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**DAY DREAMS NIGHT THOUGHTS
FANTASY AND SURREALISM IN THE
GRAPHIC ARTS AND PHOTOGRAPHY**

2013

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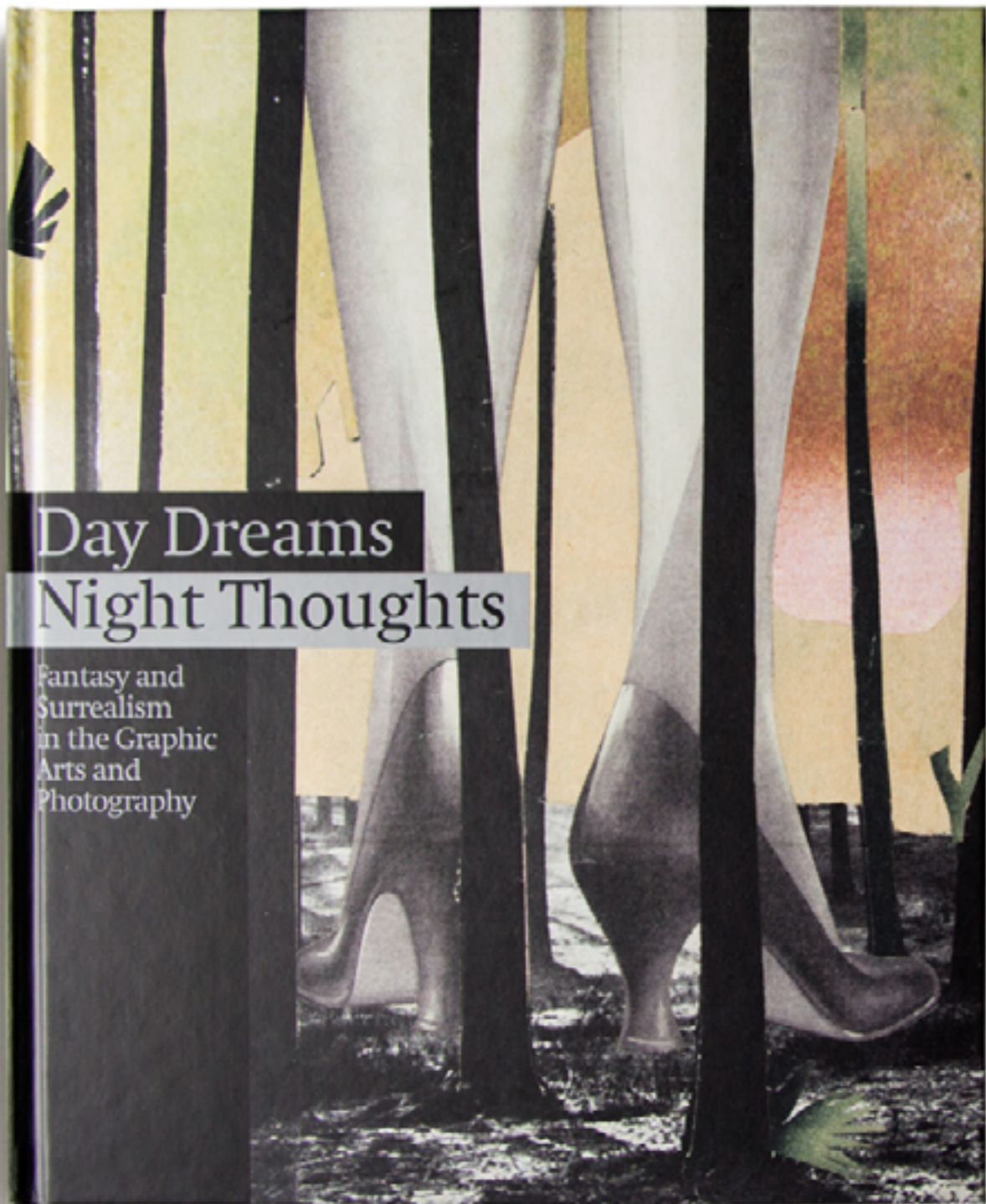


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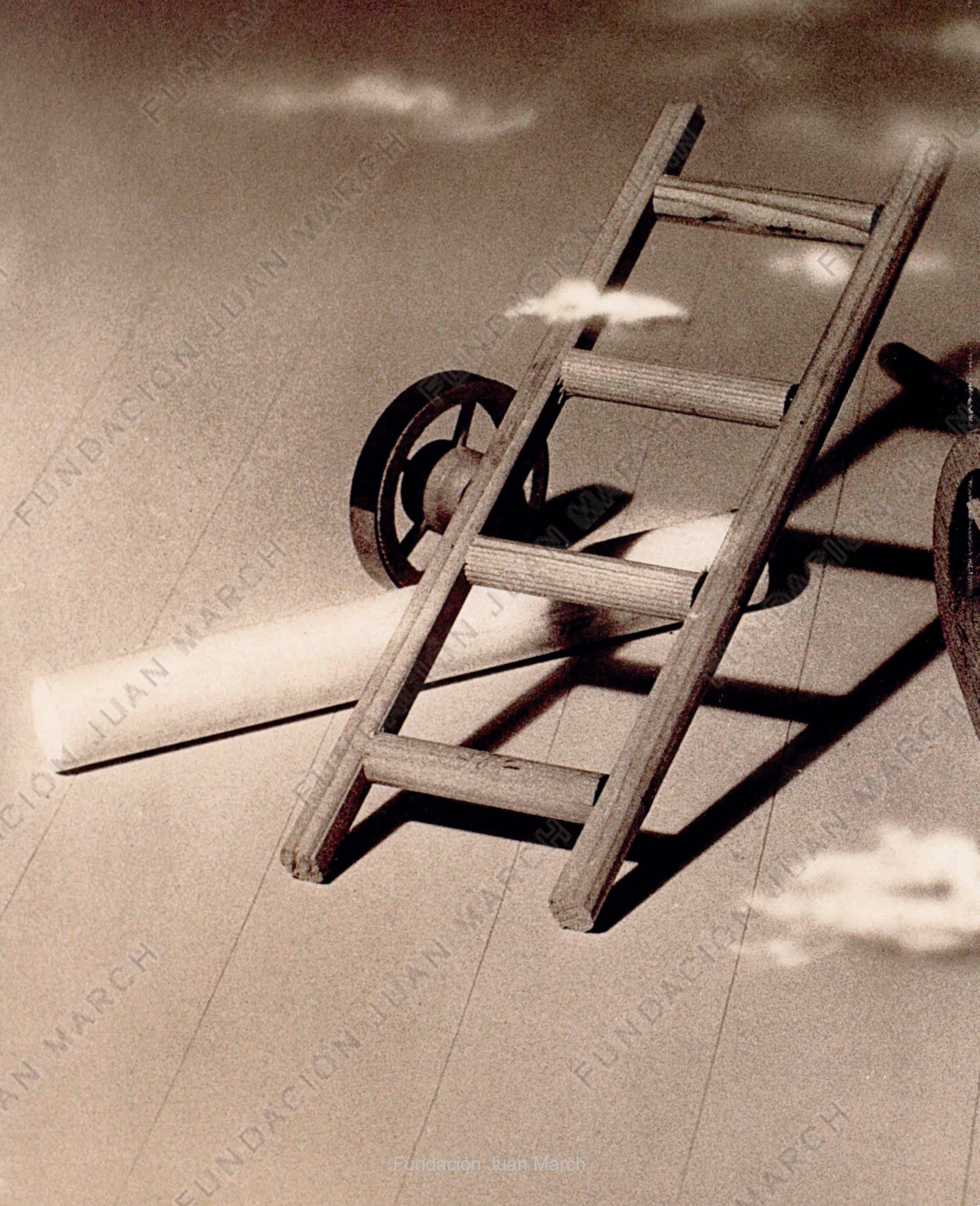
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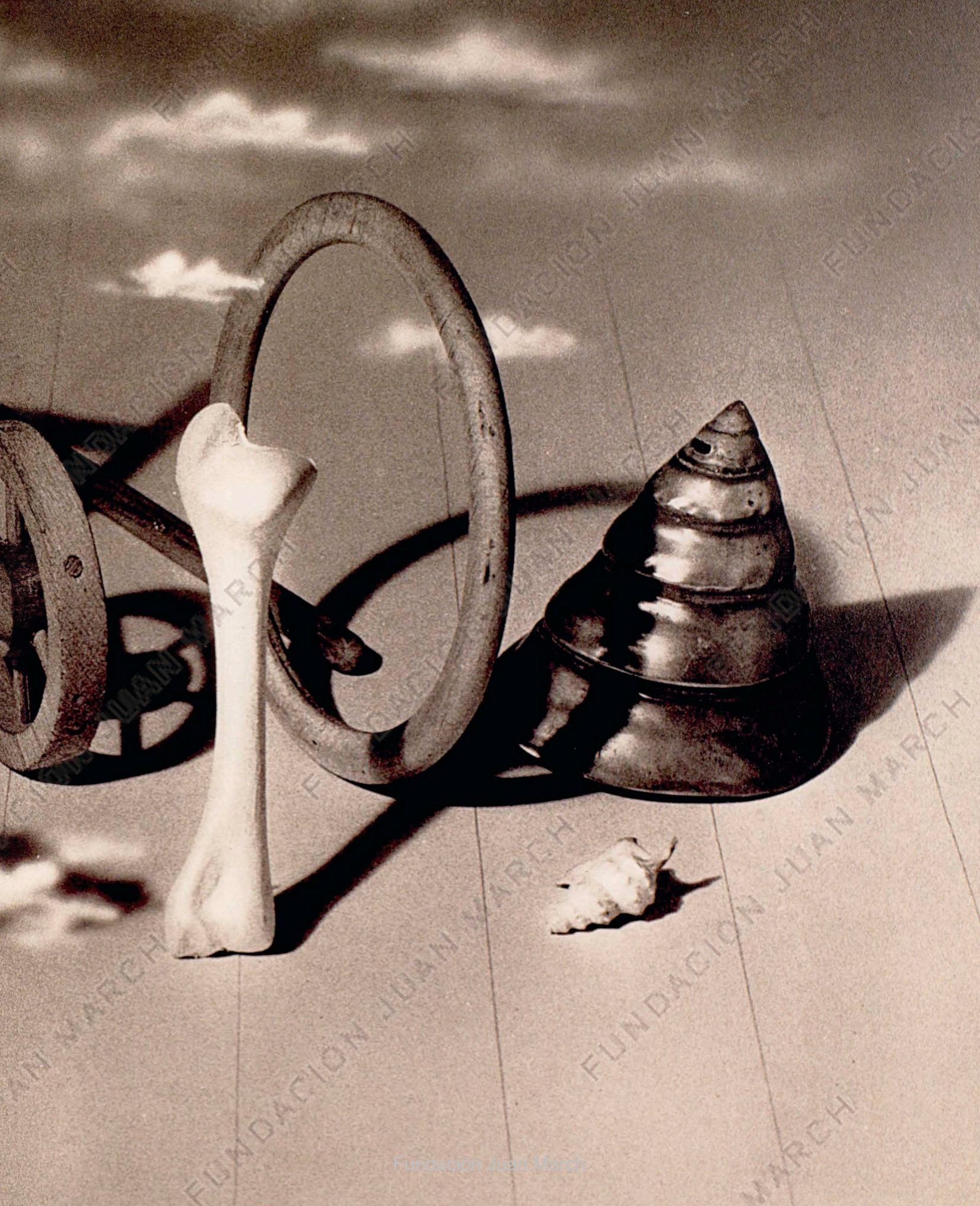
LA FABRICA



Day Dreams Night Thoughts

Fantasy and
Surrealism
in the Graphic
Arts and
Photography





Day Dreams, Night Thoughts

*Fantasy and Surrealism
in the Graphic Arts and Photography*

Day Dreams, Night Thoughts

*Fantasy and Surrealism
in the Graphic Arts and Photography*

Yasmin Doosry
(Ed.)

Texts by
Yasmin Doosry, Juan José Lahuerta, Rainer Schoch,
Christine Kupper and Christiane Lauterbach

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Lenders

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Owing to the state of conservation of certain works, in some cases it has not been possible to exhibit the same prints at both exhibition venues. For this reason, different lending institutions contributed different copies of these works to one or the other of the exhibition's iterations, and in these cases, the numbering of specific prints is therefore different. This catalogue records the pieces presented at the Madrid exhibition. For the Nuremberg exhibition, the following prints came from these lending institutions: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (Cat. 4, 8, 36, 129), the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich (Cat. 101, 144, 145) and the Kunstmuseum Basel (Cat. 122)

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Day Dreams, Night Thoughts

For centuries, artists have endeavored by means of the imagination to eliminate the boundaries between the outer and inner worlds so as to fuse the quotidian with the inconceivable. Often, individual artists' fantasy has led them to strange and unfamiliar territories, to the realm of the fantastic, beyond prevailing social conventions and academic norms. For this reason also, there is a historical dimension to fantastic art and Surrealism. They both subsist on the medieval Christian fear of Hell, on the formal richness of ornamental art, on the curiosity and enthusiasm for the natural sciences that emerged in the early modern period, on the artistic virtuosity of the Mannerists. Artists created contradictory, enigmatic images full of visual and thematic lures that could activate the imagination and thus make the unknown visible: in the construction of magical spaces, the fetishization of the world of things, the conversion of natural phenomena into hieroglyphs, and the representation of irrational states of mind. In opening up to the unusual and the bizarre, the Surrealists, like no other artistic movement before, focused their gaze on that long tradition of nonconformist and subjective art. The origin of this attitude can be attributed to a desire to break with normative rhetorical models and ideas from the past in order to create new realities.

This exhibition—titled *Tagträume–Nachtgedanken: Phantasie und Phantastik in Graphik und Photographie* in its presentation at the Germanisches Nationalmuseum and *Surrealistas antes del surrealismo: La fantasía y lo fantástico en la estampa, el dibujo y la fotografía* at the Fundación Juan March—and the accompanying catalogue (whose English title is an amalgam of the two exhibition titles, *Day Dreams, Night Thoughts: Fantasy and Surrealism in the Graphic Arts and Photography*) follow this trail from the late Middle Ages to Surrealism itself in the twentieth century, through a selection of nearly two hundred drawings, prints, and photographs. Its focus on the graphic arts is due in large part precisely to the fact that these media are particularly well-suited to spontaneous, individualistic forms of expression. In the exhibition one may contemplate works by Martin Schongauer, Albrecht Dürer, Erhard Schön, Wenzel Jamnitzer the Elder, Hendrik Goltzius, Francisco de Goya, Odilon Redon, Max Klinger, Paul Klee, Hannah Höch, Pablo Picasso, André Masson, Salvador Dalí, Man Ray, Max Ernst, and Hans Bellmer, among others. Their creations reveal the enormous iconographic wealth uncovered by artistic discoveries made through the workings of fantasy and in the fantastic.

This project reexamines the path established by the legendary exhibition that Alfred H. Barr, the founding director of the Museum of Modern Art in New York, organized three-quarters of a century ago under the title *Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism*. In that exhibition, the works of contemporary artists were presented for the first time alongside works by Hieronymus Bosch, Giuseppe Arcimboldo,

Giovanni Battista Piranesi, William Hogarth, Francisco de Goya, J. J. Grandville, and others, with the aim of providing Surrealism with a historical genealogy. The Surrealists' artistic sensibility and approaches undeniably encouraged a new, closer look at a long tradition of subjective art, from the late Middle Ages, through Mannerism and the Baroque, and up to modernity.

Day Dreams, Night Thoughts is the result of collaboration between the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg and the Fundación Juan March in Madrid, working together in unison over the past four years. The works on display are primarily from the collection of graphic art at the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, as well as from the collection of the Fundación Juan March and other important public and private collections in Spain and elsewhere in Europe without whose support this project would not have been possible. For this reason we should like to express our gratitude to all those collections as well as to the individuals who have helped make the exhibition a reality. In particular, we are grateful to Yasmin Doosry, the exhibition curator and editor of the accompanying catalogue; Juan José Lahuerta of the Universidad Politécnica de Barcelona, Rainer Schoch, Christine Kupper, and Christiane Lauterbach, the authors of the catalogue essays; and Guillermo Nagore, who designed the catalogue. We also owe a debt of gratitude to Julia Kolesnikov, Sophia Hodge, Ingrid Wambsganz, Aida Capa, Inés Vallejo, Jordi Sanguino, Marta Suárez-Infiesta, Anna Wiek, and Daniela Heinze for their assistance in coordinating the exhibition and the contents of the catalogue. We likewise wish to thank Klaus Schmidt, Stephanie Gropp, Klaus Hochholdinger, Jacqueline de la Fuente and José Enrique Moreno for their work on this project, as well as the other members of the teams at the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg and the Fundación Juan March in Madrid for their assistance throughout the development of the exhibition. We must also express our gratitude to the association of Friends of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum for their generous contribution to enable this exhibition's realization and to the Corporación Financiera Alba and Banca March for their financial support.

We hope that this exhibition and its catalogue help the public perceive what is still alive and contemporary in art from the remote and recent past, presenting Surrealism and fantastic art from the twentieth century as an avant-garde movement that claimed a multifarious inventory of sources from past tradition, so that it may be enjoyed and understood in all its rich complexity.

G. Ulrich Großmann

General Director
Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg

Manuel Fontán del Junco

Director of Museums and Exhibitions
Fundación Juan March, Madrid

Fig. 1 Salvador Dalí, *Hombre con la cabeza llena de nubes* [Man with his head full of clouds], ca. 1936. Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí, Figueres [Cat. 1]

The Not - So - Chance Meeting of Man Ray and Albrecht Dürer

This exhibition is the result of a collaborative effort between the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg and the Fundación Juan March in Madrid, two quite different institutions. One is a museum rich in tradition, the clear focus of whose collection is medieval and early-modern German art; the other is a younger institution that has distinguished itself over the past few decades through important exhibitions with an international scope on the classic period of modern art, drawing notice far beyond Spain's borders. In addition to significant shows on Kandinsky, Picasso, Braque, Matisse, Léger, Klee, Schwitters, Giacometti, Dubuffet, and Bacon, the Fundación Juan March has also explored the roots of modern art in its presentations of works by Francisco de Goya, William Turner, and Caspar David Friedrich, a tendency that has become even more pronounced in recent years with its exhibitions built around a central thesis or argument.

Modern art's roots, in particular those of the Surrealists, are again the focus in this exhibition, whose model is Alfred H. Barr's legendary exhibition, *Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism*, presented in 1936–37 at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. Under this title, the founding director of MoMA juxtaposed the works of his contemporaries with those of Bosch, Arcimboldo, Piranesi, Hogarth, Goya, Grandville and others, thus providing Surrealism with a historical "family tree." Without a doubt, the Surrealists' psychological sensibility and artistic methods opened a vista onto a long tradition of subjective-fantastic art ranging from the late Middle Ages, via Mannerism and the Baroque, to modernity.

This joint exhibition has represented a true challenge for the Germanisches Nationalmuseum's Graphic Arts Collection. It signified none other than a complete reconsideration of our own artifacts, rediscovering them and reinterpreting them. As it turned out, the collection proved remarkably relevant to the theme of the exhibition. If in the choice of works on display, the German and Spanish prints and drawings (older materials in the former



case, more recent works in the latter) appear somewhat over-represented, it is due in large part to the character of the two collaborating institutions. This unusual juxtaposition itself, however, seemed particularly attractive and stimulating.

The time frame of our project extends from the middle of the fifteenth century to about 1945. Though the exhibition confines itself almost exclusively to examples from the graphic arts, photography included, it is not simply because we strove to exploit our own holdings. Over the centuries, drawing and print-making have proven again and again to be favored mediums for spontaneous experimentation, susceptible as they are to the expression of individual artistic freedom and non-conformity by reason of their function and the nature of the techniques. The same may be said of Surrealist photography, which deployed various means of manipulating negatives and the copying process in collages, montages, multiple exposures, and other techniques.¹ It is fortunate that a considerable selection of photographs by surrealist artists could be included in the exhibition, filling significant gaps; indeed, Salvador Dalí clearly described the central importance that the Surrealists accorded photography:

“Nothing is more favorable to the osmoses established between reality and surreality than photography, which, with the new vocabulary imposed by it, offers us simultaneously a lesson of the highest rigor and the greatest freedom. The photographic datum sets up—as much photogenically as through the infinite figurative associations to which it may submit our mind—a constant revision of the external world, which each time becomes increasingly an object of doubt, and, at the same time, displays more unusual possibilities of a lack of cohesion.”²

What, then, links Man Ray to Albrecht Dürer? The question pinpoints the broader issues lying at the heart of this exhibition—though at first it might seem as incongruous as a sewing machine and an umbrella’s encounter on a dissecting-table.



Fig. 2 Man Ray, *L'Énigme d'Isidore Ducasse* [The enigma of Isidore Ducasse], 1920. Dietmar Siegert collection [Cat. 76]

Fig. 3 Albrecht Dürer, *Melencolia I*, 1514. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg [Cat. 136]

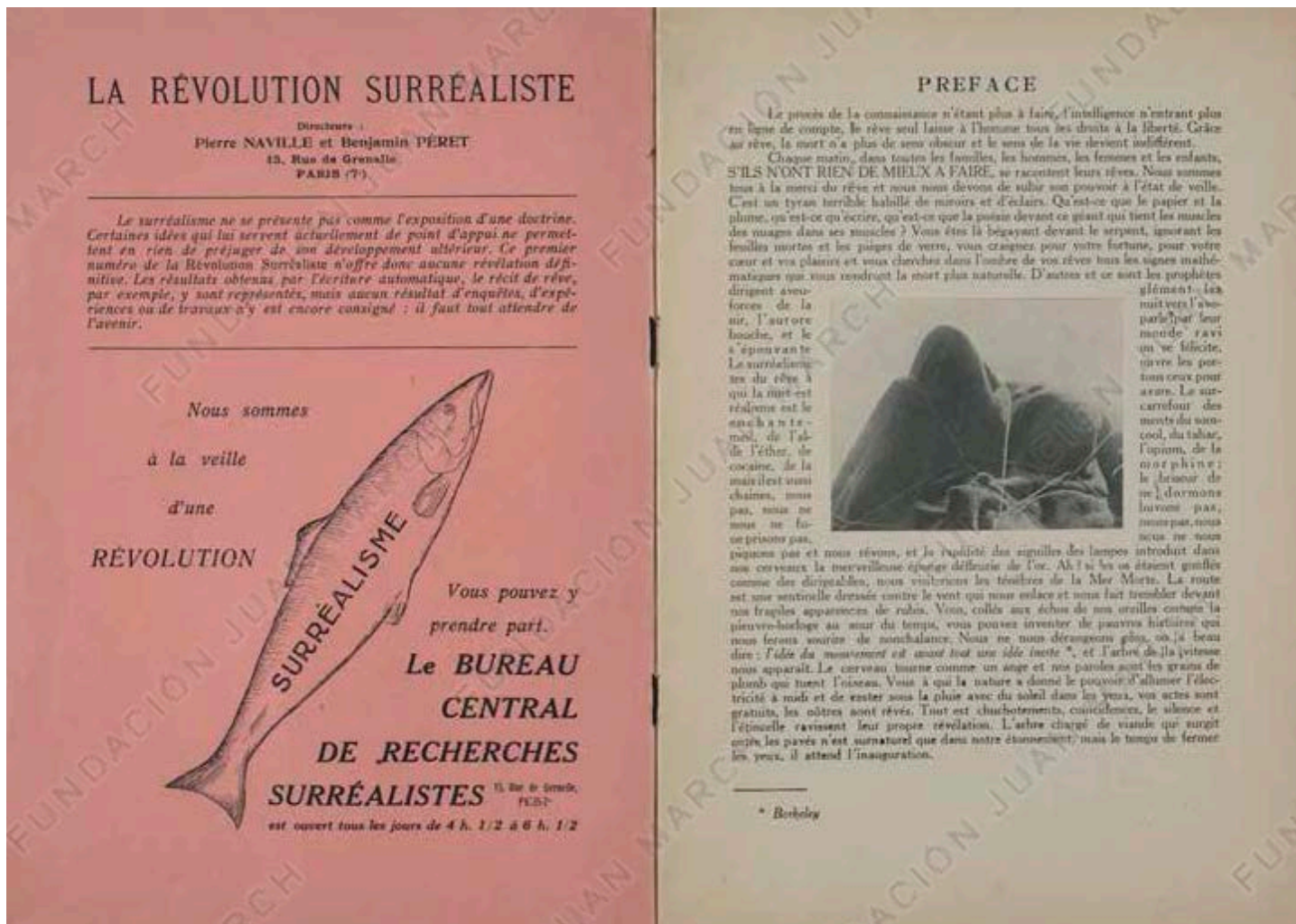


Fig. 4 Man Ray, *L'Énigme d'Isidore Ducasse* [The enigma of Isidore Ducasse], 1920, in *La Révolution surréaliste*, no. 1 (1924): 1. Dietmar Siegert collection

In 1920, before his arrival in Paris, the American photographer Man Ray created *L'Énigme d'Isidore Ducasse* (*The Enigma of Isidore Ducasse*), considered a foundational work of Surrealism. The photo of the object presents a mysterious form, wrapped in a woolen blanket and tied up with string, posing a riddle for the viewer [Fig. 2, Cat. 76]. In 1924, the photograph was prominently reproduced in the first issue of the journal *La Révolution surréaliste*, edited by André Breton, Pierre Naville, and Benjamin Péret. This publication became in some respects the “central organ” of the Surrealist movement, and Man Ray’s object was elevated to the status of an icon [Fig. 4]. The reference to Isidore Ducasse, who with the pseudonym of Comte de Lautréamont counts as one of the Surrealists’ literary forebears, steers the viewer’s imagination in a specific direction: In his major work, *Les Chants de Maldoror*, published in its final, complete form in 1869, Lautréamont praises the extraordinary beauty of a youth with an extraordinary comparison: “He is fair [...] as the chance meeting on a dissecting-table of a sewing machine and an umbrella.”³

This absurd, contradictory metaphor with its trace of cold, alienating eroticism was taken up by the Surrealists as a poetic revelation. The stunning incongruity opened their fantasy to completely new, unheard-of dimensions. Its enigmatic character, its repudiation of the laws of formal logic (which had after all pushed humanity into a catastrophic world war), the break with bourgeois conceptions of morality (which hindered the free development of the individual), and the recognition of contradictions and incongruities (of which the world was as full as the individual psyche) were the premises upon which the Surrealists sought to rouse the powers of poetry and fantasy out of the depths of the subconscious. Man Ray’s *Enigma* photograph is enigmatic in many respects: Nobody knows what is really hidden under the tied-up blanket. The obvious conjecture (prompted by the passage in Lautréamont) that it is a sewing-machine, however, leads one astray. The object as it is

presented serves as a veil for all that is hidden in the mysterious dark of the unconscious and the subconscious, beyond the scope of rational, outward perception. Ultimately, its content lies in the fantasy of the beholder. The enigma of Isidore Ducasse is unresolved to this day, and so it shall remain.

This at the very least connects Man Ray’s *Enigma* to Albrecht Dürer’s engraving *Melencolia I* [Fig. 3, Cat. 136], the “image of images” to which Peter-Klaus Schuster has devoted a two-volume historical and iconographic analysis that offers a wealth of ideas without, however, reaching unambiguous conclusions.⁴ Although Dürer’s *Denkbild* (or “thought-image,” as Schuster refers to it) is furnished with a profusion of clearly delineated objects, its secret is no less “tied up” than Man Ray’s enigmatic object. Dürer’s title alludes to the ancient medical theory of the four humors and their effect on the human temperament. According to this theory, an excess of black bile leads to the lethargic, heavy-hearted, depressive temperament of the person of melancholy disposition. Dürer personifies melancholy as a winged, matron-like figure in workaday clothes who sits brooding at the foot of a tower, her head in shadow, leaning heavily on her hand. In her right hand she holds a compass; a book lies in her lap. She is surrounded by a rebus of heterogeneous objects from the worlds of artisanship, geometry, mathematics and the liberal arts. What, in this context, is the meaning of the scribbling putto or the pitifully emaciated, dosing hound? Or that of the bat flitting before the apparition in the night sky of a rainbow and a comet, which lend the scene a cosmic dimension?

Few works of art have been subject to so many attempts at interpretation as Dürer’s *Melencolia I*, yet there always remains something unresolved about it. Erwin Panofsky’s suggestion still seems the most plausible, namely that the image allegorizes a novel interpretation of medieval melancholy inspired in the Florentine Neoplatonists. In their brooding self-doubt, previously considered a symptom of illness, Marsilio Ficino and his contemporaries now recog-

nized an expression of the creative powers of the artistic genius. For Panofsky it followed that Dürer had in some sense intended his *Melencolia I* to be “a spiritual self-portrait.”⁵

Dürer’s masterful print deals with a new type of artist: one who, in the age of the Renaissance, has advanced from the status of mere artisan to that of an imaginative inventor. In this way, it is a mark of the modern period’s beginnings. However, the print addresses not only the artist’s imaginative faculty in a new way, but also that of the viewer—for this thought-image’s fascination lies not least in its enigmatic nature, in the fact that it cannot be completely deciphered. Perhaps it would be better to speak of an intentional encryption by the artist, one that demands a new type of reasoning viewer. Precisely in this respect an ample arc may be drawn over the four centuries from Dürer’s engraving to Man Ray’s *Enigma of Isidore Ducasse*.

The juxtaposition of Man Ray and Albrecht Dürer is only one example of this exhibition’s effort to generate a dialogue between modern works of art and works from earlier periods. The exhibition draws its energy from the confrontation of works that differ, often quite sharply, in terms of time, place, and even subject. A substantial dialogue as far as content is concerned, as in the case of Man Ray and Albrecht Dürer, does not always arise. Often it will be of a purely external, formal, or technical nature, drawing attention to visual stereotypes. Occasionally the images will clash violently, yielding no real dialogue at all. Even so (and this is not insignificant), in such cases the juxtaposition may “provoke a poetic ignition,” in Max Ernst’s words.⁶

The perception of modern life’s complexity and sundry contradictions led the Surrealists to new forms of artistic expression. They developed a sharpened consciousness of the artistic tradition, spurred by fantasy and the fantastic stretching from the late Middle Ages into modern times. In this regard, the concepts of fantasy and the fantastic denote artistic impulses originating in in-

dividual perception that transcends conventional rules. The historical manifestations of these concepts as they are treated here range from the medieval Christian fear of hell and the early modern enthusiasm for the natural sciences, especially optics, to the irruption of the subconscious and the irrational in the Age of Enlightenment and Romanticism. Time and again, artists questioned norms and boundaries in their search for a world beyond the visible. Their artistic strategies and rhetorical models encompassed the deployment of multiple perspectives, the estrangement of the familiar world of objects, the application of the principle of surprise, the manipulation of dissonance, and the juxtaposition of the irreconcilable. They created controversial and subversive worlds of imagery full of the unexpected, the enigmatic, and the melancholic—revealing, likewise, that which is suppressed in dreams, fears, and desires.

The exhibition is divided into eleven sections. The first is devoted to the eye itself, which in many cultural contexts stands as a central pictorial metaphor, representing both a window onto the visible world and the window of the soul. Thus, André Breton begins his essay *Le Surréalisme et la peinture*, in which he speaks for the first time of Surrealist painting, with the apodictic assertion, “L’oeil existe à l’état sauvage” (“The eye exists in the primal state”).⁷ The unspoiled eye sees, in his estimation, not so much the visible, external world as the invisible. It is directed inward, as Christian mystics as well as Romantic and Symbolist poets and painters all proclaimed. Dreaming, intoxication and hallucination belong likewise to the experiences of the **Inner Eye**, which is the title of the first section.

Hans Baldung’s *Bewitched Groom* opens the second section, dedicated to **Magical Spaces**, and leads through unreal landscapes with ruins from the Mannerist period and Piranesi’s uncanny *Carceri d’invenzione (Imaginary Prisons)* to the alienating, untraversable, and claustrophobic spatial constructs of the Surrealists. From Baldung to De Chirico, the formal devices of ac-

celerated perspectives, extreme foreshortenings, and heavy shadows serve to charge the space with meaning and expressiveness, elevating it to a reflection of psychological states.

Changing Perspectives is the title of the third section, which presents striking connections between Mannerist studies of perspective, anamorphoses, optical illusions, and texts on optical theory from the sixteenth century, on the one hand, and the works of Surrealist artists on the other. One of the artists of the past most admired by André Breton was Paolo Uccello, though admittedly it is unclear whether his admiration derived from Uccello's early attempt at a consistent application of single-point perspective or from his eccentric, obsessive personality. For sixteenth-century theoreticians and for Surrealists alike, the interest in optical experiments lies in their understanding that perspective based on vanishing points is not an element of reality but a phenomenon of perception, a guide to the optically correct distortion of objects.

Grotesque or monstrous **Composite Figures** (the title of the fourth section)—spawned in an artist's subversive fantasy—have a chapter to themselves. The human or animal figures composed of heterogeneous elements are descendants of the drolleries of medieval illuminations and the bizarre gargoyles decorating cathedrals. They are not, however, only the products of fearful fantasies, designed to ward off doom. Secular jesting and mockery also spurred the imagination to produce grotesque creatures. From as early as the time of Reformation iconoclasm, these hybrid creatures, half human, half animal, belonged to the standard repertoire of satirical images. The composite figure, however, was not only to be found in the marketplace as a ribald weapon of political, religious, and social satire. It could also make its appearance in a courtly milieu, as a highly artificial, humorous form of allegory: Giuseppe Arcimboldo's heads—witty metaphors for the elements, the seasons, or the trades and assembled out of typical objects from those particular contexts—had many

successors and were works that the Surrealists counted among their favorites.

Although the Surrealists seem to have nourished their fantasy in the most secret depths of individual subjectivity, in the plastic arts they nevertheless produced human figures lacking individual features. De Chirico's *manichini*, Man Ray's mannequins, Bellmer's *Puppen* ("dolls"), and Masson's skeletonized figures are faceless constructions, like anonymous human maquettes. In formal terms, they descend from the constructed figures in the texts on human proportion by Albrecht Dürer and Erhard Schön, the etchings of Giovanni Battista Bracelli, and the drawings of Luca Cambiaso. They also serve as "receptacles," however, into which the viewer's imagination may flow, a quality that is manifest in the fifth section, **The Constructed Human Being**.

The (Dis)order of Things is the title of the sixth section. Among their subversive views, the Surrealists held that, as a matter of principle, they were to question the reality of the material world. They judged objects not according to their usefulness in daily life but only on their capacity to spur the imagination and to realize the "marvelous." The strongest incitement to fantasy and the gaze was sexual desire, which made it possible to transform objects into fetishes of "convulsive beauty."⁸ Lautréamont's "chance meeting on a dissecting-table of a sewing machine and an umbrella" as the paradigm of beauty already itself suggests the poetic principle of collage. The historical antecedents for collage—still lifes, trompe-l'oeils, and quodlibets, which originally served as examples of the virtuoso imitation of nature—underwent a novel reinterpretation in the hands of the Surrealists. In the catalogue and in the exhibition both, this section is presented as a collage free of commentary, so as to stimulate the viewers' imaginations, unguided, enabling them to establish their own personal dialogues with the works of art.

Works full of artistic whimsy and flouting strict academic rules are the subject of the seventh section in the exhibition,

titled after the loosely defined genre itself, *Capriccio*. From the late sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, from Callot to Goya, numerous series of etchings appeared that seemed to establish the *capriccio* as an independent artistic genre—one which, however, followed no set rules in terms of subject or form. In the main, these were capricious, scurrilous, or virtuoso showpieces that served the serious artist as outlets for his effervescent imagination and, as aesthetically subversive inventions, must have vexed the public. Later, E. T. A. Hoffmann’s narrative art prompted Paul Klee to recall his *Phantasiestücke in Callots Manier* (*Fantasy Pieces in Callot’s Manner*) and the profundity of their playful bizarreness. The members of the Surrealists’ circle also cultivated forms of playful creativity—such as the *cadavre exquis*, or “exquisite corpse”—that are related to the concept of the *capriccio*.

The eighth section, **Metamorphoses of Nature**, grapples with transformation and metamorphosis as one of Surrealism’s central intellectual and creative principles and seeks to establish comparisons with historical parallels. Nothing is as it seems: In this phrase one might encapsulate the Surrealists’ fundamental doubts regarding the unambiguity of the visible world of things. Indeed, on the contrary, the visible world betrays its unstable nature; it persistently points beyond itself to the world of fantasy, every bit as real as the visible world. To reveal this ambivalence and make it poetically effective, the Surrealists developed particular methods such as decalcomania or collage, for which there are thoroughly historical precedents. Such ambiguity is already evident in the early modern period in pamphlets about wonders that interpreted certain natural phenomena as portents of future events. In another sense, however, it also lies at the root of the Romantic conception of nature, which discerns reflections of human psychological states in natural phenomena.

The ninth section, **Phantasmagorias**, is devoted to the tradition dating from Antiquity of representations of enigmatic or supernatural phenomena such as demons and chimeras.

From the late Middle Ages to the eighteenth century, pamphlets described the appearance of strange creatures that in the period before the Enlightenment were interpreted as omens of terrible events. Personified as monsters, the pernicious, sinful thoughts of the Christian hermit Saint Anthony could serve to terrify viewers less steadfast in their faith, while the demons tempting people to sin in prints by Bruegel and Callot encouraged a certain voyeurism. In the nineteenth century, Ensor intensified the brutality of his own satanic demons by means of what for the viewer is, in Hans H. Hofstätter’s words, a “threatening spatial dynamic.”⁹ In Picasso’s case, the monster is a latent menace held in suspension, whose function is to psychologize. Finally, Dalí and Caballero create amorphous creatures through absurd deformations of the human form in order to illustrate the horror of the internecine strife leading to the Spanish Civil War.

Marginal or intermediary realms—like those of madness and death, which the Surrealists found in places such as the central slaughterhouse of Paris—exerted an enormous fascination on these artists. “Surrealism,” wrote André Breton in 1924, “will usher you into the secret society that is death. It will glove your hand, burying therein the profound M with which the word Memory begins.”¹⁰ With their images of death, which is the theme of the tenth section, **Shadows of Shadows**—organized silently, like the sixth, without commentary—the Surrealists could draw on a long tradition: medieval dances of death, the anatomical representations of skeletons familiar from the late fifteenth century on (which often carried meanings beyond matters of medicine), gruesome photographs of mummified corpses...

Artist’s dream visions, finally, are the subject of the eleventh and final section, **Day Dreams, Night Thoughts**, which lends its title to the exhibition as a whole. As Georges Hugnet reminds us in one of his introductory essays in the catalogue to MoMA’s foundational exhibition, “The vast maps of dreams and of desires still hang on ev-



Fig. 5 Francisco de Goya, *Modo de volar* [A way of flying], 1814–19, no. 13 from the series *Disparates* [Follies]. Private collection

Fig. 6 Francisco de Goya, *Modo de volar* [A way of flying], preparatory drawing for no. 13 in the series *Disparates* [Follies], ca. 1815. Fundación Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid [Cat. 142]



ery wall.”¹¹ Dreams were a realm of reality not only for the Surrealists and the generations after Sigmund Freud. The list of artists whose oneiric visions are presented as examples in this section ranges from Dürer to Goya, Grandville, Klinger, and Redon, all the way to Ernst and Höch. At the center of them all stands Goya’s *Capricho* no. 43, *El sueño de la razón produce monstruos* (*The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters*). Together with Dürer’s *Melencolia I*, it is among the most interpreted yet least fathomable prints in the history of art. Both works deal with the burden of the creative artist’s fantasy, which is equally capable of engendering the dreams of wishful desire and, by the same token, fearsome nightmares. In this regard, nineteenth-century Romantics and Symbolists prove to be the Surrealists’ true precursors, having paved the way for them.

It goes without saying that this exhibition, with its multiple facets, is itself not free from contradictions; above all, in viewing it, one must continuously reexamine and reflect on the complex relationship between past and present. In his tersely titled essay, “On Retroactive Surrealism,” Juan José Lahuerta, an acknowledged expert on Surrealist art and the work of Salvador Dalí in particular, discusses the reflections and internal debates among the Surrealists in their search for artistic models from the past. Unlike most avant-garde movements, which sought to erect the new upon a tabula rasa, the Surrealists saw themselves as thoroughly bound by tradition, and they considered their “adoption” of their own forebears as a creative process. This process, however, did not serve to further an understanding of historical works; rather, the Surrealists aimed to “exploit” their forebears (and their works) in the name of fantasy, the fantastic, the marvelous, and the magical. In contrast, Rainer Schoch, in his essay, “‘A past charged with now-time’: Fantasy, the Fantastic, and the Art of Modernity,” attempts to investigate viable bridges leading from the past to the modern by turning to various early twentieth-

century models from psychology and the theory of history. Walter Benjamin’s philosophy of history, which is tied in fundamental ways to Surrealist thought, and the “discovery” of Mannerism by the Vienna School of art history ran parallel to the Surrealist movement and enabled that simultaneous “tiger’s leap into the past” (to appropriate Benjamin’s phrase)—that is, from the unsettled period between the world wars into the subjectivist tendencies of earlier periods.¹² Lahuerta’s and Schoch’s essays both, however, share in common the conviction that history cannot be carried out in an arbitrary and value-neutral way but that we are compelled to view the past always with the eyes of the present.

In conclusion, regarding the prescient, prophetic, or (as Breton would have put it) the “super-realistic” role of artistic fantasy, let us turn our gaze to an outstanding work in the exhibition: Francisco de Goya’s preparatory drawing from around 1815 for his etching, *Disparate* no. 13: *Modo de Volar* (*A Way of Flying*). Five figures crowned with birds’ heads hang suspended while gliding through the air [Fig. 6, Cat. 142]. Their wings, which they move with their hands and feet, are reminiscent of those of bats. As the final etching based on the drawing in red chalk shows, the scene takes place in pitch-black night in which the contrastingly highlighted figures appear like will-o’-the-wisps [Fig. 5]. Many attempts have been made to decipher this fantastic image. It has been interpreted as a vision of the future, as an anticipation of the eventual liberation of humanity, and also as a symbol of the human soul leaving its earthly limitations behind.¹³

“Sueños” (dreams) was Goya’s own term to describe the etchings now most commonly known as the *Disparates*, late works he created between 1816 and 1824, before they were published posthumously as a series, first under the title *Los proverbios* (*Proverbs*) in 1864 and subsequently as *Disparates* (*Follies*), a word that appears in Goya’s hand on a number of the proofs. In

choosing that word, Goya may have been led by the common eighteenth-century belief that a close connection existed between dreams and the imagination. According to this view, dreams did not just carry one off to worlds beyond the senses; rather, in addition, the cognitive powers of fantasy itself unfolded in one's dreams.¹⁴ In Goya's time, the fantasy of human flight was situated somewhere between utter folly and the unattainable aspiration of wishful thinking. For his contemporaries, the daring bat-winged figures gliding through the air must have represented presumptuous fools. Yet, quite possibly for Goya himself, there was nothing mad at all in the depiction of mechanical flying apparatuses whose operation could be comprehended rationally. His *Way of Flying* strikes one as a realistic alternative to the contemporary flights of balloonists in the wake of the Montgolfier brothers' invention and as a milestone between Leonardo da Vinci and Otto Lilienthal, the German inventor of gliders whose pioneering work inspired the Wright brothers.¹⁵ Be that as it may, *Modo de volar* remains for us an enigmatic *Phantasiestück* flitting between reality and surreality.

- 1 Vienna 1989, 15.
- 2 Dalí 1928, quoted here from "Reality and Surreality," in Dalí 1998a, 95.
- 3 "Il est beau [...] comme la rencontre fortuite sur une table de dissection d'une machine à coudre et d'un parapluie" (Lautréamont [1869] 1938, 256–57); Ducasse published the first canto in 1868 anonymously and again in 1869 under the pseudonym Comte de Lautréamont before publishing the complete work later that year.
- 4 Schuster 1991.
- 5 Panofsky 1943, 1:171.
- 6 Ernst 1934, reprinted in Metken 1976, 324.
- 7 Breton 1988–2008, 4:349 (*Le Surréalisme et la peinture*).
- 8 "La beauté sera CONVULSIVE ou ne sera pas" (Beauty will be convulsive or will not be at all), the final line of André Breton's novel from 1928, *Nadja* (Breton 1988–2008, 1:753); emphasis in original.
- 9 Breton 1988–2008, 1:334 (*Manifeste du surréalisme*).
- 10 Hofstätter 1972.
- 11 New York 1947, 36. Hugnet's two essays, "Dada" and "In the Light of Surrealism," from the latter of which this quote is taken, appear in the 2nd (1937) and 3rd (1947) eds. of the 1936 exhibition catalogue. They appeared previously in the *Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art* (Hugnet 1936).
- 12 The phrase is from Benjamin's essay, "Über den Begriff der Geschichte" ("On the Concept of History," also known as "Theses on the Philosophy of History"), which is a fundamental source for Schoch's essay. See Benjamin 1996–2003, 4:395, par. 14 (and Benjamin 1972–92, 1.2:701).
- 13 See Hamburg 1980, no. 162.
- 14 Jacobs 2006, 238–39.
- 15 See Holländer 1980, 28–33.



On Retroactive Surrealism

JUAN JOSÉ LAHUERTA

In a letter dated January 26, 1925, André Breton writes enthusiastically to his wife, Simone, about a project that he and Antonin Artaud had begun to sketch out for the Bureau de Recherches Surréalistes: the “constitution of a very important dossier of notes pertaining to all the works that have appeared to date in whose composition one may perceive a trace of the marvelous,” adding by way of example, “like my note on *The Monk* in the *Manifeste*.”¹

The idea of a Bureau of Surrealist Research already presupposes a kind of retroactivity. Surrealism itself had just been invented, as it were, in the 1924 manifesto; strictly speaking, it had not existed before, and Breton’s efforts at making it unambiguously clear who was its author and who could claim ownership of the name—*Surrealism*—confirms as much. For example: In a letter published in *Comœdia* on August 24, 1924, he responds energetically to

those who would accuse him of having stolen the name from Apollinaire (who, he explains, only wrote the word once in his life, taking it in turn from Gérard de Nerval as a synonym for *Orphism*), and to those who would allege that “Apollinaire [and] Reverdy surely were Surrealists long before we were.”² Over against the supposedly systematic nature of their poetry (and of poetry in general), he not only claims that Surrealism represents an “expressive method” in which thought is subject to word—and not vice versa—but also making it clear that this is the moment of “*surréalisme naissant*” (nascent Surrealism).³ In fact, as is well known, the *Manifeste* was conceived initially as a preface to *Poisson soluble*, as an explanation of a specific series of automatic texts or “historiettes,” as he refers to them, a preface that was more or less succinct and certainly not disproportionate. In the end, however, it became a 160-page book in which *Poisson soluble* occupies a subordinate place—its title printed on the cover

in small letters beneath the much larger *Manifeste du surréalisme*, as if it were a practical and (one would imagine) imperfect or partial example of what the manifesto itself proposes. In effect, the manifesto does offer methods—surely ones that are not entirely trustworthy—for composing poems, speeches, or false novels.⁴

On the one hand, then, “nascent Surrealism” is very much a thing of the day (1924) to the extent that its inventor feels compelled to claim ownership. On the other, however, as the grandiloquent name of its institution, the Bureau de Recherches Surréalistes, and its projects indicate, this incipient movement is oriented retroactively towards the investigation and cataloguing of the past, towards its genealogy. This attitude was unlike that of other avant-garde movements (or the avant-garde in general), whose precondition was a tabula rasa, the rejection of history.⁵ What comes first to mind, for example, are of course the Futurists’ or Dadaists’ declarations against old urban centers or museums—though manifestations of the “constructivist” avant-gardes, with their purist and mechanistic stances, proved even more insidious in this regard. These declarations ranged from the results of ambiguous surveys launched by the journal *L’Esprit nouveau* over whether “the Louvre should be burned”—in the end, it shouldn’t—to the general project of destroying the city by means of Le Corbusier’s *urbanisme* that that same publication methodically developed, claiming that unlike the museum the city should be destroyed, precisely in order to make it a museum.

In contrast to all that and more, Surrealism (which failed to inherit the nihilism of its official ancestor, Dada) was a manifestly historicist movement or, more accurately, one that was revisionist. The dense tissues of the old city—its sinews and its fat—provided the ideal culture in which Surrealism could breed and thrive. This is self-evident in Surrealism’s great works dealing with the experience of the city, beginning with *Le Paysan de Paris*, by Louis Aragon, and *Nadja*, by Breton, texts which were exactly contemporary with

Le Corbusier’s *Urbanisme* and which ranged over the same Parisian scenery that Le Corbusier proposed should be demolished.⁶ The collections, archives, and libraries (enclosed spaces devoted to the accumulation of objects) were the depositories of Surrealism’s true sources, and the *studiolo* or *maison d’artiste*, not unlike the dossier, was its ultimate fate—or, rather, penultimate, for in the end there is the market, the way of all flesh.

In the 1924 manifesto, Breton was very clear that Surrealism’s aim was the appropriation of reality or, more precisely, its *substitution*, “in the resolution of life’s principal problems.”⁷ Appropriation as substitution: “*real* life, that is,” he explains, is the “most precarious” place—where one loses one’s faith.⁸ At the center of the *Manifeste*, in one of its most celebrated passages, Breton proclaims his belief “in the future resolution of these two apparently so contradictory states, dream and reality, into a kind of absolute reality, into *surréalité*”; he adds that the “conquest” of that surreality is the objective of his efforts and speculates on the “joys of its possession.”⁹ How else, particularly at that historical juncture, could such a dialectic be realized except as the idea of a *revolution*, implying therefore sectarianism and violence? If “the *sueño* of reason produces monsters”—or rather, if dreaming of reason produces them—the dream of revolution, which is the dream of dialectical reason, multiplies them.¹⁰ Breton lists the few who, like him, have “professed”—no less!—“ABSOLUTE SURREALISM.”¹¹ Indeed, in the realm of Bohemias and avant-gardes, there is just a small step from the friendly agreement that unites those who share a “certain intellectual aristocracy” to the dark conspiracy binding together those who profess a faith.¹² Surrealism, Breton claims, “does not permit its devotees to abandon it whenever they please,” while a few pages later, almost at the end of the manifesto, he describes it as “the ‘invisible ray’ that will one day permit us to prevail over our adversaries.”¹³

Arms and a faith—mingled together, they invoke that age-old acquaintance of religions and revolutions, fanaticism. Breton

himself spoke during that period, not only in the manifesto, of a kind of “literary heroism” in which only “fanaticism on the part of the author” mattered: “The Marquis de Sade’s fanaticism,” he writes, “that of Alphonse Rabbe, of Isidore Ducasse, confirm our view that transcendent morality is the daughter of intolerance: Long live Robespierre! Long live the inquisitors!”¹⁴ If “existence is elsewhere,” as the last words of the manifesto proclaim, this teleological exaltation is not surprising.¹⁵ What is more interesting, however, is that fanaticism and the marvelous should appear joined together, reciprocally determining each other, both in the manifesto and in the text just cited, in which Breton furthermore claims that there is “a modern ‘marvelous’ that abdicates nothing to its predecessor.”¹⁶ It proves almost redundant to add that this text is dedicated to Robert Desnos, who truly believed in his prophetic gift and who wrote three “books of prophecies” in 1925.¹⁷ “Surrealism is the order of the day, and Desnos is its prophet,” Breton affirms in short.¹⁸

The order of the day, indeed: The need to conquer reality—or surreality, if you will—emerged in the era of the *Plan* and the *Revolution*, when the era of the *soldier of labor* and of *total mobilization* was imminent, as a hybrid of the crepuscular dreams of Bohemia and the “dream” of dialectical “reason.” Surrealism is a form of *modern* militancy, precisely because of which it hysterizes the *age-old* confusion between literature and life. It is thus no surprise that the “fiftieth anniversary of hysteria” should coincide exactly with that confusion’s end. “Hysteria, the greatest poetic discovery of the late nineteenth century,” Aragon and Breton write.¹⁹ Surrealism (that is, the latter of the two men, in the manifesto) must rescue humanity from the prison of its memory. The celebration of hysteria is a good example, then, of what—of whatever—can be constructed beyond that prison. “The interns at La Salpêtrière Hospital confused their professional duty with their taste for love and, as night fell, the sick women [...] received them in their beds”:²⁰ This is the marvelous figure of the fanatical confusion between art

and life practiced by the Bohemians. Or, perhaps we should say that it is the *shadowy* figure of surrealist *retroactivity*, recalling the miserable reality of La Salpêtrière and its unfortunate victims—now expiatory ones owing to the poetic exaltation that Aragon and Breton *project* onto them (though poor Augustine, the hospital’s most famous patient among the Surrealists, will not be saved by poetry now, as she was not saved before by his- trionics).

Let us return, however, to the Bureau de Recherches Surré- alistes and to Breton’s project for a dossier of works character- ized by the marvelous “that have appeared to date.” In his let- ter to Simone, the example Breton offers from the *Manifeste* is, as I have already indicated, his note on Lewis’s late eighteenth- century gothic novel, *The Monk*. On the one hand, Breton choos- es a work that belongs to a genre, the novel, which he considers inferior on account of its anecdotal character, as he declares in the manifesto itself.²¹ On the other hand, it is an *old* (i.e., *ancien*) work that, having been excluded from canonical histories of lit- erature (or included only as an eccentricity), suddenly emerges in the present with no preparation—that is, as an anachronism. Undoubtedly, in Breton’s effort to come closer and to bring us closer to that inferred quality that he calls “the marvelous,” this roundabout detour proves necessary. When the definition seems inescapably elusive, what is tacit in the example helps. For the purposes of his demonstration, furthermore, the ex- ample must be located within the sphere of what is weakest: the genre of the novel, and a period from the past that has not yet been set free by history, by the canon—in other words (with no paradox here), within the sphere of what is already finished, what can be encompassed, and, at the same time, what has been cast aside and is still subject to interpretation.

The conquest of surreality and its substitution for reality is akin to the aims of a stroll through a flea market: to recover what has been lost in order to transform it into one more piece of the *final* treasure. The Surrealists’ collections, like their Bu-

reau's dossiers, are built from street market bric-à-brac—understood, of course, as an unattainable totality. “The marvelous is always beautiful,” Breton writes, “anything marvelous is beautiful; in fact, only the marvelous is beautiful.”²² Aesthetic judgement, therefore, no longer applies; nor is there any alternative to the marvelous. In 1924, in an age whose orientation was still productivist, Surrealism, owing to its generalization of the marvelous, could already descry the expansive “treasure lands” of modern consumerism. *The Monk* is admirable, indeed, because “the breath of the marvelous animates it entirely,” but most importantly, or more specifically, because its characters are not characters per se but “continuous temptations.”²³ Without a doubt, Breton was familiar with the ambiguous commentaries the Marquis de Sade devoted to *The Monk*, in which, despite the apparent sentimentality and triviality of Lewis's novel, he proposes “raising the curtain” to suddenly reveal “the most horrible unreality.”²⁴ Breton thus gazes backward, superimposing two things, as in a stereoscope: *The Monk* and what Sade says about it. While the characters in *The Monk* are nothing more than the standardized, stereotyped product of a well-established genre (the gothic novel), raising the curtain on them and interpreting them as a continuous temptation only standardizes them once again: product on top of product, their reification twofold—or *hysterized*. What in the end are we addressing here, if not (as Marx might put it) the theological mysteries of the commodity?

The marvelous, then, is exemplified in the present through a retroactive operation that follows a double line, one that is simultaneously chronological and genealogical. From both points of view, the dossier—the file, the documentary justification—is necessary. Breton's plan of conquest thus emerges as an enormous repertory, an infinite registry that encompasses past and present, *Anciens et Modernes*, without interruption or surcease (for the temptation is “continuous”). Yet that survey of the past, of the ancients, can only be carried out in the most

self-serving of ways. It emerges once the “curtain” has been raised to reveal the “horrible unreality” located somewhere beyond the *reality* of those authors and their works, like a *second*, implicit dialectic whose terms are no longer reality (which has been completely surpassed) and dreams, but Surrealism itself and its epochs—that is, the periods that it invades and occupies, projected onto them after the fact.

The marvelous, Breton writes, is not always the same in every age. Rather, it “partakes obscurely in a kind of general revelation, only fragmentary details of which come down to us: the Romantic *ruins*, the modern *mannequin*.”²⁵ There is no better explanation of how the retroactivity with which Surrealism aims to supplant reality is set in motion: What happens is a process of general solidification, as monumental as it is vacuous, among the subtle phantasms that formerly wandered about those musty ruins and among the mannequins standing in the sun in the solitary city squares painted by Giorgio de Chirico. (For what else could Breton be referring to?) Questions could indeed be posed to those phantasms, no matter how inapprehensible and invisible, and they in turn would have something to tell us if they so wished; the modern mannequins, however, are no less mute than the commercial products in which they are dressed or than the paintings whose marvels enchant. The shop window replaced by the city square, the object by its *continuous* objectification: With good reason Roberto Longhi said that De Chirico's paintings were dedicated to an “orthopedic god.”²⁶ Its devotees could well apply to themselves the fable of the frogs who demanded a king.

In the list of those who have “professed ABSOLUTE SURREALISM,” there are only a few writers from Breton's immediate circle *at that time*. I emphasize the date (1924) because in contrast to his yearning for the permanence of that “absolute” (which does not appear to differ much from that “continuous,” as we shall see), Breton would not tarry in taking his vengeance against a good number of them in the *Second manifeste du surréalisme*

(1929), as they would against Breton in turn in the pamphlet *Un Cadavre*, from 1930. In the “modern” age (as Breton would refer to his own epoch in various passages from the second manifesto), objectification, which is necessary in order to produce the temptation, is the opposite of solidity. As proof, there is the mannequin—or that list, as peremptory as it was short-lived, of absolute surrealists in the first manifesto. It is no surprise that a second, retrospective list should follow the first in the 1924 manifesto, nor is it surprising that the second list is open-ended (for it concludes with an “etc.”). Could there be a more perfect image of what constitutes the avant-garde than that of a small group of sworn militants, lying in wait before the *époque ancienne*, on the verge of pillaging it? Unlike the moderns who have professed their absolute faith, those authors from earlier periods, beginning with Dante and Shakespeare no less, are merely partial Surrealists. Swift, for example, is a Surrealist only “in malice,” Sade “in sadism,” Chateaubriand “in exoticism,” Constant “in politics,” etc.²⁷ From the *oeuvres complètes* of those (great) authors of the past, Breton selects a portion; or rather (and less profoundly), he chooses a *perspective*: the one that transforms them in some way into Surrealists. In any case, he insists that, regardless of any Surrealist revelations that might emerge in their work, these authors were perfectly unaware of it, not only because of the naïveté with which they treated their preconceived ideas (“très naïvement!” Breton exclaims), but also because of something more compelling: “They had not yet *heard the Surrealist voice*.”²⁸ But what is the origin of that voice? The answer is quite simple. It lies precisely in what I have alluded to before, in Breton’s efforts to claim ownership over the name of Surrealism.

Breton, thus, does not intend to *understand* the work of these authors but only to make use of just those parts, those aspects that he requires to underwrite “le surréalisme naissant” and to fill its treasure chests and strongboxes. The part—the share, the booty—is what has always mattered most to treasure hunters, and

not the whole, which is necessarily displaced and dismembered, losing its meaning. In the final analysis, from the Surrealist point of view, those authors from the past did not know what they were doing. Only once it had been pillaged in this way, the *époque ancienne* could become the *Banque Mona Lisa*—that is, the guarantor of the values of the *époque moderne*, which feeds on the transmutation that it projects onto its predecessor.²⁹ Walter Benjamin recognized in this circularity one of the principal characteristics of modernity, which he called “the time of hell.”³⁰ In effect, these are labors of Sisyphus that do not lead to melancholy but to advertising: If Mallarmé—“Surrealist when he is confiding,” specifically—believed that the world was made in order to conclude in a “beautiful book,” Breton replies that it will end with “a beautiful advertisement for hell or for heaven.”³¹ Surrealism, like advertising, transforms the product into a treasure and makes a discovery out of what preexists. On the day of the Last Judgement, we shall all go through its gates (whichever they may be), in the state of shock, of continuous temptation, that advertising imposes. In the end, everything in the market is in some way Surrealist.

Breton speaks, as we have seen, of writers. It is not that the manifesto makes no mention of art (particularly Picasso’s), but these references are few and far between. In fact, a note at the end of this retroactive list is the most important reference to art in the entire text. There are no artists among those that have professed absolute Surrealism, and only a few painters from the modern age can be considered Surrealist to some degree, though in this case Breton provides an explanation for only three of them: Matisse “in *La Musique*,” Picasso “by far the most pure,” and De Chirico, “admirable for so very long.”³² That *si longtemps* applied to De Chirico, given that it refers to the *époque moderne*, adds another turn of the retroactivity screw, revealing its immediacy, its necessity.

But who are Breton’s painters from the *époque ancienne*? Only one: Paolo Uccello (1397–1475). After this first

reference to Uccello in the *Manifeste*, Breton would go on to cite him throughout his career, on numerous occasions. Of greater interest to us here, however, are the references closest in time to the manifesto, such as the one we find in *Nadja*: “Upon waking, I open a letter from Aragon sent from Italy and accompanied by a photographic reproduction of the central detail of a painting by Uccello that was unfamiliar to me. That painting’s title is *The Profanation of the Host*” [Fig. 8].³³ The image, reproduced in *Nadja*, is the same that had already appeared in the eighth issue of *La Révolution surréaliste*, from 1926, accompanying an article by Antonin Artaud titled “Uccello, le poil,” and Artaud had already used Uccello in a text published prior to this article, *Paul les Oiseaux, ou La Place de l’amour*.³⁴ Other Surrealists likewise found interest in the Italian painter around that time, including Robert Desnos and Philippe Soupault, as well as others who were not Surrealists, such as Jean Cocteau.³⁵

Let us attempt to organize these pieces of information, however. On the one hand, Breton’s interest in Uccello is so great that he is named as the first and only *ancien* in the list of painters close to Surrealism; on the other, it does not appear that the extent of his real knowledge of the painter is comparable to his interest. In 1926, Breton had not heard of a work like *The Miracle of the Profaned Host*, while the postcard sent by Aragon (with its fragment that, after all, does not give one the slightest indication of what *really* is happening that might be “marvelous” in that panel) is the same scant image printed both in the issue of *La Révolution surréaliste* and in *Nadja*.

Uccello’s work was in fact painted as a predella for the altarpiece in the church of the Confraternity of Corpus Domini in Urbino. It consists of six consecutive scenes that relate a familiar anti-Semitic legend from the Middle Ages, namely, a Jewish money-lender’s attempt to desecrate the host, the miracle that prevents its profanation and reveals the true presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and the Jew and his family burned at the stake.³⁶ The fragment that Breton re-

fers to is in no way central, as he claims, but rather represents the left half of the second panel and shows the Jewish family surprised by the miracle that is taking place in the right half: The host, set to cook in a pan over a fire, sprouts streams of blood that cross the floor of the room and seep through the walls of the building out onto the street, where a group of citizens and soldiers armed with sticks, lances, and hooks attempts to break down the door and enter the house. But that is what occurs in the other half of the painting, precisely what we do not see. The image of the terrified Jewish family in the postcard from Aragon is a splendid piece of painting, but it would not seem to justify Uccello’s prominent place, alone and first in the list of Surrealism’s forebears, not even when Breton presents his discovery as a revelation upon waking.

The origin of such great admiration undoubtedly must lie elsewhere. The texts by Artaud mentioned above, or at least one of them, *Paul les Oiseaux*, written before the manifesto, offer some clues. What interests us at this point is not the way in which Artaud uses Uccello as a double or mirror in which to project his own anxieties about the act of creation (“Uccello, my friend, my chimera,” he writes).³⁷ Rather, we are interested here in the fantastic personality with which Artaud conjures up Paolo Uccello before us. His Uccello, on the one hand, “is struggling in the middle of a vast mental fabric in which he has lost all the roads of his soul, and even the form and the suspension of his reality”; on the other, “he has an imperceptible voice, the gait of an insect, a robe that is too large for him.”³⁸ In sum, obsessed as Artaud’s Uccello is with a “craggy, earthy preoccupation with depth [...] eternally twisting and turning in the circles of this idea,” he can see nothing beyond “the vast shadow of a hair.”³⁹

Artaud’s texts on Paolo Uccello are, without a doubt, extraordinarily complex, but I will focus only on what matters at this juncture, namely madness, eccentricity in appearance and hab-



its, obsession with what is fixed and with what is represented most sharply, what is most thin, beyond thin: “From one hair to the next [...] the ideal line of the hairs, untranslatably thin and twice repeated.”⁴⁰ Indeed, what is the strand of hair—like the wrinkle and the vein, which are likewise manifestly present in “Uccello, le poil”—but a metaphor for precision and the visibility of line in a painter like Uccello, famous for his perspectives?

Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574), ever punctual in assigning a character to each of the artists in his *Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, represents in Uccello a painter so obsessed with the medium (the artifice) that he loses sight of the final objective (the imitation of nature) and in the end cannot recognize what he has accomplished, for all his troubles. In Vasari’s life of Uccello, the painter is a bold and capricious talent with misanthropic habits who becomes unhinged by an obsession: perspective. Despite the adjective *dolce* which Vasari applies to him, all that Uccello produces, having “labored and lost time over the details of perspective,” is but “barren and constrained.”⁴¹ The mad eccentric obsessed with the exact line of a hair in Artaud fits this characterization perfectly, but Vasari is not his source. Rather, it is Marcel Schwob, in whose *Vies imaginaires*, published in 1896, one finds the life of “Paolo Uccello, peintre.”⁴² In his preface, Schwob explains that “the biographer’s art consists precisely in making choices. He need not concern himself with being true; he must create within a chaos of human features.”⁴³ Undeniably, in his biography of Paolo Uccello—also the only artist in Schwob’s list—he does not

achieve the objective. The mad, misanthropic, obsessed painter who is filled, finally, with melancholy in the face of the vacuous immensity of his efforts, as portrayed by Vasari, becomes exasperated in Schwob’s text. The specific information about Uccello’s paintings and the artistic judgements of his work that Vasari offers are completely cast aside here. Only the anecdote is retained, intensified in a fantastic vein. Schwob insists that Uccello “did not worry about the reality of things, but in their multiplicity and in the infinity of lines” (138). He tells us how Uccello painted the “blue fields,” the “red cities,” “knights dressed in black armor,” chameleons as attributes of the air and birds (137–38). He says that Uccello’s work “transmuting form” is like that of the alchemist (140). He describes the painter’s house, “full of spiders and lacking in provisions” (141). He reminds us, of course, of Uccello’s obsession with perspective, which he discovered above all in the “folds of the *mazzochio*,” that complicated piece of headgear—the chaperon—that his fig-

Fig. 8 Paolo Uccello, *Miracle of the Profaned Host*, 1468. Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino

ures wear (138). He invents a woman for the artist, Selvaggia, though Uccello knows not whether she is alive or dead (141–44). Finally, amid other such marvels, Schwob radically reinterprets what in Vasari’s account is the disparaging exclamation from Donatello when the sculptor contemplates Uccello’s last work: “O Paolo, cover up your work again!” (145).⁴⁴

The influence of this “biography” on Artaud is manifest: Paul les Oiseaux is the name Schwob uses for Uccello, Selvaggia is one of Schwob’s characters... The “chaos of human features” with which Schwob and Artaud supply Breton is enough for Uccello to become the only painter from the *époque ancienne* cited in the manifesto of 1924. Indeed, their version is a superior substitute for the painter’s work, about which Breton recognizes his own relative ignorance. Breton’s retroactivity thus operates in a cumulative manner. The marvels that Schwob recounts, which Artaud recounts in turn, accumulate around an oeuvre of which only a few incomprehensible details are known. What matters instead is the character—that is, the “continuous temptation.” Uccello, finally, is the only painter in Schwob’s *Vies imaginaires* and the only artist, up to that point, used by Artaud as an alter ego; he is the only artist among the *anciens* who appears in the *Manifeste* and in the complete series of *La Révolution surréaliste*. Thus, Breton cites Uccello in a manner not unlike the way in which the French Revolution evoked ancient Rome, as Walter Benjamin put it, “the way fashion evokes costumes of the past”: In the “thickets of long ago,” the new is the old—or the always-the-same.⁴⁵

In any case, at least up to this point, we cannot deny that Breton is thrifty with regard to his artistic retroactivities. We are however in 1924, precisely at the moment of *le surréalisme naissant*, and the “supply” is logically limited, adapted to the “demand.” The rapid popularization of Surrealism by the end of the decade, which did not always meet with the approval of Breton and in which the success of *Un Chien andalou* and the role of Salvador Dalí were decisive, notably increased that

supply on a par with the increasing demand. Robert Desnos, for example, in 1929 could refer without a second thought to “Uccello alongside Picasso, Bruegel alongside William Blake, Bosch alongside Max Ernst, certain Italian primitives alongside Picabia.”⁴⁶ Others, like Dalí in particular, would broaden the field’s horizons in the most varied directions. On the one hand, it could encompass Millet, Böcklin, the Pre-Raphaelites, Gaudí, the exponents of Art Nouveau, etc., all of whom were relatively close chronologically but far-removed from the prevailing *taste*. In fact, owing to their enormous popularity in their own time (*stéréotypie*, Dalí would call it) they were examples of the worst taste. Yet they had the virtue of proclaiming in the present a kind of eternal yesterday, an anachronistic time or, more à propos, a retrospective time that nevertheless appears embedded in the present, suspended there: a time, in short, that is no different from the cyclical trends in fashion itself, the key to fashion’s constant back-and-forth between what is *passé* and *à la mode* once again. On the other hand, the inclusion of the *pompier* artists, Meissonier foremost among them, would immediately become one of the great sources of conflict with Breton and the more orthodox Surrealists. Indeed, one event in particular shortly thereafter reveals the infinite porousness of that ideological market and of the competition for its conquest: In February 1934, when Dalí appeared before a “Surrealist tribunal” that would impose his expulsion from the group, he was accused (in the same breath and with equal condemnation) of being Hitler’s hagiographer and also an academic painter who admired Meissonier.

Be that as it may, in the transition from the 1920s to the 1930s, evidence of the term *Surrealist* already being used implicitly or explicitly to refer to specific artists or artistic productions from earlier historical periods may be found outside the movement itself, among more or less conventional art historians and critics. A couple of examples will suffice, one implicit and the other explicit.

First, an implicit example. In 1929, Kenneth Clark wrote an article on the recently discovered *Bizzarie di varie figure*, a collection of engravings by Giovanni Battista Bracelli (1616–1649), which promptly became one of the preferred examples of “fantastic art.”⁴⁷ Despite the scant information available about the artist and the publication of his prints, in his brief text Clark endeavors to analyze them within their historical context. He situates them alongside Jacques Callot’s *Balli*, Carracci’s caricatures, and Luca Cambiaso’s cubic figures (all of which would also become part of the Surrealist fantastic *avant le surréalisme*), but he also attempts to include them within a general interpretation of the concept of Mannerism, citing Michelangelo, Raphael, Titian, and Tintoretto, as well as Giambattista Marino, Richard Crashaw, Luis de Góngora, and John Donne. That ostentatious list, perhaps somewhat hyperbolic given the eccentric but modest nature of Bracelli’s prints, concludes with a paragraph that might seem surprisingly out of place, and yet Clark arrives there as if it were the most natural thing in the world. As if he were speaking of a matter that could already be taken for granted, he explains that Bracelli’s figures are completely unrelated to Cubism “though some of his inventions recall the monsters in Picasso’s Russian ballet, ‘Parade.’” Nevertheless, Clark continues, while Picasso’s work attempts to “free the spectator’s mind from distracting associations,” Bracelli aims for precisely that. Something quite different, he affirms, is Bracelli’s “fellow-countryman,” De Chirico, “who combines a similar effect of volume with a similar effect of incongruity—a similar conceit.”⁴⁸ It seems hardly necessary to recall that Apollinaire employed the disputed name of Surrealism for the first time specifically in the theater program he wrote for *Parade*, or that Picasso and De Chirico are the two central artists not only of the *Manifeste* but indeed of Breton’s entire construct. Bracelli, Callot, Cambiaso, Picasso, De Chirico: all united in Clark’s essay by the varying intensity of the Mannerist conceit. It constitutes already a prefigu-

ration of the way in which the system of “fantastic art” will be woven together.

And now for the explicit example. At the end of 1934, Dalí presented his second individual exhibition in New York at the Julian Levy gallery. (The first had taken place in the same gallery around the same time the previous year.) The catalogue for the exhibition presented a reproduction of *Persistence de la mémoire* (*The Persistence of Memory*), the first painting of Dalí’s to join the Museum of Modern Art’s collections. It was a piece the museum had received as an anonymous gift that same year, 1934, and undoubtedly as a result it became Dalí’s most popular, repeated, and imitated (*stereotyped*) work—a status it has continued to enjoy to this day. The Levy gallery’s catalogue also included a drawing with another soft watch (of course) and abstract geometric forms, titled *Finis*. Furthermore, together with the list of twenty-five works, Dalí intentionally added another (no. 26) that was however not his own: Hieronymus Bosch’s *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*, which, naturally was also not in the gallery. Just mentioning the work, without explanation, was enough. Who, since the times of Fray José de Sigüenza (a sixteenth-century Hieronymite prior of El Escorial responsible for one of the earliest commentaries on Bosch), could deny the eccentricity of that painter [Fig. 9], of Bruegel, and of the other Flemish artists who had always been branches on the essential tree of “fantastic painting”?

Nevertheless, it was not the first time that Dalí had allied himself with these Flemings. In “Temas actuales,” an article published in 1927 in *L’Amic de les Arts*, Dalí had already mentioned Bosch and Bruegel.⁴⁹ What proves most interesting, however, is the fact that in that same issue, on the page preceding Dalí’s article, there appear two images of *La mel és més dolça que la sang* (*Honey is Sweeter than Blood*) [Fig. 10], and an image of Bruegel’s *The Triumph of Death* [Fig. 11] is included among the columns of Dalí’s text, even though it serves to illustrate the following article, “Cop d’ull sobre l’evolució de



l'art modern" (A glance at the evolution of modern art). That essay, by Magí A. Cassanyes, is ambitious, as its title indicates, and it does not lack examples of art from ages past to illustrate the modern. One in particular should catch our eye. Cassanyes writes that "in the Prado Museum there is a painting attributed to Bruegel the Elder, *The Triumph of Death*, in which the most fantastic, chimerical, and macabre spectacle one could image may be seen, painted, however, with the identical meticulousness, naturalism, realism, and objectivism with which Bruegel himself represents a peasant dance or a wedding banquet."⁵⁰ Is not that description equally apt for *Honey is Sweeter than Blood*, which appears only two pages earlier?

Fig. 9 Hieronymus Bosch, *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*, ca. 1495–1515. Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisboa

Fig. 10 Salvador Dalí, *La mel és més dolça que la sang* [Honey is sweeter than blood], 1927. Current whereabouts unknown. (Photo: Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí, Figueres)

Fig. 11 Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Triumph of Death*, ca. 1562. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid

By 1934, matters had changed significantly, but the way in which Dalí slips the painting by Bosch into his own catalogue is not so very different from the way in which (eloquently, though without comment) he had joined a work of his own with Bruegel in that article seven years before. In any case, Dalí, already well-versed in such moves, was very familiar with the sounding board that New York represented in terms of publicity and the market. The catalogue I have alluded to contains a declaration—quoted directly from a previous text, though without mentioning its source, Dalí's "Lettre à André Breton."⁵¹ In this declaration, with its multiple references to automatism, critical paranoia, Surrealist objects, instant photography, trompe-l'oeil, double images, concrete irrationalism, and Ludwig II of Bavaria, Dalí presents himself to his new audience (a popular, universal audience, not restricted to the avant-garde circles as was the case in Paris), not only as the true and authentic Surrealist but in a specifically "American" sense as a businessman, a man overflowing with projects, the busiest in the world. The anonymous donation of *The Persistence of Memory* to MoMA; its contemporaneous reproduction in the Julian Levy catalogue; that declaration of Dalí's of his principles and intentions; not to mention his pompously-titled pamphlet, *New York Salutes Me*, which he published on the occasion of his arrival in that city: in addition to all of this, it was sufficient simply to

slip in, without further comment, Bosch's painting at the end of the list of works, so that an entire process of *generalization* would thus unfold.⁵² That is to say, so that New York—or indeed the whole world—would salute Dalí.

There is something else, however, “behind the curtain.” While in 1927 Dalí was content to let Cassanyes have the word, by 1934 he was taking advantage of the momentum of those who had already spoken. On the other side of the Atlantic, in a popular medium of the likes of the BBC weekly *The Listener*, Herbert Read had just published an article analyzing Dalí's painting in the light of Hieronymus Bosch. ⁵³ In that essay, after discussing the way in which both artists relate to the inspiration that feeds their fantasy (medieval eschatology on the one hand, and Freudian psychoanalysis on the other), Read estab-



lishes a categorical difference between them. Bosch's fantasy "came to [him] naturally, subjectively," in perfect consonance with his world; his fantasy is a given. Dalí, in contrast, constructs his "deliberately, objectively," like an effort at profitability (we could say now) in response to a code that has been perfectly established a priori. The story does not end here, however. Read's essay was soon followed by a reply from Roger Caillois in which, though acknowledging the merits of the comparison, he insists on the difference inherent in Dalí's painting, interpreting it in a sense that goes beyond the objectivity Read saw in it and which we might suitably call *ultraconscious*.⁵⁴ In Dalí's painting, furthermore (Caillois goes on to say), not only do the artist and his audience share the same awareness of the system of signs employed—psychoanalysis—but that "source of inspiration" is at the same time "the explanatory principle," with the attendant danger that it all could fall into the vicious circle of the cryptogram. Naturally, in contrast to that very direct, or rather, very *contemporary* interpretation of Dalí's painting, to claim (as does Caillois) that Bosch is a painter who "does not have the key to what he creates," reveals nothing more than our own ignorance regarding a work, the keys to which the *modern age* (and not Bosch!) has lost. The cryptograms that could very well be hidden in his works have since become undecipherable, and that is indeed the cause behind his marvelousness. Caillois, however, does not say this quite so clearly. Could there be any better image of the way in which Surrealism retroactively appropriates the art of the past, turning it into the fantastic by means of its own projections?

In his brief response to Herbert Read, Caillois already establishes a classification of the different "levels of consciousness" with which a work of art is created by the artist and interpreted by its audience. The first is found in apparently realist works in which nothing, apparently, reveals the mystery that they in fact conceal: Leonardo's *The Virgin and Child with Saint Anne*; the paintings by Antoine Caron, Urs Graf, or

Piero di Cosimo; Hercules Seghers' engravings, and so forth. At the second level, "the world of reality is deliberately abandoned in favor of phantasms," and here is where we would find Bosch, along with Gustave Moreau, De Chirico, Max Ernst, etc. The third level, not exactly "deliberate and objective, but above all conscious," belongs to Dalí. The roster of artists that Caillois mentions—at the top of which is the work by Leonardo that Freud analyzed in his famous essay, *Leonardo da Vinci: A Memory of his Childhood*—would go on to become part of all the anthologies of "fantastic art."⁵⁵ Caillois himself would become one of the writers from the Surrealist circle (a heterodox Surrealist in his case) most interested in the matter.

These works in which the fantastic appears are not only linked by a classification of the degrees of self-awareness that characterizes their creation. Before this article, Caillois had already published a review of the exhibition of Surrealist objects that was held in the Pierre Colle gallery in Paris in 1933. The title he chose for the article could not have been more expressive: "Le Décor surréaliste de la vie."⁵⁶ It is life itself, in effect, which those marvels must encompass; that they should be considered its décor is in no way strange. This was the period when Dalí was developing, simultaneously with his theory of objects, another theory that we might call *cosmetic*. The titles of several of his articles are quite explicit in this regard: "Les Nouvelles couleurs du sex-appeal spectral," "Derniers Modes d'excitation intellectuelle pour l'été 1934," "Le Surréalisme spectral de l'éternel féminin pré-Raphaélite," "Première Loi morphologique sur les poils dans les structures molles."⁵⁷ The consciousness, or ultraconsciousness, that these authors have of the power of things as apparently banal as decorations or cosmetics is revealed in the unexpected way in which—by means of the typical mechanisms of Surrealist language (metonymy, synecdoche, etc.) and transformed into allegories of a radical form of life that is banally re-symbolized—these things are returned to their etymological origins: decoration and *decorum*; cosmetics and *kosmos*.

In the various articles mentioned here, whose point of departure are matters pertaining to fashion and cosmetics, Dalí develops a subject that had been present in his thought since at least “L’Âne pourri,” namely, anachronism—perhaps the most effective of all the anachronisms that comprise Surrealist retroactivity.⁵⁸ Dalí understood anachronism, as I have already indicated, to be the eternity of yesterday. It is all those things that, belonging to a retrospective time, nevertheless appear encrusted in the present, that is to say, *fossilized*. When in his paintings or in his essays Dalí alludes to Millet’s painting or to the Pre-Raphaelites, or to architecture, sculpture, and art nouveau objects, he is referring expressly to a world of forms—or rather, of *things*—which were thought of as belonging to a distant age: a *fin de siècle* as ridiculous as it is contemptible, an age that has been absolutely surpassed by war, revolutions, mechanicalist productivism, the avant-gardes and, in short (and no less reasonably), contemporary art. However, those objects that had been rejected as old, *démodé* pieces of junk, cast out of bourgeois homes and out of life altogether, which deserved at best a peevish smile, as Dalí himself says at the beginning of “De la Beauté terrifiante et comestible de l’architecture *modern style*,” objects from an age “likely to provoke a ‘sort of smile’ that is particularly disgusting,” like that of a “subtle and spirited ‘Ridi, Pagliaccio’”—those objects were suddenly discovered to be still present.⁵⁹ They were not like the dregs of something from a faraway past, as modern good taste would have it, but rather only from a little more than thirty years before: more or less (and this is a crucial point) the age of Dalí and the other Surrealists.

Rather than history per se, then, it is a *prehistory* that these objects conjure up in the present. Dalí’s anachronism consists in indicating this without nostalgia, without utopias of resurrection or, precisely in his words, without a “sentimental perspective.”⁶⁰ It is simply a confirmation that the remotest past is still here, visible in its detritus which is very close at hand:

the detritus of a life that is not yet all that long, the detritus of childhood itself. Childhood returns like a phantasm, transformed into the “future” of which Breton and Éluard, both influenced by Dalí, speak in the printed insert to *La Femme visible*: “Paranoiac-critical thought is the most admirable instrument ever proposed in order to lead that phantasm-woman through the immortal ruins with her green-gray face, laughing eye, hard curls, who is not only the spirit of our birth, in other words the Modern Style, but also the ever more captivating phantasm of the *future*.”⁶¹ The truth, however, as Dalí demonstrates, is that childhood had never left them. How else could the retrospective and reiterative rhythm of modernity be explained?

At the point at which fashion became a principal subject for Dalí, as it is in these articles, his insistence on that notion of anachronism does not strike one as odd at all, for it is inherent in the strategies of advertising. “In contrast to illusions, Surrealist objects offer more than what they promise,” Caillois writes in “Le Décor surréaliste de la vie,” an article that he not coincidentally chose to illustrate with a work by Dalí, specifically his *Buste de femme rétrospectif* (*Retrospective Bust of a Woman*) [Fig. 12].⁶² Little by little, this *fin-de-siècle* mannequin with its exaggerated makeup takes on the weight of all those frozen recollections: a loaf of bread (to which I will return), a curio that reproduces Millet’s *Angelus* sculpturally as an inkwell, a cartoon strip from a zoetrope (a kind of pre-cinematic toy that created the illusion of motion when spun), and other trinkets that appeared in different versions of the work. It is likewise not odd at all that many of these essays by Dalí were published in *Minotaure*, the journal that contributed most prolifically to the expansion of Surrealism’s “treasure lands”: ranging from classical art to modern art; from popular culture to highbrow culture; from trinkets to jewels; from found objects to manufactured ones; from science to magic; from ethnography to collecting; from anthropology to psychoanalysis. Everything, absolutely everything was included in the “Golden Age” that



that sumptuous publication was determined to make tangible. That *âge d'or*—recalling the title of Buñuel and Dalí's film, a title less ironic than one would think, or not ironic at all—derived its meaning from the completely interchangeable nature of anything and everything. The bull enclosed within the labyrinth was the best metaphor for the kind of total, active, and retroactive mobilization that Surrealism demanded. To develop the topic further, however, would take us too far afield.⁶³ Let us simply take note of it, then, and return to where we left off, with the great “inventors,” Breton and Dalí.

In 1925, in the fourth issue of *La Révolution surréaliste*—the same issue in which he became editor of the journal—Breton

began to publish a series of articles titled “Le Surréalisme et la peinture.” The book in which he gathered these essays, a volume first published in 1928 and reedited twice subsequently, became the growing depository of his most vigorous, programmatic texts on art and artists, a kind of imperfect anthology that was always open-ended.⁶⁴ As in the *Manifeste*, references to artists from *l'époque ancienne* are so scarce that they might as well be reduced to one: the solitary, or doubly-solitary, Paolo Uccello. His reappearance here, however, is remarkable:

“So you abandon me, thought? I live; but do I know exactly in what epoch? The southern coastline of Australia was very probably discovered in the sixteenth century by the Portuguese and then forgotten. Must I then believe that everything began with me? There were so many others attentive to that clangor of blonde spears beneath a black sky—but where are the Battles of Uccello?”⁶⁵

Breton is referring to Uccello's magnificent *Battle of San Romano* [Fig. 13], one of whose large panels can be viewed in the Louvre. What is striking about the reference, however, is its elegiac tone, its strange “*ubi sunt?*” Nonetheless, the memory of lands discovered and forgotten set in parallel with the only painter from *l'époque ancienne* worth recalling (for now), only emphasizes the significance of the simultaneity of his apparition: discovered and forgotten, true, but discovered anew, obviously, and with greater wonder since they are projected this second time in oblivion and in memory. In fact, though Breton refers to only a single classical painter, the moderns he discusses cannot free themselves from that which *was* but also that which *repeats*.

The first lines of the text make the nature of the dense mass in which the moderns find all their discoveries amply clear—one that is *ancien* and *moderne* at the same time. “*Ubi nunc?*” is the question, really, in this case. “The eye exists in the savage state” is the book's first sentence, and from that point of departure, it is all references to a series of marvels around which a frame nevertheless ends up imposing order.⁶⁶ “It is impossible for me to consider a painting other than as a window about which my first concern is knowing *what it looks onto*,” Breton remarks; the power of perspective to distribute and establish proportion so as to organize the painting's spatial and symbolic depth is here replaced by a gaze “*à perte de vue*”—as far as the eye can see.⁶⁷ However, this does not in the least attenuate the full force of Leon Battista Alberti's classical metaphor, the painting as a window, in Breton's definition. In reality, that *à perte de vue* only constitutes an extension of the metaphor to



its limits: In Breton, *imitatio* now lies in what “I begin to see [...] is not visible.”⁶⁸

“This is not all,” Breton immediately adds. Indeed it is not, as the title of the book and the previous series of articles from which it is derived indicate clearly. *Le Surréalisme et le peinture*—each element separated by the conjunction *and*—answers to heated debates that took place within the circle of *La Révolution surréaliste*, from its very first issue, regarding the possibility of “Surrealist painting,” that is, a kind of painting capable of responding to the principle mechanisms of Surrealist creation at that point: automatism and dreams. Max Morise, Robert Desnos, and Pierre Naville participated in this debate, as well as André

Masson with the “automatic drawings” he published in the journal. Morise can only imagine “today,” through a few signs, what “Surrealist plastic arts” might entail, though his example (one of those metamorphoses from residuum to treasure already familiar to us) clearly speaks of the *price* of the marvelous: “Man Ray, our friend, [turns] objects of primary necessity, with the help of sensitive paper, into objects of ultimate luxury.”⁶⁹ Naville, in turn, in a brief article ironically titled “Beaux-Arts,” attempts to bring the debate to an expeditious close by remarking that “No one is any longer unaware that Surrealist painting does not exist.”⁷⁰ In contrast to Morise’s compromising (rather than enthusiastic) attitude or Naville’s flat denial, Breton

Fig. 12 Salvador Dalí, *Buste de femme rétrospectif* [Retrospective bust of a woman], 1933. The Museum of Modern Art, New York

Fig. 13 Paolo Uccello, *Battle of San Romano* (detail), ca. 1455. Musée du Louvre, Paris

(the future author of *Les Vases communicants*) once again finds a way of overcoming the problem in that “et” in the title of his book. On the one hand, *and* is a copulative conjunction, insofar as Surrealism feeds on the sources it finds in the work of those painters. It is at the same time, however, effectively disjunctive, in that Surrealism separates itself from them in order to become their guide, owing to its ability to reveal to the artists themselves the hidden meaning in their works—which is ultimately the only true reality or, to paraphrase the Marquis de Sade, *the most marvelous unreality*. Whatever the case may be, what Breton seeks to impede is evident, namely that Surrealism should become merely an *adjective* for painting.

There is a further reason why I have tarried with this title. Throughout the 1930s, Dalí declared on several occasions (always carefully chosen) that he was working on a book he intended to title *Surrealist Painting through the Ages*. Consciously and openly contradicting Breton’s own *Le Surréalisme et la peinture*, Dalí proposed a kind of painting that could be qualified with the adjective *Surrealist*. With his “through the ages” he exalted Surrealism’s retroactive power, which Breton’s text on the other hand so ambiguously represses. For example, in Dalí’s “Lettre à André Breton” mentioned above, which he wrote as a preface to the catalogue for his exhibition at the Pierre Colle gallery in 1933, Dalí describes the study he was engaged in for that never-published book as “obsessive,” in addition to announcing for the first time publicly his admiration for Meissonier and academic painting. The fact that his letter concludes with a formal, though ironic, “Receive, my dear friend, the proof of my Surrealist unconditionality,” and considering the nature of the “proof” the letter contains, this text is highly revealing of the self-awareness in Dalí’s approach. What confirms the meticulous degree of that self-awareness, furthermore, is the inclusion of the first lines of this letter word-for-word in the catalogue to his New York exhibition in 1934 along with *The Persistence of Memory* and

the phantasmal appearance of Bosch’s painting, not Dalí’s, as no. 26 in the list of his works, though that painting resonates perfectly with Dalí’s own, as we are fully aware. (Indeed, in light of this information and Dalí’s project to write the *history* of Surrealist painting “through the ages,” the title of *The Persistence of Memory* might perhaps at long last be interpreted.)

In subsequent articles, Dalí went about expanding that catalogue of artists running “through the ages,” each of them penetrated by a “marvelous” that in Dalí became increasingly concrete and established, in contrast to Breton’s reluctance to provide too many names (i.e., to *identify* it). From Bosch, Bruegel, and Leonardo to Vermeer, Watteau, Böcklin, Millet, Meissonier, the Pre-Raphaelites, and, of course, artists like Arcimboldo and Bracelli, Dalí’s register of names would coincide with the future canon of “fantastic art.” We have seen already how Breton provides examples for the two periods of the “marvelous” in his manifesto: the Romantic period, identified with its ruins; the modern with its mannequins. It is worth recalling as well that Breton imagines a château (that “belongs to me”) situated “in a wild place not far from Paris,” “half of which is not perforce in ruins.”⁷¹ The artists (Duchamp, Picabia, Picasso) prowl about outside its walls. The image is, above all with regard to the possibilities of art, that of an “interior castle.” It is unsurprising, then, that the place where Dalí first declared his intention to write *Surrealist Painting through the Ages* was the scene of a Romantic ruin (as we shall see)—though ruins that were entirely *exterior*, that is, *ob-scene*. This extraordinary text is titled “Rêverie” and was published in 1931 in the fourth issue of *Le Surréalisme au service de la révolution*. Let us examine it more closely.⁷²

To begin with, it is in fact useful to recall that the third and fourth issues of the journal appeared simultaneously in December and that Dalí’s contributions were not limited to “Rêverie” but also included two other texts published in the third issue

Fig. 14 Salvador Dalí, *Visage paranoïaque* [Paranoiac face], in *Le Surréalisme au service de la révolution*, no. 3 (1931)



that were no less important for his theoretical construction. These were “Objets surréalistes” and the communiqué “Visage paranoïaque” [Fig. 14].⁷³ The latter, from our vantage point, seems especially significant since it allows us to begin to understand what exactly the spring of the “marvelous” in Dalí is, what triggers his dreams. (And I am using the term “spring” in an intentionally *mechanical* sense.) This text is a note, or a *communication*, as Dalí calls it, written as an interpretation of an image: a postcard depicting a group of Africans before a hut. It is reproduced three times, first horizontally, according to its original landscape format, and twice vertically, first without modifications and then manipulated by Dalí in order to reveal the “paranoiac face” that the title refers to. Dalí identifies it as the “apparition” of a work by Picasso, a mask from his “black period.”

Dalí thus would seem to be presenting us with a practical example of the ability of the paranoiac-critical method to

obtain especially powerful multiple images, employing a case that includes various strata of the canonical history of modern art, of its origins and models (Picasso, African masks, etc.), but revealing that history suddenly like a phantasmal apparition or a fantastic vision. In reality, however, what he is doing is describing the characteristic mechanism behind a very popular type of postcard. The trick consisted precisely in discovering a hidden image behind the illustration that constituted its ostensible subject: for example, the typical case of the peaceful pair of lovers kissing or embracing in the light of some candles which upon subsequent examination revealed a skull, a kind of comic *vanitas*—for such are the phantasms of modernity, products of production. (This same subject, incidentally, is one Dalí imitated directly on numerous occasions.) At the same time, however, were not postcards themselves one of the most important “stereotyped” forms of communication for the masses in the early twentieth century? With the example of his *communication* in the journal, Dalí is unveiling what is undoubtedly one of the most “popular” origins of his metamorphic method, elevating it, in fact, to the status of a critical category. He is likewise testing out what would become the mechanisms and devices of his own self-promotion, his own self-advertisement: those that would allow him to take possession of all the registers of the fantastic *made real*, from the anonymous to the acknowledged and vice versa, from *history* to the retroactive *revelation*.

1931 was a key year both from the general standpoint of the complex processes of Surrealism’s public affirmation and from the particular standpoint of the increasingly conflictive role Dalí played in the strategy behind these processes. “Rêverie” (a pornographic story if it can be called that, as we shall see) appeared in issues of *Le Surréalisme au service de la révolution* that were especially marked by their vigorously political aims, opening as the joint volume did with the third issue’s first text, a peremptory essay by Aragon titled “Le Surréalisme et le deve-

nir révolutionnaire.” The inclusion of “Rêverie” would spark off a major conflict that ended in Aragon’s and Breton’s definitive split. It is worth recalling this, if only in passing, because it serves as a reminder of the degree to which the marvelous and the fantastic are things of this world. Indeed, following the publication of “Rêverie,” its pornographic character—essential, as we shall see, in the strategy of construction behind Dalí’s hardly innocent “history” of Surrealist painting through the ages—provoked a great scandal, to the extent that the Surrealists who were members of the Communist Party were called before an inspection committee to explain themselves.

Shortly thereafter, in 1932, Breton published his tract titled *Misère de la poésie* (published by Éditions Surréalistes), whose objective was to defend Aragon during the police investigation and legal case in which he found himself caught up following the publication of Aragon’s poem *Front rouge*.⁷⁴ In that tract, however, against the guidelines of the party and Aragon’s own stance, Breton defended among other things the complementarity of dialectical thought and Freudian psychoanalysis. In a note, he also made a combative allusion to the meeting held regarding “Rêverie”: “Meanwhile they have miserably attempted to exploit the manifest contents of the very beautiful ‘Rêverie’ by Dalí against us. [...] ‘All you intend to do is complicate the very simple and healthy relations between a man and a woman,’ one lout said to us.”⁷⁵ Aragon declared that he did not identify with the form or the content of the tract Breton had written in principle in Aragon’s defense, thus effectuating their split.

It was not the first time, however, that Dalí had been the source of discord between Breton and Aragon. Years later, Breton would recall in an interview how Dalí’s *Objet scatologique* (*Scatological Object*) [Fig. 15], particularly its glass of milk, had scandalized Aragon—a work that had appeared as an illustration precisely in the third issue of *Le Surréalisme au service de la révolution*, the same issue, that is, in which Aragon had pub-

lished his vigorous “Le Surréalisme et le devenir révolutionnaire.” Though in his recollections Breton in fact confuses this work with the later *Veston aphrodisiaque* (*Aphrodisiac Dinner Jacket*), whose glasses were to be filled not with milk but with crème de menthe, he declares, “To the astonishment of everyone, Aragon, very upset, complained of the waste of that milk, and he went so far as to say that the children might need it...”⁷⁶ To the astonishment of everyone, indeed: though it is evident here that the issue was the transformation of a product that was a *primary necessity* into one that was an *ultimate luxury*—the basis, that is, for the Surrealist economy of the fantastic, the “continuous temptation” as continuous metamorphosis.

But what, while we’re on the subject, is the plot of “Rêverie”? Very briefly: Dalí relates how, at the hour of the siesta, he prepares to write a long study on Arnold Böcklin, specifically on his *Die Toteninsel* (*The Isle of the Dead*) from 1880 [Fig. 16], which would become part of his book, *Surrealist Painting through the Ages*. He meticulously prepares the setting and describes his problems in prolix detail: He intends to stretch out on a divan in his bedroom following his lunch and needs instruments to write with and a notebook, but one that is different from the notebook he had used before. He goes in search of it but finally





decides not to fetch it. Instead, he takes up a piece of bread and pulls out the crumb, forming little balls of it that he plays with. He tells of his reflections on “frontality in the *Isle of the Dead*” and on the “unconscious funereal feeling” in works by De Chirico and Vermeer, at the same time that he reveals the urge to urinate and the onset of an erection (150–53).⁷⁷ Finally, he enters into a “reverie.” But it is he, entirely self-aware, who projects that daydream. It begins in the same way as the real scene, but in an imagined castle based on the model of certain places from his childhood, specifically, the Molí de la Torre, a country estate on the outskirts of Figueres owned by the Pitxot

family, where in June 1916 Dalí spent a month’s vacation (153). In the “reverie” Dalí manipulates the elements and the space of that setting, which is constantly metamorphosing, while at the same exact time in “reality” he ceaselessly manipulates the crumb of bread, shaping it in countless ways (153–55). The story, in short, relates the initiation, through readings, images, and rituals, of a girl, Dulita, who will be sodomized by him after he adopts the role of an apparently deaf and mute wise old man for the occasion (155–61). Two women take charge of the initiation: Matilde, who is Dulita’s mother, and Gallo, a prostitute that the narrator had met some time before. In

Fig. 15 Salvador Dalí, *Objet scatologique* [Scatological object], in *Le Surréalisme au service de la révolution*, no. 3 (1931)

Fig. 16 Arnold Böcklin, *Die Toteninsel* [The Isle of the Dead], 1880. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

the end, everything takes place with maniacal meticulousness. On the one hand, there is the twilight, scenes of ruins, cypresses, moist fountains, fallen leaves, stables, and excrement; on the other, bourgeois rooms and rituals, coffee and cordials every night, etc. The “reverie” comes to a swift end when it flows into another, earlier “dream” in which Dulita is unexpectedly Gala (161). Finally, the dream returns to reality, from which, as we have seen, it had never truly been separated (161–62).

The spatial, architectural, and artistic references in the “reverie” constantly intertwine with the project of the book on Surrealist painting, which is part of “reality,” in a kind of continuous and ubiquitous metamorphosis. Indeed, a large portion of the detailed descriptions of the “reverie” take their point of departure from paintings that were quite familiar in the Surrealist tradition, in particular Böcklin’s *Isle of the Dead*, a painting that was much admired and interpreted by Giorgio de Chirico. They end up, in perfect circularity, at paintings and other works by Dalí himself.

The text begins with an unambiguous declaration of the exact place, date, and time it was written: “Portlligat, October 17, 1931, 3 o’clock in the afternoon” (150). That need for documentary precision completely determines the style of the narrative, in which the descriptions of atmospheres, objects, gestures, postures, and movements will exasperatingly lead to the inclusion of the tiniest of details and in which the coincidence of different times (the real and the fantasized) must be constantly demonstrated, as if the narrative bore the burden of proof. It does so in parodically Aristotelian terms (the distinction between history and poetry from the *Poetics*, i.e., what actually happens versus what might happen). On the one hand, there is what his body does within the limited space of the divan in his bedroom, playing automatically and obsessively with a ball of breadcrumb, at the precise moment at which, on the other hand, there is what his mind does in developing its fantasy, guiding and manipulating its

creatures through a series of constantly transforming architectural scenarios that are increasingly expansive, intricate, and perfected—all of this during a length of time and action that is more and more extended and complex.

Dalí is thus contrasting the limitations of automatism (in other words, the primordial, foundational mode of Surrealist creation) with the possibilities of the imagination—or, in this case, with the possibilities of the guided dream that constitutes his reverie (in other words, something very similar to what he proposes with his paranoiac-critical method). His reverie, indeed, takes on all the attributes of a project—“I conceive, in the form of a daydream, a plan,” he says explicitly (155)—whose outlines are conscientiously determined, for it is the fantasy that is, properly speaking, projected. According to this plan, everything, with frenetic precision, turns out as the narrator wishes; brushstroke by brushstroke, like a miniaturist, he corrects the details until he obtains what he needs. Does not all this suffice as an inkling of what kind of retroactivity would prevail in *Surrealist Painting through the Ages*, which is in the final analysis, as we have seen, the initial trigger for the story?

In effect, unlike the dream narratives that had been typical during the early years of Surrealism and that had filled, issue after issue, the pages of *La Révolution surréaliste*, what Dalí relates is a “reverie,” a fantasy, a daydream. The distinction is significant, above all because of the possibilities for extrapolation that it encompasses. In *The Interpretation of Dreams*, Freud speaks of the state of half-sleep prior to a dream proper as a moment in which mental activity proceeds not by means of images as it does in a dream, but through concepts. In his “reverie,” Dalí follows this definition, describing in detail even the effort required to not lose the thread of what is being projected and constructed at the same time, as, indeed, his method demands. Dalí’s text is the verbal simulation of what Freud would call, strictly speaking, a *Tagtraum* or daydream, but being a *Surrealist* verbal simulation

in a perfect vicious circle, it nevertheless cannot but lead to images.⁷⁸

Having established this, what is most significant to us here is the model on which the style of “Rêverie” is based, namely a typical variety of pornographic literature, a *commercial* genre, that emerged in the nineteenth century as a popularized reinterpretation of the libertine novel of the eighteenth, which in principle dealt with philosophical matters. Dalí’s reverie has all the ingredients of the commercialized descendent of the libertine novel: from the remote château with its scrupulously described gardens, the ruins and cypresses beneath the moon, the fountains, and the mirrors, to the brutal “lord” (usually an Englishman) and his sadomasochistic imagination, the mother, the go-between, and the girl who must be initiated. If Dalí claims *stéréotypie* as the necessary precondition for retroactivity realized, what could be more truly stereotypical than this story, which (acknowledging the marked differences) establishes an identically parodic relationship to its models as its contemporary, *Histoire de l’oeil*, published by Georges Bataille under the pseudonym of Lord Auch in 1928?⁷⁹

On the other hand, the concurrence (imperative from the standpoint of retroactivity) between the action and the description of the architectural spaces, of the spatial “tour” of the tower and its gardens, of the reflections on painting—all those things, in short, that pertain in some way to the book on Surrealist painting—that concurrence signals a relationship between “Rêverie” and that characteristic genre of the eighteenth century, the libertine novel, in which pornography commingles with the subject matter of artistic or architectural treatises, as if it were the most natural thing in the world. In those novels, the lewd plot advances at the same time that the protagonists tour a building, commenting on its qualities or on those of its paintings, furnishings, and ornaments. The building, the works of art it contains, and its décor participate with the protagonists in a kind of ménage à trois that is organ-

ic and mechanical at the same time. The vision of architecture, painting, and décor can provoke libidinal desires, and taste, in effect, ends up becoming tactile. This is the case, for example, in the novel by Dominique Vivant de Denon, *Point de lendemain* (1777), whose protagonist claims at one point, “It is curious, but for a moment I was not sure if I desired Madame de T*** or her cabinet,” or likewise in Jean-François de Bastide’s famous *La Petite Maison* (1763) with its two protagonists, the Marquis de Trémicour and Méliete—a text that a “decadent” like Edmond de Goncourt delighted in. One could offer many other examples of this simultaneous didactics, this doubling as treatise on architecture and art (or, more accurately, on *taste*) and treatise on libertinism, this innate concurrence of artistic and sexual initiation: from the chronologically remote *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, via *L’École des filles*, Laclos’s *Les Liaisons dangereuses*, Sade’s *La Philosophie dans le boudoir*, all the way to Fourier. These authors’ motto would seem of course to be a Horatian “delight while teaching,” in a simultaneous school of art and love, and their texts are extraordinarily meticulous both in terms of the *mise-en-scène* and the infinite, willful mechanical manipulation of places and space, just as in Dalí’s text.⁸⁰

Artistic treatise and treatise of libertinism, school of art and school of love, Dalí’s “Rêverie” unfolds always in a terrain that is doubled: double didactics, double temporality, double spatiality. It demands retroactive projection. It is, finally, a treatise on applied “Romantic” architecture and painting, produced from the conjunction of Böcklin’s *Isle of the Dead* (in turn an echo of De Chirico) with Dalí’s childhood memories of the Molí de la Torre manor and with his own pictorial oeuvre.

So let us address the question of *methodology*. If “Rêverie,” as I have said, is in part a treatise on painting that explains some of the intentions of Dalí’s book that he never wrote, let us attempt to illustrate it. We might begin, for example, with an image consonant with the most ordinary, stock pornographic literature, a little drawing by Dalí himself from 1932 titled,

not coincidentally, *Rêverie* [Fig. 17], on which he has written the punning caption, “Consigne: gâcher l’ardoise totale” (instructions / checkroom / deposit: waste the whole slate / debt). That *consigne* sends us directly to the “economic theory” that Bataille would expound upon shortly thereafter in his articles in *La Critique sociale*, especially in “La Notion de dépense” (The notion of expenditure) but that was already evident in earlier texts.⁸¹ Against the principle of utility, Bataille sets up the idea

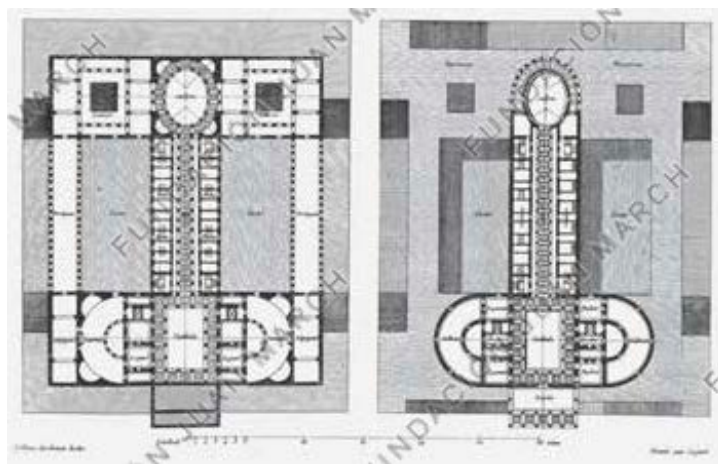


Fig. 17 Salvador Dalí, *Rêverie*, 1932. Reproduced in Descharnes, *Salvador Dalí* (Cologne: DuMont, 1984), 149. Private collection

Fig. 18 Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, *Oikéma* (*Maison de Plaisir*) [Oikema (House of pleasure)], ca. 1773–79, in *Architecture de C. N. Ledoux* (Paris: Lenoir, 1847), plate 240

of unproductive expenditure, that is, waste, excess, excretion. In Bataille, the principle of utility coincides with the homogeneity of the “profane,” while the principle of lost “excess” coincides with the heterogeneity of the “sacred,” of “sacrifice,” of the “base,” and it is identifiable with what for Dalí, already in “L’Âne pourri,” are the “great simulacra [of] shit, blood, and putrefaction.”⁸²

Where else were these simulacra created but in the art of the recent past, in the *démodé*, in the *style moderne*? A glance at the evolution of Dalí’s theories about the object (which are essential from the standpoint of the construction of retroactive Surrealism and its elucidation of the fantastic) would suffice for one to recognize the way in which he interprets the ideas Bataille had been expounding in his articles for *Documents* and *La Critique sociale*. One might begin with the initial “symbolic machines” of Dalí’s *objets surréalistes* and conclude with the “loss of form” described in texts like “Objets psycho-atmosphériques-anamorphiques” and “Apparitions aérodynamiques des ‘Êtres-Objets.’”⁸³ Dalí translates these ideas into the language and delirious examples corresponding to his own concerns, according to a strategy that consists in applying these “strong”



ideas to matters pertaining to art (*through the ages*), fashion, and advertising.

In this sense, the drawing referred to above with its inscription could not be more eloquent. What do we see in it? In the middle there is an Art Nouveau umbrella stand in the shape of a penis, a grotesque interpretation (or perhaps not so grotesque) of the empathy the Decadents felt for their artist's houses which were always turned towards the past and the marvelous: the Goncourt brothers, Joris-Karl Huysmans, Robert de Montesquiou, etc. This is an element, then, of the nervous house, of the neurotic decoration that intensifies or aggravates the marvelous, as Breton knew full well when he chose the metaphor of the "interior castle" for his and his Surrealist friends' retreat. In the case of Dalí's umbrella stand, the form of the decorative object coincides with the form of the house itself in a forced process that goes from the smallest thing to the largest, from the vulgar to the high-flown, from the container to the contained—and from the present to the past, in two simultaneous moves (one toward the present-past of Art Nouveau and the *démodé*, and the other toward the *restored* past of history). After all, does that umbrella stand not present the same shape as Claude-Nicolas Ledoux's *maison des plaisirs* [Fig. 18], his *Oikema* that Dalí so admired and copied, in which the very concept of the *petite maison* attains its obsessive and delirious culmination?

Be that as it may, Böcklin is, as we know, the trigger for almost the entire scenario of the reverie. Dalí's fondness for Böcklin derives from Giorgio de Chirico, who had made the painter one of his explicit models.⁸⁴ However, the forcing of time that Surrealist retroactivity demands, as we have been observing, leads Dalí to place Böcklin in relation not only to De Chirico but also to Vermeer.

Dalí insists on the frontality of *Isle of the Dead* (undoubtedly Böcklin's most popular painting and one he made several versions

of), and here he sets off, unsettled by the urge to urinate and the erections of the beginning of his story, into a reflection on the orthogonality of perspective in Böcklin and De Chirico. Böcklin's painting splits into two identical versions, into the *historicist* reality of those analyses and into its paradoxical realization in the "reverie" (for the description in the text of the dark cypresses in a circle and the ruins—with their signs of a fire and their apsidal shape, etc.—explicitly evoke the island cemetery). The desolation and orthogonality of the *Vrai Tableau de "L'Île des morts" d'Arnold Böcklin à l'heure de l'Angélu*s (*True Painting of the 'Isle of the Dead' by Arnold Böcklin at the Hour of the Angelus*) [Fig. 19], which Dalí painted in 1932, could surely be interpreted as a vigorous manifestation of his reflections on the frontality of Böcklin's work. In Dalí's painting, the accumulation of retroactive models—or of strata of *surrealist painting through the ages*—could not be more manic. In its belabored title Böcklin and Millet are explicitly linked; implicitly, Vermeer and De Chirico, are joined together by Dalí himself who, in simultaneously writing and painting a part of the *history* not of the origins of Surrealist painting but of its fantastic *accumulation*, proposes (who could doubt it?) to "waste the whole debt"—that is, if one must suppose there is any debt whatsoever in those origins. From the written to the painted, the images of that *dépense* accumulate, in effect, at the same time that *necessarily*, they become stereotyped. The aluminum cup tied with a chain next to the fountain surrounded by cypresses that Dalí describes in "Rêverie," a motive for complicated rituals (154), recalls the cup that appears in *The True Painting of the 'Isle of the Dead' by Arnold Böcklin at the Hour of the Angelus* (among other works) held in place by the tense vertical of the liquid; the ruin-fountain-piano with cypresses would become at that point one of the recurring subjects in his work; etc.

