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A

# WOLFGANG PAALEN, DYN AND THE AMERICAN AVANT-GARDE OF THE 1940S

by

AMY WINTER

VOLUME I

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Art History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

1995

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## ABSTRACT

**WOLFGANG PAALEN, DYN, AND THE AMERICAN AVANT-GARDE OF THE 1940S**

**by**

**Amy H. Winter**

Advisor: Professor Gail Levin

This dissertation is a monograph on the Viennese artist and theorist, Wolfgang Paalen, covering his life, theories, art, and times. Part I reconstructs Paalen's biography and his emergence as an artist in Europe. Parts II and III serve as background for Paalen's primitivism and relationship to the art and culture of the Northwest Coast and pre-Columbian America, and Mexican modernism. Part IV examines his relationship to and influence on the Abstract Expressionist movement through his "little magazine" DYN, published in Mexico City during his exile in World War II, from 1942-1944; and through his paintings and other artworks, exhibited in New York throughout the 1940s.


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# INTRODUCTION

## A. SYNOPSIS

This dissertation examines the life, theories, art, and times of the Viennese artist, Wolfgang Paalen. Paalen was a complex individual whose life and work consolidated a multitude of intellectual and cultural sources that grew out of his experiences in Vienna, Berlin, Munich, Paris, New York, and Mexico City. This dissertation, which began as a study of Paalen's influence on Abstract Expressionism, was expanded to treat as many themes as Paalen's sources, in order to reliably define the impact of his thinking and work on that movement. It therefore encompasses Paalen's early life, and the situation of modern art in Austria and Germany at the time of his formation. As background for Paalen's all-consuming interest in ethnographic art, it reviews nineteenth and twentieth-century Germanic "Americanism" and primitivism, as well as contemporary American and French primitivism and exhibitions of Native American art, analyzing the artist's relationship to them. It is understood that the terms "primitive" and "Indian," are antiquated and pejorative. They are thus found only in quotation to indicate such usage in their original historical contexts. In addition I consider Paalen's journey to the Northwest Coast and his residency in Mexico; and as necessary background Surrealism's and André Breton's relationship to primitivism and Mexico, including

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contemporary exhibitions, collections, and research, and the writings of Breton, Paalen, and others on this topic.

Turning to DYN, I explore Paalen's and Surrealism's theories of art, as well as the relation of DYN to other avant-garde magazines and Paalen's break with Surrealism. Finally, Paalen's personal contacts with and influence on the Abstract Expressionists through DYN and his art are documented and analyzed in the last part of the dissertation.

B. THE UNKNOWN PAALEN

Wolfgang Paalen has always been considered a Surrealist due to his close affiliation with that movement in 1930s Paris. This view of the artist as an agent of Surrealism and an authority on matters of automatism, the unconscious, and primitive art and culture, however, needs modification. It grew out of his renown in the movement and out of the obvious relationship those topics bore to it. Discussions of these ideas are to be found in Paalen's essays and presentations in DYN, the central subject of this dissertation, but they are not limited to Surrealist discourse alone. Even André Breton, in the first commentary he ever wrote on Paalen, indicated that "no antecedent was to be found in Surrealism...for the spirit of Paalen," identifying him with the spirit of the German Romantic scientist and poet, Georg Christoph Lichtenberg.[1] The details of Paalen's life and career in Austria and Germany,

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before Surrealism, are an untold tale that greatly bears upon his importance to modern American art, and, specifically, Abstract Expressionism.

This dissertation will show how, through Paalen, the traditions of Viennese and German Expressionism were translated to Abstract Expressionism, a fact that helps to explain many of the affinities that can be identified between the two movements.[2] An affinity between Paalen's identity as a Central European Jewish intellectual and that of Mark Rothko, Adolph Gottlieb, Barnett Newman, Louise Nevelson and Lee Krasner, who all shared that same tradition, also figures in his influence and reception. Based on new research about his heritage and his past, this dissertation will view Paalen's early formation as a synthesis of Central European influences - both Viennese and Berliner, a complicated mix since Vienna was a separate culture that nonetheless thoroughly identified itself with German tradition.

Basic knowledge of Paalen was available in the first and only English language monograph, published in 1946 by Karl Nierendorf, Paalen's dealer in New York after his exhibitions with Peggy Guggenheim and Julien Levy.[3] This monograph was co-authored by Paalen with Gustav Regler, and gave a picture of the artist's life that was the foundation for all subsequent studies.[4] But it was both selective and summary, and ignored, obscured, or idealized the details of Paalen's family history and early life and roots in Central

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Europe. Important pieces of his biography are missing from this monograph, particularly his Prussian/Jewish identity, which has recently been revealed. It is now apparent that many facts were hidden, as a result of the terrible economic depressions, anti-semitism, wars, and genocide that befell Europe in the first half of this century.

It was probably for this reason that Paalen was mythologized, partly as a result of his own efforts; he romanticized his class and cultural antecedents. This mythologizing infiltrates the literature - from catalogues which describe him as French-Austrian, to an account of his selling his aristocratic title when in dire straits in Paris. In France, among the Surrealists, he was known as Count Wolfgang von Paalen. And that image clung, even in the New World.

A major reason for Paalen's relative obscurity and a concern of this dissertation has to do with both art world and world politics. Unlike many of the other Surrealists, Paalen went to Mexico for his exile during the war. Living in Mexico City, he was on the margins of the vital and powerful art world that developed in New York in the 1940s and '50s, and his visibility and influence were thereby diminished. With the post-war swing in economic and political power, there was also a shift of culture from Paris to New York. By around 1948, the period of Abstract Expressionist maturity and emergence as the preeminent modernist movement, Paalen and DYN had already made their

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mark on these artists. It appears that, in spite of his marginalization, it was Paalen's program that they adapted to their own needs. The post-war climate of American nationalism and the strategies of the cold war gave rise to a change in the art world and market.[5] Culture became an export in which the idealized values of American independence, individuality, daring, ruggedness, etc. were attached to the products of its artists, in an attempt to persuade the free world of the virtues of American over Soviet culture, and thus, symbolically, to maintain the Alliance and stabilize the balance of power.[6] The promotion and support of American art by such extra-artistic institutions as the increasingly powerful media and advertising, and by the federal government, served to catapult the Abstract Expressionists into national and international fame - a first for modernist American artists, who had previously been outcasts in their own society, forced to take a back seat to the School of Paris.[7] The importance of Mexico City as a cultural and political center, a mecca for artists in the 1920s and 1930s, ebbed after the opening years of the 1940s, and Paalen, too, was overlooked in the course of events. The increasing success of the Abstract Expressionists, coupled with Paalen's absence from the New York art scene after 1948, served to shorten the memories of these artists, allowing them to completely naturalize his ideas and practices, as if they were, and always had been, their own. Historically

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speaking, the 1950s suppressed or obscured much of the art created in post-war Europe. Not until the 1980s, with the advent of Neo-Expressionism, was contemporary European art featured again in this country. As in the immediate post-war period, this shift can be traced to shifts in world and economic politics, until today, when New York's position as the exclusive center of art and culture has been diminished.

Along with the focus on Paalen's texts addressed here, I reexamine Paalen the painter as well; the paintings, however, are considered primarily in relation to Paalen's writings. The essays in DYN thus serve to illuminate not only his influence on the New York School, but also his own intentions and meanings.

Paalen's artistic production is characterized by various stylistic periods corresponding to the modern art movements with which he was associated, and to the descriptive classifications he himself devised. To wit: the "Cycladic (Abstraction-Creation); the "Totemic" (Surrealist); the "Cosmic" and "Mosaic" (post-Surrealist); the "Telluric" (post-World War II France); and the "Floral" (Mexican).[6]

C. LITERATURE

Like his biography, any bibliography on Paalen is rich but complex and must account for the various cultural sources constituting his theories. Thus one must consider

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the German, Viennese, French, U.S., and Mexican contexts to have a true grasp of Paalen's influence on Abstract Expressionism. But the bulk of the literature on Paalen has been produced in the field of Surrealism, reinforcing the one- (or two-) dimensional view which this dissertation strives to amend.

Since 1936 and continuing to the present day, Paalen has been included and discussed in every major study, exhibition, or memoir of Surrealism on both sides of the Atlantic. This represents the production of five generations of curators, critics, and historians of art, and includes such major poets and writers as André Breton, Christian Zervos, Herbert Read, and Octavio Paz. (See below - "Dada and Surrealist Studies Mentioning Paalen") With the exception of only one catalogue, Hommage à Wolfgang Paalen, published in 1967 by Mexico City's Museo d'arte Moderno in conjunction with a posthumous retrospective of his work[9] - statements, reviews, and essays of Paalen's work are brief, honorific, or poetic, rather than substantive, historical, or critical, carrying over the same myths, facts, and accounts that were established at the primary level of commentary by Breton, Read, and Paalen himself. It is therefore important to look closely at this first level of writers, particularly at Breton, Paalen's most perceptive critic; and at the monograph signed by Gustav Regler, but collaboratively written by Regler and Paalen. This is done in a separate section below. Attention is given to

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Breton's, Read's, and other texts, written before the exile, in Part I.

The second monograph on Paalen is Leonor Morales' Wolfgang Paalen: Introductor de la pintura Surrealista en Mexico.[10] First published in Mexico City in 1965 as a master's thesis, then reissued as a book in 1984, it was heavily dependent on Regler. As its subtitle suggests, it focuses on Paalen's relationship to Mexican culture, relating him as a Surrealist to antecedent romantic and fantastic tendencies in Mexican art of the nineteenth and twentieth century. This material is very useful in study of the Mexican period. Morales was able to interview Alice Rahon Paalen and Eva Sulzer,, who were still alive in Mexico City at the time of writing her thesis.[11] Additional information beyond Regler was thus acquired, clarifying some details of Paalen's life. But Morales' study still participates in the mythologizing of the other texts and adds little more than these details to the study. It briefly summarizes Paalen's critical reception in Paris in the 1930s and in Mexico in the 1940s and '50s, gives a cross-section of the "basic philosophy and influences" evident in DYN, and provides a broad overview of his painted works. It also reprints Spanish translations and gives an inventory of the DYN essays. But it is not concerned with critical analysis of Paalen or of DYN, nor with the historical and cultural contexts out of which they arose, nor does it discuss his influence in North America.

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The first history of Mexican modern art to include Paalen was Rodriguez-Prampolini (1969), following the "Hommage" exhibition at Mexico City's Museo d'arte Moderno (1967), which generated a wave of interest in Paalen.[12] A series of articles and exhibitions on Surrealism and Paalen followed thereafter. (See below - "Mexican Literature") Once again, these texts are considered in Parts III and IV which deal with Paalen in Mexico, particularly with respect to his reception and position in Mexican art circles.

There are two other monographs on Paalen by José Pierre, a neo-Surrealist of Mexican descent, living in Paris. These, however, are not close looks at Paalen, and they give only a limited picture. Pierre's Domaine de Paalen[13] is primarily a compilation of selected writings on and by Paalen himself, put in chronological order, and accompanied only by commentary. His other monograph, Wolfgang Paalen,[14] is basically a picture book, with a short poetic hommage of introduction to this small catalogue of paintings.

Growing literature on the transfer of Surrealism from the Old to the New World has included Paalen, relying upon some of the Mexican literature, particularly that of Pierre.[15] While providing an introduction to the subject, these are overviews of late Surrealism in Mexico, important for the context of Paalen in/and Mexico. In this respect, Breton's visit to Mexico, Méxique exhibition and catalogue, and "Souvenir du Méxique" essay of 1939 published in

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Minotaure, are important preludes to the actual Surrealist emigration to Mexico.[16] These texts are discussed in Part III.

There is only one essay exclusively devoted to DYN, by Renée Hubert, a specialist in literature (who also wrote Surrealism and the Book), entitled "Wolfgang Paalen et ses familiers: L'Itinéraire visuel et verbal de DYN à Dynaton."[17] This essay is written from a literary point of view and considers DYN in comparison to other Surrealist art reviews like Minotaure, La Révolution surréaliste, VVV, etc. As the title suggests, its principal subject is to look at the "rapport between text and image in the six numbers of DYN," which is done in a categorical fashion, although Hubert is no stranger to semiotics. It traces the totemic theme in Paalen's series of Paysages totémiques essays and his essay "Totem Art," but not in the depth of such a dissertation as Evan Maurer's, and does not relate this theme to his actual biography.[18] It emphasizes Paalen's ideological break with Surrealism, which Paalen himself declared in the "Farewell to Surrealism," which was published in the first issue of DYN; and it differentiates between Paalen's and Breton's positions and visions in 1942-44 vis-á-vis the endangered future of man and art. From Hubert's French point of view, Paalen is more "Cartesian" in his thinking than Breton. In the context of this dissertation, one must recast that perception and say that he is, instead, more "pragmatic" in the tradition of the

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Vienna School, seeking to fuse art and science, in a manner evident in Vienna at the turn, and in the first decades, of the twentieth century.

Most recently Robert Mattison, who wrote his dissertation on the early career of Robert Motherwell,[19] gave a paper on the encounter between Paalen and Motherwell in Mexico in the 1940s.[20] In this paper he discussed the importance of Paalen's ideas for Motherwell and his Abstract Expressionist colleagues, as well as the impact of Paalen's works of that period on their painting. In this paper, Mattison particularly focused on the aspect of Paalen's theoretical influence that dealt with the paradigm of physics as a model for abstract and universal imagery. For Paalen's knowledge of physics, Mattison depended on the discussion in the DYN essay "Art and Science," and singled out Paalen's reference, among many others, to the physicist Louis de Broglie. This neglected, but critical, aspect of Paalen's philosophy relating to physics and the philosophy of science, has roots in Germanic philosophy and is approached in Part I; and, as regards Abstract Expressionism, is treated in detail in Part IV, specifically in relation to Paalen's "Art and Science," essay.[21]

Perhaps as a result of being an expatriate for so many years, and because of the suppression of modern German studies in the post-war period, the first mention of Paalen in a German-language publication was in 1957.[22] Though he was mentioned in German and Eastern European literature on

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Surrealism in the 1960s, a full study in German did not occur until recently. Andreas Neufert's M.A. thesis (1987) once again looks at Paalen's paintings in the Old World context of European modernism in the 1930s, stylistically and thematically augmenting the discussion of Paalen's Abstraction-Creation and Surrealist works.[23] For the most part, however, Neufert's study elides the Germanic background and historical context and concentrates on the French context of Paalen's life and career. To this end, he conducted numerous interviews with close friends and artistic associates of Paalen in Paris, including Stanley William Hayter, Jean Hélion, and Gordon Onslow Ford, as well as Alice Rahon and Eva Sulzer in Mexico. Through iconographic method, he makes an investigation of the sources and influences of Paalen's early artistic career, depending once again on the Regler monograph for his leads, embellished by the interviews. A large part of his focus is on the theme of primitivism, especially totemism, seen through the cipher of Freud, Jung, and other related thinkers. Neufert's study leaves off at the close of the 1930s while significantly updating and filling out the existing chronology. But, problematically, his study builds upon Regler and Morales. There are numerous factual errors in this work, and much information treated as fact which is undocumented. In many instances, Neufert seems to narrate his interviews and act as interlocutor for his interviewed

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subjects, without footnoting the source of information. Thus much sorting out needed to be done.

There is one other M.A. thesis by Sylvia Fink (1979).[24] Fink investigated Paalen in the context of the Dynaton group which he organized in California in 1950 with Onslow Ford and Lee Mullican to actualize his theories on art and culture. A major exhibition at the San Francisco Museum of Art was held in 1951, but the Dynaton group was short-lived due to Paalen's return to Europe and Mexico.[25] Fink's thesis, however, was the first to discuss DYN and to begin to treat Paalen's theories in the essays in depth. Still, it did not consider Paalen's impact on the New York avant-garde. Rather, it looked at his influence from the perspective of the themes and ideas available in DYN, but without a unified point of view. Significantly, it documented the observation and acknowledgement of numerous scholars regarding the importance of Paalen and DYN to the formation of Abstract Expressionism.

Other exhibition catalogues of concern to this study are also related to the California Dynaton group. DYNATON '51 was the catalogue for the 1951 San Francisco Museum of Art exhibition of the same name. It contains three major theoretical essays by Paalen called "Metaplastic," "Theory of the Dynaton," and "Relativity of Measure."[26] Though the date of 1951 exceeds the limits of this study, these essays are critical to giving sharper focus to Paalen's theories. Additionally, a catalogue of the Los Angeles County Museum

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of Art, California: Five Footnotes in Art History (1977), included a section, "Dynaton Re-Viewed," with a narrative essay by Fink, and two reflections on the Dynaton, twenty-five years later, by Mullican and Onslow Ford.[27]

Literature on Abstract Expressionism acknowledging Paalen includes three generations of the most important critical/historical studies of Abstract Expressionism including: Seitz (1955 and 1983), Sandler (1970), Ashton (1972), Polcari (1980 and 1991), Gibson (1986 and 1990) and Rushing (1989).[28] Of all of these, Gibson's Theory Undeclared: Avant-Garde Magazines as a Guide to Abstract Expressionist Images and Ideas is the most germane to Paalen and DYN, because it concentrates on Abstract Expressionist journals such as Iconograph, Possibilities, Tiger's Eye, etc. (See Part IV of this study.) Gibson's dissertation is important for its scrutiny of avant-garde texts, identifying and delineating themes and images that, ultimately, can be traced back to DYN. Polcari's study, "The Intellectual Roots of Abstract Expressionism," which predated Gibson's, is pivotal for its methodological use of intellectual history and for establishing and investigating the sources common to the themes and images Gibson identified. Scholarly literature that considers Paalen within related contexts is also available. This includes a number of theses and dissertations, which are listed below.

Recent exhibition catalogues important to this dissertation include: The Interpretive Link (1986) with

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catalogue essays by scholars, discussing the thematic and stylistic relationships between Abstract Surrealism and Abstract Expressionism[29]; The Spiritual in Art (1986) with contributions, particularly, by Henderson and Rushing, tracing, respectively, the Old World and the Native American sources of the "spiritual" in avant-garde art[30]; "Primitivism" in 20th Century Art with essays by Feest, Levin, Gordon, Maurer, Varnedoe, et al., providing studies of, respectively, North American, American, German, Dada/Surrealist, and Abstract Expressionist primitivism, which are important background for consideration of Paalen's primitivism;[31] and the catalogue The Indian Space Painters: Native American Sources for American Abstract Art, which looks at the "Indian Space" painters of the 1940s, also influenced by Paalen, as discussed in Part IV.[32] That essay deals with the group's knowledge of Northwest Coast art, briefly acknowledging Paalen and a few other individuals as precursors of this discourse. It thereby reduces and underestimates Paalen's role. The discussion of these painters' invention of a newly devised space, combining concepts inspired by Cubism and modern science with the imaginative and sophisticated spatial intricacies and axial symmetries of Northwest Coast patterns, suggests that Paalen's presence looms large here, but is still in the shadows.

Additionally, there are a number of related art history dissertations linking Paalen with American artists of the

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1940s, including: Hadler (1977), Wilson (1978), Lader (1981), Mattison (1987), and Rushing (1989); and linking Paalen and the Mexican milieu: Kaplan (1983), LaRoche (1988). (See Bibliography for all) While this literature supports the premise of this thesis, as previously indicated, none of it come to terms with the substance of Paalen's thinking and his contribution to the formation of the New York avant-garde.

A Viennese dissertation in cultural and political studies (Kloyber 1987), provides a major complement to my study and views Paalen in the context of Austrian anti-fascist writers in exile in Mexico City during the Second World War.[33] It discusses two of the DYN essays and relates them to political and philosophical contexts. Kloyber's work on Paalen discusses him from the perspective of twentieth-century Viennese intellectual and cultural history, but does not consider him as a painter, nor in the framework of art history. His current research and dissertation are discussed below.

There are a number of studies on avant-garde journals. Dawn Ades' monumental catalogue on Dada and Surrealist publications, Dada and Surrealism Reviewed (1978), pioneered the study of avant-garde art reviews. As her title implies, Ades reviews DYN, giving a summary of its contents in outline form, and commending it for its important role in stimulating the study of pre-conquest civilizations of America, in concert with the publication of the Mexican

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review Cuadernos Americanos, which had just been founded in Mexico.[34] Gibson's previously-mentioned dissertation (recently revised and published as a book) on Abstract Expressionist journals does, in fact, trace many of their images, themes, and ideas back to DYN. There are also theoretical studies relating to avant-garde books and journals including Andel (1988), Foster (1988), Freeman (1989), Hubert (1987), and Lewis (1987).[35] Finally there are catalogues and a dissertation examining other Surrealist publications which help to distinguish Paalen's journal from its Surrealist counterparts including: Dawn Ades', Rosalind Krauss', and Jane Livingston's, L'amour fou (1986), which deals with the pre-World War II Parisian Surrealist journals and their use of photography and text[36]; Susan Weil-Nessen's "Surrealism in Exile" (1986), which examines the journal View, a forum for Surrealism in New York in the 1940s[37]; Focus on Minotaure[38]; and my [unpublished] paper on "VVV: The Surrealist Review in Exile, 1942-44. (See Bibliography for all).

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**ABSTRACT EXPRESSIONIST STUDIES MENTIONING PAALEN**[39]

1965 - Maurice Tuchman. New York School: First Generation. (LACMA)

1968 - Wiliam Seitz. "Abstract Expressionist Painting in America." (Ph.D. Diss.)

1970 - Irving Sandler. The Triumph of American Painting.

1972 - Dore Ashton. The New York School: A Cultural Reckoning.

1977 - Dore Ashton and Robert Motherwell. "Parisian Artists in Exile, New York 1939-45." In Paris/New York (MNdAM, Centre G. Pompidou)

1977 - Mona Hadler. "The Art of William Baziotes." (Ph.D. Diss.)

1980 - Stephen Polcari. "The Intellectual Roots of Abstact Expressionism." (Ph.D. Diss.)

1983 - William Seitz. Abstract Expressionist Painting in America.

1984 - Kirk Varendoe. "Abstract Expressionism." In Primitivism in 20th Century Art. (MoMA)

1986 - Ann Gibson. "Theory Undeclared: Avant-Garde Magazines as a Guide to Abstract Expressionist Images and Ideas." (Ph.D. Diss.)

1986 - W. Jackson Rusing. "Myth and Ritual: Native American Art and Abstract Expressionism." In The Spiritual in Art. (LACMA)

1987 - Robert Mattison. "Robert Motherwell: The Formative Years." (Ph.D. Diss.)

1990 - Ann Gibson. Issues in Abstract Expressionism: the artist-run periodicals.

1991 - Stephen Polcari. Abstract Expressionism and the Modern Experience.

1991 - Sandra Kraskin and Barbara Hollister. The Indian Space (Sidney Mishkin Gallery, Baruch College, CUNY).

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**DADA AND SURREALIST STUDIES MENTIONING PAALEN**

1936 - Alfred Barr. Fantastic Art, Dada and Surrealism. (MoMA)

1936 - Herbert Read. Surrealism.

1936 - Julien Levy. Surrealism.

1938 - André Breton, Paul Eluard, et al. Dictionnaire abrégé du Surréalisme.

1944 - Sidney Janis. Abstract and Surrealist Art in America

1950 - Dieter Wyss. Der Surrealismus.

1956 - Octavio Paz. "El Surrealismo." Univ. de Mexico 10 (Mexico City: UNAM)

1957 - Willy Verkauf. Dada Monograph of a Movement.

1965 - Maurice Nadeau. History of Surrealism.

1965 - Patrick Waldberg. Surrealism.

1966 - José Pierre. Le Surréalisme.

1968 - William Rubin. Dada Surrealism and Their Heritage. (MoMA)

1970 - Sarane Alexandrian. Surrealism.

1970 - Lucy Lippard. Surrealists and Surrealism.

1974 - Herbert Gershman. The Surrealist Revolution in France.

1976 - Jeffrey Wechsler. Surrealism and American Art 1931-47.

1977 - Gaeton Picon. Surrealists and Surrealism.

1978 - Dawn Ades. Dada and Surrealism Reviewed (Hayward Gallery, London)

1980 - Marcel Jean. Autobiography of Surrealism.

1985 - Whitney Chadwick. Women Artists and the Surrealist Movement.

1986 - José Pierre. L'aventure surréaliste autor d'André Breton.

1986 - Surrealism 1936. (Zabrisky Gallery, New York)

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1986 - The Interpretive Link. (Newport Harbor Art Museum)

1989 - El Surrealismo Entre La Nuevo y Viejo Mundo (Centro Atlantico, Tenarife, Spain)

1989 - La Femme et le Surréalisme. (Musée cantonal des Beaux-Arts, Lausanne)

1990 - Surrealism/Anxious Vision - (Memorial Art Gallery, UC Berkeley, Calif.)

1991 - Susan Anderson. Pursuit of the Marvelous. (Laguna Beach Museum, Calif.)

**SELECTED MEXICAN LITERATURE ON OR INCLUDING PAALEN**
(All publications Mexico City unless otherwise indicated).

1940 - Expos. Intl. del Surrealismo. (Galería de Arte Mexicano)

1945 - César Moro. "Wolfgang Paalen." Letras de Mexico V.

1947 - Victor Serge. "Letter from Mexico." Horizon 15. (New York)

1947 - Gustav Regler. "Four European Painters in Mexico." Horizon. (New York)

1956 - Octavio Paz. "El Surrealismo." Univ. de Mexico 10.

1960 - Octavio Paz. "La Ciencia poètica de Paalen." In Rétrospectif Wolfgang Paalen. Librarie Loliée. (Paris)

1961 - Margarita Nelken. "Nuevos aspectos de la plastica mexicana." Artes de Mexico 6, 33 (1961): 4.

1967 - Margarita Nelken. "Paalen in Mexico." In Hommage á WP.

1967 - Carmen Barreda, ed. Hommage à Wolfgang Paalen. (Museo de Arte Moderna, INBA)

1969 - Ida Prampolini. El Surrealismo y el Arte Fantastico de México.

1973 - Juan Somolinos-Palencia. El Surrealismo ou la pintura Méxicana.

1974 - Saul Kaminer, ed. Presencia Viva de WP. (Museo Carillo Gil, INBA)

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1977 - Jorge Balas. "WP, un aventurero y brujo." Excelsior.

1978 - Luis Schneider. México y Surrealismo.

1979 - José Pierre. "Le Surréalisme et le Mexique." Boletin de enlace del CNRS 11.

1984 - Leonor Morales. WP: Introductor de la pintura Surrealista en Mexico.

1985 - Whitney Chadwick. Women Artists and the Surrealist Movement. (Boston)

1986 - Angélica Abelleyra. "Surrealismo y marxismo..." La Jornada.

1986 - José Pierre. "Les Amériques Reconquises - Artists in Exile." L'aventure surrealiste autor d'André Breton. (Paris).

1987 - Christian Kloyber. "Wolfgang Paalen, Herausgeber der Kunst - und kulturästhetischen Zeitschrift "DYN" in "Oesterreichische antifaschistische Autoren im mexikanischen Exile 1938 bis 1945." (Ph.D. Diss., Vienna)

1987 - Ines Amor. Una mujer en el Arte Méxicano.

1988 - Verónica Espinoza. "El México imaginal de los surrealistas, en el IFAL." Uno Mas Uno.

1988 - Eveline LaRoche. "L'Aventure Mexicaine Surréaliste." (Ph.D.Diss.)

1989 - Martica Sawin. "El Surrealismo etnografico y la América indigena. In El Surrealismo Entre la Nuevo y Viejo Mundo.

1989 - José Pierre, ed. El Surrealismo Entre la Nuevo y Viejo Mundo. Essays by Andrade, Klengel, Pierre, Sawin, et al.

1990 - Hommage à Octavio Paz - Centro Culturale del Arte Contemporaneo.

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**THESES and DISSERTATIONS MENTIONING PAALEN**

1974 - Evan Maurer. "In Quest of the Myth: An Investigation of the Relationships Between Surrealism and Primitivism." Ph.D. Diss. University of Pennsylvania.

1977 - Sylvia Fink. "The Dynaton: Three Men with Similar Ideas - Lee Mullican, Gordon Onslow Ford, Wolfgang Paalen." M.A. Thesis. Arizona State University, Tempe.

1977 - Mona Hadler. "The Art of William Baziotes." Ph.D. Diss. Columbia University

1978 - Laurie Wilson. "Louise Nevelson: Sources and Iconography." Ph.D. Diss. C.U.N.Y.

1981 - Melvin Lader. "Peggy Guggenheim's Art of this Century: The Surrealist Milieu and the American Avant-Garde, 1942-1947. Ph.D. Diss. University of Delaware.

1988 - Eveline LaRoche. "L'Aventure Mexicaine Surrealiste." Ph.D. Diss. Université de Paris (Sorbonne).

1983 - Janet Kaplan. "Remedios Varos (1913-63): Spanish-Born Mexican Painter: Woman Among the Surrealists." Ph.D. Diss. Columbia.

1986 - Ann Gibson. "Theory Undeclared..." Ph.D. Diss. Univ. Delaware.

1987 - Christian Kloyber. "Wolfgang Paalen, Herausgeber der Kunst - und kulturästhetischen Zeitschrift "DYN" in "Oesterreichische antifaschistische Autoren im mexikanischen Exile 1938 bis 1945." Ph.D. Diss. University of Vienna.

1987 - Andreas Neufert. "WP: das Werk der 30er Jahre." Munich, Ludwig-Maximilians Universität.

1989 - W. Jackson Rushing. "Native American Art and Culture and the New York Avant-Garde 1915-1950. Ph.D. Diss. Univ. Texas, Austin.

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D. GUSTAV REGLER

The most important study of Paalen is the English monograph Wolfgang Paalen, published in 1946 by Nierendorf Editions. Karl Nierendorf, Paalen's dealer in New York at the time, had opened in Berlin one of the most influential and important galleries of the Expressionist era, handling such artists as Paul Klee and Wassily Kandinsky. During the Second World War, Nierendorf opened a New York branch of the gallery and represented Paalen, demonstrating another link between Paalen and supporters of first-generation German Expressionism.[40]

Up until now, it has been accepted that the author of the Nierendorf monograph was Gustav Regler - the declared author. Regler was Paalen's close friend and contributor to the last four issues of DYN and, like him, an exile in Mexico during the Second World War.

Among Paalen's papers I reviewed (left in the care of Gordon Onslow Ford shortly before his death), were two texts pointing to Paalen's role as author of his own monograph. The first contained a number of pages identical to the text of the "Regler" monograph. Printed in the same typescript as other manuscripts by Paalen, I thus suspected that Paalen, a gifted and prolific writer, may have written the "Regler" monograph.

I consulted Christian Kloyber, a Viennese scholar then living in Mexico, whom Paalen's widow, Isabel Marin de Paalen, identified as involved in current research on Paalen. Kloyber had written a dissertation on exiled Austrian anti-fascist

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writers in Mexico during the Second World War.[41] A small but significant community of Austrians and Germans, mostly leftists, had fled to Mexico, where they found refuge and a climate hospitable to their politics under the administration of the socialist President Lázaro Cárdenas. Although Paalen's emigration to Mexico ostensibly was motivated by artistic and personal rather than political reasons, Kloyber devoted two chapters to him along with such other journalists as Marianne Bopp and Fritz Pohle under the rubric of anti-fascist sentiment.[42]

Kloyber looked at Paalen from the point of view of political and cultural studies; he also looked at Regler in that context. Even though Regler was of German, not Austrian, heritage, his autobiography The Owl of Minerva paid homage to Paalen and described him in near-mythic terms:

> I read Paalen's manifesto on surrealism. The language was even more remarkable, even more captivating. I went to his studio to look at his pictures. There was something of Moby Dick in the lofty room of which one wall was entirely covered by a panel of Eskimo culture; and beneath the ceiling hung the impressive, outstretched phallus of a whale. As for the pictures - well, it looked as though Captain Ahab had embarked with his ship on a happy voyage over the ocean of the stars. Then, however, everything again assumed the disquieting character of the prophetic. I remember one picture which had been painted at the time of the Munich Pact in 1938. Paalen had called it Combat des Princes Saturnien; it was an apocalyptic thunderstorm!
>
> I stood in astonishment, feeling that I was undergoing a healing change. What were the asthmatic leading-articles, the anaemic war-cries of the politicians compared with visions such as these?... The word "prophet" is as worn as a priest's stole; but through that picture I came to

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> understand that one did not need to involve oneself in politics to discern the forces that were unleashed in that year of 1938. It was not the Brueghelian vision that took my breath away; it all went much deeper....[43]

Kloyber's work had led him to an appreciation and understanding of the influence that Paalen had had on Regler, and he was sensitive to the expression of each man. Upon reflection he agreed that, indeed, the literary style of the "Regler" monograph was often closer to Paalen than to Regler. Further study of both Paalen's and Regler's undisputed writings increased my conviction that the Regler monograph, with its sensitivity to the rhythms and nuances of language, was penned - at least in part - by the artist himself. Subsequent investigation of the papers in the Onslow Ford collection revealed another text that appeared verbatim in the monograph, edited in the same hand as personal letters from Regler to Paalen also contained in the archive. This resulted in the conclusion that the work was a close collaboration between Paalen and Regler, the reasons for which we can surmise.

Besides the obvious explanation that for purposes of promotion it would be better to have someone else write a monograph, Kloyber suggested that it may have been as a gesture of moral and financial support for Regler, who was a pariah and totally without support in those days. Betrayed by the Communist party, for which he had continually risked his life as a member of the International Brigade in the Spanish Civil War, Regler escaped from Germany where he had been put

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on the "Saarlist" as Public Enemy Nineteen. He volunteered for the French Army but was placed in an internment camp from which he escaped and fled to Mexico in 1941.[44] Thus he was doubly disinherited - without support from the Communist party and deprived of his German homeland.

In an ensuing visit to Paalen's estate in Tepoztlán to examine papers and other documents, I discovered still another text, "Notes Biographiques." (See Appendix A) Once again, they showed the same typescript and, once again, they replicated, often verbatim, the Regler text, but now in French, rather than English. This more or less sealed the case of Paalen's automonography (to coin a word), and in an interview conducted one year later with Walter Gruen, husband of Paalen's Surrealist compatriot Remedios Varos, he stated that "perhaps Regler had not written the book on Paalen."[45] Apparently, Remedios, who worked for Paalen repairing pre-Columbian artifacts that he bought and sold, had once confided this to Gruen. This information was unsolicited and, therefore, all the more credible.

With this short history in mind, it is evident that the "Regler" monograph may be the best but most problematic source for writing Paalen's biography. For the sake of simplicity, we will heretofore follow tradition and refer to this as the Regler monograph and refer to the narrator as Paalen. But since it now appears, in good part, to be Paalen's own account, there is little doubt that many of the facts in it, derive from the artist himself.

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## WOLFGANG PAALEN CHRONOLOGY

1905 Born July 22, 1905, in Baden-bei-Wien, a spa outside Vienna city limits. Eldest son of four children of Gustav and Clothilde Emilie Paalen. Cosmopolitan upbringing in Vienna, Berlin, and on country estate in Silesia, modern-day Poland. Gustav Paalen, entrepreneur, art collector, antiquarian, and Secretary-General of major Berlin newspaper; circulates in Viennese society and Berlin art and literary circles. "Emmy" Paalen, actress, gives up her career with marriage. Wolfgang privately educated by tutors.

1916 Begins to draw and paint.

1920 First visit to Paris with family. Family settles in Italy.

1922 Studies in Tivoli with German Impressionist Leo von König, mutual friend of his father and influential Berlin critic, Julius Meier-Graefe.

1922-23 Studies in Berlin in classical sculpture atelier of Adolf Meyer. Rejects academic art. Influenced by Cézanne, Renoir and other French Impressionists.

1924-25 Works in Paris, painting Impressionist-style landscapes, still-lifes, etc. Group exhibition, Salon des Surindépendants, Paris.

1925 Invited by Meier-Graefe to exhibit with Berlin Secession. French influence continues. Exposure to works and letters of van Gogh.

1925-26 Studies and paints in Paris. Exhibits landscapes at Galerie Figuet. Sees Braque paintings and begins to work in post-Cubist style.

1926-27 Studies in Munich with Hans Hofmann. First exposure to paintings of Paul Klee.

1927-28 Moves to La Ciotat and Cassis, France (near Hofmann's St. Tropez summer class) with group of young German painters. Meets artists Jean Varda and Stanley William Hayter. Relocates to Paris, maintaining studio in Cassis until permanently moving to Paris. Younger brother, Hans Peter dies, presumably suicide. Mother has nervous-breakdown.

1929 Returns to Berlin. Group exhibition, Salon des Surindépendants, Paris. Begins collection, scholarship, and artistic interpretation of

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paleolithic and neolithic art and culture. Acquires Cycladic, Oceanic, and other "primitive" artifacts.

1930 One-man exhibition at Galerie [Alfred] Flechtheim, Berlin. Makes contact with Kandinsky and Klee. Flechtheim's financial backing helps him resettle in Paris. Meets Eva Sulzer, patron, lover, life-long companion. Lives and works in rue de la Guerre, next door to painter Jean Hélion, one of founders of Abstraction-Creation movement.

1931 Marries Alice Rahon, Breton painter and poet.

1932 Invited by Hélion to join Abstraction-Creation. Meets Naum Gabo and Antoine Pevsner, Piet Mondrian and Theo van Doesburg, Paul Klee and Wassily Kandinsky, et al. Visits Stanley William Hayter's "Atelier 17" and comes into contact with Picasso, Roland Penrose, Peggy Guggenheim, Max Ernst and Hans Arp.

1933 Exhibits at Galerie Bonjean. Begins series of paintings and "Cycladic" period (1933-36), inspired by prehistoric idols.

1934 Exhibits at Galerie Abstraction-Creation with other members of movement. Two paintings reproduced in Abstraction-Création art non-figuratif (3). First one-man show at Galerie Vignon; shows paintings, sculptures, and "objects." Moves studio to rue Pernety. Visited by James Johnson Sweeney and A.E. Gallatin; Gallatin purchases work for Museum of Living Art. Meets Henry Moore and Herbert Read on visit to London. Summer travel to Spain to see cave paintings at Altamira. Creates series of paintings, inspired by them.

1935 Included in "Thesis, Anti-thesis, Synthesis," Abstraction-Creation exhibition at Kunstmuseum Lucerne, Switzerland. Shows with Klee, Kandinsky, Hans and Sophie Taeuber-Arp, Hélion, Herbin, Vantongerloo, etc. Visited by Kandinsky in his Paris studio. First critical text appears in Cahiers d'art, published by editor Christian Zervos. Invited by Ernst and Miró to exhibit in "Dessins surréalistes." Leaves Abstraction-Creation. Begins friendship with André Breton.

1936 Joins Surrealist movement. One-man exhibition at Galerie Pierre (Loeb), reviewed in Cahiers d'art. "Cycladic" painting reproduced in Minotaure (8). Participates in three international Surrealist exhibitions: "Objets surréalistes" Galerie Charles

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Ratton, Paris; "Fantastic Art, Dada, and Surrealism," Museum of Modern Art, New York; and "International Exposition of Surrealism," Burlington Galleries, London. Summer journey to Greece and Cycladic Islands. "Cycladic" painting reproduced in Herbert Read's Surrealism.

1937 Shows at Artists International Association, London and University Art Society, Cambridge. Summer travel to Prague and through Bohemian Woods of Czechoslovakia. Invents automatic technique of "fumage" ("painting" with candle smoke). Begins series of landscape paintings (paysages totémiques) and "Totemic" period (1937-1940). Participates in inaugural exhibition of Surrealist "Galerie Gradiva." Illustrations to text by Xavier Forneret published in Minotaure (10).

1938 January-February, organizes "Exposition Internationale du Surréalisme," Galerie Beaux-Arts, with Breton, Duchamp, Ernst, Masson, Man Ray, et al. (Exhibition travels to Gloucester, Amsterdam, Toronto). Creates environmental installation of "Water and Brushwood" and female "vampire" mannequin; contributes illustrations to Surrealist edition of Lautréamont's Oeuvres complétes, and text to Dictionnaire Abrégé du Surréalisme; exhibits first series of "Totemic" works: "Paysages Totémiques de mon Enfance;" two paysages totémiques reproduced in Minotaure (11). June-July 1938, one-man exhibition at Galerie Renou et Colle; Breton writes catalogue essay. Applauded in London Bulletin by Georges Hugnet. March 1938, Germans annex Austria. September 1938, signing of "Munich Pact," invasion of Czechoslovakia. Paalen creates second painting series of "Totemic" period: "Combat of the Saturnian Princes." November 1938, "Kristallnacht" in Berlin. Breton in Mexico with Diego Rivera and Frida Kahlo; writes "Manifesto for An Independent Revolutionary Art," with Leon Trotsky (exiled there).

1939 September 1939, Hitler invades Poland. World War II begins. February 1939, Paris solo exhibition travels to Galerie Guggenheim Jeune, London. Acclaimed by Herbert Read in London Bulletin (10); Breton essay and four Paalen works reproduced in same issue. Praised by London art critics. March 1939, Breton and Rivera organize "Mexique" for Galerie Renou et Colle, Paris; include work of Kahlo and pre-Columbian objects from collections of Breton, Rivera, Paalen, et al. Frida and Diego invite Paalens to Mexico. May 1939, Wolfgang,

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Alice, and Eva Sulzer sail to America. Summer travel and collecting in Northwest Coast territories of Alaska and Canada. Visits San Francisco and Los Angeles en route to Mexico. September 1939, arrives in Mexico City. Settles in San Angel Inn. Meets future wife, Isabel Marén, sister-in-law of Diego Rivera. Begins expeditions to pre-Columbian sites.

1940 January-February, 1940, organizes Exposición Internacional del Surrealismo, Galería de Arte Mexicano, with Breton and Peruvian poet César Moro. Expanded study and collection of pre-Columbian art and culture. Paints Quelque Part en Moi, "transitional" abstraction. April 1940, first American one-man show at Julien Levy Gallery. Shows Surrealist and new Mexican works. Meets members of New York School. Gordon Onslow Ford, Benjamin Peret and Remedios Varos, and Gustav Regler emigrate to Mexico. May 1940, Leon Trotsky assassinated. June 1940, Germans occupy Paris. "Cosmic" period (1940-44) begins. Paints Space Unbound and begins triptych Les Premieres Spatiales.

1941 Visited by Matta and Robert Motherwell in Mexico. Included in Surrealist group exhibition, New School for Social Research, New York.

1942 Founds avant-garde art magazine DYN. Numbers 1, 2, and 3 appear. "Farewell to Surrealism" and "The New Image" published in first issue. Included in Breton's "Genesis and Perspective of Surrealism," Art of This Century (Annual). Gustav, Emmy, and Gustav Rainer Paalen die in Germany, possible suicides.

1943 Publishes "Amerindian" issue of DYN (no. 4-5).

1944 Publishes DYN 6. Reproduces works of Baziotes, Motherwell, Pollock, Smith, Hayter, Holtzman, et al. Begins "Mosaic" period (1944-51) with painting, The Cosmogons.

1945 First Mexican one-man exhibition at Galería de Arte Mexicano; travels to Art of This Century Gallery, New York. Salutary reviews by Mexican and American art critics. Wittenborn publishes Form and Sense, anthology of DYN essays. Included in Breton's Surrealism and Painting. Becomes Mexican citizen. Publishes "La Crise du Sujet dans la peinture Moderne," Revue de l'IFAL (Mexico City). Meets Luchita Hurtado through Isamu Noguchi. Close contact with New York School.

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1946 One-man exhibition at Nierendorf Gallery, New York. Nierendorf Editions publishes Regler monograph, Wolfgang Paalen.

1947 Divorced from Alice Rahon Paalen. Marries Luchita Hurtado in Mexico. Visits Giles Healey, Bonampak. Expedition to Chiapas and Veracruz. Included in first post-war Surrealist exhibition, Galerie Maeght, Paris. (Goes to Paris.)

1948-50 Moves to San Francisco with Luchita Hurtado. Forms "Dynaton" Group with Gordon Onslow Ford, Lee Mullican, and Jacqueline Johnson. One-man exhibition in San Francisco Museum of Art. Travels between San Francisco, New York, and Mexico.

1951 "Dynaton" group exhibition, San Francisco Museum of Art. Writes catalogue Dynaton '51. Separates from Luchita Hurtado. Returns to Paris. Reunion with Breton and post-war Surrealist group. Exhibition Willard Gallery, New York.

1952 Feature article on Paalen, Cahiers d'art (July 1952). Publishes "Le plus ancien visage du Nouveau Monde," Cahiers d'Art (December, 1952). One-man exhibition, Galerie Pierre, Paris. Begins series of paintings and "Telluric" period (1952-1955).

1953 Summers in Saint-Cirq-la-Popie with Surrealists.

1954 One-man exhibition of "Telluric" paintings, Galerie Galanis-Hentschel, Paris. Special "Paalen" issue of Surrealist post-war journal, Medium (2), with Paalen's French translation of Martin Buber's 1920 German translations of Liao Tschai Yi, 17th-century Chinese love stories by Pu Ssung-Ling. Returns to Mexico. Purchases hacienda on Yucatan Peninsula.

1955 Begins paintings series and "Floral" period.

1956 One-man exhibition, Galería de Arte Mexicano, Mexico City.

1957 Marries Isabel Marén. Lives in Mexico City and Tepoztlán (Morelos).

1958 One-man exhibition Galerie Antonio Souza, Mexico City.

1959 Commits suicide, 24 September 1959, in Taxco (Guerrero), near Hacienda San Francisco Cuadra.

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## DYN - THE JOURNAL AND ITS MEANING

From 1942 to 1944 in Mexico, Paalen published and edited the avant-garde art magazine DYN in six issues. Financed by Eva Sulzer and Octavio Barreda, DYN was produced under Paalen's own imprint of "Quetzal Editions," in a run of approximately 1500 copies.

Among other topics upon which Paalen expounded in DYN, was the implication of modern science for modern art, based on his knowledge of modern physics and the philosophy of science. Paalen had been schooled in modern physics as a youth. In his library were over thirty titles on physics, including the writings of Niels Bohr, Werner Heisenberg, Max Planck, et al. For his "Inquiry on the Dialectical Gospel," Paalen corresponded with and received replies from Bertrand Russell and Albert Einstein, which he published in DYN.

In the language of physics, a dyne is an actual unit of energy; Paalen chose the magazine title, saying:

> It seems to me that we have to reach a potential concept of reality...a concept I call dynatic (from the Greek word tó dynaton: the possible--from which the name of this review DYN is derived). A Philosophy of the Possible would understand art as a rhythmic equation of the world, indispensable complement of the logical equation that science makes. For only the cooperation of the two will be able to create a new ethic capable of finishing with metaphysical and religious obscurantism. It means dissociating once and for all imagination and metaphysics; to understand that the imagination creates reality as much as it is created by reality, that the images of art are neither vain reflections, nor blue prints for tools, but blue prints for man himself.[46]

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DYN was an interdisciplinary journal par excellence. It presented Paalen's theories and aesthetics of modern art as well as the findings of American scholars on the ancient American civilizations of the Northwest Coast and pre-Columbian Mexico and Peru. Written in English and French, DYN was distributed in Mexico, Europe, and North America. Contemporary artists and critics acknowledged it as influential. DYN thus provided an important forum for intercultural and multi-ethnic issues at the time.

In DYN's large format, Paalen reproduced his own work and that of artists such as Manuel Alvarez Bravo, Alexander Calder, Marc Chagall, and Henry Moore. The last issue showcased the paintings of Robert Motherwell, Jackson Pollock, William Baziotes, David Smith, and other newly-emerging American artists; it also published Motherwell's early essay "The Modern Painter's World." DYN was a literary review as well, publishing the prose of such writers as Anaïs Nin and Henry Miller; the poetry of Surrealists Valentine Penrose, Alice Rahon Paalen, and César Moro; the "Paysages Totémiques," Paalen's travel journals written during his 1939 journey to the Northwest Coast; and Paalen's poems written under the pseudonym of Charles Givors.

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**NOTES**

1. André Breton, "Preface," Exposition Wolfgang Paalen, Galerie Renou et Colle, exhib. cat. (Paris: 21 Juin-5 Juillet 1938): unpg.: [La pensée de Paalen ne saurait se découvrir aucun antécedent dans le surréalisme. Il faudrait se souvenir du monument...à la memoire de Lichtenberg, pour lui trouver beaucoup plus loin quelque analogue avec une autre d'expression d'ailleurs totalement différente." ["For the thought of Paalen there is no antecedent to be found in Surrealism. One must remember the monument...erected in memory of Lichtenberg, to find even a remote analogy so totally different in its expression."]

2. The most notable, but nonetheless general aesthetic discussions of this thesis are Robert Rosenblum's article and book, respectively, "The Abstract Sublime," Art News 59, 10 (February 1961) and Abstract Painting and the Northern Romantic Tradition (New York: Harper & Row, 1975). The exception is the recent essay by Irving Sandler, "Hans Hofmann: The Dialectical Master," in Cynthia Goodman, ed., Hans Hofmann, Whitney Museum of American Art, exhib. cat. (New York and Munich, Prestel Verlag, 1990), where Sandler discusses the ideas Hofmann imparted to his students. Even while Kandinsky's ideas were available, I am here distinguishing between first-person contact and printed materials or artworks.

3. Gustav Regler, Wolfgang Paalen (New York: Nierendorf Editions, 1946).

4. See B. "Gustav Regler," below.

5. See the various accounts in Pollock and After: The Critical Debate, Francis Frascina, ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1985).

6. See Jane de Hart Mathews "Art and Politics in Cold War America," The American Historical Review 81 (October 1976): 762-87; and Susan Sivard, "The State Department 'Advancing American Art' Exhibition of 1945 and the Advance of American Art," Arts 58 (April 1984): 90-99.

7. On this topic see Dore Ashton, The New York School: A Cultural Reckoning (New York: Viking, 1979). A more recent study by Hayden Herrera ("The European Reception of American Art 1940s-50s," [tentative title], forthcoming) examines the emergence of Abstract Expressionism in Europe as it was championed by the Museum of Modern Art's International Council and the U.S.I.A.

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8. One of the inhibitions to a fuller understanding and greater appreciation of Paalen's artworks has been their dispersion all over the world, primarily in private collections. In the course of the preliminary research for this dissertation, I was given unlimited access to the private collections of Paalen's works and papers in the care of his widow, Isabel Marín de Paalen, and his close associate, Gordon Onslow Ford. This opened many doors to private collections in France, the United States, and Mexico, as well as to new, unpublished, primary research being conducted in Berlin, Mexico, Munich, and Vienna. With this knowledge, it is now possible to construct a more complete and accurate picture of Wolfgang Paalen, and to bring his works together in a coherent and comprehensive, if selective, fashion, for the first time. A major retrospective of Paalen's work, in collaboration with these European scholars, took place in Vienna in September 1993. A substantial catalogue was produced, in which my essay on "Wolfgang Paalen, DYN, and the Genesis of Abstract Expressionism" appeared: "Wolfgang Paalen, DYN, und die Enstehungsgeschichte des Abstrakten Expressionismus," in Dieter Schrage, ed., Wolfgang Paalen: Zwischen Surrealismus und Abstraktion, Museum Moderner Kunst Stiftung Ludwig Wien, exhib. cat., (Frankfurt: Verlag Ritter Klagenfurt, 1993): 145-80.

9. Carmen Barreda, ed., Hommage à Wolfgang Paalen, Museo de arte Moderno, Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes (INBA), exhib. cat., (Mexico City, 1967). Carmen Barreda was Paalen's sister-in-law, actually Carmen Marén de Barreda, sister of Diego Rivera's second wife, Lupe Marn, and sister of Isabel Marín de Paalen, Paalen's widow. The Marín family were well-known and respected in Mexican cultural circles and are depicted in Diego Rivera's early mural of Mexico City's Alameda Park, The Parade.

10. Leonor Morales, Wolfgang Paalen: Introductor de la Pintura Surrealista en México (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1984).

11. Sulzer was a photographer and, as well as Paalen's patron, friend, lover and companion. She was heiress to the vast fortunes of Sulzer International, a Swiss industrial giant involved in steel and railway technologies and she subsidized Paalen (and DYN) throughout his life.

12. Ida Rodríguez-Prampolini, El Surrealismo y el arte fantastico de México (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma México, 1969). Rodríguez-Prampolini was Morales' mentor at UNAM.

13. José Pierre, Domaine de Paalen (Paris: Galanis, 1970).

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14. José Pierre, Wolfgang Paalen (Paris and California: Filipacchi Editions, 1980).

15. These include "Le Surréalisme et le Mexique." Boletin de enlace del CNRS 11 (Mexico City: April 1979); El Surrealismo Entre La Nuevo y Viejo Mundo, Centro Atlantico de Arte Moderno, exhib. cat. (Grand Canaries, Spain, 1989-90); L'Aventure Surréaliste autor d'André Breton (Paris: Filipacchi, 1986); José Pierre, ed., La Planete Affolée, Musée Marseille, exhib. cat. (Marseilles: 1986). There is also one Ph.D. Dissertation on this subject by Eveline La Roche "L'Aventure mexicaine Surréaliste," Université de Paris III, Sorbonne, 1988.

16. André Breton, Mexique, Galerie Renou et Colle, exhib. cat. (Paris, 1939); and "Souvenir du Mexique," Minotaure 12-13 (1939): 30-52.

17. Renée Hubert, "Wolfgang Paalen, DYN et ses familieres: l'Itineraire Verbal-Visuel de DYN á Dynaton," Mélusine XII (Paris: 1991): 129-44. See, also, Hubert, Surrealism and the Book (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

18. Evan Maurer, "In Quest of the Myth: An Investigation of the Relationship between Surrealism and Primitivism," Ph.D. Dissertation, Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1969.

19. "The Art of Robert Motherwell During the 1940s," Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1985; and Robert Motherwell: The Formative Years (Ann Arbor, Mich., UMI Press, 1987).

20. Robert Mattison, "Between Surrealism and Abstract Expressionism: Wolfgang Paalen and 'The New Image,'" CAA Conference, February 1992, in session "New World Surrealism: The Encounter With Europe."

21. It should be noted that the conclusions reached in Mattison's paper about the similarity of Abstract-Expressionist "all-over" imagery and Paalen's paintings of the "cosmic" period, had already been observed in this dissertation. Mattison's paper, however, drew attention to de Broglie's "wave-particle" theory as a source of Paalen's imagery. This, and de Broglie and his role in science and in art, are discussed in Part IV.

22. Willy Verkauf, Dada, Monograph of a Movement, Eng. trans. (New York: Wittenborn, 1957).

23. Andreas Neufert, "Wolfgang Paalen: das Werk der 30er Jahre mit Katalog," M.A. Thesis, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, München, Institute Für Kunstgeschichte, 1987.

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24. Sylvia Fink, "The Dynaton, Three Men with Similar Ideas: Lee Mullican, Gordon Onslow Ford, Wolfgang Paalen," M.A. Thesis, Arizona State University, 1979.

25. See my recent essay, "DYNATON: The Painter/ Philosophers," in Nora Halpern, ed., DYNATON: Before and Beyond, exhib. cat., Frederick R. Weisman Museum of Art, Pepperdine University (Malibu, Calif.: 1992), 15-34.

26. Wolfgang Paalen and Jacqueline Johnson. Dynaton '51, San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, exhib. cat., 1951.

27. Maurice Tuchman, ed., California: Five Footnotes in Art History, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, exhib. cat. (Los Angeles: 1977), 35-43.

28. See Bibliography for all.

29. Schimmel, ed., The Interpretive Link, Newport Harbor Art Museum (California: 1986). See, especially, Sawin, Martica, "The Cycloptic Eye, Pataphysics and the Possible: Transformations of Surrealism": 387-42, which is the first to discuss and summarize Paalen's contribution, but does not consider the Germanic background.

30. Maurice Tuchman, ed. The Spiritual in Art, exhib. cat., Los Angeles County Museum of Art (New York and Los Angeles: Abbeville Press, 1986); Linda D. Henderson, "Mysticism, Romanticism, and the Fourth Dimension": 219-37; and W. Jackson Rushing, "Ritual and Myth: Native American Culture and Abstract Expressionism": 273-94.

31. William Rubin, ed., "Primitivism" in 20th-Century Art, exhib. cat., The Museum of Modern Art (New York: 1985).

32. Exhibition curated by Sandra Kraskin and Barbara Hollister, The Sidney Mishkin Gallery, Baruch College, CUNY (New York: 1991). This catalogue and exhibition were organized after this dissertation was begun. The material it provides has been incorporated and considered in the discussion of the Indian Space painters, and Iconograph, its affiliated publication, in Part IV.

33. Christian Kloyber, "Oesterreichische antifaschistische Autoren im mexikanischen Exile 1938 bis 1945." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Vienna, 1987.

34. Ades, Dawn, Dada and Surrealism Reviewed, The Hayward Gallery, exhib. cat., (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1978), 382-87.

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35. Jaroslav Andel, The Avant-Garde Book, The Franklin Furnace, exhib. cat. (New York: 1988); Stephen Foster, The Avant-Garde Text, Visual Studies Workshop, exhib. cat. (Rochester, NY: 1988) first published as "The Prerequisite Text," in Visible Language XXI, 1987; Judy Freeman, The Dada and Surrealist Word Image (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989). Renée Hubert, Surrealism and the Book; and Helena Lewis, The Politics of Surrealism (New York: Paragon House, 1988).

36. Jane Livingston, Rosalind Krauss, and Dawn Ades, L'amour fou, Corcoran Gallery of Art, exhib. cat. (Washington, D.C.: 1986).

37. Susan Weil-Nessen, "Surrealism in Exile," Ph.D. Dissertation, Boston University, 1986.

38. Focus on Minotaure, Musée de la Ville de Paris and Musée Rath, exhib. cat. (Paris and Geneva: 1987-88).

39. All citations are given in full in the Bibliography.

40. A memorandum dated 10/23/85, in the Museum of Modern Art files says that the "Nierendorf Gallery Papers were acquired by Hilla Rebay for the Guggenheim Museum. According to Sabine Rewald who learned this from Angelica Rudenstine, the Guggenheim has only a general (skeletal) inventory of these Papers. The Papers themselves were all lost years ago."

41. Kloyber, "Oesterreichische antifaschistische Autoren im Mexikanischen Exile 1938 bis 1945," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Vienna, 1987.

42. "Wolfgang Paalen, Herausgeber der kunst und kulturästhetischen Zeitschrift 'DYN,'" in ibid., 254-60; and "Eine objektive Moral"- Wolfgang Paalens kunsttheoretischer Vorschlag," 261-69.

43. Gustav Regler, The Owl of Minerva (New York: Farrar Straus, 1960), 358-59. The title, "The Owl of Minerva," is taken from Kant's "Philosophy of History" and refers to the flight of wisdom, a rather Goyaesque image. Marie Louise Vogeler [Regler] contributed facsimile watercolor illustrations of the Codex Rodríguez-Ortega to Alfonso Caso's essay "The Codices of Azoyu," in DYN 4-5 (December 1943): 4-5. She was the daughter of the Jugendstil artist Heinrich Vogeler.

44. "Contributors," DYN 4-5, frontispage verso, unpg.: "Gustav Regler, novelist, named 'public enemy 19' by the Nazi Government on the Saar-list. Author of The Prodigal Son, The Seed (Querido, Amsterdam), The Great Crusade (Longman, New York). Has just published two books of poetry

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The Hour 13 and The Bottomless Pit." The "Saar-list" was a blacklist of dissidents and intellectuals drawn up by the Nazis in 1939. Also, author's interview with Peggy Regler, widow of Gustav Regler, New York, NY, June 16, 1994.

45. Author's interview with Walter and Alexandra Gruen, Mexico City, March 29, 1994.

46. Wolfgang Paalen, "During the Eclipse," DYN 6: 20.

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# PART I
# PAALEN IN THE OLD WORLD

## A. MYTHS ABOUT WOLFGANG PAALEN

### 1. Self-Created Myths

Paalen's biography is complicated by automythography, because he tended to romanticize. The past and its events are recalled through the veil of memory and nostalgia and assume mythic proportions. With this in mind, even admitting that he may have been his own best critic, we must address what Paalen says, what he leaves out, and what he says by such omissions.

Paalen was extremely attached to his childhood memories. Even if childhood is a myth maintained through repression of actual pain, trauma, or loss, for Paalen, whose losses in adult life were far greater, childhood may very well have been golden. The poetry of childhood is mourned all the more when one is gracelessly torn from its hold by war and tragedy. And at the age of twelve, that critical and delicate moment of the onset of adolescence, this was Paalen's fate.

All of these considerations come into much clearer focus as a result of research that Kloyber conducted from 1990-93 - collecting fragments of information from such sources as the Vienna police records, including citizens' obligatory registrations, and such other official documents as passport, naturalization papers, marriage and divorce certificates.

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Initially, no birth certificate could be found, and there was some question as to whether or not Paalen was actually born in Vienna, as all these official documents claimed. After all, it was wartime and they might be forged - an unlikely but still possible situation. Then, simultaneously, Kloyber, working in the archives of Paalen's estate in Tepoztlán Mexico, and I, working with Onslow Ford's papers, both found letters written in German of a highly personal nature from an address in Upsala, Sweden. The signature on the letter was "Teta" and we both presumed it was a woman's rather than a man's name, and thus an old family or childhood friend. (We assumed this because according to the police records, Paalen had no sisters but, rather, three younger brothers: Gustav Rainer b. 1907, Michael Josef b. 1919, and a middle brother, unnamed in the police document.)[1] [Figs. 1 and 2]

Kloyber recalled that Isabel Paalen had told him that Paalen had once mentioned a brother in Upsala. He wrote to the Swedish embassy in Stockholm and enlisted their support in search of a "Paalen" in Upsala. They wrote back some time later and indicated that through a local parish priest they had found a woman named "Pahlen" living in a small village near Upsala and gave him the address. She turned out to be, Christine, the daughter of Michael Paalen, Wolfgang's youngest brother also known affectionately as "Teta." She gave Kloyber her father's address in Germany,

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where he had recently moved after fifty years of residence in Sweden.

What followed was an exchange of a series of letters in which Michael Paalen, before a sudden untimely death, disclosed the Paalen family history and filled in many of the missing pieces of a puzzle that is still incomplete. Still, I am now able to confirm and reconstruct not only many of the facts of Paalen's life, but also to explain his motives and the contexts out of which he developed. I am thus able to put into perspective some of the myths that developed about Paalen's identity.

Although in recent years the literature on Wolfgang Paalen has grown, it has been largely uncritical, often revealing conflicting details. The bulk of the literature consists mainly of biographies and chronologies in exhibition catalogues, with incorrect facts often copied from one volume to the next. For instance, it is entirely untrue that Paalen's mother was French. She was, in fact, Prussian. But the catalogues for his 1945 exhibitions at Inés Amor's Galería de Arte Mexicano and Peggy Guggenheim's Art of This Century Gallery, show: "Wolfgang Paalen, de origin austríaco y francés...."[2] Whether this was a misunderstanding on Amor and Guggenheim's part, or the result of Mexican and American anti-German sentiment is difficult to say. It is likely, however, that Paalen generated this myth, because even in the "Biographical Note" that opens his 1946 publication, Form and Sense, this

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"French and Austrian origin" is reiterated and followed by a prefatory note by Paalen himself.[3] It was, after all, wartime, and anti-German sentiment was running high. No doubt Paalen wished to avoid identification with anything that even hinted of Germany. Like many individuals of Germanic heritage living around the two World Wars, Paalen was not proud of being German. The politics of French and German nationalism and anti-German sentiment, as far back as the Franco-Prussian War, are subjects on which numerous dissertations have been and still can be written.[4] In the context of early German Expressionism and the avant-garde of the early twentieth-century, the counterpolitics of "internationalism" factored heavily in the bias that made Paris the acclaimed cultural center of Europe. To be Francophilic - even to wish to be French - was not uncommon in artists and other progressive Germans in this period. The art dealers who imported French Impressionism and Cubism into Germany changed the course of German art. To those in revolt against the restrictive aesthetics of the Wilhelmine academy and the repressions of the Wilhelmine government, France represented life and breath - all that was modern and vital.[5]

Paalen, in Vienna and Berlin, through his father's close contact with German Impressionist and proto-Expressionist circles, received these attitudes with as much passion as the first-generation Expressionist artists who embraced them. His proximity to the literary figures who

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stimulated the first wave of German Expressionism make Paalen's reception of early Expressionist aesthetics, theory, and ideology all the more potent. In his "Surprise and Inspiration" essay for DYN, Paalen reveals his Francophilia as well as his adherence to a major tenet of German Expressionism - the artist as prophet[6] - when he says:

> If Scholastic disputes were unable to decide in what language the suggestions of the Serpent in Paradise were spoken, at least there will be no doubt for the historian that in the genesis of modern art inspiration spoke French by preference. For it was Rimbaud who uttered the Open-Sesame of modern expression, when he said that the artist must become a seer ("être voyant, se faire voyant") [to be seen one must see himself].[7]

But in addition to this motivation, there were other forceful and cultural causes, discussed below, for Paalen's disavowal of his German heritage.

2. Other Myths

Another myth persisting in Paalen's biography is an attribution of nobility. Leonor Morales indicates "He was the first son in a noble Viennese family."[8] Morales interviewed Alice Rahon Paalen, Paalen's first wife, and Eva Sulzer, his patron, lover, and life-long companion, in Mexico City in 1979.[9] It is telling that they, as other close friends, wives, and companions, never knew or revealed the truth about Paalen's heritage and his past. In an interview conducted with Gordon Onslow Ford, he indicated that "Paalen was always trying to forget his past, to leave

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it behind him."[10] Once the facts of his past are divulged, it is not hard to see why.

The characterization of Paalen as a count is found elaborated in a romantic novel based on his life, conflated with the life of René d'Harnoncourt, and written years after Paalen's death by the collector, book dealer, and theologian, Arthur A. Cohen.[11] Cohen's fictional work focuses primarily on the end, rather than the beginning, of Paalen's life. It looks at his dealings in pre-Columbian artifacts in Mexico and provides as well a philosophical background for the motivations of its protagonist "Count Stefan von Mauger" [i.e. Paalen].

This novel, and Cohen's obvious reliance on the Regler monograph, again raise the question of the origins of Paalen's identity as a count. The Regler text says nothing of noble birth. In fact, in spite of its very intimate quality, it avoids the hard facts of date, place of birth, and family history, and, therefore, cannot account for the legend of "Count von Paalen," making no mention of this in its pages. Although Cohen's widow denies it, as a collector of avant-garde and "primitive" art, Cohen was probably privy to tales about Paalen that circulated in Mexico and the art world.[12] Paalen's name in Mexico lives on to this day, alongside other distinguished Mexican artists, as an individual who contributed to a transformation of Mexican art from a national to an international form. His exploits and reputation as a collector and dealer of pre-Columbian

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and other "primitive" art, as well as his turbulent personal life, turned him in Mexico into a legend in his own time.

It is not surprising that legends about Paalen would have sprung up - indeed, that a philosophical romance would have been written about him. Not only because he was, in truth, an adventurer and something of a magician,[13] but also because he was the kind of personality that inspired romance - brilliant, passioniate, and enigmatic - the last of the German Romantics, as Onslow Ford has said of him, citing Breton's comparison of Paalen to Lichtenberg.[14] In examining Paalen's involvement with art and science, and his essay of the same title in Part IV, the aptness of Breton's analogy becomes apparent.[15]

The very characterization of Paalen as count is part of his mystique, inspired in part by his rarified and exotic bearing. His close friends described him as an "elegant" man, and liked to recall his alligator-skin vest, his ethereal manner of smoking with a cigarette holder, and his ultra-refined behavior.[16] In a remembrance of a gathering in New York ca. 1939-40, Ethel Baziotes described him as an "awesome" presence - magnetic and lithe in his movements - and likened him to T.E. Lawrence:

> I will never forget the way he appeared...You know Nigel Nicolson wrote a review of a book that came out on Lawrence of Arabia...he wrote <u>The Seven Pillars of Wisdom</u>, but he also conducted the most [...] desert warfare that's ever been staged...he said the abstraction of the desert haunted his mind....and I feel Paalen and Lawrence are the same kind of men, tremendously unique, with very intense and private visions...Nigel Nicolson's

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> father said to him, "I gave a party [to which] Lawrence came...." He said he'd never forget that he had seen this man, and that's what I wanted to tell you...I will never forget seeing Paalen...I can't tell you, it was his whole being, his whole character...[17]

The myth of Paalen's nobility exists in scholarly literature as well. Neufert's thesis said he was born of a Baltic noble family and that his father - Baron von Palen - was a Diplomat in the Austrian State service.[18] According to this study, in 1930 he gave up his title and changed his name from "Palen" to "Paalen."[19] This mystery has been resolved by Michael Paalen who, as discussed below, untangled the knot of tales about the Paalen family lineage and position in society.

José Pierre's recent exhibition catalogue, La Femme et le Surréalisme, also maintains the idea that Paalen was born into a family of "noble origin"[20] Where this idea originated is hard to establish. Was it first generated by Paalen himself? Did he, like many of his Surrealist colleagues in Paris, take on airs and invent a suitably outré "Surrealist" persona? Or did they invent it for him on the basis of appearances? Or was it advanced by Frederick Kiesler whose autobiography Inside the Endless House recounts a visit to the Vienna art academy in his student days by the "Count von Pahlen," purportedly Wolfgang's grandfather, who was head of protocol for Franz Josef, the Hapsburg emperor at the turn of the century.

> I remembered vividly his grandfather, Count Pahlen, a highly distinguished Austrian aristocrat

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> and Master of Ceremonies at the Imperial House of Franz Josef. However, my link with the count was purely visual. I caught glimpses of his decadently elegant figure arriving for sittings at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna for a portrait by Professor Schmutzer...
>
> When we students knew of Count Pahlen's impending arrival for a sitting, we rushed into the corridors and lobbies and hid in corners and doorways, simulating serious occupations in a casual manner in order to become part of the colorful event. He arrived with guards of the Imperial House, who flanked his route through the vestibules, up the staircase and to the door of the professor's studio on the second floor. That was 1914.[21]

As we shall see, the likelihood of Paalen's grandfather holding such a high diplomatic post in the Austrian monarchy was slight, due to the proscriptions and prejudices against Jews that existed in Austro-German culture.

Neufert, however, asserted that Paalen's father (not grandfather, as Kiesler says) was an Austrian diplomat. This would explain the discrepancies in the spellings above, but does not explain Kiesler's reminiscence of the Count von Pahlen's visit to the Vienna academy. Apparently, there was a Count von Pahlen, of an old and noble Austrian family who was, in fact, in diplomatic service to the Hapsburgs. But this was not Wolfgang Paalen's family, whose descent on his father's side was from the merchant class. Yet, in spite of the confusion and mythologizing, in interviews Onslow Ford indicated that Wolfgang was gifted in the social graces and always performed like a diplomat in society. Paalen's upbringing and the complexity of his personal history, particularly from adolescence on, however, suggest that this

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aspect of his persona, if not his putative title, was genuine.

The actual history, as told by Michael Paalen and recounted below, was that the family was extremely wealthy, a part of the entrepreneurial class that had acquired tremendous fortunes in turn-of-the-century Austria-Hungary. A title was offered to Gustav Paalen, but he declined to accept it because it was a title of the "parvenu," and he knew that it would be transparent in actual aristocratic circles.[22] Nonetheless, the privileged manner in which Wolfgang was brought up accounts for his manner and for his persistent association with aristocracy. And no doubt Paalen himself found it in his own best interests to allow this self-image and to promote such mythology, for reasons that become clear as the story of his life unfolds.

## B. EARLY LIFE AND CULTURAL CONTEXTS

### 1. Family History

According to Michael Paalen's account, Wolfgang's father, Gustav Paalen, was of Jewish and Moravian birth, descended from a family of itinerant silk merchants and weavers.[23] Gustav's parents were well-to-do merchants with a "department store" in Bissenz, trading textiles and tools, pots and utensils, spices and the like.[24] A melancholic paternal grandfather had committed suicide after financial problems and the affair of his wife with a Baron drove him to despair. Michael Paalen said that his father liked to

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think that he was not fully Jewish because of this affair, but this was merely fantasy, because Gustav was four years old at the time of the incident.[25]

In addition to his family's wealth, Gustav had made his fortune by acquisition, perfection, and subsequent patent of the invention of a vacuum liner for thermos bottles, which were used in great quantity by soldiers on the front lines of the First World War.[26] For this reason, the Hapsburg Emperor Franz Josef honored him with a title, which he declined, since it was the title of a "parvenu" and would mark him as not truly aristocratic.[27] Gustav Paalen was also an accomplished art collector and dealer that aspired to transform himself from his provincial Jewish background into an Austrian aristocrat.[28] Like many others of his generation, most notably Sigmund Freud, he was enamored of and collected classical antiquities. This was typical of the haute-bourgeoisie in Germany where there had been a highly-developed Classical revival from the Enlightenment on through the nineteenth century, as is particularly evident in Schinkel's Berlin. This avocation was confirmed by Gustav's contemporary, Count Gregor von Rezzori, who said that Gustav dabbled in antiques, buying and selling them as a sideline to his other enterprises.[29] It is interesting to note that in a photograph of Wolfgang in his studio in Cassis, France, at around age thirty, he is surrounded by fine examples of the heads of archaic Greek kouroi, classical blackware vases, and an elegantly carved Etruscan

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sarcophagus. These were works from his father's collection, the last of which Gustav had given him in his thirtieth year.[30] (Fig. 4) Wolfgang would follow in his father's footsteps. He too became a connoisseur and dealer, but of the "primitive," not the classical, arts.

Paalen's mother Emmy, née Clothilde Emilie Gunkel, was born in Breitenbach, Germany in 1879, the youngest daughter of a wealthy family.[31] Her father, Adam, like Gustav Paalen's father, was a successful merchant. Michael Paalen remembered him as a cold, provincial man and Emilie's mother as a self-possessed lady, and recalled that the family was very dysfunctional and always fighting. Emmy was very beautiful and had been well-educated in a Catholic school.[32] She met Gustav Paalen in 1904, at the age of twenty-five and at a high point in her career, when she was playing the role of Gretchen in Faust at the Theater an der Wien, the second most important theater company in Vienna. Gustav, a successful and cosmopolitan businessman, approached her on the street, whereupon a flirtation began, which turned into an affair, ultimately resulting in the conception of Wolfgang Robert, during a tryst.[33]

According to Michael Paalen's account, approximately a year later, on July 22, 1905, Wolfgang Robert was born in Baden-bei-Wien, a spa like Montecarlo, outside of the Vienna city district.[34] Emmy's parents were scandalized and insisted that she and Gustav marry, but when they found out

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that Gustav was Jewish, they demanded he convert to Christianity. He obliged them, somewhat begrudgingly.[35]

As Michael Paalen recounted, Gustav had an ever greater desire to consolidate his assets, settle down, and become a man of letters.[36] The first place that he did this was in Baden-bei-Wien, after Wolfgang was born. Gustav had his "vacuum" business registered in Vienna and also kept apartments in the city on fashionable Reichsratstrasse, directly across the street from the University of Vienna.[37] In addition to his highly lucrative business enterprises, according to his passport, by 1908 Gustav Paalen was also the Secretary General of the highly influential newspaper, the Berliner Tageblatt (one of Berlin's leading newspapers).[38] This would no doubt have advanced his aspirations to be a gentleman.

Just before the First World War, Gustav acquired another domicile: a country estate in a territory equidistant from Vienna and Berlin, just inside the (current) Polish border near Breslau, to facilitate travel between the two cities.[39] The name of the estate was Rochusburg, with a Renaissance-style chateau situated inside a great park, which in the Middle Ages had been a cloister belonging to the impoverished countess of Sagan, descendent of the Talleyrands.[40] With this acquisition, the aristocratic image, to which Gustav aspired, was all but complete. This family history, compounded with the cultural attitudes of the Germanic territories, established a major theme for the

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Paalen family, in which they denied their Jewish identity and concealed their class and cultural roots in an aristocratic guise.

2. Jewish Culture in the Late Hapsburg Empire

The biography of the Paalen family, in fact, reflects a pattern of Jewish families in the late Hapsburg Empire. For instance, the history of the family of Hugo von Hoffmansthal, the celebrated Viennese poet and lyricist who collaborated with Ricard Strauss, indicates that:

> [h]e had a Jewish great-grandfather, Isaak Löw Hofmann, who had moved from Prague to Vienna in 1788, had promoted the silk trade in the eastern lands of the Habsburg monarchy, had headed the capital's Jewish community for some time, and had eventually been raised to hereditary nobility by Emperor Ferdinand I. Hofmannsthal's grandfather, also in the silk business, had converted to Roman Catholicism before marrying a Milanese countess.[41]

Closer still in its details to the Paalen family history is that of the Viennese poet/writer Stefan Zweig, who, like Paalen, took his own life in 1942 while in exile in Brazil. In his autobiography Zweig wrote about his father's upbringing in rural Moravia, where Jewish communities lived in complete harmony with the peasants and bourgeoisie. This sense of acceptance provided them with a sense of certainty and confidence, unlike that in other periods and cultures; and they separated themselves from their orthodox religion in favor of the "religion of the time, 'progress.'"

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> in the political era of liberalism they supported the most esteemed representatives in parliament. When they moved from their home to Vienna, they adapted themselves to the higher cultural sphere with phenomenal rapidity.... My grandfather on my father's side was a dry goods dealer. In the second half of the century the industrial turn of the tide began in Austria...it was the Jewish merchants who were the first to see the necessity and the advantage of a changeover to industrial production. Usually with but limited capital, they founded the quickly improvised factories, at first run only by water power, which gradually grew into the mighty Bohemian textile industry that dominated all of Austria and the Balkans.[42]

Gustav Paalen's renunciation of his Jewish background began as a convenience. But that it remained a secret for so many years is revealing of the politics and psychology of the anti-semitism in Austria and Germany that finally destroyed the better part of the European Jewish community. Gregor von Rezzori, a Viennese contemporary of Paalen, wrote an account of this prejudice in his Memoir of an Anti-Semite. A chronicle of his life in early twentieth-century Vienna, this memoir affords an unusually candid view of the mentality of anti-semitism and reveals that many Jews themselves were anti-semitic.[43] Having ceased practicing Judaism and converted mostly to the Methodist sect, the prosperous apostate and semi-apostate Jews made up "five percent of Vienna's population and the largest segment of the legal, medical, and journalistic professions," and many of them "displayed a public anti-Semitism as a sign that they had renounced their ancestral past."[44]

Why Gustav Paalen would have affected the pose of nobility, and how this reflects the unrequited desire on the

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part of highly cultivated Jewish families of this period to assimilate into German culture, is of concern to this study. This pattern reflects the psychology of the outsider or the "other" that denies its own identity in favor of identification with the controlling, dominant culture. It has been revealed that even the family of the famous philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein was Jewish but had renounced its faith in the nineteenth century to become thoroughly Protestant; Wittgenstein always thought of himself as "German through and through."[45]

One of the central paradoxes of Viennese culture, thus, was its ability to produce "[s]ocial and political movements as opposed as Nazism and German anti-Semitism on the one hand, and Zionism on the other hand."[46] For it was in the "City of Dreams" that both Theodor Herzl and the Nazi Final Solution had its origins.[47] So it is said to have been no surprise that "the Jews of Vienna should have turned to German culture to create an aesthetic aristocracy, and so escape from the lives of trade for which middle-class Jews were otherwise destined."[48]

A high degree of social and political freedom and an exemption from economic cares were allowed the Jews in the late Hapsburg Empire. Yet a pattern of rejection of their fathers' values was common to the children (mostly the sons) of the "good Jewish bourgeoisie" and encouraged by the fathers themselves. To rise above the level of business and trade and aspire to something finer, identified with

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intellectual and cultural pursuits, was the goal of every second-generation Jewish scion, who, additionally, cut his or her teeth on a society enamored of "culture."[49] In his memoir, Stefan Zweig discussed the Viennese love affair with theater and music, a sentiment that infiltrated the sensibility of every class. From the Imperial Opera House and Burgtheater to the Heuriger "oompapa" and the Prater military bands, "a Viennese who had no sense of art or who found no enjoyment in form was unthinkable in 'good society.'"[50]

The reverence for culture and intellect was pronounced among Viennese Jewish families; and this was true in Berlin as well. Zweig discusses the profound emotional attachment Viennese Jews developed for their adapted homeland, finding there an "identical deep instinct for cultural and aesthetic values...so important to...themselves," and eagerly taking up the role of a "cultural" aristocracy. Ostracized as Jews from other public positions, they would become the defenders and preservers of the traditions of art and music for which Vienna had been famous in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, saving them from the neglect of Franz Josef, a philistine, "who in his eighty years had never read a book other than the Army Register, [and] evidenced moreover a definite antipathy to music."[51]

As a consequence, not only did Jewish families produce the majority of doctors and lawyers in Viennese and German society, but the likes of a Gustav Mahler or an Ernst

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Cassirer, indicating that the Jewish role in the artistic and scientific achievements of Vienna and Berlin was substantial.[52] This, then, was the cultural background of Wolfgang Paalen's aspirations, and the political and theoretical foundation of his writings resonate with these soundings.

### 3. Youth in Sagan and Exile

Paalen's recollections of his childhood home are important to his character as an individual and as an artist. The Regler monograph includes descriptions of his early years in Sagan, focusing on his exposure to and interest in art through the influence of his father. In addition to starting to draw at a very young age,[53] Wolfgang also lived in the aura of great masterworks.

> In the library, opposite a knight in long red silk hose drawn by the hand of Titian, hung a beautiful Venus of almost transparent enamel by Lukas Cranach. It was the first star rising for him above the horizon of painting.... When, at the age of eleven, he showed himself capable of distinguishing between a sketch by Delacroix and one by Daumier, his father encouraged him to become a painter.[54]

Gustav Paalen, in fact, was an art collector of considerable prestige. He had helped the Berlin National Gallery to acquire Titian's renowned painting of Venus mit die Orgelspieler, a paradigm of Neoplatonic discourse on the hierarchy of the arts of painting and music in the High Renaissance.[55] Thus he knew the painter Wilhelm von Bode, head of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, who contributed to the

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acceptance of Impressionism in Germany. A letter in the archives of the Berlin State Museums requests an official evaluation for insurance purposes of three other paintings by Tintoretto, Manet, and Bassano in Gustav's collection.[56]

This acquaintance may have begun as a result of Gustav's involvement with Berlin literary circles, in his position as Secretary General at the Berliner Tageblatt. As an antiquarian and collector of old masters, Gustav also provided the best classical education for his son by hiring a private tutor: "A young [British] student of philology and mathematics...who later became an eminent pianist, [who] taught the boy more Latin, Greek, and mathematics than one generally learns at school...."[57]

In Sagan, Paalen thrived on pasttimes in nature and the delights of the imagination stirred by the romantic past that surrounded him.

> The country house of his father where he spent a great part of his youth was situated in a wooded part of Silesia and surrounded by a park which was the playground of roebucks, rabbits, pheasants, and other wild fowl. He followed their tracks and as soon as he was allowed to have a small rifle he became a passionate hunter. There is no doubt that in the memories of those days is to be found the root of the series of paintings which he called "paysages totémiques de mon enfance." On the other hand the domestic life of the long winters helped to deepen his reflective side, as did the mysteries of the old building and the blissful shudder when the boy went to explore the gothic cellar whose vault seemed immensely large in the light of the candle.[58]

In his quasi-diaristic travelogue written en route through Canada, the Paysage totémiques, published in DYN,

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Paalen's described this childhood home, mixing memory and imagination, fact and fiction.[59] He recalled:

> the grammar school in the little neighboring town...that old school....[l]odged in the former residence of Wallenstein - it was there that Kepler came from Prague to cast the somber horoscope of the duke - those tiles still resound with echoes of men and horses armored in iron and in secular hates.[60]

The reference to the former home of Wallenstein suggested that Sagan was the birthplace of that Hapsburg Imperial commander-in-chief, the principality in which Rochusburg was located, and the hereditary seat of the countess from whom the estate had been purchased.[61] Wallenstein's brilliant campaigns had won power and dominion for the Hapsburgs and he, in turn, was rewarded with the title Prince of Sagan.[62] The famous Schiller drama about Wallenstein, Wallenstein, ein dramatisches gedicht, known to every German-speaking schoolchild as a classic of German literature, must have fired Wolfgang's imagination. Inscribed on the back of a photograph (dated 1933) of Rochusburg found in the Tepoztlán archive was "Sagan." (Fig. 5) During the Second World War Sagan was occupied German territory. Now it is Zägan, part of modern-day Poland, but in 1933 it was still part of Germany. This territory is also known as Silesia, as the Regler passage indicates, and is on the border of Germany and Czechoslavakia, equidistant from Berlin, Vienna, and Prague.

Emmy Paalen's background may have also figured in Gustav's acquisition of Sagan, as it was not far from

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Nienburg, where her family had moved from Breitenbach, where she was born.[63] In a vignette entitled "Sunga" (perhaps a modfied anagram of Sagan) Paalen recalled an early childhood visit to his grandparents' home, saying:

> That was when we had whooping cough on the terrace of 'Frauenhof,'grandfather's place. He gave us raisin bread and he presented you with the tip of an antler. Those were lovely autumn days. They put our beds on the terrace, during the day. But we had to stay in bed all day in our long night-shirts.[64]

From the start of his life, Wolfgang enjoyed the benefits of both country and cosmopolitan life; and these two aspects were always revealed in his character and choice to emigrate to Mexico City, rather than New York. The persistence of ancient customs and lore, and belief in witchcraft and ancient totems, lived on as much in the "volk" cultures of Silesia and Bohemia as in "primitive" cultures. In a passage from the Paysages totémique Paalen spoke of the forests of his youth:

> They seemed to me then without end, those old woods of Silesia where there burns still the ember of an ancient pagan faith. There the best years of my anachronistic childhood let their days fall.[65]

It is this "ember of an ancient pagan faith" to which Paalen was drawn by his early childhood experience. This was, no doubt, an early counterpart for the "primitive" rituals and beliefs he would encounter in the ancient cultures of America. Similarly, Paalen's later interest in pre-history must have been the product of the pioneering Germanic interest in the pre-historic culture of Austria and the

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Balkans, which uncovered such famous artifacts as the "Venus of Willendorf." The "Venus of Willendorf" is still in the Vienna Naturhistorisches Museum today, and its fame as well as the museum's proximity to the Paalen family apartments behind the Ringstrasse make it likely that Paalen knew of things paleolithic from an early age.[66]

The turn-of-the-century in Germany and Austria-Hungary was an arch-romantic era and Paalen's family was throughly entrenched in that romanticism. An archival photograph shows the estate and "Castle Rochusburg" (Fig. 6), where Paalen spent his youth in what appears to have been a close and protective family situation. (Fig. 7) Such a childhood likely fostered the associations with nobility and Wolfgang's own tendency to romanticize.

The model for the family in this period, set by the Imperial Family of Franz Josef, was soundly identified with bourgeois values and images of familial contentment, and the Paalen family followed suit.[67] This image, though contradicted by the reality of Franz Josef's iron-handed rule and arch-conservativism, was steadfastly upheld until the fall of the Empire, when the comfort and security afforded by this system were destined to end. "[This] insulation from reality which the bourgeois home had been created to provide," was destroyed.[68] Stefan Zweig describes the pre-war era in great detail, contrasting it to the destructive and destabilized period that followed.

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> When I attempt to find a simple formula for the period in which I grew up, prior to the First World War, I hope that I convey its fullness by calling it the Golden Age of Security. Everything in our almost thousand-year-old Austrian monarchy seemed based on permanency, and the State itself was the chief guarantor of this stability.
>
> we finally know that that world of security was naught but a castle of dreams; my parents lived in it as if it had been a house of stone. Not once did a storm, or even a sharp wind, break in upon their warm, comfortable existence.... Their way of life seems to me to be so typical of the so-called "good Jewish bourgeoisie," which gave such marked value to Viennese culture...ten or twenty thousand families like my parents lived in Vienna in that last century of assured values.[69]

Like the life of Stefan Zweig, whose experience mirrors the fate of many individuals driven out of Europe as Jews and by the war, Wolfgang Paalen's life was profoundly shaped and disrupted by the two World Wars. Paalen, too, seems to have had a perspective on the doom that befell the days of his youth - "the world of security." In a Paysages totémique passage written in Mexico in 1942, Paalen alluded to "the best years of [his] anachronistic childhood."[70] As has been said of Ludwig Wittgenstein, "the...most important fact[.] to remember about Wittgenstein [was], firstly, that he was Viennese...."[71] Paalen, like Wittgenstein, was profoundly a product of his culture, and like Zweig, a victim of modern European history.

4. Wolfgang Paalen's Earliest Artistic Training

After the First World War, as the European and particularly the German economy faltered and failed, Gustav

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began having money problems and relocated the family a number of times. Leonor Morales says that this was due to his tendency to speculate in real estate properties in various locations, buying and selling them rapidly, sometimes at a loss.[72] This pattern of moving is alluded to, but not made explicit, in the Regler monograph when it says that the "family was numerous and of a migratory disposition."[73] First, in 1920, when Wolfgang was age fifteen, "after a short stay in Paris," they moved to Rome. With the encouragement of his father, the youthful Paalen studied painting in Tivoli with Leo von König.

Von König was a member of the Berlin Secession and a close friend of the influential art critic, Julius Meier-Graefe, whose writings helped to shape the romantic expressionist theory, aesthetics, and ideology of the Munich Blue Rider movement and were germinal for Wolfgang's formation as well.[74] Early on, von König was a member of the circle of the Berlin art dealer/publisher, Paul Cassirer, as one of "the phalanx of the younger generation of Impressionists."[75] In this association, Wolfgang Paalen's artistic foundations were solidly set in a painterly academic and naturalistic tradition, which he would extend after study with Hans Hofmann and exposure to Cubism.

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## 5. Amerikanismus in Germany - The Context of Popular Culture

During the years of Wolfgang Paalen's formation, there was a widespread interest in Germany in America. America was then the symbol and archetype of freedom, wild-[er]ness, individualism. All the things that Europeans felt their society had lost or lacked drove them to search for the very primitivistic values they believed America held: an idealized emblem of Zivilisationsmüdigkeit ("weariness of civilization").[76] A ubiquitous "Indianism" and "New Worldism" were evident in Germany in the first two decades of the twentieth century. In her recent study of the "Amerikanismus" phenomenon, Beeke Sell Tower asserted: "the rage for jazz and skyscrapers, the romance with America ...swept all of Europe after World War I, but nowhere was America's impact as profound as in Germany."[77] Americanization of Weimar culture was as pronounced as the Europeanization of New York in the 1940s. While Tower's study concentrates on the post-war Weimar Republic, she also shows that Amerikanismus can be traced much further back into the nineteenth century. Sources in popular culture, such as the translations in the 1820s of the "Indian" novels (Indianerromane) of James Fenimore Cooper, had a profound impact on generations of Germans.[78] Significantly, this "Americanism" was not only generated second-hand by literature and popular art, but by the migration of Germans to the American West, which "rose from a few thousand in the 1820s

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to 150,000 annually between 1880 and 1890."[79] It was this "living fabric of experience in colonial Germany,"[80] now manifest in American colonization that can partly account for the German focus on the New World. As Jill Lloyd noted with reference to South Seas colonists, exotic presents sent back to family and friends whet interest in tribal arts and culture;[81] such gestures would have met similar response with reference to the German colonizations of America.

Paalen was familiar with the popular novels of Fenimore Cooper and those of Robert Louis Stevenson's German counterpart, Karl May, who wrote romantic adventure stories for children that achieved enormous popularity in the 1890s and are still reissued today. May created:

> a series of novels set mostly in the Far West, which recounted the deeds of a motley band of German adventurers...[led by] a Teutonic superhero, Old Shatterhand, a man of enormous strength and skill and possessed of encyclopedic knowledge on almost any subject. He and his bloodbrother Winnetou, an Apache chief and the most noble of all Indian heros, emerged victorious from all encounters with hostile Indian tribes....[82]

It is poignant testimony to the pervasive power of May's mythologies that on the back of the photograph of Sagan,2 the Paalen family estate, was the inscription: "G. Stein und M. Paalen als O. Shatterhand + Winnetou?"[83] (Fig. 5) While this inscription refers to Michael Paalen, then aged 12, it reinforces the importance and persistence of this theme for generations. Indeed, in a biographical sketch contained in the Regler monograph, Paalen recalls:

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"As his brothers and he played 'Indians' for many summers, he had to act as medicine man for all the tribes, because nobody else was able to make such satisfactory war paints and tipi-ornaments."[84] Looking back at the influence of Karl May's novels, Beeke Sell Tower has indicated that: "Although May's novels abound with clichés of hostile Indians, his sympathies clearly were for the Indians besieged by the encroaching frontier,"[85] a sentiment that certainly pervaded the thinking of Paalen. While the anecdote from Paalen's childhood may seem incidental, Paalen's sympathy for and deep involvement with Native American culture as an adult was clearly rooted in his early impressions and experiences - particularly in light of the emphasis he placed on his childhood and its loss in the Paysages totémiques de mon enfance.

Paalen, unlike some of the Expressionist artists, never became an "urban primitive", who used the motif and theme of Native America as a criticism of conservative values.[86] Like Expressionists Georg Grosz, Else Lasker-Schule, August Macke, Ernst Kirchner, Emile Nolde, and others, like Rudolf Schlichter he thoroughly absorbed primitivist ideology and aesthetic. But his studious character and his more isolated and privileged upbringing transformed its reception into a very different manifestation. Where Schlichter and Grosz, who were from the provinces, used the Far West to "escape from the narrow world of a small town upbringing and from the horrors of the war,"[87] the slightly-younger, more

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urbane, and more aristocratic Paalen styled himself an adventurer who virtually explored the frontiers of the Northwest Coast and the jungles of Mexico and became a self-made expert in Native American art and culture.[88] (Fig. 8 and 9)

The romance of literature and cinema were not the only sources of Amerikanismus for scores of Germans who were exposed to the "real" West. There were also Annie Oakley's and Buffalo Bill's Wild West shows; and the Völkerschau ethnographic exhibits of Native Americans in zoos and circuses that visited Germany.[89] These ethnographic exhibits fall firmly within the boundaries of popular culture, alongside cabaret acts and illustrated weeklies that also represented or displayed such "curiosities." But they were also a by-product of a very long history of interest and exploration of Native American cultures by Germany and the German-speaking nations that began as early as the 16th century and to which Paalen was heir. It has been indicated by one writer that by the twentieth century the finest collections of Native American art in Europe were to be found in Germany, especially Berlin.[90]

### 6. Native American Art in Germany[91]

The first evidences of interest in Native American art and culture in the Germanic territories interestingly

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enough are found in artistic production. The famous epic print series, The Triumph of Maximilian I (1519), by the German artist Hans Burgkmair shows Brazilian Tupinamba "Indians" in their native costume and wearing feathered headdresses, one specimen of which was one of the first artifacts to be shipped from the New World. It was known, erroneously, as the "Crown of Montezuma," and Paalen could have known or seen it in the Vienna Naturhistorisches Museum due to its fame.[92] In 1520 the conquistador Cortes shipped back artifacts from Mexico, which were displayed in Brussels, where Albrecht Dürer saw them. By 1530 explorers in the New World were bringing back such modest North American "Indian" objects as moccasins, less impressive than the extraordinarily crafted mosaics and metalwork of the Southern tribes, but nonetheless prized by the crowned heads of Europe who began to collect tribal artifacts. While interest in these items developed, the criteria for acquisition were rarity and curiosity rather than aesthetic value, and not until the twentieth century were these works first viewed for their artistic rather than "scientific" merit.[93]

Parallel with collecting was the actual perception of the "Indians" themselves, represented from the outset as both noble and savage.[94] This aided such occasional exhibitions of Native Americans (a practice that was the ancestor of the Völkerschau) as an Eskimo woman and child picked up in a kayak at sea (after the husband/father had

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been killed) and brought back as living curiosities to tour Bavaria in 1566.[95] This not uncommon practice (even in less dire circumstances) also yielded such major specimens as the kayak in the collection of the Elector of Bavaria in 1577 that is in the Munich ethnology museum today. It was from the Munich Völkerkundemuseum that August Macke drew his illustrations for his "manifesto" essay "Die Masken" (for the Blue Rider Almanac), which Paalen undoubtedly knew.[96] Macke's essay illustrated an example of a Tlingit "Chilkat" blanket,[97] one of the prized objects from Paalen's collection from his Northwest Coast journey, which he discussed and illustrated in DYN.[98] (Fig. 10)

The German tradition of collecting Native American objects was amplified by various factors and events. Besides the growth in immigration to North America during the colonial period, mercenaries participating in the American Revolution sent home great numbers of artifacts which formed the basis of future German collections. During the Enlightenment, the development of taxonomy influenced ethnographic collecting practice and caused it to become more scientific. This was true even though under-financing for acquisitions until the late nineteenth century prevented systematic compilation of objects for coherent collections.

The more objective approach, however, went hand-in-hand with the great eighteenth-century exploration voyages that sponsored and promoted the first ethnological field work. In 1805 G.H. von Langsdorff, whose collection still survives

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in Munich, acquired much material during a Russian discovery voyage led by Adam von Krusenstern to the Pacific Northwest Coast. In 1806, at public auction, the Austrian Emperor bought for his natural history collection much of the material of Captain James Cook's 1778 voyage to the Northwest Coast, which is still in the Vienna Museum für Völkerkunde today. Paalen had the 1784 English edition of Cook's Voyage to the Pacific Ocean in his library, as well as a 1788 biography of The Life of James Cook and numerous other Anglo-American accounts of early voyages.[99] The 1968 catalogue of the Vienna Museum für Völkerkunde includes this material and also catalogues materials from James G. Swan of the early 1870s, and material from the Field Columbian Exhibition of 1893.[100] Paalen would have been able to see these collections anytime from ca. 1910 to 1928 (the latter date was when he left Austria/Germany for France.[101]

Contemporary with Cook's voyage, an overland expedition from Siberia across the Bering Strait and the Aleutian Islands chain had allowed Baron von Asch to amass a sizable collection, which still exists in Göttingen. The 1804-06 transcontinental expedition of the American explorers Lewis and Clark inspired the great natural historian and philosopher Alexander von Humboldt to travel through the American West. Similarly, Prince Maximilian of Wied, accompanied by the Swiss painter Karl Bodmer, made a journey up the Missouri River through the heart of Plains "Indian" territory. According to Christian Feest, Maximilian was one

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of the best prepared and most experienced of all these amateur ethnologists, and his exceptional collection is housed today in Berlin and Stuttgart. No doubt, Bodmer's visual records and representations were immensely influential and popular in that pre-photographic era.[102]

By 1913, another aspect of popularizing "Indianism" was manifest in the Berlin Zoo, which built a compound for a herd of American bison carved in Northwest Coast sculptural style. Paalen, in Berlin with his family, could have seen this.[103] Not least in the array of material that romanticized and ennobled Native Americans was Edward Curtis' twenty volume set of The North American Indian (of the United States and Alaska) released between 1907 and 1936, and (ironically) financed by the railroad baron J.P. Morgan. Significantly, Paalen owned the entire edition of Curtis' monumental portfolio.[104]

The most important development for interest in Native American art and culture, however, was the founding of ethnographic museums that were accessible to the public. Feest indicates that, previous to the founding of Völkerkundemuseums, proper, small collections of Native American artifacts existed in universities and natural-history cabinets (or Kunstkammern [art cabinets]) within larger museums, from as early as the 1780s at Göttingen University; 1806 at the Vienna Natural History museum; and 1829 in the Berlin museum of antiquities. Robert Goldwater says that the earliest plea for the founding of ethnographic

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museums came from the German P.F. von Siebold in a letter of 1843. His letter rationalized a need for establishment of these institutions on the basis of awakening interest in the public and in merchants as a "necessary condition for a lucrative trade." Goldwater observes that this actually did occur in the following decades with the "political and economic competition for world markets" and, simultaneously, with the growth in influence of Darwinian evolution theory. "This was especially true," he continues, "in Germany, which was further behind, and thus more conscious of the supplementary activity necessary to advance its commercial ambitions."[105]

Under the auspices of larger parent institutions, most anthropology museums came into existence in the third quarter of the nineteenth century.[106] The exception to this was Berlin, where in 1873 a separate anthropological museum was founded[107] - the same Völkerkunde Museum that Franz Marc visited in 1912 (at Kandinsky's suggestion) for source material for the second edition of The Blue Rider Almanac;[108] that Marsden Hartley visited in 1914;[109] and to which Paalen would have had access as a youth during his Berlin years. This collection, it should be recalled, built upon the fine specimens of Maximilien of Wied, as well as the collections of Kaiser Wilhelm I discussed below. And Berlin, above all German cities, took the lead in collecting native arts and crafts from all over North America.

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According to Feest, before World War I, Berlin had acquired major collections representative of numerous Native American cultures, even though aggressive American field collecting by the turn of the century made it increasingly difficult for European museums to acquire material. In 1916, in wartime United States, nationalistic interests, which would reassert themselves in the years around the Second World War, effected the founding of the Museum of the American Indian. But on both sides of the Atlantic, although private collecting continued, especially between the two World Wars, it was motivated by romanticism associated with the literary representations already discussed, rather than by aesthetic interest.[110] By the 1920s the emphasis would change.

Like the history of German ethnology and ethnologic institutions, the history of publication of studies on "primitive" arts and culture by German and German-speaking authors reveals not only their domination of the field, but the earliest appreciations of ethnographic works as "art" rather than functional documentary evidence; and also reveals the earliest investigations of the social aspects of artistic production. Although published in the United States, Franz Boas' 1915 Anthropology in North America was a pioneering volume; and his famous Primitive Art, first published in Oslo in English (1927) and subsequently in the United States (1928), might be called the pivotal works in the methodology of North American studies - in both

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aesthetic and anthropological approach. Goldwater indicates, however, that the opinions published in that volume "based on field work carried out and published before 1900, were formed much earlier,"[111] suggesting that Boas' involvement with Native American art reached back further than his professional commitment. Additionally, publication in the United States and in English of the first editions of these volumes is a good index of the reciprocity of German and American culture.

Elizabeth Cowling reports that in France in the 1920s and '30s even the Surrealists knew not only the catalogue of the Berlin Völkerkunde museum, but the works of Hauenstein, Kühn, and Von Sydow, which were "widely dispersed and well-respected surveys written in the 1920s."[112] Paalen had in his library the 1882 American edition of the Berlin Royal Museums catalogue, The northwest coast of America, being results of recent ethnological researches. From the collections of the Royal Museums at Berlin,[113] which published works from a large collection brought back by Norwegian ship captain Adrian Jacobsen and sold to the Kaiser's Royal Museums in 1882.[114] Significantly, in an essay on "Totem Art" in DYN, Paalen would reproduce from his own collection a wooden potlatch figure of a Kwakiutl chief holding a "copper," alongside of a very similar one acquired by the Berlin Museum from Jacobsen.[115] (Fig. 11) Paalen also had in his collection an actual Haida "chiseled and painted copper-plate" from the Queen Charlotte Islands,

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which he would reproduce in color amidst an array of other fine objects he owned.[116] (Fig. 12)

One of the outstanding Native American exhibitions in the late nineteenth century, that had had a measurable historical impact on the development of both popular interest and anthropology in Germany, was the performance of the Northwest Coast Bella Coola dancers in Germany in 1885.[117] The troupe was brought there for a year-long visit by the same Adrian Jacobsen who supplied the Berlin Royal (and other German) museums with artifacts. The impact of the Bella Coola dancers upon the German public was so great that Christian Feest has indicated that Boas himself was inspired to his vocation in Northwest Coast anthropology after witnessing the dance troupe, even though his involvement in ethnography was precipitated by a year-long experience as a geologist in the Arctic.[118] It is significant that photographs were made of this event and widely reproduced and publicized. Significantly, an historic photograph of this "group of Ha'mats'a (e.g. cannibal) dancers," taken during their tour, was reproduced in Paalen's "Amerindian Number" of DYN to illustrate "Totem Art"[119] (Fig. 13).

Present in Paalen's library were all but one of the volumes mentioned by Elizabeth Cowling, including: the original 1922 edition of Hauenstein's Barbaren und Klassiker; a 1925 edition of von Sydow's Die Kunst der Naturvölker und der Vorzeit; a 1924 edition of von Sydow's

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Ahnenkult und Ahnenbild der Naturvölker; and von Sydow's (1927) Primitive Kunst und Psychoanalyse.[120] Significantly, Barbaren und Klassiker was published by Reinhard Piper, the publisher of The Blue Rider Almanac. In Berlin, Leonhard Adam's Nordwestamerikanishche Indianerkunst was a "pathbreaking study of Northwest Coast art based on the Berlin collection," published in the 1920s almost simultaneous with Fuhrmann's "much less well-conceived volume on Northwest Coast art.... noteworthy for its coverage of other European collections and...published by the Folkwang...in Essen."[121] Fuhrmann's volume Tlinkit und Haida, which published objects from the Vienna Naturhistorisches Museum,[122] was also in Paalen's library as well as another of Fuhrman's works on Mexico, all of them published by Folkwang.[123] The Folkwang Museum, one of the first museums in Germany to collect folk, naive, and native art, played a major role in the development of the primitivism of the Blue Rider movement and therefore, indirectly, in Paalen's primitivism.

Within the history of the founding of ethnographic museums is the equally important history of the presentation and perception of the artifacts themselves. Goldwater reviews this in detail, noting changes in taste dictated by changes in the paradigms of both science and art. As he says: "The change in the evaluation of the 'primitive' arts was related to the changing theories of their origins, evolution, function, and meaning."[124] It was at first on a

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documentary basis - collections without rhyme based on the reason of "curiosities" alone - which, by the end of the century, were taxonomically classified. By the third quarter of the nineteenth century, following the paradigm of Darwinian evolution theory, museums would further "scientize" their presentations and display objects in a hierarchic chain, representing them as evidence of the lowest state of human technology and society. The dominant naturalistic and realistic aesthetic of this period viewed these objects as savage and correspondingly degraded, outside the considerations of art. By the first decades of the twentieth century, with a shift in taste under the pressure of Zivilisationssmüdigkeit generated by the "fundamental shift in scientific and scholarly understanding of the Indian through acceptance of the concept of culture and the ideal of cultural pluralism,"[125] objects were aestheticized and seen for their intrinsic artistic merits, apart from their original cultural context, by artists and scientists alike. But at the same time, artists projected utopian models onto "primitive" societies that had little to do with the realities and specificities of the actual cultures. By the late 1930s the deficiency of these projections was acknowledged, by Goldwater himself, but the conflict in approaches to "primitive" art and culture was still evident in the attitudes and organizations of major institutions themselves.

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In 1926, for instance, the Munich museum had reorganized on a "kunstwissenschaftlichästhetisch basis." Paalen was in Munich studying with Hans Hoffman in 1927. In 1930 the Vienna museum organized "according to a cultural documentary method," reflecting a typically Viennese pragmatic social bias that always coexisted in Paalen's character along with the romantic.[126] In 1928 the Trocadéro reorganized its collections for "greater artistic appeal" only to reopen in 1937 as the "Musée de l'Homme" and adopt an anthropological focus while still maintaining an interest in isolating "excellent" objects.[127] Paalen moved to Paris in 1928 and in 1935 became part of the Surrealist movement. He was thus exposed to all currents of thinking and to the ongoing shifts in taste reflected in major museum collections. And as a member of the Surrealist movement, he was part of the collaboration of ethnologists and artists occurring in 1930s Paris, discussed in Part II.

## C. CULTURAL CONTEXTS and ARTISTIC INFLUENCES[128]

### 1. Introduction

The Austro-Hungarian Empire and the climate of pre-World War I Vienna into which Wolfgang Paalen was born were teetering on the brink of disaster. From the late nineteenth century on, the history of the Imperial House of Hapsburg was marked by instability and a series of tragedies. First in a chain of violent deaths of the royal family was the purported suicide in 1889 in Mayerling of

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("mad") Archduke Rudolf, the only son of Franz Josef and heir to the throne.[129] Then, on the 28th of June 1914, the assassination of his successor Franz Ferdinand set off the First World War. This led ultimately to the abdication in 1919 of the Emperor Karl, the final dismantling of the Empire, and the beginning of the Austrian Republic.[130] Austrian culture clearly reflected the tension of these events:

> That they were all living in the sultry last days of mankind, before the coming storm, and waiting for the final collapse of European civilization was at that time a commonplace among the Viennese intelligentsia. Schopenhauerian pessimism was all the vogue in cafés, theaters, and in the newspaper feuilletons.[131]

Such pessimism has been linked to a climate of uncertainty and skepticism about the prevailing rationalism engendered by modern science and technology;[132] a pessimism most evident in the writings of Friederich Nietzsche, whose early and mid-career works develop these themes.[133] Just as it was reflected in Nietzsche's work, there was an ongoing cultural response to this uncertainty, which was manifest in the vieing of two different philosophical traditions - rationalism and irrationalism, in their turn reflecting two different ideologies: the first, political or politically engaged, the latter, apolitical or disengaged. It has been proposed that this discomfort with modernity in Vienna was the result of the Hapsburg Empire's failure to industrialize as quickly as other European states. In combination, these factors provoked a profound sense of

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crisis of linguistic, aesthetic, and philosophical dimensions, which resulted in the radical revisions of Freud, Wittgenstein, Musil, and others.[134]

Paalen's personality echoed the profound dysphoria in fin-de-siécle Viennese culture. Glorification of suicide and of the "genius" of the "Romantic personality" were hallmarks of this period. This ethos followed the prescription of Oswald Spengler that suicide was "one of the noblest spectacles ever presented by a late religiousness."[135] The concept of genius was seen as distinct from that of talent. The idea was first introduced by the ("Idealist") Kant in his Critique of Judgment (1790). It was embraced by the German Romantics and

> became the secularized equivalent in the Romantic movement...of the Christian concept of a saint.... The genius, as previously the saint, has direct access to truth by an invisible and unexplained route.... A genius arrives at truth by grace, and not by works.[136]

This doctrine led to the celebration of a Romantic personality which was typically "frowning, stormy, harsh, unpredictable, disdaining formalities, uncontrollable, and divine"[137] and provided a rationale for the artistic personality's intense identification with the prophet.[138] It was also the basis of Nietzsche's late-Romantic definition of the artist as superman, to which the avant-garde in both hemispheres, responded.

> The "Genius" was perceived as a kind of Nietzschean superman, having his centre in himself, yet at the same time embodying the idea of humanity, of morality and of universal

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> interconnectedness in his own transcendent personality.[139]

Although Wolfgang Paalen was a generation younger than the habitués of fin-de-siécle Viennese café culture, he was still heir to this ideology, which became a central tenet of modernism.[140] Less strident in his personality, this "late religiousness" and concept of mission strongly informed his thinking - in spite of an attempt to embrace "rationalism" - and shaped both his outlook on life and, ultimately, his decision to end it. This was the case for scores of other Viennese who, given "cultural permission," saw suicide as the consummate act of freedom and of the Will.[141]

Wolfgang Paalen also assimilated the positivist tradition current in Vienna at the time. This influence was most pronounced during his Mexican exile, when he produced the DYN essays, whose incorporation of this discourse represented an effort to come to terms with the madness that Nazism was unleashing upon humanity, by embracing a rationalism he had not espoused before. His exploration of the paradigm of physics, like that of the linguistic, aesthetic, and philosophical parameters of visual art, are deeply imbued with Viennese sensibility.[142]

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## 2. Nietzsche's Reception in Fin-de-Siècle Vienna and Germany

Nietzsche's reception by fin-de-siècle German and Viennese artists and intellectuals was unequaled in its day. Such influential works as Oswald Spengler's Decline of the West and Ludwig Klage's Der Geist als Wider Sacher der Seele (The Mind in Opposition to the Soul) are said to have been "inconceivable" without the example of Nietzsche.[143] As indicated by one writer:

> In Germany it was artists and writers who first discovered [Nietzsche].... He was a brilliant stylist and the beauty of his language at its best is reminiscent of Novalis: his intellectual irony of Heinrich Heine. And what Nietzsche had to say was always topical, even when he was writing about history. All this was bound to strike young people at the end of the last century as quite unconventional...and the young enjoyed him all the more since his teachings were in marked contrast with the views of the older generation in Germany. He was seen as a protest writer...by the turn of the century, Nietzsche had become a fashionable philosopher, a phenomenon belonging to Bohemian circles.[144]

So it is not surprising that Julius Meier-Graefe, Wolfgang Paalen's earliest mentor in art theory and criticism, embraced the philosopher's ideology and rhetoric and infused it into his art criticism. In 1902, shortly after Meier-Graefe began to incorporate Nietzschean ideas into his art criticism, the Expressionist poet Gottfried Benn wrote:

> Actually, everything which my generation discussed ...had already been expressed and exhausted and given a definitive formulation by Nietzsche. His seductive way of writing, with all its thunder and lightning, his relentless diction.... He is the giant of the post-Goethean age. Only Goethe's Faust had made a similar impact [as Zarathustra] on an earlier generation.[145]

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However, the young expressionist poets viewed Nietzsche with a largely uncritical eye, "single-mindedly" seeing him "as the initiator of the kind of philosophy of life which was being formulated in Germany by Wilhelm Dilthey and Georg Simmel, and in France by Henri Bergson."[146] Nevertheless, there remained some detractors, like the Worpswede artist Otto Modersohn-Becker, who disdained the philosopher's "relentless" style and decried his "egoism, ruthlessness - that is the new disease and Nietzsche its father."[147] It was this aspect of Nietzsche's philosophy that would later be invoked by the National Socialists for their own purposes.

In Vienna, a similar pattern of reception was evident:

> The literature of German-speaking Europe in the 20th century is unimaginable without the poets and writers who grew up in fin-de-siècle Vienna.... The most important of them read Nietzsche.[148]

Yet, in spite of Nietzsche's authority, the Viennese were critical of him: "not only Hofmannsthal and Rilke, but also Stefan George maintained a critical distance from Nietzsche."[149] This was probably due to Viennese intellectual and cultural isolation from the wider sphere of German culture in the first half of the 19th century, resulting in the split from Protestant Germany of the Catholic Hapsburg monarchy.[150] Until then there was a resistance to both the German "Romanticism" of Novalis and Goethe, and to the "Idealism" and "Historicism" of Kant and Hegel.[151]

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With the revolutions of 1848, the reform of the university, the establishment of the medical school, and increasing industrialization, by the 1860s Vienna was in a phase of high capitalism and liberalism. After 1866, Viennese intellectuals became involved with the competing philosophical views of philosophical "rationalism" (also called "materialism" and "positivism") rising out of technology and the sciences, especially medicine and the life sciences; and philosophical "irrationalism" from Germany. The former referred particularly to the logical, biological method and theories of Charles Darwin; the latter to those of Schopenhauer, both of which arrived in Vienna in the 1860s.[152] Nietzsche and Wagner followed thereafter:

> Austrian intellectuals in the nineteenth century did not pay much attention to philosophy, but many did respond enthusiastically to Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, and Wagner in the 1870s. This philosophy was romantic and literary in style, expressive, emotional, and related to music and art, <u>but it was critical of traditional religious and romantic values</u>; it was pessimistic and strongly emphasized a tragic view of human existence.[153] [emphasis added]

Freud's generation of the 1870s and those after developed a critical position about liberal "rationalism" as a result of links to both Eastern religions and political populism.[154] The 1880s saw a shift toward Schopenhauer as the key figure in pre-Freudian discussion of the unconscious, with his emphasis in <u>Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung</u> (<u>The World as Will and as Representation</u> - 1819) on "a senseless metaphysical Will at the heart of the universe," and humanity thus at the mercy of nature,

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instinctually driven by survival and need.[155] Although rationalism" or "materialism" was most often associated with the influential theories of Darwin, the "irrationalism" of Schopenhauer can also be seen as an extension of Darwinism.[156] Thus an ambiguous dual, sometimes (as in Freud) dialectical, philosophical tradition underpinned Viennese intellectual life. By the end of the century there was a swing back toward rationalism, as evident in the currency of the writings of such early Vienna School thinkers as Ernst Haeckel and Ernst Mach, who tried to reconcile the dualism.[157] Haeckel did so in the theory of "monism," which "related even intellectual activity to 'physical' or 'mechanical' causes...and saw a continuity between the physical/material world and the intellectual/spiritual aspects of life...."[158] Mach developed his theory of "psychophysics," of essentially the same postulates, relating it to contemporary physics.[159]

It is thus not difficult to see why the reception of Nietzsche in Vienna was at least a two-sided affair, rooted as Vienna was in an equally strong rationalist tradition, diametrically opposed to the romanticism of Nietzsche. Inheriting both these traditions in Vienna and Berlin, Wolfgang Paalen's theory reflects the ambiguity of his antecedents, but is further informed by the positivism of the twentieth-century Vienna Circle. As Donald Gordon has observed, Nietzsche's critique of science's "nihilism," its

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"causalism, mechanism... fatalism," while a critique of nineteenth-century science, was, in fact:

> ...a prediction of the more relativistic sciences of ensuing decades - atomic theory, quantum mechanics, depth psychology - which are no longer causal or mechanistic in the earlier sense...[160]

Paalen's absorption with the model of physics in his DYN essays like "Art and Science," "Suggestion for an Objective Morality," and "The Meaning of Cubism Today" may very well reflect the generative influence of Nietzsche, whose diatribes may have actually prepared the way for such a discourse as that of Ludwig Wittgenstein, through the principle of negative potential. Where Nietzsche rails against physics, saying

> It is perhaps just dawning on five or six minds that physics...is only an interpretation and exegesis of the world (to suit us, if I may say so!) and not a world explanation: but insofar as it is based on belief in the senses, it is regarded as more..."[161]

Wittgenstein, a part of the "Vienna Circle," writing in the wake of the twentieth-century's revolutions in science - Einstein's relativity, Heisenberg's "principle of indeterminacy," Planck's quantum physics, Bohr's "atomic theory" - offers the following philosophy:

> The facts in logical space are the world: the world divides into facts; each item can be the case or not the case while everything else remains the same... We construct for ourselves representations [Bilder] of facts.
>
> A Bild depicts reality by representing a possiblity of existence or non-existence of states of affairs. A Bild represents a possible situation in logical space.

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> A proposition determines a place in logical space.... In geometry and logic alike a place is a possibiliy; something can exist in it.[162]

In DYN, an acronym deriving from the Greek tò dynaton, the "possible," Paalen would voice his "Philosophy of the Possible," calling for a bridge between art and science. When Gordon says of the Expressionists that if they rejected science's materialism and positivism, they nonetheless benefited from the developments in the sciences of their day; and that they saw "a renewed vigor of art as the antidote for the sickness of science,"[163] he could just as well have been speaking of Paalen, who took this proposition a step further and, in the language of physics, called for the "complementarity," of art and science.[164] But if Nietzsche in The Birth of Tragedy, warned against uncritical reception of science "without the healing balm of myth,"[165] Paalen would warn against myth:

> We do not want any myths any more, neither ancient nor new ones, because myths always fossilize into churches, even materialistic myths. It is no longer a question of humanizing gods or deifying men; between the abyss of the incommensurably great and the incommensurably small which science has opened, we are lost, if we do not succeed in finding the true dimension of man.[166]

### 3. Nietzschean Concepts, Themes, and Images

A sketch of the major concepts, themes, and images that characterize Nietzsche's philosophy is helpful in establishing what was advocated in art and criticism of this period, and how these values, assimilated in German Expressionism, were transferred to Abstract Expressionist

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theory and practice through Paalen. Nietzschean concepts that defined a "new art" and a "new age" combine the different phases of Nietzsche's production: early romantic Nietzsche, mid-career scientistic Nietzsche, and late "Willful" Nietzsche (The Will to Power).[167] A constant dialectic is present in Nietzsche's work itself between art and science, feeling and intellect, individualism and collectivism, spiritual and nihilistic, tragic and sublime, resulting in an ambiguity regarding his "ultimate" position.[168] Perhaps because he so keenly reflected and embodied the very contradictory tendencies of his age, a world in transition, Nietzsche's influence, if not where he stood or what he stood for, was unequivocal.

The current stereotype of Nietzschean philosophy (actually a reductive representation) is one of anti-positivism and anti-rationalism or "irrationalism." Related terms which have consistently been used to describe Nietzschean ideology, ethics, and style include anti-materialist, anti-bourgeois, anti-industrial, anti-commercial, and, hence, emotional or passional, bohemian, rebellious, anarchistic, and mystical. But there is also a scientistic component to Nietzschean thinking, important for Paalen and perhaps the original source for his discourse on art and science.[169]

Key to the anti-positivist or anti-materialist position was the philosophy of "vitalism," a nineteenth century metaphysical doctrine that "the processes of life are not

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explicable by the laws of physics and chemistry alone and that life is in some part self-determining."[170] This philosophy based in both science and religion engendered the concept of the "natural state of man," believed to have existed in the pre-historic, pre-literate period. Thus the emphasis on and idealization of the atavistic and primitivistic.

Major Nietzschean themes and images which frequently appear in Expressionism include Zarathustra or das Ubermensch, the superman, sometimes defined as the artist-aristocrat or the artist-tyrant,[171] and the artist-saviour, who is redemptive of culture; das Wille zur macht, the will to power or greatness; the Promethean hero - thus the artist as hero, but also as anarchist, rebel, and thief - and related images of fire and the sun; the Apollonian and Dionysian, which is the mythical underpinning for the basic Nietzschean dialectic of reason and passion, or such other binary oppositions as nature/culture, dream/reality, instinct/control, good/evil, lightness/darkness, abstraction/mimesis, all of which are variants of the first pair. And, finally, there is the "New Age," a spiritual renaissance that will dawn with the triumph of the "New Man" (also Zarathustra), over the forces of Western decadence.

### 4. Gustav Paalen and the Berlin Literary Circles

If Paalen's formal education was inflected by Viennese culture, his early artistic and political

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personality was formed in pre-World War I and II Berlin. One imagines that, even as a child, he was aware of the debates and events that engaged his father's professional journalistic circles. The vitality and the unusually high standards of Viennese journalism in this period, were certainly equalled in Berlin.[172]

There was a strong connection between Berlin and Viennese literary circles at this time. From around 1900-1911 Karl Kraus, for instance, published pieces in his Die Fackel, which he called an "antipaper" in an attempt to discredit and satirize bourgeois journalism.[173] He included in it such Berlin writers and intellects as Else Lasker-Schüler, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Heinrich Mann, Frank Wedekind and Franz Werfel,[174] many of whom were associated with the Expressionist movement. And although Gustav Paalen's involvement with the Berliner Tageblatt would have made him part of the despised "bourgeois" journalistic circles that Kraus ridiculed, it is instructive to examine the sense of shared culture that existed between the two cities.

Besides their geographic proximity, as "Central" or "Middle" European capitals, Vienna and Berlin shared a cultural identity; and like Ludwig Wittgenstein's claim that he was "German through and through," the Viennese thought of themselves as German.[175] As indicated by one writer, there was ongoing consideration of an "anschluss" (union or annexation) between the two cities well before the Nazi

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era.[176] Not surprisingly, the history of the German Expressionist movement itself shows important ties between Berlin and Vienna. As Peter Selz has said in his study of German Expressionist Painting:

> The development of expressionism in Austria was an inherent part of the history of German Expressionism. The separation of the two countries is political; the cultural relations between them are exceedingly close. Oskar Kokoschka, leader of expressionism in Vienna in his early years, later became one of the principal exponents of that movement in Germany. Egon Schiele was recognized in Germany long before he achieved recognition in his native Austria.[177]

The Berlin Expressionist publications Die Aktion and Der Sturm had close connections with Vienna. Der Sturm was published in both Berlin and Vienna during the first year of its publication (1910) and its first issue reciprocated Karl Kraus's publication of Berlin writers by featuring an article by him.[178] Kokoschka's portraits of Kraus and the famous Viennese architect Adolf Loos, whose theory and practice were germinal to Bauhaus esthetic, appeared in Der Sturm along with illustrations by the other major Viennese Secessionist Egon Schiele. Kokoschka, in fact, relocated from Vienna to Berlin in 1910, when Der Sturm editor and publisher Herwarth Walden met him in Vienna "through Adolf Loos and brought him back to Berlin with him on the basis of a contract to furnish illustrations for the periodical."[179]

As a collector of fine art, and as Secretary General of the Berliner Tageblatt, Gustav Paalen would have known the influential Berlin publishers and art dealers Bruno and Paul

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Cassirer.[180] Of Paul Cassirer's circle, Roy Allen says: "Cassirer could also number among his closer friends during the approximate ten years that lie across 1910...the editor Theodor Wolff (of the Berliner Tageblatt)...the critics Max Osborn, Julius Meier-Graefe [et al.]...."[181] Cassirer, Wolff, Meier-Graefe, and Paalen were all Jewish, a fact of no little significance in Austria-Germany, where the Jewish bourgeoisie would no doubt have affiliated closely, and where, as was particularly pronounced in Vienna, they were prominent in the field of journalism.[182]

Paul Cassirer had his first success as a dealer of the Berlin Secession Impressionists in his Salon Cassirer. But before the war, as Allen has described, he and his Viennese wife (his biographer the actress Tilla Durieux) were closely associated with Expressionist circles. They frequented the Café des Westens and kept company with Herwarth Walden and Else Lasker-Schüler. And Cassirer, like Walden, supported and exhibited the Berlin Neue Sezession, the Munich Neue Künstlervereinigung, and the Dresden die Brücke.[183]

Gustav Paalen was undoubtedly a member of the inner circles of the Wilhelmine Berlin art world. According to Oswald Petersen, a painter with whom Wolfgang associated in a circle of German artists living in Cassis, France in 1928, Gustav was a close friend of the powerful critic Meier-Graefe.[184] Petersen recalled spirited conversations about "Meier-Graefe, Simmel, and Fieldler."[185] Through his father's friendship, Wolfgang became enamored of Meier-

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Graefe's wife, Helene (sobriquet "Aya"), who at some point was divorced from the critic. Paalen began writing her "youthful love letters" around 1924. Indeed, in one of these letters he explains his "life's ideal" in the thinking of Goethe, and the figures in his paintings as based on Goethe's "blind mother."[186] In another letter to Aya, nearly a decade later, he said that he had again seen Meier-Graefe in Cassis, and that "he could not avoid him," but disparaged him and spoke of how ungracefully he had aged.[187] At Helene Meier-Graefe's death, Wolfgang received a bequest that included items of value and (even more significantly) items of a highly personal nature, suggesting that he and Aya had been intimate friends.[188]

Gustav's relationship with Meier-Graefe and the Berlin literary circles would also have brought him into contact with such other successful modern art dealers as Alfred Flechtheim and Karl Nierendorf, since Berlin art circles were small. Flechtheim, one of the most powerful art dealers in Berlin, surely knew Meier-Graefe as well.[189] Flechtheim's acquaintance with Gustav Paalen is reinforced by other facts in Paalen's biography. In 1930, Flechtheim showed Wolfgang in his gallery in Berlin and even helped him, in a period of ill health and financial strain, to resettle in Paris.[190] Karl Nierendorf also ran an influential gallery in Berlin, which handled Expressionist art. During World War II he opened a gallery in New York. Paalen became one of the artists in Nierendorf's New York

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stable; and in 1946 Nierendorf published the "Regler" monograph, Wolfgang Paalen.

## 5. Meier-Graefe as Mentor

### a. Meier-Graefe the Francophile and the Early Roots of Expressionism

Julius Meier-Graefe must have been Wolfgang Paalen's earliest mentor in artistic values and ideals, even if indirectly through association with his father. Meier-Graefe's thinking and his contributions to art criticism were undoubtedly a foundation for Paalen's DYN essays, just as Gustav's involvement in journalism served as a foundation for Wolfgang's publishing activities. Known best as a founder of the Berlin Secession and as a champion of German Impressionism, Meier-Graefe's ideas were, nonetheless, at the heart of early Expressionist ideology, theory, and style.

Corresponding to the profile of progressive cultured Germans of his day, Meier-Graefe was a Francophile par excellence. In 1894, in Berlin, he founded the association Pan and traveled to Paris, where he began a friendship with Toulouse-Lautrec. The following year he moved to Paris, and there his career as an art critic flourished. By 1899, he had founded La Maison Moderne in Paris with Henri van de Velde and other Jugendstil proponents and wrote his first major work, Die Entwicklungsgeschichte der Modernen Kunst: Ein Beitrag zur modernen Ästhetik (Developmental Study of

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Modern Art: being a contribution to a new system of aesthetics).[191] As the only German critic writing about modern French art with extensive first-hand knowledge of the works, he became the most influential modernist critic in Germany.

As previously stated, incorporated into Meier-Graefe's definition of "modernism" were Nietzschean themes and concepts. Meier-Graefe's Nietzschean vocabulary had developed in 1894, the same year that he wrote his Developmental Study, when he began associating with the literati of August Strindberg's café society called Zum Schwarzen Ferkel in 1892.[192] With members of that group, Meier-Graefe established the Pan society and its affiliated publication.[193] Pan was characterized as a "highly esoteric" publication, with an emphasis on universalism and, as coined by the poet Paul Scheerbart, a "pandean" or "cosmic harmony," reflecting the principle of "monism."[194] The poetry printed in Pan, like Scheerbart's, was to be presented in an artistic frame and accompanied by art which responded to the poetic, emotional content of the visual works.[195] As suggested by its very name, it subscribed to Nietzsche's advocation of Dionysian instinct and vitalism over rationalism and positivism. And, as also suggested by its name, it was intended to be all-inclusive, allowing for all points of view within its pages.[196]

Meier-Graefe had obtained wide support for Pan, including that of Wilhelm von Bode, Berlin State Museums

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director. Members of the cultural aristocracy, whether conservative or avant-garde, were among its subscribers, and Pan's universalism and wide-open agenda was aimed at this patronage. This resulted in an almost total permissiveness as to style or tendency, the only stipulation being that all works were "modern."[197]

In an effort to raise money for the magazine, Meier-Graefe went to Paris, where he was further exposed to French avant-garde art and ideology after meeting Lautrec, whose art he regarded as "Impressionist."[198] When he returned to Berlin to take up the editing of Pan, he rejected his original all-inclusive attitude and excluded German art from its pages - Stuck, Böcklin, Klinger, and Thoma. Then he turned against Böcklin, a move that culminated in his book, Der Fall Böcklin, ten years later. Meier-Graefe was accused of internationalism and encouragement of foreign infiltration. He, along with Bierbaum and Dehmel, was removed as editor on those grounds, and all Pan's sponsors, including Bode, were in agreement about this decision. But it was also believed that it reflected a desire to be rid of the decadent "Berlin bohemians" and literary contributions like Scheerbart's.[199]

The first volume of Pan published excerpts of Also Sprach Zarathustra[200] and Nietzschean ideology pervaded the entire magazine. A prominent Nietzschean theme was the credo of the heroic alienated artist, who mediated isolation by dreaming of creating a new unity based on a spirituality

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that would transcend all problems of class inequality. The historical context for these attitudes included both the well known reaction against too-rapid industrialization, and the subsequent formation of labor unions.[201] National unity and reforms achieved in Germany in the late 1880s were countered by an opposing tendency on the part of the middle class to align not with the "masses," but with the aristocracy. Following this pattern, art culture of the 1890s clearly reflected tensions between the Social Democratic and Conservative parties. This resulted in a short-lived artist identification with the labor movements and a turning away from collective to inward, subjective, individualistic values, to champion the concept of "art and life."

But with the subsiding of the social crisis, the artist became increasingly aware of his or her alienation from the masses and chose a position <u>outside</u> of society at large. In direct opposition to the unity of "art and life" advanced in the 1880s was a turn in the next decade towards bohemian aestheticism and decadence in a "life of art" - art for art's sake - as well as an attachment to the concept of "<u>Leben</u>," a mystical, all-uniting force deriving from Vitalist philosophy itself:[202]

> The popularity of the philosophy of Nietzsche and the new vogue for anarchism were both part of the glorification of the isolated individual, especially the artist. The same might be said of the irrationalism of the nineties, the rejection of naturalism and positivism in all their forms, the

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> assertion of the priority of will over reason, feeling over logic, sensation over thought.[203]

In the hopes of avoiding a complete schism of "art and life" the "new unity" was to bring together all conflicting classes on a purely spiritual level[204] - Nietzsche's new spiritual age. At the same time the "new unity" celebrated the unity of art and life as an extension of the principle of the unity of the arts.[205] This was related to both the gesamtkunstwerk of Nietzsche and Wagner, and to the desire for a unified artistic culture, which saw its apotheosis in the numerous art colonies of the period, most especially that at Darmstadt.[206] Meier-Graefe and Pan were a part of this sentiment, calling for "a Pan exhibition, a Pan theater, a Pan publisher."[207] But his departure for France after his dismissal took him outside the German art scene for nearly ten years and, upon his return, the theory in his Developmental Study reflected his French experience.

The Developmental Study was published in Germany in 1904, and, understandably, it was an important early defense of French modernism.[208] Until the 1890s and a new generation of "die neue Kunstkritik," only realist or naturalist art was officially sanctioned and the norm, with few exceptions (like Richard Muthner), was to describe and not interpret artworks. The new criticism, to the contrary, reacted against rationalism and positivism and defended a non-naturalistic art of "an individual liberated phantasy, [that was] therefore 'spiritual'."[209] Whereas the "new

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critics" wrote in defense of Symbolist and Romantic art - art of the imagination and the "soul" (""Seelenkunst") - seeing Impressionism as the last step toward entirely dispensing with realism, Meier-Graefe wrote about Impressionism and post-Impressionism for both its spiritual capacity and its painterly virtues inspired by nature. The new "aesthetic system" which he formulated in the Study, a complex and contradictory amalgam of motives, would replace the Impressionist and Symbolist paradigms and be adapted to the new "Expressionist" platform.

Equally significant was the fact that around 1900, "French Impressionism and Post-Impressionism had scarcely been seen in Germany" and "scarcely a dozen men in Germany understood French art."[210] Such a fact makes Meier-Graefe's French sojourn and close relationship to French modernism all the more important. In 1903 he helped to organize "the first comprehensive Impressionist exhibition in the German-speaking world" at the Vienna Secession, and by 1904, the year his Developmental Study was published in Germany, he had moved back to Berlin.[211]

b. Meier-Graefe, Nietzsche, and Edvard Munch

The focus on Edvard Munch in the proto-Expressionist literature of Meier-Graefe (and in first-generation Expressionism itself) is evident in Wolfgang Paalen's early work.[212] Meier-Graefe's first essay in art criticism, written in 1894, discussed the work of Munch, whom he had

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met in the Berlin café society of Zum Schwarzen Ferkel.[213] It viewed him as "a herald of a new art of the inner world."[214] This "new art" was derived from Nietzsche's concept in Zarathustra of a "new age," and its promise of spiritual awakening.[215]

The essay showed the influence of both German neo-Romantic or "neo-Idealist" critics, like Muthner, and Nietzschean themes.[216] These included artistic genius, freedom, and volition through the "Will," and anti-naturalism and mysticism. Speaking in the voice of female adolescents depicted in Munch's paintings allegorizing puberty, Meier-Graefe originated the psycho-sexual and psycho-biographic interpretation of Munch's art, which still stands today. In this essay, Meier-Graefe also emphasized the nature of the romantic soul, key for this generation and Nietzschean ideology, iconically represented in Munch's works.

A ghostly adaptation of the shrieking, skeletal head of Munch's famous 1893 painting The Scream appears in Paalen's works of the "Cycladic" period. In the quasi-abstract work Inhabitants of the Island (1936) (Fig. 14), or in the later Bella Bella (1941) (Fig. 15), psycho-sexual themes and the torment of the romantic soul closely relate to Munch. In Inhabitants, they are abstractly represented and contained by formal ordering and control of the composition. In Bella Bella, the agitated manic form-quality exceeds the schematic simplicity and is the eerie, phantom counterpart of mental

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and emotional anguish and "primitive" "tonghat" spirits.[217] This visual quotation can also be distinguished in a wooden sculpture of 1945, although that reputedly was not intended as a figural work.[218] (Fig. 16)

Like Munch and other artists of the period, Paalen responded to Meier-Graefe's social construction of the artist. Not only did he incorporate the critic's ideas into his painting and writing, but he also embodied the concepts of artist as outsider, anarchist, genius, and mystic in his highly romantic personality and turbulent life.

