surprisingly, psychoanalytic interpretations have been offered, given Freud's concept of a hat on the head as a common phallic symbol and the phallic protuberance of the aggressive central figure in this composition.²⁸ Lipard – followed by Stokes and Legge among others – was the first to suggest social and psychological references linked to conditions of the time and to the inscription in the lower right corner: "Seed-covered, stacked-up man, seedless waterformer [*edelformer*] well-fitting nervous system also tightly-fitted nerves (the hat makes the man, style is the tailor)":

The hat covers the head; formally it resembles the cover of the head of the male organ; it is also a repressive factor, a cover-up, an overlay of "civilization" on the seat of the subconscious; one tipped one's hat (uncovered, bared oneself) briefly when saying good day, when communicating with others, especially ladies. Dada's view of European man in 1920 as a "stacked-up," "seedless" puppet or "mannequin," re-

pressed, oppressed, and manipulated by bourgeois capitalism, imprisoned in "tight-fitting nerve"-clothes, and much in need of uncovering, is one reference.²⁹

While granting the danger that exists from over-extending sexual references in Ernst's work, it should be recognized that the artist himself frequently included sexual terms and innuendos in his titles and inscriptions. The extended title for the overpainting *1 Copper Plate 1 Zinc Plate...* (Fig. 55) is puzzling and not as suggestive as *The Hat Makes the Man*; nevertheless, it concludes with reference to a tubular or pipe man, a description that fits the taller figure on the right, who is flanked by a long blue pipe. That figure is equipped with a form near the bottom which may be "read" as a penis, and – in the continuing debate regarding the relevance or irrelevance of Ernst's visual sources – the coiled object above the "penis" is identified in the teaching aids catalogue as a thermostat device for steam overheating. Insofar as his companion is concerned, the wiry, looped form at the bottom of the figure on the left is a wire brush (thicker form at the top of the coil) "for long pipes."

The anthropomorphic and sexual nature of these two works extends through most of the representatives of their genre, though not always as clearly as in the introductory examples. This is true for another scene of machine beings, *Hydrometric Demonstration of Killing by Temperature* (Pl. 54). In its stacked-up, tubular forms and Chirico-like spaces, it resembles Ernst's earlier work, but this nightmarish image of a torture chamber is another overpainting, made from an entire page in the teaching aids catalogue representing various physical apparatuses for measuring the pressure of fluids.³⁰ Ernst turned it upside-down and proceeded with gouache, pencil, and straight edge to add and subtract forms until the transformation was complete. The upper third of the composition was reserved for the sky and the lower part was turned into a chamber with an exaggerated perspectival recession, establishing a contrast between inside/outside, open/closed, and above/below. Additional tension was obtained by positioning many forms so that they are simultaneously inside and outside or located both back in a three-dimensional chamber and in front of it. Although there are no overt anthropomorphic references present, the vague sensation of animated industrial forms contributes additional tension in the experience of this painting, and I am not certain that the presence of anthropomorphic constructions can be ruled out. The leftmost form in the room, for example, may be seen as a standing figure with a blue torso, arms and legs, and the white hanging forms on the right side of the chamber have been given "mouth" or "eye" marks which project an animate quality.

Constructed Beings

The presence of anthropomorphic references is more evident in some of the constructed figures, both in form and inscriptions (Pls. 56, 58, 59). *Katharina undulata* (Pl. 57) has been described by one author as "a pretentious masculine machine, akin to a rooster bristling its feathers, striving with ridiculous, futile jerky movements to reach a gorgeous coral mouth shining like a cruel comet in the pearly sky."³¹ The entire title across the bottom reads: "Undulating

Katharina, i.e., mistress of the inn on the Lahn appears as guardian angel and mother-of-pearl of the Germans on cork soles in the zodiac sign of Cancer.³² The Lahn is a small river that empties into the Rhine near Bonn and is probably represented by the blue band across the lower part of this painting. The landlady of the inn on the Lahn is not so easily identified, but she figures in other paintings by Ernst and must have been a person or theme of consequence. The phrase "landlady of the Lahn" was the first line of a popular student song of the type that can be extended indefinitely by inventing new verses, but here the landlady is referred to as a guardian angel, presumably represented by the hairy orb and vulva in the sky above her name in the inscription.³³ The contrasting figure on the right would then be the recipient of her protection, a German male on cork soles, erect, stick-like, more active in angular movements, and holding a tiny banner aloft in his right "hand" and an unidentified biomorphic shape in his left. He appears to be a collage being, constructed with fragments of wallpaper, but with perhaps one exception, the entire composition is a much-manipulated overpainting of a single piece of wallpaper, whose pattern can also be detected in the hairy orb of the landlady on the Lahn. The pattern on the wallpaper quickens the angular form of the male stick figure, but otherwise there is no apparent relationship between the wallpaper ground and the final painting. In *1 Copper Plate 1 Zinc Plate...* (Fig. 55) Ernst's vision was triggered by a suggestive array of forms on a page of the teaching aids catalogue; here he seems to have imposed his vision, going out of his way not to conceal joints, but to suggest joints and collage construction where, in fact, none existed.

The landlady on the Lahn appears again in a composition (Pl. 58) where anthropomorphic references are not readily perceived except in the title across the bottom: "Landlady on the Lahn, guardian angel of the Germans, yours is industry anatomy paleontology grant us little jubilations."³⁴ In this instance the landlady dominates on the left in the form of two linked crochet patterns. The German male – presumably present – may be represented again by the slender stick or rod-like forms at the right, but there is also an industrial reference in the title, which has prompted Derenthal to develop another thesis based on this portion of the Rhine as a heavily industrialized zone as well as a site of ancient German legends. Industrial conditions are implied as the motivation for the dirty colors and black undercoating, while the black forms are described as rods linked to flywheels and the stacked rectangles in the center are referred to as a "walled smokestack."³⁵ *Landlady on the Lahn* does include collage elements, but another of these constructed figures in a landscape only appears to be a collage – it is another overpainting (Pl. 59). Although anthropomorphic forms are not obvious here, I suggest one exists in the large upright form on the left whose hat (or head?) is composed of a semi-circular fragment from an illustration of knitted cloth. A figure half "his" size – also partially composed of clothing fragments – occupies the lower right-hand corner. A third figure (or some sort of staff or totem) stands between them, while an erect phallic form projects in at the upper right.

Frozen Landscape Icicles and Mineral Types of the Female Body (Pl. 56) represents one more example of this genre of constructed figures. Like the preceding untitled painting and *Katharina*

ondulata, it looks like a collage construction, but it is an overpainting. Like *Landlady on the Lahn* (Pl. 58), it combines landscape, machine or industrial forms, and veiled anthropomorphic references, faintly suggested in the forms but introduced in the title and carried over from the symbolism of form established in the earlier stamped and rubbed drawings.

Human Beings I

The works discussed so far reveal roots in the stacked, tubular forms and Chirico-like spatial constructions of Ernst's first Dadaist work over the winter of 1919–20. In turning to the next broad classification – the classification of human beings – we encounter works which seem less linked to the past and more relevant for future developments in his career. They also encompass more varied subjects, although figures in a landscape – especially couples – continue as a major theme. *Young Man Burdened with a Flowering Faggot* (Pl. 60) is an overpainting of one half of a page from the teaching aids catalogue, with two separate illustrations.³⁶ The illustration on the right depicts the muscles of a man in profile, with his head, one arm, and one leg raised; the other illustration depicts the internal organs of a limbless male figure and an arterial system. Ernst has united these once separate, unrelated figures in a desolate landscape, overpainting a few forms in the figure on the left and inscriptions around the figure on the right but basically retaining his source, including such details as the closed eyes and faint smile of the figure on the left. The arterial system, though also retained, has been given the appearance of an animated plant form. Ernst's intentions are unknown, but the effect of this work is an evocative union of two unrelated images and – simultaneously – a more poignant contrast between them. The active, ruddy, open-eyed male figure on the right gestures toward some thing or being above; the wan, bluish figure on the left, though sightless and unable to act, responds gently to an inner vision, sound, or sensation of some sort from the direction of the gesturing male or the stalk-like form.

From our present perspective, several elements in this overpainting refer chronologically both backward and forward in Ernst's work. The red and blue colors seem compatible with the qualities Ernst associated with them in his 1917 essay "On the Origins of Color," and these associations merit continued attention. The animated plant form here recalls properties in the vegetation in *Hat in Hand, Hat on Head* (Fig. 17) and, beyond that, the animated forms of nature in one of Ernst's favorite artists, Caspar David Friedrich.³⁷ The motif of closed eyes alluding to an inner vision was to become one of the most significant themes in Ernst's work, and it, too, reverberates with sentiments of Friedrich, who wrote, "Close your eye, so that your picture will first appear before your mind's eye. Then bring to the light of day what you first saw in the inner darkness, and let it be reflected back into the minds of others."³⁸ Finally, the figure of that striding, gesturing male was to appear repeatedly in Ernst's work over the next few years. Many of these features occur in *The Somnambulist Elevator*, a contemporary overpainting of a reproduction of the muscular system found in the teaching aids catalogue (Pl. 62). Two figures share a Chirico-like space but are psychologically isolated, one a male with

no penis and moving with closed eyes in a trance-like motion. In the teaching aids source, the second figure simply illustrated back muscles, but it looks like a female torso; and in Ernst's iconography, that figure is probably intended to be female, becoming one of the early examples of the headless woman.³⁹

One of Ernst's most striking examples of human figures is *Dada Gauguin* (Pl. 61). Three human beings and three strange plants inhabit a basic landscape format developed by Ernst during 1920, namely horizontal registers along the bottom of the painting, a line of low mountains on the horizon, and a blue sky with a constellation or some other form in it. The human figures were formed with a stencil taken from an anatomical illustration (male) in the teaching aids catalogue, but gender is left ambiguous in these faceless, unarticulated forms, in contrast to the aggressive, sexual suggestions of the plants.⁴⁰ A huge phallic stalk marks the center of the composition, flanked on the left by a giant artichoke-like plant with projecting stamens and a crown of yellow flowers. Its leaves enclose a red figure (male?), whose featureless head is turned toward the central "male" or to the flanking form further back on the right, which encloses a pink figure in a shape that is simultaneously phallic and womb-like.



57 Max Ernst: *Laocoön*, 1920. Collage, gouache, and pencil on paper mounted on cardboard, 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 6 in. Lost. Former Fondation Jean Arp und Sophie Taeuber-Arp, Rolandseck, Germany

That pink figure "looks" away from the others, but his/her enclosing form is linked to the central figure by a spike or rod.

Two theses have been proposed regarding this painting. Derenthal's concept of it as a parody of Gauguin invites us to see this strange scene as a provocative revision of Gauguin's fantasies of a tropical paradise, down to his anti-naturalistic style and the unisex look of his Tahitian models.⁴¹ Parody also seems to characterize a companion piece, *Dada Degas* (Pl. 63), where the subtle forms and movements of Degas's horses and riders are reduced to identical stenciled forms suspended on pieces of a knitted garment transformed into an enormous icon-like figure.⁴²

Warlick offers a totally different perspective, based on the perception of overlapping references to Freud and alchemy. She proposes that one probable source for the artichoke-like plant was Freud's analysis of one of his own dreams, where artichokes were identified as his favorite food and linked by a series of associations to one of his favorite childhood pastimes and to his wife's favorite flowers.⁴³ Those associations led Warlick to regard the artichoke as an implied sexual symbol and as a link to a text by Herbert Silberer with sufficient points of contact with *Dada Gauguin* to sustain an alchem-

ical interpretation of the entire painting. Her thesis – and the entire subject of alchemy in Ernst's work – is important, but so complex that I have addressed the topic in an extended note rather than encumbering the text. For readers who do not pause to consider that note, I observe here that Warlick's thesis offers a completely different way of considering the forms, colors, and relationships in this painting. Within the framework of the alchemical process – that is, moving from destruction to transformation of primal matter in quest of the philosopher's stone – the red figure on the left and the pink figure on the right are identified by Warlick as male and female archetypes respectively, from whose sexual union is born the new child, the "young king" in the center. In seventeenth-century illustrations that established the traditional iconography of alchemy, the end product, or philosopher's stone, was most often represented by either the primal androgyne or a united king and queen accompanied by their symbols of the sun and moon, the alchemical oven, and various creatures (snakes, dragons, owls, swans, etc.) symbolizing different stages of the alchemical process. This iconography will figure more prominently in later chapters, but occasional references to it will occur from here onward.⁴⁴

Fatagaga Collages

The next broad category of works to be considered, the *Fatagagas*, is not distinguished by subject matter or style but by the collaborative process of their making. They are not numerous. Over the winter of 1920–21, four were made with Arp, two with Lou, and one with Haubrich; a few more were done later in 1921. They began around October–November 1920 during one of Arp's visits to Cologne, and, with a few exceptions, the contributions by Arp, Lou, and Haubrich amounted to the titles and accompanying inscriptions or texts, while Ernst was responsible for the images. Neither Ernst nor Arp has provided an account of the condition which prompted the *Fatagagas*, but both had already savored positive experiences in collaborative projects which predisposed their thinking – Ernst with Baargeld, and Arp with Sophie Taeuber and Tzara.⁴⁵ Over a decade later, their Surrealist comrade Georges Hugnet wrote that one day Arp was admiring Ernst's collages, and when he commented that he wished he had made them, Ernst proposed that they sign them together.⁴⁶

Inasmuch as some of the Fatagagas were sent to Tzara for publication in "Dadaglobe," they are first documented in the Ernst-Tzara correspondence, the earliest reference probably occurring in a letter of November 2: "I am enclosing a photo. . . . The sensational thing about it is that it's done without any work. That's my mystery!"⁴⁷ In the letter Ernst remarked that Arp had been in Cologne, and his presence was recorded again in another letter to Tzara at the end of the month, which provided more specific information about the Fatagagas, apparently in response to questions from Tzara:

Arp will be staying a few more days in Cologne. I am sending you the manuscripts and œuvres which he wants to launch in Dadaglobe (he's not going to be forwarding you anything more from Zurich). Please let me know whether you can use all the photos, drawings, etc. enclosed. FaTaGaGa is the Fabrication de Tableaux Gasométriques Garantis which Arp and I have launched. Can you show the engraver how to hide the seams in the reproductions of the pasted pieces (so as to keep the Fatagaga secret a secret)? Dada Rosa Bonheur is my wife. I will send a photo of a sculptosculpture by Job. Haubrich. Baargeld is planning to forward manuscripts and drawings. More manuscripts will be forthcoming from Arp & myself.⁴⁸

Ernst followed this letter with a note on December 5, asking if the three packages he had sent a week ago for "Dadaglobe" had arrived and enclosing two more items: "1 Laokoon by ARP" and "1 Auscultia Fili by Max Ernst."⁴⁹ Insofar as is known now, "Auscultia Fili" exists only as a suggestive text in the Tzara Archive, but *Laocoön* exists as both a text and an overpainting (Fig. 57).

These letters indicate that by December 1920 Tzara was in possession of a number of texts and collages from Arp and Ernst – some of them done together and called Fatagagas – which were destined for publication in "Dadaglobe." For several reasons, that publication never appeared and most of the Fatagagas simply remained in Tzara's possession until a sale after his death, at which time the collages were sold separately from the texts. Those texts, written in Ernst's hand and now housed in the Tzara Archive at the Bibliothèque Littéraire Jacques Doucet in Paris, provide both the identity of the Fatagagas and basic information not included in Ernst's letters.⁵⁰ Fatagaga texts and/or titles exist for *Physiomythological Flood Picture* (Pl. 75), *The Punching Ball or the Immortality of Buonarroti* (Pl. 67), *Here Everything Is Still Floating* (Fig. 58; Pl. 97), *The Chinese Nightingale* (Pl. 66), *The Assimilative Threads' Attack Plans. . .* (Pl. 86), *Laocoön* (Fig. 57), and *Armada v. Duldgedalzen* (as "Augustine Thomas and Otto Flake"), *Job Haubrich. . .*, and *Armada v. duldgedalzen gen. die dadaistische Rosa Bonheur sculptosculpture der zentrale Da Da W/3* (Pl. 48).

The list includes an overpainting and several collages with illustrations from the teaching aids catalogue and/or photographic reproductions from other sources, usually retouched with pencil, ink, and gouache or watercolor. The overpainting *Laocoön* (Fig. 57) began as an illustration of a dog's digestive system on a page of zoological charts in the teaching aids catalogue. Evidently the image reminded Ernst/Arp of the subject in Greek mythology of the priest Laocoön and his sons attacked by a serpent. He cut out the illustration and presented it virtually unchanged save for the title and an accompanying light-hearted text by Arp:

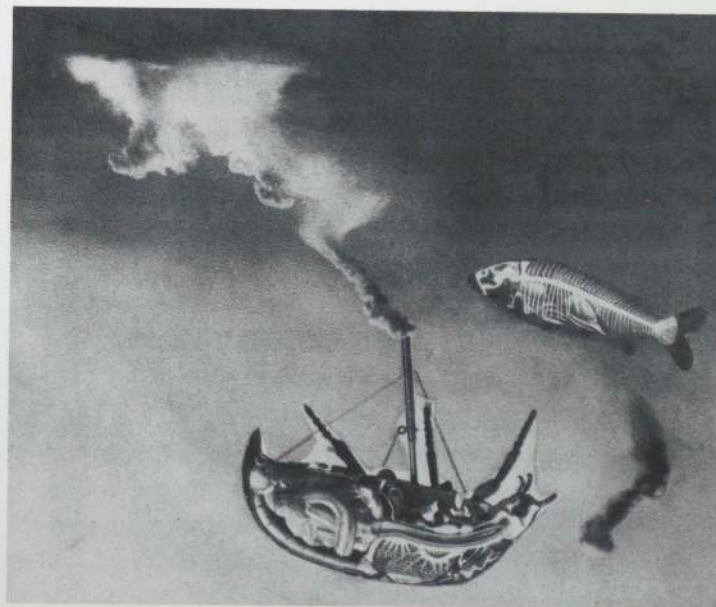
In contrast to the ancients' view of LAOCOON, ARP holds the modern view of volvulus. The three priests have stepped out for a wee-wee, while in a manner quite harmless to the visitor the worms in their glass cases go on muddling through.⁵¹

The Fatagaga collages are more complex and quite varied. *Here Everything Is Still Floating* (Fig. 58) is identified as the third "gaseous" picture in the text in the Tzara Archive. It is one of the collages, although close inspection is required to discern that the interior views of the fish and inverted beetle are separate elements, glued to a photographic ground with cloud-like forms. It approaches the mysterious, seamless whole that Ernst asked Tzara to achieve in the publication of "Dadaglobe," and in a photographic enlargement of this collage (Pl. 97), Ernst achieved that goal. That advantage of photographic copies of collages led Ernst to value the photograph as the final work, not the collage, and it is this photo enlargement that carries the Fatagaga text as an inscription on the paper mount above and below the image:

here everything is still floating / it is not yet 2 o'clock / no one was still thinking about the two ferdinis with their flying hams and hats (still in top form!) here the armada is definitely defeated for the first time / the rainbow eater didn't know / the gut steamer and skeleton fish decided to take off.

The presence of this inscription registers in our experience of the work, and Poley thinks it may comment on conditions in the Ernsts' life in Cologne.⁵² However, it is visually subservient to the oneiric imagery and, in my opinion, was written in response to the pre-existing image. That image is effective alone; the text is less successful removed from the image, although one addition to the separate text in the Tzara Archive stimulates a stunning visual concept by specifying the dimensions of the work as 5.25x6.25 meters.

In contrast to the illusion of a fantastic reality in this collage, *Physiomythological Flood Picture* (Pl. 75) is readily perceived as a col-



58 Max Ernst: *Here Everything Is Still Floating*, 1920. Collage: cut printed reproductions and pencil on photographic reproduction, 4 1/8 x 4 7/8 in. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Purchase

lage, owing to the obvious pasting and painting. Inasmuch as Ernst normally sought to conceal the collage parts in his works, it has been suggested that this exception in his work may be accounted for either by virtue of being the first Fatagaga or because Arp had a hand in making it. Neither suggestion seems sufficient to account for this somewhat atypical work, since it may have been the last Fatagaga, not the first, and examples of other collages with a painterly touch do exist in Ernst's oeuvre.⁵³ But more interesting issues attend this Fatagaga collage. In Ernst's hand-written copy of the text for *Physiomythological Flood Picture* he entered and then crossed out two lines reading: "inscription no.1 by Ernst / Fabrication MAX ERNST," thereby eliminating reference to individual contributions in favor of common proprietorship. The collage carries the names of both Ernst and Arp, and the final version of the text reads:

FATAGAGA
 FABrikation de TABLEaux GASométriques GARantis
 (Inhaber: Arp et MAX ERNST)

Much has been made of this collaborative work with its de-emphasis of the individual as a hallmark of Dada's liberating critique of sacred cows in art, including a deflation of the cult of the individual genius. On the other hand, it should be observed that Arp's name only appears on this one collage, and he never claimed any of them in accounts of his own work, whereas they have been wholly absorbed into Ernst's oeuvre. Moreover, Ernst wrote that his "Fatagaga works are also available mute, that is, without a caption" – meaning without Arp's contribution – and Spies reports that *The Chinese Nightingale* (Pl. 66) was of such importance for Ernst that he asked Arp's permission to claim it wholly for himself rather than as a Fatagaga.⁵⁴

In brief, the signs of a possessive individual author are still very much present, and a glance at the Fatagaga collages is sufficient to confirm that the imagery has nothing in common with Arp; it is Ernst's imagery, and it dominates what little of the captions/inscriptions is visible.⁵⁵ This is true also of the relationship of image and text for *Physiomythological Flood Picture*, where once more the text appears to be keyed to a pre-existent image, although in this instance the text – comparable in effect to a passage from *Les Champs magnétiques* – could stand alone:

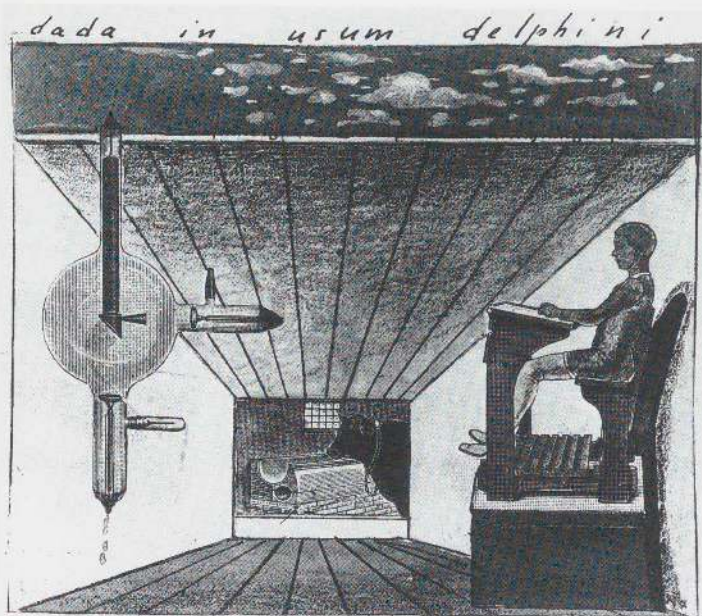
True to an old thieves' custom, the dadaist arp deposits his excrement at the foot of the ladder. the clockbirds have already struck eleven. sea-camels leave the water funnelless. The abscessed old crone on the anal branch is part of the machinery, but the polychrome women move the wind by calisthenics. the dadaists are of the Opinion that a bird's foot can't hurt.⁵⁶

The source of the human figure in this collage has not been discovered, but the two birds and bird foot were extracted from illustrations on two separate pages in the teaching aids catalogue, one dealing with prehistoric models, the other a zoological chart on birds.^{57, 58} In contrast to Ernst's custom of cutting carefully along the edges of collage elements, the two birds were snipped out with ground all around. But if Ernst did not do the cutting, he controlled the imagery. The combination of human and bird forms here materialized the confusion he posited in his memory of childhood experiences – and bird-

man/bird-woman forms would have an enormous progeny in his work, including specific descendants in *Santa Conversazione* (Pl. 101) and *La Belle Jardinière* (Fig. 97). Despite noteworthy differences, all three of these compositions are similar in their disposition of two standing figures accompanied by birds. In *Santa Conversazione* the birds are the same as those used in *Physiomythological Flood Picture*, although one now perches by the open womb of the principal figure rather than on the tail of a phallic-like branch. Elizabeth Legge, employing her psychoanalytic approach to Ernst's work and the religious connotations of *Santa Conversazione* and *La Belle Jardinière*, has opened a fruitful line of research involving popular Catholic tradition and the psychoanalytic essays of Ernest Jones. She observes that in popular legends of the church, Jesus was conceived in the ear of the Virgin Mary by the breath of the Holy Spirit, sometimes depicted as the dove of the Holy Spirit at the Virgin's ear or as a ray of light from the mouth of God, that is, the energy and fecundating "Word" of God. In his essay, Jones cited not only the sexual significance of birds and creation by the word but the canonical legend in which a dove escaped from Joseph's phallus and perched on his head – "the dove being, in that instance, a symbol of the erect phallus."⁵⁹ Jones's ideas could not have figured in Ernst's concepts during 1920–21, but Ernst could have known Freud's essay "A Childhood Memory of Leonardo da Vinci" in either its first edition (1910) or its second edition (1919), which included a diagram by Oskar Pfister indicating the form of a vulture "hidden" within the folds of the Virgin's garment in Leonardo's painting of *The Virgin, Child, and St. Anne*.⁶⁰ Pfister's discovery was significant for Freud, inasmuch as Freud's essay focused on Leonardo's account in his notebooks of a dream in his infancy, when a vulture came to him and beat his tail feathers inside his mouth. Two aspects of vultures that attracted Freud's attention might also have intrigued Ernst. Freud observed that the Egyptian hieroglyph for mother ("Mutter" in German) was a vulture and that the Egyptian goddess Mut had a vulture head. Sec-



59 Max Ernst: *Untitled*, ca. 1920. Collage: cut photographs and gouache on printed reproduction, 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. The Museum of Modern Art, New York



60 Max Ernst: *Dada in usum delphini*, ca. 1920. Collage: cut printed reproductions, gouache, and pencil on paper. Whereabouts unknown

only, Freud pointed out that the Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, and early Christians believed vultures existed only in the female sex and conceived through the wind – a feature cited by the church fathers as a natural prototype of the Virgin birth.⁶¹ These considerations may not seem particularly relevant for *Physiomythological Flood Picture*, but they are registered at this point for several reasons: their significance for *Santa Conversazione* and *Return of La Belle Jardinière*; the fusion of bird and human forms in the goddess Mut; the association of birds with sexuality and fecundation; and the generally greater importance of religious themes in Ernst's work than has so far been recognized.

Human Beings II

For the consideration of religious references in Ernst's work, it is necessary to set aside discussion of the Fatagagas with their diverse imagery and return to images of the human figure, pausing to observe that *Physiomythological Flood Picture* also participates in the theme which was being considered before our excursion into the Fatagagas, namely a male and female couple in a landscape setting. Needless to say, irreverence abounds in Ernst's visual and literary references to religious subjects, as witnessed in *Drum of the Infantry of the Celestial Army Represented Abreast in Their Sunday Best* (Pl. 70). Here again, Ernst has transformed an entire page of the teaching aids catalogue,⁶² fusing three completely independent panels oriented in two different directions into one coherent scene. He overpainted the entire page – illustrations and blank margins alike – save for the priest and vestment in the lower right foreground, the procession of a missionary troop (in German East Africa) in the distant background, two posts connected by lines, and two fragments from a wall map of Palestine which suggest the shapes of a fish and a balloon or heart-like form.⁶³

Ernst's reworking of these subjects suggests two lines of commentary, one dealing with ambiguities of representation and perception; the other involved with cultural criticism. The perceptual ambiguities occur in the area bounded by the two poles and connecting lines. Ostensibly, those poles and lines frame a view of land and sky beyond, but they also establish a plane which may be perceived as a transparent glass panel, or an opaque panel painted in a manner that plays with the relationship between art, reality, and representation, similar to the conundrum posed so insistently by Magritte over a decade later in his paintings of the human condition.⁶⁴ Are the fish and "balloon" forms hanging in the distant sky or painted on a panel? If the latter, is art imitating nature or is nature an extension of art? Ernst gives no clues, although I suspect that illusion is everywhere in this overpainting, including the realm of cultural commentary. Perhaps the fish and balloon hovering above a barren desert are to be viewed as mirages – paralleled by the empty vestments suspended beside the priest and the imperialist mission of those troops. Ernst has not left a program for this work, but the title – here clearly keyed to pre-existing imagery – ridicules the contents of the scene, and it does not seem accidental to me that we are dealing with the iconography of imperialism (church, state, foreign lands, and conquest) in the context of a desert with references to illusion, emptiness, and mirage.

Ernst also directed his satire at traditional Christian subject matter, as witnessed in his addition of photographic portraits to Mary, Joseph, and the Christ Child in a reproduction of Murillo's painting *The Holy Family* (Fig. 59).⁶⁵ Murillo's sentimental scene, in which Mary and Joseph are focused on the Christ Child, has been transformed into a bourgeois family portrait with suggestive elements. A self-satisfied-looking father now rests his hand on the belly of a diminutive but fully developed daughter, while the elegantly dressed mother has turned away to smile in our direction, and the little dog has evolved from cute pet into an inadequate symbol of marital fidelity.

The identity of the individuals in these photographs is unknown and may be of no consequence, but references to the Holy Family in another untitled collage by Ernst may harbor biographical allusions as well as references to Freud and alchemy. This collage (Pl. 74) is dominated by a well-dressed male adult, standing on a Chirico-like floor in a barren landscape and struggling with a giant serpent. This figure is accompanied by three additional individuals: the head of a Raphaelesque woman in the immediate foreground, and in the far left background a father in nineteenth-century attire holding a young child aloft on his shoulder. Haloes around the heads of the woman and child identify them as the Madonna and Christ Child, suggesting the theme of the Holy Family and a reference perhaps to Ernst's own family, given the precedent of Philipp Ernst's portrayal of young Max as the Christ Child (Ch. I, n. 13). The male's struggle is literally framed by members of the Holy Family, and, viewed within the Christian tradition, it becomes a combat against Satan, symbolized in the serpent, which tempts man to disobedience and alienation. It might be argued that those very conditions prevailed in Ernst's life, at least from the parents' viewpoint. Warlick has proposed another view of the snake, as a general symbol of the phallus, thereby shifting

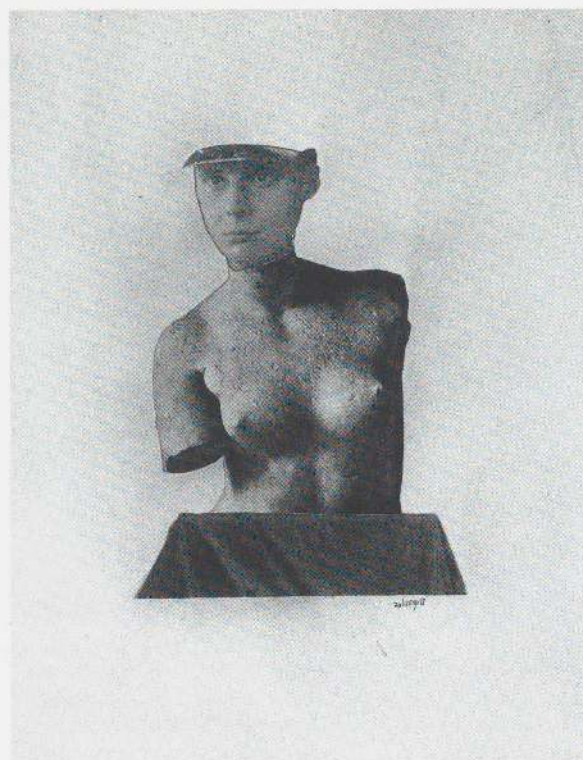
the struggle from the framework of Ernst's family to a universal battle of libidinous impulses erupting within the social context of religion and bourgeois respectability. Finally, Warlick also suggests an overlap between Ernst "wrestling with the psychological Oedipal conflicts between his own parents" and Silberer's writings on alchemy, where the serpent is a symbol of primal matter and "guardian of the threshold" of the occultists "which must be overcome" for the alchemical work to be accomplished.⁶⁶

From these paintings with religious themes, I wish to move to two other groups of works, one dealing with the theme of portraiture and family groups, the other united simply by Chirico-like spatial constructions far more pronounced than the tilted floor plane in the collage just discussed. Among the latter works, *Dada in usum delphini* (Fig. 60) introduces one of Ernst's recurring themes – the classroom as torture chamber. The student is presented as a parallel to the cow chained at its trough on the back wall. In contrast to the open sky above, he is imprisoned in a windowless chamber, isolated at his desk and sitting numbly while being bombarded from across the room by an X-ray tube, up-to-date symbol for a soulless pedagogic device.⁶⁷

The Master's Bedroom It's Worth Spending a Night There (Pl. 72) presents a chamber of a different function altogether. Ernst's source was a half-page from the teaching aids catalogue illustrating a wall chart for instruction in writing, speech, and visual perception.⁶⁸ Ernst trimmed off the upper third of the illustration and recycled it as another overpainting entitled *Apollo Constantly Refuses to Marry the Archaeologist's Only Daughter* (Pl. 71). Among the fifty or so items on the retained portion, he overpainted all but ten: a bear, sheep, whale, bat, fish, and snake, along with a bed, table, and bureau by a small fir tree. These he united in a bare, windowless room with a plunging perspective, identified in German above and French below as the master's/Max Ernst's bedroom. The only item added is a small undefined art work on the wall. As usual in comparing Ernst's visual source and his transformation of that source, the unpredictability of his decisions is striking. What was it about this illustration and certain images within it that caught his attention and not others? What is the relationship – if any – between these images and the audience, since we are invited to spend the night there? Foster thinks it may "allude directly to a primal scene," that is, a child's discovery or imagining of parental intercourse, while Spies proposes that Ernst's selection of images was based on Freud's attribution of hidden erotic meaning to such objects as fish, snake, table, and bed – snake as "the most significant symbol of the male organ," set tables as women, and "bed and table" as marriage.⁶⁹ Rodari has commented more evocatively on Ernst's bedroom as the scene throughout his life "of tremendous mental and sensory activity," as a:

laboratory and theater of reveries, desires, and anxieties that Ernst was visited in his childhood by hallucinations which revealed to him the existence of strange, plural realities, abnormal states camouflaged in the midst of appearances... this hothouse where the mind's obsessions blossomed...⁷⁰

While eschewing an interpretation, I observe that Ernst has brought a selection of the wild creatures of nature into a domestic



61 Johannes Theodor Baargeld: *Self Portrait*, 1920. Photomontage, 14 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 12 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. Kunsthau Zurich

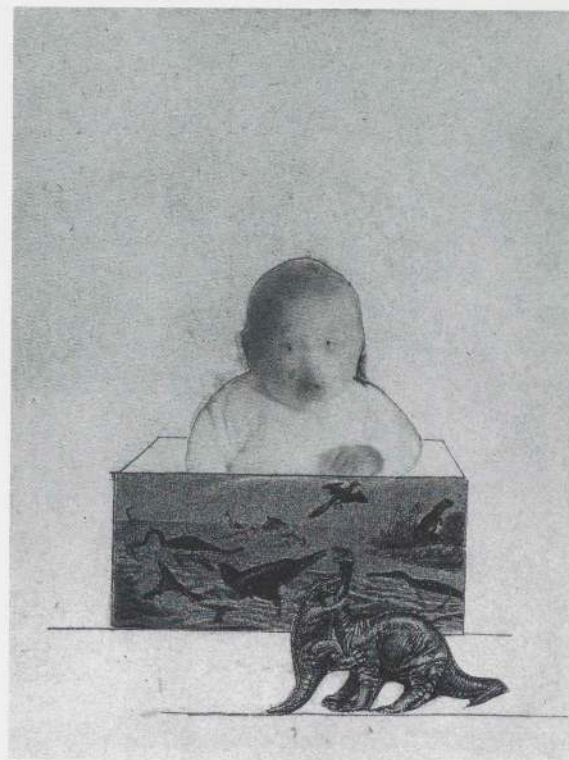
interior, and though the master is absent, a place has been set for him, somewhat apart from his guests – or his fantasies, or ancestors? Like a miniature Noah's Ark, these creatures are diverse. They are predatory and non-predatory; they walk, swim, fly, and slither. But unlike in the Ark, there are no couples. What are we to fantasize as we contemplate this scene and our invitation to spend the night in it?

The master of this bedroom did provide a contemporary self portrait (Pl. 67), which will be employed to introduce the category of portraiture, including group portraits. Ernst's self portrait is a photograph of himself, modified by the addition of some gouache and collage elements, notably the head of a man flayed for anatomical study, which is fitted on the bust of a woman wearing an off-the-shoulder gown. Ink and gouache lines along and around the joint conceal the edge of the paper. Ernst wrote "dadamax" by his face and "caesar buonarroti" across the chest of his companion, identifying him/her as both a dictator (Caesar) and Michaelangelo. It is a formal portrait, with Ernst in a dark jacket and bow tie, arm around his companion, touching him/her familiarly and holding a ruler probably intended to make clear that a measurement is proposed between Dadamax and a diminutive Caesar Buonarroti. Additional insult to this little Caesar is surely intended by casting him in a subservient female role, possibly questioning his sexual make-up, and perhaps referring to academic art instruction by using a flayed head.⁷¹ Another insult emerged when this work – long referred to simply as *Self Portrait* – was linked by Spies with a Fatagaga text entitled "The punching ball or the immortality of buonarroti."⁷² Michaelangelo is, then, proposed as a punching ball, and, in that regard, Pech has pointed out that Ernst took his first punch as early as 1912 when he

62 Max Ernst: *Portrait of Rosa Bonheur (Luise Straus)*, 1920. Collage: cut printed reproductions and photographs with pencil on paper, 4½ x 3¼ in. Collection of Jimmy Ernst Family



63 Max Ernst: *Dadafex minimus (Jimmy Ernst)*, 1920. Collage: cut printed reproductions and photographs with pencil on paper, 4½ x 3¼ in. Collection of Jimmy Ernst Family



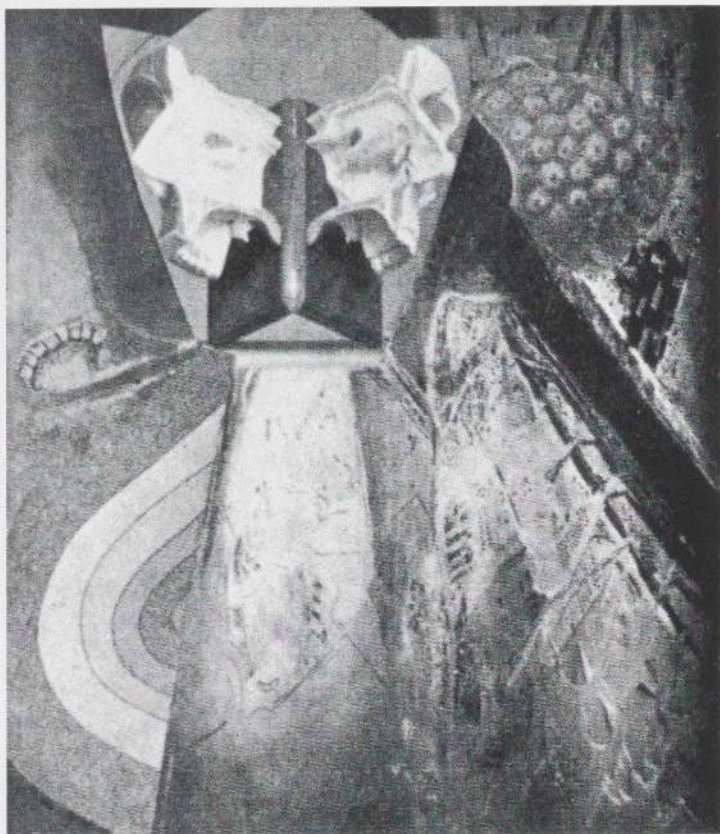
criticized a local sculptor for having "too much from the Greeks, Michaelangelo, and Rodin. Let him go to the Negroes and learn sculpture."⁷³

The nature of Ernst's commentary on Michaelangelo and our own interpretations are challenged by Baargeld's contemporary *Self Portrait*, in which he glued a photograph of his face on the bust of the *Venus de Milo* (Fig. 61). Did he mean to devalue the *Venus de Milo*, or was he more interested in offending bourgeois convictions regarding the sanctity of art objects and the means by which art is made? Or might he have been making a statement about bisexuality that was personal, that was related to contemporary psychological theories on the mingling of sexual characteristics, or related to alchemical concepts of the androgynous state? He probably had several aims in mind, and was surely having fun. Under any circumstances, this self portrait serves to humble and enlarge our interpretive efforts, and it also helps to establish the date for a group of portraits, since it is dated on the work, and that date is confirmed by Ernst's letter to Tzara on December 28, 1920. Tzara had asked what had happened to a self portrait of Baargeld which was to be sent to him, and Ernst replied: "you have already received it, but you haven't recognized it. It's the Venus de Milo with a man's head."⁷⁴ In this same letter, Ernst informed Tzara that he was sending him "the portrait of Rosa Bonheur and of Jimmy (that's my son)" (Figs. 62, 63).⁷⁵ Both portraits are collages formed by parts of photographs and illustrations from the teaching aids catalogue, no longer overpainted but removed from the catalogue for use in the collages. The portrait of Luise consists of a bust-length photograph of her, set in a basket and superimposed by a seal (sea dog). Jimmy – described as "dadafex minimus the greatest anti-philosopher of the world" – is also represented by a bust-length photograph, cut out of a larger photograph, then set in a box defined by pencil lines and faced with

part of an illustration of a wall chart depicting stratifications in the development of the world and its inhabitants. Overlapping that image is another collage part depicting battling dinosaurs, which Ernst cut out of the same page in the teaching aids catalogue that provided the brontosaurus in *Physiomythological Flood Picture* (Pl. 75).⁷⁶ Jimmy looks a bit apprehensive in the photograph, as well he might, given Ernst's stratification of life, which has his son emerging directly out of a violent, primeval background of fish, birds, dinosaurs, and reptiles.

There are no known group portraits by Ernst of his little family, but both group portraits and the theme of the family and pets remained important in the collages and overpaintings of 1920–21. Ernst's satire on the Holy Family of Murillo might be recalled here (Figs. 59), along with a lost double portrait of Arp and Sophie Taeuber (Fig. 64), which has recently figured in a study by Derenthal of double portraits and group portraits in Ernst's work.⁷⁷ This was, in effect, a friendship portrait, which remained in Arp's possession and was not presented in public until reproduced in Arp's *On My Way* in 1948, thankfully accompanied by a caption identifying the form on the left as Arp smoking a pipe and the configuration on the right as Sophie Taeuber wearing a cape.⁷⁸ Like the preceding portraits, it is a collage, with parts from the teaching aids catalogue, which conceivably harbored some association with the subject.⁷⁹ Without the aid of Arp's caption, however, it does not seem likely that we would register the presence of two figures – much less a double portrait – and one wonders how much is missed in the content of Ernst's work when we lack titles and comments by him.

Without accompanying captions, the same condition would exist for Ernst's multiple portrait of Arp published in *Littérature* as *Microgramme Arp 1 : 25.000* (Fig. 65).⁸⁰ In this case, Ernst took the illustration of a large wall chart with six separate geological and paleon-



64 Max Ernst: *Double Portrait of Hans Arp and Sophie Taeuber*, ca. 1920. Collage. Whereabouts unknown

tological frames,⁸¹ cut out the separate frames, and rearranged them in an asymmetrical composition, eliminating some parts and adding a few lines, which transformed unrelated forms into landscapes and bizarre creatures. In a legend on the page with these images, each frame is designated as different forms of Arp: "Arp and the Wisdom of His Youth," "Seismographic Arp," "Nymphomaniac Arp," "Hair Arp," "Fish Arp," and "Yellowstone Park Arp." When joined in this context, it is possible to recognize some relationship between the captions and the images.⁸² Separated from this context, the images could stand alone but impoverished by the loss of the text, which is a visual and intellectual part of the whole.

Beings from the Realm of Nature

The first frame in this multiple portrait of Arp, "Arp and the Wisdom of His Youth," raises intriguing possibilities for the next major classification of paintings to be considered: beings from the realm of nature, dominated by the "animated landscape" theme. That particular image of Arp is similar in appearance to several extraordinary animated landscapes (Pls. 88, 89, 93). Some of them bear no title, and, as previously noted, I am inclined to think that they are not works that never had a title, but works that became separated from titles that, if available, might alter and enrich our perception of these paintings. That possibility notwithstanding, nothing about these paintings seems impoverished. To the contrary, they constitute some of the most riveting images in all of Ernst's work. Many are overpaint-

ings from the teaching aids catalogue; some are overpaintings from sources yet to be discovered. Generally they have not generated extensive analysis and interpretation, but their expressive range is quite varied, and their significance for Ernst's later work is enormous.

One of the untitled animated landscapes is exemplary of the genre (Pl. 88). Ernst selected a full-page color plate in the teaching aids catalogue (p. 656) representing "Marchantia polymorpha, Multiform Liverworts," that is, green, non-flowering plants of the class of Hepaticae within the division of Bryophyta.⁸³ He turned it upside-down and retained the dramatic green and yellow plant forms against a dark ground, but painted out some passages and added other forms, so that botanical specimens once isolated on a flat plane have been transmogrified into eerie plant creatures occupying an alien landscape. An "unnatural" light illuminates these forms against a black sky and a terrain made of no substance known on earth. And with no human forms or constructions, we have no measure of scale – though our sensation is one of being very small. Our way into that hushed, forbidding terrain is barred by a phalanx of huge plant creatures, each one alert, aware of our presence, and, when equipped with eyes, looking directly at us. Though none projects overt hostility, their attitude projects curiosity about us, and their forms suggest automatic reactive/defensive actions supported by all the glands, venom, odors, and secretions a body would need. A few of the creatures suggest a greater threat insofar as they can fly, but little mobility is implied for the others. Some may be able to slither, but most seem fixed in space and limited to such motions as opening and closing, tumescence and detumescence, multiplying and dividing. The sexual association of these terms exists in the visual source and, in my opinion, in Ernst's intentions. The plant creature at the lower left is an antheridium (an organ that produces male sex cells in mosses, algae, fungi, and ferns). Its companion in the lower right corner is a fertilized archegonium (a multi-cellular female sex organ of mosses, producing a single egg), and the two forms between them represent a germinating spore and the initial cell structure of a bud in sprout. The towering horned creature – ancestor of horned male figures in Ernst's work through the fabled *Capricorn* sculpture of 1949 – combines two forms: an air chamber, and another antheridium for the production of male sex cells.

This gendering of forms probably exists in a similar untitled composition (Pl. 93). Though as dramatic as the preceding work, it is larger, more static, intense, and iconic, prompting one scholar to compare it to the gravity of a Juan Sanchez Cotan still life.⁸⁴ Gendered plant creatures are also prominent in the overpainting *Always the Best Man Wins* (Pl. 89), along with such familiar features of Ernst's work as the tubular form at the left, cast shadows, constellations in the sky, and mountains along the horizon, which figure in the extended title.⁸⁵

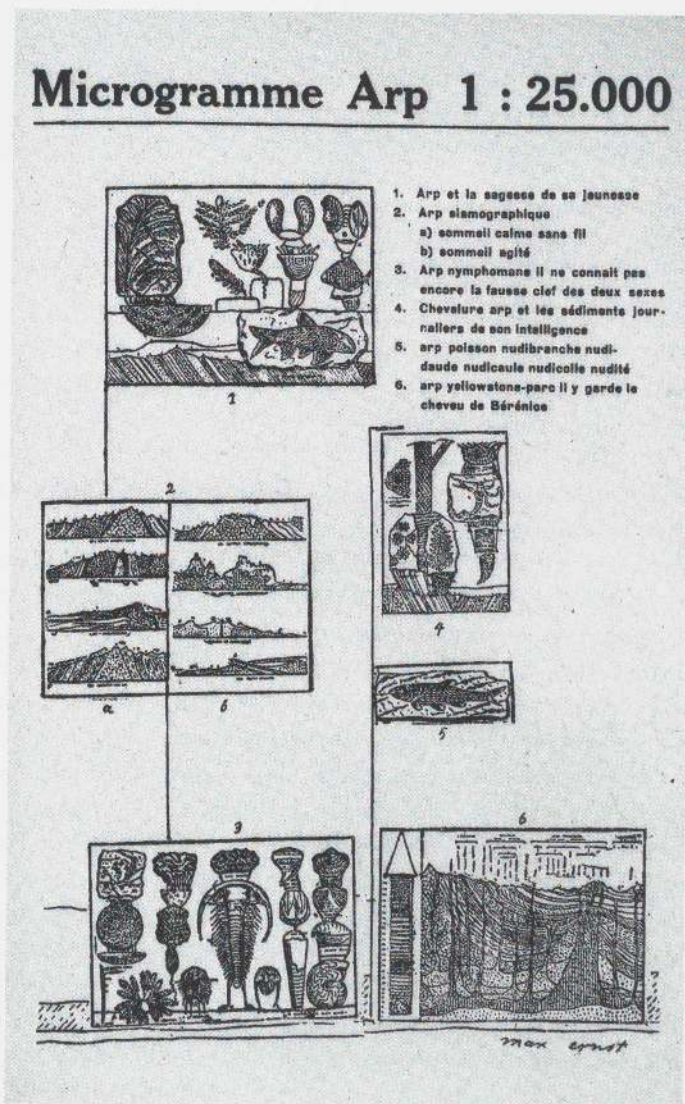
The animated landscapes exist in a variety of forms and moods. *Greatly Enlarged Frozen Section of Dwarf Cells* (Pl. 90) suggests a cross-section of the earth, showing "root structures" even more bizarre than the forms which have emerged in the light of day above. The animated qualities of these plant creatures is directly derived from the source, an illustration in the teaching aids catalogue (p. 582) of the digestive organs of a beetle and the organs of a snail,

which has been turned by Ernst 180° and transformed by overpainting into this fantastic cross section. *The Little Tear Gland That Says Tic Tac* (Pl. 81) strains the category, insofar as it is a constructed image and not particularly animated. Nevertheless, it seems appropriate to include it here, given its subject matter and seminal importance for numerous landscapes to come, in which the seemingly light-hearted mood of this work is transformed into ominous, animated forests presided over by a luminous moon. There is also a peering enigma in the relationship of image and title, and in sensations of conceal-

Little Tear Gland That Says Tic Tac. But it, too, is inhabited by a strange plant life – an unearthly fusion of intelligent vegetable and metallic tubes, rooted in space but gendered, capable of reproducing, and set in dialogue with both the distant, desolate shore and a unique flying object, which was to become another ubiquitous motif in Ernst's work.

An even more bizarre mixture of the mechanical and organic characterizes the central forms of *Stratified Rocks, Nature's Gift of Gneiss Lava Icelandic Moss...* (Pl. 84). The organic elements are the residue of an illustration of the internal organs of a horse, turned 180°, partially overpainted, augmented with some mechanical parts, and set in a puzzling stratified composition.⁸⁷ In contrast to the previous animated landscape with distinct registers of earth, sea, distant mountains, and sky parallel to the picture plane, we seem to be given a cross-section of the "earth," with multiple horizons, or perhaps no horizon. At first glance the white stratum across the center appears to represent a plane between far-off mountains and the crust of the darker earth strata below, from which what were once parts of the horse now emerge as grotesque growths. But with longer study, that spatial perception is denied by strata above those "distant mountains," strata that produce more horizons and more growths in what were once the horse's hooves.

Various parts of a horse are also at the base of *The Fusible Bedroom Snail and the Heart of the Fleet-footed Harvester Maiden* (Pl. 87). Ernst is dealing here not with a landscape but with two upright creatures, who represent the presence of the "couple theme" within my grouping of beings from the realm of nature. In this instance, Ernst took an entire page from the teaching aids catalogue⁸⁸ and united four separate panels, among them those representing teeth (lower right) and head cross-section (lower left). Visual games developed in the stamped and rubbed drawings of 1919–20 still inform Ernst's vision in this overpainting. The flat frames of the panels at the bottom were extended into a three-dimensional volume; the negative space between them was transformed into a rod or tube, and Ernst has accepted images with different orientations as readily as he rotated letter blocks in *Self-constructed Little Machine* (Pl. 43). At first glance, the inscriptions here in three languages – French above, German and Latin below – are as bewildering as the imagery, but with some effort it becomes evident that image and text are deliberately related and linked in part to the teaching aid source, even though much remains obscure.⁸⁹ The form on the left contains worm- or slug-like forms, and it is framed above and below by the French and German references to a room or house snail ("*limaçon de chambre*" and "*stubenschnecke*"). Its male gender may be suggested by the two rods projecting from it, as well as the worm-like forms moving through the chambers and orifices of its housing. The form to the right is gendered female by the inscription above it as "the heart of the harvester maiden," and it will be recalled that the upper part of this form was a model of a horse's heart in the teaching aids catalogue. That reference to the heart is reinforced, moreover, by the Latin phrase below, "*Sursum Corda*," a prayer in the Christian church to "Lift your heart on high" – a prayer which would have been known to Ernst from his youth. Much about this work remains obscure, but these observations suggest the willful play *within*



65 Max Ernst: *Microgramme Arp 1 : 25.000*, ca. 1921. Whereabouts unknown. Reproduced in *Littérature*, May, 1921, p. 11

ment and penetration about the blue form at the bottom, which looks like a small stream of water but is modeled in pencil to suggest a three-dimensional form. Ernst's use of wallpaper to provide both structure and suggestions of other forms is yet another example of the pleasure he took in looking and transforming.⁸⁶

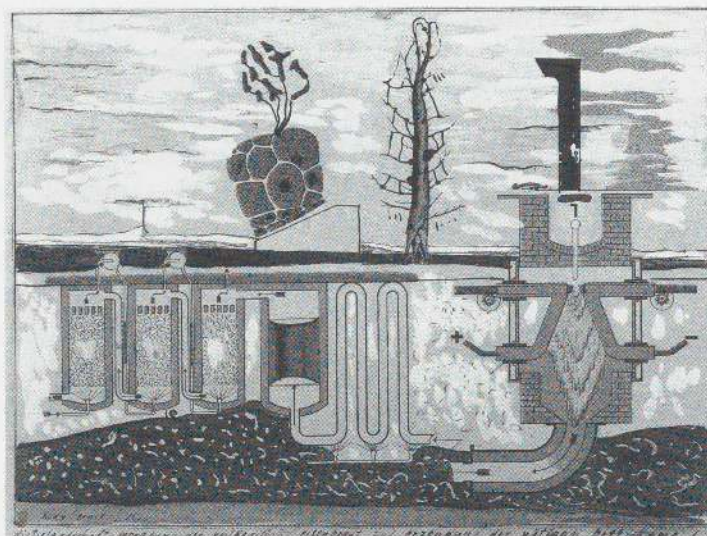
The blazing light and openness of another untitled landscape (Pl. 80) initially evokes a mood distinct from the dark, brooding landscapes discussed above, or even from the impenetrable wall of *The*

images and text, *between* images and text, and between the ready-made source and Ernst's transformation of that source.

A humorous quality marks Ernst's transforming vision and title in *The Sandworm Who Reties Her Sandal* (Pl. 82). Two rows of women's bonnets in a catalogue illustration have been turned 180°, partially overpainted, and modified to create the droll creature before us. The apparent simplicity of the work has attracted diverse commentary. Lucy Lippard has proposed links to Freud and the imaginative idea that it constitutes the female counterpart to *The Hat Makes the Man* (Pl. 55), while Christopher Green seems to imply that its very status as "art" would be in doubt outside an art context. He remarks that the process from bonnets to bizarre crustaceans and nonsense inscription "was a sequence of contradictions producing a many-levelled incoherence within an image that 'seems' coherent and demands consequently to be seen as 'if' coherent and because of its art context, as 'if' art."⁹⁰

The continued significance of clothes and hats (or headdresses) also figures in *Leaf Landscape* (Pl. 83) where an elegant anthropomorphic leaf form (with an extravagant feather) at the left commands a landscape of leaves standing rigidly at attention – save for one pinwheel form that injects the only motion in this military formation. The military reference in this composition is explicitly stated by the title – and to some extent in the forms and sources of a collage entitled *The Assimilative Threads' Attack Plans Found Out in Time on the Stronghold of DADA 1 : 300,000* (Pl. 86). Most of the forms in this latter collage are passages from an illustration of the development of feathers,⁹¹ but transformed into the suggestion of a strange citadel on the right and, on the left, a military banner surmounting a bundle of spears. This was ostensibly one of the Fatagagas mailed to Tzara, and the forms and text suggest a commentary on either the attacks against Dada or its internecine warfare.⁹²

Winter Landscape: Vaporization of the Vulcanized Iron Bride to Achieve the Necessary Bed Warmth (Fig. 66) does not belong fully to the animated landscapes – its forms are more architectural and industrial than organic – but it will be introduced here as a link between the animated landscapes and works which deal in one way or another with the theme of war and destruction. In this instance, Ernst chose an illustration representing the production of nitrogen and nitric acid.⁹³ He turned it upside-down, painted over some passages, and added others, which converted a diagram of an industrial process into a composition depicting a desolate landscape and subterranean industrial forms that imply a cause-and-effect relationship with the blasted landscape above. Additional tension is generated by the title, puzzling in its own right as well as in its association with that devastated landscape, but also commensurate with that scene, insofar as it records a mindless mechanical sacrifice of something precious (the bride) for an irrational, self-destructive end. In 1954 this became the first of Ernst's overpaintings for which the source was discovered. It was recognized by a member of an 11th grade class in the Berlin Reinickendorf High School, where the instructional chart was still in use. That discovery was relayed to the press and displayed as an exposé of the bankruptcy of Ernst's work.⁹⁴ Less surprising than the popular reaction to the student's discovery was the fact that eighteen years had elapsed since Ernst had referred to the teaching aids



66 Max Ernst: *Winter Landscape: Vaporization of the Vulcanized Iron Bride to Achieve the Necessary Bed Warmth*, 1921. Gouache, ink, and pencil on printed reproduction, 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. Whereabouts unknown

catalogue, though without identifying it by name. Still more surprising is the fact that an additional twenty-five years passed before another student found the teaching aids catalogue, still being distributed a stone's throw from the principal art museum of Cologne. Hardly recognized in the 1950s but omnipresent in current criticism is the cultural significance of Ernst's appropriation of mechanically reproduced imagery and the personal significance of that transformed imagery, which seems to continue his memory of the devastating war.

Human and Hybrid Beings

Several collages from the winter of 1920–21 appear to deal with the theme of war, although images suggestive of violence are frequently charged with themes of sexuality and/or religion that simply do not yield to rigid classifications or to pat interpretations. For these images it is necessary to return to Ernst's work featuring human beings and hybrid beings. A common element in these works is a thing or a being which flies – an airplane, bird, angel, or some hybrid of human/angel/bird/devil/flying machine. A richness of such associations already existed in Ernst's experiences, beginning with "the dangerous confusion between birds and humans" attributed to the simultaneous discovery of the death of his pet cockatoo and the birth of his sister Loni. Through church, classroom, and independent reading he had encountered concepts of birds and flight that ranged from the dove of the Holy Ghost to the eagle of Jupiter and Freud's interpretation of dreams about flying as "a longing to possess sexual prowess." From Apollinaire's poem "Zone" he had been exposed to a heady pre-war association of religion, mythology, and technology:

Christ who flies higher than the aviators. . . .
Icarus Enoch Elijah Apollonius of Tyrana
Hover near the original airplane. . . .
Everyone eagle phoenix pihis
Fraternizes with the flying machine.⁹⁵

From the war he was educated in the hypocrisy and corruptibility of such high-minded unions.

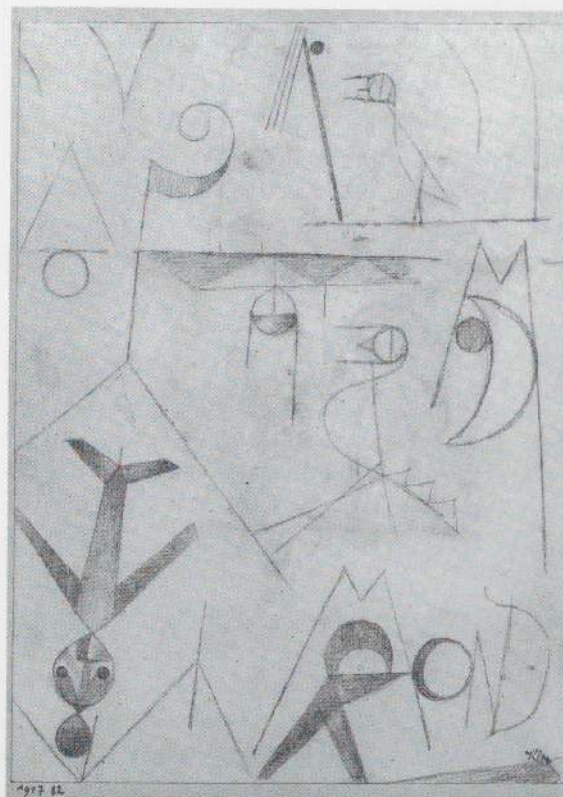
Massacre of the Innocents (Pl. 100) is a major representative of this genre. In this exploding, fragmented composition, we are looking down at a city under an ominous sky, attacked from the upper left by a hybrid flying machine-creature. Ernst fashioned this monster from a photograph of a Lilienthal glider and an angel lifted from the upper left quadrant of Lochner's painting *The Virgin Adoring the Christ Child*.⁹⁶ Three male figures – made with a stencil of the striding figure in *Young Man Burdened with a Flowering Faggot* (Pl. 60) – attempt to flee the scene, lunging over collage parts that have been described as looking like railroad tracks, ladders, or conveyor belts. They are actually parts of photographs of the façades of public buildings with long rows of columns or windows and arches – some viewed from sharp angles – which have been turned on end and superimposed over an aerial photograph of Soissons.⁹⁷ Sensations of attack, flight, and confusion are vivid. The title printed at the lower left refers to the biblical subject of Herod's massacre of the children, but the victims in this collage are adults, ostensibly the citizens of Soissons. Ernst had served there during the war and knew firsthand the terrible destruction suffered by that city and its inhabitants. Previously, the heavens had been the exclusive realm of God and assorted superhuman creatures, but in this war, with the development of airplanes, military man had invaded the heavens and wreaked destruction from above. Ernst has presented this new capability of man in the form of a modern monster, part angel and part flying machine, implicating perhaps the church and industry or technology for their contributions to this modern massacre of the innocents.

Such references to the war are not unique for Ernst at that time. This fusing of birds and airplanes emerged in Paul Klee's work as early as 1917–18 (Fig. 67), when one of his tasks in the army had been to photograph crashed planes. Werckmeister has interpreted Klee's images of plummeting birds as references to falling and crashed airplanes, with an additional dimension incorporating God and man. He observes the tradition from Leonardo onward of comparing men in flying machines to angels, and associates a 1917 passage in Klee's diary to the theme of birds and war planes: "Something new is preparing itself, the diabolical will be merged into a simultaneity with the celestial...."⁹⁸

A somewhat different, muted version of this theme appears in an untitled collage depicting a hybrid airplane/woman flying over a barren plain, with three men in the lower right corner, one of whom is injured and being carried off by his companions (Pl. 98).⁹⁹ The context implies an injury sustained somehow by an encounter with the monstrous female/machine hybrid, but the relationship between the men and the female/machine is not clear. No aggressive action or fear is expressed, and, indeed, one's sympathy could be attracted to the female/machine, given the gesture of her arms and the turn of that unbearable engine/head which seems to recoil from the scene below. Altogether different aspects of this general theme are introduced by *The Swan Is Very Peaceful* (Pl. 99), which exists in both a collage form and a photographic enlargement of that collage. Behind a swan, resting peacefully on a meadow, stands a biplane beside a hangar. The plane's engine has been replaced by a frame containing

three angels from the same painting by Lochner of *The Virgin Adoring the Christ Child*. In 1921 Louis Aragon became the owner of this collage and the first to observe that its extended title (inscribed above and below the photographic enlargement) was, in effect, a "little poem," which was not only a commentary on the painting "but also its complement":

It is the twenty-second time that Lohengrin leaves his mistress for the last time – we are on the upper Missouri, where the earth has extended its crust/surface on four violins (? sur quatre violons) – We will never see ourselves again, we will not fight against the angels – The swan is very peaceful, he pulls forcefully on the oars to reach Leda.¹⁰⁰



67 Paul Klee: *A Piece of the Moon's World*, 1917. Pencil on paper, 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ x5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. The Menil Collection, Houston

In this title, previous flying machines or creatures have been expanded by reference to two famous swans in Western culture: Lohengrin, knight of the swan who came to the aid of a noble woman in distress, and the myth of Leda, who was ravished by Jupiter when he came to her as a swan. In these three collages, there is, then, no single theme, but a multi-faceted theme mingling the forms of airplanes, angels, and human beings with references to violence, sexuality, and Christianity.

Ernst's hybrid and flying creatures incorporate a still greater variety of forms and themes, including the hovering nude in *Approaching Puberty* (Pl. 105) and the baffling play of text and images in *The Cormorants* and *The Flamingos* (Pl. 96). Themes of sky or heaven, sea and flight are introduced by a Lochner angel and the planet Saturn above, opposed to flamingos wading in water below. Those two realms are thematically linked, however, by an aerial photograph of

ships in a harbor. That angel's-eye view of the harbor is almost illegible owing to the absolutely perpendicular view and the addition of alien circular forms including the cross-section of a human brain, a gothic rose window, and an unidentified shape perhaps representing the "paper eggs" mentioned in the inscriptions.¹⁰¹

Santa Conversazione (Pl. 101), previously discussed in the context of coupled figures, is reintroduced here, given its combination of hybrid figures, birds, and a religious reference. The breastplate of the woman on the left was taken from a photograph of an experimental airplane¹⁰² and, accordingly, could harbor reference to a war machine. But the wings also "stand for" the woman's lungs and, simultaneously, "look like" wings of some sort, which establish a visual/mental link with the bird at her open womb. That, in turn, introduces themes of religion and sexuality – at least for those who subscribe to the interpretation of that motif as a reference to the fundamental power of God via the dove of the Holy Spirit. Ernst's childhood confusion of human and bird – and of birds as harbingers of life and death – merits notation again. Still other motifs and possible meanings include her elaborate headdress and the juxtaposition of nude and clothed figures bearing a venerable theme of sacred and profane love.

Similar references to the dove of the Holy Spirit have been proposed for another hybrid creature, *The Horse, He's a Little Sick* (Pl. 78), although the subject of the horse is too complex within Ernst's work to be captured by a single interpretation. Two versions exist, confirming his access to more than one copy of the teaching aids catalogue which provided the basis for the composition.¹⁰³ This full-page illustration of a cross-section of the head and proboscis of a meat fly has no manifest relationship to the subject of the collage, but it does suggest a disjointed, horse-like form, which Ernst completed with collage elements in one version and with overpainting in the other (Pl. 79).¹⁰⁴ The collage version is an excellent example of Ernst's ability to create a bizarre, seamless whole out of the most disparate parts imaginable. Careful examination with a magnifying glass is necessary to discover that three collage parts are present, all from separate pages in the teaching aids catalogue: the head and throat of the horse is partially formed by the flower blossom at the far right in *Always the Best Man Wins* (Pl. 89); the bird head added to the form under the horse is the pigeon used in *Physiomythological Flood Picture* (Pl. 75); and the body of the horse is a portion of a tall oven.¹⁰⁵ Despite the apparent incongruity between the subject of the collage and the diverse forms, Konnertz observes that the fly is a close relative of the species that is a pest and disease carrier for horses, cows, and sheep, thereby establishing a connection with the reference to illness in the title. David Hopkins proposes additional meanings. Given the presence of the dove by the open womb in both *Santa Conversazione* and *La Belle Jardinière*, he thinks it is also appropriate to link the dove under the horse's belly to the symbolism of the Holy Spirit. He goes further and suggests the presence of alchemical concerns, noting a passage in Silberer's *Probleme der Mystik und ihrer Symbolik* which could have been known to Ernst: "The semen of the man is putrefied in a closed curcurbit per se, with the greatest putrefaction in a horse's belly for 40 days or until it comes to life and moves and stirs."¹⁰⁶ The possibility of alchemical elements in Ernst's

work looms larger a little later in his career, but Warlick's research also suggests an alchemical presence by this date, and Ernst's choice of an oven for the horse's belly may be viewed as a decision consistent with Hopkins's thesis rather than what was "merely" an imaginative aesthetic solution for completing the form of the horse. Still other possibilities for the significance of horses abound. They are bracketed visually between images of sexual force in the early watercolor *Waiting* (Ch. I, n. 69) and paintings of 1927 entitled *Bride of the Wind*. They are enriched conceptually by themes to be explored later in literature, psychology, and metaphysics.

Two other hybrid creatures, *Health through Sport* and *Above the Clouds Midnight Passes...* (Pls. 65, 64), were produced in a photographic medium which suggests a document of something unworldly that "really" exists. The extant collage for *Above the Clouds Midnight Passes...* (Pl. 64) provides a telling example of Ernst's goal in this instance. On a photograph of clouds viewed from above, he has constructed a strange hybrid female being from details of three black-and-white reproductions: a crocheted form, which serves as a bifurcated, wing-like head that surmounts a ball-of-twine torso, and the bare legs of a female model in high heel shoes. The evidence of the cutting and gluing of these three parts and their contrast to the tan color of the cloudscape attract attention to the artist's hand in the creation of this work. But in the photographic enlargement of this collage (28¾x21⅞ in. versus 7½x5⅛ in.), the presence of the artist is removed by the suppression of the collage edges and by the all-over black/white tonality of the photograph, further muted by the softer definition of the photographic print. With some visual effort, we may conclude that this strange creature was derived from some sort of photo montage – the tradition had been established early on in the history of photography – but that conclusion is not comforting for long in the face of the matter-of-fact presence of this armless creature whose eyes transfix us like those of the enchanted plant creatures, in Ernst's animated landscapes (Pl. 88). There is a more intense pressure to that crocheted head than to the human legs, and there is a more convincing quality to this creature overall than there is to the traditional hybrids in photographs by Emil Bayard.¹⁰⁷

The crocheted head of her male counterpart is likewise more riveting and animated than his body, which appears to be an enlarged photograph of a male model in a conventional art studio pose. His murky space is not defined, and he is accompanied by a "hockey" stick and a cutaway view of the brain of an alligator, held up like a trophy of the hunt.¹⁰⁸ Both images seem to be related to their titles. The extended title for *Above the Clouds Midnight Passes...* is long and poetic: "Above the clouds midnight passes. Above the midnight hovers the invisible bird of day. A little higher than the bird the ether extends and the walls and roofs float."¹⁰⁹ The title *Health through Sport* is brief, crisp, and, I suspect, satirical. The hockey stick and athletic body seem commensurate with the title, but what manner of sport is this, and what is one to make of this sportsman with his gruesome trophy and vaguely feline/female head that establishes eye contact with us? Our experience is further complicated by a recognition that the nude model injects the theme of art, especially the classical tradition based on Greco-Roman sculpture. Margot Norris

has proposed that Ernst is parodying ideal forms in Western culture and, beyond that, deconstructing the process of idealization itself, disrupting concepts of wholeness and mocking claims to truth and meaning.¹¹⁰ Whether or not these observations reflect Ernst's intentions cannot be known, but Norris articulates a thoughtful account with a perspective and vocabulary of the 1970s and 80s that is not incompatible with what is known of Ernst in 1921 or, for that matter, with a personal response when confronted with the disturbing life in that crocheted head and the black humor of his "sport."

In the midst of his prodigious production over the fall and winter of 1920–21, Ernst asked Tzara at the end of December: "Would you like to make an exhibition of my works on paper? I will send you 30–60 pieces, if you want."¹¹¹ The timing was propitious, for the Dadaists in Paris were attempting to patch their quarrels. Letters in their archives document meetings beginning in January to work on Tzara's "Dadaglobe" and a second Dada season; and, as previously mentioned, on the 14th of that month a lecture by a common enemy, the Futurist Marinetti, provided the occasion for their first group action since the Festival Dada in May 1920.¹¹² By early February an announcement was out, advertising the second season of Dada, which included an imaginative menu of visits to monuments with no reason to exist, exhibitions, a congress, an opera, commemorations, requisitions, plebiscites, and a mock trial. Though varied and promising compared to the repetitious manifestations in 1920, the program was plagued from the beginning by excessive ambition, lingering feuds, and domination by the *Littérature* group. Four events were finally realized – a visit to the church of St. Julien-le-Pauvre on April 14, followed by an exhibition of Ernst's work in May, a mock trial of the French author and patriot Maurice Barrès on May 13, and a Salon Dada in June. But Dada – as an identifiable, cohesive group of young artists and writers united in values and activities – barely survived the second season. In the opinion of some of those young men, it died with that season.

Breton seemed almost determined to force the course of Dada by devising a poll among his colleagues that would focus their differences. This poll, published in *Littérature* on the eve of the Dada season, asked eleven Dadaists to rank 190 individuals (and a few things) on a scale from +25 to –25, with 0 representing absolute indifference. The list of 190 names from Alcibiades to Zola included all of the Dadaists, along with such entries as Apollinaire, Beethoven, the Bible, Einstein, Foch, France, Freud, Mistinguett, Picasso, Pink Pills, Rimbaud, and Vaché. The eleven colleagues polled were Aragon, Breton, Eluard, Frankel, Péret, Ribemont-Dessaignes, Rigaut, Soupault, and Tzara, plus Picabia's wife Gabrielle Buffet, and Pierre Drieu la Rochelle, an author profoundly admired by Breton. Picabia, who disdained such games, did not participate. Notwithstanding deliberately exaggerated responses in some instances, the results were revealing. The Dadaists ranked each other favorably, but on such sensitive individuals as Apollinaire, Chirico, Freud, Rimbaud, and Vaché (especially honored by Breton), the poll exposed a clear-cut division between Tzara and Ribemont-Dessaignes on one hand and the *Littérature* group on the other hand. Ernst fared well for someone who was a relatively unknown outsider, registering +8.54 versus +8.63 for Picabia, +7.90 for Picasso, and +9.18 for Duchamp.¹¹³

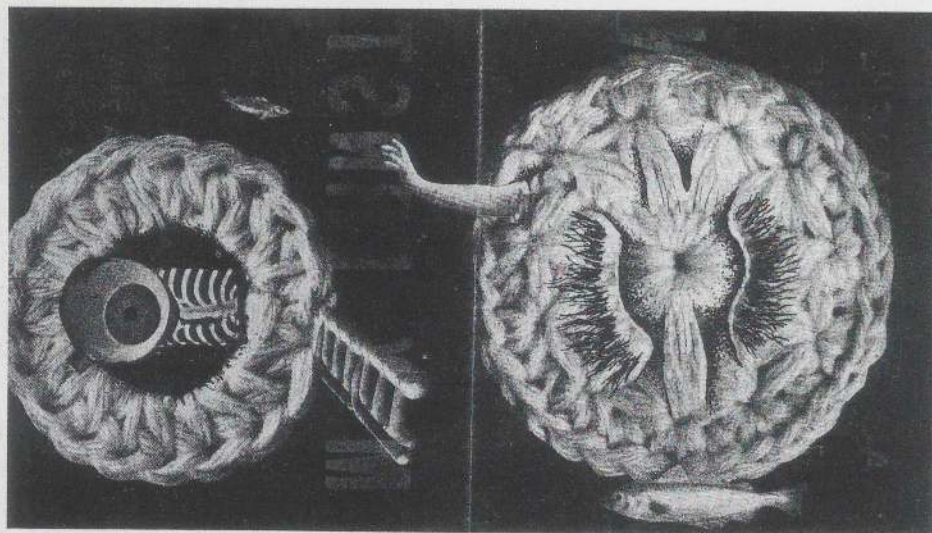
The opening event of the season – the visit to St. Julien-le-Pauvre (as a monument with no reason to exist) – was marred by rain and disappointment among the Dadaists about the mood of the gathering. Picabia was one of the no-shows, and in a newspaper interview published the same day, he disclaimed any part in the event, adding: "All I hope is that it will not represent any political, clerical, or nonclerical character, for I will always abstain from participation in a manifestation of that kind, considering 'Dada' as a personage having nothing to do with beliefs – whatever they may be."¹¹⁴

Ten days later, two unrelated events further strained the frayed bonds of Dada. One event involved an argument among the Dadaists about the proper course of action (Dadaist) regarding a wallet left on their table and confiscated by a member of the group.¹¹⁵ The second event was the receipt by Picabia of a letter from the Swiss-German Dadaist Christian Schad. Both Schad and his colleague Serner had been significant guests in gatherings at Picabia's apartment during the winter of 1920, but they had departed abruptly and had written repeatedly to request the return of material they had left for Tzara's "Dadaglobe." Other German Dadaists also declined to collaborate with Tzara, and Picabia urged Schad to tell him what was going on. Schad complied, writing:

The word Dada was found by Mr. Huelsenbeck and Mr. Ball. There is a lot of evidence that Mr. Tzara was far from that discovery. . . . It was only with the manifesto of Dr. Serner which appeared in the "German edition" of *Dada 4/5* that the great boom of dada began in Germany. Although the 1918 manifesto of Mr. Tzara was known in Germany, all the German dadaists refer to the manifesto of Dr. Serner. . . . Dr. Serner developed his ideas orally before many people in Zurich long before he wrote them. That is why one knows very well how Mr. Tzara found the most important ideas of his manifesto. Now you understand why Mr. Tzara was so afraid when Dr. Serner arrived in Paris that he did not open his mouth.¹¹⁶

This letter completed Picabia's disillusionment with what had become of Dada. Breton had remained suspect in his eyes, and now that Tzara, too, was contaminated, Picabia withdrew from participation in the next event, the exhibition of the works of Dadamax Ernst at the Au Sans Pareil Gallery/bookstore. That exhibition had originated in the correspondence between Ernst and Tzara over the winter of 1920–21, but, as the spring evolved, Breton became the organizer. He first contacted Ernst around late January seeking contributions for *Littérature*, and Ernst had responded with his "dada poem" on Arp and two art works, an *Aérogaphie* and the *Crochet Relief* (Fig. 68), the latter becoming the first work of art to be reproduced in *Littérature*.¹¹⁷ By March Breton seemed to have taken charge of the exhibition, for on April 10 Ernst wrote to thank him for "the trouble you are taking for my exhibition" and for "your two letters and the 'Champs Magnétiques' which gave me real joy. It is a fantastic language for which I have searched a long time." Ernst continued, proposing a title for the exhibition, designating the categories of the works that he had sent, and alerting Breton that "I have much trouble expressing myself in French. I ask your pardon. If you find non-dadaist faults in the epitaphs that I have given to my works, please correct them."¹¹⁸

Tzara's continuing but secondary role in the exhibition is indicated in a blunt letter from Breton on April 26, urging Tzara to work



RELIEF TRICOTÉ

De la moitié de leur croissance les femmes sont empoisonnées soigneusement — elles sont couchées en bouillottes —
la petite Américaine que nous lançons cette année s'amuse en allaitant les chiens de mer — l'œil humain est brodé de larmes bataviques d'air caillé et de neige saïde

68 Max Ernst: *Crochet Relief*, ca. 1921. Collage. Whereabouts unknown. Reproduced in *Exposition Dada Max Ernst* exhibition catalogue, Au Sans Pareil, Paris, May 3 – June 3, 1921

with him that evening because the catalogue is still poorly composed and everything must be printed tomorrow.¹¹⁹ Those problems were resolved, and Breton produced an invitation, a poster/announcement (Fig. 50), and an important catalogue containing his first essay on art.¹²⁰ The invitation advertised the appearance of "The Kangaroo" at 10 p.m., "High Frequency" at 10:30, a distribution of surprises at 11:00, and intimacies after 11:30 – and Breton and his colleagues labored to make that opening night a memorable event (Fig. 69).

Initially, Ernst's works were secondary to the spectacle of the opening night. The Dadaists were dressed in dark suits and white gloves but without neckties. At the door Jacques Rigaut counted loudly the automobiles and pearls of the visitors. Inside, Breton constantly lit matches, Aragon made miaowing sounds, Ribemont-Dessaignes shouted incessantly, "It's raining on the brain," Soupault and Tzara played hide-and-seek, and Péret and the Russian artist Charchoune repeatedly shook hands. For the appearance of *The Kangaroo*, lights were extinguished and a trap door opened in the floor to reveal two Dadaists who bellowed out observations on angels and such comments as: "In games of intelligence it is always the nude woman who wins," or "A billiard game installed in the intestines of the cardinal." Another Dadaist concealed in an armoire made insinuating comments about public figures; a male mannikin generated some amusement, but no one understood the poem "High Frequency." The "surprises" amounted to cookies and three glasses of an orange drink to be shared. Tzara subsequently announced to the guests that one of the glasses had been poisoned – but also fortified with a purging agent.¹²¹ No published accounts have come to light of the "intimacies" after 11:30.

These antics understandably dominated reviews of the exhibition by critics unable and/or indisposed to cope with Ernst's work, but it would be a great mistake to suppose that Ernst's work was merely used by the Dadaists in Paris as a means of agitating the public. In both public and private accounts of the event there was an accent of

unity among a spectrum of the Dadaists that was not present in their other activities. Ernst was outside their internal quarrels, and admiration for his work brought most of them together, for a moment at least. Derenthal regards it as the climax of Franco-German collaboration in Dada.¹²² Whether or not one subscribes to that view, Franco-German collaboration of any kind was still a hot issue in the spring of 1921 and it was one that did not spare the arts. French hostility toward Germany was regularly aggravated by news of German resistance to the Versailles Treaty, by debates over the presentation of Wagner's music in Paris, by the dedication of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, and by the failure of the Germans to return art plundered during the war.¹²³ In some respects, the hostilities were not over. It was, for example, very difficult for Germans to obtain a visa to enter France, and Ernst failed in his desire to visit Paris for the exhibition.

The catalogue indicated that several Dadaists already owned works by Ernst, and that taste would grow apace.¹²⁴ It also included a perceptive essay by Breton, in which he associated Ernst's work with what subsequently became two fundamental elements of Surrealism: automatism and the juxtaposition of distant realities to spark another intense and unforeseen reality. Breton began with an observation of the significance of photography for destroying the imitative nature of past art, a development paralleled in poetry in the late nineteenth century by automatic writing, which he characterized as "a veritable photograph of thought." "Belief in an absolute time and space," writes Breton, "seems ready to disappear," and in Ernst's work he finds:

the marvelous faculty, without leaving the field of our experience, to attain two distant realities and to strike a spark from their rapprochement; to place at the door of our senses abstract figures of the same intensity, of the same relief as others; and, in depriving us a system of reference, to remove us from our own memory, that is what retains it provisionally. . . .

He [Ernst] projects under our eyes the most captivating film of the world and he does not lose the grace of smiling while illuminating most profoundly... our interior life...¹²⁵

In subsequent years, Surrealism was to be more fully articulated in words and images, but it seems to me that Ernst's art for the most part was already proto-Surrealist, if not Surrealist, and manifestly distinct in subject, style, and content from the visual art that had hitherto dominated the Parisians' image of Dadaist art, principally the work of Picabia augmented by that of Ribemont-Dessaignes, Duchamp, Jean Crotti, and Suzanne Duchamp-Crotti. With a few arguable exceptions in the work of Duchamp, their mechanical and mechanomorphic constructions remain constructions; they are not transformed into beings, and they neither have nor seek that "marvelous faculty" of striking a spark with the rapprochement of two distant realities. Forms in the work of the Parisians may be attributed human identities and functions by inscriptions and/or visual associations, but they do not possess the suggestions of organic life and movement which exist in Ernst's work – from the disquieting hints in *Hydrometric Demonstration of Killing by Temperature* (Pl. 54) to



69 René Hilsum, Benjamin Péret, Serge Charchoune, Philippe Soupault (atop ladder, holding bicycle), Jacques Rigaut (upside down), and André Breton at the opening of *Exposition Dada Max Ernst, Au Sans Pareil*, Paris, May 3, 1921

emphatic sensations in the animated landscapes of plant creatures which may grow, die, procreate, and metamorphose into other forms (Pls. 88, 89, 93). This quality of animation was to characterize subsequent Surrealist art by Masson, Miro, Arp, Tanguy, Dalí, and countless others. In a subtler form, it is even a feature that distinguishes the work of Magritte from that of de Chirico.

The second major Surrealist or proto-Surrealist feature of Ernst's work is the presence of haunting, dream-like imagery, most notably in *Here Everything Is Still Floating* (Figs. 58; Pl. 97). This feature, too, is simply non-existent in the work of Picabia and his colleagues in Paris. Ernst's art also possessed, of course, elements associated with

Dada – unorthodox materials and techniques, including the appropriation of reproductions from such "low," non-art sources as catalogues and advertisements; an openness to chance (more in the discovery of imagery than in its manipulation); irreverence and iconoclasm toward sacred conventions and values in art and society; irony; sexuality; an interplay of visual and verbal expression; and a commitment to a private, individualistic art. On each count, however, Ernst's work was distinctive, and that was not overlooked by the Dadaists in Paris. Later in the year, Breton commented on Ernst's exhibition in a letter to André Derain:

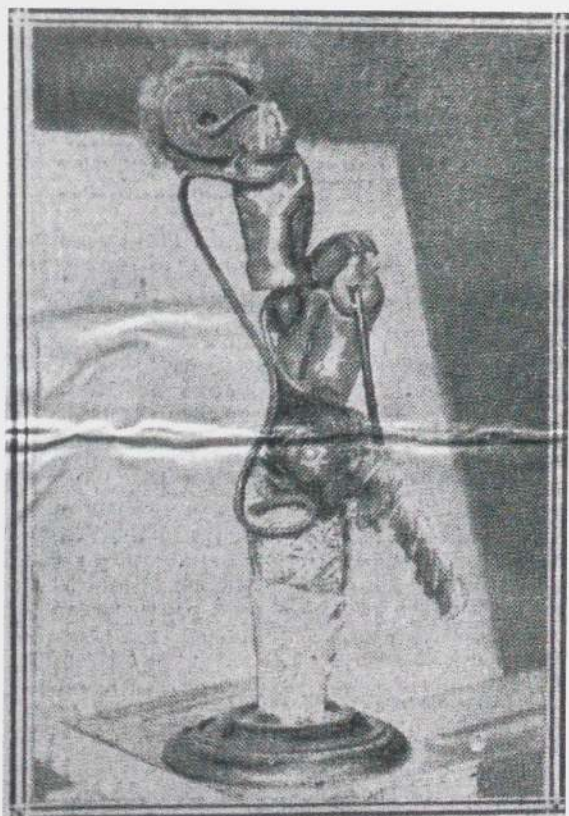
I met Max Ernst here, that German fellow for whom I organized an exhibition in Paris... I consider him one of the most remarkable minds of the age. He's the one, you know, who paints on photographs, which themselves are the result of a combination of existing printed material, such as illustrated advertisements, botanical plates, sports pictures, instructions for women's handicrafts, etc. He made Picabia nearly die of chagrin. I sometimes maintain that we owe a brand of art to him that corresponds to the new conception of things advanced by Einstein.¹²⁶

Just before the next Dada event of the season – the mock trial of Maurice Barrès – Picabia announced his separation from Dada in *Comœdia*, the prominent newspaper devoted to the arts.¹²⁷ On the same page with Picabia's announcement, there appeared by chance a review of Ernst's exhibition by the painter-art critic Jacques Emile Blanche, who observed that "it is not by their aesthetic [*plastique*"] value that one remembers the works Herr Max Ernst exhibits... but by their poetic values, by the strangeness which results from the unforeseeable use of known elements."¹²⁸

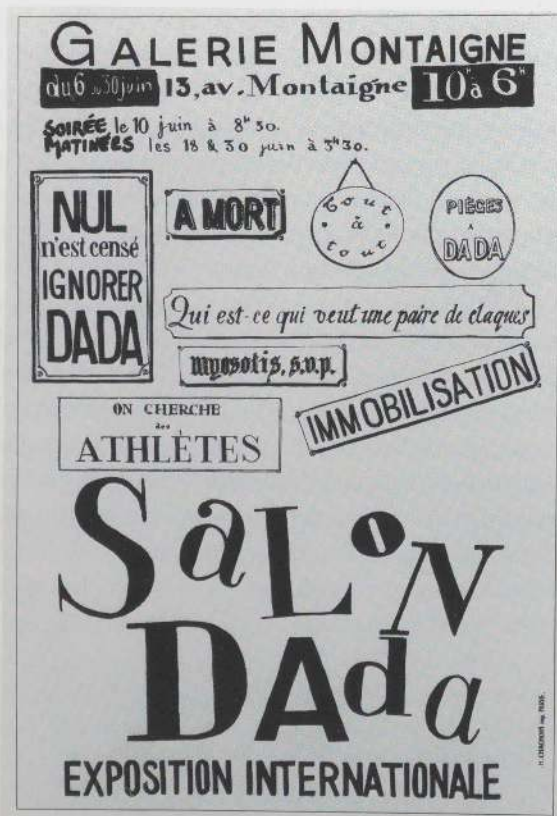
Given the timing of Ernst's exhibition and Picabia's defection from Dada – along with Breton's report of Picabia's reaction to the exhibition – it has been tempting to see a direct connection between the exhibition and resignation. However, as already indicated, Picabia's disillusionment with Dada had been building for some time. Indeed, his suspicion of Breton dated back as far as 1919, and the trial of Barrès may have been the last straw, rather than Ernst's exhibition. In his youth Breton had admired Barrès's writings, but the latter's wartime transformation from anarchist to rabid patriot was a bitter disillusionment, and Breton himself served as the presiding judge at Dada's tribunal on May 13. Ribemont-Dessaignes was the public prosecutor; Barrès was represented by a dummy and defended by Aragon and Soupault. Tzara headed a cast of more than a dozen witnesses, and, in his outrageous disregard of the script, he provided both considerable chagrin for Breton and almost the only refreshing parts of a generally serious and boring performance.¹²⁹ Picabia's second – and most informative – statement of resignation was written on the day of this performance:

The spirit of Dada really existed only during three or four years; it was expressed by "Marcel Duchamp and me" at the end of 1912; Huelsenbeck, Tzara or Ball found the "*nom-écrivin*" Dada in 1916. With the word, the movement touched its culminating point, but it continued to evolve, each of us bringing to it as much life as possible.

We were treated as crazy men, as practical jokers, as queer fellows, etc., etc.: finally it was a grand success! The success... attracted in 1918 several persons who were Dada only in name. Then everything changed



70 Max Ernst: *The Little Virile Tree* [?], ca. 1919–1920. Sculpture. Whereabouts unknown



71 Poster: *Salon Dada* exhibition, Galerie Montaigne, Paris, June 6–30, 1921

around me, I had the impression that like Cubism, Dada would have disciples who "understood" and I had only one idea, to flee as far as possible....

Now Dada has a court, lawyers, and soon probably police....

I do not like illustriousness, and the directors of "Littérature" are nothing but illustrious men. I prefer to walk at random, the name of the streets matters little, each day resembles the other if we do not create subjectively the illusion of something new, and Dada is no longer new.¹³⁰

While Picabia was separating from Dada, Ernst was more eager than ever to join the Dadaists in Paris. He was touched by Breton's preface, the "succès de scandale" of the exhibition, and the prominent place accorded him in the May issue of *Littérature*. In gratitude, he offered Breton the sculpture in the exhibition – possibly the one reproduced in a contemporary review (Fig. 70) – which he called *The Little Virile Tree*.¹³¹ Ernst also joined in the last Dada event of the year, the Salon Dada, which opened in the Galerie Montaigne atop the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées on June 6 and was to be accompanied by three soirées on June 10, 18, and 30.¹³² Tzara was chiefly responsible for this event, and despite the absence of several major figures – Breton, Picabia, Duchamp, Crotti, and Suzanne Duchamp – he assembled an exhibition distinguished by the international scope of the participants and the integration of art works by many of the Dada writers.¹³³ Aragon, Eluard, Fraenkel, Péret, Rigaut, Soupault, and Tzara all contributed art objects, and the solitary French artist, Ribemont-Dessaignes, was joined by Arp, Ernst, Baargeld, and Walter Mehring from Germany; the Russian expatriate Serge Charchoune;



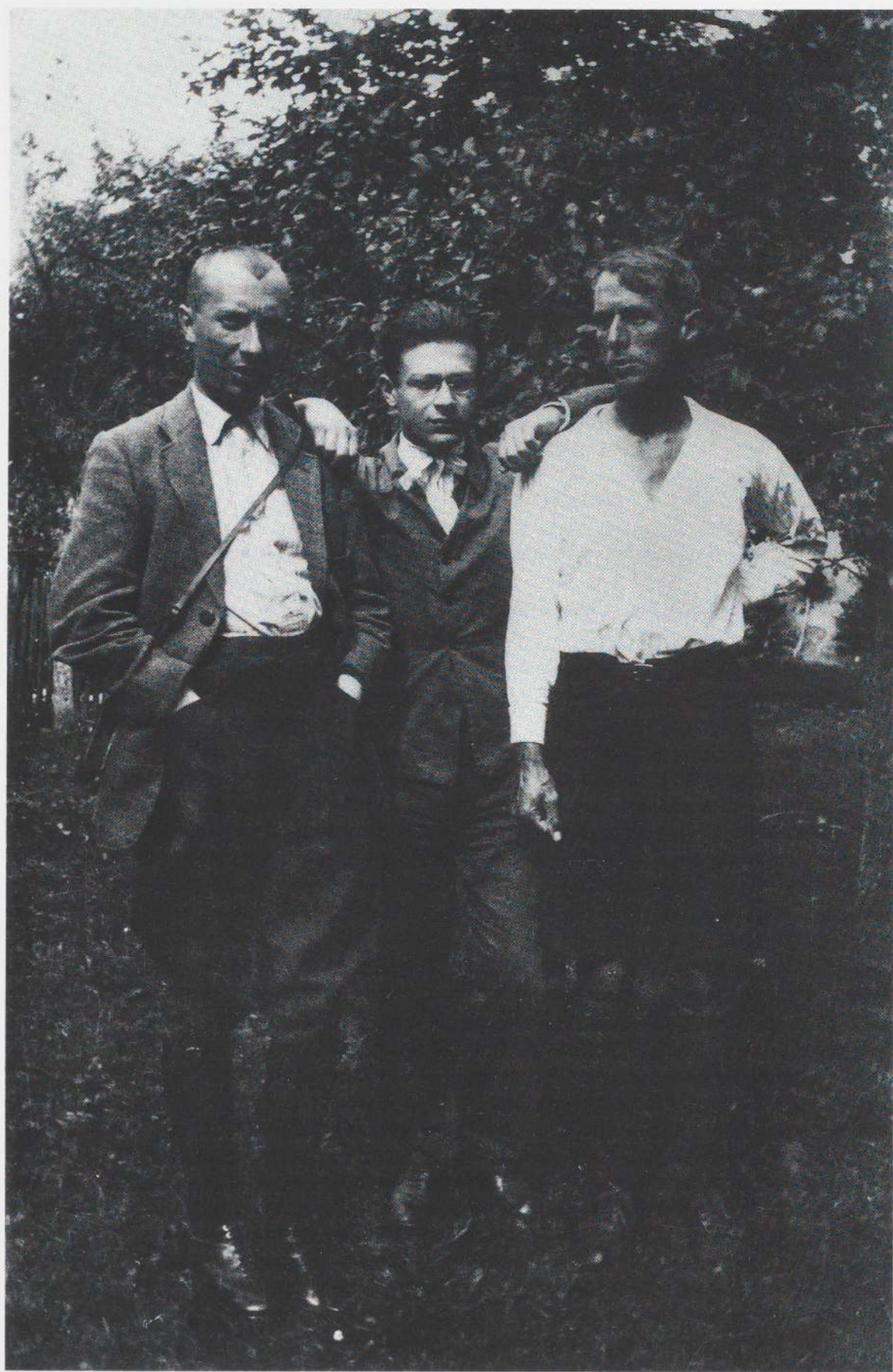
72 Installation: *Salon Dada*, Galerie Montaigne, Paris, June 6–30, 1921

the Italians Gino Cantarelli, J. Evola, and Aldo Fiozzi; and the Americans Man Ray and Joseph Stella. Although Duchamp declined to participate, his 1912 painting of *The Bride* was reproduced in the catalogue.

While this exhibition has been relatively neglected in the history of Dada, every aspect of it was impressive – the poster (Fig. 71), the catalogue, the contents and installation of the exhibition, and the accompanying soirées. Ernst sent two of his larger works, *Landscape in Scrap Iron...* and *The Graminaceous Bicycle...* (Pls. 95, 94), and was further represented by *The Cormorants* as a reproduction in the catalogue.¹³⁴ *Landscape in Scrap Iron...* is visible in an installation photograph, on the wall behind an unidentified sculpture probably contributed by one of the writers (Fig. 72). Among his nine entries, Soupault included a mirror entitled *Portrait of an Unknown* and a chunk of asphalt entitled *Cité de Retiro* after the place in Paris it came from, while Tzara submitted three works called *Mon*, *Cher*, and *Ami*. All these competed with the installation and the soirée on June 10, which featured Tzara's play *The Gas Heart*, a droll tour of the exhibit by Soupault dressed in blackface as the President of Liberia, and music provided by M. Joliboit, a real-life porcelain-mender, whose musical instrument was the shrill whistle used to advertise his presence in the neighborhood.¹³⁵

Despite a lively response to that soirée, the subsequent Dada matinees and the entire Salon Dada were cancelled by Jacques

Hébertot, Director of the Théâtres des Champs-Élysées. Among the other performances in the theater during June, Hébertot had scheduled two by *bêtes noires* of the Dadaists – a concert of "bruitist" music by the Italian Futurists on June 17, and Jean Cocteau's ballet *Mariés de la Tour Eiffel* on the 18th. The Dadaists were not ones to let such opportunities pass, and the concert was sabotaged by a howling band. Hébertot, mindful of the Dadaists' disruption of Marinetti's lecture in January, had taken precautionary measures, and when Tzara refused a request to leave immediately with his friends, Hébertot stationed a gendarme beside Tzara and informed him that the Salon Dada was closed as of that moment.¹³⁶ The next day the doors to the gallery were indeed locked, and the Dadaists – having nothing more to lose – returned that night to disrupt Cocteau's ballet. The last laugh that night was reserved, however, for Picabia, who had invited his former colleagues in Dada to a party where, to their great chagrin, they found themselves mingling with scores of writers, socialites, and entertainers whom they detested, including Marinetti and the Futurists, and members of the troupe of Cocteau's *Mariés de la Tour Eiffel*.¹³⁷ But even that mischief was not enough, and in July Picabia doubled his affrontery in a special issue of 391. These insults could not go unanswered; indeed, they became the primary catalyst for an impromptu gathering of the Dadaists in the Tyrolean Alps and the long-awaited meeting with Max Ernst.



73 Hans Arp, Tristan Tzara, and Max Ernst outside the Gasthaus Sonne, Tarrenz, Austria, late August – early September 1921

Ernst and the Dadaists of Paris: Vacations in the Tirol and Collaborations with Eluard

5

Despite Picabia's defection and assorted tensions among themselves, the Dadaists in Paris still constituted a group at the conclusion of their season. They continued to meet regularly at the Café Certa and, less frequently, at the home of Paul and Gala Eluard in suburban Saint Brice. The exigencies of making a living precluded full participation by Ribemont-Dessaignes, and the same need was beginning to impinge on Tzara, though as usual he had several projects going, including the not-yet-moribund "Dadaglobe." Breton was also somewhat disengaged from the group, not for financial reasons but as a result of preparations for his pending marriage and his growing conviction that Dada was no longer contributing to the course of modern life. Picabia had nothing to do with any of them, save somewhat with Eluard. Instead, he gleefully pursued further ridicule of Dada and contented himself with other friends – Jean Cocteau, Erik Satie, Jean Crotti, Suzanne Duchamp, and her brother Marcel, who, during his sojourn in Paris from June 1921 through January 1922, was one of the rare individuals respected in both camps.

In this unravelling stage of Dada in Paris, new life appeared in the form of Man Ray, who, seeing no future for himself or Dada in New York, had packed his bags for Paris, arriving in Le Havre on Bastille Day, July 14. Duchamp met him at the train in Paris, settled him in the same hotel as Tzara, and introduced him to the crowd at the Certa, many of whom Duchamp himself had met for the first time during the past month. Man Ray and the works he brought with him were well received, and plans were soon under way to promote his work by means of an exhibition in Paris and contacts with Arp and Ernst.¹

If Man Ray's arrival provided a spark of new life, Picabia's special edition of 391 – *Le Pilhaou-Thibaou* – reminded the Dadaists that the party was over.² Although dated July 10, *Le Pilhaou-Thibaou* was not distributed until the last week of July, after Tzara had left Paris to visit his girlfriend, Maya Chruszcz, in Czechoslovakia. This "illustrated supplement of '391'" – which had no illustrations – was a potpourri of statements, poems, and biting one-liners by Picabia and his current friends, most of them ridiculing Dada and individual Dadaists. Although Picabia also exercised his "I-screw-myself" style by including a few derogatory comments about himself and friends, he led the attack with a statement over his New York pseudonym, Funny-Guy:

Cubism was invented by Picasso, it has become a Parisian fabrication. Dadaism was invented by Marcel Duchamp and Francis Picabia. Huelsenbeck or Tzara found the word Dada – it has become Parisian and Berlinois in spirit. "Parisian" spirit, which one must not confound with the spirit of Paris, consists of external and intellectual fantasies; it dwells in people to whom "one does not do it!" it possesses the secret of transforming chicory into chickory, spinach into spinach and Shit into caca...³

Cocteau's comments were particularly stinging and explicit vis-à-vis Tzara, Ernst, and Breton: "After a long convalescence, Picabia is cured. I congratulate him. Picabia is of the race of the contagious. He spreads his disease, he does not catch that of others." Tzara, however, is described as an invalid who has caught his disease and who has usurped "the paternity of the word Dada." Breton is referred to as "president of the Ineffective Suicide Club," who recently tried "to slip the fatal ace into the cards of Max Ernst, gracious photographer ... from the provinces, that is to say Germany (may no one seek patriotic grievance here)."⁴

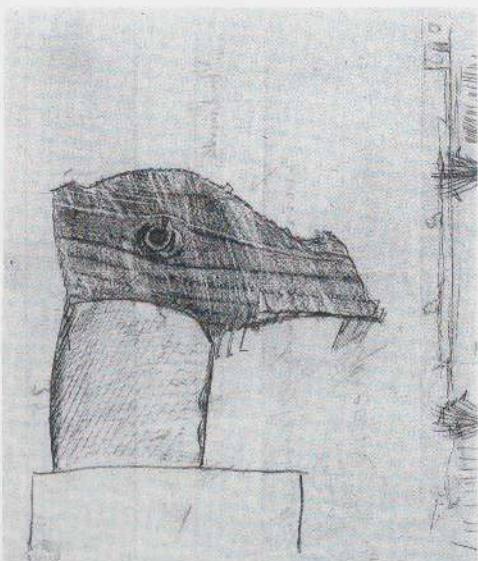
Initially, only Soupault received a copy of *Le Pilhaou-Thibaou*, but word spread quickly. On July 25 he wrote Tzara that it was "ridiculous" and Breton was in a "black rage" over it.⁵ In a solicitous letter to Tzara a few days later, Breton called it "horrible," and Arp was uncharacteristically infuriated, fulminating to Tzara about "the sad camel shit pilhaou which I received yesterday. I will demand herrn camels shit pilhaou to give the ear of corn to the truth in his next publication.... My art is the true dada art, isn't that so dear Tzara...."⁶ Arp went on to report that he had already "written Max Ernst and I think we dadas will meet in 2–3 weeks in my Tirol country."

Ernst was in the Alpine village of Tarrenz, near Imst, some thirty miles west of Innsbruck, where he, Lou, and Jimmy had been vacationing since May. He seized the initiative presented by Arp to assemble the Dadaists in the Tirol, following up immediately with his own letter to Tzara: "Dear Tristan Tzara, as a date for the very important conference of the potentates, I suggested to Arp August 15 and Imst. ... Please decide and telegraph me. The immediate future of Dada depends on it. Regards, Max Ernst."⁷

A flurry of conversations and letters followed. Ribemont-Dessaignes wrote to Tzara on August 7 that he would try to be there, and within a week the Soupaults, the Eluards, and Breton and Simone decided that they, too, would go – though later in September, after the Bretons' wedding on September 15.⁸ Meanwhile,



74 Max Ernst: *Untitled*, August 25, 1921 (from a group letter to Paul Eluard, p. 3). Collage, cut printed engravings and ink on paper. Bibliothèque Littéraire Jacques Doucet, Paris



75 Max Ernst: *Animal Head on Pedestal*, 1921. Pencil rubbing on paper, 8 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 7 $\frac{9}{16}$ in. Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Kupferstich-Kabinett Karl August, Burckhardt-Koehlin-Fund

the gathering was already underway with the arrival of Baargeld in Tarrenz on August 12, followed by Tzara and Maya Chruszcz on the 20th and Arp on the 26th (Fig. 73).⁹

Tzara's arrival was accompanied by a surprising summer snowfall, followed by the return of idyllic summer days and a joyous balance in his life between relaxation and collaborative work with friends. A group letter to Eluard exudes the convivial spirit which reigned at that time: "I am here in the mountains together with some friends. The house is pleasant, and we all really like each other. ... Max Ernst is giving each Dada who comes to Tarrenz a picture. He is here with his wife and his baby Jimmy, the smallest Dadaist in the world. ... The food is very good. ... I'm living completely in the sun,

and nothing can get to me anymore."¹⁰ Ernst added to this letter a new type of collage composed of nineteenth-century wood engravings (Fig. 74) and the comment, "This game here doesn't seem to me bad at all."

That summer in the Tirol was to be a period of fruitful experimentation for Ernst. In addition to these new collages, his work consisted of rubbings and more familiar collages employing parts of photographs and reproductions, including additional Fatagagas. The rubbings (Fig. 75) are modest, isolated works, but they are significant on two counts. They exhibit the sporadic reappearance of that technique until its emergence as a major process in 1925, and they also document his expansion from rubbings of small, bounded objects (coins and block letters) to rubbings taken more randomly from large surfaces.¹¹

The new collages from wood engravings comprised the bulk of Ernst's work into the summer of 1922. As evident in this tiny example in the letter to Eluard, the uniform texture of these engravings – coupled with precision in cutting and piecing the parts together – permitted the appearance of a seamless whole, fully as convincing and matter-of-fact as the overpaintings and earlier collages based on photographs and photographic reproductions.¹² Characteristic as well of Ernst's established work are their mysterious and sometimes disquieting subjects. In this instance a young woman is passively submitting to some sort of demonstration involving a small mechanical apparatus held over her bosom by a standing male who is cut off by the frame so that we see only his arms and hands reaching over the woman's shoulders.

Ernst's inscription beside this collage in the letter to Eluard indicated that it was some sort of game, but the second of the new collages documented in Tarrenz, *The Preparation of Bone Glue* (Pl. 106), is thoroughly unnerving in imagery and title. Ernst added only three elements to the basic source of this collage: the screwdriver-like form in the upper left, the sphere immediately below it, and a second sphere under the woman's elbow. Otherwise, the entire image is an engraving of the diathermy process, a medical treatment to produce warmth for the healing of joint ailments by sending weak electric currents through the patient's body. The visual-psychological effect on the viewer is, however, not that of a therapeutic medical treatment. Instead, we sense imminent torture wreaked upon a vulnerable woman – nude and possibly unconscious; heavily encumbered by form-fitting tubing, menaced by the screwdriver-like shaft, and, above all, threatened by a title evocative of some monstrous violation of a human being. An inscription on this collage indicates it was intended as a printing rough, and its destination was page one of the Dadas' response to Picabia's *Le Pilhaou-Thibaou, Dada Augrandair Der Sängerkrieg Intirol (Dada Outdoors The Singers' War in the Tirol)* (Fig. 76).¹³ This four-page journal – traditionally considered the last issue of *Dada* – contains a variety of brief texts, poems, aphorisms, drawings, and news items by eight of the Dadaists, but it is essentially the work of Arp, Tzara, and Ernst. Some entries – including those by Ernst – are independent of the quarrel with Picabia and reflective of the good times in Tarrenz.¹⁴ But most of the texts are rejoinders to every insult from Picabia, and Tzara took the first shot in a page one news item entitled "Clean":



76 Dada Outdoors The Singers' War in the Tirol, September 1921, p. 1

Funnig invented dadaism in 1899, cubism in 1870, futurism in 1867, and impressionism in 1856. It 1867 he met Nietzsche, in 1902 he remarked that it was only the pseudonym of Confucius...

Arp contributed his famous statement on the origin of the word "Dada":

I declare that Tzara found the word DA DA on February 8, 1916 at 6 in the evening; I was present with my 12 children when Tzara pronounced for the first time this word which unleashed in us a legitimate enthusiasm. That took place at the Cafe Terrasse in Zurich and I was wearing a brioche in my left nostril. I am persuaded that this word has no importance, and that there are only imbeciles and Spanish professors who may be interested in dates. What interests us is the dada spirit and we were all dada before the existence of dada. The first Blessed Virgins that I painted date from 1886 when I was several months old and amused myself pissing graphic impressions. The morality of idiots and their belief in genius makes me shit.¹⁵

In addition to the entertaining hours provided by *Dada Augrandair*, Tzara and Ernst planned to collaborate on a ballet, and Arp and Ernst produced several other texts including droll written portraits of each other published later that year. Ernst wrote of Arp that:

on the basis of his sculpture, a mountain in Switzerland was named after him. Later Arp was elevated by the Dadaists to a star in Unicorn (between Little Dog and Orion)... His poems, which are surely among the boldest and most outrageous examples of the fantastic, have made inroads into all levels of society in Switzerland. Indeed, his "St. Goatsack jumps out of the egg" is sung in public schools from Zurich to Geneva.¹⁶

Arp's portrait of Ernst – humorous, obscure, suggestive, and poetic – was augmented with a few lines by Ernst and dispatched for publication as a *Fatagaga*. Arp described him as "good-looking, very intelligent, a painter not so much out of love of art as out of laziness and age-old tradition. His colors are sometimes perforated sometimes tubular. His excretion is full of plant and animal matter." References to sea and stars also figure in the portrait:

Those suffering from palsy and shipwreck always rely on him for depth sounding and information on cold coastal waters... he is intimately acquainted with the Northern Celestial Hemisphere. He is extremely fond of observing in the close proximity of Mizar, a star of the fifth magnitude known as Aktor or the Little Horseman.

Ernst himself may have added the line, "His *Fatagaga* pieces are available in a silent version, that is unsigned."¹⁷

In the midst of all these projects, matters of the heart also had a bearing on events of the summer in Tarrenz and Paris. Both the openly passionate affair of Tzara and Maya Chruszcz and the troubled marriage of Max and Lou generated uncomfortable undercurrents. In Paris, the strained marriage belonged to Paul and Gala Eluard, while Breton's friends reported that he was all smiles after his wedding, the flights and conspiracies having temporarily abated.¹⁸

On September 18, André and Simone Breton joined Tzara and Maya, Max and Lou in Tarrenz, just as *Dada Augrandair* was coming off the press.¹⁹ Arp had already left, and inasmuch as Tzara's visa expired on September 25, he, Ernst, and Breton would finally be together only a brief time. Breton was pleased to confirm his estimation of Ernst and the "truculence" of his drawings. In letters to



77 Tristan Tzara, Maya Chruszcz, Luise Straus-Ernst, André Breton, and Max Ernst, Tarrenz, Austria, September 1921

Jacques Doucet, Breton wrote that he discovered Ernst to be as he imagined, "calm, refined, delicious, one of the rare poets that I may know" and "one of the three or four men of whom I expect the most." His comments regarding Tzara, on the other hand, are measured and respectful, but focused on their considerable differences.²⁰ For his part, Ernst recalled that a more serious mood settled in with Breton's arrival, but he was impressed by his "almost magical presence . . . , presumptuous politeness, and a frank, uninhibited authority [and] everything went well until he read the 'Songs of Maldoror' aloud to us. But the presence of Tzara irritated him visibly."²¹ The photographic record of the three couples (Fig. 77), minus Simone (who was perhaps taking the picture), projects a more sober mood than that which had appeared in the earlier snapshots with Arp. Tzara is physically separated from the entire group and at the furthest remove from Ernst and Breton on the far right.

On September 23, Ernst and Tzara traveled to Munich, where Tzara attempted to extend his visa. Unable to secure an extension beyond October 1, he decided to return to Paris and left by train on the 26th.²² Max and Lou returned to Cologne as scheduled toward the end of September, leaving the honeymooning Bretons alone until Paul and Gala Eluard joined them on October 3. Three days later, André, Simone, and Paul left by train for Vienna to visit Freud.²³

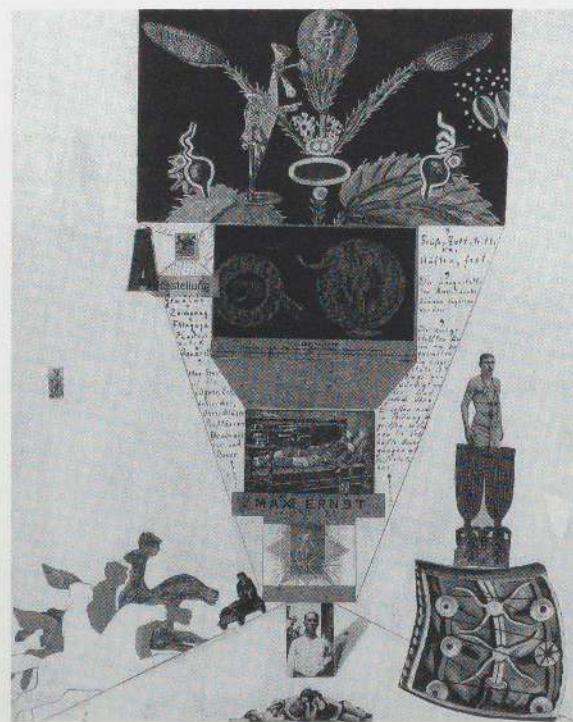
Evidently Breton had had this visit in mind when he proposed to Simone that they join his colleagues in the Tirol. As has been well documented, Breton had become fascinated with the work of Freud, Charcot, Jung, Babinbski, Régis, Hesnard, and others during his work with the medical corps in the war. That interest had developed apace, and with French translations of Freud's significant texts beginning to appear in 1921, he and his theories became so popular that Jules Romain commented in January 1922 that Einstein was the fad last year but it looked as if Freud would be the rage this year.²⁴ Breton had sent Freud an inscribed copy of *Les Champs magnétiques* and, finally, he seized on the fact of his proximity to Vienna to call on the man whose works seemed to offer so much for new directions in life and literature. The visit, however, was a great disappointment. As reported by Breton in the first issue of the new series of *Littérature* in March 1922, he found that "the greatest psychologist of the time inhabited a house of mediocre appearance in a lost neighborhood of Vienna." There he found himself in the presence of a little old man without allure, "who had no love for France . . . and deflated all efforts at significant conversation with such generalities as 'Your letter, the most touching that I have received in my life', or 'Happily, we count much on youth'."²⁵

On the 10th Breton and Eluard returned to the Tirol, settling not in Tarrenz but in nearby Imst, where the barrier of the German language was less of a problem. They remained there throughout the month, savoring the weather and countryside, and composing poems reflective of that time and place.²⁶ Early in November, the Bretons returned to France and the Eluards – who regretted that they had missed meeting the Ernsts – headed for Cologne. In the meantime, Ernst and Tzara had been busy and had maintained significant contact with each other and with Arp. Tzara was preoccupied with finding employment, but continued to work on publication of his writings, in addition to looking into prospects for the ballet he and

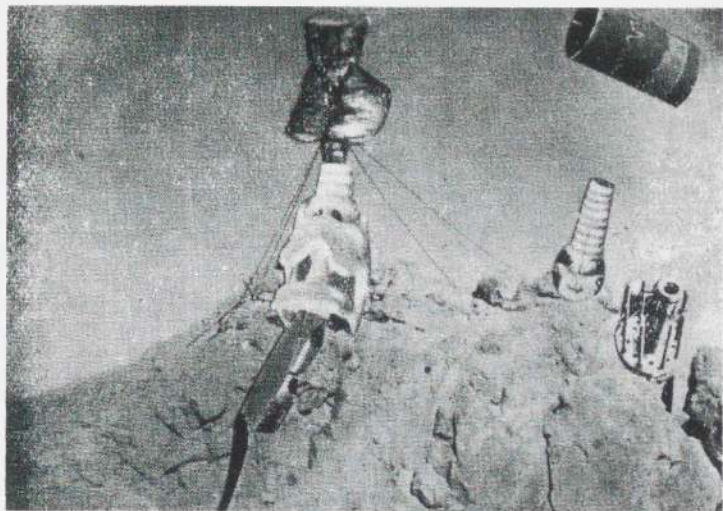
Ernst had discussed and trying to help Man Ray establish himself. With little encouragement about the ballet or a job, he thought about going to Cologne, and Ernst urged him to come, although he wrote that he and Lou were "bored to tears" and he was determined "to get out of Cologne and Germany at any cost."²⁷

Despite that expression of boredom, the fall and winter of 1921–22 was a period of remarkable activity for Ernst. One of his first tasks was the distribution of *Dada Augrandair* to Arp and friends in Cologne, who responded with "cries of pleasure."²⁸ Copies of various texts by Arp and Ernst – including their written portraits of each other – were also being distributed, and both Arp and Ernst had been enlisted to promote the work of Man Ray. Man Ray had planned to visit Cologne, where arrangements had been made for a small exhibition of his photographs. Although he found it necessary to remain in Paris, the exhibition was held as scheduled, and Ernst volunteered to organize yet another exhibit of his work in January or February and to include him in a Dada exhibition that he hoped to arrange at Flechtheim's gallery in Berlin.²⁹

Ernst worked assiduously throughout October on his own exhibition with *Das Junge Rheinland* in Düsseldorf from November 1 to 15, and during the course of the exhibition, Paul and Gala Eluard arrived in Cologne.³⁰ Lamentably, hardly any records of that exhibition have emerged – no catalogues, no installation photographs, no private correspondence, and no reviews, save for that of one hostile critic who limited his comments to the observation that "the Dadaist Max Ernst, whose name ["earnest"] seems rather paradoxical in view of his grotesque products, haunts and taunts us."³¹ Some concept of those "grotesque products" can be reconstructed by a few contem-



78 Max Ernst: *Design for an Exhibition Poster*, 1921. Collage: cut printed reproductions, photographs, gouache, stencils, pencil, and ink on paperboard, 25 $\frac{3}{16}$ x 19 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. Museo Civico (Galleria d'Arte Moderna), Turin



79 Max Ernst: *The Beautiful Sling Drum in Thunderstone*, 1921. Collage. Whereabouts unknown

porary documents. If, as seems plausible, the composition referred to as *Design for an Exhibition Poster* (Fig. 78) was made on the occasion of this exhibition, then Ernst may have presented a selection of major themes and techniques in his work since 1920. This collage springs from the bottom of the paper, where Ernst (in a photograph from Tarrenz) hovers over a photograph of two bathing beauties reclining in a sharply receding perspective space reminiscent of *Fiat modes*. From here the design expands outward and upward with examples of Ernst's various techniques: tracings, collage parts from bits of reproductions and texts, and photographic reproductions of his own collages, sculpture, and overpaintings. Crammed within the counter-perspective of the upward progression is a text of disarming self-mockery, reading in part: "Exhibition of Painting. Drawing. Fatagaga. Plastoplastik. Watercolor. Max Ernst is a liar, legacy hunter, scandal-monger, horse dealer, slanderer, and boxer. . . ." In addition to speculations based on this poster design, contemporary documents that indicate what Ernst may have exhibited include the new collages begun in Tarrenz, a few comments in Ernst's letters, and the November issue of *Das Junge Rheinland*, which was devoted to artists in the exhibition. This issue included the previously discussed "written portrait" of Max Ernst [p. 103] and reproductions of three Fatagaga collages: *Sambesiland*, *The Anatomy* (or *The School-prepared Anatomy*,) and *The Beautiful Sling Drum in Thunderstone* (Pls. 103, 102; Fig. 79).³² The reproduction of these three collages (or reproductions of collages) in *Das Junge Rheinland* indicate that they were in the exhibition. Beyond that, I propose that Ernst's entries probably included some of the "new" collages based on engravings and some paintings derived from these collages.

The First "Collage Paintings"

Two such paintings are known to have existed before the Eluards' visit over November 4–10: *Celebes* (Pl. 117), which Eluard purchased; and *The Preparation of Bone Glue* (Fig. 80), which Ernst described to Tzara in a letter on October 8: "I have made a very precise enlarge-

ment (70x110 cm. [27½x43¼ in.]) of 'the preparation of bone glue' in oil on canvas. The painting is very brightly colored and naturally has a much insaner effect than the little reproduction."³³ The latter painting was destroyed during the Second World War and is known today only by two reproductions, one showing the painting in Mutter Ey's Düsseldorf Gallery, where it appears to be the object of both merriment and homage (Fig. 80).³⁴ *Celebes* survives, thanks to Eluard, who purchased it during his visit in Cologne and carried it back to Paris. This painting – which is just over four feet high – is dominated by a hulking horned creature, part machine and part beast, standing on a vast plain against a cloudy sky. It is looking at a headless female nude in the lower right foreground, who appears to be beckoning toward it, tempting or leading it. Unlike *The Preparation of Bone Glue*, *Celebes* is not known to depend on a collage or preparatory study but is built up – collage-like – of separate objects and rendered, so that we are focused not on the paint but on those strange, dream-like images. As first observed by Sir Roland Penrose, the hybrid beast-machine was based on a photograph of a huge



80 Johanna (Mutter) Ey and friends in her gallery, Neue Kunst Frau Ey, Düsseldorf, 1921 with Max Ernst's *The Preparation of Bone Glue*, 1921. Oil on canvas. Whereabouts unknown

communal corn bin made of clay by the Konkombwa people of the southern Sudan.³⁵ Ernst expanded the animation of the two-legged form by equipping it with a horned head on a long, flexible neck that seems capable of extension and retraction, but the texture of this creature is metallic in appearance, and it is surmounted by a curious abstract structure reminiscent of Chirico's metaphysical constructions. The vast space, clear light, and vaguely ominous shadows also derive ultimately from Chirico, but reflections of Ernst's own work abound. These references include the headless woman, and,

behind her, the stacked construction with phallic protrusions that recall *The Hat Makes the Man* (Pl. 55). Notable, too, is the distant mountain range and forms in the sky – the fish in the upper left and the dark emulsion in the upper right – that bring to mind *Here Everything Is Still Floating* (Pl. 97). These forms in the “sky” make the entire identification of place ambiguous, and finally, the most significant imprint of Ernst is the unsettling ambiguity of form and content. Most observers identify the beast-machine as male, but some have described the white collar as feminine in effect, and those strange eyes in that horned head – in addition to looking dysfunctional – are breast-like in appearance. The two tusk-like shapes emerging from the far side of this machine-creature also raise the question of which end is which. Our experience of the character of this creature may be even more ambivalent than the experience of its gender. Most observers probably register initial impressions of threatening size and strength, but there is also something vaguely comical and docile about this creature. It is not very mobile; it has no mouth; it looks toward the beckoning nude with a sort of bovine incomprehension, and I am not convinced that it will step over the line and puny stake in the ground before it. Legge’s account of *Celebes* ranges evocatively over a gamut of possibilities, including Old Testament references to Behemoth and Leviathan – which could have come to Ernst’s attention via Apollinaire or Jung – and perception of a humorous quality.³⁶ She finds in *Celebes* two features Freud ascribes to the “comic” – implicit comparisons and the caricature of an exalted figure who lays claim to authority and respect. Both features exist here, she proposes, in the authority implicit in this monumental form and in the “comparison of the expenditure of energy required by the vast robotic elephant (especially for any sexual activity) with that required of a more normal animal (such as the viewer).”³⁷ Ernst confirmed the comic element in *Celebes* when he told Penrose that the origin of the title was a scurrilous poem popular among German schoolboys:

The elephant from Celebes
has sticky yellow bottom grease
The elephant from Sumatra
always fucks his grandmama
The elephant from India
can never find the hole ha-ha³⁸

We are left, then, with the enigma of precise images but multiple, vague sensations of threat, comedy, temptation, and irrational dream experiences so artfully combined that *Celebes* continues to live as an irritant/stimulant to the imagination. These “collage paintings,” as they came to be called, not only enabled Ernst to achieve the seamless whole which he sought, but to control dimensions, color, and relationships without having to adjust to the size and material of his sources as was required in the actual collages. At the same time, the collage-inspired concept of these paintings maintained the effects of collage which fascinated him – the “irrational,” “simple hallucination. . . . Something like the alchemy of the visual images,” or, in the oft-quoted phrase from Lautréamont, something “Beautiful as the chance meeting upon a dissecting table of a sewing-machine with an umbrella.”³⁹

In returning to the actual collages produced in the fall of 1921, the three reproduced in *Das Junge Rheinland* are similar on several counts, including their designation as Fatagagas and their fabrication from parts of photographic reproductions. Arp’s role must have been slight in their renewed collaboration, for the imagery is thoroughly Ernstian and extended titles or texts are not known to exist. All three are now known in the form of photographic enlargements and postcards made from the collages. Ernst’s “letter” to Tzara in mid-October was written on two of these postcards (*Sambesiland* and *The Anatomy*), and he asked Tzara if Au Sans Pareil would be interested in selling such postcards at three francs for ten cards.⁴⁰ These collages are also united in their bleak landscape settings and disturbing imagery. The upright elements in *Sambesiland* (Pl. 103) simultaneously look like strange mushroom growths and anthropomorphic forms, which at first glance suggest another statement on the theme of the couple. In this instance, however, it strikes me that the apparent opposition of two beings actually involves three: two huddled together as one, before a more commanding growth standing on that desolate slope above them. A subtle reference to the war may be couched in these huddled forms, composed of sandbags turned up on end. References to war, death, and destruction are more overt in *The Anatomy* (Pl. 102). This unnerving part-woman/part-machine in a coffin-like container is set immediately at our feet and tilted up to facilitate viewing of every wrenching detail. Her head is shaved and her face is curiously serene, though partially encased in light armor, and vulnerable with eyes closed. A break at her neck exposes a pipe gaping from an inverted army helmet that forms her chest; her left arm is gone and more tubing is exposed in the open stomach cavity; the lower torso is tightly enclosed in the metal vat, although a hole is provided over the pubic area, and her legs have been removed or compressed in a metal cylinder.

This image has attracted considerable commentary, much of it within the context of the mechanomorphic beings of Duchamp and Picabia. On the face of it, that context seems relevant, both on the basis of Ernst’s amalgamation of human and machine forms with the theme of the “bride” and the particular relevance of Duchamp at that time. Since his return to Paris in June, Duchamp was no longer a legendary figure in New York, but a charming, stimulating participant in the Dadaist gatherings. Moreover, his painting *The Bride* had been reproduced in the catalogue of the Salon Dada cited in *Dada Augrandair*.⁴¹ Overlooked in these commentaries, however, is the absence of any reference to a bride in the initial context of 1921. In the “original” documents of 1921, this image is identified as *The School-prepared Anatomy* or simply *The Anatomy*, and I propose that what we have here is Ernst’s update of the subject of the anatomy lesson.⁴²

That does not necessarily preclude a link to the work of Duchamp and Picabia, but *The Anatomy* does not resemble anything by those two artists, and even authors who accept inherent linkage to Duchamp’s *Bride* have been concerned about the distinctive characteristics of Ernst’s work. Hopkins, for example, argues that *The Anatomy* has been nourished not only by Duchamp’s *Bride* but by alchemical illustrations in a publication on the *Works of Jacob*



81 Max Ernst: *Augustine Thomas and Otto Flake*, 1921. collage: cut photographs and printed reproductions, gouache, and pencil on photographic reproduction, 9½x5½ in. Sprengel Museum, Hanover

Boehme. Hopkins further associates *The Anatomy* with symbolism from popular Catholic traditions already noted for *Santa Conversazione* (Pl. 101) and *La Belle Jardinière* (Fig. 97), and proceeds to develop a rich thesis incorporating hermeticism, Catholicism, and gender in some of Ernst's later works.⁴³

Roters also assumes the figure in *The Anatomy* is a bride, but he is more impressed by the violence of Ernst's image, which suggests a sex murder. Sex murders, he observes, are not uncommon in the history of European art and were prominent in the contemporary work of such artists as Grosz and Dix. But, in contrast to the brutality with which Grosz and Dix depicted that subject, Roters is struck by the cool, impersonal quality of Ernst's image, which projects the mood of a ritual sacrifice. Building upon that perception, he proposes that *The Anatomy* represents Ernst's extension of an ancient tradition going back to Dionysiac rites and Christ, namely the sacrificial killings of gods followed by renewed life.⁴⁴

Not all of the collages Ernst produced in Tarrenz were as unsettling as *The Anatomy*. *Augustine Thomas and Otto Flake* (Fig. 81), convincingly tied to events of that summer by Schrott, is a more light-hearted reference to contemporary events, employing what was probably some local collage material as well as the carcass of a horse also used in *The Dog Who Shits* (Pl. 77).⁴⁵

Source material for collages – a major concern for Ernst – entered a new phase during the summer and fall of 1921. In Ernst's double

postcard to Tzara on October 20, he also asked, "If you come across any old department store catalogues, fashion magazines, old illustrations, etc., kindly make a gift of them to me, to supplement my stock of Fatagaga raw material."⁴⁶ As indicated in this letter, Ernst was using material from a variety of sources in his collages, and he continued this practice, although beginning in the fall of 1921 the primary source for his raw material was a French magazine on popular science, *La Nature*.

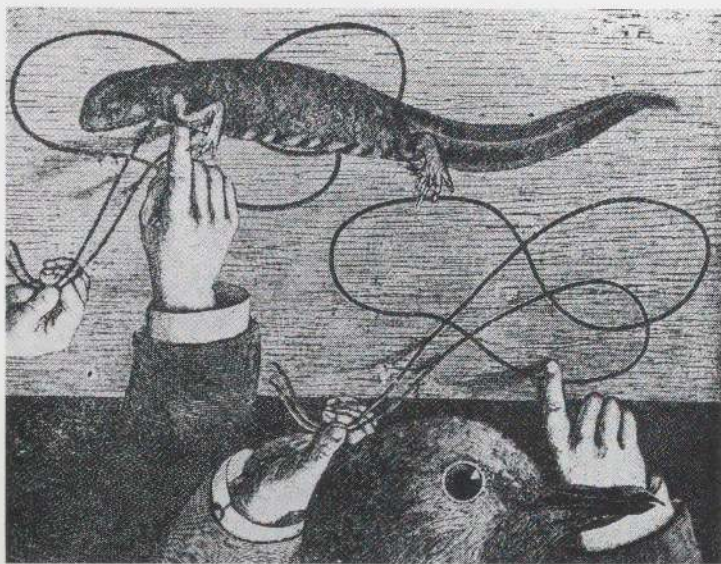
La Nature was a fascinating illustrated magazine devoted to the "Sciences and Their Applications to the Arts and Industry." It was founded in Paris by Gaston Tissandier and published weekly from 1873 into the twentieth century. The articles – pitched at an informative, popular level – ranged widely over contemporary discoveries and inventions, practical applications of science and technology, natural phenomena, and feats of engineering, and the magazine also included a section on scientific "tricks" and magic that was especially appealing to Ernst. This section was so popular that a two-volume publication, *Kolumbus-Eier* (*Columbus's Eggs*), was published in Germany as a young people's magazine, and Ernst used this also.⁴⁷ Until photographic reproduction became financially advantageous around the turn of the century, most of the copious illustrations were wood and steel engravings furnished by a battery of engravers, several of whom – Poyet in particular – produced images with a magical clarity and intensity which caught the eye of Ernst. This new source of imagery – in a manner comparable to the teaching aids catalogue – both stimulated Ernst's vision and responded to his established iconographical interests. The limitations imposed by it were likewise similar, notably the necessity of working in small dimensions. A full-page illustration in *La Nature* was 8½x5½ inches, and most illustrations were one-quarter to one-half page in size, which means that Ernst was frequently cutting out images less than 3x3 inches, with some details less than an inch in length.

Thirty-one of these small collages constructed wholly or in part from illustrations in *La Nature* were published in two collaborative publications by Eluard and Ernst to be considered shortly. Sixteen others – some of them mailed to Tzara for "Dadaglobe" and other publications – have come down to us as independent works, undated and without titles or inscriptions other than descriptive, provisional titles. Themes and moods previously encountered re-emerge in some of these collages. *The Orator* (Pl. 114), for example, restates the theme of the pompous teacher enthroned above the bovine student. This instructor was cut out of an illustration of a reading apparatus (Ch. 3, n. 102).

Upside-down Violin (Pl. 112) projects an irrational, dream-like scene comparable to *Here Everything Is Still Floating* (Pl. 97). However, owing to the precision of these objects, their homogeneous texture, and Ernst's painstaking cutting and pasting, this strange scene looks like a journeyman engraver's "faithful recording" of a scientific experiment, not much unlike hundreds of others in *La Nature*. For this puzzling experiment, Ernst began with an illustration of an actual demonstration of smoke rings produced by means of vibrating shafts or tuning forks attached to specially fitted round metal boxes.⁴⁸ Ernst retained the tabletop setting, which evokes the vast, empty space of a Chirico painting, but he completely transformed the rest of the

composition. A violin taken from *Columbus's Eggs*, shorn of its pegs and turned upside down, replaces the tuning fork; a skittle from another issue of *La Nature* and an unidentified cylinder have replaced the vibrating shaft and vice; and a hand and tube cut from an illustration about soap bubbles suggest that the unseen person to whom the hand belongs has triggered the entire mechanism by making contact with the triangular appendage on the cylinder.⁴⁹ Vibrational energy has given way to energy of an unknown kind – electrical, magnetic, magical? – that induced movement, sound, and heat, for unknown ends.

Not all of Ernst's new collages were so complex in their construction. He fabricated one untitled collage from a parlor trick illustrated in *Columbus's Eggs* simply by rotating it 180° adding a salamander and a bird's head from as yet unidentified sources (Fig. 82).⁵⁰ Notwithstanding the simplicity of this maneuver, Ernst has transformed his sources: what was a tabletop has become the sky, and the black space beyond the table has become foreground landscape. Still more striking is the placing of the bird's head between two hands, implying the presence of a monster – a bird man whose total form is effectively left to our imagination. As noted by other students of Ernst's work, this is the first bird-man image that looks like the fully developed personage in the later 1920s and 1930s, and the looping string evokes the forms and techniques employing string in the Hordes of the later 1920s (Pl. 198).⁵¹



82 Max Ernst: Untitled (*Bird-man, Salamander, and String*), 1921. Collage, 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 3 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. Whereabouts unknown

Ernst's modification of his sources in *La Nature* was simpler still in collages identified as *Students in Heidelberg* (Pl. 113).⁵² In this instance, his attention was attracted by two illustrations depicting different ways of whistling with the aid of fingers. The upper illustration was used later in the painting *Castor and Pollution* (Pl. 142); the lower illustration was combined here with two hand-held stamping blocks – common in every office – in such a way as to eliminate the number codes on the whistlers. The images of the whistlers are curi-

ous enough in themselves to have caught Ernst's eye, but why might he have chosen to combine these dominant figures in a collage with two stamp blocks? Given his large inventory of raw material for collages, many objects could have met the requirements for size. Is there any consideration of form, function, or associations to account for their choice instead of attributing the selection process to "canned chance" or willful ambiguity?

In this instance, I submit that Ernst seems to have considered the text of his source as well. Its author comments on anthropological reports regarding the ability of ancient inhabitants of the Canary Islands to express their ideas by modulations in their whistling and – by relaying these sounds – to cover distances at a speed unimagined by those of us with the telegraph and airplane. With these whistlers and rubber stamps, Ernst has juxtaposed "primitive" and modern forms of communication, and the modern form is remarkably limited and mechanical compared to the mysterious, ritual-like appearance of the "primitive" communication. That effect is rendered all the more mysterious by the illustration in *La Nature*. Because the engraver depicted only the finger positions for the whistling and not the *effort* of whistling, the act of whistling is not readily apparent without the caption. Instead, we have three individuals physically united but psychologically unrelated, staring trance-like in different directions and making signs or gestures that are inexplicable yet seemingly laden with psychic or symbolic significance. Such hypnotic scenes were to become exceedingly important for Ernst's work in the next few years.

The Meeting of Ernst and Eluard, and Collaboration on "Répétitions"

Ernst was in the midst of his new collages and the collage paintings when Paul and Gala Eluard arrived in Cologne on November 4 for a week's visit.⁵³ Eluard had written Max and Lou in advance, and both couples looked forward to the meeting, but it is unlikely that any of them could have anticipated the intensity of their meeting and its consequences for their lives. The week was packed with activity, beginning late in the mornings, since they danced, drank, and talked all night. They visited the circus, saw the exhibit of Man Ray's photographs, and went to Düsseldorf to see Ernst's work on exhibit with *Das Junge Rheinland*.⁵⁴ They read each others' poetry and looked over Ernst's collages. Max portrayed his guests in portraits which have been lost, and gave Gala *Approaching Puberty* (Pl. 105); Paul purchased *Celebes* (Pl. 117) and selected eleven collages for his volume of poetry, *Répétitions*. That impromptu, limited collaboration between Ernst and Eluard was soon to be followed by a thoroughgoing collaboration on *Les Malheurs des immortels* (*The Misfortunes of the Immortals*).