There are other references, however, that enter into the spatial and temporal play of the double treatise—pictorial



and amorous—and of its practical execution, *in painting*. In the case of Vermeer, perhaps the oldest of Dalí’s favorite painters, strata accumulate to no less a degree than in the case of Böcklin. In “Rêverie” Dalí writes, “I am thinking concretely [...] of Vermeer’s painting entitled *The Letter*. It becomes impossible for me to represent it fully and with all the clarity I wish for. This is because of the emotional significance flowing, arising from the curtain in the foreground (on the left) of the painting in question” (152). We are speaking here, however, of the accumulation of strata, of “wasting the whole debt,” in the age

Fig. 19 Salvador Dalí, *Vrai Tableau de “L’Île des morts” d’Arnold Böcklin à l’heure de l’Angelus* [True painting of the ‘Isle of the Dead’ by Arnold Böcklin at the hour of the Angelus] Von der Heydt-Museum, Wuppertal

of “total mobilization.” Indeed, when Dalí paints an interpretation of *Girl Reading a Letter at an Open Window* in his own *The Image Disappears* [Fig. 21], what he does in fact is superimpose various paintings by Vermeer in a paranoiac memory: the *Girl Reading a Letter* [Fig. 20], *Woman [in Blue] Reading a Letter*, and the curtain from *The Art of Painting* [Fig. 22]. This series of works are marked by amorous symbolism fused with a proud allegory of the powers of painting: treatise of love and treatise of art, once again, stratum upon stratum.

The accumulations do not end here, though. The double image transforms the entire painting into a giant male head that encompasses the figure of the woman with a letter and the other elements of the painting, in a kind of unexpected version of the traditional theme of the Annunciation. This apparition is situated somewhere between, on the one hand, Alberto Savinio’s *Annunciazione (Annunciation)* [Fig. 23] (several versions of which he painted in 1932) with the Virgin transformed into a pelican and the giant head of the archangel Gabriel occupying the entire window and, on the other, the appearance of King Kong’s immense head in Fay Wray’s bedroom [Fig. 24]. That scene especially fascinated Jean Lévy who, in an article published in 1934 in *Minotaure*, related it to the apparition of the ape’s head in the window in Edgar Allan Poe’s *The Murders in the Rue Morgue*—a double crime, of course—whose film version with Sidney Fox and Bela Lugosi, incidentally, had just premiered.⁸⁵ It is not necessary to insist here on the density of the *fusion* of the layers of the “marvelous” *through the ages* (the subject of the Annunciation, its grotesque interpretation in painting and film, the stories of Poe, etc.) Nevertheless, now that those ages have finally been liquidated in the retroactive unison of Dalí’s painting, would it not be better to speak of the “project of the marvelous”?

In the manner of those eighteenth-century libertine novels, as I have been saying, Dalí’s “reverie” is in the end a “treatise on painting” that is like a “treatise on love” in that what

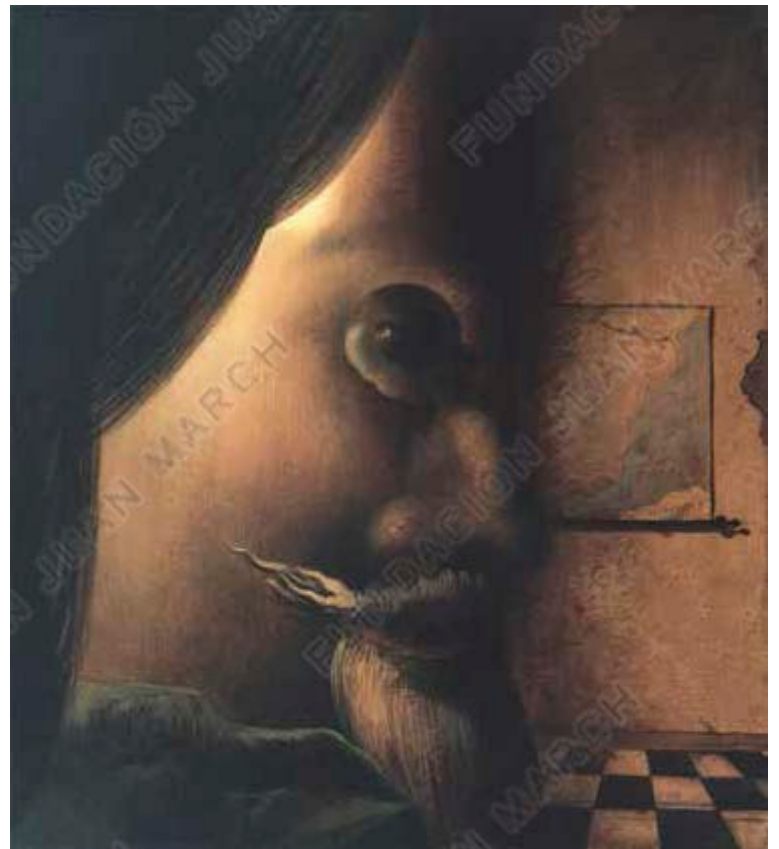


Fig. 20 Jan Vermeer, *Girl Reading a Letter at an Open Window*, ca. 1659. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden

Fig. 21 Salvador Dalí, *The Image Disappears*, 1938. Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí, Figueres

Fig. 22 Jan Vermeer, *The Art of Painting*, ca. 1666. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

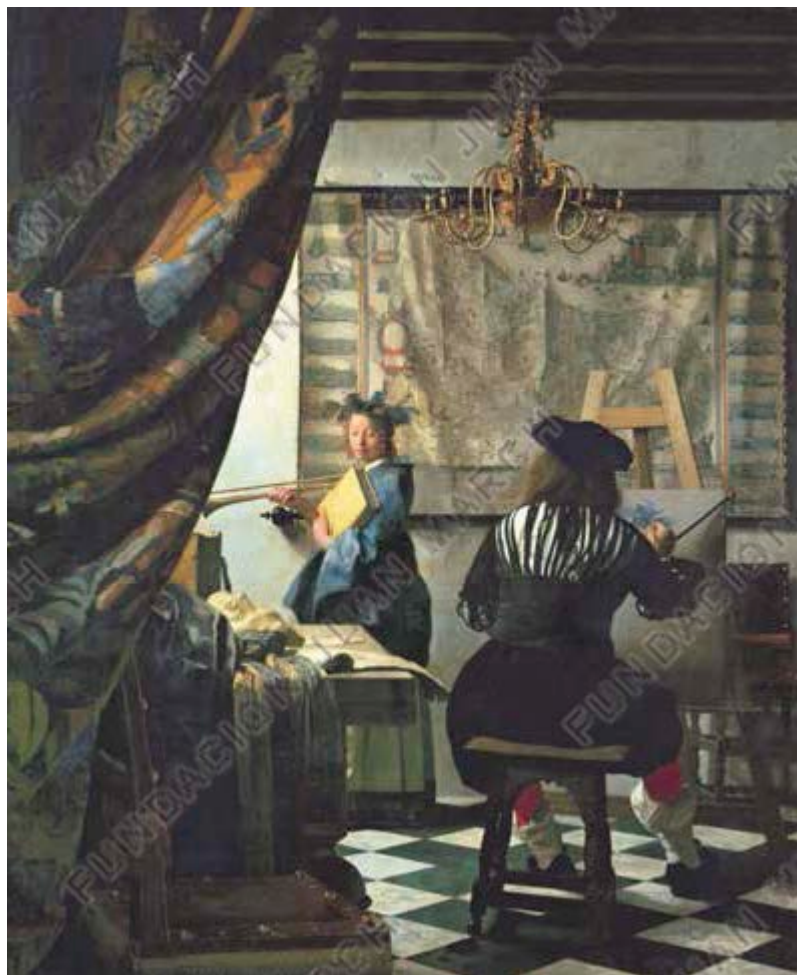




Fig. 23 Alberto Savinio, *Annunciazione* [Annunciation], 1932. Civiche Raccolte d'Arte, Casa-Museo Boschi Di Stefano, Milan

Fig. 24 Still from the film *King Kong*, dir. Merian C. Cooper and Ernest B. Schoedsack, RKO Pictures, Inc., 1933. Reproduced in Orville Goldner and George E. Turner, *The Making of King Kong* (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1975), 165

Fig. 25 Salvador Dalí, *Hallucination: Six images de Lénine sur un piano* [Hallucination: Six images of Lenin on a piano], 1931. Centre Pompidou. Musée national d'art moderne/Centre de création industrielle, Paris

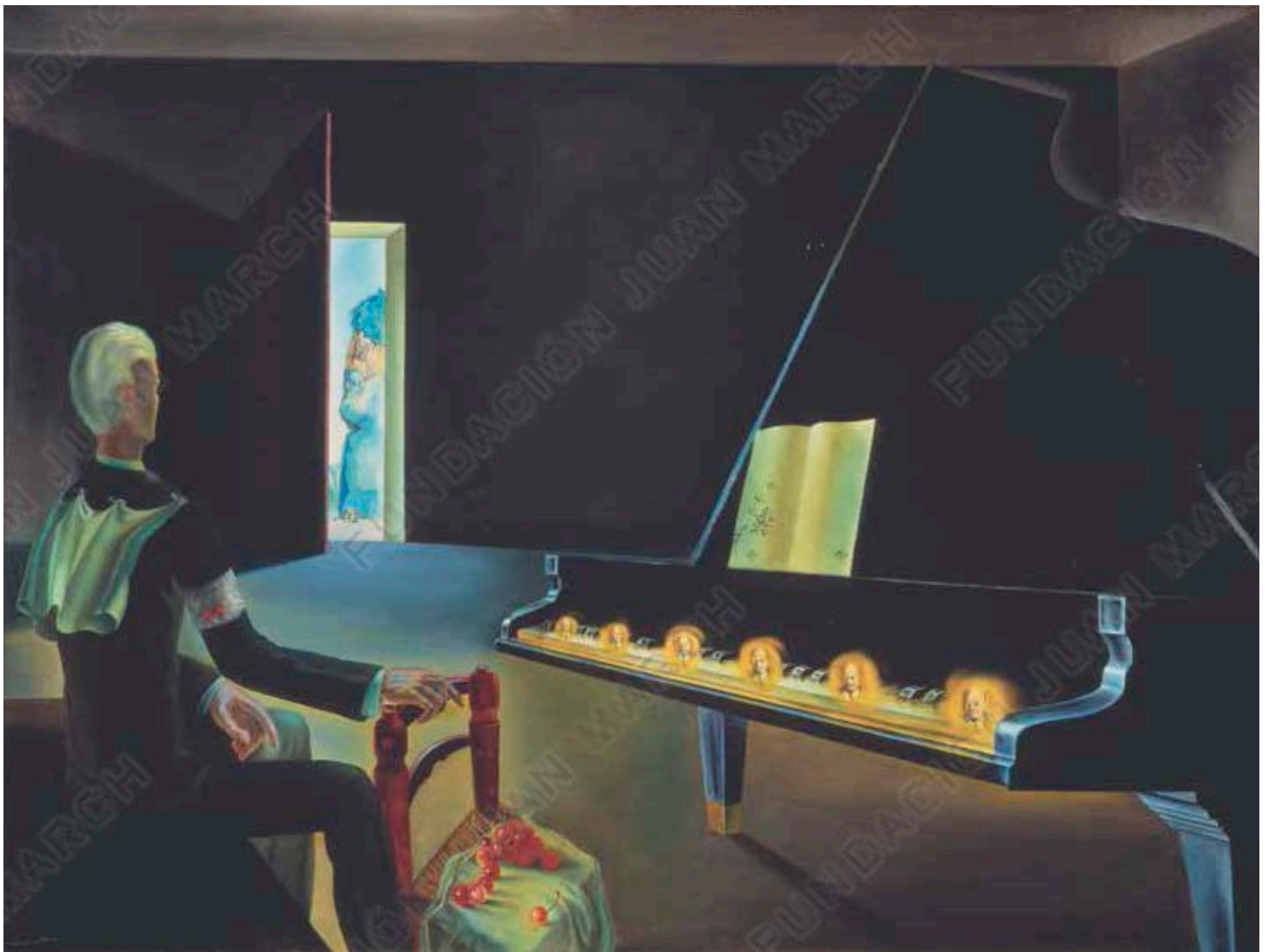
it assembles is everything that has been conquered: Vermeer, Böcklin, De Chirico, Savinio, a traditional theme, a cinematographic scene, paintings themselves... Since it is both a narrative and a treatise, the descriptions hasten towards a continuous ecphrasis. When Dalí writes, for example, “I see myself from the back [...]. I am wearing a suit in black velvet, similar to the one worn by [...] the owner of the manor during my stay there as a child, merely with the difference of having a small cape in white linen, exceptionally neat, hooked to my shoulders with three small safety pins.” What is this but a description of *Hallucination: Six images de Lénine sur un piano* (*Hallucination: Six images of Lenin on a Piano*) [Fig. 25], painted in 1931, in which the figure in the foreground, seen from behind in front of the piano, wears a white cape attached with safety pins? In any case, “description” does not seem to be the best word here; “annunciation” might be more fitting. This is what occurs with the most important exercises in ecphrasis, namely, those that appear in his detailed explanations of his manipulations of the breadcrumb, which relate a whole series of his own works (those devoted to bread, some from much earlier in his oeuvre) to his Surrealist objects, whose function is symbolic.

The piece of bread, the great protagonist of the ritual at the level of the *real* in the “Rêverie,” is also an artistic subject. Through Dalí’s text it is the *nexus rerum* of a *history of Surrealist painting through the ages* in which the “whole debt” of the *origins* of Surrealism results in its squandering. Let us examine what is at stake: An editorial with a retroactive title devoted to the Marquis de Sade—“Actualité de Sade” (De Sade News)—opens the fourth issue of *Le Surréalisme au service de la révolution*, the same in which “Rêverie” was published. It was by no means the first time that it had appeared in the journal, and the debt Dalí’s double treatise owes to the idea of “delighting while teaching” found in works like Sade’s *La Philosophie dans le boudoir* is evident, as I have already remarked. Sade, that “Surrealist in sadism” (as Breton’s list in the manifesto would have it), can thus help us proceed, for the Marquis’s hatred of bread, as others have pointed out, revolved around its characteristic symbolizations. The motive for that hatred is “doubly political” (in Roland Barthes’s formulation): on the one hand because bread is an emblem of virtue, religion, work, recompense, etc., and on the other, because it is a tool of blackmail wielded by tyrants against the people.⁸⁶

The value of bread as a moral object also explains Dalí’s obsession with that food, whose role as a symbol of virtues is ostentatiously desecrated in “Rêverie.” That bread which one must respect, which parents oblige their children to eat be-



cause “there are poor people who go hungry,” which one earns with the sweat from one’s brow, which is blessed at the start of a meal, is transformed by Dalí into a toy that is continuously fiddled with and sullied and that will ultimately end up at the basest parts of the body, together with mucus or semen (155). It should thus be no surprise to us any longer that this is precisely the evolution the pictorial subject of bread underwent in Dalí’s oeuvre, from his *Panera de pa (Basket of Bread)* [Fig. 26]—lovingly painted in 1926 and replete with reminiscences of Zurbarán or the realism of the Le Nain brothers—to the various “anthropomorphic breads” [Fig. 27] from 1932, swollen, tumescent, wrapped in cloth in the same way that his member in “*Rêverie*” is wrapped in “soiled linen.” If we contemplate one of those paintings alongside what Dalí writes (“I pull my penis out of my pants, wrapping it with soiled linen” [159]), the pow-





er of the ecphrasis seems to intensify in the forced meaning that the erotic story and the artistic treatise, both literally *ob caenum*, impose upon each other mutually. What's more, Dalí makes the precise instant at which Dulita eats bread in the “reverie” coincide with the moment of the narrator’s erection in “reality”—the narrator who will in turn, in a footnote, continue playing with the ball of breadcrumb that at the end rolls onto the floor (160, 402n13).

There is yet one more ecphrasis to point out in “Rêverie.” At twilight, among the cypresses, in the fountain that has an aluminum cup hanging from a chain, an essential element in the mechanical rituals of Dulita’s initiation, Matilde and Gallo show her pornographic postcards (160). At night, in a gesture repeated several times no less mechanically, the narrator moistens a lump of sugar in his snifter of cognac and

Fig. 26 Salvador Dalí, *Panera de pa* [Basket of bread], 1926. The Salvador Dalí Museum, St Petersburg, Florida

Fig. 27 Salvador Dalí, *Pa antropomorf* [Anthropomorphic bread], 1932. Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí, Figueres

then places Dulita’s shoes on the table (159). Pornographic postcards, cup, chain, lump of sugar, shoe—these are almost all the elements that comprise Dalí’s *Objet scatologique* mentioned earlier, and they therefore provide the exact symbolism of its “symbolic operation.” On the subject of symbolism, let us return to the bread in order finally to resolve this matter. When in 1945 Dalí painted a *Basket of Bread* again (which would serve as a propagandistic image for the Marshall Plan), he does so *respectfully*: Bread once again becomes the institutional food par excellence. Times have changed, and the *history of Surrealist painting through the ages* has now come to a close just as Breton anticipated the world would end: with an announcement, an advertisement.

Perhaps, however, that history had come to an end already—precisely when it had *finally* encountered its official inception, in December 1936, with Alfred H. Barr’s inauguration of the exhibition *Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism* at MoMA [Fig. 28]. As the preface to the heavily illustrated catalogue indicates, this exhibition was to be part of a “series of general retrospective exhibitions” whose objective was to present to the public “in an objective and historical manner the principal movements of modern art.”⁸⁷ The extent and heterogeneity of the works of “fantastic art” brought together in that exhibition left no doubt about the organizers’ didactic intentions, demanded by the historicist and syncretic approach they proposed. The connection between these works truly constituted a complete anthology (and beyond) of all the Surrealism before Surrealism. Though its point of departure was quite different from others’—Breton’s or Dalí’s, those of *Documents* or those of *Minotaure*, etc.—the underlying notion had not only become generalized but, as we have seen, it had become popularized. It began with several Italian primitives and continued through Bosch, Huys, Dürer, Baldung, anamorphoses and emblems, Arcimboldo, Bracelli, Morghen, Hogarth, and Piranesi, and concluded with Füssli, Blake, Goya, Victor Hugo, and Redon, with

an appendix on “fantastic architecture” in which the *Facteur Cheval* shares space with Gaudí and Hector Guimard (235–44), as well as a section devoted to “comparative material” that gathers a cumulus of bric-à-brac in the vein of *Minotaure*, its great model: children’s art, “art of the insane,” folk art, “commercial and journalistic art” (advertisements, comic strips, and the press in general), “scientific objects” and a miscellany of “objects and pictures with a Surrealist character” (225–34). The list, as is evident, can be made infinite—as indeed it would become over the years.

Surrealist retroactivity would seem to have been fulfilled, its ore mined and processed leaving no residue behind, in this borderless conquest of the fantastic, defined likewise retroactively and in perfect circularity. The project is a chronologically inverted history of art, rewritten from modern art back into the past, such that the past is offered up as the culmination of the present, not the other way around. This approach responds to a well-established tradition that is related in principle to the idea of the “return to order.” In this sense, it will suffice to recall Severini’s famous title, *Du Cubisme au classicisme*, or the



rhythm of *Vers une architecture* by Le Corbusier, written as a crescendo that begins with machines, works of engineering, and industrial buildings in order to culminate—“toward an architecture”—in the “pure creation of the mind” that is the Parthenon.⁸⁸ It is with precisely this phrase, “création pure de l’esprit” that Pierre Reverdy describes not architecture, but “l’image,” in verses that Breton quotes in the *Manifeste*.⁸⁹ Indeed, the image, perfectly phantasmal and infinitely transforming (as we have been observing here) is the most prized property of Surrealism. In this project of the construction of the past as the culmination of the modern, Surrealism could identify not simply a legitimizing, productivist mechanism but also the retroactive rhythms of fashion and advertising carried out in the era of the waste of “the whole debt” announced by total consumption and total mobilization among the masses, at leisure and at war.

The MoMA exhibition, however, institutionalized Surrealist retroactivity; it culminated and at the same time congealed Surrealism’s *plan*. It did so not only with regard to the aspects that pertain to the total appropriation of the past via “fantastic art” but also with regard to those aspects that pertain more directly with the historicization of “the princi-

Fig. 28 Installation at the exhibition *Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism*, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1936 (Photo: *Dada in the Collections of the Museum of Modern Art* [New York: MoMA, 2008], 18 [fig. 2])

pal movements of modern art.” The terms in the exhibition title, *Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism*, suggest a periodization that starts with the past, or, rather, with the prior (keeping in mind the limbo to which the catalogue relegates children, the insane, scientific objects, etc.), in order to then present two clearly separated moments: Dada, which as the catalogue’s introduction says, “died in Paris about 1922” (11), and Surrealism, which is fully ascendant (*elsewhere* with regard to Dada, its precursor). Breton himself had striven to disseminate the idea that Dada was an outdated movement, beginning with his first revisionist articles, some of which were very early, such as “Pour Dada,” from 1920, or the significantly titled “Après Dada,” from 1922.⁹⁰ Surrealism, in contrast, was something that was always current. “Fantastic art” thus had no boundaries, and neither did Surrealism—which is, after all, what at its very core revealed that art. Dada, conversely, *like everything else*, had its beginning and its end. Furthermore, all things considered, Breton and the Surrealists had, from the very outset, incessantly spoken of “the marvelous” and had made “the fantastic” one of their principal sources (dreams, seers, magic, divination, phantasms, etc.) also in the realm of the formal. But what did Dada have to do with any of that? Truth be told, if we consider the radical rejection of the project, of the *necessity*, that characterized Dada in Zurich, the cynicism of Dada in New York, or the politicization of Dada in Berlin (to mention just a few characterizations), the answer becomes immediately apparent: Nothing. Dada thus appears as something that is already completely finished, ready to be examined objectively and historically, from outside—not unlike those fossils that belong to the “remoteness” of recent eras, in the constantly flowing *Surrealism through the ages*. Indeed, Surrealism does not pertain to the realm of things but to the realm of images or, rather, of allegories. That the world was to end in an advertisement, everyone was in agreement.

The death of Dada and the currency of Surrealism—always *nascent*—are reflected in the way in which the images are organized in the catalogue. After “Fantastic art,” organized chronologically and divided in two sections, before and after the French Revolution, there follows a chapter on “20th Century Pioneers,” which serves to reinforce the markedly genealogical historicism and the institutional intentions according to which the exhibition had been conceived. Chagall, De Chirico, Duchamp, Kandinsky, Klee, and Picasso, presented thus, in alphabetical order, comprise the list of pioneers. The more than thirty Dadaist and Surrealist artists appear likewise, prudently, in alphabetical order, as the catalogue expressly indicates (143). This choice was undoubtedly not only owing to the fact that all of them were still in full command of their creative powers and fully in competition with each other (and the “pioneers” were no less so, of course), but also because in this way, with no possibility for distinction among them, the Dadaist *anciens* were thus perfectly integrated within Surrealism. Dada, at the same time that it became an object of history, was thus effectively dissolving away.

To judge from what we can observe in the surviving photographs of the show, the way in which the works were installed in MoMA’s exhibition halls produced similar effects, while also correcting the rigidity of the catalogue’s classifications. From this standpoint, the case of Kurt Schwitters is particularly significant. Two photographs of his *Merzbau* in Hannover appear as illustrations in the catalogue’s section titled “Fantastic architecture” (244), and Schwitters is in the incongruous company not only of the *Facteur Cheval*, Gaudí, and Guimard, but also Emilio Terry, an architect, interior decorator, and scenographer with ties to the Parisian upper class, the roots of whose eccentricity could not have been more conservative, just like the snobbery of his clientele. An image from the exhibition, in contrast, shows the photographs of the *Merzbau* in very different company, namely, two etchings from Piranesi’s series from

1761, *Carceri d'invenzione (Imaginary Prisons)*, and Giacometti's sculpture, *Palais à quatre heures du matin (Palace at 4 a.m.)*, a light, cage-like object inhabited by several suspended figures—the skeleton of a bird, a spinal column, and an object reminiscent of a scoop with a ball. That company is not necessarily more probable than the other, but it at least does establish a more relevant interaction among the various pieces of the history that the arrangement proposes: The grouping includes a work that is, properly speaking, Surrealist and for which Giacometti had provided an oneiric interpretation in the pages of *Minotaure* in 1933, calling it a “fantastic palace,” and which retroactively contaminates and explains two other works from the *past*—one only recently expired (*Merz* is described in the catalogue as “a variety of Dadaism”⁹¹) and another from the distant past but that is nevertheless more current than Dada since its “continuous” discovery, its metamorphosis, *invents* history.

Before arriving at the definitive title, several others were proposed for the exhibition: *Art of the Fantastic and Anti-Rational*; *Surrealism and Fantastic Art*; *The Fantastic in Art*. These alternate titles clearly demonstrate Barr's firmly held intention to extend the exhibition's range to every epoch, as well as his interpretation of Surrealism as the historical (retroactive) revealer of the fantastic. Tristan Tzara, who was the exhibition's most important lender, wrote to Barr some months before the opening, “I've heard that the title of your exhibition will no longer be ‘The fantastic in art’ or something similar, [...] but that the very meaning of your exhibition will be diverted and centered around Surrealism. Furthermore, something else [...] is that it seems that the catalogue is to be prefaced by Breton,” adding that “In the case that either one of these rumors should prove true, I will be obliged to beg you *not to exhibit the objects, paintings, and drawings that I have lent you.*”⁹² In Barr's reply, he discretely reassures Tzara, and, presumably to Tzara's relief, Breton could not accept the commission because of other commitments. Instead,

the catalogue opened with an introduction by Barr himself, in which he stresses that the exhibition centers on “the fantastic, the irrational, the spontaneous, the marvelous, the enigmatic, and the dreamlike.”⁹³ The second edition, furthermore, included two long introductory essays by Georges Hugnet that had been published previously and were titled for the occasion, significantly, “Dada” and “In the Light of Surrealism”—the former a *history* in which New York suddenly becomes Dada's first city (“Dada was born [...] first in New York, then in Zurich, Berlin, Cologne, Paris, Hanover”); the latter almost a manifesto.⁹⁴ In both essays, any mention of “fantastic art” in the specific way in which Barr understood it, as something that had indeed been produced in a number of concrete examples *through the ages*, is distinctly absent. Like Hugnet in fact, Breton and Éluard, who also lent a good number of works in their collections to the exhibition, were in similar disagreement with the excessively abundant presence of works that represented “the fantastic,” something that was in their view dispensable, even. This might seem paradoxical, but it is not very much so.

In a letter to Hans Arp, Barr expressed his concern with Breton's desire to make the MoMA exhibition an “official Surrealist manifestation.”⁹⁵ Indeed, in 1936 there had already been an exhibition that could have served as a model for what Breton was thinking of: the *International Surrealist Exhibition* held in London in June and July.⁹⁶ Breton had given a lecture there, subsequently published in *La Clé des champs*, titled “Limites non-frontières du surréalisme.”⁹⁷ What could these “non-border limits” be but the expression of Surrealist expansion, on the eve of war, into the almost virgin markets of the Anglo-Saxon world—London, New York...? *Almost* virgin, that is, because Dalí had already made his forays into both cities, and his famous intervention in the same series of lectures for the *International Surrealist Exhibition* (for which he came dressed as a diver, requiring ostentatious extraction from his suit after nearly suffocating in it) gives a good sense of

the particularly *commercial* nature of the conquest he proposed.⁹⁸ Breton's "non-border limits" also expresses a definition of what is left out—of what Surrealism is competing with. "The fantastic" can be one of those things. (It is a question of possibilities, after all.) "What is most admirable about the fantastic," Breton writes in a footnote to the *Manifeste*, for example, "is that the fantastic no longer exists: there is nothing but the real."⁹⁹ This is an idea he insists on in "Limites non-frontières du surréalisme," in which the fantastic is seen as "the secret historical background" of an age.¹⁰⁰

These ambiguities, which seem to allow the fantastic but one possibility, that of its *fall* into the real or the historical, will however become clarified with time. Breton elucidates them definitively years later in "Pont-Levis," where he writes of Pierre Mabille, "No one is better able to define the marvelous as opposed to 'the fantastic,' which tends, alas, to increasingly supplant it among our contemporaries. For the fantastic is almost always of the order of inconsequential fiction."¹⁰¹ Competition necessitates definition, but in any case, MoMA's own *fiction* did indeed have *consequences*. It served to institutionalize a (single) Surrealism that was much more popular and oriented towards the masses—one that was much more *stereotyped*—than the Surrealism that Breton, in his effort to control the supply, would have wished.

Ultimately, however, faced with that fact, Breton also could not resist it. His very valiant book from 1957, *L'Art magique*, a work he always felt uncomfortable with and for which in the end he required the assistance of Gérard Legrand, is the painful proof.¹⁰² Following the propagation of MoMA's ubiquitously institutionalized version of Surrealism and after that Surrealist flood which now indeed made everything, finally, Surrealist in some way, the impossibility of defining exactly what he is talking about led Breton to make his catalogue of the magical in that book—or of the fantastic, *mutatis mutandis*—a tendentiously infinite one. The now familiar art-

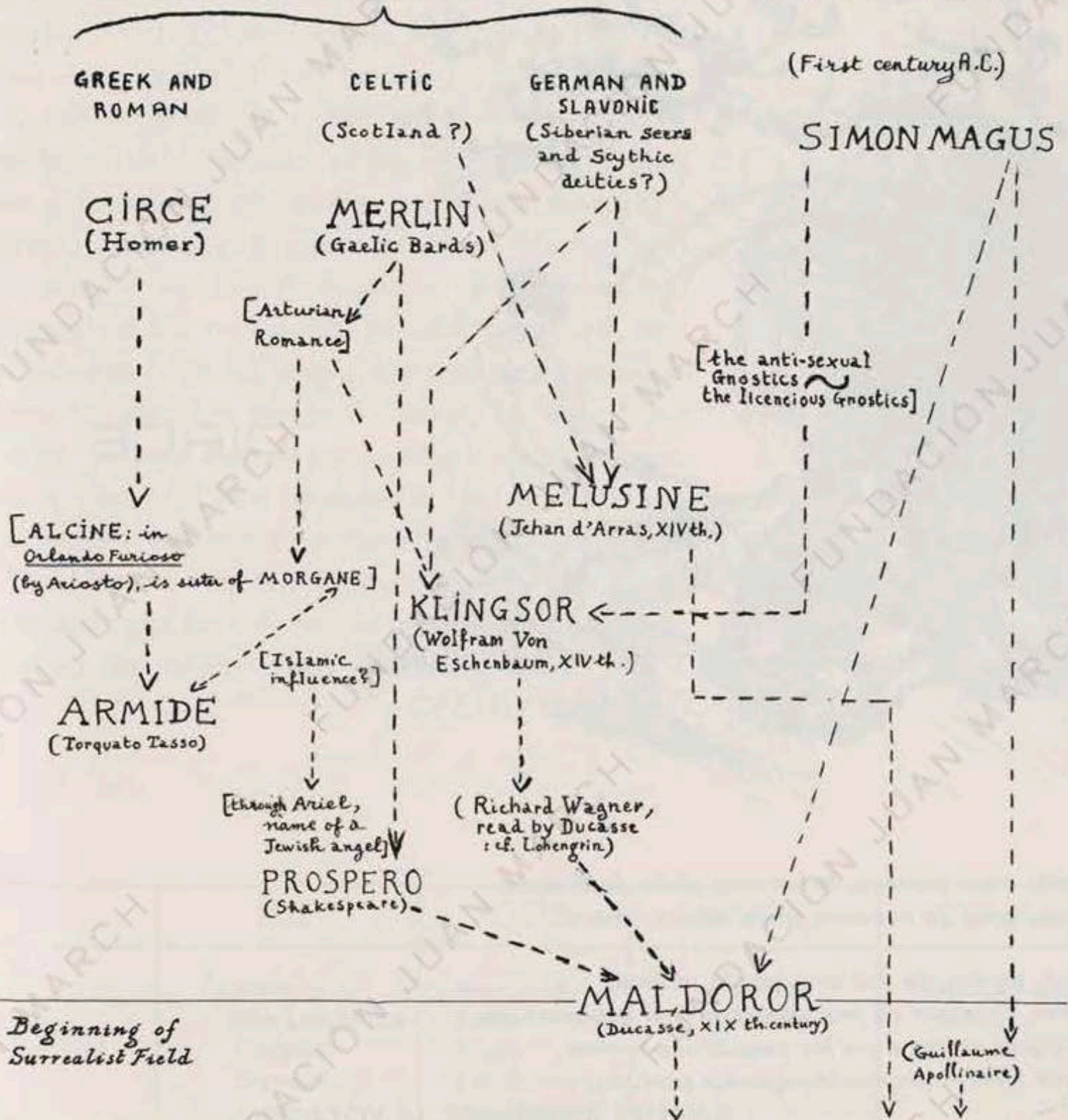
ists and works from the *époque ancienne* and the *époque moderne*, and the canonical techniques, literary figures, and artistic subjects are now joined not only by a large number of new examples *of the same thing*, but also by everything that extends *yet further, elsewhere*: prehistoric art, primitive art, numismatics, emblems, alchemy, anatomical engravings, the whole world supplied by ethnography, etc., etc. The unlimited immensity of the supply definitively reduces the value of the product. Perhaps for that reason, here and there throughout the book, another question emerges: that of the modern artist's possible powers compared with those of the ancient magician.

In a survey published in the book, several writers roundly affirm that the artistic object and the magical object are not comparable. Bataille, for instance, in reflecting precisely on the idea of "value" without failing to mention the "broad sense in which you [Breton] understand *magical art*," argues that the "perceptible (poetic) value" that is essential in an artistic object remains subordinate to the "material efficacy" of a magical object.¹⁰³ Claude Lévi-Strauss arrives at a similar conclusion, in this case centered on the idea of *valeur* more specifically as "price," affirming that while magic seeks "'true' effects (an abundant harvest, the love of a woman, the death of an enemy) without ever achieving them," art "succeeds in its enterprise, but always in the form of a simulacrum."¹⁰⁴ He concludes ironically, in complying with Breton's request that the subjects of the survey arrange a series of images in order of most magical to least. (The list of images represents almost a condensed cross-section of the book's "eclecticism," to use Roger Caillois's term:¹⁰⁵ an Egyptian symbol, a Gaulish coin, a pair of primitive fetishes, an alchemical symbol, a tarot card, a drawing by Paolo Uccello, an engraving by Hans Baldung Grien, a painting by Munch, a drawing by De Chirico, and another by Kandinsky.) Lévi-Strauss, "keeping in mind all the reservations I have made above," offers Breton his classification but adds to it another rating made by his

Fig. 29 André Breton, *Beginning of Surrealist Field*, 1960. In *Surrealist Intrusion in the Enchanters' Domain* (New York: D'Arcy Galleries, 1960), 5

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eight-year-old son who, “incidentally, understood the question immediately.”¹⁰⁶ The book concludes, of course, with a chapter titled “Magic Rediscovered: Surrealism.” Surely, that ubiquity of the magical and the fantastic, “in the light of Surrealism,” cannot but reveal itself as Surrealism’s “childhood illness.”

The impressive number of books published in the late 1950s and in the 1960s on “fantastic art” undoubtedly no longer announced the arrival of the new era of consumerism, the most Surrealist of all, but rather followed in its wake; and they were no less indicative of Cold War anxieties. To mention only a few of the most significant, and leaving aside the interest among art historians (Jurgis Baltrušaitis being the most influential in this regard) and academic disputes about cultural situations as complex as they are fabricated (like the debate around the term *Mannerism*)—these include, each in its own style and each with entirely comparable catalogues of works and lists of artists: *Die Welt als Labyrinth*, by Gustav René Hocke (1957, the same year as Breton’s book); *Arts fantastiques*, by Claude Roy (1960); *L’Art fantastique*, by René de Solier (1961); *Le Miroir du merveilleux*, by Pierre Mabilie (1940; revised in 1962); *Au Coeur du fantastique*, by Roger Caillois (1965); etc., etc.

When in 1960 Breton and Duchamp organized an exhibition titled *Surrealist Intrusion in the Enchanters’ Domain* at the D’Arcy Galleries in New York, Breton attempted to create a new genealogy for Surrealism, depicted literally as a family tree [Fig. 29].¹⁰⁷ In it, he has sought to provide ancestors of a very different sort. On the left side all the branches correspond to “Legends” and are comprised of fictional figures from the ancient Greeks and Romans, Celts, and Germanic and Slavic peoples, all the way to Ariosto, Tasso, and Shakespeare (Circe, Merlin, Klingsor, Prospero...); on the right the branches correspond, much more succinctly, to “History” (Simon Magus). The branches all converge at the name of Maldoror, written at the height of a line that crosses the lower part of the page from right to left. Timidly, in small letters between parentheses, the name of Apollinaire appears below that border. Otherwise, on the other side of the line one reads only “Beginning of Surrealist Field.” There is nothing else.

- 1 Breton 1988–2008, 1:1349. *The Monk* is Matthew Gregory Lewis’s gothic novel from 1796.
- 2 Ibid., 1:1334.
- 3 Ibid; italics in original.
- 4 Breton 1924a; also in Breton 1988–2008, 1:309–403. See in particular the section “Secrets de l’art magique surréaliste,” Breton 1988–2008, 1:331–34.
- 5 Besides the dossier of works enchanted (one might say) by the marvelous, we can also recall larger-scale projects such as the Congrès de l’Esprit Moderne that Breton hoped to organize around that time in Paris. See Breton, “Caractères de l’évolution moderne et ce qui en participe,” lecture delivered in 1922 at the Ateneu in Barcelona and published in Breton 1924b; also in Breton 1988–2008, 1:291–308.

- 6 Aragon 1926; Breton 1928a (also in Breton 1988–2008, 1:643–753); Le Corbusier 1925. For a comparison of these works, see Lahuerta 2010, 258–85.
- 7 Breton 1988–2008, 1:328 (*Manifeste*).
- 8 Ibid., 1:311; italics in original.
- 9 Ibid., 1:319.
- 10 [The quote alludes to the iconic etching from Francisco de Goya’s series of prints, *Caprichos* (1799), no. 43, *El sueño de la razón produce monstruos*. Though its traditional title in English is “The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters,” Spanish *sueño* means both “sleep” and “dream” and has therefore been left untranslated here. See Yasmin Doosry’s discussion of the ambiguous meaning of this word in the context of Goya’s print in this catalogue’s final chapter, “Day Dreams, Night Thoughts,” in the section titled “Revelation and imagination.” —Trans.]
- 11 “Ont fait acte de SURREALISME ABSOLU.” Breton 1988–2008, 1:328 (*Manifeste*); emphasis in original.
- 12 Breton 1988–2008, 1:291 (“Caractères de l’évolution moderne”).
- 13 Breton 1988–2008, 1:337, 346 (*Manifeste*).
- 14 Breton 1924c; quoted from Breton 1988–2008, 1:473–74 (“Robert Desnos”).
- 15 Breton 1988–2008, 1:346 (*Manifeste*).
- 16 Breton 1988–2008, 1:473 (“Robert Desnos”).
- 17 However, Breton says in the manifesto that he does not believe in the “prophetic virtue of the Surrealist word” (Breton 1988–2008, 1:344). On Desnos’s books, see Dumas 1985, 39–54.
- 18 Breton 1988–2008, 1:473 (“Robert Desnos”).
- 19 Aragon and Breton 1928, 20–22; also in Breton 1988–2008, 1:948–50 (“Le Cinquanteenaire de l’hystérie”).
- 20 Breton 1988–2008, 1:949 (“Le Cinquanteenaire”).
- 21 Ibid., 1:314 (*Manifeste*).
- 22 Ibid., 1:319.
- 23 “[L]e personnage de Mathilde, en particulier, est [...] moins un personnage qu’une tentation continue.” Ibid., 1:320.
- 24 Sade [1800] 1878, quoted in Macdonald 2000, 111.
- 25 Breton 1988–2008, 1:321 (*Manifeste*).
- 26 Longhi 1919.
- 27 Breton 1988–2008, 1:328–29 (*Manifeste*).
- 28 Ibid., 1:329; italics in original.
- 29 In 1965 Marcel Duchamp famously wrote a blank “check” payable to Philip Bruno and drawn on the fictitious “Banque Mona Lisa,” a piece now referred to as the *Cheque Bruno*. On this ironic commentary on the “value” of art, see Judovitz 1995, 171–73.
- 30 “Das ‘Moderne’ die Zeit der Hölle.” See Walter Benjamin, *Passagen-Werk [The Arcades Project]*, in Benjamin 1972–92, 5.2, convolute S1.5; English ed., Benjamin 1999, 545.
- 31 Breton 1988–2008, 1:324 (*Manifeste*).
- 32 Ibid., 1:330.
- 33 Breton 1928a; quoted from Breton 1988–2008, 1:703. The work by Uccello is also known in English as *The Miracle of the Profaned (or Desecrated) Host*.
- 34 Artaud 1926 (also in Artaud 1984, 138–39); Artaud [1924–25] (also in Artaud 1984, 206–7). On these two texts, see Camus 1976; Stout 1996, 23–46; and Boldt-Irons 2000.
- 35 Russo 2007, 83–106.
- 36 On the meaning of this painting, see Aronberg-Lavin 1967 and Katz 2003. In 1929 Salvador Dalí painted a canvas titled *Profanation de l’hostie (Profanation of the Host)*, a subject that appears repeatedly in his works from those years.
- 37 Artaud 1984, 170 (“Uccello le poil”).
- 38 Ibid., 70 (*Paul les Oiseaux*).
- 39 Ibid., 171–72; 170 (“Uccello”).
- 40 Ibid., 171 (“Uccello”). Undoubtedly, the way this text juxtaposes the linear precision and the hard exactness of a hair, on the one hand, and the ungraspable or gelatinous quality of other elements (among them, the egg), on the other, must have influenced the theory of the hard and the soft in Dalí, in whose work hair and eggs (or soup) are very present. See, from among a host of possible texts, Dalí 1936a (also in Dalí 2005, 4:455–59; English ed., “First Morphological Law Concerning the Hairs in Soft Structures,” in Dalí 1998a, 314–16).
- 41 Vasari [1568] 1971, 1:729.

- 42 Schwob 1896, 137–45. On the interpretations of Vasari's life of Paolo Uccello, see Ludovico 2001.
- 43 Schwob 1896, 18; pages indicated in parentheses in the main text refer to this edition.
- 44 In Vasari, the anecdote is one last opportunity for a chuckle at Uccello's expense; shamed by Donatello's negative assessment of his painting ("Ah, Paolo! You should be covering it up, and you go and uncover it!"), Uccello retreats to the life of a poor recluse to work obsessively on studies of perspective (Vasari [1568] 1971, 1:731). In Schwob's version, in contrast, Paul les Oiseaux misinterprets Donatello's exclamation as confirmation that he has at last created "a miracle" (Schwob 1896, 145).
- 45 Walter Benjamin, "Über den Begriff der Geschichte," in Benjamin 1972–92, 1.2:701; quoted here from the English ed., "On the Concept of History," in Benjamin 1996–2006, 4:395. It would be worth contrasting the use of history in general and of classical painters in particular that Breton (the case of Uccello) and the "orthodox" Surrealists make, with the use of the past that is evident in the journal *Documents*: for example, the way in which Michel Leiris "recovers" a painter like Antoine Caron, who will immediately become part of the catalogue of "fantastic art," in very conscious relation to a "strong" notion of history, or effecting "a jump over its continuum." There is not room here to develop this important matter, but it worthy of note. See Leiris 1929 and Cox 2007.
- 46 Desnos 1984, 109.
- 47 Clark 1929. Bracelli's success among the Surrealists culminated in the publication of a sumptuous facsimile edition of the *Bizzarie* with a long text by Tristan Tzara, "Propos sur Bracelli [sic]" (Brioux 1963).
- 48 Clark 1929, 326.
- 49 Dalí 1927; also in Dalí 2005, 4:46–49; English ed., "Current Topics," in Dalí 1998a, 49–51.
- 50 Cassanyes 1927: 101. This article is part of Cassanyes's polemic with Sebastià Gasch upon the publication that year in Spanish of Franz Roh's 1925 essay on "post-Expressionism" (Roh 1925, Roh 1927). Cassanyes supported Roh's thesis; Gasch was critical of it. Cassanyes's interpretation of Brueghel in fact derives from Roh.
- 51 This was a preface to the catalogue for his exhibition in Paris in June, 1933. See Dalí [1933]a; also in Dalí 2005, 4:294–300; English ed., "Cher Breton (Letter to André Breton)," in Dalí 1998a, 249–53.
- 52 Dalí 1934a, later reprinted in *Spain* 6, no. 7 (May 1941); also in Dalí 2005, 4:294–300.
- 53 Read 1934.
- 54 Caillois 1935; also in Caillois 2008, 27–32.
- 55 Freud 1910.
- 56 Caillois 1933; also in Caillois 2008, 21–26.
- 57 Dalí 1933b, Dalí 1934b, Dalí 1936b, Dalí 1936a; all four also in Dalí 2005, 4:329–38, 367–71, 444–54, 455–59. English translations: "The New Colors of Spectral Sex-Appeal," "The Latest Modes of Intellectual Stimulation for the Summer of 1934," "The Spectral Surrealism of the Pre-Raphaelite Eternal Feminine," "First Morphological Law Concerning the Hairs in Soft Structures," in Dalí 1998a, 193–207, 253–55, 310–14, 314–16.
- 58 Dalí 1930a; also in Dalí 2005, 4:201–7; English ed., "The Rotting Donkey," in Dalí 1998a, 223–26.
- 59 Dalí 1933c; also in Dalí 2005, 4:304–20; quoted here from the English ed., "Concerning the Terrifying and Edible Beauty of Art Nouveau Architecture," in Dalí 1998a, 193–200.
- 60 Ibid.
- 61 Breton and Éluard 1930, also in Breton 1988–2008, 1:1027; italics in original.
- 62 Caillois 1933; also in Caillois 2008, 21–26.
- 63 I have treated the matter extensively in Lahuerta 2004.
- 64 Breton 1928b. He published subsequent, successively enlarged editions: Breton 1945 and Breton 1965. The latter is the basis for the edition in Breton 1988–2008, 4:345–846.
- 65 Breton 1988–2008, 4:357 (*Le Surréalisme et la peinture*)
- 66 Ibid., 4:349.
- 67 Ibid., 4:351; italics in original.
- 68 Ibid., 4:349; italics in original.
- 69 Morise 1924.
- 70 Naville 1925.
- 71 Breton 1988–2008, 1:321–22 (*Manifeste*).
- 72 Dalí 1931a; also in Dalí 2005, 4:234–56; English ed., "Daydream," in Dalí 1998a, 150–62. In the analysis here I develop further the material in the notes that I wrote for Dalí 2005, as well as suggestions, for which I am grateful, from Ángel González regarding the relationship between the story and libertine novels.
- 73 Dalí 1931b, Dalí 1931c; both also in Dalí 2005, 4:226–32; English ed. of Dalí 1931b, "Surrealist Objects," in Dalí 1998a, 231–34.
- 74 Aragon 1931; Breton 1932, also in Breton 1988–2008, 2:3–45.
- 75 Breton 1988–2008, 2:23n (*Misère*).
- 76 Breton 1952, 166; also in Breton 1988–2008, 3:536.
- 77 Passages quoted from "Rêverie" according to the English ed. in Dalí 1998; pages in parentheses refer to this edition.
- 78 As a "verbal simulation" of different "systematic deliria," André Breton and Paul Éluard had published *L'Immaculée Conception* (Breton and Éluard 1930, also in Breton 1988–2008, 1:839–84): Éditions Surréalistes, 1930), with a print by Dalí as its frontispiece. Dalí was also the author of a printed insert; see Dalí 2005, 4:216–17.
- 79 [Bataille] 1928, with lithographs by André Masson.
- 80 Regarding this topic, see Anthony Vidler's introduction to Bastide 1996.
- 81 Bataille 1933.
- 82 Dalí 1930a; quoted here from the English ed., Dalí 1998a, 225.
- 83 Dalí 1933d, Dalí 1934c; both also in Dalí 2005, 4:270–77, 381–88; English translations, "Psycho-Atmospheric-Anamorphic Objects," "Aerodynamic Apparitions of 'Being-Objects,'" in Dalí 1998a, 244–48, 207–11.
- 84 De Chirico 1920.
- 85 Lévy 1934.
- 86 Matters addressed in Barthes 1970.
- 87 New York 1936, [1]; 2nd ed., New York 1937; 3rd ed., New York 1947. Quoted here from New York 1947, 9. (Pages indicated parenthetically in this paragraph and elsewhere are to New York 1947, now the most widely available edition.) For the history this catalogue, see Umland 2008, 15–23.
- 88 Severini 1921; Le Corbusier 1923.
- 89 Breton 1988–2008, 1:324 (*Manifeste*).
- 90 Both articles appear in Breton 1924b and in Breton 1988–2008, 1:236–41, 257–58.
- 91 "Schwitters, Kurt," in New York 1947, 259.
- 92 Italics in original. Their correspondence regarding the exhibition is quoted in Umland 2008, 16.
- 93 New York 1936, [1] (New York 1947, 9).
- 94 New York 1947, 15. These essays appear in the 2nd ed. (New York 1937) and the 3rd (New York 1947, 15–34, 35–52) but not in the 1936 ed. They had been published previously in the *Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art* (Hugnet 1936) and were based on earlier articles, including the series titled "L'Esprit Dada dans le peinture," *Cahiers d'Art*, no. 1–2, 6–7, 8–10 (1932) and no. 1–4 (1934), among other texts.
- 95 Quoted in Umland 2008, p. 37 n12.
- 96 The exhibition catalogue included a preface by Breton and an introduction by Herbert Read. See London 1936.
- 97 Breton 1953; also in Breton 1988–2008, 3:659–71.
- 98 Dalí's first solo exhibition in London, at the Zwemmer gallery, opened on October 24, 1934, immediately before he left for New York in November.
- 99 Breton 1988–2008, 1:320n (*Manifeste*)
- 100 Breton 1988–2008, 3:665 ("Limites").
- 101 This essay was originally written as a preface to Pierre Mabillet's *Le Miroir du merveilleux* (Breton 1962) and appeared subsequently in Breton 1970; also in Breton 1988–2008, 4:1000–9. The passage quoted here is from Breton 1988–2008, 4:1009.
- 102 Breton 1957; also in Breton 1988–2008, 4:47–289.
- 103 Italics in original. Georges Bataille, response to Breton's survey, in Breton 1988–2008, 4:117 (*L'Art magique*).
- 104 Claude Lévi-Strauss, response to Breton's survey, in Breton 1988–2008, 4:122–23 (*L'Art magique*).
- 105 Caillois 1965, 22.
- 106 Breton 1988–2008, 4:123 (*L'Art magique*).
- 107 The catalogue, with a cover designed by Duchamp, also includes essays by Edouard Jaguer, Jose Pierre, and Vincent Bounoure; see New York [1960].



Fig. 30 Albrecht Dürer, painted back of *Karlsruher Schmerzensmannes* [Man of Sorrows], ca. 1493-94. Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe

“A past charged with now-time”:¹

Fantasy, the Fantastic, and the Art of Modernity

RAINER SCHOCH

In his diary Paul Klee describes how, at the age of nine, he discovered his “inclination for the bizarre”: “In the restaurant of my uncle, the fattest man in Switzerland, there were tables of polished marble, visible on the surface of which was a tangle of cross-sections of petrified veins. In this labyrinth of lines one could make out grotesque human figures and capture them with a pencil. I was keenly obsessed with doing this, and thus my ‘inclination for the bizarre’ was documented (nine years [old]).”²

Klee was probably not aware that in his diary entry he was repeating an ancient topos in writings on art. Centuries be-

fore him, Leon Battista Alberti, the leading Italian theorist of the early Renaissance, had declared in his treatise on painting (written in 1435–36):

“It is obvious that Nature herself shows pleasure in painting. We often see, in fact, that [Nature] makes in marbles, hippo-centaurs and bearded faces of kings; [...] they say also that in a gem of Pyrrhus were distinctly depicted, from Nature herself, the nine muses with their characteristics.”³

The humanist Alberti probably knew that Albertus Magnus and, even earlier, Pliny had already made this

observation.⁴ Similar assertions are recorded from Botticelli, Piero di Cosimo, and other Renaissance painters. And no less well known is the passage from the treatise on painting compiled from Leonardo da Vinci's notes by Francesco Melzi around 1540, in which the artist describes the stimulating effect on the imagination of *macchie*, (stains), on a wall:

"And this is when you look at walls that are smeared with all kinds of stains or at rocks of varied composition. If you are to imagine a scene, you can see there things that resemble all kinds of landscapes adorned with mountains, rivers, rocks, trees, wide plains, valleys, and hills of all kinds. You can also see various battles and strange figures in quick motion, the impression of faces and clothing, and countless things which you can capture in a good and well-rounded form."⁵

At this point our attention should turn to the mysteriously painted back of the *Man of Sorrows* (Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe), painted by Albrecht Dürer around 1493–94, which could serve as a prominent link between Alberti, Leonardo and Klee [Fig. 30]. There one encounters a fluidly painted, fiery whirl of vivid color that, considered as an "abstract" piece of painting, appears extraordinarily "modern" and seems to point far beyond its own epoch. With its diagonally billowing streaks of changing reds, this spontaneous painting is reminiscent of works in the tradition of *Art Informel*. Considered in representational terms, it most likely reproduces a cross-section of polished agate or a marble slab. This is supported by its position on the back of the panel; in this place, the painting could confer precious, concrete materiality on the panel, corresponding, moreover, to the Man of Sorrows' rocky cave on the front of the panel. The unusual reverse of this panel has also been the subject of decidedly more imaginative interpretations, however. Some, for instance, fancy a man's head with long hair in three-

quarter profile there, not unlike Dürer's own physiognomy. Daniel Hess even thought of a "luminous vision of the Resurrection" in a conceptually rich connection with the image of the Man of Sorrows on the front of the panel.⁶ Finally, however tempting the interpretation may be, one may reasonably doubt that the relevant passages in Alberti or Pliny were available to the young Dürer on his sojourn to the Upper Rhine as a journeyman (probably around 1493–94 in the workshop of a Strasbourg master) and that he consciously sought to refer to these texts in a kind of humanistic "ecphrasis." One would, however, assume that the "representation" has not only served to engage modern viewers' fantasies but also did so for the artist himself.⁷

What connects these concurring literary statements and artistic phenomena across the centuries? Could it be that this commonplace is based on a general, wide-spread psychological constant in perception and behavior, as used in the Rorschach test or as Ernst Gombrich described it in *Art and Illusion*?⁸ In addition to the need for *imitatio*, the imitation of nature, there apparently exists a fundamental need for *invenzione* and for ready stimuli for the individual fantasy—stimuli, however, that in turn once again link back to the dominant tendency to imitate nature. Erwin Panofsky, with a glance at Renaissance art theory, formulated it the following way:

"Parallel to this idea of "imitation," which included the requirement of formal and objective "correctness," art literature in the Renaissance placed the thought of "rising above nature," just as art literature had done in antiquity. On the one hand, nature could be overcome by the freely creative "phantasy" capable of altering appearances above and beyond the possibilities of natural variation and even of bringing forth completely novel creatures such as centaurs and chimeras."⁹

At first it seems as though we are only a step away from the new artistic practices of the Surrealists, who are, after all, a primary focus of this exhibition. When Max Ernst coaxed secrets never before seen from old wooden planks by making rubbings on paper or canvas laid over them, in his technique of *frottage*; when Wolfgang Paalen drew ghostly figures with candle smoke in his *fumages*; or when Óscar Domínguez, following the example of Leonardo's *macchie* on the wall, produced simulacra of serendipitous stains or daubs of paint in his *décalcomanies*—all of these Surrealist techniques, viewed from a formal standpoint, seem entirely comparable with the Renaissance artists' prescriptions. And presumably the Surrealists would have been fascinated with the reverse of Dürer's *Man of Sorrows* panel. May one thus assume that the artistic imagination—artistic *fantasy*—is, as it were, a “timeless” quantity spanning the centuries like a bridge between past and present?

Precisely such a bridge is what Alfred H. Barr, the founding director of the Museum of Modern Art in New York, sought after when in 1936 he conceived the idea for the legendary exhibition *Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism*, situating the art of his contemporaries in a historical context for the first time. To the Surrealists' genealogical tree, Barr in effect added a series of forebears: works from the Quattrocento, works by Hieronymus Bosch, Albrecht Dürer, Hans Baldung Grien, Giuseppe Arcimboldo, Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Francisco de Goya, William Blake, Victor Hugo, Odilon Redon and many others. And—in contrast to other currents of the modern that proclaimed a total break with the past—he could be virtually certain of the Surrealists' conformity, for they viewed themselves as belonging thoroughly to the historical tradition of western art.¹⁰

In the introduction to the exhibition catalogue, Barr at first attempts to explain his analogies across the ages on psy-

chological grounds, a general human inclination towards the irrational: “The explanation of the kind of art shown in this exhibition may be sought in the deep-seated and persistent interest which human beings have in the fantastic, the irrational, the spontaneous, the marvelous, the enigmatic and the dreamlike.”¹¹ However, he met speculations on the nature of these connections with careful and relativizing formulations:

“These resemblances, however startling, may prove to be superficial or merely technical in character rather than psychological. The study of the art of the past in the light of Surrealist esthetic is only just beginning. Genuine analogies may exist but they must be kept tentative until our knowledge of the states of mind of, say, Bosch or Bracelli has been increased by systematic research and comparison. One may suppose, however, that many of the fantastic and apparently Surrealist works of the Baroque or Renaissance are to be explained on *rational* grounds rather than on a *Surrealist* basis of subconscious and irrational expression.”¹²

A few examples will indicate the range of possible connections and misconceptions.

In few cases can the relationship be so clearly defined as in the Surrealist echoes of the work of Giovanni Battista Bracelli, mentioned several times by Alfred Barr. In 1624 in the wake of Callot's *Capricci di varie figure*, the Florentine painter published his *Bizzarie di varie figure* [Fig. 31], a series of fifty etchings, whose fantastically constructed figures were brought to the attention of the Surrealist generation at exactly the right time: in 1929, Kenneth Clark wrested the extremely rare series from oblivion, presenting them for the first time to a wider public.¹³ Furthermore, he expressly indicated these prints' formal affinity with Picasso's costume sketches for Erik Satie's ballet *Parade* or with de Chirico's famous mannequins. In fact, Bracelli's bizarre box-people, assembled out of angular objects and gesticulating like robots, served as prototypes

for many figurations by Surrealists and other representatives of the classic period of modern art. In 1938–39, immediately after Barr had reproduced no less than four of Bracelli's prints in his catalogue, André Masson created a series of figure-like pen and ink drawings modeled directly on Bracelli's. *L'Assassinat du double* (*The Murder of the Double*) [Fig. 32, Cat. 70] is the title of a drawing from 1941 that repeats his 1938 drawing *Le Double* almost literally.¹⁴ Two figures—skeletonized down to a freely invented metallic bone structure—are locked in a struggle, one bent over the other. The one on top is about to stab its double with a sharp blade. This work's interpretation, which points to a psychological problematic (the idea of a split, double existence), distinguishes it fundamentally from its model in Bracelli's series, whose lively, fanciful figures should be understood as witty inventions. In contrast, artistic *divertissement* is not what matters to the Surrealist: rather, Masson loads the figures with meaning, bringing them to the point of explosion. His drawing creates a kind of modern psychomachia that would have perplexed the Mannerist artist.

The case of Dürer's etching on iron from 1515–16, known as *The Desperate Man* [Fig. 33, Cat. 87], presents a somewhat more complicated relationship between production and reception. The etching, which figures prominently in Barr's genealogy of Surrealism, truly deserves its title, if only because it has driven generations of Dürer scholars to despair. It has found no direct echo among the Surrealists, admittedly, but it is still a good example of the misunderstandings and dangers inherent in an art historical interpretation of a work's meaning.

The enigmatic composition with various figures presents a male nude crouching in a complicated pose in the center, tearing at his hair and covering his face. Around this "desperate man" the other figures are grouped. On the right a female nude slumbers; on the left is the half-length figure in profile of a clothed man derived from Dürer's portrait drawing of

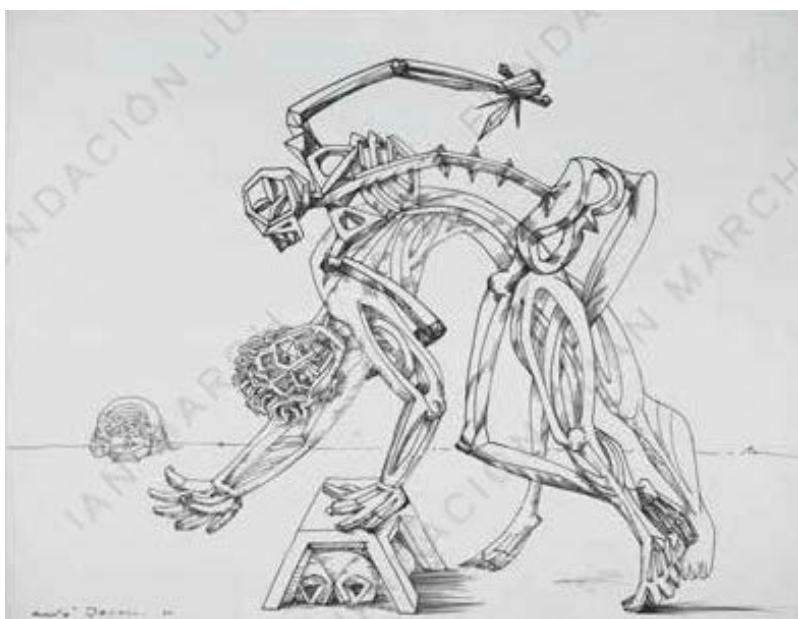


Fig. 31 Giovanni Battista Bracelli, *Bizzarie di varie figure*, no. 12 (Livorno, 1624). The British Museum, London

Fig. 32 André Masson, Study for *L'Assassinat du double* [The murder of the double], 1941. Centre Pompidou, Musée national d'art moderne/Centre de création industrielle, Paris [Cat. 70]

Fig. 33 Albrecht Dürer, *The Desperate Man*, 1515–16. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg [Cat. 87]

his brother Endres; in the background stands a naked youth; and out of the shadows peers the head of a morose old man. All these figures are woven into a rocky landscape with no regard for the rules of perspective, which has encouraged narrative interpretations, as if they were different “scenes.” Over the centuries the work has been interpreted sometimes as a harmless bathing scene, sometimes as the despair of a deceived husband, sometimes as an allegory for the temperaments, and sometimes for the vices. Precisely its enigmatic nature made this “work of incomprehensible behavior” (as Wölfflin put it) interesting for the Surrealist generation, as well as for the art historians of the time, leading it to become the object of every kind of speculation.¹⁵ For instance, Gustav F. Hartlaub claims to discern “oneiric elements” in that compilation of heterogeneous figures, and he links Dürer’s etching to the concept of *Traumwerk* (“dream-work”) that Dürer himself uses in the third book of his treatise on the theory of proportion: “But let everyone be wary of making something impossible, not permitted by Nature, unless he aims to create a *Traumwerk* [i.e., something fantastical]; in this case he may mix different creatures together.”¹⁶

Adam Bartsch described this etching clearly and succinctly as “fünf Figurenstudien” (five figure studies), which surely represented Dürer’s intentions far more accurately. The closest comparable examples are two roughly contemporary pen drawings with male and female nudes in the Städel Museum in Frankfurt. Here, too, one might initially be tempted to interpret the enigmatic studies of movement as a narrative composition, but Stefanie Buck argues plausibly that in this case the creative act of drawing could itself be elevated to the status of a subject in these representations. In this light, *The Desperate Man* could also be a trial etching, a figure study in the “public” medium of prints—a capriccio, as it were, *avant la lettre*.¹⁷



The “incunabulum” woodcut by Hannah Höch, which the artist created in 1916, can also be interpreted as a case of creative misapprehension. Höch based the work on a medieval model she found in the palace library of her hometown, Gotha, and it appeared in 1918 as an insert to Paul Westheim’s *Kunstblatt*, one of the leading periodicals of the German avant-garde [Fig. 34, Cat. 50].¹⁸ The disconcerting

figure of an angel with outspread arms and wings, surrounded by enigmatic symbols, is a literal copy of the image of St. Matthew the Evangelist in a block book titled *Ars memorandi per figuras evangelistarum* (Art of memory by figures of the evangelists) from around 1470 (fol. 8r). This medieval woodcut may have fascinated the artist at the time of the emergence of the Berlin Dada circle precisely because of its enigmatic, incomprehensible character and perhaps also because of the “primitive” technique of the woodcut. In fact, the *Ars memorandi* is a rational and sophisticated theological “textbook” for memorizing the four Gospels. The woodcut illustrations reproduce the symbols of the four Evangelists—in this case the figure of a man that stands for Matthew (here represented with wings, as are the symbols for the other three evangelists throughout the book, an eagle, an ox, and a lion). The small numbered pictograms added to the winged figure serve the reader as mnemonic aids to learning the text of the gospel: the hand-clasp refers to Chapter 19, where marriage and divorce are spoken of; the bunch of grapes to the parable of the laborers in the vineyard in Chapter 20; the ass’s head to Jesus’ entry into Jerusalem in Chapter 21, and so on. To what degree Hannah Höch and the Berlin Dada artists were aware of this interpretation of the meaning is hard to determine. It is thought-provoking, however, that Raoul Hausmann, during a particularly critical phase in his relationship with Höch in March 1918, used the *Ars memorandi* woodcut as writing paper in order to lecture her—with high-sounding words and biblical analogies—on relations between the sexes and on the benefits and disadvantages of marriage.¹⁹

Art historians and critics have certainly contributed more to the ancestral portrait gallery of the Surrealists than the artists themselves. In the footsteps of Alfred H. Barr, many prominent experts in the field—such as Herbert Read,

Kenneth Clark, Jurgis Baltrušaitis, Werner Weisbach, Gustav F. Hartlaub, Gustav René Hocke, and others—have established connections between the “fantastic” art of the past and modern art and examined the nature of this relationship. Arnold Hauser, Werner Hofmann, Wieland Schmied, Ekkehard Mai, and others repeatedly deployed the concept of a “prehistory of the modern” that implies a certain underlying consistency in the historical development. In his essay in this catalogue, Juan José Lahuerta discusses Surrealist “retroactivity” and points out that Surrealism, like other currents of modern art, opened people’s eyes to the continuity of pictorial formulations that have, through the ages, questioned aesthetic norms and applied completely new criteria to the art of the past. For centuries artists sought to intensify the visible world into the realm of the fantastic, in order to approach a world of images and ideas beyond the visible. In the quest for that “other,” they turned against the unambiguous and the affirmative and abolished causal connections.

Alfred Barr was undoubtedly right to grant each of his “fantasy pieces” from the past its own historicity, its own rational framework of conditions, seeking the point of comparison for analogous phenomena above all in the *Jetztzeit*, the “time of the now,” to use Walter Benjamin’s formulation. Though this question, germane to the philosophy of history, is posed again and again, it is answered with diverse conceptual models that are almost always highly speculative. Thus, Hartlaub fell back on the esoteric-hermetic tradition of the *Aurea catena Homeri* (*Golden Chain of Homer*); And, more recently, Raymond Queneau, himself from the circle of the Surrealists and later the co-founder of the literary group Oulipo, professed the daring postmodern literary theory of “plagiat par anticipation” (anticipatory plagiarism), which does not just imply the easily understood statement that present-day authors can find suit-



Fig. 34 Hannah Höch, *Der Evangelist Matthäus* [The evangelist Matthew], 1916. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg [Cat. 50]

able language in earlier literature to formulate their own ideas. Rather, it recognizes a kind of “usurpation”—the legal fact of a theft or plagiarism—in the historical “anticipation” of a current idea.²⁰ Thus, for instance, Charles Baudelaire defended himself against the accusation that he had imitated Edgar Allan Poe with the argument that he had conceived ideas and even devised entire sentences that he had later found again in Poe, who, however, had written them twenty years earlier.²¹

In the last year of his life, Walter Benjamin, a contemporary of Surrealism and a friend of the Surrealists, advanced a series of “theses” on the theory of history that on the one hand aimed to reconceive history resolutely from the standpoint of the present: “History is the subject of a construction whose site is not homogeneous, empty time, but time filled full by now-time [Jetztzeit].”²² For Benjamin the task of the historian was “to hold fast that image of the past which unexpectedly appears to the historical subject in a moment of danger.”²³ On the other hand, he also saw the past as being linked anticipatorily to the present: “There is a secret agreement between past generations and the present one. [...] [O]ur coming was expected on earth. [...] [L]ike every generation that preceded us, we have been endowed with a *weak* Messianic power, a power on which the past has a claim.”²⁴

Benjamin interpreted a 1920 watercolor by Paul Klee, which he himself owned [Fig. 35], as an allegorical image of this conception of history. It is worth quoting his eloquent exegesis (as it has been by so many others before) in its entirety:

“There is a picture by Klee called *Angelus Novus*. It shows an angel who seems about to move away from something he stares at. His eyes are wide, his mouth is open, his wings are spread. This is how the angel of history must look. His face is turned towards the past. Where a chain of events appears before us, he sees one single catas-

trophe, which keeps piling wreckage upon wreckage and hurls it at his feet. The angel would like to stay, awaken the dead, and make whole what has been smashed. But a storm is blowing from Paradise and has got caught in his wings; it is so strong that the angel can no longer close them. This storm drives him irresistibly into the future, to which his back is turned, while the pile of debris before him grows toward the sky. What we call progress is *this* storm.”²⁵

Benjamin’s understanding of history in 1940 has explicitly messianic elements. It is grounded as much in Judeo-Christian tradition as in its secular reinterpretation in Hegel and Marx. Among its abiding components are concepts frowned upon nowadays, like “utopia” and “progress,” which since the Enlightenment have been among the indispensable impetuses of a “project of modernity.” As the historical materialist he understood himself to be, Benjamin nevertheless did not pursue an unconsidered, teleological conception of history. In his 1929 essay, “Der Surrealismus,” he sarcastically distances himself from the naive-optimistic “stock imagery of these poets of the social-democratic associations,” who only sing “the finer future of our children and grandchildren.”²⁶ Instead, responding to a call by Pierre Naville, the co-editor of *La Révolution surréaliste*, Benjamin understands that the moment demands the “organization of pessimism,” sharing Naville’s opinion that social upheaval must precede the freeing of the spirit. The bewildering perspective of the *Angelus Novus*, who experiences progress as a tragic retreat while facing the catastrophes of the past, originates ultimately in this political thinking of the Surrealists.

A pessimistic vision also subtends the legendary exhibition the Surrealists arranged in 1938 at the Galerie Beaux-Arts, on the Parisian Rue Saint-Honoré.²⁷ A gloomy, suffocating atmosphere reigned in the exhibition, in which the artists took stock of their movement’s twenty years of existence, on the one hand, but in which, on the other, they sought



Fig. 35 Paul Klee, *Angelus Novus*, 1920. Israel-Museum, Jerusalem

to warn of the present menace from Nazi Germany. Looking back, André Breton described this threatening atmosphere as a seismographic reflection of the political situation:

“It did not depend on us to change that atmosphere, however much we sensed with particular acuity what was drawing near in the 1940s. [...] Now, it could be that Surrealism [...] allowed us to make incursions into the future, on condition that [...] we be unable to perceive it and reveal it except a posteriori.”²⁸

Among the works of art that since Alfred H. Barr have been incorporated into the ancestry of modern art, and of the Surrealists in particular, we find first and foremost works catalogued today under Mannerism. Barr, advisedly for sure, avoids this term and speaks instead of “fantastic art,” thus establishing a considerably broader frame. Nevertheless, it is worth examining what in the phenomenon of Mannerism fascinated the Surrealists and their contemporaries.

When art historians referred to Mannerism at the end of the nineteenth century, it was always in a pejorative sense, to distinguish between it and the “dying” art of the Renaissance. In 1898, Heinrich Wölfflin devoted a section to Mannerism in his *Klassischen Kunst* under the title “Decadence.” The chapter concludes as a philippic against the consequences of Michelangelo’s late style:

“All now seek stunning works of massive size. No one wants anything to do with the architectural qualities of Raphael. Spatial equilibrium and beautiful proportion have become alien concepts. The sense for what can be demanded of a surface, of a volume, has been dulled. Artists compete at cramming their paintings full and producing a horrible formlessness that deliberately seeks a contradiction between space and over-stuffed content, [...] and thus we enter that world of proliferating twists and turns in which the futility of action cries to heaven. Nobody knows any longer what simple gestures and natural movements are.”²⁹

In contrast to Wölfflin, who argued from the history of form, the Viennese school of art history brought greater understanding to bear on the phenomenon of Mannerism, working from Alois Riegl’s fundamental concept of *Kunstwollen* (“the will to art”).³⁰ In his celebrated lecture “Über Greco und den Manierismus” (On El Greco and Mannerism), for instance, Max Dvořák approached the late Michelangelo more sympathetically:

“At the end of his life, Michelangelo turned away from the art of the Renaissance, away from a style concerned with the imitation and formal idealization of nature. He also rejected a purely objective view of the world, considering the emotions and experiences of the soul to be of greater importance to art than fidelity to sensory perception.”³¹

Like all his contemporaries, admittedly, Dvořák viewed Mannerism in relation to a notion of the waning culture of the Renaissance, yet he could situate this anti-classical, non-naturalistic turn within a historical progression that encompassed more frequent and longer periods in which the representation of inner emotion was more important than faithfulness to nature. In a passage from another essay, on Pieter Bruegel the Elder, making use of a vivid comparison that appears to allude to his own time (the period after World War I), Dvořák condenses his description of Mannerism into a single, powerfully expressive sentence:

“As after a festive night the cares of the day stir with the waking morning, so everywhere in the Christian world the immeasurable complex of unresolved questions, contradictions, and spiritual needs—inherited from the Middle Ages and only slumbering under the veil of the culture of the Renaissance—became active once more in all fields of intellectual life and led to the dissolution of the artful unity of this culture in a profusion of old (suddenly timely again) and new currents and points of view, and to barely calculable attempts (seemingly divergent, and yet flowing from the same source) to do

historical and psychological, speculative and practical, religious and skeptical, inward and extensive justice to the complexity of the problems of life, avoided by the Renaissance and brushed aside by the reformers with a violent simplification and in neither case succeeding: There have been few periods that, without outwardly brilliant creations, have been comparably rich in transformative forces, at once destructive and fructiferous.”³²

In the two decades after World War I, contemporaneously with the development of the Surrealist movement, Mannerism was “discovered” and described as an international European style. And it was above all the art historians of the Viennese school—from Max Dvořák, via Erwin Panofsky and Charles de Tolnay, to Ernst H. Gombrich, Arnold Hauser and Werner Hofmann—who wrote the history of European Mannerism (or of European Mannerisms).³³ Gombrich was not the only art historian who at that time sensed an affinity between Mannerism and contemporary artistic currents. In 1982 he recalled that in the early 1930s while working on his dissertation on Giulio Romano and the Palazzo del Tè he had fully recognized their relevance to contemporary art: “It was the time when some modern art movements were looking for precursors in the past. The thought that Mannerism, still despised by Wölfflin and Berenson, had a value of its own, the value of anti-classicism, was being discussed everywhere.”³⁴ Gombrich’s teacher, Julius von Schlosser, had already established the connection from his knowledge of contemporary sources: “The period that concerns us is that of the great crisis that led to the views that have remained in force to the present day.”³⁵ Schlosser here shares the opinion of Dvořák, who formulated the modern relevance of the “viewpoints” derived

from Mannerism even more sharply and thus redefined the concept of Mannerism and its significance:

“Within the realm of art, this period, which was by no means a self-contained affair but rather part of an extremely broad movement, the origins of which extend right back to the beginning of the sixteenth century and the influence of which can still be felt, has been somewhat unfortunately labeled ‘mannerism.’”³⁶

Understood as a continuously operative movement that, as a main current or undercurrent, has exerted its influence throughout the more recent history of art, the concept of “Mannerism” takes on a new meaning that transcends epochal divides and comes as close to the ideas of Barr’s theory of history as it does to those of the Surrealists themselves. This explains how Werner Hofmann could speak of “European Mannerisms” in the plural. Dvořák’s aim in criticizing the concept of Mannerism, however, reaches even further, leading once again to Alfred H. Barr, who employed the more general and suitable term “fantastic art” to refer to this tendency towards subjective artistic expression, a tendency that spills across temporal boundaries.

The fragments of ideas I have gathered here allow one to recognize that the complex historical, art-historical and psychological facets uncovered in the search for a “prehistory” of Surrealist conceptions of art touch on fundamental questions concerning the understanding history, on questions of the theory of history.

Werner Hofmann’s recent book, *Phantasiestücke* (Fantasy pieces), from 2010—as brilliant as it is informative—stands as the latest and most current account of the history of the fantastic in art.³⁷ Hofmann takes stock of his numerous contributions on the subject, which he has been pursuing (or

which has pursued him) for many decades. He displays a broad panorama of the fantastic that stretches from the early Middle Ages into the present—from the insular, interlace ornamentation that luxuriantly fills the Book of Kells to Sigmar Polke’s reinterpretation of Dürer’s ornamental curlicues. In the history of fantastic art he sees the expression of a quasi-universal dualism, immanent in the development of Western art, between objectivity and subjectivity, fact and fable, clarity and enigma, etc. He recognizes empirical imitation of nature, on the one hand, and, on the other, fantastic breaches of rules as the two connected modes—contradictory yet complementary like two sides of a coin—along whose paths European art developed. The dialectical opposition between “imitating nature” and “transcending nature,” alluded to at the beginning of this essay and which Panofsky had discovered in Renaissance and Mannerist writings on art, Hofmann in turn has raised to a generally valid frame of reference. From this perspective, Surrealism and the forebears it chose for itself appear merely as one aspect of the long history of fantastic art. Hofmann certainly recognizes (and this can be deduced from weighing his examples) that the history of the fantastic is not evenly distributed, but rather surges intermittently, with marked turning points around 1500 and 1800. Since Goya, the subjective side has become increasingly preponderant, such that the dual system of thought broke apart at the latest with Kandinsky. Thus, in Hofmann we can also read the history of fantastic art as a prehistory of the modern.

His title borrowed from E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Phantasiestücke*, and the author’s artful storytelling reveal that, with his historical sketch, Hofmann is also on the track of his personal concept of the modern. The choice of examples corresponds

broadly to Barr’s 1936 exhibition catalogue, expanded further with the rediscovery of many works and with others, newly created. Hofmann’s work, on the one hand, therefore, refers to the understanding of history among artists and art historians between the two world wars while, on the other, it advances in further spirals along the hermeneutic circle that Barr and the Surrealists established.

- 1 Walter Benjamin, "Über den Begriff der Geschichte," in Benjamin 1972–92, 1.2:701, par. 14. Quoted here from the English ed., "On the Concept of History," in Benjamin 1996–2003, 4:395.
- 2 Klee 1957, 20, no. 27.
- 3 Alberti [1435–36] 2006, 169 (Book 2, xxviii).
- 4 See also Horst W. Janson, "The 'Image Made by Chance' in Renaissance Thought," in Meiss 1961, 1:254–66; Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historiae*, Book 37, iii.
- 5 *Libro di pittura*, compiled from Leonardo's notes by Francesco Melzi, ca. 1540, known subsequently as the *Trattato della pittura*, and cited here according to the Codex Urbina, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS Urb. Lat. 1270, fol. 102v. http://www.treatiseonpainting.org/cocoon/leonardo/chap_one/vu/CID66.
- 6 Daniel Hess, "Der Karlsruher Schmerzensmann," in Nuremberg 2012, 508.
- 7 On so-called *Zufallsbilder* ("chance images"), i.e., images in clouds, faces on rocks etc., see Horst W. Janson, in Meiss 1961, 1:254–66n4; see also, more recently, Edgar Lein, "'Den Geist zu verschiedenerlei Erfindungen zu wecken': Wolkenbilder, Flecken an der Wand und der glückliche Zufall in der Malerei der Renaissance," in Eberlein 2011, 145–64; and Susanne König-Lein, "Ein Spiel der Natur? Bildersteine und Steinbilder," in *ibid.*: 133–44.
- 8 Gombrich 1961, 182–86 in particular.
- 9 Panofsky 1968, 48.
- 10 See Juan José Lahuerta's essay in this catalogue regarding the Surrealists' relationship with that tradition. Whereas André Breton in his first Surrealist manifesto (Breton 1924a) only lists three painters from other periods as examples (Uccello, Moreau, and Seurat), he later adopted Barr's list, with Uccello, Piero di Cosimo, Bosch, Dürer, Baldung, Altdorfer, Holbein, Bruegel, Arcimboldo, Bracelli, Caron, Monsù, Desiderio, Füssli, Blake, Goya, Friedrich, Böcklin, Moreau, Hugo, Redon etc.; see Breton 1957, also in Breton 1988–2008, 4:47–289.
- 11 New York 1936, 1, quoted here from the third, revised ed., New York 1947, 9.
- 12 New York 1947, 7 ("Preface to the first edition"); italics in original.
- 13 Clark 1929, 311–26; Brioux 1963; Bracelli 1981.
- 14 Paris, MNAM/Centre Pompidou, Inv. AM 1981-606; cf. Lichtenstern 2003, 112–21; Vienna 1987, no. 28.
- 15 "Blatt von unverständlicher Gebarung"; Wölfflin [1905] 1926, 264.
- 16 Gustav F. Hartlaub, *Dürers Aberglaube*, quoted in Hartlaub 1991, 198; Albrecht Dürer, *Vier Bücher von menschlicher Proportion* [Four books on human proportion], book 3, fol. T 1v (Dürer [1528] 2011, 225). Cf. Rupprich 1956–69, 3:283, lines 108–11.
- 17 See Frankfurt 2003, nos. 26, 27; Bilbao and Frankfurt 2007, no. 147.
- 18 Thater-Schulz 1989, 1:234–35.
- 19 *Ibid.*, 1:345–46.
- 20 Raymond Queneau and François Le Lionnais did not claim to be the "inventors" of "plagiat par anticipation." They had found the concept already adopted in Alexis Piron, La Fontaine and Baudelaire. See Bayard 2009.
- 21 As he explains in a letter to Théophile Thoré-Bürger in 1864; see Viers 2008, 50.
- 22 "Über den Begriff der Geschichte," in Benjamin 1972–92, 1.2:701, par. 14; quoted here from the English ed., "On the Concept of History," in Benjamin 1996–2003, 4:395
- 23 *Ibid.*, 4:391, par. 6 (and Benjamin 1972–92, 1.2:695).
- 24 *Ibid.*, 4:390, par. 2 (and Benjamin 1972–92, 1.2:694); italics in original.
- 25 *Ibid.*, 4:392, par. 9 (and Benjamin 1972–92, 1.2:697–98); italics in original.
- 26 *Ibid.*, 2.1:216 (and Benjamin 1972–92, 2.1:308).
- 27 See Görgen 2008.
- 28 Breton, "Devant le rideau," preface to *Le Surréalisme en 1947* (Breton and Duchamp 1947), repr. in Breton 1953; quoted from Breton 1988–2008, 3:741–42.
- 29 Wölfflin [1904] 1948, 204–5.
- 30 See Edwin Lachnit, "Zur Geschichtlichkeit des Manierismusbegriffs", in Vienna 1987, 32–42.
- 31 Dvořák 1924, 266; quoted here from the English ed., Dvořák 1984, 101.
- 32 Max Dvořák. "Pieter Bruegel, der Ältere," in Dvořák 1924: 221. [Hardy's translation avoids the challenge of preserving Dvořák's extraordinarily long sentence, so the passage has been retranslated here; cf. "Pieter Bruegel the Elder," in Dvořák 1984, 71. —Ed.]
- 33 Hauser 1964; Gombrich 1934; Vienna 1987; Hofmann 2010; Edwin Lachnit, "Zur Geschichtlichkeit des Manierismusbegriffs," in Vienna 1987, 32–42.
- 34 Ernst H. Gombrich, "Rückblick auf Giulio Romano," lecture delivered in 1982, repr. in Vienna 1987, 23.
- 35 Schlosser 1924, 385.
- 36 "Über Greco und den Manierismus," in Dvořák 1924, 270; quoted here from the English ed., Dvořák 1984, 104.
- 37 Hofmann 2010.





GERTRUDE
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The Inner Eye

YASMIN DOOSRY

In his writings, Max Ernst (1891–1976) reports two hallucinatory experiences. The first happened to him in his childhood as he lay feverish in bed. Lines painted on a cupboard in red on black, in imitation of the grain of mahogany, came to life. They flitted in front of him: menacing eyes, fat noses, and a bird’s head with oily black hair. Suddenly from out of the wood there grew yet another manikin who, with grotesque gestures and movements, was drawing a pot in the air; then his pencil transformed into a whip and the pot into a top. Thirty years later, in the summer of 1925, Ernst recalled this delirium when the floorboards in an inn “stared” back at him, their structure transforming into fluid lines and shifting forms. He decided to take impressions of the boards “in order to bolster his ability to meditate and hallucinate.”¹ He laid paper on the floor and rubbed over it with a pencil. His imagination now set free, he could discern images in the textures of these tracings and created drawings out of them. Through the technique of *frottage* he thus discovered one of many methods to induce visions, “a means to rid oneself of blindness.”²

Max Ernst’s metaphor of the loss of blindness in effect defines sight directed inwardly. In this sense, the point of intersection between the outer and inner worlds is the eye, a frequent motif in Ernst’s work. In his *Histoire Naturelle* (*Natural History*) alone it appears three times. For this series the artist chose thirty-four of over 130 *frottages* he had created since the autumn of 1925 and assembled a portfolio published in Paris in 1926, with a preface by Hans Arp (1886–1966). The title *His-*

Clarence John Laughlin,
The Eye That Never Sleeps, 1946 [detail of
Cat. 3]

Pag. 70-71: Herbert Bayer, *Einsamer
Großstädter* [The lonely metropolitan],
1932 [detail of Cat. 12]

toire Naturelle refers, in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century tradition, to knowledge about the things that arise in the universe and that the human senses can experience. Following the biblical model of Genesis, in his *Histoire Naturelle* Ernst made the creation of the world his central subject, in the form of a cosmogony. In it, nature produces eyes out of the depths of the earth and transforms them.³ In *La Roue de la lumière* (*The Wheel of Light*) a wide open eye is embedded in a quarry stone [Cat. 4]. It stands freely on a stony ground, filling the unbounded space of the image. Fine capillaries trace paths across the white of the eye; radial lines form the iris; the pupil reflects a bright ray of light. The fixed stare of this magical wheel of light, surrounded by eyelashes, penetrates the viewer through to infinity. Averted from the physical world, the eye becomes “seeing” and grasps, like a seismograph, visionary phenomena.⁴

André Breton (1896–1966) begins his essay *Le Surréalisme et la peinture* with the programmatic statement, “The eye exists in the primal state.”⁵ As an organ that perceives immediately and has no personal history, the eye—open and closed, waking and dreaming—became Surrealism’s omnipresent cipher. In its cosmos it lays bare the depths of the subconscious and dissolves all psychological inhibitions. It enables the experience of a higher reality in which the rational and irrational interpenetrate one another. In an exemplary fashion, René Magritte (1898–1967) made this Surrealist interpretation of the eye his subject in 1929, in a photomontage for the journal *La Révolution surréaliste*, titled *Je ne vois pas la [femme] cachée dans la forêt* (*I do not see the [woman] hidden in the forest*) [Fig. 36]. He arranged his own portrait and those of other prominent Surrealists, including Salvador Dalí (1904–1989), André Breton and Paul Éluard (1895–1952), around the reproduction of a painting that had completed the same year. The men in the photomontage have their eyes shut. With their gaze turned inward, for them the invisible becomes visible.⁶

In *Nadja*, André Breton’s Surrealist *roman à clef*, he repeatedly describes the mysterious eyes of its protagonist as the unfathomable expression of psychological agitation and the agents of oneiric and delirious thoughts. At the very beginning of their acquaintance, the narrator asks, “What was so extraordinary about what was going on in those eyes? What was it they reflected—obscurely of distress and at the same time luminously of pride?”⁷ Later, as he tries to comprehend his relationship with Nadja, he remarks, “I have seen her fern-colored eyes *open* in the morning onto a world in which the beating of the wings of immense hope is scarcely distinct

from the other sounds, those of terror, and until then I had only ever seen eyes close onto such a world.”⁸ To this passage Breton annexed a photomontage consisting of four identical photographs of Nadja’s eyes, cropped into horizontal strips and stacked in a column. Her absent gaze recalls an untitled double exposure by Fabien Loris (1906–1979) and Roger Parry (1905–1977) [Cat. 5], one of sixteen experimental works that illustrate *Banalité*, a collection of poems from 1930 by Léon-Paul Fargues (1876–1947). It presents a shadowed face, of which only the bridge of the nose and two shining eyes are visible. Their absent expression corresponds to the paper boats drifting through the image and standing metaphorically for a journey through intermediate realms of the spirit.⁹

The American Clarence John Laughlin (1905–1985) also situates his photographs amid this fog of human visions and dreams. A mortuary in New Orleans, open night and day, inspired his ghostly multiple exposure from 1946 [Cat. 3]. Before the funeral parlor’s front window stands a female torso—half human, half mannequin—and showing through the upper half of this hybrid form is the business’s name and its slogan, “The Eye that Never Sleeps.” That unsleeping eye constitutes the nexus with a ghostly figure veiled in shadow, shifting between worlds.¹⁰ An isolated eye plays the same mediating role in a photomontage by Grete Stern (1904–1999), one in a series of 140 works collectively titled *Los sueños* (*Dreams*) and commissioned by *Idilio*, a magazine published in Argentina, where the German photographer had emigrated in 1936. The magazine had challenged its readers to note down their dreams and submit them, publishing these letters (mostly from women of the emergent middle classes) from 1948 to 1951 under the headline “El psicoanálisis le ayudará” (Psychoanalysis will help you). Stern’s works provided the accompanying illustrations. She developed the ideas for these images in discussions with the sociologist Gino Germani (1911–1979), who was in charge of the project and who furnished the photomontages with a commentary for the publication. As *El ojo eterno* (*The Eternal Eye*) [Cat. 6] impressively demonstrates, Stern’s dreaming women, angst-ridden and repressed, extrapolate their psychological oppression into the omnipotent and paradoxically feminine eye of God. Despairingly they reach their hands towards it, thrusting them from the interior of a bleak, craggy landscape out through the surface.¹¹

The discerning eye

The description of the eye as the organ of perception and the reflection of psychological states is an insight from the eigh-



Fig. 36 René Magritte, *Je ne vois pas la [femme] cachée dans la forêt* [I do not see the [woman] hidden in the forest], in *La Révolution Surréaliste*, no. 12 (1929), p. 327. Dietmar Siegert collection

teenth century, when its anatomy and the way it functioned became an object of scientific study. In Augsburg between 1731 and 1735, Johann Andreas Pfeffel (1674–1748) saw to the publication of Johann Jakob Scheuchzer's *Physica Sacra* (Sacred physics), a monumental natural history comprising four folio volumes with over 2000 pages and 750 copperplate engravings. Scheuchzer (1672–1733), a Swiss physician and naturalist, completed the manuscript for the German and Latin editions shortly before his death. The work contains scientific commentaries on verses from the Old and New Testaments and adheres to the doctrine of physicotheology (or natural theology), which claims the existence of God is evident in the miracle of his creation and seeks to underpin such claims with scientific knowledge.¹² A major portion of the book is devoted to humankind as corporal beings and as perceiving and thinking subjects. Plate 561 of the *Kupfer-Bibel* (or “Copper Bible,” as it is known) presents the anatomy of the eye in all its detail in the form of a scientific illustration, assigning it to Psalm 94:9, “He who planted the ear, does he not hear? He who formed the eye, does he not see?” [Cat. 10].¹³

Sensory impressions, according to Scheuchzer's theories, travel from the organs of the senses via the nerves into the brain and from there, “in a way inscrutable to all the wise men of the world,” further into the soul.¹⁴ Only past the physical limits of the brain, the seat of the soul, are the human beings' sensorial experiences conveyed to a spiritual sphere. In the canon of the five senses, Scheuchzer confers prominent importance to sight and defines the eyes as the most precious part of the body. They mark the difference between life and death, since it is only through the act of seeing that both existence and the beauty of the world materialize and take shape. The eye forms “a microcosm within the microcosm [i.e., the human being]”; it is a *camera obscura* made by God. In this “dark chamber,” rays of sunlight like delicate paintbrushes “depict” every “external model,” generating paintings in which “the leaves move on the trees, the birds fly, the clouds float past.”¹⁵

Nevertheless, in the *Physica Sacra* the human subject does not become a mere observer of the physical world through the eyes. The sensory impressions assimilated by the subject can be stored as *Denkbilder* or “thought-images,” which include ideas corresponding to general truths that transcend the individual as well as sensory experiences that depend on individual powers of perception and individual experiences. However, confusions can creep into these inner chambers of the imagination (and thus into the soul) as a result of ex-

ternal and corporal influences, ultimately driving a person mad.¹⁶ With this theory Scheuchzer anticipates the central role that an awareness of the imbalance between inward and outward perception would play in the modern period. Against this background, the explanatory diagram and the description of the eye in the *Kupfer-Bibel* strike one as an effort to force what at the time were inexplicable phenomena into an apparently rational system.

As a consequence of scientific research into the eye, in the eighteenth century, suffused with light or surrounded by a luminous corona, it became a symbol of reason and knowledge and thus emblematic of the Enlightenment. The French Revolution marked its definitive end as the symbol of “eye of God” [Fig. 37].¹⁷ A prominent example of the secularization of this motif is an engraving from the treatise by Claude-Nicolas Ledoux (1736–1806) from 1804, *L'Architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'art, des mœurs et de la législation* (Architecture considered in relation to art, custom, and law). In 1775, the French architect had received the commission to build a theater for the town of Besançon. In the plate titled *Coup-d'oeil du théâtre de Besançon* (A Glance into the Theater of Besançon), the theater hall is reflected in the iris and the pupil of an eye that occupies the entire page [Cat. 8]. One can distinguish the auditorium with its orchestra section, boxes, and galleries rising behind, as if the semicircular form of the building were projected onto the inner curvature of the eye. Ledoux's theater was to fulfill the egalitarian demand for a guaranteed seat and a good view of the stage for every spectator. For this reason sight lines were often drawn on eighteenth-century theater designs. Thus, the cone of light in Ledoux's print, falling from an unseen oculus into the auditorium, gliding over the rows of seats, and shining out of the eye, has been viewed as an evocation of sight lines. It has likewise been interpreted as light illuminating the world, the symbol of the originating creative genius.¹⁸ This interpretation of Ledoux's eye as an emblem of Enlightenment reason aside, however, it is also a fantastical invention that carries a double meaning. On the one hand, it reflects an austere architectural space, while on the other, it serves as a window opened onto an intermediate realm in which outward and inward sight are joined. René Magritte also examines the interpenetration of different perceptions in his famous painting from 1928, *Le Faux Miroir* (*The False Mirror*), with its eye that fills the image. It is at once a mirror of a cloudy sky and a window through which the viewer looks into the sky and thus into other worlds. Magritte's *Le Faux*



Fig. 37 Satirical print alluding to the suppression of monasteries in Austria, from after 1781. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg

Fig. 38 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, illustration for *Beiträge zur Optik* [Contributions to optics], 1791. Private collection

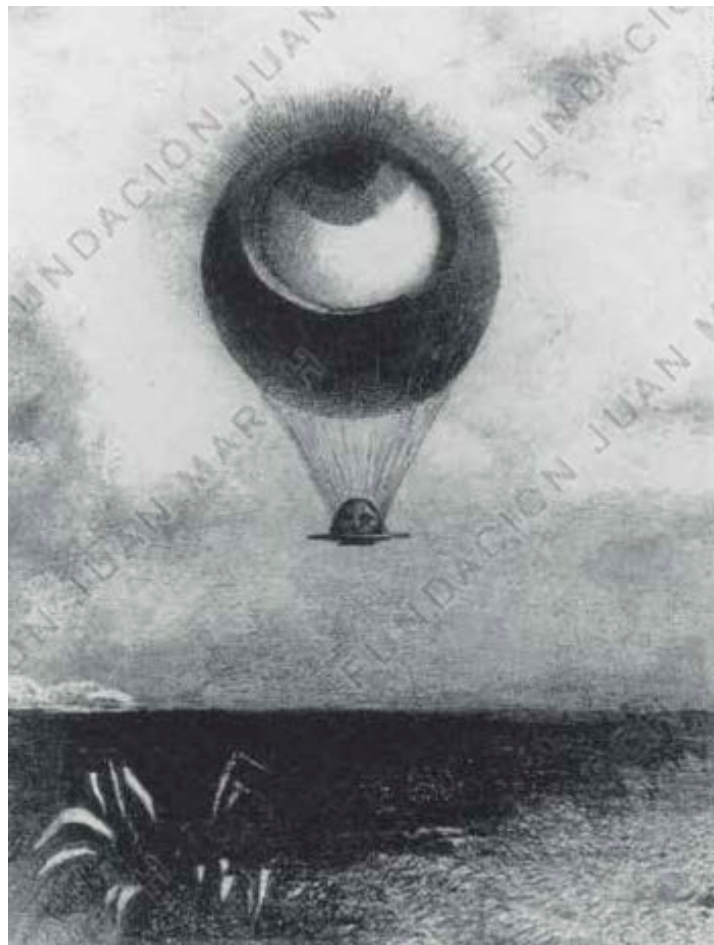
Fig. 39 Odilon Redon, *L'Oeil comme un ballon bizarre se dirige vers l'infini* [The eye like a strange balloon moves toward the infinite], 1882. Gemeentemuseum, The Hague [Cat. 7]

Miroir has been repeatedly compared with Ledoux's image of the eye.¹⁹

The seeking eye

The polysemy of the eye is vividly clear in a letter dated ca. 1784 from Francisco de Goya (1746–1828) to Martín Zapater (1747–1803), with whom the artist corresponded between 1775 and 1800.²⁰ The two friends grew up together in Zaragoza and attended the Escuela Pía of Father Joaquín Ibañez de Jesús María. In his letters to Zapater Goya tells of his daily life; in one, for instance, mentioning a visit to Escribano's bookshop in Madrid, expressing his wish to visit Zapater in the summer and to go hunting, reporting the death of two of his dogs and requesting a new one, and thanking Zapater for a delicious oil.²¹ What is remarkable about this particular letter, however, is not the quotidian news it reports but the drawing that Goya made at the end of one of the pages in the form of a pictogram, as if it were an exclamation mark: a barber's basin from the edge of which sprouts, among other things, a hand and an arm that appears to be in a sling; and next to it, a razor, a jug, and a musket. On all these objects, save for the shotgun, Goya has added a schematic eye [Cat. 11]. This multiple application of the motif does not only refer to the prominent role of optical perception in artistic work. In addition, it offers graphic evidence of Goya's artistic powers of imagination: "I am an eye, and again and again I am an eye!" he seems to exclaim to his friend.²²

The importance ascribed in the eighteenth century to the organ of sight in the activation of artistic inspiration also emerges from a letter from Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) to Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805) dated November 15, 1796, on the subject of Goethe's color theory: "It will, if you like, truly be 'the world of the eye,' which is reducible to form and color. For if I really pay attention, I scarcely require the aid of the other senses, and all reasoning becomes a kind of representation."²³ Goethe had already published preliminary studies for his *Zur Farbenlehre* (*Theory of Colors*) in 1791 and 1792 in *Beyträge zur Optik* (*Contributions to optics*). The first edition includes a woodcut vignette based on one of his drawings [Fig. 38]. The eye of the poet is embedded in a cloudbank, surrounded by rays of light radiating outward from behind, and crowned with a rainbow. Before it on the ground lie a prism and a magnifying glass.²⁴ This ocular self-portrait with its iconographic link to the "eye of God" comes across with more gravitas than Goya's "eye collection," casually thrown together with irony, wit, and a nimble hand.



Goya's drawing is not the public self-presentation of a genius but the abstract self-portrait of an imaginative artist.

A no less unconventional image of self-reflection opens the series of prints from 1882 by Odilon Redon (1840–1916), entitled *À Edgar Poë* (*To Edgar Allan Poe*), which includes a title page and six lithographs. In the print *L'Oeil comme un ballon bizarre se dirige vers l'infini* (*The Eye like a Strange Balloon Moves toward the Infinite*), a puzzling structure drifts in a gray sky: a hollow black sphere with eyelashes, embedded in which is an eye, with a dark iris and pupil, its white brightly gleaming [Fig. 39]. Ropes tie this eye-balloon to a flat plate serving as a gondola, on which a skull with deep eye sockets rests. The balloon in the center of the lithograph seems to float in the slightly cloudy sky yet also to remain there motionless. Beneath it a seascape stretches out towards a distant horizon. The dark, still surface of the water and the pale beach merge almost imperceptibly. The eye's gaze is turned upward, away from nature and into the endless universe.²⁵

None of the six lithographs in the series can be unequivocally correlated to works by Edgar Allan Poe (1809–1849).



Fig. 40 Odilon Redon, *Partout des prunelles flamboient* [Everywhere eyes flame], 1888. Kunstmuseum Winterthur

Though a tethered balloon appears in several of Poe's stories, none correspond to Redon's curious invention of the eye-balloon.²⁶ Redon's pictorial concept has no apparent precedent in literature or art. His disembodied organ of sight is a seeking eye: Enclosed within a balloon, averted from nature and turned in upon itself, it stands as a synecdoche for the human being undertaking a journey to unknown shores, towards an inner vision. The head on the gondola-plate, reminiscent of John the Baptist's, reveals, finally, that Redon intended the eye-balloon to be an emblem of his own artistic existence. For fin-de-siècle artists, the martyr symbolized their own fate; they believed they were condemned to pay, like the martyr, for their refusal to respect conventions and to betray their ideals. Thus, for a February 1882 exhibition of his works at the editorial offices of the Paris daily *Le Gaulois*, Redon chose to make *Tête de martyr sur une coupe* (*Head of a Martyr in a Bowl*, 1877) its centerpiece.²⁷

The upward gaze of a hovering eye again defines Redon's lithograph *Partout des prunelles flamboient* (*Everywhere Eyes Flame*), the ninth print in the series he created in 1888 titled *La Tentation de Saint Antoine* (*The Temptation of St. Anthony*), the first of three series bearing that title.²⁸ The three were inspired in the prose-poem by Gustave Flaubert (1821–1880), published in Paris in 1874 under the same title. In it, Flaubert depicts, in the form of a dialogue, a night in the life of the Egyptian hermit Anthony in which he is subjected to various temptations. Redon approaches the visions of the saint through the representation of eerie or enraptured creatures and apparitions. In the final pages of the text, "all manner of frightful creatures arise," raining down from heaven and rising up from earth: fetal quadruplets holding each other by the umbilical cords, wobbling bellies, flickering eyes, and bellying snouts. And suddenly Anthony sees, as an announcement of the glorified Christ, small pinhead-sized globules ringed with eyelashes.²⁹ In Redon's lithograph, one of them, a human eyeball outlined in shadow and gazing upward, rises over a mountain peak into the distant cosmos [Fig. 40]. Once again, the floating eye in Redon's work becomes the symbol of a quest, both personal and general, for inspiration as well as for salvation. Unlike the previous example, however, in this case the search does not take place in the present—well into the nineteenth century the hot-air balloon symbolized progress and freedom—but in an enigmatic and mystical past.³⁰

That the motif of the isolated eye constituted a multifaceted cipher for self-exploration in the period following

the end of the eighteenth century finds support in a work by Herbert Bayer (1900–1985) included in the portfolio *Fotomontagen* (*Photomontages*), from 1932. This alumnus of the Bauhaus, and later a teacher there, went on to work in Berlin as a freelance graphic artist in 1928. He maintained close ties with the international Surrealist movement throughout the 1930s.³¹ In the photomontage *Der einsame Großstädter* (*The Lonely Metropolitan*) a magically illuminated pair of disembodied hands floats in front of the façade of a Berlin apartment building [Cat. 12]. The palms are turned towards their imaginary owner, Herbert Bayer, and hold his own reflected image up to him. Enveloped in shadow, each eye is implanted in the opposite hand, in a mirror inversion of left and right.³² This unreal reversal is the expression of a split psyche that in the Surrealists' view was especially suited to creativity. In this light, it may also be no coincidence that the wounded hands of the artist suggest the wounds of Christ.³³

Hannah Höch (1889–1978) began the collage titled *Der Strauß* (*The Bouquet*) in 1929, completing it in 1965 [Cat. 13]. Using newspaper and magazine clippings, she created a colorful bunch of flowers, in which a multitude of eyes serve as blossoms: female and male; brown, blue, and green; right and left, great and small. They represent not only thirty-one individuals: they point in thirty-one different directions and gaze from varying perspectives at their surroundings and what is before them. This readjustment of the gaze breaks with the traditional attitude of artists like Goya or Redon in whose works the motif of the eye is a symbol for the exploration of inner states. Höch, who was a principal member of the Dada movement in Berlin and whose thinking was markedly political, sought to grasp society in all its contradictoriness. Here, therefore, the artist lets “her gaze wander; she adopts different positions to verify the resulting ‘cut out,’ revealing the most diverse attitudes toward the world.”³⁴

1 Quoted in London et al. 1991, 283–84.

2 Ibid., 284.

3 Ubl 2004, 107.

4 On Ernst's *Histoire Naturelle*, see London et al. 1991, 128; Zimmermann 1994, 15–24; Hannover 2006, 36; Schneede 2006, 98–101; Kort 2009, 42–45; Zur Loye 2010.

5 “L'oeil existe à l'état sauvage.” Breton 1928b, quoted here from Breton 1988–2008, 4:349.

6 Schneede 1991b, 354; Sylvester 2009, 28, 30.

7 Breton 1928a; quoted here from Breton 1988–2008, 1:685.

8 Ibid., 1:714–16; italics in original.

9 On the Surrealists' use of the motif of the eye, see Schneede 1991b, 351–56. On their use of the eye as a metaphor for bedazzlement and destruction, see Ladleif 2003.

10 Cf. Philadelphia 1973, 118.

11 On Grete Stern's series, see Valencia 1995, 185–94. The negatives for 64 photomontages still exist from the original series of 140 works (ibid., 187), and Stern later replaced Germani's titles with her own (ibid., 190).

12 See Müsch 2000, 9–10, 89–91; Felfe 2003, 9, 13–24.

13 Scheuchzer 1731–35, 3:672. The Bible verses at the head of each chapter are quoted according to the Lutheran and Zurich Bibles; see Felfe 2003, 14. On the explanation of plate 561, see Scheuchzer 1731–35, 3:674–75.

14 Ibid., 3:672.

15 Ibid., 3:671.

16 Robert Felfe has exhaustively discussed Scheuchzer's model of the *Denkbild*; see Felfe 2003, 108–21.

17 See Herding 1990, 47; Schmidt-Burkhardt 1992, 16–18.

18 Baden-Baden 1970, no. 64; Schmidt-Burkhardt 1992, 145.

19 Magritte's painting, now in the Museum of Modern Art, New York, is reproduced in Sylvester 2009, 147; cf. also ibid., 144, 148; and cf. Caws 2004, 70.

20 On the dating of the letter, see Águeda Villar and Salas 2003, no. 52 n1.

21 Ibid., no. 59; for English translations of Goya's correspondence with Zapater, see Goya 1997.

22 “Eye portraits” were often given as tokens of friendship; see Schmidt-Burkhardt 1992, 26.

23 Quoted in Schmidt-Burkhardt 1992, 23.

24 Ibid., 23, fig. 15.

25 On this lithograph, see Christ 1994, 14–21; Chicago, Amsterdam, and London 1994, 113, 115, 116–17; Harter 1998, 143–44.

26 Christ 1994, 20.

27 Cf. Salzburg and Chemnitz 2000: 144; cf. also Christ 1994: 179n24, 185n95.

28 The other two series are from 1889 and 1896.

29 Frankfurt and Cologne 1973, no. 71; for the relevant passages in Flaubert's text, see Flaubert [1874] 1940, 207–11; English ed., Flaubert 1981, 229–32.

30 On this work, see Schmidt-Burkhardt 1992, 129–30; Chicago, Amsterdam, and London 1994, 192; Müller-Ebeling 1997, 79–80; Harter 1998, 142–43.

31 Jaguer 1984, 103; Vienna 1989, 80.

32 Cohen 1984, 264, 266.

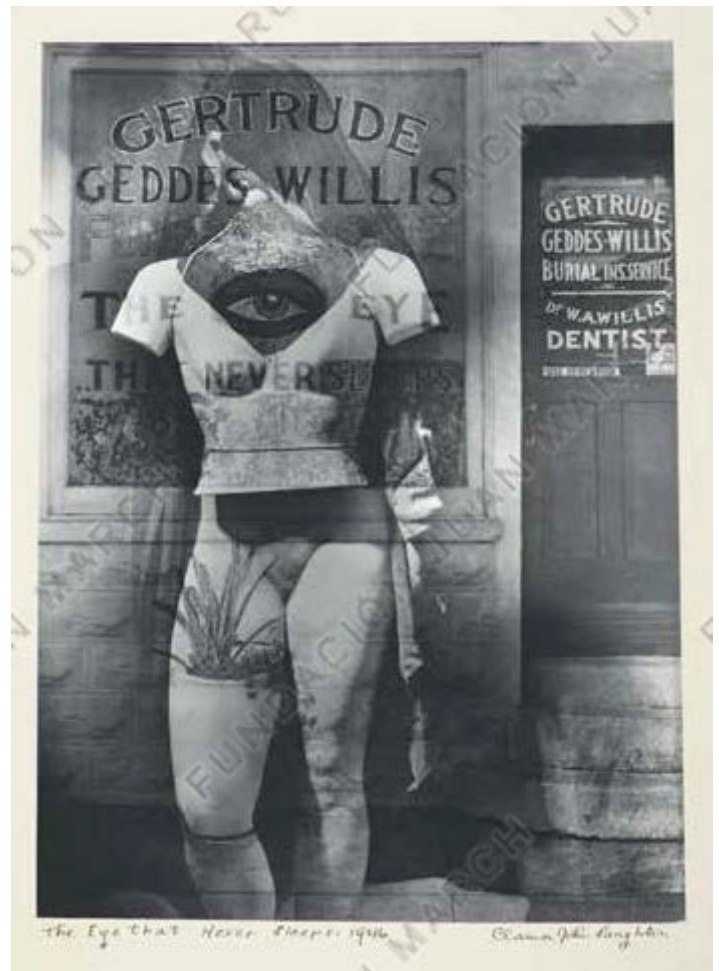
33 Bayer painted the subject of the *Arma Christi* (Instruments of the Passion) several times; see Cohen 1984, 40, 50.