### 6. Meier-Graefe's Early Expressionist Associations and the Blue Rider Movement

Connections between Meier-Graefe's publishing activities and the Munich Blue Rider movement are evident. From 1905 until the end of his career Meier-Graefe published all his studies on art exclusively with Reinhard Piper & Co, the publisher of The Blue Rider Almanac. In 1905, his attack on the painter Böcklin overturned the Symbolist paradigm and established the "New [Expressionist] Painting" and him as its critic and polemicist.[219] Thereupon he began publishing with Piper & Co., including his influential studies of Cézanne (1910) and van Gogh (1910), in which (what was construed as) the "expressionist" element is emphasized. Franz Marc created a cover for the Cézanne monograph: a black and white sketch of Cézanne's Women in Front of a Tent.[220]

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As with other French painting, Meier-Graefe was instrumental in bringing Cézanne's work to Germany. He was friends with Paul Cassirer, who represented the Expressionists, amd introduced him to Tilla Durieux, who became his wife.[221] It may have been through Meier-Graefe's associations in Paris that at the early date of 1901 and 1904, respectively, Cassirer's Berlin salon organized exhibitions of the work of Cézanne and of Van Gogh.[222]

Meier-Graefe's monograph on Cézanne in the Developmental Study (the basis for the 1910 monograph) viewed the painter in a manner similar to Maurice Denis and other French critics, who associated him with "expressionist" and spiritual impulses.[223] For Meier-Graefe, Cézanne's early still-lifes were not simple renderings, but made him "feel something in the pupil of [his] eye quivering, as if set in motion by some movement taking place in a higher dimension."[224] Meier-Graefe felt that in the "vigorous contrasts of color" of Cézanne's "mosaic" still-lifes of the 1870s:

> the relations seem to rise almost accidentally, and yet the coherence of the whole is almost supernatural. His harmonies are so strong, one is tempted to believe that to color, and color only, a like convincing power has been given as to a rhythmic line.[225]

Also called to mind in these works were:

> primitive sculptures or something akin to them. The effects he produces are primitive, though he makes no effort to this end...[226]

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These insights about painting were the building blocks for Paalen's mature artistic vocabulary, from the attachment to the "primitive" and the supernatural beginning in his "Cycladic" and "Totemic" works, to the emphasis on rhythmic color and line in the "Totemic" paysages and "Mosaic" works of the Mexican period.

In the Regler monograph, Paalen would refer to Cézanne as the pioneer of the "pictorial expression of the space-experience," saying:

> Cézanne can be considered as the first modern painter for whom the rhythmical relationship of the elements of his painting, its inner space, became more important than their optical relationship. Thus he did not mind distorting occasionally the conventional perspective.[227]

Like Cézanne, Van Gogh was seen as a model of French post-Impressionist tradition, and for Meier-Graefe "no one in modern art ha[d] made stronger demands on aesthetic receptivity" except Cézanne.[228] Cassirer's Van Gogh exhibition took place in 1904, the same year Meier-Graefe returned to Germany and published the Developmental Study. The exhibition was held eight years before the 1912 Cologne Sonderbund exhibition which showed 125 paintings by the Dutch master, and was critical for the nascent die Brücke and Blue Rider movements.

In Meier-Graefe's writing, Van Gogh was the ultimate Nietzschean artist: "tragic," "heroic" "anarchistic," consumed by a divine fire, whose "every picture ...was 'holy ecstasy.'"[229] Indeed, the critic opens his portrait of the

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artist with an aphorism from Nietzsche: "Lux mea crux/Crux mea lux."[230] Van Gogh is larger than life, a species of another order, "difficult to express...in terms of art."[231]

> His was animal art...because it is always absolutely vital, because it is power; and power is always beauty.... The planes of his canvases, which seem to have been produced, not by brushes, but by the stonemason's implements, scream, and we are sometimes tempted to scream in unison....It is the cry of the human animal, whose blood is quickened by the enigmatic relation of the individual to the cosmos, who yearns to penetrate into his environment, into Nature, and destroys either this or himself if he does not succeed.[232]

In the Regler monograph, Paalen said that in his student years in Berlin he was "deeply impressed by the letters and work of Van Gogh."[233] He even referred to his later fascination in Cassis with the discovery of "the pictures of a true primitive, the one-time postman Marius Vial...." [234] In fact, Paalen's works of the "Cosmic" and Mosaic" periods show a pronounced stylistic relationship to the dynamic energies, hatched brushstrokes, and stark color contrasts of van Gogh's artworks. Although he would strive to heal his lacerated emotions with the panacea of science, like van Gogh, Paalen struggled with periods of severe mental illness, depressions and maelstroms of passion that drove him to the dangerous margins of art and life, causing him finally to commit suicide.

Paalen had Briefe, Van Gogh, an undated publication of Bruno Cassirer Verlag, in his library. Numerous editions of the letters of Van Gogh were published by Cassirer's Berlin publishing house, including 1914, 1928, and three undated

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volumes, and Cassirer was the first to publish these letters.[235] In promoting the works of Cézanne and Van Gogh, Cassirer, like Meier-Graefe, helped to establish international modernism in Germany and foster the Expressionist movements.

In 1910 Cassirer revived the publication Pan, the first edition of which, as we have seen, Meier-Graefe founded and edited from ca. 1894 to 1895, until his dismissal as editor and emigration to Paris.[236] Meier-Graefe's lead article, "Der Pan," for the journal's first issue, was pointedly addressed to the contemporary generation of artists, reflecting the contrast between the art-for-art's sake ideology of 1895 and the more socially-conscious ideology in favor by 1910. It took a stand against the Imperial controls of academy and censors. It advised against the aestheticism of the journal's first edition, while promoting a continuation of its "geist":[237]

> Only one small objection...it concerns that certain something, that kind of geist. Naturally I'm not so bold as to doubt that you have that certain something. Only - will you hold onto it?...we also had it...but couldn't hold on to it...our decorative desires once again were to blame...[they] ate up that certain something, our universalism, our cosmic harmony...swallowed it like a huge snake swallows a little lamb...in reality something was still left, the mask, the beautifully formed Pan head. We stuck that on heterogeneous things and it seemed extremely universal to us...Do you know what we were actually lacking? Something jagged, indigestible, that couldn't be swallowed so easily.[238]

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That "jagged, indigestible" something, quite literally, as well as figuratively, would be realized in the theory and practice of Expressionism.

As Roy Allen observed, Meier-Graefe's "geist" of "cosmic harmony," was a kind of monism.[239] As previously discussed, monism reflected a belief in the harmony of the physical and the spiritual. In the literary realm, Maurice Maeterlinck subscribed to this intellectual tradition.[240] Linda Henderson saw Maeterlinck embracing the principal of monism in his belief in "the oneness of the individual with the absolute."[241] Henderson aligned Romanticism's monism with mysticism and the fourth dimension, a subject important to Paalen and his Surrealist colleagues in the late 1930s.[242] This belief also had tremendous resonance for first-generation Expressionism, subsequently appearing as a substructure in Wolfgang Paalen's theory and practice. As Henderson said: "these three themes weave a thread reaching back to Romanticism and forward to Surrealism, two movements in which the mystical tradition played an important role.[243] Paalen stood in the center of all these traditions, translating them to Abstract Expressionism, which ultimately resulted in their conceptualization of the "abstract sublime."

7. Meier-Graefe, El Greco, and Wolfgang Paalen

Just as Paalen had absorbed Meier-Graefe's writing on Munch, he also assimilated the critic's admiration for El

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Greco. This was true as well for the Blue Rider artists in Munich, again closely aligning Paalen with romantic Expressionism and its roots.

Meier-Graefe's introduction, veneration, and defense of El Greco was lauded by Franz Marc in "Spiritual Treasures," written for The Blue Rider Almanac. Marc recalled how Meier-Graefe was attacked for his stance, and valorized "This simple and noble act [which] made his position in Germany almost untenable."[244]

In this essay, which proclaimed the new spirituality that would replace outmoded, bourgeois "material treasures" and values, Marc revealed the weight of Meier-Graefe's thinking on the Blue Rider and linked his theory to theirs. He cited El Greco and Cézanne as paragons of Expressionism, referring to them as "spiritual brothers," to Meier-Graefe's association of "the old mystic El Greco [and] Father Cézanne," [245] and to the "mystical inner construction which is the great problem of our generation," apparent in the works of both artists.[246]

Meier-Graefe's The Spanish Journey, published in 1910, which dealt with El Greco, is one of his most famous works.[247] Essentially, it is an account written in diary and letter form of a six-months' journey he made to Spain and Portugal in 1908.[248] Traveling to Spain to see Velazquez and trace the origins of Impressionism, he became engrossed instead with the work of El Greco.[249] In this book, Meier-Graefe introduced the painting of El Greco to

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Germany, propounding attitudes that became the basis of Expressionist aesthetics and ideology.

It is not difficult to understand the appeal of Meier-Graefe's inspirational prose to these artists, with its attentive response to visual art and its equation of the qualities of spirituality and painting. His ideas synthesize the empirical power of Zola on Impressionism with the passion of Symbolist Maurice Denis, two authors whom he would have followed closely in France. His appreciation of El Greco's painting, from reference to the "ecriture" of the brushwork to the unity of the design, which orchestrated all "potenzen" of the composition into a dynamic totality,[250] no doubt set a model for the Expressionist avant-garde.

Meier-Graefe stressed El Greco's "expressiveness" of color and rhythmic design, which relinquished naturalism for dramatic affect. Speaking of The Expulsion from the Temple, he said:

> the flow of the colors...flame[s] up like fiery creatures. The gesture...is in itself a part of a greater wave on which all the participants are borne. This wave attains its height in the Savior who hovers rather than walks. Here it has become a mighty breaker.... The rhythm multiplies everything.[251]

He applauded El Greco's anti-naturalistic use of color as presaging and equalling that of the moderns. Noted as one of the first critics to judge art on its formal merits,[252] in the presence of the works Meier-Graefe described:

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> All the invention of the Moderns, coloured shadows, the dissolution of contours, the combination of cadences and contrasts are here presupposed.... El Greco doubted - not nature, but the substance of nature.... The red lac with which he painted the mouth and the shadows of the nostrils shines out magnificently from the violet and yellowish grey tones of the flesh.... We look at the eye a hundred times...every bit of it painted as if by a landscape painter, by a Cézanne who lets his form emerge from his tones...[253]

But in spirit as in color, El Greco diverged from the path of naturalism for he represented not just the outer, but the inner, subject, which transcended earthly matter. Viewing The Burial of Count Orgaz Meier-Graefe likened the matière or "substance" of the canvas to "the congregation of men, conceived in thought, executing the conception of an invented action in the presence of saints...just as much as in the Burial of Ornans by Courbet..."[254] For Meier-Graefe, El Greco created a "spiritualized beauty: a colour which does not need the flesh in order to live."[255] By El Greco's example, he concluded, "[w]e are compelled to give up all direct or indirect naturalism."[256] He praised the artist as a visionary and emphasized his mysticism and "cosmic endlessness."[257] He analogized El Greco's exile and the plight of the individual and artist in the modern world. In "Spiritual Treasures," Franz Marc responded to these ideas, claiming El Greco as artistic inspiration and spiritual predecessor.[258] As Kenworth Moffett indicates:

> The Expressionists were quick to seize upon El Greco's art as related to their own efforts. The first [critical] Expressionist interpretation appeared in 1914. Franz Marc, who learned about El Greco by reading the Spanische Reise, included a reproduction of St. John in the Blaue Reiter

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> Almanach. Pictures of El Greco were shown at the famous [Cologne] Sonderbund-Austellung of 1912....
>
> Meier-Graefe had given the young Expressionists a burning symbol, a historical justification. But he was by no means pleased with what the younger men had done with the Spanish master....[259]

And though his ideas were embraced by the Expressionists, Meier-Graefe, of an older generation, never accepted their application of his theory.

In 1913, following the German interest in El Greco, the influential British aesthetician and critic, Roger Fry wrote about El Greco.[260] Fry's discussion subordinated the powerful expressive, emotional, and religious content of El Greco's work to the artist's form, indicating that: "The artist...whose concern [should be]...exclusively with form...will be so carried away by the intensity and completeness of the design, that he will never even notice the melodramatic and sentimental content...."[261] He wondered:

> in what way these two things, the melodramatic expression of a high-pitched religiosity and a peculiarly intense feeling for plastic unity and rhythmic amplitude were combined in El Greco's work[262]

In a profound and immutable way, Julius Meier-Graefe's passion for El Greco influenced the young Paalen's formation. As with the appropriation of Munch's form, suggestions of El Greco appear in the paysages totémiques. The underlying abstract graphic structure (form) and the apocalyptic mood of the "Totemic Landscapes" echo the work of the Spanish master (Fig. 17 and 18). Indeed, Paalen

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commented that during his youth, while in Italy, "Byzantine mosaics, two pictures by El Greco and early Greek sculpture were...the great experience of the future painter."[263] Although the "Totemic" works were produced during his Paris Surrealist period, they appear to be truly expressionistic in form (in the "Meier-Graefean" sense). In an interview in the sixth issue of DYN, Paalen said that he believed there was "more relation between the nudes of Cézanne and El Greco, than there is between a nude of Cézanne and one of Renoir."[264]

In an essay on "The Meaning of Cubism Today," in a discussion of the abandonment of illusionism and perspective, and of the perceptual versus the conceptual practice of painting, Paalen wrote:

> non-perspective pictures which, like pieces of music, have a beginning and an end, keep a real time element...while perspective painting sacrifices time to a greater illusion of space....And by the abandon of the time element rhythmic quality was lost....Having almost disappeared together with the hieratic tendencies, rhythmic quality re-took all its importance only once, in the work of El Greco, who in making the synthesis between the hieraticism of his Byzantine origins and the suppleness of Venetian methods, created those dazzling helicoidal rhythms which are the greatest space adventure of painting between the invention of perspective and cubism.[265]

As will be shown in Part III, a key component in Paalen's "Philosophy of the Possible" and his paintings of the 1940s was the quality of rhythm - in fact, of a cosmic rhythm underlying both the apparent and microcosmic forms of the physical universe, which would serve as a bridge between the

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dueling philosophies of irrationalism and rationalism, art and science, in his work.

### 8. Meier-Graefe and Berlin Art and Literary Circles

The internationalism and universalism that would characterize Wolfgang Paalen's DYN theory and criticism, as it did that of the Blue Rider, was evident in the writing of Julius Meier-Graefe from the start. The heated rivalry between France and Germany and the virulent xenophobia of politically conservative Germans were mirrored in debates in art criticism of this period. Hugo von Tschudi, whom Franz Marc eulogized in "Spiritual Treasures" in the same breath as Meier-Graefe, was Director of the Berlin Nationalgalerie from 1896-1909 and was "Meier-Graefe's closest friend and associate."[266] Von Tschudi was forced out of his position as Director of the Berlin National Gallery (1896-1909) for his "reform" activities on behalf of international, especially French, modernism. During that time he made contact with progressive young Berlin artists who would form the Sezession, as well as Meier-Graefe. Tschudi was instated at the Munich Pinakothek in 1909, but died shortly thereafter. As director in Munich, he began to institute changes similar to those he had made in Berlin.[267]

Meier-Graefe's activities, his celebration of non-German art, and his monograph on Van Gogh, which influenced the Bremen Kunsthalle to purchase one of the artist's

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paintings, led in 1911 to Carl Vinnen's notorious vitriolic nationalist attack on Expressionism, in which he accused Meier-Graefe of "conspiring to capture the German market for French pictures."[268] The defenders against this point of view included not only Berlin Secession Impressionists like Max Lieberman and Lovis Corinth, but also new young painters like Marc, Macke, Pechstein, and Kandinsky.[269] In 1912 Marc and Macke published "An Answer to the Protest of German Artists: German and French Art," which was "[s]igned by seventy German artists, collectors, writers, and gallery directors."[270] When Meier-Graefe, Gustav Paul, and Franz Wichert (directors of the Bremen and Mannheim museums, respectively), were castigated for their defense of Van Gogh and of French and international modernism, the Expressionists arranged for a public forum to vindicate them. But although Meier-Graefe spoke in praise of Paul and Wichert, he attacked the young painters. According to Moffett, Meier-Graefe had reached his limits of tolerance, seeing the "New Art" not as a continuation of, but a break with, the tradition he had illuminated. Where he had championed the flat color and line of van Gogh, a chief element of Fauve and die Brücke art, he had "looked forward to a realization of these features in decoration, not in painting."[271] The "malerische" unity he had praised in the work of the Impressionists and El Greco did not exist in Expressionist vocabulary, and Meier-Graefe, unlike his contemporaries Roger Fry and Henry David Kahnweiler, was

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never willing to make the transition to the "essential change in art [that] had accepted different coordinates which provided it with...a new principle of discipline."[272]

This position, however, is problematic if Meier-Graefe's essays on, for instance, Van Gogh and, especially, Cézanne, in the Developmental Study are consulted, which virtually extol the praises of "decorative" and "flat" painting in Post-Impressionist works. This suggests that some other agenda was at hand in Meier-Graefe's denial of the "New Painting" or that it was a reflection of the contradictions observed in his work elsewhere.

As would be expected, Paul Cassirer was among the group of supporters of avant-garde modernism in this affair. He published a series of articles in Pan entitled "Kunst und Kunsthandel" that presented a "philosophy of the art dealer" and defended the ethics and virtues of his position vis-á-vis the artist.[273] In the essay, Cassirer analyzed the control of market forces by the Wilhelmine Academy that served to stifle creative freedom and subject the artist to the demands of "unhealthy" patronage.[274]

In that same year, art historian Wilhelm Worringer wrote an essay "Die Neue Kunst," in response to Carl Vinnen's attack. In it he defended Parisian Expressionism and discussed its affinities with new German art.[275] His ideas echoed the idealistic discourse of Meier-Graefe. It is well known that the ideas in Worringer's 1908 doctoral dissertation, Abstraction and Empathy (published as a book

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by Reinhard Piper Verlag)[276] influenced first-generation Expressionist Wassily Kandinsky and the Blue Rider Movement.[277] Worringer's theories afforded them rationales for internationalism, abstraction, and primitivism. No doubt his attitudes and the climate for reception of his theory were indebted to Meier-Graefe's innovative art criticism and numerous publications. And Worringer's work, like Meier-Graefe's, reflected the ambivalent philosophical traditions arising out of social dysphoria that defined Germanic art and artists in the early part of the twentieth century.

## D. ARTISTIC TRAINING and EARLY CAREER

### 1. Wolfgang Paalen, Leo von König, and Julius Meier-Graefe

Direct connections to the Berlin circles are present in the history of Paalen's early artistic training and career. As previously mentioned, at the age of fifteen, his father arranged for him to study painting with the German Impressionist Leo von König, who was a close friend of Julius Meier-Graefe.

In 1935 Von König wrote an essay about Meier-Graefe which utilized their years of correspondence as a source of information.[278] The essay recalled the critic's pioneering contribution of outlining and assessing nineteenth-century German art when he organized the landmark Berlin "Jahrhundertaustellung" of 1906. In their exchanges, Meier-

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Graefe often confided to von König such thoughts as his (Nietzschean) belief in Van Gogh's anti-materialistic and exalted mission of communalism, and his belief in painting as a visual symbol of the Will to greatness.[279] When Meier-Graefe died in 1935 von König and other friends, "privately published a festschrift for what would have been his seventieth birthday. This was done at some personal risk..."[280] because in 1933 when the Nazis came to power, Meier-Graefe "became a target of Hitler's 'Kulturpolitik'. Meier-Graefe had always been identified with France and French art.... now the charges against him became more vicious and it was forbidden to publish any of his writings."[281] Upon his death, he was attacked by a Nazi journalist for his love of French art, for promoting the "Halbjuden" [painter Hans von] Marées, and for contributing to "einer immer orientalischer werdenden Geisteshaltung in Europa" (an ever growing oriental [e.g., impure, non-Aryan, Jewish] spirit in Europe) and all obituaries about him had been forbidden.[282] As previously mentioned, Meier-Graefe himself was one-quarter Jewish.[283]

Von König painted two oil portraits of the critic: one from 1935 is still in the collection of his widow in Munich.[284] Like Meier-Graefe, the von Königs may have been close family friends of the Paalens. A recent estate sale of his widow showed a Paalen painting among the items for sale[285] and von König's daughter was married to one of

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Wolfgang Paalen's painting colleagues, Wolfgang Becker.[286]

### 2. Study in the Sculpture Atelier of Adolf Meyer, Berlin

At the prompting of von König, Paalen went to study in Berlin.[287] There, two different sources tell us, he worked with the sculptor Adolf Meyer ca. 1922-23.[288] Meyer was a Swiss sculptor who had studied with Reinhold Begas in the Wilhelmine Imperial Academy, and collaborated with him on a monument to Wilhelm I. He worked in a naturalistic neo-baroque style creating allegorical public sculptures as well as busts and figurines.[289] Wolfgang's brief but formal training with Meyer would partly help to explain the ongoing production of sculpture throughout his career and the sophistication of the sculpted works and Surrealist objets he created in Paris from ca. 1935-1939. It might also account, to some extent, for his passion for neolithic sculpture.

The Regler monograph, however, indicates that he was not pleased with this experience. "On the advice of Koenig he went to Berlin to study art there, but he found the pedantry of the academicians unbearable and spent his time in art galleries and private collections."[290] Paalen's exposure in his youth to liberal, modernist attitudes, in combination with the fact that he "never [had to take] an examination, since he [had] never been able to subject

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himself to the routine of a school,"[291] after his private education, probably can account for his rebellion.

During the 1922-25 period, in spite of his enchantment with things Parisian, the Expressionist spirit overtook him. He expressed great admiration for Vincent van Gogh, saying that he was "deeply impressed by [his] letters and work...."[292] He was also "fascinated by Kokoschka, particularly by the important painting called The Emigrants."[293] His engagement with this particular work, recalled in the Regler monograph in 1945, might reflect his own perpetual emigré status.[294]

### 3. The French Connection - Paris (1924-26), Hofmann Atelier, Munich (1927) and Cassis (1928)

After two years of study with Meyer, Wolfgang came under the influence of French Impressionism and the Renoir, Cézanne, and other French works he saw in Berlin galleries and private collections (no doubt of his father's friends), and began working in an impressionistic style.[295] But, as he said, "never feeling at ease in Germany he moved to Paris in the following year."[296] A chronology found in Paalen's papers indicates that from 1924-25 he worked in Paris, painting mostly impressionistic landscapes, some of which were exhibited at the Galerie Figuet.[297]. In 1925 Meier-Graefe "was attracted by [these works] and invited [Paalen, then age twenty], to participate in an exhibition of the

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Berliner Secession..."[298] and thus gave him his "send off" into a professional artist's career.

In Paris Paalen encountered more Impressionism but, more significantly, he "was overcome by a series of canvases by Braque, which put him in touch for the first time with modern art. No longer were any of the schools of modernism to his taste and in a state of confusion and depression he left for Munich in 1926 to study with Hofmann."[299] Hofmann himself had been a German expatriate to Paris and his work was as heavily inflected by French as by German Expressionism and Cubism.

In Munich, studying with Hofmann, "[Paalen] found an intelligent training."[300] There, no doubt, he absorbed the Expressionist mood of the city of the Blue Rider. But his experience with Hofmann was short-lived, giving way to a sense that "all this art activity seemed somehow devoid of true meaning, without which he was unable to make sense of things."[301]

In 1927, "hoping to find a solution for his doubts in solitude,"[302] he moved to La Ciotat, Cassis in Provence, not far from St. Tropez, where Hofmann conducted a summer class that Paalen had attended.[303] This move may have been an emulation of Braques' and other French artists' residence in the south of France. There, amidst a group of young German painters, he lived and painted in a post-Cubist style until he permanently moved to Paris in 1928.9. (Fig. 19) Paalen credited the painter Jean Varda (1893-1971) at that

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time with having "helped him to free himself of many prejudices regarding the means of painting."[304]

Of the works of this period, he himself said: "[It was] then only, that he abandoned a strict interpretation of nature and threw himself into a lost body of work with a rhythmic freedom of compositions and colors which rapidly gave birth to a series of beautiful paintings inspired by those of Braque."[305] Few of Paalen's paintings from that period up until 1932 are known to be extant.[306] Some of these works can be seen in photographs of the Cassis studio (Fig. 20), where one gets a sense of the post-Cubist vocabulary in which he was working. It seems that the act and the concept of painting were always more important to Paalen than the object itself for the Regler monograph tells us that:

> [f]ew artists of our time are as indifferent toward the finished work as Paalen. The completed painting for him is a terminated experience and does not preoccupy him any longer. In those years he gave his paintings to any visitor, or left them behind when moving. Sometimes he destroyed them in a mood of discontent. It is equally typical of him that he only started initialling his pictures when the art dealers asked him to do so.[307]

In Arthur Cohen's fictional characterization of Paalen as "Count Stefan von Mauger,"[308] von Mauger is represented as a sculptor (not a painter) who had assisted Brancusi's in the Tirgu Jiu commission: the war memorial to the Rumanian dead that included the Endless Column.[309] After training with Brancusi, von Mauger left Paris and set up a studio in a small village in Britanny, laboring at his art for many

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years before returning to the capitol.[310] Cohen's plot follows Paalen's actual chronology and relocates him in Mexico City and the Campeche backwater, where the story opens with von Mauger and the local chief of police plotting the interception of artifacts from an important archeological dig.[311] At the end of the novel, trapped by the Mexican authorities (themselves in competition with von Mauger's private smuggling activities), in an existential gesture of supreme indifference and in imitation of the potlatch practices he witnessed in Northwest Coast tribal rituals, the artist sets his studio on fire and burns his entire oeuvre.[312] The parallels and incidents that Cohen offers in this novel, like the entirely fictitious apprenticeship of the artist with Brancusi, however nonfactual, somehow uncannily intuit and reflect the real character and experience of Paalen, the aesthete, the intellect, and the adventurer.

A few years after he moved to Cassis, Paalen's family fortunes dramatically reversed and:

> a series of sad happenings...ruined and scattered his family. In addition to this, Paalen's health, delicate since his childhood, was seriously endangered. He had to leave the South. At this time, Flechtheim, who was beginning to take an interest in his pictures exhibited some of them and helped Paalen settle in Paris once again.[313]

The sad happenings referred to his mother's illness, which both Morales and Neufert say was "manic depression."[314] It should also be noted that one of Wolfgang's middle brothers, Hans Peter, died in 1928.[315] Though it is stated nowhere,

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Hans' death was probably a suicide.[316] It might also be spectulated that his mother's "manic depression" was exacerbated by despair over her son's death. For this reason, most likely, in 1929 Wolfgang returned to Berlin, as is suggested by his contact with Alfred Flechtheim's gallery, mentioned above.[317]

4. Back In Berlin, 1929

Wolfgang and Gustav Paalen had a very bad falling out at this time, precipitating Wolfgang's self-imposed exile to France and his break with his family and his father's financial support.[318] Michael Paalen explained that the breakdown in communication between Wolfgang and his father was over the kind of art that Paalen was creating:

> Endless discussions, most of which ended in quarrels and strife. Here is how I recall it. Wolfgang: "Raphael's kind of art is no longer desirable; they make more beautiful art in Hollywood." Papa would have none of Wolfgang's abstract art: "To what purpose this wrong-headedness, where once he had a future as an artist?" Mama once went to visit Woscha in Paris: one day he came into the house with an old chair he had bought at a junk shop, covered it with ribbons of paper [n.b. collage], and said that it was an artwork - I could no longer relate to that.[319]

During the time he was at home, Paalen made contact with Paul Klee and Kandinsky through Alfred Flechtheim, most likely when Flechtheim gave Klee a major exhibition on the occasion of the artist's fiftieth birthday.[320] Paalen might have seen a major exhibition of Klee's work that was mounted in Berlin in 1929/30, or even works in Paris, where

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Klee was beginning to achieve recognition.[321] Moreover, Hofmann already owned Kandinsky's work when Paalen studied with him in Munich.[322] Although Kandinsky had his first one man exhibition in 1929 at the Galerie Zak, he was still relatively "undiscovered" in Paris at this time.[323]

An issue of Cahiers d'Art containing an essay on Klee by the German critic, Will Grohmann, was much discussed by Paalen's circle of friends.[324] This text addressed the originality, mystery, and charm of Klee's work, recognizing its linguistic basis but insisting that in its use of signs and symbols, it was meta-linguistic and above concrete representation:

> the visible is only the exception, where creation and construction are nothing but grammatical forms and particulars of syntax. If, in this case, words are able to explain the works, it is only a key to that enigma.[325]

It continued, discussing Klee's vitalism and understanding of the "laws that regulate" creation...." It spoke of his perception of the "phantasmagoric rapport between the dream and reality,"[326] and referred to his intuitive search to create the means to explain his interests by study of the laws of the physical universe above and below - of "the Cosmos; the static and the dynamic...."[327]

Grohmann gave some biographical background and described Klee's solid and scholarly character: "One does not imagine Klee as a magician...he is no longer the dreamer seeing everything tragic; he is a modern man who teaches as a professor at the Bauhaus" and to whom "all the sciences

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are familiar...."[328] Metaphorically likening him to the "rare" painter, who, like the poet and musician, can hear the harmony of the universe, he ended by comparing Klee in spirit to the "great German poet: Goethe."[329] He thus aligned him with the long and profound tradition of German Romanticism.

There is no doubt that romantic Expressionism was at the heart of much of Paalen's artistic ideology, with Klee and Kandinsky as chief influences. This is attested to by his "Cosmic" paintings of the 1940s, which broke entirely with the Surrealist narrative illusionism evident in the paysage totémiques, returning to a mediated and revised "semiotic" abstraction, related to Klee's (and Arp's) adaptation of linguistic signs and symbols to plastic, i.e., pictorial, language.

Grohmann's text, in speaking of Goethe, must have had tremendous resonance for Paalen, who shared the critic's cultural background and followed Goethe with religious passion in his youth. Parallels between Klee's art and the very few extant Paalen paintings of the early Paris years are apparent and show direct borrowing of Klee's vocabulary of naive images, signs, and symbols to represent an interior vision.[330] It is also possible that Paalen knew Klee through Hans Reichl, a close friend of Eva Sulzer, whom he also met that year.[331] (Fig. 21)

Both Grohmann and Zervos wrote on Kandinsky in Cahiers in 1928 and 1929. As he did with Klee, Grohmann paid homage

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to Kandinsky as one of the innovators of modern art, indicating that his last exhibition in Paris had been in 1913. It is obvious that a tremendous breach had occurred between the German and French art worlds as a result of the Great War. A little surprisingly, the essay reads like a primer on Kandinsky, giving basic facts of his biography and his oeuvre, indicating that "since his first abstract painting in 1911, Kandinsky has been the object of violent artistic discussion in Central Europe and in Russia." Grohmann complained that these discussions missed the point of Kandinsky's work by focusing on formalism rather than on content.[332] For Grohmann, Kandinsky's contribution to the new tendency in art was neither a concern with the object, nor with translating musical fantasies, but a "content which responded to his desires" and an "objective spirit" that revealed itself through the artist. "Time, space and personality are in some way united before birth [of an artwork] and determine the character of the work created."[333] This theory, inflected by Freudian theory, saw the artist as a medium for universal energies; and it had great currency among the avant-garde of this period, Paalen not least. But even more pertinent to Paalen's "Cosmic" theory and work of the 1940s, was that: "Kandinsky's theory of forms and composition...[was] the first manifestation of a theory of purely pictorial harmony [which sought]...to acquire a science analogous to that of music."[334] The key here is "science," for Paalen inflected

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Kandinsky's theory with his understanding of physics, or how the psychic and physical world of energy and matter, time and space, were connected, and linked the rhythmic pulse of the universe to the wave-particle theory of modern physics. We will see in Part IV the way in which Paalen utilized the paradigm of physics to create a unified series of paintings, the "Cosmic" works, using a variety of models from that science - "wave-particle," astro-physics, and quantum mechanics - to develop new forms, virtually a new grammar, of abstraction.

But prior to the maturation of his own theory and style, the work of Kandinsky, Klee, and Arp and Léger, provided early models and helped Paalen bridge Expressionist foundations with Abstraction-Creation ideals in the 1930s. It is noteworthy that in Paalen's library there existed six monographs on Klee, four on Kandinsky, and numerous anthologies and avant-garde art reviews including them both.[335] In 1930, the following year, Flechtheim included Wolfgang in an exhibition at his gallery in Berlin. This was referred to in the Regler monograph as the event that enabled him to "resettle in Paris."

## E. ARTISTIC GROWTH AND MATURITY- A DECADE IN PARIS

### 1. Abstraction-Creation: Primitivist Beginnings in Old World Models. Marriage to Alice Rahon.

In Paris the next year, 1930, Paalen lived next door to the atelier of Jean Hélion in the rue de la Guerre

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and through him made contact with Fernand Léger.[336] The friendship with Hélion was long-standing and in the 1940s, in DYN, he reviewed Hélion's book They Shall Not Have Me about his escape from a Nazi war camp as a resistance fighter, and reproduced one of Hélion's paintings.[337]

This period of economic depression in Europe hit Paalen and the art market very badly. After a period of ill-health, he was forced to stop painting and take various jobs to make ends meet because sales of all but the "grandes signatures" was impossible.[338] Though he struggled, these years were nonetheless a period of tremendous growth. Expanding his horizons beyond Expressionism, he built upon its foundations all the while. This was evident in his proclivity for acquiring "primitive" art and in his continued attachment to utopian, universal, and atavistic/futuristic themes. In this period he became familiar with Cycladic art and Oceanic masks through the painter Serge Brignoni (1903- ), who also introduced these objects to Giacometti between 1926-30[339], and initiated what would be his lifetime study, pursuit, and interpretation of "primitive" art and culture.[340]

> Little by little he came to understand the importance of the function of art within primitive cultures, and came to meditate upon the role and the possibilities of art in [his] times; and then, it seemed to him that before anything the means of art had to be purified, to find the adequate means of expression for [his] epoque, some truly modern means. In these ideas he was confirmed by Fernand Léger and Jean Hélion.[341]

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He began to study paleolithic and neolithic cultures, initiating his personal art collection with the acquisition of a group of Cycladic idols, whose origins and significance were only then being made available to the artistic community.[342] Brignoni indicated that by 1931, when he and Paalen again met in Paris, Paalen already had several Cycladic idols in his possession.[343]

In 1929, in the pages of Cahiers d'art, an article appeared on the "Idols of the Cyclades" by Etienne Michon, a member of the Institut de la Musée du Louvre. Paalen probably knew this article; in fact, it appears that his collection was begun coincident with its publication. In this essay,Michon reviewed a two-volume study of the Sorbonne professor Charles Picard, apparently one of the first to deal comprehensively with these works. Following Picard, Michon discussed the stylistic similarity between them and idols found throughout the Near East and other sites in Europe. He continued with an exposition on the various schematic types of the idols, giving illusrated examples. At the end of the essay he discussed their symbolic significance, relating them to the fertility religion of the nature goddess evident in such works as the "Venus of Willendorf." Michon elaborated upon the idols' hypothetical role in burial and sexual rituals, similar to those in Egypt and Africa, and concluded that these "Aphrodite" figures had attracted the attention of contemporary artists. Within a few years Paalen would use

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the oval form of the Cycladic head as inspiration for his series of "Cycladic" paintings and sculptures.

Paalen's collection, photographed by Eva Sulzer and Brassai, later published in DYN (Fig. 22), included an impressive array of many different types, reflecting some of those classified by Michon.[344] Numerous volumes on ancient Greece and the Cyclades were present in Paalen's library.[345] But the single form which he would later focus upon was that of the "guitar type," as he called it, writing an essay for DYN, "About the Origins of the Doric Column and the Guitar Woman," to complement the photographs. This essay attacked the "functionalist" aesthetic and contested a purely utilitarian definition of origin for both the fluting of the Doric column and for the shape of the guitar, reserving such "form follows function" logic for machines. (Fig. 23) Instead, Paalen reasoned, form could arise from a desire to create "freely chosen rhythmic element[s]" or "to give plastic expression to inspiration." He asserted that "not only in art but even in the forms of certain highly evolved instruments a considerable freedom of choice is manifest" and that, therefore:

> The guitar woman of stone proves that the forms of the guitar and the violin were derived as much from the appearance of woman as from a quest for acoustic function.[346]

This aesthetic theory undoubtedly was inspired by the elaborate punning on the woman/guitar figure evident in the

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Cubist paintings of Picasso. Paalen's essay provided a psycho-philosophic rationale for that metaphor.[347]

In 1931 Paalen married the beautiful and talented Breton poet and artist Alice Rahon, an emotional and artistic liaison that lasted for nearly fifteen years, through the war and into America. (Fig. 24) In spite of his marriage to Alice, his relationship with Eva Sulzer continued, and in 1939, Alice, Wolfgang, and Eva would travel ensemble to the Northwest Coast and then, together, settle in the San Angel district of Mexico City.

In 1932, one year after Hélion, Herbin, and Vantongerloo founded the Abstraction-Creation group, Hélion invited Paalen to join the group.[348] Abstraction-Creation was an international movement that gathered together the various currents of abstract art and served as an organizational center for abstract painters between the two wars. In addition to the fact that Paris was an artistic mecca, unfavorable political conditions in Germany soon prompted the emigration of many artists, including Naum Gabo in 1932 and Kandinsky in 1933. Many others had already arrived there in the 1920s, such as Arp, Mondrian, Pevsner, and von Doesburg. Abstraction-Creation's membership at times was as large as 400, and it published a yearly almanac and sponsored frequent exhibitions.[349]

Abstraction-Creation represented the two poles of abstraction: that embracing the technological, machine-age, geometric orientation of Bauhaus, Constructivist, Neo-

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Plastic, and Purist persuasions; and that embracing the biomorphic, romantic, expressive styles of Hans Arp and Kandinsky. Paalen, like the other artists in the group, balanced the two modes in his work, stylistically leaning towards Arp. Later, in the 1940s he would lean toward Kandinsky. As described by Werner Haftmann, "All these tendencies interacted...giving rise to a style in which the mysticism and Romanticism of the East were united with the Cartesian spirit of the West to form a harmonious whole."[350]

Through the movement Paalen made friendships with Hans and Sophie Taeuber-Arp, Willi Baumeister, and Kurt Seligmann, and through them made contact with the British artists Stanley William Hayter, Roland and Valentine Penrose, and Henry Moore.[351]

That Paalen was close to the German and Swiss emigrés to Paris, and that his work at this time would reflect their influence, as well as that of Klee and Max Ernst (the latter in the technique of grattage) is significant. One of the few existing works from the early period (Untitled, 1930) shows the inspiration of Baumeister's relief "wall-paintings" in its development of a crusty baked ground of sand and cement, similar to a wall fresco, which explores and exploits elemental structure as much as elemental matter (matière).[352] These formal interests would be given further conceptual dimension two years later in a series of

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paintings inspired by prehistoric cave paintings which Paalen saw on a 1933 summer trip to Altamira.[353]

Paalen's works of 1931 and 1932 show further movement toward biomorphism, blending the space and grid of his post-cubist vocabulary of the late 1920s with amoeboid, flagellate, and other microscopic forms, which themselves moved toward figurative and landscape references (Fig. 25). As he described them, they were:

> compositions in which a strong graphic tension join[ed] with sober and profound colors. The subjects of these canvases were phantom beings, which came into existence by virtue of the emotional needs of the painter and the plastic necessities of painting. Some of them were shown for the first time at the Galerie Bonjean in 1933.[354]

By 1932-33 Paalen was incorporating schematic Munch-like heads (or masks) into these abstractions, while growing further interested in the primitivist discourse which engaged artists of all persuasions. This included Baumeister's "Valltorta" cycle of 1933, Joan Miró's paintings inspired by ancient Catalonian petroglyphs and cave paintings, and Arp's "creationist" inventions. As in the works of the latter two Surrealist-affiliated artists, echoes of the figure are strongly felt in Paalen's works.

Primitivist vocabulary and discourse dominate the series of paintings Paalen created after the journey to see the Altamira paintings, which he later described in DYN as "caverns as fascinating as the labyrinth of thought" and "grottos which were the dark rooms of the imagination, where the first effigies were revealed to man."[355] (Fig. 26) A

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childhood connection emerges in his recollection of the "the enigmas of the old edifice and the joyous terror" he had felt "when as a little boy he explored the gothic cave in which the vaults [of Rochusberg] seemed enormous to him in the light of his little candle, and he began to reflect on the sense of life."[356]

The major work of this series, Animeaux carnassiérs [Carnivorous Animals] (1933), a magnified version (measuring ca. 11 x 13 feet) of the rather small oils of the same subject ((Fig. 27) is clearly a response in dimension, color, and surface to Altamira; equal in measure to the powerful psychological, intellectual, and spiritual response he had had in the grotto.

It is also clear that Paalen is endeavoring to add to the earlier abstract works a significance beyond the evocative primitivist visual poetry of concrete elemental form. The title Carnivorous Animals suggests an interest in the basic levels of life and survival, devising glyphic signs to represent the content. There is a haunting ghost-like quality, harking back to Munch, in the tiny mask/heads of the "animals" and in other works of this period. Indeed, Paalen himself refers to them as "phantom beings."

Neufert discusses Animaux carnassiérs in the context of the work of anthropologists like Lucien Lévy-Brühl, whose writings were well-known and read at this time.[357] He suggests that the mask-like heads of Paalen's painting are connected to Lévy-Brühl's hypothesis of masked rituals of

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sympathetic magic performed in conjunction with the cave paintings to honor and propitiate the souls of the dead hunted animals; and that these rituals are in concert with a "basic archaic human longing to unite life, death and rebirth in the cycles of nature."[358] But it is apparent that Paalen's works are a synthesis of motives and sources, inspired as much by his expressionist past, romantic temperament, and understanding of pictographic/sign language, as by paleolithic art.

### 2. Continued Association with Abstraction-Creation, 1934

In the Fall of 1934, Paalen was included in a group exhibition at Abstraction-Creation's own gallery in the Avenue Walgram and two of his works were reproduced in their journal.[359] Hélion also introduced Paalen to A.E. Gallatin, who later acquired one of Paalen's works for his Museum of Living Art in New York City.[360] (Fig. 28) In the summer of 1934, while in Spain, Paalen made two more visits to Altamira.[361]

Until 1936, when he began the so-called "Totemic" style (the hallmark of his Surrealist period), and reached a point of noticeable maturity as a painter/poet, Paalen's painted works fused the various abstract styles of the painters with whom he associated. Arp's presence is particularly powerful in works like Le sol de la forêt (1933), a relief painting with collage on cork. (Fig. 29)

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In 1928 in Cahiers d'art an essay on Arp by Hubert Croxleÿ had appeared. It praised the artist's pioneering inventions of a refined and sensitive purist plastic language, visual plays upon signifier and signified, and "his severity, his rigor evoking those painters who are today considered the holders of the grand secrets [of the universe."[362] At the end of the essay he invited other artists to take up the challenge, before too long, which Arp had presented in embryonic form. Paalen was one of them.

Paalen waxed lyrical on Le sol de la forêt, in a monologue that united opposites and pantheistically personified the elements and forms of nature in a myriad of signs:

> [He] did not give that name arbitrarily to that composition. The place is rewarding. It is the ground of rebirth, the bed of the dying leaves which turn into life-giving humus. The soil of the forest is the demarcation line from which the branches shoot at the sky and the roots force the earth to lend security to the trunks. Do not the roots penetrate as deeply into the earth as the treetops reach towards the sky? There are mushrooms which, with their triangular roofs, seem like signposts for the straying roots. The bright rings of light are strewn about, the eyes of the lake dream beneath the moss; there are the footmarks of animals which only here in the dusk can still imagine themselves to be free. In its whole outline the soil lies there like an animal of dreams which knows about the storms just as the treetops know.[363]

Le sol de la Forêt was purchased by Roland Penrose and, through Penrose, Paalen met Max Ernst and Paul Eluard.[364]

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### 3. First One-Man Exhibition at Galerie Vignon, 1934

The Regler monograph says nothing about Arp or Hélion and credits only Léger with being "one of the few great painters who encouraged young talent" and who, on the occasion of Paalen's one-man exhibition at Galerie Vignon was there to encourage him. When Paalen complained to Léger about the lack of response to his show, Léger, with seasoned wit, said: "My dear boy, you must learn that here, in Paris, one accepts a new painter only when one cannot do anything else."[365] But in spite of Paalen's protest, the exhibition was reviewed by Christian Zervos, a former Dadaist and editor of Cahiers d'Art, the most important art publication at that time. Two illustrations of Paalen's work accompanied the review and Zervos spoke with enthusiasm and generosity, saying:

> In view of the youth of this artist, it is premature to assign to him an important role in the regeneration of art, which he seems to have accomplished before our very eyes; one can satisfactorily say that he has courageously attacked the most complex problems of art without sidestepping any of their difficulties.[366]

The illustrations showed an untitled relief painting similar to La Sol de la Forêt and "Objets Faits avec des Racines": sculptural objects made from roots, mounted on bases of wood and cork and displayed in a group. (Fig. 30)

It is in these objets that one begins to sense Paalen's movement toward Surrealism, from the use of the "found object" to the strange obsessive, erotic, and fetishistic

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quality of his works. Ingenious though they are, they push the metaphoric quality of the artist's work beyond the universal archaism of the earlier pieces into a new realm of the senses, where one distinctly feels the loss of innocence. One work included in the group of transformed roots has the quality of an African fetish, figural and seemingly wrapped with cloth, string, and nails, but decidedly phallic. (Fig. 31) It is worth noting that Paalen later observed that these "strange figurines of roots and pieces of driftwood which he had found on the beach of Hossegor" were similar to roots which "had fascinated James Joyce," who was known to have owned a large collection of pornography.[367] According to Serge Brignoni, Paalen was particularly interested in nail fetishes at this time, which were on display in the Musée Trocadèro.[368] (Fig. 32) Neufert additionally links the choice of the root and its potential healing properties to the shamanistic use of fetishes for healing. He calls this Paalen's "syncretism," and says, in essence, that a parallel aesthetic "transference" is accomplished in the viewer's reception of the objet, which works in relation to the "archaic symbol world" of humanity.[369] This is a customary (if problematic) primitivistic identification of "modern" with "primitive" psychic mechanisms.[370]

Two other objects, not reproduced in Cahiers d'Art, were probably included in the exhibition. As described by

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Serge Brignoni, who helped Paalen to execute the works, they were:

> cut out of wood, covered in deerskin and mounted on heavy wooden blocks. The soft deerskin, glued to the smoothly polished top surface, perfectly hugged the form and followed the swelling of the long wooden body, so that an impression of weightlessness and motion were formed in contrast to the rigidity of the bent wood core.[371]

These were equally fetishistic, and may also refer to Paalen's youth in the forests of Sagan, where, as he said, he had been a passionate hunter.[372] These works may also owe something to a sculpture like Princess X of Brancusi, whom Paalen knew and greatly admired.[373]

That year Paalen went to London, where he was cordially welcomed by Herbert Read and Henry Moore, for whose work he displayed a "profound admiration."[374] In 1935 he went to Lucerne, Switzerland for the opening of the Abstraction-Creation exhibition "Thesis, Anti-Thesis, Synthesis." Paalen now showed with Arp, Sophie Taeuber-Arp, Kandinsky and Klee. (Fig. 33) On returning to Paris he was visited by Kandinsky who greatly encouraged him.[375] That year, A.E. Gallatin and James Johnson Sweeney went to see him at his studio in the rue Pernety, and Gallatin purchased a work for his Museum of Living Art.[376]

### 4. Cahiers d'Art: Primitivism and Modernism in Paris and New York. "Amerindian" Art and Culture

Paalen's library contained issues of Cahiers d'art from 1930 to 1956. The issue of Cahiers d'Art in which

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Paalen was reviewed contained a great deal of material on the "Amerindian" art of the Northwest Coast and Pre-Columbia. From the first year of its publication, Cahiers had discussed "primitive" art. Articles on prehistoric painting, sculpture and Cycladic idols appeared in the first and second volumes. The second volume published articles on the sculpture of the Easter Islands in relation to the work of Max Ernst,[377] as well as devoting whole sections of issues to African art and l'art, musique, et architecture Nègre.[378] A virtual explosion of interest in "primitive" and ancient cultures, parallel with the development of archaeological and ethnological science, especially Americanist, had arisen in the 1920s.[379] Another journal called Art Ancien edited by Georges Duthuit was published in these years as well. In 1928 Cahiers included an article by Tristan Tzara on "Art Precolombien," written at the opening of the first "popular" exhibition of pre-Columbian art in Paris at the Musée des Arts décoratifs.[380] In the same volume that year were illustrations of pre-Columbian sculpture unaccompanied by text;[381] and a well-illustrated article on the "Parallels Between American and Japanese Masks," by one of the previously-mentioned German pioneers of Northwest Coast ethnology, Leonhard Adam.[382] This article reinforced the logic of Asian "diffusion theory," which argued that cultural similarities and forms found in geographically remote societies were due to migrations; in this case allowing Asian nomads to cross the Siberian land

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bridge or sea at the northernmost point of Asia and America.[383] There is no doubt that these presentations made a strong impression on Paalen, who would have followed this methodology of anthropology as it developed in the intermingling of scholarly and popular literature. These years were formative for Paalen in all senses, no longer the student but an emerging artist in search of his own ideas and style.

The 1929 volume of Cahiers also featured numerous articles on "primitive" art, including an entire issue in the first number dedicated to Oceanic art, with one article on "Polynesia and Melanesia," by pioneer German scholar, Eckhart von Sydow, whose "Primitive Kunst und Psychoanalyse"" was the starting point for an article that followed his in the journal - a discourse on the same topic "after von Sydow."[384] It should be recalled that this and other of von Sydow's influential books were among the volumes in Paalen's library and that Paalen had begun to collect Oceanic art around this time.[385] Moreover, one aspect of "diffusion theory" (discussed in Part III), held that migrations also had been made to America from Polynesia and Melanesia, a theory to which Paalen and his colleagues subscribed.[386]

Also featured in numbers 8-9 and 10 of this year's volume were two articles by Leo Frobenius on African paleolithic art: "Silhouettes d'Art" and "Bêtes, Hommes ou Dieux," respectively. Frobenius, a well-known ethnologist

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and head of the Frankfurt Institute for Ethnology, collaborated with the Museum of Modern Art in 1937 on an exhibition of "Prehistoric Rock Pictures in Europe and Africa."[387] (In Mexico, in the 1940s, Alice Rahon Paalen would create a series of paintings with imagery deriving from petroglyphs.) Along with Frobenius's texts was a text on pre-Columbian architecture and sculpture by Coecilie Seler-Sachs.[388]

The influence of and interest in "primitive" art continued to grow with articles in nearly every volume of the 1930's. It should be recalled that Minotaure did not begin to publish until 1933, making Cahiers the most influential art publication in Paris up to that time. More articles by Leonhard Adam on Northwest Coast art appeared in the first and last numbers of Volume V (1933): "L'animal dans l'art de l'ancienne Amérique," and "Le Portrait dans l'art de l'ancienne Amérique."[389] Hans Mühlstein's series of essays on prehistoric cosmogonies, art, and culture, was featured in four numbers appearing in this year.[390]

The 1934 volume (VI) of Cahiers d'Art in which Paalen was reviewed[391] situated him firmly in the company of the Abstraction-Creation movement for it included an article on a group exhibition of Arp, Hélion, and Sophie Taeuber-Arp;[392] and exhibition reviews of Kandinsky and Klee.[393] It also included essays on two exhibitions at the Trocadéro;[394] an essay by Leonhard Adam on wood sculpture from the Northwest Coast of America with photographs by

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Berenice Abbott;[395] and a review of an exhibition of pre-Columbian art, "American Sources of Modern Art", at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, whose catalogue was reprinted and reissued in the next year as Aztec, Incan, and Mayan Art.[396] "American Sources" as reviewed by Christian Zervos was nothing short of a defense of the importance of tracing the relationship of contemporary to "ancient" American art.

"American Sources" was organized by Holger Cahill, who was among those influenced by the American pragmatic philosophy of John Dewey, whose Art as Experience was published in 1934. Stewart Buettner indicates that it was Dewey's philosophy which Cahill used to convince Federal authorities to fund the WPA Project saying "that American artists have work to do in the world."[397] Cahill and Dewey saw Native American culture as a paradigm of communality and Dewey himself, like others of his generation in the Age of Progressivism, reflected on the virtues of the Pueblo cultures of the American Southwest. He observed that in those societies "the arts (dance, costume sculpture, drama, music, painting) were part of the significant life of an organized community'" and used examples of Pueblo dance to demonstrate his bio-social theory about the interactive dynamism of artistic experience.[398] In 1941 Robert Motherwell would introduce Paalen, already familiar with Viennese pragmatic theory, to Dewey's writings. These writings catalyzed Paalen's desire to revise Surrealism,

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spurring his own theory as well as his "dynamic" paintings in Mexico in the next decade.[399]

This "Americanism" was well-received in Europe, where, as we have seen, a romance with Native America was already present. Zervos wrote spiritedly about the virtues of the Museum of Modern Art's effort and about a "universal curiosity" for the indigenous art of the past. He asserted that the goal of the exhibition was to make the public aware of the "eternal rules of decoration [which] have obsessed numerous spirits in every great epoque," that these were found in the work of so-called "savages," and that the West had no monopoly on the canon of art or of beauty.[400] He went on to indicate that "Having understood the beauty of the savage, our generation has created a new language, capable of rejoicing in some true sensibilities too long exhausted by the fixed phrase and the conventional locution. Consequently, there has been a new accord between thought and expression."[401] He concluded that this same salutary effect would extend to American artists through this exhibition and that it also served to demonstrate that the objects created by Native Americans since the second half of the 18th century [sic] were products equal to those of highly civilized nations. He also believed that these works in all respects, but "especially in their humanity," surpassed the best work of contemporary sculptors, who emulated the simplicity of the "primitives."[402]

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Generously illustrated with images of "l'art Barbare," this issue of Cahiers was no doubt a rich resource for Paalen's, the Surrealists', and other artists' interest in "primitive" art. It is well-known that artists and critics of the New York School were reading Cahiers and other Parisian art journals in the 1930s and '40s and this issue of Cahiers stands as testimony to the link that was being forged between the Parisian and New York Schools at this time.

Furthermore, the emphasis on pre-Columbian and Northwest Coast art in this issue of Cahiers predicts Paalen's involvement with these two New World "Amerindian" civilizations in the following decade and its subsequent influence on the New York School. Although Cahiers d'art was not an organ of the Surrealist movement, it is notable that the Surrealists' early interest in the arts of Native America would emerge in its pages. When Minotaure, sponsored by Albert Skira and E. Teriade, began publishing in 1933 in competition with Cahiers, it too, along with other Surrealist journals, filled its pages with articles and essays on "primitive" art and culture.[403]

### 5. "Réponse à une enquête," Cahiers d'art: Beginnings of a Discourse on Art and Science

In 1935 Christian Zervos asked artists to respond to an "Inquiry" about the contemporary state and priorities of art.[404] It appears that Zervos' preface to this inquiry was critical for the formulation of some of the ideological

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and theoretical positions Paalen would develop in DYN. Zervos' essay was presented as a rallying cry to artists in a moral tone that Paalen would later utilize in DYN. No doubt responding to European social and political realities, it formulated a position for the artist that was a synthesis of social and spiritual exigencies. This position simultaneously reflected Meier-Graefe's earlier Nietzschean utopian dream of harmonizing class conflict through spiritual unity, and predicted the platform that the Abstract Expressionists would develop after exposure to DYN. Presented as a series of questions and propositions,[405] Zervos called for a revision of "plastic values" and summoned the generation of emerging artists to take up the challenge of the "elder" generation: Cézanne, Matisse and the Cubists, who saw "the raw instead of 'the pretty'," possessing an "aggressiveness" able to 'épater le bourgeois.' In spite of the "anxiety of influence" and the "weighty social conflicts of the day" which added to a "perplexity of spirit," he exhorted artists to do something new with "the formal lessons of their masters."[406] Paalen, among others, responded to the "Inquiry."[407]

Rejecting the traditional "preoccupation with plasticity," Zervos suggested emulating "the example of science," by "integrating scientific experience with ideas."[408] He emphasized the "human," rather than the transcendental, and equated the "communal" with the human, saying that "the influence of new social conditions, [would]

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undermine the old foundations." In this climate (what in the final analysis, he defines as a new social order) the artist will not continue "to work like a monk in his ivory tower," but through the intensification of his own spiritual vision extended to the "multitude," "exert on them a force...sufficient to provoke...successive reforms."

For Zervos, the former Dadaist, art was intrinsically social. For Zervos, speaking out against a plethora of revisionist "neo"-plasticisms (i.e. Mondrianisms), and a "formula of naturalism," art had been "reduce[d]...to some agreeable combinations" and had degenerated to a state of superficiality, "facile simplifications, beyond which nothingness keeps watch." For Zervos, of Greek origin, the ancients possessed a capacity to "see," lost to the contemporary world, because of their profound understanding of nature:

> A sculpted head by the Sumerians is truly a volume which is found within nature. A sculpted head according to academic spirit is by no means a part of nature.

But there is danger, he warned, in identification of modernism with those who "dress up a Greek vocabulary and outmoded psychological phraseology," "under pretext of fooling the bourgeois," all the while "solicit[ing] their favors on bended knee."

Paalen responded to this challenge, substantially in accord with Zervos' attitudes, and formulated ideas which would be reiterated in the DYN essays.[409] Adopting Zervos'

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opinions, he revered art as one of the most "ancient and tenacious manifestations of humanity" and affirmed that in each generation a few individuals endowed with its power would have to create a new spirituality, an "esthetic communality," and come to terms with science.[410] Echoing the historical problem of the avant-garde first voiced in the writing of Meier-Graefe, he recognized that a conflict existed between the artist and "the masses," that a collective spirituality such as existed in the Middle Ages was no longer possible with the replacement of religious by secular values, and that art in the "Salon" had degenerated to

> an order of individual diversion, a question of "taste", a species of foie gras for connoisseurs, and it is logical that the critical vocabulary is more and more borrowed from the kitchen.[411]

Like Zervos (and like Meier-Graefe), he mourned the isolation and deflated role of the artist in modern society, and condemned the relegation of art to a "function of a refined sensualism." In this state, art no longer possessed its "magic," its power to evoke the sort of contemplation that could effect human solidarity, and that its survival had evolved from an esthetic to an ethical imperative. If, as the Salon would have it, art was to become nothing more than a contender in the recreation of reality accomplished so well by "mechanical reproduction," then it would suffer oblivion. This had, in fact, already occurred. Even if it could admit to "having no ear for music," the public would

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make pronouncements on abstract art, while not understanding it in the least. Then there was the problem of the "professional" artists and artisans who adopted the "look" of modernism, the minimal esthetic whether nature or machine-inspired, but emptied it of its "emotive power," of its "magic." It was thus necessary for the abstract artist to carry the banner of "authentic" art, refusing convention, neologism, and easy solutions, but maintaining the "essential form" found in all outstanding art. Point for point, Paalen responded to Zervos' prescriptions for artists to follow the program of modernism, but not slavishly: to seek simplicity, but not be simplistic; to acknowledge the portent of science and technology, but not to become mechanical in their own creations; to preserve integrity in the face of all distractions.

This "Response" prefigured (indeed, stated in the same words) many of the ideas Paalen would carry forward into his DYN essays. What is also of interest in this "Inquiry" and "Response" are the echoes of the early avant-garde discourse of Meier-Graefe. These ideas, of the role and value of art, the mediation of art by science, and the continuity of form in all "great" art (Western or non-Western), pervade the thinking of the "moderns".[412]

### 6. The "Cycladic" Period - Artistic Maturity

In the "Cycladic" works of 1935-36, Paalen achieved considerable virtuousity as a painter and poet.

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(Figs. 34 and 35) These works also show him at this early date as an accomplished colorist. Here the tiny triangular-domino beings of the cave painting-inspired works are juxtaposed and transformed into more monumental forms that clearly refer to the oval head of the Cycladic goddess idol while also serving as poetic figures referencing primal archetypes or origins - the "egg and I," so to speak. In the most successful works in this group, the elegant archaic simplicity and clarity of the idols are translated and preserved. Such titles as Man and His Mask (1935) and Encounter on a Seashore (1936) supplant the earlier Potential Men (1933) and Inhabitants of the Island (1934). and indicate a move away from abstract, universalizing metaphors rooted in utopian Expressionism and Abstraction-Creation, toward signs and landscapes of interior psychodramas.

The contrasting tonalities of the works function symbolically to complement the abstract representation of male and female implied in the titles and in the "origins" iconography of the matriarchal goddess herself: the archetypal feminine. These male and female personages simultaneously or alternately merge and separate. (Fig. 36) This may be a reference to Paalen's relationship with Alice Rahon, to a more general philosophical posture about struggle between the sexes, or to the gender duality inherent in every individual.[413]

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In the summer of 1936 Paalen went to Greece and visited Athens, Delphi, and the Cycladic Islands in order to see classical art in its original setting. But he had begun this series prior to that trip, so it is unlikely that the real experience factored into these creations as much as his imagination. As he said later, "there [would] be found in this voyage a means to comprehend the 'sense of beauty' of the ancients" equally possessed in the "primitive" geometries of the abstracts or in the "savage art" of the Surrealists. This helped him to resolve what he called the "contradictory" attraction he felt for "the primitive art of pre-Columbia and Oceania," "the prehistoric Greek idols as well as classical Greek art, and the panels of Raphael (which he saw in London)." This "dualism" eventually led to the "necessity of a grand synthesis...of the mythological element and humanist aspirations," i.e., the "paysages totémiques.[414]

In the "Biographical Notes" Paalen referred to the prehistoric idols possessing the "precision of crystal."[415] Describing his own paintings, he mentions the "faceting" of the forms and compares them to "crystals," acknowledging their inspiration in these ancient artifacts, but insisting that the works did not retrogress into imitation of the "archaic."[416] This faceting as well as the control of light and the metaphor of crystalline structure are certainly related to Cubism, and the marked use of contrast

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is certainly indebted to Léger's series of "Contrasting Forms."[417]

It is evident that Paalen was transposing the Cycladic style of the works in his personal collection into these large paintings; and into such marbles as the Face of the same period.[418] (Figs. 37 and 38) The influence of Brancusi is marked in the sculptures, as is that of Arp, Hélion, Kandinsky, Klee, Léger, and the language of Abstraction-Creation in his painting vocabulary. He now appears to have swung toward the pole of the Purists in his pronounced use of geometry. This is evident in the minimal, refined, primary forms that simultaneously function as signs of the organic and the geometric, nature and culture, the abstract and the figurative, the past and the future, to effect a third term, a synthesis that exists in the present. Implicit in these equations are the Bergsonian notions of élan vital and duration, where time, space, and matter are united by the energies of destruction/ creation; and an intense and intimate focus on the cycles and processes of nature. Fully cognizant of their significance, Paalen called these works "a close approach to the Urform of man,"[419] revealing his search for archetype and significance and his familiarity with pre-Socratic concepts.

In the Regler monograph, descriptions of these works also refer to magical forces in nature. "[A] world of vast dimensions, wholly in the realm of stones and crystal" is crossed with metaphors of earthly and planetary forces: "the

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only shaping line cuts the face into an equinox of light and shadow".[420] In such titles as Visages planétaires (Gallatin Coll.) and Cadran Lunaire, appear the first signs of a Surrealist disposition and a theme which will carry over into Paalen's works of the "Cosmic" period.[421] At the same time, we are told that it is evident in the biblically-titled La roue de l'orage that

> [t]he glaring light...does not cede, threatening black suns, a whitish-grey apparition...bears hidden beneath its long cloak the inexorability of a disaster...[422]

and note that the previous equilibrium of the "architectonic solidness"[423] and simplicity of the forms has been disturbed. (Fig. 39) This "disaster," abstractly figured in these late Cycladic paintings,[424] is a forecast of the growing storm of war and destruction soon to break loose in Europe. As Marcel Jean indicates in his Autobiography of Surrealism, as early as 1933 in France, there was a consciousness of and struggle against the terrible events that were plaguing Europe:

> Activities in the political field assumed renewed importance within the group as the fascist menace began to spread over Europe in the middle thirties. In February 1933 fascist riots broke out in Paris whereupon the Surrealists immediately issued a pamphlet entitled Appel à la Lutte (A Call to Struggle), signed by more than eighty personalities of the intellectual world, among them, Fernand Léger, André Lhote, Paul Signac, André Malraux, Alain, etc. This text was the first public appeal for a united front against fascism, and indeed a united front of the left (the Popular Front) eventually took shape, countering the rise of fascism in France - until the war and the invasion in 1940.[425]

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## 7. Encounters with Surrealism, 1935-1939 - Artistic "Arrival"

Paalen's connections to Surrealism began earlier than his actual membership in the group. It is possible that his entré to the movement came from his marriage to Alice Rahon. Before marrying Paalen, Alice had been involved with the Surrealists and was celebrated as a designer of hats which she sold in her own boutique in Paris. Alice had an affair with Picasso, who was actively involved with the Surrealists and financed Minotaure.[426] She was immortalized on the facade of the Galerie Gradiva by Breton and Duchamp, where her name appeared with that of other "mythical" women.[427] Moreover, Alice's profile served as the female silhouette of the "couple" on the facade of the gallery, designed by Duchamp.[428]

Paalen had also made contact with the Surrealists in 1932 when he visited Stanley William Hayter's printshop, Atelier 17, where he came into contact with Arp, Picasso, Roland and Valentine Penrose, Peggy Guggenheim, and Max Ernst.[429] Paalen first met Hayter in 1927 in Cassis[430] and renewed the relationship when he moved to Paris. By 1932 Wolfgang and his father had reconciled and, as a result, a significant improvement occurred in his financial situation.[431] This reconciliation, art sales, and, perhaps, his patronage by Eva Sulzer, enabled him by 1935 to have an atelier in the rue Pernety and to work at Atelier 17.[432] (Fig. 40)

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What is especially noteworthy in Paalen's association with Hayter is that the drawings and prints of this period show powerful draftsmanship and a highly developed graphic sensibility, influenced perhaps by Hayter's wiry, active line. (Fig. 41) In 1944, in DYN, Paalen reproduced a pen drawing in this style by Hayter.[433] (Fig. 42)

In the summer of 1935, due to dissent in the movement over different attitudes towards abstraction, Paalen, along with the Arps and Hélion, left "Abstraction-Creation."[434] In that year he joined the Surrealists in a "Dessins surréalistes" exhibition organized by Ernst and Miró.[435] His invitation to show with the Surrealists may have come from André Breton, with whom he had begun a friendship that year.[436]

The years 1936 to 1939, when he left for America, were full ones for Paalen, a period in which he emerged as an artist in league with other modern masters, most of them a generation older. Breton invited him to participate in the "Exposition Surréaliste d'Objets," held 22-29 May 1936 at Galerie Charles Ratton, in which he showed along with Picasso, May Ray, Giacometti, et al. The exhibition featured a great number of artifacts from various cultures from the collection of Ratton and the Surrealists, along with the works of the Surrealists themselves. Paalen's object entitled The Exact Hour appears to be a combination of a scale and a clock, suggesting the heavy hand of fate and the tenuous state of humanity. (Fig. 43) This

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exhibition included "natural objects, interpreted natural objects, perturbed objects, found objects, mathematical objects, Readymades, etc. Special issue of Cahiers d'Art on the object include[d] an essay by Breton 'Crise de l'objet'"[437] about the motives for the Surrealist object, which William Rubin characterized as:

> essentially a three-dimensional collage of 'found' articles that were chosen for their poetic meaning rather than their possible visual value. Its entirely literary character opened the possibility of its fabrication - or, better, its confection - to poets, critics and others who stood professionally outside, or on the margins of, the plastic arts. This partially explains the tremendous vogue object-making enjoyed in Surrealist circles during the 1930s.[438]

Until 1937, when he began the Paysage totémique paintings, Paalen was largely occupied with the creation of Surrealist works and exhibited them in the bevy of important Surrealist exhibitions in the late 1930s. As previously noted, the "Objets Fait Avec des Racines" of the Abstraction-Creation period were forerunners of his Surrealist objects.

Fully involved in the movement, the opening of Paalen's one-man exhibition at the Galerie Pierre in 1936 was attended by Picasso, Kandinsky, Léger, Ernst, Miró, Tanguy, Arp, Giacometti, Breton, Eluard,[439] and Alfred Barr. Barr invited him to participate in the "Fantastic Art, Dada and Surrealism" exhibition that he organized for the Museum of Modern Art in December of that year. In that exhibition he showed four pieces, becoming visible to the New York art community.[440]

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Christian Zervos again favorably reviewed Paalen in Cahiers d'art, applauding his courage to experiment and attempt to surpass the last generation. He traced the Cubist lineage of Paalen's art to the "extreme simplification" of Mondrian, "the spiritual leader of abstract art." Observing that for Paalen this was not an end in itself, he delegated to him responsibility as a guide into new "unknown" territory. As Zervos saw it, Paalen was in a transitional phase which, while "not lacking in success," promised still greater things:

> At this point, Paalen, a remarkable draftsman, is going through his abstract crisis in expectation of a new surge of energy for a new offensive.... One has every reason to hope that with age and experience, Paalen's painting will gain more freedom: freedom of spirit in color and composition.[441]

By 1940, in Mexico, Paalen would take up Zervos' challenge, return to abstraction after the five-year hiatus of Surrealism, and create a new series of painterly canvases of intense rhythm, color, and composition, the so-called "Cosmic" paintings.

The year 1936 was an important one. The monumental "International Surrealist Exhibition" was held that year at the Burlington Galleries in London and, as noted by William Rubin, included:

> Surrealist objects... Oceanic, African and American objects, photographs of objects from the British Museum, familiar objects, found objects, natural objects interpreted; childrens drawings;[442]

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These contributions were remarkably inclusive of many of the same types of materials displayed in the Blue Rider Almanac twenty-five years earlier. The show also exhibited works by Brancusi, Klee, and Henry Moore, thus making the movement a truly international phenomenon. Six years later, Paalen would reproduce Moore drawings in four of the six issues of DYN.[443] His friendship with Paalen in Mexico was no doubt reinforced by his involvement with pre-Columbian art and culture, of which the inspiration for his reclining nudes in the figures of "Chacmool" the Rain God, is only one example.[444] Paalen exhibited an object in the exhibition called "Genius of the Species" (Fig. 44), a pistol made from the bones of a chicken, uncomfortably acute in its fatality. It was also eerily prophetic of the pistol with which he would take his life in 1959. A reproduction of this objet illustrated a poem by E.L.T. Mesens in the issue of London Bulletin in which Paalen was also reviewed[445]. The poem was ironically titled "The Means to An End," and it read:

> In the eye of the king there was a postage stamp
> And in the eye of the king figured on the postage stamp
> There was still another king who had an eye
> Within which there was a postage stamp
> With or without king...
> With our without eye...
>
> Death to the king
> Down with the postage stamp
> Long live the eye!

But Paalen's object could also have illustrated André Breton's celebration of death and murder, following the "logic" of Marquis de Sade, in his often quoted boast:

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> The most Surrealist act consists of walking out into the street with a revolver in hand and indiscriminately shooting at as many in the crowd as possible.

That so many Surrealists took their own lives, often by violent means, was as much a reflection of their philosophy, as of the violence of the times themselves. This predisposition to violence will again be encountered in their interpretation of ancient pre-Columbian art and culture.

By 1937 Paalen's apocalyptic projections of the late "Cycladic" period turned into realities and the associations with su[pe]rrealities seemed a wishful desire to supercede and transcend the hell on earth. As he watched his family and his homeland succumb to Nazi siege, Paalen's next series of works, the "Totemic" paintings, progressed into phantasmagoric worlds of desolate, desiccated landscapes.[446] Inorganic worlds of carbon, crystal, and ice are visited by demons and ghosts of a disintegrating past in which only death and the most primitive levels of life exist.

Paalen's knowledge of the "totemic" cultures of the Northwest Coast prior to his journey there and its tangible results - his collection of artifacts, the diary-travelogues of the paysages totémiques, and his essay "Totem Art" - are undocumented. But it is evident in this series of paintings, and in the commentary Breton makes about them in 1939,[447] that Paalen's scholarship and understanding of this culture were already very developed.

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The thesis of a recent exhibition Surrealism: Anxious Vision, organized by Sidra Stich, developed the idea of a direct relationship of Surrealism to political events and the war. She wrote:

> just as the horrors of death and devastation from the Great War were waning, political events were inciting nightmares of another holocaust, a recurrence of destruction....But alarm about survival went well beyond Hitler's rampages. During these same years, Paris, Barcelona, Madrid, and other European cities were ridden with strife - plagued by riots, political upheavals, strikes, fires, brawls, bombings, and bloody combat. Throughout Europe, capitol cities became the sites of rampant upheaval and destruction. Often barricaded and in shambles, the urban landscape was metaphorically, if not virtually, petrified....[448]

Although she overlooked the specific details of Paalen's personal and cultural background, Stich correctly observed the relationship his work bore to themes that dominated Surrealist theory and practice in the 1930s: an attachment to nature over culture and to primitivist concepts of totemism and animism.[449]

> Striking a different chord, Wolfgang Paalen offers an equally disturbing vision of environmental destruction in Totemic Landscape.... Here the setting, fractured and fossilized into crystalline components, is dominated by a clan of plantlike figurations. Assuming the role of totems - ancestors - the figurations imply the existence of a history, and yet the absence of any other form of life and the inorganic character of the surroundings manifest discontinuity. Paalen's image is disturbing for it incarnates the totem notion of a pervasive spirit - described by Lévy-Brühl as a collective representation wherein every animal, plant, and object partakes of a shared mystical force - but represents the land and all its indwelling members as frozen and denaturalized remnants of a past that shows no hope for present or future vitalization. Rather than suggesting

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> the power of totemism as a unifying force, Paalen signifies destruction of the species and the environment with only the memory of a totemic spirit sustained.[450]

Stich's discussion correctly identified the general motives of Paalen's painting, but did not take into account his drastic reversal of the hopeful "environmental" vision of Abstraction-Creation. The "crystals," an Expressionist and Surrealist sign of primordial "origins," which once signified a magical "world of vast dimensions," have either lost or repressed their animistic power. The paysages make reference to ages of ice and volcanoes prior to the existence of human life. They are knowingly constructed by Paalen the amateur paleontologist.

Stich apparently also did not realize that Paalen himself believed that the paysages actually do propose "a hope for present or future vitalization" in their prefiguration of things to come. "The first important picture of this period, 'Fata Alaska,' is like a quay; the poles are the springboards; the next stop is no longer in landscapes but in 'starscapes,'" said Paalen.[451] This statement alluded to the series of "Cosmic" paintings that followed the "Totemic" works. Created in Mexico in the 1940s, the "Cosmic" paintings succeeded in transcending the extinction threatened in the paysages totémique. The "sombre fairy world," as Breton called the landscapes,[452] looked back and forward at the same time, predicting not only the fate of nations, but the fate of the painter

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himself. In one of the "Paysage Totémique" essays, Paalen recalled:

> the fairy-scene that happened overnight in my childhood. Between a single dawn and sunset of autumn a prodigious ascent of incalculable processions of nuns laid waste a whole forest. All the wood between the house of Sunga and the hillside where arose the neighboring chateau - which then suddenly and for the first time appeared through the skeletal wood in the matinal stupefaction. We rubbed our eyes; it was really and truly there like one of those castles sprung from the touch of djinns at the caprice of a wicked prince. All sylvan nature treacherously disarmed held its breath, voiceless and as though transformed into opaque glass; under our steps only the vitrified pine needles grated. The first squall made us tremble: at the lip of the North wind the whole forest rang like a crystal goblet.[453]

In Fata Alaska (1937) (Fig. 45) Paalen proposed his own destiny - the journey to Alaska and the Northwest Coast he would undertake two years hence - and signs of the ancestral past mixed with signs of "ancestors to come," as he in later years would say.[454]

Most significantly, Stich did not consider Paalen's history and the way in which these "Totemic" paintings reflected his lived experience.[455] The painting illustrating Stich's passage, Paysage totémique (Fig. 46), is part of Paalen's series Paysage totémique de mon enfance begun in 1937. These works were initiated after a summer journey to Czechoslovakia and through the Boehmerwald: the ancient forests ringing the borders of Germany, Poland, Austria, and Czechoslovakia, near the family estate in Sagan. It was at this time that Paalen invented the automatic painting

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technique of fumage, which he incorporated into the visionary paysages.[456]

In fumage the artist spontaneously guided the flame of a candle beneath a freshly prepared canvas to leave smokey "chains of aureoles that furnished involuntary structures and personages like rings achieved by the paintbrush."[457] (Fig. 47) Following the Prague critic Frantisek Smejkal, William Rubin would liken fumage to Yves Klein's Mark of Fire, describing the technique as an "evocation of a picture from the burns and smoke trails left by 'drawing' with a lit candle."[458] (Fig. 48) André Breton said that fumage was "an enrichment of the methodological treasury of Surrealism along with collage, rayogram, frottage, décollage, and decalcomania."[459] He likened it to "tresses, as far as the eye can see, of the beloved in the shadows."[460] The technique was inspired by the aphorism of Paalen's philosophical hero, Georg Cristoph Lichtenberg (1742-94): "A man is fond of society, even if it is only the society of his own lighted candle." For the last issue of Minotaure, Paalen contributed an illustrated translation of aphorisms from Lichtenberg's Göttingen Almanach (1798): a collection of illustrated humorous writings that were a major diversion for the educated upper classes in 18th-century Germany.[461] (Fig. 49) Lichtenberg's book Meditation Written in the Company of Ardent Observers must have inspired Paalen, for the invention of fumage aprocryphally was said to have occurred in the company of friends. Paalen referred to

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fumage as a technique which "help[ed] to visualize textures that seemed to escape any brush-work, such as rime, phosphorescence of underbrush, the dances of the will-o'-the-wisp and the web of light in the heart of rock-crystal."[462] Three years later, Paalen published more of Lichtenberg's aphorisms in the first issue of DYN.[463]

The wispy traces of Paalen's fumage were signs of the act of creation and destruction embodied in the technique itself. The resulting accidents and exposed processes of organic and inorganic nature were a perfect metaphor for life and death, which Paalen sought to depict, at first in poetic abstraction. (Fig. 50) Within one year, these innocent abstractions were transformed into haunted images of the actual battles of life and death that were raging in Europe. (Fig. 51)

Between those crucial years of 1937 and 1939, when Hitler occupied Austria, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, a change took place in Paalen's paysages. They became tormented images populated by spectres and demons, no longer the wistful creations of youthful longing. (Fig. 52 and 53) Year by year, Paalen saw his home and his past devastated by circumstances in Germany, where his family remained in the eye of the storm. In Germany, the onslaught of the Nazi Party rapidly eroded the frail socialist democracy that had been established during the Weimar period. Shortly after Hitler was voted into power, the Nazis accused communists of arson of the Reichstag (Parliament), 4,000 were arrested,

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and socialists began to be hunted down and killed. In 1933-34 hundreds were murdered and by the end of 1934, camps were established to house up to 57,000 political prisoners. A witchhunt enused thereafter, targeting intellectuals as well as political dissidents. Such distinguished members of the Prussian Academy of Arts and Letters as Thomas and Heinrich Mann, Franz Werfel, Käthe Kollwitz, and Alfred Dolbin were denounced and their books repressed. In 1936 a list of individuals, the so-called "Saarlist," was drafted, naming individuals to be banned, banished, and killed. Among them were many prominent modern artists including Max Beckmann, who, as some others, had earlier aligned himself with the Nazi party and was shocked by this denunciation.[464]

Paalen's 1937 visit to Czechoslovakia and the Boehmerwald, after a decade of self-imposed exile in France, stirred in him profound memories of his childhood in Sagan. All of the elements of Paalen's fumage inventions and his paysages appear in the autobiographical passage of the Regler monograph, down to the very tracks in the snow of the "sombre fairy world" he created, using the gossamer webs of fumage to represent the fragile traces of his memory.[465] (Fig. 54) The paintings depicted Paalen's personal form of the totem: the symbolic ancestor tree of tribal cultures. Of them he wrote:

> One believes one sees a vision growing like mushrooms after a thunderstorm, the storm of memories. The totem poles are several beings held together by the compulsion of generations. They grow into an empty sky; then suddenly one

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> stretches out his bony hand as if to cover the spring of his still sprouting force. These pictures still have a comparative quiet, the rest of the pole.[466]

The evocation of dream and myth in the early paysages is powerful. For many Surrealists, myth and dream were "a door by which one could return to the paradise of lost childhood and regain the security of prenatal life."[467] But for Paalen this wish was not simply the product of an atavistic fancy, nor symbolic resolution of "Oedipal conflicts,"[468] but a landscape of an inner world decimated by the events of the terrible history that meted out his fate.

A year after their debut, André Breton would comment on the powerful intersection of terrestial and supernal energies represented in the paysages, saying: "The window looks onto a square dominated by totem poles. In the light of fatality the sun spots came out which are supposed to dry up momentarily certain lakes and to change the skin of certain animals."[469] The "sun spots" were the transparent spore-like carbon deposits left on the canvas in the act of making the fumage. (Fig. 55)

As violence in Europe escalated, the "sun spots" of the paysages progressed to "Orages magnétiques" (Fig. 56), and the totemic tree of life grew in a soil nourished by the ash of burned bones, rather than the metaphoric carbon of a candle flame. Paalen rendered apocalyptic visions of a world devastated by:

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> ragged and menacing beings...whose 'battles' fascinate us with their ruthlessness, with their horror. One perceives in them the foreboding of the pending catastrophe of a war which was to change the standard of human violence by releasing forces far beyond the boldest dream of magicians and alchemists. One has to go back as far as Bosch and Grunewald in order to find a vision of equal terror to that of "Combat of the Saturnian Princes."[470] (Fig. 57)

Paalen, typically, was able to effect a masterful synthesis: in the Paysages totémiques there is a fusion of Expressionist and Surrealist metaphysical intensity with a highly developed and rhythmic sense of abstract form. In this way, like El Greco, he elevated his painting to heights of great emotional and visionary pitch - high above the level of the essentially academic illustration (turned against itself in service of the bizarre) evident in the work of Salvador Dali. (Fig. 58) Paalen's visions were wrought from an inner world created and devastated by the losses imposed on him by politics, war, and the Holocaust. This may help in comprehending Paalen's later distaste for the comparison of some of his illustrations "a little superficially to [Arthur] Rackham,"[471] even while recognizing the compliment it paid him in likening him to that imaginative, marvelous draftsman.

It is not a far leap from the abstraction underlying the imaginary narrative paysages to the complete abstractions of the early 1940s, which he called his "Cosmic" (immediately following the "Totemic") period. Transitional works of 1939 maintain the unique blend of

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linear and painterly ("malerische") qualities of the paysages, yet become wholly abstract. (Fig. 59)

In an interview with Geo Dupin, sister of Alice Rahon, she spoke of the Surrealist years in Paris when she first knew Paalen. It was 1935. Many of the Surrealists were in the Resistance. They were helping Jews and dissidents to get out of Europe, forging papers for them and hiding them.

> Jews were buying and selling on the black market to get out of Europe. Paalen's family lived in Berlin - they sold their estate - they sold everything at a bad time, when the market was down. One time Alice found a catalogue - perhaps of the estate sale - of paintings, furniture, objects.[472]

Michael Paalen's family history confirmed this sequence of events. Gustav Paalen sold everything to pay off the Nazis, to keep them at bay.[473] First securities, then the estate, then its contents: works by Titian, Cranach, Daumier, Delacroix, mentioned in Paalen's recollections of now-remote golden days.[474] In 1942, he and Emmy Paalen vacated Rochusburg and moved to Berlin, sending Michael, then thirteen, to safety in Sweden. The fate of Gustav Rainer, Paalen's middle brother, is unclear, but he appears to have died in 1942, along with his parents.[475]

In a later meditation on these nightmare years that he published in DYN, couched within a theoretical discussion in one of his essays, Paalen would recall his feelings of shock, dread, and guilt about his own survival. He used as allegory Grimm's "Tale of the Two Brothers," which he recalled walking alone in the woods one day, encountering a

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knife fixed in the trunk of a tree. This incident struck a deep and disturbing chord of memory:

> In this story two little boys, abandoned in the woods, are saved and brought up by a hunter, who, before sending them "into the vast world" gives them a shining knife. "When the time comes when you must part, thrust this knife into a tree at the crossroads; on this knife the one who returns will be able to see how his absent brother is doing; for the side of the knife facing the direction in which he parts will rust when he is dead, but as long as he is alive the knife will remain bright...." Suffice it that I for my part understood the good or rather the sad reasons which...underlined the affective significance that was concealed behind my discovery of the knife in the tree. The truth is that my very ambivalent relations with my younger brothers (whom I had completely lost sight of at that time) were not without their burden of regret, without a feeling of guilt on my part. But in remembrance of those days, of September 1938 - for those were the days which rang the knell of all that since the last war might have been hoped for the brotherhood of man - this event is charged for me with a meaning which passes beyond the circumstances of my personal life.[476]

In March of 1938 Hitler had forcibly annexed Austria to the Nazi Reichsstaat. In September 1938 (the date to which Paalen alludes), the signing of the Munich Pact allowed Hitler to annex the Sudeten [German] borderlands of Czechoslovakia, overturn the borders established after World War I, and erode the sovereignty of that nation. The conference was attended and the pact approved by Premiers Chamberlain, Daladier, and Mussolini, without Czech representation. Its acquiescence to Hitler's demands effectively paved the way for his invasion of Czechoslovakia and Poland and hastened the war.[477] It was at this time, according to Gustav Regler, that Paalen painted the series of paintings Combat

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of the Saturnien Princes.[478] (Fig.57) A few years later in Mexico, while visiting Paalen in his studio, Regler was able to view the "starscapes" among the "Cosmic" works then in progress, as well as canvases from the previous Combat series. Reacting, to the lyric beauty of the first, then to the fury of the latter, Regler said:

> As for the pictures - well, it looked as though Captain Ahab had embarked with his ship on a happy voyage over the ocean of the stars. Then, however, everything again assumed the disquieting character of the prophetic. I remember one picture which had been painted at the time of the Munich Pact in 1938. Paalen had called it Combat des Princes Saturnien; it was an apocalpytic thunderstorm!
>
> I stood in astonishment, feeling that I was undergoing a healing change. What were the asthmatic leading-articles, the anaemic war-cries of the politicians compared with visions such as these?... The word "prophet" is as worn as a priest's stole; but through that picture I came to understand that one did not need to involve oneself in politics to discern the forces that were unleashed in that year of 1938. It was not the Brueghelian vision that took my breath away; it all went much deeper....[479]

It is evident that Paalen understood the implications of that moment, seeing it as a prelude to the War, which began in Poland exactly one year later. His intuition of imminent danger described in the passage about his brothers was not unfounded, for the lives of his family were increasingly endangered as the Nazis moved ever closer to their "final solution" for the European Jewish community. Four years after the signing of the Munich Pact, in January 1942, the Nazi Wannsee Conference convened in an elegant suburb outside of Berlin, where discussions of the "final

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solution" included plans for "deportation" of "halbjudes," "vierteljudes," and non-Jews married to those with Jewish blood.

> [Reinhard] Heydrich together with his chief aide, Adolf Eichmann, convened the notorious Wannsee Conference on January 20, 1942; this was a high-level interdepartment conference meeting to confirm the plans [for mass extermination and to prepare Auschwitz as the principle center], which were couched in euphemistic language such as "resettlement" and "special treatment."[480]

In a dramatization of the Wannsee Conference,[481] reference was made to "Jews in Berlin shooting themselves and jumping out of windows," when they received their deportation notices. Paalen's parents and middle brother, Gustav Rainer, died in this year, and this suggests that their deaths may have been coincident with and motivated by this notorious meeting and its insidious injunctions whose minutes still survive.[482]

Between 1937 and 1939, in spite of the tragedies unfolding around him, Paalen's career flourished. In September 1937, with Magritte, Miró, and Picasso, he contributed illustrations to a performance of Alfred Jarry's Ubu enchainé performed by the company of Sylvain Itkine at the Comédie des Champs-Elysées.[483] Nineteen thirty-seven also marked the year of the opening of Galerie Gradiva, with a Surrealist group exhibition in which Paalen participated.[484] In January-February 1938, together with Breton, Dali, Duchamp, Eluard, Ernst, and Man Ray, Paalen helped to organize the "Exposition Internationale du

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Surréalisme" held at Daniel Wildenstein's Galerie Beaux-Arts.[485] The catalogue listed sixty artists from 14 countries and had 229 entries. It published the complete works of the Surrealist literary hero, the Count de Lautréamont, with illustrations by Paalen among others. Paalen showed the Paysages Totémiques in this exhibition,[486] and created an unsually early environmental installation made of "Water and Brushwood" (Fig. 60).[487] He may also have shown the marvelous and fanciful object Nuage articulé (Articulated Cloud): an umbrella or mushroom-shaped object made of natural sponge (Fig. 61), which fused the contradictory realms of netherworld and sky into a concrete synaesthesis. His description of the works of this period made reference to the mushroom image:

> His paintings of this period have the light of an untraceable midnight sun. Their woods grow next to the clefts in the earth. The forms are in the process of becoming. One believes one sees a vision growing like mushrooms after a thunderstorm, the storm of memories.[488]

In a manner common to the male Surrealists, female mannequins were erotically and sado-masochistically dressed.[489] The most admired of these was André Masson's "the head of which was enclosed in a bird cage, the mouth gagged by a black velvet band decorated with a pansy; beyond that it was adorned with nothing but a G string made of glass eyes."[490] Paalen's mannequin was a "crowned blue vampire statue with great open wings, dressed in a robe of fresh mushrooms, and considered one of the most

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succcessful."[491] (Fig. 62) It recalled the more haunted of the paysages totémiques, and Sarane Alexandrian's representation of those works as nocturnes, an appropriate Romantic category.[492]

This work was a macabre (and unfortunate) variation on the ethereal Toisson d'or, painted in 1937, which showed a mystical hybrid of woman and butterfly. (Fig. 63) Fumage was employed in Toisson d'or to fashion the pedestal of this enigma and the landscape out of which it springs. Here the Surrealist's pet role of Muse for women is portrayed in a sphinx-like image that holds the secret of the prized Golden Fleece and represents the allure and mystery of the Feminine and of love.[493] There is a noticeable resemblance between the delicate features of this image and those of Alice Rahon Paalen. A few years later, in Mexico City, at the gala opening of the 1940 Exposición Internacional del Surrealismo which he organized with Breton and César Moro, Paalen would dress his lover and future wife, Isabel Marin, in the guise of the "apparition" of Toisson d'or, and she would make a grand appearance as the "Great Sphinx of the Night" as promised on the title page of the catalogue.[494] (Fig. 64)

The fascination with the butterfly was not unique to Paalen among the Surrealists as a metaphor for transformation and metamorphosis. An article by Roger Caillois, a professor of psychology at the Sorbonne, entitled "Mimétisme et psychasthénie légendaire" had appeared in Minotaure in 1935. It examined the butterfly's

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mechanisms of camouflage and explored the phenomenon of metamorphosis in animate and inanimate states of nature.[495] Paalen, however, looked at the more poetic associations of the order and coined an aphorism about the butterfly that reflected the mystery and fragility of nature: "But what does the butterfly know of its rainbow burden? Its magnificent eyes are not made to see."[496]

A Dictionnaire abrégé du surréalisme accompanied the Beaux-Arts exhibition catalogue. In it Paalen published his definition of "superconsciousness," once again foreshadowing his career as an editor and writer in DYN. In terms that incorporated but transcended Freudian concepts it stated:

> Poetry, no longer revealing esthetic or metaphysical preoccupations, appear[ing] more and more as the supreme degree of comprehension of the I and the oneself, became accessible by the bridge which binds our night to days. The bridge thrown between the unconscious and the conscious by Surrealism.
>
> The superconscious is, beyond the unconscious and the conscious, the third term of the scale of intellectual comportment. It consists of the sublime identification in which what is called the state of grace, the ecstasy of love, all convulsive beauty participates, which, having already transformed the image of the universe through seismographs of the intelligence of our times, will contribute beyond all conjecture to transforming the world.[497]

It is apparent that the ideas of Jung had infiltrated Paalen's (if not the Surrealists') vocabulary by this time.[498] Throughout the 1920s and into the 1930s, while heavily involved with Marxism and Hegelian dialectic, Breton had rigidly resisted Jung's transcendentalism in favor of

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Freud's materialist biological model of the psyche. But, as already remarked, by the mid-1930s, perhaps as a result of the political and social crises in Europe, transcendentalism had displaced materialism and concretism, and Jung was in fashion. This was evident in the United States as well, as is well known with respect to Abstract Expressionism. But the more pragmatic character of the Americans never allowed them to abandon themselves to mysticism in quite the way that the Surrealists did.

Even though the sources of Paalen's ideas changed, the idealistic and visionary concept of the Dictionnaire passage is at the basis of the "philosophy of the Possible," which absorbed Paalen in his "DYN" period in Mexico during the war. By that time, the [St.] Augustinian tone of his rhetoric had been supplanted by the more pragmatic language of Viennese philosophy and science. In the theory and practice of the philosophy of the "Dynaton" of the 1940s and '50s, Paalen would reject metaphysical concepts (mysticism, the occult, etc.) in favor of rational explanations of the "psychophysical" like those of Ernst Mach, whose The Analysis of Sensations he had in his library.[499] The shock of the war and the Holocaust appear to have eroded Paalen's grounding (and faith) in German romantic and Idealist metaphysics - the philosophic discourses of Kant, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, et. al. - which were the legacy of his Expressionist formation in Vienna and Berlin. These "late-religious" ideas epousing the existence of absolute and

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essential truths, and predicating an extramaterial, ideal dimension, were seen as foundational to the ideology of National Socialism by the 1940s. Thereafter, the "irrationalism" incorporated into these discourses was perceived as conducive to the success of the fascist and racist Weltanschaung and, as such, intolerable to Paalen and others who suffered their consequences.

In 1938, Paalen also had a one-man exhibition at the Galerie Renou et Colle. Breton wrote the catalogue preface for the exhibition while en route home from Mexico, and it was translated and reprinted in E.L.T. Mesen's new journal the London Bulletin that year.[500] It was here that he compared Paalen's spirit to that of Georg Cristoph Lichtenberg and offered a sample of Lichtenberg's dark humour in the image of a "gallows with lightning conductor": enlightenment by death. The previous year, Paalen had created Le Moi et le Soi, an objét epitomizing that image. (Fig. 65) Alluding to Paalen's 1936 illustrations for Xavier Forneret's "Le Diamant de l'Herbe"[501] (Fig. 66), Breton's stream of consciousness prose focused on themes that contrasted darkness and death with revelation and light, and paid hommage to Paalen's spirit:

> In the Blue Bird the diamond adorned an adjustable hat; here, in a darker enchantment, it is one with the head, one with the Aztec skull in rock-crystal.... The bars open, we are in Paalen's domain. The long poplar avenue of the mind winding through childhood's visionary fears, the gnashing of teeth of the sentinel milestones flooded in light. Giant shades lurking in the shadow of the props of a theatre of shades that

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> loom like fishing-sails ideally faded and rubbed with phosphorus by the moon. The heroine has the body of the queen of the Cyclads, in her absent hands the disc of Newton has become a fan.[502]

In his priestly fashion, Breton spun a thread of myths, facts, and cosmogonies from various esoteric traditions: the Mexican passion for death; the cryptic menhirs of Carnac; the shades of Hades, netherworld of ancient Greece; the silvery phosphorous of the Celtic moon and the courtly ideal of medieval chansons sung in praise of a neolithic goddess; the intersection of physics and metaphysics in Newton's Farbenlehre. Breton's catalogue covertly referred to Paalen's concerns and activities throughout the 1930s, which perhaps only he, in his intimacy with Paalen, understood and knew well. The "domain de Paalen" was a complex world of personal myth, fantasy, and tragedy. Breton projected his perceptions, like the beam of a lighthouse, onto the past and into the future:

> The crystal-rock skull, the crystal wrought in the formal likeness of the thought-emptied object, the skull in Hamlet's hand, melted into its own transparence before the furtive figure of divination. Windows as dark as burglars' lanterns, the child sees them set in the soap bubble curve - but they can only be opened from within. It was Paalen's achievement in seeing, in enabling us to see, from within the bubble. The window gave onto a space bristling with totem-poles, not far from the town with the magic name, Vancouver, covered by the water-drum of the beavers. Solar spots lightening fatality, emptying lakes in their passage, and changing the fur of beasts. Women passing, in the place of their heads the abyss of the night-sphinx.
>
> Since then Paalen has not ceased to be king of derelict frontiers of jungle and shipwreck, and there to establish an order that redoles the glory

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> of spring as the sap flowing in the wild clematis.[503] (Fig. 67)

That same year the British artist Gordon Onslow Ford emigrated to Paris and became part of the Surrealist movement. Breton regularly held "court" at the Café Deux Magots on Boulevard St. Germaine and Onslow Ford recalled his first encounters there with Paalen, who became his closest friend and colleague in the New World:

> He usually brought with him to be shared his daily discovery be it an African charm, a rare book or a recent article. He was very much at ease, and was always in the thick of the conversation, but he appeared to me, in spite of his vitality, to be ethereal as if part of him were winging about elsewhere.
>
> To visit Paalen's studio at that time, I have the memory of passing through long dingy corridors as in a dream. The studio itself seemed misty and the ceiling was far away. On the easel and against the walls were fumages.[504] (Fig. 40)

Paalen's contacts with British individuals and society were deepening. He had already shown in 1937 in a group exhibition of the International Artists' Association, London, and at the University Art Society, Cambridge. It seems as if he always felt an affinity with things English, perhaps as a result of his early training with a British tutor and fluency in English; and these experiences seem to foreshadow his adaptation to the New World and influence in New York.

Paalen's liaison with the British Surrealist movement expanded during 1938. He participated in "Mixed Exhibitions," a group show at E.L.T. Mesens' London Gallery

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that included Eileen Agar, Hélion, Victor Brauner and Oscar Dominguez; and Mesens began to represent him there.[505] At the start of the new year, February 1939, he had a one-man exhibition in Peggy Guggenheim's Galerie Guggenheim Jeune. Once again he showed a group of objets, fumages, and the paysages totémique. A review of his work in the London Bulletin by Georges Hugnet marveled at his facility and his magician's ability to transform matter, saying:

> Wolfgang Paalen creates strident figures, with folded wings, encased in cocoons, guardians of a domain - at least marvelous - which he hastens, to unravel, hastens again, to discover and interpret.
>
> Paalen who knows how to remake fire with smoke, never calls in vain on automatism. The flame of a candle delivers the wings, tears open the cocoon...it liberates the flowers in the webbed canvas, transparent cities...keys to a new wing of an immense chateau where each room is a sea or a forest and where we promenade our magic fever.
>
> Surrealist painting desires to identify reality in the dream, utilises automatic means in order to reveal, to make vivid, the fabulous landscape that has haunted man since childhood. In the dream of man is intimately meshed the dream of things. Paalen does not paint dreams, he discovers them in his adventures and his quests.
>
> These incredible found objects of indefinable usage he transforms into credible found objects of apparent usage. His taste for these objects offers us sculptures where the seduction varies with the disposition. And in this treasure hunt, Paalen is armed with the breath of the candle and the luminous x-ray in the shadows: the skeleton of a pistol.[506]

Herbert Read, reviewing Paalen in Minotaure, acknowledged him as a "great" artist. "Every great artist invents a new world," Read said, "a world of forms, human or divine, vital or crystalline, and a world of feeling caused by the dramatic conflict of these forms."

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> The paintings of Wolfgang Paalen are primordial: the senses pierce the caul that divides newborn vision from reality. The space around is arctic and infinite and the broken membranes float in iridescent ruin through the icy air.
>
> Every great artist invents a new world: but these new worlds reveal the pristine experiences of the human race.[507]

Other British critics commented on Paalen's accomplishments. Paalen added to their admiration by saying of Nuage articulé, his parapluie surréaliste, that it was made in "anticipation of another which has become so regrettably famous," referring to Chamberlain and his disastrous foreign policy with respect to Germany and Hitler.[508] One critic writing for the London Daily Sketch quipped: "At last a surrealist has invented something practical. Guaranteed to attract immediate publicity to any owner is an umbrella made entirely of sponge - cover, crook, handle and all."[509] Even if a bit puzzled by some of Paalen's iconography, The Tatler critic was willing to take Paalen's painting on it own merits, and remarked:

> The "dream" the pundits talk about is evident in his paintings - sea-dream too, and they have a gaunt Gothic quality which is attractive; lovely color; witty titles. Nuage articulé may hardly suggest a sponge umbrella to you. But that is what it is, and a pretty handle for facetious friends since a certain umbrella loomed important in foreign affairs - our impregnable first line of defense. Like the best of our young Surrealists, Wolfgang forces attention by his meticulous, almost old Dutch master brushwork, even if meaning, to those who insist on such, is slightly obscure.[510]

The critic for the Sketch spoke about the "elegance" of the umbrella and Paalen's talent as a painter, indicating that

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"Paalen's other works in the gallery are of a romantic and somewhat macabre character, and are extremely well painted."[511] The Studio critic agreed that Paalen's works were "quite masterly in technique" and perceptively noted that they were "thematically reminiscent of the Walpurgisnacht in Faust and of the landscapes of Altdorfer," identifying the deep German Romantic roots of Paalen's soul.[512] In the Regler monograph, seven years later, Paalen himself would refer to his "Faustish spirit," acknowledging the accuracy of this observation.[513] Paalen complained that another review had superficially compared his work to Arthur Rackham; [514] even though it credited him with advancing the mere "glimpses" of artistry that Rackham had been able to achieve. This comparison had appeared in Art and Artists, saying:

> Wolfgang Paalen has a scholastic Surrealist technique, but he develops into abstraction some of the quiddities of which at moments Arthur Rackham caught fleeting but too few glimpses.[515]

But if there were admirers of his work, as always, there were detractors too. The most scathing indictment came from an unknown reviewer who regarded "M[onsieur]" Paalen's

> inner image [a]s rather monotonous, running in ragged shapes with a bowing resemblance to bats' wings. The variety is mostly in the titles, such as "Paysage totémique de mon enfance" and "La dépouille immortelle." It is all very Jabberwocky, and so far the writers of the movement have the advantage of the artists.[516]

One less acerbic review reservedly admitted that:

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> His Genius of the Species is a realistic revolver made of bones, and a nasty piece of work. His paintings, in which filmy bats' wings, icebergs, and skeletal mythical animals are the commonest images, have a curious melancholic attraction.[517]

And all in all, the reviews were highly favorable.

In Paris that same year, after his visit to Mexico for a lecture tour during which he joined forces with Diego Rivera and Leon Trotsky to compose the "Manifesto Toward an Independent Revolutionary Art,"[518] Breton organized with Rivera an exhibition on the theme of "Mexico" at the Galerie Renou et Colle.[519] Amidst pre-Columbian objects and Colonial paintings, it featured the paintings of Frida Kahlo who went to Paris to prepare for the opening. In a letter to Ella and Bertram Wolfe dated 17 March 1939 she referred to her success at the vernissage and remarked that she had received "great praises for my painting from Kandinsky, congratulations from Picasso and Tanguy, from Paalen and from other 'big cacas' of Surrealism."[520] During this period she renewed a friendship with Alice Rahon Paalen that had begun during a visit to Paris in 1937 and prompted an invitation for the Paalens to visit Mexico.[521] In Mexico in 1938, she reiterated to Breton the earlier invitation to the Paalens. Two months after the closing of "Mexico," Alice, Eva Sulzer, and Wolfgang set sail for the New World. They arrived in New York in May 1939 and in Mexico City on 7 September, only four months later.[522] The rapidity of their response to this invitation corresponded with their

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plans to leave Europe, as war between France and Germany threatened and the Nazis drew closer to Paris. This was the beginning of a quest and adventure where, as Breton had predicted, Paalen would become "king of derelict frontiers of jungle and shipwreck,"[523] finally ending his life on shores that in 1939 still held promise and deliverance.

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**NOTES**

1. Letter to the author from Christian Kloyber, dated 3 August 1991. "Teta" was Michael, the youngest. Wolfgang was known as "Woscha". There is also a reference to "Bibi" in an undated drawing found in Paalen's papers in care of Gordon Onslow Ford. (Fig. 3); and a reference to "Tutti," in a fictional passage Paalen wrote entitled "Sunga" (1954-55), trans. Max Knight, in Carmen Barreda, ed., Hommage à Wolfgang Paalen, Museo de Arte Moderno, exhib. cat. (Mexico City: 1967), 27-28. This passage comes from Paalen's prose diary "Paysage totémique III," DYN 3 (Fall 1942): 27. A letter of Michael Paalen, discussed below, names the third brother, Hans Peter.

2. Wolfgang Paalen, exhib. statement, in Wolfgang Paalen, Galeria d'arte Mexicano and Art of This Century, exhib. cat. (Mexico City and New York, February-March and April-May 1945).

3. Wolfgang Paalen, "Biographical Note," in Form and Sense (New York: Wittenborn, 1946), unpg.

4. On Wilhelmine repression and control of artistic culture, see Peter Paret, The Berlin Secession: Modernism and its Enemies in Imperial Germany (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard Belknap Press, 1980).

5. On Wilhelmine repression and control of artistic culture, see Peter Paret, The Berlin Secession: Modernism and its Enemies in Imperial Germany (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard Belknap Press, 1980).

6. The concept of the artist as prophet was particularly subscribed to by Wassily Kandinsky and the Blue Rider. Kandinsky explicitly uses this term a number of times in On the Spiritual in Art to describe the artist. But the very language of the movement reveals its preoccupation with this concept, stressing the spiritual, transcendental nature of art. The emblematic figure of the Blue Rider itself had its source in the Russian icon of St. George; and the hidden symbolism of Kandinsky's abstractions alluded to the messianic tradition of the "heavenly city." See Rose-Carol Washton Long, Kandinsky: The Development of an Abstract Style (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980) for a detailed discussion of this imagery and its iconography. This concept has also been explored in literature of the period. See James C. David Heiser, "The Novelist as Prophet: A New Look at Franz Werfel's Höret die Stimme, Modern Austrian Literature 24, 2 (1991): 53-68.

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7. Wolfgang Paalen, "Surprise and Inspiration," DYN 2: 5-10.

8. Leonor Morales, Wolfgang Paalen: Introductor de la Pintura Surrealista en México (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1984), 19: ["Era el primogénito de una familia noble de Vienna."] Morales first wrote this study as an M.A. Thesis, UNAM, 1979.

9. Sulzer was a photographer, who documented much of Paalen's career. She was heiress to the vast fortunes of Sulzer International, a Swiss industrial giant involved in steel and railway technologies and she subsidized Paalen throughout his life.

10. Author's interview with Gordon Onslow Ford, Inverness, California, July 31-August 2, 1990.

11. Arthur A. Cohen, Acts of Theft (University of Chicago Press, 1980). That the character was a composite of Paalen and d'Harnoncourt was told to author in conversation with Martica Sawin, New York, 10/8/93. D'Harnoncourt, who was a close friend of Paalen in the 1940s and '50s, actually was from an aristocratic Viennese family. See further discussion of d'Harnoncourt in Part III.

12. I am grateful to Janet Kaplan (whose dissertation on Remedios Varos [ see bibliography] gave her access to much information about the Mexican Surrealist community) for sharing her knowledge with me about the Cohen novel. In a telephone interview with Elaine Lustig Cohen in Fall 1990, Mrs. Cohen said that her husband never knew Paalen and that the story was entirely fictional. In author's experience, however, rumors about Paalen in Mexico, particularly about his last years and his death, abound.

13. A Mexican journalist, Jorge Balas wrote a posthumous article entitled, "Wolfgang Paalen, un aventurero y brujo [an adventurer and shaman]," (Excélsior, Mexico D.F., 17 de junio de 1977).

14. Author's interview with Gordon Onslow Ford, July 31-August 2, 1990. Georg Kristof Lichtenberg, German Romantic of the late-eighteenth century, was a poet, humorist, philosopher, mathematician, and physicist (Professor at the University of Göttingen), whose experiments produced an early form of xerographic technology and discovered that positive and negative electricity are not propagated in the same manner. His writings are invested with the vision of the poet and the scientist, attesting to what one author has asserted is the "fundamental aim of science: to discover hidden relations through the judicious use of metaphor." See Hans Christian von Baeyer, "The Day the Light Stood

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Still," The Sciences (New York Academy of Sciences, May/June 1993): 9-11.

15. Wolfgang Paalen, "Art and Science," DYN 3: 4-9.

16. Interviews with Lee Mullican, Santa Monica, Ca., January 7/8, 1990); and Gordon Onslow Ford, Inverness, Ca., January 14/15 and July 31--August 2, 1990.

17. Interview with Ethel Baziotes, New York, September 28, 1990.

18. Andreas Neufert, "Das Werk der 30er Jahre, mit Katalog," M.A. Thesis, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, München, Institute Für Kunstgeschichte, 1987. "Biographische Chronologie," 4; [Geburt in Wien als 5. Kind einer baltischen Adelsfamilie. Sein Vater--Baron von Palen--ist Diplomat im öesterreichisen Staatsdienst."]

19. Ibid.: "Er gibt seinen Adelstitel auf und verändert seinen Namen zu "Paalen." [undocumented]

20. José Pierre, ed., La Femme et le Surréalisme, Musée cantonal des Beaux-Arts, exhib. cat. (Lausanne: 1987), 310: ["1907 Né à Vienne dans une famille d'origine noble."]

21. Frederick Kiesler, Inside the Endless House (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1964, 1966), 251.

22. See letter of Michael Paalen of 24.11.90 to Kloyber, published in Kloyber's Der Nachlass Wolfgang Paalen, Eine Dokumentation, (Vienna: Budesministerium für Wissenschaft und Forschung, Endbericht Zl. 20.509/2-22/90), 2: ["Noche während des 1. Weltkriegs wurde ihm der Adel angeboten, da er in/Staats-dienstein einiges augerichtet hatte und man noch mehr (grosse Spende) von him er wartet. Er verzichtet, angeblich weil es gesellschaftlich nur unangenehm gewesen wäre, zum Parvenuadel zu gehören."]. The pages of this letter and other unpublished letters exchanged between Michael Paalen and Kloyber referred to in this text were both paginated and unpaginated. Therefore, hereafter, only if the letter has been published will it be cited with Nachlass. If unpublished, it will be cited without Nachlass. Then, in either case, cited with the date and given page number; the date and "unpg."; and the date and any given heading.

23. Michael Paalen letter, 31.10.90, Nachlass, unpg. sheet 2: "Gustaf Robert Paalen also wurde am 22. Mai 1873 in Bisenz im Kreis Prosnitz (tschechisch Bsenec und Prostejov) nicht weit von Brünn (Brno) als jungstes von vier Geschwistern geboren."] Letter to author from Christian Kloyber of 3 August 1990 says that documents included in

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Vienna police records where citizens were occasionally required to register, indicates the following: "Name: Gustav Robert Paalen, Date of Birth: 22.5.1873 in Bisenz, district of Prossnitz in Moravia (Maehren, Austria-Hungary, today Czechoslovakia); Passport of Paalen's father during his life in Berlin: Czechoslovakian."

24. Ibid., unpg. sheet 2: ["Sein Vater nun war Inhaber eines wohl schon ererbten, für die Verhältnisse angeblich recht grossen Handelshauses, welches das Städtchen Bisenz und die ländliche Umgebung versorgte."]; and ibid., -2-: [" Das begann aber schon mit dem Ahnen, der einige Generationen früher also wandernder Sidenweber ("wandernder Geselle") in Bisenz aufgetaucht sein soll und dort heiratete und sesshaft wurde."]

25. Ibid., -2-.

26. Ibid. Letter to author from Christian Kloyber of 3 August 1991, 1, also says that mention of this enterprise was made in documents located in citizen records in Vienna, which showed the "vacuum" business registered in Vienna and Gustav Robert Paalen in residence in Vienna from 1910/1913, 1916/1918, and 1932.

27. Letter 24.11.90, Nachlass, 2.

28. Ibid.: ["Eine Art kultureller Leistung meine Vaters, und für ihn vielleicht am wesentlichsten, war es, sich vom jüdischen Jungen au engen Provinzverhältnissen in einen österreichischen Aristokraten zuverwandeln, so wie man ihn sich vorstellte under er im Buche steht."]

29. In an interview between Count Gregor von Rezzori and Christian Kloyber in 1988, von Rezzori said he had had no knowledge of Paalen's whereabouts or of his death in 1959. He asked if Paalen "was still in the business of antiquities and believed that he continued doing what his father had done--buying and selling artifacts." Author's personal interview with Christian Kloyber, Austria, November 24, 1990. Von Rezzori wrote an account of his life in Vienna entitled Memoir of An Anti-Semite (New York: Viking, 1981), discussed below.

30. See Andreas Neufert, "Die Maler Haben noch Nicht die Alte Sphinx zum Sprechen Gebracht," in Schrage, ed., WP: Zwischen Surrealismus und Abstraktion, 44, n. 4: ["Vater Paalen schenkt him in den dreisifer Jahren neben einem etruskischen Kindersarg das Bild Der Admiral von Arcimboldo...."]

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31. Letter 24.11.90, Nachlass, 4: "Breitenbach" kommt in Deutschland mehrfach vor, und ich konnte nicht feststellen, welches gemeint ist...Die Landschaft Eichsfeld jedenfalls liegt [...] von Göttingen um den Fluss "Leine." Göttingen was about 300 kilometers from the Paalen family estate.

32. Ibid., 4-5.

33. Letter 31.10.90, with heading "Und jetzt weiter im text," unpg.

34. Information was first given in a letter to the author from Christian Kloyber, dated 12 December 1990. Subsequently, copies of Michael Paalen's actual letters were obtained. The information herein comes from a family tree on page 4 of a letter presumably of 31.10.90 (although this is unclear as the pages of various letters were intermixed). The same information is also given on "Und jetzt weiter im Text," unpg.: ["Semmering, letzte Ausläufer des Hochgebirges, wohl etwa 70 km von Wien, war mit seinen vornehmen Hotels auch nach dem letzen Weltkrieg noch ein beliebtes Erholungs-under Wintersportgebiet der gehobenen Sozietät-vermutlich sehr imponierend für ein Provinzmädchen aus dem doch weniger flotten und festlichen Deutschland.]

35. "Und jetzt weiter im text," unpg.

36. Letter 24.11.90, Nachlass, 2.

37. Documents found by Kloyber, as in note 22 above, indicate that Gustav was registered and living at that address in Vienna 1910/1913, 1916/1918, 1932.

38. Documents found in the Vienna citizens registry, ibid., included the passport, which gave his profession and showed him in residence in Berlin from 1908-09 at Kaiserin Augustenstrasse 79; and 1932 at Budapesterstrasse 20. It might be assumed that since he registered this profession at two such distant dates--1908-09 and 1932--that his tenure as Secretary General was ongoing.

39. Letter 24.11.90, Nachlass, : ["weinige Harge vor dem 1. Krieg entschloss man sich dann, nach einem ländlich Sitz zu suchen, der auf dem Wege zwischen Berlin und Wien liegen sollte, und mein Vater kam in Kontakt mit enimen Makler in SAGAN..., einem 20tausent-Einwohner-Städtchen ungefähr in der Mitte zwischen Berlin und Breslau und jetzt nur ein kleines Stück innerhalf der polnishcen Grenze."]

40. Ibid., 2-3.

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41. Paul Hofmann, The Viennese: Splendor, Twilight, Exile (New York: Doubleday, 1988), 124.

42. Stefan Zweig, The World of Yesterday: An Autobiography (New York: Viking Press, 1943), 6. I am grateful to Andreas Neufert for directing me to Zweig's autobiography. It should be noted, as Zweig, indicates, that one of the reasons for the immense fortunes amassed in the late Hapsburg Empire was due to the absence of taxes on industry and income.

43. Von Rezzori, Memoir. See, also, Bruce F. Pauley, Hitler and the Forgotten Nazis: A History of Austrian National Socialism, Chapter "Austrian Anti-Semitism" (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1981).

44. Allan Janik and Stephen Toulmin, Wittgenstein's Vienna (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973), 59.

45. Ibid., 172-73. See, also, Stuart Hampshire, "A Wonderful Life," review of Ludwig Wittgenstein: The Duty of Genius, by Ray Monk, New York Review of Books XXXVIII (January 31, 1991): 3: "Wittgenstein was the youngest child of an immensely rich industrialist in Vienna, whose grandfather had been the original Jewish land agent of the princely family of Seyn-Wittgenstein; the agent took his employer's name.... From the middle of the nineteenth century onward the Wittgensteins no longer regarded themselves as Jewish. Ludwig was later to say that he was "German through and through."

46. Janik and Toulmin, Wittgenstein, 36.

47. Ibid., 54-64.

48. Ibid., 59.

49. Ibid., "Habsburg Vienna: City of Paradoxes," 33-66, discusses in detail the social and political history of turn-of-the-century Vienna.

50. Zweig, World of Yesterday, 219-20.

51. Ibid., 21-22.

52. Since the first writing of this dissertation, there has been another study by Steven Beller, Vienna and the Jews 1867-1938 (London and Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

53. Regler, WP, 11, 12: "As soon as he was able to hold a pencil he scrawled on all surfaces within his reach. Three things occupied him particularly: animals, the inside of the

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human being, and a little later the feminine nude.... He discovered early that girls are built differently than boys and in order not to lose the result of his observations he secretly drew a series of nudes."

54. Ibid., 11-12.

55. Neufert, Die Maler," in Schrage, ed., WP: Zwischen, 44, n. 6, indicates that the Titian is listed as: "Bode Museum, Berlin, Nr. 1849, acquired 1918 from the Vienna art trade as endowment of Gustav-Rainer Paalen, see exchange of letters in the Central Archives Staatliches Museum (National Museum) Berlin, legacy (literary bequest) Bode, Archiv Nr. 3501.

56. Ibid., n. 5: ["Briefansuchen um Wertnachweis von A.v.Hansa, Niederl.Lloyd Berlin, an W.v.Bode, Archiv Nr. 1843, Zentralarchiv Staatl. Mus. Berlin, Nachlass Bode, Archiv Nr. 1843: "Wie Euer Exzellenz bekannt, ist Herr Paalen Besitzer von vier Originalgemälden: Tizian, Tintoretto, Manet und Bassano. Die Feuerversicherungs-Ges. Niederl.Lloyd, Bln., Potsdamerstr. 26 b, bei welcher Herr Paalen sein gesamtes Mobiliar versichert hat under der er auch die genannten Gemälde in Versicherung geben will, verlangt vor Übernahme des Risikos die Vorlage eines Wertnachweises von Sachverständiger Seite. Herr Paalen, welcher .Zt.dienstlich nach Serbien fuhr, möchte die vier Gemälde mit 425.000,-Mark versichert wissen."]

57. Regler, WP, 12. This pattern of private education, like other patterns of culture in Vienna, was not uncommon to wealthy families. Wittgenstein's father, for instance, considered "that the only genuine educational foundation for life was a rigorously disciplined course of private tutoring, so his youngest son was educated at home until the age of fourteen." (Janik and Toulmin, Wittgenstein, 169-70); and with regard to the poet Hugo von Hofmannsthal: "Hofmannsthal had never attended elementary school. The only child of a bank official, he had been carefully prepared for the Academic Gymnasium by private tutors and had learned a lot of other things besides." (Hofmann, The Viennese, 124).

58. Regler, WP, 11.

59. Wolfgang Paalen, "Paysage Totémique II," DYN 2: 46-47; and DYN 3 (Fall 1942): 27-28. Also published as "Autobiographical Passage from Paysage Totemique," Jacqueline Johnson, trans., in Barreda, ed., Hommage to Wolfgang Paalen, exhib. cat., 5-7. Another fragment called "Sunga," appeared in translation in Hommage, 27-28. These prose-poems were intended as a book, which was never realized. This was indicated by Paalen at the end of each paysage totémique installment that he published in DYN: ["Ces annotations qui sous le titre "Paysage Totémique" plus

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tard peut-être formeront un livre, ont été 1939 en parcourant la Colombie Britanique (Canada) et une partie de l'Alaska. Le fait de parler d'une terre trés belle et peu connue me semble justifier la publication de ces fragments."]

60. "Autobiographical Passage...," ibid., 5; and "Paysage Totémique II," ibid.: 47: ["Pourtant elle offrait de quoi charmer les tourments d'une jeune imagination, cette vielle école. Logée dans l'ancienne résidence de Wallenstein--c'est là oú Kepler vint de Prague tracer le sombre horoscope du duc--ces halles résonnaient encore des échos d'hommes et de bêtes blindés de fer et de haines séculaires."]

61. Michael Paalen letter 24.11.90, Nachlass, 2: ["Diese "Rochusburg"...während das bedeutend grössere Schloss in der Stadt von Wallenstein erbaut war und den Herzögen von Sagan, Nachkommen Talleyrands, noch immer gehörte."]

62. Albrecht von Wallenstein, "1583-1634 Duke of Friedland and Mecklenburg; Prince of Sagan," in Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (Springfield, Massachusetts: G.C. Merriam, 1977), 1412. For a brief account of Wallenstein's history see Colliers Encyclopedia 23 (New York: MacMillan, 1985), 223.

63. Michael Paalen letter, 24.11.90, Nachlass, 5: ["Schon als Mama noch recht klein war, muss die Families Adams dann abernach Nienburg an der Weser übersiedelt sein."]

64. "Sunga," Hommage, 27-28.

65. "Paysage Totemiques II," DYN 2: 47: ["Ils me semblaient alors sans fin, ces vieux bois de Silésie, où brule toujours le charbon d'une antique foi païenne. Là s'effeuillérent les meilleures années de mon anachronique jeunesse."]

66. An 1894 album of photographs of the Vienna Naturhistoriches Museum shows installations of the galleries of ethnology, geology, paleontology, etc. at the turn of the century. See Das K.K. Naturhistorisches Hof-Museum in Wien: erbaut von Carl Freihe (Vienna: V.A. Heck, 1894).

67. See Janik and Toulmin, Wittgenstein, 42-48 and ff. for a detailed discussion of Vienna as "city of the bourgeoisie." Photographs in the Belvedere Palace, Vienna, show Franz Josef and his wife and children en famille and attest to the identification of this Emperor with the haute-bourgeoisie.

68. Ibid., 43.

69. Zweig, World of Yesterday, 1; and 5-6.

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70. "Paysage Totémique II," DYN 2: 47.

71. Janik and Toulmin, Wittgenstein, 29: the quote continues "...and secondly, that he was an engineer with a thorough knowledge of physics."

72. Morales, WP: Introductor, 19: ["Su juventud se desarrolló en el periodo 'entre dos guerras' y en diferentes sitios, por la manía que tenía su padre de comprar propiedades en lugares poco accesibles y luego venderlas para adquirir otras más, aunque perdiera dinero."] {"His youth developed in the period "between the wars" in different places, due to his father's mania for buying and selling properties in various locations, even if at a loss."} Presumably, her information came from her interviews with Alice Rahon Paalen and Eva Sulzer.

73. Regler, WP, 12.

74. See below, Part I-C.1, "Wolfgang Paalen, Leo von König, and Julius Meier-Graefe."

75. Roy Allen, Literary Life in German Expressionism and the Berlin Circles (Ann Arbor: UMI Press, 1983), 177.

76. Beeke Sell Tower, "Asphalt Cowboys and Stadtindianer," in Tower, ed., Envisioning America, exhib. cat., Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard University, (Cambridge, Mass.: 1990), 19.

77. Tower, "Introduction," Envisioning America, 13.

78. Tower, "Asphalt Cowboys," Envisioning America, 18-19.

79. Ibid., 20.

80. Jill Lloyd, "Primitivism and Modernity: An Expressionist Dilemma," in Joachimides, et al, eds., German Art in the 20th Century, exhib. cat., Royal Academy of Arts, (London and Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1985), 106.

81. Ibid., 105.

82. Tower, "Asphalt Cowboys," 19 and n. 12 for the reception of Cooper and Far West lore in Germany. Paalen had less famous works by Stevenson in his library: RLS and Fanny van Grift Stevenson, The Dynamiter (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1889); RLS, New Arabian Nights (New York: Current Literature Publishing Co., 1910); RLS, Das Flaschenteufelchen (Im Insel. Verlag, 1951); RLS, Die Feindlichen Brüder (Zurich, Manesse Verlag, Conzett & Hubert, 1956). Tepoztlan Library List. That he owned these more obscure works, across a range of years, suggests that

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Paalen was a fan of Stevenson's work and probably knew the most famous Treasure Island in translation in his youth.

83. The inscription, dated 1933, was written by Michael Paalen, who signed it with his affectionate sobriquet, "Teta."

84. Regler, WP, 12.

85. Tower, "Asphalt Cowboys," 19.

86. See Tower, "Asphalt Cowboys," on the "urban primitivism" of the Expressionists.

87. Ibid., 17.

88. Among Paalen's private papers in the care of Gordon Onslow Ford was a chapter from a paperback edition of The Yukon Trail, and in his library a 1929 edition of Jack London's The Call of the Wild as well as a later edition of London's Best Short Stories, attesting to his interest in popular culture on a level with the Expressionists' reading (and Schlichter's illustrations) of Bret Harte and Jack London.

89. Tower, "Asphalt Cowboys," 19, n. 15.

90. Elizabeth Cowling, "The Eskimos, The American Indians, and the Surrealists," Art History I (December 1978): 487.

91. Unless otherwise noted, the discussion that follows in the text depends on Feest, "From North America," in Rubin, ed., "Primitivism," 85-97.

92. For a complete discussion of the history and description of this artifact (and other Mexican works in the Vienna Museum für Völkerkunde see, Christian Feest, Vienna's Mexican Treasures (Vienna: Museum für Völkerkunde, 1990).

93. Justly, the interest in collecting was reciprocated by the Indian nobility who put into their treasure houses the "curious" items obtained from Europe. See Feest, ibid.

94. See Robert Berkhofer The White Man's Indian (New York: Knopf, 1978), especially Part Three which deals with European primitivism in literature, art and philosophy.

95. One example of this print is in the catalogue Die Eskimo, Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde Menschen, München: 1978.

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96. August Macke, "Masks," in Lankheit, The Blaue Reiter Almanac, 82-89. Lankheit, "A History of the Almanac," 20, mentions the source of the Munich Völkerkundemuseum.

97. "Masks," 88, reproduces the Chilkat blanket.

98. The "Chilkat" Blanket is illustrated in the "Amerindian" DYN 4-5 (1943): 22.

99. James Cook, Voyage to the Pacific Ocean I, II, III (Dublin: Herey and MacKenzie, 1784); The 1788 biography of Cook was by Andrew Kippis, The Life of James Cook. Vivid Chronicles of Captain Cook from 1728-1779 (London: G. Nicol and G.G.J. and J. Robinson, MDCCLXXXVIII). Other rare first editions giving first hand accounts of early voyages included in Paalen's library were: Captains Portlock and Dixon, Voyage Round the World; North West Coast of America (London: Geo. Goudling, 1789). Captain Jonathan Carver, Three Years Travels [in] Interior Parts of North America, (Boston, John Russell, for David West, 1797); Adventures and Sufferings of John R. Jewitt, Only Survivor of the Ship Boston, During a Captivity of nearly Three Years among the Savages of Nootka Sound (1805) (London and Edinburgh: H. Robinson and A. Constable & Co., 1824); Albert P. Niblack, The Coast Indians of Southern Alaska and British Columbia (1885-1887), Report of the U.S. National Museum for 1888, (Washington, D.C.: 1890).

100. According to a letter from Christian Feest, Curator of North American Art, Vienna Museum für Volkerkunde, dated 7 January 1991. See, also, Feest, Indianer Nordamerikas (Wien: Museum für Völkerkunde, 1968).

101. A letter of 14 July 1991 from Feest indicates: "The relocation of the museum from Natural History to its present location was taking place in the late 1920s and into the mid-1930s. In 1928, East Asia was opened at the new venue, and North America did not appear until the mid-1930s. There is however, a chance that Paalen could have seen the North American material, still at Natural History."

102. The American George Catlin's paintings of a "vanishing race" made during his expedition in the same territory around the same time must also have been known in Germany, since, also according to Feest, his work was received more warmly in Europe than in the United States.

103. Feest, "North America," in Rubin, ed., "Primitivism," 95. By 1928 the Karl-May-Museum, devoted exclusively to Indian culture, had opened in Dresden (quite close to Berlin and Sagan) making tangible and institutionalizing the romantic ideology on which that author had risen to fame and fortune. It is interesting, however, to note the whole

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history of May's career which ended in his persecution by Kaiser Wilhelm, a "meddlesome arbitrator of cultural issues, [who] initiated a vigorous campaign against Schundliteratur (junk literature)." The persecution of May, on grounds of fraudulence [as well as the hidden agenda of homosexuality] is history. In the 1930s the Marxist theorist Ernst Bloch would champion May as a hero of revolutionary ideals, to counter the Wilhelmine smear campaign. But by 1912, when May died, his career had been destroyed. See, Tower, "Asphalt Cowboys," 20-21, n. 18. The information about May's homosexuality was imparted in conversation with Christian Kloyber.

104. See Tepoztlan Library List.

105. Robert Goldwater, Primitivism in Modern Art (Cambridge and London: Harvard, The Belknap Press, 1938, 1966, 1986), 4-5.

106. Ibid., 5.

107. Feest, "From North America," 91-92.

108. Lankheit, "A History of the Almanac," 30. Donald Gordon "German Expressionism," in Rubin, ed., "Primitivism," 369-403, discusses the Blue Rider's familiarity with the Berlin ethnographic collections (374 ff.), as well as Die Brücke's knowledge of the Dresden and Berlin ethnological museums (371-374).

109. Gail Levin, "American Art," in Rubin, ed., "Primitivism," 457.

110. Feest, "From North America," 94-95. He indicates that two active dealers at this time, from whom the Germans were buying, were Webster and Oldman.

111. Goldwater, Primitivism, 32, n. 67.

112. Cowling, "The Eskimos": 487, n. 7 cites the Berlin Royal Museums catalogue, The Northwest Coast of America, being results of recent ethnological researches. From the collections of the Royal Museums at Berlin (London: Asher and Co., 1883); Amerika's Nordwest-Küste. Neueste Ergebnisse ethnologischer Reissen. Aus den Sammlung en der Königer Museen zu Berlin (Berlin: 1884).

113. The American edition was the first edition, published in New York by Dodd, Mead, 1882. The English edition was published in London by Asher and Co., 1883. The German edition was published in Berlin, 1884, presumably by the Royal Museums, since there is no house imprint other than

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that on the copy in the library of the American Museum of Natural History.

114. The Introduction to the British edition of The northwest coast... (unpg.) indicates that these "reached Berlin in the beginning of the year January 3, 1882..."; and (pg. 1) that those in the catalogue were a selection of objects from "the present collection, the first of its kind in the Museum...."

115. Wolfgang Paalen, "Totem Art," DYN 4-5: 28-29. A "copper" is a copper-plate which was a form of currency of great value, owned only by chiefs. It figured importantly in the potlatch ceremonies. Aldona Jonaitis, et al., discuss the ritual uses of coppers in Chiefly Feasts: The Enduring Kwakiutl Potlatch, American Museum of Natural History, exhib. cat. (Seattle and London: Univ. of Washington Press, 1991), 40-41: "A chief might break a copper, destroying the integrity of the crest design. He would then offer the broken pieces to his rival, who then had to break a copper of equal or higher value. A rival unable to do so would be humiliated before the community...etc."

116. WP, "Totem Art," Color Plate V, unpg. These color plates, hand-colored photographs by Miguel Covarrubias, were very similar in quality to the color illustrations of the Royal Museums catalogue. It is difficult to distinguish if the same hand-colored photographic process was used in the latter, or if the technique is color lithography, which was available at that time.

117. Feest, "North America," in Rubin, ed. "Primitivism", 93.

118. Ibid., 94. For a fuller discussion of Boas' career, see Paul Bohannan, High Points In Anthropology (New York: Knopf, 1973), 81-86ff.

119. "Totem Art": 32. The photograph caption credits W.A. Newcombe. For a discussion of the Hamatsa society and the ritual see Jonaitis, ed., Chiefly Feasts: The Enduring Kwakiutl Potlatch, American Museum of Natural History, exhib. cat. (Seattle and London: Univ. of Washington Press, 1991).

120. Tepoztlan Library List: Eckart von Sydow, Die Kunst der Naturvolker und der Vorzeit (Berlin: Im Propylaen, 1925); Eckart von Sydow, Ahnenkult und Ahnenbild der Naturvolker (Berlin: Im Furche Kunst, 1924); Eckart von Sydow, Primitive Kunst und Psychoanalyse (Leipzig, Wien, Zurich: Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag, 1927);

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Wilhelm Hauenstein, Barbaren und Klassiker (München: Reinhard Piper & Co., 1922).

121. Feest, "From North America," 95. Leonhard Adam contributed an article "Sculptures en Bois de l'Amerique du N.O.," to Cahiers d'art 1-4 (1934): 59-64; the same issue in which Paalen's first one-man exhibition at Galerie Vignon was reviewed. See text ahead.

122. Letter to author from Christian Feest of 14 July 1991 states: "Unfortunately, there were no earlier museum catalogues of the North American material [in the Völkerkunde Museum], except for a general guide to the Natural History museum published early in the century. The 1968 catalog was the first to be published. Northwest coast items, however, had appeared in Fuhrmann's Tlinkit and Haida in 1922. See, also, Feest catalogue of the Vienna Museum, Indianer Nordamerikas.

123. Ernst Fuhrmann, Tlinkit und Haida (Allemagne: Folkwang Verlag. G.M.B.H., 1923); Fuhrmann, Mexico III (Folkwang Verlag. G.M.B.H., 1923). This third volume in a series followed Theodor-Wilhelm Danzel's Mexico I and Mexico II (Folkwang Verlag, 1923), in Paalen's library as well. Interestingly, the Surrealist pess published another book by Danzel, Magie et Science Secrete (Paris: Editions Surréalistes, 1937), Tepoztlán Library List.

124. Goldwater, Primitivism, 16.

125. Berkhofer, White Man's Indian, 176.

126. It might be noted, as has been done by Herman Heinrich Frese in his Anthropology and the Public: The Role of the Museums (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960), that the Vienna Naturhistorisches Museum (along with the Musée d'Histoire Naturelle in Paris) was one of the models for the Heye Museum of the American Indian.

127. Goldwater, Primitivism, 318.

128. I am grateful to Patricia Berman (Wellesley College) for her comments and suggestions on the text below, pp. 91-136.

129. Recent studies have challenged the death of Rudolf as suicide, suggesting that it was, in fact, assasination.

130. Donald Daviau, Major Figures of Modern Austrian Literature, "Introduction," (Riverside, Ca.: Ariadne Press, 1988), 2-6.

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131. Stuart Hampshire, "A Wonderful Life," New York Review of Books XXXVIII (January 31, 1991): 3, book review of Ludwig Wittgenstein: The Duty of Genius, by Ray Monk. In Paalen's library were the following volumes by Schopenhauer: Samtliche Werke IV (Leipzig: Verlag Von Philipp, n.d.); Parerga und Paralipomen (Munchen: R. Piper & Co., 1913). And by Nietzsche, the following titles, all published by C.G. Naumann, Leipzig: Morgenrothe (1899) [Vol. I / VII], Die Geburt der Tragodie Unzeit-Gemasse Betrachtungen (1903) [Vol. II / VII], Menschliches allzumenschliches (1903) [Vol. II/ VII and III / VII. The date and the fact that these were volumes from complete works of both philosophers, suggests that they may have been in Paalen's personal collection from an early age.

132. Jacques Le Rider, Modernité Viennoise et Crises de L'Identité (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1990). Translated in German as Das Ende der Illusion: Zur Kritik der Moderne.

133. In Beyond Good and Evil (1886), trans. Walter Kaufmann (New York: Vintage, 1966) and in The Will to Power (1888), trans. Kaufmann and Hollingdale (New York: Vintage, 1946), Nietzsche airs his opinions on modern science and his preference for the "instinctual," a theme which he had first developed in The Birth of Tragedy (1872), trans. Kaufmann (New York: Vintage, 1967). This "instinctual" quality has been called "Dionysian," referring to the passional drives and nature of man, discussed below.

134. Le Rider, Modernité Viennoise.

135. Oswald Spengler, quoted by Hampshire, "A Wonderful Life": 3.

136. Ibid.

137. Ibid.

138. This concept has also been explored in Viennese literature of the period. See Heiser, note 6 above.

139. Robert S. Wistrich, "Crisis in the Cradle of Modernism," Times Literary Supplement (London: June 14, 1991): 15, book review of Le Rider, Modernité Viennoise.