The personal dynamics were equally momentous. Eluard responded profoundly to Ernst – his mind, manner, and poetry, as well as his paintings and collages. He seems to have viewed Max – five years his senior at age thirty – as an admired older brother. Between Max and Gala, on the other hand, the attraction was sexual – a mutual and immediate attraction visible in snapshots that record the week (Fig. 83) and reflected in various contemporary letters and



83 Gala Eluard, Max Ernst, Johannes Theodor Baargeld, Luise Straus-Ernst, Paul Eluard, and Jimmy Ernst in the Ernsts' apartment, Cologne, November 1921

poems.⁵⁵ Much is suggested in greetings to Arp signed by all four on the back of a postcard of one of Ernst's untitled collages (Pl. 104). Ernst playfully chided Arp in phrases keyed to that image of a billowing sea lion surrounded by strange plants (teeth and flayed hands) extracted from the teaching aids catalogue: "Dear Secret Dada. A class unto themselves are the hobby horses stuck in the ice [Switzerland] hippopotamuses hedge roses. Why did you not follow my honored call? Eluard on his trip around the world came through our old sedentary W/3." Ernst concluded his portion of the greeting more cryptically, adding that Eluard "is the sea of clouds, Gala is the grass-scoring fine little tongue [on a scale or balance] that determines the weather." Ernst's sibylline phrases included such passages as "The cross of pleasure... The disenchanting vapors invade Cologne... We lose all that we want in the game of the melodious flowers and shared dances...." Lou's conclusion already suggests her quiet withdrawal: "I'm always sleeping. I'm always sleeping."⁵⁶ Years later, Lou described Gala as "this slippery, scintillating creature with cascading black hair, luminous and vaguely oriental black eyes, delicate bones, who, not having succeeded in drawing her husband into an affair with me in order to appropriate Max for herself, finally decided to keep both men, with the loving consent of Eluard."⁵⁷ Schrott suggests that a puzzling comment by Ernst early in the visit – "I have painted glasses on the figure of Eluard" – proclaims already his aim to have Eluard see things with his [Ernst's] eyes.⁵⁸

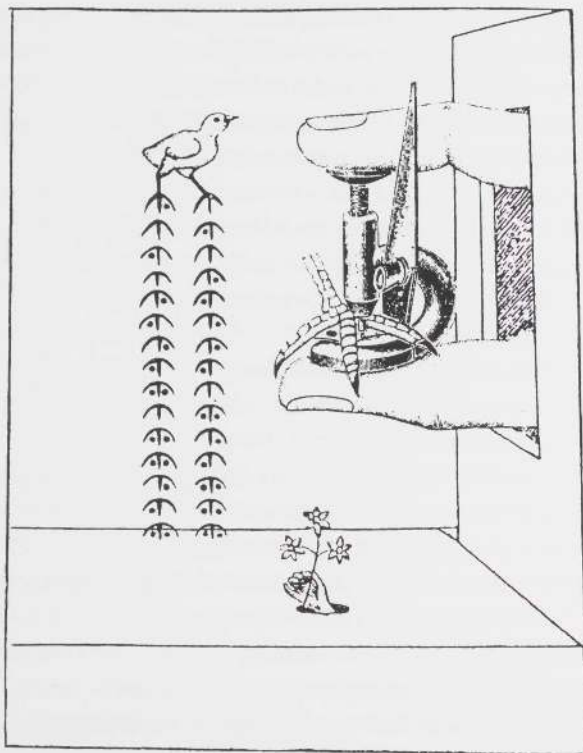
Those charged personal relationships which began in Cologne have become a factor in most subsequent studies of the work of Ernst and Eluard, and, of course, in their collaborative work on *Répétitions* and *Les Malheurs des immortels*. Opinions on the nature of the collaboration in *Répétitions* range from Sanouillet, who perceives

"miraculous correspondences" between the thirty-three poems and eleven collages, to Jenker, who sees little more than "a procedural or generic correspondence between text and illustrations" and no role whatsoever for Ernst in the undistinguished design of the volume.⁵⁹ Most evidence points to limited collaboration. Before going to Cologne, Eluard had already planned this volume of poetry and had probably chosen a number of the entries from his older work. While in Cologne, he reportedly selected collages on hand in Ernst's apartment. Accordingly, for his part, Ernst neither contributed to the text nor adapted collages to any texts.⁶⁰ These conditions do not preclude, however, the possibility that Ernst and Eluard worked to bring together given collages and poems whose coupling was evocative, or that Eluard produced poems over the winter of 1921–22 responsive to the visit in Cologne or to the collages which were at his disposal for some time before publication of *Répétitions* in March 1922.

Some of the original collages exist, but insofar as *Répétitions* is concerned, they were printer's proofs for illustrations which he called "drawings," indicating as before his desire to conceal the collage process in order to present his strange, dream-like compositions as a seamless whole. Several collages suggest either direct or ironic links to the poems on facing pages, and the frontispiece (Pl. 107) is a fitting introduction to a volume entitled *Répétitions*. It is not a collage but an overpainting of an illustration in the teaching aids catalogue depicting a bearded pedagogue drilling four students in math exercises on a retractable wall blackboard.⁶¹ Ernst removed the blackboard and entire wall above the wainscot, opening up a panoramic vista of earth and clear blue sky, with a hot-air balloon hovering over Cologne Cathedral on the horizon. The familiar theme of forced learning has been rejected – in the minds of the students at least – by opening the cage of the classroom to the freedom of nature and an invitation to adventure.

The Invention (Pl. 109; Fig. 84) is one of the illustrations in *Répétitions* for which an original collage exists, painted by Ernst after it had been reproduced for that publication. The curious mechanical device in this collage makes the coupling of poem and image seem appropriate, but no further correspondence is evident in the body of the poem – and understandably so, inasmuch as this was one of the poems composed by Eluard before he went to the Tirol.⁶² The abundant references in this image lie, instead, within Ernst's own work – in the painting *Oedipus Rex* (Pl. 118) and in the ever-expanding Freudian dimensions of his work. Given Eluard's recent meeting with Freud and Ernst's keen interest in Freud's work, the odds are overwhelming that his writings figured significantly in the conversations between Max and Paul. Spies has identified the device held by the fingers in *The Invention* as an instrument used by poultry breeders to tag birds' feet in order to mark their age. On the basis of that identification, he proceeds to associate that act of marking with the theme of *Oedipus*, citing both the similarities between the images in *The Invention* and those in *Oedipus Rex* and the foot wound of *Oedipus* in Sophocles' play.⁶³

The title of the poem *The Word* and its accompanying image (Pl. 108) appear to be related in an ironic manner, given the headless woman who dominates the collage. There is reason to believe in this instance that Eluard (and/or Ernst) manipulated the title of the poem



84 Max Ernst: *The Invention*. Reproduced in Paul Eluard's *Répétitions*, Paris 1922, p. 10

to fit the collage. Eluard sent this poem to Tzara in a letter of August 4, 1921, for publication in a Czechoslovakian magazine devoted to Charles Baudelaire, and at that time the poem was titled "Where Do We Think We Are?" ("Où nous croyons-nous donc?"). Tzara published it instead in *Dada Augrandair* with another title, and for *Répétitions* the title was again changed to "The Word," without any discernible rationale based on the body of the poem.⁶⁴ Internally, poem and collage seem independent of each other. Ernst employed two established sources – the teaching aids catalogue and a reproduction of Dürer's engraving of Adam and Eve^{65, 66} – for a gripping image that abounds with basic themes in his work. These themes include "the couple," a play on interior and exterior, a parody of both the biblical Adam and Eve and the ideal proportions of Dürer's figures, and, finally, a transformation of Eve to her terrestrial counterpart Venus, who has also been de-mythologized. She is no longer a goddess of love born of the sea and swept ashore for humankind on a cockleshell, but a creature of nature, all body and born of a prickly pod. The presence of two birds, one inserted between her legs at the vagina, have prompted several authors to perceive *The Word* as a major example of the theme of creation by the fertilizing word – with all the Catholic and Freudian dimensions suggested in *Physio-mythological Flood Picture* (Pl. 75) and *Santa Conversazione* (Pl. 101), and those yet to be developed in *La Belle Jardinière* (Fig. 97).⁶⁷

The collage selected for the cover (Fig. 85) stands without accompanying poem, and is seemingly unrelated to the title *Répétitions* below – unless Eluard and Ernst desired that very juxtaposition of the concept of repetition and a sadistic ritual which we would gladly banish from our sight. This image, however, has stimulated perceptions of a larger unity between imagery and text than has been pre-

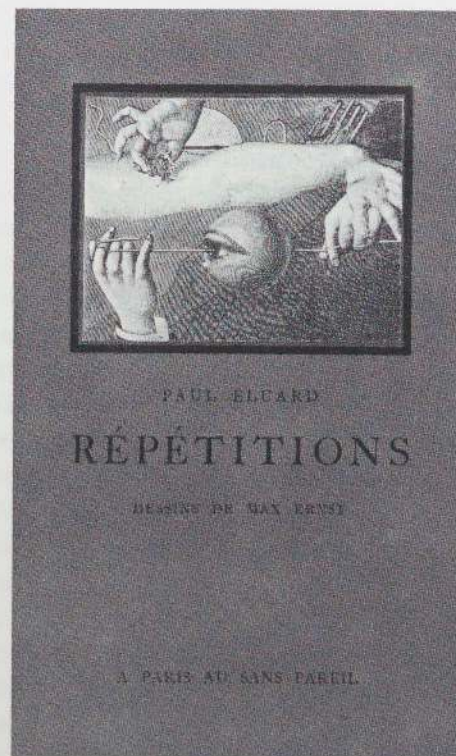
sented so far. Spies sees this pierced eye as a reference to the blinding of Oedipus and a forerunner of the later motif of injury in Surrealist art. He also observes that most of the collages selected for *Répétitions* involve some sort of implied violence in the confrontation of human and machine forms, in fragmented forms with missing heads, in truncated limbs, and in penetrated forms. The overriding motif, he proposes, is the human body – walled in, captured, or threatened.⁶⁸

Schrott is also struck by metaphors of injury in *Répétitions*, but pursues that theme in Eluard's poetry more than in Ernst's collages. For him, this image of the pierced eye was selected by Eluard because it related to the theme in the poetry of self-blinding or mutilation of the outward glance in order to dissect the inner vision.⁶⁹ He finds that theme – usually accompanied by reflections of the personal relationships in Cologne – in a handful of poems attributed to the months immediately following the Eluards' return to Paris. The one poem all writers agree was written later in Paris – and which alludes to the relationship that began in Cologne – is the opening poem of *Répétitions*, entitled "Max Ernst":

In a corner agile incest
Turns around the virginity of a little dress.
In a corner the sky set free
Leaves white balls on the thorns of the storm.

In a corner clearest of all the eyes
One awaits the fishes of anguish
In a corner the cart of summer greenery
Immobile glorious and forever

In the glimmer of youthfulness
Lamps lighted very late
The first [lamp] shows her breasts which kill red insects⁷⁰



85 Cover: *Répétitions*, Paris 1922

In the opinion of Eluard scholar Jean-Charles Gateau, it is difficult not to see in the opening lines of this poem a reference to incest that reflects the quasi-brotherly attitude forming between Eluard and Ernst and their relationship toward Gala. And the second line of the next stanza, "One awaits the fishes of anguish," sounds a portentous note that reverberates in other poems proposed by Gateau as post-Cologne meditations of Eluard. In a sequence of three poems he finds complex reaction within Eluard to "the fear of loss and the pleasure of sharing."⁷¹

Whereas opinions regarding date, meaning, and Eluard's intentions in these poems are more or less speculative, there is no mistaking the personal, emotional turmoil in Eluard's poem "Burial," written in the winter of 1921–22:

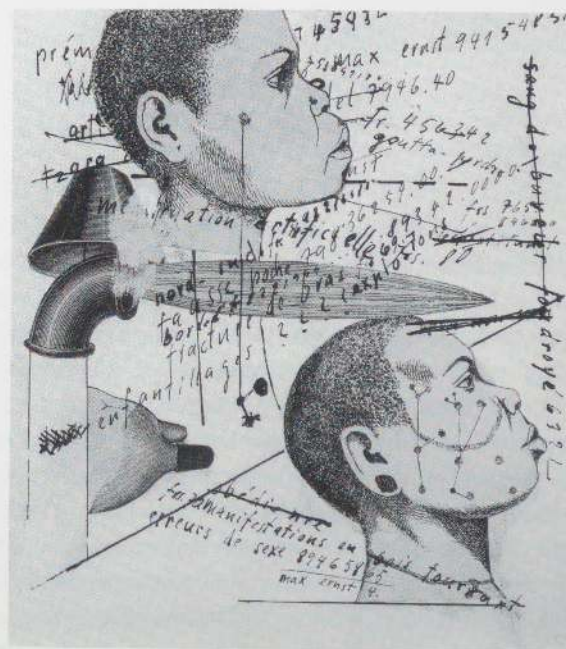
Because of all unhappy circumstances and
the differences and the hopes surrendered,
because of the pliable membrane on the pleasant
trip, I come despite all reason and the growing
grass, despite the winter, because of the children
and also the house, at the least because of the
morality, quickly to the conclusion that everything
is really at an end.
The Outcome of the occurrences? Far from here, far
from here, in Rome or in Berlin.⁷²

For his part, Ernst was tormented not by a sense of foreboding but by a sense of loss at the Eluards' departure and mounting determination to get to Paris. He recorded his sadness in a letter to Tzara and in a letter-drawing for Paul and Gala on the day they left Cologne.⁷³ He also redoubled his efforts to get a visa, and prospects evidently looked promising enough to make specific plans for a trip to Paris on January 16. But once again the application was denied, and Ernst wrote Tzara – after a week-long binge in Düsseldorf – "If I don't get the visa for France . . . , I will go to Berlin or Munich or Vienna or Italy, I'm not sure yet."⁷⁴

Ernst was not wholly isolated in Cologne. Baargeld was still a friend, and Ernst found some of the comradeship he craved with Mutter Ey and the artists who frequented her gallery in Düsseldorf. But none of those relationships compared to the kinship he felt with Arp and the Dadaists in Paris, and he maintained contact with them in a constant exchange of letters, publications, favors, and projects. Tzara mailed a copy of *New York Dada*, which delighted Ernst, and he dispatched to Tzara postcards of his collages for sale at Librairie Six, along with an invitation to live awhile with them in Cologne.⁷⁵ Tzara, with little income and no job prospects, accepted the invitation and stayed with Max and Lou for about three weeks in December and early January. During those weeks, he would have been witness to Ernst's work on the collage paintings and actual collages, a number of them destined for his own publications. Many of those may have been lost under unexplained circumstances, and only one can presently be identified with assurance (Fig. 86), a collage Ernst sent to Tzara in January 1922 for the cover of Tzara's *7 Manifestes Dada*. He describes it as a "drawing*" ("*for the cover of 7M") "electric gin drunk adorned with truffles."⁷⁶

It is possible that the paintings Tzara saw during his sojourn in Cologne included Ernst's portrait of Eluard done on glass backed with aluminum (Pl. 116). Eluard is not the central figure in this portrait

but the dark green profile head to the left rear, featureless and perhaps presented as a bust being worked on by the pale robot-like figure beside it. The dominant, frontal figure – flanked by Eluard's profile on the left and a black circle (sun?) on the right – has a band over his eyes and two tube-like forms extending from his nostrils to a bowl supported by a platter held in his right hand. No particularly convincing interpretations have yet been made for either the use of glass and aluminum or for this curious portrait, which both Ernst and Eluard certified in inscriptions on the reverse.⁷⁷ Derenthal discusses interesting parallels between this portrait and Chirico's *Portrait of Guillaume Apollinaire* (Fig. 87), a painting plausibly known to Ernst,⁷⁸ but much remains unaccounted for. The significance of the bowl and tubes in the nostrils "asks" for attention, and I am struck by the strong, emotive colors and the band over the eyes, which has the form of a silver crescent or moon shape on that ruddy, round head, set so deliberately between the black orb/sun and the unfinished green head of Eluard. These forms seem to invite alchemical analysis.



86 Max Ernst: *Electric Gin Drink Adorned with Truffles*, 1922. Collage: cut printed engravings, ink, and gouache on paper, 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ x4 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. Bibliothèque Littéraire Jacques Doucet, Paris

Ernst's collage paintings of the fall and winter of 1921–22 are even more complex and puzzling, and although everyone seems to have an opinion about *Oedipus Rex* (Pl. 118), no one has tried to take the measure of the painting entitled *Sea Piece* (Pl. 115). I think there are two basic reasons for this imbalance, one of a visual/aesthetic order, the other intellectual. The basic style and technique of each is quite similar, but *Oedipus Rex* is a far more gripping, intense composition. Details are absorbed into the whole, and the potent image of the fingers-nut-mechanical device on the left is balanced on the right by the heads of the two creatures, along with the distant balloon and open sky. The composition of *Sea Piece*, on the other hand, does not



87 Giorgio de Chirico: *Portrait of Guillaume Apollinaire*, 1914. Oil on canvas, 32 $\frac{1}{8}$ x25 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. Musée national d'art moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris

possess such a tense equilibrium, and details of the electric lines and fountain seem fussy. *Oedipus Rex* also has its title, which triggers immediate thoughts of Sophocles' drama and Freud's commentary on the psychological significance of that myth, whereas the title of *Sea Piece* provides no such mythological-psychological points of entry.⁷⁹ Accordingly, *Oedipus Rex* – which is better able to stand without an analysis – has attracted endless interpretative studies, while *Sea Piece*, whose fragmented parts invite separate analysis, has attracted no attention.

Several "dialogues," however, seem to exist in *Sea Piece*. The dominant form of this painting – a ceramic-like vessel – is an androgynous creature-pot, uniting both male and female characteristics in its rounded, organic shape with a phallic "spout." The male-female dialogue within this unusual form is doubled by the image of a common object on or within it, namely the cup, saucer, and spoon. Relationships are also suggested between this dominant creature-vessel and the figure in the immediate foreground. That figure is characterized not only by similar color, texture, and rounded organic forms, but by some sexual ambiguity – ostensibly female, but not necessarily so. These two forms differ insofar as the vessel is upright, frontal, and full of life, while the foreground figure is supine, in profile, and – though open-eyed – depicted in a passive hypnotic state. "She" may not even be human, insofar as a window-like reflection on her head suggests a smooth, ceramic-like material, not flesh. The male-female dialogue in these forms is repeated in the landscape, where the fountain in the lower left is paired with the volcano on the horizon. Additional contrasts include forms of "man" opposed to nature, and a variety of forms of energy – electrical energy; the gravity of the water cascading down; the force of the

volcano exploding upwards; and the force of wind holding aloft the strange pink kite tethered to the desert floor. These forms of energy also seem related to the four elements of air, earth, fire, and water. If only this painting had a title or inscription comparable to *Oedipus Rex*, what might we not do with it?

Oedipus Rex (Pl. 118) occupies a contrary situation, that is, in some instances at least, it has suffered because of the presence, not the absence, of a title. It is signed and dated 1922 and can be ascribed to the first weeks of that year. Otto Dix is reported to have seen it in Ernst's studio in December 1921, and Spies thinks Ernst was referring to it when he wrote Tzara on February 2, 1922, that he had finished some "Mephistophelian pictures."⁸⁰ Eluard purchased it during a second trip to Cologne in March, and the painting remained in his collection until the mid-1930s, when it first began to appear in exhibitions and publications.

From then to the present, countless spectators confronted by this painting have been stirred by the visual power of its bizarre, unnerving imagery, abnormal scales, and mysterious relationships – all rendered with the riveting clarity of an unforgettable dream. Two inscriptions add to the enigma of this strange painting. Easily overlooked – and rarely commented upon – is an inscription in French below the signature and date, "This painting in three elementary colors." Discreetly but clearly printed in the lower right corner is the title *Oedipus Rex*. The story of Oedipus as told in Sophocles' tragedy is a gripping tale of an infant with an injured (pierced) foot – Oedipus – abandoned to die by his father, King Laius, who sought to evade an oracle that he would be murdered by his son. The child was rescued, however, and raised in a foreign court, which he left when an oracle there advised him to avoid his native land because he was destined to become the murderer of his father and the husband of his mother. Two fateful events marked his flight: he encountered and killed King Laius in a sudden quarrel, and he solved the riddle of the Sphinx – a service for which he was later rewarded in Thebes by being presented with King Laius's widow, Jocasta, as a bride. He reigned honorably, begetting sons and daughters by his wife/mother until the sudden outbreak of a plague and further oracles revealed to Oedipus that the prophecy he feared had been fulfilled: he had unknowingly murdered his father and married his mother. Profoundly shocked by that revelation, Oedipus blinded himself and left his country.

At first glance, one might wonder what use, if any, is offered by the title *Oedipus Rex*, since between Ernst's imagery and the myth of Oedipus there is no manifest connection but a baffling gap. The spark to arc that gap was provided by Freud, who proposed in his *Interpretation of Dreams* that the attraction of the myth of Oedipus for modern man could not reside merely in the opposition between fate and human will. He searched, instead, for an "inner voice" within the story and proposed that – from his male point of view – we are all destined "to direct our first sexual impulse towards our mother...and our first murderous wish against our father. Our dreams convince us that that is so. King Oedipus, who slew his father Laius and married his mother Jocasta, merely shows us the fulfillment of our own childhood wishes."⁸¹

Biographic and contextual matters lend support to a Freudian interpretation of the *Oedipus Rex* in Ernst's painting. He was familiar

with Freud's writings; his autobiographical accounts smack of Oedipal conflicts with his father, and there had surely been spirited conversation about Freud in his recent meetings with Breton and Eluard. But the most convincing link to the Oedipus of Sophocles and Freud was proposed by Spies, when he discovered that the mechanical device in the clearly related composition *The Invention* (Pl. 109; Fig. 84) was a machine used by poultry breeders to punch holes in the webbing between the toes of fowls in order to mark their age.⁸² This marking by pierced feet was seen as related to the injured foot of Oedipus, thereby indicating that the title was not a playful or ironic Dada gesture but a genuine clue to the content of the painting. Having established that, however, Spies rejected further interpretation. Ernst, he claimed, was interested only in what Freud called the "manifest dream content," that is, the waking memory of the dream with all of its irrational qualities, but he had no interest whatsoever in Freud's goal, namely the analysis and explanation of the hidden meaning of "latent dream content," which, typically in analysis, was discovered to be a repressed childhood experience – often of a sexual nature – stimulated for the dreamer by a recent event.⁸³ As far as Spies is concerned, "It obviously leads nowhere to apply psychoanalytic methods to Max Ernst's iconography, for he endows his works with what is merely pseudo-psychoanalytical effect." Efforts to unravel and interpret *Oedipus Rex* with greater precision risk blunting blatant "pictorial situations which, thanks precisely to their incomprehensibility, should maintain the observer's imagination in a state of permanent tension that no solution can satisfy."⁸⁴

Subsequently, every author has had to contend with a tension present in Ernst's earlier work as well, namely the frustrating experience of seemingly incomprehensible imagery and an irresistible urge to seek some meaning in it. Some commentators have been inclined to savor the enigmatic qualities rather than the symbolism, but the majority have not followed Spies's warning. In stark contrast to Spies, Malcolm Gee has observed that Ernst himself included *Oedipus Rex* in a series of linked paintings produced between 1921 and 1924, one of which exhibited his detailed understanding of Freud's discussions about the relationship between manifest and latent dream images.⁸⁵ Between these polar positions there is a range of authors who focus on what is most often a Freudian interpretation. Some have concentrated on details; a few have offered broad observations. Some have proceeded with subjective abandon; others, with thoughtful probing into matters of content and context.

Spies's publication of a major source for the composition slammed a door in the face of anyone inclined to build an argument about dream images. Once again Ernst went to a popular, non-art source – the parlor tricks section of *La Nature*. The text explains that if one squeezes the nut on its seams, the point of the nut will open slightly. Then, if the nut is rubbed vigorously with a cloth, enough static electricity is generated for the nut to adhere to the finger and close on it when the pressure is released from the seam, leaving the nut mysteriously suspended on the finger.⁸⁶ Commentators have not failed to observe possible sexual allusions in the rubbing of the nut and in the prospect that a little pain may be involved in this trick. The piercing of the nut by an arrow has, however, been more important for Freudian interpretations, generating observations that it is

FRANCIS PICABIA

EST UN IMBECILE, UN IDIOT, UN PICKPOCKET !!!

MAIS
IL A SAUVE ARP DE LA CONSTIPATION !

LA PREMIERE ŒUVRE MÉCANIQUE, A ÉTÉ CRÉÉE
PAR MADAME TZARA LE JOUR OÙ ELLE MIT AU
MONDE LE PETIT TRISTAN, ET POURTANT ELLE
NE CONNAISSAIT PAS

FUNNY-GUY

FRANCIS PICABIA

est un professeur espagnol imbécile,
qui n'a jamais été dada **FRANCIS PICABIA N'EST RIEN !**

FRANCIS PICABIA AIME LA MORALE DES IDIOTS
LE BINOCLE DE ARP EST UN TESTICULE DE TRISTAN

FRANCIS PICABIA N'EST RIEN !!!!!

| | |
|---|---|
| <p style="text-align: center;">FRANCIS PICABIA</p> <p>MAIS: ARP ÉTAIT DADA AVANT DADA BINET-VALMER AUSSI! RIBEMONT-DESSAIGNES AUSSI! PHILIPPE SOUPAULT AUSSI! TRISTAN TZARA AUSSI! MARCEL DUCHAMP AUSSI! THÉODORE FRAENKEL AUSSI! LOUIS VAUXCELLES AUSSI! FRANTZ JOURDAIN AUSSI! LOUIS ARAGON AUSSI! PICASSO AUSSI! DERAIN AUSSI! MATISSE AUSSI! MAX JACOBS AUSSI! ETC... ETC... ETC....</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">FRANCIS PICABIA</p> <p>EST UN LOUSTIC EST UN IDIOT EST UN CLOWN N'EST PAS UN PEINTRE N'EST PAS UN LITTÉRAIRE EST UN IMBÉCILE EST UN ESPAGNOL EST UN PROFESSEUR N'EST PAS SÉRIeux EST RICHE EST PAUVRE</p> |
|---|---|

**EXCEPTÉ FRANCIS PICABIA
LE SEUL ARTISTE COMPLET !**

FRANCIS PICABIA VOUS CONSEILLE D'ALLER VOIR SES
TABLEAUX AU SALON D'AUTOMNE,
ET VOUS PRÉSENTE SES DOIGTS A BAISER.

FUNNY-GUY.

88 Francis Picabia: *Funny-Guy Handbill* for Salon d'Automne, Paris, November 1921

related to Oedipus's blinding or the piercing of his eye.⁸⁷ But others have identified the nut as a female form, as an egg or womb-like form similar to the pod that contains Eve in *The Word* (Pl. 108).⁸⁸ The absence of unanimity of opinion for the pierced nut is matched by efforts to account for such other details as the bloodlessly pierced fingers which hold the nut, the balloon, and the two hybrid creatures whose heads emerge from a container. Gottlieb dispatches the creatures quickly as images of Oedipus and Jocasta, but for Legge the question is more complex: they are parent figures, perhaps, but there is ambiguity about both gender and identity.⁸⁹

Three very different pitfalls exist for anyone who attempts to interpret symbolism in Ernst's paintings based on models in Freud's writings. One of Freud's major discoveries was the unique, unpredictable symbolism in the manifest dream. Literally anything might be a sign or symbol for anything else in the hidden, latent dream content. An interpreter deficient in rigor, training, and integrity may take this as a license for anything. On the other hand, Freud also wrote of general symbols – hats, sticks, and umbrellas, for example, as phallic objects – which many authors have employed automatically as a given truth. Freud, however, did not apply general symbolism to every dream situation. Each object was, instead, part of a fluid, changeable, and wholly personal set of circumstances. Interpreters of Ernst, then, who apply general symbolism to his images would be ignoring the subtlety and integrity of Freud's methodology for what risks being an equally unsubtle interpretation of Ernst's paintings.

A third trap for mindless application of Freud's methods in analysis of artworks was his discovery that, among possibly numerous objects or events in a dream, very few hold the clue to the hidden,

latent dream content. Indeed, perhaps the most minor, inconspicuous element will emerge as the key. This feature of Freud's dream analysis has been cited as justification for a single-minded focus on one element of a painting with complete disregard for everything else. The literature on Ernst is littered with victims of all of these traps, but the significance of Freud's writings for Ernst is indisputable and poses – in my opinion – not the question of whether or not to explore Freudian dimensions in Ernst's work, but how one goes about it.

Several authors, while not ignoring details of symbolism in *Oedipus Rex*, have gone beyond that to suggest larger theses. Stokes – for the very reason that dreams are vague and personal – proposes that Freud's *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious* was more useful for Ernst than the *Interpretation of Dreams*. In his analysis of jokes, Freud placed greater emphasis on form, with humor residing to a significant extent in the form of the joke as well as in its content. Stokes allows that *Oedipus Rex* is almost a catalogue of Freud's joke-making devices that Ernst has translated into visual mechanisms.⁹⁰ She proposes visual equivalents for such joke-making mechanisms as the juxtaposition of disparate objects, double entendres, unexpected recognition of the familiar, puns, and condensation. A few examples suffice, for example, fingertips projecting beyond the nut which "look like" breasts as a visual pun, and the bird-human fusion as a visual equivalent of verbal condensation. The entire painting she finds is – "intended or not" – "A fine pictorial allegory of the repression and release found in Freud's exercise of joke-making."⁹¹ Bearing in mind Freud's thesis that two main purposes for jokes are to express hostility and sexual desire in situations where direct expression of those wishes is unacceptable, she remarks that the wall in *Oedipus Rex* is "an apt representation of social and personal suppression of neutral and socially unacceptable feeling," while "the window is, like the joke, the hole punched in this wall of resistance" unexpectedly releasing feelings, "like the oversized fingers." Her effort to suggest some parallel between Ernst's creative process and Freud's location of the origin of the joke in the unconscious seems perfunctory and contradicted by her skill in finding other illustrations in *La Nature* relevant to motifs in *Oedipus Rex*.⁹²

Günter Metken introduced another origin for sources and decision-making in his comparison of Max Klinger's *Theft of the Glove* to Ernst's *Oedipus Rex*. Both form and content are involved in this comparison, for Klinger's composition contains dream imagery with a sexual dimension and a narrative movement, from the arms at the left thrusting through a window to the monstrous bird/dragon fleeing with the glove on the right.⁹³ The most extended and subtle thesis to date has been offered by Legge. She affirms the conviction of others that "a pronounced Freudian interest does permeate *Oedipus Rex*," and proposes new sources in *Hamlet* and *La Nature* for the significance of three objects – the instrument piercing the fingers, the nutshell, and the hybrid creatures whose heads protrude from a box-like container.⁹⁴ However, she thinks that Ernst goes beyond all this to produce what may be taken as a "picture-making manifesto dealing with image creation itself." The Sphinx is primary to her thesis, as she proposes that "the painting as a whole might be looked at in the terms of that central element of the Oedipal myth,

that is, the posing of a riddle."⁹⁵ In developing her ideas, Legge introduces Breton's 1920 commentary on Chirico, the sphinx and mythology: "To imagine the sphinx as a lion with a woman's head was poetic in the past. I calculate that a genuine modern mythology is in the process of formation. It is up to Giorgio de Chirico to imperishably set it down in memory."⁹⁶ Legge asks if Ernst, who probably knew Breton's concept regarding Chirico, chose for himself to address the problem of Oedipus Rex in a modern mythology. Concluding an argument that cannot be developed in detail here, Legge closes with the proposition that Ernst's creative process was, in effect, the reverse of the procedures of Freudian analysis. In the latter, by interpreting symbols found in the unconscious and unfolding trains of underlying associations, archaic images were translated into long passages of conventional language. But in *Oedipus Rex*, Legge perceives the reverse of that process, namely the taking of "the unraveled associations of psychoanalytic exegeses and retranslating elucidating analysis back into the archaic symbol language. From the interpreted passages to be found in Freud, Ernst invented new, inscrutable pictured equivalents to dreams, mythology, and symptomatic acts." The objects in the painting "seem to be presented for decipherment," but "*Oedipus Rex* poses itself as a conundrum that, unlike the old decoded Sphinx's riddle, is beyond the access of reason and the play of language."⁹⁷ At this point, we have gone far beyond Spies's initial rejection of a more detailed interpretation, yet, at the same time, we have – in a more informed and sensitized state – returned to the haunting, inscrutable imagery of this marvelous painting. Our eyes are riveted on its images, but they direct our thoughts beyond the frame of the canvas to the figure that goes with those fingers; to the identity of whatever resides at the end of that limp string; to the object of the hybrid creatures' attention. Constraint imposed on the fingers and the entrapped creatures is opposed to the openness and liberty in the quadrant with the balloon; images of violence are portrayed with bloodless passivity; gender is contrasted, fused, and confused; experiences of large, small, and normal are stripped of any clear reference, and, finally, there is that confrontation between the psychological experience generated by this visual data and all that is introduced by the literary dimensions of the title.

While we have so far concentrated on critical efforts to cope with *Oedipus Rex*, the painting also exerted an impact on artists – first catching the attention of young Rheinland painters who were to contribute to the emergence of the style referred to as "The New Objectivity," then emerging as one of the most significant early models for the genre of Surrealism developed by Tanguy, Dalí, Magritte, and others. It was, however, wholly out of character with the art of the Dadaists in Paris.

Dada in Paris, Winter 1921 – 1922

Though battered by dissension, Dada in Paris still had a little life left in it. The group continued to gather regularly at the Certa, where in December 1921 they organized two Dada events and collaborated on an open letter challenging published rumors that Dada was dead.⁹⁸ The first event, Man Ray's exhibition at Librairie Six, revived



89 Francis Picabia: *The Cacodylic Eye*, 1921. Ink, gouache, and collage on canvas, 57½x45½ in. Musée national d'art moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris

something of the vitality and look of 1920.⁹⁹ The opening was a festive affair, accompanied by a catalogue filled with droll comments by his new friends and a parody of the conventional artist's biography: "One doesn't know where Monsieur Ray was born. Having been successively a coal-merchant, millionaire several times over, and chairman of a chewing-gum trust, he has decided to accept the invitation of the Dadaists to show his latest canvases in Paris." The works exhibited represented some of his best from New York and one recent collage,¹⁰⁰ but nothing sold, forcing a concentration on photography to make a living.

The second event – a soirée in the Café Caméléon – was actually organized by the Russians Charchoune and Ilia Zdanévitch, but with the participation of Eluard, Soupault, Ribemont-Dessaignes, Rigaut, Breton, and others. The Dadaists behaved badly during the evening and generally considered it to have been a fiasco.¹⁰¹ Bigger problems, however, were in the making.

About the time that Tzara left Paris in mid-December for a three-week visit in Cologne – resentful that Breton had not helped him find a job – Breton initiated meetings to form the organizational committee for what was announced on January 3, 1922, as an "International Congress for the Determination of the Directions and Defense of the Modern Spirit." This enterprise was a product of Breton's dual conviction regarding the irrelevance of Dada and a necessity to

expand the scope of activity beyond the small, exclusive Dada group. This Congress soon acquired the short title "Congress of Paris." Its life span was shorter still, but important for splintering the Dadaists beyond repair and setting tensions and alliances that continued into the official founding of Surrealism.

Throughout these last moments of Dada as a somewhat coherent group, the only person who richly embodied the image of Dada was Francis Picabia – who, however, continued to assail Dada and to ridicule everyone associated with it. Since Arp and Tzara had orchestrated the Dadaists' response to *Le Pilhaou-Thibaou* in *Dada Augrandair*, Picabia answered them in his *Funny-Guy Handbill* (Fig. 88), distributed at the Salon d'Automne during November–December. In his patented "I-screw-myself" technique, he responded directly to slights in *Dada Augrandair*, proclaiming himself to be an imbecile, an idiot, a pickpocket and Spanish professor, but adding that "He saved Arp from constipation" and "The first mechanical work was created by Mrs. Tzara when she brought little Tristan into world." He concluded by advising everyone to see his paintings at the Salon d'Automne, where he would present his fingers for them to be kissed.

Notwithstanding Picabia's anti-Dada polemics, the works he submitted to the Salon d'Automne and, three months later, to the Salon des Indépendants constitute masterpieces of Dada – and stark contrasts to Ernst's contemporary *Oedipus Rex* (Pl. 118), which seems all the more Surrealist in this context. One of his entries to the Salon d'Automne, *The Cacodylic Eye* (Fig. 89), was a thoroughly collaborative work, which is none the less imbued with Picabia's personality.¹⁰² He set the canvas on an easel in his apartment, painted in the title at the top and a large eye to the lower right, then glued a small photograph of his face over the block letters of his name in the lower left corner. The rest of the canvas was turned over to about forty friends and an estranged wife, who, during visits to the apartment, were invited to inscribe their names or some comment. The result was a collection of collage elements, puns, doodles, aphorisms, and signatures by a "who's who" among the poets, painters, musicians, and entertainers of Paris at the end of 1921. In an article by the same title, "L'Oeil Cacodylate," Picabia commented on this work: "There are certainly enough accumulated paintings, and the sanctioning signature of artists, uniquely sanctioners, would give a new value to art works destined for modern mercantilism. . . . This canvas was finished when there was no longer space on it, and I find this painting very beautiful. . . . it is perhaps that all of my friends are artists just a bit."¹⁰³ In another passage in this article, Picabia added, "I would like to found a 'paternal' school to discourage young people from what our good snobs call Art with a capital 'A.' Art is everywhere, except with the dealers of Art, in the Temples of Art, like God is everywhere, except in the churches. . . . Look, boredom is the worst of maladies and my very great despair would be precisely to be taken seriously, to become a great man, a master."

Picabia raised another noisy brouhaha with his entries to the Salon des Indépendants, two of which were rejected despite the founding principles of the Indépendants: "no juries" and "no awards."¹⁰⁴ One of his rejected entries, *The Merry Widow*,¹⁰⁵ is an unprimed canvas bearing the title, a signature, and two forms: a signed and dated Man Ray photograph of Picabia at the wheel of his

Mercer – studiously captioned “Photograph” on a piece of paper below – and Picabia’s drawing of himself after that photograph, labeled “Drawing.” This visual juxtaposition of photography and art (drawing) is a wordless delight, augmented by the title, which poses a teasing question, who or what is the “Merry Widow”? Given the female gender of the words for photography, painting, and machine, might it be photography (“la photographie”) or painting (“la peinture”)? Rather than postulating definitions and distinctions about Dada and Surrealism, I prefer to juxtapose Picabia’s *The Cacodylic Eye* and *The Merry Widow* (Fig. 89; n. 105) to Ernst’s *Oedipus Rex* (Pl. 118) and invite the reader to consider such matters as subject, style, craft, and process: the concept of ‘collage,’ the issue of collaboration, possible intentions of the artists, and the effect on the spectator. During 1921–22 these two men were the central artists for a consideration of issues in Dada and Surrealism – regardless of labels and, to an extent, regardless of Duchamp, who, despite his ultimate significance for Dada, maintained his independence and was often absent from Paris. Duchamp left Paris for New York at this time, in January 1922, missing Breton’s Congress of Paris.

This Congress was, in effect, Breton’s project, intended to take stock of the “modern spirit” with the aim of stimulating the avant-garde on to the next stage in its development. For him, that next stage was to be Surrealism, but in January 1922 he had no clear vision of that. He was groping. He did know, however, that Dada had no role in that future, that he and his friends had to expand. In addition to Breton himself, the organizational committee consisted of two painters, Robert Delaunay and Fernand Léger; two authors, Jean Paulhan and Roger Vitrac; the composer Georges Auric; and Amadée Ozenfant, painter, author, and co-editor with Le Corbusier of his magazine *L’Esprit Nouveau*. Announcements for the Congress (scheduled to begin March 30) stressed its openness to the partici-

pation of anyone who “attempts today, in the domain of art, science, or life, a new and disinterested effort” in proceeding toward “the confrontation of new values” and the rendering of “an exact account of present forces.”¹⁰⁶ When complaints were raised about the vagueness of these aims, a second press release offered a clarification: “In order to fix the ideas here are two of the numerous questions which the Congress will examine: Has the modern spirit always existed? Among so-called modern objects, is a top hat more or less modern than a locomotive?”¹⁰⁷

Despite Breton’s recruiting efforts – he even managed to re-establish contact with Picabia – no one of consequence shared his enthusiasm. The Congress was, on the face of it, alien to a Dadaist, and when Tzara returned from Cologne around January 10, he declined to join the committee. Breton, fearful that Tzara was working to undermine the Congress, persuaded the committee to issue a press release warning of “the machinations of a personage known as the promoter of a ‘movement’ from Zurich... which no longer responds today to any reality.”¹⁰⁸ Tzara adroitly turned the press release against Breton by commenting in an open letter to Paris newspapers that an “international congress which reproaches someone for being a foreigner no longer has a reason to exist.”¹⁰⁹ As events unfolded, Tzara, Eluard, Ribemont-Dessaignes, and Erik Satie organized a public hearing on February 17 at the Closerie des Lilas, where Breton was censored and a declaration of “no confidence” in the Congress was signed by over forty individuals.

With the Congress crumbling around him, Breton looked for support in what would seem the most unlikely person, Francis Picabia! Surprisingly, Picabia went to Breton’s aid – not out of genuine interest in the Congress (he thought it ridiculous), but because he saw the opportunity to deliver another blow against what had become of Dada and anyone who had anything to do with it. In that



90 Max Ernst: *Humor Corner of the Kaletsch Hotel, Düsseldorf, March 1922.* Pencil on postcard, 3¾x5¾ in. Bibliothèque Littéraire Jacques Doucet, Paris

respect, Breton was an ally (of sorts); Tzara was a target. Picabia and a few friends around him at that moment in the south of France composed a tract entitled "The Pine Cone" ("La Pomme des pins"), which abounded with puns, epithets, aphorisms, and personal greetings, ostensibly promoting the Congress and attacking its opponents, although the tongue-in-cheek nature of Picabia's "support" was revealed on the final page: "the Congress of Paris is fucked, Francis Picabia takes part in it."¹¹⁰ "The Pine Cone" was distributed in Paris in early March, about the time of Breton's article "After Dada," in which he attacked Tzara, praised Picabia, and pronounced that Dada was dead, its funeral having occurred "about May 1921."¹¹¹ Tzara counter-attacked both Breton and Picabia with an article, "The Underside of Dada" ("Le Dessous de Dada"), and a tract, "The Bearded Heart" ("Le Cœur à barbe"), which came out in April.¹¹² By then, the Congress had collapsed and Breton was publicly reflecting on the state of affairs in several articles. The most succinct account of his motivation for the Congress of Paris occurred later in the year in a lecture held at an exhibition of Picabia's work in Barcelona: "I thought I had distinguished a minimum of common affirmations, and I burned to free from it a law of tendency for myself... to consider successively cubism, futurism, and Dada is to follow the flight of an idea which is now at a certain height and awaits only a new impulse to continue to describe the curve assigned to it."¹¹³

In a new series of *Littérature*, which Breton resumed in March 1922, a subdued mood colored his text "Let Go of Everything" ("Lâchez Tout"): "Let go of Dada... Let go of your hopes and fears... Set off on the routes."¹¹⁴ To what extent Breton was conscious of these routes is a matter of speculation, but they had already been indicated in the preceding issue of *Littérature* in the form of his first dream accounts, comments on his interview with Freud, reference to Lautréamont, and renewed attention to Chirico, including an illustration of *The Child's Brain*.¹¹⁵

The Second Meeting of Ernst and Eluard, and "The Misfortunes of the Immortals"

While Breton was reviving *Littérature*, cultivating Picabia, and probing for directions beyond Dada, Paul and Gala Eluard packed up the first copies of *Répétitions* to come off the press and left for another visit with the Ernsts in Cologne. The intellectual and sexual attractions of the preceding fall resurged immediately in the two-week visit. Max and Paul began work on a second book, *The Misfortunes of the Immortals* (*Les Malheurs des immortels*), which was to be a far more coordinated, intimate collaboration than had prevailed for *Répétitions* – and the intimacy of that project was matched by the personal relationship which developed openly between Paul, Gala, and Max. Allusions to those relationships occur in a postcard mailed to Tzara and signed by these three.¹¹⁶ Ernst embellished the view of a Düsseldorf restaurant with a penciled-in frieze bearing a suggestive motif of a giant bird-head beside a nude female torso (Fig. 90); Eluard made a comment which has been interpreted as an oblique, Freud-informed reference to his fraternal sharing of the mother (Gala) with Ernst: "The king was dancing over a tree. Max, he said before having drunk, I am no longer the only son."¹¹⁷

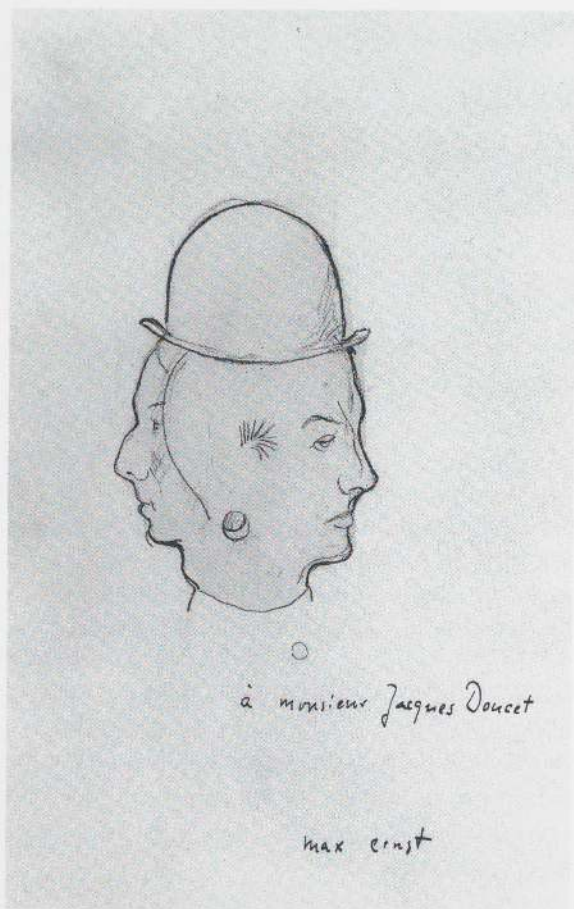


91 Max Ernst, Gala Eluard, and Paul Eluard skiing in the Bavarian Alps, March 1922

On a brief side trip to catch a late snowfall in the Bavarian Alps, Lou was again the outsider (perhaps taking the photograph) of the love triangle, with Gala appropriately in the middle (Fig. 91). At the end of March, Max and Lou separated briefly from the Eluards in order to meet Arp and Sophie Taeuber in Munich. They missed Arp, but in a joint postcard to Tzara from Munich, Sophie commented on their need "to comfort Lou."¹¹⁸

This tension-filled *ménage à trois* was to continue for two years, largely owing to Eluard's effort to bear that condition, given his love of Gala and Max. He has been frequently quoted for his comment that he loved Max more than he loved Gala – and indeed that brotherhood far outlasted the marriage. During those two years of sharing Gala, Ernst's work and Eluard's poetry were to reflect their profound but troubled bondage, beginning with *The Misfortunes of the Immortals*, produced that spring and summer during a second gathering of some of the Dadaists in the Tirol.

Birds-Fish-Snake (Pl. 128) is one of the early collage paintings thought to embody reference to the Ernst-Eluard relationship. This symbol-laden painting is not accompanied by a secure date or by a title, inscription, or other text to provide clues to its themes. However, the forms within it and some related works supply considerable circumstantial evidence for references to Ernst and Eluard and for a date between late 1921 and the summer of 1922. The related works include a double portrait of Ernst and Eluard with one head (Fig. 92); the watercolor *Man Will Never Understand It* (Pl. 127); and the painting *Castor and Pollution* (Pl. 142). *Birds-Fish-Snake* depicts a vast, bleak space with a recessed basin in the immediate foreground. The basin contains a snake and a shallow green tub, in which stands an empty but upright red jacket and the dominant figure of the painting, a standing figure with a double bird head. A short column stands between the red jacket and the double-headed figure. These heads are identical (twins), although they are turned in opposite directions and have different attributes. From the open mouth of the bird on the left, a line or rod projects out to a geometric object in the sky that is additionally supported by a multi-lobed pink parachute, positioned directly over a headless woman in a pink dress in the middle ground



92 Max Ernst: *Double Portrait of Ernst and Eluard*, 1922. Pencil and ink on paper, 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ x5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Bibliothèque Littéraire Jacques Doucet, Paris

of the painting. These forms are counterbalanced on the right. A line or rod also projects from the open mouth of the bird, terminating in a fish in the air. Still higher in the sky, vapor escapes from a small floating container, and in the middle ground, below the fish, a cow appears to be trying to leap into the foreground basin, but an arm thrust in from beyond the right edge of the painting both covers the face of the cow and seems to block her movement. The double-headed bird-man, though a single form, is also divided by his clothes into a right and left half. The right half is dressed in a blue sailor's jacket with a short purple sleeve, the left half in a sleeveless under-shirt and a brown vest-like garment. The empty red jacket – which is neither clearly masculine nor feminine but does suggest a child's garment – carries a yellow "cloak" over its right arm, and a hand projects from the sleeve toward the head of the snake. A shadow cast by the snake indicates that what has been described as a "basin" is not a basin of water, but a recess with a hard, reflective surface that supports both the snake and a low plinth under the green tub and its occupants.

Several interpretations have been proposed for this composition, but the most extensive study is Derenthal's thesis, which incorporates this painting into Ernst's "portraits of friendship."¹¹⁹ In surveying these portraits, Derenthal develops a number of themes and motifs, notably the fraternal fusing of Ernst and Eluard, their isolation

for creative collaboration, Gala as a muse, the hybrid bird-man, the headless woman, snakes, floating fish, and "autonomous" (empty) clothes, which appear repeatedly in *The Misfortunes of the Immortals*. He concludes that the double-headed bird motif is an emblem of their intimate friendship – isolated from the world and united in their art. He identifies Ernst as the head to the right, associated with the fish, while Eluard is the head to the left, linked to the parachute. The headless woman is proposed as a personification of Gala, their muse.¹²⁰

Derenthal's thesis has provided an important benchmark in the *terrain vague* of this painting, but much remains unaddressed in the clothes, colors, and characters of this symbolic drama. An identity has been proposed for only Paul, Max, and Gala, but no role has been assigned for the autonomous jacket, the snake, or the cow, nor for the real-life drama that included Lou and the children Cécile and Jimmy. If Paul, Max, and Gala are represented here, is Lou to be found in the bolting horned beast (clearly female in gender) that counterbalances the headless woman in pink? And are there references in the clothing to the children?

As observed by Derenthal, the two friends are differentiated in this painting only by their clothing, but clothes were important for Ernst. What, then, is the significance of these clothes? Does it matter if one is a sailor's suit, if the clothes are for males or females, children or adults? Color is an equally deliberate ingredient of this painting, with red, blue, green, and a golden yellow standing out against the gray tones of earth and sky. Pink and brown play subordinate roles, but calculated as well. The use of pink for the woman's dress recalls Ernst's color theories/associations for women in his 1917 essay "On the Origins of Color" (see p. 43), raising the question as to whether or not that entire color theory was still operative: green as an indication of fertility and growth; red as masculine, active, and creative; blue as spiritual and related to sea and firmament. Perhaps the inscription about "three elementary colors" in *Oedipus Rex* should be reconsidered. Even if these 1917 color associations no longer informed Ernst's thinking, we are still left with the nagging awareness that these colors are not likely to be haphazard choices or the result of purely aesthetic concerns. Even more unlikely is the prospect that the symbolism seemingly incorporated into this painting will ever be resolved. If Ernst – as I think – had a program for these paintings, I suspect we would find it to be long on ambiguity and short on "answers." At any rate, we are not privy to his intentions and cannot hope to reconstruct them on the basis of visual and contextual analysis. We simply lack the means to assess such works, which are not only complex and personal but ultimately beyond rational analysis. What can be ventured are observations, ideas, and questions that expand and revitalize our experience of the work.

The issue of interpretation is equally tempting and illusive for *The Misfortunes of the Immortals*. As indicated above, Ernst and Eluard began this collaborative work in Cologne at the end of March, continued to work by mail during April and May, and finished it while together again in Tarrenz in June and July. The book was published by the Librairie Six in Paris on July 25, as work "revealed by Paul Eluard and Max Ernst."¹²¹ The layout is coordinated very simply. Following the cover, frontispiece (Fig. 93), and title page, there are twenty prose

poems and reproductions of twenty collages, paired on facing pages with the image on the left and the text on the right. The final manuscript and written changes between Ernst and Eluard are not extant, a condition which has placed weight on Ernst's memory in conversations with Werner Spies. According to Ernst, the collages were wholly his work, and he sent them along with an initial text/prose poem to Eluard, who responded with his own text and sometimes changes in Ernst's text, although in general the editing of each other's work was minimal. Insofar as is known, there was no subsequent modification of the collages or creation of new collages as a consequence of developments in the prose poems.

Given the conditions of this collaborative venture, analyses and interpretations have focused on several areas of inquiry: discerning the "voices" of Eluard and Ernst in the prose poems; looking for relationships between the poems and the collages; testing both texts and collages for allusions to external matters – whether their tangled personal lives, or other themes in the work of Ernst and Eluard – and, finally, looking for a uniting or overriding theme to the whole. Who are these unfortunate immortals? The diversity of opinions – as usual for Ernst's work – is enormous.

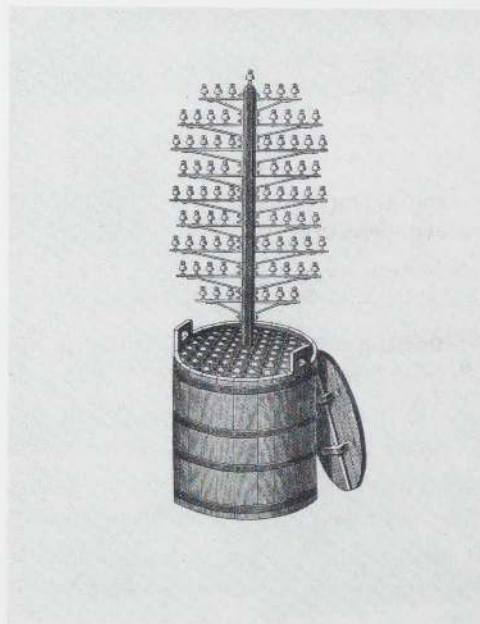
In terms of the poems, Spies observed that often within a text there were some descriptive phrases or sentences which could be related to the accompanying image and other phrases quite independent of the images.¹²² Taking the initial image-poem, *The Scissors and Their Father*, as an example (Fig. 94), he divided the text as follows, ascribing the passages in italics to Ernst and the more descriptive passages to Eluard:

"The Scissors and Their Father"

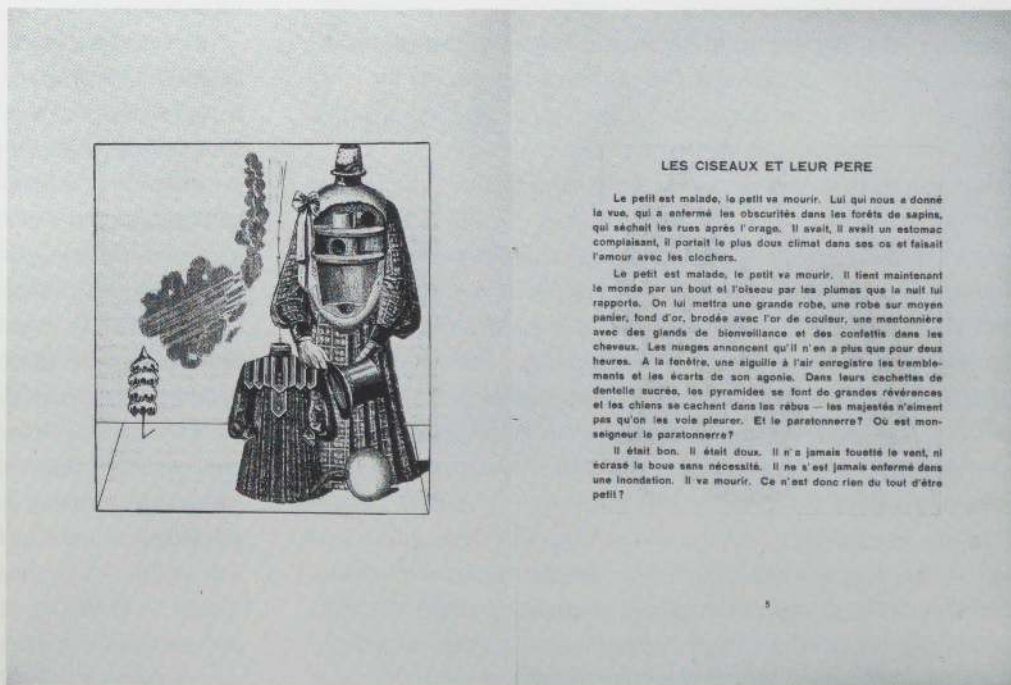
The little one [male] is sick, the little one is going to die. He who has given us sight, who has enclosed the obscurities in the fir tree forest, who dried the streets after the storm He had, he used to have an obliging stomach. He carried the most pleasant climate in his bones *and made love with the steeples.*

The little one [male] is sick. The little one is going to die. He now holds the world by a tip and the bird by the feathers the night brings back to him. One will put a large dress on him, a hooped dress, gold ground, bordered with gold color, a chin strap with goodwill tassels and confetti in the hair. The clouds signal that he has no more than two hours left. At the window, a needle in the open air registers the tremors and the variations of his agony. In their hiding places of prim lace, the pyramids bow low to one another and the dogs hide in the riddles – the majesties do not like anyone to see them weep. And the lightning rod? Where is monseigneur lightning rod?

He was kind. He was gentle. He never whipped the wind, nor crushed mud unnecessarily. He has never secluded himself in a flood. He is going to die. So is it nothing at all then to be little?



93 Max Ernst: Untitled frontispiece for Paul Eluard's *The Misfortunes of the Immortals*, Paris, 1922



LES CISEAUX ET LEUR PERE

Le petit est malade, le petit va mourir. Lui qui nous a donné la vue, qui a enfermé les obscurités dans les forêts de sapins, qui séchait les rues après l'orage. Il avait, il avait un estomac complaisant, il portait le plus doux climat dans ses os et faisait l'amour avec les clochers.

Le petit est malade, le petit va mourir. Il tient maintenant le monde par un bout et l'oiseau par les plumes que la nuit lui rapporte. On lui mettra une grande robe, une robe sur moyen panier, fond d'or, brodée avec l'or de couleur, une mantonnère avec des glands de bienveillance et des confettis dans les cheveux. Les nuages annoncent qu'il n'en a plus que pour deux heures. A la fenêtre, une aiguille à l'air enregistre les tremblements et les écarts de son agonie. Dans leurs cachettes de dentelle sucrée, les pyramides se font de grandes révérences et les chiens se cachent dans les rebus – les majestés n'aiment pas qu'on les voie pleurer. Et le paratonnerre? Ou est monseigneur le paratonnerre?

Il était bon. Il était doux. Il n'a jamais fouetté le vent, ni écrasé la boue sans nécessité. Il ne s'est jamais enfermé dans une inondation. Il va mourir. Ce n'est donc rien du tout d'être petit?

94 Max Ernst and Paul Eluard: *The Scissors and Their Father* from *The Misfortunes of the Immortals*, 1922, pp. 4–5

Some years later, Gateau challenged that thesis, demonstrating beyond doubt that this poem was a re-writing from start to finish of a seventeenth-century prose ballad by Alphonse Daudet entitled "The Death of the Dauphin."¹²³ The style of this particular poem is, then, informed by funeral oratory of the seventeenth century, and the "little one who is going to die" harbors reference (in this source) to the son of the Sun King, Louis XIV, who did have exalted notions of his position in the universe. In Gateau's view, there is still a collage-like aspect to *The Scissors and Their Father* – not in the pieced-together manner proposed by Spies, but in Ernst's and Eluard's appropriation of pre-existing elements, which are "cut out" and combined in a new entity that not only "works," but works more effectively than the original. This opinion derives in part, I think, from Gateau's estimation of Eluard's quality as a poet. He does not experience Eluard as a writer bound to respond to Ernst's collages in a referential manner, but Eluard as a poet who takes the images as a starting point for the verbal pleasures, metonyms, and metaphors of the poem.¹²⁴

While acknowledging Gateau's work, Renée Riese Hubert emphasizes the difficulty rather than the poetry of the text. By pretending to narrate, or to explain, she comments, the two "poets leave no room for lyricism." The reader is subjected to "fragmentary incidents that have little or no bearing on issues they were supposed to settle," to "word games," to "paradox," and to "repeated references to what has disappeared or been forgotten," resulting in "a perpetual but meaningless agitation."¹²⁵ Nicole Boulestreau offers yet another concept embracing text and image. As a book, *The Misfortunes of the Immortals* may be viewed, she proposes, as a historical transformation of the traditional sixteenth-century emblem books, with their facing pages of images and texts defining virtues, vices, concepts, proverbs, etc. In her argument, the Ernstian transformation of the emblem book has been informed by other books, too – such popular illustrated books as *La Nature*, the teaching aids catalogue, and the writings of Freud, who demonstrated that every object (no matter how mundane) may be significant and who also explored great myths whose formations exist in the unconscious. Freud provided the emblematic themes of modern society for Ernst and Eluard, while such sources as *La Nature* furnished the psychic energy and symbolism invested in mundane objects.¹²⁶

Compared to its counterpart in *Répétitions* (Pl. 107), the frontispiece for *The Misfortunes of the Immortals* (Fig. 93) is a simple, almost spare composition, which has attracted little commentary. Recently, Derenthal has suggested that it is, in effect, a manifesto of the collage principle, because it strikes an unexpected spark in the gap between what it is – a pole for electric lines – and what it looks like or replaces – a tree.¹²⁷ In addition I propose also the presence of sexual references – a vat filled with what look like eggs, surmounted by an erect electric pole/tree filled with little bird-like creatures linked to the eggs below.

In the first pairing of collage and prose poem, *The Scissors and Their Father* (Fig. 94), the simplicity of the frontispiece gives way immediately to complexity, but in both image and text there is also a continuity of references to eggs, collage (cutting), electricity (lightning rod), and gender. This composition is dominated by two stand-

ing figures on the right, posed like a formal photograph of an adult and a child. They are balanced asymmetrically in the left background by a snow-covered fir-tree and a cloud. The theme of a couple is restated, but what manner of couple? The text contains primarily masculine references – the title, which refers to the scissors and their *father*, and the ritual-like repetition that a "little one" (male) "is going to die." However, the visual half of this pairing is dominated by female forms. The larger figure is attired in a dress, and her torso consists of an open egg, but her left arm is a bird's leg, her right hand is a man's hand holding a top hat, and her head is replaced by (consists of) a thimble with a pair of scissors tucked in the "hat" band – suggesting that this figure is the "father" of the scissors. Gender signs, in brief, are mixed, and this ambiguity continues in the most likely candidate for "the little one," namely the "empty" but autonomous little girl's dress standing beside the "parent."

Various opinions have been registered regarding some details within these figures. For some, the scissors stand as a reference to the principle and process of creation by collage, but Formentelli proposes that they embody a reference to castration – which is part of the tribulations of the little (male) one who is headless (faceless), limbless, attired in a dress, and dominated by the ambiguous maternal figure.¹²⁸ Spies identified the source for the figure's torso¹²⁹ as an illustration in *La Nature* depicting a game of equilibrium based on the alignment of two balls within a hollow wooden egg (a Columbus Egg). With the exception of one collage further on in the book, he sees no connection between such sources and the content of Ernst's collages,¹³⁰ but within the context of a tense love triangle, I wonder if it is entirely a matter of visual selection that Ernst employed a female egg with two loose balls seeking equilibrium. Far removed from that notion is Boulestreau's attention to the religious form of the language in the poem and the predicted death of the little one – elements which led her to propose the open egg as a metaphor for a wooden sculpture of the Madonna and Child, which opens to reveal a scene of the crucifixion of him who was "the little one" on the exterior.¹³¹

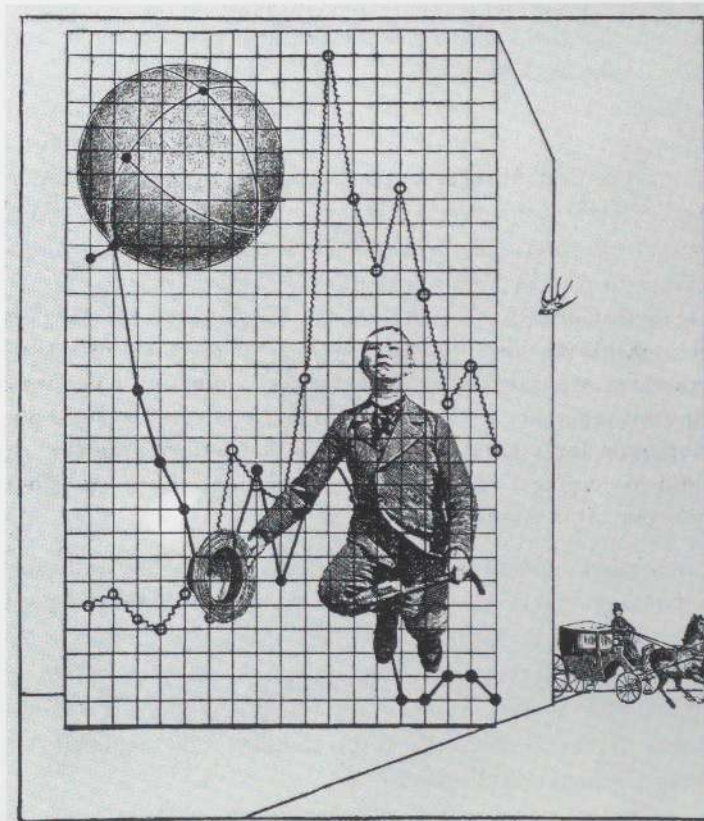
At first glance, the forms and relationships in *My Little Mont Blanc* (Pl. 120) appear less complex, less ambiguous. The composition consists simply of the hand of a clothed man holding a pistol-like weapon over the posterior of a female nude who is hovering, bottom up, in the rings of Saturn. By choosing engravings in which we do not see the face of the woman or any of the man except his hand, Ernst secures a menacing, depersonalized juxtaposition of an armed male and a vulnerable female.¹³² Additional tension is generated by the disparity in scale between the male hand and the torso, by the undefined space, and by our awareness that Ernst's creatures are often hybrid and headless. We would like to expand the frame of vision to incorporate whole forms, but that is not in our power. Indeed, another source behind these images of enormous hands thrusting into a scene from beyond the frame is the tradition of representing the intervening hand of God or – in the example I have chosen here – an alchemical illustration of the grafting of the spirit on the chosen matter.¹³³ These hands are icons of superhuman forces literally beyond the frame of our world over which we have no control. We are turned back to cope with the given juxtaposition of the man-held

weapon and the female target. Recent observers have come to question their initial perception of menace. Schrott observes that the man has missed the target, suggesting among other things an unattainable woman and an impotent man. Boulestreau notes sexual allusions in both the text and the image, but finds that the male and female forms in the image are "disjointed" and the mood of the text is one of impotency or the absence of action: "for three hours there has no longer been any wind, for three hours gravitation has ceased to exist."¹³⁴ Even the *La Nature* source for the pistol supports these perceptions. It depicts a pneumatic pistol, a toy of sorts that uses air to propel small rubber darts – an "inoffensive" pistol it is called in the text.¹³⁵ Compatible with the drift of these views is the last sentence of the poem, resonant with free verse rhymes and charged with allusions to sexual parts, eternity, and conditions that may apply to the love triangle: "In the peat moss the black grasses are menaced by the prestidigitator and rest on the earth with the bald-headed and the sweetness of their flesh that the day begins to adorn in bitter clouds."¹³⁶

The oneiric quality of *My Little Mont Blanc* distinguished such other images in *The Misfortunes of the Immortals* as *The Fugitive* (Pl. 125) and *The Cleaning of Tiles Does Not Necessarily Entail Cleanliness in Love* (Pl. 122). Notwithstanding the latter's playful title, a familiar theme – the impregnating power of the word or energy of God – is projected by the image of the ear pierced by an arrow and bombarded with a visual rendering of heat (flame), light, and sound waves. Another familiar theme, that of the couple, appears in *The Meeting of Two Smiles* (Pl. 124). The primary source for this image was an illustration for a "disappearing woman" trick in *La Nature*.¹³⁷ While that thought may have occurred to Ernst at the time, he transformed the scene into a parody of the formal marriage photograph. Another element in this parody of a bourgeois custom is the family "pet" – here in the form of a serpent – so common in Ernst's later work. Other details in this image and passages in the text have stimulated different concepts for the identity of this couple. The poem begins and ends with references to hairdressing: "In the kingdom of hairdressers, happy people don't waste their time being married. . . . Listen to the sighs of these women coiffed as butterfly." Another reference in the poem to a "first ball" indicated the possibility of masked figures rather than hybrid creatures. Finally, two interpretations have been offered based on parodies of standard Judeo-Christian subjects, the subject of Adam and Eve and the serpent, and the theme of the Annunciation suggested by the combination of a seated woman approached by a winged male.¹³⁸

As a final example of these collages-poems, *The Predestined Blind Man Turns His Back on By-Passers* (Fig. 95) presents additional range to Ernst's imagery and to contemporary scholarship. Levitation among the stars and blindness as a mark of inner vision appear to be the characteristics of the young man in the foreground, who has literally turned his back on the antiquated transportation by carriage in the background. Like so many poems in this book, this one contains several passages that seem to refer to the image – a "fly on his hand," the sun, a swallow – and others that appear to be wholly independent of it. Legge, however, has proposed that the poem has many points of contact with the story of Gradiva as reported by

Freud.¹³⁹ In that story, an archaeologist, Norbert Hanold, suffered from what Freud identified as hysterical blindness, as a result of suppressed erotic impulses which prevented him from seeing Zoë. Bertgang (the "Gradiva" of the title) and recognizing that she was the object of his desire. A turning point in the story occurred when a fly landed on Gradiva's hand and Hanold slapped it, establishing physical reality for the first time. Other elements in the story – which ended with Norbert and Zoë headed toward a conventional marriage – included the role of the sun, Hanold's fetishistic preoccupation with the distinctiveness of Gradiva's feet and gait, and Gradiva as lizard-catcher. The final lines of *The Predestined Blind Man* . . . read:



95 Max Ernst: *The Predestined Blind Man Turns His Back on By-Passers* from *The Misfortunes of the Immortals*, 1922, p. 10

"Her feet exude the scent of lizards. It will be, consequently, an advantageous marriage, a marriage of good intentions." These lines add, then, feet, lizards, and marriage to an inventory that already included reference to the sun and "a fly on his hand." Although this poem contains elements which do not relate to the Gradiva story, so many points of contact are present that Legge makes her point. One of the bonds between Ernst and Eluard was their shared interest in Freud's writings, and the Gradiva story seems to have been a specific part of it.

In addition to the collages for *The Misfortunes of the Immortals*, Ernst also produced several paintings of strange, profoundly moving landscapes in the spring and summer of 1922. An awesome darkness and silence pervade *North Pole* (Pl. 134), overcoming the contrasting

forms and irrational spaces which might otherwise fragment our experience of this mysterious landscape. Just above the rocks in the foreground, a thin line suggests a horizon separating a black sea from a sky bearing celestial phenomena not of this world – a dark sun or lunar form with a halo and lightning-like lines shooting to the horizon and to a distant trajectory. But tangent to that arc is another “horizon” line across the middle of the painting and barren rocks similar to those in the foreground below, though larger, like mountains on a far shore. Above those mountains is a second sky, filled with vaporous clouds created by drawing a fine-toothed comb through black paint brushed over an underlayer of blue and brown paint. A drawing obviously related to this painting (Pl. 140) presents the earth at our feet, a distant shore, and an ambiguous intervening space occupied not with a dark sun but with a planet with fissures and a gaping black abyss.

Before this painting, one may not be provoked to look for symbolism as in *Birds-Fish-Snake* (Pl. 128), but it is a strange scene and efforts have been made to account for it. Legge finds references to contemporary conditions in Ernst’s life and to alchemy. She identifies the dark orb as an eclipsed, haloed sun related to alchemical illustrations of the process of the transformation of matter by stages of submersion below the surface of water. This image represents the stage of nocturnal descent – the stage of death – although the jagged lines, like cracks in the ice of this polar landscape, suggest that the black sun may be on the brink of rising.¹⁴⁰

Similar in mood to *North Pole* is *The Ruins* (Pl. 131), which Schrott thinks was based on one of the small castle ruins near Tarrenz.¹⁴¹ Strange forms, shifting perspectives, and the absence of a uniform scale all contribute still more tension to this dark, blasted landscape. In the lower right, an unidentifiable brick structure – akin in appearance to the wall in *Oedipus Rex* (Pl. 118) – presents a contrast to the ruins, which suggest an archaeological site: Pompeii perhaps, given the unusual “melted” vessel in the foreground and the rock-like shapes to the left, which suggest a shriveled form identified as a sheep’s head by one observer.¹⁴²

A different mood is projected by the blue sky and light tonality of *The Year 55: Very Gentle Earthquake* (Pl. 132), but the forms quickly reassert the alien nature of this landscape. Brick walls and a smokestack indicate that humans – or Ernstian hybrids of some sort – are present but out of sight, leaving this inhospitable terrain to a quaint little red, white, and blue “growth” and a giant armored insect-like creature. The latter is oriented toward a cylinder floating in the sky within a stream of finely etched lines comparable to those in *North Pole* (Pl. 134). The cylinder – and to some extent the entire landscape – recalls *The Beautiful Sling Drum in Thunderstone* (Fig. 79), although sources for the insectile form and the smokestack can be found in *La Nature*.¹⁴³ Four years later, Tanguy’s haunting landscapes would be nourished by these paintings of Ernst.

Such paintings and the completion of *The Misfortunes of the Immortals* proceeded under tense conditions at Starnberg Castle in Tarrenz, where Ernst lived openly with Paul and Gala while his wife and son occupied an adjacent room. Once again, an effort was made to gather the Dadaists there, and eventually a number made their way to nearby Imst, but the camaraderie of the summer of 1921 was



96 Luise Straus-Ernst, Paul and Cécile Eluard, Gala Eluard, Max and Jimmy Ernst, Tarrenz, Austria, ca. June – July 1922

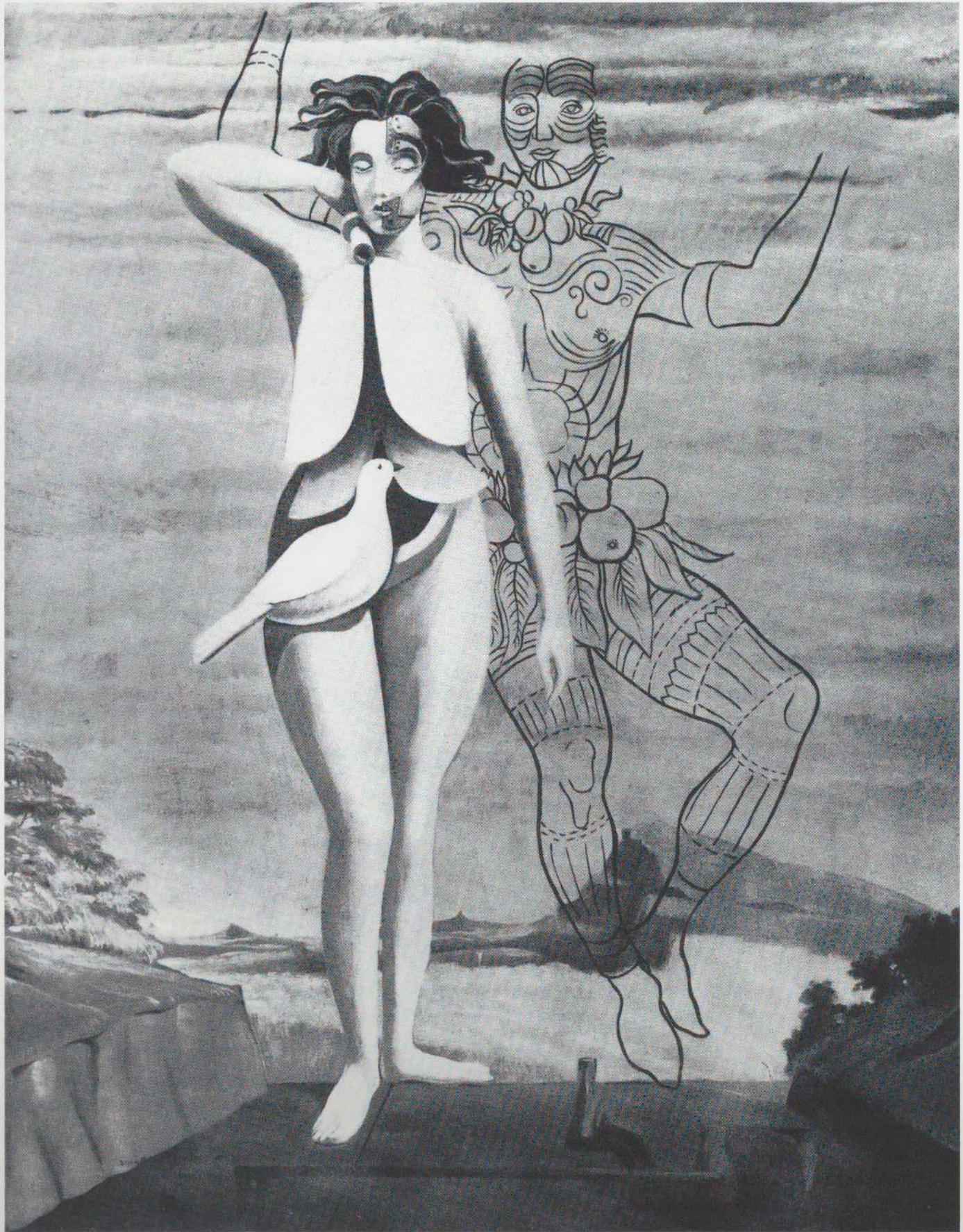
out of reach. The first to arrive was the American writer Matthew Josephson and his wife. They had taken up with the Dadaists in the last half of 1921 and were invited by Tzara to join the summer gathering in the Tirol.¹⁴⁴ The Josephsons settled in at the Gasthof Post in Imst around mid-June and immediately wrote Tzara to join them, for living was inexpensive and the Ernsts and Eluards were already there.¹⁴⁵ Tzara finally arrived around July 1, also staying at the Gasthof Post with Maya, who joined him in an effort to restore their own deteriorated relationship. Arp and Sophie Taeuber followed a few days later.

Photographs of smiling groups, hikes, and swimming excursions (Fig. 96) belie subsequent witnesses of tense personal relationships – especially the Tarrenz *ménage à trois* – which cast a cloud over everyone and scuttled tentative plans for collaborative projects.¹⁴⁶ Josephson was impressed with everything about Ernst – his keen, bird-like air and athletic bearing; his reserved manner; and the aplomb he displayed in a difficult situation. But Gala, he recalled, “showed all the manifestations of melancholy, emotional tension and changeable moods suited to her position,” and Eluard was “restless and nervous,” though game at playing the cheerful cuckold, commenting with a brave grin, “Well, I love Max Ernst much more

than I do Gala," or "You don't know what it is like to be married with a Russian woman."¹⁴⁷ As for Lou, she wrote later that she had never suffered such helplessness and despair.¹⁴⁸

Tzara and Arp faced issues of cohabitation and marriage themselves, but both were vexed by the *ménage à trois*. Tzara exclaimed to Josephson: "Of course we don't give a damn what they do, or who sleeps with whom. But why must that Gala Eluard make it such a Dostoyevski drama! It's boring, it's insufferable, unheard of!"¹⁴⁹ Ernst gave Arp a painted roof tile, whose images celebrate both that

Alpine terrain and the Montgolfière balloons of liberation, but Arp did not approve of the situation in Tarrenz, and he and Max parted that summer under strained circumstances. Arp and Sophie resolved their situation by marrying in October of 1922. Max resolved his situation by leaving Lou and Jimmy and traveling to Paris with Eluard's passport while Eluard and Gala remained behind in Tarrenz.¹⁵⁰ Tzara and Maya separated permanently, and he headed north to Weimar, where Theo van Doesburg had urged him to join a band of Dadaists gathered there for the Weimar Congress.



97 Max Ernst: *La Belle Jardinière (The Creation of Eve)* 1923. Oil on canvas, 77 1/8 x 44 7/8 in. Whereabouts unknown

Ernst and the *Littérature* Group during “le mouvement flou”: Paris, 1922–1923

6

Ernst reached Paris in early August as an illegal alien with no money and few possessions. Until the financial and legal conditions of his life were settled, several friends helped him, the most significant by far being Paul Eluard, who for two years shared with him his suburban home in Saint Brice and his wife. Eluard's friend and mentor, Jean Paulhan, provided Ernst with a false identity – “Jean Paris” – that enabled him to secure his first job, a part in a Studio Pathé production of Dumas's *Three Musketeers*. Within a month, a recommendation from Benjamin Péret secured a more regular job in a factory that produced bracelets and souvenirs of Paris, and for months Max and Paul took the early morning train together into Paris, Paul to work in his father's real estate office, Max to work in the souvenir factory.¹ Painting was relegated to Sundays and evenings not occupied by gatherings of colleagues – in Paris or, occasionally, at Saint Brice. Although the mechanics of getting along in Paris were established quickly, more than two years passed before Ernst was able to support himself independently. His status as an illegal alien continued for five years, and the *ménage à trois* was a stressful, awkward affair from beginning to end.

Théodor Fraenkel was the first to report on conditions at Saint Brice, writing Tzara on August 13 that two days earlier he had traveled with Eluard, Jacques Rigaut, and Philippe Soupault by train to Saint Brice, where they had met Max and Gala at a restaurant and then gone on to dine at the Eluard home. “The dinner was excellent, Cécile's vivacity delighted the company... [and] liqueurs followed the wine,” but “the drunkenness of Eluard became dreadful. There were ceaseless laughs, cries of false joy... Everyone laughed except Ernst, who had hardly said a word during the evening, and who looked at Eluard, mouth set (*immobile*), eyes like those of marble statues.”² Péret's allusion to conditions in the Eluard home was more elliptical but clear enough: “Paul Eluard loves St. Brice & Saint Brice loves Max Ernst.”³

Tensions at Saint Brice also had an impact on the participation of Paul, Max, and Gala in the group activities in Paris. Eluard had sided with Tzara during the Congress of Paris and had left for the summer without repairing his relationship with Breton, but when the major figures reassembled in the fall of 1922, Ernst and Eluard allied themselves with the *Littérature* group around Breton, not the group around Tzara. At that time, the most active associates of *Littérature*

included Breton, Aragon, Picabia, Robert Desnos, Péret, Jacques Baron, René Crevel, and Max Morise. Also represented in the magazine, though less involved in the group activities, were Georges Limbour, Man Ray, and Philippe Soupault, the latter often at odds with Breton over something and intractable in his dislike for Picabia.⁴ But Picabia was a central figure in the group at that moment. Breton was grateful for Picabia's support during the Congress of Paris, and they agreed on two counts of fundamental significance for Breton at that time: the need to let go of Dada, and the need to be receptive to the unfolding direction of the “état d'esprit.”

Exactly what that course would be was not at all clear to Breton or to anyone else among his associates at that time. In fact, Aragon wrote that “one day at Breton's, when four or five of us” were discussing the new state of mind which had succeeded Dada, “we amused ourselves by calling [it] ‘le mouvement flou,’” that is, the blurry, unfocused, or indistinct movement, “illusive expression and, for me, marvelous.”⁵ When Surrealism eventually came into focus as that state of mind for Breton and associates, the fundamental differences between Picabia and Breton were also refocused, for Breton's voyage of discovery was predicated on a port or destination, and his temperament made some shipboard discipline a necessity. Picabia would have nothing to do with ports or discipline, but for about a year their friendship and collaboration flourished. They visited each other's homes and traveled together. Picabia contributed covers, texts, and aphorisms for *Littérature*, while Breton placed paintings by Picabia in Doucet's collection and provided a text and lecture on the occasion of an exhibition of his work in Barcelona in November.⁶ Most of their collaboration took one of two forms – hammering more nails into the coffin of Dada, and initiating new projects.

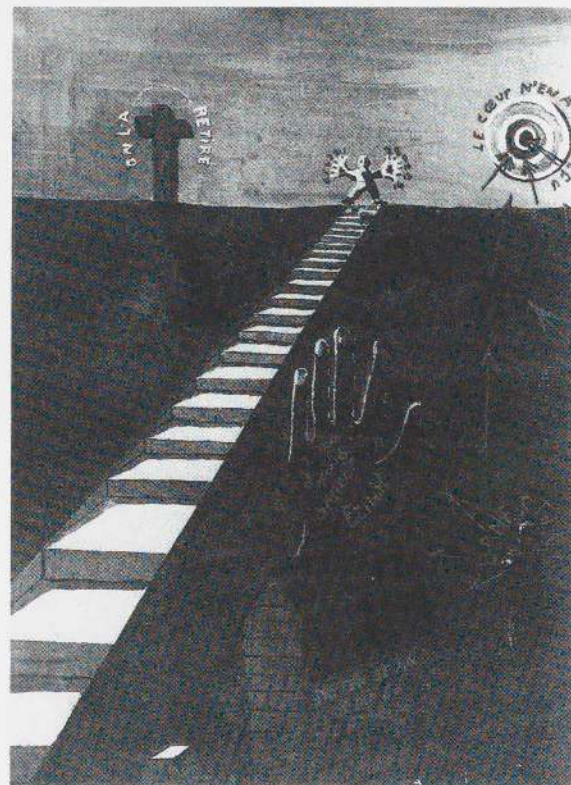
The first issue of *Littérature* in the fall (no. 4, September 1, 1922) was focused on the former. Picabia's cover – a bleeding, flame-radiant heart – was probably intended as a comment on Tzara's “Bearded Heart,” which had been left unanswered over the summer. Aragon contributed a chronology, which set the end of Dada as October 1921, at the close of the summer gathering in the Tirol. Publication of a long passage from Huelsenbeck's anti-Tzara history of Dada provided an international dimension to the attack,⁷ and Eluard got the payback for his previous support of Tzara in the form of Desnos's nasty review of *The Misfortunes of the Immortals*:

The immortals have misfortune indeed: their quality implies it. Max Ernst twisted the knife in their wound in describing their misadventures and Paul Eluard finished them off in revealing them. Might Paul Eluard have the taste for suicide? Every year he encloses his last sigh in a little book similar in every point to the preceding one, then the metempsychosis does its work and he expiates his sins in reincarnating them in the form of a Paul Eluard in repetition.⁸

Finally, Breton set the tone for the period in the concluding observation of his article "Clairement": "It will not be said that Dadaism will have served any other purpose than to maintain us in this state of perfect receptivity... from which we are now going to move on with lucidity toward that which claims us."⁹ In that state of "perfect receptivity," the *Littérature* group explored several options over the fall and winter of 1922–23. Nothing came of two of them – a magazine to be called *La Vie*, and a new Salon – although references in the correspondence of Breton and Picabia attest to substantial efforts, particularly regarding a new Salon.¹⁰ The new and renewed interests which were of consequence included continuing concerns for dreams, a renewed fascination for both the autonomy and relationships of words liberated from the duty of signifying, and a new development which literally held them spellbound, namely sustained experiments in self-induced, hypnotic *sommeils*, or "sleeps."¹¹

The "sleeps" came about unexpectedly through the initiation of René Crevel rather than Breton or Picabia. During the summer, Crevel was in contact with a medium, who discovered he had the qualities of a medium and taught him how to develop them. The first experiment was conducted in Breton's apartment on September 25 in the company of Breton, Crevel, Desnos, and Morise under traditional conditions, that is, holding hands around a table in a darkened, quiet room. Crevel entered a self-induced hypnotic sleep and began to speak in a startling manner as a defense counsel for a woman accused of killing her husband. In a detailed report of the sleep, Breton described Crevel's diction as "declamatory, interrupted by sighs, going sometimes into a chant, insistence on certain words, rapid passage over others..." but upon waking, he had no memory of his recital.¹² Fifteen minutes later, Desnos demonstrated a similar capacity when he, too, fell into a self-induced trance and scratched convulsively on the table for a brief time before awaking, also oblivious that he had been asleep. Crevel said that scratching indicated a desire to write, which led to new developments when the experiment was resumed two days later in the company of Breton, Desnos, Eluard, Ernst, and Péret. Desnos entered a sleep with a pencil in his hand and paper before him. Each spectator posed questions, to which Desnos responded by writing and/or drawing something. As will be evident later in this chapter, Ernst seems to have incorporated some details of Desnos's utterances in his paintings, including references to Eluard as a "blue man," and to "the white shirt of Fraenkel at the Salpêtrière."¹³ On another evening, when Picabia asked the sleeping Desnos for a play on words in the manner of Duchamp, Desnos revealed an incredible talent for such word plays, claiming they were transmitted to him by Duchamp's female persona, Rose Sélavy.¹⁴

As the séances progressed, Desnos's talents continued to unfold. He produced two types of drawings significant for Surrealist art – impulsive scrawls, essentially abstract in appearance but sometimes



98 Robert Desnos: *The Death of Ernst*, ca. 1922.
Oil on canvas, 27 1/2 x 20 1/2 in. Private collection

suggesting words or images,¹⁵ and strange figurative compositions, deliberately drawn and seemingly charged with symbols.¹⁶ In hindsight, these drawings prefigure three important characteristics of Surrealist art: automatism, the appearance of transcribed dreams, and *peinture-poésie*, or the uniting of painting and poetry. These symbolic drawings were followed later in the year by paintings on a prominent topic in the séances – death. Most of them, like *The Death of Ernst* (Fig. 98), are about the death of someone in the group, and they are charged with symbolism that is simultaneously allusive and elusive.

Ernst had already experienced spiritualist séances in the company of his friend Franz Henseler (see p. 41), but little is known about his response to these *sommeils* save for the fact that he was not a "sleeper." Only three members of the *Littérature* group – Crevel, Desnos, and Péret – were able to induce the trances.¹⁷ All others remained spectator-participants, but the experience was unforgettable for everyone involved. Simone Breton wrote to her sister on October 9 that "We are living at the same time in the present, past, and future. After each séance we are so bewildered and shattered that we promise ourselves never to start again, and the next day, all we want is to find ourselves again in that catastrophic atmosphere where we all hold hands with the same anguish."¹⁸ Breton asked Man Ray to photograph one of the *sommeils*, but nothing seems to have come of it.¹⁹ Sessions were held almost daily for three weeks and then with declining frequency into the winter of 1922–23, shifting at times to other sites for the meetings. At no point in these experiments was there any interest in the customary aim of spiritualism,

that is, communicating with the dead. To the contrary, that was rejected and the dominant interest resided instead in the confirmation of the existence of a profound unconscious stratum of the mind which – in the sleeper – could be released from conscious, rational controls and vented with uninhibited force in words, sounds, and marks that were variously fascinating, frightening, obscure, and prophetic, or, in terms of their creative potential, full of the marvelous and the poetic. Initially, these trances seemed to offer advantages over two other means previously employed for access to that deeper stratum of the psyche – automatic writing and the narration of dreams. As Breton remarked, automatic writing – produced in half-sleep in obedience to what he termed “magical dictation” – had not been able in recent times to avoid the intrusion of conscious elements, and dream narratives were subject to the frailties of memory.²⁰ The hypnotic trances seemed immune from such frailties and corruptions, although even at the time some questioned whether Desnos might have been feigning sleep. The whole truth is unknown, but in support of the doubters are what appear to be elliptical references to the *ménage à trois* at Saint Brice and Desnos’s gifts for improvisation and mimicry.²¹ A greater problem, however, was the escalating potential for violence during the trances of Crevel and Desnos. Both became increasingly difficult to awake, and Breton moved to halt the séances after he came upon Crevel trying to lead one group into a suicidal act and, on another occasion, Desnos chased Eluard with a knife.²²

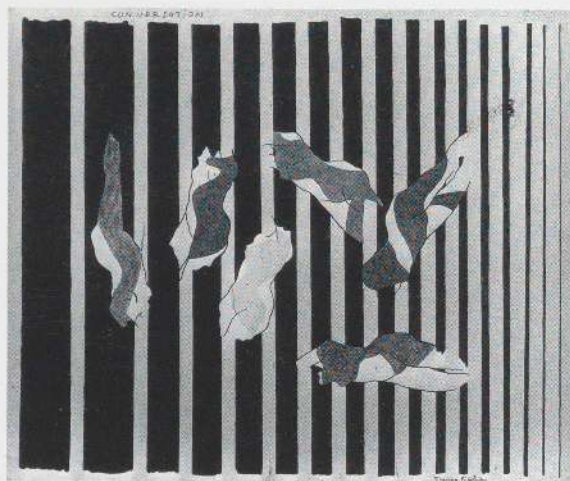
Although the experiments with the séances ended under these threatening conditions, it might seem that the *Littérature* group at the end of 1922 was poised to move out of the *mouvement flou* rather than (as came to pass) more deeply into it. In his article “Entrée des Médioms” for the November issue of *Littérature*, Breton remarked that “One knows, up to a certain point, what my friends and I mean by surrealism. This word . . . is employed by us in a precise sense. By it we have agreed to designate a certain psychic automatism which corresponds rather well with the dream state.”²³ He went on to present the hypnotic “sleeps” which had further enriched their experiences and, in the December issue of *Littérature*, he published Desnos’s Duchampian word plays and his own article “Let Mots sans rides” (“Wrinkleless Words”). The latter was a survey of the liberation of words as signifiers, moving from Rimbaud – who wrote of the “alchemy of the verb” – through the contributions of Apollinaire, Eluard, and others, to the word play of Duchamp and Desnos.²⁴

As events unfolded early in 1923, the presentiment of a focus did not come to pass; the *mouvement flou* became more blurred instead, but before considering those events, it is appropriate to return to Ernst, whose work was an intimate part of the intellectual life of the *Littérature* group, celebrating, for example, those stimulating months at the end of 1922 in *At the Rendezvous of the Friends* (Pl. 133). Other than this large, unique painting in Ernst’s career and the signed and dated *Interior of the Sight* (Pl. 136) exhibited with it at the 1923 Salon des Indépendants, there are few documented works by Ernst from late 1922. It is not likely that his production was this limited, but he was not immediately represented in exhibitions and publications in Paris.²⁵

Had Ernst attempted to exhibit at the Salon d’Automne, his works would not have been accepted, for, as Picabia scornfully announced in the October issue of *Littérature*, M. Desvallières (Président of the Salon) would not open the doors to German artists unless the Germans “pay their [War] debts.”²⁶ In terms of the more radical avant-garde, Picabia again stood out at the Salon with his *Spanish Night* (Fig. 99), which simultaneously parodies the revival of classicizing figurative art in vogue at that time and plays on polarities of male/female, black/white, positive/negative, abstract/figurative, and aggressive/passive. Parody is also an element in the contrast between the title of *Conversation* (Fig. 100) and its cluster of headless, limbless female nudes, hovering topsy-turvy against a diagrammatic field representing some sort of diminishing energy – magnetic, light, or sound.²⁷ Other dimensions may be present, however, in the colorful interior forms or “shadows” and the suggestion of invisible forces controlling the relationships or “conversations” among these figures. This possible reflection of an interest in automatism and the séances is reinforced by a number of drawings done in an improvisational, quasi-automatist manner which play with Picabia’s name embedded in Rorschach-like drawings.²⁸ In addition to this work by Picabia, Man Ray’s rayograms (Fig. 101) represented a major contribution to avant-garde art, particularly in the context of the *Littérature* group. They embodied a magical transformation of the common object in a process which also dealt with a combination of improvisa-



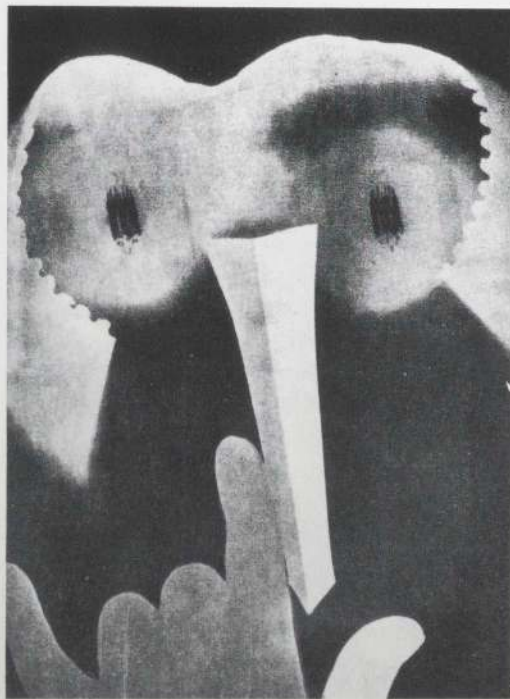
99 Francis Picabia: *Spanish Night*, 1922. Ripolin on canvas, 63x51 in. Museum Ludwig, Cologne



100 Francis Picabia: *Conversation*, 1922. Watercolor on paper, 23 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 28 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. The Tate Gallery, London

tion, chance, and control, and a provocative play on elements of light/dark, positive/negative, and shadow/substance.²⁹

This style of work by Man Ray and Picabia seems part of the *mouvement flou*, insofar as it neither rests comfortably within Dada nor does it reflect in an intrinsic way the concerns and processes Breton enunciated later in Surrealism, that is, psychic automatism, dream narration, and the hypnotic sleeps. Certainly, many aspects of Dada persist – the use of common manufactured objects and mechanical or scientific diagrams; inventive techniques involving some degree of chance or accident; a taste for irony, parody, provocation, and sexuality – and in some significant respects both artists



101 Man Ray: *Monsieur... Inventor, Constructor, 6 Seconds*, 1922. Rayogram. Reproduced in *Littérature*, February/March, 1923, p. 21

were to be Dadaists throughout their lives. But the crispness and starkness of Picabia's work no longer looks like his work through the winter of 1921–22, and this perpetually restless man was to transform the appearance of his paintings radically during 1923–24.

"At the Rendezvous of the Friends"

Ernst's major contemporary painting, *At the Rendezvous of the Friends* (Pl. 133), is clearly distinct from anything being produced by Picabia and Man Ray – unrelated to Dada but charged with numerous topics and relationships of consequence for Ernst and members of the *Littérature* group in the fall of 1922. Ernst's work on this large canvas (51 x 76 inches) is documented by several drawings, by letters during November–December 1922, and by its exhibition at the 1923 Salon des Indépendants.³⁰ From that date onward it has been the subject of substantial commentary, including probing research since 1980 that culminated in an exhibition focused on this single work in celebration of the centennial of Ernst's birth.³¹

Basically, Ernst produced a group portrait of contemporary friends – plus Raphael and Dostoyevsky – set in an awesome mountain landscape of rock and snow. The scene also includes mysterious haloes of light in the black sky, a miniature open building with "dancing" men, a strange still-life motif in the lower left, and charts in the corners which identify the numbered individuals. From left to right these are: 1) René Crevel, levitating in space and playing an invisible piano; 2) Philippe Soupault, peering directly at us over the shoulder of 3) Hans Arp, who looks and reaches out to his right toward Crevel, the building, and the mountains; 4) Max Ernst, seated on the right knee of Dostoyevsky and looking down to the right of us; behind Arp is 5) Max Morise, looking at a round, red object he holds; peeking between Morise and Arp is an unnumbered man – correctly identified by Spies as Ribemont-Dessaignes – who leads a mass of faceless followers; 6) Dostoyevsky, who scowls directly at us; 7) Raphael, next to Morise; 8) Théodor Fraenkel, in red, squeezed between 9) Paul Eluard standing behind him and 10) Jean Paulhan, who sits on Dostoyevsky's other knee; 11) Benjamin Péret, who levitates in a seated position parallel to Paulhan's; 12) Louis Aragon, in the back, looking over the shoulder of 13) André Breton, with a red cape, who sprints in from the right and looks directly at us; 14) Baargeld in front, who also strides in vigorously from the right; 15) Giorgio de Chirico as a statue-like form in the back next to 16) Gala Eluard, who looks at us over her shoulder; and, finally, 17) Robert Desnos, who echoes the striding position of Baargeld but looks somewhere above and beyond us to the left.³²

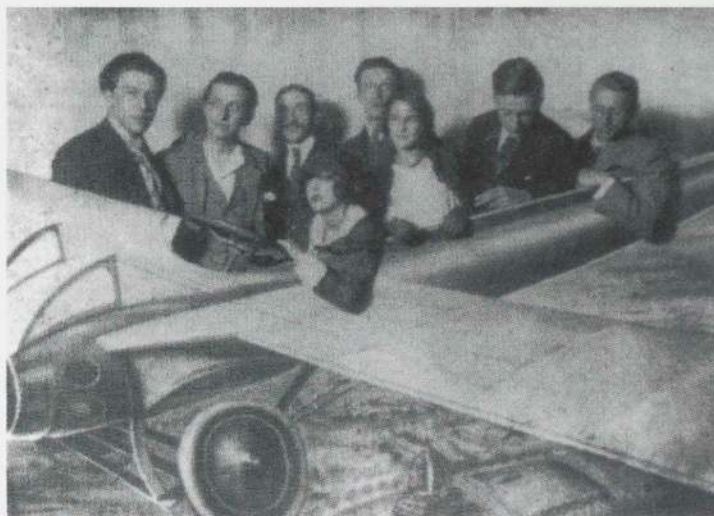
Despite the likeness of the portraits (a number of them based on photographs) and the precision of form and color, this painting abounds with irrational elements. At first glance, the proportions of the figures seem normal, but Breton and Dostoyevsky have huge heads, and they are larger in scale than their companions, while the building with dancing figures appears to be miniature or simply ambiguous in scale. The portrait figures are also curiously stiff, manipulated in posture and depicted with hand gestures that look like signs for the deaf and dumb. They are psychologically independent as well – some looking at us, others looking absently in scattered

directions or absorbed in thought, that is, looking inward. Spatial relationships are likewise disconnected by jumps, gaps, and tilted planes, and the harsh light illuminates everything – except for the night sky – but casts shadows as the artist pleases: this way or that, or not at all.

Countless questions are provoked as one explores this painting visually and intellectually. Why has Ernst assembled this particular group, which includes such unexpected members as Raphael and Dostoyevsky, but excludes Picabia and Man Ray? Is a private program embedded in the physical arrangement of the group? Each individual seems unique and significant, yet there is also a complex hierarchy consisting of three tiers of figures divided into two clusters – dominated by Breton and Eluard respectively – but linked by Péret in the foreground and intersecting haloes of light in the background. What is one to make of the relative positions within this structure, and the gestures and related poses? What part does color play, and, finally, for whom and for what purpose did Ernst paint *At the Rendezvous of the Friends*? In attempting to address these questions, we have only a few comments from Ernst but a wealth of commentary that ranges from the identification and meaning of specific details to elaborate theses regarding the overall composition and significance of this painting.

In conversation with Spies, Ernst confirmed that the hand gestures do refer to language gesture and to the work of his father, but he insisted that they are not to be read, and, indeed, no one to date has been able to match them with sign alphabets.³³ Ernst also said that the overall composition was related to his youthful memory of his father's copy of Raphael's *Disputa*. The discovery that Philipp Ernst's copy is dated 1924–32 undermines that claim but does not eliminate Raphael's work as a relevant source along with several others.³⁴ As Bauer, Weiss, and others have observed, the more appropriate reference is to Raphael's *Parnassus*, which, like *At the Rendezvous of the Friends*, is a gathering of artists and poets – including one woman (Sappho) – in a landscape setting.³⁵

Whereas these models in the work of Raphael relate primarily to a general concept and composition for a gathering of notables, Legge and Warlick have proposed theses which incorporate both composition and content. It is Warlick's thesis that Ernst has portrayed his friends as pursuers of hermetic knowledge, relying on visual models of astrological illustrations of planets which have been personified and surrounded by the human types under their domain.³⁶ The relevant planet for *At the Rendezvous of the Friends* is Mercury, who, in this representation of *The Children of Mercury*,³⁷ appears in the sky, flanked by two zodiacal houses he rules (Gemini and Virgo), and in the landscape below, accompanied by figures representing his dominion over the liberal and mechanical arts, including music, painting, sculpture, literature, architecture, astronomy, geometry, and mathematics. Warlick points to figures in *At the Rendezvous of the Friends* who may be perceived as parallels to those arts under the protection of Mercury – Crevel for music, Dostoyevsky and others for literature, de Chirico for sculpture, the trick-cut-apple for geometry, and the solar halo for astronomy. As a visual model, this illustration of *The Children of Mercury* is not a compelling source for *At the Rendezvous of the Friends*, but the thematic links



102 André Breton, Robert Desnos, Paul Eluard, Max Ernst, Gala Eluard, Max Morise, and Simon Breton posing in Carnival photograph, ca. Fall 1922

merit consideration, not only for this painting but for others to be encountered later.

Legge has proposed a number of references for this group portrait.³⁸ The pantomimic poses prompted her to think of fun photographs at fairs with holes in painted sets through which revelers put their heads – a practice the group enjoyed (Fig. 102). This thought was also linked to Ernst's claim that his first lesson in collage came from watching his father substitute heads of family members and friends on the bodies of saints and angels in his copies of old master paintings, or heads of Nietzsche, Calvin, and Luther on figures of the damned.³⁹ Legge also remarked that Ingres's *Apotheosis of Homer*⁴⁰ is more germane than such traditional homage paintings or friendship portraits because Ingres incorporated esteemed individuals from distant times and places. One important feature in the compositions of both Raphael and Ingres which Ernst eschewed, however, was a thoroughgoing hierarchy of individuals bound to a system of bilateral symmetry with a central dominant figure. This feature is addressed in Legge's primary contribution, an engaging thesis with two separate but interrelated arguments. One focuses on the linguistic concerns of Paulhan and Eluard; the other considers visual models in Kraepelin's group photographs of catatonic patients⁴¹ and Prinzhorn's sympathetic attitude toward the art of the insane.

Legge does not attribute this photograph of catatonic patients as the source of the composition of *At the Rendezvous of the Friends*, but such photographs – probably known to Ernst since his university studies – do present non-hierarchic compositions, along with examples of jerky movements and stiff, unusual poses which may have been recalled by the movements of Crevel, Desnos, and Péret during their "sleeps."⁴² On the other hand, Kraepelin's negative view of the aesthetic significance of the art of the insane was not a model for Ernst, who had long esteemed the art of children, "primitives," and the mentally ill for offering a more valid, powerful form of expression than that which was to be found in most conventional art. At this very moment, Ernst's values had been confirmed and rekindled by Prinzhorn's book *Artistry of the Mentally Ill* (*Bildnerie der Geistes-*

kranken), which he is reported to have carried with him to Paris as a gift for Eluard.⁴³

Prinzhorn undertook an extensive study of the subject, working with a large body of material, discarding stereotypes, considering information about individual patients and the type of his/her illness, and, finally, attempting to look and analyze without prejudice. He proposed that the art of the mentally ill – like the art of “healthy” individuals – sprang from the human need for expression, and at the core of that need resided six impulses to configuration, two of which will be considered in a moment as directly relevant for Ernst and his friends.

From time to time in his text, Prinzhorn paused before a work to observe that its “emotional impact approaches that of great art,”⁴⁴ and his concluding summary has been described as a near sensation:

Untrained mentally ill persons, especially schizophrenics, frequently compose pictures which have many of the qualities of serious art and in their details often show surprising similarities to the pictures of children and primitives. . . . Their closest relationships, however, are with the art of our time.⁴⁵

The relevance of this conclusion in the context of Ernst and his associates is manifest in Prinzhorn’s discussion of two of the “impulses to configuration,” namely the “playful urge” and “the need for symbols” or significance.

The playful urge was associated with the propensity of human beings from prehistoric times to the present to discover images in the world around. For current examples Prinzhorn noted that “every wall covered with mortar . . . every wooden wall . . . every surface marked by unevenness or spots offers opportunity for playful interpretation.” To these sources of imagery, he added children who “recognize all sorts of animal life in the food left on their plates” and “interpretation of shapes . . . in the currently popular blot graphics” (p. 18). He concluded with the description of a person who “scribbles aimlessly on a sheet of paper while averting his eyes and . . . then, looking for the first time, lets himself be inspired to some composition or other,” emphasizing “this composition by means of some added contours” (p. 19). He assured the reader that such “free games of association” were not restricted to the configuration process of children and primitives, but were “vitaly active in all art that is not completely realistic” (p. 18).

The second impulse to configuration – the need for symbols – was deemed incompatible with naturalistic art, indeed, “the more naturalistic the work the more unlikely it is to have symbolic significance” (p. 27). But the art of mentally ill persons, especially the images and inscriptions in work by schizophrenics, was rich in symbolism, and Prinzhorn proclaimed that the “closest relationships” of the art of schizophrenics resided in “the art of our time, because . . . contemporary art, in search for intuition and inspiration, consciously strives after psychic attitudes which appear as a matter of course in schizophrenia” (p. 273). Furthermore, the tendency to symbolic configuration “forces us to recognize the close relationships of schizophrenic psychic life . . . with dreams, and . . . thought patterns of the primitives.” “There is no answer,” he added, however, “to the profound questions of how signs, symbols, and pictures originated, to what degree they are still extant, though hidden, in men of today” (p. 273).

I have stepped away from direct consideration of *At the Rendezvous of the Friends* in order to augment Legge’s thesis that Ernst’s concept may have been nourished by visual stimuli from Kraepelin’s studies and from Prinzhorn’s book on the art of the mentally ill, especially the latter, which provides another model for “right” attitudes toward art, namely an art of deeply felt emotion and significant but subjective, irrational symbols in contrast to the art of his father and the diluted tradition of Raphael and Ingres which informed it.⁴⁶ Legge concludes her argument by suggesting that Ernst’s deliberate creation of “gestures without function” and “a sign language without signification” was consistent with the linguistic concerns of the *Littérature* group at that time, particularly Paulhan’s conviction about the flawed nature of language and communication. Words, Paulhan claimed, are inherently deceptive because they do not directly translate thoughts and things, despite our belief that they do. Legge proposes that Ernst’s “closed gesture-signs might be read as an illustration of Paulhan’s point that each individual attaches a different signified to a given signifier” – that “Ernst seems to be setting up a gestural equivalent to Paulhan and Eluard’s written critique of language, creating his own paradoxical Dada semiology.”⁴⁷

In addition to these comprehensive theses of Legge and Warlick, our perception of *At the Rendezvous of the Friends* has been enriched by other scholars, whose discoveries and observations have been focused on parts or details within this complex painting. Illustrations found in *La Nature* provided the sources for four images: the circles in the sky are solar haloes which Ernst rotated 90°; the postures of the seated figures derive from tricks dealing with leverage and balance; and the still life motif in the lower left combines a trick method for cutting an apple with the diagram for an underground fortification.⁴⁸

In his astute analysis, Bauer observed that the three “sleepers” – Crevel, Desnos, and Péret – are the only figures wearing blue or blue-gray suits and they literally frame and mark the center of the group.⁴⁹ Those decisions do not seem fortuitous and, accordingly, raise additional questions about other colors and positions in the composition. Is it significant that Ernst stands out as the only person in green – save for the green wreath around Aragon’s hips – or that Baargeld, Breton, and Arp all have suits of very nearly the same golden color? Breton’s red cape certainly contributes to his visual prominence, but is it symbolic as well, linked thematically to other passages of red, or – like the passages of blue, gold, and green – incorporated into the color balance of the composition?

If we move methodically from left to right, ideas and questions multiply, none more than in the depiction of Crevel – levitating in a seated position as though playing an invisible piano – and in the scene behind him composed of a waterfall, the curious open building and distant snow-covered peaks. Already in the literature on Ernst, music and sound/words have been associated with creation and the fecundating word of God. Bauer expands that theme by suggesting that the water over which Crevel is suspended is a reference to the spring or source of the unconscious. He also observes that music was central to the composition of Raphael’s *Parnassus* and was a symbol of harmony in the classical tradition from Ovid onward.⁵⁰ Warlick points instead to the alchemical and sexual connotations of playing

an organ, and others remind us that piano playing was one of Freud's general symbols for masturbation.⁵¹ In support of her thesis for the overall composition and stiff poses of the painting, Legge remarks that Kraepelin commented several times on piano playing and mimes as characteristic of catatonia.⁵² There is also an implied relationship between the dancing figures and the flowing water and/or music of Crevel, but few ideas have emerged regarding those figures and the open building. Spies suggests that Arp's gesture toward the building indicates it may be a reference to the birthplace of Dada, the Cabaret Voltaire in Zurich.⁵³ The mountains may also refer to Zurich, but Schrott identifies the prominent mountain as the Tschirgant, near the foot of which Ernst had first met the Dadaists in the summers of 1921 and 1922.⁵⁴

As we continue to the right, we encounter Soupault and Morise, whose positions behind Arp literally place them in the third tier of the hierarchy within the group at the left. Ribemont-Dessaignes is more distant still, barely identifiable between Arp and Morise at the head of a "grape-cluster" group of heads, all bald like his except for almost identical patches of hair.

Ernst is in front of but on an axis with Arp, and he shares Dostoyevsky's lap with Jean Paulhan. Questions have been raised about "Why Dostoyevsky?," "Why Ernst on his knee?," and "Why Paulhan on the other knee rather than Eluard?" Gateau and Bauer have presented convincing information to account for the inclusion of Dostoyevsky (1821–81). Celebrations of the 100th anniversary of his birth had focused a great deal of attention on him for over a year. He was, moreover, one of Gala's favorite authors, and she had introduced him to Eluard, who had also come to admire his writings deeply. Gateau has also pointed out that triangular relationships with complex and ambivalent feelings exist in both *The Brothers Karamazov* and Eluard's favorite novel by Dostoyevsky, *The Eternal Husband*, while Bauer cites Dostoyevsky's sympathetic comments regarding "abnormal conditions" in *The Idiot*.⁵⁵ The pairing of Ernst and Paulhan on his knees is less easy to account for. The false identity papers that Paulhan secured for Ernst merit consideration, as does Legge's thesis, but I suspect the answer involves the position of Eluard as well. Eluard is behind his mentor, Paulhan, but on an axis with him and also on a secondary axis with Ernst formed by the angle of their arms, interrupted by the gruff visage of Dostoyevsky. Here, as at Saint Brice, there is a Russian between Max and Paul. If one moves further in both directions along that axis linking Ernst and Eluard, we encounter what I take to be attributes of these two friends, namely a solar halo behind the head of Eluard and the strange still life motif of a trick-cut apple and subterranean fortress by Ernst. Stokes has commented on the apple as a symbol basically associated with Eve, temptation, sin, and sex, and she observed that the fortress was occupied and penetrated by a knife.⁵⁶ All of those observations seemed sensible enough, but unconnected. Placed in the perspective of this Ernst–Eluard axis and the context of their relationship at the time, Stokes's observations are no longer unconnected.

Fraenkel's furtive position in the midst of this group may reflect his unique role as a "double agent." Though a significant participant in the *Littérature* group, he had maintained contact with Tzara, providing occasional insider reports – witness the letter to Tzara on

August 13 (see p. 125) – which may have come to Max's attention. Before crossing over to the group on the right, there is one further observation to make regarding Raphael and Dostoyevsky. Bauer speculates that the serene Raphael and scowling Dostoyevsky represent respectively the Apollonian and Dionysiac principles, further stated in the twin-peaked Tirolean counterpart here for the twin-peaked symbolism of Mount Parnassus recorded by Ovid.⁵⁷ The presence of such symbolism is enhanced by the lesser mountain peaks adjacent to Péret and directly over Dostoyevsky and Desnos.

Our journey to the next group may be made by means of connecting hands and feet. As Bauer has cleverly suggested, the touching/overlapping feet create a "chain" of sorts, akin to the chain of hands required in the séance – although no one has accounted for the disembodied foot in the right corner. Some of the hand gestures are also clearly related, Ernst even going so far as giving himself two right hands and repainting one to bring it into accord with the hands of Paulhan and Péret.⁵⁸ To date, no observations have been offered to illuminate the similar positions of Paulhan and Péret, the parallel striding positions of Baargeld and Desnos, or the axis aligning Baargeld and Breton. Given the interlocked relationships which seem to exist in the group on the left, similar linkages are to be expected in this group, but for the present they remain elusive. The dynamic positions of Breton, Baargeld, and Desnos are quite striking in contrast to the static group on the left and to their immediate neighbors: Gala the muse, who looks at us and gestures out of the painting; Aragon, who gestures coyly behind Breton; and de Chirico, presented as a fluted sculpture in reference perhaps to his mannikins and/or his recent classicizing work which was to be sharply criticized by his circle of friends.

As diverting as these many allusions and puzzles may be, we are left with a larger question about Ernst's objective in painting this group portrait. For whom did he paint *At the Rendezvous of the Friends*? Given the abundance of subtle references and suggested relationships, it would have been accessible only to a small circle of informed associates, but does it reflect only Ernst's views and values, or was it worked out with input by other members of the group? Certain features suggest a very personal homage by Ernst: for example, the haloed position of Eluard, the inclusion of Arp and Baargeld, and the exclusion of Picabia. But Limbour's comments to André Masson indicate that *At the Rendezvous of the Friends* was on view for the friends while in progress,⁵⁹ and the absence of some conversation or criticism – with Eluard if no one else – was most unlikely. Moreover, the large size suggests a public statement, a veritable manifesto accessible to enemies as well as friends, and Ernst chose to present *At the Rendezvous of the Friends* on the occasion of the first exhibition of his work in Paris, the 1923 Salon des Indépendants.

It was included in a spectacular group of four works: *Oedipus Rex*, *Celebes*, and a recent painting, *The Interior of the Sight* (Pl. 136), which is notably distinct from its companions insofar as it is symmetrically composed, pleasing to the eye, and, ostensibly, not charged with either symbolism or strange, disturbing forms. Vases, however, were not neutral objects for Ernst. Recall his first account of a childhood hallucination, in which a man with the moustache of his father took a big, soft crayon out of his pocket, began to create forms on a

mahogany panel that he gathered into a vase, and stirred faster and faster until the vase became a top and the crayon became a whip. This story, steeped in sexual allusions and knowledge of Freud's writings, was written several years later.⁶⁰ It seems none the less to reflect such paintings as *The Interior of the Sight* and *Ubu Imperator* (Pl. 160) of 1922–23. These paintings are evocative, however, with or without this text. As observed by Aragon, Ernst has reversed normal relationships in *The Interior of the Sight*, by placing flowers inside the vases with nothing showing above except bits of stems, leaves, and blossoms.⁶¹ Moreover, with longer exposure, there is an intensity about this painting. These vases are alert, animated forms, pregnant with life and quietly stated but absolute ambiguities of form, space, and light. *Communicating Vases*, Ernst called them in another version that consisted of only two vases, perhaps in response to a half-amusing request by Jacques Doucet.⁶²

This extraordinary group of paintings which Ernst submitted to the 1923 Salon des Indépendants competed with an equally striking and totally different group by Picabia in what was otherwise an uninspiring Salon.⁶³ Neither artist received much attention, and neither was to have much more to do with either of the liberal Salons of Paris, once crucibles of the avant-garde but now long of tooth and well on the way to insignificance.

This Salon was also the occasion of another disappointment for the *Littérature* group. Apparently at Breton's initiative, an effort was made to reunite with the Tzara faction for a demonstration at the Salon. Few details are known, although letters before the event indicate Picabia remained unpalatable for Tzara and Soupault, and letters after the event document its failure. In a group letter to Tzara, five members of Breton's associates bluntly broke off relations with Tzara.⁶⁴ Ernst added simply, "Adieu Tzara," and all contact and correspondence ceased between them at that point.

It was about this time that the energy and focus which had seemed to be on the verge of coalescing at the end of 1922 slipped out of focus, and Breton lapsed into another phase of doubt and discouragement. Contact with Picabia dwindled, and their relationship cooled several degrees following an exhibition of Picabia's work in May that was dominated by ingratiating figurative drawings.⁶⁵ Breton also fell out with Desnos, who was pressing to continue the séances, and he was angered by the first issue of *La Revue Européenne*, a new literary magazine co-directed by Soupault.⁶⁶ In an interview published in April, Breton stated that he planned to stop writing for a while and even went so far as to say that "I consider the situation of the things I defend as hopeless."⁶⁷ Breton's mood to disengage was reinforced by Duchamp, who had left *The Large Glass* unfinished in New York and had returned to Paris in February, resolved to suspend his activity as an artist. In May, Breton considered discontinuing *Littérature* as debts mounted and readership diminished. Publication was resumed, but late in the fall and for only two issues. Perhaps the lowest point occurred in July, when a quasi-Dada soirée became the occasion for an ugly, physical encounter between Tzara, Breton, and associates. The "Soirée of the Bearded Heart" (*Soirée du Cœur à barbe*) was a mixture of poetry readings, plays, films, music, and manifestoes by assorted Russians, Dadaists or former Dadaists, Cocteau, and members of Les Six.⁶⁸ It had been

organized by Zdanévitch and the Russian group Tcherez, but with extensive involvement by Tzara, who managed to secure the participation of three young writers associated with *Littérature*, Crevel, Baron, and De Massot. To compound that mischief, Tzara had scheduled readings of poetry by Eluard and Soupault without their permission, and the *Littérature* group went to the Théâtre Michel on July 6 ready to disrupt the performance.

Breton chose to take offense at some comments by De Massot during a Dada-like manifesto. He mounted the stage, and, when De Massot refused his order to clear the premises, struck him sharply with a cane, breaking his arm. Police were summoned who expelled Breton, Desnos, and Péret. Eluard – who had remained in the audience – later bounded onto the stage, protesting Breton's expulsion and demanding that Tzara come out and explain himself. Police were called in again, but Eluard managed to strike Tzara and Crevel. Tzara retaliated not with physical violence but with a lawsuit against Eluard that dragged out the bitterness for months.

Opinions vary on the nature of the "Soirée of the Bearded Heart." One scholar has recently ascribed it a more lively role within Dada;⁶⁹ most authors have viewed it as a late, pale reflection of Dada, including this author, who sees it as a hybrid program marked by the repetition and entertainment feared by Ribemont-Dessaignes. Under any circumstances, it was the last organized activity associated with Dada in Paris. Thereafter, the initiative would shift to Breton and the *Littérature* group, while Tzara's leadership in any lingering manifestations of Dada had a brief life in other cities of Western Europe.

Major Paintings of 1923

Although Ernst continued to be one of the intimate participants in the cluster of authors around Breton and *Littérature*, he did not take part in the disruption of the "Soirée du Cœur à barbe," and he did not share Breton's despondency or temptation to withdraw temporarily from writing and painting. To the contrary, Ernst's production throughout 1923 was prolific – perhaps unequaled during his career in terms of major paintings. Several events in the late summer and fall of the year document a number of these works and assist in the attribution of additional dates. These events include the presentation in November of Ernst's extraordinary "murals" for the Eluards' new house in Eaubonne and an issue of *Littérature* that same month with forty-five drawings by Ernst. Information from these sources is complemented by Aragon's perceptive essay on Ernst, written in August for Jacques Doucet but not published until much later.⁷⁰ In his text, Aragon discussed what he called Ernst's "black manner" of 1922–23, which incorporated diverse techniques. *The Interior of the Sight* (Pl. 136) was included in this category, but he also described some works as dominated by pure black and creating the impression of being "drawn in chalk on a schoolboard," while others are large watercolors, "apocalyptic landscapes of places never seen, of divinations." He concluded that from these watercolors and related paintings (where the sky is still black but brightens toward the horizon) one arrives at the current manner of Ernst's work, which is represented by such paintings as *Saint Cecilia* (Pl. 159) and *La Belle Jardinière* (Fig. 97).

The Victory of Samothrace (Pl. 135) is representative of several of the black paintings described as looking like chalk on blackboards. It actually consists of black paint on wood with a white undercoating into which Ernst has scratched the composition, thereby blurring the distinction between painting and drawing and reversing the appearance of more conventional drawing in pencil on white paper. If the primary figure here is the Victory of Samothrace, Ernst has also reversed the gender of the figure – or at least made gender ambiguous – and added on the legs decorative patterns (tattoos?), which were to become more pronounced on the male figure in *La Belle Jardinière*. The gouache now known as *Black Landscape* (Pl. 137) is representative of the “apocalyptic landscapes” that emerged shortly before Ernst moved to Paris in such landscapes as *The North Pole* and *The Sea, the Coast, and the Earthquake* (Pl. 140). Several features of these paintings in the “black manner” – the concentric circles in *Nuclear Landscape*, the simply contoured and “floating” figures in *The Victory of Samothrace*, and the play of positive-negative processes in both – constitute a basis for attributing dates of 1922–23 to a handful of otherwise undocumented paintings and drawings. These include the paintings *Fall of an Angel* (Pl. 130) and *Dancer beneath the Sky (The Noctambulant)* (Pl. 129). Only *Fall of an Angel* contains the concentric rings or circles, but both exhibit falling or floating female nudes in simple silhouette forms that play with left-right reversals and contrasts of light/dark, positive/negative, and form/shadow.

Almost identical properties characterized many of Picabia’s works from about mid-1922 to early 1923 (Fig. 99), indicating some sort of dialogue or competition between these two artists which is yet to be clarified. Picabia’s images are laced with irony and sexuality, which makes them seem more accessible, but Ernst’s images have not yet yielded particularly plausible readings, except for Gibson’s idea that several paintings and drawings from this period reflect the theme of double figures Ernst could have encountered in Freud’s writings. Freud allowed that one man could actually be several men, even though he was unconscious of those other beings within himself, and Ernst had recently observed the release of other beings or layers of being in the sleeps of Crevel and Desnos.⁷¹ In this context, Gibson proposes that Ernst may have “wished to give a visual life to the conscious and the unconscious.” Other related works include two drawings with extensive passages in a frottage technique (Pl. 155), and *One Man Can Hide Another* (Pl. 144). Ernst used two very similar but different stencils for this last composition; one for two overlapped “standing” figures in the center, the other for the two slightly smaller “running” figures. Also present is an extra “socked” foot, which appears at first glance to belong to the second standing figure, but in effect is disembodied. Ernst told Spies that the title of the drawing came from signs in train stations alerting travelers to “Watch Out, One train can conceal another,” but Soupault used a phrase very similar to the title of this drawing in his contemporary review of Eluard and Ernst’s *Misfortunes of the Immortals*: “The one hides behind the other, and the other conceals himself behind his collaborator.”⁷² Already the allusions are complex, one implying danger, the other indicating that Ernst incorporated reference to Eluard and himself in this drawing. The formal properties of this com-

position are also more complex than first meets the eye, involving properties of positive/negative, interior/exterior, static/active, abstract/natural, and perhaps male/female. Two figures are in motion and two are static, with the qualification that each of the “standing” figures has one leg raised in a “running” position. The central standing figures have been described as “male” and the running figures as “female,” but gender is not absolutely clear for either of them. The running figures are simple silhouettes which stress the exterior shape, while the central standing figures combine “glove” and “sock” forms that accentuate exterior form along with watered lines that suggest interior veins or nerve systems. The heads of the central figures are contrasting natural and abstract shapes, the latter composed of concentric circles similar to the rings in the sky of *Black Landscape* (Pl. 137).

The curious gloved hand and socked forms appear in a number of Ernst’s paintings of 1923 which have been compared by Legge to illustrations in Pierre Janet’s study of hysteria and explored in relation to the keen interest in hysteria that existed among some members of the *Littérature* group.⁷³ Two formal aspects of Janet’s illustrations are relevant – the doubled, reversed image of the model and the blackened portions of the body (designating areas of hysterical anesthesia) which may be sources for Ernst’s gloved and socked forms. The doubling of the figure in Janet’s illustration was simply a practical device to provide frontal and rear views, but it could also be associated with the essential feature of hysteria described by Janet, namely, the split of the personality into two separate personalities.⁷⁴ Although Janet interpreted hysteria as a restriction of perception, Legge observes that it was within the practice of Ernst and colleagues to reassess values in the conventional world, so that what was considered there as impaired perception could be conceived instead as a positive withdrawal into visionary blindness. Freud provided still more fuel for the group’s interest in hysteria with his description of hysterical symptoms (skin anesthesia, pains, paralysis) as signs of repressed erotic emotion and hysterical crises as erotic wish fulfillment.⁷⁵

The themes of doubled figures and the coupling of opposites assume enormous significance for major works of 1923, among them the watercolor *Man Will Never Understand It* (Pl. 127), which appears to link the earlier painting *Birds-Fish-Snake* (Pl. 128) to *Castor and Pollution* (Pl. 142) and to a ceiling painting at Eaubonne (Fig. 116). *Man Shall Know Nothing of This* (Pl. 145) is often included in this group on the basis of thematic links more than compositional parallels. Interpretations of these paintings by recent authors have tended to be multi-dimensional, combining references to Freud, alchemy, astrology, relationships among Ernst and his friends, and the “new” subject of the Dioscuri twins, Castor and Pollux, which resonates with so many of the themes already introduced. Central to the subject of Castor and Pollux – mythic exemplars of the astrological Gemini – is, of course, the painting *Castor and Pollution* (Pl. 142), which looks as if it were conceived with deliberate symbolism. Elaboration of that symbolism requires some consideration of the mythological and astronomical aspects of Castor and Pollux, Ernst’s play on those names, and sources for the painting in *La Nature*.

In Greek mythology, Castor and Pollux were the Dioscuri or twin sons of the mortal Leda and immortal Zeus, who had come to Leda

in the form of a swan. They were warrior twins noted, among other things, for two voyages: one with the Argonauts in search of the golden fleece, and the other to rescue their sister Helen, who had been abducted by Theseus. More noteworthy still was their devotion to each other – so strong that when Castor was slain in battle, Pollux besought Zeus to take his life in ransom for his brother. Zeus instead granted them alternate days on earth and in a heavenly realm, and ultimately rewarded the twins by placing them among the stars as the Gemini. They are the brightest stars in that constellation, Pollux brighter than Castor. In astrology, the Gemini are ruled by Mercury, and this feature figures in alchemical interpretations. Castor and Pollux also participate in ancient twin symbolisms with reflections in the legend of Romulus and Remus and older roots in the cultures of India and Egypt. Typical of the twin symbolism is a union divisible into contrasting parts – mortal/immortal, black/white, death/birth, terrestrial/celestial, war/peace, etc. – and elements of this exist in the various versions of the Greek myth, in which Castor is portrayed as the mortal brother in contrast to the immortal Pollux. In that unequal fraternity, the immortal twin could renounce his position in order to share with his mortal brother – a feature with obvious application to Eluard's role in the *ménage à trois*.⁷⁶

As noted above, sources for *Castor and Pollution* in *La Nature* also appear to be relevant for comprehension of this painting. Three separate sources have been identified: the two back-to-back men were derived from one of the illustrations of whistling with the use of fingers (Chap. 5, n. 52); an illustration of a two-man submarine provided a model for both the tub-like vessel and the symmetrical back-to-back composition; and the canopy-like form and central shaft with fan blades was taken from an illustration of a windmill designed to ventilate mines.⁷⁷ Inasmuch as both the fan and submarine were designed for subterranean realms, Warlick suggests that they may signify psychological descent into the unconscious. Hopkins offers an alchemical reading of the vessel as "the egg from which the double-headed eagle emerges" and as an "image of the alchemical 'bath' (symbolic of the furnace) in which figures are often depicted submerged up to the head or waist." Legge, on the other hand, reintroduces the theme of fertilization associated with wind and sound – represented here by the fan and whistling – and incorporates the vessel in a discussion of the Dioscuri as twin voyagers.⁷⁸

Even greater variety characterizes interpretations of the two back-to-back men. The unequal fraternity of the mythological twins in which the immortal Pollux could surrender his position for the benefit of his mortal brother Castor has led some viewers to associate the twin-like Castor and Pollux as references to Ernst and Eluard. Legge endorses this reading, although she stresses that the painting is not a specific portrait of Ernst and Eluard, "but a joking reference to their mythic counterparts in a submarine vessel, generally alluding to the modern mythic quest which goes back to the surface of consciousness."⁷⁹ Hopkins, however, argues that Ernst was more probably alluding to two brothers, Giorgio and Andrea de Chirico, whose conception of themselves as the 'Dioscuri' was well known to the Surrealists at this time, while Derenthal has constructed an elaborate thesis which proposes this painting as another "friendship portrait," representing not Ernst and Eluard but Desnos

and Péret, who were particularly close friends within the *Littérature* group and significant friends of Ernst.⁸⁰ Derenthal is the first to attribute portrait likenesses to the heads, identifying Péret as the man on the right and Desnos that on the left. He also discusses the forms in the sky, noting the vein-like lines similar to veins in one of Ernst's contemporary drawings of an eye and the concentric ellipses, which he suggests could be derived from the target in Desnos's painting *The Death of Max Ernst* (Fig. 98).

The two heads are not likenesses of any of the individuals identified in these studies. I propose, however, that they represent Ernst and Eluard, and that this composition echoes the Eluard–Ernst relationship in *At the Rendezvous of the Friends*. The concentric rings in *Castor and Pollution* are related to the celestial haloes over Eluard's head in *At the Rendezvous of the Friends* and here indicate the celestial twin Pollux/Eluard on the right. The mortal twin, Castor/Ernst, is therefore on the left – in the position indicated by the inscription on the vessel. Two additional attributes identify the position of the mortal twin: pipes protruding from the vessel which link that half to subterranean depths rather than to the sky, and a twin-peaked (divided) mountain in the background as opposed to the single peak behind Pollution/Eluard. Finally, the title merits attention, for it is not "Castor and Pollux" but *Castor and Pollution* – a deliberate word play, perhaps incorporating the moral dimension of "pollution" as defilement, profanation, or moral corruption. It is doubtful that this derogatory or irreverent allusion is limited to the Eluard half of the painting. The imagery does not suggest that, and the name/word Castor also has another meaning to bear in mind, namely a beaver and/or an oily, brown, odorous substance obtained from glands in the groin of a beaver and used as a perfume fixative. The use of the fingers in this painting suggests not whistling but sucking in a quasi-comical, quasi-erotic manner very much in accord with the irreverent possibilities in the title. Ultimately, we are left with a mixture of conflicting thoughts and emotions and the undisturbed privacy of Ernst's intentions in this painting, which may embrace moral judgment, comedy, parody, and eroticism. I wonder, too, if this might have been the work referred to in Breton's letter to Simone in March 1923, when he reported that Ernst had finished "an obscene painting of large dimensions which Eluard calls marvelous, according to habit."⁸¹ If this is not the painting, the other candidate would be *Man Shall Know Nothing of This* (Pl. 145), which Ernst dedicated to Breton.

This painting does not have the back-to-back figures in a vessel that so clearly link *Birds-Fish-Snake*, *Man Will Never Understand It*, and *Castor and Pollution* (Pls. 127, 128, 142), but it is charged with forms and themes common to those works. I would characterize these as the omnipresence of deliberate symbolism based on the pairing of such opposites as male/female, celestial/terrestrial, sun/moon, and light/dark. These polarities are inherent in a primary source for the composition, the diagram of a lunar eclipse,⁸² but they are made spectacular in the upper half of the painting where two pairs of legs – hovering in a dark sky beneath the juncture of a crescent moon and the sun – are joined in a position suggesting sexual intercourse. These opposites of male/female, sun/moon, and light/dark are in turn elements in a celestial/terrestrial polarity with the

realm below, where earth is represented in two different configurations. Across the base of the painting is a strip of "earth" that looks like animated offal. Above this image of instinctual, organic life, a disembodied hand covers a diagram of the earth in space, orbited by moons in different relationships to earth and the sun.

In a text and dedication to Breton inscribed on the reverse of the canvas, Ernst confirms the identity of these forms and touches on details that might otherwise remain even more obscure than they are now:

MAN SHALL KNOW NOTHING OF THIS

The crescent moon (yellow and parachute-like) prevents the little whistle from falling to the ground.

Because someone is paying attention to it, the whistle thinks that it is rising to the sun. The sun is divided in two, the better to revolve.

The model is stretched out in a dream-like pose. The right leg is bent back (a pleasing and precise movement).

The hand shields the Earth. By this motion, the Earth takes on the importance of a sexual organ.

The moon goes very quickly through its phases and eclipses.

The picture is odd in its symmetry. The two sexes balance each other there.

to André Breton / kind regards / max ernst

Little comment was made on this text for decades, but several of the phrases and images suggested references to alchemy, and Ernst acknowledged in an interview late in his life that the painting was based on alchemical principles.⁸³ Subsequently, most authors have pursued that direction of research, sometimes in conjunction with other approaches. Contextual considerations also lend support to that approach.

Interest in occultism and hermetic philosophy was far more extensive in society from the late 19th century into the 1920s than scholars had deemed possible until relatively recently. As Henderson's research has revealed, current discoveries in science were often perceived to be linked with invisible powers of psychic and mysterious natures, even in the eyes of some scientists themselves.⁸⁴ These discoveries included X-rays and radioactive alpha-beta-gamma rays that actually could change the structure of matter, a feat which invigorated modern alchemists and stimulated a new wave of writings on the interrelationship of the physical and occult sciences.