34 Maurer 1995, 128; on the multiple meanings of the eye as a leitmotiv in Höch's work, see ibid., 123–28.

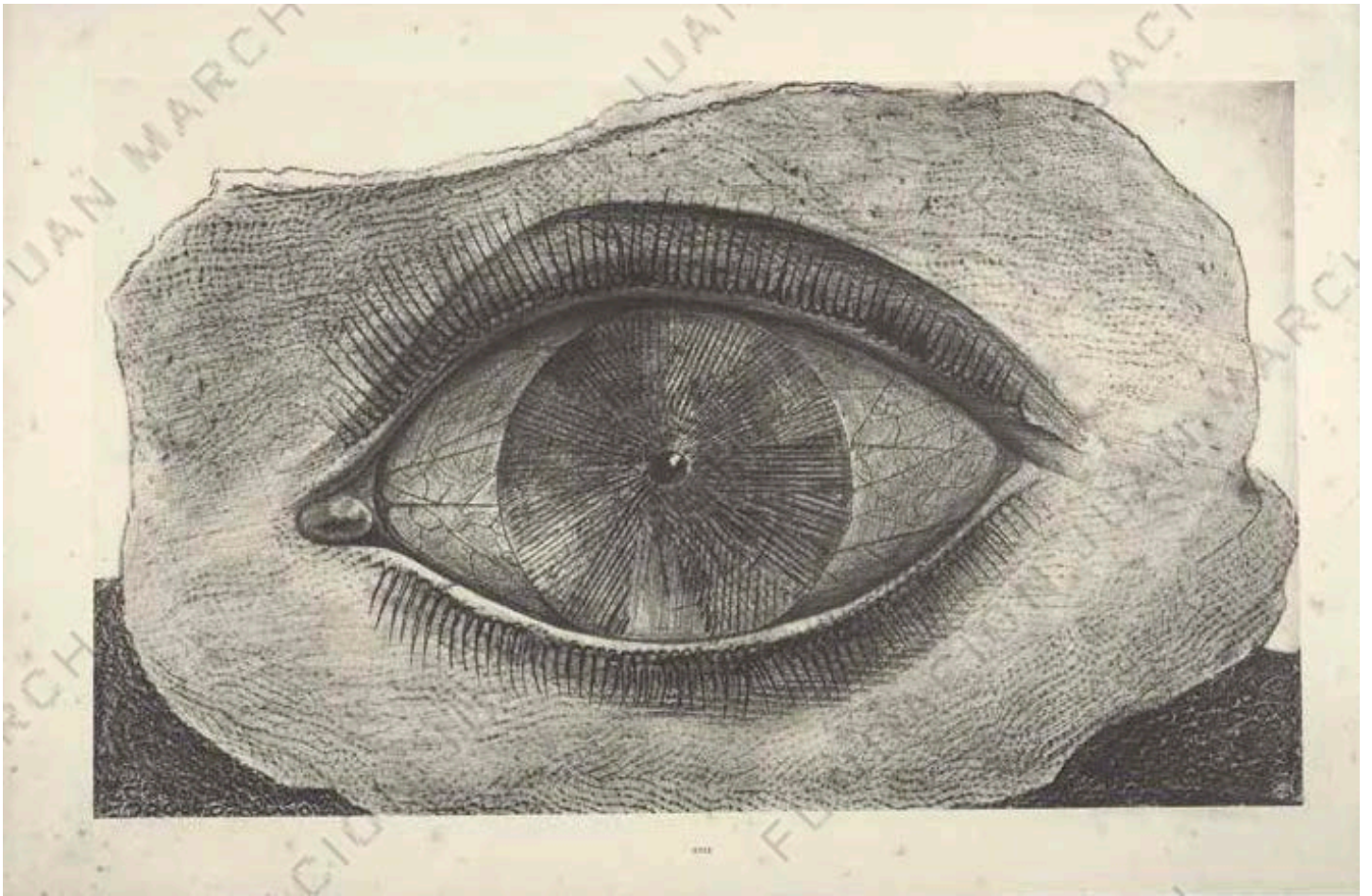


CAT. 1
 Salvador Dalí
Hombre con la cabeza llena de nubes
 [Man with his head full of clouds],
 ca. 1936
 Oil on cardboard
 7 1/8 x 5 1/2 in. (18.1 x 14 cm)
 Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí,
 Figueres

CAT. 3
 Clarence John Laughlin
The Eye that Never Sleeps, 1946
 Multiple exposure. Gelatin silver
 print on paper
 11 3/4 x 8 7/8 in. (30 x 22.5 cm)
 Dietmar Siebert collection



The Eye that Never Sleeps, 1946 Clarence John Laughlin



CAT. 4
Max Ernst
La Roue de la lumière [The wheel of
light], 1926
Plate 29 of the series *Histoire
naturelle* [Natural History], 1926
Collotype
19 1/2 x 13 1/4 in. (49.5 x 33.5 cm)
Herzog August Bibliothek,
Wolfenbüttel. Malerbücher



CAT. 5
Fabien Loris [Dominique Fabien
Terreran], Roger Parry
Untitled, 1930
Plate 3 of Léon-Paul Fargue,
Banalité (Paris: Nouvelle Revue
Française, 1930)
Double exposure. Gelatin silver
print on paper
8 1/2 x 6 1/2 in.
(21.5 x 16.6 cm)
Dietmar Siegert collection

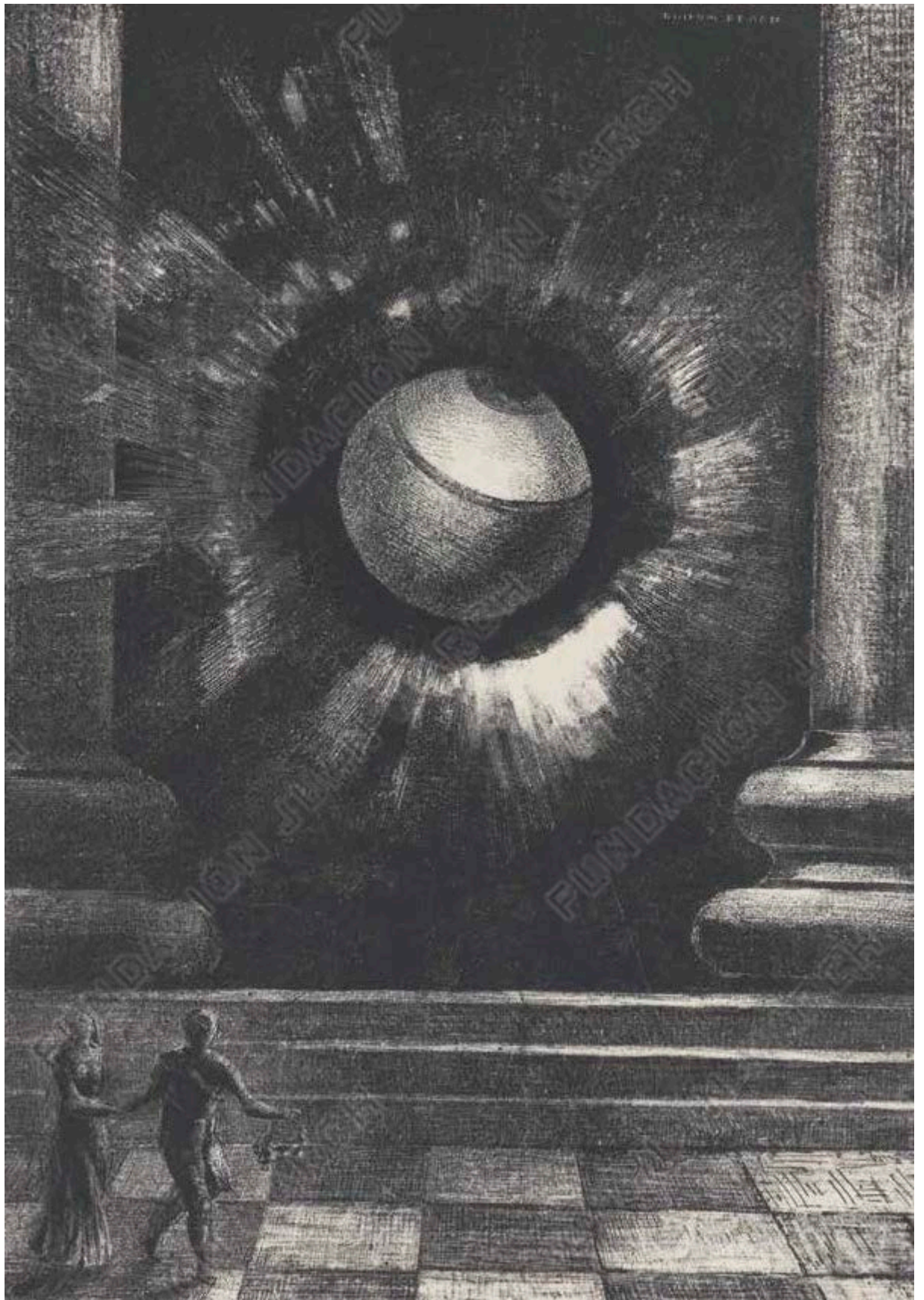
CAT. 6
Grete Stern
El ojo eterno [The eternal
eye], ca. 1950
No. 26 in the series *Los Sueños*
[The dreams], published in the
magazine *Idilio*,
Buenos Aires, 1948-51
Photomontage. Gelatin silver
print on paper
15 3/8 x 15 5/8 in.
(39 x 39.8 cm)
Dietmar Siegert collection

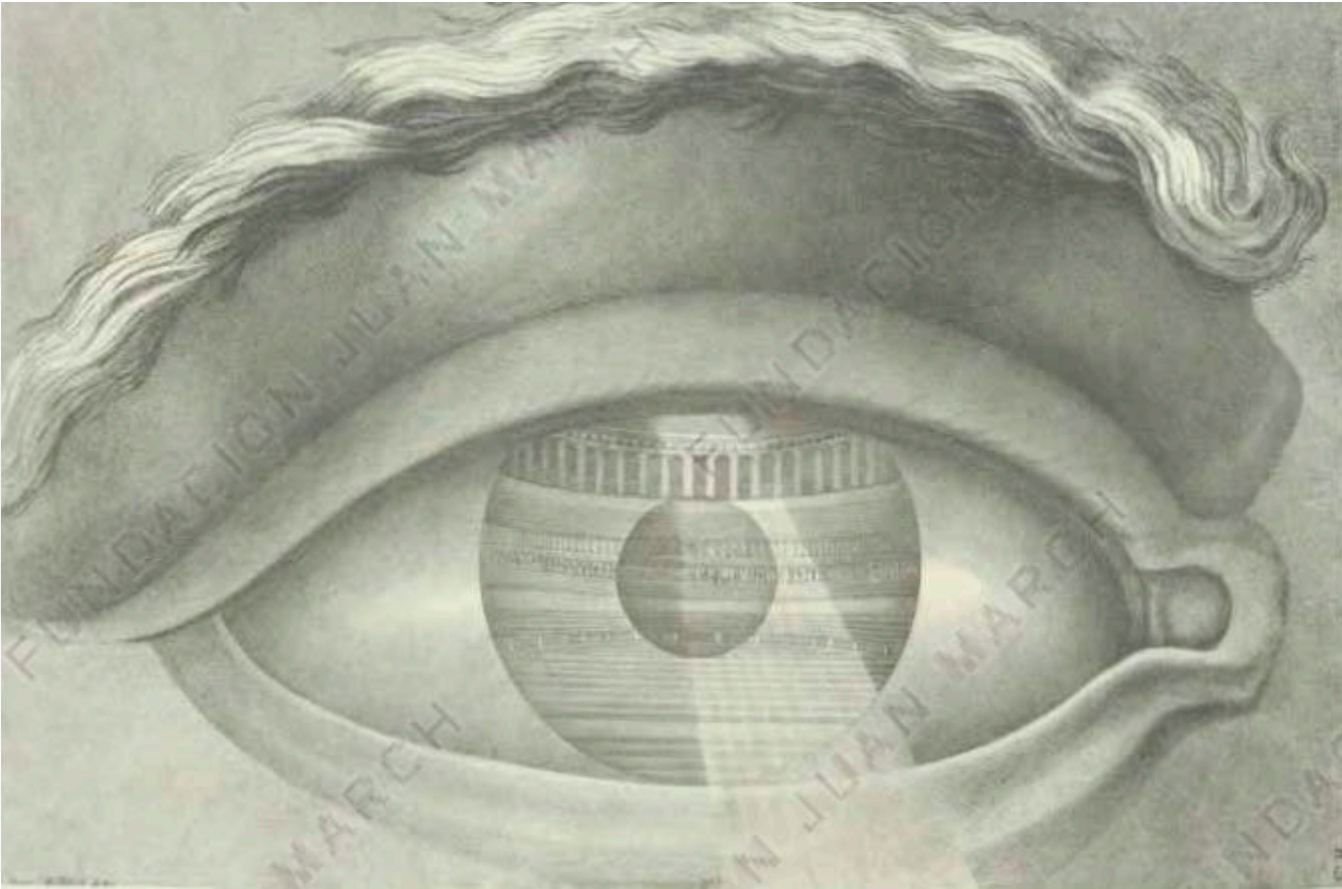




CAT. 7
Odilon Redon
L'Oeil, comme un ballon bizarre, se dirige vers l'infini [The eye, like a strange balloon, moves toward the infinite], 1882
Plate 1 from *A Edgar Poë* [To Edgar Allan Poe], 1882
Lithograph. Chine-collé
17 5/8 x 12 1/4 in.
(44.8 x 31.1 cm)
Gemeentemuseum, The Hague

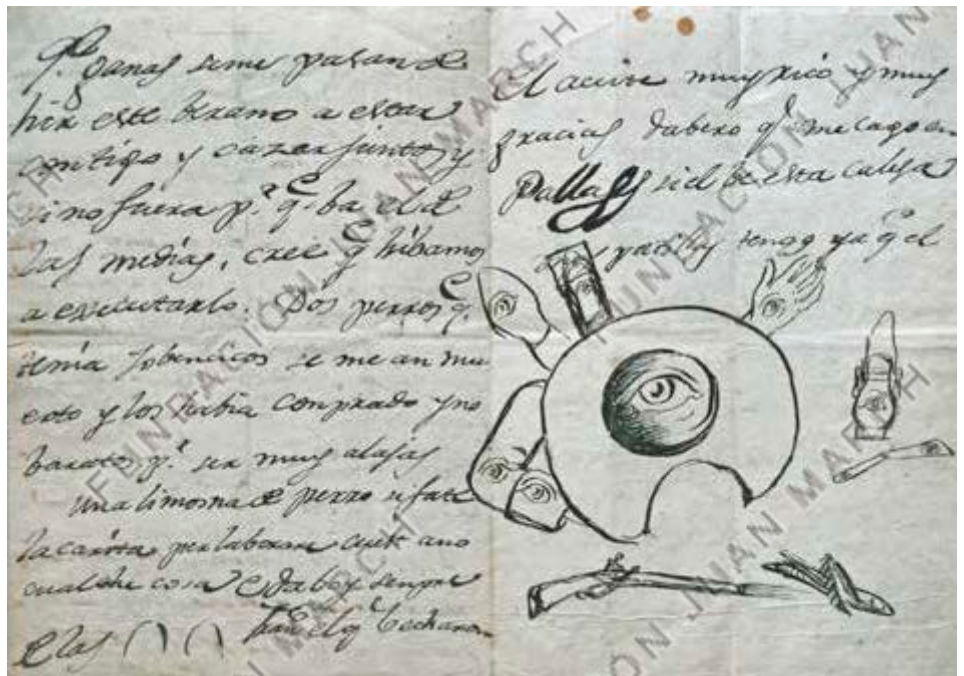
CAT. 9
Odilon Redon
Vision, 1879
Plate 8 from *Dans le Rêve* [In the dream], 1879
Lithograph. Chine-collé
23 x 15 3/4 in. (58.3 x 40.1 cm)
Gemeentemuseum, The Hague





CAT. 8
 After Claude-Nicolas Ledoux
Coup-d'oeil du Théâtre de Besançon [A
 glance into the theater of Besançon],
 1804
 Plate 113 from Claude-Nicolas
 Ledoux, *L'Architecture considérée sous
 le rapport de l'art, des moeurs et de la
 législation* [Architecture considered
 in relation to art, custom, and law],
 vol. 1 (Paris, 1804)
 Mezzotint and engraving
 10 1/8 x 15 1/4 in. (25.7 x 38.7 cm)
 Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek
 Darmstadt

CAT. 11
 Francisco de Goya
 Letter from Francisco de Goya to
 his friend Martín Zapater, ca. 1784
 Ink on paper
 8 1/4 x 11 5/8 in. (20.8 x 29.6 cm)
 Fundación Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid



CAT. 10

Jakob Andreas Fridrich, after
 Johann Melchior Füssli
Das Auge ein Werk Gottes [The eye, a
 work of God], 1733
 Plate DLXI from Johann Jacob
 Scheuchzer, *Kupfer-Bibel* [Copper-
 Bible], i.e., *Physica Sacra, oder*
geheiligte Natur-Wissenschaft derer
in Heil. Schrift vorkommenden
natürlichen Sachen [Sacred physics,
 or sacred natural science of the
 natural things found in Holy
 Scripture], vol. 2 (Augsburg; Ulm:
 Johann Andreas Pfeffel, 1733)
 Engraving
 15 3/8 x 9 5/8 in. (39.1 x 24.4 cm)
 Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
 Nuremberg



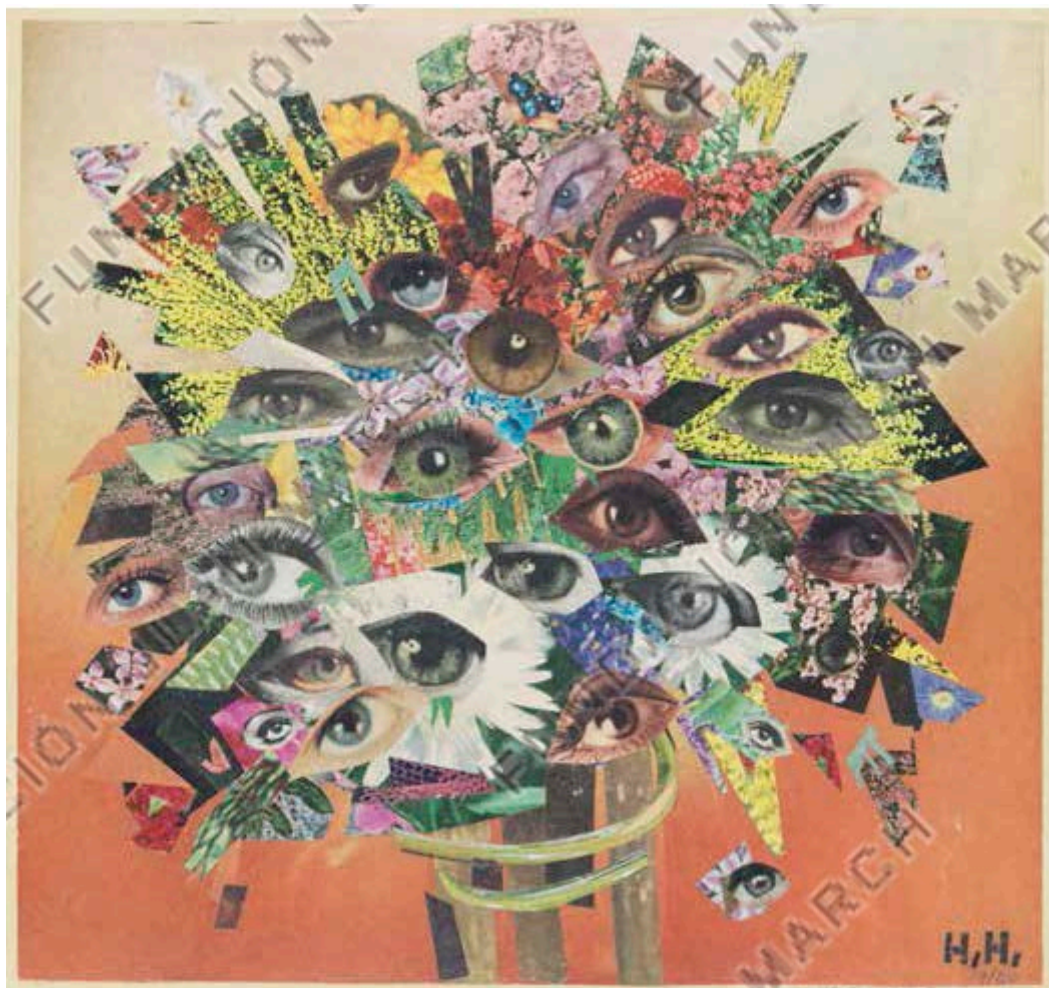


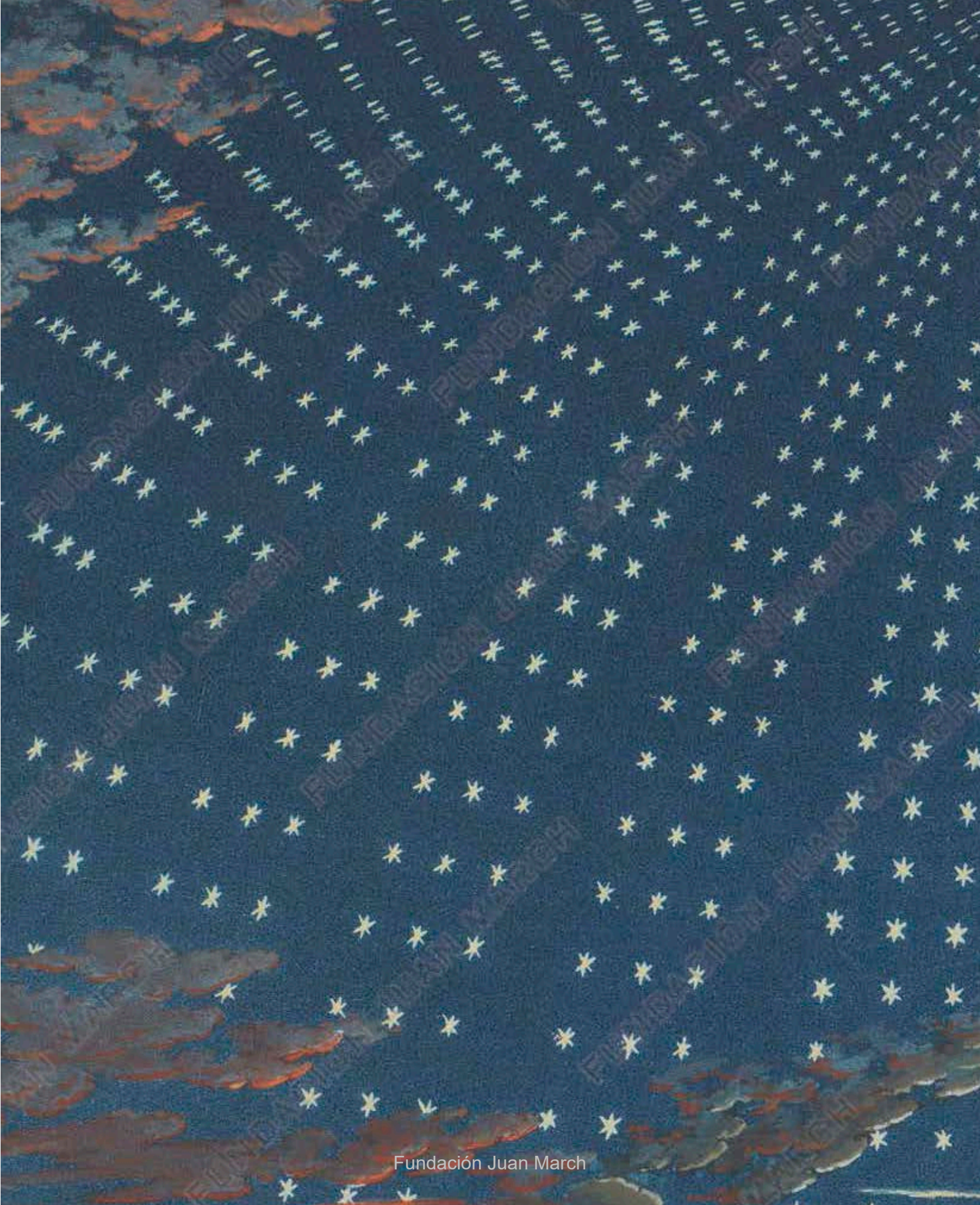
1. The Inner Eye

Fundación Juan March

CAT. 12
Herbert Bayer
Einsamer Großstädter [The
lonely metropolitan], 1932
Photomontage. Gelatin silver
print on paper
13 7/8 x 11 in. (35.3 x 28 cm)
Dietmar Siegert collection

CAT. 13
Hannah Höch
Der Strauß [The bouquet],
1929–65
Collage
8 3/4 x 9 3/8 in. (22.3 x 23.7 cm)
Germanisches
Nationalmuseum,
Nuremberg





2

Magical Spaces

YASMIN DOOSRY

On October 4, 1926, in the Rue Lafayette in Paris, André Breton, the most important theorist of Surrealism, first encountered Nadja (1902–1941). He met this mysterious woman every day until October 13, from whom he received letters, poems, and drawings and whom he immortalized in the novel *Nadja* (1928), considered a fundamental Surrealist work. In February 1927, he broke off their relationship on account of her alarming mental state. In March of the same year she was committed to a psychiatric institution, where she died in January 1941.¹ On March 15, 1928, Breton published a key scene from the novel in the pages of the journal *La Révolution surréaliste*. In the passage, he describes an unsettling experience at dusk during a meal in the Place Dauphine—according to Breton, one of the most out-of-the-way places and one of the worst empty squares in Paris.² There, when dessert is served, Nadja begins looking around her. Convinced of the existence of a subterranean passage leading from the Palais de Justice around the Hôtel Henri IV, she is overwhelmed by fear at the thought of past and future events in this square. Instead of the handful of couples disappearing into the dark, she imagines a crowd and cries out, “And the dead, the dead!” She scrutinizes the façade: “Do you see that window down there? It is black like all the others. Look closely. In a minute it will become light. It will be red.” After a minute the narrator does indeed see the window illuminated, veiled in red curtains. Nadja continues, “Horrible! Do you see what is now happening in the trees? The blue and the wind, the blue wind. Only once before have I ever seen the blue wind rushing through

Karl Friedrich Thiele, after Carl Friedrich Schinkel, *Die Königin der Nacht* [The Queen of the Night], 1823 [detail of Cat. 21]

these same trees. It was there, from a window in the Hôtel Henri IV[...].There was also a voice that was saying, ‘You will die, you will die.’”³

Spaces of fear

In the version published in *La Révolution surréaliste*, Breton illustrated the strange incident with the 1912 painting by Giorgio de Chirico (1888-1978) *I piaceri del poeta* (*The Pleasures of the Poet*) [Fig. 41].⁴ The simultaneity of torrid midday sun, long afternoon shadows, and dark evening sky, coupled with the bewildering perspective, produces a timeless space removed from reality in which all certainties are abolished. In De Chirico’s paintings from the period between 1909 and 1918 the anxieties stemming from subconscious processes force their way to the surface, and these images earned the Parisian Surrealists’ unqualified admiration as well as that of other ideologically sympathetic artists. Thus, Pierre Boucher (1908–2000) produced a photomontage in 1936 with the double title of *Hommage à Chirico* (*Homage to De Chirico*) and *Nu à Télouet, Maroc* (*Nude in Telouet, Morocco*) [Cat. 14]. This mountain village in the High Atlas, in the southern Moroccan province of Ouarzazate, boasts a kasbah at an altitude of 1800 meters (5900 feet), a citadel that perhaps suggested the photomontage to Boucher, who had served in the military in French Morocco. Inside the walls of unwelcoming fortress-like buildings stands a hallucination in the form of a headless female nude. A toga hangs from her shoulder, partially enveloping the male head from a classical statue that she cradles in her arm. Her brightly illuminated body is sharply outlined against the sky with clouds. Her somber, disquieting entrance onto the scene—alternating between woman and man, flesh and stone, life and death—corresponds to the oppressive atmosphere of the place. The pronounced contrast between light and shadow, reminiscent of De Chirico, and the many levels of spatial construction reinforce its phantasmal character.⁵

It is no coincidence that the 1544 woodcut *The Bewitched Groom*, by Hans Baldung (1484/85–1545) [Cat. 15], numbered among the works in the Museum of Modern Art’s 1936 exhibition.⁶ In the print, within the bare space in front of a horse’s stall three protagonists enact a strange scene: a man with a hayfork and currycomb lies on his back, unconscious or dead, on a stone floor resembling a gravestone; a mare stands on the threshold of the stall; and a witch bringing evil emerges through a side window, holding a firebrand—a motif that reappears in 1937 in *Guernica*, the monumen-

tal painting by Pablo Picasso (1881–1973) now in the Museo Reina Sofia in Madrid. This woodcut, Baldung’s last work before his death, has been subject to many interpretations. It has been explained as an allegory of ire; sexual allusions have been imputed to it, for the unsaddled and unbridled horse was indeed a symbol of the animalistic desires humans must master. Finally, the woodcut has been understood also as a self-referential testimony, in that Baldung has placed his family coat of arms on the entrance to the stall, making the work the artist’s own “dream vision” foreshadowing his imminent death.⁷ Whatever the enigma’s solution, horse and man seem overwhelmed in a claustrophobically narrow room, forever locked within. Physical reality seems to dissolve in extrasensory phenomena that evade all control. Menace is conveyed not only by the scene itself but precisely by the magic of the space.

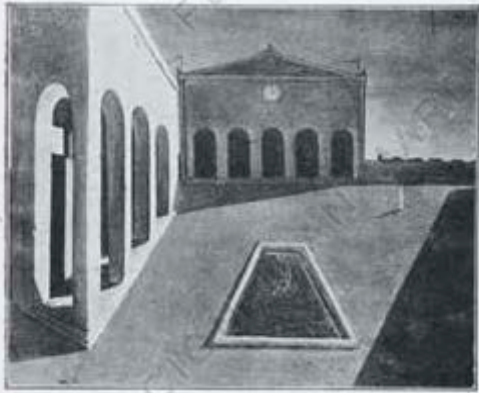
Landscape with geometry

Not long after Baldung created his woodcut, a series of images depicting unreal places were produced in the productive Nuremberg workshop of Virgilius Solis the Elder (1514–1562). In 1555, he published the *Buchlin von den Alten Gebeuen* (*Little book of ancient buildings*) with twelve illustrations [Cat. 16]. The etchings are inverted copies, with certain details altered, of prints from the *Fragmenta structurae veteris* (*Fragments of Old Architecture*), which the French architect and theorist Jacques Androuet du Cerceau the Elder (1510/20–1585/86) had published in 1550 in Orléans. These prints were in turn based on the drawings of the Flemish engraver Léonard Thiry (ca. 1500–1550), who was active at the court in Fontainebleau.⁸ With the publication of the *Buchlin*, Solis seized upon a very current subject, for, at mid-century, Roman architectural ruins had attained a truly extraordinary degree of interest and admiration among the German-speaking public.⁹ The illustrations in the French original and their German copies present landscapes with Roman ruins consisting of tightly-arranged, interlinked architectural fragments. The complicated perspective of these labyrinthine pictorial spaces lacking clearly defined interiors and exteriors baffles the viewer’s powers of cognition.

In the same way, the fantasies with ruins by Lorenz Stör (ca. 1530–after 1620/21) defy conventional visual habits. He published *Geometria et Perspectiva* (*Geometry and perspective*) in 1567 in Augsburg, its title page addressing “cabinetmakers specializing in marquetry” and “other amateurs, for their particular delight.” In the work’s eleven woodcuts, the artist

seyons un tonnent. Nous sommes devant un jet d'eau dont elle paraît suivre la courbe. « Ce sont tes pensées et les miennes. Vais-tu où elles partent toutes, jusqu'où elles s'élevèrent et comme c'est encore plus joli quand elles retombent. Et puis aussitôt elles se fondent, elles sont reprises avec la même force, de nouveau c'est cet élan, cet élan brisé, cette chute... et comme cela indéfiniment. » Je m'écrie : « Mais Nadja, comme c'est étrange ! Où prends-tu justement cette image qui se trouve exprimée presque sous la même forme dans un ou-

adore, surtout parce qu'elle est si peu comme les autres enfants, « avec cette idée de toujours enlever les yeux des poupées pour voir ce qu'il y a derrière ces yeux. » Elle sait ce qu'elle attire toujours les enfants : où qu'elle soit, ils ont tendance à se grouper autour d'elle, à venir lui sourire. Elle parle maintenant comme pour elle seule : tout ce qu'elle dit ne m'intéresse plus également, elle a la tête tournée du côté opposé au mien, je commence à être fatigué. Mais, sans que j'aie donné aucun signe d'impatience : « Un point, c'est tout. J'ai senti



Chirico

vrage que tu ne peux connaître et que je viens de lire ? (Et je suis amené à lui expliquer qu'elle fait l'objet d'une vignette, en tête du troisième des *Dialogues entre Hylas et Philonous*, de Berkeley, édition de 1750, où elle est accompagnée de la légende : *L'objet esquissé sur ces deux enfants, fleurtit que des vagues, qui prend à la fin du livre, au point de vue de la défense de l'attitude idéaliste, une signification capitale*). Mais elle ne m'écoute pas, toute attentive qu'elle est au manège d'un homme qui passe à plusieurs reprises devant nous et qu'elle pense connaître car ce n'est pas la première fois qu'elle se trouve à pareille heure dans ce jardin. Cet homme, si c'est lui, s'est offert à l'épouser. Cela la fait penser à sa petite fille, une enfant dont elle m'a appris avec tant de précautions l'existence, et qu'elle

que j'allais te faire de la peine. (Se retourne vers moi : C'est fini, » Nous sortons du jardin et ne tardons pas à nous arrêter encore dans un bar de la rue Saint-Honoré qui s'appelle « Le Dauphin ». Elle observe que nous sommes venus de la place Dauphine au Dauphin. (A ce jeu qui consiste à se chercher des correspondances avec tel ou tel animal, on s'est généralement accordé à faire de moi un dauphin). Nadja ne peut supporter la vue d'une bande de mosaïque qui se prolonge du comptoir sur le sol et nous devons quitter le bar peu après y être entrés. Elle se fait arrêter devant le Théâtre des Arts. Nous convenons de ne nous retrouver à « La Nouvelle France » que le soir du surindemain.

André BRETON

Fig. 41 Giorgio de Chirico, *I piaceri del poeta* [The pleasures of the poet], 1912, in *La Révolution surréaliste*, no. 11 (1928): 11. Dietmar Siegert collection

presents monumental polyhedra, in the process exhausting all possible points of view. The first five sheets in this sample book present basic solids, while the following six present non-classical variants, among which are three examples of hollow geometric bodies. In all the woodcuts, these geometric forms are situated in fantastic surroundings. In the example included in this exhibition, for instance, one observes elaborate, intertwined ruins, partly composed from geometric forms, with numerous interior and exterior views [Cat. 17]. In front of the “broken construction,” which stands in odd contrast to the unscathed buildings visible in the distant landscape, extensive ornamental scrollwork rises like a sculpture. Next to this structure an octahedron enclosed in a hollow ball balances on one vertex upon a flat plinth. As natural elements, grasses and bushes grow exuberantly out of cracks in the stonework, and among the ruins stands a dead tree.¹⁰ The peculiar atmosphere of this spatial vision is repeated in a watercolor drawing ascribed to Stör [Cat. 18]. Diminishing as they recede into the background, intact houses, towers and walls, swelling scrollwork ornaments, innumerable three-dimensional geometric constructions, and bizarre trees fill the image. Although Stör abstained from an extravagant staging of picturesque ruins here, the watercolor nevertheless represents a similarly unreal place. The application of extreme perspectival devices and the combination of strange fragments of reality account for the fantastic effect in the watercolor, as they do in the illustrations in *Geometria et Perspectiva*.¹¹

Ruins also take on a peculiar life of their own in the architectural visions of Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720–1778). The architect, archaeologist, and engraver became famous in his own lifetime through his series *Vedute di Roma* (*Views of Rome*, 1748–1778) and *Antichità romane* (*Roman Antiquities*, 1756). For the views of Rome, Piranesi completed 135 large-format individual prints in all, up to the year of his death; besides numerous ancient monuments, the series also presents constructions from the Renaissance and from his own times. The early etchings of the series, which were intended for sale to travelers to Rome, convey the harmoniously balanced atmosphere of conventional *vedute*. Only gradually did he begin to create more idiosyncratic designs such as *Rovine d'una galleria di statue nella Villa Adriana a Tivoli* (*Ruins of a Statue Gallery in Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli*), from 1769–71 [Cat. 19].¹² The emperor Hadrian ordered the construction of this palace complex situated to the north-east of Rome and south of Tivoli and built between AD 117 and AD 138. By Piranesi's

time, the walls and groin vault of the voluminous, monumental hall of the former gallery had collapsed. Nature is pushing inexorably into the ailing buildings. Together with the light infiltrating the open vault it transforms the ruins into a ghostly scene.¹³

The emotional tension that the *veduta* of Hadrian's Villa conveys is omnipresent in Piranesi's etchings from the *Carceri d'invenzione* (*Imaginary Prisons*). The first edition of a portfolio of fourteen prints appeared in Rome in 1750 and was followed in 1761 by an enlarged edition (with two new etchings) for which the artist radically reworked the original plates. In the *Carceri*, Piranesi invented a jumble of linked rooms, the architectural components of which are partially connected and partially isolated, in constructions that force the limits of human measurement [e.g., Cat. 20]. The etchings represent multi-level archways and massive ashlar and brick walls with barred windows, distant galleries, platforms, drawbridges and wooden catwalks at vertiginous heights, and ample staircases that penetrate the various stories, suddenly ending nowhere. The dungeons' broken-open walls divert the viewer's gaze into more and more rooms that seem, as in a nightmare, to continuously extend, multiply, and intertwine, seizing the viewer with a sense of insecurity and menace. The images, as a kind of stage for introspection, have been repeatedly described as precursors of Romanticism.¹⁴ This theatrical effect of the *Carceri* is due in large part to the illusionistic devices of the Baroque which Piranesi adapted to his own purposes: Rather than using such devices to create the illusion of real rooms, he unsettlingly deconstructs them in an interplay of sharp chiaroscuro contrasts. In this way, the places he conceived, extravagant in their imaginative vigor, are capable of generating multiple associations. It has often been assumed that his bewildering spatial constructions found inspiration not only in illusionistic painting but also in scenographic innovations. Thus the Venetian stage designer Giuseppe Galli Bibiena (1696–1757), eschewing the central perspective customary in set design since the Renaissance, employed oblique views of structures requiring two or more vanishing points. This technique, called *scena per angolo*, depicts spaces nested within each other and tapering to several vanishing points, producing the impression of scenery receding into endless depths.¹⁵

In his critical examination of the system of the Baroque stage, Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781–1841) developed a theory that radically simplified stage design. Accordingly, the stage should no longer be divided by means a staggered

series of wings and soffits in perspective; rather, the background of the level stage should be closed with changing painted backdrops employing the very different technique of aerial perspective (that is, by rendering distant objects, like mountains, lighter, bluer, and with lower contrast).¹⁶ Schinkel wished to achieve the "illusion of a physical change of place" by "artistic means" alone, and with his designs for probably the most famous set in the history of theater, he applied these devices masterfully. In 1815, Carl Friedrich Graf von Brühl (1772–1837), intendant-general of the Prussian royal theaters, commissioned Schinkel's stage sets for a new production of *Die Zauberflöte* (*The Magic Flute*), the opera by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–1791), a performance that premiered on January 18, 1816, in Berlin. The wider public became acquainted with Schinkel's twelve set designs, however, with the publication and sale, beginning in 1823, of colored aquatint etchings based on the original sketches. The most spectacular design was for the entrance aria of the Queen of the Night [Cat. 21]. In this scene, the dark figure emerges on a bright sickle moon out of the turbulent sea of multicolored clouds shimmering in the twilight and rises up into the deep blue night. The stars, subject to her will and aligned in regular paths, form in perfect harmony a high and translucent vault of heaven, rimmed by clouds. At its zenith is a dark oculus that establishes an axis between it and the Queen's crescent moon. Constructed as a semicircle, yet perceived as a half-sphere, the vault of the night sky appears to wrap itself around the viewer, who becomes a direct witness to a supernatural event. Before the eyes of the viewer, who becomes one with the infinity of the starry sky, the Queen emerges out of the night to approach the earthly world.¹⁷ This scene transcending all notion of reality astonished contemporaries. E. T. A. Hoffmann (1776–1822), for instance, describes, filled with wonder, the magic of the Queen of Night's hall of stars, which he felt had transported him to another, Romantic, world through the medium of Schinkel's *Zauberflöte* stage sets.¹⁸

Images of magical spaces serve as a retreat from lived reality into a world of the irrational and the unreal. Attainable only through fantasy, they do not conform to the rational rules of tradition—neither with regard to content nor to artistic form. These magical spaces draw their contradictory nature from an abundance of artistic devices. Prominent among them are perspective and lighting: strictly central perspective or other more disconcerting approaches as instruments of optical illusion; modulations of light (and shad-

ows cast in different ways) in order to evoke balance, drama, or the supernatural. In Baldung's print, the claustrophobic, mathematically constructed space leading to a single vanishing point strengthens the sense of menace. The fear of overwhelming forces was pervasive in the consciousness of the day and had many causes, as did the contemporary obsession with witches.¹⁹ In contrast, in Schinkel's work, the central perspective serves to open up a wide prospect onto what is effectively an experiential space: The viewer is drawn into the scene as a participant in an event whose impact is overpowering. According to the pre-Romantic concept of the sublime, the individual seeks the experience of being exposed to awesome forces and, at the same time, the ability to recognize him or herself as a subject of knowledge—that is, capable of identifying a phenomenon as sublime and at the same time conscious of his or her own intellectual independence.

Virgilius Solis's and especially Lorenz Stör's tricks of perspective, which abjure the use of a single, central vanishing point to mark the end of a space, play pranks on the eye and pose visual riddles for the imagination. The same may be said of the crumbling buildings that have lost their original purpose. In the following centuries, ruins, as elements of fantasy, would continue to contribute to the strangeness of magical spaces. Stör's vexing game with geometry and perspective was viewed as evidence of artistic virtuosity. It was aimed at a public that demanded unusual inventions and a mastery command of artistic techniques and devices. Such mastery satisfied unbridled curiosity for the anomalous, for outlandish and unusual objects, whether they be the product of human hands or the forces of nature.²⁰ Piranesi's eccentric use of perspective and light unsettles the viewer by depriving his spatial visions of any grounding in the rational. These works thus retain a trace of perturbation—a quality that is considered to be a sign precisely of modern consciousness.²¹ With spatial constructions organized around multiple perspectives and an incongruous application of light and shadow, artists inspired by the Surrealist movement, like Boucher or Bayer, would themselves go on to create unsettling works that also raise doubts about visible reality.

Biomorphic landscapes

Hermann Finsterlin (1887–1973) employed quite different artistic devices in the creation of his spatial structures that likewise stimulate the imagination and conjure up the most varied of associations. After an overpowering nocturnal experience of nature on the peak of the Watzmann in the Bavar-

ian Alps, he abandoned the natural sciences—he had been studying chemistry, physics, and medicine for a few semesters in Munich—and turned to art. Finsterlin became famous for his drawings of idiosyncratic spatial creations. In April 1919, forty of these works were included in the *Ausstellung für unbekannte Architekten* (Exhibition for unknown architects), organized in Berlin at J. B. Neumann's Graphisches Kabinett by the revolutionary Arbeitsrat für Kunst (Workers' Council for Art) under the leadership of Walter Gropius (1883–1969). In the flyer for the event Gropius directed an appeal to painters and sculptors: “build in your fantasy, with no care for technical difficulties.”²²

Finsterlin, who as painter and poet always considered himself a total artist, already felt an aversion to purist architecture with its cubes, flat planes, corners, and angles. His drawings describe biomorphic architectural structures freed from all functional constraints. For his visions—none of his numerous projects was ever realized—Finsterlin took nature as a model. He did not copy it mimetically, however, but derived, from its outward forms, an organically abstracted language of line and color.²³ In addition to many other works on paper, this language informs two watercolors from 1920–1924. The first [Cat. 23] presents, freely situated in the landscape, natural bodies with flowing outlines that fill the space, their absurd, unstable structure threatening to tip them over at any moment. Their forms—elementary, plastic, and flowing—recall unicellular, trumpet-shaped protozoa or the caps and stalks of mushrooms, and stones rounded by water. Ornamental spirals of yarn spray out of them. Everything here is metamorphosing, proliferating, gushing, and pulsating, as in the second sheet [Cat. 24]. In the second, spheres creeping along the ground and ellipsoids hovering overhead change their form, size, and number; smooth closed shapes break up and form crystalline crowns; an inflated egg-shaped organism pushes through between two curved husks; out of a polyp-like apparition a zig-zag head grows luxuriantly. With such inventions modeled on nature, Finsterlin envisioned “dream houses,” in order to inhabit them in the imagination, set free from the “the nightmarish waking dreams of life on earth.”²⁴

In the winter of 1933, Julien Levy organized in his New York gallery the first solo exhibition of Salvador Dalí in the United States. The cover of the catalogue *Exhibition of Paintings by Salvador Dalí* is illustrated with the extremely reduced drawing *Finis*, scarcely different from *Solitude mentale* (*Mental Solitude*), from 1932 [Cat. 22].²⁵ It presents a landscape with a

far-off horizon enlivened by a long, thin cloud and a solitary cypress in the distance; in the foreground there is a sharp-edged pedestal with a melting pocket watch. This persistently recurring motif of the melting watch appeared in Dalí's work for the first time in 1932 in his most famous work, the small-format painting titled *La Persistence de la mémoire* (*The Persistence of Memory*). A Camembert cheese melting in the sun had inspired him with this invention. As the artist noted in one of his autobiographical texts, "The mechanical object was to become my worst enemy, and as for watches, they would have to be soft or not be at all!"²⁶ This emblematic sign of the relativity of time and space is in keeping with the insight put forth by Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) that real time had no relationship to subconscious processes nor exerted any influence on them: present and memory, time and space, interpenetrate each other in the subconscious.²⁷

At the center of the drawing's wide panorama a series of abstract, organic three-dimensional forms recedes into the background. The soft outer contours, the indentation, and the rounded openings of each receding iteration closely resemble each other. A plasmic primal organism seems to repeatedly clone itself with its surroundings, ad infinitum, finally becoming absorbed into a *mise-en-abîme* of boundless and timeless space. If one considers the significance that Freud's writings and Freudian psychoanalysis held for Dalí, the drawing with its feminine biomorphic structures acquires, beyond the visualization of the relativity of time and space, the features of what is a product of hallucination: In the sudden fall into empty space at the moment one is overcome with sleep, the artist recognized "a brutal and cruel recall of birth, reconstituting thus the dazed sensation of the very moment of expulsion and of falling outside."²⁸ Karin von Maur refers emphatically to Dalí's "intrauterine" memories, connected with the placenta of the subconscious, with which the artist nourished his image-world.²⁹ Finsterlin, too, established an associative link between his three-dimensional biomorphic works and the uterus when describing his architectural fantasies: "In the interior of the new house one will feel not only like the resident of a fairytale crystalline gland but also the internal inhabitant of an organism, wandering from organ to organ, a giving and receiving symbiont of a 'giant fossil womb.'"³⁰

Dalí found inspiration for his chimeric dream landscapes in the work of Yves Tanguy (1900–1955). Tanguy, a rebellious character inclined to alcoholic binges and a self-taught artist, joined the Paris Surrealists in 1925. After a



Fig. 42 Georg Gottfried Winkler, after Franz Xaver Habermann, [Shell ornament], ca. 1750. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg

figurative-narrative period, beginning in 1926 Tanguy developed a non-representational pictorial language. Impressed by the plateaus and mesas of the Atlas Mountains, which he encountered on a journey to North Africa in early 1930, he replaced his *fumées* (smoke or fog paintings) with *coulées* (flow paintings). To this group of works belongs the 1931 gouache *Paysage absolu* (*Absolute Landscape*) [Cat. 25].³¹ In it the sky, tinged with a preternatural yellow, and the earth, modeled in many shades of grey, imperceptibly merge. In the center of this infinite panorama, barely touching the ground, a narrow plateau with softly folded edges extends outward. Unusually shaped objects stand on the surface of the plateau, smooth as glass, and are scattered about the landscape, erect, leaning, or lying on the ground. Off to one side stands a composite figure constructed out of abstract forms whose hard shadows reveal the figure to be feminine. Other dark shadows anchor the seemingly translucent, lightweight sculptural forms in space. Their clear contours are sharply delineated against their diffuse surroundings. This startling presence of this inventory of strange objects in an empty space, set in dialogue with the disconcerting colors of the painting, lends the composition the character of a hallucination: a mirage in a desert landscape or ghostly apparitions over the water in a storm at the seashore. A drawing by Tanguy from 1934, whose soft lines dispel any sense of hardness [Cat. 26], produces a similarly surreal, oneiric impression on the viewer. Fantastic shapes, oddly differentiated in size and somewhat reminiscent of geological forms crowd together tightly packed atop an abstract plateau that appears to float freely in space. It seems like the fragment of an unreal landscape that has broken off and, against the laws of gravity, has gone traveling.

Many possible breeding grounds for Tanguy's creations have been identified: the *Traité de métaphysique* (Treatise on metaphysics) that Charles Richet (1850–1935) published in Paris in 1922, on parapsychological phenomena; the steep rock formations and the menhirs (or “standing stones”) of the prehistoric culture of Brittany, where Tanguy's family came from and where he spent his holidays—in addition to the landscapes of Tunisia and Morocco mentioned above; the sponges, corals, and algae of the sea floor; and, finally, the literature familiar to an immoderate reader like Tanguy, by Baudelaire, Mallarmé, Rimbaud, and Lautréamont, with their visions of a mental or inner landscape that can constantly metamorphose, instantly transform everything, and produce completely new forms. The Comte de Lautréamont

(Isidore Lucien Ducasse, 1846–1870) describes just such a perceptual experience in the first canto of *Les Chants de Maldoror* (1869), a text that Tanguy illustrated, along with many other Surrealists:

“Under the moonlight, by the sea, in lonely parts of the countryside, when you are plunged in bitter reflections, you see everything assuming a yellowish form, vague, fantastic. The shadows of trees, now swiftly, now slowly, rush hither and thither casting different shapes and flattening themselves, pressed against the earth.”³²

Magically suggestive spatial images also enrich the paintings and photographs of the Bauhaus master and graphic artist Herbert Bayer. In 1936, he produced his significant series of ten *Fotoplastiken* (“photo-sculptures,” Bayer's idiosyncratic term for the photos and photomontages he also manipulated by non-photographic means), among which is *Still Life* [Cat. 27].³³ On floorboards that recede to the sky and dissolve into the clouds, curious objects are assembled for an absurd rendezvous. A bar, a stick and two shells rest on the floor, a bone stands upright, wheels roll through the space, and a ladder leans against the sky. These transitory objects, which lose their usual sense here, are supported only by their shadows. Clouds pass over the implements and natural objects and creep along the floor. The indeterminacy of the unbounded space; the mysterious light; the flouting of natural laws and of the rules of statics and perspective; the strange proportions; and the odd dynamic between the objects all contribute to an unfathomable place defined by the logic of dreams.

The *Fotoplastiken* of 1936 exhibit features in common with Bayer's *Dunstlöcher-Bildern* (“ventilation-hole paintings”) executed between 1935 and 1937. During his time as a member of the Wandervogel (a youth movement devoted to hiking) in Austria from 1916 to 1919, the barns and stables in the countryside caught his attention. In their wooden walls *Dunstlöcher* (“ventilation holes”) were cut to air the hay. Farm implements leaned against the buildings or hung from them, hooked into these openings: shovels, rakes, harrows, flails, ladders, ropes, etc. Years later, Bayer recalled these “still lifes” of his youth that now in hindsight seemed poetic and surreal to him.³⁴ He detached the tools from their traditional surroundings and stripped them of their original function; partially remodeling these implements, he associated them with new objects in order to assemble them as components of his surreal works. In this way, Bayer created enigmatically encrypted worlds out of fragments of reality.

The significance of the adoption in art of natural forms, with their manifold levels of meaning, sheds light on the



Fig. 43 Ernst Haeckel, *Desmonema* ("Discomedusae—Scheibenquallen" [Discomedusae—disc jellyfish]), plate 8 from *Kunst-Formen der Natur* [Art Forms in Nature] (Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1899). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg



Fig. 44 Ernst Haeckel, *Aequorea* ("Leptomedusae—Faltenquallen" [Leptomedusae—crystal jellies]), plate 36 from *Kunst-Formen der Natur* [Art Forms in Nature], (Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1899). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg

work of Finsterlin, Tanguy, Dalí, and Bayer, standing here as representatives of modernity. They did not just abstract organic (biological) and inorganic (mineralogical) phenomena: they gave them new meanings. In so doing, they also aligned themselves with a long artistic tradition. To mention just a few analogous examples from that tradition, natural forms determined the monstrous cave-like sculptures of the *Bosco Sacro* (or "Sacred Grove") in Bomarzo, near Viterbo, that Pier Francesco Orsini ordered be constructed near his castle at some point before 1564. This is equally true of the *rocaille* ornament (the style of shellwork characteristic of Rococo architecture and design, inspired in bizarrely-shaped seashells), which, with its flexible curves, alternates between natural and artificial forms. Projected into three dimensions it swells in size and becomes an independent motif, in drawings and prints of fantastical spatial constructions [Fig. 42]. A source of inspiration for Finsterlin was the diversity of structures and ornaments modeled on vegetal forms characteristic of Art Nouveau and Baroque architecture alike, and he must have also known the series of lithographs published

in installments between 1899 and 1904 (and finally as a two-volume book in 1904), *Kunst-Formen der Natur* (Art forms in nature) [Figs. 43, 44], by the biologist Ernst Haeckel. Populated by images from the subconscious, Finsterlin's biomorphic spatial and landscape fantasies—and even more so Dalí's and Tanguy's—acquire the character of dream-like scenarios.

André Breton describes the higher reality of the magical places in the Surrealist imagination, in his *Manifeste du surréalisme* from 1924:

“With a shudder, one traverses what the occultists call *dangerous landscapes*. Under my footsteps I awaken monsters lying in wait. They do not yet bear me too much ill will, and I am not yet lost, since I fear them. Here are “the elephants with heads of women and the flying lions,” [...] here is the “soluble fish” that still frightens me a little.”³⁵

Breton and his companions found their particular places in Paris. For them they were full of mysteries and surprises: the nineteenth-century arcades, the Musée Grévin, the flea markets, the Tour Saint-Jacques, the Parc des Buttes-Chaumont... and the Place Dauphine.³⁶

1 See London and New York 2002, 138–39.

2 Breton 1928a; also in Breton 1988–2008, 1:695.

3 *Ibid.*, 1:695–97.

4 *La Révolution surréaliste* 4, no. 11 (1928): 11; Fagiolo dell'Arco 1984, no. 23; Düsseldorf and Munich 2001, 204 (fig.), cat. no. 15; Riechen 2011, 18–19.

5 On Boucher, see Jaguer 1984, 112–14. As in *Hommage à Chirico*, surrealist nudes and torsos of young women in landscapes with ruins or by the sea are the subject of a whole series of photomontages by Boucher; see Bouqueret 2003, 31, 91–99 (nos. 37–44, 46, 48), 148 (nos. 57–59).

6 New York 1947, 75.

7 For interpretations of the print, see Hartlaub 1961, 22, 24; Basel 1978, 73–75; Washington and New Haven 1981, 18, 273–75 (no. 87); Schade 1983, 47; Sroka 2003, 90–91; Brinkmann 2007, 191–98.

8 Möller 1956, 54; O'Dell-Franke 1977, 46–47; Wood 2003, 24; for further bibliography pertaining to Solis's *Buchlin* see the entry for Cat. 16 in this catalogue.

9 O'Dell-Franke 1977, 46–48; Beaucamp-Markowsky 1994, 383; on knowledge north of the Alps about ancient ruins, see *ibid.*, 383n14–15.

10 On Störs's *Geometria et perspectiva*, see the bibliography in the entry for Cat. 17 in this catalogue. A volume with over 300 drawings of geometrical motifs by Lorenz Stör is in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich; see Pfaff 1996.

11 This drawing forms a pair with another in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg (Hz 5182, Kapsel 650). Wood casts doubt on its attribution to Stör (Wood 2003, 248–49); its unusual pear-shape led to the conjecture that they were intended as decorations for the surfaces of musical instruments, since marquetry would reinforce the wood, thus affecting the sound of the instruments; see Stuttgart 1979–80, 234–36 (F1a, b).

12 Höper 1999, 14.

13 On the *Vedute di Roma*, see Stuttgart 1999, 253–96.

14 See Hamburg 1994, 42–48; on the reception of the prints during the Romantic era, see Höper 1999, 23–25; on the *Carceri* series, see Cologne, Zürich and Vienna 1996, 72–76, and above all Stuttgart 1999, 129–46 (with detailed bibliographic references).

15 Giuseppe's father, Ferdinando Galli Bibiena (1657–1743), credited himself with the invention of *scena per angolo* in his treatise, *L'architettura civile* (Parma, 1711), though the technique had been employed before him; Giuseppe published examples of his set designs in *Architettura e prospettiva* (Augsburg, 1740) (Kruft 1994, 194–95). See also Miller 1978, 31–33, 36–42; Nuremberg 1986, no. 58, 410, no. 122a, b; Höper 1999, 10; Stuttgart 1999, 144.

16 Harten 2000, 33–35; see also Büchel 1994, 76.

17 On the interpretation of the scene of the *Königin der Nacht*, see Büchel 2010, 25–38.

18 Harten 2000, 127.

19 See Schade 1983, 46–47; Dillenberger 1999, 163.

20 Möller 1956, 37; Keil 1985, 147; Vienna 1987, 302–3.

21 Hamburg 1994, 15.

22 Quoted in Hamburg 1995, 6. On the exhibition itself, see also Döhl 1988, 40–42; Los Angeles 1993, 29–34; on details of Finsterlin's life provided by the artist, see Döhl 1988, 9–12.

23 Hamburg 1995, 8, 57.

24 *Ibid.*, 5, 8.

25 Reproduced in Stuttgart and Zürich 1989, 483. On Dalí's exhibition in the Julien Levy gallery, cf. *ibid.*, 484.

26 Dalí 1942, also in Dalí 2003, 294; quoted here from the English ed., Dalí 1961. On Dalí's *La persistence de la mémoire* in the Museum of Modern Art in New York, see Stuttgart and Zürich 1989, no. 108.

27 Kesting 1982, 87.

28 Dalí 1942, also in Dalí 2003, 290; quoted here from Dalí 1961, 30.

29 Maur 1989, 7.

30 Quoted in Langner 1988, 145.

31 Pierre 1982, 51–52; Basel 2008, 114–15.

32 Lautréamont [1869] 1938, 12. The 1938 edition features illustrations by prominent Surrealists, including one by Tanguy (p. 213). The first canto was published anonymously in 1868 in Paris and then again a year later under the pseudonym Comte de Lautréamont, in the anthology *Parfums de l'âme* (Bordeaux, 1869). See also Kesting 1982, 80.

33 Cohen 1984, 268.

34 Cohen 1984, 35, 268, 281.

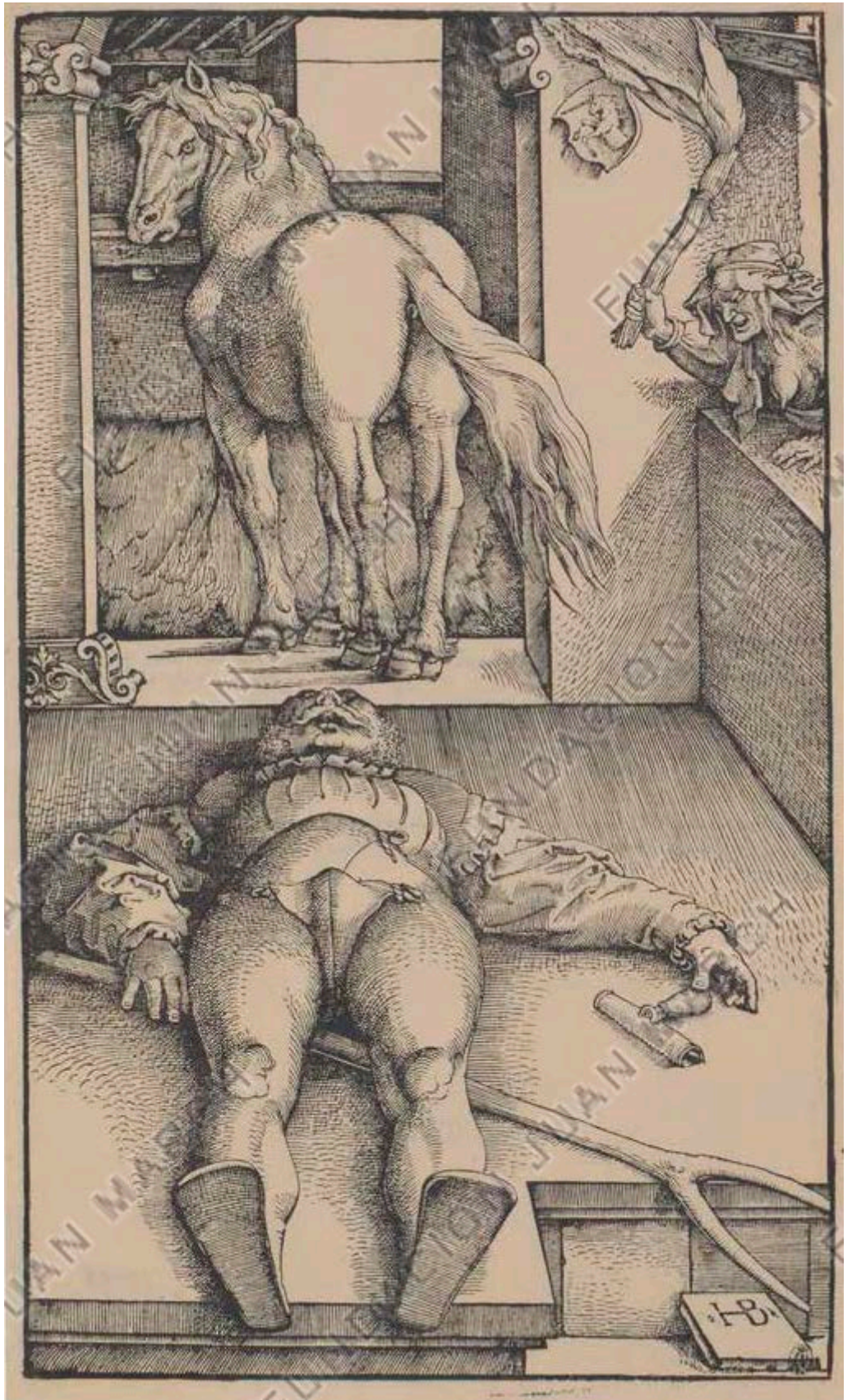
35 Breton 1924a; quoted from Breton 1988–2008, 1:340; italics in original.

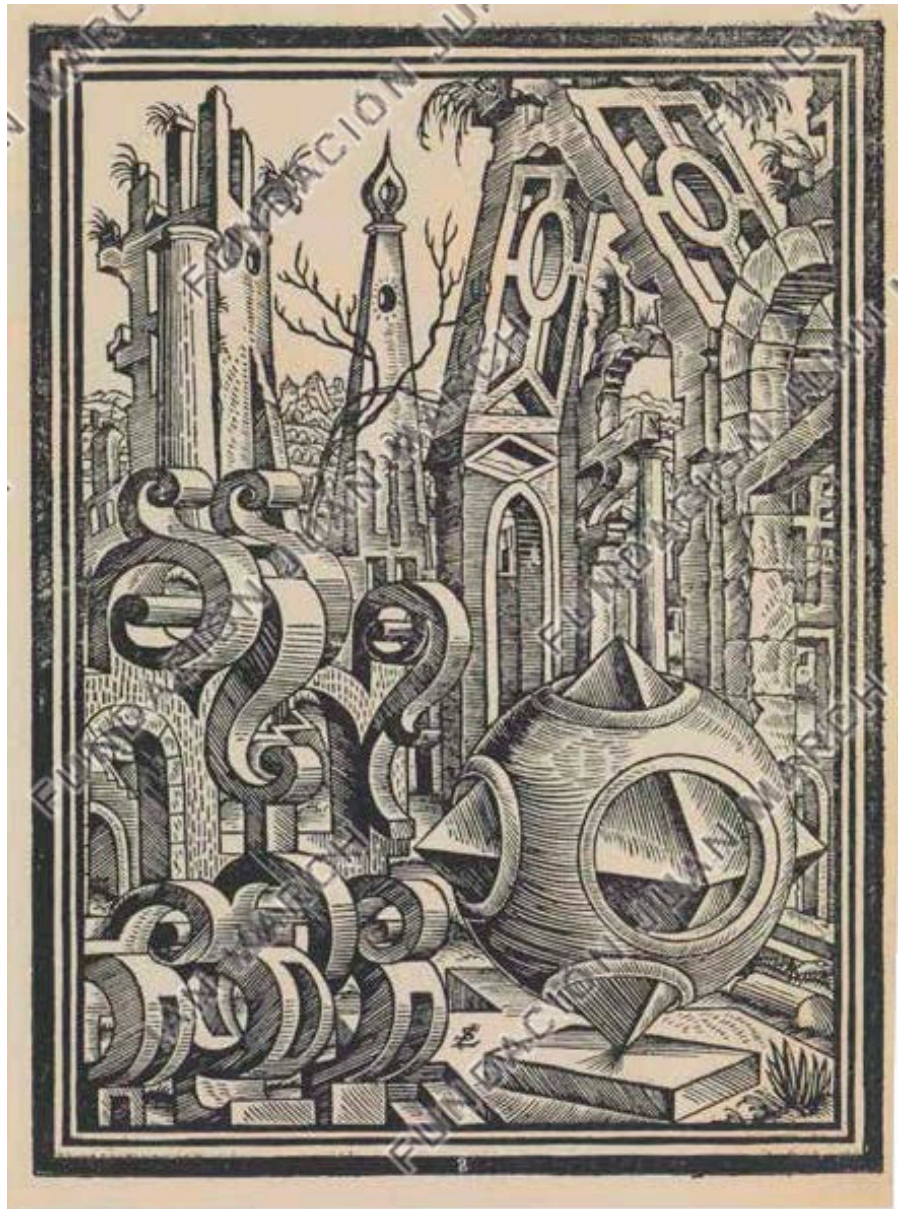
36 Schneede 2006, 54–57.



CAT. 14
Pierre Boucher
Hommage à Chirico—Nu à Télouet, Maroc [Homage to De Chirico—Nude in Télouet, Morocco], 1936
Photomontage. Gelatin silver print on paper
8 3/4 x 7 in. (22.3 x 17.8 cm)
Dietmar Siegert collection

CAT. 15
Hans Baldung Grien
The Bewitched Groom, 1544
Woodcut
13 1/2 x 7 7/8 in. (34.2 x 20 cm)
Germanisches
Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg





CAT. 16
Virgilius Solis the Elder
Landscape with ruins, obelisk,
and round building, 1555
From Virgilius Solis, *Buchlin von
den alten Gebeuen* [Little book of
ancient buildings] (Nuremberg,
1555)
Etching
5 7/8 x 3 7/8 in. (14.9 x 9.8 cm)
Germanisches
Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg

CAT. 17
Hans Rogel the Elder, after
Lorenz Stör
Ruins with fantastic scrollwork
and polyhedra, 1567
Plate 8 from Lorenz Stör,
Geometria et Perspectiva
[Geometry and perspective]
(Augsburg: M. Manger, 1567)
Woodcut
8 3/4 x 6 3/4 in. (22.3 x 17.1 cm)
Germanisches
Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg

CAT. 18
Lorenz Stör
Monument with trees, ca. 1567
Pen, black ink, and watercolor,
with white highlights
13 1/4 x 8 1/2 in. (33.7 x 21.5 cm)
Germanisches
Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg





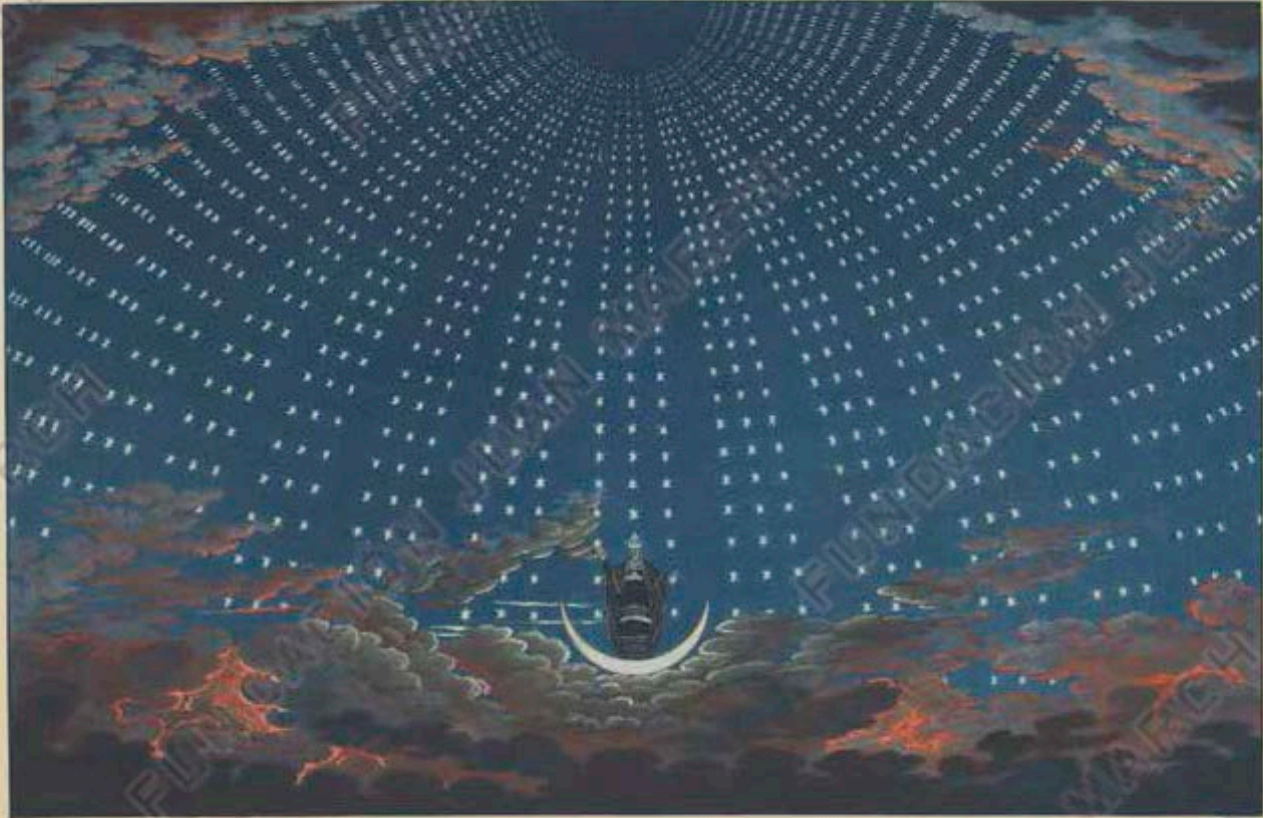
CAT. 19

Giovanni Battista Piranesi
*Rovine d'una galleria di
statue nella Villa Adriana
a Tivoli* [Ruins of a statue
gallery in Hadrian's Villa
in Tivoli], ca. 1766–70
Etching
17 7/8 x 23 1/8 in.
(45.5 x 58.8 cm)
Museo Nacional del
Prado, Madrid

CAT. 20

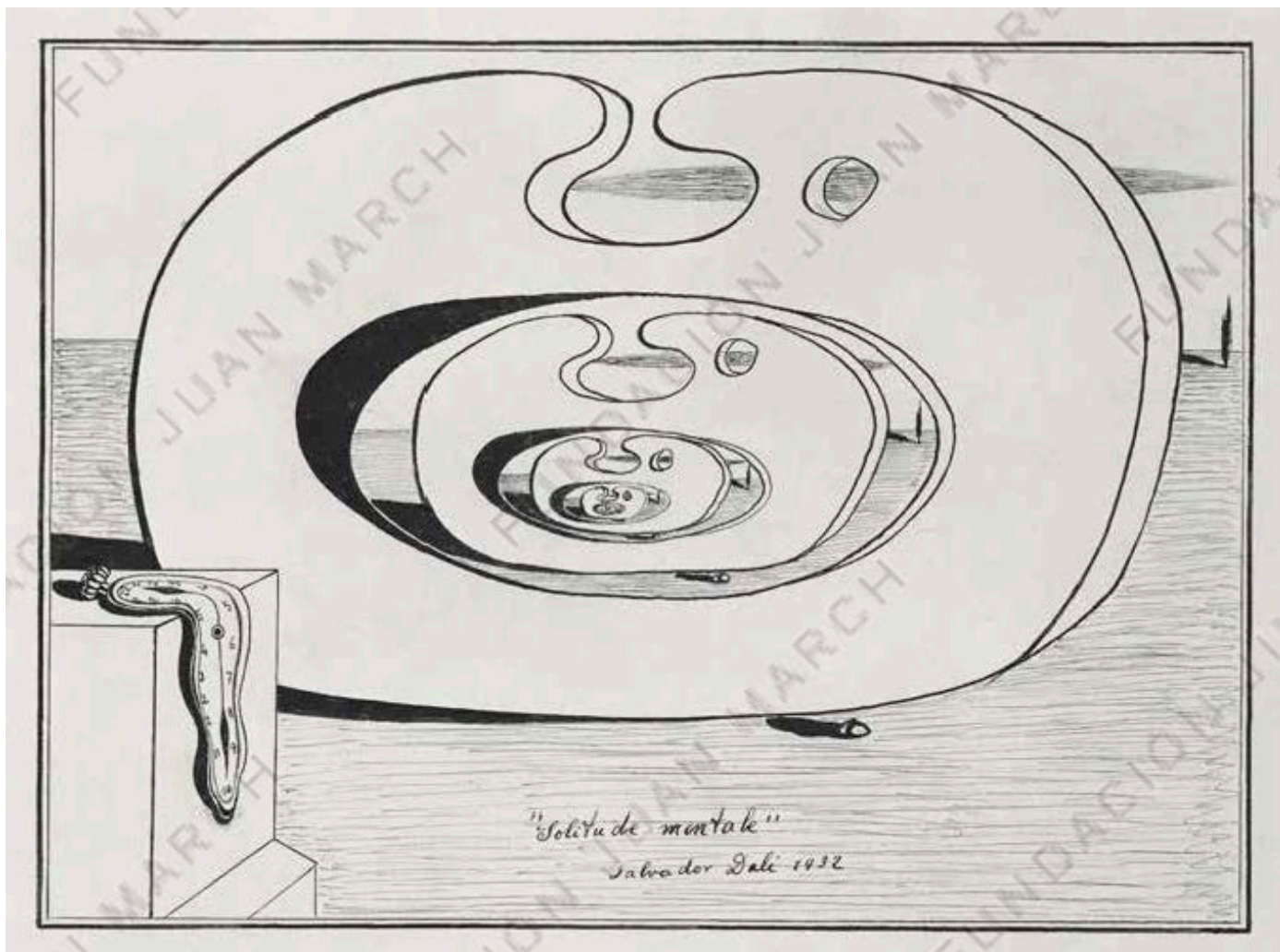
Giovanni Battista Piranesi
Il fuoco fumante [The
smoking fire], 1761
Plate 6 from *Carceri
d'Invenzione di G. Battista
Piranesi* [Imaginary
prisons by G. Battista
Piranesi] 2nd ed. (1761);
reworked, with two
additional prints
Etching
21 3/8 x 16 1/8 in. (54.3 x 41
cm)
Kunstsammlungen der
Veste Coburg



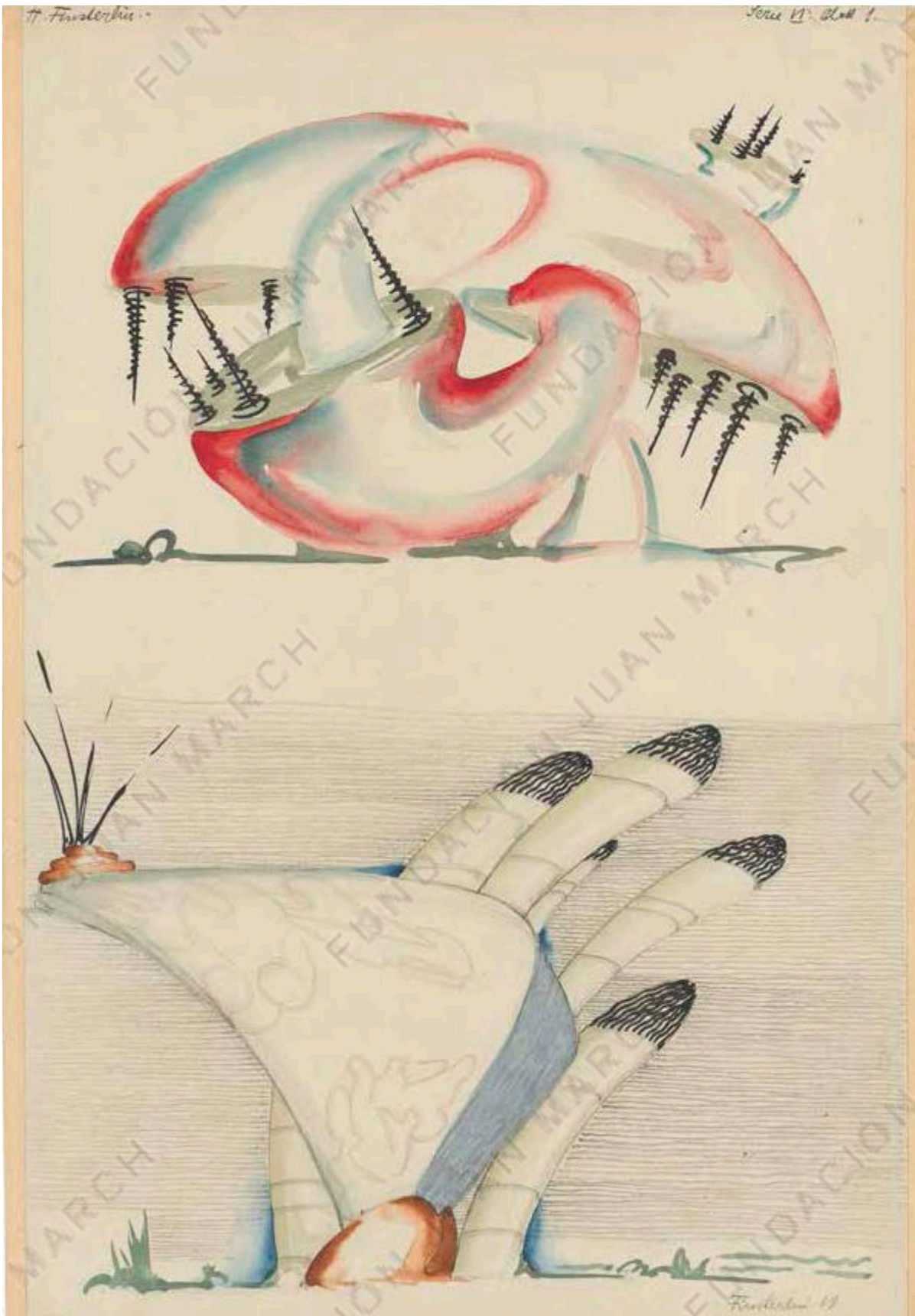


DEKORATION ZUR OPER-DIE ZAUBERFLÖTE ACT I SCENE 1

CAT. 21
Karl Friedrich Thiele, after Karl
Friedrich Schinkel
The Queen of the Night, 1823
Plate 2 from *Dekoration zur Oper: "Die
Zauberflöte"* [Set designs for the opera
The Magic Flute], no. 1 (Berlin: L. W.
Wittich, 1823)
Colored aquatint
12 3/8 x 17 7/8 in. (31.3 x 45.5 cm)
Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
Nuremberg



CAT. 22
Salvador Dalí
Solitude mentale [Mental solitude],
1932
Ink on paper
9 x 12 5/8 in. (23 x 32 cm)
Colecciones Fundación Mapfre,
Madrid





CAT. 23
Hermann Finsterlin
2 Architekturen [2 Architectures], series
VI, sheet 1, 1920/24
Pencil and watercolor
19 3/4 x 13 1/8 in. (50.1 x 33.3 cm)
Staatsgalerie Stuttgart

CAT. 24
Hermann Finsterlin
Straßenbild [Image of straits], 1922
Pencil and watercolor
10 7/8 x 14 5/8 in. (27.6 x 37.1 cm)
Staatsgalerie Stuttgart



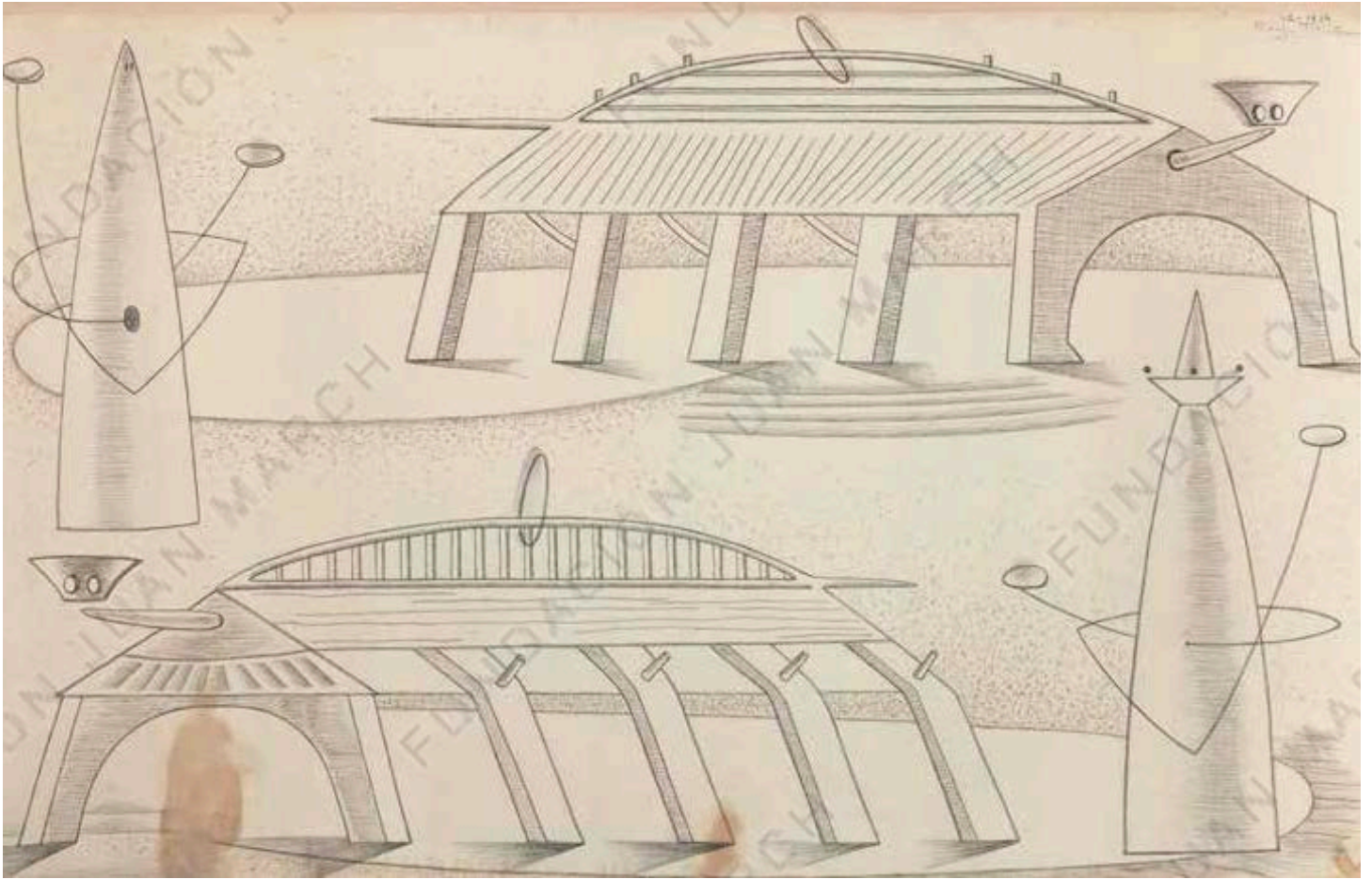
CAT. 25
Yves Tanguy
Paysage absolu [Absolute
landscape], 1931
Gouache
4 7/8 x 12 3/4 in. (12.4 x 32.5 cm)
Kunstmuseum Basel,
Kupferstichkabinett

CAT. 26
Yves Tanguy
Untitled, 1934
Ink on paper
12 5/8 x 9 1/2 in. (32 x 24 cm)
Galería Leandro Navarro.
Colección Navarro-Valero



CAT. 27
Herbert Bayer
Still Life, 1936
Fotoplastik ("photo-sculpture").
Gelatin silver print on paper
11 x 13 7/8 in. (28 x 35.2 cm)
Dietmar Siegert collection
1969 edition, Galerie Kllhm, Munich





CAT. 28
Maruja Mallo
Contrucciones rurales [Rural constructions],
1933
Colored pencil on paper
23 5/8 x 31 1/2 in. (60 x 80 cm)
Private collection



3

Changing Perspectives

YASMIN DOOSRY

The surprises of Geometry

Around 1934 or 1935, Man Ray (1890–1976) photographed historical mathematical models that Max Ernst had discovered in the collection at the Institut Henri Poincaré, devoted to mathematics and theoretical physics, in Paris.¹ Such objects, used in the second half of the nineteenth century as demonstration material for complicated mathematical equations, were made of plaster, cardboard, brass wire, thread, and sometimes wood. Man Ray pasted thirty-one prints of the photographs, varying in size and in some cases cropped, into a notebook serving as a maquette and added handwritten explanations. He made at least forty-two additional prints. Twelve of these were chosen by the art critic and historian Christian Zervos (1889–1970) to illustrate his essay “Mathématiques et art abstrait” (Mathematics and abstract art), which he published in 1936 in a special issue of the journal *Cahiers d'art* titled *L'Objet*. This special issue appeared on the occasion of the exhibition *Exposition surréaliste d'objets* at the Charles Ratton gallery in Paris, in which mathematical constructions from the Institut Henri Poincaré were also exhibited.²

One of Man Ray's photographs depicts two models of different sizes placed one on top of the other, consisting of brass frames and a construction of thread [Cat. 30]. The objects, which are twisted against each other, with some of the corners of the structures cropped, fill the entire photograph and are clearly illuminated from above right. Two further photographs show the same objects positioned, rotated, illuminat-

Nicolás de Lekuona, Untitled, 1936.
Lekuona siblings collection, San
Sebastián [detail of Cat. 38]

ed, and cropped differently.³ All three examples illustrate the mathematical problem of spatial curves and thus point to four-dimensional geometry: multidimensional hyperspaces that are inaccessible to our direct experience. The geometric figures of the models—circles, parabolas, cones—and their points of intersection are admittedly still recognizable in Man Ray’s photographs, but they are obscured through the unconventional use of perspective and the intense effects of light and shadow. The result is unreal spatial constructions reminiscent of Piranesi. As Gabriele Werner points out, “The two-dimensional photographic paper presents three-dimensional objects, whose arrangement allows a higher dimension of space to be visualized.”⁴ The artistic comprehension of phenomena that are not inherently visible is also evident in the photograph of a variant of basic forms with cone-shaped points [Cat. 29]. In this example of a mathematical object in which three oval holes arise through the joining of two cones in one point, the structure of material and immaterial forms becomes comprehensible.⁵

With these optically perplexing photographs, Man Ray joined a tradition that viewed geometry not simply as an object of scientific study but also as an object of artistic fantasy. In the second half of the sixteenth century, the two Nuremberg goldsmiths Hans Lencker (1523–1585) and Wenzel Jamnitzer the Elder (1508–1585) created books of geometric examples that focused principally on the representation of polyhedra in perspective. These publications furnished much more than models for the work of artisans. Hans Lencker’s didactic manual, engraved by Matthias Zündt (1498–1572), *Perspectiva Literaria* (Perspective in letters, 1567), consists of two parts. Thirteen of its twenty-one prints present three-dimensional Roman square capitals, playfully arranged. On the title page, for instance [Cat. 31], the letters appear standing or tipped on their sides, supported by cubes and other solids, scattered this way and that on two stage-like platforms. To be read as a word and simultaneously seen as an image, the letters provide the book’s title and refer to the first three letters of the alphabet. The other eight pages of the publication display before the viewer absurd views of geometric figures represented in perspective—for example, cleverly intertwined curved forms on a plinth like a sculpture [Cat. 32], or a giant snail shell with a ruled surface, adorned with colored squares and pyramids, and crowned with a star, the entire structure apparently supported on the point of a pyramid alone [Cat. 33].⁶

Wenzel Jamnitzer’s book of models titled *Perspectiva Corporum Regularium* (Perspective of regular solids), published in



Fig. 45 Hans Rogel the Elder, after Lorenz Stör, ruins with fantastic scrollwork and polyhedra, plate 10 from Lorenz Stör, *Geometria et Perspectiva* (Augsburg, 1567). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg

1568 with prints executed by Jost Amman (1539–1591), far exceeded the scope of *Perspectiva Literaria*. With the help of a drawing apparatus, the renowned goldsmith, who furnished all the Holy Roman emperors of his time with costly works of art, drew the basic form and twenty-three variants of each regular polyhedron as well as scenes with an abundance of geometric figures. For the cone alone he supplied eight different perspective views. For example, he created a print with two cones leaning towards each other, one assembled from discs with ornate structures on the surface, the other cut in a spiral [Cat. 34]. The standards set by Jamnitzer’s systematically ordered and highly artificial models are evident in a series of untitled engravings of geometric models by Hans Jakob Ebelmann (1570–after 1609). Five of its twenty-four prints, which appeared on the market in Cologne in 1609, are copied directly from Jamnitzer’s *Perspectiva*, including the final print with its theatrically arranged objects [Cat. 35]. In it, a discontinuous polygonal torus, reminiscent of the ring of a *mazzocchio* or chaperon, leans on a tall four-armed cross based on rectangular and octangular prisms and flanked by two three-dimensional stars hanging on simpler crosses.

Jamnitzer’s *Perspectiva* became famous, however, not only for its scientific and artistic pretensions but precisely also because of its philosophical claims, which appear in the descriptive text on the title page: “That is, a diligent exposition of the five regular solids described by Plato in *Timaeus* and Euclid in his *Elements*.” On the basis of Plato’s *Timaeus* (380 BC), a dialogue concerning questions of natural history, cosmology, and mathematics, the Nuremberg goldsmith assigns one of the four traditional elements, plus the cosmos itself, to each of the five regular solids: the tetrahedron represents fire, the octahedron air, the hexahedron earth, and the icosahedron water, with the dodecahedron corresponding to the heavens.⁷ Polyhedra, understood as a subset of three-dimensional space, opened up new visual experiences in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They were models that provided insights into the psychological perception of space.⁸ In this light, Lorenz Stör’s use of fantastical landscape visions as settings for his multiple variations of polyhedra seems only logical [Fig. 45].

Twentieth-century artists recognized the quality of three-dimensional figures that allowed them to function as compressed “spatial symbols,” and in these artists’ imagery, such figures took on new meanings. In November 1921, Paul and Gala Éluard (1894–1982) visited Max Ernst in Cologne. Out of a series of collages that Ernst had been working on

since the summer of 1921, Éluard chose ten examples and included them in *Répétitions*, a volume of his poetry published in Paris in 1922. In the center of the collage *Les Moutons* (*The Sheep*) [Cat. 36]—which like the rest of the illustrations had no connection with the content of the poems—three-dimensional solids in perspective are arranged theatrically, including spheres, pyramids, cones, cubes, and hollow and solid cylinders.⁹ Here, objects of knowledge and reason form a locus of imaginary, irrational events: a flayed, upraised arm intrudes on the right edge of the image towards an ancient Assyrian figure; from the left a clothed arm introduces a segment of electric cable bent like a hangman’s noose and reinterpreted as a snake. Next to the male figure, an eye lies on the ground, turning into a biomorphic form. Contradicting the desert landscape, a reindeer sleigh drives away along the line of the horizon. The dénouement of this unreal scenario remains open, though of course it lies outside the picture—as both the arms signal. The viewer must, according to Werner Spies, imaginatively extrapolate from the main space what lies adjacent.¹⁰

In *Metamorphosis*, from Herbert Bayer’s series of *Fotoplastiken* (“photo-sculptures”) from 1936, a group of three-dimensional solids awaken out of their immobility [Cat. 37].¹¹ A bright, unreal light sets the marble spheres, cubes, cones, and cylinders in motion. Enlarged to enormous dimensions, they roll, fall, and totter as they strive to emerge from an undefined space onto a broad landscape with the sea and a cloudy sky. The geometric structures in the untitled gouache from the same year by Nicolás de Lekuona (1913–1937) develop the same dynamic as they penetrate an unlimited space [Cat. 38]. This painting by the Spanish artist, who was fond of employing diagonals as configurative elements, wavers between Constructivist and Surrealist approaches.¹²

The books created by Lencker, Jamnitzer, and also Stör, conceived as models of optical effects, exemplify how practical guides on perspective became showpieces in the second half of the sixteenth century. Beyond their utility, they served as evidence of the powers of artistic fantasy and thus as objects of admiration and conversation. Like the masterfully crafted Platonic solids found in princely cabinets of curiosities, drawings and prints of polyhedra in their many variations were, in effect, “mathematical *capricci*.”¹³ The twentieth century deconstructed this artistically virtuosic form of representing geometric bodies, giving them new functions, of a different order. In his essay “Mathématiques et art abstrait,” Christian Zervos refers to a “dreamed mathematics”

that in his view become a reality in Man Ray's experimental photographs, which join two worlds: abstraction and feeling, harmony and arbitrariness, order and chaos.¹⁴

Changing images

In 1930, Salvador Dalí developed his "paranoiac-critical method." As the painter later remarked, "in a general way, it is the most rigorous systematization of the most delirious phenomena and materials, thus rendering my most obsessively dangerous ideas tangibly creative."¹⁵ In his effort to capture paranoia by replicating it, by imitating its (il)logic, Dalí frequently introduced double images or visual puzzles as a configurative device. In his childhood visits to the Cap de Creus on the Costa Brava, imaginary transformations in the bizarre outlines of the peninsula's cliffs had already stimulated his fantasy.

A wonderful example of this optical confusion is his preliminary sketch from 1936 for *España (Spain, 1938)*, a painting now in the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen in Rotterdam [Cat. 39]. Extreme differences in size and distorted perspective operate in equal measure in this work and its study. On a first level, one initially recognizes the lower torso and bust of a standing female figure, hinted at with delicate strokes. She supports herself on a block—which in the painting is executed as a chest of drawers with the top drawer partially opened, out of which a bloody cloth hangs. In the area where her upper torso would be, battle scenes are raging, in which the female figure reappears in minute form. Dalí has drawn the armed riders after Leonardo da Vinci's preparatory sketches for his lost painting, *Battle of Anghiari*. On a second level, one discovers that the combatants themselves outline the female figure's breasts, arm, part of the shoulders, head, and face. The surprises do not end here, however, for in the tradition of Joos de Momper the Younger (1554–1635), which many artists continued [Fig. 46], a fantastical, anthropomorphic, desert-like landscape reveals itself in the drawing. On its horizon there "really" appears a populated mountain range. The painting and its study are an ambivalent representation of Spain, which, on the one hand, is immersed in the Civil War (July 1936–April 1939) and on the other, wakened out of a long sleep precisely because of that war. Symbolically, this happens through the provocation of the warriors, who plough through the figure of tormented Spain, challenging her.¹⁶

In his 1569 treatise *La pratica della prospettiva* (The practice of perspective), the scholar and politician Daniele Barbaro (1513–1570) characterizes optical anamorphosis aptly as

"prospettiva segreta" (secret perspective).¹⁷ This form of perspective construction, which in its simplest manifestation is a flat projection stretched out into a long isosceles trapezoid (i.e., with an implied non-orthogonal grid), reveals the content of the image only when viewed from a vantage point whose sight lines run obliquely to the picture surface. Viewed frontally, it presents only distorted forms. *The Ambassadors*, painted in 1533 by Hans Holbein the Younger (1487/98–1543) and now in the National Gallery in London, is probably the most famous example. Across the tiled floor of the splendid life-size double portrait of Jean de Dinteville and Georges de Selve hovers a distorted splotch, which morphs into the image of a skull when viewed from the right side of the painting at an angle sharply oblique to the picture surface and twenty-seven degrees from the horizontal.

Around 1535, only a few years after Holbein's painting, a much more modest anamorphosis in the form of a woodcut was produced for the broader public [Cat. 40]. It is the earliest example of a visual puzzle in the work of Erhard Schön (1491–1542), who was one of the most productive artists of the imperial city of Nuremberg in the first half of the sixteenth century, having produced a sizeable number of book illustrations and pamphlets.¹⁸ The woodcut known as *The Pair of Lovers*, printed from two woodblocks, contains two narratives. The left half of the print, which is missing in the Nuremberg copy presented here, represents a scene in a bedchamber, by means of canonical central perspective (i.e., a naturalistic image viewed frontally). On a bed with a canopy, an old man is disporting with a young woman, who behind his back hands a young man coins. A jester, hidden behind a curtain, points at the protagonists. On the right half is an anamorphic visual puzzle. Viewed frontally, it represents a man hunting and musicians on an idyllic boating excursion, but viewed obliquely, the anamorphosis reveals a scene of frivolity, the now naked lovers having redistributed their roles: The woman sits on the young man's lap, he groping her breast and she reaching for his genitals as, at the same time, she pushes the old man away with her other hand. Schön glosses her gesture with the lapidary phrase, "AVS DV ALTER TOR" (Out, you, old fool!).¹⁹

More innocent than Schön's pair of lovers is an etching by the art dealer and engraver Christoph Weigel the Elder (1654–1725), who ran a successful print shop. His anamorphosis from around 1670–73 produces the image of a knight as soon as it is laid flat on the table and viewed from the bottom edge [Cat. 41]. Weigel presumably conceived the visual puzzle after seeing works by his uncle, Erhard Weigel



Fig. 46 G. Höfer, *Landschaft und Kopf* [Landscape and head], ca. 1850. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg [Cat. 56]

(1625–1699), who taught mathematics at the University of Jena and supplied his nephew with illustrations for his publications.²⁰ No doubt the interest in anamorphoses exhibited by Christian Heinrich Weng (1710–1771) also grew out of his work in metrology and optics. A series of six works on Greek mythological subjects, presenting another variety of complicated perspective, is attributed to this full-time administrative lawyer from Augsburg.²¹ Among them is the mirror anamorphosis based on a cylindrical reflection, *Diana and Cupid Seek out the Sleeping Endymion* [Cat. 42], whose literary model was Christoph Martin Wieland’s *Comische Erzählungen* (*Comic Tales*, 1765).²² The scientific basis for these prints comes from the field of catoptrics, which concerns mirrors and reflections. The distortions produced in mirror anamorphoses can be corrected by means of a cylinder, as in Weng’s works, but there are also projections that require the use of conical or pyramidal mirrors. The mirrors must be placed in a particular spot on the image, which has been projected as a circular arc and therefore stretches out along the curve of that arc.

The work of the Austro-Hungarian photographer André Steiner (1901–1978)—who after sojourns in Budapest and Vienna moved finally to Paris, though without joining the Surrealists—presents a multiplicity of subjects such as the nude, athletics, and nature, and is also marked by the artist’s use of micro- and macrophotography. In January 1933, with the help of concave and convex mirrors, he realized a series of photographs with distorted faces and hands. He encountered similar effects in fairs, but also in entertaining publications like *Uhu*, *Das Magazin*, or *Das Leben*. Since the nineteenth century, these magazines had published optically absurd photographs, like those of the pioneer Louis Ducos du Hauron (1837–1920).²³ In Steiner’s experimental work from 1933, *Anamorphose III* (*Anamorphosis III*), he constructed the image of an optical illusion with reflections in a distorting mirror [Cat. 43]. A hand lies palm up on a table, a loosely curved rubber belt draped over and around it. In the reflection, the image is rearranged, pointing simultaneously left and right; moreover, it is enlarged, distorted, and multiplied. Central perspective, the basis of conventional photography, is cancelled out, as is what the eye conventionally perceives in its effort to decode the image as supposedly the real world. That world is replaced here by a bewildering labyrinth, which the belt reminiscent of Ariadne’s thread additionally evokes.²⁴

Double and multiple images and visual puzzles are not simply clever tricks that arbitrarily change the laws of perspective. Rather, they play out these laws to their logical con-

sequences, with the aim of creating figurations ambiguous in form and polysemic in content.²⁵ Behind every distorted image, another image defying normal perception is hidden. That second image is only revealed if the viewer abandons a conventional vantage point for a new one in the case of anamorphoses or, in the case of Steiner's deformed photograph, if the viewer's gaze can readjust itself to the distortion. As a result, the change of perspective offers the possibility of critical self-examination and an alteration of one's habitual judgement.²⁶ Contemplated at an oblique angle, Erhard Schön's woodcut affords the viewer knowledge of the realities of sexual desire and the favorite subject of the "unequal pair" in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In Weigel's and Weng's works, anamorphoses became mere entertainment, in which the viewer can learn the charm of changing positions, while contemplating fashionable subjects. Dalí's and Steiner's double images, on the other hand, encourage in various ways the investigation of inner labyrinths, expanding one's awareness of psychological reality.

In *Nadja*, the woman referred to as *la dame au gant* ("lady of the glove") leads Breton before a "tableau changeant," an old engraving divided into narrow vertical bands requiring the viewer to look at it from three different directions. From the front it represents a tiger, from the left a vase, and from the right an angel. For the first time he was experiencing an image that changed depending on the point of view one adopted and that did not simultaneously reveal all of its elements. This optical experience was a sign for him, a sign urging him to flee the constraints of conventional life.²⁷

Falling bodies

From a sky threatening storms fall headless female figures. They hold their arms protectively at the height of their missing heads [Cat. 44]. For the twisted and taut bodies of this photomontage from 1936–37 titled *La Chute des corps* (*Falling Bodies*), the French photographer Pierre Boucher seems to have taken as his model the *The Four Disgracers* by Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617). The Dutch painter and engraver produced the series of four prints in 1588 after designs by his friend Cornelis van Haarlem (1562–1638). Both of these prestigious artists are among the most important representatives of Dutch Mannerism. Their series represents the Greek heroes, Phaethon, Tantalus, Icarus, and Ixion, who rebelled against the divine order and were punished for their hubris.

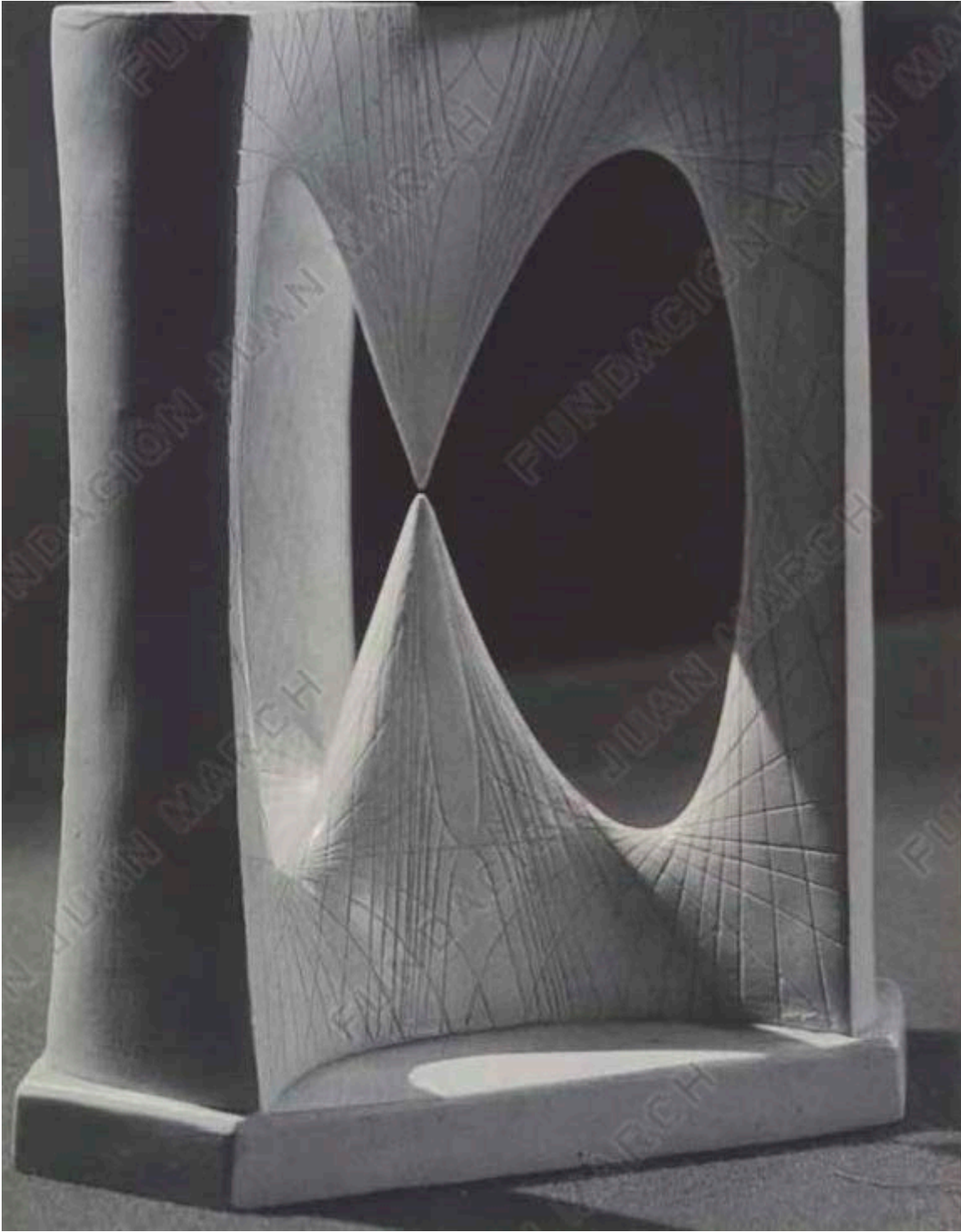
In the center of the second engraving is Icarus, who had been held prisoner along with his father, Daedalus, by King

Minos in the Minotaur's labyrinth in Crete [Cat. 45]. For their escape, Daedalus fashions wings out of feathers stuck with wax to a framework, warning his son to fly neither too low nor too high. Overcome by presumption, Icarus ignores his father and flies higher and higher towards the sun, which melts the wax and destroys his wings, plunging him into the sea. The fourth print tells the tale of Ixion [Cat. 46]. Chosen by Zeus as a table companion, Ixion attempts to seduce Hera, Zeus' consort. As punishment, the father of the gods casts him to the underworld where he is forever bound to a perpetually turning wheel. Goltzius conveys the dramatic nature of both heroes' falls, their mouths agape in the cry of death as they plummet into the sea or the fiery abyss of Hades, by means of extreme foreshortening and by shifting perspectives, that is to say, by presenting multiple perspectives of what is substantially (with slight variations) the same figure viewed from four vantage points, a different one in each engraving.²⁸ Their pose is complicated, and the engraver emphasizes their implausible muscularity through sharp contrasts in light and shadow. The roundels into which the figures have been fitted further accentuate the dynamism of their extravagant writhing. It has often been pointed out that *The Four Disgracers*, with its artificial movements very unlike any natural model, was conceived as a demonstration of artistic genius. The series has likewise been interpreted as an example of the well-known rivalry pitting two-dimensional works of art against sculpture, which lays traditional claim to the representation of the human body from multiple perspectives.²⁹

At the suggestion of the Parisian art dealer Ambroise Vollard (1868–1939), Pablo Picasso created a series of one hundred etchings between 1933 and 1936. The *Vollard Suite* consists of several groups divided by subject: the sculptor's atelier, the minotaur, the battle of love (based on Honoré de Balzac's story *Le Chef-d'oeuvre inconnu* from 1831), prints devoted to Rembrandt, and, finally, three portraits of Ambroise Vollard. The series deals with the subject of rape several times (prints 9, 47–50, 69). Some of the scenes are sketched sparsely in clear outlines; in others, the figures are closely interwoven through shared areas of light and shadow, as in print 49, *Le Viol V* (*The Rape V*) [Cat. 47], which is also linked to the subject of the atelier, along with three others. Picasso executed it on April 23, 1933, in the Château de Boisgeloup near Gisors (Eure), where he had established a large sculpture studio in the summer of 1930. There he sculpted busts, heads, and female figures based on his new model and secret lover Marie-

Thérèse Walter (1909–1977). In the etching the man buries his victim under his massive, muscular body. While his head is only sketchily suggested, the woman's head is represented with an eye wide with shock, her mouth open in a scream. The two bodies, wedged together, are twisted and distorted. The radical positioning and deformations of figures here become an existential expression of human drives and psychological realities. Just like the exaggerated movements of Goltzius's two heroes Icarus and Ixion, this scene etched by Picasso conveys more than the artist's manifest skill. These works also offer a parable of the danger of overwhelming forces and of human impotence in confronting them. The deformation of the human form in these three cases prefigures its imminent destruction.³⁰

- 1 On the dating of Man Ray's photographs of mathematical objects, see Werner 2002, 89–93, an essential text.
- 2 Werner 2002, 83–84; on the exhibition at the Charles Ratton gallery, see Werner 2002, 144–56.
- 3 Werner 2002, 94 (fig. 12a), 95 (fig. 12b).
- 4 *Ibid.*, 97.
- 5 *Ibid.*, 136–37.
- 6 On the *Perspectiva literaria*, see Richter 1995, 74–76. In 1572, Anne of Denmark, Electress of Saxony (1532–1585), appointed Hans Lencker as tutor to her son, later Christian I, Elector of Saxony (1560–1591), who under Lencker's guidance filled a sketchbook with fantastical geometric solids. See Richter 1995, 78; Dresden 2004, 135.
- 7 On *Perspectiva Corporum Regularium*, see Richter 1995, 80–82; Kemp 1990, 63; Cambridge and Evanston 2011, no. 62.
- 8 See Richter 1995, 11; Pfaff 1996, 56.
- 9 Ernst composed *Les Moutons* from two prints from the 1914 catalogue of the Kölner-Lehrmittel-Anstalt Hugo Inderau (a company specializing in various didactic materials). On the catalogue as source material for Max Ernst's collages, see Teuber 1980, 206–9; Teuber 1989, 45. The colored collage *Les Moutons* from 1921, which is the basis for the illustration in Éluard's *Répétitions*, is housed at the Musée national d'art moderne, Centre Pompidou (AM 1973-10).
- 10 Spies 1988, 106.
- 11 See Cohen 1984, 281.
- 12 On Lekuona, see Vitoria and Madrid 2009, 15–18.
- 13 Holländer 1994a, 40.
- 14 Werner 2002, 23. Looking back, Man Ray explained that he had conceived the photos of the mathematical objects as a model for the series of paintings *Shakespearean Equations*, from 1948. Werner points out that he asserted this at a time when he sought to establish himself as a painter. She considers it possible that in 1948 he added the handwritten notes on Shakespeare's plays to the mathematical commentaries in the maquette from the 1930s (Werner 2002, 87–88, 93).
- 15 Dalí 1964, also in Dalí 2003, 925–1275; quoted here from the English ed., Dalí 1998b, 151.
- 16 Paris 2009a, no. 205; see also Charleroi 1985, 225 (no. 19); on the painting, see Cologne 2006, no. 50; Schmied 1991, 53–54.
- 17 Füsslin and Hentze 1999, 270.
- 18 On the attribution of the woodcut to Schön and its dating, see Hollstein 1954–, vol. 47: no. 112.
- 19 On the production of an anamorphic woodcut, see London 1995, no. 85.
- 20 Nuremberg 1998, no. 18.
- 21 *Ibid.*, no. 24.
- 22 The chaste goddess of the hunt and the moon learns from a faun that the nymphs are caressing the handsome young shepherd Endymion, decking him with flowers and watching his sheep. The incensed goddess rebukes both her companions and Cupid, who had enchanted the nymphs with his arrows. When Cupid mocks her, she swears she will never be conquered by him. But when she discovers the sleeping Endymion, all is up with her, too; see Wieland 1964–68, 4:100–18 (verses 80–129).
- 23 See Poitiers 2000, 10–11. Presumably Steiner was not acquainted with the distorted nude photographs by the Hungarian André Kertész (1894–1985); see *ibid.*, 10; examples of Kertész's photos of deformed bodies in Jaguer 1984, 70–73.
- 24 See Poitiers 2000, 12.
- 25 Frey 2008, 159.
- 26 *Ibid.*, 162.
- 27 Breton 1928a; quoted from Breton 1988–2008, 1:681.
- 28 The representation of Ixion as falling (which was not a traditional component of his legend) is apparently Goltzius's innovation. See Hamburg 2002, 90.
- 29 See Cologne, Zurich, and Vienna 1996, 206–7.
- 30 *Ibid.*, 205.



CAT. 29

Man Ray

Objet mathématique

[Mathematical object], ca.