140. On modernist ideology see Renato Poggioli, The Theory of the Avant-Garde (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, Harvard Univ. Press, 1968); Peter Bürger, Theory of the Avant-Garde, trans. by Michael Shaw (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1984); and Donald Kuspit, The Cult of the Avant-Garde Artist (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1993).

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141. On the topic of suicide in the late Hapsburg Empire see Janik and Toulmin, Wittgenstein, 64-65: "The list of prominent Austrians who were to die by their own hands is, in fact, both long and distinguished...." Among these were two of Ludwig Wittgenstein's brothers.

142. According to author's exchanges with Christian Kloyber, original notes from the physicist/philosopher Erwin Schrödinger's lectures at The University of Vienna have been found among Paalen's papers. This subject will treated in Part IV, dealing with Paalen's essays on art and science.

143. Ivo Frenzel, "Prophet, Pioneer, Seducer: Friedrich Nietzsche's Influence on Art, Literature and Philosophy in Germany," in Joachimides, et al, eds. German Art in the 20th Century, Royal Academy of Arts, exhib. cat. (London and Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1985), 80.

144. Ibid., 76-77.

145. Ibid., 79, n. 9, quoting Benn.

146. Ibid., 78-79. See Part II for further discussion of ethnologist Dilthey, sociologist Simmel, and the philosophy of Bergson.

147. Ibid., 78, n. 6 (citing M-B's diary June 28, 1902).

148. Ibid., 78.

149. Ibid.

150. David S. Luft, "Science and Irrationalism in Freud's Vienna," Modern Austrian Literature 23, 2 (1990): 89-97.

151. Ibid.

152. Ibid., 92.

153. Ibid., 91-92. Manifest on all levels of Viennese culture, these two philosophical traditions also had political implications for mass parties. Luft, 92, cites William J. McGrath, Dionysian Art and Populist Politics in Austria (New Haven: Yale, 1974).

154. Ibid., 92. Among those described as "anti-positivist" was the ethnologist Wilhelm Dilthey. See Part II for discussion of Dilthey.

155. Ibid., 92-93.

156. Ibid.

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157. Ibid., 92.

158. Donald Gordon, Expressionism: Art and Idea (New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 1987), 6. See, also, Gordon, Sec. 1.7, 20 ff. Paalen had in his library Ernst Haeckel, Kristalseelen (Leipzig: Alfred Kroner, 1917).

159. See below for further discussion of Mach's Analysis of Sensations, which was in Paalen's library.

160. Gordon, Expressionism, 2. For an in-depth study of the Vienna Circle and the philosophy of science see Janik and Toulmin, Wittgenstein; and for Germany see Paul Forman, "Weimar Culture, Causality, and Quantum Theory, 1918-1927," in Historical Studies in the Physical Sciences 3 (1971), 1-115.

161. Nietzsche, Beyond Good and Evil, 21, sec. 14.

162. Ludwig Wittgenstein, Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus, trans. by D.F. Pears and B.F. McGuinness (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961; New York: Humanities Press, 1961), proposition 2.1 ff.

163. Gordon, Expressionism, 2.

164. The concept of "complementarity" is voiced by two physicists important to this period and to Paalen: Ernst Mach whose conception of "psychophysics" explains how the "psychical and the physical are two aspects of one and the same reality;" and Niels Bohr, whose doctrine of complementarity underscored his atomic theory. According to Arnold Glimcher and Paul Vitz, Modern Art and Modern Science: The Parallel Analysis of Vision (New York: Praeger, 1984), 163 ff., Mach was also important to Paul Klee. For discussion of Mach see Janik and Toulmin, Wittgenstein, 134; and for the philosophic influences on Bohr, see Gerald Holton, "The Roots of Complementarity," Daedalus 99 (Fall 1970): 1015-55. Paalen had Mach's Die Analyse der Empfindungen (Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1911); and Bohr's Atomic Theory and the Description of Nature (London: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1934), in his library.

165. Nietzsche, The Birth of Tragedy, 110-11.

166. Regler, WP, 44. This topic is readdressed in Part IV ahead, in the context of the DYN essays.

167. These refer to the dominant themes and tenor of Nietzsche's career as described in The Penguin Companion to Literature 2: European Literature, (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1969), 568-69.

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168. See Stephen Aschheim, The Nietzsche Legacy in Germany: 1890-1990 (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1992).

169. See Gordon, Expressionism, "Intellectual Milieu: Art and Science, Hopes and Fears," 1 ff., who quotes, especially, Nietzsche's (problematic) The Will To Power, 243, 261, secs. 466, 440.

170. Definition, Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (Springfield, Mass. G.& C. Merriam Co., 1977), 1309.

171. See Bertrand Russell's critical discussion of the "artist-tyrant" in The History of Western Philosophy (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1945), 760-73. As a point of interest, Paalen had this book in his library.

172. For insights into the importance of Viennese journalism in the early twentieth century see Janik and Toulmin, passim and, especially, "Language and Society," 67-91.

173. Ibid.

174. Ibid., 68. Paalen had contemporary editions of Else Lasker-Schüler and Franz Wedekind in his library. Tepoztlan Archive Library List: EL-S, Der Wanderrabbiner von Barcelona (Berlin: Verlag Paul Cassirer, 1921); and FW, Herakles (Munchen: Georg Muller Verlag, 1917).

175. See Pauley, "Georg von Schönerer and Austrian Pan-Germanism," in Hitler and the Forgotten Nazis, 18-21.

176. Ibid., "The Anschluss Movement," 7-10; and Daviau, Major Figures, 4.

177. Peter Selz, German Expressionist Painting, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957), 147.

178. Ibid., 250.

179. Ibid., 251.

180. Andreas Neufert, "Die Maler," in Schrage, ed., WP: Zwischen Surrealismus und Abstraktion, 43, says Gustav Paalen knew Cassirer personally: ["Die Familie unterhielt freundschaftliche Verbindungen zu den Kunsthändelern und Kritikerkreisen; Julius Meier-Graefe, Paul Westheim, Paul Cassirer, Alfred Flechtheim, Leo von König und Wilhelm von Bode, zählten zum engeren Bekanntenkreis der Paalens."] In conversation with Neufert, (New York, October 24, 1991), he indicated that he had found documentation of Paul Cassirer's friendship with Gustav Paalen, but he does not give the source of this documentation in this 1993 essay. He does,

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however, document the von Bode connection, as previously stated, see Part I-A, 40, n. 54 and 55, above.

181. Allen, Literary Life, 178.

182. For a discussion of the relationship of Jews to Viennese journalism see Janik and Toulmin, Wittgenstein, 67-91 and passim. See, also, Beller, Vienna and the Jews. Paul and Bruno Cassirer had biographies similar to that of Gustav Paalen: "[They] belonged to a Jewish family from Breslau that had rapidly become assimilated after the emancipation edicts at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Cassirers had grown wealthy in the timber trade, in engineering, and in the manufacture of copper and steel cables. Some members of the family had married gentiles; on the whole, however, the family was notable for the unusual number of intermarriages between its various branches." Cf. Paret, The Berlin Secession, 69. According to Kenworth Moffett (Meier-Graefe As Art Critic [Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1973], 180, n. 500) Meier-Graefe was "one-quarter Jewish"--"Vierteljude"], but it is possible, given the climate of anti-semitism, that he was more fully Jewish. Born in Roumania he immigrated to Germany and had a meteoric rise in society as an intellectual entrepreneur, an experience analogous to that of Gustav Paalen's.

183. Allen, Literary Life, 180.

184. Neufert, "Das Maler," 43, n. 8. Neufert interviewed Oscar Petersen in Dusseldorf, 13 February 1991.

185. Ibid., n. 8: ["Paalens Freund OP erinnerte sich an die leidenschaftlichen Diskussionen, die im Kreis der deutschen Künstler in Cassis über Meier-Graefe, Simmel und Fiedler abgehalten wurden."]

186. Ibid., 44, n. 2: ["Briefe an Helene Meier-Graefe, Berlin, ca. 1924: "Der starke Goethebezug reicht vom Erziehungs- und Lebensideal über die allgemeinen Topoi senir dramatischen Figuren bis zur Idee der Blinden Mutter, die er in einem seiner jugendlichen Liebesbriefe an die dreissig Jahre ältere Helene Meier-Graefe, der geschiedenen Frau Julius M-G, zu seiner persönlichen Religion erklärt."] Paalen had in his library Bode's study of Goethe's Leben Im Garten Am Stern (Berlin: F.S. Miller and Sohn, 1909).

187. Ibid., 44-45, n. 8: ["Paalen begegnete Meier-Graefe noch 1932. Helene Meier-Graefe schreibt er am 22 Juli: 'Konnte es im Café nicht vermeiden (...) Meier-Graefe zu begrüssen. (Madame war nicht mit). Mein Gott, MG ist nicht schön alt geworden, sieht aus wie ein pensionierter Hofschauspieler--das, schwarze und hässliche, das faule Ei

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ist in seinem Gesicht so viel stärker jetzt, dass man fast vergisst, dass es da auch andere Möglichkeiten gab."]

188. A notarized document of the bequest of Helene Meier-Graefe in the Onslow Ford papers dated 27 July 1957 shows that Wolfgang received from her a "handwritten letter of [Auguste] Renoir in a yellow writing case"; "2 silver candlesticks and fire irons with crystal globes; and [an] alabaster ointment jar [set] in a chest of drawers." ["Handschriftlicher Brief von Renoir in gilber Schreibmappe. Aus seinem Besitz stammend: 2 silberne Leuchter und Christallkugel auf dem Kamin stehend. Alabastersalbentiegel auf Schlafzimmerkommode."]

189. For discussion of Flechtheim and the politics of the art world in Weimar Berlin see Friedrich Heckmanns, "Das Junge Rhineland in Dusseldorf 1919-1929, The Summit of Mount Expressionism: A Beginning Before the End," in Stephanie Barron, ed., German Expressionism 1915-25/The Second Generation, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, exhib. cat. (Los Angeles and Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1988), 85, 86, 90; and Peter W. Guenther, "A Survey of Artists' Groups: Their Rise, Rhetoric, and Demise," in ibid., 105-06.

190. Regler, WP, 16.

191. Die Entwicklungsgeschichte der Modernen Kunst: Ein Beitrag zur modernen Asthetik, 3 vols. (Stuttgart: J. Hofmann, 1904); Developmental Study of Modern Art: Being a contribution to a new system of aesthetics, trans. F. Simmonds and G. Chrystal, 1st ed. London and New York: 1908, reprinted (New York: Arno Press, 1960).

192. Allen, Literary Life, 180; and Moffett, Meier-Graefe, 9.

193. Allen, ibid.; Moffett, ibid., 12.

194. Allen, ibid., 181. Paalen had in his library Scheerbart's novel Lesabendio (München und Leipzig: Georg Muller, 1913).

195. Moffett, ibid. 13, quoting Meier-Graefe: ["Die in Pan zum Abdruck kommenden Dichtungen werden stets in künstlerischer Umrahmung er scheinen, nicht illustriert im landläufigen Sinne, sondern interpretiert durch Künstler, deren Art der jeweiligen Dichtung nahe steht. Umgekehrt gedenkt der Pan auch Dichtungen zu veröffentlichen, die sich als poetisch wertvolle Stimmungsniederschläge aus Werken bildender Meister darstellen."]

196. Ibid., 14.

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197. Ibid., 14-15.

198. Ibid., 17.

199. Ibid., 16-18.

200. Ibid., 15.

201. Ibid., 11.

202. Ibid., 12.

203. Ibid., 11.

204. Ibid., 12.

205. Ibid., 12-13.

206. See Angelika von Schuckmann, "Letter from Darmstadt: A Document of German Art, 1901-76," Apollo (January 1977): 67-71.

207. Julius Meier-Graefe, "Der Pan," Pan, vol. II (November 1, 1910): 2 ["Wir wollten--o, was wollten wir nicht alles-z.B. eine Pan-Kunstaustellung, ein Pan-Theater..einen Pan-Verlag."]

208. Moffett, Meier-Graefe, 41-43.

209. Ibid., 43-44.

210. Ibid., 45, n. 178. Moffett quotes Emil Waldman in Julius Meier-Graefe: Widmungen zu seinem sechzigsten Geburstag: ["Um die Jahrhundertwende gab es in Deutschland kein Dutzend Menschen, die etwas von französischer Malerei verstanden."]

211. Moffett, Meier-Graefe, 9. See Appendix B ("Meier-Graefe's Developmental Study of Modern Art").

212. Paalen had Curt Glaser's 1918 Cassirer monograph on Munch in his library. Tepoztlán Library List, Curt Glaser, Munch (Berlin: Bruno Cassirer, 1918). [in French and German]

213. Moffett, Meier-Graefe, 9. This essay, simply titled "Edvard Munch," was included in the anthology Das Werk der Edvard Munch: Vier Beiträge, S. Przybyszewski, ed. (Berlin: 1894), 76-95.

214. Moffett, Meier-Graefe, 10.

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215. As previously discussed, Nietzsche's Zarathustra was the image of the "New Man," das ubermensch, and the herald of a "New Age" which would usher in a new order and regenerate the decadent West. Cf. Thus Spake Zarathustra (1883-85), trans. W. Kaufmann (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978). See, also, Frenzel, "Prophet, Pioneer, Seducer," 76 and passim; and Douglas Kellner, "Expressionist Literature and the Dream of the "New Man," in Bronner and Kellner, eds., Passion and Rebellion: The Expressionist Heritage (New York: Universe Books, 1983), 166-93.

216. On Muthner and others of die neue Kunstkritik see Moffett, Meier-Graefe, 41-46.

217. Thanks to George Corbin for suggesting the similarity of this image to an Eskimo "tonghat" mask, used by shamans to drive away evil spirits.

218. Onslow Ford rejected a figural reading of this work, a maquette of which is in his personal collection. Author's interview with GOF, September 25-27, 1991.

219. Moffett, Meier-Graefe, "The New Painting," 107-13.

220. "A History of the Almanac," Lankheit, ed., The Blaue Reiter, 25.

221. Allen, Literary Life, 177.

222. Ibid., 174.

223. Developmental Study, "Cezanne and His Circle," 266-70. On Denis and the Pont Aven critic's perception of Cezanne as mystic and expressionist," see Richard Shiff, Cezanne and the End of Impressionism (Univ. of Chicago, 1984), 125-74; and see, also, Denis, "Subjective and Objective Deformation (1909)," reprinted in Herschel B. Chipp, Theories of Modern Art (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1968), 105-07.

224. Developmental Study, 267.

225. Ibid.

226. Ibid.

227. Regler, WP, 48.

228. Developmental Study, 266-267.

229. "Vincent van Gogh," in Developmental Study, 208 ff.

230. Ibid., 202.

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231. Ibid., 207.

232. Ibid., 205.

233. Regler, WP, 15.

234. Ibid., 16.

235. Museum of Modern Art Library, search.

236. Moffett, Meier-Graefe, 181.

237. Ibid.: 2 ["Alles sollte ein gewisses Etwas haben, dieselbe Geistesart sozusagen."]

238. Ibid.: 3 ["Nur ein kleiner Einwand, der sich nicht ganz leicht ausdrücken lässt. Er betrifft das gewisse Etwas, die Geistesart. Ich bin natürlich nicht so dreist, zu zweifeln, dass Sie das gewisse Etwas haben. Nur: werden Sie es festhalten? Wir hatten es nämlich auch...aber konnten es nicht festhalten....Vor allem aber waren wieder unsere dekorative Gelüste daran schuld. Das Dekorative frass das gewisse Etwas, unseren Universalismus, unsere kosmische Harmonie...auf, verschluckte es wie die Riesenschlange das Lämmchen....Nun, in Wirklichkeit blieb näturlich immer noch etwas übrig, die Maske, der schön geprägte Pan-Kopf. Den klebten wir auf die heterogensten Dinge und kamen uns dabei höchst universell vor....Wissen Sie, was uns eigentlich fehlt?--So etwas Zackiges, Unverdauliches, was sich nicht so fix auffressen lässt."]

239. Allen, Literary Life, 181.

240. Gordon, Expressionism, 3.

241. Linda Henderson, "Mysticism, Romanticism, and the Fourth Dimension," in Tuchman, ed., The Spiritual in Art, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, exhib. cat. (New York and Los Angeles: Abbeville Press, 1986), 219-37.

242. Ibid. Paalen had four works by Maeterlinck in his library: La Quatrieme Dimension (Paris: L. Marstreux, 1928); La Grand Loi (Paris: Pasquelle E.D., 1933); La Grand Secret (Paris: Bib. Charpentier, 1929); and La Mort (Paris: Bib. Charpentier, 1913). Additionally he owned three classic works on the fourth-dimension by Charles Bragdon and Charles Hinton. See ahead, Part IV, for discussion of Paalen and the fourth-dimension and his transmutation of its ideas into the "philosophy of the Possible."

243. Henderson, "Mysticism," 219.

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244. Franz Marc, "Spiritual Treasures," in Lankheit, ed., The Blaue Reiter, 55.

245. Ibid.

246. Marc, "Spiritual Treasures," 59.

247. Die Spanische Reise (Berlin: R. Fischer Verlag, 1910); and The Spanish Journey, J. Holroyd-Reece, trans. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1926).

248. Ibid., 7-10. He was accompanied by two painters on this trip: Leo von König and Rudolf Tewes. Von König, as discussed below, was a close friend of Gustav Paalen and Wolfgang Paalen's painting teacher in Tivoli.

249. Ibid., especially pp. 38-41 ff, which records his first encounter with both painters in the Prado. The theme of disappointment with Velasquez dominates the book in equal proportion to his elation with El Greco.

250. Ibid., 123.

251. Ibid., 67.

252. Moffett, Meier-Graefe, 109-10, discusses Meier-Graefe in the context of the first-generation of formalist critics, which also included Roger Fry and Henry David Kahnweiler. For the "Idealist" Kantian roots of Kahnweiler's discourse, see Daniel Robbins, "Abbreviated Historiography of Cubism," Art Journal 47 (Winter 1988): 277-83.

253. Ibid., 106.

254. Ibid., 122.

255. Ibid., 112.

256. Ibid., 108.

257. Ibid, 70-71, 81.

258. Franz Marc, "Spritual Treasures," 55.

259. Moffett, Meier-Graefe, 107.

260. Roger Fry, "El Greco," Atheneum (1920), reprinted in Roger Fry, Vision and Design (New York and Ontario: New American Library, 1974), 205-213. In this essay Fry [incredibly] likens Cezanne's synthesis of Poussin's discipline with El Greco's "permeation of every part of of the design with a uniform and continuous plastic theme." (p. 212) When the British National Gallery's acquisition of an

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El Greco painting caused a public furor, Fry responded with an eloquent defense, and even compared the museum's policy to that of "the manner in which Dr. Bode in past ages built up the Kaiser Friedrich Museum...."

261. Ibid., 207.

262. Ibid., 207-10.

263. Regler, WP, 12.

264. WP, "During the Eclipse," DYN 6: 16.

265. WP, "On the Meaning of Cubism Today," DYN 6: 5.

266. Moffett, Meier-Graefe, 107, n. 389. See also, Peter Paret, "The Tschudi Affair," Journal Modern History 53 (December 1981): 589-618.

267. In "El Greco," Vision and Design, 205-13, Roger Fry told this anecdote about Tschudi: "One of the greatest critics of our time, von Tschudi--of Swiss origin, I hasten to add, and an enemy of the Kaiser--was showing me El Greco's 'Laocoon,' which he had just bought for Munich, when he whispered to me, as being too dangerous a doctrine to be spoken aloud even in his private room, 'Do you know why we admire El Greco's handling so much? Because it reminds us of Cezanne.'"

268. Moffett, Meier-Graefe, 107.

269. Ibid.

270. Ibid.

271. Ibid., 108.

272. Ibid., 109-10.

273. Allen, Literary Life, 175, n. 13, referring to Pan II (May and July 1911): 457-69; 558-73.

274. Ibid.

275. Wilhelm Worringer, "The Struggle for Art: The Answer to the 'Protest of German Artists'," in Rose-Carol Washton Long, ed., German Expressionism: Documents from the End of the Wilhelmine Empire to the Rise of National Socialism, (New York: G.K. Hall, 1993), 9-13.

276. For a short account of how he came to work with Piper, see the "Foreword to the New Impression," in Abstraction and Empathy. Wilhelm Worringer, Abstraktion and Einfühlung,

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first published in Munich by R. Piper, 1908; 1st Eng. edit. 1953; 4th printing 1980, trans. Michael Bullock, Abstraction and Empathy (New York: International Universities Press, 1980), xi.

277. In a letter of Feruary 1912 to Kandinsky, Marc praised Abstraction and Empathy saying it exhibited a mentality that had "marvelously disciplined thinking, concise and cool, extremely cool." He planned to include an essay by him in the unrealized second edition of the Almanac along with those of such other critics as Carl Einstein. See Lankheit, "A History of the Almanac," 30.

278. Leo von König, "Julius Meier-Graefe," Neue Rundschau, Jg. 46, H.8, (August 1935): 214-21, cited by Moffett, Meier-Graefe, 195.

279. See Moffett, Meier-Graefe, 119 and 150 (English trans.); 125 and 151 (English trans.).

280. Ibid., 180, n. 499.

281. Ibid., 127.

282. Ibid., 127, n. 499 and n. 500.

283. See n. 182, above.

284. The other Portrait of Meier-Graefe, 1931, is in the Collection of Walter Becker, Karlsruhe. Moffett, Meier-Graefe, 182.

285. This information was given to me by Andreas Neufert in conversation on November 20, 1990.

286. Ibid. Walter Becker is probably the son (or grandson) of Wolgang Becker, one of Paalen's painting colleagues in Cassis. See below.

287. Regler, WP, 12. Also WP, "Notes Biographiques" (discussed in the Introduction, 41) give the same information.

288. Alfred H. Barr, Jr. Fantastic Art, Dada and Surrealism, Museum of Modern Art, exhib. cat. (New York: 1936), 274; and Peggy Guggenheim, Art of This Century, Annual, reprint (New York: Arno Press, 1968), 126, both mention Meyer. Meyer is referenced in Thieme-Becker, Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenen Künstler XXIV (Leipzig: E.A. Seeman, 1971), 461: "Bildhauer in Zollikon bei Zürich, *Basel 21.10.1867, Meisterschüler von Reinh. Begas, Beeinflusst von Ad. Hildebrand." Irving Sandler has recently discussed the influence of Adolph von Hildebrand's

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Problems of Form in the Visual Arts (1893) in his essay "Hans Hofmann: The Dialectical Master" for Cynthia Goodman, ed., Hans Hoffman, Whitney Museum of American Art, exhib. cat. (New York and Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1990), 77-97. Furthermore, Wilhelm Worringer cites von Hildebrand in the first lengthy footnote to Abstraction and Empathy, 136 and discusses his theory in the first chapter.

289. Kunstler Lexikon der Schweiz XX Jahrhundert 2 (Frauenfeld: Hubert Co., 1963-67): 632-33.

290. Regler, WP, 12; and WP, "Notes Biographiques," 3.

291. Ibid. (both).

292. Regler, WP, 15; and "Notes, 3."

293. Regler, WP, 15 and "Notes," 3.

294. Among Paalen's personal papers in Tepoztlan were pages from a monograph of Kokoschka's portraits. Additionally, there is a monograph included in the Library List: Kokoschka (Munich: R. Piper & Co., 1956). In an interview with Isabel Marin de Paalen, June 27, 1990, author was told that when a Kokoschka show came to Mexico City in the 1950s, Paalen viewed it with great enthusiasm.

295. Regler, WP, 15 and "Notes," 3.

296. "Notes," 3: ["Mais il ne se sentit jamais l'aise en Allemagne et s'installa l'année suivante à Paris."]

297. Regler, WP, 15 and "Notes," 3. The chronology found in Paalen estate, Tepoztlán indicates: "Travaillé à Paris: de 1924-25; de 1928-1938."

298. Ibid., 12-15, and 3.

299. "Notes," 3: ["Là [i.e. Paris] aussi, ci etaient d'abord encore les impressionistes qui le fascinaient, jusqu'à ce qu'une série de tableaux de Braque le frappérent et le mettaient pour la premiére fois en contact avec l'art moderne. Mais ici non plus il ne trouvait les écoles à son gout; dans un état de grande confusion et dépression il quitta Paris en 1926 pour étudier chez Hans Hofmann à Munich."]

300. Regler and "Notes", ibid.

301. "Notes," 3: ["Chez Hofmann il encontra un enseignement intelligent; pourtant, toute cette activité d'art lui semblait en quelque sort dépourvue de vrai sens, sans qui'il se rendant bien compte pourquoi."]

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302. Ibid. 3-4: ["Alors, il pensa trouver une réponse à ses doutes dans la solitude et s'installa en Provence."]

303. Neufert, "WP: das Werk," (M.A. Thesis) "Biographische Chronologie," 4: ["Teilnahme an Hoffmanns Sommerakkademie in St. Tropez."]

304. Regler, 15 and "Notes," 4. In a personal interview with Gordon Onslow Ford, Inverness, September 27, 1991, Onslow Ford indicated that Jean Varda was a Greek painter and collagist who had immigrated to Paris, and later to the San Francisco Bay area, where ca. 1948-51 he renewed his friendship with Paalen and began one with Onslow Ford.

305. "Notes," 4: ["Alors seulement il abandonna une stricte interpretation de la nature, et se jetta à corps perdu dans une liberté rhythmique de compositions et de couleurs qui fit rapidement éclore une série de beaux tableaux dans des gammes inspirées par Braque."]

306. Regler, 16 and "Notes," 4, say that no works are left: ["Malheureusement il ne reste probablement rien de tous des tableaux ni des oeuvres antériers et postérieurs jusqu'à la production de l'année 1932."] In fact, a few works from this period were shown in the recent Paalen retrospective at the Vienna Museum of Modern Art. See that catalogue, Schrage, ed., WP: Zwischen Surrealismus und Abstraktion.

307. Regler, 16 and "Notes," 4.

308. Arthur A. Cohen, Acts of Theft.

309. In author's telephone interview with Elaine Lustig-Cohen, Fall 1990, she indicated that her husband was an admirer of Brancusi and had written another novel based on Brancusi's life, but that in Acts of Theft "any similarity to persons either living or dead" [sic] was purely coincidental. The relationship to Brancusi might have also been a result of Paalen's personal acquaintance with and admiration for Brancusi, about which Cohen may have known. Paalen mentions a conversation he had with Brancusi in "During the Eclipse," DYN 6: 17.

310. Cohen may be fictionalizing on the basis of his knowledge that Alice Rahon was born in Brittany, and that she and Paalen traveled there together, during which time Paalen viewed the many dolmens, menhirs, and other vestiges of neolithic Celtic culture.

311. In 1953 upon his return to Mexico, Paalen acquired a hacienda in Yucatan, near the airport, from which he sent pre-Columbian objects to the United States.

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312. Chapter Five "The Mean Kwakiutl," in Acts of Thefts flashes back on the journey to the Northwest Coast and invents this and other experiences there. This chapter, which closes the book, has von Mauger burn his studio as a finale. Although, in reality, it is dubious that Paalen could have actually witnessed a potlatch at this late date, since they were outlawed in the 1930s, Cohen nonetheless constructs such a scene in his book. For an authoritative discussion of the Kwakiutl potlatch ceremony see Jonaitis, ed., Chiefly Feasts, exhib. cat.

313. Regler, 16 and "Notes," 4.

314. Leonor Morales, WP: Introductor, 19: ["A la madre de Paalen esta obsesión la afectó tanto psicológicamente, que durante largas temporadas era presa de un miedo cerval que le impedía salir al la calle."] Presumably, Morales was told this by Alice Rahon or Eva Sulzer. Andreas Neufert follows Morales in "WP: das Werk," "Chronologie," 4: ["Seine Mutter erkrankt an schweren manischen Depressionen."] He also interviewed Rahon and Sulzer in Mexico two years later, but like Morales does not document his source. In author's telephone interview with Edward Renouf, July 20, 1991 (assistant editor for DYN), he indicated that Paalen had told him that his mother was subject to "melancholia," the 19th-century term for depression.

315. Michael Paalen letter, 31.10.90, in Kloyber, Nachlass, 4: "Hans Peter, [...] 1910-1928"; and Kloyber, "WP: Das Abenteur einer Biographie," in Schrage, ed., WP: Zwischen Surrealismus und Abstraktion, Museum Moderner Kunst, exhib. cat., 184 and 186.

316. In interviews with Luchita Hurtado, Paalen's second wife, (Santa Monica, Calif., January 7 and 8, 1990; and Los Angeles, December 7, 1992), author was told that Paalen had said that his brother shot himself and that Paalen had witnessed it. This is questionable, since Paalen was in Cassis in 1928, although this could have happened on a visit home. Mental illness in the family was present, from the likely suicide of Hans Peter to the dementia of a brother, about whom author was told in an interview with Edward Renouf, September 15, 1991. Renouf said that Paalen had indicated that he had an "insane brother, who was always pushing a lightbulb into his eye socket." This could have been either Hans Peter or Gustav Rainer, whom Paalen sketched in the short fiction entitled "Sunga," in Barreda, ed., Hommage á WP, Museo de Arte Moderno, exhib. cat.

317. Regler, 16. Neufert, "WP: das Werk," "Chronologie," 4: ["1929 - Reise nach Berlin. Kontakt zu Paul Klee über Alfred Flechtheim."]

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318. Ibid.: ["1929 - Zusammenbruch der Familienfinanzen." In author's conversation with Neufert, Munich, November 20, 1990, Neufert mentioned the quarrels between Gustav and Wolfgang. He may have been told this in the interview he conducted with Wolfgang Petersen, one of Paalen's Cassis colleagues, but it is not documented. Or he may, as he elsewhere seems to, follow Morales (WP: Introductor, 20), who indicated that Paalen's relationship with his father had begun to disintegrate as early as 1927: ["Al no soportar más la situación hogareña ni la tiranía paternal, se escapó a París, donde exhibió de vez en cuando en la Galería Figuet."] (No longer able to tolerate the situation at home or the tyranny of his father, he fled to Paris, where he exhibited paintings in the Galerie Figuet.)

319. Michael Paalen letter, 24.11.90, in Kloyber, Nachlass, 1: ["Encloses Gerede, das meistens in Zank und Streit endete. Wenn ich es foruliere, Wolfgang: Raffaels Ansichtskartenmalerei braucht man nicht mehr, Hollywood macht das viel schÖner. Papa, der nur zu Wolfgangs Abstraktmalerei noch Anteil nahm: wozu diese Verschrobenheiten, wo er früher doch (gegenstandlich) ein zukunftsreicher Maler war. Mama nach einem Besuch bein Woscha in Paris: als er eines Tages mit einem alten Stuhl nach Hause kam, den er beim Trödler gekauft hatte, und den mit Papiergirlanden umwickelete und dann als Kunstwerk bezeichnete, da kam ich auch nicht mehr mit."] Michael, the youngest brother born in 1919, would have been ten years old at the time of these quarrels.

320. Neufert, "WP: das Werk," "Chronologie," 4: "Kontakt zu Paul Klee über Alfred Fletchtheim." [undocumented]; and, Neufert, 9: ["Er lernte Klee über Alfred Flechtheim kenne, der 1929 den 50. Geburtstag des Künstlers mit einer grossen Ausstellung feierte."] Morales (WP: Introductor, 20) also says he met Klee and Kandinsky at this time: ["En esta fecha ya habá expuesto obras en el Salon des Surindépendents de París (1929) y en la Galería Flechtheim de Berlin (1930). En Alemania conoció a Kandinsky y a Klee personalmente."] [undocumented]

321. Neufert, "WP: das Werk," 9: ["Paalen konnte schon in München Werke Klees gesehen haben, die entscheidende Auseinandersetzung fand jedoch 1929/30 in Berlin statt.... ermöglichte eine intensive Beschäftigung mit Klees Werk, das nicht zuletzt auch in Paris zu diesem Zeitpunkt begann grosse Anerkennung in der Kunstwelt zu finden.] See Christian Zervos's review, "Paul Klee," Cahiers d'art IV, 1 (1929): 54: ["Il n'y a pas trés longtemps, Paul Klee etait à peine connu chez nous par quelque lecteurs de revues allemande qui n'etaient d'ailleurs pas trés prodigues en reproductions des oeuvres de cet artiste. C'est M. Max Berger, qui, le premier, dans sa galerie Vavin-Raspail, nous

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mit en contact avec l'oeuvre de Klee, et c'est lui qui, petit à petit, réussit à remontrer le courant d'indifférence du public parisien envers toute manifestation d'art qui venait d'Allemagne."]

322. See Gail Levin, Theme and Improvisation: Kandinsky and the American Avant-Garde 1912-1950, Dayton Art Institute, exhib. cat. (Boston: Little Brown, 1992).

323. Werner Haftmann, Painting in the Twentieth Century, Ralph Mannheim, trans. (New York: 1965), 285. See, Christian Zervos, "Kandinsky, Paris Exhibition, Galerie Zak," Cahiers d'Art III, 10 (1928): 451-52; and Will Grohman, "Wassily Kandinsky," Cahiers d'Art IV, 7 (1929): 322-29.

324. Neufert, "WP: das Werk," 9, n. 2, according to his interview with Stanley William Hayter: "(2) 1930 veröffentlichte der Verlag der Cahiers d'Art einen im Freundeskreis Paalens vieldiskutierten Bildband über Klee mit Texten von W. Grohmann, Interview m. S.W.Hayter Mai '86."] This text was Will Grohmann,"Paul Klee," Cahiers d'Art III, 7 (1928): 295-302.

325. Ibid.: 295: ["...oú le visible n'est qu'exception, oú la creation et la construction ne sont que formes grammaticales et particularités de syntaxe. Si, dan ce cas, des mots peuvent expliquer l'oeuvre, il n'est qu'une clef á cette énigme."]

326. Grohmann, "Klee": 295: ["...une compréhension profonde des événements et de la loi qui régit toutes choses. Il serait erroné de prétendre qu'il procède de telles données, de telles representations, ou de telles idées. Une plante a ses fonctions vitales et sa destinée comme l'homme ou l'animal; il y a, pour un événement, des prévisions dans le temps et dans l'espace; dans un une fantasmagorie un rapport étroit existe entre le rêve et la realité."]

327. Ibid.: 296: ["Systématiquement, mais en dehors de toute théorie, Klee se crée les moyens d'exprimer ce qui l'intéresse dans l'universe, ce qu'il apprend dans le domaine de l'anatomie et de la physiologie, dans la varation des rapports, entre notre monde e l'au delá. Il étudie les conditions d'existence d'en bas, sur la terre, et les lois d'en haut, celles de "Cosmos"; la statique et la dynamique, et, petit à petit, il trouve le moyen d'exprimer ce qu'il a découvert."]

328. Ibid.: ["Qu'on ne s'imagine pas Klee comme un mage; il est bien portant et se campe solidement sur ses james. Il n'est pas non plus un rêveur voyant tout au tragique; c'est un homme moderne qui enseigne, comme professur au

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"Bauhuaus". Toutes les sciences lui sont familières, et c'est avec les yeux bien ouverts qu'il marche dans la vie."]

329. Ibid.: 298: ["Klee utilisait le silence pour tendre l'oreille verse le monde et outer, comme seuls les musiciens savent écouter et les poètes; les peintres aussi, mais bien plus rarement. Ses dons musicaux l'aidaient à entendre l'harmonie de l'univers entier, personne ne l'en empêchait." "Mais ce qui domine, c'est la claire vision devant laquelle s'effacent tous les mystères, qui résout tous les problèmes, la vision qu'avait, il y a cent ans, ce grand Allemand: Goethe."]

330. Neufert, "WP: das Werk," 10: ["Die Bezugnahme auf Klee, in diesen frühen Bildern weitgehend imitativer Art, zeigt... [d]ie sprache einfacher, kindlicher Symbolik für Aussenwelt und Natur...."] Neufert, 10, reproduces two untitled Paalen works from 1930 and 1931. In the work of 1930, the influence is particularly and immediately evident.

331. Ibid., "Chronologie," 4. Again, this is undocumented, but Neufert interviewed Sulzer in 198[5].

332. Grohmann, "Wassily Kandinsky," 322-25: ["Depuis son premier tableau abstrait en 1911, Kandinsky a été l'objet de violentes discussions artistiques dans l'Europe Centrale et en Russie. Mais ces discussions tendaient à fixer les positions vis-à-vis de l'art abstrait et non pas de discuter Kandinsky lui-même; elles manquèrent le but en faisant de lui le chef de file d'une tendance nouvelle, le champion d'une idée esthético-philosophique. On s'attaquait presque exclusivement à la forme, on ne tenait pas compte du contenu."]

333. Ibid., 323: ["Au surplus, l'objet n'est qu'un instrument de travail et Kandinsky voulait donner à l'ouevre d'art un nouveau contenu qui répondit à ses désirs." "La personne n'a jamais été pour lui l'outil de l'esprit objectif qui se révele. Temps, espace et personnalité sont en quelque sorte unis avant la naissance et déterminent le caractère de l'oeuvre qui se crée."]

334. Ibid.: ["La théorie de Kandinsky sur les formes et la composition constitute de notre temps, la première manifestation d'une théorie d'harmonie purement picturale. Et si, aujourd'hui on se montre sceptique vis-à-vis d'un tel effort, on s'étonnera plus tard du temps qu'il a fallu à l'art plastique pour acquérir une science analogue à celle de la musique."]

335. Among these were: Will Grohmann, Kandinsky (Paris: Cahiers d'Art, 1930); Will Grohmann, Kandinsky (New York, Abrams, n.d.); Grohmann, Morlion, Zervos, Baumeister, et

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al., Vassily Kandinsky (Anvers: Ed. Selection, 1933); Douglas Cooper, Paul Klee (Great Britain: Penguin, 1953); Will Grohmann, The Drawings of Paul Klee (Kurt Valentin, 1944); Paul Klee, Paul Klee: Pedagological system of line,, structure, movement, dimension, symbolism (New York: Nierendorf Gallery and Helmut G. Kallweit, 1944); Klee (Bern: Verlag Benteli, 1945); D.H. Kahnweiler, Klee (Paris: Braun & Cie, 1950); Novalis, Paul Klee (Bern: Benteli, 1949); Muller, Fauvism (Paris, n.d.); and Will Grohmann, Expressionists (New York: Abrams, 1957).

336. Neufert, "WP: das Werk," 10-11, interview with Jean Hélion, May 1986: ["Mit dieser Art technisierenden Abstraktion der Gegenstandsformen zu einem Geflecht von Kuben, Zylindern und Röhren wurde Paalen durch Hélion unmittelbar konfrontiert, der auch eine persönliche Verbindung zu Léger herstellte."]

337. WP, Review of "Jean Hélion, They Shall Not Have Me," DYN 4-5: 80; and "Jean Hélion. Spectacle. Gouache., 1943," DYN 6: unpg.

338. WP, "Notes," 4: ["Vinrent des années difficiles. Mauvaise santé, manque d'argent, l'obligation d'abandonner temporairement la peinture pour gagner sa vie avec des petits travaux d'occasion, retardèrent son essor. C'était l'époque de la crise où une galerie aprés l'autre ferma ses portes et les marchands expliquaient aux jeunes peintres qu'en des temps aussi durs, ils ne pouvaient s'intéresser qu'aux "grandes signatures. Et quoique, pour des artistes, la misère à Paris était plus supportable qu'ailleurs, il est pourtant faux de croire qu'on y pouvant vivre de cafés-crèmes."]

339. On Brignoni and Giacometti see Rosalind Krauss, "Giacometti," in Rubin, ed., "Primitivism", 528, n. 13. On Paalen's collection of Oceanic art, see Part III, 405-07, and Appendices E and F. Brignoni is still living today in Lucerne, Switzerland.

340. Ibid., 14.

341. "Notes," 5: ["Comprenant petit à petit quel importante fonction l'art avait exercé dans des cultures primitives, il vint à mediter sur le rôle et les possibilités de l'art dans notre temps; et alors, il lui semblait qu'avant tout il fallait purifier les moyens, trouver des moyens d'expression adéquats pour notre époque, des moyens vraiment moderns. Dans ces idées il fût confirmé par Fernand Léger et Jean Hélion."]

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342. See, for instance, Etienne Michon, "Idoles Des Cyclades (Musée du Louvre)," Cahiers d'art 6 (1929): 251-57, discussed below.

343. Neufert, "WP: das Werk," 11.

344. See WP, "About the Origins of the Doric Column and the Guitar Woman," DYN 2 (1942): 16-17 and illus. For a list of the Cycladic works see Appendix E.

345. These include J.H. Allen, Ancient Art and Ritual (New York/ London: Henry Holt/Wms & Norgate, 1913); Ernst Moessel, Die Proportion in Antike und Mittelalter (Munchen: C.H.Beck Sche., 1926); Armand Rio, La Prehistoire (Paris: Lib. Hachette, 1930); José Pijoan, Summa Artis (Barcelona/Madrid: Esapas Calpe S.A., 1931, 1934, 1942, 1946); H. Th. Bossert, The Art of Ancient Crete (London: Zwemmer, 1937); Ernst Pfulh, Tausend Jahre Griechischer Malerei(Munchen: F. Bruckmann, 1940); and Chisholiu, Hoyningen, Koiransky..., Helas (New York: J.J. Augustin, n.d.).

346. WP, "About the Origins," DYN 2: 14.

347. Feminist critiques have been launched against Picasso's appropriation of the female body for this purpose, seeing it as dominating and "mastering," rather than as an expression of love for women.

348. Neufert, "WP: das Werk," 11. Haftmann, Painting in the Twentieth Century, 285-87, discusses Abstraction-Creation: "In 1932 Naum Gabo moved from Berlin to Paris, rejoining his brother Antoine Pevsner.... The abstract artists living in Paris gathered round them and on February 15, 1931, founded the Abstraction-Création group."

349. Haftmann, ibid. For dates of arrival on Gabo and Kandinsky, see Contemporary Artists, 2nd edit. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983): 323 and 456, respectively. According to this source, Kandinsky collaborated with Galerie Cahiers d'art in 1931 and settled in Neuilly-sur-Seine in 1933.

350. Haftmann, ibid., 286.

351. Neufert, "WP: das Werk," 11.

352. Ibid., 8-9, and reproduction of Untitled, 1930 painting.

353. Regler, WP, 18; and "Notes," 5: ["En été de cette même année (1933) Paalen fit un bref séjour dans le nord de l'Espagne où les peintures préhistoriques des grottes

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d'Altamirafurent pour lui "une des plus grandes révélations de la peinture de tous les temps." De retour à Paris, il fît une série de curieuses constructions en liége peint...."]

354. "Notes," 5: ["Entre 1932 et 1933 il exécuta une série de compositions dans lesquelles une puissante tension graphique s'allia à des couleurs sobres et profondes. Les sujects des ces tableaux étaient des apparitions d'êtres, qui se configuraient seulement selon les nécessités emotionnelles du peintre et les nécessités plastique de la peintures. Quelques-uns de ces tableaux furent exposé pour la première fois à la galerie Bonjean en 1933."]

355. WP, "Surprise and Inspiration," DYN 2: 5 and 6.

356. Regler, WP, 11 and "Notes," 2: ["...aussi les énigmes du vieil édifice et la terreur joyeuse quand le petit garcon explorait la cave gothique dont les voutes lui paraissaient énormes à la lueeur de sa petite bougie le firent réfléchir sur le sens de la vie."]

357. Neufert, "WP: das Werk," 16. Evan Maurer, "In Quest of the Myth: an Investigation of the Relationships Between Primitivism and Surrealism," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1974, 39-44, discusses Levy-Bruhl and knowledge of him at this time.

358. Neufert, ibid.

359. Paalen's paintings reproduced in Abstraction-Création: art non figuratif 3 (Paris: 1934): 37, were Inhabitants of the Island, 1934 (destroyed); and Animaux Carnassiers, 1933.

360. WP, "Notes," 6: [""En cette même année, E.F. [sic] Gallatin et James Johnson Sweeney vinrent voir son studio dans la rue Pernety et Gallatin lui acheta un tableau pour son Museum of Living Art."]

361. Neufert, "WP: das Werk," "Chronologie," 5.

362. Hubert Croxleÿ, "Hans Arp," Cahiers d'art III, 5-6 (1928): 228-30: ["...sa séverité, sa rigueur évoquent celui des peintres que l'on s'est plu a considérer aujourd'hui comme les détenteurs des grand secrets."] Among those painters, no doubt, were Picasso, Kandinsky, and Klee.

363. Regler, WP, 20.

364. Ibid. and "Notes," 5: ["Par Penrose il fît la connaissance de Paul Eluard et de Max Ernst," et il illustra par la suite des plaquettes de poèmes de Valentine Penrose."] One year later, in 1936, Alice Rahon Paalen

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shared an important experience and had an affair with Valentine Penrose, Roland's wife, when the two women traveled together to India. (Author's interview with Annette Nancarrow, Mexico City, July 5, 1990.) Their friendship continued for Alice dedicated a poem to Valentine, "Poeme,"in DYN 2 (July-August 1942):30; and Valentine contributed the poem "Downshire Hill," to DYN 3 (Fall 1942): 17-19. In 1935 and 1937 Paalen illustrated two volumes of Valentine's poems: Le Nouveau Candide and Sorts de la Lueur. These volumes were both published by Cahiers G.L.M., Paris, the Surrealist press. A letter in the Onslow Ford archives from Valentine to WP, dated 9 Octobre 35, discusses personal issues.

365. Regler, WP, 20; "Notes," 6: ["...Ces objets figurèrent dans sa première one-man show à la galerie Vignon en 1934; ils furent beaucoup imités par la suite. Cette première exposition n'attira pas beaucoup d'attention; quand Paalen se plaignait à Léger de ce manque d'intérêt, celui-ci (un des rares grand peintres de cette génération qui encourageait les jeunes) répondit: "Mon garçon, il faut bien savoir qu'ici à Paris on accepte un nouveau peintre seulement quand on ne peut plus faire autrement."]

366. Christian Zervos, "Les Expositions a Paris et Ailleurs--Paalen (Galerie Vignon)," Cahiers d'Art IX, 1-4 (1934): 205-06: ["Il serait prématuré, vu la jeunesse de l'artiste, de fixer déjà l'importance de son rôle dans la régénération de l'art qui s'accomplit sous nos yeux; on peut toutefois constater avec satisfaction qu'il s'est courageusement attaqué aux problèmes les plus complexes de l'art sans en éluder aucune des difficultés."]

367. "Notes," 5-6: ["En même temps Paalen assembla détranges figurines avec des racines et morceaux en bois travaillée par la mer qu'il avait trouvé sur la plage d'Hossegor (il ne savait pas á ce moment-lá que James Joyce, avant lui, avait été fasciné par de telles racines)."]

368. Neufert, "WP: das Werk," 20, n. 1, interview with Brignoni, May 1986.

369. Ibid., n. 1: cites Franz Boas' 1927 Oslo edition of Primitive Art, 37, on the shamanistic healing ritual. Paalen had this volume in his library.

370. This is a particularly Jungian notion. Evan Maurer, "In Quest," 1-75 and ff., discusses this notion in the works of various writers from Jung and Freud to Frazer and Levy-Bruhl, Nietzsche and Bergson. Further discussion of primitivism in Part II explores these ideas.

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371. Ibid., 20, n. 2, interview with Brignoni, May 1986.: ["Das handschmeichelnde Wildleder, in einer schwierigen Prozedur auf die glattgeschliffene Oberfläche geklebt, schmiegt sich fast völlig faltenlos gespannt an die unterschiedlichen Schwellungen des länglichen Holzkörpers, sodass der Eindruck von Schwere-losigkeit und Beweglichkeit entsteht, und die starre Festigkeit des verborgenen Holzkerns verdrängt wird."]

372. Regler, WP, 11.

373. Paalen refers to Brancusi in "During the Eclipse," DYN 6: 17. See Part IV ahead.

374. "Notes," 6: ["Lors d'un petit voyage à Londres, il fût cordialement accueilli par Herbert Read et Henry Moore, pour l'oeuvre duquel il conçut une profonde admiration."]

375. "Notes," 6: ["En 1935 Paalen fît peit un petit séjour en Suisse et participa à une importante exposition internationale d'art moderne au musée de Lucerne. De retour à Paris il reçut la visite de Kandinsky qui l'encouragea grandement."]

376. "Notes," 6, quoted in n. 381 above.

377. For reproductions of Cycladic idols, see Cahiers d'art I (1926): 282-83. On "Aegean Art," see Cahiers d'art II, 7-8 (1927): 229-67. On Ernst, see, Georges Salles, "Une sculpteur de l'Île de Pâcques, à Paris," Cahiers d'art II, 4-5 (1927): 146-48.

378. Cahiers d'art II, 6 (1927) covers l'art Nègre. African sculpture and Susa faiences are covered in Cahiers d'art II, 7-8 (1927): 229-67. Georges-Henri Rivière contributes "Peintures Egyptien d'Epoque Imperiale" to Cahiers d'art II, 9: 310-17. James Clifford, The Predicament of Culture (Cambridge, Mass. & London: Harvard University Press., 1988), 56-61 ff. and 136 ff. discusses the phenomenon of l'art Nègre in Paris in relation to the Dakar-Djibouti expedition and the Musée de l'Homme fund-raising campaigns of around 1930. See Part II ahead for further discussion.

379. See Part III for detailed discussion of the aesthetic reception of pre-Columbien art in France and America.

380. Tristan Tzara, "Art Precolombien," Cahiers d'art III, 4 (1928): 170-72, reviewed in Part III ahead. Also see Part III ahead for discussion of the exhibition, "Les arts anciens de l'Amérique," organized by Georges Henri-Rivière, who became the assistant director of the Musée de l'Homme.

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381. Cahiers d'art III, 3 (1928): 130-31.

382. Leonhard Adam, "Parallèles Entre Les Masques de L'Amérique et les Masques Japonais," Cahiers d'art III, 9 (1928): 376-81. On Adams and German ethnology see p. 58, above.

383. For an early example of "diffusion theory," see Culture: The Diffusion Controversy, Smith, Malinowski, Spinden, Goldenweiser (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1927) which does not discuss the Asian theory but diffusion theory in general. In this volume Smith defended the theory, Spinden attacked it, arguing that invention was not exclusive to any one group and that diffusion was not necessary for culture to exist. Malinowski saw the logic of both sides, while Goldenweiser summarized all positions. Spinden, as discussed in Part III, was a close friend of Paalen in the 1940s. The Asian theory was rejected for many years but recent findings may serve to revise this opinion. See Part III for an extended discussion.

384. Eckhart von Sydow, "Polynesé et Melanesie," Cahiers d'art IV, 1 (1929): 61-64; and Dr. 'O,' "Art Primitif et Psychoanalyse d'aprés Eckhart von Sydow," Cahiers d'art IV, 1 (1929): 65-72.

385. See page 114, n. 360 above.

386. See the extended discussion of this and Paalen's Oceanic collection and library holdings on Oceania in Part III.

387. Leo Frobenius, Prehistoric Rock Pictures in Europe and Africa, exhib. cat. (New York: MoMA, 1937).

388. Coecilie Seler-Sachs, "L'architecture et la Sculpture des Aztéques" Cahiers d'art IV, 10 (1929): 457-64. This text is examined in Part III ahead.

389. Leonhard Adam, "L'animal dans l'art de l'Ancienne Amérique," Cahiers d'art V, 1 (1930): 11; and "Le Portrait dans l'art de l'ancienne Amerique," Cahiers d'art V, 10 (1930): 519-24.

390. See note 377 above.

391. Cahiers d'art IX, 1-4 (1934).

392. "Les Quatres Noms," in Cahiers d'art, ibid. The fourth "name" was "Ghika."

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393. "Notes Sur Kandinsky"; "Notes Sur Klee," in ibid., with regard to their exhibitions at Galerie des Cahiers d'art.

394. "Notes sur l'art des Iles Marquises," and "La Danse Sacrée," (discussing dance masks from various cultures), ibid. See Part III for further discussion of the Trocadéro/Musée de l'Homme and the Surrealists.

395. Leonhard Adam, "Sculptures en Bois de l'Amérique du N.-O," Cahiers d'art IX, 5-8: 59-64.

396. Christian Zervos, "Art Ancien & Art Contemporain," Cahiers d'art IX, 5-8 (1934): 173-74.

397. Stewart Buettner, "John Dewey and the Visual Arts in America." Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism 33 (Summer 1975): 384.

398. Ibid., 384 and 387.

399. See Part IV for discussion of Motherwell, and Paalen's and DYN's relationship to Dewey.

400. Zervos, "Art Ancien": 173: ["C'est qu'en effet les règles éternelles découvertes aux grades époques de l'humanité avaient, il y a à peine quelques années, obsédé de nombreux esprits...etc."]

401. Ibid.: ["D'avoir compris la beauté des arts barbares notre génération s'est crée une langue nouvelle, capable de réjouir quelques vraies sensibilités depuis longtemps fatiquées par la phrase toute faite et la locution convenue. Conséquence importante, il y eut un nouvel accord entre la pensée et l'expression."]

402. Ibid.: ["La valeur artistique de la tete del lama, par exemple, reproduite sur cette page, dans sa grandeur, dans sa simplicité, surtout dans son humanité, dépasse de loin les oeuvres les mieux venues de la sculpture contemporaine qu se veaut, à l'exemple des peuples primitifs, réduite à l'expression la plus simple."]

403. See Albert Skira's "Introduction," to the facsimile reprint of Minotaure (New York: Arno Press, 1968, in which he gives a short history of the founding of the journal. For a comprehensive study of Surrealist journals, with summaries of their contents, see, Ades, Dada and Surrealism Reviewed. William Rubin, Dada, Surrealism and Their Heritage, Museum of Modern Art, exhib. cat. (New York: 1968) says that Breton took over editorial direction of Minotaure in 1937.

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404. Christian Zervos, "Enquête," Cahiers d'art X, 1-4 (1935): 5-8.

405. This format predicts John Graham's similar format in System and Dialectics of Art, discussed in Part II ahead.

406. Zervos, "Enquête": 5.

407. The list of those who responded to this inquiry is quite remarkable. It included (in non-alphabetical order): Rouault, Braque, Mondrian, Julio Gonzalez, Ozenfant, Chagall, Will Grohmann, Alberto Magnelli, Henri Laurens, Léonce Rosenberg, Kandinsky, Pierre Loeb, Hélion, Léger, Lipchitz, Herbert Read, et al.

408. Zervos, "Enquête": 6.

409. See Appendix C, reprint of "W.R. Paalen's Réponse."

410. W.R. Paalen, "Réponse à une enquête," Cahiers d'art X, 1-4 (1935): 62.

411. Ibid.

412. In the introduction to her reprinted edition of Graham's System and Dialectics, Marcia Allentuck refers to what she believes were the myriad sources for Graham's ideas on "dialectics." Among the many critics mentioned in Graham's reading list and in the text of SDA were Julius Meier-Graefe, Christian Zervos, and Will Grohmann. This attests to the unity of European avant-garde discourse presented to American artists. See Allentuck, "Preface," VII, 50-60.

413. Interviews conducted with some of Paalen's friends and associates suggested that the relationship between Alice and Wolfgang was not based in romantic love, but in factors of status, convenience, and friendship. There was ongoing tension throughout their marriage - it was never monogamous, as the constant presence of Eva Sulzer indicates, and Alice had frequent affairs with women as well as men.

414. Regler, WP, 26-28; and "Notes," 8: ["En été 1936 il fit un voyage en Gréce pour mieux comprendre, dans son ambiance originale, pourquoi cet art le fascinant tant--malgré lui."] And "Notes," 7: ["D'un côté, il y avait un passion tourjours grandissante pourl'art de l'Océanie et l'art précoombien; de l'autre côté, les idoles de la Gréce préhistorique aussi bien que l'art Grec classique et les cartons de Rafael à Londonres le fascinaient au point d'être troublé des choses aussi hétérogénes à la fois--au lieu de s'en tenir exclusivement au primitifs géométriques comme les abstraits ou à 'l'art sauvage' commes les surréalistes.

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Rétrospectivement, on peut voir que dans ce dualisme s'annoncait la nécessité d'une grande synthése dans laquelle l'élement mythologique et les aspirations humanistes devaient trouver un équilibre inconnu jusqu'à présent...."]

415. "Notes," 6: ["L'art préhistorique de la Gréce, et, tout particuliérement, la précision de cristal des idoles des îles Cycladiques, l'inspiraient grandement, mais sans qu'il ne tomba jamais dans une langage archáisant."]

416. Regler, WP, 20; "Notes," 6, ibid.. Paalen's use of the metaphor of the crystal must relate to his familiarity with Expressionist iconography of the crystal, as he refers to the "glass mountain" (an Expressionist image) in one of his texts. See ahead, Part II for further discussion, and see Rosemarie Bletter, "The Interpretation of the Glass Dream in Expressionist Architecture and the History of the Crystal Metaphor," Journal of Society of Architectural Historians XL, 1 (March 1981): 20-43.

417. This fascination with the crystal must have been "state of the art" knowledge for nineteenth-century science, from which artists derived their metaphor, because even the Viennese art historian Alois Riegl spoke of "...crystalline beauty, 'which constitutes the first and most eternal law of form in inanimate matter, and comes closest to absolute beauty (material individuality)." Alois Riegl, quoted by Wilhelm Worringer in Abstraction and Empathy, 19-20. Paalen had in his library a book by Ernst Haeckel revealingly titled Kristalseelen (Leipzig: Alfred Kroner, 1917). Haeckel's "monism" was discussed earlier in the context of Vienna School philosophy.

418. Regler, WP, 23, acknowledges this fact.

419. Ibid., 28.

420. Ibid., 20; and "Notes," 6: ["De 1934-36 la peinture de Paalen se développa vers une expression monumentale. De larges surfaces, d'apparence lapidaire, comme une sorte de diamants géants, s'illuminaient telles que les premières facettes d'un monde nouveau d'une grandeur toute minérale."]

421. "Notes," 6: ["Une de ces compositions s'appelait, trés significativement, "Visages planétaires." Car, dans ces tableaux, pour la premiére fois apparaissant ce "sens planétaire," qui beaucoup plus tard, allait prendre une si grande importance dans l'oeuvre de Paalen. Un autre, "Cadran lunaire," suggérait par la seule tension de trois tons un grand corps dans l'espace."]

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422. Ibid., 23. The "Wheel of the Storm," is probably a reference to the apocalyptic image of the fiery chariot of the prophet Ezekial.

423. Ibid.

424. The term "Cycladic" was coined by Paalen, in ibid., 23 and "Notes," 7.

425. Marcel Jean, The Autobiography of Surrealism (New York: Viking Press, 1980), 371.

426. Love letters from Picasso to Alice are extant in Alice Rahon Paalen's private papers in Mexico City. I am grateful to Lourdes Andrade, who has these papers, for sharing this information with me. [n.b. Picasso's pictures of women with outrageous hats]

427. Whitney Chadwick, Women Artists and the Surrealist Movement (Boston: Little Brown, 1985, 50 ff.

428. This was told to author in interview with Lourdes Andrade, Mexico City, July 3, 1990.

429. Neufert, "WP: das Werk," "Chronologie," 4 and WP, "Notes," 5:.

430. Neufert, "WP: das Werk," "Chronologie," 4.

431. Neufert, ibid., 5.

432. Ibid. Neufert interview with Stanley William Hayter, 1986 Neufert does not fully document the interview but, rather, seems to report its substantial content. One, therefore, can only assume that the chronology he supplies for the 1930s, that relates directly to Hayter, and indirectly to Hayter about Paalen's contact with the Surrealists et al., is based on the information obtained from Hayter in the interview.

433. "Stanley William Hayter. Drawing, Pen. 1944," DYN (November 1944): unpg.

434. Neufert, "das Werk," "Chronologie," 5; 25, n. 1 and 2; and 26, n. 2: Interview with Jean Hélion, May 1986.

435. Ibid., 5; and 22.

436. Ibid., 5.

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437. See Part IV, for discussion of Paalen's response to Breton's essay in 1945 with the essay, "Crisis of the Subject," to which the Abstract Expressionists responded with their "Subjects of the Artist" school.

438. William Rubin, Dada, Surrealism, and their Heritage, 143. For a theoretical discussion of the "poem/object" see author's ms. "VVV: the Surrealist Review in Exile 1941-1942." In "Myth Today" (Mythologies [New York: Hill and Wange, 1972], 109ff.; and especially 123), Roland Barthes, who extends Surrealist theory and practice through structuralism, gives an interesting linguistic explanation that relates to the "poem-object."

439. Regler, WP, 23; and "Notes," 7. Galerie Pierre was owned by Pierre Loeb, as told to author in interview with André Schoeller, Paris, December 1990, a dealer of primitive art and collector of Paalen's work.

440. Alfred Barr, Fantastic Art, Dada and Surrealism, 274--catalogue numbers: 453. The Strange Destiny of Line, 1935; 454. Antarctic Landscape, 1935; 455. The Exact Hour, 1935; 456. Antifunctionalistic table surrounded by hermaphrodites, 1936.

441. Christian Zervos, "Les Expositions - Paalen (Galerie Pierre)," Cahiers d'art XI, 8 (1936): 277. It is worth at least noting that Paalen's review appeared on the same page with reviews of Kandinsky and Hélion.

442. Rubin, Dada, Surrealism, 211. Evan Maurer ("Dada and Surrealism," in Rubin, ed., "Primitivism", 546) indicates that most of the objects in this exhibition were "borrowed from the collections of individual Surrealists."

443. Letters in the Onslow Ford Archive from Moore at his farm in Hertfordshire to Paalen are dated April 11, 1942 and September 20, 1944. The first letter forwarded "10 or 11 photographs of drawings and sculpture" to Paalen for reproduction in DYN and indicated that due to space and other limitations his sculpture production had been curtailed. It was around this time that he moved to the country in Hertfordshire, which enabled him to return to sculpture. In the January 15/16, 1990 interview with Gordon Onslow Ford, he told this author that his purchase of one of Moore's works had given the sculptor the funds to buy "Hoglands" farm.

The second letter regrets Moore's inability to send color photographs of his work for reproduction in DYN because "it was impossible since the government had forbidden [Kodak color] film sale - it was all used for war purposes." He thanked Paalen for sending copies of DYN to him, complimented him on the journal, sent him a copy of

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Herbert Read's monograph on his own art, and indicated that he believed the war would soon come to an end and enable them to "meet again." Paalen reproduced Moore's sculptures and drawings in DYN II: 28-29; DYN III: unpg.; and DYN 6: unpg. and 14.

444. See Barbara Braun, "Henry Moore and Pre-columbian Art," RES 17/18 (Spring/Autumn 89): 158-97.

445. E.L.T. Mesens, "Le Moyen d'en Finir," London Bulletin 10 (1939): 19. See below for the review of Paalen's exhibition.

446. There is no documentation of Paalen's contact with home in these years, but his response to the devastation and machinations of the Nazis was expressed artistically in the two series of the Paysages totémiques and the Combat of the Saturnian Princes, discussed below. It was also expressed in retrospect in the "Regler" monograph in 1945. It seems like the distance of time and space were necessary for Paalen to be able to confront his feelings about this period. One presumes his previous silence was related to the guilt he felt that he escaped while others did not. See ahead for his story recalling the Munich Pact of 1938, and his "burden of regret" for having lost touch with his younger brothers.

447. See discussion of Breton's essay for Paalen's one-man exhibition in 1939, page 199 below.

448. Sidra Stich, Surrealism: Anxious Vision, University of California, Berkeley, exhib. cat. (San Francisco: 1990), 104.

449. For a complete discussion of these ideas see, Maurer, "In Quest" (Ph.D. Diss.), 16 ff. Maurer exhaustively investigated the anthropological and psychological sources and literature with which the Surrealists were familiar.

450. Stich, Anxious Vision, 104-05.

451. Regler, WP, 28-31.

452. Breton, "Preface," Wolfgang Paalen, Galerie Renou et Colle, exhib. cat., (Paris: 1938), unpg.

453. WP, "Autobiographical Passage," Jacqueline Johnson, trans. in Barreda, ed., Hommage, 5. First published in "Paysage Totemique II," DYN 2 (1942): 46: ["Je pense à la féerie survenue dans une unit de mon enfance. Entre un seul lever et coucher d'automne une prodigieuse montée d'incalculable processions de nonnes spolia toute une forêt. Tout le bois entre la maison de Sunga et le flanc de la

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colline oú s'élevait le château voisin--qui alors soudainement et pour le premiére fois apparut à travers le squelette forestier dans la stupéfaction matinal. Nous nous frottions les yeux: il était bel et bien là comme un de ces château surgis aux doigts des Djinns selon le caprice d'un prince méchant. Toute la nature sylvestre traîtreusement désarmée retenait son souffle, aphone et comme transformée en verre opaque; sous nos pas seulement crissèrrent les aiguilles des sapins vitrifiés. La premiére rafale nous fit frémir: aux lèvres de l'aquilon la forêt comme une coupe en cristal tinta."]

454. See author's essay, "Dynaton: The Painter/Philosophers," in Halpern, ed., DYNATON: Before and Beyond, 24, for discussion of the concept of "ancestors to come."

455. Michael Brenson's somewhat jaundiced review of Stich's exhibition and catalogue in The New York Times ("Surrealism's Roots in Its Time," Saturday, November 24, 1990: Section L 11: 14) faulted her for her reduction of Surrealist works to exclusively political interpretations: "This exhibition of about 175 paintings, sculptures, photographs and mixed-media works is revisionist, important, misleading and fresh. It has both the strengths and the weaknesses of a focus in which the only context that matters is one of upheaval." It can be seen in the quotation on Paalen, however, that Stich is well-apprised of the psychological and anthropological sources for Surrealism in her citation of Lévy-Brühl, and certainly this is an unquestionably appropriate source for the "encyclopedic" and erudite intelligence of Paalen.

456. "Notes," 8: ["En été 1937 Paalen fît un voyage à Prague et dans la forêt de Bohéme, voyage qui revivifait des souvenirs d'enfance. On retrouve cette "Stimmung" tout particuliérement dans les illustrations qu'il fît pour "Le diamant de l'herbe" de Forneret (publié en Minotaure) et d'autres dessins.... Cette même année il mit au peint son invention du "fumage," la peinture à la fumée de chandelle, qui a été considéré une des principal des techniques "automatiques."]

457. José Pierre, Domaine de Paalen, Galerie Galanis Hentschel, exhib. cat. (Paris: Éditions Galanis, 1970), 21.

458. Rubin, Dada, Surrealism, 139-40. Frantisek Smejkal, Surrealist Drawings (Prague: Artia, Octopus Books Ltd., 1974), 7 ff.

459. Breton, "Preface," Wolfgang Paalen, Galerie Renou et Colle (1938), 17.

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460. Ibid.: "...le fumage, boucles à perte de vue de la femme aimée dans les ténèbres."

461. WP, trans. and illus., "Liste d'une collection d'outils destinés à être vendus aux enchères publiques dans la maison de Sir H.S. la semaine prochaine," Minotaure 12-13 (1939): unpg. Earlier, Breton had published a page on Lichtenberg "Têtes d'Orage" [in Minotaure 10 (1936): 3], which was reprinted in his Anthologie de l'Humour noir published in Paris by Cahiers G.L.M., 1937. Paalen had an anthology of Lichtenberg's writings in his library: Unterblicher Lichtenberg (Berlin: Waldemar Hoffmann Verlag, n.d.); and his Aphorismen, Herausgegeben Rychner (Zurich: Manesse Verlag, Cozett & Hubert, 1947)--Tepoztlan Library List.

462. Regler, WP, 32.

463. "Georg Christoph Lichtenberg 1742-1799," DYN 1: 16.

464. The source of information for this discussion is Richard Kaplan's documentary, "Exiles" (1989), aired on the Public Broadcasting Station (Channel 13), New York and reviewed by author at PBS Screening Room, New York, NY. Those also in danger included musicians, poets and artists of all media, physicists, psychologists, social scientists, and historians -many, if not all, Jewish. To enumerate the individuals who escaped would be too lengthy a task. Suffice to say that the "intellectual migration," has a history of its own that, finally, transformed the social landscape not only of Europe, but of the United States and the Americas as well.

465. See page 66, n. 36, above for the quotation of this memoir.

466. Ibid., 32.

467. Germain Viatte, ed., Styrsky, Toyen, Jindrich, Musée National d'art moderne, exhib. cat., (Paris: 1982), 21: ["Le rêve est devenu pour Styrsky une porte par laquelle il revient au paradis de l'enfance perdue et parfois jusqu'à la sécurité de la vie prénatale."] On this topic see, also, Maurer's dissertation, "In Quest," passim.

468. As stated by José Pierre, Wolfgang Paalen (California and Paris: Editions Filipacchi, 1980), 7.

469. Breton, "Preface," Wolfgang Paalen: ["La fênetre donnait sur une place hérissée de mâts totémiques.... Dans la lumière de la fatalité s'élucidaient les taches solaires qui passent pour assécher momentanément certains lacs et modifier le pelage de certaines bêtes."]

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470. Regler, WP, 33-34; and "Notes," 8-9: ["Après la côté plutot "paysage" de la première moitié de son style totémique, surgissent, en 1938, des êtres rutilants et menaçants, les "Princes Saturniens," dont les "combats" couvrent queles magnifiques toiles de pierres précieuses en fusion. J'y vois tout particulièrement la prémonition de la catastrophe imminente, d'une guerre qui allait changer l'échelle même de la puissannce humaine, en déchainant des forces élémentaires au-delà des rêves des sorciers et des alchimistes. Il faut remonter jusqu'à Bosch et Grunewald pour trouver une vision de terreur égale en grandeur à celle du plus grand tableau du "Combat des Princes Saturniens."]

471. Regler, WP, 31-32. This reference to Rackham is found in two reviews of Paalen's exhibitions: one positive review of the show at Guggenheim Jeune, London; and one negative review at Julien Levy Gallery, New York. See text below, and Part IV.

472. Interview with Madame Georgette Dupin, Meudon, France, November 25, 1990.

473. Michael Paalen letter 31.10.90, in Kloyber, ed., Nachlass, -2-.

474. Cf. Regler, WP, 12.

475. See above, page 108, n. 337.

476. Wolfgang Paalen, in "Surprise and Inspiration": 8-9.

477. "Munich Agreement," Encyclopedia of World War II (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978), 419.

478. Regler, Owl of Minerva, 358-59.

479. Ibid., 358-59.

480. "Wannsee Conference," Encyclopedia of World War II, 666: "...the minutes of the meeting survive..."; and "Extermination Camps," 181.

481. "The Wannsee Conference," aired on PBS, New York, April 12, 1991.

482. Author's conversations with Christian Kloyber, January 1991 and September 1993 indicated that the fates of the Paalen family are still left unresolved. According to author's interview with Luchita Hurtado (Paalen's second wife), December 7, 1992, Paalen said that his father died in Switzerland during the 1940s. However, death dates of 1942 are given by Kloyber in "Wolfgang Paalen: Das Abenteuer einer Biographie," in WP: Zwischen, D. Schrage, ed., 184 and

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186, for Gustav, Emmy, and Gustav Rainer Paalen. It is possible that they were all suicides.

483. Rubin, Dada, Surrealism, 211.

484. Ibid. See above, page 139, n. 449.

485. Regler, WP, 32; and "Notes," 8: ["En janvier 1938 il contribua très activement à la grande exposition surréaliste dans le catalogue [...] il appara entre les principaux organisatueurs."] It is possible that this exhibition, or a modified version of it, was the same "Exposition Surrealiste," that traveled to Gloucester, Toronto, and Amsterdam, in this same year. See, also, "Brief Chronology," in Barreda, ed. Hommage.

486. Regler, WP, 32.

487. Rubin, Dada, Surrealism, 212.

488. Regler, WP, 32.

489. On this topic see author's paper, which relates this disposition to historical causes: "The Surrealist Representation of the Headless Woman: Vision, Eros, and History," in Georg Schöllhammer & Christian Kravagna, eds., REAL TEXT (Vienna: Verlag Ritter Klagenfurt, 1993): 201-26. [text in German & English].

490. Rubin, Dada, Surrealism, 154.

491. "Notes," 8: ["On sait la sensation que créa cette exposition entre les mannequins dans le long couloir celui de Paalen, une statue bleue couronnée d'un vampire à ailes grandes-ouvertes et vêtue d'une robe en vrais champignons frais, fût considéré comme unde des plus réussis."] See, also, Marcel Jean, Histoire de la Peinture Surréaliste (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1959), 281.

492. Sarane Alexandrian, Surrealist Art (New York: Praeger, 1970), 110.

493. On the theme of "Woman as Muse" and for a detailed study of the Surrealist relationship to women in their circle, see Chadwick, Women Artists, passim.

494. Isabel Marin [de Paalen] is the sister of Diego Rivera's second wife, Lupe Marin, and daughter of the well-known Marin family of Guadelajara, patrons of art and culture in Mexico City.

495. Roger Caillois, "Mimetisme et psychoasthénie légendaire," Minotaure 7 (1935): 5-10.

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496. Quoted in Pierre, Wolfgang Paalen, 5.

497. Dictionnaire abrégé du surréalisme, in Lucy Lippard, ed. and trans., Surrealists on Art, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1970), 210.

498. On this topic, see, Maurer, "In Quest," 21, where he discusses the Dada and Surrealist knowledge of Jung.

499. Die Analyse der Empfindungen (Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1911) is included in the list of books in Paalen's library at his death. Mach had a measurable influence on other artists besides Paalen, including Paul Klee. In his diaries and in the notebooks for the courses he taught at the Bauhaus, Klee made reference to Mach's The Analysis of Sensations. Cf., Arnold Glimcher and Paul Vitz, Modern Art and Modern Science (New York: Praeger, 1984), 164. See further discussion of Paalen and Mach in Part IV ahead. See, also, p. 67 above.

500. Breton, "Préface," Exposition WP, Galerie Renou et Colle, (Paris: June-July 1938), was signed "Au large des Bermudes, 10 Avril 1938." André Bréton, "Wolfgang Paalen," trans., London Bulletin 6 (1938): 16-18. Rubin, Dada, Surrealism, 212, says that the first issue of the London Bulletin appeared in April 1938. Gordon Onslow Ford helped edit the last number of the London Bulletin.

501. Xavier Forneret, "Le Diamant de l'Herbe," Minotaure 3, 10 (1936): 9-16. See Paalen's reference in the "Notes Biographiques," 8, to these illustrations as inspired by memories of his youth.

502. Breton, "WP", in London Bulletin: 16.

503. Ibid.: 17.

504. Gordon Onslow Ford, "Paalen the Messenger," in Barreda, ed., Hommage, 24.

505. Neufert, "das Werk," "Chronologie," 5. See also London Bulletin 10 (1939): unpg. advertisement for The London Gallery.

506. Georges Hugnet, "Wolfgang Paalen," London Bulletin 6 (1938): 27: ["...Wolfgang Paalen a dressé de stridentes figures, aux ailes repliées, au regard en cocon, gardiennes du domaine pour le moins merveilleux qu'il pressent, déchiffre, pressent encore, découvre et interprête.

....Paalen qui sait refaire du feu avec la fumée, n'en aura pas appelé en vain à l'automatisme. La flamme d'une bougie délivre les ailes, déchirfe le cocon....elle libère les fleurs en toile d'araignée, les cités

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transparentes...clefs d'une aile nouvelle de l'immense château dont chaque chambre est une mer our une forêt et oú nous promenons notre fébrilité magique.

La peinture surréaliste qui veut identifier la réalité au rêve, apporte là un autre moyen automatique de mettre à jour, de saisir sur le vif les paysages fabuleux qui hantent l'homme depuis son enfance. Au rêve de l'homme se mêle intimement le rêve des choses. Paalen ne peint pas les rêves, il les retrouve dans ce que lui proposent ses aventures et ses recherches.

Ces objets trouvés, incroyables, dont l'usage parait indéfinissable, il les transforme en d'autres objets trouvés, croyables e d'un usage éclatant. Son goût pour les objets l'amène à nous proposer ces sculpture en cuir dont la main séduite varies les dispositions. Et de cette chasse au trésor, Paalen rapporte l'arme dont il souffla la bougie au radiographies luisant dans les tènébres: le squellete d'un pistol."]

507. Herbert Read "Wolfgang Paalen," Minotaure 12-13 (1939): unpg. (in French and in English).

508. Anonymous review, News Chronicle, 23 February 1939, Archives of American Art, Peggy Guggenheim Papers, Art of This Century, Reel ITVE 1, 101; and Anonymous review Sketch, PG Papers, ibid., 99, quoting Paalen: ["Parapluie en éponge, anticipation d'un autre parapluie devenu si tristement célébre...."]

509. Anonymous review, "Wonderful London,"Daily Sketch, 19 February 1939, AAA, PG Papers, ibid.

510. Anonymous review, The Tatler, 1 March 1939, AAA, PG Papers, ibid.

511. Anonymous review, Sketch, 22 February 1939, AAA, PG Papers, ibid., 99.

512. Anonymous review, Studio [n.d., 1939], Guggenheim papers, ibid., 100.

513. Regler, WP, 24; and "Notes," 7: ["La "fausse sécurité," le "végétarisme intellectuel" du milieu abstrait ou l'on simplifiait l'art et la vie par des exclusions arbitraires pour s'en tenir à un formalisme de pensée et de moyens plastiques de plus en plus étroit, ne pouvait pas, a la longue, satisfaire un esprit faustien qui cherchait dans l'art une réponse aux énigmes de la vie et une meilleur compréhension du destin de l'homme."]

514. Regler, WP, 31-32. See, also, page 152 above.

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515. Jan Gordon, "The Aesthetic and the Real--Individualities," Art and Artists, 19 February 1939, AAA, PG Papers, 99.

516. Anonymous review, source unidentified, [1939], AAA, PG Papers, 99.

517. Anonymous review, New Chronicle, 23 February 1939, AAA, PG Papers, 101.

518. André Breton and Diego Rivera, "Towards an Independent Revolutionary Art," London Bulletin 6 (October 1938): 29-31. A more inclusive discussion of the context and content of this essay are found in Part III.

519. André Breton, Mexique, Galerie Renou et Colle, exhib. cat. (Paris: 10 March 1939). See discussion of this exhibition and catalogue in Part III ahead.

520. Hayden Herrera, Frida: A Biography of Frida Kahlo (New York: Harper and Row, 1983), 252.

521. Leonor Morales, WP: Introductor, 23: ["Wolfgang y Alice concieron a Frida Kahlo durante una brevia visita que ésta les hizo en París en el año de 1937; los esposos fuero invitados con insistencia por la pintora mexicana para que visitaran México. Al año siguiente, Breton estuvo con los Rivera y a su regreso llevó un mensaje para los Paalen; se insistía en la invitación hecha por Frida."] And, with respect to Frida and Alice's friendship, see, Herrera, Frida 244-246; and 255. Herrera interviewed Alice Rahon in Mexico City in March 1977.

522. Morales, WP: Introductor, 24.

523. Breton, "Preface," Wolfgang Paalen, 17: ["Wolfgang Paalen n'a cessé depuis lors de régner sur les régions que guette le désemparement, aux confins de l'embroussaillement et du naufrage, d'y faire prévaloir un ordre qui tourne à la gloire du printemps comme la séve lorsqu'elle envahit la clématite sauvage."]

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# PART II
# PAALEN AND THE "PRIMITIVE": TRAVEL AND RESEARCH

## A. INTRODUCTION

Shortly after arriving in New York in May 1939, and before establishing himself in Mexico, Paalen embarked on a journey of immense significance both as a kind of fulfillment of interests that he had increasingly developed in the 1930's, and as a source of inspiration for some of his most important writings of the 1940s. This was his journey to the Northwest Coast, followed by his immigration to Mexico City only four months later.

Although it has been said that André Breton sent him as his representative, it was not only as a spokesman for Surrealism, but for his own reasons that Paalen went to Mexico and America. On the one hand, Paalen was motivated by his admiration for Native American art and culture of the Northwest Coast and sought, as he said, "to study at the source what was actually left of Indian art of the American north-west coast, and also to get to know the grandiose scenery of Canada and Alaska."[1] In the trip to the Northwest Coast, Paalen followed in the path of his friend, another German emigré and second-generation Surrealist, Kurt Seligmann.

Seligmann had made a similar journey in 1938 and, according to his widow, it was undertaken to satisfy the desire of the director of the Musée de l'Homme to add Northwest Coast material to those collections.[2] Seligmann

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acquired from the Tsimshian tribe a sixty-foot high mât totem for the Museum.[3] In order to do this, he was obliged to become a member of the mât clan and assume a clan name; but this also gave him access to the meaning of the totemic symbols and legends carved on the post, about which he wrote an article for the ethnological Journal de la Société des Américanistes.[4]

Upon his return from the journey, Seligmann also published an article in Minotaure entitled "Entretien avec un Tsimshian."[5] In it, he recalled a conversation with a Tsimshian tribe member. Their exchange of legends revealed a rapport in the myths of their respective cultures, in which man and animal were mated. He also published his own photograph of a Nootka cemetery at Alert Bay, British Columbia, and a detail of a totem carving to illustrate the "Myth of the Léchées Language."

Seligmann's journey was undoubtedly the prototype for Paalen's trip and its resulting collection, research, and writing about the Northwest Coast. This is especially true in his essay "Totem Art," which expounded upon relationships of humans and animals in Old and New World mythologies. Even given this precedent, by his own account, Paalen was intensely engaged with this culture prior to Seligmann's trip. In "Paysage Totémique" he recalled that in 1937:

> there happened to come my way one of those objects so much coveted for long, a model of a totem pole, beautiful work of the Haida Indians, carved in black slate. But no one then knew enough to tell me much of those legendary Queen Charlotte

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> Islands, of British Columbia, of Vancouver Island, much less known than the center of Africa, of what might be left of those famous tribes of warriors and magnificent sculptors... Two years later, when there opened as by enchantment the door of that great "community house" I knew that I had done nothing arbitrary.[6] (Fig. 68)

Paalen undoubtedly began studying this culture and totemism well before 1937, because it was also in that year that he began the "paysage totémique" paintings. By 1939 his painted landscape fantasies became reality as he experienced the magnificent vistas of the Pacific Northwest.

On the other hand, Paalen was pressed to leave Europe and Nazi terrorism behind. Between September 1939 and April 1940, after he left Europe, the German armies invaded Belgium, Holland, and France. By 10 June 1940, Paris was bombed; on 20 June 1940, the city fell to the Germans. In June 1939, Matta and his new American wife, the artist Ann Clark, arrived in New York, followed by Yves Tanguy and his American wife, the artist Kay Sage, an heiress and princess (by marriage). Sage was instrumental in the following months in organizing an emergency rescue committee that would aid the other Surrealists, not married to American citizens, to flee Europe.[7] Paalen departed before the Occupation, having felt its inevitability,[8] and spared himself the trauma of escape through the free port of Marseille to which many of the other Surrealists were subjected.[9]

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Paalen's stay in New York was short - only long enough to pass through the gates of immigration at Ellis Island,[10] make contact with the New York art community, and visit the New York World's Fair Exposition that had opened that year.[11] The World's Fair must have been inspiring with its futuristic architecture orchestrated around the theme of technology and progress, especially in light of Paalen's Expressionist predisposal to futuristic themes. (Figs. 69 and 70). But Paalen's impression of New York itself was essentially unfavorable and was partly the reason he preferred to reside in Mexico, near a source of Native American art and culture. In "Paysage Totémique" (II) he wrote:

> in New York a world appeared before him for the first time, as though he too, had taken off the top of a termitary [ed.-i.e., termite's nest]: "It is Kafka who has foreseen all, understood all."
>
> "And thus day and night are turning the great useless turbines of the man-mill, freezing the veins of one who knows, who passes, who thinks and sees coming the columns of the larval-headed more terrifying than the zombies..."[12]

His passage to Mexico was made overland via Canada and the West Coast of the United States.[13] Paalen went to Ottawa where, with a letter of introduction identifying him as a representative of the Musée du Trocadéro, he obtained permission to "visit various Indian reserves on the Prairies and in British Columbia during the [present] summer."[14]

He then began his journey to the Northwest Coast by way of the Trans-Canadian Railway, about which he wrote in one

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part of his poetic autobiography-cum-travel diary, "Paysage Totémique":

> Accustomed to travel leaning out, I would never, however, have believed it possible to forget the vehicle so completely. The rails in these woods become too abstract a hyphen, a foot-bridge too narrow and incomprehensible on the precipice of centuries not to deny reality to what rolls along on them - at a stagecoach speed moreover, jerking to halts more and more frequent and inexplicable... The fact of moving along on the single artery of these imponderable distances - no road yet links British Columbia to the rest of Canada - from hour to hour the acuteness of a physical sensation is so strongly sharpened that one would be tempted to stipulate the rudiments of a new sense of gestation: the sense of dimension.[15]

Arriving in Alberta, the Paalen party traveled west from Jasper to the outpost of Prince Rupert, British Columbia on the edge of the Pacific Queen Charlotte Straits. From there they explored the various tribal territories of the Northwest Coast civilization, stopping at sites on the mainland and the islands as they moved south. Eva Sulzer documented the trip and Paalen used many of her photographs to illustrate his essay "Totem Art" in the "Amerindian" number of DYN,[16] as well as the series of "Paysage Totémique" essays he published serially in all the issues of DYN.[17] (Figs. 71, 72, 73, 74, 75)

From the standpoint of collecting, his trip was a great success. He acquired many rare and outstanding examples of Haida, Kwakiutl, Tlinghit, and other tribal art. But the experience of those living cultures had an impact on him as

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well. The "Paysage Totémique" diaries again reveal some of his impressions:

> Names from afar blinding with snow like the train of the ermine head-dress of the old Tlinghit chiefs, giving way on approach to gently xylophonic names with the sound of wooden bells in the felt hand of an endless dew: Haida, Bella, bella, Bella-Coola, Kwakiutl, Nootka.
>
> The omnipresent perfume of Vancouver up to beyond Sitka, the aroma of freshly cut red cedar with the special savour of a good pencil, the only synthesis approaching it would be a subtle dosage of vetiver mixed with jasmine, with a dash of sandalwood--it is the soul of the magnificent tree, this "gigantic Thuya" that makes heraldic column, house, canoe, whose tanned bark clothes its people of the forest.[18]

Seduced by the spirit of the "Indians," and the climate and majesty of the vast coastal forests of the Pacific Northwest, Paalen seduced his readers with rhythms and sensations communicated through a lush, layered language. His relationship to Native American life grew during his years in Mexico where he came to feel "incurably unfaithful to the white race."[19]

After three-month's in Alaska and British Columbia, the party traveled down the West Coast through San Francisco, where they saw the monumental "Pacific Cultures" exhibition of aboriginal art at the Golden Gate International Exposition.[20]

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## B. ARTISTIC PERCEPTION AND USES OF THE "PRIMITIVE" IN GERMANY AND THE UNITED STATES

### 1. A Paradoxical Condition

Artistic identification with, and appropriation of, "primitive" art and culture posed a paradox - what James Clifford has called the "predicament of culture."[21] On one hand, artists desired to see art and artists attain the same vital status that they possessed in tribal society. To these and other modern artists, art in Western civilization had become something based in commemorative (secular-historical/temporal) and aesthetic, rather than ritual (religious-ahistorical/atemporal) and functional value - divorcing aesthetics from the ethical and social base it possessed in philosophical discourse. For this reason, die Brücke emphasized communality and renewed the craft basis of their art, creating whole environments and conceiving of art not only as singular luxury items, but as artifact, architecture, and applied art alike. On the same basis, die Brücke viewed their art and the artist as prophetic and spiritual, vitally in touch with the energies of human society and the cosmos. The Surrealists, building upon the early theories of 19th- and 20th-century sociology and psychology (Frazer, Wundt, Lévy-Bruhl, Freud, Jung, etc.),[22] found affinities in the psyche of modern and "primitive" man, prescribing the role of shaman for the artist and affixing to art virtually "magical" transformative powers. Analogously, they assigned

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transcendental poetic value, to the art object - the "poem/object" in Surrealist parlance. Later, the bio-social philosophy of John Dewey, calling for a reintegration of art and experience and a dynamic role for the artist, would carry the same connotations for Paalen and the Abstract Expressionists.[23] It has been observed that the "puritanical" character of American culture attracted them to "art as an ethic, rather than an esthetic."[24] Dewey's ethical pragmatism thus appealed to their sensibility, as it did to Paalen.

On the other hand, artists viewed "primitive" society in an overly simplified, idealistic, and naive manner, overlooking the extreme disparities of their own situations with the history, mores, institutions, psychology, and practices of native and modern civilization. In Europe and the United States, artists conflated modern and "primitive" societies and invented a mythology that assumed a kinship with "savage" man. They projected utopian values onto tribal societies and, on the whole, failed to look at these societies as diverse, living cultures with histories and purposes of their own. By their very idealization, they consigned them to a position not unlike fossils fixed and preserved in a (Bergsonian) timeless continuum intrinsically linked to nature. This attitude ignored the bleak contemporary social, political, and economic realities imposed on aboriginal cultures by Western civilization. Similarly, they viewed artifacts of these cultures entirely

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out of context as "'empty vessels' into which meaning could be read."[25] Speaking to these points, Marianna Torgovnick has observed that the powerful and seductive image of the "primitive" which persists to this day is virtually sustained by the "fluidity of primitivist discourse" and its "sets of images and ideas that have slipped from their original metaphorical status to control perceptions of primitives."[26]

The phrase, "empty vessels," comes from the writing of the early German theorist of primitivism, Carl Einstein.[27] It should be noted that while Einstein's use of this phrase was not meant to be critical or pejorative, it is, however, revealing of the era's lack of perspective on its own cultural chauvinism. Einstein also contributed an article to Documents, the Surrealist publication which was an "ethnographic Surrealist collaboration."[28] Entitled "André Masson, étude ethnologie" the essay related Masson's art to "the return of mythological creation, the return of a psychological archaism, as opposed to a purely imitative archaism of forms."[29] Discussing Masson's images that combined and metamorphosized animals and humans, it characterized this mythic psychology as "totemic." As already elicited, this discourse obviously had significance for Seligmann and Paalen, a second generation of Surrealists who followed the pattern of "ethnographic Surrealism" as artist-scholars who went into the field, documented mythic

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structures, and developed primitivistic theories for modern art.

But, as well-demonstrated by Clifford, this ethnographic interest was problematic, inheriting many assumptions and attitudes from the period of "high Colonialism" (ca. 1900) and allowing for a skewing of narratives (accounts), that reflected ahistorical and personally and culturally subjective and reductive translations, as well as severe imbalances in power relations.[30] In the late-Colonialist moment in which Paalen and the Surrealists worked, the advocacy of a new anti-Colonial reception of native ("primitive") arts and culture was seriously compromised by lingering high Colonial attitudes and assumptions.

Speaking about the ethnographic community and, thereafter, about the complex fusion of ethnographic and avant-garde cultures in 1930s Paris, Clifford has characterized the "predicament of culture" as a romantic response to the loss of "authentic traditions." This response is expressed in manifold ways. First, as an "artificial aesthetic purification," which exhorts the preservation and collection of "original" cultures in endangered places, while ignoring the autonomous political, economic, and social rights and structures of colonized, under-siege societies. Second, in a resignation to the "inevitable" march of history and in a rationalizing turn

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away from the "original," to celebrate or invoke a "progressive, technological future."[31]

Echoes of this dialectical response are clearly evident in Nietzschean discourse and, coordinately, in the avant-garde artistic community. It is significant that the (Nietzschean) attack on materialism and commercialism, and consequent nostalgia for the "authentic," "sincere," and "natural state" of the "primitive," was espoused by both German and American Expressionists and was amply available in their rhetoric. Nonetheless they disregarded the often pathetic, sometimes grisly, facts of colonialism.

In the memoir of his 1913 visit to the South Seas island of Palau, die Brücke artist Max Pechstein interpreted the culture from an idealized Western viewpoint, following the example of Gauguin, who had imposed his own syncretic, exotic, and Christian vision onto Tahiti.[32]

Of all the German artists to draw inspiration from the "primitive," it was Emil Nolde alone who gave some critical perspective to the realities of colonialism. Like Pechstein, he journeyed to the South Seas, but with a demographic mission sent to investigate native conditions in New Guinea, rather than as an individual. Years later, in his autobiography he wrote:

> Colonialism is a brutal matter. If a history of colonialism could be written from the point of view of the natives we white Europeans would crawl off to hide... Perhaps it is possible to comfort ourselves with ideas about the survival of the fittest as it exists in the animal and vegetable worlds as a natural law. If it is possible to

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> draw comfort from such a law to justify the actions of Europeans here... One thing is for sure. White men are the enemies of colored native peoples.[33]

Even given this insight, which acknowledged the hypocrisies of "social Darwinism,"[34] upon his return, in his actual painting practice he turned to a mystical, mythologizing vision.

Pechstein's statements have an uncanny resemblance to statements made by Adolph Gottlieb and Barnett Newman with reference to the "primitive" weltanschauung with which they analogously identified. Pechstein believed that in native artifacts he could see "their trembling piety and awe before the incomprehensible powers of nature; their hopes and thrills, their fears and their subservience to unavoidable fate."[35] Assuming the role of the modern "primitive," in his paintings (like Vir Heroicus Sublimus,1950-51) and texts of the nineteen forties, Barnett Newman made comparisons between "primitive" conceptions of a hostile cosmos and modern fear and dread of the Atomic Age.[36] He referred to Abstract Expressionist painting as "a living thing, a vehicle for an abstract thought-complex, a carrier of the awesome feelings...felt before the terror of the unknowable.[37] In the same moment, Adolph Gottlieb compared images he created in the climate of World War II to "primitive irrationality," saying: "Today when our aspirations have been reduced to a desparate attempt to escape from

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evil...our obsessive, subterranean and pictographic images are the expression of the neurosis which is our reality."[38]

Characterising "primitive" as obsequious, using the past tense to describe living cultures, and projecting his own "neurosis" onto native peoples, in 1943 Gottlieb said:

> If we profess kinship to the art of primitive man, it is because the feelings they expressed have a particular pertinence today... All primitive expression reveals the constant awareness of powerful forces, the immediate presence of terror and fear, a recognition of the brutality of the natural world as well as the eternal insecurities of life. That these feelings are being experienced...today is an unfortunate fact and to us an art that glosses over or evades these feelings is superficial and meaningless. That is why we insist on subject matter that embraces these feelings and permits them to be expressed.[39]

As considered in Part I, following Simmel's ideas, die Brücke, like later second-generation Expressionist groups, viewed themselves as "urban primitives," where the forms, passions, and rituals of modern urban society were seen as corresponding to those of tribal society.[40] By way of contrast and comparison, as the basic mode of analysis and presentation, they drew untroubled (but for us problematic) parallels between the "primitive" and the civilized, likening the problems, neuroses, and fears of "homo urbanus" with those of "homo neolithus." By 1913, as urban problems escalated and the Great War approached, the construct of urban primitivism took on a hostile and threatening tenor; as is apparent in the work of Georg Grosz, Otto Dix, and

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others, it become increasingly vitriolic and violent in the post-war period.[41]

Perhaps the most just characterization of the shared zeitgeist of these artists is in the term "crisis mentality," the momentum of which gave rise to a distinctive, twentieth-century modernism.[42] For both groups this crisis was brought about as a result of economic depression and war, creating circumstances of both solidarity and despondency. Germany, on the eve of World War I, has been described by Yule Heibel as:

> politicaly highly unstable: pending war announced itself several times prior to its actual outbreak. In response to this, radical intellectuals, writers and avant-garde artists attempted to circulate a critique of the society they lived in--a critique...strongly identified with the apocalyptic temper of Bourgeois dissolution.[43]

Heibel continues, outlining the series of "Moroccan crises" of 1911, when Wassily Kandinsky wrote his treatise On the Spiritual in Art[44]. Responding to the events and climate of his time, Kandinsky said:

> When religion, science, and morality are shaken (the last by the mighty hand of Nietzsche), when the external supports threaten to collapse, then man's gaze turns away from the external and toward himself. Literature, music, and art are the first and most sensitive realms where this spiritual change becomes noticeable in real form. These spheres immediately reflect the murky present; they provide an intimation of that greatness which first becomes noticeable only to a few, as just a tiny point, and which for the masses does not exist at all.
>
> They reflect the great darkness that appeared with hardly any warning. They themselves become dark and murky. On the other hand, they turn away from the soulless content of modern life, toward materials and environments that give a free hand

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> to the nonmaterial striving and searchings of the thirsty soul.[45]

With the outbreak of World War II in the United States, Adolph Gottlieb recalled:

> During the 1940s, a few painters were painting with a feeling of absolute desperation. The situation was so bad that I know I felt free to try anything, no matter how absurd it seemed.[46]

By 1947, when Motherwell issued a new edition of Kandinsky's treatise,[47] the assimilation of Expressionist ideas was all but complete. It is noteworthy that Wolfgang Paalen experienced both of these historical moments. His reception of the events and ideas of the earlier period was the basis for his contribution to the forging of the ideology and style of the second. This underscores Kandinsky's own words in the introduction to On the Spiritual in Art:

> There exists, however, another outward similarity of artistic forms that is rooted in a deeper necessity. The similarity of inner strivings within the whole spiritual-moral atmosphere--...this similarity of the inner mood of an entire period can lead logically to the use of forms successfully employed to the same ends in an earlier period. Our sympathy, our understanding, our inner feeling for the primitives arose partly in this way. Just like us, those pure artists wanted to capture in their works the inner essence of things....[48]

Perhaps the affinities of Abstract Expressionism and German Expressionism can be better understood through knowledge of the diffusion of European ideas into the American cultural landscape, by emigrés like Wolfgang Paalen.

## 2. The German Connection - Primary Sources for Paalen and Abstract Expressionist Primitivism: Freud, Simmel, and Worringer

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Though these attitudes filtered through secondary sources such as DYN, precedents for such ideas are ultimately found in the writings of Sigmund Freud and Georg Simmel, which Paalen knew first-hand. In the 1920s and 30s, in Totem and Taboo, Freud would analogize modern and "savage" society, tracing the rituals and passions of civilized man to their origins in "primitive" psyche and ritual. As he said:

> Only in art does it still happen that a man who is consumed by desires performs something resembling the accomplishment of those desires. People speak with justice of the "magic of art" and compare artists with magicians. But the comparison is perhaps more significant that it claims to be. There can be no doubt that art did not begin as art for art's sake. It worked originally in the service of impulses which are for the most part extinct today. And among them we may suspect many magical purposes.[49]

Of Paalen's subscription to the ideas of Simmel, we have direct proof, recalled in an interview with one of his painting colleagues from Cassis.[50] Simmel was a contemporary of Max Weber and, like him, one of the founders of sociology. His writings "made links between the primal fears of "primitive" man in the face of his environment and modern man's battle to forge his own identity under the pressures of civilization."[51] Simmel expounded upon this concept in "Die Grosstadt und das Geistesleben" ("The City and Mental Health"), published in 1903 in the Jahrbuch der Gebe-Stiftung zu Dresden. This essay and Simmel's thinking were important for avant-garde writers and artists who attended his lectures and discussed his theories in café

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society along with the ideas of Nietzsche, Freud, and Stirner.[52] In the introduction to Abstraction and Empathy, art historian Wilhelm Worringer recounted his chance but fateful meeting with Simmel just prior to the writing of his dissertation, and the weight and inspiration of Simmel's ideas on his own thinking.[53]

The thinking of Simmel and Freud shaped Worringer's attitudes, which simultaneously valued and demeaned "primitive" man as:

> confused and alarmed by life...seek[ing] refuge from its apparent arbitrariness in the intuitive creation of absolute values. In untramelled spiritual activity "primitive" man created for himself symbols of the absolute in geometric or stereometric forms.[54]

In Abstraction and Empathy, Worringer said:

> [primitive man] stands lost and spiritually helpless, because he experiences only obscurity and caprice in the interconnection and flux of the phenomena of the external world...[55]

Having its roots solidly in these German precedents, Paalen's defense of abstraction functioned as a pivotal discourse for the Americans, in the same way that Worringer's had for the Germans.

Rushing says that Worringer was a source for Barnett Newman's thinking by affinity of ideas.[56] In the introduction to his 1946 catalogue Northwest Coast Painting, Newman would allude to Abstraction and Empathy and, thereby, divert attention from his immediate sources of inspiration - like Paalen and DYN:

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> It is becoming more and more apparent that to understand modern art, one must have an appreciation of the primitive arts, for just as modern art stands as an island of revolt in the stream of Western European estheticism the many primitive art traditions stand apart as authentic esthetic accomplishment that flourished without the benefit of European history.[57]

Following the frontispage of the "Amerindian" number of DYN, Paalen had published a portion of one of the essays of the 16th-century philosopher Montaigne, whose sympathies and perception of Native Americans were unusually progressive for their time:

> Our world has lately discovered another...as large, well peopled, and fruitful, as this whereon we live.... If we rightly conclude of our end...that other world will only enter into the light when this of ours shall make its exit.... I am very much afraid that we have greatly precipitated its declension and ruin by our contagion; and that we have sold it our opinions and our arts at a very dear rate....[58]

Although Jackson Rushing said that Annalee Newman told him that her husband was "introduced to Worringer when Clement Greenberg referred him to Form in Gothic,"[59] this appears to be have been after the emergence of Paalen and DYN. Newman may have read DYN before coming into contact with Greenberg. Greenberg's criticism on Abstract Expressionism did not begin appearing until 1943 and it was initially ambivalent, a left-handed response to the painters showing in Peggy Guggenheim's 1943 "Spring Salon."[60]

Mrs. Newman also maintained that Newman "was not impressed with either Nietzsche or Worringer" and that it was "not clear when Newman first encountered the writings of Nietzsche, Jung, and Worringer."[61] The discrepancy in this

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statement and Newman's own references to Nietzsche and Worringer may have something to do with his reception of their ideas through the agency of DYN and other secondary sources. No "pre-1940s" editions of these books exist in Newman's library, and Mrs. Newman said it was probably because Newman would borrow rather than buy books at that time, due to financial limitations.[62]

## C. THE FIRST GENERATIONS OF THE NEW YORK AVANT-GARDE

### 1. The Historical Background

While it is true that American esthetic interest in Native American art began developing as early as the first decade of 1900, interest in this material was on a more isolated and sporadic than comprehensive basis. Efforts at presentation were more generalized and less focused on specific cultures than Paalen's view in the pages of the "Amerindian" number of DYN in 1943. So it was with justice that Fritz Bultmann, an artist and close friend of Jackson Pollock, indicated that "more than [John] Graham or anyone else, including Max Ernst..." enthusiasm for and interest in Northwest Coast art was "spread by the Austrian-born Surrealist Wolfgang Paalen."[63]

The Abstract Expressionist relation to primitivism may also be understood through the primitivist theorizing of first and second-generation American artists before Paalen.[64] Although interest ranged across all cultures, interest specifically in Native American art had a long, if

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uneven history. As early as 1882 the ethnologist Frank Hamilton Cushing had written about the artifacts of the Pueblo Zuni culture for Century Illustrated Magazine, discussing their affinities with Oriental and Occidental artistic expression from the nineteenth-century aesthetic perspective of exoticism.[65] In the 1903 issue of Camera Work, in the same climate of exoticism, Alfred Stieglitz had reproduced Gertrude Käsebier's pictorialist photograph The Red Man and in 1907 published an essay by Käsebier in sympathy with her photographic subject. A series of literary and visual representations and studies of Native American subjects by the Stieglitz circle followed.[66] These attitudes, of course, would have been considered very progressive if not radical for the time and at odds with then-current American mainstream perceptions of the "Red Man" that defended its own policy of "manifest destiny" by demeaning Native Americans and their civilization as savage and dangerous.

As has been observed by Berkhofer, sympathy for the "Indian" was always predicated on the White man's needs. It was always for the sake or betterment of White society that Native American rights were furthered.[67] Thus the reclamation of "America" through recognition of the original Americans was an indirect assertion of national (White) identity. Similarly, when in 1946 Barnett Newman admired Northwest Coast art in his catalogue for the Betty Parsons gallery, he did so, as Aldona Jonaitis (an authority on

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Northwest Coast art) pointed out, "to promote the merits of his own, modern, White art."[68] And although Jonaitis believed that the "most profound exploration of the meaning of Northwest Coast art was done by Wolfgang Paalen," she was critical of his interpretations of the Native American relation to and conception of reality.[69]

On the whole, the initial impetus for American artistic interest in primitivism was stimulated by contacts, mostly expatriate, with European modernism - from Arthur Lesley Dow's nascent period of study in France in 1886, to Stieglitz's championing of European modernist art; from Max Weber and Marsden Hartley's sojourns in Europe, to George L.K. Morris' and John Graham's communication of idées primitivistiques in their writing and painting.[70] Paalen followed this pattern.

The interest in Native American art demonstrated by first-generation American avant-garde painters Max Weber, Marsden Hartley, and John Sloan was less of a group phenomenon than the organized responses by American artists during the 1940s, such as the so-called "Indian Space" painters movement. Still, there was one other major event of importance to the growing awareness of Native American art and culture: René d'Harnoncourt's exhibition of "Indian Art of the United States," organized for MoMA in 1941. This exhibition preceded Paalen's promotion of Native America in the first three issues and the "Amerindian" number of DYN, and served to solidify and institutionally support the

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interest shown by the first generations of the American avant-garde.

2. "Indian Art of the United States" - MoMA, 1941[71]

"Indian Art of the United States," was the first exhibition of Native American art to be sponsored by a major art institution in the United States. The exhibition emphasized both the past and the present art and culture of Native America. It contained over 1,000 items from representative cultures and covered three floors of the Museum.[72] Because funding for the exhibition was abundant, coming from both private and federal sources, the range and quality of the works chosen was exceptional. D'Harnoncourt hoped to construct both an aesthetically effective and ethnologically comprehensive view of Native American art and culture, by tracing the development of North American arts from their beginnings to their contemporary phases, emphasizing the developing cultural and technological levels of "pre-mechanical civilization." To this end, he installed separate study galleries with objects, charts, and texts to demonstrate two potential "abstract contributions" of Native American culture to modern life: the integral role of Native American art in the economic, social, and religious life of a community"; and the unity of technique, material, and form in the objects themselves, well-aligned with the modernist credo of "form follows function."[73]

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As the "Contents" showed, the catalogue was divided into two broad sections of "Prehistoric Art" or "past" cultures; and "Living Traditions," or present cultures, with a third division committed to "Indian Art for Modern Living."[74] D'Harnoncourt even enlisted the cooperation of Swiss fashion designer Fred Picard, whose fashions, enhanced by Native American jewelry, weavings, textiles, and other artifacts, were featured at the exhibition.[75] Each of these divisions occupied separate floors, moving, like an inversion of evolutionary strata, from the most ancient on the third floor, through the historic "living" present on the second, culminating, finally, in the contemporary world of "modern life" on the first.[76] Presentations of pre-historic artifacts were decontextualized, while the "living" cultures were contextualized in displays to reflect the different status of the two broad divisions.[77] The "no-longer-produced" "Prehistoric Arts of the Pacific Coast," including virtually all of the greatest and most monumental examples of Native American civilization, were said to be presented as "art for art's sake": the carvings of the Far West and Northwest Coast, the engravings of the Arctic, etc.[78] The "living" traditions showed the work of, for instance, "Eskimo Hunters of the Arctic," "Fishermen of the Northwest Coast" and "Navaho Shepherds," grouped in regional displays that, according to Rushing, used background colors and lighting to match each native group's environment, juxtaposing objects for thematic and dramatic qualities.

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Thus the cold blue light of the Eskimo environment was contrasted with the warm yellow light of the Southwest.[79] Additionally, a full-scale twelve by sixty foot canvas replica of pictographs from a site in Barrier Canyon, Utah, commissioned at great expense, greeted the visitor in an expansive, naturally-lit room upon emerging from the dark environment of the "kiva" galleries.[80]

Installation photographs of the exhibition give a sense of the magnitude of its production.[81] A totem pole carved by a contemporary Haida artist was placed at the museum's entrance and many special events were held.[82] Eleanor Roosevelt helped inaugurate the show, shown photographed with Frederic Douglas, as well as Fred Kaboti, a Hopi painter, in front of a simulated wall painting. Photographs of Navajoes demonstrating sand painting and silver working were juxtaposed with "Navajo craftsmen inspecting Disney objects." Ceremonial dancers in full costume were photographed with Alice Corbin Henderson, one of the early members of the Santa Fe, New Mexico art colony and popularizers of Native American art, in a mink coat in between them.[83]

The displays themselves were very sophisticated and contemporary: objects were shown isolated or grouped within cubic and long rectangular showcases recessed within the geometry of pure white or black walls. Dramatic highlighting from below and inside the cases emphasized the sculptural quality of objects or the graphic minimal

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aesthetic, characteristic of modernist taste.[84] Rushing stressed d'Harnoncourt's repeated emphasis on the affinities between the "primitive" and the modern, which strove to preserve the past, secure the present, and project the future welfare of Native American culture, at once.

Although Rushing indicates that d'Harnoncourt was actually following the example of Herbert Spinden's 1935 reinstallation of the Brooklyn Museum ethnological collections as an "esthetic unity," d'Harnoncourt's designs and displays went much further.[85] They were assuredly the prototypes for not only current "primitive" exhibition aesthetics, but modernist exhibition aesthetics and "block-buster" marketing strategies as a whole. D'Harnoncourt was celebrated for his modernization of installation in both contemporary reviews of the exhibition and in memorials to him upon his untimely death.[86] The differences between Paalen's scholarly and historical presentations and d'Harnoncourt's sophisticated showmanship, however, were marked, as will be shown below.

## D. ARTISTIC PREDECESSORS OF PAALEN: JOHN GRAHAM, MARSDEN HARTLEY, WASSILY KANDINSKY. THE CONTINUITY OF EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN ART CULTURE

### 1. Marsen Hartley: The German Connection and "Amerikanismus"

The most important first-generation American modernist, who, in his primitivism and connections to German and

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American Expressionism paved the way for Wolfgang Paalen, was Marsden Hartley. Of all the artists prior to the Abstract Expressionists, it was Hartley who was the most dedicated and consistent spokesman for Native American art and (with respect to this dissertation, most appositely) this interest began after his acquisition of the Blue Rider Almanac and his subsequent visits to Munich and Berlin. In 1912, he had purchased the Blue Rider Almanac in Paris. In the same year, he painted a still life that included examples of Acoma pottery and Kwakiutl sculpture (South-western and Northwestern cultures, respectively) in a style similar to a work by Gabriele Münter reproduced in the Almanac, displaying German and Russian folk icons and objects.[87] Hartley sent copies of the Almanac back to Stieglitz in New York with a correspondence saying he had purchased it at the gallery of Clovis Sagot, along with a copy of Kandinsky's On the Spiritual in Art.[88] Even given their familiarity with Kandinsky prior to reception of Paalen's theory, it is important to consider Paalen's reinforcement of Kandinsky's and the Blue Rider's ideas for the New York avant-garde.

By the beginning of 1913, Hartley had gone to Munich to meet Kandinsky, Münter, and Marc, and in May he moved to Berlin where he stayed for six months until his funds ran out. After a brief trip to New York City for several months, he returned to live in Berlin until the end of 1915. In Berlin he had access to the Völkerkunde Museum which in

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1914, reportedly, had "nearly thirty thousand examples [of North American art] virtually all of which were on exhibition in crowded glass cases."[89] This exposure strongly contibuted to Hartley's commitment to and involvement with Native American art thereafter. While living in Berlin, he produced paintings reflecting these sources and later, after his return to the States, a series of essays that stand as some of the earliest commentaries on the value of Native American arts and culture. The first, "Tribal Esthetics," was written in 1918. In 1920 and 1922 he contributed two articles to the publication Art and Archaeology; and in between he wrote an essay on "The Red Man" for an anthology on art.[90]

Hartley called his series of paintings "Amerika," a title that not only borrowed the German spelling, but made implicit reference to the German Expressionist engagement with "Amerikanische" themes to which he had been exposed during his visit to Munich and subsequent stay in Berlin. The profound impression made on him by the German Expressionist movement makes it logical that, just as he had responded to German artistic modernism, so too did he respond to German popular culture and ideas. The translation of ideas from Europe to America by figures like Hartley and Paalen, makes a compelling argument for the role of artists' essays (often published in artists' "little" magazines) in disseminating modernist artistic culture.

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## 2. John Graham's Ecletic Aesthetic

### a. Graham as Mentor

John Graham's role as mentor to the Abstract Expressionists certainly prepared them for the theory and criticism of DYN. Parallels between Paalen and Graham have been made, but Paalen's soundness of intellect requires careful comparison of the two men. Both of them were "Old World" individuals of quasi-aristocratic background, with broad, eclectic classical educations. Graham was born in Russia and came of age at the start of the Russian Revolution, which, as a member of the upper class, he resisted and then fled. Both artists suffered exile due to the exigencies of European history and thus became international citizens. Both suffered the disorientation and loss of transplantation, unable to rise above their circumstances. As the artist Balcomb Greene wrote of Graham in a 1960 letter to John Canaday:

> "thirty years ago he was an important influence in the life, and upon the work of Gorky, David Smith, etc....He could never make the grade from the Pioneer world of Abstraction to the Big Business world, from the cooperative bohemian days to the Rat Race years, being perhaps an incurable romanticist or perhaps being interested too passionately in painting.[91]

This temperamental similarity with Paalen extended in Graham to a kind of noblesse oblige attitude, generous in sharing of ideas and possessions with friends. Graham often made presents of valuable or unusual artworks, as would Paalen at

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the height of his activities as a collector and dealer of pre-Columbian art in Mexico.

It was perhaps as a result of their mutual escapes from the turmoil of war that they both invented myths for themselves, becoming artists of "disguise and deception," as Eleanor Green has said of Graham,[92] depending on reflexes acquired during times of intrigue and danger. Green also indicates that Graham seems to have purposely confused and obscured the facts of his biography,[93] a conceit already observed in Paalen's automythography. If such tampering with the facts presumably began as self-protection in the case of both men, it took on a life of its own long after such insulation had ceased to be necessary.

Like Paalen, Graham struggled to maintain his lifestyle by various devices: selling his art, writing, and art dealing. As with Paalen's fame as a connoisseur and collector of Northwest Coast and pre-Columbian art, Graham was known as an avid collector of African art. While Graham prefigured Paalen as an avatar and theorist of "primitivism," Graham's interest and experience were primarily with African art, as is evident in all the illustrations, save one of an Eskimo mask, for his famous essay "Primitive Art and Picasso" (1937).[94]

On a visit to France in 1935, Dehner and Smith visited Graham and he took them to four exhibitions of African art and introduced them to Parisian dealers.[95] Dehner indicates that "every day he would go out buying or looking....

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For him collecting was a fine art, he was an inspired collector.... Later back in the United States, [his] skills were to lead to the acquisition of fine pieces by [his] artist-neighbors, Adolph Gottlieb, Lucille Corcos, and Edgar Levy among them."[96] This persona and the intensity of Graham's involvement with things African had close affinities with Paalen's relationship to Northwest Coast and pre-Columbian artifacts, with the major difference that Paalen, in addition to his dealing activities, also researched and documented the material that went through his hands. It has been said of Paalen that the actual possession of an object was less important to him than the contact with it - that he would possess objects (or they him) until he had absorbed all he could from them and then, with perfect equanimity, let them go.[97]

Unlike Paalen, Graham's style of writing and scholarship were free-wheeling and highly eccentric, described by Eleanor Green as an "idiosyncratic history of ideas."[98] As Dehner observed, "Graham made intellectual and emotional leaps with grace and assurance"[99] - so much so that he virtually became the magician IOANNUS MAGUS which he styled himself, as, progressively, in the 1930s and '40s, he pursued occult studies. But it was this very quality of eccentricity and audacity that gave him the charisma which attracted a following of the likes of de Kooning, who sought him out; or Jackson Pollock who, like so many of his contemporaries, read System and Dialectics of Art,[100]

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Graham's major book on which he worked from ca. 1927 to 1937.[101]

It is not surprising to read that for all of the enthusiasm and esoteric knowledge, however obtuse, that Graham shared with his younger colleagues:

> Lee Krasner alone came forward at the time of the McMillen show with the admission that she owed much to Graham's work of the early 1930s. But Gottlieb and Newman, for example, gave him no immediate credit in their new manifestos for introducing them to Jung and to art from Africa and other non-Western cultures.[102]

The exhibition at McMillen (a decorating firm), was organized by Graham in November 1942. Titled "French and American Painters" Graham dared to show works by Pollock and Krasner along with those of Picasso, Braque, Matisse, and other established Europeans. It is important to note that this was after Paalen had issued DYN numbers 1, 2, and 3, publishing Motherwell's criticism and Motherwell and Pollock's art, along with works by Calder, Chagall, Moore, and other famous avant-garde artists. Graham's exhibition was seen as a landmark, causing a great stir in New York art circles. In a 1967 interview, de Kooning, who had been in the exhibition as "William Kooning," admonished, "Graham was very important and he discovered Pollock. I make that very clear. It wasn't anybody else, you know."[103]

### b. Wolfgang Paalen and Graham's System and Dialectics of Art[104]

Like DYN in the 1940s, when it was published in 1937 System and Dialectics was

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> well-received; it was almost a best-seller within the coteries of people concerned with issues of contemporary art, and for the next few years well-thumbed copies were quoted and discussed in the automat or wherever artists met.[105]

Graham declared his thesis in the "Preface" to System, saying that it was imperative to address the "state of confusion" regarding what art was. Art, he asserted, had never been defined systematically, as had other branches of the humanities - law, geometry, logic, etc. Thus, a basic working vocabulary of "art, style, form, space, method, composition, design, etc" had to be established.[106]

Graham called his work "Dialectics" because "The art of dialectic criticism is the specific art of our age." He explained dialectics as "a method of plastic, logical argumentation" that would "unite questions of art into a coordinated system." The "System" he proposed would address four points: terminology, art history, classification according to "space-consciousness," and evaluation criteria.

Echoes of Graham's arguments are found in Paalen's essays, sometimes even to the point of appropriation of phrases like the "state of confusion," which Paalen would place into an ethical context. Set up in a question and answer format, a "balance sheet" as he himself called it, Graham's system was highly accessible, but read like an outline for a more sophisticated writer. If Graham established the framework of an argument in a somewhat mechanical fashion, Paalen took the ideas and synthesized and poeticized them.

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There is no doubt that Paalen was aware of System and Dialectics (if only by virtue of the way in which he formulated his own arguments), following, and in opposition to, its main tenets. Undeniably, the book was a paragon for the "burning" questions that possessed American artists in the late 1930s.

The first words of Systems provide a maxim that are at the core of Paalen's model and challenge:

> Art opens access to the unconscious mind,
> science opens access to the conscious mind.[107]

For Graham the basic dialectic was between the "subjective" and the "objective." Paalen would seize not only upon this but upon the very terminology, "systems," applying it to his definition of the "systematic" function of science, as opposed to the "emotive and rhythmic" function of art. Paalen pushed the issue further into the domain of aesthetics and linguistics by discussing this dialectic in terms of "quantities" and "qualities" and relating those, in turn, to abstraction: signs (marks, gestures, notations, and so forth) embodying value[s] derived from the "geist" - the spiritual or emotional energy - of the artist himself. He linked this energy to the energies of the physical universe, extending the metaphor and relationship of art and science.

The premise of art and science found at the heart of Paalen's DYN essays - indeed in the name DYN itself - are foreshadowed in Graham. But Paalen reformulated and brought it into line with 20th-century thinking. If Graham spoke

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about science, his knowledge and his method stemmed from 19th-century Newtonian and Darwinist bases. Paalen borrowed Graham's postulates but utilized the language of new physics, moving the discourse into more abstract systems of thought such as relativity, quantum physics, and astrophysics. Thus he changed the base from an additive to a synthetic method of reasoning.

It is revealing that Graham emphasized the Neo-platonic notion that great art is "static" and that the objective of art itself is "to arrest eternal motion," giving art an Idealist metaphysical foundation.[108] Paalen reversed this emphasis to promote the importance of dynamism and its correlate manifestation in art, rhythm, dismissing the Romantic concept of God the Creator, and man, created and creator in His image.

Like Paalen, Graham defended abstraction versus "imitation and representation," and argued (in Idealist fashion) that the value of abstraction was in its ability to "create new values" and "reveal objects and events," otherwise inaccessible.[109] Paalen would fashion his manifesto of "The New Image" on the same principle, but require that this new image surpass all other modernist movements, particularly Surrealism, pushing beyond the limits of the known and the "seen."

Other of Graham's ideas appear in Paalen's discourse. Prefiguring Paalen's discussion of automatism and the unconscious, Graham called for reestablishment of "lost

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contact with the unconscious primordial racial past,"[110] an evolutionary metaphor also used by Paalen. Precedents for Nietzschean ideas are set in System and Dialectics, where Graham not only described the "heroic" artist but did so in Promethean terms: the artist is defiant of the Sun and the gods; is moved, like Satan, to create by rebellion and negativity; is a virtual Ubermensch who suffers from isolation and genius. Himself a romantic (indeed, Graham's "suffering genius,") Paalen nonetheless modified his position to move away from concentration on the individual and the Will toward a more objectified state, to be accomplished through the appropriation (and transformation) of scientific means and ends. This objectification was also to be accomplished through rejection of the individual ego (and, therefore, Freudianism) in favor of a collective identification with mankind described in Jungian theory. Most significantly, for Paalen the key to the "new" for modernism (like science) was experimentation, which he contrasted to all the other eras which preceded it. Reversing the metaphysical and religious notion of the "eternal" stemming from one omnipotent source, Paalen said:

> Art created the gods and formed the human prototypes; but since the end of humanism it has been lacking in a clear definition of its task. Art, in historical development after its totemic, mythological, humanistic, and realistic periods, has arrived at the experimental period which we call 'modern art.' Historically all these periods are of equal value; each of them has produced great works; especially the last one (the experimental) has prodigiously enriched the plastic language. But it coincides with the crisis of the subject, with a general disagreement as to what

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> subject-matter or themes are apt for plastic expression.
>
> The plastic analysis of the subject-matter (cubism), which has led to arbitrary deformations in the degeneration of cubism; the poetical revelation of the subject by unexpected juxtapositions (surrealism), which has led to literary academicism; the renunciation of subject matter (purist abstractivism), which finally reduced painting to simple plays of optic equilibrium--these are the principal aspects of the crisis of subject. It shows that now it is no longer a question of experimenting how to paint, but to finding what to paint. The problem is no longer to invent new techniques but to find new themes.[111]

If Graham proposed a 19th-century artistic personality of the artist-martyr-genius, Paalen proposed a 20th-century artist-scholar (rather like Will Grohmann's description of Klee), attempting to circumvent the snares of superstition and the perilous waters of the tortured self.

While it could be argued that Paalen had been exposed many times before to these issues in the inimitable models of Julius Meier-Graefe, Christian Zervos, and André Breton, it is evident that Graham's mentoring posture and didactic tone and format in Systems were an important prototype for DYN. Still, the basic code upon which Graham modeled his entire method was the one that Paalen challenged: the infallibility of the "dialectic" as a "science." If Graham believed that by arguing "dialectically" he could systematize and scientifically define art, Paalen defied the very basis of that assumption, arguing that dialectical materialism and method were not scientific, and got Bertrand Russell, Albert Einstein, and others of similar stature to agree with him in the pages of DYN.[112]

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### 3. John Graham, Wolfgang Paalen, and Wassily Kandinsky's Treatise On the Spiritual in Art

Perhaps most significant in relation to Paalen, was that of all the art theory to which Graham seems to have been indebted in System, it was to the thinking of Kasimir Malevich and Wassily Kandinsky. Allentuck (the major commentator on System) says that his equation of "supreme feeling in art with abstraction" drew upon the ideas of the 1916 and 1919 "Suprematist" manifestoes of Malevich which he could have known first-hand in Russia before his departure. She also indicates that Malevich's 1927 publication Die Gegenstandlose Welt (The Non-Objective World) may have been the source for the basic dialectic in System between the non-objective and the spiritual. Perhaps, Malevich, like Graham himself, was drawing upon Kandinsky's 1912 publication Über das Geistige in der Kunst (published in Russian in 1914), and a strong affinity exists between the concepts Graham espouses in System and those of Kandinsky.[113]

To some extent the biography and background of Kandinsky and Graham were very much alike. Graham, like Kandinsky, "grew up in Russia where the czarina was a mystic," exhibited the same attachment to images of the Apocalpyse and apocalyptic horsemen (the legacy of the mystical teachings of Revelations in the Russian Orthodox Church?), and subscribed wholeheartedly to the teachings of Madame Blavatsky, the Russian 'czaress' of Theosophy.[114]

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Paalen's affinity with Kandinsky is equally potent. The shared themes in the writings of both artists are apparent. Ideologically and aesthetically, the parallels are numerous. This is no doubt indebted to the shared sources of Meier-Graefe, Nietzsche, Schopenhauer, Maeterlink, etc. - the intellectual and cultural landscape of early twentieth-century Germany. Speaking on behalf of internationalism and against the reductiveness of seeing modern art as descending only from the School of Paris, in DYN Paalen would say:

> [in Paris], better than elsewhere, it was understood that modern art is in essence international, that Paris could become the cultural capital, the artistic center of the world. There were, of course, other good reasons besides why a great number of artists from all over found their most favorable climate there. However, others and some of the most influential--Kandinsky, second only to Picasso, and Klee and Moore for example, were not formed in Paris.[115]

On the Spiritual in Art was a manifesto that was at once an affirmation and a denunciation of its times. Kandinsky spoke out against the materialism of his times and against all partisan politics. He censured academicism, "conventional beauty," and "art for art's sake." He defended a new aesthetic that dared to see beauty in discord and dissonance. He saw the true artist as a spiritual being in communication with immaterial, inner worlds, an outsider, condemned to loneliness and suffering. His emphasis on the future and on the "prophetic" role of art and the artist with "vision" appeared in the writings of Paalen as well.

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Kandinsky's discussion of science and reference to art as "a child of its time" may have been a starting point for Paalen's discourse on science. Kandinsky's anti-positivism acted as a warrant for his discourse on science. Speaking of the "spiritual triangle" in which the few who are spiritually enlightened occupy the highest rung of the form, he said:

> And higher still we find that there is no more fear. The work done here boldly shakes the pinnacle that men have set up. Here, too, we find professional intellectuals who examine matter over and over again and finally cast doubt on matter itself, which yesterday was the basis of everything, and upon which the whole universe was supported. The electron theory - i.e., the theory of waves in motion, which is supposed completely to replace matter, has found lately many keen proponents, who from time to time overreach the limits of caution and thus perish in the conquest of this new stronghold of science...."[116]

Is the heavenly city, then, the "new stronghold of science?" Is the future predicated on a new science, where "in the twenty-first century this earth will be a paradise by comparison with what it is now"?[117] Kandinsky moved swiftly from this observation to a discussion of non-matter and transcendentalism, and from there to the symbolic and formal means for achieving transcendence through analogy with the model of music. Whether the medium is "the word" as it was in Maeterlinck, or sound, as it was in Wagner, the key to spirituality was "repetition," which set up an "objectless vibration" in the soul. In music it was first the Leitmotiv that carried that vibration across the entire

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composition; next the use of dissonance that would be "the music of the future."[118]

Paalen's discourse seemed to intuit and extract the distinct relationship between "the electron theory...of waves in motion" and music that was only implied in Kandinsky's text. Paalen's model for painting built not upon sound, but upon motion, achieved through rhythm. Reading on in Kandinsky, we encounter the principle of rhythm and time by way of non-representational art:

> An artist who sees that the imitation of natural appearances, however artistic, is not for him...sees with envy how naturally and easily such goals can be attained in music, the least material of the arts today. Understandably he may turn toward it and try to find the same means in his own art. Hence the current search for rhythm in painting, for mathematical, abstract construction, the value placed today upon the repetition of color-tones, the way colors are set in motion, etc.[119]

In the same way that Paalen read between the lines of Kandinsky's ideas on science, he read between the lines of his ideas on rhythm and time in music. Kandinsky said:

> In the use of form, music can attain results that cannot be achieved by painting. On the other hand, music lacks many of the characteristics of painting. E.g., music has time, the duration of time, at its disposal. Painting, on the other hand, while not possessing this advantage, can in an instant present the spectator with the entire content of the work, which music is unable to do.[120]

In a footnote he added:

> The differences are, like everything else in this world, to be understood as relative. In a certain sense music can avoid the duration of time, while painting can make use of it.[121]

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From the reference to everything in the world being "relative," to the use painting might make of time, the terms for Paalen's 20th-century aesthetic based in the "new physics," once again were available.

In his writing, Paalen related his discourse on space and time in painting to concepts of space-time found in the "new physics," saying that he and other painters of his generation were rejecting "conventional perspective" in painting and its "static concept of space" in favor of the "the rhythmical relationship of the elements of painting...its inner space."[122] (We have already seen how he related these ideas to Cézanne and El Greco.) For him, the only painter to move beyond the limitations of perspective was Kandinsky, whose "compositions express at once a multidimensional space in which color-surfaces and lines expand freely in all directions."[123] Developing his ideas about rhythm in relation to the human capacity for feeling, similar to Kandinsky's "felt" quality of art, Paalen would say:

> The elements of the most abstract painting which does not contain any apparent reference to the external world, are nevertheless perceived not as logical relations, but as colors and forms: for relations cannot be perceived, only conceived. The work of science is the quantitative co-ordination of relations; the work of art is a rhythmic configuration of qualities.
>
> It seems to me that we have to reach a potential concept of reality...a concept I call dynatic (from the Greek word tó dynaton: the possible--from which the name of this review DYN is derived). A Philosophy of the Possible would understand art as a rhythmic equation of the world, indispensable complement of the

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> logical equation that science makes. For only the cooperation of the two will be able to create a new ethic capable of finishing with metaphysical and religious obscurantism. It means dissociating once and for all imagination and metaphysics; to understand that the imagination creates reality as much as it is created by reality, that the images of art are neither vain reflections, nor blue prints for tools, but blue prints for man himself.[124]

In these last sentences Paalen turned away from the thinking of Kandinsky, insisting on a rejection of metaphysics. Whereas Kandinsky ultimately based his theory in a deep-rooted religiousity, Paalen, four decades younger, moved beyond that foundation into the twentieth century's belief in the validity of science, which Kandinsky had begun to address. Paalen too was interested in the "spiritual," but he understood it in terms of its possible explanations in modern philosophy and science. To the artistic discourse he added the modifications of the "new physics," which called for a more objective approach to definitions of the psychical and the physical, like Mach's The Analysis of Sensations.[125] Paalen's 1949 painting of The Possible City (Fig. 70) is at once a testament to his belief in the efficacy of art and science, and a tribute to Kandinsky's metaphor of the "spiritual city" of the future, a "spiritual pyramid which will reach to heaven."[126] Yet The Possible City exceeds the limitations Kandinsky himself set:

> No theory derived from these principles can account for the path ahead, which lies in the realm of the nonmaterial. One cannot crystallize in material form what does not yet exist in material form. The spirit that will lead us into the realms of tomorrow can only be recognized through feeling (to which the talent of the artist

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> is the path). Theory is the lamp that illuminates the crystallized forms of yesterday and before.
>
> As we climb still higher [in the triangle], we see even greater confusion, as if in a great city built solidly according to all architectural and mathematical rules, that is suddenly shaken by a mighty force. The people who live in this division indeed live in just such a spiritual city...[127]

If Kandinsky's spiritual city is in chaos, fallen down "like a house of cards," Paalen, after World War II rebuilds it into a crystalline structure, an amber "mountain of glass," on the foundation of art and science, invested with his own hope for the future.

### E. PAALEN'S APPROACH TO NATIVE AMERICAN ART AND SUBSEQUENT COMMENTARY

Paalen's approach to Native American art was different from that of other avant-garde American artists because of its holistic and ethnological character. Through Paalen's efforts in the pages of DYN, Northwest Coast and pre-Columbian objects were reconsidered beyond the boundaries of art as cultural artifacts and given international visibility. Paalen's interpretations gave access to the meanings of the forms of "Amerindian" art, contributing to the "primitivist revolution."[128]

This focus on the larger picture, in fact, was Paalen's great contribution to the artistic community, along with the erudite and lucid introduction to the "little known culture" of the Pacific Northwest. Known and appreciated by artists only for its monumental sculpted memorial columns, "totem

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poles," in "Totem Art" (Fig. 74), in his essay for the "Amerindian" number of DYN, Paalen broadened the aesthetic discourse to include ethnological and anthropological considerations, and made clear both the "cultural unity," and the specificity, of Northwest Coast tribes. He geographically delineated the major groups of people from the Southern Coast Salish to the Northern Tlingit, and published a map showing their locales from the territory "between Juan de Fuca Strait and the Bay of Yakutat." He carefully distinguished this culture from that of the Eskimo, and revealed his awareness of the "Asiatic theory" i.e., migrations from Siberia and across the Bering Sea (or land mass) to the American continent.[129]

Paalen has been acknowledged for his abilities as a scholar by numerous writers. Dore Ashton writes: "Paalen's conscientious studies of the totemic origins of Pacific Northwest art were highly respected, even by anthropologists."[130] Maurer, who wrote about the primitivism of Surrealism asserted that "Wolgang Paalen...made the most scholarly investigations into "primitive" art of any member of the group."[131] Rushing devoted to Paalen a small section of his study of the influence of Native American art on the New York avant-garde,[132] and Jonaitis called Paalen a "major spokesperson" for the Surrealist group and wrote that in the 1940s his was "the most profound exploration of the meaning of Northwest Coast art"[133] undertaken by any writer up to that date.

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Critically examining the romanticism of Surrealist notions of Northwest Coast art, she nonetheless enthusiastically approved of Paalen's judgment that "Northwest Coast art has an expressive power which is second to none" and that "many of the achievements of their arts and crafts...have not been surpassed by any other culture."[134] With regard to Paalen's lingering attachment to a romantic perception of Native America, Rushing observed:

> As late as the 1940s, some members of the avant-garde such as Wolfgang Paalen and Barnett Newman...were still mixing Boasian ideas with older more Romantic ones.[135]

Romanticization is, among other things, a defense against coming to terms with the brutal domination, exploitation, and destruction of native civilizations by the White man. While Paalen was exposed to primitivistic ideology in Germany and in the Surrealist movement, even given his romanticization of Native American cultures, it must at least be said that his "Totem Art" and the numerous essays on pre-Columbian art in DYN 4-5 were the first presentation in an artistic context to attempt to deal with the archeological, historical, and social specificities of these cultures and to give native scholars an opportunity to voice them. Paalen's publication of such pioneer and important thinkers as Alfonso Caso and Miguel Covarrubias is but one instance of the sophistication of his knowledge and the significance of his contribution. Moreover, Paalen declared his politics by reproducing a contemporary Kwakiutl

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painting by James Speck of Alert Bay, B.C., for the cover of the "Amerindian" number of DYN, acknowledging Northwest Coast art as a living, rather than dead tradition suitable only for museum specimens; and Northwest Coast artists as individuals. (Fig. 73)

The always-present component of romance in Paalen's production was a product of both his Germanic formation and his Surrealist experience. While this fact may have its problems, it is also important to remark that this romance contributed to his inspiration to go out into the field and observe what remained of the "living cultures" of Native America. Marginalized in culture themselves, artists identified with the "other" and sought not just expression but experience itself. We have seen that the German Expressionists Max Pechstein and Emile Nolde (following the example of Gauguin) sought this in their voyages to the South Seas, as did the Surrealist Kurt Seligmann in his journey to the Northwest Coast.

Paalen also did this in his expedition to the Northwest Coast and in his emigration to Mexico, where "primitive" culture became an intrinsic part of his life. In his characteristic way, Paalen entirely immersed himself in whatever he did, integrating experience into his art practice and theory.

It is important to note that, if he still romanticized, Paalen eschewed a colonizing mentality. This is evident in his preface to the "Amerindian" number of DYN, which said:

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> now it is possible to understand why a universal osmosis is necessary, why this is the moment to integrate the enormous treasure of Amerindian forms into the consciousness of modern art. This integration would be the negation of all exoticism. For it presupposes an understanding that abolishes the frontiers which are unfortunately still emphasized by the quest for the picturesquely local, and preserved through intellectual provincialism. Such an effort at integration prefigures nothing less than a vision that today only the most audacious dare to entertain: the abolition of the barriers that separate man from his own best faculties, the abolition of the interior frontiers without which no exterior frontier can be definitively abolished. To a science already universal but by definition incapable of doing justice to our emotional needs, there must be added as its complement, a universal art: these two will help in the shaping of the new, the indispensable world-consciousness.[136]

Written in 1943, this rhetoric and the concept of "a universal art" based in the "treasure of Amerindian forms," would soon become hallmarks of early Abstract Expressionist theory.