The relevance of alchemy is also manifest in Breton's pantheon of honored individuals published in the October 1923 issue of *Littérature* under the title "Erutarettil" ("*Littérature*" spelled backward). The double-page spread begins with five occultists: Hermes Trismegistus, Lully, Flamel, Apulée, and Corneille Agrippa.⁸⁵ It has been pointed out that the soon-to-be-Surrealists were touring the alchemical sites of Paris, and that alchemical terminology was appearing in the writings of Desnos and Crevel, and in Breton's *Manifesto of Surrealism*, published in the fall of 1924.⁸⁶ Legge has appropriately focused on Dr. René Allendy, a popularizer for alchemy and psychoanalysis at that time, as a likely source for members of Breton's circle. In 1921 Allendy had published one of the most important alchemical texts, Hermes Trismegistus's *Emerald Table*, with a commentary on its prophetic anticipation of some aspects of modern medicine and physics, and throughout 1921–24 he published

articles in such magazines as *L'Esprit Nouveau*, where they would not have been missed by Ernst, Breton, and friends.⁸⁷

Insofar as Warlick is concerned, *Man Shall Know Nothing of This* (Pl. 145) reflects the alchemical adage "As Above, So Below." She observes that both the sun and the earth differ only in dimension; otherwise, they are identical circles divided into blue and black halves and ringed in red. Additionally, the solar eclipse represented by the moon between earth and the sun is an astronomical conjunction of sun and moon that "forms a perfect counterpart to the sexual union taking place in the center of the canvas."⁸⁸

Gettings, however, does not find that perfect alchemical balance of opposites in this painting. To the contrary, he perceives the imagery here as representing a geocentric solar system in chaos. Gettings compares the hand of Botticelli's *Venus* covering her pubic area to the disembodied hand which Ernst describes as hiding the earth and, with this gesture, endowing "Earth with the significance of the sexual organs." It is a gesture associated with the fall of man, with the "severance of the human being from God." This alienation expands to cosmic proportions in the moon, which, as it rotates around the earth, neither receives light nor casts shadows in accord with the sun. And, finally, Gettings proposes that this "chaos of the cosmos" is reflected in the unnatural relationship of the four human legs.⁸⁹ For many readers—including Gettings—the initial tendency is to perceive the upper pair of legs as female and the lower pair (bent more sharply at the knees) as male. Gettings, however, has observed that they may instead be divided along the vertical axis, so that we have a pair of legs to the left and another pair of legs to the right—mirror images of each other that confuse readings of gender and action. Lastly, he observes that the "little whistle" in Ernst's inscription is a victim of this disjointed universe, for it sees itself as rising to the sun, that is, man's higher nature in occult teaching, whereas in fact it is hanging from the moon, a pathetic symbol for the human being caught in the lunar orbit and separated from his spiritual source.⁹⁰

Legge works from different perspectives in her multi-dimensional exploration of the painting, but she also concludes that Ernst has deliberately negated the harmonious conditions which were the goal of the hermetic tradition. Both the eclipse and the whistle figure in her argument. She considers the "little whistle" in the context of commentary in the *Emerald Table* about the *thélème* or the energy of the universe as "solar semen," which constantly flows upward and downward between sun and earth, fertilizing the earth. In occult writings, the *thélème* was commonly associated with solar wind or divine breath, and Legge proposes that this may offer a clue to the nature of Ernst's little whistle, which sees itself rising to the sun: as a wind instrument, the whistle is "an appropriate channel for the divine breath or wind" and an "aspiring solar phallus" which, as it tries to rise, is "a necessary contributor to the fertilizing operation of the sun."⁹¹

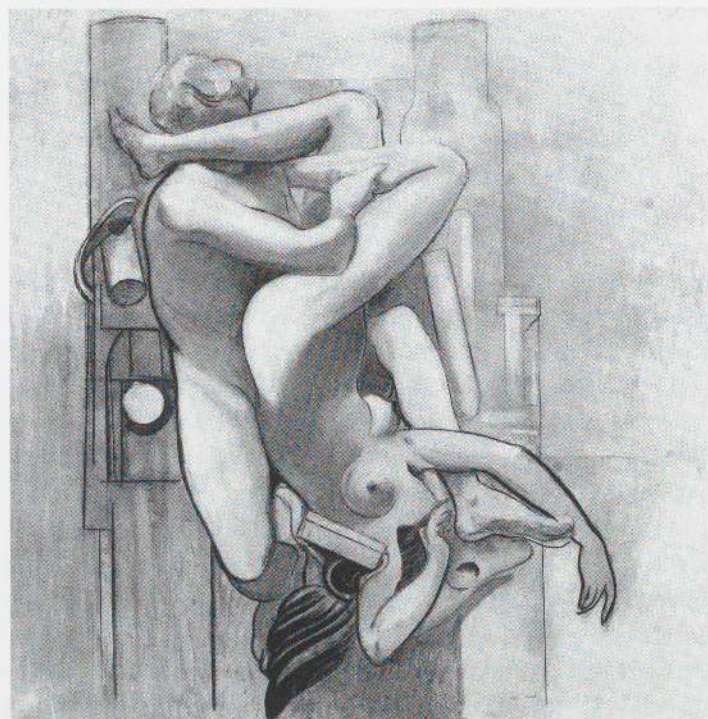
Regarding eclipses in alchemical symbolism, she observes that they represent the union of the sun and moon with the purpose of fertilizing the earth. The moon assists in the constant fertilization process by reflecting the solar semen at night in order to impregnate the earth, but, as Ernst's text indicated, the crescent moon prevented the little whistle or solar agent from reaching the earth, suggesting that

Ernst "is sabotaging the solar cycle of fertilization."⁹² Legge's argument has additional dimensions, including consideration of psychoanalytical implications based on Freud's "Schreber case," a case first entered into consideration by Geoffrey Hinton.⁹³ Freud's analysis of the Schreber case does include elements which invite speculation about their applicability to some aspects of the hermetic themes attributed to *Man Shall Know Nothing of This*. Among these elements are: Schreber's illusion of his redeeming role in life, which involved his transformation into a woman; an obsession with rays from God (also linked to the sun); reference to intestines; a sexualization of the state of bliss; sexual relations with God; and a hermaphroditic condition, in which he was capable of having intercourse with himself.

Freud's analysis and the interpretations of Hinton and Legge are too complex for thorough consideration here, but they indicate the level of erudition and intent ascribed to Ernst. Hinton, Warlick, Gettings, and Legge all argue that Ernst was well-read in Freudian analysis and/or alchemical lore and astronomy, and, further, that he applied such knowledge deliberately in the composition of *Man Shall Know Nothing of This*. These are not rash assumptions. Ernst was well-educated; he can be linked directly and/or circumstantially to such knowledge, and *Man Shall Know Nothing of This* looks like a very self-conscious, intellectual composition. It is also timely to observe that it is ultimately impossible to know Ernst's program for this painting, much less the detail and consistency with which it may have been applied. If we look again at this painting, the first and perhaps overriding impression is one of intense eroticism, literally elevated into a celestial realm, suggesting some sort of order, energy, or relationship within the universe. The second impression may generate more uneasiness, given the presence of inexplicable motifs, the black sky, and ambiguity about the sexual coupling. To move from here to the views of cosmic disruption and chaos proposed by Legge and Gettings requires specialized knowledge and elaborate arguments, but in the context of 1923 there are other paintings which exhibit more clearly the conditions of disorder, alienation, and frustration which they attribute to *Man Shall Know Nothing of This*.

For the most part, these paintings probably allude to conditions in the lives of Paul, Max, and Gala, informed or shaped somewhat by knowledge of Freud's writings, alchemy, and other interests. *Fall of the Angel* (Fig. 103), for example, is a disturbing image of a nude male and female, falling or hovering before a strange, dematerialized structure, and physically entangled in a way that precludes visual, verbal, or sexual communication. Stokes has identified the sources for these figures in engravings for two 19th-century academic sculptures, but combined in this manner, they resemble a detail from the fall of the damned – and certainly sensations of punishment, torment, or utter frustration reign here.⁹⁴ There is no manifest reason to associate this distressing image with the entangled lives of Paul, Max, and Gala, but a related work of 1923, *Long Live Love or Charming Countryside* (Pl. 156), clearly refers to Paul, and presumably to Gala. Again we have an intertwined couple – a blue male and a flesh-colored female, nude save for a ribbon on each of them – standing in a partially open but constricting, form-fitting shell set in a strange landscape. The physical and psychological relationships implied here are

complex and poignant. Although the shell covers their faces, their heads appear to be pressed together, face-to-face, forcing a visual-verbal-physical connection, which is as disturbing in its own way as the head-to-foot separation in *Fall of the Angel* (Fig. 103). The woman reaches out to the man with her left arm and right leg, but he is in no position to respond – his back is turned, one arm is wrenched behind his back and the other juts out of the shell, precluding any ability to touch the woman. That hand holds a limp "rope," which may be viewed as a counterpart of the black ribbon drooping over his genital area – and a contrast to the tumescent, entrail-like forms popping out of the ground. It may be significant that the shell is sufficiently open for the couple to extricate themselves, but only with some awkwardness and effort.



103 Max Ernst: *Fall of the Angel*, 1923. Oil on canvas, 50 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 50 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. Sprengel Museum, Hanover

For anyone familiar with Eluard's physical appearance, what can be seen of the head and general carriage of the blue man identifies him instantly, and that identification is strengthened by the transcription of Desnos's sleep on September 27, 1922 (p. 126). While holding Eluard's hand, he was asked, "What do you see of Eluard? He is blue. Why is he blue? Because the sky nestles in (an unfinished word, indecipherable, the last phrase scratched out furiously)." The form and color of the woman's hair is similar to another painting of Gala by Max; in all likelihood the woman is she, and this would have been evident to the members of the *ménage à trois* and their friends.⁹⁵

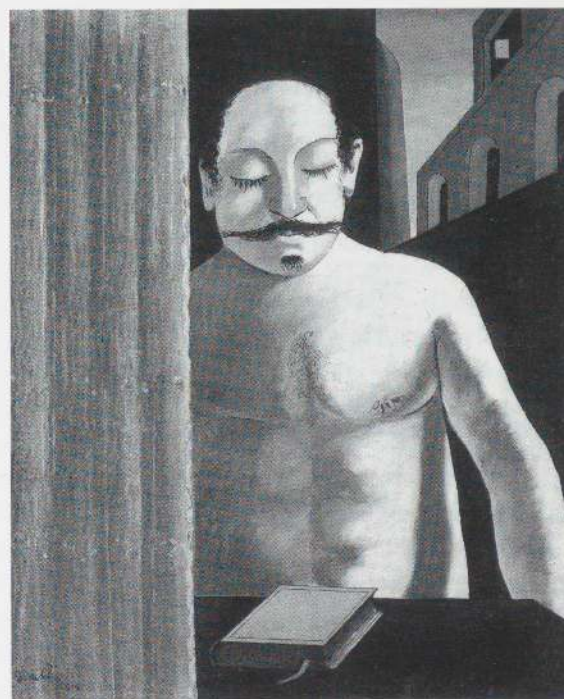
In addition to its relation to contemporary conditions in the life of Eluard and his associates, *Long Live Love or Charming Countryside* is also another example of the theme of the couple, and, as such, part of a rich assortment of couples and family groups from 1923 to 1924.

One such painting, actually entitled *The Couple* (Pl. 146), also has a blue figure, although in most other respects this couple is astonishingly different.⁹⁶ These figures – one seated, one standing – are not tightly confined in a shell but physically separated. Their setting is not a verdant landscape sprouting animated viscera/phallic forms, but a barren stagescape occupied by one small rock and a few curious architectural props. With the exception of the arms and torso of the blue figure, they are not depicted as more or less “naturalistic” forms but as flat, collage-like constructions, composed largely of decorative lace, tassels, and fringe. And, finally, even the gender of the two figures is ambiguous. Sala has identified the figure at the left as “male,” but it seems to me that the legs, clothing, and breast-like forms are more “female.”⁹⁷ The stiff, erect posture and slanted eye may even allude to Gala, whereas the figure with trousers and a blue torso is appropriately associated with Eluard. The cocked arm is a reverse of Eluard’s arm in *Long Live Love or Charming Countryside*. Yet there is a rippling, skirt-like form between the trousers and blue torso, and the scalloped lace along the left side of the blue torso is related formally to the concave and convex breast forms of “his” companion. Blavier suggests that the blue figure is androgynous, and Gautier notes the presence of both Eluard’s love of mixture or confusion and his sense of parody in a figure feminized by means of lace.⁹⁸ Wit, parody, and confusion indeed abound – in contrast to the poignant couple of *Long Live Love or Charming Countryside*. The architecture on the right is both opaque and transparent; the blue “male” has not only been feminized, but is so constructed that he faces frontwards and backwards, gesticulates to the left and perhaps looks to the right. For her part, the woman is both dainty and imperious, positive and negative, with spiky, pointed breasts on one side and rounded breasts on the other.

Birds in a Landscape (Pl. 154) seems to involve some sort of family rather than a couple, but it is relevant to the forms and themes of this time, and provides a telling image of the evolution of the animated machine or instruments that emerged in 1920 (Fig. 55). Questions of gender and relationships abound in this painting of three creatures probably derived from surgical instruments. Forms on the lower portion of the figure at the left suggest a penis and testicles. The triangular form where the dominant central figure bifurcates may possibly identify it as female, but gender is basically ambiguous for it and for the smallest figure at the right, an evocative form which might be perceived as a two-headed figure or as a kneeling figure with one or two arms raised. The ambiguity of these metamorphosed forms leaves open the possibility of an allusion to the *ménage à trois*, or to a couple with a child or a pet.

From early on, however, the most intriguing and baffling of the “family” groups has been *Pietà or Revolution by Night* (Pl. 147). Dalí wrote: “I like to take as the point of departure for Surrealist experiments the title of Max Ernst’s picture ‘Revolution by Night’.”⁹⁹ And Breton, commenting on the impact of Dalí’s work in 1929, remarked that no such “revelation” had occurred in Surrealist art “since Ernst’s work of 1923–24 of the type ‘Revolution by Night,’ ‘Two Children Are Threatened by a Nightingale,’ and Mirós work of 1924. . . .”¹⁰⁰

The two parts of the title – one referring to revolt and the other to the motif of the dead Christ in the lap of his grieving mother –



104 Giorgio de Chirico: *The Child's Brain*, 1914.
Oil on canvas, 32 x 25 1/2 in. Moderna Museet, Stockholm

appear to be unrelated to each other and to the images in the painting. A young man is being held, but he certainly does not look like the dead Christ, and the person holding him is not his mother but a middle-aged man with moustache, bowler hat, and suit and tie, who kneels in the immediate foreground. Everything about this man – clothes and skin alike – is a golden brown color, very close in hue to the wall behind him. The young man, however, is completely gray and clad in a bright white shirt and red trousers. He appears to be in a stiff, trance-like state, but his gaze is directed toward the image of a second middle-aged man – with a beard, bandaged head, and downcast visage – sketched on another face of the brown wall. These three dramatis personae are accompanied by several curious details: a white and blue object, which looks something like a crooked shower head or gooseneck lamp protruding from the wall between the two men; a shadowed area under it; a strange railing; a staircase; and the transparency of the kneeling man’s hands where they overlap the form of the young man.

Faced with the deliberateness of both the imagery and the title of this painting, most students have assumed that Ernst did not willfully concoct some tantalizing nonsense to tease viewers, but produced a painting imbued with significant personal meaning – however cryptic it may be. The reversal and secularization of the pietà motif is a central piece to the puzzling imagery. The young man has often been identified as Ernst, sometimes on the basis of a visual likeness,¹⁰¹ and the bourgeois man with a moustache has been repeatedly identified as Ernst’s father on the basis of Ernst’s autobiographical statements and preceding paintings – although the model for this particular image seems to have been de Chirico’s *The Child’s Brain* (Fig. 104), which was then in Breton’s collection and known to Ernst.¹⁰² If these are indeed the identities of these two figures, how is one to account

for a pietà-like scene in which Philipp Ernst has been substituted for Mary and Max functions as Christ? In a complex argument, Gee answers this question by proposing that *Pietà or Revolution by Night* represents an image of an inverted Oedipal wish; "the 'message' of the painting" is that Ernst "'desired' his father as well as hating him."¹⁰³ Gee bases his thesis partly on Ernst's autobiographical statements and partly on Freud's "Wolf Man" case, an analysis which seemed so relevant to imagery in *Pietà or Revolution by Night* that Gee was convinced that Ernst knew and used it to enlighten some aspects of his personality, including ambivalent feelings toward his father.¹⁰⁴

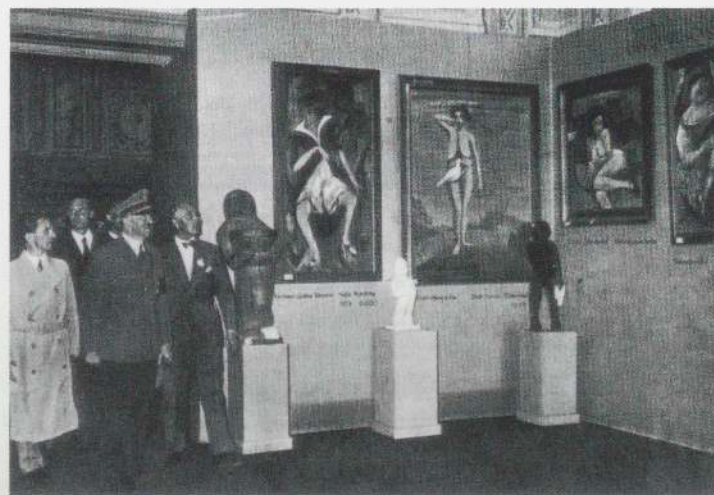
Legge proposes quite another solution based on the Freudian dream work mechanism of substitution. Any identifiable person in a dream must conceal someone else, and the someone else hidden here is the Mother. In brief, we may be seeing the father, but "he" is really the "mother," and *Pietà or Revolution by Night* is, accordingly, a "direct and concise statement... of the Oedipal attraction of the son for the mother."¹⁰⁵ Legge does not comment on the absence of a search for hidden identities for the son/Max, but, as usual, her arguments are multi-dimensional, and she does consider other aspects of both Freud's writings and Ernst's life. She observes that Ernst "more or less ironically returns the compliment of Philipp Ernst's portrait of Max as Christ Child, but completely negates its strongly sentimental and religious feeling."¹⁰⁶ She also suggests the presence of a prodigal son motif, and in the white shirt and catatonic pose of the young man, she senses evidence of Ernst's concept of the visionary power of the insane. When Desnos was asked in one of the séances, "What do you know about Max Ernst?," he responded "The white shirt of Fraenkel at the Salpêtrière [the asylum where Charcot studied hysteria]."¹⁰⁷ If these features of Ernst's image refer to the insane, then perhaps the third figure – the sorrowful, bandaged man inscribed on the wall – represents the visionary powers of Ernst/the young man.¹⁰⁸

Gee offered other possibilities for the identity of that third figure, namely Freud, whose features do somewhat resemble those in the image, and Ivan in *The Brothers Karamazov*.¹⁰⁹ Ades adds still another possibility, suggesting that if we are dealing with the father and son, isn't the third figure – by implication in a religious context – the Holy Ghost?¹¹⁰ Ades's essay represents a thoughtful survey and enrichment of most of the interpretations registered up to that date, confirming the convictions of a number of current scholars that Ernst's works are deeply personal, multi-layered statements/explorations, involving both his psychic life and contemporary conditions around him, variously informed by his interest in the writings of Freud, alchemy, the art of the insane, and activities of the *Littérature* group.

There are dissenting voices. Schneede, for example, rejects the need for such theses, which he characterizes as "compulsively psychoanalytic interpretations" that overlook "the fact that not human beings are represented but artificial figures in various states of materialization or dematerialization." He observes that "the adolescent is evidently a sculpture," while the kneeling figure is defined by *brushstrokes* [my emphasis] and graphic elements, and the third figure "owes its existence to drawing." Accordingly, "three artistic genres are present in this painting," and – regardless of possible father/son motifs – this "indicates that the main and underlying

theme of the picture is art itself."¹¹¹ Although most students – this author included – are likely to find something exaggerated, inconsistent, or even far-fetched in the preceding psychoanalytical analyses of *Pietà or Revolution by Night*, Schneede's reaction seems overstated and his counterproposal weak. The adolescent, although fitted with a head that looks something like a Roman sculpture, is otherwise an absolutely flat, unmodeled, unarticulated figure, while the kneeling man who, in Schneede's view, represents "painting" is the only (sculptural) figure modeled in light and dark. Moreover, too many aspects of the painting are simply not addressed. Notwithstanding treacherous pitfalls of the alchemical and psychoanalytical approaches, these routes – tempered by basic concerns for the artist, the larger context, and a firsthand study of the works themselves – loom indeed as fruitful, relevant approaches to the art of Max Ernst.

Although Schneede's thesis for *Pietà or Revolution by Night* strikes me as unnecessarily limited, his emphasis on the theme of creation and inspiration by interior vision seems relevant and is certainly a significant part of such other paintings of 1923 as *The Creation of Eve or La Belle Jardinière* (*The Beautiful Gardener*; Fig. 97) and *Saint Cecilia* (Pl. 159). It is impossible to acquire firsthand knowledge of the former insofar as it was confiscated by the German government for display in the notorious 1937 Exhibition of "Degenerate Art" (*Ausstellung "Entartete Kunst"*), and all trace of it has been lost since the conclusion of that exhibition in 1941 (Fig. 105).¹¹² That part of the painting's history and Ernst's re-creation of it in the form of another version in 1967 is a fascinating tale told by Spies, but the lost original and events of 1923 have a significance of their own. Like *Pietà or Revolution by Night*, this painting has a double title and a transparent figure defined by line, but the two-part title is not so disjointed. *La Belle Jardinière* is the popular title of one of Raphael's loveliest paintings of the Madonna, Christ Child, and infant St. John. It was probably known to Ernst and alluded to in his title, although he also remarked to Spies that he consciously played on a Paris department store by the same name.¹¹³ *The Creation of Eve* is a biblical subject readily linked to the *La Belle Jardinière* as Madonna, inasmuch as Eve,



105 Adolf Hitler touring the exhibition of *Degenerate Art*, Munich, 1937, showing *La Belle Jardinière* (Fig. 97)

the mother of humankind, is viewed in Christian tradition as the Old Testament predecessor/counterpart of Mary, the mother of Christ. We have already encountered the female figure on the left: she is a modified version of the Eve in Dürer's *Adam and Eve* (Ch. 5, n. 66), another version of which, *Santa Conversazione* (Pl. 101), implies a Christian context. It is, accordingly, plausible to associate that figure with Eve. However her general resemblance to Gala adds a personal and secular dimension to the theme, and the title indicates that she may also be identified as the beautiful gardener. Legge suggests that in that role, she also appears as a goddess of divine fertilization, thereby reinforcing reference to Eve and the Madonna.¹¹⁴ The other figure hovering just behind her is transparent in form but not in identity. He appears to be a male, for some reason without hands, but richly tattooed and clothed with garlands of fruit and leaves around his neck and loins. Maurer proposes a visual source in images of Marquesan body adornment, and turns to Ernst's comments on nature in *Beyond Painting* for an interpretation of this figure as a mingling of Papuan man and the god Pan – both of whom live in harmonious relationship with nature and possess all the mysteries of nature.¹¹⁵ Another possibility for this figure is the role of a fecundating male spirit, suggested by his energy, his tattoos, and the fruit that garlands his loins. That role seems underscored by modifications in the loin area of Ernst's later version (1967, The Menil Collection), and the almost closed eyes of Eve in the original painting suggest that this "primitive" spirit is a product of her inner vision.

The theme of interior vision-inspiration-creation also dominates the image of *Saint Cecilia* (Pl. 159). Historically, this saint was a Roman martyr of the third century who became the patron saint of music and the blind. As Christian iconography developed during the Renaissance, she was portrayed as seated and playing an organ. Here she is depicted encased in a thick form which covers her eyes and constricts the entire body save for her arms which play an invisible keyboard. The inner vision of this blinded saint is visually manifest, however, in the numerous eye-like forms scattered over the shell which encloses her and the wall beyond which suggests an organ. As discovered by Stefanie Poley, that animated, all-seeing form was derived from an illustration of the casting process for Bouchardon's bronze equestrian statue of Louis XV.¹¹⁶ For the model for Saint Cecilia at the organ (piano), Derenthal proposes an allegorical figure of sacred music, most surely known to Ernst since his youth, on the Beethoven monument in Bonn.¹¹⁷ References to the creative nature of Saint Cecilia's inner vision include the trance-like, automatic fingering of the invisible keyboard, and probably allusions previously encountered in Ernst's work: sound as a godly/creative force, the bird as a fertilizing agent, and "clouds" in the sky metamorphosing into fish shapes. Still other forms which suggest phallic, fertilizing presences are the slender, rigid rods in the sky and attached to the walls, and the shadow of Saint Cecilia's hand which casts an image of a swan. The configurations of these slender rods also suggest constellations, but as before in Ernst's work, they are personal constellations which do not conform to standard diagrams.

In yet another extraordinary painting of 1923, *The Tottering Woman* (Pl. 143), themes of blindness and entrapment are significant, but allusions to inner vision and creativity are displaced by more

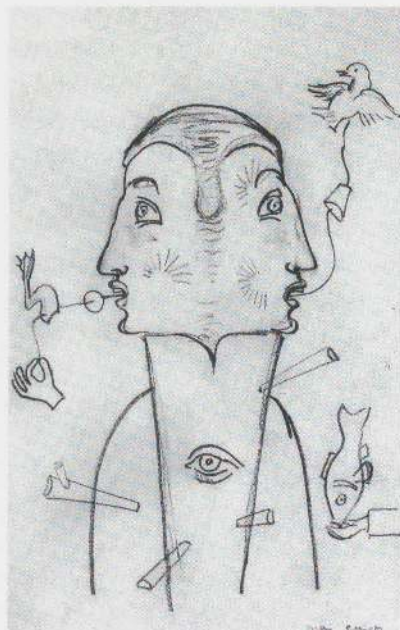
disturbing sensations.¹¹⁸ Our attention is instantly focused on the female figure fixed to a strange apparatus. The nature of her being is not clear – most probably she is human, but she could be an automaton. In either case, her open mouth and hair-on-end imply that she has been subjected to an electrical charge which is almost as jolting for the viewer as for the victim. After shifting attention from the central image to the rest of the scene, we realise how artfully Ernst has composed the painting with a few simple elements that are both interesting in their own right and complementary to the primary scene – the single rock in the lower left; two columns which frame the scene and perhaps imply a masculine presence; the undefinable setting; and the black abyss, which multiplies the insecure, rocking effect of the teetering woman.

That rocking sensation and the identity of the mechanical apparatus has prompted two interpretations of this painting. Two sources from *La Nature* were used. The figure of the woman is taken directly from the illustration of an acrobat walking upside-down by means of shoes with specially designed suction cups. The mechanical apparatus is likewise a near copy of a machine to calm rough seas by spewing oil on the water.¹¹⁹ I believe that Ernst made a study or model for the composition of *The Tottering Woman* by cutting the figure of the female acrobat out of the magazine and attaching her as a collage element to the image of the oiling machine. He then proceeded with the oil painting, eliminating and adding forms until satisfied – in a manner not unlike his earlier overpaintings (Fig. 55). Spies's term for these paintings as "collage paintings" was more accurate in some instances than has been imagined.

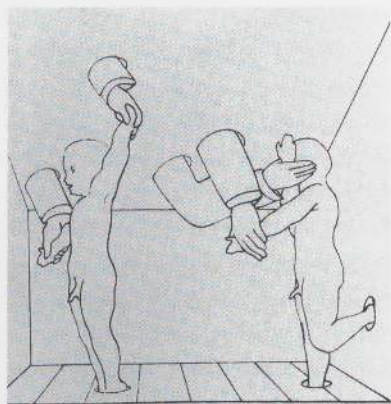
In the course of pondering how Ernst came to bring together these disparate illustrations from two widely separated issues of *La Nature*, Spies suggested that the foot-shaped forms at the base of the oiling machine "invited the artist to flesh out the anthropomorphic structure" – and the solution was a female figure who, in conjunction with the "precarious anchoring" of that machine, constituted an adaptation of the theme of Fortuna. Legge proposes a contextual reading – more plausible, in my opinion – that the combination of an acrobat balancing act and a machine to calm troubled waters may refer to the precarious equilibrium of Paul, Max, and Gala.¹²⁰

Drawings for "Littérature" and Murals for Eaubonne

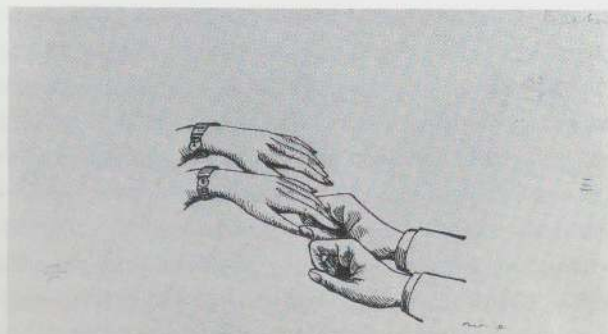
These remarkable collage paintings of late 1922–23 constituted only one aspect of Ernst's work that year. As indicated at the beginning of this chapter, he also produced a quantity of drawings as well as murals for the house purchased by Paul and Gala in suburban Eaubonne. None of the drawings can be identified as preparatory sketches or studies for known paintings. In some instances he may have been seeking to clarify his concept for a painting which may never have materialized. Examples of this include the *Portrait of Max Morise* (Fig. 106) and a drawing entitled *Two Infants in a Pierced Room* (Fig. 107) which looks like a traced drawing, although no sources of any kind have yet emerged for this unsettling piece. In something of a reverse of *Oedipus Rex* (Pl. 118), where adult heads and a hand thrust out of containers, here male hands thrust into a



106 Max Ernst: *Portrait of Max Morise*, 1923. Pencil on paper, 9x5½ in. Sprengel Museum, Hanover



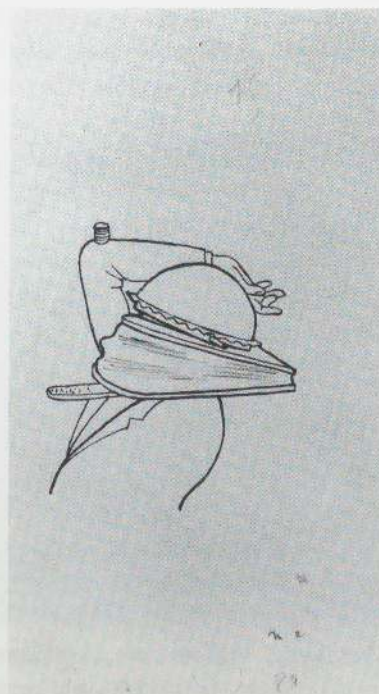
107 Max Ernst: *Two Infants in a Pierced Room*, 1923. Ink on paper, 47/8x47/16 in. Private collection



108 Max Ernst: *Angelus of Love*, 1923. Ink on paper, 47/16x7 15/16 in. Private collection, Paris

box, manipulating two nude, twin(?) boys trapped inside. The identity of the manipulators cannot be seen, nor can they see exactly what they are doing. The two vulnerable children are literally subjected to unseen forces.

Other drawings by Ernst were done for the publications of various friends. Around July he made an ink drawing for the announcement of Breton's *Clair de terre* (Pl. 157). This depicts Breton wrapped in a tightly bound, awkward constraint, perhaps based on a medical bandage,¹²¹ but suggesting something more akin to a straitjacket. Legge recommends a source for the bandage in illustrations from Kraepelin's studies on the insane, noting that such a reference would not have been a derogatory comment in the eyes of the *Littérature* group but a witness to Breton's unconventional, liberated vision.¹²² Breton was, in fact, refocusing his vision and creative energies during his summer sojourn in Lorient. Two publications emerged from his work that summer, a double issue of *Littérature* that came out in October and *Clair de terre*, published in mid-November. The latter was a collection that combined previously published material and new work, including poetry and quasi-automatist texts which Breton scholars see as immediate background for a renewed emphasis on automatism in 1924.¹²³ The double issue of *Littérature* was wholly devoted to poetry by members of the *Littérature* group, embellished by one of Picabia's drawings on the cover, the Erutarettil list of authors, and forty-five small drawings by Ernst inserted at the end of almost every poem. Picabia had also submitted a body of drawings for this issue of *Littérature*, and Breton's decision to use Ernst's drawings instead may have been the act which irrevocably rekindled all of Picabia's suspicions. Breton must have known what was at stake, for in an extraordinary self-reflective confessional letter, he asked Picabia to have confidence in him, even adding that "the drawings of Max Ernst do not have the same importance."¹²⁴



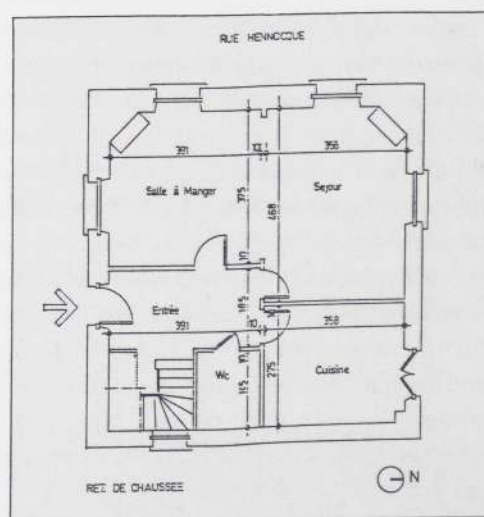
109 Max Ernst: *Portrait of Robert Desnos*, 1923. Ink on paper, 75/8x4 1/8 in. Private collection, Paris

I suspect Breton's comments were aimed at retaining Picabia's friendship, and may not reflect his actual evaluation of Ernst's drawings, for he was also presenting Ernst to Doucet about this time,¹²⁵ and, in any event, the drawings are effective in themselves and in the context of *Littérature*. Insofar as is known, the drawings were created independently of the poems and subsequently acquired their present titles from the poems preceding them on the page – without Ernst's participation in the layout of poems and drawings. Accordingly, any perceived relationships between poems, drawings, and titles are fortuitous, or products of our efforts, or the results of Breton's decisions about the composition of the issue. Some decisions are indicated, for example, in the evocative drawings of hands (Fig. 108) reserved by Breton for his own poems. The source for the sexually suggestive, trance-like gestures in this particular drawing have been recently discovered in yet another popular publication illustrated by the engravings of Poyet, while in the drawing known as *Portrait of Robert Desnos* (Fig. 109), Ernst combined an illustration in *La Nature* with a bellows from the teaching aids catalogue.¹²⁶ Given the manner by which these drawings acquired their titles, there is no reason to assume that this one refers to Desnos at all, although both Legge and Warlick see the bellows as suggesting a possible link to their theses regarding Ernst's interest in alchemy and use of images of constraint as a sign for intellectual freedom.¹²⁷ Warlick's suggestion of an alchemical theme is more persuasive visually in the drawing *Cold Throats* (Pl. 139), composed of a nude, headless woman and two animated organic shapes which somewhat resemble the form of some alchemical vessels. As observed by Warlick, both the body of the woman and the alchemical vessel/furnace are sites for the act of love, and the suggestion of sexual contact or insemination is omnipresent here – chastity belt notwithstanding.¹²⁸

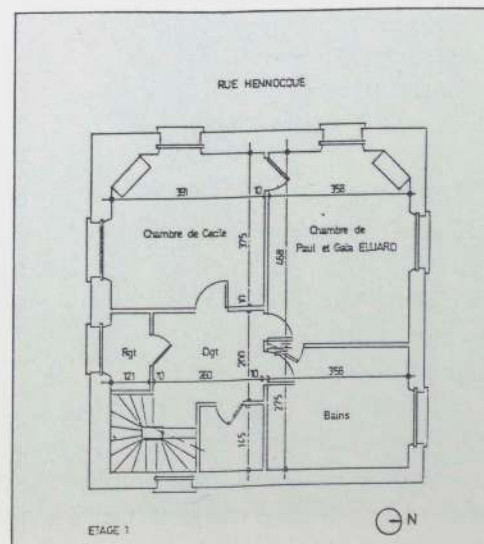
The publication of these drawings in the October issue of *Littérature* was followed in November by the private presentation of Ernst's most extraordinary unified body of work during 1923, his murals for the house of Paul and Gala Eluard. Thanks to the generosity of his family, Eluard was able to purchase in April of that year a three-story house and garden (Fig. 110) in the suburb of Eaubonne, about twelve miles northwest of Paris.¹²⁹ It seems likely that Ernst's contribution to the "decoration" of the new home was discussed early on, but no preparatory drawings, photographs, or mention of any kind has been preserved prior to Breton's comments on the finished work after its presentation to five members of the *Littérature* group on November 10. Insofar as is known, no one had seen it prior to that date, suggesting that Ernst and Eluard planned it that way and, perhaps, that much of the painting was done during the summer and early fall, while members of the group were dispersed. The relative privacy of these murals continued for forty-five years. Eluard sold the house in 1932 – soon after he and Gala had separated permanently and she had married Dali in 1931. The subsequent owners – uninformed about Ernst and hardly disposed to accommodate their home to his bizarre murals – proceeded to redecorate, painting over some murals and removing others altogether. Not until 1967, when research for publications on Eluard revived her memories, did Cécile Eluard and her husband, Robert Valette, return to her parents' home to see what remained.¹³⁰ When, with the owner's permission, a strip



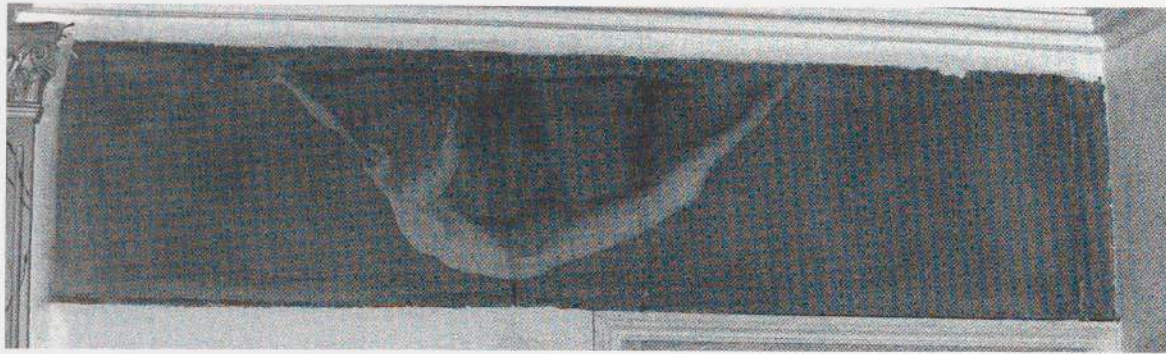
110 Eluard House, Eaubonne, entrance façade



111 Eluard House, Eaubonne, ground floor plan



112 Eluard House, Eaubonne, second floor plan



113 Max Ernst: *Flying Nude on Golden Ground*, 1923. Oil on plaster. In situ, Eluard House, Eaubonne

of wallpaper was peeled off, revealing one of the murals, negotiations began immediately to recover everything possible during the family's extended vacation. In a five-month period of intense, difficult work, the murals were removed in about twenty panels, restored, and placed on exhibition at the Galerie André-François Petit in Paris in May 1969.¹³¹ This action saved the murals from further destruction, but sacrificed the context. Eventually the panels were sold and dispersed – lamentably without a professional, historical record, that is to say, without any records regarding the house, how the murals were related to the house and to each other, their condition, and the process of removal and restoration. This record was, however, reconstructed and saved for us by the timely and exemplary research of Blavier.¹³²

One indispensable element of Blavier's work was to establish the floor plans reproduced here (Figs. 111, 112). Her discoveries began immediately in the entrance hall, where, above the double doors to the kitchen and living room – on a panel missed by Valette and the restorer, Guyomard – hovers a female nude on a golden ground (Fig. 113). When the owners found this painting, they notified Valette and Guyomard, but it was judged to be too late and too difficult to retrieve the work, and accordingly it has remained *in situ* and was unpublished until Blavier's study. The effect of this figure is ambiguous – in part welcoming via her open arms and "smiling" mouth, but also troubling, given her shadowed face and the ambivalence of her mouth and posture, which may be viewed respectively as shrieking rather than smiling and as falling, not flying. The second discovery in the entrance hall was an indication of an overall color scheme keyed to the floor tiles, a floral pattern in beige ochre, golden yellow, and two shades of blue. The golden yellow was restated in the overdoor panel of the nude and carried throughout the ground floor (*rez-de-chaussée*). The beige-and-blue was restated on the steps up to the second floor (*premier étage*) – beige on the steps, blue on the risers – and the rooms on this floor were dominated by blue and green. The colors on the steps to Ernst's studio quarters on the third floor (*deuxième étage*) do not remain, but the third floor was ruled by a strong red color, and Blavier speculated that the steps may have been blue and red. For additional relationships within the murals, it is useful to move methodically through the house from the ground floor upwards, and also to bear in mind two facts: first, it is impossible to reconstruct the original scheme entirely, because some parts have been irretrievably lost; and, second, the titles have absolutely

nothing to do with Ernst's intentions, because they were selected by Valette from Eluard's poetry and applied to the paintings in 1968–69 without consultation with Ernst.

The murals on the ground floor include – in addition to the nude in the entrance hall – the untitled inner face and overdoor of the door to the living room (Fig. 114); *Marvels, You Dance on the Sources of the Sky* (Fig. 116) in the center of the living room ceiling; a second door, *To Come In, To Go Out* (Pl. 148), between the living room and dining room; and *One Must Not See Reality As I Am* (Fig. 117) in a corner of the dining room. Any paintings which may have existed in the kitchen have been lost.

The overdoor, *The Green Hand* (Fig. 115), was exhibited at the Galerie Petit in 1969, but the accompanying door with the hands (Pl. 149) was held back by Valette because it required extensive



114 Cécile Eluard, Gala Eluard, and Max Ernst in the living room at Eaubonne, 1924, showing untitled door (Pl. 149) and *The Green Hand* (Fig. 115)

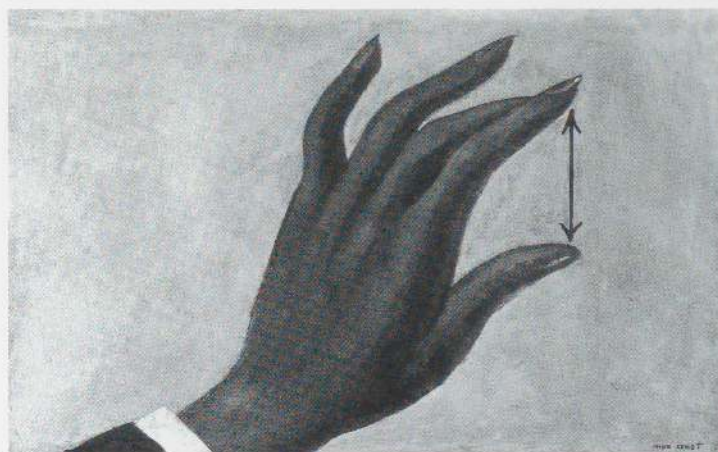
repainting. Accordingly, it remained unsigned (until later) and without a title, although Valette contemplated using the first line in Eluard's "Poèmes" in *Répétitions*, which he thinks was in Ernst's mind for this door: "The heart on the tree you have only to gather it."¹³³ This line does "fit" some of the imagery of the door, but any relationship with Ernst's intentions is completely speculative. Blavier suggests that this door, as well as other paintings in the house, may allude to the *ménage à trois*. Here a hand derived from a *La Nature* source is repeated in different sizes and colors, all reaching, she proposes, "for the same love or perhaps the same 'forbidden fruit'."¹³⁴ Although Ernst's intentions are ultimately beyond our reach, the presence of his concern for symbolism is indicated by the deliberateness of the color and by such details as the thin red vein ascending the purple tree trunk at the right, branching near the top to drip blue liquid into the yellow plant-like forms on the left and also to enter the green heart at the right with two arrows/directions that are restated above in *The Green Hand*.

In the center of the ceiling of this room, Ernst painted what Valette entitled *Marvels, You Dance on the Sources of the Sky* (Fig. 116). It consists of three nude women in acrobatic or dance-like positions in a small boat silhouetted against a golden ground. Save for the truncation of some legs, the women are identical in outline but turned in different directions and distinguished by color as a pink nude, a nude split into blue and red halves, and a predominantly green nude. Insofar as is known, there was no border around the painting; it floated freely on the ceiling, and Guyomard – not Ernst – made the decision to remove it as a roundel with a diameter of 100 centimeters (39 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches).¹³⁵

Several references are evident to specific themes and paintings in Ernst's work. The theme of a voyage with two or three people in a boat recalls *Man Will Never Understand It* (Pl. 127), *Birds-Fish-Snake* (Pl. 128), and *Castor and Pollution* (Pl. 142). The repetition of traced figures with interior patterns appeared in the drawing *One Man Can Hide Another* (Pl. 144), while other features seem integral to Eaubonne. The thrice-repeated nude, for example, may be linked in number and color scheme to the hands on the door. And these same figures – in their slender proportions, effaced features, hairstyle, and athleticism – restate the entry hall nude, who is surely the incarnation of Gala.

Compared with most of Ernst's work during this period, the Eaubonne murals have attracted few interpretive efforts, and I will contribute only a few ideas and observations for a work which is so private and complex. Various approaches are needed even to begin to explore the possibilities of this project; however, like Blavier, I suspect that these murals harbor reflections on the *ménage à trois* – including some of the scenes in the frieze which ringed the room of young Cécile.

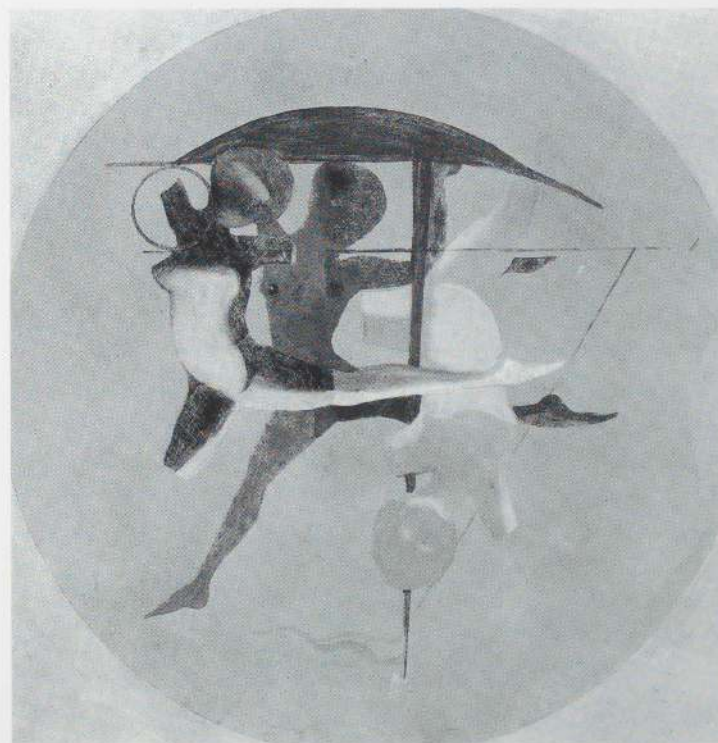
In *Marvels, You Dance on the Sources of the Sky* (Fig. 116) there is an ecstatic quality in the upright pink nude, but the other two are literally standing on their heads, and one is divided down the center into two more or less equal halves – one in blue, which has been associated with Eluard, and one in red, which was the color of Ernst's floor at Eaubonne. The colors of these figures may also relate to the three hands on the door – blue, flesh-colored, and green – plus the



115 Max Ernst: *The Green Hand*, 1923. Oil on plaster transferred to canvas, 15 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 25 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. Sprengel Museum, Hanover

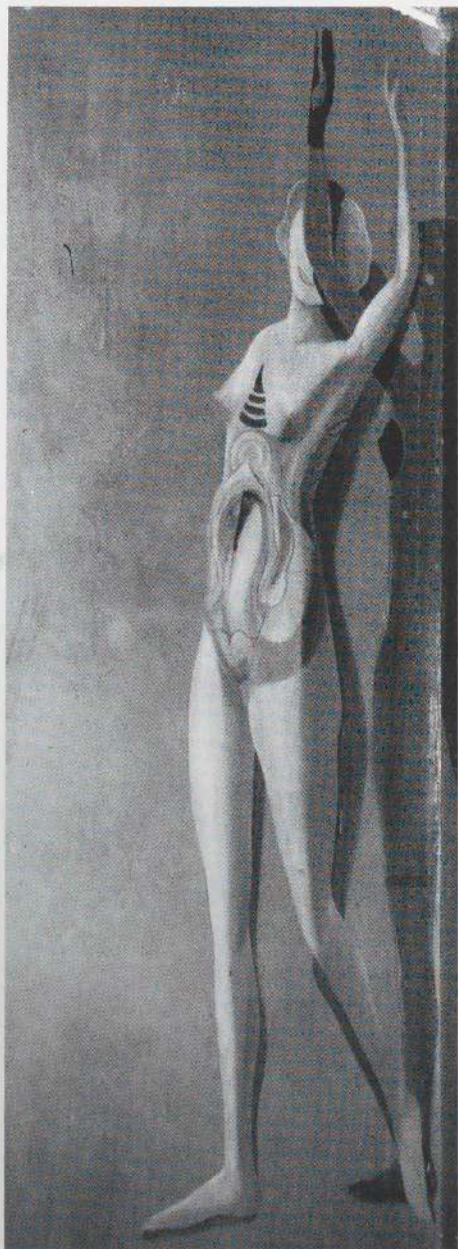
seemingly significant red "vein." These same colors are important in *Birds-Fish-Snake* (Pl. 128), and *Man Will Never Understand It* (Pl. 127); they figure prominently in Ernst's early essay "On the Origins of Color," and, finally, they are basic to the overall decorative theme at Eaubonne – although the likelihood of a purely decorative role seems remote.

One passed from the living room into the dining room through the door titled by Valette *To Come In, To Go Out* (Fig. 148). The image here consists of a partially clothed and blindfolded figure, which has been identified as male, female, and androgynous.¹³⁶ This figure, levitating on the off-white field of the door, is flanked by two sapling



116 Max Ernst: *Marvels, You Dance on the Sources of the Sky*, 1923. Oil on plaster transferred to canvas, 39 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 39 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. Private collection, Switzerland

trees, one green and one blue, which he grasps with "his" right hand, while in "his" left hand he holds a tiny female nude in an open, ecstatic pose somewhat like the nude figures on the ceiling. Several details merit attention, for example, the curious "clothing" which has prompted Legge to comment on the liberating qualities of visionary blindness and hysteria, and the door's cross-braces which disrupt/conceal portions of the figure and the green tree but not the blue tree.¹³⁷ The latter is also distinguished by a multi-shafted trunk and a prong on which the figure seems to rest his foot. An interpretation of this imagery is not necessarily made any easier by Blavier's reference to Michaelangelo's sculpture of the *The Risen Christ*,¹³⁸ but the visual parallel is close, and it is tempting to associate that sculpture with established events in Ernst's life and work, namely his



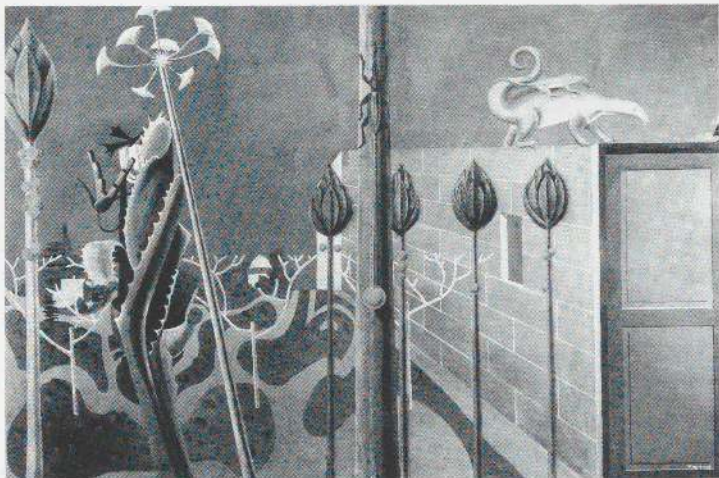
117 Max Ernst: *One Must Not See Reality As I Am*, 1923. Oil on plaster transferred to canvas, 68 15/16 x 31 1/2 in. Musée national d'art moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris

demonstrated penchant for using Michaelangelo, and Philipp Ernst's portrayal of young Max as the Christ Child (Ch. 1, n. 13). Considering that the blue tree of Eluard has replaced the cross of this secularized saviour, there are circumstantial grounds for recommending Ernst as the identity of the figure.

Cécile Eluard remembers this door between the living room and dining room, but its exact location was "lost" when the next owners removed that wall and put the door in the basement. Blavier argues plausibly that the door probably stood near the west wall and was hinged to swing back into the living room so that one was immediately greeted upon entering the dining room by the large standing nude *One Must Not See Reality As I Am* (Fig. 117). Once again we are presented with Gala's slender figure, somewhat more modeled in form, fleshy in color, and rendered with an "open" belly evocative of fertility. She is accompanied by a shadow and an absolutely flat "double," split down the middle into a brown half with a blue eye and a green half with a red eye, a dark breast, and "gloved" hand. Striking as this image is, much was lost in its removal. Though now a flat panel, it was originally in the corner of the dining room, with the corner coinciding precisely along the division of the double into her green and brown halves. Accordingly, that narrow strip of brown was on the north wall between the living room and dining room, and it probably stopped at the door *To Come In, To Go Out*; the remainder of the painting was at right angles to it on the west wall, and the gold field extended 70 centimeters (27 inches) beyond the present edge cut by Guyomard, all the way to the window, which provided the light for the simulated modeling of the nude. Inasmuch as the living room had white walls with a golden ceiling, Blavier speculates that the colors may have been reversed in the dining room, with golden walls and a white ceiling. Thematic links are also present. Legge considers the doubled figure with a "gloved" hand as another reflection of Janet's writings on hysteria, notably his comments on the doubling of the personality into separated personalities and illustrations with "gloves," "socks," etc. (n. 73) that mark areas of anesthesia and dysesthesia.¹³⁹ The double's raised arm which covers (blinds) the Gala figure has been associated with the persistent theme of visionary blindness,¹⁴⁰ and the double's red and blue eyes suggest some link with Max and Paul – perhaps implying that she sees with their eyes or inspires their vision.

Ernst's paintings on the second floor were even more extensive. The double doors opening off the landing into the bathroom and Paul and Gala's bedroom were painted with a giant butterfly, with one wing on each door and the body on the stile between the doors.¹⁴¹ Everything in the bathroom has been lost except for Cécile's memory: "There, there were fish, shells... it was water green, tinged with blue, like an underwater depth in which one was immersed."¹⁴²

The door into Paul and Gala's bedroom opened on to two of the most striking murals in the house, *At the First Limpid Word* and *Natural History* (Pl. 152; Fig. 118), which formed the corner that held their bed. The visual and thematic unity of these two walls – now lamentably separated – can be assessed by two photographs, one published in 1925 and the other made during the removal of the murals in 1967 (Fig. 119). We are dealing with walls and a garden and the life that exists within and without that walled garden. We are also dealing



118 Max Ernst: *Natural History*, 1923. Oil on plaster transferred to canvas, 91 $\frac{3}{8}$ x139 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. Museum of Art, Tehran

with a single painting composed of two parts bound together by thoroughly coordinated repeats and contrasts. In *Natural History* the top of the actual door into the bathroom is continued as the top of a terracotta-colored wall, receding into space and enclosing the open, green space of a garden *inside* the wall. The adjoining painting reverses this visual and psychological experience. We are outside the garden, confronted with the wall which closes the space and excludes us from the garden – although that wall is pierced by two rectangular openings, through one of which projects a woman's hand holding a small red ball between two crossed fingers. Despite these contrasts of open/closed and inside/outside, the wall in *At the First Limpid Word* balances the wall in *Natural History*, picking up the horizontal of the top of the wall and repeating its color and window-like opening. The scales of these two walls, however, are different and ultimately ambiguous. The disembodied hand protruding through that one opening creates an effect similar to the fingers in *Oedipus Rex*. Something – possibly everything – is out of scale, but without additional clues there is no means of assessing what is "normal."

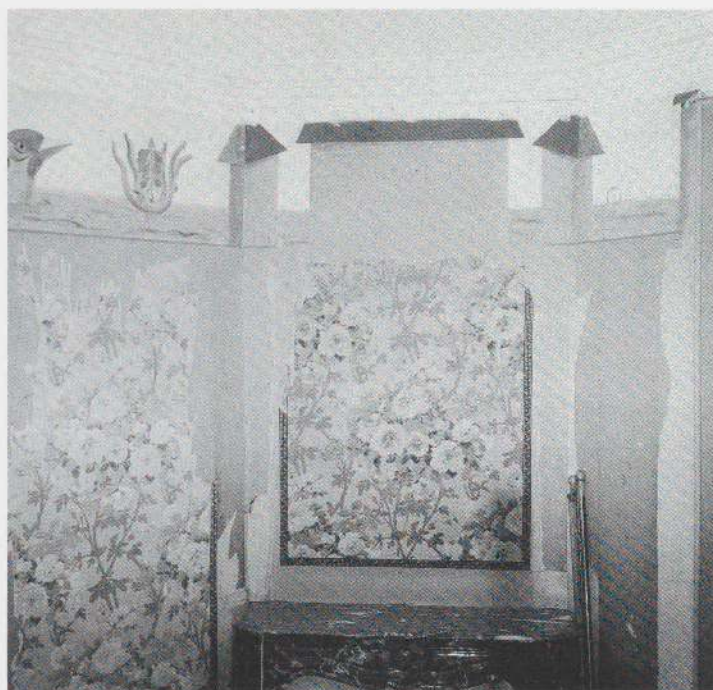
Deliberately unifying and contrasting elements abound as the details of this overall painting are explored. Unifying elements include the strong color chord of blue, green, terracotta, and red, and such motifs in both panels as the insect-like creatures with attached strings and red balls, and the artichoke-like plants with red "berries" on their long, rigid stalks. These plants also resemble the thyrsus carried by frenzied, female followers of Dionysus in rites which are not incompatible with associations attached to artichokes or artichoke-like forms in the work of Ernst (Pl. 61) and de Chirico and in the writings of Freud.¹⁴³ These plants are potent images at Eaubonne, especially the two tall artichoke plants with green heads in the panel of *At the First Limpid Word* (one inside and one outside the wall), and a third one which carries their form and rhythm into the *Natural History* panel. Those green-headed artichokes are contrasted with a variety of vegetation, including four smaller blue-headed artichokes all in a row, a spiky cactus-like plant with an exotic bloom, an umbel leaning against it, three pruned and leafless yellow



119 Paul and Gala Eluard's bedroom with *At the First Limpid Word* and *Natural History*. Condition prior to removal in 1967

plants, and curvilinear forms which may be perceived as irregular beds in the garden or references to ant beds teeming with life.¹⁴⁴

I suspect that Ernst is making some comment on the variety of the life in this garden – pruned, blossoming, prickly, exotic, etc. – but, other than speculation about the phallic character of the artichoke forms, no one except Blavier has tended this garden, and her suggestions are tentative. Most attention has been focused on that curious hand and the insects. The hand was based on yet another Poyet engraving in *La Nature*, but modified as a woman's hand with elongated fingers that suggest the legs and pubic area of a nude woman.¹⁴⁵ Accordingly, the sexualization of this hand is even more manifest than its direct predecessor in *Oedipus Rex* (Pl. 118), which was hanging somewhere in the house at that time. The element of physical pain or torture is completely absent in this hand at Eaubonne, but the mystery of what is concealed is indeed present, along with the themes of enclosure, pressure, and penetration. And, as the nut in *Oedipus Rex* participated in the meaning of that image, so might this red ball contribute to the sexualization of this hand, inasmuch as its source in *La Nature* illustrated the phenomenon of sensing two balls instead of one when held in this way. What we make of these fingers/legs and ball is augmented by their linkage to an elongated insect by means of a string, which is wound around two nails and a knob on its way between the insect and the ball. Notwithstanding his general opposition to interpretation, Spies was the first to suggest that this string forms an M which, when combined with the X of the crossed fingers, constitutes a veritable signature or presence of Max in this painting.¹⁴⁶ In a contemporary article, Desnos contributed a play on words and sounds which offers another possible link to Ernst in the red ball when he commented: "Max Ernst: the red ball moves and rolls" ("La boule rouge bouge et roule").¹⁴⁷ Spies proposed, moreover, that the creature which looks like a cross between a lizard and an insect was a motif borrowed from Freud's analysis of Jensen's *Gradiva*, notably the task of Norbert Hanold to capture a lizard in order to curry favor with Gradiva's father. Freud observes that "catching the lizard is given the same significance as catching a man."¹⁴⁸ Legge sustains Spies's ideas regarding the



120 Eluard House, Eaubonne, Cécile's bedroom

monogram MX, but she also introduces discussion about the threat to the "lizard's" tail as a castration symbol, wittily reinforced by the parlor game experiment where the fingers sense two balls instead of one.¹⁴⁹ Stokes likewise views the presence of Max in the monogram of the string, but she considers the crossed fingers as a denial of sex, and the ball on the string as a sadistic element derived from an illustration in *La Nature* of a dragonfly weighted with a ball on a string to measure its strength.¹⁵⁰

As usual in the exploration of Ernst's work, we conclude with multiple and sometimes conflicting views, unsolved mysteries, details not yet considered, and questions still to be raised. I wish to observe, however, that there are several plausible references to Ernst in *At the First Limpid Word* which in one way or another have captured the endorsement of Ernst scholars. I, too, am of the opinion that this is Max's place. If the green-headed artichoke forms may also be taken as references to him, he is in this painting – as he was literally at Eaubonne – both inside and outside the wall, but legally and psychologically he was essentially outside the wall. The other section of the painting, *Natural History*, is the realm of Gala and Paul – the garden inside the wall. That wall is breached by a window, and the prickly, complicated garden is invaded by references to Max, but the garden alone has the womb-like beds or cavities, the lesser blue-headed artichoke forms, and a maternal reference in the animal carrying its young on her back. This last form may be the maternal counterpart of the sexualized hand in the other panel, although this mother is on the wall and headed toward forbidden(?) fruit.

One final comment regarding the overall composition of the room finds its place here. The door opening into Paul and Gala's bedroom from the landing was larger than the door leading from their bedroom into the bathroom. Apparently Ernst did not like that juxtaposition, and, accordingly, he painted a false door on the other side



121 Eluard House, Eaubonne, Cécile's bedroom



122 Eluard House, Eaubonne, Cécile's bedroom

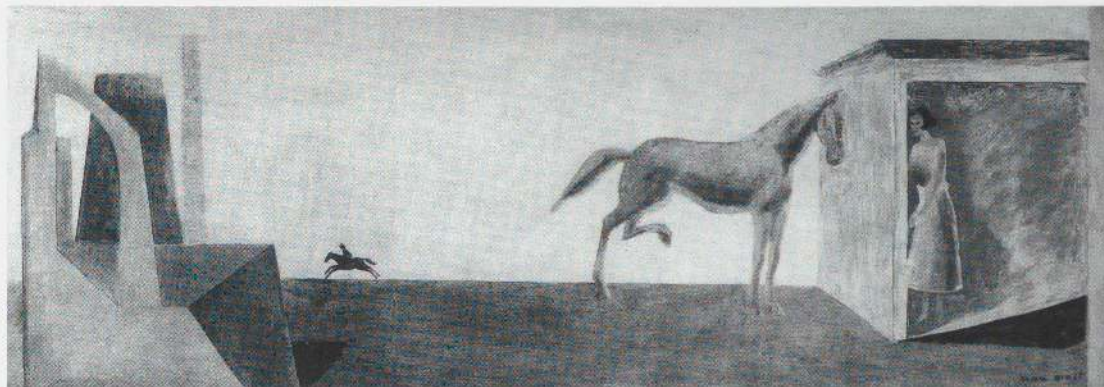
of the larger door, which matched the size of the door into the bathroom, creating a symmetrical composition. In the course of removing *Natural History*, the restorer, Guyomard, was concerned about the great gap in the painting caused by the loss of the original paint on the door to the bathroom, but he solved the problem by removing the false door from the south wall and inserting it into the composition in place of the real door.¹⁵¹

The other principal room on this floor was Cécile's bedroom, which Ernst painted green and ringed with a frieze about seventeen inches high around the top of the wall (Figs. 120–23). The only installation photographs known are those taken during the removal of the murals. They give little impression of the original effect of that frieze, but did enable Blavier to reconstruct the layout. From the door open-

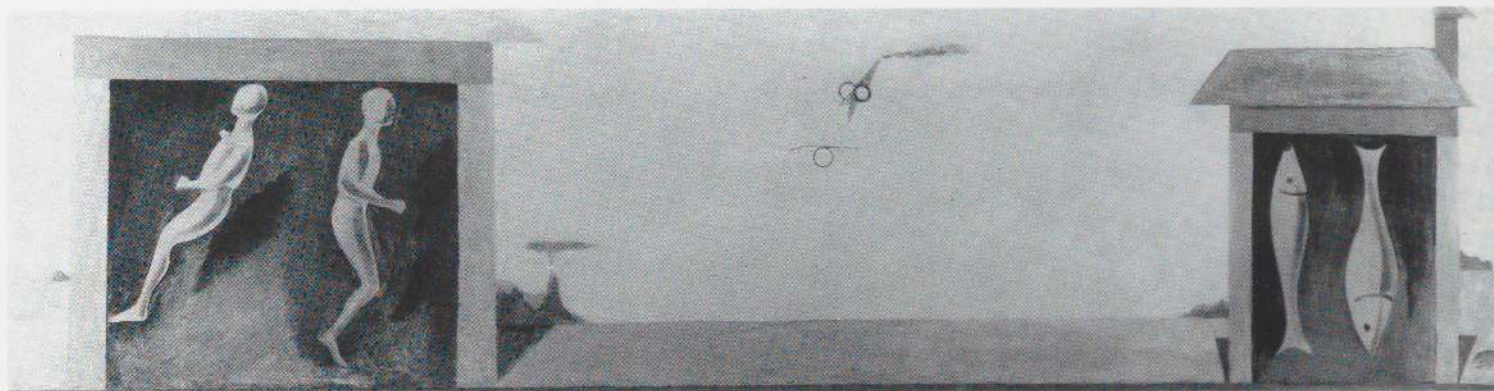


123 Eluard House, Eaubonne, Cécile's bedroom

124 Max Ernst: *Labyrinths Are Not Made for Dogs*, 1923. Oil on plaster transferred to canvas, 16¹⁵/₁₆ x 48 in. Private collection, Germany



125 Max Ernst: *One Might As Well Dream As Open the Door of the Sea*, 1923. Oil on plaster transferred to canvas, 16¹⁵/₁₆ x 64⁹/₁₆ in. Galerie André-François Petit, Paris



ing into the bedroom from the landing, one would have first seen the spare, architectural panel over the fireplace in the corner.¹⁵² From there the frieze moved in a clockwise direction all around the room. For both practical necessity and commercial considerations, Guyomard removed it in ten sections corresponding with the titles ascribed to them by Valette: the untitled panel, *There Are No More Real Hydrocycles*, *Canticle*, *Nothing Is Incomprehensible*, *Labyrinths Are Not Made for Dogs*, *Friendly Advice*, *One Might As Well Dream As Open the Door of the Sea*, *Official Awakening of the Canary*, *End of Circumstance*, and *The Birds Cannot Disappear* (Pls. 150, 151; Figs. 124, 125).

Given the number and complexity of these panels, only a few observations will be made here. There is a whimsical, fairytale quality to some scenes, which seems especially suited to the room of a child, but several scenes surely incorporate references to the adults as well. The latter include *Labyrinths Are Not Made for Dogs* (Fig. 124), which depicts a riderless horse stamping outside a chamber containing a Gala-like figure, while a horse and rider gallop away in the distance.¹⁵³ *One Might As Well Dream As Open the Door of the Sea* (Fig. 125) may present a triple reference to Paul and Max. Two small,

dark chambers flank an open landscape, in which a flying object is opposed to an erupting volcano. Back-to-back twin figures (the Gemini?) hover within one of the rooms, while paired fish symbols (one erect and one descending) occupy the other. In the third panel, *The Birds Cannot Disappear* (Pl. 151), a distinctly Ernstian bird swims toward an exotic flower opening before it.

Nothing remains of the top floor except Cécile's memory that it contained Ernst's studio and a "guest room... which one called 'the red room' because it was entirely painted in vivid red, a provocative, rather insupportable red."¹⁵⁴ She also recalled a painting of a large-breasted woman in one corner; and the subsequent owners have commented on a large eye painted on the ceiling of the bathroom, which could be seen at a certain angle from the front yard.¹⁵⁵ Nothing remains of any of this on the top floor, but thanks to the decision of Cécile and her husband to recover the Eaubonne murals – and to the work of Blavier – we have a substantial record of a major body of work from 1923 which might otherwise have been lost, a body of work all the more important because it was a unified project and the first of several homes throughout Ernst's life which he transformed by the imprint of his work.

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.

Rêves : Giorgio de Chirico, André Breton,
Renée Gauthier.

Textes surréalistes :

Marcel Noll, Robert Desnos, Benjamin Péret,
Georges Molquine, 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,
les 12 Numéros :
France : 45 francs
Etranger : 55 francs

Dépositaire général : Librairie GALLIMARD
15, Boulevard Raspail, 15
PARIS (VII)

LE NUMÉRO :
France : 4 francs
Étranger : 5 francs

Ruptures and Renewals in 1924

During the six months it took Ernst to paint the Eaubonne murals, Paul and Gala had not been able to complete their own installation. Furniture, books, art works, and assorted objects all awaited their place, but, finally, on November 10, a rendezvous was scheduled for the "friends." In a letter to Simone on the following day, Breton described in detail the tour and dinner attended by himself, Aragon, Desnos, Noll, and Limbour. "The decoration of Max Ernst," he wrote, "surpasses in horror all that one can imagine.... There is there... something irreparable." The taste of the Eluards fared no better in his opinion: "The paintings and other precious things are aligned like a set of kitchen utensils from cellar to attic, second-hand material of a common hotel. Not the least temperament, nothing which reveals any choice whatsoever.... A Picasso, a Chirico, a shelf of rare books which does not manage to defend itself." Limbour disappeared after dinner without a word, infuriating Eluard. Gala stayed in a corner; Ernst promenaded all around with "a connoisseur's smile, I assure you that he had nothing to congratulate himself about."¹

The hostility of Breton and other members of the group toward Ernst's murals and the Eluards' taste is difficult to comprehend. Inasmuch as the Eluard collection contained significant works by Gauguin, Picasso, Braque, Chirico, Gris, Picabia, and Redon as well as many of Ernst's best paintings, one may conclude that Breton's judgment was not based simply on aesthetic merit.² In his letter to Simone, Breton also remarked on the "inhospitable climate" at Eaubonne, suggesting perhaps problems posed by the relentless tension of that *ménage à trois*. It is likewise plausible that Ernst's work was perceived as inferior to Chirico's painting. Among the *Littérature* group, there was revived interest in Chirico's work at the time, while Ernst's paintings and drawings were attracting some negative criticism.³ Finally, it has been observed that Breton and associates exhibited a renewed interest in automatist writings throughout 1924, accompanied by reduced attention to the visual arts in general and to Ernst's complex imagery in particular, in favor of work which was not the product of studied efforts but dictation from the subconscious passing through the artist onto the page or canvas without interference. Examples of this can be identified in art, literature, and events over the winter of 1923–24.

Breton's *Clair de terre* (published November 15, 1923), for example, featured automatist poems of 1920–23 which extended the style of *Les Champs magnétiques*, and in March 1924 the séances

began anew, when Desnos revealed an ability to transmit marvelous stories without going into a trance.⁴ At the same time, André Masson was emerging as an artist of consequence. Breton purchased *The Four Elements* (Fig. 127) from his first solo exhibition at Kahnweiler's Galerie Simon in February, and it seems that Masson had already developed the quasi-automatist drawings (Fig. 128) which were prominently featured later in the first issues of *La Révolution Surréaliste*.⁵

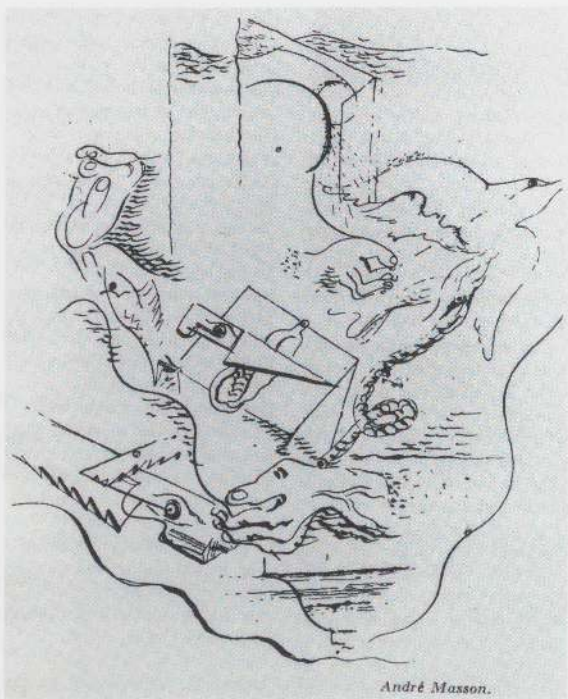
While recognizing the manifestations of an interest in automatism, it is proper to bear in mind that automatism was not a single, overriding trend among the group. The automatist texts in *Clair de terre* were preceded by five dream accounts, and Breton was reassessing his severe account of Freud in 1922. Freud was to be respectfully acknowledged in the Manifesto of Surrealism at the end of the year, and, in the visual arts, Breton continued to value the dream-like imagery of Ernst and Chirico. In February 1924 he arranged for Doucet to see Ernst's recent paintings, and when Paul and Gala visited Chirico in Italy over December 1923–January 1924, they were charged to secure several paintings for Breton.⁶ Finally, the paintings of Masson himself hardly constituted exercises in automatism at that time. In such paintings as *The Cemetery*,⁷ he continued the subject of the forest, derived from Derain's painting but charged with writhing, anthropomorphized forms congenial with the course of Surrealist art.

Other paintings reflect his exploration of analytic Cubism, and in subject matter, Ernst's paintings appear to have been one source for Masson's disquieting images of sleepers, disembodied hands, birds, fish, and assorted symbols – all deliberately arranged in accordance with the theme of the title.⁸ To be sure, Masson's mature style was emerging with its array of such distinctive symbols as ropes, knives, nudes, and pomegranates. Moreover, it is likely that his quasi-automatist drawings were known to some members of the *Littérature* group, notably Limbour and Desnos, who frequented Masson's studio at 45 rue Blomet. Masson and his next-door neighbor, Joan Miró, had followed the course of Dada and the *Littérature* group for several years, and they were to become major participants in Surrealism. But Breton did not go out of his way to meet Masson until September 1924, at which time Breton's concept of Surrealism was already set – and wholly focused on the revelatory aims and techniques of literature, not the visual arts.





127 André Masson: *The Four Elements*, 1923–24.
Oil on canvas, 28¾ x 23⅝ in. Private collection



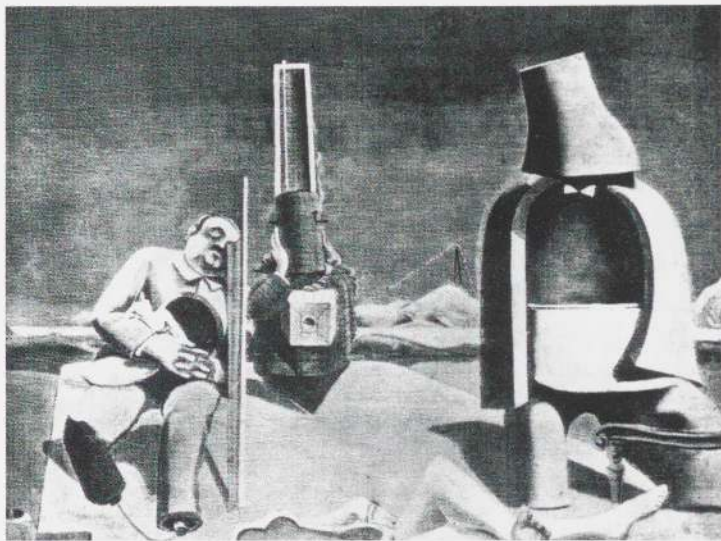
128 André Masson: *Automatist drawing*. Reproduced in
La Révolution Surréaliste. December, 1924, p. 14

I think it is safe to assume that Ernst had seen Masson's work at the Galerie Simon, and he might have known something of Miró's work as well, but to date no documents have been found that reflect any contact between them until the end of the year. Neither the emergence of Masson nor the renewed interest in Chirico's work had any discernible effect on Ernst. Through the summer of 1924, he essentially continued the course of his collage paintings. *Forest*

(Pl. 164) evokes the image of *The Little Tear Gland That Says Tic Tac* (Pl. 81), but it constitutes a unique example of forests among Ernst's collage paintings. It is a curious landscape in the form of a free-standing structure – quasi-architectural, quasi-mechanical – which springs from a stone wall that has toppled over on a vast plain, barren save for embankments left and right and animated leaves of grass "licking" it at the base of the fallen wall. There is something about this denatured "forest" that is simultaneously preposterous and potentially threatening, particularly in the spiky, shredded tops of the "trunks" juxtaposed with gear-shift forms that suggest the possibility of activating this otherwise static, iconic form.

Ubu Imperator (Pl. 160) is also a static (though precariously balanced) and iconic image which projects both a comic and domineering presence. This anthropomorphic form shaped like a top recalls Ernst's early dream of his gross, moustachioed father, whipping a vase which turned into a spinning top. The title *Ubu Imperator* indicates another gross male figure, namely Alfred Jarry's "Père Ubu," and Ernst told Waldberg that he decided to paint this image after reading Jarry.⁹ Additional visual sources attributed to this painting – wine barrels and forms encasing the bronze equestrian statue of Louis XV – enrich the connotations of this image as a mockery of an authority figure, pontifical and armored but marked by a vacuous eye, a comical fake moustache, a Louis XIV fall of garish green hair, and ignorance of his preposterous, precarious condition.¹⁰

The Ubu/top figure appeared in another approximately contemporary painting, the first version of *Woman, Old Man, and Flower* (Fig. 129). It is accompanied there by other figures. To the right is another masculine figure in a hollow shell form, devoid of arms and feet but possessing a head that resembles (or is covered by) a ceramic-like vessel. To the left is the Old Man in a sitting position (without a chair) and leaning with eyes closed as in sleep against a double- or triple-shafted stake planted in the barren landscape. His moustache and stout figure recall photographs of Philipp Ernst and the father image in *Pietà or Revolution by Night*. He, too, lacks feet and has a hollow chest cavity, but he has arms with which he cradles a miniature female nude that resembles Velázquez's *Toilet of Venus* (National Gallery, London). Along the bottom of the canvas is partially visible the cropped image of a female nude in a supine position. She also seems to have a hollow torso, and her feet rest on the seat of an armchair. Sometime during 1924 Ernst repainted this canvas (Pl. 161), retaining only the figure of the Old Man in a modified form. Although he still cradles the tiny female nude and leans with eyes closed against the stake, he is now upright and striding, and reference to an animal nature is suggested by heavy facial hair. He also wears a cape whose texture recalls the surface of the Ubu/top figure, implying perhaps the fusion of those two forms into one image. Otherwise, the Ubu figure, the hollow form, and the female nude at the base of the first version are removed, painted over with a new landscape, staked out with additional markers, and dominated by the strange, composite figure of the "flower." The latter is composite not only in its forms but in suggestions of gender, which permit readings as female, male, or androgynous. He/she faces the basic Ernstian landscape of near shore, sea, and distant shore, so that we see the figure from the rear. The flower's nude lower torso, hips, and legs are



129 Max Ernst: *Woman, Old Man, and Flower (First State)*, 1923

presented in a conventional manner, that is, in normal human proportions and modeled in light and dark. These conditions are reversed in the arms and upper torso. They have no material substance whatsoever, existing instead as transparent outlined forms through which we see the sky, sea, and distant shore. The upper torso is clad, however, in a perforated armored jacket, which is illuminated by a light source from the right. The neck is composed of the same material substance as the lower torso, but the head either consists of or is adorned by a large fan-like structure, half of which is illuminated from the left and half from the right. Earring-like forms suggest a female identity consistent with the feminine appearance of the arms (especially the left arm), but the nature of the flower is further complicated by two small bosses – one blue and one yellow – placed about where the eyes are expected. These bosses are repeated (enlarged and reversed) on the bottom of the breastplate, where they attract attention to the green ribbon around the hips of the flower.

Ernst's intentions are unknown for these two versions of *Woman, Old Man, and Flower*, but most students have begun with his youthful dream-story of his father whipping a vase filled with images until it turned into a spinning top. Russell, in fact, was of the opinion that it was the obviousness of those autobiographical references which prompted Ernst to repaint the earlier version.¹¹ Beyond this common ground, approaches to *Woman, Old Man, and Flower* exhibit the diversity that accompanies so many of his paintings. Spies offers no interpretation but an evocative reference to a passage in Novalis.¹² Gibson stresses in both versions the division of the composition into two sections, the realm of the sleeping father to the left of the stake and the realm of his dream hallucination to the right. In her opinion, the transparent figure represents the ephemerality of such night visions, but the dream has been depersonalized and is not to be deciphered.¹³

Garnerus and Legge are not inclined to let it go at that. Unlike Gibson, who cedes the entire composition to Philipp Ernst and his dreams, both Garnerus and Legge identify the flower with Ernst, but

from that point onward their hypotheses diverge. Garnerus proposes that this painting is an allegory on old and new art. The father dreams of the masterful art of the past, personified by the Velázquez nude cradled in his arms, while the flower represents the spirit of Surrealism, triumphant over art of the past.¹⁴

Legge pursues a psychoanalytic course, seizing the animal qualities of the father as another reflection of both Freud's "Wolf Man" case and the totem animal who emerges in the psyche as a substitute for the father murdered by the sons. From her viewpoint, the miniature nude is an erotic component guarded by the father from the incestuous aspirations of the son. The flower is Ernst, but Ernst as an androgynous figure in which all opposites are unified. No resolution exists, however, between father and son. They remain sharply differentiated, each in his own space in unresolved conflict bearing Oedipal and generational dimensions.¹⁵ In these regards, the perceptions of Garnerus and Legge are not so far apart – and similar to my own views. In this instance, the "blindness" of the father does not seem to bear the connotations of praiseworthy inner visions previously attributed to Ernst's images. The father has his vision, but it is a vision of the past and he is a closed form, striding back in time/space while the flower is literally open, extravagant in form, united in spirit and matter, maleness and femaleness, and oriented toward the peaks on that far shore.

Equally puzzling and fascinating was the unique painting-assemblage *Two Children Are Threatened by a Nightingale* (Pl. 162), which Ernst finished in the summer of 1924 before leaving Paris for a trip to southeast Asia. Russell has proclaimed it as "perhaps the most perfect example of early surrealist inspiration... [which] exemplifies the climate of dreams, on the one hand, and the reinvention of pictorial language on the other."¹⁶ The viewer is simultaneously aware of a plunging perspective which pulls him/her back into a painted illusion of deep space and material elements attached to the surface of the panel and frame which project physically into our space. Ernst played further with the ambiguity between "our" space and the illusionistic space of the picture by extending the sky onto a strip of the inner frame that, along the bottom, reverts to a strip of the frame bearing the title of the painting and his signature. Within the grassy enclosure at the lower left are the two children threatened by the tiny nightingale visible just above the open gate. Both children appear to be physically mature girls garbed in generically classical gowns. One has collapsed on the ground; the other is running with hair flying, brandishing a huge knife, and looking up at the nightingale. Two other figures not mentioned in the title – a male figure with a small girl in one arm – are perilously balanced on the peak of the little wooden building. He seems to be fleeing the scene and reaching for the knob on the frame. At the furthest reaches of the space stands a triumphal arch surmounted by a figure or statue, and, beyond that, a shadowy architectural form of a domed building with a tower. There are vague but perceptible echoes between those architectural forms, the girl with the knife and the lever on the wall of the little wooden house.

Notwithstanding his laconic lapses, Ernst has made a couple of comments which are helpful for exploring the puzzling elements of this work. In 1961 he wrote that it was:

the last in the series which started with "Elephant of Celebes" ... the last consequence of his early collages — a kind of farewell to a technique and to occidental culture. (This painting... was very rare in M.E.'s work: He never imposes a title on a painting. He waits until a title imposes itself. Here, however, the title existed *before* the picture was painted. A few days before, he had written a prose poem which began: à la tombée de la nuit, à la lisière de la ville, deux enfants sont menacés par un rossignol... ' He did not attempt to illustrate this poem, but that was the way it happened.)¹⁷

In an earlier autobiographical text, Ernst wrote of a menacing nightingale in the context of two events in 1897: the death of his sister Maria, and a hallucination of "fever-vision provoked by an imitation-mahogany panel opposite his bed," where the wood grain took on "successively the aspect of an eye, a nose, a bird's head, 'a menacing nightingale', a spinning top and so on.... Possibly 'Two Children Are Threatened by a Nightingale' (1923) has some connection with the fever-vision of 1897."¹⁸

This comment by Ernst associates the work with a fear both of death and of sex, based on an interpretation of that fever-vision as a reference to intercourse and his father. In Legge's opinion, that dual theme of fear of death and fear of sex was further confirmed when Stokes identified the source of the man fleeing with a child as an illustration of a fireman saving a young girl.¹⁹ That source in *La Nature* suggested parallels in Freud's "Dora" case. The elements of Dora's dream included a wooden house, a fire, rescue by her father, and fear for her virginity motivated by erotic advances made by a friend of her father who, however, was replaced by her father in her dream.²⁰



130 Max Ernst: *Portrait of Paul Eluard*, ca. 1923–24. Oil on wood, 8¾x5½ in. Collection Louis Aragon, Paris. Frontispiece for Paul Eluard's *Mourir de ne pas mourir*, Paris, 1924



131 Max Ernst: *Gala*, 1924. Pen and ink on paper, 5 15/16x5 in. Whereabouts unknown. Illustration for Paul Eluard's *Au Défait du Silence*, Paris, 1924, p. 14

These observations — set in a still larger thesis — make for an ingenious and plausible argument. They enrich our visual and intellectual exploration of this picture with the additional virtue of not explaining or displacing the work. As we have seen repeatedly in Ernst's work, the intensity and mystery of the picture holds, never yielding completely to our hypotheses.

Ernst's comments about *Two Children Are Threatened by a Nightingale* as the last in a series of paintings and a farewell to occidental culture refer to a major fracture in his life and career over the summer of 1924. That fracture occurred not as a crisis in his painting but through a collapse of the *ménage à trois*. Gala had come to prefer Max, and Paul, unable or unwilling to continue with the pain and absurdity of his life, disappeared suddenly on March 24, 1924, one day before the publication of his next volume of poetry evocatively titled *Mourir de ne pas mourir* (*Dying of Not Dying*) and bearing his portrait by Ernst (Fig. 130).²¹ Eluard's decision, though probably long-contemplated, was executed abruptly, with no word to anyone save for a note to his father that "I have had enough. I'm going on a trip." He warned his father not to send police to search for him, but asked him to look after Gala and Cécile and tell everyone that he had suffered a hemorrhage and was recuperating in a nursing home.²²

In his flight, Eluard went from Marseilles through Panama to Tahiti and then on to various sites in southeast Asia, including Saigon, Singapore, and Ceylon.²³ It was during those troubled months that Ernst produced the last of his collage paintings and probably the drawings with compulsively repeated multiple images of Gala's face (Fig. 131).²⁴ When Paul eventually contacted Gala, she prepared to join him in Saigon, financing the journey by selling a number of art works from their collection at public auction on July 3.²⁵

Gala reached Saigon on August 12, followed shortly by Ernst who went, he said, to persuade Eluard to abandon his resolve to disappear forever.²⁶ Ernst likewise financed his trip by selling paintings — his own paintings of 1922–24 — to Mutter Ey in Düsseldorf. His turn

to Mutter Ey may reflect the absence of any market for his paintings in Paris, inasmuch as taking the work to Düsseldorf involved considerable effort and she was able to offer only very low prices.²⁷ The exact date of Ernst's arrival in Saigon is not recorded, but he stayed on briefly while Paul and Gala returned to France. They disembarked at Marseilles on September 27 and reached Paris on October 3, where Paul resumed his activity amidst the group as though nothing had happened. Ernst's arrival date in Paris is not known, but he was participating in the activities of the group around Breton by the third week in October.

Those activities in mid-October 1924 were the first official functions of Surrealism, beginning with the opening of the Bureau de recherche surréaliste on October 11 and publication of the first Manifesto of Surrealism on October 15. The materialization of Breton's long-sought goal had emerged over the late spring and summer of 1924, coinciding almost exactly with the absence of Eluard and overlapping with Ernst's voyage to Indochina. Although Ernst observed the early stages of that process during May–July, neither he nor Eluard participated in the final crystallization of Surrealism.

As talk of a new movement afoot spread beyond the inner circle, the first to take offense was Picabia who, as was his custom, struck



132 Francis Picabia: Untitled (Breton and female initiate at the cup of Rimbaud), 1924. Reproduced in *391*, May, 1924, p. 2

with caustic humor in a public forum. On May 3 he issued a press release announcing a new series of *391* and inviting Breton, Aragon, Morise, et al. to join him in this publication which will be "devoted to Surrealism."²⁸ Breton was furious and responded instantly with a letter, which Picabia published in *391*, along with parodies of automatist texts and drawings that mocked both the people and the activities of

Breton's group (Fig. 132).²⁹ Desnos sought repeatedly to repair the rupture between Breton and Picabia, but in vain. Picabia continued his ridicule, and Breton wasted no time on a hopeless cause. During June and July Breton concentrated instead – in collaboration with Aragon, Desnos, Soupault, and others – on plans for a new magazine to replace *Littérature* and a text which was to become the "Manifesto of Surrealism."³⁰

As news of these plans spread, new controversies erupted at the end of August over Breton's claim to the word "surrealism." Ever since Apollinaire had coined the word in 1917 in reference to the ballet *La Parade* and to his play *Les Mamelles de Tirésias* (*The Breasts of Tiresias*), "surrealism" had been used on occasions by various writers, each convinced that he was the rightful heir of whatever Apollinaire had meant. Two pretenders to that throne, the poets Paul Dermée and Ivan Goll, attacked Breton for usurping the word and moved to stake their own claims to it. All three parties sought Picabia's collaboration. He responded lukewarmly to Dermée, but rejected Desnos's efforts to realign him with Breton and concentrated instead on a final issue of *391* and collaboration with the Swedish Ballet on the ballet *Relâche* and a film (*Entr'acte*) – projects which underscored his intrinsic Dada spirit as an irreverent individual, wholly unsuited for the communal venture of the Surrealists.³¹ Picabia was unable to perceive in Surrealism anything more than another of Breton's intellectual experiments and a misappropriation of Dada by a band of pedants. "Artificial eggs," he said, "don't make chickens."³²

Breton took everything in his stride. He and his colleagues had found that new movement succeeding Dada. His manner was confident and his statements – in contrast to the dull, carping comments of Goll and Dermée – were manifestoes of substance: rich, complex, and nourished by years of probing trial and error by a cluster of brilliant individuals.

Max Ernst must have re-entered Paris just in time to observe the opening of the Bureau de recherche surréaliste on October 11 and the publication of the Manifesto of Surrealism on the 15th. He did not return to Eaubonne – the *ménage à trois* was over – but settled apart, eventually taking a studio on rue Tourlaque, near Masson and Miró. On October 22 he is recorded in the notebook kept at the Bureau de recherche surréaliste as having brought in "a drawing made according to the surrealist method on a narrow and very, very long scroll which unrolls,"³³ probably the drawings identified as *Lesson in Automatic Writing* (Pls. 167, 168).

The Bureau of Surrealist Research, located at 15 rue de Grenelle, was initially conceived as a gathering place for the group and for all possible objects or communications "susceptible to taking the unconscious activity of the spirit."³⁴ A daily notebook maintained there records a considerable collection within the first weeks of its existence: assorted writings by the Surrealists and their new magazine, *La Révolution Surréaliste*; copies of Freud's *Introduction to Psychoanalysis*; the popular novel *Fantômas*; Lautréamont's *Les Chants de Maldoror*; photographs by Man Ray; and paintings by Chirico, Desnos, and Morise, etc. The day prior to the delivery of Ernst's drawing, a headless plaster statue of Breton and Eluard was entered in the notebook, along with Gala's gift of the idea of

"shadow." Masson was first recorded in the notebook on November 10, when he brought in two drawings for *La Révolution Surréaliste*.³⁵

When Breton finally met Masson toward the end of September, there was an immediate affinity between them, but Breton and Eluard made no effort to meet Masson's neighbor Joan Miró until February 1925.³⁶ In the meantime, however, Chirico arrived in Paris on November 2 and stayed on for his exhibition at Léonce Rosenberg's gallery in January. That visit afforded extensive contact with the Surrealists (Fig. 133), and on the evening of November 11, Breton gathered together the forerunner plenipotentiary of Surrealism, Giorgio de Chirico, and the two young artists, Ernst and Masson, whose work represented the basic models for early Surrealist painting. Other than Breton's account concentrated on Chirico, no memoirs have emerged regarding the dynamics of that evening and the subsequent weeks in Paris.³⁷ For the immediate future, however, other documents indicate that Ernst's collage paintings were viewed as less promising for Surrealism than Masson's automatist model, while Chirico's recent paintings were first viewed with puzzlement and then rejected by most of the Surrealists.³⁸



133 Max Ernst, Giorgio de Chirico, Gala Eluard, and Benjamin Péret at the Montmartre Fair, Paris, 1924

Given Breton's profound respect for a number of the significant artists of his time, the absence of comment on art and artists in his Manifesto of Surrealism comes as a surprise. Just one artist, Georges Malkine, signed the Manifesto, and only three others were mentioned in passing in the text: Duchamp, Picabia, and Picasso. Thirteen artists are listed in a note appended almost as an afterthought to the text: Seurat, Gustave Moreau, Matisse, Derain, Picasso, Braque, Duchamp, Picabia, Chirico, Klee, Man Ray, Max Ernst, and, "so close to us, André Masson."³⁹

For the most part, this neglect of the visual arts has been ascribed to Breton's preoccupation with automatist writing while the concepts of Surrealism were being formulated – exclusively by writers – over the summer of 1924. During those months there was little beyond some drawings by Masson which loomed in the visual arts as

a counterpart to automatist writing, and there is no question of the primacy placed on automatism in the Manifesto. Surrealism is defined there as:

noun, masculine. Pure psychic automatism, by which one proposes to express verbally, in writing, in any other manner, the real functioning of thought. Dictation of thought, in the absence of any control exercised by reason, beyond all aesthetic or moral preoccupation.

Breton went on to enlarge the concept of Surrealism in a manner that makes room for Ernst's images:

ENCYCL: "Philos." Surrealism is based on the belief in the superior reality of certain forms of association heretofore neglected, in the omnipotence of dreams, in the undirected play of thought.⁴⁰

But every mention of literary imagery in the Manifesto dwells on the superiority of that which is spontaneous, fortuitous, dictated from the unconscious and recorded without alteration. There are Surrealist images, he acknowledged, like "images from opium," which are not evoked but "offer themselves...spontaneously, despotically."⁴¹ Breton also restated the ability for the rapprochement of distant realities to strike a spark – the very feature of Ernst's imagery in 1921 which moved him so deeply. But here, too, Breton stressed that it was not in man's power to arrange that rapprochement of distant realities; it had to occur fortuitously.

These comments may illuminate the reservations surrounding Ernst's collage paintings and the murals at Eaubonne – all of which were far too premeditated for the Surrealists' burgeoning esteem for automatism. The problems confronting Ernst and all artists associated with Surrealism were enunciated even more clearly by Morise in his article *Les yeux enchantés* (*Enchanted Eyes*) in the first issue of *La Révolution Surréaliste* (December 1, 1924; Fig. 126).⁴² Although this magazine (modeled on the format of *La Nature*) was richly illustrated with diverse art objects, Morise struggled to identify any visual art comparable to Surrealist writing and, accordingly, qualified to be called Surrealist. Since thought is fleeting and continuous, Morise proposed that an ability to deal with a succession of images was a fundamental condition for Surrealist art, but that condition was congenial only to film. I think Ernst's scroll paintings (Pls. 167, 168) may have been an experiment in this method – a method he found incompatible and did not repeat. Morise next considered the transcription of dream imagery and found it wanting, since the physical task of painting removed the product too far from the dream experience. More compatible, in his opinion, was a quick, unpremeditated style, where the touch of the pencil was the equivalent of a word. Such conditions were approached, he thought, in both Cubist collages and in the early (analytic style) paintings of Cubism. But where, he asked, outside the art of the insane and some mediums, can one find contemporary art sensitive to the flux of thought and devoid of premeditation? He had none to offer, although he did cite Man Ray's rayograms in regard to the fortuitous rapprochement of distant realities, and, by reproducing one of Masson's drawings in his article, Morise implied the Surrealists' esteem for that approach.

At the end of 1924 it was clear to Ernst that he was confronted by a watershed in his work as well as in his life. The timing was actually propitious, for his collages and collage paintings had been fully developed, and virtually all of them had been sold or given away. He was alone in a new studio, unencumbered by the weight of his work or the trauma of Eaubonne, but challenged as an artist among Surrealists to make his statement.

The course of Ernst's work is not well documented during the winter-spring of 1924/25. According to the research of Spies, this was the time in which Ernst produced numerous painterly canvases of birds (Pl. 174). I wonder if it is not appropriate also to think of these months as a period of searching and experimentation which included some unusual paintings that – like the scroll drawings – were not repeated. Examples of these include the two "poem paintings" (Pls. 170, 171). These do not reside comfortably at any specific chronological moment in Ernst's career, but, in their painterly touch and their incorporation of writing and the element of time, they do seem responsive to the dialogue about Surrealist art in progress over late 1924–25.⁴³ Likewise, two other unusual paintings – *M* (Pl. 172), which is dated "1924," and *The Couple* (Pl. 173) – appear to be products of Ernst's work over the winter of 1924/25.

By August 1925 Ernst had re-established his centrality for Surrealist art with the development of his frottages. These frottages had the double virtue of being derived from early essays in his work and appearing to participate in the dominant automatist current in Surrealism – notwithstanding the fact that extraordinary control and beauty attended their production. From that time onward, the significance of Ernst's work for Surrealist art was manifest to all, not only in terms of his major contributions to automatist techniques but

eventually for his collages, overpaintings, and collage paintings of 1920–24. Those works of 1920–24 offered models for many of the most essential features of Surrealist art: the animation of inanimate forms, the metamorphosis of forms, the creation of illusionistic but irrational scenes evocative of dreams and hallucinations, and the startling juxtaposition of distant realities. All of those features were united on two counts: first, their ability to project the "marvelous," and second, Ernst's search for personal enlightenment and profound imagery in sources beyond the conventions and logic of bourgeois life – Freudian psychology, mythology, alchemy, art of the insane, and a great variety of popular/instructive imagery never conceived for the use put to it by Ernst. Those works nourished the early essays of Tanguy, Masson, Magritte, Dali, and others; they continued to fertilize Ernst's own work, and, in my view, they represent the shift from Dada to the first sustained, intrinsically Surrealist art. I am not recommending that all of Ernst's works from 1920 to 1924 be considered Surrealist, but the Surrealist spirit of his work is evident as early as those animated machine beings in *1 Copper Plate 1 Zinc Plate 1 Rubber Cloth 2 Calipers 1 Drainpipe Telescope 1 Pipe Man* (Fig. 55). And in such works as *Here Everything Is Still Floating* (Pl. 97), the *Fatagagas*, the untitled overpainting of biomorphic creatures (Pl. 88), and *Young Man Burdened with a Flowering Faggot* (Pl. 60) – all of 1920 – we have the beginnings of Surrealist art. Much of Ernst's work of 1920–24 occupies a position similar to the *Champs magnétiques* of Breton and Soupault. Like that seminal text, Ernst's work existed before the adjective "surrealist" was applied to it and did not adhere fully to standards later proclaimed, but it constituted nevertheless a first and potent model for Surrealist art.



134 *The Virgin Spanking the Christ Child before Three Witnesses: André Breton, Paul Eluard, and the Painter; 1926.*
Oil on canvas, 77³/₁₆ x 51³/₁₆ in. Museum Ludwig, Cologne

Ernst at Surrealism's Dawn: 1925–1927

In the middle of 1925 Ernst fully realized the most important new technique since his innovative collage manipulations of the early 1920s: frottage. Frottage was the term Ernst invented to describe his amplification and refinement of the "amateur" technique of recording images on a relief surface by placing paper upon it and rubbing the top surface with a pencil or charcoal. He had experimented marginally with this process as early as 1921 (Fig. 75). Ernst himself described his application of paper or canvas to rough-textured, wooden surfaces as "the technical means of augmenting the hallucinatory capacity of the mind so that 'visions' could occur automatically, a means of doffing one's blindness." Such a description indeed echoes Ernst's oft-repeated hallucinatory childhood experiences, triggered by the imitation mahogany panel with painted wood grain in his bedroom. This major breakthrough of frottage followed a period in Ernst's life of transition and upheaval early in 1925, when, following the disillusion of his relationship with Paul and Gala Eluard, he was initially left with financial uncertainty and confusion regarding new directions to pursue in his work.

Although Eluard continued financial help, the sudden and unexpected good fortune of a contract with the Parisian dealer Jacques Viot allowed Ernst at the age of thirty-four to "settle down" and rent his first studio in Paris. Ernst was pleased that Viot had also made a contract with his old friend Arp and with Joan Miró, who had arrived from Barcelona earlier in the year. Conceptually for André Breton, all of Ernst's pioneering work from 1920 on was accepted and celebrated within the canon of Surrealism. But Ernst's generation of images through frottage resolves, ameliorates, and solidifies his relationship to the emphasis the Surrealist movement had begun to place on automatist technique. Simply put, frottage helped maintain Ernst's position in relation to Breton's emerging regard for the automatist work of André Masson.

A fresh approach to animistic nature is the primary focus of the frottage works generated primarily on paper throughout 1925. The heroic monument of vegetation, *The Habits of Leaves* (Pl. 177), and the grand, yet delicate winged insect, *Teenage Lightning*, both evince the essential motifs of vegetal and animal nature generated at the inception of this technique. One of the rare, overtly human references in the early frottages is the great single eye, *The Wheel of Light* (Pl. 176). This work is echoed in Ernst's obsessive, powerful, and undoubtedly final work addressing Gala, *Portrait of Gala* (Pl. 169).



The image is derived from an enlargement of Gala's eyes photographed by Man Ray, which Ernst acquired and to which he added his drawing in ink of "the distant shore." In the upper section of sky revealed beyond the illusionistically rolled back surface of the eyes, one notes orbs that are certainly small areas of frottage. In this work the fusion of changing events in Ernst's personal and professional life have been given a vivid metaphoric resolution.

The three large-format frottages on paper referred to above are strong examples of the thirty-four images published by Jeanne Bucher in Paris in 1926 as a portfolio entitled *Histoire Naturelle* with a preface by Arp, which accompanied an exhibition of the plates at Galerie Jeanne Bucher. The range of imagery initially prevalent in the paper frottages includes symmetrical flowing of water and earth tremors (as seen in *The River of Love*; Pl. 178), fantastic, otherworldly, plant-like forms (as seen in *Chemical Wedding*; Pl. 182), or ominous ossified vegetation (as seen in the *The Age of Anxiety*; Pl. 180). An outpouring of smaller frottages expands this body of work vastly beyond those published in *Histoire Naturelle*. Among the beasts that concerned Ernst from early on is the horse. This animal begins to occur in the frottage paper works (Pl. 183), as it had in Ernst's early paintings and later collages. This horse image was selected to be resolved in a large-scale painted version, *The Beautiful Season* (Pl. 184), as had been true with certain collages of the early 1920s.

In the latter part of 1925 Ernst began to employ the frottage technique on larger canvas works, generating his themes of forest and sea (Pls. 165, 185, and 187). One of the largest such works he created that year was *100,000 Doves* (Pl. 175), a painting where frottage rubbing techniques generated the initial image over which Ernst applied the additional process of vigorously scraping and partially removing the almost dry paint. Ernst coined the term "grattage" for his scraping technique. *100,000 Doves* is an apotheosis of his prolonged obsession with bird forms in plaster relief and paint that occupied him during the difficult transition period from 1924 to 1925, prior to his full development of frottage. From today's vantage point the extreme textural activation in *100,000 Doves* startlingly prefigures the signature "texturologies" achieved by Jean Dubuffet in Paris twenty-five years later, although *100,000 Doves* remains unique in its ecstatic diffusion of white light.

A key event at the end of 1925 is the first exhibit of Surrealist painting at the Galerie Pierre in Paris, which included works by

de Chirico, Man Ray, Masson, Arp, Ernst, Klee, Picasso, and Miró. It is interesting to note that this event marked the pointed dissatisfaction by Surrealists with de Chirico's new work and their embrace of the young painter, Joan Miró.

Ernst's drawings and paintings generated from frottage continued throughout 1926; however, their production is somewhat diminished in number. The year is mainly occupied, as mentioned previously, with the publication of *Histoire Naturelle* and its accompanying exhibition. In addition Ernst undertakes perhaps the largest survey of his work to date at the Galerie Van Leer. Thirty paintings dating from 1923 to 1926 were shown, as well as a plaster in sculpture, plus drawings, photographs, and maquettes. The catalogue pleased Ernst and included contributions from his close friends, Paul Eluard, Benjamin Péret, and Robert Desnos. This survey was sufficient to comprise the first retrospective view of the transition (Ernst's fusion) between Dada and Surrealism.

Ernst was further occupied in 1926 in collaborating with Miró to produce costumes and sets for the Diaghilev Ballet Russe production of *Romeo and Juliet* staged at the Théâtre Sarah Bernhardt in Paris. This participation caused a certain displeasure, or perhaps jealousy, on the part of Breton. Louis Aragon went so far as to publish negative criticism in support of Breton's feelings, calling this collaboration a subversion of Surrealist ethics.

During 1926 Ernst turned again – in a few paintings – to the more conspicuously imagist or narrative subjects that one associates with his major works of 1923 or 1924. *Two Girls in Beautiful Poses* (Pl. 166) echoes the irrational mix of linear human form juxtaposed with fully modeled figures such as is also found in the work *Pietà or Revolution by Night* of 1923 (Pl. 147). Both of these paintings were conspicuous in the Van Leer exhibition. Additionally, a brilliant new work, *The Inquisitor: at 7:07 Justice Shall Be Made*, features a single-hatted male figure, who is a curious mix of serious dignity and comic irony. Significantly, the torso of this figure is formed by the image of a textured wooden plank (the generating device of frottage seen as both spine and guts). This personage holds a dainty pink rose in one hand and a rough, serrated tool in the other. Thus, we have a personage (the artist) that stands ready to meet either pleasurable delectation or harsh punishment. This painting relates quite clearly to an earlier work, *The Couple* of 1924–25 (Pl. 173), in its general format and plastic morphology. However, *The Couple*, an image of male and female beings in an ambiguous struggle or embrace, is a grotesque, even tortured, fusion. An autobiographical resolution is strongly suggested in the thematic succession from *The Couple* to *The Inquisitor: The Couple* had come on the heels of Ernst's separation from Gala and *The Inquisitor* made manifest his new independence and assurance.

A unique large painting made by Ernst in 1926 echoing his earlier imagist narrative manner, such as in *Oedipus Rex*, 1922 (Pl. 118), is *The Virgin Spanking the Christ Child before Three Witnesses: André Breton, Paul Eluard, and the Painter* (Fig. 134). The style of this literal painting is conspicuously Italianate and mannerist. The obviously shocking heretical event of the spanking thrusts toward the viewer while the three secular witnesses (or patrons) – Breton, Eluard, and Ernst – claustrophobically crowd a small window at the rear. Of the

three, only the gaze of Ernst focuses directly upon the event transpiring. The cool matter-of-factness of the depicted scene heightens its shock and "believability." Elizabeth Legge points out that sacrilege was an important cause for the Surrealists at this time. Surrealist imagery often adopted a heretical flavor. Ernst himself described *The Virgin* as a painting manifesto generated from an idea of André Breton. It was conspicuously exhibited in the Salon des Indépendants in 1926 and reproduced in the December issue of *La Révolution Sur-réaliste*. Since that time this painting, along with *Oedipus Rex*, has been central to an ever-expanding literature of a psychoanalytic critique of Ernst's art.

The year 1927 unfolds as far and away the most productive year of Ernst's career up to this time. Almost two hundred works are created and most, large as well as small, are paintings. In this monograph and the attendant exhibition, we have chosen to include only fourteen major works. However, these selected works embody the major themes found in Ernst's painting during this year and include examples of his highest achievements.

In the earlier part of 1927, Ernst gives full range to paintings realized in the frottage and grattage techniques. The images and themes become more complex in regard to elements within a work (personages, beasts, etc.) and exhibit new ways of implying narrative action and events. A broader palette of colors also informs these paintings. Such works include *Child, Horse, Flower, and Snake* (Pl. 189), *Leda and the Swan* (Pl. 191), and *Laocoön and Sons* (Pl. 192). In the latter two titles, Ernst has overtly invoked classical mythological associations.

The Horde (Pl. 194) is a truly monumental painting, one of innumerable works that feature tumultuous crowded groupings of anthropomorphic beings. Primordial earth-toned figures with disturbing red and orange highlights ambiguously dance or fight against a stark blue sky. The figures as massed in the near foreground and with their appendages cropped at the edges of the frame enhance the sense of aggressive tensions. This painting stands as one of the powerful premonitions of the violence that was to engulf Europe once again a decade hence.

Another thematic area addressed in 1927 involves that of a strange and haunted eroticism. This series of paintings, *Two Naked Young Chimeras* (Pl. 196) and *Scene of Harsh Eroticism* (Pl. 195), contains a generally softer and more sensuous ground, often in gray or mauve tones. A gentle, more monochromatic use of frottage has been employed to generate the images. The forms have been articulated in detail with delicately flowing delineation. In a related work, *Kiss in the Night* (Pl. 197), Ernst has emphasized evocation and disjunction between a linear configuration overlaying forms derived from a soft frottage. The union of these two elements, which are not immediately discernible, initially disguises the sexual activity depicted. A unique work within the erotic series, *One Night of Love* (Pl. 198), developed sexual subject matter to its most complex degree. The painting, set against a black ground, is nocturnal. Outlining defines the form of at least anthropomorphic figures. The dramatic interaction of these figures and a brightly colored bird-form at the center seem haunted, even sinister, and ultimately inexplicable. The nature of the free-form outlining and the rectilinear plat-

form on which the action transpires prefigure major aspects of the English artist Francis Bacon, who emerges following the Second World War. This painting, seen today as one of Ernst's finest, stands uniquely apart from others in his complete oeuvre.

Ernst climaxed the year with a series of major paintings based on two themes central to his life's work: monumental depictions of forests and birds. His theme of the primordial form was realized in works such as *Forest and Sun* (Pl. 199) and *The Large Forest* (Pl. 200). In each of these works his organic forms have been silhouetted sculpturally against brooding expanses of sky. Both the frottage texture and Ernst's subtle modeling emphasize a sense of petrification that implies a most ancient origin, heightening their other-worldly nature. Behind these ossified façades of forest forms, Ernst has depicted celestial orbs in his distinctive ring configuration. Mysteriously, these orbs of glowing color within the work are not, in any rational manner, the source of light. An interesting aspect is the way the artist has placed them in intimate juxtaposition, as virtually physical companions with the thrusting vegetal shapes.

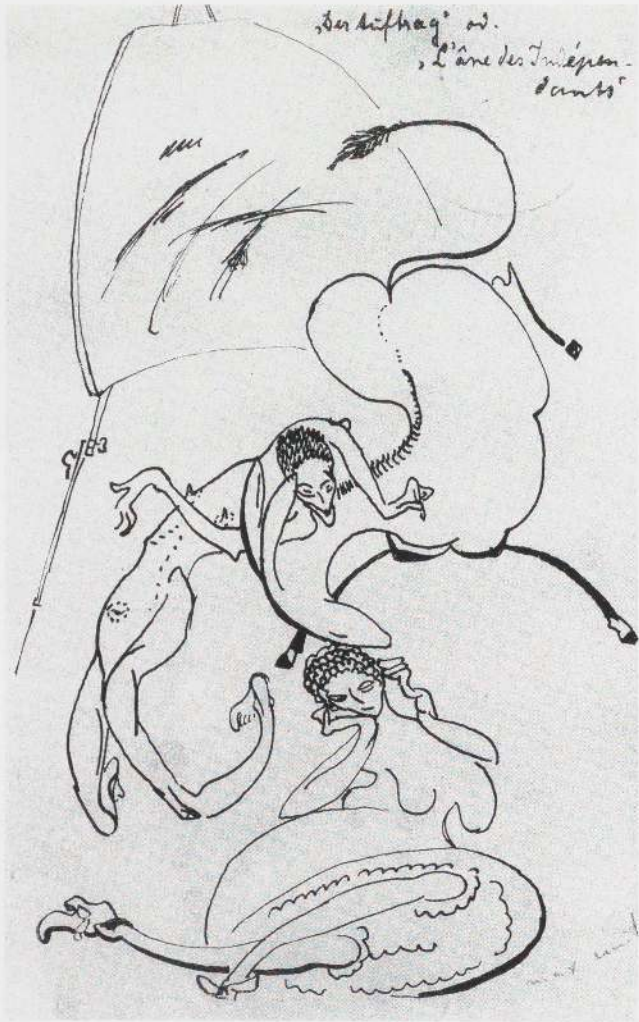
Of all the animals variously depicted in Ernst's art, it is the bird with which he most closely identified. Ernst's specific self-depiction

as the unpredictable comic magician in bird form, Loplop, was created some years hence. The major bird paintings to conclude 1927 were as monumental in form and scale as were his major forests. *Monument to the Birds* (Pl. 201) is suffused with a measured elegiac quality. A cluster of abstracted bird forms ascending in a clear blue sky depicts a dominant bird figure as if carrying the supine sleeping or dead form of another bird surrounded by attendant avian figures. The overtone of a band of classical seraphim is unmistakable as is Ernst's clear intention to emphasize birds as carriers of transcendental spirit. The cluster of bird forms alighted in the near foreground huddle as though mourning. This work and its related companion, *Project for Monument to the Birds* (Pl. 202), are among the most serene paintings achieved by Ernst prior to his cosmological abstractions of the 1950s.

Late in 1927, following the second exhibition at the Van Leer Gallery and the large show at the Le Centaure Gallery in Brussels, Ernst married the young artist Marie-Berthe Aurenche. Together they were able to rent a house in Meudon, on the outskirts of Paris. In this new and idyllic setting, Ernst painted his great sequence, "Monuments to the Birds."

Faint, illegible text, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. The text is arranged in several columns and appears to be a formal document or report.

Plates



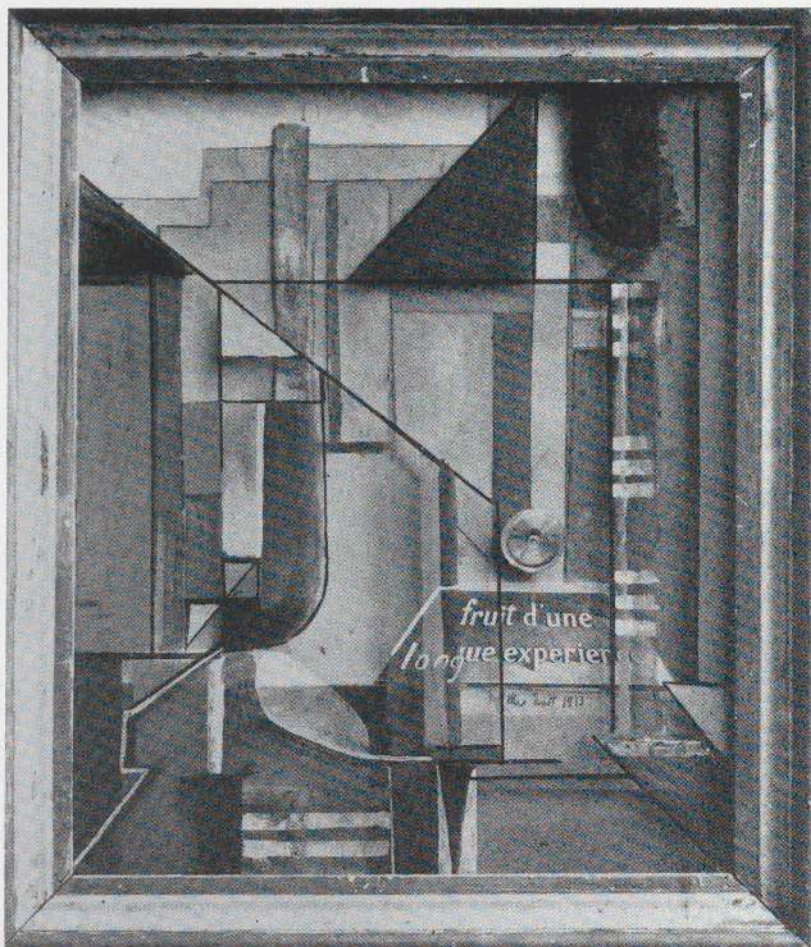
1 *The Commission or The Donkey of the Independents*, 1912
(Cat. No. 2)



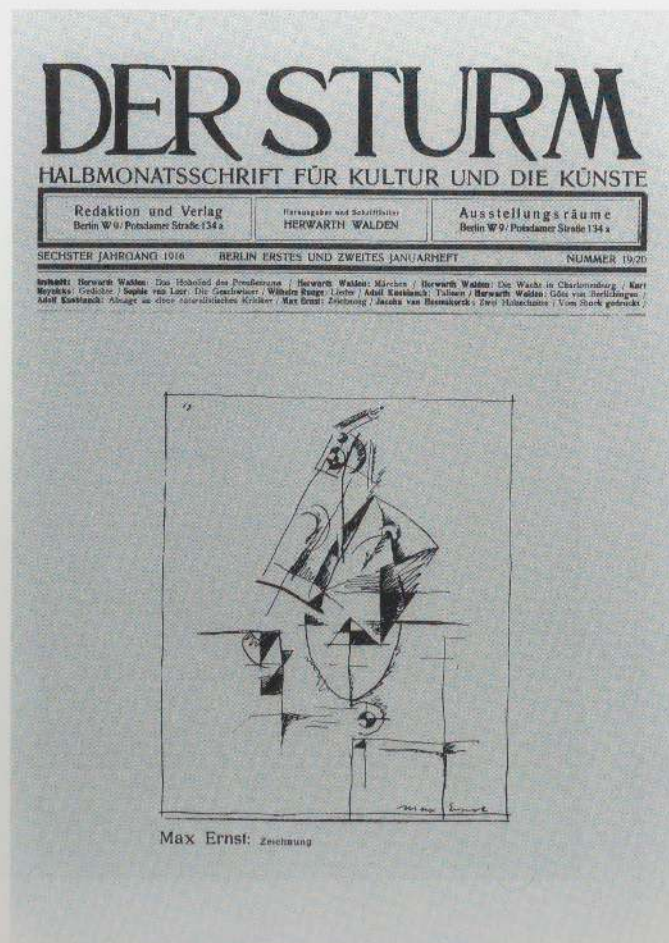
2 *The Dancer Gertrude Leistikow*, 1913 (Cat. No. 3)



3 *The Pool at Bethesda*, 1911 (Cat. No. 1)



4 *Fruit of a Long Experience*, 1913 (Cat. No. 5)



5 Untitled drawing, ca. 1915.
Cover of *Der Sturm*, 1916 (Cat. No. 6)



6 Towers, 1916 (Cat. No. 7)



7 *Flowers and Fish*, 1916 (Cat. No. 8)



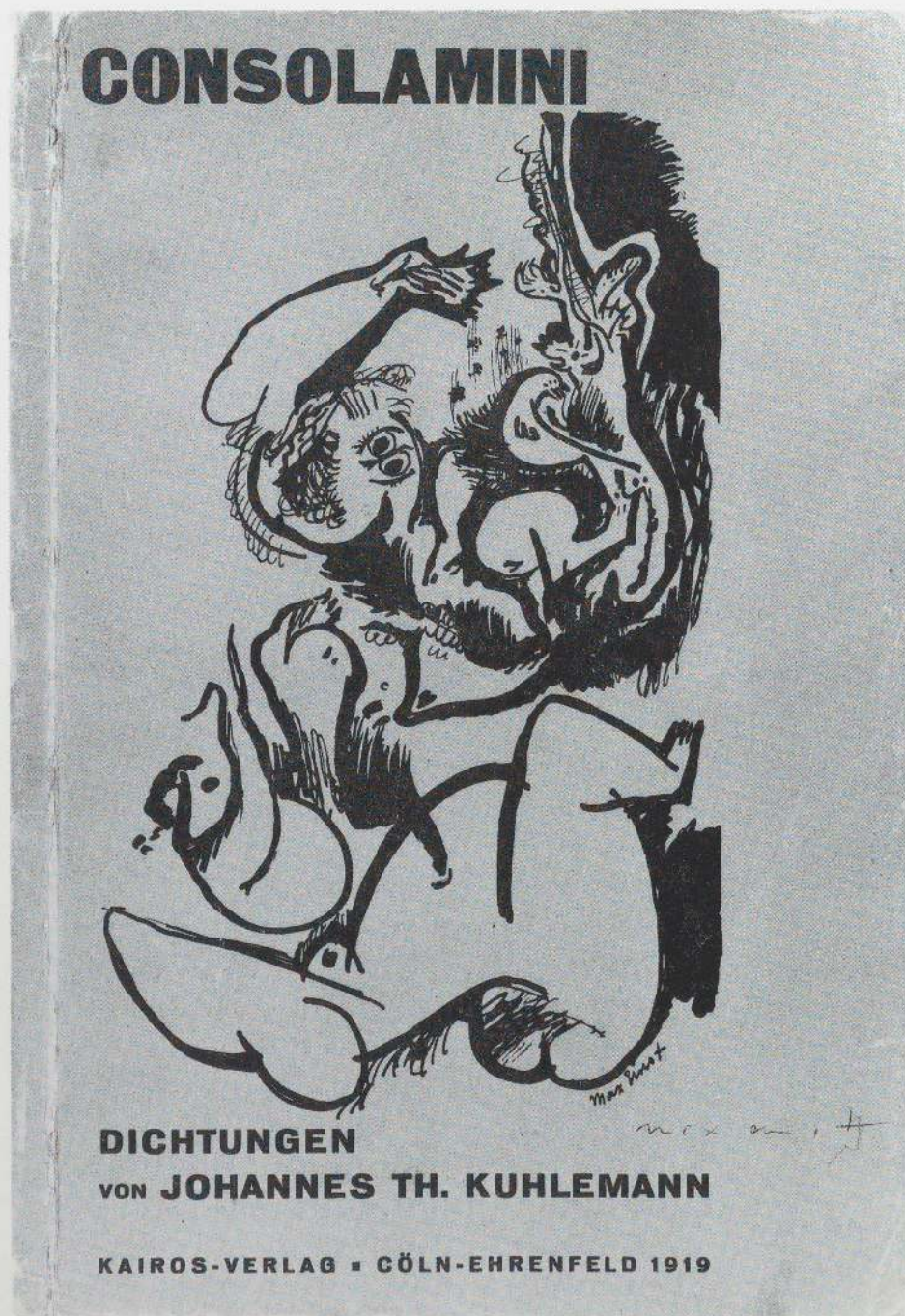
8 *Vegetation*, 1916 (Cat. No. 9)



9 *Battle of the Fish*, 1917 (Cat. No. 10)



10 *The Spindle's Victory*, 1917 (Cat. No. 11)



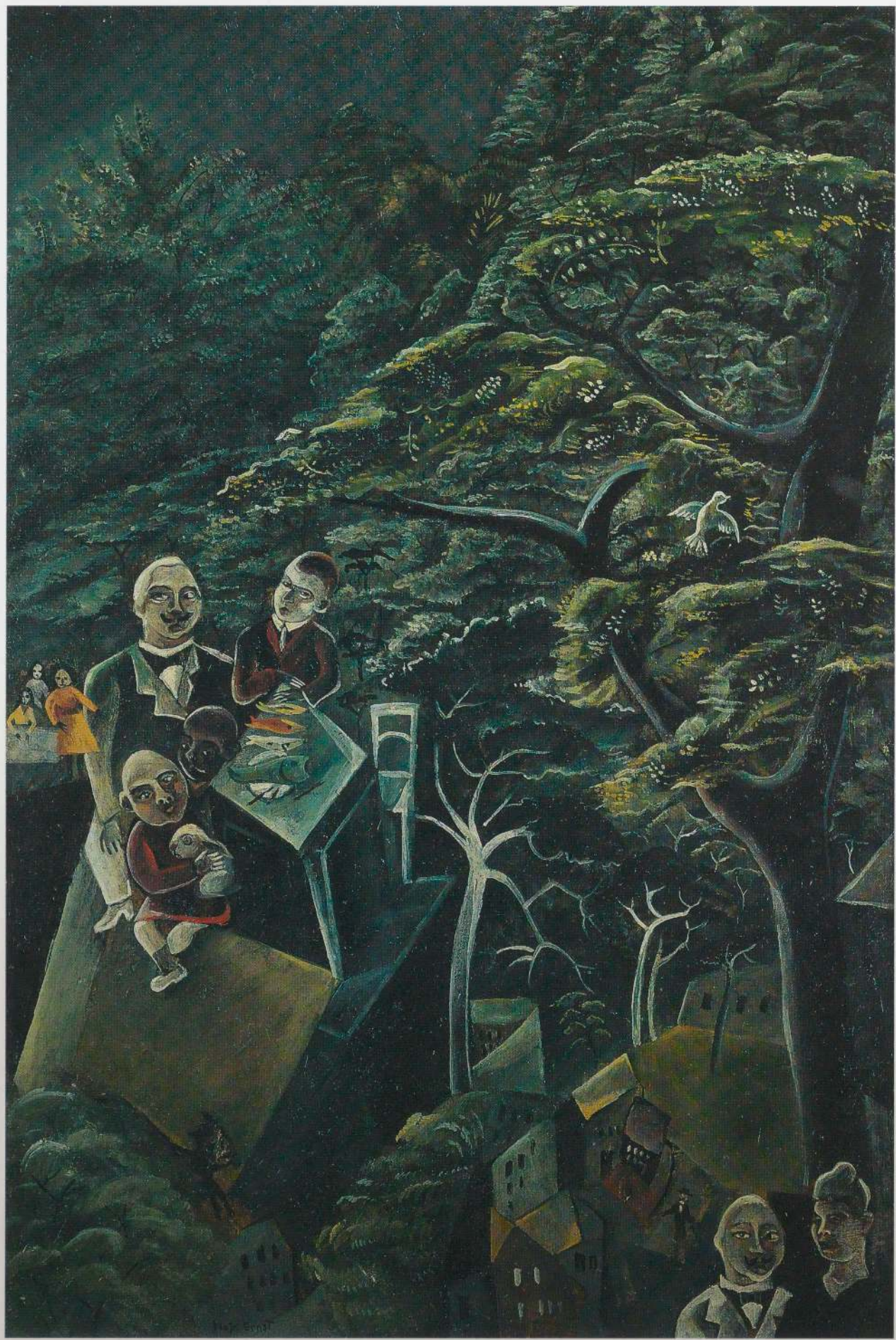
11 Untitled drawing, 1918. Cover of *Consolamini*, 1919 (Cat. No. 12)



12 *Man in Battle*, 1918. Reproduced in *Der Strom*, 1919 (Cat. No. 13)



13 *You Will Not Travel Over Every Sea*, 1918. Reproduced in *Der Strom*, 1919 (Cat. No. 13 a)



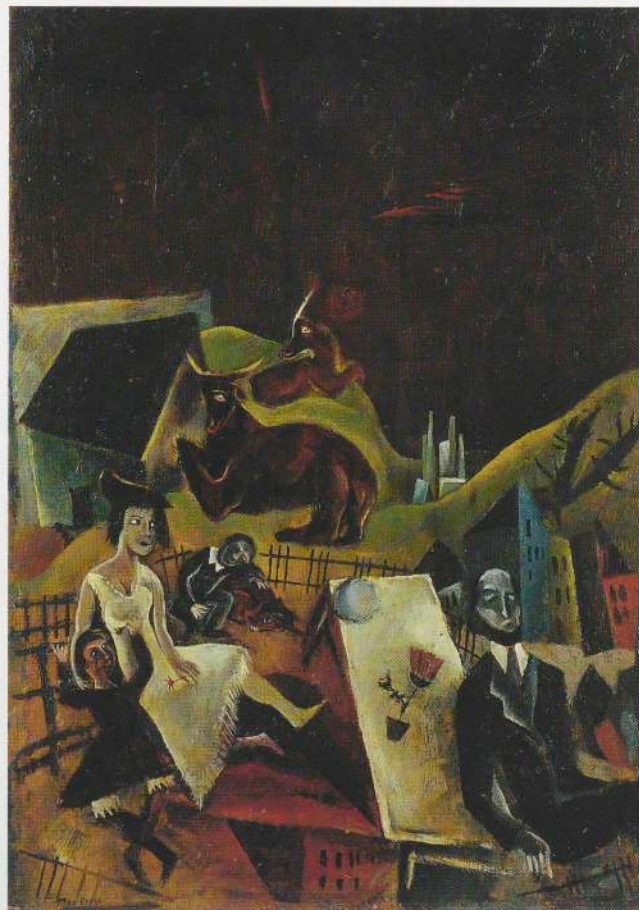
14 *Immortality*, ca. 1919 (Cat. No. 15)



15 Untitled, 1919 (Cat. No. 16)



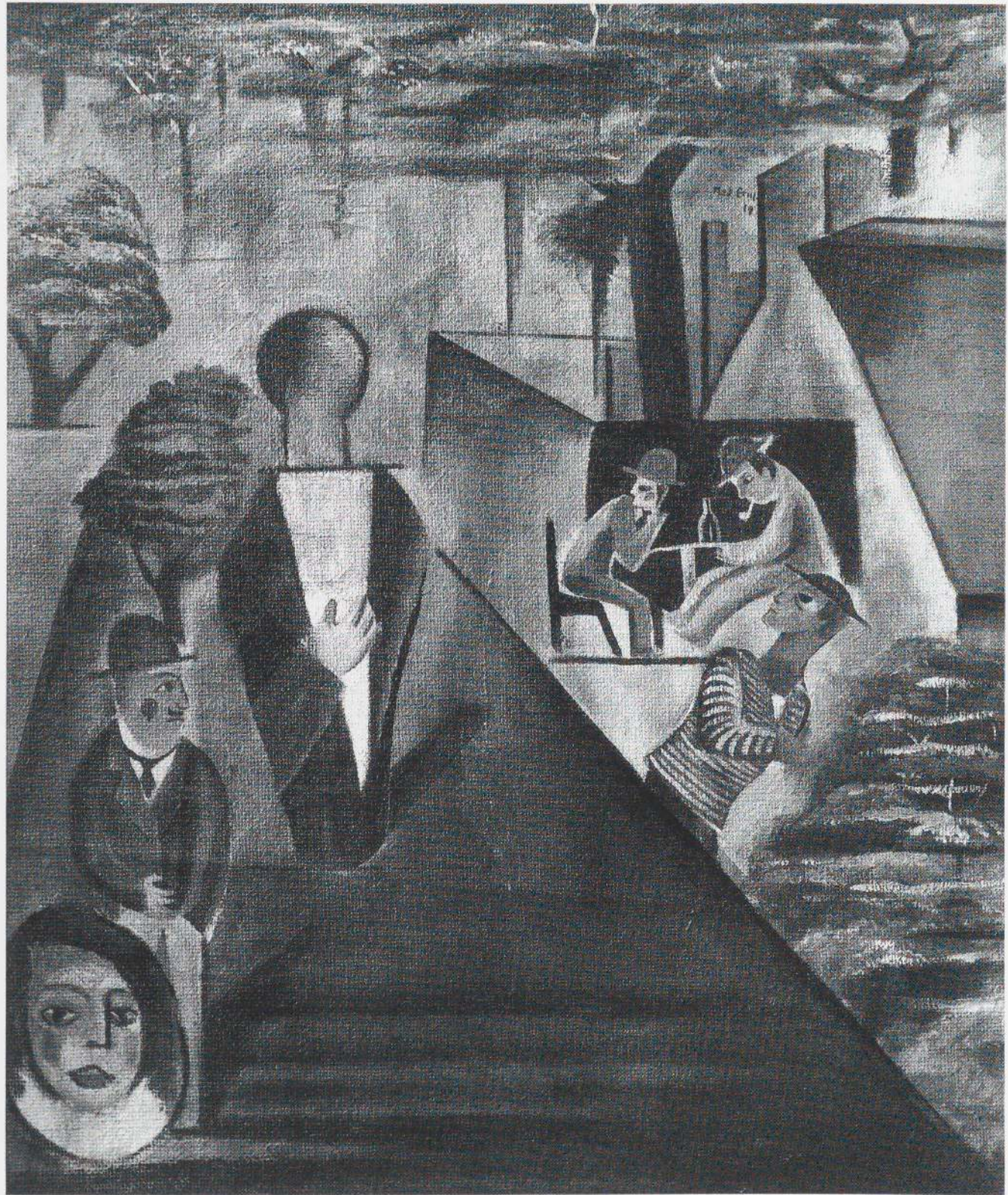
16 *Household Life*, ca. 1919 (Cat. No. 17)



17 *The Family Outing*, ca. 1919 (Cat. No. 18)



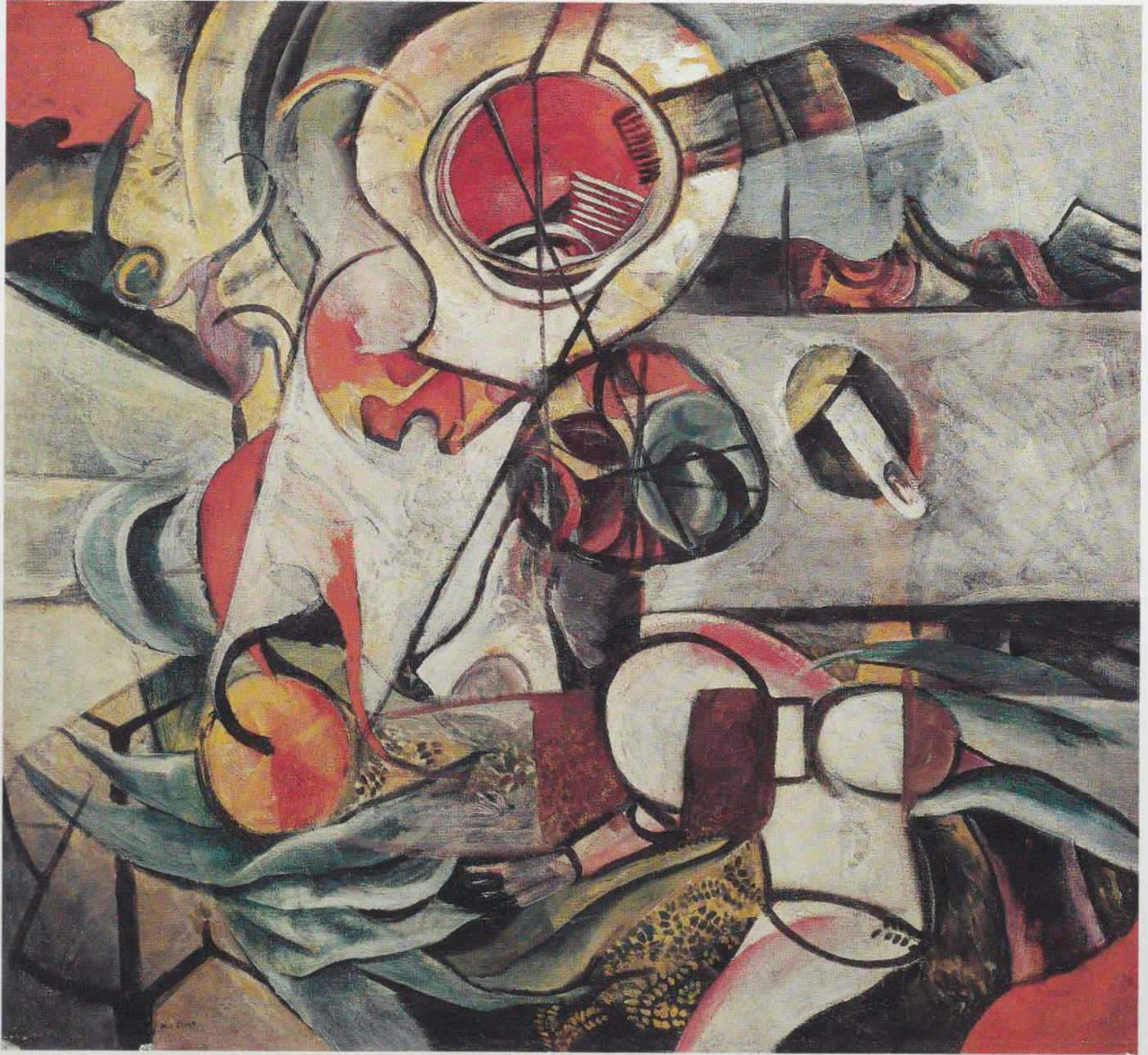
18 *City with Animals*, ca. 1919 (Cat. No. 19)



19 *Figures in the Landscape*, 1919 (Cat. No. 20)