1934-35

Gelatin silver print on
paper

11 ³/₈ x 9 in. (29.6 x 23.1 cm)

Contemporary print

IVAM, Institut Valencià
d'Art Modern, Generalitat
Valenciana

CAT. 30

Man Ray

Objet mathématique

[Mathematical object], ca.

1934-36

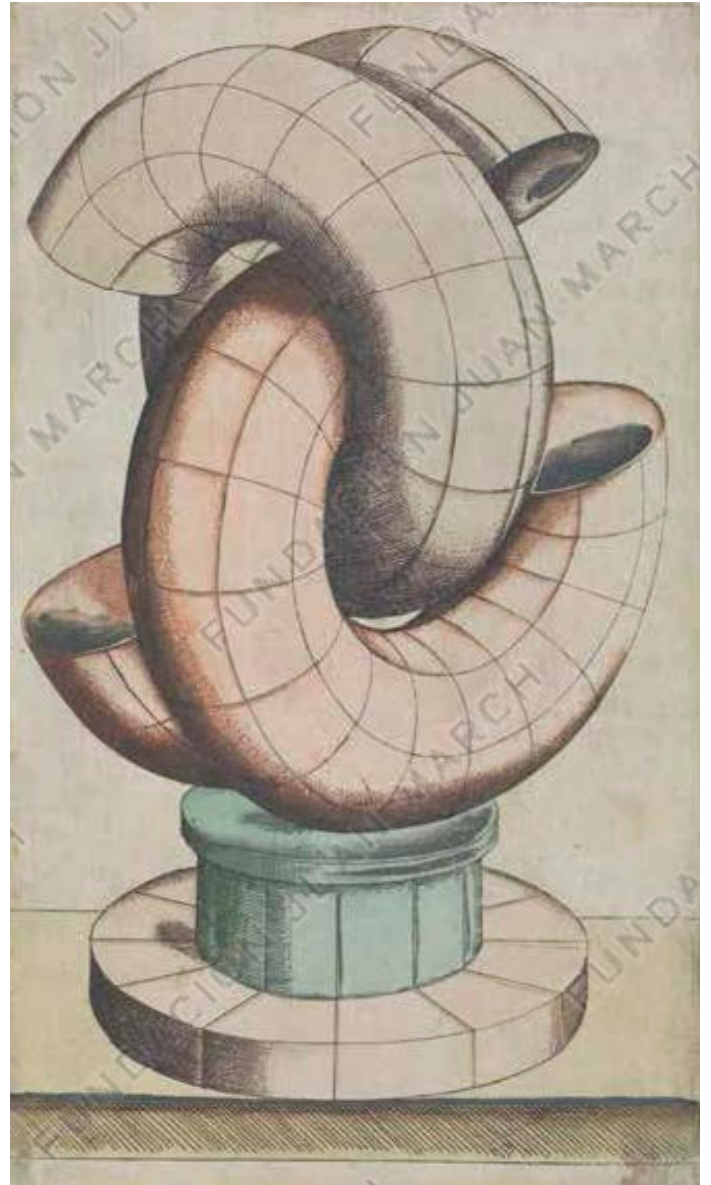
Gelatin silver print on paper

11 ⁵/₈ x 9 ¹/₈ in. (29 x 28.8 cm)

Contemporary print

IVAM, Institut Valencià
d'Art Modern, Generalitat
Valenciana





CAT. 31

Matthias Zündt, after Hans Lencker; colored by Georg Mack III
Roman capitals in perspective, 1567
Title page, Hans Lencker,
Perspectiva Literaria [Perspective in letters] (Nuremberg, 1567)
Colored engraving with gold highlights
6 7/8 x 4 7/8 in. (17.5 x 12.4 cm)
Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
Nuremberg

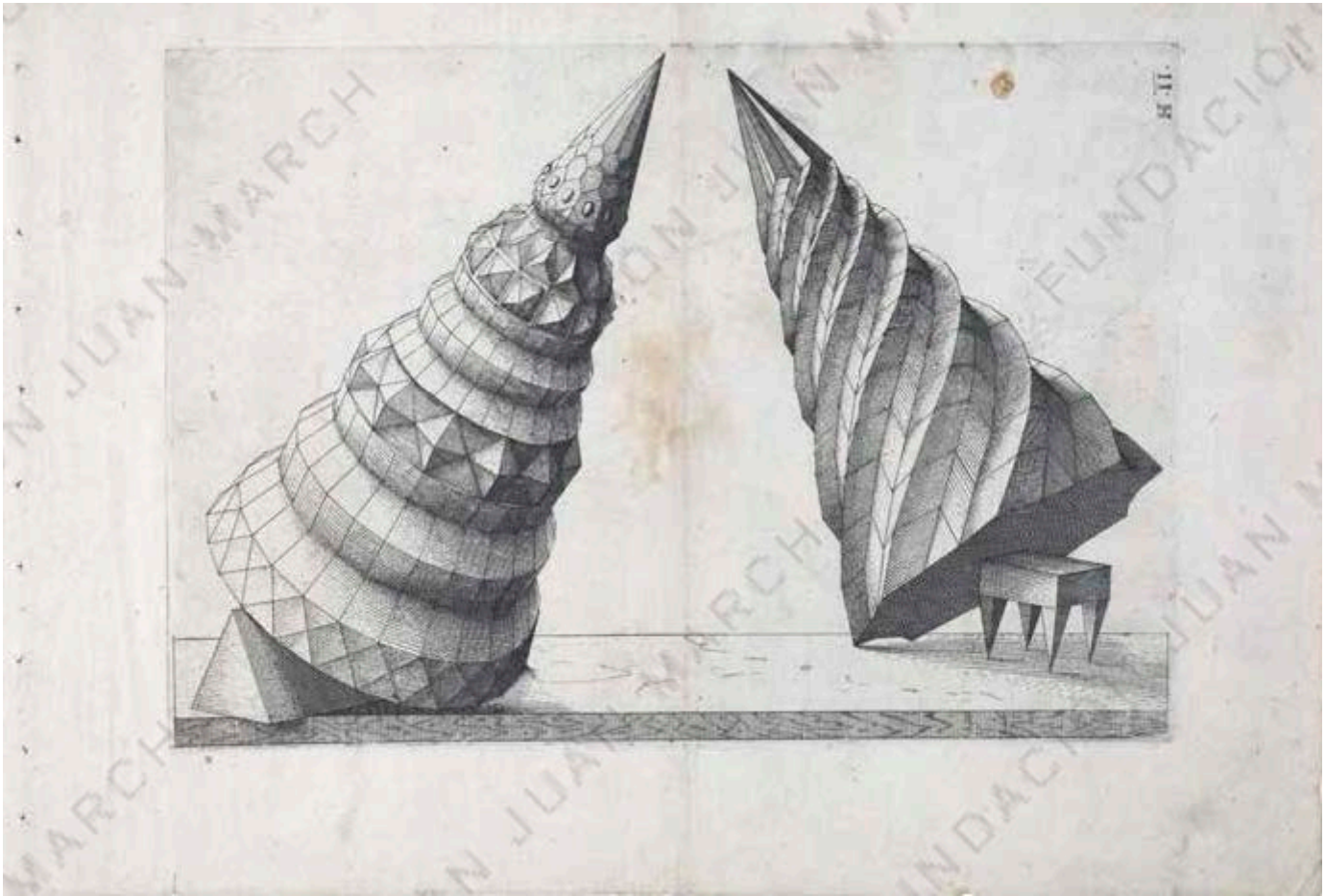
CAT. 32

Matthias Zündt, after Hans Lencker; colored by Georg Mack III
Two intertwined loops, 1567
Plate 20 from Hans Lencker,
Perspectiva Literaria [Perspective in letters] (Nuremberg 1567)
Colored engraving
9 x 5 1/8 in. (22.9 x 13.1 cm)
Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
Nuremberg

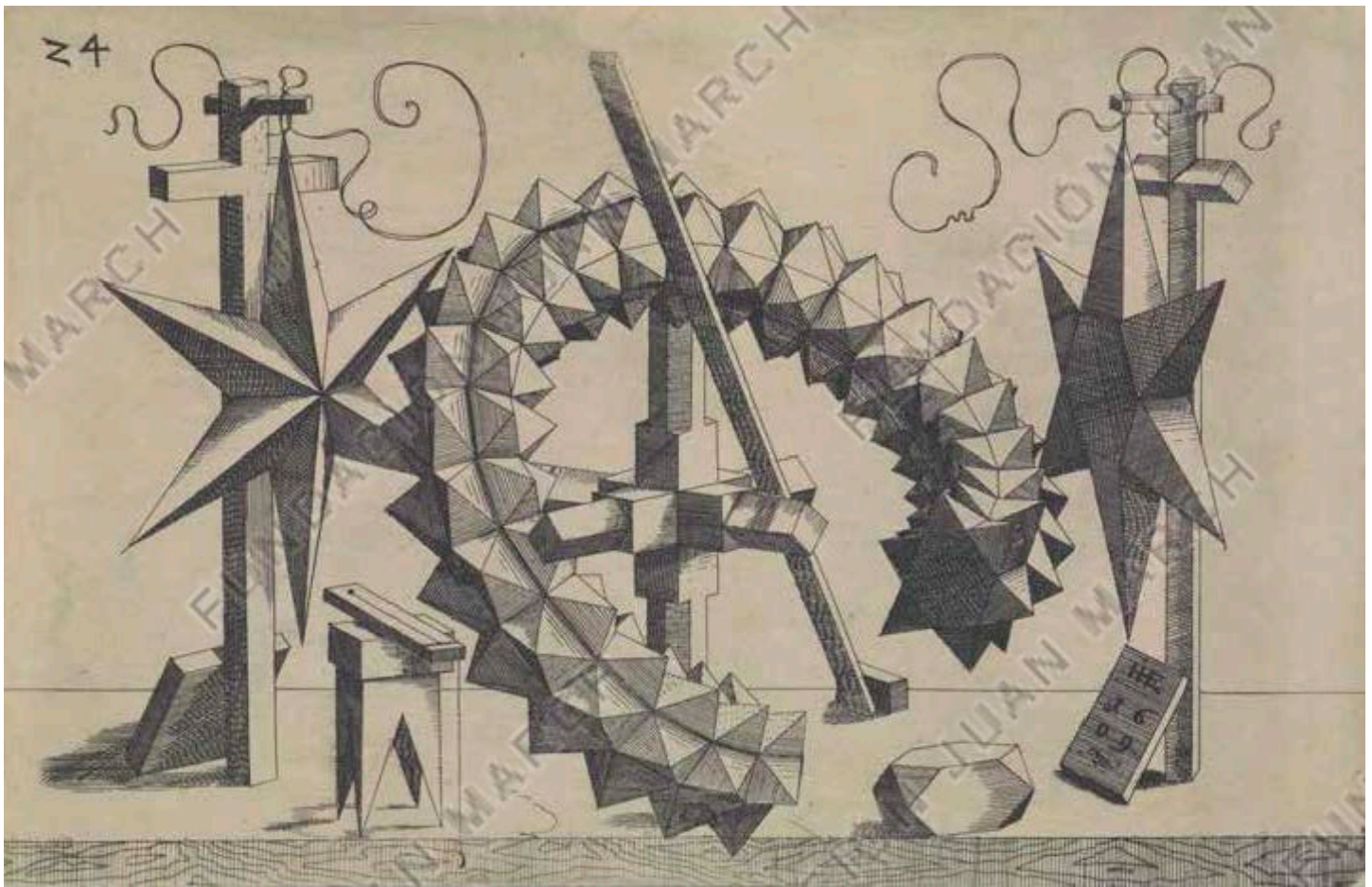
CAT. 33

Matthias Zündt, after Hans Lencker; colored by Georg Mack III
Faceted snail shell, 1567
Plate 21 from Hans Lencker,
Perspectiva Literaria [Perspective in letters] (Nuremberg 1567)
Colored engraving with gold highlights
9 3/8 x 6 1/2 in. (23.7 x 16.4 cm)
Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
Nuremberg

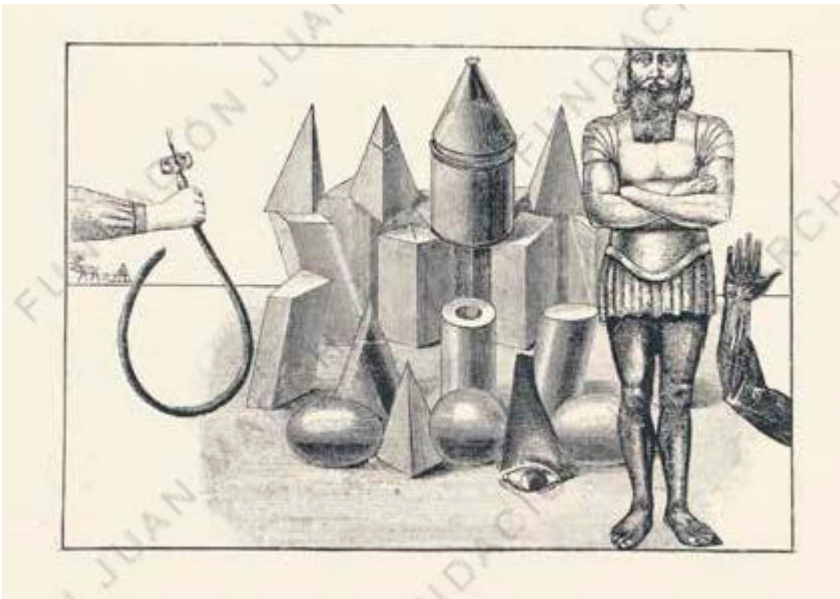




CAT. 34
Jost Amman, after Wenzel
Jamnitzer the Elder
Two faceted cones, 1568
Plate H II from Wenzel Jamnitzer,
Perspectiva Corporum Regularium
[Perspective of regular solids]
(Nuremberg: [Heußler], 1568)
Etching
9 1/8 x 13 3/8 in. (23.2 x 34 cm)
Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
Nuremberg

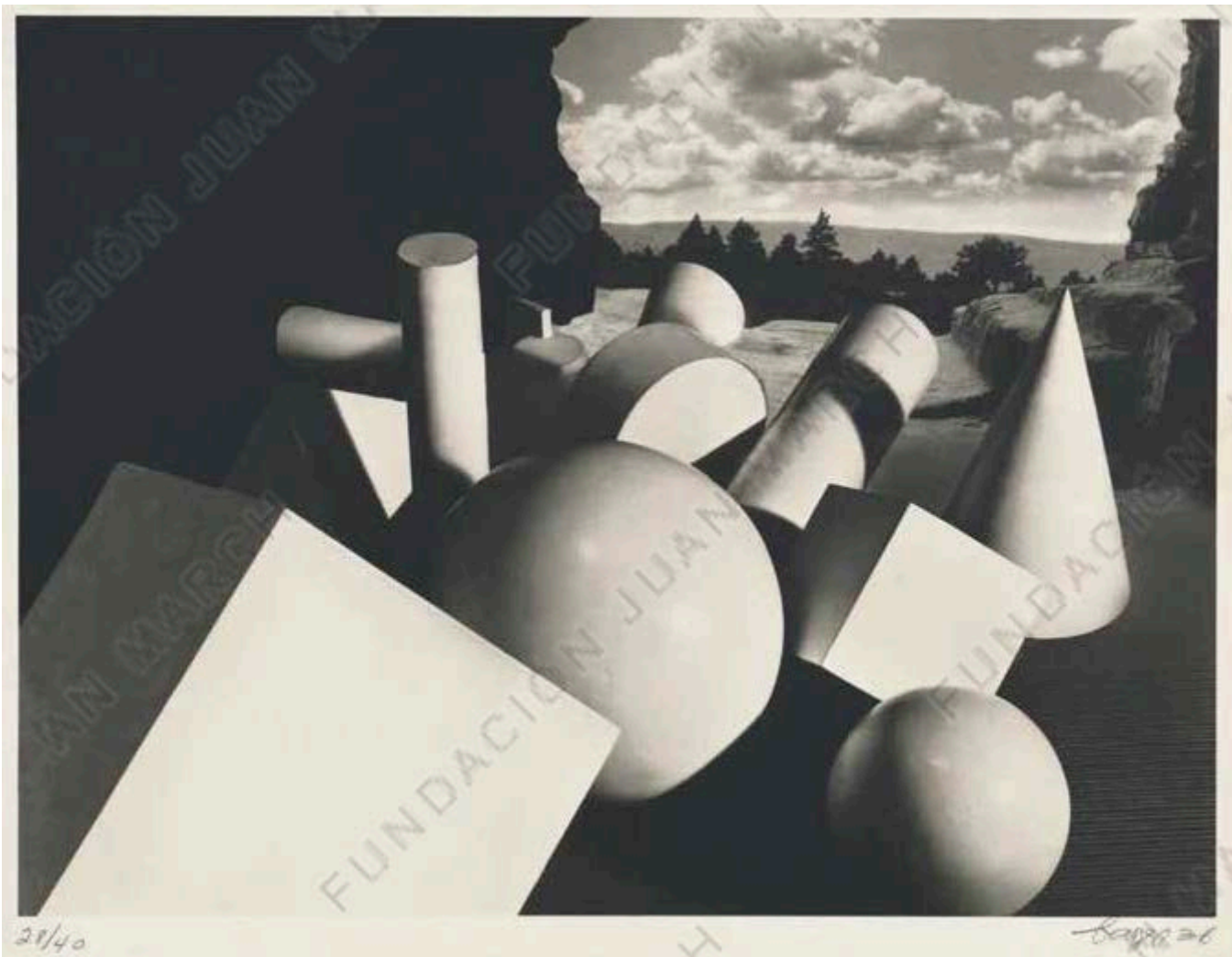


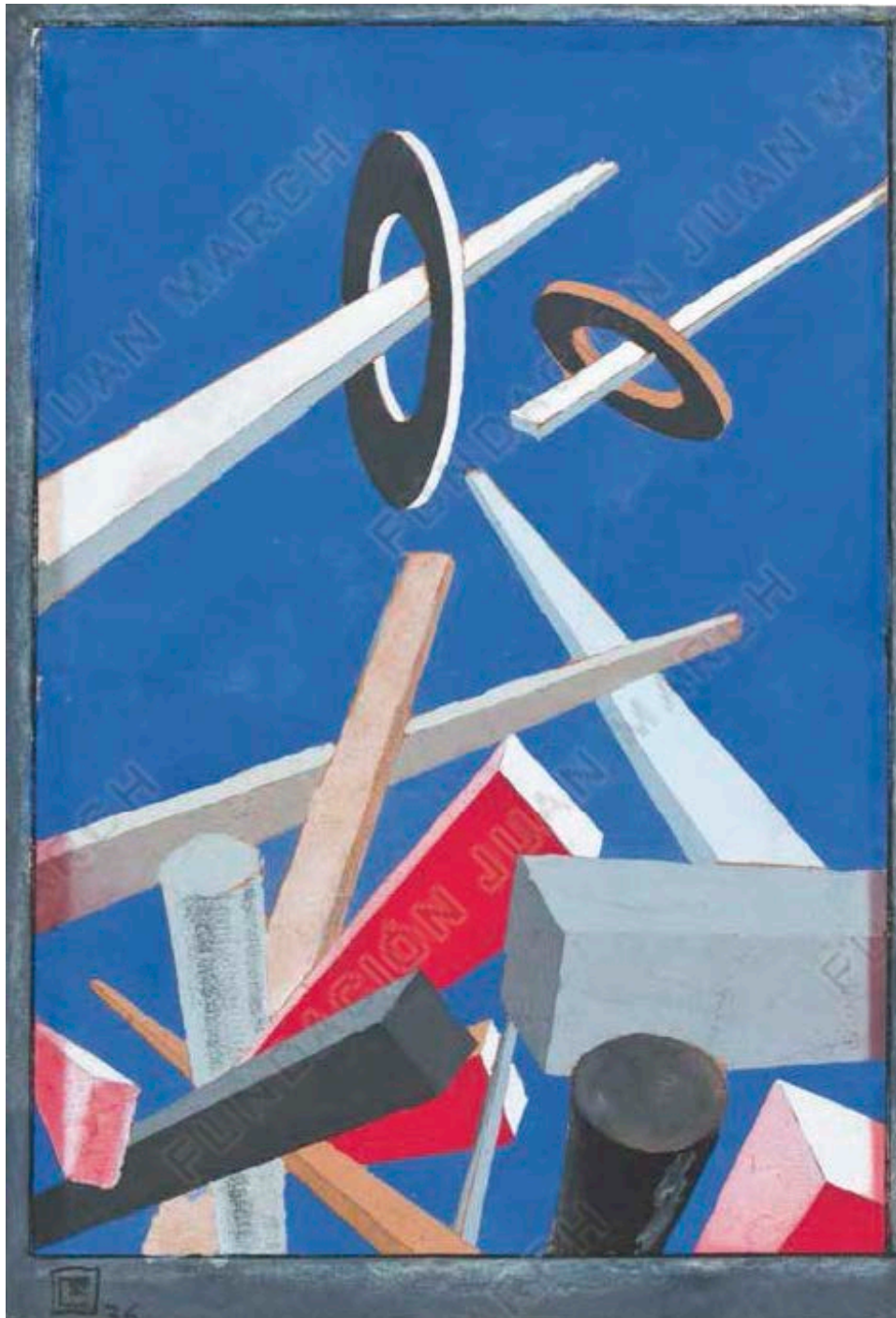
CAT. 35
Hans Jakob Ebelmann
Three-dimensional forms, 1609
Plate 24 from an untitled set of
twenty-four prints (Cologne, 1609)
Etching
6 ⁷/₈ x 10 ³/₄ in. (17.6 x 27.2 cm)
Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
Nuremberg



CAT. 36
Max Ernst
Les Moutons [The sheep], 1922
In Paul Éluard, *Répétitions* (Paris, 1922)
Photomechanical reproduction
5 5/8 x 8 5/8 in. (14.4 x 21.8 cm)
Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.
Malerbücher

CAT. 37
Herbert Bayer
Metamorphosis, 1936
Fotoplastik ("photo-sculpture"). Gelatin
silver print on paper
11 x 13 7/8 in. (27.9 x 35.2 cm)
Dietmar Siegert collection



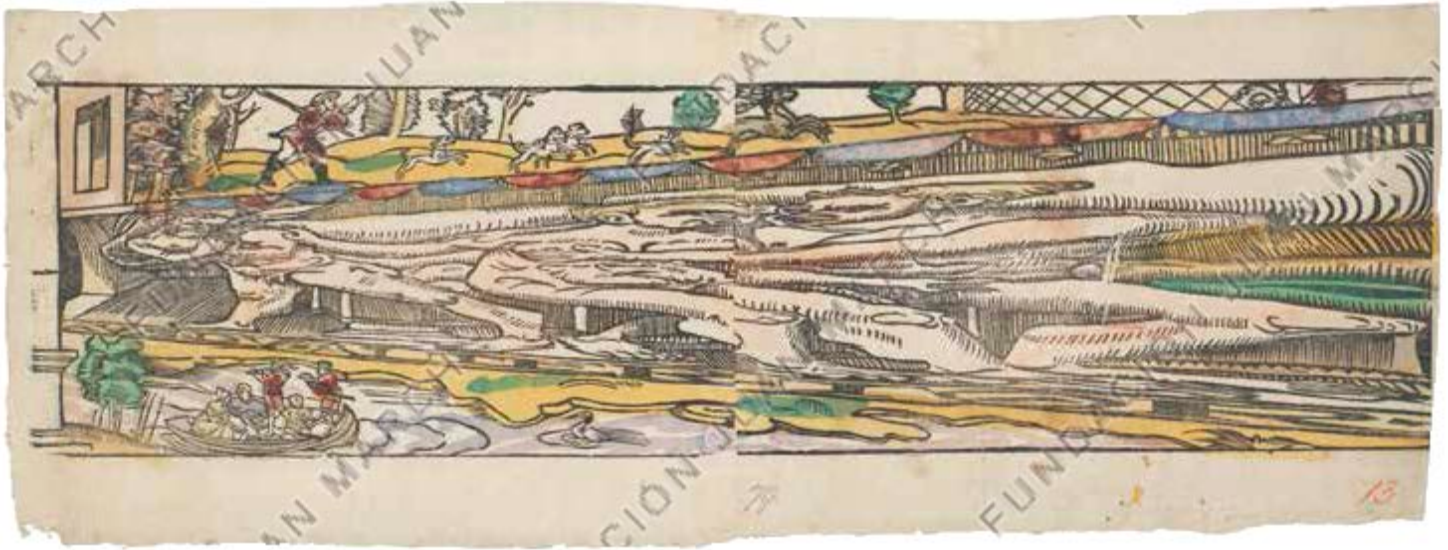


CAT. 38
Nicolás de Lekuona
Untitled, 1936
Gouache on cardboard
10 3/8 x 7 1/8 in. (26.5 x 18
cm)
Lekuona siblings
collection, San Sebastián



Fundación Juan March

CAT. 39
Salvador Dalí
Study for *España* [Spain], 1936
Pencil and India ink on paper
30 5/8 x 22 3/4 in. (77.7 x 57.8 cm)
Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí,
Figueres

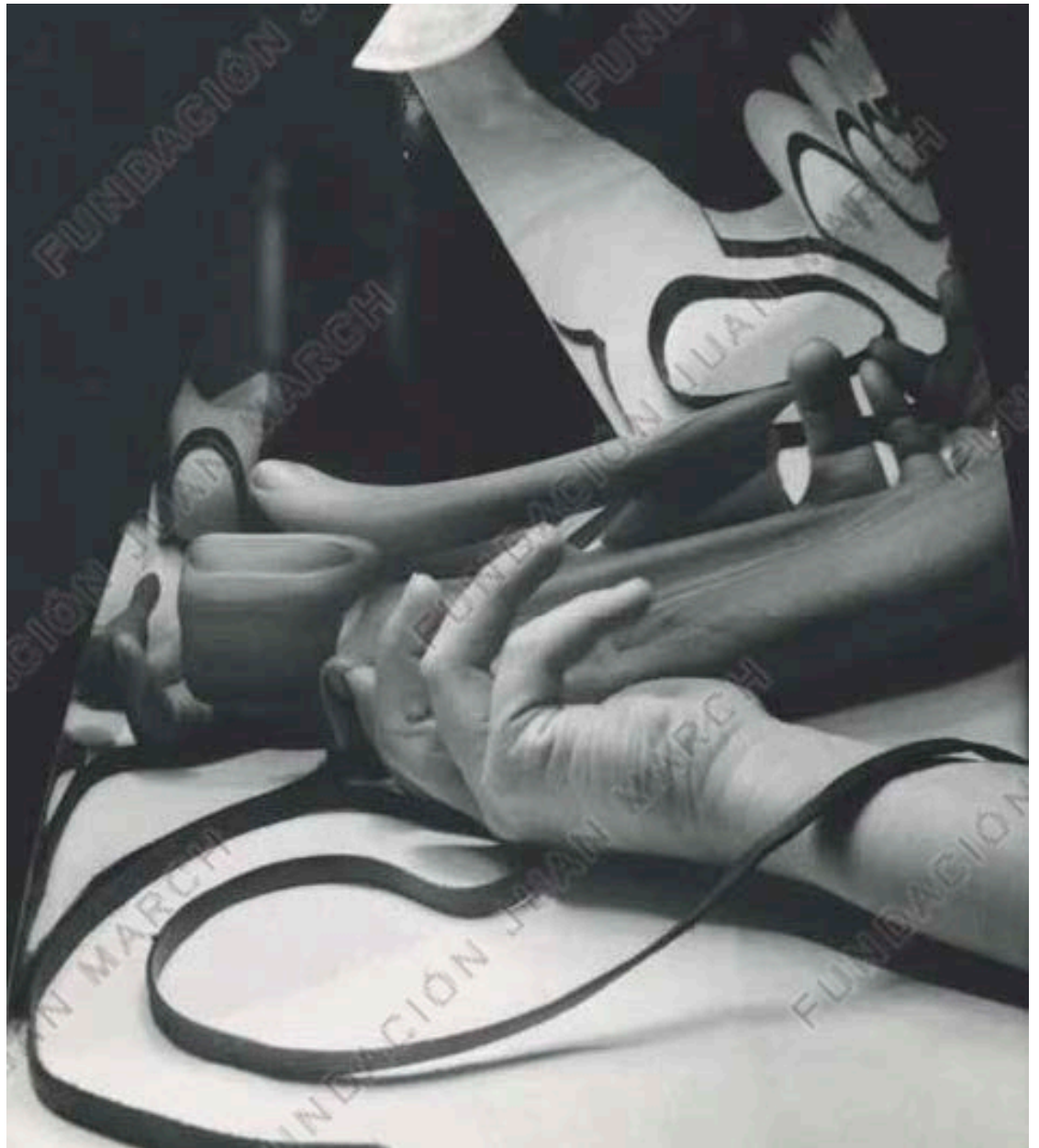


CAT. 40
Erhard Schön
The Pair of Lovers, ca. 1535
Oblique anamorphosis. Colored
woodcut
8 1/2 x 22 5/8 in. (21.7 x 57.5 cm)
Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
Nuremberg

CAT. 41
Christoph Weigel the Elder
Knight with a lance before a castle,
ca. 1670-73
Oblique anamorphosis. Engraving
19 7/8 x 3 7/8 in. (50.5 x 9.7 cm)
Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
Nuremberg







CAT. 42
W Monogrammist (probably Christian
Heinrich Weng)
Diana and Cupid Seek out the Sleeping Endymion,
ca. 1770
Cylindrical mirror anamorphosis. Colored
engraving and etching
16 ⁷/₈ in. (43 cm), diameter
Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg

CAT. 43
André Steiner
Anamorphose III [Anamorphosis III], 1933
Gelatin silver print on paper
7 ⁵/₈ x 6 ³/₄ in. (19.4 x 17.2 cm)
Dietmar Siegert collection



CAT. 44
 Pierre Boucher
La Chute des corps [The falling bodies],
 1936-37
 Photomontage. Gelatin silver print on
 paper
 Later print
 14 7/8 x 11 3/4 in. (37.8 x 29.7 cm)
 Dietmar Siegert collection

CAT. 45
 Hendrik Goltzius, after Cornelis
 Cornelisz. van Haarlem
The Fall of Icarus, 1588
 No. 2 from the series *The Four Disgracers*
 Engraving
 14 x 13 1/2 in. (35.5 x 34.3 cm)
 Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
 Nuremberg

CAT. 46
 Hendrik Goltzius, after Cornelis
 Cornelisz. van Haarlem
The Fall of Ixion, 1588
 No. 4 from the series *The Four Disgracers*
 Engraving
 13 5/8 x 13 1/2 in. (34.5 x 34.2 cm)
 Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
 Nuremberg





CAT. 47
Pablo Picasso
Le Viol V [The Rape V], 1933
No. 49 from *Suite Vollard*, 1930–36
Drypoint
11 3/4 x 14 1/2 in. (29.7 x 36.7 cm)
Private collection



4

Composite Figures

YASMIN DOOSRY

In early 1938, an unusual event took place in Georges Wildenstein's Galerie Beaux-Arts in Paris, in which over sixty artists from fourteen countries participated: the *Exposition Internationale du Surréalisme*. It was to be the last collective project of André Breton's circle of Surrealists before the group finally broke up.¹ This exhibition exploring the Surrealist synthesis of the arts was divided into three parts. In the forecourt the visitors were greeted by an ivy-entwined *Taxi pluvieux* (*Rainy Taxi*) with two mannequins: a chauffeur with a set of shark's teeth and goggles in the front seat and, in the back, a female passenger in evening dress. Over the body of the female mannequin, continuously sprinkled with a fine spray of water, crept live snails. The entrance hall of the gallery, presented as "Les Plus Belles Rues de Paris" ("The loveliest streets in Paris"), led into the central hall with a lily pond and a ceiling hung with coal sacks. There were Surrealist objects and paintings, collages, drawings, and photographs on display.²

In the long entrance hall of the gallery, which sought to evoke associations with streetwalking, the visitors strolled past a phalanx of sixteen peculiarly bedizened female mannequins. Street signs with fictitious or real names were mounted over the heads of the mannequins, their images doubled in the corridor's mirrored wall opposite them. The exhibition catalogue prominently listed the artists who had transformed the mannequins, among them the only woman, Sonia Mossé (1917–1943).³ Photographers from the ambit of the Surrealists like Man Ray and Denise Bellon (1902–1999) documented the parade in several sequences of photos.⁴ The

Attributed to Heinrich Göding the Elder,
Aqua [Water], ca. 1580. Germanisches
Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg [detail of Cat. 54]

Surrealists covered the mannequins or undressed them, decorating them with grotesque objects. The female body thus became a fetish, and the hyper-artificial mannequins—which anyhow came from the materialistic world of consumption and venality—were transformed into objects of sexual desires and obsessions.⁵

Salvador Dalí dressed his mannequin, photographed by Man Ray, with merely a belt and long gloves [Cat 48]. He adorned its naked “skin” with numerous teaspoons and placed a butterfly on the pubis and a broken egg on the chest. The female body was to appear consumable, like a laid table. Moreover, Dalí adorned the figure’s feet with orange Aztec feathers and covered its face with a pink woolen mask crowned with a penguin head. In its hand, he placed a light bulb whose cord he connected to a version of his iconic *Téléphon-homard* or *Téléphon-aphrodisiaque* (*Lobster Telephone* or *Aphrodisiac Telephone*), from 1936. The Viennese-born painter and art theorist Wolfgang Paalen (1905–1959), who had stumbled upon the Surrealists and André Breton in 1936, encased the body of his mannequin, titled *La Housse* (*The Dust Cover*), with a breastplate of mushrooms and moss and set a bat atop its head. In a series of photographs by Denise Bellon, of the original figure only the face and the arms—covered with a transparent veil—are visible [Cat. 49].⁶

By transforming his mannequin into an unreal hybrid, Dalí not only created an unsettling object charged with eroticism; with this object he also introduced an incarnation of angst-ridden male lust into his unreal, delirious world of images. Paalen similarly alienated his mannequin from outward reality, being the only one of the sixteen artists to refrain from erotic allusions. His composite dream figure reflects events from his childhood that are at once fantastic and terrifyingly uncanny. At the same time, the sinister bat, which can also be interpreted as an apotropaic sign, evokes the threatening political situation of the time.⁷ The *Exposition Internationale du Surréalisme*, which was repeatedly described as a “cave,” a “grotto,” or a “womb,” was conceived as an imaginary “ville surréaliste.” It was intended to affect all the senses and to systematically unsettle its visitors by establishing incongruous and mysterious relationships among the exhibits. It would lead viewers into unknown regions of the subconscious where they would experience a world of surprise, delirium, and incomprehensibility. Dalí’s and Paalen’s mannequins, transformed into surreal hybrids, thus played an important role in a dialogue with the other objects on display.⁸

Composite illustrated pamphlets

In the first half of the sixteenth century, the social, political, and religious tensions in Europe stimulated the demand for information on current unsettling events and issues in a period of upheaval. Printers and publishers recognized the economic possibilities of the expanding market for news, and they supplied it with a flood of pamphlets, single-sheet prints, and shorter texts. Pamphlets and prints for or against the Reformation took on extraordinary importance, and they encompassed a broad spectrum of subjects, including celestial phenomena, freaks of nature, pestilences, natural wonders, and natural catastrophes.⁹ Early on, Martin Luther (1483–1546) took advantage of this polemic through images, as an effective medium with which to engage in the conflict over religion. A prominent example is the tract he published together with Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560) in Wittenberg in 1523, *Deutung der zwei grewlichen Figuren Bapstesels zu Rom und Munchkalb zu Freyberg in Meyssen funden* (*Interpretation of the two horrible figures of the pope-ass found in Rome and the monk-calf at Freiberg in Meissen*). The text was accompanied by illustrations probably from the workshop of Lucas Cranach the Elder (?) (1472–1553). Because of the two theologians’ interpretations, the illustrations became one of the most famous examples of satirical-polemical propaganda during the Reformation.

The woodcut of the pope-ass [Cat. 51] is a copy of an engraving by Wenzel von Olmütz.¹⁰ This goldsmith and engraver, active in the last two decades of the fifteenth century in Bohemia, in turn had relied on an Italian model. The illustration alludes to the legendary discovery of a strange figure, here presented with the Castel Sant’Angelo in the background. In 1496, the floods of the Tiber had allegedly washed ashore an antique statue representing a monster. A contemporary report by the Venetian ambassador in Rome to the Signoria of the Republic of Venice describes it vividly: “There has been found in Rome in this present month of January on the banks of the river, after the waters of the Tiber had receded, a monster that appears to have the head of an ass with its long ears and the body of a human female. The left arm is of human form, the right ends in an elephant’s trunk. On the hindquarters is the face of an old man with a beard. For a tail, a long neck protrudes, with an open-mouthed snake’s head. The right foot is that of an eagle’s talons, the left that of an ox. The legs from the feet upwards, and the entire body, are covered in scales like those of a fish.”¹¹

Luther mentions the monster for the first time in 1522 in his sermon for the second Sunday of Advent. He turned the



Fig. 47 Attributed to Heinrich Göding the Elder, *Aer* [Air], ca. 1580. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg

“horrible animal” into the “Papstesel” (pope-ass) and identified the misshapen figure as a sign of “God’s great anger and retribution.”¹² Adopting this interpretation, Melancthon elucidates it thoroughly in the tract *Deutung der zwo grewlichen Figuren*. He explains that the head of the pope-ass is as unsuited to the human body as the pope himself was to the spiritual body of the Church. He goes on to explain each of the individual parts of the monster’s body. Accordingly, he described the monstrosity’s human, right hand as representing the pontiff’s worldly rule, its left—now shaped like an elephant’s foot—as his spiritual rule, which crushes the conscience of the weak with unendurable laws. The ox’s hoof represents the Pope’s spiritual servants, who oppress souls. The eagle’s talons point to the canons, who appropriate wealth for the Church from the whole of Europe. The belly and breast of the female (papal) body exemplify the cardinals, bishops, priests, monks, and “similar whoremongers.” The figure’s fish-scales, finally, stand for worldly princes and lords and the “old man’s head on the fundament” is a sign of the papacy’s end.¹³

A broadside printed in 1521 in Nuremberg presents Luther’s most important opponents as animal-human hybrids [Cat. 52]: Thomas Murner (1475–1537), Hieronymus Emser (1478–1527), Joannes Eck (1486–1543), and Jacob Lemp (1470–1532), and, at the center, Pope Leo X (1475–1521), labeled as the “Antichrist.” Quatrains explain the meaning of the animal comparisons. The pontiff is fitted with a lion’s head that evokes his name and his ferocity. The theologian Eck, sporting a pig’s head, holds an acorn in his hand to suggest his name (the word for acorn, *Eichel*, is etymologically cognate with *Eck*), it also being a nut that serves as pig fodder. The broadside accuses Leo X of goading on the theologians to take sides against Luther. Eck had appeared in 1519 in the Leipzig Debate against Martin Luther and Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt (1482–1541) and in 1520 traveled to Rome in order to pursue the resumption of the then inactive case against the reformer. Next to Johannes Eck stands his teacher Jacob Lemp, who taught theology at the University of Tübingen; here he has the head of a vicious dog and holds a bone in his hand. The comparison for the Franciscan Thomas Murner, whose cat’s head gorges itself on a mouse, is based on the onomatopoeic similarity of his name with a cat’s purr. The theological controversialist feared Luther’s actions would cause a schism in the Church and warned against his doctrines in several tracts composed between 1520 and 1522. Hieronymus Emser, court theologian in the service of the or-

thodox Duke George of Saxony (1471–1539), has the head of a billy-goat, corresponding to his heraldic animal. For years, Emser and Luther defended their opposing positions in polemical pamphlets that had begun with Luther's support for Hussite reforms in the Leipzig Dispute of 1519.¹⁴ The animalistic satire of the woodcut, which represents the opponents of the reformers as contemptuous chimeras excluded from human society, had far-reaching repercussions in the political agitation of the Reformation era, and fables, the literature of metamorphosis, and biblical examples provided justification for that approach to satire.¹⁵

Around 1571, a broadside by Tobias Stimmer (1539–1584) first began circulating, to be published again several times, in which there also appeared an image of the pope along with a poem by Johann Baptist Fischart (ca. 1546/47–1591) [Cat. 53]. Its title, *Gorgoneum Caput* (Gorgon's head), compares the head of the Catholic Church with that of the Gorgon Medusa, the sight of which, according to Greek mythology, turns one to stone. The text describes the figure as a rare curiosity from the sea found in the New World and sent by the Jesuits to their protectors. Stimmer portrays the pope in profile in a scrollwork frame. His head and his clothing are assembled out of objects necessary for the conduct of his office. The face is composed of a chalice for an eye, a fish for a nose, a papal bull for an ear, and a communion wafer for a cheek. The robe, decorated with a monstrance, consists of fish (referring to fasting fare) and a book with the papal coat of arms. A bell forms the papal crown, which is adorned with St. James's scallop shells, pilgrim's staves, torches, oil-lamps, aspergillums, and a rosary. A singing donkey with glasses, a goose with a rosary, a fox with a bishop's miter, and a pig with a priest's hat and censer surround the image of the pope. Stimmer and Fischart conceived this caricature both as an



Fig. 48 Anonymous German, *Die Luft* [The air], ca. 1701–15: “My dress is quite light for my legs are so weak, / And a house for a bird at my side I reveal. / The naughtiest birds always go on two feet; / Their malevolent mischief their eyes can’t conceal.” Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg [Cat. 57]

Fig. 49 Anonymous French, composite figure of a blacksmith, 19th century. Reproduced in *La Révolution surréaliste*, no. 3 (1925): 13, with a caption by Louis Aragon, “Of my various hopes, the most tenacious was despair.” Private collection



allegory of transitoriness and as a symbol of the pope's characterlessness, since his head is assembled only out of material things, theatrical set-pieces. The poem, which presents the pope as a scoundrel and a clown, brings this message to the point: "What's out of a hodge-podge been patched all together,/ assembled from scraps that are lying at hand,/ and slapped into place using putty and glue,/ is just like erecting a building on sand."¹⁶

Martin Luther's contemporaries considered frighteningly ugly people—as with misshapen creatures generally—to be degenerate and godless.¹⁷ Both Protestants and Catholics made use of these prejudices in filling their satirical writings and broadsides with monstrous figures. For both camps, such figures metaphorically represented despicable people and untenable moral situations that subverted the order of things. In addition, Luther and his fellow-travelers identified in the human-animal hybrids a sign from God of an impending end to the papacy and its official Church—a divine exhortation to inner contemplation. These aggressively satirical images, printed in large runs and alluding incisively to current events, sought to mobilize broad sectors of the population in politics, both secular and ecclesiastical. The narratives and images of composite beings that the inventive fantasy of the Middle Ages and the early modern period produced in virtually incalculable abundance were so familiar as to have become a part of people's everyday lives.

Arcimboldesques

Tobias Stimmer's anti-papist portrait composed of a multiplicity of disparate objects recalls the bizarre composite heads assembled by Giuseppe Arcimboldo (1527–1593) and widely disseminated in copperplate engravings.¹⁸ The court painter to Emperor Rudolf II (1552–1612) incorporated animals, flowers, fruits, and everyday objects in astounding images that viewers could imaginatively decipher as human heads. A series of brush drawings, *The Four Elements*, from around 1580, furnish examples of the enormous impact exerted by these complex creations, described by contemporaries as *capricci*, *scherzi*, or *grilli*. This series, attributed to Heinrich Göding the Elder (1531–1606), may well be a reworking of paintings by Arcimboldo [Fig. 47, Cat. 54].¹⁹ Göding, court painter to the Elector of Saxony and by whom four woodcuts with composite heads are also known, drew this series on primed paper. Their crimson, blue, turquoise, and brown colors evoke the subject of the classical elements, fire, air, water, and earth. The same may be said of the various species of animals and

objects of which the heads in profile are composed. A fire-salamander, together with a pair of bellows, candles, and billets of wood, forms the personification of fire; sea creatures, that of water; birds, air; and mammals, earth. Thus, we observe various kinds of fish and shells, a frog, a crab and a lobster, not to mention a turtle and a snail, emblemizing the element of water [Cat. 54]. Like Arcimboldo's paintings of the elements, Göding's brush drawings also point to cosmological and metaphysical notions. According to the ancient theory, all beings and substances are composed of the four basic elements, which are in turn connected to the seasons, the hours, the points of the compass, and temperaments: air corresponds to spring, the east, and the sanguine temperament; fire to summer, the south, and the choleric; earth to autumn, the west, and the melancholic; water to winter, the north and the phlegmatic.²⁰ We find a humorous echo of these ideas in the allegorical representation of craftiness, portrayed as *Luft* ("air" or "wind"), from another series of the four elements [Fig. 48, Cat. 57]. A wondrous creature struts about, with a head half-bird and half-human, human hands, wings, a feathered body, and avian legs in fashionable shoes. As the text of the print indicates, the eyes of the sanguine figure "dressed lightly" twinkle with roguishness.

Some of Arcimboldo's composite heads are assembled out of tools and objects associated with certain trades, among them the famous paintings *The Librarian*, *The Lawyer*, *The Cook*, and *The Cellarer*. Emperor Maximilian II gave them to Augustus, Elector of Saxony (1553–1586), who grew up at the imperial court in Innsbruck and to whom Maximilian was bound by ties of friendship.²¹ The subject of cookery personified is also found in an engraving that Giovanni Francesco Camoccio (active ca. 1560–1572) published in 1569 in Venice, together with a further print. The representations of *Ars Coquinaria* (*The Culinary Art*) and *Agricoltura* (*Agriculture*) were probably based on works by Arcimboldo. Several surviving variants of the engraving *Agricoltura* bear witness to the genre's popularity, including, for example, a pamphlet printed after 1569 and attributed to Martin Weigel (active ca. 1552–1573), in which the bust of a farmer is composed of agricultural implements—baskets, scythes, flails, pitchforks, and rakes [Cat. 55].²² These highly prized "Arcimboldesques" corresponding to certain trades or activities soon became a prevalent motif in the repertoire of popular prints. Thus, Alois Senefelder (1771–1834), the German inventor of lithography, created lithographs after drawings by the Frenchman Bernard Gaillot (1780–1847), who had executed a compre-



Fig. 50 André Masson, *Poisson, homme, étoile* [Fish, man, star], ca. 1926, in *La Révolution surréaliste*, no. 7 (1926): 27. Private collection

hensive series of professions, including one titled *Peintre Artiste*; in the 1821 lithograph, one can observe how painting utensils form the head and breast of the titular painter-artist [Cat. 58]. In the same manner, Tivadar Alconiere (1798–1865), a portrait painter known for his humorous pictures, created *Der Billardspieler* (*The Billiard Player*) in 1840 for a periodical published in Vienna, the *Wiener Theaterzeitung* [Cat. 60]. The figure is assembled out of contemporary parlor games, one of the most popular leisure activities among family and friends during the Biedermeier period (that is, the first half of the nineteenth century in Central Europe, after the Napoleonic Wars).

The Mannerists attempted to broaden the possibilities of art through imagination, inventiveness, and creativity that defied limits. Their inclination for the extraordinary and astounding finds particular expression in Arcimboldo's enigmatic inventions with their fantastic composite creatures. Over time, however, the endless imitations and arbitrary copies of his composite heads reduced his complex creations to mere rhetorical gestures.²³ Arcimboldesques became a kind of artifice or trick that only served to entertain the broad public. Senefelder's and Alconiere's pieces make this development manifest. So does the anonymous image of an ironsmith from the nineteenth century reproduced in the pages of the *La Révolution surréaliste* in an issue from 1925 [Fig. 49]. This image, however, provides striking evidence for the renewed fascination with composite figures among the Surrealists.

The return of the composite figure

Hannah Höch's photomontage *Denkmal II: Eitelkeit* (*Monument II: Vanity*) [Cat. 59] presents an androgynous hybrid figure standing on a pedestal in the pose of classical statuary, before a background divided into three fields of color. The disproportionate nude has the lower body of a white woman and the upper body of a black man with abnormally short arms, its hands clenched in fists. The head is concealed behind the enormous mask of an African medicine man. On its plinth as though in a museum and outlined against the narrow strips of paper, the figure has the aura of a work of art or monument, yet the artist subjects that interpretation to questioning, through her use of trivial materials and the experimental technique of collage.

The hybrid creature belongs to the 1926–30 series, *Aus einem ethnographischen Museum* (*From an Ethnographic Museum*). For this series, Höch used graphic material taken from the popular mass media: photographs of women from her own

cultural milieu and of people of non-European origin, as well as exotic cultural and artistic artifacts. From them, she assembled grotesque figures and combined them with ethnographic materials. She intensified the peculiar exoticism of these hermaphrodite figures by linking them conceptually to a museum of ethnology. Her “multicultural” series thematizes issues of race, gender, and politics in the Weimar Republic. With its many-layered references and oscillating between woman and man, Europe and Africa, *Denkmal II: Eitelkeit* calls for a just and tolerant society. The demand for cultural dialogue and respect for people of different genders and skin colors was a political concern of the artist and a leitmotif in the series, emphasized by the startling juxtaposition of the familiar and the strange in her composite figures.²⁴

The drawing by André Masson (1896–1987), *Poisson, homme, étoile* (Fish, man, star) [Cat. 62], closely related to his roughly contemporary print *La Nature*, was published by the artist for the first time in 1926 in *La Révolution surréaliste* [Fig. 50].²⁵ With a few strokes of the pen, thickened with colored chalks, Masson outlined a dynamic figure that seems to storm away with great strides and arms outstretched. It is composed of abstract forms and emblematic signs that flow into one another. Arabesques suggest a leg, the lower and upper torso, and arms. A star forms the head, a fish the second leg, and a heart marks the breast. In 1932, Masson explained to Henri Matisse (1869–1954) how such works arise. He begins to draw with no concrete ideas at first, allowing impulse to lead him. Little by little, he begins to see signs, adumbrations of figures and objects; he then tries to bring out their significance, conferring order on the composition.²⁶

For Masson, forms constructed out of different elements had a magical and symbolic character—forms “in which the dark forces of transformation and chance are condensed.”²⁷ Thus, *Poisson, homme, étoile* offers insights into irrational worlds, for according to the conception of the Surrealists, the subconscious expresses itself directly both in the method of automatic drawing and in the configurative principle of metamorphosis, invoking a world of the transitory. Christa Lichtenstern has drawn attention to the fact that Masson’s metamorphic “automatic drawings” link their mode of configuration to a line that is affectively charged.²⁸ This subjective, even passionate style, as the artist himself emphasized, reinforces the impression of the “marvelous” in the oneiric apparition in *Poisson, homme, étoile*.

The creations of Hannah Höch, Salvador Dalí, Wolfgang Paalen, and André Masson impressively reveal how modern

art, in particular that of the Surrealists, freed the composite figure from fossilization as a cliché. By means of new artistic methods, they gave it new content and dynamic form. To these innovations one must add the conjunction of disconcerting creatures and symbols of erotic desire observed in Dalí’s mannequin. The 1948 photomontage *Chlad oživuje paláce* (*Cold Revives the Palaces*), by Ladislav Novák (1925–1999), provides a further example [Cat. 61]. A female nude with an over-sized eye in a monstrous black head stands on the stepped plinth of Charlemagne’s throne in Aachen, to which for centuries emperors had ascended after their election and consecration. The fantastic figure’s alabaster skin reflects the coolness of the marble slabs. Her provocative pose and her masked head release a flood of erotic associations and memories of forbidden worlds that the Surrealists were so fond of seeking out. As Breton comments in a footnote to his 1924 *Manifeste surréaliste*, “What is admirable about the fantastic is that the fantastic no longer exists: There is nothing but the real.”²⁹

- 1 Schneede 1991a, 94, 100; Görgen 2008, 25.
- 2 On the exhibition and its specific details, see Schneede 1991a, 95, 97, 99; Kachur 2001, 23, 28–29, 31, 34; Görgen 2008, 37–49, 77–153, 279–82, 304.
- 3 The following artists participated in decorating the sixteen mannequins: Jean Arp, Yves Tanguy, Sonia Mossé, Marcel Duchamp, André Masson, Kurt Seligmann, Max Ernst, Joan Miró, Augustín Espinoza, Wolfgang Paalen, Salvador Dalí, Maurice Henry, Man Ray, Óscar Domínguez, Léo Malet, and Marcel Jean; see Kachur 2001, 43–61; Görgen 2008, 39–43.
- 4 Raoul Ubac, Gaston Paris, Josef Breitenbach, Robert Valencey, and Thérèse Le Prat also took photographs of the mannequins; on the role of the photographs of the mannequins in the media, see Müller-Tamm and Sykora 1999, 77, 79; Filipovic 1999, 213–15.
- 5 On the section of the exhibition titled “Les Plus Belles Rues de Paris,” see Schneede 1991a, 96–97; Filipovic 1999, 200–4; Kachur 2001, 38–67; Frankfurt 2011, 61–65 (with reproductions of some of the sixteen figures).
- 6 On Wolfgang Paalen’s and Man Ray’s mannequins, see Kachur 2001, 55–58.
- 7 Neufert 1999, 107; Neufert 2008, 98; see also Görgen 2008, 117. On various occasions not only Paalen’s mannequin but also the “apocalyptic” quality of the whole exhibition have been understood as an allusion to the political climate of 1938. In 1947, Breton confirmed the exhibition’s political dimension, which in hindsight he interpreted as a foreboding of impending barbarities; see Schneede 1991a, 100–1; Filipovic 1999, 206.
- 8 On the intention of the exhibition, see Schneede 1991a, 101; Filipovic 1999, 204, Görgen 2008, 75–76, 153–76.
- 9 Anderson 1985, 42–44.
- 10 Grisar and Heege 1921–23, 10.
- 11 Quoted in *ibid.*, 7–8.
- 12 *Ibid.*, 10.
- 13 *Ibid.*, 11, 12.
- 14 On Eck, see Erwin Iserloh’s entries in NDB 1953–2010, 4:273–75 and in TRE 1977–2004, 9:249–58; on Murner, see Peter Ukena’s in NDB 1953–2010, 18: 616–18 and Marc Lienhard’s in TRE 1977–2004, 23: 436–38; on Emser, see Schattkowsky 2008.
- 15 See Nuremberg 1983, no. 283; see also Scribner 1981, 74; Anderson 1985, 47–48.
- 16 “Welches so geflicket ist von allem/ Von vielen Stücken nur gezettelt/ Allen halben zusammen gespettelt/ Ist gleich als ob man bawt auff sandt.” On the woodcut, see Hamburg 1983a, no. 37; Coburg 1983, no. 16; Basel 1984, no. 152.
- 17 Hofmann 1983, 10; Schuster 1983, 121.
- 18 Basel 1984, no. 152; Paris and Vienna 2007, no. IV.36.
- 19 On the model for the prints, see Nuremberg 1992, no. 49. The brush drawings were owned by Vincent van Gogh. The Germanische Nationalmuseum purchased them in 1913 in the Amsterdam auction of the artist’s estate; see *ibid.*
- 20 Nuremberg 1992, no. 49. DaCosta Kaufmann has thoroughly investigated the polysemy of Arcimboldo’s *Four Elements* and also named the possible sources for the composite heads; see DaCosta Kaufmann 2007, 99–100, no. IX.18, 19, 20, 21.
- 21 On the paintings, see Paris and Vienna 2007, no. IV.29 and no. IV.30 (*The Librarian* and *The Lawyer*), and no. IV.31 and no. IV.34 (*The Cook* and *The Cellarer*); see also Cavalli-Björkman 2007, 121.
- 22 See Paris and Vienna 2007, no. IV.36; New York 2012, no. 45.
- 23 Cavalli-Björkman 2007, 123.
- 24 On Höch’s series *Aus einem ethnographischen Museum*, see Lavin 1991, 115–26; Lavin 1993, 159–83. Höch backdated *Denkmal II: Eitelkeit (Memorial II: Vanity)* from 1930 to 1926; be that as it may, it is certain that she used the photograph of a mask worn by a medicine man from the Kasai region of the Congo that was reproduced in the July 1930 issue of the magazine *Uhu*.
- 25 Lichtenstern 1992, 152 (fig. 94). The drawing accompanies a text by Benjamin Péret; see Péret 1926, 27.
- 26 Spies 2004, 17; see also Lichtenstern 1992, 156.
- 27 Spies 2004, 10.
- 28 Lichtenstern 1992, 150–52, 154.
- 29 Breton 1924a; quoted from Breton 1988–2008, 1:320n.



CAT. 48
Man Ray
Mannequin by Salvador
Dalí (from the *Exposition
Internationale du Surréalisme*,
Paris), 1938
Gelatin silver print on paper
7 3/4 x 5 1/2 in. (18.6 x 14 cm)
José María Lafuente collection,
Santander

CAT. 49
Denise Bellon
Mannequin by Wolfgang
Paalen (from the *Exposition
Internationale du Surréalisme*,
Paris), 1938
Gelatin silver print on paper
11 3/4 x 9 in. (30 x 23 cm)
Dietmar Siegert collection

CAT. 50
Hannah Höch
Der Evangelist Matthäus [The
evangelist Matthew], 1916
Woodcut
9 x 6 1/2 in. (22.8 x 16.5 cm)
Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
Nuremberg



CAT. 51
After Lucas Cranach the Elder (?)
The pope-ass in Rome, 1545
Woodcut
13 1/8 x 8 1/8 in. (33.3 x 20.5 cm)
Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
Nuremberg

CAT. 52
Unknown (German)
Luther's adversaries as monsters, ca.
1521
Woodcut
10 7/8 x 15 7/8 in. (27.5 x 40.3 cm)
Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
Nuremberg



Doctor
Dornar. Ar-
gentiner.

Doctor hock
Emser Lipsin

Leo papa.
Antichrist

Doctor Eckius.
Ingelstatis

Doctor Kemp.
Tubingenis.



Lieber Eckius also von mir zu gut
Ich will stoch ein gawon Cardinals hut
Wagstu den Luther Concludieren
Will ich dir dein Bockkopf mit juren.

Der Leo all baboy und faste fuchs
Kai ich tue die gdt hndwun d gerecht machd
Obt maner Gaphrey und gckim gelt bur
Daz ich den Luther und Goto recht rufur.

Der Papst reit mich ein mauser han
Doo nam sich Doctor Dornar an.
Dauf bin und her von triberend
Woch si der Luther gerecht und kuff.

Ich juch fray Bock wiss ich si so bart
Woch heil den meynung langen part.
Ich ein d ruf den Leo Keyer
Sei me cruxis dordstasler.

Der witsch Got von Antichrist
Doo vil geschicht bei her der list.
Obt gerecht und geystlich Lurifer
Ich Christ von bynd mach und frey.

Recht zic ein Gschicht Doctor Eck
Wann er ist von ein etrecht.
Sein Locher probieren mer
Din Abt gschicht von Christus ler.

Der Doctor Kemp Evangel
Obt her und jamen hofer Christ.
Er ruff und jst recht zic ein bundt.
Do gschicht bat er gar zung grundt.

Plato. cvii.

In meo semel in hi fabulantes fel no vt lex tua. Omnia morsa tua xeno iniqui pfecti sunt me aduata me. In actum dicit verbi mi pomet in coelo
In generacione et generacionem veritas tua fundatis parum et permanc. Ab expectauerunt peccato et perderent mentes tua sicut in ca mellea. 12.

GORGONEVM CAPVT.

Ein new seltsam Meerwunder auß den Newen erfundenen Inseln/von etlichen Jesuicern an ire güte günter geschickt.

Gleich wie der Hellig ist/ Also siehe er gerüst.



Hat euch das niemande nit erschnit/
 Eren weisg auß ein fern sinweg/
 Auß das ein nit etwas gefehß
 Wann er des Thier zu nach hieß
 Was in der Gorgone Kopff hie mit
 In einen ston verwardt nit/
 Vnd sitzer sinnen gar geraude/
 Es hat solch art Meluse haupt/
 Vnd die groß Gär von Babylon
 Was Samer Jeshu ad maler schon
 Was sie die König ist vnd geht/
 Die armen aber pech vnd schred/
 Was die stammesin auß der Erden
 Von irem giff all vns den wunden/
 Schumb wol außsehen hie gebürt/
 Was ein die Thier die nit bedürt/
 Welchs die stammesin in den Landen
 Si Narren hat gemadert vnd schanden/
 Vnd seut sich ihren vil and nit/
 Was seherman sich schier demüß girt/
 Vnd wölle nit eruchen seht/
 Wercolle erman mein lomp hie/
 Vnd ist nit seuchen ding vnd seht/
 Welchs man sonst hie für büßgirt/
 Es aber nit mit juncos stolt/
 Was Luce Romm die gleich wa es wölly/
 Vnd sag darfür O wie dem Rant/
 Was die Thier hat die vberhand/
 Wann was tan so sein juncos nunt/

Welchs vil mehr sieht gleich einem Duz/
 Als einen Menschen ja dem Couffel/
 Vnd dancet mich an allen zuweil/
 Was es sey eine fremdt vnd sein
 Von dem besterret O bald von Rom/
 Wann es sich in der gleich seht wol/
 Wie ich in sich gemalt ein mol/
 Vnd wann es einer sieht von fern/
 Er selte auß schweeren das er wec/
 Soud man erkenne es an dem Kron/
 Was es mag kommen Ser von Rom/
 Der Couffel im gung sehr nachtraht/
 Was er so vil Creutz an sich machet/
 Vnd wie solt nit doch die gefallen/
 Welchs so gefluch ist von allem/
 Von allen thieren nur gegentert/
 Allenthalb zu kommen gipertert/
 Solch sierwert hat doch kein bestand/
 Ist gleich als od man hat auß Sand/
 Juncosich mit dancem abbercht/
 Was er sich vil handierung stecht/
 Demd fan ich sein kein good nit hat/
 Man salt nichts auß ein lomp man
 Ser je dem in sein handerack greiff/
 Vnd allenthalb herumb der schweiff/
 Wie die erhit vnd hant gichan/
 Was hatter nur für rannung auß/
 Für einen Gantler er listich/
 Vnd ein Zwöcker wie es gicht/

Wann was sie vorhat mein ihr doch/
 Das er in seinen Jaf hat noch/
 Was meint ihr das er noch verberg/
 Swar dieß Triacker vnd lartweg/
 Als gignet wasser brot vnd wein/
 Del salt schweiß wach vnd Todtenbein/
 Ja auch die Erden von dem Todten/
 Ich mein der ston die leut drohen/
 Ein gremp er in der kusten st/
 Von Eyer Mutter Fisch vnd Fisch/
 Vnd das mit st verkaufft er auch/
 Als Glockenphon segger vnd Rant/
 Was ist mir je vesterlich waz/
 Vnd das noch ist das seltsamst gar/
 Es vndersteht er sich auch sein/
 Si zwungen bringen noch die leut/
 Was sie auß wiffen im ablassen/
 Vnd im derumb erst lang nach lassen/
 V nur mit demselb Kolner font/
 Die anfangt vnd gibt kein gho wec/
 Es ist nur im für war groß zeit/
 Noch wölle mirchen nit die leut/
 Wann was meint ihr das er anheng/
 Wann im die doch erst auß eingang/
 Beim Couffel löut mit im nach kommen/
 Der ja dann gar hat ein genommen/
 Betrogen will doch sein die Weir/
 Wol dem der sich darnach nie hie/
 Vnd dem solch sierwert nit gefelt/

4. Composite Figures

CAT. 53
Tobias Stimmer
Gorgoneum Caput [Gorgon's
head], 1571
Woodcut
14 7/8 x 9 5/8 in. (37.8 x 24.3 cm)
Germanisches
Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg

CAT. 54
Attributed to Heinrich Göding
the Elder
Aqua [Water], ca. 1580
Black and white gouache on
turquoise-primed paper
9 1/2 x 6 3/8 in. (24.1 x 16.3 cm)
Germanisches
Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg





CAT. 55
MW Monogrammist (probably
Martin Weigel)
Personification of Agriculture,
ca. 1569
Woodcut
14 1/4 x 9 7/8 in. (36.2 x 25.1 cm)
Germanisches
Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg



CAT. 58

Alois Senefelder, after Bernard Gaillot
Le Peintre Artiste [The painter-artist], 1821
 No. 7 from series *Les métiers* [The trades]
 Lithograph
 13 5/8 x 10 3/8 in. (34.5 x 26.3 cm)
 Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
 Nuremberg



CAT. 60

Andreas Geiger, after Tivadar Alconière
Der Billardspieler [The billiards player], 1840
 From the New Year's edition of the *Theaterzeitung*.
 Vienna, 1840
 Colored etching
 9 5/8 x 7 1/8 in. (24.3 x 18.1 cm)
 Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg



CAT. 59
Hannah Höch
Denkmal II: Eitelkeit [Monument
II: Vanity], 1930
Collage
10 1/8 x 6 5/8 in. (25.8 x 16.7 cm)
Germanisches
Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg

CAT. 61
Ladislav Novák
Chlad o žívuje paláce [Cold revives
the palaces], 1948
Photocollage. Gelatin silver
print on paper
11 3/4 x 9 7/8 in. (29.7 x 25 cm)
Dietmar Siegert collection



Torso Lady del Goffen im Münster zu Aachen, der Pfalzkapelle des Kaisers.
Hier fand bis ins 16. Jahrhundert die Krönung der deutschen Könige statt.

Archiv. Museo Linceo Roma

Chloé Gompel (16.11.38)

CAT. 62

André Masson

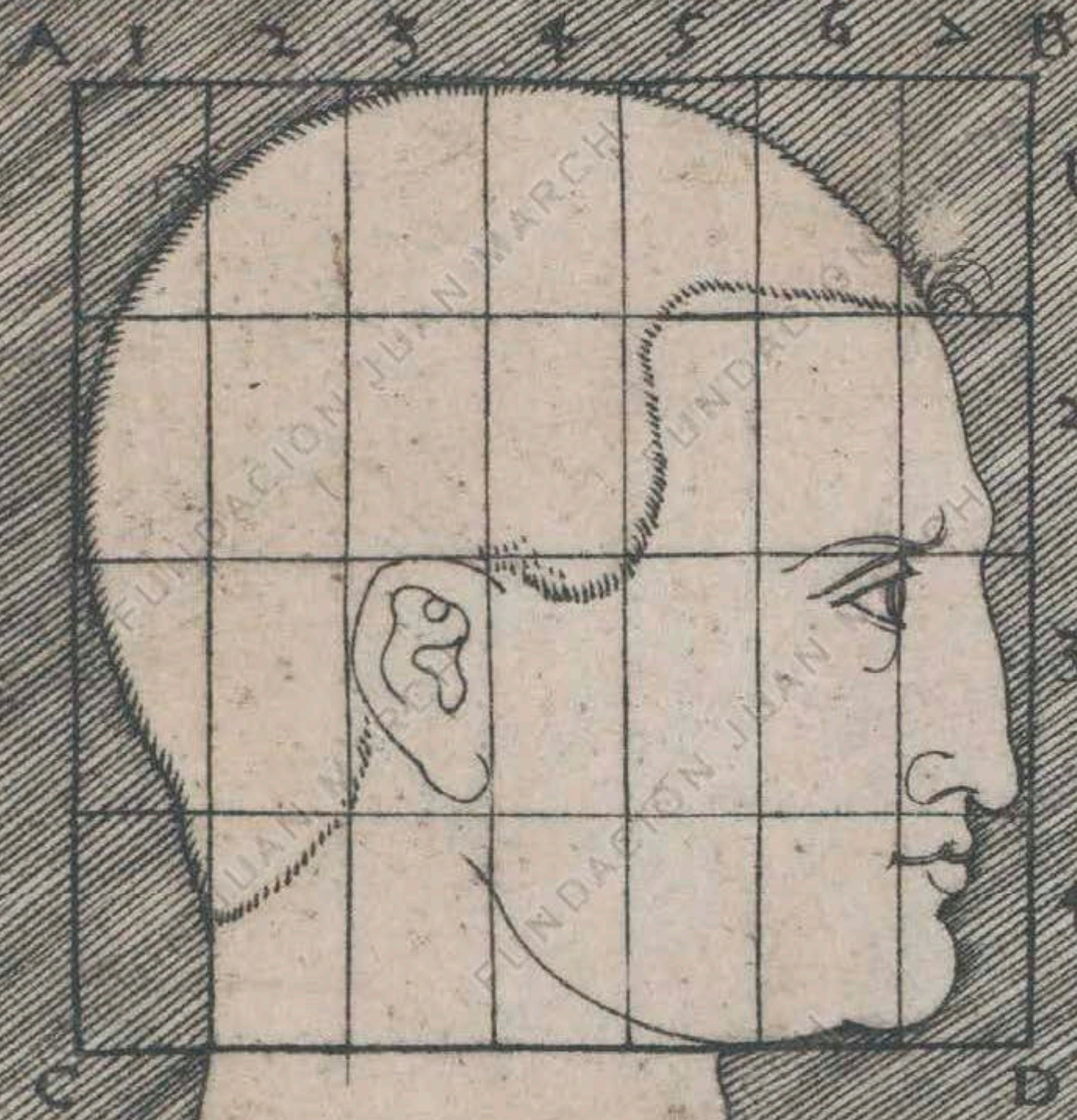
Poisson, homme, étoile [Fish, man,
star], ca. 1926

Pen and colored chalk on paper

24 3/4 x 19 in. (63 x 48.2 cm)

Staatsgalerie Stuttgart





1542

IsB

5

The Constructed Human Being

YASMIN DOOSRY

A photograph by Raoul Hausmann (1886–1971), a leading member of the Berlin Dada group, represents one of the artist’s assemblages: a wooden head for holding wigs sanded to a high gloss and furnished with commonplace objects [Cat. 63]. On the back of the head, a crocodile-leather coin purse has been affixed; the right ear is covered by a jewel case, a manual rotary stamp, and a pipe handle; the left ear has a ruler and adjusting screws from the bellows of a plate camera; a small cardboard label with the figure “22” and a piece of a centimeter tape measure are stuck to the forehead; and screws mark the temples. Finally, attached to the crown of the wooden head is a collapsible tin camping cup reminiscent of the “Nuremberg funnel” (or *Nürnberger Trichter*, a centuries-old jocular reference to mechanically “funneling” knowledge into students’ brains).¹

Initially this assemblage, one of the fundamental works of the Dada movement, lacked a title, though later on, Hausmann christened it *Mechanischer Kopf* (*Mechanical Head*). In 1966, he added the subtitle, *Der Geist unserer Zeit* (*The Spirit of Our Age*); identified 1919 as the wig-stand’s date of origin (a photograph of it was first published probably in 1922); and provided his own commentary on this work, which Hannah Höch had long kept safe in her Berlin residence and which is now in the Centre Pompidou in Paris:²

“Long ago I had discovered that people have no character and that their faces are just images made by the hairdresser. So why not take a head—one produced by a simple soul—of the sort that hairdressing apprentices use to make wigs? Just the idea! I wanted to uncover the

Hans Sebald Beham, *Eines Mannes Haupt* [Head of a man], 1542. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg [detail of Cat. 64]

spirit of our age, the spirit of everyone in rudimentary conditions. We tell ourselves marvels about “the nation of poets and philosophers” [i.e., Germans]. I thought I knew them better. Common sorts only had the abilities that chance had stuck on their skulls, on the outside; their brains were empty.”³

With his assemblage, Hausmann thus did not simply create an ironic objet d’art along Dadaist lines; it goes further than that, in representing human beings as emotionless constructs locked into a normative system, into whom anything can be “funneled” without resistance. This negative meaning of the wig-stand is connected to a radically negative view of society. Hausmann created the work after World War I’s catastrophic end, which plunged Germany into an existential crisis and provoked doubt among many about society’s dominant values. Looking back, Hannah Höch, who lived and worked with Hausmann between 1917 and 1922, returned to the subject of that profound split in society:

“What happened at this time, and how, was unprecedented. The workers with the Spartacus League, the philanthropists with their pacifism in all areas, the militarists with their putsches, the Anarchists with terrorism or individualist anarchism.”⁴

The Dadaist movement in Berlin likewise championed the destruction of affirmative rules and values. Hausmann answered the question, “What is Dada?” with the reply, “Dada is a tactic for the dissolution of an old social convention and the preparation of a (perhaps) new one [...]. DADA is the executioner of the bourgeois soul.”⁵ In this context the wig-stand studded with dead objects can be understood as a radical anti-bourgeois gesture and a settling of scores with a set of social ideals that had become suspect.⁶

Geometric figurations

The small-format engravings *Eines Mannes Haupt* (*Head of a Man*) and *Eines Weibes Haupt* (*Head of a Woman*), by Hans Sebald Beham (1500–1550), were published in 1542 [Cat. 64]. The artist, who probably received his training in the workshop of Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), executed these heads in profile and facing in opposite directions, each presented in two versions: one based on simple outlines and another based on delicate lines and chiaroscuro modeling. He superimposed a numbered grid over the heads executed in outlines, giving them the look of proportion studies. Though these engravings certainly testify to the popularity of the theory of proportion, they may have been sold less as practical learning material than as collector’s pieces.⁷ The same may not be said of Beham’s *Das Kunst und Lere Büchlin* (*The little book*

of art and teaching), published in Frankfurt in 1547; that book’s woodcuts and short explanations were to serve as an instruction manual in “painting and drawing” for yet inexperienced, “naïve youths.” Here, too, the illustrations make use of grids to explain, among other things, the proportions of the cranium, presenting heads executed much more simply than in the two engravings. The model for Beham’s tract, which went through seven editions by 1605, was Albrecht Dürer’s theory of proportions. In the summer of 1528, the Nuremberg Council had already accused Beham of pilfering material from Dürer’s manuscript of the *Vier Bücher von menschlicher Proportion* (*Four Books on Human Proportion*), published posthumously in October 1528. The Council forbade Beham to publish a text on the proportions of the horse, which Beham nevertheless did that same year in Nuremberg, despite the prohibition.⁸

The publication in 1543 of the widely disseminated didactic pamphlet *Underweisung der proportion unnd stellung der bossen* (*Instruction on proportion and the placement of poses*), by Erhard Schön, similarly reflected Dürer’s influence. Like Beham’s texts, the objective of Schön’s was to convey Dürer’s complicated instructions in proportion theory in a way that was readily understandable and to make it accessible, in an inexpensive edition, to a readership eager to learn.⁹ In his introduction, Schön also remarks that he has simplified Dürer’s and Vitruvius’s theories at the request of his apprentices. This little book on art begins with concepts from Euclidean geometry and goes on to discuss the representation of heads (of men, women, and children), individual figures, figures in groups, men fighting, coats of arms, helmets, and horses. It applies a universal pedagogical method: first the heads and figures are outlined flatly and inserted in a proportional grid; then they are broken down into cubes and rectangular prisms; next, the organic rendering of moving figures is presented, still preserving, however, the outlines of cubic structures [Cat. 65]. To demonstrate foreshortening, the figures are laid out on checkerboard floors and, finally, given the illusion of three-dimensional form by hatching and light and shadow effects.

Dürer’s theory of proportion finishes with the characteristic cubic figures in Schön’s manual.¹⁰ Dürer probably became acquainted with such drawings in Italy.¹¹ Their geometric forms, perfected by artists like Giovanni Battista Bracelli (1616–1649) and Luca Cambiaso (1511–1585), recall the construction of so-called *manichini* (mannequins), familiar to the broader public from representations of the Passion and mys-

tery plays at fairs and, beginning in the sixteenth century, also in the form of puppets.¹² Movable jointed dolls were part of the equipment in Italian artists' workshops from the early sixteenth century onward. Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574) reports in *Le vite dei più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori* (*The Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*), first published in 1550, that Fra Bartolommeo (1472–1517) had a life-size, movable wooden model made for studies of robes.¹³ Italian Renaissance artists used *manichini* not only for rendering particular folds in drapery, but also for the study of complicated poses.¹⁴ Presumably Dürer was also familiar with their use.¹⁵ The knowledge of articulated mannequins in the south of Germany is witnessed by examples of models of both sexes dated to around 1520–30, now housed in the Staatlichen Museum zu Berlin. These small boxwood figures, moveable from inside by means of cat-gut cords, are rare pieces suitable for a curiosity cabinet—their blatant, frivolously erotic appeal also likely to have stimulated collectors' imaginations.¹⁶

Into the nineteenth century, articulated mannequins of all sizes continued to serve as habitual artist's tools for studies of composition, poses, and drapery.¹⁷ In Paris in 1868, a certain "Leblond, Sculpteur" advertised, in broken English, a "man's life size mannikin for artist" in a sampler illustrated with over one hundred photographs [Cat. 66]. The mannequins' core consisted of a wooden skeleton that, according to one's needs, could be turned into a female or male model by manipulating padding within a stockinet covering. A sophisticated mechanism in the interior of the figures, operated by a crank in the head, provided for their movement at the waist and other joints. The mannequins could stand, sit, walk, take up dance positions, and adopt the poses of famous Greek statues like the *Diskobolus* or the *Crouching Venus*.

The photographs in the advertisement demonstrate the use of a technological artifact that, by virtue of Mr. Leblond's creativity and imagination, can seemingly be brought to life. Through the camera lens, the viewer takes part in this outrageous process that almost seems like a paraphrase of E. T. A. Hoffmann's novella *Der Sandmann* (*The Sandman*), the first text in his first series of *Nachtstücke* (*Night Pieces*, 1816). In this tale, the student Nathanael falls under the spell of a mechanical doll that Professor Spalanzani has created together with the lens-grinder Coppola and passed off as his daughter Olimpia. From his study, Nathanael observes the mysterious creature behind the window of the house opposite. Her gaze seems fixed and lifeless. However, a telescope he buys from Coppola sharpens his eye: Olimpia's gaze, illuminated by moonlight,

become more and more lively, thanks to the lens-grinder's art. Nathanael falls in love with the girl at a grand party and begins to visit her regularly. One day, however, he encounters Spalanzani and Coppola fighting over their creature; only then does Nathanael realize that Olimpia is only an inanimate doll.

In the twentieth century, representatives of the avant-garde, fascinated by the multiple semantic levels of wax figures, shop-window mannequins, tailors' dress forms, articulated artist's mannequins, and puppets, revived the figure of the doll in their art. Thus, *manichini* fill the paintings of Giorgio de Chirico as well as the works of Marcel Duchamp, George Grosz, Max Ernst, Hannah Höch, Raoul Hausmann, Oskar Schlemmer, Victor Brauner, and Claude Cahun, to name just a few examples. Mannequins also appear in myriad ways in the works of Man Ray. In 1926, in the pages of *La Révolution surréaliste*, the photographer published an image of an articulated mannequin that, half-seated, half-reclining, clasps a sphere and a cone [Fig. 51]. A year later, he began configuring playful scenarios for the photographic series *Mr. and Mrs. Woodman*, using artist's mannequins [Cat. 67, 68]. He deliberately chose geometrically stylized figures for his project, since their neutral appearance gave him the freedom to confer new meanings on them. He photographed the wooden creatures, the Woodmans, in different erotic poses, which he accompanied with pithy commentaries: "Of course, it is unnecessary to say that Mr. and Mrs. Woodman first met in the forest. After a century or so they were liberated from their trees or from the same tree, where they might have already been united in pre-marital bliss."¹⁸ Man Ray's photographs of artist's mannequins serve not just to provoke the viewer's fantasy; rather, they seek to question traditional views and unmask the reality behind moral conventions. The disconcerting animation of a faceless artifact, stripped of all individuality yet playing the role of a human doppelgänger, ideally suited Man Ray's intentions in this regard.

In 1915, Paul Klee (1879–1940) drew his *Artisten* (*Artists*), who juggle balls and perform daredevil balancing acts [Cat. 69]. In this case, too, the abstract figures are constructed out of geometrical forms. Here, however, the "constructed human being," lacking a face and a palpable identity, becomes the matrix for an abstract idea. Klee conceives the image of the artist playfully attempting the impossible as the sign of the uncertainty of artistic existence and as a counter-concept to the horrors of World War I.¹⁹

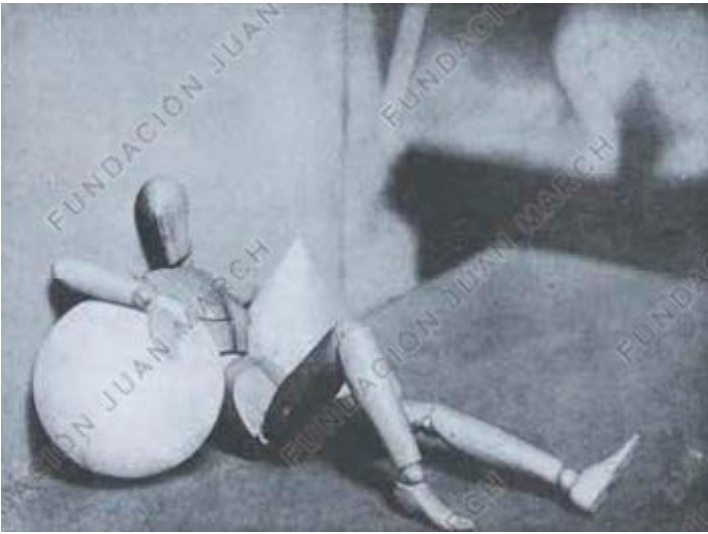


Fig. 51 Man Ray, mannequin with sphere and cone, in *La Révolution surréaliste*, no. 6 (1926): 1. Private collection

Playing with dolls

Hans Bellmer (1902–1975), who ran an advertising agency in Berlin until 1933 and was in contact with the Dadaists around George Grosz (1893–1959), created two nearly life-size, fully three-dimensional dolls between 1933 and 1935. The first *künstliches Mädchen* (“artificial girl”), from 1933, consisted of a flexible wooden skeleton with metal hinges, its torso, head, breasts, and extremities covered with plaster and wax-coated fibers.²⁰ The second doll, from 1935, had a central ball joint in the abdominal that enabled every conceivable movement and position. Bellmer photographed his creatures in two series. He published the first series of ten photographs, together with the text “Erinnerungen zum Thema Puppe” (Memories on the theme of dolls), under the title *Die Puppe* (*The Doll*) in Karlsruhe in 1934. The same series was published in Paris in 1936 by Guy Lévis Mano’s press, with ten original photographs pasted in. Eighteen photographs—Bellmer had sent several to Paul Éluard and André Breton in Paris—were reproduced in 1935 in a double-page spread in the periodical *Minotaure*. The publication of the second series, begun in 1935 and completed in December 1937, was delayed for many years. It appeared first in Paris in 1949 under the title *Les Jeux de la poupée* (*Doll’s games*), with a colored photograph at the beginning of the book and an essay by the artist on the ball joint; this publication also included fourteen more numbered photographs with poems by Éluard. Bellmer, who had begun living in Paris in the meantime, had translated

the introductory text to the narrative series of images into French in 1938 with the help of Georges Hugnet (1906–1974). Éluard, who had the idea of coloring the pictures, wrote his poems in the winter of 1938–39.²¹

One of the photographs of the doll from the first series of 1934 presents a sculpturally illuminated arrangement of individual parts of the body [Cat. 71]. They lie bunched together in a pile on striped mattress ticking. The torso, with its tactile surface, has had its head, arms, and parts of the legs amputated. Nestled in the curve of the waist, the head, which appears to have been scalped, lies in profile; underneath it there is a lock of long hair and a piece of lace underwear peeping out. A slightly open mouth, deep, empty eye sockets and a gash in the cranium heightens its disturbing appearance. Wedged between the twisted and truncated right leg and the left leg separated into two pieces, there is a pile of ball joints and a single eyeball. The arms, the lower half of a leg and the feet are missing from this *künstliches Mädchen*. The tightly framed view from below partially cropping some of the objects sharpens the impression of fragmentation and dismemberment. The fifth photograph from the series *Les Jeux de la poupée*, meanwhile, presents the figure from an extreme high angle, directly overhead [Cat. 72]. The lower torso lies on a checkered cloth, while another fragment of a torso and the dislocated head are shoved between the seat and a leg from a chair. The doll, which has only one stump of a leg and no arms, though a hacked-off hand remains, is completely bent in on itself and threatens to break apart into further pieces at any moment. The shrill colors accentuate the creature’s physical deformation.

With his photographic scenarios of sightless dolls’ fragmented bodies, Bellmer does not simply create a kind of coded language with which to represent the objectification of the human being or for the abuse and violent treatment of women, but above all he outlines the contours of a “choreography of desire.”²² With his nightmarish photographs, Bellmer sought to plausibly re-enact the horror of everyday life, sexualizing the female body as an erotic fetish and subjecting it to the voyeurism of the viewer, who alternates between feelings of power and impotence. The observing gaze is constantly manipulated in these images by their theatricality.²³ Bellmer captures the ambiguity of this temptation to voyeurism with particular clarity in the sixth photograph of *Les Jeux de la poupée*: A long-legged naked figure composed of two lower torsos, one inverted on top of the other and sprouting another, upside-down pair of long legs instead of arms

and a head, stands leaning against a tree-trunk in the woods. It is being watched by a blurred, furtive male figure hiding behind another tree. The artist conceived his terrifying bodies—divided by “images of dreams and memories,” signs of a divided consciousness—as a counter-model to society’s prevailing norms of morality, as a protest against the rigid bourgeois order now devoid of its former charms, and as a path to freedom from that order.²⁴ In this context, the medium of photography—which, in reproducing a work of art, here becomes one itself—takes on new significance. For the Surrealists, photography possessed its own emotional value and expressed its own reality, which it reveals in its interaction with human states of mind.²⁵

Since the fifteenth century, artists have produced a wealth of fantasies centered on the idea of the “artificial human,” from the geometric figures of Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) and Albrecht Dürer to the constructions of the Dadaists and the Surrealists. While Leonardo’s and Dürer’s proportion studies refer to a world of order, the mechanical, artificial bodies of the avant-garde are images onto which the most varied of concepts are projected. With their unsettling, frightening, and ironic character, they allow the artist to play with shifting identities, to lay open psychological processes, to expose schisms in society, or to symbolize the “new human.” In the examples presented here, photography plays a decisive role in the stimulation of fantasy.

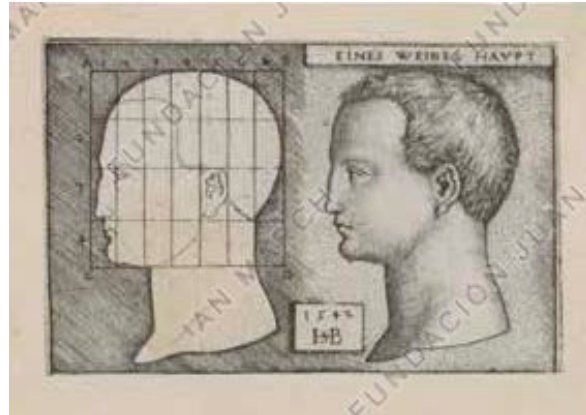
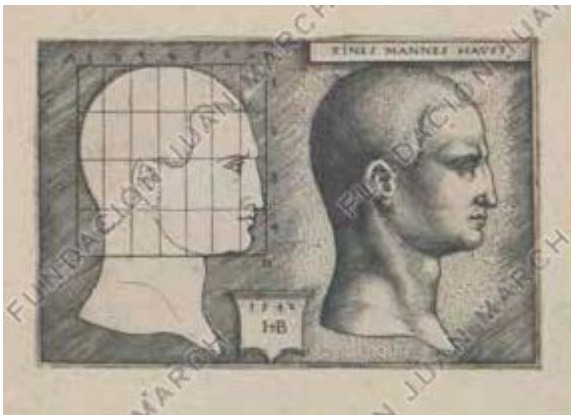
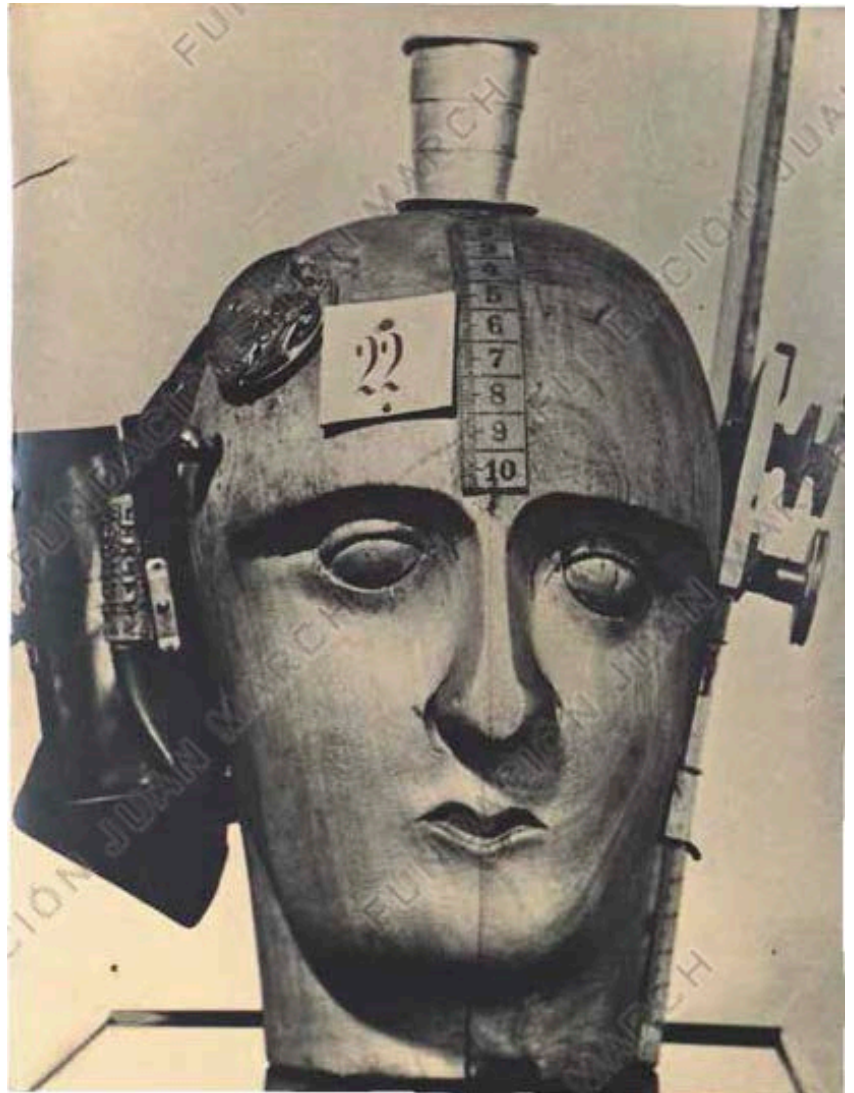
- 1 As indicated in Hausmann’s and Hannah Höch’s descriptions; see Haus 1995, 53, 56. [The origin of the familiar German expression, “Nürnberger Trichter,” goes back to the publication in Nuremberg in 1647 of Georg Philipp Harsdörffer’s guide to writing poetry without the aid of Latin, the *Poetischer Trichter* (*Poetic Funnel*), whose contents were, according to the title page, “in VI Stunden einzugiessen” (to be poured in in just six hours’ time).—Ed.]
- 2 On the dating of the wig-stand, see Haus 1995, 52–54.
- 3 Quoted in *ibid.*, 53.
- 4 Quoted in Dech 1989, 22.
- 5 Raoul Hausmann, “Was ist Dada?”; see Züchner 1998, 107 (document 20/2b, 1920).
- 6 Andreas Haus saw in the assemblage not the “caricature of a primitive petite bourgeoisie,” but the expression of a great change in Hausmann’s life and of a new conceptualization of art (Haus 1995, esp. p. 62).
- 7 On both engravings, see Hamburg 1983b, no. 27–28; Hamburg 1991, no. 26; Cambridge and Evanston 2011, no. 55.
- 8 London 1995, no. 94; Cambridge and Evanston 2011, no. 55.
- 9 Keil 1985, 134–35; Vienna 1987, no. VII.54; Schoch et al., 2001–4, 3: 327 (no. 277).
- 10 Schoch et al., 2001–4, 3:327 (no. 277).
- 11 Vienna 1987, no. VII.46; Düsseldorf 1999, 290.
- 12 Müller-Tamm and Sykora 1999, 68, 71.
- 13 Vasari [1568] 1971, 2:693 (modern ed. based on the definitive ed. published eighteen years later).
- 14 Nefzger 1991, 81.
- 15 On the basis of some drawings from the Dresden sketchbook, Arpad Weixlgärtner conjectured that for his studies Dürer also used jointed mannequins, which he might have come across in Italy (Weixlgärtner 1903); see also Nefzger 1991, 81–82.
- 16 Nefzger 1991, 83.
- 17 Düsseldorf 1999, 290.
- 18 Quoted in Schwarz 1977, 188–89.
- 19 Kersten 1987, 39; Baumgartner 2007, 229.
- 20 Originally Bellmer wanted to insert a mechanical “panorama” into the abdominal cavity. The construction stipulated six little boxes connected in a ring and filled with “small objects, materials and tasteless color pictures.” The pictures, illuminated by small flashlight bulbs and reflected in a mirror, were to be set in motion by a knob on the right nipple and looked at through the doll’s navel, transformed into a peephole; see Bellmer [1962] (1976), 14.
- 21 *Ibid.*, 116. Studies on Bellmer turn repeatedly to his *Puppen*. See in particular Webb 1985; Altner 2005; Müller-Tamm and Sykora 1999, 81–85.
- 22 Kuni 1999, 189.
- 23 *Ibid.*, 190; Altner 2005, 43, 89, 110.
- 24 Altner 2005, 110, 135.
- 25 Vienna 1989, 36, 46; see also Altner 2005, 43.

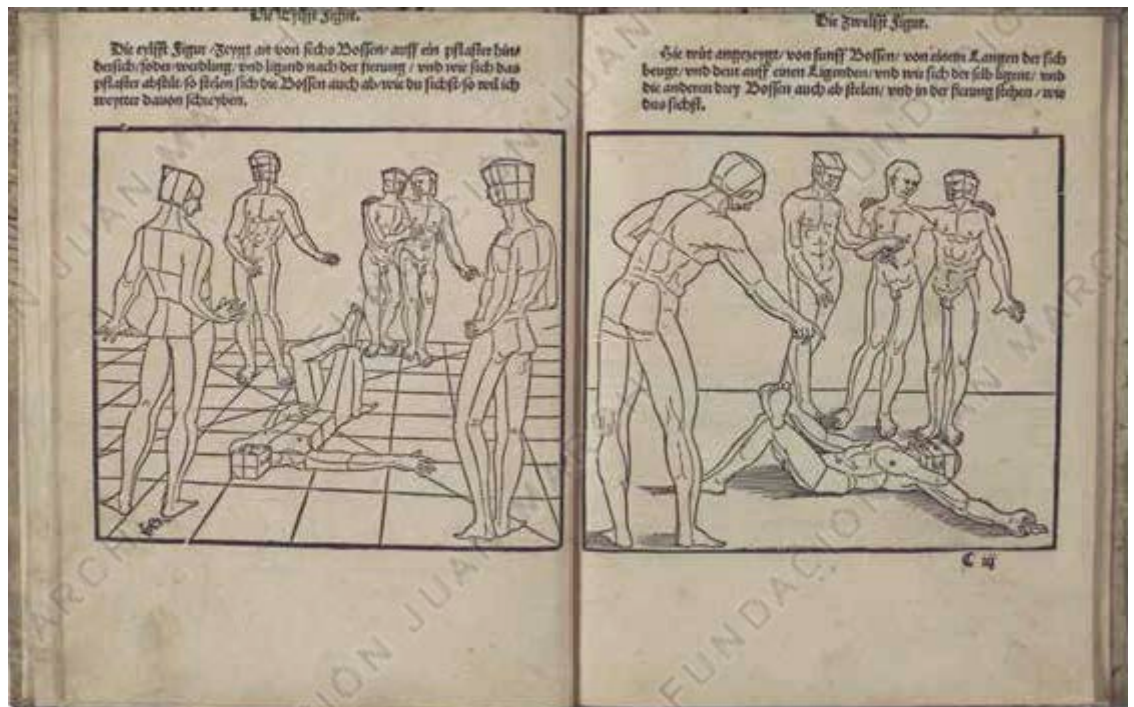
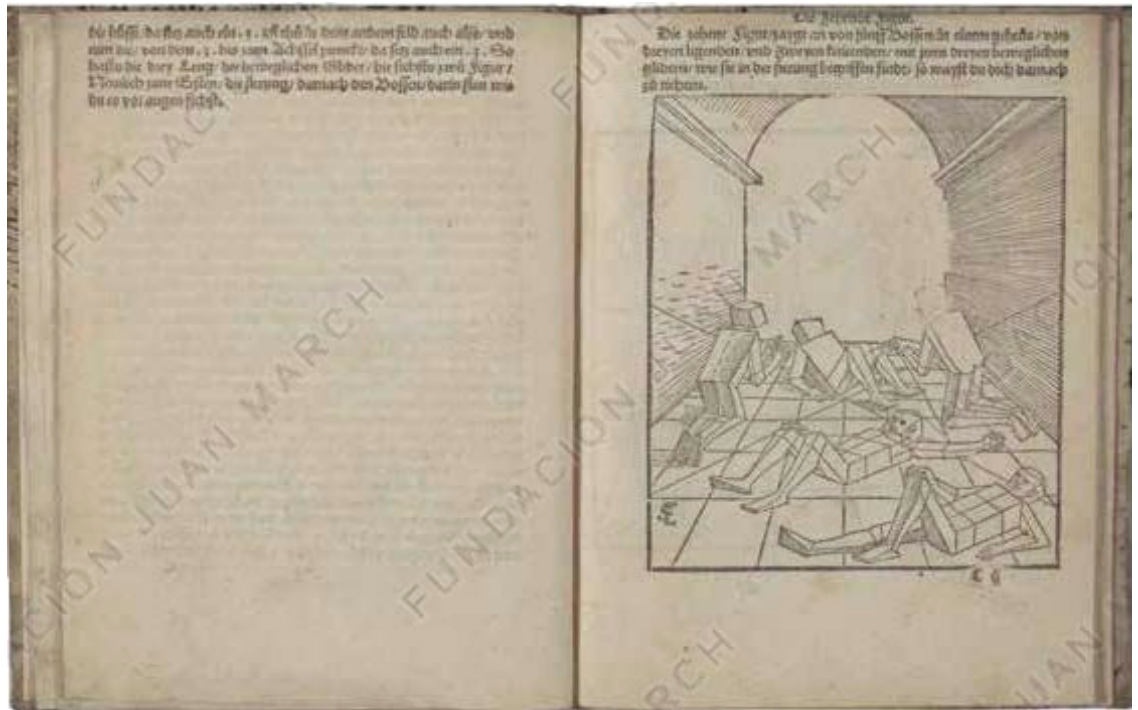
CAT. 63

Raoul Hausmann
Mechanischer Kopf (Der Geist unserer Zeit) [Mechanical head (The spirit of our age)], ca. 1919–20
Gelatin silver print on paper
8 3/4 x 6 3/4 in. (22.2 x 17.2 cm)
Dietmar Siegert collection

CAT. 64

Hans Sebald Beham
Eines Mannes Haupt / Eines Weibes Haupt [Head of a man / Head of a woman], 1542
Engraving
2 1/8 x 3 1/4 in. (5.3 x 8.1 cm)
Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
Nuremberg





CAT. 65
 Erhard Schön
 Die Zehend Figur [The tenth figure]
 Die Eylffft Figur / Die Zwelfft Figur [The eleventh figure / The twelfth figure], 1543
 From *Underweissung der Proportion vnnnd Stellung der bossen, ligent und stehent* [Instruction in proportion and the placement of poses, prone and standing] (Nuremberg: [Christoph Zell], 1543)
 Woodcut
 7 1/4 x 5 5/8 in. (18.5 x 14.2 cm)
 Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg



CAT. 66
Unknown (French)
Sheet with photographs of
artist's mannequins by Leblond,
ca. 1868
Albumen prints
78 3/8 x 39 in. (199 x 99 cm)
Dietmar Siegert collection



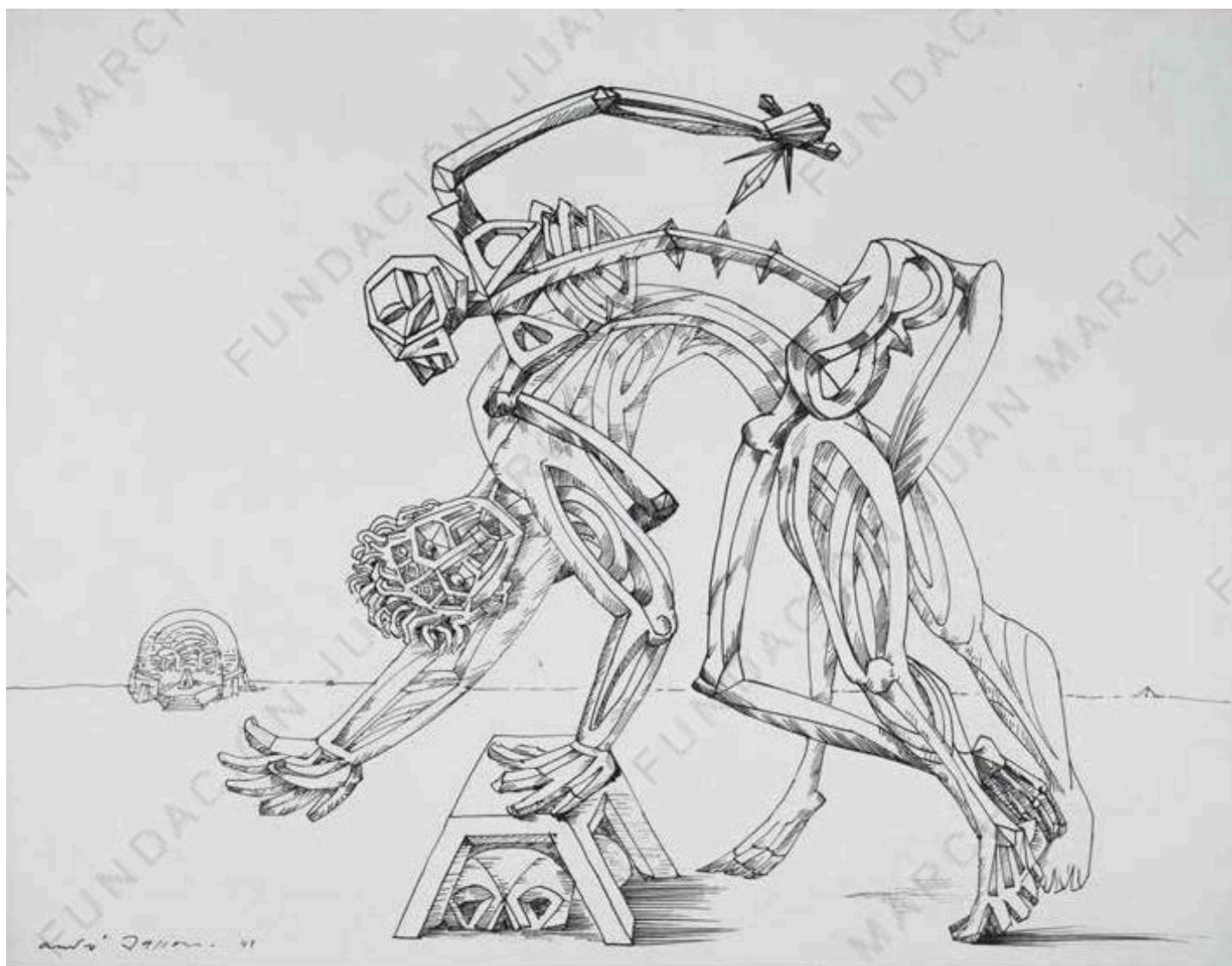


CAT. 67
 Man Ray
Mr. and Mrs. Woodman, 1927–45
 Gelatin silver print on paper
 7 x 5 in. (17.7 x 12.7 cm)
 Musée national d'art moderne/Centre
 de création industrielle, Centre
 Pompidou, Paris

CAT. 68
 Man Ray
Mr. and Mrs. Woodman, 1927–45
 Gelatin silver print on paper
 4 7/8 x 7 1/8 in. (12.5 x 18.2 cm)
 Musée national d'art moderne/Centre
 de création industrielle, Centre
 Pompidou, Paris

CAT. 69
 Paul Klee
Artisten [Artists], 1915
 Pen and black ink on paper, mounted
 on cardboard
 6 x 7 5/8 in. (15.3 x 19.3 cm)
 Sprengel Museum, Hannover





CAT. 70

André Masson

Study for *L'Assassinat du double* [The murder of the double], 1941

India ink on paper

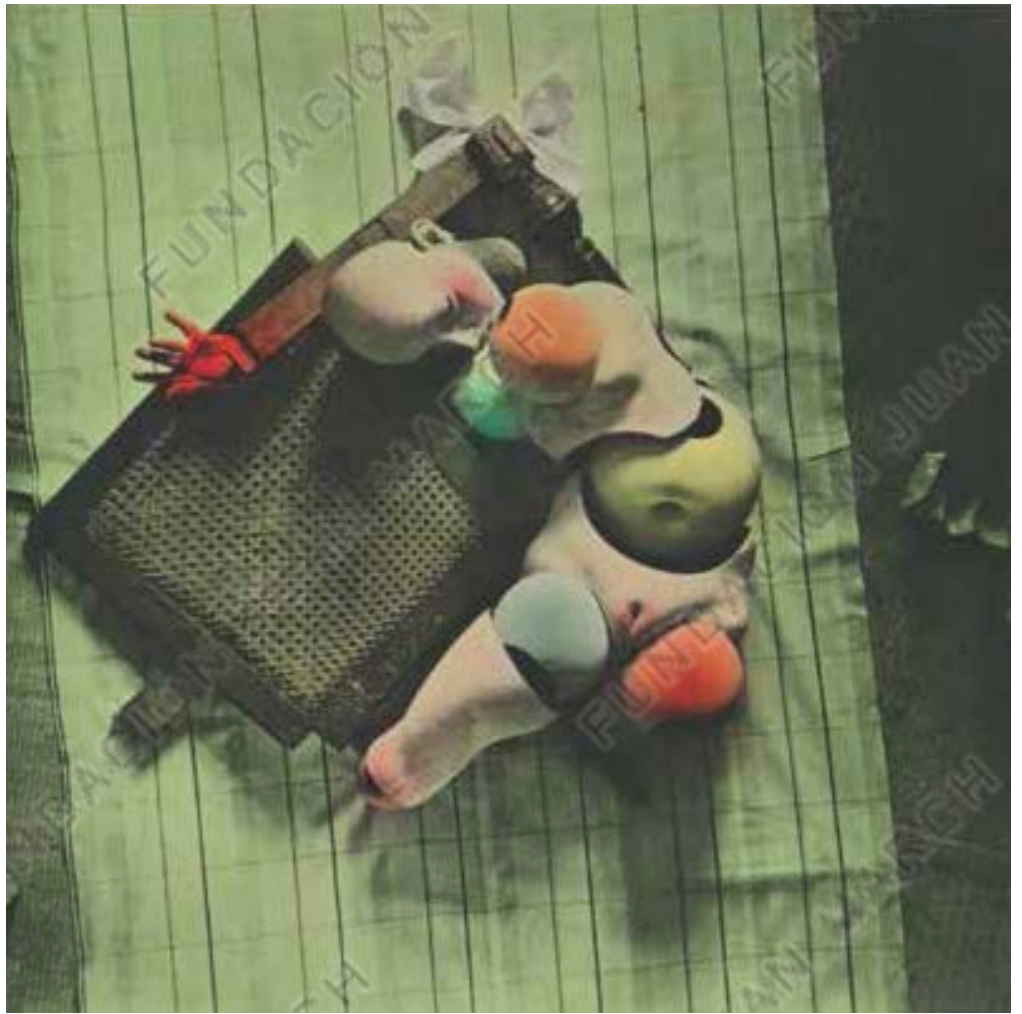
9 3/8 x 25 1/8 in. (49.3 x 63.9 cm)

Musée national d'art moderne/Centre de création industrielle, Centre Pompidou, Paris



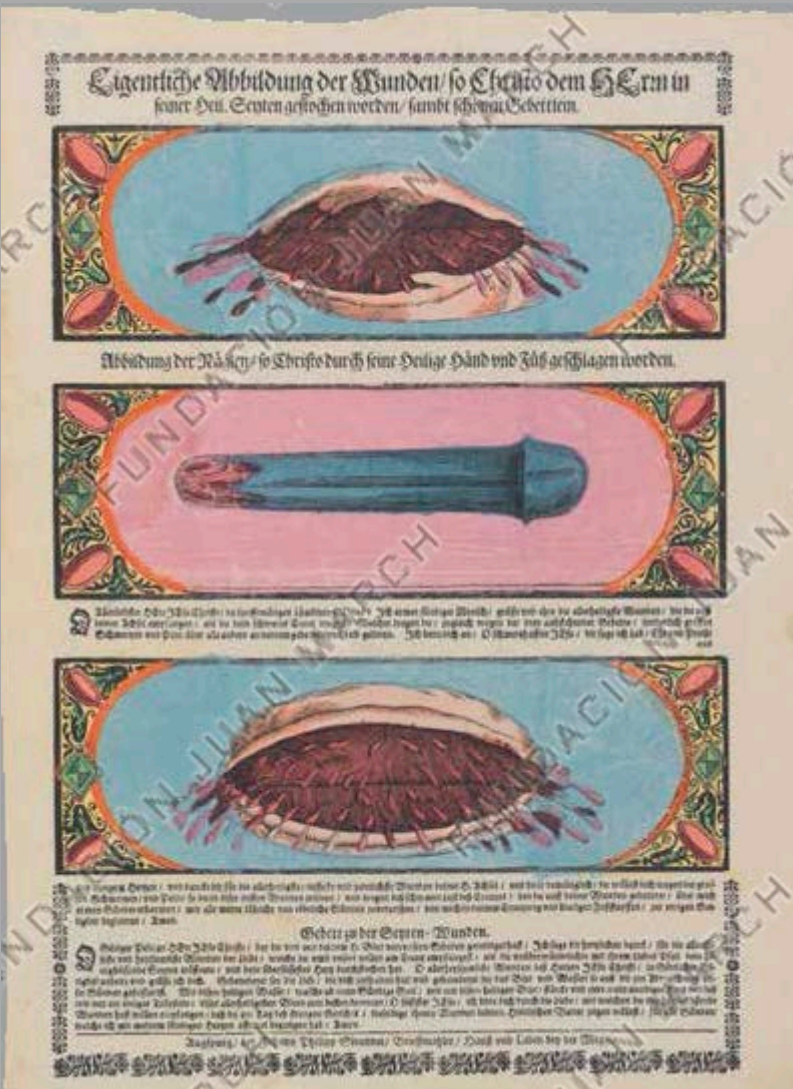
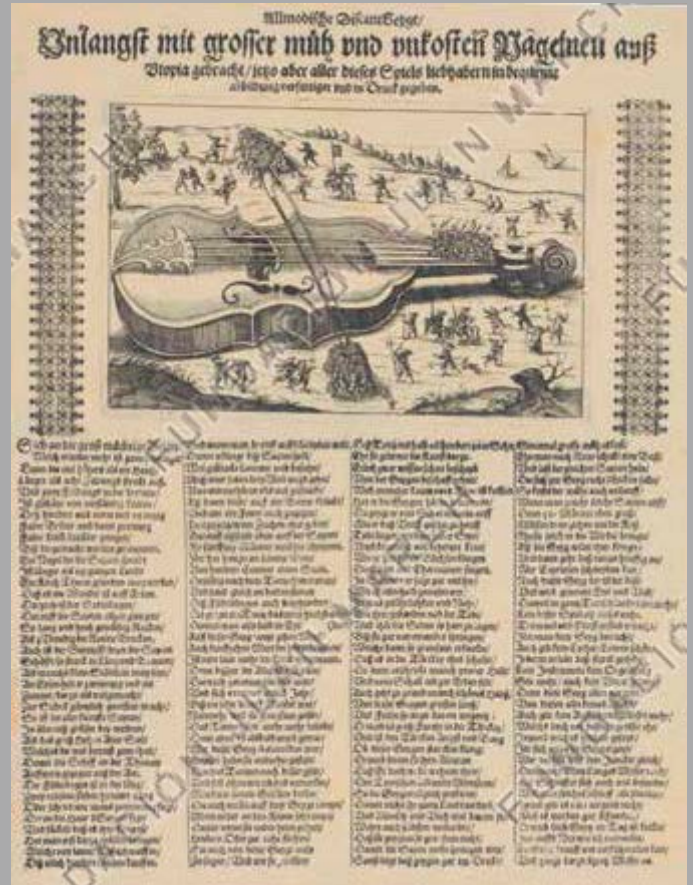
CAT. 71
Hans Bellmer
La Poupée [The doll], 1934
From Hans Bellmer, *La Poupée* (Paris, 1936)
Gelatin silver print on paper
4 5/8 x 3 1/8 in. (11.7 x 7.9 cm)
Staatsgalerie Stuttgart

CAT. 72
Hans Bellmer
Les Jeux de la poupée [The doll's games],
1935-37
From Hans Bellmer, *Les Jeux de la poupée*.
With texts by Paul Éluard (Paris, 1949)
Hand-colored gelatin silver print
5 3/8 x 5 3/8 in. (13.6 x 13.6 cm)
Dietmar Siegert collection



6

The (Dis)order of Things



CAT. 73
Johann Philipp Steudner
Christ's wounds, ca. 1680
Colored woodcut
16 7/8 x 12 1/4 in. (43 x 31 cm)
Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
Nuremberg

CAT. 74

Unknown (German)

Allmodische Discant Gehyge

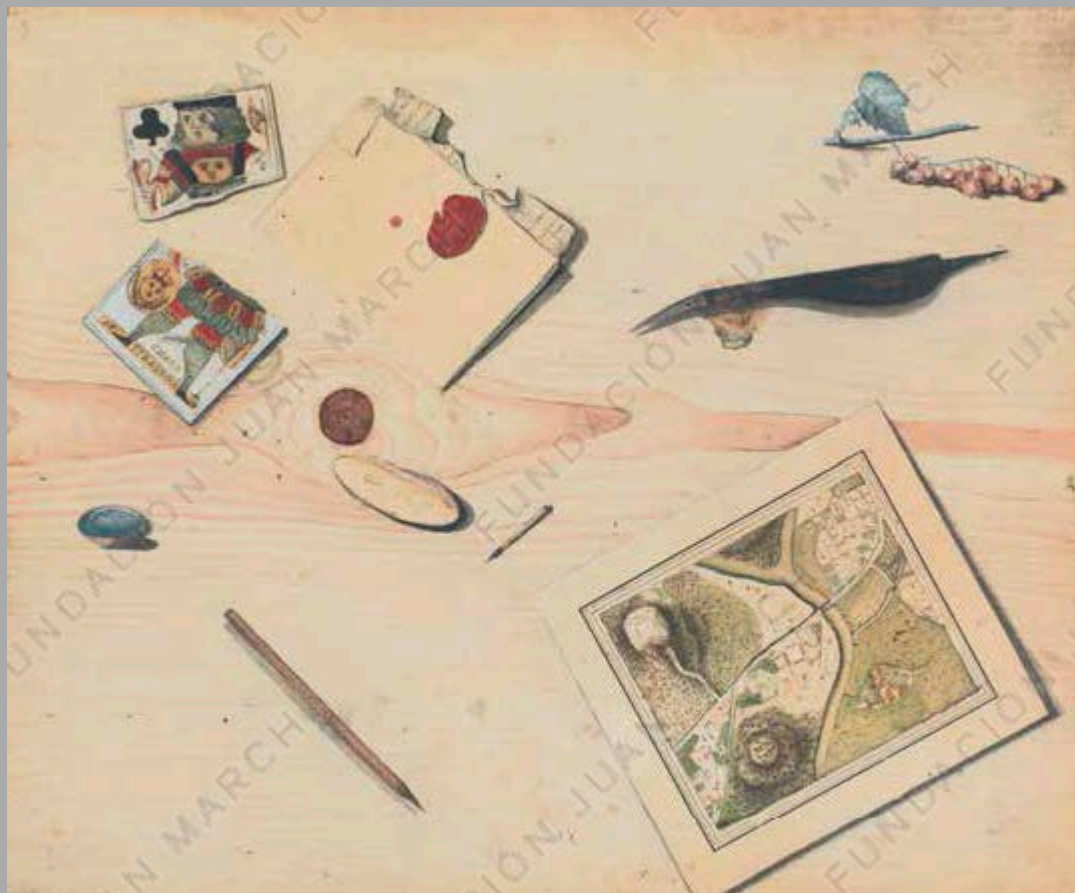
[Modern treble violin], 1621

Etching and type

14 1/2 x 11 1/4 in. (36.9 x 28.6 cm)

Germanisches

Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg



CAT. 77

Wenzel Hollar

Still life with muffs and festive adornments, 1647

Etching

4 3/4 x 8 1/2 in. (12.1 x 21.5

cm)

Germanisches

Nationalmuseum,

Nuremberg

CAT. 75

Unknown (French)

Quodlibet, ca. 1800

Watercolor, pencil, pen and

black ink

13 3/8 x 16 1/8 in. (33.9 x 40.9 cm)

Germanisches

Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg



CAT. 76
Man Ray
L'Énigme d'Isidore Ducasse [The enigma of
Isidore Ducasse], 1920
Gelatin silver print on paper
7 1/2 x 10 in. (19 x 25.5 cm)
Dietmar Siegert collection



CAT. 79
Brassai (Gyula Halász)
*Magique-circonstancielle, ou Pomme de
terre germée* [Circumstantial magic,
or sprouted potato], 1931
From the series *Magique-
circonstancielle*
Gelatin silver print on paper
11 1/4 x 9 in. (28.7 x 23 cm)
Dietmar Siegert collection



CAT. 80
 Herbert Bayer
Nature Morte [Still life], 1936
Fotoplastik ("photo-sculpture").
 Gelatin silver print on paper
 11 x 13 7/8 in. (28 x 35.3 cm)
 Dietmar Siebert collection



CAT. 78
 Unknown (French)
Anatomie de l'oeil [Anatomy of
 the eye], ca. 1920
 Gelatin silver print on paper
 4 3/4 x 6 7/8 in. (12 x 17.4 cm)
 Dietmar Siebert collection



CAT. 81
 Giovanni Battista Piranesi
 Various ancient lamps of bronze
 and terracotta, 1778
 Etching
 21 1/8 x 29 1/2 in. (53.8 x 74.9 cm)
 Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg



CAT. 82
 Unknown (German)
 Album of samples for quodlibets,
 ca. 1800
 Drawings, woodcuts, engravings,
 and etchings
 13 3/4 x 16 1/2 in. (34 x 42 cm)
 Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
 Nuremberg

CAT. 83
 Christian Gottlob Winterschmidt
 Quodlibet, ca. 1800
 Colored etching with gouache
 overpainting
 10 1/8 x 8 1/4 in. (25.6 x 20.9 cm)
 Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
 Nuremberg



7

Capriccio

RAINER SCHOCH

Hoffmanneske Märchenszene (*Hoffmannesque Fairy-Tale Scene*) [Cat. 84] is the title Paul Klee gave the color lithograph he contributed in 1921 to the first Bauhaus portfolio, *Neue Europäische Graphik* (New European graphic art).¹ Although Klee's associative method for giving titles to his works does not lead one to expect an illustration of a specific literary text, the title does provide guidance for a reading of the lithograph and insight into the artist's intellectual horizon and aesthetic thought. The delicate, gossamer fairy-tale castle that Klee erects on top of a flat, irregular pattern of fields of radiant gold does indeed conjure up the fairy-tale enchantment of E. T. A. Hoffmann's settings for his tales—for example, the Prince Bastianello di Pistoja's palace in *Prinzessin Brambilla* (*Princess Brambilla*). "Ein Capriccio nach Jakob Callot" ("A Capriccio after Jacques Callot") was Hoffmann's subtitle for this fantastical tale published in 1820, and in the preface, he explicitly draws the reader's attention to Callot (1592–1635): "The kind reader, however, who may be ready and willing to put gravity aside for a few hours and abandon himself to the whimsical and audacious play of a hobgoblin, even though it may occasionally be downright impertinent, is humbly requested by the editor not to forget the basis on which the whole affair rests, Callot's fantastic caricatures, and also to consider what a musician may demand of a capriccio."²

It is not insignificant that Paul Klee immersed himself in E. T. A. Hoffmann as he lived through the troubled period at the end of World War I, when he was posted at the Royal Bavarian Flying School in Gersthofen.³ His choice of title sug-

Paul Klee, *Hoffmanneske Märchenszene*
[Hoffmannesque fairy-tale scene],
1921. Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
Nuremberg [detail of Cat. 84]

gests a desire to plumb the historical depths of his “fantasy piece,” aware that in the process he would bump into Callot’s *Capricci di varie figure* (1617). Klee himself could have uttered Hoffmann’s eulogy to Jacques Callot:

“Why can I never get your figures, often merely suggested with a couple of bold strokes, out of my head? If I gaze long at your lavish compositions created out of the most heterogeneous elements, thousands and thousands of figures come to life, and each one, often emerging from the distant background where at first it was difficult even to discern it, strides forth with vigor, shining with the most natural colors.”⁴

In another context, Klee identified his guiding artistic principle as the “essentialization of the accidental,” which in some respects also applies to Callot—and certainly to E. T. A. Hoffmann.⁵ Klee’s bizarre drawings, full of narrative fantasy—his arabesques and his pictorial structures built from many interwoven layers—are comparable to Hoffmann’s tales. Both reject the mere imitation of nature, instead leading us beyond the limits of reason into the realm of the fantastic and the wondrous. In this light, the notion of the *capriccio* is applicable to many of the paintings and drawings by Klee, who hoped from his art that in it “ethical gravity would prevail—and, at the same time, impish snickering at professors and parsons.”⁶

Klee’s pen drawing from 1919, *Der schwüle Garten* (*The Sultry Garden*) [Cat. 85], can also be included among these “tales à la Hoffmann,” for it is exemplary of the young Klee’s working methods. Among the poetic entries in his diary of his journey to Tunis, one finds a highly idiosyncratic, private metaphor for the creation of form that may provide the key to understanding the drawing: “In the beginning, the male specialty of the energetic impulse. Then the fleshly growth of the egg. Or: first the lightning stroke, then the raining cloud.”⁷ This description of the artistic creation of form in sexual terms is transposed almost word for word into the drawing: A bolt of lightning drives into the cloud, which in turn rains on the “sultry garden.” The gardener, obviously Klee’s self-portrait, seems to receive this sudden inspiration, a bolt of insight—though his small watering-can lends the image an ironic undertone.