It is entirely possible that by the 1940s artists were responding to the reality of the slow death of "primitive" cultures and, as Goldwater observed:

> The result was that with only a few exceptions the primitive arts became arts of the past...and thus lost part of their previous function as documentation of contemporary primitive cultures. This both freed and emphasized their purely formal values and the expressive power inherent in their formal organization, and permitted a more relaxed and therefore more detailed examination of their social and psychological meanings.[137]

Goldwater's description written in 1938, just when Paalen was preparing to embark upon his Northwest Coast journey, asserts "a more relaxed...examination of...social and

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psychological meanings" and, unlike Paalen, betrays his distance from the realities of the "primitive" cultures, which he praised and appraised.

### F. PAALEN AND CANADIAN SCHOLARS OF THE NORTHWEST COAST

#### 1. W.A. Newcombe

Paalen was corresponding with another authority on Northwest Coast art and culture. This was W.A. Newcombe, "the greatest living authority on the culture of British Columbia" at that time.[138] Newcombe was head of the Provincial Museum in Victoria and son of Charles F. Newcombe, a British physician, amateur botanist, geographer, and zoologist; authority on early voyages to the Pacific and on Haida culture; and responsible for the ethnological collections of the Victoria Provincial Museum which he installed in 1905 and for which in 1909 he wrote a guide.[139] He also provided The Brooklyn Museum with their first collection of Northwest Coast objects, with full documentation of the artifacts he acquired.[140] Moreover, he was a colleague of Franz Boas and George T. Emmons, the other two pioneers in the study and documentation of Northwest Coast civilization.[141]

Paalen had shown the younger Newcombe works from his collection for evaluation and, in a letter of 24 August 1942, Newcombe informed him that their age corroborated descriptions of objects by early voyagers to the Northwest Coast and matched specimens collected by them, "some of

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which are to be found in museums...as do certain pieces you have in your possession, which were collected 80 or more years ago and evidently carved many years before."[142] Newcombe was also mentor to Paalen and told him that he believed that Northwest Coast art "was fully established by the time of the discovery of the Coast by the Whites, advised him to consult "Pena & Crespi journals of Perez Expedition of 1774 and all references to Northwest Coast natives in succeeding expeditions,"[143] and appended a list of the major voyagers for Paalen to investigate. Thus the method and the bibliography of Paalen's historical Part I of "Totem Art" were written with the guidance of Newcombe, and the latter is repeatedly cited as reference and source for other photographs and illustrations therein.

Newcombe responded to further correspondence and inquiries from Paalen in another letter, dated 16 January 1943, and enclosed photographs, copious notes, corrections, and further bibliography, from which Paalen composed the authoritative Part I of his "Totem Art" essay. Review of this letter and the earlier letter shows that Newcombe provided either the photographs or the source for nearly all of the historical illustrations used by Paalen in this section of the essay.[144] Such visual documentation assisted in drawing an integrated picture of Northwest Coast society, revealing objects in use, and architecture and architectural sculpture in situ, and thus dispelled the usual fragmentary image connoted by isolated and out of

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context artifacts - however admirable in workmanship or conception - presented in museums and books.

Following Newcombe's advice, in "Totem Art" Paalen carefully traced the history of the first explorations and gave an inclusive list of the first-hand accounts of the genre in the late eighteenth century, reproducing rare and historical renderings, some previously unpublished. (Fig. 76)

Paalen had a number of early Mexican accounts of the Northwest Coast in his library, because, as he noted in the bibliography he provided for "Totem Art"

> Interesting documents concerning the discoveries of the early Spanish navigators were left in Mexico because the port of Acapulco was one of the most important stages in the route from Spain to the Northwest Coast. Many of these original documents are still preserved in the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City. On one occasion, when the painters of the Malaspina expedition were ill and had to be left ashore, a substitute painter, Tomas de Suria, of the Academy of San Carlos, Mexico, was appointed by the viceroy. He left an interesting Journal, which has been translated and edited by Henry R. Wagner, California 1936.[145]

Paalen owned a copy of Alejandro Malaspina's Viaje Politico-Scientifico Alrededor del Mundo[146] and reproduced Tomas de Suria's, rendering of "Pyre and graves of the family of the Cacique An-kau at Port Mulgrave, (1792) - the "sepulchral monuments of the 'Ankau' (Tlingit chiefs)" (Fig.77). He indicated that this was one of the earliest documented evidences totem art from that northernmost of all Northwest Coast tribes,[147] within a larger discussion of the history

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and historiography of "totem" art. Further on in the essay, Paalen reproduced Tlingit masks from his own collection that were "similar in form, technic and color to the wooden helmets which were brought to Spain by Captain Malaspina between 1790-95 and are now in the Museo Arqueológico in Madrid."[148] (Fig. 78) These were items Paalen had "found in a very ancient wooden box containing complete shaman's paraphernalia" a rare find which included a "Tlingit mask representing a dead man, found together with the masks mentioned above and the ivory charm on page 36."[149] (Fig. 79) The figure on page 36 was a "Marine-ivory 'charm'" (original size) with "Three bears coming out of the mouth of the largest figure."[150] (Fig. 80) Of these types of specimens, W.A. Newcombe said: "I consider the small horn, tooth and bone carvings to represent the finest work of our Northwest Coast; worked on specimens for their personal use, such as spoons, charms, etc. Carvings on grave boxes a few of which my father and I were able to find were about the finest carvings I know - on larger objects they were apparently very old...."[151]

Newcombe provided Paalen with profuse information about Northwest Coast myth and legend as well. In a wooden mask in Paalen's collection, which he acquired on Vancouver Island, Newcombe identified:

> Ne'ngase The Grizzly Bear Woman of Kwakiutl mythology. She was very lazy and would not gather food or work about the home. Blackbear Woman the other wife of Wren (the bird) was just the opposite. Grizzly Bear Woman eventually

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> killed her, but later was killed in turn by Wren by cremation and her ashes were blown away by the sons of Blackbear to become mosquitoes and horseflys. The design over the eyebrows possibly represents the ears of the bear, the design on the cheeks the mosquito.[152] (Fig. 81)

2. George Emmons

Significantly, the Northwest Coast collection at the American Museum of Natural History, open throughout the 1930s, had been assembled by "the field collection services of George Thornton Emmons, a naval officer who had arrived [in 1882] in Sitka, Alaska." Paalen corresponded with George Emmons from 1939-1944. At three different times, Emmons had sold objects to the Museum for extraordinarily large sums of money and secured for himself "a place in history by assembling what is today the largest extant collection of Northwest Coast art objects."[153]

> Between 1882 to 1887 Emmons collected 1,351 objects, mostly Tlingit, but including some Haida and Bella Bella sculpture, which he sold to the Museum in 1888 for $12,000.[154]

He had solidified his reputation as a field collector and connoisseur for the "meticulously catalogued" group of 2,474 Northwest Coast objects (including 500 of Point Barrow Eskimo origin), which he sold to the Museum in 1894 for $25,000. His last major sale to the Museum in 1909 was a group of 352 Tsimshian sculptures.[155]

Letters exchanged between Emmons and Paalen indicate his appreciation of Paalen's knowledge of Northwest Coast art and culture.[156] In an undated letter acknowledging a

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visit that Paalen, Alice, and Eva Sulzer had made to him in Victoria, Emmons remarked: "Your cultivated fund of the history, and full appreciation of Native life has astonished me. Few living here have your keen discrimination of fine points of these carvings."[157] In a letter of 30 August 1944, Emmons complimented Paalen on his work in the "Amerindian" number of DYN.

> Your writing is a pleasing addition both ethnologically and artistically to a neglected corner of the continent. You seem to be the first of your countrymen to have so intimately acquainted with this area in later years, although La Pérouse and Marchand gave us some of the most authentic and personal descriptions of the people. And your introduction to Mexico of your studies is a most friendly advance where the nations of the world need to know one another more intimately.[158]

By his own account, Emmons was 92 years old when he wrote the 1944 letter to Paalen. Paalen cited Emmons a number of times in the historical Part I of "Totem Art."[159] With respect to the meaning of the imagery on totem poles, and for the benefit of his artistic audience, he said:

> Rooted in the ancestor cult, these memorial columns later take on more and more an heraldic signification, but it would be wrong to want to see no more in them than a simple "coat of arms." "The family crest was shown at the top and sometimes also at the base and through the length of the pole, but generally the intermediate figures illustrated a legend, a hero tale of early life, or some important family happening," says Lieut. George T. Emmons.[160]

Elsewhere, in the lengthy caption to the most important item in Paalen's personal collection - Chief Shakes' Totem

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Screen, Tlingit culture - information in a letter from Emmons to Paalen supplied the text.

> Carved and painted Screen board, 15 feet high, of the ancient community house of the Chief Shakes family. Perhaps the finest and oldest of the five or six existing pieces of this kind. Lieut. George T. Emmons, greatest authority on Alaskan-Indian culture, wrote about this piece in a letter to W. Paalen dated Victoria, B.C., October 16th, 1940, "you are fortunate in getting this piece, as such carved and painted screens were only to be found in half a dozen of the chief's houses in South Eastern Alaska. This one represents possibly the most important clan-crest of the Shakes family - the Brown Bear. Shakes was the hereditary chief of the principal family of the Wolf-Phratry at Wrangell...later settled some twenty miles south of Wrangell and after the Russians came south from Sitka and built a fort at Wrangell, the Stikine tribes deserted the more southern villages and settled at Wrangell (about 1840)."[161] (Fig. 82)[162]

Paalen had acquired from a local resident of Wrangell an 1889 photograph showing a similar screen in situ that he reproduced as well. (Fig. 83) According to Emmons, "The old house has been pulled down and a terrible excuse has been put up in its place and a figure copied from your screen placed in front (instead of inside where the screen actually was)."

> The carved posts in the house are said to have been brought from the older house, so they must be upwards of 100 years old.... Your carving represents the principal crest of the clan and mythically goes back to the flood where two Brown Bears climb a mountain on the Stikine river to escape the flood. They killed one of the bears later and took the head and skin and wore both in festivals as the family-crest the most valued of all others. Shakes had many animal crests or totemic emblems, Bear, Dogfish and the house was named Kut-ku (Dogfish) and the interior posts carved to represent the Dogfish...[163]

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The screen today is in the collection of the Denver Museum of Art, acquired indirectly from Paalen in 1951.[164] According to their catalogue, the screen has a specific function during potlatch feasts.

> A large, vertical type of interior house screen was placed parallel to the rear wall to separate an area where participants at a feast could dress for dancing and speeches.[165]

In 1967, in an hommage to Paalen, Jacqueline Johnson described the screen thus:

> The carved house-screen from the North-West Coast that covered one wall of Paalen's studio in Mexico, a symmetry of enlaced forms, had a small opening by which, in former times, those who entered there passed through the open mouth of a bear; a mouth-aperture which was also, in the body of the Great Bear who sustained all the others - the orifice of re-birth.[166]

Paalen kept the screen in his studio in San Angel, along with other artifacts like a petrified whale penis, which hung like a beam from the ceiling. (Fig. 84) To all the objects in his collection he attributed powers that augmented his creativity.

Although one page of the 1944 letter is missing, it appears that Paalen had also sent Emmons a photograph or description of a mask he had collected with a request for information about it. Emmons replied that he had collected a similar mask in 1888 "in the icy straights of Alaska" which had been sold to "either the American Museum of Natural History or Museum of the American Indian." It described the type of carving, compared the different types

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of applied brass buttons for eyes, and indicated that it had:

> ...belonged to 'Scar ta na' a noted Shaman of the 'Kaghantan' clan of the 'Hoonah' tribe and who died the day I reached the village. It seems strange to me how two like masks should be. The frog is particularly connected with the Shaman, in fact with the people of the whole NW coast on rattles, totem poles, and also is one of the important clan-crests of the Tlingit and Tsimshian. So when you go to New York see if you cannot find my mask.[167]

At the same time, Emmons sent Paalen excerpts from the Cranmore Museum (Kent, England) catalogue to which he had contributed. The annotated entries catalogued various items used by shamans of the Tlingit culture, with explanations of how they were worn and/or used during healing rituals.[168] This kind of first-hand knowledge of this culture was rare at this late date, and Paalen was privileged to have access to Emmon's store of knowledge.

Paalen also cited Emmon's volume on The Chilkat Blanket, which related the Tsimshian myth of "Yehl, the promethean raven, who taught men these fine weaves of the wool of the mountain goat, woven on a woof of cedar bark and dyed with copper oxide, with the yellow of lichen, and the black of hemlock."

> 'Their design is always animal in form and totemic in character; and it is through this system of picture-writing in the plastic arts that the history of these peoples has been preserved and transmitted,' says G.T. Emmons.[169]

Emmons, in fact, had been collecting and observing on the Northwest Coast at a high point of that civilization,

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ca. 1888, when first-hand information was still available. According to Claude Lévi-Strauss in his article "Art of the Northwest Coast at the American Museum of Natural History,"[170] the development of this civilization was known for no more than a century and a half, during which time four different forms of art flourished - the best represented in Chilkat textiles, Tlingit sculpture and dance headdresses, and Haida wood sculpture. Paalen had very fine examples of all of these in his collection, and he reproduced them in DYN. (Fig. 85)

Most relevant for understanding Emmons importance as a field collector is the fact that

> [i]n order properly to interpret these objects, it is necessary to rely upon local folk-lore, and Kwakiutl and Tlingit legends are...important in any attempt to explain their real function.[171]

Emmons had access to these oral histories at the peak of this civilization and he passed on some of his rare knowledge to Paalen.

## G. PAALEN'S "TOTEM ART" - ANALYSES AND CONCLUSIONS

Following Newcombe's skilled advice and through research, analysis of documents, the technical evidence of specimens, and his own sophisticated knowledge of art, anthropology, and archeology, Paalen deduced a possible early date for "totem" art and a classical phase of North-west Coast civilization back to the 16th century, making himself an important participant in the scholarly dialogue.

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The totem art of the Northwest Coast, he concluded, "was already flourishing at a time when the great Aztec city was still resplendent."[172] He reasoned that the typically slow development of traditional motifs and style apparent in other neolithic cultures suggested that, in fact, a date of the 16th century implied that

> "Totem Art" must have been already well-developed in order to conceive such monumental tasks. This view is confirmed by the fact that the objects collected within the last 150 years have not changed in style; that even while degenerating under white influence this art has preserved its characteristic features. The sculptured wooden bowl which the Haida gave to Dixon in 1786 is similar to pieces of this kind collected a hundred years later, and to the few good similar pieces that I still saw in the possession of the Indians. The magnificent cloaks, summarily designated under the name of "Chilcat Blanket"...were finally supplanted towards the 1880s by coarse work of industrial wool and crude colors - but their pattern has not changed. [173]

Paalen reproduced the historical engraving of the Haida bowl from Dixon's Voyage Round the World (Fig. 76), and one of the two Chilkat blankets he had collected from the Tlingit culture (Fig. 10). In the illustration above that of the Chilkat blanket itself, Paalen reproduced an old photograph of a Tlingit Chief (which he obtained from a resident of that territory) wearing a blanket, "In order to show the design, he wears it on his chest instead of his back."[174] (Fig. 85)

Part II of "Totem Art" was a short interlude exploring the affinities of iconography, style, and form between Native America, Asia, and Oceania. In it Paalen suggested

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that rather than being a result of migrations, it was totemism itself that gave rise to similarities of form and iconography:

> If certain sculptured posts of New Zealand and New Hebrides and New Mecklenburg remind one of the totem poles, the headdress of the Maya priest of Palenque does so no less; and veritable totemic columns are also found in Chile, in Peru, and in Africa; that is to say that mythological conceptions that resemble one another can achieve rather similar plastic expression without the intervention of any direct influence. But it is only on the Northwest-Coast of America that totem poles attain the monumental power that makes them rank among the greatest sculptural achievements of all time.[175]

The focus of Paalen's interpretive Part III of "Totem Art" drew upon the stock of Surrealist knowledge of early anthropo-psychological theories--of Freud, Jung, J.P.F. Richter, Wilhelm Wundt, and Lucien Levy-Brühl, as well as those of such earlier philologists as Andrew Lang and Sir James Frazer, and the philosophies of Frederick Nietzsche and Henri Bergson--for definitions of totemism and its social and religious functions.[176]

Writing about the "White Man's Perception of Northwest Coast Indian Art," Aldona Jonaitis observed that for the Surrealists, Native American society, unlike Western civilization, integrated art and life, and resolved the dualisms that structured modern consciousness. "According to the Surrealists, the Indians had never conceptualized these dualisms, and thus, created an art in which such dualisms do not exist."[177] Jonaitis saw Paalen, in "Totem Art" providing the same arguments.[178]

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Paalen, like numerous others at the time, was unsettled about which paradigm to focus on - art or ethnology. This resulted in a synthetic attempt to merge the two fields. "Totem Art" is exemplary of this moment. Acknowledging the seriousness of his scholarship, Jonaitis nonetheless took issue with his interpretations of Northwest Coast art, which conformed to her observations of the general attitude and methodology of the nineteen-thirties and forties:

> ...during the thirties and forties, some writers, believing a purely functional analysis of the hammer to be inadequate, would have discussed it in deeply mystical and psychological terms. For them, such a "totemic" article expressed universal mythic concerns and reflected an early stage in the development of human consciousness. The scholars of the fifties and sixties would have retreated back from these heavy speculations on the hammer's meaning and instead would have presented a more anthropologically-oriented functional description of it.[179]

Jonaitis also objected to what she believed was Paalen's pejorative evolutionist view of the Northwest Coast mind, which saw "the deep psychological significance of this art" as related to a comparison of Indians and children, who "share a perception of reality that is emotional, non-individual, and magically-oriented."[180]

Like other modernist artists, Paalen was prone to thinking in positive evolutionary terms about "primitive" man. Unlike the proscriptions of the nineteenth century, however, "early" was not equated with backwardness or deficiency. To the contrary, it was seen as a desirable alternative to the "civilized." It was common knowledge

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that the qualities of the "emotional, non-individual, and magically-oriented" were concomitant in avant-garde circles with primary levels of consciousness (as described in the language of psychology), which enrich and activate the creative process. Modern neuropsychology acknowledges the differences between creative or associative (poetic) thinking and logical or linear (systematic) thinking, in the right and left lobes of the brain.[181] Artists and poets intuited this fact long before a scientific rationale was available, and these were the ideas which Paalen and the Surrealists drew upon in their comparisons, measuring on a horizontal, not a vertical, scale. Even admitting that these assumptions did a disservice to Native Americans by relegating them to a position of "other," as well as to a non-adult position (i.e., not fully in charge of their own lives), Paalen alone (among all the artists involved with "primitive" art and for the first time within an art context) gave voice and visibility to the historical, social, and political realities of Native American culture.

When Paalen arrived in the Northwest Coast territories in 1939, it was sadly apparent that these cultures had already severely deteriorated as seen in the "before and after" photographs he published in the "Amerindian" issue of DYN. In his letter of 1944 to Paalen, George Emmons had mourned the "changes brought to the natives by the overflow of strangers [which] is rapidly obliteraing all the life of the past, its history and traditions. Mr. Waters of Wrangel

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passed away in the Winter, and Sitka and Wrangel have become crowded army posts and have lost all historical interest."[182] Part II of "Totem Art," had expounded upon the destruction of Northwest Coast art and culture, and the persecution of Native Americans, by the White man. Paalen reproduced telling historic photographs of coastal villages in days of prosperity, with majestic totem poles proudly lining the shores and proclaiming the protection of ancestral spirits. These contrasted starkly with photographs of then-present conditions documenting their demise. They showed Skidegate, Queen Charlotte Islands, in 1878 and in 1939, after the intrusion of the Whites.[183] (Figs. 86 and 87)

In Part IV of "Totem Art" as well as Paalen's other essay for the "Amerindian" number, "Birth of Fire",[184] Paalen again made a "horizontal" analysis of cultures, in a classic structuralist manner, now comparing European Classical and American iconography, myth, and form. Responding to the overall work Paalen had done in "Totem Art," Bruce Inverarity, another Northwest Coast scholar, complimented him, saying:

> the easy slide between reality of our kind into the mythical world, which is as real to the native.... This is important, as it is one of the keys to their culture.
>
> Your comparisons and ties to other cultures is more complete and stimulating than anything I have ever read...you have done much valuable research.
>
> Seldom does one read such an article...one that takes an intelligent approach to these people...generally it is pure ethnology and dry as

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> the devil with no art intelligence displayed...my congratulations to you on a fine job.[185]

H. FRANZ BOAS

The fact that Paalen was corresponding with Emmons and Newcombe suggests that Onslow Ford's report that Paalen was also corresponding with Franz Boas is probably accurate, although no letters have yet been found.[186] It is apparent that Paalen was thoroughly familiar with Boas' work, citing him a number of times in "Totem Art."[187] In Part I of "Totem Art," Paalen discussed the sophistication and poignance of Northwest Coast carving, comparing it to masterpieces of Medieval Christian art, and indicated that:

> the greatest subtlety is often shown in the frontal pieces of the sumptuous ceremonial headdresses called 'amalaid.' On page 23 above, can be seen a masterpiece remarked, particularly, by Franz Boas some forty years before I acquired it on Vancouver Island from the descendants of one of the principal Kwakiutl chiefs.[188]

Reproducing four "Amalaid" Headdresses from his own and Miguel Covarrubias' collections, Paalen used Boas' The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians to identify the figures and the myth depicted, reproducing a photograph of a Lao-'laxa dancer from that volume, which showed how the mask was worn.[189] (Fig. 88) Given his immense knowledge of Northwest Coast art, it is likely that Boas was one of the earliest sources to which Paalen had access, as a result of his early exposure to Northwest Coast art and culture in Wilhelmine and Weimar Berlin.

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There is no doubt that Boas'influence on Paalen was profound. His methodology, based in empiricism rather than abstract theory, founded the concept of modern field work in America. It established the paradigm referred to earlier in this text of "cultural pluralism and relativism" which "repudiated raciology and evolutionism and espous[ed] culture as a way of understanding human diversity in lifestyles and as the foundation concept of [modern anthropology]."[190] His description and treatment of tribal artifacts under the rubric of "art," and the detailed illustrations he made for his study must have held great appeal for Paalen.

As discussed in greater detail in Part III, in New York and the capitals of Europe in the late 1920s and 1930s, art (not ethnography) museums and commercial galleries were mounting major exhibitions of "primitive" art.[191] The roster of shows in this category at the Museum of Modern Art alone in these years is impressive, including exhibitions on pre-Columbian, African, North American "Indian," and Oceanic art.

Paralleling the situation in the museums themselves, the mixing of the motives of art and culture was endemic to the period and, correspondingly, to Paalen's synthesis of the two. Paalen, like such other European theorists as Herbert Read,[192] formulated his own theories along these lines, building upon the foundations of German Expressionist ideology, overlaid by Abstraction-Creation/Surrealist

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notions of primitivism and, finally, by the philosophy of John Dewey. By the 1940s, the Abstract Expressionists would develop a romantic discourse that fused art and culture and saw modern abstract art as an integration of social and spiritual values - intrinsically related to the European conceptions of primitivism that Paalen translated in DYN. Art and Culture, the title of Clement Greenberg's influential anthology of essays,[193] emerged from this relationship in 1940s ideology itself.

Boas' importance is not to be underestimated for it is the basis of the anthropological context of the 1940s, in which the Abstract Expressionists were immersed. After associating with ethnologists at the Berlin Royal Museums, Boas moved to America and founded the first American university department of anthropology at Clark University in 1888 and made trips to British Columbia to conduct research.[194] Boas left Clark in 1892 to become chief assistant in anthropology to the Chicago Exposition, out of which grew the Field Museum.[195] He then returned to New York to work with the American Museum of Natural History and lecture at Columbia University. He remained at Columbia for the rest of his career, virtually establishing its department as the center of anthropological studies for the first half of the twentieth century.[196] By 1942, when he died, the influence of anthropology on American artistic culture was at its peak, as is evident in the theory and practice of the Abstract Expressionists during those years.

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One might accurately say that the 1940s were the "anthropological decade," particularly in New York, where, among others, Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson; Edwin Sapir, Alfred Kroeber, Robert Lowie (all students of Boas); and Abram Kardiner (a student of Sapir) flourished and, in turn, founded other university departments throughout the United States.[197]

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**NOTES**

1. Regler, WP, 36.

2. Martica Sawin, "Ethnographic Surrealism and Indigenous America," in El Surrealismo entre la nuevo y viejo mundo, 326.

3. The totem pole is still in the collection of the Musée de l'Homme, and stands on the terrace entrance to the Museum.

4. Kurt Seligmann, "Le Mât-Totem de Gedem Skanish," JDLSA XXXI (1939).

5. Kurt Seligmann, "Entretien Avec un Tsimshian," Minotaure 12-13 (May 1939): 66-69.

6. WP, "Paysage Totemique III," DYN III: ["Peu de temps aprés m'était parvenu un de ces objets tant convoités depuis longtemps, un modéle de poteau totémique, bel ouvrage d'Indiens Haïda, taillé dans un morceau d'argilite noire. Mais personne alors ne savait me dire grand'chose de ces légendaires Queen Charlotte Islands, de la Colombie Britannique, de l'ile de Vancouver, beaucoup moins connus que le centre de l'Afrique, de ce qui pouvait rester de ces fameuses tribus de guerriers et magnifiques sculpteurs... Deux ans plus tard quand s'ouvrit comme par enchantement la porte de cette grande "maison de communauté, je vis que je n'avais fait rien d'arbitraire."]

7. See the "Kay Sage Chronology 1939-40," Stephen Robeson Miller Papers, Archives of American Art, Microfilm 2886-2888. A series of detailed letters between Paalen and Breton, from 17 September 1940 to 14 November 1940 showed Breton first in Marseilles, then in Martiniques, and indicated that visas for he and Pierre Mabille were being arranged by Diego Rivera with the Mexican president Eduardo Villaseñor, on the basis of a lecture series they would give in Mexico. But Breton was finally secured passage to New York. Letter WP to AB dated 17 Sept. 40; AB to WP 19 October 1940; WP to AB 14 November 1940; and undated letter from E. Villaseñor to M. Claude Breard de Boisanger, Chef Adjoint du Cabinet du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, VICHY (France). All letters courtesy of Gordon Onslow Ford. (Hereafter "GOF.")

8. As told to author in a personal interview with Gordon Onslow Ford, Inverness, California, January 14 and 15, 1990.

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9. On the Surrealist diaspora see El Surrealismo Entre la Viejo y Nuevo Mundo; and see, also, Richard Kaplan, "Exiles," PBS Documentary Film, 1989.

10. Paalen's passport with the Ellis Island entrance stamp exists in the Tepoztlan archive.

11. The New York Public Library recently mounted an exhibition of photographs of the 1939 New York World's Fair. See, also, Rosemarie Bletter, Remembering the Future: World's Fair 1939-1964 (New York: Rizzoli, 1989).

12. Jacqueline Johnson, "Axolotl," in Barreda, ed., Hommage, 9; quoting Paalen from "Paysage Totemique II," in DYN II: 28 ["Et ainsi jour et nuit tournent les grandes turbines inutiles du moulin à hommes, glaçant les veines de celui qui sait, qui passe, qui pense et voit venir les colonnes à têtes de larves plus effrayantes que les zombis... C'est Kafka qui a tout prévu tout compris. Et, ce qui est curieux, moins dans 'Amerika' que dans le 'Chateau'..."]

13. Neufert, "Das Werk, 6: "He traveled through Canada from Ottawa with the French anthropologist Alfred Barbo [sic]. And from Vancouver, he traveled to British Columbia and Alaska with the expedition of the ethnologist W.C. Waters." ["Reise durch Kanada zusammen mit dem französischen Anthropologen Arthur Barbo, Ottawa. Von Vancouver aus zusammen mit dem Ethnologen W.C. Waters Expeditionen in British Columbia und Alaska."] No footnote is given.

In an interview with Neufert, he recalled that he had gotten this information during an interview, but had no documentation of it. The reference here to W.C. Waters' "expedition," is questionable, since in the Tepoztlán archives was a photograph with a commercial stamp on the back identifying W.C. Wat13.ers' trading post: "W.C. Waters, Wrangell Alaska, Curios, Store of the Bear Totem." Waters, as was common among traders, could have provided valuable first-hand information about the works which he sold. An excellent account of relationships between ethnologists and traders is found in Diana Fane, ed., Myth and Memory, The Brooklyn Museum, exhib. cat. (New York: 1991).

With respect to Arthur "Barbo," Neufert ("das Werk," "Chronologie," 5) says Paalen visited him in Ottawa in 1939. Marius Barbeau was "Dean of Canadian folklorists," and ethnologist with the National Museum of Canada in Ottawa from 1911-1949. ("Marius Barbeau," obituary, Journal of American Folklore 82 (July 1969): 264-66.) Among Paalen's papers was an autographed article by Barbeau, "Asiatic Survivals in Indian Songs" (reprint from The Scientific Monthly LIV [April 1942]: 303-307). In his library was Barbeau's Totem Poles ("Localización Geográphica de pobla-

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ciones de cultura "Totémica"), II Bulletin 119, National Museum (Canada: n.d.). Paalen corresponded with W.A. Newcombe about Barbeau's work and cited Barbeau's Totem Poles of the Gitk-san, Upper Skeena River, British Columbia ("Totem Art" (DYN 4-5: 12, n. *), concurring with Newcombe's rejection of Barbeau's theory that iron tools were used to carve these poles. See Part III-F.1 on W.A. Newcombe.

14. No doubt he obtained this letter from Paul Rivet or Georges-Henri Rivière, director and assistant director of the Trocadéro, with whom Paalen and his Surrealist colleagues associated. Unpublished letter, dated June 8, 1939. Referenced under "File 103371" in the Canadian Department of Mines and Resources. Courtesy of GOF.

15. Part II of the series, "Paysage Totemique II- De Jasper à Prince Rupert," in DYN 2: 46: ["Habitué a voyager penché au dehors, pourtant je n'aurais jamais crû possible d'oublier si parfaitement le véhicule. Le rail dans ces bois devient trait d'union trop abstrait, passerelle trop exigüe et incompréhensible sur le précipice des siécles pour ne pas dénier la réalite á ce qui sur lui roule--d'ailleurs a une allure de diligence saccadée de haltes de plus en plus fréquents et inexplicables... Le fait d'avancer par l'unique artère de ces étendues impondérables--aucune route ne relie encore la Colombie Britannique au reste du Canada--d'heure en heure á l'acuité d'une sensation physique si foretement s'aiguise, que l'on serait tenté de stipuler les rudiments d'un nouveau sens en gestation: du sens de la dimension."]

As Paalen indicated at the end of each installment of the series: "These annotations under the title "Paysage totémiques," [which] will perhaps later form a book, were written during the summer 1939 en route through British Columbia and a part of Alaska. The chance to speak of so beautiful and so little known a country seemed to me to justify publication of these fragments." ["Ces annotations qui sous le titre "Paysage Totémique" plus tard peut-être formeront un livre, ont été écrites en été 1939 en parcourant la Colombie Britanique (Canada) et une partie de l'Alaska. Le fait de parler d'une terre très belle et peu connue me semble justifier la publication de ces fragments."] The book, "Paysage Totemique," was never published, and what remains are the prose-poems in four separate issues of DYN. DYN I, "Paysage Totemique": 46-50; DYN II, "Paysage Totemique II, De Jasper à Prince Rupert": 42-48; DYN III, "Paysage Totemique III, De Jasper à Prince Rupert": 27-31; and DYN VI, "Rencontre Totémique": 50-51. Also among the diaries were fragmentary notes for a play entitled "Alaska." Courtesy of GOF.

16. "Totem Art," DYN, 4-5: 7-37. This essay is discussed in detail below.

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17. Over 300 negatives and many vintage prints still exist in Tepoztlán.

18. WP, "Paysage Totemique I - La Colombie Britannique, L'Alaska," DYN 1: 46 ["Noms de loin aveuglants de neige comme la traine d'hermine des coiffures des anciens chefs Tlinghit, cedant à l'approche aux noms doucement xylophoniques, aux sons de cloche en bois dans la main de feutre d'une rosée sans fin: Haïda, Bella-Bella, Bella-Coola, Kwakiutl, Nootka.

Le parfum omniprésent de Vancouver jusqu'au delà de Sitka, le fumet du cédre rouge fraïchement coupé d'une si particulière saveur de bon crayon, la seule synthèse approchante serait un subtil dosage de vétiver mélé de jasmin avec un rien de santal--c'est l'âme de l'arbre magnifique, de cette "Thuya gigantea" qui se fît colonne héraldique, maison, canoe, don't l'écorce tannée vêtit son peuple forestier."]

19. Unpublished letter, WP to Jacqueline Johnson, March 28, 1953, courtesy of GOF.

20. "Pacific Cultures," was an exhibition of the Golden Gate International Exposition Fine Arts Department. See Part III for further discussion.

21. James Clifford, The Predicament of Culture: 20th CenturyEthnography, Literature and Art (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988).

22. See Evan Maurer, "In Quest" (Ph.D. Diss.). Paalen owned a copy of Sir James Frazer's The Golden Bough (New York: Macmillan Co., 1944).

23. See Part IV for further discussion of Dewey, Paalen, and DYN.

24. Dore Ashton, "Crisis and Perpetual Resolution," in Schimmel, ed., Interpretive Link, 30.

25. Lloyd, "Dilemma," 107, quoting Carl Einstein's Negerplastik and Die Kunst des 20.Jahrhunderts. See note 27 below.

26. Marianna Torgovnick, Gone Primitive: Savage Intellects, Modern Lives (University of Chicago, 1990), 13.

27. Carl Einstein, Negerplastik (Munich: 1920, 1st ed. 1915); and Die Kunst des 20.Jarhunderts (Berlin 1931, 1st ed. 1926).

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28. Clifford, Predicament, 130. See Part III for further discussion of the context of "ethnographic Surrealism."

29. Carl Einstein, "André Masson, étude ethnologie," in Documents I, 2 (1929): 93-104.

30. See Clifford's discussion of colonialism, Predicament, 10.

31. Ibid., 4-6.

32. Jill Lloyd, "Primitivism and Modernity: An Expressionist Dilemma," Joachimedes, et al., eds., German Art in the 20th Century, Royal Academy of Arts (London and Munich: Prestel, 1985), 108.

33. Emil Nolde, Welt und Heimat (Cologne: 1965): 57-8; and Lloyd, "Dilemma," 109.

34. "Social Darwinism," was discussed in Part IA.6-"Native American Art In Germany".

35. Max Pechstein, Erinnerungen (Berlin: 1960), 78; and Lloyd, ibid.

36. On this topic see Jeffrey Weiss, "Science and Primitivism: A Fearful Symmetry in the Early New York School," Arts (March 1983): 81-87; and Parts III and IV for further discussion of primitivism, art, and science.

37. Barnett Newman, "Introduction," The Ideographic Picture, Betty Parsons Gallery, exhib. cat. (New York: January 20-February 8, 1947), unpg.

38. Adolph Gottlieb, "The Ides of Art," Tigers Eye 2 (December 1947): 43.

39. Adolph Gottlieb, in "The Portrait and the Modern Artist," radio broacast on WNYC, October 13, 1943, cited in Sandler, Triumph, 289, "Adolph Gottlieb, Statements," "Mimeographed script of WNYC broadcast with Mark Rothko: 'Art in New York.'"

40. See Part IA.5: "Amerikanismus in Germany - The Context of Popular Culture"

41. Tower, "Asphalt Cowboys," Envisioning America.

42. This term was first suggested by Dore Ashton in her essay "Crisis and Perpetual Resolution," for The Interpretive Link, (Schimmel ed.). See, also, Polcari, AE and the Modern Experience (1991), "The Psychology of Crisis: The Historical Roots of Abstract Expressionism," 3-29.

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43. Yule F. Heibel, "'They Danced on Volcanoes': Kandinsky's Breakthrough to Abstraction: The German Avant-Garde and the Eve of the First World War," Art History 12, 3 (September 1989): 349.

44. Ibid., 342-61. Heibel (p. 359, n. 10) indicates that "Kandinsky's text was first published in December 1911, though it was dated in January 1912."

45. Wasssily Kandinsky, "On the Spiritual in Art," in Kandinsky: The Complete Writings, Volume One. Kenneth C. Lindsay and Peter Vergo, eds. (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1982), 145-46.

46. Adolph Gottlieb in Pollock Symposium, Art News LXVI, 2 (April 1967).

47. Kandinsky, Wassily. Concerning the Spiritual in Art. Robert Motherwell, series ed. [Trans. not credited]. New York: George Wittenborn, Inc., 1947. This edition of the treatise was authorized by Mme. Kandinsky, who supplied Kandinsky's manuscript with his "own corrections and additions for a new edition of the original German text, which never appeared, doubtless because of the first war." Cf. "Editorial Note," 5.

48. On the Spiritual, Lindsay and Vergo, eds., 128.

49. Sigmund Freud, "Animism, Magic, and the Omnipotence of Thought," in Totem and Taboo, trans. J. Strachey (New York: W.W. Norton, 1950), 90. With reference to which works of Freud the German Expressionists might have known, Lloyd, "Dilemma," n. 26, cites Freud's (1911) "Wolfman" case--"Psychoanalytic notes on an Autobiographical account of a case of Paranoia (the Schreber case)." But with reference to what the Americans would have known in the 1940s, one would more likely refer to Totem and Taboo (1913) and Civilization and Its Discontents (1930), since they were probably more anthropologically than psychoanalytically oriented, and since the English translation of Freud's complete works did not appear until 1953. See James Strachey, ed. and trans., Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud (London: Hogarth Press, 1953).

50. Neufert, "Die Maler" in WP: Zwischen Surrealismus und Abstraction, 74, n.8, interview with Oswald Petersen who referred to "spirited conversations about "Meier-Graefe, Simmel, and Fieldler": ["Paalens Freund OP erinnerte sich an die leidenschaftlichen Diskussionen, die im Kreis der deutschen Künstler in Cassis über Meier-Graefe, Simmel und Fiedler abgehalten wurden."]

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51. Lloyd, "Dilemma," 108.

52. Peter Gay, Weimar Culture (New York: 1968).

53. Worringer, "Introduction," Abstraction and Empathy, trans. Michael Bullock, English ed. 1953, 4th Printing (New York: International Universities Press, 1980).

54. Wilhelm Worringer, Form in Gothic, quoted without citation in Robert Goldwater, Primitivism in Modern Art, 28. See, W.W., Form in Gothic, authorized English trans., Herbert Read, Introduction and ed. (London: Alec Tiranti, 1957), 16-17: "In untramelled spiritual activity primitive man creates for himself symbols of the absolute in geometric or stereometric forms. Confused and alarmed by life, he takes refuge in the inanimate, because the restlessness of life is therein eliminated and an enduring stability afforded."

55. Worringer, Abstraction and Empathy, 18.

56. According to W. Jackson Rushing, "The Impact of Nietzsche and Northwest Coast Art on Newman's Idea of Redemption in the Abstract Sublime," Art Journal 47, 3 (Fall 1988): 194.

57. Newman, paraphrasing [or quoting] Worringer's Abstraction and Empathy in Northwest Coast Indian Painting, Betty Parsons Gallery, exhib. cat. (New York: 1946), unpg.: no citation.

58. "Michel de Montaigne (Essays, III. 6). (Translated by Ch. Cotton)." Quoted by Paalen in DYN 4-5: unpg.

59. Formprobleme der Gotik (1910). The authorized English translation of Form and Gothic, which Greenberg and Newman probably would have known, was 1957 (as above), given their dates of production. The first edition of this translation also introduced and edited by Read was (London: Putnam; NY: Schlocken, 1927).

60. Cf. Greenberg review, "Art," The Nation, (November 27, 1943), in Archives of American Art, Peggy Guggenheim Papers, "Art of This Century" Microfilm Reel ITVE-1, 301. See Part IV ahead for quotation and analysis of this review in context.

61. Rushing, "Impact," 194.

62. Ibid.

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63. Rushing interview with Fritz Bultmann, "Ritual and Myth: Native American Culture and Abstract Expressionism" in Tuchman, ed., Spiritual in Art, exhib. cat., 74, n. 7.

64. This has been discussed in detail by Gail Levin, in "American Art," Rubin, ed. "Primitivism," exhib. cat., 453-73.

65. Ibid., 453. Rushing, "Native American Art, 54-55, mentions Cushing as the assistant to Charles Rau, Smithsonian ethnologist, who organized the display of Native American artifacts for the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of industry and culture. Cushing is also discussed in Fane, ed., Myth and Memory, exhib. cat.

66. Ibid.

67. Berkhofer, White Man's Indian, passim.

68. Aldona Jonaitis, "Creations of Mystics and Philosophers: The White Man's Perceptions of Northwest Coast Indian Art from the 1930s to the Present," American Indian Culture and Research Journal (1981): 17.

69. Ibid.: 14. See below for further discussion of Jonaitis' essay.

70. Levin, "American Art." According to Levin, 465 and n. 60, Morris' real involvement with primitivism developed after his period of study with Léger and Ozenfant in Paris in 1929. Graham had become acquainted with the French avant-garde in 1920, when he fled from Russia during the counterrevolution, which he had supported. Cf. "Introduction," John Graham's System and Dialectics of Art, Marcia Allentuck, ed. (London and Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1971), 11; and text below.

71. Frederick Douglas and René d'Harnoncourt, Indian Art of the United States, MoMA, exhib. cat. (New York: 1941). Unless otherwise indicated, information about this exhibition is from Rushing's, "Native American Art," 346-96.

72. See "René d'Harnoncourt," Current Biography 1952 (New York: 1952), 145.

73. Rushing, "Native American Art," 392-94 and passim.

74. "Contents," Indian Art of the US, unpg.

75. Rushing, "Native American Art," 395.

76. Ibid., 357-58.

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77. Ibid.

78. "Contents," Indian Art of the US, unpg.

79. Rushing, "Native American Art," 375, indicates that this sort of description was given in d'Harnoncourt's planning notes for the exhibition.

80. Ibid., 388.

81. Installation Photographs, MoMA, "Indian Art of the United States," Jan. 22-April 27, 1941, Robert Goldwater Library, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Photographic Archives.

82. Rushing, "Native American Art," 386.

83. Installation photographs, Indian Art. See also Part III-B ahead: "Americanism" and "Indianism" in the New York School - Early Art Colonies in Mexico and the Southwest - The First Wave," for further discussion of the Santa Fe colony.

84. Installation photographs, Indian Art of the US, as above.

85. Rushing, "Native American Art," 359, n. 84.

86. See, for instance, his obituary in The New York Times, Wednesday, August 14, 1968: 43; as well as Current Biography, Dictionary of American Biography, and René d'Harnoncourt: A Tribute (New York: MoMA, 1968).

87. Levin, "American Art," in Rubin, ed., "Primitivism", 457.

88. Ibid., 456-57 and n. 21.

89. Ibid., 457, n. 31.

90. Most of these are cited by Levin, ibid.

91. Balcomb Greene to John Canaday, 14 March 1960. Quoted by Eleanor Green, John Graham: Artist and Avatar, The Phillips Collection, exhib. cat. (Washington, D.C.: 1987), 41, n. 16.

92. Green, ibid., 20.

93. Ibid., 22 and n. 15.

94. John Graham, "Primitive Art and Picasso, Magazine of Art (April 1937): 236-39, 260. See Appendix D. Graham owned some Northwest Coast and pre-Columbian objects, which

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he loaned to Barnett Newman for his 1944 and 1946 exhibitions. To the Pre-Columbian Stone Sculpture (1944) exhibition he loaned a Brazilian stone Axehead; a Guerrero, diorite Pestle (Animal Mask); a Guerrero jadeite and shell Necklace; and a Toltec serpentine "Sacerdote". To the Northwest Coast (1946) exhibition he loaned a Northwest Coast Mask of an unidentified culture (perhaps the Eskimo mask illustrated in "Primitive Art and Picasso"). See catalogue checklists, "Barnett Newman Papers," Archives of American Art, Reel 3481, 401-407.

95. JG's System, Allentuck, ed., xviii.

96. Ibid., xix.

97. According to personal interviews with Lee Mullican, Santa Monica, January 7 and 8, 1990; and Daniel del Solar (son of Paalen's second wife, Luchita Hurtado), San Francisco, January 16, 1990.

98. Green, JG Artist, passim and 29.

99. Ibid., 68.

100. Ibid., 52.

101. Ibid., 47, for the dating.

102. Ibid., 56.

103. "de Kooning on Pollock: An Interview with James T. Valliere," Partisan Review (Fall 1967): 603-05.

104. First publication, System and Dialectics of Art (Paris: L'Imprimerie Crozatier; and New York: Delphic Studios, 1937). Second publication, JG's System Allentuck, ed.

105. JG's System, 5-6.

106. Ibid.

107. Ibid. 87.

108. Ibid., 95, n. 4. Allentuck discussed Graham's "groping for...the neoplatonic view of the artist as the analogue of God...." On 97, n. 6, she discusses the aesthetic theories of Lessing, "whom he was reading," with reference to "pure" art not "encroaching upon the domain of the other arts" and reinforces identification with Idealism.

109. JG's System, 94-95.

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110. Ibid., 95.

111. WP, Wolfgang Paalen, exhibition statement, Art of This Century Gallery, exhib. cat. (New York: April 1945), unpg.

112. See Part IV for discussion of "The Dialectical Gospel," and "Inquiry on Dialectical Materialism."

113. JG's System, 95.

114. See Green, JG Artist, 20, for these sources; and 44: "Theosophy was at the core of Graham's beliefs, and on that subject he had read and often plagiarized all the major texts from Paracelsus to Madame Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, with detours into Vedic, Buddhist, Brahminist, and Cabalistic literature. On top of this mish-mash of ideas he layered Freud and Jung."

115. WP, "During the Eclipse," DYN 6: 115.

116. Kandinsky, "On the Spiritual in Art," Lindsay and Vergo, eds., 142.

117. Ibid., 145, quoting Mme. Blavatsky.

118. Ibid., 149.

119. Ibid., 154.

120. Ibid.

121. Ibid.

122. Regler, WP, 46-48. Five years later, in his "Theory of the Dynaton," discussing Kandinsky's art, Paalen would reiterate these ideas, saying: "Perspective-painting sacrifices time to a greater illusion of space.... And by the abandonment of the time-element rhythmic quality was lost; by the static fixation inherent in the unique point of view of central-perspective, the picture no longer showed anything but frozen novements instead of expressing rhythmically the sensation of movement.

In three-dimensional central perspective, space recedes from the spectator; in the fan-like unfolding of cubist multi-spective, the pictorial space advances towards the spectator. The elements of Kandinsky's pictures equilibrate one another like a kind of planetary system of optic gravitation.

In the language of painting, space is not bound to dimensional measure, rhythm being the emotional equivalent to what on the material level appears as energy." Cf. WP, "Theory of the Dynaton," DYNATON '51, San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, exhib. cat. (San Francisco: 1951), 25.

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123. Ibid., 52.

124. WP, "During the Eclipse": 18-19, 20.

125. On the subject of Paalen's use of scientific theory to propose an integration of objective phenomena and subjective perception, see the discussion of his essay "Art and Science" in Part IV.

126. Kandinsky, "On the Spiritual", 40.

127. Ibid., 141-42.

128. See Part III.C ahead: "European Precedents for Paalen and Parallels with Americanism in the New York School: The Trocadéro and "Les Arts Anciens de l'Amérique" Exhibition, 1928" for discussion of the Parisian "primitivist revolution."

129. For the most recent thinking on this subject see, Crossroads of Continents: Cultures of Siberia and Alaska, William W. Fitzhugh and Aaron Crowell, eds. , exhib. cat. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1988). See also, discussion of the "Asian theory" in Part III ahead.

130. Ashton, The New York School, 125.

131. Evan Maurer, "In Quest," 319-20 and ff.

132. Rushing, "Native American Art," 434-439, and "Ritual and Myth: Native American Culture and Abstract Expressionism" in Tuchman, ed., Spiritual in Art, 74, n. 7.

133. Jonaitis, "Creations of Mystics and Philosophers": 14.

134. Ibid., quoting Paalen from "Totem Art," DYN 4-5 (1943): 13.

135. Rushing, "Native American Art," 39. "Boasian ideas" refers to Franz Boas' methodology. See below and Part III for discussion of Boas.

136. Preface, DYN 4-5: unpg. A portion of this discussion was first published in "Paysage Totémique I" in DYN 1: 48--["La faim qui tour à tour depuis la faillite de la beauté occidentale aiguillona vers l'Asie, vers l'Afrique, vers l'Océanie, vers l'Amérique précolombienne les yeux les plus lucides, n'occulta que la nécessité de plus en plus impérieuse d'une universelle osmose portant à tel degré la combustion des formes, qu'enfin adulte l'art moderne s'y forge s conscience mondiale." (his emphasis)]

137. Goldwater, Primitivism, 13.

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138. WP, "Totem Art": 8. Letters courtesy of GOF.

139. "Anthropological Notes," obituary of Charles F. Newcombe in American Anthropologist 27 (April 1925): 352-3.

140. See Fane, ed., Myth and Memory, exhib. cat.

141. Letter from W.A. Newcombe of 24 August 1942 indicates: "Barbeau's 'discovery' of the artists [n.b. artists accompanying early voyages who made the first representations of Northwest Coast art and culture] is a joke - rediscovery would be better. All the later artists [n.b. like Paul Kane] were well known and many of them personal friends of my father, Emmons, Boas, etc."

142. Ibid.

143. Ibid.

144. "Totem Art," I: 7-17. [TA=Totem Art] These illustrations include: "Interior of a Nootka House" from Cook's Third Voyage (1785), TA: 8; "Macuina Chief of the Nootka," from Atlas para el viaje de las goletas Sutil...(1792), TA: 9; "A Young Woman of Queen Charlotte Islands," from Captain George Dixon's Voyage Round the World (1789), TA: 9; "House and Totem Pole of the Haida Indians," from Bartlett's Journal of 1791, reproduced in Captain Elliot Snow's The Sea, the Ship and the Sailor (1925) TA: 11; "Tetacu, Chief of the entrance of the Juan de Fuca Strait," from Atlas para el viaje de las goletas Sutil...(1792), TA: 11; "Canoe of the Indians, in the Entrance of Bucareli," from Diario del primer piloto de la fragata "La Princesa" (1779), TA: 11; Paul Kane's "Dance of Northern Indians (probably Haida)," sketch made in 1847, courtesy of The Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, TA: 12; etc.

145. "Totem Art," 'Bibliography': 33.

146. Published by "Viuda e Hijos de Abienzo, Madrid, 1885." As cited in Tepoztlan Library List. Another work in his library among those in the bibliography of relevant Mexican texts was by D. Joseph Mariano Moziño Suárez de Figueroa, Botánico Naturalistade la Real Expedición de Nueva España. 1793, Noticias de Nutka (Mexico: Secretaria de Fomento, 1913)--a reprint of the original edition.

147. "Totem Art": 10.

148. Ibid.: 19, top illustration.

149. Ibid.: 19, bottom illustration shows the Tlingit mask.

150. Ibid.: 36.

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151. Letter of 24 August 1942 to WP from W.A. Newcombe.

152. Letter of 13 March to W.P. from W.A. Newcombe. Also, "Totem Art": unpg., color plate IV.

153. Rushing, "Native American Art," 73.

154. Ibid.

155. Ibid., 74.

156. All letters courtesy of GOF.

157. Undated letter to W.P. from George T. Emmons.

158. Letter from Emmons to Paalen dated August 30, 1944. Emmons must have believed Paalen was French, since he, Alice and Eva spoke fluently. Furthermore, the association with the Trocadéro and Paalen's likely indication that they had just come from Paris would have generated this association. Presumably, Paalen visited Emmons during the 1939 trip since no mention is ever made of another trip, and since a letter from Emmons to Paalen of 16 October 1940 is documented in one of Paalen's citations in "Totem Art."

159. "Totem Art," 'Part I': 7-17.

160. Ibid.: 12.

161. Ibid: 16.

162. Totem Screen - from a hand-painted photograph by Miguel Covarrubias, [Color] Plate III, "Totem Art": unpg. As indicated in author's interview with Luchita Hurtado, Santa Monica, California, January 7/8, 1990), Paalen was a close friend of Covarrubias, whose book, The Eagle, The Jaguar and the Serpent (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1954) [in Paalen's library] is an early classic of Mexican studies. Paalen also owned copies of his El Arte Indigena de Norte America (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1945); Indian Art of Mexico and Central America (New York: Knopf, 1957); and Island of Bali (New York: Knopf, 1938). Besides providing numerous illustrations for "Totem Art," Covarrubias also contributed an essay on "Tlatilco, Archaic Mexican Art and Culture," to DYN 4-5: 40-46; and "La Venta- Colossal Heads and Jaguar Gods" to DYN 6: 24-33. Rosa Rolanda (Covarrubias) supplied photographs for DYN 4-5: 66-67 and DYN 6: 37. See Part III for further discussion.

163. Letter dated 16 October 1940, referred to in caption to photo in "Totem Art": 16.

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164. Denver Art Museum, Major Works in the Collection (Denver: 1981), catalogue #1951.315, "House Partition, Tlingit, Wrangell Village Alaska, c. 1840, Cedar, native paint, human hair. 4.57 x 2.74 m. A letter to author from Richard Conn, Chief Curator, The Denver Art Museum, dated September 11, 1992, explains: "The screen itself was not obtained directly from him but through theintermediary of the dealer to whom Paalen either sold it or had placed it on consignment. I am not sure abut this and the dealer is long dead, so there is no way of checking this information."

165. Ibid. 92-93: "Painted with the principal crest of the Shakes family, the grizzly bear, this famous screen was originally part of the Grizzly Bear House at Wrangell Village, Alaska. The screen is somewhat unusual in its use of red paint for primary elements." For discussion of the potlatch see Jonaitis, ed., Chiefly Feasts, exhib. cat.

166. Jacqueline Johnson, "Axolotl," in Barreda, ed., Hommage, 13.

167. Letter Emmons to WP dated August 30, 1944.

168. Ibid.

169. George T. Emmons, The Chilkat Blanket (with notes on the blanket designs by Franz Boas), Memoirs of the Museum of Natural History (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1907), quoted and cited by Paalen in "Totem Art": 13. Paalen had this book in his library.

170. Lévi-Strauss, "Northwest Coast at AMNH": 175-82.

171. Text from a review (in American Journal of Archaeology 48 (1944): 198) of Lévi-Strauss' article.

172. "Totem Art": 17. This is the conclusion of Part I, the historical section of the essay.

173. Ibid.: 13.

174. Ibid.: 22. The caption indicated that he had acquired the photograph from Axel Rasmussen, Wrangell Alaska.

175. Ibid.: 17-18.

176. For a thorough discussion of Surrealist use of these sources see Maurer, "In Quest."

177. Jonaitis, "Creations": 13.

178. Ibid.: 15. See, "Totem Art," Part III: 18-25.

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179. Jonaitis, "Creations": 3.

180. Ibid.: 14.

181. See, Betty Edwards, Drawing on the Right Side of the Brain (Los Angeles: J.P. Tarcher, Inc.: 1978), 25-44 ("Your Brain: The Right and Left of It").

182. Letter George T. Emmons to WP, dated August 30, 1944.

183. "Totem Art," Part II: 17-18; and for Skidegate photographs: 14-15.

184. WP, "Birth of Fire," DYN 4-5 (1943): 25-30.

185. Inverarity letter of March 20, 1944 to WP. Courtesy of GOF.

186. Author's interview with GOF, Inverness, California, July 31-August 2, 1990.

187. In Paalen's library was a first edition of Boas', Primitive Art (Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co., 192/). He also owned the Spanish edition El Arte Primitivo (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1947). Among his papers was a hand-written annotated bibliography of Boas' work, "F. Boas," found in Tepoztlán, April 3, 1994.

188. "Totem Art": 13.

189. Ibid.: 23.

190. Berkhofer, White Man's Indian, "Cultural Anthropology and the Modern Conception of Indians," 62-69, discusses Boas' methodology and contribution at length.

191. Goldwater, Primitivism, 316-17. Maurer also comments on this in "Dada and Surrealism," Rubin, ed., "Primitivism," 546.

192. See, for instance, Read's Art and Society (New York: Macmillan, 1937). See, also, Read, "On the Social Aspects of Surrealism," Bulletin International du Surréalisme IV (September 1936): 9-12.

193. Clement Greenberg, Art and Culture (Boston: Beacon, 1961).

194. Rushing, "Native American Art," 34-35, discusses pioneer American psychologist G. Stanley Hall, who formulated "recapitulation theory" (i.e., "philogeny recapitulates ontogeny") and who was President of Clark

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University (some time after 1883). No doubt this was how Boas came to take up residence at Clark.

195. Rushing, ibid., 56, refers to Boas as an assistant to Frederick Ward Putnam, head of the Peabody Museum, who organized a portion of the "Chicago World's Columbian Exposition."

196. All information about Boas' career is taken from Paul Bohannan, High Points In Anthropology (New York: Knopf, 1973).

197. The important "Kardiner Seminars," were held at Columbia in the 1940s.

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# PART III

## PAALEN IN THE NEW WORLD - MEXICO

### A. PAALEN IN MEXICO - INTRODUCTION

#### 1. Arrival in Mexico 1939

From San Francisco, the Paalen party flew to Mexico City, where they were met at the airport by Diego Rivera, Frida Kahlo, and Juan O'Gorman, the Mexican artist/ architect/ activist.[1] En route, they stopped in San Francisco to see the Golden Gate International Exposition which "included a small selection of Indian Art of New Mexico."[2] According to Morales, in San Francisco, they were taken by surprise by the outbreak of the Second World War on 10 September, and immediately resolved to travel to Mexico City. They arrived in the capital on 7 September 1939.[3]

Paalen's entrance into Mexico coincided with a transition in the cultural renaissance that had begun at the end of the 1920s. As a result of the vitality and impetus of Mexican politics and the muralist movement, of which Rivera and O'Gorman were leaders, Mexico City had become a major center for modern revolutionary art. Paalen's presence in Mexico City and the activities in which he engaged, helped to broaden Mexican modernism from muralismo nationalism and social realism to include abstract and "universal" art. Beginning with the January 1940 Exposición Internacional del Surrealismo, which he organized with

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Breton and César Moro, and continuing with the production of DYN, Paalen's efforts enlarged the base of Mexican modernism from its "American" inflection - whether Latin American or the United States - to that of the international avant-garde.

The euphoria from the Exposición Internacional del Surrealismo, however, was short-lived. On May 24, 1940, seven months after Paalen arrived in Mexico and only months after the closing of the show, the assassination of Leon Trotsky occurred, sending shock waves through the artistic and leftist community and causing an irreparable break with partisan politics for many. Paalen found himself in Mexico at the outbreak of war and, as a "halbjude" and a "degenerate" artist on the Nazi blacklist with the other Surrealists, unable to return to Europe. According to Geo Dupin, Alice Rahon's sister, Paalen had not originally planned on staying in Mexico more than a year.[4] But he stayed. His Mexican dealer Inés Amor said that Paalen had come to Mexico on Breton's behalf to organize the Exposición Internacional del Surrealismo. But, as previously stated, it was also for personal reasons that Paalen went to Mexico rather than New York. Event that it was, the Expocisión served to establish Paalen in Mexico.[5] Equally, it established Inés Amor's gallery in Mexico and international art circles, giving it great prestige.

As will be seen, Paalen would play a major role in the history of the reception of pre-Columbian art and culture

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and its diffusion throughout the international art world. As an emigré to Mexico from Paris, Paalen was one of the few individuals from outside Mexican culture to participate in the early study, interpretation, and promulgation of pre-Columbian art.

## 2. Americanism in the New World, Mexico and the United States

Unless otherwise designated, the use of the word "American" refers to both North American and Mexican art and culture, in order to reinforce the concept of "Americanism" that has already been discussed in other contexts. This concept of the Americas flourished in the 1920s and '30s in the developing cultural relations between the United States and Mexico brought about by a complex of factors related to the "larger international role of the United States after 1900 and the expansion of its hemispheric consciousness."[6] This included such historical, political, and economic realities and ideologies as an increasing interest in Latin America as a by-product of the 1898 Spanish-American War and "subsequent hegemony of the United States in the Carribean area"; "liberal developmentalism," a desire to export U.S. modelled values of free enterprise, democracy, and culture; expansion of U.S. investment in Latin America; and an anti-European post-World War I nationalism of "hemispherism."[7] The cultural ramifications of these developments was an increased interest in both Mexico -"Mexicanism" - and in American nativism, evident in the arts in both countries.[8]

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"Americanism" has again come into currency with the advent of multi-cultural discourse, as well as the recent negotiated economic relations of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). By definition, "Americanism" eschews an exclusionary use of "American" that refers only to the United States, even while it often serves U.S. national and economic interests. It will be seen that this term also reflects the situation of the 1940s, when, during the Second World War, nationalism was again on the rise, but began to be subordinated, theoretically if not actually, to an idealistic internationalism, where "world consciousness" and "universality" were envisioned.[9] As Kirk Varnedoe said, unlike African-Americans whose social and political presence in New York obviated the possibility of the kind of appropriation of African culture that occurred in Paris, Native Americans "constitut[ed] a smaller and more comfortably folkloric social presence...more easily available [sic] to Caucasian artists for annexation as an ancestral source."[10] "Universal," of course, was something of a misnomer, because at the same time that New York School artists sought to create such an art and felt affinity with their Mexican colleagues, they also appropriated Native American art and culture, relegated "American" to themselves, and sought to define and solidify the "American" school in opposition to the School of Paris.

As noted by a number of different writers, New York artists turned to Mexico as a paradigm for modern art that

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was inspired by indigenous - truly native - art and culture. But as historian Helen Delpar has shown, cultural exchange was possible only after strained relations between Mexico and the United States in the early 1920s had improved, and diplomatic relations were formalized.[11] This diplomacy would contribute to the important exhibition of "Mexican Arts" at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, discussed below, organized in 1930 by René d'Harnoncourt. Its patronage by U.S. Ambassador to Mexico, Dwight Morrow, made the exhibition and its tour of major museums in the United States possible.

In its own context, Mexican indigenism and nationalism propelled the Mexican renaissance, fostered by a rejection of European civilization, capitalism, mechanization, and dehumanization, and a corresponding romanticization of premodern rural and native societies. By following this example, but crossbreeding their own concept of indigenism or nativism with modernist abstraction rather than realism, New York artists would create a singular national art outside of the exclusive influence of European modernism.[12]

Paalen lived in Mexico for nearly twenty years and developed a complex relationship with both Mexican modernism and pre-Columbian art and culture. Thus any influence that he felt was reciprocated in his own production, because the art Paalen created in Mexico in the 1940s and '50s synthesized European modernism with pre-Columbian and Mexican sources. These sources were acquired in various

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ways. Like other individuals of the first generation of Mexican modernism who were major players in the popularization and aesthetic recognition of pre-Columbian and Mexican art and culture, Paalen first was drawn to these cultures as an artist, then as a collector and scholar. This was equally true of Miguel Covarrubias, René d'Harnoncourt, Herbert Spinden, and others examined below. His relationships with these individuals, and his publication of their ideas in DYN at an early date, served to make Paalen's contribution all the more significant.

## B. "AMERICANISM" AND "INDIANISM" IN THE NEW YORK SCHOOL: THE FIRST WAVE. EARLY ART COLONIES IN MEXICO AND THE SOUTHWEST

### 1. Mexico and New York

The critical history of relations between Mexico and the United States (specifically New York), at the beginning of the twentieth century, has been analyzed by historian Helen Delpar. In her book, The Enormous Vogue of Things Mexican, she traces the many points of contact between Mexico City and New York. These occurred in the areas of publishing, government, universities, and the arts, and included leftist publications like the New Masses and the Liberator on the far left, or the New Republic and The Nation of the liberal left;[13] early establishment of programs and schools by the joint efforts of the Mexican Ministry of Education and various American institutions; the Carnegie Corporation and Institution, Washington, D.C.

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(CIW); the Guggenheim Foundation; Harvard University and the Peabody Museum; Columbia University; and Tulane University and its Middle American Research Institute. All of these institutions were in some way relevant to Wolfgang Paalen's Mexican experience. This network of shared sources and influences included the relationship of his colleague Miguel Covarrubias to Columbia University and Franz Boas; Herbert Spinden's training at Harvard University and his appointments as curator at the Peabody Museum and head of the Department of Ethnology at The Brooklyn Museum; the Carnegie Institution's sponsorship of René d'Harnoncourt's New York exhibition and U.S. tour of the "Mexican Arts"; and the excavations at Chichen Itzá beginning in 1924, (which Paalen visited in the early 1940s, among other sites) funded by the Carnegie Institution, and supervised for the Mexican government by archaeologist, Miguel Angel Fernández. Fernández contributed an article on Mayan excavations at Palenque to DYN twenty years later.[14]

What is most remarkable is that individuals who were principles in or key to the formation of the New York avant-garde were among those who taught in Mexico City in the "Summer School for Foreigners at the National University (UNAM)," established in 1921. Americans instructors in this program included Walter Pach (lecturer in art in 1922), who (with Marcel Duchamp, Paalen's colleague in Surrealism in Paris) had been largely responsible for the 1913 Armory Show and for the formation of the first American Society of

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Independents; and John Dewey (lecturer in 1926), pragmatic philosopher and educator at Columbia University Teachers College,[15] whose influence on first- and second-generation American avant-gardists and on Wolfgang Paalen is particularly relevant to this study. Furthermore, at an early date Pach was critically supportive of the Mexican painters Rufino Tamayo (when the latter arrived in New York in 1926) and José Clemente Orozco, who joined Covarrubias and Tamayo in New York in 1927. The Mexican archaeologist Alfonso Caso, who contributed an essay on Mexican codices to the "Amerindian" number of DYN, was also teaching at the Summer School in 1922.[16] (Figs. 89 and 90)

Between 1928-32, John Dewey served as honorary chairman of the "Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America," established in 1928 in association with the School. He visited Mexico in those years and participated in excursions to Teotihuacan, Puebla, and Cuernavaca.[17] One of Dewey's students at Teachers College in 1921, was Moisés Sáenz, Director of the Summer School from 1923-24, then undersecretary of Education in Mexico from 1925-1930. During this time he developed influential rural education programs to integrate the "Indians" into national life.[18] The Summer School attracted hundreds of Mexican and foreign students including many Americans, all of whom were exposed to the liberal left ideology of Dewey and his colleagues. In 1924, Walter Pach sent an editorial letter to The New

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York Times, praising the institution's efforts in inter-American relations.[19]

Of equal weight was the influence of Franz Boas. At a time when anthropology was just establishing itself as a discipline, Boas trained a number of Mexican and American individuals who figured importantly in the Mexican cultural renaissance, including Anita Brenner, Miguel Covarrubias, and Manuel Gamio. Significantly, he also trained Ruth Benedict, whose Patterns of Culture would be influential in the theory of the New York School.[20]

In 1911, in association with plans to reopen the National University, Boas established the International School of American Archaeology and Ethnology in Mexico City, in which Manuel Gamio was a student.[21] Boas appointed the German Americanist Eduard Seler as first Director.[22] The Boasian connection for Paalen, as we have seen, was very strong; and in DYN, Paalen published a translation of Seler's 1927 version of Fray Bernardino de Sahagún's "Xiuhtecuhtli," the Aztec myth of the creation of fire.[23]

Boas' emphasis on fieldwork methodology (including linguistics, artistic appreciation of artifacts, and belief in the unity of New World indigenous cultures) was infused into Wolfgang Paalen's knowledge of Native American art. Brenner would write her classic study on the persistence of "Indian" culture under the yoke of Spanish colonialism - Idols Behind Altars.[24] Gamio held the positions of Director of (what would become) the National Institute of

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Anthropology in Mexico ca. 1917, and Undersecretary of Education ca. 1924, just prior to Sáenz. Through the influence of Zelia Nuttall, living and working in Mexico as an independent ethnologist at that time, Gamio had been sent on a fellowship to study with Boas at Columbia in 1911, and under the auspices of the International School, later conducted early excavations in the Valley of Mexico (Teotihuacan, San Miguel Amantla, Azcapotzalco).[25] [26] Following Boas, Paalen and Covarrubias would both maintain the positions of New World "vertical" relatedness of Native American culture North and South, as well as belief in the "horizontal" relationships of Old and New World culture.

2. Mexico, A World Art Center

According to Edward Renouf, Paalen's assistant editor in the production of DYN, when in 1940 Renouf asked Julien Levy's advice about where the "art scene" was most vital, Levy told him to go to Mexico to work with Paalen.[27] Mexico as an alternative American center had been developing from the second decade of the twentieth century with its stabilization following the Mexican Revolution. After the influx of a wave of leftists and writers - "political pilgrims" as they have been called - the growth of an international art colony began with the emigration of such "cultural pilgrims" as Edward Weston and Tina Modotti in 1923, two of the earliest and most celebrated.[28] Due to the revolutionary/popular ideals and educational programs

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supported by the Mexican government, a virtual "conjunction of art and revolution" were well underway there in the 1920s. Similar to the utopian ideological position of the European and Russian avant-garde, it was believed that revolution could effect not only political but psychological and aesthetic change, by making art accessible to the masses. Conversely, with the Depression and the waning of revolutionary ferment in the 1930s, "political pilgrims" gave way to "cultural pilgrims."[29] But because of the Mexican muralists and the progressive leftist currents in Mexico with which New York artists clearly sympathized, and because Mexico was perceived as a still unspoiled and "authentic" culture with abundant indigenous sources and resources, Mexico City was considered a major center of American art from the 1920s until the 1940s. It has been suggested that by 1940 "it was thought that the 'triumph' of North American painting had already occurred - but in Mexico, not the United States...."[30]

On the other hand, Mexican artists like José Orozco and Miguel Covarrubias were present in New York in the 1920s and contributed to the "flowering" of cultural relations between Mexico and the United States from ca. 1920-1935. As early as 1924, the Mexican expatriate artist, José Juan Tablada, living in New York, arranged an exhibition of contemporary Mexican painting at the Whitney Studio Club that included work by Orozco and Covarrubias among others.[31] Some years later, in 1929 after meeting Orozco in New York, the painter

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George Biddle furthered Mexican-American artistic relations by helping to organize an exhibition of modern American and French art in Mexico City. It displayed more than 300 works, showing paintings by Cézanne, Matisse, and Picasso along with those of Kuniyoshi, Hopper, and Hartley, among others.[32] These are just a few of the many points of contact between the schools that occurred before Paalen's arrival in 1939. Thus, in spite of uneasy U.S.-Mexican relations during 1926-27, by 1927 the groundwork for a deep appreciation of Mexican art, history, and culture had been laid by "'political' and 'cultural' travelers." This interest would reach a peak between 1927 and 1935.[33]

What is of note is that influence flowed northward because of the immense impact of Mexican muralism and its U.S. "invasion." The Mexican model was used by Biddle to gain Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelts' support for a mural program in the United States. Throughout the 1930s "American muralists emulated the Mexicans' devotion to native themes and their technical innovations," even while they eschewed their leftist politics, on the whole "preferring [or pressured]...to create scenes that affirmed American traditions and values or the promise of the New Deal."[34] Furthermore, Delpar's assertion that "there is little evidence of American influence on Mexican art during the 1920s or early 1930s," seems warranted, since first-generation Mexican modernism, like that in New York,styled itself after European models.[35] As Valerie Fletcher has

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shown, such pioneers of Latin American modernism as Diego Rivera, Matta Echuarren, Wifredo Lam, and Joaquín Torres-García, were first trained in the beaux-arts tradition of Europe, subsequently spending time in Europe, primarily Paris, where they developed in the crucible of international avant-gardism.[36] But New York in the 1920s and '30s was not Paris, and the Mexican presence loomed large in those years.[37]

It does not seem unreasonable to maintain that, Mexican emigrants to New York and the United States, like Orozco, Siqueros and Rivera, were models, to a great extent, for their northern counterparts. With only a few exceptions, artists from California, Chicago, and New York, went to Mexico to study with and learn from the Mexicans.[38] It was not until the late 1930s and 1940s - when cosmopolitan artists like Paalen and other members of the European avant-garde who had originated or practiced abstraction, arrived in America - that the social landscape would shift from a national to an international focus. A change in paradigms and the dominance of the muralismo style would take place, and a second wave of abstraction and experimentation infused with new ideas would begin, in spite of the first generation of American modernism and the ongoing practice of "non-objective" geometric abstraction by artists of the Abstract American Artists (also modeled on European prototypes). The years 1940-45 were a period of critical transition during which Americans absorbed and assimilated the "air de Paris."

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By the end of World War II, in 1945, muralism and the "vogue of things Mexican" were on the wane, replaced by Abstract Expressionism.[39]

## C. EUROPEAN PRECEDENTS FOR PAALEN AND PARALLELS WITH "AMERICANISM" IN THE NEW YORK SCHOOL: THE TROCADÉRO AND "LES ARTS ANCIENS DE L'AMÉRIQUE" EXHIBITION, 1928

### 1. Introduction - Constructing A History of Interest: "Ethnographic Surrealism"

Around 1900, Europe was in a phase of high colonialism; at that same point the social science paradigm shifted, to incorporate new perspectives on cultural pluralism and relativism. But even before this, due to colonial expansion and trade, European artists were drawn to the art and culture of the "primitive" cultures controlled by colonial empires.

As in America, by the late 1920s and 1930s in Paris, the discipline of ethnology had intersected with avant-garde art and cultural criticism, resulting in what James Clifford has called "the radical context" of "ethnographic Surrealism."[40] This intersection occurred within both the café culture, galleries, and little magazines of the avant-garde, and the institutional framework of the university and the museum. Clifford traced this coalescence of forces to two causes. The first was "the post-war passion for <u>l'art negré</u> that fostered a cult of the exotic artifact...[which] satisfied perfectly a European fetishism nourished on Cubist and Surrealist aesthetics."[41] The second was the

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establishment in 1925 of the Sorbonne Institute of Ethnology by the scholars, Maurice de la Fosse, Marcel Mauss, Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, and most appositely for this study, Paul Rivet, who was then also Director of the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadèro. With the death of de la Fosse in 1926, Mauss, Lévy-Bruhl, and Rivet trained every major French ethnographer up to the 1950s, short of Claude Lévi-Strauss, most of them Africanists.[42] These individuals, none of whom were field-workers themselves, brought to their teaching unique contributions: Lévy-Bruhl's concept of "primitive mentality" and its animistic relationship to the spirit world and the dream, as well as his formulation of "totemism" as collective representations of ancestor spirits, had great currency within Surrealist circles and in Paalen's work.[43] Rivet would advance interest in and support for ethnography as director of the Trocadéro and the Musée de l'Homme. Mauss, Emile Durkheim's nephew, may be said to have been the real initiator of "ethnographic surrealism."

Lévi-Strauss has described Mauss's style of presentation as a "provocative use of anti-thesis and paradox" to discover ethnographic truth - a truth "restlessly subversive of surface realities."[44] This position and Mauss's penchant for collecting, indeed "amassing," a complete corpus of texts, artifacts, maps, and photos to arrive at the "total facts" - an overdetermined synthetic portrait of a culture[45] - attracted the

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Surrealists. Georges Bataille, Michel Leiris, and Roger Callois all attended Mauss's seminars at the Collège de Sociologie in the 1930s. And Leiris with André Schaeffner, a jazz enthusiast and early authority on Stravinsky, would come by way of jazz to study Dogon music, later founding the ethnomusicology section of the Musée de l'Homme.[46]

The year 1928 was pivotal in the history of art and ethnology and in the history of the Trocadéro itself, for it was then that the exhibition "Les arts anciens de l'Amérique," and the reinstallation of the Trocadéro collections, took place. Paul Rivet was involved with both of these events because of his appointment of Georges-Henri Rivière, who organized "Les arts anciens dans l'Amérique" at the Musée des arts décoratifs of the Louvre. So impressed with the popular success of the exhibition was Rivet that he hired Rivière to reorganize the collections of the Trocadéro, which were in a state of disorganization and disrepair. This was the beginning of an immensely successful collaboration, increasing the Trocadéro's circle of patronage due to the keen publicity sense of Riviére. It resulted in the Dakar-Djibouti Mission to Africa in 1930-32, the new Musée de l'Homme, "scientific successor" to the Trocadéro by 1937; and Rivière's founding of the Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaire in Paris.[47]

Two things stand out in the creation of the two institutions. One is the shift in paradigm, by the end of the decade, back to science from the artistic model of

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organization of the 1920s. The reorganization of the Trocadéro collections in 1928 was predicated on a new model for ethnological collections, which organized artifacts not according to the scientific models of classification and evolution, but according to their "artistic appeal."[48] In the 1930s, with the change of title to the "Musée de l'Homme," nominally, if not methodologically, the museum was rethinking the terms of ethnology. Thus began the merging of the traditionally separated fields of art and science. In a review of Rivière's exhibition discussed below, the American art historian Lloyd Goodrich commented on the exhibition installation for a similar adjustment of attitude and objects in American museums.[49]

Rivière's creation of a Museum of Popular Arts and Traditions around this time, is also revealing of the shift in definitions of culture. As Clifford says, with this change in focus:

> ...'culture' was now resolutely lower case, a principle of relative order in which the sublime and the vulgar were treated as symbols of equal significance....the radical critic's task was one of semiotic decoding, with the aim of deauthenticating and then displacing the common categories. Ethnography which shares with Surrealism an abandonment of the distinction between high and low culture provided both a fund of non-Western alternatives and a prevailing attitude of ironic participant observation among the hierarchies and meanings of collective life.[50]

Riviére opened the door for the conjunction of Surrealists and ethnographers that would occur the following year. From Surrealism emerged a new "school," built on the defection of Antonin Artaud, Georges Bataille, Robert Desnos, and Michel

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Leiris from Breton's circle to form their own group, "Documents." This was named for Mauss's emphasis on a documentary rather than experiential or hermeneutic approach.[51] Writers all, it was only natural that Surrealism, with its interest in popular culture and "primitive" art, Marxist commitment to Third World cultures, and anti-colonial sentiments, would spawn an ethnographic branch.[52] Already in 1925, Leiris had demonstrated against Moroccan colonialism with the Surrealists, only to leave the movement by the end of the decade to study ethnography and participate in the Dakar-Djibouti Mission. Collaborators on Documents from emerging Third World nations also included the Haitiian and Mexican poets, Aimé Cesare, Octavio Paz, et al., both familiars of Paalen and part of the Surrealist movement.[53]

What better site to join art and experience, art and science, and subjective and objective narratives - like those encountered in the "objective chance" happenings of Surrealism? These three categories were fundamental to Surrealist theory. Like Surrealism, ethnography was grounded in experience and observation, criticism and creativity, theory and practice, realized through the medium of language. The collaboration of the writer and the scientist would result in a new category of professional sociologist and a new class of narrative called the "ethnography" - theory-driven accounts of the "participant-observer" in the field, replacing the old formula of the

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"privileged informant" in collaboration with the scientist-observer.[54] According to Clifford the "ethnography" was a synthesis of the shared modernist procedures of "collage, juxtaposition, and estrangement";[55] and the results of this union were an "extreme relativism, even nihilism...[with a] view of culture [that did not] feature conceptions of organic structure, functional integration, wholeness, or historical continuity." (author's emphasis)[56] Indeed, Elizabeth Williams indicates that the Surrealists related to the Trocadéro as they did to the flea market, as "an unscientific jumble of exotica, a place one went to encounter curiosities, isolated esthetic objects."[57] How very different was "ethnographic Surrealism" from Paalen's DYN and its coherent and holistic presentations. Nonetheless, it was during his years in Paris, exposed to the same influences and events, that Paalen began to study and collect paleolithic, neolithic, and native art and culture.

The collaboration of the Surrealist and the scientist in the new genre of "ethnographic Surrealism" is best represented by the "Documents" group and its publication of the same name, edited by Bataille from 1929-30. Major ethnologists and ethnographers contributed to Documents, like Rivet and Rivière, Alfred Métraux, Marcel Griaule; as well as Mauss and his students Leiris, Schaeffner and others. But it also published essays on Surrealism by former poet-turned-ethnographer Leiris such as "Picasso's

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Recent Canvases"[58] and "Alberto Giacometti"[59]; and art historian Carl Einstein's "André Masson étude ethnologie," whose discussion of "totemism," examined in Part II, was certainly known by Paalen.[60]

Even before Documents, Breton's La Révolution Surréaliste (1924-1929) and Surréalisme au Service de la Révolution (1930- 1933) were modeled on the look and tone of the popular scientific monthly La Nature, and Documents would follow suit.[61] Additionally, LRS and SASDLR, like their successors, Minotaure (1934-39) and VVV (1942-44), would announce their mission on the journals' frontispages as "poetry, plastic arts, anthropology, sociology, and psychology,"[62] also publishing ethnological articles and illustrations. Documents, then, was in direct competition with SASDLR, but after Documents folded, Leiris, like Rivet and Riviére, Lévi-Strauss, and other anthropologists, continued to publish essays in Minotaure, which ran side by side with Cahiers d'art throughout the 1930s.

In spite of an initial suspicion of Surrealism's unorthodox use of ethnography in their journals, by 1929 Bataille and his colleagues had succeeded in establishing themselves within the circle of Sorbonne ethnographers. In fact, one of the earliest texts of "ethnographic Surrealism" was an anthology of essays, L'art pré-colombien, with contributions from Mauss, Métraux, and Bataille, et al. in conjunction with Rivière's 1928 "Arts Anciens" exhibition.[63] The preface to the catalogue of Les arts

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anciens credited Métraux and Rivière as editors and thanked, among others, Bataille and Schaeffner for their help in the organization of the exhibition.[64]

2. "Les arts anciens de l'Amérique," Musée des arts décoratifs, Musée du Louvre, 1928

As Paalen said in his book review of Paul Rivet's Origins of American Man, nowhere had New World anthropology been so "brillianty pursued" as in France.[65] This claim is well substantiated by Elizabeth Williams, who wrote a history of the Trocadéro.[66] In the 1860s, with Napoleon III's invasion of Mexico, interest in Mesoamerica was awakened. From that point on, the founding of the Trocadéro and a series of industrial and universal expositions that included representative artifacts and technologies of many cultures, led, finally, to the 1928 exhibition of "The Ancient Arts of America." This was the first exhibition to definitively break down the distinctions between art and ethnology.[67] While this distinction may have been eliminated, Williams proposes that in France at this date the categories of "high" and "low" were not, for the exhibition was justified by "drawing [pre-Columbian artifacts] into the canon of the high arts in the court and theocracy of 'archaic' societies."[68] But the avant-garde from the Cubists to the Surrealists attempted to undermine all traditional categories of aesthetics, "primitive" or Western, and to develop new ones.

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The Mexican Government loaned from its National Museum of Archaeology forty-six "priceless" objects never before exhibited elsewhere, joined by twenty casts of important sculptures, reproductions of manuscripts, and a rich series of photographs of monuments.[69] Within the introductory pages of Les arts anciens de l'Amérique are the terms for a new treatment of American art that would become a paradigm for museums thereafter. All the issues that repeatedly arise in the aesthetic reception of pre-Columbian art, both in the States and abroad are found there. These include: (1) diffusionism vs. indigenism - "putting aside the problem of origins and those Asiatic and Oceanic migrations which, from the point of view of art forms, have had only a minor influence," and, thus, an appreciation of Native American artifacts as singularly "Ars Americana"[70]; (2) giving a just and carefully chosen consideration of "Amerindian" art before the conquest;[71] and (3) thinking through the aesthetic interrelationship of art and ethnology, and the need to rework ethnological collections in order to to make the beauty of objects accessible.[72] All this and more was in a few brief pages by Raoul d'Harcourt in his statement of the exhibition's mission.[73] And, it appears that this was the very text that inspired the observations of Lloyd Goodrich, which contributed to the philosophy of the "Indian Tribal Arts" and "American Sources" exhibitions in New York, shortly after.[74]

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D'Harcourt cited only two precedents for this, the "first exhibition of ancient American art ever held in France," an exhibition of Central American art organized in Madrid in 1893, and an exhibition of Pre-Columbian Art held at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in London in 1920. He explained the organization of the nearly 1000 items in the catalogue: first, the objects were classified by region and media; and second, by collections from which they were borrowed. The regions were pan-American and included the Northwest Coast and Alaska, as well as all Mesoamerican and South American civilizations: Mexican, Mayan, Colombian, and Incan.[75] He praised the Aztec for their "pyramidal monuments ornamented with divine sculpted effigies, their masks of hard stone, their funerary torches and their terra cotta vases"; the Quiché-Maya for the "bas-reliefs which dressed their temples, the representations of their gods engraved on great monolithic steles, and their incised alabaster cups"; the Colombian Chibcha for their "ceramics and everywhere their gold repoussé or filagree"; and, finally, the "despotic" Inca for their "incomparable ceramics, marvelous feather textiles, and fine weavings."[76]

The exhibition's intention, beyond the excellence of the display itself, was to instill in the public a sense of the treasures stored in the Trocadéro.[77] Due to the usually more scientific agenda of an ethnological museum, as well as the exigencies of conservation, these treasures had for too long rested in a "somber and powerful lethargy."

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But, with this exhibition, there was sure to be an effort at "a new presentation and judicious reinstallation - with light," of the Trocadéro's collections[78] - an undertaking that was accomplished in that same year.

### 3. Lloyd Goodrich reviews "Les arts anciens de l'Amérique," Musée des arts décoratifs, 1928

The 1933 "American Sources," exhibition was reviewed by Christian Zervos in Cahiers d'art in 1934. This exhibition stood at the beginning of the growing institutional exchange between the New York and Parisian Schools, and their mutual interest in "primitive" art and culture. That "Les arts anciens de l'Amérique" was also reviewed by Lloyd Goodrich in the American art publication, The Arts, is important for understanding the reception of pre-Columbian art in American art circles at this time, particularly because Goodrich noted that it marked the "official recognition of a movement which has been going on for some time in the Paris art galleries and auction rooms - the placing of Maya, Aztec, and Peruvian art on an equal basis [with Western art]."[79] His observation that it was "regrettable" that American museums were not represented, although they had been asked to participate, may have been a result of the fact that it was only ethnological museums - the AMNH, the Peabody, the Field, and the [then-named] "National Museum" in Washington, D.C. - not art museums, like the Louvre in Paris, that were solicited.[80]

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Goodrich commented on the issue of display, saying that the exhibition demonstrated a new attitude in presentation of ethnological artifacts. This presentation mitigated the difficulties in viewing due to poor light and overcrowded cases encountered in "wander[ing] the somber passages of the Trocadéro," from whose collection the "backbone" of the exhibition's works were drawn. He commended the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde for having already reinstalled its collections and called for a hastening of the same at the Trocadéro. The discussion and the exhibition itself represent an early instance of the changing attitude toward the recognition and display of Pre-Columbian art.

### D. TWO ESSAYS ON PRE-COLUMBIAN ART IN CAHIERS D'ART: TRISTAN TZARA, 1928; COECILIE SELER-SACHS, 1929 - THE RECEPTION IN PARIS

#### 1. Tristan Tzara's "A Propos de l'art Pre-Colombien"[81]

Tristan Tzara, the co-founder of the Paris Dada movement with André Breton, not only writes about pre-Columbia coincident with the American arts exhibition, but discusses it in terms that are revealing of the agenda of the avant-garde. This is particularly confirmed by comparison to what Coecilie Seler-Sachs, wife of the Americanist Eduard Seler, had to say about Aztec art and culture in Cahiers' pages the following year.

Tzara's view of pre-Colombian art and culture is that, above all else, its products are those of the "childhood of man," created to symbolically express an idealization of the

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laws that regulate the universe. It is not the appearance of nature that "primitive" man wishes to represent, but the symbol of nature, which is then infused into myth. Perfected in ritual and religion, myth "takes on the idea of beauty that we make for ourselves." And once this assumes a material reality in an object, the object itself becomes sacred.[82] Here Tzara recognizes the social construct of beauty and ugliness in order, no doubt, to subvert the dominant aesthetic. And in aligning art with the sacred, he participates in the construction of aura, indeed, of a myth for the object that relates to "magical thinking," which when naturalized by the Western mind makes a religion of art.

From Tzara's point of view, myth, like nature, is inevitable - "...deploys itself with the regularity of a flower pushing upward" - and art, like myth, is inevitable - "...an exercise that accustoms [him] to the idea of death." Tzara alludes to the omnipresence of death in Aztec art, writing:

> The similarity which exists between the laws of spiritual belief and those of flora and fauna, is a sweet consolation for those who know their kinship with the power and wisdom to return there in complete quietude.[83]

Tzara's images, which made their first appearance in his Dada poetry, are based on biological metaphors that see artistic creation as purely analogous with spirituality, and, in turn, universal laws. Totally organic, in harmony with nature, art is naturalized and idealized; never having

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its source in the material world, it is a "pure creation of the spirit" sharing a mystic kinship with death. And of all the arts in the "primitive hierarchy," pre-Columbian art is the most mysterious. Can you explain, he asks, how a civilization could attain such heights of abstraction and idea, yet never have invented the wheel? Coecilie Seler-Sachs can, and provides a marked contrast to Tzara's poetic discourse. We are face to face in these two texts with the materialist and anti-materialist points of view - with the perceived versus the represented, as we shall hear Breton say. Yet even in the "materialist" point of view, the discourse of spirituality arises, signalling the convergence of fields and the zeitgeist of the period.

### 2. Coecilie Seler-Sachs, "L'Architecture et la Sculpture Chez Les Aztéques"[84]

Tzara's mysticism is diffuse in comparison to Coecilie Seler-Sachs' text on Aztec art and culture. As an individual closely involved with archaeological discourse, she strives to reconstruct a picture of Aztec civilization before the conquest. There may be no person, short of Eduard Seler himself, better able to represent the "dignity" of these "civilized" people, whose forever-lost artifacts, destroyed by the Spaniards, would be remarkable in number as well as workmanship, if reunited in the "spiritual domain."[85] Unlike Tzara, she does not see these people as occupying "a part of the childhood of man," nor does she conflate their cultural and religious practices with her

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own. Rather, she looks at them on a par with her own world.

George Kubler accords Eduard Seler a principal position in Americanist history and pays hommage to his early accurate conclusions about the priority of the Toltec (ancestors of the Aztec) in Mexican culture. Locating him "near the beginnings of anthropological archaeology in America as a figure of central importance in Americanist studies, both then and now" he quotes Eric Thompson that "his greatest single contribution...was his demonstration of the essential unity of the advanced cultures of Middle America."[86] Coecilie Seler-Sachs pays tribute to her husband and reproduces in her text a photograph of him standing behind a gigantic lizard on a rock at the foot of a cascade, San Anton, near Cuernavaca. The caption tells us that he is "the eminent Americanist...author of commentaries on numerous Mexican codices and of the Collected Papers on the American Language and Art, 5 vol., Berlin 1902-1915."[87] Paalen had Volume I of this very edition in his library.[88] The gargantuan equatorial creature in the photograph, so strange that it seems from another planet, was just the kind of image the Surrealists prized.[89]

Seler-Sachs' essay affords a view of the technological sophistication of the ancient Mexicans, from their sculpture to their "formidable" terraced temples, as well as insights into their cult practices, founded in their cosmological beliefs. She explains how religion permeated every level of existence from sacred war to games and feasts, and spoke in

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detail about Aztec social organization, material culture, and symbolic and historical art. Her discussion, like the illustrations to the text, provides a picture of Aztec culture sufficient to offset notions of its "savagery," and to comprehend its complexity: its gods, its totems, its sacred places, its monuments, the pinnacle of its civilization, its diffusion as far as the Mayan territory, its military outposts, its materials and techniques, its language, and its "soul":

> ...the melancholy humor of the Indians, still with them today, made the idea of death express itself on every occasion, placed the divinity of death on the first level. War, food and death, the sun, the moon, the morning and evening star, and above all the forecasts of weather that they made, are the leitmotifs of the cult that the Mexicans erected to their gods, and of the statues which elevate them.[90]

In Seler-Sachs' text, the Aztec come alive as they never had before. And this sort of discourse, as well as romantic evocations of the sort made by Tzara, would be found side by side in DYN.

## E. RECEPTION OF PRE-COLUMBIAN ART AND CULTURE IN THE NEW YORK SCHOOL, FIRST AND SECOND GENERATIONS

### 1. Early Avant-Garde Interest in Mexican and Pre-Columbian Art[91]

Alfred Stieglitz, progenitor of the first-generation of the American avant-garde, was indirectly the first to promote Mexican and pre-Columbian art and culture. In 1909, at 291 Gallery, he showed the caricatures of Mexican artist Marius De Zayas, who became a close friend and collaborator

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in promoting modernism and "primitive" art.[92] In 1914, at De Zayas' suggestion, Stieglitz exhibited pre-Columbian pottery and sculpture in conjunction with an exhibition of works by Picasso and Braque.[93] The following year, 1915, De Zayas opened his Modern Gallery, and in 1916 an exhibition of Diego Rivera's paintings from his European period included ten pre-Columbian works.[94] By 1920 Walter Pach would write that ancient Mexican sculpture and architecture were "the greatest art which has yet been produced in the Western Hemisphere," meriting the attention of art, rather than ethnology.[95] In 1923, after his tenure at the National University in Mexico, Pach included in the Independents' Annual thirteen works by contemporary Mexican painters and watercolors by Mexican schoolchildren, reflecting the implicit relatedness of interest in the "primitive," the folkloric, and the naive.[96] Additionally, the Mayan Revival style of Frank Lloyd Wright and other architects, as well as the West Coast interest in things Mexican, contributed to a greater focus on ancient Mesoamerica throughout the 1920s.[97] Once again, because of widespread xenophobia in the post-World War I period and the identification of modernism with Europe, the alternative of an "American" art tradition in the form of Mexican and pre-Columbian art was welcomed by the American avant-garde.

## 2. The Museums and the Exposition of Indian Tribal Arts, New York, 1931-32

### a. Introduction

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By the first decades of the twentieth century, American artists were taking advantage of the opportunity to view the Native American art at such institutions as the Heye Museum of the American Indian, The Brooklyn Museum, and the American Museum of Natural History. By the 1930s, museums such as the Museum of Modern Art and The Brooklyn Museum of Art, like the artists themselves, were becoming aware of the unusually fine aesthetic and expressive qualities of native art and recontextualizing it into the fabric of modernism. The response to the ethnological paradigm was twofold: in ethnological museums Native American and other ethnological objects were being elevated in the evolutionary chain; and in art museums a new awareness of Native American art was engendering a wave of exhibitions and aesthetic appreciation. Additionally, important acquisitions were made by museums of a more inclusive nature like The Brooklyn Museum.

From the viewpoint of the ethnological musems, reevaluation of the aesthetic, not just scientific, virtues of their collections resulted in reinstallations along the lines of objects of "artistic" value of "high quality," as had occurred in 1928 at the Trocadéro and other European institutions. But it was not until 1957, after the Metropolitan Museum of Art turned down his offer of his private collection of ethnographic arts, that Nelson Rockefeller, would open the "Museum of Primitive Art," the first museum devoted exclusively to the study, exhibition,

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and acquisition of "primitive" art.[98] That its original location was directly across the street from the Museum of Modern Art was no coincidence.[99]

The Exposition of Tribal Arts, held at Grand Central Art Galleries New York, was an initiative sponsored by independent artists and philanthropist-collectors with which numerous museums (mostly ethnological) cooperated, loaning works from their collections. This included the AMNH, the Heye Museum, the Peabody Museum, and the National Museum in Washington, D.C. The only participating art museum was The Brooklyn Museum. The Board of Directors of the Exposition of Tribal Arts, Inc., of which John Sloan was President, had incorporated for business purposes: it was its intention to market and sell the products of Native American craftsmen in the United States, as an extension of the exhibition itself. Sloan was a summer resident of Santa Fe, New Mexico, where he he had come in contact with the activities of archaeologist Edgar Lee Hewett, who had initiated a revival of "Indian" arts and crafts, promoting it as a means to economic independence for Native American communities.[100]

The incorporation of the Indian Tribal Arts group actually replicated the earlier activities of Frances Flynn Paine, a Texan living in Mexico, who, with the support of the Rockefeller General Education Board, had organized exhibitions of contemporary Mexican painting and traditional folk art at the New York Art Center in 1928. She subsequently established the Mexican Arts Corporation and,

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thereafter, the non-profit Mexican Arts Association. This organization had a board that included Elizabeth Morrow, Abby Aldrich Rockefeller, and Frank Crowninshield, editor of Vanity Fair.[101] It would serve as an early model for the Indian Arts and Crafts Board established in 1936 by John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs during Roosevelt's administration.

Flynn had been involved with the populist and indigenist ideology of Mexico. As in the 1928 New York Art Center exhibition, she imported this ideology into the United States, through Mexican folk art exhibitions. As in muralismo, interest in folk art began with Mexican artists and was seen as the living remainder of pre-Columbian art and tradition. In Mexico City, in 1921, in conjunction with the Mexican centenary of independence, three contemporary artists, Dr. Atl, Jorge Enciso, and Roberto Montenegro, organized the first major exhibition of Mexican folk art, including contemporary paintings. Thereafter, in sympathy with the Mexican avant-garde, Americans living in Mexico such as Dwight and Elizabeth Morrow, William Spratling, and Frederick Davis, began to collect folk art.[102] In 1922, the Mexican centenary exhibition of folk and contemporary art of 5,000 items was shown in Los Angeles, with a catalogue written by Katherine Anne Porter, then living as an expatriate in Mexico.[103] By 1924, the Whitney Studio Club in New York held the first public exhibition of American folk art, initiating collection and patronage of

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folk arts and crafts, such as the promotional exhibitions of Frances Flynn Paine and John Sloan. Paine's 1928 exhibition was attended and patronized by Abby Aldrich Rockefeller and Robert de Forest, president of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and served to move salon efforts such as Paine's into the institutional arena.[104] Two years later, d'Harnoncourt, then working for Frederick Davis in Mexico City, would organize the "Mexican Arts" exhibition, which opened at the Metropolitan.

b. The Museums

1. American Museum of Natural History and the New York School, First and Second Generations

The collections of the American Museum of Natural History were an important source of inspiration for two generations of New York artists. Max Weber was inspired by a pre-Columbian sculpture he saw there to write a poem "To Xochipilli, Lord of the Flowers" (1911) - a very early instance of American interest in pre-Columbian (Aztec) culture.[105] A member of the Stieglitz Circle, Weber wrote this poem before the 1914 joint exhibition of Picasso, Braque and pre-Columbian art at the 291 Gallery. Weber, who had learned the love of "primitive" art while an expatriate in Paris, was one of the first-generation of avant-garde American artists to be inspired in this direction by visits to the AMNH. This generation also included William and Margaret Zorach, Samuel Halpert, and Ben Benn.[106] By 1944, when the pre-Columbian Hall of the Museum reopened, Bazi-

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otes, Gottlieb, Newman, Rothko, and many other New York School artists, would make frequent visits to the Museum to see this and other collections.[107]

### 2. The Heye Museum of the American Indian, New York

As previously indicated, a major factor in the growth of artistic consciousness of indigenous American art was a rise in nationalism.[108] A desire to define "American" in opposition to "European" gave impetus to an interest in Native American culture. With this in mind, the founding of the Heye Foundation Museum of the American Indian in 1916, does not come as a surprise. But in 1916, according to W. Jackson Rushing, George Gustav Heye's attitude toward the 1,800,000 artifacts of Native America he "grudgingly" put on public display in his Museum was:

> not guided by a scientific fascination with primitive cultures or the evolution of art. Neither was he especially fond of Native American people nor overly concerned with their supposedly vanishing culture. Accordingly to U. Vincent Wilcox, a former research curator at the Museum, "Heye was first and foremost a collector, not a true scholar, and the Museum was for him the most expedient method to develop a major collection.[109]

When the Museum opened in 1922 an article in The New York News remarked that the "objects...assembled here are of practical value, aside from the historical and archaeological interest attached to them..." and the writer "...failed to note either the aesthetic or the purely cultural value" of Heye's collection.[110] Despite the

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condescending, self-aggrandizing attitude of Heye, his collection was of great importance, with "strengths in both archaeology and ethnology with excellent Northeast, Plains, Great Basin and Southwest collections...and an outstanding collection...from the Northwest Coast."[111] The pattern of nationalism stimulating interest in Native America would recur in World War II, reflected in the primitivism of the New York School.

In DYN, on the first page of "Totem Art," Paalen would reproduce a Kwakiutl Sun Mask from Heye's collection, noting that it was reproduced through the "courtesy of Dr. George G. Heye, Director of The Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York."[112] (Fig. 74) Heye eventually sold this mask to Paalen, in the same way that he sold many objects from his Northwest Coast and other collections to the Surrealists in New York in the 1940s. It appears in a 1954 photograph of Paalen in Paris surrounded by paintings and objects from his collection.[113] Heye was forced to close his museum to the public because he was "in violation of its tax-exempt status, and around 1940, for reasons not entirely clear, had decided to de-accession large portions of the museum collection, selling off what he deemed to be 'duplicates.'"[114] This was not the first time he had done this. As was observed by Elizabeth Cowling, Heye so undervalued Northwest Coast and Eskimo objects that in 1931-32 he sold the Parisian dealer Charles Ratton one hundred pieces from his collection, after an exhibition of the

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collection at Ratton's gallery. Ratton, in turn, sold the Surrealists many of the works.[115] In New York in the 1940s, he would again put objects on the market, through the dealer Julius Carlebach, who sold them to Breton, Lévi-Strauss, Ernst, and other Surrealists.[116] Apparently, Heye had:

> lost interest in North American material at precisely the moment when the Surrealists were hotly in pursuit of it, and was apparently intent on exchanging it for less important and less rare [sic] pre-Columbian material.[117]

As Barbara Braun has reported, review of the records of the Museum of the American Indian show a twelve-year business relationship with Julius Carlebach in which Carlebach bought and sold works for Heye, even allowing patrons to peruse the shelves of the museum's storage annex.[118]

Paalen was one of the beneficiaries of this practice. The records of the Museum show that Paalen made one purchase, as well as two exchanges of objects with Heye in June 1939 and May 1941; and made two gifts to the museum in January 1941 and May 1945. In June 1939, from Paalen's address at 41 Rue Boulard, Paris, the Museum received "part payment on [a] wampum belt."[119] On the same date, to the same address, the Museum sent a Chilkat blanket and an Anvik Alaskan Eskimo mask, described as an "elaborate mask representing a human head and a bird's head."[120] In exchange, Paalen made gifts to the museum of a Oaxacan "large stone pendant to represent a human figure on one side

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and a dancing monkey on the other; and a Oaxacan "pendant of antler."[121]

In May, 1941 the museum sent to Paalen at his hacienda, Villa Obregon, in Mexico City, a Kwakiutl Mask: the wood carving discussed in Part I, "representing [a] standing human figure holding [a] copper against [its] breast"; an Oweekago "head-dress mask representing a thunderbird"; an Anvik Eskimo "wooden mask representing [a] blue bottle fly;" a Vera Cruz "palma stone representing an animal's head; and three Oaxacan works: a "jadeite figure of a man"; a "large stone pendant representing an owl's head; and an incised black stone cup.[122] Presumably the Kwaikiutl mask was the same mask that Paalen reproduced in the "Amerindian" issue of DYN.

Additionally Paalen had in his library a number of titles from the Heye Museum's "Indian Notes and Monographs," including Reginald Pelham Bolton's Indian Paths in the Great Metropolis [i.e., New York], 1932, July 1948, and November 1949; and three studies by Marshall Saville on turquoise mosaic, wood-carver's art, and on Tizoc king or lord of ancient Mexico.[123]

### 3. Herbert J. Spinden, The Brooklyn Museum, and Wolfgang Paalen

Herbert Spinden was a close friend of Paalen's in the 1940s,[124] and a colleague in studies of pre-Columbian art and culture. He became Curator of Ethnological Arts at The Brooklyn Museum, where his background in American

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archaeology and ethnology particularly benefited the Museum's collections of Native American art. Spinden was born in 1879 in South Dakota. In 1900 he took part in the Gold Rush in Nome, Alaska, and held surveying jobs for the railroads then under construction.[125] In 1906 he began anthropology studies at Harvard University, where he earned a B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. by 1909. As an undergraduate, he excavated a North Dakota Mandan site, and as a graduate student, from 1907-1909, he taught in the Department of Anthropology.[126]

Spinden's doctoral dissertation, A Study of Maya Art, its subject matter and historical development, was published in 1913, and it was perhaps the first study in the world to classify, date, illustrate, and interpret Mayan art.[127] It included Spinden's early deciphering of Maya calendrical systems, a revision of which was published in 1930 as "Maya dates and what they reveal: a re-examination of the evidence in correlation between Central American and European time counts."[128] A handbook version of this study was published in 1917.[129] A Study of Maya Art, his application of this system to date inscriptions on monuments, was viewed as a major breakthrough in the historical reconstruction of Mayan civilization, and considered dependable until the "Goodman-Thompson-Martínez" correlation was developed. The latter, considered more accurate, differed from Spinden's by 260 years.[130]

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The Study developed an iconography for Mayan sculpture, examined "material culture" (including architecture) and the minor arts, and identified major sites. Two major epochs were blocked out for these sites: First and Second, within which were Early, Middle, Great, Transition, League, Mexican, and Modern (or "decline") periods. The monuments were arranged according to South (First Epoch - before 600 A.D.) and North (Second Epoch 600-960 A.D. and 960 A.D. - Conquest).[131]

In 1909, Spinden was appointed Assistant Curator of Anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History, where he remained until 1921, when he because Curator of Mexican Anthropology at the Peabody Museum.[132] During these years he did fieldwork among the Tewa of the Southwest, becoming involved in Mesoamerican archaeology and discovering a number of sites in Yucatán and Central America.[133]

In 1929, after five years at the Peabody, and three at the Buffalo (New York) Museum, he moved to The Brooklyn Museum, where he remained until ca. 1957. George Kubler, who studied with Spinden at the NYU Institute of Fine Arts,[134] says that Spinden was perceived by Mayanist Eric S. Thompson "as an art historian rather than an archaeologist," and that his "feeling for all forms of primitive art was extraordinarily perceptive."[135] So it is no surprise that his talents found themselves most suited to The Brooklyn Museum, which combined the arts and sciences.

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In fact, Spinden's background in cultural sciences was complemented by studies in anatomy and design. with mentors who stressed design as a science, and the use of a classification system to analyze forms in nature.[136] Spinden's approach, in its turn, must have influenced art historian Kubler's anthropologically- and linguistically-inflected methodology. This in turn led to the development of a system of dating decontextualized objects based on a mode of serialization outlined in Kubler's The Shape of Time.[137]

In his interest in science and as an artist who illustrated his own texts, it is not surprising that Spinden was a close friend of Wolfgang Paalen. It is altogether possible that Miguel Covarrubias, another of Paalen's colleagues in early pre-Columbian studies, who produced facsimile drawings for DYN, was inspired to take up his pen to write and illustrate books following Spinden's example.

Kubler indicates that Spinden's Study "marked the appearance in Americanist studies of extended analysis of the forms and meanings of Amerindian visual representation." This concern was germane to his work at The Brooklyn Museum, along with his continued defense of his time correlation system. He also taught and traveled in Latin America to increase the Brooklyn collections.[138] In 1940 and 1941, he curated exhibitions of Native American art including "Indian Painting and Sculptures from New Mexico and Arizona." "America South of the Border: As Revealed By Art" was his

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contribution to the interest in Mexican folk art and culture.

Jackson Rushing reported that Adolph Gottlieb was profoundly influenced by visits to the museum from 1934 to 1944, that he made with Barnett Newman. The Museum's sizable collection of Native American art and "prominently displayed totem [poles]" attracted their attention and admiration.[139] Gottlieb had become involved with Southwestern art through John Sloan. He even made a trip to Tucson, Arizona in 1937-38, and his inspiration for the Pictograph series of paintings has been attributed to a visit to the Arizona State Museum during that trip.[140] But, importantly, as Rushing has observed, it was not until after the 1941 Museum of Modern Art exhibition of Indian Art of the United States that he would utilize the paradigm of Native American art in his work. And although Rushing dates the Pictograph series from 1941-1951, the earliest work reproduced in his essay is 1942.[141] This suggests that DYN, appearing in 1942, may have reinforced and emphasized the other current influences on Abstract Expressionism cited by Rushing and Kirk Varnedoe - Jungian psychology, John Graham, Spinden's Brooklyn Museum shows, and the MOMA exhibition.[142] Importantly, it was not only to southwestern art that Gottlieb, Barnett Newman and the proto-Abstract Expressionist group "Indian Space" looked. Instead it was specifically to Northwest Coast and pre-Columbian art, a direction that reflected Paalen's model in

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DYN. The earliest public expressions and artistic manifestoes - the 1944 exhibition of Pre-Columbian Stone Sculpture at the Wakefield Gallery, the 1946 exhibition Northwest Coast Indian Painting at Betty Parsons Gallery, and the 1946 exhibition of the "Indian Space" painters - would be claimed as artistic inspiration and prototype.[143]

a. Paalen's "Primitive" Art Collection at The Brooklyn Museum

In 1947 from Mexico City, Paalen wrote to John Wise, a dealer in ""primitive" art in New York City, asking for his help in bringing his collection of South Seas and prehistoric Greek [Cycladic] objects to the United States from Paris.[144] As Paalen said to Wise in his letter, most of his objects surpassed the quality of those shown in the 1946 South Seas exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art several of which were "very rare pieces such as cannot be found in American Museums or private collections."[145] He added that his collection also "...contain[ed] a few good precolombian objects, a series of prehistoric Greek sculptures in marble from the Cycladic Islands..." and asked if Wise [knew] of a museum that would like to have [his] collection as an indefinite loan exhibition?"[146]

Wise forwarded a copy of the letter to Herbert Spinden, who wrote to Paalen asking for photographs, valuations, and a list of the pieces, with descriptions and dimensions, saying that he would be in Mexico City that summer to lecture at the Institute of Anthropology.[147] Paalen wrote

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back to Spinden thanking him for his interest and asking for his help in shipping the works from Paris as soon as possible.[148]

A few weeks later, Paalen sent Spinden the materials he had requested and a detailed list of his collection.[149] The list included thirty-eight Oceanic works, six Northwest Coast works, six Cycladic works, three pre-Columbian works, three African works, and three North American works, as well as twelve "miscellaneous objects" and "1 painting, oil Archimboldo (Italian 16th Century)."[150] (See Appendix E)

On July 1, 1947, Spinden's assistant curator wrote to Paalen in Mexico, saying that Spinden was en route there and would arrive in mid-July. She explained that they preferred to have the collection await Paalen's arrival in New York [in October], "to make a selection with [him] at that time," of...objects that would be put on loan.[151]

In February 1948, The Brooklyn Museum sent Paalen a loan form detailing the objects they had selected for long-term loan. It listed seven works: two ancestral figures from Easter Island, a tiki from Tahiti, a male figure and a "lime spatula" from New Guinea, a dance mask from New Ireland, and a clay figurine from Venezuela.[152]

One year later, Paalen wrote to Spinden, now on completely familiar terms, requesting the return of the loaned works.[153] Spinden promptly responded with thanks and regrets to lose the works, but asked if the museum could purchase the Easter Island ancestral figures.[154] In a

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subsequent letter, Paalen agreed to sell the female figure, the New Ireland mask, and the pre-Columbian lime spatula.[155] Spinden again wrote with a request for "both figures, or the male figure only," saying that they were needed for their collection.[156] Paalen again answered in the negative, saying he could not part with the male figure, but made a gift of the tiki to the Museum, and promised to give The Brooklyn Museum first rights to the figure if he ever decided to sell it.[157] Subsequently, a New Guinea wooden drum was purchased for the collections.[158]

### 4. René d'Harnoncourt, the "Mexican Arts" Exhibition, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1930, and DYN

René d'Harnoncourt, a colleague in Mexican and pre-Columbian studies with whom Paalen associated in the 1940s, was another key figure in the aesthetic reception of Mexican and pre-Columbian art and culture by the New York School in the 1930s and 1940s. Many of the individuals with whom d'Harnoncourt associated were to become acquaintances of Paalen in the 1940s. Paalen and d'Harnoncourt had a great deal in common since they were nearly exactly contemporary in age (d'Harnoncourt was born in 1901) and had both been formed in the milieu of early twentieth-century Vienna.[159]

In 1925 d'Harnoncourt emigrated to Mexico City to seek his fortune. Unable to find employment as a trained chemist, he free-lanced as an artist, then became involved with Mexican folk art and pre-Columbian antiquities by

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working in the shop of antique dealer and collector Frederick Davis. There he arranged exhibitions of such artists as Rivera, Orozco, Covarrubias and Tamayo, initiating his lifelong relationship with Mexican modernism and fully participating in and contributing to "Mexicanidad" and the Mexican Renaissance of the 1920s and 30s. His added role as advisor to collectors soon brought him in contact with U.S. Ambassador Dwight Morrow and his wife Elizabeth, who commissioned a mural for their home and illustrations for two of Elizabeth's books.

By 1927 d'Harnoncourt had built up a department of "primitive" and contemporary Mexican folk art for Davis' firm. In 1929 he was invited by the Mexican Ministry of Education to organize and lecture on an exhibition of folk arts to travel to schools throughout the United States. This led to the invitation at the behest of Dwight Morrow to curate an exhibition to tour the United States under the auspices of the Carnegie Foundation and the American Federation of Arts.

The exhibition "Mexican Arts" opened in October 1930 at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and traveled to Boston, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Washington, D.C., Milwaukee, Louisville, and San Antonio. It was composed of 1,200 objects from the conquest to contemporary time. This was the most comprehensive exhibition of Mexican art ever presented and served to expose and establish the Mexican School in the United States. It was the basis for

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d'Harnoncourt's future exhibition, "Twenty Centuries of Mexican Art," at the Museum of Modern Art, which in turn can be seen as the progenitor of recent exhibitions like the Metropolitan Museum's 1990 blockbuster, "Mexico: Splendor of Thirty Centuries,"[160] also initiated during a moment of political entente.

D'Harnoncourt took pains to acquire objects from even the most remote parts of Mexico in order to represent as wide a range of indigenous craft as possible. Photographs of the exhibition showed it to have been "19th-century" in character, with double-hanging and untroubled mixtures of periods. Installed in an intimate style that reproduced a spacious domestic interior, it gave an overall "volkish" impression.[161] Even in this early, what retrospectively seems old-fashioned presentation, d'Harnoncourt was hailed for masterful installation design.[162]

D'Harnoncourt also wrote the exhibition catalogue, Mexican Arts.[163] The advisory committee included artists-collectors among the most esteemed in Mexican art and scholarship: Diego Rivera, Dr. Atl, Jorge Enciso, Roberto Montenegro, Francisco Díaz de León, and others. They would also be contributors to future exhibitions at the Museum of Modern Art and to DYN.[164] Together with expatriates like d'Harnoncourt, the first level of appreciation of pre-Columbian art began with artists, whose enthusiasm was initially guided by aesthetic response.

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Jorge Enciso and Francisco Díaz de León both contributed to the "Amerindian" number of DYN (4-5).[165] A caricaturist and painter who became part of the muralismo school, Enciso won fame as a collector and historian as well.[166] (He had collaborated in arranging one of the earliest folk art displays at Mexico's Centennial Exhibition in 1921.) Enciso published Design Motifs of Ancient Mexico in 1947. Considered to be a classic of scholarship and illustration, Enciso's book contains a catalogue of illustrations like his "Seals" first published in DYN.[167] (Fig. 91) The designs were taken from the surfaces of pre-Columbian seals or blocs bearing stylized human, animal, and plant figures and abstract patterns and were stamps "used to make color impressions on the human body, on paper, on cloth, etc."[168]

A skilled wood-engraver himself, Francisco Díaz de León's essay on "Gabriel Vicente Gahona" for DYN 4-5 gave a brief but fascinating sketch of the career of the virtually unknown nineteenth-century artist whose wood engravings both anticipated and rivaled the prints of Guadalupe Posada. (Fig. 92) Posada, featured in d'Harnoncourt's exhibition, was the pre-Revolutionary artist, whose popularist zinc-cut broadsides of Mexican street ballads, prayers, and pamphlets, were celebrated in his own time and during and after the Revolution.[169] Diego Rivera wrote a monograph on Posada, which Paalen had in his library.[170] For the second issue of DYN, Díaz de León engraved one of Paalen's

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woodblock designs, which Paalen reproduced in color facsimile, a swirl of dynamic linear forms like those on the cover spelling out the name DYN.[171] To the last issue of DYN, Díaz de Léon contributed a photograph of everyday Mexican life in a terraced pueblo, entitled "Project for a stage set of real life."[172]

* * *

D'Harnoncourt's "Introduction" to Mexican Arts set forth the parameters and mission of the exhibition to present works that were "an expression of Mexican civilization." He then sketched out the general characteristics of that civilization within an historical framework. A number of the aesthetic currents manifest in Mexican society after the Revolution were evident in this essay as well: indigenism, nationalism, popularism. As a Westerner in exile who had found his home in Mexico, d'Harnoncourt was completely in harmony with the nationalist revival. If he viewed Mexico romantically, with its still largely undeveloped pre-industrial state and its indigenous population, he shared these sentiments with the Mexican avant-garde themselves, who added to this repertoire an Hispano-American consciousness. This "romantic primitivism" and "anti-modernism" were characteristic of the period, even though there was also a futurist element to Mexican avant-gardism that celebrated or integrated technology and urbanism into its artistic practice.

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The exhibition was divided into two sections: Early and Contemporary Applied Arts and Early and Contemporary Fine Arts. For each major section d'Harnoncourt wrote brief introductory essays which placed the works in an overall perspective. Thereafter he wrote descriptive paragraphs for each medium, often giving an account of production and reception, identification of cultural or regional origin, definitions of major categories of objects within a given medium, descriptions of motifs, form, and technique, explanations of how objects were used in ritual or functional contexts, and symbolic significance where pertinent. Reflecting his own love of folk art, and continuing the theme of the resilience of indigenous life through assimilation and transformation, of the applied arts, he remarked:

> [They] are the truest form of self-expression of the Mexican people. Never considered important enough for censorship, either by Church or State, they have developed unmolested and largely uninfluenced by extraneous forces. Every aspect of native life is reflected in the work of the artisan, and such new elements as have been introduced have been absorbed, merged, and given out in new and often surprising forms. These many articles of personal use remain the Mexican Indian's unique contribution to the civilization of his country.[173]

Applied Arts from the 16th to the 20th century consisted of characteristic indigenous crafts including featherwork, metalwork, lacquerware, carvings, pottery, leatherwork, beadwork, strawwork, masks, toys, textiles, costumes, and furniture.

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The Fine Arts encompassed colonial paintings and sculpture, retablos, and ex votos, examples of which d'Harnoncourt introduced, giving definitions of the forms, and then describing their transformation of academic and naive form and content into a "highly important phase of Mexican popular art."[174] The synthesis of European and native traditions was a theme running through the analysis of the Early Applied Arts as well.[175]

The preface for the Fine Arts section discussed the unique "Colonial primitive" composite of Spanish academic tradition and native hand, its development in subsequent centuries, and, finally, the apotheosis of Mexican art in the post-Revolutionary period.[176] It was in the "secular" paintings, sculpture, and prints by the pantheon of Mexican modern artists including Merida, Orozco, Rivera, Izquierdo, Charlot, Covarrubias, Siqueiros, and Tamayo Rufino, that the "true spirit" of Mexico was to be found.[177] These artists, part of the artistic "Syndicado" of the 1920s, virtually the leaders of the Mexican Muralist movement and the "Mexicanidad" renaissance, were thus given their American debut as a whole, and seen in historical, political, and cultural contexts. The exhibition reflected both the virtues and the personality of the new Mexican nationalism and the character of d'Harnoncourt's contribution to Mexican-American relations, which he said, aimed to "present...a Mexican interpretation of Mexico."[178]

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One of the categories of object in the Applied Arts section, which would be featured in DYN, were toys.[179] These, like most of the hand-made folk objects included in the exhibition, were highly valued by the modernists for their qualities of authenticity, spontaneity, and naive charm. But they were also included for their ideological value within the Mexican context - specifically, for their reference to daily life, religions, and legends in the popular experience.

In DYN, Gustav Regler would tell of an excursion into the interior of the territory of "los Indios," where they were greeted by children with "earthcolored hands" selling bastwork "woven fine as gauze." "These fingers could not have woven such nothings. It must all have been the work of dreaming spiders that in some tree here in the neighborhood thought out these colorful wonders: the children only found and collected them."[180] His story continues, giving an account of life in the village, where they sit and "weave and mold clay and paint". Could it really be as he says?:

> They go through the dark cave of birth to a land where everything is converted into toys and where proportionate sizes are so interchanged that one can no longer distinguish a child from a grown-up and that age is dismissed like some useless disease.[181]

The dreadfully hard life of the villagers is presented: the high mortality rates where "nowhere else is there so much death and at so early an age as in these huts"; and where the "boundary between life and death is removed in the painting, molding, carving, and weaving."[182] Eating "the

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driest and sorriest tacos we have ever eaten" in the strawhut of a ten-person family of potters, they watched the production of brown Madonnas from troughs of wet clay-fiddlers, singers, cellists, trumpeters, mandolins and guitars "of a mere hand's breadth, of carved cherry stones," deer "that crouched in the cups of our hands as though in giant grottoes," and horses, donkeys and oxen, for the Nativities sold in the marketplace.

But there was another aspect to the toys besides their charm and their magic, which was:

> an unconscious defense against the half-white and white oppressor. Art is always an asylum, and the quiet, in no wise heroic, white-clad village-dwellers from Chiapas to Jalisco are artists....So long as this world of tiny pots...exists, one can forget that one is always being deceived; one can even weave one's hatred into the bast threads, can give the shape of a Yankee to the Diablo, the Iscariot, whom, with his fire-cracker body, one blows up on the Saturday before Easter...[183]

In the next issue of DYN a photograph of ceramic toy alligators, piled in a mass, illustrated Paalen's "Rencontre Totemique," a memory of and meditation on childhood, to match these artifacts omnipresent in Mexican villages.[184] These are the same toys and marquettes that d'Harnoncourt described and exhibited.[185] "It would be difficult," d'Harnoncourt says, "to decide who enjoys Mexican toys the more - the maker or the child."[186] This may more accurately beg the question of who enjoys the toys more - the maker or the avant-garde. Regler, the former Communist, tells another tale, aligning art with Revolution, the mask that

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handsomely hides the face of rage, tragedy, and sorrow, and nullifies the romanticism. His "Indios" are "in no-wise heroic."[187]

Related to toys in the contemporary context was the inclusion in Mexican Arts of children's drawings and paintings. During the education ministry of José Vasconcelos, who also sponsored the Muralist movement, "open-air schools" for painting and drawing were established, under the philosophy of fostering artistic expression that would reflect the real Mexican scene and tradition. Providing the children with materials, and imposing no formal instruction, the direct and simple works were believed to reveal the true unmediated image of Mexico. Signs of these values are also present in DYN in the inclusion of many photographs of children by Rosa Rolando [Covarrubias], particularly a portrait of a young Mexican "Schoolgirl of Tehuantepec" carrying a primer "Serie SEP 1er ano, Comision Editora Popular," whose cover boasted an illustration of an "Escuela Socialista"[188] with modernist graphics. (Fig. 93)

D'Harnoncourt's exhibition was a model of its kind, laying the groundwork for the burst of interest in "indigenous" Mexican and pre-Columbian art and culture that followed in its wake, not least of which was Paalen's DYN.

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### 5. Introduction to American Indian Art, The Exposition of Indian Tribal Arts, 1931-32[189]

The pioneering exhibition of Indian Tribal Arts, held at Grand Central Galleries in 1931, traveled to fourteen cities in the United States under the auspices of the College Art Association. It had an accompanying two-volume catalogue, Introduction to American Indian Art, written by John Sloan, Oliver La Farge, and Herbert Spinden, who contributed an essay on "Fine Art and the First Americans" to volume one; and "Indian Symbolism" to the second.

The frontispage to the catalogue prominently announced that it was "the first exhibition of American Indian art selected entirely with consideration of esthetic value,"[190] and the checklist showed works from Northwest, California, Pueblo, Plains, and Moundbuilder cultures, while primarily featuring Southwestern works. Ostensibly missing from this list are pre-Columbian Mexican and Mayan culture, in spite of the participation of Spinden and La Farge. La Farge, together with Frans Blom, a former colleague in anthropology at Harvard and professor at Tulane University, had spent nearly six months in Mexico in 1925, in the capacity of ethnologist. He explored sites in Veracruz, Tabasco, and Chiapas, "unwittingly discover[ing] La Venta...the most important site of [Olmec] civilization."[191] But even at this early date, LaFarge had already had "considerable experience with Indians of the American Southwest,"[192] and

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it was this knowledge that was applied to the Tribal Arts exposition.

Sloan and LaFarge's introductory essay initiated the discussion with the romantic, positive stereotype that "The American Indian race possesses an innate talent in the fine and applied arts," displaying a "fine sense of line and rhythm." It continued with accolades obviously intended to dispel all negative stereotypes of Native Americans, but cast in racial terms.[193] Of note is the characterization of Native Americans as "Mongoloid peoples," referring to the Asiatic origins of aboriginal Americans. This was a theory more popular in that period than in subsequent decades. It appeared in the thinking of Covarrubias and Paalen in DYN in the 1940s.[194] Aborrhent to these artists was the condescension of white Americans toward "Indians" and their art as mere "curios."[195]

Sloan and LaFarge went on to argue that while Europe had already recognized the importance of Native American art and Native Americans as "independent artists...white Americans have been painfully slow to realize the Indian's value...."[196] Indeed, if this was in fact "the first" aesthetically oriented exhibition of its kind, then Europe, especially Paris, Berlin, and London, as we have seen, were instrumental in instructing the New World in its own treasures. Overall, the essay placed an emphasis on the aesthetic appreciation of "American Indian" art as opposed to the "scientific" treatment of the work. Without making

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"high/low" distinctions, it discussed the traditional media of basketry, pottery, weaving, and silverwork as well as painting.

The paintings shown in the exhibition were of a style of "non-ceremonial art" that had arisen in Edgar Lee Hewett's arts and crafts revival developed in Santa Fe in the 1920s.[197] Watercolor paintings, like those in the "Tribal Arts" exhibition, had been included by John Sloan in The Society of Independent Artists' Fourth Annual Exhibition in New York in 1920.[198] The showing was such a success that the Society's 1921 and 1922 Annuals had separate sections for contemporary Pueblo painting as well.[199]

In the Tribal Arts introduction, the authors noted that while Native American artists had benefited from "contact with our pictorial art" they had not slavishly copied it but had "evolved...from their own background new forms - different for each tribal or cultural group." This assertion revealed a sensitivity that refused to group together all of Native America into one undifferentiated anonymous "tribal mass" and recognized, instead, the diversity of the different cultures.

But it also betrayed a need to justify Native American art in terms of "competence," based on Western standards. The elements of "simplicity, balance, rhythm, abstraction, design, and [a little problematically] virility" were highly valued. The "Indian artist" was seen as a "Modernist" who, nonetheless and contradictorily, carried on an ancient

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tradition in a dynamic, expressive manner, unlike Western modernists who sought "release from exhaustion" - a phrase resonating with Spenglerian rhetoric. The "Indian artist" was a "natural Symbolist" whose "decorative realism" had a "primitive directness and strength," obviously more "virile" and less "exhausted" than its [newly identified] Western counterpart. These projections of Western categories and values onto Native American society, served to colonize Native American art and culture and claim them for Western aesthetics and goals. In this generation, works showing skill in Western academic techniques of naturalism and handling were emphasized. By the next generation, objects were chosen for their relation to modernist taste - simplified, abstract, cubic and/or geometric - somehow mirroring back the "look" of modern art, which had partially drawn its vocabulary from elements of "primitive" art in the first place. Additionally, there is a subtle masculinization of native art and culture in this essay in the choice of the word "virile" - another projection that often signified an identification of the "primitive" with the sexual, animal, and instinctual. But however much of the "noble savage" was contained here, the Progressive Era rhetoric served as a corrective to the negative views of Native Americans held by mainstream Americans, and presented an early model for artistic theory and practice in the United States.

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While the exhibition itself did not include any Mexican or Mayan objects, Spinden's catalogue essay, "Fine Art and the First Americans," likened the technology and esthetic expression evident in much of the work to the pre-Columbian "record."[200] Reinforcing the idealized characteristics propounded by Sloan and La Farge in the first essay, he held to the utopian view of Native Americans as living testaments to the "heritage of utility beyond the dreams of avarice" prevalent in the West. He cited the heritage of "inestimable food plants" (a contribution so unreflectively singular that it often annoys Americanists) and he continued to stress the legacy of beauty and culture. Spinden optimistically hoped that "Americans of the future will surely realize an epic grandeur in the song sequences and world stories of the first Americans" and come to view it as a "national literature [of] mysterious and beautiful dramas, which somehow prefigure the American ideal."[201] This discussion again reveals the desire to claim kinship, indeed, ancestry in Native America, and sows the seeds for a new "nationalism," a new set of myths on which to model the "American ideal." But if the values perceived in native society - collectivism, simplicity, authenticity, "natural" versus "civilized - were conducive to reinforcing the myth of the American spirit, the actual politics and economics of America were not especially salutary for the Native spirit, in spite of reforms in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. During the Roosevelt Administration reforms were initiated under

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Collier, including the institution of a Board of Arts and Crafts with d'Harnoncourt as General Manager, and the establishment of the "Indian New Deal," which encouraged Congress to pass laws preventing interference with Native American religious ritual and communalism.[202] But prior to that moment, it was artists and scholars like Sloan, La Farge and Spinden, virtually a self-appointed committee, who first appreciated and fostered the positive reception of Native American art and culture, as attested to in the "Conclusions" of the Introduction to American Indian Art catalogue.

Spinden's essay "Fine Arts and the First Americans" gave an excellent introduction to specific groups, their cultural productions, and the meaning, in some cases, of their symbolism. He noted that their art, whether visual, literary, dance, or music, was always tied to religion and ritual; and he discussed the concept of sympathetic magic in their esthetic forms. Finally, he praised "Indian" society for its preservation of the spirit of "Arcady" in a world grown progressively "mechanical," a society "able to keep contact with the great illusions," thus alluding to a rapport between Western and Native American metaphysics.

If on occasion he made inadvertently condescending remarks (characteristic of his "horizon" of reception), he praised the sophistication of design and artistry of Native American artists. Such words as "naive," "innate," "spontaneous," and "non-individual," which appear in his

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rhetoric, are endemic to the period and to the avant-garde attitudes with which he became involved, as analyzed in Part II. As discussed above, despite his training as an anthropologist at Harvard, Spinden's appointment at The Brooklyn Museum in 1929, two years before writing this essay, influenced his theory and practice.[203]

The "Conclusions" to Volume I of Introduction to American Indian Art, written by Sloan and La Farge, recalled the catalogue's contents. The two authors also made a case for the political and economic well-being and independence of Native Americans through their own agency as artists and craftsmen. Citing the successful case of the San Ildefonso Pueblo, much of whose "land and water rights" had been previously taken away, causing depression, discouragement, and the progressive deterioration of ancestral beliefs, customs, and crafts, the authors called for enfranchisement of Native Americans.[204] Along these lines, Sloan and La Farge insisted that Native Americans be given back the right to educate their own children, in this context in art education, but with implications for other categories as well. They observed that the imposition of mechanization and Western art standards on Native American production was eroding the quality of objects. Again, while a strong avant-garde, anti-technological romanticism informed the motives of the Indian Tribal Arts "committee," its members were advanced in their humanitarian sympathies, no doubt

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animated by the example provided in Mexico throughout the 1920s.

Spinden's essay for Volume II of Tribal Arts was "Indian Symbolism."[205] In it, Spinden deciphered the graphic and plastic designs of Native American art, making their symbolic language and the meaning of their ostensibly abstract patterns available to the art public. Providing examples of a number of symbols commonly used in Southwestern and Mexican lexicons, in caption form he gave keys to those found on pottery, basketry, clothing, masks, architecture, and sand-painting. It was here that he called upon the "pre-Columbian archaeological record," suggesting that Southwestern symbolism developed from contact with Mexico.

Spinden began by visually identifying and distinguishing between "important classes of decorative design...free from symbolism" and those "richly impregnated with it."[206] He specified four orders of signification:

| Naturalism | Naturalistic Symbolism | Abstract Symbolism | Abstract Formalism |
|---|---|---|---|
| Representations of nature devoid of symbolic meaning | Intermediary conventional representations carrying meaning:<br>-female figurines<br>-bird-effigy bowls<br>-when the paw of a grizzly bear stands not for the bear alone but for exceeding power<br>- when horse's hoof-prints are shorthand for intertribal raids[207] | Complex abstract ideographs:<br>- Rain Magic Designs<br>- Maize Symbolism<br>- Hopi "Universe" Painting<br>-"Tlaloc," Mexican Rain God with lightning Serpent and Thunderbolt | Purely decorative graphic abstraction |

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He explained that these sorts of meanings had been tracked linguistically by field ethnologists, using the California tribes as a case study. In DYN, Paalen would publish a color illustration with pictographs showing naturalistic figures and naturalistic symbolism of horse's hoofs on a "Buck Skin Sioux Heraldic Tipi" from his personal collection. Spinden dated the tipi to the 18th-century and believed it to be "one of the finest and oldest in existence."[208] (Fig.94 )

Turning to the tribes of the Southwest and Mexico, Spinden discussed the origins of symbolism in sympathetic magic, which progressed from simple agricultural and hunting prayers evident in the conventional pictographs of nomadic and early agricultural levels, ("Cliff-Dwellers Conventional Ears of Corn") to complex ideographs ("Pueblo Rain Magic Designs") that arise with the formation of farming communities and towns.[209] Both forms were often supplemented by chants and dances.[210] Picking up the theme of sympathetic magic from his earlier essay, he explained that magical thinking was based on the personification of all forms and forces in nature, effected through imitation in pictures, sounds, and movement. For the desert cultures of the Southwest, the most important element is water. Thus the propitiation of the rain gods through imitative images of clouds, rainbows, lightning, thunder, and water-related species like newly-opened flowers or creatures like frogs and dragonflies, and, finally, the symbolic "cloud people"

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and "plumed serpent (rain god)," around whom entire narratives revolve. Color symbolism is also present.[211]

Spinden ended his essay with a long dissertation on how New World symbolism diffused northward throughout the Americas, as archaeologically reconstructed from ruins showing evidence of conquest and trade between Toltec and Southwestern civilizations, behind which "loom[ed] the achievments of the Mayas."[212]

Because of the complexity of Mayan civilization, Spinden believed it was the most ancient of New World cultures, arguing for Mayan precedence as indicated by the unearthing of Olmec culture by Matthew Stirling in 1938.[213] Only five years after Stirling's excavation of the colossal heads at San Lorenzo, Miguel Covarrubias would put forward the thesis of Olmec "mother" civilization in two essays he contributed to DYN - one about the Olmec site of La Venta, and one about the diffusion of Olmec culture in the Valley of Mexico and elsewhere.[214] He illustrated it with drawings and black and white and hand-painted photographs. (Figs. 95 and 96) Eight years later, Paalen would follow Covarrubias's lead with an hypothesis on the meaning of "jaguar-baby" symbolism in Olmec culture.[215] In between he would paint "Planetary Face" (1947) a "Mosaic" work inspired by the San Lorenzo colossal heads. (Figs. 97 and 98)

But at this early date, knowledge of pre-Columbian civilizations and their chronology was still rudimentary, and Spinden's concepts were both advanced and edifying.