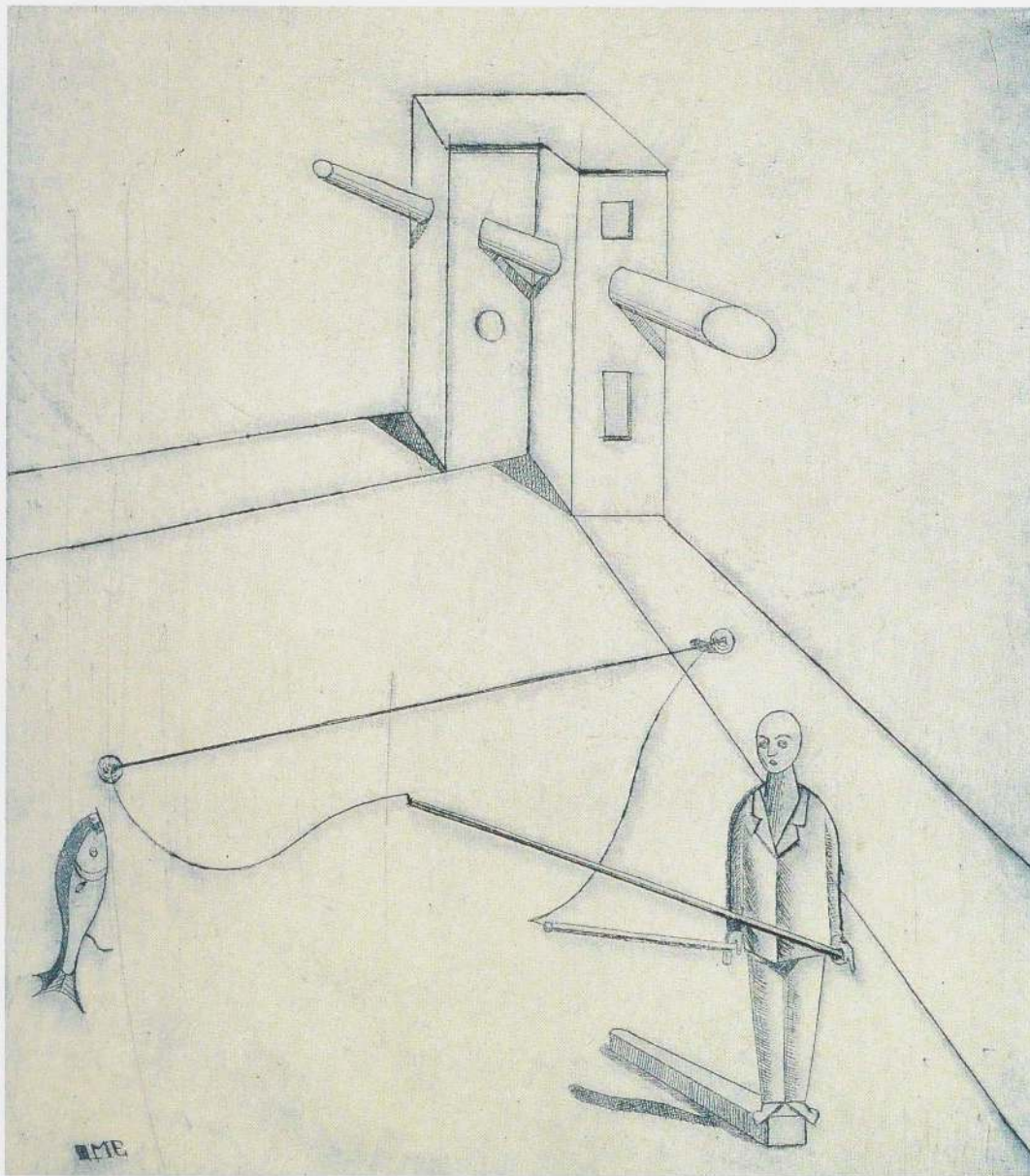
20 *Aquis submersus*, 1919 (Cat. No. 21)



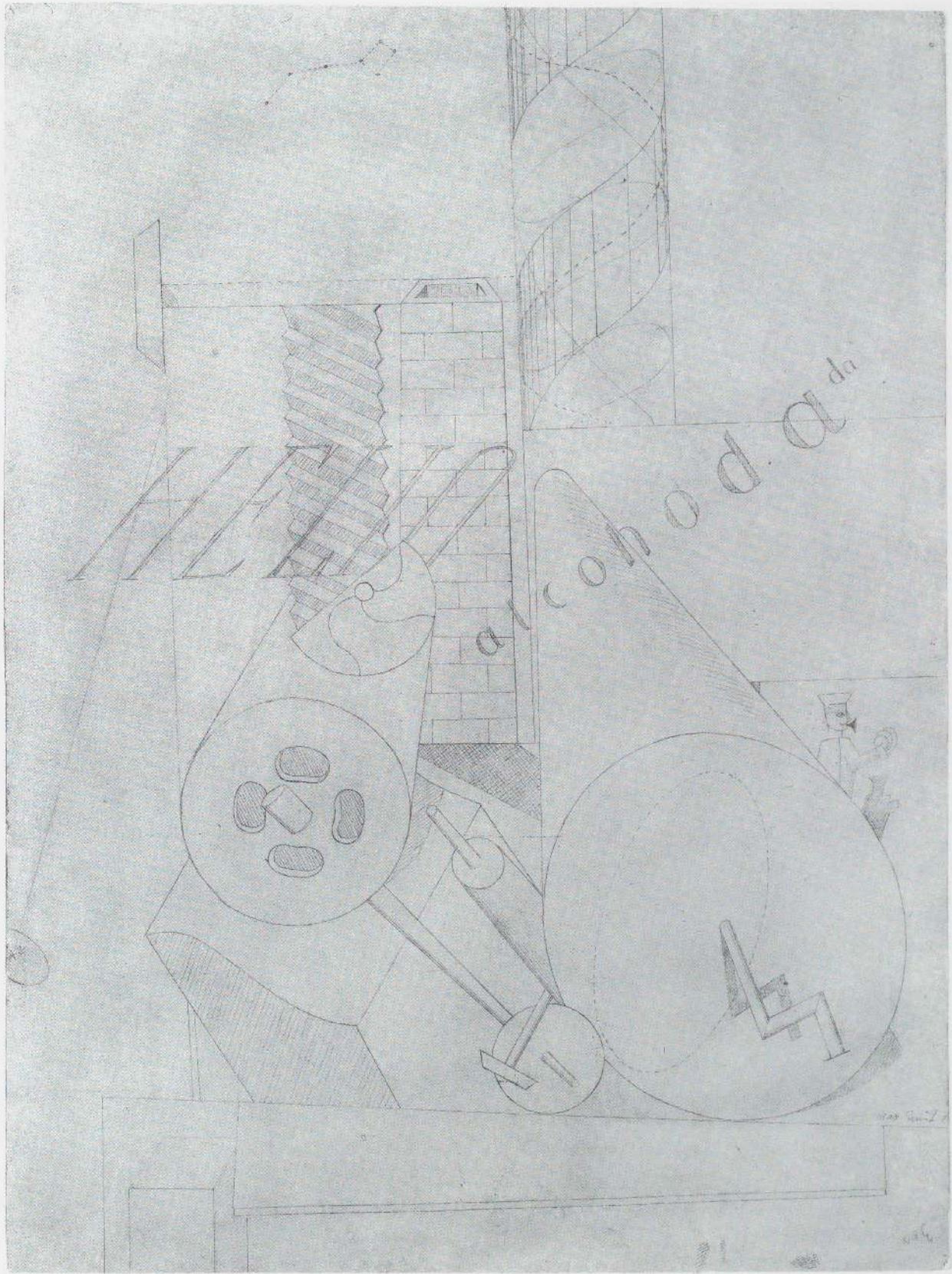
21 *Submarine Still Life*, ca. 1920 (Cat. No. 50)



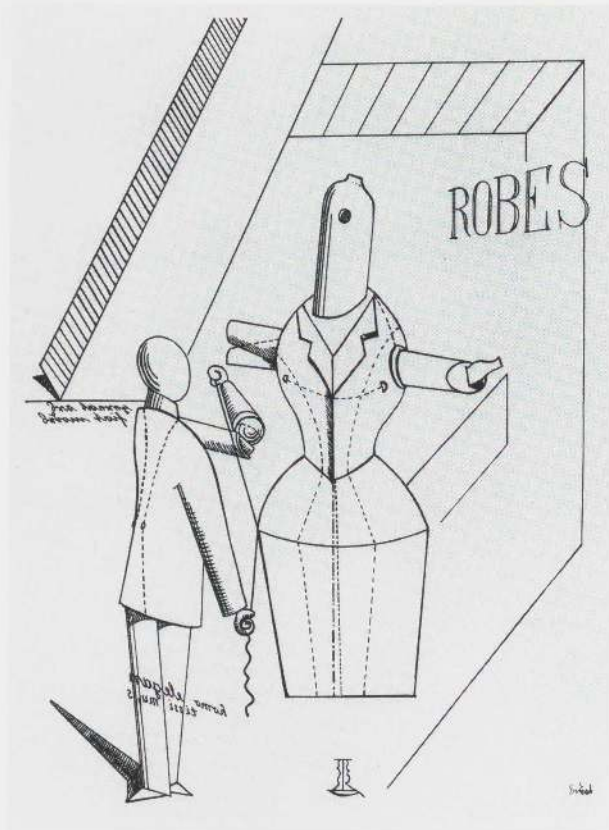
22 *The Emperor from Wahau*, ca. 1920 (Cat. No. 51)



23 Untitled, 1919 (Cat. No. 26)

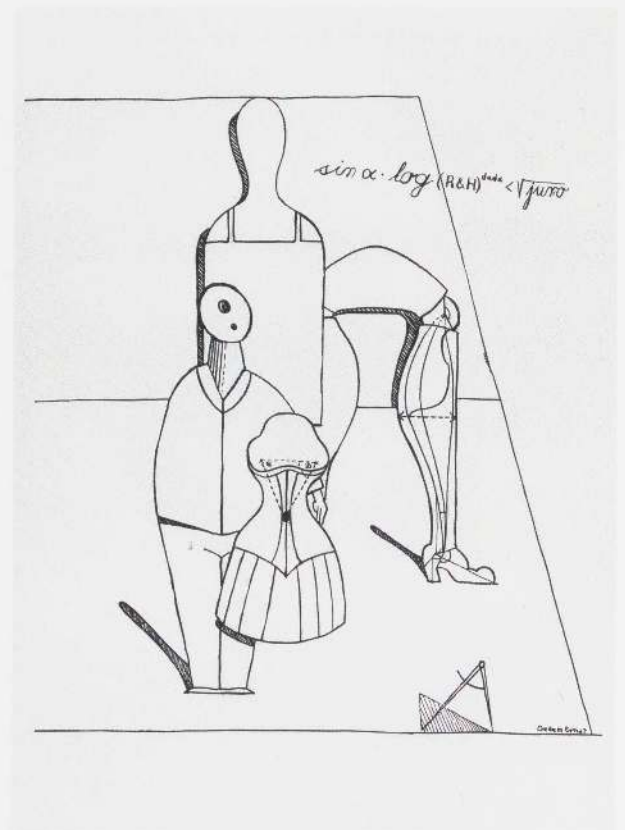


24 *Helio Alcoholada*, 1919–20 (Cat. No. 28)

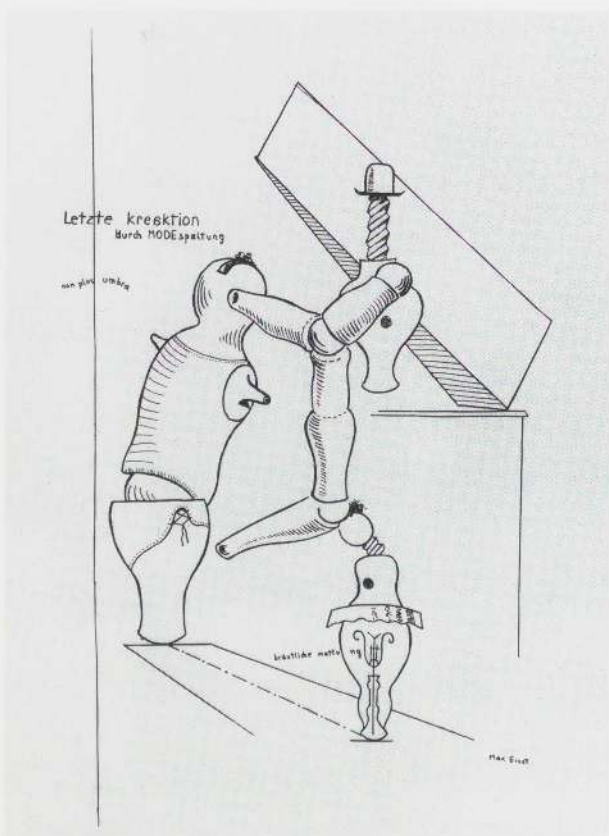


I

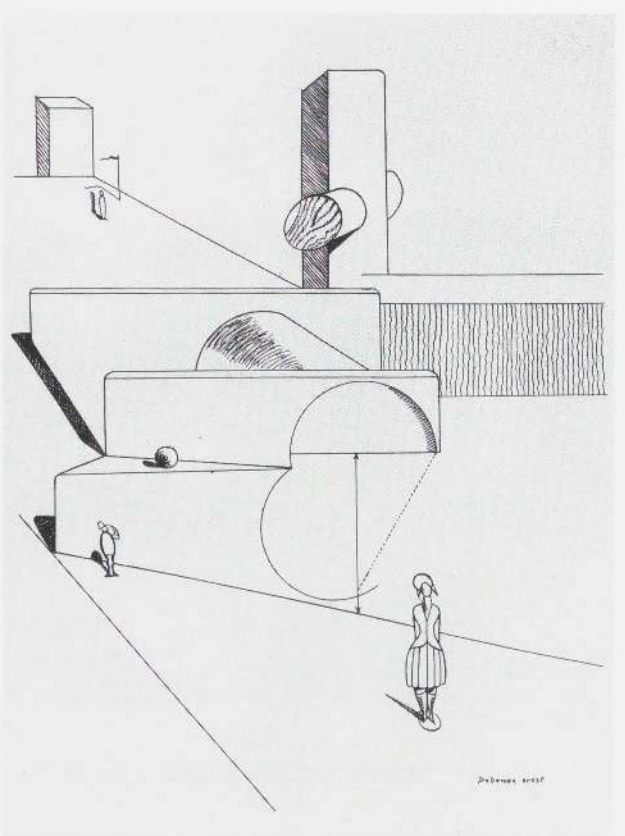
25-32 Let There Be Fashion. Down with Art, 1919-20 (Cat. No. 29)



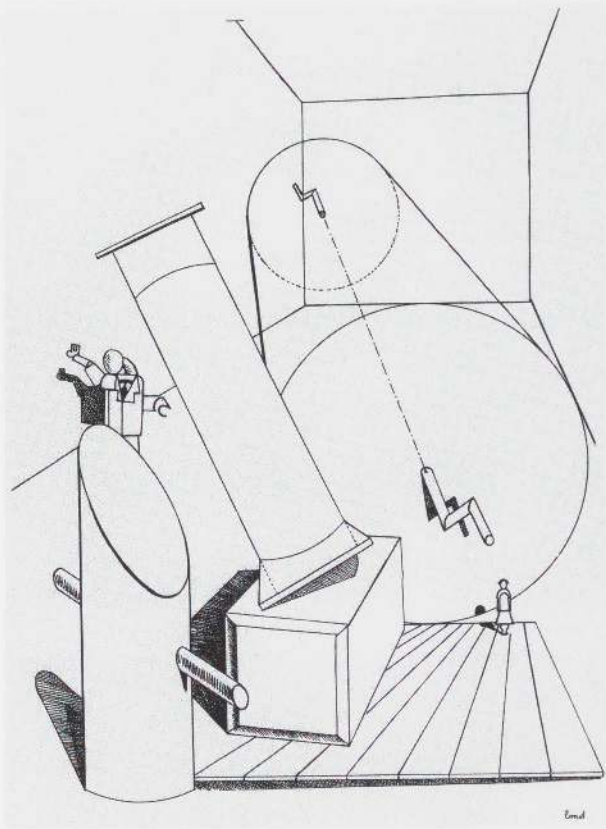
II



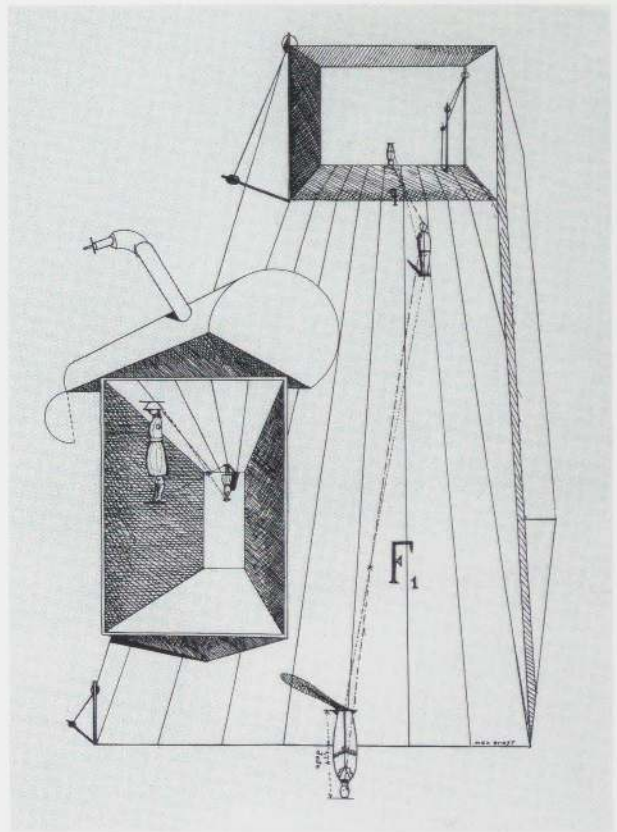
III



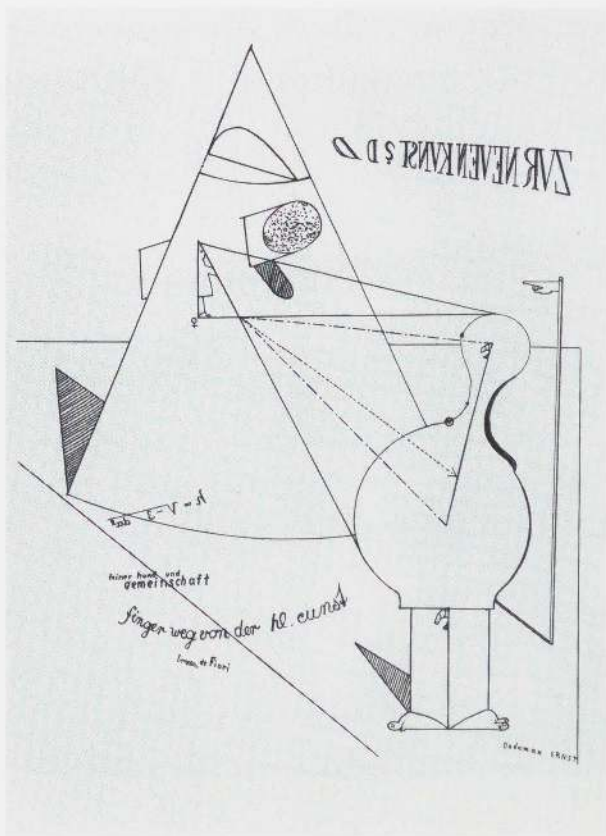
IV



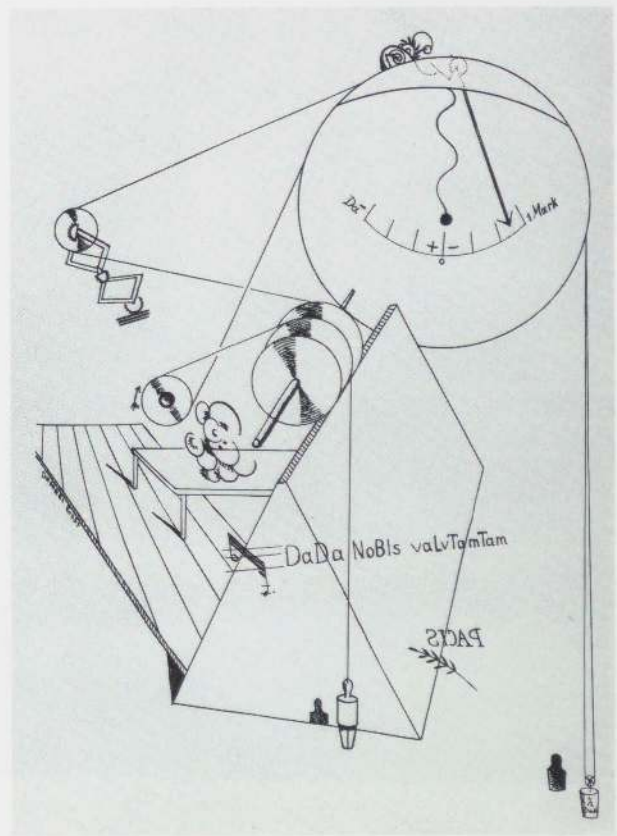
V



VI



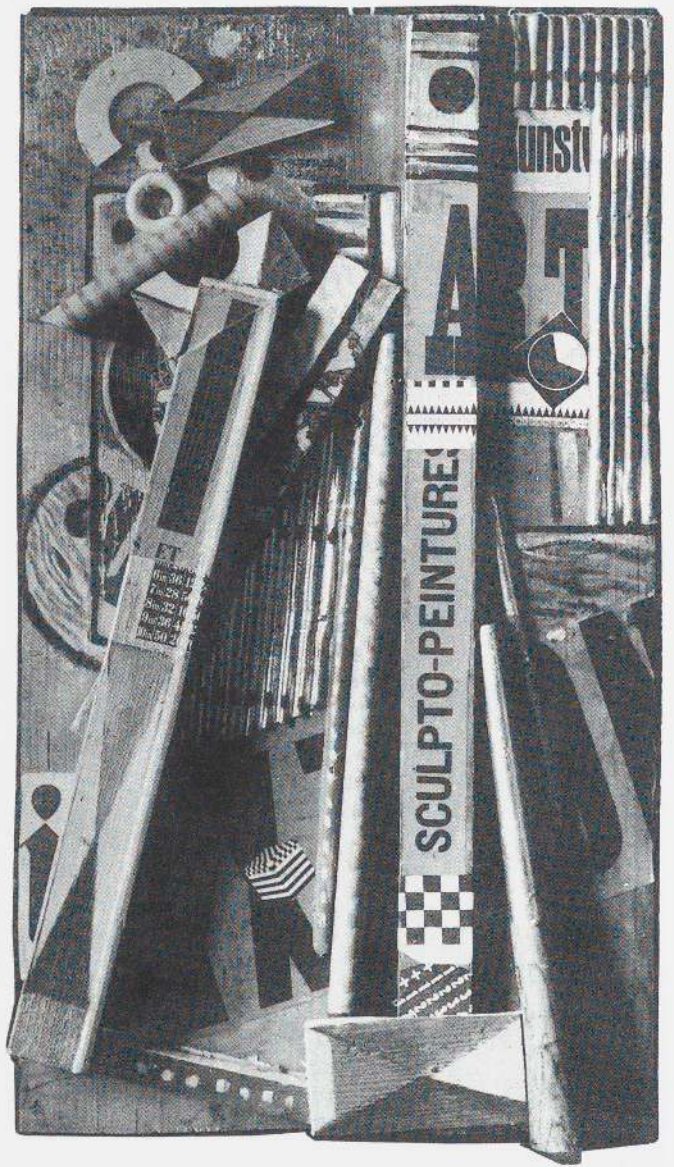
VII



VIII



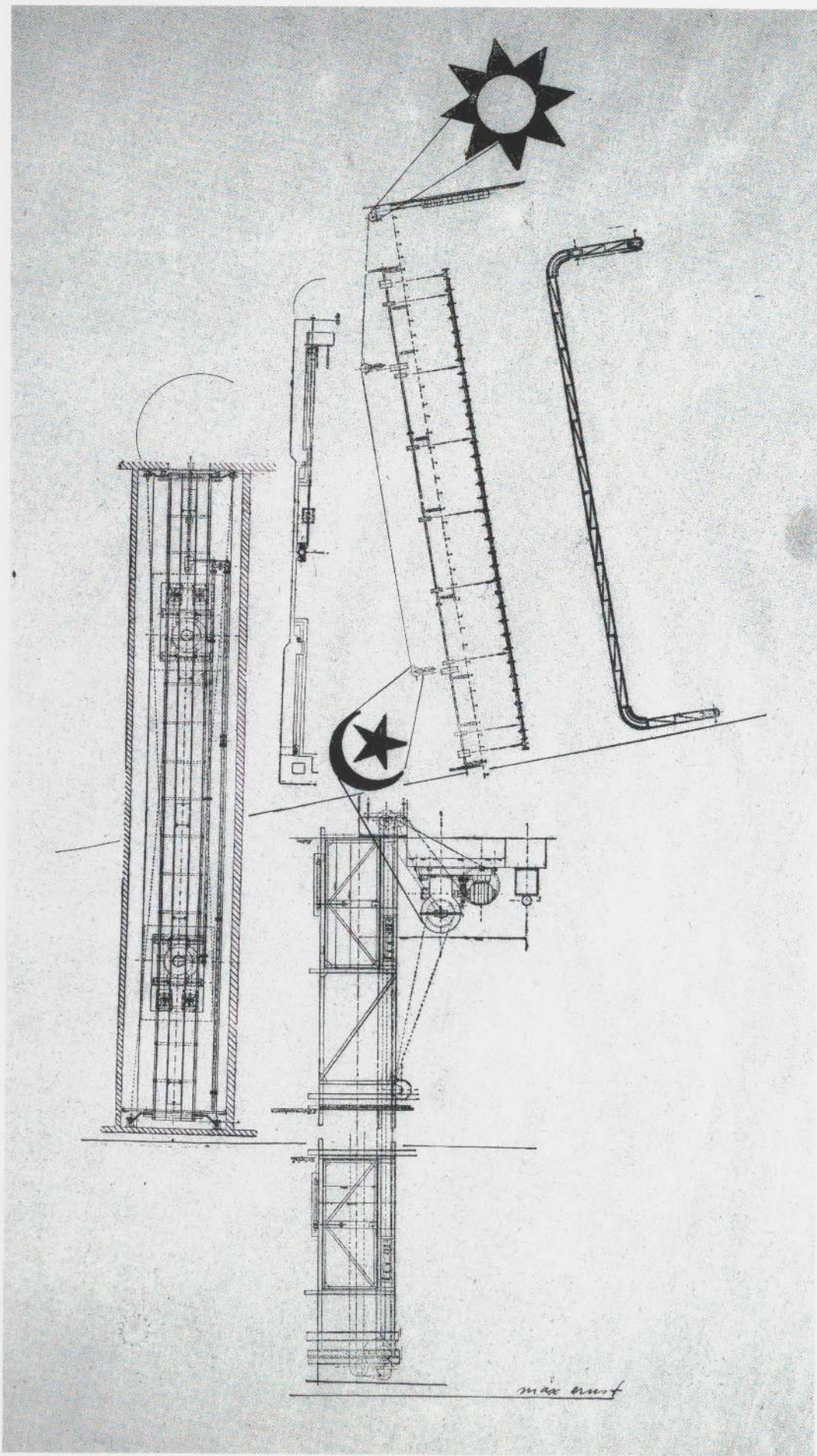
33 Untitled, 1919 (Cat. No. 22)



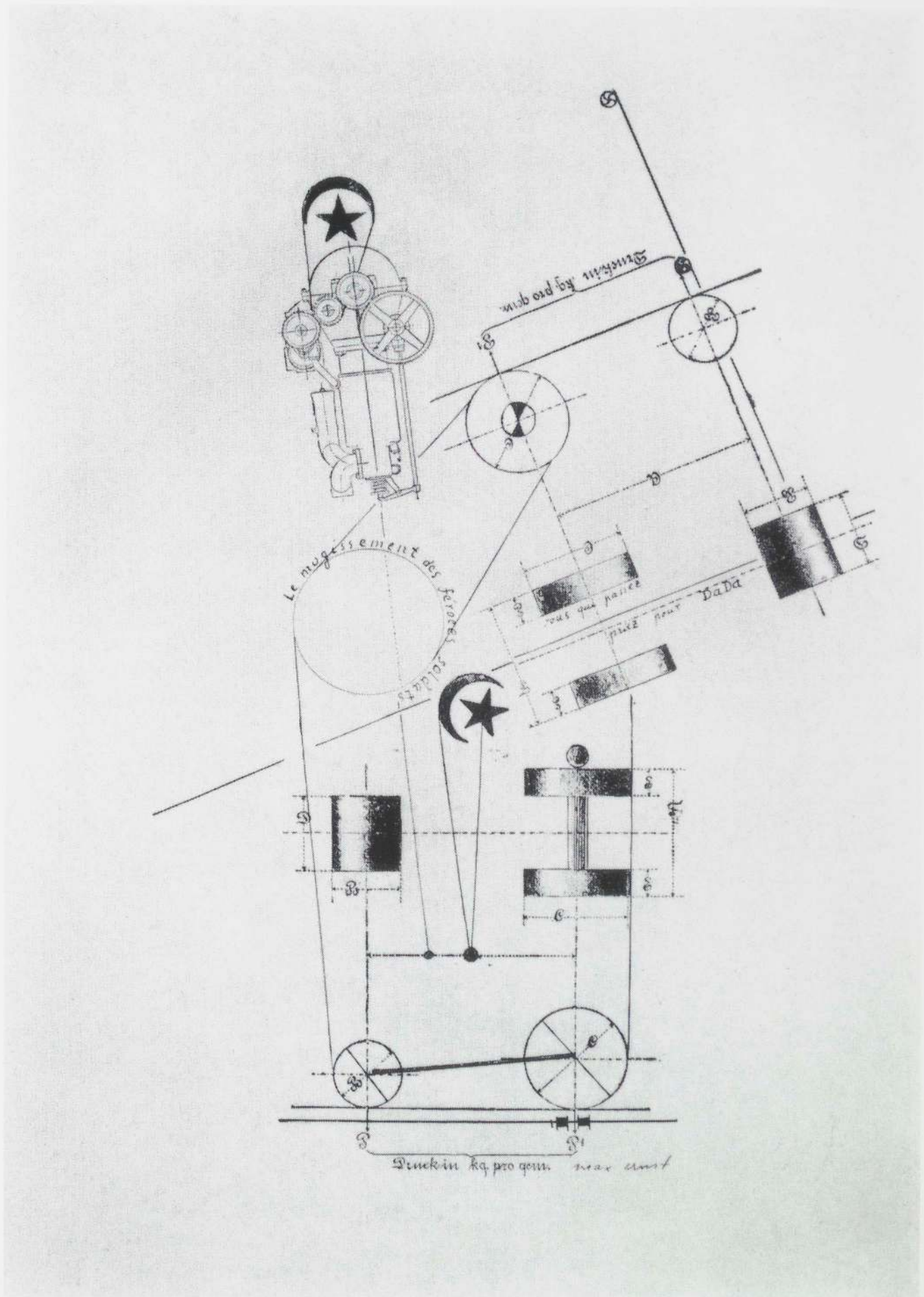
34 Relief 123, 1919 (Cat. No. 23)

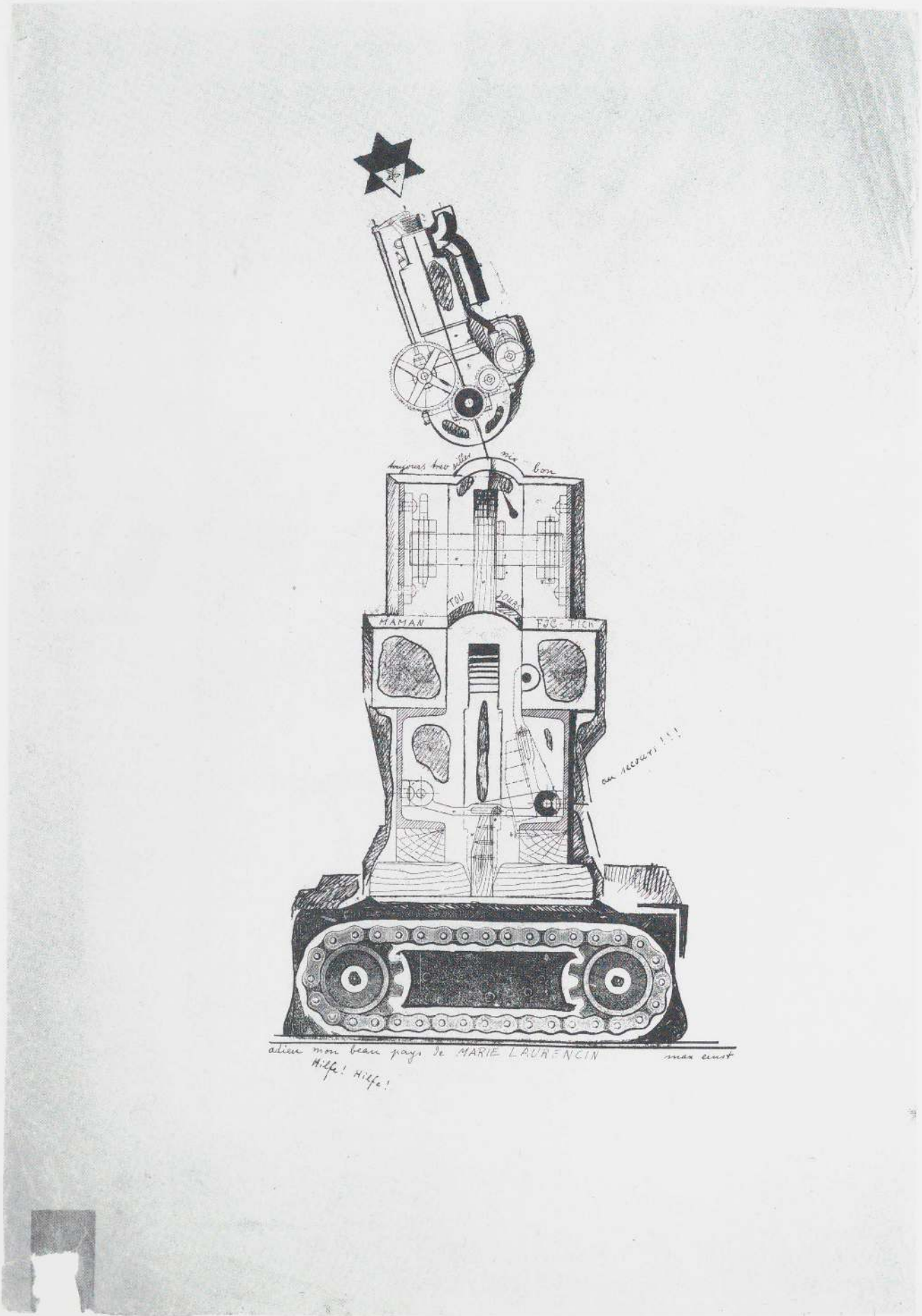


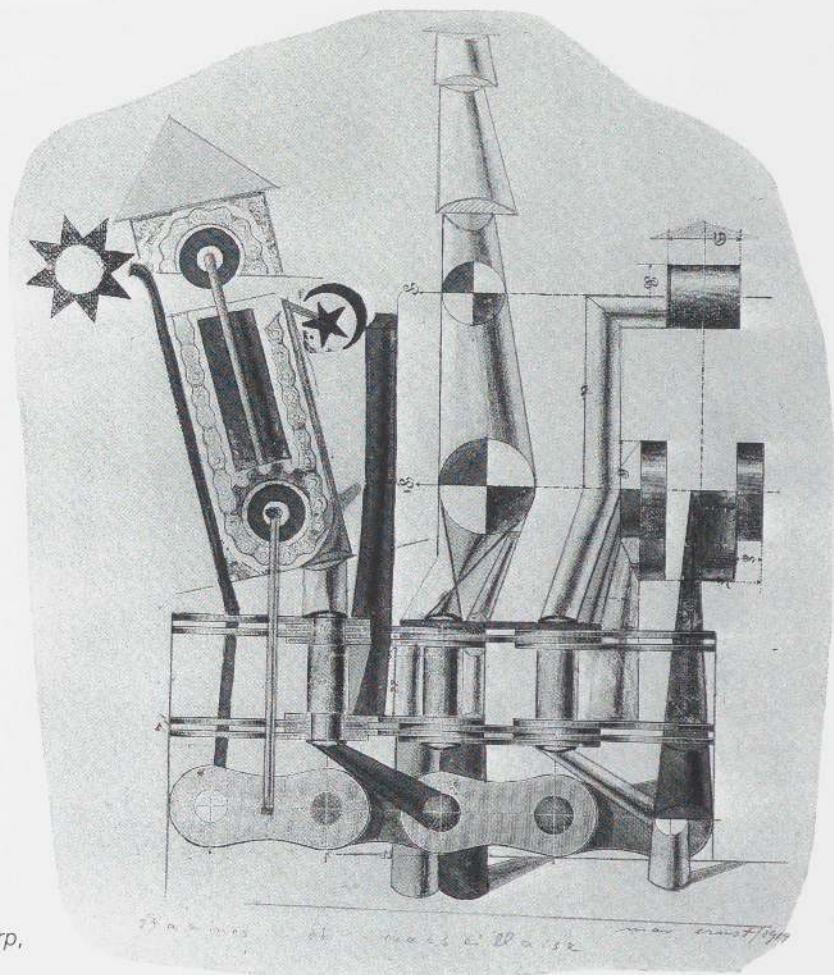
35 *Fruit of a Long Experience*, 1919 (Cat. No. 24)



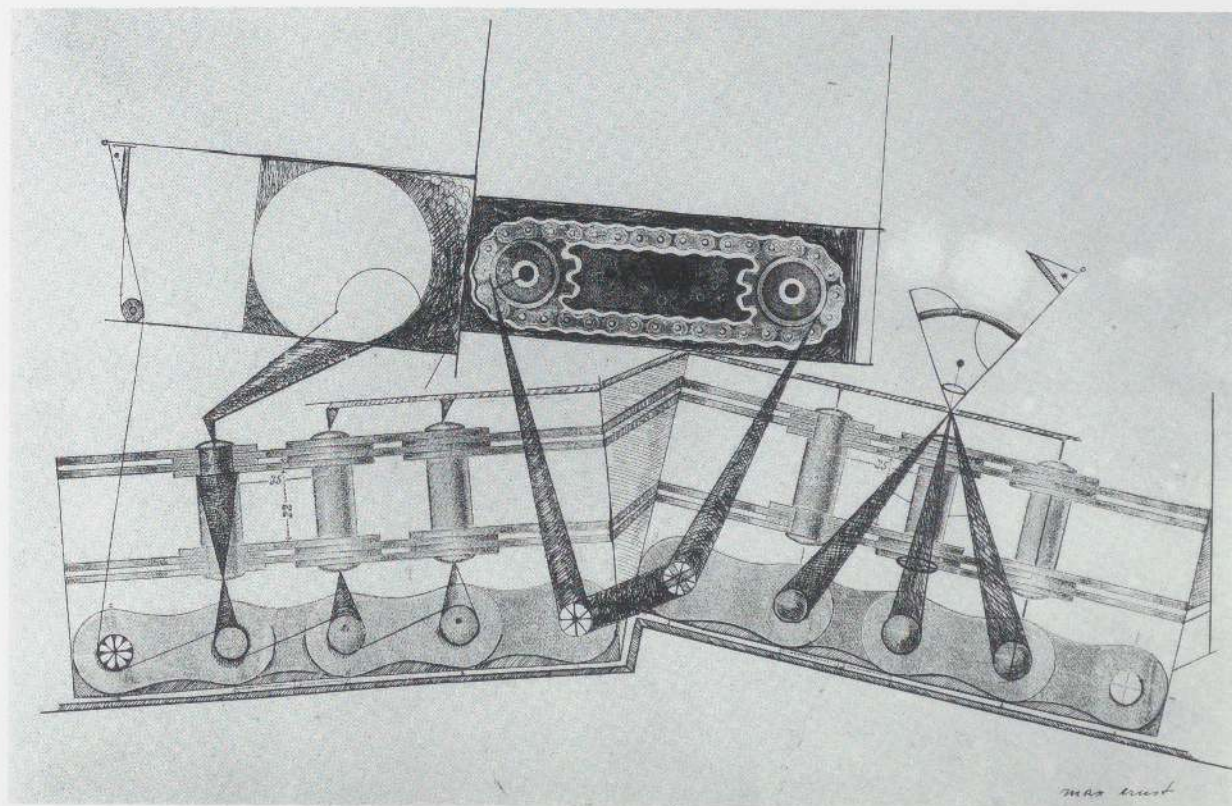
36 Hypertrophic Trophy, 1919-20 (Cat. No. 31)



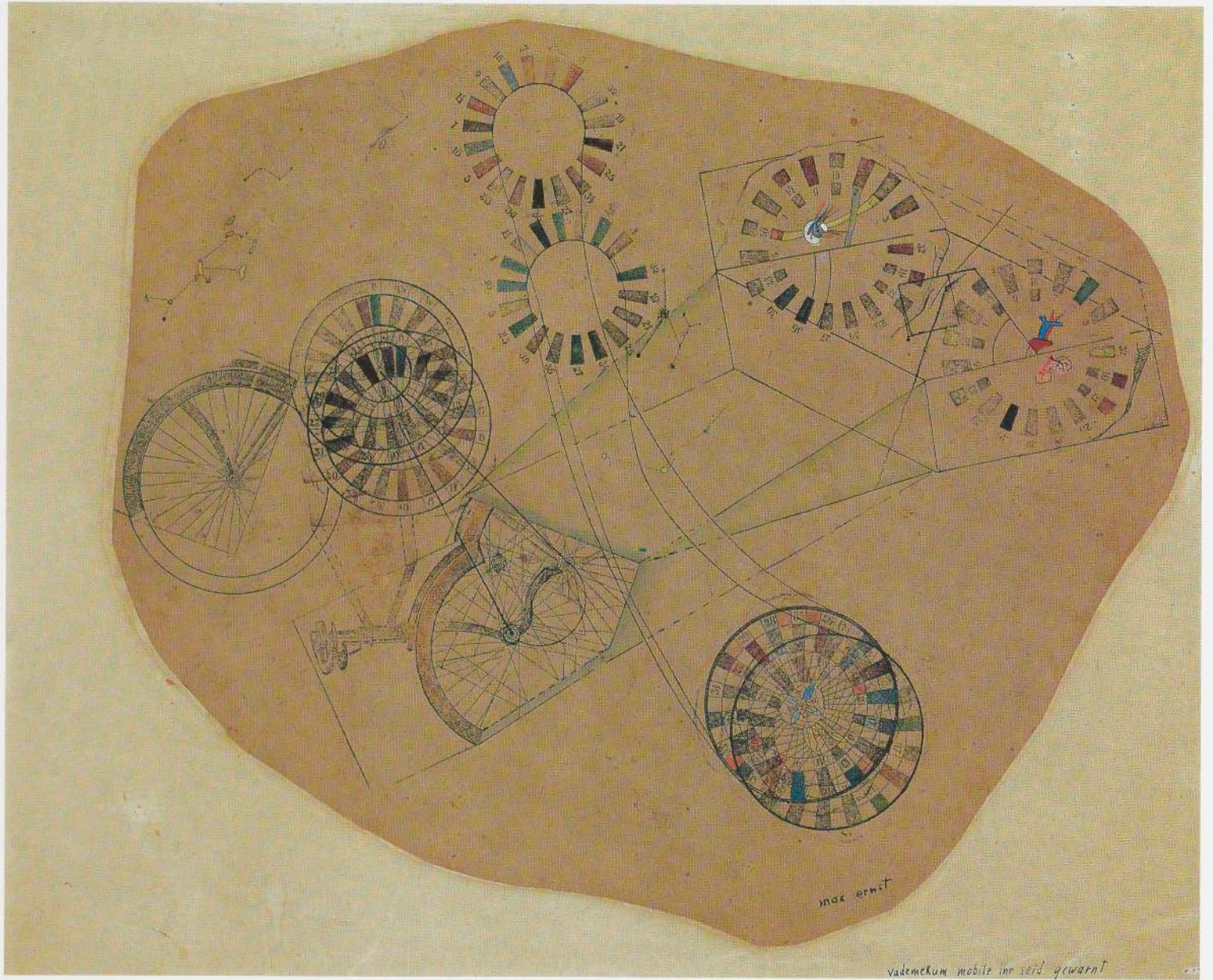




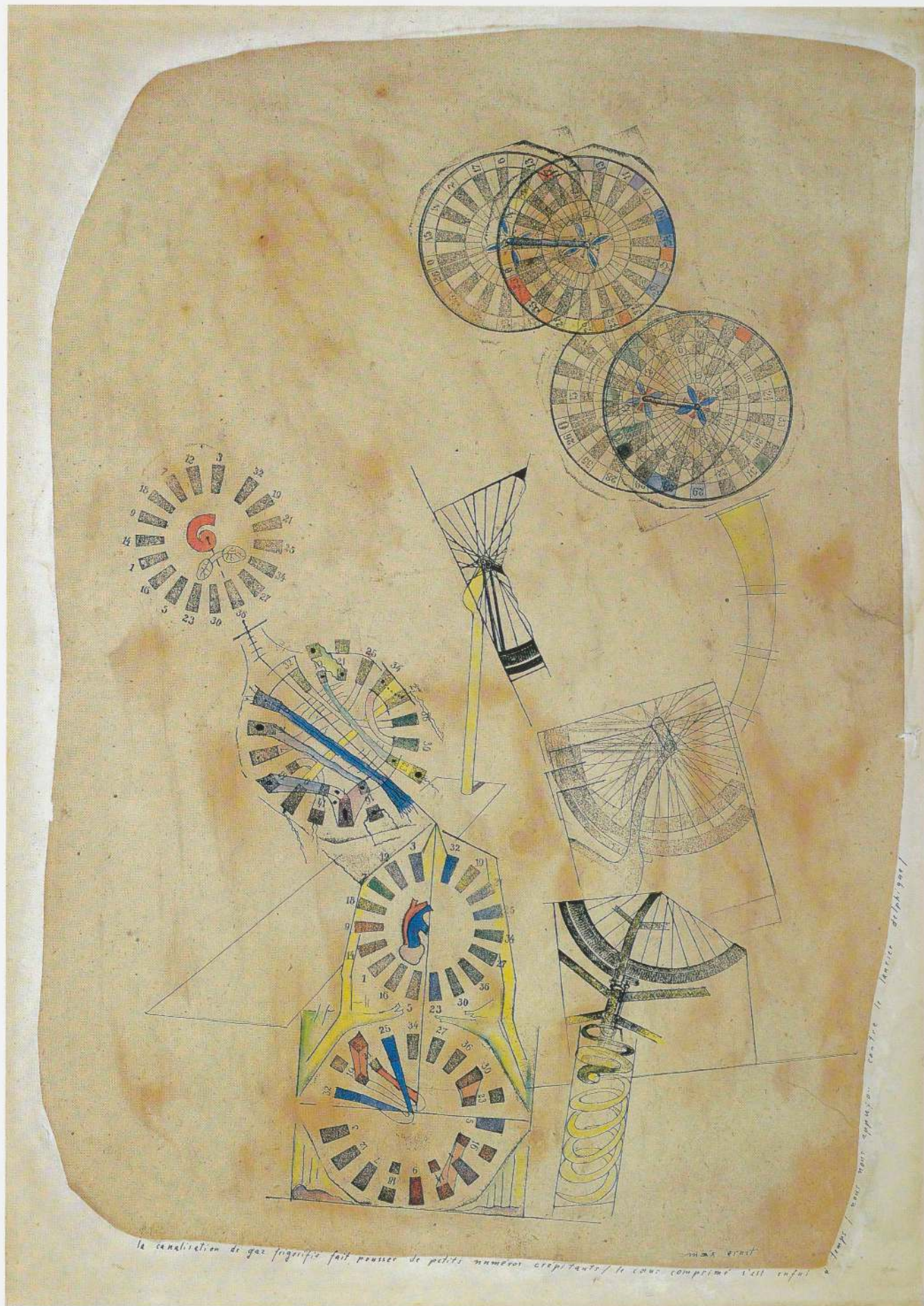
39 *Stamens and Marseillaise of Arp*,
1919 (Cat. No. 33)

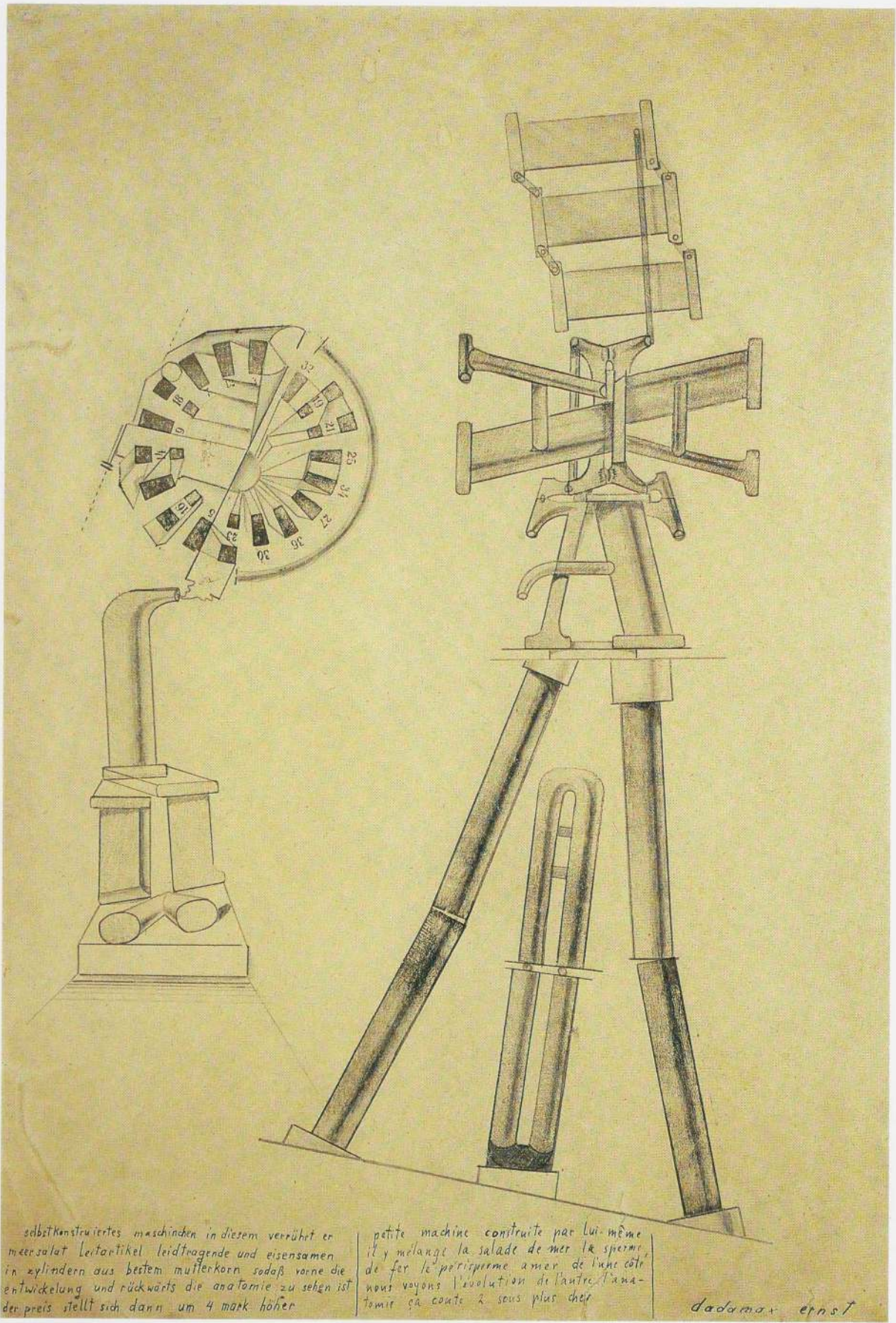


40 *Ambiguous Object*, 1919-20 (Cat. No. 34)



41 *Portable Handbook You are Warned*, 1919–20 (Cat. No. 35)

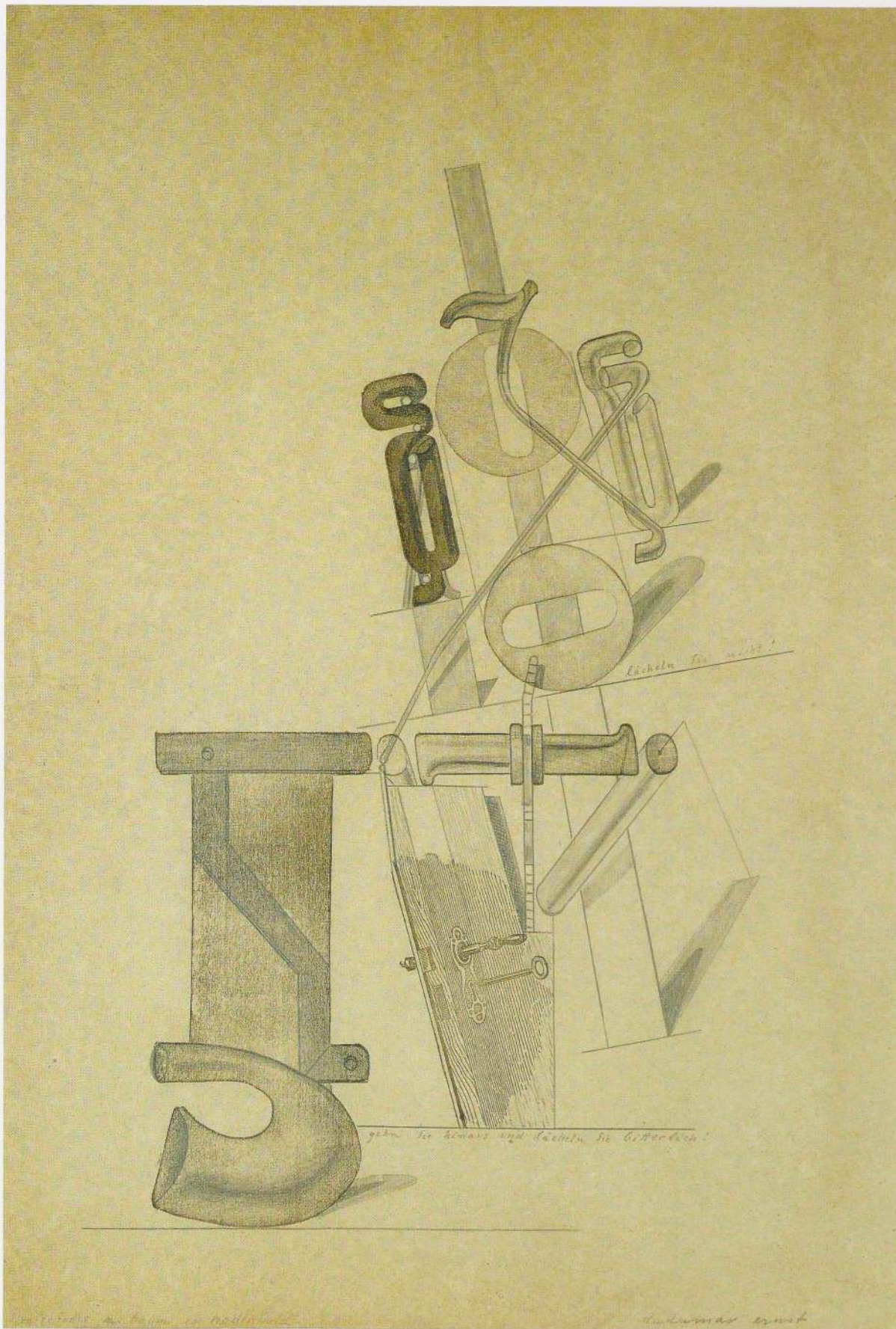




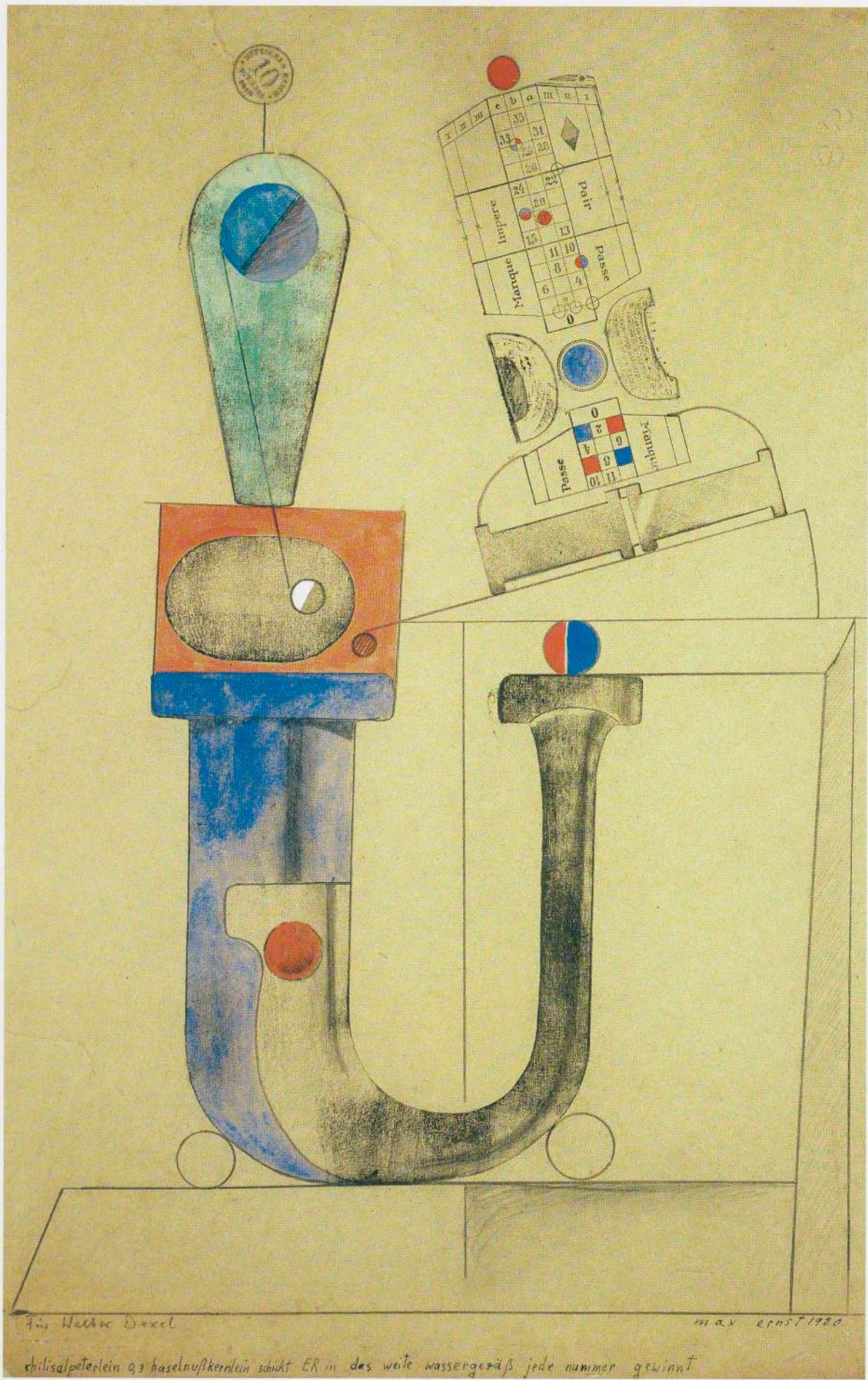
selbstkonstruiertes maschinen in diesem verrührt er
 meersalat leitartikel leittragende und eisensamen
 in zylindern aus bestem mutterkorn sodaß vorne die
 entwicklung und rückwärts die anatomie zu sehen ist
 der preis stellt sich dann um 4 mark höher

petite machine construite par lui-même
 il y mélange la salade de mer la sperme
 de fer le porripierme amer de l'une côté
 nous voyons l'évolution de l'autre l'ana-
 tomie ça coûte 2 sous plus cher

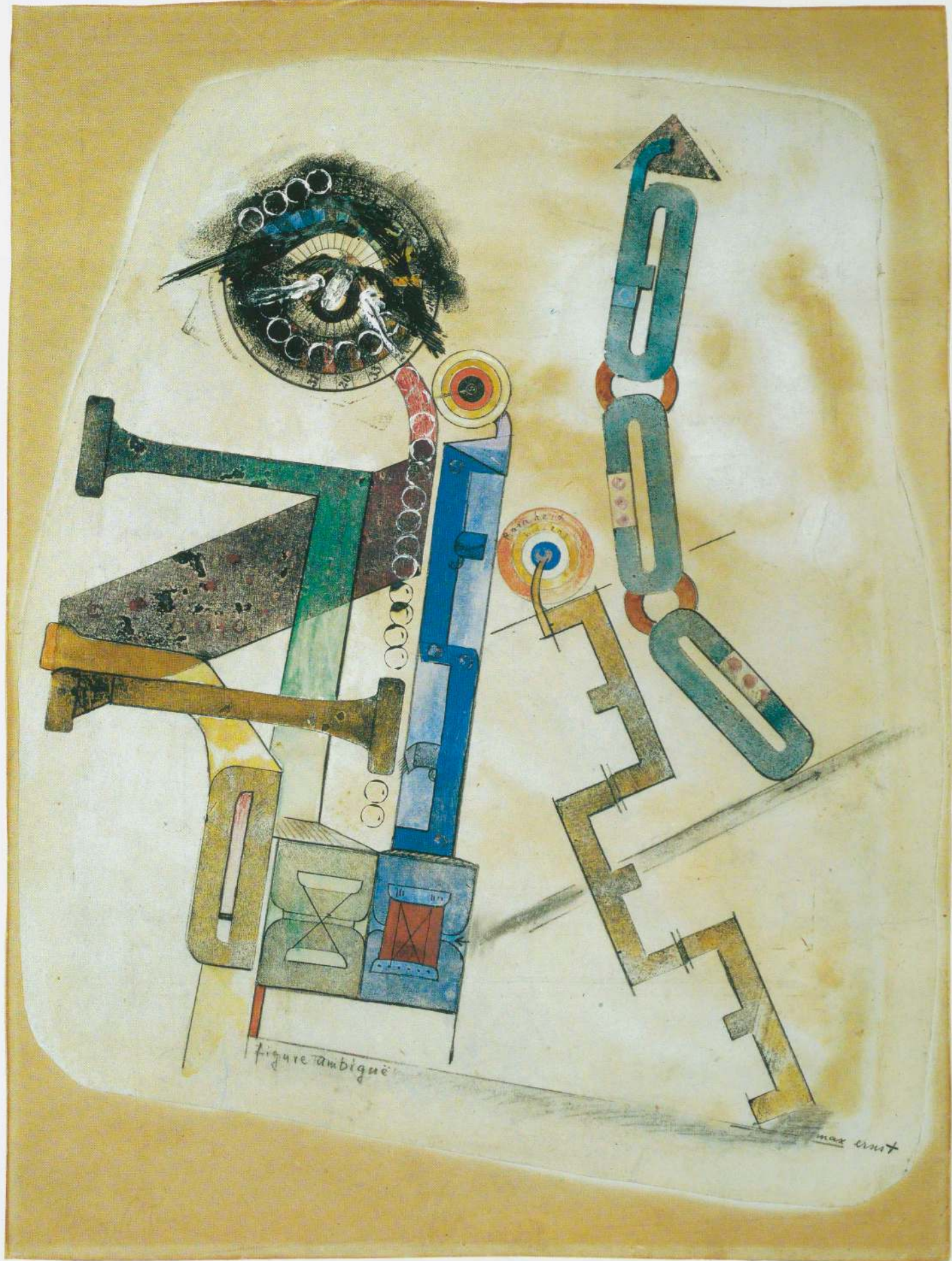
dadamax epst



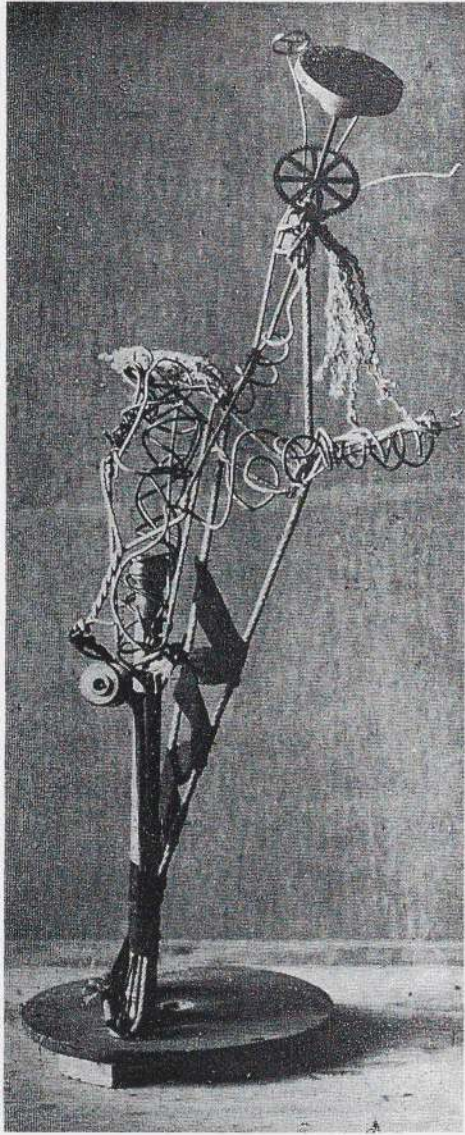
44 Don't Smile!, ca. 1920 (Cat. No. 38)



45 Little Chili Saltpetre, 1920 (Cat. No. 39)



46 Ambiguous Figure, ca. 1920 (Cat. No. 40)



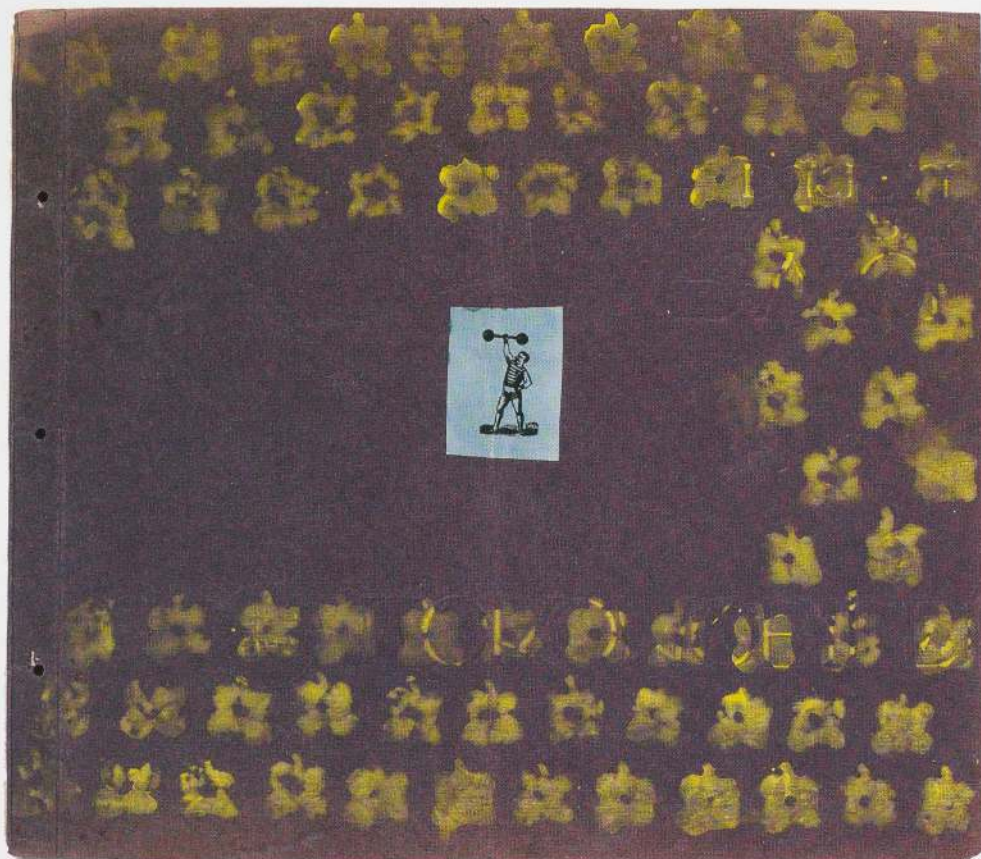
47 *Objet dad'art*, ca. 1920.
 Reproduced in *Die Schammade*, 1920
 (Cat. No. 41)



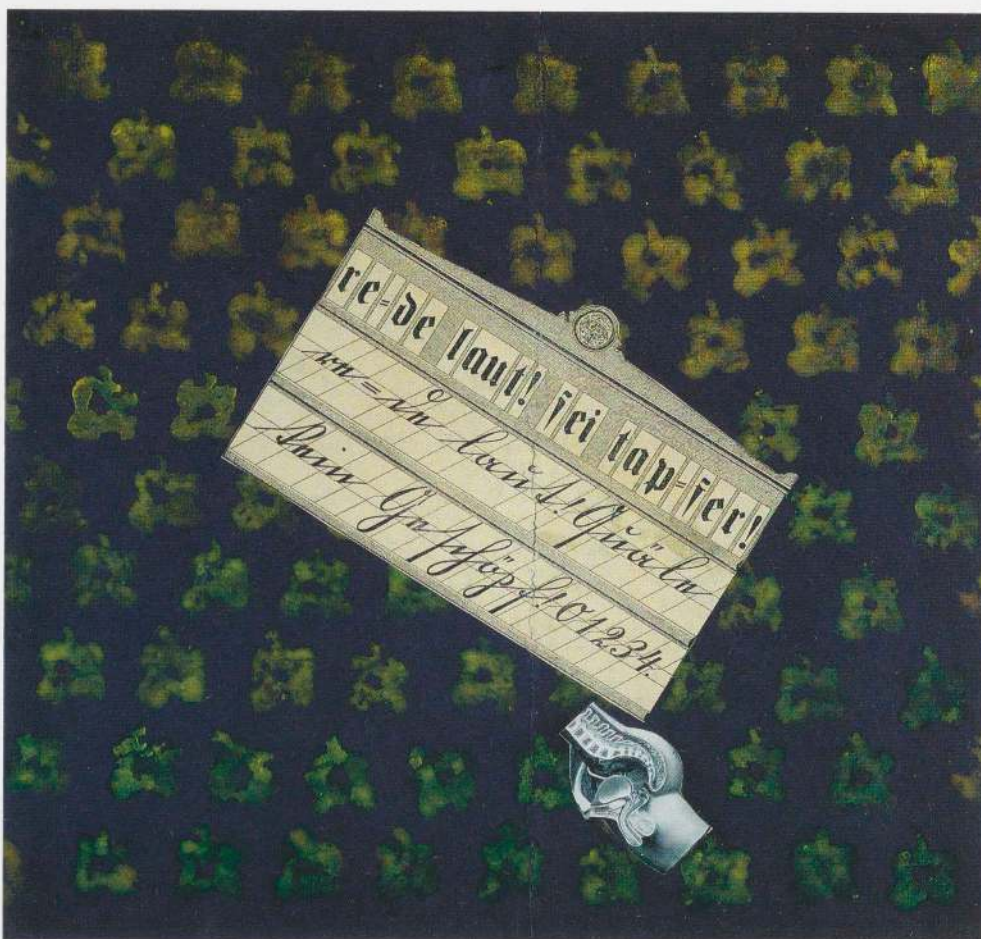
48 *Armada v. Dulgedalzen*, ca. 1920 (Cat. No. 42)



49 Dada Triumphs!, 1920 (Cat. No. 43)

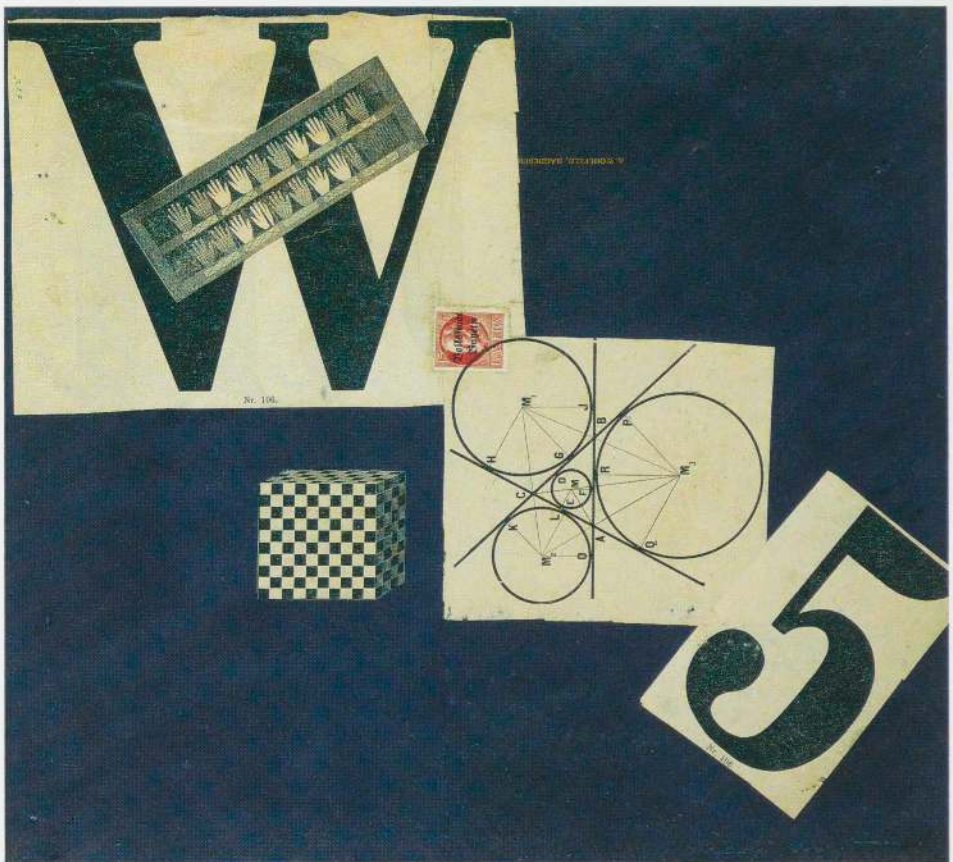


50 W 5 (Manifesto, jacket maquette), 1920
(Cat. No. 44)

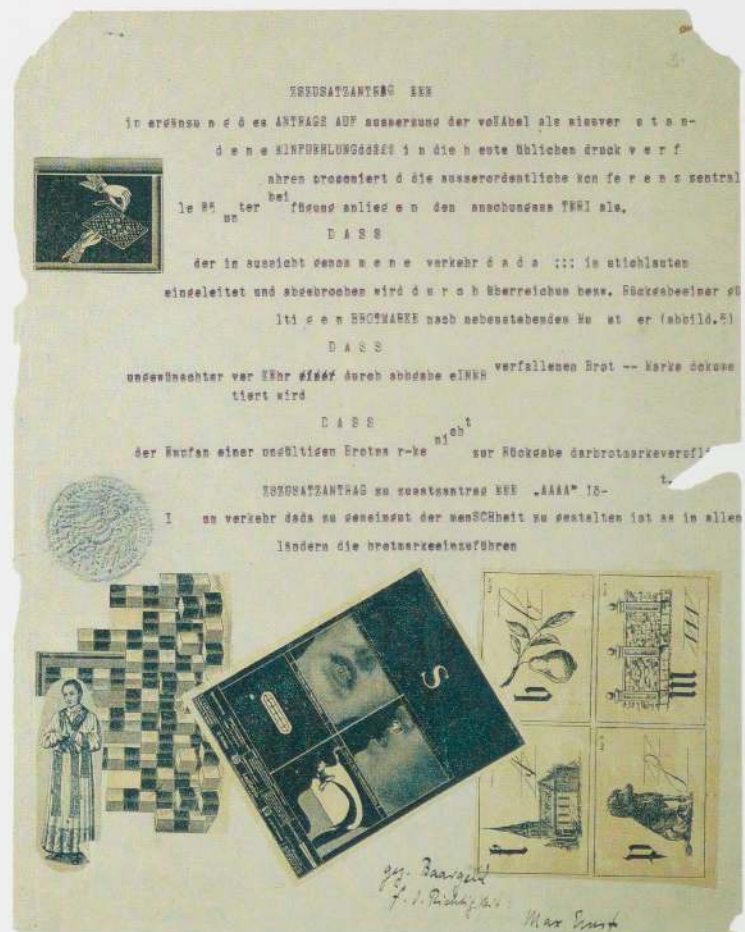


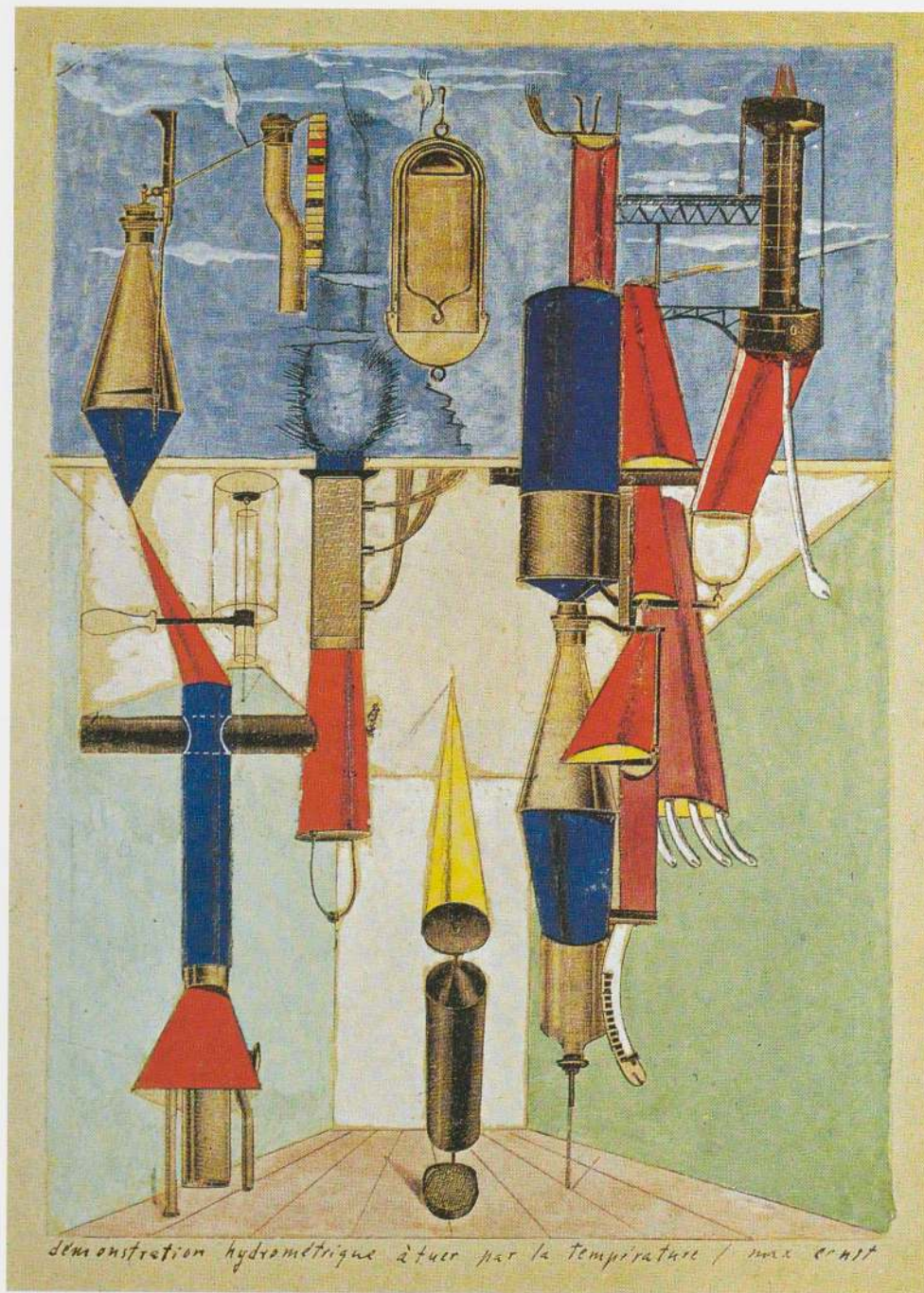
51 Talk loudly! Be brave!
(W 5 Manifesto, jacket maquette),
1920 (Cat. No. 45)

52 W5 (Weststupidien) (Manifesto, jacket maquette), 1920 (Cat. No. 46)

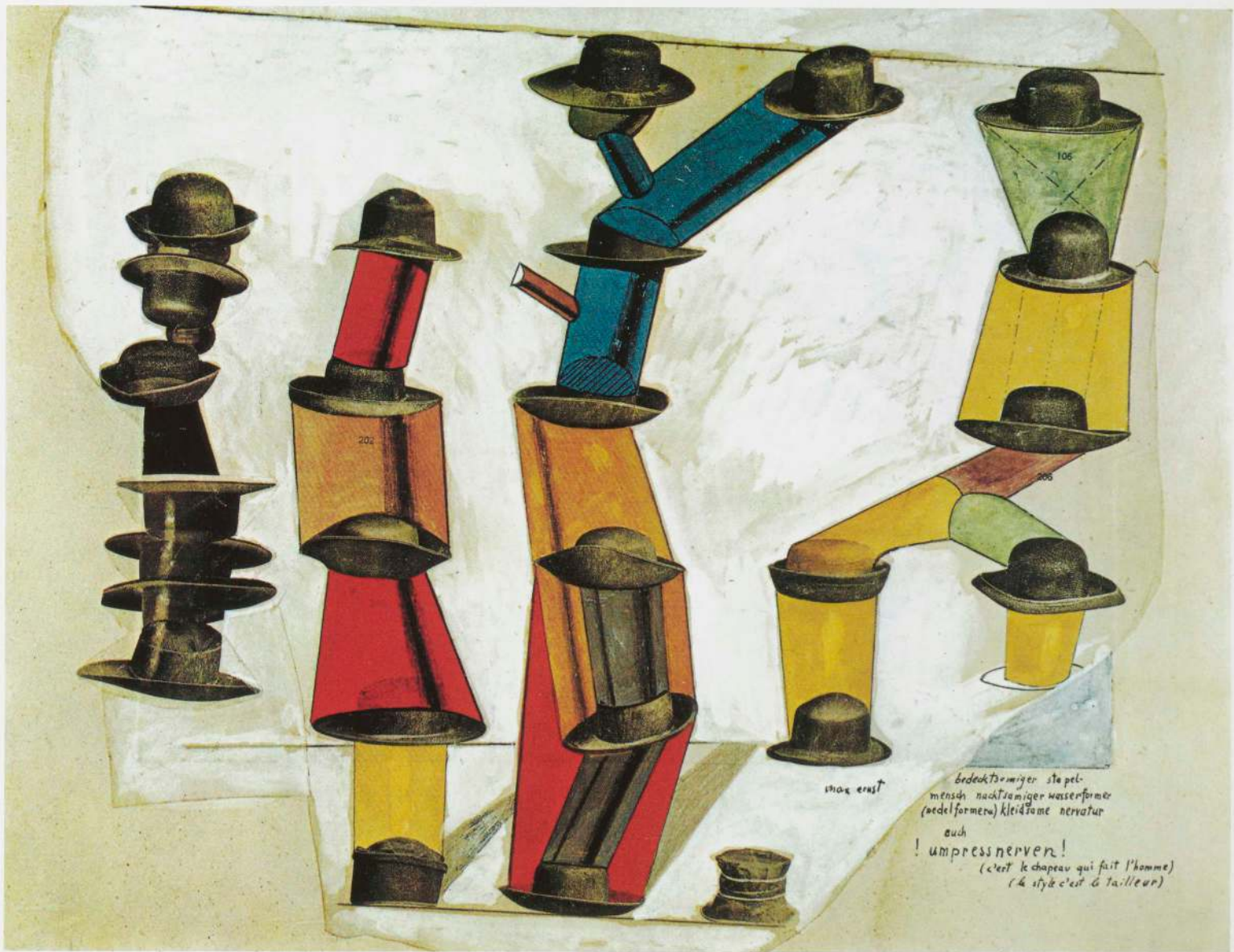


53 W5 (Manifesto, page 3), 1920 (Cat. No. 49)





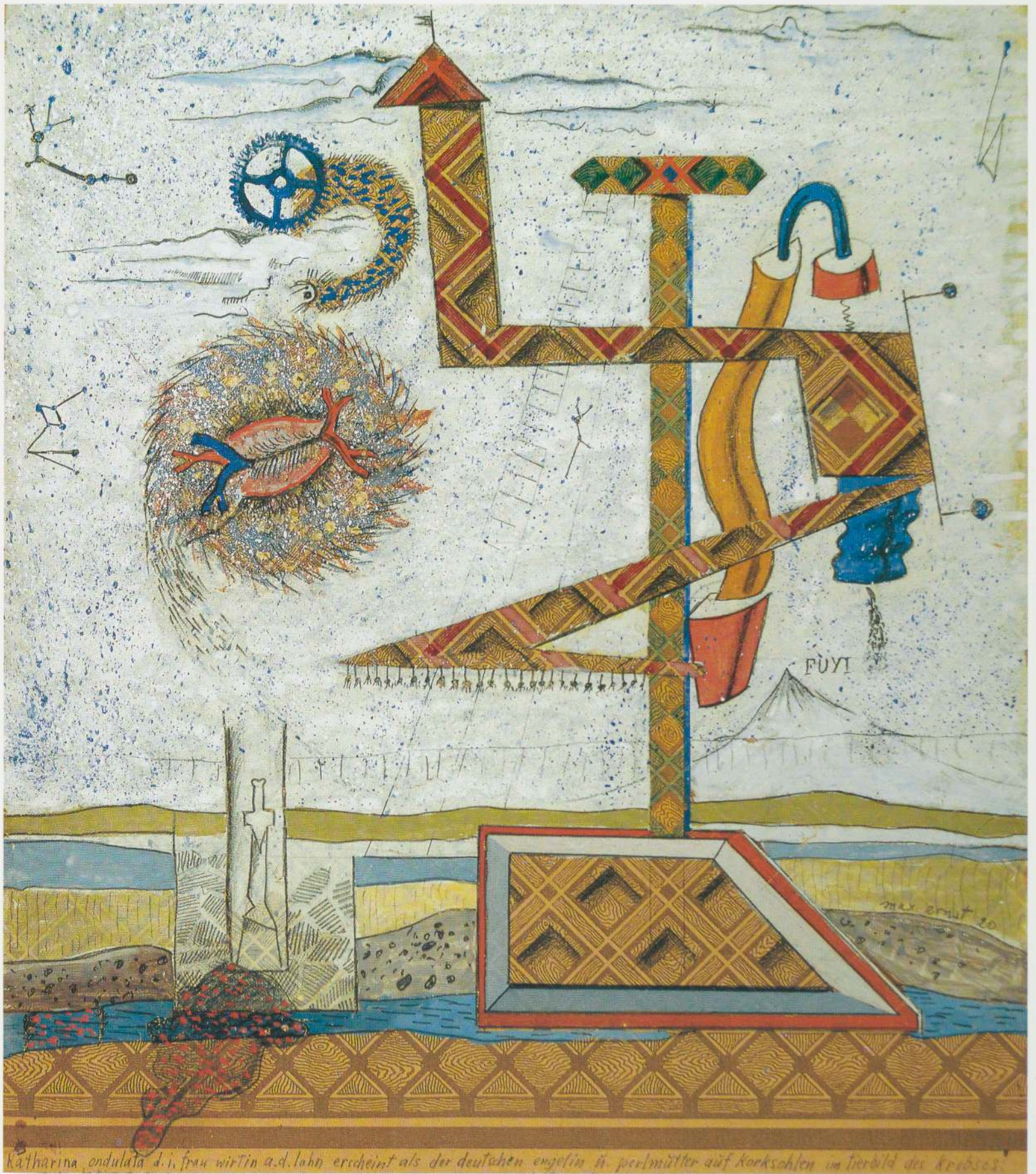
54 Hydrometric Demonstration of Killing by Temperature, 1920 (Cat. No. 52)



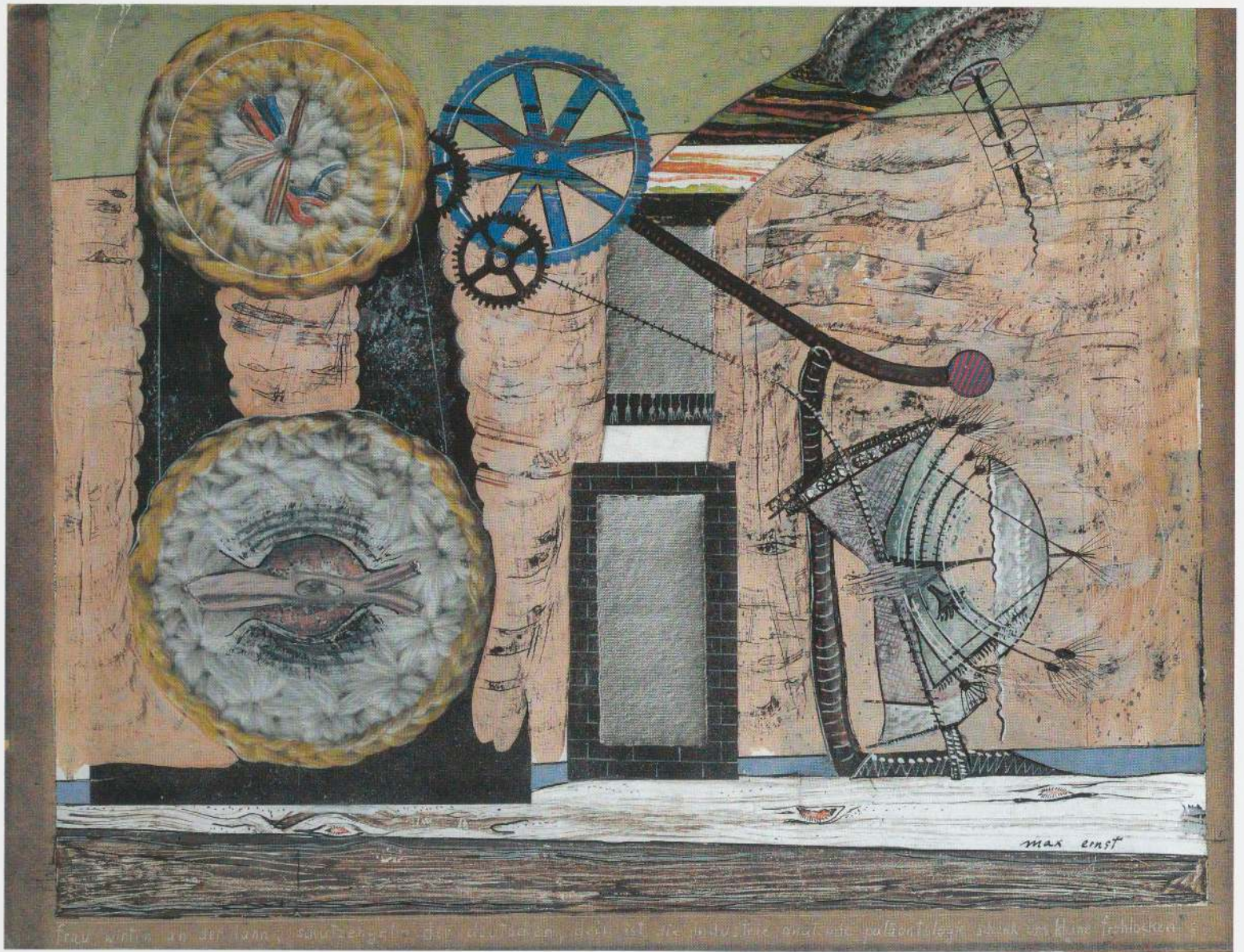
55 The Hat Makes the Man, 1920 (Cat. No. 53)



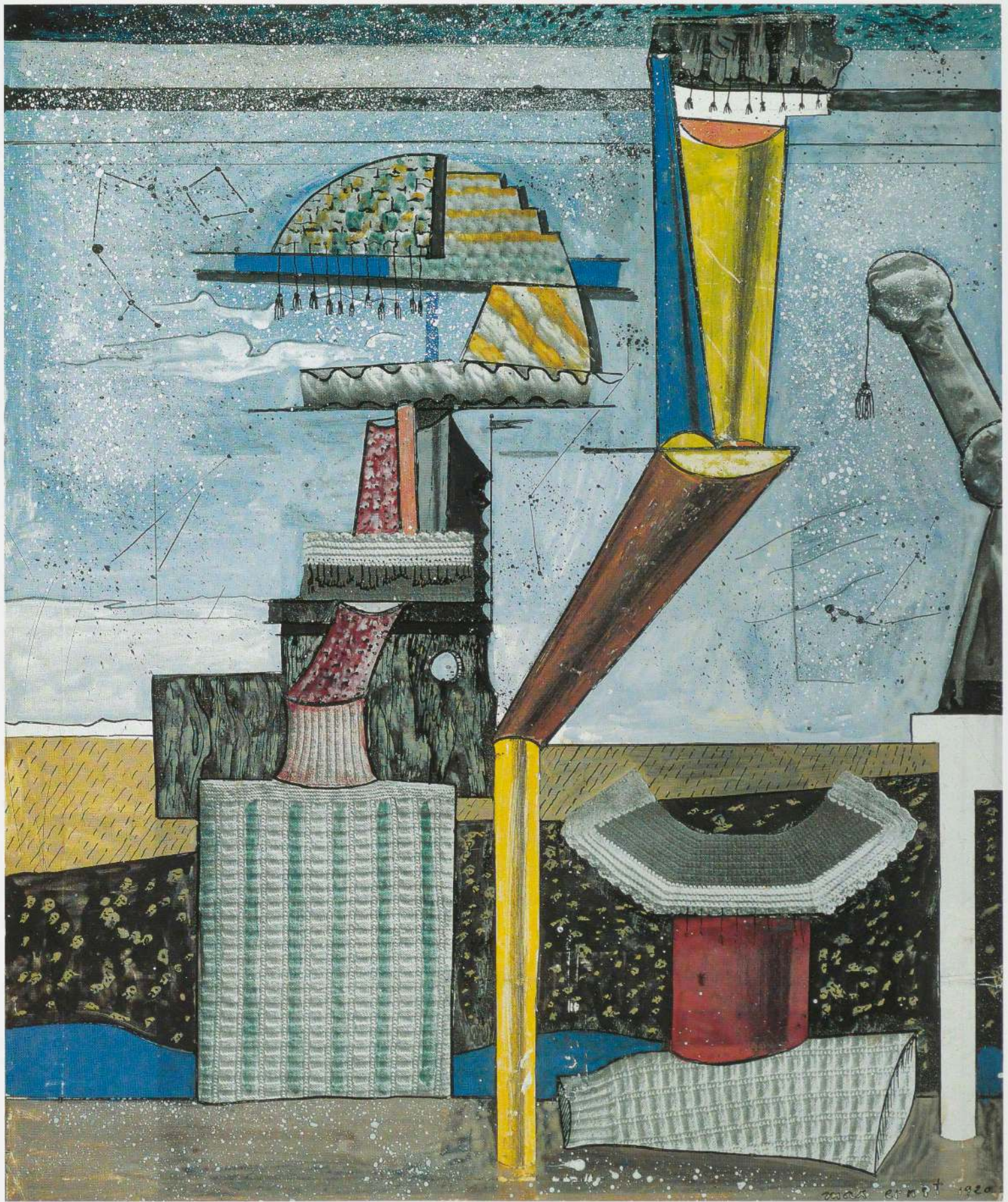
56 Frozen Landscape Icicles and Mineral Types of the Female Body, 1920 (Cat. No. 54)



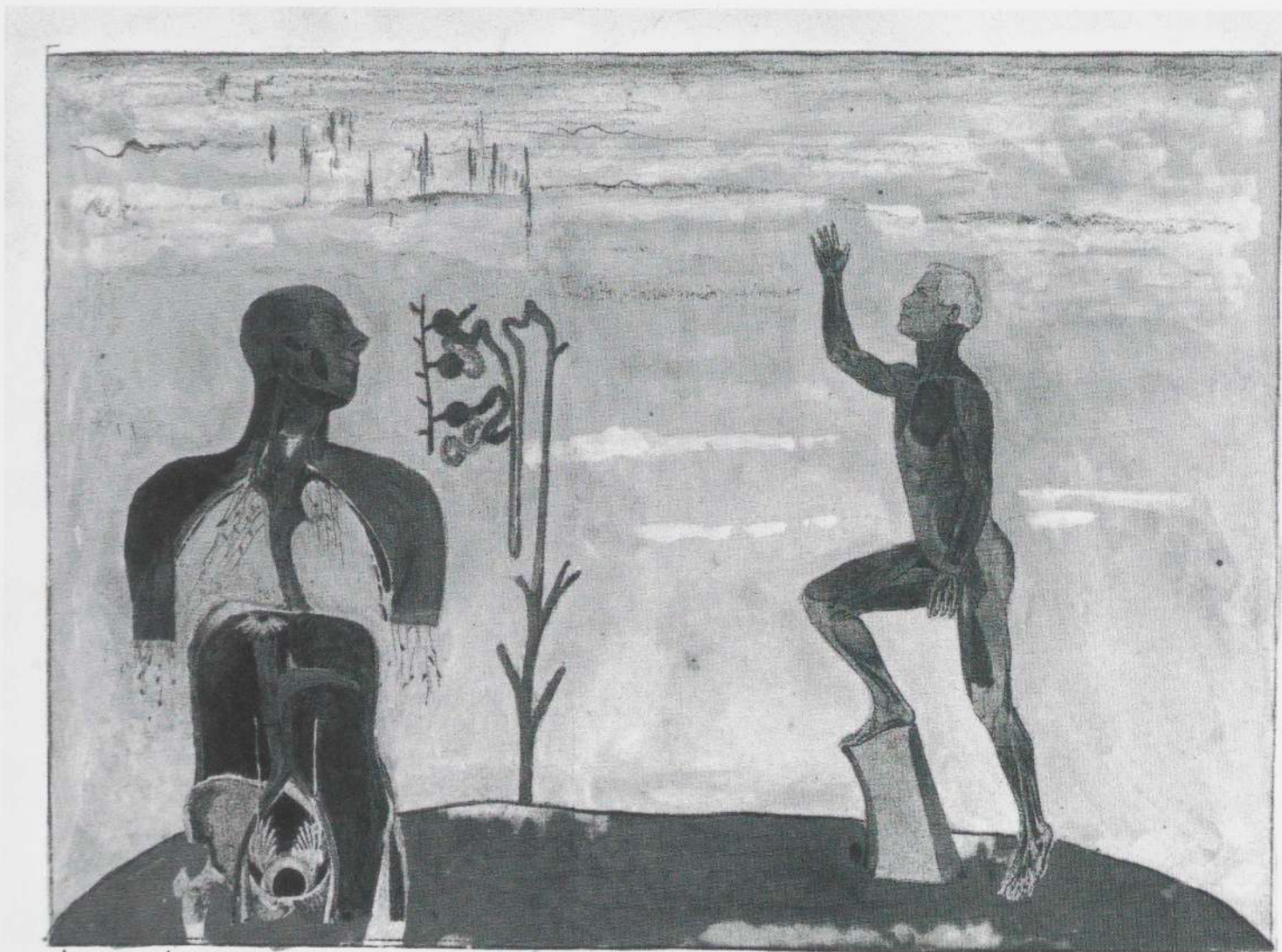
57 Katharina ondulata, 1920 (Cat. No. 55)



58 Landlady on the Lahn..., 1920 (Cat. No. 56)



59 Untitled, 1920 (Cat. No. 57)

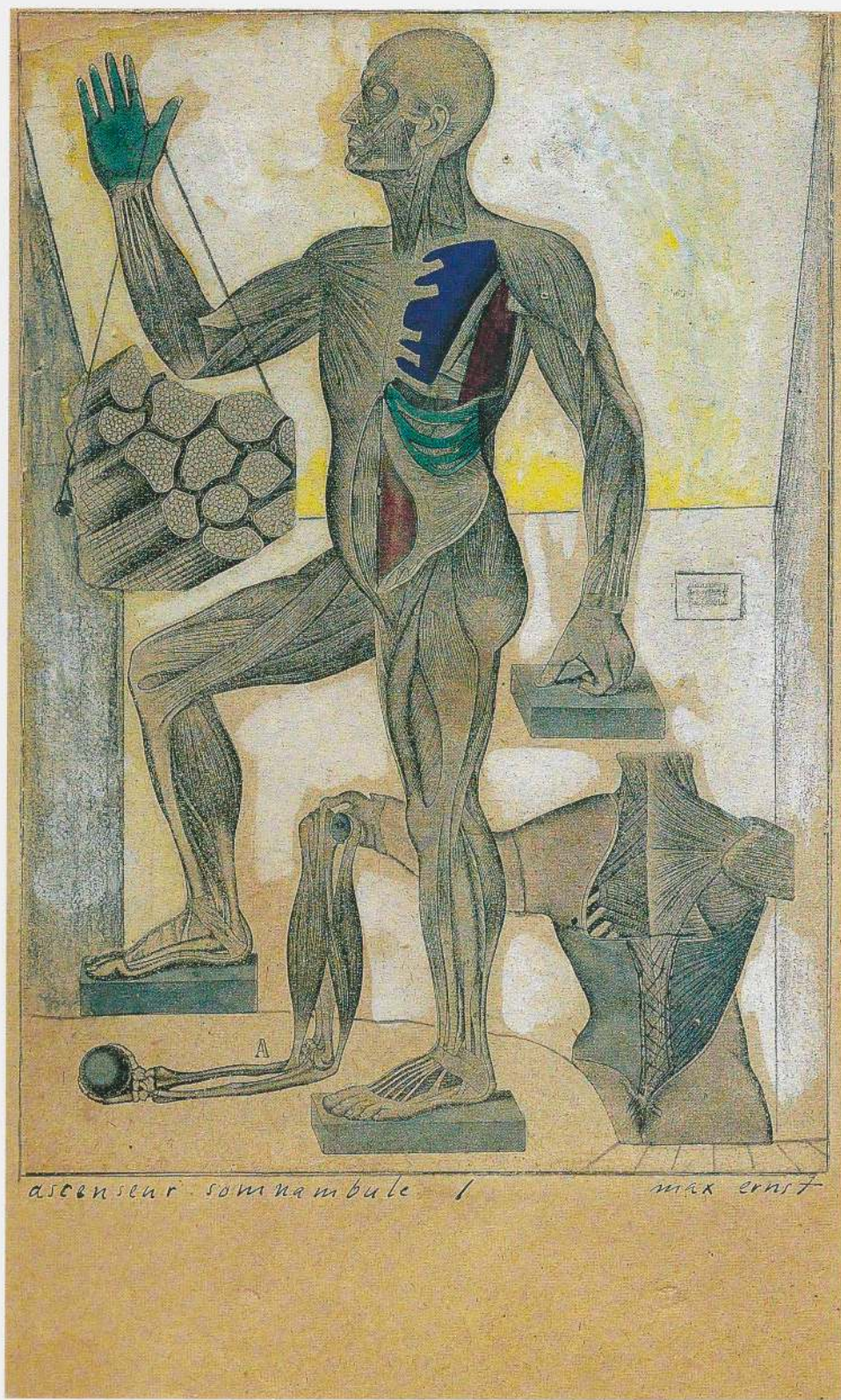


jeune homme chargé d'un fagot fleurissant / max ernst

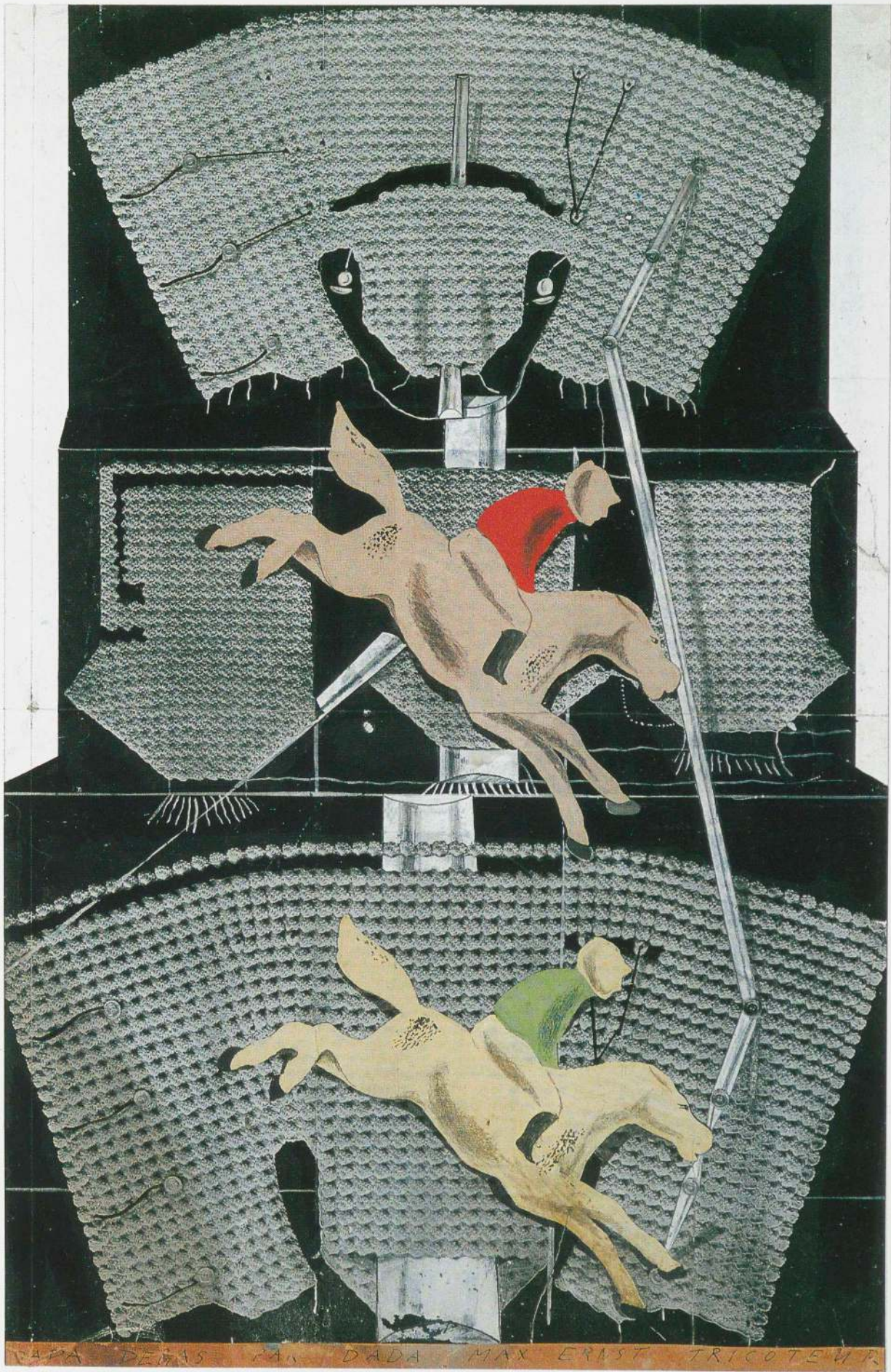
60 Young Man Burdened with a Flowering Faggot, ca. 1920 (Cat. No. 60)



61 *Dada Gauguin*, 1920 (Cat. No. 59)



62 The Somnambulist Elevator, 1920 (Cat. No. 58)



DADA DEGAS par DADA MAX ERNST TRICOTEUR.

63 Dada Degas, 1920-21 (Cat. No. 103)



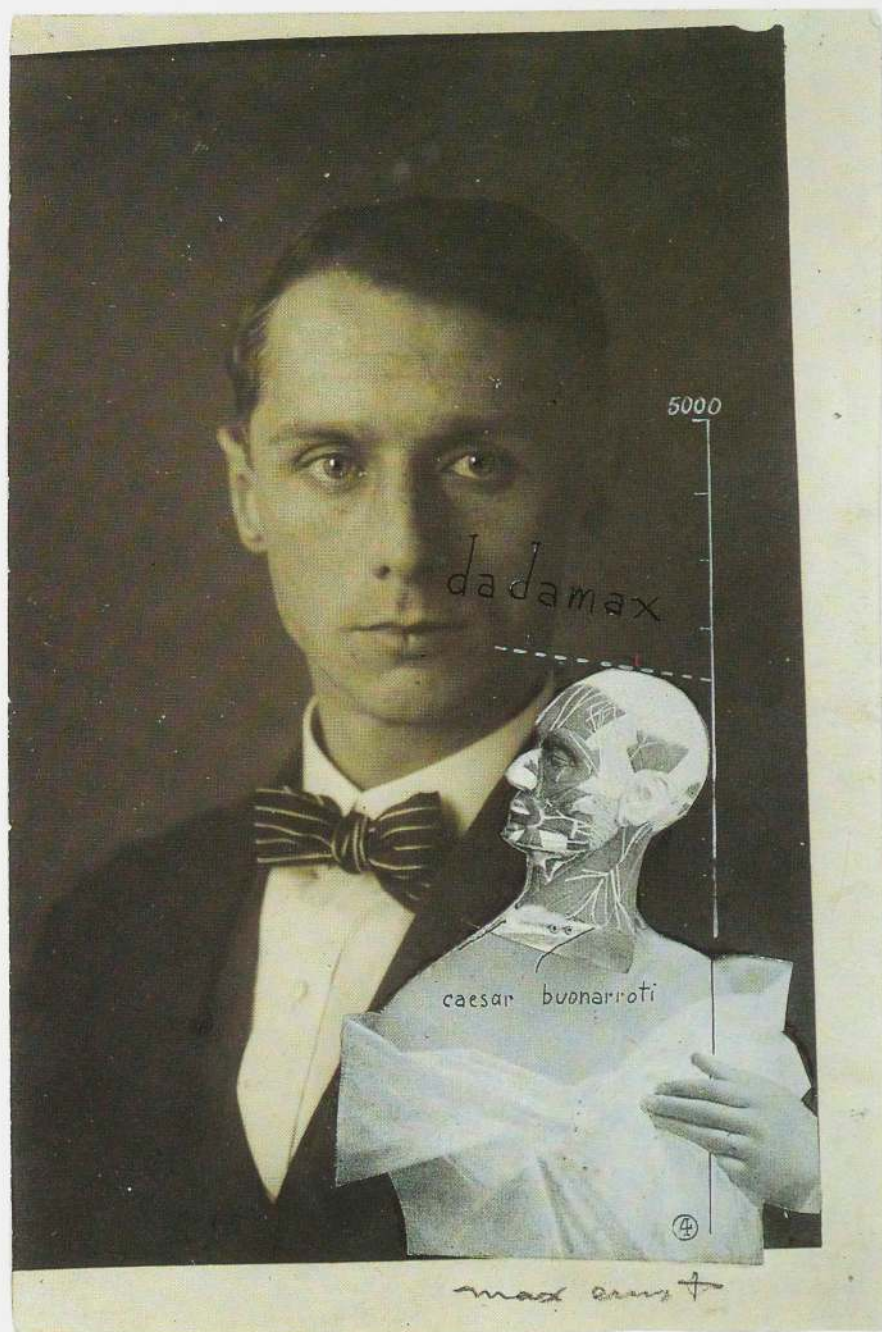
64 *Above the Clouds Midnight Passes...*, 1920 (Cat. No. 62)



65 *Health through Sport*, ca. 1920 (Cat. No. 63)



66 *The Chinese Nightingale*, 1920 (Cat. No. 64)



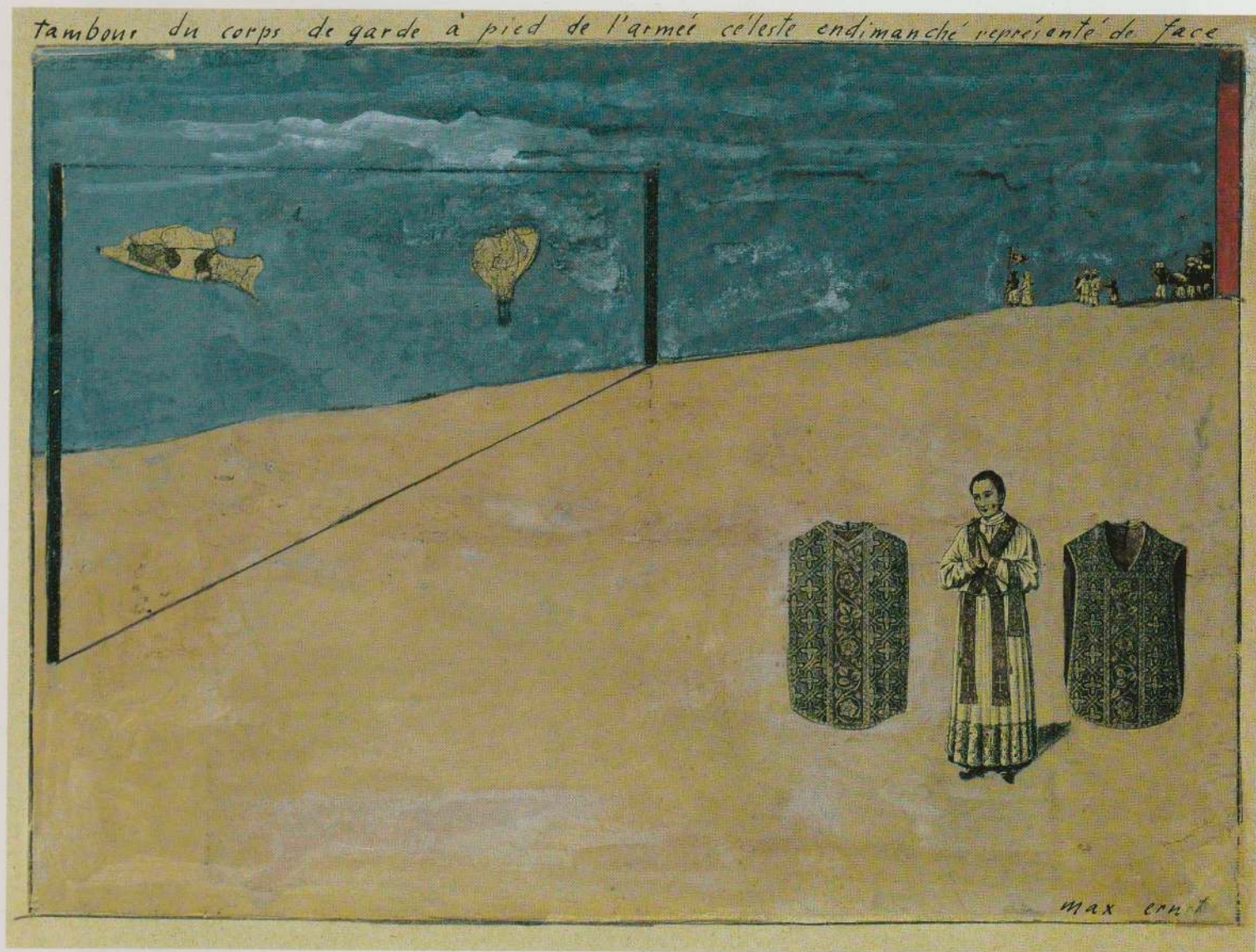
67 *The Punching Ball or the Immortality of Buonarroti*, 1920 (Cat. No. 66)



68 Young Chimera, ca. 1921 (Cat. No. 104)



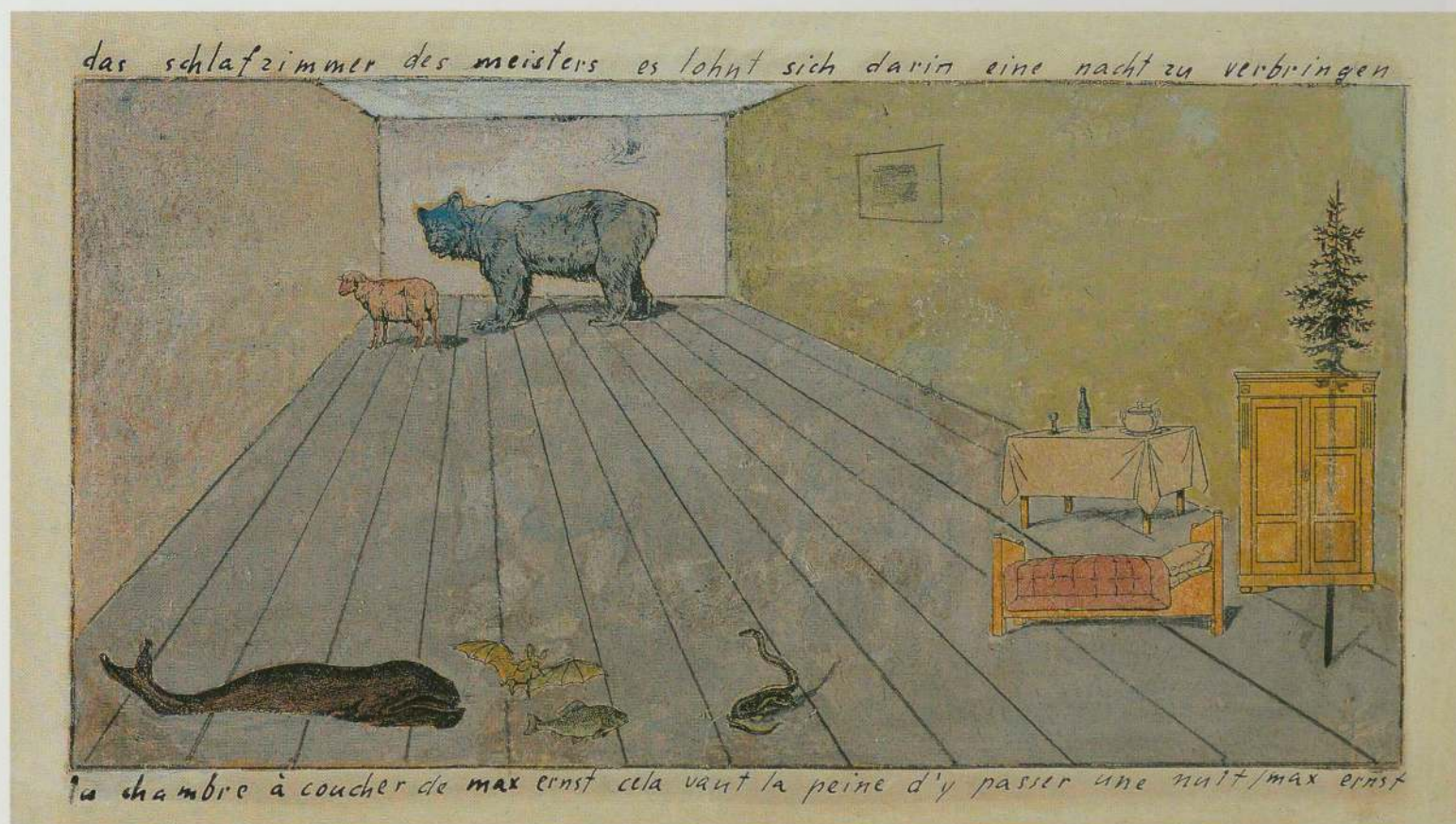
69 *Perturbation, My Sister*, ca. 1921 (Cat. No. 105)



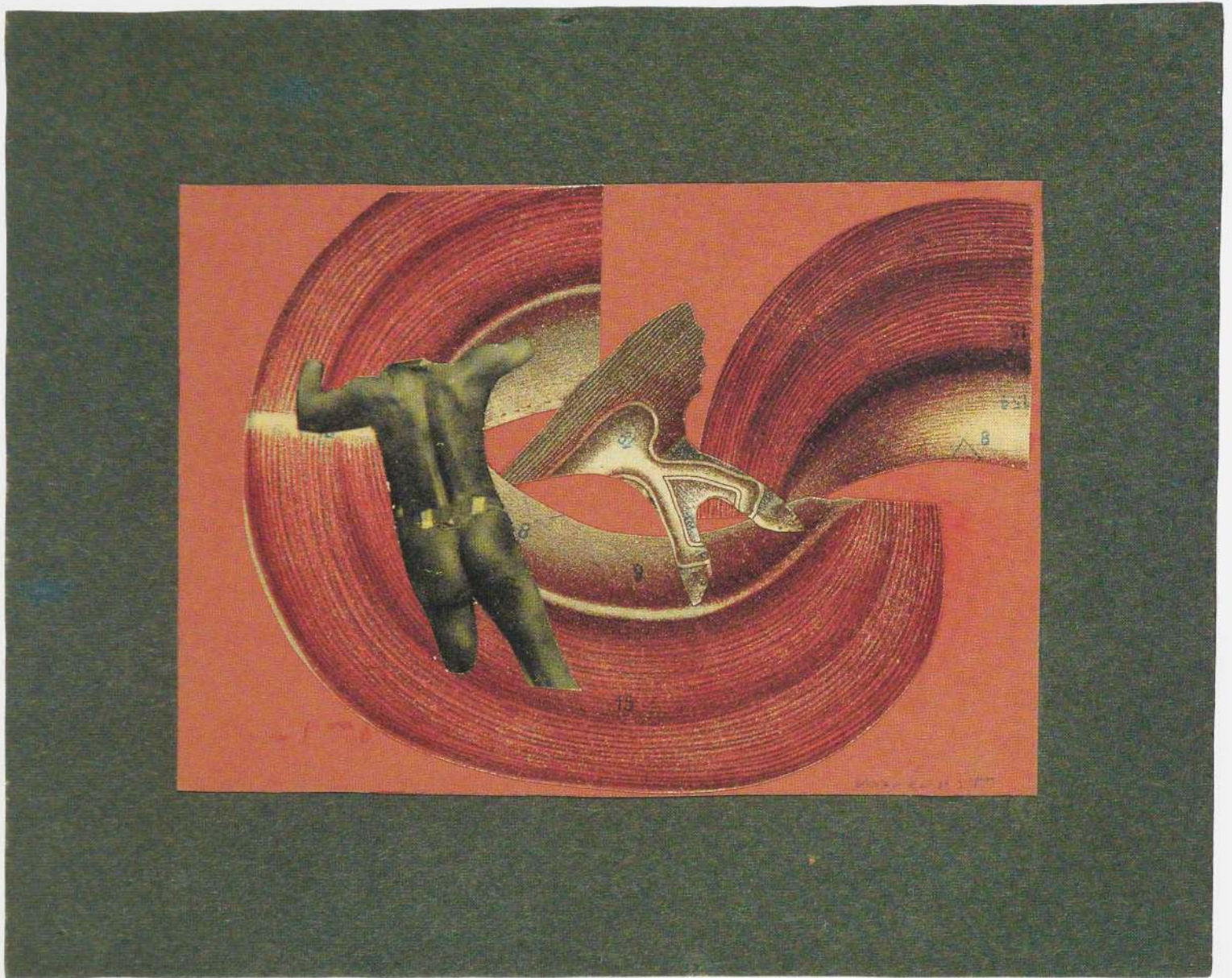
70 *Drum of the Infantry of the Celestial Army Represented Abreast in Their Sunday Best*, ca. 1920 (Cat. No. 69)



71 Apollo Constantly Refuses to Marry the Archaeologist's Only Daughter, ca. 1920 (Cat. No. 70)



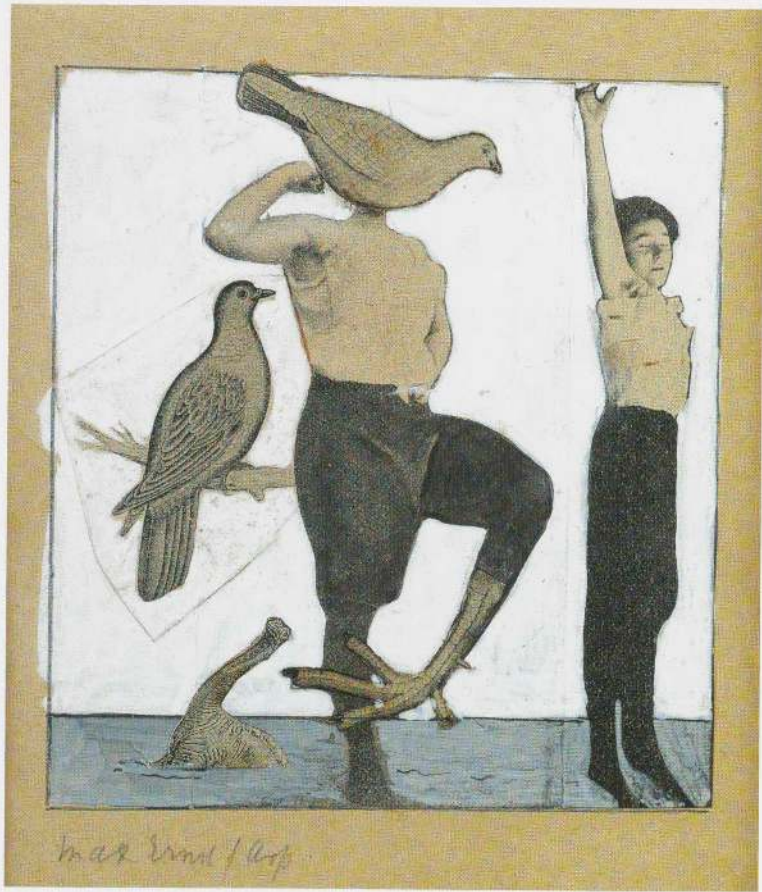
72 The Master's Bedroom It's Worth Spending a Night There, ca. 1920 (Cat. No. 71)



73 Untitled, ca. 1920-21 (Cat. No. 102)



74 Untitled, ca. 1920 (Cat. No. 72)



75 Physiomythological Flood Picture, 1920 (Cat. No. 73)

*gai réveil du geyser dans lequel une délicieuse jeune femme vêtue d'une très
légère chemise*



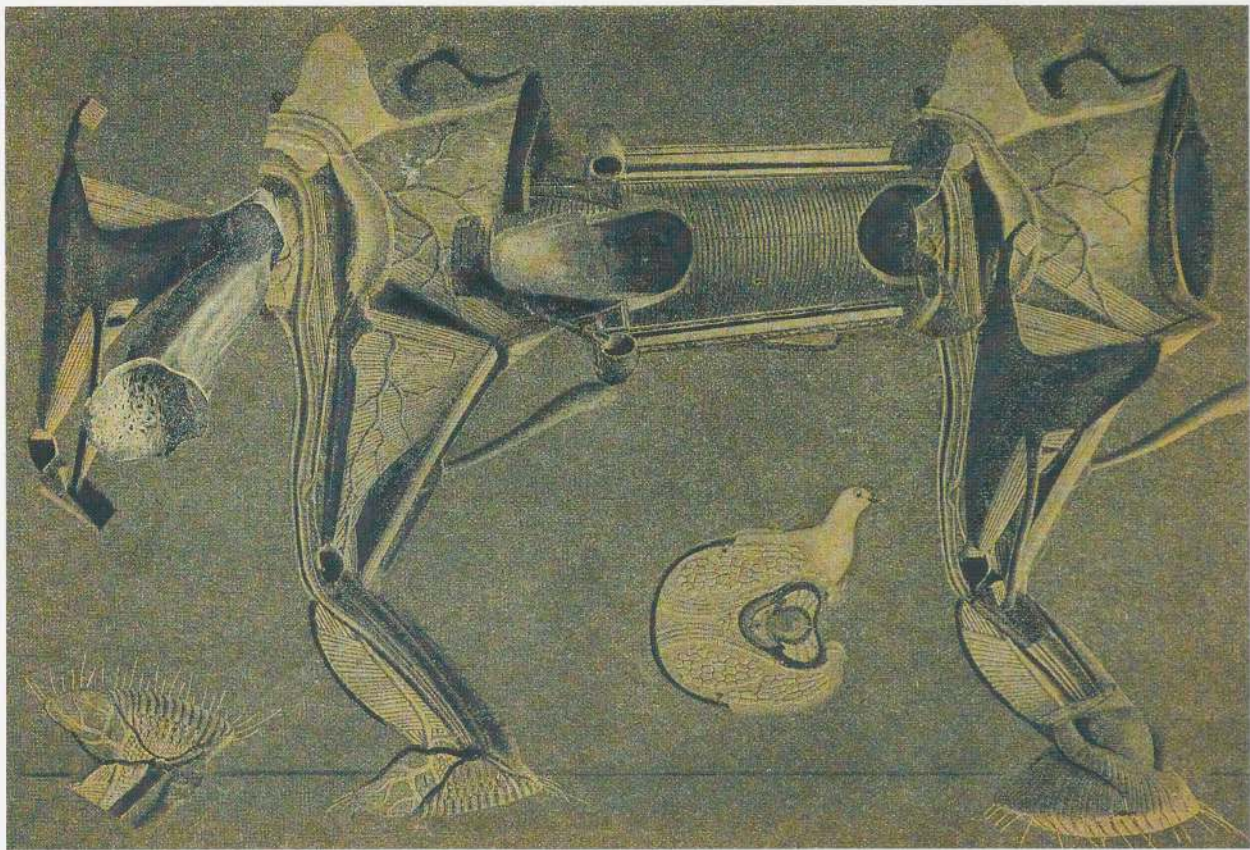
max ernst

le chien qui chie le chien bien coiffé malgré les difficultés du terrain causées par

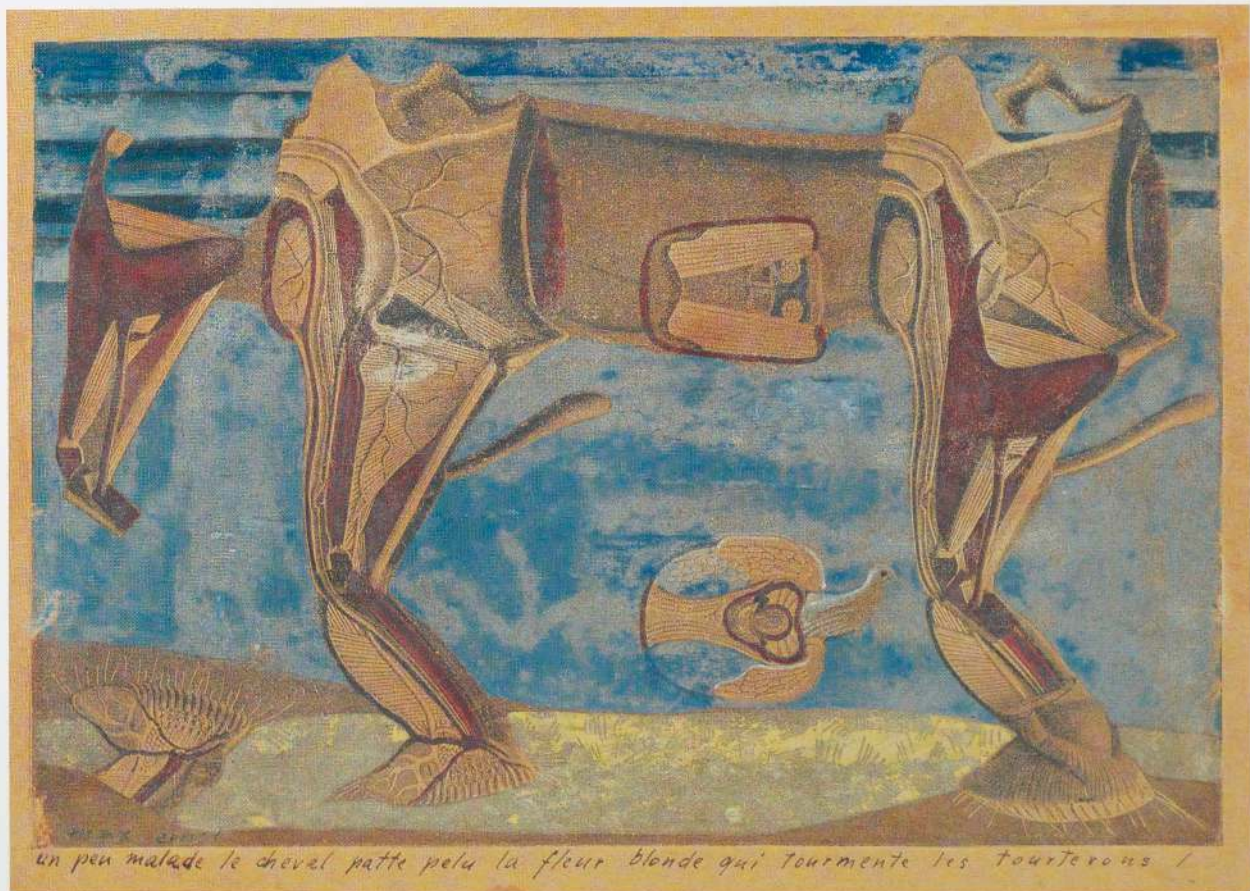


une neige abondante la femme à belle gorge la chanson de la chair / max ernst

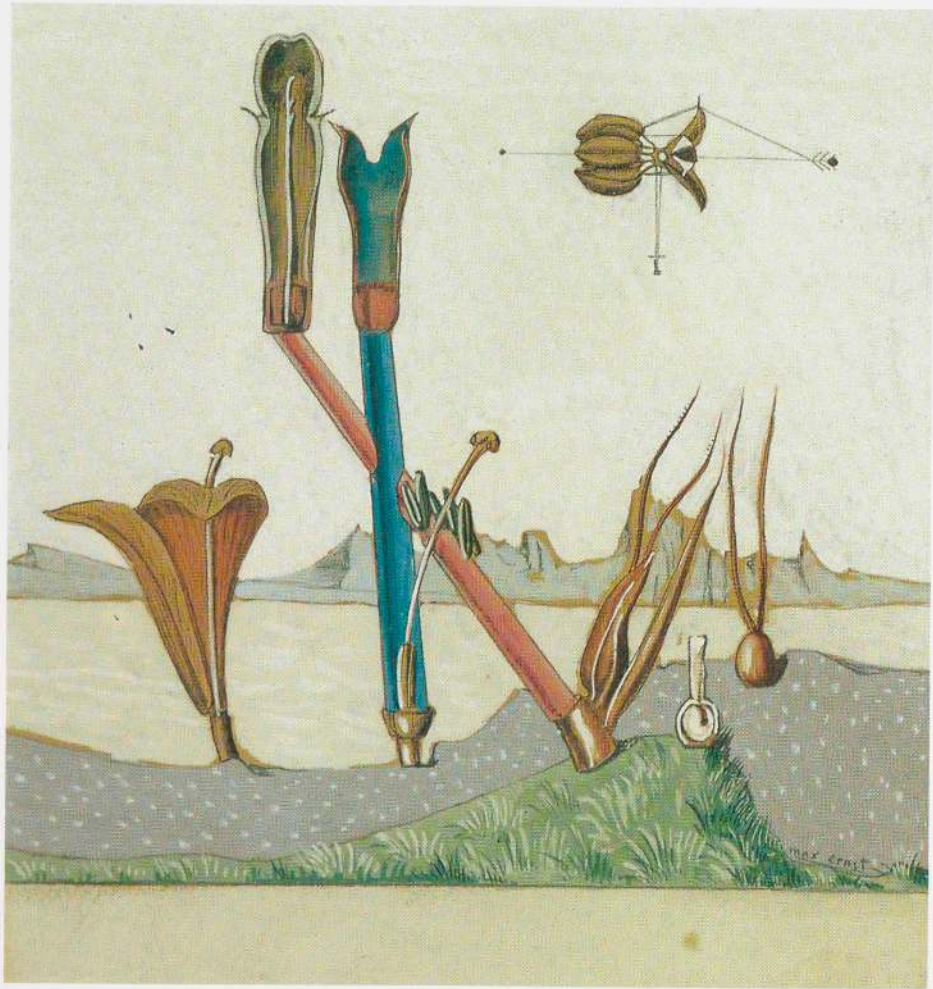
77 The Dog Who Shits... The Song of The Flesh, ca. 1920 (Cat. No. 74)



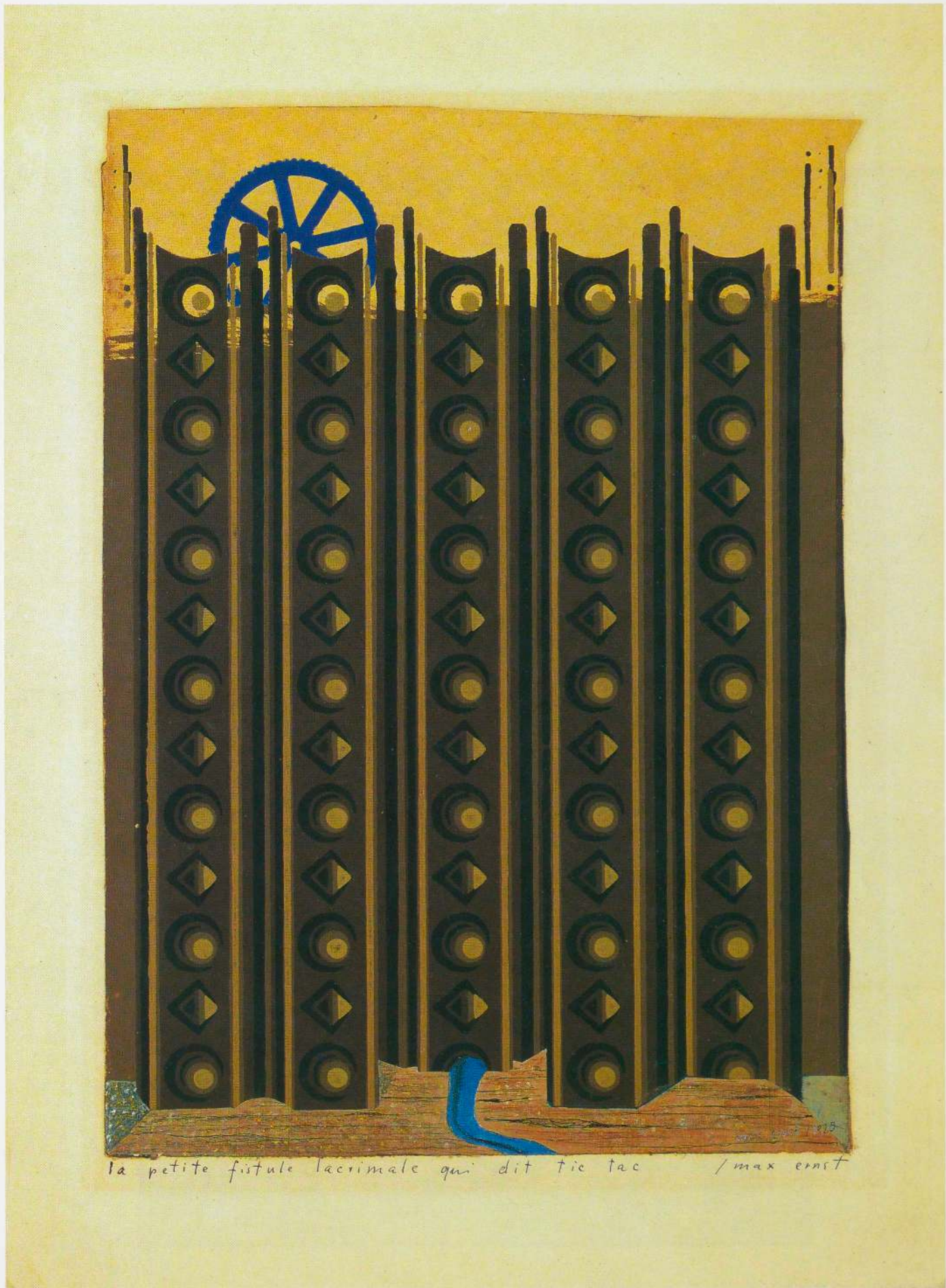
78 *The Horse, He's a Little Sick*, ca. 1920 (Cat. No. 75)