Though this is not the first time it has been asked, it seems justifiable to pose the question of whether the phenomenon of the *capriccio* might provide us with a means of understanding the classical period of modern art in general, including figures like Max Ernst, Joan Miró, and the Surrealists.⁸ How else should one describe the 1937 gouache *Le*

Perroquet (*The Parrot*) by Joan Miró (1893–1983) [Cat. 86]? The colorful bird ascending against a black background towards the stars, a *oiseau lunaire*, is one of the recurring poetic metaphors in Miró’s oeuvre. It incorporates the mysterious nocturnal side of nature and in its ambiguity is as much related to the Romantic *Wundervogel* (“wonderful bird”) of Ludwig Tieck (1773–1853) as to the bird in the poetry of Jacques Prévert (1900–1977).

Capers of the imagination, leaps of fancy

Part of the essence of the *capriccio* is obviously that it defies clear definition. Not even the etymology of the word is completely settled.⁹ The scintillating, multifaceted quality of concept, constantly shifting in its many historical manifestations, seems to be due to the way in which it persistently moves beyond the semantically circumscribable, specific world of forms into more distant, boundless realms of fantasy, striving to enlarge the limits of the world of the imagination through its constant innovations. One must therefore assume a subversive tendency is inherent to the *capriccio*, an inherent yearning for freedom; its historical development accompanies the liberation of artistic individuality and is therefore also bound up with the project of modernity.

General dictionaries usually translate the Italian word *capriccio* (cognate with French *caprice*, which derives from the Italian) as “whim,” “quirk,” “vagary,” or, more colloquially, “mischief” (or even “tantrum”). As early as the Italian Middle Ages, the word appears within this general semantic field. Over the course of the sixteenth century, however, it entered the lexicon of, above all, literature on art and especially on music, where it typically referred to an idiosyncratic, unconventional idea deviating from traditional rules. Thus, Vasari brims with enthusiasm at the “strani capricci” (strange *capriccios*) of Filippino Lippi (1457–1504) in his fanciful ornamental grotesques in the Carafa chapel in the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome.¹⁰ And an anonymous commentator of the Counter-Reformation disparages the *Pietà* that Michelangelo (1475–1564) sculpted for St. Peter’s Basilica in Rome as an example of kind of “*capricci luterani*” (Lutheran *capricci*) that place artistic pleasure before piety.¹¹

In texts on art from the Mannerist and Baroque periods, the term *capriccio* broadens to encompass notions related to *invenzione* and *immaginazione*, and to *idea* and *pensiero* (“thought”). At one extreme, *capriccio* borders on *fantasia* and *poesia*; at the other on *stravaganza* (“eccentricity”) and *bizzarria* (“oddity”). In French, the semantic range of *caprice* also



Fig. 52 *Capriccio*, from the 1611 edition of Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (Padua: P. P. Tozzi, 1611). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg

overlaps with *manie* (“obsession”), *marotte* (“foible”) and *excentricité*; applied to the figure of the artist, it leads us in the direction of the eccentric outsider. Accordingly, in the second edition of the emblem book by Cesare Ripa (1555–1622) titled *Iconologia*, the personification of *Capriccio* is a fickle youth in a tall, extravagant hat and colorfully bedecked in a fringed doublet reminiscent of a jester’s costume. As attributes he carries a bellows and spurs—both ideal instruments to fire, or spur on, the imagination [Fig. 52].¹²

In Callot’s Manner

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the word *capriccio* seems to take on the more precise contours of a term designating an artistic genre, for a great many significant series of etchings were expressly titled *capricci*.¹³ Jacques Callot began the custom with his *Capricci di varie figure* (*Capriccios of Various Figures*), which first appeared in Florence in 1617. With these “first blooms of his spirit” and “harbingers of future achievements,” the twenty-five-year-old engraver from Lorraine sought to recommend himself to the Florentine court as an inventive artist, dedicating his series of fifty small-format etchings to Lorenzo de’ Medici (1599–1648), the brother of Cosimo II, Grand Duke of Tuscany (1590–1621) [Cat. 88].

The series, which is not united by a single theme or narrative thread, presents tiny figures—nobles, courtiers, soldiers, dancers, musicians, shepherds, farmers, buffoons, and so on—typically before small landscapes or views of Florence. The series is, however, by no means a systematic review or satire of professions or social classes. Rather, one has the impression that Callot sought to casually foreground a profusion of insignificant things. Yet this freedom in his choices of motifs is not the only guiding principle behind Callot’s capriccios. He is no less imaginative in his demonstration of new techniques he had developed that paved the way for etching’s triumph as a medium. The application of a more durable etching ground allowed for a longer acid bath and therefore much more deeply bitten lines, and the use of the *échoppe* (an etching tool he devised with an oval tip), when properly rotated in the execution of a stroke, produced a swelling line like those engravers could achieve with their burins. Callot’s other major innovation was the extensive use of multiple stages in the application of the acid bath, each time stopping out successive areas of the print and thereby creating lighter lines in the areas that had been stopped out and darker lines in those that been exposed to the acid longer. Thus, it was possible to reproduce the figures in the

foreground with bolder lines and the landscape in the background with finer lines. These new technical refinements contributed in no small measure to the large number of copies made of Callot's *Capricci* and to their use as a manual for teaching drawing and printmaking.¹⁴

The influence Callot's series exercised was indeed early, rich, and resounding, but it did not really contribute to a clearer definition of *capriccio*. Callot's disciple, Stefano della Bella (1610–1664), included fanciful variations of ornamental cartouches in his *Raccolta di varii capriccii* (Collection of various capriccios), published in Paris in 1646; Giovanni Battista Montano (1534–1621) provided a variety of sketches for altars in his *Diversi ornamenti capricciosi per altari e depositi* (Diverse capriccio ornaments for altars and tombs), published in Rome in 1625; and Johann Wilhelm Baur (1607–1642) staged a series of freely invented cavalry battles in his *Capricci di varie battaglie* (Capriccios of various battles, 1635). This handful of examples alone suggests the breadth of the concept, which continued to resist definition in terms of motifs or iconography. On the other hand, there are clear common denominators: the technique of etching, and the wealth of individual inventiveness applied to genres of the most varied sorts.

In this sense, the series of prints explicitly referred to as capriccios represent only a small portion of the sundry examples of artistic inventiveness that deserve the name. One finds these grotesques, burlesques, and drolleries primarily in drawings and prints, mediums that have always been especially well-suited to artists' experimentation with fanciful, spontaneous ideas. Two years before Callot, in 1615, the Strasbourg goldsmith Wendel Dietterlin the Younger (active ca. 1614–1669) published a series of monstrous figures at the print shop of Balthasar Caymox (1561–1635) in Nuremberg [Cat. 92, 93]. His monstrosities certainly warrant the label of capriccios: friezes composed of bizarre figures, pot-bellied gnomes with tails and wings, grotesque bird-taloned cephalopods, and ghastly masks whose iconographic pedigree conspicuously includes the fantastic creatures of Hieronymus Bosch (ca. 1450–1516). And, as early as 1610, the *Neuw Grotteßken Buch* (New book of grotesques) had been published in Nuremberg by Christoph Jamnitzer (1563–1618), a book whose subtitle, *Schnacken-Marckt* (Chatter-market), represents an inventive German synonym for the Italian *capriccio*.¹⁵ Similarly *capriccioso*, though not named as such, is the *Neu ersonnenen Goldschmied-Grillen* (Newly contrived goldsmith-whimsies), that Wolfgang Hieronymus von Bommel (or Bömmel, b. 1667) published sometime between 1690 and 1700 at

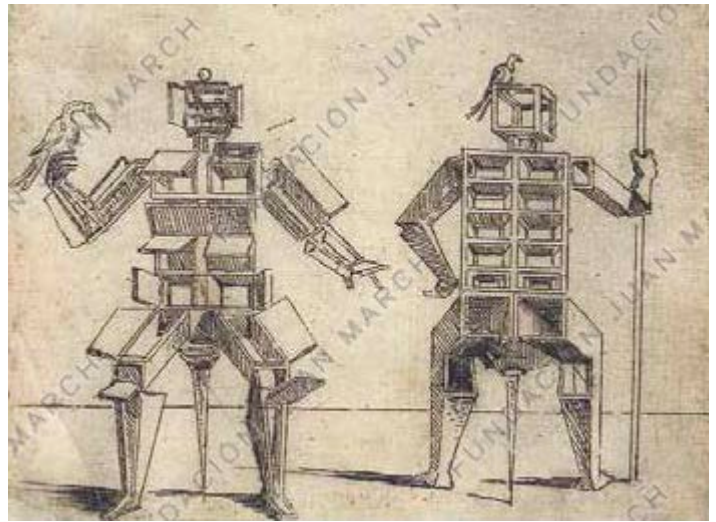


Fig. 53 Giovanni Battista Bracelli, *Bizzarie di varie figure*, no. 21 (Livorno, 1624). The British Museum, London

Fig. 54 Salvador Dalí, cover for *Minotaure*, no. 8 (1936). Private collection

the Nuremberg print shop of Christoph Weigel the Elder. The twelve prints—mostly black figures of people and animals, filled out with white foliage—were to be used as models for gold-work, enamel-work, and ornaments [Cat 95].¹⁶

It should be noted that precisely among ornamental engravers, who produced these models for goldsmiths and other artisans, a pronounced inclination for the fantastic developed. The pressures of changing fashion and the competitive nature of their profession were a constant challenge to their powers of invention. The obligation to innovate led to a permanent contest among these artisans to outdo each other, which in turn only increased the demand for greater feats of virtuosity. These designers did not shrink from creations that evoked the follies of madness.

In this context, particular consideration should be given to the unusual series of *Bizzarie di varie figure* (which might be rendered as “oddities of varied shapes”) by the Florentine engraver Giovanni Battista Bracelli and published in Livorno in 1624 [Fig. 53]. Kenneth Clark “rediscovered” these etchings for modernity in 1929, and Tristan Tzara (1896–1963) counted them among the precursors of Surrealism.¹⁷ Bracelli described his series of fifty prints as “un gregge di vari capricci” (a flock of various capriccios), alluding both to his model in Callot and to the word’s goatish etymology.¹⁸ His composite figures, posing and gesticulating rhetorically, are made primarily of three-dimensional forms—cubes, cylinders, rings, metal frames, chains, etc.—and assembled with hinges or screws, such that they take on a mechanically robotic quality that is comparable to the constructed figures of the sixteenth-century painter and draftsman, Luca Cambiaso. Others embody particular professions and activities and, accordingly—like Arcimboldo’s heads—are composed of the implements and utensils typical of those occupations. Indeed, one also finds here the distant ancestors of Pablo Picasso’s costume designs for the ballet *Parade*, Paul Klee’s illustrations to *Candide*, Giorgio de Chirico’s *manichini*, and Salvador Dalí’s figures with drawers [Fig. 54].

Dis-concert

Giovanni Battista Tiepolo (1696–1770) titled his series of ten etchings made around 1740, *Vari Capricci* (*Various Capriccios*). They bring together different groupings of figures in picturesque compositions, but they cannot be explained according to traditional iconography: groups of soldiers, orientalist figures, pulcinellos, ancient mages, priestesses, and shepherds in Arcadian milieus—occasionally with dark undertones

conveyed by motifs like sarcophagi, gravestones, urns, and skulls. *Death Giving Audience* is the usual name for the print in the exhibition, though the title is not Tiepolo’s [Cat. 89].¹⁹ This inauthentic title is misleading, since it implies a narrative action that is not present. The print represents a skeletal figure of death sitting before a group of fearfully amazed people and reading aloud from a book. The pastoral theme of “Et in Arcadia ego” is vaguely hinted at, certainly, but not fully realized. None of the prints offers information on the historical setting of the images. Situated outside a specific time and place and impossible to define in terms of a literary model, these small, disconcerting compositions call into question the viewer’s conventions and invite reflection. Not least, they represent a challenge to any academically trained historical painter, for whom they could, however, also have served as interesting pictorial models. In this case, the word *capricci* seems not only to allude to the artistic inventiveness of these figure compositions, but also to their enigmatic nature.²⁰

Though these innovations are tied to questions of form, and therefore essentially inherent to art, fantasy itself proves, time and again, to be an uncontrollable force. Werner Busch has thus aptly described the capriccio as the “last vain attempt to control fantasy.” Imaginativeness ineluctably and abruptly turns to the fantastic: gloomy atmospheres, sudden anxieties, hallucinations, and desires. This tendency is apparent, for example, in Giovanni Battista Piranesi’s *Prisons*, published only a few years after Tiepolo’s *Capricci*, around 1749–50, first with the title *Invenzioni capric[ciose] di Carceri* (*Capriccio Imaginings of Prisons*) [Cat. 20]. The series of sixteen etchings represents a particular type of the popular and widely disseminated genre of the architectural capriccio. Many painters and etchers who did not want to settle for the less well-respected profession of the painter of *vedute* sought to impress with virtuoso combinations of real and imagined architectural views, and they found an appreciative audience among aristocrats on the Grand Tour. Piranesi’s *Vedute di Roma* (*Views of Rome*) catered precisely to this audience, but his *Carceri* took a further, crucial step. The somber, foreboding prison sets that were a fixture on the contemporary theatrical stage were Piranesi’s point of departure. With his knowledge of these scenographic formulas, the architect from Treviso designed oppressive spatial fantasies that contradicted architectonic logic yet magnified architecture’s expressiveness as a carrier of meaning. From the changes Piranesi made in the second edition, it is clearly evident that he

consciously and methodically pursued this emphasis on the disconcerting and the disorienting.

The most famous series of capriccios is, of course, Francisco de Goya's *Caprichos*, which he created in the years following his grave illness, that is, between 1793 and 1799. In the *Diario de Madrid* of February 6, 1799, he advertised the eighty aquatints as a "collection of prints on capricious subjects," in which he sought "to censure human error and vice."²¹ As if in apology, he asks for understanding for his having departed from nature's model and followed his imagination:

The artist has not followed the example of others, nor was he able to copy from nature. And if imitating nature is as difficult as it is admirable when done successfully, he will not be undeserving of esteem who, turning completely away from nature, has been obliged to represent forms and gestures that until now have only existed in the human mind, darkened and confused from its lack of enlightenment or inflamed by unbridled passion.²²

If one examines the prints themselves—for example *Capricho* no. 42, *Tu que no puedes* (*You who cannot*) [Fig. 55]—the ambiguity of Goya's appeal to the viewer's understanding becomes apparent. The print represents two peasants, each of whom carry a donkey on his back. It is the commonplace of "the world upside-down," familiar from popular satirical prints since the seventeenth century and made current by the French Revolution, in the context of which it became a manifest denunciation of the feudal repression of the peasantry. On closer consideration, Goya's ostensible apology—for having following not nature but a capricious idea—proves to be a clever move. With the generic rubric of "*caprichos*," which would seem to trivialize their subject, the enlightened artist could present his fierce criticism of the social and cultural milieu with less risk under the cover of this protective cloak. But Goya was mistaken in assuming that move was sufficient. He was only able to sell a few copies of the first edition of his *Caprichos* of 1799 before withdrawing it from publication: To escape political persecution, the artist found himself obliged to hand over the remaining copies, together with the plates, to the royal library's censors. With Goya's series of prints, the capriccio acquired a new dimension beyond mere playfulness, wit, or formal innovation. By disregarding the rules of *imitatio naturae*, Goya was able to forge ahead to a new stage in the depiction of reality.

Preliminary stages

At this point, we might add numerous examples of capriccios *avant la lettre*, only a few of which, however, will be men-

tioned here. They all are nevertheless part of the long tradition of artistic whimsies going back to the Middle Ages that only later came to be called capriccios.

The figure alphabet engraved by Master E. S. (ca. 1425/30–ca. 1467/68), from around 1465–67, derives from the historiated initials and marginal drolleries of medieval illuminated manuscripts. The lowercase *x* shown here is made of medieval figures of street musicians playing a zither, bells, a shawm, and a crumhorn [Cat. 91].²³ In other cases, the letters are configured from animals both fabulous and real, men and women, saints and fools, lacking any apparent contextual relationship. Figure alphabets offered space for grotesque comedy, playfully represented, and for crude and strange burlesques in which on occasion a degree of social criticism, characteristic of the late Middle Ages, is also added to the mix—for example, monks and nuns in "awkward" situations. Yet messages with such specific content do not really belong to the essence of the capriccio. Artistic fantasy in this case seems above all to be accompanied by an anarchic delight in breaking the rules.

This is particularly true of the bluntly ribald imagery found in playing cards, which busied artists from the generation after Albrecht Dürer such as Hans Sebald Beham, Hans Schäufelein (ca. 1485–ca. 1538), Peter Flötner (ca. 1485–1546), and Virgilius Solis the Elder. Around 1540, Peter Flötner created a deck of cards that, alongside numerous misogynistic, erotic, and scatological obscenities and tomfoolery from the world of farces and carnival plays, also contains a series of highly imaginative pictorial inventions that well merit the name of capriccios. Among these is the wooden female jester of the seven of bells card [Fig. 56].²⁴ This lady-fool, cut with square edges from the trunk of a tree, is reminiscent of the mannequins in the 1538 *Underweyssung* (Instruction) by Erhard Schön and of Dürer's figures constructed out of cubic forms in the last book of his *Four Books on Human Proportion*. Now then, this jester's three-dimensional, constructed form is not presented as an abstraction like those we find in texts on art theory, but as a bizarre *homuncula*. She stands between two tree stumps, out of which two more little fools grow; the image attests to the incorrigibility of the race of fools.

To fulfill the criteria that defined a capriccio, it was often not necessary that the image contain a visual joke of this sort. It was primarily its extravagantly fantastical form that earned a work this name. In this regard, worth mentioning is a study that Friedrich Winkler rightly identified as a fake by a Dürer imitator [Cat. 90].²⁵ The pen drawing brings to-



gether a series of heterogeneous motifs from Dürer's typical repertoire of forms, in a pastiche that the master himself would have never composed: a fragment of a crag covered in vegetation, long curly locks of hair waving in the wind, the drapery of a robe, and gravel on the ground with a falsified Dürer monogram and the date 1518.²⁶ All of these elements are stacked in a narrow, vertical column, as if they were borrowed from a Dürer Madonna—minus the Madonna. With this virtuoso handling of the pen, the experienced draftsman demonstrates his command of Dürer's own graphic vocabulary. He did indeed succeed in imitating Dürer's transparent line, which for the master was not simply a tool for describing forms but above all a decorative value in itself. The work of this Dürer imitator—who dresses himself in a borrowed plume with the intention of producing a forgery—can best be explained as a symptom of Mannerist attitudes current at the turn of the seventeenth century, when many artists sought to measure themselves against Dürer's example and when the demand for his works was particularly great.

Surrealist *capricci*

This four-part vertical hodge-podge from the pen of Dürer's imitator allows us to make a connection—one that is somewhat forced, perhaps—to the so-called "exquisite corpses" of the Surrealists. In 1925, Yves Tanguy, Jacques Prévert, and Marcel Duhamel (1900–1977) had developed this playful drawing method from older models and elevated them to the category of a *jeu surréaliste*, a new source of inspiration soon seized upon by all the artists and writers within the Surrealist circle. André Breton and Paul Éluard defined the *cadavre exquis* in 1938, in their *Dictionnaire abrégé du surréalisme* (Abridged dictionary of Surrealism), as a game in which several people collaboratively construct a text or drawing without their fellow players knowing what has gone before on the paper, which each successive player folds over so as to conceal his or her addition before passing it to the next. The now classic example, which was also the origin of the term, is the first part of a sentence obtained in this manner: "Le



Fig. 55 Francisco de Goya, *Tú que no puedes* [You who cannot], no. 42, from the series *Caprichos*, 1799. Private collection

Fig. 56 Peter Flötner, playing card [seven of bells], ca. 1540. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg

cadavre — exquis — boira — le vin — nouveau” (The exquisite corpse will drink the young wine).²⁷

The sheet from 1935 in this exhibition is the creation of the Spanish Surrealist Óscar Domínguez (1906–1957) and his friends, Hans Bellmer, Georges Hugnet, and Marcel Jean (1900–1993). Executed in colored pencil, it clearly reveals the individual style of each contribution [Cat. 96]. Unlike most of the drawn *cadavres*, it does not represent a figure but a vegetal form that grows aggressively up out of a flat horizon, joining up with a soft corporal form. Out of this opening spring new cleft and curled floral forms with clearly erotic connotations, in the scribbled curls of which are hidden the names of those taking part and their friends: Domínguez, Bellmer, Hugnet, Breton, Tanguy (?). Finally, out of these curlicues more solid forms arise, suggestive of arteries and tubes, that in turn generate anthropomorphic forms. As with *écriture automatique* (“automatic writing”) this method was intended to produce an *hasard objectif* (“free association”), in order to bring the subconscious to the surface. André Breton described the real achievement of the *cadavre exquis* as follows: “With the *cadavre exquis*, we finally had at our disposal an infallible method for switching off critical thought and for giving free rein to the metaphorical capacity of the mind.”²⁸ The inventive “incidence” of ideas in a sense gave way now to “coincidence”: The powers of reason disconnected, the subconscious was the guide.

The chance meeting of heterogeneous and antithetical objects was—in the Surrealists’ conception of things—particularly suited to stimulate the imagination and individual fantasy, allowing poetry to emerge. The principle behind collage is related to the *cadavre exquis* in this respect. With both pictorial methods, it is a question of the imaginative force of contradictions. The underlying notion here is that the world as it is laid out before our eyes is not true; nor is the superficially visible; nor even the formally logical, which led the world into the murderous catastrophes of war. At least equally real are the contradictions that essentially determine both the outer world and also the individual’s (sub)conscious.

In 1932, the Andalusian poet Adriano del Valle (1895–1957) came into contact with the Surrealist circle in Paris around Dalí and the brothers Alfonso (1915–1961) and Luis Buñuel (1900–1983). He was a co-founder of Spanish Surrealism and one of the first to introduce Max Ernst’s collage technique to Spain. His 1934 collage, titled *Delirium tremens* in allusion to Dalí, evokes a hallucinatory vision [Cat. 94]. Sleeping children like putti hover over a dark, curved, tiered

abyss. Their innocent dreams are menaced by three giant, insect-like monsters with articulated legs and prehistoric carapaces. Only at a second glance do they reveal themselves to be enlargements of microscopically small mites that could have been taken from an illustrated scientific book like Ernst Haeckel’s *Kunstformen der Natur* (Art forms in nature). A shaving mirror with a candle illuminates this threatening scene. Del Valle’s neglect of proportion and perspective aside, the effect of his collages derives from his meticulous technique in cutting out and assembling the elements, not unlike the painstaking work of an insect collector. He himself described his working method in the following terms:

“The formative process for a collage is analogous to that of a silk-worm within its marvelous capsule: one must spin continuously, spin finely. The following talents are absolutely necessary: imagination, memory (that is, visual memory), a sculptural sense of things and the great lyricism of the world of representable forms, a lyricism that evades us.”²⁹

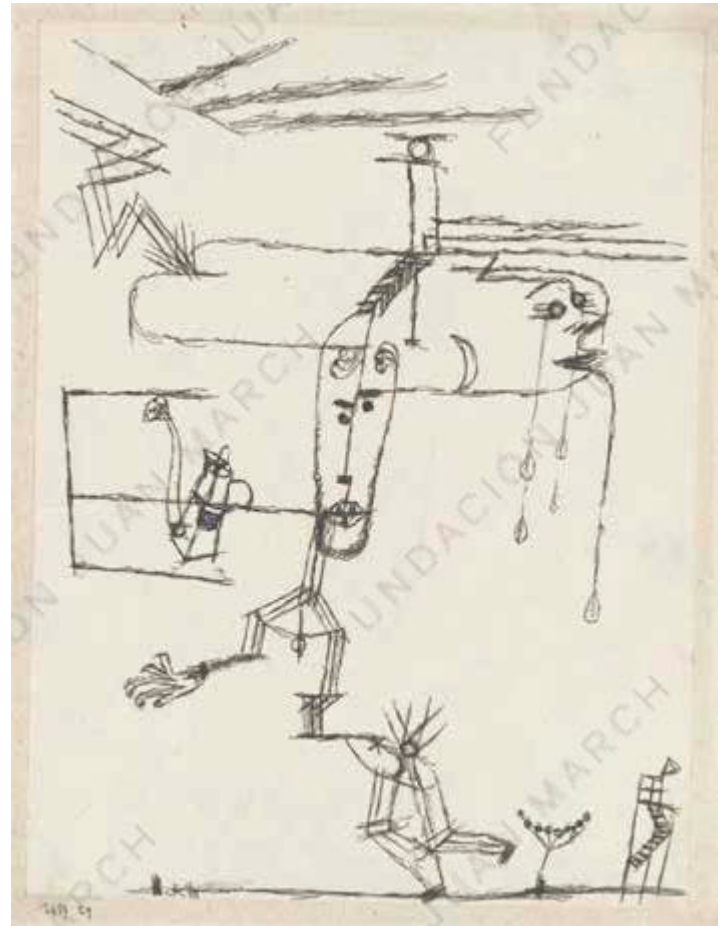
As with Goya, one hesitates to apply the traditional concept of the capriccio to the drawings of Federico García Lorca (1898–1936), who—in contrast to Breton, for example—was no Freudian in the intellectual sense, though he was existentially. Lorca’s friendship with leading artists of the Paris art scene—Dalí, the Buñuel brothers, Picasso, Jean Cocteau (1889–1963), and Max Jacob (1876–1944)—contributed to his self-perception not only as a poet but also as an artist; indeed, he referred to many of his drawings explicitly as *poemas*. His *Pierrot priápico* (*Priapic Pierrot*), from 1932–36 [Cat. 97], originally belonged to the estate of his friend Jean Gebser (1905–1973). Pierrot, a clown figure from the commedia dell’arte, is one of the poet’s artistic leitmotifs, along with the sailor and the moon. All of his Pierrots are subject to transformation or hidden behind masks; they stand for Lorca’s own divided, multifaceted personality. One of his best-known drawings presents a clown with two faces—the eyes of one open, the other’s shut. The title, *Payaso de rostro desdoblado* (*Clown with the Double Face*) refers not only to the duplication but also to the “unfolding” (another meaning of the word *desdoblar*) that correspond to the clown’s different traits. Two unbroken pen lines that essentially form the *Pierrot priápico* evoke the characteristic style of a *dessin automatique* (“automatic drawing”). The flow of the two lines gradually develops into a composite figure: the two fat, black buttons of his costume, a face seemingly behind a mask, a single eye, and a pointed, erect phallus. Spots and flickering flames executed in colored pencil create formal accents and also additional nuances of meaning.

Already in Goya there is the observable tendency to load the capriccio—in principle a witty, playful pictorial joke—with so much critical meaning that the term *capricho* serves more as a protective measure camouflaging the artist’s mordant social critique. And—such things as the *cadavre exquis* aside—*capriccio* is likewise not an applicable term for most of the Surrealists’ works. Their objective of foregrounding discoveries from the subconscious of the sort that are germane to depth psychology ultimately signifies the overdetermination the historical concept.

- 1 Neumann 2005, 78–124; see also Richter 2004, 78–124.
- 2 Hoffmann 1912, 10:21, quoted here from the English ed., Hoffmann 1992, 119. Occasionally *Der goldene Topf* (*The Golden Pot*) is also cited as Klee’s source of inspiration.
- 3 Klee 1957, 418; on Klee’s relationship to E. T. A. Hoffmann and for a profound analysis of the *Hoffmannesken Märchenszene* (*Hoffmannesque Fairy-Tale Scene*), see Gockel 2010, 208–30.
- 4 “Jakob Callot,” in Hoffmann 1912, 1:21–22, note 2.
- 5 “Verwesentlichung des Zufälligen”; Klee 1920, 35.
- 6 *Ibid.*, 39.
- 7 Klee 1957, 322; see also Perkins 1992, 4–26 (esp. 10–11).
- 8 Schmied has already examined this question; see Schmied 1998, 209–221.
- 9 More recent scholarship derives the word ultimately from *capra* (“goat”)—its etymology shared with the words *caper* and *capriole*—and explains *capriccio* as an unconventional leap of the imagination, “as if ‘the skip or frisk of a goat’” (*OED Online* [Oxford University Press, June 2013], s.v. “capriccio, n.”). An older tradition, however, identifies the etymon as Italian *caporiccio*, composed of *capo* (“head”) and *riccio* (“curly” or “hedgehog”) and suggests that the shortened term *capriccio* would then mean an extraordinary, “hair-raising” state of mind that can produce both horror and delight. Of the exhaustive literature on the subject, fundamental sources include: Peter Halm, “Capriccio,” in *Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 3 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1954), col. 330–335; John Wilton-Ely, “Capriccio,” in *Grove Art Online*, *Oxford Art Online* (Oxford University Press); Kanz 2002; Cologne, Zürich and Vienna 1996; Mai and Rees 1998—with important essays by Werner Hofmann, Werner Busch, Hans Holländer, Wieland Schmied, and others, in the latter two publications. For the musicological context, see also the explanation by Erich Schwandt in *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), s.v. “Capriccio (i).”
- 10 Vasari [1568] 1971, 2:487.
- 11 Kanz 2002, 147ff.
- 12 Ripa [1603] 1992, 47.
- 13 Peter Halm, in op. cit. (n9, above), suggests that Callot may have adopted the concept from contemporary music in Florence. In music, madrigals first began to receive the title of capriccio, and then the term was extended above all to compositions for keyboard instruments, referring to theme-and-variations, e.g., Girolamo Frescobaldi’s. And Michael Praetorius provides the following definition in his *Syntagma Musicum* (Wolfenbüttel, 1619), 3:21: “Capriccio seu Phantasia subitanea: Wenn einer nach seinem eigenen plesier und gefallen eine Fugam zu tractieren vor sich nimpt” (Capriccio or sudden fantasia: when, for one’s own pleasure and delight, one undertakes to improvise a fugue).
- 14 For example, the manual printed in Germany, with etchings by Hanns Troschell: Jacopo [sic] Callot, *Reisbuchlein für die anfangente Jugent sich darinnen zu üben* [Little travel-book for young beginners to practice with] (Nuremberg, 1622).
- 15 See Nuremberg 1985, no. 452–62.
- 16 See Nuremberg 1985, no. 495–97, fig. 122. The ornamental foliage harkens back to an independent tradition of the fantastic whose roots lie in the Middle Ages.
- 17 Clark 1929, 311–26; Brioux 1963; Bracelli 1981.
- 18 Bracelli makes this statement in his dedication to Pietro de’ Medici. See Bracelli 1981, plate 3.
- 19 Rizzi 1971, no. 36. The series was only published later, in 1749 and 1778.
- 20 Busch 1996, 55–81.
- 21 *Diario de Madrid*, no. 37 (February 6, 1799). The text of the publicity notice appears in Carrete Parrondo 2007, 18.
- 22 As quoted in Busch 1998: 68.
- 23 Munich and Berlin 1986, 87–94.
- 24 Cf. Schoch 1993, Cat. 56d and p. 74.
- 25 One replica of the drawing (Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt), whose upper edge has been trimmed, was accepted by Lippmann as a Dürer original (Lippmann 1888, no. 192).
- 26 The pebbles are similar to those of the etching *Abduction of Proserpine*, also known as *Abduction on a Unicorn* (Schoch et al. 2001–4, 1:83), the drapery to that of a study from Bamberg (Winkler 1936–39, no. 475), the hair to that of the engraving *Virgin on a Crescent with a Starry Crown* (Schoch et al. 2001–4, 1:62), and the crag to that of a study in the British Museum (Winkler 1936–39, no. 336).
- 27 Breton and Éluard [1938] 1995, s.v. “cadavre exquis”; also in Breton 1988–2008, 2:796
- 28 Breton 1948 (preface).
- 29 Del Valle Hernández 2006, 139.



CAT. 84
Paul Klee
Hoffmanneske Märchenszene
[Hoffmannesque fairy-tale scene],
1921
Plate 6 from the first portfolio of
Meister des Staatlichen Bauhauses in
Weimar, 1922
Lithograph
13 7/8 x 10 3/8 in. (35.2 x 26.3 cm)
Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
Nuremberg



CAT. 85
Paul Klee
Der schwüle Garten [The sultry garden],
1919
Pen and ink on paper mounted on
cardboard
11 3/8 x 8 5/8 in. (29 x 21.9 cm)
Zentrum Paul Klee, Bern



CAT. 86
Joan Miró
Le Perroquet [The parrot], 1937
Gouache on paper mounted on
canvas
28 3/4 x 35 3/8 in. (73 x 90 cm)
Museu Fundació Juan March,
Palma de Mallorca



CAT. 87
Albrecht Dürer
The Desperate Man, 1515-16
Etching
7 3/8 x 5 3/8 in. (18.7 x 13.6 cm)
Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
Nuremberg

CAT. 90
Imitator of Dürer
Studies, ca. 1600 (?)
Pen and ink on paper
8 1/2 x 3 3/4 in. (21.7 x 9.5)
Germanisches
Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg





CAT. 88
Jacques Callot
I due Pantaloni [The two Pantalones],
ca. 1616
Etching
7 1/8 x 8 1/2 in. (18.1 x 21.5 cm)
Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
Nuremberg

CAT. 89
Giovanni Battista Tiepolo
Death Giving Audience, 1739–43
No. 11 from *Vari Capricci*
Etching
8 1/2 x 3 3/4 in. (21.7 x 9.5)
Germanisches
Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg



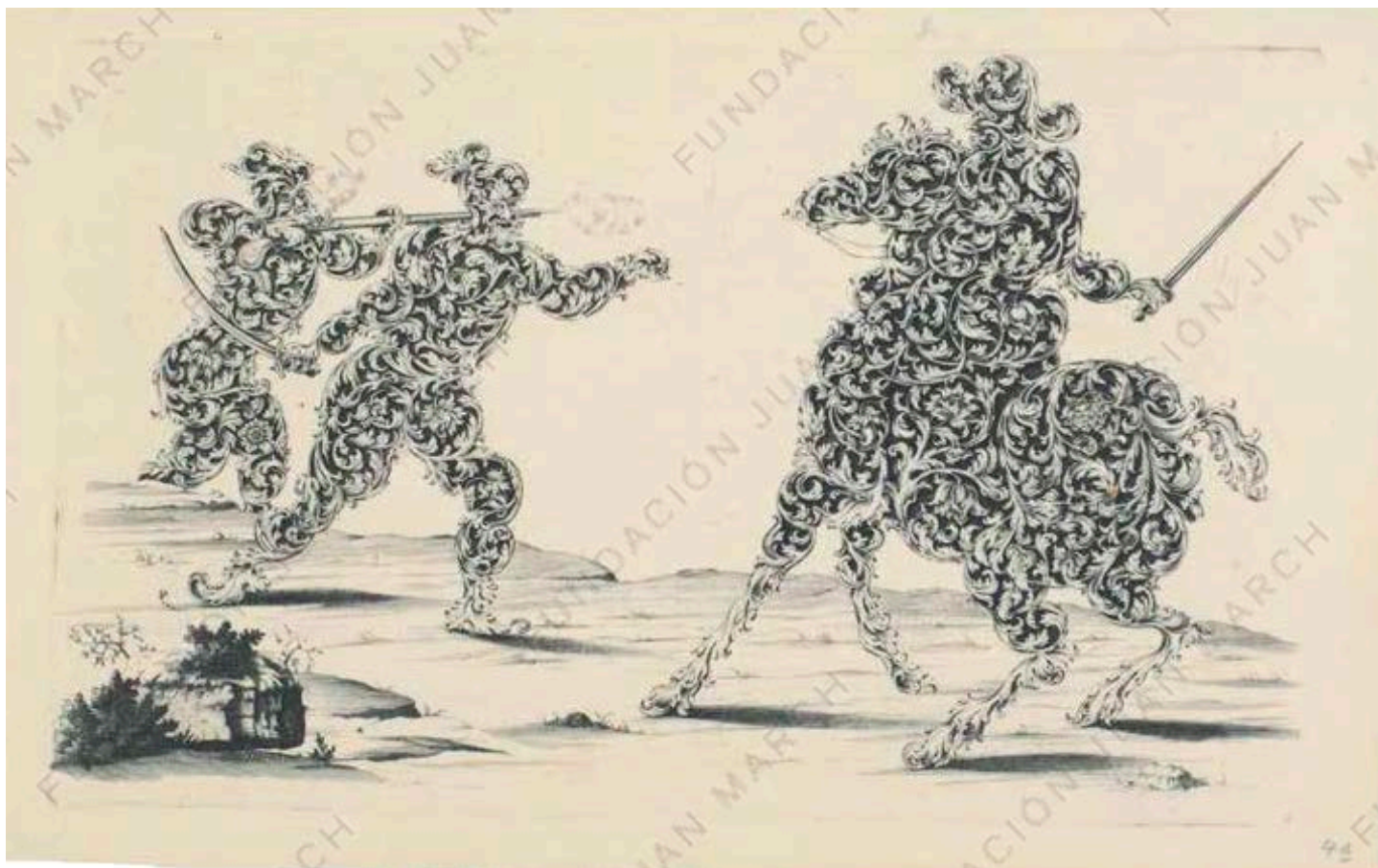


CAT. 94
 Adriano del Valle
Delirium tremens, 1934
 Collage on paper
 8 5/8 x 5 5/8 in. (21.9 x 14.3 cm)
 Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao

CAT. 93
 Wendel Dietterlin the Younger
 Fantastical ornamental figures,
 1615
 Etching
 4 1/2 x 7 1/8 in. (11.5 x 18.2 cm)
 Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
 Nuremberg

CAT. 92
 Wendel Dietterlin the Younger
 Procession of monstrous figures,
 1615
 Etching
 3 7/8 x 12 1/4 in. (9.8 x 31.1 cm)
 Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
 Nuremberg





CAT. 95
 Wolfgang Hieronymus von
 Bommel (Bömmel)
 Leafwork soldiers battling, ca.
 1690–1700
 From *Neu ersonnene Gold-Schmieds
 Grillen, Ander-Theil* [Newly
 contrived goldsmith-whimsies,
 following part] (Nuremberg:
 [Johann Christoph Weigel], n.d.)
 Etching
 7 1/2 x 11 7/8 in. (19.2 x 30.2 cm)
 Germanisches
 Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg



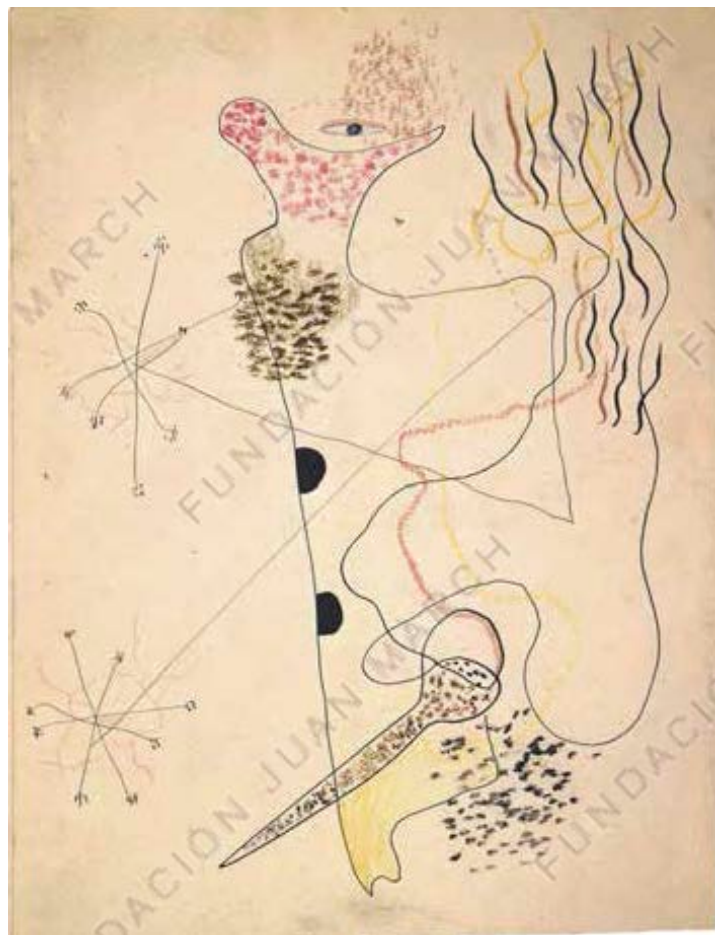
CAT. 91
 Master E. S.
 The letter x, in beggar-
 musicians, ca. 1435–67
 Engraving
 6 x 4 1/8 in. (15.1 x 10.4 cm)
 Germanisches
 Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg

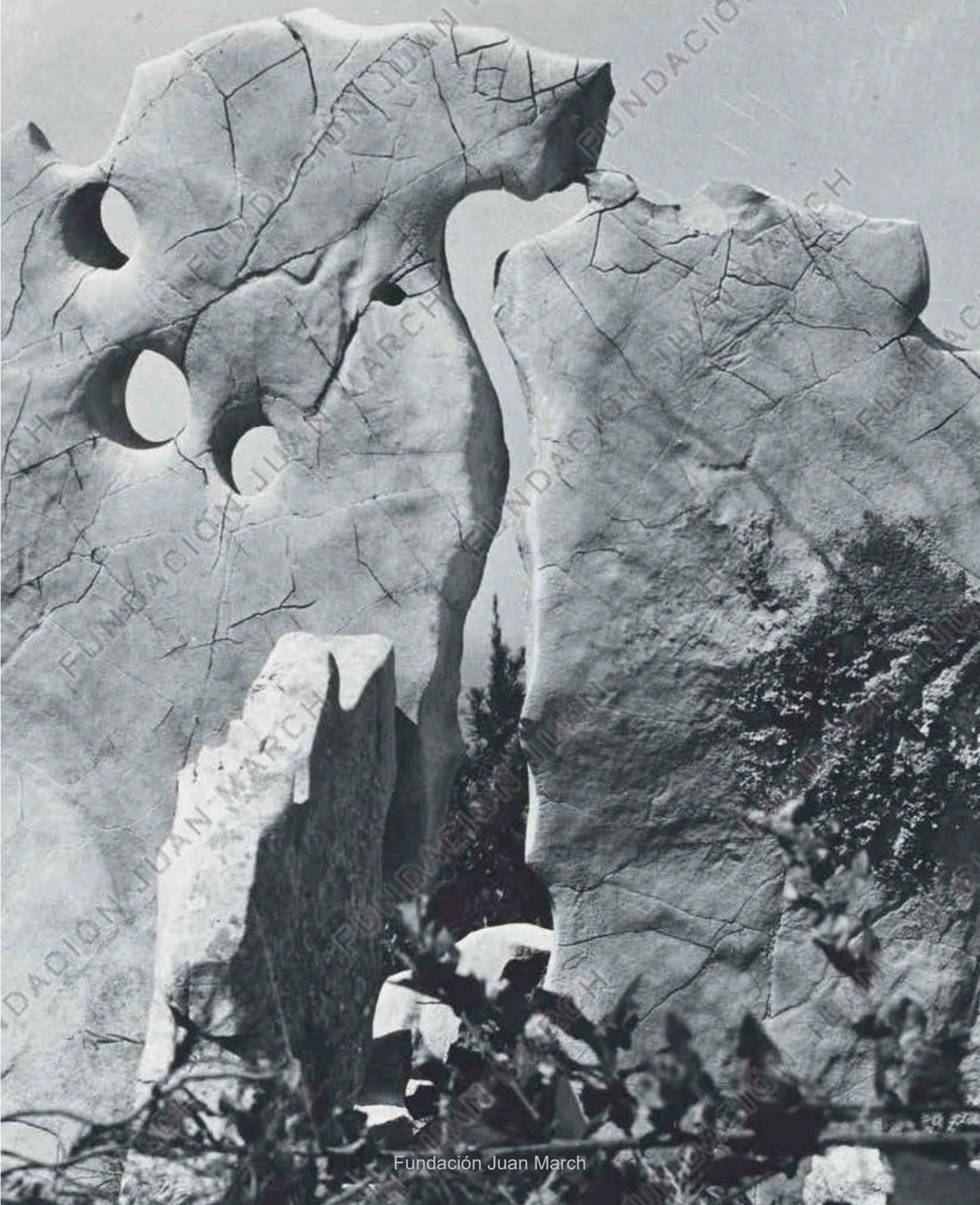


7. Capriccio

CAT. 96
Óscar Domínguez, Hans Bellmer,
Georges Hugnet and Marcel Jean
Cadavre exquis, 1935
Graphite and colored pencils
19 3/4 x 12 7/8 in. (50.3 x 32.8 cm)
Galería Guillermo de Osma, Madrid

CAT. 97
Federico García Lorca
Pierrot priápico, ca. 1932–36
India ink and colored pencil on
pasteboard
9 5/8 x 7 1/4 in. (24.5 x 18.4 cm)
Fundación Federico García Lorca
collection, Madrid





8

Metamorphoses of Nature

CHRISTIANE LAUTERBACH

It is not far—through the bird—from the cloud to the man; it is not far—through the images—from the man to his visions, from the nature of real things to the nature of imagined things. Their value is equal. The honor of being alive is well worth making the effort to enliven. Matter, movement, need, desire, are inseparable. Think yourself a flower, a fruit, or the heart of a tree, since they wear your colors, since they are necessary signs of your presence, since your privilege is in believing that everything is transmutable into something else.¹

In his collection of poems, aphorisms, and essays from 1939 titled *Donner à voir* (Making visible), Paul Éluard had these words to say of metamorphosis as a creative principle in the work of his friend, Max Ernst. Éluard thus characterizes one of the most important techniques that the Surrealists had developed in order, by artistic means, to abolish the borders between the interior, subjective world and the world outside us. Everything is transmutable into something else: Each thing, each creature, already carries another within. The Surrealists' procedures of metamorphosis offered the opportunity to recover the imaginary and the marvelous, the unfathomable and the instinctual, in a world dominated by reason and mechanization. At the same time, Éluard makes it clear that metamorphosis is more than an artistic technique and more, too, than an aesthetic principle. The equivalence of the nature of real things and the nature of imaginable things lends metamorphosis—in Éluard's broad sense—great spiritual freedom, pointing far beyond Surrealism.²

Raoul Ubac, *Pierres dans le Midi /
Pierres de Dalmatie* [Stones in the south—
Stones from Dalmatia]
1932. Dietmar Siegert collection
[detail of Cat. 105]

Acts of creation

The technique of *décalcomanie*, or decalcomania, which Óscar Domínguez rediscovered in 1936, offered the Surrealists “liberation from the delusory and boring paradise of fixed memories.”³ For this mechanical process, the support is covered with an uneven layer of color; a sheet of paper or a pane of glass is pressed on it, while the paint is still wet, and then immediately removed, leaving a marbled pattern as the ground. Initially, the artists using this technique did not work their decalcomanias further, leaving them as “*décalcomanias sans objet préconçu*” (decalcomanias with no preconceived object).⁴ In 1936, Domínguez, in collaboration with Marcel Jean, began to redirect these chance forms towards figurative representation, now using templates in the process. The two artists called these works “*décalcomanias automatiques à interprétation préméditée*” (automatic decalcomanias with premeditated interpretation).⁵ *Lion—La Neige (Lion—Snow)*, from 1936, belongs to this group of decalcomanias deliberately controlled by the artist [Cat. 98]. On a dark ground, there is a whitish-gray, seemingly sculptural surface, reminiscent of a melting layer of snow with deep crevices and spattered with dirt; out of it emerges the contours of a running lion with a waving mane and raised tail. Domínguez created this shape of a lion by means of a template, which he used several times for the series of images he was preparing in 1936 for publication as collotypes under the title *Grisou, le lion, la fenêtre (Grisou, the Lion, the Window)*.⁶

The lion’s figure seems to form out of the melting snow as though it were already present there as an idea. The act of creation lies not only in the hand of the artist but also in the chance result of the transfer process that initially frees the artist’s inspiration. The disconcerting transition—from melting snow to running lion, from congealment to movement, from the reproduction of the visible world to the objectification of a reality inherent in nature—is a fluid process.

Natural metamorphoses have been a source of fascination since at least the early modern period, as evidenced by a tree branch in the shape of a lion’s head discovered in a village near Frankenthal in 1625.⁷ A single-sheet print from the same year shows the forked branch that seems to sprout animal and human limbs, giving it the appearance of a two-headed hybrid [Cat. 99]. The dominant lion’s head with its crown finds its counterpart in the smaller dolphin’s head; additional buds and branches are represented as two bear paws, a horse’s leg, a raised, crowned finger, and a sword.

In contrast to many other pamphlets and broadsides from the seventeenth century, this example offers no explanatory gloss whatsoever.⁸ It limits itself to placing the miraculous anthropo-zoomorph before the public’s eyes to satisfy its early modern viewers’ *curiositas*. The strange, the mysterious, and the never-before-seen exercised great fascination in this period. For this reason, the etcher significantly enlarged the growths on the burl and added ornamental elements, as is evident when compared with the more botanically correct presentation of the object in another contemporary sheet.⁹

An interest in the *mirabilia* of divine creation is this print’s most prominent aspect. In the monstrosity of this metamorphic growth, God emerges as an index, an idea emphasized by the raised finger with a crown: It is not owing to the artist’s fantasy that various creatures and limbs seem to develop out of the trunk; rather, it is a manifestation of the creative force of nature itself.

Organic life in nature

For the Surrealists, and above all for Max Ernst, the woods become a refuge of the fantastic, of fears and suppressed desires, where nothing is what it seems.¹⁰ Ernst first tried out the technique of decalcomania when he was in an internment camp in southern France in 1939–40. Here he created the fantastically animated landscape which he titled *Le Fascinant cyprès (The Fascinating Cypress)* [Fig. 57].¹¹ The cypresses of the title are a group of petrified, stalagmite-like structures rendered in ochers. There are no traces of animal or human life in this grove, yet the scenery is by no means inanimate. A web of gray coral-like branching lichens covers the trees. Out of the ground roots protrude like the fingers of ghostly hands. Everywhere eyes and mouths of mollusk-like creatures seem to bulge out of the stone. The deep blue of the sea gleams between the trees, with a cloudless sky arching overhead.¹²

The painting represents nature outwardly congealed, yet beneath its surface, hidden organic life and decay are also made visible. *Le Fascinant cyprès* describes the border zone between interior and exterior worlds—between dream and reality, between petrification and phantasmal animation—that is both eerie and fascinating at the same time. The bird’s head growing out of this petrified natural form has a particular meaning in the context of Ernst’s works, in which he frequently identified with avian creatures.¹³ The bird in the wood is a deeply Romantic motif that Ernst varies again and again. “Without and within at once, free and



Fig. 57 Max Ernst, *Le fascinant cyprès* [The fascinating cypress], 1940. Sprengel Museum, Hannover

ensnared” (in the artist’s words), the bird appears as Ernst’s alter ego in his images of woods.¹⁴ Yet the bird in *Le Fascinant cyprès* is ossified and fused with the dead trees, its beak open in a dumb cry. If it was endeavoring to fly out of the woods and escape, it did not succeed. Ernst’s affinity with German Romanticism is a recurrent topic in scholarship on his work.¹⁵ This affinity is also manifest in *Le Fascinant cyprès*, recognizable here as an immersion in nature and a fathoming of subconscious depths without seeking to grasp them rationally. In the image of the petrified cypresses, Ernst reproduces the world of human nightmare.

Many Romantic landscape painters present animate nature as a mirror of the human soul. This Romantic feeling for nature also pervades the forest landscapes of Moritz von Schwind (1804–1871), which are connected in turn with the fantastic woods of the Danube School and Dürer’s epoch. A wood engraving after a drawing by Schwind, published in 1848 in the satirical magazine *Fliegende Blätter* in Munich, offers a caricature of the playful late Romantic view of nature as something animate [Cat. 100].¹⁶ The print offers a view into a wood in which knotty trunks and roots form human bodies and limbs. Three anthropomorphic trees lean toward each other in familiar conversation as a fourth approaches the group with a sinister expression on its face. The print’s title, *Das organische Leben in der Natur* (*Organic Life in Nature*) plays on the Romantic philosophy of nature that Carl Gustav Carus (1789–1869) formulated in 1818 in his work *Von den Naturreichen* (*Of the realms of nature*). For Carus, nature is an organism, and he describes nature’s activity as “organic life; the spatial product of this vital activity is the organic body.”¹⁷ It is this “organic life” of nature so closely related to the notion of the human being that Schwind humorously illustrates here. The concept of nature as an organism likewise influenced Ernst; his work, however, does not reflect airy, fanciful sympathies with nature but gloomy psychological landscapes.

The large-format brush lithograph by Rodolphe Bresdin (1822–1885), *Le Bon Samaritain* (*The Good Samaritan*), is the acme of late Romantic psychological landscapes [Cat. 101].¹⁸ The figures from the biblical narrative that lends the work its title occupy the center of the image. In a clearing in a wood, two figures appear before a grazing camel: the Samaritan in rich Oriental robes supports the head of a man lying on the ground, gravely wounded and robbed of his clothes. A small gap in the surrounding woods behind the clearing affords a view of a distant town.

The real subject of the lithograph, however, is not the anecdote at its center but the impenetrable wood and its inhabitants. The deeper one gazes into the finely worked thicket, the more enlivened the wood becomes, with its collection of fantastic beasts. Even the trees themselves are alive: a dead branch metamorphoses into an iguana, gnarled roots form a fantastic figure—a gnome brought to life or a mandrake-like growth. Everywhere malignant mouths and eyes gape on the dead trees. Dry arms and many-fingered hands seem to stretch twitching toward the men in the clearing, as if about to form a horrible dance of death around the man on the ground. The skeletal branches gleam palely out of the dark of the wood—a theatrical chiaroscuro effect pointing to its model in Rembrandt's etchings.¹⁹

Odilon Redon, a pupil of Bresdin's, wrote later about Bresdin and *Le Bon Samaritain* that "What he wished for, what he sought after, was none other than to introduce us into the impressions of his own dream. A mystical dream, and extremely strange, it is true; a disquieting, vague reverie, but what of it? The ideal is clear: Does not art draw all the force of its eloquence, its splendor, its grandeur out of those things which are left to the imagination to define[?]."²⁰

Bresdin's forest landscape is not an attempt at copying nature. As Bresdin himself declared to fellow-artist Henri Boutet (1851–1919), he created nature according to his own inner imagery.²¹ Certain individual motifs, however, Bresdin copied from illustrated models.²² His surreal, oneiric imagery melds with reality, making the wood a haunted place hostile to life; it offers no peace and solitude but only anguish. The true subject of Bresdin's print is precisely this nightmarishly overgrown limbo and its chimeras.

The woods—above all oak trees—are, meanwhile, the principal subject of the graphic work by Carl Wilhelm Kolbe the Elder (1757–1835). One of the most unusual compositions from his late period is the etching, *Phantastische tote Eiche in einem Gehölz* (*Fantastical Dead Oak in a Grove*), from 1828–35 [Cat. 102].²³ The dead giant of a tree, rent down the middle, bends its sculpturally forked body to the left only to bend again sharply to the right; this agitated movement occupies almost the entire foreground. Bulging knots where branches have fallen seem to form bizarre faces; the ragged stumps of its limbs seem to stretch out like arms or beaks. The dead tree stands in sharp contrast to the surrounding summer heathland, frozen in its loveliness. The oak, however, full of strength, seemingly threatens to reach out and seize the man resting with his pack beneath the tree. It is

a world upside-down, in which Kolbe opposes outward appearances and inner nature: the dead oak redivivus, tree and demon at once.²⁴

Kolbe has explicitly chosen the old oak's unnatural form as his principal motif. The tendency to move away from the slavish imitation of nature, already manifest in earlier etchings, reaches its culmination in the *Phantastische Eiche*. The faces and bodies formed by knots and branches fall within the borderlands between the naturalistic depiction of reality and the fantastical intensification of the powers of imagination: What Kolbe depicts in the foreground, after all, is simply a gnarled oak; the facial features that the viewer fancies in that dead wood, however, come to life only in one's fantasy.

In his autobiography, Kolbe claims that he "never, even in the details, in trees, bushes, or clumps of grass, etc., directly copied nature"; his aim as an artist was to reveal "only truth and liveliness—in the whole as in the details."²⁵ It is an imagined truth, an inner truth of nature, that Kolbe sought to make visible in his work.

The landscape as what can be seen as a mirror of inner, subjective nature occurs sporadically as early as the sixteenth century in the works of Albrecht Altdorfer (ca. 1480–1538) and the Danube School. The small pen-and-ink drawing on paper primed with a sienna ground, executed by Hans Leu the Younger (ca. 1490–1531) around 1514, is exemplary of this sort of "fantastic realism" [Cat. 103].²⁶ This fragment of a wood presents a gaunt, towering tree, left partially incomplete and whose crown is cut off at the top edge of the drawing. Behind it, but also situated nearly in the foreground, groups of lower trees with thick foliage cut off the view of what lies behind. The seemingly unpretentious motif and the absence of a historical or religious figure might lead one to assume it is a study.²⁷ The colored priming, however, dispels this conjecture. German and Swiss artists of the sixteenth century intended their drawings on primed paper to be free-standing works of art. Hans Leu, in fact, is considered to be one of the pioneers of this sort of autonomous landscape in Switzerland, and the Nuremberg *Baumgruppe* (*Group of Trees*) is one of his finest examples.²⁸

The intimate forest view captivates with its generous, loose line and atmospheric chiaroscuro. The scene's tangible quality arises not so much through description as by association.²⁹ The foliage of the small groups of trees, enlivened by the color highlights, stretches up toward the light, distinguishing itself against the areas in shadow that sug-

gest the depths of the wood. In contrast, there is the bare tree tousled by wind and weather, with its mop of crooked, drooping branches from which beard lichens hang in thin and straggly spirals. The free play of the line in the rendering of these lichens—also characteristic of Albrecht Altdorfer—makes them seem almost ornamental. With vigorous strokes of the pen, Leu has created figures of trees that seem to acquire their own personality: Free of any accessory elements, they become the protagonists of landscape art.

In his Nuremberg *Baumgruppe*, one can detect Leu's propensity for the fantastic and for expressive succinctness, which appears repeatedly in his landscapes.³⁰ In this little wood, we encounter nature conceivable as an animate creature. A vital striving upward versus a sinking-down, under the weight of age, are the contrasting gestures in this drawing that make the trees seem like antithetical characters in the theater of nature.

Stony landscapes

"The collage is something like the alchemy of the visual image. THE MIRACLE OF THE TOTAL TRANSFIGURATION OF BEINGS AND OBJECTS WITH OR WITHOUT MODIFICATION OF THEIR PHYSICAL OR ANATOMICAL ASPECT," writes Max Ernst in *Au-delà de la peinture (Beyond Painting)*.³¹ These miracles of transfiguration also fascinated Hannah Höch throughout her career as an artist. In the collage titled *Scene II*, from 1936–43, Höch creates a desert-like landscape by combining graphic elements, paper cut-outs with gray tonalities mounted on a watercolor ground in sunset hues [Cat. 104]. A black sun-ball, a stiff cloud with a scalloped edge, odds rocks, and three-dimensional forms reduced to abstraction have been assembled to form an apocalyptic scene. A tree-like growth dominates the image, its crown rising above a mighty trunk in undulating, shadowy folds. Yet the "tree" seems effectively lifeless, petrified like the surrounding rock formations. Höch uses the "alchemy" of the collage technique to freely combine ciphers for natural realities and in this way to create a fantastic world that points beyond the real.

The clipping of a Persian cat's head, lying at the foot of the tree between stony fragments, is the only hint of an animate being. The cat's wide open eyes draw the viewer's attention. Though the head remains only a fragment of a complete body, in this deserted panorama, the cat evokes an earlier life, becoming the only hopeful element amidst the skeletal landscape of *Scene II*.

Höch presents the image of a landscape, but what she wants to tell us with it is not certain. The enigmatic prevails.

Relating the landscape to its historical context in Nazi Germany is therefore only one of various possible ways to read the collage. *Scene II* can be interpreted from the standpoint of Hannah Höch's awareness of the fragmentation of society as well as of the cultural and moral atrophy in the period of the Nazi dictatorship.³² The work therefore can be seen both as an interior image of the state of Germany under the Nazi regime and an interior image of the artist herself in this period of deprivation and severely restricted freedom. It is left to the viewer to decide whether Höch herself is represented in the fragmented figure of the cat—injured but also a survivor in this apocalyptic landscape.³³

Photography, too, was a relatively young medium that Surrealists made their own. It is a medium marked by the tension between (on the one hand) photography's link to reality, subject to the conditions of the apparatus with which it is produced, and (on the other) the simultaneous ability to visualize the super-real through the photographic reproduction of nature; precisely this tension offered myriad artistic possibilities.

In 1932, the Belgian photographer Raoul Ubac (1910–1985) made one of his journeys to Dalmatia. On the island of Hvar he discovered limestone rocks that, with their peculiar holes and furrows, could have reminded him of archaic works of art. According to his own account, his love of stones, which would mark his artistic career, found its beginnings there. Out of the pieces he discovered, he assembled sculptures of stone and photographed them.³⁴ In *Pierres dans le Midi (Stones in the South)*, three flat stones are grouped together, whose broken edges would seem to fit together as if once part of the same whole [Cat. 105]. The stones tower into the sky, surrounded by plants and smaller stones. Tendrils and leaves indicate, however, that the proportions deceive at first glance. The low-angle, close-up framing of the image serves to enlarge nature on a monumental scale.

Pierres dans le Midi, however, is not one of Ubac's early stone assemblages but a formation that he encountered on the island and photographed in its natural setting. Few photographs like this survive from his early work.³⁵ In contrast to Ubac's arrangements of stones, it is here nature itself that functions as the artist. The photographer's eye detects the natural creation and captures it on film as a sculpture full of meaning, though not without also alienating it artistically from its original context. Through the monumentalization of the insignificant, Ubac creates the image of a new reality, a "super-reality" in the sense of the Surrealists.³⁶ Although

Ubac's early Dalmatian photographs draw little attention today, in its own time, from this group of works, *Pierres dans le Midi* provoked particular interest among the Surrealists. The photograph's inclusion in Breton and Éluard's *Dictionnaire abrégé du surréalisme* (1938), along with two other *objets naturels*, evinces the significance that the Paris Surrealists assigned to nature in general and to natural stone formations and prehistoric stone artifacts in particular.³⁷ Through the effects of photography, the formations undergo a metamorphosis into archaic rocky landscapes full of mystery. The viewer's fantasy is incited by an image of reality elevated to meaningful significance.

Uwe Schneede regards this "fetishization of reality" as the most important trait of Surrealist photography.³⁸ Yet the Surrealists' experimental confrontation with the medium of photography occasionally led them past the limits of photographic technique entirely, just as it led them over the borders of reality.

In addition to Man Ray and Raoul Ubac, it was Maurice Tabard (1897–1984) in particular who sought throughout his life to overcome the positivism inherent in photographic technique by developing new, inspiring ways of manipulating the medium.³⁹ Besides solarization, photograms, and double exposures, Tabard also experimented with the technique of "chemigrams," in which he used photographic materials in a painterly way.⁴⁰ By painting with developer and fixer directly onto the photographic paper while simultaneously exposing them to light, in other words, by exploiting the possibilities of an immediate triggering of the chemical process, he created images that were completely liberated from the technical medium of the camera apparatus and also from any representational link to reality. *Les Fétiches de l'Île de Pâques* (*The Fetishes of Easter Island*) shows the dark outlines of an island that seems to loom out of the sea fog like a sunken Atlantis [Cat. 106]. Bizarrely formed rocks or stone figures with elongated bodies, deformed heads, and distorted facial features rise into the sky. Tabard's title establishes a connection with the Moai, the stone sculptures of Easter Island, but in reality *Les Fétiches* is pure light painting with no connection whatsoever to those sculptures.⁴¹ "Photography is the art of light. Why limit it to a merely documentary role? Why not allow the imagination to amuse itself with it?" Tabard asked in a conversation with Jean Vidal in 1930.⁴² His *révélateur peinture* ("revelatory/developer painting") is no doubt the most extreme form of painting with light and therefore has been completely freed from the mechanical

aspect of photographic technique, with which it only shares the basic materials.

Les Fétiches de l'Île de Pâques is reminiscent of the light-filled, almost abstract landscape watercolors of J. M. W. Turner (1775–1851), but more still of the drawings of Victor Hugo (1802–1885). Hugo's *Ruines féodales* (*Feudal Ruins*), an ink wash, shows the black silhouette of mighty ruins rising up out of the sea, which glitters in the twilight [Fig. 58].⁴³ The marvelous and the eerie are common to both works. As Charles Baudelaire (1821–1867) remarked of Hugo, "He sees mystery everywhere. And in fact, where is it not?"⁴⁴ With this awareness of the omnipresence of mystery and wonder, Hugo may suitably enter into Surrealism's fictitious genealogical tree. Did Victor Hugo and Maurice Tabard create metaphors for the disappearance of the visible world, or shadows of another world beyond material forms? It is the numinous—which for the Surrealists was not revealed through religion but in the quotidian and which provokes the viewer's simultaneous horror and fascination.

Poetry between Eros and Thanatos

In a brief essay from 1929, Salvador Dalí described in the following terms the particular field of tension between the visible world of things and the surreality they hold within them, a field of tension revealed in the medium of photography: "Besides the great rigor to which the photographic data, for its part, subjects our mind, it is yet ESSENTIALLY THE MOST SECURE VEHICLE FOR POETRY and the most agile process for capturing the most delicate osmoses that are formed between reality and surreality."⁴⁵

Vilém Reichmann (1908–1991), one of the great photographers of Czechoslovakia, was particularly dogged in his pursuit of this poetry of everyday things, situated between reality and surreality.⁴⁶ In *Osidla* (*Snares*, 1941) a sculpture in an overgrown garden becomes an ambiguous *objet trouvé* [Cat. 108].⁴⁷ Reichmann later included the photograph in the series *Opuštěná* (*The Abandoned*).⁴⁸ The photograph shows only the lower torso and thighs of a female nude in the style of classical Antiquity—perhaps a Venus—encircled by the net of a wild vine's leafless tendrils. The clinging roots have left their traces, "tattooing" the body with numerous marks. Their entwining contact with a naked female body lends the image its erotic charge. At the same time, however, the viewer feels a growing sense of oppression, for the tendrils wrap around the body like nooses. The wintry season fur-



Fig. 58 Victor Hugo, *Ruines féodales* [Feudal ruins], ca. 1850-70. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie, Scharf-Gerstenberg collection, Berlin

ther intensifies the expression of immobility and death that the fettered Venus transmits.

The traces nature has outlined on the body express the dispossession of human beings as well as that of their artifacts. Rampant nature—and, with it, its natural drives—has won back its hegemony over human beings and their rational creations. Nature ignores the rules of classical proportion and harmony and leaves its imprint on the sculpture’s “skin” according to its own rules. In this way, the garden sculpture becomes a visual metaphor for fear: of contact with unbridled, instinctive nature; of the power of the unconscious; and of death. The struggle between Eros and Thanatos evoked here is one of the leitmotifs in Reichmann’s photographic work.⁴⁹

The chained female body as an evocation of sexual desire is indeed a common motif among many Surrealist artists, including Man Ray, Hans Bellmer, and Max Ernst.⁵⁰ In



Fig. 59 Alfred Kubin, *Sumpfpflanzen* [Marsh plants], ca. 1903–4. Oberösterreichisches Landesmuseum, Linz

Man Ray's *Venus restaurée* (*Venus Restored*, 1936), the female torso is not entwined in tendrils but bound with a rope. A comparison of the two works reveals the poetic polysemy of Reichmann's photograph all the more clearly. Here nature itself becomes an artist. It is nature that surrounds the female body and leaves its traces. Only the *cupiditas oculorum* of the photographer—his scopic desire—identifies the art object and establishes its erotic symbolism.⁵¹ In this light, a link may also be drawn between Reichmann's *Osidla* and the photo of a locomotive overgrown with plants that illustrated an article by Benjamin Péret in *Minotaure* in 1937, "La nature dévore le progrès et le dépasse" (Nature devours progress and overtakes it).⁵² For Breton, nature's re-conquest of the machine is an example of the "convulsive beauty" aroused by the unexpected and incongruous.⁵³ It is this moment of the elucidation of reality through the marvelous that the viewer of Reichmann's ensnared Venus experiences. In Reichmann's work the quiet, melancholy tones of natural metamorphosis predominate: between eroticism and the premonition of death, between desire and its impossible fulfillment.⁵⁴

The work of Alfred Kubin (1877–1959) circles around the same motifs of Eros and death, one might say obsessively. The pen and ink drawing *Die Wasserrose* (*The Waterlily*), from 1911, represents a female figure on a lotus leaf surrounded by rampant marsh vegetation like that of a primeval forest [Cat. 109].⁵⁵ Her face turned away, she extends her body in a gentle arc, raising her thighs and abdomen toward the viewer, her lower legs sinking into the murky water and her upper torso into the dusky twilight. The lower part of her body gleams palely and seductively in the surrounding dense network of lines. In her outstretched arms she holds a tensely writhing snake above her head that mimics the arc of her body. Amidst the overgrown vegetation, she has the quality of a ghostly apparition or an oneiric vision.

The web of fine lines of the shadowy thicket contributes to the drawing's peculiar character, distinguishing it fundamentally from Kubin's early work, which is marked by a more restricted formal language and by absurd fantasy, as, for example, in *Sumpfpflanzen* (*Marsh Plants*, 1903–4) with its related subject [Fig. 59].⁵⁶ Beginning in 1909–10, after he overcame a creative crisis, Kubin's work reflects a new aesthetic attitude. Line as expressive vehicle becomes paramount. Above all, the medium of pen and ink ensured not only the immediate transmission of pictorial ideas but also an attendant "inexpressibly intimate excitement," as Kubin wrote in 1922.⁵⁷ This excitement is also perceptible in *Die Wasserrose*. The thickly interwoven lines and cross-hatchings in the half-light of the swamp vegetation produce an atmosphere of vibrant life.

Die Wasserrose shows great affinity with certain drawings from Kubin's *Sansara* portfolio, considered the height of his draftsmanship.⁵⁸ Prominent among Kubin's sources of inspiration during this period were the etchings of Rodolphe Bresdin, which in 1910 he had borrowed to study from his friend the writer and artist Fritz von Herzmanovsky-Orlando (1877–1954).⁵⁹ At this stage in their work, Kubin and Bresdin are united in their predilection for the gloomily mysterious, evident in their treatment of subjects like woods and marshes but also in their use of thick webs of lines and the play of light and shadow.⁶⁰

The subject of the *Sumpfmutter* ("marsh mother") appears already in Kubin's early work, as the example of the *Sumpfpflanzen* cited above demonstrates. Oversized plants grow luxuriantly out of the woman's body lying in the water, standing for the generative principle in nature. In *Die Wasserrose*, by contrast, the arched body of the woman stands for the re-

ceptive principle in nature. Indispensable for a fuller understanding of this universe of motifs is the work of Johann Jakob Bachofen (1815–1887), whose theories about prehistoric anthropology, imbued with mythological thinking, strongly influenced Kubin.⁶¹ Bachofen characterizes society's primal state as "hetaerism," determined by female fertility. Humanity's prototype is "swamp vegetation" and "swamp procreation."⁶² Kubin's damp swamp and the woman lying in it thus embody the female "original principle of matter," out of which new life emerges with the intervention of the male principle—here, the snake in the form of a "natural phallus."⁶³ In Kubin's 1909 novel, *Die andere Seite* (*The Other Side*), Bachofen's influence is also manifest: The swamp encircling the realm of dreams appears as the place of a cult to sex, in which the *Sumpfmutter* is brought sacrificial victims, but also as the place of decay, demons, and death. Kubin's *Sumpfmutter* unites the mysteries of procreation, birth, life, and death in their most deeply mythical form.⁶⁴

Myth is also the inspiration for Carl Wilhelm Kolbe's etching *Auch ich war in Arkadien* (*I, Too, Was in Arcadia*), from 1801, though in this case classical myth is the inspiration [Cat. 110].⁶⁵ Considered Kolbe's first "monumental vegetation-piece" the drawing is unanimously praised as one of his masterworks.⁶⁶ The pictorial subject of these so-called *Kräuterstücke*—"vegetation-pieces," i.e., close-ups of luxuriant marsh plants at the water's edge—is something Kolbe discovered in the 1790s and which he brought to an early compositional summit in the drawing shown here.

A woman in classical dress and a nude young man stand arm in arm with their backs to the viewer before a sarcophagus; lush vegetation arches over it, creating the sense of a grotto. The inscription, partly concealed behind the pair of lovers, can be easily reconstructed as the famous phrase, "Et in Arcadia ego." The two lovers lost in thought contemplating the Latin inscription elevate the landscape to the status of a mythical Arcadia. While the Latin phrase originally represented the voice of Death, present even in idyllic Arcadia ("In Arcadia, there too am I"), the German title beneath the etching, however, gives the milder reading, widespread since the eighteenth century, according to which the deceased speaks wistfully, ("I, too, was once in Arcadia"), rather than Death speaking forebodingly.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, the serene melancholy reigning over this Arcadian scene is marked by an awareness of the presence of death and the transience of all things earthly. The precisely drawn water plants contribute to this atmosphere, as the holes from insects in the

leaves and the dead stump of an old willow evoke decline and death. By placing the marsh vegetation close in the foreground from an apparently low angle, Kolbe achieves a radical monumentalization of the insignificant—intensified further with the inclusion of the tiny, decorative figures. This decisive break with realism is precisely what transports the viewer into an enchanted world of vigorous natural forces in which Eros is at home, but so too is Thanatos.

In no way, then, was naturalistic representation Kolbe's priority.⁶⁸ He writes in his autobiography of the group of "vegetation-pieces" that "their perhaps not quite charmless forms may delude the eye of the amateur, but they are no proof against the discerning gaze of the knowledgeable observer of nature."⁶⁹ Freed from the doctrine of mimesis, Kolbe creates images of a magical world that seems at once familiar and remote, like a distantly imagined Arcadia. Love, fertility, and transience are the leitmotifs of this unreal world in which human beings live in harmony with nature. Yet they are also in thrall to nature's might. The humans here do not rule over nature but, in life as in death, inhabit it as mere participants. In their ambivalent presentation of vital nature, desire, and the presentiment of death, Kolbe's *Kräuterstücke* are precursors of Max Ernst's jungle images, even though Ernst, following the Surrealist program, enriched them with "madness and darkness."⁷⁰

Metamorphoses of desire

In addition to madness and darkness, desire was the theme the Surrealists reiterated tirelessly in their works. In desire they saw, as Breton put it, "the only driving force of the world [...] the only rigor humans must be acquainted with."⁷¹ Metamorphoses of the female, staged photographically, play an important role in the early work of Emila Medková (1928–1985), who joined the Czech Surrealist group in 1951.⁷² *Mušle I* (*Shells I*), from 1950–51, is a characteristic example of her early creative period in which she photographed a selection of expressive objects, combined in shifting constellations [Cat. 107].⁷³ The shells appear to be strewn haphazardly across a sandy surface marked with thin grooves. In the opened mussels there are dead beetles and in the largest, a glass eye like a pearl. Two strands of black hair, flowing out of a second shell like little rivulets, form the lids of this human eye. Human and natural forms are freed from their original context and brought together in a natural-history cabinet of the fantastic. The "anthropomorphizing of detail," which Alena Nadvornikova considers a fundamental trait in Med-



Fig. 60 Dora Maar, Untitled, 1933–34. Centre Pompidou. Musée national d'art moderne/Centre de création industrielle, Paris

ková's entire oeuvre, likewise governs *Mušle I*.⁷⁴ The shells, the strands of hair, and the glass eye form a "vaginal eye," a playful stage setting for Eros, which moves the work into the tradition of the French Surrealists of the 1930s.⁷⁵ For the sexualization of the eye, the Surrealists turned to Sigmund Freud, who interpreted the appearance of an eye in a dream as the vagina.⁷⁶

Medková's photograph is conceptually related to the 1933–34 photomontage by Dora Maar (1907–1997) of a mannequin's hand with polished nails that emerges in an elegant gesture out of a seashell [Fig. 60].⁷⁷ The hand stands in for the soft body of the gastropod; it is the shell's quasi-inhabitant, emerging into the light out of its shelter. This intimate scene is not a mannequin's shop window but a solitary beach. The middle finger slightly penetrating the sand is disconcertingly lascivious and erotic. The spectacularly illuminated sky and the play of light and shadow on the sand charge the outwardly calm scene with dramatic tension.

The beginnings of the erotic transformation of the shell shape go back to the early modern period. In the craftwork and ornamental prints of the Renaissance and the Baroque there are numerous examples of erotic metamorphoses of the female body in connection with shell motifs. The anti-classical reaction of the seventeenth century—the so-called "auricular (i.e., ear-like) style," or "lobate style" after its Dutch variant, *Kwabstijl*—rejected the regularity of Vitruvian tectonics and produced highly inventive and sensual creations.⁷⁸

The design for a shell-shaped goblet by the Utrecht goldsmith Adam van Vianen (ca. 1569–1627) was copied in an etching by Theodorus van Kessel (ca. 1620–after 1660) and posthumously published by the goldsmith's son, Christiaan van Vianen (1600/05–1667), as the third print in the series *Constighe Modellen, van verscheijden Silvere Vaten, en andere sinnighe wercken (Ingenious Models for Various Silver Vessels and Other Witty Works)*, from around 1646–52 [Cat. 111].⁷⁹ This series of ornamental prints, now extremely rare, was to serve as models for silversmiths—and also to ensure posthumous fame for Christiaan's father. A characteristic of Adam van Vianen's designs is the way in which the goblet is not simply covered with the smooth, converging lobed ornaments of the *Kwabstijl*: In fact, conceived sculpturally, it becomes a dynamically organic ornamental object.

The goblet in the form of a large conch shell sits on a stem formed by the intertwined bodies of two wrestling sea-gods. The shell rests upon the head of the figure that appears

to have the upper hand and upon the bent legs of the one pressed down head first. A nude female figure, no doubt a Nereid, grows out of the apex of the shell. She reaches down into its opening, as if seeking to dive in. Only her buttocks, back, and hair are visible, and they meld into the rounded forms of the shell. Whether the sea-gods are fighting over the contents of the goblet, or the Nereid is the object of the two wrestlers' desire, is left to the viewer's imagination. The vulva-shaped shell arouses such clearly erotic associations that the latter interpretation seems likely. The caryatid group of the stem and the Nereid lend the design a narrative element that far exceeds the purely ornamental.

A second design by Adam van Vianen from the *Constighe Modellen* series shows a ewer covered with less figurative *Kwabstijl* ornaments [Cat. 112].⁸⁰ Anthropomorphic and zoomorphic masks, as well as a duck's head, birds' heads, and shells seem to be rising out of the primeval ooze at the moment of self-generation or to be sinking down into the waters at the moment of decay.⁸¹ The forms flow into one another, joined in symmetrical, undulating curves. The shape of this vessel, designed to hold water, seems to be itself defined by the outward flow of water.

In the German equivalent of the auricular style, the so-called *Knorpelwerkstil* ("cartilaginous style"), from the second half of the seventeenth century, there is a similar predilection for organic and metamorphic ornamentation. The models published by Simon Cammermeir (active 1666–1678) in the *Zierathen-Buch* (Ornament book), with ribbons of foliate *Knorpelwerk*, mark the highpoint of the style in Germany and show clearly in the smooth, but not flowing, forms where it differs from *Kwabstijl* ornamentation, more closely tied to the element of water.⁸²

The design for a mask in print no. 29 consists of swelling, doughy, cartilaginous excrescences [Cat. 113].⁸³ Whereas in the earlier plates in the series, the forms in the masks still combine to produce a recognizably human face, the facial features in this print seem to be in the process of ornamental disintegration. The dynamically organic material of the central mask no longer submits to the constraints of physiognomy but takes on a life of its own. The bulbous nose and the mouth, bizarrely agape, are still recognizable, but the eyes and ears of the grotesque face are completely superseded by the *Knorpelwerk* lobes. Instead of a tongue, there is a duck's head whose neck transforms into the shape of an intestine. Out of the mass of ornament on the edges grow four more small, lewdly distorted faces of hybrid creatures

with knobby noses, pointed animal mouths, bulging brows, humped foreheads, and curls of acanthus leaves for hair.

Classical beauty is completely alien to auricular style. Bizarre hybrid creatures and ribbons that swell into turgid, seemingly organic forms lend the ornamental prints, in their throbbing luxuriance, an erotic charge.⁸⁴ The masks and grotesque faces, as natural spirits or pagan fertility goddesses, appear to embody *natura naturans*, nature as an active force—without, however, the possibility of being interpreted allegorically. For Forssman, the auricular style appeals “directly to the deeper possibilities of experience and layers of consciousness in every viewer. It achieves its effects by association and builds up images, comprehensible with the senses, for what cannot be formulated in rational terms.”⁸⁵ This style expresses a surreal conception of reality that has freed itself as far as possible from naturalistic representation.⁸⁶ *Knorpelwerk* and *Kwabstijl* grotesques give shape, in ornamentation, to notions related to the forces of nature. They do so in a manner that is not formalized or codified but rather based on free-flowing metamorphoses of bodies and forms.

Reason, as one of the most exalted values of early modern European civilization, also governs the relationship between humans and nature. In fact, however, humanity and nature interweave in a profound and mysterious way. The irrational and the fantastic, desire and fear, have always found possibilities for expression in images of nature and its metamorphoses.

- 1 Éluard 1939, also in Éluard 1968, 1:945; quoted here from the partial English translation in Ernst [1936] 1948, 191, with a missing sentence (“The honor...”) supplied from the original French.
- 2 See Lichtenstern 1992, 2:135–36. Lichtenstern offers the best contribution on the technique of Surrealist metamorphosis (ibid., 2:121–294). Jean-Charles Gateau recognizes in Éluard’s and Ernst’s conception of the universal transmutability of things a Surrealist mixture of German Romanticism and dialectical materialism (Gateau 1982: 338–39).
- 3 Ernst 1934. Ernst’s essay, “Was ist Surrealismus?” in which he discusses metamorphosis, was the introduction to the catalogue for the exhibition of the same name, held at the Kunsthau Zürich in 1934. *Minotaure* no. 8 (1936) was entirely devoted to decalcomania; see André Breton, “Oscar Domínguez: d’une décalcomanie sans objet préconçu (Décalcomanie du désir),” in Breton 1988–2008, 4:502–4; Jean 1961: 265–66; Schneede 2006: 108–9.
- 4 See Breton 1988–2008, 4:502; Guigon 2005, 55. On the technique of decalcomania, see Guigon 2005, 53–55; Lindau 1997, 136; Schneede 2006, 105–9; Jean 1961, 266. The process could also be done in reverse, spreading paint on a surface that was then applied to the support and removed, leaving the marbled pattern behind.
- 5 Guigon 2005, 55.
- 6 A total of sixteen decalcomanias were to be printed in 1937 by the Guy Lévis-Mano publishing house in Paris in a limited edition, but the project was not realized. The work first appeared in print in 1990.
- 7 From the Middle Ages into the seventeenth century, there are many documented instances of “miraculous” anthropomorphic roots; see Coburg 1983, 280–1 (no. 137); Sachs 1670; Happel 1683–91, 1:116–17, 218–20, 332–40. In this case, the branch had sprouted on a pear tree whose limbs soldiers had cut down in the Thirty Years War. Modern botany would simply interpret the object as a burl, a deformed outgrowth from a wounded stump. Since this “miraculous growth” provoked much contemporary interest, it was documented several times; see Abelinus 1635, 1000; Kuechen 2002, 288–92 (fig. 4–6); Harms 1985, 458–61 (no. I.223, I.224); Holländer 1921, 198, 202 (fig. 108).
- 8 See Harms 1986.
- 9 The representation of the shoot is more closely modeled on nature in this second leaflet, which was published as many as three times; see Kuechen 2002, 288–89 (fig. 4).
- 10 See Schulz-Hoffmann 1999; Schulz-Hoffmann 1997; Leppien 1967.
- 11 Max Ernst, *Le Fascinant cyprès*, oil on cardboard, 1940. The work is in the Sprengel Museum Hannover, inv. no. Sammlung Sprengel I/48; see Hannover 2006, 187 (no. 604); Spies et al. 1975–2007, vol. 5 (1987): no. 2348.
- 12 This cypress grove can also be interpreted as an underwater world. This ambiguity is also conspicuous in other decalcomanias; see Lindau 1997, 68–72; Franke 2008, 178, Cat. 92. The motif of the landscape with cypresses is something Max Ernst must have first become acquainted with during his student years in Bonn, in the work of Vincent van Gogh which he so admired; on Ernst’s student years, see Dering 1994, 32–34.
- 13 See Spies 1982.
- 14 Quoted in Ludwigshafen 1986, 27. Ernst describes his feelings when he first went into the woods as a child in these terms, in his *Biographische Notizen (Wahrheitsgewebe und Lügengewebe) (Biographical Notes [Web of truth and Web of lies])*.
- 15 See Maur 1991; Lindau 1997; Schulz-Hoffmann 1999.
- 16 The caricature appeared in *Fliegende Blätter* 6, no. 144 (1848): 185. Schwind produced the drawing in 1847. In the drawing, the scene is less markedly a caricature, with a root-man in the foreground and the stony head of a man in the background; see Livie and Livie 2011, no. 21; Lichtenstern 1992, 2:218. On *Fliegenden Blättern*, see Koch 2010, 208, 230.
- 17 Carus 1818, 5.
- 18 On the title and the genesis of the work, see Becker 1983, 7–8; Paris 2000b, 65–72.
- 19 See Frankfurt 1989, 44 (no. 30).
- 20 Türoff 1971, 130.
- 21 See The Hague 1978, 26–27.
- 22 Becker was able to identify some sources (Becker 1983: 8–10).
- 23 The print in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum prints and drawings collection is the first state, before the landscape details were finished; cf. Martens 1976, 32–33, 115–16, no. 269; Bertsch 2006, 115–17, 126; Weiss 1999, 56–57.
- 24 See Martens 1976, 33, 46n124.
- 25 Both passages quoted in Bertsch 2006, 116.
- 26 Regarding the notion of “fantastic realism,” see Anzelewsky 1984. On the drawing, see Zink 1968, 172; Berlin and Regensburg 1988, 308 (no. 198).
- 27 This probably why Hanna Becker titled the drawing *Baumstudien (Study of Trees)* in her catalogue of works: Becker 1938, 152 (no. 165).
- 28 For general information, see Berlin and Regensburg 1988, 18–19; Wood 1993, 76–77. Note, in particular, Hans Mielke’s opinion regarding the *Baumgruppe*, in Berlin and Regensburg 1988, 308 (no. 198). This work stands in marked contrast to two landscape drawings by Leu with closely related motifs: *Gebirgigen Landschaft mit Blick in die Tiefe (Mountainous Landscape with Distant View, 1513)*, in the Kunsthau Zürich, and *Baum (Tree)*, in the Staatlichen Galerie Dessau; see Hugelshofer 1923–24, 1:167–68, 2:40–41; Wood 1993, 115, 224.
- 29 See Anzelewsky 1984: 12
- 30 See Wood 1993, 115; Anzelewsky 1984.
- 31 Ernst [1936] 1948, 12; emphasis in the original.
- 32 On the artist’s withdrawal to a small house in Berlin-Heiligensee during the Nazi rise to power, see Maurer 1995, 36–43.
- 33 On the motif of the cat in Höch, see Dech 1981, 75–76.
- 34 See Bouqueret 2000, 169; Aachen and Malmedy 1996, 23; Vienna 1989, 194–95.
- 35 See Bouqueret 2000, 221 (no. 12), 223 (no. 19).
- 36 Billeter 1997, 42.
- 37 See Breton and Éluard [1938] 1995; the Gallimard edition (Breton 1988–2008, 2:787–862) does not include all of the original illustrations, among them Ubac’s photograph. A copy of Ubac’s *Pierres dans le Midi* was in Breton’s possession up to his death and was auctioned by Calmels Cohen in Paris in 2003; see Walker 2005, 15n36. An article by Henri Martin in in *Documents*, no. 6 (1929): 303–9, bears witness to the Surrealists’ interest in engraved prehistoric walls and stones. Eileen Agar (1904–1991), like Ubac, made photographs of natural stone formations in which human faces and fantastical bodies are recognizable, on her walks along the English and French coasts; see Walker 2005; Vienna 1989, 75–77; Caws 2004, 104.
- 38 Schneede 2005: 47. The phrase appeared previously in Krauss 1985, 91.
- 39 Tabard was close to the Surrealists and above all the work of Man Ray, though he never belonged to the group around André Breton; see Charleroi 2002; Baqué 1991; Elissagaray 1987.
- 40 *Chimigramme* is the name first given by Pierre Cordier (b. 1933) to the technique of “révélateur peinture,” a term that plays on the two meanings of the word in French (revelatory painting/developer-painting); see Cordier 1982.
- 41 Max Ernst in the fifth part of his Surrealist collage-novel, *Une Semaine de bonté* (1934) had already used one of the prehistoric stone sculptures of Easter Island presented in various costumes, transforming it into the embodiment of evil. The section is titled *Jeudi. Le noir. Autre exemple: L’île de Pâques (Thursday. Blackness. Further Example: Easter Island)*; see Vienna 2008a, 46, 241–52.
- 42 *L’Intransigent* (Paris), February 25, 1930. Quoted in Charleroi 2002, 9.
- 43 The undated drawing is in the Sammlung Scharf-Gerstenberg, Berlin, Inv. Nr. SSG 117; see Franke 2008, 384 (no. 117). An overview of Hugo’s drawings in Madrid 2000a.
- 44 Charles Baudelaire, “Réflexions sur quelques-uns de mes contemporains,” in *L’Art romantique* (Paris, 1868), 318.
- 45 Dalí 1929; quoted here from the English ed., Dalí 1998a, 68; emphasis in the original.
- 46 See Spielmann 1989; Dufek 1989a, 55–56; Düsseldorf 1992.
- 47 On the theory of the *objet trouvé* in Czech Surrealism, see Dufek 1989a, 54.
- 48 Dufek 1989a, 56; Vienna 1989, 171.
- 49 Dufek 1989a, 56. On the motif in the photography of Czech Surrealism, see Bonn 2009, 96–97.

- 50 See Burtschell 2006.
- 51 The *begehrlicher Blick* (“desiring gaze” or “scopic desire”) is a favored concept of Schneede’s in her analysis of Surrealist photography; see Schneede 2006, 176; Schneede 2005, 47.
- 52 See Schneede 2006, 184–86; Schulz-Hoffmann 1997, 410; Maur 1991, 348.
- 53 On the concept of “beauté convulsive,” which appears in the famous final line of *Nadja* (Breton 1928a), see Steinhauser 2002.
- 54 On the Surrealist motif of impossible desire, see Miller and Zielonka 2006.
- 55 Anton Maximilian Pachinger (1864–1938), a collector from Linz and a friend of Kubin’s, probably bought the drawing directly from the artist, as suggested by Pachinger’s stamp on the reverse of the drawing.
- 56 Woman and lotus already appeared in *Haarschlepp* (*Train of Hair*, ca. 1900–3) and *Urschlamm* (*Primordial Ooze*, 1904). Kubin’s pen and ink drawing, ca. 1905–6, *Sumpfpflanzen* (*Marsh Plants*) reflects his preference for certain motifs that he repeatedly returned to; this drawing is in the Oberösterreichischen Landesmuseum, Linz, Inv. Nr. Ha 3208; see Settele 1992, 16–20; Linz 1995, 268; Winterthur 1986, 124.
- 57 Kubin 1973, 57. *Der Zeichner* (*The Draftsman*) was first published in 1922; see also Kubin 1974, 42.
- 58 Alfred Kubin, *Sansara: Ein Cyclus ohne Ende* [*Sansara: A Cycle without End*] (Munich/Leipzig, 1911), containing 40 drawings. See Haustein-Müller 1998; Munich 1990, 281; Schwarz 1986, 22–23; Raabe 1957, 76 (no. 34). Drawing no. 39, in particular, a meditating ascetic in a swampy jungle, is closely related to *Die Wasserrose*; see Munich 1990, 279–80 (no. 115); Winterthur 1986, 23, 156.
- 59 Kubin mentions the influence of Bresdin’s work on his own for the first time in a letter dated April 2, 1909 (Schwarz 1986, 23, 28n34).
- 60 Cf. Paris 2000b, 129–45 (no. 88–111).
- 61 See Riedel 1996, 183–84; Settele 1992, 14–20.
- 62 Bachofen 1948, 39–40, 46; quoted in Riedel 1996, 184.
- 63 Both quotes from Bernoulli 1924, 115, 180; see Settele 1992, 14–27.
- 64 On the cult of sex, see Kubin [1909] 1975, 241; Settele 1992, 16. On death symbolism, see Kubin [1909] 1975, 116; Settele 1992, 14.
- 65 The 1976 catalogue raisonné by Ulf Martens remains essential; see Martens 1976, 26–27, 87, no. 96, supplemented by more recent articles, Bertsch 2006, 118–19; Bertsch 2009: 115–16; see also Schultz 2011, 207 (no. 63); Thum 2005; Thum 2009.
- 66 Martens 1976, 26 for the term applied to the work; see also the judgments of Schultz 2011, 207; Bertsch 2009, 120n44; Bertsch 2006, 118; Thum 2005, 62.
- 67 See Panofsky’s still fundamental essay “Et in Arcadia ego,” in which he mentions Kolbe’s print: Panofsky 1957, 319.
- 68 To consider Kolbe as a representative of descriptive naturalism, as Weiss and Bode do (Weiss 1999, 59; Bode 1999, 14) does not do him justice; cf. Bertsch 2006 and Bertsch 2009. The interpretation of the vegetal symbolism proposed by Thum in her dissertation is not always convincing, as is the notion that the burdock leaves nibbled at by worms in the Arcadia print represent Kolbe’s sexual frustration; see Thum 2005, 67–68.
- 69 Kolbe 1825, 12.
- 70 The closeness of Max Ernst’s jungle pictures to Kolbe’s plant drawings has been remarked upon several times; see Bode 1999, 12–13; Thum 2005, 113. The phrase is Louis Aragon’s, from *Le Paysan de Paris*, to describe the surrealist extension of reality (quoted in Schneede 2006, 52).
- 71 Breton’s precise word, here translated as “driving force” is *ressort*; so, literally desire is “the only ‘coiled spring,’ of the world”—i.e., like a trigger under tension. Both sexual liberation from outdated morals and the political liberation of society are meant here. Breton 1937; quoted from Breton 1988–2008, 2:755; on the wider meaning of the passage, see Steinhauser 2002, 144–45; Schneede 2006, 47–9.
- 72 On the history of Surrealism in Prague, see Tippner 2009; for a good overview of Medková’s work, see Fijałkowski 2005.
- 73 For examples of staged photography from the early works between 1948 and 1951, see Tuttlings 2004, 7–12 (nos. 8–25).
- 74 See Nadvornikova 1977.
- 75 Schmidt-Burkhardt 1992, 72; see also Fijałkowski 2005, 3, 7; on the playful element in Czech Surrealism, see Srp 1997, 290–91; Schneede 2006, 141.
- 76 For further examples, see Schmidt-Burkhardt 1992, 67–74.
- 77 Dora Maar, Untitled, 1933–34, Centre Pompidou, Paris, Inv. Nr. AM 1991-34; see Caws 2000, 50–51. The 1950 photograph, *Traum Nr. 4: Süßwassersirene* (*Dream No. 4: Naiad*), by Grete Stern from her series *Die Träume* (*Dreams*, 1950) is a reworking of Maar’s collage; in it, the dreamy attitude of the young girl confers a different erotic nuance on the scene.
- 78 By the eighteenth century, the shell had become a central formal element in Rococo ornamentation; see Irmscher 1984, 139–46; Graevenitz 1973, 75–80, 92–93; Flensburg and Herne 2004, 64–65; Forssman 1956, 186–92.
- 79 The work brings together 48 etchings by Theodor von Kessel after sketches by Adam and presumably also Christiaan van Vianen; see Ter Molen 1984, 119–28 (nos. 672–719), here 121 (no. 674); Fuhring 2004, 262–69, here 263–64 (no. 1524); Utrecht 1984, 20, 103 (no. 94); Zülch 1932, 97–102; Graevenitz 1973, 142–60. Adam van Vianen fashioned the shell goblet in silver in 1625, and it is today in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Inv. Nr. RBK 16093; see Ter Molen 1984, 86–87 (no. 425); Utrecht 1984, 90 (no. 77), with illustration; Graevenitz 1973, 23, 159.
- 80 It is the eighth print in the series; see Ter Molen 1984, 121 (no. 679); Fuhring 2004, 264 (no. 1529).
- 81 See Zülch 1932, 100; Graevenitz 1973, 41.
- 82 See Cammermeir [1666–78]; Zöllner 1959, 144–56; Forssman 1956, 198–202; Rothe 1938, 46–47.
- 83 Cammermeir develops his work based directly on the ornamental style of Friedrich Unteutsch’s *Neues Zieratenbuch* (*New Ornament Book*), from 1640–50; cf. Unteutsch [1640–50]; on this point, see Zöllner 1959, 144–56.
- 84 Forssman 1956, 182–83. The erotic character of the auricular style was first emphasized by Zülch 1932.
- 85 Forssman 1956, 201.
- 86 Cf. Forssman 1956, 182.

CAT. 98

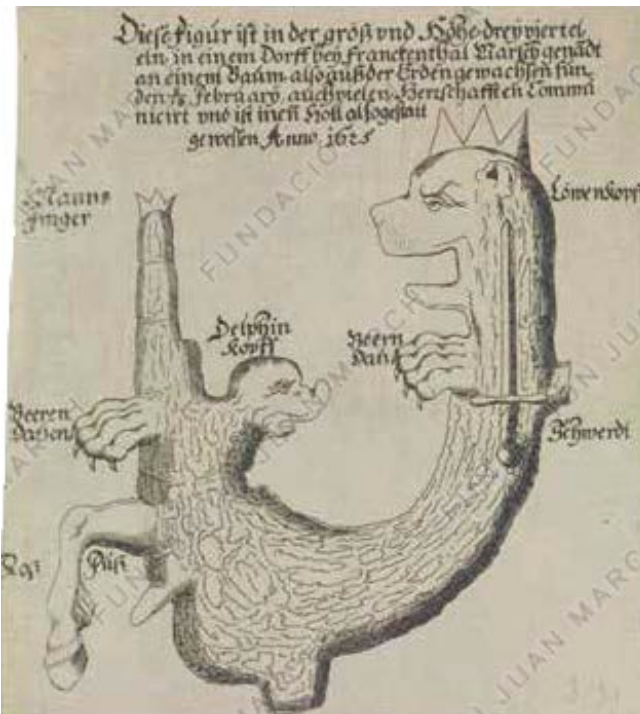
Óscar Domínguez
Lion-La Neige [Lion-
The snow], 1936

Decalcomania.