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Following his own chronology (treated above), his discussion of the Early [First Epoch] Highland Maya took them through an Archaic stage to the Middle period of invented glyphs, cosmic religion, science, and ethics,and the diffusion of their writing and culture to the Toltec. The Toltec were traced back to the twelfth century and their solar/war symbolism was explained: the plumed serpent rain god was transformed into a god of war, and half-animal, half-human eagle and jaguar warriors were adjuncts in human sacrificial ceremonies.[216] The Toltec conquest of the Southwest coincided with the appearance of that symbolism in Pueblo cultures, dated through a "tree-ring" calendar, and in the Mound-Builders culture, which adapted their lexicon and rituals as well.[217] Continuing, Spinden suggested that this same symbolism diffused to the Northwest Coast, Great Plains and Eastern Woodlands cultures: and he gave examples of glyphs and ceremonies. He saw the "Thunderbird" of the Northwest Coast, for instance, as the transformed Toltec Eagle-man ultimately deriving from the Maya plumed serpent.[218] This must have been one of the sources for Paalen's comparison in DYN of the raven "Yehl" and the plumed serpent "Quetzalcoatl" and their archetypal similarity to the Greek Prometheus, who steals fire from the gods to civilize mankind.[219]

Spinden finished his essay by reflecting on Native American "psychology," comparing it to Occidental and

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Oriental systems. He romantically concluded with the well-meant but utopian formula that:

> the Indian lives close to the spirals of nature itself. There is a healthy interpenetration of himself and nature. The American is practical, the Oriental metaphysical, the Indian poetical. We live for action, the Indian for aesthetics; the Oriental for thought or religious ecstasy. The super race, perhaps will be that which combines all three successfully.
>
> The symbolism of the American Indian indicates, in a word, his conquest of an imaginative and immaterial universe.[220]

The language of this period (like the problematic Nietzschean reference to the "super race") may be an accurate reflection of the kind of stereotypical thinking that was current, and of the all too easy ability to trade one generalization for another. But if we are critical of Spinden and his artist associates, it should be acknowledged that their contributions were giant steps in the reversal of policies and attitudes that had persecuted Native Americans for generations and toward an appreciation of Native American art and culture.

Although the "Tribal Arts" exhibition was seen as ushering in a "new wave" of indigenous artistic consciousness by an enthusiastic press,[221] actual influence on the New York School did not occur until the 1940s, and after the release of DYN, in spite of isolated early gestures by individual artists like Jackson Pollock and Richard Poussette-Dart. In both artists' cases, previous training provided earlier exposure to Native American art: Poussette-Dart through the influence of his father, and

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Pollock, more literally, through his upbringing, his training in the "nativism" of Thomas Hart Benton,[222] and his travels in the American West.[223]

### 6. Holger Cahill and the "American Sources of Modern Art" Exhibition, Museum of Modern Art, 1933

Beginning in 1933 with the exhibition "American Sources of Modern Art," the Museum of Modern Art sponsored a number of exhibitions devoted to Native American Art, focusing south of the border. The catalogue for "American Sources" was reissued the following year, but under the title Aztec, Mayan, Incan Art, making more explicit just what was meant by "American." This reissue of the catalogue must have been a reflection of the popularity of the show, indicating that the first run had sold out. Additionally, the interest in things Mexican, attested to in the burgeoning political, economic, and intellectual relations between the United States and Mexico from ca. 1920-35, was reflected in the exhibitions mounted in New York.[224] Opening in 1933, "American Sources" was no doubt inspired by Rivière's 1928 "Les arts anciens de l'Amérique," and by the "Tribal Arts" and "Mexican Arts" exhibitions.

Holger Cahill, who organized "American Sources," is best known as Director of the Federal Art Project of the WPA from 1935-1943. He expressed interest in, and appreciation of, Native American art and culture as early as 1922 when he published an article at the time of the third showing of

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Pueblo watercolors in the Annual of the Society of Independent Artists.[225] From 1932 to 1936, as a Curator at the Museum of Modern Art, his exhibitions had an especially "American" profile. They included: "American Painting and Sculpture" (1932); "American Folk Art" (1932); "Art in America in Modern Times" (1934); and "New Horizons in American Art" (1936).

Stewart Buettner has indicated that it was Cahill who encouraged artists to depict the American scene during the Depression years.[226] In fact, many did so to the point of "renouncing European ideas of spirituality and purity in painting, in the belief that art could produce 'a profound change in [their] environment and [their] lives," only to reverse that position at the end of the decade, and return to "pure" painting.[227] Like George Biddle, Cahill spoke on behalf of a mural program, telling administrators of the Federal Art Project that "American artists ha[d] work to do in the world." He convinced them to hire artists as workers to paint murals in public buildings throughout the United States, thereby building a sense of national and regional pride during the crisis.[228] It appears that the hiatus in museum interest in Mexican and Native American art between ca. 1933 and 1939 was due to this change in national direction and focus.

It is no surprise that Cahill's ideas were drawn from the writings of John Dewey, whose Art as Experience (1931) also influenced American artists who worked on the projects

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to believe that art and life could not be separated. This idea was equally embraced by Paalen and Surrealism.[229] In a speech given in honor of Dewey, Cahill referred to the innate "common sense" of his philosophy, which was "very much in the American grain,"[230] thereby aligning Dewey's philosophy with national sentiment.

It is evident from the list of titles of Cahill's exhibitions at the Museum of Modern Art that they were inspired by the same nationalism that guided the WPA at its inception. "American Sources," organized in the wake of the other exhibitions of Native American art, concentrated on the "ancient" sources of American culture in the Aztec, Mayan, and Incan art of pre-Columbia. It thereby claimed lineage, as had Sloan, La Farge, and, Spinden, in Native North America, but focused now on native Latin America.

The essay Cahill wrote for the catalogue was virtually a lay lesson in pre-Columbian art history. He stated that the exhibition's purpose was to assemble artifacts from collections all over the United States and show their relation to modern art.[231] It was not intended, he continued, to insist that those objects had been or should be considered as a major source for American art. Rather, the objective was to choose the works for their high quality and let them speak for themselves. A much larger exhibition than "Tribal Arts," which had filled seven gallery rooms, "American Sources" had over two hundred objects borrowed from international institutions. These included the major

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ethnological museums in the United States, the national Museums of all of the Latin American countries represented, and the major European ethnological museums (the British Museum, Trocadéro, Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin and Munich, Vienna Naturhistoriches Museum, and others). But also, now, for the first time, three major art museums participated: the Metropolitan Museum of Art; the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; and the Whitney Museum; as well as the Carnegie Institution, a major research institution in Washington, D.C.[232] The institutionalized intersection of art and ethnology was now complete. Indeed, Cahill noted a surge of interest in pre
-Columbian art and listed all [sic] the exhibitions which had taken place in art institutions prior to "American Sources."

With the likes of the Carnegie, Guggenheim, and Rockefeller Foundations sponsoring "Mexicanism," such an inflation of interest is not surprising. In 1927 the Fogg Museum had installed a permanent Maya gallery with collections loaned by the Peabody Museum; in 1928 the Musée des arts décoratifs organized "Les Arts Anciens de l'Amérique"; in 1931 the Century Club in New York had exhibited Mesoamerican and Peruvian art; and in 1932 the State Museums and Ibero-American Institute sponsored a show at the Berlin Academy.[233]

Cahill's essay was scholarly, providing a comprehensive view of Mesoamerica and Peru, neatly divided into treatments

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according to cultures: Maya, Toltec, Aztec, Totonac, Huaxtec, Tarascan; and Tiahuanaco, Chimu, Nazca, and Inca. An abbreviated historiography of the aesthetic reception of pre-Columbian art and culture from the Conquistadors to contemporary times was provided. Like his predecessors, Cahill emphasized the novelty of approaching pre-Columbian art from an aesthetic, not an ethnographic or archaeological point of view.[234] But he was unusual for an art writer, and the first in a museum context outside of Spinden the anthropologist, who had more than an aesthetic grasp of the subject. He displayed what appeared to be a sophisticated acquaintance with "Americanist" literature and a frankly impressive bibliography. The methodology he employed in the historiographic introduction is still used today in reconstructing a history of aesthetic reception of pre-Columbian civilization, as is evident in even the recent more sophisticated, far-reaching work of George Kubler.[235]

But Cahill stopped short of a full historiography to focus on art: the history of artistic reception and response, discussion of the technologies of ancient America, and cultural and stylistic attributes and chronologies thereafter. In this he was indebted to Spinden, whom he mentions along with other Americanists as responsible for disseminating information about ancient American decorative motifs. But the debt extended well beyond an influence "in contemporary arts and crafts" to Spinden's dating of

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monuments and styles, and decoding of symbolism, later acknowledged in Cahill's essay.

Discussing conflicting responses to American civilizations by Western writers, Cahill included in his text some classic landmarks of pre-Columbian scholarship from the 18th century on. This is what Kubler has called "The Quarrel Over America's Worth," examined at length as a history of "esthetic revulsion" and "esthetic appreciation," under the more general heading of the pro- or more usually anti-American attitudes of the Enlightenment.[236] In the same vein, Cahill briefly discussed the literature: first-hand reports by Colonial clerics, like Clavigero, reputed to be "the champion of the New World,"[237] and William Robertson's History of America (1777), which Cahill characterized as "anti-Amerindian" (but which Kubler ranked higher than its contemporaries for Robertson's "rationalist" approach using actual anthropological evidence, in spite of his claim that "in America, man appears under the rudest form in which we can conceive him to exist").[238] Alexander von Humboldt's New World natural histories are said to have "stimulated scientific and popular interest in the subject,"[239] probably due to their many illustrations, which Kubler called the "19th century enlargement of the visual [data] base."[240] According to Cahill, Lord Kingsborough's 1831-38 Antiquities of Mexico was among the first studies to translate rare post-Conquest texts and reproduce Mexican codices. He cited William Prescott's

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popular History of the Conquest of Mexico (1843)[241] (which Surrealist Antonin Artaud would counter in his Conquest of Mexico of 1934); and John Lloyd Stephens' and Frederick Catherwood's Incidents of Travel in Yucatan (1843), especially noteworthy for its "first trustworthy drawings of the architecture and sculpture of Copan, Uxmal, Palenque, Tulum, Labna, Chichén Itzá, and other important Maya cities."[242] Paalen, also aware of the repertoire of Americanist literature, would publish two plates from Incidents in DYN 4-5;[243] he owned a first edition.[244] No doubt he appreciated the engravings not only for their "trustworthiness," but also for their fine romantic renderings of monuments within the Yucatan jungle; he offered them to his art-oriented audience on both those bases. With an account of Incidents, Cahill ended his historiography and turned to a history of artistic awareness of pre-Columbian art.

Once again, he referred to the importance of archaeological research from ca. 1850 for basic understanding. Noting the limited aesthetic appreciation of scientific researchers, he outlined the earliest expressions of primitivism in the European avant-garde (without calling it that), starting with the "rediscovery of French primitives" by Prosper Merimée, and the exoticism and Orientalism of the French romantics and their heirs, Delacroix, Whistler, Lautrec, Van Gogh and Gauguin. By the end of the century, with the "research of archaeologists,"

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there was a turn to the art of "more primitive peoples" in the life and work of Gauguin.[245] Arriving at the "primitivist revolution" of the early 20th century,[246] he recounted the history of the early avant-garde - the Fauves and the Cubists - and their "renewed [sic] consciousness of the abstract qualities in art" as a result of direct exposure to non-Western art and cultures and in emphasis on "design elements."[247]

This was perhaps the first construction of a geneaology of modernist primitivism, on which, it appears, subsequent accounts like Robert Goldwater's 1938 dissertation/book, and William Rubin's 1984 "Primitivism" exhibition relied. Cahill cited the "discovery" in 1907 of the Trocadéro collections, the Gauguin exhibition of 1908, and the attraction of the Parisian avant-garde to African art. But, unlike Goldwater, he also discussed Peruvian, Mexican and Central American collections in the Trocadéro. He especially admired the qualities of "bold contrast and subtle color harmony" of Peruvian textiles and feather mosaics, and the "elemental construction and tendency to formalism" in Mexican and Mayan sculpture.[248] It was not until recently that other writers would pick up this thread and extend the discourse of Pre-Columbian primitivism.[249]

It should be noted, however, that Edmundo O'Gorman and George Kubler have taken issue with the concept of "discovery" advanced by Western writers, asserting that "recognition presupposes a cognition, as an act of knowing

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past events" and that "recognition occurs after the sequence of finding, invention, and then discovering what has already been invented."[250] In the case of modernism, then, it is a "discovery" of aesthetic values and qualities already in existence and projected backward onto the thing "found." This can also result in an exclusion of that which is recognized, as is the case with colonialism.[251] But a full recognition of that problem did not occur until half a century after Cahill's examination, in spite of the Surrealists' anti-colonialism, which was ultimately compromised by their historic position.

Cahill cited the Mexican precedent of looking for the roots of ancient America in the Mexican Renaissance. Then taking up the issue of quality, and refuting nineteenth century racist and evolutionist depreciations of "primitive" art, he turned to the exhibition's artworks themselves. In many senses his essay built upon the work of Spinden, from the observations of the aesthetic, scientific, agricultural and social achievments of pre-Columbian cultures, to his emphasis on the term "civilization" and comparison to the civilizations of Egypt and Mesopotamia.[252] Characteristic of his concerns were his remarks about the "immense programs of public works," and his admiration for the accomplishment of such undertakings in spite of the limits of "primitive" technology: stone tools and the lack of the wheel, pulley, derrick, or draft animals, and the true arch or potter's wheel.[253]

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Like Spinden, Cahill laid out the basic stratification levels of pre-Columbian cultures as the secondary structure around which the exhibition was organized. He began with the archaic, of which a group of terra cotta figurines borrowed from the AMNH were representative. He did this a decade before Covarrubias wrote his Tlatilco article for DYN and illustrated these figurines.[254] (Fig. 95) The Maya, the "highest of civilizations ...had already passed beyond the archaic level [to a pre-classical phase] at the beginning of the Christian era."[255] He outlined their impressive contributions to mathematics and astronomy, noting that their calendar was more accurate than that of their Spanish conquistadors, that their invention of the concept of zero and place-numeration pre-dated Asia by centuries, and that their hieroglyphs bore comparison to those of other major civilizations.[256]

A long appreciation of Mayan sculpture and architecture followed. Moving to discussion of the Middle and Great periods, Cahill credited Spinden with the identification, chronology, and dating of monuments and sites, narrating a brief history that traced the movement of Maya civilization from Mexican highlands to Yucatán lowlands in the seventh century A.D., to its eventual decline and conquest by the Spanish in the sixteenth century.[257]

Using standard art historical concepts and vocabulary, he discussed the Mayan ideal of beauty, its horror vacuui (often seen as a deficiency in the eyes of the Western

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viewer), and the integral relationship between its "elaborate symbolism" and its "tropical luxuriance of detail,"[258] which he compared to Chinese calligraphy in its sophistication and function. As Jean Charlot, one of the most important popularizers of pre-Columbian art would observe two years later, the stylistic cycle of Mayan art followed the [Wolfflinian] "universal scheme," moving from archaic to classical to baroque, then reacting to return to "purism or neo-archaism" before decline.[259] Of the baroque or "rococo" Great phase of southern Maya art Charlot said: "By a sort of artificial mimetism, chunks of stone are made to look like corners of the jungle;"[260] elsewhere he referred to the "decadent dentelles de pierre (stone lacework) of Quirigua."[261]

Cahill paid equal respects to this art of "exuberance and profusion," which he acknowledged was not always to the liking of contemporary "modern" taste.[262] But he noted that neither architectonic and monumental quality nor "serene and austere beauty, sensitive and powerful modelling, and beautiful proportion" were ever sacrificed, as was revealed in the exhibition's sculptures.[263] Ending the discussion of the Maya with a consideration of their painting (architectural polychrome, frescoes, pottery, and codices), he stressed their mastery of contour and perspective. Then he turned to the Mexican civilizations of the Toltec and Aztec.[264]

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Cahill used the same methodology for the Toltec and Aztec as he had for the Maya. He dated the peaks of their civilization, named the most important sites, discussed their languages, and characterized their art and culture. The Toltec, he explained, were an ancient people of the Valley of Mexico best represented by the site of Teotihuacan. Less elegant than the Maya, their art showed a conventionalized, "decorative" geometry. They excelled in the art of turquoise mosaic, and shared with the Aztec a sculpture of monumental and powerful simplicity.[265]

The Aztec who followed were equally imperialistic, but tending more toward representations of "the fierce, the macabre, the terrible," which Cahill skillfully rationalized with fluent prose, explaining that this ferocity partook of a "passionate and human" quality giving it "an intensity that enhanced its esthetic value."[266]

In Paris, around the same time, in his avant-garde art review Documents (1929-30), and later in L'acephale (1936-39), Georges Bataille would exploit these qualities to develop a Dionysian aesthetic that revelled in destruction, brutality, and death, as a countermand to André Breton's theory of dialectical "convulsive beauty." But he was unlike Cahill, the humanist and anthropologue, who understood that Aztec art, just as Aztec sacrifical rites, were "not an expression of mere cruelty but of a vivid sense of the awesome and overwhelming powers of the universe which man had to propitiate."[267] Bataille, the anti-humanist and

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ethnologue, appropriated pre-Columbian art and culture to fill an agenda of his own that had nothing to do with Mexican reality and experience but everything to do with his own psyche and with a (supposed) critique of Western aesthetics and philosophy.[268] In the Aztec ritual sacrifice he identified "delight" in "crimes continually committed in broad sunlight for the sole satisfaction of god-ridden nightmares...." But his stress on the "astonishingly joyous character of these horrors," was really nothing more than a projection of inverted Western values and categories onto an ancient culture, replete with misconceptions and the sort of "dualism" that Paalen, in DYN, would say inevitably leads to yet another metaphysic.[269] If the generation of the 1920s and 30s in New York was at fault for appropriations of the "primitive" to their modernist agenda, some of its counterpart in Paris, the (so-called) anti-aestheticians, were the other side of that coin.

What is significant, however, is that, for his time, Cahill stood sufficiently outside the canon of early modernist taste to evaluate these societies with some degree of objectivity. He presented a comprehensive and responsible essay, serving at an early date to give a well-informed narrative of pre-Columbian history and empathetic commentary on pre-Columbian art that dispelled many lingering misconceptions. His discourse was informed by the ideals of the Progressive Era and the Mexican renaissance,

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which, as we have seen, were influenced by the philosophy of John Dewey. Complemented by objects of high quality chosen for their artistic excellence, the exhibition was no doubt an impressive display. It laid a foundation for the return of René d'Harnoncourt who, by the end of the decade, would organize for MOMA a long series of Mexican exhibitions that stirred the New York School's interest in pre-Columbian art and, in its turn, prepared for reception of Paalen's DYN.

As Paalen would do in DYN, Cahill's view swept over all Mexico to include the Totonac, Huaxtec, Zapotec, and Tarascans, without neglecting the decorative arts, which "attained a high development," and, finally, the cultures of Peru: Tiahuanaco, Chimu, Nazca, and Inca.[270] Like Spinden, Cahill spoke to the problem of diffusion, acknowledging that wherever there is a "complex of cultures," inevitably there is "an interchange... between various centers of development." At the same time, however, he rejected "any influence outside the content above the level of "primitive" hunters," citing various reasons why.[271]

Cahill was addressing the controversy over the indigenous versus Old World origins of New World culture, which was discussed in the catalogue for "Les arts anciens de l'Amérique."[272] This was a topic that Spinden had considered in a debate on the diffusion controversy, published in 1927.[273] Why, asked anti-diffusionists, could invention not occur independent of import/exportation or generation? If man in the Old World could independently

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create culture, why not in the New World? In the debate Spinden took the second position, as do most current Americanists, while Bronislaw Malinowski walked a careful balance, seeing the logic of both arguments.[274]

In his long examination of ancient "Amerindian" art, Kubler has taken a tentative anti-diffusionist position, basically on the grounds that:

> visible resemblances are accepted without further question as evidential proof of historical connection. But in the history of art, the proof has yet to begin with a search for the artisans carrying the techniques, for the route of their travels, for the motivating force of the diffusion, whether religious or economic, and for parallel conditions in the two societies that would support the appearance of [e.g.] portraiture.[275]

"No evidence," he says elsewhere, "denies the historical connectedness of the arts of ancient America after glaciation, and none affirms enduring unity with the Old World before Columbus."[276] "The question," as Kubler himself acknowledges, "is not as to the existence of diffusion, but as to ways of detecting its presence."[277] But, if, using Kubler's research itself, the earliest bands of humans to have come to the New World via Beringia around 50,000 B.C. brought with them imagery and speech;[278] and if "the beginnings of all figuration by human eyes, brains and hands [began] about 40,000 B.C.";[279] if, again, "some colonial evidence...exists for the common origin of Mexican and Andean cosmogonies, possibly in the Palaeolithic era";[280] and, lastly, "if the beginnings of visual figurations...without prior stocks of figural conventions"

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can be explained by way of "eidetic imagery," (visual images retained in memory)[281] - then we may not be far from understanding how there could have been such diffusion, even in the absence of material evidence. As consolation for Covarrubias, "the believer in Transpacific contacts"[282] and Paalen's colleague in inquiry about America, Kubler offers "the recent opening of Amerindian prehistory to much earlier beginnings ca. 45,000 B.C."[283] And as evidence of theories once abstract becoming grounded, Terence Grieder's and Gordon Eckholm's theories of "colonizing waves striking America at intervals from Europe and Asia,"[284] has found material support in recent genetic studies finding identical mitochondria samples in palaeolithic Asian, Oceanic and American burial sites.[285] (Fig. 99) The significance of these findings for anthropology are in the specificity of the results, which imply three waves of migrations. The first was 20,000-40,000 years ago from Siberia, with genetic matches in Paleo-Indian samples "throughout the Americas and diversified into dozens of different tribes [in which] all were derived from more ancestral people from Southern Asia" [Group A]. The second migration 6,000 to 12,000 years ago shows genetic matches in Eastern Asia and Polynesia "that also spread and interbred with existing Paleo-Indian cultures" [Group B]. And the third migration was 5,000 to 10,000 years ago with genetic matches to the "Na-Dene Indians of the Northwest Coast and Western Canada" [Group C, having only matches in one of four types]. These would be

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the Athapaskan peoples one group of whom migrated south to become the Navajo.

The "molecular archaeologists" say this therefore indicates that, for the most part, the largest Paleo-Indian migration which occurred was the first, ultimately from Southern Asia and very old - probably back to [Kubler's] new horizon of pre-Columbian history, ca. 45,000 B.C. But the fact that Group B doesn't carry any of the genetic type found in Group A suggests that the second migration was from Hawaii and the Pacific Islands, i.e. Polynesia.[286]

In 1931, however, Cahill, the empiricist, came down on the side of the anti-diffusionists, saying the "coincidences of resemblance...are not very convincing." He quoted John Lloyd Stephens' assertion that ancient American art was, "like the plants and fruits of the soil, indigenous."[287]

With "American Sources" the wave of interest in pre-Columbian, and specifically, Mexican cultures, ebbed until another more sustained series of exhibitions occurred in the 1940s. MoMA sponsored nine exhibitions including art from (or related to) Mexico and the Southwest: "Twenty Centuries of Mexican Art (1940)," Mexican Children's Art (1940)," "Indian Art of the United States (1941)," "Mexican Costumes by Carlos Merida (1942)," "New Acquisitions of Latin American Art (1942)," "Diego Rivera's May Day Sketchbook (1943)," "Religious Folk Art of the Southwest (1943)," "The Latin American Collection of the MoMA (1943)," and "Picasso Exhibition for Mexico City (1944)." The fact that the

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Museum of Modern Art, the most influential modernist museum in New York, was sponsoring these exhibitions, points to the importance alloted to Mexico and pre-Columbian art in this period. It is not hard to understand why Julien Levy told Edward Renouf that Mexico was the place to be!

This second wave of interest coincided with the return of René d'Harnoncourt to New York and the U.S. art world, but was also once again the result of economic and political relations between the U.S. and Mexico. It corresponded to the beginning of World War II and with intensified economic and diplomatic relations with Mexico, discussed below.

## F. THE SECOND WAVE BEGINS

### 1. John Graham's Essay on "Mexico," 1937

Like Paalen, John Graham went to Mexico. But his impressions of and relationship to modern Mexican culture had a very different quality from those of Paalen. His 1937 essay on "Mexico," published in Art and Artists of Today, was a masterpiece of elitist snobbery, described as "a brief opinionated synopsis of Mexican cultural history."[288] According to Graham, Mexican art and culture were nothing but a poor imitation of the Spanish colonial and were "patently dead," created merely to "reconstruct the home atmosphere." This opinion was juxtaposed with his idealization of the "crushed natives."

On the one hand, Mexico could be no more than a "second-hand information about the real article," thereby

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identifying with the historic Spanish ruling classes and their "authentic" culture. On the other hand "...only the pre-Colombian [sic] Mexico" was "historically and esthetically...interesting and of value to the world."[289] He proceeded to discuss the "most significant civilizations [sic]...of Nahua, Monte Alban, and Mixteca," to give an inventory of sculpture by material and by region, and to delineate their characteristics. Continuing his totally confused and erroneous usage of categories and terms, he provided a breakdown into three major stylistic types: pre-historic, archaic, and "decadent or Indo-Chinese," the latter reinforcing his assertion that, outside of those "civilizations...the rest are Chinese in influence."[290] For Graham, "the prehistoric in type [was] the most important manifestation of Central American sculpture...and the greatest sculpture the human race has ever produced."[291]

While his evaluation of pre-Columbian art, whatever its limitations, was filled with admiration and added to the positive reception of this art, his attitude towards the Mexican muralists was rife with distaste for realist aesthetic, signalling (indeed, helping to stimulate) the change in paradigm that would occur in American avant-garde art from this point (1937) on. He wrote:

> The modern Mexican mural art...is nothing but a miserable fraud....this...is the glorified peasant art for tourists but without its awkward sincerity and simplicity of craft...[292]

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Relying on a high-art modernist canon of taste he judged that mural art was:

> one hundred per cent ignorant of space, composition, purpose, human anatomy, matèiere, etc. etc. [293]

Even so, he acknowledged that at this time the Mexican public "compared favorably with the public of the United States in their "real appetite...for cultural matters." Somehow Graham overlooked a number of facts. First, Mexico's "great spirit of sympathy and appreciation" for its artists, which he admired, was predicated on the spirit of the Revolution. Second, that part of the post-Revolutionary agenda was government-supported programs like the muralist project, intended to educate the diverse Mexican population and equalize class differences. It also escaped him that much mural art was itself inspired by indigenism and viewed by the muralists as an intrinsic extension of [ab]original culture. Thus his patronizing estimation of peasant art rings as only another index of his Euro-centric aesthetic elitism:

> peasant art...of mixed [Hispano-Indian] influence...is very charming and some delightful examples of a Rousseauesque nature are found in Mexico just as they are found anywhere else....[294]

Whatever Wolfgang Paalen's opinions of realist art, he only expressed them within a theoretical context, and never so blatantly attacked the social realism of the Mexicans. Instead, he saw it within an evolutionary model of artistic development, outlining a chronology of totemic, mythological, humanistic, realistic, and experimental

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periods, which were "of equal value."[295] The problem was one of a crisis in art's direction, which "since the end of humanism ha[d] been lacking in a clear definition of its task." For Paalen, the contemporary crisis "coincide[d] with the crisis of the subject, with a general disagreement as to what subject-matter or themes [we]re apt for plastic expression: it [was] no longer a question of experimenting how to paint, but of finding what to paint. The problem is no longer to invent new techniques but to find new themes."[296] Paalen may have taken his cue from Graham's ideas in System and Dialectics, but he brought it to another level of discourse that came, eventually, to be identified with Abstract Expressionism.

### 2. Golden Gate International Exposition, "Pacific Cultures," 1939[297]

The "Pacific Cultures" exhibition held at the Golden Gate International Exposition in 1939 showed over 1,500 objects from the cultures of the "Pacific Rim." This included the islands of Oceania, Southeast Asia, China, Japan (including the Ainu,[298] Korea, Formosa, and the Luchu Islands, Alaska, the Northwest Coast, and Middle and South America. A map on the inside cover of the catalogue clearly depicted the "Rim," showing the physical relationship of these cultures of the Old and New World. (Fig. 100) One of the heads of the exhibition committee was Dr. Grace McCann Morley, Director of Education, who would later become Director of the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art,

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sponsoring individual as well as group exhibitions of the work of Paalen, Gordon Onslow Ford, and Lee Mullican - together known as the "DYNATON."[299]

The exhibition lenders included many prominent West Coast individuals such as Albert Bender, William Randolph Hearst, and Archer M. Huntington (University of Texas donor). Both art and ethnological museums worldwide contributed. The catalogue was written by authorities from institutions such as Yale, Harvard, Tulane's Middle American Research Institute, University of Washington Museum, and University of California, Berkeley.

In the catalogue's "Introduction," Langdon Warner, an expert in Chinese art from the Fogg Museum, conjectured that the exhibition might be the first ever to show the "arts of the entire huge oval of the Pacific rim under one roof." He suggested that as the objects were anonymously produced, the public's attention would be focused on the works and cultural context, rather than the individual maker, thus stressing the principle of collectivity.[300] Warner argued that the works, whether utilitarian or ceremonial, were "masterpieces," thereby removing the barriers between "high" and "low" art," the aristocratic and the folk[ish], art and craft, and art and ethnology, a trend evident in all the exhibitions of the 1920s and 30s examined above. The thesis of the exhibition was that, in spite of the way the environment, climate, botany, zoology, and religion defined each culture's products, there was an underlying "large

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unity" that "no one single ethnologist nor any art historian had yet conceived":

> a sense that Asia and Australia and the island peoples with our own Americas together comprise a body of thought that is not now and never has been known in Europe.[301]

This emphasis on the interrelatedness of Asian and American cultures, which we have encountered before, was reinforced by the "evidence" of the objects themselves. One does not have to look far to notice as many resemblances as differences - between, for instance, such Oceanic objects as carved wooden masks from New Ireland and those of the Northwest Coast, or Meso-American and T'ang Dynasty jades.

Overall it seems that the study of the more "primitive" societies was still at an early stage at this date, with investigators calling for better study centers and research. While much attention was given to description of technologies and material culture, there was a comfortable balance betweeen "instruction and beauty," and "functional and aesthetic" in considerations of these cultures and their objects.[302]

These non-Western cultures, unified by a "Pacific" tradition were compared to the tradition of Mediterranean civilization and its European offshoots, and were posed as a new source of enrichment, pointing out the virtues of:

> new and quickening ideas from civilizations that lie down along our coast and up it and across the narrow thirty miles to Asia [n.b. the Bering Straits] and south again to other jungles than our own, and off again to islands where navigation long ago was that same art Columbus knew.[303]

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At the same time, the pluricultural influences within such dominant cultures as China - "from the Siberian steppes to the Malayan jungles, and from the high inland plateau of Central Asia to the beaches of the Pacific" - pointed out the diversity within the overarching unity.

Along with the emphasis on culture and collectivity ran the theme of spirituality, now discernible as the zeitgeist of the cognescenti of the early decades of the twentieth century. Asserting that however "savage" or "pathetically simple" a culture might seem, the artifacts that it made told of "the gods, the records of past heros and of living chiefs," and the "lofty things of the spirit," to which Western illusionism paled [no pun intended - at first] by comparison.[304] Beyond the virtuoso craftsmanship and beauty of these objects was their spiritual message:

> the deep and veritable metaphysics embedded in Sanscrit, the mother of Greek; the humane philosophies of Confucius and Mencius and Laotse, peers of Plato; [and] warm Buddhism which would have been beloved by Christ.[305]

This exhibition was an explicit manifestation of the Asiatic presence and influence in West Coast American consciousness, and of the Asian and Oceanic migration theories which would be repeated in the thinking of Paalen and other writers in DYN, a short three years later. In the second issue of DYN, Paalen approvingly reviewed astronomer Maud Makemson's The Morning Star Rises: An account of Polynesian Astronomy. He remarked how her erudition and

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gift of expression united to "attain to the height of great poetic style," and quoted the opening lines of the book:

> Before the sunrise of civilization, while the morning star ruled the destinies of men, a race of sea kings drove their ships eastward through the stormy waters of the tropical Pacific. In courage and endurance they were a race of giants - these ancestors of the Polynesians - who felled the tempest with a magic ax and drew up islands from ocean depths by their incantations.[306]

He regretted only that "more detail of the extraordinary implements of navigation which the seamen of certain of these islands used" were not shown, of which the "marvellous chart of the Marshall Islands, known as mede, which I saw in the British Museum...show[ed] currents and winds by means of elegant and variously curved sticks." A series of Paalen's drawings of these years would construct abstract "charts" and "maps" of voyages in his own inner worlds, sometimes using medes as a model.[307] Many of them were ink drawings on amate paper, made of bark from the fig-tree, which replicated the practice of aboriginal bark painting. (Figs. 101, 102, 103) Paalen's important collection of Oceanic objects, acquired in Paris in the 1930s, included two masks of bark cloth: one from New Hebrides (Micronesia) and one from New Ireland (Micronesia).[308] By 1952 and 1958, Thor Heyerdahl would publish and publicize his studies on trans-Pacific voyage and the "American Indians" in the Pacific.[309]

Referring again to empirical "evidence", in this review Paalen maintained that it was in Polynesia that the myth of

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the "'Golden Age' came closest to being a reality," as verified in the accounts of "Captain Cook, whom nobody could call sentimental, [which] confirmed the enchanting reports of Bougainville, which otherwise might be thought to have a spirit too much akin to that of Jean Jacques Rousseau."[310] Obviously aware of the shortcomings of utopianism, in this statement Paalen called upon science and the poetry of fact to attest to what otherwise would be construed as romantic ideology and imagination, indirectly empowering science's ability to restore marvel to reality. The essay on the "Islands of the Pacific" in the Pacific Culture catalogue, also emphasized "the great romance of the Pacific... associated with long sea voyages made by daring seamen... more than 2000 miles in length...."[311]

In the "Amerindian" number of DYN, Paalen would write a review of Paul Rivet's (Director of the Musée de l'Homme), Les Origines de l'Homme Américain. In essence it concurred with Langdon Warner and his colleagues' opinions that, long before the birth of Christ and the rise of Western civilization, ancient Pacific civilizations had developed technologies, religion, and culture that were the "admiration of today," which no European society had ever surpassed.[312] Referring back to the Polynesian question, Paalen indicated that while the Asiatic migration theory was "generally accepted...the theory of ulterior Australian and Melanesian migrations to America [was] still very much under discussion."[313] Paalen agreed with Rivet's rejection of

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Hrdlicka's theory that a single civilization was common to all natives of the Americas, based on Rivet and Boas' linguistic evidence that pluri-ethnic elements "were added to the primitive Asiatic substratum in order to produce the astonishing diversity and...polymorphism of the Amerindian populations, civilizations, and languages."[314] This same thesis is amply evident in the essays provided for each regional group of the "Pacific Cultures" exhibition.

Paalen continued to make a number of points in his review, arguing deductively along with Rivet. First, given the evidence of the extraoardinary skill of the Oceanic navigators provided in Makemson's book, "it was relatively easy to reach the American coast" especially after the proof of the "prodigious voyages of the Melanesians across the Pacific."[315] Second, again agreeing with Rivet that, based on the similarity of characteristic ancient Melanesian "cultural traits" with those of Mexico and Peru, he believed that Uhle's Peruvian chronology, making "fashionable" parallels between the peak of pre-Columbian civilization and the medieval Christian era, was flawed.[316] Instead, he suggested that the "South American neolithic" period, like that of Egypt, Crete, Asia Minor, and Occidental Europe, lasted and hailed back many more centuries. In the "Amerindian" number of DYN Paalen published "Coricancha," Cesar Moro's poetic ode to Incan civilization. Abundantly illustrated with photographs of the high Andean cities of Cuzco and Machuppicchu, these images attested to the

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splendor and sophistication of ancient Peru.[317] (Figs. 104, 105)

In the Rivet review, Paalen hypothesized that an "Arctic Metropolis" had once existed in a significantly different ancient climatic period, based on the findings of a pre-Eskimo culture, 200 miles north of the Bering Strait [n.b. unfit for man or beast, as they say], by F.G. Rainey in 1940. This is a theory that has currency today. As discussed by Kubler:

> A less simplistic ["diffusionist"] argument is Werner Mueller's. He followed Braunschweig in dividing polar peoples from other Amerindians. He also suggested an "amphiatlantic" origin for boreal peoples of the mesolithic stage after deglaciation, as spreading from the arctic "source of the late palaeolithic strata of Europe," in "proto-American cultures" along an eastbound North Atlantic route to Europe. Here Ireland and Scandinavia were "bridgehead and center of American cultural forms" for later neolithic developments in the Old World. Mueller's model may have been Alfred Wegener's theory of continental drift (1911), long rejected but lately recognized at least as a forerunner of platetectonic studies.[318] (Fig. 106)

A look at this map shows the plausibility of such a thesis. Some contemporary Americanists have indicated that the unity of cosmologies and, therefore, totemic and imagistic similarities, may stem from a shared shamanistic culture of this horizon.[319] Paalen sent Rivet a copy of the "Amerindian" number of DYN, and Rivet wrote back to him thanking him for his review:

> I have received and read "Dyn." I thank you once more for your courage and your taste. I very much hope to see you again soon. I have read with gratitude your account of my book.[320]

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## G. FRANCE AND MEXICO, 1938-39

### 1. André Breton in Mexico, 1938 - Surrealism, International Socialism, and Pre-Columbian Art. Prelude to Paalen's Mexican Emigration.

#### a. Introduction

Mexico was a mythic place for the Surrealists, Paalen among them. It is not surprising that the movement, closely identified with Marxism and affiliated with the Musée de l'Homme Americanists during the 1920s and 30s, cast its gaze upon Mexico and pre-Columbian art as a source of inspiration. All through the 1920s and '30s, leftists from all over the world looked to Mexico after the Revolution as a paradigm of socialist ideals. And for the Europeans, who lived within the debris of an exhausted Western culture, the New World was a beacon of hope in an otherwise dark existence.

Surrealist artists and poets developed an elaborate syncretic myth of Mexico based on their own principles. In spite of his close affiliation with the modern Mexican artistic and political community, in his journey to Mexico in 1938, and in his subsequent writings about Mexico in Minotaure and in conjunction with the "Mexique" exhibition, Breton's concept of Mexico partook of this invention.[321] As was the case with the primitivism of other modernist art movements, even given the Surrealists significant ethnological knowledge of pre-Columbian culture, the myth they fashioned was part fact/part fiction and satisfied the

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Surrealist agenda, rather than maintaining an objective position, as Paalen intentionally undertook in DYN.

### b. Surrealists in Mexico: Breton, 1938; Artaud as Precursor

Breton went to Mexico in the Spring of 1938, ostensibly on a lecture tour sponsored by the French government. But by 1938, the Surrealists, whether the Documents group or the Surrealists around Breton, were already significantly engaged with Mexico. Two years prior to Breton, Antonin Artaud had journeyed to Mexico. In an interview he held in February 1936, he spoke in typical Surrealist phraseology of the "failure of the European culture of rationalism," and said that he had come in search of "the foundation of a magic culture which exudes from the power of the Indian soul."[322] Artaud found this "magic culture" in the peyote ritual of the Tarahumara "Indians," and in doing so severed his ties with the culture of rationality he so disparaged.[323] During this trip, he initiated contact with Mexican artists and writers, singling out for notice the fantastic or "magic" realism of the painter Maria Izquierdo, as Breton would Frida Kahlo's oeuvre, two years later.[324]

In spite of resistance to Breton's visit from Mexican Stalinists, university officals, and intellectuals, Breton's lectures went forward.[325] In an interview at the University of Mexico in June 1938, Breton queried:

> Is there a Surrealist Mexico? If you believe there is, where is it encountered? Outside of

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> everything I said, Mexico is the Surrealist place par excellence. I encounter Surrealist Mexico in its mountains, in its flowers, in the dynamism which confers on it the mixture of its races, as in its highest aspirations.[326]

Breton said that before he arrived in Mexico, he was moved by the indelible impressions of a childhood book called Savage Life in Mexico by Gabriel Ferry - a book also said to have been read by the poet Rimbaud.[327] This anecdote was analogous to Paalen's and other Germans' fascination with the stories of Karl May, for in it were the roots of his inspiration. Through Ferry's book Breton empathized with Mexican reality in the guise of "Costal, a noble and valiant descendant of the chiefs of Tehuantepec."[328] The adventures of the story took place during the time of the War of Independence. Breton's love of independence is said to have been born in this moment, and this, like the reference to childhood itself, establishes a myth for both Breton and for Mexico, comprised of many strands - political, emotional, aesthetic, and psycho-sexual. The ideology of childhood once again appears in the avant-garde vocabulary. But what is most noticeable is that Breton's Mexico was the same before and after his visit there, a visit that served only to reinforce the presentiments and preconceptions he had at the start.

For Breton, Mexico was a mental and sensual landscape, a place of images and sensations that reverberated with its character. In his essay on Frida Kahlo for the "Mexique" exhibition, he would reiterate his memories, perhaps

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reinventing them in verse, as he formulated an imperative for art in his time - a conception that "deliberately sacrific[ed] the exterior for the interior model, resolutely [gave] precedence to representation over perception":

> Did this conception have the power to resist the mental climate of Mexico? Down there, all the eyes of the children of Europe, among whom I was, precede me with a thousand enchanted fires. I saw, with the same gaze that I turn upon imaginary sites, to deploy itself with the speed of a horse at a gallop across the immense desert that unfurls at the border of white palm groves, to burn feudal haciendas in the perfume of fiery tresses and the jasmine of China from a Southern night, more highly outlined, more imperious than anywhere else, under heavy ornaments of felt, metal, and leather, the definite silhouette of the adventurer, who is the brother of the poet. And perhaps these fragments of images, extracted from the treasures of childhood, which unveil their magic power, desensitize me to certain gaps [in my vision].[329]

With its extremes of rich and poor, of benign and insidious, of beautiful and grotesque, of weather and landscape, Mexico was a living archetype of the Surrealist imagination - a dream literally come true; a magical place for magicians - an "imaginal" place to be grasped symbolically.[330] In the words of one writer:

> The jungle environment of the savage [sic] had a special fascination for the civilized city-dweller Breton, who glimpsed tropical nature in the Canary Islands, Mexico, and the Caribbean. Its lush growth and bizarre creatures seemed the realization of Surrealist desire, a living dream world and a natural breeding ground for primitive instinct and art.[331]

Like Artaud, what drew Breton to Mexico were these extremes, its seeming embodiment of a "certain point in the mind at which life and death, the real and the imagined, past and

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future, the communicable and the incommunicable, high and low, cease to be perceived as contradictions," as he had said in the Second Manifesto of Surrealism.[332] Later, reflecting on his voyage, in France he would write:

> Red earth, virgin earth, totally impregnated with abundant blood, earth where the life of man is without value, always ready, like the agave as far as the eye can see, expressed by consuming itself in a flower of desire and danger!"[333]

And of all of those dualities, the ones most manifest in Mexico were the forces of life and death. It is to this idea that Breton dedicated his essay "Souvenir du Mexique."[334] The photographs of Manuel Alvarez Bravo, showing brutal and intimate moments in the Mexican experience, illustrated the essay, as they would illustrate DYN a few years later. (Fig. 107, 108, 109, 110) From the Aztec cosmological ritual that demanded human sacrifice to propitiate the Sun God and guarantee his course in the heavens (life for death), to the "great messages of the tombs" and the "man holding a gun...who surged, with eyes of fire, from behind a giant candelabra-type cactus,"[335] Mexico was a landscape of extremities. Her chief deities, whose effigies Breton saw at the Museo Nacional de Antropologia, embodied fearsome contradictions:

> "Xochipilli, god of flowers and of lyric poetry, and Coatlicue, goddess of the earth and of violent death...dominate[d] in pathos and intensity all others, [and] trade[d]...winged words and raucous cries from one end of the museum to the other."[336]

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The "constant confrontation of life and death found in the relics of the pre-hispanic conquest also survived in each Day of the Dead, with their 'calveras' (deathheads) made of sugar,"[337] that the children delight to eat, celebrating death as a part of life. (Fig. 111) Or the black humor of the broadsides of José Guadelupe Posada, showing the omnipresence of death as a cultural tenet and reality in Mexican life.[338] All of these were seen as a "revitalization" of pre-Columbian art and culture by Surrealism - beyond the efforts and purposes of muralismo.

The perpetual presence of violence in Mexican life, from its legendary bandits to its mortality and fatality, the struggle for survival in the life of the "Indians," was also attractive to Breton and the Surrealists. One can't forget Breton's love of the Marquis de Sade, nor his definition of the most Surrealist gesture imaginable:

> The most Surrealist act consists of walking out into the street with a revolver in hand and indiscriminately shooting at as many in the crowd as possible.

This penchant for cruelty, for evil, was rationalized by virtue of its potential for its opposite. But for all that, it was no better and, what's more, no different than - certainly the ideological source of - Bataille's relishing the thought of Aztecs ripping the hearts out of living bodies. (In fact, sacrificial rites often using hallucinogens were used to sedate the sacrificed human being; and it is possible that a major nerve was cut to

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anaesthetize the victim, before the sacrifice was performed.) Breton's, like Bataille's, constructs were projections, however relevant to Mexico they might have seemed at the time.

c. Affinities in Mexican and Surrealist Art

A number of Mexican writers have discussed the affinities of Surrealism and Mexican art in relation to the romantic and satirical traditions of "fantasy" and magic realism in art, going back to the 19th century with Posada and other forerunners of the Syndicado, and back to the mythologies and ritual beliefs and magic of ancient pre-Columbian art.[339] In his text on "Surrealism and Mexico," José Pierre also catalogues what he perceives as the less cruel affinities of Surrealism and Mexico found in the bizarre amalgamations of quotidian Mexican reality: baroque churches where "the perpetual movement of creation [bears a] relation to automatism"; compositions in "fleeces of color of the Huicholes that illustrate their cosmogony of a plastic quality which a Miró or a Brauner would envy as better than his own inventions! And the embroidery of the Otomis, in which the trees bloom with sheaves of birds or fantastic animals ... particularly apt for rendering that "rhythmic unity" which Breton thought was the only automatism which 'fully satisfies the eye and the ear.'"[340] Indeed, the Baroque and fantastic quality of things Mexican was so pronounced that Breton would publish Paalen's

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Arcimboldo painting, The Admiral, as the frontispiece to "Souvenir du Mexique."[341] Similarly, Mexico was, as Breton said, the Surrealist place par excellence in its potential to unite the desire for the "marvelous" with the equally potent desire for revolution. In his encounter with Trotsky in Mexico, Breton felt that he was close to realizing his hopes for a new society. But as has been observed by one writer, "Surrealism and Marxism [were] two theories which could never be unified." As Luis Mario Schneider, author of those words, observed about the differences between Surrealist and socialist ideology, "The first attempts to change man and later society. Socialism holds that if you change society man automatically changes."[342] But in the "Manifesto for an Independent Revolutionary Art," Breton would theoretically, if not actually, attain the union he sought for art and life.

d. Paalen and Surrealism vis-á-vis Mexico

If Paalen was drawn to all of these qualities in Mexico, the one most enticing for him was pre-Columbian art. In fact, one of the qualities of DYN was its rejection of Surrealist extremism, fantasy, and appropriation. Instead, Paalen dedicated the entire "Amerindian" number to historical presentations and representations of pre-hispanic art based on ethnological and empirical criteria, rather than personal responses. Instead of confounding Mexico with his artistic theory and practice, he reserved his

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romanticism for his paintings, poetry, and prose essays, the "Paysage Totémiques." At the same time, he published the Mexican-inspired poetry of Alice Rahon Paalen, César Moro, Marian Castleman, et al., as well as artworks and photographs that incorporated pre-Columbian material or themes, to satisfy the expressive agenda of the journal.[343] Many of these works served the double purpose of reflecting artistic engagement as well as documenting the real-life experience of Mexico. It was this less indulgent, more accessible, and pragmatic quality, to which the New York School would respond.

Paalen approached Mexico with a romantic but less possessive attitude. Mexican artists and writers who knew him say that he was not a Surrealist. Octavio Paz, who was part of the Surrealist circle, characterized him thus; the painter Juan Soriano, Remedios Varos' husband Walter Gruen, and others averred he was different from the Surrealists - "a religious man...not a materialist...not Hegelian."[344] As related earlier, even André Breton called him "the last of the German Romantics," in his essay for Paalen's 1938 exhibition in Paris. An important part of Paalen's character was an Enlightenment spirit that focused equally on science as on art. Breton's perception was accurate and it was this accent in Paalen's painting and theory that spoke to the Abstract Expressionists.

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## 2. Leon Trotsky, André Breton and the "Manifesto Towards An Independent Revolutionary Art"- Prelude to Paalen's and Abstract Expressionist Politics

Trotsky, in exile from Stalin's Soviet Union and seeking amnesty after fleeing Denmark, had been granted refuge in Mexico City in 1937 by the progressive leftist government of President Lázaro Cárdenas, at the behest of Diego Rivera. In Mexico City, he lived under guard in Frida Kahlo's home in Coyoacán, enjoying the hospitality of the Riveras and mixing with the international artistic and intellectual community that circled around Diego and Frida.[345] From the viewpoint of Trotsky's appeal, it is interesting to note that John Dewey chaired the international commission to exonerate him. Held in Coyoácan from April to September 1937 at Trotsky's request, the commission "demonstrated his innocence beyond the least suspicion of doubt" of the crimes of treason of which he had been accused in Moscow by Stalin.[346]

In Coyoácan in 1938 Trotsky met André Breton and collaborated with him on the "Manifesto: Towards an Independent Revolutionary Art."[347] (Fig. 112) The manifesto was published internationally, appearing in Paris in Clé, the bulletin of the Fédération Internationale de l'art révolutionnaire indépendant (F.I.A.R.I.); in Mexico City in Clave, a journal produced by Diego Rivera; in London in the London Bulletin and the Workers International News; and in New York in Partisan Review. F.I.A.R.I. groups were also

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organized in each of those centers.[348] It was the hope of the authors of this document - signed by Breton and Diego Rivera but actually written by Breton and Trotsky - that the manifesto would "find a common ground" for "esthetic, philosophical and political tendencies of the most varied sort...."[349] As an extension of the masquerade of authors - a tactic intended to protect the endangered Trotsky - Trotsky wrote a letter to Breton, published in Partisan Review, congratulating him and Rivera on the creation of F.I.A.R.I. He attacked the "dictators" of the Western world, his own Stalinist detractors, and "compromising" intellectuals like Louis Aragon and André Malraux, alike, and aligned himself with the F.I.A.R.I. cause.[350]

The Manifesto defended art and all intellectual production against the demand that it be a tool of the state (as it had become in Germany and the Soviet Union), and insisted on free reign of the imagination. "In the contemporary world we must recognize the ever more widespread destruction of those conditions under which intellectual creation is possible," it cautioned.[351] Rejecting realism and, thus, indirectly supporting abstraction, the manifesto equated "true art" and revolutionary goals, saying that "...true art is unable not to be revolutionary, not to aspire to a complete and radical reconstruction of society."[352] Calling upon Freudian theory, it indicated that in "sublimation...of the outside

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elements it rejects" the ideal self would marshal "all those powers of the interior world...common to all men." It would thus follow that in the struggle for the emancipation of the individual spirit through free expression of its "inner world," the "natural course" would lead to a struggle for universal emancipation.[353] Recognizing the "true" artist as a natural ally by virtue of his alienation from "decadent social forms," it nonetheless distinguished "revolutionary" art from "pure art," which "serves the extremely impure ends of reaction," and called for "complete freedom" in the realm of intellectual and artistic creation, even to the point of vindicating "an anarchist regime of individual liberty."[354] In Paris, thereafter, the International Federation of Independent Revolutionary Art ("F.I.A.R.I") organized its platform in response to the ideas aired in the manifesto, which opposed the Stalinist Popular Front dogma of social realism. In DYN, Paalen would borrow this platform, calling for total artistic liberty, while dissociating it from Communism and partisan politics.

### 3. André Breton's "Mexique" Exhibition; and "Souvenir du Mexique," Minotaure, Paris, 1939

Breton returned to Paris and from that point set out to organize the exhibition "Mexique," for which he would write all the texts, as well as the essay "Souvenir du Mexique," which dominated the final issue of Minotaure. (Fig. 107) "Souvenir du Mexique" was abundantly illustrated with documentary and creative photographs by Manuel Alvarez

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Bravo, Raoul Ubac, and Fritz Bach; paintings of Diego Rivera, which showed the more fantastic side of the painter's realism (Casahuatal (Guerrero-Taxco), 1938, and Le Couple, 1938), as well as reproductions of retablos and other Mexican popular art. Most likely these were works shown in the "Mexique" exhibition. If the trip to Mexico represented the consummation of Breton's imaginative desires, the "Mexique" exhibition and last issue of Minotaure were its culmination. (Figs. 113, 114 )

The "Mexique" exhibition, held at the Parisian Galerie Renou et Colle on March 10, 1939, featured the paintings of Frida Kahlo and the photographs of Manuel Alvarez Bravo amidst pre-Columbian objects, Mexican popular [folk] art including ex votos and retablos, and 18th and 19th-century Mexican "primitive" paintings.[355] (Figs.115, 116, 117) All together over 150 objects were exhibited, with loans from the collections of Rivera, Breton, Paalen, (the dealer) Charles Ratton, and others. Popular folk art, among which were many pieces collected by Breton in Mexico, and ancient pre-Columbian art were the two most represented areas, comprising two-thirds of the exhibition. On the purple cover of "Mexique" was one of Bravo's black and white photographs, symbolically showing an Indio child shielding its eyes from the sun, sitting in front of an elegant bossed Spanish colonial door. (Fig. 118)

Breton opened the catalogue with a preface that repeated all the themes that had informed his vocabulary in

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Mexico.[356] In an allegory of freedom that personified Mexico as a woman, he equated "her," as he later would Frida Kahlo, with independence. But now, rather than the "mother" country, or the "virtuous" or "virgin" land, typically, Breton sexualized his tyche, making Mexico a "willing" woman. While unwittingly a double-standard, this strategy reflected both Surrealist sexual politics that challenged the Victorian morals imposed upon women, as well as the promiscuousness with which Frida conducted her affairs. Verbally making love to Mexico, he began:

> What do you say about that which is loved and how to make love to it?" It all seems so vain in a country that is a being. Her "immense body" the most beautiful in the world, disrobes itself as soon as one touches her.[357]

He referred once again to "all the récits of travel that exhaust their power of exaltation in children."[358] Then he paid tribute to the Revolution.

The subject of Mexico's fascination returned; he questioned his own motives, wondering if it was "exoticism for exoticism's sake" ruled by interior desire, or the actual "exterior unknown" that drew him to that country. Admitting his own audacity to be "imperious" in his vision, he nonetheless contrasted this with the imperialism of the West. Finally, he closed with the remark that the exhibition was a way to reconstitute his experience and pay tribute to a land that had so commanded his attention.

His essays for the various parts of the exhibition rephrased his former themes: of life and death, for

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instance, in "Tableaux Mexicains," where the naiveté of the canvases would prevail were it not for the "mysterious ambiance...which Roberto Montenegro understood retained in fixation the Mexican genius for 'this battle with life that persists beyond death.'"[359] In the retablos was an art "held in high esteem by [Alfred Jarry]," which improvised pious thanks for miraculous healing, remission of a malady, survival of an accident or escape from peril, and boldly revealed the most secret confidences. With respect to Henri Rousseau's "magical" worlds, he envisioned how the Douanier "established a means of communication in some magnetic way between the two worlds."[360]

In DYN, Eva Sulzer would convert this monologue into a dialogue by writing an essay "Did Henri Rousseau Ever Get to Mexico?"[361] in which she would give the history of Rousseau's association with Mexico. Beginning with the claim of Apollinaire, to which Breton alluded in his text, that Rousseau had been a soldier adventurer in Maximillian's army, she rejected the acceptance of this myth by Daniel Catton Rich in a contemporary exhibition of Rousseau at the Museum of Modern Art. From the evidence - Rousseau's own autobiographical texts, the lack of specific Mexican cultural references in his paintings and, even more, the absence of native plant species, in the tropical luxuriance of Rousseau's jungles - the veracity of this tale, was not credible. She concluded:

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> It was probably Apollinaire's never having seen a Mexican landscape that induced him to begin a poem in honor of Rousseau: "You remember Rousseau, the Aztec landscape..." But apparently he did not remember!...If the painter came to this country, there is no reason to suppose that he never got beyond the region of Veracruz. Thus it would have been impossible for him to forget these forms so characteristic that one cannot evoke the great silhouette of this country without them: the fact that he never painted a cactus suffices to complete the evidence that Henri Rousseau most probably never was in Mexico.[362]

On the facing page was reproduced a delicate pencil drawing "attributed to Rousseau" in Eva Sulzer's collection, thus mediating the factual, deductive approach in her text. But its method, as in many other places in DYN, served as a rejoinder to the Surrealist collage method of displacement, disjunction, and juxtaposition. One understands why Paalen, editor, and Paalen, scholar, has been called the "academic Surrealist," and just how his belief in scientific objectivity repeatedly marked the presentations in DYN.

In his poetic evocations, in his own circuitous way, Breton provided interesting information about Mexico. Referring to the popular objects exhibited in "Mexique," he likened his own "capricious grouping" to those seen in Mexican village markets, where objects were found showing "the imprint of the caress of the hand of man"; and that rarely did such objects make it to the city. As with the "primitive" paintings, he lamented the progressive disappearance of these arts under the domination of capitalism. He denounced the subjugation of the "Indians" "too long repressed by the economy of the 'advanced'

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country," who labored to "reconcile [their] very humble reality with the dream," sometimes refraining from production because "it was 'bewitched' to decorate...the green faience of Patamba...the masks of painted earth á la Arcimboldo... the troubling and magnificent ritual objects of Matamoros...the illuminations of Uruapan."[363] With characteristic Surrealist hatred of the church he revelled in the story of peasants who "organized at the doors of churches artificial fires" and "elide[d] into [their] prayers the correct incantations to appease the "seigneur of the waters." In the market in Toluca, he marvelled at "the brilliantly colored little equestrian personnages...and certain objects, at first sight non-figurative" which Diego Rivera guided him in understanding: "a 'tornado'...and another of the same size, more somber, in the form of an irregular cross was 'night'."

Through analogy, the essay on Frida Kahlo identified her with all Breton held sacred about Mexico: its magic of childhood dreams, its senuous and fertile earth, its passion for freedom and battle with the forces of domination, its love of death. He eulogized Frida's courage in giving sanctuary to Trotsky, and Trotsky as a symbol who "incarnates physical and moral stature in the eyes of all...[and] planned with clarity the great battle of a continent against all the powers of servitude."[364]

He recalled Frida's "transparent" house in Coyoacán - "I never knew if it was blue or red";[365] its "garden banded

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with idols and cactus;" its "spider monkeys" - where he was a guest. Breton mythicized Frida's "fairy personality":

> like a princess of legend, with enchantment at the tips of her fingers, in a bolt of light of the quetzal bird, who leaves in flight some opals on the surface of stones.[366]

He admired Frida's self-portrait that hung in Trotsky's study, where she stood "in a dress of golden butterfly wings," with "all the gifts of seduction." In his musings, Breton also likened her to two women of the German Romantic movement - Bettina Brentano and Caroline Schlegel - placing Frida with her "vital resolution" in their midst at "the point of intersection of the line of political philosophy and art."[367]

He claimed Frida's paintings for Surrealism, which he said she unconsciously practiced under the influence of an "irrational law...subjective signs...symbols...myths in force in the amalgam of objects...that make it possible to pass from visual to visionary power."[368] Frida's rejection of this description, of Breton, and of Surrealism, is already legendary.[369] Frida's art, Breton said, showed:

> ...the gout of humor and cruelty uniquely capable of tieing together the rare emotional forces...of which Mexico holds the secret. The vertigo of puberty, the mysteries of alimentary generation, the inspiration that...is reserved for the places of the spirit, a contrary pavan with a mixture of candor and impertinence. Let me add that there is no one more exclusively feminine in the sense that, to be the most tempting, she willingly consents to make herself the purest then the most pernicious.
>
> The art of Frida Kahlo is a ribbon tied around a bomb.[370]

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And in this perception, as was often the case, history has it that Breton was right.

Breton's essay on "Pre-Columbian Art" in his exhibition reflects the well-known "Surrealist map" of the world, which gives nine-tenths of the space to the American hemisphere and Oceania, and leaves Europe diminished in stature by comparison. This text is certainly the origin of the often-mentioned reevaluation of the "primitive" hierarchy, for it is here that Breton comments that if African art was of particular interest to the first-generation, then American art before the Conquest, with Oceanic, is the one most elected by his generation of the avant-garde. He rejects "representing [pre-Columbian art] from a didactic point of view,"[371] as he had elsewhere ridiculed the "boring pedagogic point of view that attaches itself to folklore,"[372] since its power is so imposing that it "overflows or else breaks the archaeological notebooks that have [tried to] contain[..] it."[373] It is somewhat ironic, as Breton says, that the past of Mexico is perhaps better known than the present. Yet it is evidence of the potency of its ancient art, that it is impossible to evoke Mexico without it.[374] The brevity of this essay seems to reflect Breton's, like Holger Cahill's, conviction that pre-Columbian art speaks for itself, and he turns, without further comment, to the photographs of Manuel Alvarez Bravo.

This short essay of one paragraph reads like an introduction to the more florid and lengthy treatment of

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Alvarez Bravo in "Souvenir du Mexique." Breton's theorizing on photography here relates to his first essay on the topic which he wrote about the collages of Max Ernst. There he asserted that:

> The invention of photography delivered a mortal blow to the old modes of expression, as in painting and poetry where the automatic writing which appeared at the end of the XIXth century is a veritable photograph of thought. A blind instrument allowing a shot at what up to then had [only] been proposed ...[375]

Here he muses about the unconscious potential of photography, observing how the instantaneous "mechanical trigger" of photography can document and fix images which are otherwise "fundamentally imperceptible."[376] If Alvarez Bravo's "admirable synthetic realism" "passionately interrogate[s]" his subject, its virtue lies not only in the "infallible technique" and rare intimacy with which he captures "the heart of Mexico," but also in his ability to foresee the "full objective value of emotions" revealed through the photographic act.[377]

## H. EXPOSICIÓN INTERNACIONAL DEL SURREALISMO, 1940

Before the debacle of the assassination, Paalen, with Breton and the Peruvian Surrealist poet César Moro, organized the first important international Surrealist exhibition in America. The exhibition was actually an extension of the 1938 "Exposition Internationale du Surréalisme" held at Daniel Wildenstein's Galerie Beaux-Arts, which had traveled to London in 1939 to open as "Exposition Surrealiste" at E.L.T. Mesen's London Gallery.

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The Mexican "Expocisión Internacional del Surrealismo" opened on January 17, 1940 and inaugurated the new space of the Galería de Arte Mexicano, directed by Inés Amor. It was considered the social event of the season and the most important international exhibition to appear in Mexico City in years. Attended by Mexican socialites, intellectuals, and members of the diplomatic corps it was described as a "veritable feast of culture."[378]

The exhibition received tremendous coverage in the Mexican press, with a number of amused comments about the "curious" art that was displayed. As the Christian Science Monitor put it, there were two reactions to the Surrealist works: one group felt that they were inaccessible; the other "had an enjoyable time perceiving significances lost to the uninitiated."[379]. One earnest critic attempted to explain the tenets and motives of Surrealism to the "uninitiated" public.[380] Some felt that it signified a new chapter in Mexican art and wrote enthusiastically about its international profile that included the work of ten Mexican artists. One critic noted that it reflected an "artistic transition" in Mexico.[381] All in all, it was felt that the exhibition represented a move away from muralism toward a "universal" art, and that it put Mexico on an international, rather than national, track.

A review of the exhibition by Luis Cardoza y Aragón, one of Mexico's distinguished writers, noted that the emigration of artists and writers during the Spanish Civil

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War and World War II was transforming the landscape of Mexican art and culture.[382] In bringing the International Surrealist exhibition to Mexico City, Paalen exposed the works of Picasso, Miró, and Dali, "a trinity of great painters" "comparable to Greco and Rembrandt," as well as other modern masters of international reputation.[383] Up until then, Mexican artists had little opportunity to see the European avant-garde works they knew from reproductions in journals and books. In fact Cardoza y Aragón even compared this event to the performance of the National Symphony, and commented that the "spiritual war" of experimentation in all art forms was occurring in America.[384]

Furthermore, Amor reported, as a courtesy to Mexico, Paalen invited Mexican artists to participate in the exhibition.[385] Cardoza y Aragón noted that collaborations in all the arts, happening more frequently between exiled individuals and Mexicans, were significant to the growth of Mexican cultural life in this period. Amor believed that Paalen opened new horizons for many younger painters and befriended or socialized with many others.[386] However, Amor also said that she did not think that Paalen felt in the end that the climate in Mexico was really receptive to international modernism at that time.[387] Similarly, the painter Juan Soriano, a friend of César Moro who attended the exhibition opening, said that Paalen, who was immensely

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cosmopolitan, was very isolated in Mexico, because the prevailing attitude was still very nationalistic.[388]

The response of many of the Mexican critics who reviewed the Exposición Internacional is a good index of this situation. Even while the significance of the exhibition was recognized, there was also an undercurrent of hostility or resistance to Surrealism, just as there was in New York in the 1930s and 1940s. Admiration mixed with incomprehension, disdain, and xenophobia. One reviewer covering the exhibition in a four part series went to great lengths to distinguish the Mexicans from the Surrealists.[389] In his commentary on the foreign painters, the first-generation "masters" were extolled, while the second-generation of Surrealists, to a man, were seen as inferior (the women, as would be expected at this date, weren't even mentioned, although Paalen, as was his custom, included seven women in the exhibition).[390] One writer acknowledged Surrealism's place in the history of culture, but saw it as having digressed, gone academic, and entirely passé.[391] Two others were outright sarcastic, belittling Surrealism's excess, "decadence," and posturing, chiding Diego and Frida for their engagement with it, and reporting the negative comments of visitors.[392] Yet another writer, responding to this sarcasm, came to the defense of Surrealism and the exhibition, invoking a genealogy of Bosch, Brueghel, the "strange landscapes and deserted

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cities" of Piero della Francesca, the sonnets of Gerard de Nerval, and the animated flowers of Grandville.[393]

Paalen headed the committee that organized the show - Breton, Paalen, and Moro - and although Breton worked with him from Paris, he did not return to Mexico for the opening.[394] The exhibition had over one hundred works by fifty-one artists from fifteen countries, including Picasso, Chirico, Duchamp, Klee, Picabia, and Kandinsky, besides the first and second generation Surrealists, male and female, and ten Mexican artists.[395] Like the other international Surrealist expos, it also incorporated Surrealist-objects; seven pre-Columbian objects from Diego Rivera's collection; five Oceanic works from Paalen's collection; and photographs. Additionally, as recalled by Inés Amor in her memoirs, and reported by all the newspapers, a spectacle of the "Apparition of the Great Sphinx of the Night" - Isabel Marín, sister-in-law of Diego Rivera - costumed by Paalen as a "nocturnal butterfly" (a metaphor taken from Paalen's oeuvre by Moro in his preface to the exhibition catalogue) took place on the night of the opening.[396] (Fig. 119 and Fig. 63) Amor said that it constituted a virtual "happening" and that the publicity and the works themselves drews flocks of people to the gallery.[397]

Paalen selected the works of the Mexicans, which included Diego and Frida, Agustín Lazo, Carlos Mérida, Guillermo Meza, Manuel Rodríguez Lozano, Roberto Montenegro, Antonio Ruiz, Moreno Villa, and Xavier Villaurruti. These

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were among the most distinguished contemporary artists in Mexico having affinities with international art.[398]

In an interview before the opening of the exhibition, Paalen said that the work of Manuel Alvarez Bravo was a revelation, and that he believed he would be one of the world's great photographers. When asked which Mexican painter most interested him, he said Frida Kahlo.[399] But Paalen's choices of paintings for the exhibition revealed the talent of many other Mexicans. Those most commended by the critics, beside Rivera and Kahlo who had by then become luminaries, included Antonio Ruiz, Carlos Méida, and the newcomer Guillermo Meza. (Figs. 120, 121) Mérida, perhaps the most abstract of all the Mexicans, would collaborate in DYN, contributing, among other things, a page from his edition of lithographs inspired by the ancient book of the Popul-Vuh, containing the Maya myth of the creation.[400] (Figs. 122, 123)

The exhibition catalogue was published in Spanish and English, perhaps because it was expected that the show would also travel to New York.[401] The covers showed a black and white photograph by Manuel Alvarez Bravo printed in mirror fashion forwards and backwards on the front and back covers, respectively. (Fig. 124) Rosalind Krauss has discussed the use of the mirror image as "virtual space"; and the apprehension and confounding of various kinds of signs through mirrors in the work of Brassai.[402] Here Alvarez Bravo's interest in signs and symbols is apparent, and the

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inversion of the image and the text suggest something more than an "other" disembodied space. Rather, there is a reversed, contrary universe - like Breton's "convulsive beauty" that turns things inside out, the aphorism for which was printed on the frontispage of the catalogue: "La Belleza será convulsiva o no será." ("Beauty will be convulsive or else it will cease to be.")

Initially a "Surrealist" image had been commissioned from Alvarez Bravo by Breton. The first image he supplied of a nude - "Good Reputation Sleeping" - was rejected for not being Surrealist enough.[403] The photograph that was used for the cover showed an image which, like its form, is dialectical, if it is not diabolical. It used a motif previously found in the Surrealist repertoire - best-known in Dali's Rainy Day Taxi, an installation at the 1938 Exposition Internationale du Surréalisme at the Galerie des Beaux Arts, of an automobile overgrown with vines. But this image can also be found in a photograph published in one of the Surrealist journals (from which Dali's work took its cue), of a railroad engine engulfed by the vines of a jungle. This theme signified the confrontation of nature and culture, old and new, past and present, representation and perception, life and death. Bravo's image showed vines overtaking the foundation of a building under demolition on the Paseo de la Reforma, the main boulevard of Mexico City. The title of the work, Winter, referred to the dead leaves scattered on the ground. Leaning against the wall was a

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19th-century stained-glass window, which Bravo found at the site and moved into the picture.[404] Bravo's deliberate intervention suggests the concept of "construction" (or, as it were, "deconstruction") as a metaphor for this work.

The window showed a neo-classical image of a young woman in nature, symbolizing the Spring, in typical Art Nouveau fashion, the antithesis of Winter, again following the formula of opposition and inversion, rehearsed throughout Bravo's design. The image has also been interpreted as an encounter between old and new Mexico, the urban and the rural, another permutation of the same theme.[405]

In addition to his cover photograph, another of Alvarez Bravo's photographs was reproduced in the catalogue: a mysterious image of Las Lavanderas Sobreentendidas (The Prudent Laundresses).[406] (Fig. 125) Showing a sheet draped over agave cactus within a landscape, the form of the sheet took on the form of a mountain posed against the cumulus clouds in the sky. The image is veiled and paradoxical, revealing as little as its blatant riddle. It is, once again, a Hegelian reconciliation of opposites into a third entity, which illustrated two of Breton's principles of convulsive beauty: the "erotic-veiled" and the "magical-circumstantial." The latter of these corresponds to the Surrealist concept of "objective chance," those "chance" sightings and "signs" that touch the unconscious and stir the imagination, for which the art of photography has

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tremendous potential.[407] The "erotic-veiled" alluding to the "prudent laundresses," whom we can not see, is meant to be as enticing as it is forbidding. The taboo in another form. Alvarez Bravo's photograph is like Man Ray's humorous and puzzling photograph of Isidore Ducasse - a tribute to the Comte de Lautréamont - a "something" fetishistically wrapped in cloth and string; or Duchamp's ready-made, With Hidden Noise - a ball of twine with something inside lodged between two brass plates, with an anagrammatic aphorism engraved onto the top plate. The images are intended as cryptographs, for the viewer's frustration and delight.

Paalen's foreword for the catalogue made apologies for shipping problems that obviated the possibility of showing a number of important works. But more than the amenities, it showed him to still be totally in accord with Surrealist doctrine, celebrating the "conquest "of the objets surréalistes as:

> time-bombs of the conscience which for several years now have been the consternation of the custom's men, the vexation of collectors, and the rage of critics...[408]

He quoted Breton's 1924 perturbing definition of the "ready-made" and the "poem-object" which "one can defend neither on the grounds of usefulness or pleasantness," and made reference to the invention shared among the Surrealists of the "object-being" or "being-objects...endowed with such tremendous ability to bewilder sensation [that] no other Surrealist weapon has proved more effective."[409] The very

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use of the present tense denotes his complete engagement with these ideas. It may be one of the few times, too, where Paalen actually displayed a sense of humour, black though it may have been. Along these lines the title page of the catalogue advertised "clairvoyant watches," "perfume of the fifth dimension," "radioactive frames" and "burnt invitations."[410]

But, considering the reviews and aware of a similar response to Surrealism in New York, Paalen was moved to make a break with Surrealism. "He wanted to start a new art movement," I was told a number of times in interviews. It now seems that Paalen very deliberately fashioned a program that codified a set of ideas in opposition or contrast to Surrealism, voiced both in DYN and in his artworks. Paalen was not the only Surrealist thus inclined - Matta, Onslow Ford, Seligmann, and other "second-generation" Surrealists in New York were other examples. Together, their efforts would result in an adaptation of Surrealism by the group of painters of the New York School that would come to be known as Abstract Expressionists. But Paalen's voice, with its romantic expressionist roots, yet emphasising pragmatism, spoke to the similar disposition of Motherwell and Newman (and by extension Rothko, Gottlieb, Roszak, Lassaw, et al.).

In his preface for the exhibition catalogue, César Moro vowed his allegiance to two traditions: first, the modernism initiated by "Pablo Picasso, the peerless...[under the] improper name of cubism"; second, Surrealism, negotiated

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through the "fumes" of Dada. As homage and laud to the movement, the preface dangerously flaunted blood and violence - "the explosion of a fantastic grenade...a crater spouting wonders...the naked bloody tree...the will to master and the conquest of man over the shifting field of the spirit...the thick trail of blood writing the magic word, Surrealism" - while it denounced the two World Wars, seeing them as more or less interruptions of the artistic project.[411] It also denounced Louis Aragon's "treason" of defection to the Communist party, deeming he had fallen "into the lowest moral level of a provoker in the service of the darkness and confusion required to start docile masses on a new slaughter in which...imperialisms destroy one another."[412]

Voicing the same Latin American pride that had previously informed "Mexicanidad," in a vision of the New World, Moro called for its solidarity with Surrealism:

> For the first time in centuries we witness a heavenly combustion in Mexico. A thousand tokens mingle and are seen in the conjugation of constellations which renew the brilliant precolumbian night. The most pure night of the new continent where great dream potentialities made the powerful jaws of civilizations in Mexico and Peru clash together. Countries which keep, in spite of the invasion of the Spanish barbarians and their followers of today, a thousand luminous points which must join very soon with the line of fire of international surrealism.[413]

Together with the catalogue listing Frida and Diego among the Surrealists, Moro's arrogant indulgent rhetoric must have invited the barbs of the Mexican critics. His

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description of "the dribbling and shapeless heads of the intellectual rabble," could not have won him many friends, nor his hyperbolic imagery of "flowers bigger than hounds and smaller than the sky" to characterize the "Surrealist adventure." The somewhat juvenile tone of Surrealist politics, its refusal to move on to more than "dead protests" as one critic put it, may, in the final analysis, have neutralized its virtues and its authority.[414] One of those virtues were the works themselves, some evidence of which was reproduced in the catalogue, as effective at times as the pronouncements were not. Another virtue, obscured by the superfluous prose, was its poetry.

Although Diego did not identify himself with Surrealism, he made two paintings especially for the exhibition, one of which, the portrait of Maja Guarini, Inés Amor says might be seen as Surrealist by virtue of the skeleton that she holds in her lap.[415] If that does not suffice, however (and it very well may not), their titles are certainly Surrealist: Majandragora Aracnilectrosfera en Sonrisa (1939), and Minervegtanimortvida (1939).[416] Frida also painted two large canvases for the exhibition, the largest she had ever made (nearly 8 x 10'), and today among the most renowned: The Two Fridas (1939), which Fernando Gamboa, then director of the Museo de Arte Moderno, managed to purchase for the Museum, after it went begging for a buyer;[417] and The Wounded Table which, since it was also

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not purchased, Frida loaned to the Hermitage and never saw again. To this day it is still lost.[418]

The inclusion of Diego and Frida in the list of Surrealists may have reflected a split that had already occurred between Diego and Siqueros, and Orozco, the original Mexican Muralists. Ultimately, this divided the ranks of Mexican artists into figurative and abstract, national and international camps, and anticipated Siqueros' alleged involvement in the assassination of Trotsky.

There is little information about the events in Paalen's life in the years between the Exposición and the start-up of DYN. Inés Amor says that he devoted a great deal of time to helping both Alice Rahon Paalen and Eva Sulzer, and collaborating with Moro.[419] It is evident, as DYN would show two years hence, that Paalen was immersing himself in Mexican and pre-Columbian art and culture. At this point, he began making trips to excavated sites, and Eva Sulzer documented them with photographs.[420]

DYN itself was a huge undertaking and, as later recounted by his close friend, Jacqueline Johnson (wife of Gordon Onslow Ford), occupied a great deal of his time and energy:

> "All that I am doing now...," he wrote in a letter of 1945, with a certain impatient humour paraphrasing a famous phrase of André Breton: "All that I am doing now is to the end that one day it will not be said of me 'He was only an artist.'" In other letters a little before then and afterward, a familiar plaint: "I have not been able to paint for two years,"..."I have not painted for the last month."

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> Yet in bringing his energy to bear on the time-consuming task of publication he remained, even so, an artist in the creation of his magazine DYN. It was the most beautiful of the war years, and in every sense a contribution to thought: for conception, for freshness in an original direction of material discovered and presented for the first time in a conjunction of interests and meaning: art, archeology, science, writing; and finally for inspired editing and meticulous presentation. New painting, his own and that of others, appeared in coloured reproduction, together with drawings and photographs of discoveries, especially of the Amerindian archaic and primitive cultures.[421]

## I. THE SECOND WAVE - "AMERICANISM" AND "PRE-COLUMBIANISM" IN NEW YORK, THE 1940S

### 1. The Museum of Modern Art and René d'Harnoncourt: "Twenty Centuries of Mexican Art," 1940 and "Indian Art of the United States," 1941

"Twenty Centuries of Mexican Art" was the second major exhibition dealing with Mexico to open in New York. According to one writer, in organizing "Mexican Arts," the first major exhibition in 1930, d'Harnoncourt had helped Ambassador Dwight Morrow "cultivate the Mexican muralists at the time when "Mexico's oil nationalism threatened Rockefeller oil interests."[422]

Near the end of the Mexican Revolutionary Period a crisis occurred involving the nationalization of Mexican assets and resources. United States investors felt their property so threatened by this that:

> ...the two countries came close to war in March 1916, when President Wilson dispatched troops to Mexico to disperse forces of Poncho Villa. Even after the withdrawal of the troops in 1917 there were renewed demands for a rupture of diplomatic relations or intervention because of "damages and

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> outrages" against American citizens and property in Mexico.[423]

Article 27 of the 1917 post-revolutionary Mexican Constitution "imposed limitations on private property, especially mineral rights," specifying that "foreigners who exploited mineral deposits were to have no recourse to their own governments in disputes with Mexico."[424] Theoretically, the Article stipulated that anything below the soil was nationally owned, but had in mind a greater interest in inhibiting any further exploration and drilling, rather than expropriating already-established businesses.[425] By the late 1920s and into the 1930s, relations with Mexico improved, partly through diplomacy, but also, apparently, due to a "waning of revolutionary momentum." Without rejecting the revolutionary terms of the 1917 Constitution, the governments of those years showed "little interest in implementing the redistributive features of that document," and a greater desire "to develop Mexico as a modern state...to take her proper place among the civilized countries of the world."[426] Thus it benefited all foreign interests to court Mexico and its people through as many channels as possible. Standard Oil was no exception and cultural relations were one of the most effective means of stimulating good international relations. It is interesting that just as relations with Mexico were negotiated through the cultural agency of the museum in the "Mexican Arts" exhibition of 1930, and "Twenty Centuries of

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Mexican Art," in 1940, the 1990 "Thirty Centuries of Mexican Art" exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum marked a new initiative in Mexican/American economic and foreign relations (NAFTA), and certainly referenced its predecessors.[427]

"Twenty Centuries of Mexican Art" and such other exhibitions at MoMA in the 1940s were undoubtedly due to Rockefeller family interests and participation on the Board of the Museum of Modern Art. The Museum had been founded by Abby Aldrich Rockefeller and was built on Rockefeller land. "Twenty Centuries" was, in fact, a project of Nelson Rockefeller, president of the Museum of Modern Art from 1939 to 1941, until he left to become Roosevelt's Coordinator of the Office of Inter-American Affairs. He served as Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs thereafter, returning to the presidency of MoMA in 1946.[428]

The exhibition was ambitious, organized in cooperation with the Mexican government, showing not only Mexican folk art, but pre-Columbian, colonial, and modern art as well. Bi-lingual texts by four of Mexico's most important scholars covered the spectrum. Alfonso Caso, Director of the National Institute of Anthropology, wrote on pre-Spanish art;[429] Manuel Toussaint, Director of the Institute of Esthetic Research, wrote on colonial art; Roberto Montenegro, former director of the first museum of popular art, wrote on folk art; and Miguel Covarrubias, "famous caricaturist and painter," wrote on modern art.[430] As the

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foreword and the introduction to the catalogue explained, nothing on so large a scale had ever before been accomplished in display of Mexican art.[431]

The spirit of education that had predominated in Mexico for two decades obviously guided this exhibition as well, for the catalogue was a model of accessibility and information. It presented maps of folk art production centers and pre-Spanish tribal cultures throughout Mexico, the latter drawn in an appealing graphic style by Covarrubias. A time line was also provided for the pre-Spanish cultures, designating the various "horizons" of "Archaic" and "Olmecan" cultures from 100 BC to the Conquest, showing the development of each cultural group from its earliest to its latest stages.

Similarly, a chronological chart was provided for colonial art in Mexico from the conquest to the early 19th century, with an art historical breakdown of periods, corresponding to style and political horizon. Thus there were the periods of Spanish Conquest-Middle Ages; Colonization-Renaissance; Nationalism-Baroque; and Ideas of Independence-Academism.[432]

That Mexican art was a mixture of two different cultures, producing a unique national style from this fusion, was openly acknowledged, emphasizing that when the Spaniards arrived in Mexico they found not "sparse and scattered tribes, still living in what was virtually the Stone Age," but:

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> civilizations which astounded them as much by their complex organization and culture as by their fabulous wealth, elaborate art, and magnificent architecture.[433]

So said, it was evident that Mexico had flourished in the Baroque period, retained its indigenous character through the popular arts in the years of Independence and Revolution, and experienced an artistic renaissance in the modern period after the Revolution. For all that, as the "Introduction" by Antonio Castro Leal explained, the place of Mexico in art history had been overlooked in the West, seeming "alien" to aesthetic traditions until the modern period. With the broadening of the canon and contemporary archaeological research, a new understanding of the art was possible: "from the Olmec figurines to the creations of Orozco," as well as a reevaluation of the Mexican Baroque, an inspired amalgam of native popular art and Spanish Baroque.[434] All of this contributed to recognition of Mexico as a major artistic center of the world.

The catalogue listed 176 objects, among which were some of the finest artifacts from Mexico's own national collections. The catalogue, written entirely by Mexican scholars, was prepared and printed in Mexico. Black and white annotated plates accompanied it. Every painter, historical and modern, was given a short biographical sketch at the end, with representative works reproduced.

Leal's introduction gave a summary of each section of the exhibition. The history of Pre-Spanish art and culture

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was considered the most speculative, but the indigenous roots "independent of any European and Oriental influences" were stressed, in line with the strongly nationalistic tone of the exhibition and Mexican art itself.[435] Also stressed was the "modernism" of the pre-Columbian objects, seen as precursors to the masterpieces of modern art:

> There are Tarascan statuettes that anticipate the essential and drastic simplicity of Brancusi, and Totonac masks that recall the poignant mortality which haunted Lehmbruck. The reclining figure of Chac-mool seems to forecast the lines of "The Mountains" by the English sculptor Henry Moore.[436]

Alfonso Caso's text interpreted the symbolism of many of these objects, recounting many myths from the cosmologies of ancient Mexico. Of the Mexican Baroque, Caso noted that a sometimes subtle, sometimes "rude," distortion of traditional forms, became a new kind of Indian-Spanish expression, commencing with the adaptation of the so-called "plateresque style, banished from Spain," and climaxing in the so-called "churrigueresque" style of Mexico.[437]

Mural painting was defined within the social and political context of Mexican history, from the "Liberal flood" that swept away Maximillian's Empire, through the overthrow of the dictatorship of Diaz with the Revolution. Again, it was seen as a unique synthesis of indigenous and Spanish, expelling the last traces of the academy, and imbued with the distinct "Mexican Soul," whose religious passion of the pre-Hispanic and Colonial periods was matched in kind by the social fervor of the Modern period and the

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muralist movement. Mexican art, Leal said, while entirely capable of illusionism, used it primarily on a symbolic basis, in which seemingly formal excursions and elaborate decoration "conveyed messages contained in forms charged with meaning" that "obey a secret discipline"; where monumentality and "minuteness" were revered on an identical basis; and where delicacy and violence lived side by side as signs of a "profound and ancient sorrow, which nourishe[d] the flowers of laughter and irony."[438] These "contradictions," equally perceived by Breton in his writings on Mexico, were said, by Leal, to be the "essence of our art and the soul of our people."[439] It thus appears that the Mexican mystique was understood not only by outsiders, but by even its own natives, in starkly contrasting terms. A subtext of the catalogue was the assertion of an innate and superior Mexican aesthetic and spiritual sensibility and ability, moved by justice and passion, as evident in the products of its art.

### 2. "Indian Art of the United States" - 1941

As previously mentioned, two years after the Golden Gate International Exposition exhibition of "Indian Art of North America," the landmark "Indian Art of the United States" exhibition was organized by d'Harnoncourt and Frederic Douglas for MoMA.[440] Devoted completely to North American arts, it set a new standard for exhibition of "primitive" art, combining instruction and aesthetics,

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ethnology and art, as never before. Essentially, the Golden Gate exhibition was the foundation for "Indian Art," on which d'Harnoncourt spent two years in preparation.[441] In California, d'Harnoncourt tried out new display techniques, which he and IACB architect Henry Klumb conceived. They took into consideration such problems as traffic flow and signage, visual aids such as wall-size maps and charts, viewers' positions and "vistas," and the development of psychological impact through dramatic design, lighting, and installation. At MoMA, d'Harnoncourt simulated regional and tribal environments from a facsimile of a dimly-lit kiva with reproductions of Pueblo mural paintings, to a dramatically lit "surrealist forest" of totem poles inside the museum, "to suggest the dark forest interiors from whence [sic] they originally came."[442] These innovations were a great success;[443] they added to the aesthetic and ethnological paradigms, that of theater. (Fig. 125)

The double agenda of the reforms of the Indian New Deal Act, which d'Harnoncourt had been mandated to implement - paternalistic but well-meaning efforts to aid Native Americans - resulted in handsomely designed exhibitions, which transformed ritual and utilitarian objects into appealing commodities for consumption, or objects for aesthetic appreciation and acquisition. An attempt at the contextualization of artifacts of "living" culture was compromised by the contemporary packaging of the show necessary for marketing purposes - a style that

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d'Harnoncourt himself called "Fifth Avenue in the very best sense of the word."[444] An entire section of the catalogue was devoted to "Indian Art for Modern Living," à la Frances Flynn Paine's interior design scheme for her Mexican Art Corporation. This presentation was light-years away from the "volkish" display of the "Mexican Arts" exhibition, for which d'Harnoncourt had also won praise; but the paradigm of interior design and decor had applied in "Mexican Arts" as well.[445]

In the introduction to the Indian Art catalogue, Douglas and d'Harnoncourt discussed the negative perception of Native Americans which their exhibition and the Congressional New Deal attempted to counter, denouncing earlier policies in "violation of intrinsic human rights...[and] values which could never be replaced."[446] The preface to the Indian Art catalogue was written by d'Harnoncourt, but signed by Eleanor Roosevelt, and reflected the romanticism and nationalism that attached itself to the cause of Native Americans. It valorized Native Americans, and stated:

> In appraising the Indian's past and present achievements we realize not only that his heritage constitutes part of the artistic and spiritual wealth of this country, but also that the Indian people of today have a contribution to make toward the America of the future.[447]

Aldona Jonaitis has noted that even at this late date, d'Harnoncourt and Douglas felt that they still had to prove the value of this art to the public and went to great lengths to justify, explain, and choose examples that would

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be acceptable to Western "realist"-cultivated taste.[448] Even so, she stated that the show was the first to reach a significantly large audience, making inroads into a changing perception of Native American art, if not individuals and culture itself.[449]

D'Harnoncourt was primarily responsible for the contents of the catalogue, which included short essays on "Tribal Traditions and Progress," "Indian Art," "Indian Origins and History," and "Color in Indian Art," as introduction to the "Prehistoric" and "Living Traditions" within.[450] The bulk of the catalogue consisted of plate upon plate of artifacts, handsomely reproduced and accompanied by Douglas' captions, giving details of tribe or culture, region, history, function, technique, materials, and style or design. But, following d'Harnoncourt's disavowal in the introduction, it steered away from iconographic interpretation, saying that it was too complex a matter to approach. Certainly d'Harnoncourt would have been aware of Spinden's contributions in that respect. As Rushing summarizes, stress was laid on the aesthetic qualities - color, form, designs - of the objects and their affinity with modern taste and life.[451]

His approach thus served to appropriate "Indian" art to the modernist agenda and present "Indian" culture as seen through the eyes of New York. At the same time, there was evidence that the ideological themes which had made their appearance in all the earlier exhibitions (and a few new

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ones), had now become leitmotifs of the reception of Native American art and culture. An innate "Americanism," characterized by "basic soundness and vigor," "strength of tradition," "unexplored wealth of forms" and "close relationship to the land,"[452] would serve as a proud new source for American nationalism, as would a "spirituality," inspired by Jungian theory.[453] The exhibition and its catalogue were a huge critical and popular success. Rushing indicates that all of the New York School were tremendously impressed by this exhibition. It is no small wonder why.

Although the focus was on United States nationalism in this catalogue, in a subsequent version, d'Harnoncourt explained that he believed Native American Art was a cultural continuum of all the Americas, North and South, and that boundaries were actually meaningless in the final analysis.[454] Additionally, his MoMA essay on "Indian Origins and History" opened with reference to the common origin of all "North and South American Indians" in Asia.[455] If this unity of the Americas was not a theme accented in the New York showing, it would become an important thesis in Paalen's writings in DYN the following year. Paalen would stress not only the unity of the Americas, but of Old and New World "totemism," and by way of those shared mythologies, the "universality" of all cultures, in the manner of Jungian theory.

The exhibition was remounted in a number of cities;[456] in 1943 it was shown in Mexico City under the auspices of

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the National Indian Institute, U.S. Department of the Interior. As acknowledged at the front of the catalogue, El Arte del Indio en Los Estados Unidos reproduced in translation "many passages of the introduction originally written by señor d'Harnoncourt" for the MoMA catalogue, and was illustrated with photographs by Brett Weston.[457] One of these showed the dramatic "dark forest" of totem poles, as it had appeared at the Golden Gate International Exposition in 1939, making a profound imprint on the imagination. (Fig. 125) One can understand why writers, reviewing the New York showing, would have associated these images with the supernatural and Surrealism, even though d'Harnoncourt tried to ward off associations with mysticism in his essay:

> Another example of misinterpretation of the Indian artist's motives for choosing certain forms is the popular belief that the strange double animals seen so frequently in Northwest Coast art were made to represent mythical monsters. Actually they are just a representation of the two sides of one and the same animal, and illustrate a tendency toward realism, not a desire to express mystic powers. The Northwest Coast people always considered all aspects of their model and used this device to give a complete rendering of their subject when they portrayed it on a two-dimensional plane.[458]

While of interest, this sort of repudiation of the supernatural was more concerned with disassociating Native America from the "alien" and "exotic," and from Surrealism, than with the realities of Native American belief itself. As observed by Aldona Jonaitis, each era has its own gestalt with respect to how it chooses to interpret the same

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material. So, for instance, anthropology of the 1920s had a significantly different approach than anthropology of the 1930s and, in turn, the 1940s, 1950s, and so forth:

> before the thirties, an anthropologist would have informed us about its use and social meaning, while in the 1940s, an artist would have praised its esthetic merit....during the thirties and forties, some writers, believing a purely functional analysis of the hammer to be inadequate would have discussed it in deeply mystical and psychological terms. For them, such a "totemic" article expressed universal mythic concerns and reflected an early stage in the development of human consciousness.[459]

While d'Harnoncourt, like Collier, Sloan, La Farge, Spinden, and their entire generation, were willing to accept the validity of the "universal mythic concerns" and the reflection of an "early stage in the development of human consciousness," in their bid for the Americanness of Native American art, they were eager to dissassociate it with any connections to the supernatural or European modernism. Jean Charlot, devoid of any similar xenophobic motives, and more familiar with the living tradition of indigenous belief, writing for The Nation, on the other hand, would remark that "Chilkat blankets were admired by early Cubists as the living tradition onto which their own plastic inventions were grafted"; and that "the deepest thrust of the Indian mind, the language it chooses to exalt its clan pride, wield magic power, or address the gods, is the language of abstract art."[460] It may be of use to consider what the philosopher Isaiah Berlin called our "temporal chauvinism" (as pertinent as the given "cultural" chauvinism of a group)

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- our conviction that what we believe at a given historic moment is very much dictated by the zeitgeist of that time.[461] That it is difficult for the West to believe in the so-called supernatural, preferring, instead, to call it "primitive" or "magical thinking," rather than acknowledging the power of thought (or mind over matter), as does, for instance, quantum physics; or acknowledging the power and magic of Nature, as do aboriginal cultures, is really a consequence of our own cultural and temporal chauvinism, and the cause of our "spiritual paucity" (as André Breton once said). This would be Paalen's message in his "Philosophy of the Possible." Although the Progressive Age believed that the West lacked a sense of spirituality, community, and even, perhaps, wonder at everything outside of Man and his control of Nature and everything within its province, including humanity itself, no solution appeared to implement the realities their philosophy could imagine.

Judging from correspondence, by 1944 Paalen and René d'Harnoncourt, had become friends. Paalen sent him a copy of the "Amerindian" number of DYN. In response, d'Harnoncourt wrote to Paalen:

> This issue of your magazine is an outstanding contribution to the knowledge of American Indian art and will, I am sure, create a great deal of interest among people who either ignored the existence of important esthetic values in indigenous New World art or felt self-conscious about it. I particularly admired the great care that was given to the execution and reproduction of the illustrations that will give people a real idea of the superb quality of the various pieces.[462]

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By 1945, in a letter to Gordon Onslow Ford, Paalen would recommend the exhibition "El Arte Indígena de Norte América," the Mexican showing of "Indian Art," in which works from his own collection of Northwest Coast objects were featured:[463]

> The same month, opening at the Museum here, is a very beautiful exhibition of Indian Art of North America with many things brought together from the U.S.A.; arranged - and very excellently arranged, by Covarrubias and d'Harnoncourt. For me, it is one of the most stimulating exhibitions that I have seen (I have already seen everything there, and I am going to go many more times to improve my collection of the North-West.) This is worth making an effort to see, it is one of the greatest revelations (there is a copy of prehistoric grotto paintings of Utah 20 metres long), above all if you have not seen an exhibition of this sort in San Francisco and in New York. Moreover, there was an interesting exhibition of masks there with some [examples] like those of Picasso.[464]

"El Arte Indígena" opened in Mexico City at the Museo Nacional Antropologia in March 1945. The exhibition was co-sponsored by the Mexican Instituto Nacional de Antropologia e Historia, the Smithsonian Institution, and the Instituto Mexicano-Norteamericano de Relaciones Culturales. The title "Indigenous Art of North America," reflected the original title of the exhibition at the Golden Gate International Exposition, which d'Harnoncourt changed when the exhibition opened at MoMA, in keeping with the venue and the agenda of establishing a cultural geneaology for the United States.[465]

Correspondence between d'Harnoncourt and Paalen continued. Another letter of January 8, [n.d.], was written when

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d'Harnoncourt was Director of the Museum as the museum letterhead shows. It thanked Paalen for his gift of a pre-Columbian clay figure - an "hombre sanctuario" or a "Dios sanctuario" - and regretted that "present international problems are making life very difficult and I have to spend most of my time in Washington...".[466] This would have been after 1949 (when d'Harnoncourt was appointed Director) and confirms both the ongoing friendship of the two men, the continued relevance of contact between Mexico and the United States, and the close associations between MoMA and the United States Government, through the Rockefeller connection. By 1947 the National Gallery had opened its own exhibition of "Indigenous Art of the Americas,"[467] featuring the collection of Robert Woods Bliss.

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**NOTES**

1. Leonor Morales, WP: Introductor, 24.

2. Ibid.

3. Leonor Morales, WP: Introductor, 24: ["De Canada y Alaska, los Paalen y Eva Sulzer pasaron a San Francisco California, en donde se presentaba una exposición mundial, que incluía una pequeña selección del arte de los indios de Nuevo Mexico. En la ciudad californiana los sorprendió el inicio de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, el 10 de septiembre. Immmediatamente resolvieron trasladarse a México. Llegaron a la capital el 7 de septiembre de 1939."] This report is very problematic, from the skewed dates, to the account of what they saw at the Expo, to their "surprise" at the outbreak of the Second World War. Furthermore, no documentation of the source of this information is provided by Morales.

4. Interview with Mme. Geo Dupin, Meudon, France, November 25, 1990.

5. Inés Amor - Una mujer en el arte Mexicano, Memorias de Inés Amor, Jorge Alberto Manrique and Teresa del Conde, eds. (México: UNAM, 1987), 95-100.

6. Helen Delpar, The Enormous Vogue of Things Mexican: Cultural Relations between the United States and Mexico, 1920-1935 (Tuscaloosa and London: Univ. of Alabama Press, 1992), 7.

7. Ibid., 8.

8. Ibid., 7-9.

9. By the 1950s, in the post-war period, this sensibility would be manifest in such concepts as "The Family of Man," a major photographic exhibition organized at the Museum of Modern Art, to reflect this sympathy.

10. Kirk Varnedoe, "Abstract Expressionism," in Rubin, ed. "Primitivism," , 624.

11. Delpar, Enormous Vogue, viii-x.

12. Varnedoe, "Abstract Expressionism," 614-59, passim. Rushing, "Native American Art," 343-44, discusses nationalism, citing Dore Ashton's (1972) and Robert Hobbs' (1978) early mention of this issue. While all three authors referred to Paalen, and Varnedoe, in fact, seems to have reviewed the DYN 4-5 issue, neither of them examine Paalen's

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oeuvre in enough depth to uncover its relationship to Abstract Expressionism.

13. Delpar, Enormous Vogue, 20-37 and passim. She indicates that "from the start of the [Mexican] revolution in 1910, periodicals such as the Appeal to Reason, the Masses, and Mother Earth, carried reports of events in Mexico," with articles by such famous journalists as John Reed and Lincoln Steffens.

14. Ibid., 103; and Miguel Angel Fernandez, "New Discoveries in the Temple of the Sun in Palenque," DYN 4-5: 55-58.

15. Ibid., 18.

16. Ibid., 83-85; and Caso, "The Codices of Azoyu," DYN 4-5: 3-6. Paalen's library contained two books by Caso, Exploraciones en Oaxaca (Mexico: Inst. Panamericano de Geog. e Historia, 1938); and The Religion of the Aztecs (Mexico: Edit. Fray B. de Sahagun, n.d.).

17. Ibid., 73.

18. Ibid., 46.

19. The New York Times, November 30, 1924, sec. 2: 6; and ibid., 19.

20. See discussion in Part IV.

21. See also, Kubler, Esthetic Recognition of Ancient American Art (New Haven: Yale, 1991), 185-86, on Gamio.

22. Delpar, Enormous Vogue, 97 and 113-114. See, also, Kubler's entry on Seler in Esthetic Recognition, 164-69.

23. "Xiuhtecuhtli, Aztec Poem," English trans. of Eduard Seler's version of his Fray Bernardino de Sahagun edition (Stuttgart: Strecker and Schroeder, MCMXXVII), DYN 4-5: 62-64. See, also, the review of Coecilie Seler-Sach's article for Cahiers d'art, ahead.

24. Idols Behind Altars (New York: Payson and Clark, 1929). In Mexico City in the 1920s and 30s, Brenner edited the magazine Mexico Today, a vehicle of the international art community. Brenner also wrote The Wind that Swept Mexico: A History of the Mexican Revolution 1910-1942. A dissertation on Brenner is being written by her daughter, Susannah Glusker. Author interviewed Glusker in Mexico City, October 5, 1991 and April 4, 1994.

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25. Nuttall was responsible for publishing a facsimile of one of the few ancient Mexican codices to survive and be sent back to Europe in the 16th century. Called Codex Nuttall after her, Paalen had a copy of this in his library, as well as The Dresden Codex. Cf. Tepoztlan Library List: Zelia Nuttall, Codex Nuttall (Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, 1902); and William Gates, The Dresden Codex (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1932). Other codices in Paalen's library included the Societé des Americanistes, Codex Mexicanus (Bibliotheque National de Paris, n.d.); Adrian Recinos', trans., Popol-Vuh (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1947); Antonio and Carlos Villacorta, Codices Mayas: Dresden, Peresiano, Tro-Cortesiano (Guatemala, C.A.: Tipografia Nacional, 1930); and Tira de la Peregrinacion. Codice (Mexico: Lib. Anticuaria G.M. Echaniz, 1944). Also among Paalen's papers was an incomplete copy of a study by Nuttall, "The Fundamental Principles of Old and New World Civilizations," Archaeol. and Ethnol. Papers of the Peabody Museum (Cambridge: March, 1901), See Kubler, Esthetic Recognition, 185-86 on Nuttall and Gamio.

26. Delpar, Enormous Vogue, 96 and 114.

27. Author's telephone interview with Edward Renouf, August 17, 1990.

28. Delpar, Enormous Vogue, Chapter 1, "Political Pilgrims in the 'New Mexico': Cultural Relations, 1920-27." As discussed throughout this chapter, leftists and writers were among the first to arrive in Mexico during this period, but I have cited Weston and Modotti, since they are visual artists. On American expatriate artists in Mexico see Jay Oles, South of the Border: Mexico in the American Imagination (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993).

29. Delpar, Enormous Vogue, 55.

30. Robert Hobbs, "Early Abstract Expressionism: A Concern with the Unknown Within," 14, in Hobbs and Levin, Abstract Expressionism: The Formative Years, exhib. cat.

31. Delpar, Enormous Vogue, 42.

32. Ibid., vii and 162.

33. Ibid., Chapter 1; Chapter 2, "The Mexican Vogue at Its Peak," passim; and Chapter 4, "The Mexican Art Invasion."

34. Ibid., 161.

35. Ibid.

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36. Valerie Fletcher, Crosscurrents of Modernism: Four Latin American Pioneers, exhib. cat., Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992).

37. Delpar, Enormous Vogue, 139-56, discusses Mexican artists, their exhibitions, and critical reception, in New York.

38. Ibid., 157-64. See also Laurance Hurlburt, The Mexican Muralists in the United States (Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1989).

39. Delpar, Enormous Vogue, 163, quotes contemporary critics like Emily Genauer and John Canaday, who saw the muralists in the late 1940s as "gifted but bombastic, illustrative, rhetorical painters, more energetic than truly creative;" and cites Laurance Hurlburt's belief that the "anticommunist fervor associated with the Cold War created an artistic environment hostile to the collectivist, didactic, and nationalist concerns at the root of Mexican muralism."

40. Clifford, Predicament, 1 ff.

41. Ibid., 56.

42. Ibid., 61 and 122.

43. See Part II above. See, also, Evan Maurer, "In Quest," 39-44.

44. Claude Lévi-Strauss, "French Sociology," in Twentieth-Century Sociology (New York: Philosophical Library, 1945), 503-07; quoted by Clifford, Predicament, 128.

45. Clifford, Predicament, 62-63.

46. Ibid., 131.

47. Ibid. 127.

48. Robert Goldwater, Primitivism, 318.

49. Lloyd Goodrich, "Ancient American Art in Paris," The Arts 14 (1928): 44-46.

50. Clifford, Predicament, 129-130.

51. Ibid., 129 and 62-63.

52. See Helena Lewis, The Politics of Surrealism, for a full study of Surrealist cultural politics in the 1920s.

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53. Clifford, Predicament, 6-7.

54. Ibid., 26-30 ff.

55. Ibid., 10.

56. Ibid., 131.

57. Elizabeth A. Williams, "Art and Artifact at the Trocadero: Ars Americana and the Primitivist Revolution," in Objects and Others, George W. Stocking, Jr., ed., History of Anthropology, Vol. 3 (University of Wisconsin Press: 1985), 144-66; and James Clifford, "On Ethnographic Surrealism," Journal of the Society for Comparative Study of Society and History (1981): 539-64.

58. Michel Leiris, "Picasso's Recent Canvases," Documents I, 1 (1929).

59. Michel Leiris, "Alberto Giacometti, " Documents I, 4 (1929). See Krauss, "Giacometti," in "Primitvism", Rubin, ed., for the sculptor's relationship to Bataille and the "Documents" group

60. Carl Einstein, Negerplastik (Leipzig: Verlag Weissenbucher, 1915); and "André Masson étude ethnologie," Documents I, 2 (1929): 93-105, mentioned in Part II for its parallels with Paalen's ideas. Paalen had Documents in his library, as well as LRS, SASDLR, and Minotaure, discussed below.

61. On Surrealism's model in La Nature for their journals see Ades, Dada and Surrealism Reviewed, 189-90. Further discussion of their "scientific poetry" and scientizing conceptions are in Part IV.

62. See, for instance, the title pages of VVV, nos. 1, 2/3, and 4.

63. Georges Bataille, L'art Pre-Columbien: L'amerique avant Christophe Columbus (Paris: Les Beaux Arts, 1928).

64. Georges Henri Rivière and Alfred Métraux, eds., Les arts anciens de l'Amérique, exhib. cat., Musée des Arts décoratifs, Musée du Louvre (Paris: Les Éditions G. Van Oest, 1928), vii-viii.

65. WP, "Book Reviews: Les Origines de l'homme Américain" by Paul Rivet," DYN 4-5 (December 1943): 78. The International Congress of Americanists had its first meetings in Nancy in 1875, and the oldest and most active branch of the Society of Americanists founded by Rivet, carried on its research in the Musée de l'Homme. Paalen's

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library contained an undated facsimile of the Codex Mexicanus published by the Society, as well as numerous volumes of the Journal de la Societé des Americanistes (Paris: Au Siege de la Societé, 1951-58). No doubt he had read the journal in Paris before his exile.

66. Williams, "Art and Artifact," in Objects and Others, Stocking, ed., 163.

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid. Williams also judges, based on the presentations of Goldwater in Primitivism in Modern Art, that "pre-Columbian art never was central to the 'primitivist revolution,'" a term coined by Goldwater therein. Rubin's study, which almost entirely excludes New World cultures, has been significantly updated by recent studies like Barbara Braun's "Henry Moore and Pre-Columbian Art," RES 17/18 (Spring/Autumn 89): 158-97; and her recent book Pre-Columbian Art in the Post-Columbian World (New York: Abrams, 1993). Additionally, one of the aims of the present dissertation is to revise that assumption, partly on the basis of redefining "avant-garde" to include the modernism of Mexican muralismo. Braun's "Rufino Tamayo: Indigenous or Cosmopolitan Painter?" Art Criticism I, 4 (1981): 52-67, begins to pose that problem.

69. Les arts anciens de l'Amérique, vii.

70. Ibid., ix-x: ["Nous laissons volontairement de côté le problème des origines et celui des migrations asiatiques et océaniennies qui, au point de vue des formes d'art, n'eurent qu'une influence assez faible sur les productions éxposées. C'est donc de l'ars americana qu'il sera question avant tout."] Diffusionists argued for Old World, often Asian, origins for American culture, whereas anti-diffusionists on the basis of logic and documentation (or lack thereof) maintained there were autochthonous beginnings.

71. Ibid.: ["...par une réunion d'objets anciens soigneusement choisis, faire embrasser d'un coup d'oeil ce que fut l'arts des Indiens d'Amérique, avant que l'Europe ne soit venue troubler leurs conceptions et substituer plus ou moins ses production aux leurs."]

72. Ibid., ix-x: ["Certains pourront objecter qu'en raison du caractére souvent rituel ou simplement utilitaire des piéces choisies, l'Exposition empiète sur le domaine de l'ethnographie, et ce sera vrai: mais, outre que l'esthétique dans une acception large appartient à cette science où elle occupe même un place de choix, rien ne paraît plus légitime que de grouper des objets en envisageant surtour leurs formes artistiques, etc., etc."]

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73. D'Harcourt was "coauthor of an acclaimed work on Peruvian ceramics." Williams, "Art and Artifact," 146-166.

74. Ibid., gives a history of the larger context of reception of Ars Americana within the anthropological field, a reception ambiguous in its judgment of the aesthetic value of Pre-Columbian art until the "primitivist revolution," which was "a process set in motion by avant-garde artists who appear to have been little indebted to previous ethnographic labors among the 'primitive arts.'" Cf., 146-148 and ff.

75. Les arts anciens, x-xi.

76. Ibid., x-xi: ["les Aztéques...leurs monuments pyramidaux ornés d'effigies divines sculptées, leurs masques de pierre dure, leurs torches funéraires et leurs vases de terre cuite;...les Mayas-Quichés, avec les bas-reliefs des revêtments de leur temples, les représentations de leurs dieux gravées sur de grandes stèles monolithes et leurs coupes d'albâtres incisées; en Colombie et dans l'isthme, les peuples chibchas, avec leur céramique et surtour leurs pièces d'orfévrerie repoussée ou filigranée; enfin...sous le joug despotique des Incas, avec leur incomparable céramique, leur merveilleux tissus recouverts de plumes et leurs fines tapisseries."]

77. Ibid.

78. Ibid., xi.

79. Goodrich, "Ancient American Art in Paris": 44.

80. Ibid.

81. Tristan Tzara, "A Propos de l'art PréColombien," Cahiers d'art III, 4 (1928): 170-72.

82. Ibid., 170: ["...il nous est aisé de croire que leur représentation est une idéalisation. Ce n'est pas la reproduction imitative que l'homme primitif a voulu réaliser, mais le symbole, qui dans la perfection devenue rite ou religion, correspondrait à l'idée que nous nous faisons de la beauté. Mais l'objet par sa réalité, devient lui-même sacré, entier: l'objet, la réalité. L'idée que l'a engendré disparaît aussitôt que l'objet a pris réalite."]

83. Ibid.: ["Le myth se déploie avec la régularité d'une fleur qui pousse. La similitude qui existe entre les lois de croissance de l'esprit et celles des faunes et des flores, est une douce consolation pour ceux qui connaissent leur parenté avec la poussière et savent y retourner en toute quiétude."]

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84. Coecilie Seler-Sachs, "L'Architecture et la Sculpture Chez Les Aztéques," Cahiers d'art IV, 10 (1929): 457-64.

85. Ibid.:["Depuis la conquête du Mexique par les Espagnols, ceux-ci se sont appliqués à extirper la civilisation qu'ils y trouvérent et á laquelle ils restèrent complétement fermés. Mais s'ils ont réussi (non pas entièrement toutefois) dans le domaine spirituel, une large part des réalisations matérielles de cette civilisation aztéque, ruines de temples, palais, fortifications, figures de pierre, argile, métal, os, coquillages, travaux en plumes, écriture figurative, échappa à la destruction et suffit à nous donner une haute idée de l'art des Aztèques et des tribus qui leur étaient apparentées."]

86. George Kubler, Esthetic Recognition, 164-66.

87. Seler-Sachs, "Chez les Aztéques": 458.

88. Eduard Seler, Gesammelte abhandlungen Amerikanischen Sprach-und Alterthumskunde (Berlin: A.Asher & Co.: 1902).

89. See Martica Sawin, "The New World/The New Marvelous," 1992 CAA Conference, in session The New World: The Encounter with Europe, for further discussion of Surrealism and New World natural histories.

90. Ibid.: 462: ["L'humeur mélancolique des indigènes, qui est encore leur aujourd'hui, et qui fait que l'idée de la mort s'exprime en toute occasion, places les divinités de la mort presque au premier plan. La guerre, la nourriture et la mort, le soleil, la lune, l'étoile du matin et du soir, et surtout la prévision du temps qu'il fera, sont les leitmotive [sic] du culte que les Mexicains rendent à leurs dieux, et des statues qu'ils leur élèvent."]

91. This short history is more thoroughly developed in Delpar's Enormous Vogue, Chapter IV, "The Mexican Art Invasion."

92. Marius de Zayas, "How, When and Why Modern Art Came to New York," Arts 54 (April 1980): 96-126; William Innes Homer, Alfred Stieglitz and the American Avant-Garde (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1977), 52-55, 194-96; Sue Davidson Lowe, Stieglitz: A Memoir/Biography (New York: Farrar Straus, Giroux, 1983); "Marius de Zayas, a Master of Ironical Caricature," Current Literature 44 (March 1908): 281-83; and Delpar, 126, n. 4., and 128-29.

93. Review, The New York Times, December 20, 1914, sec. 5: 11; and Delpar, ibid., 129, n. 18.

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94. The New York Times, October 9, 1915: 8; Art News, October 14, 1916: 3; and Delpar, ibid., 126, n. 4 and 129-30, n. 19

95. Walter Pach, "The Art of the American Indian," Dial 68 (January 1920): 62; and "The Greatest American Artists," Harper's Magazine 148 (January 1924): 18; and Delpar, ibid., 129, n. 17.

96. Thomas Craven, "The Independent Exhibition," New Republic 34 (March 14, 1923): 70-71; Art News 21 (March 3, 1923): 2; and Delpar, ibid., 132-33, n.28, and 140-41, n. 49 and 50. By 1932, Holger Cahill had organized an exhibition of "American Folk Art" for MOMA, and Abby Aldrich Rockefeller had begun to collect it for "aesthetic rather than antiquarian reasons." See Cahill, "Introduction," American Folk Art: The Art of the Common Man in America, 1750-1900 (NY: MOMA, 1932), 3-6; and Delpar, ibid., 133, n. 29.

97. Delpar, ibid., 130-33.

98. See Barbara Braun, "Michael C. Rockefeller Wing, Art Not Anthropology," Art News 81, 3 (March 1982): 78-82, for history of the Museum of Primitive Art. Thanks to Eloise Quiñones-Keber for the information about the MMA's original refusal of Rockefeller's gift.

99. Ibid., Quiñones-Keber.

100. On Hewett see, Rushing, "Native American Art," 88-91 and 108-24; and on the Arts and Crafts Revival he sponsored, 92-108.

101. Delpar, Enormous Vogue, 136-139.

102. Ibid., 133-34. Delpar, 6, mentions Davis as one of the few long-time American residents in Mexico City "before 1920," sympathetic to Mexican culture.

103. Delpar, 135, n.34, cites an unpublished paper of James Oles, "From 'Modern Mexico' to Mexico's Modernism: Mexican Folk Art on Public Display 1823-1940" (1990).

104. Delpar, 133.

105. Max Weber, Cubist Poems (London: 1913), cited in Holger Cahill, American Sources of Modern Art (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1933), 7. See below for further discussion of Cahill and this exhibition and its catalogue.

106. Cahill, ibid., 8.

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107. Laurie Wilson notes the 1944 reopening of the pre-Columbian Hall in, Louise Nevelson: Iconography and Sources (New York: Garland Press, 1979), 79. On the New York School involvement with the Museum of Natural History see, also, Jeffrey Weiss, "Science and Primitivism: A Fearful Symmetry in the New York School," Arts (March 1983): 81-87.

108. Delpar, Enormous Vogue; and Baigell, "Modern Uses." It is interesting to note that some of the first trade publications dealing with Indian artifacts appeared around this time as well. Cf. Feest, "From North America," in Rubin, ed., "Primitivism", 95.

109. Rushing, "Native American Art," 69-70.

110. "New Museum in New York Houses Red Man's Record," New York News (December 11, 1922), quoted in ibid., 71.

111. Ibid., 70. See 68-72 for further history of the collection.

112. WP, "Totem Art," DYN 4-5: 7

113. See the reproduction in Wolfgang Paalen: Zwischen Surrealismus und Abstraktion, 276. On the Surrealists and Heye in the 1940s, see Barbara Braun, "Art From the Land of Savages or Surrealists in the New World," Boston Review (October 1988): 5-6 and 18-19.

114. Braun, ibid.: 19.

115. Cowling, "The Eskimos": 484-486.

116. Braun, "Land of Savages": 19.

117. Ibid.

118. Ibid.

119. Archives of the Heye Museum, now the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI), Smithsonian Institution. R of Ex. vol.2, 1938-1940, fol. 9.

120. Ibid., R of Ex vol. 2, fol. 10, Nov. 1940-Dec. 1942. Chilkat blanket, cat. # 2275, "collected by J.W. Benham"; and Anvik mask, cat. # 15/4343, "purchase;" both "Exchanged with Mr. Wolfgang R. Paalen, June 1, 1939."

121. Ibid., OC, 1941, 1010; OC, 1945, 1175, cat. # 20/3481; and 20/7182, respectively.

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122. Ibid., R of Ex vol. 2, fol. 10, Nov. 1940-Dec. 1942: cat. # 1/932; 6/8791; 13/3977; and 5/8665; 20/4070; 20/4071; 20/4072; and 20/4073, respectively.

123. Marshall B. Saville, Turquoise Mosaic Art in Ancient Mexico (New York: Heye Foundation, 1922); Saville, The Wood-Carver's Art in Ancient Mexico (New York: Heye Foundation, 1925); and Saville, Tizoc Great Lord of the Aztecs (New York: Heye Foundation, 1925).

124. In an interview with Paalen's second wife, Luchita Hurtado (Santa Monica, January 7/8, 1990), reference was made to social visits between the Paalens and the Spindens in the 1940s. Correspondence between Spinden and Paalen, and records of objects loaned and sold to The Brooklyn Museum by Paalen is present in Spinden's papers at The Brooklyn Museum. See discussion below with respect to Paalen's collection of Oceanic art and Northwest Coast art. Paalen had Spinden's Ancient Civilizations of Mexico and Central America (New York: Anthropological Handbook Fund, 1951); and Maya Art and Civilization (U.S.A.: The Falcon's Wing Press: 1957), in his library.

125. "Spinden, Herbert Joseph," International Dictionary of Anthropologists, C. Winters, ed., (New York & London: Garland Publishing Co., 659).

126. Ibid.

127. George Kubler, Esthetic Recognition, 133.

128. Spinden, "Maya Dates," The Museum of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences Science Bulletin IV, 1 (1930).

129. Ancient Civilizations of Mexico and Central America (New York: AMNH, 1917). The third edition was published in 1928.

130. Kubler, Esthetic Recognition, 138.

131. Ibid., 135-36.

132. Ibid.

133. Ibid. In author's interview with Luchita Hurtado, Oral History Session for the Archives of American Art, Santa Monica, Calif., May 1, 1994, Hurtado recalled anecdotes about Spinden's excursions throughout the Latin American interior.

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134. According to author's telephone interview with Diana Fane, 12/17/91, present Curator of the Arts of the Americas at The Brooklyn Museum.

135. Kubler, Esthetic Recognition, 133; quoting Thompson in both cases. For a brief summary of Thompson see, also, ibid., 190-91. In Paalen's library was Thompson's The Rise and Fall of Maya Civilization (Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1954).

136. Ibid., 133-34.

137. George Kubler, The Shape of Time, (New Haven and London: Yale Univ. Press, 1962).

138. Ibid., 138.

139. Rushing, "Ritual and Myth," in Tuchman, ed., Spiritual in Art, 278 and n. 53.

140. Ibid., 278 and notes 48, 49, 50.

141. See ibid., 278, text and illustration, Gottlieb, Pictograph-Symbol, 1942. See, also, Varnedoe, "Abstract Expressionism," in Rubin, ed. "Primitivism," passim, which shows the same work, the earliest of all those illustrated, with the exception of Pollock's Circle, dated 1938-41, which relates to his "Jungian" period, discussed below.

142. Varnedoe, ibid.; and Rushing, "Ritual and Myth."

143. See discussion Part IV of these exhibitions and of "Indian Space" (or "Semiology") a group of artists and their affiliate publication Iconograph beginning 1946. Gibson has cited this group as a prototype for Abstract Expressionism in her essay, "Indian Space: Painting Outside the Paradigm," Arts 57 (February 1983): 92-104. Further discussion of this movement was offered in Barbara Hollister and Sandra Kraskin, The Indian Space Painters: Native American Sources for American Abstract Art, exhib. cat., Sidney Mishkin Gallery, Baruch College, C.U.N.Y. (New York: 1991).

144. Copy of letter from WP, Villa Obregon, Mexico City, to John Wise, dated April 11, 1947, sent by Wise to Herbert Spinden at The Brooklyn Museum with a letter dated May 12, 1947, from Wise to Spinden, asking his help in securing a place to put the objects on long term loan. The Brooklyn Museum Archives, Box O/5 #65.

145. WP letter to Wise, ibid. The Museum of Modern Art catalogue was Ralph Linton and Paul S. Wingert, Arts of the South Seas (New York: 1946).

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146. Ibid.

147. Letter of Herbert Spinden to WP, May 12, 1947, the Brooklyn Museum Archives, Box O/5 #65.

148. Letter from WP to HS, dated May 28, 1947, The Brooklyn Museum Archives, Box O/5 #65.

149. WP letter to HS, dated June 17, 1947, The Brooklyn Museum Archives, Box O/5 #65.

150. List of WP collection, The Brooklyn Museum Archives, Box O/5 #65. See Appendix E "WP Collection of Primitive Objects Paris 1939-1947." See Note 308 ahead.

151. Letter from Nathalie H. Zimmern, Assistant Curator, Department of Primitive and New World Cultures, to WP, dated July 1, 1947, The Brooklyn Museum Archives, Box O/5 #65.

152. "Receipt for Loans," dated February 24, 1948, The Brooklyn Museum, sent to WP c/o the Hotel Duane, New York, NY, The Brooklyn Museum Archives, Box O/5 #65. These included: "Standing Figure, ancestor, Toro-miro wood, Easter Island"; Standing female figure, Easter Island; Small figure, "Tiki," Tahiti; Male figure of a sacred flute, Mundugumor tribe, Yuat River, Sepik River area, wood, New Guinea; Lime spatula, Massim area, New Guinea; Dance mask, covered with bark-cloth, New Ireland; Clay figurine, pre-Columbian, Venezuela." (See, also, Appendix C) See, also, letter HS to WP, Hotel Duane, New York, dated February 25, 1948, The Brooklyn Museum Archives, Box O/5 #65.

153. WP letter to HS, dated 16 II 1950, The Brooklyn Museum Archives, Box O/5 #65. The letter refers to the upcoming exhibition of "DYNATON '51" at the San Francisco Museum of Art, in which Paalen, Onslow Ford, and Mullican exhibited their works, as well as their collections of "primitive" art. It was partly for this reason that Paalen wished to have the works returned.

154. HS letter to WP, Mill Valley, dated February 23, 1950, The Brooklyn Museum Archives, Box O/5 #65.

155. WP letter to HS, dated February 25, 1950, The Brooklyn Museum Archive, Box O/5 #65.

156. HS letter to WP, Mill Valley, dated February 28, 1950, The Brooklyn Museum Archives, Box O/5 #65.

157. WP letter, Mill Valley, to HS, dated 7 III 1950, The Brooklyn Museum Archives, Box O/5 #65. See also, Frederick Pleasants letter to WP, Mill Valley, dated March 27, 1950, The Brooklyn Museum Archives, Box O/2 #66.

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158. See series of letters between Luchita Paalen, Santa Monica, California and Pleasants et al., dated November 1952 to October 26, 1956, The Brooklyn Museum Archives, O/3 #144, questioning the authenticity of the drum. In a letter of October 31, 1952, LP says that "there is only one other wood drum in the world like it in the Museum in New Amsterdam." Pleasants wrote back on November 1952 that there was, in fact, another in the Chicago Natural History Museum; then on November 13, 1952, finally accepted the drum for the collection. On October 26, 1956, Flora S. Kaplan, wrote to LP asking for information on the history of the piece, since she was writing an article on it.

159. Biographical information on d'Harnoncourt comes from two sources: "d'Harnoncourt, René," in the Dictionary of American Biography, Supplement Eight (New York and London, Scribner's/ Collier Macmillan, 1966-1970), 125-27; and "d'Harnoncourt, René," Current Biography 1952 (New York: 1952), 145-47.

160. "Twenty Centuries of Mexican Art" is discussed below.

161. See installation photographs in the Photograph Study Collection of the Dept. of the Arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Julie Jones, Curator in Charge of the Dept. of AOA, indicated in conversation that this quaint installation style was often used for folk art exhibitions of the period.

162. Ibid.

163. René d'Harnoncourt, Mexican Arts, exhib. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York: 1929).

164. Mexican Arts, "Preface," ix-x. Robert Montenegro, contributed to d'Harnoncourt's 1940 "Twenty Centuries of Mexican Art" exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art. See below.

165. Jorge Encisco, "Seals of the Ancient Mexicans," DYN 4-5 (1943): 54.

166. "Publisher's Note" to Jorge Encisco, Designs from Pre-Columbian Mexico (New York: Dover, 1971).

167. Ibid.

168. Ibid.

169. D'Harnoncourt, Mexican Arts, "Fine Arts," 43-44.

170. Diego Rivera, Posada (Mexico: Folkways T.G.N., 1930).

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171. "Bois de W. Paalen. Gravé par Díaz de León," tipped-in illustration, DYN 2 (July-August 1942): between 30 and 31.

172. Photo by Francisco Díaz de León, DYN 6: 37.

173. "Applied Arts," ibid., 3.

174. "Fine Arts," ibid., 41-43.

175. Delpar, Enormous Vogue, refers to this revival of lacquerware. In the following year, 1932, as the exhibition toured, d'Harnoncourt published an article on "Four Hundred Years of Mexican Art," Art and Archaeology 33 (Jan.-Dec. 1932): 71-77, that focused on the dual nature of Mexican art and summarized the contents of his Mexican Arts catalogue. Thus the "motives and designs" of the conqueror were fused with the style and forms of the conquered, creating a hybrid art of native pottery, textiles, and lacquerware decorated with images of foreign derivation. D'Harnoncourt with Davis would sponsor a revival of the lacquerware technique, which he explained in detail in his article.

176. "Fine Arts," Mexican Arts, 41-44.

177. Ibid.

178. Ibid., xiii.

179. See Gustav Regler, "Nothing But Toys," DYN 3 (Fall 1942): 10-11.

180. Ibid., 10.

181. Ibid.

182. Ibid.

183. Ibid.

184. See "Clay toys from San Miguel Huápan, Guerrero. Photo by Donald Cordry," DYN 6 (November 1944): 51.

185. D'Harnoncourt, "Contemporary Toys and Marquettes," Mexican Arts, 38-39.

186. Ibid.

187. Regler, "Nothing But Toys": 11.

188. Rosa Rolando, "Schoolgirl of Tehuantepec," DYN 4-5: 66. The facing page (67) showed "Chontal Children of Huamelula, Oaxaca."

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189. Rushing, "Native American Art," 322-38, has also dealt with this exhibition.

190. Introduction to American Indian Art, Grand Central Art Galleries, exhib. cat. (New York: The Exposition of Indian Tribal Arts, 1931-32), frontispage.

191. So says Delpar, Enormous Vogue, 107-08 . With Blom, LaFarge wrote a book called Tribes and Temples: A Record of the Expedition to Middle America Conducted by the Tulane University of Louisiana, 2 vols, (New Orleans: Tulane Univ., 1926), which described the experience he had during this period. LaFarge became famous for his novel based on Navajo life, Laughing Boy, 1929 (Delpar, 108), which must have added to the luster of the Tribal Arts show.

192. Ibid., 107.

193. John Sloan and Oliver LaFarge, "Introduction to American Indian Art," in Introduction to American Indian Art, 5.

194. On this subject see the discussion below.

195. This is an attitude still confronted today in the conceptual art of contemporary Native Americans.

196. Sloan and LaFarge, "Introduction," Introduction.

197. Rushing, "Native American Art," 92-108.

198. Ibid., 95 ff.

199. Ibid., 97-98.

200. Spinden, "Fine art and the First Americans," in Introduction, 4.

201. Ibid. As a field ethnologist, Spinden studied and published a group of "Songs of the Tewa" (Pueblo) in 1933 under the auspices of the Exposition of Indian Tribal Arts, Inc.

202. Schrader, Indian Arts and Crafts Board, passim, and Berkhofer, White Man's Indian, 179, as in Part II, n. 102.

203. See above and see "Spinden, Herbert Joseph," International Dictionary of Anthropologists, 659.

204. "Conclusions," Introduction, 51-53.

205. Herbert J. Spinden, "Indian Symbolism," in Introduction, Vol. II, 3-18.

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206. Ibid., 3.

207. Ibid.

208. See DYN 4-5 (1943): 39. Also, letter from WP, Villa Seurat, Paris to Gordon Onslow Ford, Calif., dated May 24, [1953] (Courtesy of GOF): "Looking at the buffalo-hides in the Musée de l'Homme, I found out that mine is one of the finest and oldest in existence. Spinden, when it was lent to the Brooklyn Museum, had already dated it 18th-century. The ones in Paris were brought from Canada under Louis XVth, for the little princes. The hide is one of the pieces I am most fond of, and one of the easiest to transport. On the other hand, it would be difficult to take care of it properly in Mexico." Spinden showed Paalen's buffalo hide and "a painting on canvas" in an exhibition entitled "Westward Ho," at The Brooklyn Museum ca. 1949-50. See WP letter to HS, dated 16 II 1950, The Brooklyn Museum Archives, Box O/5 #65.

209. Spinden, "Indian Symbolism," Introduction, 6-7.

210. Ibid., 8-11.

211. Ibid., 8-9.

212. Ibid., 12.

213. For a history of Olmec reception and studies see Elizabeth Benson, Michael Coe, and David Grove, ed., The Olmec and Their Neighbors, (Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks, 1981).

214. Miguel Covarrubias, "Tlatilco, Archaic Mexican Art and Culture," DYN 4-5 (December 1943): 40-46; and "La Venta, Colossal Heads and Jaguar Gods," DYN 6 (November 1944): 24-33.

215. Wolfgang Paalen, "Le plus ancien visage du Nouveau Monde," Cahiers d'art XXVII, I (Juillet 1952): 169-188.

216. Spinden, "Indian Symbolism," 13-14.

217. Ibid., 15.

218. Ibid., 16-17.

219. See Wolfgang Paalen, "The Birth of Fire: A Mythological Hypothesis Suggested On the Appearance of a New Volcano," DYN 4-5: 71, discussed in Part IV.

220. "Indian Symbolism," 18.

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221. Rushing, "Native American Art," 334-38.

222. Delpar, Enormous Vogue, refers to Benton's inspiration in "native sources" for his work, within the larger context of post-World War I nationalism and Americanism.

223. On Pollock's early interest in Native American Art and its relation to his past see Elizabeth Langhorne, "Jackson Pollock's Moon Woman Cuts the Circle." Arts 53 (March 1979): 123-37. Therein she reproduces two oil works, dated 1938-41, which are part of his "Jungian" period: Birth and Bird, 123. On Poussette-Dart's knowledge and use of Northwest Coast art see Levin, "Richard Poussette-Dart's Emergence as an Abstract Expressionist," Arts 54 (March 1980): 125-26 and Rushing, "Ritual and Myth," 277, n.334. Rushing shows a Northwest Coast-influenced Pousette-Dart work, Desert, dated 1940. See, also, Ann Gibson, "Painting Outside the Paradigm: The Indian Space Painters," op.cit., and Hollister and Kraskin, The Indian Space Painters, for discussion of this group and their work. For further discussion of both artists see Rushing, "Ritual and Myth," and Varnedoe, "Abstract Expressionism," in Rubin, ed., "Primitivism," 614-59, passim. Varnedoe and Rubin challenged Langhorne's characterization of this period as "Jungian." See Varnedoe, 641.

224. Delpar, Enormous Vogue.

225. Holger Cahill, "America Has its Primitives," International Studio LXXV (March 1920): 80; and Rushing, "Native American Art," 162-67.

226. Stewart Buettner, "John Dewey and the Visual Arts in America," Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism 33, 4 (Summer 1975): 383-92.

227. Ibid.: 384.

228. Ibid.: 384.

229. Ibid.: 389 ff.

230. Holger Cahill, "American Resources in the Arts," an address delivered October 8, 1939, as quoted by Buettner, "John Dewey," 389.

231. Holger Cahill, American Sources of Modern Art (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1933), 5.

232. Ibid., 4.

233. Ibid., 21.

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234. Ibid., 5.

235. George Kubler, Esthetic Recognition.

236. Ibid., 6.

237. Ibid., 7 and 8-9. Paalen had an undated edition of Clavigero in his library: S.J. Francisco J. Clavigero, Historia Antigua de Mexico, traduccion del Italia, (n.d.); as well as two other clerical narratives: Fray Salvador Carnals, Las Civiliaciones Prehispanicas del America (Buenos Aires: 1955); and Fray Bartolome del las Casas, Doctrina (Universidad Nacional Autonoma Mexico, 1941).

238. Kubler, Esthetic Recognition, 8-9, quoting Robertson.

239. Cahill, American Sources, 5.

240. Kubler, Esthetic Recognition, 9.

241. Paalen's library contained Prescott's Conquest of Mexico (Mexico: Cie. General de Ediciones S.A., 1952).

242. Cahill, American Sources, 5-6.

243. "Maya Ruins reproduced from the drawings of F. Catherwood of "Incidents of Travel in Yucatan" by John L. Stephens, New York, 1843. Above: Interior of a Gateway at Labna. Below: Xampon," in DYN 4-5: 53.

244. Tepoztlán Library List: John L. Stephens, Incidents of Travel in Yucatan, Vol. I, II (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1843).

245. Cahill, American Sources, 6-7.

246. As suggested by Williams (following Goldwater), in "Art and Artifact," in Stocking, ed., Objects and Others, as already discussed.

247. Cahill, American Sources, 6-7.

248. Ibid., 7.

249. See, especially, Barbara Braun, Precolumbian Art in the Postcolumbian World.

250. Kubler, Esthetic Recognition, 13, 15, and 13-19.

251. Ibid., 15.

252. Ibid., 8-9.

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253. Ibid., 9.

254. Miguel Covarrubias, "Tlatilco, Archaic Mexican Art and Culture," DYN 4-5: 40-46.

255. Cahill, American Sources, 10.

256. Ibid.

257. Ibid., 11.

258. Ibid., 11.

259. Jean Charlot, "Mayan Art," American Magazine of Art (1935): 418-23 and 419. Charlot was discussed above as one of the "Syndicado," and was acclaimed for his important early study of The Mexican Mural Renaissance, 1920-25, published in Mexico, 1920-25.

260. Ibid., 420.

261. Ibid., 418.

262. Cahill, American Sources, 11.

263. Ibid., 11-12.

264. Ibid., 12.

265. Ibid., 12-13.

266. Ibid., 13.

267. Ibid., 13.

268. On Bataille's philosophy and his circle, see Krauss, "Giacometti," in Rubin, ed., "Primitivism," 502-533.

269. Georges Batailles, Oeuvres complètes, vol. 1 (Paris: Gallimard, 1970), 152 and 157, quoted by Krauss, ibid., 510.

270. Cahill, American Sources, 14-21.

271. Ibid., 16.

272. Raoul d'Harcourt, "Introduction," Les arts anciens.

273. See Spinden, Malinowski, et al., Culture, the diffusion controversy (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1927).

274. Malinowski, ibid.

275. Kubler, Esthetic Recognition, 28.

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276. Ibid., 197.

277. Ibid., 27.

278. Ibid., 26.

279. Ibid., 22.

280. Ibid., 34.

281. It should be noted that Kubler devotes a great deal of attention and space to the discussion of eidetic imagery and its importance.

282. Kubler, Esthetic Recognition, 147.

283. Ibid., 149.

284. Ibid., 33.

285. See Tim Friend, "Genetic Detectives Trace the Origins of the First Americans," USA Today, September 21, 1993: 5D.

286. Ibid.

287. Cahill, American Sources, 17.

288. Green, JG: Artist, exhib. cat., 156.

289. Ibid., 12.

290. Ibid.

291. Ibid.

292. John Graham, "Mexico," Art and Artists of Today I, 5 (February/ March 1937): 4 and 12. Of interest--Nathaniel Pousette-Dart, Richard's father, was the editor of this journal.