79 *The Hairy-footed Horse, He's a Little Sick...*, ca. 1920 (Cat. No. 76)



80 Untitled, ca. 1920 (Cat. No. 77)

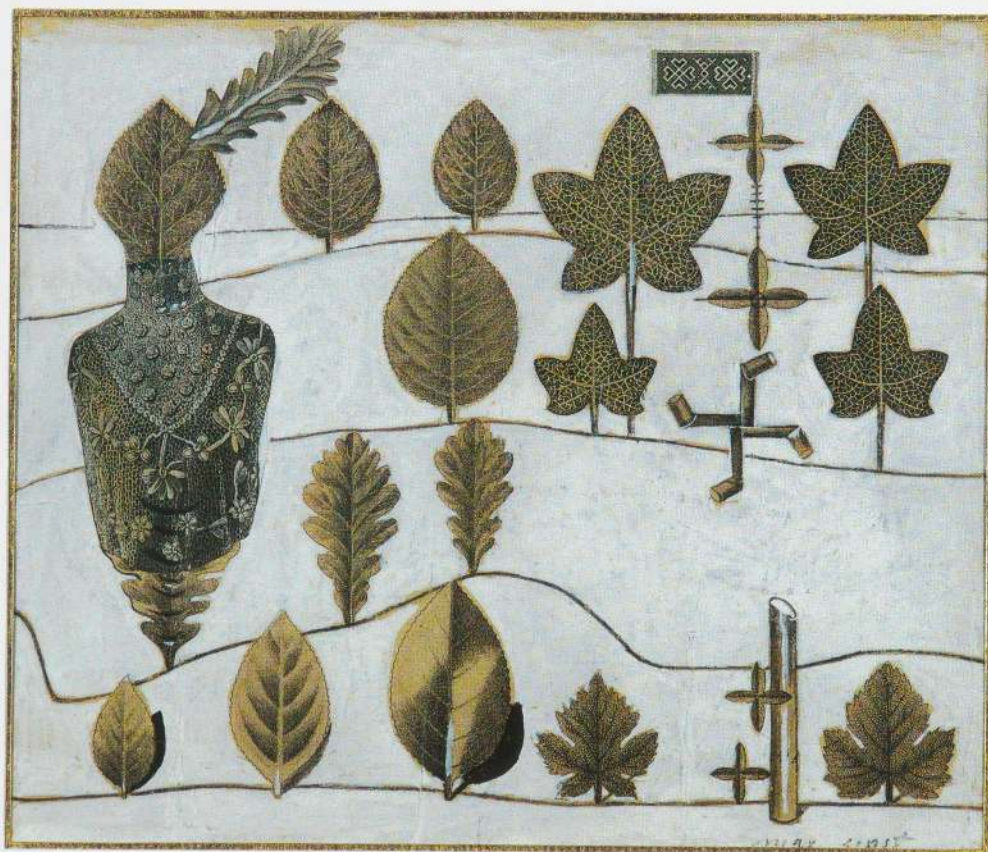


la petite fistule lacrimale qui dit tic tac / max ernst

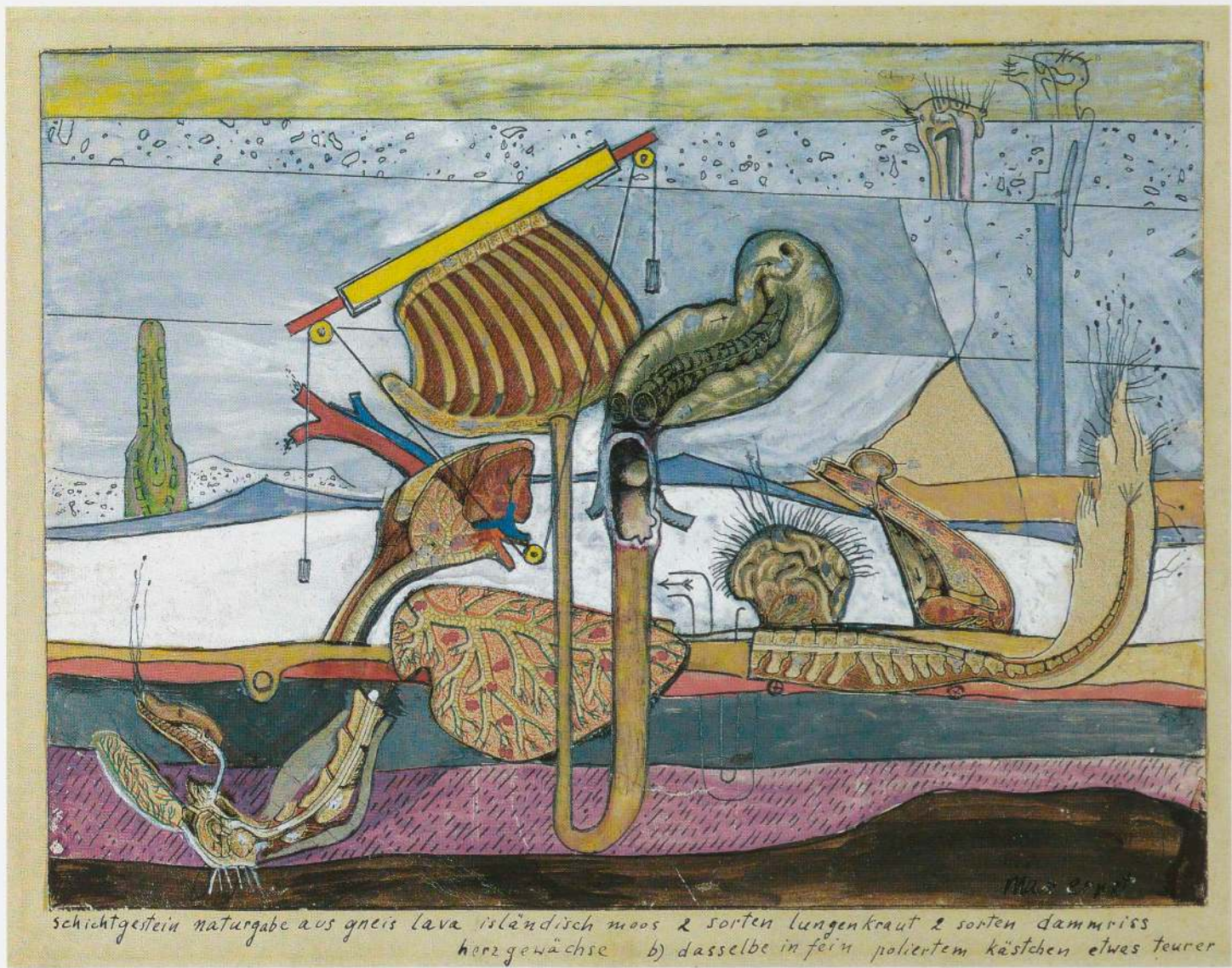
81 The Little Tear Gland That Says Tic Tac, 1920 (Cat. No. 78)



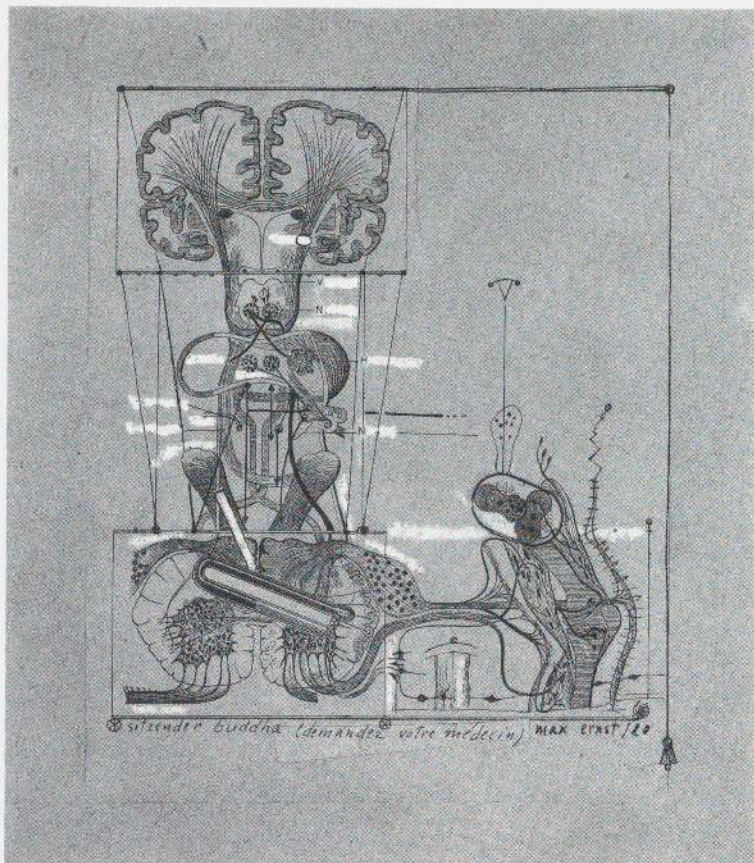
82 *The Sandworm Who Reties Her Sandal...*, ca. 1920 (Cat. No. 79)



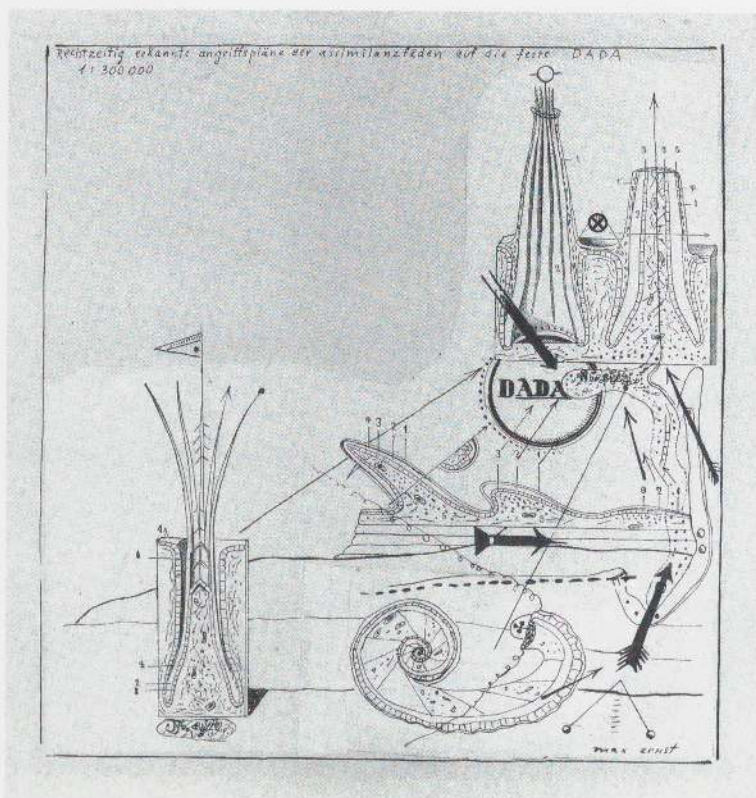
83 *Leaf Landscape*, ca. 1920 (Cat. No. 80)



84 Stratified Rocks, Nature's Gift of Gneiss Lava Icelandic Moss..., ca. 1920 (Cat. No. 81)

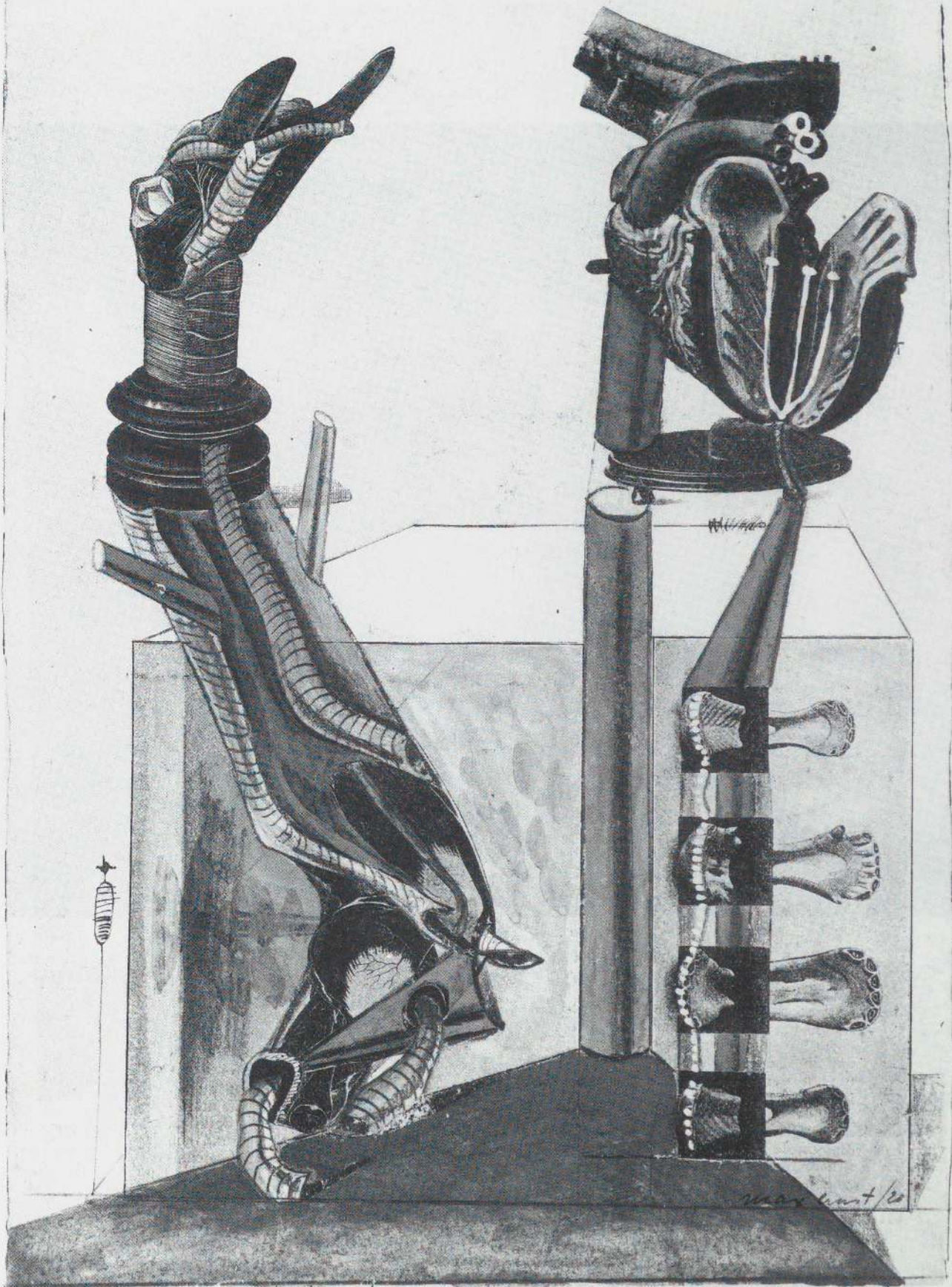


85 Seated Buddha, 1920 (Cat. No. 82)

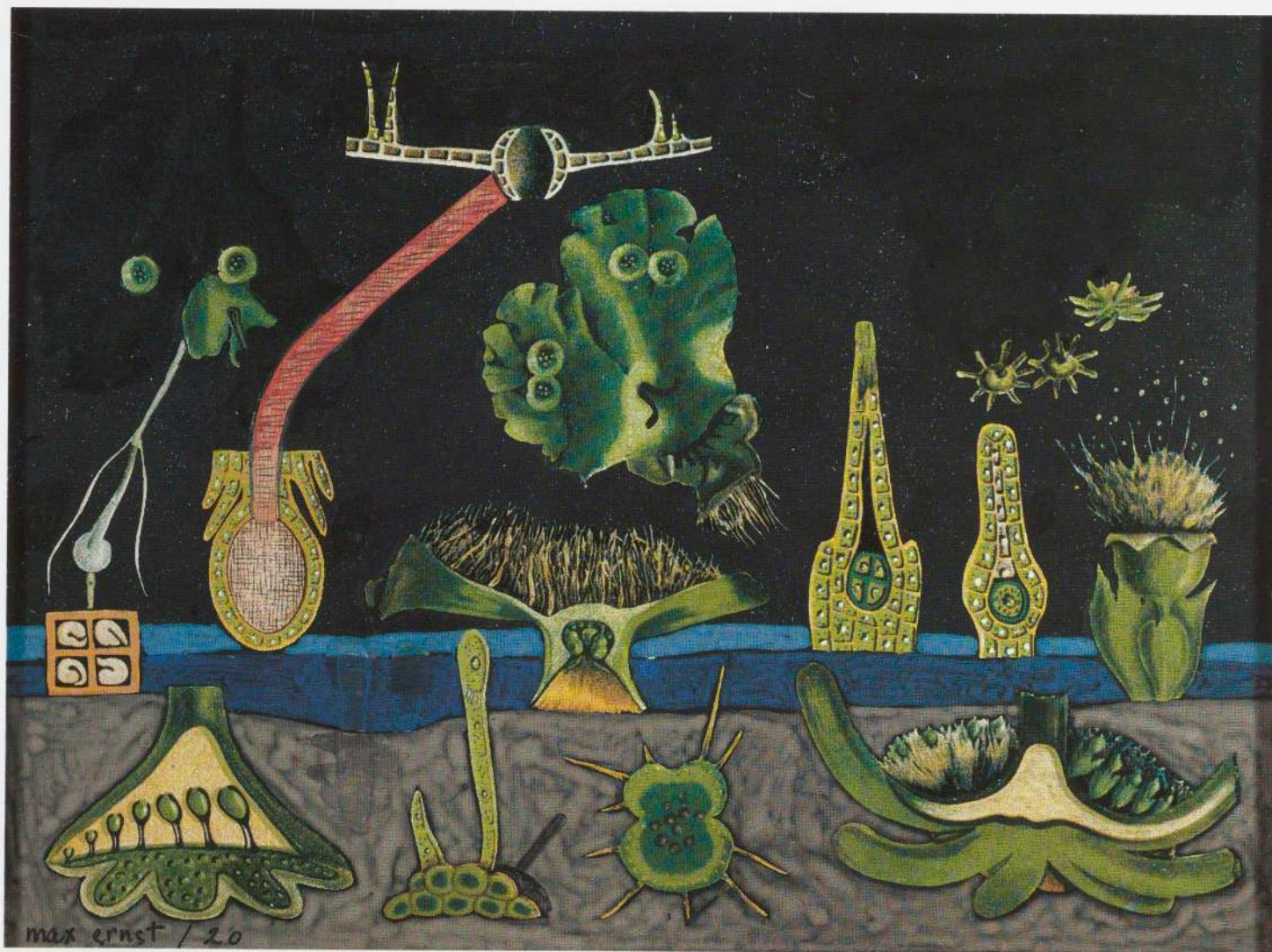


86 The Assimilative Threads' Attack Plans Found Out in Time on the Stronghold of Dada 1 : 300,000, 1920 (Cat. No. 83)

le limacon de chambre fusible et la cœur de la moissonneuse légère à la course



stubenschnecke 5 nummern wandervogel 8 nummern summa 13 nummern sursum corda



88 Untitled, 1920 (Cat. No. 85)

allways the best man wins
sodaliten schneeberger drückethäler rosinen und mandeln schlagen die eingeborenen mitteleuropas



zu meerschaum und eilen nach stattgehabter denudation den ereignissen in bester absicht voraus.

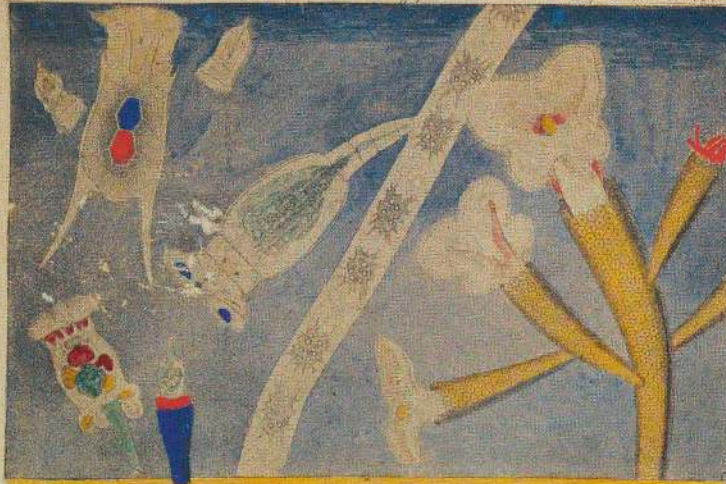
stark vergrößerter gefrierschnitt durch die zwergzellen



3teilig nach sorgfältiger entfernung der pulpa 1/4 größe

90 Greatly Enlarged Frozen
Section of Dwarf Cells..., ca. 1920
(Cat. No. 87)

plantation boophile d'outremer hyperboréenne / max ernst



91 Boophilic Plantation of
Hyperborean Ultramarine, ca. 1921
(Cat. No. 88)

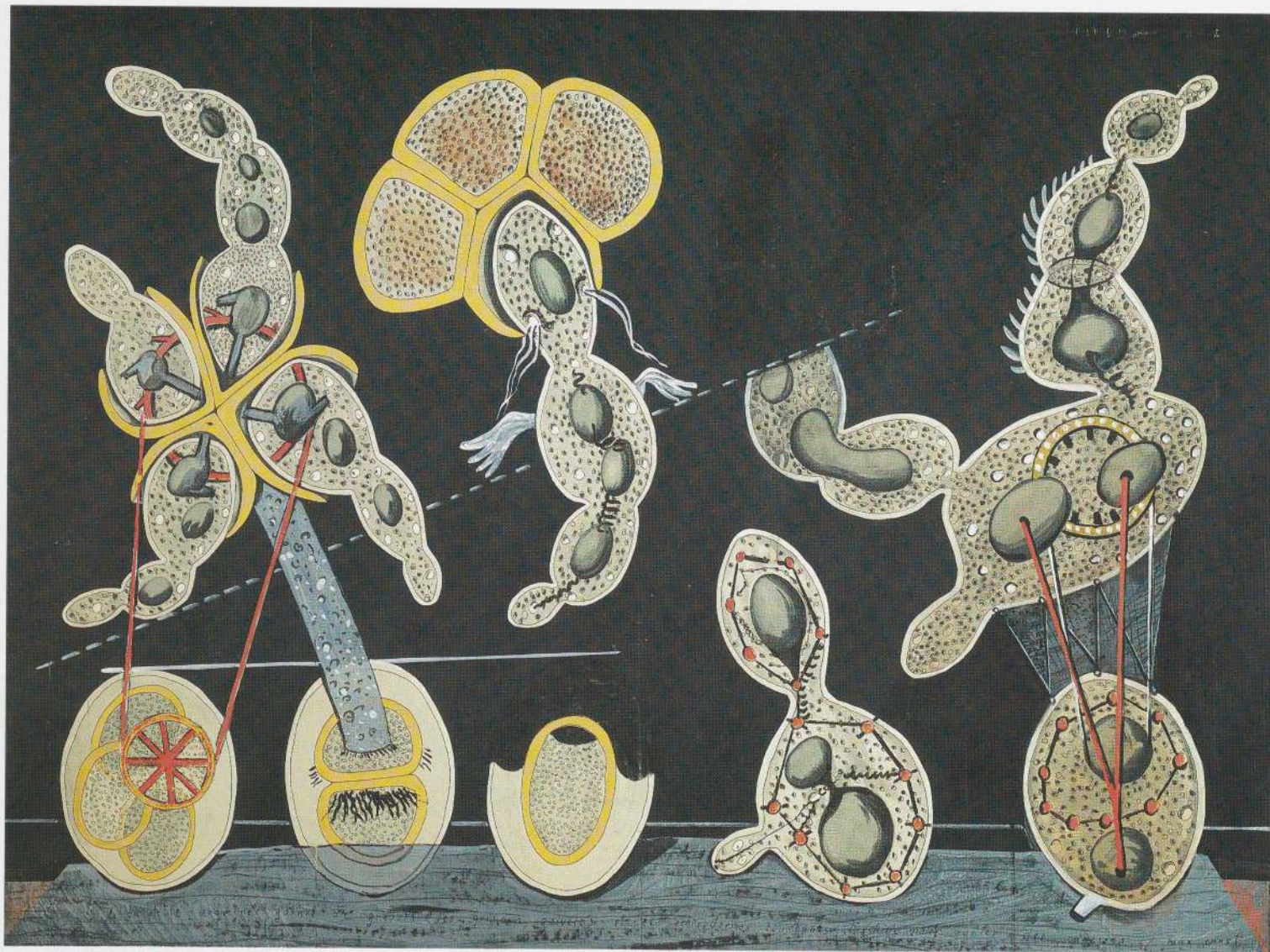
plantation farcineuse hydropique parasite 1921



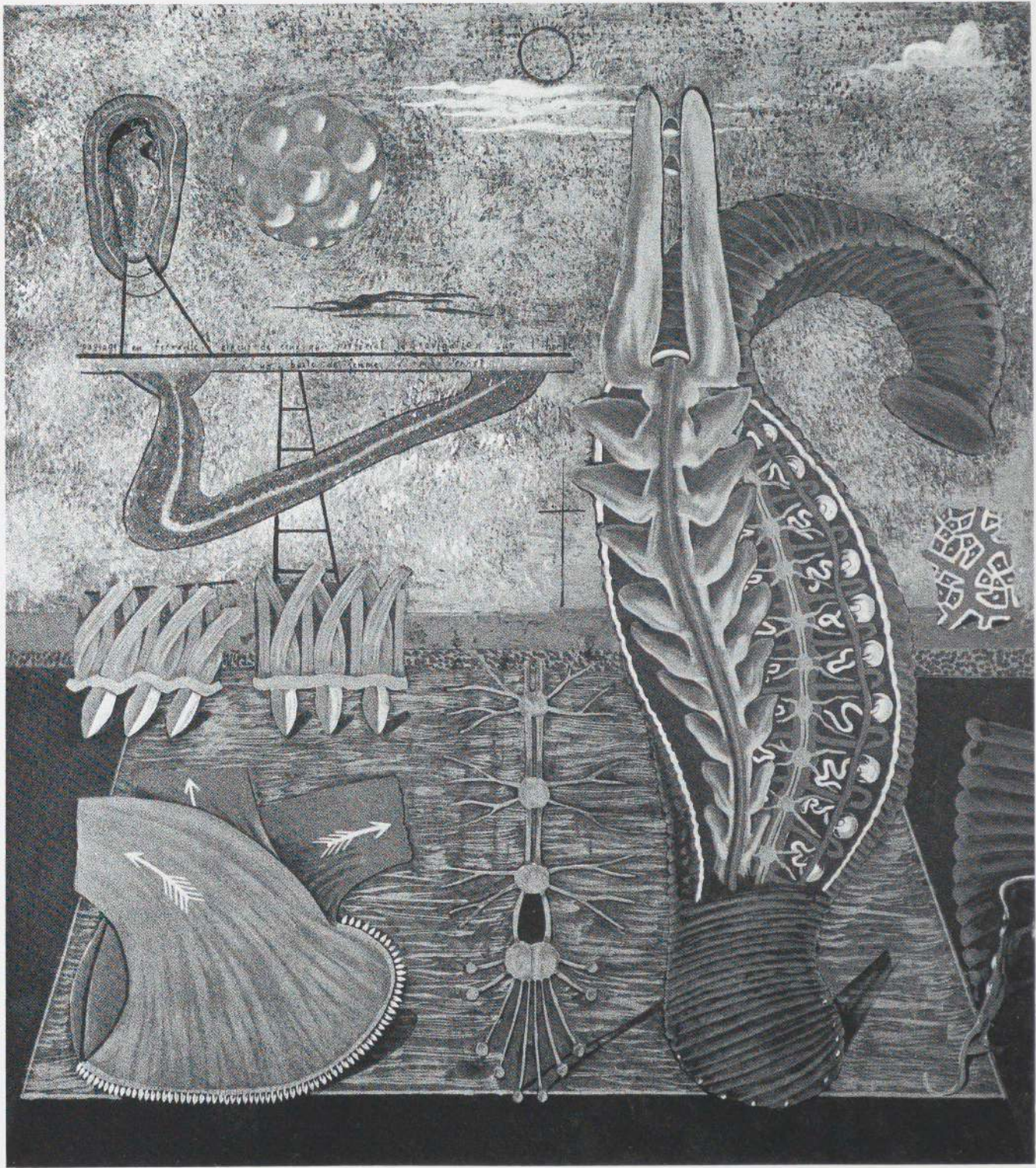
92 Farcy Hydropic Parasitic
Plantation, 1921 (Cat. No. 89)



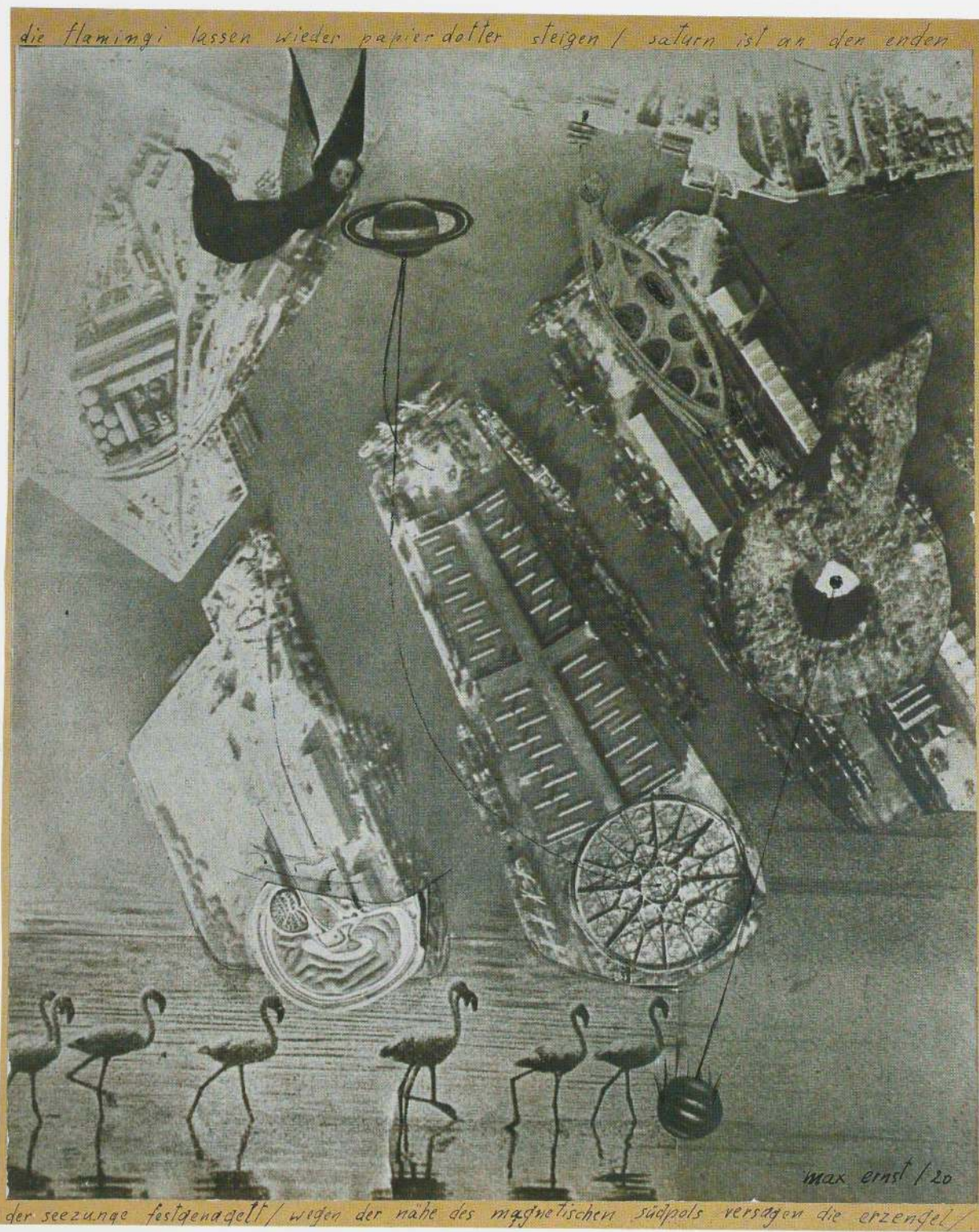
93 Untitled, ca. 1921 (Cat. No. 90)



94. *The Gramineous Bicycle...*, ca. 1921 (Cat. No. 91)



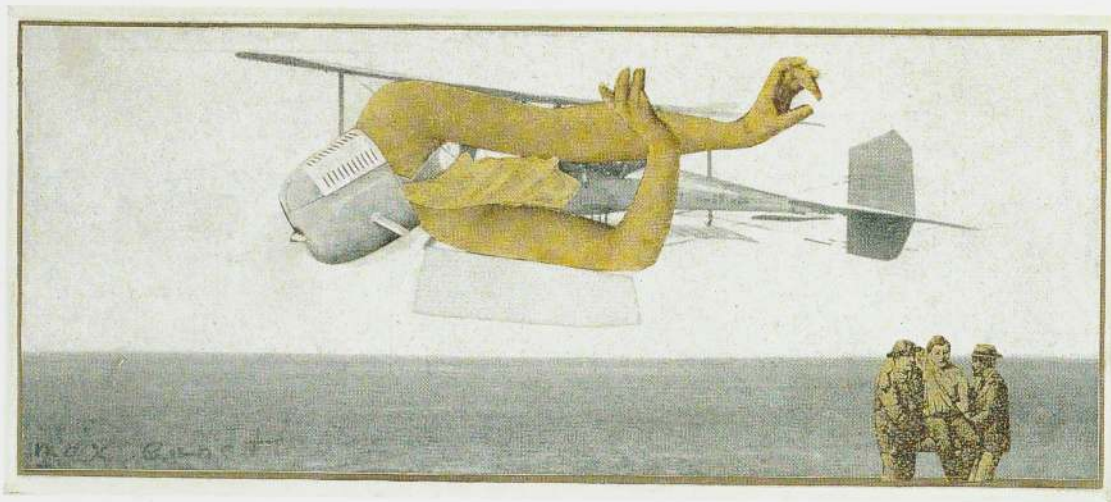
95 *Landscape in Scrap Iron...*, ca. 1921 (Cat. No. 92)



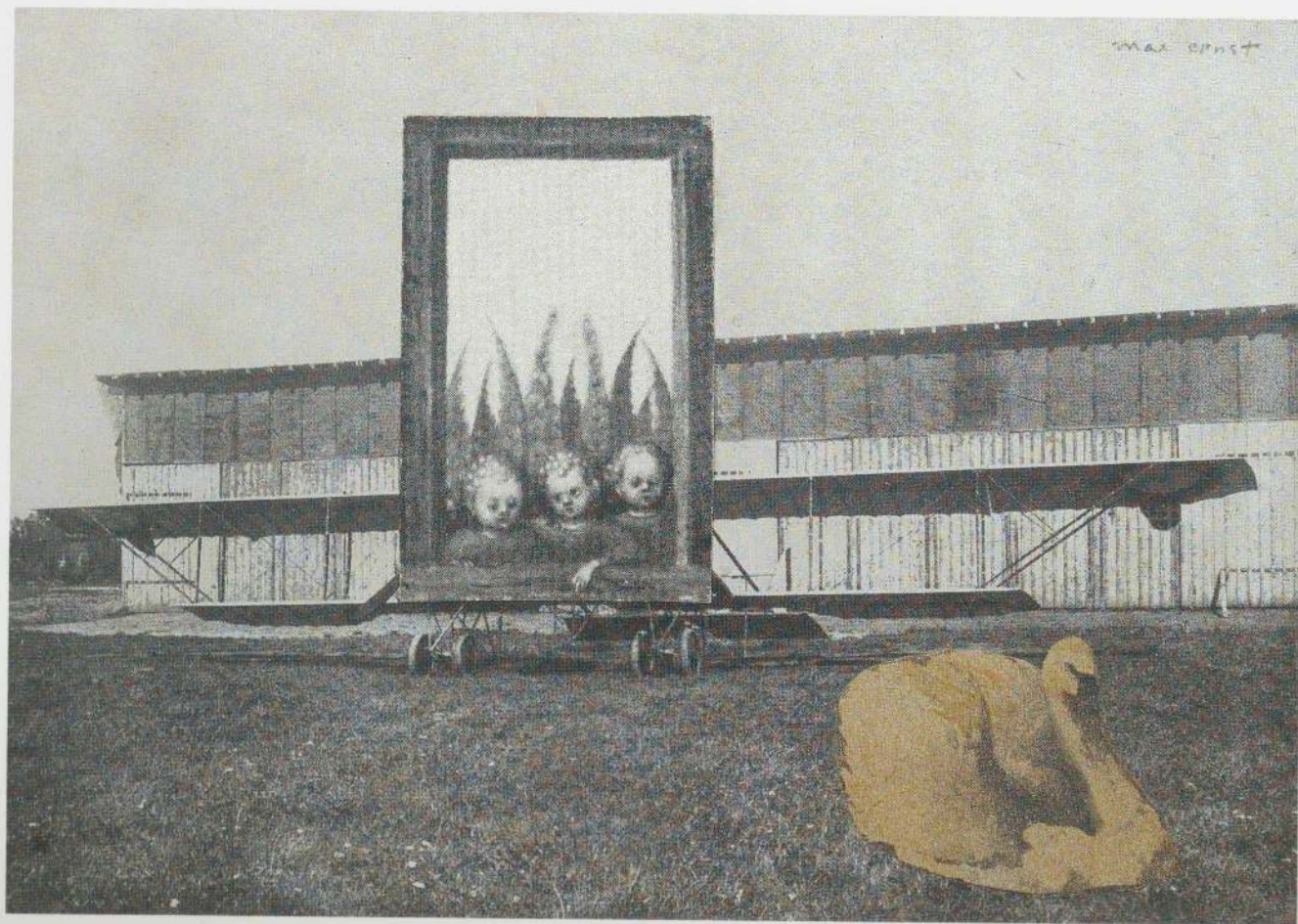
96 The Flamingos..., 1920 (Cat. No.94)



97 Here Everything Is Still Floating..., 1920 (Cat. No. 96)



98 Untitled, ca. 1920 (Cat. No. 97)

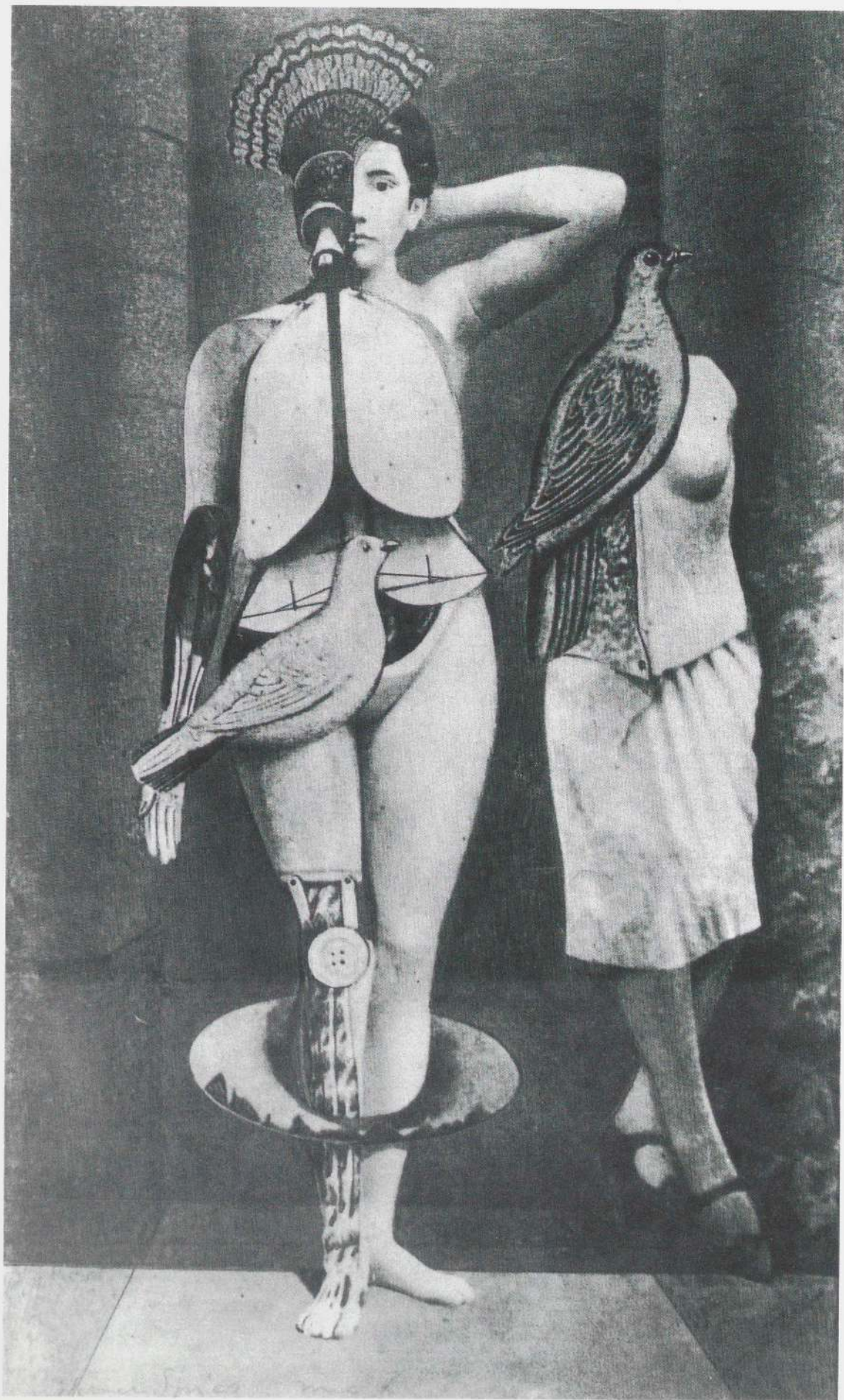


99 *The Swan Is Very Peaceful...*, 1920 (Cat. No. 98)

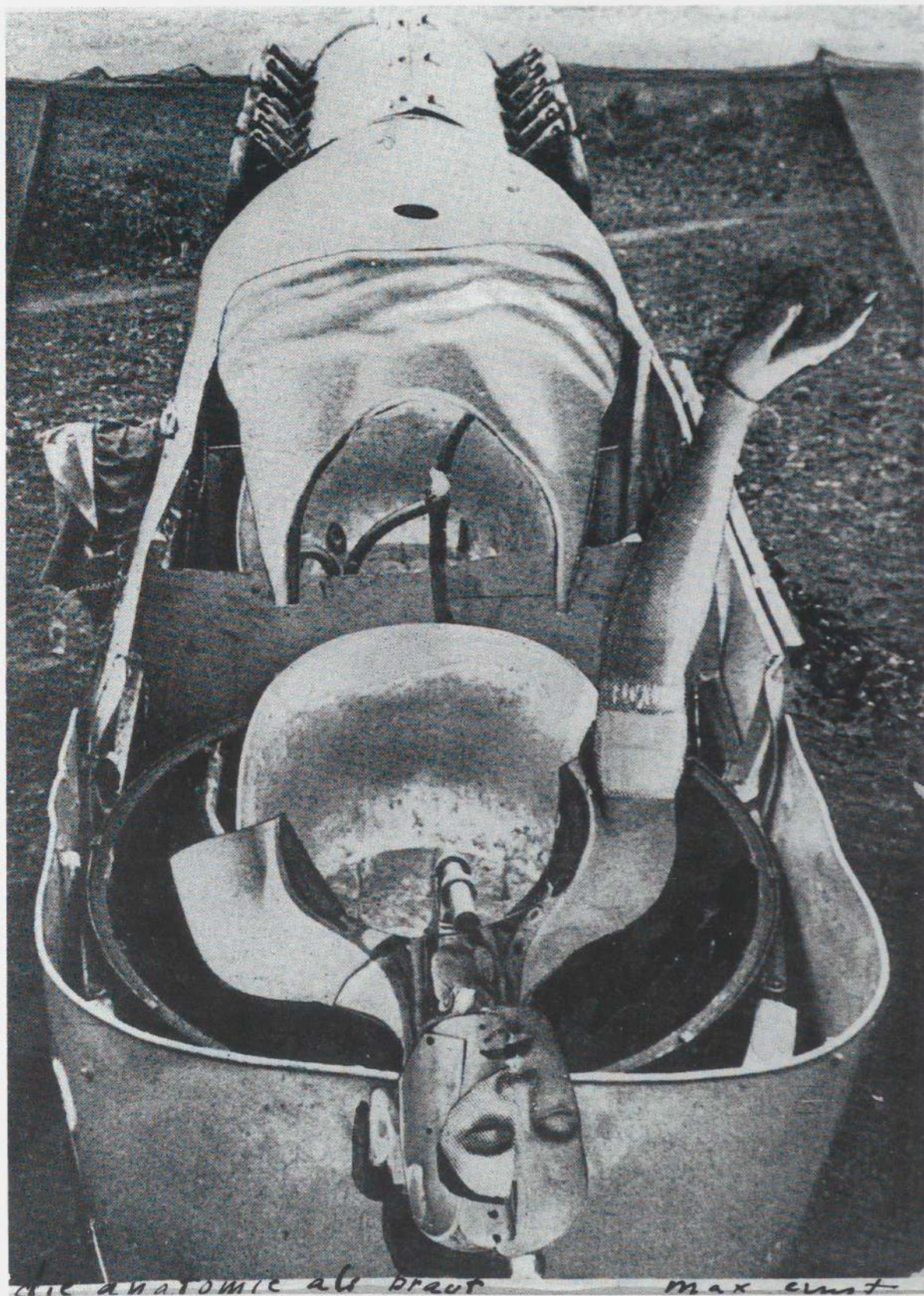


LE MASSACRE DES INNOCENTS

MAX ERNST



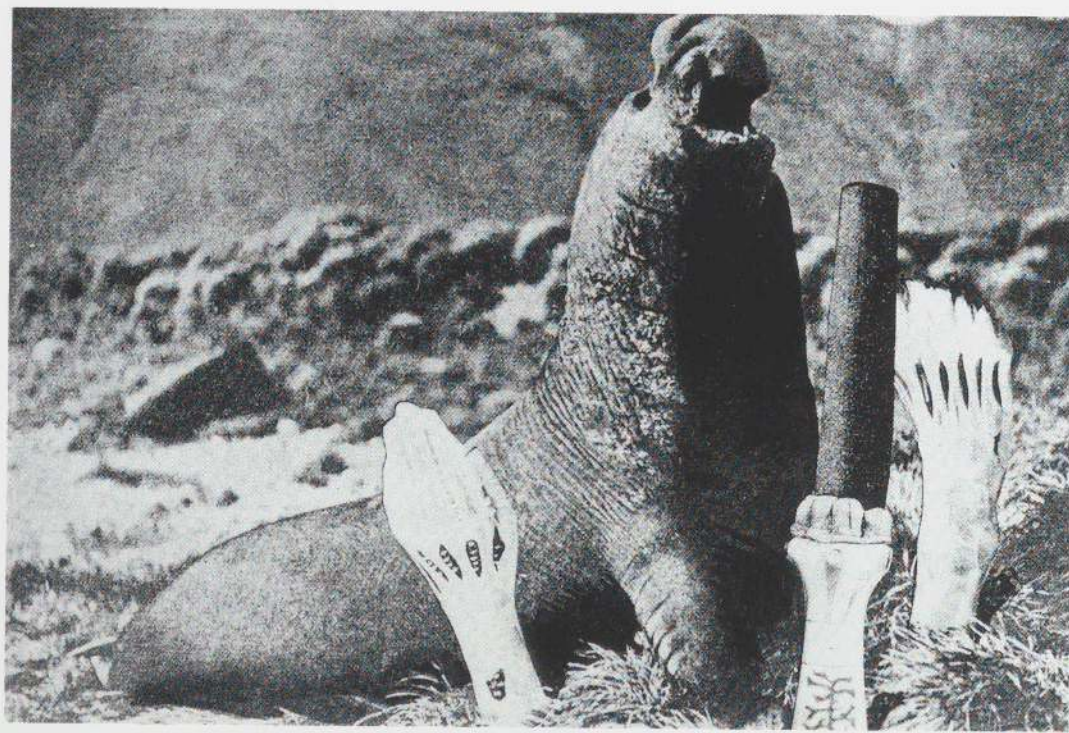
101 *Santa Conversazione*, ca. 1921 (Cat. No. 108)



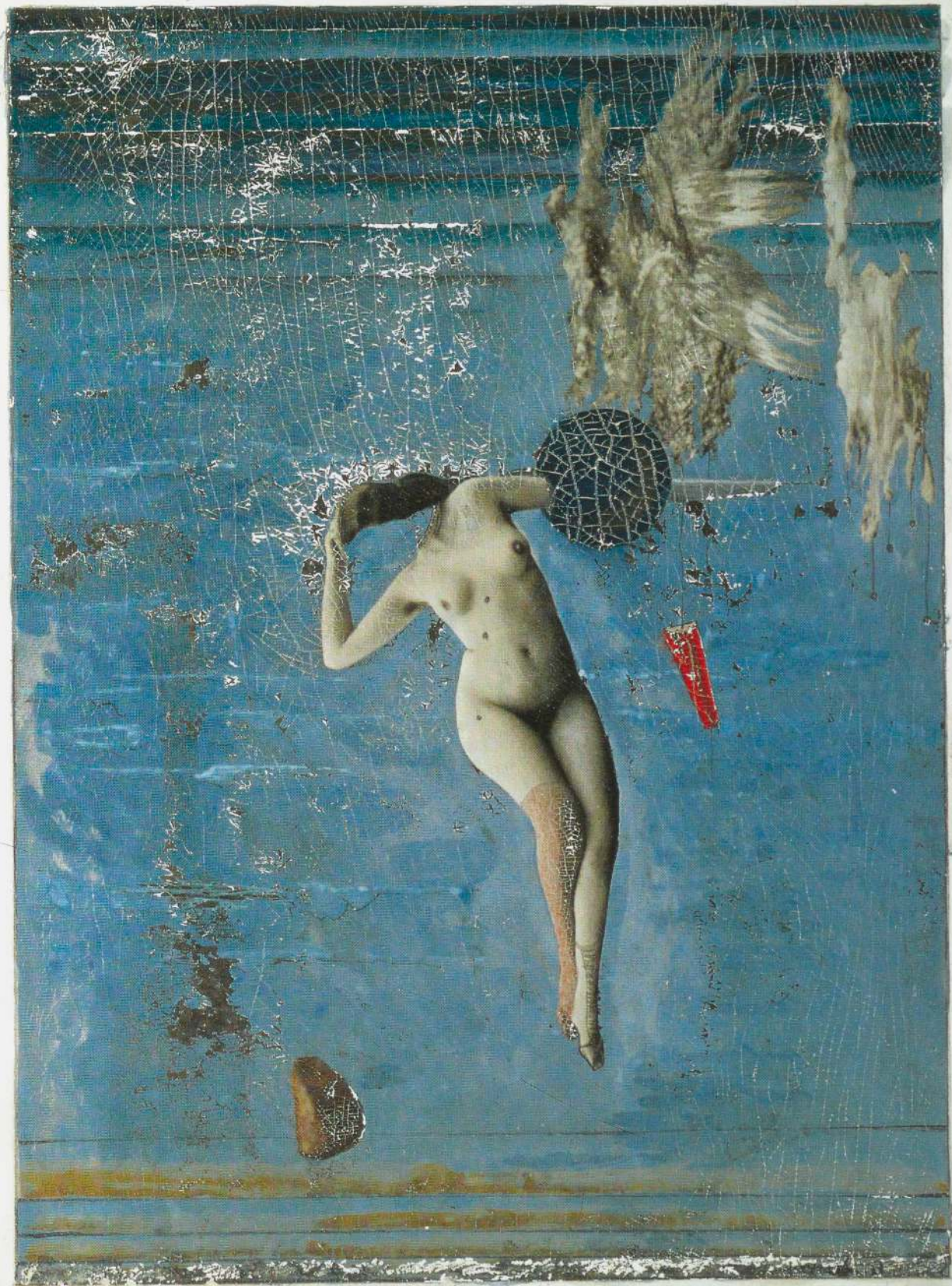
102 *The Anatomy (The School-prepared Anatomy)*, 1921 (Cat. No. 109)



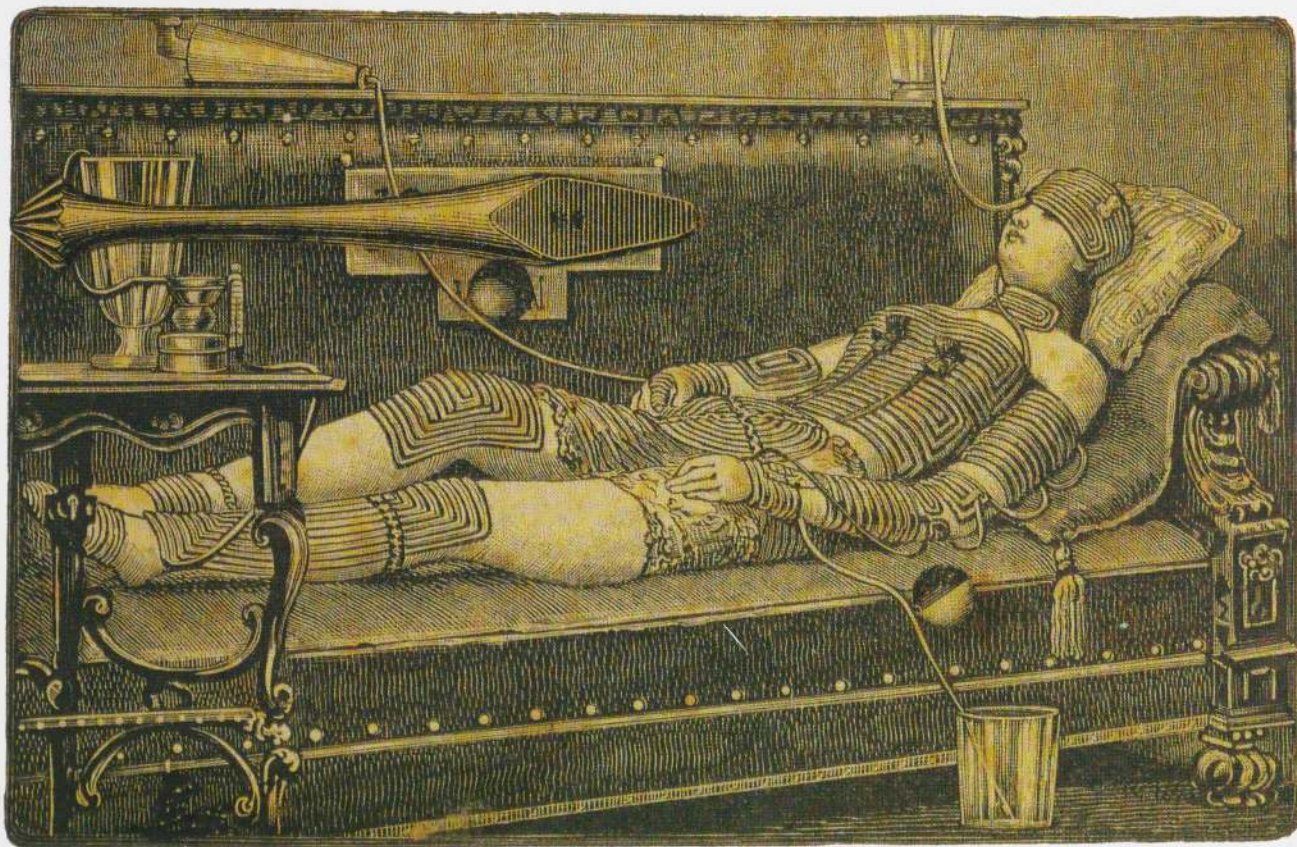
103 Sambesiland, 1921 (Cat. No. 110)



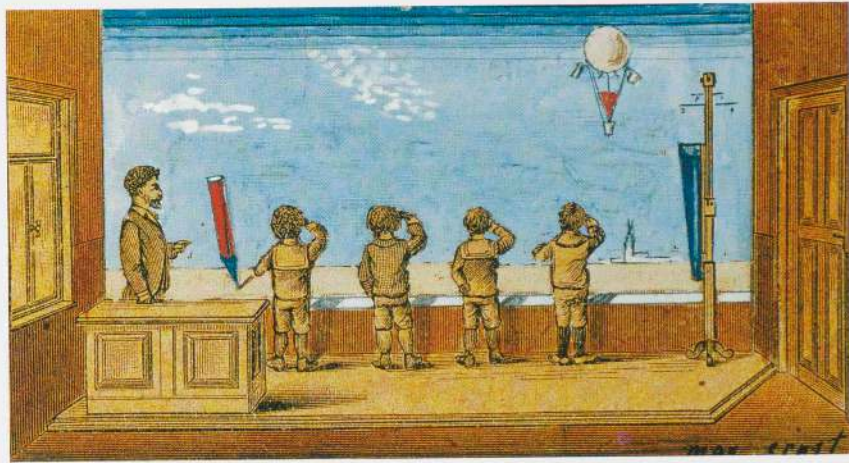
104 Untitled, 1921 (Cat. No. 111)



La puberté proche n'a pas encore enlevé la grâce tenue de nos pléiades / Le regard de nos yeux pleins d'ombre est dirigé vers le pavé qui va tomber / La gravitation des ondulations n'existe pas encore



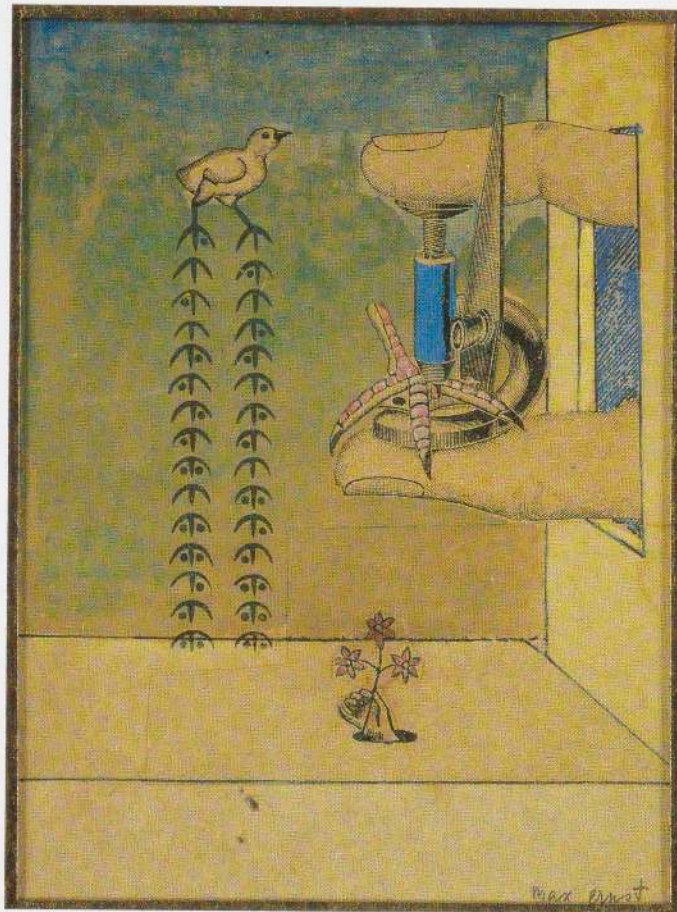
106 *The Preparation of Bone Glue*, 1921 (Cat. No. 114)



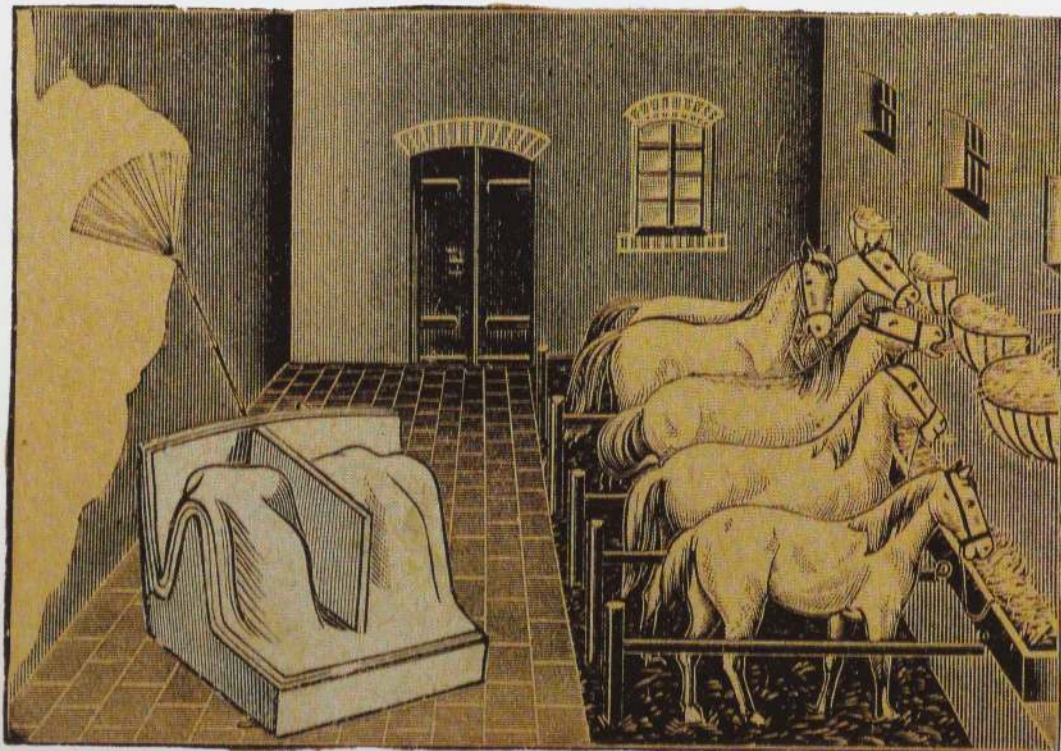
107 Untitled, ca. 1921 (Cat. No. 116)



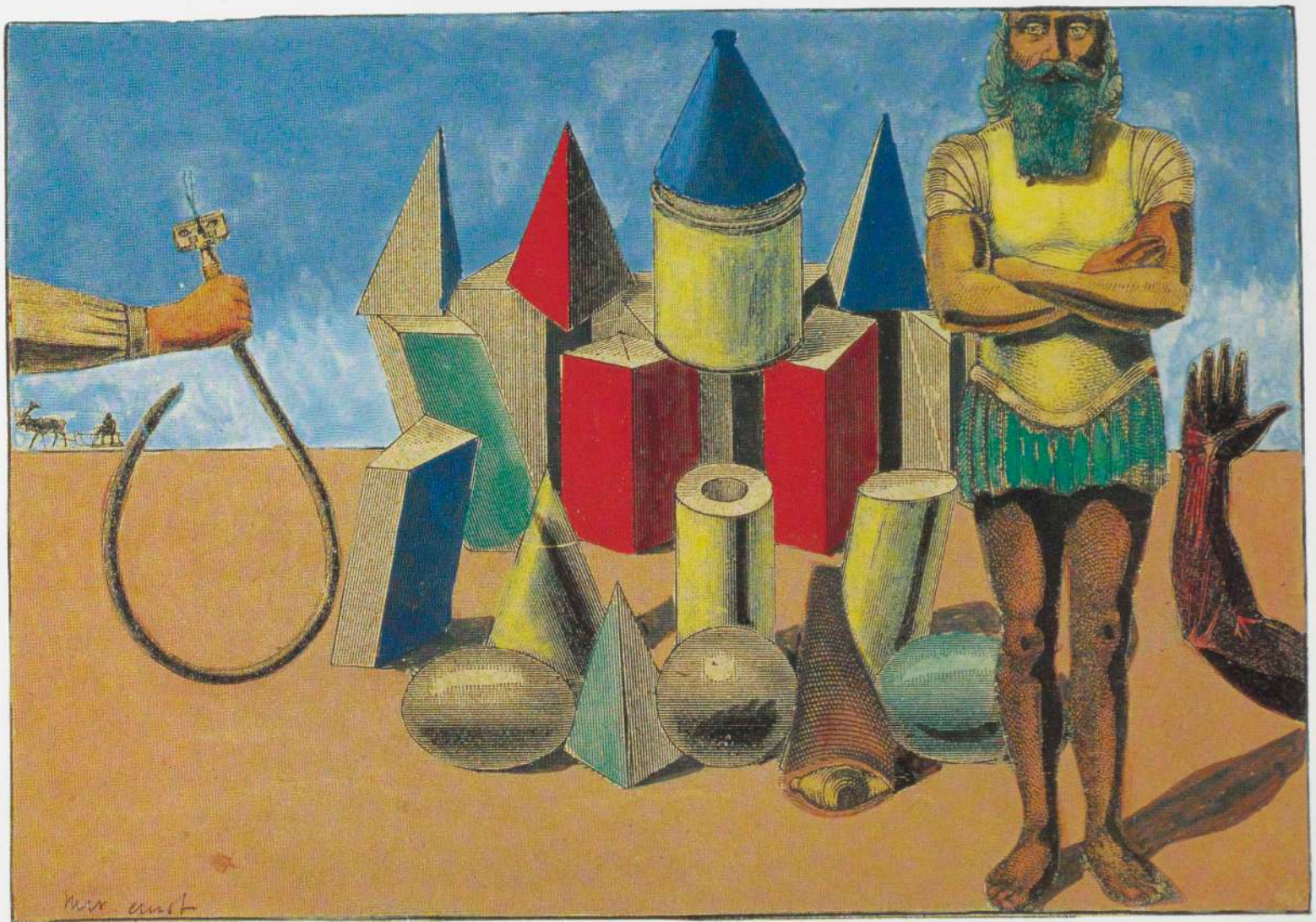
108 *The Word*, 1921 (Cat. No. 118)



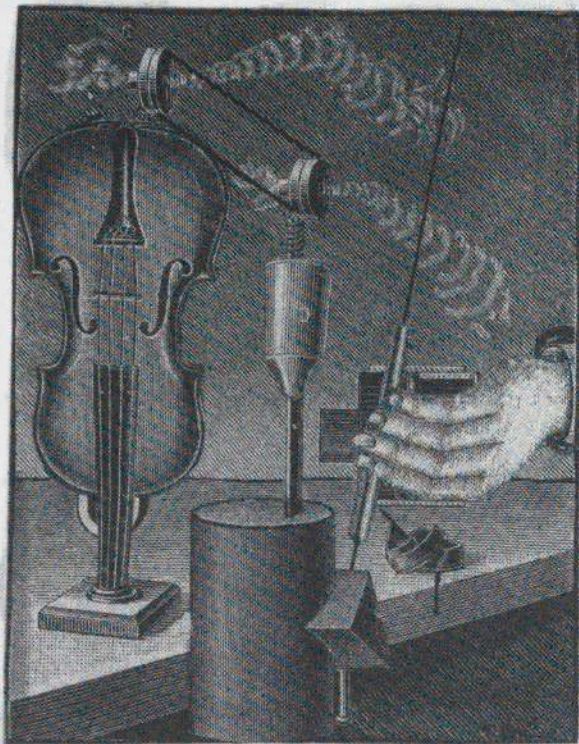
109 *The Invention*, 1921 (Cat. No. 117)



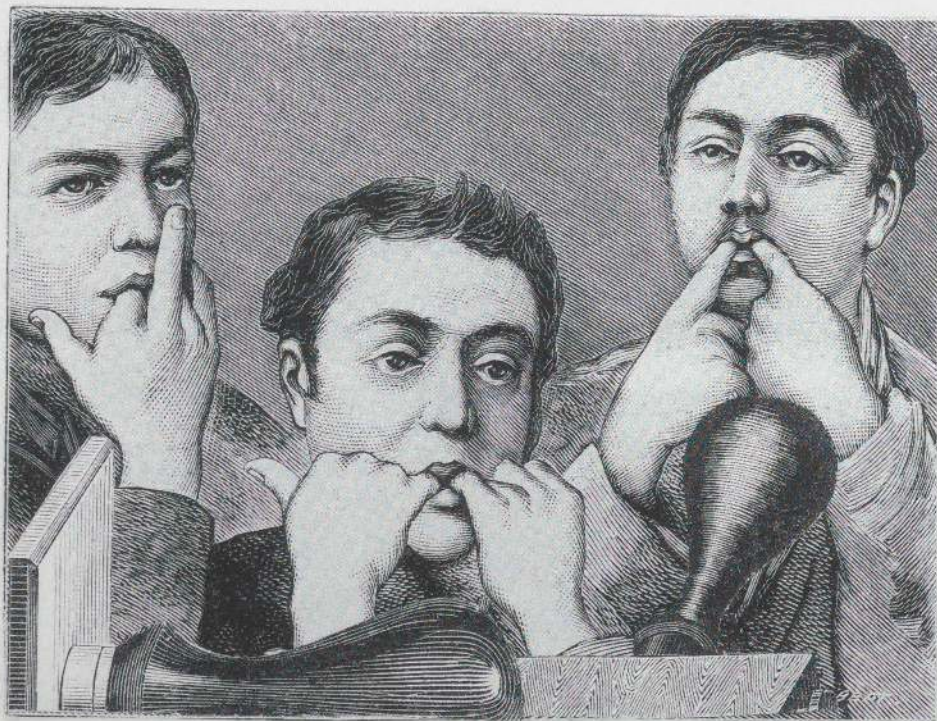
110 *Null*, 1921 (Cat. No. 120)



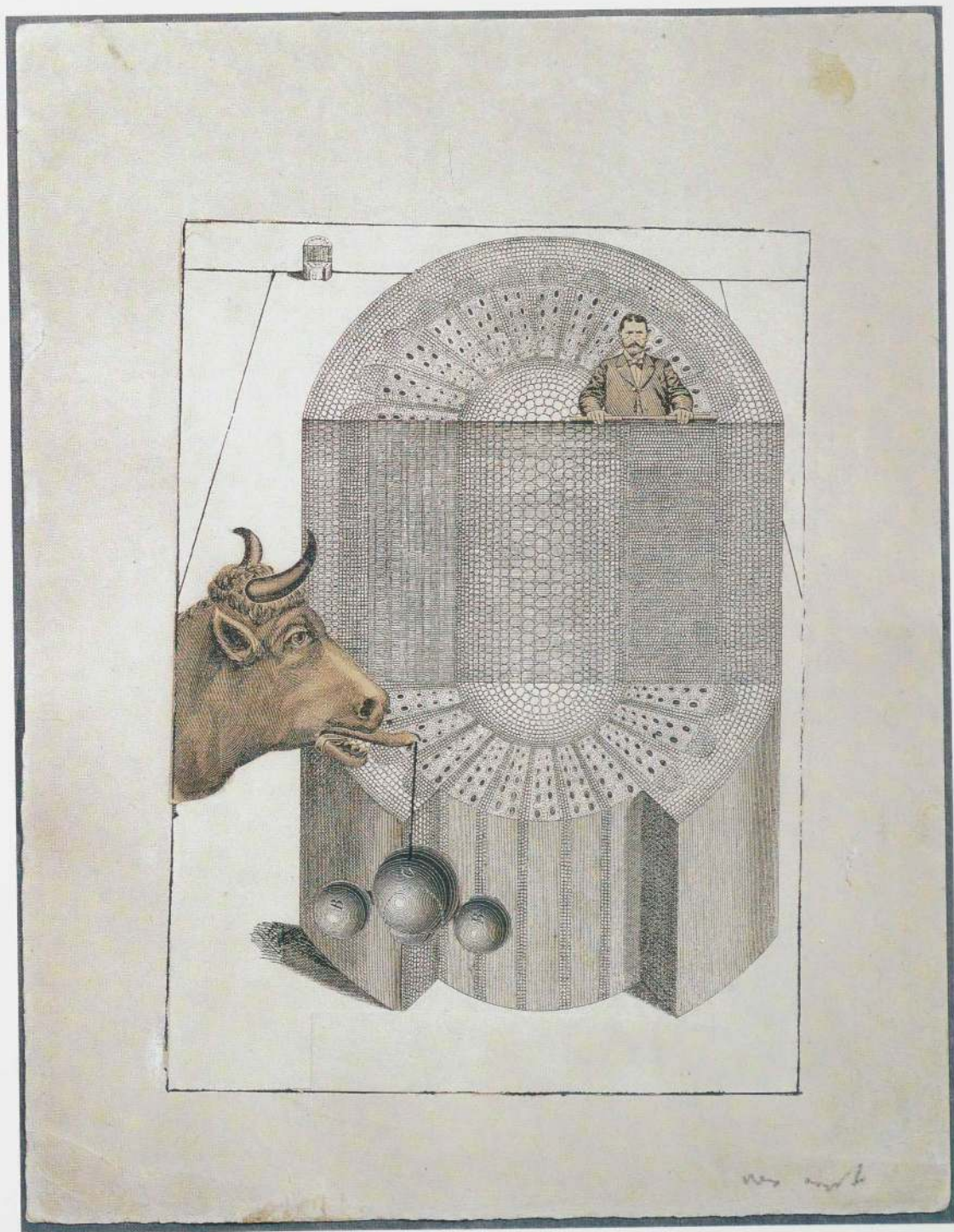
111 *The Sheep*, 1921 (Cat. No. 119)



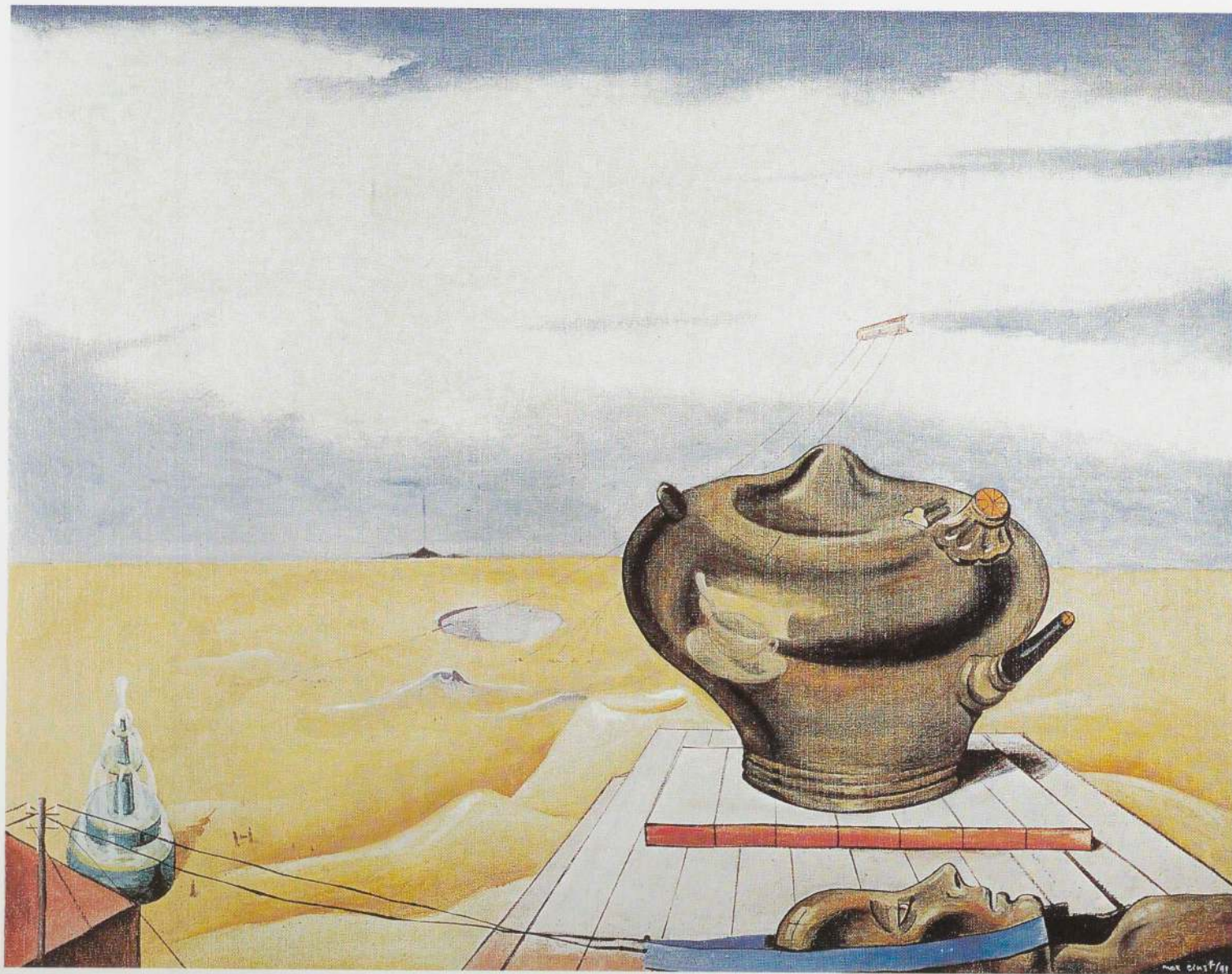
112 *Upside-down Violin*, 1921 (Cat. No. 123)



113 *Students in Heidelberg*, 1921 (Cat. No. 124)



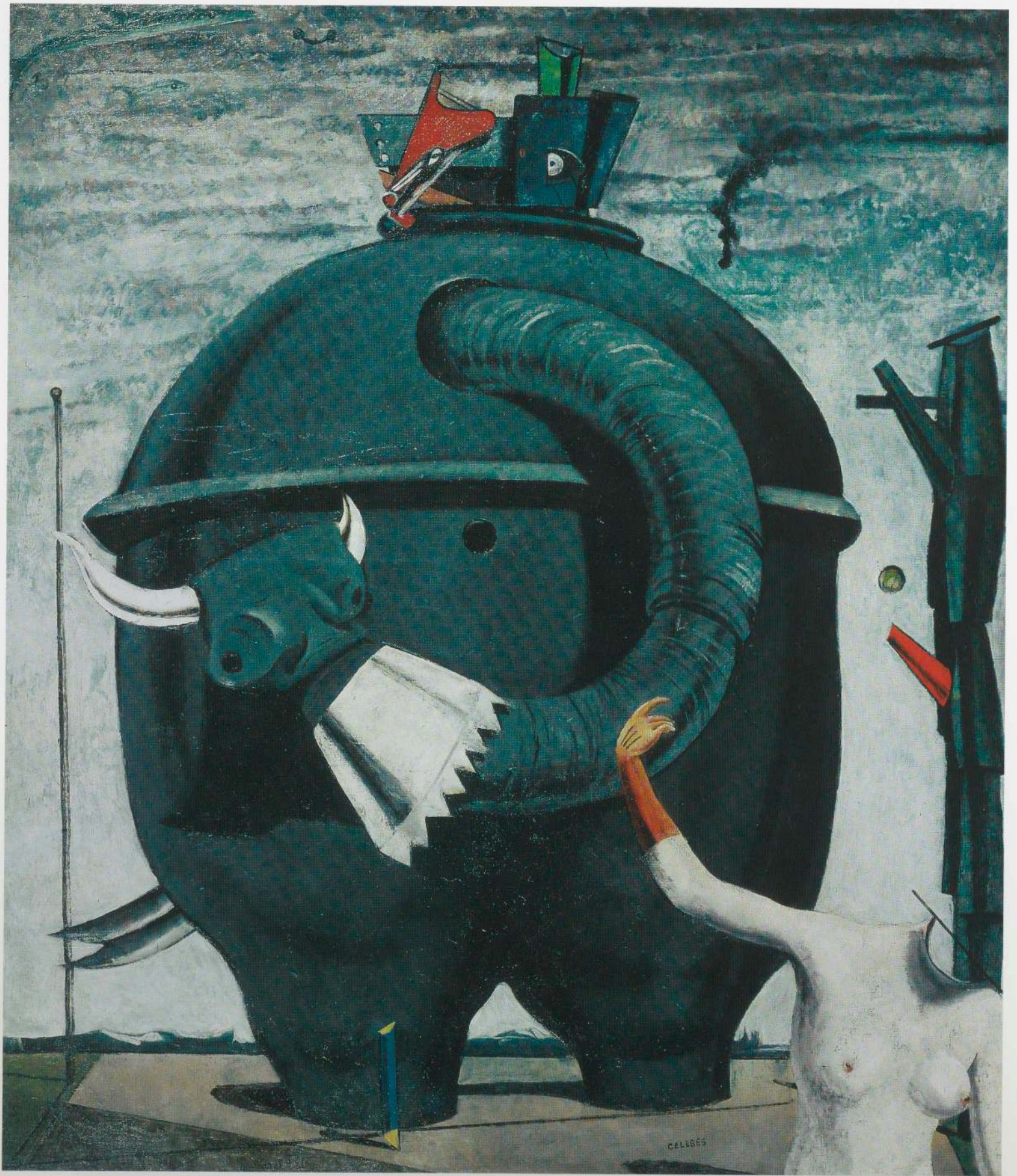
114 *The Orator*, 1921 (Cat. No. 125)



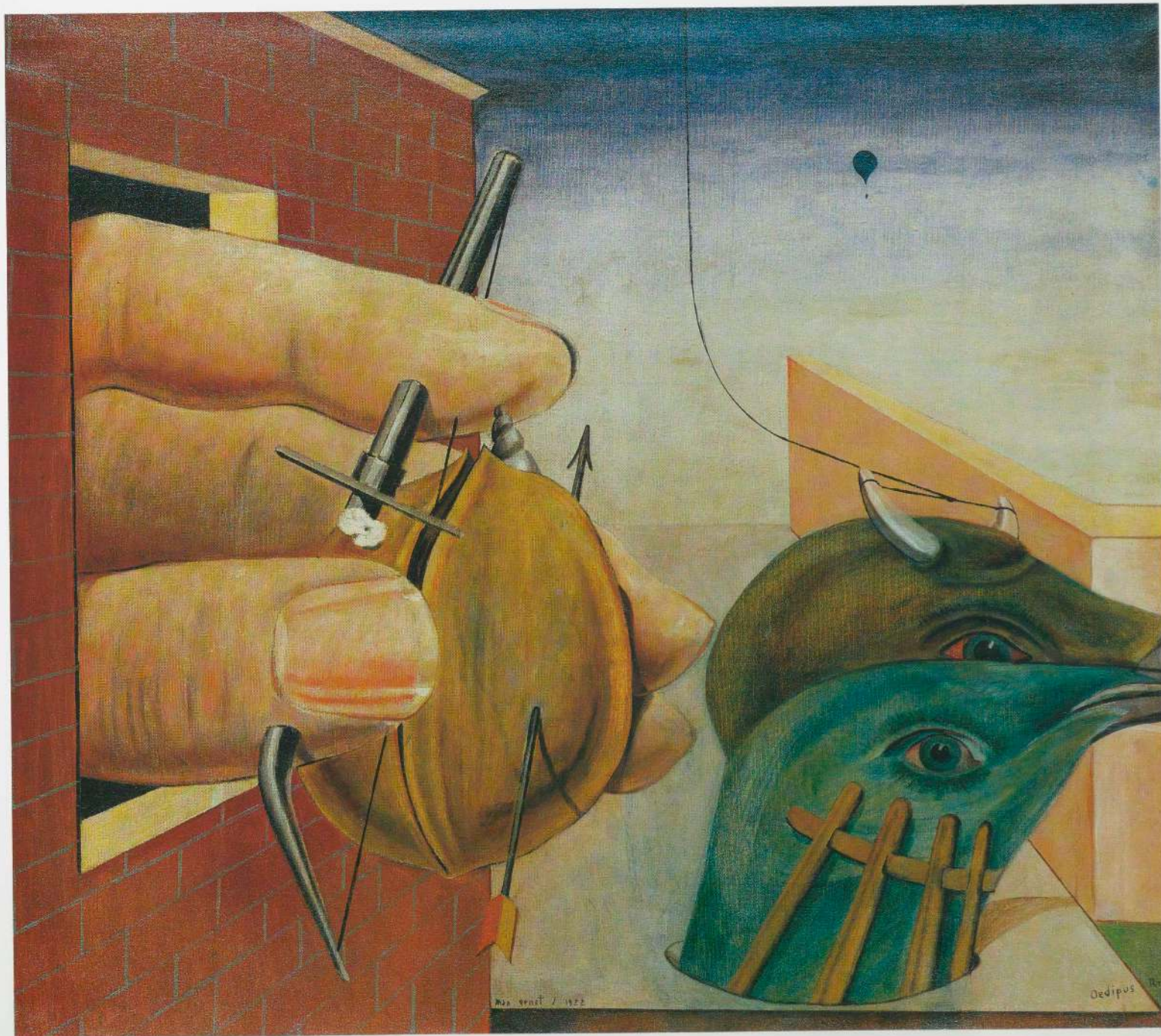
115 *Sea Piece (Seascape)*, 1921 (Cat. No. 127)



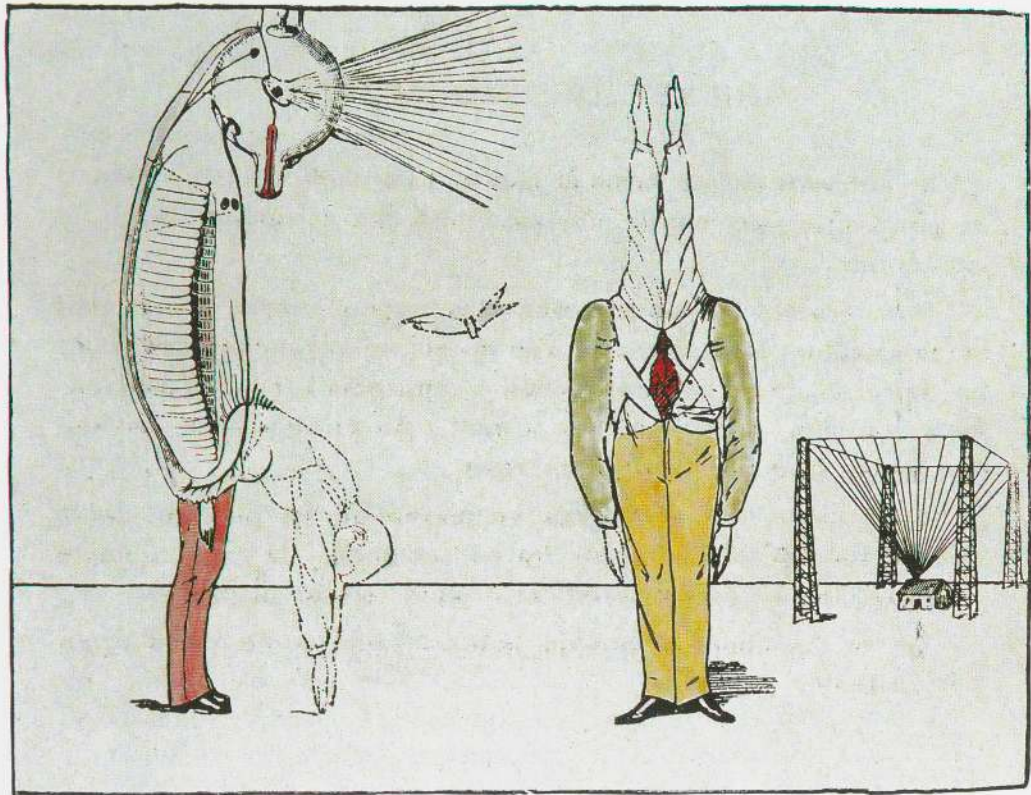
116 *Portrait of Eluard, 1921 (Cat. No. 128)*



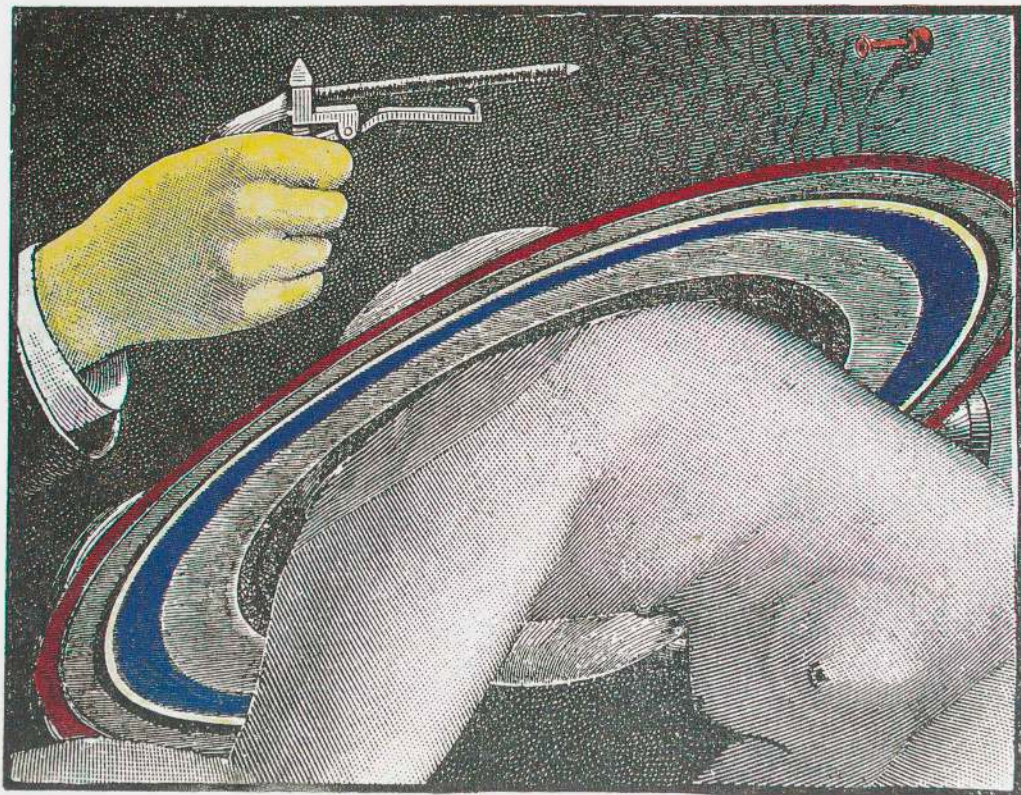
117 *Celebes*, 1921 (Cat. No. 129)



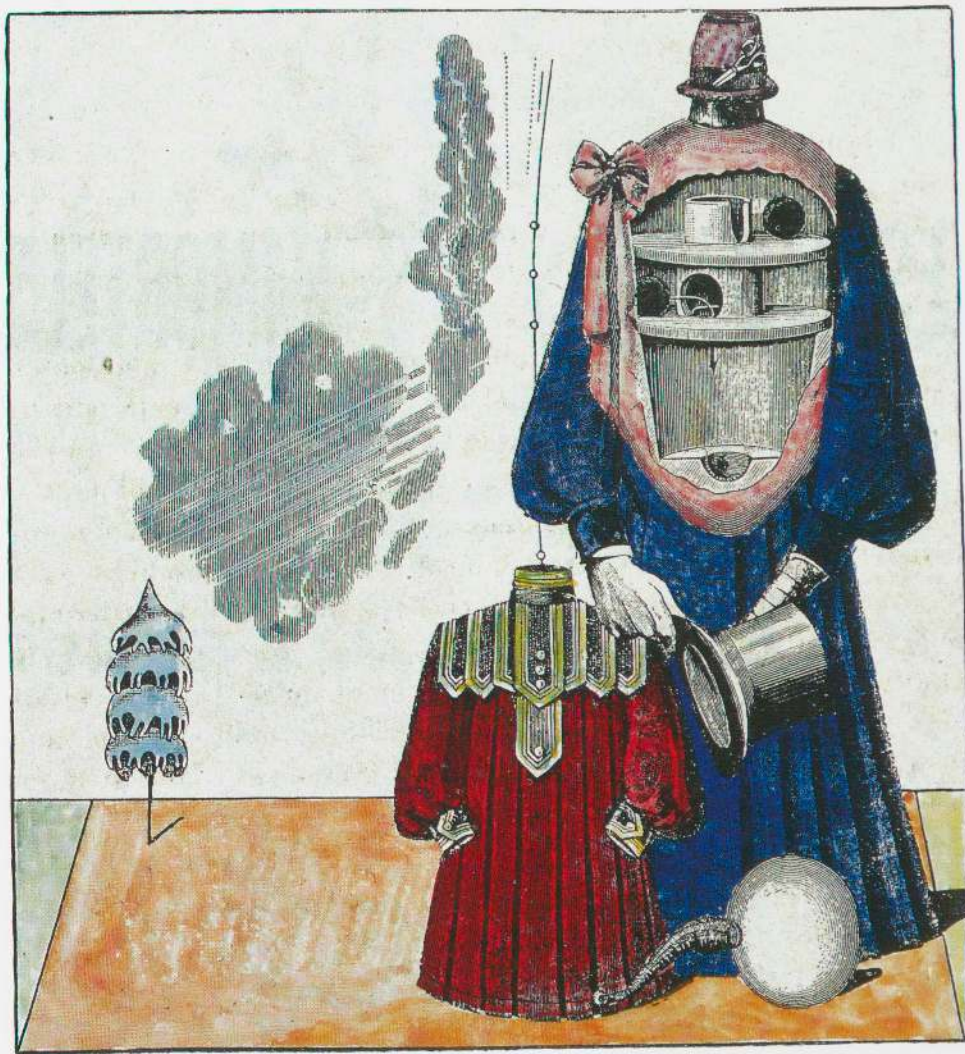
118 *Oedipus Rex*, 1922 (Cat. No. 131)



119 *Traveler's Arrival*, 1922 (Cat. No. 135)

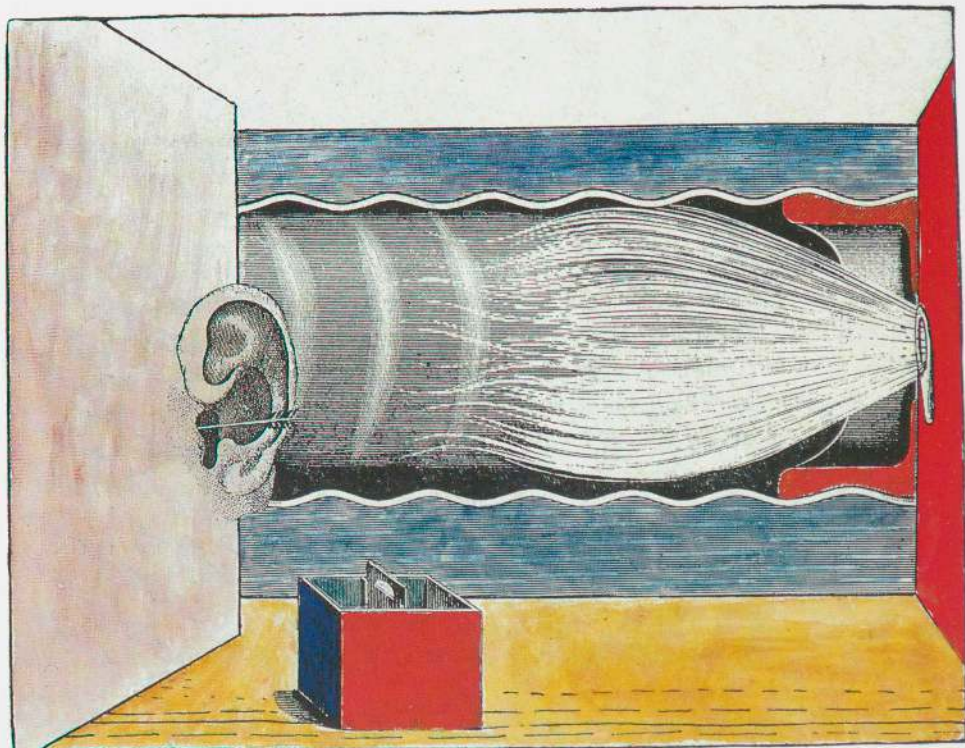


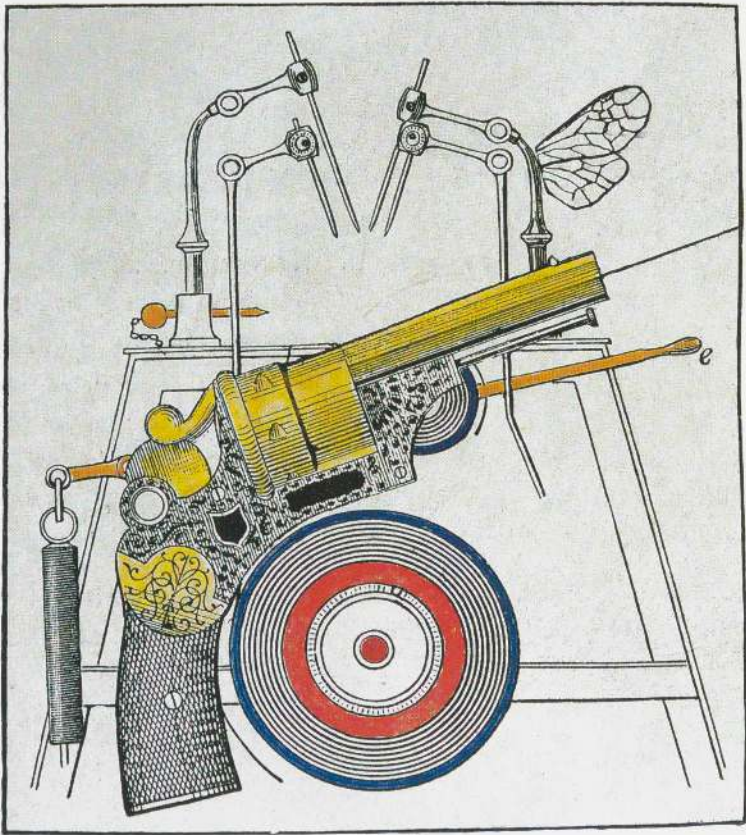
120 *My Little Mont Blanc*, 1922 (Cat. No. 135)



121 *The Scissors and Their Father*, 1922 (Cat. No. 135)

122 *The Cleaning of Tiles Does Not Necessarily Entail Cleaniness in Love*, 1922 (Cat. No. 135)





123 *The Harmonious Faggot*, 1922
(Cat. No. 135)



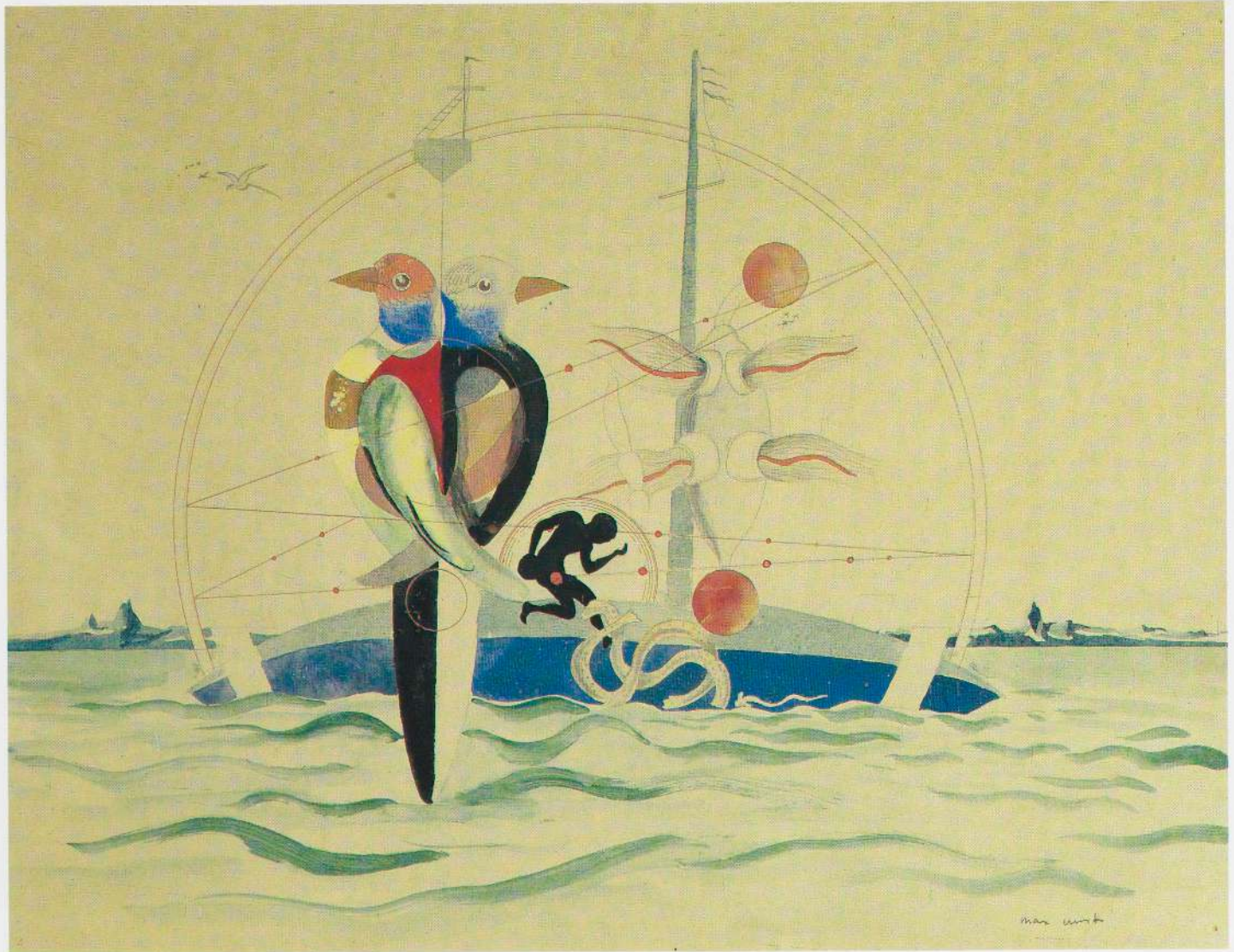
124 *The Meeting of Two Smiles*, 1922
(Cat. No. 135)



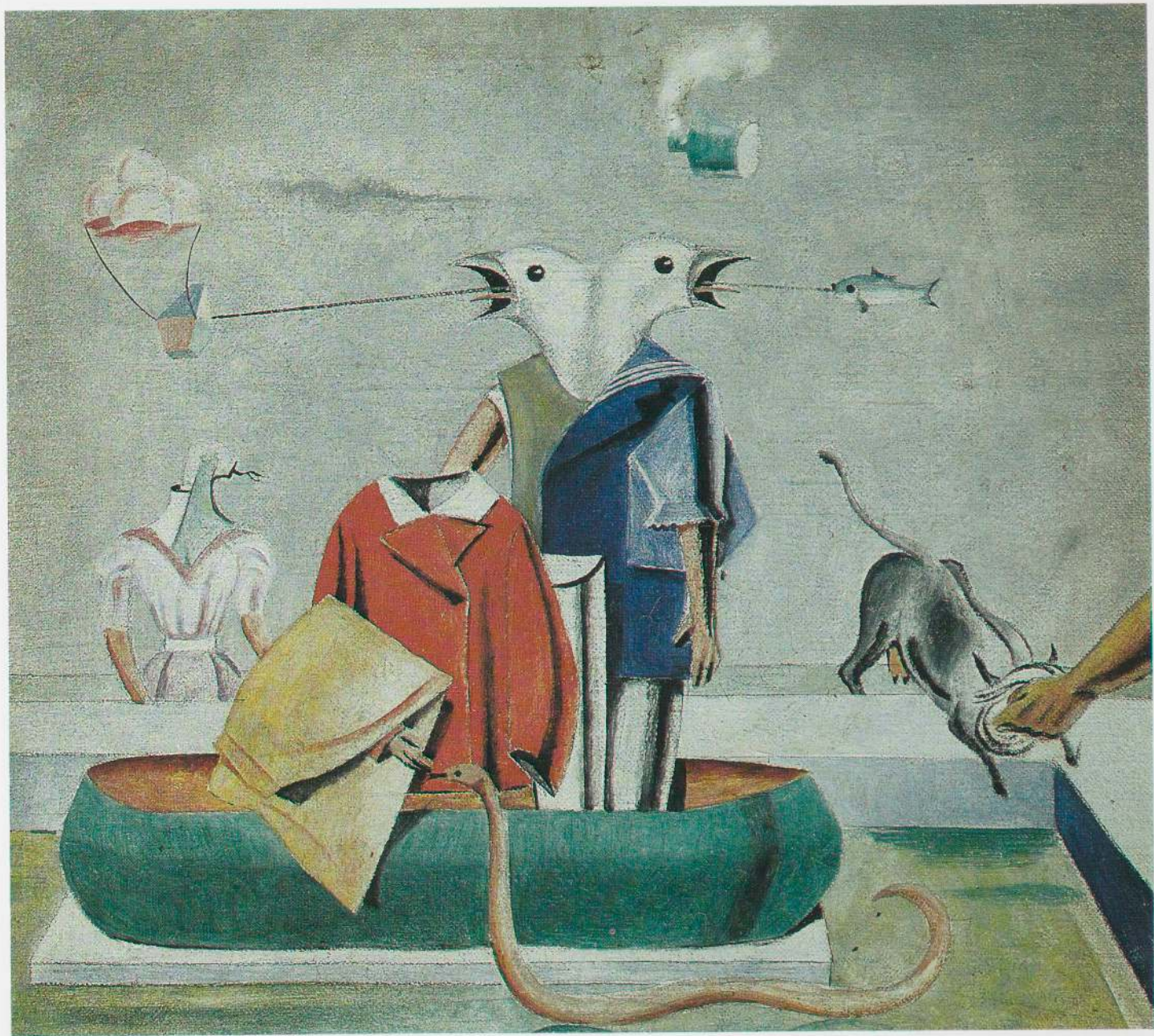
125 *The Fugitive*, 1922 (Cat. No. 135)



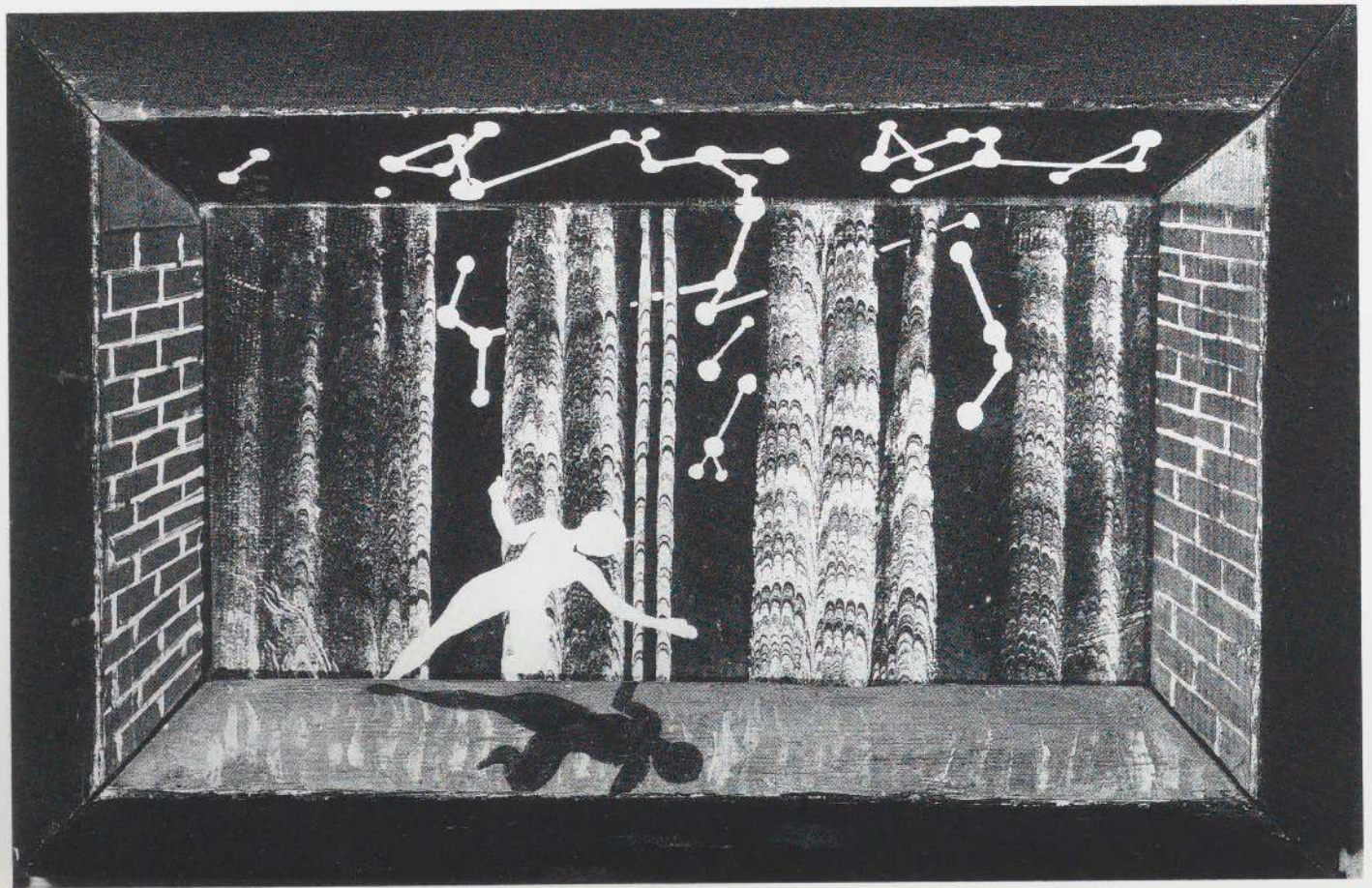
portrait de GALA
126 *Accomplishments and Usefulness*, 1922 (Cat. No. 135)



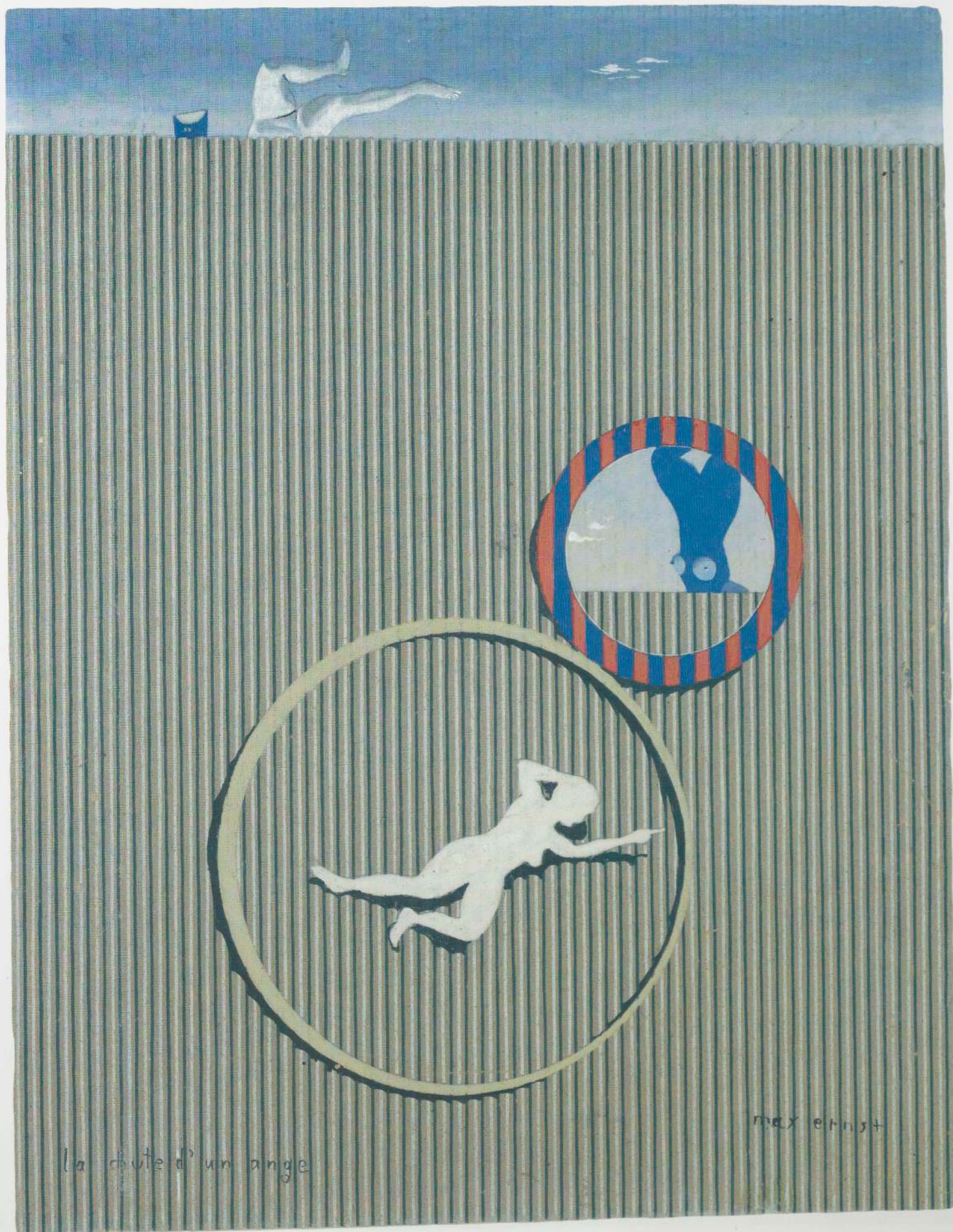
127 Untitled (*Man Will Never Understand It*), 1922–23 (Cat. No. 143)



128 *Birds-Fish-Snake*, ca. 1921 (Cat. No. 130)



129 *Dancer beneath the Sky (The Noctambulant)*, 1922–23 (Cat. No. 144)

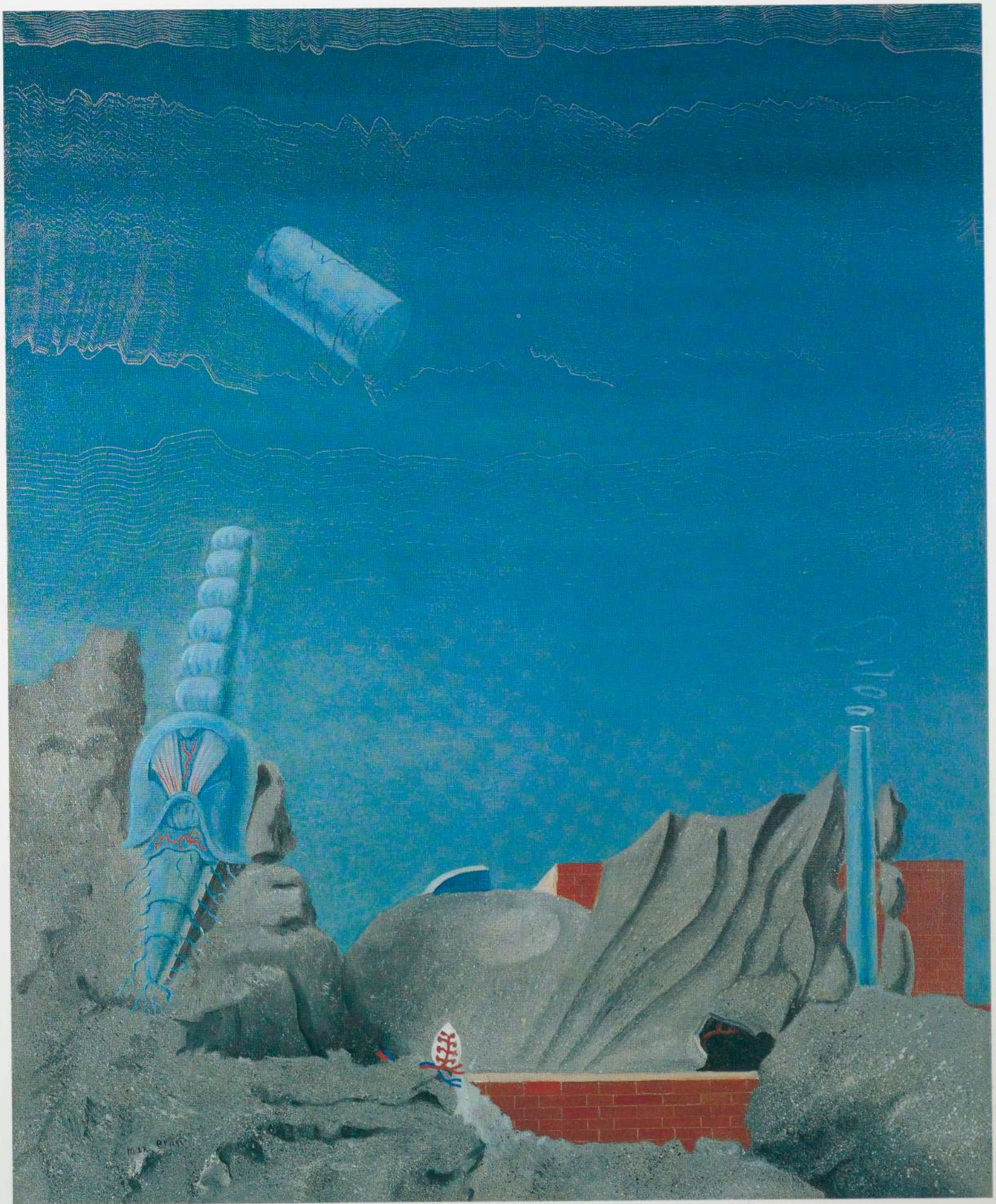


la chute d'un ange

max ernst



131 *The Ruins*, ca. 1922 (Cat. No. 136)



132 *The Year 55: Very Gentle Earthquake, ca. 1922* (Cat. No. 137)



133 *At the Rendezvous of the Friends*, 1922 (Cat. No. 138)



134 *North Pole, 1922* (Cat. No. 139)



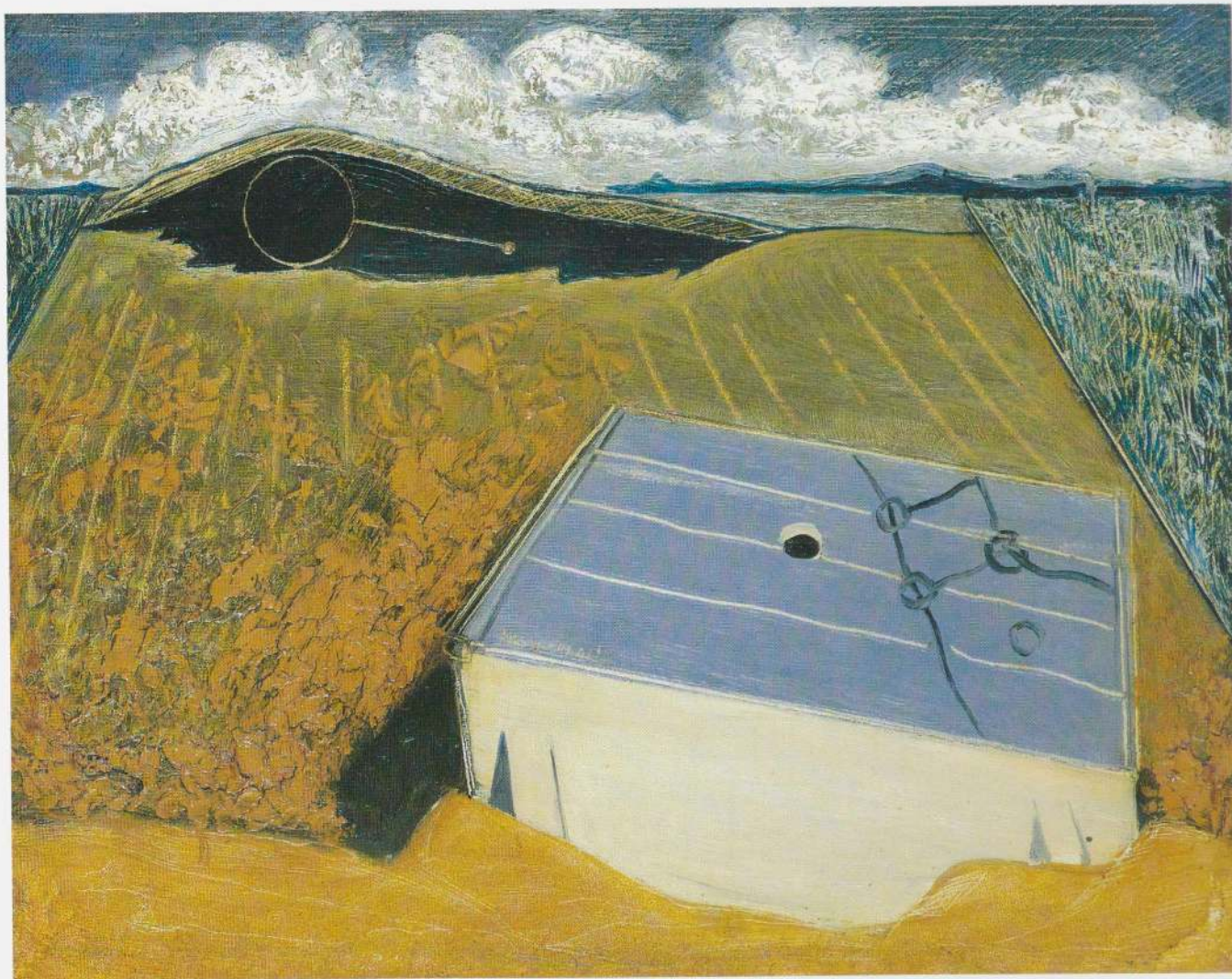
135 *The Victory of Samothrace*, ca. 1923 (Cat. No. 148)



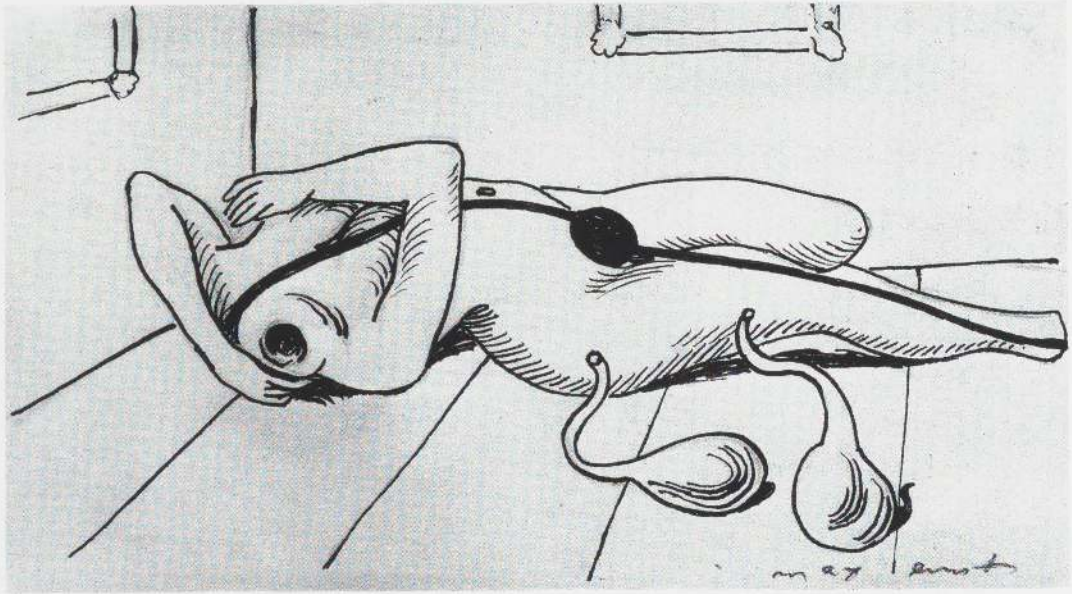
136 *The Interior of the Sight*, 1922 (Cat. No. 140)



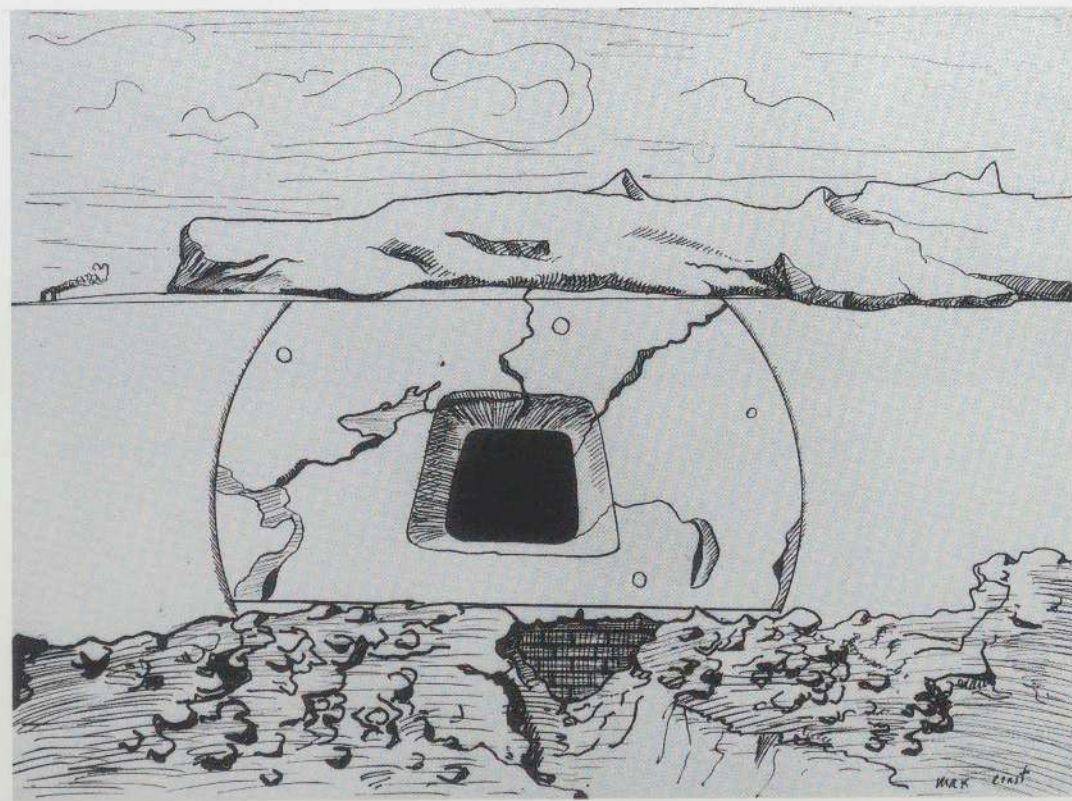
137 *Black Landscape*, ca. 1923 (Cat. No. 149)



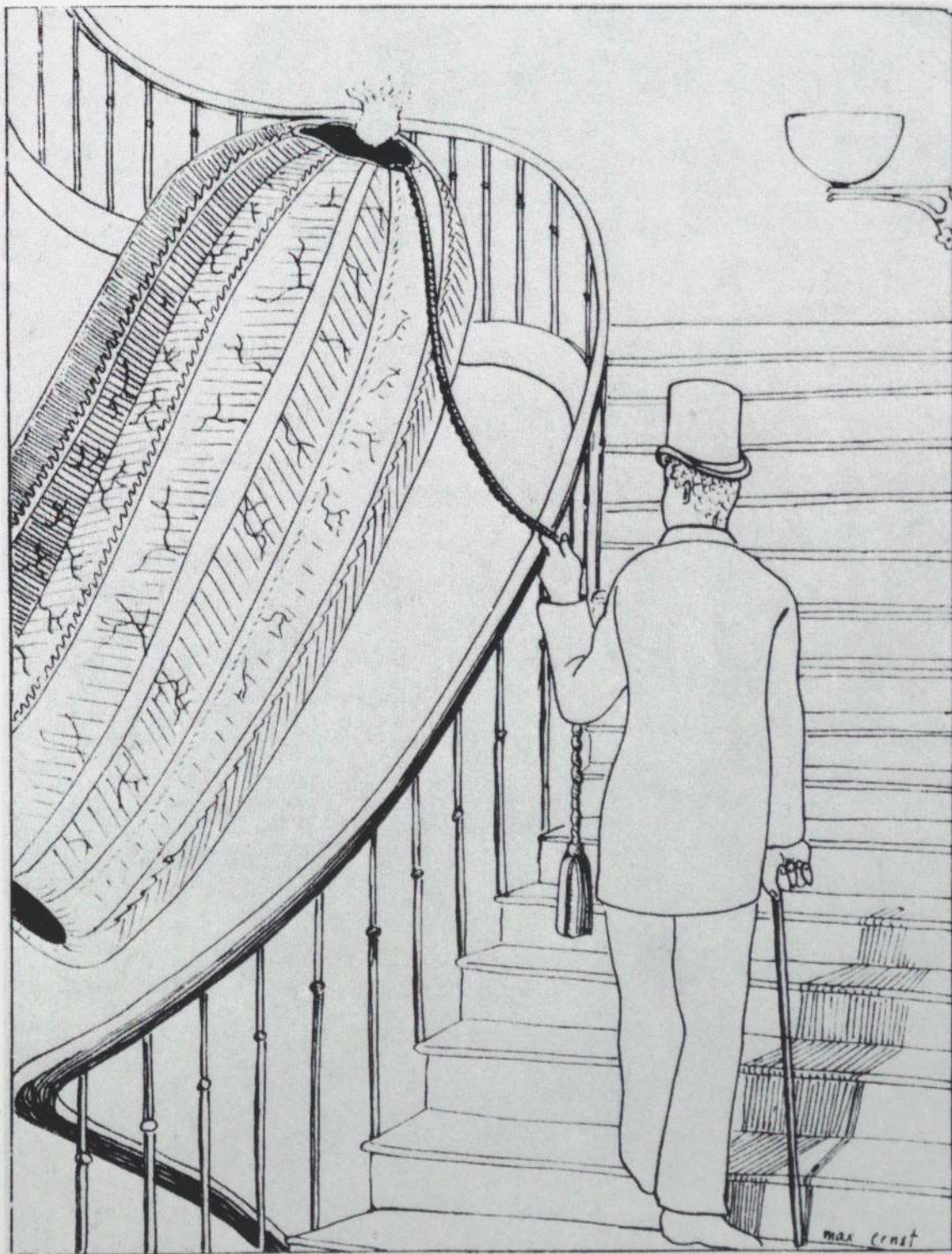
138 *A Very Gentle Earthquake*, ca. 1923 (Cat. No. 150)



139 *Cold Throats*, 1923 (Cat. No. 166)



140 *The Sea, the Coast, and the Earthquake*, 1922 (Cat. No. 141)



141 *Baudelaire Returns Late*, 1922 (Cat. No. 142)



142 *Castor and Pollution*, 1923 (Cat. No. 152)



143 *The Tottering Woman*, 1923 (Cat. No. 153)



144 *One Man Can Hide Another*, 1923 (Cat. No. 164)



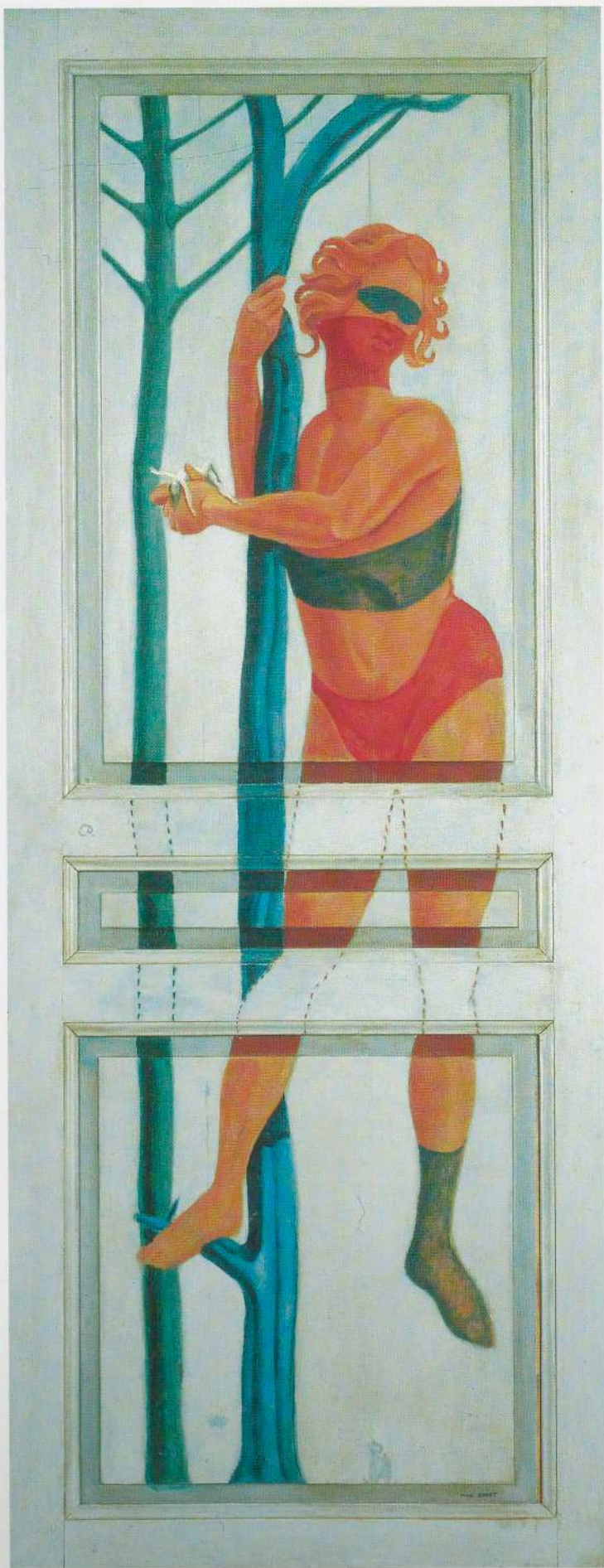
145 *Man Shall Know Nothing of This*, 1923 (Cat. No. 155)



146 *The Couple*, 1923 (Cat. No. 154)



147 *Pietà or Revolution by Night*, 1923 (Cat. No. 156)





149 Untitled, 1923 (Cat. No. 158)



150 *Friendly Advice*, 1923 (Cat. No. 160)



151 *The Birds Cannot Disappear*, 1923 (Cat. No. 161)



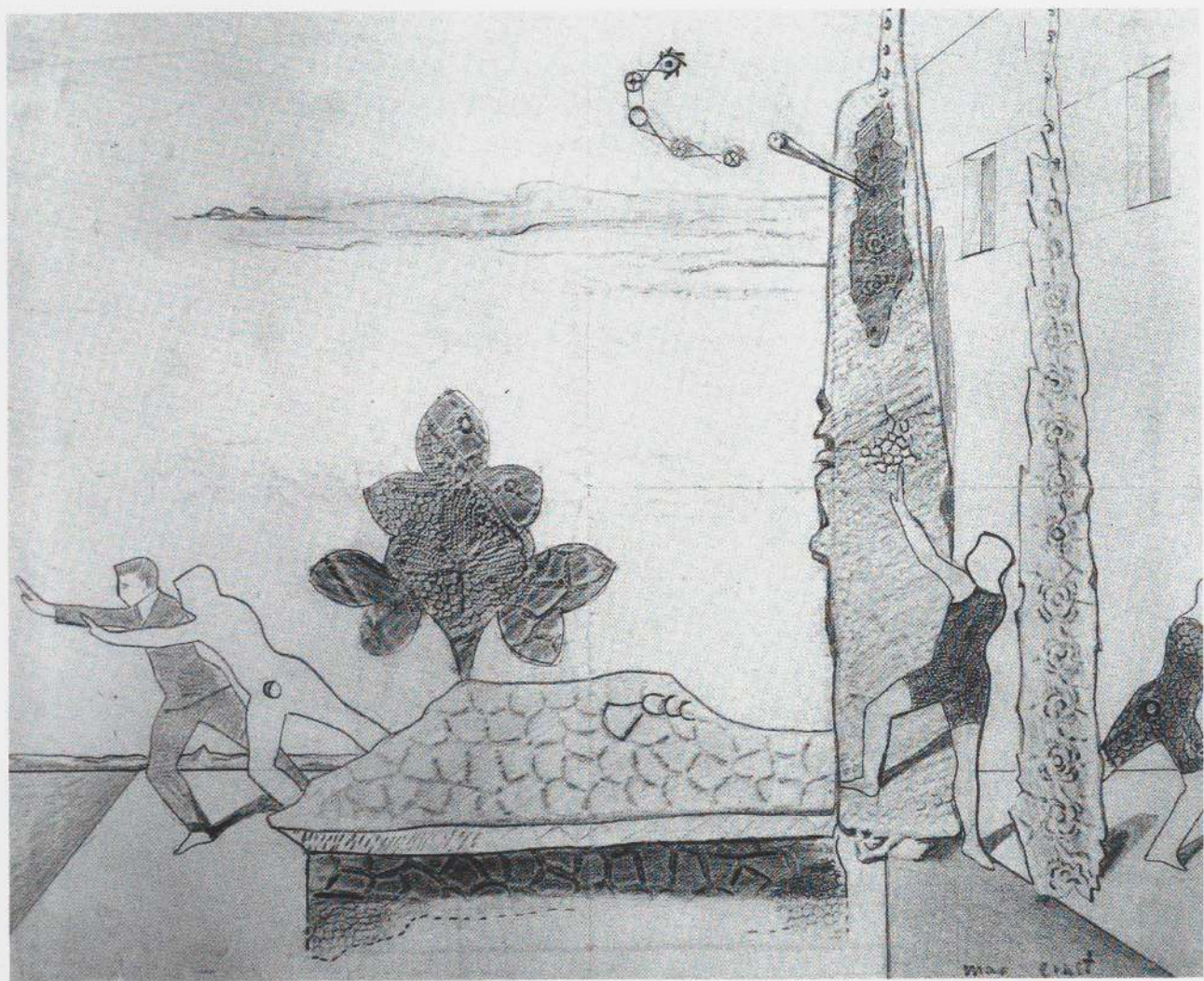
152 *At the First Limpid Word*, 1923 (Cat. No. 159)