Gouache on paper
7 7/8 x 9 7/8 in. (20 x 25
cm)

Museo Nacional
Centro de Arte Reina
Sofía, Madrid

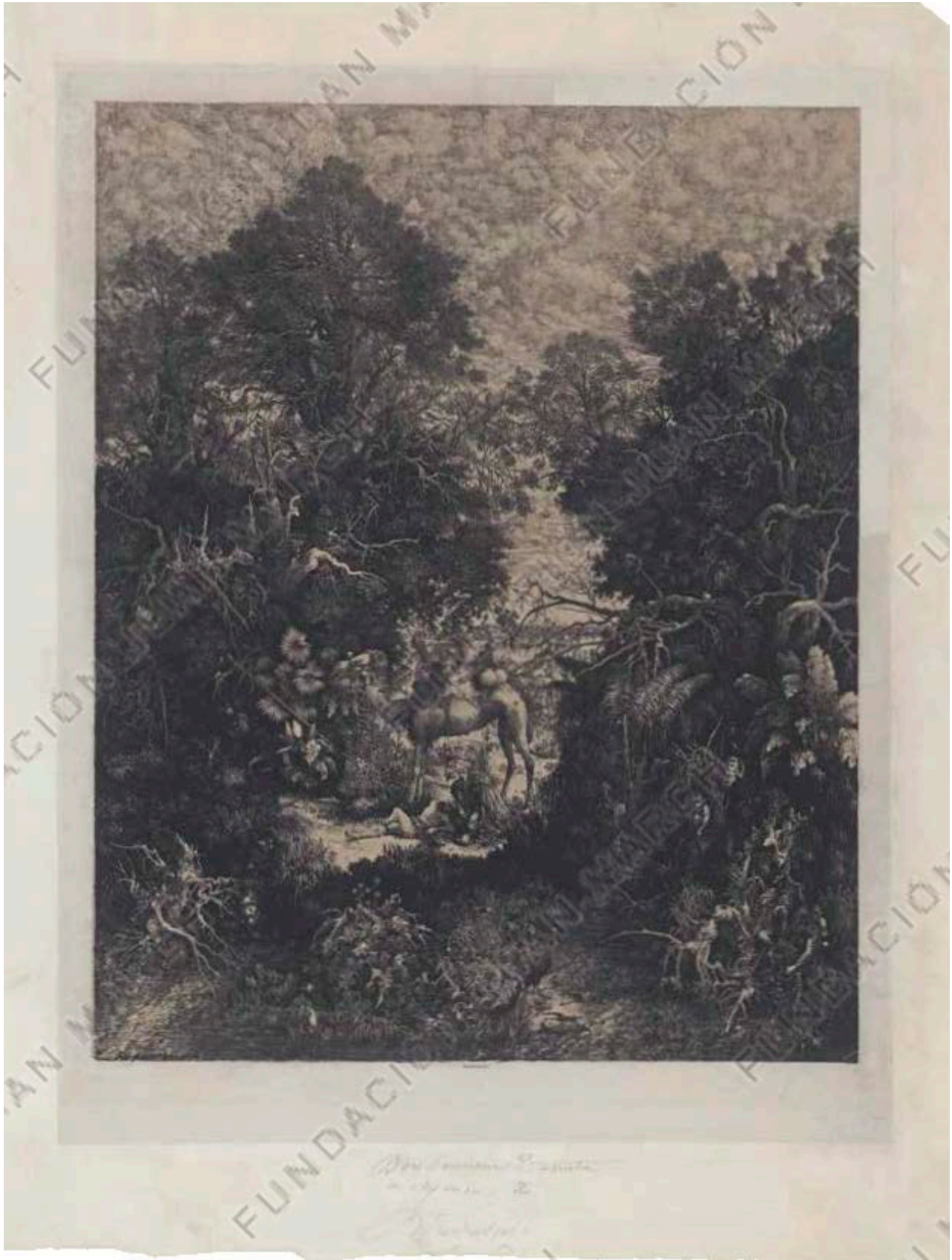




CAT. 99
Unknown (German)
Anthropo-zoomorphic tree growth,
ca. 1625
Engraving
7 1/8 x 6 3/8 in. (18 x 16.3 cm)
Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
Nuremberg

CAT. 100
Moritz von Schwind
Das organische Leben in der Natur
[Organic life in nature], 1848
From *Fliegende Blätter*, no. 6 (1848):
24
Wood engraving
10 5/8 x 8 3/8 in. (27 x 21.3 cm)
Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
Nuremberg





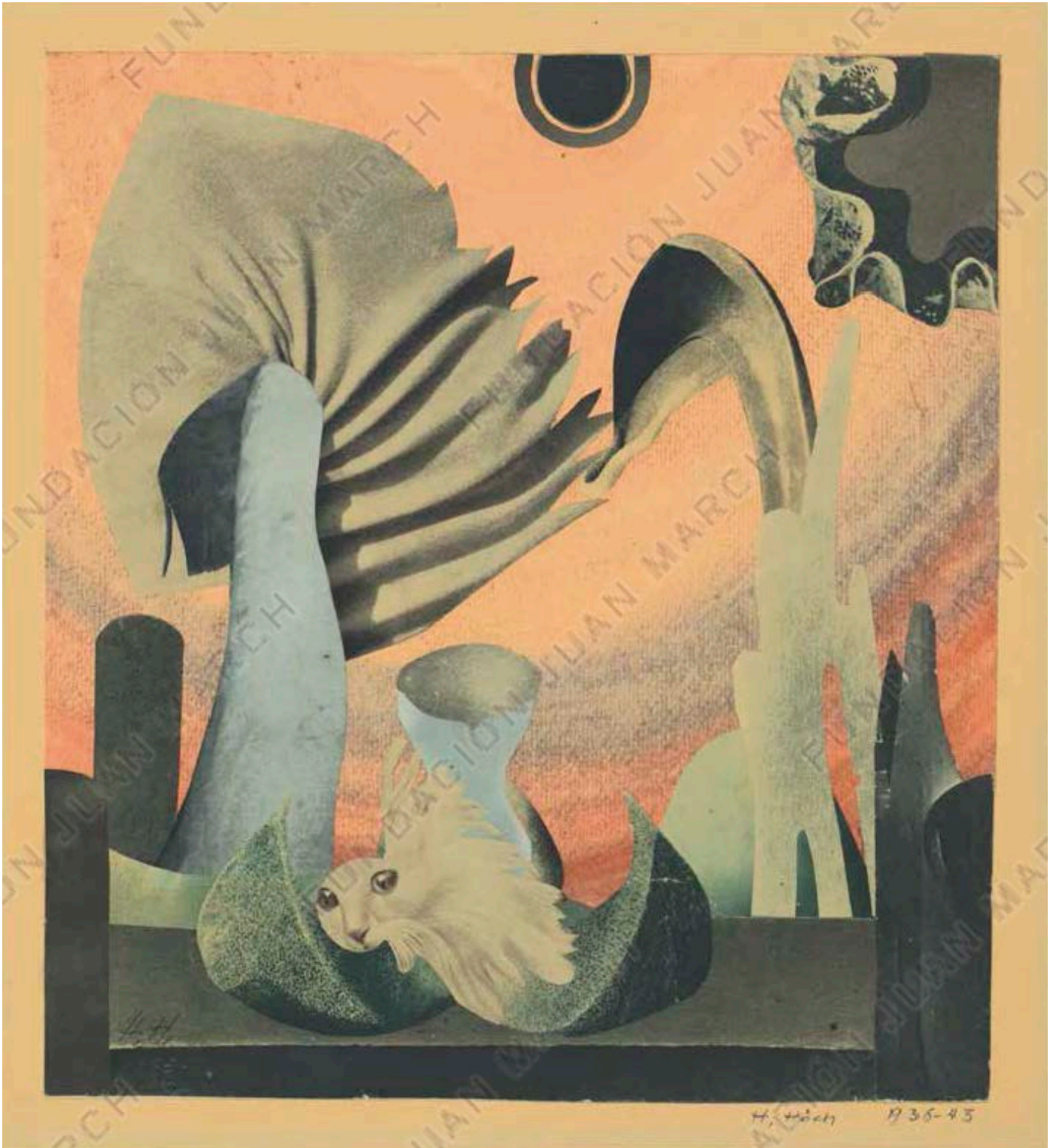


CAT. 101
 Rodolphe Bresdin
Le Bon Samaritain [The Good Samaritan], 1861
 Lithograph
 29 3/4 x 23 1/4 in. (75.5 x 59 cm)
 Hamburger Kunsthalle



CAT. 102
 Carl Wilhelm Kolbe the Elder
Phantastische tote Eiche in einem Gehölz [Fantastical dead oak in a grove], 1828–38
 Etching (artist's proof)
 17 1/2 x 24 3/8 in. (44.6 x 61.8 cm)
 Germanisches
 Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg

CAT. 103
 Hans Leu the Younger
 Group of trees, ca. 1514
 Pen and ink on primed paper
 6 1/2 x 4 3/8 in. (16.5 x 11 cm)
 Germanisches
 Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg



8. Metamorphoses of Nature

CAT. 104

Hannah Höch
Scene II, 1936–43
Collage and watercolor
12 7/8 x 11 1/2 in. (32.7 x 29.2 cm)
Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
Nuremberg

CAT. 105

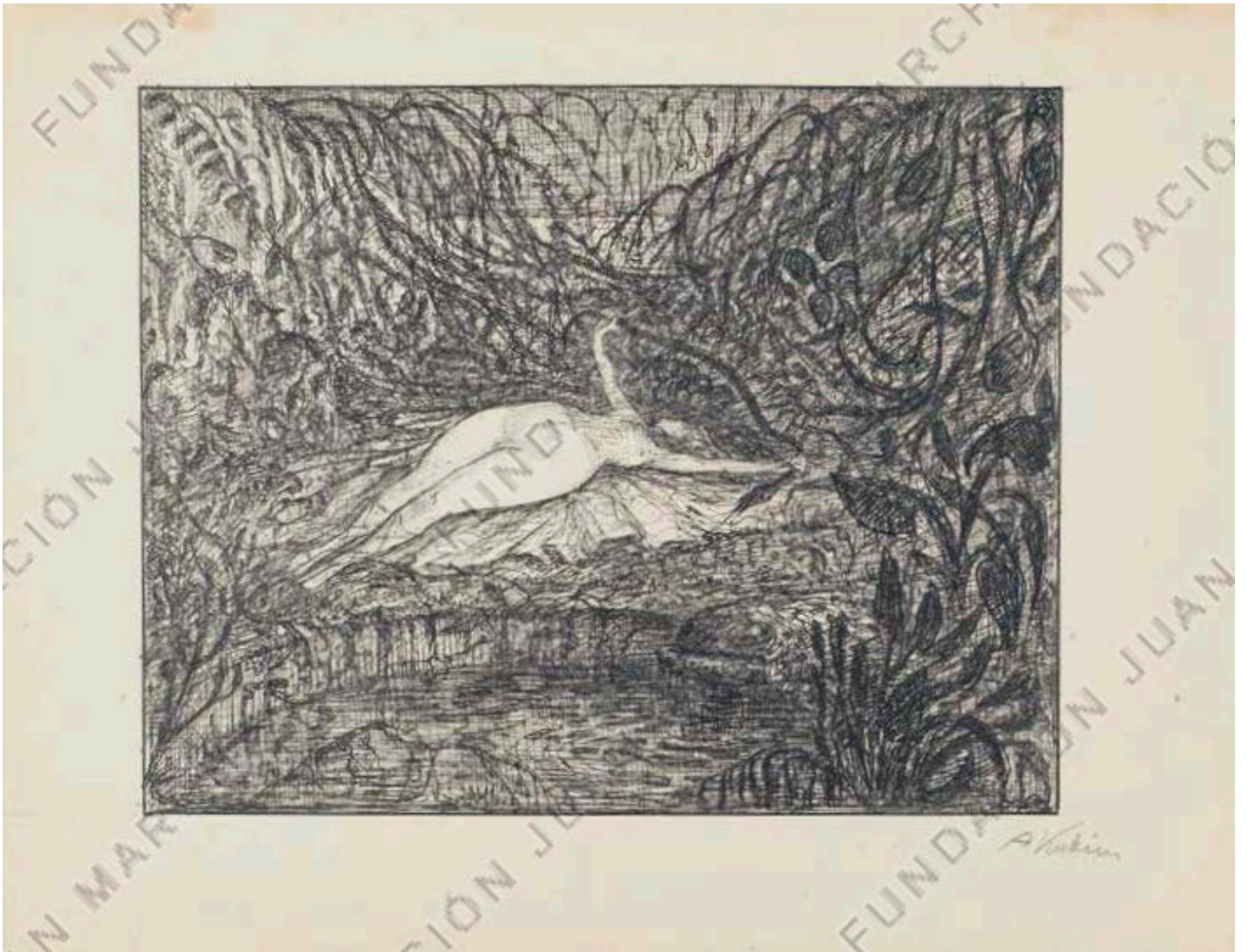
Raoul Ubac
*Pierres dans le Midi—Pierres de
Dalmatie* [Stones in the south—
Stones from Dalmatia], 1932
Gelatin silver print on paper
5 1/8 x 7 1/8 in. (13 x 18 cm)
Dietmar Siegert collection

CAT. 106

Maurice Tabard
Les Fétiches de l'Île de Pâques [The
fetishes of Easter Island], 1935
Gelatin silver print on paper
6 3/4 x 7 1/4 in. (17 x 18.4 cm)
Dietmar Siegert collection







CAT. 108
Vilém Reichmann
Osidla [Snares], 1941
From the series *Opuštěná* [The
abandoned]
Gelatin silver print on paper
15 3/8 x 11 in. (39.1 x 27.8 cm)
Dietmar Siegert collection

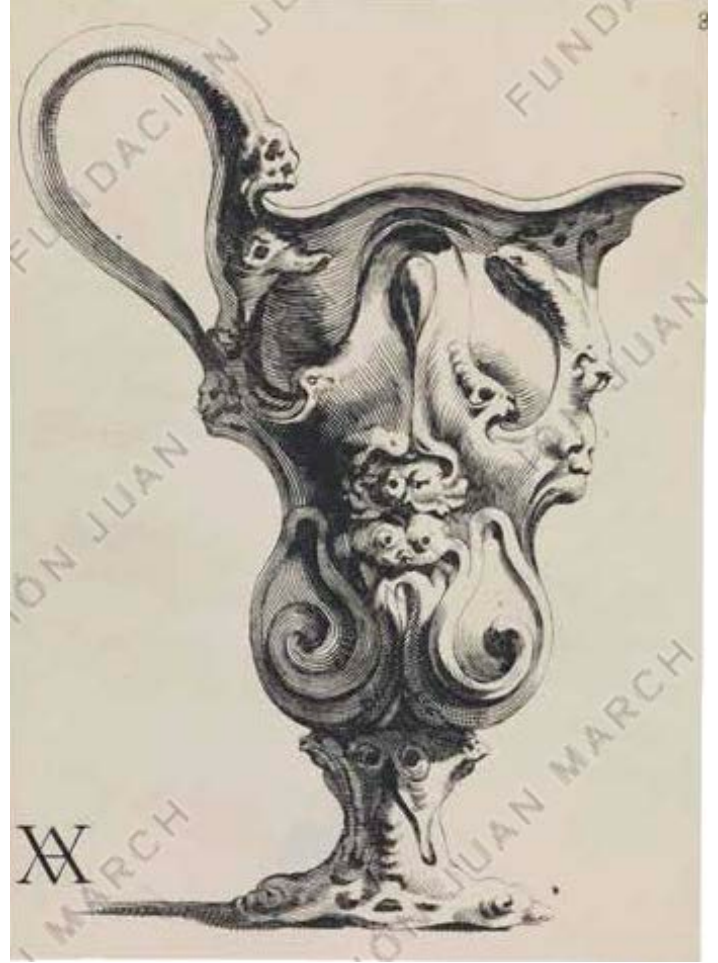
CAT. 109
Alfred Kubin
Wasserrose [Waterlily], 1911
Pen and ink on paper
12 1/4 x 15 5/8 in. (31 x 39.7 cm)
Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
Nuremberg



CAT. 110
Carl Wilhelm Kolbe the Elder
Auch ich war in Arkadien [I, too, was in
Arcadia], 1801
Etching
16 1/4 x 21 in. (41.2 x 53.2 cm)
Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
Nuremberg

CAT. 107
Emila Medková, née Tláskalová
Mušle I [Shells I], 1950–51
Gelatin silver print on paper
14 x 11 1/4 in. (35.4 x 28.5 cm)
Dietmar Siegert collection





CAT. 111

Theodor van Kessel, after Adam van Vianen

Design for a goblet in the shape of a conch shell, 1646–52

Plate 3 from Theodor van Kessel, *Constighe Modellen van verscheijden Silveren Vaten en andere sinnighe wercken* [Ingenious models for various silver vessels and other witty works], published by Christiaan van Vianen (Utrecht, [1646–52])

Etching

8 3/8 x 6 in. (21.4 x 15.4 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg

CAT. 112

Theodor van Kessel, after Adam van Vianen

Design for a ewer, 1646–52

Plate 8 from Theodor van Kessel, *Constighe Modellen van verscheijden Silveren Vaten en andere sinnighe wercken* [Ingenious models for various silver vessels and other witty works], published by Christiaan van Vianen (Utrecht, [1646–52])

Etching

8 1/4 x 6 in. (21 x 15.2cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg

CAT. 113

Simon Cammermeir

Design for an ornamental mask, 1666–78

Plate 29 from Simon

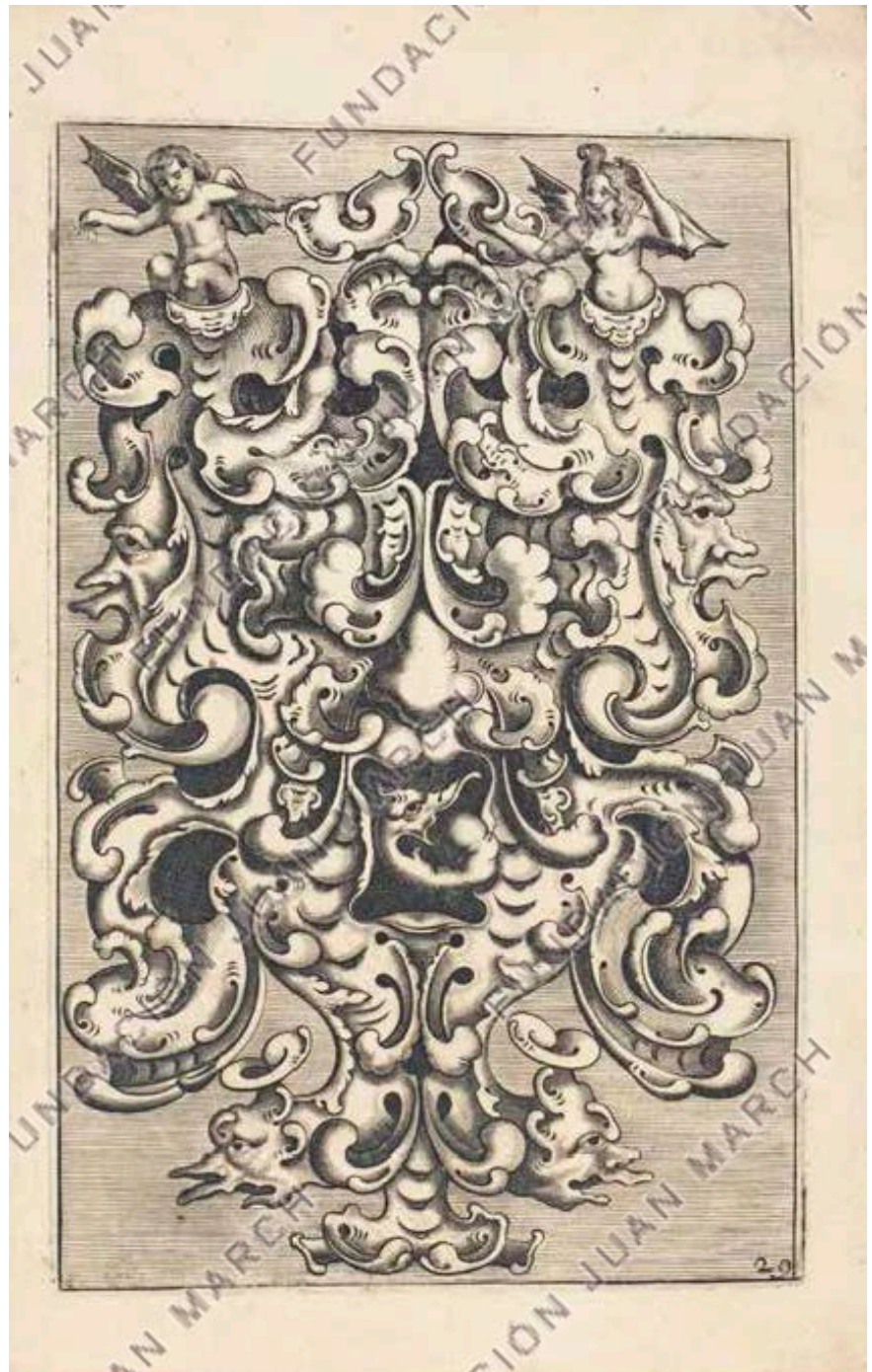
Cammermeir, *Neue[n] Zierathen Buch* [New ornament book].

Nuremberg: [Paulus Fürst], [1666–78]

Etching

10 3/4 x 6 3/4 in. (27.2 x 17.3 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg





9

Phantasmagorias

CHRISTINE KUPPER

The tradition of the literary and pictorial representation of the enigmatic or supernatural phenomena of demons and chimerical monsters dates back to remote Antiquity. In the Christian period, elements of classical demonic figures continued to play a vital role: in the form of hybrids based on various sorts of animals; or humanoid beings with wings and snakes for hair (as in portrayals of pagan idols); or even more complicated anthropo-zoomorphic composites. These heterogeneous creatures were depicted, in short, in the most varied of ways and in diverse contexts. Such figures could serve, for instance, to represent the inhabitants of fabulous or distant, unknown lands as half-human, half-animal monstrosities or as images of the devil and his minions. Similar hybrids populated the margins of medieval manuscripts as grotesque drolleries whose function was often merely decorative but which could also be a source of amusement. In an explicitly religious context, in contrast, they were used to represent malevolent forces, for example in images of the possessed healed by Christ casting out their demons. In the Middle Ages, the monsters engendered in hell appeared daily before people's eyes in scenes of the Last Judgment and battles between angels and devils represented over entrances to churches or in scenes of combat between monsters and humans, independent of a religious frame of reference, in other sculptural decorations on buildings.¹ We find similar hybrids as personifications of the temptations besetting people on their deathbeds in the tradition of the *Ars moriendi*, an illustrated guide to a proper Christian death, widely disseminated in block books and in

Jacques Callot, *La Tentation de St. Antoine*, [The temptation of Saint Anthony], 1635. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg [detail of Cat. 120]

single-sheet prints (such as the set of engravings by Master E. S. from the mid-fifteenth century) and which gave graphic form to the widespread fear of the demons struggling with angels over one's soul in the hour of death.² In the battles waged in print and image during the period of the Reformation, finally, the adversaries, now real people, wielded similar imagery in their vilification of each other in their polemics.

Elements of depictions of demons were likewise a source of imagery for representations of inexplicable, deformed creatures, reports of which circulated in single-sheet woodcuts, such as the print included in this exhibition recounting the appearance of the “monster of Ravenna” [Cat. 114]. After the advent of printmaking, there arose a flourishing market for images of such hybrid creatures; depictions of this monster in particular—like this one published in 1512 without a title by the Strasbourg workshop (1497/98–1520) of Matthias Hupfuff—remained in circulation for an astonishingly long period, from 1506 into the second half of the seventeenth century.³

The print here represents a human figure, standing atop a fragment of landscape serving as a plinth. Its face like that of a satyr reveals a harelip and sprouts a horn at the top of its forehead. On the upper torso the letters V, X, and Y appear, the V over a crescent shape, possibly intended to evoke a female breast. Two flame-like tufts of hair hang over the abdominal region. Genitals of both sexes identify it as a hermaphrodite, which the letter Y may also indicate. Besides the horn, we find other stock motifs from images of demons and devils, including the biomorphic wings in the place of arms, described as bat wings in the texts about the monster; the scaly right leg with its foot branching into three leaf-like “toes”; and the eye on the left knee, which perhaps can be understood as a “remnant” of the faces that stereotypically appeared on the knees and buttocks of devils in medieval depictions.

Though first reports described the birth of a prodigious creature to a woman in Florence in 1506, subsequent accounts (some illustrated) from Italy, France, and the Holy Roman Empire from as late as 1662 present variations in the details of the event, which ultimately is supposed to have taken place in Ravenna in 1512.⁴ In the print before us here, the Latin text and the German rhyme accompanying the image now identify a monk and a nun as the parents (who thus violated the monastic vow of chastity twice over by engendering this creature), and they explain that following its birth it was brought to Pope Julius II. The texts take the frightening monster to be

a bad omen for the Battle of Ravenna that year, in which the troops of the Holy League—the alliance formed around Pope Julius in 1511—were defeated by the French. The last lines are a general admonition against the allegedly lamentable state of the Christian faith and the sinful customs prevailing especially in Italy.⁵ In this way, the print responded to preoccupations that transcended the narrow circumstances of the incident itself and thereby could appeal to a wider market: “Behind the phenomenon of the monster of Ravenna lies the more comprehensive phenomenon of the whole world as something monstrous,” as Rudolf Schenda remarks.⁶

The “afterlife” of the Ravenna beast persisted for a century and a half, during which compilers, moralists, and physicians inquired into the phenomenon and its significance, as well as that of each of its members. It was variously interpreted as an amalgam of all the cardinal sins united in one creature, as a sign of the wickedness of the pope or of the falseness of Luther or the Calvinists or the Huguenots, or as a manifestation of God's wrath. In the last works that treat of the monster, from the second half of the seventeenth century, a new variant emerges: a whole set of monsters gathered in one place and presented like a spectacle—creepily fascinating—for the public's entertainment.⁷

In contrast to the prints that Schenda reproduces in his study, the monster in the Strasbourg print is mirror-inverted.⁸ Its artful composition as a well-proportioned figure in classical contrapposto produces ambivalence in the viewer, who only upon closer examination of the details will note the creature's repulsiveness—and then its fearsomeness, reinforced by virtue of the subversion of the initial impression.

In this broad period we find reports (based on classical sources) of curious animals, fabulous creatures, and monstrous hybrids, in compendiums and works on natural history, as well as in medieval and early modern travel writing, all the way up to the illustrated books of the eighteenth century—though by that point, it is true, such images were accompanied by the remark that these creatures do not occur in nature.⁹ As Ingrid Faust suggests in her volume on single-sheet woodcuts with zoological imagery, in which she also discusses monsters reportedly born to animals, “fears find an outlet in monsters, precisely because of their absurdity. The human psyche therefore likes to locate such hybrids [...] far from its own sphere of perception, either in the transcendental or the geographically remote.”¹⁰ Widely-traveled bearers of such unusual news were highly esteemed, and illustrations of their reports sold well—at least until the fraud was exposed.



Fig. 61 Anonymous German, wondrous bird captured in 1628 in Spain, 1629. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg

One such illustration is the single-sheet print with the elaborately grandiose title—typical as a ploy to confer authority on such reports—*Wahrhaftige neue Zeitung und Abcontrafactur eines grossen Wunder Vogels welcher in Hispanien in der Statt Amgemita im Monat Augusto deß verlauffenen 1628. Jahrs gefangen und bekommen worden ist* (Veracious new account and true copy of a wondrous bird caught and captured in Spain in the city of Amgemita in the month of August of the past 1628th year) [Fig. 61].¹¹ The text, printed with moveable metal type, has not survived with the woodcut reproduced here. The text includes the “title”; the place of publication—“Campry” (Cambrai?)—as the supposed printer’s address for the Spanish first edition in 1629; and a rhyming text to be sung.¹² Besides the description of the “quite horrifyingly disproportionate” bird (described as measuring eight yards), the fifteen stanzas warn at the outset of the great danger for French- and German-speaking lands that its appearance announces. According to the text, the inhabitants of the unidentifiable Spanish town had shot the bird with three musket balls, and when it fell the monstrous animal had bellowed like an ox. In the body, they find two crowned hearts hanging on spheres, their meaning readily supplied by the rhyming text: they are a symbol of people who hang their heart on worldly things—but “just as the bird fell to its doom/ so must we into our tomb,” where we cannot take our wealth with us.¹³ The bird has become, in Toggweiler’s words, a “monstrous gesture,” “with a new significance (the threat of divine punishment, an inducement to virtue).”¹⁴

Like the exegesis of the “monster of Ravenna,” the text here warns of a threat—though one that is still vague and that also is not related to any actual terrible events. The obviously implausible and only mildly fascinating story probably enjoyed limited success, as the comparably few remaining examples and editions would suggest. The rhyming stanzas intended to be sung point to one way such pamphlets were used: for recitation in itinerant theatrical spectacles—something the following print of the “Peruvian Harpy” substantiates—in which monsters created by taxidermists could also occasionally be exhibited.¹⁵

A late eighteenth-century single-sheet copperplate etching disseminated by the Augsburg bookseller Johann Martin Will (1727–1806) presents a “harpy, living amphibious monster,” accompanied by texts in German and French, each reporting slightly different details and the latter language providing its title, *Harpie Monstre Amphibie vivante* [Cat. 115]. The *monstre*, described in the German text as a *Thier* (“animal”) is represented as a hybrid in the manner of a Sphinx, with a woman’s head

and breasts. According to the descriptions in German and French, the head has a mane like that of a lion, the long ears of an ass, and the horns of a bull. Wings, again those of a bat, are attached to the scaly body. The forelegs end in great talons and the scaly body in two snake-like tails, one of which is “soft and flexible,” the other “hard” (according to the German). The animal, “which lives in the air as well as the water,” is said to have consumed “daily half an ox or three pigs or four sheep,” when they came to drink at the shores of the lake where the beast was found. (The French only mentions its daily diet.) An example of each of these three animals is depicted, serving to illustrate the creature’s dimensions: a sheep in its jaw, an ox under its left paw, and a pig held by the double tail at the moment of being killed.

The texts name the fictitious “Lake Fagua” in the “country-side” (German) or “province” (French) of “Chili.” (In earlier versions of the print, it was allegedly found in Peru.) The French text reports that it was captured there and brought to the viceroy, who sent it on, via the Gulf of Honduras and Havana, to the Spanish king in Madrid, where it arrived alive; furthermore, the natives living near the lake reported the subsequent discovery of a female, which the viceroy ordered be captured and shipped to Paris so that the beasts could live and “perpetuate their race” in Europe. The German text, meanwhile, indicates that a drawing made of the beast in Madrid was engraved, and “His Majesty has sent some copies to our Court.”

The print, “copied from the French original,” reprises the monstrous images of beasts from distant lands but at the same time offers a multitude of apparently precise pieces of information, in order to give the appearance of truthfulness to the phantasmagorical creature.¹⁶ In any case, the print’s title, *Harpie*, explicitly recalls a creature from classical mythology. However, in contrast to the Ravenna beast, this fearsome, monstrous animal could be caught and controlled by people, according to this eighteenth-century fantasy, made the object of scientific investigation in Paris and bred there, or simply put on display. Its size and eating habits are admittedly alarming, but no longer in the diffuse, uncircumscribable manner of the monster of Ravenna—as an omen of uncontrollable threats and divine wrath.

Fabulous and menacing beings from classical mythology, like sirens, harpies, or the Cretan Minotaur, have usually brought death to human beings—and yet they have been a perpetual source of inspiration for artists to this day. Pablo Picasso, in whose work the figure of the Minotaur played a dominant role beginning in 1928, sets a monstrous bull’s head and

neck onto a winged hybrid in a print from his series, the *Suite Vollard*.¹⁷ The etching, *Harpie à tête de taureau, et quatre petites filles sur une tour surmontée d’un drapeau noir* (*Harpy with Bull’s Head and Four Little Girls on Top of a Tower with a Black Flag*), from December 1934 [Cat. 116], displays the elements of a Sphinx but with powerful forelegs and sharp talons like those of a bird of prey, evoking the figure of a harpy. The bull’s head with its giant neck stares at the viewer. The expression of the animal’s face, configured ornamentally, does not seem exactly to signal an impending threat but rather suggests the unpredictable nature of an animal. The four girls with garlands in their hair and a gentle demeanor stare from behind the tower’s parapet, spellbound, with an attitude between contemplative, sympathetic, and frightened. But the wall can grant them no protection: The monster’s body already looms over them; one leap from its resting place will be enough. The black flag over the girls’ heads can also be interpreted as a sign of imminent doom.¹⁸ In this composition, the latent danger to which the girls are exposed in the form of this phantasmagorical, monstrous being constitutes the psychological moment that triggers terror in the viewer.

Demons in Christian subjects

The second chapter of the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians treats of Christ’s return and warns against the man of lawlessness who precedes the Second Coming: “He opposes and exalts himself above every so-called god or object of worship, so that he takes his seat in the temple of God, declaring himself to be God. [...] The coming of the lawless one is apparent in the working of Satan.”¹⁹ The 1545 woodcut *Regnum Satanae et Papae*. (*The Reign of Satan and the Pope*), after Lucas Cranach the Elder, interprets this passage in the Epistle in picture and text as an allusion to the pope [Cat. 117]. Over the flaming mouth of hell hover its demonic inhabitants, composed of various parts of animals, busying themselves with a staircase-like framework. At its top, seated on a throne before a wall, is a figure, his hands folded in prayer and his feet supported by one of the demons; two others hold a tiara crowned with excrement over his head, thus identifying him as the pope. His ears are those of a donkey. The quotation from Luther beneath the illustration equates the pope, or the papacy, with the Antichrist: “In th’ name of all the devils, ’pon his throne / The pope is perched right here, his true self shown: / The real Antichrist—it’s plain to see— / As Scripture’s book foretells in prophecy.”²⁰

It was probably also the workshop of Lucas Cranach the Elder (?) that had given graphic representation to the Refor-

mation polemic already in 1528, in Philipp Melanchthon and Martin Luther's *Bapstesel zu Rom* (Pope-Ass in Rome) [Cat. 51]. Of the donkey's head depicted there, only the ears are left on this pope of the *Regnum Satanae et Papae*. In the *Passional Christi und Antichristi* (Passionary of the Christ and the Antichrist, 1521), Luther and Cranach set the ascension of Christ in opposition to the fall of the Antichrist, here again identified with the pope and again with reference to the Epistle to the Thessalonians. Yet while Cranach there illustrates the victory of Christ with the pope finally being cast into hellfire by devils, the print here represents the beginning of the narrative: the appearance of the Antichrist, the "Reign of Satan and the Pope" of its title. Diabolical imps raise the Antichrist up out of the mouth of hell so that, through the power of Satan, he can drag down to their destruction with him those who do not believe in the true religion.

In Christian hagiography, passages reflecting a belief in devils and demons abound. Athanasius (d. AD 373) in his *Vita Antonii* (*Life of St. Anthony*), on the Egyptian "Father of Monasticism," gives an account of fierce struggles with such creatures who violently attack the abbot; yet the ascetic man of God, thanks to his faith, undergoes these tribulations unscathed or wards off his attackers, remaining always victorious. The particular veneration of St. Anthony (251–356) in the late medieval period was due above all to his being the patron saint of the sick; he was one of the fourteen Holy Helpers and the one of the three intercessors against the plague.²¹ The concrete descriptions of demonic attacks on this universally familiar saint—in the *Life* by Athanasius, in Jacobus de Voragine's mid-thirteenth-century *Legenda aurea* (*The Golden Legend*), and elsewhere—invited a multiplicity of artistic interpretations of the phantoms of Anthony's temptations; the story is a stimulus to the imagination that artists have responded to repeatedly since the Middle Ages.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, St. Anthony's temptation by demons appears as an independent pictorial subject that was disseminated even more widely in prints.²² Among the most famous portrayals is the engraving by Martin Schongauer (1445/50–1491), *Saint Anthony Tormented by Demons*, from 1481 (or perhaps ca. 1470) [Cat. 118]. Schongauer's image of St. Anthony and the demons presumably refers to details in Athanasius's life of the abbot: Anthony withdraws to an abandoned stronghold on top of a mountain—the rocky peak in the image. One of the threats the saint undergoes comes in the form of a hallucination: He "felt himself caught up in the spirit and being carried on high"; apparitions raise him in the

air as other horrible figures, demanding a reckoning for his former sins, try to prevent them from doing so. In the face of his holy conduct as a monk he was finally allowed to return to himself unmolested. "Anthony was raised right up to the heavens and after his struggle he appeared unhindered."²³

Schongauer's print depicts Anthony as an old man, hovering in the air—as indicated by the crags in the lower right-hand corner—with an inward look and a patient, passive expression on his face as he abandons himself to his attackers with no sign of physical resistance. And how they attack. Sharp talons tear at his wrists and at his scapular, sink into his leg, and attempt to wrest his stick from him; hands pull at his hair; the paws of beasts strike out with cudgels at his head. These attacks are carried out with formidable aggressiveness by nine creatures encircling their victim. They are composite figures with elements from every species of animal, and in every combination thereof, familiar in medieval demon imagery: bat wings, beaks, trunks with suckers, pointed tails like those of skates, horns, spines, breasts... Schongauer shapes these stereotypical iconographic elements into new forms, individually harmonious and apparently natural wholes. This proximity to reality and the repulsive ugliness of the hybrids already rouse fears, but this effect is further exacerbated by the astonishing vitality and psychological expressiveness of their animal physiognomies as they hurl themselves at the seemingly defenseless man. Gaping mouths seem to bellow with all their might; others seem to hiss. While some demons pursue their attack with dull fixation, others seem to grin in joyful anticipation of further torments. "Schongauer's demons have literally gone wild," as Werner Hofmann puts it; the work "shows the peril menacing the creature [i.e., the artist] elevated to his exemplary role of penetrating into the unknown and inventing a 'fantasy piece' whose curative powers depend precisely on the persuasive powers of his art."²⁴

Apart from the hint of a rocky crag in the lower corner, Schongauer's engraving concentrates the dramatic action exclusively on the group of figures; a quarter century later, however, Lucas Cranach the Elder presents a landscape of rocky hills and buildings near a river in the background of his 1506 woodcut *The Temptation of St. Anthony* [Fig. 62, Cat. 119]. It may well be based on a real landscape, with the monastery of the Order of St. Anthony at Lichtenburg, in the town of Prettin (near Wittenberg), represented among the buildings in the background.²⁵ The figure of the saint himself is also less obvious to the eye than in Schongauer's print. St. Anthony almost disappears in the turmoil of creatures no less terrifying than

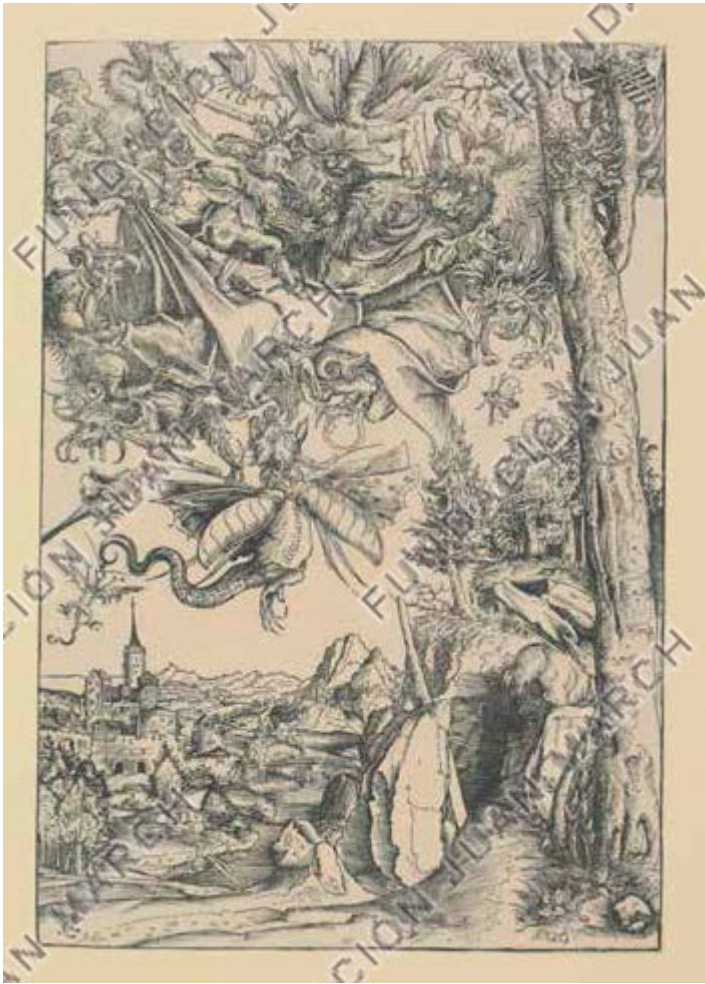


Fig. 62 Lucas Cranach the Elder, *The Temptation of St. Anthony*, 1506. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg

Schongauer's, whose configuration here is expanded by the addition of insect parts. Indeed, they seem to be almost more important to Cranach than the saint, whose face is turned toward the monsters, not toward the viewer; some of the monsters, in turn appear to eye the viewer with a leering gaze. "[Antonius] prayed [...] for the rest of the day and the whole of the following night, for he saw with astonishment how many adversaries we must fight," writes Athanasius.²⁶ It is the viewer, not the saint, in whom the hellish creatures inspire fear and terror. The saint escapes victorious—but does the viewer?

This engagement of the viewer's gaze is further transformed in the dramatic staging of the saint's struggle with the demons in Jacques Callot's *La Tentation de Saint-Antoine* (*The Temptation of St. Anthony*), from 1635 [Cat. 120]. In this etching,

the renowned engraver presents the scene as a theatrical piece brimming with figures and framed on either side by architectural ruins. Filling the sky are the outspread pinions of the fearsome figure of a giant dragon. Its right paw clutches a bundle of flames, evocative of representations of Jupiter brandishing his thunderbolts, and from its open mawimps fly out. This monster is the instigator of the bedlam carried out by countless demons of every sort, swarming in the air and on the ground. A flame-spewing serpent winds itself around the dragon's left arm, directing its spray of venom at the saint, framed by an arch below. Yet the left leg of the satanic figure is chained: Despite all its power, it will not be able to harm the saint.²⁷

Anthony himself, with a halo, stands amid the onslaught, under the arch yet still exposed to the demons' attacks. Four creatures assail him directly, while a naked she-devil with claws for fingers makes good her escape. (The father of monasticism has obviously resisted her seductive attempts on his virtue—a common theme precisely in the Baroque.) A giant dragon-head spits flames at him, and the cannon-monster in the foreground fires shot, lances, and arrows in Anthony's direction. But this very artillery-gun hybrid, with its use of contemporary weapons reveals the second, ironic dimension in Callot's portrayal of the fantastic scene, the frightening repulsiveness of Satan and his followers transformed into comedy. For example, in the top left corner there is one demon "whose nose has sprouted a flintlock" (as E. T. A. Hoffman put it), which he aims at Anthony.²⁸ The hyperbolic profusion of these acrobaticimps disburdens the scene of some of its horror. The many anal-erotic motifs—such as the pig wearing a bell in the lower right-hand corner being puffed up with a bellows by an impudent demon, despite St. Anthony being the patron of domestic animals—are presumably also to be understood as a component of the saint's erotic temptation. The pandemonium that Satan mobilizes against Anthony shifts between demonic menace and amusing entertainment. Deploying the most imaginative of artistic devices and the most refined of techniques, Callot translates the life of the saint into his epoch's entertainment medium par excellence: the theater.²⁹

Pieter Bruegel the Elder (1525/30–1569) composed his image of the vice of *Luxuria* (*Lust*) likewise as a hellish spectacle but now transported to a landscape with a stream and architectural motifs. The print is one of a series Bruegel drew in 1556–57 on the Seven Deadly Sins [Cat. 121]. Like the 1559 series on the Seven Virtues, the series on vices was intended for reproduction as engravings. Pieter van der Heyden (1530?–

1576?) engraved *The Seven Deadly Sins* for the publisher Hieronymus Cock in Antwerp in 1558. In contrast to his series *The Virtues*, which he drew in a contemporary style, for the *Deadly Sins* Bruegel deliberately chose figures in the style of his Flemish countryman and model, Hieronymus Bosch.³⁰ Together with these grotesque-fantastic figures, symbolic elements and genre scenes are united here in a rich composition. The sins—now personified—appear as women, surrounded by the animal attributes of a particular vice and by many other representations, of figures and of scenes.

Luxuria, which with *Gula* (Gluttony) is a sin of the flesh, appears as a nude woman in the center of the picture, sitting on the lap of a repulsive demon, with whose beak-shaped snout she is exchanging a tongue-kiss, while his talon-fingers encircle one of her breasts. On the back of the chair which holds them both, stands a cock, one of the symbols of lasciviousness. This central group, along with other animal-headed creatures, is surrounded by a hollow tree trunk, out of whose bark a deer head grows, holding an apple in its mouth. At the top of the tree sits an open mussel—likewise an attribute of Aphrodite—clasping between its two valves a transparent sphere with a pair of lovers within, as a symbol of the vanity of earthly love, one of the elements that is clearly indebted to Bosch.³¹ Around the central scene, Bruegel places a multitude, mostly demonic monsters, engaged in chaotic copulation, sodomy, self-emasculation, defecation, and sundry other obscene positions, many being observed by animals and other fabulous creatures. In the middle ground more monsters are jeering at a bound “heretic,” as they goad the strange beast covered in a sheet that he is astride. The rider’s hat is easier to recognize as a miter in Bruegel’s original drawing; he is followed by two naked women and led by a bagpiper.³² In the background on the left, there are several couples in an idyllic landscape crossed by a stream with a fountain, a mill, and buildings suitable for a garden, while on the right, in a fortress on the water, a sea monster is devouring one of the people running about shouting for help.

The Latin inscription at the bottom of the image reads, “LUXURIA ENERVAT VIRES, EFFOEMINAT ARTVS” (Lust enervates the strength, it weakens the limbs), while the distich in Dutch adds another, initial idea, before translating the Latin: “Luxurije stinckt, sij is vol onsuurheden. Sij breeckt die Crachten, en sij swackt die leden” (Lust stinks, truly it is impurities. It breaks the strength and weakens the limbs).³³

Bruegel portrays a world ruled by wild demons, made inhuman through sin, in which human beings no longer play

an active role. Their beastliness makes clear the equally abominable behavior of the viewer as well as the punishments for such actions in the afterlife. Bruegel’s moral message in his phantasmagorical scenery alludes to human beings’ “loss of dignity and spiritual purity.”³⁴

Phantasmagorias as social critique

In his images blending reality and imagination—and Biblical subjects, too—James Ensor (1860–1949) found various ways to translate his criticism of contemporary society into caricature or other fantastic, grotesque forms, such as masks, skeletons, and demons. *Diables rossant anges et archanges* (*Devils Beating Angels and Archangels*) is a title he gave one of more than forty etchings he made in 1888 [Cat. 122]. It is also known as *Le Combat des démons* (*The Battle of the Demons*).³⁵ It represents a chaos of figures that (unlike the other images of masses of devils discussed above) here gives no spatial structure to the composition; Hans Hofstätter describes this form of representation as a “threatening spatial dynamic,” a “spatial aggression [...] which ranks among one of the fundamental stylistic devices of the Symbolists: Space itself and all movement in it is directed towards the viewer.”³⁶ The only remnants of this world are a small sailing ship (above right) and a steaming locomotive pulling carriages in which people are sitting.

The rest of the print, in a kind of *horror vacui*, is filled with clearly delineated or merely scribbled figures of a great variety of forms and sizes. Similar to Callot’s *La Tentation de Saint-Antoine*, at the top edge a (crowned?) demon hovers, armed with some sort of sword and with something like peacock-eyes on its wings, and to which the double tail pointing to the left no doubt also belongs. Under this demon cavort countless other monsters: animal-creatures, diabolical figures, hybrids, grotesque visages, death’s-heads, and faces. The repellent creatures with their weapons—as far as can be ascertained—are falling upon female figures and goring them with lances, swords, and horns studded with thorns. Most of the angels, dressed in simple long robes, some holding a small shield with a cross on it, have already been hit, or lie, apparently killed, further off or far below as tiny little figures; only two are raising what could be weapons, or the cross, against a millipede-like creature with a skull.

The struggle seems more like murder than a beating and presents the diabolical creatures as the side that is clearly winning. Ensor has accentuated the largest demons with heavier outlines and in some cases with hatching inside

the figure. Two of the larger faces, moreover, stare directly at the viewer: the devil above, probably to be interpreted as the master of ceremonies; and the face near the middle of the print that, with a screaming, open mouth and eyes agape with terror, is pictured on one demon's shield like a portrait of the viewer of this nightmare. In this etching the biblical war in heaven is blasphemously decided against the angels—perhaps as a metaphor for the depraved state in which Ensor saw the society of his time. At any rate, it is an image that documents his doubts about Christianity, as in his images of Christ, as Hofstätter has pointed out.

When Fascist movements were gaining ground in Europe in the 1920s, intellectuals in France, including the Paris Surrealists, reacted by turning toward the political left. The writer André Breton, as the group's chief ideologue, and other members joined the Communist Party. The group's journal, *La Révolution surréaliste* (1924–29), the name of which alluded to an overturning of ideas, received the title *Le Surréalisme au service de la révolution* (1930–33) in its new incarnation and thus immediately reflected its political goals, or at least those of Surrealist writers.³⁷ The majority of the artists, however, touched on political events in their work from the 1930s indirectly; instead, they each used their own, individual stylistic devices to highlight social grievances and threats. “In images from the 1930s the human form became an amorphous creature, diffusely outlined, grotesquely deformed [...]. Limbs move in an uncoordinated way; they seem to be directed from no center,” in Jutta Held's words.³⁸

Salvador Dalí, who had joined the Surrealists in 1929, commonly presents his classical figures dissolving into elements of the landscape, human-animal hybrids, or even amalgams of humans and cultural objects.³⁹ From 1930 onwards, Dalí replaced the indirect, not consciously controlled method of “automatism,” which had come to a crisis in 1929, with his own “paranoiac-critical” method.⁴⁰ In his first study for *Construction molle avec haricots bouillis—Prémonition de la guerre civile* (*Soft Construction with Boiled Beans—Premonition of the Civil War*) [Cat. 123], from 1934, having returned to Paris in October of that year during a period of unrest in Barcelona two years before the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, Dalí continued his use of oversized, elongated body parts, executed with meticulous modeling, that, for example, he had already deployed in his painting *L'Énigme de Guillaume Tell* (*The Enigma of William Tell*, 1933) and its earlier versions. As Peter Gorsen explains, “Dalí's paintings and films illustrate that this shock of the ‘monstres molles’—beyond the psychi-

cal uneasiness triggered by its perturbation of habitual experience—has the function of biomorphization, that is, the ‘fleshy corruption and disintegration’ of solid forms and bodies.”⁴¹

In an article for *Minotaure* in 1933, Dalí establishes a parallel between this “tendency to softening” and “that really desired meat toward which, as we know, Napoleon heads for, always at the head of the real and true imperialisms which, as we are in the habit of repeating, are none other than the huge ‘cannibalisms of history.’”⁴² The correlation between these soft forms and the idea of internecine conflict alluded to in the title of the painting based on this study—the painting itself is from 1936—corresponds to concrete elements of the composition: the enormity (recalling Goya's monsters) of the monstrous figure made of reassembled body parts; the knife-like form of the thigh; the breast serving as a “handle”; or the dark, knobby hand squeezing it.⁴³ Elements of Dalí's pictorial language appear in the landscape in the background: “As a background to this architecture of frenzied flesh [...] I painted a geological landscape that had been uselessly revolutionized for thousands of years, congealed in its ‘normal course.’”⁴⁴ The boiled beans, as food appropriate for a fast, are supposed to symbolize famine and war.⁴⁵ The phantasmagorical figure of “the cadaverous body of Spain half-devoured by the vermin and the worms of exotic and materialistic ideologies” is Dalí's expression of the hatred, the violence, the bloodlust, as he had perceived them on the eve of the Civil War.⁴⁶

José Caballero (1916–1991) was a member of the circle of Surrealists in Madrid, among whom the works of Dalí were highly regarded. Among other things, Caballero designed stage sets for the traveling theater company directed by Federico García Lorca, “La Barraca.”⁴⁷ One of the outstanding drawings Caballero executed between 1932 and 1936 is *La rosa y el velocípedo* (*The Rose and the Bicycle*), from 1935 [Cat. 124]. Supported on the frame of a ruinous, wheel-less bicycle, one leg of a monstrous human-like creature steps on the remaining pedal, as if about to follow the unicycle-rider in the middle ground. This rider is approaching a structure reminiscent of Man Ray's “mathematical objects” [cf. Cat. 29, 30]; its lattice-like tower sections would appear to represent modern architectural structures built out of iron.⁴⁸ The scene is set in a wide, desolate landscape, familiar from Dalí. The rose lying on the ground and the bust of a woman wounded by nails in the foreground can be understood as symbols of beauty and, because they resemble a picture of the Mater Do-

lorosa, as symbols of religion or sorrow, but symbols which have obviously been thrown away. Jiménez Blanco interprets the picture as a transfer of Dalí's pictorial language to a new context: Caballero is depicting "the debris left abandoned on the margins of the city, the residua of a civilization, urban and industrial"; Caballero thus "appears to proclaim the uselessness of humanity's effort to advance, to reach a state of perfection by traversing the path of a longed-for *progress* that, associated with modern civilization, increasingly reveals that it is an ephemeral mirage."⁴⁹

- 1 See Herbert Schade, "Dämonen," in LCI 1968–76, 1:col. 456–68; Beat Brenk, "Teufel," in LCI 1968–76, 4:col. 295–99; Toggweiler 2008.
- 2 On *Ars moriendi* block books, see Schreiber 1902, 253ff.
- 3 Schenda 1960, 219–25.
- 4 *Ibid.*, 209–20.
- 5 Duntze 2007, 230–31; Ewinkel 1995, 227–37, 328 (fig. 9). For a general summary of sources on prodigies, see Hammerl 2007.
- 6 Schenda 1960, 225; cf. Toggweiler's assessment: "The monster merely wants to show us something—or so the etymology would suggest [i.e., < Lat. *MŌNSTRŌ*, "I show"]. Thus, first of all, it does not stand alone, as something in itself, but points to something else" (Toggweiler 2008, 6).
- 7 Schenda 1960, 219–25.
- 8 Cf. *ibid.*, 216–17.
- 9 For example, Friedrich Justin Bertuch, *Bilderbuch für Kinder* [Children's picture book], (Weimar, 1790), vol. 1, under "Vermischte Gegenstände" [Mixed objects].
- 10 Faust 1998–2010, 5:206.
- 11 *Ibid.*, 236–37; according to an earlier sheet, from 1625, the "abstruse Konstruktion eines 'Vogels'" ("abstruse construction of a 'bird'") appeared in a no less fictitious town in India; see *ibid.*, 234–35 (no. 775, 776).
- 12 "Im Thon: Es ist gewißlich an der Zeit &c." (To the tune of: "It is certainly time," etc.).
- 13 "Wie der Vogel fiel herab/ also müssen wir in das Grab"
- 14 Toggweiler 2008, 11.
- 15 Faust 1998–2010, 5:300–2 (no. 817, 818).
- 16 Regarding the print on which it is based (one more "corroborating" detail), it is probably no. 830 in Faust 2003, 322–23. It is the only one of the sixteen Faust has assembled in which the pig is killed with the arrow-tipped second tail; nos. 817–23 portray monsters with an obviously male chest, or at any rate with no female breasts; nos. 824–30 are female. The idea that the prints with male and female harpies were produced as a kind of "serial novel"—that is, an ongoing report about two monsters suitable for breeding—is tempting and plausible given the public demand for the prints on the subject.
- 17 See Paloma Esteban Leal, "Picasso/Minotauro," in Madrid 2000b, 15–47 (this print discussed on p. 28).
- 18 See Fischer 1996, 28; it is possible this etching should be assigned to the series of Minotaur prints in the *Suite Vollard*: see Rau 1974, 18.
- 19 2 Thess. 2:4–9, New Revised Standard Version (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).
- 20 *Luthers Werke*, Weimar ed., 54:363, quoted in Harms 1980, 148n B4.
- 21 See Angenendt 2000, 154–55; E. Sauser, in LCI 1968–76, 5: col. 204–5.
- 22 E. Sauser, in LCI 1968–76, 5: col. 212.
- 23 Quotes from the *Vita Antonii* (65 [37]) according to the English translation, *Life of Antony by Athanasius*, in *Early Christian Lives*, trans. Carolinne White (London: Penguin, 1998), 49–50.
- 24 Hofmann 2010, 37–38. On the endurance of Schongauer's engraving, see Hamburg 2008, 182 (Cat. 51–52); on the paintings from the Ghirlandaio workshop based on the print, see Hamburg 2008, 17 (fig. 8); on studies and sketches of animals during Schongauer's Spanish journey, see Ludwigshafen 1980, 102 (no. 40); Munich 1991b, 140 (no. 54).
- 25 On this aspect of the print and the possible identity of the patron who commissioned it, see Venice 2000, 436 (Cat. 112).
- 26 Hamburg 2008, 12.
- 27 These aspects of the Satan-figure perhaps reflect a passage in chapter 24 of Athanasius: "He was bound by the Lord like a sparrow, that we should mock him. And with him are placed the demons his fellows, like serpents and scorpions to be trodden underfoot by us Christians"; see Braunschweig 2007, 164 (Cat. 64).
- 28 Quoted in Hofmann 2010, 123.
- 29 See Rainer Schoch's essay, "Capriccio," in this catalogue.
- 30 Jürgen Müller suggests the following reasons for this: first (as other scholars have indicated), for commercial reasons, since Bosch was more popular than Bruegel; second, because the viewers associated the subjects of sin and folly with Bosch; and third, because Bruegel had adopted Bosch's anti-classical way of heaping up pictorial elements in a conscious rejection of the Italian stamp of Bruegel's contemporaries like Marten van Heemskerck or Frans Floris; see New York 2001, 145 (Cat. 52–54).
- 31 See Mielke 1996, 51; New York 2001, 145.
- 32 "Doubtless meant to be a wanton" (Mielke 1996, 51); see also Silver 2011, 147.
- 33 See Silver 2011, 147.
- 34 Manfred Sellink, "'The Very Lively and Whimsical Pieter Bruegel': Thoughts on His Iconography and Context," in New York 2001, 57–65 (p. 60).
- 35 See Nadine Lehni, "Licht und Gewalt: Das druckgraphische Werk von James Ensor," in Strasbourg and Basel 1995, 21–28 (p. 26), and Dieter Koeplin, "Wie James Ensor einige seine Radierungen illuminierte," *ibid.*, 29–39 (p. 36–37).
- 36 Hofstätter 1972, 21, 63.
- 37 Held 1989, 56.
- 38 *Ibid.*, 60.
- 39 *Ibid.*
- 40 On the crisis of automatism, see Greeley 2006, 57. As Peter Gorsen explains the paranoiac-critical method, "Critical activity simply acts as a fluid developer of images, relations, systematic interrelationships, and tricks that at the moment of the outbreak of delirium have taken shape and are already in existence, and only the paranoiac-critical activity allows this degree of reality into the light, momentarily" (quoted in Stuttgart and Zürich 1989, xxiv). Dalí first discussed this method in his essay "*L'Âne pourri*" ("The Rotting Donkey"), in *Le Surréalisme au service de la révolution* (Dalí 1930a); see also Greeley 2006, 57–58; Karin von Maur, in Stuttgart and Zürich 1989, xxiii.
- 41 Peter Gorsen, quoted in Stuttgart and Zürich 1989, xxiii.
- 42 Dalí 1933c; quoted here from the English ed., Dalí 1998a, 196.
- 43 Dalí apparently first gave a title alluding to the Spanish Civil War to his painting, which he had completed some months before the war's outbreak in July 1936, in the issue of *Minotaure* from October 1936 (no. 9), where it is titled, *Espagne: Prémonition de la guerre civile*. It had appeared in an earlier issue of the journal from that year—no. 8 (June 1936)—with only "Salvador Dalí. 1936" in the caption, while it had been shown in an exhibition in London that same June with the title *Soft Construction with Boiled Apricots* [sic] (clearly a misinterpretation of the French, *haricots*). Dalí himself claimed it was a true premonition of the Civil War, while some critics now consider his title to be mere opportunism. Be that as it may, the idea of internecine conflict seems built in already in the study, which itself carries no title. See Venice and Philadelphia 2004, 262 (Cat. 159), 264n6.
- 44 Dalí 1942; quoted from the English ed., Dalí 1961, 357.
- 45 Stuttgart and Zürich 1989, 196.
- 46 Dalí 1942; quoted from the English ed., Dalí 1961, 358.
- 47 See Lucía García de Carpi, in Madrid et al. 1995, 28; Marta González Orbeogo. in *ibid.*, 346; Michael Nungesser, in AKL 1983–, 15: col. 435–37; Greeley 2006, 91, 94. On his later activity during the Franco period, see Greeley 2006, 95.
- 48 Greeley sees reminiscences of Dalí in this structure (Greeley 2006, 91).
- 49 María Dolores Jiménez Blanco, "José Caballero," in Madrid 2011, 196; italics in the original.



CAT. 114
 Unknown (German)
 Monster of Ravenna, 1512
 Woodcut and moveable type
 13 7/8 x 9 7/8 in. (35.2 x 25 cm)
 Germanisches
 Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg

CAT. 115
 Johann Martin Will
Harpie Monstre Amphibie vivante
 [Harpy, living amphibious
 monster], ca. 1750
 Etching
 10 1/8 x 15 1/2 in. (25.6 x 39.4
 cm)
 Germanisches
 Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg

CAT. 116
 Pablo Picasso
Harpie à tête de taureau et
quatre petites filles sur une tour
surmontée d'un drapeau noir
 [Harpy with bull's head and
 four little girls on top of a
 tower with a black flag], 1934
 No. 96 from *Suite Vollard*,
 1930-36
 Etching
 10 1/8 x 15 1/2 in. (25.6 x 39.4
 cm)
 Private collection

REGNUM SATANAE ET PAPAE.
2. THESS. 2.



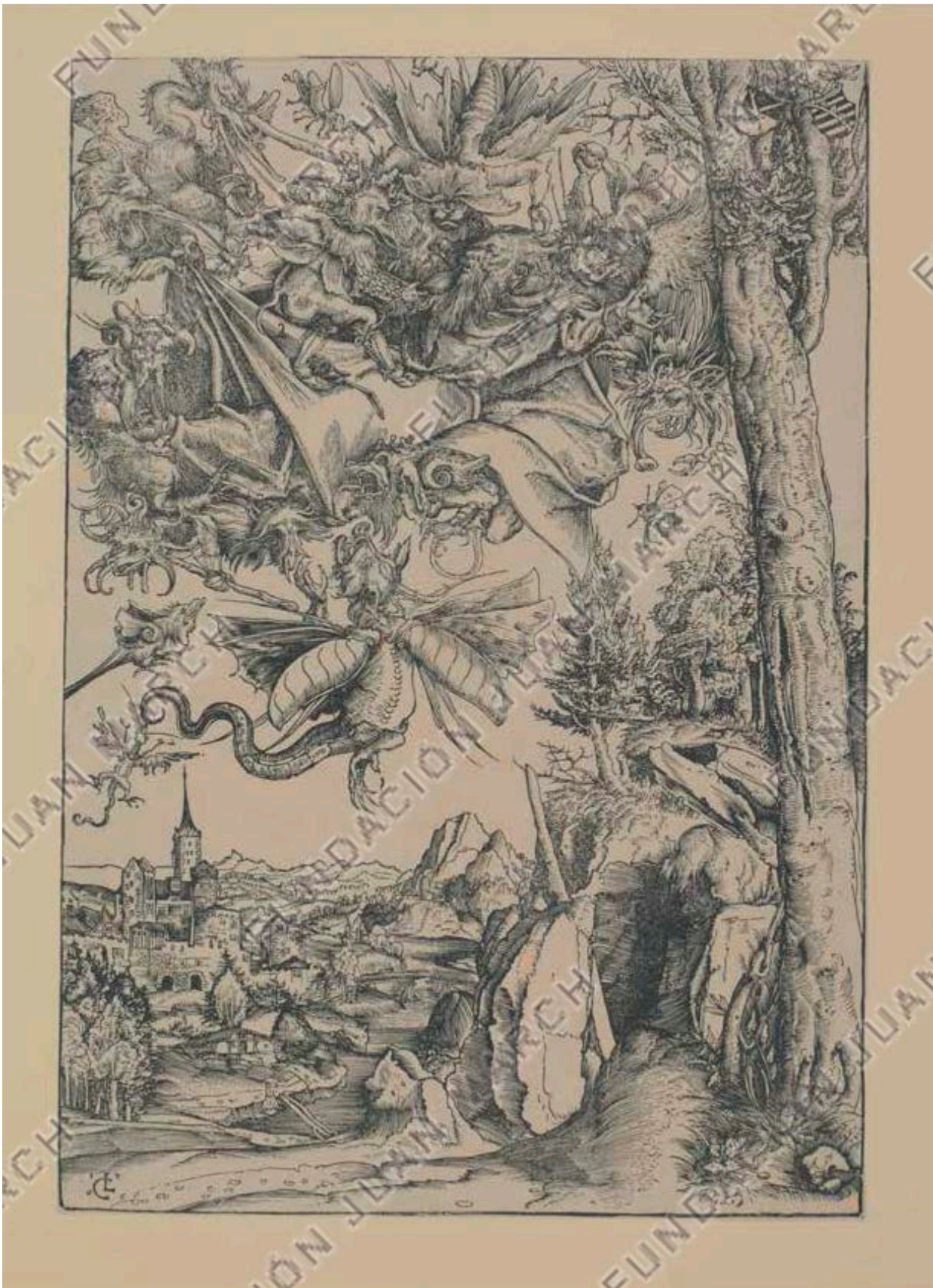
In aller Teufel namen sitzt
Allhie der Papst: offenbar ist:
Das er sey der recht Widerchrist/
So in der Schrift verkündigt ist.

Mart. Luther D.
1545.
II.

CAT. 117
After Lucas Cranach the Elder
Regnum Satanae et Papae [Reign of Satan
and the Pope], 1545
Woodcut
13 1/4 x 7 3/4 in. (33.6 x 19.8 cm)
Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
Nuremberg

CAT. 118
Martin Schongauer
Saint Anthony Tormented by Demons,
before 1481
Engraving
12 1/8 x 8 7/8 in. (30.9 x 22.5 cm)
Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
Nuremberg







CAT. 119
 Lucas Cranach the Elder
The Temptation of Saint Anthony, 1506
 Woodcut
 16 x 11 in. (40.6 x 28.1 cm)
 Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
 Nuremberg

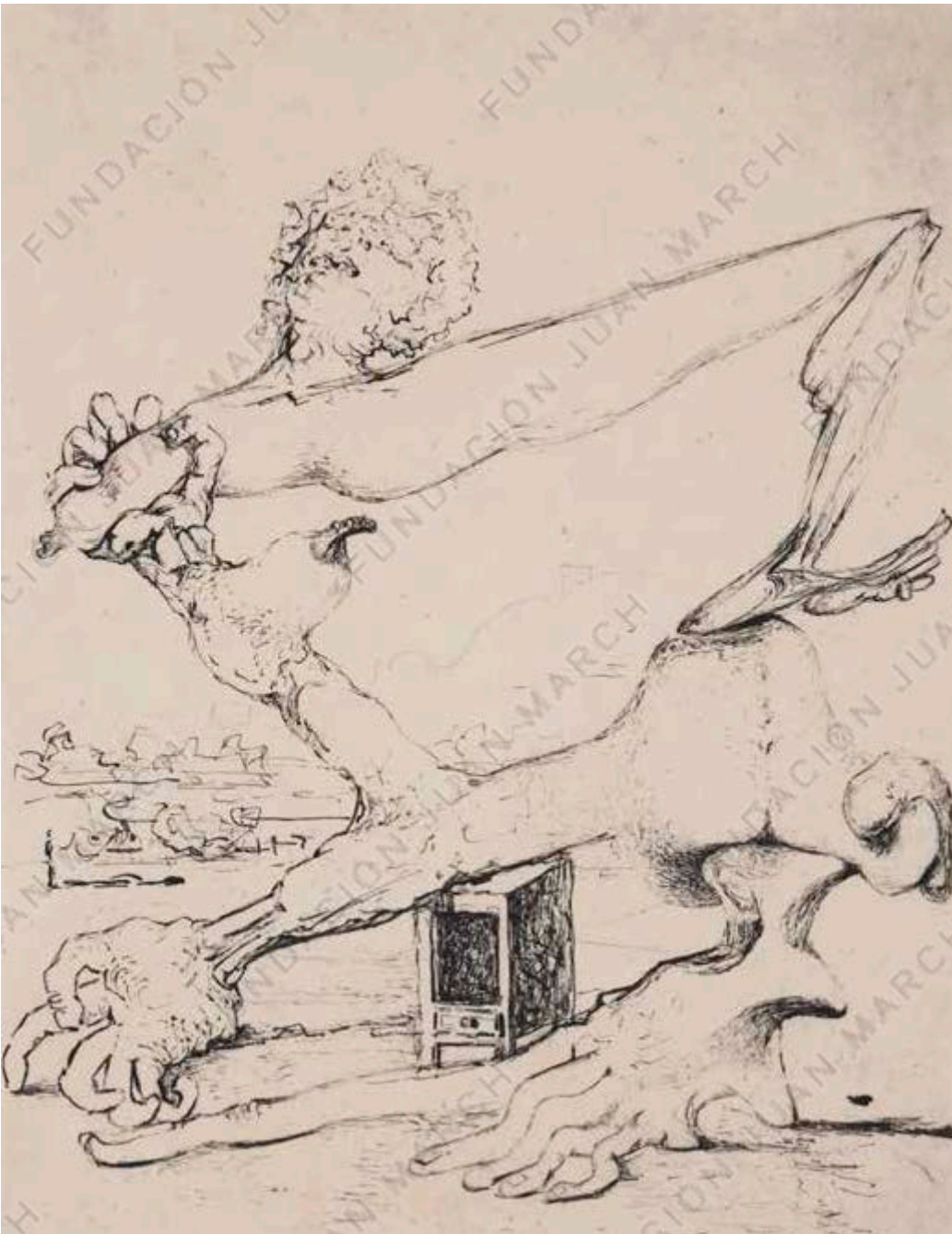
CAT. 120
 Jacques Callot
La Tentation de St. Antoine [The temptation
 of Saint Anthony], 1635
 Etching
 14 5/8 x 18 3/4 in. (37 x 47.5 cm)
 Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
 Nuremberg

CAT. 121
 Pieter van der Heyden, after Pieter
 Bruegel the Elder
Luxuria [Lust], 1558
 From the series *The Seven Deadly Sins*
 Engraving and etching
 8 7/8 x 11 7/8 in. (22.6 x 30.1 cm)
 Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
 Nuremberg





CAT. 122
James Ensor
Diables rossant anges et archanges
[Devils beating angels and
archangels], or *Le Combat des*
démons [The battle of the demons],
1888
Etching
13 x 16 in. (33.1 x 40.7 cm)
Hamburger Kunsthalle.
Hegewisch collection

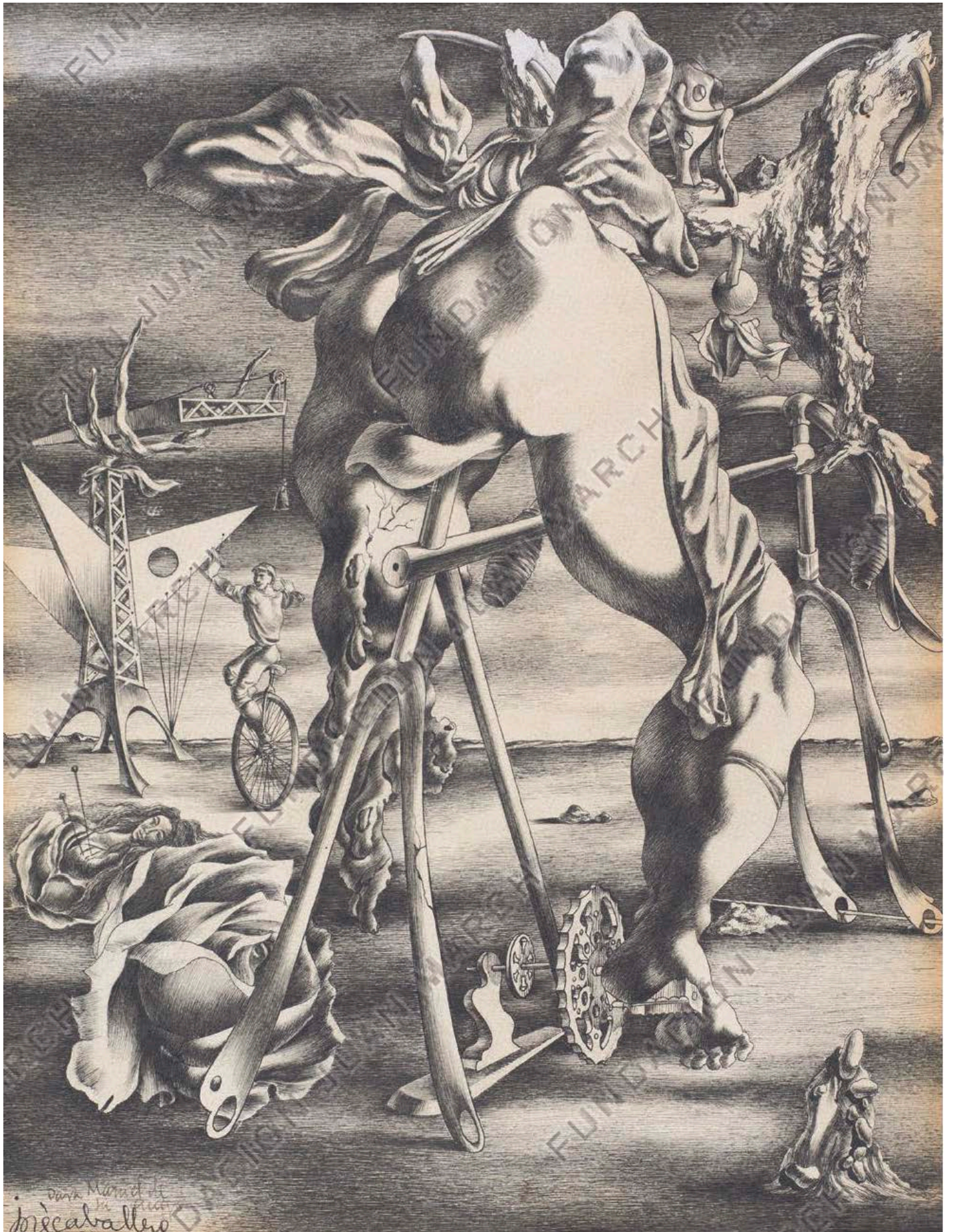


CAT. 123

Salvador Dalí
Study no. 1 for *Construction molle
avec haricots bouillis—Prémonition de la
guerre civile* [Soft construction with
boiled beans—Premonition of civil
war], 1934
Ink and pencil on paper
9 x 7 in. (22.7 x 17.7 cm)
C.A.C. Técnicas Reunidas, S.A., Museo
Patio Herreriano, Valladolid

CAT. 124

José Caballero
La rosa y el velocípedo, 1935
India ink on paper
14 1/8 x 11 in. (36 x 28 cm)
Colecciones Fundación Mapfre,
Madrid



10

Shadows of Shadows

CAT. 125
Michael Wolgemut
Dance of Death, 1493
From folio 261r of *Das buch der Croniken und geschichten* [The book of chronicles and histories, i.e. *Nuremberg Chronicle*], by Hartmann Schedel (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493), German edition
Colored woodcut
8 1/2 x 9 3/4 in. (21.6 x 24.6 cm)
Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg





CAT. 127
 Giorgio Sommer
 Catacombe dei Cappuccini in
 Palermo, 1865
 Albumen print
 9 7/8 x 7 7/8 in. (25.2 x 20.1 cm)
 Dietmar Siegert collection

CAT. 128
 Herbert List
 Kapuzinergruft Palermo, Nr. 7
 (Unter der Laterne) [Capuchin
 catacombs of Palermo, no. 7
 (Beneath the lantern)] 1955
 Gelatin silver print on paper
 11 5/8 x 9 in. (29.4 x 23 cm)
 Dietmar Siegert collection

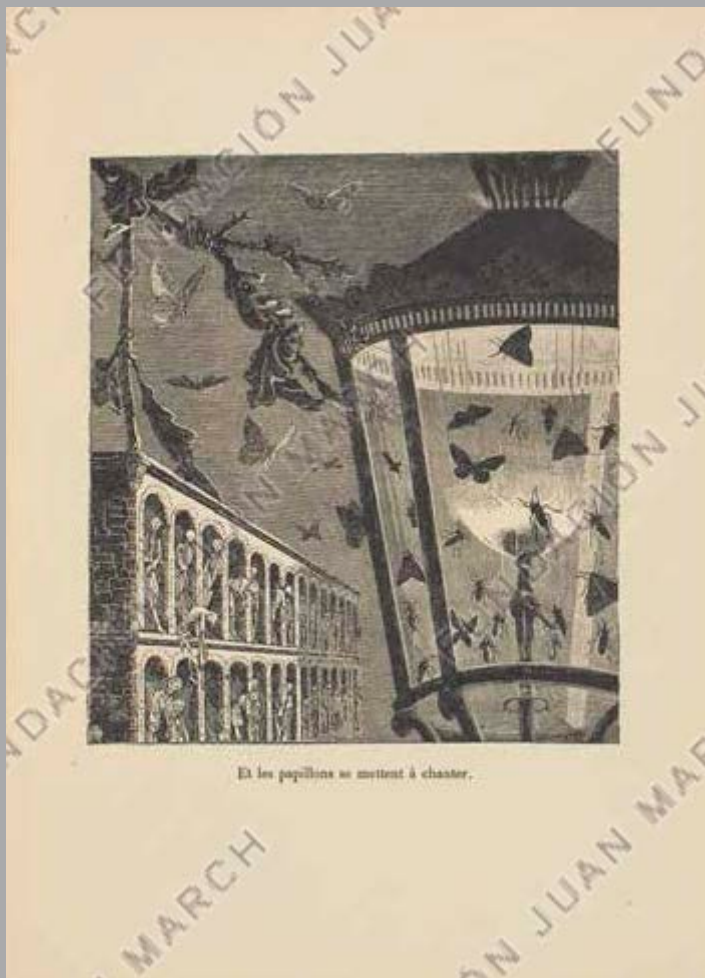
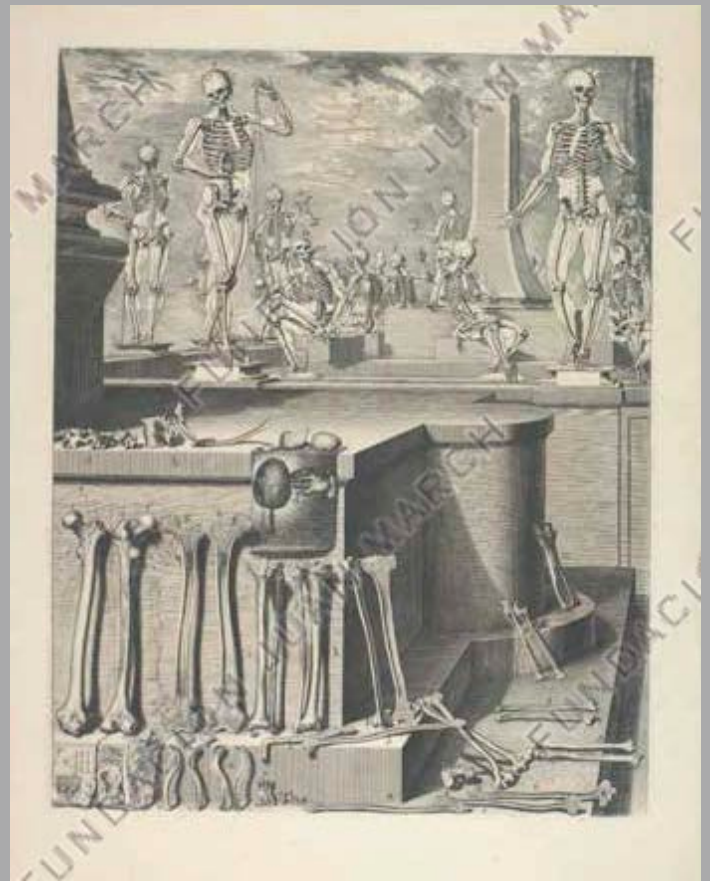


CAT. 126
 Stefano della Bella
 Death and the owl, ca. 1640
 From *Ornamenti o grottesche*
 [Ornaments or grotesques],
 ca. 1640
 Etching
 7 1/8 x 3 3/8 in. (18 x 8.7 cm)
 Germanisches
 Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg

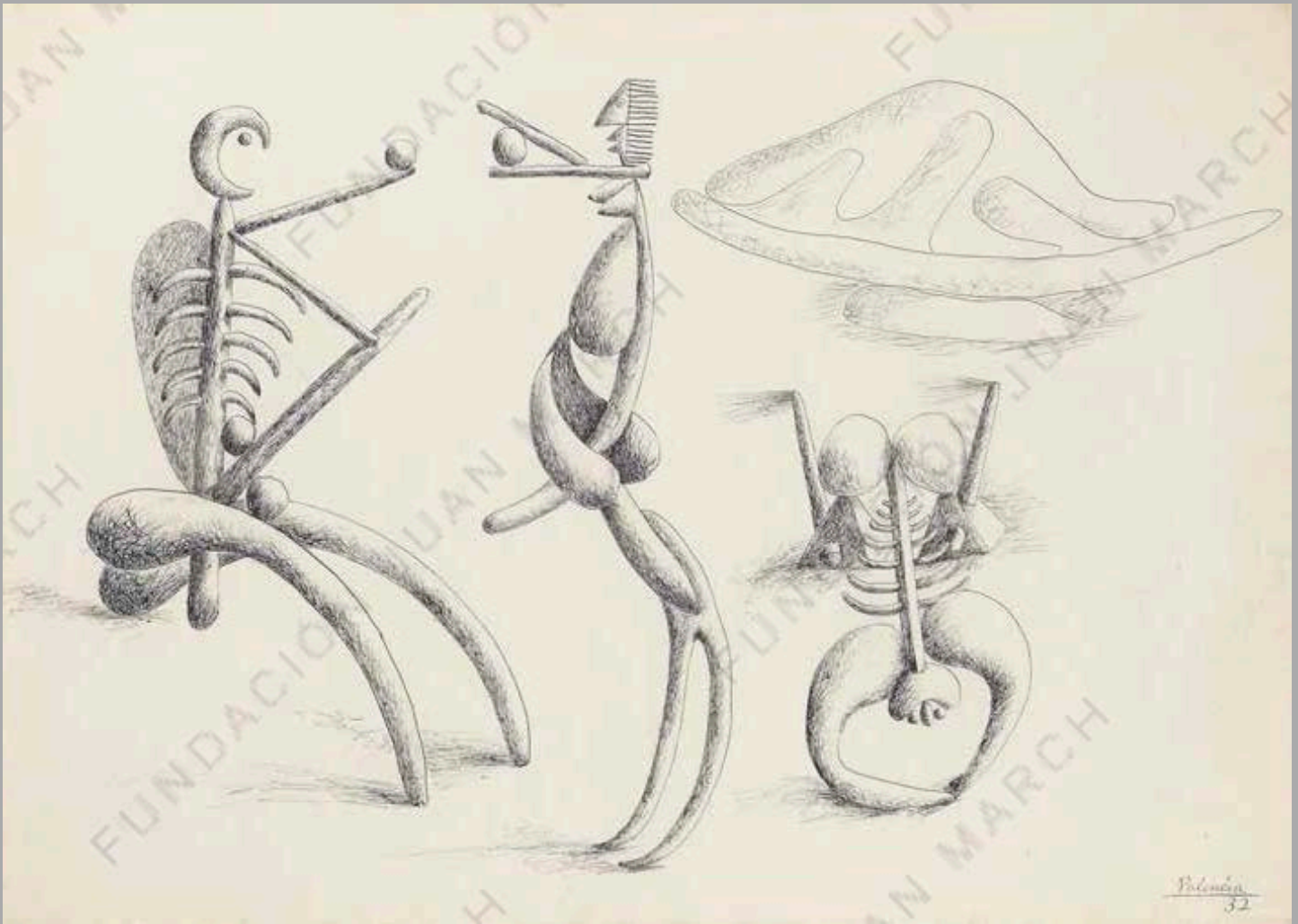


CAT. 130
Giorgio Ghisi, after Giovanni Battista
Bertani
The Vision of Ezekiel, 1554
Engraving
16 1/4 x 26 3/4 in. (41.3 x 68.1 cm)
Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
Nuremberg

CAT. 131
 Crisóstomo Martínez Sorli
 Skeletons and bones, ca. 1686–89
 From Crisóstomo Martínez,
*Nouvelles figures de proportions et
 d'anatomie du corps humain* [New
 figures of proportions and of
 human anatomy] (Paris, 1689)
 Engraving
 31 x 24 1/2 in. (78.9 x 62.2 cm)
 Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
 Nuremberg



CAT. 129
 Max Ernst
Et les papillons se mettent à chanter
 [And the butterflies begin to sing]
 Photomechanical reproduction
 Plate 120 (chapter 8) of *La femme 100
 têtes* (Paris: Carrefour, 1929)
 9 7/8 x 7 1/2 in. (25 x 19 cm)
 Herzog August Bibliothek
 Wolfenbüttel



CAT. 132
Benjamín Palencia
Cuatro figuras [Four figures],
1932
India ink on paper
18 7/8 x 26 3/8 in. (48 x 67cm)
Galería Guillermo de Osma,
Madrid

CAT. 133
Eli Lotar
Aux abattoirs de La Villette [At
La Villette slaughterhouse],
1929
From *Documents: Doctrines,
Archeologie, Beaux-Arts,
Ethnographie*, no. 6 (1929): 328
Photomechanical
reproduction (halftone)
10 3/4 x 8 3/8 in. (27.3 x 21.3 cm)
Dietmar Siegert collection



CAT. 134
Salvador Dalí
Dos figuras [Two figures], 1936
Gouache on black paper mounted on
cardboard
8 3/8 x 13 1/4 in. (21.3 x 33.7 cm)
Von der Heydt-Museum, Wuppertal



11

Day Dreams, Night Thoughts

YASMIN DOOSRY

“Reportedly, in times gone by, Saint-Pol-Roux used to have a sign posted on the door of his manor house in Camaret every night before he went to sleep, which read, ‘THE POET IS WORKING.’”¹ With this anecdote from the 1924 *Manifeste du surréalisme*, André Breton illustrated his fundamental ideas about the reality of dreams and his belief in “the future resolution of these two apparently so contradictory states, dream and reality, into a kind of absolute reality, into *surreality*.”² He goes so far as to view the waking state—in which “the mind [reveals] a strange tendency to lose its bearings”—as a regrettable interruption of dreaming—in which the marvelous manifests itself.³ With this radical shift in perspective, which accords a higher reality to dreams than to supposedly tangible reality, Breton became the proponent of a kind of *poésie involontaire* that demanded entirely new methods of artistic perception and forms of pictorial creativity.⁴ Georges Hugnet, the author of two introductory essays in the second edition of the catalogue for the 1936 exhibition at MoMA, describes the Surrealist realization of the marvelous:

“During the course of surrealist development, outside all forms of idealism, outside the opiates of religion, the marvelous comes to light within *reality*. It comes to light in dreams, obsessions, preoccupations, in sleep, fear, love, chance; in hallucinations, pretended disorders, follies, ghostly apparitions, escape mechanisms, and evasions; in fancies, idle wanderings, poetry, the supernatural, and the unusual; in empiricism, in super-reality. This element of the marvelous, relegated so long to legends and children’s fairy tales,

Johann Christian Friedrich, after Caspar David Friedrich, *Die Frau beim Spinnennetz mit kahlen Bäumen* [The woman with a spider’s web between bare trees], 1803–4. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg [detail of Cat. 137]

reveals now in a true light, in a Surrealist light, the immanent reality and our relations to it.”⁵

Revelation and imagination

Throughout the ages and in cultures around the world, dreams have been understood as windows onto otherworldly forces. Dreams communicate divine revelations, visions of the future, practical advice, knowledge, and expanded consciousness. From Jacob’s dream and Joseph’s interpretations of dreams in Hebrew scripture to the three Wise Men’s dream in the New Testament, this narrative element in the Bible is among its preferred bridges between the divine and the earthly spheres. In this sense, dreams are also related to the visions and miracles likewise handed down from biblical and, later, hagiographic tradition. In another tradition entirely, writers like Francesco Colonna (1433/34–1527) in his *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499) could spin fanciful allegories of erotic desire in the guise of a dream. Artists also used the motif of the dream for moral instruction, as Raphael (1483–1520) apparently did, for example, in his painting commonly known as *Vision of a Knight*; in it, a sleeping figure, assumed to represent Scipio Africanus, must choose in his dream between Virtue and Pleasure, represented as allegorical figures.⁶ Or, then there is Dürer’s engraving, *The Dream of the Doctor*, representing an idler who has fallen asleep beside the stove, visited in his dreams by the seductive figure of a nude Venus: “Idleness is the beginning of all vice” would seem to be the print’s moral message.⁷

Dürer, in fact, was fond of relating his dreams to his friends.⁸ There is an extraordinary document in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, a watercolor by Dürer representing the terrible vision that woke him one night after Pentecost and that left him trembling with fear. In image and text, he describes a nightmare in which a mass of water pours down with a huge roar from clouds filling the heavens and swallows everything in a flood. His description of the ominous dream ends with the quick supplication, “Gott wende alles zum Besten” (God make it all be for the best).⁹

Besides nightmares, however, Dürer had dreams that inspired him, as he remarks in the manuscripts of his uncompleted book on the theory of painting: “And how often do I see in my sleep great and successful art, such as never appears before my eyes when awake. But then when I rise, I lose all memory of it.”¹⁰ Although his artistic principles led him to consider himself a champion of the conscientious imitation of nature, he allowed for the exceptional “Traumwerk,”

works based on fantastical dream visions: “But let everyone be wary of making something impossible, not permitted by Nature, unless he aims to create a *Traumwerk*; in this case he may mix different creatures together.”¹¹ Dürer himself may have understood his engraving *Melencolia I* [Cat. 136] to be a “dream-work” of this sort; admittedly, the print is extremely true to nature in its details, but its composition and its “collage” of heterogeneous elements would seem to be the result of pure fantasy. The question remains open whether the brooding figure of Melancholy is given over to daydreams or night thoughts. The numerous attributes surrounding her offer arguments for both possibilities.¹²

According to Panofsky’s interpretation, the figure of Melancholy is “in a sense a spiritual self-portrait of Albrecht Dürer.”¹³ Panofsky argues that the winged figure no longer embodies the sickly complexion—accompanied by torpor, gloom, and dejection—asccribed to the melancholic by ancient and medieval medicine. Surrounded by her tools, instruments, and works, she sits lost in thought, but this brooding, this spiritual condition, should instead be interpreted as “divinatory contemplation” (as Warburg put it) and as the expression of the new kind of artist that emerged in the early modern period, who as an inventive intellectual strove to transcend the status of a mere artisan. After Dürer, this melancholy gesture of the head resting in the hand has been a commonplace in the fixed repertoire of portraiture, in images of artists, poets, philosophers, and other individuals endowed with an exceptional imagination. The gesture describes a certain condition of the soul, meaning in equal measure concentrated contemplation and dreamy absorption. Both qualities are essential in the preliminary stages of artistic inspiration, a kind of secularized revelation. The motif appears in portraits of the philosopher Democritus in the etchings of Johann Heinrich Schönfeld (1609–1682/83) and of Salvator Rosa (1615–1673)—Schönfeld’s from 1654 and Rosa’s from 1662—as well as in the portrait of an artist on the title page of *Alfabeto in Sogno* (The dream alphabet, 1683), by Giuseppe Maria Mitelli (1634–1718).

These prints are continually cited as important precursors of Goya’s *Capricho* no. 43, *El sueño de la razón produce monstruos* (The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters, as it is usually translated). This aquatint, originally intended as the frontispiece to the entire series of *Caprichos*, represents a pivotal point in the history of pictorial representations of sleep, dreaming, and artistic inspiration. It presents the artist himself, exhausted and sleeping at his work table, with his head buried in his folded

arms [Cat. 135]. Around him swarm demonic nocturnal creatures that ascend like dark shadows from his nightmares: A cat and a lynx, owls and bats threaten the dozing artist. The square face of the side of the table facing the viewer has been inscribed with the title, stopped out so as to produce white letters that seem to shimmer. The *sueño* in the title in fact can be translated as both “sleep” and “dream,” an ambiguity built into the print itself that has encouraged a history of contradictory interpretations. The simpler, traditional reading—the *sleep* of reason—reflects the fundamental rationalism of the Enlightenment, according to which, in the absence of reason, superstition and delusion gain the upper hand. This reading corresponds to Goya’s advertisement for the *Caprichos* in the *Diario de Madrid* of February 6, 1799, in which the artist claims his intention is to satirize human folly.¹⁴

A more complicated interpretation emerges when the title is translated as “the *dream* of reason produces monsters,”—a reading that in a sense runs parallel to Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno’s ideas in their *Dialektik der Aufklärung* (*Dialectic of Enlightenment*, 1944), that is, a fundamentally pessimistic and disillusioned view of the Enlightenment. Accordingly, misplaced hope in reason itself is responsible for the monstrous phantasmagorias, and it is illusory to think that reason could restrain the offspring of fantasy.¹⁵ In this light, Goya as artist would be both perpetrator and victim.¹⁶ Even the contemporary commentaries written to explain the individual *Caprichos* do not find a way past this exegetical dilemma. The so-called Ayala commentary, whose author is unknown, reads: “Fantasy, abandoned by reason, engenders monsters, and joined by it, fantasy is the mother of all the arts.”¹⁷ Be that as it may, with his *Capricho* no. 43 Goya also undeniably reflects the dilemma of the “modern” artist, whose expressive freedom and artistic self-determination come at the high price of social marginalization.

Romantic Dreamworlds

At the Dresden Academy Exhibition of 1804, three woodcuts were displayed, based on drawings by Caspar David Friedrich (1774–1840), the blocks for which were cut by his brother, Christian (1770–1843). The small format and the subjects of the prints suggest that they were to illustrate one of the little volumes of poetry so popular at the time, or some other type of pocket edition. The descriptive titles by which they are known are *Die Frau mit dem Raben am Abgrund* (*The Woman with the Raven over the Abyss*), *Knabe auf einem Grab schlafend* (*Boy Sleeping on a Grave*) and *Die Frau mit dem Spinnennetz zwischen*

kahlen Bäumen (*The Woman with a Spider’s Web between Bare Trees*). The last of these later received the misleading title of *Die Melancholie* [Cat. 137]. In it, a young woman leans her forehead on her hand and gazes dreamily toward the light of the setting sun in the distance. Though she sits amidst luxuriantly blooming vegetation, two dead, leafless trees tower over her. A butterfly is ensnared in the spider’s web between the branches above her. The numerous references to growth and transience, youth and death, unite to form a gloomy, melancholy atmosphere. In no way is this sensitive depiction of the condition of the soul a conventional allegorical figure; rather, it is a metaphorical image corresponding both to Friedrich’s propensity for melancholy and introversion and to the *mal du siècle* prevalent among his generation.¹⁸

In his later years, Clemens Brentano (1778–1842), an important exponent of German literary Romanticism, decided to complete a long-cherished project. In his youth in Heidelberg, he had begun to write a fairy tale titled *Gockel, Hinkel und Gackeleia*, but left off working on it in 1816. This foundational work of German Romanticism was finally published in 1838 by Schmerber in Frankfurt. Brentano himself had provided sketches for fifteen lithographic illustrations; Ludwig Emil Grimm (1790–1863) and Johann Nepomuk Strixner (1782–1855) assisted him in transferring the drawings to the stone and also with the printing. Like the fairy-tale narrative itself, the arabesque illustrations evoked a romantic world of dreams in the style of E. T. A. Hoffmann’s ironic and bizarre *Phantasiestücken*. Raugraf Gockel von Hanau, Minister of Pheasants and Hens at the royal court of Gelnhausen; his wife Hinkel, Gräfin von Hennegau; and their little daughter, Gackeleia, experience a hopelessly illusory oneiric adventure full of surreal incidents.¹⁹ The text functions as a bittersweet satire on the lost illusions of the declining German aristocracy. Despite an obvious debt to the pictorial symbolism of Philipp Otto Runge (1777–1810) Brentano’s illustrations appear to be amateurish in many respects, yet are convincing precisely because of their fairy-tale naïveté. This is the case, for example, when Gackeleia finds herself in Mousetown sleeping on a soft bed of moss [Cat. 139]. She is surrounded by the inhabitants’ huts, made of pumpkins and melons; in the distance is the Mousetown citadel, made of Dutch cheeses stacked in a pyramid, as well as the church with its towers of pallid horses’ skulls. Here she succeeds with the help of Mouseprincess Sissy in recovering the miraculous Seal of Solomon, on which the whole action of the fairy tale turns.²⁰

The interest of French Romantics in the fantastic aspects of German literature is borne out by the series of eighteen lithographs published as illustrations to Goethe's *Faust* in 1828 by Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863). The print titled *L'Ombre de Marguérite apparaissant à Faust* (*Margaret's Ghost Appearing to Faust*) depicts an incident from the fantastic events of Walpurgis Night [Cat. 138].²¹ The dramatic scene with its will-o'-the-wisp-lit chiaroscuro is not really a vision, but rather a hallucinatory apparition evocative of Dante's *Inferno*. Faust and Mephistopheles, in the roles of Dante and Virgil, look out from a rocky spur at a hellish scene. They witness in the wan moonlight before the background of a snowy mountain how a devil pulls a lifeless, white-robed female figure out of an abyss swarming with snakes, amphibians, and gnomes. Faust recognizes Gretchen in the pale figure with the naked breasts: She has dropped her rosary and wears a red string about her slender neck—a reference to the beheading of the child murderess.²²

The interpretation of dreams

The name of Jean Ignace Isidore Gérard, commonly known by his pseudonym Jean Ignace Isidore Gérard, called Grandville (1803–1847), is never absent in genealogies of Surrealism—from Alfred H. Barr's in the 1936 MoMA catalogue to Werner Hofmann's.²³ The Surrealists recognized his works as anticipating their own ideas, in particular his late wood engravings for *Un Autre Monde* (*Another world*, 1844) and his last two works, dream images, published in 1847 in *Magasin pittoresque*, shortly before his death [both Cat. 141].²⁴ Misunderstood by most of his contemporaries, his graphic fantasies—no less provocative than they are utopian—really only came to be appreciated in the twentieth century.²⁵ Edouard Charton (1807–1890), the editor of *Magasin pittoresque*, chose the titles for both wood engravings. He called the first dream, a nightmare, *Crime et expiation* (*Crime and Expiation*) and the second, a happy dream, *Une Promenade dans le ciel* (*A Promenade in the Sky*). Grandville himself associated other ideas with his images and, in a letter to Charton, asked,

“What will our title be? Metamorphoses in Sleep? Transformations, Deformations, Reformations of Dreams? Chain of Thoughts in Dreams, Nightmares, in an Ecstasy, etc.? Or: Harmonious Transfiguration in Sleep? I believe the right title must be: Nocturnal Visions and Transformations.”²⁶

It is evident that Grandville sought a new understanding of dreams and a new way of representing their “logic,” not a fantastical narrative. In both wood engravings, reading from top to bottom, continuous chains of associative metamor-

phoses unfold in curves undulating down from the sky. The transformations in *Crime et expiation* begin with the murder of a man, who mutates into a tree dripping blood. The wayside cross, where the deed takes place, successively metamorphoses into a water- and blood-spewing fountain (a reference to guilt and atonement); a judge's cap and the sword of justice; and, finally, into the scales of justice, one of whose basins is an eye that in turn becomes independent and grows increasingly larger. As the “eye of justice” it pursues the murderer across the sky until he falls into the sea, where it takes the form of a predatory fish that has seized the fugitive by the leg. Out of the sea rises a cross promising redemption.²⁷ In the second dream, a crescent moon transforms into a mushroom, then into an umbrella, a bat-winged owl, a bellows, two hearts transfixed by an arrow, a spindle, a horse-drawn gun-carriage (minus the gun), and, finally, into the constellation of Ursa Major (linked conceptually to the carriage by virtue of its traditional name in French, *le Grand Chariot*, akin to another name traditional in English, the *Wain*).

To describe these transformations, one requires concepts like association, automatism, and incoherence, notions that also played an important role in contemporary research into dreams, for example in the work of the French physician Alfred Maury (1807–1892).²⁸ Thus, the positive assessment by the critic Charles Blanc, one of Grandville's few contemporaries to recognize the artist's achievement, is entirely apt: “He sought to stretch out a thread of reason in the labyrinth of sleep.”²⁹

Hans Wolfgang Singer reports of his artist friend Max Klinger (1857–1920) that:

“He told me once that the loveliest part of the day was the morning between sleeping and waking. It was then that ideas and images came to him. Individual artistic motifs and compositions probably appeared before the eye of his mind, with a clarity bordering on hallucination, such that he could later sketch them out on paper.”³⁰

An example of the visual translation of this kind of waking dream is the third print of a series of fifteen etchings by Klinger, *Ein Leben* (*A Life*), Opus VIII, from 1884. The series depicts scenes from the life of a prostitute, reflecting the double moral standards of male bourgeois society. After a prologue with Adam and Eve in Paradise, the print titled *Träume* (*Dreams*) presents a young woman on the threshold of her own “original sin” [Cat. 144]. In a narrowly framed image, she sits up sleepless in her bed and beset by conflicting fantasies. Emerging out of the nocturnal darkness of the background is the face of a youth tenderly snuggling up to her

as well as the diabolical, twisted countenances of two men lustfully grasping at her. With this pictorial representation of thoughts, Klinger follows the tradition of Johann Heinrich Füssli (1741–1825) and Francisco de Goya in the depiction of dreams. In several prints from the series, Klinger’s impressions from his recent sojourn in Paris—where, among other things, he was able to study the prints of Goya and Gustav Doré (1832–1883)—are clearly evident.³¹

In 1878, Klinger had already completed the drawings for his Opus VI, *Paraphrase über den Fund eines Handschuhs* (*Paraphrase on the Finding of a Glove*), published as a cycle of etchings in 1881. Over the course of ten prints he depicts a fantastical narrative. In a Berlin roller-skating rink a young man finds a lady’s glove and takes it home, where it becomes a fetish for him. Out of the objective account of a quotidian occurrence, the narrative develops into a series of obsessively erotic dreams and fantasies. None other than Giorgio de Chirico declared his admiration for Klinger’s ability to transform prosaic situations from modern life into romantic dramas and tragedies.³² Unlike in the *Ein Leben* series, Klinger deploys a more complex pictorial strategy in the representation of oneiric situations in the *Handschuh* series. The glove triggers wishes, fears, and desires that are paraphrased as natural metaphors or mythological fantasies. The print *Ängste* (*Fears*) fascinates with its extreme confusion of scale [Cat. 145]. The dreamer lies in bed, pressed against the wall, with an oversized glove and the crescent moon behind him. The wave of a flood washes strange shipwrecked people up onto his bed, and a pallid female hand stretches out to grasp the lost glove. *Entführung* (*Abduction*), the title of the penultimate print, depicts the dream sequence’s end, no less strange than it is abrupt [also Cat. 145]. It shows a large fabulous beast like a pterosaur, flying quickly out into the night with the glove in its beak—leaving us with the enigma of how this giant creature escaped through the broken lattice window. The outstretched arms of the glove’s unhappy discoverer fail to catch the monster’s tail.³³ Max Klinger’s point of reference for his dream fantasies could well have been, for instance, the scientific discoveries of his contemporaries, Hermann Siebeck and Albert Scherner.³⁴

Another contemporary of Klinger’s, the French artist known as the “Prince of Dreams,” approached the phenomenon of dreams in a completely different way from that of his German colleague so fond of narrative. Odilon Redon’s lithograph *Yeux clos* (*Closed Eyes*), from 1890, is a copy of a bust-length portrait he had painted of wife [Cat. 143].³⁵ The austere, completely relaxed face, its contours marked by shadow,

is that of a woman no longer in the bloom of youth. Her long hair, face, neck, and bare shoulder are modeled in the most varied shades of gray and presented against a misty background. She seems to appear beyond the distant horizon of a landscape, like an enormous vision. The subject of the image is not a dream narrative but the dream state itself, fleeting and vulnerable, legible in the physiognomy. In this lithograph, in which the process of its creation is made visible through Redon’s nuanced application of the lithographer’s crayon, the artist approaches his subject in such a way that he appeals directly to the viewer’s imagination, not specifying or controlling its movement, but by evocatively demanding its active participation in the interpretation of the image. In this light, Redon himself relates how in the Louvre he studied Michelangelo’s sculptures of the two slaves and envisaged the dreams of the prisoner behind the closed eyes of one of them.³⁶

In many oneiric images—from Goya to Redon—“glowing black” provides the background for the representation of fleeting nocturnal thoughts. Likewise, a dark, starry night is the backdrop for the truly final print of Pablo Picasso’s *Suite Vollard, Minotaure aveugle guidé par une fillette dans la nuit* (*Blind Minotaur Led by a Girl through the Night*). The 1934 aquatint, worked over with a burnishing tool, presents a dreamlike nocturnal scene of wonders [Cat. 148]. The helpless, blind minotaur, a colossal monster half-man half-bull, has disembarked from a boat onto the land; a little girl leads him by the hand from the seashore to the safety of a warm fireside. The touching scene, of which there are four variants in the *Suite Vollard*, is a powerful metaphor for the strength of sympathetic love over dark, animal passions, and it is an integral part of Picasso’s personal mythology. The young girl clearly resembles the young Marie-Thérèse Walter, whom Picasso had met in 1927 and on account of whom he later separated from his wife, Olga Khokhlova (1891–1955). The minotaur also represents a link between Picasso and the Surrealists. In 1933, as an initiative of the publishers Skira and Tériade, a new, ambitious journal of art was founded, whose title, at the suggestion of Georges Bataille (1897–1962), would be *Minotaure*. The mysterious man-eating monster at the heart of Minos’s labyrinth in Crete was admirably suited for the Surrealists’ mythological signboard. This opulently designed periodical published all the leading literati and artists of the group, and Picasso, Dalí, Man Ray, and André Masson designed individual covers. The journal soon came to be viewed as the successor to the *La Révolution surréaliste*.³⁷

Dream-work

It is possible to find connections between the principle of collage and the phenomenon of dreams in several senses. Above all, however, it is the melding or mixing of heterogeneous imagery characteristic of dreams that makes the collage technique predestined to generate analogous oneiric images. Between the publication of Max Ernst's famous collage-novels *La Femme 100 têtes* (The woman 100 heads / The woman without a head, 1929) and *Une Semaine de bonté* (A Week of Kindness, 1934), the artist created another, less familiar, collage-novel, also published in 1930 in five issues: *Rêve d'une petite fille qui voulut entrer au Carmel* (A Little Girl Dreams of Taking the Veil).³⁸ It said that Ernst's then-wife, the painter Marie-Berthe Aurenche (1906–1960), provided the occasion for this work, for she had turned towards Catholicism after one of her friends became a Carmelite nun. She was evidently the model for the novel's protagonist, Marceline-Marie, a girl split into two beings. The one hundred eighty-two collages, constructed from wood engravings, do not describe a continuous action. Apart from the fact that the majority of the images present a girl undergoing every sort of metamorphosis, the sole identifiable guiding principle is a pronounced anticlericalism—a matter that had been part of the fixed repertoire of Surrealist polemics since 1926, when Antonin Artaud's essay on Paolo Uccello's *Miracle of the Desecrated Host* appeared in *La Révolution surréaliste*.

The fifty-fourth collage represents this double being's vertiginous journey through the air, as she crosses a chasm in a cargo basket hanging on a rope, accompanied by a vulture [Cat. 146]. The accompanying text reveals little about what the eye can see:

"Marceline and Marie (in one voice): 'Through the fact and the wish, darling husband, you are the god of my heart and my lot for eternity.' The eagle: 'Strike! Because I can hardly stand and I'm completely naked. I am God without woman.'"³⁹

The scene is, on the one hand, a parody of the sensational stories illustrated with wood engravings in the popular press of the nineteenth century; on the other hand, it is a "coiled spring to fantasy" tensed by the convergence of individual pictorial elements that create oneiric illusions. For the *Rêve d'une petite fille*, Ernst used mainly wood engravings from 1887–89 published in the popular periodical *La Nature*, which carried reports every week on expeditions, catastrophes, scientific discoveries, and inventions.⁴⁰ Their original context removed, the combined elements of the collage contain the potential for a powerful critique—the destruction of a purely

scientific world view. At the same time, however, this and the other collages in Ernst's *Rêve* offered constructive potential as well, through the recognition of inherent contradiction, which the Surrealists regarded as a *révélation*.

Since the late 1920s, the Andalusian poet Adriano del Valle had been in contact with the Surrealists in Paris. A co-founder of the avant-garde periodical *Grecia* (1919)—in which, among others, Guillaume Apollinaire (1880–1918), Tristan Tzara, and André Breton published contributions—Del Valle also considered himself an artist.⁴¹ He admired above all Max Ernst's collage technique. In his own library he had, for example, copies of Ernst's collage-novels *La femme 100 têtes* and *Rêve d'une petite fille*. He was one of the originators of a collage tradition in Spain and used the wood engravings from the same French journals as Max Ernst. The collage *El vejamen del psicoanálisis* (*The Lampoon of Psychoanalysis*), dated to around 1930, presents a man in evening dress giving a lecture at a soirée, standing before a blackboard [Cat. 140]. Opposite him sits a young woman, blindfolded—evidently the subject of his discussion. The lecturer has drawn a childlike sketch of a moon-face on the board, making his competence seem dubious. In the foreground are four hands, male and female, busy with a compass and folded paper boats—an incongruous detail that also casts doubt on the lecturer's scientific abilities. Notwithstanding the scene's ironic alienation, if one compares this collage with Max Ernst's compositions from the same period, Del Valle in contrast avoids the grotesque and the absurd and confers a certain clarity and meaningfulness upon his own graphic invention.

The same is true of the later collages by Hannah Höch, one of the co-founders of "Berlin DADA." She titled a collage from 1940, assembled from clippings from illustrated periodicals, *Die große Person* (*The Large Person*) [Cat. 149]. Standing in a wood of thin, bare, towering tree trunks, the enormous lower legs of a woman in elegant high heels appear strangely before the silhouette of a city in the background. Not only are the respective scales of these elements disproportionate; the disparate motifs from completely different worlds overlap and clash: cosmopolitan elegance on the ground of a lonely wood. Like iron bars, the verticals of the tree trunks block the woman's way forward. After the outbreak of World War II in 1939, after all her fellow artistic wayfarers had all emigrated, Höch withdrew resignedly to a small garden house in Berlin-Heiligensee. There she lived until her death in 1978, alone and practically unnoticed. The collage of trees and the immobile, disproportionately large pair of legs reflects

something of the difficulties she and others experienced in a situation with no way out. The oneiric subjects that Höch had treated occasionally in her Dada years proliferated in her work after 1939. These pieces were marked by an increasingly distressing and ominous undertone. In this light, *Die große Person* represents the memory of an archetypal nightmare.

- 1 Breton 1924a; quoted from Breton 1988–2008, 1:319; Paul Roux (1861–1940), known as Saint-Pol-Roux, one of the main exponents of literary Symbolism and a precursor of the Surrealists, lived a retired life for many years in his house in the country in Camaret in Brittany. The Surrealists published an “Hommage à Saint-Pol-Roux” in Paris in 1925; see Pierre 1980, 1:41–49.
- 2 Breton 1924a; quoted from Breton 1988–2008, 1:319; italics in original.
- 3 *Ibid.*, 1:318–19.
- 4 Paul Éluard would go on to use precisely this concept of “involuntary poetry” in the title of an anthology of his poems, *Poésie involontaire et poésie intentionnelle* (Villeneuve-lès-Avignon: Seghers, 1942).
- 5 New York 1937; quoted here from the 3rd ed., New York 1947, 36; italics in original. (Hugnet’s essays did not appear in the 1st ed., 1936.)
- 6 Panofsky 1930, 75–83. The painting is now in the National Gallery in London.
- 7 See Schoch et al., 2001–4, 1:65.
- 8 Willibald Pirckheimer, letter to Ulrich Varnbühler, February 26, 1522; in Rupprich 1956–69, 1:268, no. 67.
- 9 Winkler 1936–39, 4: no. 944.
- 10 Rupprich 1956–69, 2:115–16.
- 11 Albrecht Dürer, *Vier Bücher von menschlicher Proportion* [Four books on human proportion], book 3, fol. T 1v (Dürer [1528] 2011, 225). Cf. Rupprich, 3:283, lines 108–11.
- 12 See the introduction to this catalogue.
- 13 Panofsky 1943, 1:171.
- 14 See Rainer Schoch’s comments in this regard in chapter 8 of this catalogue, in the section titled “Dis-concert.”
- 15 See Hofmann 1980.
- 16 *Ibid.*
- 17 On the Ayala commentary, see Hamburg 1980, 61.
- 18 See Börsch-Supan and Jähning 1973, no. 60; Grave 2012, 78.
- 19 [The names of the characters are silly puns and might be rendered in English as “Cockerel, Burly-Earl” (*Rau-Graf*) of “Rooster-Land” (*Hahn-au*) minister at the court of “Braying-House” (*gellen-Haus*); “Henny”—or perhaps “Limpy” (*hinken*, “to limp”)—Countess of “Hen-District” (*Henne-Gau*); and, “Cluck-leia” (*gackern*).—Trans.]
- 20 See Frankfurt 1978, 164–66 (no. 192, 195, 202, 203, 206).
- 21 The episode corresponds to lines 4185–205 in the first part of Goethe’s *Faust*.
- 22 See Hofstätter 1972, 14–15; Hamburg 1980, no. 481; Vienna 1987, no. XI.20.
- 23 See the chapter, “Grandville au vingtième siècle” in Kaenel 2005, 316–20.
- 24 In 1929, Georges Bataille devoted a long essay to the many meanings of the detached eye in the Surrealist journal he edited, *Documents*. As an example of his interpretation of the eye as an object of “true unease” and “terror” he cited the “living” and “horrifying” eyes in Grandville’s dream image *Crime et expiation*; see *Documents*, 4 (1929): 215–16.
- 25 As late as 1865, Champfleury criticized the prints as products of derangement: *Crime et expiation* “indique un esprit malade” (indicates a sick mind), comparable to “des croquis d’aliénés” (sketches by the insane). See Kaenel 1991, 52; Renonciat 1985, 280–83.
- 26 Quoted in Pick and Roper 2003, 138; see also Renonciat 1985, 282; Schmidt-Burkhardt 1992, 123; Heraeus 1998, 28.
- 27 Schmidt-Burkhardt 1992, 123–24.
- 28 Heraeus 1998, 28–32, 52–65.
- 29 Quoted in Heraeus 1998, 31.
- 30 Singer 1908, x.
- 31 See Frankfurt and Hamburg 1992, 9, 24; for the extensive bibliography on Opus VIII, see the entry for Cat. 144.
- 32 See Mathieu 1976, 178–81.
- 33 For the extensive bibliography on Opus VI, see the entry for Cat. 145.
- 34 Alexander Dückers refers to Albert Scherner’s *Das Leben des Traumes* (Berlin, 1861) and to a lecture given in Berlin by Hermann Siebeck on “Das Traumleben der Seele” in 1877 (Dückers 1976, 136).
- 35 The painting is in the Musée d’Orsay, Paris.
- 36 Frankfurt 1989, no. 33.
- 37 See Paloma Leal in Madrid 2000b, 25–26; on the print and the theme of the minotaur in the *Suite Vollard*, see *ibid.*, 25–37.
- 38 See Spies 2003, 193–95 (fig. 300–26, esp. 317); Pech 1996, 130. [Ernst’s *La femme 100 têtes* was translated into English by his fourth wife, the painter Dorothea Tanning (1910–2012), as *The Hundred Headless Woman*, whose title attempts to reflect the wordplay in French, in which the word for “one hundred,” cent, and the word for “without,” sans, are pronounced alike, as are the singular and plural of tête (“head”). See Ernst [1929] 1981—Ed.]
- 39 Quoted from the English translation by Dorothea Tanning, in Ernst [1930] 1982, 123.
- 40 Some of the engravings come from *Magasin pittoresque*, the same periodical in which Grandville had published; see Pech 1996, 103.
- 41 See Del Valle Hernández 2006, 135–40, 368.