293. Ibid.

294. Ibid.

295. WP, Exhibition Statement, Wolfgang Paalen, Art of This Century Gallery, 1945.

296. Ibid.

297. Pacific Cultures, Golden Gate International Exposition, Department of Fine Arts (San Francisco: Schwabacher-Frey Co. and H.S. Crocker Co., Inc., 1939).

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298. Paalen had a book on the Ainu in his library: Kyosuke Kindaiti, Ainu Life and Legends (Japan: Japanese Govt. Railways, n.d.).

299. One-man exhibitions were given to Paalen and Onslow Ford in 1948; to Lee Mullican in 1949; and to the DYNATON in 1951. Because these exceed the parameters of this investigation, which considers Paalen in the Mexican years ca. 1939-1947, these exhibitions will not be discussed in this dissertation.

300. Ibid., 9-10.

301. Ibid., 10.

302. Williams, "Art and Artifact," in Stocking, ed., Objects and Others, discusses these categories and tensions in early twentieth century exhibitions of art and artifact, and the change from the 19th-century's more ethnological treatment of objects.

303. Warner, Pacific Cultures, 10.

304. Ibid.

305. Ibid.

306. WP, "Book Reviews: Maud Worcester Makemson: The Morning Star Rises" (Yale Univ. Press: 1941), DYN 2 (July-August 1942): 48.

307. Paalen's library held a number of books on navigation, including: Ch.H. Barnard, Daniel W. Orme, W. Byrne, The Sea, the Ship and the Sailor (Massachusetts: Marine Research Society, 1925); and Joachim G. Leithauser, Worlds Beyond the Horizon (New York: Knopf, 1955).

308. See Appendix E ("WP's Collection of Primitive Objects, Paris 1939-1947"), numbers 13 and 38, respectively: "13) Very large mask (bark cloth over a bamboo frame) New Hebrides; [and] 38) Mask, bark cloth, New Ireland." List from The Brooklyn Museum Archives, Box O/5 #65. (See note 150 above.)

309. In Paalen's library were Heyerdahl's Aku-Aku (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1958); and American Indians in the Pacific (London: GA & U Ltd., 1952).

310. WP, "Book Reviews: Makemson: Morning Star."

311. Peter H. Buck, "Islands of the Pacific," in Pacific Cultures, 114-16.

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312. Langdon Warner, "China," in Pacific Cultures, 11.

313. WP, "Book Reviews: 'Les Origines de l'homme Américain,' by Paul Rivet," DYN 4-5: 78.

314. Ibid.

315. In 1946, René d'Harnoncourt would sponsor an exhibition "Art of the South Seas," at The Museum of Modern art, curated by Ralph Liuton and Paul Wingert. Paalen had the Art of the South Seas catalogue in his library. Cf. Tepoztlan library list.

316. Paalen's library was replete with books on both the South Seas and on Peru. See Appendix D "Books on Oceania and Peru in WP's Library."

317. César Moro, "Coricancha, The Golden Quarter of the City," DYN 4-5: 73-77.

318. See Kubler, Esthetic Recognition, 31-32, on Mueller, Amerika, die neue oder die alte Welt (Berlin: 1928). Kubler reproduces Mercator's 1591 map of the polar ice cap which historians of that time used in their theories on early migrations of early people. Mueller attributes the "pluri-ethnicity of pre-Columbian American peoples to this in this "amphiatlantic" horizon of the ice ages prior to 1000 B.C.

319. Author's conversation with Flora Clancy, Professor, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, February 17, 1994, former student of George Kubler,

320. Letter of 17 April 1944 from Paul Rivet to WP, courtesy of Gordon Onslow Ford: ["Je viens de recevoir et de lire "Dyn." Je vous félicite une fois de plus pour votre courage et votre goût...J'espére bien vous revoir bientôt. J'ai lu avec reconaissance le compte-rendu de mon livre."]

321. A discussion of the exhibition is found below.

322. Antonin Artaud, Les Tarahumaras (L'Arbaléte, Barbezat, Decines, 1963): ["La culture rationaliste de l'Europe a fait faillite et je suis venu sur la terre du Mexique chercher les bases d'une culture magique qui peut jaillir des forces du sol indien."] See, also, "La montaña de los signos," "El país de los Reyes Magos," "El rito de los reyes de la Atlantida," "Una raza principio," El Nacional, 16, 24 Octobre and 9, 17 Novembre 1936 (respectively). These sources were quoted and cited by José Pierre, "Le Surréalisme et Le Mexique," manuscript, 1-39, private papers of Isabel Marin de Paalen, courtesy of Señora Paalen: 16, n. 26.

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323. Though it may not be a direct result of this experience, Artaud was to spend many years in an asylum in Rodez, France.

324. Antonin Artaud, "México y el espiritú primitivio: Maria Izquierdo," El Universal 13 (Mars 1938): 12; and "La pintura de Maria Izquierdo," Revista de Revistas (août 1936); and Pierre, ibid.

325. José Pierre, "Le Surréalisme et Le Mexique," 16, n. 26. This paper was published in Mexico in Boletin de enlace del CNRS 11 (Mexico City: April 1979). Pierre notes that a pamphlet (dated 18 June 1938) was also published in support of Breton, protesting the sabotage of his conference by the UNAM administration. See, also, Letras de México 27 (Mexico City: 1 May 1938), which was entirely dedicated to Breton and contained his writings, including "Lo maravilloso contra el misterio: a propósito de simbolismo": 1-2, 11; "El gran socorro mortifero": 3; "Un hombre y une mujer absolutamenta blancos": 3, et al.

326. André Breton interviewed by Rafael Heliodoro Valle, University of Mexico, June 1938: ["Y-a-t-il un Mexique surréaliste? Si vous croyez qu'il y en a un, oú l'avez-vous rencontré? En dehors de tout ce que j'ai dit, le Mexique tend à devenir le lieu surréaliste par excellence. J'ai rencontré le Mexique surréaliste dans ses montagnes, dans sa flore, dans le dynamisme que lui confére le mélange de ses races, ainsi que dans ses plus hautes aspirations."]

327. Verónica Espinoza, "El México imaginal de los surrealistas en el Institute Francais d'Amérique Latin (IFAL): Para Bretón y Artaud, México fue tierra de respiro y tregua: Jean Clarence Lambert," Uno Mas Uno, 7/XII/88, Archives of the Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, Mexico City.

328. Ibid.

329. André Breton, "Frida Kahlo de Rivera," Mexique, Galerie Renou et Colle, exhib. cat. (Paris: 1939), unpg.: ["...la conception que je me suis faite de l'art tel qu'il doit être á intérieur, donnant résolument le pas á la représentation sur la perception.

Cette conception était-elle de force à resister au climat mental du Mexique? Là-bas, tous les yeux des enfants d'Europe, parmi lesquels celui que j'ai été, me précédaient de mille feux ensorcelants. Je voyais, du regard même que je proméne sur les sites imaginaires, se déployer à la vitesse d'un cheval au galop la prodigieuse sierra qui déferle au bord des palmeraies blondes, brûler les haciendas féodales dans le parfum de chevelures et de jasmin de Chine d'une nuit du Sud, se profiler plus haute, plus impérieuse

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que partout ailleurs, sous ses lourds ornements de feutre, de métal, et de cuir, la silhouette spécifique de l'aventurier, qui est le frère due poète. Et pourtant ces bribes d'images, arrachées au trésor de l'enfance, quelle que demeurât leur puissance magique, ne laissaient pas de me rendre sensibles certaines lacunes."]

330. Espinoza, "El México imaginal," quoting Jean Clarence Lambert, lecture, "El México Imaginal de los surrealistas," IFAL.

331. Clifford Browder, André Breton: Arbiter of Surrealism (Geneva: 1967), 61, cited by Maurer, "In Quest," 86.

332. André Breton, "Second Manifesto of Surrealism" (1930), reprinted in Richard Seaver and Helen R. Lane, trans., André Breton: Manifestoes of Surrealism (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1972), 123.

333. André Breton, "Souvenir du Mexique," Minotaure 12-13 (1939): 31: ["Terre rouge, terre vierge tout imprégnée du plus généreux sang, terre où la vie de l'homme est sans prix, toujours prête comme l'agave à perte de vue qui l'exprime à se consumer dans une fleur de désir et de danger!"]

334. Ibid.: 30-52.

335. Ibid., 31 and 32.

336. Ibid., 32: ["Le Mexique, mal réveillé de son passé mythologique, continue à evoluer sous la protection de Xochipilli, dieu des fleurs et de la poésie lyrique et de Coatlicue, déese de la terre et de la mort violente dont les effigies, dominant en pathétique et en intensité toutes les autres, échangent d'un bout à l'autre du musée national, par dessus les têtes des paysans indiens qui en sont les visiteurs les plus nombreuses et les plus recueillis, des paroles ailées et des cris rauques."]

337. José Pierre, "Le Surréalisme et le Mexique," 4. For the Day of the Dead see Octavio Paz, Essays on Mexican Art trans. Helen Lane (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1993). For anthropological discussion of the Day of the Dead, see, Judith Strupp Green, Laughing Souls: The Days of the Dead in Oaxaca, Mexico, exhib. cat., Millicent Rogers Museum, Taos, New Mexico (1989); and Kay Turner and Pat Jasper, Day of the Dead - The Tex/Mex Tradition, exhib. cat., The Guadalupe Cultural Arts Center, San Antonio, Texas (1988). Thanks to Andrew Connor of the National Museum of American Art for these references.

338. Pierre, "Le Surréalisme," 5.

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339. The best known of these are Ida Rodríguez Prampolini, El surrealismo y el arte fantástic de Mexico (México, UNAM, IIE, 1969); Luis Mario Schneider, México y el surrealismo (1925-1950) (México: Arte y Libros, 1978).

340. Pierre, "Le Surréalisme et le Mexique," 5.

341. Paalen owned one of these extremely rare paintings, four of which, significantly, are in the Vienna Kunsthistorische Museum. According to Neufert, "Die Maler Haben Noch Nicht die Alte Sphinx Zum Sprechen Gebracht," in Wolfgang Paalen: Zum Surrealismus und Abstraction, 44, his father made it a present to him in his thirtieth year. See above, Part I-A, 2, n. 8. Neufert does not document this, but does document four other paintings by Titian, Tintoretto, Bassano, and Manet that Gustav Paalen owned; he gave the Titian to the Berlin National Gallery. See Part I-A.3, 68, n. 34. Paalen introduced the Surrealists to Arcimboldo's work, to much acclaim. The Admiral was composed of many different species of the sea. Present whereabouts unknown.

342. Angélica Abelleyra, "Los Surrealistas en Mexico, Desde el 26 de Junio en el Munal," La Jornada, INBA Archives, EC/S/105, dated 2 June 1986.

343. See Appendix E "DYN Pre-Columbiana," for these and other contributions.

344. Author's interviews with Walter and Alexandra Gruen, Juan Soriano, and Octavio Paz: March 29, March 31, and April 5, 1994, respectively. The quote is from Juan Soriano.

345. Herrera, Frida, Chapter 13, draws a full picture of Trotsky's last days in Mexico and his interactions with the artistic community.

346. Ibid., 207: "Trotsky also asked for the formation of an international commission to examine the evidence used against him at the Moscow trials and worked furiously to prepare his deposition.

The commission consisted of six Americans, one Frenchman, two Germans, an Italian, and a Mexican. The American educator and philosopher John Dewey served as chairman."

347. André Breton and Diego Rivera, "Manifesto pour un art révolutionnaire indépendant," Clé (Paris: Bulletin of the F.I.A.R.I., Fall 1938); "Manifesto: Towards a Free Revolutionary Art," Partisan Review VI (Fall 1938): 49-53; and "Towards an Independent Revolutionary Art," London Bulletin 6 (October 1938): 29-31.

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348. The conclusion of the manifesto itself called for "organization of local and national congresses," with a "final step...the assembling of a world congress which will officially mark the foundation of the International Federation. "Manifesto," Partisan Review, 53. See, also, Helena Lewis, The Politics of Surrealism, 10-60; and "Surrealists, Stalinists, and Trotskyists: Theories of Art and Revolution in France between the Wars," Art Journal 52, 1 (Spring 1993): 61-68. For further discussion of Breton and Trotsky's interaction, see Breton, "Visite á Leon Trotsky," in La Clé des champs (Paris: J.J. Pauvert, 1967), 50-61; and Herbert Gershman, The Surrealist Revolution in France (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1974), 104-07.

349. "Manifesto," Partisan Review, 52.

350. Leon Trotsky to André Breton, Partisan Review VI (Winter 1939): 126-27.

351. "Manifesto," Partisan Review, 49.

352. Ibid., 50.

353. Ibid., 50-51.

354. Ibid.

355. Breton, Mexique, as in note 329 above.

356. Breton, "Preface," Mexique.

357. Ibid.: ["Que dire de ce que l'on aime et comment le fair aimer? Tout semble encore plus vain d'un pays que d'un être. Son "immense corps", fût-il le plus beau du monde, se dérobe dès qu'il est question de la faire toucher."]

358. Ibid.: ["Les récits de voyages épuisent tout leur pouvoir d'exalatation sur les enfants."]

359. Ibid., "Tableaux Mexicains": ["On sourirait à tant d'ingénuité si l'on ne subissait l'ambiance mystérieuse des ces toiles dont Roberto Montenegro...a compris qu'elle tenait à la fixation, spécific du génie mexicain, de 'cette lueur de vi qui persiste au delà mort.'"]

360. Ibid.: [...j'ai pu juger des moyens de communication en quelque sorte magnétique que Rousseau a établis entre les deux mondes."]

361. Eva Sulzer, "Did Henri Rousseau Ever Get to Mexico?" DYN 2: 26-27.

362. Ibid.: 26.

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363. Breton, "Objets Populaires," Mexique, 26.

364. "Frida Kahlo de Rivera," ibid.: ["...sa stature physique et morale de grand lutteur--il incarne, aux yeux de tout un continent, la lutte menée avec éclat contre toutes les puissances d'asservissement..."]

365. This is a symbolic reference to the red of Communism and passion, and the blue of melancholy; as well as, literally, Frida's blue house .

366. Ibid.: ["...je n'avais pas tenu dans ma main un bloc de cette terre rouge d'où sont sorties idéalement maquillées...toute semblable à ces dernièrnes par le maintien et parée aussi comme une princesse de légende, avec des enchantements à la pointe des doigts, dans le trait de lumière de l'oiseau quetzal, qui laisse en s'envolant des opales au flanc des pierres. Frida Kahlo de Rivera."]

367. Ibid.:["...en lui sont faits pour trouver leur résolution vitale une série de conflits de l'ordre de ceux qui affectérent en leur temps Bettina Brentano ou Caroline Schlegel. Frida Kahlo de Rivera est placée précieusement en ce point d'intersection de la ligne politique (philosophique) et de la ligne artistique..."]

368. Ibid.: ["à quelles lois irrationelles obéisson-nous, quels signes subjectifs nous permettent à chaque instant de nous diriger, quels symboles, quels mythes sont en puissance dans tel amalgame d'objets...qui rend apte à passer du pouvoir visuel au pouvoir visionnaire?"]

369. A paper at the 1992 CAA Conference by Nancy Deffenbach, Univ. of Texas, Austin, "Frida Kahlo and Surrealism: An Uneasy Alliance," in the session New World Surrealism: The Encounter with Europe, devoted itself to this topic.

370. "Frida Kahlo," Mexique: ["Il ne manque même pas à cet art la goutte de cruauté et d'humour seule capable de lier les rares puissances affectives qui entrent en composition pour former le philtre dont le Mexique a le secret. Les vertiges de la puberté, les mystères de la géneration alimentent ici l'inspiration qui loin, comme sous d'autres latitudes, de les tenir pour des lieux réservés de l'esprit, s'y pavane au contraire, avec un mélange de candeur et d'impertinence....J'ajoute qu'il n'en est pas de plus exclusivement féminine au sens où pour être la plus tentante, elle consent volontiers à se faire tour à tour la plus pure et la plus pernicieuse.

L'art de Frida Kahlo de Rivera est un ruban autour d'une bombe."]

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371. Breton, "Art PreColombien," ibid.: ["Cet art a donné lieu à des gloses si savantes et si nombreuses qu'il ne saurait être question de le représenter ici en partant d'un point de vue didactique."]

372. "Objets Populaires," ibid.: ["Ces objects, dont le groupement capricieux constitue la grande attraction des marchés mexicains, méritent d'être considérés en eux-mêmes, c'est-à-dire indépendamment de l'ennuyeux point de vue pédagogique qui s'attache au folklore."]

373. "Art Precolombien," ibid.: ["Le passé du Mexique est d'ailleurs mieux connu que le présent et les admirables objets qui en témoignent tendent de plus en plus à deborder, sinon à briser les cadres archéologiques dans lesquels ils étaient maintenus."]

374. Ibid.: ["Evoquer le Mexique n'est d'ailleur possible qu'à la condition de faire une large part à ces premières manifestations de son génie."]

375. André Breton, La Mise Sous Whisky Marin se fait en crème Kaki & en Cinq Anatomies, Vive le Sport, Max Ernst, Galerie au sans Pareil, exhib. cat. (Paris: 1921), unpg.: ["L'invention de la photographie a porté un coup mortel aux vieux modes d'expression, tant en peinture qu'en poèsie oú l'écriture automatique apparue à la fin du XIXe siécle est une véritable photographie de la pensée. Un instrument aveugle permettant d'atteindre à coup sûr le but qu'ils s'étaient jusqu'alors proposé...."]

376. "Photographies de Manuel Alvarez Bravo," Mexique: ["A feuilleter ces liasses d'impressions fugace comme à percevoir sur place ce déclic continu, machinal, foncièrement insensible, on douterait que par un tel moyen pût être pénetrée jamais l'âme du pays...."]

377. Ibid.: ["Il est indispensable d'en avoir participé dès l'enfance et depuis lors de continuer à l'interroger passionnément pour être a meme de la réveler tout entiére. C'est à quoi est parvenu MAB dans ses composition d'un admirable réalisme synthétique....Tout le pathétique mexicain est mis par lui à notre portée: où MAB s'est arrété, où s'est attardé à fixer une lumiére, un signe, un silence, c'est non seulement où bat le coeur du Mexique mais où l'artiste a pu pressentir, avec un discernement unique, la valeur pleinement objective de son émotion.'"]

378. "Selecta Concurrencia en La Inauguracion de la Exposicion Surrealist: Fué una Verdadera Fiesta de Cultura y un Acontecimiento Social en la Galería de Arte," Excelsior, 19 January 1940: unpg. Scrapbooks of the Galería de Arte Mexicano, courtesy of Marianna Perez-Amor. The Galería de

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Arte Mexicano, viewed as the first gallery of international modern art in Mexico City, was begun by Inés Amor in 1936. Amor had initiated international exhibitions from Mexico, beginning in 1935, that traveled to New York, Chicago, and other American cities. Excelsior, 3 January 1940, Segunda Seccion: unpg. Galería de Arte Mexicano Scrapbooks. ("GAF Scrapbooks" hereafter.)

379. "Mexicans See Surrealistic Art and Gallery's Imposing New Home," Christian Science Monitor, Mexico City, February 23, 1940: unpg. GAM Scrapbooks.

380. Anonymous, "La Exposicion International del Surrealism," Voz Nacional, "Arte Y Letras," 3 Febrero 1940: 18.

381. Luis G. Basurto, Jr., "La Gran Exposicion Surrealista Internacional--I. Los Pintores Mexicanos," Excelsior, 19 January 1940: unpg. GAM Scrapbooks.

382. Luis Cardoza y Aragon, "Galería de Arte Mexicano, Exposición Surrealista," unidentified source. GAM Scrapbooks.

383. Ibid.

384. Ibid.

385. Amor, Una Mujer en el Arte Mexicano, 95.

386. Ibid., 98-99.

387. Ibid., 96.

388. Author's interview with Juan Soriano, Mexico City, March 31, 1994.

389. Luis G. Basurto, Jr., "La Gran Exposicion," Excelsior, Parts I and II, "Los Pintores Mexicanos." GAM Scrapbooks.

390. Ibid., Parts III and IV, "Las Producciones Extranjeras." The women artists exhibited were: Denise Bellon, photographer; Graciela Aranis-Brignoni (wife of Serge Brignoni, Paalen's colleague from Paris days, mentioned in Part I); Frida Kahlo; Meret Oppenheim; Alice Rahon Paalen; Remedios Varos; and Eva Sulzer.

391. Ramon Gaya, "Divigación en Torno al Surrealismo," Romance, Mexico City: 15 February de 1940): unpg. GAM Scrapbooks.

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392. Horacio Quiñones, "Surrealismo Es Sensacion," Hoy (Mexico City: 3 Febrero de 1940), 15; Roberto Manzanares, "Para Solaz de Los Subconcientes," Estampa (Mexico City: 23 Enero 1940): 19ff.. GAM Scrapbooks.

393. M.J., "Una Gran Manifestacion Artistica en Mexico," Noticias Gráficas, 5 February 1940: 14. GAM Scrapbooks

394. Amor, Una Mujer, 95.

395. André Breton, Wolfgang Paalen, César Moro. Exposición Internacional del Surrealismo, Galería de Arte Mexicano, exhib. cat. (Mexico City: January-February 1940). ("EIdS" hereafter.)

396. Amor, Una mujer, 96. Paalen's Toisson d'or, previously illustrated, is the image taken by Moro for his metaphor.

397. Ibid.

398. "Galería de Arte Mexicano," El Nacional, Artes Plasticas-1939, n.d., unpg. GAM Scrapbooks. All of these artists attended the opening, along with a long list of distinguished names in Mexican art including Dr. Atl, Luis Barragan, Francisco Díaz de León, Adolfo Best Maugard, Juan O'Gorman, Octavio Barreda, Jorge Encisco, Antonio Castro Leal, Carlos Chavez, Luis Cardoza y Aragon, Maria Izquierdo, Alfonso Reyes, William Spratling, Alfonso Caso, Francisco Zuniga, Miguel Covarrubias, Julio Castellanos, Guillermo Meza, Guillermo Toussaint, et al. Some of these individuals, as previously mentioned, would contribute to DYN.

399. Unidentified press interview with Paalen. GAM Scrapbook.

400. Carlos Mérida, "Drawing, 1942," DYN 2; "A Little Window by the Sea" and "A Hunting Design after a Maya Theme," DYN 3; "Painting, 1944; Reduced page from Etampas del Popol-Vuh, 10 color litho-graphs, 1943," DYN 6. See, also, Popol-Vuh: the Definitive Edition of the Maya Book of the Dawn of Life and the Glories of Gods and Kings, Dennis Tedlock, trans. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985).

401. Excelsior, 3 January 1940, Segunda Seccion, unpg. Et al. GAM Scrapbooks.

402. Rosalind Krauss, "Nightwalkers," Art Journal 41, 1 (Spring 1981): 33-38.

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403. Author's interview with Colette Alvarez Bravo, April 5, 1994, Mexico City. There is only one unique print of this photograph now in the Getty Collection. It was also multiplely printed--Bravo cut the negative and printed the image three times, as a "kind of game."

404. In author's conversation with Jay Oles (author, South of the Border, exhib. cat.), New York, February 28, 1994, he indicated that he had spoken with Bravo and been told this.

405. Ibid.

406. Estampa critic, Roberto Manzanares, mocked this image in a dialogue he had with a señorita at the opening: "This is the title: The Prudent Laundresses. I'm not able to understand what these laudresses are like you, miss, assuredly they are prudent. She smiled with a marvelous air of apology for the author Manuel Alvarez Bravo." ["Este se titula: 'Las lavanderas sobreentendidas.' 'No acierto a entender a esas lavanderas aunque usted, señorita, asegura que so "sobreentendidas.' 'Ella sonrie, con un aire maravilloso de disculpa para el autor, el mexicano Manuel Alvarez Bravo.'" See Manzanares, "Para Solz de los Subconscientes," (as in n. 394).

407. See Breton's essay, "La Beauté sera convulsive," Minotaure 5 (1934): 8-16. The other condition of "convulsive beauty" was the "explosive-fixed."

408. WP, untitled foreword, EIdS, unpg.

409. Ibid.

410. Title page, EIdS.

411. César Moro, EIdS, unpg.

412. Ibid.

413. Ibid.

414. Ramon Gaya, "Divagación en Torno al Surrealismo." GAM Scrapbooks.

415. Amor, Una mujer, 95.

416. EIdS catalogue, unpg., for Rivera entries: nos. 80 and 81.

417. Author's conversation with Marianna Perez-Amor and Pedro Diego [Rivera] Alvarado, Mexico City, April 5, 1994.

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418. Ibid. The only color reproduction of this painting is to be found in the catalogue raisonné of Salomon Grimberg, Frida Kahlo: das Gesamptwerk (Frankfurt: Verlag Neue Kritik, 1988).

419. Amor, Una mujer, 95: ["Durante la etapa inicial de su vida en México, Paalen fue ayudada muchísmo por su esposa Alice Rahon y por una señora suiza: Eva Sulzer, que aún vive. También colaboró con el poeta peruano César Moro, que vivió aquí algún tiempo."]

420. Negatives and vintage prints of Uxmal, Chichen Itzá, Palenque, and other sites, are still in Tepoztlán.

421. Johnson, "Axolotl," Hommage, 11.

422. Eva Cockcroft, "Abstract Expressionism, Weapon of the Cold War," in Francis Frascina, Pollock and After, 126-127. Cockcroft does not document this assertion.

423. Delpar, Enormous Vogue, 3.

424. Ibid.

425. Author's interview with Susannah Glusker, Mexico City, March 31, 1994.

426. Delpar, Enormous Vogue, 57.

427. This exhibition, like the numerous other exhibitions of Mexican art that were held in New York in the Fall of 1990 consecrated the beginning of a major trade agreement between the Mexican and United States governments.

428. Cockcroft, "Weapon," 126; and "René d'Harnoncourt," Dictionary of American Biography, 126.

429. Two years before, Caso had published Trece Obras Maestras de Argueologia Mexicana with the Museo Nacional de Antropologia (Mexico, D.F.:Editoriales Cultura y Polis, 1938); Thirteen Masterpieces of Mexican Archaeology (Detroit: Blaine Ethridge, 1976). Many of the masterpieces were loaned to "Twenty Centuries" and Caso's text for the exhibition catalogue drew upon his Thirteen Masterpieces publication.

430. Antonio Castro Leal, "Introduction," Twenty Centuries, 14.

431. "Foreword of the Mexican Department of Foreign Affairs," unsigned, Twenty Centuries, 10. That the exhibition was a diplomatic gesture was attested to here by the Mexican Department of Foreign Affairs, which emphasized

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the importance of the "invaluable labor of culture, friendship and better international relations" between the two countries.

432. Each of these periods was correlated to a major painter or style of Spain. Thus the Renaissance occurred parallel to The Escorial, Montañes, El Greco, and Velásquez, while the Baroque unfolded at the time of Zurbarán, Cano and Murillo, and so forth. Major Mexican colonial monuments, schools, styles, and painters were noted with reference to both Mexican and Spanish influences.

433. "Foreword," Twenty Centuries, 11.

434. Leal, "Introduction," Twenty Centuries, 14.

435. Ibid.

436. Ibid., 15. Moore acquired his fondess for pre-Columbian sculpture, in part, through reading Roger Fry. Leal quotes Fry's 1932 study, affirming that "These peoples have left us more masterpieces of pure sculpture than the whole of Mesopotamia or than the majority of modern European civilizations." Ibid., quoting Fry's The Arts of Painting and Sculpture, (London: 1932). See, also, Barbara Braun, "Henry Moore and Pre-Columbian Art," RES 17/18 (Spring/Autumn 1989): 157-97, which comprehensively surveys the relationships between Moore's art and pre-Columbian works available to him, but does not refer to Fry.

437. Ibid., 15.

438. Ibid., 17.

439. Ibid.

440. Douglas, Frederick and D'Harnoncourt, René, Indian Art of the United States, The Museum of Modern Art, exhib. cat. (New York: 1941).

441. See Schrader, Indian Arts and Crafts Board, Chapters 8 and 9, "Planning, Promoting, and Financing the San Francisco Exhibit," and "The 1939 San Francisco Exposition," 124-98.

442. Ibid., 386-91.

443. Ibid., 355-59.

444. Letter of René d'Harnoncourt to Alfred Barr, November 8, 1939: IACB Box 34; cited by Rushing 357-58.

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445. So, to the paradigm of theater was added the paradigm of design and fashion, indeed, even the department store, as a model for museum display. Recently, there has been [e.g.] a great deal of interest in the department store as popular culture model for high culture in studies of 19th-century French art, architecture, and material culture.

446. "Introduction," Indian Art of the US, unpg.

447. "Preface, "Indian Art of the US, unpg.

448. Jonaitis, "Creations of Mystics": 5-6.

449. Ibid.: 4.

450. Rushing, "Native American Art," 398, n. 179, discusses d'Harnoncourt's authorship.

451. Ibid., 407-08.

452. D'Harnoncourt, "Indian Art for Modern Living," Indian Art of the US, 197.

453. Rushing, "Native American Art," 404-406.

454. See René d'Harnoncourt, El Arte del Indio en Los Estados Unidos (Washington, D.C.: The National Indian Institute, 1943). See further discussion below.

455. D'Harnoncourt, "Indian Origins and History," Indian Art of the US, 15.

456. Rushing, "Native American Art," 381, says that d'Harnoncourt reported invitiations and offers from museums in Worcester, Buffalo, and Chicago to finance a traveling exhibition of "Indian Arts."

457. d'Harnoncourt, El Arte del Indio en Los Estados Unidos: ["Además, agradecemos al Museo de Arte Moderno de Nueva York el permiso para reproducir algunas pasajes de la introducción originalmente escrita por el señor d'Harnoncourt en el libro "Indian Art in the United States," por René d'Harnoncourt y Frederick H. Douglas."]

458. D'Harnoncourt, "Indian Art," in Indian Art of the US, 11-12. Rushing, "Native American Art," 'The Catalogue: The Critical Reception,' 396-412; with respect to Surrealism, etc., specifically 409-12.

459. Jonaitis, "Creations": 3.

460. Jean Charlot, "All American," The Nation (February 1941): 165.

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461. Thanks to Stephen Weil for introducing me to Berlin's philosophy.

462. Letter courtesy of GOF, from René d'Harnoncourt dated March 22, 1944 (on the letterhead of The Museum of Modern Art, "R.d'H., Vice President in charge of Foreign Activities") to WP in Mexico.

463. El Arte Indígena de Norteamérica, Miguel Covarrubias and Daniel F. Rubin de la Borbolla, eds., con una introducción de René d'Harnoncourt, Museo Nacional de Antropologia, exhib. cat. (Mexico City: March-April 1945): ["Agradecemos igualmente la valiosa y desinteresada cooperación....por permitido el uso de la colección del señor Wolfgang Paalen, cuya exposición ya había sida anunciada por dicha institución. Agradecemos de manera especial el entusiasmo y la cooperación del señor Paalen, así como de la Revista Dyn, de la cual es editor."]

464. WP, Los Cedros y Begonias, Villa Obregon, Mexico D.F., 8 January 1945, to GOF, Erongaricuaro, Michoacan, Mexico: ["Le même mois ouvrier au musée ici une trés belle exposition d'Art Indien de l'Amérique du Nord avec beaucoup de choses amenées des U.S.A.' arrangée--et excellement bien arrangée, par Covarrubias et d'Harnoncourt. Pour moi, c'est une des plus stimulantes expositions que j'ai vu (j'ai déja vu tout ce qu'ill ya, j'y suis allée plusierurs jours pour y amener ma collection du North-West). Cela vaudra jûstement la peine de voir, c'est une des grandes revelations (il y a une copie de peintures préhistoriques de grottes d'Utah de 20 mêtres de long), surtout si vous n'avez pas vu les expositions de ce genre à San Francisco et à New York. En plus, il y a aura une intéressante exposition de masques là où il y avait celle de Picasso."]

465. Rushing, "Native American Art," 383-84.

466. Letter of January 8, [n.d.], courtesy of GOF.

467. Indigenous Art of the Americas: Collection of Robert Woods Bliss, National Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, exhib. cat. (Washington, D.C., 1947).

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# WOLFGANG PAALEN, DYN AND THE AMERICAN AVANT-GARDE OF THE 1940S

by

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# PART IV
# WOLFGANG PAALEN, DYN, AND THE NEW YORK SCHOOL - 1940-46

## A. NEW YORK SCHOOL RECEPTION OF PAALEN AND PAALEN'S FIRST AMERICAN EXHIBITION, JULIEN LEVY GALLERY, APRIL 1940

As has been aptly expressed elsewhere:

> History is, of course, in the mind of the recounter, but at least it is possible to make a concordance out of the vagaries of personal recollections by matching one version against another, as well as reconciling them with such objective facts as dates and contents of exhibitions, and surviving documents.[1]

It is in this spirit that a reconstruction of the New York School's reception of Paalen's art and theory are put forward, to establish a critical model for Abstract Expressionist theory and imagery.

Paalen was known to the New York School well before his arrival in America in May 1939. His painting, Visages planétaires (Planetary Faces) (1934), shared company with works by Picasso, Braque, Léger, Mondrian, et al., in A.E. Gallatin's Museum of Living Art, at New York University in Greenwich Village (1927-1943), described as the most important museum for the evolution of American artists at that time.[2] Visages planétaires was a work from Paalen's early "Abstraction-Creation" period. (Fig. 28) It represented a progressive form of modernist abstraction, but it did not yet bear the marks of his more mature automatic abstract style that would be pivotal to Abstract Expressionist development. Viewing Visages planétaires it is apparent that such a work would have been considered an

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advanced "non-objective" form of figural representation in relation to New York School artists like the American Abstract Artists, as well as those engaged with socialist ideology or figural realism until the end of the 1930s, like most of the Abstract Expressionists.[3]

The Abstract Expressionists knew Paalen through such European art reviews as Cahiers d'art, Minotaure, and the London Bulletin. Clement Greenberg reported that these publications were virtually a lifeline to advanced art in the still provincial cultural climate of New York.[4] They were read regularly by a small group of progressive artists, including Motherwell, William Baziotes, Peter Busa, and Gerome Kamrowski, and Ibram Lassaw, who read French.[5] Illustrated reviews by André Breton, Georges Hugnet, Herbert Read, Christian Zervos, and others, of Paalen's Parisian and London art exhibitions from 1934-38 were available in all three of these art journals, as well as Paalen's own statements, essays, and illustrations for the works of other poets and writers. Paalen was included in Herbert Read's 1936 catalogue of Surrealism, which was "virtually regarded as required reading," for the New York School.[6] Similarly, his inclusion in the key international Surrealist exhibitions in Paris and London, as well as in New York's first encyclopedic exhibition of "Fantastic Art, Dada, and Surrealism," organized in 1936 by Alfred Barr for the Museum of Modern Art, made Paalen an artist of considerable prestige. Sometime between 1940 and 1942, he also attended

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a party held by Frances Lee, a friend of Baziotes, whose loft was a meeting ground for New York School artists in those years.[7] Ethel Baziotes recalled one of those soirées at which Paalen was present and the impression that he made, saying:

> Paalen was very much discussed in the '40s and it rivalled the discussions on Matta.... He was in the air, and also he was doing something revolutionary and new....[8]

I queried, "But Paalen wasn't here very long was he? He just passed through?" And she responded, "I know but it was an awesome presence."[9] Still, Paalen's influence had not died with his absence; even at a remove, in the pages of DYN that "awesome presence" was still vivid.

Only two months after the closing of the International Surrealist Exposition in Mexico City, Paalen opened his first American one-man exhibition at Julien Levy Gallery. The exhibition checklist showed twenty-three paintings, one objet Surréaliste, and experimental drawings, automatic drawings, and fumages.[10] It listed a number of still-lifes done with fumage technique ("nature-morte au cigare allumé"; "nature morte à la mouche"; "nature-morte énervée"), as well as drawings, "unassisted" fumages, automatic ink drawings ("encres automatiques"), and "enchanted" or "magical sheets" ("feuilles d'envoutement").[11] As described by Paalen, fumage, or "drawing" with a lit candle, consisted of "...passing candle-smoke swiftly over a freshly prepared surface and then interpreting through new brushwork the

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design suggested by it."[12] Many of the oils included were from his "paysages totémiques" series, painted from 1937-1939, all of which incorporated fumage into these fantastic, mythical landscapes. There were also a number of still-lifes incorporating the fumage technique and newly painted abstract works like Quelque part en moi (Somewhere in Me) painted in Mexico City in 1940. (Fig. 127) It is important to realize that even the paysages totémiques were built upon the substructure of the spontaneous, accidental markings of the fumage process, using the wispy traces of fumage as a base for meditation, in a manner similar to Ernst's description of his use of frottage to stir the imagination.

Although Paalen's paysages were illusionistic landscape fantasies rendered in perspective, it should be recalled that from 1930-35, Paalen had been practicing abstraction in the "cylcladic" period of affiliation with the Abstraction-Creation movement. Visages planétaires is an early example of that period. He turned again to abstraction in the Surrealist years, and his drawings and fumage paintings from as early as 1937 were among the most unmediated ("unassisted" in Surrealist parlance) automatic efforts evident in the Surrealist group. In a 1938 Paalen drawing (Sans titre) splashes of colored ink show nothing but the painter's gesture and constitute the entire work, thereby predicting the "action" and "drip" painting that would be the hallmark of Abstract Expressionist style. (Fig. 128) So spontaneously formal a work occupies a definite place in

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the oeuvre of Paalen, and a number of these "encres automatiques" were included in the Levy exhibition. (Fig. 129) The decision to allow such instinctive and involuntary creations to stand as artworks was unusual for the artist, whose intellectual and conceptual powers were more often apparent, summoning poetry from the depths of the imagination by means of a virtuoso hand. Even in abstract fumages like The Moth (Fig. 50), the metaphors of death and desire, life and death, are assigned to the purely accidental composition that results from the creative/destructive technique of fumage. This sort of relation, abstract yet poetic, persisted in Paalen's works of the Mexican years. As affirmed by Robert Mattison in a study of Motherwell's earliest works, Paalen's paintings of this period unquestionably influenced Motherwell's work ("which was then literally in its first months of development"[13]) and all the emerging Abstract Expressionists who saw such works in the Levy exhibition.[14] Among those who are known to have attended the opening were Barnett Newman and Adolph Gottlieb.[15] And although Mattison believed that "these 1940 works were not known in New York," he said that, without doubt, "they were seen in Mexico by Motherwell."[16]

Paalen himself characterized his Mexican works from 1940 as "transitional" and said that the Levy exhibition "was his last Surrealist manifestation."[17] Quelque Part En Moi, a delicate combination of fumage and linear brushwork rendered in pastel tones, visually prefigured the so-called

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"biological" phase of Abstract Expressionist painting of ca. 1940-46 in image and significance, offering an unusual combination of automatic and biomorphic imagery.[18] In the first two issues of DYN, Paalen would discuss the method and significance of automatism, linking it to the human psyche and pre-history.[19]

The fumages and "paysages totémiques" were themselves the forerunners of the "biological" imagery of Quelque part en moi and visibly demonstrated Paalen's preoccupation with and knowledge of evolution and paleontology. Through a method of "scientific poetry" and as a metaphor for the organic process of automatism and its ability to tap primary levels of consciousness, these works performed transformations. They depicted the relatedness of species and metamorphoses of form, fusing the contradictory elements of earth, sky, and sea into painted synaestheses:[20] giant squid eject fluid "ink" chains of fumage laden with mussels and aquatic protoplasts (Fig.130); avian skulls finish or hang from the branches of totem-like trees (Fig. 131); iridescent hues of the rainbow color a spectral, irreal world; petrified, carbonous, and crystallized strata cover the foreground of vaporous horizons (Fig. 54). As Paalen said of the technique of fumage: "it helps to visualize textures that seem[..] to escape any brushwork, such as rime, phosphorescence of underbrush, the dances of the will-o'-the-wisp and the web of light in the heart of rock-crystal."[21] Quelque part en moi extracted these effects

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and forms from their Surrealist natural history and recycled and integrated them into purely abstract compositions. With their biological and geological metaphors, Paalen's reveries gave access to a new poetic language that revealed the significance of the unconscious "inscapes" he evoked. These metaphors strongly suggest the very imagery of Abstract Expressionism's classic "biological" and "stratified" works, like Arshile Gorky's Water of the Flowery Mill (1944) (Fig. 132), Newman's Untitled drawings (1944/45) (Fig. 133), or Mark Rothko's Entombment I (1946) (Fig. 134). Even Pollock's more abstract Sounds in the Grass: Shimmering Substance (1946) takes its cue from the natural world, a metaphor which he expanded upon in his later monumental canvas Autumn Rhythm (1950), about which more will be said. (Fig. 135)[22]

The earliest American automatic abstractions employing the paradigm of natural history were Gerome Kamrowski's Eye of Darkness and Visceral Flowers, of ca. 1939-40. But these works were stylistically different than the classic biological imagery of Abstract Expressionism which developed over the next five years, following Paalen's exhibition; the arrival in New York of Onslow Ford, Matta, and other Surrealists; and the release of DYN. [23] Even though the "biomorphism" of Abstraction-Creation was available prior to this time, viewing earlier American "biomorphic" works shows that they were heavier, with flat, discrete cloissonéed shapes, less loosely painted, and lacking the flow and

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freedom of association afforded by automatism.[24] While Masson and Ernst, two of the progenitors of automatic biomorphism, would arrive in New York ca. 1940-41, their work did not seem to take hold until after the interventions of Paalen, Onslow Ford, and Matta.

Paintings like Kamrowski's of 1939 have been explored by Martica Sawin, who dated them to Kamrowski's tenure ca. 1938 as a worker in the Museum of Non-Objective Art of Baroness Rebay, and to experimental sessions held in the Winter of 1940-41, in which Kamrowski, William Baziotes, and Jackson Pollock, participated.[25] Characterized by Motherwell as the "most Surrealist" of the group, Kamrowski discussed his experiments in automatism, first naming Paalen's fumage technique as inspiration and then Jimmy Ernst's diffusion patterns:

> This is what you could get with blind chance with the carbon; it was carbon from holding the paper over a candle, like Paalen's fumage technique; then you would spray it with a diffuser.[26]

But as Sawin points out, it was not until the group met the Surrealists at Frances Lee's loft in 1940, in subsequent encounters, and, finally, in the workshops held by Matta, that the real experimentation in automatism began.[27]

If the reception of Paalen's work by the artistic community was enthusiastic, that was not the case with the critical reception. The response was both limited and negative, serving as a gauge of attitudes about art at that time. Time magazine's critic, Winthrop Sargeant, called

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Paalen's and David Smith's work "Screwball Art." After a diatribe about "abstractionists" and "surrealists who try to put nightmares and nervous breakdowns on canvas," he proceeded to take stabs at Smith, especially for the "miscellaneous plumbing" of his welded iron works, for his Hoosier accent, and for his sympathy with the proletariat "boilermakers" with whom he shared space at the Brooklyn Terminal Iron Works.[28] In the sixth issue of DYN, in what seems almost a retort to this criticism, Paalen reproduced one of Smith's welded sculptures and referred in his text to how:

> Brancusi told me one day how delighted he was at the reaction of some workers seeing his sculpture. Instead of quibbling as to whether people would understand or would not understand, it would be better to ask how many people have a chance to see the work of the greatest sculptor of our time.[29]

Winthrop Sergeant referred to Paalen as a "Netherlands-born Parisian" Surrealist whose "particular Freudian fairyland looks like an Arthur Rackham landscape that has begun to putrefy."[30] He continued by disparaging Paalen's "cobwebby" paintings and alleged that Paalen's rejection of Dali's work was based in envy. The marked contrast to the London reception in the previous year, that placed Paalen among the Dutch old masters (not as "Netherlands-born"), is somewhat revealing of the climate of the New York art world at this date. Greeted with this kind of review, as well as the hostility to "orthodox" Surrealism in Mexico, it is no wonder that Paalen, Onslow Ford, and Matta, would feel

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alienated from Surrealism at this point and hoped to start a new movement.

B. VISIT FROM ROBERT MOTHERWELL, MEXICO CITY, 1941

In the summer of 1941 Robert Motherwell journeyed to Mexico with Matta, Ann [Clark] Matta, and Barbara Reis (the artist and daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Bernard Reis who established a salon for the Surrealists in New York and largely financed their art journal, VVV)[31]. He indicated that "in the three months of that summer of 1941, [Matta] gave me a ten-year education" in Surrealism."[32] In Mexico, Motherwell visited Paalen, taking with him a letter from Kurt Seligmann, with whom he had studied on the advice of Meyer Schapiro. Motherwell and Paalen may have actually met earlier, in 1940 at Julien Levy Gallery, when Paalen opened his exhibition, through Motherwell's acquaintance with Meyer Schapiro.[33]

After Matta returned to New York, Motherwell "...settled near Paalen till nearly Christmas time. Paalen was an intellectual, a man widely read; and it was with him that I got my postgraduate education in Surrealism...."[34] Motherwell became intimately connected with Paalen and DYN. Paalen asked him to stay on in Mexico to be his assistant editor for DYN, but Motherwell declined, although he did translate the lead essay from French, "The New Image," for the first issue of DYN.[35] Mattison reports that "Motherwell had planned to coedit DYN with Paalen before its

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collapse," so it is possible that plans with Motherwell to extend the publication's life were at one time in the works.[36]

Returning to New York, Motherwell kept in close touch with Paalen and it is possible that he translated Paalen's "Surprise and Inspiration," appearing in the second issue of DYN. "Surprise and Inspiration" discussed the psychological motives of automatism and accident so essential to Motherwell's and Abstract Expressionist art.[37] A 1943 automatic collage/drawing by Motherwell, entitled Etude d'Espace, illustrated the essay when it was reprinted in Paalen's 1945 anthology of the DYN essays, Form and Sense; (Fig. 200) and another of Motherwell's works of 1944 was actually titled Surprise and Inspiration.[38] This essay and Paalen himself became important to the development of Motherwell's own thinking and his role as a bridge between Paalen and Abstract Expressionism. Even after DYN ceased to be published, the two artists stayed in touch through a correspondence of many years. Motherwell returned to Mexico twice in 1943 to visit Paalen;[39] and Paalen and his second wife, Luchita Hurtado, would stay with Motherwell in Easthampton whenever they were in New York, ca. 1947-49.[40]

One account says that when he returned to New York in 1941, Motherwell persuaded Howard Putzel (who would become Peggy Guggenheim's assistant at Art of this Century when it opened in 1942), to mount an exhibition of Surrealist painting, in which Paalen was included.[41] The exhibition

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was held at The New School for Social Research from January 22 to March 19, 1941, and showed 26 works by 16 Surrealists.[42] Upon his arrival in New York, Gordon Onslow Ford was asked to give some lectures on Surrealism at The New School. He approached Putzel, whom he had known in Paris, and asked him to assist in mounting an exhibition to accompany the lectures.[43]

That Paalen's scholarly and theoretical bent would appeal to Motherwell is not surprising.[44] Motherwell himself was a highly educated individual. From 1937-38 he studied philosophy at Harvard with David Prall. A seminar in the "History of the Idea of Romanticism" with Arthur Lovejoy set him on a path of French studies and in May, 1938, he went to study at the University of Grenoble. After a short stay there, "to improve [his] French, which remained awful, [he] spent the rest of the time in Paris almost until the war began. There was an interlude at Oxford, in July 1939."[45]

Returning to the United States he spent a year teaching at the University of Oregon while trying to decide whether to continue an academic career or become a painter. Still undecided at the end of that year, as an interim solution, he went to New York to study art history with Meyer Schapiro at Columbia. Schapiro was to have a definitive influence on his life. He began painting, but worked in isolation, as he did not at that time know any other artists. He showed his

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work to Schapiro who ultimately advised him to become a painter, rather than a scholar.[46]

Schapiro was familiar with the newly arrived community of exiled Parisian Surrealists in New York, and because of Motherwell's intellectual and French orientation, he thought association with these artists would benefit him. Around Christmas, 1940, he sent him to study engraving with Kurt Seligmann, who was fluent in English. Through Seligmann Motherwell met and visited with all of the Surrealists, developing a relationship especially with Matta, the only Surrealist in New York close to his age. This was in the spring of 1941. Utterly taken by Matta, whom he described as "the most energetic, enthusiastic, poetic, charming, brilliant young artist that [he] ever met,"[47] he traveled with him to Mexico, where under the influence of both Matta and Paalen, his career as a painter took form.[48]

In Mexico, as Robert Mattison has discussed, Motherwell produced a series of Rorschach-like ink "Mexican drawings" that moved away from the "illusionistic" or "imagistic" imagery he was producing with Matta. Thereafter, under Paalen's influence, he returned to "...greater spontaneity and a higher degree of abstraction."[49] (Figs. 136, 137) Like Paalen's purely gestural "Untitled" ink drawings of 1938, Mattison cited Paalen's Quelque part en moi as a model of inspiration. He believed that it was among "...the freest and most spontaneous of Paalen's career," which

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"suggest[ed] the vitality of the natural world without imagistic references."[50]

In his association with Paalen, Motherwell, like Barnett Newman, assumed the role of theorist and critic, following Paalen's advice in the introductory sentences of "The New Image," which said:

> When the intellectual habits of his culture become radically changed, the artist must concern himself with "theories" whether he wants to or not. The significant artists of any period have been more or less theoreticians, it is true; but it was not indispensable for them to go beyond the field of their immediate experience in a period which had a stable system of coordinated intellectual activity based on commonly accepted values. It is obvious that our period has no such system.[51]

Thereafter, coincidentally, Motherwell and then Newman, became the theorists of the Abstract Expressionist movement, establishing key themes and issues that the other painters in their circle would share, develop, and transform.[52]

It may be because of these transformations that Motherwell later denied Paalen's importance to his own formation in what appears to be an instance of the "anxiety of influence,"[53] in a 1970 correspondence with Irving Sandler. He rejected the suggestion that Paalen "influenced" him to change the term "psychic" (in reference to automatism) to "plastic", stating, instead, that

> ...Phrased thus, there is a sequitur where in fact there is none. My substituting "plastic" for "psychic" was my own idea. To put it the other way around, Paalen had no "influence" on me. Our relationship was essentially his giving me a great deal of information about the origins and nature of Surrealism, which was a topic that then fascinated me, and in return, I gave him equally

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> factual information about contemporary philosophy in the English-speaking world, particularly the American pragmatic tradition of James, Pierce and Dewey, and also of Russell and Whitehead.[54] (My intellectual relationship with Matta at that time was parallel but Paalen did not find Matta simpatico). I never particularly liked Paalen's painting, nor did he particularly like my painting which was then literally in its first months of development, i.e., I began painting full-time at precisely, but by coincidence, at the same moment that I met Paalen. What we did do, as then isolated western intellectuals in Mexico, was to encourage each other in our various aspirations and with our various bits of knowledge and intuitions.[55]

This statement, however, contrasts with his 1966 interview with Sidney Simon, which stated that he received his "postgraduate education" with Paalen - perhaps at a point when his memory served him better. And apparently, Paalen did like his painting, since he featured it along with the works of other emerging artists in DYN and in Form and Sense.

In light of this, and considering the material published in DYN, it is somewhat difficult to accept uncritically Motherwell's claim that "his decision to leave Mexico, Paalen, and the theories of the dynaton...[were] an early instance of the anti-programmatic stance he would take in editing Possibilities six years later."[56] In 1982 he would say "I've always been interested in the avant-garde, but I've been often impatient with manifestoes, etc.; with Paalen, as with others, I felt that there was a bit of making it more important than it really was."[57] Even so, Paalen's "undeclared" manifesto was pivotal for Motherwell

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and the other nascent Abstract Expressionists.[58] In fact, in the opening pages of the first issue, Paalen himself maintained an "anti-programmatic stance" saying that "DYN will stay independent of all commercial or political compromises. It neither belongs to, nor proposes to establish any "ism", group or school." While this was Paalen's public declaration, Edward Renouf has indicated that Paalen "passionately wanted to start a new art movement."[59] Motherwell thus benefited from Paalen's intention, clearly stated on the page facing the masthead, that "DYN will make no effort to draw up a Social Register of celebrities, but will give every chance to the newest men [sic] and newest ideas."[60]

In fact, in interviews Robert Mattison conducted with Motherwell from 1979-1991, Motherwell did acknowledge Paalen. According to Mattison he "tended to deemphasize Paalen's artistic influence upon him in favor of theoretical inspiration."[61] It is evident, however, that there was a period during which Motherwell emulated both. Mattison believed that "drawings like those found in the last pages of [Motherwell's] Mexican Sketchbook and For Pajarita, all done during the Fall of 1941," when he was in Mexico with Paalen, "...were the loosest and most automatic works done yet, and were decisive for his later career."[62] As previously stated, Mattison traced the genesis of these, the earliest of Motherwell's works, directly to Paalen in both image and word, citing a passage on automatism in "The New

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Image" from the first issue of DYN, which presaged Paalen's full length essay on automatism, "Surprise and Inspiration," in the next issue.

Motherwell's imagery, like Paalen's purely gestural "Untitled" ink drawings of 1938 (Fig. 136) aspired to be spontaneous and unpremeditated. It suggested the immediacy of psychological experience undergone during the painting process, rather than illustrating psychological ideas. It thus stood as a sign of "inner states" of mind, rather than standing as a symbol of abstract concepts or objective reality. Emphasizing the active (dynamic) painting process, and speaking with a knowledge of linguistic theory,[63] Paalen said:

> ...the symbolic value of the sign...does not depend upon its possibility of being identified with any concrete reality. For even the sign - which is an intermediate abstraction between the painted image and the letter - does not necessarily refer to existing objects. The sign usually is used with a one way symbolic meaning...[it] operate[s] as [a] visual symbol[.] whose function is to bring about behavior conducive to the material realization of the ideas which are so signified.[64]

C. JOHN DEWEY

While he was in Mexico, Motherwell introduced Paalen to the theory of the American educator John Dewey, who with Meyer Schapiro taught at Columbia during the time Motherwell studied there. And although Motherwell does not indicate that he studied with Dewey, his training with David Prall at Harvard would have exposed him to pragmatic philosophy. In a 1980 interview, Motherwell said that he was "teaching

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[Paalen] about American philosophy. We exchanged lists of books, I introduced him to John Dewey."[65] Clearly, Paalen's enthusiastic response to Dewey related to his Viennese background and its own pragmatic tradition.

Letters from Paalen to Motherwell of 1942 to 1946 cited Dewey and discussed his philosophy.[66] In the last issue of DYN (no. 6, 1944), Dewey's theory of art, as described by Paalen, brought to light "the objective value of artistic experience."[67] Paalen wrote to Motherwell in 1945 asking for Dewey's address so that he could send him a copy of Form and Sense.[68] Paalen found in Dewey's philosophy of Art as Experience echoes of his own belief that the failure of modern culture - unlike "primitive" cultures - was located in its segregation of art and culture.[69] Paalen's library contained four of Dewey's works.[70]

Dewey's position, like Paalen's, repudiated aestheticism and transcendentalism and was based in the language and logic of the sciences - both biological and physical. He ultimately rejected the Aristotelian concept of philosophers like Kant, Hegel, Bergson, and Croce that saw aesthetic experience as a separate and privileged form of cognition, and reasoned that reality was not simply based in "mind," cognition divorced from the body and other mental and emotional processes.[71] Applying ideas from both Darwinian evolution theory and "field theory" of the new physics, he defined the human as an organism and human experience as organic, interacting with its environment to

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realize its needs. In his early theory, evident in Art as Experience, this process of interaction was seen as a dialectic of harmony and discord, constant struggle and resolution, atrophy and entropy, one giving rise to the other.[72] Buettner explains that Dewey's "break with previous aesthetic tradition was never total. What Stephen Pepper calls 'Dewey's eclecticism,' is little more than his need to maintain many of the Aristotelian assumptions that form the substructure of his theories" - like "development, progression, and order," the linear and forward-moving path of experience assumed by dialectical method.[73] What Dewey did assert, however - opening the way for his later more physics-oriented theory - was that "making" and "doing" were unified. He thereby took emphasis off the product and placed it on the process of artistic experience. For him unity was not conceptually organized in the illusion of "time, place, and narrative," but in the "emotional intensity ordering the products of artistic imagination."[74] In Art as Experience, published in 1934, he developed an aesthetic theory that saw "the fundamental nature of any aesthetic event [as] a certain organized coherence of individual phenomena."[75] In his 1939 Theory of Valuation, Dewey arrived at a hypothesis of "the possibility of an objective cognition of values."[76]

For Paalen, this pragmatic philosophy "laid the foundations of a true modern aesthetic...bringing to light the objective value of artististic experience";[77] and he

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desired to extend and actualize that theory by establishing "criteria of objective values in art."[78] In an invented interview in DYN 6 called "During the Eclipse," Paalen used the form of Socratic dialogue in order to simultaneously pose questions and answer them, taking the role of both interviewer (aka "Carter Stone") and interviewee (WP). At a moment when abstraction in art was under fire, Paalen's theory sought to defend it. Arguing that metaphysical concepts of "absolute" beauty were being confused with "objective" values," he called for a new direction in abstraction, away from the "neo-plasticians and their notions of "absolute plastic value":

> the purist abstract painter wished to paint noumena instead of phenomena, and it was certainly an advance since the non-existence of noumena obliged them to invent something. Only it led them to exclude as plastically improper all that makes the interest of art.[79]

For Paalen objective values were based in phenomena, and for the artist phenomena consisted of forms and color, none of which were ever absolute, however neo-Platonists (i.e., Mondrian, et al.) might otherwise believe. To the question "Isn't abstract art scientific [to] the extent that in the analogy with the method of science, which is a system of logical relations, it formulates relations of colors and space?" Paalen answered:

> The analogy is false, for art can only make configurations of qualities, it cannot formulate logical relations. The elements of the most abstract painting which does not contain any apparent reference to the external world, are nevertheless perceived not as logical relations,

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> but as colors and forms: for relations cannot be perceived, only conceived. The work of science is the quantitative co-ordination of relations; the work of art is a rhythmic configuration of qualities. For art there cannot be then elements of expression which are emotionally neutral, while for science a sign is valid in so far as it is emotionally neutral. In other words, since in terms of feeling there appears as <u>form</u> what in terms of logic appears as <u>sense</u>, it is impossible for art to limit itself to the formulation of relations (that is to say, to be scientific) as it is impossible for science to express sensations of quality.[80]

Paalen continued, saying that the "qualitative structures" expressed in the subjective means of art could nevertheless be "<u>put in relation</u>" to other structural organizations. And so, even if no aesthetic laws were absolute, "systems of verifiable values...objective values" could be established in order to judge the subjective expressions of art.[81] In other words, there was a basis for making judgements of quality, within the context of a painter's experience, and outside the realm of subjective "taste" or response.

Basically, what Paalen was trying to establish was a rationale for abstract painting, which at that point, was all but incomprehensible to the American public at large. Paalen believed that if artists developed an abstract language through the use of automatism, tapping the "collective unconscious," the products of that method would be "universal," and filled with "quality." That there would be variation in each individual's [subjective] style was explained by the use of the term "<u>relations</u>." Paalen associated "<u>relations</u>" with physical relativity, which

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served to explain the possibility of diverse experiences being both measurable and qualifiable. This condition would lead to Paalen's "philosophy of the Possible," a call for a "new ethic" or "new order," invoked throughout all the issues of DYN and discussed in detail in "Art and Science."[82] In his own paintings, Paalen developed these "objective values" by appropriating the signs used by quantum and astro-physics to denote the processes of the physical universe.

## D. THE NEW YORK SCHOOL - THE POLITICAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXTS; ISSUES OF INFLUENCE, COMPETITION, AND CONTRAST WITH SURREALISM, CA. 1939-1942; AND DISTRIBUTION AND RECEPTION OF PAALEN'S DYN

### 1. The Political and Social Contexts

The period prior to and during which Paalen published DYN was a period of tremendous cultural and political upheaval. But during this time he became one of the most articulate spokespersons for the meaning and necessity of art. From 1942-1945, when Paalen published DYN and Form and Sense, no other spokesman for the New York School had yet surfaced.

Clement Greenberg, the American critic who championed Abstract Expressionism, has indicated that "for over two years, (1941-1943), while an editor of Partisan Review, I was almost entirely out of touch with art life."[83] Greenberg's review for The Nation of Pollock's first one-man exhibition at Art of This Century near the end of 1943 seems

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ill-disposed to "American" painting in favor of the School of Paris, and, as the old saying goes, "takes away with one hand, what the other gives":

> There are both surprise and fulfillment in Jackson Pollock's not so abstract abstractions. He's the first painter I know of to have gotten something positive from the muddying up of color that so profoundly characterizes a great deal of American painting. It is the equivalent, even if in a negative helpless way, of that American chiaroscuro which dominated Melville, Hawthorne, Poe, and has been best translated into painting by Blakelock and Ryder. The mud abounds in Pollocks larger works....Being young and full of energy, he takes orders he can't fill.[84]

He continues to demean Pollock, giving very left-handed criticism:

> In the large audacious "Guardians of the Secret" he struggles between two slabs of inscribed mud...and space tautens but does not burst into a picture; nor is the mud quite transmuted. Both this painting and "Male and Female" (Pollock's titles are pretentious) zigzags between the intensity of the easel picture and the blandness of the mural.[85]

It is interesting to note that Greenberg's judgment of Pollock's works disparaged those which have become most famous, while the "smaller works" (e.g. "Conflict" and "Wounded Animal") were in his opinion "among the strongest abstract paintings I have yet seen by an American." In the end, Greenberg concedes that Pollock is a promising painter who, "has gone through the influences of Miró, Picasso, [and] Mexican painting," and who, "if he does not lapse into an influence," will "come out on the other side."[86]

This is not the Clement Greenberg who, in his recent obituary, was described as having "...lavish[ed] great

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praise on Mr. Pollock's work, though very few people noticed it at first."[87] In truth Greenberg's response to Pollock was rather cautious, not wandering too far afield of other critics, like Henry McBride, who, in reviewing the exhibition, used James Johnson Sweeney's own words written for the show catalogue:

> Jackson Pollock, who makes a first appearance... submits abstract paintings that are "undisciplined, lavish, explosive and untidy," just as JJS says they are in a little preface to the catalogue. This is the reverse of praise, yet Mr. Sweeney seems to have been won to his cause because this new artist refuses to [bow] for applause.[88]

In fact, other reviews in The Art Digest, The New Yorker, Art News, and Partisan Review (the latter written by Motherwell), were much more unequivocal and receptive to Pollock's art. They also seem to have provided Greenberg with many of his observations, from the influences of "Miró and Orozco" noted by Maude Riley, to the "turgidity" resulting from "overwork[ing] his ideas," noted by Robert Coates, and the "remarkably fine color sense" and "sense of surface" advocated by Motherwell, which Greenberg reversed.[89]

In May of 1944, reviewing Peggy Guggenheim's spring salon, again for The Nation, Greenberg would grudgingly admit that "Nothing of a very high order is shown, but enough that manifests promise." While he felt that "Fannie Hillsmith's oil is...perhaps the best thing shown," he opined that Motherwell's large collage "is perhaps the most

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interesting...but it lacks a certain forthright emphasis which collage usually requires"; that Pousette-Dart "overelaborated his oil"; that Pollock's "untitled pastel and gouache - for all their shortcomings, their lack of pressure...deserve attention"; and that Baziotes had "painted an experiment rather than a picture."[90] By the end of 1944, Greenberg was on the "other side" himself, but in the meantime his writing showed no evidence of the "classic" discourse, themes, and images of Abstract Expressionism, and it was Paalen and others who defended new American abstract art. One wonders too why Greenberg's attitude changed by November 1944, when he wrote for The Nation his first wholly positive reviews of Baziotes and Motherwell, with a commendation of "the strength of their first one-man shows," that also referred to Pollock. Could this have been due to the changing tide of very favorable reviews of Motherwell and Pollock, and an interview of Pollock in the art press?[91]

By January 1945, after the appearance of the last issue of DYN in November, Mark Rothko had also received mixed press response - from Edward Alden Jewell's admission that his work was "still beyond [his] grasp," to Maude Riley's comment that he was neither "abstract [n]or Surrealist,"[92] to still another critic's sentiment that his work revealed:

> plastic expression of an abounding lyric philosophy. The prominent lyrical strain together with a touch of brooding melancholy might render the comparison to Whitman inappropriate were these

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> not offset by Rothko's healthy exuberance and tremendous compassion.[93]

In March-April 1945, on the occasion of Pollock's second one-man show, Greenberg would say that he was "the strongest painter of his generation and perhaps the greatest one to appear since Miró..." and that whereas "there has been a certain amount of self-deception in School of Paris art since the exit of cubism, in Pollock there is absolutely none."[94] "American" style abstraction was on its way.

Again, with reference to an Abstract Expressionist voice at this time, Harold Rosenberg, the other leading critic of the New York School, was still chiefly involved with cultural and literary criticism in the pages of journals like Partisan Review and The Nation; there is little evidence of any art criticism by him at this time.[95] In fact, the earliest Abstract Expressionist journal, Possibilities, published and edited in only one issue by Rosenberg and Robert Motherwell, did not appear until 1947.[96] It was not until Tiger's Eye was issued that Abstract Expressionism realized its first sustained forum.[97] Even though there were a number of other magazines being published at the time, DYN clearly had the most resonance for the New York School. William Seitz observed about the nucleus of artists in New York:

> This nucleus expanded rapidly, however, as images and statements were communicated in a series of richly illustrated journals: the Surrealist VVV (1942-44) modeled on the Parisian Minotaure; View (1940-47), which ambitiously combined neo-Dadaist typography, Schiaparelli Surrealism, and serious

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> criticism; the more intellectual and analytical DYN (1942-44) published by Wolfgang Paalen in Mexico and representing French and American viewpoints...[98]

In DYN Paalen eloquently expressed the sentiments of a generation reacting to the crisis of modern art and culture. In an uncannily prescient discussion applicable to contemporary "post-modernism," his "On the Meaning of Cubism Today" described the crisis in science that had arisen with Heisenberg's principle of indeterminacy, relating that crisis to the crisis in art:

> The crisis in causality in science seems to correspond with the crisis of the subject in art. And the abandonment of the subject in painting goes together with the decline of the novel and of the theatre. All dramatic art has consisted essentially in showing the functioning of causality: the rigor of its determinism, its capacity of giving us the impression of being able to show even the most secret links of the evolutions of a destiny, was its criterion of success. A glance at the significant works of contemporary literature shows that it has become more and more indeterminist.[99]

In 1945 Paalen wrote an essay on "The Crisis of the Subject in Modern Painting"[100], which became a standard issue in Abstract Expressionist discourse. It is likely that Paalen shared this essay with Motherwell in their ongoing relationship. It was published in Mexico City, but Paalen made reference to the "crisis" elsewhere, as in the catalogue statement he wrote for his 1945 exhibition at Art of this Century, which stressed the importance of finding new subjects for art.

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Disenchanted with the failures of socialism and communism, and frustrated by the impenetrable wall of Cubism and Surrealism, which Paalen addressed in the "Cubism" essay, the Americans sought new and original means of expression that would reflect their still-ardent idealism. Paalen offered them a new direction. In fact, "newness" nearly took on the status of a cult for artists in these anxiety-ridden years between the wars, when death and depression hung over them like a merciless spectre,[101] as it had for the German Expressionists before the first World War.[102] This position, as we have seen, was firmly rooted in the discourse of Nietzsche, translated in Europe through the criticism of Meier-Graefe, and later in a second wave in New York by John Graham and, in his turn, by Paalen, into the training ground of American Expressionism.[103]

To the Germanic/expressionist Paalen, Nietzsche was second nature and there seems to be little question that the American attachment to Nietzschean themes and ideology was activated and reinforced by Paalen's theory and rhetoric in DYN. The climate of despair and impending crisis of the times set the tone for DYN's reception and established a "...similarity of inner direction in an entire moral and spiritual milieu, a similarity of ideals...a similarity of "inner mood,"[104] between the two eras - pre-World War I and pre-World War II - a phenomenon to which Wassily Kandinsky referred in the first lines of On the Spiritual in Art.

Speaking of the year 1941, Motherwell said:

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> ...those few artists who were attracted to modern or abstract art had a rough time. None had recognition. Most were poor, depressed, with considerable feelings of hopelessness, but determined nevertheless to carry on, in their respective aspirations.[105]

Even after the war Gottlieb would still discuss the times in terms of "crisis mentality": "Today when our aspirations have been reduced to a desparate attempt to escape from evil...our obsessive, subterranean and pictographic images are the expression of the neurosis which is our reality."[106]

It is thus no coincidence that many of the Abstract Expressionists' earliest poetic and symbolic works of the 1940s utilize and explore chthonic images of the cave and the underworld, images also taken from the myths of Greek tragedy about which Nietzsche spoke.[107] But these myths of confinement and enclosure undoubtedly also reflect the real struggles of the New Yorkers to establish their own artistic identities at this time. In a recent interview Richard Pousette-Dart referred to this when he said: "Many times I felt as if I were painting in a cave - perhaps we all felt that way, painting then in New York."[108] It is no exaggeration to say they felt fairly lost. One author has summarized it thus:

> If neither orthodox surrealism nor the metaphysical ideas of its younger adherents provided a program or a rationale for the New York artists as they groped for new means and images towards the mid-1940s, how were they to define themselves? "Unhinged," as Gerome Kamrowski described it[;] could they stand without a supporting structure? Existentialism would soon come

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to their rescue, but in the interim a suggestion came from another source. In Mexico, Wolfgang Paalen...[109]

2. Issues of Influence, Competition and Contrast with Surrealism, ca. 1939-42

In the first issue of DYN (April-May 1942), Paalen published a "Farewell to Surrealism," which openly proclaimed a break with Europe and rallied artists to an artistic vision that incorporated both a politics of disaffection, abstractionist aesthetics, and the culture of Native Americans. This occurred at a moment when artists were searching for a new indigenous direction to invent a unique "American" modernist style.[110] Resentment of the continental sophistication and urbanity of the Europeans exiled to American shores, particularly the Surrealists, outweighed admiration for them. The "anxiety of influence" was operating powerfully in these years of the Europeanizing of American culture.[111] Clement Greenberg's aversion to Surrealism is well known, and consummately manifest in two essays he wrote for The Nation in 1943 and 1944.[112] In a 1966 interview with Sidney Simon, even Matta confessed to feeling alienated from Surrealism at that time. Referring to their meetings at Matta's studio, Busa asserted: "But what I was getting at was our antagonism to Surrealism. Don't you remember how it was expressed even in our discussions in the group?" Matta responded: "Yes, but I had it myself in those days...."[113]

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On another side, there was a real problem in perception of what Surrealism itself was, for in the minds of New York artists and art public, it was represented by the work of Salvador Dali. As late as 1966, Peter Busa would claim: "...we were abstract artists and abstract art had no place in Surrealism."[114] As Melvin Lader has shown in his study of the Surrealist milieu and the American avant-garde in the 1940s, the American press was reactionary and hostile to Surrealism, depicting it in negative or scandalous ways, and aligning it with the bizarre concatenations and fabrications of psychopathology in Dali's dream pictures.[115] Even before arriving in New York, in the 1939 essay "Des tendances les plus récentes de la peinture Surréaliste,"[116] in the last issue of Minotaure, Breton himself had hastened the demise of veristic Surrealism, speaking out against Dali. His presentation of the new wave of Surrealist painters lauded their work for "...[having] performed the operation of a return to automatic marking."[117] The important contribution of Matta, Onslow Ford, and Paalen, as "second-generation" Surrealists, then, had been to return Surrealism to its basis in automatism, at a time when the practice of illusionistic Surrealism was exhausted.

Half of Paalen's essay-manifesto, "The New Image," was devoted to an analysis of the failure of Dali's brand of "dream" painting.[118] At the same time that he advocated automatism in DYN, Paalen launched a frontal attack upon Dali's paintings, reflecting the American distaste for this

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brand of Surrealism. He argued that Dali's "cross-word" images preserved the tradition of realism and were not automatic but "...simply a ["liquified"] academic copy of a previously terminated psychological experience...."[119]

It was not only the popular press, but also intellectuals who exhibited great antagonism toward the Surrealists. This is evident in arguments launched against them by the literary critic Louise Bogan and the party-line Communist Ilya Ehrenbourg, both writing in Partisan Review in the 1930s. Bogan, obviously looking at Dali and artists such as Pavel Tchelitchev (affiliated with View), who subscribed to illusionistic Surrealism, said:

> The truth is, that in surrealism, the dream is treated in the most primitive way: it is recounted or imitated; Surrealist poets have gone into the subconscious as one would take a short trip into the country, and have brought back some objects of grisly or erotic-sadistic connotation,, or a handful of unrelated images, in order to prove their journey. It has not occurred to them that the journey has been taken many times, that human imagination has, before this, hung a golden bough before the entrance to hell, and has described the profound changes the true journey brings about.[120]

And, from his political perspective in 1935, Ehrenbourg had reviewed one of their publications and countered:

> The publication which appears in this weird [phosphorescent] wrapper is entitled Surrealism in the Service of the Revolution; for the Parisian snobs are very fond of the "revolution," as they are of cocktails and sexual perversions. The Surrealists are careful to quote Hegel, Marx and Lenin, and to assure their unsuspecting readers that they are "serving the revolution".... Preoccupied with theories of masturbation and exhibitionist philosophies, these phosphorescent youths would make themselves out to be implacable

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> revolutionary zealots and the champions of a proletarian purity.... They go in for Hegel and Marx and the revolution, but work is something to which they are not adapted....Their time is taken up with spending their inheritances or their wives' dowries; and they have, moreover, a devoted following of rich American idlers and hangers-on. They are put out with the Soviet Union, for the reason that people work there; and this, to their minds, is the "wind of cretinism."[121]

It has been said that one of the things about Surrealism that bothered the Americans was its capriciousness, which they failed to see as a strategy. Lionel Abel, who associated with the Surrealists when they arrived in New York in 1940, observed: "Surrealism makes more sense in France than in any other country because there wasn't that commitment [elsewhere] to rationality of a rather strict and narrow sort that came with Cartesianism...great philosopher that Descartes was, but he was wrong in some profound way too."[122] The Surrealist "geste" was a purposive defense against limitations. But that was neither clear to nor appreciated by the Americans.

In speaking about the exiled Surrealists, Motherwell said:

> They were artistically isolated on the whole. They knew that the American artists held off, either out of jealousy or out of lack of sympathy; or perhaps feeling threatened or merely not being interested; I don't know.[123]

The presence of the Surrealists on American soil opened the eyes of New York artists, put the lie to the one-dimensional picture drawn by the press, and allowed them a view of the complexity of Surrealism as well as of the diversity of its

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various forms. As Motherwell has said of his impressions of them in those years:

> They were a real fraternity. Such as I have never seen before, or since, among artists. (Most of the artists I have known have as their best friends other artists, but it is a personal rather than an ideological relationship.) Surrealism was a complicated system of ideas and attitudes, having to do not only with art.[124]

But the American romance with Surrealism did not last very long - and in the interim, before the consolidation of their own movement, the New Yorkers turned to Matta, and then to DYN, as we shall see.

On the psychological and intellectual side of the question, Paalen's own need to break with the father figure of André Breton formulated in his "Farewell," provided the Americans with a fraternal, less domineering, voice, which spoke with great erudition. In this regard, Motherwell stated that he believed "Matta had an Oedipal relation to the Surrealists" and a deep love-hate relationship" with them as well.[125] Breton, however, admired Paalen and characterized him as a formidable intellect indicating that "no more serious or more continuous effort has ever been made to apprehend the texture of the universe and make it perceptible to us...[in his vigorous] way of seeing - of seeing around and within oneself";[126] and referred to him as the "rarest encyclopaedic intelligence of our time."[127]

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3. Distribution and Reception of DYN - 1942-1944

DYN was written in English and in French, and Paalen negotiated its Mexican, European, and American distribution and sale: in Mexico City through his own Quetzal Editions and at the bookstore at Pasaje Iturbide 18 of César Moro;[128] in New York through Wittenborn and the Gotham Book Mart; and in London through Zwemmer's Book Shop whereby it reached Paris and the continent.[129] DYN was also available at the Weyhe Bookstore and Gallery on Lexington Avenue; at the Wakefield Gallery, and at Wittenborn Books, all three establishments frequented by New York artists in the 1940s.[130] Since DYN was the only artists' review to be distributed internationally, it developed a wide and influential circulation. Reportedly it was read by artists, critics, and other members of the art public in such distinct and distant localities as Chicago, Washington, D.C., and Hawaii.[131]

As revealed by the statements of artists of that period, DYN filled a gap for a generation trying to find their way in the maze of political and cultural "isms" that existed between the two World Wars. Both well-known artists like Richard Diebenkorn and Lee Mullican and lesser-known figures of the New York School concur in that opinion. Martica Sawin, an art historian active in the art world of the 1940s indicated that she first saw DYN as a student in Paris in 1949, when another student gave her a copy; and that it was sold at Galerie Maeght throughout the 1940s.[132]

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Douglas Newton, Nelson Rockefeller's curator at the original Museum of Primitive Art, stated that he first saw DYN in London, when it was shown to him by the philosopher G.E. Moore.[133]

In a 1963 interview, Diebenkorn recalled two experiences that influenced his thinking about art. One was The Philips Collection in Washington, D.C.; the other was DYN:

> Also another important thing that came to me was the publication of a magazine.... I saw two copies of it - the name was "Dyn" - D Y N. And there was one copy of it that was terribly important to me, that had some sort of spiral on the cover. [ed. This was DYN 6] [134] (Fig. 138)

Ann Gibson reports that Peter Busa "recalls that he bought the Amerindian issue when it came out (December 1943) and that he kept it for years;"[135] and another writer, discussing Louise Nevelson's knowledge of Paalen, has indicated that Lee Krasner and Jackson Pollock had DYN in their library.[136] In a recent interview, Fritz Bultman, an artist and close friend of Pollock, confirmed that Pollock not only read DYN, but that he was aware of Paalen's discussions on shamanism and totemism and was "deeply involved with Paalen's idea about the human psyche passing through 'emotion to abstraction,' 'ancestral stratifications,' and 'evolutionary stages of the species.'"[137]. Pollock and Paalen undoubtedly met through their mutual dealer Peggy Guggenheim, for Paalen's April-May

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exhibition at Art of This Century in 1945 was directly followed by Pollock's one-man show there.

Paalen also informed one interviewer that the magazine became self-supporting after the first few issues, a remarkable achievement for those times, and by any standards for a "little" magazine.[138] This may have been due both to subscription and to Paalen's good business sense that solicited advertisements from numerous patrons, including Gotham Book Mart, Wittenborn Books, and a variety of literary reviews like Horizon, Accent, Kenyon Review, and Cuadernos Americanos, which in themselves are interesting documents of then-current literary tastes.

In 1945, the publisher George Wittenborn released an anthology of all of Paalen's DYN essays under the title Form and Sense, as the first in a series of "Problems in Contemporary Art," extending the original reach and distribution of DYN by at least a half.[139]

It is well documented that artists and intellectuals of the New York School were thoroughly familiar with the developments and ideas espoused by Breton and Trotsky in the Manifesto for an Independent Revolutionary Art, especially through the pages of Partisan Review.[140] Thus when Meyer Schapiro led a band of artists out of the "Communist dominated" American Artists' Congress in 1939 to protest the invasion of Finland by the Soviet Union, there was already defection from hard-line Communism towards a more centrist position, negotiated through the intermediary socialist

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position of Trotsky and his championing of total liberty of artistic expression.[141] A rejection of Party politics ensued in the following years, evident in the changing rhetoric of both critics and artists. They chose an "apolitical" position, searching for a means to express their desire for a universal, non-verbal language that might heal the wounds of intrigue and war, claiming personal and artistic freedom above all other considerations.[142]

This idealism was soon echoed in Clement Greenberg's "art for art's sake" criticism, which, like Meier-Graefe's earliest work, disavowed any relationship between art and politics in favor of "pure" art. Like the first-generation of German Expressionists, Paalen and the American painters in New York were disillusioned with the vagaries and betrayals that underscored partisan politics and hoped to create a new unity based on spiritual, rather than political, values. But, as has been observed about Germany by the Expressionist scholar Rose-Carol Washton Long:

> The initial utopian hope that a new style of art could contribute to a moral and ethical renewal could not be sustained by the political and economic realities after the November Revolution of 1918.[143]

In the United States, similar utopianism would be coopted and absorbed into the political and economic agenda of the Cold War.

As Herbert Read implied in his The Politics of the Unpolitical, the unpolitical is by its very choice a political stance.[144] And Paalen and his journal were party

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to this position. For Paalen - who had witnessed the rise of the National Socialist party; the discord reaped by politics in the Surrealist movement;[145] and the assasination of Trotsky, the very idea of the union of art and politics was loathesome. In an argument in defense of a "New Image," he wrote:

> In our time, society is divided by such antagonistic aims that its intellectual preoccupations become manifest in contradictory and diverse "movements". This conflict reveals itself in the realm of artistic creation by the general refusal to accept, even within a single nation or culture, standard meanings for such terms as "beauty" and "ugliness." The consequence is that these terms can no longer be employed in serious discussion, for their meanings are always interpreted by the particular ideology of a given "movement" or "ism."[146]

The widespread rejection of partisan politics in the 1940s (continuing into the 1950s) by a wartorn and world-weary population of artists and intellectuals, was symptomatic of the times. Speaking of the year 1942, Gustav Regler, once a devoted member of the Communist party, observed:

> My former friends had denied that anyone could grasp the significance of events without being an adept of the Marxist creed....Paalen refuted this superstition in that he showed himself to be bound up with the time in a more deeply tragic sense, and created pictures which were immeasurably superior to the simplicist world-philosophy of the materialists.... A painter who supposedly revelled in esotericism...and knew nothing of the real world...taught me that not only was this Church of dialectical materialism built upon sand but that the god within it was made of straw.... through Paalen's "starscapes"...I again became aware of the meaning of the decade.[147] (Fig.139)

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In those days, to be déengagé was a sign of "correct" politics, rather than an admission of bourgeois cooption. But by the 1970s critics would reevaluate modernist art and Expressionism, both German and American, through the lens of history. In Europe, New Left criticism began to analyze the problematic and unwitting relationship of German Expressionism to fascist ideologies, drawing upon earlier debates;[148] and in the United States and Great Britain, Anglo-American critics identified the Abstract Expressionists with post-war propaganda and the swing away from the left through the "Vital Center" of Arthur Schlesinger and other post-war liberal philosophies, finally, to be absorbed as a "Cold War weapon."[149] Stephen Polcari has correctly pointed out that these analyses are themselves construed from a partisan point of view. But it is also important to acknowledge that they were the first introduction of any historical analysis whatsoever to the formalist and theme-oriented literature of Abstract Expressionism in the "New Criticism" that prevailed throughout the 1950s and '60s. Such analyses, in effect, have made it possible for Polcari's call for a "responsible, informed sociopolitical history - Marxist or otherwise - to be written."[150]

In 1958 Dwight MacDonald "wonder[ed] whether the intellectuals' rush to rediscover their native land...had not produced a somewhat uncritical acquiescence in the American

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imperium,"[151] and a decade later Christopher Lasch observed:

> The defection of intellectuals from their true calling - critical thought - goes a long way toward explaining not only the poverty of political discussion but the intellectual bankruptcy of much historical scholarship. The infatuation with consensus; the vogue of disembodied "history of ideas" divorced from considerations of class or other determinants of social organization; the obsession with "American Studies" which perpetuates a nationalistic myth of American uniqueness - these things reflect the degree to which historians have become apologists, in effect, for American national power in the holy war against communism...
>
> The prototype of the anti-communist intellectual in the fifties was the disillusioned ex-Communist, obsessed by the corruption of Western politics and culture, by the pervasive influence of Stalinism and by a need to exorcise the evil and expiate his own past.[152]

Building upon these analyses in 1980 the French Marxist Serge Guilbaut would resurrect and take up the challenge of Clement Greenberg's statement that:

> Some day it will have to be told how anti-Stalinism, which started out more or less as Trotskyism turned into art for art's sake and thereby cleared the way heroically for what was to come.[153]

Even Alfred Barr, in a catalogue for a (1958) post-war exhibition touring Europe that celebrated American painting, unintentionally revealed the essentially libertarian position of Abstract Expressionism when he said: "Indeed, one often hears Existentialist echoes in their words but their "anxiety," their commitment, their "dreadful freedom" concern their work primarily,"[154] thus confirming the

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doctrine of "pure" art to which their work appeared to subscribe.

### E. PAALEN'S "FAREWELL TO SURREALISM"; SECOND-GENERATION SURREALISM; AND VVV THE SURREALIST REVIEW IN EXILE AND THE NEW YORK SCHOOL, 1942-44

In the same years that Paalen published DYN in Mexico, 1942-44, Breton, Duchamp, Ernst and David Hare published their own review, VVV, in New York.[155] But the format, tone, and substance of VVV were cryptic enough to estrange the Americans. Paalen, on the other hand, presented a common-sense attitude, consciously distinguishing himself from the older, first-generation Surrealists, and denouncing them as "mystagogues" in the "Farewell to Surrealism." He asserted his belief that:

> ...neither on the level of social conflict nor in the domain of philosophy did it (Surrealism) offer a point of view sufficiently new; that it subscribed a bit summarily to certain simplistic conceptions of Hegel and Marx...in 1942, after all, there has been a bloody failure of Dialectic Materialism and the progressive breaking up of all of the isms...[156]

Paalen also objected in the "Farewell" to Surrealism's devotion to Freudian theory, with its emphasis on the irrational mind, metaphysics, and motivations of desire. Although he praised the Surrealists' use of automatism, their attempt to close the gap between art and life, and their revitalization of the role of art and the artist, he nonetheless believed that the movement had had its day and could never "objectively formulate" a raison d'être for art

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capable of restoring its essential value to society. On this basis, Paalen rejected Freudianism and exhorted the artist to "think [...] outside of the too-individualistic images of his desire...[which] renounc[e] adult thought in the name of an infantile faith."[157] In "The New Image," also published in DYN 1, he advised finding a collective basis for artistic creation through the liberation of the unconscious in the method of automatism.[158] His analysis implied an interest in the "collective unconscious" of Carl Jung, in agreement with Gordon Onslow Ford, whose lectures at The New School for Social Research in 1941, attended by many Abstract Expressionists, also advocated Jungian principles.[159]

Alice Rahon took a copy of the initial issue of DYN to Breton in New York in that year. When he read the "Fare-well" and its disavowals of Surrealism he was incensed.[160] Paalen and Breton were not to reunite until 1951, after the war, when Paalen returned to Paris. But he never felt fully reconciled to Surrealism as his letters of that period attest, and his deep sense of isolation would ultimately drive him to take his own life.[161]

A desire to start a new art movement seems to have been the agenda not just of Paalen, but of the other younger Surrealists like Matta and Gordon Onslow Ford. Their efforts to ally with American artists - through friendships, lectures, workshops and, in the case of Paalen,

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elaborate production of a publication - were genuine and effective. According to Jimmy Ernst, however, Breton put a lid on the activities of the younger Surrealists when he arrived in New York in 1941:

> When André Breton arrived in New York, it became quite evident that he preferred not to see any splinter groups even remotely connected with Surrealism. He had doubts that the young Americans qualified as bona fide members of his movement. He made no secret of his suspicion that abstract art was about to invade the Surrealist precincts. The established artists were urged to withhold their support. Automatism should not become the vehicle for counterrevolutionary abstraction. [his emphasis][162]

Paalen had tried to woo Breton to a revision of Surrealism in correspondence with him in 1941. But Breton was not interested in Paalen's new vision, which would include the "philosophical implications of post-Einsteinian physics in order to find out what is right with science and why it works - and what is wrong with art in our time and why it does not work."[163] He hoped, as well, that it would include in its canon consideration of the philosophy of John Dewey.

> After the failure of religion, art is perhaps our last chance for a new humanism. A bold statement at a time when humanity is standing on the brink of general despair and confusion: but nevertheless a manifesto of creation in an age of destruction. Therefore Paalen looked for contact with young writers and painters in order to create an organ for research which should strive towards such a synthesis.... A friendly exchange of letters raised the momentary hope that Breton might be convinced of the necessity of submitting the fundamental principles of surrealism to a strict revision: Breton, however, declined.[164]

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According to Edward Renouf, it was Breton's controlling personality that kept Paalen away from New York, producing DYN as his contribution to the ongoing debate.[165] But Paalen's aversion to the Kafkaesque "great useless turbines of the man-mill," he had encountered there was equally important. It was for similar reasons that Gordon Onslow Ford withdrew from the New York scene and left for Mexico, where he lived for six years in a remote Tarascan village. He remained in close contact with Paalen and continued to develop his own language of abstraction.[166]

In intention and style, Paalen's ideas on art were closer in vision to the creations of the second-generation Surrealists - Matta, Onslow Ford, Seligmann, Dominguez and Esteban Francés - of which he was chronologically and ideologically a part. Like Paalen in DYN, this second wave of Surrealists assembled around the practice of abstract surrealism, rejecting "literary" or "illusionistic" Surrealism. In this, they were in complete accord with the Americans who, significantly, were of the same generation and reacting against pictorial illusionism of any kind in the aftermath of the WPA decade and Stalinism. Breton and Trotsky had voiced the same attitudes in the "Manifesto: Towards An Independent Revolutionary Art."

Recruited into the ranks of Surrealism by Breton in 1939, and introduced as the Surrealist new wave to the European art public in an article Breton wrote for Minotaure,[167] their platform advanced the wing of

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Surrealist style initiated by Arp, Masson, and Miro, under the rubric of "psychic automatism." This was developed in relation to then-current theories of psychology, mathematics, and physics.[168] A recent catalogue on the transfer of Surrealist theory and practice to the California School in the 1940s indicates:

> The abstract automatic approach to Surrealism which dominated the early years of the movement was reinvigorated in the years surrounding World War II. This later form of abstract surrealism, which was so influential in the United States in the early 1940s, was more concerned with ideas about higher dimensions and with exploration of a fluid time-space continuum than the earlier branch had been.[169]

Paalen's ideas on this topic related to post-Einsteinian physics and the advanced theories of the Vienna Circle, based in philosophy as well as in science, going beyond the formulations of Poincaré to which the others were drawn; and beyond the mathematical metaphysics of Ouspensky, which first engaged Matta, Onslow Ford, and even Paalen himself.[170]

But the war interrupted this progression in the Surrealists' path, scattering the participants in a virtual diaspora to all parts of the New World from which they attempted, in their respective locales, to recuperate the movement. Yet this interest in other-dimensional realities and time-space, singularly promoted by Matta, did not particularly interest the Americans, and they gladly seized upon Paalen's storehouse of other ideas articulated in DYN.

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Exiled and on unfamiliar ground, the older Surrealists, who had been in conflict before the Occupation[171] - a fact that caused Breton to recruit new members to the group - rejoined ranks in New York and created VVV to continue the tradition of Minotaure and transplant Surrealism to the New World. Financed, published, and distributed by E. Teriade and Albert Skira, Minotaure had appeared in France for five years (1934-39), undisturbed by the adversity of war and exile.[172] In contrast to this, the arrival of the Surrealists in New York reflected the divisive situation of Surrealism before the exile:

> Surrealism at that time was in a period of transition, with the Surrealists divided through dissension. Paul Eluard had split off for political reasons; Max Ernst had been forced out and took others with him when he left. Remaining behind were Yves Tanguy, Wolfgang Paalen, Victor Brauner and Benjamin Peret among others. This opened the possibility for new energy to enter the group and it was then that Matta and Onslow Ford joined, bringing Surrealism to a threshhold of a new era.[173]

A letter from Breton to Paalen from France dated 23 July 1939, confirmed the problems Breton was having. He indicated that he was distraught at Paalen's departure from France, since he had always been one of Breton's "three closest friends" and one of the "rays of his life," and hoped he would return soon:

> There is little activity in Surrealism since you left Paris. I've ignored the issue of Minotaure envisaged for October....International problems have existed for months, the newspapers talk about it...it's a period of tremendous confusion, with rare chances for hope. A lot of criticism of Minotaure is going on. Mabille wrote that Dali

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> has killed sales of the latest number in America and in France the reception has been no less reserved....[174]

Paalen and DYN, in fact, participated in the definition of a "new era," which would result in a New World Surrealism, contributing, in turn, to the development of Abstract Expressionism.

In spite of the difficult circumstances, DYN was a handsome publication financed by Eva Sulzer as well as by the Mexican writer, editor, and art patron, Octavio Barreda.[175] It was a markedly more coherent and coordinated piece of work, possibly because it was produced nearly single-handedly by Paalen.[176] DYN's editorial policy was intentionally more catholic, and eminently more comprehensible than VVV, departing from the Francophilic and recondite language and illustration of the latter that were anathema to the emerging American artists.[177]

VVV, in fact, was Breton's response to View, a journal edited by the American poets Parker Tyler and Charles Henri Ford, which "adopted" the Surrealists when they arrived in New York.[178] As was the case with Abstract Expressionism, the American interpretation of Surrealism was not in concert with Breton's thinking. Even William Seitz described View's surrealism as "Schiaparelli Surrealism," implying a lack of depth in its basic foundations. Whether history can uphold these judgements remains to be seen, as it was an extraordinarily rich and varied publication.[179]

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Breton broke with View to start VVV, his own magazine, as an exclusively Surrealist organ. Matta, who helped to edit and contributed to VVV, indicated, however, that he had believed that VVV was originally conceived of as a vehicle for the "more autonomous and abstract point of view."[180] While View was more in favor of veristic Surrealism, VVV, he thought, was to be its antidote. Naturally a quarrel ensued, and Matta wrote to Onslow Ford in the summer of 1942 that "VVV has turned into a democratic organ...everybody must have his percentage of space and the original idea of a laboratory for the word and form in all its suicidal possibilities is gone."[181] Paalen, in turn, made his break from the Surrealists, making DYN a platform for the "abstractionist" cause and attracting a significant following of Americans who eagerly responded to his "synthesizing intelligence."[182]

The printed word, as the Surrealists knew well, has an authority and concreteness that transcends the work of art itself. The Surrealists' interventions into journalism and the institutions of publishing - whether in the form of publicity from their "scandales" and protests, or in the form of their own publications - served them in their cause of inciting a revolution in the "superstructure" as Marxists had in the "substructure." It was as a conscious part of their politics and strategy that they created a series of journals from the inception of the movement.[183]

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Paalen created DYN based in part on their example. Then, as we shall see, beginning in 1946, New York artists brought out a series of journals that, in theory, tone, ideology, and format modeled themselves after DYN and other little magazines, forging their own movement. Like the Abstract Expressionists, Paalen distanced himself from Surrealist ideology and style. But for him, this distancing was not only founded in polemic, but also in his roots in Viennese and German culture. For, as we have seen, before he ever entered the Surrealist movement he had had another life originating in Vienna and Berlin; closely identified with proto-Expressionist literary and artistic circles; and carried over into an engagement with the international "Abstraction-Creation" movement. From Meier-Graefe's criticism in Pan to the Blue Rider Almanac to Cercle et Carré, Paalen's journal was dependent not only on the Surrealist model, but on many modernist impulses that he synthesized into a new vision.

While there has been much documentation of Onslow Ford's and, particularly, Matta's influence as important links in the transfer and transformation of Abstract Surrealist ideas and theory into Abstract Expressionism, little has been said of Paalen's contribution.[184] Paalen's conception of a new direction for art challenged Surrealism, even while paying hommage to it. His insistence on demystification and clarity, his intellectual rectitude and integrity, his intimate familiarity with German Romanticism,

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philosophy, and science, appealed to the sober sensibility and pragmatic character of the Americans. Paalen's adaptation of and divergence from orthodox Surrealism were distinctly his own and significantly different from Matta.

When he arrived in New York, Matta had wanted to start his own publication, but it was never realized.[185] Even Julien Levy, whose gallery showed the Surrealists as early as 1933, wanted to publish a Surrealist magazine.[186] In fact, he asked Paalen to edit it, but Paalen declined.[187] Instead of starting his own publication, Matta collaborated with Breton, Duchamp, Ernst, and [David] Hare on VVV.[188] He is listed as one of the editors in all the issues of VVV, numbers 1, 2-3, and 4. His participation is most evident in the fourth issue, for which he designed the cover. Thus, in spite of his ambivalence, he never made a clean break with the older, first-generation Surrealists in these years, as did both Paalen and Onslow Ford, and his influence on the Americans was personal and technical rather than theoretical; in fact, Matta demonstrated automatism itself in the studio sessions he held in 1942-43.[189]

It is revealing, however, that even though Matta complained about the Americans' inability to absorb more than technique,[190] Irving Sandler says that the "New Yorkers did not consider automatism in itself sufficient" and that "their point of view was reflected by Paalen" in DYN.[191] In his essay "The New Image," revised for publication in Form and Sense in 1945, Paalen said:

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> automatism...can be no more than incantatory technique, and not creative expression...the kaleidoscopic flow of the painter, emancipated in automatism, [is] nothing but raw material...in order that there may be a poem or a painting language must become articulate. The everflow multicolored sauce or the verbal inflation finally becomes as boring...as the petty algebra of rectangular prisms.[192]

This is not to say that Matta did not either communicate, or try to communicate, with the Americans - he and Onslow Ford attempted to share with them the "terrain vague" of their theories of time-space - what Onslow Ford called the "inner worlds" (as did Kandinsky) and what Matta called "psychological morphology." But for many reasons Matta's person, more than his voice, was the electrifying influence. The most potent of these was his "energetic, enthusiastic, poetic, charming" personality.[193] As early as 1960 Robert Goldwater noted that the very bearing of the European artists, their confidence in their artistic identity was an important object lesson for the Americans, who in the still-provincial art world of 1930s and 1940s New York, had had no such models.[194]

F. PRECEDENTS FOR PAALEN'S PUBLICATION OF DYN

No doubt, what prompted Paalen to produce a magazine on his own was his need to remain in the flow of art world discourse from his relatively isolated location in Mexico. The fact that he undertook such an ambitious project may have come from the influence of his father, Gustav, whose professional life as the Secretary General of the Berliner

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Tageblatt would have been important to Paalen's early experience. We have already remarked how Wolfgang, like Gustav, became a dealer, collector, and connoisseur of art, although following the modernist aesthetic of his own generation.

In a sense, Paalen was born to write, as much as to paint. Years after his demise, Eva Sulzer commented that she believed Paalen would be remembered as a writer before he was remembered as a painter, a fact that seems to have come to pass.[195] In truth, the full power of his paintings can only be appreciated through his writings.

Although the full dimension of Paalen's talents as an author, theorist, editor, and auteur did not surface until the production of DYN, his abilities as a writer, his voice, and the seeds of what developed into the sophisticated theories of the DYN essays, had a number of precedents in his years in Paris in the 1930s. As we have seen, those qualities were already well-developed in his "Réponse" to Cahiers d'art editor Christian Zervos's "Enquête" of 1935. This "Enquête" survey style was, in fact, reiterated by Paalen in the "Inquiry on the Dialectical Gospel," in DYN.

Similarly, his involvement with Surrealist publishing activities in Paris foreshadowed the theory and production of DYN. His own contributions to these collaborations were numerous. They included a 1937 "Jouets Surréalistes" invention; illustrations (with Picasso, et al.) to a program for Ubu enchainé, issued for the production of Alfred

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Jarry's play by the Compagnie du Diable Ecarlate; illustrations for Xavier Forneret's "Le Diamant de l'herbe"; translation and illustration of Lichtenberg's "Liste d'une collection d'outils" for Minotaure;[196] and illustrations for Lautréamont's Oeuvres complètes, published on the occasion of the 1938 International Exposition at Galerie Wildenstein, as was Paalen's definition of "Le Surconscient" for the Dictionnaire abregé accompanying that show.[197]

Paalen's exposure to the aesthetics and mechanics of artists' publications was equally substantial. As with the "Enquête" survey format, Paalen utilized a multi-disciplinary format similar to Minotaure drawing upon anthropology, psychology, and sociology, as well as poetry and the plastic arts, graphically styling DYN after the layout of both Minotaure and Cahiers d'art. The most important influence and model for Paalen's theory and voice in DYN, however, was André Breton.

Paalen's integral participation in the production of Surrealist "events" - from exhibitions and catalogues, to antetypes of multimedia events and contemporary "installations" - gave him experience in the role of auteur. His collaboration with poets in the illustration of volumes -like Valentine Penrose's Le nouveau Candide (1935) and Sorts de la lueur (1937); Alice Rahon's Noir Animal (1941), and César Moro's Le Château de Grisou (1943) - gave him experience and sensitivity to the production of fine art books and printed materials.

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## G. PRODUCTION OF DYN BEGINS - FORMAT, DESIGN, CONTENTS

After settling into his new home in San Angel Inn, an elegant suburban district of Mexico City, and after the closing of his Julien Levy show, Paalen set about publishing DYN. It was an all-consuming effort; some years later, after publishing six issues of DYN, he confided to Jacqueline Johnson:

> "All that I am doing now...," he wrote in a letter of 1945, with a certain impatient humour paraphrasing a famous phrase of André Breton..., "is to the end that one day it will not be said of me 'He was only an artist.'" In other letters a little before then and afterward, a familiar plaint: "I have not been able to paint for two years,"..."I have not painted for the last month."[198]

He had begun publication by 1942. The first issue offered a variety of texts and images, from essays to book reviews, and from poetry to pages of aphorisms by George Christoph Lichtenberg and Paalen himself. It included Paalen's essays, "The New Image," "Suggestion for an Objective Morality," and "Farewell to Surrealism"; as well as assistant editor Edward Renouf's critique of "Regionalism in Painting." Poetry by Alice Paalen, Charles Givor [aka WP], and César Moro rounded out the contents, while reproductions of the paintings of Paalen and his circle and photographs by Eva Sulzer provided handsome illustrations.

Paalen used two-color printing for his own calligraphic drawing for the cover of DYN 1, red and black on yellow stock, giving an eye-catching effect at the start. The

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hand-lettered text gave the publication dates and volume number, listed the names of contributors, and announced Paalen as editor and publisher. The lettering spelling out the title, DYN, echoed the pulsing, expanding lines of the calligraphy to convey a feeling of dynamism equal to the colors. (Fig. 140) On the back cover printed in red and black, was the futuristic DYN emblem, which would be repeated on the front of DYN 3, and on the back cover of every other issue. (Fig. 141)

The emblem was a simple circle intersected by three parabolas that Paalen conceived of as both a sign and a symbol of the globe. (In 1944 he would paint The Sign DYN.) (Fig. 152) The parabolas were like boomerangs that came, as they would go, from the outer reaches of time and space, from a universe of "possibilities." This sign abstractly represented a fusion of the "primitive" - the aboriginal boomerang - and the futuristic, within a theoretical space.

DYN, like Minotaure, was a mixture of classical and innovative book design. It bordered on the tradition of the "fine art book" with beautiful reproductions and handsome typography. But it was actually a book of the artist - a volume produced by and for artists themselves.[199] Like Minotaure, DYN maintained a standard format, with fine Roman print set in two columns per page. Additionally, DYN used many of the devices of the classical art of the book: head- and tailpieces, vignettes set into the running text, and illustrations squared off or integrally placed in the text.

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(Fig. 75) But DYN also deviated from tradition. The furthest thing from a beaux-arts production standard in DYN were the covers, not glossy or precious at that. These covers give the impression of being hand-made, a quality that belies the sophistication of the contents but relays a strong sense of the touch of the artist. Additionally, the head- and tail-pieces and the vignettes, distributed throughout the pages, reproduced ink-drawings, sometimes humorous metamorphic doodles, by Paalen and assistant editor Edward Renouf, and quoted motifs from "Amerindian" design. (Fig. 75 and 142 )

To create a further sense of hand-crafting, DYN 1 made numerous digressions from classical formulae. Paalen's mock-scientific "Blueprints for Vertebrates," for instance, was a gridded chart of calligraphic sketches screenprinted in blue and subtitled "Les Nouveaux Sauriens" to signify an evolutionary relationship between the suborder Sauria - true lizards - and the human skeleton (Fig. 143 and 144);[200] his original "tipped-in" woodcut (engraved by Díaz de León) adjacent to his aphorisms on "Seeing and Showing" (Fig. 145); and Alice Rahon's "Poeme-Tableau," a portrait/abstraction with a short poem printed at its base alluding to the reproduced painting. (Fig. 146)

In verse form, the inside cover of DYN announced its political position vis-à-vis the European war, a theme continuously repeated throughout the essays and offerings of DYN. Reflecting both Paalen's first-hand experience of

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exile, and the attitudes apparent in the Trotsky/Breton Manifesto for an Independent Revolutionary Art, it said:

> All totalitarian tyrannies
> banished modern art.
>
> They are right.
> For as a vital stimulus
> to imagination, modern art
>
> is an invaluable weapon
> in the struggle for freedom.

An unembellished title page had **DYN** simply but boldly printed and in the center. The following page showed a concrete poem in the form of an hour glass, once again to suggest that time was running out and to emphasize the urgency of fighting for freedom and freedom of expression. It read:

DYN IS A WORD THAT PROPOSES SOMETHING
NEW IN ART AND THOUGHT. THE MEANING
OF THE WORD WILL CRYSTALLIZE
OUT OF THE MATERIAL
OFFERED IN THIS
AND FOLLOWING
NUMBERS
OF

D Y N

IS
A REVIEW OF ART AND LITERATURE
WHICH PROPOSES TO OPEN
THE WAY FOR BETTER UNDERSTANDING
OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE IMAGINATION
DYN WILL NOT CONFINE ITSELF TO ANY
PRECONCEIVED DIRECTION, BUT WILL START
WITH SUFFICIENTLY WELL-ESTABLISHED PREMISES
TO ALLOW OF THE GREATEST FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

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The facing page advertised other avant-garde books and reviews, two of which were distributed, like DYN, through the Gotham Book Mart.

### H. DYN'S MANIFESTO OF "THE NEW IMAGE" AND THE "FAREWELL TO SURREALISM" - INTRODUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF MAJOR THEMES[201]

Immediately following these introductory pages was "The New Image," Paalen's lead essay and "undeclared" manifesto for a new art movement. (Fig. 147) In it, he raised a number of topics that he and others expanded upon over the next few years: in further issues of DYN, in Paalen's other published works of the 1940s, and in New York School statements, essays, and journals like Possibilities, Tiger's Eye, and Iconograph. Like the "Farewell to Surrealism," "The New Image" and the other offerings in the first issue of DYN, would serve as a model upon which Abstract Expressionism would build its program and fashion its dominant (if "undeclared") discourse.

#### 1. "The New Image" - Art and Politics and Art and Science; Automatic Abstraction vs. Realism and Regionalism; "Primitive" Art and Culture as Models for Modernism

Although the phrase "apolitical" has been used to describe Abstract Expressionist politics, it might more correctly be called "non-partisan" politics, which rejected the Marxist affiliation prevailing in the 1930s. What is certain, however, is that this position was available in DYN, in Paalen's insistence on the "perfect liberty of

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expression" for the artist. It may seem ironic that Paalen's platform in turn owed something to the demand for artistic freedom in the Manifesto for an Independent Revolutionary Art that Breton and Trotsky fashioned in 1938. But in "The New Image," and throughout the other essays in DYN, Paalen made a clean break with partisan politics and called for the artist's right "to refuse to collaborate in all political or commercial enterprises which treat art as a means only and not equally as an end."[202]

Among the major themes and relationships explored in "The New Image" were art/politics and art/science, two diverging tendencies as Paalen defined them. The first, politics, he saw as hampering art, narrowly binding it to an ideology, school, or "ism." This was the case with "Regionalism," the practice of which still held sway in American art. Paalen and his assistant editor Edward Renouf battled and critiqued this genre as reactionary: the former theoretically in his defense of a "New Image"; and the latter directly in his essay on "Regionalism in Painting."[203]

In "The New Image," Paalen rationally explained and defended abstract art. He looked to native or "primitive" art and culture as an alternative model, since it was, by and large, both unnaturalistic and intrinsically related to the society which produced it, (re Dewey's observation in Art and Experience of the integration of art and life in native societies).[204] In Paalen's words, "...other

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cultures, such as the so-called 'archaic' and 'primitive'...spoke of their work in terms of 'right' or 'wrong'" and so accomplished a "perfect interrelation with the fundamental problems of the community which produces them."[205] With these words he cast his problem in linguistic and philosophical terms, proposing a greater role for art than decoration, entertainment, commodity and status symbol, or utility. Paalen firmly believed that the role of the artist in society was not just an esthetic, but an ethical matter: that art was not a luxury but a necessity, and that the "values" of both were intrinsically related.

Elsewhere, in "Art and Science," he would relate "value" to "quality" as opposed to "quantity," establishing "objective" criteria in art.[206] For Paalen, the politics of personal integrity and independence overruled everything else. If a painter could not live by his painting (which Paalen declared he could not, even if he had "gained a world-wide reputation"[207]), to Paalen's mind "he ought to do something else":

> Marx said once and for all: "the writer must live to write, but he should not write to live."[208]

The role of the artist was neither to imitate nature (the "Monkey Theory"), nor to reflect it (the "Mirror Theory"), but to refuse to collaborate with society or compromise his art.[209]

> But as the artist who prostitutes his art to earn his living stops being an artist, it is better, however hard such an alternative may be, to renounce temporarily one's art with the hope of taking it up

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> again intact, than to lose integrity. For art does not forgive.[210]

In this refusal, the "innovating artist is found in his social status to be inevitably an 'outlaw'." "It goes without saying," he said, "that the general problem of reactionary versus revolutionary tendencies in art has been posed in so acute a fashion only since there has been a modern art, since Courbet and Baudelaire."[211]

Why, it may be asked, was it necessary for an "objective analysis" of art to be made? For Paalen, most periods had had "a stable system of coordinated intellectual activity based on commonly accepted values." To Paalen "it was obvious that [his] period ha[d] no such system," since at that moment "society [was] divided by such antagonistic aims that its intellectual preoccupations bec[a]me manifest in contradictory and diverse 'movements'," none of which could agree with the other.[212] Paalen attributed this situation to the lack of a "fundamental social cohesion [in which]....exist[ed] a living tradition of values to determine what subject-matter shall be worthwhile in art."[213] Such social cohesion was found in native societies.

In the realm of aesthetics this divisiveness resulted in the absence of a consensus about what was "beautiful" or "ugly," and in subscription to one or another "ism." Paalen suggested that instead of trying to decide which standard to apply to the creation and evaluation of art, it would be

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more productive to ask, as did the "great anonymous Indian sculptors of the Pacific Northwest," whether their work was "right" or "wrong" in its relation to society. With this question came the question of what role the artist must play in "the social struggle." Paalen believed that it was the Surrealists and not the "neo-plasticists," [i.e. Mondrian, et al.] who had "crystallized the creative problem, the role of the artist in our society."[214] Paalen declared that the most advanced art to date had been both socially engaged and in quest of "a new collective basis for artistic creation in the mode of expression that is called automatism."[215]

But defining the role of art in terms of ethics -"right or wrong"- did not solve the problem of the value of specific productions, since, as he said, there was "no less general confusion at present about ethical values than there [was] about esthetic" values.[216] For this, Paalen suggested, objective criteria had to be established; and to establish objective criteria one had to turn to the model of science. In other words, as in science, a common or "universal" language had to be found for art. What this amounted to, in the end, was a statement that there was such a thing as "quality" based not on <u>subjective</u> response or <u>taste</u>, but on <u>objective values</u> related to the collective needs of a society. This was a virtual rejection of all "isms" -whether Cubism, Neo-Plasticism, or Surrealism, etc. - in favor of experimentation and invention in art, as in science, to guarantee the artist the optimum freedom of

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expression, and to elicit a "new" art or "image" "au service de la Revolution." In modern industrial society (unlike "primitive" society which "paradoxically...in spite of its enormous liberties with representation" produced "actually the most rigidly traditional art we know"[217]) this meant a flexible, indeed, dynamic relationship between life and art.

Again, it may be asked why, if the artist were to have total freedom of expression, could the artist not then choose to paint realistically? Paalen's answer to this was a complex exegesis of the importance, indeed, the criticality of the "new." In the context of those times, naturalism and realism were not progressively opposed to a dominant style. Paalen accounted for this problem:

> Considered in itself, realism does not have to be reactionary. With Courbet realism was revolutionary, in opposition to a society which wanted in art the chic of the beauty-parlor [n.b. à la "Messonier, Kaulbach," et al.]; but realism is reactionary today, for the very reason that it is our representative image sanctioned by convention.[218]

In contemporary terms, Paalen said, realism was at odds with new experience and, therefore, conformist or, even worse, retrograde. Modern art, from the days of Baudelaire and Courbet on had been in conflict with bourgeois society, innovative, and dedicated to change: "A time which denounced the poets as another time denounced those who had practiced witchcraft. Any innovating artist was condemned to misery."[219] And, it was implied, the role of the artist was to forge new paths, to serve society by opening it to

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"new experiences" and "new modes of seeing." But novelty and originality were not, as might be supposed, related to fickle and whimsical turns of fashion and the marketplace. They were the beginning and the end of modern art:

> Therefore the artist of our time can be authentic only when he creates new modes of seeing, only when he is original. When this is understood, it will become evident that the need for novelty and originality is no caprice of individualistic ambition, but the sine qua non of contemporary art.... Everything that opens the way for new possibilities of experience is revolutionary - without the need of superimposed finalities. New experience does not need deterministic or metaphysical justification. Its objective value places it ipso facto in opposition to any retrogressive tendencies. [emphasis added]

This discourse was reinforced by Paalen's essay, "Suggestion for an Objective Morality," which favored a method of "simultaneous" over "dialectical" thinking, based on the model of science, specifically, "new" or quantum physics.[220]

Paalen's search for a new model for art issued out of his contempt for Nazism, Fascism, Stalinism, and all political "isms," which he saw as at the heart of cultural conflict. In relation to his position, his close friend Jacqueline Johnson, commented on the "terrible lessons in barbarity" that Paalen suffered in the loss of his family which he expressed in the second, disquieting phase of the "paysages totémiques" and the "Combat of the Saturnian Princes":

> For Paalen the outrage of Hitlerian rule was sharpest perhaps by reason of the language of his Austrian origin, clear and close by the culture of

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> his childhood. The irrationality possible to man was known to him in its destructiveness, and not only in its political aspects. It is likely that the center of alarm, in this knowledge, spurred him to speak out later with the urgency of one who sees among the blind, even against Surrealism.... Although his reason for a farewell to Surrealism-...was the irresponsible simplicity of a theory unchanging in a changing world...his own plunge into definition and theory had an aspect hardly in the Surrealist central position or intuitive mode: where the word art...had fallen from the vocabulary of men who had programatically abandoned hope of a rationalist intervention, even of the latest enlightenment.[221]

Paalen argued that in the moment of crisis, threatened by war and disintegration of civilization, the artist could lead humanity to a higher ground, if he would acknowledge the paradigm of science.[222] In doing so he could reintegrate both art and artist into society.

### 2. Robert Motherwell's "The Modern Painter's World" and "The New Image"; Development of the Theme of Art/Politics

William Seitz's analysis of "The Artist and Society" opens with a reference to Robert Motherwell's second essay in art criticism, "The Modern Painter's World," which Paalen published in DYN 6 in 1944 and illustrated with one of Motherwell's works.[223] (Fig. 148) The central theme of "The Modern Painter's World," he says, is the relation of the artist to society. This essay closely corresponds to Paalen's point of view espoused in the first five issues of DYN, but most significantly, in "The New Image." Recall that Motherwell had translated "The New Image" from the French in 1941 before its appearance in the first issue of

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the journal. Interestingly enough, Seitz says Motherwell's essay appeared in DYN 1, rather than DYN 6, an important error in chronology.

Motherwell, following Paalen (following Kandinsky, following Meier-Graefe), promotes an anti-materialist stance for the artist. His assertion that "the modern artist's social history is that of a spiritual being in a property-loving world," and call for "...rejection, almost in toto, of the values of the bourgeois world,"[224] clearly parallel the ideas of Paalen. The lament over the "isolation" of the artist and the lack of "communal function" for the artist, are motives from Paalen.

Vehemently critical of capitalism, "The New Image" spoke out against the lack of ethics in the modern business world and the crass commercialism of modern industrial society. In the second page of the essay Paalen said:

> ...in a civilization in which the true motive is exploitation of one another, every expression in anyway related to this motive is necessarily proscribed. Such a civilization must feel repugnance, and with good cause, before any sincere visualization of its real desires - and allows the artists in its pay nothing but "idealistic" mummery. Thus a "bourgeois" civilization, allowing only hypocritical expression, could produce nothing but pseudo-art, a dull and ridiculous pot-pourri of earlier cultures and styles. "Official art", so astonishingly uniform in all "civilized" countries of the world from the beginning of the last century to our days, proves it. It was no more than natural that those art products became associated with other stupid articles of the luxury trade and that such an art became a question of "taste". (Critics came to take their vocabulary from the kitchen). In the midst of this civilization, that art which is the true

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> expression of profoundest human needs and desires could only survive at a terrible price: at the price of quitting its place in daily life. Such was the significance of the sad formula, "art for art's sake."[225]

Echoes of the voice of Julius Meier-Graefe and the Nietzschean ideology he espoused in The Development of Modern Art resonate here.

While the doctrine of the insularity and purity of art would later be forwarded by Clement Greenberg on behalf of Abstract Expressionism, it was not subscribed to by Paalen (as is evident above) whose grounding in philosophical traditions, exposure to Wilhelmine and Weimar cultures, and experience with the radical politics of Breton and Surrealism, were far too sophisticated to reject the political philosophy of Marx out of hand. In "The New Image," Paalen proposed a new non-partisan politics. He attributed the "Marxist error" to its assumption that superstructure preceded substructure in human society - that culture was created by technology and science, rather than the opposite:

> For the authentic work of art is no "superstructure" and never has been. Engels was in error when he wrote: "Men must eat, drink, be clothed and sheltered before they are able to concern themselves with politics, art, science, or religion." But, in their very beginnings politics, art, science, and religion, were among the chief means of acquiring food and clothing. Men who were still sheltered like bears in the prehistoric caves had an art the expressive force of which has never been surpassed. And the first tool of chipped flint was fashioned as much by "science" as by muscle.[226]

Drawing upon his knowledge of the literature of anthropology and psychology, Paalen insisted that:

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> art, science and religion are inseparable in their origins.... Far from being a late superstructure they are from the earliest times inseparably interwoven with the growth and development of human intelligence.[227]

At the end of "The New Image" he rejected the concept of "dialectical materialism," which held that "'the revolution' should never be considered as 'something outside concrete reality.'"[228] Paalen again inverted conventional [Marxist] wisdom by saying that "in order to make a revolution, it is necessary to imagine it first; i.e., it is necessary to prefigure what could be as distinguished from what is." This idea extended as well to painting where the "prefigurative image does not re-present what exists, but potentially anticipates some features of what will exist." Imagination, he asserted, is thereby linked to the future, rather than to the past. He cited examples of modernist art that anticipated the future: the "surprising" resemblance of Klee's landscapes to infra-red photographs; streamlining in the art of Brancusi and Tanguy; and the similarity of Kandinsky's 1912 style to aerial photographs of a 1941 battle. These examples were valued not so much for their predictive as for their innovative capacity. But there is an attachment to the role of the artist as "seer" as we have seen. Conscious of the war and of fascist reactionism, what Paalen pointedly tried to describe in his narrative was a "new art" that looked forward, rather than backwards at old achievements. He ended the essay with an expression of

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utopian hope utilizing a futuristic symbol drawn from German Expressionist art - the "glass mountain" (Fig. 70) :

> The possible does not have to be justified by the known. This is the insight that in the midst of all our troubles, gives us the certitude that some day the bridge between art and life will be built. Other men will cross over. And on the other side it will no longer be phantoms that meet them. The mountain of glass, whose reverberations sometimes blinded us, which too often reflected only our own faces, will open for them and return intact the treasure of their childhood.[229]

The common sense yet poetic character of Paalen's pragmatism must have held great appeal for its contemporary American readers. Within months its influence would be found in the writings of Motherwell, Newman, Gottlieb, and Rothko.

What I am trying to suggest, as stated in relation to Greenberg, Rosenberg, and others, is that before DYN, there really is no evidence of an "Abstract Expressionist" position or voice. This explains the seemingly sudden "appearance" of the movement around 1942-45, the very years of Paalen's publication of DYN and Form and Sense. Often, as is the case with Motherwell, there are direct parallels in texts. In other cases, however, it appears that Paalen's texts acted as a springboard for ideas that were subsequently transformed, sometimes in diametric opposition to Paalen's proposals. This was true, for instance, with respect to Abstract Expressionist use of myth, and its turn away from Paalen's call for dealing with "phenomena" in the manner of psychophysics, instead to create transcendental

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paintings of the "noumena" in their development of the "abstract sublime."

Of all the Abstract Expressionists, it was Motherwell who subsequently retained a pragmatic position. Talking about the "felt" qualities of painting in search of the "true reality," in his essay "Beyond the Aesthetic" (1946) he made reference to "gestalt" theory, saying:

> 'Structure' or 'gestalt' may be the more accurate [term]: reality has no degrees nor is there a 'super' one (surrealisme). Still terminology is unimportant. Structures are found in the interaction of the body-mind and the external world: and the body-mind is active and aggressive in finding them.
>
> The function of the aesthetic...becomes that of a medium, a means for getting at the infinite background of feeling in order to condense it into an object of perception. We feel through the senses, and everyone knows that the content of art is feeling: it is the creating of an object for sensing that is the artist's task: and it is the qualities of this object that constitute its felt content.[230]

In 1947, in the new English edition of Kandinsky's On the Spiritual in Art that Motherwell prepared for Wittenborn, a footnote on the second page of the treatise published a portion of a 1913 text by Kandinsky that had appeared in Der Sturm. This note explained Kandinsky's discussion of "the relationship between the internal and external or "inner and outer" world, in a manner similar to the rhetoric in Motherwell's essay:

> The sequence is: emotion (in the artist) - the sensed - the art-work - the sensed - emotion (in the observer).[231]

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Paalen, too, had insisted on the emotional content of art and emphasized it's expression in rhythm, divorcing it from all "super-realities":

> A Philosophy of the Possible would understand art as a rhythmic equation of the world, indispensable complement of the logical equation that science makes. For only the cooperation of the two will be able to create a new ethic capable of finishing with metaphysical and religious obscurantism.[232]

### 3. Motherwell's "Notes on Mondrian and Chirico" (VVV 1 [1942]) and Its Relation to "The New Image" and Paalen's Book Reviews in DYN 1

Motherwell's first published critical essay, "Notes on Mondrian and Chirico," appeared in the first issue of VVV.[233] In 1942, after he returned from Mexico, he was invited by Breton, who needed someone as a translator and interpreter, to work as an editor on VVV. But he resigned after a misunderstanding with Breton, who brought in Lionel Abel to edit the issue in his place.[234]

"Notes on Mondrian and Chirico," therefore was written directly after "The New Image," and took its cue from Paalen. Motherwell's "Notes" dealt with the artistic and moral "failure" of Giorgio de Chirico's post-metaphysical work. In "The New Image," within a larger discussion of the value of abstract over realistic painting, Paalen devoted the first half of the essay to this topic:

> Chirico as a painter working against the grain of his times, took to the wrong track when he stopped using his painting as a simple means of showing his poet's vision.... Understood in this way, Chirico's tragedy remains filled with meanings and warnings; and our mind will still search out a rendez-vous with itself in the white occultation

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> of his spacious squares when no one will any longer be interested in the vulgarities of Dali's cross-image puzzles. The picture-puzzle and the enigma - therein lies the difference between Dali and Chirico.[235]

In an adaptation of Paalen's ideas and form, Motherwell queried:

> What remains of [his early poetic vision]? Nothing. Nothing but the problem of how this awful degeneration came about. Was it, as I suppose, the consequence of a tragic action, the result of choice between irreconcilable values; or was the actual circumstance as banal as Dali's? Mr. Soby's otherwise admirable The Early Chirico (1941) gives us no hint.[236]

Paalen had mercilessly reviewed Soby's book in DYN 1, accusing him of a total misreading of the "problem" of Chirico's change in style. Referring to his own discussion in "The New Image," he said:

> The aforementioned article [e.g."The New Image"] hints at the general lack of understanding of the strange break in Chirico's work. Until now there has not been a satifactory explanation of this break; but it has to be admitted that the point has probably never before been missed so completely as by Mr. James Thrall Soby. [237]

If Motherwell shared Paalen's opinion about Chirico, however, he was less caustic about Soby. Paalen's snipe that "Mr. Soby, in his soapy style, waddles past all the relevant aspects of the problem without even touching them," was softened by Motherwell's commendation of an "otherwise admirable" book.

If Paalen could be scathing in his review of art writing, he could also be generous - both to a writer and to one of his own Surrealist predecessors, Miró, whom he

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personally knew.[238] Next to the review on Soby was a review of James Johnson Sweeney's Joan Miró, which Paalen praised as "...one of the rare books on art which gives one direct access [to] the charm of its subject matter."[239] He continued saying that, "we subscribe heartily to Mr. Sweeney's belief that "Miró's work belongs to the youth of a period that is opening, rather than the old age of a closing one."[240] Paying homage, he applauded Miró's accomplishment in preserving the contributions of cubism without sacrificing either "plastic values or poetry." He asserted that from Miró's work "the new language" would flow:

> In Miró this language is still in its childhood - and all the candour of this great primitive was probably necessary in order to start this magnificent fusion.[241]

It is of interest that Clement Greenberg's first positive review of Jackson Pollock ascribes to him the distinction of being 'the strongest painter of his generation and perhaps the greatest one to appear since Miró."[242] In his review of Sweeney's book in DYN, Paalen credited Miró, above all, as the source for the "new art." Paalen's assessment of Miró gave an appreciation of the "felt" qualities and formal virtuosities of the painting, and a scholarly discussion of the sources of Miró's inspiration in Hieronymous Bosch and the cave paintings of Catalonia and Aragon. Still, Paalen qualifies that:

> without wanting to underrate the importance of the Sardana and the Catalonian background, it nevertheless seems to me that Sweeney possibly overemphasizes these influences in Miró's work.

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> For the last fifty years all great painters have had merely aerial roots. (his emphasis)[243]

Presumably he was referring to the poetic flight of the artist that takes wing in the process of creation. Jackson Pollock's "aerial" method of painting, like the rhythmic undulations of his mature gestural works that begin shortly hereafter, may owe some of their inspiration to such observations and to Paalen's painted works discussed below. There are two other possible theoretical sources for Pollock's use of rhythm in his painting: Thomas Hart Benton and John Dewey. But, whereas, the rhythmic quality of Benton's paintings and Pollock's early work remained within the figural realm; and, whereas, Dewey's work had been read in the 1930s, it was Paalen's presentations and paintings that appear to have reinforced and catalyzed Pollock's production of his characteristically dynamic abstract works.

### 4. DYN 2, "Inquiry on Dialectical Materialism" and "The Dialectical Gospel"; Continuation of The Theme of Art/Politics

In the second issue of DYN, Paalen wrote "The Dialectical Gospel," an essay refuting the infallibility of dialectical materialism, in order to reveal what he believed was the basic error in Surrealist theory modeled upon dialectic. As he later said in the Regler monograph:

> since there is no question that one could not find out about the role of art in the modern world without dealing with the whole of the problems, one had to find out also what is wrong with Marxism, why it had failed to understand, among other things, the significance of creative imagination.[244]

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To avoid a too-simplistic reception of his ideas and the problem of totalizing any theory, at the beginning of "The Dialectic Gospel" Paalen said:

> This article, as well as the inquiry that precedes it, is not an attack on Marxism.
>
> Unfortunately, a certain totalitarian way of thinking is nowadays so widespread that many people tend to mistake criticism for attack. And yet liberty of judgement and discussion depend above all upon the distinction between criticism and attack. By too often ignoring this distinction Marxism tends to fossilize in a dogmatic attitude instead of growing through absorption of all that is most progressive in modern thought. Particularly the dead weight of Dialectic Materialism constitutes an obstacle to a truly revolutionary fusion with modern science, art and philosophy. It is a difficult task to seek to emancipate Marxian thought from this Dialectic, but it is the only way in which one can remain faithful to its valid content...the only line of conduct worthy of the example of Marx.[245]

So, although on the surface it appeared that Paalen rejected Marxism, in actuality he was calling for a revision incorporating its vital principles and creating a "truly revolutionary fusion with modern science, art and [other] philosophy." Paalen's position was much like that of Bertrand Russell who responded to the "Inquiry on Dialectic Materialism" that accompanied this essay, saying: "I think the metaphysics of both Hegel and Marx plain nonsense - Marx's claim to be "science" is no more justified than Mary Baker Eddy's. This does not mean that I am opposed to socialism."[246] Far from being disengaged, Paalen's position was both political and philosophical - and political in the sense that Plato in "The Republic" saw the

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poet and every true artist as a critic of the social and cultural order.

Paalen's critique of Surrealism rejected its cultish adherence to beliefs qualitatively like those of religion. In a reproach of the Surrealist attachment to the dialectic he said:

> Only a synthesis of imagination and reason could remove the dualism between both - a dualism which surrealism believed to be able to solve by proclaiming the Omnipotence of the Irrational (whilst Marxism had in vain tried to suppress the same dualism through the Omnipotence of Reason).... Whereas idealistic metaphysics overrates the importance of art, materialistic metaphysics overrates the importance of science. If it is only through science that one can find the practical means to ameliorate the human condition, it is only through art that our imagination can discover the pattern of values for which these means are to be used. It must be understood that art and science are indispensable complementaries, that only their cooperation will be able to create a new ethics. We do not want any myths any more, neither ancient nor new ones, because myths always fossilize into churches, even materialistic myths. It is no longer a question of humanizing gods or deifying men; between the abyss of the incommensurably great and the incommensurably small which science has opened, we are lost, if we do not succeed in finding the true dimension of man.[247]

Ironically, Paalen's rejection of myth was founded in his impressive knowledge of the myths of diverse cultures. His understanding of myth's mechanisms and its virtual "religious" power, his ability to critique it, and his insight into the way that it served to obscure whatever "objective" morality was possible,[248] was reversed by the Abstract Expressionists in their hunger for a "New Myth." Their awareness of the way "the authority of myth is

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transferred to [poets] and what they tell of,"[249] was central to their conception of the artist. As stated by Ann Gibson in a review of the state of Abstract Expressionist literature that traded "New Myths for Old":

> A number of Abstract Expressionists actually saw themselves as mythmakers.... In the same year [1946] Mark Rothko wrote that Clifford Still's paintings were "allied to those of a small band of Myth Makers who have emerged here during the war," a group that was concerned with the "drama which is generic to all Myths at all times, no matter where they occur."[250]

The subject of myth was timely. In the first number of VVV (1942) Breton had called for the fashioning of a "new Myth," for the social order -

> What should one think of the postulate that 'there is no society without a social myth'? in what measure can we choose or adopt, and impose, a myth fostering the society that we judge to be desirable?[251]

Thereafter he discussed the possibility of a new myth involving "beings from another dimension," in effect exhibiting a "irrationalism" and mystification that Paalen sought to eliminate in advocating the paradigm of science.[252] In the "Farewell," Paalen argued against the metaphysics present in Breton's thinking, rejecting Surrealism's attempts to "...poeticize science [which] can only lead to mysticism."[253] In the "Suggestion for An Objective Morality," Paalen asked: "Truly could there not be some other issue from the smoking ruins of dialectical materialism than the blind alley of metaphysics?" He suggested that art should instead adapt the "objective morality" of sci-

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ence.[254] Without DYN, one can hardly imagine Harold Rosenberg's cheeky satire, "Breton - A Dialogue," published in View (1942), where left-wing intellectuals argue for and against André Breton's "new Myth," saying that "society must be organized [not by myth but] by science."[255]

### 5. "Surprise and Inspiration" and "Seeing and Showing"; Expansion of the Discussion of Automatism

In the essay "Surprise and Inspiration," published in the second issue of DYN Paalen discussed the presuppositions behind automatism.[256] Opening the essay with a distinction between "showing" and "seeing," he once again alluded to the problem of representation versus abstraction. "Seeing," he said, is related not to perception, but to vision beyond "that which is revealed" and he chided the reader that "authentic" artists see, rather than show. But what is the "source of vision (i.e. inspiration)," he asked, and then provided an explanation of the "stimuli, both interior and exterior...that interrupt conscious behavior" and trigger inspiration.[257]

In a series of parable-like tales, Paalen recalled experiences during which a combination of elements took him by surprise and ignited inspiration. In the dark grottoes of Altamira, he imagined himself as Magdalenian man overcome by shock in seeing a new identity of "a thing...he had believed to be a rock like any other.... The shock of surprise has broken the dike of memory" to reveal the first

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effigies to man. Here Paalen added that the "creative role of the provocateur optique," surprise, inspires the imagination; and he quoted the prehistorian R.R. Schmidt "that it was art that opened the way for human intelligence."[258]

In "Surprise and Inspiration," the key essay on automatism, Paalen also spoke of "Yelx, the promethean crow of the Indian myth, the crow who stole fire" and likened inspiration with fire. He quoted metaphors about fire and inspiration by Dewey and Goethe, the giant of German Romanticism. He indicated that Freud's Wit and its Relation to the Unconscious also raised the importance of surprise. As linguistic evidence he cited the etymology of surprise in the German and the French roots: "Uber-raschung" - "overcome by rapidity"; "sur-pris" - to be over/taken." He then analogized surprise and the dream, where a combination of elements has "affective value" and touches memory, and the unconscious responds to a sign that "sparks the imagination." (Surrealism's "objective chance.")[259] A distinction is made between "thinking," which is linear and logical, and "imagining," which is associative. It is through the imagination that one has the capacity to lose the "Narcissistic self," where "je est un autre" ("I is another," as Rimbaud said).

Perhaps the language that rings truest of Abstract Expressionism is found in the Jungian-inflected summary. Paalen said that according to Kant:

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> "Dreaming is an involuntary poetic art." But the dream, egoistically preoccupied with satisfying individual desire...remains without collective importance even when using universal symbols - while artistic creation, using symbols personally, attains collective importance when it succeeds in formulating what inspiration reveals in the depths of the ego....[260]

The essay ended with the tale of the two brothers and the rusted knife (quoted in Part I), saying that it was this event that clarified for him the revelation of "surprise and inspiration." This essay was inspiration for Motherwell (whose collage of that title was reproduced next to it in Form and Sense) and his colleagues to further their exploration of unconscious content and their exploitation of automatism.

In the previous issue of DYN Paalen had published an illustrated page of aphorisms on the subject of "Seeing and Showing." They included such phrases as: "Not to paint after nature, but to work according to its great rhythms..."; and "I treat nature not as master but as mistress."[261] (Fig. 145) Pollock's often-quoted phrase in response to Hans Hofmann's suggestion that he work after nature, "I am nature," echoes these aphorisms.[262]

## I. MATTA AND THE NEW YORK SCHOOL: WORKSHOPS IN AUTOMATISM, 1942

In the spring of 1942, after returning to New York from Mexico, Motherwell participated in group sessions organized by Matta, demonstrating and experimenting with automatic techniques.[263] Artists attending these sessions included

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Baziotes, Busa, Kamrowski, Krasner, and Pollock,[264] who made Willem de Kooning, Gorky, and even Hans Hofmann aware of these sessions, and with them planned an exhibition that was never realized.[265] According to correspondence between Matta and Mattison, "Motherwell talked about Paalen all the time, he even brought in Paalen's magazine...," referring to the first issue of DYN which had just appeared in April-May 1942. But while "the New York artists sought greater expressive freedom, Matta attempted to impose a style based upon his own art...refusing to abandon the linear scaffolding that he used to suggest deep space and his notions of morphology [which] required a more specific subject matter than the New York artists were developing."[266]

A major schism developed over both content and style and Motherwell defended Paalen's point of view against Matta's objections that he "neither understood morphology nor the reality of space and time" and that "[Paalen's] 'oscillator' paintings did not reach a higher level of reality."[267] As already indicated, "space-time" concerned Einstein's theories of relativity and the fourth dimension, represented in "second-generation" Surrealist works by non-Euclidian, curvilinear geometry and other graphic signs to denote the warping and movement of forms in time and space.[268] (Figs. 149, 150) Mattison noted that as an artist trained in the atelier of Le Corbusier, Matta exhibited precise draftsmanship, perspective, and late-

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Cubist form, which the American's preferred to relinquish in favor of more ambiguous space, expressionism, and freedom. (Fig.151) This, combined with Matta's attempts to control the artists and his arcane metaphysical ideas ended the sessions and caused the New Yorkers to turn to the more pragmatic theory and painterly work of Paalen, with which they felt in greater harmony.[269] As Motherwell said: "I moved away from Surrealism almost as quickly as I had moved into it."[270] But the sessions with Matta would consolidate the practice of automatism, in the way that Paalen's words explained its significance.