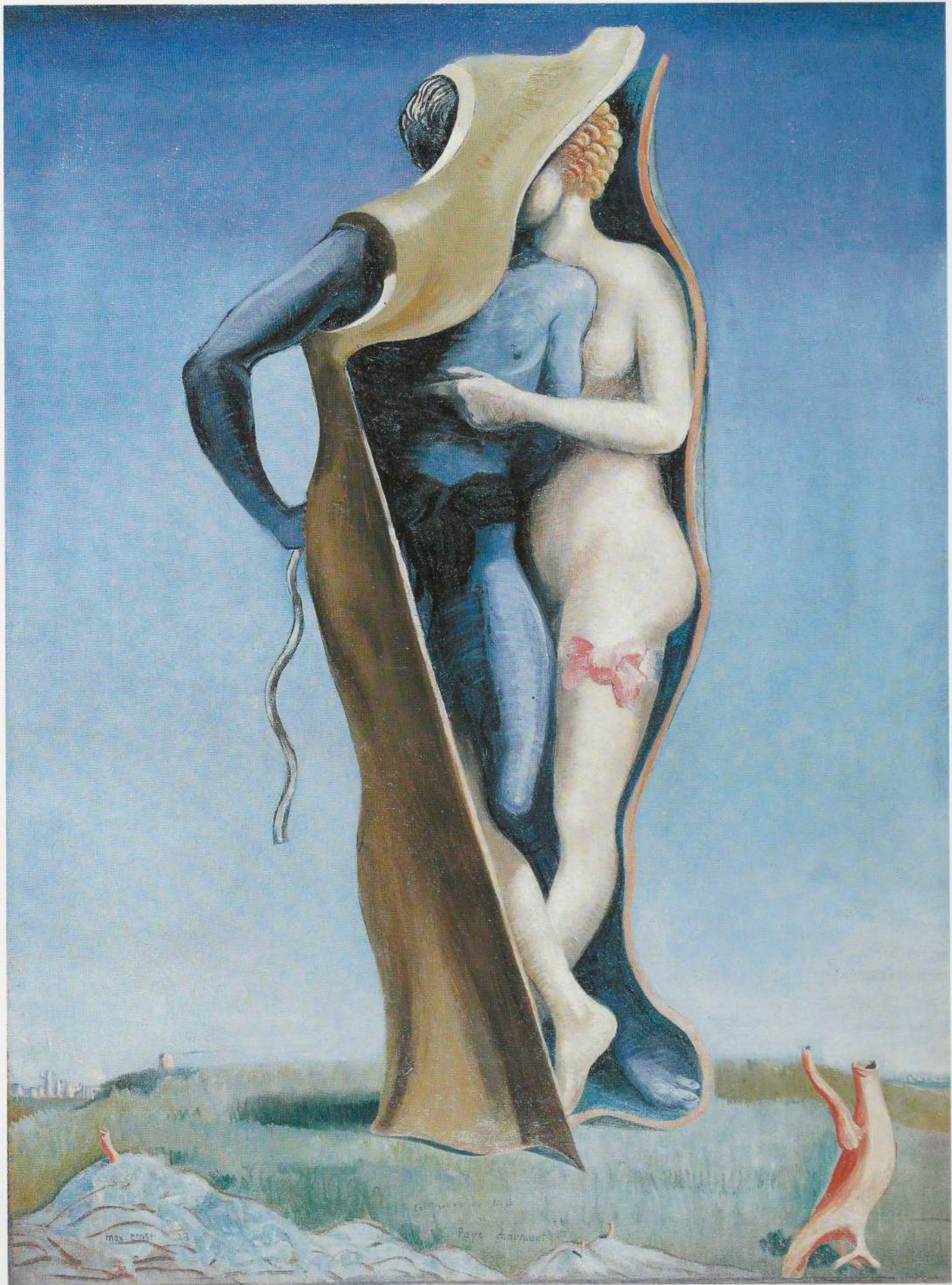
153 *Forest with Lizard*, ca. 1923 (Cat. No. 147)



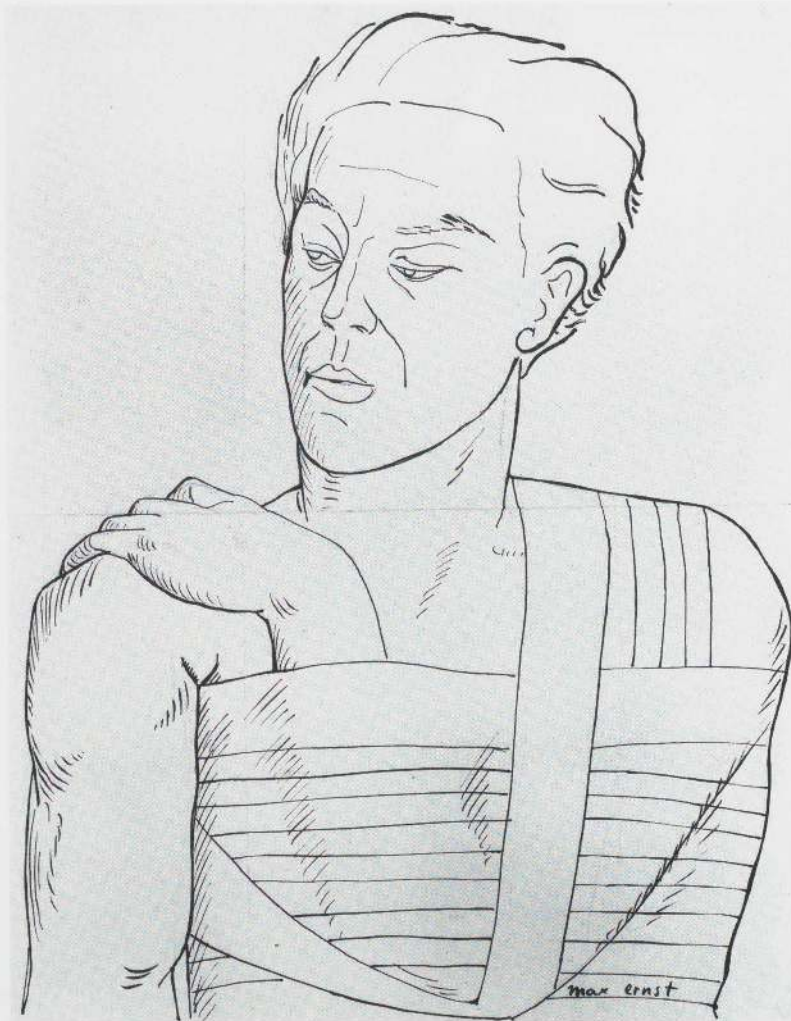
154 *Birds in a Landscape*, ca. 1923 (Cat. No. 146)



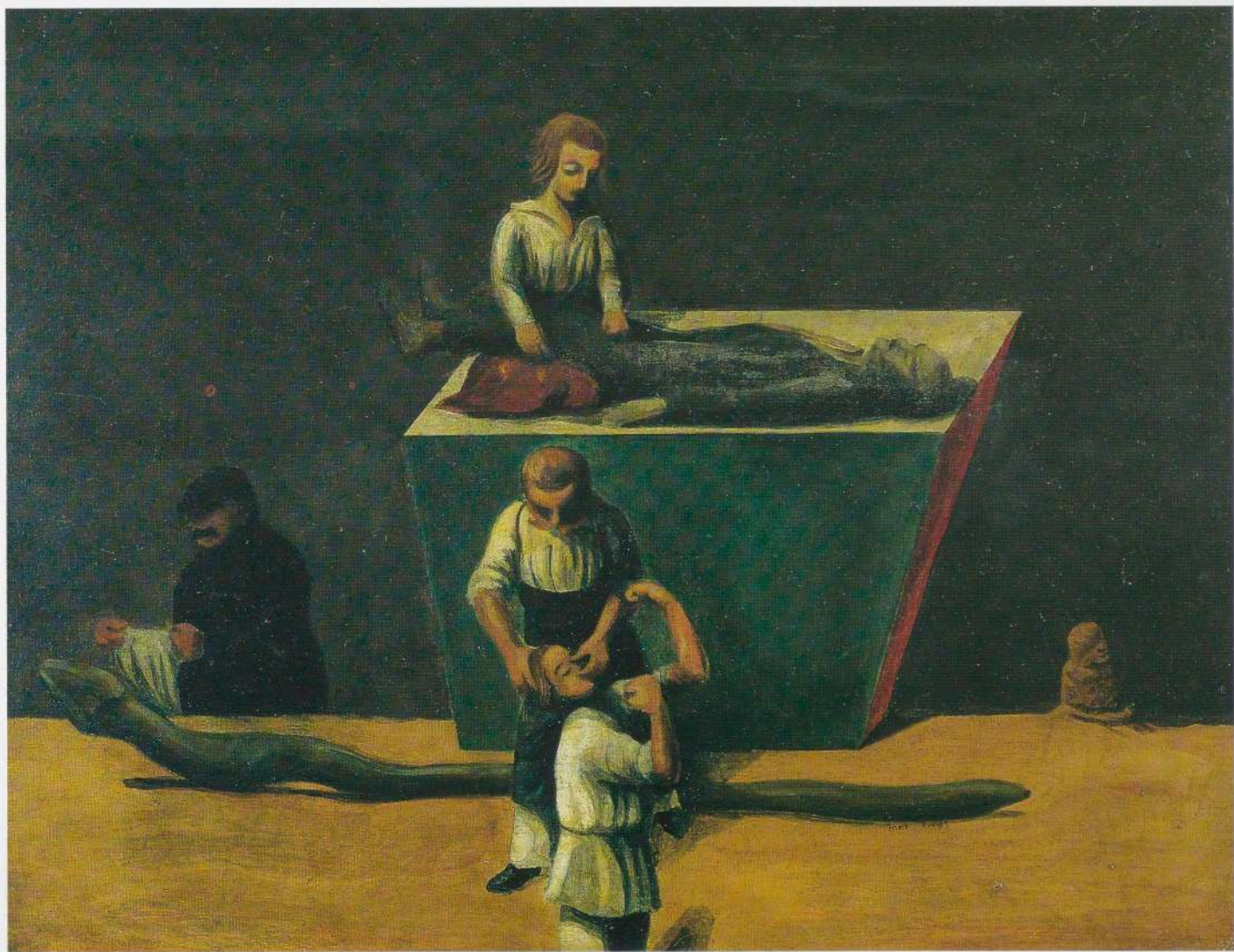
155 Untitled, ca. 1923 (Cat. No. 165)



156 Long Live Love or Charming Countryside, 1923 (Cat. No. 151)



157 *André Breton*, 1923 (Cat. No. 168)



158 *Heavenly and Earthly Love*, 1923–24 (Cat. No. 169)



159 *Saint Cecilia (The Invisible Piano)*, 1923 (Cat. No. 162)



160 *Ubu Emperor*, 1923–24 (Cat. No. 163)



161 *Woman, Old Man, and Flower*, 1924 (Cat. No. 170)



162 *Two Children Are Threatened by a Nightingale*, 1924 (Cat. No. 171)



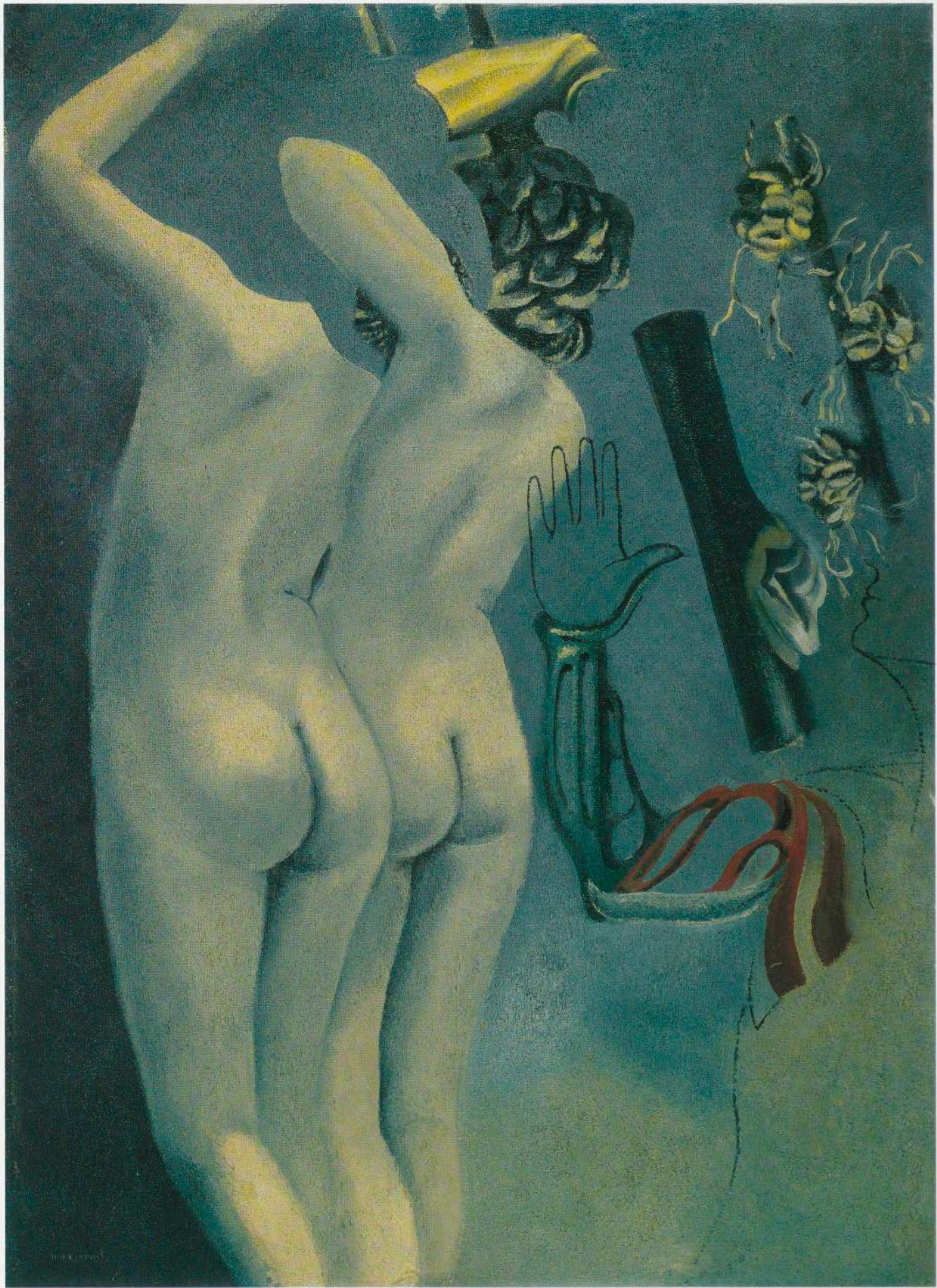
163 *Bird*, ca. 1924 (Cat. No. 173)



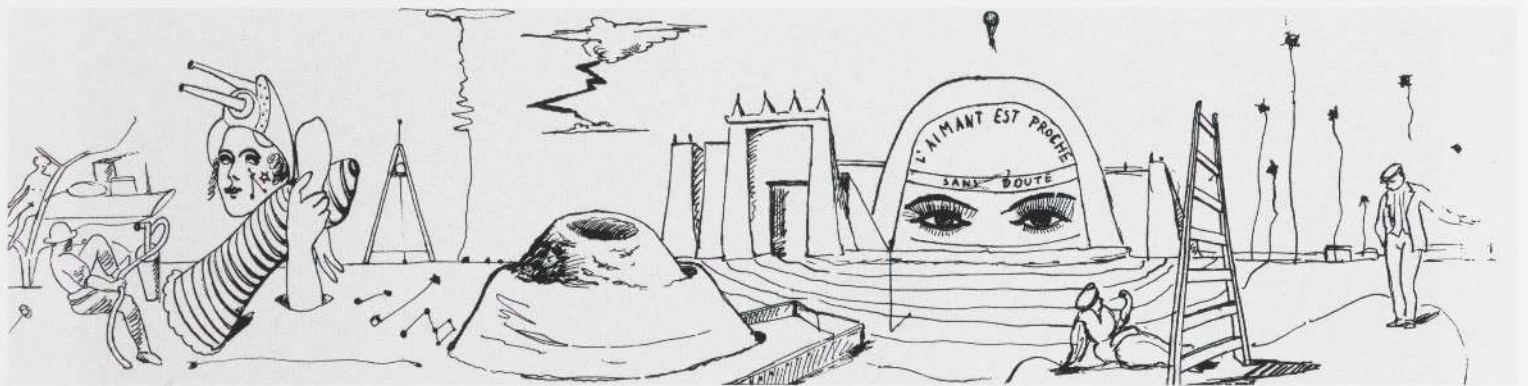
164 Forest, ca. 1924 (Cat. No. 172)



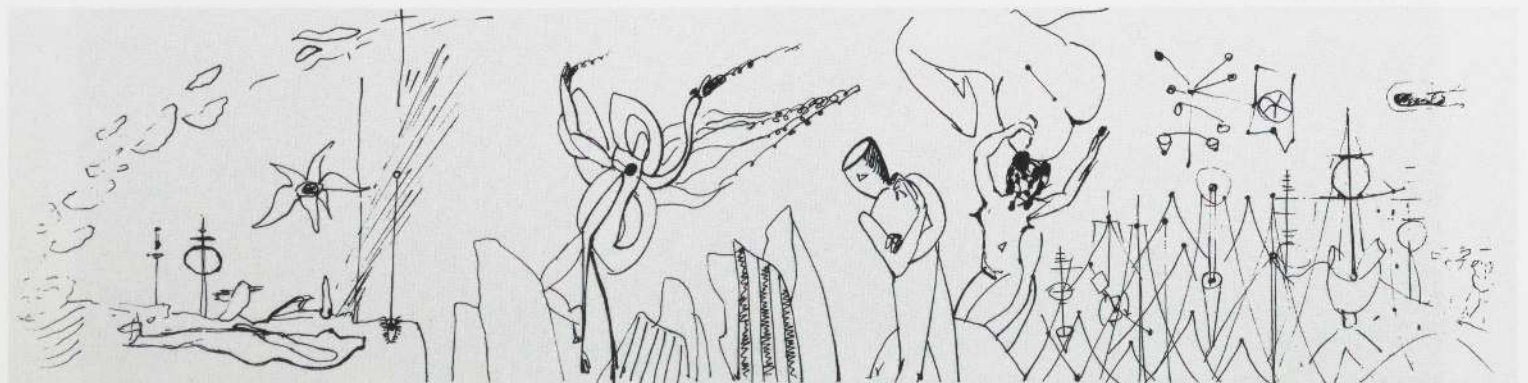
165 Forest, 1925 (Cat. No. 193)



166 *Two Girls in Beautiful Poses*, ca. 1925–26 (Cat. No. 199)



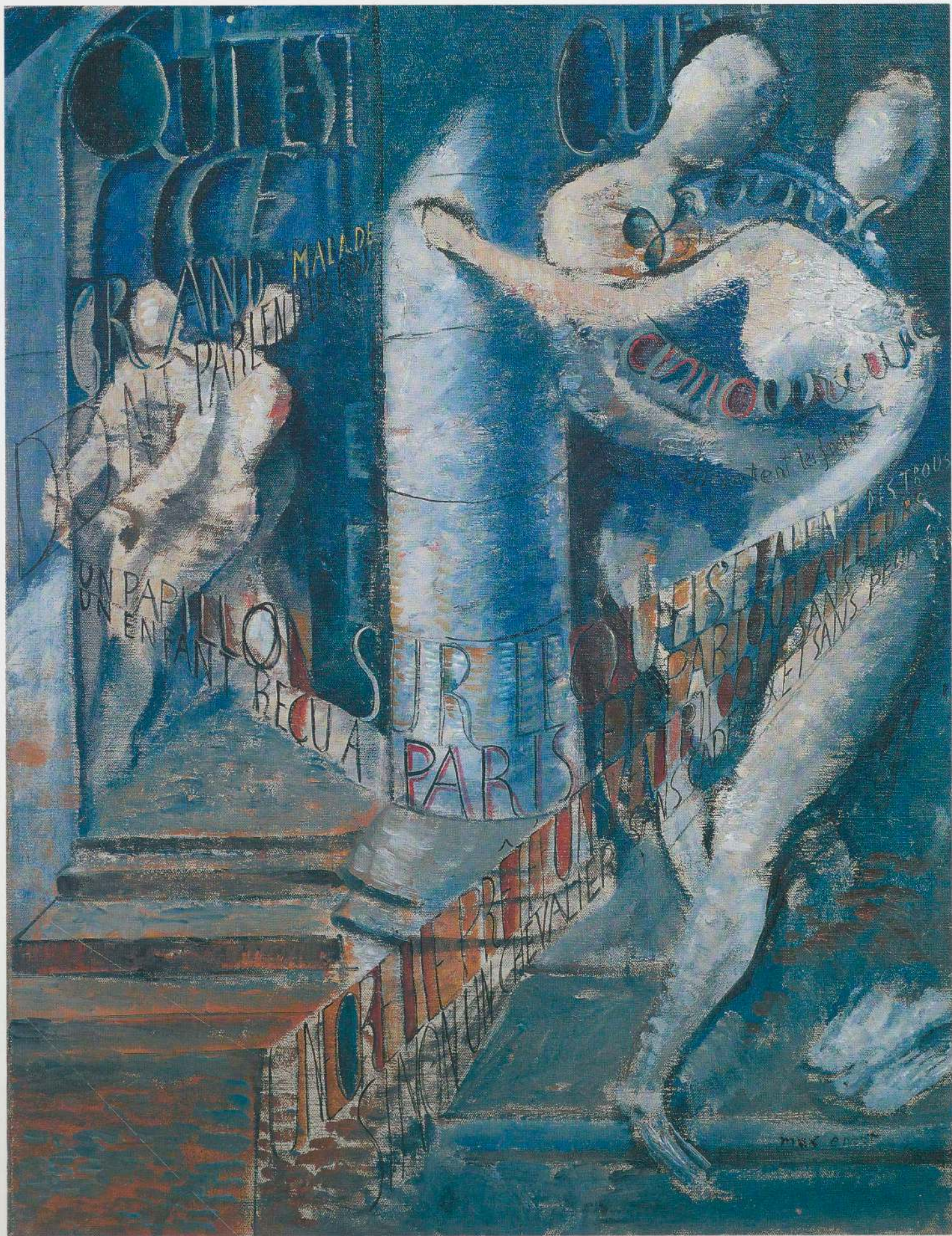
167 *The Magnet Is Near, No Doubt*, [Detail], ca. 1924 (Cat. No. 174)



168 *Lesson in Automatic Writing*, [Detail], ca. 1924 (Cat. No. 175)



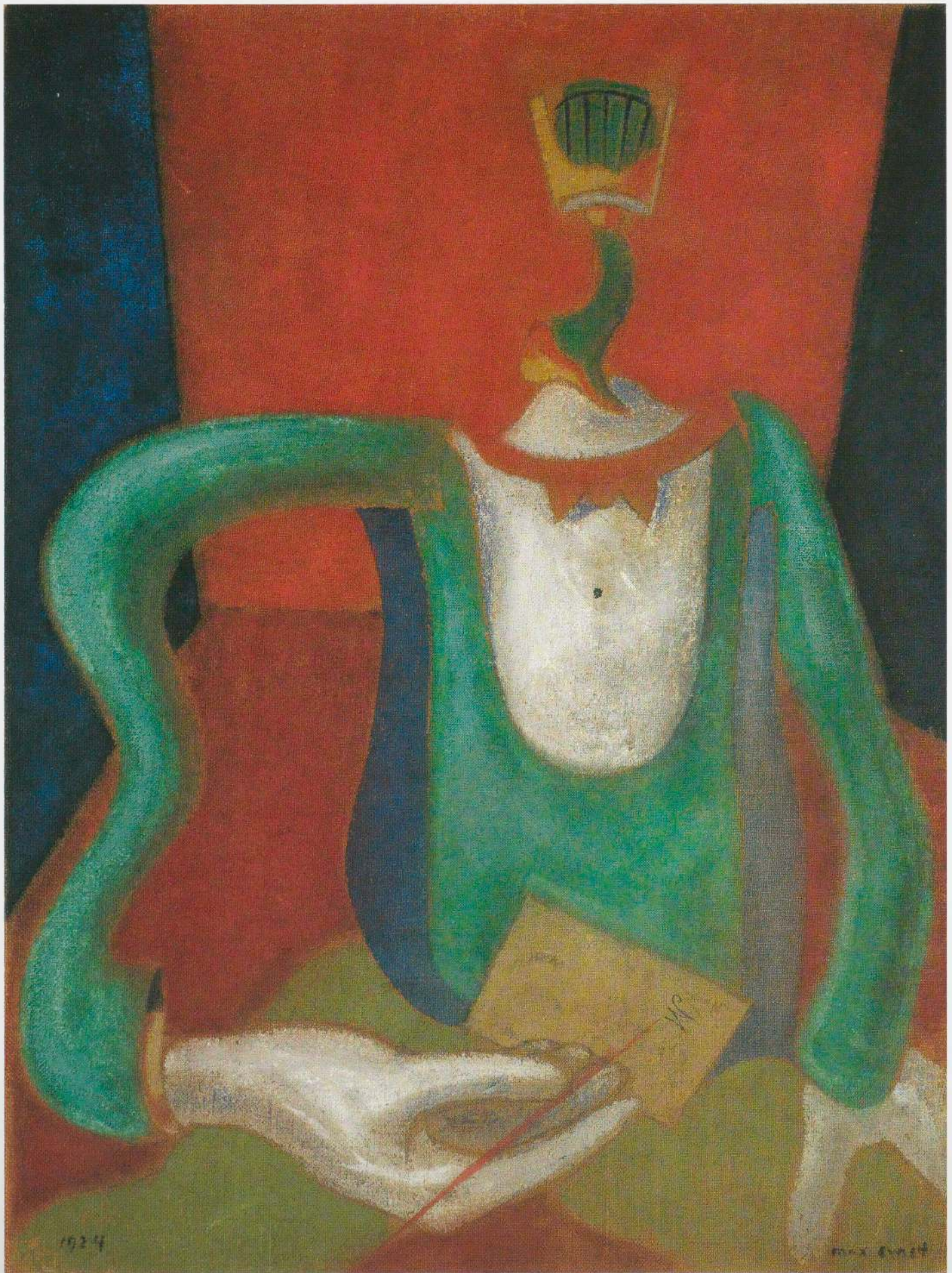
169 *Portrait of Gala*, ca. 1925 (Cat. No. 182)



170 *Who Is This Tall Sick Man...*, 1924–25 (Cat. No. 178)



171 Poem Painting, 1924–25 (Cat. No. 179)



172 M, 1924 (Cat. No. 176)



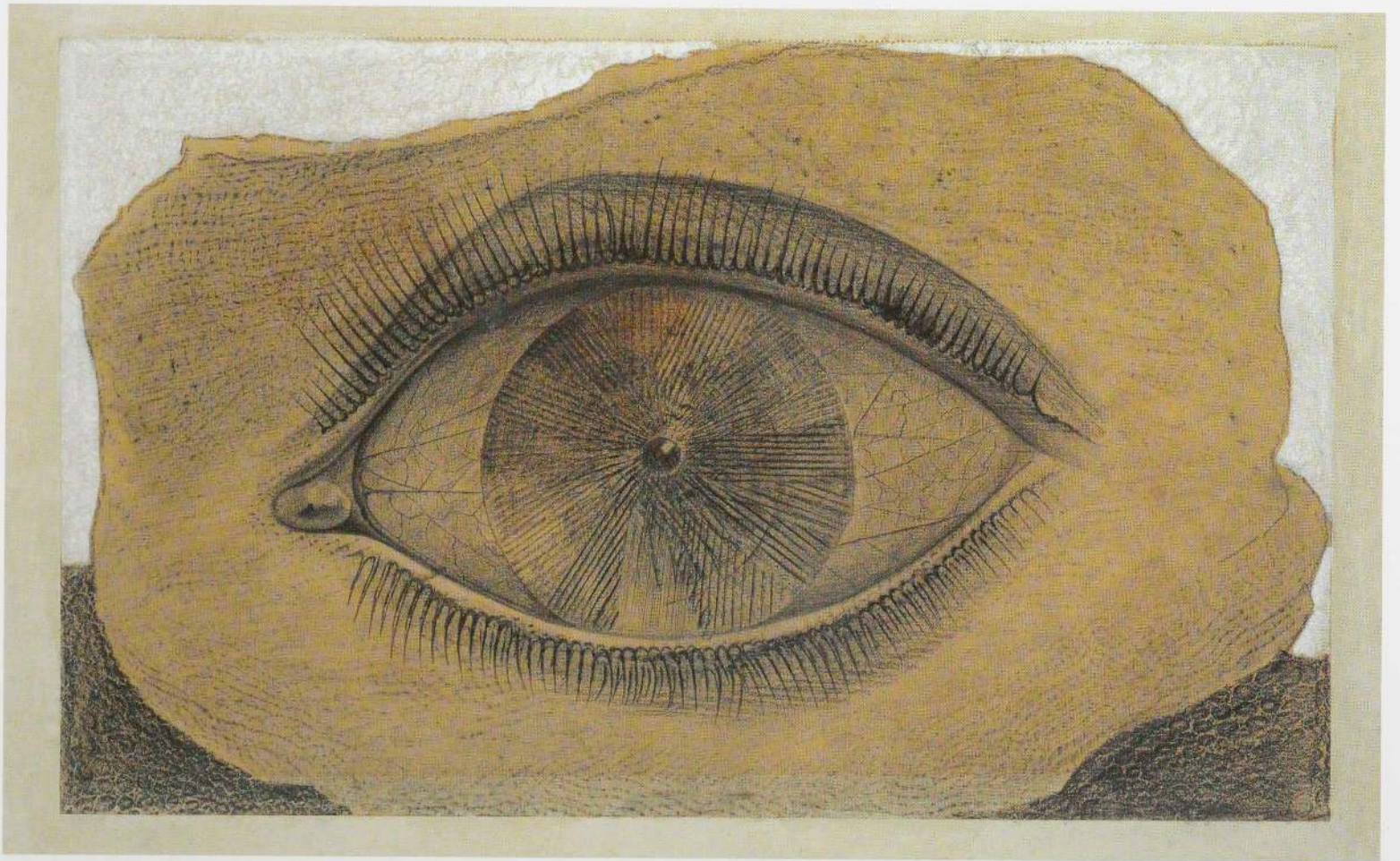
173 *The Couple*, 1924–25 (Cat. No. 177)



174 *Rose Birds*, 1924–25 (Cat. No. 180)



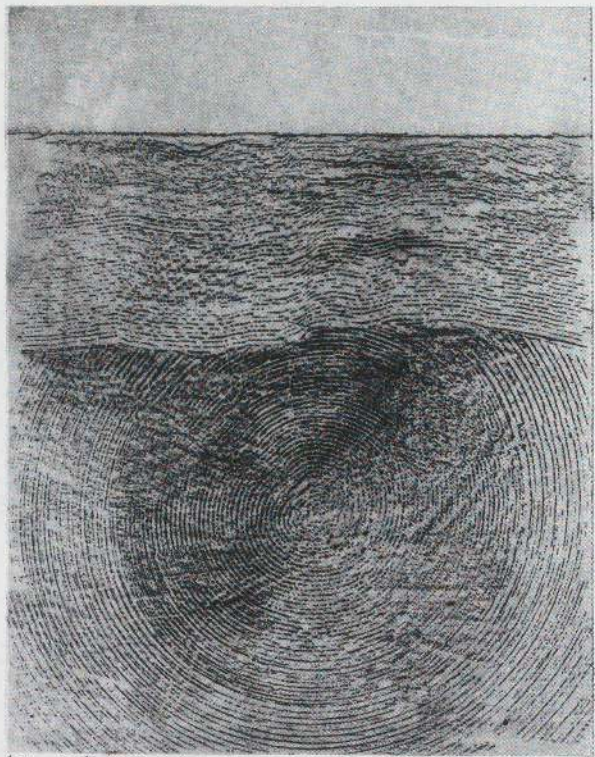
175 100,000 Doves, 1925 (Cat. No. 197)



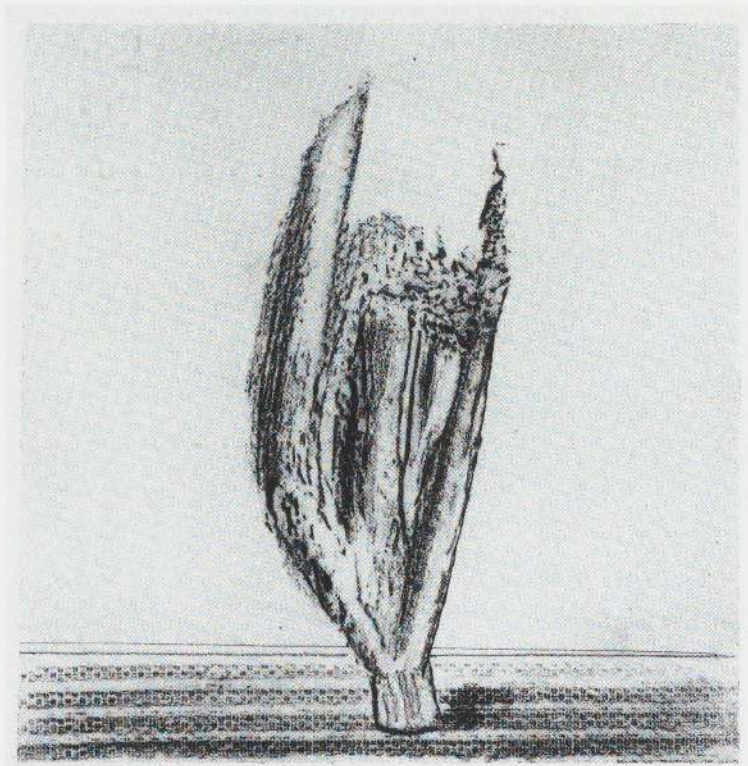
176 *The Wheel of Light*, 1925 (Cat. No. 185)



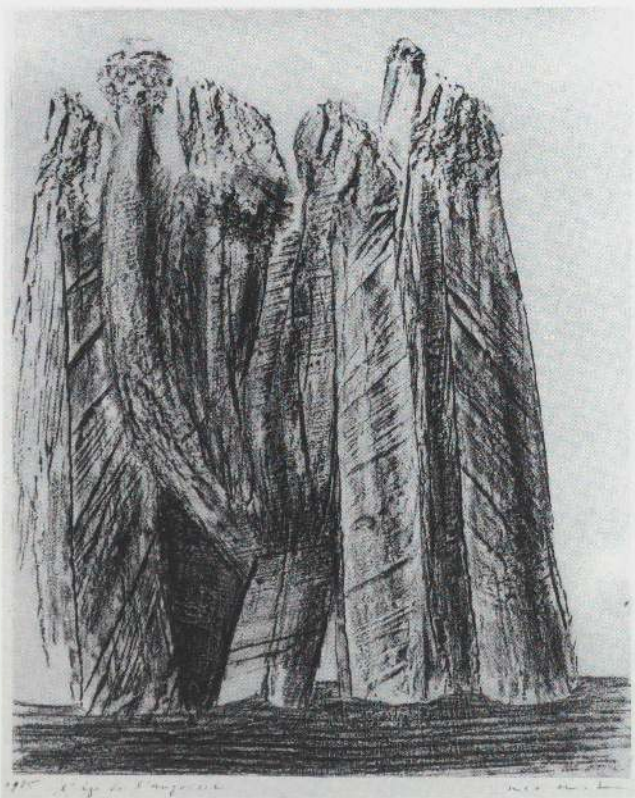
177 *The Habits of Leaves*, 1925 (Cat. No. 183)



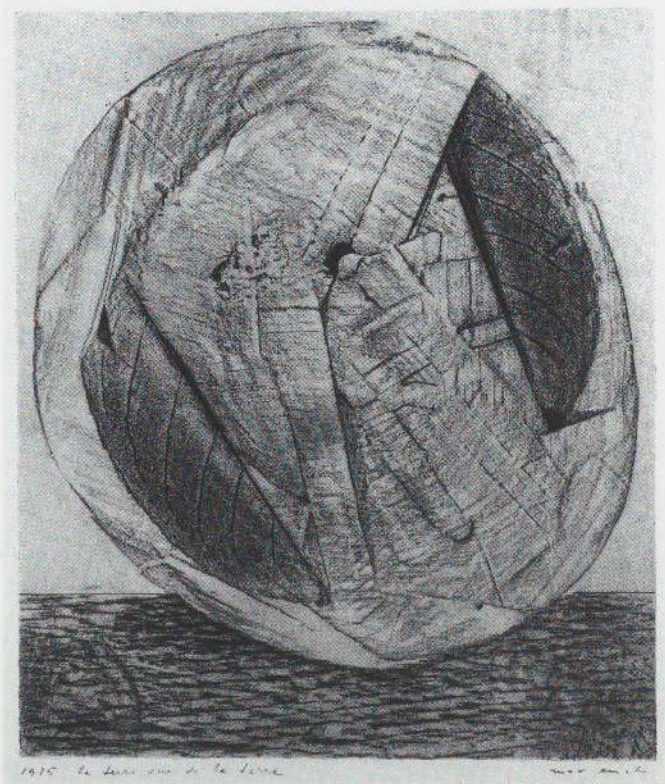
178 *The River of Love*, 1925 (Cat. No. 186)



179 *Out of This World*, 1925 (Cat. No. 187)



180 *The Age of Anxiety*, 1925 (Cat. No. 188)

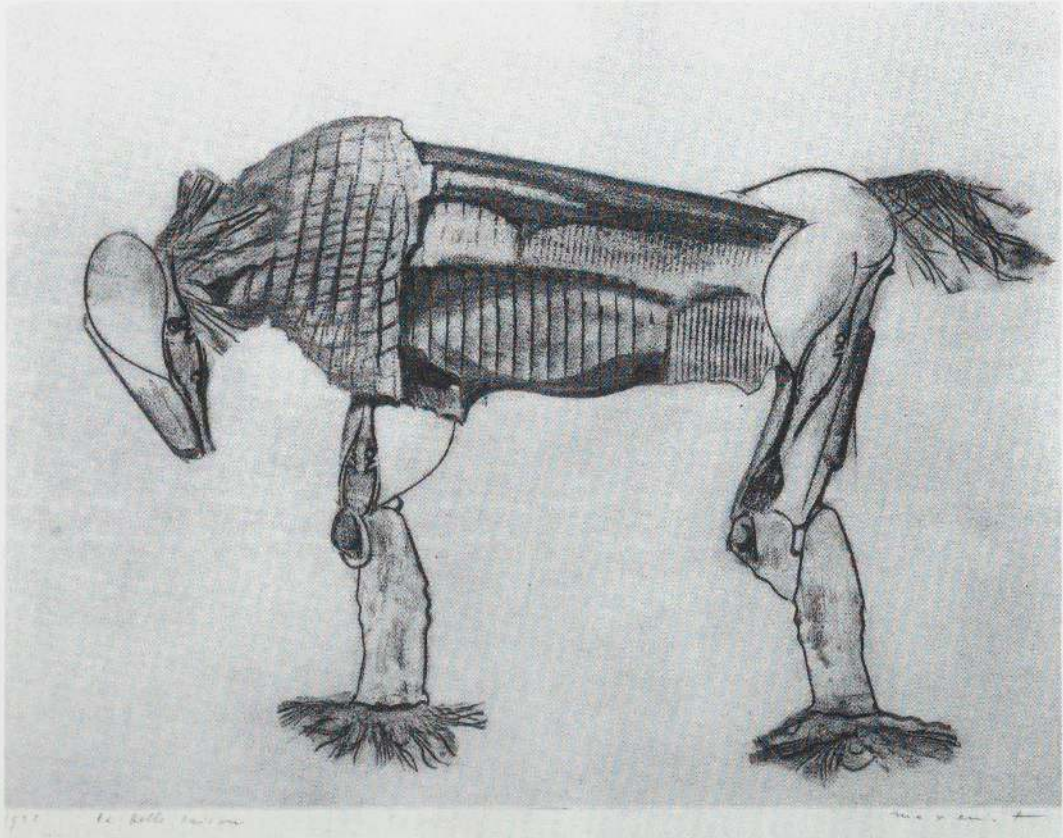


181 *The Earth Views the Earth*, 1925 (Cat. No. 189)



1925 les rochers abimés

max erit



183 *The Beautiful Season*, 1925 (Cat. No. 192)



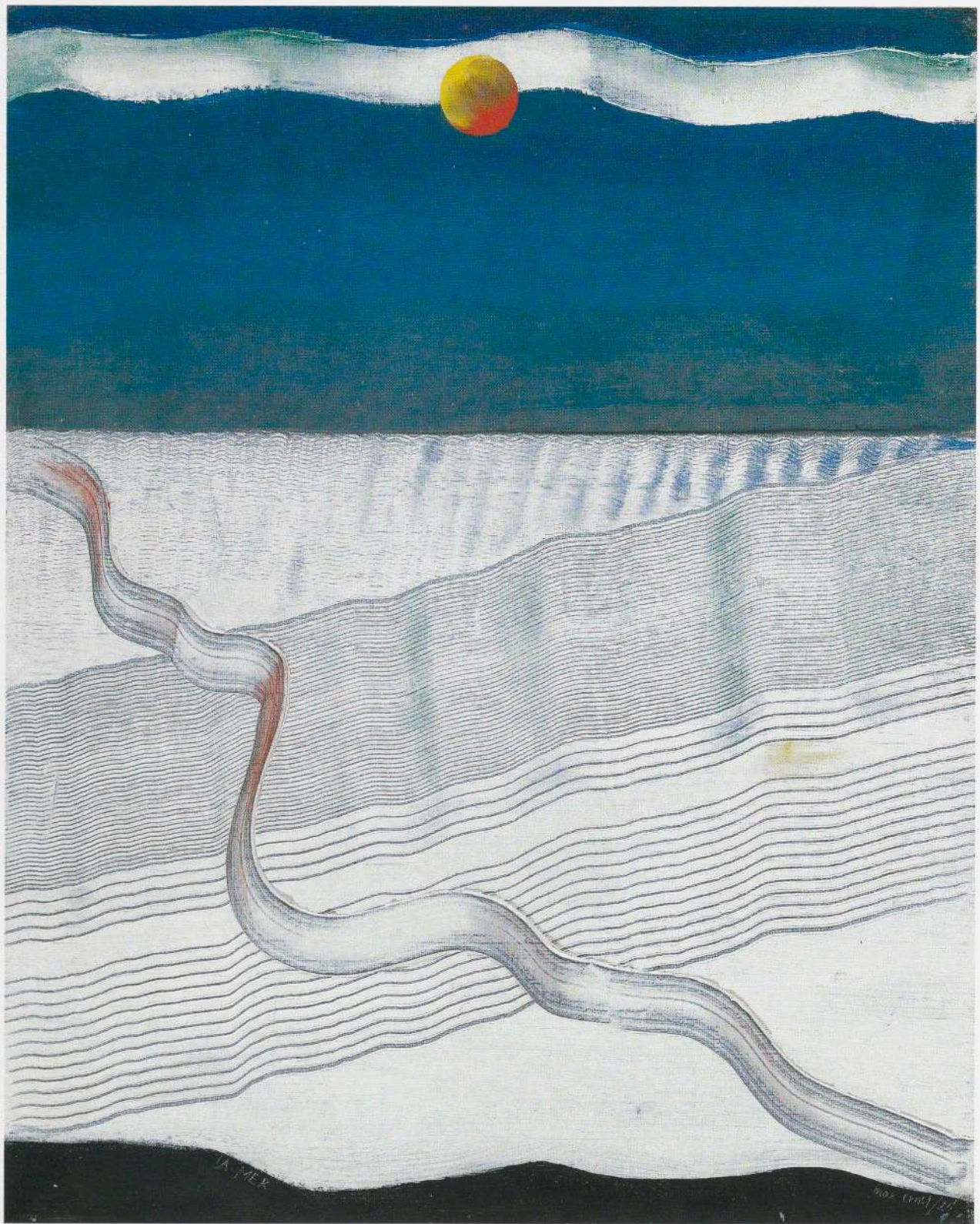
184 *The Beautiful Season*, 1925 (Cat. No. 194)



185 *The Forest*, 1925 (Cat. No. 196)



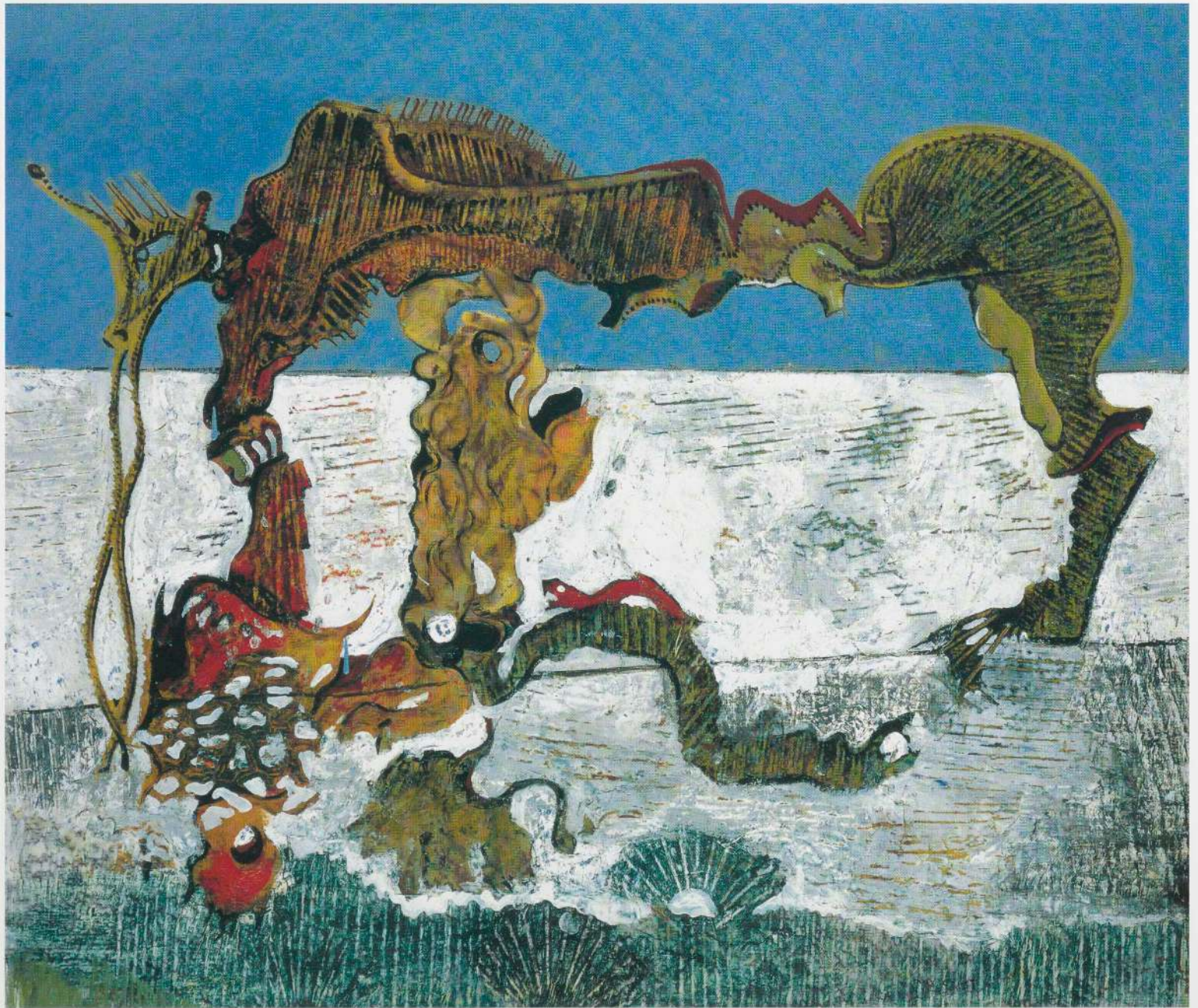
186 *Two Sisters*, 1926 (Cat. No. 198)



187 *The Sea*, 1825 (Cat. No. 195)



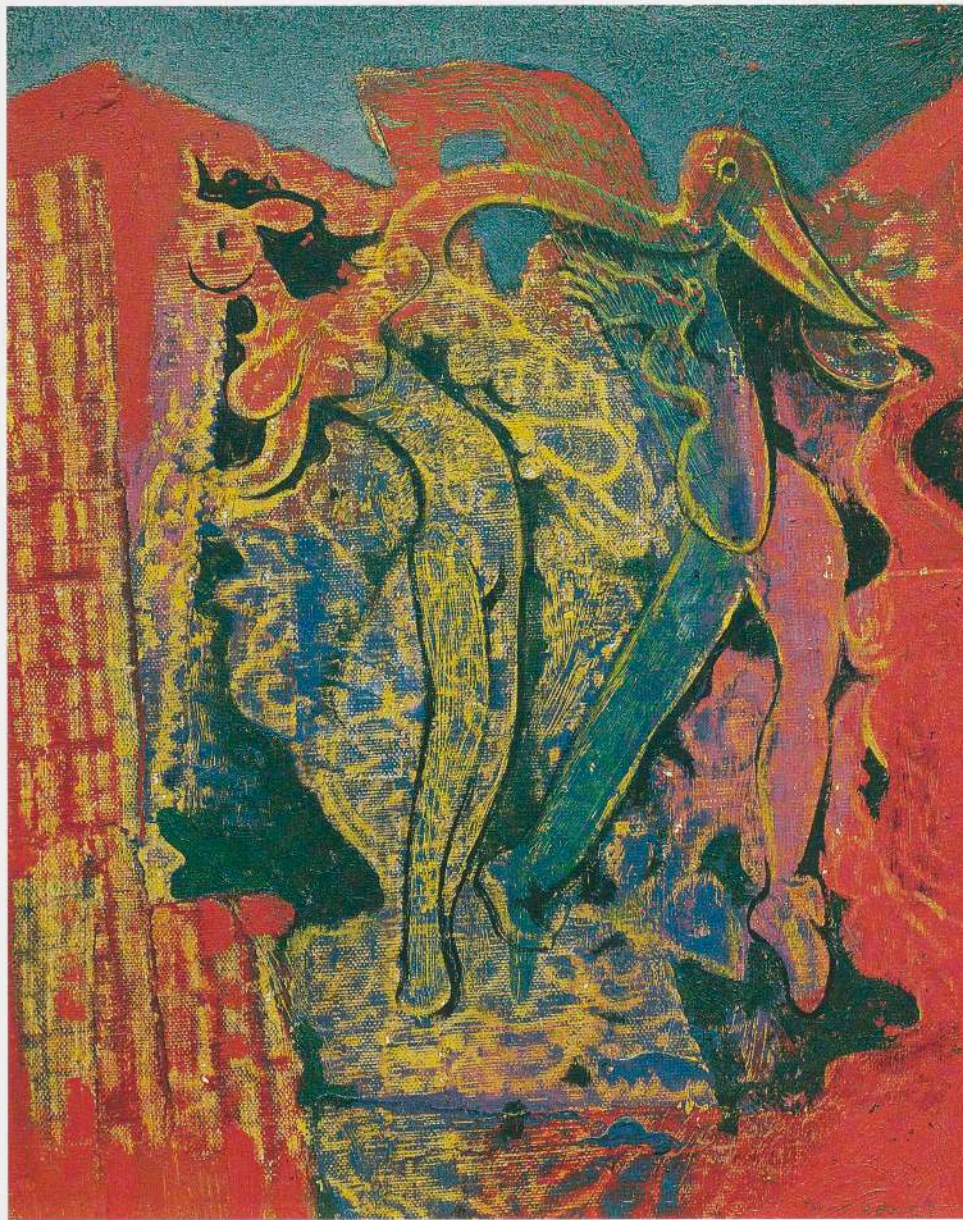
188 *Paris Dream*, 1924–25 (Cat. No. 181)



189 *Child, Horse, Flower, and Snake*, 1927 (Cat. No. 203)



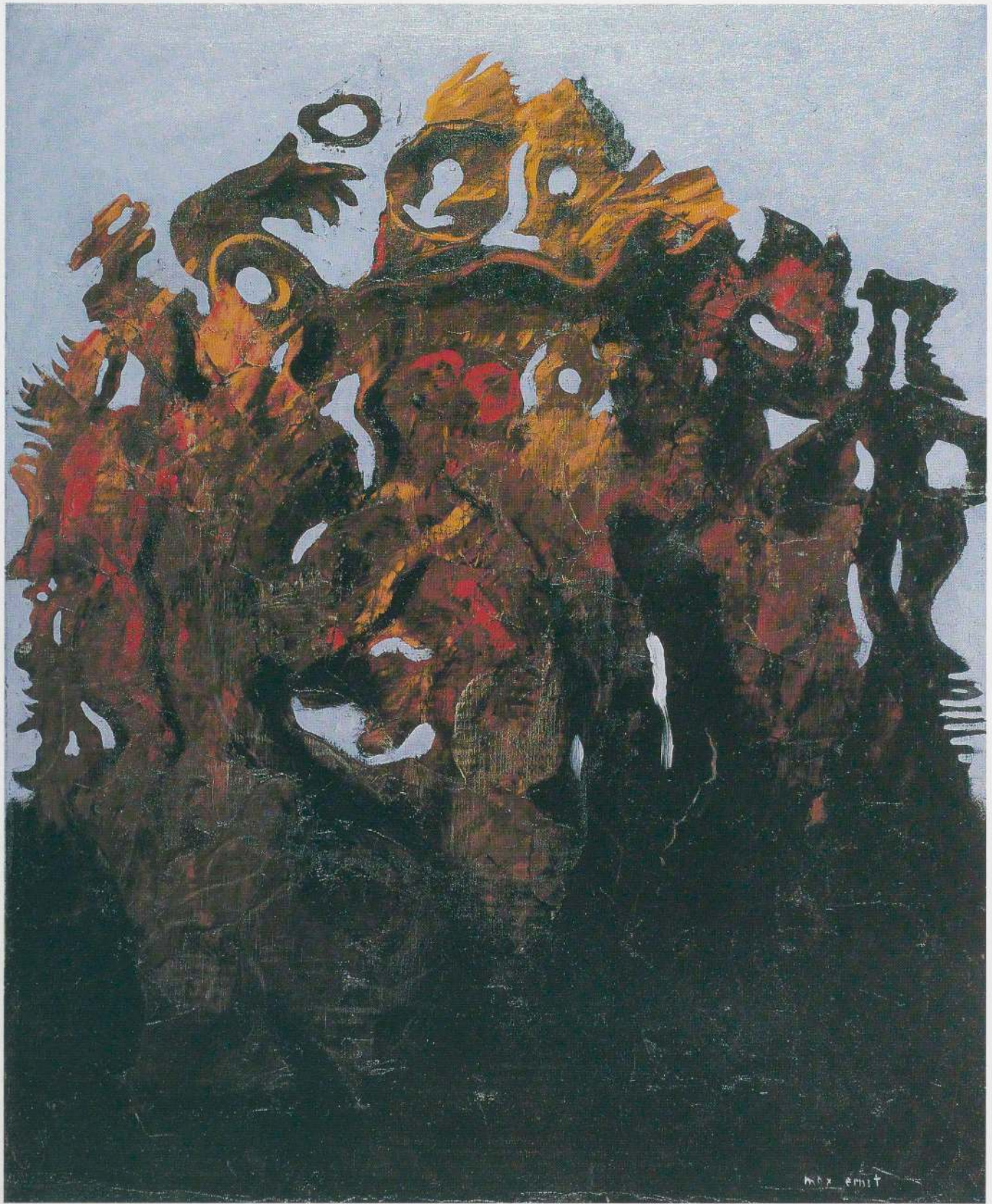
190 *Two People and a Bird*, 1926 (Cat. No. 201)



191 *Leda and the Swan*, 1927 (Cat. No. 204)



192 *Laocoön and Sons*, 1927 (Cat. No. 205)



193 *One Big Family*, 1927 (Cat. No. 206)



194 *The Horde*, 1927 (Cat. No.207)



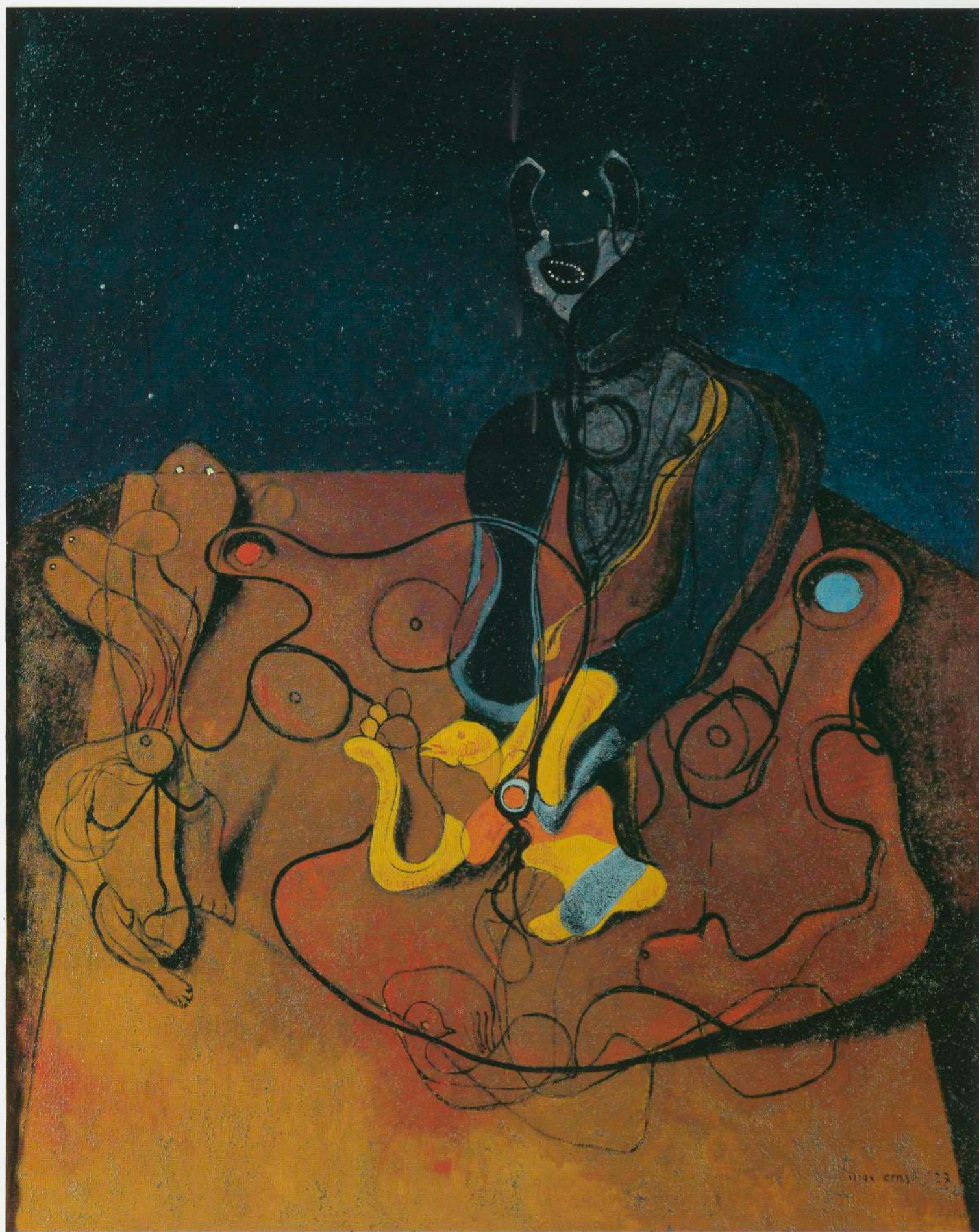
195 *Scene of Harsh Eroticism*, 1927 (Cat. No. 208)



196 Two Naked Young Chimeras, 1927 (Cat. No. 209)



197 *Kiss in the Night*, 1927 (Cat. No. 210)



198 *One Night of Love*, 1927 (Cat. No. 211)



199 *Forest and Sun*, 1927 (Cat. No. 212)



200 *The Large Forest*, 1927 (Cat. No. 213)



201 *Monument to the Birds*, 1927 (Cat. No. 216)



202 *Project for Monument to the Birds, 1927* (Cat. No. 215)

Matters of Family,
Education, Art, and War

1

1 Elizabeth M. Legge, *Max Ernst: The Psychoanalytic Sources*, London, 1989, p. 6. For a list of Ernst's writings, see the Bibliography (pp. 353–59).

2 Max Ernst, "Notizen zu einer Biographie (Wahrheitgewebe und Lügengewebe)," *Max Ernst*, exhibition catalogue, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, 1962. Texts by Gert von der Osten and Carola Giedion-Welcker; catalogue by Helmut Leppien.

3 Information provided here on the Ernst family is based on the article by Dirk Teuber, "Die Familie Philipp Ernst," and the accompanying pages of the *Familienbuch (Family Book)* assembled by Ernst's father Philipp during 1937–41, published in *Max Ernst in Köln*, exhibition catalogue, Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, 1980, pp. 49–53. See also Jürgen Pech (ed.), *Max Ernst: Fotografische Porträts und Dokumente*, exhibition catalogue, Brühl, 1991, pp. 17–19.

4 Nine children were born: Karl Maria (February 19–24, 1889); Maria (February 24, 1890–August 9, 1896); Max Maria (April 2, 1891–April 1, 1976); Emilie Maria (June 21, 1892–7); Luise Maria (June 27, 1893–October 6, 1942); Karl Maria (August 14, 1894–September 4, 1972); [?] Maria (stillborn, March 10, 1896); Elisabeth (February 28, 1897–September 6, 1928); and Loni Wilhelmina Helena Maria (January 6, 1906–1992).

5 For these comments on Philipp Ernst, see also Patrick Waldberg, *Max Ernst*, Paris, 1958, p. 21; and John Russell, *Max Ernst*, New York, 1967, p. 10.

6 Max Ernst, "Some Data on the Youth of M.E. As Told by Himself," *View*, no. 1, April 1942, pp. 28–30. An earlier text, far briefer but important, was published as "Visions de demi-sommeil" in *La Révolution Surréaliste*, nos. 9–10, October 1, 1927, p. 7. For the final additions and modifications, see Max Ernst, *Écritures*, 1970, pp. 11–18.

7 Ernst, "Some Data," p. 28. Saint Albertus Magnus (ca. 1200–80) resided in Cologne during the last decade of his life. Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486–1535) was born in Cologne. In addition to his tempestuous career as theologian, teacher, military entrepreneur, and secretary to Charles V, Cornelius Agrippa published a survey of Renaissance magic entitled *De occulta philosophia* (1533).

8 Ernst, "Some Data," p. 28. Charlotte Stokes has pointed out that there was a display of bones (probably of Roman soldiers) by the altar of the church attended by the Ernst family. The story of the 11,000 virgins martyred with St. Ursula is associated with a convent church in Cologne ("Max Ernst in Brühl: The Influence of His Early Life on Later Works," unpublished lecture delivered by Stokes at the CAA Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., February 23, 1991).

9 Ernst, "Some Data," p. 28.

10 Ibid.

11 Karin von Mauer, "Max Ernst and Romanticism," in *Max Ernst*, exhibition catalogue, Tate Gallery, London, 1991, p. 343. Curated by Werner Spies.

19 Ernst, "Some Data," p. 30.

20 Ibid.

21 Max Ernst, "Souvenirs rhénans," *L'Oeil*, no. 16, April 1956, p. 9.

22 Eduard Trier, "Was Max Ernst studiert hat," in *Max Ernst in Köln*, p. 63. In this excellent article, Trier provides the first documents on Ernst's education and the correct date for his graduation from the Gymnasium on March 11, 1910.

23 Ernst, "Souvenirs rhénans," p. 9. Ernst records ("Some Data," p. 30) that around this time he wrote a book entitled *Diver's Manual*, which his father found and burned.

24 Ernst, *Écritures*, p. 18.

25 Waldberg, *Max Ernst*, pp. 56–58, and John Russell, *Max Ernst*, p. 19. Waldberg and Russell were friends of Ernst and the authors of the first two books written about him.

26 Max Stirner (1806–56) published *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum* in Leipzig in 1845. Quotations here are from *Max Stirner: The Ego and His Own*, ed. John Carroll, New York, 1971. Quotations here on Otto Weininger's *Sex and Character* (1903) are from the authorized translation of the sixth German edition, London and New York, 1906.

27 John Carroll (ed.), *Max Stirner: The Ego and His Own*, p. 52.

28 Weininger, *Sex and Character*, p. 7. For an excellent discussion of Weininger, Freud, and theories of bisexuality at the turn of the century, see Peter Heller, "A Quarrel over Bisexuality" in Gerald Chapple and Hans H. Schulte (eds.), *The Turn of the Century. German Literature and Art, 1890–1915*, Bonn, 1981, pp. 87–115.

29 Thomas W. Gaehtgens, "Das Märchen vom Schöpfertum des Künstlers: Anmerkungen zu den Selbstbildnissen Max Ernsts und zu Loplop," in *Max Ernst*, exhibition catalogue, Haus der Kunst, Munich, 1979, p. 53. The inscription below the drawing reads: "A young man full of hope / can easily with painting cope."

30 Ernst, *Écritures*, p. 18; Ernst, "Souvenirs rhénans," p. 10.

31 Trier, "Was Max Ernst studiert hat," pp. 63–66. Unless indicated otherwise, information regarding Ernst's studies at the University are based on this article.

32 Russell, *Max Ernst*, p. 20. Friedrich Nietzsche published *Die Fröhliche Wissenschaft* in 1887.

33 Ernst, *Écritures*, p. 20. This experience primed Ernst for his later encounter with Hans Prinzhorn's *Bilderei der Geisteskranken (Artistry of the Mentally Ill)*, Berlin, 1922.

34 Legge, *Max Ernst*, pp. 11–12. Wundt is frequently cited in Freud's writings. For the most extensive consideration of Ernst in relation to psychology and psychoanalysis, see this book by Legge and her dissertation "Conscious Sources of the Unconscious: Ernst's use of psychoanalytic themes and imagery, 1921–24," a dissertation submitted to the Courtauld Institute, The University of London, 1985.

35 As pointed out by Trier ("Was Max Ernst studiert hat," p. 34), Külpe also permitted others to take the floor in his colloquia, and one of these was a doctoral student, Rudolf Feilgenhauer, known as an occultist.

36 Waldberg, *Max Ernst*, pp. 80–82. Waldberg claims Otten brought with him Freud's *Interpretation of Dreams, Introduction to Psychoanalysis*, and *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life*.

37 Freud published *Die Traumdeutung (The Interpretation of Dreams)* in 1900, *Zur Psychopathologie des Alltagslebens (The Psychopathology of Everyday Life)* in 1901, and *Der Witz und seine Beziehung zum Unbewussten (Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious)* in 1905.

38 In an interview late in his life, Ernst commented on two Renaissance examples. In addition to Leonardo's advice to observe spots on walls, ashes, clouds, and streams, he cited Piero di Cosimo's discovery of entire scenes in the stains

of spittle on a wall. "Entretiens avec Max Ernst," in Georges Charbonnier, *Le Monologue du peintre*, Paris, 1959, p. 35.

39 Ernst's classmate cited Rembrandt, El Greco, Goya, and Callot among older artists, and among the moderns, Van Gogh, Cézanne, Seurat, Munch, Hodler, Kollwitz, Marc, Chagall, and Japanese woodcuts (Dr. Franz Balke, letter to Werner Spies, May 4, 1970; published in *Max Ernst*, Munich, 1979, pp. 38–40). Film maker Peter Schamoni of Munich stressed Ernst's admiration for Altdorfer and Friedrich as artists and forerunners of Surrealism. During visits to Munich, Ernst always wanted to see Altdorfer's *Mary in the Garden* in the Alte Pinakothek, but could not tolerate the magnificent paintings by Rubens (conversation with the author, April 7, 1989). For a layout of "Max Ernst's Favorite Poets and Painters of the Past," see *View*, Max Ernst Number, April 1942, pp. 14–15.

40 Trier, "Was Max Ernst studiert hat," p. 30. Ernst signed in for the first time on May 8, 1911, Balke on May 15, and Luise Straus on November 5, 1912.

41 Luise Straus-Ernst, "Nomadengut," ca. 1941. Unpublished autobiographical manuscript. Quotations from passages published by Dirk Teuber, "Luise Straus, Auszüge aus 'Nomadengut,'" in *Max Ernst in Köln*, pp. 295–302; passage quoted here from page 297. Ernst is referred to as "Martin" in this manuscript.

42 Balke, letter to Werner Spies, May 4, 1970; published in *Max Ernst*, Munich, 1979, p. 40.

43 For the story of the pool at Bethesda, see the Bible, John 5: 2–9.



12 Philipp Ernst: *Portrait of Loni Ernst*, 1912. Oil on wood, 10 in., diameter. Private collection, Berlin



13 Philipp Ernst: *Portrait of Max Ernst as the Child Jesus*, 1896. Private collection

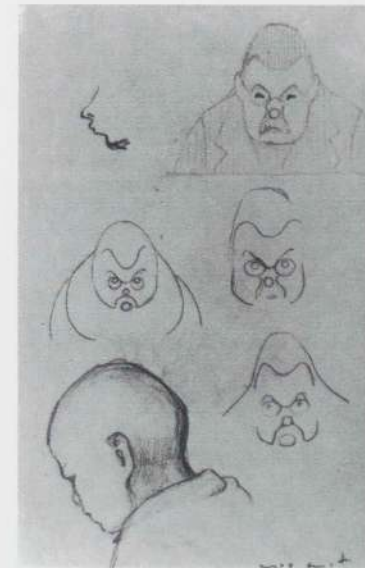
14 Ernst, "Some Data," p. 29.

15 Ibid., pp. 29–30. Maria died in 1896, not 1897.

16 Max Ernst, "Visions de demi-sommeil," *La Révolution Surréaliste*, October 1, 1927, p. 7; translated by Dorothea Tanning in *Max Ernst: Beyond Painting*, New York, 1948, pp. 3–4.

17 Ernst, *Max Ernst: Beyond Painting*, p. 4.

18 André Parinaud, "Entretiens avec Max Ernst," *Arts*, Paris, no. 921, June 19–25, 1963, p. 10.



[43] Max Ernst: *Caricatures of the Literary Historian Berthold Lietzmann*, 1913. Pencil on paper, 6 1/4 x 3 1/4 in. Private collection

44 Joachim Heusinger Waldegg, "Max Ernst und die rheinische Kunstszene 1909–1919," in *Max Ernst in Köln*, p. 92.

45 Macke's active presence in the Gereonsclub is evident as early as his letter to Franz Marc on March 17, 1911 (*August Macke—Franz Marc: Briefwechsel*, Cologne, 1964, p. 51). Macke actually refers to the Gereonsclub as the "Worringerklub." In December 1911 Macke lectured there on "Worte, Töne, Farbe," and the Blue Rider exhibition was installed there from January 23 to 31, 1912.

46 *Ausstellung der Futuristen von "Sturm"*, Kunstsalon Feldmann, Cologne, October 1912.

47 Sonderbund Internationale Kunstausstellung, in der Ausstellungshalle des Stadt Coeln, Am Aachener Tor, May 25–September 30, 1912. This exhibition was the model for "The Armory Show" in New York in 1913.

48 Waldberg, *Max Ernst*, p. 89, misdates the exhibition as 1911. He reports that Ernst met Munch through Macke when Munch visited the Sonderbund show. Balke's letter is quoted in Werner Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, New York, 1991, p. 32.

49 Macke's letter to Franz Marc on December 6, 1910, documents his recent arrival in Bonn (*August Macke—Franz Marc: Briefwechsel*, p. 24). The letters between Macke and Marc provide insight into their work, aesthetic theories, friendship, and the larger art activities in Munich, Berlin, and the Rhineland.

50 For an excellent general introduction to these artists and art activities in the Rhineland, see *Die Rheinischen Expressionisten*, exhibition catalogue, Städtisches Kunstmuseum Bonn, May 30–July 29, 1979.

51 For an informative exchange of theories between Macke and Marc, see their letters of December 9, 12, and 25, 1910, in *August Macke—Franz Marc: Briefwechsel*, pp. 23–34. On July 19, 1911, Macke asked Marc if he knew Worringer's book *Abstraktion und Einfühlung (Abstraction and Empathy)*, which has "many things for us" (*ibid.*, pp. 59–60).

52 Ernst, "Souvenirs rhénans," p. 10.

53 *Ibid.*

54 For Ernst's career as art critic and reprints of his articles, see K. F. Ertel, "Max Ernst als Kunstkritiker," *Die Weltkunst*, August 15, 1964, pp. 621–23, reprinted with two reviews by Ernst in *Max Ernst in Köln*, pp. 74–75. For complete reprints, see Jürgen Pech, *Max Ernst vor Max Ernst, 1891–1914*, exhibition catalogue, Max Ernst Kabinett, Brühl, September 7, 1981–January 28, 1982. English translations for three articles are available in Spies, *Max Ernst*, Tate Gallery, 1991, p. 288.

55 E. [Max Ernst], "At the Obernier Museum," *Volksmund*, Bonn, December 11, 1912; quoted from Spies, *Max Ernst*, Tate Gallery, p. 288.



56 Philipp Ernst: *Portrait of Loni Painting*, 1912. Oil on canvas, 30 1/4 x 24 in. Private collection, Berlin

57 Max Ernst, "Art and Ability," *Volksmund*, Bonn, October 30, 1912; quoted from Spies, *Max Ernst*, Tate Gallery, p. 288.

58 For concise comments regarding the influence of Nietzsche's writings on Expressionist artists, see Donald E. Gordon, *Expressionism: Art and Idea*, New Haven, 1987, pp. 15–20. Worringer's essay on "Abstraction and Empathy" would have appealed directly to Ernst's emerging values. Drawing on Alois Riegl's recent studies, Worringer challenged the materialist aesthetics of the nineteenth century (i.e., the aesthetics of Philipp Ernst). Will, not ability, was primary in the evolution of art (p. 9). The "impulse to imitation . . . stands outside aesthetics proper and . . . its gratification has nothing to do with art" (p. 11). Art is

instead "an autonomous organism [that] stands beside nature on equal terms" (Wilhelm Worringer, *Abstraction and Empathy*, New York, 1953; trans. by Michael Bullock; original publication, Munich, 1908).

59 Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc (eds.), *Der Blaue Reiter*, Munich, 1914.

60 Ernst wrote (*Ecritures*, p. 22) that he encountered Apollinaire's first edition of *Alcools* (Paris, April 20, 1913) in Cologne and read the poem "Zone" in *Der Sturm*. Apollinaire's *Les Peintres cubistes (The Cubist Painters)* was published in Paris in March 1913. His articles in *Der Sturm* were "Réalité, peinture pure" (December 1912) and "Die Moderne Malerei" (February 1913).

61 *Ausstellung Robert Delaunay*, Galerie Der Sturm, Berlin, January 27–February 20, 1913.

62 Waldberg, *Max Ernst*, p. 82. Regarding his meeting of Apollinaire, Ernst commented, "It goes without saying that I was moved" (*Ecritures*, p. 22). Pech records this visit on January 21, 1913. See Ludger Derenthal and Jürgen Pech, *Max Ernst*, Paris, 1992, p. 15.

63 *Ausstellung Rheinischer Expressionisten*, Buch- und Kunstsalon Cohen, Bonn, July 1913. Reconstruction of the catalogue list, p. 51 in *Die Rheinischen Expressionisten*, exhibition catalogue, Städtisches Kunstmuseum Bonn, 1979.

64 Macke also indicated that he wanted to get a jump on Paul Cassirer, who had recently assumed direction of the Cologne Kunstmuseum (August Macke, letter to Herwarth Walden, July 9, 1913; reprinted in *Die Rheinischen Expressionisten*, p. 69).

65 Max Ernst, "Ausstellung rheinischer Expressionisten," *Volksmund*, Bonn, July 12, 1913; reprinted in Pech, *Max Ernst vor Max Ernst*, p. 158.

66 A complete exhibition catalogue has not been located, but a reconstruction of the contents based on contemporary reviews accounts for four works by Ernst: *Die Strasse* (1912), *Martyrium, Christus und die Jünger?*, and *Weiblicher Kopf* (Hinterglasbild). Identification of *Die Strasse* as *Street in Paris* is not sustained by these reviews or by the fact that Ernst did not visit Paris until 1913.

67 A. Sy. [Alfred Salmory], "Rheinische Expressionisten," *Kölnner Tageblatt*, July 28, 1913; reprinted in *Die Rheinischen Expressionisten*, pp. 55–56.

68 N. N., "Ausstellung Rheinischer Expressionisten," *General-Anzeiger für Bonn und Umgebung*, July 11, 1913; reprinted in *Die Rheinischen Expressionisten*, p. 53.

69 Max Ernst: *Waiting*, 1913. Watercolor on cardboard, 7 7/8 x 4 7/16 in. Whereabouts unknown

70 For a brief introduction to this phenomenon among Rhineland artists, see Gordon, *Expressionism: Art and Idea*, pp. 103–4.

71 Ernst, *Ecritures*, p. 22.

72 *Ibid.* Ernst's trip to Paris is fraught with questions. Some accounts imply three trips—two in 1913 and one in 1914—although there is not sufficient evidence to support a trip in 1914, and the two trips during 1913 may have been a single trip. Balke preserved a vivid memory of a field trip for students in Clemen's class, the highlight of which was a visit to Rodin's studio in Meudon (Balke letter to Spies; quoted in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 32). Trier indicates this excursion occurred during the summer of 1913 and quotes classmates of Ernst who claim he stayed on in Paris with Luise Straus ("Was Max Ernst studiert hat," p. 29). This is not confirmed by Luise Straus. Presumably, the excursion of Clemen's class occurred in the summer session (April–July 1913), in which case the students could have seen the Salon des Indépendants (March 19–May 18) that included two paintings by artists whom Apollinaire had characterized as Orphists—Delaunay and Picabia—and two other artists significant for Ernst later on,

namely Chagall and de Chirico. Ernst, however, referred in his writings only to the trip in August 1913, and it may be that he and Balke are writing about the same excursion which Ernst extended to a three- or four-week sojourn while the class returned to Bonn. The relationship of Max and Luise did not become intimate until the summer of 1914.

73 Ernst, *Ecritures*, p. 22.

74 Parinaud, "Entretiens avec Max Ernst," *Arts*, no. 921, 1963, p. 10. Waldberg (*Max Ernst*, pp. 95–96) gives a more descriptive account of Ernst's timidity about approaching Apollinaire and others, his walking tours of the city, and his frequenting of night clubs. Pascin—a convivial person who spoke German and was well-connected in Paris—was helpful to Ernst.

75 M. E. Warlick, "Max Ernst and Alchemy," chapter 3, p. 4; unpublished manuscript. This manuscript represents the most extensive study of Ernst within the framework of alchemical dimensions in his work. I am grateful for the generosity of Professor Warlick, who made this text available.

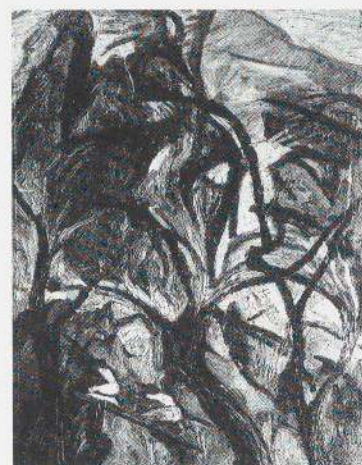
76 For paintings of towers produced by de Chirico in Paris during 1913, see Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco, *L'Opera completa di De Chirico, 1908–1924*, Milan, 1984, no. 36, p. 85.

77 *Erster Deutsche Herbstsalon*, Galerie Der Sturm, Berlin, September 20–December 1, 1913. Ernst's entries were 129. *Der Sturm* and 130. *Promenade*.

78 Max Ernst: *The Storm*, 1912. Oil on cardboard, 20 1/8 x 15 3/4 in. Kunstgewerbemuseum, Cologne, Collection Kasimir Hagen

79 Waldberg, *Max Ernst*, pp. 84–85. When Waldberg published his book in 1958, both paintings were lost, but Spies and Metken later identified *Der Sturm (The Storm)* as number 129 in the catalogue. See Werner Spies and Günter Metken, *Max Ernst Oeuvre-Katalog: Werke 1906–1925*, Cologne, 1975, no. 64.

80 *Die Neue Malerei* at the Galerie Ernst Arnold was entitled *Expressionistische Ausstellung* and included work by Campendonk, Feininger, Heckel, Jawlensky, Kandinsky, Kirchner, Klee, Macke, Marc, Münster, Nolde, Schiele, and Schmidt-Rottluff among others. Ernst exhibited nos. 31–33: *Einzug (Entry)*, *Untergang (Downfall)*, and *Kreuzigung (Crucifixion)*, the last listed as owned by T. Lachnit, Cologne. At the exhibition at the Galerie Alfred Flechtheim entitled *Paul Baum, Walter Ophey, Rhein Expressionisten*, Düsseldorf



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seldorf, May 9–27, 1914, Ernst was represented by four works: 73. *Einzug*, 74. *Untergang*, 75. *Sonne auf der Stadt (Sun on the City)*, and 76. *Abwandlung eines Themas (Variations on a Theme)*. At the Neue Galerie exhibition *Rheinische Expressionisten*, June 1914, Ernst was represented by 12. *Einzug*, 13. *Untergang*, and 14. *Sonne auf der Stadt*. It seems probable that the repeated titles identify the same paintings that were simply being sent to the next venue. In addition to the Rhineland Expressionists, Ernst participated in a "Bohemian" group called "Lunisten," composed of the poet Johannes Theodor Kuhlmann, the art critic Alfred Salmory, and artists Otto Freundlich, Karl Otten, and Franz Henseler among others (Waldegg, "Max Ernst und die rheinische Kunstszene 1909–1919," in *Max Ernst in Köln*, p. 99).

81 *Fruit of a Long Experience*, signed and dated 1913, contains a collage element. *Composition with the Letter E* is signed and dated 1914.

82 Elke Ostländer and Dirk Teuber, "Zur Kultur in Köln 1910–1922," in *Max Ernst in Köln*, p. 25.

83 Worringer lectured on "Das Stilproblem" ("The Problem of Style") at the Cologne Kunstverein on March 3 (Ostländer and Teuber, "Zur Kultur in Köln 1910–1922," p. 25). The exhibition was the Deutsche Werkbund Ausstellung, open in Cologne from May to October, 1914.

84 Ernst, "Souvenirs rhénans," pp. 10–11; Ernst, *Ecritures*, p. 22.

85 *Arp*, exhibition catalogue, Musée d'Art Moderne, Strasbourg, 1986; "Biographie" by Greta Stroeh, pp. 270–72.

86 By Ernst's account ("Souvenirs rhénans," pp. 11–12; *Ecritures*, p. 23), one of their group passed out so utterly that he could not be awakened. They carried him to a nearby cottage where, by chance, a woman was mourning over her deceased husband. The dead-drunk comrade was laid out near the deceased, but revived in a half hour and joined in the chant over the truly deceased.

87 Ernst, "Souvenirs rhénans," p. 11.

88 According to Luise Straus-Ernst and Jimmy Ernst (*A Not-So-Still Life*, New York, 1984, p. 13), the relationship between Max and Luise became intimate at this time. Some authors have claimed that Ernst had another extended visit in Paris during these months, but there is no documentation for such a trip, and circumstantial evidence precludes anything more than a brief trip. Arp and Ernst met in May; the outing of the drunken companion (n. 86) was attributed by Ernst to the festival day of St. John the Baptist (June 24), and by late July, war was seen as imminent. This schedule does not accommodate a six-week stay in Paris as well as the developing relationships with Luise and Arp.

89 The accounts presented here of the history of Germany during and after the First World War are largely based on Gordon A. Craig's *Germany, 1866–1945*, New York, 1978.

90 Arp's interest in the writings of the German mystic, Jakob Böhme (1575–1624), may date back to his youth or to his friendship with Kandinsky beginning in 1912. Stroeh cites specific contact with the writings of Böhme, Master Eckhart, and Theosophists while in Paris during 1914–15 ("Biographie," in Arp, Strasbourg, 1986, p. 273). Arp presented readings from Böhme's *Aurora* (1612) at the Cabaret Voltaire in Zurich on May 12, 1917 (Hugo Ball, *Die Flucht aus der Zeit*, 1927; pub. in English as *Flight Out of Time: A Dada Diary*, trans. Ann Raimés, ed. John Elderfield, New York, 1974, p. 113). For an extended discussion of this subject, see Harriet Watts, "Arp, Kandinsky, and the Legacy of Jakob Böhme," in *The Spiritual in Art: Abstract Painting 1890–1985*, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1986, pp. 239–55, esp. pp. 244–49.

91 Ernst, *Ecritures*, pp. 24–25. Waldberg quotes Ernst as attributing Macke's attitude in part to the influence of a "neo-Hegelianism" that flourished at the University (*Max Ernst*, p. 102). Nietzsche's concept of creation by destruction has also been cited as creating a relevant philosophical climate.

92 Derenthal and Pech, *Max Ernst*, p. 17. According to Waldberg (*Max Ernst*, p. 102), Ernst was in the infantry for a few weeks but obtained a transfer to the artillery in hopes of avoiding front-line combat.

93 Ernst, "Some Data," *View*, 1942, p. 30.

94 *Max Ernst*, exhibition catalogue, Musée National d'Art Moderne, Paris, November 13–December 31, 1959, n.p.

95 Ernst, *Ecritures*, p. 25.

96 Waldberg, *Max Ernst*, p. 103. Lisbeth Macke wrote Maria Marc on October 15 that she had recently heard that her husband had been killed on September 26 (*August Macke – Franz Marc: Briefwechsel*, p. 194).

97 Waldberg, *Max Ernst*, p. 103. Georg Heym (1887–1912) contended with a narrow-minded, tyrannical father, who figured in his satirical, anti-bourgeois poetry.

98 *Ibid.*, pp. 104–5. Warlick ("Max Ernst and Alchemy," chapter 3, p. 6) writes that Henseler was committed to an asylum in Bonn after severe treatment by Macchab, and died there on April 15, 1918. See also the text on Henseler by Waldegg in *Die Rheinischen Expressionisten*, pp. 176–90. Waldberg reports that Ernst was convinced he saw a hat and an umbrella move unaided across Henseler's room (*Max Ernst*, p. 104).

99 Max Ernst postcard to Loni Ernst, August 7, 1915; private collection, Berlin.

100 Max Ernst, "An Informal Life of M. E. (as told by himself to a young friend)," *Max Ernst*, exhibition catalogue, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1961, p. 10. Ernst commented on the injury from his own cannon in letters to his parents on March 24 and June 30, 1915. Quoted by Pech in Derenthal and Pech, *Max Ernst*, p. 17.

101 Russell (*Max Ernst*, p. 32) described Ernst's duties as marking map positions. In 1916 Ernst painted a portrait of Lieutenant Wohlthat (destroyed in 1943), which is reproduced by Spies and Metken (*Oeuvre-Katalog*, no. 266) with the comment that he assigned Max to telephone service for the 23rd Field Artillery Regiment.

102 *Max Ernst: George Muche*, exhibition catalogue, Galerie Der Sturm, Berlin, January 1916.

103 Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 33. Ernst wrote Herwarth Walden on December 19, 1915: "Fräulein Straus will forward to you a few addresses for the private view of the exhibition. I shall come to Berlin very probably in mid-January. . . . I am sending you a quite sublime poem by my friend, Joh. Th. Kuhlemann" (letter in the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin; quoted by Spies, *ibid.*, notes 129 and 131, p. 252).

104 Losses in this offensive are estimated at 400,000 British, 200,000 French, and 500,000 Germans (R. R. Palmer, *A History of the Modern World*, New York, 1952, p. 679).

105 Duchamp's 9 *Malic Molds* (oil, lead wire, and sheet lead on glass) was made in Paris during 1914–15, but it is representative of the unorthodox material and gendered human-machine constructions which characterized much of his work in New York. Following Duchamp's lead, Picabia, Jean Crotti, and Man Ray – at various times in New York during 1915–19 – used machine forms and common manufactured objects to create mechanomorphic beings or to allude to human relationships and functions. The symbolic nature of Picabia's *Portrait of Marie Laurencin* (Fig. 14) is indicated by inscriptions that refer to her German husband, her dog (Coco), and conditions of her life in Barcelona (Camfield, *Francis Picabia*, 1979, p. 100).

106 Russell, *Max Ernst*, p. 37.

107 In addition to two articles to be discussed in the text, Ernst published brief reviews of: "August Stramm: 'Geschehen' (Sturmbuch 11)," in the *Kölnener Tageblatt*, November 12, 1916; "Herwarth Walden: *Gesammelte Schriften I: Kunstkritiker und Kunstmalerei*," in the *Kölnener Tageblatt*, February 18, 1917; "Rudolf Metzger: *Die dynamische Empfindung in der angewandten Kunst*," in the *Kölnener Tageblatt*, April 29, 1917; and "Max Picard: *Expressionistische Bauernmalerei*," in the *Kölnener Tageblatt*, April 3, 1918. These texts are reprinted in *Max Ernst in Köln*, p. 86.

108 Max Ernst, "Vergleichung," *Kölnener Tageblatt*, January 7, 1917; reprinted in *Max Ernst in Köln*, p. 87.

109 Max Ernst, "Vom Werden der Farbe," *Der Sturm* 8, no. 5, August 1917, pp. 66–68; reprinted in *Max Ernst in Köln*, pp. 75–76. This text is discussed by Hans-Jürgen Raap in "Sprache und Dichtung bei Max Ernst," in *Max Ernst in Köln*, p. 78. The translation used here for this difficult text is based on the work of Danielle Pung and an unsigned typescript in the Archives of the Museum of Modern Art, New York.

110 Evan M. Maurer proposes *Battle of the Fish* as a metaphor for the traumatic experience of the battlefield ("Images of Dream and Desire: The Prints and Collage Novels of Max Ernst," in Robert Rainwater [ed.], *Max Ernst: Beyond Surrealism*, exhibition catalogue, The New York Public Library, 1986, p. 39). Winfried Konnertz (*Max Ernst*, Cologne, 1980, p. 15) views *The Spindle's Victory* as a fish-like airplane nose-diving over another plane shot down and in pieces on the ground. He also refers to these as war scenes in submarine realms.

111 For related ideas in the contemporary world of Paul Klee, see O. K. Werckmeister, *The Making of Paul Klee's Career 1914–1920*, Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press, 1989, pp. 100–106.

112 *Das Junge Rheinland*, exhibition catalogue, Kölnischer Kunstverein, January 15–mid-February, 1918. Two reviews are quoted by Waldegg in "Max Ernst und die rheinische Kunstszene 1909–1919," *Max Ernst in Köln*: W. B. [Walter Bombe], "Die Ausstellung des 'Junge Rheinland' in Kölnischen Kunstverein," *Der Cicerone*, vol. 10, 1918, nos. 7/8, p. 100; and P. A. Seehaus, "Das Junge Rheinland (Die Ausstellung in Köln)," *Kunstblatt*, II, 1918, p. 91. My thanks to Stefan Kraus, Curator of the Erzbischöflicher Diözesanmuseum in Cologne, who sent me a copy of this catalogue.

113 *Kunst in Kriege*, exhibition, Leonhard Tietz Department Store, Cologne, May–June 1917 (*Max Ernst in Köln*, p. 29).

114 *Sturm-Ausstellung II Serie*, exhibition catalogue, Galerie Dada, Zurich, April 9–30, 1917. Hugo Ball recorded this exhibition on April 7: "On April 9 the second Sturm show begins with pictures by Albert Bloch, Fritz Baumann, Max Ernst, Lyonel Feininger, Johannes Itten, Kandinsky, Klee, Kokoschka, Kubin, Georg Muche, Maria Uhden" (*Flight Out of Time*, p. 104).

115 During part of the war years, Luise pursued her study of Art History in Berlin. She returned to Bonn on October 19, 1917, to receive her degree and then secured a job at the Wallraf-Richartz

Museum as an assistant to the Curator of Sculpture and Ancient Art. The topic of her dissertation was "Zur Entwicklung des zeichnerischen Stils in der Kölner Goldschmiedekunst des 12. Jahrhunderts" (Susanne Liesenfeld, "Luise Straus-Ernst – Erste Skizzen zu einer Biographie," in *Max Ernst in Köln*, pp. 287–88). Wieland Herzfelde was a senior editor on the foundation of Malik Verlag, a collaborator on Franz Pfemfert's magazine *Die Aktion*, and brother of the Dadaist John Heartfield.

116 Richard Huelsenbeck, quoted from Motherwell (ed.), *The Dada Painters and Poets*, pp. 40–41. See also Timothy O. Benson, *Raoul Hausmann*

and *Berlin Dada*, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1987, p. 84.

117 Accounts of the wedding are provided by Luise Straus-Ernst in "Nomadengut" (*Max Ernst in Köln*, pp. 297–98) and Jimmy Ernst (*A Not-So-Still Life*, pp. 12–14). According to some reports, the parents of the bride and groom were not even present for the ceremony, but Luise described the ceremony as half-comedy/half-disaster, with problems concerning clothes, food, music, and guests, including her father, who was crying and unable to read a prepared comment. Wieland Herzfelde was one of the guests.

Expressionist Art and Activism in Postwar Cologne

2

1 After the death of this curator, Dr. Poppelreuter, in January 1919, Luise worked as a research assistant in the museum and organized her first independent exhibition on "Representations of War in the Graphic Arts" (Liesenfeld, "Luise Straus-Ernst – Erste Skizzen zu einer Biographie," *Max Ernst in Köln*, p. 288).

2 Ernst told Russell that he went up to congratulate Einstein on his speech and was told: "Don't let the reactionaries deceive you! They'll try to compromise and save the Reich, whatever happens" (Russell, *Max Ernst*, p. 38). For information on Carl Einstein at that moment in Brussels, see Sibylle Penkert, *Carl Einstein: Beiträge zu einer Monographie*, Göttingen, 1969, pp. 81–87 and the reproduction of the front page of the *Belgischer Kurier* of November 11, 1918, between pp. 8 and 9. Einstein would have been known to Ernst through his writings and perhaps conversations with Wieland Herzfelde. During 1919–20, Einstein was co-editor with Herzfelde of *Der Blutige Ernst* and *Die Pleite* in Berlin. Efforts to document Ernst's visit with Ensor have not been fruitful, but I am grateful for the help of Mme. Gisèle Ollinger-Zingue of the Musée d'Art Moderne, Brussels, and Mme. Micheline Colin of the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels.

3 A useful summary of this period in Cologne is provided by Uli Bohnen and Dirk Backes in "Max Ernst und die Kölner Szene 1917–1920," *Max Ernst in Köln*, pp. 131–47. I have again relied on Gordon Craig's book, *Germany, 1866–1945*, and a survey of *Die Rheinische Zeitung*, a moderate Socialist newspaper in Cologne.

4 George Grosz, *Cheers Noske! The Proletariat Is Disarmed!*, 1919. Cover for *Die Pleite*, April, 1919.

5 Luise Straus-Ernst, "Nomadengut," *Max Ernst in Köln*, p. 298.

6 Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 33.

7 Straus-Ernst, "Nomadengut," p. 298.

8 For these artists see Bohnen and Backes, n. 3; *Vom Dadamax zum Grüngürtel*, exhibition catalogue, Kölnischer Kunstverein, 1975; Walter Vitt, *Heinrich Hoerle und Franz Seiwert*, Cologne, 1975; Bohnen and Backes, *Franz W. Seiwert, Schriften*, Berlin, 1978; Walter Vitt, *Auf der Suche nach der Biographie des Kölner Dadaisten Johannes Theodor Baargeld*, Starnberg, 1977; and Wolfgang Hagspiel, "Hans Hansen – ein Freund von Max Ernst," *Max Ernst in Köln*, pp. 111–13.

9 For information on Käthe and Carl Oskar Jatho and the Kalltal Community, see Dirk Teuber, "Willy Fick and his Friends – A Contribution to Cologne's Art History of the 1920s," in Wulf Herzogenrath and Dirk Teuber (eds.), *Willy Fick*, Cologne, 1986, pp. 22–28.

10 Angelika Littlefield, *The Dada Period in Cologne, Selections from the Fick-Eggert Collection*, exhibition catalogue, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, 1988, p. 22.

11 Bohnen and Backes, "Max Ernst," p. 134. Ernst spoke admiringly of Freundlich: "I saw quite a lot of Freundlich, when he was in Cologne. . . . He was a strong-headed and fanatical painter who made no concessions at all, sticking courageously to his own creed. . . . Later, when we both moved to Paris, we continued to see each other. . . ." (Edouard Roditi, "An Interview with Max Ernst," *Arts*, March 1961, p. 41).

12 Bohnen and Backes, "Max Ernst," p. 134.

13 For an informative account of these organizations, see Walter Vitt, "Dada Köln: Daten und Fakten," *Max Ernst in Köln*, pp. 151–53. See also

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Die Pleite



the magazine *Der Strom*, Cologne, nos. 1–7, 1919–20, available in Kraus Reprint, Nandeln/Liechtenstein, 1977. Nierendorf moved quickly to organize the young – mostly Expressionist – artists and writers left leaderless by the death of Macke. The Greek word for his publishing house, “Kairos” (“the decisive moment”), reflected his aim.

14 F. B., “Das Recht zum Aufruf,” *Kölnischer Tageblatt*, January 3, 1919; reprinted in *Max Ernst in Köln*, p. 152. Trans. by Danielle Pung, The Language Company, Houston.

15 *Der Strom*, no. 1, ca. late January 1919, inside front cover.

16 *Der Strom*, no. 2, ca. May–June 1919, unnumbered pp. between contents and p. 1.

17 Joan Weinstein, *The End of Expressionism*, Chicago, 1990, pp. 1–5, 219–22.

18 Ernst ruptured his relationship with Nierendorf and the Gesellschaft der Künste when he embraced Dada in the fall of 1919. That rupture dominates his account of Nierendorf in *Ecritures* (pp. 36–38), omitting completely their collaboration between November 1918 and the summer of 1919.

19 Vitt, “Dada Köln,” pp. 152–53.

20 For an informed account of this event, see Vitt, “Dada Köln,” pp. 156–60. Max and Luise were identified as the instigators of the disruption by one newspaper critic, Rudolf Reuter (“Radau-szenen im Schauspielhaus,” *Rheinische Volks-wacht*, March 5, 1919; quoted in Vitt, “Dada Köln,” p. 159).

21 Unsigned review in the *Westdeutsche Volkszeitung*, Hagen, March 8, 1919; quoted in Vitt, “Dada Köln,” p. 156. In another account later in the year, Prof. Dr. Menne’s claim that Expressionism had been allied with Dadaism against Konek seems to have rested solely on similarities in the rude public conduct of the Dadaists and Expressionists (“Raoul Konek’s Bühnendichtung ‘Der junge König’ und der Kölner Theaterskandal,” *Bücherwelt*, vol. 5, no. 16, May 1919; quoted in Vitt, “Dada Köln,” pp. 156–57).

22 Max Ernst, statement in the *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, March 7, 1919; quoted in Vitt, “Dada Köln,” p. 159 and n. 70, p. 176.

23 Konek withdrew his play to avoid further disturbances. Six persons charged with disorderly conduct – none of them Max or Luise – defended themselves in court on June 14, 1919, and all but one were acquitted (Vitt, “Dada Köln,” p. 159).

24 The city support for the arts was announced in the *Kölnischer Stadtanzeiger* on June 27, 1919 (Vitt, “Dada Köln,” p. 160). For the grant to Ernst, see Chapter 3, p. 63.

25 For a reprint of this magazine, see Vitt, *Baargeld*, appendix at back. Each issue contained eight pages. The first double issue was printed by Buchdruckerei Carl Lutz, Cologne-Ehrenfeld. The remaining issues were published by Druckerei Hertz, Cologne, which later printed the Dada publications in Cologne.

26 These collaborators are discussed in Franz W. Seiwert, “Hoerle und ich,” a–z, vol. 10, Cologne, August 1930, p. 38; Vitt, “Dada Köln,” pp. 153–56; and Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 34–35.

27 Vitt, “Dada Köln,” pp. 154–55. In addition to this article, Vitt’s previously cited books represent the authoritative studies on Baargeld.

28 Unsigned, “Reichswehrgesetz,” *Der Ventilator*, no. 4, ca. March 1919, pp. 3–4; trans. in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, pp. 281–82.

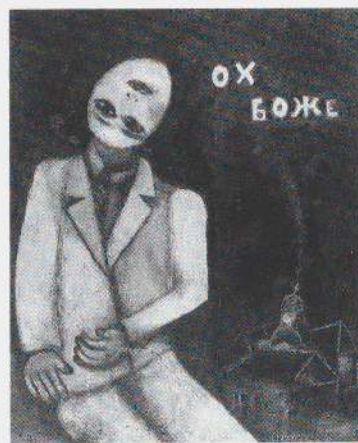
29 Antschmiz, “Bürger und Proletarier!,” *Der Ventilator*, no. 5, ca. March 1919, pp. 5–7.

30 Unsigned, “??? Macchab in Cöln ???,” *Der Ventilator*, nos. 1/2, February 1919, pp. 5–7; translation in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 281. Ernst told Spies that his “touch was clearly evident” in this article, whose title did refer to the medium in the séances with Henseler and Walter Rainer.

31 Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 35; Vitt, “Dada Köln,” p. 156. The word “Stupidia” appears twice: once in the mention of a “meeting

of the stud farm directors of East Stupidia” in *Der Ventilator*, no. 1–2 (p. 7), and again in no. 3 (p. 8), where it appears in a text contesting the claim of Expressionism to be representative of the revolution in art. The latter is one of several indications that Ernst was separating himself somewhat from Expressionism in the spring of 1919.

32 Johannes Th. Kühlemann, *Consolamini*, Cologne, Kairos-Verlag, 1919. Ernst provided five drawings for this volume of poetry, one of which appeared on the cover. One of Kühlemann’s poems, “Hymne” (pp. 63–65), is dedicated to Ernst and is noted as having been recited at the marriage of Max Ernst and Luise Straus. The drawings are reproduced in the Spies/Metken *Oeuvre-Katalog* (nos. 279–83) with the titles of the accompanying poems. The word “Advent” is a major compositional element of the drawing by that title, and, in this instance, Ernst clearly responded to an existing text. It is likely that the other drawings were also designed with existing poems in mind, although the exact conditions of this collaboration are not known.



33 Marc Chagall, *O God* (first state), 1911/13. Oil on paperboard, 10 1/2 x 8 1/2 in. Philadelphia Museum of Art, The Louise E. Stern Collection

34 Littlefield, *Dada Period*, p. 20. Littlefield sees this drawing as a reaction to caustic, satirical criticism of Ebert and the moderate Socialist (SPD) government which was published in the first issue of *Der Ventilator*.

35 *Das Junge Rheinland: Erste Ausstellung*, Kunsthalle Düsseldorf, June 22–July 20, 1919. Ernst exhibited nine works (nos. 114–22), only one of which – *Unsterblichkeit*, no. 120 – has been identified. As indicated in the catalogue, *Das Junge Rheinland* was founded in February 1919 in Düsseldorf. Heinrich Nauert, one of Ernst’s comrades in the Rheinischen Expressionisten before the war, was a founding member and board member of *Das Junge Rheinland*.

36 *Der Strom*, Kölnischer Kunstverein, ca. April 24–May 30, 1919. Spies/Metken *Oeuvre-Katalog*, nos. 248, 249, 284, and 290. No catalogue for this exhibition has been located.

37 Three of these paintings – *Sunday, Immortality*, and *Hat in Hand, Hat on Head* – have been consistently dated ca. 1913 since the 1960s. Those dates have not been documented, however, and insofar as these paintings “fit” in style and subject matter with works of 1919 – where some documents do exist – I have reattributed the dates to reflect that condition.

38 Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 31.

39 Unsigned, “Kölnischer Expressionisten,” *Rheinische Zeitung*, Cologne, May 17, 1919; quoted in Vitt, “Dada Köln,” p. 153. Trans. by Danielle Pung, The Language Company, Houston.

40 For a basic medical discussion of strabismus – the misalignment of the eyes – see Jill Sardegna and T. Otis Paul, *The Encyclopedia of Blindness and Vision Impairment*, New York, 1991, p. 208. I have

not found commentary on this feature in the literature on Chagall. In the work of Chagall and Ernst, it is not easy in every instance to distinguish between eyes which are crossed and those which are exaggerated or deformed in some manner but not intended to be seen as crossed. It is interesting, however, that eyes I take to be willfully crossed in Chagall’s works are found – as in Ernst’s work – in images of his father and a child. For Chagall’s father, see the reproduction of “My Parents” in Franz Meyer, *Marc Chagall*, English edition, New York, 1964, p. 193. Crossed eyes have been pointed out in several works by Dürer – a portrait of his aged mother (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin) – and possibly the famous *Melancholia* and a *Self-Portrait* of 1493 (Louvre).

41 For a variety of concepts of eye symbolism in both the history of humankind and contemporary psychiatry, see Phyllis Greenacre, M. D., “The Eye Motif in Delusion and Fantasy,” *Journal of Psychiatry*, 5, no. 4, April 1926, pp. 553–79. She discusses briefly several psychiatrists active in the first decades of the century, two of whom – Ernest Jones and Sandor Ferenczi – were well known, cited by Freud, and conceivably known to Ernst. Dr. Daniel Huebsch presents specific cases linking strabismus with masturbation and voyeurism (“Psychoanalysis and Eye Disturbances,” *The Psychoanalytic Review*, 18, 1931, pp. 166–80). I have not found specific reference to crossed eyes in the diagnosis of the insane, but Kraepelin’s *Dementia Praecox* (known to Ernst) contains passages possibly relevant to the exaggerated and deformed eyes in Ernst’s work at this time. The chapters on bodily symptoms describe the behavior of the pupils as of “great significance” in the earlier stages of the disease. They are “conspicuously wide” and “here and there one observes a distinct difference in the pupils. . . . Westphal sometimes found distortion of the shape of the pupils” (Emil Kraepelin, *Dementia Praecox*, New York, 1971; reprint of the first English translation, Edinburgh, 1919, p. 77).

42 Tristan Tzara, “Manifeste Dada 1918,” *Dada*, no. 3, December 1918; translation in Robert Motherwell (ed.), *The Dada Painters and Poets*, New York, 1951, pp. 76–81.

43 *Picabia*, exhibition catalogue, Rose Fried Gallery, New York, 1950.

44 Tzara described the Soirée Dada in the Kaufleuten Hall on April 9, 1919, as the “Final Victory of Dada: 1500 persons filled the hall. . . . with 20 persons reciting Tr. Tzara’s simultaneous poem: ‘The Fever of the Male’ – the scandal assumes menacing proportions. . . . Arp hurls the cloud pump under the enormous oval. . . . Serner takes the floor to illuminate his Dadaist MANIFESTO and. . . the tumult is unchained. . . . Chairs pulled out by roots projectiles crash bang. . . . Dada has succeeded in establishing the circuit of absolute unconsciousness in the audience. . . .” (*Zürich Chronicle [1915–1919]*; translation in Motherwell, *Dada Painters*, pp. 240–42).

45 For these early relationships between Tzara, Breton, Picabia, and Eluard, see Camfield, *Francis Picabia*, 1979, pp. 124–25, 134–35, and the correspondence published by Michel Sanouillet in *Dada à Paris*, 1965, pp. 440–53, 483–88, 503–4.

46 The spirited meeting of Breton and Picabia on January 4, 1920, was disrupted when Picabia’s mistress went into labor in the adjoining room (Germaine Everling, *L’Anneau de Saturne*, 1970, pp. 95–96). Tzara arrived on January 17 and occupied the space in the apartment of Picabia and Germaine Everling recently vacated by Duchamp, who had returned to New York. The first program organized by the combined forces of Breton, Picabia, and Tzara was the “Matinée de Littérature” on January 23.

47 For more on Baader, see Hanne Bergius, *Das Lachen Dada*, Giessen, 1989, pp. 144–65; and Benson, *Raoul Hausmann and Berlin Dada*, p. 124.

48 “Was ist der Dadaismus und was will er in Deutschland?” This manifesto, written about



[40] Marc Chagall: *Boy Cousin*, 1910. India ink on paper, 12 1/2 x 7 1/2 in. Whereabouts unknown

April–May 1919 by Hausmann, Huelsenbeck, and Golyscheff, was published in *Der Dada*, no. 1, June 1919, and would have come to Ernst’s attention, since it was quoted in the *Kölnischer Tageblatt* on June 16, 1919, and ridiculed in an article entitled “Der einzige Trost” on the 22nd by the arch-conservative critic of Cologne who wrote under the name “Amadeus.” See reprints in *Max Ernst in Köln*, pp. 32 and 48; trans. in Motherwell (ed.), *The Dada Painters and Poets*, pp. 41–2.

49 “Dada-Soirées” were held on April 30 at I. B. Neumann’s Graphisches Kabinett and on May 24 in Berlin’s Harmonium-Saal. For a discussion of the first Dada exhibition in Berlin at I. B. Neumann’s Graphisches Kabinett in May 1919, see Benson, *Raoul Hausmann and Berlin Dada*, pp. 144–52. The two magazines cited by Wieland Herzfelde, *Jedermann sein eigener Fussball* and *Die Pleite*, were more political in thrust and not, strictly speaking, under the banner of Dada, although they contributed significantly to the context of Berlin Dada. Two more issues of *Dada* were published in December 1919 and April 1920.

50 Huelsenbeck postcard to Tzara, May 3, 1919; published by Richard Sheppard (ed.), *Zürich – Dadaco – “Dadaglobe” – The Correspondence*

[51]



between Richard Huelsenbeck, Tristan Tzara, and Kurt Wolff (1916–1924), Fife, 1982, p. 17.

51 John Heartfield and George Grosz: *Open Competition! Who Is the Prettiest??*, 1919. Cover for *Jedermann sein eigener Fussball*, February 1919.

52 Heartfield's collage reflects the political thrust of the Dadaists associated more closely with Herzfelde's publications. Photographs of six members of the Ebert/Scheidemann government are displayed on the open fan, and photographs of Noske, Ludendorff, and Erzberger appear on the handle. As many as 7,500 copies of this paper were sold on the streets of Berlin, and Herzfelde was arrested briefly. Hausmann's collage, on the other hand, is a portrait composed of clippings from Dada publications and some of his own woodcuts, as well as popular publications. See Benson, *Raoul Hausmann and Berlin Dada*, pp. 135–44.

53 For somewhat differing accounts, see Annegreth Nill, "Rethinking Kurt Schwitters, Part

One: An Interpretation of 'Hansi,'" *Arts Magazine*, vol. 5, no. 15, January 1981, pp. 112–18; John Elderfield, *Kurt Schwitters*, London, 1985, p. 72; and Benson, *Raoul Hausmann and Berlin Dada*, p. 112.

54 Elderfield, *Kurt Schwitters*, pp. 55, 72.

55 Tzara contacted the New York avant-garde in late 1916 via Marius de Zayas, operator of the Modern Gallery and editor of *291*. See de Zayas's letter to Tzara, November 16, 1916; published in Sanouillet, *Dada à Paris*, p. 572. Evidently some publications were exchanged, but no significant contact developed between the artists in New York and Dadaists in Europe until after Picabia and Tzara met in February 1919. For an account of Dada in New York, see Francis M. Naumann, "The New York Dada Movement: Better Late Than Never," *Arts Magazine*, February 1980, pp. 143–49.

56 For the criticism of Expressionism, see Weinstein, *The End of Expressionism*, pp. 219–44.

The First Dada Season in Cologne

3

1 Paul Klee noted in his records on September 19, 1919, that Max Ernst had taken four watercolors and twenty-nine drawings on commission for exhibition purposes. He also took a fifth watercolor he intended to purchase for himself, but he was unable to keep it and returned it with the others to Klee in February 1920. Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, English trans., 1991, p. 35.

2 Luise Straus-Ernst, "Nomadengut," p. 133; excerpts published in Kölnischer Kunstverein, *Max Ernst in Köln*, 1980, see p. 298. See also Ernst, *Écritures*, p. 30. Assuming the reliability of Luise's memory, their visit to Munich occurred in the first half of September, since Hugo Ball's correspondence places him in Bern on September 17 (*Hugo Ball*, exhibition catalogue, Wasgauhalle, Pirmsens, 1986, p. 184).

3 Helmut R. Leppien argues plausibly in "Ein Besuch bei Goltz und die Folgen" (*Max Ernst in Köln*, pp. 126–30) that Ernst probably saw the April–May issue of *Valori Plastici* and might have seen either another issue of November 1918 and/or a brochure, *Giorgio de Chirico: 12 Tavole in Fototopia von vari guidizi*, also published by Valori Plastici in 1919. He identifies every relevant reproduction in those publications. See also Laura Rosenstock, "De Chirico's Influence on the Surrealists," in *De Chirico*, exhibition catalogue, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1982, pp. 111–29.

4 Max Ernst, *Écritures*, pp. 30–31.

5 Janco's *Construction 3* was reproduced in *Dada 1* (Zurich, July 1917), accompanied by a statement by Tzara, who wrote that the artist "employs wire as drawing in space... the upper part of construction 3 gives to the material the possibility of showing its life wire trembles palpable moon sun hippocamp blue at the bottom of the sea." De Chirico's *Evil Genius of a King* was reproduced in *Dada 2* (Zurich, December 1917), and Carrà's *Oval of Apparitions* in *De Stijl*, no. 7 (Leiden, 1919). Schwitters was not associated with Goltz's gallery,

but Goltz was in touch with events at Der Sturm, and Schwitters had exhibited *Merzbilder* there in July 1919. These were discussed and reproduced in reviews. See John Elderfield, *Kurt Schwitters*, pp. 49 and 390.

6 Schwitters, "Die Merzmalerei," *Der Sturm*, Berlin, July 1919; quoted in Elderfield, *Kurt Schwitters*, pp. 50–51.

7 The earliest extant document is Ernst's response on December 31, 1919, to an earlier letter from Tzara (Bibliothèque Littéraire Jacques Doucet, Paris, TZR.C.1415; trans. in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, 270). (Bibliothèque Littéraire Jacques Doucet is hereafter abbreviated to B.L.J.D.) Reference to Arp in the title of a drawing Baargeld exhibited in November (n. 18) suggests contact with him as early as October.

8 Tzara discusses these projects in his correspondence with Archipenko, Ernst, and Schwitters in the Tzara Archives, B.L.J.D., Paris. Schwitters's letters included two picture postcards representing his own work, *Das Merzbild* (1919) on a card dated October 22 and *Construction for Noble Ladies* (1919) on a card posted November 29 (see reproductions no. 42 and Pl. 7 in Elderfield, *Kurt Schwitters*). The Tzara–Huelsenbeck correspondence has been published by Richard Sheppard (ed.), *Zürich – "Dadaco" – "Dadaglobe"*, 1982.

9 Ernst letter to Tzara, December 31, 1919 (B.L.J.D., Paris, TZR.C.1415; trans. in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 270).

10 See Ernst's account of this event in *Écritures*, pp. 37–38. The exhibition catalogue for the Gesellschaft der Künste was published in *Der Sturm*, no. 4, 1919, pp. 27–33. Ernst does not figure in that list, although it includes works by Klee, Freundlich, and Seiwert.

11 Spies (*Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 37 and no. 161) quotes a review from *Feuer* (Saarbrücken, vol. 1, no. 2/3, 1919, p. 225) stating "The Bulletin D group was closed shortly after the opening." Ernst told Spies that the exhibition was not closed,

although the catalogue was confiscated. Seiwert claimed that an article in *Bulletin D* by Freundlich, "Die Lach-Rakete" ("The Laugh-Rocket"), was the cause of the closure. See Seiwert, "Hoerle und ich," in a *bis z*, vol. 10, August 1930; and Bohnen and Backes, "Max Ernst und die Kölner Szene 1917–1920," in *Max Ernst in Köln*, p. 137.

12 During the late fall and winter of 1919, Ernst worked in Max Hertz's printing shop, where *Ventilator*, *Bulletin D*, and *Die Schammade* were printed. Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, pp. 34, 42.

13 These insults are registered in Baargeld's text for *Bulletin D*, "Schlagt das warme Ei aus der Hand!" ("Knock the Warm Egg out of the Hand!"), and a brief entry by H. Hoerle and Ernst entitled "Setzt ihm den Zylinder auf!" ("Put It in the Cylinder").

14 Max Ernst, "Über Cézanne," *Bulletin D*, n.p.

15 Ernst later claimed that the unorthodox exhibits included gravel, umbrellas, empty flower pots and art of the mentally ill (*Écritures*, p. 38). An unnamed critic confirmed the presence of flower-pot sculptures ("Ausstellung im Kunstverein I. Die Gruppe 'D,'" *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger*, November 12, 1919; trans. in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, pp. 277–78), but the other items do not figure in the catalogue or contemporary reviews. Straus-Ernst also referred to works by Gris and Léger ("Rheinische Ausstellung," *Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt*, no. 16, Leipzig, January 16, 1920, p. 332; reprinted in Jürgen Pech, *Dadamax 1919–1921*, exhibition catalogue, Max Ernst Kabinett, Brühl, March 1982, p. 179). There are peculiarities about the catalogue itself. Although Räderscheidt and Seiwert are listed, they withdrew before the opening. Freundlich is not listed, but he submitted a major text for the catalogue. Hans Bolz may have been included because he was a recently deceased friend of Ernst's. It would be interesting to know more about the work by the unknown 'Sunday' painters. The titles of their entries (*Cats*, *Sacrament*, *Woman with Harp*, *Portraits*) suggest that they could have resembled the paintings of Philipp Ernst.

16 M. Gladbach, review in *Das Neue Rheinland*, vol. 1, November 1919, p. 32, and unnamed critic, "Ausstellung im Kunstverein," *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger*, 1919; trans. in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, pp. 37 and 277–78.

17 Straus-Ernst, "Rheinische Ausstellung," *Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt*, no. 16, Leipzig, January 16, 1920, p. 332; reprinted in Pech, *Dadamax 1919–1921*, p. 179.



18 Johannes Theodor Baargeld: $1 \pi d = 10 \text{ arp} = 0.01 \text{ dada}$, 1919. Whereabouts unknown. Reproduced in *Bulletin D*, 1919

19 *Bulletin D* entries for Ernst are: 10. *Das jüngste Gericht* (*The Last Judgment*); 11. *Aquis submersus* (*Submerged by the Water*); 12. *Architekt-*

tur (*Architecture*); 13. *Stilleben* (*Still Life*); 14. *Gerechtigkeit* (*Justice*); 15. *Fenster* (*Window*); 16, 17. *2 Plastiken* (*2 Sculptures*).

20 Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 50. The well-known German author Theodor Storm (1817–88) first published *Aquis submersus* in 1875. It was republished by Imal Verlag in 1919 and carried as a serial in the *Rheinische Zeitung*, beginning October 10, 1919 (*Max Ernst in Köln*, p. 33). For an English translation of *Aquis submersus*, see James Wright (ed.), *The Rider on the White Horse and Selected Stories*, New York, 1964, pp. 118–83.

21 Leppien, "Ein Besuch bei Goltz und die Folgen," p. 129.

22 Elizabeth M. Legge, *Max Ernst: The Psychoanalytic Sources*, Ann Arbor/London, 1989, p. 35.

23 Storm, *Aquis Submersus*; English trans. in Wright (ed.), *The Rider on the White Horse*, p. 181.

24 Laura L. Meixner, "Max Ernst's 'Aquis Submersus' as Literary Collage," *Arts Magazine*, vol. 61, no. 1, November 1986, p. 82. For Freud's account of this "pretty water dream" as a parturition dream in which interpretation is accomplished by reversing the fact reported in the manifest dream, see Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, Avon Books, New York, 1965, p. 436.

25 Meixner, "Max Ernst's 'Aquis Submersus,'" p. 82.

26 *Ibid.*, pp. 83–84.

27 Legge, *Max Ernst: The Psychoanalytic Sources*, p. 33.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 35.

29 *Ibid.*

30 Heinrich Hoerle, untitled text in *Die Schammade*, Cologne, 1920. *Die Schammade* was published in April and the text by Hoerle would have been written no later than January–February 1920. Trans. Danielle Pung, The Language Company, Houston.

31 Unsigned review, "Dada in Düsseldorf," *Rheinische Zeitung*, Essen, February 3, 1920; trans. in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 279.

32 Diane Waldman, *Max Ernst*, exhibition catalogue, The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 1975, p. 28.

33 Ludger Derenthal, "Max Ernst: Trois Tableaux d'amitié," *Les Cahiers du Musée National d'Art Moderne*, Paris, spring 1990, p. 81.

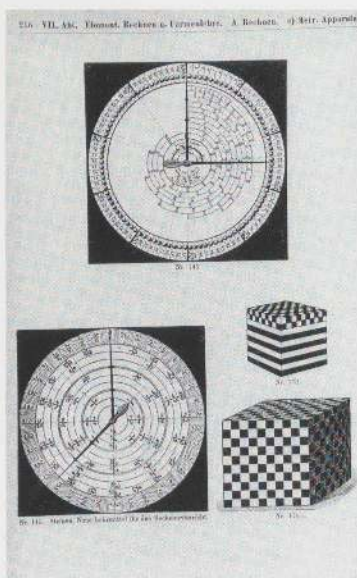
34 The frequent appearance of constellation diagrams in Ernst's paintings and drawings indicates the need for a study of the role of astrology in his work. Such a study is handicapped by the variety of diagrams of the constellations. Unless specific sources employed by Ernst can be identified, it is impossible to know with certainty which constellations are represented – or indeed if he was even referring to specific constellations. To date, I have not found any diagrams that clearly match those in Ernst's works. That said, the constellation in *Fruit of a Long Experience* recurs – with variations – often enough to be targeted for study. It is tentatively identified here as Pegasus and Andromeda, although the upper half of the diagram also resembles the configuration of stars for Hercules.

35 Ernst letter to Tzara, December 31, 1919 (B.L.J.D., Paris, TZR.C.1415; trans. in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 270).

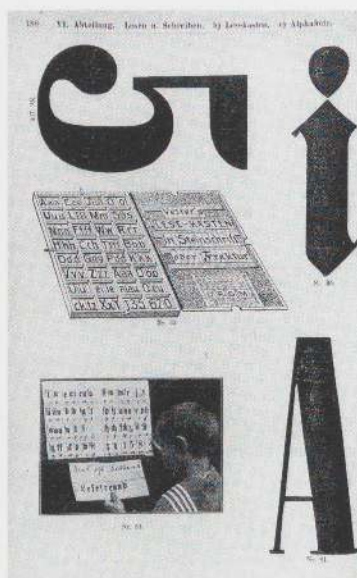
36 >>>

37 >>>

38 *Bibliotheca Paedagogica*, Cologne, Hugo Inderau, 1914, pp. 188 and 220. This extraordinary source for images in Ernst's work was discovered by Dirk Teuber in the course of research for the 1980 exhibition *Max Ernst in Köln*, in the Kölnischer Kunstverein. Teuber's groundbreaking article "Max Ernst's Lehrmittel," pp. 206–40, was followed by a revised account, "Bibliotheca Paedagogica – eine Neuentdeckung im Kunstmuseum Bonn," *Max Ernst*, exhibition catalogue, Kunstmuseum Bonn, 1989, pp. 35–49. Reference to this teaching aids catalogue is complicated by two title references – *Bibliotheca Paedagogica* on the title page and *Kölner Lehrmit-*



[36] Cubic decimeter divided/separable for quick and easy demonstration of the contents from *Bibliotheca Paedagogica*, 1914, p. 216



[37] Koepp's block letters of the small and large alphabets from *Bibliotheca Paedagogica*, 1914, p. 188

tel-Anstalt on the cover. Both are cited in the bibliography. In this text, I will refer to the publication as the *Bibliotheca Paedagogica* catalogue.

39 Max Ernst, "Biographical Notes," in *Max Ernst*, Tate Gallery, London, 1991, p. 290.

40 Unsigned review, "Ausstellung im Kunstverein," *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger*, November 12, 1919; trans. in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, pp. 277–78.

41 Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, pp. 37–38 and 253 (n. 166). Spies is probably correct in calculating that Ernst sent the photograph to Tzara in the summer–fall of 1920 for reproduction in *Dada-globe*. The photograph was once in Tzara's collection and an inscription on the reverse of the mount suggests notations for publication. An undated page in Ernst's handwriting in the Tzara archive (B.L.J.D., Paris, TZR.C.1469), reads:

Ernst [Fatagaga]
N° 35 pge 100
Armada v. dulgedalzen
gen. die dadaistische Rosa Bonheur
sculptosculpture dada
die rechte hand der zentrale
DaDa W/3

42 The word "armada" calls to mind the word for the Spanish war fleet in the sixteenth century, and there are references to this in the extended title of "Here Everything Is Still Floating" (Fig. 58). At the same time, that reference does not seem wholly sufficient, particularly given Ernst's penchant for playing with words and sounds. In the spirit of the word *Schammade* (see p. 65), "armada" is more likely a composite word, for example a partial overlap of *arm* ("poor") and *Made* ("maggot"). *Duldgedalzen* does not yield to such analysis, although its root may be the verb *dulden* ("to suffer") or the noun *Geduld* ("forbearance").

43 *Armada v. Dulgedalzen* is compatible in appearance with what is known of Ernst's work at the *Dada-Vorführung* exhibition in May 1920 (see discussion p. 70). The inscription "Dada W/3" also indicates a date no earlier than the spring of 1920, when the active Dadaists in Cologne were reduced to three in number. The inscription "Fatagaga" on the separate page in the *Bibliothèque Doucet* (n. 41) indicates a still later date in the winter of 1920 when Ernst and Arp first collaborated on the "Fatagagas" (see pp. 84–87).

44 Unsigned review, "Ausstellung im Kunstverein," *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger*, November 12, 1919; trans. in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, pp. 277–78.

45 Otto Albert Schneider, exhibition review, *Düsseldorfer Nachrichten*, February 12, 1920; trans. in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 279.

46 Max Ernst, *Écritures*, p. 39. The Katherine S. Dreier–Max Ernst correspondence is housed in the Collection of the Société Anonyme, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. In a letter of May 25, 1920, Miss Dreier informed Ernst that she had given his name to Picabia and Albert Gleizes in Paris after her visit to the Bulletin D exhibition.

47 Ernst letter to Tzara, December 31, 1919. The First Dada World Congress, chaired by Walter Serner, opened in the Grand Salle des Eaux Vives, Geneva, on December 2, 1919.

48 Ernst's handwriting was included in the letter to Tzara of December 31, 1919, on a separate sheet of paper, and is maintained with that letter in the Tzara Archives (B.L.J.D., Paris, TZR.C.1415). Katherine S. Dreier may have been the person who first directed Tzara's attention to Ernst and Baargeld.

49 Unidentified author, review of "Ausstellung für das werktätige Volk," *Rheinische Zeitung*, Cologne, December 9, 1919 (*Max Ernst in Köln*, p. 46). This exhibition opened in the Kunstgewerbemuseum on December 4, 1919.

50 Unsigned review, *Rheinische Zeitung*, December 27, 1919; reprinted in *Max Ernst in Köln*, p. 47.

51 Advertisement for Kairos-Verlag, *Der Strom*, no. 1, 1919, n.p. [p. 42].

52 Max Ernst, announcement for *Fiat modes, pereat ars*, last page of *Die Schammade*, ca. April 1920.

53 A first version for the cover of *Fiat modes* with Verlag ABK as the publisher is reproduced in Spies/Metken, *Oeuvre-Katalog*, no. 309.

54 Ernst drew directly on the stone and signed for the first time "Dadamax Ernst." The size of the edition is unknown, and original plans to tint the prints with watercolors were not carried out—with the exception of one example in the collection of the Centre Pompidou and another in a print collection in Düsseldorf (Robert Rainwater, "Max Ernst, Printmaker," in *Max Ernst: Beyond Surrealism*, New York and Oxford, 1986, p. 36, n. 11). Although Ernst probably finished the lithographs for *Fiat modes*, *pereat ars* no later than January 1920, the portfolio does not seem to have been published until sometime in April, when it was reported in a Berlin newspaper that *Fiat modes* would appear shortly ("Dada in Köln," *Volkszeitung*, Berlin, April 17, 1920; trans. in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 279). An announcement in *Die Schammade*—also published sometime during April 1920—records that *Fiat modes* had just come out, although complications exist regarding announced dates for *Die Schammade*. See note 73 and Spies's reprint for the *Kölner Tageblatt*, April 12, 1920 (*Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 279).

55 Max Ernst, *Écritures*, p. 31.

56 For these references and others to the work of Carrà and de Chirico, see Leppien, "Ein Besuch bei Goltz und die Folgen," pp. 127–28. Spies suggests that the word "modes," which occurred frequently in the paintings of August Macke, may represent a wistful allusion to Macke (*Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 254, n. 239).

57 Leppien, "Ein Besuch bei Goltz und die Folgen," p. 128.

58 For consideration of Ernesto Fiori (1884–1945), an Italian artist who worked in the manner of late Impressionism–Expressionism, see Albert M. Fischer ("'Es werde Mode, die Kunst vergehe' zu 'Fiat modes pereat ars' von Max Ernst," *Max Ernst*, exhibition catalogue, Museum Ludwig, Cologne, 1990, p. 44). In an informative survey of *Fiat modes*, Jürgen Pech presents a Freudian interpretation for this plate based on the penis in the head, the inscription "feiner hund und gemeinschaft," and Freud's essay, "On the Introduction of Narcissism" (*Dadamax*, p. 215).

59 Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 50. "Tam-tam" in German indicates a big to-do.

60 I. B. Neumann was proprietor of the Graphisches Kabinett von Bergh & Co., Düsseldorf, where the Bulletin D exhibition opened for its second venue in the first days of February (chronology "Zu Kultur in Köln 1919–1921," *Max Ernst in Köln*, p. 34). The show must have closed before the end of the month, since Baargeld wrote Tzara on February 25 that the smaller package sent to him contains "the architect of Max Ernst and my relief work. The latter had been damaged by some interested fools while being exhibited at Düsseldorf, so I had to restore it at the last moment." (B.L.J.D., Paris, TZR.C.267). This relief has not been identified. If it was listed in the catalogue for *Bulletin D*, it would have to be no. 7, "Static-Station."

61 Unsigned review, "Dada in Düsseldorf," *Rheinisch-Westfälische Zeitung*, February 3, 1920; trans. in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 279.

62 Sigmund Freud, *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious*, trans. James Strachey, London, 1960, p. 22. Spies thinks this publication was a greater influence on Ernst during the Dada period than Freud's *Interpretation of Dreams* (Spies, *The Return of La Belle Jardinière: Max Ernst 1950–1970*, New York, 1971, p. 38). See also Charlotte Stokes, "Collage as Joke-work: Freud's Theories of Wit as the Foundation for the Collages of Max Ernst," *Leonardo*, vol. 15, no. 3, 1982, pp. 199–204.

63 For an account of this exhibition, see Camfield, *Francis Picabia*, 1979, pp. 34–36.

64 Ernst letter to Tzara, February 17, 1920: "I dispatched 2 drawings by Baargeld and 5 by myself to you yesterday. I hope you can use them for the Section d'Or show" (B.L.J.D., Paris, TZR.C.1416; trans. in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 270). In an undated letter in February, Ernst wrote: "Baargeld and I will send 2 reliefs and 1 sculpture to Paris tomorrow by messenger. . . . Please take them to the Section d'Or show or keep them at your place for other dada events" (B.L.J.D., Paris, TZR.C.1417; trans. in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 270). As indicated in Baargeld's letter to Tzara on February 25 (no. 60), one of the reliefs was Ernst's *Architecture* (Fig. 33).

65 Ernst's letter to Tzara on February 17, 1920 (B.L.J.D., Paris, TZR.C.1416; trans. in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 270) indicates Arp's presence in Cologne: "Arp brought us wonderful things from you." Arp's letter to Tzara from Zurich on February 26 establishes his departure by or before the 25th (B.L.J.D., Paris, TZR.C.148). For consideration of Arp in Cologne, see Stefanie Poley, "Max Ernst und Hans Arp 1914–1921," *Max Ernst in Köln*, pp. 179–96. Arp maintained a studio in the family apartment on Zeltweg in Zurich, where his mother and brother lived, but his father lived in a small apartment in Klettenberg, a suburb of Cologne.

66 References to these activities occur in Ernst's letters to Tzara on February 17 and 24, 1920 (B.L.J.D., Paris, TZR.C.1416 and 1417; Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 270).

67 See Michel Sanouillet, *Dada à Paris*, pp. 142–60, for Dada events that disturbed organizers of the Section d'Or, and pp. 160–61 for the meeting in the Cloiserie des Lilas. Much of the anti-Cubist diatribes in Picabia's 391, no. 12 (March 1920), were directed at the Section d'Or Cubists. For the clash of Dada and Cubism in Paris (the equivalent of Dada vs. Expressionism in Germany), see Christopher Green, *Cubism and Its Enemies*, New Haven and London, 1987, pp. 50–52.

68 Ernst letter to Tzara, March 8, 1920 (B.L.J.D., Paris, TZR.C.1418; trans. in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 270).

69 Zentrodada [Baargeld], "Das Appetitschnittchen," *Die Schammade*, Cologne, April 1920, n.p.

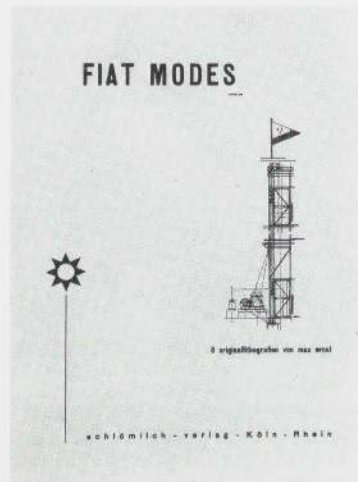


70 Teaching aid for the demonstration of stereometrical forms and theories from *Bibliotheca Paedagogica*, 1914, p. 236

71 These sources were identified by Teuber in *Bibliotheca Paedagogica* catalogue, pp. 68 and 236.

72 For Teuber's interpretations, see "Max Ernst's Lehrmittel," *Max Ernst in Köln*, p. 216, and "Bibliotheca Paedagogica—eine Neuerwerbung im Kunstmuseum Bonn," *Max Ernst*, Kunstmuseum Bonn, 1989, pp. 44–45.

73 *Die Schammade* was announced for publication in February in three documents: in Ernst's letter to Tzara on February 17, 1920 (B.L.J.D., Paris, TZR.C.1416; trans. in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*,



[54] Max Ernst: Cover for *Fiat modes, pereat ars*, ca. 1919–20

p. 70); in an unsigned interview with Heinrich and Angelika Hoerle ("Im Kölner Dadaistenheim," *Rheinische Zeitung*, February 19, 1920; reprint *Max Ernst in Köln*, p. 34); and in a promotional announcement reproduced by Spies in the *Oeuvre-Katalog*, no. 328. Ernst apparently delayed publication briefly in order to get all the material he desired from Paris. He wrote Tzara on March 8: "Your letter and the contributions, which we think are very good, have arrived and the articles have already gone to the printer, so *Die Schammade* will be finished in a few days" (B.L.J.D., Paris, TZR.C.1418; reprint in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 270). However, Baargeld wrote to Tzara on April 9 (B.L.J.D., Paris, TZR.C.268; reprinted in Walter Vitz, *Bagages de Baargeld*, Starnberg, 1985, p. 89) that he was sending the proofs for *Die Schammade* that day. Publication was finally announced in the *Kölner Tageblatt* on April 12 (Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 279). In a letter to Huelsenbeck on April 21, 1920, Tzara said the only publication from Germany in their bookstore was *Die Schammade* (Sheppard, ed., Zürich—"Dadaco"—"Dadaglobe," pp. 45–46). No efforts have been made to account for this delay in publication, but the probable cause was the general strike and upheaval caused by the Kapp Putsch in March 1920. Dr. Wolfgang Kapp, General Walter von Lüttwitz, and other right-wing officers and politicians plotted to overthrow the Weimar Republic, and Berlin was occupied by troops loyal to them on the night of March 11. The putsch collapsed within a week, owing in large part to an enormously effective strike by workers loyal to the Weimar government.