CAT. 136
Albrecht Dürer
Melencolia I, 1514
Engraving
9 1/2 x 7 1/2 in. (24.2 x 19 cm)
Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg

CAT. 135
Francisco de Goya
El sueño de la razón produce monstruos
[The sleep/dream of reason produces
monsters], 1799
No. 43 from the series *Caprichos*
Etching and aquatint
8 1/2 x 5 7/8 in. (21.5 x 15 cm)
Private collection





CAT. 142

Francisco de Goya

Modo de volar [A way of flying], ca. 1815

Preparatory drawing for no. 13 in the series

Disparates [Follies]

Sanguine and red wash on paper

9 5/8 x 13 3/4 in. (24.5 x 34.8 cm)

Fundación Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid

CAT. 147

Francisco de Goya

Dedalus watching the fall of his son, Icarus (?), 1825–28

Bordeaux Album II or Album H, 52

Graphite pencil and lithographic crayon on paper

7 1/2 x 5 7/8 in. (19.2 x 14.8 cm)

Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid



CAT. 137

Johann Christian Friedrich, after Caspar
David Friedrich

Die Frau beim Spinnennetz mit kahlen Bäumen
[The woman with a spider's web between
bare trees], 1803-4

Woodcut

9 5/8 x 7 5/8 in. (24.5 x 19.3 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
Nuremberg

CAT. 139

Clemens Brentano

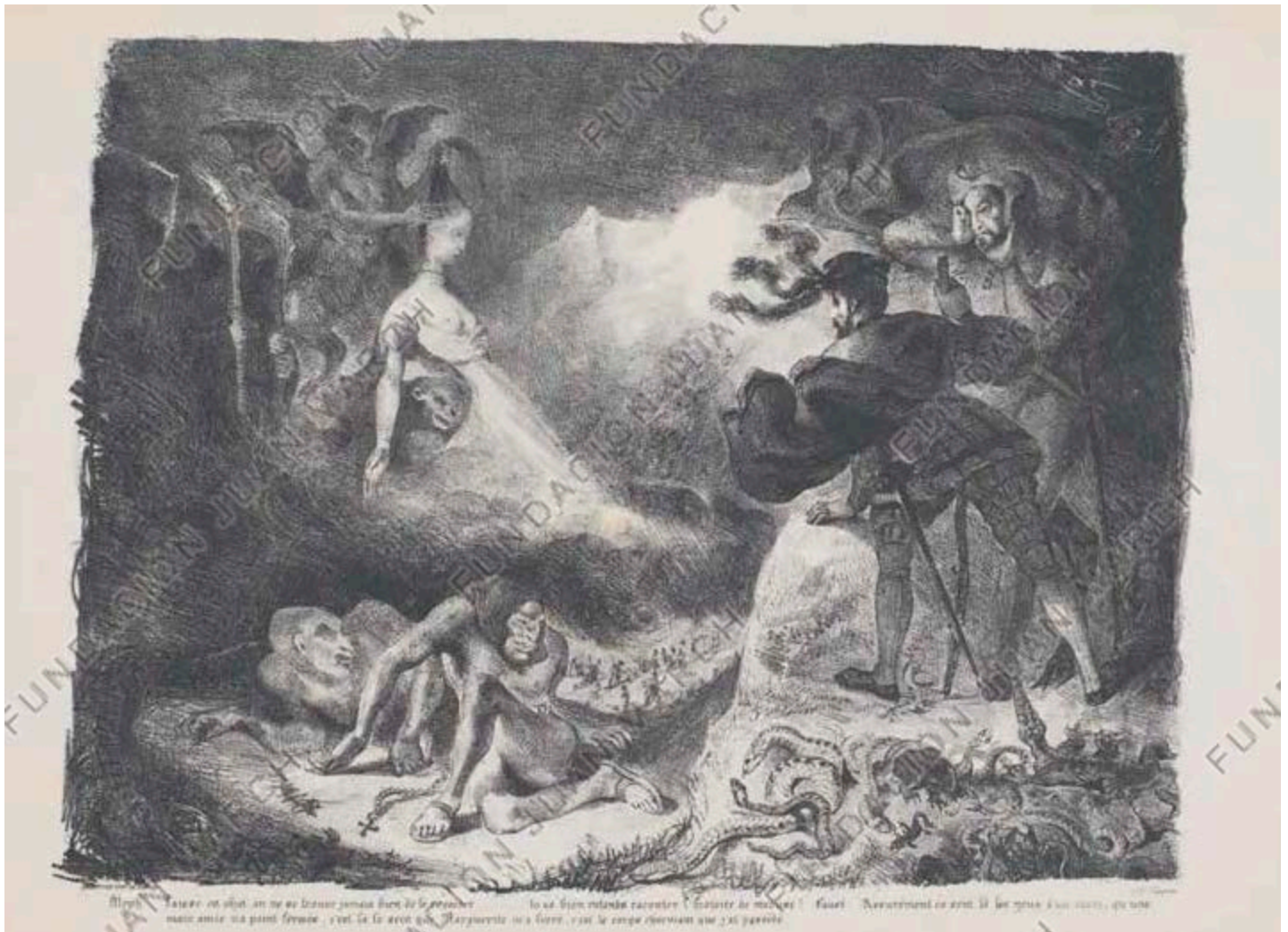
Gackeleia in der Mäusestadt [Gackeleia in
Mousetown], 1838

Lithograph

5 3/8 x 8 3/8 in. (13.7 x 21.3 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
Nuremberg





CAT. 138
Eugène Delacroix
L'Ombre de Marguerite apparaissant à Faust [Margaret's ghost appearing to Faust], 1828
From *Faust: Tragedie de M. de Goethe* (Paris, 1828)
Lithograph
12 1/4 x 17 5/8 in. (31.1 x 44.8 cm)
Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
Nuremberg

CAT. 141

Paul Constant Soyer, after J. J. Grandville (Jean Ignace Isidore Gérard)

Premier rêve—Crime et expiation [First dream: Crime and expiation]; *Second rêve—Une promenade dans le ciel* [Second dream: A promenade in the sky], 1847

From *Magasin Pittoresque* 15, no. 27 (1847): 212–13

Wood engravings

5 1/2 x 7 7/8 in. (14 x 20 cm)

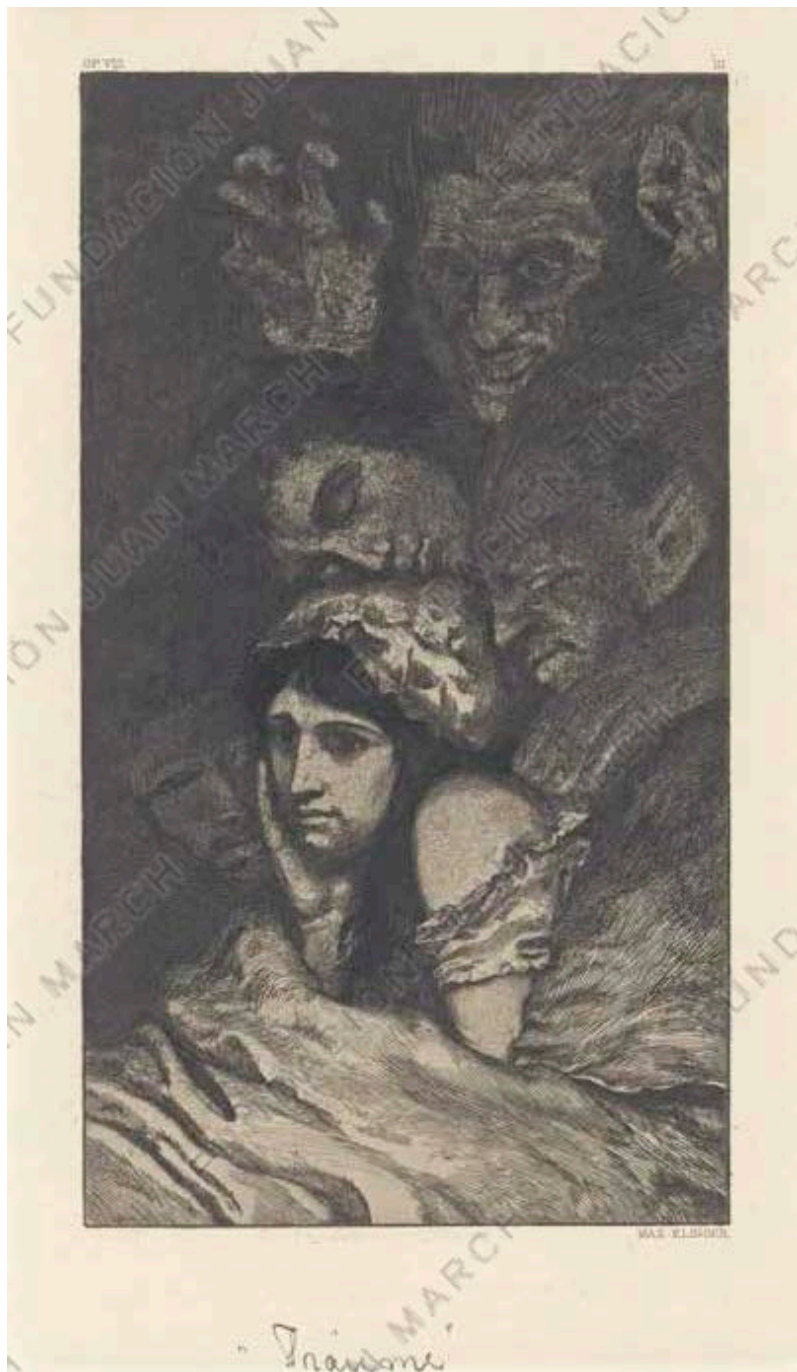
Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Bonn





CAT. 143
Odilon Redon
Yeux clos [Closed eyes], 1890
Lithograph
12 1/4 x 9 5/8 in. (31.2 x 24.3 cm)
Staatliche Graphische Sammlung,
Munich

CAT. 144
Max Klinger
Träume [Dreams], 1884
No. 3 from Opus VIII: *Ein Leben* [A
life], 1884
Etching and aquatint
10 x 5 5/8 in. (25.3 x 14.2 cm)
Hamburger Kunsthalle.
Hegewisch collection





CAT. 145

Max Klinger

Ängste [Fears], 1881

No. 7 from Opus VI: *Ein Handschuh* [A
glove], 1881

Etching

5 5/8 x 10 1/2 in. (14.3 x 26.8 cm)

Entführung [Abduction], 1881

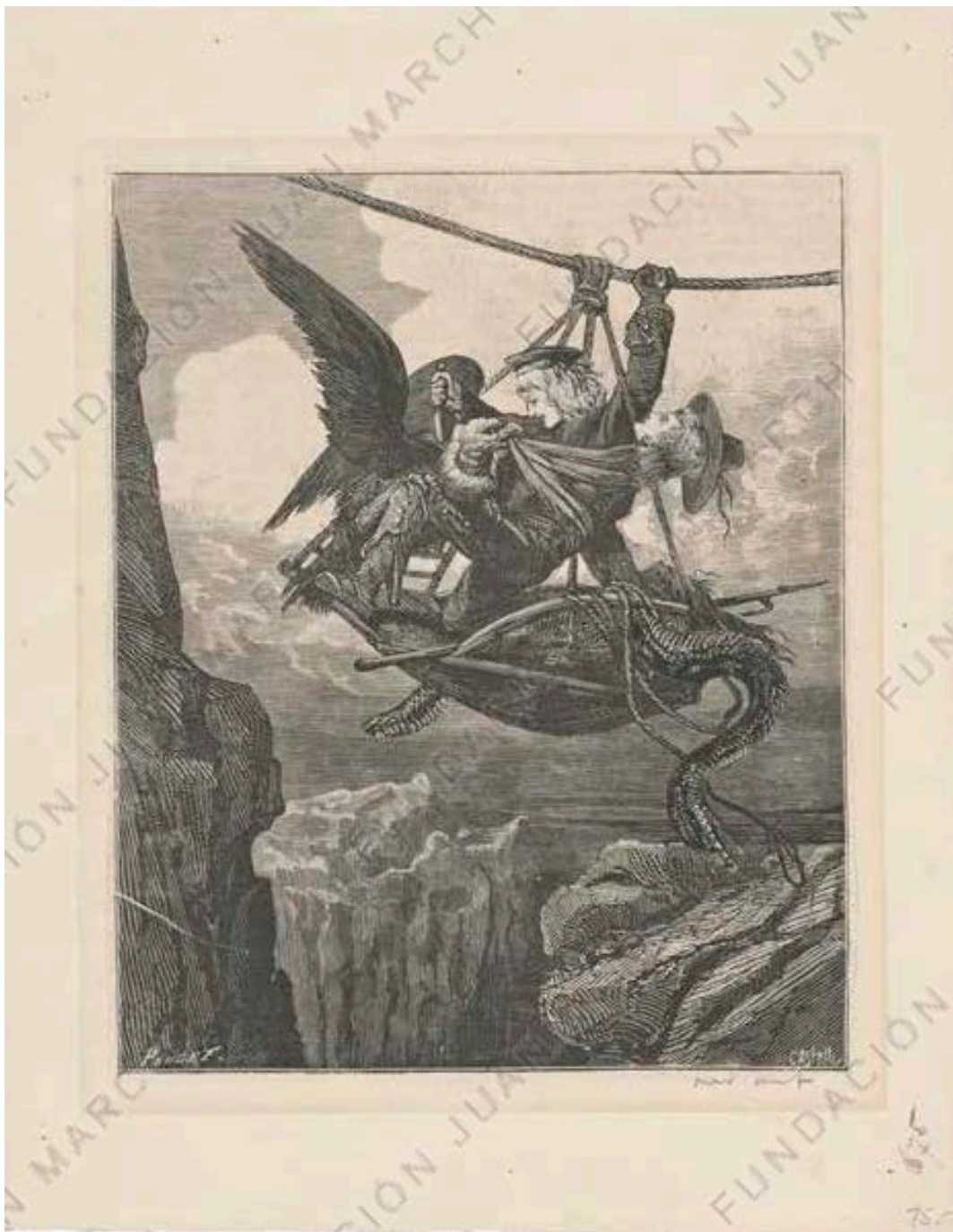
No. 9 from Opus VI: *Ein Handschuh* [A
glove], 1881

Etching and aquatint

4 1/4 x 9 3/8 in. (10.9 x 23.8 cm)

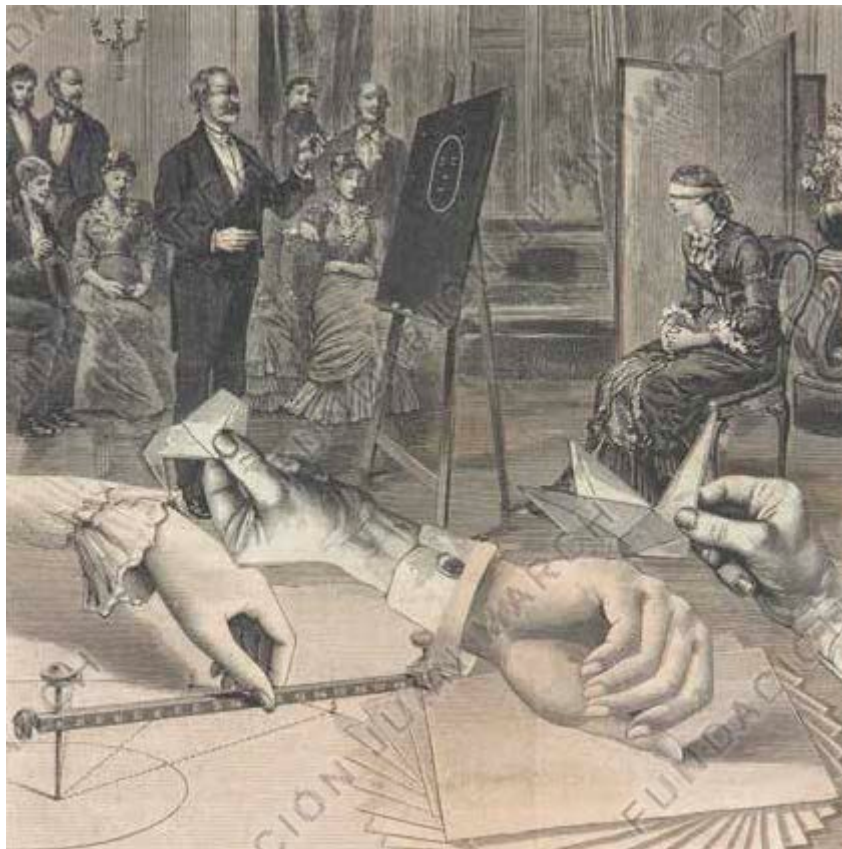
Hamburger Kunsthalle. Hegewisch
collection





CAT. 146
Max Ernst
Marceline et Marie [Marceline and Marie],
1929–1930
Collage for *Rêve d'une petite fille qui voulut entrer
au Carmel* [A little girl dreams of taking the
veil], collage-novel in four chapters, text and
images by Max Ernst (Paris: Carrefour, 1930)
Collage
8 3/4 x 7 1/8 in. (22.3 x 18 cm)
Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich

CAT. 140
Adriano del Valle
El vejamen del psicoanálisis, 1930–31
Collage
5 7/8 x 5 7/8 in. (15 x 15 cm)
Galería Guillermo de Osma, Madrid

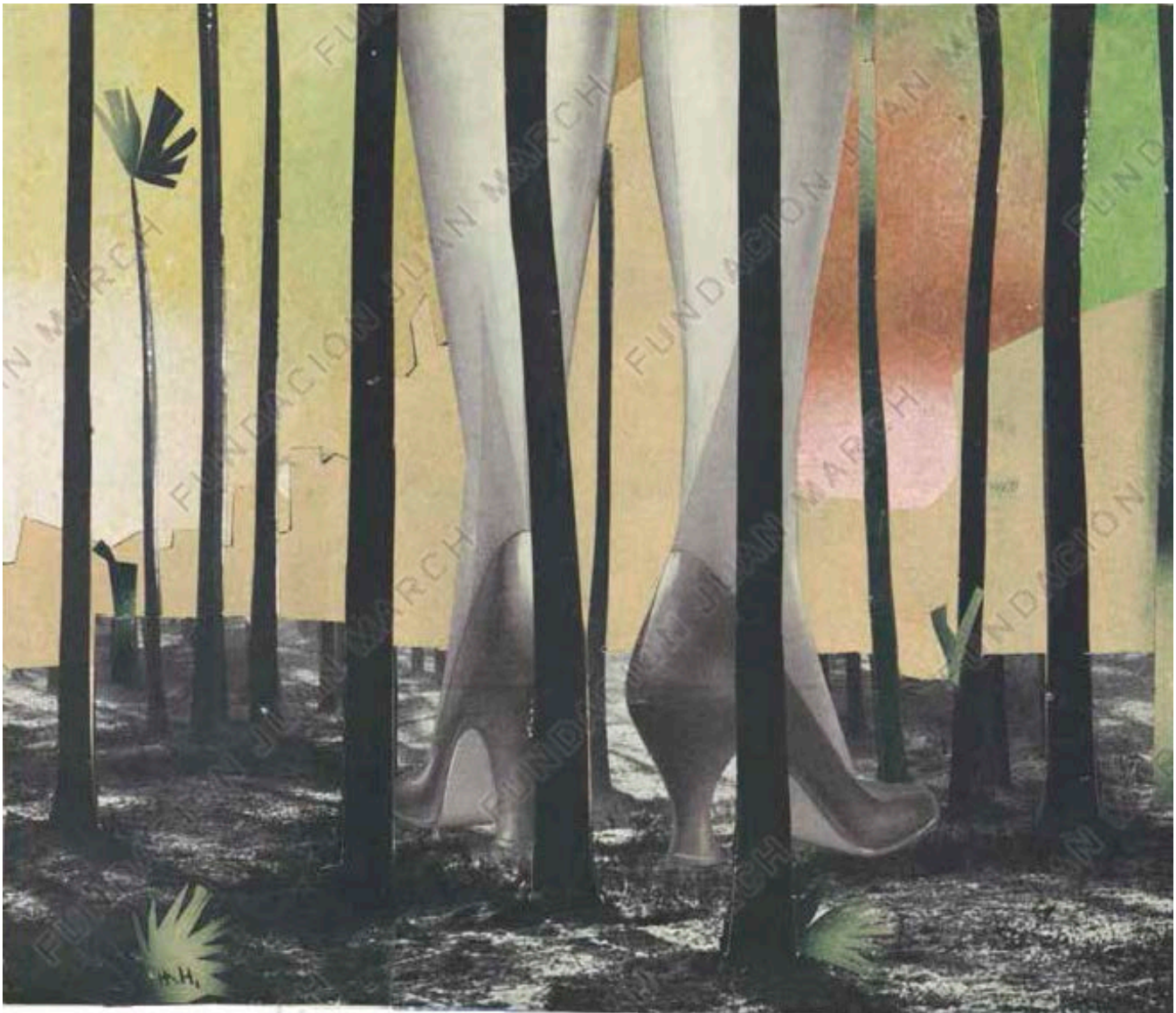




Picasso

CAT. 148
Pablo Picasso
Minotaure aveugle guidé par une fillette dans la nuit [Blind minotaur led by a girl through the night], 1934
No. 92 from *Suite Vollard*, 1930–36
Aquatint
9 3/4 x 13 5/8 in. (24.7 x 34.7 cm)
Private collection

CAT. 149
Hannah Höch
Die große Person [The large person], 1940
Collage
18 x 21 cm
Germanisches Nationalmuseum,
Nuremberg



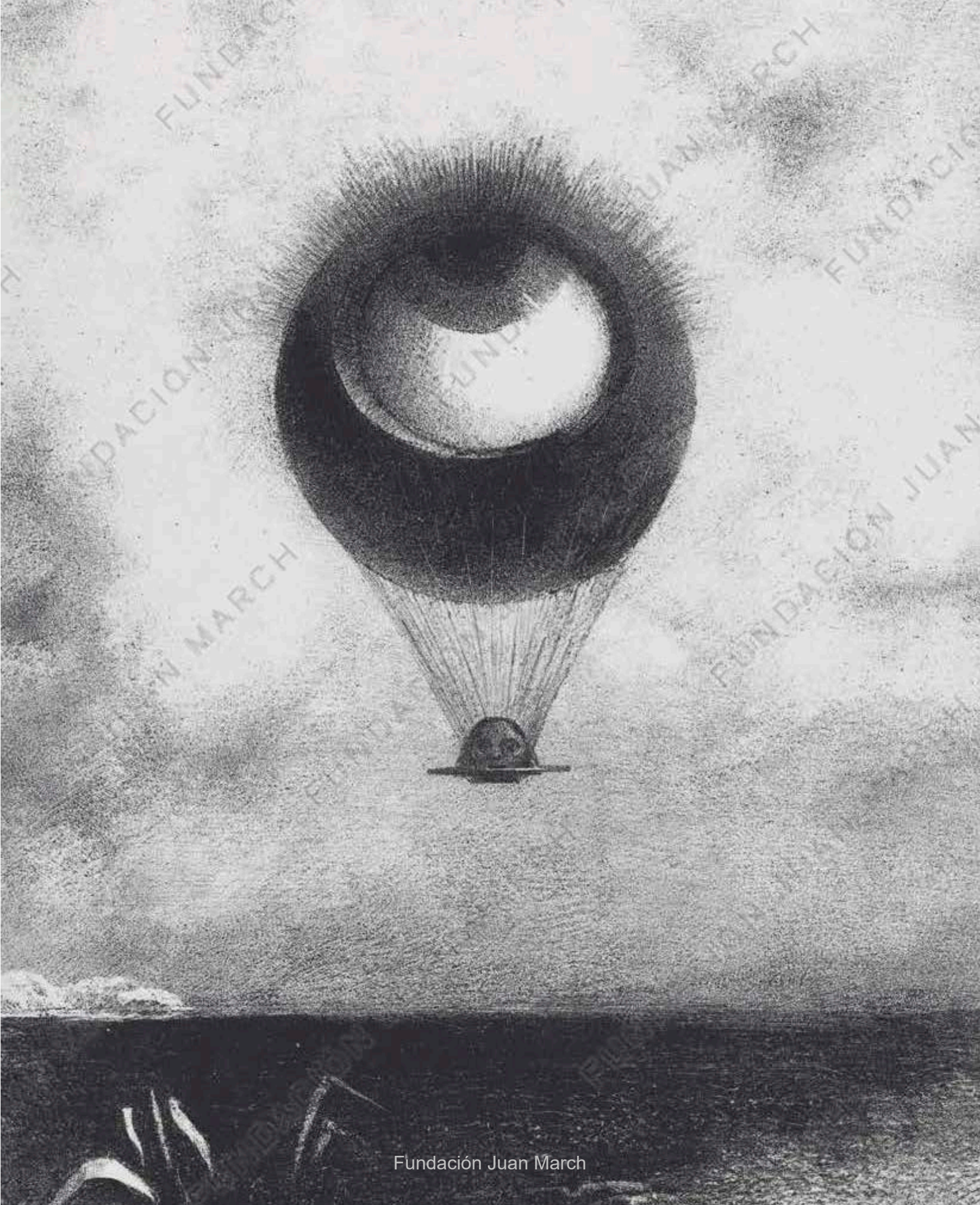


CAT. 150
Pierre Jahan
Untitled, 1937
Photocollage
9 7/8 x 6 3/8 in. (25 x 16.2 cm)
Dietmar Siegert collection

Pp. 276-277: Carl Wilhelm Kolbe the Elder, *Phantastische tote Eiche in einem Gehölz*, [Fantastical dead oak in a grove], 1828–35 [detail of Cat. 102]
P. 278: Odilon Redon, *L'Oeil, comme un ballon bizarre, se dirige vers l'infini* [The eye, like a strange balloon, moves toward the infinite, 1882 [detail of Cat. 7]







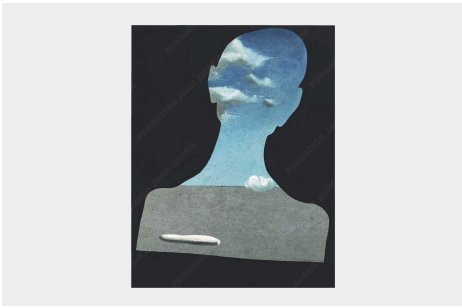
Catalogue of works

This list of works on display includes objects exhibited at both the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg and at the Fundación Juan March in Madrid. Where a work appeared at only one of the venues, such is indicated in parentheses in the corresponding entry.

The physical description of the works includes precise indications of any inscriptions, whether made manually or reproduced mechanically, with translations, except where a text's extreme length would prohibit a complete transcription and translation. In those cases, the content of the text is indicated in general terms. Abbreviations marked with tildes or other symbols are resolved in italics (e.g., *uñ* = *und*), as is superscript *e* (the forerunner of the modern umlaut) and other superscript abbreviations, for the purpose of legibility. Otherwise, diacritics or other orthographical marks and abbreviations are retained as they appear in the texts. Early modern virgules (/) are rendered as commas to avoid confusion with slashes marking the end of a line of text, and double-dashes

(=) to mark word division are transcribed as simple hyphens. Slashes marking the ends of lines are followed by a space; for a handful of modern works in which an actual slash appears in the inscription (e.g., Cat. 12), the lack of a space after the slash indicates that it is not a line break. (The occasional use of slashes in the English translations merely serves to indicate the lines of a verse translation; in the few instances where poems have not been translated as verse, the nature of the original text is indicated in the description.)

The physical description of the objects in this catalogue could not have been completed for the English edition without the expert assistance of others. We should like to thank Dr. Jonathan West for help in translating several particularly recalcitrant texts in early modern German, Dr. David Scott Gehring for pointers regarding early modern calendrical references (Cat. 99), Dr. Santiago Rubio Fernaz for his help interpreting one or two difficult points in the Latin, and Dr. Clara Oberle for assistance with a Greek genitive.



CAT. 1

(Madrid exhibition)

Salvador Dalí (Figueres, 1904–Girona, 1989)

Homme à la tête pleine de nuages [Man with his head full of clouds], ca. 1936

Oil on cardboard

7 1/8 x 5 1/2 in. (18.1 x 14 cm)

Fundació Gala–Salvador Dalí, Figueres. Inv. 0038

Bibliography: Descharnes & Néret 1993, 1:272, no. 609; Seville 1993, 72–73; Madrid et al. 1994, no. 45; Verona 1995, 95; Yamanashi 1999, no. 23; Taipei 2000, no. 14; Athens 2002, no. 13; Santander 2003, no. 10; Tokyo 2006, no. 27



CAT. 2

(Madrid exhibition)

Man Ray (Philadelphia, 1890–Paris, 1976)

Salvador Dalí upside-down in Portlligat, 1933

Gelatin silver print on paper

Contemporary print

9 1/8 x 7 1/8 in. (23.1 x 18.1 cm)

Fundació Gala–Salvador Dalí, Figueres Inv. 0570



CAT. 3

Clarence John Laughlin (Lake Charles, Louisiana, 1905–New Orleans, 1985)

The Eye that Never Sleeps, 1946

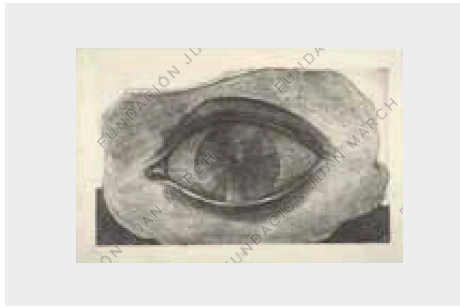
Multiple exposure. Gelatin silver print on paper

11 3/4 x 8 7/8 in. (30 x 22.5 cm)

Dietmar Siegert collection

Titled and dated in ball-point pen, bottom r.: 'The Eye that Never Sleeps; 1946'; signed, bottom r.: 'Clarence John Laughlin'

Bibliography: Philadelphia 1973, nos. 1–11



CAT. 4

Max Ernst (Brühl, 1891–Paris, 1976)

La Roue de la lumière [The wheel of light], 1926

Plate 29 from the series *Histoire naturelle* [Natural history], 1926

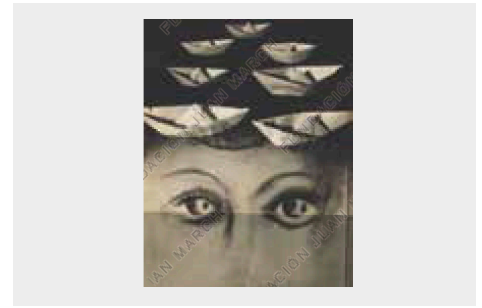
Collotype

19 1/2 x 13 1/4 in. (49.5 x 33.5 cm)

Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel. Malerbücher 12.2° 11, plate 29

Numbered, bottom ctr.: 'xxix'

Bibliography: Hannover 1972, no. 21.B and fig.; Nordhorn 1980, 27–28 (fig.); Hannover 1981, no. 29; Halle & Dresden 1989, no. 91, fig. p. 155; Hannover 1990, nos. 91–29; Warsaw 1991, no. 101, fig. 135; London et al. 1991, 128, no. 93; Schmidt-Burkhardt 1992, 115, fig. 126; Hannover, Karlsruhe & Salzburg 1994, nos. 76.1–34, figs. 152–85; Quedlinburg 1999, 44–45 (fig.), no. 43; Hamburg & Apolda 2004, 41–50 (figs.), nos. 1–5; Ubl 2004, 108–9; Würth 2008, 17–18, no. 22; Kort 2009, 42–50. On the series: Spies et al. 1975–2007, no. 818; Munich & Berlin 1979, no. 88; Brühl 1983, 386, no. 29; Zimmermann 1994, 15–24; Lindau 1995, 205–6; Spies 2003, no. 195; Braun-Stanescio 2008, 31–44; Zur Loy 2010



CAT. 5

Fabien Loris [Dominique Fabien Terreran] (Paris, 1906–1979), **Roger Parry** (Paris, 1905–1977)

Untitled, 1930

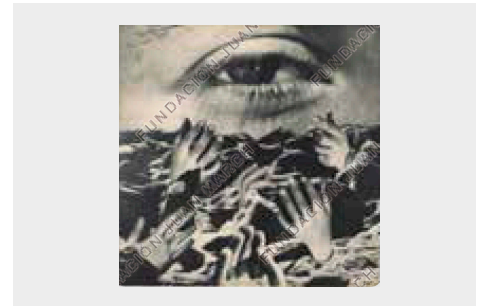
Plate 3 from Léon-Paul Fargue, *Banalité* (Paris: Nouvelle Revue Française, 1930)

Double exposure. Gelatin silver print on paper

8 1/2 x 6 1/2 in. (21.5 x 16.6 cm)

Dietmar Siegert collection

Bibliography: Lionel-Marie & Sayag 1996, 385–88, 388 (fig.), incl. bibliog. on *Banalité*; Hamburg 2005, no. 104



CAT. 6

Grete Stern (Wuppertal-Elberfeld, 1904–Buenos Aires, 1999)

El ojo eterno [The eternal eye], ca. 1950

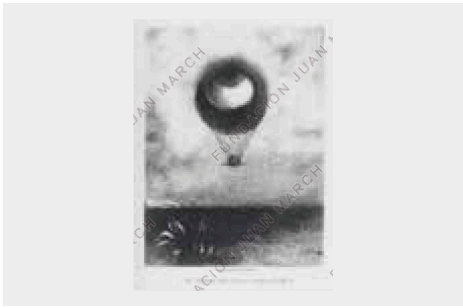
No. 26 in the series *Los Sueños* [The dreams], published in the magazine *Idilio*, Buenos Aires, 1948–51

Photomontage. Gelatin silver print on paper

15 3/8 x 15 5/8 in. (39 x 39.8 cm)

Dietmar Siegert collection

Bibliography: Buenos Aires 1995, no. 108; Valencia 1995, 86, no. 26. On the series: Priamo 1995, 184–95; Stern 1995, 195–99; Bonet 2008, 82; Sebbag 2008, 101–12



CAT. 7

(Madrid exhibition)

Odilon Redon (Bordeaux, 1840–Paris, 1916)

L'oeil, comme un ballon bizarre, se dirige vers l'infini [The eye, like a strange balloon, moves toward the infinite], 1882

Plate 1 from *A Edgar Poë* [To Edgar Allan Poe], 1882

Lithograph. Chine-collé

17 5/8 x 12 1/4 in. (44.8 x 31.1 cm)

Gemeentemuseum, The Hague. Inv. PRE-1958-0246

Signed, top r.: 'ODILON REDON'; publication line and title, 'Imp. Lemercier & Cie. r. de Seine 57./ L'oeil, comme un ballon bizarre se dirige vers l'INFINI.'

Bibliography: Frankfurt & Cologne 1973, no. 20; Geneva 1975, no. 12; Winterthur & Bremen 1983, 120; Melbourne 1990, no. 3; Eisenman 1992, 118, figs. 78, 79; Schmidt-Burkhardt 1992, 131, fig. 147; Christ 1994, 14–21; Druick & Zegers 1994, 113–17, fig.72; Harter 1998, 143, 144, fig. 58; Mellerio 2001, no. 38; Paris 2009a, no. 153; cf. Wildenstein 1992–98, vol. 2: no. 1098



CAT. 8

After **Claude-Nicolas Ledoux** (Dormans, 1736–Paris, 1806)

Coup-d'oeil du Théâtre de Besançon [A glance into the theater of Besançon], 1804

Plate 113 from Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, *L'Architecture considérée sous le rapport de l'art, des moeurs et de la législation* [Architecture considered in relation to art, custom, and law], vol. 1 (Paris, 1804)

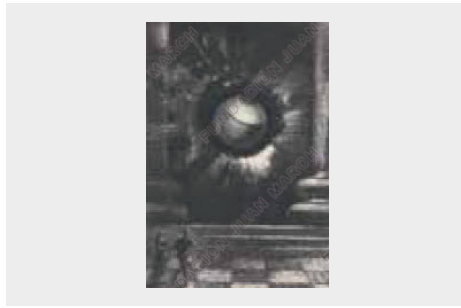
Mezzotint and engraving

10 1/8 x 15 1/4 in. (25.7 x 38.7 cm)

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt. Inv. gr. Fol 3/564

Signed, bottom l.: 'Le Doux Architecte du Roi' (Ledoux, Architect to the King); numbered, bottom r.: 'Pl. 113'

Bibliography: Baden-Baden 1970, no. 64; Haß 1970, 290–91, fig. 47; Gallet 1983, 132, fig. 203; Schmidt-Burkhardt 1992, 141–46, fig. 155



CAT. 9

(Madrid exhibition)

Odilon Redon (Bordeaux, 1840–Paris, 1916)

Vision, 1879

Plate 8 from *Dans le Rêve* [In the dream], 1879

Lithograph. Chine-collé

23 x 15 3/4 in. (58.3 x 40.1 cm)

Gemeentemuseum, The Hague. Inv. PRE-1958-0139

Signed, top r.: 'ODILON REDON'

Bibliography: Frankfurt & Cologne 1973, fig. 8, cat. 16; Winterthur & Bremen 1983, 117; Schmidt-Burkhardt 1992, 126, fig. 140; Chicago, Amsterdam & London 1994, 123, fig. 2:8, cat. 54; Harter 1998, 144, fig. 59; Mellerio 2001, no. 34



CAT. 10

Jakob Andreas Fridrich (Nuremberg 1684–Augsburg, 1751), after **Johann Melchior Füssli** (Zürich, 1677–1736)

Das Auge ein Werk Gottes [The eye, a work of God], 1733

Plate 561 from Johann Jacob Scheuchzer, *Kupfer-Bibel* [Copper-Bible], i.e., *Physica Sacra, oder geheiligte Natur-Wissenschaft derer in Heil. Schrift vorkommenden natürlichen Sachen* [Sacred physics, or sacred natural science of the natural things found in Holy Scripture], vol. 3 (Augsburg; Ulm: Johann Andreas Pfeffel, 1733)

Engraving

15 3/8 x 9 5/8 in. (39.1 x 24.4 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Sign. 2° RI. 473

Numbered, top r.: 'TAB. DLXI'; caption, bottom l.: 'PSAL. XCIV.V.9./ Deus ὀφθαλμοτέχνης.' (Psalm 94:9, God of eye-craft); caption, bottom r.: 'Psal. XCIV.V.9./ Das Auge ein Wercke Gottes.'; signed, bottom r.: 'I. A. Fridrich sculps.' (J. A. Fridrich engraved [this])

Bibliography: Felfe 2003, 105–8; Rossel 2005, 699–700. On the *Physica Sacra*, see Müsch 2000



CAT. 11

Francisco de Goya (Zaragoza, 1746–Bordeaux, 1828)

Letter from Francisco de Goya to his friend Martín Zapater, ca. 1784

Ink on paper

8 1/4 x 11 5/8 in. (20.8 x 29.6 cm)

Fundación Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid. Inv. 15648–6

Text, left col.: 'Que ganas seme pasan de/ hir este berano a estar/ contigo y cazar juntos y/ si no fuera porque ba el de/ las medias, cree que hibamos/ a ejecutarlo. Dos perros que/ tenia jobencilos se me an mu/ erto y los habia conprado y no/ baratos por ser muy alajas/ Una limosna de perro si fate/ la carita per laborare cuest ano/ cualche cosa e da boy senpre./ Franco. el que lo echaron/ de las [?]' (I'm dying to go visit you this summer and hunt together, and if the fellow with the stockings weren't going, you can believe we'd do it. Two young dogs I had died on me, and they weren't cheap, because they were real gems. Could you spare a dog, si fate la carità, per laborare quest'anno qualche cosa; e da voi sempre [pretty please, to work something this year. Yours always], Francisco, the one they tossed out of the... [two semicircular marks whose meaning is unclear]); r. col.: 'El aceite muy rico y muy/ gracias dabero que me cago en/ Pallasy si el be esta calesa/ mas patillas tengo ya que el' (The oil was delicious, thanks very much, davvero [truly]. I could give a crap about [Tomás] Pallás, and if he sees this buggy; I've got more cheek than he does [?]; lit., I've already got bigger sideburns than he.)

Bibliography: Madrid 1900, no. 151; Zapater y Gómez 1924, 61–62; Madrid 1928, no. 63; Lafuente Ferrari 1975, 293; Camón Aznar 1980–84, 2:13; Canellas López 1981, no. 92; Andioc 1987, 140 (fig.), no. 56; Mercadier 1987, 150–51, 162 (fig.), no. 8; Ansón Navarro 1995, 262–64; Yeves Andrés 1996, 334; Yeves Andrés 1998, 616–19, no. 426; Cano Cuesta 1999, 280, no. 74; Águeda Villar & Salas 2003, 169–72, no. 52; Zens 2004, 94, 95 (fig.)



CAT. 12

Herbert Bayer (Haag am Hausruck, 1900–Montecito, California, 1985)

Einsamer Großstädter [The lonely metropolitan], 1932

Photomontage. Gelatin silver print on paper

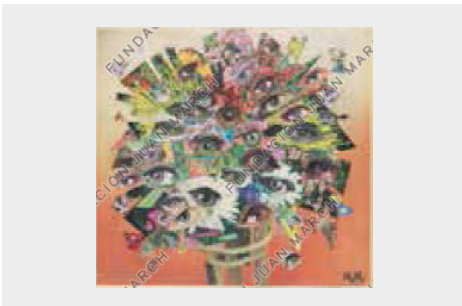
13 7/8 x 11 in. (35.3 x 28 cm)

Dietmar Siegert collection

Numbered in pencil, bottom l.: '28/40'; signed in pencil, bottom r.: 'bayer/32'

1969 edition, Galerie Klihm, Munich; print 28/40

Bibliography: Hannover 1977, no. 1; Berlin & Basel 1982, no. 56; Cohen 1984, 264–66; Schmidt-Burkhardt 1992, 63; Bieger-Thielemann 1996, 40; Linz 2000, no. 34; Munich 2004, no. 144; Linz 2009, 196 (fig.)



CAT. 13

Hannah Höch (Gotha, 1889–Berlin, 1978)

Der Strauß [The bouquet], 1929–65

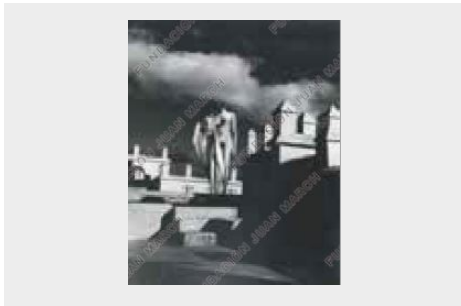
Collage

8 3/4 x 9 3/8 in. (22.3 x 23.7 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. On loan from private collection. Inv. Hz 6900, Kapsel 2090

Initialed in paper cutouts with date in pencil, bottom r. corner of collage: 'H.H. 29/65'; dated and signed in pencil, bottom r. margin: 'H. HOCH 29/65'

Bibliography: Tübingen et al. 1980, no. 92; Dech 1981, 107–9, no. 36/2; Schmidt-Burkhardt 1992, 112–13, fig. 119; Gotha 1993, no. 82; Maurer 1995, 128, fig. 47



CAT. 14

Pierre Boucher (Paris, 1908–Faremoutiers, 2000)

Hommage à Chirico—Nu à Têlouet, Maroc [Homage to De Chirico—Nude in Têlouet, Morocco], 1936

Photomontage. Gelatin silver print on paper

8 3/4 x 7 in. (22.3 x 17.8 cm)

Dietmar Siegert collection

Bibliography: Jaguer 1984, 112, 113 (fig.); Boucher 1988, no. 35. On the series, Bouqueret 2003, nos. 37–44



CAT. 15

Hans Baldung Grien (Schwäbisch Gmünd, 1484/85–Strasbourg, 1545)

The Bewitched Groom, 1544

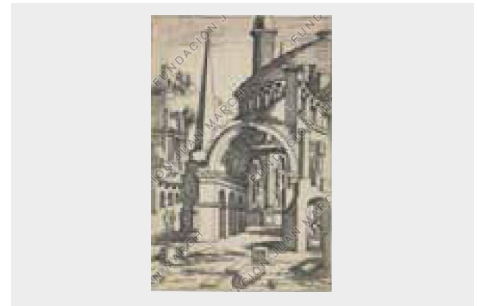
Woodcut

13 1/2 x 7 7/8 in. (34.2 x 20 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Property of the City of Nuremberg. Inv. StN 16702, Kapsel 1452

Monogram on tablet, bottom r.: 'HB'; with Baldung's coat of arms on wall, top r.

Bibliography: Hollstein 1954–, vol. 2: no. 237; Hartlaub 1960, 13–25; Hartlaub 1961, 22–24; Nuremberg 1971b, 16, 17 (fig.); Geisberg & Strauss 1974, vol. 1: G.122; Koeplin 1978, 72, 73–74; Mende 1978, no. 76; Shestack 1981, 18; Washington & New Haven 1981, no. 87; Schade 1983, 45 (fig.), 46; Hults 1984, 259–79; Hoak 1985, 488–509; Smith 1985, 31–33, no. 11; Koerner 1993, 437, 527, fig. 213; Cologne, Zürich & Vienna 1996, no. 3; Dillenberger 1999, 162–65, fig. 81; Sroka 2003, 90–91, fig. 71; Hults 2005, 99–104, no. 3.13; Brinkmann 2007, 191–98; Frankfurt 2007, no. 49; Strasbourg 2008, figs. 103–4. On the drawing for the woodcut, Basel 1997, no. 12.16



CAT. 16

Virgilius Solis the Elder (Nuremberg? 1514–Nuremberg, 1562)

Landscape with ruins, obelisk, and round building, 1555

From Virgilius Solis, *Buchlin von den alten Gebeuen* [Little book of ancient buildings] (Nuremberg, 1555)

Etching

5 7/8 x 3 7/8 in. (14.9 x 9.8 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum. Inv. K 13964, Kapsel 412 a

Monogram, bottom r.: 'VS'

Bibliography: Kat. der Orn. Berlin 1939, no. 2355; Hollstein 1954–, vol. 64: no. 365; Möller 1956, 54–55; O'Dell-Franke 1977, 46–47, 134, no. f148; TIB 1978–, vol. 19.1: no. 361(283); Beaucamp-Markowsky 1994, 382–83; Wood 2003, 248; Zorach 2009, 61–78



CAT. 17

Hans Rogel the Elder (Augsburg, 1532–1592/93), after **Lorenz Stör** (Nuremberg, ca. 1530–Augsburg, after 1620/21)

Ruins with fantastic scrollwork and polyhedra, 1567

Plate 8 from Lorenz Stör, *Geometria et Perspectiva* [Geometry and perspective] (Augsburg: M. Manger, 1567)

Woodcut

8 3/4 x 6 3/4 in. (22.3 x 17.1 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. H 5554, Kapsel 440

Monogram, bottom ctr.: 'LS'; numbered on border, bottom ctr.: '8'

Bibliography: Andresen 1872–74, 3:287–88; Möller 1956, 19, 49, 67–70, fig. 1; Bousquet 1963, 104–106; Nuremberg 1969, no. 73; Keil 1985, 147; Vienna 1987, no. vii.49; Richter 1995, 69–74; Pfaff 1996, 11–14; Berninger 2000, 42; Murnau 2000, no. 34; Wood 2003, 238–42



CAT. 18

Lorenz Stör (Nuremberg, ca. 1530–Augsburg, after 1620/21)

Monument with trees, ca. 1567

Pen, black ink, and watercolor, with white highlights
13 1/4 x 8 1/2 in. (33.7 x 21.5 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. Hz 5181, Kapsel 650

Bibliography: Nuremberg 1952, no. W15; Nuremberg 1969, fig. 78; Stuttgart 1979–80, vol. 1: no. F1a; Wood 2003, 248–49



CAT. 19

(Madrid exhibition)

Giovanni Battista Piranesi (Mogliano Veneto, 1720–Rome, 1778)

Rovine d'una galleria di statue nella Villa Adriana a Tivoli [Ruins of a statue gallery in Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli], ca. 1766–70

Etching

17 7/8 x 23 1/8 in. (45.5 x 58.8 cm)

Museo Nacional del Prado. Madrid. Inv. G02994

Label, top l., near decorative motifs on arch: 'A'; signed, bottom l.: 'Cavalier Piranesi del e inc.' (*Cavaliere Piranesi* designed and etched [this]); text on stone block, bottom r., indicating title of etching and meaning of label: 'Rovine d'una Galleria/ di Statue nella Villa Adri-/ ana a Tivoli/ A. Avanzi di pitture a grottesco' (Ruins of a statue gallery in Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli; A. Remnants of painted grotesques)

Bibliography: Focillon [1918] 1963, no. 782; Hind [1922] 1967, no. 80; Lafuente Ferrari 1936, 85, no. 93; Petrucci 1953, 286, no. 820; Northampton 1961, no. 230, fig. 30; see also pp. 78, 89, 93; Robison 1978, 48–50, no. 258; Wilton-Ely 1997, fig. 93; Stuttgart 1999, no. 14.93 (incl. further bibliog.); Ficacci 2011, 730, no. 964



CAT. 20

(Nuremberg exhibition)

Giovanni Battista Piranesi (Mogliano Veneto, 1720–Rome, 1778)

Il fuoco fumante [The smoking fire], 1761

Plate 6 from *Carceri d'invenzione di G. Battista Piranesi, archit. vene.* [Imaginary prisons by G. Battista Piranesi, Venetian architect], 2nd, reworked edition, in *Opere varie* (1761–)

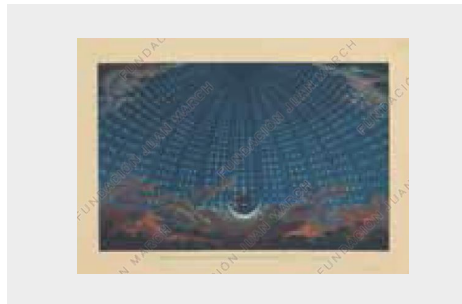
Etching

21 3/8 x 16 1/8 in. (54.3 x 41 cm)

Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg. Inv. XII,192,193

Numbered, top r.: 'vi'; signed, bottom l.: 'Piranesi F.' (Piranesi made [this])

Bibliography: Focillon [1918] 1963, no. 29; Hind [1922] 1967, no. 6; Coburg 1975, no. 311; Washington 1978, no. 8, no. 47; Cologne, Zürich & Vienna 1996, 72–76; Wilton-Ely 1997, 301 (fig.); Stuttgart 1999, no. 7.6 (incl. further bibliog.)



CAT. 21

Karl Friedrich Thiele (Berlin, ca. 1780–ca. 1836), after Karl Friedrich Schinkel (Neuruppin, 1781–Berlin, 1841)

The Queen of the Night, 1823

Plate 2 from *Dekoration zur Oper: "Die Zauberflöte"* [Set designs for the opera *The Magic Flute*], no. 1 (Berlin: L. W. Wittich, 1823)

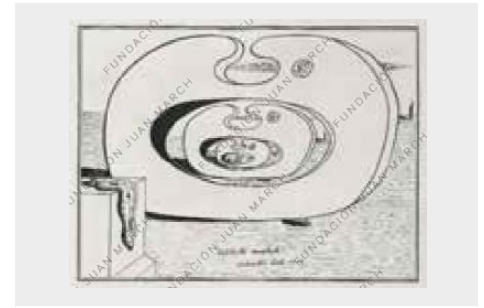
Colored aquatint

12 3/8 x 17 7/8 in. (31.3 x 45.5 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. HB 23577/ 2, Kapsel 1368

Numbered, top r.: '2'; signed, lower l.: 'Schinkel del.' (Schinkel designed [this]); and lower r.: 'Thiele sc.' (Thiele engraved [this]); text, bottom ctr.: 'DECORATION ZU DER OPER: DIE ZAUBERFLÖTE ACT I SCENE VI.' (Set design for the opera, *The Magic Flute*, act 1, scene 6); publication line, bottom r.: 'Berlin, bei L. W. Wittich'

Bibliography: Amundsen-München 1911, 457; Rave 1981, 28, fig. after p. 17; Frenzel 1984, 362–63; Freydank 1988, 187–91; Harten 2000, 127, no. 9A; Büchel 2010, 25–38, fig. 4



CAT. 22

Salvador Dalí (Figueres, 1904–Girona, 1989)

Solitude mentale [Mental solitude], 1932

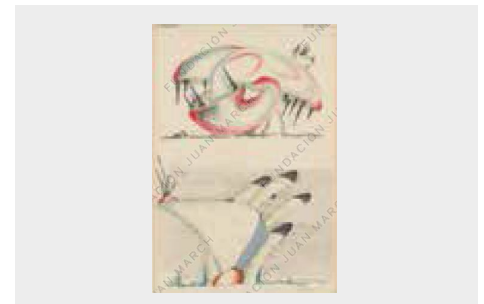
Ink on paper

9 x 12 5/8 in. (23 x 32 cm)

Colecciones Fundación Mapfre, Madrid. Inv. F M000271

Titled, signed, and dated in ink, bottom ctr.: "'Solitude mentale"/ Salvador Dalí 1932'

Bibliography: Madrid 2006, 443; São Paulo & Madrid 2007, 81; Madrid 2009, 71; Jiménez-Blanco 2011, 36, no. 16; Madrid 2011, 176



CAT. 23

(Madrid exhibition)

Hermann Finsterlin (Munich, 1887–Stuttgart, 1973)

2 Architekturen [2 Architectures], series VI, sheet 1, 1920–24

Pencil and watercolor

19 3/4 x 13 1/8 in. (50.1 x 33.3 cm)

Staatsgalerie Stuttgart. Inv. C 1978/ 2782

Signed in pencil, top l.: 'H. Finsterlin.-'; numbered in pencil, top r.: 'Serie VI. Blatt 1.'; signed in pencil, bottom r.: 'H. Finsterlin'

Bibliography: Stuttgart, Freiburg & Münster 1988, no. 76



CAT. 24

(Nuremberg exhibition)

Hermann Finsterlin (Munich, 1887–Stuttgart, 1973)

Straßenbild [Image of straits], 1922

Pencil and watercolor

10 7/8 x 14 5/8 in. (27.6 x 37.1 cm)

Staatsgalerie Stuttgart. Inv. C 1978/ 2797

Signed and dated in pencil, bottom r.: 'H. Finsterlin 22.'

Bibliography: Stuttgart, Freiburg & Münster 1988, no. 76



CAT. 25

(Nuremberg exhibition)

Yves Tanguy (Paris, 1900–Woodbury, Connecticut, 1955)

Paysage absolu [Absolute landscape], 1931

Gouache

4 7/8 x 12 3/4 in. (12.4 x 32.5 cm)

Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, Basel. Gift of Dr. Charles Leuthardt, Riehen, Basel. Inv. 1980.480

Signed and dated, bottom r.: 'YVES TANGUY 31'

Bibliography: Tanguy 1963, no. 124; Waldberg 1977, 25 (fig.); Baden-Baden 1982, no. 46; Basel 2008, 144, no. 14.1



CAT. 26

(Madrid exhibition)

Yves Tanguy (Paris, 1900–Woodbury, Connecticut, 1955)

Untitled, 1934

Ink on paper

12 5/8 x 9 1/2 in. (32 x 24 cm)

Galería Leandro Navarro, Madrid. Navarro-Valero collection

Signed and dated, lower r.: 'YVES TANGUY 34'

Bibliography: Paris 1972, no. 432; Waldberg 1977, no. 492; Baden-Baden 1982, no. 116; Paris & Baden-Baden 1982, no. 55; Pamplona & Vitoria 1995, 66; Salamanca 2002, 76; Burgos 2005, 29



CAT. 27

Herbert Bayer (Haag am Hausruck, 1900–Montecito, California, 1985)

Still Life, 1936

Fotoplastik ("photo-sculpture"). Gelatin silver print on paper

11 x 13 7/8 in. (28 x 35.2 cm)

Dietmar Siegert collection

Numbered in pencil, bottom l.: '16/40'; signed, bottom r.: 'bayer 36'

1969 edition, Galerie Klihm, Munich; print 16/40

Bibliography: Cohen 1984, 281; Lionel-Marie & Sayag 1996, 39; Linz 2000, no. 40; Ritter 2006, 113–14, 157 (fig.)



CAT. 28

(Madrid exhibition)

Maruja Mallo (Viveiro, 1902–Madrid, 1995)

Construcciones rurales [Rural constructions], 1934

Colored pencil on paper

23 5/8 x 31 1/2 in. (60 x 80 cm)

Private collection

Dated and signed, top r.: '-2-1934/ Maruja Mallo'

Bibliography: Teruel 1990, 102, no. 45; Santiago de Compostela 1993, 87; Madrid et al. 1994, 210, no. 107



CAT. 29

Man Ray (Philadelphia, 1890–Paris, 1976)

Objet mathématique [Mathematical object], ca. 1934–35

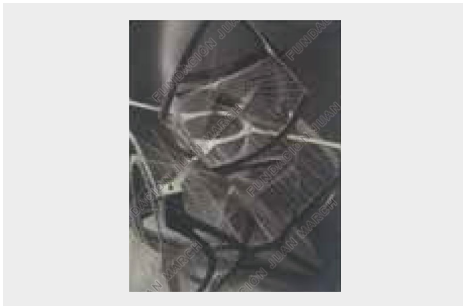
Gelatin silver print

11 3/8 x 9 in. (29.6 x 23.1 cm)

IVAM, Institut Valencià d'Art Modern, Generalitat Valenciana. Inv. 1995. 002

Contemporary print

Bibliography: Werner 2002, 94, 95, figs. 12a–12b



CAT. 30

Man Ray (Philadelphia, 1890–Paris, 1976)

Objet mathématique [Mathematical object], ca. 1934/36

Gelatin silver print on paper

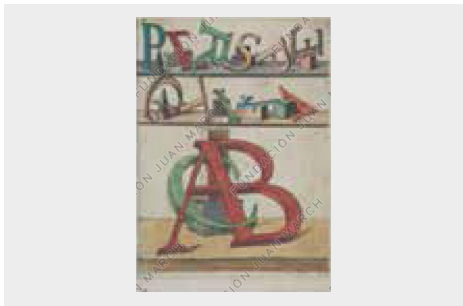
11 5/8 x 9 1/8 in. (29 x 22.8 cm)

Tampon: Val de Grace, Ref: Schwartz no. 143 Paris

IVAM, Institut Valencià d'Art Modern, Generalitat Valenciana. Inv. 1994. 033

Contemporary print

Bibliography: Schwarz 1980, fig. 143; Lionel-Marie & Sayag 1996, 325; Werner 2002, 136, fig. 36



CAT. 31

Matthias Zündt (? 1498–Nuremberg, 1572), after **Hans Lencker** (Kupferberg? 1523–Nuremberg, 1585); colored by **Georg Mack III** (Nuremberg, 1597–ca. 1625)

Roman capitals in perspective ('PERSPE/CTIVA/ABC'), 1567

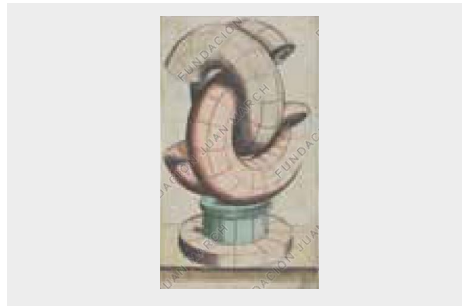
Title page, Hans Lencker, *Perspectiva Literaria* [Perspective in letters] (Nuremberg, 1567)

Colored engraving with gold highlights

6 7/8 x 4 7/8 in. (17.5 x 12.4 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. K 22159, Kapsel 414

Bibliography: Andresen 1872–74, vol. 1: no. 56.1; Nuremberg 1969, no. 51; Kat. der Orn. Berlin 1939, no. 4692; Nuremberg 1980, no. 15; Nuremberg 1985a, no. 755; Vienna 1987, no. vii.42; Kemp 1990, 62–63; Pfaff 1996, 46–50; Wood 2003, 237; see also Richter 1995, 74–76



CAT. 32

Matthias Zündt (? 1498–Nuremberg, 1572), after **Hans Lencker** (Kupferberg? 1523–Nuremberg, 1585); colored by **Georg Mack III** (Nuremberg, 1597–ca. 1625)

Two intertwined loops, 1567

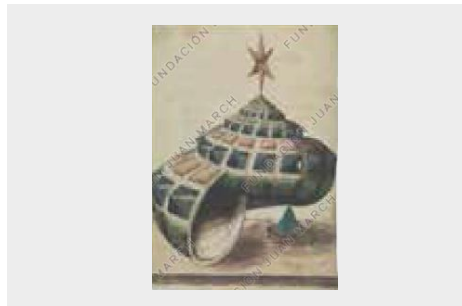
Plate 20 from Hans Lencker, *Perspectiva Literaria* [Perspective in letters] (Nuremberg, 1567)

Colored engraving

9 x 5 1/8 in. (22.9 x 13.1 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. K 22178, Kapsel 414

Bibliography: Nagler 1858–79, vol. 3: no. 172; Andresen 1872–74, vol. 1: no. 56.20; Kat. der Orn. Berlin 1939, no. 4692; Nuremberg 1969, no. 61; Nuremberg 1980, no. 15; Vienna 1987, no. vii.41; Richter 1995, 74–76; Pfaff 1996, 46–50; Wood 2003, 237; cf. Keil 1985, 144–47



CAT. 33

Matthias Zündt (? 1498–Nuremberg, 1572), after **Hans Lencker** (Kupferberg? 1523–Nuremberg, 1585); colored by **Georg Mack III** (Nuremberg, 1597–ca. 1625)

Faceted snail shell, 1567

Plate 21 from Hans Lencker, *Perspectiva Literaria* [Perspective in letters] (Nuremberg, 1567)

Colored engraving with gold highlights

9 3/8 x 6 1/2 in. (23.7 x 16.4 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. K 22179, Kapsel 414

Initialed, bottom r.: 'MZ'; initialed in gold on edge of shell, lower l.: 'G.M.'

Bibliography: Nagler 1858–79 vol. 3: no. 172; Andresen 1872–74, vol. 1: no. 56.21; Kat. der Orn. Berlin 1939, no. 4692; Nuremberg 1969, no. 65; Nuremberg 1980, no. 15; Wood 2003, 237



CAT. 34

Jost Amman (Zürich, 1539–Nuremberg, 1591), after **Wenzel Jamnitzer the Elder** (Vienna, 1508–Nuremberg, 1585)

Two faceted cones, 1568

Plate H II from Wenzel Jamnitzer, *Perspectiva Corporum Regularium* [Perspective of regular solids] (Nuremberg: [Heußler], 1568)

Etching

9 1/8 x 13 3/8 in. (23.2 x 34 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. K 23011,28, Kapsel 408

Numbered, top r.: 'H.II.'

Bibliography: Andresen 1872–74, vol. 1: no. 217; Möller 1956, 39, 49; Bousquet 1963, 104, 106; Nuremberg 1969, no. 45; Descargues 1976, 29; Nuremberg 1980, no. 16; Smith 1983, no. 197; Vienna 1987, no. vii.47; Richter 1995, 80–82; New Hollstein 1996–, vol. 5: no. 44.45; Pfaff 1996, 50–56; Murnau 2000, 41–42; Wood 2003, 238; Cambridge & Evanston 2011, no. 62; on the preparatory drawings for *Perspectiva*, see Franke 1972, 165–86; Keil 1985, 142–44



CAT. 35

Hans Jakob Ebelmann (Speyer, 1570–after 1609)

Three-dimensional forms, 1609

Plate 24 from an untitled set of twenty-four prints (Cologne, 1609)

Etching

6 7/8 x 10 3/4 in. (17.6 x 27.2 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. K11129, Kapsel 437

Numbered, top l.: '24'; monogram and date on tablet, bottom r.: 'hje/ 16/ 09'

Bibliography: Andresen 1872–74, vol. 3: no. 2.24; Hollstein 1954–, vol. 8: no. 3; Möller 1956, 38 (fig. 11), 39, 49; Nuremberg 1980, no. 16; Nuremberg 1985a, no. 756; Vienna 1987, no. vii.47; Richter 1995, 82, fig. 60; Wood 2003, 238



CAT. 36

Max Ernst (Brühl, 1891–Paris, 1976)

Les Moutons [The sheep], 1922

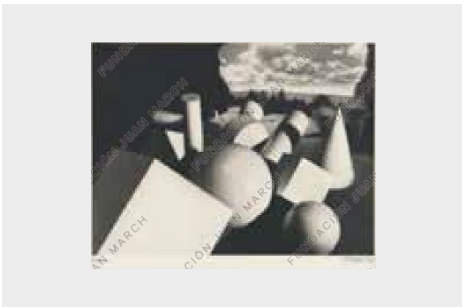
From Paul Éluard, *Répétitions* (Paris, 1922)

Photomechanical reproduction

5 5/8 x 8 5/8 in. (14.4 x 21.8 cm)

Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel. Malerbücher 13.8°3

Bibliography: Hannover 1972, no. 15.B; Nordhorn 1980, 24 (fig.); Brühl 1982, 267–70; Bonn 1989, 45 (fig.), 90 (fig.), cf. no. 5; Halle & Dresden 1989, 153 (fig.), no. 89; Teuber 1989, 44; Warsaw 1991, 133 (fig.), no. 99; Hannover, Karlsruhe & Salzburg 1994, no. 61, figs. 133, 134; Spies 2003, no. 124; Nicol 2008, 21, no. 4; cf. Spies et al. 1975–2007, no. 443



CAT. 37

Herbert Bayer (Haag am Hausruck, 1900–Montecito, California, 1985)

Metamorphosis, 1936

Fotoplastik ("photo-sculpture"). Gelatin silver print on paper

11 x 13 7/8 in. (27.9 x 35.2 cm)

Dietmar Siegert collection

Numbered in pencil, bottom l.: '28/40'; signed in pencil, bottom r.: 'bayer 36'

1969 edition, Galerie Klihm, Munich; print 28/40

Bibliography: Hannover 1977, no. 14; Cohen 1984, 57, 281, 275 (fig.); Jaguer 1984, 103, fig. Bayer 2; Lionel-Marie & Sayag 1996, 39; Duisburg, Fribourg & Vienna 1997, no. 291; Linz 2000, no. 44; Linz 2009, 199 (fig.)



CAT. 38

(Madrid exhibition)

Nicolás de Lekuona (Ordizia, 1913–Fruiz, 1937)

Untitled, 1936

Gouache on cardboard

10 3/8 x 7 1/8 in. (26.5 x 18 cm)

Lekuona siblings collection, San Sebastián

Monogram and date, bottom l.: 'L36'

Bibliography: Bilbao 1983, no. 271; San Sebastián 1988, 99; Vitoria & Madrid 2009, 107



CAT. 39

(Madrid exhibition)

Salvador Dalí (Figueres, 1904–Girona, 1989)

Study for *España* [Spain], 1936

Pencil and India ink on paper

30 5/8 x 22 3/4 in. (77.7 x 57.8 cm)

Fundació Gala–Salvador Dalí, Figueres. Inv. 3774

Signed in pencil, bottom r.: 'Gala Salvador Dalí 1936'

Bibliography: Charleroi 1985, no. 19; Schmied 1991, 53–54, fig. 12; Salamanca 1995, 128–29; Cadaqués 2001, 8; Madrid 2002a, no. 11; Düsseldorf 2003, 265, 168 (fig.); Barcelona 2004, 313; Venice & Philadelphia 2004, no. 180; Paris 2009a, no. 205; cf. Cologne 2006, no. 50



CAT. 40

Erhard Schön (Nuremberg, 1491–1542)

The Pair of Lovers, ca. 1535

Oblique anamorphosis. Colored woodcut

8 1/2 x 22 5/8 in. (21.7 x 57.5 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. HB 26686, Kapsel 1303

Caption in image: '[HIN] AVS DV ALTER TOR' (Out, you, old fool!)

Bibliography: Röttinger 1925, no. 204; Hollstein 1954–, vol. 47: no. 112; Baltrušaitis 1955, vol. 2, p. 16, no. IIc; Baltrušaitis 1969, 16, fig. 9; Amsterdam & Paris 1975b, 15, fig. 5; TIB 1978–, vol. 13.2: no. 204; Smith 1983, no. 68; Nuremberg 1998, no. 15; Murnau 2000, 40, no. 30; Sherer 2000, 32 (fig.), 84–87



CAT. 41

Christoph Weigel the Elder (Redwitz, Bohemia, 1654–Nuremberg, 1725)

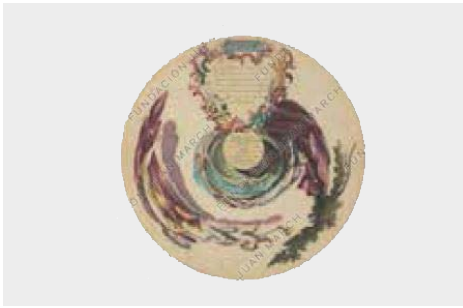
Knight with a lance before a castle, ca. 1670–73

Oblique anamorphosis. Engraving

19 7/8 x 3 7/8 in. (50.5 x 9.7 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. HB 5341, Kapsel 1303

Bibliography: Nuremberg 1998, no. 18; cf. Nuremberg 2010, no. 7.34



CAT. 42

W Monogrammist (probably Christian Heinrich Weng, 1710–1771)

Diana and Cupid Seek out the Sleeping Endymion, ca. 1770

Cylindrical mirror anamorphosis. Colored engraving and etching

16 7/8 in. (43 cm), diameter

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. HB 25732.7, Kapsel 1303

Latin text, top: 'Non finit Endymion te pectoris esse severi,/ Cynthia: dulcis Amor coelo te ducit ab alto./ Astrorum cursusque tuos dum somniat ille:/ Inmemor ipsa poli quaeris solatia flammae./ Si tu Virgo Dea arripotens sic cedis Amori;/ Quid mirum, in terris pigeat/ si cedere nullam?' (Endymion does not bring an end to the hardness of your heart, Cynthia: Sweet Love leads you from the heavens on high, while he dreams of the paths of the stars and of yours. You yourself, forgetful of the heavens, seek the comforts of a flame. If you, virgin goddess mighty in arms, yield thus to Love, what wonder if on earth it ashames no woman to yield?); signed in the rocaille, ctr.: 'W. fig. fac. Aug. Vind.' (W. made the figures in Augsburg [Augusta Vindelicorum]); German version of Latin text, in circle: 'Diana, wie ficht doch/ Endymion dich an!/ Du flieh' st, auf Amors Zug, der milden/ Sterne Bahn,/ Er suchet ihren Lauff und deinen zu/ ergruenden;/ Und du vergist ihn selbst, bey jenem Trost/ zu finden./ Kann, Himmels-jungfrau, so dich Amors/ Macht bezaehmen;/ Wie sollt' auf Erden dann sich/ eine dessen schaemen?' (Diana, what a test Endymion brings to thee! Thou seek'st, by Love impelled, the gentle stars to flee./ To fathoming their course and thine his wit's applied./ Forgetting them, thou hunt'st for comfort by his side./ If thee Love's strength, o heav'nly damsel, thus can tame./ Then why should this cause any earthly woman shame?)

Bibliography: Stetten 1779–88, 1: 174–75; Nuremberg 1998, 116–17, no. 24; Füsslin & Hentze 1999, no. 40a; cf. Amsterdam & Paris 1975a, plate 48



CAT. 43

André Steiner (Mihald, Hungary, 1901–Paris, 1978)

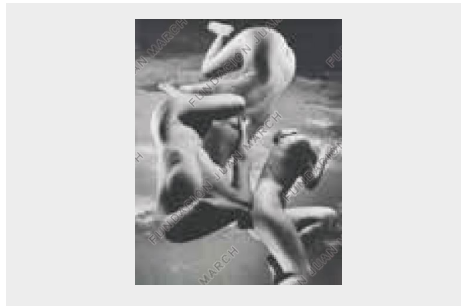
Anamorphose III [Anamorphosis III], 1933

Gelatin silver print on paper

7 5/8 x 6 3/4 in. (19.4 x 17.2 cm)

Dietmar Siegert collection

Bibliography: Poitiers 2000, 12, 59 (fig.)



CAT. 44

Pierre Boucher (Paris, 1908–Faremoutiers, 2000)

La Chute des corps [Falling bodies], 1936–37

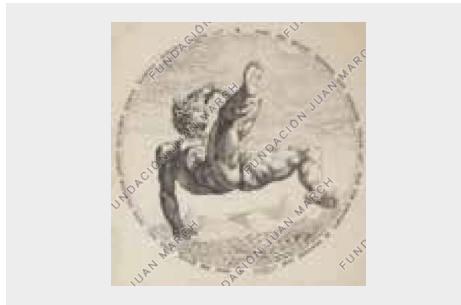
Photomontage. Gelatin silver print on paper

Later print

14 7/8 x 11 3/4 in. (37.8 x 29.7 cm)

Dietmar Siegert collection

Bibliography: Jaguer 1984, 114, fig. 2; Boucher 1988, no. 40; Bouqueret 2003, 148, no. 49



CAT. 45

Hendrik Goltzius (Millebrecht, 1558–Haarlem, 1617), after Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem (Haarlem, 1562–1638)

The Fall of Icarus, 1588

No. 2 from the series *The Four Disgracers*

Engraving

14 x 13 1/2 in. (35.5 x 34.3 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. K 10601, Kapsel 1514

Signed and numbered, bottom ctr.: 'C.C. Inve./ HG. [monogram] sculp. 2.' (C. C. devised [this], HG engraved [it]; 2.); text around circumference: 'SCIRE, DEI MVNVS, DIVINVM EST NOSCERE VELLE, SED FAS LIMITIBVS SE TENNISSE SVIS. DVM SIBI QVISQVE SAPIT, NEC IVSTI EXAMINA CERNIT, ICARVS ICARYS NOMINA DONAT AQVIS.' (It is a gift of God to know that it is divine to desire the acquisition of knowledge, but also that the divine law has held itself to its boundaries. While everyone knows this for himself, not everyone perceives the judgements of the just man: Icarus gives his name to the Icarian waters [i.e., the Icarian Sea].)

Bibliography: Bartsch 1803–21, 3:79, no. 259; Hirschmann 1914, 52–53; Hirschmann 1916, no. 307; Hollstein 1949–2010, vol. 8: no. 307; Strauss 1977, vol. 2, no. 258; TIB 1978–, vol. 3.1: no. 259(79); TIB 1978–, vol. 3.2: no. 259; Zürich 1982, no. 18; Korazija-Magnaguagno 1983, 66; Vienna 1987, no. IV.23; Amsterdam 1993, no. 3; New Hollstein 1993–, vol. 24: no. 326; London, Düsseldorf & New York 1998, no. 30; Hamburg 2002, no. 24.2



CAT. 46

Hendrik Goltzius (Millebrecht, 1558–Haarlem, 1617), after Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem (Haarlem, 1562–1638)

The Fall of Ixion, 1588

No. 4 from the series *The Four Disgracers*

Engraving

13 5/8 x 13 1/2 in. (34.5 x 34.2 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. K 10603, Kapsel 1514

Signed and numbered, bottom ctr.: 'C. Corneli Pictor. Inue./ HG. [monogram] sulp. [sic] 4' (C. Corneli, painter, devised [this], HG engraved [it]; 4); text around circumference: 'CVI SIBI COR PRIVIT PLAVDENS POPVLARIBVS AVRS, QVEM FAMA STOLIDVM GLORIA VANA IVVAT. EXEMPTO SIT EI IXION, CVI IVPPITER ATRAM PRO IVNONE SVA SVPOSVIT NEVLAM.' (To him who, self-satisfied and itching in his heart for popular favor, delights foolishly in the vainglory of fame, let Ixion be an example: he to whom Jupiter gave a counterfeit of Juno, his wife, in the form of a black cloud.)

Bibliography: Bartsch 1803–21, 3:79, no. 261; Hirschmann 1914, 52–53; Hirschmann 1916, no. 309; Hollstein 1949–2010, vol. 8: no. 309; Strauss 1977, vol. 2, no. 260; TIB 1978–, vol. 3.1: no. 261(79); TIB 1978–, vol. 3.2, no. 261(79); Zürich 1982, no. 20; Korazija-Magnaguagno 1983, p. 70; Vienna 1987, no. IV.25; Amsterdam 1993, no. 3; Cologne, Zürich & Vienna 1996, no. 12; New Hollstein 1996–, vol. 24, no. 328; London, Düsseldorf & New York 1998, no. 30; Hamburg 2002, no. 24.4



CAT. 47

Pablo Picasso (Málaga, 1881–Mougins, 1973)

Le Viol V [The Rape V], 1933

No. 49 from *Suite Vollard*, 1930–36

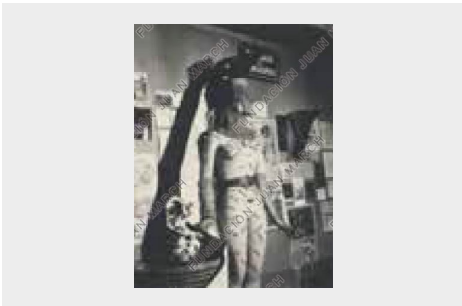
Drypoint

11 3/4 x 14 1/2 in. (29.7 x 36.7 cm)

Private collection

Dated, top l. (inverted): 'Boisgeloup 23 Avril/ xxxiii—'

Bibliography: Geiser 1968, vol. 2: no. 341; Bloch 1972, vol. 1: no. 182; Bolliger 1977, no. 29; Valencia 1994, no. 50; Palma de Mallorca 1996, no. 49; ICO 1998, no. 49; Nuoro 2003, 75 (fig.), 147



CAT. 48

Man Ray (Philadelphia, 1890–Paris, 1976)

Mannequin by Salvador Dalí (from the *Exposition Internationale du Surréalisme*, Paris, 1938)

Gelatin silver print on paper

7 3/4 x 5 1/2 in. (18.6 x 14 cm)

José María Lafuente collection, Santander

Bibliography: Kachur 2001, 56–57, no. 2.25; Hamburg 2005, 186 (fig.), no. 182; cf. Frankfurt 2011, fig. p. 63



CAT. 49

Denise Bellon (Paris, 1902–1999)

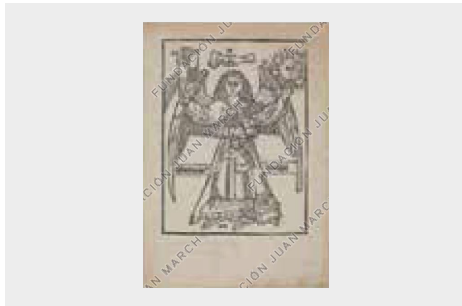
Mannequin by Wolfgang Paalen (from the *Exposition Internationale du Surréalisme*, Paris, 1938)

Gelatin silver print on paper

11 3/4 x 9 in. (30 x 23 cm)

Dietmar Siegert collection

Bibliography: Lausanne 1987, 26 (fig.); Kachur 2001, 55–57, no. 2.23; Hamburg 2005, no. 35; Frankfurt 2011, 61, cf. 67 (fig.)



CAT. 50

Hannah Höch (Gotha, 1889–Berlin, 1978)

Der Evangelist Matthäus [The evangelist Matthew], 1916

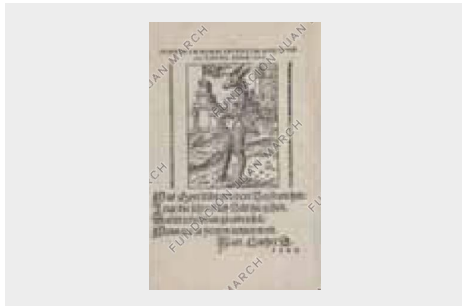
Woodcut

9 x 6 1/2 in. (22.8 x 16.5 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. H 8339, Kapsel 81a

Text in ctr. of image: 'quarta ymagio mathei' (fourth image of Matthew); numbers on mnemonic pictograms, referring to chapters in the Gospel: '23' (pulpit), '19' (handclasp), '14' (celestial bodies), '20' (vine), '21' (donkey), '22' (set table); annotation in pencil, lower l.: 'Ars memorandi I. Aufl. 8. Blatt/ Ex bibliotheca ducalis Gothana' (*Ars memorandi* 1st ed., folio 8); annotation in pencil bottom r.: 'Alter Abzug von Hand' (Old hand-made print)

Bibliography: Thater-Schulz 1989, vol. 1: no. 10.7



CAT. 51

After Lucas Cranach the Elder (?) (Kronach, 1472–Weimar, 1553)

The pope-ass in Rome, 1545

Woodcut and type

13 1/8 x 8 1/8 in. (33.3 x 20.5 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. HB 24747.1, Kapsel 1335

Titled, top: 'MONSTRVM ROMAE INVENTVM MORTIVVM/ IN TIBERI ANNO 1496.' (Monster found dead in Rome in the Tiber, in the year 1496); text beneath image: 'Was Gott selbs von dem Bapstum helt./ Zeigt dis schrecklich Bild hie gestellt./ Dafuer jederman grawen solt./ Wenn ers zu hertzen nemen wolt./ Mart. Luther D.' (Of the papacy what God himself does hold./ This frightful image shows, which you behold./ Because of this, with terror all should quake./ if they to heart its meaning duly take. Martin Luther, Doctor.); numbered bottom ctr.: 'T'; dated, bottom r.: '1545.'

Bibliography: Grisar & Heege 1921–23, 5:1–13 (cf. fig. 1), 6:17–19, fig. 2; Holländer 1921, 322, fig. 185; Sonderegger 1927, 98–99; Berlin 1967, no. 115; Roepke 1972, 47 (fig.); Warncke 1979, 1:76, fig. 690; Hamburg 1983a, no. 49A; Hofmann 1983, 10, fig. 2; Schuster 1983, 122, fig. 24; Anderson 1985, 44, fig. 6; Winkler 1986, 76–80, fig. 47



CAT. 52

Unknown (German)

Luther's adversaries as monsters, ca. 1521

Woodcut and type (lower texts)

10 7/8 x 15 7/8 in. (27.5 x 40.3 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. HB 15079, Kapsel 1335

Text, top: 'Doctor/ Murnar. Ar-/gentinensis' (Doctor Murner of Strasbourg); 'Doctor bock/ Emser Lipsiensis' (Doctor Billy-goat Emser of Leipzig); 'Leo papa .x./ Antichristus' (Pope Leo X, Antichrist); 'Doctor Eckius./ Ingelstatensis' (Doctor Eck of Ingolstadt); 'Doctor Lemp./ Tubingensis.' (Doctor Lemp of Tübingen); beneath the image, several satirical quatrains in German: two with a dialogue between Eck and the lion-pope (in two cols. in the framed portion) and five more below, in five cols., each applied to the churchman directly above it; bottom, ctr.: 'Psaltes .cxvij.' (Psalms 118), followed by Psalm 118 (119): 85–86, 89–90, 95, acc. to Vulgate: 'Narrauerunt mihi iniqui fabulationes: sed non vt lex tua. Omnia mandata tua veritas: iniqui persecuti sunt me adiuua me. In aeternum domine: verbum tuum permanet in coelo/ In generatione et generationem veritas tua: fundasti terram et permanent. Me expectauerunt peccatores vt perderent me: testimonia autem tua intellexi. &cetera. (The iniquitous have told me stories, but not according to your law. All your commandments are truth. The iniquitous persecute me; help me! For eternity, Lord, your Word abides in heaven. Your truth is in every generation; you established the earth, and it abides. The wicked were lying in wait to destroy me; I understood your decrees, etc.)

Bibliography: Grisar & Heege 1921–23, 6:21–22; Könniker 1975, 150; Scribner 1981, 74; Nuremberg 1983, no. 283; Döring 1984, 93, fig. 55; Anderson 1985, 47–48, fig. 10; Walz 1988, 53–54; Lammel 1995, 82, fig. 84



CAT. 53

Tobias Stimmer (Schaffhausen, 1539–Strasbourg, 1584)

Gorgoneum Caput [Gorgon's head], 1571

Woodcut and type

14 7/8 x 9 5/8 in. (37.8 x 24.3 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. HB 13106, Kapsel 1336

Title and text, top: 'GORGONEVM CAPVT./ Ein new seltzam Meerwunder auß den Newen erfundenen Inseln, von ettlichen/ Jesuitem an jre güte günner geschickt./ Gleich wie der Heilig ist, Also steht er gerüst.' (Gorgon's head. A new, strange wonder from the sea, from the recently discovered islands, sent by several Jesuits to their good patrons. Just as he is holy, so also he is armed); text on miter-bell: 'isst es/ San[ct] Pette[r]// ANO DOM[ini] M D II' (It is Saint Peter, year of the Lord 1502); text of Johann Baptist Fischart's satirical poem follows, arranged in three columns beneath the image

Bibliography: Legrand & Sluys 1955, 74, fig. 29; Berlin 1967, no. 105; Strauss 1975, 3:992; Warncke 1979, 1:77, fig. 696; Harms 1980, 2:74, no. II; Coburg 1983, no. 16; Hamburg 1983a, no. 37; Schuster 1983, 121–22, fig. 23; Basel 1984, no. 152, fig. 169; Winkler 1986, 109–11, fig. 77; Venice 1987, 110 (fig.); DaCosta Kaufmann 2008, 98–99, fig. 3; cf. Andresen 1872–74, vol. 3: no. 101; on Fischart's poem, see Wendeler 1884, 521–27



CAT. 54

Attributed to Heinrich Göding the Elder (Brunswick, 1531–Dresden, 1606)

Aqua [Water], ca. 1580

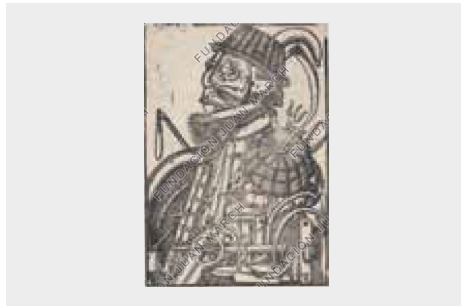
Black and white gouache on turquoise-primed paper

9 1/2 x 6 3/8 in. (24.1 x 16.3 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. Hz 3539, Kapsel 565a

Titled, top: 'AQVA.'

Bibliography: Juynboll 1934, p. 67; Legrand & Sluys 1955, 62–63, fig. 15; Venice 1987, 176 (fig.); Nuremberg 1992, no. 49; cf. Andresen 1872–74, vol. 1: no. 8–11



CAT. 55

MW Monogrammist (probably Martin Weigel) (active in Augsburg and Nuremberg, ca. 1552–1573)

Personification of Agriculture, ca. 1569

Woodcut

14 1/4 x 9 7/8 in. (36.2 x 25.1 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. HB 2026, Kapsel 1209

Monogram, bottom r.: 'MW'

Bibliography: Nagler 1858–79, vol. 4: no. 2256; Bartels 1900, vol. 6, fig. 11; Röttinger 1927, no. 6138; Nuremberg 1952, no. A78; Strauss 1975, vol. 3: no. 36; Warncke 1979, 1:78, fig. 715; Basel 1984, no. 152b, fig. 170; Venice 1987, 115 (fig.); cf. New York 2011, no. 45



CAT. 56

(Madrid exhibition)

G. Höfer

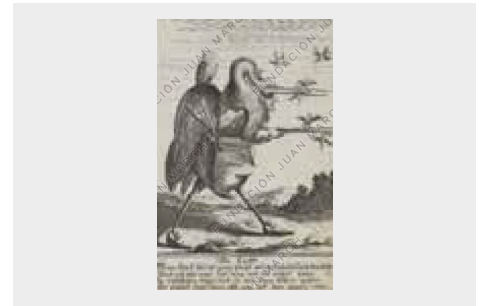
Landschaft und Kopf [Landscape and head], 1801–50

Lithograph

8 3/4 x 9 1/4 in. (22.3 x 23.5 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. HB 23519, Kapsel 1298

Signed, bottom r.: 'g: Höfer j:' (G. Höfer devised [this]); titled, bottom ctr.: 'Landschaft u: Kopf.'



CAT. 57

(Madrid exhibition)

Unknown (German)

Die Luft [The air], 1701–15

Engraving

9 3/8 x 6 5/8 in. (23.8 x 16.9 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. HB 23821.2, Kapsel 1296

Text, bottom: 'Die Lüfft./ Mein kleid das ist ganz leicht ob ich schon schwach thû stehen./ Und ich auß einer Seit trag mit ein vogel haûs./ Die schlimmsten Vögel sind, so auß zwey füßen gehen./ Der schalck sieht ihnen offt gar dick züm äugen raûs.' (The air./ My dress is quite light for my legs are so weak./ And a house for a bird at my side I reveal./ The naughtiest birds always go on two feet./ Their malevolent mischief their eyes can't conceal.)



CAT. 58

Alois Senefelder (Prague, 1771–Munich, 1834) after Bernard Gaillot (Versailles, 1780–Paris, 1847)

Le Peintre Artiste [The painter-artist], 1821

No. 7 from series *Les métiers* [The trades]

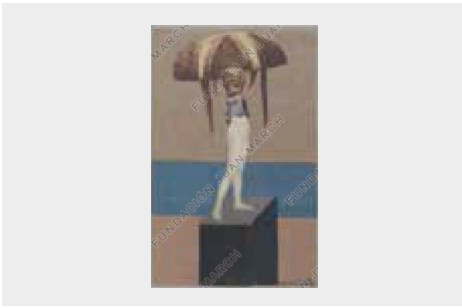
Lithograph

13 5/8 x 10 3/8 in. (34.5 x 26.3 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. L 5057, Kapsel 489

Titled and numbered, lower ctr.: 'Le Peintre Artiste/ (Lea [i.e., "Les", s inverted] Métiers)/ (N.° 7.); signed, lower l.: 'Gaillot inv. et del.' (Gaillot devised and drew [this]); lower r.: 'Lith. de Senefelder.' (Lithograph by Senefelder.)

Bibliography: Legrand & Sluys 1955, 95, fig. 45; Henker et al. 1988, no. 252; cf. Hamburg 1991, no. 51



CAT. 59

Hannah Höch (Gotha, 1889–Berlin, 1978)

Denkmal II: Eitelkeit [Monument II: Vanity], 1930

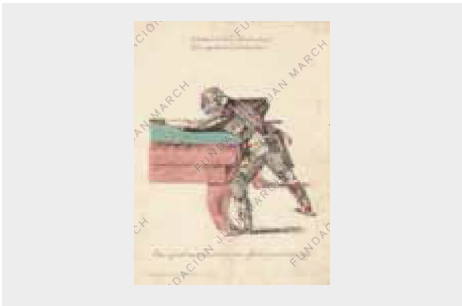
Collage

10 1/8 x 6 5/8 in. (25.8 x 16.7 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. Hz 6899, Kapsel 2091

Initialed and titled in ink, bottom r.: 'H. H./ DENKMAL II. 26/ EITELKEIT'; annotation in pencil, bottom margin, ctr.: 'Aus der Sammlung: Aus einem Ethnographischem Museum' (From the collection, *From an Ethnographic Museum*)

Bibliography: Berlin 1971, no. 29; Lavin 1991, 121–22; Lavin 1993, 170–73, fig. 15, fig. 138; *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* 1996, 235, fig. 39; Makela 1996, 72, fig. 48; Minneapolis, New York & Los Angeles 1996, 72, 102; Madrid 2004, 60, 65, 168–169, 333, 337; Düsseldorf 2011, 109 (fig.)



CAT. 60

Andreas Geiger (Vienna, 1765–1856) after **Tivadar Alconière** (Nagymarton, Hungary, 1798–Vienna, 1865)

Der Billardspieler [The billiards player], 1840

From the New Year's edition of the *Theaterzeitung*, Vienna, 1840

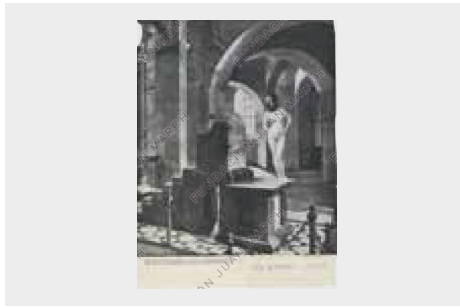
Colored etching

9 5/8 x 7 1/8 in. (24.3 x 18.1 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. HB 25924, Kapsel 1258

Text, top: 'Neujahrs Geschenk der Theaterzeitung./ Das spielende Jahrhundert.' (New Year's gift from the *Theaterzeitung*,/ The playful century.); text below: 'Ein Spieler aus allen bekannten Spielen zusammengesetzt.' (A player composed of every known game.); signed, bottom l.: 'Erfinden und gezeichnet von Th. Alconieri.' (Devised and drawn by Th. Alconieri.); signed, bottom r.: 'Andr. Geiger sc.' (Andreas Geiger engraved [this])

Bibliography: Paris 1974, no. 61; Nuremberg 1985b, no. 23; Bauer 1995, vol. 5: fig. 219



CAT. 61

Ladislav Novák (Turnov, 1925–Třebíč, 1999)

Chlad o živuje paláce [Cold revives the palaces], 1948

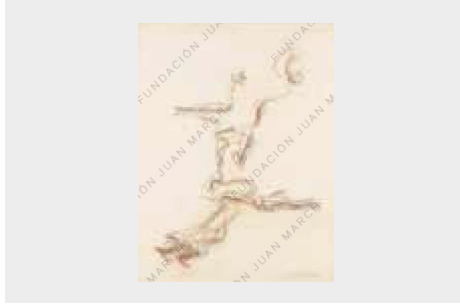
Photcollage. Gelatin silver print on paper

11 3/4 x 9 7/8 in. (29.7 x 25 cm)

Dietmar Siegert collection

Printed caption beneath photo: 'Thron Karls des Großen in Münster zu Aachen, der Pfalzkapelle des Kaisers,/ Hier fand bis ins 16. Jahrhundert die Krönung der deutschen Könige statt.' (Charlemagne's throne in the Palatine Chapel of the Emperor in Aachen Cathedral. Here the coronation of the German kings took place into the sixteenth century.); photo credit, bottom r.: 'Aufnahme: Staatliche Bildstelle Berlin' (Photo: State Picture Library, Berlin); titled and dated in blue ink, bottom r.: 'Chlad oživuje paláce (14. VI. 48)'

Bibliography: Zürich 2001, 269 (fig.)



CAT. 62

(Nuremberg exhibition)

André Masson (Balagny-sur-Thérain, 1896–Paris, 1987)

Poisson, homme, étoile [Fish, man, star], ca. 1926

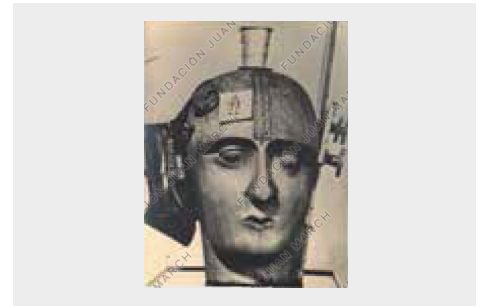
Pen and colored chalk on paper

24 3/4 x 19 in. (63 x 48.2 cm)

Staatsgalerie Stuttgart. Inv. C 1966/ 1428

Signed in pencil, bottom r.: 'André Masson.'

Bibliography: Péret 1926, fig. p. 27; Paris 1960, no. 12; Koblenz 1998, fig. p. 76



CAT. 63

Raoul Hausmann (Vienna, 1886–Limoges, 1971)

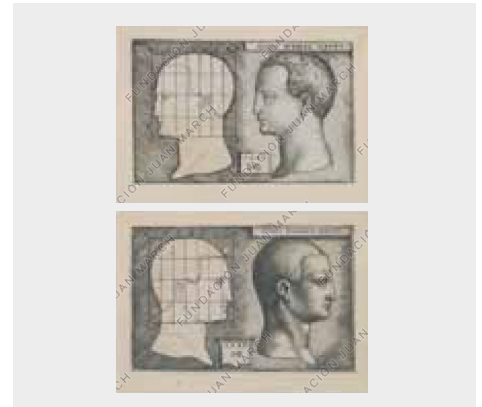
Mechanischer Kopf (*Der Geist unserer Zeit*) [Mechanical head (The spirit of our age)], ca. 1919–20

Gelatin silver print on paper

8 3/4 x 6 3/4 in. (22.2 x 17.2 cm)

Dietmar Siegert collection

Bibliography: Rochecouart 1986, 66 (fig.), cf. 5 (fig.). On the object, see: Berlin 1994, 49, 62, no. 107; Koch 1994, 39 (fig.); Haus 1995, 50–67; Züchner 1995, 68–77



CAT. 64

Hans Sebald Beham (Nuremberg, 1500–Frankfurt, 1550)

(a) *Eines Mannes Haupt* [Head of a man], (b) *Eines Weibes Haupt* [Head of a woman], 1542

Engravings

2 1/8 x 3 1/4 in. (5.3 x 8.1 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Property of the City of Nuremberg. Inv. StN 682–683, Kapsel 409a

Titled, top r.: (a) 'EINES MANNES HAVPT.'; (b) 'EINES WEIBES HAVPT.'; each outlined head on l. side within a square divided into numbered columns, its vertices lettered: 'A 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 B/ 1/ 2/ 3/ 4/ C D'; dated with monogram on tablets, bottom ctr.: '1542/ HSB' (ligiert)

Bibliography: Pauli 1901, nos. 220–21; Singer 1908, 52, figs. 40, 41; Hollstein 1954–, 3:130–31; Hamburg 1983b, nos. 27–28; Hamburg 1991, no. 26; Cambridge & Evanston 2011, no. 55



CAT. 65

Erhard Schön (Nuremberg, 1491–1542)

(a) *Die Zehendt Figur* [Figure 10], (b.) *Die Eylffft Figur* [Figure 11], and (b.) *Die Zwelfft Figur* [Figure 12], 1543

From *Underweissung der Proportion vnnnd Stellung der bossen, ligent und stehent* [Instruction in proportion and the placement of poses, recumbent and standing] (Nuremberg: [Christoph Zell], 1543), fols. Cii r, Cii v, and Ciii r

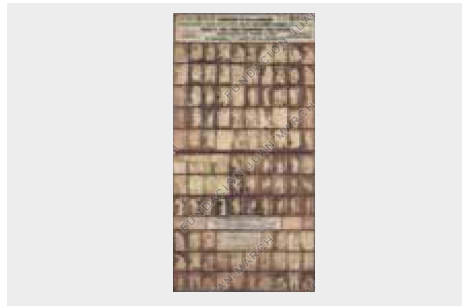
Woodcuts and type in bound volume

7 1/4 x 5 5/8 in. (18.5 x 14.2 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. 8° Postinc. K 2385s

(a) Text above image: 'Die zehendt Figur./ Die zehent Figur, zaygt an von fuef Bossen in einem geheues, von/ dreyen ligenden, vnd zweyen knieenden, mit jeren dreyen beweglichen/ gliedern, wie sie in der fierung begriffen sindt, so wayst du dich darnach/ zû richten.' (Figure 10. The tenth illustration shows five poses in an enclosure, three recumbent and two kneeling, with their three moving limbs, as they are [displayed] in the quadrature, and from this you can thus know how to prepare them for yourself); monogram, bottom l.: 'ES' (ligiert); pagination, bottom r.: 'C ij'; (b.) 'Die Eylffft Figur./ Die eylffft Figur, Zeygt an von sechs Bossen, auff ein pflaster hin-/ dersich, foder, werdling, vnd ligend nach der fierung, vnd wie sich das/ pflaster abstilt, so stelen sich die Bossen auch ab, wie du sichst, so wil ich weytter dauon schreyben.' (Figure 11. The eleventh illustration shows six poses on a pavement, from behind, from the front, in a pair[?], and recumbent, according to the quadrature; and as the pavement recedes into the background, so also do the poses, as you can see, about this I shall write further.); monogram, bottom l.: 'ES' (ligiert); (b.) 'Die Zwelfft Figur./ Sie wirt angezeygt, von funff Bossen, von einem Langen der sich/ beugt. vnd deut auff einen Ligenden, vnd wie sich der selv ligent, vnd/ die anderen drey Bossen auch ab stelen, vnd in der fierung stehen, wie/ dus sichst.' (Figure 12. It is shown in five poses, a tall one that leans forward and points at one recumbent, and how the one lying down and the other three poses are how are laid out and positioned in the quadrature, you can see.); pagination, bottom r.: 'C iij'

Bibliography: Bartsch 1803–21, 7: 480, no. 34; Nagler 1835–52, 15: 456–59; Röttinger 1925, nos. 11.C2, 12.C2, 13.C3; Hollstein 1954–, vol 1: nos. 39.11, 43.12, 43.13; Bremen 1974, no. 27; TIB 1978–, vol. 13.1: no. 34n (480), no. 340 (480); TIB 1978–, vol. 13.2: no. 076; Smith 1983, no. 71; Vienna 1987, no. vii.45, vii.46; Murnau 2000, 39–40



CAT. 66

Unknown (French)

Advertisement with photographs of artist's mannequins by Leblond, ca. 1868

Albumen prints and printed matter mounted on hinged, wooden frame

78 3/8 x 39 in. (199 x 99 cm)

Dietmar Siegert collection

Text at top: 'MANNEQUINS MI-CAOUTCHOU LEBLOND/ APPROUVÉS A L'UNANIMITÉ PAR L'ACADÉMIE DES BEAUX-ARTS EN 1849. 2 MÉDAILLES D'OR, 2 D'ARGENT ET 2 DE BRONZE DE 1849 A 1867, ECT. [sic] MAN'S LIFE SIZE' MANNIKIN FOR ARTIST/ LEBLOND SCULPTEUR RUE TURENNE 27 A PARIS/ LES MANNEQUINS ONT ÉTÉ CORRIGÉS DEPUIS LES PHOTOGRAPHIES' (Leblond's mannequins, unanimously approved by the Academy of Fine Arts in 1849. 2 gold medals, 2 silver, and 2 bronze between 1849 and 1867, etc. Man's life size mannikin for artist. Leblond, sculptor, Rue Turenne 27, Paris. The mannequins have been corrected since the photographs.); in text boxes, l. and r. of main text, top: 'IL N'Y A PAS/ DE DÉPÔT' (no deposit); 'PHOTOGRAPHIES DES/ GRANDEUR NATURE' (Photographs taken from life-size); similar text, with further printed information about the product on bottom portion, ctr.



CAT. 67

Man Ray (Philadelphia, 1890–Paris, 1976)

Mr. and Mrs. Woodman, 1927–45

Gelatin silver print on paper

7 x 5 in. (17.7 x 12.7 cm)

Musée national d'art moderne/Centre de création industrielle, Centre Pompidou, Paris. Inv. 1994-394 (133)

Bibliography: Krystof 1999, 291; Kuni 1999, 191; on the series, see Schwarz 1980, 127, 162, 198–200



CAT. 68

Man Ray (Philadelphia, 1890–Paris, 1976)

Mr. and Mrs. Woodman, 1927–45

Gelatin silver print on paper

4 7/8 x 7 1/8 in. (12.5 x 18.2 cm)

Musée national d'art moderne/Centre de création industrielle, Centre Pompidou, Paris. Inv. AM 1994-394 (138)

Bibliography: Martin 1982, fig. 203; Lionel-Marie & Sayag 1996, 314, ills.; Krystof 1999, 291; Kuni 1999, 191; on the series, see Schwarz 1980, 127, 162, 198–200



CAT. 69

(Nuremberg exhibition)

Paul Klee (Münchenbuchsee, 1879–Muralto, 1940)

Artisten [Artists], 1915

Pen and black ink on paper, mounted on cardboard

6 x 7 5/8 in. (15.3 x 19.3 cm)

Sprengel Museum, Hannover. Inv. Sammlung Sprengel I/ 107

Signed on one of the figures, near ctr. l. margin: 'Klee'; dated, numbered, and titled in ink on cardboard mount, lower r.: '1915 59 Artisten'

Bibliography: Klee 1917, 123; Klee 1918, 24 (fig.); Rau 1980, no. 14; Nuremberg, 1987, 10, no. 14; Haftmann 1967, no. 21; Pierce 1976, 123; Kersten 1987, 39; Werckmeister 1989, 129, 281; Paul Klee Stiftung 1998–2004, vol. 2: no. 1329



CAT. 70

André Masson (Balagny-sur-Thérain, 1896–Paris, 1987)

Study for *L'Assassinat du double* [The murder of the double], 1941

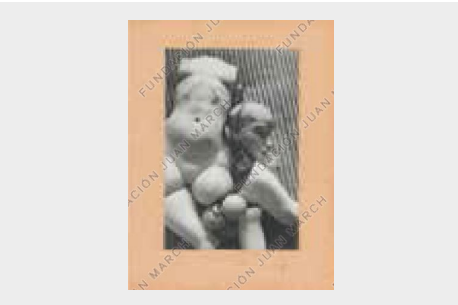
India ink on paper

9 3/8 x 25 1/8 in. (49.3 x 63.9 cm)

Musée national d'art moderne/Centre de création industrielle, Centre Pompidou, Paris. Inv. AM 1981-606

Signed and dated, bottom l.: 'André Masson. 41'

Bibliography: Leiris 1972, no. 61; Vienna 1987, no. XVI.28; Darmstadt 2003, 114, fig. 9; Lichtenstern 2003, 2:144; Poling 2008, 135 (& fig.)



CAT. 71

(Madrid exhibition)

Hans Bellmer (Kattowitz, Silesia, now Katowice, Poland, 1902–Paris, 1975)

La Poupée [The doll], 1934

From Hans Bellmer, *La Poupée* (Paris, 1936)

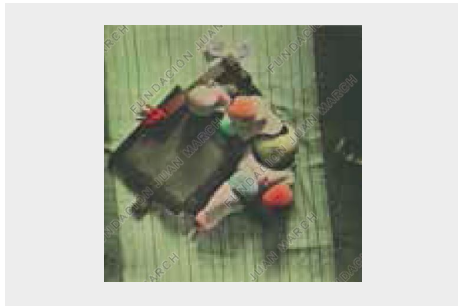
Gelatin silver print mounted on cardboard

4 5/8 x 3 1/8 in. (11.7 x 7.9 cm)

Staatsgalerie Stuttgart. Inv. F 1989/ 7

Initialed on mount, bottom r.: 'B'

Bibliography: Sayag 1983, 26 (fig.), 142–43; Stuttgart 1987, 146; Stuttgart 1989, no. 71; Brückle et al. 2003, no. 29; Altner 2005, 81–85, fig. 9; Stuttgart 2010, 213; on the series, see Altner 2005, 43–81



CAT. 72

Hans Bellmer (Kattowitz, Silesia, now Katowice, Poland, 1902–Paris, 1975)

Les Jeux de la poupée [The doll's games], 1935–37

From Hans Bellmer, *Les Jeux de la poupée*. With texts by Paul Eluard (Paris, 1949)

Hand-colored gelatin silver print

5 3/8 x 5 3/8 in. (13.6 x 13.6 cm)

Dietmar Siegert collection

Bibliography: Lionel-Marie & Sayag 1996, 42–44, 43 (fig.); Altner 2005, 89–160, esp. 98, 102, fig. 14; Paris, Munich & London 2006, no. 70; on the series, see Hubert 1988, 138–48, 153–62



CAT. 73

Johann Philipp Steudner (Augsburg, 1652–1732)

Christ's wounds, ca. 1680

Colored woodcut and type

16 7/8 x 12 1/4 in. (43 x 31 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. HB 24492, Kapsel 1199

Text, top: 'Eigentliche Abbildung der Wunden, so Christo dem HErrn in/ seiner Heil. Seyten gestochen worden, sambt schoenen Gebettlein.' (True image of the wound that was pierced in Christ the Lord's Holy Side, together with beautiful prayers); text above second image: 'Abbildung der Naeglen, so Christo durch seine Heilige Haend vnd Fueß geschlagen worden.' (Image of the nails that were driven into his Holy Hands and Feet.); followed by the texts for two prayers, above and below the second image of the wound; publication line, bottom: 'Augsburg, bey Johann Philipp Steudner, Brieffmahler, Hauß und Laden bey der Megtz. [sic., i.e., (Stadt)Metzg]' (Augsburg, at Johann Philipp Steudner's, illuminator, printing house and shop near [?] the municipal butchers)

Bibliography: Coupe 1966, 1:30–33, fig. 11; Alexander & Strauss 1977, vol. 2: no. 23, fig. 23; London 2000, no. 65; Basel 2010, 46–47, 153



CAT. 74

Unknown (German)

Allmodische Discant Geyge [Modern treble violin], 1621

Etching and type

14 1/2 x 11 1/4 in. (36.9 x 28.6 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. HB 408, Kapsel 1313

Text, top: 'Allmodische Discant Geyge./ Vnlangst mit grosser muh vnd vnkostenen Nagelneu auß/ Vtopia gebracht, jetzo aber aller dieses Spiels liebhabern in bequeme/ abbildung verfertigt vnd in Druck gegeben.' (Modern treble violin, recently brought, with great effort and expense, brand-new from Utopia, now rendered however in a handy depiction and taken to press for all aficionados of this music to see); image followed by rhyming couplets describing the violin's hyperbolic size, arranged in four columns

Bibliography: Naumann 1852, 49, no. 1; Anzeiger 1857, 196, no. 1760; Pfeffer 1993, 45–49 (fig. 11), 147–49



CAT. 75

Unknown (French)

Quodlibet, ca. 1800

Watercolor, pencil, pen, and black ink

13 3/8 x 16 1/8 in. (33.9 x 40.9 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. Hz 10137, Kapsel 1449

On torn playing card: 'CHASO/ A STRASBOUG [sic]'; on pencil, '(A CLETTERRI [?])'



CAT. 76

Man Ray (Philadelphia, 1890–Paris, 1976)

L'Énigme d'Isidore Ducasse [The enigma of Isidore Ducasse], 1920

Gelatin silver print on paper

7 1/2 x 10 in. (19 x 25.5 cm)

Late copy

Dietmar Siegert collection

Label with Man Ray's address, verso: 'Man Ray/ 4 (2 bis) rue Féron/ 75 Paris 6'

Bibliography: Munich & Tübingen 1973, no. 81; Schwarz 1980, 130, 186, 198, 290, 296, 283, fig. 283; Martin 1982, fig. 149; Washington 1985, 133, 156, fig. 135; Hubert 1988, 191–92, fig. 63; Frankfurt 2011, 251, 182 (fig.); Burtschel 2006, 40–41, fig. 2



CAT. 77

Wenzel Hollar (Prague, 1607–London, 1677)

Still life with muffs and festive adornments, 1647

Etching

4 3/4 x 8 1/2 in. (12.1 x 21.5 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. K 14860, Kapsel 152

Signed and dated, bottom ctr.: 'WHoller fecit Aqua forti. 1647.' (W. Hollar made [this] by etching, 1647); bottom r.: 'Antuerpiae,' (In Antwerp)

Bibliography: Parthey 1853, no. 1951 (7); Coburg 1975, no. 231; Pennington 1982, no. 1951; Mielke 1984, no. 109; Dresch 1990, no. 68; New Hollstein 1993–, vol. 8.3, no. 799; Wiebel & Wiedau 2002, p. 94; Wuppertal 2006, no. 368 (incl. further bibliog.)