J. PAALEN'S ESSAY ON "ART AND SCIENCE," JULY 1942[271]

In the third issue of DYN, published in Fall 1942, "Art and Science" spelled out Paalen's "philosophy of the Possible" and the theme of art and science which appeared as a leitmotif in all the essays for DYN. In it he discussed the need for art to reestablish an emotional balance frustrated by modern science which eliminated "quality" from experience in favor of quantification.[272] He opened this essay with reference to an 18th-century dispute between Goethe and Newton in which Goethe's Farbenlehre (Treatise on Color) discredited Newton's theory of optics as mechanistic and reductive. Paalen indicated that science had "settled [this dispute] long since in favor of Newton"[273] and took a position that called for an end to such oppositions between art and science, in favor of their "complementarity."

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In his review of Hans Reichenbach's From Copernicus to Einstein in DYN 3, Paalen addressed the issue of texts on physics that are accessible to the layman, indicating that he believed that a number of the most important physicists had made the essential problems of their science available to the public:

> Planck, de Broglie, Schroedinger, Einstein, Reichenbach, Heisenberg and others have made notable efforts to integrate the new perspectives of physics into contemporary thought.[274]

It was Paalen's intention in "Art and Science" to offer his artistic audience similar access to these ideas, and to argue for integration of the two disciplines.

Paalen's contribution to artistic metaphors of space-time and the fourth dimension was his insistence on the importance of post-Einsteinian physics:

> For a role perhaps as revolutionary as that of the work of Galileo belongs to the common works of the scientists who elaborated the new Quanta Physics; while the role of Einstein is rather the completion, the magnificent crowning of classical physics.[275]

Original notes from University of Vienna lectures of physicist Erwin Schrödinger, the formulator of quantum mechanics, have been found among Paalen's papers.[276]

It was the new post-Einsteinian quantum physics, Paalen said, that put an end to positivist certainty for it incorporated Heisenberg's theory of indeterminacy.[277] In so doing, it subverted the Newtonian worldview that had theoretically and practically driven the universal machine for more than two centuries. Herald of the possibilities of

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a "new ethic," the artist[-poet] would stand alongside the scientist as navigator into territory where "science will no longer pretend to a truth more absolute than that of poetry...[and] will understand the value of art as complementary to her own instead of seeking evasive escape into methaphysics when her physics become too narrow;"[278] where "Reality is one and indivisible;" and where "between interior and exterior reality there is no separation."[279] As he himself advised:

> As no man can hold himself satisfied with the affirmation that light is merely a number of vibrations...the poet speaks as truthfully as the scientist when he claims that light belongs to the realm of vision.[280]

To understand Paalen's call for the complementarity of art and science, one must view his production in the context of Viennese and German thought at the beginning of the twentieth century. It was precisely the ethics and perceptions of such Viennese writers and philosophers as Karl Kraus and Ludwig Wittgenstein, and the close association of artistic and scientific circles in fin-de-siecle Vienna, that gave Paalen his perspective on the interrelations of the two disciplines.[281] The title of his 1945 anthology Form and Sense is a terse formulation of his belief, following Viennese modernist aesthetics, that art was neither ornament nor empty form.

Like the Cubists before him and his Surrealist colleagues, Paalen was interested in higher mathematics and fourth-dimensional space. But where their ideas built upon

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the Idealist and metaphysical philosophies of Kant, Ouspensky, and popular lay notions of Einsteinian relativity and the fourth dimension, Paalen's appear to be grounded in twentieth-century German and Viennese milieus.[282]

In "Art and Science," he explained that it was not merely a matter of "theoretical aesthetic rehabilitation," but an imperative that science cease to be elevated to an absolute truth - a metaphysic in its own right - above, beyond, and to the exclusion of poetry.[283] Paalen wrote this essay as technology helped to escalate the war in Europe.

His argument regarding complementarity owes a debt to the ideas of Viennese physicist Ernst Mach. Mach's "conception of psychophysics... explained how the psychical and the physical are two aspects of one and the same reality."[284] Paalen's use of the acronym "DYN" to signify "the possible," paralleled Mach's concept of "potential realities." Like Mach, whose Analysis of Sensations Paalen had in his library, he inveighed against dualism of any kind.[285] And like Mach (and Wittgenstein), Paalen's philosophical hero was Georg Christoph Lichtenberg, "the enemy of all pseudo science."[286] From Mach Paalen seems to have adapted the idea about the uses of physical theories that "simplify experience by allowing the scientist to anticipate further events.[287] This is also in line with Mach's call for an historically-founded critique of science which, Mach said, "not only promotes the understanding of

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that which now is but also brings new possibilities before us by showing that which exists to be in great measure conventional and accidental."[288]

With respect to dualism, in Paalen's eyes, physics, "that created the technic that dominates our world" had abandoned qualities (emotional content), and left them to the "stepmother" of philosophy. Philosophy "until our days" was identified with metaphysics, and had in turn "...remained true to theological method, which consist[ed] of explaining one unknown by two unknowns":[289]

> Thus when [metaphysics] does not know how to place a thing within reality, it simply adds a lengthening-piece, a sham reality. Lengthening pieces: the super-natural for a nature that is too tiny, the super-rational for a reason that is too lean, a liberty with a double bottom, a morality extra-moral and partisan for the right-thinking insiders of a consecreated "ism" - in brief, if one is unable to define a thing, one simply makes two things out of it.[290]

He cited Joseph Ratner's proposition that "terms are themselves consequences." This was also the message of his essay on ethics, "Suggestion for an Objective Morality," in DYN 1, which had invoked the truism of "means and ends" saying that, in fact, they were one and the same thing.[291] In "Art and Science," Paalen went on to explain that:

> ...even if the miraculous dialectical mechanism of the transformation of opposites were ever able to function elsewhere than in the head of its inventor, quantity...never could turn into quality [because] quantity and quality can under no circumstances be defined as "opposites."[292]

Paalen proposed an alternative: the ancient Greeks, he explained, had a unified universe of wholes, because, having

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no concept of zero, they did not differentiate between forms and numbers - between qualities and quantities. By refusing this artificial separation, ancient Greece was not doomed to the emotional void in which modern industrial, capitalist society found itself. The artist (who is a poet), said Paalen, can alone provide the "dynamic equation of direct experiences in terms of human values" because he does not "observe" but "perceives." Observation organizes systematically. Perception is structured rhythmically and, thus, is related to affective response.[293]

If Paalen's discussion of the rhythmic structure of forms owed something to the analogy of art and music made by Kandinsky with regard to color, tone, and feeling of sound, ultimately it can be traced at least as far back as the aesthetics of Schopenhauer, who saw music as a form to which the visual arts should aspire and a form that, being non-empirical, corresponds to the Will - the Überseele:

> Schopenhauer used to argue that the musician somehow possessed a power which the metaphysician inevitably lacked, to transcend the limits of representations and to convey deeper feelings, attitudes, and convictions, which the verbal language of formal philosophy strives in vain to express.[294]

But where Schopenhauer cast his ideas in terms of metaphysics, Paalen cast his in terms of physics, likening the Will, not to some omnipotent force, but to the reality of Nature, its energies and its processes.

In their essence, it is not hard to hear in Paalen's arguments the ongoing debate between Viennese physicists and

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philosophers about the nature of knowledge in the realm of the senses as opposed to the intellect. Paalen's own inventions appear to have an important connection to the complex interrelations of Viennese philosophy and physics centered around models or pictures: Bilder" of reality as "Vorstellungen" and "Darstellungen" (sensory and logical representations).[295] Calling for a complementary (not dialectical) resolution of the two modes through the principle of simultaneity, Paalen's ideas resonate with the tension between "facts" and "values," which underscored the philosophical discourse of Wittgenstein:

> The facts in logical space are the world; the world divides into facts; each item can be the case or not the case while everything else remains the same....We construct for ourselves representations [Bilder] of facts.[296]

In "Art and Science," Paalen's cited "Democritus's anticipation of the atomic theory" in the philosopher's assertion that "sweet is sweet, bitter is bitter, cold is cold, only by convention" and finds this adage to be an ancient precedent for "nominalism."[297] Ultimately, this is related to Wittgenstein's philosophy which goes much further than nominalism:

> A Bild depicts reality by representing a possibility of existence and non-existence of states of affairs. A Bild represents a possible situation in logical space.
>
> A proposition determines a place in logical space...In geometry and logic alike a place is a possibility: something can exist in it.[298]

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Given the way in which the language of the mathematical and logical abstractions of "representations" speaks directly to artistic concerns, it is not hard to understand Paalen's decision to apply it to painting and to construct artistic maps, graphs, and notations (i.e., "gestures" or "marks") of the Possible. We have already examined his "dynatic" emblem for the journal, which he would repeatedly paint throughout his "Cosmic" and "Mosaic" periods of the 1940s: sometimes it was simply The Sign DYN (Fig. 152). Other times it was incorporated into a larger composition and conception, like The Cosmogons (Fig. 153). The fusion of the "primitive" and the futuristic became characteristic of his Mexican work and he created abstract paintings on papel amate (fig bark paper) sometimes affixing them to sleek aerodynamic totem forms. (Fig. 154) Other times on maguey cactus paper (such as was used in ancient Mayan and Mexican codices), he created "maps" and "charts" like the medes of Polynesia. Sometimes they would become "starscapes" and "Pages from the Painter's Log-book." (Figs. 102 and 139)

Paalen invented many different grammars of abstraction. All of them, however visually different, were based on the languages of astronomy, mathematics, physics, or astrophysics. The forms he devised appear closely related to Mach's imperative of "scientific economy" to use "conceptual schemes as economical instruments" which, in the name of utility, "simplify" but do not reduce

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experience.[299] Mach saw physics as "a shorthand method of relating and correlating...sense data, with the help of mathematics," where objective content and subjective form become one.[300]

The constructs of "possible physical states" and multi-dimensional space of the Viennese physicist Ludwig Boltzmann, another quantum theorist, may also have served as a model for some of Paalen's paintings, which can also be seen as representations of form (qualities) in a system of coordinates.[301] (Fig. 155) Still another system from which he may have appropriated forms can be found in the model of the "wave-particle" theory of physicist Louis de Broglie, professor at the Poincaré Institute of the Sorbonne.[302] In the conclusion of "Art and Science," Paalen quoted de Broglie's ideas as the solution to the conundrum of Goethe and Newton, posed at the beginning of the essay:

> And the new reply to the question: "Do colors exist in white light before it passes through the prism which is destined to decompose it?" seems to be equidistant from the ideas of Goethe and Newton. For the new physics replies that they do exist - "but only in the way in which a possibility exists before the event which will tell us whether it has in fact been realized.[303]

## K. PAALEN'S TRANSITIONAL WORKS & THE "COSMIC" PERIOD, 1940-45

In the first years of his exile in Mexico, Paalen's painting moved away from the illusionistic perspectives of the "paysage totémique" works and towards the abstraction he

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had practiced during both the Surrealist and Abstraction-Creation periods.

In the 1940s in New York, the "Cosmic" discourse was evident in the work of even the first-generation Surrealists. In the first issue of VVV, André Masson published L'Homme emblèmatique, which depicted "cosmic" man in poem and image, a Surrealist update of Leonardo da Vinci's "homocentric" man.[304] In the same issue, Masson's wood engraving, For War and Recreation, illustrated Breton's "Little Prophetic Interlude," a passage in his "Prolegomena to a Third Manifesto of Surrealism, or else." Here text and image show heaven and earth, the cosmic and the mundane, in parallel upheaval, depicting the aphorism "As above, so below," which is the theme of Breton's "interlude."[305] In 1944, matching an "emblematic" poem by Masson, Max Ernst would write:

> The artist of this century, Arp for example, is himself a mirror, a magical mirror, more sensitive than all the other mirrors in the world. He attracts and reflects the most secret, the most revealing rays of the universe. In Arp's sphere these fertilizing cosmic rays create sediments, chaotic at first, later taking shapes more and more precise. Under Arp's fertilizing cosmic hands they become what he calls "human concretions."[306]

Nevertheless, it was the second-wave Surrealists who provided abstract rather than figurative models for the "cosmic" mode. In this climate, by 1947, the paradigm of natural history in the "biological" or "geological" period of Abstract Expressionism, gave way to the cosmic paradigm of the "abstract sublime," the New York School's

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metaphysical imagery: in the climax phase of Pollock's grand scale gestural paintings; the "chromatic abstraction" of Gottlieb, Newman, Rothko, and Still, and in the "cosmic" sculpture of Theodore Roszak and Ibram Lassaw. (Fig. 135)

Paalen's work of his self-named "Cosmic" period noticeably influenced Abstract Expressionism.[307] The "Cosmic" theme was prefigured in Quelque Part En Moi. (Fig. 127) Abstract yet suggestive of fossils and primeval marine life, the concentric and spiralling shell forms of Quelque Part En Moi were directly followed by the "Cosmic" period. In the 1946 Regler monograph, speaking of the triptych Les Premières Spatiales (1941-45)[308] (which he considered his breakthrough painting into the "Cosmic" style), Paalen acknowledged the bond between the macrocosmic and the microcosmic, saying: "Such is the leitmotiv of a work that is growing like the spiral of the tornado within the shell, which is the symbol of the Aztec God of Wind."[309]

Where Onslow Ford and Matta looked to ideas of the fourth dimension and relativity, Paalen's new set of abstract paintings turned to quantum and astro-physics for visual models. This "universal" model and Paalen's emphasis on the emotive power of rhythm in abstract art, evident in his "Cosmic" paintings, were absorbed into Abstract Expressionist theory and practice - their stylistic and iconographic debt is visible. This has also been acknowledged by Robert Mattison, who emphasized the "...pulsating or as Matta termed it 'oscillating' rhythms of

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brushwork," which Ethel Baziotes corroborated as having an "immediate appeal" for the Americans.[310] In these works one strongly feels the expressionist spirit of Vincent van Gogh. The whirling cosmic forms of the paintings particularly recall the vision of Starry Night. But Paalen vaulted out of the visible natural world into a world of abstract signs symbolizing atomic and molecular levels and the dynamic, generative movement of time-space. Mattison associated Paalen's emphasis on time and motion in his paintings to physicist Louis de Broglie's "wave-particle" theory, wherein light travels in waves composed of quantums of radiant energy.[311] No doubt he chose this figure because of Paalen's quotation of de Broglie's Light and Matter: The New Physics, in support of his metaphor of "the possible," mentioned above.

Such works as Space Unbound (1941) (Fig. 156), Polarités chromatiques (1942), and Polarités majeures (1940) (Figs. 157, 158), published in DYN 1 and 2, aesthetically translated the wave-particle theory and displayed an "all-over" quality identified with mature Abstract Expressionism. Paalen's works of this period (ca. 1940-1945) transformed the graphic notations of science and the microcosmic forms of the physical world into a language of art, which he deployed in images of force and volatility. As described by Mattison, they utilize rapidly drawn lines and parabolic arcs to suggest high energies and velocities (Fig. 159), concentric vortical chains to "simulate magnetic fields"

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(Fig. 157), and "dotted lines that recall particle clouds" (Fig. 160).[312] Paalen himself described the "Cosmic" works as symbolic of "the great structural rhythms, the tidal waves of form and chaos, of being and becoming, which go beyond the accidents of individual fate..."[313] in which, by sympathetic response, the viewer can participate.[314]

In Nuclear Wheel (1942) and Solarization (1942) (Figs. 161, 162), shown with Les Premieres Spatiales and other "Cosmic" paintings in Paalen's one-man exhibition in 1945 at Art of This Century Gallery (paintings that Motherwell would certainly have seen in Mexico), are found the seeds for what would be termed the "radical" abstraction" of the Abstract Expressionists.[315] "Radical" abstraction refers to a complete abandonment of any lingering references to visible nature, where form itself becomes visual symbol - an index of value and meaning.[316] This was a practice the Abstract Expressionists made into dogma, even to the point of hermeneutic secrecy about the significations of their works; an "evasion" of language as Ann Gibson has called it.[317] Moreover, the themes and abstract form-metaphors that Paalen invented to signify "cosmic" energies and time-space, were the forerunners of Abstract Expressionism's "abstract sublime."[318]

Mattison discussed Paalen's Chromatic Polarities and Major Polarities (Fig. 157, 158) in terms of their dynamic, painterly quality, emphasizing the pulsating, rhythmic brushwork, and likening the "vortex-like patterns" to the

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later "all-over compositions of the Abstract Expressionists. He found similarities between Paalen's "oscillator" (i.e. "Cosmic") paintings and such works as Rothko's 1944 Slow Swirl at the Edge of the Sea:

> Both artists suggest the generative forces of nature. Rothko, however, more specifically indicates aquatic creatures on a seabed, while Paalen's Pandynamic Figure (1940) (Fig. 163) more abstractly alludes to expanses of energy.[319]

Even "closer in spirit" than Rothko's work, was Barnett Newman's 1946 Pagan Void:

> It suggests creation from nothingness, a microscopic or cosmic explosion of energy. In Paalen's Chromatic Polarities of 1941 we see similar forces. Yet the growing restraint in Newman's composition is evident while Paalen asserts dynamism as his central principle.[320]

As we shall see, Paalen's metaphor for art of the dynamism of the forces of the physical universe was important to the universal, "sublime," and scientizing conceptions of Newman, in the same way that the pulsating rhythms of his compositions served as a visual model for Jackson Pollock.

### L. BARNETT NEWMAN, PAALEN, AND DYN

A similar pattern of response and adaptation of Paalen's position can be seen in the early statements and writings of Barnett Newman, ca. 1942-1948.[321] Newman, like Motherwell, heeded Paalen's advice that "the artist, whether he wants to or not, must concern himself with theories."[322] And, like Motherwell, before the appearance of DYN we have little published evidence of such a concern let alone an "Abstract Expressionist" voice. One of the main

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differences, however, between Newman and Motherwell, is Newman's reversal of Paalen's rejection of metaphysics. A review of some of Newman's texts of the 1940s, and of the chronology of his production as a writer, shows a profound relationship to Paalen's ideology, rhetoric, and tone in DYN. It should be stressed that Newman would consistently invoke the need for a "new painting" in terms very similar to Paalen, as is repeatedly indicated in Molly McNickle's commentary on his various texts.

McNickle's anthology of Newman's collected writings divides them into periods that are characterized by the nature of the writings themselves: first, the "Artist-Citizen," next the "Artist-Critic" and thereafter the "Artist-Thinker." It is significant that the latter two categories, the "Artist-Critic" and the "Artist-Thinker" do not begin until 1943-44, even though McNickle finds a few precedents for them in two texts of 1925 and 1926. The 1925 text, in fact, is the unpublished "Critic Turned Artist" about an exhibition of British critic Roger Fry's work.[323]

This is followed up the next year, apparently from Newman's position as an artist, with another unpublished statement "Concerning Objective Criticism," in which he assails Albert Barnes and Roger Fry for elitist attitudes and practices.[324] In her short preface to this text, McNickle also mentions, as part of Newman's attack, Dewey's "anti-metaphysical philosophy" (which guided the philosophy of the Barnes' Foundation). But, in fact, in the text,

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where he attacks Barnes' exclusion of the public to his private art collection, he commends Barnes for having "the passionate desire of our modern age to build up an objective criticism of art." As we have seen, this is a positive reflection of Dewey's ideas. But, in this text, Newman confounds the issue. He criticizes Dewey for what he has commended in Barnes, who subscribed to Dewey's philosophy in the first place. Newman call's Dewey's concept of art "formalism," and equates it with "nominalism," a practice that he says contemplates form for form's sake without ascribing to it any other significance.[325] Newman, here, is of the opinion that:

> The artist emphatically does not create form. The artist expresses in a work of art an aesthetic idea which is innate and eternal.[326]

This establishes a metaphysical position, to which Newman returned in 1948 in his essay on "The Sublime is Now."[327] Many of the terms of Newman's discourse in the 1940s reproduce the terms of Paalen's philosophy. In "The Sublime is Now," Newman said: "Man's natural desire in the arts to express his relation to the Absolute became identified and confused with the absolutisms of perfect creations..." judging that the "confusion in philosophy is but the reflection of the struggle that makes up the history of plastic arts."[328]

In "Art and Science" Paalen had spoken at length not only about this "struggle" but about concepts of "Absolute

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beauty" in the works of neo-plasticism to which Newman indirectly alludes. Paalen said:

> "Absolute beauty can be found only in geometric figures, in pure colors," one imagines one is listening to Mondrian, but it is Plato. But is it not paradoxical that it was the esthetics of classical Greece that become the model of academism - which, instead of seeking infinite discovery, seeks certitude in measure?"[329]

In "The Sublime is Now," Newman would declare:

> Even Mondrian, in his attempt to destroy the Renaissance picture by his insistence on pure subject matter, succeeded only in raising the white plane and the right angle into a realm of sublimity, where the sublime paradoxically becomes an absolute of perfect sensations. The geometry (perfection) swallowed up his metaphysics (his exaltation).[330]

Here the reversal of Paalen's pragmatic position begins in Newman's identification of metaphysics with "exaltation" - that is, the transfer of emotional intensity into something "Absolute." [capital A emphasized]

However, before he arrived at this conclusion, Newman, following Paalen's theory in Part III of "The New Image," recast the terms of his argument in a discussion of the development of art since the Renaissance, which idealized "beauty," until modern art came along and upset the cart with its "desire to destroy beauty."[331] In the first paragraphs of "The New Image," Paalen said:

> our recent encyclopedic knowledge in the matter of art makes it evident that the usual notions of "beauty" and "ugliness" are by no means universal but characteristically limited to a certain part of occidental culture. It was only at a date which can be historically specified that the concepts of beauty and ugliness assumed such

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> importance as to seem the raison d'être of artistic creation.[332]

Borrowing Paalen's method of an historical framework on which to build his argument, Newman goes on to discuss the sublime and assess that:

> ...in discarding Renaissance notions of beauty, and without an adequate substitute for a sublime message, the impressionists [n.b. the first modernists] were compelled to preoccupy themselves, in their struggle, with the culture values of their plastic history, so that instead of evoking a new way of experiencing life they were able only to make a transfer of values.[333]

This language of philosophy, the terms of "values" and the call for "new experience" that it advances, duplicates the use of the vocabulary in Paalen's essays. As a student in philosophy at the City University of New York, Newman was well equipped to accommodate this sort of heady discussion, which he appropriates and restates in his own words. Again, emulating Paalen's call for an exaltation of emotion, Newman concludes that he and his [AE] colleagues were:

> reasserting man's natural desire for the exalted, for a concern with our relationship to the absolute emotions. We do not need the obsolete props of an outmoded and antiquated legend. We are creating images whose reality is self-evident and which are devoid of the props and crutches of an outmoded and antiquated legend. We are freeing ourselves of the impediments of memory, association, nostalgia, legend, myth, or what have you, that have been the devices of Western European painting.[334]

These sorts of parallels with Paalen's philosophy appear throughout Newman's texts, although his "exaltation of emotion" - the sublime - is designated "Absolute" and

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transforms what for Paalen was "all too human" into metaphysics.

While it would be tedious to continue comparing Paalen and Newman's texts verbatim, some other points and correlations should at least be noted. The next (and first published) text in the category of "Artist-Critic" after 1926 does not appear until 1944. This is interrupted by the "Artist-Citizen" throughout the 1930s, in which category an essay on "isolationist" art appears in 1942. But there is a significant difference in the character of Newman's writings of the 1930s, which have little to do with art criticism or aesthetics. Instead, they reflect the politics of the decade itself, being entirely politically engaged and calling for the artist as citizen to enter the system and do battle with it. These writings relate to Newman's bid for political office, protests against educational policies in the New York City Board of Education, and denunciation of "isolationist art," in relation to regionalism. According to McNickle, "Newman became preoccupied during the years 1942-43 with the need 'to combat the stifling American Scene aesthetic.'" What about 1930-1939, 1940, 1941? What was Barnett Newman thinking about then? Why is there no written evidence of his voice or position (or anyone else's for that matter) until 1942-43? McNickle indicates that "What About Isolationist Art" was begun in the late spring of 1942 - immediately after the first issue of DYN appeared with Paalen's "New Image," defending abstract art, "Suggestion

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for an Objective Morality," condemning partisans for "howling with the wolves," and Edward Renouf's "Regionalism in Painting," calling for universal modernism as opposed to "regional or local sentimentalism" and nationalism ("a variant of the same breed of critics and propagandists").[335]

In a subsequent catalogue statement of January 1943 for the First Exhibition of Modern American Artists, Newman reversed his position of engagement and made an appeal "...to free the artist from the stifling control of an outmoded politics. For art in America is still the plaything of politicians. Isolationist art still dominates the American Scene. Regionalism still holds the reins of America's artistic future."[336] By this date Paalen had issued DYN 2 and 3, containing "Surprise and Inspiration," "Art and Science," and "The Dialectical Gospel" and its survey "Inquiry." The "Amerindian" number 4-5, printed in December 1943, had probably not yet reached New York.

Following Paalen's example and reflecting his belief in the fundamental social role of art, Newman cited Kant in this document. He contended that the evolution of the human conscience constituted the basis of existence, and admonished the public to acknowledge that the conscience most profoundly expresses itself in art which "...is the most exact measure of the development of a nation." Closely echoing Paalen's high-minded rhetoric, and Renouf's assertion following Paalen that

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> Great painting, together with all other achievements of today and tomorrow will be created only by men [sic] of international culture, of "universal" spirit, men of great and sensitive intelligence, responsive to the full scope and content of our times.[337]

Newman asserted that because America was then at "...a point of encounter between art and artists of the entire world, it is time for us to envisage cultural values on a scale of planetary reality."[338] Once again, there is no evidence, prior to this point, of Newman expressing these sentiments elsewhere, or doing so with this kind of rhetoric, until the appearance of DYN. Moreover, it is from this point on that Newman's career as an "Artist-Critic" begins.

In the Spring 1944, Newman wrote an essay for the catalogue of an exhibition on pre-Columbian sculpture that he organized for Betty Parsons at the Wakefield Gallery.[339] No doubt he, as many others, was impressed by the presentations in text and illustration of pre-Columbian art, culture, and archaeology that filled the "Amerindian" issue of DYN 4-5 (December 1943) that had just appeared.

According to Barbara Reise, Newman "was aware of Paalen's and Max Ernst's interest in [the] totemic aspects" of "primitive" art.[340] And while it has been said that "Newman shared Paalen's interest in the art of the Northwest Coast,"[341] and (in an unintentional but misleading reversal) that "the dignity Newman so much admired in Mayan sculptures also drew Wolfgang Paalen to Mexican art,"[342] it is an error to give precedence to Newman.

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Paalen gave Barnett Newman an autographed copy of Form and Sense.[343] That he autographed the book suggests that he had already attained celebrity status in New York. Paalen's present to Newman must have been made in April 1945, when Form and Sense was released by Wittenborn and when Paalen opened his solo exhibition at "Art of This Century" gallery.[344] Newman's most ambitious essay to date on "The Plasmic Image" was written in the Spring of 1945. Once again, following Paalen's example, Newman grappled with the issue of abstraction, the character of the incipient Abstract Expressionist movement, and the very themes which Paalen had set out in his "The New Image": the deficiencies of "non-objective" art and of Surrealism, and the value of "primitive" art as a model for modern art.[345] Yet the failure to search for sources for Newman's writings in studies of Abstract Expressionism, other than those that have classically been identified, has served to obscure Paalen as an immediate source of the ideas, rhetoric, and tone of Newman's statements.

Newman's activities as a curator and critic of first pre-Columbian, then Northwest Coast, art and culture, were also indebted to Paalen's example, even though Iconograph magazine and its affiliate artist group "Indian Space" intervened between the two. It is my contention that Iconograph and "Indian Space" (or "Semeiology" [sic], as they also called themselves) were, in turn, indebted to Paalen not only for the paradigm of the model of Northwest Coast

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art, but also for their interest in new physics; their correspondent claim of inventing a new kind of space in their painting; and their interest in semiology.

In 1946, Barnett Newman organized an exhibition on Northwest Coast art for Parson's Gallery, preparing an accompanying catalogue. W. Jackson Rushing traces the origins of Newman's ideas in the catalogue for this exhibition to Nietzsche, Jung, and Worringer, but he fails to acknowledge the antecedence of Newman's interest in Northwest Coast art in Paalen and, more significantly, the precedence of these German sources in Paalen's writings in DYN.[346] This is true even though elsewhere, in an earlier essay on "Ritual and Myth" in Abstract Expressionist art, Rushing names Paalen as one of two individuals, besides Newman himself, to have kindled enthusiasm for Northwest Coast Art in this exhibition.[347] As we have already seen, the "Amerindian" number of DYN published Paalen's scholarly essay on "Totem Art." Here there is no doubt that it was Paalen, above all, who focused Newman's and other artists' attention on this culture. As previously indicated, Fritz Bultman told Rushing in interview that "more than [John] Graham or anyone else, including Max Ernst..." enthusiasm for and interest in Northwest Coast art was "spread by the Austrian-born Surrealist Wolfgang Paalen."[348]

As evidence of Newman's scholarship of the Northwest Coast, Rushing offers the fact that fourteen titles in Newman's library treat North American art and culture and

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are "testimony to his devotion to this subject. Of these, five are exclusively, or significantly focused on Northwest Coast art and society."[349] It is instructive to compare Paalen's much more extensive library, since the relevant material is so exhaustive. A thorough examination of just what Paalen did know, with whom he was corresponding, and what artifacts he had in his personal collection, has already been made in Parts II and III, and serves to establish Paalen's priority. Such historical ellipses, unwittingly engendered by the Abstract Expressionists and their critics, and standing as myth in the literature to this day, have been maintained for too long.

In reviewing Newman's catalogue essay for Pre-Columbian Stone Sculpture, Irving Sandler distorted Paalen's attitudes when he claimed that Paalen:

> believed that primitive man was in the childhood stage of psychological development. Hence adult artists of today could find their works interesting but not useful...a point of view attacked by Newman in the catalogue of a show of pre-Columbian stone sculpture at the Wakefield Gallery.... He deplored the identification of the "primitive" with the "child-like" as "condescending" and claimed that primitive masterpieces are "the best any man can do."[350]

Nothing can be further from the truth than that Paalen in any way either condescended to or devalued "primitive" art or culture. Paalen's opinion of the "primitive," like all the European modernists before him, was one of great admiration and respect; indeed, even awe at the genius of its creativity. It is a serious misrepresentation of his

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position to characterise his very clearly stated attitudes in this way.

Paalen's idea of the human psyche passing through "emotion to abstraction, 'ancestral stratifications,' and 'evolutionary stages of the species'," reflected the positive stereotype that derived from the evolutionary theory characteristic of his times. The Expressionist and Surrealist desire to reclaim the open and imaginative capacity of childhood, the idealized concept of an unspoiled Eden in the society of "primitive" peoples, and the raw creative power and content of primary levels of consciousness and the unconscious were the attitudes Paalen held, rather than the contrary, which Sandler maintained.[351]

Any number of articles and essays from the journals of Expressionist or Surrealist (or for that matter other modernist) movements can be cited and were readily available in translation and reprint in American publications. For instance, most apposite to the period of Abstract Expressionism was Roger Caillois' essay, published in the first issue of VVV (1942), "The Myth of Secret Treasures in Childhood."[352] Paalen himself dedicated an entire ouvrage - the written and painted "Paysage totémiques" - to childhood.

In "The New Image," Paalen referred to the "great anonymous Indian sculptors of the Pacific Northwest," just as he had praised them in Paysage Totemique III when he wondered "what might be left of those famous tribes of

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warriors and magnificent sculptors [of the Northwest Coast]".[353] In the discussion refuting the Marxist concept of art as "superstructure," he reversed the usual value placed on the modern "business age" and "progress," and ascribed unprecedented sophistication and intellect to paleolithic and neolithic people, ideas borne out in today's anthropological theory.

The theme of paleolithic man's command of art, science, and religion that Paalen had addressed in the opening paragraphs of "The New Image" and repeated as a leitmotif in other essays in DYN, (such as "Surprise and Inspiration"), became the theme for Barnett Newman's 1947 essay, "The First Man Was An Artist," published in the Abstract Expressionist journal Tiger's Eye that year.[354] Reviewing this essay makes it not only clear, but transparent, that Newman was appropriating Paalen's thoughts and words, conflating various texts to make his own. "The First Man Was an Artist" boasts:

> Undoubtedly the first man was an artist. A science of paleontology that sets forth this proposition can be written if it builds on the postulate that the aesthetic act always precedes the social one.... Man's first expression, like his first dream, was an aesthetic one....Just as man's first speech was poetic before it became utilitarian, so man first built an idol of mud before he fashioned an ax....[355]

In this essay, Newman digressed to an excursus of modern science's failure to advance true human progress, borrowing that motif from "Art and Science" as well. Rebuking the "inroads that scientific thought had made into the modern

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imagination at the expense of art" he wrote that science was replacing the "poetic," that it was the duty of art to reclaim the poetic for itself, and that scientific method and logic obstructed the "ecstasy" of scientific discovery, thereby implying the poetic potential of science.[356]

One only wonders why Paalen did not himself protest such appropriation. Was he more concerned with starting a new movement? Did he the feel responsible for having inspired such response and so neglect to assert his priority? Did he feel above haggling over the rights to his ideas? Was he playing politics, since he was in close touch with Motherwell and other members of the group? Or was he simply unaware of what was going on, in Mexico, away from the center of the art scene?

### M. DYN AS A MODEL FOR NEW YORK SCHOOL JOURNALS

If, as Gibson effectively documented in her dissertation, avant-garde journals are central to the definition and realization of art movements; if they function as an indispensable forum for the exchange of ideas that stimulate artistic production (particularly in a pre-electronic society), then Paalen's DYN was the prime journal in the series of journals that followed.[357]

#### 1. Iconograph - 1946

Iconograph (1946) was the first New York School little magazine to appear; it reproduced the work of painters inside and outside the "so-called" Abstract Expressionist

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circle. But to the degree that its editors and members were not part of the core Abstract Expressionist group, it was truly a proto-Abstract Expressionist journal. In an essay entitled "Painting Outside the Paradigm," Gibson argued that the lesser known group of artists closely associated with Iconograph, who called themselves both "Semeiology" and "Indian Space," actually established the characteristics of Abstract Expressionism, but failed to receive the attention and acclaim showered on the latter group. She explains:

> As Thomas Kuhn has pointed out, eclipsed contenders may find themselves years later, when the paradigm which overshadowed them has been elaborated to its limits, to be the retroactive source, or root, of a new paradigm of sequence."[358]

The record shows that Iconograph and "Semeiology" (or "Indian Space") were, in fact, indebted to Paalen not only for the paradigm of the model of Native American art (and, specifically, Northwest Coast art), but also for their interest in new physics (and their correspondent claim of inventing a new kind of space in their painting), and for their interest in semiology.

In his essay "Totem Art," and elsewhere in DYN, Paalen discussed the significance of the graphic signs of Northwest Coast art.[359] He revealed the way in which the two-dimensional patterns actually depicted multiple views (equal in genius to, and even more radically flat than, the spatial inventions of Cubism) and abstractly represented the heroic figures that populated the myths of those cultures. It was

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Paalen's erudition and emphasis that brought these cultures to life, describing their art and the meanings of the abstract symbols employed. Apparently, Paalen's discourse even overshadowed Claude Lévi-Strauss' essay on the exhibition of Northwest Coast art at the American Museum of Natural History, which was published in the Gazette des Beaux Arts in 1943, parallel with DYN.[360] Again, the question must be raised as to why, in 1946 the focus on Northwest Coast culture intensifies, adding to it's model, "new physics," and "semiology"? The answer seems very obvious.

In an interview with Gibson, Gertrud Barrer recalled that "[s]he was influenced in her appreciation of ambiguous positive and negative spatial relationships by the New Physics."[361] Gibson goes on to say that "she was referring to quantum physics, developed by Niels Bohr and Walter Heisenberg, among others." Gibson explained:

> Heisenberg's uncertainty relations show that it is impossible to do anything but estimate the position of an atomic particle at any given moment, while Bohr's principle of complementarity demonstrates that atomic particles cannot be distinguished from their paths of action. Correctly understood, quantum theory forced one to see the universe not as a collection of physical objects, but rather as a complicated web of relations between the various parts of a unified whole.[362]

This last sentence actually sounds more like a description of Gestalt theory than quantum physics. But it is true that quantum physics does change the nature of reality due to the "uncertainty" principle, i.e. Heisenberg's "indeterminacy,"

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and the necessity of abandoning linear (diachronic), as opposed to associative (synchronic), notions of time and space, e.g. simultaneity.

The painter, treated by Gibson, whose works would show priority in use of Northwest Coast models, ca. 1940-41, is Stephen Wheeler, who was not a part of the "Indian Space" group.[363] Moreover, Wheeler himself "emphasized that [the spatial complexities in his work] were universal ideas that he only later saw confirmed in "primitive" art forms."[364] Notably, the earliest painted works displaying stylistic Native American influence (rather than illustrating Native American culture or artifacts) from ca. 1938-1941 are Jackson Pollock's Birth (ca. 1938-41), Bird (ca. 1941), and Woman ca. 1938-41, which have been related to the influence of Mexican prototypes and Orozco, rather than Northwest Coast models.[365] Given these dates, the compartmentalizing or "cloisonée" style with heavy outlining of these works looks back more to Cubism and Picasso than forward to the abstract "new painting." Peter Busa's WPA mural (1939); and Richard Pousette-Dart's Desert (1940) are probably the first works to exclusively draw upon Northwest Coast art for inspiration.[366] Like Pollock, Pousette-Dart's interest in "Amerindian" culture began in his youth: the former through his experience and travels in the American West, the latter through the influence of his father, Nathaniel.[367] Even so, in Pousette-Dart's work, we encounter the principle of

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resemblance, rather than reinvention; in Pollock's work, Southwestern and Mexican models prevail.

With respect to semiotics, Paalen's knowledge of linguistics was apparent in both "The New Image" and "Art and Science." In "The New Image, as we have seen, he discussed "...the symbolic value of the sign":

> For even the sign - which is an intermediate abstraction between the painted image and the letter - does not necessarily refer to existing objects. The sign usually is used with a one way symbolic meaning...[it] operate[s] as [a] visual symbol[.] whose function is to bring about behavior conducive to the material realization of the ideas which are so signified.[368]

In "Art and Science," his discussion of the ancient Greeks, who made no distinction between "form" and "number," was semiotic in its origins.[369] As previously noted, Paalen had in his library a copy of Charles Morris's Foundations of the Theory of Signs.[370]

Whereas Paalen synthesized semiotic systems into his painting, creating a new vocabulary of forms, with few exceptions (Gertrud Barrer being the most notable), the "Indian Space" painters appropriated the actual images of Northwest Coast painting, working with resemblance, which they recycled into what they called their new conception of space. This was theoretically based in their understanding of the time-space continuum, or, as they said, the "real" structure of matter: "the mixing in one space of two or more images that must be seen from differing vantage points,"[371] a metamorphic form that also expressed "connections between

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people and animals" - i.e., "totemism."[372] All of this served as a metaphor for "the modern world's ambiguities and complexities."[373]

The fourth issue of Iconograph (Winter 1946) reproduced the works of Kamrowski, Pollock, Rothko, Hayter, and Hare, all of whom were now experimenting with new techniques and subject matter. Gibson indicates that by 1944 Sidney Janis had already classified these painters as "American Surrealist" in his Abstract and Surrealist Art in America.[374] It is well known that both David Hare and Stanley William Hayter were considered colleagues by the Surrealists themselves; and Hare and Hayter's use of fourth-dimensional ideas have been explored by different writers.[375]

Although Helen de Mott, a contributor to Iconograph denied the influence of Paalen, she acknowledged familiarity with the "Amerindian" number of DYN. Gertrud Barrer, one of Iconograph's editors indicated that she knew DYN well and believed that Paalen, and his wife Alice Rahon Paalen, were "very gifted people."[376]

2. Possibilities

In 1947, Robert Motherwell and Harold Rosenberg brought out the first truly Abstract Expressionist journal, the single issue of Possibilities. Ann Gibson gave alternative explanations for the title and concept of "possibilities":

> De Kooning, like Motherwell and Rosenberg in Possibilities, associated the concept of the

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> possible with..."a wonderful unsure atmosphere." Robert Hobbs has observed that "Possibilities" is an appropriately chosen term; it conveys the idea of open-endedness, and the need for resolution through action. Motherwell did not recall the reason, other than this general suitability, why the periodical was named Possibilities, but one wonders if, in the back of his mind, Motherwell associated the title Possibilities with Dyn. The word Dyn is derived from the Greek word 'dynaton,' which means "the possible." Lee Mullican, a close associate of Dyn editor Wolfgang Paalen, wrote that both the publication Dyn and the related concept of the Dynaton served Paalen 'as a forum where he could... publish and present ideas, as well as correlate and enunciate early concepts and feelings that furthered his proclamation of The Possible....' Mullican's rhetoric indicates that the term "possible" held a significant place in Dyn's philosophy and, as such, may have had profound, if unrecalled, implications for Motherwell."[377]

Gibson concludes that "any connection of Possibilities' title with DYN must remain speculative at this point," and offers that:

> However convincing the connections, both attitudinal and semantic, between DYN and Possibilities, it appears that these considerations must be relegated to a supporting role in the choice of a title for the later publication. Both Motherwell and May Tabak recall that it was Rosenberg who named the magazine."[378]

New evidence presented here suggests that it is necessary to acknowledge that both artists and critics like Rosenberg were reading DYN.

### N. PAALEN, NIETZSCHEAN DISCOURSE, AND THE NEW YORK SCHOOL

Following Meier-Graefe, Paalen's writing in DYN abounded in the themes and ideology of Nietzsche, who also was a principal source for Abstract Expressionist

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discourse.[379] Acting as an avatar of the cult of the "new," like the Nietzschean hero Prometheus (a leitmotif in the third and fourth issues of DYN), with Kandinsky's "lamp of theory," he illuminated the search for new "subjects." His poem "Promethée Parle," and his essay "Birth of Fire," inspired by the eruption of the volcano Paricutin in Mexico, March 1943, stressed Nietzschean themes.[380] (Fig. 164) Indeed, even the title "Birth of Fire," alluded to Nietzsche's Birth of Tragedy.

In her study of the themes found in Abstract Expressionist journals, Gibson traced the source of their attachment to Promethean themes back to "Birth of Fire."[381] Focusing on Nietzsche's romantic evocations of ancient Greek mythology, particularly the myth of Prometheus, Paalen compared archetypes common to Old World and New World mythology. He likened Prometheus to the Northwest Coast's image of "Yehl," the totemic raven who (like Prometheus) brought fire to mankind, and the mythic Pre-Columbian hero Quetzalcoatl, the feathered serpent, god of culture and enlightenment. In "Birth of Fire" Paalen expressed his belief that:

> The great cosmic symbolizations, through all differences of epoch and of race, remain astonishingly alike. Perhaps a new interpetation of the myth of Promethus will reveal, by analogy, the significance of the Mexican myth.[382]

For ancient Toltec mythology, he referred the reader to another article in the same issue of DYN, "New Discoveries

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in the Temple of the Sun in Palenque."[383] Of the raven, Yehl, Paalen said:

> This bird ravisher of fire is afterward not infrequently identified with the fire itself, if not with the sun.[384]

Gibson believed that it was Paalen who established the iconography of the bird totem as a metaphor for Prometheus in "Birth of Fire."[385]

In the third issue of DYN (Fall 1942) Paalen's assistant editor Edward Renouf began his essay, "Notes on Meaning, Conflict and Creation," with a direct reference to Nietzschean esthetics:

> Nietzsche, in his BIRTH OF TRAGEDY, wrote that the existence of the universe can be justified only as an esthetic phenomenon. Moreover, our "knowledge of reality," or of Nature, charged as it is with an emotional conviction of ultimate truth, is a purely esthetic intuition.[386]

It was this issue in which "Charles Givor" [aka Paalen] published "Promethée Parle," giving voice to the hero chained to the face of a cliff, left to die at the hands of Nature:

> Vulture, my genius more than your bite
> the wind of your wings burns me
> mountains of fallen galaxies and you
> trembling figures who don't learn
> to serve you the fire of my weariness
> is great
> the watery sea the flaming fire
> my tears the stars and the dream where the eagle
> from another horizon
> traps me in his oblivion
> the snow of my thoughts covers me
> the cup of time overflows
> and men in huts around their glowing hearths
> can't read the message
> that for them I burned in the robe of salamanders[387]

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Paalen had every major work by Nietzsche in his library.[388] Additionally, Paalen had Aeschylus' elegy to Prometheus, Der Gefesselte Prometheus (The Chains of Prometheus) in his library,[389] which had inspired Nietzsche's projection (and Paalen's poem) of the artist as hero, whose power, like that of the gods themselves could "create men" and defy divinity:

> The Greek artist in particular had an obscure feeling of mutual dependence when it came to the gods; and precisely in the Prometheus of Aeschylus this feeling is symbolized. In himself the Titanic artist found the defiant faith that he had the ability to create men and at least destroy the Olympian gods.... The splendid "ability" of the great genius for which even eternal suffering is a slight price, the stern pride of the artist - that is the content and soul of Aeschylus' poem...[390]

The totemic image of the bird and the theme of the totem repeatedly appeared in Abstract Expressionist paintings and sculpture in the 1940s.[391] David Smith's numerous "totemic" sculptures such as his Tanktotems and Ravens ultimately derive from this iconography. (Figs. 165, 166, 167) Gibson says that it was further elaborated upon in Iconograph and in Tiger's Eye.[392] Moreover, Paalen's Surrealist works like Plumages (1938), appear to be an overlooked source for the iconography and imagery of the predatory "war-birds" of Smith and Roszak.[393] (Fig. 131)

It is unclear, however, as to the actual date of the reception of Nietzsche's ideas by the Abstract Expressionists. Dore Ashton was the first to identify and elucidate the Nietzschean content of their thinking. But

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she and Polcari overlooked Paalen as a direct link between Abstract Expressionism and German Expressionist sources. Following Ashton, Polcari, Gibson and then Rushing, explored the Nietzschean content of Abstract Expressionist work.[394]

Ruth Benedict's Patterns of Culture, published in 1934, and read by the Abstract Expressionists, is thought to be the source of this iconography. Benedict had studied with Franz Boas.[395] Her application of the Apollonian/ Dionysian modes, discussed by Nietzsche in The Birth of Tragedy, to the myth and ritual of the Northwest Coast followed Boas' methodology.[396] But although Polcari and Gibson maintain that the Abstract Expressionists were reading Benedict in the 1930s, this date is also uncertain.[397] For instance, Jackson Pollock had a 1946 edition of Patterns in his library;[398] Adolph Gottlieb's library burned, leaving no trace of its contents;[399] and Newman's library did not even contain Patterns.[400] According to the poet Stanley Kunitz, a friend of Mark Rothko, the Abstract Expressionists were familiar with Benedict in the 1930s;[401] but this does not account for the gap in time between reception and use of this source in their work, the latter beginning around 1943. This again suggests that first Graham (1937), then Paalen (1942-46), were the activators of this discourse. Paalen himself had the 1946 edition of Patterns in his library. But since his DYN writings pre-date this edition, it appears that he did his own analysis independent of her model, although he could

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have read an earlier edition. This is altogether possible since diffusion theory, as discussed in Part III, was based on comparative methodology; and because Benedict as already stated, was a student of Franz Boas, who had himself established that methodology of Old and New World relationships.

The chronology and the evidence strongly support the idea that it was Paalen's evocations that captured New York School interest, reinforcing John Graham's introduction of the Nietzschean discourse of the artist-genius in System and Dialectics.[402] That Paalen's prose and critical style were inspirational to their readers might be verifed by Ashton's comment that the language of Barnett Newman's 1947 essay, "The Ideographic Picture," was "rhapsodic, metaphysical"[403]. It had not been so in the 1920s and 1930s. If it is conceded that Paalen's influence was pervasive in all areas, from form to sense, then Newman's language also was inspired by Paalen's, which Gustav Regler correctly called "remarkable."[404]

Polcari cites Dore Ashton for his source that "...in the 1930s, Nietzsche was read by John Graham, Stuart Davis, Gorky and Gottlieb."[405] Even though Ashton does say that Graham, Davis, and Gorky were reading Nietzsche, Spengler, Freud, et al., in the 1930s,[406] the programmatic use of "Nietzschean Archaism" as Gibson called it, did not occur until ca. 1942-43.

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Passages of the "Paysages Totémiques," Paalen's autobiographical travel diaries of his 1939 Northwest Coast journey published serially in each issue of DYN, often bear resemblance to the tone and essence of Nietzsche. In the very first "Paysage Totémique," published in DYN 1 (1942), Paalen recalled:

> Unfleshed vertebral columns of the myths of a great communal life in the open air, the totem poles carry the weight of the tragic that permits one to approach them in the shadow cast by this hour. And nothing...will make it so that it will not be to art, and again to art that I have recourse as to the most complete human evidence... On it, on this sole bridge of artistic creation...the philosopher's egg rolls, and liberty passes there (alas, as incognito as ever)...[407]

It is clear that Paalen subscribes to Nietzsche's conception of the tragic in art, developed in The Birth of Tragedy. Such a phrase as the "weight of the tragic" prefigures the famous June 7, 1943 letter of Rothko and Gottlieb to New York Times art editor Edward Alden Jewell, declaring that their art aspired to the "tragic and timeless," which is the metier of all "great" art.[408] In a radio broadcast that same year, they indicated that their titles referring to ancient myths were "eternal symbols" of "man's primitive fears and motivations." They made reference to "the primeval and atavistic roots of the idea rather than their graceful classical version."[409]

"Nietzschean Archaism," as Gibson called it, became a staple in Abstract Expressionist painting and theory. Following Paalen's penetrating Nietzschean comparisons in

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"Totem Art" and in "The Birth of Fire," Nietzsche's Apollonian and Dionysian modes were dialectically related to the "civilized" and the "primitive," the light and the dark, the conscious and unconscious forces of art and their relation to ancient mythology.[410] Gottlieb's Persephone (1942), Pollock's Pasiphae (1943), Newman's Song of Orpheus (1944-45), de Kooning's Labyrinth (1946), and Hofmann's Bacchanal (1946) are intended as emblems of this meaning.[411] By 1948, a passage from The Birth of Tragedy was included in an issue of Tiger's Eye.[412] In the same issue, Barnett Newman delineated the terms of the "new" art:

> Greece named both form and content: the ideal form - beauty, the ideal content - tragedy.... Everything is so highly civilized.... The artist in America is, by comparison, like a barbarian. He does not have the superfine sensibility toward the object that dominates European feeling. He does not even have the objects.... This is, then, our opportunity, free of the ancient paraphernalia, to come closer to the sources of the tragic emotion. Shall we not, as artists search out the new objects for its image?[413]

## O. PAALEN'S 1945 AND 1946 EXHIBITIONS AT ART OF THIS CENTURY AND KARL NIERENDORF GALLERIES

In February 1945, Paalen opened his first solo show in Mexico at the Galería de Arte Mexicano, in which paintings from 1941-45 were exhibited.[414] The show traveled thereafter to Guggenheim's Art of This Century Gallery in New York. The publication of DYN had so absorbed him that his first five years in Mexico had gone by without a show. Thus there was a great deal of work that had never before been exposed, and it revealed the change in direction Paalen

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had made since his arrival in Mexico. Works on paper from 1939-45 included gouaches, watercolors, brush drawings, pastels, and graphite drawings; fumages from 1944-45 were also shown. The checklist showed nineteen paintings, all from his "Cosmic" period. In addition to the checklist the catalogue gave a chronology of Paalen's major exhibitions back to his first one-man show in Paris in 1934. The introduction to the chronology indicated that Paalen was of "Austrian and French origin, currently residing in Mexico,"[415] and eliminated all reference to Paalen's German past, training, and exhibition. Paalen chose to obfuscate his roots, surely mindful that in 1945 anti-German sentiment was running high. A list of collections containing his work in Europe, Mexico, and the United States was given. On the back of the catalogue, reviews of his European and Mexican exhibitions quoted excerpts from Breton, Read, Zervos, Hugnet, and others. The show closed in March and traveled to New York to reopen at Art of This Century from April to May.[416]

The catalogue statement for the exhibition was written by Paalen himself, and recapitulated the ideas he had advocated in the DYN essays.[417]

> Art created the gods and formed the human prototypes; but since the end of humanism it has been lacking in a clear definition of its task. Art, in historical development after its totemic, mythological, humanistic, and realistic periods, has arrived at the experimental period which we call 'modern art.' Historically all these periods are of equal value; each of them has produced great works; especially the last one (the experimental) has prodigiously enriched the

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> plastic language. But it coincides with the crisis of the subject, with a general disagreement as to what subject-matter or themes are apt for plastic expression.
>
> The plastic analysis of the subject-matter (cubism), which has led to arbitrary deformations in the degeneration of cubism; the poetical revelation of the subject by unexpected juxtapositions (surrealism), which has led to literary academicism; the renunciation of subject matter (purist abstractivism), which finally reduced painting to simple plays of optic equilibrium - these are the principal aspects of the crisis of subject. It shows that now it is no longer a question of experimenting how to paint, but to finding what to paint. The problem is no longer to invent new techniques but to find new themes.[418]

In 1948, Baziotes, Motherwell, Rothko and David Hare would found a school in New York, which, upon Newman's suggestion, they named "The Subjects of the Artist," in which Newman and Clifford Still also taught, until its closing in 1949.[419]

In the Regler monograph, Paalen discussed his and other "significant young painters'" rejection of "conventional perspective" in painting and its "static concept of space" in favor of the "the rhythmical relationship of the elements of painting...its inner space."[420] [his emphasis] He traced the disappearance of perspective first to Cézanne, then to Picasso, while noting that neither the Cubist painters nor the Futurist "experiments" achieved a "new pictorial expression of space": the former shattering but not abandoning conventional usage; the latter confused in their terms between "kinetic and dynamic."[421] It was "only when Kandinsky, freed painting from all given subject matter, all representational bondage, [that] the line of horizon

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disappeared and the pictorial scene developed in a space of its own."[422] [his emphasis]

Discussing the change in spatial representation, he said it was "Kandinsky [who] went farther in this respect than anyone else in the first four decades of this century."[423] He noted that in Miró there still remained "if not actually a line of horizon, at least a kind of mental window-frame,"[424] while Surrealism and neo-plasticism eluded the problem entirely by "reduc[ing] all pictorial sensation to two-dimensional surface tensions."[425] The only painter to move beyond this limitation was Kandinsky, whose "compositions express at once a multidimensional space in which color-surfaces and lines expand freely in all directions."[426]

There is a distinct relationship of some of Paalen's works of this period - like The Sign DYN, Tripolarity, and other similar works - to Kandinsky's painting. (Figs. 152, 168) Paalen's invented DYN emblem evident in both these paintings appeared as a leitmotif in this, and his next, body of work - the so-called "Mosaic" period. Just as Paalen's DYN theory followed Kandinsky's line of thinking in On the Spiritual in Art, so too did his painting emulate and develop its own iconography out of Kandinsky's model.

Paalen's only reservation about Kandinsky's painting was that it chose (or so he believed) to "evoke...a cosmos in which no human presence is suggested."[427] As the study of R.C.W. Long has shown, there is actually a world of

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covert symbolic figural references in the abstract signs of Kandinsky's paintings.[428] But Paalen paintings presented a species of personnages, à la Surrealism. Utilizing the same grammar of forms as the abstractions, the figural paintings were visions of presences emerging from the pulsating, dynamic energy fields of deep space, now correlated to inner space. He called them "The Cosmogons" (and sometimes "The Messengers"), to signify their metaphorical origins in time and space, and he showed six of these, as well as drawings and "variotypes" of the same image. (Fig. 169) Among them was exhibited Les premières Spatiales (1941-45) a large triptych which, as its name indicates, was the prime object, in this series of spatial explorations.[429] (Figs. 170, 171, 172)

The latest in the series, The Cosmogons, 1945, a large, 8 x 8' painting, moved Paalen into the "Mosaic" period where the dots or dashes of his vocabulary grew into tesserae-like patch strokes, amplifying but retaining the symbolism of the "Cosmic" style. (1944-45) (Fig. 153) The Cosmogons preserved the DYN emblem, but the color chord of the painting employed the monochrome chord of olive, brown, and black tones of Cubism.

A few of the paintings in the exhibition like Solarisation (1942) (Fig. 162) showed only the face of the Cosmogon, made up of four swiftly intersecting parabolas, barely discernible in the all-over matiére of the canvas - a mask-like vestigial presence materializing from the

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atmospheric space of the painted picture plane. These "radically" abstract works, with their volatile and fluctuating but continuous surfaces, can be regarded as predecessors to the "all-over" and vigorous works of the Abstract Expressionists, who would have seen the show.[430]

Paalen practiced this "Mosaic" style through ca. 1951, his "Dynaton" period in San Francisco, creating major works like The Messengers From the Three Poles (1947) and Planetary Face (1947) (Figs. 173 and 98). Planetary Face took its inspiration from the colossal Olmec heads of San Lorenzo, which he saw shortly after Stirling discovered them in 1938.[431] (Fig. 97) Speaking (in the third person) of the "profound exaltation and forlornness of the Aztec landscape," and quoting one of his own letters, he said:

> The sullen greatness of this high plateau where death is ever more present than life, its peculiar 'asteroid' quality, its emptiness under a fathomless sky whose clouds are piled up so high that one grasps immediately the thirteen heavens of the Indian mythology...the pyramids of the Sun and of the Moon, the jade and turquoise mosaics on masks with eyes of meteoric iron....In the realm of art he found in Mexico in the genuine Indian works of pre-Spanish times a new revelation of the function and the possibilities of art. Their hieratic greatness reminded him of the Byzantine mosaics...[432]

The names of the figural works were also keyed to their metaphorical meaning, using invented titles such as Eroun, Tellurin, Gyra, Aerogyl Bleu and Aerogyl Prismatique, that derived, like "Dynaton," from their Latin and Greek roots. (Figs. 174, 175) Thus "Gyra," signified and visually manifested spiralling rotation and oscillation; Tellurin

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referred to the electric current flowing near the earth's surface, which is also found in "tellurium."[433] The coloration of Tellurin reflected its mineral hues, while Aerogyl Bleu and Aerogyl Prismatique, referring to the element of air, had blue and prismatic schemes. Some of the works were early examples of shaped canvases, reflecting the structure of crystalline forms. (Fig. 175) Some years later Octavio Paz would write about these works:

> It is not by chance that I speak of "facets" to designate the different aspects of Paalen's work. Many of his paintings, as if made of stones, or better still, as if the painting proposed to cut up space, take the form of hexagonals, octagonals, ovoids. And the agate, in which the warmest tones of light seem to fall indefatigably into a sort of cold abyss that ruled in certain of his paintings.[434] (Fig. 176)

Also evident in many of these paintings was a utilization of the patterning and coloration of Northwest Coast artifacts, combined with references to pre-Columbian feather mosaic. (Figs. 177, 178) Paz noticed this too, referring to the "mantle of plumes, which at the same time were a cascade of stars and moons,"[435] calling to mind the extraordinary featherwork of pre-Columbia.

Paalen also showed another series of abstractions, inks on Mexican paper, made of the same maguey cactus used by the Maya and Aztec for their codices. This choice thus underscored Paalen's intentional linguistic use of abstract form to be analogous with pictographic or glyphic texts. Synthetic works like The Navigator (1944) (Fig. 101) and Page from the Painter's Log-book, 1944 (Fig. 102), intimated

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the painter's psychic journey into "inner space" and simultaneously suggested the medes or navigation maps of ancient Oceania, the charts of astronomers, and the codices of ancient Mexico.

Combining ink and fumage, in compositions that used a more sparing vocabulary of parabolic and symbolic forms (i.e., the globe and crescent moon as planetary and astral references) (Fig. 179), these works looked back to the themes and more minimal images of the Abstraction-Creation period. Beginning with The Cosmogons 1945, paintings like Nouvelle Lune (1947) (Fig. 180) combined graphic forms with mosaic array.

Yet their selection of planetary references developed an iconography related to ancient cosmologies as well. The symbol of the moon in its crescent form would persist in Paalen's paintings to the end of his career, connoting a relationship to the feminine principle, the moon goddess of ancient cultures, and relations of male and female. This theme of the archetypal and eternal Feminine (The White Goddess as the poet Robert Graves called her in his 1948 book of that title)[436] would prevail in Late Surrealism and indicates Paalen's continued affinity with this movement. But he had already considered this symbolism, as we have seen, in his "Cycladic" works of the 1930s that referred to Neolithic "goddess" idols and ancient matriarchal world religion and culture. This figure is found in Abstract Expressionist works of this period as well.[437] (Fig. 181)

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Pollock's Moon Woman Cuts the Circle presents this image in his painting as early as 1943 (Fig. 199), while DeKooning's "Women" series does not begin until around 1948. Paalen also used a cryptic, glyphic set of signs, which made similar reference to the arcana of ancient paleolithic and neolithic worlds. So there is a possibility that he revived his earlier interest in the matriarchal theme of the "Cycladic" period, under the influence of Pollock and Abstract Expressionism.

The exhibition opened at the Galería de Arte Mexicano and was well-received by the Mexican press. Both Esto critic, García Ruiz y Sandoval and Artes Plasticas critic Jorge Crespo de la Serna, seemed comfortable with Paalen's theoretical definitions of his work, available in DYN, and reiterated its messages in their reviews. Sandoval compared Paalen's "rhythmic equation" to the "esthetic monism of Vasconcelos" - former Minister of Education who spearheaded the muralist movement.[438] (Fig. 178)

He also made reference to Paul Westheim (in exile in Mexico City like Paalen) and his thesis that art is vital to humanity.[439] It is not surprising that Sandoval found similarities in Paalen's and Westheim's thinking, since Westheim was a modern art critic and historian from Berlin, whose theory was founded in the art theory of Viennese and Munich art historians Alois Riegl and Wilhelm Worringer;[440] and had edited the important art review Das Kunstblatt from ca. 1922-1932. Like Riegl and Worringer, Westheim

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championed the concept of the "will to art" (Kunstwollen) that grew out of the vitalist philosophies of Nietzsche and Schopenhauer. In Mexico, he became deeply involved with ancient Mexican art, and wrote a book, Arte antiguo de Mexico, published in 1950, that he said was "an introduction to ancient Mexican art on its own 'spiritual and creative premises, an esthetic system of pre-Columbian art,'"[441] which Kubler says was based on the scheme of Worringer's Style in Gothic.[442] Of Westheim's thinking, like that of Riegl, Kubler said: "...Riegl's 'will to art' leaves us in doubt as to whether we have to do with a psychological hypothesis or with a rudimentary metaphysics."[443] Even so, Kubler did credit him with being primarily a "psychologist of art," even while finding fault with his methodology as it applied to Mexican studies. One of the chief principles of Westheim's formalism was an emphasis on "rhythmic repetition" over illusionism.[444] But despite their shared background and ideas, Paalen and Westheim were never friends.[445]

The reviews of Crespo de la Serna and César Moro were right in the spirit of Paalen's discourse. De la Serna acknowledged that his works "transport the soul to other planetary regions, always within our own habitual cosmos, but a little in the stratosphere...to an epoch in which the humanized idea begins to acquire presence."[446] Moro, Paalen's poet colleague writing for Letras de Mexico, said that Paalen's paintings showed that "more and more painting

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is a romance, an agitated sea, stellar torment, or a species of clear and hallucinatory turbulence."[447] Moro quoted Paalen's catalogue statement that "It is no longer the task of art to answer naive questions. Now it is the painting that will look at the spectator and ask him "What do you represent?" enjoining the viewer to incorporate her/himself into its presence. The following year Ad Reinhardt would borrow this text for one of his satirical cartoons entitled "How to Look At A Cubist Painting."[448] (Fig. 182)

Moro situated Paalen within the terms of "vulcanism." "Vulcanism" signified the primeval power of the Latin American terra nova and the forces of the universe, a symbol of divinity and destruction.[449] In an essay on "Vulcanism Between the Old World and the New," Susanne Klengel observed that generations of poets, naturalists, writers, and painters, had been drawn to the study of volcanic manifestations, beyond any scientific interest, to experience the "loneliness of the heights," and "the clouds of sulphur and other vapors that were wafted to them by the inner fire of the volcano."[450] From Pliny the Elder to Goethe, the volcano was a revelation of God and Satan, the paradigm of the terror and ecstasy of the sublime. For Moro, if Paalen's works were "not composed of the same aggressive physical elements of the volcano...the parallels were still evident." They were "eruptions heard by the ear. To the eye, explosions with all the violence, and curves with all the chromatism, of which birds can sing...a

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profound song."[451] "Vulcanism" was a theme found in the work of other Latin American artists, like Dr. Atl (Gerardo Murillo), Orozco, and Matta, among others.

In New York, the following month, the reception of Paalen's work by the press was favorable, with only one scornful review by the critic for Time magazine, Jane Wilson. It was also Time that had panned him and David Smith in the 1940 exhibition at Julien Levy Gallery; and panned Picasso in this issue. Titled "Aerogyls & Tellurins," Paalen's review opened with patronizing hostility, saying: "He lives in Mexico, but to judge from the pictures he paints it might as well be the Mountains of the Moon."[452] She observed, however, that the "science-inspired visualizations" were "executed in brilliant, Van Gogh-like splashes of color..." which helps to give a sense of the work in its original state, since the whereabouts of many of the works listed in the exhibition are unknown, known only through black and white reproduction.

New York Times critic, Edward Alden Jewell, was more impressed with Paalen's paintings than with his catalogue statement. "Whatever is to be learned," he said, "must be learned directly through the artist's work...[which] suffices to reveal: Wolfgang Paalen isn't just another abstruse experimenter. The work...is marked by genuine originality."[453] The work Jewell most admired were the "uncatalogued...series of extraordinary small abstractions

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done on very thin paper made by natives in Mexico. The designs are delicate, concise."[454]

Margaret Breuning of The Art Digest wrote a sensitive review of Paalen's work, commenting that, in spite of the "complexity of techniques," the exhibition was unified by the subjectivity of approach.[455] In the triptych "Les Premiéres spatiales" (Figs. 170, 171, 172), she said, "there is a sort of chaotic magnificence, as though the universe with its varied forms of life were swimming out of infinite space towards us," valuing the "balance between aesthetic and emotional content, between guiding intellect and controlling intuition."[456]

Her greatest appreciation was focused on the "whole series of 'The Cosmogons'," which she felt granted the viewer sheer visual pleasure:

> with no interposition of logical ideas or realized experiences, by the beauty of [their] formal structure and richness of color relations, they would appear to be the direct revelation of the artist's inner life, the symbols for his subconscious imagery. Whether the beholder interprets them in the same terms as the painter hardly matters, or whether he interprets them at all, but merely enjoys them.[457]

She noted the influence of "Amerindian" art throughout the works, and remarked on Paalen's knowledge of "Indian" symbolism and myth.

Another unidentified reviewer in Art News called Paalen a "distinguished Surrealist, who had dissociated himself from the movement," and stated that the work was "extremely arresting" with canvases that gave "a sense of centripetal

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whirling, the pigment forced in nervous jets from his brush in the manner of an exploding pinwheel."[458]

The diversity of the works was noticed by most of the reviewers. Thus The Herald Tribune critic felt that oils like Les Premiéres Spatiales were "somewhat violent," while other works were "revealed with delicacy and simplicity, showing deftness in relatively formal patterns."[459] The description of the works as "violent " and "chaotic" had also marked Jackson Pollock's first one-man show at Art of This Century in 1943, suggesting an affinity between the two painters at the start. Recall that Paalen had published a number of these works in DYN between 1942 and 1944.

In the final analysis, all the positive reviews offset the darts of a few discontented critics. But while Paalen's reception by artists was also very favorable, few paintings sold.[460]

At the end of the following year, December 1946, Paalen had another one-man exhibition at Karl Nierendorf's gallery, showing twenty-two oils: a few from the Guggenheim show and the balance comprised of new "Mosaic" works, three "Starscapes," and a series of "Cosmic Integrations."[461] Delicate oils on canvas, the Starscapes of this period had faint traces of quickly drawn lines proliferating over a smokey ground of fumage to suggest the constellations and nebulae in the sky. (Fig. 102)

Paalen's catalogue statement discussed his desire to initiate "a psycho-synthesis" to countervail "so much

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psycho-analysis" and to "integrate" emotion and intellect into a "coherent pattern" in human consciousness, at a time "when so many people [were] busy disintegrating all kinds of things."[462] His language had also acquired a contemplative, meditative cast, referring to the "different levels of consciousness...like the circles of water which ripple away where a stone has been thrown into a well."[463] Both Art News and The Art Digest wrote exceptionally deferential reviews, commending his sensitivity and sensibility, and noting the changing moods and tachisms of his work:

> [Paalen] translates his interest in physics, astronomy, and primitive forces inherent in man and the universe into canvases which are delicate, furious, wan, strident - nearly always intensely decorative.[464]

### P. PAALEN AND THE NEW YORK SCHOOL. ABSTRACT EXPRESSIONISM CONSOLIDATED

Paalen and Louise Nevelson were in close contact at this time through their mutual dealer Karl Nierendorf, and Paalen spent several months at her home before he opened his show at Nierendorf Gallery.[465] It is certain that she was inspired by Pre-Columbian art and culture through Paalen and through DYN.[466] Furthermore, Nevelson's iconography of death, related to Pre-Columbian cosmology, must have been influenced by Paalen's eloquent discussion of death in his essay on "Totem Art." The subject of death, which was also

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a principle theme of Abstract Expressionism, appeared as a leitmotif in numerous offerings in DYN.[467]

So celebrated was Paalen's essay on "Totem Art" that even Martha Graham quoted it as a preface to one of her dances in this period.[468] Noguchi's totemic Monument to Heroes appeared in 1943 (Fig. 183), and by 1944/45 Pollock created his paintings Totem Lesson I and II. "Totemism" would be established as a major theme and image, and a series of "totemic works produced by members of the New York School followed. These included works like Bourgeois's Figures (1947-mid-1950s) (Fig. 184); Lassaw's Metamophoses (1955) (Fig. 185) Nevelson's "Totems" (1959) (Figure 186); and Smith's Tanktotems, Forgings, and other related pieces (1955-56), etc. (Figs. 165, 187, 188, 189, 190)

Similarly, William Baziote's visual assimilation and transformation of pre-Columbian iconography and imagery, while beginning earlier than DYN, must have been significantly reinforced by Paalen's presentations in the "Amerindian" number. Baziotes romanticized the concepts of "evil" and "death" and linked them to pre-Columbian culture, in a manner related to his earlier love affair with those themes in French symbolism.[469] Yet at the same time, the quirky, mysterious shapes in his paintings (Figs. 191, 192), often laid onto beautiful fields of jade green, made with pigments to which phosphorous was added to give them an iridescent glow,[470] recall the equally odd profiles of pre-Columbian metal artifacts and jewelry (Fig. 193), and the

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naive toy-like effigies of animals and plants of, particularly, ancient Peruvian origin. (Figs. 194) They also have a strong affinity with the Mayan-influenced imagery of Carlos Merida, like that reproduced in DYN.[471] (Fig. 195) Baziotes penchant for toys, which in retrospect can be seen as part of twentieth-century avant-garde primitivist ideology, was a dominant theme of his oeuvre.[472] With respect to the connection between Paalen and Baziotes, besides an avowed admiration for Paalen as artist and individual, Paalen used an untitled watercolor by Baziotes as one of the illustrations for his essay on "The Meaning of Cubism Today," in DYN 6. He also reproduced another work in the same issue.[473] (Fig. 196 and 198)

As previously stated, the themes and abstract form-metaphors that Paalen invented to signify "cosmic" energies and time-space, were the forerunners of Abstract Expressionism's celebrated "abstract sublime" canvases. The abstract sublime aesthetic claimed transcendental qualities for the drastically reduced abstractions of the late 1940s and '50s of Gottlieb, Pollock, Newman, Rothko, and Clifford Still, and was perceived as the ultimate expression of Abstract Expressionist art.

Although they were well-versed in science, and thus receptive to Paalen's ideas, to rationalize their noumenous abstractions the Abstract Expressionists turned to metaphysics. In this context, the affinity of their discourse to the Northern Romantic tradition of the "sublime" has been

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explored.[474] The awe-inspiring landscape attributes of "boundlessness" and "greatness of dimension" in the aesthetic discourses of Immanuel Kant and Edmund Burke were paralleled by the "vortical rhythms,""sublime whirlpools," and "mystic trinity of sky, water, and earth" in the works of Caspar David Friedrich, J.M.W. Turner, and John Martin.[475] And the grand scale, rhythmic, and atmospheric abstract canvases of Abstract Expressionism were likened in intention and effect to these sources.

But in turning to another discourse, the Abstract Expressionists diverted attention from Paalen as an immediate source of inspiration. As we have seen, the impulse for these ideas is initially found in Paalen's painting and in his writing - in the theory of DYN, in the "cosmic" discourse of the Regler monograph, and in the grandiloquent prose of the "Paysages totémiques" diaries, which exalted in the power of the Northwest Coast. In the first "Paysage totémique" diary, Paalen wrote:

> The twilight country, the only one that provides light in this torpid summer of 1939, the "Northwest" coast of the American continent, replete with ancient totems at the confines of the world, unfurls waves of dark green foliage up to the edge of a steel-blue sea. Beneath the indestructible vaults of its ageless forest, always profuse with bears, eagles, and wolves, is hidden the fragmentary remains of a culture as foreign to man as the face of the copper moon....
>
> The omnipresent perfume of Vancouver up to and beyond Sitka, the aroma of freshly cut red cedar with the special savor of a good pencil, the only synthesis approaching it was a subtle dosage of vetiver mixed with jasmine and a bit of sandalwood--it is the soul of the magnificent tree, this "gigantic Thuya" that makes heraldic column, house, canoe, whose tanned bark

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> clothes its people of the forest. Red cedars, yellow cedars, pines and firs of multiple species, hemlocks called "dishevelled," maples...and all the others scaling the ramparts, ascending to the offense of the flanks, draining the sap of this auriferous land, from its immense expanses of sleeping strata. [476]

Just as Paalen's "cosmic" works were particularly germinal for Jackson Pollock, his cosmic metaphor was essential to the universal, "sublime," and scientizing conceptions of Newman and all the others who produced "sublime" works. In concept and in image, Paalen set a precedent for Pollock's monumental poured and dripped paintings like Autumn Rhythm (Fig. 135) for the pregnant stillness of the "atomic void" of Newman's minimal canvases like Vir Heroicus Sublimus,[477] for the cosmic explosions of Gottlieb's "Bursts" (Fig. 197) and for the ragged chasms of Still's abstractions.

Late in 1944, in the last issue of DYN, and in 1945 in Form and Sense, when Paalen published the works of Baziotes, Motherwell, Pollock, and Smith, his role as a proponent of the "new art," was indisputable, and the New York School's familiarity with Paalen, his paintings, and ideas was complete.[478] (Figs. 198, 199, 200)

In 1947-48, Paalen traveled back and forth between Mexico and New York, finally relocating in 1948 to the San Francisco Bay area, to begin a "California" period.[479] During this time, he was still in close contact with Motherwell and other members of the New York School.[480] He once again changed galleries to join Marion Willard's

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stable; in 1951, just before he returned to Paris, she gave him an exhibition.[481] By 1948, Abstract Expressionism was well on its way to becoming an international phenomenon, now a movement unto itself. Inspired by Paalen's and other European artists' direction, it looked to the future and offered the promise of new possibilities. (Figs. 201, 202)

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**NOTES**

1. Sawin, "The Third Man: 181-8: "As a new generation of scholars probes the complex sources of Abstract Expressionism, trying to see past the obfuscation created by decades of formalist criticism, or the simplifications inherent in the accounts written from a single theoretical viewpoint, or the distortions resulting from the activities of the marketplace, it seems useful to separate the facts from the fictions...."

2. This work appears to be the (misnamed) Composition of the same date, now in the collection of The Berkshire Museum, Pittsfield, Mass., donated by Gallatin. With reference to the Museum of Living Art see Sandler, Triumph, 13. With reference to the Museum of Living Art and Paalen see, Myfawney Evans, ed., "The Gallery of Living Art." Axis: A Quarterly Review of Contemporary "Abstract" Painting and Sculpture (November 1935): 9-11.

3. For an overview of the 1930s New York art milieu see Ashton, New York School and Foster, Critics of Abstract Expressionism. For discussion of politics and issues in proto-Abstract Expressionist years see the essays in Frascina, Pollock and After. For discussion of the intellectual climate see Polcari, AE and the Modern Experience. Greenberg, "The Late Thirties in New York," Partisan Review (1957), reprinted in Art and Culture (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961), 230-38, discusses the change of focus to abstraction in the last years of the 1930s.

4. Greenberg, ibid., 231.

5. Lader, "Art of This Century," 80, indicates that Baziotes, Kamrowski, and Busa all read Minotaure. In author's interview with Ibram Lassaw, Springs, NY, August 23, 1994, Lassaw said he read Minotaure and Cahiers, etc.

6. According to Hobbs, "Abstract Expressionism: A Concern with the Unknown Within," in Hobbs and Levin, Abstract Expressionism: The Formative Years, 17. See, also, Herbert Read, Surrealism (London: Faber and Faber, 1936).

7. See Sidney Simon, "Concerning the Beginnings of the New York School 1939-1943: An Interview with Peter Busa and Matta Conducted by Sidney Simon in Minneapolis in December 1966," Art International II (Summer-Dec. 1967). In these interviews Matta and Peter Busa both described the loft as a meeting ground for artists. Hadler, The Art of William Baziotes," 75, says: "From 1938-42, Frances Lee, a filmmaker and a friend of Baziotes from the thirties, gave large parties for over 200 people in his loft...."

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8. Author's interview with Ethel Baziotes, New York, September 28, 1990.

9. Ibid.

10. "Paintings by Wolfgang Paalen," exhibition announcement and checklist, Julien Levy Gallery, April 1940.

11. Ibid. The whereabouts of most of these works at this time is unknown.

12. Regler, WP, 32.

13. This statement was made by Motherwell in a letter of February 23, 1970 to critic Irving Sandler, reprinted in Fink, "The Dynaton: Three Artists with Similar Ideas," M.A. Thesis, 55, n. 48.

14. Mattison, "Between Surrealism and Abstract Expressionism," unpg.

15. Barbara Reise, "'Primitivism' in the Writings of Barnett Newman," M.A. Thesis, Columbia University, 1965, 26.

16. Mattison, "Between Surrealism," says that between 1979 and 1991, he conducted and taped interviews with Robert Motherwell, and interviewed and corresponded with such other members of the New York School and their widows as Ethel Baziotes, Peter Busa, Lee Krasner, and Annalee Newman, as well as Surrealists Roberto Matta and Gordon Onslow Ford.

17. Regler, WP, 40.

18. For further discussion of biomorphic imagery see, Lawrence Alloway, "The Biomorphic Forties," in The Interpretive Link, 33-36.

19. In "The New Image" (1942) and in "Surprise and Inspiration" (1942), Paalen elaborated upon automatism and primitivism. See this text below for further discussion.

20. See Hadler, Baziotes, 108-19, who discusses this principle in Baziotes' painting The Butterflies of Leonardo, 1942. The term "scientific poetry" was used by Gordon Onslow Ford in her interview with the artist. See ibid., 112.

21. Regler, WP, 32.

22. For discussion and reproduction of Pollock's Shimmering Substance see Levin, "Kandinsky, Miro and the Genesis of

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Abstract Expressionism," in Hobbs and Levin, AE: The Formative Years, 37.

23. For further discussion of Matta, Onslow Ford, and Paalen's influence on early Abstract Expressionism, see Sawin, "The Cycloptic Eye, Pataphysics, and the Possible," in The Interpretive Link, 37-42.

24. In "The Late Thirties in New York," Art and Culture, 230-38, Clement Greenberg refers to this "cloisonée" style, and traces it back to Picasso.

25. Sawin, "The 'Third Man'": 181-86. Sawin discusses Gordon Onslow Ford's "coulages" and early New York School experimentation with "poured" painting. See below for discussion of issues of contrast, competition, and influence in relation to other events and individuals in New York at this time.

26. Ibid.: 184.

27. Ibid.: 184: "In 1940 at Francis Lee's loft they began to meet some of the artists whose work they had seen in Minotaure....when Onslow Ford gave his series of lectures at The New School in January 1941, Baziotes was reportedly a rapt member of the audience...Kamrowski only heard the lectures at second hand from Baziotes...some accounts also place Pollock in the audience...."

28. Winthrop Sargeant, "Screwball Art," Time (April 22, 1940): 70.

29. WP, "During the Eclipse," DYN 6: 17.

30. Sergeant, "Screwball Art": 70.

31. Dore Ashton, New York School, 119; and Simon, "Concerning the Beginnings--An Interview with Robert Motherwell": 17--Matta: "In New York, I lived rather poorly at first. Julien Levy was our natural contact among the art dealers. Mr. and Mrs. Bernard Reis, who collected Surrealist art, were our sponsors."

32. Simon, "Interview with Motherwell": 21.

33. Andreas Neufert, in "WP Das Werk," "Chronologie," 6: "Einzelaustellung Galerie Julien Levy, New York. Bekanttschaft mit Robert Motherwell. Again, Neufert does not document his source, but he did correspond with Motherwell at the time he wrote his thesis (ca. 1986-87). If Paalen and Motherwell met at this point, it may have been a brief, informal meeting at the exhibition opening, since

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he would subsequently bring a letter of introduction from Seligmann to Mexico.

34. Simon, "Interview with Motherwell": 21. Frank O'Hara's chronology for the Museum of Modern Art, Robert Motherwell, exhib. cat. (New York: 1965), 74, also states that Motherwell "stays on through the Fall to work with Paalen." Mattison, The Formative Years, 28, says that Motherwell stayed on until early November to "work with Paalen."

35. Author's telephone interview with Edward Renouf, Paalen's Assistant Editor for DYN 1, 2, 3, August 17, 1990, indicated that he had done all of the translation for DYN, with the exception of a few essays that Motherwell translated. Motherwell is credited as translator on the last page of the essay: "The New Image," DYN 1 (April-May 1942): 15. Additionally, Mattison, "Between Surrealism," indicates that in interviews, Motherwell said that Paalen wrote "The New Image" in 1941 and that he translated it in Fall 1941, while still in Mexico. Paalen dates the essay to June 1941 in Form and Sense, 24.

In author's interview with Renouf, he reported that Paalen thought very highly of Motherwell, and wanted him to be assistant editor of DYN. Gibson, Issues, 38, n. 28, also reported that according to Renouf "Paalen enjoyed Motherwell's company a great deal and wished that Motherwell had stayed in Mexico to work on DYN."

36. Mattison, "Between Surrealism."

37. "Surprise and Inspiration," DYN 2: 5-13. "Surprise and Inspiration" is discussed below.

38. "Surprise and Inspiration," Form and Sense, 43-50. Gordon Onslow Ford and Stanley William Hayter alluded to Motherwell's collage in an interview with Andreas Neufert ("Das Werk," 56): "R. Motherwell bennante sogar eine seiner frühen, grosen Collagen nach dem Paalen-Aufsatz (heute Peggy Guggenheim Collection, Venedig): interviews mit Hayter und Onslow Ford Mai/Februar 1986." Mattison, Formative Years, 92, says that [Motherwell said that?] Peggy Guggenheim renamed this collage after Paalen's essay.

39. Neufert, Das Werk, says that Motherwell returned twice in 1943; O'Hara's chronology (RM) also notes Motherwell back in Mexico in 1943.

40. Neufert, "Das Werk," Chronologie, 6, indicates that Motherwell and Paalen had an ongoing correspondence: "Zeitlebens reger Briefkontakt." Letters in the estate of Robert Motherwell, show a long correspondence. At the date of this writing, Motherwell had indicated in correspondence with both Neufert and Christian Kloyber that the many

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letters from the years of correspondence he kept with Paalen had been destroyed. This material was still extant in 1984, however, when Ann Gibson corresponded with him, as she published excerpts from three letters from Paalen to Motherwell: undated, c. 1945, 16 February 1945, and 17 January 1947. Cf. Gibson, "Theory Undeclared," 416. [Update - Motherwell died 7/16/91--NYTimes Obituary - page 1 and B9, Thursday, July 18, 1991] The visits to Motherwell from ca. 1947-49 were referred to in author's interview with Luchita Hurtado, Santa Monica, Calif., May 1, 1994. In fact, a play Paalen wrote ("The Beam of the Balance") was performed at Motherwell's home in Easthampton, NY in this period.

41. Neufert, ibid.: "Auf Motherwells Anregung stellt Howard Putzel (Assistent P. Guggenheims) im Winter 41/42 Bilder von Surrealisten (auch Paalen) in der 'New School for Social Research' aus. For the details of Putzel's life and career see, Hermine Benhaim Papers, "Howard Putzel," Archives of American Art, Reel 3482, 953-989.

42. Benhaim Papers, unpg. See also, Lader, "Peggy Guggenheim's Art of this Century Gallery."

43. Benhaim Papers, 1966 letter of GOF to Benhaim, indicates that he met Putzel in Paris, ca. 1939. Benhaim says that Putzel went to Paris after running two galleries: one in San Francisco ca. 1935-38, where he was in contact with Marcel Duchamp and Pierre Matisse Gallery; and one in Los Angeles, ca. 1938-39, where he gave Tanguy his first American show. In Paris he "did some unofficial dealing, some commission buying for Peggy Guggenheim," wrote art criticism, and renewed his friendship with Duchamp. See, also, New School Archives, The New School Bulletin, Spring 1942, "Surrealist Painting: An Adventure into Human Consciousness," Alternate Wednesdays, 8:20-10 P.M., $4. Gordon M. Onslow Ford. The lectures listed were on "di Chirico [sic]-the child of dreams," "Max Ernst-the creative forces of evil," "Joan Miro-the primitive in the subhuman," "René Magritte-the poetry of the object," "Yves Tanguy-the internal landscape," and "Adventures in Surrealist Painting," which included second-generation Surrealists "little known in America": Brauner, Paalen, Hayter, Seligmann, Matta, Onslow Ford, and Francés. A partial list of each painter's works was given in the course description. For a summary of the content of the lectures see Martica Sawin, "The Cycloptic Eye, Pataphysics and the Possible: Transformations of Surrealism," in The Interpretive Link, 47-32.

44. The information in the following paragraphs is based on Simon's "Interview with Motherwell": 20-21.

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45. Ibid.: 20.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.: 21.

48. Paalen's widow, Isabel Marin de Paalen, recalls an interview that Motherwell gave to a Mexican journalist when he stayed in Mexico to work with Paalen. He credited Paalen with inspiring the direction of his work. Author's interview with IMdP, Tepoztlan, Mexico, June 27, 1990. The "Interview" with Sidney Simon: 20 says "he was not to make the final decision to devote himself to painting until 1941."

49. Mattison, The Formative Years, 28-38.

50. Mattison, "Between Surrealism."

51. Wolfgang Paalen, "The New Image": 7.

52. Stewart Buettner, "John Dewey and the Visual Arts in America," Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism 33 (Summer 1975): 388--"Robert Motherwell, the movement's self-appointed spokesman on matters of theory...."

53. Harold Bloom has persuasively written about this psychology with respect to poets. See his The Anxiety of Influence, A Theory of Poetry (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973/1975).

54. Ed. note: Russell and Whitehead were colleagues of Ludwig Wittgenstein at Cambridge and already known to Paalen who dealt with them in his "Art and Science" essay. Paalen corresponded with Russell and received a response from him for his "Inquiry on Dialectical Materialism," published in DYN 2 (July-August 1942): 49-54. See below for further discussion.

55. Letter of Robert Motherwell to Irving Sandler, February 23, 1970, in response to Sandler's statement in his article "The Surrealist Emigres in New York," Artforum VI (May 1968): 29-- "The influence of Paalen in part prompted Motherwell to modify his ideas. In an article of 1944, [ed.--"The Modern Painter's World"] he changed the Surrealist term 'psychic automatism' to 'plastic automatism.'" Letter reprinted in Sylvia Fink, "The Dynaton: Three Men," , 55, n. 48: "Carbon copy of an unpublished letter from Robert Motherwell to Irving Sandler...; this letter resulted when the author of this thesis wrote a letter of inquiry to Robert Motherwell, who then indirectly replied to the author's letter by writing to Irving Sandler and sending a copy to the author."

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56. Gibson, Issues, 38.

57. Motherwell interview with Ann Gibson, 21 April 1982, cited in ibid., 38, n. 29.

58. I am using the adjective "undeclared" following Gibson's dissertation title--"Theory Undeclared."

59. Edward Renouf, telephone interview with author, February 25, 1990.

60. DYN 1: cover page, verso.

61. Mattison, "Between Surrealism."

62. Ibid.

63. In Paalen's library was Charles Morris's two volume Foundations of the Theory of Signs (Univ. of Chicago Press: 1940). Tepoztlan Library List, courtesy of Isabel Marin de Paalen.

64. "The New Image": 9.

65. Mattison, "Between Surrealism."

66. Ibid.

67. WP, "During the Eclipse": 18.

68. Gibson, Issues , 38, n. 27, citing a letter of 16 February 1945 from Paalen to Motherwell.

69. On Dewey, see, particularly, Buettner, "John Dewey and the Visual Arts"; Stephen Polcari "The Intellectual Roots," 104-112; and Rushing "Native American Art." Polcari discusses late Dewey and his bio-social analysis which verges on neuropsychology.

70. Tepoztlan Library List shows the following by Dewey: Human Nature and Conduct (New York: The Modern Library, 1930); Intelligence in the Modern World (New York: The Modern Library, 1930); Art As Experience (New York: Milton, Blach & Co., 1934); and Theory of Valuation (Chicago: The Univ. of Chicago Press, 1939).

71. Buettner: "Dewey and the Visual Arts": 383.

72. Ibid.: 386.

73. Ibid.: 384.

74. Ibid.

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75. Ibid.

76. WP, "Suggestion for an Objective Morality," DYN 1: 18.

77. WP, "During the Eclipse": 18-19.

78. Ibid.

79. Ibid.: 19.

80. Ibid.

81. Ibid.

82. WP, "Art and Science," DYN 3: 4-9. See detailed discussion of this essay ahead.

83. Greenberg, "The Late Thirties," 230.

84. Clement Greenberg, The Nation (November 1943), Archives of American Art, Peggy Guggenheim Papers, Art of This Century, Reel ITVE 1, 301.

85. Ibid.

86. Ibid.

87. "Clement Greenberg Dies at 85; Art Critic Championed Pollock," The New York Times, Obituaries (Sunday, May 8, 1994): 38.

88. H. McB., Sunday Times, unpg., AAA, PG Papers, 300.

89. Robert M. Coates, The New Yorker (November 20, 1943); Maude Riley, "Fifty-Seventh Street in Review, Explosive First Show at Art of This Century," The Art Digest 18 (November 15, 1943): 18; "Exhibition, Art of This Century," Art News 42 (November 15, 1943); Robert Motherwell, Partisan Review (Winter 1944): all AAA, PG Papers, 300.

90. Clement Greenberg, The Nation, (May 27, 1944), AAA, PG Papers, 315.

91. Clement Greenberg, "Art," The Nation (November 11, 1944), AAA, PG Papers, 320; "Jackson Pollock," interview, Art & Architecture (February 1944), AAA, PG Papers, 310; Art News (October 15, 1944), AAA, PG Papers, 316; Jon Stroup, "Motherwell, Modern," The Art Digest (November 1, 1944), AAA, PG Papers, 317; H.McB[ride], New York Sun (October 28, 1944), AAA, PG Papers, 317; New York Times "Elsewhere in Brief" (Sunday, October 29, 1944), AAA, PG Papers, 317; Manny Farber, "Like a Rock Cast in the Sea," The New Republic (November 20, 1944), AAA, PG Papers, 317.

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92. Maude Riley, "The Mythical Rothko and His Myths," Art Digest (January 15, 1945): 15, AAA, PG Papers, 324.

93. John Stroup, "In Lyricism," Town and Country (January 1945), AAA, PG Papers, 324.

94. Clement Greenberg, The Nation (April 7, 1945), AAA, PG Papers, 331.

95. See Stephen C. Foster, Critics of AE, for further discussion.

96. Motherwell and Rosenberg are credited as art and text editors; Pierre Chaveau and John Cage as architecture and music editors; respectively.

97. For discussion of Possibilities and Tiger's Eye see Gibson, "Theory Undeclared," 1984 and 1990; and Robert Hobbs, "Re-review Possibilities," Art Criticism 1 (1979): 96-103. See, also, Possibilities, no. 1, Motherwell and Rosenberg, eds., 1947; and Tiger's Eye, John and Ruth Stephan, eds., nos. 1-9, 1947-49.

98. William Seitz, AE Painting in America, 163.

99. Wolfgang Paalen, "On the Meaning of Cubism Today," DYN 6: 7.

100. Paalen, "La Crise du Sujet dans la Painture Moderne," Revue de l'IFAL I, (Mexico City: 1945). No doubt Paalen was formulating this idea of the crisis of the subject in response to André Breton's essay "Crise de l'Objet," [emphasis added] published in Minotaure 11 (1936): 21-26.

101. In New York School, Dore Ashton speaks at length about the difficulties encountered by American artists in these years.

102. In 1959 Harold Rosenberg would write The Tradition of the New. Additionally, there has been much written on the concept of the "New," and the utopian and futuristic ideals that accompany modernist ideology, including Renato Poggioli Theory of the Avant-Garde, Peter Bürger Theory of the Avant-Garde, Rosalind Krauss, Originality of the Avant-Garde and other Modernist Myths, Richard Schiff, Cezanne and the End of Impressionism, Robert Hughes, The Shock of the New, etc. See also Stephen Foster's helpful summary in "The Prerequisite Text," in The Avant-Garde Text, exhibition catalogue, Visual Studies Workshop (Rochester: 1988).

103. Following Ashton, Polcari ("Intellectual Roots, 87-103) discusses Nietzschean philosophy at length. He does not, however, link the source of Abstract Expressionist

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interest to Paalen. Following Polcari, Gibson discusses the Nietzschean overtones in Abstract Expressionist themes and does in one place link the language to Paalen's DYN. Rushing, "Impact of Nietzsche," closely focuses on this theme, but in spite of Gibson's observation, does not see Paalen as an important bridge between Nietzschean rhetoric and ideology and AE. See this text below on "Nietzschean Discourse."

104. Wassily Kandinsky, On the Spiritual in Art, Lindsay and Vergo, eds., 128. See also Part II for discussion and a full version of this quotation.

105. Simon, "Interview with Motherwell": 21.

106. Adolph Gottlieb, "The Ides of Art," in Tiger's Eye 2 (December 1947): 43. See, also, Part II for discussion of this statement in the context of primitivism.

107. For the frequency of the use of the image of the cave and the underworld in the works of this period, see, Robert Hobbs, "Early AE: Concern with the Unknown Within." See, also, Gibson, "Theory Undeclared," which explores such related themes as the "Night," the "Thread," etc., in separate chapters.

108. Quoted in Rushing, "Ritual and Myth," in Rubin, ed., "Primitivism", 277.

109. Sawin, "The Cycloptic Eye," 40.

110. In New York School, Ashton initiated discussion about the "insecurity" of the New York art community and its attempt to forge its own, unique "American" style.

111. See, particularly, the dialogue between Sidney Simon, Peter Busa and Matta in the aforementioned "Interview." Ashton has written an excellent recent analysis of the American anxiety reaction to the Europeans in The Interpretive Link--"Crisis and Perpetual Resolution." Lader also gives a comprehensive account of the reception of the Surrealists before and upon their arrival in New York in "PG's Art of This Century."

112. Clement Greenberg, "Cubist, Abstract, Surrealist Art," The Nation 156 (January 30 1943): 177; and "Surrealist Painting," The Nation (New York: August 12, 1944).

113. Simon, "Interview with Matta and Busa": 17.

114. Ibid.

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115. Lader, "PG's Art of This Century." See, also, Klaus Mann, "Surrealist Circus," The American Mercury, date unknown, Archives of American Art, Art of This Century Papers, Reel ITVE 1, 272-276.

116. André Breton, ""Des tendances les plus récentes de la peinture Surréaliste," Minotaure, 12-13 (May 1939): 16-17.

117. Ibid.

118. "The New Image": 4-9.

119. Paalen, "The New Image," DYN 1: 12.

120. Louise Bogan, "The Poetry of Paul Eluard," Partisan Review VII (Fall 1939): 80.

121. Ilya Ehrenbourg, "The Surrealists," Partisan Review II (October-November 1935): 11-13.

122. Author's personal interview with Lionel Abel, New York, September 26, 1990. Rebellion against Cartesianism is also evident in the thinking of the contemporary French intellectual Michel Foucault. See, particularly his Order of Things (New York: Random House, 1973).

123. Simon, "Interview with Motherwell": 21.

124. Ibid.: 20.

125. Ibid.: 21.

126. André Breton, "Wolfgang Paalen" in Surrealism and Painting (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), 137-38. First published in André Breton, "Genesis and Perspective of Surrealism,"in Art of This Century [catalogue of the collection], Peggy Guggenheim, ed. (New York: 1942), 25.

127. Ibid., 78.

128. Leonor Morales, WP: Introductor, 40.

129. This information about Zwemmer's Book Shop was given to author in a telephone interview September 25, 1990, with Douglas Newton (formerly Chief Curator of the Rockefeller Collection of Primitive Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). But it also appears on the inside cover of DYN 3, 4-5, and 6.

130. The reference to Weyhe bookstore was made in interviews with individuals active in the New York art world during the 1940s. In conversation with Irving Sandler

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(April 9, 1991), he mentioned the Wakefield Gallery. Rushing, "Native American Art," 434-35, also refers to Wittenborn and the New Yorkers familiarity with Paalen and the fact that "his journal and his ideas were readily available to New York artists."

131. Lee Mullican saw it in Hawaii and Richard Diebenkorn in Washington, D.C., both while stationed in the army. See Frederick Wight, "Diebenkorn, Woelffer, Mullican: A Discussion," Artforum I (April 1963): 24-28. Helen Harkonen, Professor Emeritus, S.U.N.Y. New Paltz, said it was widely read by students at the Art Institute of Chicago in the 1940s. This was probably due to the contribution of a drawing by Florence Arquin, Director of Education at the Chicago Art Institute in those years. Author's conversation with Helen Harkonen, New Paltz, NY, 1991. See, also, Arquin, Paracutin, gouache, DYN 4-5, unpg. illus. to "Une Visite au Volcan": 72.

132. Author's telephone interview with Martica Sawin, New York, August 18, 1990.

133. Telephone interview with Douglas Newton, op.cit.

134. Wight, " Diebenkorn."

135. Gibson, "Theory Undeclared," 263.

136. Laurie Wilson, Louise Nevelson: Iconography and Sources (New York: Garland, 1979), says that DYN was listed among Pollock's books. The library contents published by Francis V. O'Connor and Eugene Thaw in Jackson Pollock: Catalogue Raisonné (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), however, does not show it. But according to Helen Harrison, Director of the Pollock-Krasner House and Study Center, there were a number of books that were uninventoried, which are now missing. On Busa, see Rushing, Native American Art, 354, n. 11; and 355-56; and Gibson, "Theory Undeclared," 263.

137. Rushing, ibid., 438, n. 57, interview with Bultmann.

138. Reported by Judy Stone, "Archaeological Artist Plans New Magazine on Modern Art," Daily Independent [Marin County, California], June 3, 1990: M6, in an interview with Paalen on the occasion of his 1951 "Dynaton" exhibition at the San Francisco Museum of Art.

139. WP, Form and Sense. Wittenborn followed up this first volume in the series with six more books: Herbert Read, The Grass Roots of Art; Alexander Dorner, Herbert Bayer; Robert Motherwell, John Cage, Pierre Chaveau, and Harold Rosenberg, eds., Possibilities; Georges Vantongerloo, Paintings,

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Sculptures, Reflections; Frank Lloyd Wright, Taliesin Drawings; and Robert Sowers, The Lost Art. Thereafter, he began the series of The Documents of Modern Art, edited by Motherwell. For the complete list of publications in that series, see the back cover of the 1947 edition of Kandinsky's Concerning the Spiritual in Art, Motherwell, ed., which was number 5 in the Documents series.

140. See, especially, Helena Lewis, The Politics of Surrealism; and the various essays in Part II of Francis Frascina, ed., Pollock and After: The Critical Debate: "II History: Representation and Misrepresentation - The Case of Abstract Expressionism."

141. Although this episode of the founding of the Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors is legend, and included in even Ashton and Sandler's popular histories of Abstract Expressionism, the most complete accounts of the history and politics of this group of former WPA artists, before and after the split from the American Artists Congress, is to be found in the essays by Kozloff, Cockcroft, and Shapiro, in Frascina, (Part II) ibid. See also, Annette Cox, Art-as-Politics: The Abstract Expressionist Avant-Garde and Society (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1983).

142. Gibson's "Theory Undeclared" and Issues discusses the search for non-verbal forms. Her essay on "Abstract Expressionism's Evasion of Language," Art Journal 47, 3 (Fall 1988): 208-14, is a summary of this thesis.

143. Rose-Carol Washton Long, "Scholarship: Past, Present, and Future Directions," in German Expressionist Prints and Drawings, volume 1, catalogue, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Robert Gore Rifkind Center (Los Angeles and Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1990).

144. Herbert Read, The Politics of the Unpolitical (London: Routledge, 1945); and see, also, David and Cecile Shapiro, "Abstract Expressionism: The Politics of Apolitical Painting," in Frascina, Pollock and After. More recently Stephen Foster (University of Iowa) has been working on the concept of "The Myth of Disbelief."

145. See Lewis, The Politics of Surrealism, for discussion of the political discord within the movement and between the movement and the various factions of the Communist party.

146. WP, "The New Image": 7.

147. Gustav Regler, The Owl of Minerva (New York: Farrar Straus, 1960), 357-60.

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148. See Stephen Bronner, "Expressionism and Marxism: Towards An Aesthetic of Emancipation," in Passion and Rebellion, Bronner and Kellner, eds., 411-53, for discussion of the "Expressionist Debate" of the 1930s. See, also, Frederick Jameson, Aesthetics and Politics (London: New Left Review, 1977).

149. See Max Kozloff, "American Painting During the Cold War," (1973); Eva Cockcroft: Abstract Expressionism, Weapon of the Cold War," (1974); David and Cecil Shapiro, "Abstract Expressionism: The Politics of Apolitical Painting," (1977), in Frascina, Pollock and After, 107-51.

150. See Stephen Polcari, "Abstract Expressionism": 'New and Improved'" Art Journal 47 (Fall 1988): 174-180; quotation from 177. Polcari cites as "less ideological investigations" Jane de Hart Mathews "Art and Politics in Cold War America," and Susan Sivard, "The State Department 'Advancing American Art' Exhibition of 1945 and the Advance of American Art," note 24, 179) both of which followed the publications of Kozloff and Cockcroft and the Shapiros, and no doubt took their cues from them. These articles, however, are no less "ideologically" informed, but simply ideologically different, coming from the center, rather than from the left, as did their predecessors.

151. Christopher Lasch, quoting MacDonald in "The Cultural Cold War," Towards a New Past: Dissenting Essays in American History, ed. Barton Bernstein (New York, 1969), 331; and Kozloff, "American Painting During the Cold War," in Pollock and After, 115, n. 18.

152. Lasch, ibid., 323, 326; and Shapiro, "The Politics of Apolitical Painting," in Pollock and After, 146, n. 23.

153. Greenberg, "The Late Thirties in New York," 230; and Serge Guilbaut, "The New Adventures of the Avant-Garde in America," in Pollock and After, 150-66.

154. Alfred Barr, The New American Painting, Museum of Modern Art, exhib. cat. (New York: 1958), introduction; and Eva Cockcroft, "Abstract Expressionism, Weapon of the Cold War," in Pollock and After, 131.

155. See authors ms., "VVV: The Surrealist Review in Exile, 1942-1944," n.d.

156. WP, "Farewell au Surrealisme," DYN 1: 26.

157. Ibid.

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158. WP, "The New Image": 8. Though free association was employed by Freud in his therapy, automatic writing or "automatism" was actually a proto-Freudian method invented by J.M. Charcot and Pierre Janet. See Jennifer Gibson, "Surrealism Before Freud: Dynamic Psychiatry's 'Simple Recording Instrument," Art Journal 46 (Spring 1987): 56-60.

159. On Onslow Ford's lectures at The New School see Sawin, "The Cycloptic Eye."

160. As indicated in author's personal interview with Annette Nancarrow, Mexico City, July 5, 1990. Nancarrow was a student of Orozco and a personal friend of Alice Rahon.

161. Unpublished letters courtesy of Gordon Onslow Ford, dated 1951-59.

162. Jimmy Ernst, A Not-So-Still Life (New York, St. Martin's Press, 1984), 197.

163. Regler, WP, 42.

164. Ibid., 43-44. Letter from André Breton, New York 21 juillet 1941, to WP, discusses this issue: ["J'ai diviné plutôt que compris, à la lecture de tes lettres de 1940 a Calas, que ce pouvait être là une pure conséquence de ta rébellion contre Hegel. Mais l'objectivation de ta pensée est nécessaire, elle vu serait surtour trés nécessaire sur ce point. Mais je sens, jusque dans son démantelement volontaire, l'extraordinaire solidité de ta construction mentale: il n'en est pas pour moi de plus proche, il n'en est pas non plus dont la mienne defende davantage: le sort en est jeté depuis longtemps et tu es l'homme que je regarde vivre avec le plus de ferveur. Ce jour n'est pas choisi pour que je cherche à fendre le flot de questions que tu as soulevis. Ce sera pour une autre fois peut-être, a moins que je me mette à douter de l'efficacité d'une discussion idéologique entre nous, a servir pour assez vain de vouloir avoir raison. Ma confiance en toi est bien au delà de ce que tu pourrais m'opposer, elle va si loin que je n'ai pas envi de te contredire; ce qui en toi diverge de moi ne m'entretient que de sa richesse et ne me blessi jamais."] Letter courtesy of Gordon Onslow Ford.

165. Author's interview with Edward Renouf, August 17, 1990.

166. For discussion of Onslow Ford see, Gordon Onslow-Ford: Retrospective Exhibition, The Oakland Museum (California: 1977). For further writings by and on Onslow-Ford see the bibliography of this dissertation.

167. Breton, "Des tendances les plus récentes": 16-17.

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168. The most complete and up to date study of late Abstract Surrealist painting and its influence on Abstract Expressionism is The Interpretive Link, with contributions by Lawrence Alloway, Dore Ashton, Robert Hobbs, Philip Leider, et al. All of these writers, as is traditional in Abstract Expressionist literature, refer to the then-"new psychology" of Jung. Author's recent paper, "Abstract Expressionism in Context": Gesture and Color-Field Paintings as Gestalt Emblems" (presented at the 13th Annual Whitney Symposium on American Art, 1990) for the first time explores the "new psychology" of Gestalt theory, also important to artists at this time. None of the above writers, however, explore in depth the issue of "new mathematics" and "new physics" and their relation to the fourth-dimension and non-Euclidean geometry that engaged the European avant-garde, and particularly the second-generation Surrealists, Matta, Onslow Ford, Dominguez, Francès, Seligmann, and Paalen, et al. On the Surrealist interest in new mathematics and new physics see author's paper, "Wolfgang Paalen and the New Art and Science," delivered at 1995 CAA Conference, San Antonio, Texas, in session, Modern Art and Modern Science, Linda D. Henderson, Chair. For Paalen's interest and usage, see discussion in the text below.

169. Susan M. Anderson, Pursuit of the Marvelous: Stanley William Hayter, Charles Howard, Gordon Onslow Ford, Laguna Beach Art Museum, exhib. cat. (California: 1991), 13.

170. On the interest in Poincaré see Linda D. Henderson, The Fourth Dimension and Non-Euclidean Geometry in Modern Art (Princeton: 1984), passim; Linda D. Henderson, "A New Facet of Cubism: 'The Fourth Dimension' and 'Non-Euclidean Geometry' Reinterpreted," Art Quarterly XXXIV (1971): 410-33; and Daniel Robbins, "From Symbolism to Cubism: The Abbaye of Créteil," Art Journal XXIII (Winter 1963-64): 111-16; and (with regard to Onslow Ford) William S, Rubin, Dada and Surrealist Art (New York, Abrams: 1968), 316: "Concentric circle and crisscrossing lines, suggesting the patterns of a contour map gone mad, drew on the mathematical objects of the Poincaré Institute and provided an opening in a direction Matta would later explore more fully." On Matta, Onslow Ford, and Paalen's interest in Ouspensky, see, Anderson, Pursuit, 38; and Fink, "The Dynaton: Three Men", 6. Paalen had three classic works on the fourth-dimension in his library: Charles Hinton,'s An Episode in Flatland (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1907); Hinton's The Fourth Dimension (London: Charles Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1934); and Charles Bragdon's A Primer of Higher Space-The Fourth Dimension (New York: Knopf, 1938). Additionally he owned Ouspensky's Tertium Organum (New York: Knopf, 1938).

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171. The history of the internecine battles of the Surrealists just prior to the exile was recounted in a personal interview with Gordon Onslow-Ford, January 14-15, 1990, as well as in Onslow Ford's essay "Reflections on the Dynaton Exhibition 25 Years Later," in California: 5 Footnotes, exhibition cat., Los Angeles County Museum (California: 1977), 42. Lewis (Politics of Surrealism, passim), discusses the splinter factions in the movement (primarily in the 1930s), including "L'affaire Aragon," which resulted in a division of ranks into various groups from orthodox Communism to Trotskyism.

172. For a thorough study of Minotaure, see Focus on Minotaure, exhib. cat., Musée Rath (Geneva: 1987-88). See, also, the liner notes written by Albert Skira to accompany the reprint edition of Minotaure (New York: Arno Press, 1968) which provide a short history of the publication.

173. Anderson, Pursuit, 38.

174. Letter Breton to WP, Chemillieu, 11 23 1939: ["...vous êtes tous les trois mes grands amis de coeur. Le stade est bien passé entre nous de ce qui si dégage seulement des affinitis spirituelles. Vous êtes un des rayons de ma vie et vous n'avez pas à croindre que je vous remplace jamais. Vous devez croire aussi que je n'ai jamais écrit cela à personne....Je ne sens pas de grandes possibilités d'activité commune dans le surréalisme et j'ignore toujours si la revue dont on envisageait la publication à partir d'Octobre, pourra voir le jour....Ici, on a fait tout son possible pour s'abstraire des mauvais conditions où nous mettait il y a quelques mois la consideration trop-attentive des "problemes" internationaux....Je crois que la lecture des journaux est un vice dans une période aussi confus et oú les raisons d'espoir sont si rares....Le bruit court que Minotaure a rencontre sur achet total au fond de vie commercial. Mabille m'ecrit que Dali a "tiré la vente" du numéro en Amérique et qu'en France l'accueil n'est pas moins réservé...."]

175. Octavio Barreda was the husband of Carmen Marin de Barreda, sister of Lupe Marin de Rivera (Diego Rivera's second wife) and sister of Paalen's third wife (and then-current lover), Isabel Marin de Paalen. This information was imparted in a telephone interview with Doris Heydn (Mexico City, June 30, 1990), first wife of Manuel Alvarez Bravo, a close friend of the Paalens in the 1940s, who, like Alvarez Bravo, contributed photographs to DYN. Octavio Barreda, additionally, was editor of the review Letras de Mexico which had dedicated an issue (during his visit to Mexico in 1938) to André Breton and Surrealism, prior to Paalen's arrival in Mexico, as discussed in Part III. See, also, Morales, WP: Introductor, 23: ["La revista Letras de

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México dirigida por Octavio G. Barreda, fue la que dio a conocer les actividades de Breton en nuestro país; el número 27, del 10. de mayo, estaba dedicado a Breton y al surrealismo....Así, antes de que Paalen llegara a México, se inició el contacto que este artista iba a consolidar durante los últimos veinte años de su vida."]

176. Regler, WP, 46: "In April 1942, he founded, almost alone and in the beginning without adequate cooperation, the review DYN...".

177. For a discussion of the history, politics, and visual poetics of VVV see author's ms., "VVV: The Surrealist Review in Exile." With regard to New York School xenophobia and the search for an "American" identity, see Ashton, The New York School, passim.

178. For an examination of issues in View see Susan Weil-Nessen, "Surrealism in Exile." See, also, John Bernard Myers, "Interactions: A View of View," Art In America (Summer 1981): 81-93.

179. Seitz, AE Painting in America. Weil-Nessen, ibid., looks at the European Surrealists interactions with View. A comprehensive examination of View, published from 1940-47 in a great number of issues, is still to be done. The recent View _____ (New York: , 19 ), is simply an anthology of writings from the magazine. Jeffrey Wechsler wrote about other manifestations of American Surrealism in Surrealism and American Art 1931-1947, exhib. cat., Voorhees Gallery, Rutgers University (New Brunswick, N.J.: 1976).

180. See Sawin, "The Cycloptic Eye," 39.

181. Ibid.

182. Ibid., 41.

183. For a theoretical discussion of the avant-garde's use of the journal see Foster, "The Prerequisite Text." For a history of artists' journals see Trevor Fawcett and Clive Philpot, eds., The Art Press, Two Centuries of Art Magazines (London: 1976). For a study of Dada and Surrealist journals, see, Dawn Ades, Dada and Surrealism Reviewed. For a study of the history of the Surrealists' political use of the journal see Lewis, Politics of Surrealism.

184. See, especially, Sawin, "The Cycloptic Eye," as well as the other essays in Schimmel, ed., The Interpretive Link.

185. Ibid.: 39.

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186. Julien Levy, Memoirs of an Art Gallery (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1977).

187. In the telephone interview 20 July 1991 with Edward Renouf, Assistant Editor of DYN, Renouf said that Paalen had told him this.

188. Additionally, in 1943-44, Matta joined forces with Lionel Abel to publish the journal Instead. As its title suggests, this was meant as an alternative to VVV and other art reviews being published at the time. The first two issues of Instead were published in 1945, and the last four in 1948. See Gibson, "Theory Undeclared," 82-97.

189. The earliest documentation of this collaboration was Simon's "Interview with Peter Busa and Matta": 17-20, where they recalled these sessions. See, also, Sawin, "The Cycloptic Eye,"; and her essay "The Third Man: Automatism American Style": 181-86. See discussion of these sessions ahead.

190. Simon, ibid.: 18.

191. Irving Sandler, "The Surrealist Emigres in New York": 29.

192. WP, "The New Image," in Form and Sense, 34.

193. Motherwell describing Matta in the "Interview" with Simon: 21. Lionel Abel also describes Matta's extraordinary sense of humour in "The Surrealists in New York": 44. This essay was subsequently published in Abel's memoir The Intellectual Follies, 1929-1979 (New York: Norton, 1984). In his memoir, Julien Levy gives a different twist to Matta's personality, describing its slightly dark underside. See, Memoirs, 247-52. An interview with Ann Alpert, Matta's first wife (New York, December 18, 1990), confirmed these impressions.

194. Robert Goldwater, "Reflections on the New York School," Quadrum 8 (1960): 17-36.

195. Author's interview with Gertrud Parker (a collector of Paalen's art), Tiburon, California, August 3, 1990, quoting Sulzer, whom she met in Mexico before her death in 1986.

196. "Le diamant de l'herbe," Minotaure 10 (1937); "Liste d'une collection d'outils...," Minotaure 12-13 (1939).

197. Regler, WP, 67, lists all of this with full citations. Neufert, "Das Werk," discusses some of them.

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198. Jacqueline Johnson, "Axolotl," in Hommage to Wolfgang Paalen, 11, quoting Paalen.

199. On the topic of the book arts and design see Michel Melot, The Art of Illustration (New York: Skira/Rizzoli, 1984). Melot was formerly curator of rare books at the Bibliothèque National and the library of the Musée Beaubourg, Centre Georges Pompidou.

200. A related image in Paalen's oeuvre, resembling fossils, shows an abstract version of this theme. (Fig. 144)

201. WP, "The New Image": 8-15; and "Farewell au Surréalisme," DYN 1: 26.

202. WP, "During the Eclipse": 17.

203. Edward Renouf, "Regionalism in Painting," DYN 1: 21-22.

204. At the beginning of Art as Experience (New York: Putnam, 1958; reprint of 1934 edition), 7, Dewey discussed Amerindian cultures and found that in them the arts "were part of the significant life of an organized community,' which arose from the conditions of that community's experience."

205. "The New Image": 7.

206. WP, "Art and Science," DYN 3: 4-9.

207. WP, "During the Eclipse": 16.

208. Ibid.: 17.

209. Ibid.: 15.

210. Ibid.: 17.

211. "The New Image": 10.

212. Ibid.: 7.

213. Ibid.: 12.

214. Ibid.: 8.

215. Ibid.: 8.

216. Ibid.: 8.

217. Ibid.: 10.

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218. Ibid.: 10.

219. "The New Image": 8.

220. See below for further discussion of this essay and the essay on "Art and Science."

221. Johnson, "Axolotl," 11.

222. The use of the male gender to designate the subject has been retained to agree with it's use in Paalen's text.

223. Robert Motherwell, "The Modern Painter's World," DYN 6: 9-14. Seitz, "The Artist and Society," Chapter 7, AE Painting in America, 140-49.

224. Motherwell, "Modern Painter's World": 10.

225. "The New Image": 8.

226. Ibid.: 7.

227. Ibid.: 8.

228. Ibid.: 13.

229. Ibid.: 15. On the image of the crystal, which is the model for Expressionist architectural renderings by, for instance, Bruno Taut, see Rosemary Bletter, "The Interpretation of the Glass Dream in Expressionist Architecture and the History of the Crystal Metaphor," Journal of Society of Architectural Historians XL, 1 (March 1981): 20-43.

230. Robert Motherwell, "Beyond the Aesthetic," Design 47 (April 1946): 14-15. See, also, author's paper, "AE in Perspective: Gesture and Color-Field Paintings as Gestalt Emblems."

231. Wassily Kandinsky, Concerning the Spiritual in Art, Robert Motherwell, ed. (New York: Wittenborn, 1947), 24.

232. WP, "During the Eclipse": 20.

233. Robert Motherwell, "Notes on Mondrian and Chirico," VVV 1 (1942): 59-62. There are no months of publication given in the frontispages of VVV, only years.

234. Author's personal interview with Lionel Abel, New York, September 26, 1990. Abel said that Breton had become enraged (as was not uncommon for Breton) when he sent Motherwell to the prominent psychologist Rudolf Arnheim to ask for a contribution on gestalt psychology and Motherwell

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instead brought back a chapter of the novel Arnheim was then writing. They also quarreled over a question of translation. After these incidents, Motherwell resigned and Breton called in Abel in his place.

235. "The New Image": 13.

236. Motherwell, "Notes": 61.

237. Wolfgang Paalen, "Books on Art, James Thrall Soby: THE EARLY CHIRICO," DYN 1: 51.

238. In Paalen's personal papers are two postcards from Miro in Spain. One dated 20/5/36 from Miró in Barcelona to Paalen at his address at 41 rue Boulard Paris, addresses him as his dear friend, thanks him for his card, and says he will soon arrive in Paris and looks forward to seeing him. Another card, of an unreadable date, but from the 1930s, is a greeting from Spain of Miró and Paul and Nusch Eluard. Postcards courtesy of GOF and Isabel Marin de Paalen.

239. WP, "Books on Art: James Johnson Sweeney: JOAN MIRO," DYN 1: 51.

240. Ibid.

241. Ibid.

242. Clement Greenberg, "Art," The Nation (March-April 1945), AAA, PG Papers, 331. See text and n. 94 above.

243. WP, "Book Reviews, JJS: JM."

244. Regler, WP, 43.

245. Wolfgang Paalen, "The Dialectical Gospel," DYN 2: 54.

246. "Inquiry on Dialectic Materialism," DYN 2: 52. Original response letter dated March 23, 1942, addressed to Edward Renouf, courtesy of Gordon Onslow Ford.

247. Regler, WP, 44. This passage is an excellent example of Paalen's critical style within the "Regler" monograph.

248. Cf. "Suggestion for an Objective Morality," appeared in DYN 1: 17-19. See discussion of this essay below.

249. Ann Gibson, "Editors' Statements" I: New Myths for Old: Redefining Abstract Expressionism," Art Journal 47 (Fall 1988): 171, quoting Erich Kahler's "The Persistence of Myth," in a special issue of Chimera (1946) devoted to myth.

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250. Ibid. The original quote is from Rothko in first exhibition paintings clyfford Still, exhib. cat., Art of This Century, 1946, AAA, PG Papers, 192-93: "It is significant that Still working out West and alone, has arrived at pictorial conclusions as allied to those of the small band of Myth Makers who have emerged here during the war.... By passing the current preoccupation with genre and the nuances of formal arrangements, Still expresses the tragic-religious drama which is generic to all Myths at all times, no matter where they occur."

251. André Breton, "Prolegomena to a Third Manifesto of Surrealism, or else," VVV 1 (1942): 18-21. Breton may have been aware of Nietzsche's call for myth to complement the deficiencies of reason and "his insistence that 'it is only a horizon encompassed with myths which rounds off to a unity a social movement.'" Cf. Nietzsche, The Birth of Tragedy, (trans. Wm. A. Hausmann (London: 1909), 174. See also Patrick Waldberg, "Vers Un Nouveau Mythe?" VVV 3 (1944): 41.

252. Breton, ibid.

253. Paalen, "Farewell to Surrealism": 26.

254. WP, "Suggestion for an Objective Morality."

255. Harold Rosenberg, "Breton--A Dialogue," View II, 2 (May 1942): unpg.

256. W.P., "Surprise and Inspiration," DYN 2: 5-10.

257. "Surprise and Inspiration": 5-6.

258. Ibid.: 6.

259. Ibid.: 6-7.

260. Ibid.: 8.

261. WP, "Seeing and Showing," DYN 1: 27. This aphorism reflects a then-current, but age old, positive sexist stereotype that employs metaphors equating women and nature, to which Paalen, like other men of his generation, was heir.

262. This anecdote about Pollock was told in an interview with Lee Krasner by Francine Du Plessix and Grey Cleve, "Who Was Jackson Pollock?" Art in America (May-June 1967): 48-59; and quoted by B.H. Friedman in Jackson Pollock: Energy Made Visible (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972), 64-65: "...Lee Krasner...had her former teacher, Hans Hofmann, over to see Pollock's paintings. During that visit Hofmann asked about the importance of nature in Pollock's work. Pollock

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replied aggressively, "I am nature." Though he meant by this that he was part of nature, connected with all its elements, Hofmann was shocked by the younger painter's seeming arrogance...." This would have been after the McMillen show in November 1942 (and thus, after the publication of DYN 1), because that was when Krasner first met Pollock.

263. This is documented in Simon's "Interviews" with Busa and Matta, and Motherwell.

264. Mattison, "Between Surrealism," and Hobbs, "Early AE: A Concern with the Unknown Within," 18.

265. Hobbs, ibid.

266. Ibid.

267. Ibid.

268. See text and n. 170 above.

269. Mattison, "Between Surrealism": "In letters of 1980, Matta indicated that a major schism developed during these meetings between Motherwell and him. In 1991 correspondence with Matta about Paalen, he was more specific about the nature of these disputes. He said, "Motherwell talked about Paalen all the time, he even brought in Paalen's magazine." ...Matta continued, "I argued that Paalen neither understood morphology nor the reality of space and time. His "oscillator" paintings did not reach a higher level of reality." See also, Sawin, "The Cycloptic Eye," 39-41.

270. Sawin, ibid., n. 17, 1980 interview with Motherwell.

271. WP, "Art and Science," DYN 3: 4-9. Paalen dated this essay July 1942 in its republication in Form and Sense

272. Ibid.: 4-5.

273. Ibid.: 4. Paalen had Wilhelm Ostwald's Farbenlehre (Leipzig: 1919) in his library as well as twenty volumes by Goethe.

274. WP, "Book Review-Hans Reichenbach's FROM COPERNICUS TO EINSTEIN" DYN 3 (Fall 1942): 44. In Paalen's library were over thirty titles on physics, including the writings of Niels Bohr, Ernst Mach, Max Planck, Hans Reichenbach, et al.

275. Ibid.

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276. Author's conversations with Christian Kloyber, Mexico City, July 1, 1990 and Vienna, November 1990; and letter to author from Kloyber, dated January 18, 1993, also indicate: "...still I miss a very important - if not the most important view - which is the evident relation of natural sciences (Physics) and art, mainly the evolution of Paalen's thinking from Goethe's Farbenlehre to Schopenhauer's Geistersehen and the impact of Max Planck's Quantentheorie and Schrödinger's What Is Life? ...." He also said: "Paalen's personal notebooks "are discussing Schrödinger and Planck very carefully...."

277. Ibid.: 8-9.

278. Ibid.: 8.

279. Ibid.

280. Ibid.: 7.

281. For insight into the particular interactions between artistic and scientific thinking in fin-de-siecle Vienna, this study draws upon the discussion in Allan Janik and Stephen Toulmin's Wittgenstein's Vienna (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973); and Walter Moore, Schrödinger: Life and Thought (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1989). My thanks to Linda Henderson for this latter source.

282. The first monograph on the Cubists was written by the German art dealer Henry Kahnweiler, whose synthetic cubist portrait Picasso painted in 1910. Recent scholarship has argued that Kahnweiler interpreted Cubism as Kantian. See Daniel Robbins, "Abbreviated Historiography of Cubism," Art Journal 47 (Winter 1988): 277-83. On the artistic reception and use of ideas of higher mathematics and time-space see Henderson, The Fourth Dimension.

283. "Art and Science": 7-8.

284. Janik and Toulmin, Wittgenstein, 34. The concept of complementarity also relates to Niels Bohr's doctrine of complementarity, which has been examined for philosophic precedents and influences in Gerald Holton, "The Roots of Complementarity," Daedalus 99 (Fall 1970): 1015-55. Paalen had Bohr's Atomic Theory and the Description of Nature (London: Cambridge University Press, 1934) in his library. See text below for further discussion. See, also, discussion of Dewey and psycho-physics, above.

285. Tepoztlán Library List, Mach Die Analyse der Empfindungen (Jean: Gustav Fisher, 1911). Janik and Toulmin, ibid., 134 (re Mach): "...he rejected any position which

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smacked of the slightest hint of dualism, for he said that all dualism culminates in metaphysics."

286. Janik and Toulmin, ibid., 134 and 176 (re Wittgenstein). They explain that Wittgenstein borrowed the aphoristic form from Lichtenberg, "an 18th-century professor of natural philosophy at Göttingen" whose writings were very popular with fin-de-siecle Viennese intellectuals. For earlier discussion of Lichtenberg in this text see Introduction, 55, n. 68; and Part I, 185 and 198ff. In his essay on Paalen for the artist's 1939 exhibition, Breton had compared Paalen to Lichtenberg. Apparently, Breton was aware of Paalen's admiration of the scientist. As mentioned in the texts above, Paalen had translated and illustrated some of Lichtenberg's writings for Minotaure and had anthologies of Lichtenberg's writings in his library.

287. Janik and Toulmin, Wittgenstein, 136.

288. Ibid., 137.

289. "Art and Science": 6.

290. Ibid.

291. WP, "Suggestion for an Objective Morality": 17-19.

292. "Art and Science": 6.

293. Ibid.: 5.

294. Janik and Toulmin, Wittgenstein, 175-76 and passim.

295. Janik and Toulmin, Wittgenstein, 144, n. 51. and Chapter 5.

296. Ludwig Wittgenstein, Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus, D.F. Pears and B.F. McGuinness trans. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961), proposition 2.1 ff.

297. "Art and Science": 6.

298. Wittgenstein, Tractatus, prop. 2.1 ff.

299. Janik and Toulmin, Wittgenstein, 136-38.

300. Ibid., 113.

301. Ibid., 143-45, for discussion of Boltzmann.

302. De Broglie won the Nobel Prize for the "wave-particle" theory. He was Professor of the Sorbonne's Henri Poincaré Institute in Paris from 1928-1962, an institution frequented

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by the Surrealists in the 1930s. For a résumé, see, "de Broglie, Prince Louis Victor," in the Biographical Encyclopedia of Scientists (NY: 1981), 192-93.

303. "Art and Science": 9. Paalen cites de Broglie's Nobel-prize winning Light and Matter: The New Physics, English trans. (New York, 1939), 272.

304. André Masson, "L'Homme emblématique," VVV 1 (1942): 10-11.

305. André Masson, For War and Recreation, and André Breton, "Little Prophetic Interlude," VVV 1 (1942): 20.

306. Max Ernst, catalogue statement for Hans Arp, Art of This Century, New York, February 1944. AAA, PG Papers, 140-50.

307. See Regler, WP, 42-65 for Paalen's discussion of the "Cosmic" period.

308. This work is dated 1941-44 in the checklist announcement of Art of This Century, and 1941-45 in the 1946 Regler monograph. So Paalen apparently continued working on it through 1945.

309. Regler, WP, 54.

310. Mattison, "Between Surrealism."

311. Ibid.

312. Ibid.

313. Paalen, "Theory of the Dynaton," in DYNATON '51, exhib. catalogue, San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, (San Francisco: 1951), 26.

314. Paalen, "During the Eclipse": 19 and 20, defined sympathetic response in both emotional and physical terms: "For art there can not be elements of expression which are emotionally neutral, while for science a sign is valid only in so far as it is emotionally neutral." "The fact that there are people who can understand each other in very complicated optic and auditive rhythms...suffices to make our communications capable of reaching a fairly large number of other men."

315. See Gibson's discussion, of "radical abstraction," in "Theory Undeclared," 284 ff. Paalen's exhibition originated in February 1945 at Inés Amor's Galería de Arte Mexicano then traveled to New York to Art of This Century Gallery and

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had the same catalogue checklist and statement written by Paalen himself. See further discussion below.

316. On the concept of form as symbol see Ernst Gombrich's essay "Form as Visual Symbol," in his anthology Meditations on a Hobby Horse (Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society, 1963). This topic is also treated in author's "AE in Context: Gesture and Color-Field Paintings as Gestalt Emblems."

317. Gibson, "AE's Evasion of Language": 208-214.

318. As further discussed below, whereas the Abstract Expressionists turned to quasi-religious Romantic discourses on the sublime to develop a modern counterpart to the metaphysical aspirations of the past, Paalen turned to the physics of modern science. While the affinity to the Northern Romantic tradition of the "sublime" has been explored by writers on Abstract Expressionism, an inspiration for these ideas and sources in Paalen's essays, like the Paysages totémiques series, has neither been noticed nor discussed by any of them. Polcari ("Intellectual Roots," 87-88) traces the AE concept of the sublime to Edmund Burke. He cites Robert Rosenblum, "The Abstract Sublime," Art News, 59 (February 1961): 39-41; 56-58. He also cites Lawrence Alloway, "The American Sublime," Living Arts 2 (1963): 11-22. Additionally, Rosenblum wrote an entire book on Modern Painting and the Northern Romantic Tradition (New York: Harper and Row, 1975).

319. Mattison: "Between Surrealism."

320. Ibid.

321. For all of Newman's writings see, Molly McNickle, Barnett Newman: Selected Writings and Interview (New York: Knopf, 1990).

322. "The New Image": 7.

323. BN, "Critic Turned Artist," in McNickle, Newman, 54-56.

324. BN, "Concerning Objective Criticism," in McNickle, 56-58.

325. Ibid.

326. Ibid.: 58.

327. BN, "The Sublime Is Now," in McNickle, 171. This essay was first published in Tiger's Eye (December 1948).

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328. Ibid.

329. WP, "Art and Science": 8.

330. BN, "Sublime," in McNickle, 173. First appeared in Tiger's Eye 6 (December 1948), as part of a survey of "Six Opinions on What is Sublime in Art," to which Newman, Motherwell, Rothko, et al. responded.

331. Ibid.: 172-73.

332. "The New Image": 7.

333. "Sublime," in McNickle, 172.

334. Ibid., 173.

335. Edward Renouf, "Regionalism in Painting," DYN 1: 21-22.

336. BN, "American Modern Artists," in McNickle, 29-30. This exhibition, held at the Riverside Museum, New York, was organized as a protest against the Metropolitan Museum of Art "Artists for Victory" exhibition, which excluded abstractionist jurors or exhibitors.

337. Renouf, "Regionalism": 22. Author notes that only "men" are always active in the writing of this period. Therefore the [sic].

338. BN, "American Modern Artists," 29-30.

339. BN, "Pre-Columbian Stone Sculpture," exhib. statement, Wakefield Gallery, New York, 1944, in McNickle, Newman, 61-62.

340. Barbara Reise, "Primitivism in the Writings of Barnett Newman," 26.

341. Rushing, "Ritual and Myth," in Tuchman, ed., Spiritual, 274 and n. 7

342. Gibson, "Theory Undeclared," 287.

343. Reise, "Primitivism," 26.

344. Wittenborn followed the series "Problems in Contemporary Art" of which Form and Sense was volume one, by bringing out another series "Documents in Contemporary Art" from 1947-1955, which Motherwell edited. This series was note an anthology of Motherwell's own essays, but his selection of theoretical texts by European modern masters. The titles in this series were: Kandinsky - Concerning the

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Spiritual in Art (1947); Hans Arp - On My Way(1948); Max Ernst- Beyond Painting and Other Writings by the Artist and His Friends (1948); Apollinaire - The Cubist Painters and Poets (1949); Kahnweiler - The Rise of Cu344.2bism (1949); Duthuit - The Fauvist Painters (1950); Marcel Raymond - From Baudelaire to Surrealism (1950); The Dada Painters and Poets (1951); Mondrian - Plastic Art and Pure Plastic Art (1951).

In a telephone interview, Gabriel Austen (New York, September 22, 1990), the current owner of Wittenborn Books, told the author that all private papers of George Wittenborn and archives of the publishing house had been destroyed by Wittenborn's son. Additionally, Austen said that Wittenborn, also a refugee of Nazi Germany, had committed suicide.

345. BN, "The Plasmic Image," in McNickle, op.cit., 138-55.

346. Rushing, "The Impact of Nietzsche": 187-95. See discussion below on Nietzschean discourse in Paalen's writings on the Northwest Coast.

347. The third individual was John Graham.

348. Rushing, "Myth and Ritual," 274, n. 7.

349. Rushing, "The Impact of Nietzsche": 189.

350. Sandler, Triumph , 70, n. 5; and BN,"Pre-Columbian Stone Sculpture," in McNickle, Newman, 61-62.

351. One can only imagine that Sandler did not himself read Paalen's essays, or did not read the essay closely.

352. Roger Caillois, "The Myth of Secret Treasures in Childhood," VVV 1 (1942): 4-8.

353. "The New Image": 7; and "Paysage Totemique III," DYN 3: 27-31.

354. BN, "The First Man Was an Artist," Tigers Eye (October 1947): 56-60.

355. Ibid., 158 and 159.

356. Newman, 1947. See, also, Jeffrey Weiss, "Science and Primitivism: A Fearful Symmetry in the New York School," Arts (March 1983): 81-87. Weiss discusses the paradigm of natural history, not physical science.

357. The concept of the "prime object" is based upon George Kubler's important study of the patterns of production in lost, ancient cultures. Kubler formulated a method of

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dating and classifying pre-Columbian objects found out of context through the logic of serial production, with a "prime object" as the original type in a sequence. As pointed out by Kubler, the prime object is the exceptional ontogenic mutant that causes dynamic change in the progeny. George Kubler, The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 40-41. I am suggesting that we view DYN and Paalen's paintings as modernist cultural artifacts and that they, like exceptional works in other cultural contexts, acted as "prime objects," which commenced a new sequence of production. As a point of interest, Paalen had in his library Kubler's catalogue of the pre-Columbian sculpture in the Arensburg Collection (Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1954).

358. Gibson, "Painting Outside the Paradigm: Indian Space," Arts 57 (February 1983): 98-104. See, also, the recent exhibition catalogue by Barbara Hollister and Sandra Kraskin, The Indian Space Painters: Native American Sources for Abstract Art, Baruch College Art Gallery (New York: 1991).