74 Ernst letter to Tzara, February 17, 1920 (B.L.J.D., Paris, TZR.C.1416; trans. in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 270).

75 For a probing account of *Die Schammade* and an analysis of the insulting remarks about Schwitters, see Vitt, "Dada Köln: Daten und Fakten," *Max Ernst in Köln*, pp. 168–71. The harsh comments about Schwitters suggest that his visit with Ernst in Cologne preceded the publication of *Die Schammade*, rather than occurring during the Dada–Early Spring exhibition in May as proposed by Elderfield in *Kurt Schwitters*, pp. 395–96 (n. 61). Waldberg (*Max Ernst*, pp. 160–64) gives a detailed account of exchange visits between Ernst and Schwitters in Cologne and Hanover during the spring of 1920. His description of those meetings as "enchanting" for Ernst clash with the sharp criticism of Schwitters in *Die Schammade*, but that contemporary document takes precedence over the jovial memories almost forty years later.

76 Max Ernst, "Worringer, profetor DaDais-tikus," *Die Schammade*, n.p. Legge has commented on striking parallels between the assonan nonsense words of this text and texts of the mentally ill patients of Kraepelin (*Max Ernst: The Psychoanalytic Sources*, 1989, p. 15).

77 This analysis is presented by Walter Vitz, "Dada Köln: Daten und Fakten," *Max Ernst in Köln*, p. 168. Spies, noting that Ernst assured him the title was "purposely defeatist in tone," suggests a source in a phrase from Friedrich Schiller, "Schammade Schlagen," which means to sound the drum or trumpet signal for retreat (*Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 79). Hans Richter has proposed other word/sound plays: "I imagine that this is a portmanteau word made up from 'Schalmel' (shawm), sweet and earnest tones, 'Scharade' (charade), a guessing game played in earnest, and 'Schamane' (witch-doctor)..." (*Dada: Art and Anti-Art*, New York, 1965, p. 160). Vitz rightly questions a spelling problem and the defeatist tone of Spies's proposal. His own suggestion involving shame and sex is supported by Ernst's obscure text "Lukrative Geschichtsschreibung" (Lucrative History Writing) in *Die Schammade*. Following what appears to be oblique references to events around the Kapp Putsch, Ernst writes that Kurt Hiller (Expressionist writer and left-wing pacifist in Berlin) and Kurt Schwitters were:

released from protective custody. In this way they were rendered completely harmless. In order to hide their nakedness a schammade* was prepared by the benevolent Dada Central W/3 of the activist collection point for the harmless. As a preventive measure against anticipated further ambitious erections emergency work was approved in the Imperial Apple for the gratification of those needing appeasement.

* nevertheless, Schwitters wrote to us: 'Your schammade is insufficient.'

78 Arp's woodcut, which served as the wrap-around cover for *Die Schammade*, first appeared in a vertical format for the deluxe edition of *Dada 3* (December 1918). See Poley, "Max Ernst und Hans Arp 1914–1921," *Max Ernst in Köln*, p. 190.

79 Unsigned interview, "Im Kölner Dadaistenheim," *Rheinische Zeitung*, Cologne, February 19, 1920; reprinted in *Max Ernst in Köln*, p. 34. As indicated in this interview, Hoerle's portfolio of twelve lithographs on *The Cripples* seems to have been completed early in the year but (like Ernst's *Fiat modes*) was not published until April (unsigned notice, "Dada in Köln," *Volkszeitung*, Berlin, April 17, 1920; trans. in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 279).

80 Dirk Backes, "Heinrich Hoerle — ein Realist zwischen Ironie und Metaphysik," in *Heinrich Hoerle*, exhibition catalogue, Kölnischer Kunstverein, 1981, p. 27.

81 A second work that appears to be a relief is reproduced by Georges Hugnet in "L'Esprit dada dans la peinture," *Cahiers d'Art*, vol. 7, nos. 8–10, 1932, p. 360.

82 The inscriptions are: "Hommes" ("men" in French); "sei vorsichtig lieber Heinz" ("be careful dear Heinz"); "Ich habe es getötet" ("I killed it"); and "jetzt ist es zu spät" ("now it is too late").

83 Seven versions of *Hypertropic Trophy* are reproduced in Spies/Metken, *Oeuvre-Katalog*, nos. 302–8. Each is slightly different. The version inscribed for Tzara (and included in Ernst's letter to Tzara on February 17, 1920) is now in the collection of The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

84 Tanks were first employed by the Allies in the Battle of the Somme during July–October 1917.

85 Uwe M. Schneede, *The Essential Max Ernst*, 1972, p. 21. Spies records that Ernst met Marie Laurencin in Düsseldorf in the fall of 1919 (*Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 45 and n. 209). The date of their meeting could have occurred in the summer on the occasion of the exhibition of "Das Junge Rheinland" at the Kunsthalle Düsseldorf from June 22 to July 20. Marie Laurencin's German husband, Otto van Watgen, also participated in that exhibition (nos. 529–31).

86 For comment on the title and early exhibition of *Stamens and Marseillaise* of Arp, see n. 110.

87 Thanks to conservators of The Menil Collection, Carol Mancusi-Ungaro and Elizabeth Lunning, this drawing has been examined under laboratory conditions. Until virtually all of Ernst's work of the Dadaist years has been examined in this manner, numerous false assumptions and factual errors will continue to be made in the literature on his work. Laboratory examination reveals that many compositions published as collages have no collage element and that the creative process is complex and controlled.

88 The inscription in French on the mount along the bottom and lower right margin of the drawing reads: "la canalisation de gaz frigorifié fait pousser de petits numéros crépitants / le cœur comprimé s'est enflé à temps / nous nous appuyon contre le laurier delphique."

89 Hal Foster, for example, has recently pondered the anthropomorphic elements in some of these early Dada drawings, directed by the hypothesis that they deal with a "(proto)fascist obsession with the body as armor" — armor which, in the aftermath of the war, was "a prosthesis that served to shore up a disrupted body image or to support a ruined ego construction." In some way,

he continues, "the Ernst machines evoked this armoring in psychic and social terms.... At this time of strikes and street battles, Red councils and White terror, Ernst not only figured the body in mechanistic terms but also took the machine as a persona. In so doing he effectively assumed the trauma of the military-industrial reconfiguration of the body in order to delineate its psychological effects" ("Amor Fou," *October*, 56, spring 1991, pp. 65–97).

90 Straus-Ernst, "Köln," *Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt*, no. 41, Leipzig, July 2, 1920, p. 787; reprinted in Pech, *Dadamax 1919–1921*, 1982, pp. 181–82.

91 Descriptions of "Dada—Early Spring" containing all or most of these elements appear in texts by Hugnet, "L'Esprit dada dans la peinture," *Cahiers d'Art*, vol. 7, 1932, pp. 358–64; Waldberg, *Max Ernst*, pp. 124–28; John Russell, *Max Ernst*, p. 55; and William S. Rubin, *Dada and Surrealist Art*, New York, 1968, pp. 98–99. As noted by Vitz ("Dada Köln: Daten und Fakten," *Max Ernst in Köln*, p. 172), these stories are not documented but in some form they can probably be traced to conversations with Ernst.

92 Unsigned review, "Der Letzte Schrei," *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, May 1, 1920; trans. in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 280.

93 Straus-Ernst, "Köln," *Kunstchronik und Kunstmarkt*, no. 41, Leipzig, July 2, 1920, p. 787; reprinted in Pech, *Dadamax 1919–1921*, pp. 181–82.

94 Ernst quoted by Russell, *Max Ernst*, p. 55. For the reference to Dürer's "Adam and Eve," see Ernst, *Ecritures*, pp. 41–42.

95 See Spies (*Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 64 and p. 252, n. 143). The first catalogue was a folded sheet printed in red on the inside paper. The second edition was blue on the inside pages, and it contained a change in type size, the correction of typographical errors, and the following German text:

Die Zentrale Dada W/3 hat im Interesse der ungeheuren Volksmehrheit beschlossen, das 1. Ai jeden Jahres durch Arbeitsniederlegung zu begehen. Sie verzichtet ausdrücklich auf das festliche Vergehen des Aschermittwochs zugunsten einer imposanten einheitlichen Aktion... (In the interest of an incredible popular majority, Dada W/3 headquarters has decided to celebrate May First each year by a general strike. We expressly waive the festive passing of Ash Wednesday in favor of an imposing demonstration...)

That text replaced one in Hebrew:

Kosher
Association for free loans
Association for those who love friends
Association for the dowry of brides
Association for free loans
Kosher for Passover
[trans. Prof. Werner Keller, Rice University]

96 The German text reads:

was die zeitungnen mir vorwerfen, ist unwahr. Ich habe noch niemals bauchdeckenreflexe zur erhöhung der lichtwirkung meiner bilder verwendet. ich beschränke mich lediglich auf rinozerisierte rülpsspinzetten.

97 Shortly before his death, Willy Fick (1893–1967), brother of Angelika Hoerle, recorded his memories of the Dada activities in Cologne for the press in Cologne and Michel Sanouillet. He claimed to be the creator of the two reliefs (36. *Tirolan* and 37. *Tirolan Woman*) ascribed to a "vulgar dilettante," claiming that he was called a "vulgar dilettante" because he worked full-time for the city and because his name had an obscene sound. He also described his participation in the opening program and recalled other events that conform to some of Ernst's memories. His reliefs are lost, but a collage indicating the nature of his scanty production as a Dadaist is reproduced in the two major publications on his work: Angelika Littlefield, *The Dada Period in Cologne*, exhibition catalogue, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, 1988,

pp. 16–17; and Teuber, "Willy Fick and His Friends — A Contribution to Cologne's Art History of the 1920s," in *Willy Fick*, Cologne, 1986, p. 57.

98 Ernst and Baargeld basically copied the list of "presidents" of Dada in *Bulletin Dada no. 6*, including such errors as listing John Heartfield as "W. Heartfield," although they did eliminate some names (Archipenko, Hans Richter, Christian Schad, Kurt Schwitters, Arthur Segal, and Alfred Vagto) and added Baargeld and Lulla (Luise) Ernst. The absence of Heinrich and Angelika Hoerle indicates that they had left the ranks of Dada in Cologne.

99 Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 64.

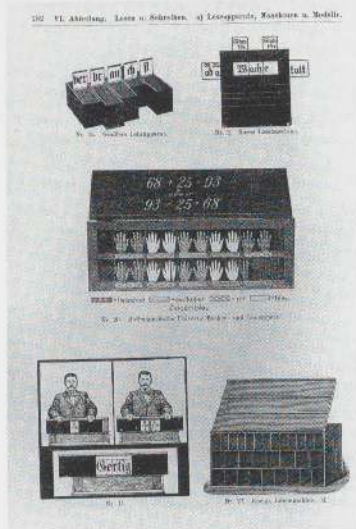
100 Spies was the first to perceive in these configurations references to "Max" and to "Arp" (*Max Ernst: Collages*, pp. 46–47). His perceptions do not figure in Foster's "reading" of these forms within the frame of his thesis. What is proposed here as the "M" in a construction forming "MAX" is described by Foster as a "tripod personage" and, drawing on references to anatomy in the French inscription, he states that "under the shocks of massive industrial war and pervasive capitalist exchange ('ça coute 2 sous plus cher'), the (male) body has become an instrumental camera or gun." He goes on to propose that "this armored body... suggests a defensive shield, perhaps even a machine substitute for a damaged ego... In effect, then, these armored figures may allude not only to military-industrial shock but also to the disturbed body image or ego construction attendant upon such shock." ("Amor Fou," *October*, 56, spring 1991, pp. 73–75). Dawn Ades suggests that these "totemic structures" may reflect Ernst's response to "primitive" art (*Dada and Surrealism Reviewed*, exhibition catalogue, Arts Council of Great Britain, 1978, p. 121).



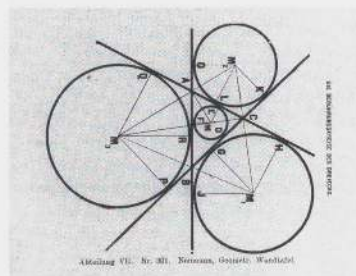
[100] Wall primers and visual charts for reading, writing, and pronunciation from *Bibliotheca Paedagogica*, 1914, p. 194

101 Spies comments on this play with phrases in Latin and other languages (*Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 63).

102 Jürgen Pech (fax to this author, November 23, 1992) discovered these inscriptions on a photograph of *Ambiguous Figure* made at the time of the *Exposition Dada Max Ernst*, Au Sans Pareil Gallery, Paris, May 1921. Subsequently, those inscriptions were removed. Previously unnoted in the wheel near the center of this drawing are the words "Rainheit (or Reinheit)Wollens," or "purity" and "will." This wheel appears to be part of the configuration of forms on the right-hand side that "leans" against a form on the left that is equipped with a penis (modification of the reversed "E" in the lower left quadrant). For Spies's comments, see *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 47.



[102] Apparatuses for reading and counting from *Bibliotheca Paedagogica*, 1914, p. 182



[102] Wall charts on geometry for higher students from *Bibliotheca Paedagogica*, 1914, p. 248

103 Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 66. See also Teuber, "Bibliotheca Paedagogica . . .," in *Max Ernst*, exhibition catalogue, Kunstmuseum Bonn, 1981, p. 41, and "Max Ernst's Lehrmittel," in *Max Ernst in Köln*, p. 215.

104 The priest was taken from an illustration of liturgical garments on p. 172 of the *Bibliotheca Paedagogica* catalogue. The blocks around him represent a type of counting block, p. 206; the images of the mouth and the group of church, pear, dog and fence are from p. 194. The images of the mouth are part of Rausch's instruction in articulation of sounds; the set of four images is from Dziakowski's teaching aid for combined visual and writing instruction.

105 The major collage element in Pl. 51 represents a reading board for Hirschen Alphabets, p. 186 in the *Bibliotheca Paedagogica* catalogue. The source for the collage element of the pelvic area has not been located.

106 Sources in the *Bibliotheca Paedagogica* catalogue are as follows: the "W" is from the Leipzig Normal Alphabet for reading machine, p. 192; the "5" is from Vetter's reading blocks for elementary students, p. 188 (the same page that provided the "I" in Ernst's *Relief 123* (Pl. 34); the tangential circles are from Neumann's Geometry wall charts, p. 248; the checkerboard cube is Koeppel's image for symbolizing cubical mass, p. 216, which provided the cube in *Relief 123* (Figs. 36–37) and the counter device on page 2 of this manifesto (n. 100); and the hands are extracted from Hothman-Roth's Universal Counting and Reading Apparatus, p. 182.

107 Max Ernst, *Écritures*, p. 42.

108 Miss Dreier wrote to Ernst on May 25 to give him her travel schedule in Europe and to inform him that the little group of modern artists in New York (including Duchamp and Man Ray) wanted to show German Dadas that winter. Ernst

responded on June 16 to thank Miss Dreier and to say that he was interested in an exhibit in New York. He acknowledged that he had seen reproductions of Duchamp's work in Picabia's magazines *391* and *Cannibale*, and he directed her to John Heartfield and Wieland Herzfelde regarding the Dada exhibit at the Kunstsalon Burckhardt in Berlin. Finally, he added that he was enclosing copies of *Die Schammade* and the *Dada Ausstellung: Dada-Vorfrühling*.

109 George Grosz postcard to Raoul Hausmann, June 5, 1920 (Hannah Höch Archive, Berlinische Galerie). I am grateful to Ms. Helen Adkins for bringing this important card to my attention. The entire message reads:

Lieber Dadasoph! Bitte komme morgen abend (Sonntag) 8 Uhr zu Dr. Burchardt [sic] in die Privatwohnung. Alle Dadas sind dort. (Dada

Max aus Cologne ist auch da). Du weisst ja, wo wir neulich waren. Dada Max hat viele Sachen mitgebracht. Herzlichst Dein alter Propagandadada.

110 Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 66. *Stamens and Marseillaise of Arp* is inscribed "étamines et marseillaise." It may have been no. 82 in the catalogue, listed as "dadamaxernst (Cöln): Staubgefässe [stamens] und Marseillaise des dada Arp," but the titles are not the same, and it does not match drawings visible in installation photographs as sometimes claimed. Ernst's other entries in the catalogue are: 14. "dadafex maximus"; 44. "Schalttafel für Gummifrucht"; 83. "erectio sine qua non"; 89. "falustratra (Plastik)"; 105. "Zum 2. Lehrsatz vom Genuss"; 115. "Die verschiedenen Wirksradien"; and 147. "national-codex und delicatess-index des dada baargeld."

Dadamax Amid Dissension in Dada, Cologne and Paris

4

1 One telling sign of the watershed in Dada was the appearance of a "history" of Dada in the summer of 1920, Richard Huelsenbeck's *En avant Dada; eine Geschichte des Dadaismus*, Hanover, 1920 (trans. in Robert Motherwell [ed.], *The Dada Painters and Poets*, New York, 1951, pp. 22–47). Huelsenbeck aired his reservations about Tzara and an early dissension in Dada between Hugo Ball and Tzara.

2 Dirk Teuber, "Willy Fick and His Friends – A Contribution to Cologne's Art History of the 1920s," in *Willy Fick*, Cologne, 1986, pp. 41–42. Quotation translated from Uli Bohnen and Dirk Backes, *Franz W. Seiwert, Schriften*, Berlin, 1978, p. 79.

3 Ernst letter to Tzara, undated, ca. November 27, 1920 (B.L.J.D., Paris, TZR.C1423; trans. in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 271).

4 Josef Haubrich (1889–1961) was an attorney in Cologne and an art collector. He donated his entire collection to the Wallraf-Richartz Museum in 1946. See Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, pp. 66 and 256, n. 331. Brief mention of the Max Ernst Dadaist "Stammeleien" (club) appeared in the *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger*, October 23, 1920. See *Max Ernst in Köln*, exhibition catalogue, Kölnischer Kunstverein, 1980, p. 35.

5 Ernst postcard to Tzara, ca. July 7, 1921 (B.L.J.D., Paris, TZR.C1426; trans. in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 271). For documents and commentary on Baargeld see Walter Vitt, *Auf der Suche nach der Biographie des Kölner Dadaisten Johannes Theodor Baargeld*, Starnberg, 1977, pp. 37–44, and *Bagages de Baargeld*, Starnberg, 1985, pp. 48–51. Baargeld was an active public speaker for the left wing of the Socialist Party in Cologne up to the summer of 1920, but his name does not appear in party records after the split between the Socialists (S.P.D.) and the leftists (U.S.P.D.) at the party convention in Halle in October 1920. The left wing united with Spartacus (K.P.D.) on December 4, 1920, to form the United Communist Party of Germany (U.K.P.D.). Over the winter of 1920–21 Baargeld resumed a rigorous course of study in the School of Economics and Social Sciences at the University of Cologne. He received a doctorate in Economics in 1923 and

later joined his father's insurance business. His friendship with Ernst continued, but he ceased making art around mid-1921.

6 Ernst was also in contact with Katherine S. Dreier, who sought to organize for the Société Anonyme an exhibition of the works of Ernst and Baargeld. Her efforts were frustrated when George Grosz did not respond to her requests. Katherine S. Dreier letters to Ernst, August 16 and November 6, 1920 (Société Anonyme Archive, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University).

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9 The first series of *Littérature* was published in twenty issues, from March 1919 to August 1921. No illustrations of any kind appeared except those for Max Ernst in no. 19, May 1921. These illustra-

tions of the work of Duchamp and Picabia appeared in 391, no. 12 (March 1920). In Duchamp's absence from Paris, Picabia asked permission to produce a second version of "L.H.O.O.Q." for the cover of 391, but he forgot the goatee and added only the moustache.

10 All four artists exhibited works at the Salon des Indépendants, Paris, January 28–February 29, 1920. Ribemont-Dessaignes's *Great Musician* was exhibited at the "Exposition Dada Georges Ribemont-Dessaignes," Au Sans Pareil Gallery, May 28–June 10, 1920. The "Exposition Dada Francis Picabia" was also held at the Au Sans Pareil Gallery, April 16–30, 1920.

11 Unsigned interviewer, "French Artists Spur on American Art," *New York Tribune*, October 24, 1915, pt. 4, p. 2; quoted in Camfield, *Francis Picabia*, 1979, p. 77.

12 Duchamp's *Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors, Even* (1915–23) was not completed until later, but Picabia had firsthand knowledge of Duchamp's work and concepts, and he owned Duchamp's 1912 painting of *The Bride*.

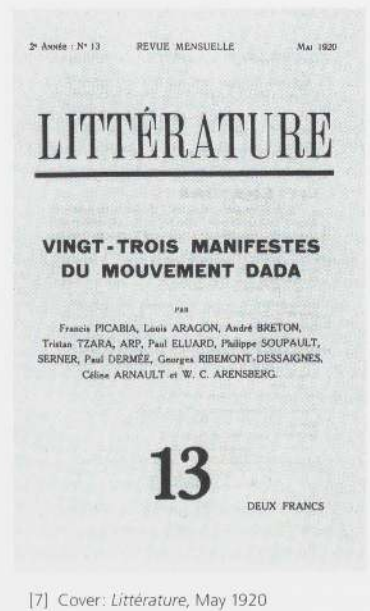
13 For additional description and references, see Michel Sanouillet, *Dada à Paris*, pp. 173–78, and Camfield, *Francis Picabia*, pp. 148–49.

14 Renée Dunan, "Gazette Littéraire" / "Dada?," *Le Journal du peuple*, Paris, March 6, 1920, p. 3. Henri-René Lenormand, a dramatist and critic with Freudian interests, suggested Dada was a return to childhood in search of regeneration that risked, however, action akin to precocious dementia. See Lenormand, "Dadaïsme et psychologie," *Comœdia*, Paris, March 23, 1920, p. 1.

15 André Breton, *Entretiens 1913–1952*, Paris, 1952, p. 58.



[8] Cover: 391, March 1920



[7] Cover: *Littérature*, May 1920

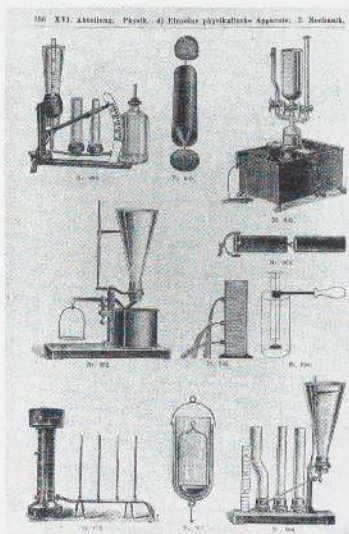
16 For these criticisms see Picabia, "Francis Picabia et Dada," *L'Esprit nouveau*, no. 9, Paris, June 1921, pp. 1059–60, and Ribemont-Dessaignes, "History of Dada," in Motherwell (ed.), *The Dada Painters and Poets*, p. 113 (originally published in *La Nouvelle Revue française*, no. 213, June 1931, pp. 867–79, and no. 214, July 1931, pp. 39–52, and trans. by Ralph Manheim).

17 Picabia letter to Tzara, July 3, 1920 (B.L.J.D., Paris, TZR.C3.010; reprinted in Sanouillet, *Dada à Paris*, p. 498).

18 Marguerite Bonnet, *André Breton*, Paris, 1975, p. 231 in 1988 edition. Breton had recently met Simone Kahn through his friend and fellow Dadaist Théodore Fraenkel.

19 For comments on these events see Sanouillet, *Dada à Paris*, p. 229, Bonnet, *André Breton*, pp. 234–36, and Camfield, *Francis Picabia*, p. 151.

20 André Breton, "Pour Dada," *La Nouvelle Revue française*, no. 83, August 1, 1920, pp. 208–15; reprinted in *Les Pas perdus*, 1924, pp. 85–94.



[30] Physics apparatuses from *Bibliotheca Paedagogica*, 1914, p. 756

and trans. by Ralph Manheim in Motherwell (ed.), *The Dada Painters and Poets*, pp. 199–203.

21 Jacques Rivière, "Reconnaissance à Dada," *La Nouvelle Revue française*, no. 83, August 1920, pp. 216–17.

22 André Breton letter to Tzara, October 14, 1920 (B.L.J.D., Paris; reprinted in Sanouillet, *Dada à Paris*, pp. 456–57).

23 391, no. 14, November 1920, is one of the most stimulating issues of Picabia's magazine in both design and content. This solo "Exposition Picabia" at the Galerie Povolosky (December 10–25, 1920) was a surprising mixture of older figurative works and Dada paintings that pleased the crowd but put off Breton and his associates. The latter were even more annoyed by the spectacle Picabia concocted for the opening-night entertainment by Mistinguet, Tzara, and Cocteau's "infernal jazz band" for a trendy crowd of socialites, entertainers, artists, and authors who would never have graced the pages of *Littérature*.

24 On January 14, 1921, in the Théâtre de l'Oeuvre, Marinetti lectured on "Tactilism," a form of collage meant to be experienced by touch rather than by sight. A pompous personal manner and claims bordering on the preposterous made him a prime target. A tract, "Dada Stir Up Everything" ("*Dada soulève tout*"), was distributed at the lecture.

25 Regrettably, virtually nothing is known of Ernst's work in a third exhibition at the Kölnischer Kunstverein, "Drei Generationen in vier Sälen," November 1920. One uninformative review has been reprinted by Spies (*Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 280).

26 The overpainting is listed as missing since 1966 in the Spies/Metken *Oeuvre-Katalog*, no. 348. Its source in the teaching aids catalogue appears on p. 964.

27 Max Ernst, from "Biographical Notes: Tissue of Truth, Tissue of Lies," in *Max Ernst*, exhibition catalogue, ed. Spies, Tate Gallery, London, 1991, p. 290 (translated from "Notizen zu einer Biographie," in *Max Ernst*, exhibition catalogue, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, 1963). Ernst first referred to this teaching aids catalogue (without specifically identifying it) in his "Inspiration to Order," *This Quarter*, vol. 5, no. 1, September 1932, p. 82. An expanded account appeared in Ernst's "Au-delà de la Peinture," *Max Ernst* issue of *Cahiers d'Art*, 1937, pp. 33–36.

28 For Freud's comments on the symbolism of hats, see *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*, 1916; trans. James Strachey, New York, 1977, p. 155. For Spies's comments, see *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 50 and n. 239.

29 Lucy Lippard, "Max Ernst: Passed and Pressing Tensions," *The Hudson Review*, vol. 23, no. 4, Winter 1970–71, p. 706. In addition to references to Freud, Charlotte Stokes also comments on the "Wandervogel," German teenage boys who banded together for walking and camping trips and often topped their garb with a hat decked with feathers ("Dadamax: Ernst in the Context of Cologne Dada," *Dada Dimensions* [ed. Stephen C. Foster], Ann Arbor, 1985, pp. 116–18). Elizabeth M. Legge (*Max Ernst: The Psychoanalytic Sources*, Ann Arbor/London, 1989, p. 50 and p. 198, n. 41) notes the poem "Weltende," published in 1911 by Jakob van Hoddis, in which the hat is the defining attribute of the bourgeois male. That poem was the opening poem of Kurt Pinthus's *Menschheitsdämmerung*, and Legge perceives a reference to van Hoddis's bourgeois persona in Ernst's entry in *Die Schammade* entitled "Antwort der Weltbürger an Kurt Pinthus – Genius."

30 This source appears on p. 756 of the *Bibliotheca Paedagogica* catalogue.

31 Florian Rodari, *Collage*, New York, 1988, p. 76.

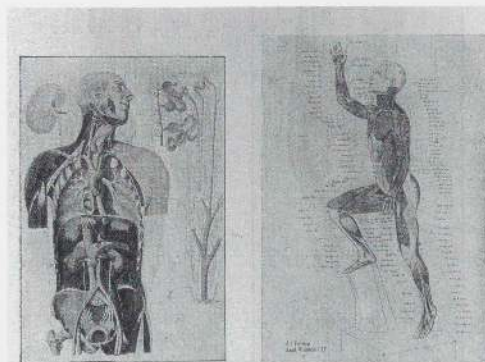
32 This painting is signed in the lower right "max ernst 20," and the inscription in German reads: "Katharina undulata d. i. frau wirtin a. d. lahn erscheint als der deutschen engelin u. perlmutter auf korksohlen in tierbild des krebses." The constellation diagrams in this painting do not conform to standard forms for the sign of Cancer.

33 For reference to the popular song and other commentary, see Ludger Derenthal, "La Révélation Surréaliste: Arbeitstechnik bei Max Ernst und seine Rezeption bei den Surrealisten 1919–1925," unpublished dissertation, Ludwig Maximilian University, Munich, 1987, p. 26.

34 The inscription in German reads: "frau wirtin an der lahn, shutzengel in der deutschen, dein ist die industrie anatomie paläontologie schenken uns kleine frohlocken."

35 Derenthal, "Le Révélation Surréaliste," p. 25.

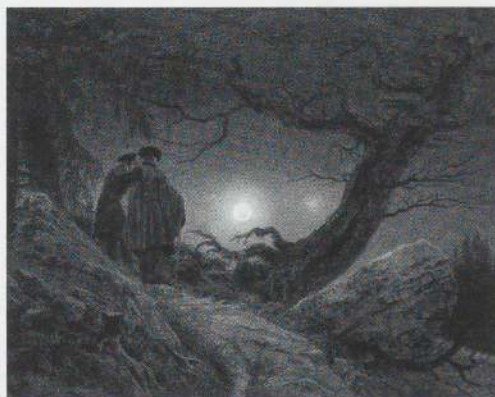
36 Human anatomy from *Bibliotheca Paedagogica*, 1914, p. 477



No. 733. Fiedler-II, Anatom. Tafeln. 5.

No. 736. Forcip, Anatom. Wandtafeln.

37 Caspar David Friedrich: *Two Men Contemplating the Moon*, 1819. Oil on canvas, 13¾ x 17¼ in. Gemäldegalerie Neue Meister, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden

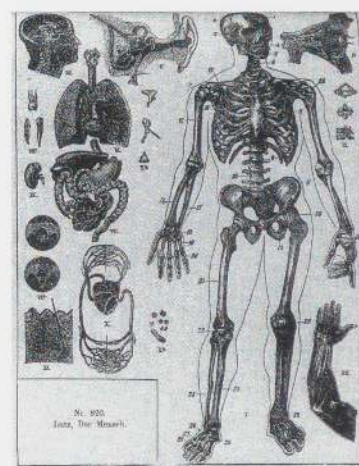


38 Caspar David Friedrich, excerpt from "Observations on a Collection of Paintings by Living or Recently Deceased Artists" (1830), quoted in

Lorenz Eitner (ed.), *Neoclassicism and Romanticism, 1750–1850*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1970, p. 53.

39 This torso is also identified as female by Derenthal ("Muskelmänner und Sternbilder," *Kunst und Antiquitäten*, vol. 4, April 1991, p. 49). In the closed eyes and trance-like movement of the male figure, Derenthal perceives a dream-like quality that makes this work more Surrealist than Dadaist. This painting re-emerged from a private collection about 1990 and is not illustrated in the Spies/Metken *Oeuvre-Katalog*. Its source in the *Bibliotheca Paedagogica* catalogue appears on p. 474.

40 Ernst used the outline of the figure for his stencil, reversing it for the central figure in the painting.



[40] Human skeleton and various body organs from *Bibliotheca Paedagogica*, 1914, p. 482

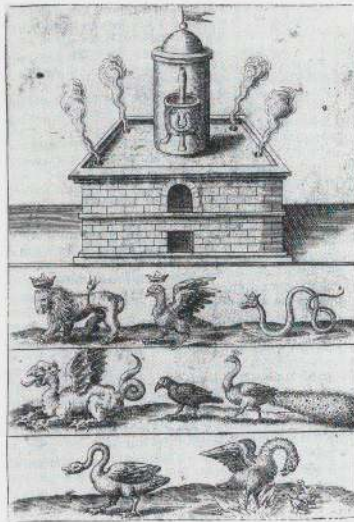
41 "Dada Gauguin" as a modern paraphrase of Gauguin is proposed by Derenthal, "Le Révélation Surréaliste," p. 29.

42 Ernst signed "Dada Degas" on the support paper below the painting, *Dada Degas par Dada Max Ernst Tricoteur* ("knitter"). The painting is not dated, but *Dada Gauguin* is signed and dated "max ernst 1920." Neither painting has collage elements. Ernst gave *Dada Degas* to Louis Aragon, who hailed it and *Dada Gauguin* as modern equivalents of Degas and Gauguin and as perhaps the most significant paintings of the epoch (Louis Aragon, "Max Ernst, Peintre des Illusions," manuscript of August 1923, published in Aragon, *Écrits sur l'art moderne*, Paris, 1981, p. 14).

43 M. E. Warlick, "Max Ernst and Alchemy: A Magician in Search of Myth," unpublished manuscript, Chap. 3, pp. 17–19. Freud's reference to artichokes occurs in the "Dream of the Botanical Monograph" (*The Interpretation of Dreams*, trans. James Strachey, New York, 1965, pp. 204–5). His childhood memory involved a travel book with colored plates, which he tore apart leaf by leaf, like an artichoke. He also referred to artichokes as "my favorite flowers," which "my wife often brought me... from the market."

44 Warlick was attracted by a passage in Silberer's book *Probleme der Mystik und ihrer Symbolik* (Vienna, 1914): "The green lion... encloses the raw seeds, yellow hairs adorn his head... Later he becomes a red lion, the philosopher's stone." She proposes that the green artichoke has replaced the green lion, and that the red figure in the artichoke is the masculine principle as opposed to the female principle represented by the "feminine white figure in a cut-away womb on the right." The band of black earth with white marks is associated with the white stage of purification. The emphatic separation of the male and female figures and the pink color of the female make her thesis problematic, insofar as Silberer stresses that the white female and red male are to be closed in their vessel [author's emphasis] in order to produce the young king.

The tradition of alchemy in the West developed among Hellenistic Greeks in Alexandria, Egypt, during the second century A.D., and came to be particularly associated with writings ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus. Most alchemical treatises, including those of Hermes Trismegistus, are philosophical and directed toward illuminating disciples to the true nature of the cosmos in order to attain what is variously described as mastery over the cosmos, perfection, or immortality—a state characterized by a perfect balance of opposites. That process came to be associated with the creation of the "philosopher's stone" by means of a chemical process that stripped matter of its original properties, reduced it to prime matter, purified it, and introduced new elements (with actions involving water, heat, and air) to produce the philosopher's stone. To the touch of that stone was ascribed powers of transmuted metals and bestowing immortality. The chemical process required an oven (the "athanor") and related equipment, and the process had four stages: the phase of stripping or destruction, the blackening phase of putrefaction, a whitening phase of purification, and the reddening stage of transformation. Alchemical imagery can be traced back to the Middle Ages, but when interest in the occult sciences revived in the late nineteenth century, the images at hand were those established by emblematic engravings in seventeenth-century texts. One of those engravings (44a) features the furnace (athanor) supports a tower-like form housing the alchemical vessel. It is inscribed with an egg shape that contains the snake symbolizing primal matter at the beginning of the operation. Below, the lion symbolizes "Philosophic Sulfur," the fixed masculine archetype, while the eagle represents "Philosophic Mercury," the volatile female archetype. These two antithetical properties may also be represented by the sun and moon, or by a king and queen. The crowned snake represents primal matter; dragons represent primal matter and fire that heats the vessel; the crow rep-



[44a] Alchemical diagram of the furnace and creatures symbolizing stages of the alchemical process from Michael Maier, *Tripus Aureus*, 1618



[44b] Alchemical diagram of the King and Queen's chemical wedding and the infant enclosed in the Philosophic Egg from Albert Poisson, *Théories & symboles des alchimistes, le grand œuvre*, Paris, 1891, pl. XIV



resents the blackening state of putrefaction; the swan is the whitening stage of purification, and the phoenix represents the reddening stage of conjunction or marriage, where the philosopher's stone appears.

The second illustration here (44b) deals with the final stages of the operation, namely the chemical wedding of the king and queen (with their attributes of sun and moon) at the end of the white stage of purification symbolized by the swan. They are joined by a priest who represents the catalytic salt that enables their union. Above, the infant enclosed in the alembic vessel or "Philosophic Egg" indicates the red stage at the end of the work and the appearance of the philosopher's stone. This conclusion was seen as the product of a perfect balance of opposites—sulfur/mercury, male/female, sun/moon, static/active—and was normally depicted visually as an androgynous being or as a figure with two heads (44c). This account of alchemy is based on several sources, including Warlick and Robert Galbreath's glossary (pp. 368–74) in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art exhibition catalogue, *The Spiritual in Art: Abstract Painting 1890–1985*, 1987; organized by Maurice Tuchman.

45 Ernst and Baargeld's collaboration on the *Dada Typescript Manifesto* (Pls. 50–53) is discussed on (p. 73). For a thoughtful account of Arp's collaborative work with Sophie Taeuber, with Tzara and Serner on simultaneous poems, and with Ernst on the Fatagagas, see Stefanie Poley, "Max Ernst und Hans Arp 1914–1921," *Max Ernst in Köln*, pp. 179–96, esp. pp. 185 and 191–96.

46 Georges Hugnet, "L'Esprit dada dans la peinture," *Cahiers d'Art*, Paris, nos. 8–10, 1932, p. 360; trans. in Motherwell (ed.), *The Dada Painters and Poets*, 1951, p. 157.

47 Ernst letter to Tzara, November 2, 1920 (B.L.J.D., Paris, TZR.C.1420; trans. in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 270).

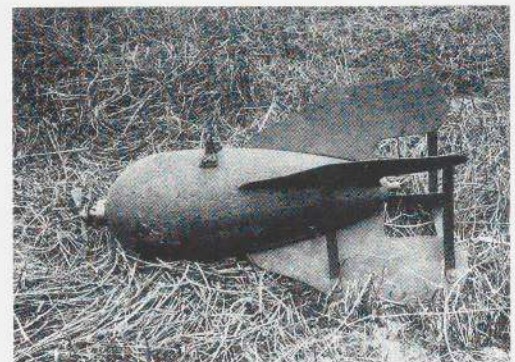
48 Ernst letter to Tzara, undated, ca. November 27, 1920 (B.L.J.D., Paris, TZR.C.1423; trans. in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 271). It is possible that this letter dates from mid-January 1921, when Arp was again in Cologne for his father's final days and the funeral on January 18. However, several comments in the letter indicate a date toward the end of November or early December—references to 391, no. 14 (published November 1920), to Walter Serner (who left Paris in December), and to a package of drawings and manuscripts Baargeld was to send to Tzara. Baargeld wrote Tzara on December 7 (B.L.J.D., Paris, TZR.C.270) that he was sending 3 poems, 4 drawings, 2 paintings, and 1 portrait (probably the *Self Portrait* [Fig. 61]).

49 Ernst letter to Tzara, December 5, 1920 (B.L.J.D., Paris, TZR.C.1421; trans. in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 271).

50 These Fatagaga texts and/or titles are catalogued as items TZR.C.1461–1469. For Tzara's "Dadaglobe," see Sanouillet, "Le Dossier de 'Dadaglobe,'" *Cahiers de l'Association Internationale pour l'Etude de Dada et du Surréalisme*, no. 1, 1966, pp. 111–143. Tzara began in the spring of 1920 to assemble an international anthology of Dada texts and illustrations which was to be published by La Sirène in Paris. By April 1921 it was almost ready for publication, but it never appeared, remaining instead in his collection until after his death, at which time most of his archive was placed in the Bibliothèque Littéraire Jacques Doucet, Paris. Some material was auctioned, however, at Kornfeld and Klipstein, Bern (*Dokumentations—Bibliothek III. Teile der Bibliothek und Sammlung Tristan Tzara, Paris*), on June 12, 1968. Over the course of the years, all of the Fatagaga collages and texts were separated (including at least two at this auction). The collages came to reside in private and public art collections; the texts remained in the Tzara Archive—

[44c] Hermetic Androgyne engraving from Emile Angelo Grillot de Givry, *Le musée des sorciers, mages, et alchimistes*, Paris, 1927, frontispiece

[54] English aviation bomb from Georg Paul Neumann, *Deutsches Kriegsflugwesen*, Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1917, p. 32



marked for their position in "Dadaglobe"—but with no indication of design relationships desired by Ernst, Arp, and Tzara in the layout of the publication. Sanouillet suggests that Tzara's doubling of the number of items in the anthology may have been responsible for the collapse of the publication. Serious schisms among the Dadaists that came to a head during April–June 1921 may have been even more significant in that collapse. One poem submitted to "Dadaglobe" by Baargeld contains the earliest known reference to Ernst's pet cockatoo, Hornebomm, "Der Vogelobre Hornebomm," p. 117.

51 The German text for "Laocoön" in the Tzara Archive (TZR.C.1467) reads:

ARP
LAOKOON (Plastik)

Gegenüber der antiken auffassung des LAOKOON vertritt ARP die moderne auffassung der darmverschlingung de 3 priester sind ausgetreten um pipi zu machen. in zwischen wursteln die wurmer, für den beschauer ganz gefahrlos, im glaskasten weiter

It is marked for publication in "Dadaglobe" as "No. 61 p. 85." Ernst told Spies that he made the collage (it is actually an overpainting) and Arp composed the text (Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 66). The source for "Laocoön" appears on p. 524 in the *Bibliotheca Paedagogica* catalogue. In 1958 Arp published another account of "Laocoön": "Overcome by an irresistible longing for snakes, I created a project for reformed rattlesnakes, beside which the insufferable rattlesnake of the firm Laocoön and Sons is a mere worm. At the very same moment Max Ernst created 'Fata.' My reformed rattlesnake firm and Max Ernst's 'Fata' firm were merged under the name 'Fatagaga' and can be brought to life at any time on request" (Hans Arp, "Looking," in *Arp, exhibition catalogue*, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1958, p. 13).

52 Poley, "Max Ernst und Hans Arp 1914–1921," *Max Ernst in Köln*, p. 195. The German text in the Tzara Archive (TZR.C.1461) reads:

FATAGAGA Fabrication de TABLEaux GASométriques GARantis
Inhaber ARP et MAX ERNST
3ème tableau gasométrique
Hier ist noch alles in der schwebte. Es ist noch Keine 2 uhr. Niemand dachte noch an die 2 ferdinis mit ihren fliegenden keulen 5 hüten (immer noch auf der höhe). Hier wird die armada zum 1 mal definitiv geschlagen. Der regenbogenfresser hatte abgesagt. Der darmdampfer u. der skelettfisch entschlossen sich zur abfahrt.

hauteur: 5,25m
largeur: 6,25m

53 Spies reports in *The Return of La Belle Jardinière: Max Ernst 1950–1970* (New York, 1971, p. 117) that Ernst told him this was the only collage in which Arp "gave me a little help. . . . It was the last 'Fatagaga' collage. Arp said we must now do a portrait of Sophie," and he "pasted on Sophie's head." Other contemporary works with painterly passages are *The Somnambulist Elevator* (Pl. 62) and *The Hat Makes the Man* (Pl. 55). The collage elements in the latter are also relatively apparent.

54 Spies recorded Ernst's request to call *The Chinese Nightingale* exclusively his own in *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 66. For Ernst's comment on the availability of mute versions of the Fatagagas, see Max Ernst, "Max Ernst," in *Das Junge Rheinland*, vol. 2, November 1921, p. 2: "Seine Fatagagawerke sind auch stumm lieferbar, das heisst also ohne Unterschrift." Raymond Roussel purchased one version of *The Chinese Nightingale*, presumably the photographic enlargement. For Ernst's story of the purchase, see his "Notizen zu einer Biographie," in *Max Ernst*, exhibition catalogue, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, 1962, p. 7. Derenthal has recently discovered the photographic base of this collage, namely a photograph of an English aviation bomb (Georg Paul Neumann, *Deutsches Kriegsflugwesen*, Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1917, p. 32).

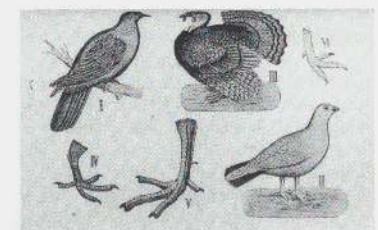
55 The clear-cut differences between Ernst's imagery and the abstract compositions of Arp have been underscored by various authors, including Spies and Lippard. See Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, pp. 64–65.

56 Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 66. The original German text in the Tzara Archive (B.L.J.D., Paris, TZR.C.1463) reads:

FATAGAGA
FABrication de TABLEaux GASométriques GARantis (Inhaber: ARP et MAX ERNST)
legende no 1 par ARP
FABrication MAX ERNST
physiomythologisches diluviabile
Einem alten diebsgebrauch folgend deponiert der dadaist arp seine exkremente am fusse der leiter. die uhrenvögel zeigen schon 11 uhr. ohne trichter steigen die meer kamale aus dem wasser. Die bessene greisin auf dem afterast gehört zum räderwerk. aber die frauen der viel farbigekeit bewegen die winde durch freiturnen. die dadaisten gehen von dem Gesichts punkt aus dass ein vogelfuss nichts schaden kann.

It is marked for publication in "Dadaglobe" as "No. 77, p. 79." Spies first linked this text and image. Prior to his research, "Physiomythological Flood Picture" was referred to as "Switzerland, Birthplace of Dada," or simply as "Fatagaga Picture."

57 All of the bird forms appear on one page in the catalogue. The darker bird on a branch is a rock dove; the lighter bird in the position of the head is a ptarmigan; the bird foot is the foot of a turkey cock.



[57] Zoological bird chart from *Bibliotheca Paedagogica*, 1914, p. 572

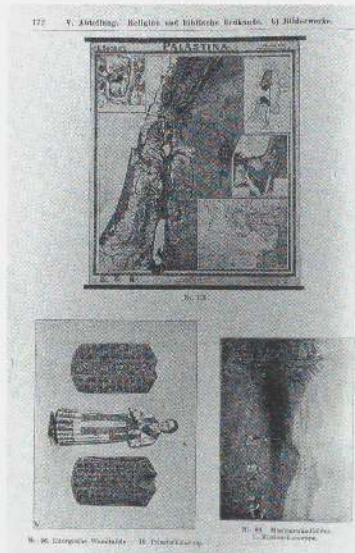


58 Dinosaur models from *Bibliotheca Paedagogica*, 1914, p. 674

59 Legge, *Max Ernst: The Psychoanalytic Sources*, p. 131. For Jones's essay, see "The Madonna's Conception through the Ear: A Contribution to the Relationship between Aesthetics and Religion," *Essays in Applied Psychoanalysis*, London, 1951.

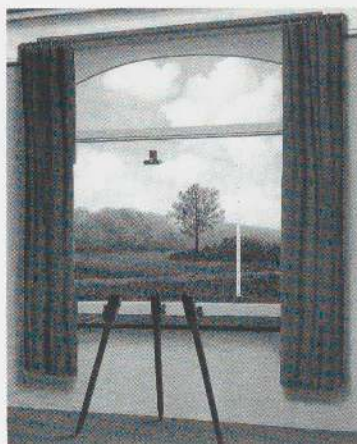
60 For comments on Freud's essay ("Eine Kindheitserinnerung des Leonardo da Vinci," *Schriften zur angewandten Seelkunde*, vol. 3, Leipzig, 1910) and Pfister's drawing, see Spies, *Max Ernst: Loplop*, New York, 1983, pp. 101–2.

61 For an indispensable critical account of this essay, see Meyer Shapiro, "Leonardo and Freud: An Art-Historical Study," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 17, no. 2, April 1956, pp. 147–78. For another thesis associating the bird's foot with Lady World, life and death, see Teuber, "Bibliotheca Paedagogica . . .," *Max Ernst*, exhibition catalogue, Kunstmuseum Bonn, 1989, p. 41.



62 Map of Palestine, Troops in German East Africa, and Clerical Vestments from *Bibliotheca Paedagogica*, 1914, p. 172

63 Ernst appropriated p. 172 of the teaching aids catalogue for this composition. The troops at the horizon on the right are located in German East Africa. The garment to our right of the priest is the same as that used on page 1 of the *Dada Typescript Manifesto*.



64 René Magritte: *The Human Condition I*, 1934. Oil on canvas, 39½x32 in. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gift of the Collector's Committee

65 Bartolomé Esteban Murillo: *Holy Family*, ca. 1650. Oil on canvas, 56¾x74 in. Prado, Madrid

66 Warlick, "Max Ernst and Alchemy," chapter 3, p. 17. For Freud's comment on snakes as a "famous" male sexual symbol, see *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*, p. 155.

67 The present location of this work is unknown. It was exhibited at the "Exposition Dada Max Ernst" at the Au Sans Pareil Gallery, Paris, May 3–June 3, 1921, no. 37, as *L'Enfance apprend Dada* ("Children Learn Dada").

68 Language, speech, and pictorial instruction chart from *Bibliotheca Paedagogica*, 1914, p. 142



69 Spies, *Max Ernst: Loplop*, p. 99. For his references to Freud, see Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents*, vol. 21 in *The Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. James Strachey, London, 1942, pp. 360 and 362. Hal Foster ("Amor Fou," *October*, 56, spring 1991, p. 80) considers the sexual-visual confusions of the primal scene as underlying Ernst's understanding of the purpose of collage: "like the primal scene, collage is to disturb 'the principle of identity,' even to 'abolish' the concept of 'author'."

70 Rodari, *Collage*, p. 78. For another interpretation see Jennifer Ann Gibson, "Surrealism's Early Maps of the Unconscious," dissertation presented to the University of Virginia, 1985, p. 291.

71 In addition to critical comments on Michaelangelo, Thomas W. Gaetgens proposes that this portrait is related to the tradition of artists' self-portraits with reference to death ("Das Märchen vom Schöpferum des Künstlers": Anmerkungen zu den Selbstbildnissen Max Ernsts und zu Loplop," *Max Ernst in Köln*, exhibition catalogue, Haus der Kunst, Munich, 1979, pp. 43–78; caption p. 55).

72 The Fatagaga text for this collage in the Tzara Archive (TZR.C.1462) consists of the title given here and an indication of vastly larger dimensions (3.10 x 2.40 meters). I have not found sufficient evidence to confirm Spies's claim (*Max Ernst: Collages*, pp. 64, 66, 67) that this collage was exhibited at the "First International Dada Fair," Berlin, 1920, under the title *Dadaflex maximus* and at the Au Sans Pareil Gallery, Paris ("Exposition Dada Max Ernst," May 1921, no. 43) as *Portrait of the Author by Himself*.



73 Jürgen Pech, *Dadamax 1919–1921*, exhibition catalogue, Max Ernst Kabinett, Brühl, 1982, p. 184. Pech had earlier reprinted the source of this comment, Ernst's review of "Im Oberrnismuseum," *Volksmund*, Bonn, December 11, 1912, in *Max Ernst vor Max Ernst, 1891–1914*, exhibition catalogue, Max Ernst Kabinett, Brühl, 1981, pp. 155–56. For an English translation, see *Max Ernst*, exhibition catalogue, Tate Gallery, London, 1991, p. 288.

in "Dadaglobe." These collages subsequently entered a private collection, but postcard-size photographic reproductions of them remain in the Tzara Archive, B.L.J.D., Paris.

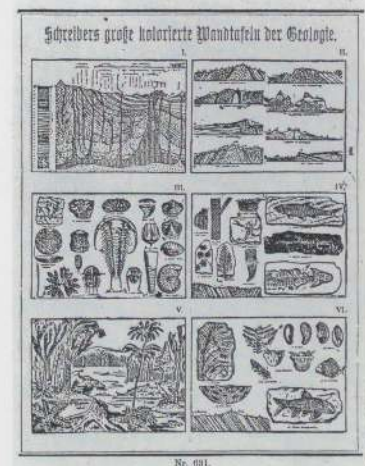
76 In the *Bibliotheca Paedagogica* catalogue, the sea dog appears on p. 578; the scene on Jimmy's box is part of a chest on p. 700 illustrating the development of the earth, and the battling dinosaurs come from models of prehistoric beasts on p. 674.

77 Derenthal, "Max Ernst: Trois Tableaux d'amitié," *Les Cahiers du Musée national d'art moderne*, Spring 1990, pp. 73–110.

78 Hans Arp, *On My Way*, New York, 1948, p. 41. This work is not reproduced in the Spies/Metken *Oeuvre-Katalog*.

79 Derenthal has published two sources from the *Bibliotheca Paedagogica* catalogue: the curved bands at the lower left were cut from a geological profile of the fore-Alps (p. 676), and the organic form in the upper right, covered with small, round protrusions, was the shell of a hermit crab in an illustration depicting communal relationships of sea creatures (p. 586). With so many forms in this collage not identified, an interpretation is premature, but on a preliminary basis it may be noted that Switzerland, Alps, communal living, and a peripatetic life (two or more homes) all fit Arp and Sophie Taeuber.

80 This collage is lost and is known only through its reproduction in *Littérature*, no. 19, May 1921, p. 11. It is placed between Ernst's two-page text portrait of Arp, entitled simply *Arp*. There is no evident dependency or interrelationship between these verbal and visual portraits of Arp, but they are basically compatible: the literary portrait, like *Microgramme Arp 1*: 25.000, is divided into parts and has a humorous quality comparable to the captions in the collage.



81 Schreiber's Large Colored Wallchart on Geology from *Bibliotheca Paedagogica*, 1914, p. 706

82 The relationship of image and caption is most evident in number 2, "Seismographic Arp a) calm wireless sleep b) agitated sleep." No obvious relationship of caption and image marks number 6, but the full caption introduces another constellation, the Hair of Berenice, and perhaps a story, "Berenice," by one of Ernst's favorite writers, Edgar Allan Poe. The Coma Berenice or Hair of Berenice is a scattered cluster of stars – normally not presented in diagrams of points and lines – lying between Leo and Boötes. It is recorded in ancient myth (see Kelvin McKready, *A Beginner's Star-Book*, New York and London, 1912, pp. 53 and 123, and Camille Flammarion, *Les Étoiles et les curiosités du ciel*, Paris, 1882, p. 126 and fig. 79). For links to Poe's tale, see David Hopkins, "Hermeticism, Catholicism and Gender as Structure: A Comparative Study of Themes in the Work of Marcel Duchamp and Max Ernst," unpub-

lished Ph.D. thesis, University of Essex, 1989, pp. 295–97.

83 *Marchantia polymorpha*, Multiform Liverworts from *Bibliotheca Paedagogica*, 1914, p. 656

84 Reference to Cotan was made by Winfried Konnertz, *Max Ernst*, Cologne, 1980, pp. 31–33. The source for this overpainting is unknown. Though similar to illustrations in the *Bibliotheca Paedagogica* catalogue, it is too large to have come from that publication.

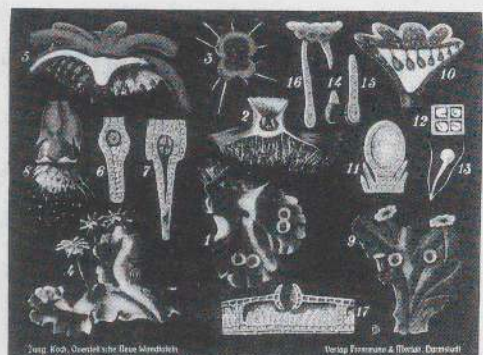
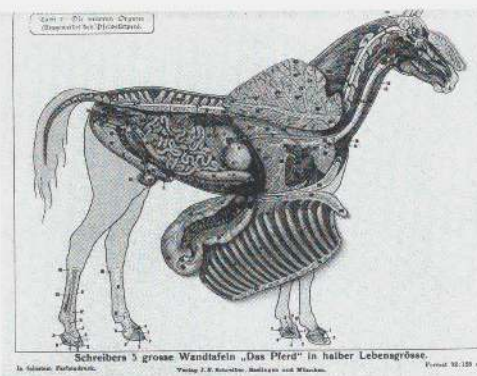
85 This painting is sometimes referred to as *The Enigma of Central Europe*. The extended title-inscription on the support paper above and below the overpainted page reads: "always the best man wins / sodaliten schneeberger druckethäler rosinen und mandeln schlagen die eingeborenen mitteleuropas / zu meerschäum und eilen nach stattgehabter denudation der erignissen in bester absicht voraus." "Schneeberger" and "druckethäler" are senseless invented words which suggest some puzzling reference to snow mountain or snow saver and to squeeze or press valley. But, as Gudrun H. Becker has pointed out (conversation with this author), by switching the endings (and dropping the "h" in "druckethäler") two real words appear: "schneetäler" (snow valley) and "Drückeberger" (slacker). Still other word plays are possible. The remainder of the extended title may be translated roughly as "raisins and almonds beat the natives of central europe into meer-

schaum and, after denudation having happened, hurry ahead of events with best intentions." The *Bibliotheca Paedagogica* catalogue source for this overpainting (p. 624) illustrates classes of Angiospermae, that is, flowering plants characterized by having seeds enclosed in an ovary. All of the forms here are identified as male or female blooms, or described in terms that sustain sexual interpretation. Despite the prominence of the constellation diagrams in the upper right, they once more resist identification.

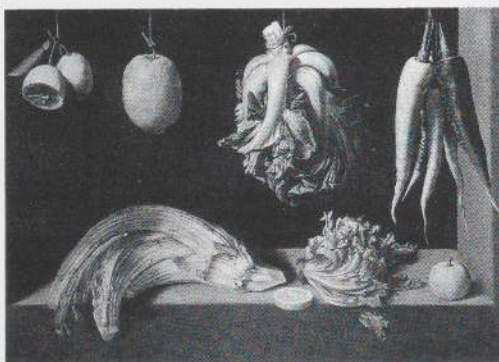
86 The full title, *la petite fistule lacrimale qui dit tic tac*, is inscribed on the support paper, below what appears to be wallpaper adhered to the support. All the forms at the bottom were painted over the wallpaper pattern, traces of which (with some pencil guidelines) can be seen under the paint. The blue cogwheel at the upper left was outlined in pencil and filled in with paint. The relationship between image and inscription remains enigmatic, but Ernst recommended it for an exhibition in Lyon along with other "strong" works which had been sold (Ernst letter to Tzara, October 8, 1921, B.L.J.D., Paris, TZR.C.1427; pub. in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 271). Eluard purchased this work and later it entered Breton's collection before being acquired by The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

87 This illustration appears on p. 1057 of the *Bibliotheca Paedagogica* catalogue. The full title-inscription on the support paper reads: "schicht-

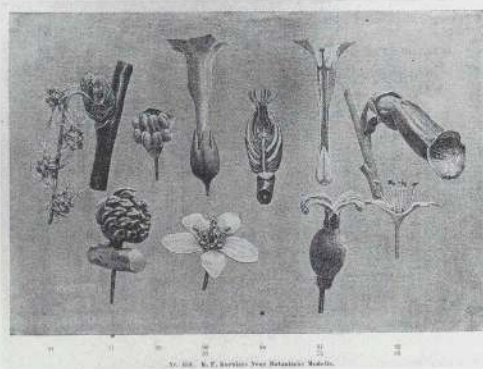
[87] Horse anatomy from *Bibliotheca Paedagogica*, 1914, pp. 1056–57



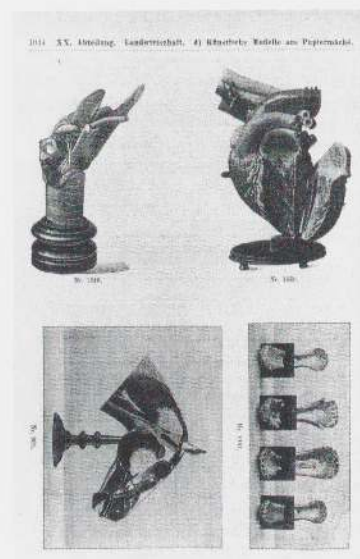
Marchantia polymorpha. Vielgestaltiges Lebermoos.



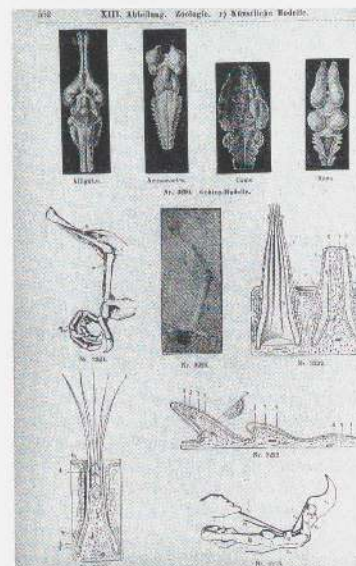
[84] Juan Sanchez Cotan: *Still Life with Vegetables and Fruit*, ca. 1650. Oil on canvas, 27 1/2 x 37 1/2 in. José Luis Vázquez Fisa Collection, Madrid



[85] Angiospermae from *Bibliotheca Paedagogica*, 1914, p. 624



88 Head muscles, teeth, larynx, and heart of a horse from *Bibliotheca Paedagogica*, 1914, p. 1044



91 Development of feathers from *Bibliotheca Paedagogica*, 1914, p. 552

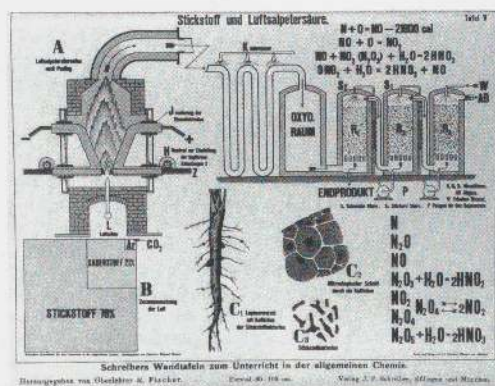
gestein naturgabe aus gneis lava isländisch moos 2 sorten lungenkraut 2 sorten dammriss / herzwegwächse b) dasselbe in fein poliertem Kästchen etwas teurer."

89 The full inscription reads across the top: "le limaçon de chambre fusible et la [sic] coeur de la moissonneuse légère à la course," and across the bottom: "stubenschnecke 5 numern wander-vogel 8 numern summa 13 numern sursum corda." The meaning of the numbers and the reference to the Wandervogel remain a mystery.

90 Christopher Green, *Cubism and Its Enemies*, New Haven, 1987, pp. 247–48. Lippard, "Max Ernst: Passed and Pressing Tensions," *The Hudson Review*, vol. 23, no. 4, Winter 1970–71, p. 706. Spies (*Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 59) suggests a link to Freud's essay "Der Wahn und die Träume in W. Jensen's Gradiva."

92 For Ernst's comments on the quarrels within Dada, see his statement "Dada est mort, vive Dada!," *Der Querschnitt*, I, January 1921, p. 22. The primary source for this collage was a portion of p. 532 of the *Bibliotheca Paedagogica* catalogue. A Fatagaga text in the Tzara Archive (B.L.J.D., Paris, TZR.C.1466) reads:

MAX ERNST Zeichnung
Rechtzeitig erkannte angriffspläne der assimilanzfäden auf die feste dada die spannung ist auf dem höchste gestiegen die standorte der barmherzigen samariter sind nach biogenetischen gesichtspunkten geordnet. die fort pflanzungsgefäße gleichartig ausgerüsteter samen-träger sind getrennt eingetragen, sodass wir folgende untergruppen unterscheiden 1) schleudertyp 2) befruchtung durch wasser 3) brutfährchen 4) übertragung des samens durch gepäckträger.



[93] Production of nitrogen and nitric acid from *Bibliotheca Paedagogica*, 1914, p. 993

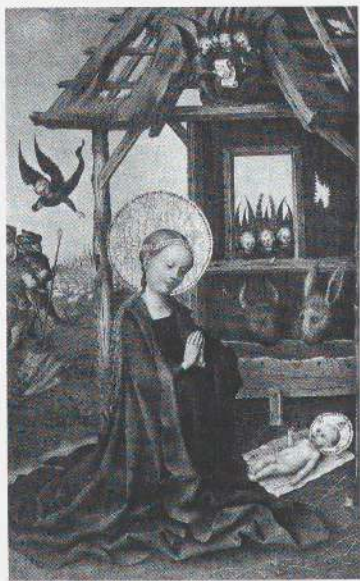
dadaisten, schwächer als 6. größe, sogenannte teleskopische dadaisten, sind für das unbewaffnete Auge nicht mehr sichtbar und kommen hier nicht in betracht. Mit der einen hand bauen sie mauern, mit der andern halten sie die muttertrommel im vordergrund rechts musiziert der dadaist & arp unentwegt mit eigenem Kapellmeister

93 ◀

94 The illustration appears on p. 993 of the *Bibliotheca Paedagogica* catalogue. For an account of the schoolboy's discovery, see Loni and Lothar Pretzell, "Impressions of Max Ernst from his Homeland," *Hommage to Max Ernst*, special issue of *XXe Siècle*, Paris and New York, 1971, pp. 6, 8, and *Max Ernst in Köln*, p. 207. Critical comments on Ernst's work appeared in "Surrealist von Schülern überführt," *Quick* (February 2, 1954), and "Dreh sie mal um," *Stern* (February 1954).

95 Guillaume Apollinaire, "Zone," quoted from Apollinaire, *Alcools*, trans. Anne Hyde Greet, Berkeley, 1965, pp. 2–13. For Freud's interpretations of dreams and flying, see his article "Eine Kindheits Erinnerung des Leonardo da Vinci" (trans. as "A Childhood Memory of Leonardo da Vinci," in Spies, *Max Ernst: Loplop*) and *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*, p. 155. Spies presents the most extended consideration of the human-bird theme in Ernst's work: see *Max Ernst: Loplop*, esp. pp. 99–103 in this context.

96 Stokes was the first to reproduce this source from Stefan Lochner, one of Ernst's favorite artists ("Dadamax: Ernst in the Context of Co-



[96] Stefan Lochner: *The Virgin Adoring the Christ Child*, 1440. Oil on panel, 13¾x8¾ in. Alte Pinakothek, Munich



[97] Aerial photograph of Soissons from Georg Paul Neumann, *Deutsches Kriegsflugwesen*, Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1917, p. 38

logne Dada," *Dada Dimensions*, ed. Stephen C. Foster, Ann Arbor, 1985, p. 125).

97 Derenthal discovered this aerial view of Soissons in Neumann, *Deutsches Kriegsflugwesen*, p. 38. Neumann was a captain and director of the Berlin-Adlershof Aviation School. The specific source for the Lilienthal glider was found in Neumann, *Flugzeuge*, Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1917, p. 1. I am grateful for Derenthal's generous sharing of this material, which was first made public at the University of Siegen on December 11, 1992, in his lecture "Mitteilungen über Flugzeuge, Engel und den Weltkrieg: Einige Vorschläge zu den Photocollagen der Dadazeit von Max Ernst." Aerial bombing was introduced early in the war and developed apace. Allied planes bombed dirigible sites in Cologne and Düsseldorf in the fall of 1914, and on June 3, 1917, German planes bombed London.

98 O. K. Werckmeister, *The Making of Paul Klee's Career 1914–1920*, Chicago and London, 1989, pp. 100–5, 241.

99 Ernst rejected the title *The Murderess Airplane* once applied to this collage (Spies/Metken, *Oeuvre-Katalog*, no. 395), indicating perhaps that this woman-airplane was not presented as an aggressor. Derenthal has discovered the source for the landscape and flying machine in two reproductions in Neumann, *Flugzeuge*, p. 15. The three men (civilians) in the lower right were cut out of an illustration in the teaching aids catalogue (p. 472) depicting arm holds for carrying an injured comrade. See Foster ("Amor Fou," *October*, 56, spring 1991, p. 80) for another interpretation of this collage as an image of military-industrial shock with colliding images of war and peace, sex and death.

100 *The Swan Is Very Peaceful* was used as the title for this collage at Ernst's exhibition at the Au Sans Pareil Gallery, Paris ("Exposition Dada Max Ernst," May 1921, no. 27). The owner at the time was listed as Aragon (L.A.). For his comment on the title, see "Max Ernst, Peintre des illusions," in Aragon, *Écrits sur l'art moderne*, p. 14.

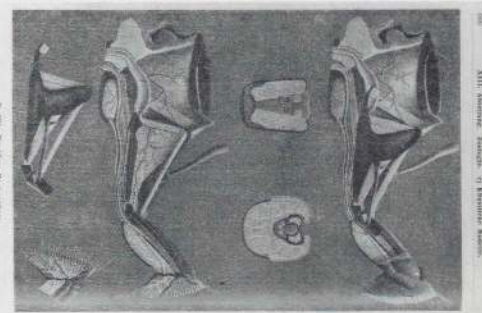
101 *The Flamingos* is a photographic enlargement of *The Cormorants*, but in this instance there is no evidence that Ernst relegated the collage to the status of a preparatory work. Both are signed, dated, and inscribed, and *The Cormorants* was exhibited first at Ernst's show in the Au Sans Pareil Gallery (as *Aérogaphie*). It probably entered Breton's collection at that time. It is inscribed in Ernst's hand on a paper attached to the back: "max ernst aérogaphie les cormorans font monter de nouveau leurs oeufs de papier chaud / les jumeaux sont cloués aux coins de la mer amirale / comme nous voici tout près de l'aimant antarctique les archanges refusent le service." *The Flamingos* has a comparable inscription in German, in single lines written above and below the photographic enlargement.

102 This source was published by Aaron Scharf, "Max Ernst, Etienne-Jules Marey, and the Poetry of Scientific Illustration," in Van Deren Coke (ed.), *One Hundred Years of Photographic History: Essays in Honor of Beaumont Newhall*, Albuquerque, 1975, pp. 118–126.



[102] Early swing-wing airplane, ca. 1910

103 Cross-section of the head and proboscis of a meat fly from *Bibliotheca Paedagogica*, 1914, p. 560.



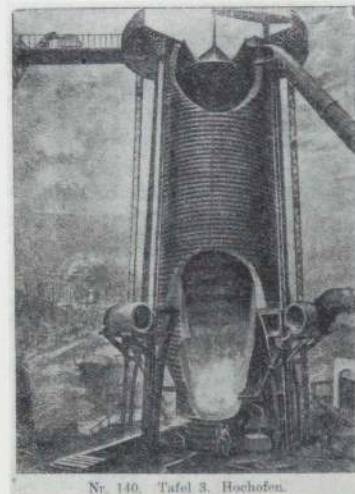
104 In this version, Ernst has defined the body of the horse by drawn lines and overpainting, not collage. The landscape has been enhanced and the form under the horse modified to suggest a flying bird.

105 Konnertz (*Max Ernst*, pp. 110–13) has identified all of these sources.

106 Hopkins, "Max Ernst's 'La Toilette de la mariée,'" *Burlington Magazine*, April 1991, p. 240.

107 Bayard's photograph was probably achieved by combination printing using multiple negatives – all of his own making – rather than by Ernst's photomontage process.

108 For the alligator brain, see p. 552 of the teaching aids catalogue, already used for *The Assimilative Threads' Attack Plans...* (Pl. 86). Sources for the other forms have not been found and the identity of the "hockey" stick is uncertain. Although this is a photographic enlargement, it has an "original" signature in pencil, not a reproduction. Because the "original" collage is missing, it is difficult to know what sort of surface was recorded in this photographic enlargement. The



[105] Tall oven from *Bibliotheca Paedagogica*, 1914, p. 1018

[99] Landscape and flying machine from Georg Paul Neumann, *Flugzeuge*, Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1917, p. 15

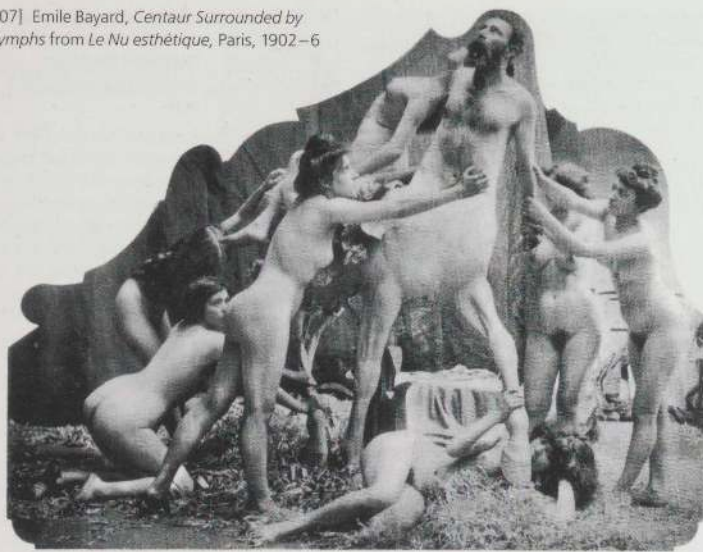
socle may have been done largely in pencil; there are black specks on the thigh and suggestions of ink brushed over the shadowed side of the body. The man's right foot, the socle, and the hockey stick all lack the definition of the torso and crocheted head.

109 The inscription in French reads: "Au dessus des nuages marche la minuit. Au dessus de la minuit plane l'oiseau invisible du jour. Un peu plus haut que l'oiseau l'éther pousse et les murs et les toits flottent."

110 Margot Norris, "Deconstruction in the Works of Max Ernst," *Structuralist Review*, vol. 1, no. 1, Spring 1978, pp. 3–11.

111 Max Ernst letter to Tzara, December 28, 1920 (B.L.J.D., Paris, TZR.C.1422; trans. in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 271).

112 At the Théâtre de l'Oeuvre on January 14, 1921, Marinetti lectured on "Tactilism," a form of collage intended to be experienced by touch rather than sight. The Dadaists greeted his lecture with a ridiculing handbill, hoots, and whistles.



113 This poll was published in *Littérature*, no. 18, March 1921, pp. 1–7. Tzara marked over half of the entries “-25,” but ratings for individuals significant to the editors of *Littérature* are revealing. Aragon, Breton, and Soupault rated Chirico +12, +14, and +11 respectively, while Ribemont-Dessaignes and Tzara rated him -10 and -25. Freud’s ratings by the same men in the same order were +15, +16 and +1 versus 0 and 0; Vaché’s ratings were +20, +19, and +18 versus +15 and +7.

114 A[sté] de[E]sparbès, “Les ‘Dadas’ visitent Paris,” *Comœdia*, April 14, 1921, p. 2. For additional information on this event, see Sanouillet, *Dada à Paris*, pp. 244–48.

115 Some wished to return the wallet. Others argued that it was proper to steal from the poor and give to the rich, and still others suggested they apply the funds to one of their publications. See Sanouillet, *Dada à Paris*, pp. 272–73. Robert Desnos reported (*Nouvelles Hébrides et autres textes*, 1922–1930, ed. Marie-Claire Dumas, Paris, 1978, pp. 320–21) that Breton wanted to be reimbursed for framing and other expenses for the Max Ernst exhibition. For a survey of this matter, see Marc Dachy, *Clément Pansaers ‘Bar Nicanor’ et d’autres textes Dada*, Paris, 1986, pp. 25–26.

116 Christian Schad letter to Picabia, April 25, 1921 (B.L.J.D., Paris, *Dossiers Picabia VII*, p. 65); reprinted in Sanouillet, *Dada à Paris*, pp. 566–68.

117 Ernst letter to Breton, February 8, 1921 (B.L.J.D., Paris, BRT.C. 709).

118 Ernst letter to Breton, April 10, 1921 (B.L.J.D., Paris). Quotation published in *André Breton*, exhibition catalogue, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, 1991, pp. 106 and 107. The title proposed by Ernst was used as a subtitle: “LA MISE SOUS WHISKY MARIN / se fait en crème kaki et en cinq anatomies / VIVE LE SPORT.” The categories he designated for the works were published on the announcement: “dessins mécanoplastiques plasto-plastiques peintopeintures anaplastiques anatomiques antizymiques aérogaphiques anti-phonaires arrosables et républicains” (the last term substituted by Breton). These terms were not adopted in subsequent critical studies of Ernst. Most of them seem playful and wanting a practical, demonstrable relationship to specific groups of art works.

119 Breton letter to Tzara, April 26, 1921 (B.L.J.D., Paris); published in Sanouillet, *Dada à Paris*, pp. 462–63. Permission from Mme. Elisa Breton and Mme. Aube Elléouët to cite the correspondence of André Breton is gratefully acknowledged.

120 Invitations to the exhibition were printed on pink and brown paper. The catalogue was a single sheet of purple paper, folded into six pages, which included another reproduction of *Crochet Relief*

(Fig. 68), Breton’s essay, and a list of 56 works, nine of which were marked with the initials of various members of the Dadaists in Paris.

121 This description of the opening is based on three accounts: Asté d’Esparbès, “Un vernissage mouvementé,” *Comœdia*, May 7, 1921, p. 2; Georges Oudard, “Une Soirée chez Dada,” *Le Gaulois*, May 4, 1921; unsigned review, “Réception dadaïste,” *Aux Ecoutes*, May 8, 1921. See also Sanouillet, *Dada à Paris*, pp. 248–53.

122 See Derenthal’s excellent account of this exhibition: “Eine surrealistische ‘Révélation’: Die erste Max Ernst-Ausstellung in Paris,” in *Max Ernst: Das Rendezvous der Freunde*, exhibition catalogue, Museum Ludwig, Cologne, 1991, pp. 54–74.

123 Articles and opinion polls about the appropriateness of presenting the works of Wagner in Paris accompanied performances of *Die Walküre* at the Paris Opéra on January 5, 1921, and *Tristan und Isolde* at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées on March 30. This press included articles on the dedication of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier (*Comœdia*, January 28, 1921, p. 1), angry editorial commentary on German defiance of provisions of the Versailles Treaty, and patriotic speeches at veterans’ reunions. On the anniversary of the German offensive of March 1918, which included the bombardment of Paris by “Big Bertha,” Raymond Poincaré spoke of “Force and Right” to over 6,000 veterans (*Comœdia*, March 22, 1921, p. 1).

124 The catalogue lists 42 “peintopeintures,” 8 drawings, 3 Fatagagas, the *Simultaneous Triptych* by Ernst and Baargeld, one painting which does not figure in the catalogue, and one sculpture. These classifications do not adhere to type of media or process. Most of the “peintopeintures” are overpaintings, but they include stamped drawings (*Canalisation of Refrigerated Gas*, no. 5) and collages (*The Hat Makes the Man*, no. 4). The drawings are mostly stamped and rubbed drawings from the winter of 1919–20, but they include at least one collage, *Seated Buddha*, under no. 5 as *Ask Your Doctor*. The following owners are indicated: *The Hat Makes the Man* (P.S. or Philippe Soupault), *Dehumanized Semen and Hypertrophic Trophy* (T.T. or Tristan Tzara), *Always the Best Man Wins* (Mme G.B. or Picabia’s wife, Gabrielle Buffet), *The Swan is Very Peaceful* (L.A. or Louis Aragon), *Comet* (J.R. or Jacques Rigaut), *The Massacre of the Innocents* (Mlle S.K. or Simone Kahn), and *The Horse, He’s a Little Sick* (Dr. A., unknown). Illness prevented Eluard’s presence at the opening of the exhibition, but soon afterwards he had acquired four works and was eager to meet Ernst.

125 André Breton, “Max Ernst,” preface for *Exposition Dada Max Ernst*, exhibition catalogue, Au Sans Pareil Gallery, Paris, May 3–June 3, 1921;

reprinted in Breton’s *Les Pas perdus*, Paris, 1924, pp. 101–3.

126 Breton letter to André Derain, October 3, 1921; trans. in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 67 and n. 333.

127 Picabia, “M. Picabia se sépare des Dadas,” *Comœdia*, May 11, 1921, p. 2. Over the course of a few days, Picabia wrote three statements, the most informative one on May 13 (see below and note 130).

128 Jacques Emile Blanche, “La Semaine artistique,” *Comœdia*, May 11, 1921, p. 2.

129 The entire issue of *Littérature*, no. 20, August 1921, was devoted to the Trial of Barrès, including the charges against him and the transcripts of the witnesses. For extensive—and differing—commentary on this event, see Bonnet, *André Breton*, pp. 239–48 and Sanouillet, *Dada à Paris*, pp. 254–66.

130 Picabia, “Francis Picabia et Dada,” written May 13, 1921 and published in *L’Esprit Nouveau*, no. 9, June 1921, pp. 1059–60.

131 Ernst letter to Breton, undated (May 1921, B.L.J.D., Paris, BRT.C. 708). This sculpture may have been the one reproduced along with *The Chinese Nightingale* in a hostile review of Ernst’s exhibition, “Deux Echantillons d’art ‘Dada’,” *Excelsior*, May 4, 1921.

132 Galerie Montaigne, Paris, *Salon Dada*, June 6–30, 1921.

133 Initially Picabia had collaborated with Tzara in planning this exhibition, but after his break with Dada there was no question of his participating. Breton was also out of sorts with Tzara, disgruntled over the state of Dada and preoccupied with

his forthcoming marriage to Simone Kahn. Jean Crotti and Picabia, but may have declined to participate owing to a recent exhibition of their works in the same gallery (“Exposition des Oeuvres de Suzanne Duchamp et Jean Crotti,” April 4–16, 1921). Crotti did try to assist Tzara, although his intervention on behalf of Duchamp’s participation elicited Duchamp’s famous response, “PODE BAL” (telegram to Jean Crotti, June 1, 1921, in the Tzara Archive, B.L.J.D., Paris).

134 The full titles for these two paintings are: “Landscape in Scrap Iron Error of Those who Prefer Navigation on Grass to the Bust of Woman” (“paysage en ferraille erreur de ceux qui préfèrent la navigation sur l’herbe à un buste de femme”) and “The Graminaceous Bicycle Garnished with Sleigh Bells the Sparkled Grisons and the Curving Echinoderms / Backbone to Collect Caresses” (“la bicyclette graminée garnie de grelots les grisons grivelés et les échinodermes courbants / échine pour quêter des caresses”). The sources for these overpaintings have not been discovered, but their large size precludes the *Bibliotheca Paedagogica* catalogue as a source.

135 For extended descriptions of this soirée and the exhibition, see Jean Jacquemont, “Chronique Parisienne,” *Le Petit Havre*, June 14, 1921; unsigned review “Evening of Dadaism,” *The Chicago Tribune*, June 13, 1921, p. 4; Sanouillet, *Dada à Paris*, pp. 280–83.

136 Pierre Scize, “Après le concert des bruiteurs,” *Bonsoir*, June 20, 1921, p. 3.

137 See Pierre de Massot, “Post-scriptum aux Mariés de la Tour Eiffel,” *Le Pilhaou-Thibaou*, July 10, 1921, p. 14; no. 15 of 391.

Ernst and the Dadaists of Paris: Vacations in the Tirol and Collaborations with Eluard

5

1 For Man Ray’s description of these events, see his *Self Portrait*, New York, 1963, pp. 107–10.

2 *Le Pilhaou-Thibaou* (391, no. 15), Paris, July 10, 1921.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 1.

4 Jean Cocteau, “La Guérison de Picabia,” *Le Pilhaou-Thibaou*, p. 11.

5 Philippe Soupault, letter to Tristan Tzara, July 28, 1921 (B.L.J.D., TZR.C. 3822, Paris).

6 André Breton, letter to Tristan Tzara, July 29, 1921 (B.L.J.D., Paris; reprinted in Sanouillet, *Dada à Paris*, p. 458); Hans Arp, letter to Tristan Tzara, August 1, 1921 (B.L.J.D., TZR.C. 152, Paris).

7 Max Ernst, letter to Tristan Tzara, undated, early August 1921 (B.L.J.D., Paris; reproduced in Raoul Schrott, *Dada 21/22*, Innsbruck, 1988, p. 28). Schrott’s study of the gatherings of the Dadaists in the Tirol during the summers of 1921 and 1922 constitutes the most thorough study to date of these events.

8 Ribemont-Dessaignes and the Soupaults were finally unable to go to the Tirol. The decision

of Breton and Simone to go to Tarrenz for their honeymoon is discussed in his letter to her of August 14, 1921 (private collection, Paris). Eluard confirmed their intention to be in Tarrenz at the end of September in a letter to Tzara on August 27, 1921 (B.L.J.D., TZR.C. 1337, Paris).

9 Baargeld had been mountain climbing in the Zillertal with his brother and Leo A. Reuver. The latter’s diary records Baargeld’s departure for Innsbruck and Tarrenz on August 12 (Schrott, *Dada 21/22*, p. 40). Tzara’s presence in Tarrenz before August 22 is documented by a letter of that date by Tzara and Ernst to Fraenkel (Tzara Archive, B.L.J.D., Paris). In a letter to Eluard on August 25—co-signed by Max, Lou, Baargeld, and Maya—Tzara announced that Arp would arrive “tomorrow” (B.L.J.D., TZR.C. 4037, Paris).

10 Tristan Tzara, letter to Paul Eluard, co-signed by Max and Lou Ernst, Maya Chruszcz, and Baargeld, August 25, 1921 (B.L.J.D., TZR.C. 4037, Paris). Tzara used small pictographs in lieu of some words in this letter. It was necessary to replace

those pictographs with words in this text. For a reproduction of the letter, see Schrott, *Dada 21/22*, pp. 41–3.

11 For an extended commentary on these collages, see Schrott, *Dada 21/22*, pp. 23–25.

12 Spies, in *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 93, uses the term "total collage" for these new collages entirely composed of collage parts fitted together to conceal the joints.

13 Spies (*Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 89) records the inscription to the printer in the upper right corner: "Strichätzung – original grösse" ("Line etching – original size"). *Dada Augrandair* is dated Tarrenz, September 16, 1886–1921. This date was geared to Arp's birth date, September 16, 1886. Actual publication may have occurred a day or two later in Austria rather than in Paris, as is sometimes claimed. See note 19.

14 Ernst contributed two texts ("The Old Vivisector" and "The Unimpressive Fustanella") and two poems ("Fatagaga Song" and "The Water Sample"). For commentary on these texts and their relationship to the writings of Arp, see Schrott, *Dada 21/22*, pp. 58–62; see pages 74–78 for additional commentary on Arp and Ernst.

15 Hans Arp, "Declaration," *Dada Augrandair*, p. 4.

16 Max Ernst, "Der Arp," *Kölnener Tageblatt*, December 6, 1921. Text reproduced in *Max Ernst in Köln*, exhibition catalogue, Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, 1980, p. 85. Trans. Danielle Pung, The Language Company, Houston.

17 Hans Arp and Max Ernst, "Max Ernst," *Das Junge Rheinland*, vol. 2, Düsseldorf, November 2, 1921. Trans. available in Tate Gallery, *Max Ernst* (Werner Spies, ed.), 1991, p. 296. This text has been identified by several authors (Poley, "Max Ernst und Hans Arp 1914–1921," *Max Ernst in Köln*, 1980, p. 194; and Schrott, *Dada 21/22*, p. 55) as the text mentioned by Ernst in a postcard to Arp on October 22, 1921: "Prompted by your expressions Easter Circle, Pentecost Circle and Tropic of Cancer [? Wendekreis], I sent your splendid letter with my supplement as a Fatagaga report to Querschnitt where it will appear in the next number" (Fondation Jean Arp–Sophie Taeuber-Arp, Rolandseck). While this letter confirms the collaborative work of Ernst and Arp, it is curious that a text sent so recently to *Querschnitt* was published only a week later in *Das Junge Rheinland*. Another text may be involved. Schrott has rectified another confusion in the collaborative writings of Arp and Ernst. In the same postcard of October 27, Ernst wrote, "Likewise, the newly focused, stable, and very sterling version of Dadamax will be published there. The original Dadamax is enclosed." Neither that text nor its companion "Dadabaargeld" was published, but they found their way to Tzara's dossier for "Dadaglobe," where Schrott discovered them under Hausmann's name and published them in *Dada 21/22*, p. 57.

18 Georges Ribemont-Dessaignes, letter to Tristan Tzara, September 17, 1921 (B.L.J.D., TZR.C.3268, Paris; quoted in Sanouillet, *Dada à Paris*, p. 288).

19 Breton sent Doucet a copy of *Dada Augrandair* in a letter on September 24, 1921 (Breton Archive, B.L.J.D., Paris; cited by Henri Béhar, *André Breton*, Paris, 1990, p. 119).

20 André Breton, letter to Jacques Doucet, September 20 and 24, 1921 (B.L.J.D., TZR.C.7210.14 and 7210.15, Paris). I am very grateful to Mme. Elisa Breton, Mme. Aube Elléouët, and M. François Chapon (Conservateur of the Bibliothèque Littéraire Jacques Doucet) for permission to quote excerpts from these letters.

21 Max Ernst, *Écritures*, p. 44. In conversations with Waldberg (*Max Ernst*, p. 172) and Russell (*Max Ernst*, p. 64), Ernst said that he, too, was somewhat irritated by Breton's manner.

22 Sanouillet, *Dada à Paris*, p. 288.

23 Eluard mailed Tzara a postcard from Vienna on October 6, 1921 (Tzara Archive, B.L.J.D., TZR.C.1340, Paris).

24 Jules Romain, *La Nouvelle Revue française*, January 1922. For Breton's study of psychology during the First World War, see Bonnet, *André Breton*, pp. 98–114, and for the list of Freud's writings translated into French, p. 102. See also Jennifer Ann Gibson, "Surrealism's Early Maps of the Unconscious," dissertation presented to the University of Virginia, 1985.

25 André Breton, "Interview du Professeur Freud à Vienne," *Littérature*, New Series, no. 1, March 1, 1922, p. 19.

26 For Breton's poetry from this time, see Schrott, *Dada 21/22*, pp. 95–96. Although Eluard wrote Tzara on October 21 that he was not writing, Schrott argues that letters and poetry from the weeks in Imst would be important for the volume entitled *Répétitions* (pp. 98–100).

27 Max Ernst, letter to Tristan Tzara, October 8, 1921 (B.L.J.D., TZR.C.1427, Paris; reprinted in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 271). Ernst responded to Tzara's interest in visiting Cologne in an undated letter of mid-November, 1921 (B.L.J.D., TZR.C.1425, Paris; reprinted in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 272).

28 Max Ernst, letter to Tristan Tzara, October 8, 1921 (B.L.J.D., TZR.C.1427, Paris; reprinted in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 271).

29 No records of any kind for this exhibition of Man Ray's photographs in Cologne have come to light except the references in Ernst's letters to Tzara on October 8 and mid-November (B.L.J.D., TZR.C.1425 and 1427, Paris; reprinted in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, pp. 271–272). Ernst writes of organizing a Dada exhibition and a show of Man Ray's photographs in January or February in another undated letter of mid-October, 1921 (B.L.J.D., TZR.C.1431, Paris; reprinted in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 272).

30 Kunsthalle Düsseldorf, *Das Junge Rheinland*, November 1–15, 1921. References to this exhibition with "Alois Erbach/Max Ernst" as part of the title are misleading. It was a group exhibition including a larger number of artists.

31 O. A. Sch [Otto Albert Schneider], November 4, 1921; quoted by Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 90.

32 *Das Junge Rheinland*, vol. 2, November 1921, pp. 2, 4–6. Each of these reproductions is identified by captions. The caption for *The School-prepared Anatomy (Die Anatomie schulfertig)* has been ignored subsequently in favor of *The Anatomy or The Anatomy As Bride (Die Anatomie als Braut)* or *The Anatomy of the Bride*. The earliest documents are two postcards by Ernst, one to Tzara on ca. October 20, 1921, inscribed "la anatomie" (Tzara Archive, B.L.J.D., TZR.C.1431; reprinted in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 272, Paris), and one to Arp on October 27, 1921, inscribed "die anatomie" (Fondation Jean Arp–Sophie Taeuber-Arp, Rolandseck). At an unknown date, Ernst inscribed another reproduction of the "original" collage "die anatomie als braut" (Spies/Metken *Oeuvre-Katalog*, no. 423). In "Au dela de la peinture" (Max Ernst number of *Cahiers d'Art*, 1937, p. 16), Ernst captioned a reproduction of this work "anatomie jeune mariée," and that title was used by Spies/Metken in the *Oeuvre-Katalog*, with a reference in the list of reproductions to *Die Anatomie schulfertig*. Given this history, several titles have been validated. For this study, I will use the earliest documented title, *The Anatomy*, and redirect attention to the contemporary title, *The School-prepared Anatomy*.

33 Max Ernst, letter to Tristan Tzara, October 8, 1921 (B.L.J.D., TZR.C.1427, Paris; reprinted in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 271).

34 In her fifties – after an unhappy marriage, twelve children, and a divorce – Johanna Ey (1864–1947) fashioned a new life in Düsseldorf as an art dealer and friend of artists. Her support of Ernst and his work began in 1921 and continued after he settled in Paris. For a study of Mutter Ey, see Anna Klapheck, *Mutter Ey*, Düsseldorf, 1958; 1978 reprint. The photograph of Mutter Ey and artists in her circle around Ernst's painting *The*

Preparation of Bone Glue (first reproduced in *Das Stachelschwein* in 1925) is reproduced (p. 22, misdated) and discussed (p. 31).

35 Roland Penrose, *Max Ernst's "Celebes,"* 1972, pp. 14–15.



[35] Corn bin, Konkombwa people, southern Sudan

36 Elizabeth M. Legge, *Max Ernst: The Psychoanalytic Sources*, pp. 52–59. For references to Behemoth in the Bible, see Job 40: 13 and 41: 17–18. Legge thinks that the more likely model for Ernst's *Celebes* was a fable in the 1921 edition of Apollinaire's *L'Enchanteur pourissant*, which portrays Behemoth as a tyrannical anti-God of infecundity (pp. 52, 55). Jung's essay on "Wanderungen und Symbol der Libido" is proposed as a less likely but possible source of reference. Legge also reproduces (p. 53) an image of a French soldier wearing a gas mask which evokes comparison to the machine-creature in *Celebes*.



[36] *The Demon Behemoth* from Collin de Plançy, *Dictionnaire infernal repertoire universel*, 1863

37 Legge, *Max Ernst: The Psychoanalytic Sources*, p. 50.

38 Penrose, *Max Ernst "Celebes,"* p. 19. The German text reads:

Der Elefant von Celebes
Hat hinten etwas geledes
Der Elefant von Sumatra
Der vögelt seine Grossmama
Der Elefant von Indien
Der kann das Loch nicht finden

There are also cartoon-like drawings on the reverse of *Celebes* that are quite different in imagery and seemingly unrelated to the painting, although two possible exceptions include an inscription, "ein edel mensch" ("a noble man"),

and a drawing of a schoolmistress holding a rod over a comical horned head saying "Ha Ha!"

39 Max Ernst, *Max Ernst: Beyond Painting*, pp. 12, 17, and 21.

40 Max Ernst, letter to Tristan Tzara, ca. mid-October, 1921 (B.L.J.D., TZR.C.1431, Paris; reprinted in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 272). These two postcards could have been included in an empty envelope in the Tzara archive (TZR.C.1428) postmarked October 20, 1921. The same two postcards were mailed to Arp on October 27.

41 Duchamp's painting was misdated as 1914 instead of 1912 in the *Salon Dada* catalogue and corrected in *Dada Augrandair*. Duchamp is repeatedly mentioned in the Dadaists' letters during the summer of 1921, including letters to Tzara from Eluard (July 25), Breton (July 29), and Ribemont-Dessaignes (August 9).

42 For commentary on these titles, see n. 32.

43 David Hopkins, "Hermeticism, Catholicism and Gender as Structure: A Comparative Study of Themes in the Work of Marcel Duchamp and Max Ernst," Ph.D. thesis, University of Essex, 1989, pp. 188–94.

44 Eberhard Roters, *Fabricatio nihili oder Die Herstellung von Nichts: Dada Meditationen*, 1990, pp. 105–18.

45 Based on a conversation with Ernst, Spies identified this collage as a work by Luise, save for the animal carcasses added by Ernst. It is inscribed on the reverse in Ernst's hand, "Armada v. Duldgedalzen (dit la Rosa Bonheur dadaïste)," and it was apparently sent to Tzara. There is a Fatagaga text in the Tzara Archive (B.L.J.D., TZR.C.1468, Paris) which reads: "armada v. duldgedalzen gen. die dadaïstische Rosa Bonheur / Otto Flake synthétise l'art du corset au goût de la finesse de tissu et de la viande métaphysique, ARP aime mieux la viande des fleurs du mal." Reprint in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 73. The date and interpretation offered by Spies must be reconsidered in light of the research of Schrott (*Dada 21/22*, pp. 69–72), who places this collage in the context of the Dadaists' contact with Flake in the Tirol in the summer of 1921, when he was involved in a love rectangle that included an actress. Schrott proposes that this collage is based on an advertisement for a play, amended by the addition of Flake's name and head on the body of an actress. There are also shadings in pencil around both figures in a manner common to the way Ernst worked.

46 Max Ernst, letter to Tristan Tzara, ca. October 20, 1921 (B.L.J.D., TZR.C.1431, Paris; reprinted in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 272).

47 Reference to Ernst's use of illustrations in *La Nature* and other magazines, now commonplace in writings about the artist, originated in Werner Spies's ground-breaking publication *Max Ernst: Collagen. Inventar und Widerspruch*, Cologne, 1974. As the pioneer in discovering and publishing these images, Spies conferred with Ernst and subsequently has taken pains to clarify his concepts regarding their publication and their significance. In addition to *La Nature* and *Kolumbus-Eier*, Ernst used *Le Magasin pittoresque*, which began publication in Paris in 1833. *Kolumbus-Eier* was documented as a source by Spies (*Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 92 and n. 511) but not developed with specific references until Derenthal's thesis, "La Révélation Surréaliste: Arbeitstechnik bei Max Ernst und seine Rezeption bei den Surrealisten 1919–1925," for Ludwig Maximilian University, Munich, 1987, pp. 57–58. *Kolumbus-Eier: Eine Sammlung unterhaltender und belehrender physikalischer Spielereien*, edited by Der gute Kamerad, Stuttgart, Berlin, and Leipzig, 2 vols.

48 Illustration in an article by J.L., "Physique Experimentale," *La Nature*, no. 988, May 7, 1892, p. 368. >>>

49 The source for the violin in *Columbus's Eggs* was reproduced by Derenthal ("La Révélation Surréaliste," p. 195). For the hand and tube, see Thomas Eschrich, "Physique sans Appareils: L'Ascension d'un ballon à l'air chaud au Montgol-

("Eluard's Poems for Gala," *The French Review*, February 1968) and (p. 61) cites the poems "Rubens," "L'Ami," and "Volontairement." Schrott (*Dada 21/22*, pp. 100–3) analyses "Nul" and "Suite" for reflection of the love triangle.

72 This poem was published in *Der Sturm* (March 1922). Tzara did some editing for that issue in December 1921 and January 1922 (Schrott, *Dada 21/22*, p. 111). Trans. Danielle Pung, The Language Company, Houston.

73 Max Ernst letter to Tristan Tzara, undated ca. November 15, 1921 (B.L.J.D., TZR.C.1425, Paris; reprinted in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 272). Ernst speaks in his letter to Tzara both of his melancholy and of his plans to go to Paris in January with Lou and possibly Baargeld.

74 Max Ernst letter to Tristan Tzara, undated ca. January 20–26, 1922 (B.L.J.D., TZR.C.1437, Paris; reprinted in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 272). This letter was probably in one of two empty envelopes in the Tzara Archive postmarked January 21 and 26 (B.L.J.D., TZR.C.1433 and 1434) that became separated from their contents. The deterioration of the Ernsts' marriage is evident in Max's open discussion of sexual liaisons in the body of the letter over Lou's simple greeting below.

75 Max Ernst letters to Tristan Tzara, ca. mid-November and November 28, 1921 (B.L.J.D., TZR.C.1425 and 1430, Paris; reprinted in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 272).

76 This collage accompanied an undated card from Ernst to Tzara (B.L.J.D., TZR.C.1424, Paris; reprinted in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 272) that Spies attributes rightly to January 1922, since Ernst comments in another undated letter to Tzara on ca. January 21 that "I will make the cover for your manifestoes today." The scattered names, words, phrases, telephone numbers, etc. on this collage almost suggest haphazard jottings on a telephone note pad. They are overlaid with two Negroid heads (one with constellation diagrams), animal teats, and two metal forms, one of which represents the nozzle and flame from a soldering lamp or gun (see an example in *La Nature*, no. 776, April 14, 1888, p. 309). Ernst wrote Tzara in angry dismay on February 2: "... after your departure I sent you 2 or 3 letters and also 16 drawings for the book (15 days ago) and for the cover for 7 Manifestoes (unregistered). And now I am astonished to hear that you haven't received anything" (B.L.J.D., TZR.C.1436, Paris; reprinted in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 273). The presence of this collage indicates that it did arrive – eventually, at least – and, given the two empty envelopes in the Tzara Archive from Ernst to Tzara postmarked January 21 and 26, all of the drawings (collages) may have reached their destination. They cannot be securely identified, however, and presently I can only speculate that they may have included some of the collages discussed on pp. 107–8.

77 The inscription reads: "This painting is indeed by the hand of Max Ernst. It dates from 1921. Paul Eluard. This certificate of authenticity is indeed by the hand of Paul Eluard. The green head (to the left) is a portrait of Paul Eluard. Max Ernst." 78 Derenthal, "La Révélation Surréaliste," pp. 78–79.

79 *Sea Piece* was first exhibited, with this title, at the *Das Junge Rheinland* exhibition, Städtische Kunsthalle Düsseldorf, October 1928, no. 40, illustrated.

80 For this comment and reference to Otto Dix, see Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, pp. 118 and 119. Ernst letter to Tzara, February 2, 1922 (B.L.J.D., TZR.C.1436, Paris; reprinted in Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, pp. 272–73).

81 Sigmund Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams*; trans. James Strachey, New York, 1965, pp. 294–96.

82 Spies, *The Return of La Belle Jardinière*, pp. 44, 46.

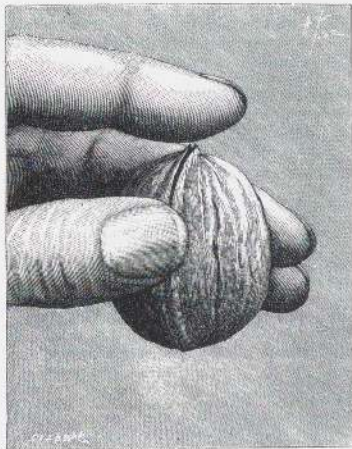
83 *Ibid.*, p. 40.

84 *Ibid.*, pp. 42 and 46. Spies has more or less maintained this view to the present, writing in the

catalogue of the Tate Gallery's recent retrospective, *Max Ernst*, 1991, p. 96: "The artist himself continually defended himself against being 'explained to death,' that is, against any attempt to find some 'latent' content that would mitigate the irritating effect of the 'manifest' but enigmatic content of the picture and thus render it banal."

85 Malcolm Gee, "Max Ernst, God, and 'The Revolution by Night,'" *Arts*, March 1981, pp. 85–91.

86 Unsigned account, "Physique sans appareils: Expérience sur l'élasticité," *La Nature*, September 26, 1891, p. 272. Spies first published this source in *Max Ernst: Collages*, 1974, Fig. 570. For a second visual source with a sexual dimension and an eye motif, see Jeanne Siegel, "The Image of the Eye in Surrealist Art and Its Psychoanalytic Sources, Part One: The Mythic Eye," *Arts Magazine*, February 1982, pp. 102–6.



[86] Elasticity with a nut, *La Nature*, September 26, 1891, p. 272

87 Among others, this observation is posed by Siegel ("The Image of the Eye") and Uwe M. Schneede, "Sightless Vision," in *Max Ernst*, exhibition catalogue, Tate Gallery, London, 1991, p. 352.

88 Among others, this observation has been made by Legge, *Max Ernst: The Psychoanalytic Sources*, p. 43; and Carla Gottlieb, *The Window in Art*, New York, 1981, pp. 318–20.

89 Gottlieb, *The Window in Art*, pp. 318–20; Legge, *Max Ernst*, p. 40.

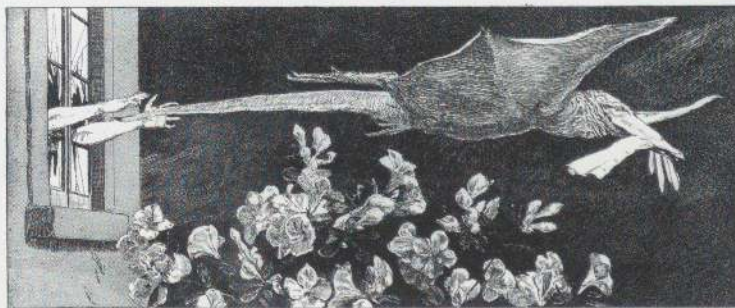
90 Charlotte Stokes, "Collage as Joke-work: Freud's Theories of Wit as the Foundation for the Collages of Max Ernst," *Leonardo*, vol. 15, no. 3, 1982, p. 200.

91 *Ibid.*, p. 201.

92 *Ibid.*

93 Günter Metken, "Im Zeichen des Handschuhs: Max Ernst, Klinger und 'Oedipus Rex,'" *Max Ernst in Köln*, pp. 275–77. Ernst was familiar with Klinger's work. Metken also comments on the animated quality of this glove and on the glove as a motif in Chirico's *Song of Love* and in other works by Ernst.

[93] Max Klinger: *The Theft of the Glove*, 1881. Etching, 4% x 10% in. Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich



94 Freud's discussion of Oedipus in *The Interpretation of Dreams* is immediately followed by a consideration of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, which, in his opinion, "has roots in the same soil as *Oedipus Rex*" (*The Interpretation of Dreams*; trans. James Strachey, New York, 1965, p. 298).

In *Hamlet*, Legge finds two clues involving the pierced fingers and nutshell which may identify Oedipus with Hamlet. One clue is the passage: "O God, I could be bounded in a nutshell, and count myself a King of infinite space, were it not that I have bad dreams" (*Hamlet* II, 2. 247). The second clue is the line: "I am but mad north-north-west: when the wind is southerly I know a hawk from a handsaw" (*Hamlet* II, 2. 362). This clue also depends on reading the instrument piercing the fingers as a rebus, "handsaw," which was transcribed visually (Legge, *Max Ernst*, pp. 36 and 39). From *La Nature* (February 22, 1896, p. 180), Legge reproduces an illustration of women whose heads are clamped in a stock as punishment for having killed their children (*Max Ernst*, pp. 40, 41).

95 Legge, *Max Ernst*, p. 36.

96 André Breton review of "Giorgio de Chirico: 12 Tavole in Fototipia," *Littérature*, no. 11, January 1920, pp. 28–29; quoted in Legge, *Max Ernst*, p. 42.

97 Legge, *Max Ernst*, p. 48.

98 One example of the open letter appeared under "Littérature: Dada n'est pas mort," *Paris-Midi*, December 16, 1921, signed by Soupault, Tzara, Rigaud, Péret, Duchamp, Breton, Char-choune, Aragon, Ribemont-Dessaignes, Man Ray, Fraenkel, and Eluard. Sanouillet published another version from an unidentified source (*Dada à Paris*, p. 298).

99 *Exposition Dada Man Ray*, Librairie Six, December 3–31, 1921. The catalogue listed 35 works from 1914 to 1921 and included brief texts by eight Dadaists, among them Max Ernst: "I love you forcibly ["de force"] as you reunite the top that dances the top that runs ["qui court"], you will always find buyers, you do not bore me by fixing the miserable broomstick armed with a hammer."

100 △

101 For an account of this event, see Sanouillet, *Dada à Paris*, pp. 300–3. The program was harshly criticized in letters to Tzara (in Cologne) by Fraenkel on December 22 and Eluard on January 4 (B.L.J.D., TZR.C.1651 and 1349, Paris).

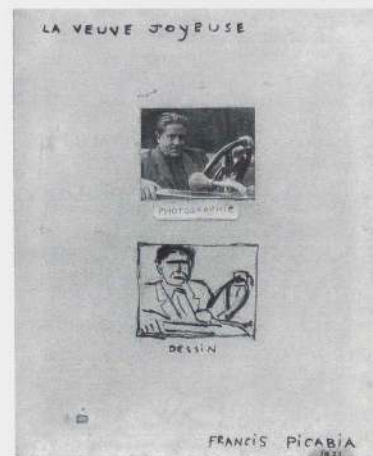
102 Picabia exhibited two works at the Salon d'Automne (November 1–December 20, 1921), *The Cacodylic Eye* and *Hot Eyes*. When rumors that one of these was an "explosive painting" were taken literally, the President of the Salon conducted an investigation and issued a statement to the press that there was nothing to fear; the public could visit the Salon "in total security" (Camfield, *Francis Picabia*, p. 168).

103 Francis Picabia, "L'Oeil Cacodylate," *Comœdia*, November 23, 1921, p. 2; quoted in Camfield, *Francis Picabia*, p. 170.

104 For commentary on the Salon des Indépendants, January 28–February 28, 1922, see Camfield, *Francis Picabia*, pp. 172–75.



[100] Man Ray: *Transatlantique*, 1921. Photograph and collage, 14½ x 9¾ in. Whereabouts unknown



105 Francis Picabia: *The Merry Widow*, 1921. Oil, paper, and photograph on canvas, 36¼ x 28¾ in. Musée national d'art moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

106 Unsigned [André Breton], "Avant le Congrès de Paris," *Comœdia*, January 3, 1922, p. 2. For accounts of the Congress of Paris, see Sanouillet, *Dada à Paris*, pp. 319–47, and Camfield, *Francis Picabia*, pp. 176–82.

107 G. de la Fouchardière, "Hors d'œuvre," *Oeuvre*, January 17, 1922.

108 Open letter in *Comœdia*, February 7, 1922, p. 1, signed by Auric, Breton, Delaunay, Léger, Ozenfant, and Vitrac.

109 Tristan Tzara, notice dated February 10, 1922; quoted in "La Ville et les Arts," *Paris-Midi*, February 14, 1922, p. 2.

110 Francis Picabia in "La Pomme de pins," *St. Raphael*, February 25, 1922. For more on this publication, see Camfield, *Francis Picabia*, pp. 180–81.

111 André Breton, "Après Dada," *Comœdia*, March 2, 1922.

112 Tristan Tzara, "Le Dessous de Dada," *Comœdia*, March 7, 1922.

113 André Breton, "Caractères de l'évolution moderne et ce qui en participe," lecture at the Ateneo, Barcelona, November 17, 1922; published in his collection of articles *Les Pas perdus*, Paris, 1924, pp. 181–212. See especially pp. 187 and 192.

114 André Breton, "Lâchez Tout," *Littérature*, II, no. 2, April 1, 1922, p. 10.

115 *Littérature*, II, no. 1, March 1, 1922.
 116 Paul Eluard, Max Ernst, and Gala Eluard, postcard to Tristan Tzara, March 21, 1922 (B.L.J.D., TZR.C.1356, Paris).

117 For additional remarks on this comment by Eluard, see Legge, *Max Ernst: The Psychoanalytic Sources*, p. 110.

118 Max Ernst and Sophie Taeuber postcard to Tristan Tzara, March 29, 1922 (B.L.J.D., TZR.C.1439, Paris). Some of the message is lost/illegible in the scene on the front of the card.

119 Derenthal, "Max Ernst: Trois Tableaux d'amitié," *Les Cahiers du Musée National d'Art Moderne*, Paris, spring 1990, pp. 79–87.

120 Derenthal also proposes war references in a cannon painted over in the area where the cow is located and in the open shrieking mouths, which reverse their confrontation over enemy lines during the war. Hopkins ("Hermeticism, Catholicism and Gender as Structure," pp. 203–4) sees these fused back-to-back birds as the common alchemical symbol of the double-headed eagles and discusses it in the context of several paintings, especially *Castor and Pollution* (Pl. 142). Legge does not discuss this painting, but identifies the double-headed bird in *Man Will Never Understand It* (Pl. 127) as the "bird of alchemy, a symbol of the hermaphrodite offspring of the sexual union of opposites" (*Max Ernst: The Psychoanalytic Sources*, p. 91). An engraving of a trick photograph in *La Nature* (no. 740, August 6, 1887, p. 152; published by Spies, *Max Ernst: Collagen*, 1974, Fig. 580) suggests a source for Ernst's fused double portrait of himself and Eluard (Fig. 92). For future reference, note that Ernst's position is on the left.

121 The book was apparently printed by the same unnamed house in Innsbruck that printed *Répétitions*, but Librairie Six appears on the book and was responsible for its distribution.

122 Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 109.

123 Gateau, *Paul Eluard et la peinture surréaliste*, pp. 69–70.

124 *Ibid.*, p. 68.

125 Renée Riese Hubert, *Surrealism and the Book*, Berkeley, California, 1988, p. 61.

126 Nicole Boulestreau, *La Poésie de Paul Eluard*, 1985, pp. 244–51.

127 Derenthal, "La Révélation Surréaliste," p. 66. Pech quotes a letter by Ernst in Franz Roh's article "Max Ernst und die Stückergraphik" (*Das Kunstblatt*, November 1927, p. 400) describing this principle of collage (*Max Ernst – Paul Eluard 1921–1924*, pp. 282–83).

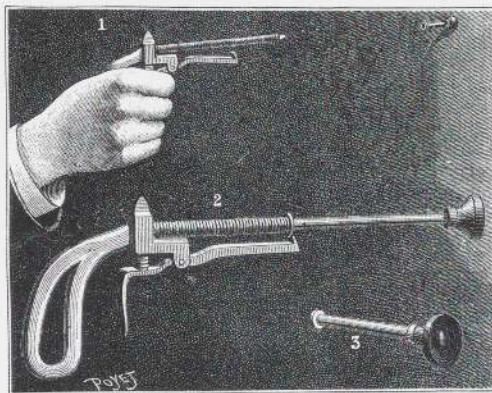
128 Eliane Formentelli, "Max Ernst – Paul Eluard ou l'impatience du désir," *Revue des Sciences Humaines*, no. 164, October–December 1976, pp. 487–88.

129 This source was published by Spies, *Max Ernst: Collagen*, 1974, Fig. 573. ▽

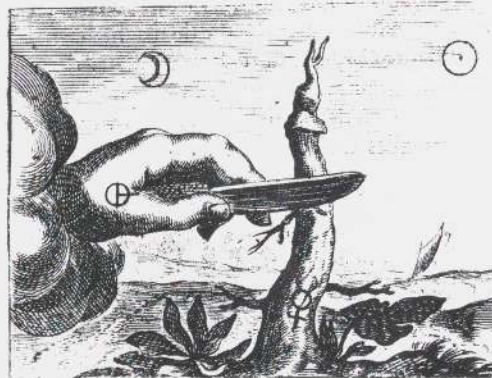
130 For Spies's comments on *The Scissors and Their Father*, see *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 110. The only connection he acknowledges between captions and images occurs with *Between the Two Poles of Politeness* (*ibid.*).

131 Boulestreau, *La Poésie de Paul Eluard*, pp. 282–87.

132 Pneumatic pistol, *La Nature*, July 26, 1890, p. 128



133 Goossen van Vreeswijk: Grafting the spirit on chosen matter from *Cabinet of Minerals or the Golden Sun of Philosophers*, 1675



134 Schrott, *Dada 21/22*, p. 125, and Boulestreau, *La Poésie de Paul Eluard*, pp. 268–72. The emblem Boulestreau compares to *My Little Mont Blanc* is that of *Occasion* (p. 270) from Corrozet (*Hécatomgraphie*, Paris, 1450), which depicts a shipwrecked person looking toward the back of a female nude in a boat with wind in its sail and the motto "Seize the occasion."

135 Arthur Good, "Jouets Scientifiques," *La Nature*, no. 895, July 26, 1890, p. 128. This visual source was published by Spies, *Max Ernst: Collagen*, 1974, Fig. 575.

136 Boulestreau (*La Poésie de Paul Eluard*, p. 272) observes that all references to matter which is tufted or vegetable (black grass) refer to the female sex, while the bald-headed one is the virile member.

137 This visual source was published by Spies, *Max Ernst: Collagen*, 1974, Fig. 576. ▷

138 Boulestreau, *La Poésie de Paul Eluard*, pp. 263–68; Formentelli, "Max Ernst – Paul Eluard ou l'impatience du désir," pp. 489–96.

139 Legge, *Max Ernst: The Psychoanalytic Sources*, pp. 107–8. For Freud's account of the Gradiva story, see *Delusion and Dream*, vol. 9, p. 67.

140 Legge, *Max Ernst*, p. 173. Schrott (*Dada 21/22*, p. 141) also notes the contemporary expedi-

landscapes in a "black manner" ("Max Ernst, Peintre des illusions," in *Aragon. Ecrits de l'art moderne*, pp. 14–15).

141 Schrott, *Dada 21/22*, p. 141.

142 *Ibid.*

143 For the smokestack, see *La Nature*, no. 594, October 18, 1884, p. 320. No specific source has been found for the other form, which seems to be a composite that includes use of larva such as those illustrated in no. 484, September 9, 1882, p. 236. In one of his accounts of the discovery of the teaching aids catalogue, Ernst refers to Thunderstone in terms evocative of this painting and the collage (Fig. 79): "At Thunderstone the lovely centrifugal drum hums unconsciously in soulless space" (*Max Ernst*, exhibition catalogue, Tate Gallery, London, 1991, p. 290).

144 Matthew Josephson, *Life Among the Surrealists*, New York, 1962, pp. 163, 171–86.

145 Matthew Josephson, letter to Tristan Tzara, June 16, 1922 (Tzara Archive, B.L.J.D., Paris; cited in Schrott, *Dada 21/22*, p. 148). Josephson encountered three other Americans at the Gasthof Post – Virgil Thompson, William Slater Brown, and George Sakier. Malcolm Cowley and his wife came later in the summer.

146 The children, Cécile and Jimmy, are exceptions in the photographs. They seem to show the pain, and decades later, in his autobiography, Jimmy Ernst recorded lasting memories of that time (*A Not-So-Still Life*, New York, 1984, p. 11–12).

147 Matthew Josephson, *Life Among the Surrealists*, p. 179.

148 Luise Straus-Ernst, "Nomadengut," pp. 66–67; extract in *Max Ernst in Köln*, p. 299.

149 Josephson, *Life Among the Surrealists*, p. 179.

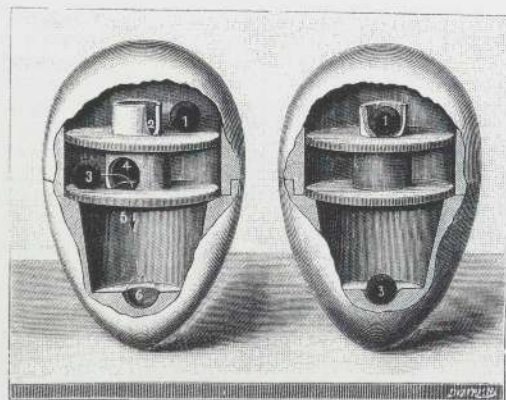
150 According to Jimmy Ernst (*A Not-So-Still Life*, p. 12), Lou was pregnant when Max left her, and she went to Innsbruck for an abortion before returning to Cologne. Lou was not received with sympathy by her family, and for several years she struggled to make a living through odd jobs while establishing herself as a free-lance writer and art critic. Max returned to Cologne occasionally and, beginning in 1930, Jimmy visited his father once or twice a year in Paris. Max and Lou were divorced in 1926. Lou was also active in politics, and after the Nazis searched her apartment in 1933, she moved to Paris, leaving Jimmy to be raised by the grandparents, particularly by her family. Jimmy continued to visit Max and Lou in Paris until Lou's family secured passage for him to New York in 1938 before the War began. He established himself there as an artist. In 1941 Max managed to escape and joined Jimmy in New York; Lou was interned and sent to Auschwitz in 1944. She did not survive. For more details on the life of Lou and Jimmy, see Susanne Liesenfeld, "Luise Straus-Ernst – Erste Skizzen zu einer Biographie," *Max Ernst in Köln*, pp. 287–91; Luise Straus-Ernst, "Nomadengut," excerpts in *Max Ernst in Köln*, pp. 295–302; and Jimmy Ernst, *A Not-So-Still Life*, pp. 20–42, 55–69, 265.



[137] Disappearing woman trick, *La Nature*, August 15, 1891, p. 176

tions to the South Pole by Amundsen. Ernst took this painting to Paris in August 1922 and gave it to Aragon, who was the first to write about these

[129] Game of equilibrium, *La Nature*, June 5, 1893, p. 16



Ernst and the *Littérature* Group during "le mouvement flou": Paris, 1922–1923

6

1 Ernst, *Écritures*, p. 46.

2 Theodor Fraenkel, letter to Tzara, August 13, 1922 (B.L.J.D., Paris, TZR.C.1653). In another letter to Tzara on September 10, Fraenkel reported meeting Ernst on the grand boulevards, "accompanied by Eluard and their wife." His comments also confirm Ernst's part in the *Three Musketeers* film and work in the factory producing souvenirs (B.L.J.D., Paris, TZR.C.1654). I am grateful to Dr. Michel Fraenkel for permission to quote these texts.

3 Benjamin Péret, letter to Tzara, August 28, 1922 (B.L.J.D., Paris, TZR.C.2926).

4 Robert Desnos (1900–45) and René Crevel (1900–35) became active participants in the *Littérature* group only in the fall of 1922. Around 1916–17 Desnos had begun to transcribe his dreams, draw, and write poetry. Benjamin Péret introduced him to the Dadaists in 1921, but only sporadic contact occurred until his military service in North Africa concluded in 1922. Late in the war, Desnos had also met the poet Roger Vitrac, who became associated with young writers who founded the literary magazine *Aventure* in the fall of 1924 – René Crevel, Georges Limbour, Jacques Baron, Max Morise, and Marcel Arland. Some of them had already figured modestly in several activities of the Dadaists, and their role increased substantially from 1922 onwards. Limbour provided a link between the *Littérature* group and the young artists, André Masson and Joan Miró, who had neighboring studios at 25 rue Blomet.

5 Aragon, *Le Libertinage*, Paris, 1924, pp. 24–25.

6 This period of cordial relationships and collaboration is manifest in the Breton–Picabia correspondence of August 1922 to about May 1923, published by Sanouillet, *Dada à Paris*, pp. 521–29.

7 Aragon, "Projet d'histoire littéraire contemporaine," *Littérature*, nouvelle série, no. 4, September 1, 1922, pp. 3–6; Huelsenbeck, *En avant Dada*, pp. 19–22.

8 Desnos, "Les Livres," *Littérature*, no. 4, p. 23.

9 Breton, "Clairement," *Littérature*, no. 4, pp. 1–2.

10 Picabia announced in an interview in August that he, Aragon, and Breton were planning a magazine entitled *La Vie* (Jack Pencil, "Vacances des Artistes," *Le Figaro*, August 20, 1922). Picabia was a relentless critic of the aging, increasingly conservative Salon d'Automne and Salon des Indépendants. References to founding a new Salon appear in Breton's letter to Picabia on December 20, 1922 (B.L.J.D., Paris; Sanouillet, *Dada à Paris*, p. 526) and Duchamp's letter to Picabia on January 20, 1923 (B.L.J.D., Dossier Picabia, IX, p. 58, Paris).

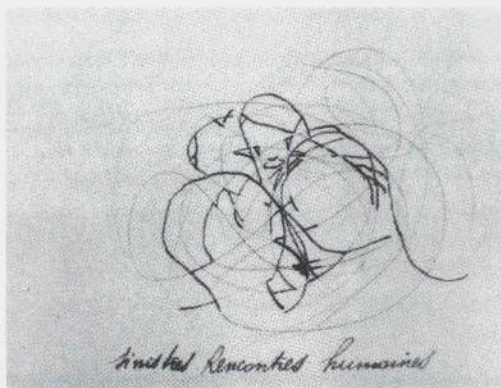
11 For the publication of dreams by Desnos and Breton, see *Littérature*, no. 5, October 1, 1922, p. 16, and no. 7, December 1, 1922, p. 23. For Breton's discussion of the liberation of words and word play, see his essay "Let Mots sans rides," *Littérature*, no. 7, December 1, 1922, pp. 12–14.

12 Breton, "Entrée des Médiams," *Littérature*, no. 6, November 1, 1922; quotation from p. 3.

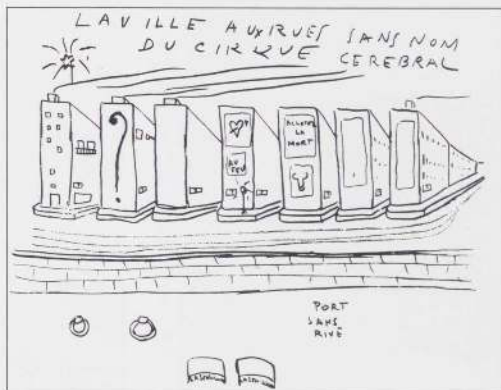
13 Transcriptions from Desnos's sleeps on September 27 and September 28, 1922, in Breton, *ibid.*, pp. 5 and 10.

14 Desnos, "Rose Sélavy," *Littérature*, no. 7, December 1, 1922, pp. 14–22.

15 Robert Desnos: *Automatic Drawing*, September 1922. Pencil on paper. Private collection



16 Robert Desnos: *La Ville aux rues sans nom du cirque cérébral*, 1922. Whereabouts unknown



17 During Breton's absence for a couple of weeks in November, Eluard wrote that Georges Limbour had also induced a sleep or trance, but there are no subsequent references to Limbour's sleeps (Eluard letter to Breton, November 14, 1922; quoted in Sanouillet, *Dada à Paris*, p. 376).

18 Dawn Ades, "Between Dada and Surrealism: Painting in the 'Mouvement flou'," *In the Mind's Eye: Dada and Surrealism*, exhibition catalogue, Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago, 1984, p. 34.

19 Breton letter to Man Ray, October 2, 1922; cited in *André Breton*, exhibition catalogue, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, 1991, p. 110.

20 Breton, "Entrée des Médiams," *Littérature*, no. 6, pp. 2–3. Breton affirms in this article his obedience to "magical dictation" while writing *Les Champs magnétiques*, but it is known that he determined the sequence of sections in the text and did some modest editing.

21 Matthew Josephson, *Life Among the Surrealists*, New York, 1962, pp. 218–19.

22 Breton, *Entretiens 1913–1952*, Paris, 1952, p. 90.

23 Breton, "Entrée des Médiams," *Littérature*, no. 6, p. 1.

24 Breton, "Let Mots sans rides," *Littérature*, no. 7, pp. 12–14.

25 Two drawings by Ernst were reproduced in *Littérature*, no. 7, pp. 8 and 9 (Spies/Metken, *Oeuvre-Katalog*, nos. 506, 507) and two in no. 8, January 1, 1923, p. 9 and facing p. 16 (Spies/Metken, *Oeuvre-Katalog*, nos. 508, 509).

26 Picabia, "Billets de faveur," *Littérature*, no. 5, October 1, 1922, p. 11. The 1922 Salon d'Automne was open from November 1 to December 17.

27 For more on these paintings, see Camfield, *Francis Picabia*, pp. 193–95.

28 Several of these unpublished drawings exist in the Dossier Picabia, IX, B.L.J.D., Paris. All date from December 1922. Hermann Rorschach (1884–1922) is commonly associated with this type of ink blot, but Picabia is likely to have drawn on another source. Rorschach's famous study, *Psychodiagnostik: Methodik und Ergebnisse eines wahrnehmungsdiagnostischen Experiments (Deutenlassen von Zufallsformen)*, was not pub-

lished until June 1921 in Bern. For Rorschach, see Henri Ellenberger, "The Life and Work of Hermann Rorschach," *Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic*, vol. 18, no. 5, September 1954, pp. 171–222. A number of psychologists had worked with such ink blots earlier in the century. Ink blot drawings were, in fact, so common that as early as 1913 the popular French magazine *Je sais tout* advertised a book on how to make them ("Grand Concours des taches d'encre," *Je sais tout*, December 15, 1913, p. 835). Likewise, the widespread popularity of "automatic drawing" and drawing liberated by the theories of Freud and Jung is demonstrated in an unsigned article, "Automatic Drawing as a First Aid to the Artist," in the popular American magazine *Current Opinion*, vol. 61, no. 4, October 1916, p. 267. Picabia was familiar with both of these magazines.

29 Man Ray discovered the rayograph process by accident in 1921 (Man Ray, *Self Portrait*, New York, 1963, pp. 128–29). Twelve rayographs were published in Paris in December 1922 under the title *Champs Délicieux* with texts by Man Ray and Tzara.

30 Salon des Indépendants, Paris, February 10–March 11, 1923. A contemporary review cited four paintings by Ernst, all belonging to Mme. Gala Eluard: *Au rendez-vous des amis*, *Intérieur de la vue*, *Celebes*, and *Oedipus Rex* (Jacques Emile Blanche, "Les Beaux Arts: Le Salon des Indépendants," *La Revue Européenne*, no. 2, April 1923, pp. 112–21). *Au rendez-vous des amis* was reproduced in *Paris-Journal*, April 13, 1923, p. 3.

31 Max Ernst: *Das Rendezvous der Freunde*, Museum Ludwig, Cologne, June 22–September 8, 1991. An excellent survey of the literature is presented by Evelyn Weiss ("Das Rendezvous der Freunde in der Literatur: Kritik und Rezeption. Eine Einleitung," pp. 11–19).

32 For the visual sources of these portraits and biographical comments on each individual, see Jürgen Pech and Ludgar Derenthal, "Biographien," in *Max Ernst: Das Rendezvous der Freunde*, pp. 137–79.

33 For Ernst's comments, see Spies, *The Return of La Belle Jardinière*, (pp. 53 and 134, no. 30) and Ernst, *Écritures*, p. 11. Ernst had studied the Psychology of Speech at the University and had probably seen Wilhelm Wundt's study of the origin of language in gestural systems (Evan Maurer, "In Quest of the Myth: An Investigation of the Relationship between Surrealism and Primitivism," Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1974, p. 191). Four exceptions to the absence of specific signs merit attention. Spies claims (*The Return of La Belle Jardinière*, p. 53) that Ernst has twisted his fingers to form an X. Legge has published a North American Indian sign meaning "chief," which is similar to Breton's gesture (*Max Ernst: The Psychoanalytic Sources*, p. 148). Béatrix Blavier found a diagram of a deaf and mute alphabet in an 1833 issue of *Le Magazin Pittoresque*, in which the sign for E matches the gesture made by Eluard ("Max Ernst: Murals for the Home of Paul and Gala Eluard, Eaubonne, 1923," M.A. thesis, Rice University, Houston, Texas, May 1985,



[34] Philipp Ernst: *Disputa* (copy after Raphael), 1924–32. Oil on canvas, 58 x 79 3/4 in. Private collection, Cologne

p. 159, fig. 146). Although these examples are plausible visually, they do not account for any of the gestures in the painting. In the library of the school for the deaf and dumb in Brühl, Pech found a textbook with an illustration of a group of students making signs, who, like the friends in Ernst's portrait group, are numbered and presided over by a celestial phenomenon (*Max Ernst: Das Rendezvous der Freunde*, p. 15). David Hopkins has recently proposed another source in Masonic hand signals ("Hermetic and philosophical themes in Max Ernst's 'Vox Angelica' and related works," *Burlington Magazine*, V. 134, no. 1076, November 1992, 716–17).

34 Ernst acknowledged reference to Raphael in *At the Rendezvous of the Friends* in an interview with *Der Spiegel* ("Die Frommen riefen dreimal Pfui: *Der Spiegel*, Gespräch mit dem Maler Max Ernst," 24, February 23, 1970, p. 156). In a letter to Spies, Ernst credited his father's copy of Raphael's *Disputa* as an example of consequence for his use of collage: "I saw a first example of 'collage' in my father's work. . . . When I was still in my teens, he made a copy of Raphael's 'Disputa' . . . For the heads of the people who in the 'Disputa' represent the enemies of the Church, he substituted the heads of people he considered his personal enemies and enemies of the Church; and, vice versa, he depicted his own friends among the figures who were destined for eternal bliss. . . . I am by no means so sure whether I would have invented the 'collage technique' . . . had I not had my father's good example in mind" (Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 49).

35 Gerd Bauer, "Max Ernsts Gemälde 'Au Rendez-vous des amis,'" *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, 45, 1984, p. 248.

36 M. E. Warlick, "Max Ernst and Alchemy," unpublished manuscript, chapter 4, pp. 9–11.

37 Anonymous, German School: *The Children of Mercury*, 1445. Engraving. Gesamthochschule-Bibliothek, Kassel

38 Legge, *Max Ernst*, pp. 145–69.

39 Ernst, *Écritures*, p. 11.

40 Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres: *The Apotheosis of Homer*, 1827. Oil on canvas, 152 x 203 in. Louvre, Paris

41 Group of Catatonic Patients in Emil Kraepelin's *Dementia Praecox*, 1919

42 Legge notes that Kraepelin reproduced madhouse scenes by Hogarth and Wilhelm von Kaulbach which may also be relevant for Ernst's concepts in *At the Rendezvous of the Friends* (*Max Ernst*, p. 165).

43 Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 32.

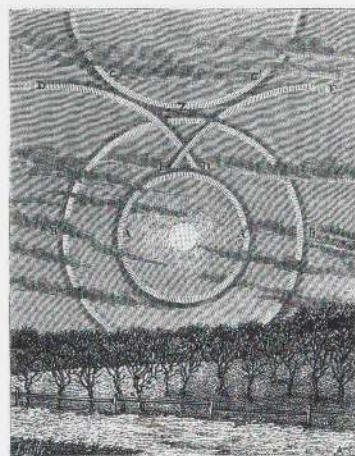
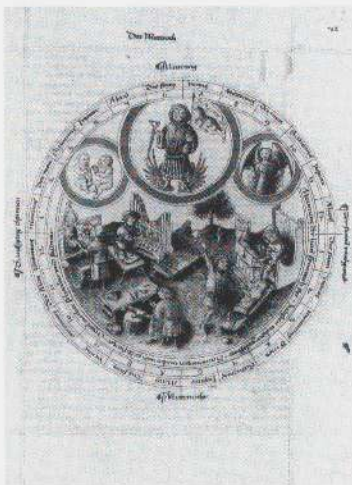
44 Hans Prinzhorn, *Artistry of the Mentally Ill*, trans. by Eric von Brockdorff, New York, 1972, p. 77; original publication 1922.

45 *Ibid.*, p. 273.

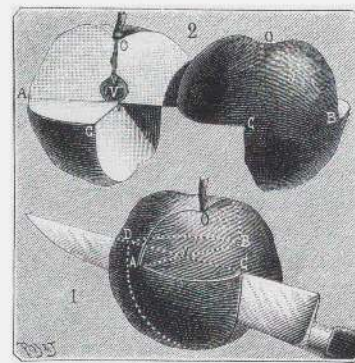
46 Legge, *Max Ernst*, p. 165.

47 *Ibid.*, p. 169.

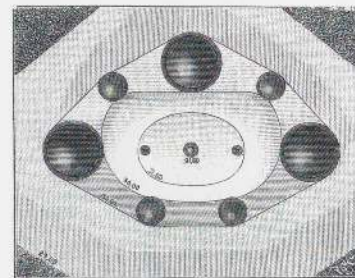
48 For the solar halo (observed near Neuchâtel, Switzerland, on March 28, 1892), see *La Nature*, no. 986, April 25, 1892, p. 336. A source for Ernst seated on Dostoyevsky's knee appears in no. 976, February 13, 1892, p. 173. These images were published by Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, 1974, Figs. 580 and 620. The trick cutting of the apple was illustrated in no. 799, September 22, 1888, p. 272, and the plan of an underground fort appears in no. 798, September 15, 1888, p. 248. These sources were published by Stokes, "The Scientific Methods of Max Ernst: His Use of Scientific Subjects from *La Nature*," *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 62, no. 3, September 1980, pp. 453–65.



[48] Solar Halo near Neuchâtel, Switzerland, *La Nature*, April 25, 1892, p. 336



[48] Apple Cut in Two Right-Angled Parts, *La Nature*, September 22, 1888, p. 272



[48] Plan of an Underground Fortress, *La Nature*, September 15, 1888, p. 248

49 Bauer, "Max Ernsts Gemälde," p. 235.

50 *Ibid.*, p. 236.

51 Warlick, "Max Ernst and Alchemy," (chapter 4, pp. 9–10) observes that organ players and bellows operators were chosen during the Middle Ages to represent Mercury's patronage of music. By the 16th–17th centuries, the organs in these prints "contributed to the later alchemical transformations of the theme because medieval organs were powered by bellows just like the alchemists' furnaces." For Freud, see *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*, p. 156.

52 Legge, *Max Ernst*, p. 159.

53 Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 76.

54 Schrott, *Dada 21/22*, p. 73.

55 Gateau, *Paul Eluard et la peinture surréaliste*, p. 75; Bauer, "Max Ernsts Gemälde," p. 245.

56 Stokes, "The Scientific Methods of Max Ernst," p. 456.

57 Bauer, "Max Ernsts Gemälde," p. 249.

58 Derenthal, "La Révélation Surréaliste," p. 81. The open hands of Baargeld and Desnos are

marked with the basic lines involved in palmistry, and they merit attention on that count. Baargeld's hand includes a head line, a short heart line, a long life line, and a long, uninterrupted fate line, as well as a less common sun line (or Apollo line), which implies talent and the likelihood of success. The configuration of these lines is deliberate enough to indicate a knowledge of palmistry, but not precise enough to invite interpretation. I suspect these hands are intended to suggest yet another esoteric dimension of meaning without necessarily embodying specific symbolism.

59 André Masson wrote to Roland Tual on November 21, 1922, that Limbour had come by after a gathering at the Eluards', where "Max Ernst is working on a painting: the children of Dada around a photographic Dostoyevsky" (André Masson, *Les années surréalistes: Correspondance 1916–1942*, ed. Françoise Levaillant, Paris, 1990, p. 28).

60 Ernst, "Visions de demi-sommeil," *La Révolution Surréaliste*, October 1, 1927, p. 7. For Freud's comments on whips as a reference to masturbation, see the "Bismark Dream" in *The Interpretation of Dreams*, pp. 412–16. For references to containers as symbolical representations of the female genitals, see *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*, p. 156. See also Legge, *Max Ernst*, pp. 5–9.