CAT. 78

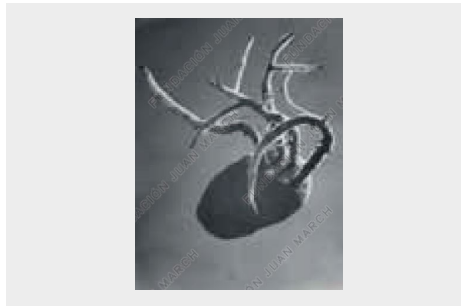
Unknown (French)

Anatomie de l'oeil [Anatomy of the eye], ca. 1920

Gelatin silver print on paper

4 3/4 x 6 7/8 in. (12 x 17.4 cm)

Dietmar Siegert collection



CAT. 79

Brassai (Gyula Halász) (Brassó, Hungary, now Braşov, Romania, 1899–Beaulieu-sur-Mer, 1984)

Magique-circonstancielle, ou Pomme de terre germée [Circumstantial magic, or sprouted potato], 1931

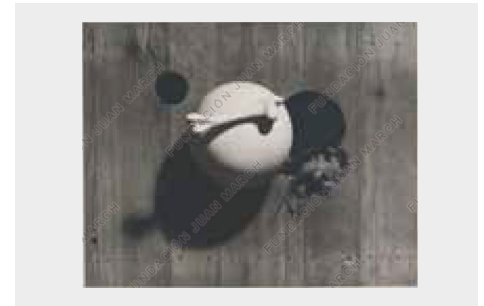
From the series *Magique-circonstancielle*

Gelatin silver print on paper

11 1/4 x 9 in. (28.7 x 23 cm)

Dietmar Siegert collection

Bibliography: Washington 1985, 183, fig. 162; Poivert 2009, 313, 321 (fig.); on the series, see Paris 2000a, no. 127



CAT. 80

Herbert Bayer (Haag am Hausruck, 1900–Montecito, California, 1985)

Nature Morte [Still life], 1936

Fotoplastik ("photo-sculpture"). Gelatin silver print on paper

11 x 13 7/8 in. (28 x 35.3 cm)

Dietmar Siegert collection

Numbered in pencil, bottom l.: '24/40'; signed in pencil, bottom r.: 'bayer 36'

1969 edition, Galerie Klihm, Munich; print 24/40

Bibliography: Duisburg, Fribourg & Vienna 1997, no. 292; Cohen 1984, 281, 272 (fig.); Ritter 2006, 113–14, 156 (fig.)



CAT. 81

Giovanni Battista Piranesi (Mogliano Veneto, 1720–Rome, 1778)

Various ancient bronze and terracotta lamps, 1778

Plate 8 from *Vasi, candelabri, cippi, sarcofagi, tripodi, lucerne ed ornamenti antichi disegni ed inc. dal Cav. Gio. Batta. Piranesi* [Vases, candelabra, grave stones, sarcophagi, tripods, lamps, and ornaments from Antiquity, designed and etched by *Cavaliere Giovanni Battista Piranesi*], 1778

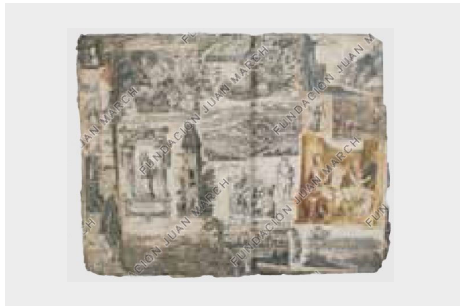
Etching

21 1/8 x 29 1/2 in. (53.8 x 74.9 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg

Descriptive labels for the four objects, each with its corresponding letter, top: 'A Lucerna Antica/ di Bronzo ritrova- ta negli Escavi./ fatti l'anno 1773./ nel Cortile del Pa- lazzo, appartenen- te all'Eccelettissimo Sig./ Francesco Gaetani/ Duca di Sermoneta./ situato a Santa/ Maria Maggiore./ Ella è dedicata a/ Giove, come ce lo/ dimostra la Testa/ scolpita al di so- pra.' (A. Ancient bronze lamp found in the excavations made in 1773 in the courtyard of the palace belonging to His Excellency, Sir Francesco Gaetani, Duke of Sermoneta, situated in Santa Maria Maggiore. It is dedicated to Jupiter, as the head sculpted on its top indicates.); 'B Lucerna Antica di Bronzo/ rappresentante una Testa do Mo- ro, e fù ritrovata negli stessi Escavi.' (B. Ancient bronze lamp representing the head of a Moor, found in the same excavations.); 'C Lucerna An- tica di Terra/ Cotta, esisten- te nel Museo/ del Collegio/ Romano.' (C. Ancient terracotta lamp housed in the museum of the Collegio Romano.); 'D Altro Veduta/ della Lucerna/ già descritta nel- la Tavola ante- cedente, dimostrata/ in altra figura, la quale/ era dedicata a Diana.' (D. Another view of the lamp already described in the previous plate, presented from another perspective, which was dedicated to Diana.); numbered, top r.: '8'; signed, bottom r.: 'Cav. Piranesi F.' (*Cavaliere Piranesi made [this]*)

Bibliography: Hind [1922] 1967, 87; Stuttgart 1999, no. 13.13



CAT. 82

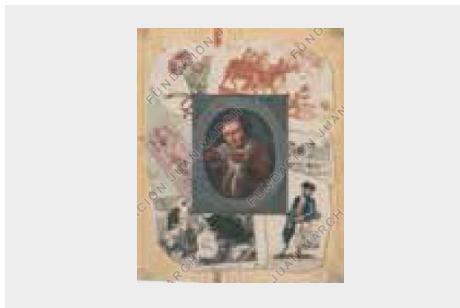
Unknown (German)

Album of samples for quodlibets, ca. 1800

Drawings, woodcuts, engravings, and etchings

13 3/4 x 16 1/2 in. (34 x 42 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. K 26550, Kapsel 1449



CAT. 83

Christian Gottlob Winterschmidt (Nuremberg, 1755–1815)

Quodlibet, ca. 1800

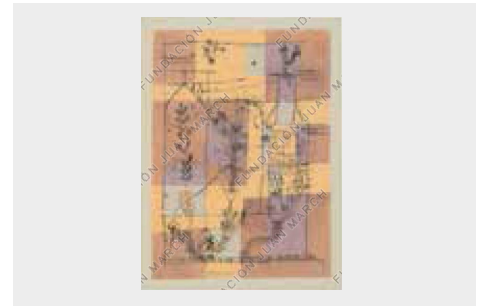
Colored etching with gouache overpainting

10 1/8 x 8 1/4 in. (25.6 x 20.9 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. HZ 10138, Kapsel 1449

Upper r.: 'de Paris' (from Paris); on pumpkin, lower l.: 'pour Raillerie' (as mockery); signed, bottom l.: 'C. G. Winterschmidt D' (C. G. Winterschmidt devised [this])

Bibliography: Frankfurt 1968, figs. 6, 9; Schreyl 1979, 57, 58–59 (fig.)



CAT. 84

Paul Klee (Münchenbuchsee, 1879–Muralto, 1940)

Hoffmannesque Märchenszene [Hoffmannesque fairy-tale scene], 1921

Plate 6 from the first portfolio of *Meister des Staatlichen Bauhauses in Weimar* [Masters from the State Bauhaus in Weimar], 1922

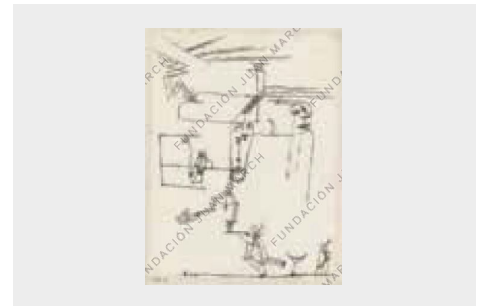
Lithograph

13 7/8 x 10 3/8 in. (35.2 x 26.3 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. L 6632, Kapsel 2082

Dated and numbered in pencil, bottom ctr.: 'Klee 1921/ 123'

Bibliography: Stuttgart 1979, no. 53; Rau 1980, no. 35; Salzburg 1984, no. 246 I/6; Malmö 1991, no. 93; Weimar, Berlin & Bern 1994, 406, no. 254; Paul Klee Stiftung 1998–2004, vol. 3: no. 2714 (incl. further bibliog.); Vienna 2003, no. 185; Richter 2004, 78–94; Hamm & Würzburg 2005, no. 88; Kornfeld 2005, no. 85; Gockel 2010, 208–30



CAT. 85

(Madrid exhibition)

Paul Klee (Münchenbuchsee, 1879–Muralto, 1940)

Der schwüle Garten [The sultry garden], 1919

Pen and ink on paper mounted on cardboard

11 3/8 x 8 5/8 in. (29 x 21.9 cm)

Zentrum Paul Klee, Bern. Inv. Z 412

Signed, lower l.: 'Klee'; dated on cardboard mount, bottom l.: '1919 29'

Bibliography: Glaesemer 1973, no. 645; Stuttgart 1979, 61; Madrid & Barcelona 1981, no. 129; Dresden 1984, no. 106; Vishny 1986, 90; Perkins 1992, 11, fig. 4; Wedekind 1993, 92, fig. 6; Paul Klee Stiftung 1998–2004, vol. 3: no. 2092 (incl. further bibliog.)



CAT. 86

Joan Miró (Barcelona, 1893–Palma de Mallorca, 1983)

Le Perroquet [The parrot], 1937

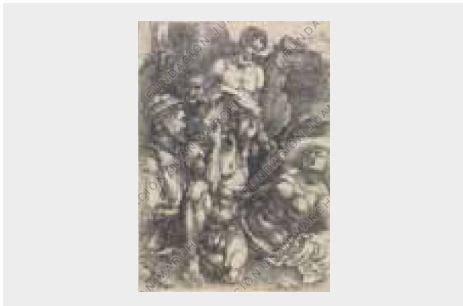
Gouache on paper mounted on canvas

28 3/4 x 35 3/8 in. (73 x 90 cm)

Museu Fundació Juan March, Palma de Mallorca. Inv. 0060P

Signed, ctr. l. in image: 'Miró'

Bibliography: Zaragoza 1982, n.p.; Albi 1996, 20–21; FJM 2009, 41



CAT. 87

Albrecht Dürer (Nuremberg, 1471–1528)

The Desperate Man, 1515–16

Etching

7 3/8 x 5 3/8 in. (18.7 x 13.6 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Property of the City of Nuremberg. Inv. 13169, Kapsel 120

Bibliography: Bartsch 1803–21 7:84, no. 70; Meder 1932, 95; Panofsky 1943, 2:177; Hollstein 1954–, vol. 7: no. 95; Schoch et al. 2001–4, vol. 1: no. 79 (incl. further bibliog.); Nuremberg 1971a, no. 471; Wölfflin [1905] 1948, 260; Timken-Zinkann 1972, 78; Anzelewsky 1980, 184; Müller 1989, 122, fig. 15



CAT. 88

Jacques Callot (Nancy, 1592–Paris, 1635)

I due Pantaloni [The two Pantalones], ca. 1616

Etching

7 1/8 x 8 1/2 in. (18.1 x 21.5 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. K16299, Kapsel 361

Signed, bottom l.: 'I Callot [intertwined] F.' (J. Callot made [this])

Bibliography: Lieure 1924–29, 1:173; Meaume 1924, no. 626; Washington 1975, 88, no. 53; Vienna 1987, no. ix.14; Dresden 1992, no. 90; Nancy 1992, no. 125; Rome, Pisa & Naples 1992, no. 5; Cologne, Zürich & Vienna 1996, no. G86; Wuppertal 2006, no. 48



CAT. 89

Giovanni Battista Tiepolo (Venice, 1696–Madrid, 1770)

Death Giving Audience, 1739–43

No. 11 from *Vari Capricci*

Engraving

8 1/2 x 3 3/4 in. (21.7 x 9.5)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. K 24068, Kapsel 399

Years of Tiepolo's life noted, top ctr.: '1697. [sic]–1770.'; signed, to the left of the dog's front legs: 'Tiepolo'; annotation, bottom l.: 'Giovanni D. [sic] Tiepolo f.' (Giovanni D. Tiepolo made [this])

Bibliography: Nagler 1835–52 18:475, no. 13; Vesme 1906, no. 10; Hind 1921, no. 10; London & Washington 1994, no. 111; Büttner 1996, 157, 159, 164, 158 (fig.); Cologne, Zürich & Vienna 1996, no. G13 (incl. further bibliog.)



CAT. 90

Imitator of Dürer

Studies, ca. 1600 (?)

Pen and ink on paper

8 1/2 x 3 3/4 in. (21.7 x 9.5)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Property of the City of Nuremberg. Inv. no. StN 12574, Kapsel 561a

False 'AD' monogram in pen, bottom l., with false date on rock, bottom r.: '1518'

Bibliography: Zink 1968, no. 75 (with older bibliog.); cf. Lippmann 1888, vol. 2: no. 192



CAT. 91

Master E. S. (ca. 1425/30–ca. 1467/68)

The letter x, in beggar-musicians, ca. 1435–67

Engraving

6 x 4 1/8 in. (15.1 x 10.4 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. K 23361, Kapsel 87

Bibliography: Lehrs 1908–34, vol. 2: no. 303; Philadelphia 1967, no. 75; Massin 1970, 58, no. 160; TIB 1978–, vol. 8: no. 103 (41); Munich & Berlin 1986, no. 130; Appuhn 1989, no. 318; Höfler 2007, vol. 2: no. 303; on the series, see Appuhn 1989, 366–71, and Höfler 2007, 1:114–15



CAT. 92

Wendel Dietterlin the Younger (active Strasbourg, ca. 1614–1669)

Procession of monstrous figures (no. 3 from a series of eight), 1615

Etching

3 7/8 x 12 1/4 in. (9.8 x 31.1 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. K 23079b, Kapsel 438

Bibliography: Kat. der Orn. Berlin 1939, no. 37 (2); Hollstein 1954–, vol. 6: no. 3; Warncke 1979, vol. 1: fig. 655; Heidelberg 2004, no. 202; New York 2011, no. 56

Numbered, bottom r.: '3'



CAT. 93

Wendel Dietterlin the Younger (active Strasbourg, ca. 1614–1669)

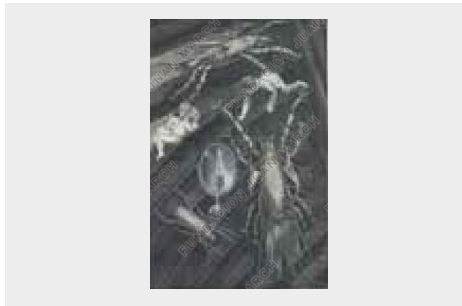
Fantastical ornamental figures, 1615

Etching

4 1/2 x 7 1/8 in. (11.5 x 18.2 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. K 19922, Kapsel 438

Bibliography: Kat. der Orn. Berlin 1939, no. 37 (1); Hollstein 1954– vol. 6: no. 4; Warncke 1979, vol. 2, no. 655; cf. New York 2011, no. 56.



CAT. 94

Adriano del Valle (Seville, 1895–Madrid, 1957)

Delirium tremens, 1934

Collage on paper

8 5/8 x 5 5/8 in. (21.9 x 14.3 cm)

Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao. Inv. 96/21

Bibliography: Las Palmas 1995, 164; Madrid 1995, 270; Bilbao 2009, 254–55, 267 (fig.)



CAT. 95

Wolfgang Hieronymus von Bommel (Bömmel) (Nuremberg 1667–?)

Leafwork soldiers battling, ca. 1690–1700

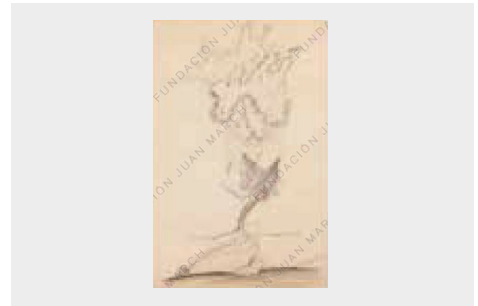
From *Neu ersonnene Gold-Schmieds Grillen, Ander-Theil* [Newly contrived goldsmith-whimsies, following part] (Nuremberg: [Christoph Weigel the Elder], n.d.)

Etching

7 1/2 x 11 7/8 in. (19.2 x 30.2 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. K 23059i, Kapsel 415

Bibliography: Hollstein 1954–, 4:136; Nuremberg 1985a, no. 496; on the continuation, see Angerer 1987, 67



CAT. 96

Óscar Domínguez (San Cristóbal de la Laguna, 1906–Paris, 1957), **Hans Bellmer** (Kattowitz, Silesia, now Katowice, Poland, 1902–Paris, 1975), **Georges Hugnet** (Paris, 1906–Saint-Martin de Ré, 1974), and **Marcel Jean** (La Charité-sur-Loire, 1900–Louveciennes, 1993)

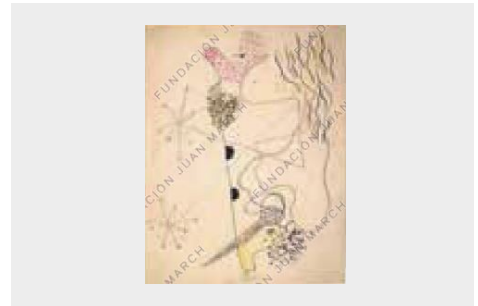
Cadavre exquis, 1935

Graphite and colored pencils

19 3/4 x 12 7/8 in. (50.3 x 32.8 cm)

Galería Guillermo de Osa, Madrid

Bibliography: Milan 1975, no. 32; Florence 1987, 31; Milan 1990; Bolzano et al. 1991, no. 170; Graz & Salzburg 1992; Madrid 1996, 30, 167; Aosta 2002, no. 209; Rome 2002, 132; Basel 2004, 43; Marseille 2005, no. 47.



CAT. 97

(Madrid exhibition)

Federico García Lorca (Fuente Vaqueros, 1898–Viznar, 1936)

Pierrot priápico, ca. 1932–36

India ink and colored pencil on pasteboard

9 5/8 x 7 1/4 in. (24.5 x 18.4 cm)

Fundación Federico García Lorca collection, Madrid. Jean Gebser bequest. Inv. no. 200

Bibliography: Gebser 1949, 19, no. 6; García Lorca 1954, p. 1284, no. 8; Prieto 1955, fig. (n.p.); Madrid 1986, no. 187; Hernández 1990, no. 198; Madrid et al. 1994, no. 74; Harris 1995, 142 (fig.), no. 18; Verona 1995, 122; Madrid, Barcelona & Granada 1998, 311



CAT. 98

Óscar Domínguez (San Cristóbal de la Laguna, 1906–Paris, 1957)

Lion—La Neige [Lion—The snow], 1936

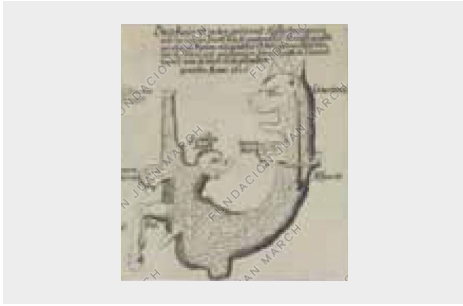
Decalcomania. Gouache on paper

7 7/8 x 9 7/8 in. (20 x 25 cm)

Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, Madrid

Annotation and signature, verso: 'Décalcomanie originale d'Óscar Domínguez exécutée chez moi à Paris en 1936/ Marcel Jean' (Original decalcomania by Óscar Domínguez, executed by me in Paris in 1936/ Marcel Jean)

Bibliography: Bergé 2008, 50, no. 56.277



CAT. 99

Unknown (German)

Anthropo-zoomorphic tree growth, ca. 1625

Engraving

7 1/8 x 6 3/8 in. (18 x 16.3 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. HB 19887, Kapsel 1284

Text, top: 'Diese Figur ist in der größ vnd Höhe dreij viertel/ eln in einem Dorff beÿ Franckenthal Marsch genandt/ an einem Baum also außder Erden gewachsen fún-/ den 8 | 18 Febrúarij, aúch vielen Herrschafften Commú/ nicirt vnd ist inenn Holl also gestalt/ gewessen Anno, 1625' (This figure, in width and height three-quarters of an ell [approx. 16 in. or 40 cm in the region of the Palatinate], was discovered in a village called Marsch, near Frankenthal, on a tree, growing thus out of the earth, on February 8 [Julian calendar] / February 18 [Gregorian], its existence made known to many authorities, and it was formed thus, hollow inside. In the year 1625); labels, clockwise from top r.: 'Löwenkopff' (lion's head), 'Beern/ Datz' (bear's paw), 'Schwerdt' (sword), 'Roß Fuß' (horse's foot), 'Beeren/ Dätzen' (bear's paws), 'Delphin/ kopff' (dolphin's head), 'Manns/ finger' (man's finger).

Bibliography: Diederichs 1907–8, vol. 2: no. 914; Holländer 1921, 198, fig. 107; Harms 1985, vol. 1: no. I.224; Kuechen 2002, 292, fig. 5; on the engraving, see Drugulin [1863–67] 1964, vol. 2: no. 1650



CAT. 100

Moritz von Schwind (Vienna, 1804–Munich, 1871)

Das organische Leben in der Natur [Organic life in nature], 1848

From *Fliegende Blätter*, no. 6 (1848): 24

Wood engraving

10 5/8 x 8 3/8 in. (27 x 21.3 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. von Praun 712 [6]

Titled, top ctr.: 'Das organische Leben in der Natur.'

Bibliography: Weigmann 1906, 254; Lichtenstern 1992, 2:218, fig. 160; Lichtenstern 1994, 239, fig. 237; Lichtenstern 1998, 16–17; Livie & Livie 2011, no. 21; cf. Koch 2010, 230



CAT. 101

Rodolphe Bresdin (Le Fresne, 1822–Sèvres, 1885)

Le Bon Samaritain [The Good Samaritan], 1861

Lithograph

29 3/4 x 23 1/4 in. (75.5 x 59 cm)

Hamburger Kunsthalle. Inv. 1952-3

Signed and dated, bottom l.: 'Rodolphe Bresdin 1861' (inverted); monograms on camel's haunch and on rider's shield in background: 'BR' (inverted); publication line, bottom (damaged, missing letters supplied): 'Imp Lemerçier] Paris.'

Bibliography: Türoff 1971, 130; Cologne & Frankfurt 1972, no. 19; Becker 1983, 6–14; Frankfurt 1989, no. 30; Paris 2000b, 65–78, no. 29; cf. The Hague 1978, no. 161



CAT. 102

Carl Wilhelm Kolbe the Elder (Berlin, 1757–Dessau, 1835)

Phantastische tote Eiche in einem Gehölz [Fantastical dead oak in a grove], 1828–35

Etching

17 1/2 x 24 3/8 in. (44.6 x 61.8 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. K 23313, Kapsel 1481

Artist's proof

Bibliography: Cologne 1974, no. 14; Bonn 1979, no. 52; Martens 1976, 32–33, no. 269; Weiss 1999, 56–57, no. 84; Thum 2005, fig. 25; Vignau-Wilberg 2009, 79, no. 80



CAT. 103

Hans Leu the Younger (Zürich, ca. 1490–Gubel Hill, in battle, 1531)

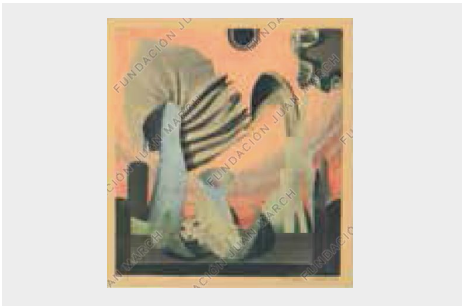
Group of trees, ca. 1514

Pen and ink on primed paper

6 1/2 x 4 3/8 in. (16.5 x 11 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. no. Hz 370, Kapsel 563

Bibliography: Hugelshofer 1923–24, (1923): 167–68, fig. 4; Linz 1965, 350, no. 351; Zink 1968, no. 137; Packpfeiffer 1974, 132–33; Berlin & Regensburg 1988, no. 198



CAT. 104

Hannah Höch (Gotha, 1889–Berlin, 1978)

Scene II, 1936–43

Collage and watercolor

12 7/8 x 11 1/2 in. (32.7 x 29.2 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. Hz 6901, Kapsel 2090

Initialed, dated, and titled in pencil, bottom l.: 'H.H./ 1936-/ 1943 Scene II'; annotation in another hand, bottom r.: 'H. Hoch 1936-43'

Bibliography: Tübingen et al. 1980, 197 (fig.), no. 59



CAT. 105

Raoul Ubac (Malmedy, 1910–Dieudonné, 1985)

Pierres dans le Midi—Pierres de Dalmatie [Stones in the south—Stones from Dalmatia], 1932

Gelatin silver print on paper

5 1/8 x 7 1/8 in. (13 x 18 cm)

Dietmar Siegert collection

Bibliography: Breton & Éluard [1938] 1995, 32; Aachen & Malmedy 1996, no. 2; Bouqueret 1997, fig. 67; Bouqueret 2000, 169, 172, no. 12 (cf. nos. 11, 13–15, 18, 28)



CAT. 106

Maurice Tabard (Lyon, 1897–Nice, 1984)

Les Fétiches de l'Île de Pâques [The fetishes of Easter Island], 1935

Gelatin silver print on paper

6 3/4 x 7 1/4 in. (17 x 18.4 cm)

Dietmar Siegert collection

Signed and dated in pencil, bottom r.: 'tabard 35.'



CAT. 107

Emila Medková, née Tláskalová (Ústí nad Orlicí, 1928–Prague, 1985)

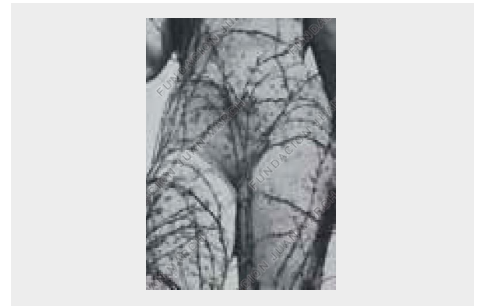
Mušle I [Shells I], 1950–51

Gelatin silver print on paper

14 x 11 1/4 in. (35.4 x 28.5 cm)

Dietmar Siegert collection

Titled in pencil, verso: 'Mušle I'



CAT. 108

Vilém Reichmann (Brno, 1908–1991)

Osidla [Snares], 1941

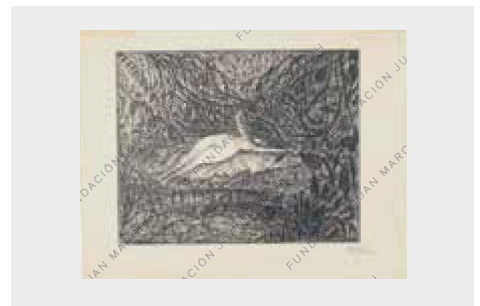
From the series *Opuštěná* [The abandoned]

Gelatin silver print on paper

15 3/8 x 11 in. (39.1 x 27.8 cm)

Dietmar Siegert collection

Bibliography: Zykmund 1961, fig. 32; Bochum & Vienna 1989, 26 (fig.); Dufek 1989a, fig. 141 (on the series, see p. 56); Dufek 1989b, 127, no. PH99; Vienna 1989, 57 (fig.)



CAT. 109

Alfred Kubin (Leitmeritz, Bohemia, now Litoměřice, Czech Republic, 1877–Zwickledt, Austria, 1959)

Wasserrose [Waterlily], 1911

Pen and ink on paper

12 1/4 x 15 5/8 in. (31 x 39.7 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. Hz 4480, Kapsel 638

Signed in pencil, bottom r.: 'A Kubin'



CAT. 110

Carl Wilhelm Kolbe the Elder (Berlin, 1757–Dessau, 1835)

Auch ich war in Arkadien [I, too, was in Arcadia], 1801

Etching

16 1/4 x 21 in. (41.2 x 53.2 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. K 20899, Kapsel 1481

Latin inscription on sarcophagus: 'ET IN AR[cadia e]GO' (I, too, in Arcadia); titled, bottom ctr.: 'AUCH ICH WAR IN ARKADIEN'; signed, bottom r.: 'C. W. Kolbe fec.' (C. W. Kolbe made [this])

Bibliography: Jentsch 1920, no. 231; Panofsky 1957, 319; Martens 1976, 26–27, 33–34, no. 96; Cologne 1984, 130, no. 66; London 1994, no. 71; Frankfurt 2002, 3 (8 fig.); Marburg and Helmstedt 2004, 44, no. 46; Thum 2005, 66, 125, 127, fig. 7; Bertsch 2006, 118–19, no. 7; Bertsch 2009, 114–15, 119; Bindman 2009, 107, no. 63; Heise 2009, 166; London 2011, no. 63; Schultz 2011, 178–79.



CAT. 111

Theodor van Kessel (Holland, ca. 1620–Antwerp?, after 1660), after Adam van Vianen (Utrecht, ca. 1569–1627)

Design for a goblet in the shape of a conch shell, 1646–52

Plate 3 from Theodor van Kessel, *Constighe Modellen van verscheyden Silveren Vaten en andere sinnighe wercken* [Ingenious models for various silver vessels and other witty works], published by Christiaan van Vianen (Utrecht, [1646–52])

Etching

8 3/8 x 6 in. (21.4 x 15.4 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. K 4933, Kapsel 451a

Numbered, top r.: '3'; monogram, bottom l.: 'AV'

Bibliography: Hollstein 1949–2010, 9: 238, nos. 80–127; on the series, see Graevenitz 1973, 142–60; Ter Molen 1984, no. 674 (CEa) (cf. no. 425 [AAa], and for the series, see nos. 672–719 [CEa]); Utrecht 1984, no. 7; Fuhring 2004, 1:263 (fig.), no. 1524



CAT. 112

Theodor van Kessel (Holland, ca. 1620–Antwerp?, after 1660), after Adam van Vianen (Utrecht, ca. 1569–1627)

Design for a ewer, 1646–52

Plate 8 from Theodor van Kessel, *Constighe Modellen van verscheyden Silveren Vaten en andere sinnighe wercken* [Ingenious models for various silver vessels and other witty works], published by Christiaan van Vianen (Utrecht, [1646–52])

Etching

8 1/4 x 6 in. (21 x 15.2cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. K 4938, Kapsel 451a

Numbered, top r.: '8'; monogram, bottom l.: 'AV'

Bibliography: Hollstein 1949–2010, vol. 9: nos. 80–127; Vogelsang 1922, xiv–xv, fig. 6; Zülch 1932, no. 96; Döry 1960, no. 336; on the series, see Graevenitz 1973, 142–60; Ter Molen 1984, no. 679 (CEa), (for the series, see nos. 672–719 [CEa]); Fuhring 2004, vol. 1, no. 1529



CAT. 113

Simon Cammermeir (active in Wemding, 1666–1678)

Design for an ornamental mask, 1666–78

Plate 29 from Simon Cammermeir, *Neue[n] Zierathen Buch* [New ornament book] (Nuremberg: [Paulus Fürst], [1666–78])

Etching

10 3/4 x 6 3/4 in. (27.2 x 17.3 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. K 14744, Kapsel 415

Numbered, bottom r.: '29'

Bibliography: Kat. der Orn. Berlin 1939, no. 61; on the series, see Zöllner 1959, 144–56



CAT. 114

Unknown (German)

Monster of Ravenna, 1512

Woodcut and type

13 7/8 x 9 7/8 in. (35.2 x 25 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. HB 28432, Kapsel 1283b

Text in Latin, l. col.: 'Anno .M.D.XII. post immanem/ Brixianę Vrbs cladem: spiran-/ tibus adhuc Gallorum cruenta-/ tis in Venetos armis: Monstrum hoc horren-/ dum & informe, ex monacho (vt aiunt) &/ vestali femina Rauennę editum. Mandan-/ te Iulio secundo pontifice maximo: Romam/ (exangue tamen) defertur. Subsequutusque/ mox insignis ille partium inter sese diffiden-/ tium, haud longe a Rauenna conflictus: &/ strages ingens. Alia denique per Italiam mala/ plurima & multifaria portenduntur. Dij pro/ hibete minas & tristia fata secundent.' (In the year 1512, after the enormous destruction of the city of Brescia by a surge of French arms, dripping with Venetian blood, this frightful and hideous monster was brought forth into the world by a monk, so they say, and a Vestal woman [i.e., a nun] in Ravenna. By order of Pope Julius II, it is sent to Rome, though dead. And soon thereafter, that clash of parties—who trusted each other not—and the enormous slaughter ensued, not far at all from Ravenna. In short, other very many and multifarious evils in Italy are portended. Ye gods, do not allow these portents to usher in further menaces and harsh calamities!); rhyming couplets in German, r. col.: 'Dise seltzam gburrt wart offenbar/ Do man zalt fünfftzehen hundert jar/ Vnd zwöelf jar, jnn der vasten zyt/ Nach dem zü Pressa bschach der stryt, / Zü Rauenna diß geboren wart/ Von einem münch vnd Nunnen zart, / Babst Julius ließ bringen das gon Rom/ Dar vff beschach die schlacht vnd nom/ Mit angriff todtschlag vnd gerenn/ Vnfern von bmelter Statt Rauenn/ Zwüschent den frantzosen vnd Spanyellen/ Venedyern vnd Tütsch kriegs gesellen/ Do mannig Redlich mann wart erschlagen/ Witers gebürt mir nit zü sagen/ Was mer künfftig, weißt gott der herr/ Ich sorg für Cristen glaubens ere/ Das der werd lyden schand vnd nott/ Got geb das es alles wol geratt.' (This strange creature was made manifest in the year fifteen hundred and twelve, during Lent, following the battle at Brescia. This thing was born in Ravenna, of a monk and a tender little nun. Pope Julius had it brought to Rome. Soon thereafter, the battle took place, and the plunder, with assault, slaughter, and cavalry charge, not far from the aforementioned city of Ravenna, between the French and the Spanish, Venetian, and German allies in war; many upright men were killed. It is not proper for me to say anything further. What do I think will happen now? The Lord God only knows. I fear the honor of the Christian faith will suffer disgrace and distress. God grant that everything may turn out well.)

Bibliography: Niccoli 1990, 35–51; Locher 1994, 207–9; Duntze 2007, 4:230–31; on this print in particular, see Schenda 1960, 209–25



CAT. 115

Johann Martin Will (? , 1727–Augsburg, 1806)

Harpie Monstre Amphibie vivante [Harpy, living amphibious monster], ca. 1750

Etching

10 1/8 x 15 1/2 in. (25.6 x 39.4 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. HB 2947, Kapsel 1284

Titled in French, beneath the image: 'Harpie Monstre Amphibie vivante' (Living, amphibious harpy-monster); accompanying texts in German (top) and French (bottom) with some variations between them, each describing the monster, the circumstances of its capture, and its delivery to the King of Spain; conclusion to the German text, above the beast's tail: 'gestochen nach dem Französischen Original' (Engraved after the French original); publication line, bottom r.: 'Se vend chez Jean Martin Will à Augsbουργ.' (Sold at Johann Martin Will's in Augsburg.)

Bibliography: Faust 1998–2010, vol. 5: no. 831; Duprat 2003, 21–29; cf. Duprat 2002, 130–41



CAT. 116

Pablo Picasso (Málaga, 1881–Mougins, 1973)

Harpie à tête de taureau et quatre petites filles sur une tour surmontée d'un drapeau noir [Harpy with bull's head and four little girls on top of a tower with a black flag], 1934

No. 96 from *Suite Vollard*, 1930–36

Etching

10 1/8 x 15 1/2 in. (25.6 x 39.4 cm)

Private collection

Bibliography: Geiser 1968, vol. 2: no. 444; Bloch 1972, vol. 1: no. 229; Bolliger 1977, no. 13; Valencia 1994, no. 96; Alcoi 1995, 40; Palma de Mallorca 1996, no. 96; ICO 1998, no. 96; Nuoro 2003, 57 (fig.), 146



CAT. 117

After Lucas Cranach the Elder (Kronach, 1472–Weimar, 1553)

Regnum Satanae et Papae [Reign of Satan and the Pope], 1545

Woodcut and type

13 1/4 x 7 3/4 in. (33.6 x 19.8 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. HB 24747.2, Kapsel 1335

Text, top: 'REGNUM SATANAE ET PPAE/ 2. THESS. 2.' (Reign of Satan and the Pope, 2 Thess. 2); text beneath image: 'In aller Teufel namen sitzt/ Allhie der Bapst: offenbar jtz/ Das er sey der recht Widerchrist/ So in der Schriftt verkuendigt ist./ Mart. Luther D.' (In th' name of all the devils, 'pon his throne/ The pope is perched right here, his true self shown:/ The real Antichrist—it's plain to see—/ As Scripture's book foretells in prophecy./ Martin Luther, Doctor); numbered, bottom ctr.: 'ii.'; dated, bottom r.: '1545'

Bibliography: Grisar & Heege 1921–23, 5:62–64, fig. 16; 6:19–21, fig. 3; Tübingen 1959, nos. 70a–b; Harms 1980, vol. 2: no. ii, 81



CAT. 118

Martin Schongauer (Colmar, 1445/50–Breisach, 1491)

Saint Anthony Tormented by Demons, before 1481

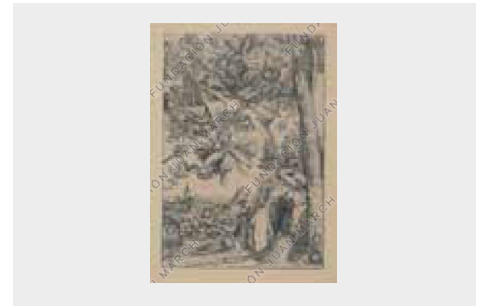
Engraving

12 1/8 x 8 7/8 in. (30.9 x 22.5 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. K 85, Kapsel 90

Initials added in ink, bottom ctr.: 'M + S'

Bibliography: Bartsch 1803–21, 6:140, no. 47; Lehrs 1908–34, vol. 5: no. 54; Lehrs 1914, no. xxxvi; Hollstein 1954–, vol. 49: no. 54; TIB 1978–, vol. 8.1: no. 47 (140); TIB 1978–, vol. 8.2: no. 054; Falk 1991, 14, 21; Krohm 1991, 8–9, no. 17, fig. 31; Munich 1991b, no. 54; Darmstadt 1995, no. 80; Erlangen 2000, 29 (fig.); Hamburg 2008, no. 51; Philipp 2008, pp. 27–28



CAT. 119

(Madrid exhibition)

Lucas Cranach the Elder (Kronach, 1472–Weimar, 1553)

The Temptation of Saint Anthony, 1506

Woodcut

16 x 11 in. (40.6 x 28.1 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. H 5628, Kapsel 1453

Monogram with encircling date, bottom l.: 'LC/ 1506'

Bibliography: Lüdecke 1953, 38, no. 35; Hollstein 1954–, vol. 6: no.76; Jahn 1955, 19–20, fig. 9; Basel 1974, vol. 2:542, no. 398, fig. 287; Geisberg & Strauss 1974, vol. 2: no. 593; TIB 1978–, vol. 11: no. 56; Stepanov 1997, 80, fig. 65; Frankfurt & London 2007, 218–19, no. 51; Bremen 2009, 111, no. 41; Brussels 2010, 120, 155, no. 25



CAT. 120

Jacques Callot (Nancy, 1592–Paris, 1635)

La Tentation de St. Antoine [The temptation of Saint Anthony], 1635

Etching

14 5/8 x 18 3/4 in. (37 x 47.5 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. K 24114, Kapsel 1518

Signed in the image, lower l.: 'Iac. Callot Inuen. et fe' (Jacques Callot devised and made [this]); dedication, first lines at bottom: 'ILLVSTRISSIMO MAXIMOQVE VIRO D.D. LVDOVICO PHELYPEAVX DOMINO DE LAVRIERE COMIT CONSISTORIANO SACRARVM IVSSIONVM IIIIVIRO/ IA. CALLOT VOVET DEDICAT CONSECRATQVE.' (To the most illustrious and most excellent lord, Sir Louis Phélypeaux, Lord of La Vrillière, Count, Councillor of the Sacred [i.e., royal] Commandments, *Quattuorvir* [i.e., magistrate], Jacques Callot pledges, dedicates, and devotes [this].); Louis Phélypeaux's coat of arms, bottom ctr.; Latin poem, bottom, l. and r. cols.: 'Informes laruae, caecis stabulata latèbris/ Monstra suum rupère Chaos, atque agmine facto/ Letiferis orbem violant lucemque venenis./ Tot scelerum facies Erebo mutauit Erènum./ Intercà [sic, i.e., *interea*] vasti quid agis sub fornice saxi/ Sancte senex, tantos sentis et despicias hostes?/ Nil spirat mortale tibi: nec Gaudia pectus./ Blanda mouent, nec frangit Amor, nec funera terrent./ Mens infixà polo reparansque ab Origine vires/ Sustinet in terris quas ridet in aethere pugnas' (Ere stabled in dark lairs, these hideous specters/ Came bursting forth, these monsters spreading bedlam./ A host that wreaks its havoc on the world—/ And on its light—armed with their deadly poison./ The face of so much villainy has turned/ The hermit's wilderness into a hell./ Meanwhile, old saintly man, what dost thou there./ Beneath the arch amid those walls in ruin?/ So great an enemy thou seest, and yet/ Thou show'st contempt? No transitory thing/ Upon this earth for thee is truly living;/ Nor does seductive pleasure move thy heart;/ Nor is it crushed by love; it fears not death./ Thy mind—on heav'n fixed—its pristine powers/ Restores, enduring battles here on earth./ While those in th' air just give it cause for mirth.); publication line and date, bottom, flanking coat of arms: 'Cum Privil. Reg. Israel excu. 1635' (With royal privilege, Israël [Henriet] published [this], 1635)

Bibliography: Le Blanc 1970, 1:565, no. 28; Vienna 1987, no. vi.15; Dresden 1992, no. 1153; Karlsruhe 1995, L. 1416/ iii; Erlangen 2000, 30 (fig.); Hamburg 2008, no. 67



CAT. 121

Pieter van der Heyden (Antwerp, 1530?–Berchem, Antwerp, 1576?), after Pieter Bruegel the Elder (Breda, 1525/30–Brussels, 1569)

Luxuria [Lust], 1558

From the series *The Seven Deadly Sins*

Engraving and etching

8 7/8 x 11 7/8 in. (22.6 x 30.1 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. K 1290, Kapsel 325

Titled, beneath the allegorical figure: 'LVXVRIA.'; signed, with publication line, lower l.: 'brueghel.Inuentor./ H. Cock excu. cum. priui' (Bruegel, creator; H[ieronimus] Cock published [this] with privilege); monogram, lower ctr.: 'PAME.' (P[etrus] a Me[r]ica, i.e., Pieter van der Heyden); Latin text, bottom margin: 'LVXVRIA ENERVAT VIRES, EFFOEMINAT ARTVS.' (Lust enervates the strength, it weakens the limbs.); rhyming couplet in Flemish, bottom margin: 'Luxurye stinck, sy is vol onsuurheden Sy breeckt die Crachten, en sy swackt die leden' (Lust stinks, truly it is impurities. It breaks the strength and weakens the limbs.)

Bibliography: Hollstein 1949–2010, 3:277, nos. 125–31; Hollstein 1949–2010, 9:28, nos. 30–36; Klein 1963, no. 45; An der Heiden 1985, 23–24, fig. 19; Nuremberg 1986, no. 119; New Hollstein 1996–, vol. 15: no. 27 (incl. further bibliog.); Jerusalem 2000, no. 82; Hamburg 2001, no. 24; New York & Rotterdam 2001, no. 49; Heidelberg 2004, no. 200; Bern 2010, 94 (fig.); on the series, see Unverfehrt 1980, 223–28, fig. 228



CAT. 122

James Ensor (Ostende, 1860–1949)

Diables rossant anges et archanges [Devils beating angels and archangels], or *Le Combat des démons* [The battle of the demons], 1888

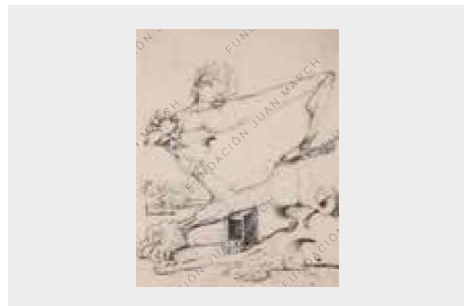
Etching

13 x 16 in. (33.1 x 40.7 cm)

Hamburger Kunsthalle. Hegewisch collection

Signed and dated in pencil bottom r.: 'James Ensor 1888'

Bibliography: Lebeer 1952, no. 6; Dortmund 1960, no. 22; Strasbourg & Basel 1995, no. 31; Valencia 1998, fig. p. 42; Erlangen 2000, fig. p. 52; cf. Hofstätter 1972, p. 63, fig. v



CAT. 123

(Madrid exhibition)

Salvador Dalí (Figueres, 1904–Girona, 1989)

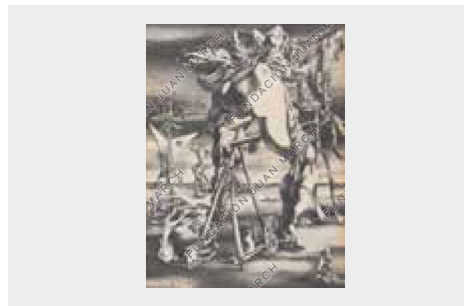
Study no. 1 for *Construction molle avec haricots bouillis—Prémonition de la guerre civile* [Soft construction with boiled beans—premonition of civil war], 1934

Ink and pencil on paper

9 x 7 in. (22.7 x 17.7 cm)

C.A.C. Técnicas Reunidas, S.A., Museo Patio Herreriano, Valladolid. Inv. n° 1750/ 34-03

Bibliography: Descharnes & Néret 1993, vol. 1: no. 635; Barcelona 2004, 82–83; Venice & Philadelphia 2004, no. 160; Milan 2010, 258–59



CAT. 124

(Nuremberg exhibition)

José Caballero (Huelva, 1916–Madrid, 1991)

La rosa y el velocípedo, 1935

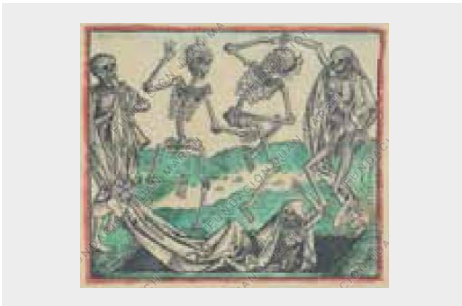
India ink on paper

14 1/8 x 11 in. (36 x 28 cm)

Colecciones Fundación Mapfre, Madrid. Inv. no. FM000107

Dedicated and dated in pen, bottom r.: 'Para Manuel de/ su amigo/ José Caballero/ 1935' (For Manuel, from his friend, José Caballero, 1935)

Bibliography: Madrid 1992, 245 (fig.), 325; Madrid 2007, 72–73; Madrid 2011, 196–97



CAT. 125

Michael Wolgemut (Nuremberg, 1433/34–1519)

Dance of Death, 1493

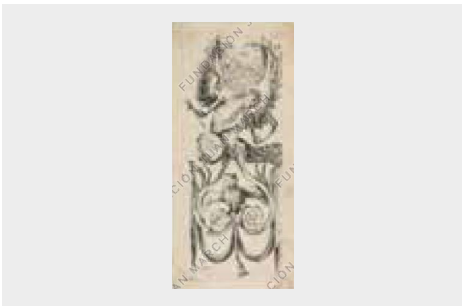
From folio 261r of *Das buch der Croniken und geschichten* [The book of chronicles and histories, i.e. *Nuremberg Chronicle*], by Hartmann Schedel (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493), German edition

Colored woodcut

8 1/2 x 9 3/4 in. (21.6 x 24.6 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. H2023, Kapsel 1

Bibliography: Musper 1964, fig. 68; Pörtner 1978, fol. 261; Link 1993, p. 50, fig. 3.; Zürich & Cologne 1994, no. 120; Mainz 2000, GM 257; cf. Stadler 1913, fig. 15; on the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, see Rücker 1973, fig. p. 37



CAT. 126

Stefano della Bella (Florence, 1610–1664)

Death and the owl, ca. 1640

From *Ornamenti o grottesche* [Ornaments or grotesques], ca. 1640

Etching

7 1/8 x 3 3/8 in. (18 x 8.7 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. K 24006, Kapsel 445

Intertwined signature, bottom l.: 'SDBella'

Bibliography: Vesme 1971, vol. 1: no. 1014, & vol. 2: no. 1014 i/ii; Florence 1973, no. 711; Turin 2000, no. 186; 2005, no. 541; Talbierska 2001, no. iii.109



CAT. 127

Giorgio Sommer (Frankfurt, 1834–Naples, 1914)

Catacombe dei Cappuccini in Palermo, 1865

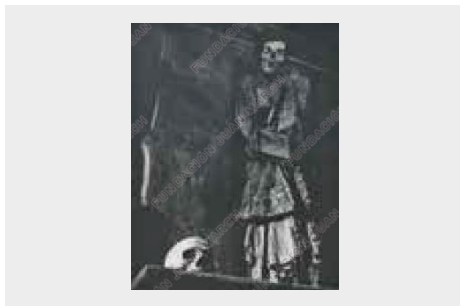
Albumen print

9 7/8 x 7 7/8 in. (25.2 x 20.1 cm)

Dietmar Siegert collection

Numbered, bottom l.: '1308.'; caption, bottom margin: 'PALERMO Catacombe ai Capuccini'

Bibliography: Paris 2009b, fig. 135; cf. Munich et al. 1992, 190 (fig.)



CAT. 128

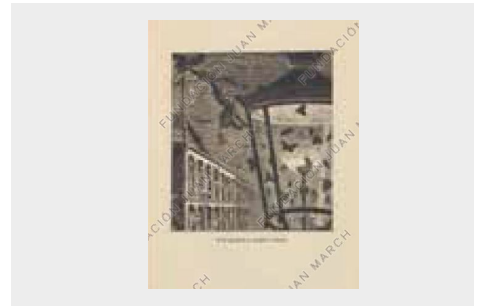
Herbert List (Hamburg, 1903–Munich, 1975)

Kapuzinergruft Palermo, Nr. 7 (Unter der Laterne) [Capuchin catacombs of Palermo, no. 7 (Beneath the lantern)] 1955

Gelatin silver print on paper

11 5/8 x 9 in. (29.4 x 23 cm)

Dietmar Siegert collection



CAT. 129

Max Ernst (Brühl, 1891–Paris, 1976)

Et les papillons se mettent à chanter [And the butterflies begin to sing]

Photomechanical reproduction

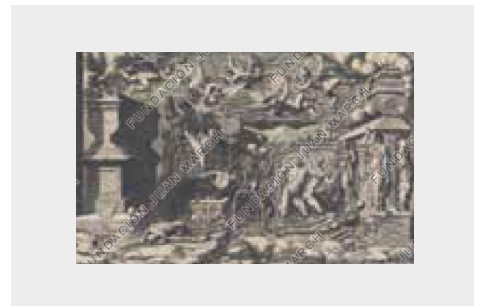
Plate 120 (chapter 8) of *La femme 100 têtes* (Paris: Carrefour, 1929)

9 7/8 x 7 1/2 in. (25 x 19 cm)

Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel Inv. Malerbücher 11.8°478

Caption, bottom: 'Et les papillons se mettent à chanter.'

Bibliography: Hannover 1972, no. 26.B with ill.; Krefeld 1972, no. 46; Nordhorn 1980, 30 (fig.); Halle & Dresden 1989, 157 (fig.), no. 92; Warsaw 1991, 137 (fig.), no. 102; Quedlinburg 1999, no. 44; Lund 2000, 42, no. 8/3; Gohr 2003, 34–35, 67 (fig.); Basel 2007, 121 (fig.); Frankfurt 2008, no. 65; Wessolowski 2009, 100; cf. Spies et al. 1975–2007, no. 1537



CAT. 130

Giorgio Ghisi (Mantua, 1520–1582), after Giovanni Battista Bertani (Mantua, 1516–1576)

The Vision of Ezekiel, 1554

Published by Antoine Lafréry (Antonio Lafreri) (Orgelet, 1512–Rome, 1577)

Engraving

16 1/4 x 26 3/4 in. (41.3 x 68.1 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. K 23871, Kapsel 1020

Text (Ezek. 37.6) on banderole held by putti, top: 'DABO SVPER VOS NERVOS ET SVCCRESCERE FACIAM SVPER VOS CARNEM' (I will lay sinews on you, and will cause flesh to come upon you); signed on tablet, lower l.: 'IO. BAPTISTA/ BRITANO/ MANTVANIVS/ .JN.' (Giovanni Battista Bertani, Mantuan, devised [this]); on tablet, lower r.: 'GEORGIVS/ DE GHISI/ MANTVANVS/ .F./ M.D.LIIII' (Giorgio Ghisi, Mantuan, made [this], 1554); publication line, bottom ctr.: 'ANT LAFRERII' (Antoine Lafréry)

Bibliography: Bartsch 1803–21, 15:413, no. 69; St. Louis, New York & Los Angeles 1985, no. 15; Vienna 1987, no. vi.26, fig. vi.26; Petherbridge 1997, 19, 27; cf. London, Coventry & Leeds 1997, no. 83



CAT. 131

Crisóstomo Martínez Sorli (Valencia, 1650–Holland, 1691/1694)

Skeletons and bones, ca. 1686–89

From Crisóstomo Martínez, *Nouvelles figures de proportions et d'anatomie du corps humain* [New figures of proportions and of human anatomy] (Paris, 1689)

Engraving

31 x 24 1/2 in. (78.9 x 62.2 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. K 20659, Kapsel 1020

Skeletons and bones each labeled with letters and numbers

Bibliography: London, Coventry & Leeds 1997, no. 110; Ottawa 1997, fig. 10; Petherbridge 1997, 30; Valencia 2006, fig. xvii



CAT. 132

Benjamín Palencia (Barrax, 1894–Madrid, 1980)

Cuatro figuras [Four figures], 1932

India ink on paper

18 7/8 x 26 3/8 in. (48 x 67 cm)

Galería Guillermo de Osmá, Madrid

Signed and dated, bottom r.: 'Palencia/ 32'

Bibliography: Corredor-Matheos 1979, 99 (fig.); Madrid 1994a, no. 27, fig. 20; Madrid 1997, 167; Madrid 1999, no. 45; Santa Cruz de Tenerife 2008, 119; Valladolid 2011, 51 (fig.)



CAT. 133

Eli Lotar (Paris, 1905–1969)

Aux abattoirs de La Villette [At La Villette slaughterhouse], 1929

From *Documents: Doctrines, Archeologie, Beaux-Arts, Ethnographie*, no. 6 (1929): 328

Photomechanical reproduction (halftone)

10 3/4 x 8 3/8 in. (27.3 x 21.3 cm)

Dietmar Siegert collection

Caption, bottom: 'Aux abattoirs de La Villette—Photo. Eli Lotar.'

Bibliography: Ades 1985, 169, fig. 147; Lionel-Marie & Sayag 1996, 278 (fig.); Paris 1996, fig. 15; Walker 2002, 127, 128 (fig.); Hamburg 2005, no. 105; London 2006, 35 (fig.), nos. 99a & 99c; Cox 2006, 109–12; on the photograph, see Bonn 1994a, no. 89



CAT. 134

Salvador Dalí (Figueres, 1904–Girona, 1989)

Dos figuras [Two figures], 1936

Gouache on black paper mounted on cardboard

8 3/8 x 13 1/4 in. (21.3 x 33.7 cm)

Von der Heydt-Museum, Wuppertal. Inv. KMV 1947-48/ 25

Bibliography: Wuppertal 1965, no. 37; Wuppertal 2008, 210 (fig.); Madrid 2001, no. 12; cf. Descharnes & Néret 1997, vol. 1: nos. 630–31



CAT. 135

Francisco de Goya (Zaragoza, 1746–Bordeaux, 1828)

El sueño de la razón produce monstruos [The sleep/dream of reason produces monsters], 1799

No. 43 from the series *Caprichos*

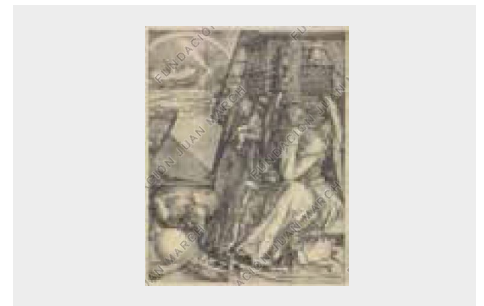
Etching and aquatint

8 1/2 x 5 7/8 in. (21.5 x 15 cm)

Private collection

Numbered, top l.: '43'; inscription on side of table: 'El sueño/ de la razon/ produce/ monstruos.'

Bibliography: Harris 1964, vol. 1: no. 78.ii.1, vol. 2: no. 78; Gudiol 1971, 3:534, no. 627; Hofstätter 1972, 22, fig. 13; Claremont 1975, 31, no. 37; Karlsruhe 1976, no. 43; Lafuente Ferrari 1977, no. 43; Hamburg 1980, no. 3; Hofmann 1980, 52–61; Paas-Zeidler 1980, 43; López Vázquez 1982, 166; Munich, Wuppertal-Barmen & Düsseldorf 1988, no. 43; Oldenburg, Göttingen & Emmen 1990, no. 53; Geneva 1993, 58, no. 71; Adolphs 1994, 80–83, 85–86, fig. 53; Madrid 1994b, no. 43; Pérez Sánchez & Gállego 1995, 58, no. 43; Bern 1996, no. 49; Carrete Parrondo 1996, no. 43; Zaragoza 1996, no. 43; Vigo 1998, no. 43; Zaragoza & Pontevedra 1999, no. 43; Jerusalem 2000, no. 290; Metzger 2003, 31–32, fig. 1; Metzger 2004, 9; Vienna 2004, no. 53; Pérez Sánchez 2006, 60, no. 43; Carrete Parrondo 2007, 129, no. 43



CAT. 136

Albrecht Dürer (Nuremberg, 1471–1528)

Melencolia I, 1514

Engraving

9 1/2 x 7 1/2 in. (24.2 x 19 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. MS 1541, Kapsel 1440 h

Title on bat's wings: 'MELENCOLIA I'; magic square containing date in bottom row, upper r.: '16 3 2 13/ 5 10 11 8/ 9 6 7 12/ 4 15 14 1'; date and monogram on forward edge of step, bottom r.: '1514/ AD'

Bibliography: Bartsch 1803–21, 7:87, no. 74; Meder 1932, no. 75; Panofsky 1943, vol. 2: no. 181; Hollstein 1954–, vol. 7: no. 75; Nuremberg 1971a, no. 270; TIB 1978–, vol. 10.2: no. 74; Anzelewsky 1980, 180–81; Smith 1983, no. 19; Schoch et al. 2001–4, vol. 1: no. 71 (incl. further biblio.)



CAT. 137

Johann Christian Friedrich (Greifswald, 1770–1843), after Caspar David Friedrich (Greifswald, 1774–Dresden, 1840)

Die Frau beim Spinnennetz mit kahlen Bäumen [The woman with a spider's web between bare trees], 1803–4

Woodcut

9 5/8 x 7 5/8 in. (24.5 x 19.3 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. H7334, Kapsel 70

Bibliography: Musper 1964, 231 (fig.), 285; Börsch-Supan & Jähniq 1973, 17, 21, no. 60; Nuremberg 1977, no. 64; Börsch-Supan 2008, 129, fig. 46; Grave 2012, 78, fig. 70



CAT. 138

Eugène Delacroix (Charenton-Saint-Maurice, 1798–Paris, 1863)

L'Ombre de Marguerite apparaissant à Faust [Margaret's ghost appearing to Faust], 1828

From *Faust: Tragedie de M. de Goethe* (Paris, 1828)

Lithograph

12 1/4 x 17 5/8 in. (31.1 x 44.8 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. L 5423, Kapsel 479

Signed, bottom l.: 'Delacroix invt. et Lithog.' (Delacroix, creator and lithographer); publication line, bottom r.: 'Lith. Vagron'; caption, bottom: 'Meph: Laisse cet objet, on ne se trouve jamais bien de le regarder..... tu as bien entendu raconter l'histoire de meduse? Faust. Assurément ce sont là les yeux d'un mort, qu'une/ main amie n'a point fermés; c'est là le sein que Marguerite m'a livré, c'est le corps charmant que j'ai possédé.' (Mephistopheles: Leave that object: only harm can come from looking at it... You've surely heard the story of Medusa! Faust: Without a doubt those are the eyes of someone dead, eyes that no loving hand has closed. That is the breast which Margaret gave over to me; that the lovely body which I have possessed.)

Bibliography: Delteil 1969, vol. 3: no. 72; Hofstätter 1972, 14–15, fig. 3; Hamburg 1980, no. 481; Vienna 1987, no. xi.20; Stuffmann 2001, 121, fig. 5



CAT. 139

Clemens Brentano (Ehrenbreitstein, 1778–Aschaffenburg, 1842)

Gackeleia in der Mäusestadt [Gackeleia in Mousetown], 1838

Lithograph

5 3/8 x 8 3/8 in. (13.7 x 21.3 cm)

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. N 1238

Bibliography: Benz & Schneider 1939, 167, fig. 121; Frankfurt 1978, 164–79; Munich 1995, 48, fig. 3



CAT. 140

Adriano del Valle (Seville, 1895–Madrid, 1957)

El vejamen del psicoanalisis, ca. 1930

Collage

5 7/8 x 5 7/8 in. (15 x 15 cm)

Galería Guillermo de Osma, Madrid

Bibliography: Madrid et al. 1994, no. 189; Verona 1995, 146; Madrid, Barcelona & Granada 1998, 336



CAT. 141

(Nuremberg exhibition)

Paul Constant Soyer (Paris, 1823–Écouen, 1903), after J. J. Grandville (Jean Ignace Isidore Gérard) (Nancy, 1803–Vanves, Paris, 1847)

(a) *Premier rêve—Crime et expiation* [First dream: Crime and expiation]; (b) *Second rêve—Une promenade dans le ciel* [Second dream: A promenade in the sky], 1847

From *Magasin Pittoresque* 15, no. 27 (1847): 212–13

Wood engravings

5 1/2 x 7 7/8 in. (14 x 20 cm)

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Bonn. Inv. Sign. PGB 4 515 (Bestand 14.1846–16.1848)

(a) signed, bottom l.: 'P. Soyer.'; caption, bottom: '(Derniers dessins de J.-J. Grandville. — Premier rêve. — Crime et expiation.)' ([Latest drawings by J. J. Grandville.—First dream.—Crime and expiation]); (b) signed, bottom ctr.: 'P. Soyer.'; caption, bottom: '(Second rêve. — Une promenade dans le ciel.)' ([Second dream.—A promenade in the sky.])

Bibliography: Renonciat 1985, 280–84, 283 (fig.); Falchetta 1987, 206 (fig.); Schmidt-Burkhardt 1992, 122–25, fig. 138; Adolphs 1994, 86; Hannover, Karlsruhe & Salzburg 1994, no. 14; Harter 1998, 144, fig. 61; Heraeus 1998, 28–31, figs. 1, 2



CAT. 142

Francisco de Goya (Zaragoza, 1746–Bordeaux, 1828)

Modo de volar [A way of flying], ca. 1815

Preparatory drawing for no. 13 in the series *Disparates* [Follies]

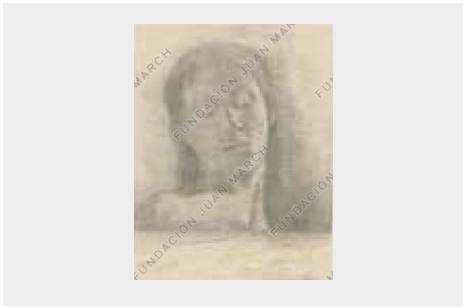
Sanguine and red wash on paper

9 5/8 x 13 3/4 in. (24.5 x 34.8 cm)

Fundación Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid. Inv. 14866-22

Signed in pencil, bottom r.: 'Goya'

Bibliography: Gassier & Wilson 1970, no. 1292; Gassier & Wilson 1974, 311; Gassier 1975, vol. 2: no. 299; Camón Aznar 1980–84, 4:94; Cano Cuesta 1999, 120–21, no. 10; Madrid 2002b, 276–77; Pamplona 2005, 26 (fig.), 59 (fig.)



CAT. 143

(Nuremberg exhibition)

Odilon Redon (Bordeaux, 1840–Paris, 1916)

Yeux clos [Closed eyes], 1890

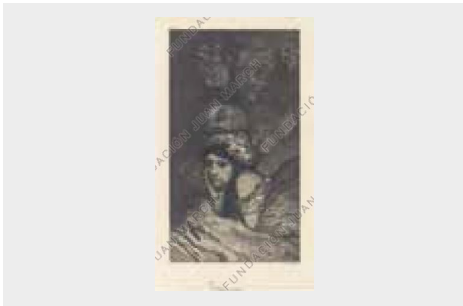
Lithograph

12 1/4 x 9 5/8 in. (31.2 x 24.3 cm)

Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich. Inv. 1965:126 D

Plate signed, bottom l.: 'ODILON REDON'; titled with edition, bottom r.: 'Yeux clos.. 2ème tirage à 50 exemplaires' (Closed eyes. 2nd printing, 50 copies)

Bibliography: Frankfurt & Cologne 1973, no. 116; Innsbruck 1984, no. 29; Frankfurt 1989, no. 33; Vienna 1999, no. 285; Gamboni 1998, 86, fig. 50; Mellerio 2001, no. 107; cf. Vienna 1997, no. 289; on the sketches for the lithograph, see Wildenstein 1992–98, vol. 1: no. 467–78



CAT. 144

Max Klinger (Leipzig, 1857–Großjena, 1920)

Träume [Dreams], 1884

No. 3 from Opus VIII: *Ein Leben* [A life], 1884

Etching and aquatint

10 x 5 5/8 in. (25.3 x 14.2 cm)

Hamburger Kunsthalle. Hegewisch collection

Numbered, top l.: 'OP. VIII.'; numbered, top r.: 'III.'; signed, lower r.: 'MAX KLINGER.'; titled in pencil, bottom ctr.: "Träume"

Bibliography: Singer [1909] 1978, no. 129; Hildesheim 1984, no. 193; Jerusalem 2000, no. 388; Neuss 2006, 94 (fig.); Cologne & Aachen 2007, no. VIII/3



CAT. 145

Max Klinger (Leipzig, 1857–Großjena, 1920)

(a) *Ängste* [Fears], 1881

No. 7 from Opus VI: *Ein Handschuh* [A glove], 1881

Etching

5 5/8 x 10 1/2 in. (14.3 x 26.8 cm)

Hamburger Kunsthalle. Hegewisch collection

Numbered, top r.: 'VII.'; signed, bottom r.: 'MAX KLINGER.'

(b) *Entführung* [Abduction], 1881

No. 9 from Opus VI: *Ein Handschuh* [A glove], 1881

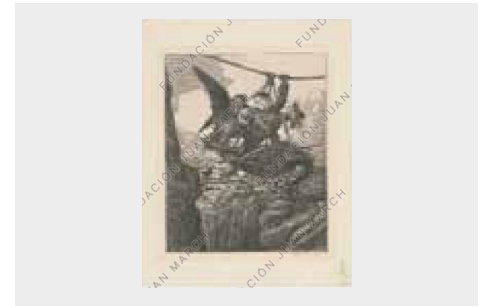
Etching and aquatint

4 1/4 x 9 3/8 in. (10.9 x 23.8 cm)

Hamburger Kunsthalle. Hegewisch collection

Numbered, top r.: 'IX.'; signed, bottom r.: 'MAX KLINGER.'

Bibliography: Singer [1909] 1978, nos. 119, 121; Hildesheim 1984, nos. 183, 185; Frankfurt & Hamburg 1992, nos. 7, 9a; Munich 1996, nos. 82B, 84B; Berlin 1998, nos. 33g, 33i; Neuss 2006, 87–88 (figs.); Cologne & Aachen 2007, nos. VI/7, VI/9; Leipzig 2007, 61, 63 (figs.)



CAT. 146

(Nuremberg exhibition)

Max Ernst (Brühl, 1891–Paris, 1976)

Marceline et Marie [Marceline and Marie], 1929–30

Paste-up for *Rêve d'une petite fille qui voulut entrer au Carmel* [A little girl dreams of taking the veil], collage-novel in four chapters, text and images by Max Ernst (Paris: Carrefour, 1930)

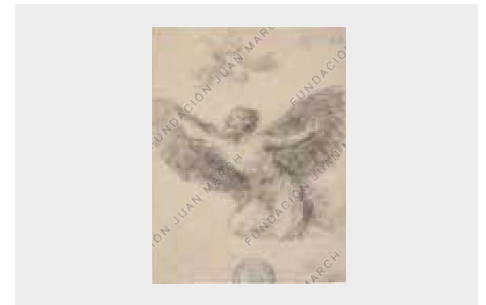
Collage

8 3/4 x 7 1/8 in. (22.3 x 18 cm)

Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich. Inv. 2008:6 Z

Signed in pencil, bottom r.: 'max ernst'

Bibliography: Spies at al. 1974–2007, no. 1041; Munich and Berlin 1979, no. 194; Pech 1996, 130, fig. 161; Lund 2000, 102, 417 fig. (3/6); Spies 2003, no. 317



CAT. 147

(Madrid exhibition)

Francisco de Goya (Zaragoza, 1746–Bordeaux, 1828)

Daedalus watching the fall of his son, Icarus (?), 1825–28

Bordeaux Album II or Album H, 52

Graphite pencil and lithographic crayon on paper

7 1/2 x 5 7/8 in. (19.2 x 14.8 cm)

Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid. Inv. D04132

Numbered in Goya's hand in black pencil, top r.: '52'; numbered, bottom r.: '182'; stamp of the Dirección del Museo Nacional de Pinturas (Museo de la Trinidad) in blue ink, bottom ctr.

Bibliography: Mayer 1925, 233, no. 278; Sánchez Cantón 1928, no. 395; Boix & Sánchez Cantón 1928, no. 98; Gassier 1947, no. 179; Sánchez Cantón 1954, no. 435; Gassier and Wilson 1970, no. 1811; Gassier 1973, 621 (fig.), 645, no. 465; Hamburg 1980, 231, no. 182; Camón Aznar 1980–84, 4:186; St. Petersburg 1996, 88, fig. 1; New York 2006, 224, fig. 86; Madrid 2008, no. 6



CAT. 148

Pablo Picasso (Málaga, 1881–Mougins, 1973)

Minotaure aveugle guidé par une fillette dans la nuit [Blind minotaur led by a girl through the night], 1934

No. 92 from *Suite Vollard*, 1930–36

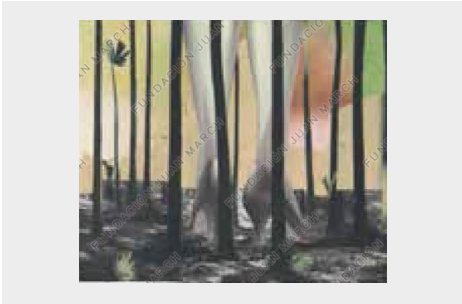
Aquatint

9 3/4 x 13 5/8 in. (24.7 x 34.7 cm)

Private collection

Signed, bottom r.: 'Picasso'

Bibliography: Geiser 1968, vol. 2: no. 437; Bloch 1972, vol. 1: no. 225; Bolliger 1977, no. 97; Valencia 1994, no. 92; Alcoi 1995, 38; Palma de Mallorca 1996, no. 92; ICO 1998, no. 92; Nuoro 2003, 141 (fig.), 153



CAT. 149

Hannah Höch (Gotha, 1889–Berlin, 1978)

Die große Person [The large person], 1940

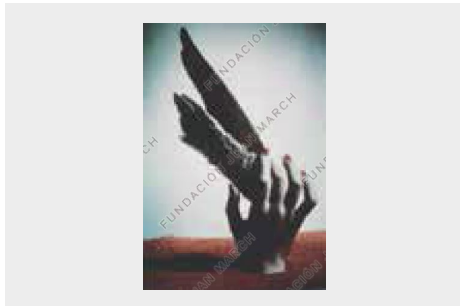
Collage

18 x 21 cm

Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. Inv. Hz 6598, Kapsel 1548a

Initialed in ball-point pen, bottom l.: 'H.H.'

Bibliography: Berlin 1971, no. 70; Berlin & Paris 1976, no. 122; Tübingen et al. 1980, no. 64; Dech 1981, 123, no. xli



CAT. 150

Pierre Jahan (Amboise, 1909–Paris, 2003)

Untitled, 1937

Photcollage

9 7/8 x 6 3/8 in. (25 x 16.2 cm)

Dietmar Siegert collection

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G. Ulrich Großmann
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Fig. 17: Descharnes 1984 (p. 149, Dalí), L'Architecture de C.-N. Le Doux, Paris 1847 (plate 240), p. 42

Fig. 24: O. Goloner, G. E. Turner, The Making of King-Kong, New York, 1975 (p. 165), p. 47

Fig. 40: Winterthur & Bremen 1983 (p. 144), p. 78

For all the works by Alberto Savinio, André Bretón, André Masson, Hannah Höch, Herbert Bayer, René Magritte, Max Ernst, Giorgio De Chirico, Hermann Finsterlin, Yves Tanguy, Maruja Mallo, Ladislav Novák, Raoul Hausmann, Hans Bellmer, Oscar Dominguez, Marcel Jean, Georges Hugnet, Federico García Lorca, Raoul Ubac, Alfred Kubin, Dora Maar, Emilia Medková, James Ensor, José Caballero, Benjamín Palencia, Pierre Boucher © VEGAP, Madrid 2013

It was not possible in every instance to locate or contact artists, authors, or their legal representatives; if such is the case, they are kindly requested to contact the Fundación Juan March at: direxpo@march.es







Surrealism in its documents (1925–1965)

The following selection of catalogues, manifestoes, posters, photographs, books, and other documents presents an archival journey, as it were, through the various international exhibitions organized by André Breton and his circle, from the *Déclaration du 27 Janvier 1925*—when the Surrealists first appeared as a group—to the last international Surrealist exhibition on which Breton collaborated, in 1965, one year before his death. The objects exhibited in this section are all from the Archivo Lafuente (Santander, Spain).

This material is part of the exhibition held at the Fundación Juan March from October 4, 2013 to January 12, 2014 titled *Surrealistas antes del surrealismo: la fantasía y lo fantástico en la estampa, el dibujo y la fotografía*. This project is the result of a collaboration with the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg that held its exhibition from October 25, 2012 to February 3, 2013 under a different title, *Day Dreams, Night Thoughts: Fantasy and Surrealism in the Graphic Arts and Photography*.

As this section was organized specifically for the exhibition at the Fundación Juan March, it was decided to publish it as a separate appendix rather than include it in the English version of the catalogue.



1

Déclaration du 27 janvier 1925 [Declaration of January 27, 1925]

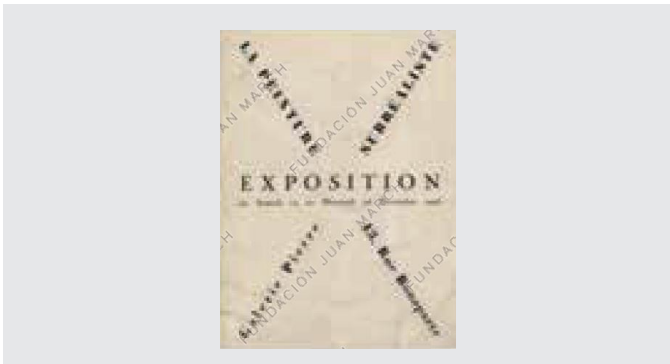
Bureau de Recherches Surréalistes, Paris, 1925

Document: 16 7/8 x 10 5/8 in. (43 x 26.9 cm)



3B "Ouverture de la Galerie surréaliste: Man Ray et Objets des Iles" [Opening of the Galerie surréaliste: Man Ray and Objects from the Islands], Galerie surréaliste, Paris, March 26, 1926

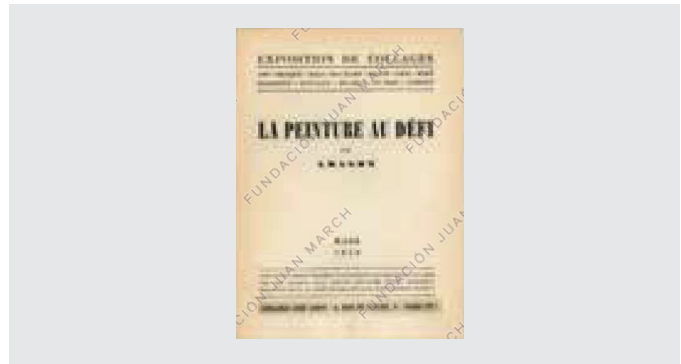
Invitation card: 3 5/8 x 5 1/4 in. (9.2 x 13.5 cm)



2

La Peinture surréaliste: Exposition [Surrealist painting: Exhibition], November 14–25, 1925 (Paris: Galerie Pierre, 1925)

Exhibition catalogue: 7 1/5 x 5 5/8 in. (19 x 14.4 cm)



4

Louis Aragon, *Le Peinture au défi: Exposition de collages; Arp, Braque, Dalí, Duchamp, Ernst, Gris, Miró, Magritte, Man-Ray, Picabia, Picasso, Tanguy* [Painting defied: Exhibition of collages (by) Arp, Braque, Dalí, Duchamp, Ernst, Gris, Miró, Magritte, Man Ray, Picabia, Picasso, Tanguy], Galerie Goemans, Paris, March 28–April 12, 1930 (Paris: Librairie José Corti, 1930)

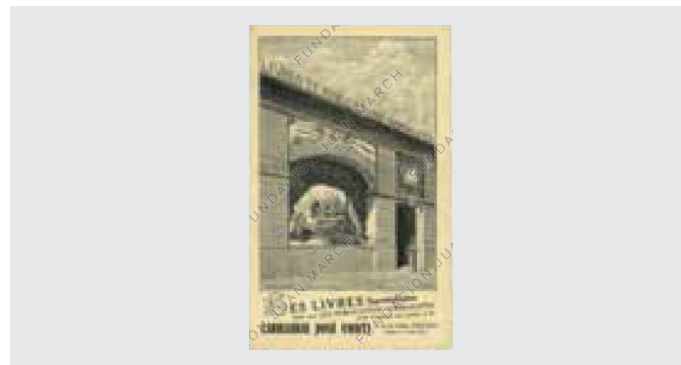
Exhibition catalogue: 7 3/4 x 5 3/4 in. (19.6 x 14.5 cm)



3

3A *Tableaux de Man Ray et Objets des Iles* [Works by Man Ray and Objects from the Islands], Galerie surréaliste, Paris, March 26–April 10, 1926, with gallery opening, March 26 (Paris: Editions surréalistes, 1926)

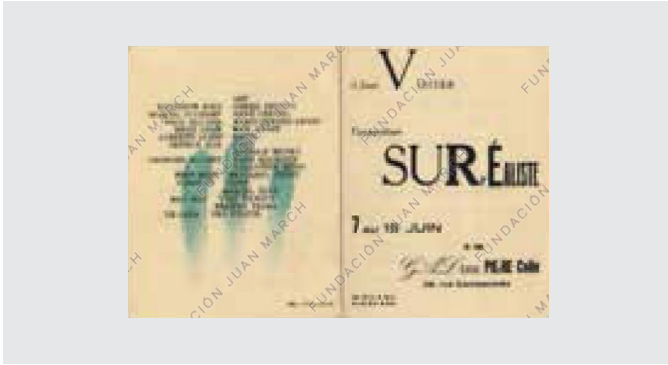
Exhibition catalogue: 9 1/2 x 6 1/4 in. (24.2 x 15.9 cm)



5

Livres et publications surréalistes [Surrealist books and publications] (Paris: Librairie José Corti, 1931)

Book: 8 7/8 x 5 1/2 in. (22.5 x 14 cm)



6

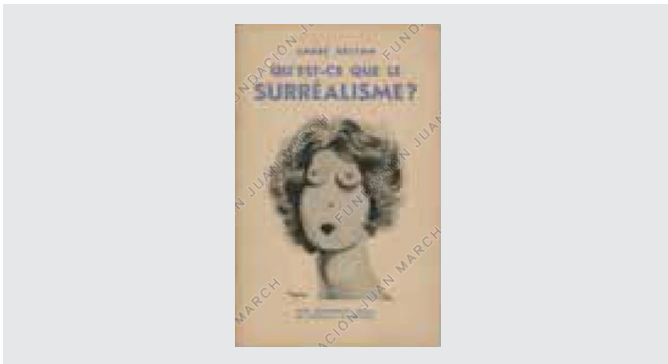
Il faut visiter l'exposition surréaliste: 7 au 18 juin à la Galerie Pierre Colle [You've got to visit the Surrealist exhibition: June 7–18, at Galerie Pierre Colle] (Paris: Galerie Pierre Colle, 1933)

Pamphlet: 5 1/8 x 4 in. (13.1 x 10.1 cm)



8B *Boletín Internacional del Surrealismo / Bulletin international du surréalisme*, no. 2 (October 1935), published in Santa Cruz de Tenerife by the Groupe surréaliste de Paris and *Gaceta de Arte*

Periodical: 4 3/4 x 6 3/4 in. (12 x 17 cm)



7

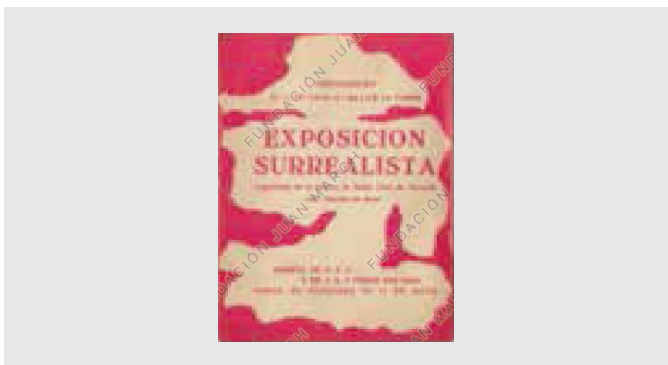
André Breton, *Qu'est-ce que le surréalisme?* [What is Surrealism?] (Brussels: René Henríquez, 1934)

Book: 9 3/4 x 7 in. (24.6 x 17.7 cm)



8C View of the exhibition hall of the *Exposición surrealista* in the Ateneo de Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 1935

Photograph: 4 3/4 x 6 3/4 in. (12 x 17 cm)



8

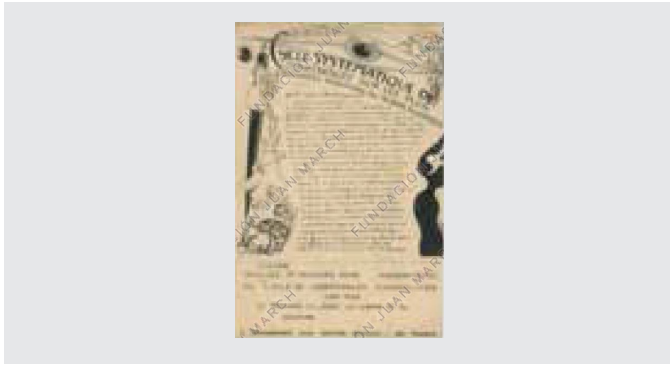
8A *Exposición surrealista organizada en el Ateneo de Santa Cruz de Tenerife por "Gaceta de Arte"* [Surrealist exhibition organized in the Ateneo de Santa Cruz de Tenerife by *Gaceta de Arte*], May 11–21, 1935 (Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Ateneo de Santa Cruz, 1935)

Exhibition catalogue: 8 1/4 x 6 1/4 in. (21 x 15.9 cm)



8D From left to right: Domingo López Torres, Benjamin Péret, Eduardo Westerdahl, Jaqueline Lamba, André Breton, Agustín Espinosa, José María de la Rosa, and Domingo Pérez Minik at the *Exposición surrealista*, Ateneo de Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 1935

Photograph: 4 3/4 x 6 3/4 in. (12 x 17 cm)



9

Cycle systématique de conférences sur les plus récentes positions du surréalisme [Systematic series of lectures on Surrealism's most recent positions], June 1935 (Paris: n.p., 1935)

Pamphlet: 9 5/8 x 6 1/8 in. (24.5 x 15.5 cm)



10

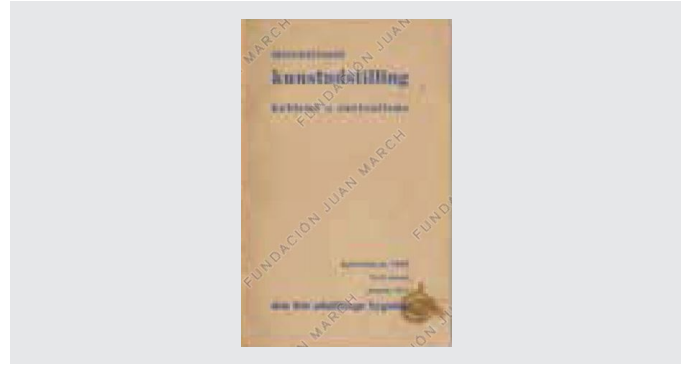
10A "Visitez l'exposition surréaliste" [Visit the Surrealist exhibition], Salle communale d'exposition, La Louvière, Belgium, October 13-27, 1935

Invitation card: 3 1/2 x 5 1/2 in. (9 x 14 cm)



10B *Bulletin international du surréalisme* [International bulletin of Surrealism], no. 3 (1935), published in Brussels by the Groupe surréaliste en Belgique

Periodical: 11 1/2 x 8 1/8 in. (29.1 x 20.6 cm)



11

International kunststudstilling: Kubisme-surrealisme [International art exhibition: Cubism-Surrealism], January 15-28, 1935 (Copenhagen: Den Frie udstillings bygning, 1935)

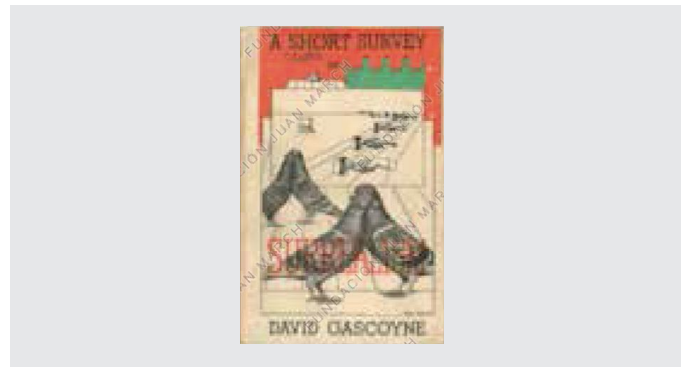
Exhibition catalogue: 7 5/8 x 4 3/4 in. (19.3 x 12 cm)



12

Bulletin international du surréalisme / Mezinárodní buletin surrealismu, no. 1 (1935), published in Prague by the Groupe surréaliste en Tchécoslovaquie

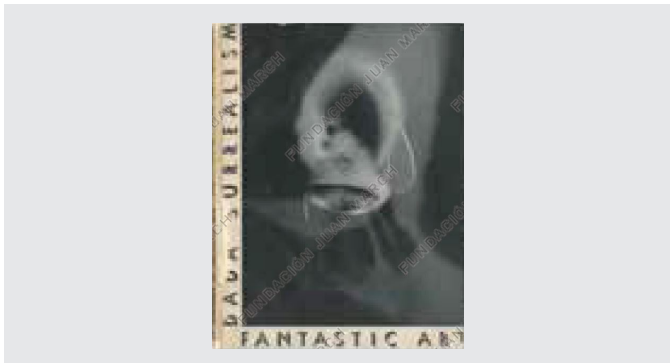
Periodical: 11 3/4 x 8 1/4 in. (29.8 x 21)



13

David Gascoyne, *A Short Survey of Surrealism* (London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1935)

Book: 8 5/8 x 5 1/2 in. (22 x 14 cm)



14

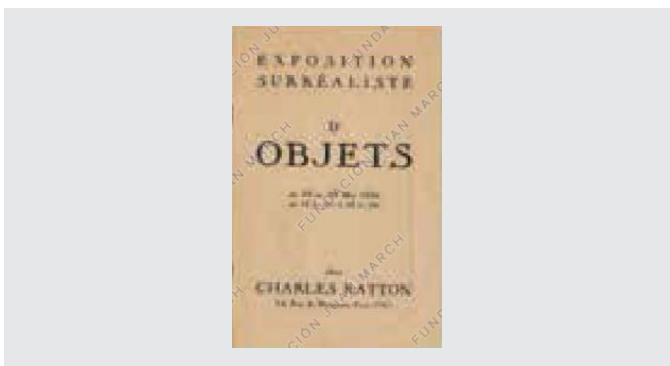
Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism, December 1936–January 1937 (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1936), first edition

Exhibition catalogue: 10 1/4 x 7 3/4 in. (25.9 x 19.7 cm)



16B "International Surrealist Exhibition," New Burlington Galleries, London, June 12–July 4, 1936

Invitation card: 6 7/6 x 5 1/4 in. (17.4 x 13.5 cm)



15

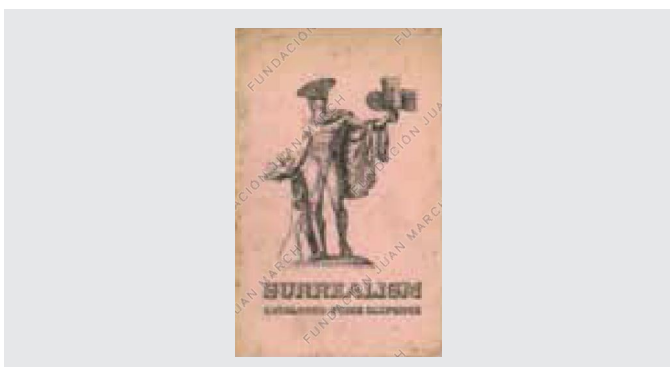
Exposition surréaliste d'objets [Surrealist exhibition of objects], May 22–29, 1936 (Paris: Charles Ratton, 1936)

Exhibition catalogue: 9 1/4 x 6 in. (23.6 x 15.4 cm)



16C *International Surrealist Bulletin* / *Bulletin international du surréalisme*, no. 4 (1936), published in London by the Surrealist Group in England

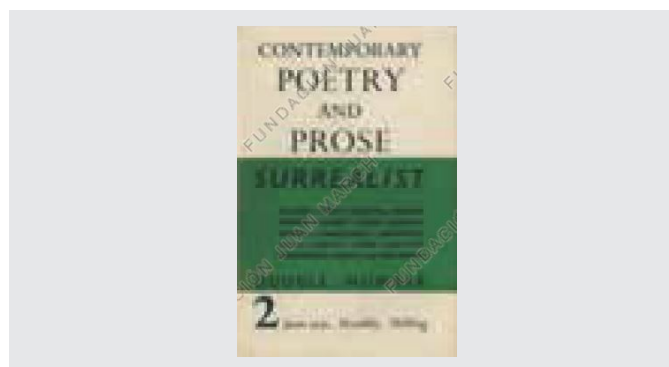
Periodical: 10 7/8 x 9 7/8 in. (27.5 x 21.5 cm)



16

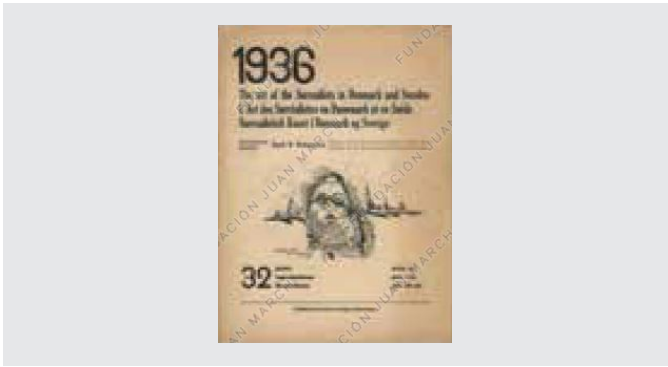
16A *Surrealism: Catalogue* (i.e., *International Surrealist Exhibition*), New Burlington Galleries, London, June 12–July 4, 1936 (London: Roger Roughton, 1936)

Exhibition catalogue: 9 1/2 x 6 in. (24.2 x 15.2 cm)



16D Special issue, "Surrealist Double Number," *Contemporary Poetry and Prose*, no. 2 (1936), published in London by Roger Roughton

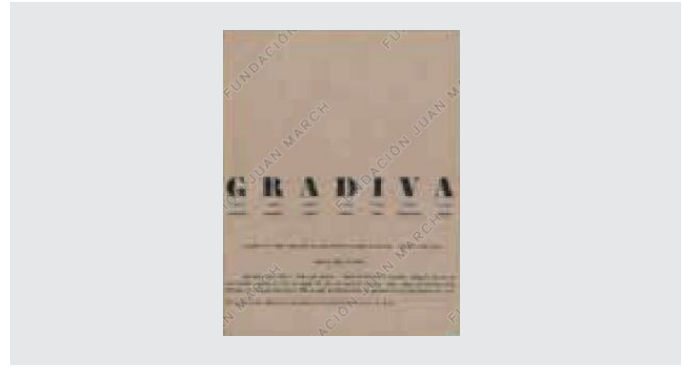
Periodical: 5 5/8 x 8 5/8 in. (14.3 x 21.8 cm)



17

The Art of the Surrealists in Denmark and Sweden / L'Art des surréalistes en Danemark et en Suède / Surrealistisk kunst i Danmark og Sverige, foreword by Carl V. Petersen (Copenhagen: Fischer Forlag, 1936)

Book: 12 1/4 x 8 7/8 in. (31 x 22.5 cm)



20

Gradiva, "celle qui avance" [Gradiva, "she who walks"], announcement of the opening of André Breton's gallery in Paris, "Gradiva" (Paris: n.p., 1937)

Pamphlet: 10 1/2 x 8 1/4 in. (26.8 x 21 cm)



18

Georges Hugnet, *La septième face du dé: Poèmes-découpages* [The seventh face of the die: Decoupage-poems] (Paris: Jeanne Bucher, 1936)

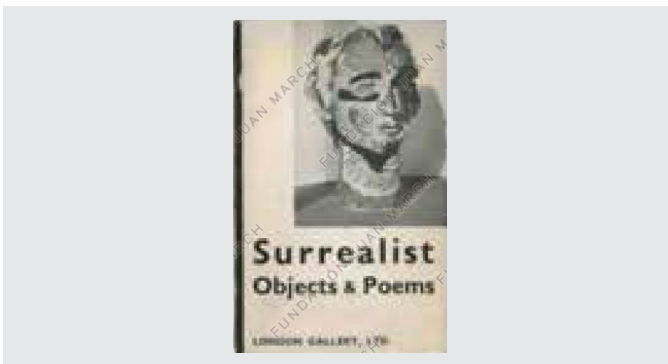
Book: 11 1/2 x 8 3/8 in. (29.1 x 21.3 cm)



21

"Exposition internationale du surréalisme organisée par la revue *Mizué*" [International Surrealist exhibition organized by the journal *Mizué*], Nippon Salon, Ginza, Tokyo, June 9–14, 1937

Invitation card: 5 1/2 x 3 5/8 in. (14 x 9.3 cm)



19

Surrealist Objects and Poems, November 24–December 24, 1937 (London: London Gallery Ltd., 1937)

Exhibition catalogue: 8 1/8 x 5 1/8 in. (20.5 x 13 cm)



22

"André Breton parlera de l'humour noir" [André Breton will speak on black humor], Exposition Internationale, Paris, 9 October 1937

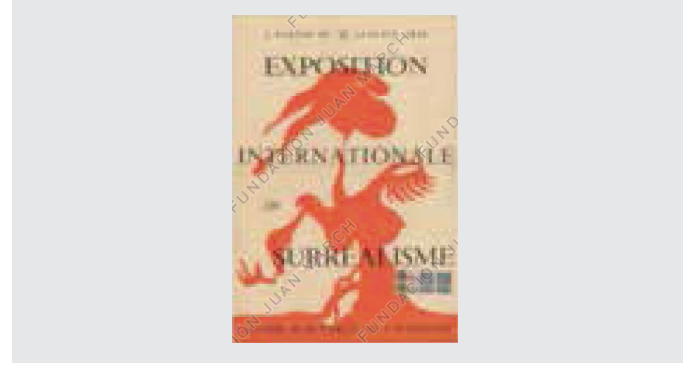
Invitation card: 6 3/8 x 4 3/4 in. (16.1 x 12.1 cm)



23

La Carte surréaliste: Première série; vingt et une cartes [The Surrealist postcard: First series; twenty-one postcards] (Paris: Georges Hugnet, 1937)

Set of 21 postcards: 5 3/4 x 4 in. (14.5 x 10 cm)



24C Exposition internationale du surréalisme, Galerie Beaux-Arts, Paris, January 17, 1938

Poster: 22 x 15 in. (56 x 38 cm)



24

24A Exposition internationale du surréalisme [International Surrealist exhibition], January–February, 1938 (Paris: Galerie Beaux-Arts, 1938)

Catalogue-program: 9 1/2 x 6 in. (24 x 15.3 cm)



24D For the Exposition internationale du surréalisme held at the Galerie Beaux-Arts in Paris in 1938, André Breton and Paul Éluard asked fifteen artists associated with the movement to create works out of industrial mannequins. The decorated mannequins were arranged along the entrance hallway. Man Ray recorded them with his camera, in addition to contributing a mannequin of his own

24D1 Man Ray, Kurt Seligmann's mannequin, 1938

Gelatin silver print on paper. 7 3/8 x 5 1/2 in. (18.6 x 14 cm)

24D2 Man Ray, Salvador Dalí's mannequin, 1938

Gelatin silver print on paper. 7 3/8 x 5 1/2 in. (18.6 x 14 cm)

24D3 Man Ray, Marcel Jean's mannequin, 1938

Gelatin silver print on paper. 7 3/8 x 5 1/2 in. (18.6 x 14 cm)

24D4 Man Ray, Óscar Domínguez's mannequin, 1938

Gelatin silver print on paper. 7 3/8 x 5 1/2 in. (18.6 x 14 cm)

24D5 Man Ray, Marcel Duchamp's mannequin, 1938

Gelatin silver print on paper. 7 3/8 x 5 1/2 in. (18.6 x 14 cm)

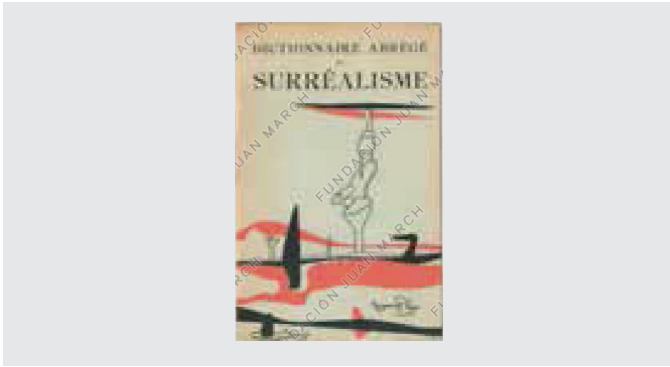
24D6 Man Ray, Maurice Henry's mannequin, 1938

Gelatin silver print on paper. 7 3/8 x 5 1/2 in. (18.6 x 14 cm)



24B "Exposition internationale du surréalisme," Galerie Beaux-Arts, Paris, January 17, 1938

Invitation card: 4 3/8 x 5 1/2 in. (11 x 14 cm)



25

André Breton and Paul Éluard, *Dictionnaire abrégé du surréalisme* [Abridged dictionary of Surrealism] (Paris: Galerie Beaux-Arts, 1938)

Book: 9 5/8 x 6 1/8 in. (24.3 x 15.5 cm)



28

28A Braulio Arenas and Jorge Cáceres, *Exposición surrealista: Objetos, collages, dibujos* [Surrealist exhibition: Objects, collages, drawings] (Santiago de Chile: Biblioteca Nacional, 1941)

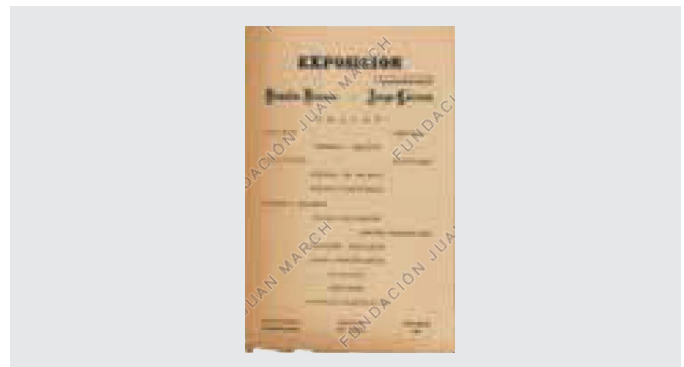
Exhibition catalogue: 7 1/4 x 5 1/4 in. (18.3 x 13.5 cm)



26

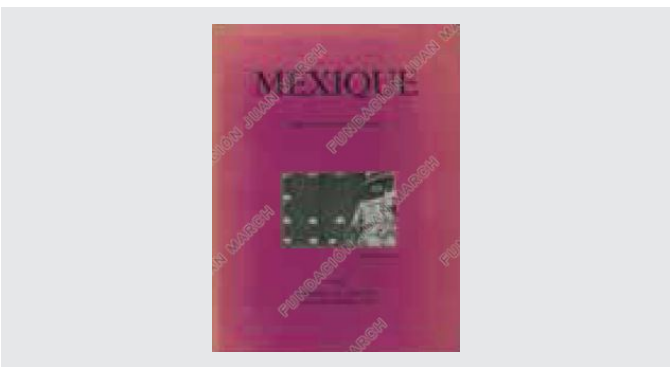
Comte de Lautréamont [Isidore Ducasse], *Oeuvres complètes* [Complete works], prologue by André Breton, with illustrations by Victor Brauner, Óscar Domínguez, Max Ernst, Espinoza, René Magritte, André Masson, Roberto Matta Echaurren, Joan Miró, Wolfgang Paalen, Man Ray, Kurt Seligmann, and Yves Tanguy (Paris: Guy Levis Mano, 1938)

Book: 7 5/8 x 5 5/8 in. (19.3 x 14.2 cm)



28B *Exposición surrealista: Braulio Arenas, Jorge Cáceres* (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Mandrágora, 1941)

Program: 8 3/8 x 5 3/8 in. (21.4 x 13.6 cm)



27

Mexique [Mexico], préface by André Breton (Paris: Renou et Colle, 1939)

Exhibition catalogue: 9 1/4 x 6 7/8 in. (23.4 x 17.5 cm)



29

First Papers of Surrealism. October 14–November 7, 1942 (New York: Coordinating Council of French Relief Societies, 1942)

Exhibition catalogue: 10 3/8 x 7 1/4 in. (26.5 x 18.3 cm)



30

30A *Prière de toucher* [Please touch], deluxe edition of *Le Surréalisme en 1947: Exposition internationale du surréalisme* [Surrealism in 1947: International Surrealist exhibition], designed by Marcel Duchamp (Paris: Maeght, Pierre à feu, 1947)

Exhibition catalogue, with collage of foam rubber, pigment, velvet, and cardboard mounted on removable cover: 9 7/8 x 9 in. (25 x 22.8 cm)



30B *Le Surréalisme en 1947: Exposition internationale du surréalisme*, special edition (Paris: Maeght, Pierre à Feu, 1947)

Exhibition catalogue: 9 1/4 x 8 1/8 in. (23.5 x 20.5 cm)

30C *Le Surréalisme en 1947: Exposition internationale du surréalisme* (Paris: Maeght, Pierre à Feu, 1947)

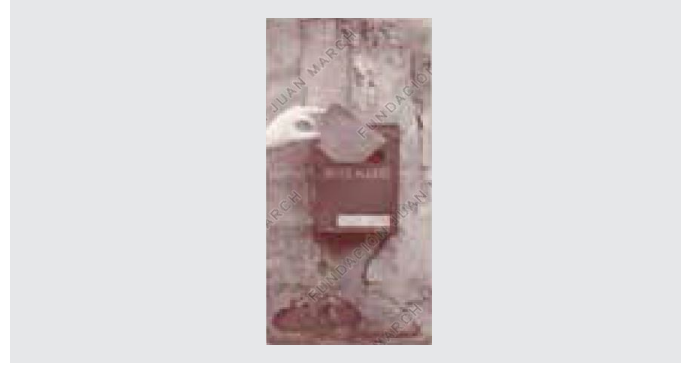
Exhibition catalogue: 9 1/2 x 8 1/4 in. (24 x 21 cm)



31

Braulio Arenas. "Exposición internacional surrealista: Bajo el signo del amor" [International Surrealist exhibition: Under the sign of love], November 22–December 4, 1948 (Santiago de Chile: Galería Dédalo, 1948)

Exhibition pamphlet: 15 3/8 x 10 5/8 in. (39 x 27 cm)



32

32A *Boîte alerte: Missives lascives* [Mailbox alert: lascivious missives], i.e., *Exposition internationale du Surréalisme 1959–1960* [International Surrealist exhibition, 1959–1960], December 1959–February 1960 (Paris: Galerie Daniel Cordier, 1959)

Exhibition catalogue: 10 x 4 7/8 in. (25.5 x 12.5 cm)



32B *Boîte alerte: Missives lascives*, i.e., *Exposition internationale du Surréalisme 1959–1960*, numbered copy, 21/200 (Paris: Galerie Daniel Cordier, 1959)

Exhibition catalogue, stored in green pasteboard box in the form of a mailbox: 11 x 7 1/8 x 2 1/2 in. (28 x 18 x 6.5 cm)



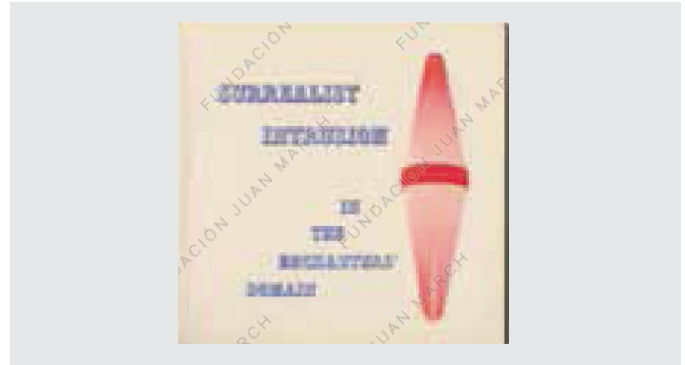
32C "Exposition internationale du Surréalisme 1959–1960," Galerie Daniel Cordier, Paris, 1959

Ticket: 4 3/4 x 3 5/8 in. (12.2 x 9.2 cm)



32D "Exposition internationale du Surréalisme 1959-60," Galerie Daniel Cordier, Paris, 1959

Letterhead: 10 5/8 x 8 1/4 in. (27 x 21 cm)



33

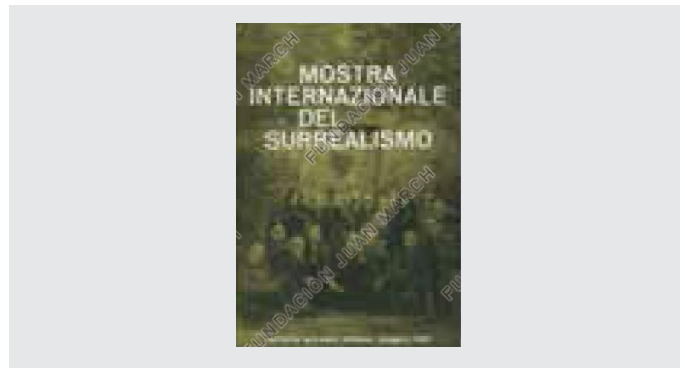
Surrealist Intrusion in the Enchanters' Domain, November 28, 1960-January 14, 1961 (New York: D'Arcy Galleries, 1960)

Exhibition catalogue: 7 1/8 x 7 1/8 in. (18 x 18 cm)



32E *Exposition internationale du surréalisme 1959-1960* (Galerie Daniel Cordier, Paris, 1959)

Poster: 20 1/2 x 14 1/8 in. (52 x 36 cm)



34

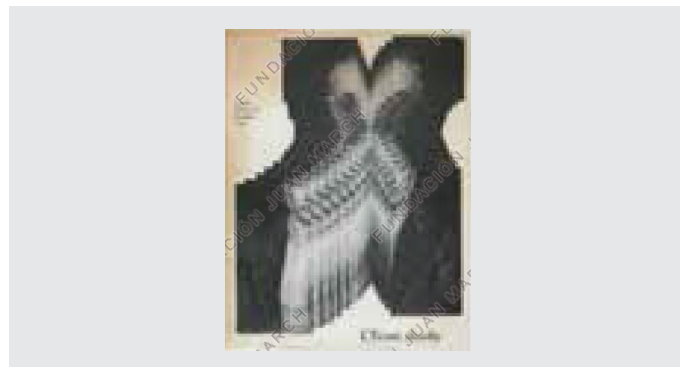
Mostra internazionale del surrealismo, [International surrealist exhibition], May 1961 (Milan: Galleria Schwarz, 1961)

Exhibition catalogue: 9 1/4 x 6 3/8 in. (23,4 x 16,1 cm)



32F "Exposition internationale du Surréalisme 1959-1960," vernissage [exhibition preview], December 15, Galerie Daniel Cordier, Paris 1959

Invitation card: 4 x 5 1/2 in. (10 x 14 cm)



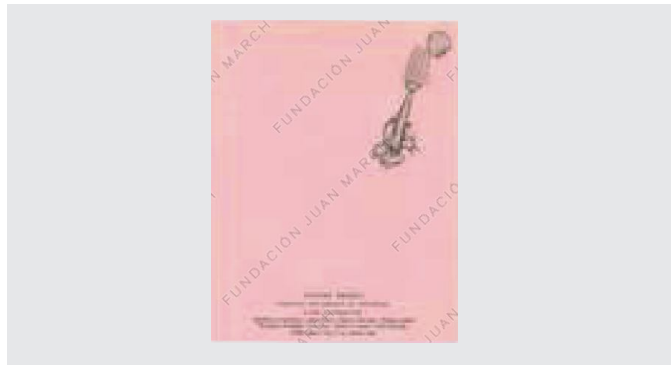
35

35A L'Écart absolu [The absolute gap] (Paris: L'Oeil Galerie d'Art, 1965)

Exhibition catalogue: 9 1/2 x 12 1/4 in. (24 x 31 cm)



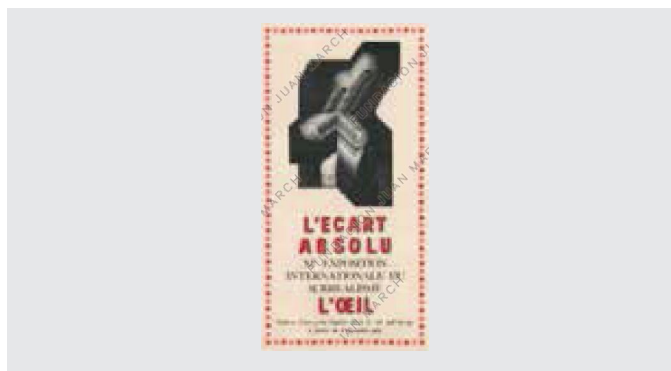
35B "Xle expo. internat. L'Écart absolu" [11th int'l exhib. The absolute gap], L'Oeil Galerie d'Art, Paris, 16 noviembre 1965
 Invitation card: 5 1/4 x 3 5/8 in. (13.2 x 9.2 cm)



35D "L'Écart absolu: Exposition internationale du surréalisme," L'Oeil Galerie d'Art, Paris, October 1965
 Letterhead: 10 5/8 x 8 1/4 in. (27 x 21 cm)



35C "L'Officina Undici (mobile di Fabio De Sanctis e Ugo Sterpini) participa a: L'Écart absolu: Exposition internationale du surréalisme" [Officina Undici (furniture by Fabio De Sanctis and Ugo Sterpini), participates in: The absolute gap, international Surrealist exhibition], L'Oeil Galerie d'Art, Paris, December 23, 1965
 Invitation card: 10 1/4 x 4 1/8 in. (26 x 10.5 cm)



35E *L'Écart absolu: XIe Exposition internationale du surréalisme*, L'Oeil Galerie d'Art, Paris, 1965
 Poster: 24 3/8 x 12 3/8 in. (62 x 31.4 cm)

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