61 Aragon, "Max Ernst, Peintre des illusions," published in Aragon, *Écrits sur l'art moderne*, pp. 14–15.

62 For Breton's account of Jacques Doucet and Ernst's *Interior of the Sight*, see François Chapon, *Mystère et splendeurs de Jacques Doucet*, Paris, 1984, p. 282. Ernst agreed to sell this painting to Doucet for 500 francs, but Doucet decided the painting would be better with two vases instead of five. Ernst, still working in the souvenir factory and penniless, accepted the suggestion and brought in a painting with fewer vases—for which Doucet offered 300 francs!

63 Picabia exhibited three works, among them a 6 x 8 ft. abstract painting entitled *Volucelle*. See Camfield, *Francis Picabia*, exhibition catalogue, Centre Georges Pompidou (Grand Palais), Paris, January 23–March 29, 1976, pp. 114–17.

64 Eluard's letter to Tzara, February 10, 1923 (B.L.J.D., Paris, TZR.C.1361), contained statements by Aragon, Breton, Limbour, Ernst, and Péret declining to have anything more to do with Tzara. References to a project—presumably a new Salon—occur in letters from Duchamp to Picabia on February 9, 1923 (B.L.J.D., Paris, Dossiers Picabia), and from Breton to Picabia on December 20, 1922 (B.L.J.D., Paris; published in Sanouillet, *Dada à Paris*, p. 526). Breton wrote Picabia on February 9, 1923 (B.L.J.D., Paris; published in Sanouillet, p. 527), that the promenade at the Salon was not a success and that Péret and Ernst are "as discouraged as I am."

65 Breton wrote Picabia on March 13, 1923 (B.L.J.D., Paris; published in Sanouillet, *Dada à Paris*, p. 527): "I am sad not to see you enough any longer and to think that you perhaps have enough of me. . . ." Drawings of Spanish subjects and entertainers dominated the Exposition chez Danthon, Paris, *Francis Picabia*, May 1923. Breton denied to Picabia that he was put off by it, but Picabia knew better (see Picabia's statement in "L'Exposition Francis Picabia," unidentified newspaper, B.L.J.D., Dossier Picabia X, p. 105).

66 For Breton's argument with Desnos, see Derenthal, "Max Ernst: Trois Tableaux d'amitié," p. 100. Breton's letter to Simone on March 7, 1923, includes a reference to the "imbecilities" and "horrors" of *La Revue Européenne* (Sator Archive, Paris).

67 Roger Vitrac, "André Breton n'écrira plus," *Le Journal du peuple*, April 7, 1923, p. 3. Tzara took advantage of his interview with Vitrac a week later to counter Breton's view of Dada ("Tristan Tzara va cultiver ses vices," *Le Journal du peuple*, April 14, 1923).

68 For a substantial account of this event, see Sanouillet, *Dada à Paris*, pp. 381–87.

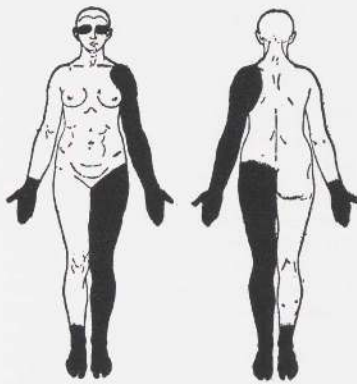
69 Marc Dachy, *The Dada Movement 1915–1923*, New York, 1990, pp. 154–57.

70 Aragon, "Max Ernst, Peintre des illusions," in Aragon, *Écrits sur l'art moderne*, pp. 12–16; quotes here from pp. 14–15.

71 Jennifer Ann Gibson, "Surrealism's Early Maps of the Unconscious," p. 243; for her extended comments, see p. 239–44.

72 Soupault, review of *Les Malheurs des immortels* in *La Revue Européenne*, no. 1, March 1, 1923, pp. 777–78. For Ernst's comment to Spies, see Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 117.

73 Legge, *Max Ernst*, pp. 105–21.



[73] Schema of Forms of Localized Hysterical Anesthesia from Pierre Janet, *Major Symptoms of Hysteria*, 1907

74 *Ibid.*, p. 121.

75 *Ibid.*, p. 120. For references to Freud's "Dora Case," see "Three Essays on Sexuality" in his *Complete Psychological Works*, vol. 7, p. 184.

76 For the Gemini as a constellation, see Kelvin McKreedy, *A Beginner's Star-Book*, p. 125. For comments on the Gemini in twin symbolism, see Otto Rank, *The Myth of the Birth of the Hero* (ed., Philip Freund), New York, 1959, pp. 44–48, and J. E. Cirlot, *A Dictionary of Symbols*, New York, 1962, pp. 110–12. Ernst may have known Rank's book. For references to Ernst and the Gemini or Dioscuri, see Legge, *Max Ernst*, pp. 121, 125–26.

77 The device for ventilating mines is reproduced in *La Nature*, no. 674, May 1, 1886, p. 348, a few pages removed from an article by A. de Rochas on "L'Or alchimique," pp. 339–43. The submarine is reproduced in no. 675, May 8, 1886, p. 353. These sources were published by Derenthal in "La Révélation Surréaliste," 1987, p. 202.

78 For these three views, see Warlick, "Max Ernst and Alchemy," chapter 4, p. 12; Hopkins, "Hermeticism, Catholicism and Gender as Structure," p. 205; and Legge, *Max Ernst*, pp. 121, 125.

79 Legge, *Max Ernst*, pp. 121, 125.

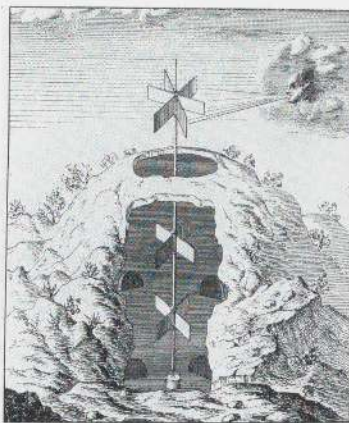
80 Hopkins, "Hermeticism, Catholicism and Gender as Structure," p. 204, and Derenthal, "Max Ernst: Trois Tableaux d'amitié," p. 106. Derenthal's extended argument (pp. 101–7) includes discussions of Desnos's poem "Le fard des Argonautes" (1919), which attributes to Castor and Pollux a platonic homosexual love.

81 André Breton, letter to Simone Breton, March 7, 1923 (Sator Archive, Paris): "Ernst achève, paraît-il, un tableau obscène de grosses dimensions dont Eluard dit merveille; selon la coutume."

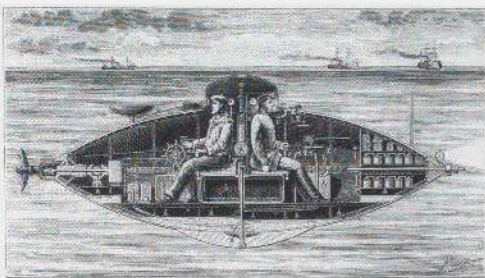
82 Lunar Eclipse from Amedée Guillemin, *The Heavens*, London, 1872, p. 149

83 Maurer, "In Quest of the Myth," p. 279. The French text reads:

LES HOMMES N'EN SAURONT RIEN
Le croissant (jaune et parachute) empêche que
le petit sifflet tombe par terre.
Celui-ci, parce qu'on s'occupe de lui, s'imagine
monter au soleil. Le soleil est divisé en deux
pour mieux tourner.



[77] A Windmill for Ventilating Mines, *La Nature*, Paris, May 1, 1886, p. 348



[77] Submarine, *La Nature*, May 8, 1886, p. 353

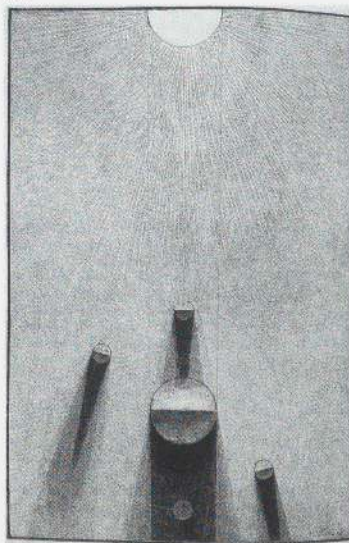
La modèle est étendue dans une pose de rêve.
La jambe droite est repliée (mouvement
agréable et exact).

La main cache la terre. Par ce mouvement, la
terre prend l'importance d'un sexe.
La lune parcourt à toute vitesse ses phases et
éclipses.

Le tableau est curieux par sa symétrie. Les deux
sexes s'y font équilibre.
à André Breton / très amicalement / max ernst

84 Pursuant to her ground-breaking study *The Fourth Dimension and Non-Euclidean Geometry in Modern Art* (Princeton, 1983), Linda Dalrymple Henderson has expanded her search into the history of the physical and occult sciences in the late 19th and early 20th centuries with remarkable results. Particularly significant for modern alchemists was Rutherford's discovery that radioactive substances actually changed chemical composition. Rutherford's assistant, the chemist Frederick Soddy, did not hesitate to associate radioactivity with alchemy in articles, lectures, and a book, *The Interpretation of Radium* (1909). See

[82]



Henderson, "X Rays and the Quest for the Invisible Reality in the Art of Kupka, Duchamp, and the Cubists," *Art Journal*, vol. 47, no. 4, Winter 1988, pp. 232–40; p. 327 for Soddy. In a book due to be published by Princeton University Press in 1994 ("Duchamp in Context: Science and Technology in 'The Large Glass' and Related Early Work"), Henderson will outline the historical context heretofore missing for knowledge of alchemy among French artists and writers in the early twentieth century, including two individuals of consequence for the *Littérature* group, Apollinaire and Duchamp.

85 Hermes Trismegistus, Nicolas Flamel, and Cornelius Agrippa have already been mentioned. Lully (Ramond Lull or Ramón Llull) was born in Palma de Mallorca ca. 1235 and died in 1315. He became a Franciscan and studied philosophy, theology, and Arabic in order to accomplish his mission of converting Muslims to Christianity. Later in his career, he became an alchemist.



[94] Ernest Eugene Hiolke: *Arion*. Engraving. Reproduced in Earl Shinn, *The Chefs – D'Oeuvre D'Art of the International Exhibition*, Philadelphia, 1878, p. [106a]

86 Legge observes that *The Manifesto of Surrealism* (1924) "resonates with alchemical phrases," including the title of the second part ("Secrets of the Magical Surrealist Art") and Breton's image of the poet as "soluble fish" (*Max Ernst: The Psychoanalytic Sources*, p. 87).

87 *Ibid.*, pp. 86–87, 90.

88 Warlick, "Max Ernst and Alchemy," chapter 4, p. 13.

89 Fred Gettings, *The Hidden Art: A Study of Occult Symbolism in Art*, London, 1978, p. 157.

90 *Ibid.*, p. 159.

91 Legge, *Max Ernst*, pp. 90–91.

92 *Ibid.*, p. 100; Legge misreads the eclipse as a lunar eclipse.

93 Geoffrey Hinton, "Max Ernst: 'Les Hommes n'en Sauront Rien,'" *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 117, no. 866, May 1975, pp. 292–97, 299. For the "Schreber Case," see Freud, *Complete Psychological Works*, vol. 12, pp. 9–82. Legge also considers this case as discussed by Freud's pupil Karl Abraham (*Max Ernst*, pp. 98–99).

94 Charlotte Stokes published these sources in "The Statue's Toe – The Nineteenth-Century Academic Nude as Eros in the Work of Max Ernst" (*Pantheon*, 67, 1989, p. 168). Stokes proposes that Ernst actually cut these figures out of a book by Earl Shinn (*The Chefs-d'Oeuvre d'Art of the International Exhibition*, Philadelphia, 1878, opp. p. 106) and "worked out their relationship as if he were going to make a collage." My investigation of Ernst's process with *The Teetering Woman* (Pl. 143) supports Stokes' idea.

95 This painting of "Gala, Max, and Paul" is not in the Spies/Metken *Oeuvre-Katalog*, but was published by Derenthal in "Max Ernst: Trois Tableaux d'amitié," p. 86.

96 The title *Le couple* is barely visible at the lower right of the blue figure's left foot. *Long Live Love or Charming Countryside* is signed and dated "max ernst 23" in the lower left and inscribed in the lower center "Es lebe die Liebe/od/Pays charmant."

97 Carlo Sala, *Max Ernst et la démarche onirique*, Paris, 1970, p. 32.

98 Blavier, "Max Ernst: Murals," p. 151; and Xavière Gautier, *Surréalisme et sexualité*, Paris, 1971, pp. 90–91.



[94] Etienne Frédéric Leroux: *Somnolence*. Engraving. Reproduced in Earl Shinn, *The Chefs – D'Oeuvre D'Art of the International Exhibition*, Philadelphia, 1878, p. [106a]

99 Salvador Dalí, "The object as revealed in surrealist experiment," *This Quarter*, Surrealist Number, September 1932, p. 197.

100 Breton, *Entretiens*, p. 155.

101 Dawn Ades writes, "The son is clearly Ernst himself" ("Between Dada and Surrealism: Painting in the 'Mouvement flou,'" in *In the Mind's Eye*, p. 39).

102 Leppien, "Ein Besuch bei Goltz und die Folgen," *Max Ernst in Köln*, p. 130.

103 Gee, "Max Ernst, God, and 'The Revolution by Night,'" *Arts Magazine*, March 1981, p. 89.

104 Gee writes that this painting "shows Max Ernst in the lascivious embrace of his father, and its main sources are two childhood experiences," namely Philipp's painting of Ernst as the Christ Child and Ernst's "daydream" about the "strange fellow" with "the moustaches of my father," who took a large, soft crayon out of his pocket and began to create forms on the mahogany panel. Gee views the last experience as a memory of the "primal scene," that is, observing parental sexual intercourse. Instead of resenting the father's sexual activity, Ernst has submitted to it, has taken the place of the mother. Gee observes that Freud had realized early on that the "normal" Oedipal pattern could be inverted. He argues that this has happened here, and he attributes it to Ernst's erudition in Freudian theory, including his specific knowledge of the "Wolf Man" case, which "must be taken as a source for the painting" (p. 89). The

patient in the "Wolf Man" case suffered from repressed homosexual tendencies, which included a sexual desire for the father instead of the mother. Suppression of that desire was later replaced by a religious neurosis, in which the child identified himself as Christ, who could love his Father without restraint. *Ibid.*, pp. 87–90; quotes from pp. 88–89. Hopkins has proposed the bisexuality of Ernst as an element in other paintings, including *At the Rendezvous of the Friends* (Pl. 133) ("Hermetic and philosophical themes in Max Ernst's 'Vox Angelica' and related works," *Burlington Magazine*, November 1992, p. 716).

105 Legge, *Max Ernst*, p. 59.

106 *Ibid.*, p. 65.

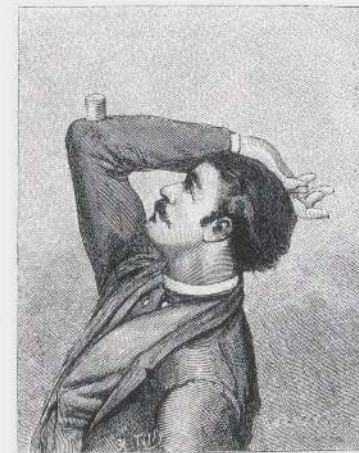
107 Breton, "Entrée des Médiums," *Littérature*, no. 6, November 1, 1922, p. 10 (séance of September 30, 1922). In a séance on September 27, Desnos was asked about Ernst, "What will he do?" and he responded, "He will play with the insane" (*ibid.*, p. 5).

108 Regarding the Prodigal Son motif, Legge recalls (*Max Ernst*, p. 65) Ernst's interest in Chirico's image of *The Prodigal Son* in 1919 and the convergence of this theme in his own life around the time he painted *Pietà or Revolution by Night*: "in 'Pietà,' Ernst as an adult returns to a childhood incident, at a time when he had, in a sense, just repeated it by breaking with his father and 'running away' to Paris. (As a father himself, he also left his own son Jimmy. . .)" *Ibid.* Legge remarks that "invisible spectators" occur in paranoia.

109 Gee, "Max Ernst, God, and 'The Revolution by Night,'" *Arts Magazine*, March 1981, p. 90.



[109] Bellows from *Bibliotheca Paedagogica*, 1914, p. 968



[109] Principle of Inertia, *La Nature*, June 25, 1887, p. 64

110 Ades, "Between Dada and Surrealism," *In the Mind's Eye*, p. 40.

111 Uwe M. Schneede, "Sightless Vision," in *Max Ernst*, exhibition catalogue, Tate Gallery, London, 1991, p. 351.

112 *Entartete Kunst*, Munich, July 19–November 30, 1937. This exhibition of over 600 confiscated art objects traveled to thirteen German cities through April 1941. See the contributions of Mario-Andreas von Lüttichau and Christoph Zu-

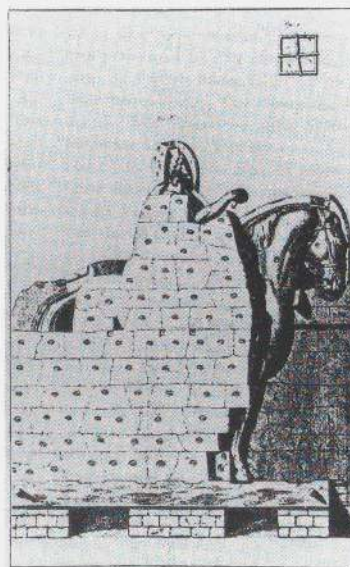
schlag in "Degenerate Art": *The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany*, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1991, ed. Stephanie Barron. See also the specific history of Ernst's painting as reconstructed by Günther and Sigrid Metken and reported by Spies in *The Return of La Belle Jardinière*, n. 71, pp. 135–36.

113 Max Ernst, "Die Frommen riefen dreimal Pfui," *Der Spiegel*, 24, February 23, 1970, p. 156; interview with Max Ernst.

114 Legge, *Max Ernst*, p. 140.

115 Maurer, "Dada and Surrealism," in "Primitivism" in *Twentieth Century Art*, exhibition catalogue, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1984, pp. 552–53. Illustrations of North American Indians by early European explorers also offer possible sources for this tattooed figure. See illustrations by Jacques le Moyne de Morgues in Stefan Lorant (ed.), *The New World, The First Pictures of America*, New York, 1964, p. 71.

116 Stefanie Poley, "Die Bildquellen zu 'Sainte Cécile' und 'Ubu Imperator' von Max Ernst," *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg*, vol. 10, 1973, p. 91.



[116] Casting process for Bouchardon's bronze equestrian statue of Louis XV

117 Derenthal, "La Révélation Surréaliste," p. 93. Derenthal's informative comments on pp. 92–96 include a reference for Saint Cecilia and discussion of repainted passages.



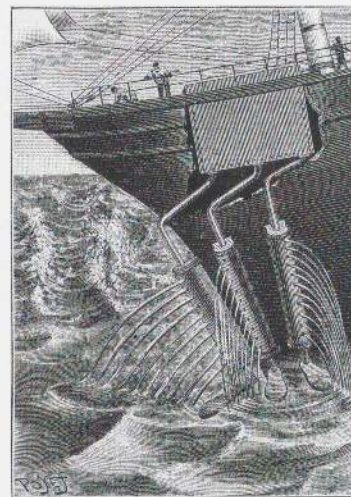
[117] Personification of Sacred Music on The Beethoven Monument, Münsterplatz, Bonn, from *Magasin pittoresque*, vol. XIV, 1846, p. 145

118 This painting was first exhibited with the title *La femme penchée* (*The Leaning Woman*) in the *Exposition Max Ernst*, Galerie van Leer, Paris, March 10–24, 1926, no. 2. It was reproduced with the title *La femme chancelante* (*The Teetering Woman or The Tottering Woman*) in the Max Ernst issue of *Cahiers d'Art*, 1937, p. 35.

119 The illustration of the woman walking on the ceiling appears in *La Nature*, no. 903, September 20, 1890, p. 256. The apparatus for spewing oil on the sea appears in no. 738, July 23, 1887, p. 120. Spies first reproduced these sources in *Max Ernst: Collagen*, Cologne, 1974, figs. 583, 584.



[119] The Walk on the Ceiling with Pneumatic Shoes, *La Nature*, September 20, 1890, p. 256

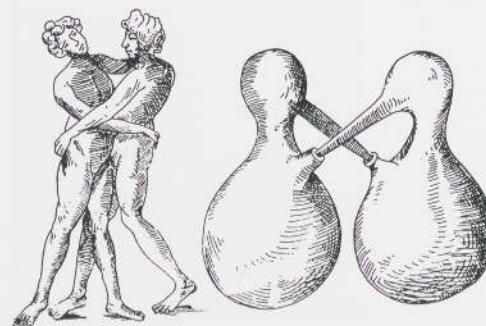


[119] Apparatus to Spew Oil on the Sea, *La Nature*, July 23, 1887, p. 120

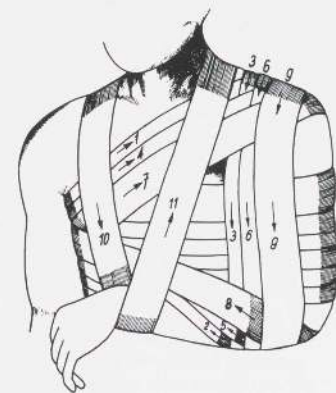
120 Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, p. 121, and Legge, *Max Ernst*, p. 120.

121 This source was published by Klemens Dieckhöfer, "Medizinische Aspekte im Oeuvre von Max Ernst," *Max Ernst in Köln*, p. 73.

122 Legge, *Max Ernst*, pp. 152–53.



[128] Shapes of Alchemical Vessels, 1912, from G. Phaneag, *Cinquante Merveilleux Secrets*, Paris, 1912, pp. 74–79



[121] Desault Bandage to Secure the Upper Arm in a Body/Arm Sling from *Orator*, V, Munich, 1962, p. 107

123 For an excellent, extended consideration of *Clair de terre*, see Bonnet, *André Breton*, pp. 284–306. As indicated on p. 299, the automatism of these texts was not "pure" insofar as they were subject to a second, conscious stage of composition.

124 Breton letter to Picabia, September 19, 1923; reprinted in Sanouillet, *Dada à Paris*, pp. 533–34.

125 See Chronology in *André Breton*, Centre Georges Pompidou, p. 114.

126 I am grateful to J. B. Meinen for sharing his discovery of this source for Fig. 108 in *Tom Tit: Naturkunde in de Huiskamer, 100 Nieuwe Proeven* (*Physics in the Living Room, 100 New Experiments*), Rotterdam, [date?], p. 207; trans. from the French by D. H. Cocheret. According to Meinen, sources for seven Ernst drawings appear in this book, all of them initially published in the French magazine *L'illustration* (fax to this author, December 3, 1992). Only one pair of hands (female and male) appear in the Poyet engraving. Ernst doubled the image. The bellows used in *The Portrait of Robert Denos* is reproduced on p. 968 of the teaching aids catalogue. The man is from an illustration of the principle of inertia in *La Nature*, no. 754, June 25, 1887, p. 64. This image was published by Spies, *Max Ernst: Collagen*, Fig. 594. This drawing of Desnos was probably based on a collage of these two sources.

127 Warlick, "Max Ernst and Alchemy," chapter 4, p. 19, and Legge, *Max Ernst*, pp. 152–53.

128 Warlick, "Max Ernst and Alchemy," chapter 4, p. 19.

129 Much of the following information regarding the project at *Eaubonne* is drawn from the outstanding thesis by Béatrix Blavier, "Max Ernst: Murals."

130 Cécile Eluard's memories of *Eaubonne* were stimulated in 1967 by work on two publications: an album assembled by Robert Valette entitled *Eluard Livre d'identité* (Paris, Tchou Editeur, 1967) and the two-volume *Eluard: Oeuvres complètes* (Paris, Gallimard, 1968).

131 Max Ernst: *Peintures pour Paul Eluard*, Galerie André-François Petit, Paris, May 20–July 10, 1969, text by Patrick Waldberg. Ernst was not informed of this project until the paintings had been removed and restored. He was first shown black and white photographs, and, subsequently, the dummy of the catalogue was submitted to him with the text, titles, and color reproductions. He was asked to sign the paintings which were to be exhibited. According to Petit, who handled these matters, Ernst was surprised to learn that the paintings still existed, but was otherwise rather detached about them and the planned exhibition. He neither objected to anything that had been done nor asked for a role in the text or titles. He was clear in regarding the paintings as Cécile's: "He had left them to Paul Eluard who had, himself, left them in the house at his departure. . . . Cécile had refound them, they belonged to Cécile. . ." (quoted in Blavier, "Max Ernst: Murals," p. 118).

132 In addition to interviews with Cécile Eluard, Robert Valette, and the gallery owner André-François Petit, Blavier interviewed subsequent residents of the house, the restorer Gérard Guyomard, and the photographer Etienne Hubert, securing in the process photographs, documents, and memories which otherwise would have been lost. Plans of the house drawn by Guilhem Ferry are also invaluable.

133 Blavier, "Max Ernst: Murals," p. 128. The source for the hand was a Poyet engraving in *La Nature*, no. 711, January 8, 1887, p. 96.



[133] Experiment in the Capillarity and Density of Liquids, *La Nature*, January 8, 1887, p. 96

134 Blavier, "Max Ernst: Murals," p. 157.

135 Ibid., p. 80.

136 Legge (*Max Ernst*, p. 120) refers to this figure as female. Derenthal identifies it as a young man (Derenthal and Pech, *Max Ernst*, p. 90). Blavier ("Max Ernst: Murals," pp. 154–56) refers to it as female but also raises the possibility of its being an androgynous figure, a disguised portrait of Eluard, and Ernst's version of *The Dream of the Poet* by Chirico.

137 Legge (*Max Ernst*, pp. 111 and 120) suggests that the colored bands on this figure may refer to hysterical symptoms (n. 73) and are therefore "representations of an erotic wish." Accordingly, the figure "may be interpreted as that of hysteria-as-muse, the source of new hallucinatory realities, a homage to sexual inspiration."

138 Michaelangelo: *The Risen Christ*, 1518–20. Marble, 80% in., height. Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome. △

139 Ibid., p. 121.

140 See Blavier, "Max Ernst: Murals," pp. 149–53 for this theme and other observations.

141 Inasmuch as the door stile was a structural part of the house, it was not removed initially. Instead, only the wings on the door panels were removed, restored, and installed as panels in a

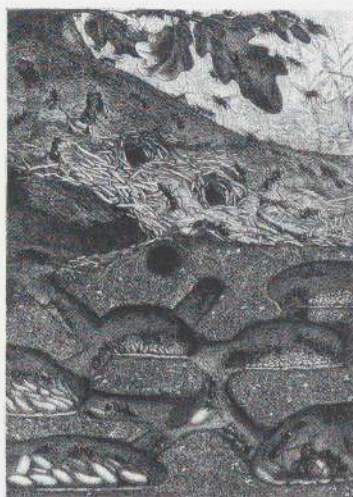


[138] Michaelangelo: *The Risen Christ*, 1518–20. Marble, 80% in., height. Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome

wall-cupboard. The stile with the body of the butterfly was kept by the restorer for several years and then sold separately. The butterfly was not exhibited at Petit's gallery and was not included in the Spies/Metken *Oeuvre-Katalog*. See Blavier, "Max Ernst: Murals," pp. 89–90.

142 Blavier, "Max Ernst: Murals," p. 91.

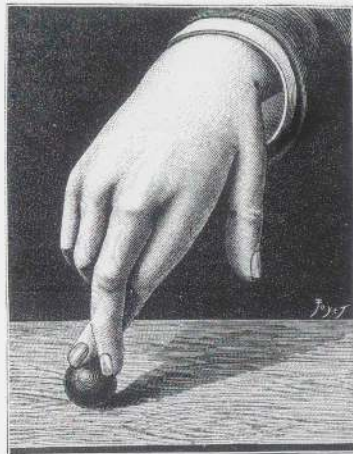
143 A thyrsus is a staff surmounted by a pine cone or by grape leaves bound together to resemble a pine cone. The exact function of the thyrsus is unknown, but it was an attribute of Dionysus and carried by maenads in orgiastic rites attributed in mythology to Dionysus and his followers. Freud's account of one of his own dreams included two references to artichokes. One was a childhood memory of a travel book with color reproductions, which his father gave to him to destroy. He remembered himself and his sister "blissfully pulling the book to pieces (leaf by leaf, like an artichoke. . .)." The second reference was an adult association of his wife's favorite flowers (cyclamens) with his own favorite food (artichokes): "It occurred to me that artichokes were Compositae, and indeed I might fairly have called them my 'favorite flowers'. . . my wife often brought me back these favorite flowers of mine from the market" (Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, pp. 204–06 and 316–17). Warlick considers these passages in Freud's writings in conjunction with Ernst's painting *Dada Gauguin* (Pl. 61) and the sexual symbolism of artichokes in paintings by Chirico ("Max Ernst and Alchemy," chapter 3, pp. 17–18).



[144] Interior of an Ant Bed, *Magasin pittoresque*, vol. LIII, 1885, p. 265

144 This source was proposed by Blavier, "Max Ernst: Murals," p. 169.

145 The illustration of the hand (*La Nature*, no. 415, May 14, 1881, p. 384) depicts the position of fingers on one ball which yields a sensation of two balls. The leg-like appearance of the two fingers prompted an unknown "graffiti artist" to draw pubic hair in the area of the crotch/knuckles and a line at the "waist" above those fingers in *At the First Limpid Word* (Blavier, "Max Ernst: Murals," p. 116). The *La Nature* source for this hand was first published by Spies in a *Livre de Poche* re-edition of *Die Rückkehr der schönen Gärtnerin*: *Max Ernst 1950–1970*, Cologne, 1979, p. 46.



[145] Experiment in Tactile Sensations, *La Nature*, May 14, 1881, p. 384

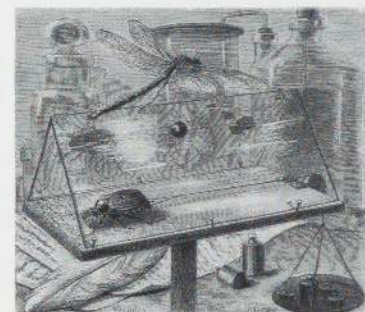
146 Spies, *The Return of La Belle Jardinière*, pp. 48 and 53. Spies refers to other instances in which Ernst formed an X in reference to himself, and relates the red berries to the "bait of lust" in Hieronymus Bosch's *Garden of Delights* (The Prado, Madrid).

147 Quoted in Legge (*Max Ernst*, p. 109) from Robert Desnos, "Rose Sélavy," ca. 1922–23, reprinted in *Domaine publique*, Paris, 1953, p. 50.

148 Spies, *The Return of La Belle Jardinière*, p. 53.

149 Legge, *Max Ernst*, p. 109.

150 Stokes, "The Scientific Methods of Max Ernst," pp. 458–59. The illustration from *La Nature* (no. 436, October 8, 1881, p. 300) depicts a device for measuring the muscular force of insects.



[150] Device to Measure the Muscular Force of Insects, *La Nature*, October 8, 1881, p. 300

151 Blavier, "Max Ernst: Murals," pp. 93–94.

152 The restorer kept this panel. It was neither exhibited in the Galerie Petit nor reproduced in the Spies/Metken *Oeuvre-Katalog*.

153 Péret referred to Ernst as a horse in a contemporary poem, "Portrait de Max Ernst" (*Littérature*, nos. 11–12, October 1923, p. 15), and the potential for association or symbolism in these horses is considerable. Legge (*Max Ernst*, pp. 70–71) cites a number of possibilities, e.g., the famous horse savant, Clever Hans, described in Maeterlinck's *The Unknown Guest* and used by Cocteau in his play *Orphée* to parody Surrealism. In Richet's *Treatise on Metaphysics*, a stamping horse revealed the unconscious, while Jung ascribed extensive meanings to horses as signifying the wind, the libido, fire, and light, and sexual instinct as a priapic animal (*Symbols of Transformation*, trans. R. F. C. Hall, New York, 1956, pp. 276–82).

154 Blavier, "Max Ernst: Murals," p. 102.

155 Ibid., pp. 103–4.

Ruptures and Renewals in 1924

7

1 Breton letter to Simone Breton, November 11, 1923, Sator Archive, Paris.

2 Gauguin's *Woman in the Wave* (1889, The Cleveland Museum of Art) and an unidentified Chirico similar to *Troubadour* (1917) are visible in a photograph of the Eluard home (Fig. 114). An auction of works from the Collection Eluard, Hotel Drouot, Paris, July 3, 1924 included the following items: Braque: *L'Homme à la guitare* (1914). Musée National d'art moderne; Chirico: *Span of the Black Ladders* (1914). Private collection; *Dream of Tobias* (1917). Trustees Edward James Foundation, Chichester, England; *Malady of the General* (1914). Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut; Picasso: *La guitare* (Bottle, Clarinet,

Violin, Newspaper, and Wineglass) (ca. 1913). Kunstmuseum, Bern; Ernst: *The Chinese Nightingale* (1920); *The Little Tear Gland That Says Tic Tac* (1920); *The Interior of the Sight* (1922). Other works known to be in the Eluard collection in 1923 include Ernst's *Katharina ondulata* (1920), *Celebes* (1921), *Oedipus Rex* (1922), *Pietà or Revolution by Night* (1923), and *The Tottling Woman* (1923); and Chirico's *Incertitude of the Poet* (1913), *The Poet and the Philosopher* (1913), and *Jewish Angel* (1916). See also, *Paul Eluard et ses amis peintres*, exhibition catalogue, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, November 4, 1982–January 17, 1983; texts by multiple authors.

3 F. H[ellens] described Ernst's drawings for *Littérature*, nos. 11–12, November 1923, as "childish and perverse" (review of *Littérature in Le Disque vert*, no. 3, December 1923, p. 29). The art critic André Salmon was harsher still in his review of Ernst's entries to the Salon des Indépendants: "Ernst owes everything to Chirico. — that Breton, Aragon and Soupault still have good reason to love [Ernst's work] seems to me to be touched by something other than plastic art [plastique]. Ernst is inferior to Chirico" ("Le 35 e Salon des Indépendants: Présentation," *Paris Journal*, February 8, 1924, p. 1). In the same issue of *Le Disque vert*, Crevel published a laudatory article on Chirico ("Merci, Giorgio de Chirico," pp. 1–2). Breton purchased two paintings by Chirico in October 1923: *The Evil Genius of a King* (1914–15, The Museum of Modern Art, New York) and *The Astonishing Morning* (André Breton, exhibition catalogue, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, 1991, p. 114). Ernst also purchased a painting by Chirico about this time (Breton letter to Simone Breton, November 7, 1923, Sator Archive, Paris).

4 Breton, *Clair de terre*, Paris, November 15, 1923. Breton wrote to Simone on March 18, 1924 that "Desnos has discovered a marvelous new faculty which consists of being able to tell stories in the dark without having slept, splendid stories... which expose neither contradiction nor hesitation. It is more disquieting than ever..." (*André Breton*, Centre Georges Pompidou, p. 170).

5 *Exposition André Masson*, Galerie Simon, Paris, February 25–March 8, 1924. More recent scholarship has established that Breton did not meet Masson around this time but in September 1924 (*André Breton*, Centre Georges Pompidou, p. 171). However, he did persuade Jacques Doucet to visit the exhibition and purchase three works. Other members of the *Littérature* group, especially Limbour and Desnos, were frequent visitors to Masson's studio at 45 rue Blomet. For a study of the evolution of Masson's work during these years, see Carolyn Lanchner, "André Masson: Origins and Development" in *André Masson*, exhibition catalogue, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1976, texts by William Rubin and Carolyn Lanchner.

6 For Breton's reconsideration of Freud, see Legge (*Max Ernst: The Psychoanalytic Sources*, pp. 17–29). For the Eluards' trip to Rome, their purchase of paintings for themselves, and the unsuccessful efforts to acquire two paintings for Breton, see Gateau, *Paul Eluard et la peinture surréaliste*, pp. 97–98 and 102.



7 André Masson: *The Cemetery*, 1924. Oil on canvas, 41¼x35 in. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Grenoble

8 *The Four Elements* was conceived and executed more deliberately than much of Masson's painting over the winter of 1923–24. Lanchner proposes that the "four elements" — in addition

to reflecting Masson's reading of Heraclitus — may encompass "hermetic allusions, particularly to the artist as alchemical magician" ("André Masson: Origins and Development," in *André Masson*, The Museum of Modern Art, p. 102).

9 Waldberg, *Max Ernst*, p. 38.

10 Poley attributes the banded form of *Ubu Imperator* to an illustration of the reinforced mold for Bouchardon's equestrian monument of Louis XV ("Die Bildquellen zu 'Sainte Cécile' und 'Ubu Imperator' von Max Ernst," *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg*, 10, 1973, p. 97). Legge proposes two sources for *Ubu Imperator*: a wine barrel reproduced in *Le Magazin Pittoresque* for the body, and a mouth restraint for the insane reproduced by Kraepelin for what I see as a fake moustache (*Max Ernst*, p. 58). For the most extensive consideration, see Agnès de la Beaumelle, "Max Ernst: 'Ubu Impérateur', 1923; 'Chimère', 1928," *Cahiers du Musée National d'Art Moderne*, v. 13, 1984, pp. 31–43.

11 Russell, *Max Ernst*, p. 72.

12 "An old man sat there in a long robe at an iron table, gazing fixedly at a wonderfully beautiful girl who stood there before him, hewn in marble. ... After that I can remember only that the flower, the mountain and the old man appeared again" (quoted by Spies in *Max Ernst*, exhibition catalogue, Tate Gallery, London, 1991, p. 38).

13 Gibson, "Surrealism's Early Maps of the Unconscious," pp. 280–83.

14 Hartwig Garnerus, "Triumph des Surrealismus: Max Ernst, 'Weib, Greis und Blume,'" *Die Kunst und die schöne Heim*, no. 94, February 1982, pp. 97–104. Garnerus perceived the likeness of the small female nude to Velázquez's *Toilet of Venus*. He also referred to images of dream experiences in the work of Dürer and Goya.

15 Legge, *Max Ernst*, pp. 73–74.

16 Russell, *Max Ernst*, p. 76.

17 Ernst, "An Informal Life of M. E.," in *Max Ernst*, exhibition catalogue, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1961, p. 13.

18 Ernst, "Some Data on the Youth of M. E.," in *View*, no. 1, April 1942, p. 30.

19 Stokes, "The Equivocal Ernst: Some Sources and Interpretations of Max Ernst's 'Two Children Are Threatened by a Nightingale,'" *Arts Magazine*, vol. 57, no. 5, January 1983, pp. 100–1. The source appears in an article on "Les Hommes incombustibles" in *La Nature*, no. 659, January 16, 1886, p. 105. >

20 Legge, *Max Ernst*, pp. 79–84.

21 Eluard dedicated *Mourir de ne pas mourir* (Paris, March 25, 1924) to Breton. It included twenty-two poems, most of them dating from 1923. In describing Eluard's anguish at this time, Bonnet quotes a letter from Simone Breton to her cousin Denise on March 27, 1924, regarding Eluard's behavior in "boîtes à champagne" ... "with Noll, Aragon, tossing money, drunk, being afraid to go and sleep alone" (*André Breton*, p. 311).

22 Eluard's letter to his father is reproduced in his *Livre d'identité*, Paris, 1967, p. 49, edited by Robert Valette.

23 For the dates and other details regarding the flight and travels of Eluard, see Gateau, *Paul Eluard et la peinture surréaliste*, pp. 88, 90.

24 This drawing and others like it were published as illustrations for Eluard's *Au Défait du silence*, Paris, n.d. [1925].

25 Collection Eluard, sales catalogue, Hotel Drouot, Paris, July 3, 1924. Sixty-one items from the Eluard collection were put up for sale. This list is published in Gateau (*Paul Eluard et la peinture surréaliste*, pp. 357–58), but with a date of July 7 rather than July 3 as it appears on the catalogue.

26 A telegram announcing Gala's arrival is published in Eluard, *Livre d'identité*, p. 50. Ernst commented on his voyage in *Écritures*, p. 48.

27 Ernst, *Écritures*, p. 48.

28 Picabia, note in "Petites Nouvelles," *Le Journal du Peuple*, Paris, May 3, 1924, p. 3.

29 Picabia's parodies of automatist texts and his caricature of Breton simultaneously supporting and fondling a female initiate at the cup of Rimbaud were published in 391, no. 16, May 1924, pp. 2 and 3. Breton's letter criticizing Picabia was published in 391, no. 17, June 1924, p. 4.

30 For an account of these activities, see Bonnet, *André Breton*, pp. 314–23.

31 For these activities, see Bonnet, *André Breton*, pp. 323–27, and Camfield, *Francis Picabia*, pp. 203–14.

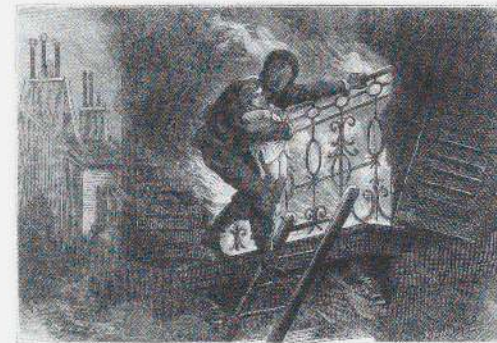
32 R. J., "Chez Francis Picabia," *Paris-Journal*, May 9, 1924, p. 5. In January 1925, Picabia and Germaine Everling moved to the hills in Mougins, overlooking Cannes. He maintained contact with people and events in Paris, but was no longer a major factor in avant-garde activities there. He ignored efforts to engage him in Surrealism, despite Breton's admiration of the collages and so-called "monsters" which dominated his work during 1924–27.

33 *André Breton*, Centre Georges Pompidou, p. 173.

34 *Ibid.*, p. 171.

35 *Ibid.*, pp. 173–74.

36 For documents and concise witness accounts regarding Breton's contact with Miró and Masson, see *André Breton*, Centre Georges Pompidou, pp. 171, 173–75. For Miró's comments, see *Joan Miró: Selected Writings and Interviews*, edited by Margit Rowell, Boston, 1986, pp. 85–86, 95, and 102. Masson shared Breton's admiration for the writings of Lautréamont, Rousset, and Reverdy, although Breton did not share Masson's respect for Nietzsche and Dostoyevsky. For Masson's recollections, see Masson, *Entretiens avec Georges Charbonnier*, Paris, 1958, pp. 39–52.



[19] Man in a non-combustible suit rescuing child from fire, *La Nature*, January 16, 1886, p. 105

37 Breton described the evening and commented at length on Chirico in a letter to Simone on November 11, 1924 (quoted in *André Breton*, Centre Georges Pompidou, p. 173). Aragon, Morise, Boiffard, and Vitrac were also present on that evening.

38 The Surrealists' rejection of Chirico's post-war art soon led to a break in their relationship with him. See Chirico's letter to Breton in late July–early August 1925 (Museum of Modern Art Archives, James Thrall Soby Papers; quoted in *André Breton*, Centre Georges Pompidou, p. 177). Ernst may not have shared Breton's harsh judgment of Chirico's later style. In 1946 he recorded

his reflections on those later paintings in a text for Walter Arensberg. Ernst rejected the perception of a sudden and mysterious decline in the quality of Chirico's work after 1918. He observed instead that there was an element of "despair" about the "absurdity of the human condition," even in Chirico's early work, that eventually took the form of a revolt directed not only against that human condition but against his own life and work. Chirico knew "that he had done some absolutely marvelous and new work in the domain of painting and poetry. ... [but] his destruction was directed expressly against everything his contemporaries and he himself considered genuine, great, and inspired. ... His secret purpose was to destroy even the commercial value of his older paintings. ..." Ernst found in this "something terribly heroic," and a "challenge to the public in this late work" not unlike "what he did when he was a young man. ..." (Max Ernst, unsigned and untitled typescript designated "Chirico" in the Louise and Walter Arensberg Archives, The Philadelphia Museum of Art, Box 4, folder 20). I am grateful to Naomi Sawleson-Gorse for bringing this typescript to my attention, and to the Francis Bacon Foundation and The Louise and Walter Arensberg Archives for permission to quote this unpublished document.

39 Breton, *Manifeste du Surréalisme*, Paris, October 15, 1924. See reprint in Breton, *Manifeste du Surréalisme*, Paris, 1962, pp. 30 and 42.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 40.

41 *Ibid.*, pp. 51–53.

42 Max Morise, "Les yeux enchantés," *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 1, December 1, 1924, pp. 26–27.

43 Both of these paintings are dated ca. 1923–24 in the Spies/Metken *Oeuvre-Katalog*, nos. 657

and 658. The presence of the poem with reference to two nightingales in *Poem Painting* (Pl. 171) is an argument in favor of a date of ca. 1924, but the two pears are related to several watercolor drawings which are dated "1925" in every example signed and dated by Ernst (*Oeuvre-Katalog*, nos. 772, 773, 779, and 780). The bird in the lower right corner of *Who Is This Tall Sick Man* (Pl. 170) is similar in form to a bird in "la colombe a raison," a signed and dated painting of 1923 (*Oeuvre-Katalog*, no. 654), but the painterly technique and texture of this painting also seems compatible with numerous images of birds dated ca. 1924–25 by Spies.

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Die Neue Malerei: Expressionistische Ausstellung. Galerie Ernst Arnold, Dresden, January 1914.

Paul Baum, Walter Ophey, Rheinische Expressionisten. Galerie Alfred Flechtheim, Düsseldorf, May 9–27, 1914. Preface, "Rheinische Expressionisten," by R. Mense. Organized by August Macke and Karl Mense.

Rheinische Expressionisten. Neue Galerie, Berlin, June 1914.

Max Ernst: Georg Muche. Der Sturm Galerie, Berlin, January 1916.

Sturm-Ausstellung II Serie. Galerie Dada, Zurich, April 9–30, 1917.

Kunst im Kriege. Leonhard Tietz [department store], Cologne, May–June 1917.

Das Junge Rheinland. Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, January 15–mid-February, 1918.

Der Strom. Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, April–May, 1919.

Das Junge Rheinland: Erste Ausstellung in der Kunsthalle. Kunsthalle, Düsseldorf, June 22–July 20, 1919; Ruhmeshalle, Barmen, October 10–November 1919.

Herbstausstellung der Gesellschaft der Künste und des "Stroms". Kölnischer Kunstverein, opened November 1, 1919.

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Ausstellung für das werktätige Volk. Kunstgewerbemuseum, Cologne, opened December 4, 1919.

1920–1925

Dada Ausstellung: Dada-Vorfrühling. Brauhaus Winter, Cologne, April–May, 1920. Short texts by Hans Arp, Johannes Theodor Baargeld, and Max Ernst.

Erste Internationale Dada-Messe. Kunsthandlung Dr. Otto Burchard, Berlin, ca. June 30–August 25, 1920. Texts by Raoul Hausmann and Wieland Herzfelde.

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Exposition Dada Max Ernst. Au Sans Pareil, Paris, May 3–June 3, 1921. Preface, "Max Ernst," by André Breton.

Salon Dada. Galerie Montaigne, Paris, June 6–30, 1921. Organized by Tristan Tzara. Texts by multiple authors.

Das Junge Rheinland. Alois Erbach / Max Ernst. Kunsthalle Düsseldorf, November 1–15, 1921.

Eröffnungsausstellung. Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, March–April, 1922. Forward by K. Schaefer.

Erste Internationale Kunstausstellung 1922. Haus Leonhard Tietz, Düsseldorf, May 28–June 3, 1922. Organized by Das Junge Rheinland.

Société des Artistes Indépendants. Salon de 1923. Paris, February 10–March 11, 1923.

Société des Artistes Indépendants. Salon de 1924. Paris, February 9–March 12, 1924.

Collection Eluard. Hotel Drouot, Paris, July 3, 1924.

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Erste Wander Ausstellung. Das Junge Rheinland, Düsseldorf, 1925. Verlag Das Junge Rheinland, Düsseldorf.

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1926–1940

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Max Ernst: Histoire Naturelle. A la Vierge Poupine, Brussels, opened October 16, 1926. Text by Hans Arp.

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Exposition *Max Ernst*. Galerie Van Leer, Paris, March 15–April 5, 1927.

Exposition *Max Ernst*. Le Centaure, Brussels, opened May 20, 1927.

Das Junge Rheinland. Städtische Kunsthalle Düsseldorf, October 1927. Foreword by Konrad Niermann.

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Max Ernst. Galerie Georges Bernheim, Paris, December 1–15, 1928. Preface by René Crevel.

Max Ernst. Galerie Alfred Flechtheim, Berlin, March–Easter 1929. Texts by Walter Cohen and René Crevel.

Exposition de *Collages*. Galerie Goemans, Paris, March 1930. Preface "La Peinture au défi" by Louis Aragon.

Exposition *Max Ernst*. Galerie Vignon, Paris, November 21–December 4, 1930.

Max Ernst Exhibition. The Mayor Gallery, London, June 8–July 1, 1933.

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Max Ernst. The Putzel Gallery, Los Angeles, late April–May, 1937.

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1941–1976

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Max Ernst. Julien Levy Gallery, New York, May 7–22, 1943.

Max Ernst–Dorothea Tanning. Caresse Crosby Gallery, Washington, D.C., March 15–April 10, 1945.

Max Ernst. Galerie Denise René, Paris, June 2–July 2, 1945.

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Max Ernst: Peintures pour Paul Eluard. Galerie André-François Petit, Paris, May 20–July 10, 1969. Essay by Patrick Waldberg.

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Max Ernst. Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, November 22, 1969–January 11, 1970. Text by de Wilde.

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1977 – Present

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André Breton: *La beauté convulsive*. Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, April 25–August 26, 1991. Organized by Agnès Anglièvi de la Beaumelle, Isabelle Monod-Fontaine, and Claude Schweisguth; texts by multiple authors.

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1912

"Im Obernier-Museum." *Volksmund* (Bonn, October 12, 1912). Signed "M.E." Reprinted in Pech, *Max Ernst vor Max Ernst 1891–1914* (exh. cat., Max Ernst Kabinett, Brühl, 1981), p. 153; and Spies (ed.), *Max Ernst: Retrospektive 1979* (exh. cat., Haus der Kunst, Munich, 1979), p. 129. Translated in Russell, *Max Ernst: Life and Work* (New York, Harry N. Abrams, Inc., [1967]), p. 25.

"Kampfweise antimoderner (= zurückgebliebener) Kunstschwätzer." *Volksmund* (Bonn, October 26, 1912). Signed "E." Reprinted in Pech, *Max Ernst vor Max Ernst* (exh. cat., Max Ernst Kabinett, Brühl, 1981), p. 154.

"Kunst und Können." *Volksmund* (Bonn, October 30, 1912). Reprinted in Herzogenrath (ed.), *Max Ernst in Köln* (exh. cat., Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, 1980), p. 74; and in Pech, *Max Ernst vor Max Ernst* (exh. cat., Max Ernst Kabinett, Brühl, 1981), pp. 154–55. Translated in Russell, *Max Ernst: Life and Work* (New York, Harry N. Abrams, Inc., [1967]), p. 25.

"Obernier-Museum." *Volksmund* (Bonn, November 20, 1912). Signed "E." Reprinted in Pech, *Max Ernst vor Max Ernst* (exh. cat., Max Ernst Kabinett, Brühl, 1981), p. 155.

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"Das Provinzialmuseum." *Volksmund* (Bonn, December 23, 1912). Signed "E." Reprinted in Pech, *Max Ernst vor Max Ernst* (exh. cat., Max Ernst Kabinett, Brühl, 1981), p. 156.

1913

"Oberniermuseum, Graphisches Kabinett, Verwaltungsrat." *Volksmund* (Bonn, April 12, 1913). Unsigned. Reprinted in Pech, *Max Ernst vor Max Ernst* (exh. cat., Max Ernst Kabinett, Brühl, 1981), p. 157; Herzogenrath (ed.), *Max Ernst in Köln* (exh. cat., Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, 1980), p. 74; and Pech (ed.), *Max Ernst: Fotografische Porträts und Dokumente* (exh. cat., Stadt Brühl, 1991), pp. 24–25.

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"Obernier-Museum." *Volksmund* (Bonn, May 24, 1913). Unsigned. Reprinted in Pech, *Max Ernst vor Max Ernst* (exh. cat., Max Ernst Kabinett, Brühl, 1981), p. 158.

"Ausstellung rheinischer Expressionisten." *Volksmund* (Bonn, July 12, 1913). Unsigned. Reprinted in Pech, *Max Ernst vor Max Ernst* (exh. cat., Max Ernst Kabinett, Brühl, 1981), p. 158.

1916

"August Stramm." *Kölner Tageblatt* (November 12, 1916). Review of Stramm's *Geschehen* (*Sturmbuch 11*) (Berlin, Verlag Der Sturm, 1916). Reprinted in Herzogenrath (ed.), *Max Ernst in Köln* (exh. cat., Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, 1980), p. 86.

1917

"Vergleichung." *Blätter für Kunst und Kritik*, literary supplement to *Kölner Tageblatt* (January 7, 1917). Reprinted in Herzogenrath (ed.), *Max Ernst in Köln* (exh. cat., Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, 1980), p. 87.

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"Vom Werden der Farbe." *Der Sturm* 8 (no. 5, Berlin, August 1917), pp. 66–68. Reprinted in Herzogenrath (ed.), *Max Ernst in Köln* (exh. cat., Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, 1980), pp. 75–76.

1918

"Max Picard." *Kölner Tageblatt* (April 3, 1918). Review of Picard's *Expressionistische Bauernmalerei* (Munich, Delphin-Verlag, 1917). Reprinted in Herzogenrath (ed.), *Max Ernst in Köln* (exh. cat., Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, 1980), p. 86.

1919

Texts in *Der Ventilator*, to which Ernst probably contributed (all reprinted in Walter Vitt, *Auf der Suche nach der Biographie*

des Kölner Dadaisten Johannes Theodor Baargeld, Starnberg, 1977, and translated in Werner Spies, *Max Ernst: Collages*, New York, 1991, pp. 281–82): "??? Macchab in Cöln ???" (nos. 1/2, February–March 1919), pp. 5–6; "Macchab 'In-time'" (nos. 1/2, p. 7); "Reichswehrgesetz" (no. 4, February–March 1919), pp. 3–4; "Zum Theaterputsch" (no. 6, March 1919), p. 6.

Texts in *Bulletin D* (exh. cat., Kölnischer Kunstverein, November 1919): "Über Cézanne" and, with Heinrich Hoerle, "Setzt ihm den Zylinder auf."

1920

Writings in *Die Schammade* (Cologne, Schloemilch Verlag, April 1920), n.p. Reprinted in Herzogenrath (ed.), *Max Ernst in Köln* (exh. cat., Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, 1980), pp. 241–74: "Worringer, profetor DaDaistikus"; "Antwort der Weltbürger an Kurt Pinthus-Genius"; "Adamismus," Signed "d'Adamax"; "Gertrud"; "Lisbeth"; and "Lukrative Geschichtsschreibung" (translated in *Max Ernst*, exh. cat., The Tate Gallery, London, 1991, p. 290).

"Bericht der a.o. [ausserordentlich] Konferenz dada centrale No. 5" (a.k.a. "Typescript Manifesto"), with Johannes Theodor Baargeld, Spring 1920.

Brief, untitled texts in *Dada Ausstellung: Dada-Vorfrühling* (exh. cat., Brauhaus Winter, Cologne, April–May 1920).

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1921

"Man Ray." *Exposition Dada/Man Ray*, Paris, Librairie Six, December 3–31.

Manuscripts first published by Werner Spies in *Max Ernst: Collagen. Inventar und Widerspruch*, Cologne, 1974; also in *Max Ernst: Collages*, New York, 1991, p. 269: "Aufruf zu einer letzten Vergletscherung" (text signed Arp, Rosa Bonheur, Maya Chruszcz, Armada v. Dadagedalzen, Max Ernst, Jimmy, Tristan Tzara); "Le Rossignol."

"Dada est mort, vive Dada!" *Der Querschnitt* (Düsseldorf, January 1921), p. 22.

"Arp." *Littérature* (no. 19, Paris, May 1921), pp. 11–12.

Entries in "Dada Augrandair: Der Sängerkrieg Intirol" (*Dada*, no. 8), Tarrenz, September 16, 1921. Reprinted in Herzogenrath (ed.), *Max Ernst in Köln* (exh. cat., Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, 1980), p. 313: "Die ungeschlagene fustanella"; "Fatagaglie" (with Arp); "Die Wasserprobe"; "Der alte vivisektor."

"La Chanson des vieux mutins." *Création* (no. 2, Paris, November 1921). Translated in *Max Ernst* (exh. cat., The Tate Gallery, London, 1991), p. 296.

(With Hans Arp) "Max Ernst." *Das Junge Rheinland*, 2 (Düsseldorf, November 2, 1921), p. 2.

"Der Arp." *Kölner Tageblatt* (December 6, 1921). Reprinted in Herzogenrath (ed.), *Max Ernst in Köln* (exh. cat., Kölnischer Kunstverein, Cologne, 1980), p. 85.

1922

(With Paul Eluard) *Les Malheurs des immortels*. Illustrations by Ernst. Paris, Librairie Six, 1922.

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1923

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"Comment on force l'inspiration." *Le Surréalisme au Service de la Révolution* (no. 6, Paris, May 15, 1933), pp. 43–45.

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"Biographische Notizen (Wahrheitgewebe und Lügen-gewebe)." *Max Ernst* (exh. cat., Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, 1962).

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Eluard, Paul. *Répétitions.* Drawings by Max Ernst. Paris, Au Sans Pareil, June 25, 1922.

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Littérature, nouvelle série (nos. 11 and 12, Paris, October 15, 1923).

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Eluard, Paul. *Au Défait du Silence.* [Paris, 1925].

Archives

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Max Ernst Kabinett, Brühl. Outstanding resource center for study of Max Ernst.

Pretzell Archive. Private collection, Berlin.

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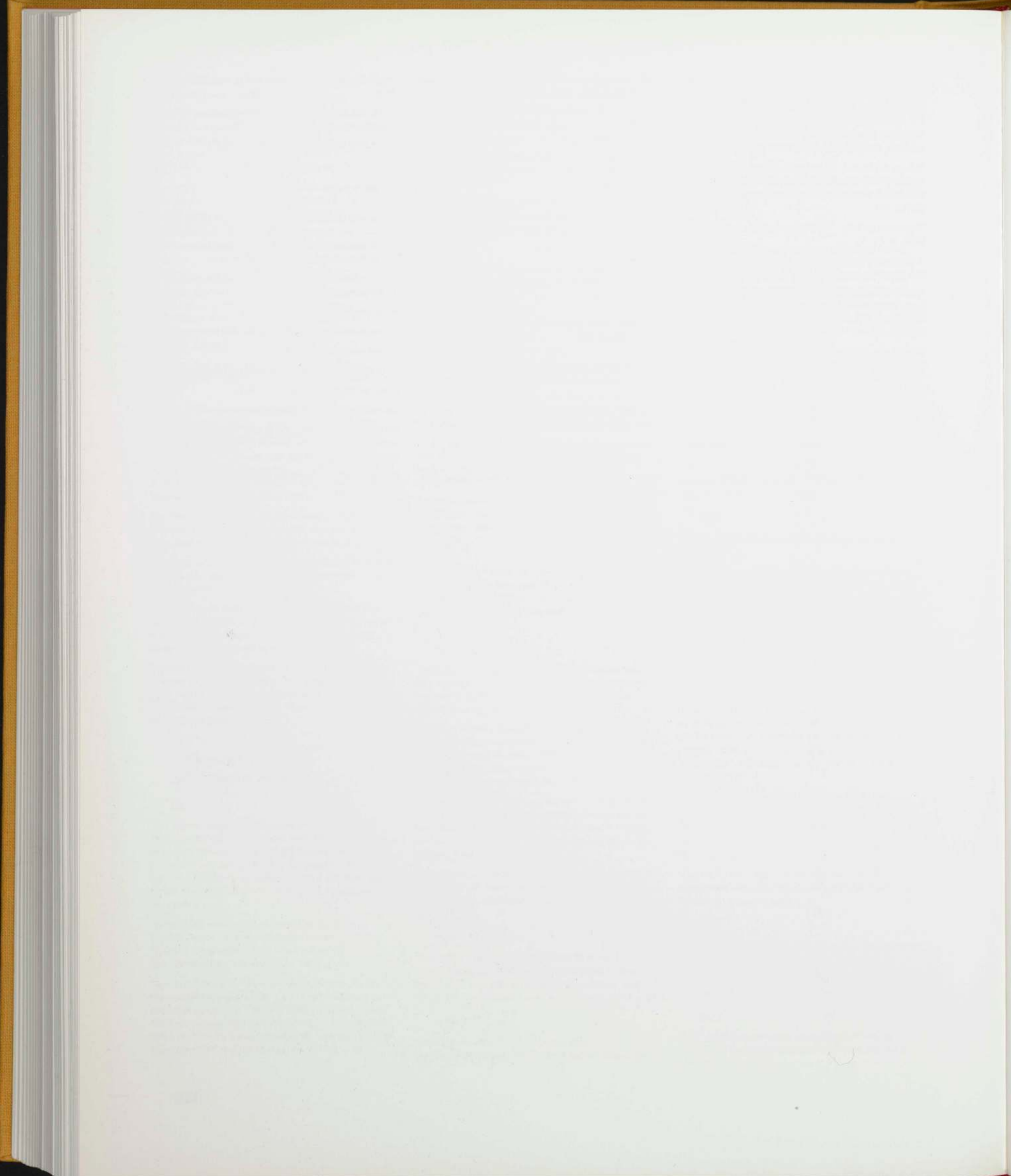
Fonds Paul Eluard. Musée d'art et d'histoire Saint-Denis, Paris.

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Chronology

1891

Birth of Max Ernst in Brühl on April 2 to Philipp and Louise (Kopp) Ernst. Third of nine children and oldest son to live beyond childhood.

ca. 1894

Memories recorded in Ernst's biographical notes of his first contact with the forest and with painting.

ca. 1897

Ernst's early memories of his own drawings, visits to art museums with his father, and a half-dream hallucination charged with Freudian suggestions that deal with art, sex, and his father.

1906

Birth of the last child, Loni, on January 6. Ernst's memory of this time as his "first contact with the occult, magic, and witchcraft."

ca. 1906–7

Ernst's earliest paintings.

1910

March: graduation from the Gymnasium.

April: Ernst enters the University of Bonn. Through the spring of 1914, he concentrates on courses in the History of Art, Psychology, Philosophy, Philology, and Literature.

1912

May: Opening of the Sonderbund Exhibition in Cologne.

Summer–Fall: Ernst becomes an active participant in the group of artists and writers in the orbit of August Macke. Begins writing art criticism for the newspaper *Volksmund* in Bonn.

1913

January: Ernst meets Apollinaire and Delaunay in Macke's home.

At the end of the spring semester, Ernst visits Paris with his art history class.

Ernst's work is exhibited for the first time with Macke's group "Die Rheinischen Expressionisten" (Bonn, 1913) and at the First German Autumn Salon in Der Sturm Gallery, Berlin (September–December).

1914

May: Ernst and Arp meet at the exhibition of the Deutscher Werkbund in Cologne.

Intimate friendship established with Luise Straus, a student of Art History at the University.

August 1–3: War erupts between the Central Powers (Germany and Austria) and the Allied Powers of France, Russia, and Britain. Ernst enters the Field Artillery.

1915

Ernst serves on the Western front, near Laon and Soissons, from ca. July to March 1916. Minor injuries from the recoil of an artillery piece.

1916

January: Ernst exhibits fifty works in a two-man exhibition of "Max Ernst: Georg Muche" at Der Sturm in Berlin. Visits Berlin. Meets George Grosz and Wieland Herzfelde.

Opening of the Cabaret Voltaire in Zurich and the "discovery" soon afterwards of the word "Dada."

1917

At an unknown date in 1917, Ernst is transferred to the Eastern front.

Throughout the year, he publishes a number of articles on art, including "On the Origins of Color" (*Der Sturm*, August).

Fall: Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. Ernst enters officer training.

1918

Dada publications which Luise sends to Max during the summer may constitute his first knowledge of Dada.

October: On the 7th, Max and Luise marry in Cologne. Max returns to duty. Luise secures her advanced degree in Art History.

Early November: Anti-government uprisings of sailors, soldiers, and workers; spreads to Cologne on the 7th. Armistice declared November 11.

Max and Luise rent an apartment at 14 Kaiser Wilhelm Ring, Cologne. He chooses to pursue art rather than return to the University. Contact with emerging socialist and avant-garde art groups over the winter of 1918–19. Ernst joins the Gesellschaft der Künste, founded by Karl Nierendorf, and the related group Der Strom.

Publication of Kühlemann's *Consolamini*, with illustrations by Ernst.

1919

February: Publication of *Der Ventilator*, distributed by Ernst and Baargeld at factories in Cologne through March.

The Ernsts' apartment becomes a gathering place for participants in Der Strom and *Der Ventilator*. Ernst contributes paintings in an expressionist style to exhibitions of Das Junge Rheinland.

September: Max and Luise visit Munich. They meet Paul Klee, Hugo Ball, and Emmy Hennings, who tell Ernst that Arp is in Zurich with the Dadaists. At Goltz's gallery and bookstore, Ernst sees Dada publications from Zurich and the Italian magazine *Valori Plastici* with reproductions of the work of de Chirico and Carrà.

October: Ernst and Arp re-establish contact.

Ernst produces his first work stimulated by reproductions of the work of de Chirico, Picabia, Schwitters, Archipenko, and others.

Ernst and Baargeld gather around them a handful of artists more active in avant-garde art, literature, and socialist politics, among them Freundlich, Seiwert, Räderscheidt, Heinrich and Angelika Hoerle.

Exhibition of the "Bulletin D" group, organized by Ernst and Baargeld. This exhibition and its provocative catalogue constitute the first manifestation of Cologne Dada.

Katherine S. Dreier meets Ernst and Baargeld at the "Bulletin D" exhibition; she tells them about Duchamp and the Société Anonyme in New York, and carries news of the Bulletin D group to Paris.

Tzara and Ernst establish contact by mid-December.

1920

January: Picabia, Tzara, and Breton unite to initiate Dada in Paris.

Ernst completes his portfolio of lithographs, *Fiat modes, pereat ars*.

Arp visits Cologne for about 10–14 days, contributing substantially to the small Dada group there.

Ernst and Baargeld engage in a spirited exchange with Tzara regarding Dada activities, particularly plans for the Section d'Or in Paris and preparation of *Die Schammade* in Cologne. Ernst's efforts to secure a visa to visit Paris are repeatedly denied for two years.

ca. April 12: Publication of *Die Schammade*, the major publication of Cologne Dada.

May 1: Dada—Early Spring exhibition opens in a room and courtyard off the Brauhaus Winter, Cologne. Major exhibition of Dada art in Cologne.

June 24: A son, Ulrich (later called Jimmy), is born to Luise and Max.

June 30: Opening of the "First International Dada Fair" at Dr. Otto Burchard's gallery, Berlin. The climactic exhibition of Dada in Berlin.

July: Feuds develop between the Dadaists in Paris.

Early fall: By this time, Ernst is using the teaching aids catalogue (*Bibliotheca Paedagogica*) extensively as a resource for collages and overpaintings.

ca. October–November: Ernst and Arp collaborate on the first Fatagagas.

1921

February 8: Ernst responds to a letter from Breton requesting texts and illustrations for *Littérature*.

The second Dada Season in Paris opens in April, but several incidents multiply existing tensions among the Dadaists there.

May: The "Exposition Dada Max Ernst" opens at Au Sans Pareil, Paris, accompanied by a catalogue with an important preface by Breton. It is a pivotal event for Dada in Paris. Ernst is unable to get a passport, and does not attend.

May 11: Picabia announces his separation from Dada.

Ernst, Luise, and Jimmy go to Tarrenz, near Imst, in the Tirol, for a summer vacation.

July: Picabia publishes *Le Pilhaou-Thibaou* (391, no. 15), mocking his former associates in Dada. Arp—furious with Picabia—and Ernst propose a convention of Dadaists in the Tirol.

August: Baargeld, Arp, Sophie Taeuber, and Tzara join Max and Luise in Tarrenz. Preparation of *Dada Augrandair*, conceived as a celebration of their gathering and as a riposte to Picabia's *Le Pillaou-Thibaou*.

September 18: André Breton and his bride, Simone, arrive in Tarrenz just a few days before the departure of Tzara and the Ernsts.

October 3: Paul and Gala Eluard join the honeymooning Bretons, sole remaining members of the Dadaists in Tarrenz. A few days later, André and Simone Breton and Paul Eluard go to Vienna to visit Sigmund Freud.

Ernst produces collages with extensive use of engraved reproductions in *La Nature* and paints his first "collage paintings."

November 4: Paul and Gala Eluard arrive in Cologne for a week's visit with Max and Lou Ernst. Eluard purchases *Celebes*, and selects six collages to accompany his volume of poetry, *Répétitions*. Strong mutual attractions develop between Max and Paul, and between Max and Gala.

ca. mid-December: Tzara arrives in Cologne for about a three-week visit.

1922

February: Long-standing tensions between Tzara and Breton boil over during Breton's efforts to organize the Congress of Paris.

March: Breton and Soupault launch the new series of their magazine, *Littérature*. This initial issue features de Chirico, accounts of dreams, and Breton's interview with Freud.

March 18: Publication of Eluard's *Répétitions*, illustrated by reproductions of Ernst's collages, which he refers to as drawings.

ca. March 20: Paul and Gala Eluard take copies of *Répétitions* with them on another visit to the Ernsts in Cologne. The sexual attraction between Max and Gala becomes an open affair. Max and Paul begin a thorough collaboration of prose poems and collages for *Les Malheurs des Immortels* (*The Misfortunes of the Immortals*), a collaboration resumed during June–July in Tarrenz. Eluard purchases *Oedipus Rex*.

May: Max, Lou, and Jimmy go to Imst in late May for the summer. Invitations are renewed for another gathering of the Dadaists in the Tirol.

June: Paul and Gala Eluard join the Ernsts, now in Tarrenz. Collaboration is resumed on *Les Malheurs des Immortels*, and an open *ménage à trois* is established.

Matthew Josephson and his wife, Tzara, Arp, and Sophie Taeuber join the gathering of Dadaists in Imst.

July 25: *Les Malheurs des Immortels* is published by the Librairie Six, Paris.

August: Early in the month, Ernst travels to Paris. Lou and Jimmy, abandoned in Tarrenz, return to Cologne, where Lou manages to subsist by doing odd jobs while gradually establishing herself as a free-lance writer and art critic.

Ernst lives with Paul and Gala in their home in suburban Saint Brice.

September: Ernst and Eluard align themselves with Breton and the group associated with *Littérature* rather than with the individuals in Tzara's orbit.

Unable to discern the new state of mind which had succeeded Dada, members of the *Littérature* group begin to refer to this as the *mouvement flou* (the unfocused, indistinct movement).

September 25: Beginning of experiments with self-induced hypnotic sleeps (the *sommeils*). Crevel and Desnos excel as sleepers; Ernst and Eluard attend sessions as observers, not sleepers.

Ernst begins to work on his large painting, *At the Rendezvous of the Friends*. Over the fall, to spring of 1922–23, Ernst also produces work described by Aragon as the "black paintings."

1923

February 10: Opening of the Salon des Indépendants. Ernst exhibits *At the Rendezvous of the Friends*, *Oedipus Rex*, *Celebes*, and *The Interior of the Sight*.

Ernst paints *Man Shall Know Nothing of This*, which he dedicates to Breton. Late in life, Ernst acknowledges that this painting was related to alchemical principles.

Late April: Paul and Gala Eluard move to a house in suburban Eaubonne. Ernst is installed on the top floor and begins plans to paint murals on the walls, some ceilings and doors throughout the house.

October 15: Breton presents Ernst to the patron and collector, Jacques Doucet.

Littérature nos. 11–12 appears, with 45 small drawings by Ernst and a double-page spread of individuals currently esteemed by the *Littérature* group. The first five names are figures associated with the history of alchemy.

November 10: The Eluards hold an open house in Eaubonne for the *Littérature* group to see Ernst's murals.

1924

February: Ernst exhibits *La Belle Jardinière* at the Salon des Indépendants. Breton becomes interested in the work of André Masson.

March: Breton and others resume experiments in automatist writing.

Eluard, tormented by the *ménage à trois* in which Ernst is favored, abruptly leaves Paris on the 24th without notifying anyone, and sails to southeast Asia.

May: News of Breton's move toward a new movement called Surrealism leads to a definitive rupture between Picabia and Breton.

July 3: Auction of works from the Eluard collection at the Hotel Drouot, Paris. Gala uses the proceeds to finance her trip to Saigon in an effort to persuade Paul to return to Paris.

Working in Lorient during July, Breton corrects proofs for the future *Manifesto of Surrealism* and decides to create a new magazine, *La Révolution Surréaliste*.

At an unknown date during August, Ernst sells a number of his works of 1922–24 to Mutter Ey in Düsseldorf in order to finance his own passage to Saigon.

October 3: Paul and Gala Eluard return to Paris; Ernst follows them about ten days later.

October 11: Opening of the Bureau of Surrealist Research.

October 15: Publication of the *Manifeste du Surréalisme*. Surrealism first defined as: "noun, masculine. Pure psychic automatism, by which one proposes to express verbally, in writing, in any other manner, the real functioning of thought."

November: De Chirico arrives in Paris, and Breton arranges a meeting of de Chirico, Ernst, and Masson.

December 1: Publication of the first issue of *La Révolution Surréaliste*.

From the winter of 1924–25 well into 1925, Ernst's work is characterized by variety and experimentation.

1925

Ernst participates actively with the Surrealists, and sets August 10 as the date of his discovery of "frottage." Signs contract with the collector Jacques Viot and rents a studio at 22 rue Tourlaque, near Masson and Miró. Visits Luise and Jimmy in Cologne, and is reunited with Arp, who returns to Paris.

Inaugural exhibition of *La Peinture Surréaliste* at the Galerie Pierre.

1926

Ernst exhibits chiefly recent work at the Galerie Van Leer, Paris (March 10–24). A selection of the frottages, entitled *Histoire Naturelle*, is published by Jeanne Bucher, with a preface by Arp.

1927

Ernst meets Tanguy. Max and Marie-Berthe Aurenche marry; residence established in Meudon.

Publication of Ernst's first major autobiographical text, "Visions de demi-sommeil," in *La Révolution Surréaliste*, nos. 9–10, October 1.

1928

Important exhibition of Ernst's work at the Galerie Georges Bernheim, Paris (December 1–15), including his birds, shellflowers, forests, and satanic images (*Chimères*, *One Night of Love*).

1929

Ernst produces *La femme 100 têtes*, his first collage novel.

1930

Exhibition at the Galerie Vignon, Paris (November–December), with over a dozen works representing the theme of Loplop.

1933

Exhibition at the Mayor Gallery, London (June–July). Ernst's text "Inspiration to Order" appears in *This Quarter* in September.

1934

Ernst produces the collage novel *Une Semaine de Bonté*. Spends summer in Maloja with Alberto Giacometti. Writes "Was ist Surrealismus?" ("What Is Surrealism?").

1936

Meets Leonore Fini.

"Fantastic Art: Dada and Surrealism" opens at The Museum of Modern Art, New York, on December 9.

1937

Publication of the issue of *Cahiers d'Art* devoted to Max Ernst. Multiple texts by Ernst, including his important essay, "Au-delà de la peinture."

Meets Leonora Carrington.

1938

Moves with Leonora Carrington to Saint-Martin d'Ardèche, near Avignon.

1939

Interned as an enemy alien by French authorities at the outbreak of war. Released partly through Eluard's efforts, Ernst returns to Saint-Martin d'Ardèche, until interned again in 1940.

1941

Manages, with the help of friends, to leave Europe via Spain and Lisbon. Travels to the United States with Peggy Guggenheim. Reunited there with son Jimmy.

Marries Peggy Guggenheim in December.

1942

Special issue of *View* (April) devoted to Ernst, including "Some Data on the Youth of Max Ernst: As Told by Himself."
Meets Dorothea Tanning around Christmas time.

1943

Divorces Peggy Guggenheim. Spends the summer with Dorothea Tanning in Arizona.

1946

Max and Dorothea begin to construct a house in Sedona, Arizona.
Double marriage on October 24 of Max and Dorothea, and Man Ray and Juliet Browner, in Beverly Hills.

1948

Beyond Painting, with multiple texts by and about Ernst, is edited by Robert Motherwell.
Ernst becomes an American citizen.

1949

Max and Dorothea visit Europe for the first time since the war; reunions with old friends.

1951

Max's sister Loni and brother-in-law Lothar Pretzell organize a large retrospective of Ernst's work at the Augustusburg Palace in Brühl (March–April).

1953

Max and Dorothea resettle in Paris. Revisit Brühl and Cologne.

1954

Ernst is awarded the Grand Prize for Painting at the Venice Biennale; Arp receives the prize for sculpture, and Miró the prize for graphic art.

1955

Max and Dorothea settle in Huismes, near Chinon, in Touraine.

1958

Ernst becomes a French citizen (February 8). Publication of Patrick Waldberg's monograph, *Max Ernst*.

1959

Large retrospective exhibition at the Musée National d'Art Moderne, Paris (November–December).

1961

Major retrospective exhibition organized by William S. Lieberman for The Museum of Modern Art, New York (March–May).

1962

Major exhibition at the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne (December–March 1963).

1963

Peter Schamoni makes a film about Max Ernst.

1964

Max and Dorothea settle in Seillans, in the south of France. Last dwelling to be decorated by Max's work.

1966

Ernst named Officer of the Legion of Honor.
John Russell publishes his monograph, *Max Ernst: Leben und Werke (Life and Work)*; English edition in 1967.

1969

Exhibition at the Galerie André-François Petit, Paris (May–June), of Ernst's recently discovered and restored murals of 1923 for the home of Paul and Gala Eluard in Eaubonne.

1970

Publication of *Ecritures*, containing all of Ernst's writings, save for some Dada texts.

1974

Publication of Werner Spies's *Max Ernst: Collagen*, accompanied by the publication of numerous visual sources from popular publications.

1975

Major retrospective exhibition organized by Diane Waldman at the Guggenheim Museum, New York (February–April).
Publication of the first volume of the six-volume *Max Ernst Oeuvre-Katalog*, supported by the Menil Foundation. First volume of graphic work compiled by Helmut Leppien; subsequent volumes realized by Werner Spies and Sigrid and Günter Metken.

1976

Ernst dies on April 1, the eve of his 85th birthday. Survived by his wife Dorothea Tanning, his son Jimmy, and his daughter-in-law Dallas and their children.

List of Works

The entries in the List of Works have been arranged chronologically, except where a thematic grouping has been maintained. Dates reflect the author's current research and sometimes differ from those previously published. A hyphenated date (e.g. 1921–22) indicates a work believed to have been created just before or after a change of year. Circa (ca.) indicates the probable date of execution of a work which the artist did not date and for which no primary documentation exists.

Primary titles are given in the original language used by the artist as listed in the Spies/Metken *Oeuvre-Katalog*. Short titles taken from long inscriptions are indicated by an ellipsis (...). English translations generally correspond to those given in *Max Ernst: A Retrospective*, edited by Werner Spies (The Tate Gallery, London, 1991); where they differ, the translations have been authorized by the author.

Although care has been taken to describe accurately the medium of each work, many approximations remain where technical examination has not been possible.

Dimensions for the most part are those given in the *Oeuvre-Katalog* or supplied by the owners. Dimensions are in inches, height preceding width, and width preceding depth.

Works published in the *Oeuvre-Katalog* have been given their Spies/Metken catalogue numbers.

Works marked with an asterisk (*) are not in the exhibition, either because they are no longer extant or because they were unavailable for loan. Where illustrated, entries have been cross-referred to the plate section (Pl.), the text (Fig.), or the notes.

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| <p>1* <i>Der See Bethesda</i>, 1911 [<i>The Pool at Bethesda</i>] Plate 3 Watercolor on paperboard 21$\frac{1}{16}$x16$\frac{1}{2}$in. Collection Kasimir Hagen, Kunstgewerbemuseum, Cologne Spies/Metken 44</p> | <p>4 <i>Literarhistoriker</i> <i>Berthold Lietzmann</i>, 1913 [<i>Literary Historian</i> <i>Berthold Lietzmann...</i>] Chapter 1, note 43 Pencil on paper 6$\frac{5}{16}$x3$\frac{13}{16}$in. Private collection, Paris Spies/Metken 195</p> | <p>7 <i>Türme</i>, 1916 [<i>Towers</i>] Plate 6 Oil on canvas 23$\frac{5}{8}$x17 in. Private collection Spies/Metken 261</p> |
| <p>2 <i>Der Auftrag oder L'âne des Indépendants</i>, 1912 [<i>The Commission or The Donkey of the Independents</i>] Plate 1 Ink on postcard 5$\frac{1}{2}$x3$\frac{1}{2}$ in. Private collection, Paris Spies/Metken 86</p> | <p>5* <i>fruit d'une longue expérience</i>, 1913 [<i>Fruit of a Long Experience</i>] Plate 4 Collage and oil on paperboard Dimensions unknown Whereabouts unknown Spies/Metken 251</p> | <p>8 <i>Blumen und Fisch</i>, 1916 [<i>Flowers and Fish</i>] Plate 7 Oil on canvas 30x24 in. Renee and Chaim Gross Foundation Spies/Metken 262</p> |
| <p>3 <i>Die Tänzerin Gertrud Leistikow</i>, 1913 [<i>The Dancer Gertrude Leistikow</i>] Plate 2 Ink on paper 9$\frac{5}{8}$x6$\frac{1}{2}$ in. Private collection, Paris Spies/Metken 208</p> | <p>6 Untitled drawing, ca. 1915. Cover of <i>Der Sturm</i> Plate 5 Periodical: Berlin, 1916 15$\frac{3}{4}$x11$\frac{3}{4}$ in. Collection of the Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, Santa Monica Spies/Metken 258</p> | <p>9 <i>Vegetation</i>, 1916 Plate 8 Oil on canvas 35x26 in. Wilhelm Hack Museum, Ludwigshafen, Germany Spies/Metken 263</p> |
| | <p>10 <i>Kampf der Fische</i>, 1917 [<i>Battle of the Fish</i>] Plate 9 Watercolor on paper 5$\frac{1}{2}$x8 in. Collection of Jimmy Ernst Family Spies/Metken 268</p> | <p>11 <i>Sieg der Spindel</i>, 1917 [<i>The Spindle's Victory</i>] Plate 10 Watercolor on paper 8$\frac{3}{16}$x5$\frac{3}{4}$ in. Private collection, Germany Spies/Metken 269</p> |
| | <p>12 Untitled drawing, 1918. Cover of <i>Consolamini</i> Plate 11 Book: Cologne, 1919 9$\frac{1}{2}$x6$\frac{5}{8}$ in. Kunstmuseum Bonn, Hans Bolliger Collection Spies/Metken 279–83</p> | <p>13 <i>Mensch im Kampf</i>, 1918. Reproduced in <i>Der Strom</i>, p. [12a] [<i>Man in Battle</i>] Plate 12 Periodical: Cologne, 1919 9$\frac{1}{4}$x6$\frac{1}{8}$ in. Collection of the Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, Santa Monica Spies/Metken 277</p> |
| | <p>12.1 <i>Beruhigung</i>, 1918. From another copy of <i>Consolamini</i>, p. 9 [<i>Reassurance</i>] Not illustrated Spencer Collection, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations Spies/Metken 280</p> | <p>13.1 <i>Nicht über allen Meeren wirst du fahren</i>, 1918. From another copy of <i>Der Strom</i>, p. [22a] [<i>You Will Not Travel over Every Sea</i>] Plate 13 Princeton University Library, Princeton, New Jersey Spies/Metken 278</p> |
| | <p>14 <i>Diskussion</i>, 1919 [<i>Discussion</i>] Plate 21 Watercolor and ink on paper 10$\frac{7}{8}$x8$\frac{5}{8}$ in. Fick-Eggert Collection, Ontario Not in Spies/Metken</p> | <p>15 <i>Unsterblichkeit</i>, ca. 1919 [<i>Immortality</i>] Plate 14 Oil on canvas 18$\frac{1}{8}$x12$\frac{3}{16}$ in. The Fukuoka City Bank Ltd., Fukuoka, Japan Spies/Metken 248</p> |
| | <p>16 Untitled, 1919 Plate 15 Oil on canvas 22$\frac{7}{8}$x18$\frac{1}{8}$ in. Private collection, Cologne Spies/Metken 291</p> | <p>17 <i>Das Leben im Haus</i>, ca. 1919 [<i>Household Life</i>] Plate 16 Oil on paperboard 14$\frac{3}{16}$x11$\frac{1}{4}$ in. National Gallery, Prague Spies/Metken 288</p> |

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Der Familienausflug, ca. 1919
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Plate 17
Oil on paperboard
14³/₁₆ x 14³/₁₆ in.
National Gallery, Prague
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Stadt mit Tieren, ca. 1919
[*City with Animals*]
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Oil on burlap
26¹/₄ x 24¹/₂ in.
Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum,
New York
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Figuren in der Landschaft, 1919
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Oil on canvas
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Aquis submersus, 1919
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Untitled, 1919
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Photo document: lost assemblage
relief
Dimensions of original unknown
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Photo document: lost assemblage
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Dimensions of original unknown
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Catalogue: Cologne, 1919
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The Menil Collection, Houston
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Etching in blue ink
7⁷/₈ x 7 in.
Private collection
Spies/Leppien 8A
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*la Bonne poignée de moi pour
Tristan Tzara*, 1919
[*My Good Hand for Tristan Tzara*]
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Watercolor and ink on paper
11 x 8¹/₂ in.
Bibliothèque Littéraire Jacques
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Helio alcoholodada, 1919–20
Plate 24
Pencil on paper
17³/₈ x 13¹/₄ in.
The Museum of Modern Art,
New York. John S. Newberry Fund
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Fiat modes, pereat ars, 1919–20
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Art*]
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Portfolio of eight lithographs
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Collection Timothy Baum, New York
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[*The Roaring of Ferocious Soldiers*]
Plate 37
Imprinted drawing: proof of assem-
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14¹⁵/₁₆ x 10⁵/₈ in.
Arturo Schwarz
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trophée hypertrophique, 1919–20
[*Hypertrophic Trophy*]
Plate 36
Imprinted drawing: proof of assem-
bled printer's blocks with ink on paper
16¹/₂ x 11 in.
The Museum of Modern Art, New
York. Gift of Tristan Tzara
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*adieu mon beau pays de MARIE
LAURENCIN*, 1919–20
[*Farewell My Beautiful Land of
MARIE LAURENCIN*]
Plate 38
Imprinted drawing: proof of assem-
bled printer's blocks with ink on paper
15³/₄ x 11 in.
The Museum of Modern Art, New
York. Purchase
Spies/Metken 313
- 33*
étamines et marseillaise de Arp,
1919
[*Stamens and Marseillaise of Arp*]
Plate 39
Imprinted drawing: proof of assem-
bled printer's blocks with pencil, ink,
watercolor, and gouache on paper
11⁷/₈ x 9⁷/₈ in., irregular
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Objet ambigu, 1919–20
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Plate 40
Imprinted drawing: proof of assem-
bled printer's blocks with ink on paper
10¹/₄ x 15³/₈ in.
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gewarnt*, 1919–20
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Warned*]
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paper
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1919–20
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Plate 42
Imprinted drawing: stamps of
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21¹/₄ x 14¹⁵/₁₆ in.
The Menil Collection, Houston
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*selbstkonstruiertes maschin-
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Drawing: stamp and pencil rubbings
of printer's block with ink on paper
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lächeln Sie nicht!, ca. 1920
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Plate 44
Drawing: pencil rubbings of printer's
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18¹/₂ x 12¹/₂ in.
Private collection
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chilisalpeterlein, 1920
[*Little Chili Saltpetre*]
Plate 45
Imprinted drawing: stamps and pencil
rubbings of printer's blocks and coins
with pencil, ink, watercolor, and
gouache on paper
19⁹/₁₆ x 12¹³/₁₆ in.
Private collection
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figure ambiguë, ca. 1920
[*Ambiguous Figure*]
Plate 46
Drawing: stamp and pencil rubbings
of printer's blocks with ink, water-
color, and gouache on paper mounted
on paper
18¹/₈ x 13³/₄ in.
Private collection, Hamburg
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Objet dad'art, ca. 1920. Reproduced in *Die Schammade*
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DADA siegt!, 1920
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W 5 (Manifesto, jacket maquette), 1920
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 Collage: hand-stamp with watercolor and cut printed reproduction on colored paperboard
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re=de laut! sei tap=fer! (*W 5* Manifesto, jacket maquette), 1920
 [*Talk loudly! Be brave!*]
 Plate 51
 Collage: hand-stamp with watercolor and cut printed reproductions on colored paperboard
 11¹/₄ x 13 in.
 Private collection
 Spies/Metken 333
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 Plate 52
 Collage: cut printed reproductions on colored paperboard
 11¹/₄ x 13 in.
 Private collection
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 Max Ernst and Johannes Theodor Baargeld
W 5 (Manifesto, page 1), 1920
 Not illustrated
 Collage: cut printed reproductions and typescript on paper
 11¹/₄ x 8⁷/₈ in.
 Private collection
 Spies/Metken 334
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 Max Ernst and Johannes Theodor Baargeld
W 5 (Manifesto, page 2), 1920
 Not illustrated
 Collage: cut printed reproductions, pencil rubbing, and typescript on paper
 11¹/₄ x 8⁷/₈ in.
 Private collection
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 Max Ernst and Johannes Theodor Baargeld
W 5 (Manifesto, page 3), 1920
 Plate 53
 Collage: cut printed reproductions, pencil rubbing, typescript, and ink on paper
 11¹/₄ x 8⁷/₈ in.
 Private collection
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Submarines Stilleben, ca. 1920 (repainting of a ca. 1917 work)
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 Plate 21
 Oil on canvas
 22¹/₁₆ x 24⁷/₁₆ in.
 Arnold Saltzman Family Collection
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der kaiser von wahaua, ca. 1920 (repainting of a ca. 1917 work)
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 Museum Folkwang, Essen
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démonstration hydrométrique à tuer par la température, 1920
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 Gouache, ink, and pencil on printed reproduction
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 Private collection
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c'est le chapeau qui fait l'homme, 1920
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 Collage: cut printed reproductions, watercolor, gouache, ink, and pencil on paper mounted on paper
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 The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Purchase
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eislandschaften eiszapfen u. gesteinsarten des weibl. körpers, 1920
 [*Frozen Landscape Icicles and Mineral Types of the Female Body*]
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 Gouache and pencil on wallpaper mounted on paperboard
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 Moderna Museet, Stockholm
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Katharina ondulata, 1920
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 Gouache and pencil on wallpaper mounted on paperboard
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 Private collection, England
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frau wirtin an der lahn..., 1920
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 Plate 58
 Collage: cut printed reproductions, gouache, and ink on paper mounted on paperboard
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 Graphische Sammlung, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart
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 Untitled, 1920
 Plate 59
 Gouache, ink, and pencil on printed reproduction mounted on paperboard
 11¹³/₁₆ x 9⁷/₈ in.
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L'ascenseur somnambule, 1920
 [*The Somnambulist Elevator*]
 Plate 62
 Gouache and ink on printed reproduction mounted on paperboard
 7⁵/₈ x 4⁷/₈ in.
 Collection Timothy Baum, New York
 Not in Spies/Metken
- 59
Dada Gauguin, 1920
 Plate 61
 Gouache and ink on paper
 11⁷/₁₆ x 15³/₄ in.
 Maurice and Muriel Fulton, Glencoe, Illinois
 Spies/Metken 387
- 60*
jeune homme chargé d'un fagot fleurissant, ca. 1920
 [*Young Man Burdened with a Flowering Faggot*]
 Plate 60
 Gouache and ink on printed reproduction
 4³/₈ x 6 in.
 Private collection
 Spies/Metken 386
- 61
Au dessus des nuages marche la minuit..., 1920
 [*Above the Clouds Midnight Passes...*]
 Not illustrated
 Collage: cut photographs and printed reproductions on photographic reproduction
 7¹/₂ x 5¹/₈ in.
 Private collection, Küsnacht, Switzerland
 Spies/Metken 401

- 62
Au dessus des nuages marche le minuit..., 1920
[*Above the Clouds Midnight Passes...*]
Plate 64
Photographic enlargement of a photomontage
28 $\frac{3}{4}$ x21 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.
Graphische Sammlung, Kunsthaus Zürich
Spies/Metken 402
- 63
La santé par le sport, ca. 1920
[*Health through Sport*]
Plate 65
Photographic enlargement of a photomontage mounted on wood
37 $\frac{3}{8}$ x23 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.
The Menil Collection, Houston
Spies/Metken 404
- 64
die chinesische Nachtigall, 1920
[*The Chinese Nightingale*]
Not illustrated
Collage: cut printed reproductions and ink on paper mounted on paperboard
4 $\frac{13}{16}$ x3 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
Musée de Peinture et de Sculpture, Grenoble
Spies/Metken 376
- 65
die chinesische Nachtigall, 1920
[*The Chinese Nightingale*]
Plate 66
Photographic enlargement of a collage
22 $\frac{1}{16}$ x15 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.
Private collection
Spies/Metken 377
- 66
The punching ball ou l'immortalité de buonarotti, 1920
[*The Punching Ball or the Immortality of Buonarroti*]
Plate 67
Collage: cut printed reproductions, gouache, and ink on photograph
6 $\frac{15}{16}$ x4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
Arnold H. Crane Collection, Chicago
Spies/Metken 372
- 67
Untitled, ca. 1920
Figure 59
Collage: cut photographs and gouache on printed reproduction
7 $\frac{1}{8}$ x9 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Given anonymously
Spies/Metken 383
- 68
Max Ernst and Luise Straus-Ernst
Augustine Thomas and Otto Flake, 1921
Figure 81
Collage: cut photographs and printed reproductions, gouache, and pencil on photographic reproduction
9 $\frac{1}{2}$ x5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
Sprengel Museum, Hanover
Spies/Metken 384
- 69
tambour du corps de garde à pied de l'armée céleste endimanché représenté de face, ca. 1920
[*Drum of the Infantry of the Celestial Army Represented Abreast in Their Sunday Best*]
Plate 70
Gouache and ink on printed reproduction
9 $\frac{5}{8}$ x11 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.
Private collection, The Netherlands
Not in Spies/Metken
- 70
apollon refuse constamment de marier la fille unique de l'archéologue, ca. 1920
[*Apollo Constantly Refuses to Marry the Archaeologist's Only Daughter*]
Plate 71
Gouache, ink, and pencil on printed reproduction mounted on paperboard
1 $\frac{9}{16}$ x6 in.
Private collection, Paris
Spies/Metken 371
- 71
das schlafzimmer des meisters es lohnt sich darin eine nacht zu verbringen, ca. 1920
[*The Master's Bedroom It's Worth Spending a Night There*]
Plate 72
Gouache, pencil, and ink on printed reproduction mounted on paperboard
6 $\frac{7}{16}$ x8 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.
Private collection
Spies/Metken 399
- 72
Untitled, ca. 1920
Plate 74
Collage: cut printed reproductions, gouache, and pencil on paper
9 $\frac{3}{16}$ x7 in.
Private collection
Spies/Metken 380
- 73
Max Ernst and Sophie Taeuber-Arp
physiomythologisches diluvialbild, 1920
[*Physiomythological Flood Picture*]
Plate 75
Collage: cut photographs and printed reproductions, gouache, pencil, and ink on paper mounted on paperboard
4 $\frac{7}{16}$ x3 $\frac{15}{16}$ in.
Sprengel Museum, Hanover
Spies/Metken 370
- 74
le chien qui chie... la chanson de la chair, ca. 1920
[*The Dog Who Shits... The Song of The Flesh*]
Plate 77
Collage: cut printed reproductions, gouache, and pencil on photographic reproduction mounted on paperboard
4 $\frac{3}{4}$ x8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.
Musée national d'art moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris
Spies/Metken 385
- 75
un peu malade le cheval, ca. 1920
[*The Horse, He's a Little Sick*]
Plate 78
Collage: cut printed reproductions and pencil on printed reproduction
5 $\frac{3}{4}$ x8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Fund
Spies/Metken 368
- 76
un peu malade le cheval patte pelu..., ca. 1920
[*The Hairy-hoofed Horse, He's a Little Sick...*]
Plate 79
Gouache and ink on printed reproduction mounted on paperboard
6 $\frac{5}{16}$ x9 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.
Museo Civico (Galleria d'Arte Moderna), Turin
Spies/Metken 369
- 77
Untitled, ca. 1920
Plate 80
Gouache, ink, and pencil on printed reproduction
6 $\frac{5}{8}$ x7 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.
Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam
Spies/Metken 345
- 78
La petite fistule lacrimale qui dit tic tac, 1920
[*The Little Tear Gland That Says Tic Tac*]
Plate 81
Gouache and ink on wallpaper mounted on paper
14 $\frac{1}{4}$ x10 in.
The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Purchase
Spies/Metken 353
- 79
L'ascaride de sable qui rattache sa sandale..., ca. 1920
[*The Sandworm Who Reties Her Sandal...*]
Plate 82
Gouache and pencil on printed reproduction mounted on paperboard
4 $\frac{5}{8}$ x19 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.
Private collection
Spies/Metken 360
- 80
Paysage aux feuilles, ca. 1920
[*Leaf Landscape*]
Plate 83
Collage: cut printed reproductions, gouache, and ink on printed reproduction
8 $\frac{7}{16}$ x10 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.
Collection François Petit, Paris
Spies/Metken 361
- 81
schichtgestein naturgabe aus gneiss lava isländisch moos..., ca. 1920
[*Stratified Rocks, Nature's Gift of Gneiss Lava Icelandic Moss...*]
Plate 84
Gouache and ink on printed reproduction mounted on paperboard
6x8 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.
The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Purchase
Spies/Metken 367

- 82
sitzender buddha..., 1920
[*Seated Buddha...*]
Plate 85
Gouache and ink on printed reproduction
8 $\frac{1}{8}$ x7 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.
Sally and Eliot Robinson
Spies/Metken 365
- 83
Rechtzeitig erkannte angriffspläne der assimilanzfäden auf die feste DADA 1 : 300.000, 1920
[*The Assimilative Threads' Attack Plans Found Out in Time on the Stronghold of Dada 1 : 300,000*]
Plate 86
Collage: cut printed reproduction and ink on paper
7 $\frac{7}{8}$ x7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
Private collection, Hamburg
Spies/Metken 364
- 84*
le limaçon de chambre fusible et la cœur de la moissonneuse légère à la course..., 1920
[*The Fusible Bedroom Snail and the Heart of the Fleet-footed Harvester Maiden...*]
Plate 87
Gouache, ink, and pencil on printed reproduction mounted on paperboard
9 $\frac{1}{4}$ x6 $\frac{5}{16}$ in.
Private collection
Spies/Metken 344
- 85
Untitled, 1920
Plate 88
Gouache and ink on printed reproduction
7 $\frac{1}{8}$ x9 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
Private collection, courtesy of Massimo Martino Fine Art S.A., Lugano
Spies/Metken 341
- 86
always the best man wins (also sodaliten schneeberger drückethäler...), 1920
[*Always the Best Man Wins (also Sodalites Snow Saver Squeeze Valley...)*]
Plate 89
Gouache, pencil, and ink on printed reproduction mounted on paperboard
5 $\frac{1}{16}$ x8 $\frac{11}{16}$ in.
Private collection
Spies/Metken 342
- 87
stark vergrößerter gefrierschnitt durch die zwergzellen..., ca. 1920
[*Greatly Enlarged Frozen Section of Dwarf Cells...*]
Plate 90
Watercolor and ink on printed reproduction mounted on paperboard
4 $\frac{7}{8}$ x6 $\frac{11}{16}$ in.
Galerie Brusberg, Berlin, and Galerie Rudolf Zwirner, Cologne
Spies/Metken 366
- 88
plantation boophile d'outremer hyperboréenne, ca. 1921
[*Boophilic Plantation of Hyperborean Ultramarine*]
Plate 91
Watercolor and ink on printed reproduction mounted on paperboard
3 $\frac{3}{4}$ x4 $\frac{15}{16}$ in.
Galerie Brusberg, Berlin, and Galerie Rudolf Zwirner, Cologne
Spies/Metken 431
- 89
plantation farcineuse hydropique parasite, 1921
[*Farcy Hydropic Parasitic Plantation*]
Plate 92
Watercolor, gouache, and ink on printed reproduction mounted on paperboard
3 $\frac{3}{4}$ x4 $\frac{15}{16}$ in.
Galerie Brusberg, Berlin, and Galerie Rudolf Zwirner, Cologne
Spies/Metken 432
- 90
Untitled, ca. 1921
Plate 93
Gouache on printed reproduction
17 $\frac{1}{16}$ x26 in.
Private collection, Paris
Spies/Metken 427
- 91
la bicyclette graminée..., ca. 1921
[*The Gramineous Bicycle...*]
Plate 94
Gouache and ink on printed reproduction
29 $\frac{1}{4}$ x39 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.
The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Purchase
Spies/Metken 428
- 92*
paysage en ferraille..., ca. 1921
[*Landscape in Scrap Iron...*]
Plate 95
Collage: cut printed reproductions, gouache, and ink on printed reproduction
30 $\frac{5}{16}$ x26 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.
Private collection
Spies/Metken 429
- 93
les cormorans, 1920
[*The Cormorants*]
Not illustrated
Collage: cut printed reproductions, gouache, ink, and pencil on photographic reproduction
6 $\frac{1}{8}$ x5 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.
Private collection, Paris
Spies/Metken 392
- 94
die flamingi..., 1920
[*The Flamingos...*]
Plate 96
Photographic enlargement of a photomontage with watercolor and ink mounted on paperboard
11 $\frac{1}{2}$ x9 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.
Private collection, Paris
Spies/Metken 393
- 95
hier ist noch alles in der schwebe, 1920
[*Here Everything is Still Floating*]
Figure 58
Collage: cut printed reproductions and pencil on photographic reproduction
4 $\frac{1}{8}$ x4 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.
The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Purchase
Spies/Metken 374
- 96
Max Ernst and Hans Arp
hier ist noch alles in der schwebe..., 1920
[*Here Everything Is Still Floating...*]
Plate 97
Photographic enlargement of a photomontage with gouache and ink mounted on paperboard
12 $\frac{5}{8}$ x15 $\frac{5}{16}$ in., sheet
Fondation Jean Arp und Sophie Taeuber-Arp, Rolandseck, Germany
Spies/Metken 375
- 97
Untitled, ca. 1920
Plate 98
Collage: cut printed and photographic reproductions with pencil on photographic reproduction mounted on paperboard
2 $\frac{5}{16}$ x5 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.
The Menil Collection, Houston
Spies/Metken 395
- 98
le cygne est bien paisible..., 1920
[*The Swan Is Very Peaceful...*]
Plate 99
Collage: cut printed reproductions and pencil on photographic reproduction
3 $\frac{1}{4}$ x4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.
Yokohama Museum of Art
Spies/Metken 396
- 99
La massacre des Innocents, ca. 1920
[*Massacre of the Innocents*]
Plate 100
Collage: cut printed reproductions, stencils, gouache, watercolor, and ink on photographic reproduction mounted on paperboard
8 $\frac{1}{2}$ x11 $\frac{7}{16}$ in.
Lindy and Edwin Bergman Collection
Spies/Metken 391
- 100
Diplodocus, ca. 1920
Not illustrated
Collage: cut printed reproductions and ink on paper
2 $\frac{3}{4}$ x4 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.
Private collection, Paris
Spies/Metken 400
- 101
Untitled, ca. 1920–21
Not illustrated
Collage: cut printed reproductions and pencil on paper mounted on paper
4 $\frac{1}{8}$ x3 $\frac{3}{16}$ in.
Fondation Jean Arp und Sophie Taeuber-Arp, Rolandseck, Germany
Spies/Metken 1872
- 102
Untitled, ca. 1920–21
Plate 73
Collage: cut printed reproductions on paper mounted on colored paperboard
3 $\frac{1}{16}$ x5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.
Collection François Petit, Paris
Spies/Metken 389

- 103*
Dada Degas..., 1920–21
 Plate 63
 Gouache and ink on printed reproduction mounted on paperboard
 18 $\frac{7}{8}$ x12 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.
 Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Staatsgalerie moderner Kunst, Munich.
 Theo Wornland Stiftung
 Spies/Metken 388
- 104
Jeune chimère, ca. 1921
 [Young Chimera]
 Plate 68
 (?) Gouache and ink on printed reproduction
 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ x3 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
 Private collection, Paris
 Spies/Metken 417
- 105
perturbation, ma sœur, ca. 1921
 [Perturbation, My Sister]
 Plate 69
 (?) Gouache and crayon on printed reproduction
 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ x6 $\frac{5}{16}$ in.
 Kunstmuseum Bern. Annemarie und Victor Loeb-Stiftung
 Spies/Metken 415
- 106
gai réveil du geyser..., 1921
 [Cheerful Awakening of the Geyser...]
 Plate 76
 Collage: cut printed reproductions, gouache, ink, and pencil on paper mounted on paperboard
 9 $\frac{7}{16}$ x6 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.
 The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Gift of Marc Engelhard, Paris, with the help of Les Amis du Musée d'Israël à Jerusalem
 Spies/Metken 419
- 107
La puberté proche..., 1921
 [Approaching Puberty...]
 Plate 105
 Collage: cut photographic reproduction, gouache, oil, and ink on paper mounted on paperboard
 9 $\frac{5}{8}$ x6 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
 Private collection, Paris
 Spies/Metken 418
- 108
Santa Conversazione, ca. 1921
 [Sacred Conversation]
 Plate 101
 Photograph of a collage
 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ x5 $\frac{3}{16}$ in.
 Private collection, Paris
 Spies/Metken 425
- 109
die anatomie (Die Anatomie Schulfertig), 1921
 [The Anatomy (The School-prepared Anatomy)]
 Plate 102
 Photographic enlargement of a collage with gouache and ink mounted on paperboard
 9 $\frac{1}{8}$ x6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.
 Private collection
 Spies/Metken 423
- 110
sambesiland, 1921
 Plate 103
 Photographic enlargement of a photomontage with ink mounted on paperboard
 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ x13 $\frac{13}{16}$ in., sheet
 Private collection, Paris
 Spies/Metken 414
- 111
 Untitled, 1921
 Plate 104
 Collage: cut printed reproductions and ink on postcard
 3 $\frac{13}{16}$ x5 $\frac{13}{16}$ in.
 Fondation Jean Arp und Sophie Taeuber-Arp, Rolandseck, Germany
 Spies/Metken 412
- 112
Microgramme Arp 1: 25.000, ca. 1921. Reproduced in *Littérature*, p. 11
 Figure 65
 Periodical: Paris, 1921
 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ x5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
 Carlton Lake Collection. Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center
 The University of Texas at Austin
 Spies/Metken 408
- 113
Relief tricoté, ca. 1921. Reproduced in *Exposition Dada Max Ernst*
 Figure 68
 Catalogue: Paris, 1921
 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ x15 $\frac{1}{2}$ in., extended
 The Menil Collection, Houston
 Spies/Metken 406
- 114
Die Leimbereitung aus Knochen, 1921
 [The Preparation of Bone Glue]
 Plate 106
 Collage: cut printed engravings on paper
 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ x4 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.
 Private collection
 Spies/Metken 435
- 115
 Untitled, 1921
 Figure 74
 Collage: cut printed engravings and ink on paper
 Dimensions unknown
 Bibliothèque Littéraire Jacques Doucet, Paris
 Not in Spies/Metken
- 116
 Untitled, ca. 1921
 Plate 107
 (Original frontispiece for Paul Eluard's *Répétitions*, Paris, 1922)
 Gouache and ink on printed reproduction
 2 $\frac{7}{16}$ x4 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.
 Isidore Ducasse Fine Arts
 Spies/Metken 439
- 117
l'invention, 1921
 [The Invention]
 Plate 109
 (Original collage for Paul Eluard's *Répétitions*, Paris, 1922, p. 10)
 Collage: cut printed reproductions, gouache, and ink on paper
 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ x3 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.
 Bequest Bertelé
 Spies/Metken 440
- 118*
la parole, 1921
 [The Word]
 Plate 108
 (Original collage for Paul Eluard's *Répétitions*, Paris, 1922, p. 16)
 Collage: cut printed engraving and reproduction with gouache and ink on paper
 7 $\frac{5}{16}$ x4 $\frac{3}{16}$ in.
 Collection E. W. Kornfeld, Bern
 Spies/Metken 441
- 119
les moutons, 1921
 [The Sheep]
 Plate 111
 (Original collage for Paul Eluard's *Répétitions*, Paris, 1922, p. 25)
 Collage: cut printed reproductions, gouache, and ink on paper
 4 $\frac{7}{16}$ x6 $\frac{3}{16}$ in.
 Musée national d'art moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.
 Donation de Mme Arp
 Spies/Metken 443
- 120
nul, 1921
 [Null]
 Plate 110
 (Original collage for Paul Eluard's *Répétitions*, Paris, 1922, p. 29)
 Collage: cut printed reproductions on paper
 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ x3 $\frac{3}{16}$ in.
 Private collection, courtesy the Mayor Gallery, London
 Spies/Metken 444
- 121
 Cover of Paul Eluard's *Répétitions*, 1921
 Figure 85
 Book: Paris, 1922
 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ x5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
 The Menil Collection, Houston
 Spies/Metken 438
- 121.1
a la minute, 1921. From another copy of Paul Eluard's *Répétitions*, p. 45
 [To the Minute]
 Not illustrated
 Spencer Collection, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations
 Spies/Metken 447
- 122
 Untitled, ca. 1921–22
 Chapter 5, note 68
 (Drawing after the cover of Paul Eluard's *Répétitions*)
 Ink on tracing paper
 3 $\frac{11}{16}$ x5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
 Orton Art Trust, Houston
 Spies/Metken 438.2

- 123
Violon renversé, 1921
[*Upside-down Violin*]
Plate 112
Collage: cut printed engravings on paper mounted on paperboard
5 $\frac{5}{8}$ x3 $\frac{13}{16}$ in.
Sprengel Museum, Hanover
Spies/Metken 458
- 124
Studenten in Heidelberg, 1921
[*Students in Heidelberg*]
Plate 113
Collage: cut printed engravings on paper mounted on paperboard
4 $\frac{1}{2}$ x5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in., sheet
Jack and Muriel Wolgin
Spies/Metken 462
- 125
Der Redner, 1921
[*The Orator*]
Plate 114
Collage: cut printed engravings and reproduction with ink on paper
9 $\frac{13}{16}$ x7 $\frac{9}{16}$ in.
Private collection
Spies/Metken 457
- 126
Design for an Exhibition Poster, 1921
Figure 78
Collage: cut printed reproductions, photographs, gouache, stencils, pencil, and ink on paperboard
25 $\frac{3}{16}$ x19 $\frac{5}{16}$ in.
Museo Civico (Galleria d'Arte Moderna), Turin
Spies/Metken 437
- 127*
Seestück, 1921
[*Sea Piece (Seascape)*]
Plate 115
Oil on canvas
26x31 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.
Whereabouts unknown
Spies/Metken 468
- 128
Portrait d'Eluard, 1921
[*Portrait of Eluard*]
Plate 116
Oil on glass with aluminum foil
16 $\frac{3}{4}$ x12 in.
Private collection
Spies/Metken 467
- 129
Celebes, 1921
Plate 117
Oil on canvas
49 $\frac{1}{4}$ x42 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
The Tate Gallery, London
Spies/Metken 466
- 130
Vögel, Fisch-Schlange, ca. 1921
[*Birds-Fish-Snake*]
Plate 128
Oil on canvas
22 $\frac{13}{16}$ x24 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.
Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich, Staatsgalerie moderner Kunst
Spies/Metken 465
- 131
Oedipus Rex, 1922
Plate 118
Oil on canvas
36 $\frac{5}{8}$ x40 $\frac{3}{16}$ in.
Private collection
Spies/Metken 496
- 132
électrique ivre de gin, orné de truffes..., 1922
[*Electric Gin Drink Adorned with Truffles...*]
Figure 86
Collage: cut printed engravings, ink, and gouache on paper
4 $\frac{7}{8}$ x4 $\frac{5}{16}$ in.
Bibliothèque Littéraire Jacques Doucet, Paris
Spies/Metken 469
- 133
Humor-Ecke des Hotel Kaletsch, Düsseldorf, 1922
[*Humor Corner of the Kaletsch Hotel, Düsseldorf*]
Figure 90
Pencil on postcard
3 $\frac{3}{4}$ x5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.
Bibliothèque Littéraire Jacques Doucet, Paris
Spies/Metken 470
- 134
Double portrait of Max Ernst and Paul Eluard, ca. 1922
Figure 92
Pencil and ink on paper
8 $\frac{7}{8}$ x5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
Bibliothèque Littéraire Jacques Doucet, Paris
Not in Spies/Metken
- 135
Les Malheurs des immortels, 1922
[*The Misfortunes of the Immortals*]
Plates 119–126
Hand-colored book: Paris, 1922
9 $\frac{3}{4}$ x7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
Isidore Ducasse Fine Arts
Spies/Metken 471–91
- 135.1
Untitled frontispiece, 1922.
Reproduced in *Les Malheurs des immortels*
Figure 93
Book: Paris, 1922
9 $\frac{3}{4}$ x7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
Spencer Collection, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations
Spies/Metken 471
- 135.2
l'avengle prédestiné tourne le dos aux passants, 1922. From another copy of *Les Malheurs des immortels*, p. 10
[*The Predestined Blind Man Turns His Back on By-Passers*]
Not illustrated
Rodker Collection, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, The University of Texas at Austin
Spies/Metken 475
- 135.3
les deux tout, 1922. From another copy of *Les Malheurs des immortels*, p. 18
[*Both of Them*]
Not illustrated
Bibliothèque Littéraire Jacques Doucet, Paris
Spies/Metken 479
- 135.4
conseils d'ami, 1922. From another copy of *Les Malheurs des immortels*, p. 24
[*Friendly Advice*]
Not illustrated
The Menil Collection, Houston
Spies/Metken 482
- 135.5
plaisirs oublié, 1922. From another copy of *Les Malheurs des immortels*, p. 30
[*Forgotten Pleasures*]
Not illustrated
Paris, 1945 reprint edition
Private collection
Spies/Metken 485
- 135.6
la paix à la campagne, 1922. From another copy of *Les Malheurs des immortels*, p. 40
[*Peace in the Country*]
Plate 125
Paris, 1945 reprint edition
The Menil Collection, Houston
Spies/Metken 490
- 136*
Die Ruine, ca. 1922
[*The Ruins*]
Plate 131
Oil on canvas
39 $\frac{3}{8}$ x31 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich, Staatsgalerie moderner Kunst
Spies/Metken 502
- 137
L'an 55: tremblement de terre fort doux, ca. 1922
[*The Year 55: Very Gentle Earthquake*]
Plate 132
Oil on canvas
28 $\frac{3}{4}$ x23 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.
Private collection
Not in Spies/Metken
- 138*
Au rendez-vous des amis, 1922
[*At the Rendezvous of the Friends*]
Plate 133
Oil on canvas
51x76 in.
Museum Ludwig, Cologne
Spies/Metken 505
- 139*
Der Nordpol, 1922
[*North Pole*]
Plate 134
Oil on canvas
24 $\frac{1}{8}$ x16 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.
Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, Münster
Not in Spies/Metken
- 140
l'intérieur de la vue, 1922
[*The Interior of the Sight*]
Plate 136
Oil on canvas
36 $\frac{1}{4}$ x28 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.
Private collection, Paris
Spies/Metken 600

- 141
La mer, la côte et le tremblement de terre, 1922
[*The Sea, the Coast, and the Earthquake*]
Plate 140
(Original drawing for *Littérature*, January, 1923)
Ink on paper mounted on paper-board
7 $\frac{7}{8}$ x10 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
Fondation Jean Arp und Sophie Taeuber-Arp, Rolandseck, Germany
Spies/Metken 508
- 142
Baudelaire rentre tard, 1922
[*Baudelaire Returns Late*]
Plate 141
(Original drawing for *Littérature*, January, 1923)
Ink on paper
10 $\frac{3}{8}$ x7 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.
Collection Jacques Matarasso
Spies/Metken 509
- 143
Untitled (*les hommes ne le sauront jamais*), 1922–23
[Untitled (*Man Will Never Understand It*)]
Plate 127
Gouache, watercolor, and pencil on paper
19 $\frac{7}{8}$ x25 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.
Peter Schamoni, Munich
Spies/Metken 464
- 144
Danseur sous le ciel (Le noctambule), 1922–23
[*Dancer beneath the Sky (The Noctambulant)*]
Plate 129
Oil on paper mounted on paper-board in original painted frame
7 $\frac{1}{8}$ x11 in.
Private collection
Spies/Metken 499
- 145
la chute d'un ange, 1922–23
[*Fall of an Angel*]
Plate 130
(?) Gouache, oil, and pencil on paper mounted on paperboard
17 $\frac{5}{16}$ x13 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.
Private collection
Spies/Metken 500
- 146
oiseaux dans un paysage, ca. 1923
[*Birds in a Landscape*]
Plate 154
Oil on canvas
39 $\frac{3}{8}$ x29 $\frac{15}{16}$ in.
Private collection
Spies/Metken 494
- 147*
Forêt avec lézard, ca. 1923
[*Forest with Lizard*]
Plate 153
Oil on canvas
23 $\frac{3}{8}$ x28 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.
Whereabouts unknown
Spies/Metken 495
- 148
La Victoire de Samothrace, ca. 1923
[*The Victory of Samothrace*]
Plate 135
Oil on wood
13 $\frac{3}{8}$ x10 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.
Private collection, Paris
Spies/Metken 609
- 149
Paysage noir, ca. 1923
[*Black Landscape*]
Plate 137
Oil on wood
12 $\frac{13}{16}$ x15 $\frac{15}{16}$ in.
Private collection, London
Spies/Metken 607
- 150
un tremblement de terre très doux, ca. 1923
[*A Very Gentle Earthquake*]
Plate 138
Oil on wood
7 $\frac{1}{2}$ x9 $\frac{7}{16}$ in.
Private collection, Paris
Spies/Metken 621
- 151
Es lebe die Liebe oder Pays charmant, 1923
[*Long Live Love or Charming Countryside*]
Plate 156
Oil on canvas
51 $\frac{3}{4}$ x38 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.
The Saint Louis Art Museum.
Bequest of Morton D. May
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- 152
Castor and Pollution, 1923
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47 $\frac{1}{4}$ x59 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.
Private collection
Spies/Metken 623
- 153
La femme chancelante, 1923
[*The Tottering Woman*]
Plate 143
Oil on canvas
51 $\frac{3}{8}$ x38 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.
Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen, Düsseldorf
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- 154
Le Couple, 1923
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Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam
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- 155
les hommes n'en sauront rien, 1923
[*Man Shall Know Nothing of This*]
Plate 145
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31 $\frac{11}{16}$ x25 $\frac{3}{16}$ in.
The Tate Gallery, London
Spies/Metken 653
- 156*
Pietà ou la révolution la nuit, 1923
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Plate 147
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45 $\frac{11}{16}$ x35 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.
The Tate Gallery, London
Spies/Metken 624
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Entrer, sortir, 1923
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Oil on wood
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Kawamura Memorial Museum of Art, Sakura, Japan
Spies/Metken 636
- 158*
Untitled, 1923
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Oil on wood
80 $\frac{11}{16}$ x31 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
Sprengel Museum, Hanover
Spies/Metken 638
- 159*
Au premier mot limpide, 1923
[*At the First Limpid Word*]
Plate 152
Oil on plaster transferred to canvas
91 $\frac{3}{8}$ x65 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.
Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen, Düsseldorf
Spies/Metken 641
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[*Friendly Advice*]
Plate 150
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Private collection, Paris
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Sainte Cécile (Le piano invisible), 1923
[*Saint Cecilia (The Invisible Piano)*]
Plate 159
Oil on canvas
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Staatsgalerie Stuttgart
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Ubu Imperator, 1923–24
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Musée national d'art moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.
Donation Fondation pour la Recherche Médicale
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- 164
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Private collection, Paris
Spies/Metken 594
- 165
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Richard Feldhaus, Neuss, Germany
Spies/Metken 596

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[*Cold Throats*]
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October, 1923)
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Private collection, Paris
Spies/Metken 517
- 167
Portrait de Robert Desnos, 1923
[*Portrait of Robert Desnos*]
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(Original drawing for *Littérature*,
October, 1923)
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Private collection, Paris
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- 168
André Breton, 1923
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Ink on paperboard
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Private collection, Paris
Spies/Metken 561
- 169
Himmlische und irdische Liebe,
1923–24
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19x25 in.
Private collection, Cologne
Spies/Metken 635
- 170
Weib, Greis und Blume, 1924
[*Woman, Old Man, and Flower*]
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38x51 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.
The Museum of Modern Art,
New York. Purchase
Spies/Metken 660
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*2 enfants sont menacés par un
rossignol*, 1924
[*Two Children Are Threatened by
a Nightingale*]
Plate 162
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27 $\frac{1}{2}$ x22 $\frac{1}{2}$ x4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
The Museum of Modern Art,
New York. Purchase
Spies/Metken 668
- 172
Der Wald, ca. 1924
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Plate 164
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28 $\frac{3}{4}$ x20 $\frac{1}{16}$ in.
Philadelphia Museum of Art.
The Louise and Walter Arensberg
Collection
Spies/Metken 674
- 173
Oiseau, ca. 1924
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Plate 163
Wood assemblage
40 $\frac{1}{8}$ x8 $\frac{1}{4}$ x11 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.
Private collection
Spies/Metken 672
- 174
L'aimant est proche sans doute,
ca. 1924
[*The Magnet Is Near, No Doubt*]
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Collection François Petit, Paris
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Lesson in Automatic Writing,
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Ink on paper
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Collection François Petit, Paris
Spies/Metken 565
- 176
M, 1924
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Oil on canvas
32 $\frac{11}{16}$ x24 $\frac{7}{16}$ in.
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Spies/Metken 665
- 177
Le Couple, 1924–25
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Oil on canvas
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Madame Jean Krebs, Brussels
Spies/Metken 664
- 178*
Qui est ce grand malade...,
1924–25
[*Who Is This Tall Sick Man...*]
Plate 170
Oil on canvas
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Private collection
Spies/Metken 657
- 179*
Tableau-poème, 1924–25
[*Poem Painting*]
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Private collection
Spies/Metken 658
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Oiseaux roses, 1924–25
[*Rose Birds*]
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8x10 in.
The Menil Collection, Houston
Spies/Metken 763
- 181*
Paris-Rêve, 1924–25
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Oil on canvas
25 $\frac{1}{2}$ x21 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.
Yale University Art Gallery. Bequest
of Katherine S. Dreier to the Collec-
tion Société Anonyme
Spies/Metken 981
- 182
Portrait of Gala, ca. 1925
Plate 169
Oil on canvas
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Muriel Kallis Newman
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- 183
les mœurs des feuilles, 1925
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(Original frottage for *Histoire
Naturelle*, Paris, 1926, sheet 18)
Pencil frottage, watercolor, and
gouache on paper
16 $\frac{13}{16}$ x10 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.
Private collection
Spies/Metken 807
- 184
*les éclairs au-dessous de quatorze
ans*, 1925
[*Teenage Lightning*]
Not illustrated
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Naturelle*, Paris, 1926, sheet 24)
Pencil frottage on paper
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Private collection
Spies/Metken 813
- 185*
la roue de la lumière, 1925
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Plate 176
(Original frottage for *Histoire
Naturelle*, Paris, 1926, sheet 29)
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9 $\frac{7}{8}$ x16 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
Private collection, Switzerland
Spies/Metken 818
- 186
le fleuve amour, 1925
[*The River of Love*]
Plate 178
Pencil frottage on paper
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The Menil Collection, Houston
Spies/Metken 827
- 187
hors de ce monde, 1925
[*Out of This World*]
Plate 179
Pencil frottage on paper
6 $\frac{3}{8}$ x6 in.
The Menil Collection, Houston
Spies/Metken 859
- 188
l'âge de l'angoisse, 1925
[*The Age of Anxiety*]
Plate 180
Pencil frottage on paper
8 $\frac{7}{16}$ x6 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
The Menil Collection, Houston
Spies/Metken 851
- 189
la terre vue de la terre, 1925
[*The Earth Views the Earth*]
Plate 181
Pencil frottage on paper
7 $\frac{9}{16}$ x6 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.
The Menil Collection, Houston
Spies/Metken 839
- 190
les noces chimiques, 1925
[*Chemical Wedding*]
Plate 182
Pencil frottage on paper
8 $\frac{3}{16}$ x6 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.
The Menil Collection, Houston
Spies/Metken 842
- 191
la sève monte, monte, 1925
[*Sap Rises, Rises*]
Not illustrated
Pencil frottage on paper
8 $\frac{1}{16}$ x6 $\frac{5}{16}$ in.
The Menil Collection, Houston
Spies/Metken 862

- 192
la belle saison, 1925
[*The Beautiful Season*]
Plate 183
Pencil frottage on paper
7 $\frac{7}{8}$ x10 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.
The Menil Collection, Houston
Spies/Metken 913
- 193
Forêt, 1925
[*Forest*]
Plate 165
Oil on canvas
39 $\frac{3}{8}$ x22 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.
Collection Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan
Spies/Metken 925
- 194*
La belle saison, 1925
[*The Beautiful Season*]
Plate 184
Oil on canvas
22 $\frac{7}{8}$ x42 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
Private collection
Spies/Metken 951
- 195
La mer, 1925
[*The Sea*]
Plate 187
Oil on canvas
16x12 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.
Los Angeles County Museum of Art.
Mr. and Mrs. William Preston Harrison
Collection
Spies/Metken 977
- 196
La forêt, 1925
[*The Forest*]
Plate 185
Oil on canvas
45 $\frac{3}{4}$ x28 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.
The Art Institute of Chicago.
Joseph Winterbotham Collection
Spies/Metken 936
- 197
aux 100 000 colombes, 1925
[*100,000 Doves*]
Plate 175
Oil on canvas
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Private collection, Paris
Spies/Metken 1025
- 198
Deux sœurs, 1926
[*Two Sisters*]
Plate 186
Oil on canvas
39 $\frac{3}{8}$ x28 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.
The Menil Collection, Houston
Spies/Metken 963
- 199
Deux jeunes filles en des belles poses,
ca. 1925–26
[*Two Girls in Beautiful Poses*]
Plate 166
Oil on canvas
39 $\frac{3}{8}$ x28 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.
Private collection
Spies/Metken 666
- 200
L'inquisiteur: à 7h 07, justice sera faite, 1926
[*The Inquisitor: at 7:07 Justice Shall be Made*]
Not illustrated
Oil on canvas
39 $\frac{3}{8}$ x28 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.
Private collection
Spies/Metken 966
- 201
Deux personnages et un oiseau,
1926
[*Two People and a Bird*]
Plate 190
Oil on canvas
36 $\frac{1}{4}$ x25 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.
Mr. and Mrs. Julian J. Aberbach
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- 202
La Vierge corrigeant l'enfant Jésus devant trois témoins: André Breton, Paul Eluard et le peintre, 1926
[*The Virgin Spanking the Christ Child before Three Witnesses: André Breton, Paul Eluard, and the Painter*]
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77 $\frac{3}{16}$ x51 $\frac{3}{16}$ in.
Museum Ludwig, Cologne
Spies/Metken 1059
- 203
Enfant, cheval, fleur et serpent,
1927
[*Child, Horse, Flower, and Snake*]
Plate 189
Oil on canvas
28 $\frac{1}{8}$ x32 $\frac{5}{16}$ in.
Private collection
Spies/Metken 1075
- 204
Léda et le cygne, 1927
[*Leda and the Swan*]
Plate 191
Oil on canvas
9 $\frac{1}{16}$ x7 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.
Private collection, Brussels
Spies/Metken 1086
- 205
Laocoon père et fils, 1927
[*Laocoön and Sons*]
Plate 192
Oil on canvas
25 $\frac{3}{4}$ x32 in.
The Menil Collection, Houston
Spies/Metken 1083
- 206
La famille nombreuse, 1927
[*One Big Family*]
Plate 193
Oil on canvas
31 $\frac{7}{8}$ x25 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.
San Francisco Museum of Modern Art.
Gift of Peggy Guggenheim
Spies/Metken 1129
- 207
La horde, 1927
[*The Horde*]
Plate 194
Oil on canvas
45 $\frac{1}{4}$ x57 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam
Spies/Metken 1132
- 208
Scène d'érotisme sévère, 1927
[*Scene of Harsh Eroticism*]
Plate 195
Oil on canvas
31 $\frac{1}{2}$ x39 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.
Kunstmuseum Bonn
Spies/Metken 1093
- 209
Deux jeunes chimères nues, 1927
[*Two Naked Young Chimeras*]
Plate 196
Oil on canvas
39 $\frac{3}{8}$ x31 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.
Private collection
Spies/Metken 1133
- 210
Le baiser dans la nuit, 1927
[*Kiss in the Night*]
Plate 197
Oil on canvas
51 $\frac{3}{16}$ x63 $\frac{13}{16}$ in.
The Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford.
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Jaretsky, Jr.
Spies/Metken 1138
- 211
Une nuit d'amour, 1927
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Plate 198
Oil on canvas
63 $\frac{3}{4}$ x51 $\frac{3}{16}$ in.
Private collection
Spies/Metken 1134
- 212*
Forêt et soleil, 1927
[*Forest and Sun*]
Plate 199
Oil on canvas
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Private collection
Spies/Metken 1168
- 213
La grande forêt, 1927
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Plate 200
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Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Basel,
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- 214
Sun and sea, 1927
Not illustrated
Oil on canvas
31x38 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
Private collection
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Projet pour le Monument aux oiseaux, 1927
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Private collection
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Musée Cantini, Marseilles
Spies/Metken 1210

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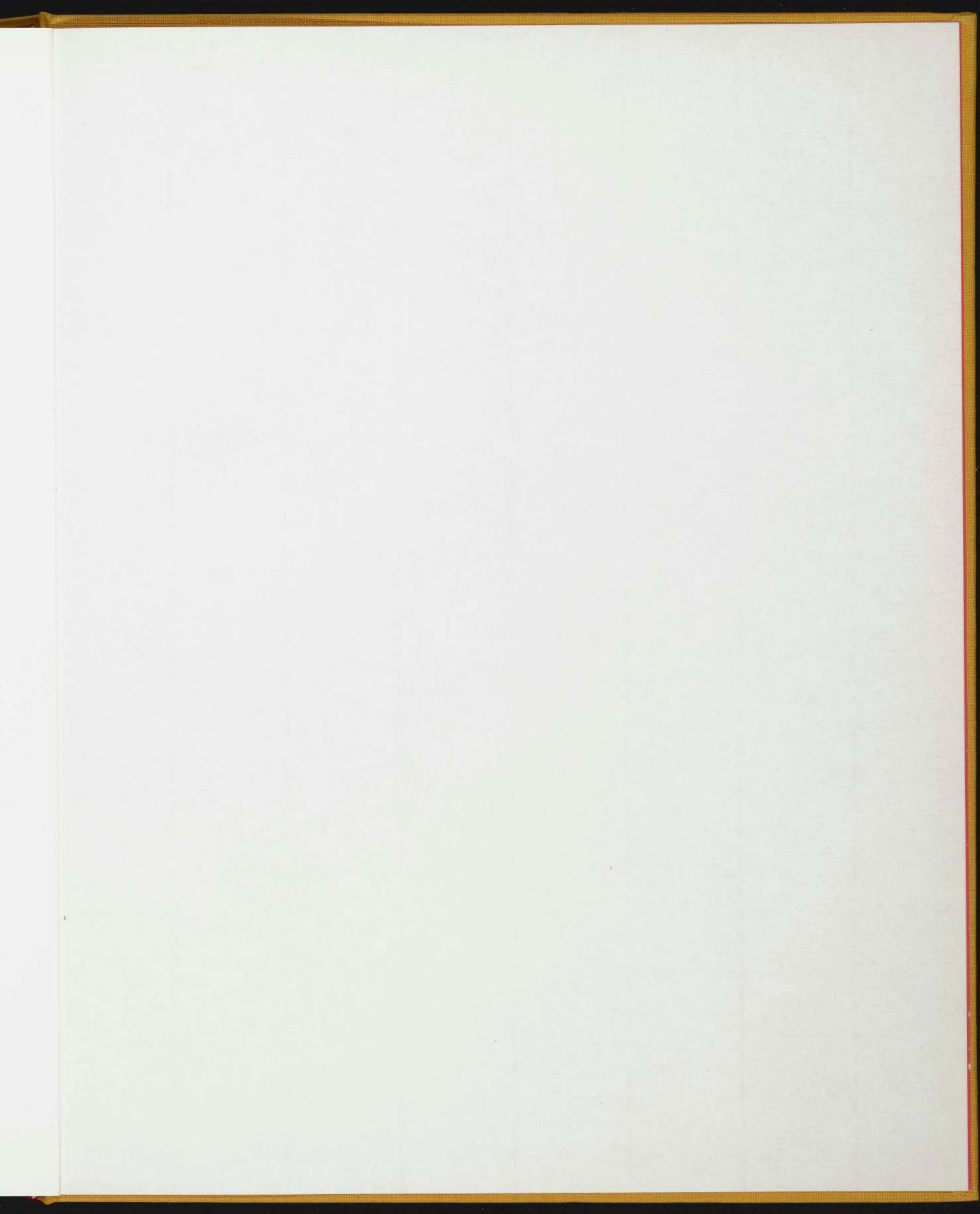
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 Library of the University of California, Berkeley Fig. 80; Ch. 6, n. 73; Ch. 6, n. 117; Ch. 6, n. 144
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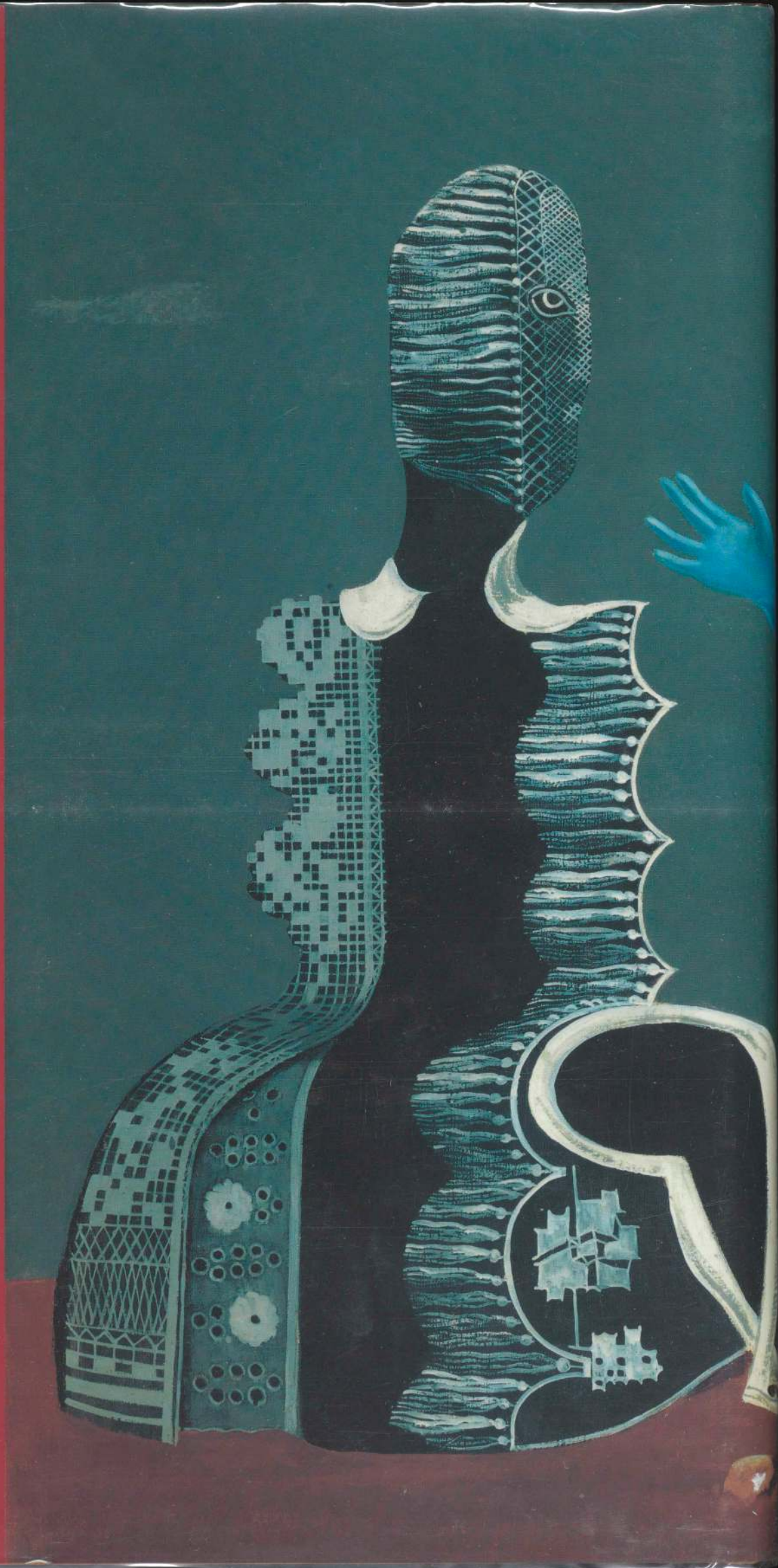
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