359. W.P., "Totem Art," DYN 4-5: 7-37.

360. Claude Lévi-Strauss, "Art of the Northwest Coast at the American Museum of Natural History," Gazette des Beaux Arts XXIV (September 1943): 175-82.

361. Gibson, "Paradigm": 102.

362. Ibid.: 101-02.

363. Kraskin, "The Indian Space Painters," in The Indian Space Painters, 7.

364. Hollister, "Indian Space: History and Iconography," in ibid., 32.

365. See Ellen Landau, Jackson Pollock (New York: Abrams, 1989).

366. On Busa see Hollister and Kraskin, Indian Space.

367. See Gail Levin, "Richard Pousette Dart's Emergence as an Abstract Expressionist Artist," Arts 54 (March 1980): 125-26.

368. "The New Image": 9.

369. WP, "Art and Science": 5-6.

370. Tepoztlán Library List. Charles Morris, Foundations... Vol. I (University of Chicago Press: 1940).

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371. Gibson, "Paradigm": 101.

372. Hollister, "Indian Space: History and Iconography," 33.

373. Hollister, ibid.

374. Gibson, "Iconograph Magazine," in Hollister and Kraskin, The Indian Space Painters, exhib. cat., op.cit., 35-37.

375. See Anderson, In Pursuit of the Marvelous, for discussion of Hayter. For discussion of Hare see Jean Paul Sartre, "N-Dimensional Painting," reprint of a published essay (source unidentified) from the files of Gruenebaum Gallery, Ltd., New York.

376. Telephone interview of author with Helen de Mott, New York, January 1991; and personal conversation with Gertrud Barrer, New York, November 7, 1991, at the opening of the exhibition "Indian Space" at Baruch College Art Gallery.

377. Gibson, "Theory Undeclared," 73-74; reprinted in Issues in Abstract Expressionism, 38.

378. Ibid.

379. On the importance of Nietzsche to AE images and ideas see Ashton, New York School; Polcari, Intellectual Roots and AE and Modern Experience; Gibson, Theory Undeclared and Issues; and Rushing, "Impact of Nietzsche." See, also, discussion of these authors in the text below.

380. WP, "Birth of Fire," DYN 4-5: 71; and Charles Givor (a pseudonym Paalen invented) "Prométhée parle," DYN 3: 21. Paalen republished "Birth of Fire," as "The Volcano-Pyramid," in Form and Sense, 55-57. Along with "Birth of Fire," Paalen published "Une Visite Au Volcan," an eyewitness narrative of the eruption of Paricutin (1943 - Michoacan, Mexico), with an actual photograph by Jacqueline Johnson, and a gouache by Florence Arquin, of Paricutin erupting. Next to Arquin's gouache he published "Representations of volcanoes from various Mexican Codices," illustrated by seven different glyphs from the Nuttall, Tellerianus Remensis, Huamantla, and Quauhtinchan codices. See, also, Alfonso Caso's article on "The Codices of Azoyú," DYN 4-5: 3-6, illustrated with color facsimiles of the Codex Rodríguez-Ortega, painted by Marie-Louise Vogeler (Regler). Susanne Klengel's "Vulcanism Between the Old and New Worlds," in El Surrealismo Entre La Viejo y Nuevo Mundo, El Centro Atlantico, exhib. catalogue, Tenerife, Canary Islands, 327-28, makes it apparent that Paalen modeled his narrative after the narrative of Alexander von Humboldt, in

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which the latter had "reconstructed from eyewitness accounts the details of the birth of Jorullo which erupted in 1759 in the highland plains region of Parícutin." In DYN 1, Alice Rahon Paalen dedicated a poem and a short story to the dormant volcano, Ixtaccihuatl, the "Sleeping White Woman," as the Indians called her, whose snow-covered peak could be seen from Mexico City, rising out of the high plateau of the Valley of Mexico. A photograph by the German exile Hugo Brehme illustrated the poem. See below for further discussion of "vulcanism."

381. Gibson, "Theory Undeclared," 287-89.

382. WP, "Birth of Fire": 71.

383. Miguel Angel Fernandez, "New Discoveries in the Temple of the Sun in Palenque, DYN 4-5: 55-58.

384. "Birth of Fire": 71.

385. Gibson, "Theory," 287-89.

386. Edward Renouf, "Notes on Meaning, Conflict and Creation," DYN 3: 12-16.

387. "Promethée Parle" DYN 3: 21. ["Vautour mon génie plus que ta morsure/le vent de tes ailes me brûle/montagnes de plomb galaxes et vous/tremblantes figures qui n'apprenez pas/à vous servir du feu ma lassitude/est grande/la mer d'eau le feu de flammes/mes larmes les astres et le rêve où l'aigle/d'un horizon á l'autre/me tend son piége d'oubli/la neige des mes pensées me couvre/la coupe des temps déborde/et les hommes dans leurs cases blottis autour de leurs âtres rougeoyants//ne parviennent pas à lire le message/que pour eux j'ai brule sur la robe des salamandres"] This last line refers to the medieval "trial of fire" for sorcery or witchcraft.

388. Tepoztlan Library List included Die Geburt Der Tragödie Unzeit Gemade Betrachtungen (Leipzig: 1903); Menschliches Allzumenschliches, [two volumes] (Leipzig: 1903; 1904); Morgenröte (Leipzig: 1899); Also Sprach Zarathustra (Leipzig: 1902); and Jenseits von gut und Bose zur Genalogie de Moral (Leipzig: 1902). The early date of these editions, and their shared origins in the Leipzig publishing house of C.G. Naumann, suggest they were Paalen's copies from youth and may have been an edition of "Complete Works."

389. Tepoztlán Library List: Aeschylus, Der Gefesselte Prometheus (Leipzig, n.d.).

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390. Frederick Nietzsche, The Birth of Tragedy and the Case of Wagner, trans. Walter Kaufmann (New York: Vintage, 1967), 70-71.

391. Gibson, "Theory Undeclared," 287-89.

392. See Gibson, ibid., 255-57; 261-65; and 287-89 for discussion of this iconography, Paalen and DYN.

393. On the "warbird" iconography and image, see Joan Pachner, "Theodore Roszak: A Question of Balance," Arts (Feb. 1984): 102-14.

394. See Ashton, New York School for first mention of these sources. For further discussion see Polcari, "Intellectual Roots," Chapter Two. Gibson also discusses Ruth Benedict in "Theory Undeclared," 255.

395. Rushing, "The Impact of Nietzsche": 190, n. 42 and 47. Kubler, Esthetic Recognition, 174, discusses the obituary she wrote for Boas.

396. Gibson, "Theory Undeclared," 255.

397. Gibson, ibid., 255, n. 95, as stated in an interview of 8 May 1982, with Allan Chapman, Museum Librarian, Goldwater Library, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Allan Chapman. See below for Polcari's dating.

398. Rushing, "Native American Art," 556.

399. Ibid., 532.

400. Ibid., 461.

401. Polcari, "Intellectual Roots," 51, notes 17, 18, 19.

402. John Graham, System and Dialectics, 97-101.

403. Ashton, New York School, 132. If Paalen's theory was anti-metaphysical, his prose, nonetheless, was transcendental. See quoted passages of the "Paysages Totémiques" essays below.

404. Gustav Regler, The Owl of Minerva, 358: "I read Paalen's manifesto on surrealism. The language was even more remarkable, even more captivating."

405. Polcari, "Intellectual Roots," 89, cites Ashton, New York School, 86 and 129.

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406. Ashton, ibid. This is a rather inclusive list and diffuses the focus on Nietzsche that occurred in the mid-1940s. In the same place she says they were also reading T.S. Eliot, Havelock Ellis, Theodore Dreiser, Anton Chekov, Arthur Schnitzler, August Strindberg, et al.

407. Paalen, "Paysage Totémique I," DYN 1: 50. (English trans. from the French original, Jacqueline Johnson.)

408. Adolph Gottlieb and Mark Rothko, letter to New York Times editor E.A. Jewell, June 7, 1943, sec. 2: 9: "We assert that the subject is crucial and only that subject matter is valid which is tragic and timeless. That is why we profess spiritual kinship with primitives and archaic art."

409. Gottlieb and Rothko, "The Portrait and The Modern Artist," mimeographed script of WNYC broadcast, "Art in New York," cited in Sandler, Triumph, 289.

410. See "Nietzschean Archaism," in Gibson, "Theory Undeclared," 239-53. See, also, Rushing, "The Impact of Nietzsche," for discussion of this theme in AE. In a symposium paper entitled "Dionysus and Apollo in New York," Arthur Danto (Philosophy, Columbia Univ.) recently discussed this dialectic in the New York School. Robert Motherwell Symposium, City University of New York, The Graduate Center, March 5, 1993.

411. Hobbs, "AE: Concern with the Unknown Within," 8-26, discusses these canvases in terms of their "subterranean," unconscious meanings and their affinities with the "primitive."

412. "Quotation from Nietzsche's The Birth of Tragedy," Tiger's Eye 3 (March 1948): 79.

413. BN, "The Object and the Image," Tiger's Eye (March 1948), in McNickle, Newman, 170-74.

414. WP: Wolfgang Paalen, Galería de Arte Mexicano, Mexico City, February 22-March 4, 1945.

415. Ibid.

416. WP: Wolfgang Paalen, Art of This Century, New York, 17 April-12 May 1945.

417. WP, untitled catalogue statement, Art of This Century, ibid.

418. Ibid.

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419. Sandler, Triumph, 213.

420. Regler, WP, 46-48.

421. Ibid., 48.

422. Ibid., 49.

423. Ibid.

424. Ibid., 52.

425. Ibid.

426. Ibid.

427. Ibid.

428. Rose-Carol Washton Long, Kandinsky: Abstract Style.

429. There is a decided relationship to popular culture's science fiction in these works as well. This is not surprising since only a few years earlier, in 1939, Buck Rogers had appeared on the silver-screen making the first journeys into "outer space". The next year Robert Goddard invented the jet propulsion space rocket, and in Germany Werner von Braun developed the V2 guided missile, a prelude to the jet rocket perfected in the 1950s. Evidence of interest in this genre had appeared as early as 1939 in the works of Matta, Onslow Ford, Dominguez et al., in their paintings about time-space and the fourth dimension. It appeared repeatedly in Matta's work thereafter. In 1943, VVV, published a study of science fiction writer H.P. Lovecraft by Robert Allerton Parker, "Such Pulp As Dreams are Made On," with illustrations by Hans Bok. VVV 2/3 (March 1943): 64-65. Author's interview with Ibram Lassaw, Easthampton, New York, August 24, 1994, also discussed his interest in science fiction from the 1930s on.

430. Author's interview with Luchita Hurtado, Santa Monica, California, oral history session conducted for the Archives of American Art, May 1, 1994. Hurtado, Paalen's second wife (whom he was then courting) friends of members of the New York School, indicated that they all saw the exhibition and that it was well-received. Furthermore, the show directly preceding Paalen's was Pollock's second one-man show.

431. In 1952 he published "The Oldest Face in the New World," on Olmec art and culture: "Le plus ancien visage du Nouveau Monde." Cahiers d'Art XXVII, 1 (Paris: December 1952): 169-88.

432. Regler, WP, 46.

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433. "Tellurium" is a semi-metallic element of high valence that occurs in a silvery white crystalline form of metallic luster, and in a dark amorphous form; and occurs in "tellurite," a mineral which appears in white or yellowish crystals. Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (G. & C. Merriam, 1977), 1199.

434. Octavio Paz, "La science poétique de Paalen," Le Surréalisme II, XXe Siècle 42/43 (Paris: 1975): unpg. First published as "Preface á une rétrospective," Wolfgang Paalen, Librairie Loliée (Paris: 1960), unpg.: ["Ce n'est pas un hasard si je parle de "facettes" pour désigner les différents aspects de l'oeuvre de Paalen. Beaucoup des ses tableaux, comme s'il s'agissait de pierres, ou, mieux encore, comme si le peintre s'était proposé de tailler l'espace, prennent des formes hexagonales, octogonales, ovoïdes. Et l'agathe, sur laquelle les tons les plus chauds de la lumière semblent tomber infatigablement dans une sorte d'abîme froid, régit certaines de ses créations."]

435. Ibid.: ["A cette pierre nous devons l'une des ses plus belles toiles: "Madre Agata," riche comme un manteau de plumes qui serait en même temps un cascade d'astres et de lunes."]

436. Paalen had an American edition of this book in his library: Robert Graves, The White Goddess (New York: Vintage Books, 1958).

437. A paper by David Cateforis at a symposium on De Kooning at the Hirshhorn Museum, Washington, D.C., October 1993, treated this topic. Additionally, Philip Leider found similarities between Pollock's imagery and the imagery published in a book of Woman's Mysteries published by a disciple of Jung in London in 1935. See Leider, "Surrealist and Not Surrealist in the Art of Jackson Pollock and His Contemporaries," in The Interpretive Link, citing M. Esther Harding, Woman's Mysteries Ancient and Modern: A Psychological interpretation of the Feminine Principle as Portrayed in Myth, Story and Dream (London: Longman's Green and Co., 1935). (Fig. 181)

438. A. García Ruiz y F.B. Sandoval, "Artes Y Letras: Paalen," Esto, 5 March 1945: 14: ["La "ecuación ritmo" de que habia Paalen--base del monismo estético de Vasconcelos--tiene que ser ritmo sensible y esto muestra que los términos emocionales no pueden ser excluidos de la vida."]

439. Ibid.

440. Kubler, Esthetic Recognition, 141-43.

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441. Kubler, ibid., 142. Westheim, Arte Antiguo de México (Mexico: 1950) and The Art of Ancient Mexico, V. Bernard, trans. (Garden City, NY: 1965).

442. Kubler, ibid.

443. Ibid., 141, n. 44, quoting K.E. Gilbert's A History of Esthetics.

444. Ibid.

445. In author's interview with Christian Kloyber, Mexico City, 1990, he said that Mrs. Westheim, still living in Mexico City, had indicated that her husband "did not like "Paalen or his work."

446. Jorge J. Crespo de la Serna, "El Mundo Fantastico de WP," Artes Plasticas, Mexico City, 7 March 1945: ["...el alma se siente transportada a otras regiones planetarias, simepre dentro de nuestro cosmos habitual, pero un poco en la estratósfera, o mejor dicho, a una época en que la idea humana comenzara apenas a hacer [a.to] de presencia."]

447. César Moro, "Wolfgang Paalen," Letras de Mexico, Mexico City, 1 March, 1945: ["El cuadro es más y más el remanso, o el mar y su agitación, o la tormenta estelar, o un espejo turbio, claro o alucinante."]

448. Among Paalen's papers in Tepoztlán was a copy of Reinhardt's cartoon: "How to Look At A Cubist Painting," where in the final block of the comic strip, the painting talks back to a facetious spectator, points at him, and accusingly says, "What do you represent?" This cartoon was published in PM Magazine, April 28, 1946, after publication of Paalen's February 1945 exhibition statement for his retrospective at Art of This Century, in which this quotation appeared. See below for further discussion of the Art of This Century venue and the press reception. Most of the painters of the New York School attended this exhibition according to author's AAA interview with Luchita Hurtado, May 1, 1994. Paalen's statement achieved notoriety, as it was mentioned by two critics as being "threatening." See Jane Wilson, n. 452; and Edward A. Jewell, n. 453, ahead.

449. On the relationship of Surrealism to vulcanism see Susanne Klengel, "Vulcanism Between the Old and the New World," in El Surrealismo. On Matta and "vulcanism," see Valerie Fletcher, Crosscurrents of Modernism: Four Latin American Pioneers, Hirshhorn Museum, Washington, D.C., exhib. catalogue, 1992.

450. Klengel, ibid., 327.

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451. Moro, "WP": ["Lástima que el cuadro no disponga de los mismos elementos fisicos agresivos que un volcán en erupción. Y, sin embargo, el paralelismo es evidente....Erupción volcánica muda para el oído. Para los ojos el estallido de todas las violencias, el cromatismo de todas las curvas y, de pronto, descubrir aquel fragmento en que todos los pájaros se han puesto a cantar...un canto de profundidad."]

452. Jane Wilson, "Aerogyls & Tellurins, Time, May 7, 1945: 63.

453. Edward Alden Jewell, The New York Times, Sunday, April 22, 1945, AAA, PG Papers, 333.

454. Ibid.

455. Margaret Breuning, "Chaotic Magnificence," The Art Digest 19 (May 1, 1945): 15, AAA, PG Papers, ibid.

456. Ibid.

457. Ibid.

458. Anonymous, Art News, AAA, PG Papers, ibid.

459. Anonymous critic, The Herald Tribune, undated, WP Papers, Tepoztlán, courtesy of Señora Isabel Marin de Paalen.

460. AAA Interview with Luchita Hurtado, May 1, 1994.

461. WP, exhibition announcement and checklist, Nierendorf Gallery, New York, December 1946, Latin American Archive, Museum of Modern Art Library.

462. WP, catalogue statement, ibid.

463. Ibid.

464. "Wolfgang Paalen," anon. review, Art News 45 (December 1946): 44 (quoted); and Ben Wolf "Wolfgang Paalen Exhibits,"The Art Digest (December 15, 1946): 15.

465. Laurie Wilson, Louise Nevelson: Iconograpy and Sources (NY: Garland Press, 1979); and "Bride of the Black Moon: An Iconographic Study of the Work of Louise Nevelson," Arts 54 (May 1980): 140-48. A letter in the Onslow Ford papers of June 7, 1946 shows Paalen's return address as c/o Nevelson, 323 East 30th Street, New York. See, also, Laurie Lisle, Louise Nevelson: A Passionate Life (New York: Summit Books, 1950), 169: "For years art critics had been comparing Louise's work to ancient American art.... her interest hd

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been revived by Wolfgang Paalen, editor of the surrealist magazine DYN, who was interested in the influence of primal forms on modern art, and had stayed in Louise's house for several months in 1946 when he had a show at the Nierendorf Gallery."

466. Wilson, ibid., 1980: 146, also discusses totemism in Nevelson's work and her use of the image of Prometheus.

467. Paalen, "Totem Art": 21-22. Gibson, "Theory Undeclared," 152-175, discusses "Death as Subject Matter," in AE journals and paintings and notes the precedence in DYN 1.

468. Polcari, AE and the Modern Experience, 39.

469. See, Hadler, 1977, 50-61 and 171-74, for discussion of Baziotes and pre-Columbian sources; and Hadler, passim, for discussion of the Symbolist, romantic roots (especially Baudelaire and his Fleur du Mal) of Baziotes' work.

470. Author's interview with Ethel Baziotes, New York, September 26, 1990.

471. Baziote's inspiration by, fascination with, and use of pre-Columbian sources was acknowledged in author's interview with Ethel Baziotes. Merida was exhibited at the Museum of Modern Art in 1942. The exhibition of "Mexican Costumes by Carlos Merida" did not, however, show the same imagery as DYN. See Merida in DYN: "Drawing, 1942," DYN 2: 35; "A Little Window by the Sea"; "A Hunting Design after a Maya Theme," DYN 3: 38ff; "Painting, 1944, reduced page from Etampas del Popol-Vuh, 10 colorlithographs, 1943," DYN 6: 12ff.

472. Hadler, 54-56 passim, discusses the theme and mythology of toys, childhood, and innocence in the work of Baziotes.

473. "William Baziotes: Water-color, 1944" in "On The Meaning of Cubism Today," DYN 6 (November 1944): 8. In interview with Ethel Baziotes, she indicated her own and Baziotes' fascination with and admiration for Paalen. See anecdocte, Introduction, 55, n. 72.

474. Rosenblum, "The Abstract Sublime"; and Modern Painting and the Northern Romantic Tradition. In Abstract Expressionist literature see "Six Opinions on What is Sublime in Art," in Stephan, ed., Tiger's Eye 6 (December 1948).

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475. Rosenblum, Modern Painting, 350 ff. Polcari, "Intellectual Roots," and AE and Modern Experience, examines Edmund Burke's treatise on the sublime.

476. Paalen, "Paysage Totémique," DYN 1: 46-50 ["La pays du crépuscule, le seul dont la lumière m'est supportable en cet été sourd de 1939, la côte 'Nord-Ouest' du continent américain, hérissée de ses mâtures totémiques à la dérive aux confins du monde, fait déferler les vagues de ses frondaisons vert sombre jusqu'à la lisière d'une mer couleur d'acier. Sous les inexpugnables voûtes de sa foret sans âge, toujours débordante d'ours, d'aigles et de loups, se cachent les épaves scorifiées d'une culture des plus étrange faite par des hommes à face de lune en cuivre...

Le parfum omniprésent de Vancouver jusqu'au delà de Sitka, le fumet du cèdre rouge fraîchement coupé d'une si particulière saveur de bon crayon, la seule synthèse approchante serait un subtil dosage de vétiver mêlé de jasmin avec un rien de santal - c'est l'âme de l'arbre magnifique, de cette "Thuya gigantea" qui se fît colonne héraldique, maison, canoe, dont l'écorce tannée vêtit son peuple forestier. Cèdres rouges, cèdres jaunes, pins et sapins de multiples espèces, spruces, hemlocks, dit "hemlock échevelé", maples, aulnes, et tant d'autres escaladent les remparts, montent à l'assaut des flancs, drainent la sève de cette terre aurifère, de ses immenses aires aux gisements sommeillants."]

477. On Newman and modern physics see Cavaliere, 1981; and Shannon, 1989.

478. Paalen revised the DYN essays for Form and Sense and illustrated them with his own works and those of Alexander Calder, David Hare, Matta, Henry Moore, Gordon Onslow Ford, Alice Rahon-Paalen, and Baziotes, Motherwell, Pollock, and Smith.

479. Letters WP to GOF and Jacqueline Johnson, 1946-49, give a full picture of his activities and thinking at this time. Letters courtesy of GOF.

480. A letter in the Archives of American Art, Barnett Newman Papers, Reel 3481, 326-37, from Rothko to Newman, places Paalen in Gloucester, Mass., in August 1946: "All in all I find Bob [Motherwell] a gracious and interesting guy and Baziotes a swell and vivid person. Pollock is a self contained and sustained advertizing [sic] concern and Harold Rosenberg has one of the best brains that you are likely to encounter, full of wit, humanness and a genius for getting things impeccably expressed. But I don't think that he will be of much use to us. Paalen had been around here, too, alas stiff, etc., pale, stiff, both! Such is the panorama." Author's AAA interview with Luchita Hurtado, Paalen's wife

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1947-1951, indicated that they spent time in Long Island in 1947-48, socializing with members of the New York School at Motherwell's and at the Amagansett home of Katherine Yarrow.

481. Correspondence WP and Marion Willard, 1949-1951, courtesy of Miani Johnson, Willard Gallery.

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## CONCLUSION

Documentary and visual evidence presented here suggest that Wolfgang Paalen is a major artist and theorist of the twentieth century, whose artworks and writings have been seriously overlooked and greatly underappreciated, especially in the United States. Moreover, Paalen's role as a major source of influence in the formation of Abstract Expressionism becomes apparent.

In the course of examining and documenting Paalen's artistic career and production, a number of other themes emerged, as important in their own right as the monographic project itself. The significance of so-called "primitive" art, particularly Native American art, to the development of avant-garde modernism is of major importance. It is critical to acknowledge that the boundaries of art and ethnology have been blurred in the twentieth century. Art and artists, through creative and imaginative sensitivity, brought the world's attention to the aesthetic and conceptual genius of ethnological art and culture. Wolfgang Paalen emerges as a key figure in this mission. So, in the tradition of Paalen, it is suggested that these two disciplines be seen complementarily, rather than oppositionally, and considered for their merits (as well as their flaws), without pitting them one against another in battles of which is more appropriate.

One is aided in this effort by looking at Native America as a New World unity, as is done in this dissertation, rather than as a phenomenon isolated to North America. New evidence presented

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here proposes that it is as important to understand the relatedness of "Amerindian" cultures in the Americas, as their uniqueness. Moreover, the revision of the long-disputed theory of the unity of Old and New World cultures, which Franz Boas and others of subsequent generations (like Paalen) put forward, adds to the appreciation of the interrelatedness of cultures, however different they also may be. At this juncture in the twentieth-century, at a moment when extreme cultural relativity and cultural pluralism threaten to divide and conquer, this view serves to forward the Boasian concept of "diversity within unity," necessary to tolerant relations between otherwise disparate cultural groups.

Still another purpose and product of this dissertation is the comprehensive examination of pre-Columbian art in the development of modernism. Furthermore, a revision of the canon of modernism is included to incorporate the Mexican mural movement, which traditionally has been marginalized because of its use of realist or naturalist means. In fact, the marginalization of Mexico as a center of world art and as a major site of development of the avant-garde in the Western hemisphere, due to world politics, becomes a fundamental theme of this dissertation. With Mexico's marginalization came the marginalization of Paalen, who chose to emigrate there, rather than New York. It is now possible to see the reasons why.

Additionally, this dissertation serves as a corrective to a number of long-standing assumptions about modernist and,

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specifically, Abstract Expressionist art. By showing the very international roots of Abstract Expressionism, as communicated through Paalen and other European and American sources, it cuts through the myth of Abstract Expressionism's autonomy - its "triumph" as a uniquely "American" movement and its "originality." In the course of this, it challenges the notion of "originality" in general, by looking at artistic production in the context of intense interaction and exchange between artists, hemispheres, and schools. In the same way, the myths of the superiority of only first-generation "masters" (whether Surrealist, Abstract Expressionist, etc.) is challenged. To put it another way, the "inferiority" and marginalization of second-generation Surrealists or Abstract Expressionists (etc.), women, Latin Americans, and others outside the established canon, is brought into serious question. In the same way that "primitives" were (and still are) marginalized by Western culture, this study advocates and informs discussions of our notions of culture, of high and low, and of the nature of artistic creation.

Finally, there emerges in this dissertation, a desire to examine within an historical context the permutations of Abstract Expressionist criticism, which (like the movement itself) have swung back and forth between positions of political "engagement" and "disengagement." Once again, the object of such an aim is to develop perspective on both the "formalist" readings that developed out of the New Critical theory of the 1950s and 1960s,

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and the reaction to such a method in the 1970s and 1980s by the Left, in their attempt to historicize the debate. Just as it is important to acknowledge and embrace the paradox of the reception and use of "primitive" art, it is important to recognize that, in its essence, Abstract Expressionism was a politically engaged movement, whose progress followed and reflected the currents of social, political, and economic history; and that New Criticism was an equally political response to a political and historical situation. This dissertation attempts to look at that history without making value judgements, and to define its diverse currents and motivations.

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## LIST OF APPENDICES

A - "Notes Biographiques," by Wolfgang Paalen, Private Papers, Courtesy of Isabel Marín de Paalen, Tepoztlán, Mexico

B - WP's Response to Christian Zervos' "Enquéte," Cahiers d'art 10, 1-4 (1935): 5-8.

C - WP Collection of "Primitive" Objects Paris 1939 - Mexico 1948 (The Brooklyn Museum Archives, Records of the Department of African, Oceanic and New World Art, Objects, Box O/5 #65 Loans in (5/1947)

D - Books on Oceania and Peru in WP Library, Courtesy of Isabel Marín de Paalen, Tepoztlán, Mexico

E - DYN "Pre-Columbiana"

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## APPENDIX A

### Notes biographiques.
W.P.

Si l'on regarde l'art non pas comme un jardin d'idées hors de la vie, mais dans son sens primordial de compréhension et de communion, on peut trouver dans les origines de chaque artiste quelque chose des origines de l'art même.

Car la figuration mythologique partout précède la terminologie abstraite, comme l'image a toujours précédé la lettre. Ainsi, dans la curiosité d'un enfant précoce, par les moyens qu'il cherche pour fixer et communiquer ses découvertes, se dessine sa vocation. Si pour lui il s'agit davantage de vouloir transmettre le sentiment de qualité des choses que d'étudier leur fonctionnement, s'il est plus obsédé par la contemplation sensuelle(dans le sens de Goethe)de leur unité que dans leurs relations mécaniques, alors il y a la possibilité d'une imagination créative en formation.

Les parents de Wolfgang Paalen constatèrent un jour avec surprise qu'il avait des souvenirs clairs de quelques épisodes de son enfance de l'âge d'environ 1 an et demi. Les premiers objets qui le fascinaient particulièrement étaient un beau sapphir étoilé dans une bague de sa mère - et les deux petits fruits d'une branche de citronier. Voir et toucher des couleurs et des formes qui lui plaisaient lui donnait des plaisirs extraordinairement aigus. Dès qu'il pouvait tenir un crayon, il griffonnait sur toutes les surfaces accessibles; trois sujets le préoccupaient particulièrement: les animaux, [illegible]; l'intérieur du corps humain et, un peu plus tard, le nu féminin.

Le petit château où il passait une grande partie de ce qu'il appelait plus tard "son anachronique jeunesse", situé dans une région forestière de la Silésie, était entouré d'un parc dans lequel [illegible] vivaient en liberté chevreuils, lièvres, faisans, perdrix et autres petites bêtes à poils et à plumes. Il apprit à lire leurs traces dans la neige, et dès qu'on lui permit de porter un petit fusil, devint un chasseur passionné - c'est certainement dans de

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tels souvenirs qui Jenbaurent les premiers germes pour la série de tableaux appelés "Paysages Totémiques de mon Enfance". La vie casanière de longs hivers, par contre, favorisait la méditation; aussi les énigmes du vieil édifice et la terreur joyeuse quand le petit garçon explorait la x cave gothique dont les voûtes lui paraissaient énormes à la lueur de sa petite bougie, le firent réfléchir sur le sens de la vie. Il essayait alors de se représenter l'intérieur de l'homme, de déterminer la place de l'âme entre les intestins (il n'avait pas encore vu de planche anatomique).

Ayant découvert tôt que les filles sont faites autrement que les garçons, il demanda de voir une femme nue. Mais comme on ne voulait pas satisfaire sa curiosité à cet égard, ce ne fût qu'avec beaucoup de patience et non sans ruse qu'il parvint à ses fins. C'était une révélation troublante, et pour ne pas perdre le résultat de ses observations, il dessina en cachette des séries de femmes nues. Etant parfaitement innocent, il avait pourtant compris qu'il y avait là une zone interdite; c'est pourquoi, ne pouvant néanmoins résister à montrer ses productions, il couvrit ses nus de noir et se refusa à toute explication quand on lui demanda pourquoi il ne dessinait que des négresses? [illegible] Cette Vénus, d'un émail presque diaphane, qui, dans la bibliothèque, faisait face à un chevalier aux longs bas rouges de la main du Titien, était la première grande étoile qui pour lui se levait sur l'horizon de la peinture.

Quand à l'âge de onze ans il fut capable de distinguer entre une esquisse de Delacroix et une de Daumier, son père l'encouragea dans l'idée de devenir peintre.

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(migratory disposition)

La famille étant nombreuse et de tempérament migratoire, l'éducation des enfants était confié à un jeune gradué en philologie et mathématique. Ce8 excellent homme, qui, par la suite, devint un musicien remarquable, fit apprendre à Paalen bien plus de Latin, de Grec et des mathématiques qu'on en apprend aux écoles; néanmoins, il ne passa jamais un examen ne pouvant jamais s'adapter au train routinier des écoles.

En 1919, après un court séjour à Paris, la famille s'installa en Italie. Pour la peinture, les mosaiques byzantines et deux tableaux du Greco étaient la plus grande expérience du future peintre. En 1922 il fit un séjour à Tivoli avec le peintre Leo von König, dont les conseils et l'encouragement le confirmèrent définitivement dans sa voie. Sur le conseil de von König, il vint en 1924 à Berlin pour étudier l'art; mais la pédanterie des académies de peinture lui était insupportable et il passa son temps à étudier à son propre compte Renoir et Cézanne dans des collections publiques et privés et à peindre des paysages, nus et matures-mortes. Ses tableaux de cette époque, dans le genre impressionniste, déjà d'une technique remarquable, se distingaient surtout par une rare finesse de couleurs. Ils attiraient l'attention de Julius Meier-Graefe, et Paalen fût invité à participer à une exposition à la "Berliner Secession". Les lettres de van Gogh et son oeuvre l'impressionnèrent profondément; un peu plus tard il conçut un grand enthousiasme pour Kokoschka, spécialement pour son grand tableau "Les émigrants".

Mais il ne se sentit pas à l'aise en Allemagne et s'installa l'année suivante à Paris. Là aussi, c'étaient d'abord encore les impressionnistes qui le fascinaient, jusqu'à ce qu'une série de tableaux de Braque le frappèrent et le mettaient pour la première fois en contact avec l'art moderne. Mais ici non plus il ne trouvait les écoles à son goût; dans un état de grande confusion et dépression il quitta Paris en 1926 pour étudier chez Hans Hofmann à Munich. Chez Hofmann il encontra un enseignement intelligent; pourtant, toute cette activité d'art lui semblait en quelque sorte dépourvue de vrai sens, sans qu'il se rendait bien compte pourquoi. Alors, il pensa

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trouver une réponse à ses doutes dans la solitude et s'installa en Provence. A Cassis il se lia d'amitié avec Jean Varda dont le contact l'aida à se débarasser de préjugés sur les moyens de la peinture; et les tableaux naïfs d'un authentique primitif, de l'ex-facteur Marius Vial, lui étaient une révélation. Alors seulement il abandonna une stricte interprétation de la nature, et se jetta à corps perdu dans une liberté rythmique de compositions et de couleurs qui fit rapidement éclore une série de beaux tableaux dans des gammes inspirées par Braque. Malheureusement il ne reste probablement rien de tous ces tableaux ni des oeuvres antérieurs et postérieurs jusqu'à la production de l'année 1932. Et je n'ai pu trouver aucune oeuvre antérieure à 1933 pour illustrer ce livre; car il n'y a pas d'artiste plus indifférent envers sa production que Paalen. Une oeuvre finie pour lui est comme un problème résolu et ne l'intéresse plus; ainsi il donna ses tableaux au premier venu ou les abandonna dans ses déplacements ou les détruisit dans des accès de dégoût. Il est également caractéristique qu'il ne se décidait à signer ses peintures que quand les marchands de tableaux l'y obligèrent.

Entre temps, par une suite d'évènements tristes, sa famille a été ruinée et dispersée; en plus la santé de Paalen qui, depuis son enfance, a été souvent déficiante, se trouva sérieusement menacée. Il dût quitter le Midi. A cette époque (the late) Alfred Flechtheim commençait à s'intéresser à ses tableaux, en exposa quelques uns - et l'aida pour s'installer de nouveau à Paris.

Vinrent des années difficiles. Mauvaise santé, manque d'argent, l'obligation d'abandonner temporairement la peinture pour gagner sa vie avec des petits travaux d'occasion, retardèrent son esser. C'était l'époque de la crise où une galerie après l'autre ferma ses portes et les marchands expliquaient aux jeunes peintres qu'en des temps aussi durs, ils ne peuvaient s'intéresser qu'aux "grandes signatures". Et quoique, pour des artistes, la misère à Paris était plus supportable qu'ailleurs, il est pourtant faux de croire qu'on y pouvait vivre de "cafés-crème". En plus le problème social, les doutes sur

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le comment et le pourquoi de l'art, l'inquiétaient et l'agitaient profondément. A cette époque il fit la connaissance du peintre Serge Brignoni qui éveilla son intérêt pour l'art d'Océanie. Comprenant petit à petit quel importante fonction l'art avait exercé dans des cultures primitives, il vint à méditer sur le rôle et les possibilités de l'art dans notre temps; et alors, il lui semblait qu'avant tout il fallait purifier les moyens, trouver des moyens d'expression adéquats pour notre époque, des moyens vraiment modernes. Dans ces idées il fût confirmé par Fernand Léger et Jean Hélion. Quand, grâce à l'aide d'un ami [illegible] généreux, il put reprendre la peinture, c'était pour s'orienter graduellement vers des formes de plus en plus austères. Entre 1932 et 1933 il exécuta une série de compositions dans lesquelles une puissante tension graphique s'allia à des couleurs sobres et profondes. Les sujets de ces tableaux étaient des apparitions d'êtres, qui se configuraient seulement selon les nécessités émotionnelles du peintre et les nécessités plastiques de la peinture. Quelques-uns de ces tableaux furent exposés pour la première fois à la galerie Bonjean en 1933. En été de cette même année Paalen fit un bref séjour dans le nord de l'Espagne où les peintures préhistoriques des grottes d'Altamira furent pour lui "une des plus grandes révélations de la peinture de tous les temps". De retour à Paris, il fit une série de curieuses constructions en liège peint, dont une des plus caractéristiques, appelée "Le Sol de la Forêt", se trouve à Londres dans la collection de Roland Penrose. Par Penrose il fit la connaissance de Paul Eluard et de Max Ernst, et il illustra par la suite des plaquettes de poèmes de Valentine Penrose.

L'extraordinaire subtilité des relations spatiales en plusieurs plans donnent à ces compositions en liège peint un dynamisme qui les place à part d'autres préoccupations abstraites de ce genre. En même temps Paalen assembla d'étranges figurines avec des racines et morceaux en bois travaillés par la mer qu'il avait trouvé sur la plage d'Hossegor (il ne savait pas à ce moment-là que James Joyce, avant lui, avait été fasciné par de telles racines). Ces objets figurèrent dans

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sa première one-man show à la galerie Vignon en 1934; ils furent beaucoup imités par la suite. Cette première exposition n'attira pas beaucoup d'attention; quand Paalen se plaignit à Léger de ce manque d'intérêt, celui-ci (un des rares grands peintres de cette génération qui encourageait les jeunes) répondit:"Mon garçon, il faut bien savoir qu'ici à Paris on accepte un nouveau peintre seulement quand on ne peut plus faire autrement". Pourtant, cette exposition le mit en contact avec quelques personnalités, et Zervos en publia une page d'illustrations et un compte-rendu favorable dans "Cahiers d'Art". En 1934 Paalen se rallia au groupe "abstraction-Création".

Lors d'un petit voyage à Londres, il fût cordialement accueilli par Herbert Read et Henry Moore, pour l'oeuvre duquel il conçut une profonde admiration. En 1935 Paalen fit un petit séjour en Suisse et participa à une importante exposition internationale d'art moderne au musée de Lucerne. De retour à Paris il reçut la visite de Kandinsky qui l'encouragea grandement. En cette même année, E.F. Gallatin et James Johnson Sweeney vinrent voir son studio dans la rue Pernety et Gallatin lui acheta un tableau pour son Museum of Living Art.

De 1934-36 la peinture de Paalen se développa vers une expression monumentale. De larges surfaces, d'apparence lapidaire, comme une sorte de diamants géants, s'illuminaient telles que les premières facettes d'un monde nouveau d'une grandeur toute minérale. Une de ces compositions s'appelait, très significativement, "Visages planétaires". Car, dans ces tableaux, pour la première fois apparaissait ce "sens planétaire", qui, beaucoup plus tard, allait prendre une si grande importance dans l'oeuvre de Paalen. Un autre, "Cadran lunaire", suggérait par la seule tension de trois tons un grand corps dans l'espace.

L'art préhistorique de la Grèce, et, tout particulièrement, la précision des idoles des îles Cycladiques, l'inspiraient grandement, mais sans qu'il ne tomba jamais dans un langage archaïsant. Pour la plupart des gens cette inspiration grecque ne se devinerait probablement que dans une belle sculpture de marbre, un de ces clairs visages-cadrans; pour ma part, j'aimerais appeler l'oeuvre de Paalen

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de cette époque son style cycladique.

En 1936 il fit à la galerie Pierre une exposition qui établit sa réputation comme peintre. C'était un mémorable vernissage: il y avait Picasso, Kandinsky, Léger, Max Ernst, Miro, Tanguy, Man Ray, Arp, Giacometti, Breton, Eluard - pour nommer seulement quelques peintres et écrivains d'une assemblée extraordinairement brillante. A l'occasion de cette exposition, Paalen fit également la connaissance de Alfred Barr Jr., et participa à l'exposition "Fantastic Art Dada Surrealism" au Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1936. Dans cette même année il fût invité par Breton à contribuer avec un envoi important à la grande exposition surréaliste à Londres et à l'exposition surréaliste d'objets chez Charles Ratton à Paris.

Dans une curieuse dualité avec sa tendance austère et monumentale en peinture, il réalisait dans cette même époque une série de dessins à la plume très vifs et nettement surréalistes, dont le sujet principal était des chevaux d'un humour proche de Swift. Le surréalisme, alors à son apogée, devint de plus en plus magnétique pour lui. La "fausse sécurité", le "végétarisme intellectuel" du milieu abstrait où l'on simplifiait l'art et la vie par des exclusions arbitraires pour s'en tenir à un formalisme de pensée et de moyens plastiques de plus en plus étroit, ne pouvait pas, à la longue, satisfaire un esprit faustien qui cherchait dans l'art une réponse aux énigmes de la vie et une meilleure compréhension du destin de l'homme - et non pas la certitude d'un métier. Il se développa pour lui une curieuse contradiction entre les oeuvres qui l'attiraient le plus. D'un côté, il y avait une passion toujours grandissante pour l'art de l'Océanie et l'art précolombien; de l'autre côté, les idoles [illegible] de la Grèce préhistorique aussi bien que l'art Grec classique et les cartons de Rafael à Londres le fascinaient au point d'être troublé d'aimer des choses aussi hétérogènes à la fois - au lieu de s'en tenir exclusivement aux primitifs géométriques comme les abstraits ou à "l'art sauvage" comme les surréalistes. Rétrospectivement, on peut voir que dans ce dualisme s'annonçait la nécessité d'une grande synthèse dans laquelle l'élément mythologique et les aspirations humanistes devaient trouver un équilibre inconnu jusqu'à présent; mais en ce moment l'in-

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quiétude du peintre mettait de nouveau tout en doute pour lui. En été 1936 il fit un voyage en Grèce pour mieux comprendre, dans son ambiance originale, pourquoi cet art le fascinait tant-- malgré lui. Dans son oeuvre théorique ~~ultérieure~~, beaucoup plus tard, on trouvera comment ce voyage l'aida à comprendre le "sens de la beauté". Pour le moment, il n'apporta aucune clarification apparente, et, au retour, Paalen se lança à corps perdu dans l'aventure surréaliste. Vinrent alors, sans transition visible, excepté dans les dessins, une série de paysages d'une féerie sombre où brusquement toutes les végétations d'un monde primordial se confondaient avec les forêts de son enfance. Le premier important tableau du nouveau style "totémique" était "Fata Alaska". Il fût suivi de la série appelée "Paysages totémiques de mon enfance". Maintenant, pour lui les objets les plus inspirants étaient les rares pièces d'art Indien de la Colombie Britannique et de l'Alaska, art presque inconnu en Europe.

En été 1937 Paalen fit un voyage à Prague et dans la forêt de Bohême, voyage qui revivifiait des souvenirs d'enfance. On retrouve cette "Stimmung" tout particulièrement dans les illustrations qu'il fit pour "Le diamant de l'herbe" de Forneret (publié en Minotaure) et d'autres dessins ~~d'une extraordinaire subtilité~~ qu'on a, un peu superficiellement, comparé à Rackham. Cette même année il mit au point son invention du "fumage", la peinture à la fumée de chandelle, qui a été considéré comme une des ~~plus originales~~ principales des techniques "automatiques".

En janvier 1938 il contribua très activement à la grande exposition surréaliste ~~et fût mentionné dans~~ le catalogue entre les principaux organisateurs. On sait la sensation que créa cette exposition entre les mannequins dans le long couloir celui de Paalen, une ~~xxxx~~ statue bleue couronnée d'un vampire à ailes grandes-ouvertes et vêtue d'une robe en vrais champignond frais, fût considéré comme un des plus réussis.

Après le côté plutôt "paysage" de la première moitié de son style

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totémique, surgissent, en 1938, des êtres rutilants et menaçants, les "Princes Saturniens", dont les "combats" couvrent quelques magnifiques toiles de pierres précieuses en fusion. J'y vois tout particulièrement la prémonition de la catastrophe imminente, d'une guerre qui allait changer l'échelle même de la puissance humaine, en déchaînant des forces élémentaires au-delà des rêves des sorciers et des alchimistes. Il faut remonter jusqu'à Bosch et Grünewald pour trouver une vision de terreur égale en grandeur à celle du plus grand tableau du "Combat des Princes Saturniens". ~~Ces toiles furent peintes dans une exposition chez Reneu et Colle en été 1938, accompagnées de quelques objets extraordinaires tels que la squelette d'un revolver appelé "Le génie de l'espèce", et de sculptures en cuir, à pièces détachables, dont le toucher et l'aspect étaient à la fois singulièrement inquiétant et fascinant. Pour le catalogue de cette exposition, André Breton écrivit une préface très inspirée, publiée l'année suivante dans "London Bulletin".~~

~~En fin~~ 1938 apparaît un petit tableau appelé "Vol nuptial" qui vaut être mentionné spécialement, car il annonce un nouveau concept de l'espace au-delà du surréalisme.

En février 1939 Paalen exposa à la galerie de Peggy Guggenheim, à Londres, Guggenheim Jeune. ~~A cette occasion il devint ami de E.L.T. Mesens. Cette exposition fût vivement discutée et accueillie avec enthousiasme par Herbert Read.~~ C'était Paalen's dernière one-man show en Europe avant la guerre. En Mai 1939 il s'embarqua pour l'Amérique.

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Une fois en Amérique, Paalen put réaliser un désir qui l'avait obsédé depuis des années: d'étudier sur place ce qui restait de l'art Indien de la côte Nord-Ouest américaine, connaître les grandioses paysages de la Colombie-Britannique (Canada) et de l'Alaska. Dans ses lettres de voyage, Flaubert raconte ~~comme~~ combien il était surpris de trouver dans la vallée du Nil quelques extraordinaires détails du paysage exactement comme il les avait prévus dans son imagination quand il écrivit "La tentation de St. Antoine". Je pense, la surprise ne fût pas moins grande pour Paalen de voir combien exactement il avait anticipé la lumière et l'athmosphère des environs de Sitka dans son tableau "Fata Alaska".

Comme résultat tangible de ce voyage, il rapporta l'esquisse d'un livre "Paysage Totémique", dont quelques chapitres ont été publiés dans "Dyn"; une étude ~~approfondie~~ sur l'art indigène de la côte Nord-Ouest du Pacifique qui a paru dans le Amerindian Number de Dyn sous le titre "Totem Art"; cette étude a été hautement appréciée par "some of the leading authorities in the field" considérée comme la première discussion sérieuse sur l'âge de cet art; et une collection remarquable d'objets d'art dont quelques illustrent l'article mentionné.

Arrivant à Mexico City en Septembre 1939, il y présenta en Janvier 1940 une exposition surréaliste, à l'organisation de laquelle avaient contribué André Breton et César Moro. ~~C'est avec cette importante exposition qu'Inès Amor inaugura brillamment sa nouvelle galerie, dans la calle Milan.~~ Tout en étant encore proche du surrealist outlook, le souvenir de la côte Nord-Ouest se manifeste dans une série de tableaux qui, en évoquant la neige, les bêtes à fourrure, la forêt, ont surtout une particulière qualité de blanc, tel qu'on le trouve dans les masques esquimaux et ~~dans Moby Dick.~~

Mais le tableau le plus important de ce stage transitoire - en vue du développement ultérieur - est probablement "Quelque part en moi", (1940). Car ce tableau continue et enrichit les premières suggestions d'un nouveau concept de l'espace picturale qui avait apparu pour la première fois en "Vol nuptial".

Au printemps 1940 Paalen fit une exposition à la Julien Levy Gallery, New York. C'était sa dernière manifestation surréaliste. Car

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quoique, à cette époque, il ne prévoyait pas encore la rapide [redacted] dégénération du surréalisme, son séjour à New York le convainquit que le surréalisme avait épuisé son impétus révolutionnaire.

De retour au Mexique il se décida à travailler dans la solitude de San Angel pour trouver de nouveaux points d'orientation pour sa pensée et sa peinture. Déjà à la fin de l'année 1939, il avait peint une série de petites gouaches dans lesquelles son nouveau concept d'espace s'exprimait par une haute tension de figures spiraloïdes et où la couleur, pour ainsi dire, se propageait par une sorte de rayonnement vibratoire. Soit dit en passant, que si jamais les théories révolutionnaires du Prof. Félix Ehrenhaft ( dont Paalen entendit parler pour la première fois en 1944) prouvaient être justes, il y aurait aussi bien dans cette gouache de 1939 qui s'appelle "Entre lumière et matière" que dans la plupart de l'oeuvre de Paalen des années suivantes, la plus étonnante anticipation artistique de la bouleversante découverte de Ehrenhaft: que la lumière est une sorte de force électrodynamique qui ne se propage pas en ondes ou lignes droites mais en forme de tire-bouchon (corkscrew). Anticipation intuitive du phénomène entièrement nouveau "of the circular movement of matter caused by light. Which reveals that just as matter rotates light, so light rotates matter". Je mentionne la possibilité de ce parallèlisme entre l'intuition plastique de l'artiste et la découverte scientifique tout particulièrement, parce qu'à partir de 1939, la physique est devenue pour Paalen une source d'inspiration toujours grandissante. A partir de 1939, il se mit à étudier assidûment les principes basiques de la physique post-einsteinienne "in order to find out what is right with science and why it works - and what is wrong with art in our time and why it does not work". Et, comme il ne pouvait pas être question de trouver moyen de déterminer le rôle de l'art dans le monde moderne sans s'attaquer d'emblée à l'ensemble des problèmes, il s'agissait également "to find out what is wrong with Marxism, why it had failed to understand, among other things, the significance of creative imagination". Alors, la philosophie américaine moderne, spécialement la pensée de John Dewey, vint comme une révélation pour lui. Il se rendit compte que la pensée américaine

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sur le plan philosophique était à peu près autant en avance de ce qu'il y avait en Europe, comme l'art d'Europe était en avance de celui de l'Amérique, - et que seulement une synthèse des deux pourrait abolir le dualisme entre l'inspiration et la raison; dualisme que le surréalisme croyait résoudre en proclamant la toute-puissance de l'irrationnel (et que le marxisme avait vainement essayé de réduire à la toute-puissance de la raison). Comprenant alors, pourquoi le surréalisme, n'ayant pas su dépasser le stage automatique at its best et at its worst, avait ouvert une porte nouvelle à l'ancien académisme littéraire, l'essai d'une intégration qui saurait faire la part de l'irrationnel et de la raison lui semblait urgent. Au fait, si urgent, qu'il chercha des contacts avec des jeunes artistes et écrivains pour créer un organe de recherches orienté vers une telle synthèse. Les choses en étaient là, quand Breton arrivait à New York. Son arrivée fit ~~naître~~ espérer à Paalen la possibilité d'une entente sur une base plus large, qui devait tenir compte aussi bien des expériences pratiques faites depuis 1939 que des implications philosophiques des dernières découvertes scientifiques - et surtout de la pensée américaine, totalement inconnue dans le milieu surréaliste. Un échange de lettres ~~très~~ amical le fit espérer un moment de convaincre Breton de la nécessité d'une révision rigoureuse des fondations idéologiques du surréalisme; mais Breton s'y refusa. Comprenant alors que le surréalisme allait cesser de jouer un rôle d'avant-garde, Paalen s'en sépara définitivement.

Presque seul, et sans aucune collaboration adéquate, il fonda en avril 1942 la revue DYN, dont le numéro 1 contenait un "farewell" au surréalisme conçu dans des termes amicaux. La fondation de cette revue, en dépit de difficultés ~~presque insurmontables~~ à ce moment, devait créer un point focal pour des efforts vraiment nouveaux en dehors des écoles et "ismes" consacrés. Les 6 premiers numéros de DYN, de 1942-45, devaient être dédiés surtout à un vaste travail analytique destiné à éclaircir les fondations mêmes de l'art pour trouver une base solide pour la compréhension de ses possibilités à notre époque. ~~Pour cela il n'y fallait pas moins que de déterminer la tâche de l'imagination créative à la~~

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## APPENDIX B

# W. R. PAALEN

L'art est une des plus anciennes et plus tenaces manifestations de l'humanité, puissance dont un certain nombre d'individus, dans chaque génération, sont dépositaires.

Pour rendre agissante cette force, il faut une base d'idées communes ; à notre époque, une communauté spirituelle qui peut prétendre à l'universalité n'existe que dans le domaine scientifique.

En remontant aux sources de l'art et en mettant en évidence quelques-unes de ses grandes lois, on peut espérer de retrouver une base plus profonde et plus large que toute question esthétique à l'ordre du jour, mais aucune bonne volonté ne saurait rendre l'efficacité de l'art plus grande qu'elle ne peut l'être selon les données de notre époque.

La communauté spirituelle du moyen âge se brise à l'époque de la Renaissance ; c'est alors que se forme le spécialiste, le virtuose, le « génie », qui se trouve ensuite de plus en plus en opposition avec la masse.

Dans le développement historique, le « Salon » se substitue à l'Église.

L'art, éloigné de ses sources vitales, est abaissé finalement au rang d'un divertissement individuel, d'une « question de goût », une espèce de foie gras pour connaisseurs, et il est logique que le vocabulaire du critique emprunte de plus en plus à la cuisine.

L'homme qui refuse de renoncer à ses droits spirituels est forcé de travailler dans la solitude, c'est l'antithèse de « l'artiste » et de la « société » du siècle passé.

Maintenant, il n'y a plus ni Église ni Salon. L'œuvre d'art n'est plus la clef de voûte d'un arc dressé par un effort commun, mais il ne se contente pas non plus d'être un bibelot, destiné à l'usage d'un sensualisme raffiné.

Avec la fin de toute esthétique commune, les mots « beau » et « laid » ont perdu toute signification précise. Mais l'œuvre d'art ne peut être digne d'intérêt qu'en tant qu'emanation d'une communauté spirituelle, si petite soit-elle, et nullement comme divertissement ou peine d'un monsieur X.

La puissance d'une telle œuvre ne peut plus être que magique — c'est-à-dire forcer les spectateurs à une contemplation qui les branche bon gré mal gré sur le grand courant commun qui remonte plus loin que toute notre histoire connue et qui les mène à un concept du monde inaccessible à l'outil grossier du déterminisme scientifique.

Dans cet état de choses, l'intérêt du public ne relève plus de l'ordre esthétique, mais de l'éthique.

Il ne s'agit ici que des œuvres significatives et non de différentes productions destinées à des appétits équivoques.

N'importe qui admet facilement de ne pas avoir d'oreille pour la musique, mais n'importe quel imbécile se croit qualifié pour parler peinture.

Les arts plastiques ont été longtemps chargés des besognes de reportage et de chronique qui incombent aujourd'hui aux reproductions mécaniques. De là vient la confusion de ces besognes avec l'art plastique même et la prétention de le « comprendre » immédiatement.

L'art dit « abstrait » n'est pas une science cabalistique, mais il faut admettre qu'il y a à peu près le même espace entre la production courante des « Beaux-Arts » et les meilleures œuvres de notre époque qu'entre le débit quotidien de « Radio-Paris » et la musique de Bach.

Celui qui peut admettre de céder aux exigences du public n'est plus digne d'aucune critique.

On ne peut pas donner tort aux jeunes qui se tracent *a priori* un programme. A ceux qui sont assez forts, ce programme permettra de se discipliner et servira comme tremplin ; aux autres il donnera au moins une attitude décidée, qui vaut toujours mieux que de ne pas en avoir.

Ceux qui se laissent imposer un programme tout fait sont les subalternes qui représentent la loi de la pesanteur dans chaque mouvement de l'esprit.

Il n'y a pas de passé dans l'art ; toute force vivante reste plus ou moins agissante selon les nécessités du présent ; ce qu'il y a de « passé » n'est qu'un habit extérieur, la croûte de l'époque sur la forme essentielle.

Le prétendu « retour au passé » à travers n'importe quel truchement n'est qu'une nécrophilie spirituelle.

On confond aujourd'hui souvent l'aspect simple de la perfection avec une conception simpliste.

Sous une prétendue austérité et pauvreté voulue se cachent fréquemment faiblesse de l'invention et idées primaires qui permettent de se livrer entièrement aux joies d'un petit artisanat.

Je ne vois pas l'intérêt d'une œuvre artistique qui se distingue à peine d'un objet végétatif ou mécanique.

L'aspect de n'importe quel objet, d'un caillou roulé par la mer, d'une pièce mécanique quelconque, peut suggérer au spectateur des plaisirs optiques et des réflexions multiples, c'est purement subjectif.

Qu'elle ressemble à un produit de la nature ou qu'elle singe la dignité d'une machine, a quoi bon une œuvre d'art qui ne donne pas des sensations plus précises au spectateur ?

Quelques artistes ont délibérément essayé de faire de l'art « universel », en simplifiant la conception et l'exécution de leurs œuvres à l'extrême, mais ceci allait au dépens des forces émotives et ne menait qu'à des alvéoles plus étroites.

L'art ne peut être conçu comme universel en tant que manifestation humaine, mais il n'y a pas d'œuvre d'art d'aucune époque qu'on pourrait qualifier d'universelle.

Le contact entre public et artistes a été toujours plus dangereusement entravé par les faux monnayeurs de l'art que par ses détracteurs professionnels.

Pourtant, une fois la mode passée, tout le pseudo-moderne, etc., retombe dans l'amorphe, tandis que l'œuvre authentique reste agissante par sa réalité.

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# APPENDIX C

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COLLECTION WOLFGANG PAALEN

SOUTH SEAS

Polynesia:

1) Ancestral male figure (wood) — Easter Island
(has been reproduced in a publication by the Bernice Bishop Museum in Honolulu; type similar to the one reproduced in: "Arts of the South Seas", The Museum of Modern Art, New York 1946, page 48, right).

2) Ancestral female figure, (wood) — Easter Island
(eyes with incrustations of shell and obsidian; has been reproduced in La Vacherie's and Metraux's book on Easter Island).

3) Ancestral female figure (wood) — Easter Island

4) Fishermen's god (volcanic stone) — Tahiti

5) Necklaces (whale-bone and human hair) — Hawaiian Islands

6) Ancestral figure (wood) — New Zealand

7) Carved feather box (wood) — " "

8) Carved feather box (wood) — " "

Micronesia:

9) Canoe model (wood) — Matty Islands
(similar type reproduced in "Art of the South Seas", page 68)

Melanesia:

10) Large ancestral figure (painted wood)
(see photo I,10) — New Hebrides

11) Ancestral figure (painted tree fern)
(see photo II,11) — " "

12) Large ancestral figure (tree fern) — " "

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13) Very large mask (bark cloth over a bamboe frame) (see photo III,13) — New Hebrides

14) Mortuary figure (Korowaar) wood — Dutch New Guinea

15) Ancestral male figure (wood) (photo II,15) — Gulf of Papua, New Guinea

16) Painted memorial tablet, wood — " "

17) Male figure from the top of a sacred flute, wood, shell and feathers. (photo III) (Reproduced in "Cahiers d'Art" 2-3, Paris 1929, Fig. 27) — Yuat River, Sepic area. New Guinea

18) Ancestral figure, wood. (reproduced in "Cahiers d'Art" 2-3, 1929, Fig. 50) — Sepik River, New Guinea

19) Mask, painted wood. (photo II,19) — Sepik River

20) Dance belt with painted skull, palm wood, pith and fiber. (photo IV) — " "

21) Small mask, wood. (photo I,21) — " "

22) Carved ceremonial club, painted wood. — " "

23) Adze with stone blade — " "

24) Adze with shell blade — " "

25) Round head, wood. (photo I,25) — New Caledonia

26) Shell pendant with tortoise shell ornament — Santa Cruz, Solomon Islands

27) Ceremonial shield, basket work — Solomon Islands

28) Large dance mask, palm wood, covered with painted pith. (photo II,28) — Sulka, New Britain

29) Dance mask, palm wood and pith — " " "

30) Dance mask, palm wood and pith — " " "

31) Ancestral figure (Uli), painted wood (photo II,31) (has been reproduced in Hausenstain's "Barbaren und Klassiker"). — New Ireland

32) Ancestral figure with stylized octopus, painted wood. (photo II,32) — " "

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33) Ancestral figure, wood — New Ireland

34) Ancestral figure (small Uli),painted wood — " "

35) Malagan, painted wood (photo III,35) — " "

36) Musical instrument (livika) wood with shell incrustations. (similar type reproduced in "Arts of the South Seas", page 162) — " "

37) Large bowl, wood — " "

38) Mask, bark cloth — " "

AFRIKA

39) Ancestral figure, wood and copper — Bakota

40) Sorcerer's belt, horn and glass beads — Ankazoaba, Madagascar

41) Dagger

MEXICO

42) Large head, clay — Zapotec, Oaxaca

VENEZUELA

43) Female figure, clay

BRAZIL

44) Feather headdress

CANADA

45) Mask, painted wood — Kwakiutl, British Columbia

46) Dagger with a wolf's head — " " "

47) Small totem pole, wood — Haida

48) Carved spoons, horn — "

49) Totem pole, slate — "

50) Pipe stem, slate — "

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NORTH AMERICA

| | |
|---|---|
| 51) Headdress, wood and copper | Tlinkit, Alaska |
| 52) Female figure laying on a sea monster, wood. (photo V) | " " |
| 5 prehistoric Greek statuettes, marble | Cycladic Islands |
| 1 vase, marble (photos VI-X) | " " |
| 12 miscellaneous objects | |
| 1 painting, oil | Arcimboldo (Italian 16th Century) |

* * * *

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# BOOKS ON OCEANIA AND PERU IN PAALEN'S LIBRARY

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**APPENDIX E**
DYN Pre-Columbiana

Alice Rahon Paalen. "Á l'Ixtaccihuatl," DYN 1: (April-May 1942): 45. Illustrated with photograph of the mountain by "H.B. [Hugo Brehme] Mexico."
César Moro, "Buisson," and "Lueur", DYN 1: 28.
Manuel Alvarez Bravo, Retrato de lo Eterno (Portrait of the Eternal) DYN 2: 18
Carlos Mérida, drawing, 1942, DYN 2: 35.
Charles Givor (W.P.), "Xilonen", DYN 2 (July-August 1942): 31-33.
Doris Heydn, "Junio 1942, photo," DYN 3 (Fall 1942): 4 (Señora Manuel Alvarez Bravo)
Manuel Alvarez Bravo, Fable of the dog and the cloud, DYN 3: 34.
Carlos Mérida, A Little Window by the Sea"; A Hunting Design after a Maya Theme, DYN 3: 38ff.
Henry Moore, Ideas for Sculpture, String Figure No. 4, DYN 3: 38ff. (juxtaposed with Mérida)
Marian Castleman, Song for Civilians, DYN 3: 39.
W.P., "Une Visite Au Volcan," DYN 4-5: 71.
J. Johnson, "The Volcano Paricutin," March 1943," DYN 4-5: 72ff.
Florence Arquin, Paricutin, DYN 3: 72ff.
W.P., ed., "Representations of Volcanoes from various Mexican Codices," DYN 3: 72ff.
Rosa Rolando, "Photo," DYN 3: 72ff.
Martin Chambi, "Amphitheatre de Kenko-Cuzco, Peru," "Palace of Huayna Capa, Cuzco, Peru," "Machupicchu," "Panoramic view of Machupicchu," "Portal of the ruins of Sacsayhuman, Cuzco, Peru," DYN 4-5: 73-76. (also W.P. ed. Anon. photos)
Carlos Mérida, "Painting, 1944; "Reduced page from Etampas del Popol-Vuh, 10 color lithographs, 1943," DYN 6: 12ff. (juxtaposed with Moore.)
Miguel Covarrubias, photographs: "Virgin Forest at La Venta, Tabasco," "One of the colossal heads of La Venta, 2.56 mts. high," "Totnac woman of Papantla. Note the physical likeness with the colossal heads of La Venta," (Photo Donald Cordry), photographs, DYN 6: 24 ff., illustrations, "La Venta: Colossal Heads and Jaguar Gods"
Covarrubias, Facsimiles, Hand-colored photographs, illus. for "La Venta."
Rosa Rolanda, "In the Buitenzoog Gardens of Java near Batavia," "Ricefields of Selat, West Bali, seen through a Waringin tree," DYN 6: 36 ff.
Francisco Díaz de León, Project for a stage set of real life, DYN 6: ff. 37.
M. Alvarez Bravo, A Fish called Sierra, photograph, DYN 6: 40.
Gustav Regler, "L'ile a Deux Faces," poem, DYN 6: 41-42.
Evelyn Hofer, The Fortress, photograph, DYN 6: 44ff.
Doris Heydn, Huejotzingo, photograph, DYN 6: ff.45.
Giles Greville-Healey, Midnight Mass, photograph, DYN 6: 48 ff. (illus. to Charles Givor, "L'Abreuvoir," poem)
Donald Cordry, Clay toys from San Miguel Húapam, Guerrero, photo., DYN 6: 51 (illus. to W.P., "Rencontre Totemique")

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FIGURE 1

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FIGURE 2

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FIGURE 3

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**FIGURE 4**

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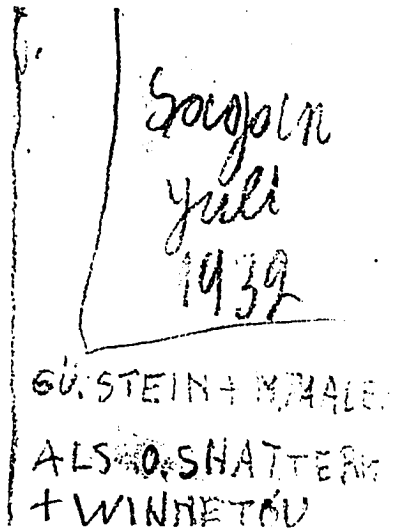



**FIGURE 5**

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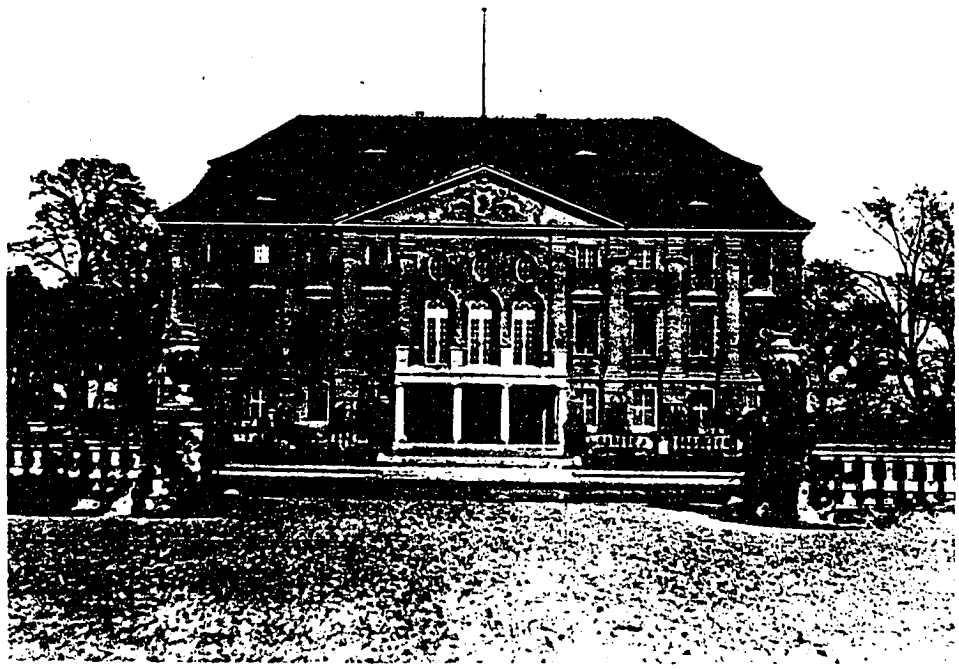


**FIGURE 6**

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FIGURE 7

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FIGURE 8

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**FIGURE 9**

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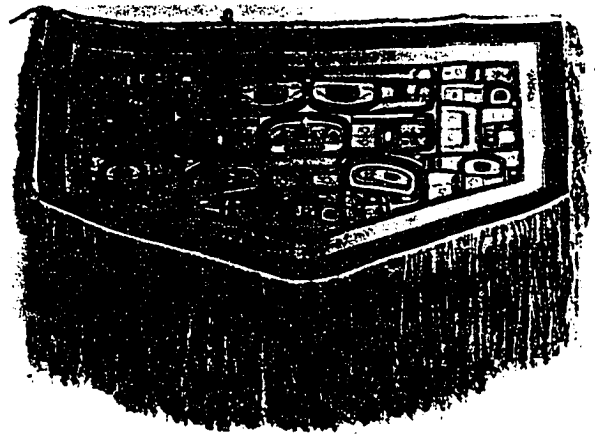


**FIGURE 10**

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On the left below: Statue of a Ruskistl chief holding a copper-plate. • Collected in the late 1880's by Captain Jacobsen. Museum für Volkerkunde, Berlin



tation of posts was revealed. One explained them as ancient symbols of Eros, not the diminutive classic deity, but the great primitive god of fecundity of whom there was no other image than the phallic wooden post. As their veneration goes back to a preclassic epoch, these posts must have signified more than the symbol of Eros. Although information on the subject is lacking, the difficulty is cleared up if one assumes that the ancestral post was originally bisexual, that by its very erection it expressed the male principle, and by its material (wood symbolizes the maternal element) the female principle. This corresponds to the archaic *complementary concept* which was discussed above, and which in many religions is expressed through divinities morally ambivalent and physically hermaphroditic. And even if this explanation were not adequate, the androgynous

28

**FIGURE 11**

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FIGURE 12

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**FIGURE 13**

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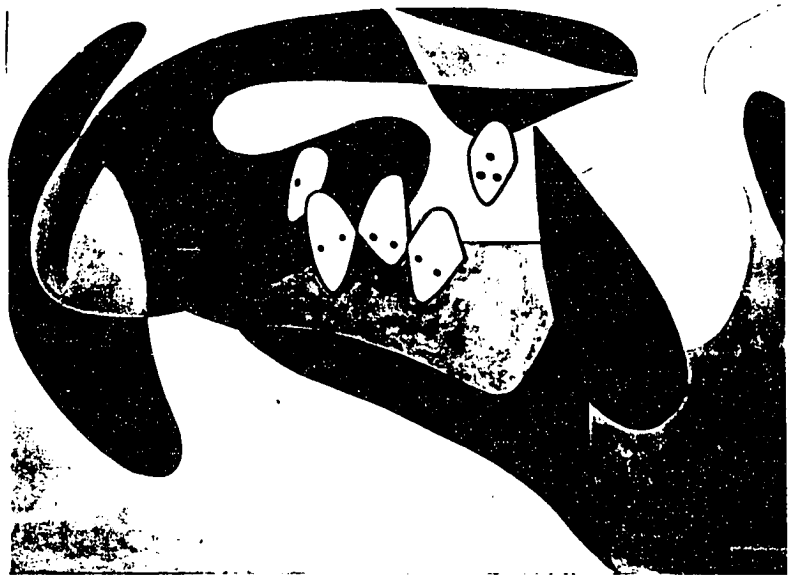


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FIGURE 15

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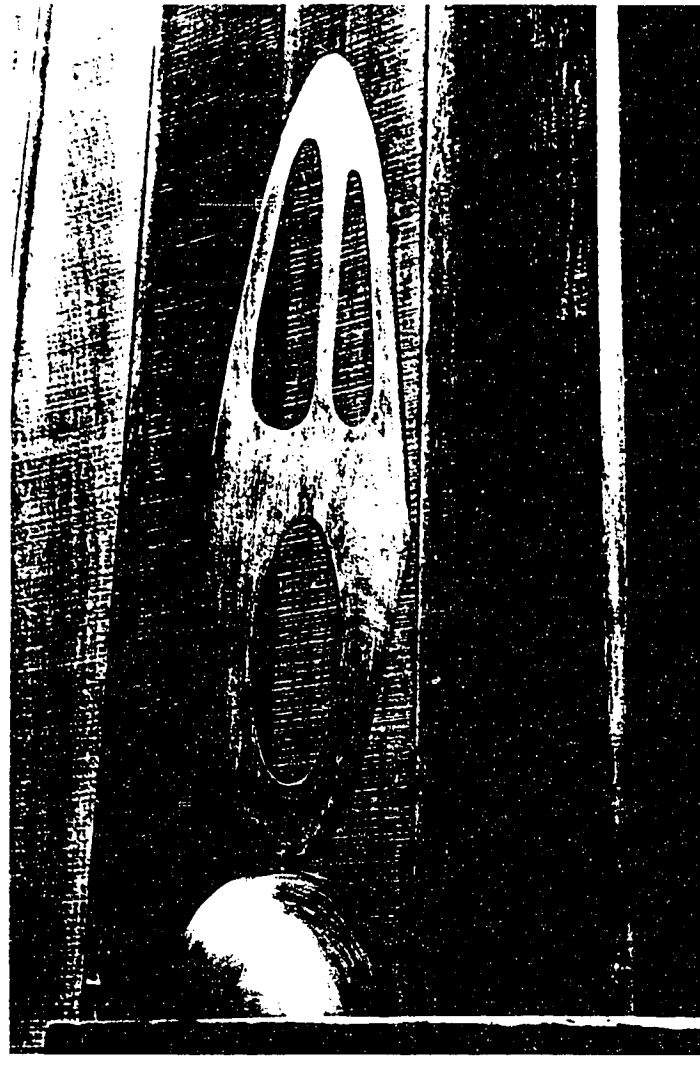


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FIGURE 19

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FIGURE 20

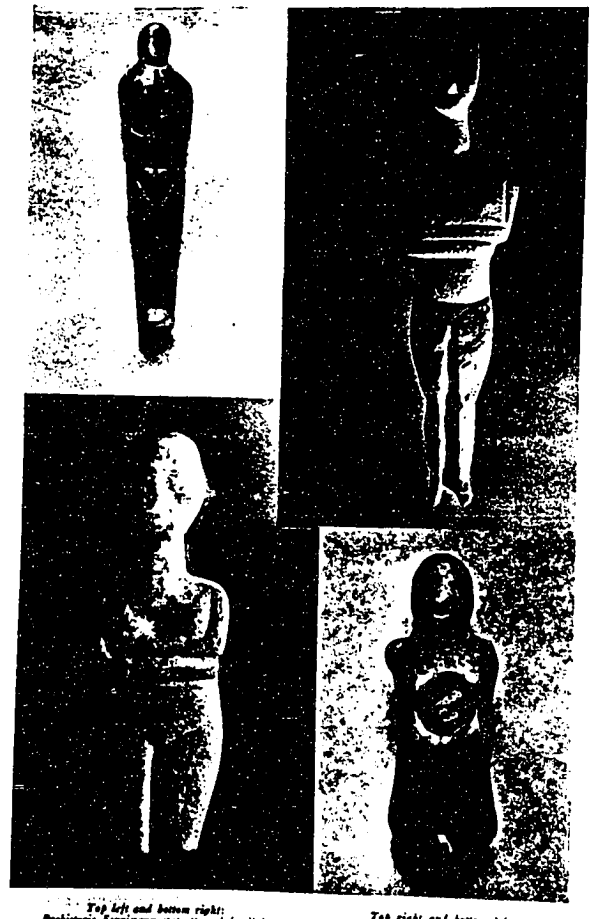
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FIGURE 21

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PL. II



*Top left and bottom right:*
*Prehistoric Eskimaux statuettes of fossil ivory from the region of Norton Sound.*
*Original sizes respectively 5 1/2 inches and 4 1/2 inches.*
*(Collected by H. P. in Alaska).*

*Top right and bottom left:*
*Prehistoric Greek sculpture, in marble, Cycladic Islands, 3000-2000 B. C.*
*Original sizes respectively: 13 inches and 9 inches.*

Photos by Brassaï, Collection Wolfgang Paalen.

FIGURE 22A

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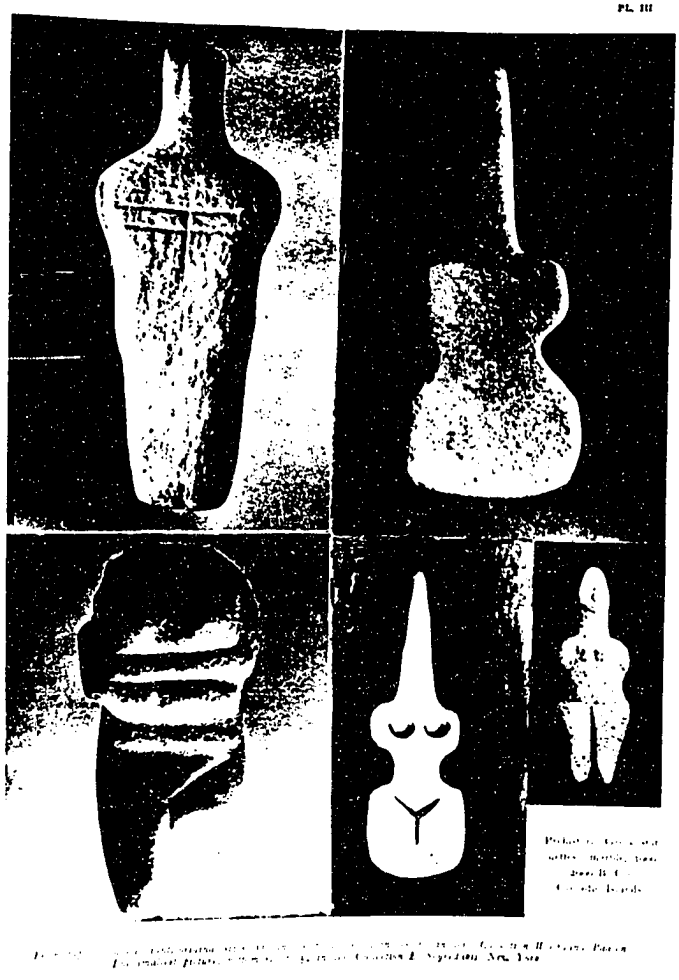


FIGURE 22B

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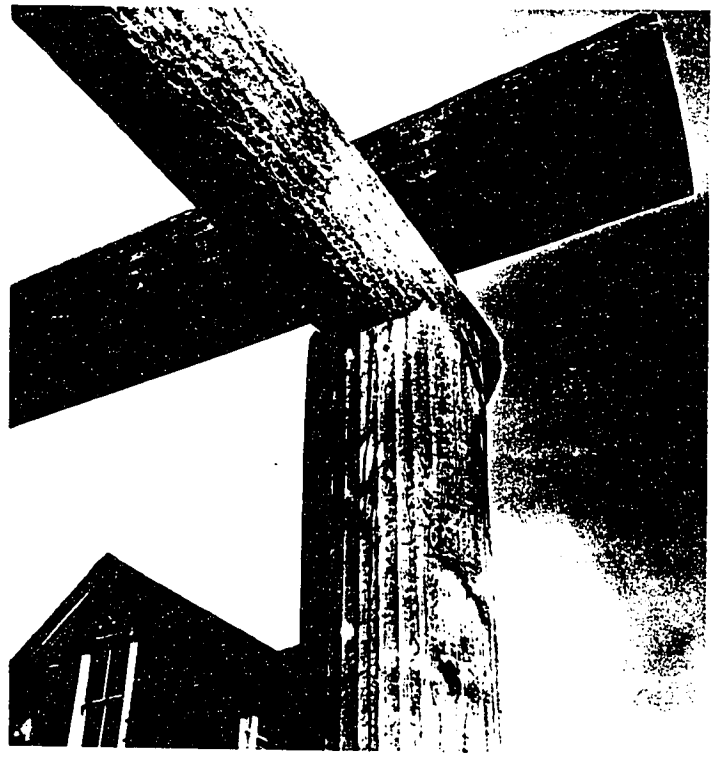


FIGURE 23

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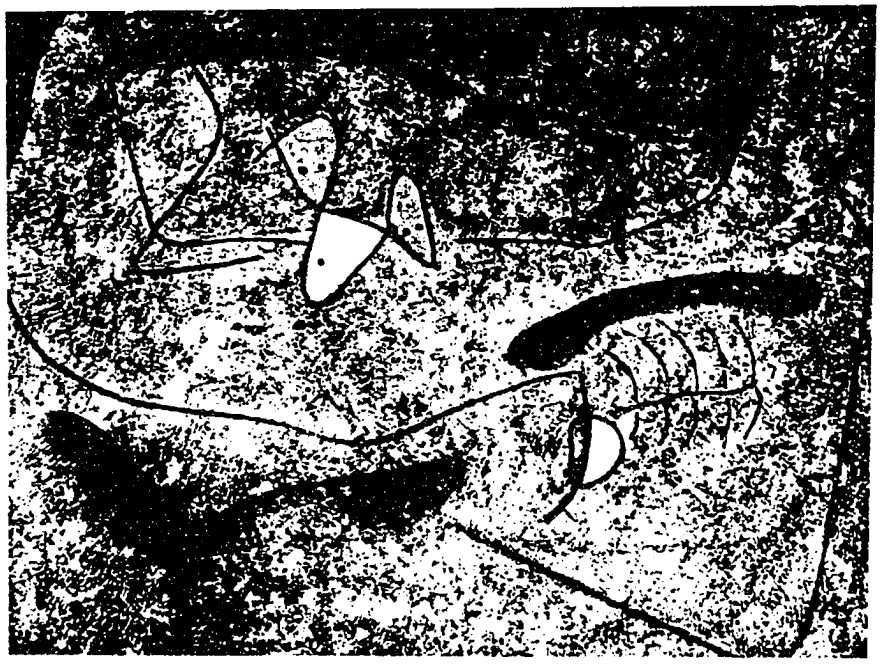


FIGURE 26

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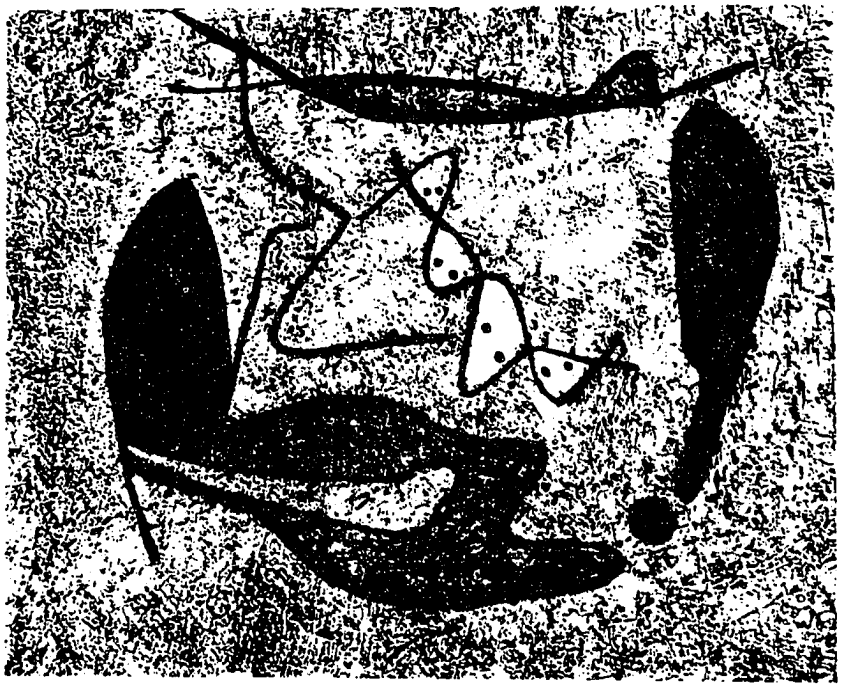


FIGURE 27

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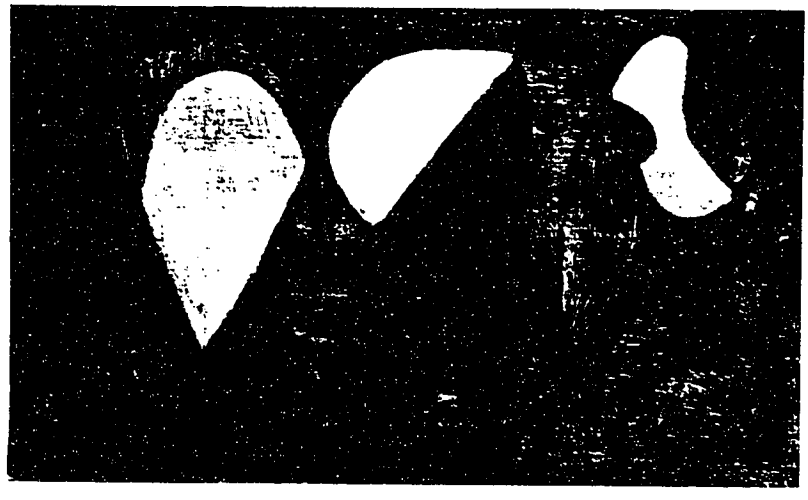


FIGURE 28

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FIGURE 30

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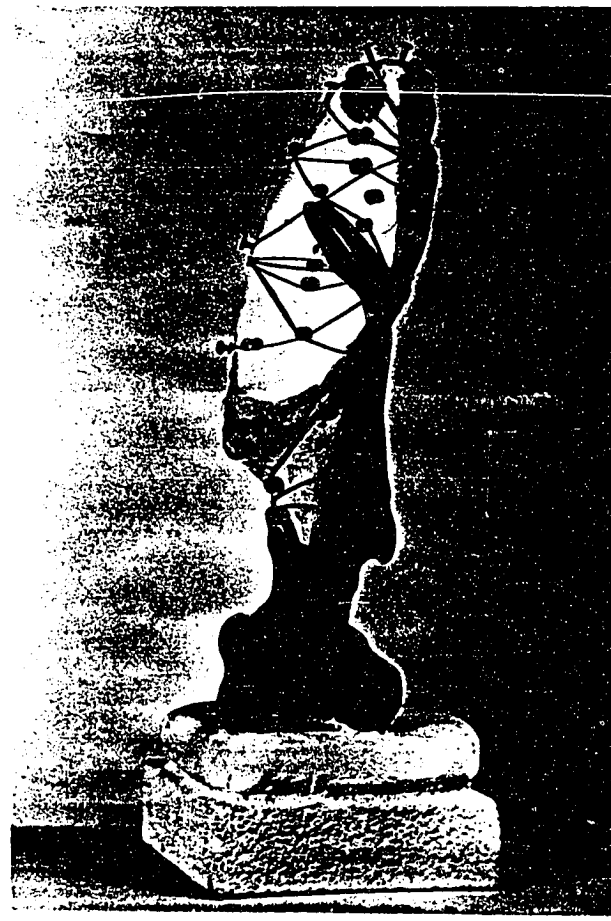


**FIGURE 31**

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FIGURE 33

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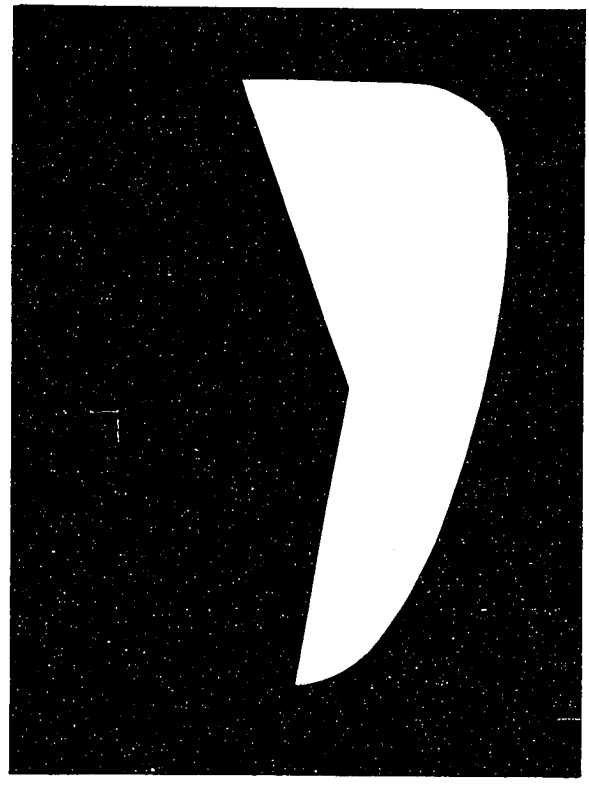


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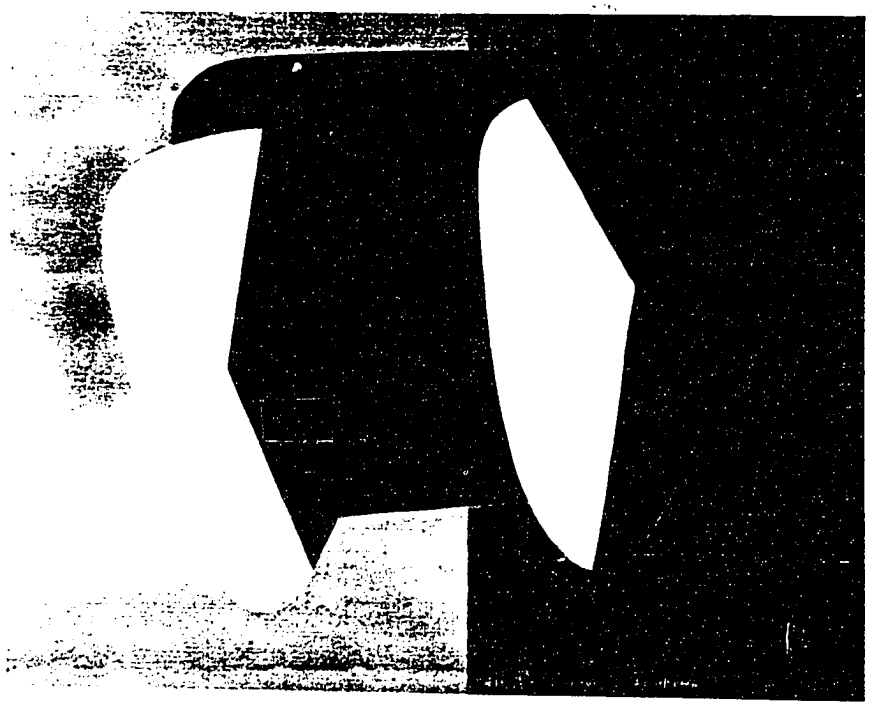


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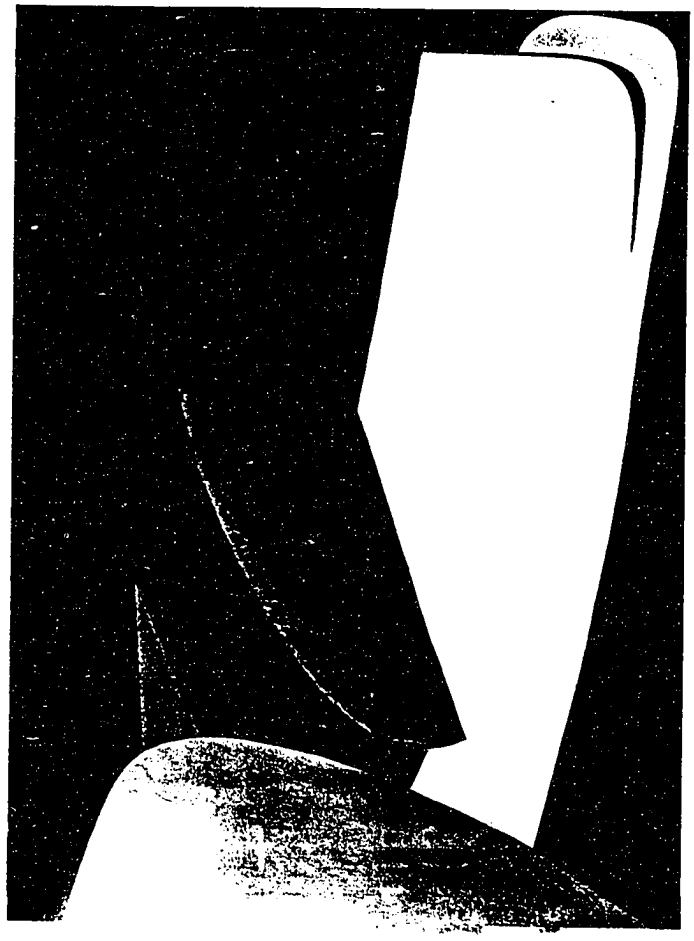


**FIGURE 36**

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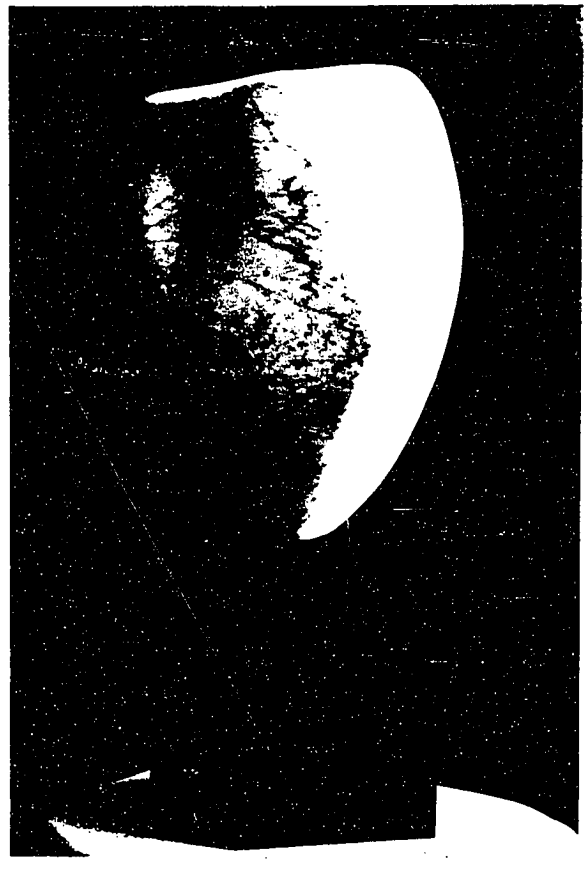


FIGURE 37

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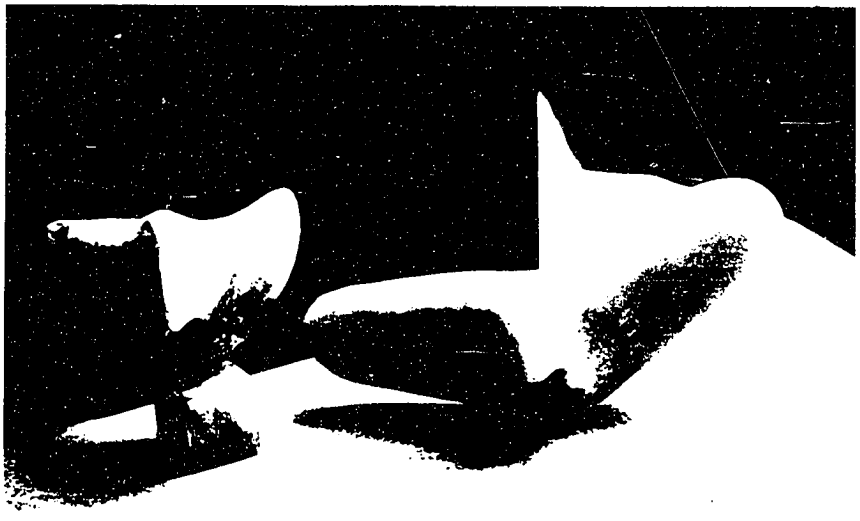


FIGURE 38

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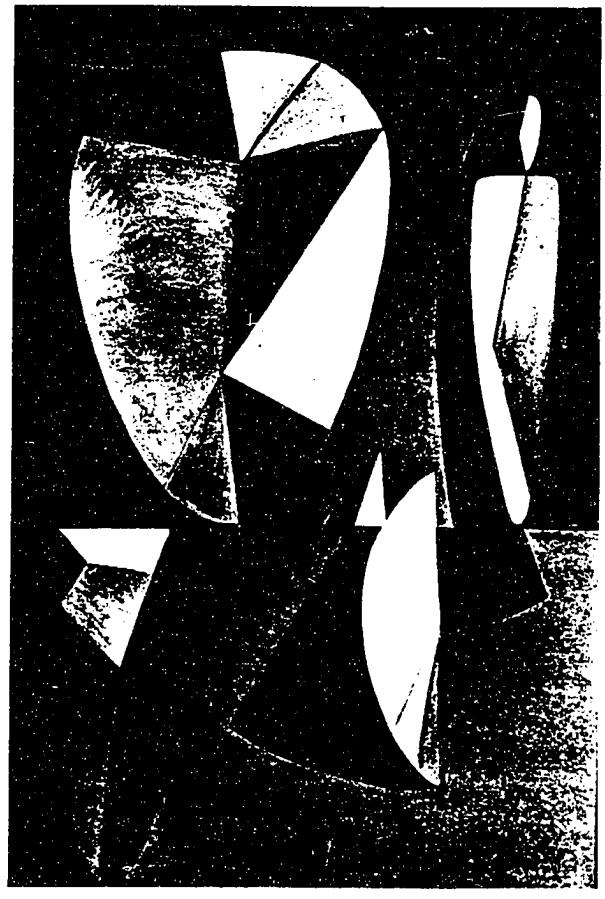


FIGURE 39

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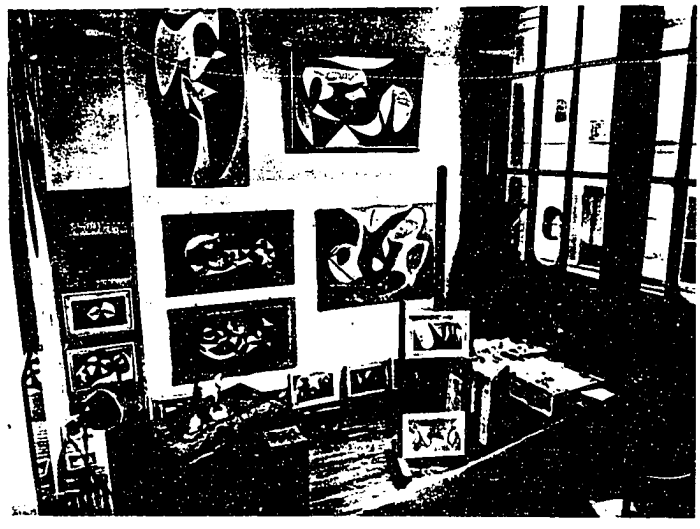


**FIGURE 40**

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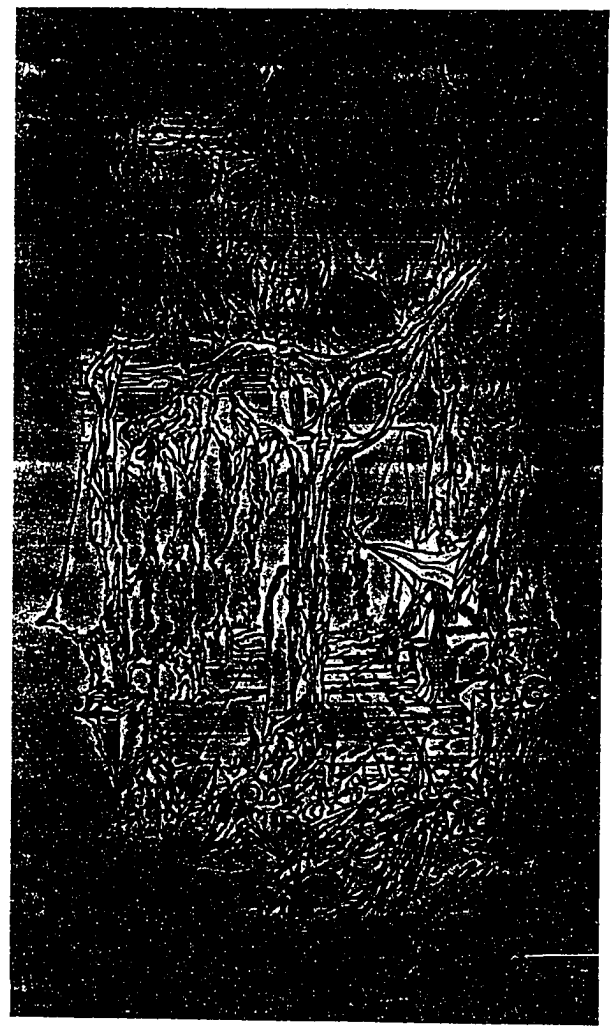


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FIGURE 42

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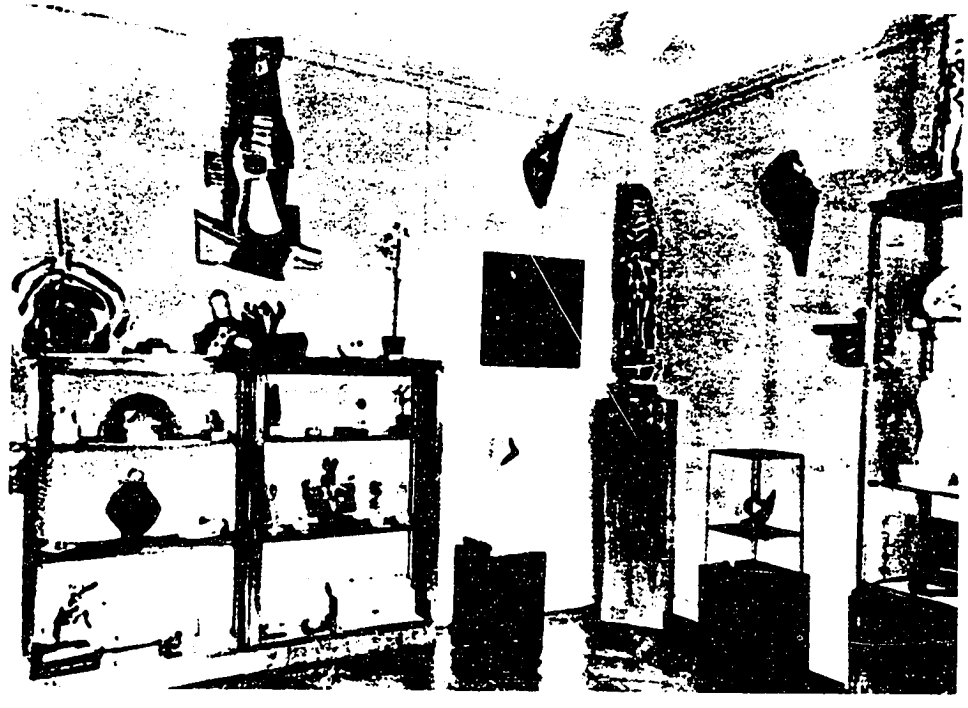


FIGURE 43

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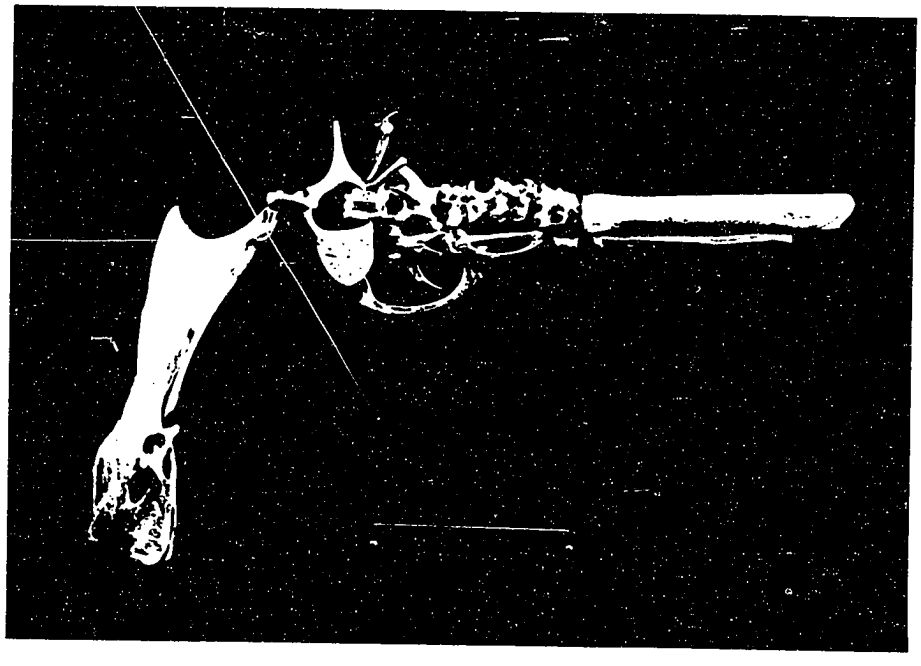


FIGURE 44

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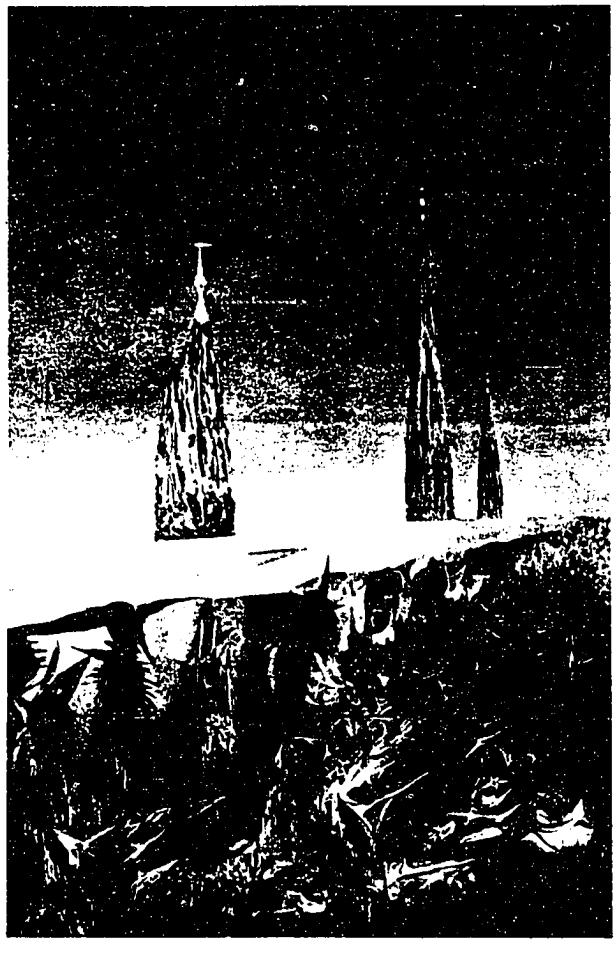


**FIGURE 45**

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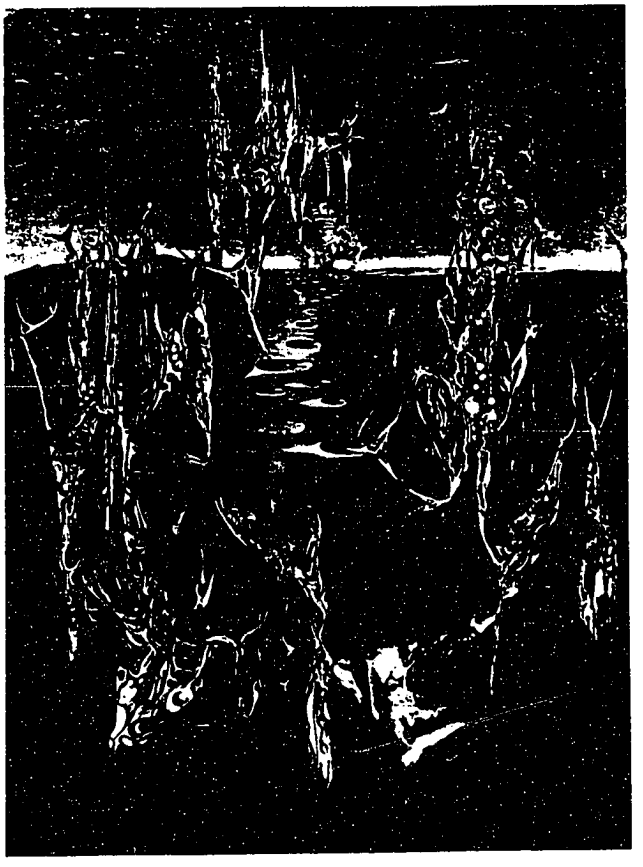


FIGURE 46

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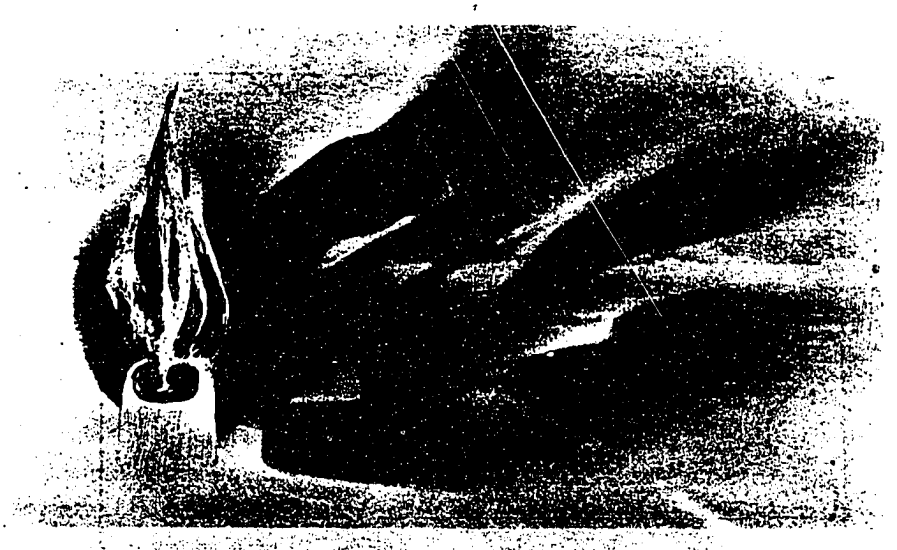
FIGURE 47

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FIGURE 48

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G. Ch. LICHTENBERG

Liste d'une collection d'outils

**FIGURE 49**

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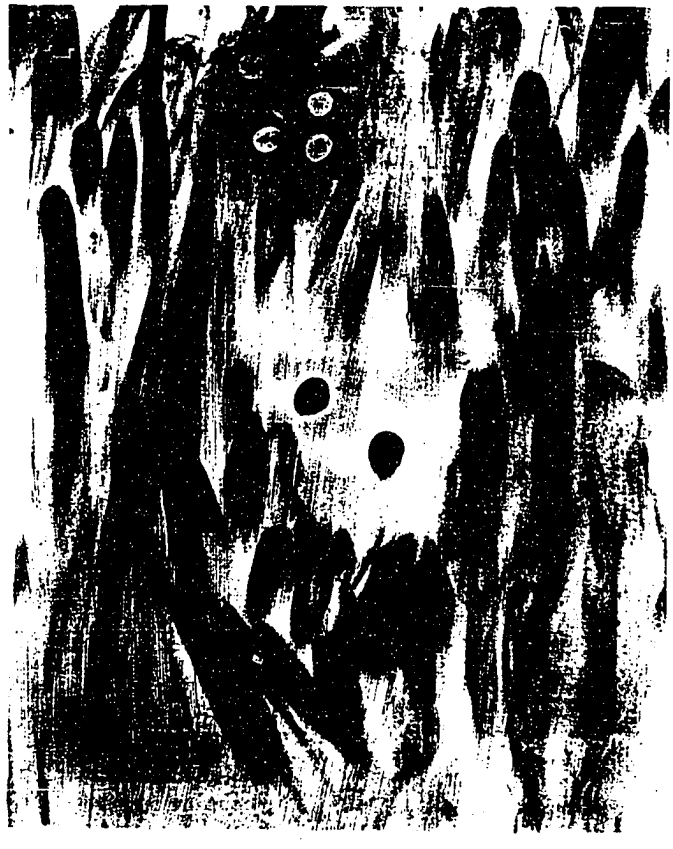


FIGURE 50

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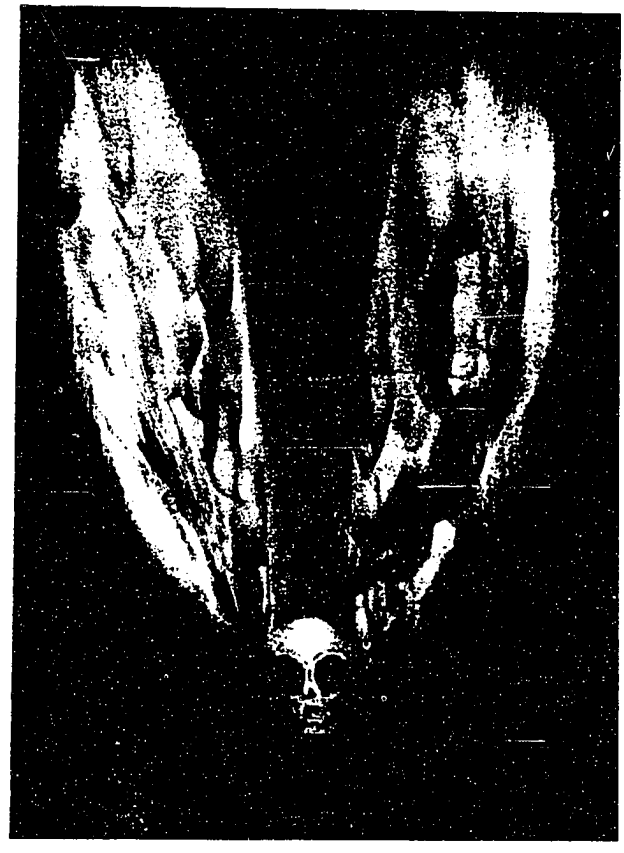


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FIGURE 60

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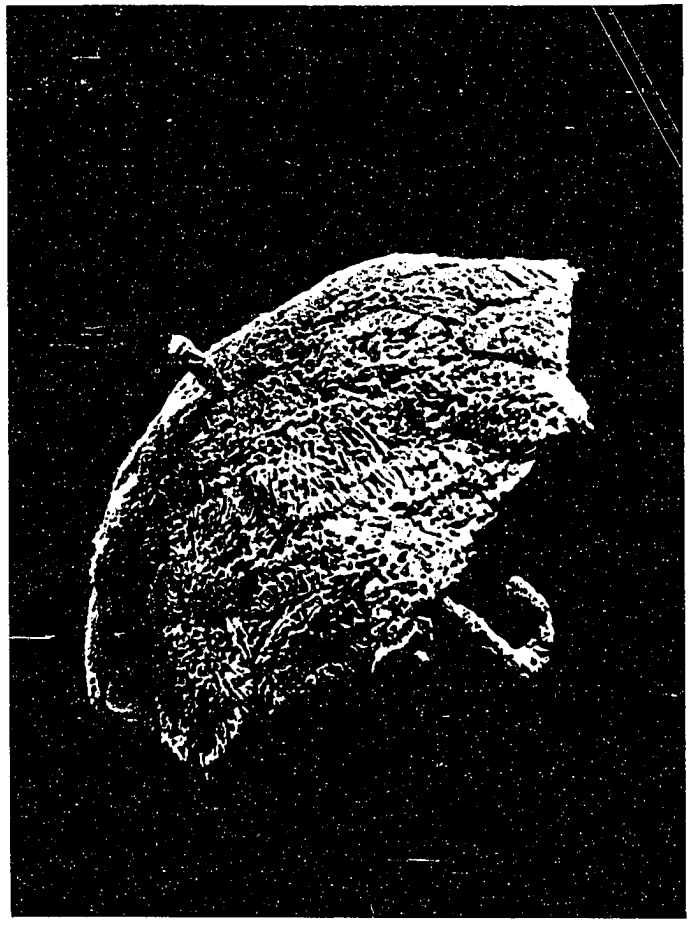


**FIGURE 61**

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FIGURE 62

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FIGURE 63

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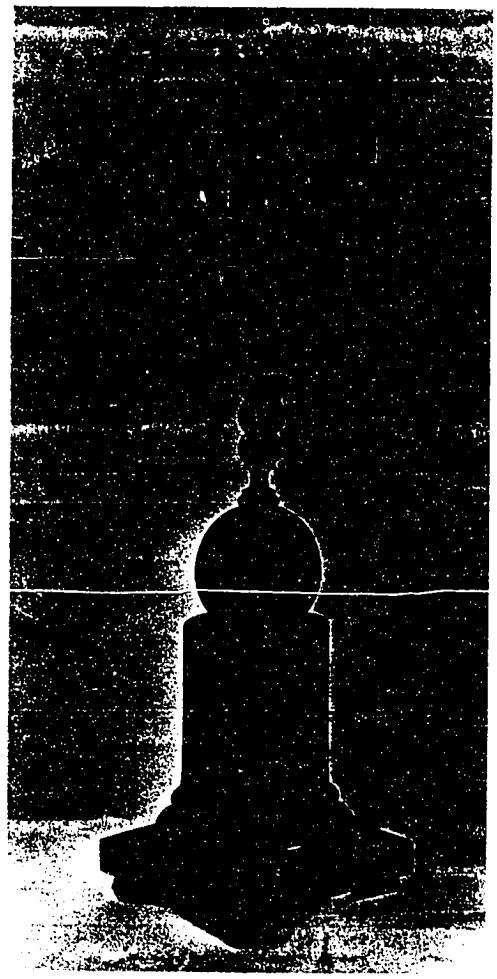


FIGURE 65

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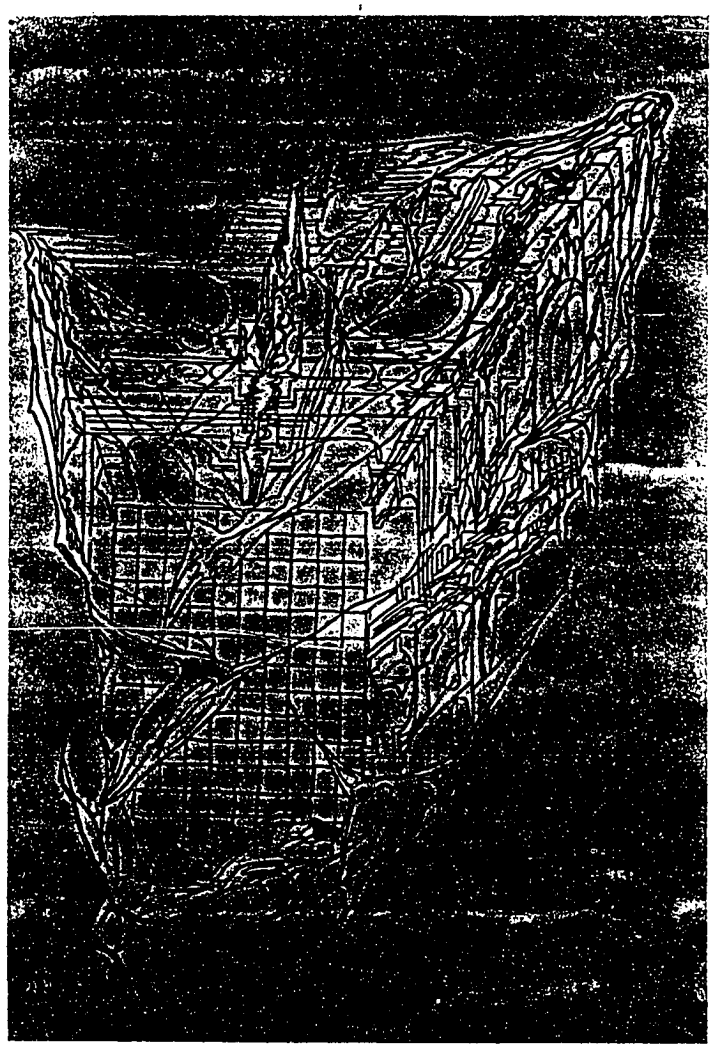


**FIGURE 66**

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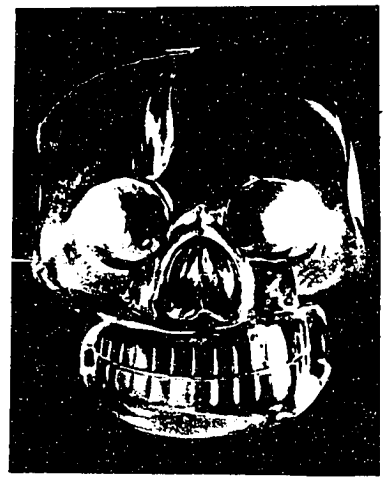




**FIGURE 67**

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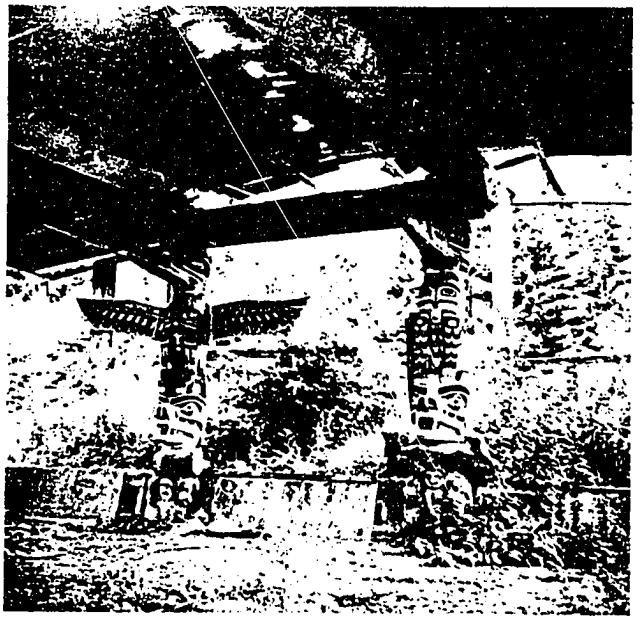


**FIGURE 68**

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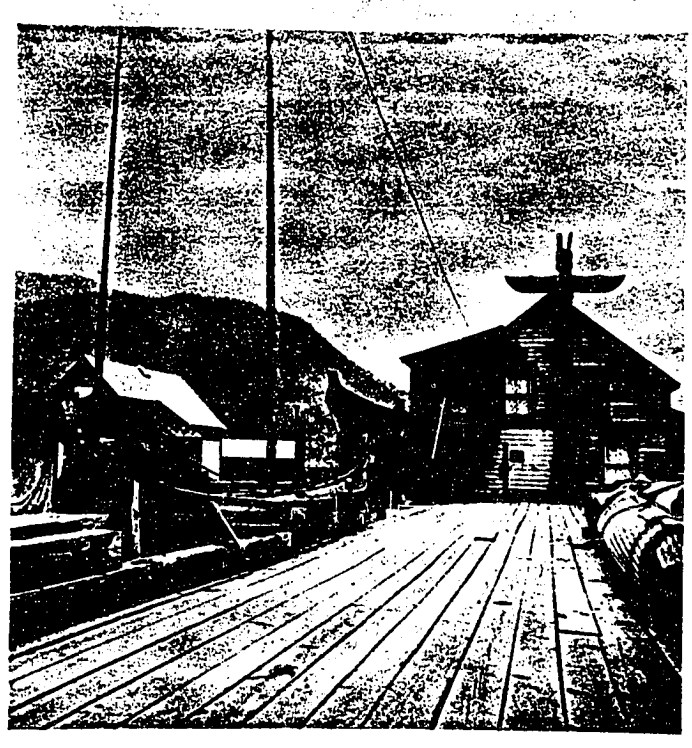
FIGURE 70

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FIGURE 71

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The late Mr. Walter C. Waters' wharf at Wrangell, Alaska, with old war canoes and a totem pole of his collection. • Photo Eva Salzer.

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**FIGURE 72**

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# DYN

## 4 - 5



## AMERINDIAN NUMBER

FIGURE 73

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# TOTEM ART

By

WOLFGANG PAALEN

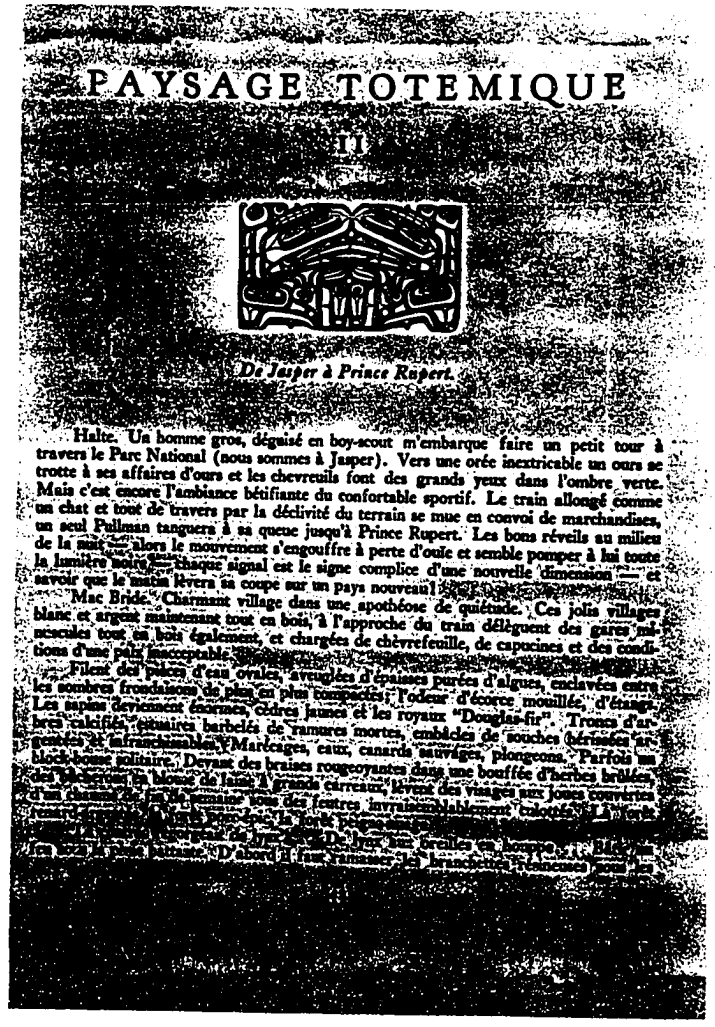


Sun Mask, Kwakiutl • Reproduced through the courtesy of Dr. George G. Heye, Director of The Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York.

ON THE NORTHWEST COAST of the American continent, between a tempestuous sea and a virgin forest, there arose an art with the profile of a bird of prey; masks, heraldic columns, torchlight dances, myths of the killer-whale and the thunder-bird tell us of a great savage life in which man and the elements, man and his dream, beast and man mingled in wars and loves without quarter. An astochthonous and fascinating art if there ever was one, but more ignored by the public than that of central Africa. Its only creations that are more widely known are the monumental memorial columns called totem poles, without doubt its most di-

FIGURE 74

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PAYSAGE TOTEMIQUE

II

*De Jasper à Prince Rupert*

Halte. Un homme gros, déguisé en boy-scout m'embarque faire un petit tour à travers le Parc National (nous sommes à Jasper). Vers une orée inextricable un ours se trotte à ses affaires d'ours et les chevreuils font des grands yeux dans l'ombre verte. Mais c'est encore l'ambiance bétifiante du confortable sportif. Le train allongé comme un chat et tout de travers par la déclivité du terrain se mue en convoi de marchandises, un seul Pullman tanguera à sa queue jusqu'à Prince Rupert. Les bons réveils au milieu de la nuit — alors le mouvement s'engouffre à perte d'ouïe et semble pomper à lui toute la lumière noire — chaque signal est le signe complice d'une nouvelle dimension — et savoir que le matin rêvera sa coupe sur un pays nouveau!

Mac Bride. Charmant village dans une apothéose de quiétude. Ces jolis villages blanc et argent maintenant tout en bois, à l'approche du train délèguent des gares minuscules tout en bois également, et chargées de chèvrefeuille, de capucines et des conditions d'une paix acceptable.

Filent des pièces d'eau ovales, aveuglées d'épaisses purées d'algues, enclavées entre les sombres frondaisons de plus en plus compactes; l'odeur d'écorce mouillée, d'étangs. Les sapins deviennent énormes, cèdres jaunes et les royaux "Douglas-fir". Troncs d'arbres calcifiés, ossuaires barbelés de ramures mortes, embâcles de souches hérissées arcboutées et infranchissables. Marécages, eaux, canards sauvages, plongeons. Parfois un block-house solitaire. Devant des braises rougeoyantes dans une bouffée d'herbes brûlées, des Mackenzie en blouse de laine à grands carreaux, lèvent des visages aux joues couvertes d'un chaume de poils, sensibles aux fentes invraisemblablement [illegible]

D'abord [illegible]

FIGURE 75

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**FIGURE 76**

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FIGURE 77

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FIGURE 78

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**FIGURE 79**

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FIGURE 80

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Plate IV • Wooden mask, Kwakiutl collected by W. Poolon in 1939 on Vancouver Island • Represents Na'apaa The Grizzly Bear Woman of Kwakiutl mythology She was very lazy and would not gather food or work about the home Blackbear Woman the other wife of Wren (the bird) was just the opposite Grizzly Bear Women eventually killed her, but later was killed in turn by Wren by cremation and her ashes were blown away by the sons of Blackbear to become mosquitos and horseflies The design over the eyebrows possibly represents the ears of the bear, the design on the cheeks the mosquito Reference W A Newcombe

Plate V • Abaco Double Raven-mask Kwakiutl • When open measures 131 cm Center left Wooden mask Cowichan Vancouver Island Represents a mythical being living in the waters of lakes These masks originally were to be encircled by swan feathers and sea lion whiskers Very characteristic of Salish-Indian carving Collected by W Poolon at Duncan Vancouver Island, B C Center right Chiseled and painted copper-plate Haida Collected by W. Poolon in Queen Charlotte Islands
Below Wooden rattle, Haida
The Raven-mask is reproduced from water-colors by Miguel Covarrubias.

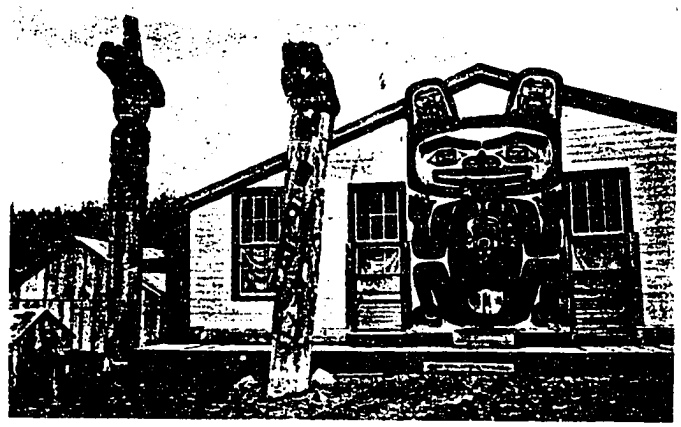
**FIGURE 81**

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FIGURE 82

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Chief Shakes Totem Screen. • From a photo by Mrs. Ferry, 1889 (shown outside of a new house, see below).

Plate III • Carved and painted Screen board, 15 feet high, of the ancient community house of the Chief Shakes family. • Perhaps the finest and oldest of the five or six existing pieces of this kind. Lieut. George T. Emmons, greatest authority on Alaskan Indian culture, wrote about this piece in a letter to W. Poulsen, dated Victoria, B. C., October 16th, 1940, "you are fortunate in getting this piece, as such carved and painted screens were only to be found in half a dozen of the chief's houses in South Eastern Alaska. This one represents possibly the most important clan-crest of the Shakes family - the Brown Bear. Shakes was the hereditary chief of the principal family of the Wolf-Phratry at Wrangell. They originated in the interior of Alaska . . . later settled seven leagues south of Wrangell and after the Russians came south from Sitka and built a fort at Wrangell, the Shakes tribes founded the seven southern villages and settled at Wrangell (about 1840) . . . The carved posts in the house are said to have been brought from the older house, as they must be upwards of 100 years old. . . Your painting represents the principal crest of the clan and mythically goes back to the flood when two Brown Bears climbed a mountain on the Skidoo river to escape the flood. They killed one of the bears later and took the head and skin and were both in festivals as the family-crest the most valued of all others. . . Shakes had many painted screens or totemic emblems, Bear, Dogfish and the house was named Katcha (Dogfish) house and the interior posts carved to represent the Dogfish. . . The old house has been pulled down and a modern summer has been put up in its place and a figure copied from your screen placed in front (instead of inside where the screen actually was). Collection Wolfgang Poulsen. Color plate from a watercolor by Miguel Covarrubias.

16

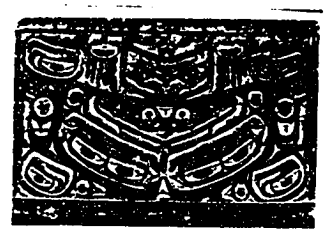
**FIGURE 83**

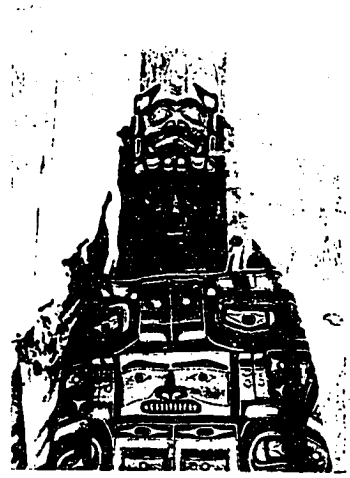
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FIGURE 84

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Chief Tlingit wearing a "Chilcat" blanket . In order to show the design, he wears it on his chest instead of his back. From an old photo, courtesy of Mr. Axel Rentsmann, Wrangell, Alaska.

Chilcat blanket. Totemic design of the killer-whale. Old specimen 164 cm. wide . Collected by W. Pooles in the region of the Skeena River, B. C.

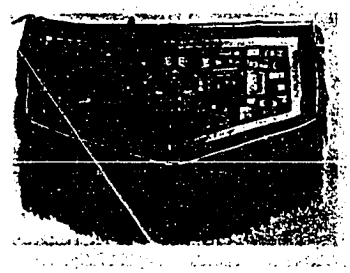


FIGURE 85

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**FIGURE 86**

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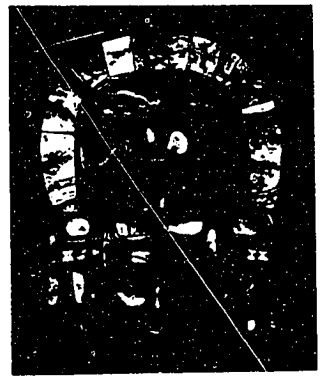


Skidegate, an old village of the Haida Indians, Queen Charlotte Islands, B. C. • Reproduced through the courtesy of the National Museum of Canada, from a photo by G. M. Dawson, 1878.

Skidegate in 1939 • Photo Eva Saloz.

**FIGURE 87**

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Headdress "Ameleid" representing the myth of the Raven and the Whale • Wood and abalone-shell, mentioned in Franz Boas' "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians." Washington 1897, on page 630, as "beautifully carved headdress" and reproduced ibid as it was worn by a Lee-lasa dancer (see above on the right) Collected by W Pasion at Vancouver Island • Photo Manuel Alvarez Bravo



Lee-lasa dancer • Reproduced after Plate 47 of Franz Boas' "Kwakiutl Indians"

Headdresses called "Ameleid" • Fig above on the right show how these headdresses were worn The piece in the center below Miguel Covarrubias Collection



FIGURE 88

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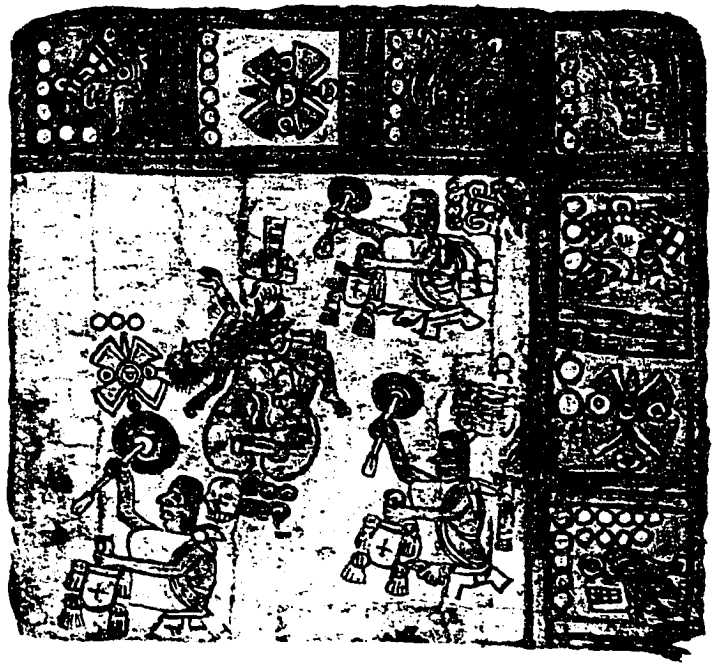


**FIGURE 89**

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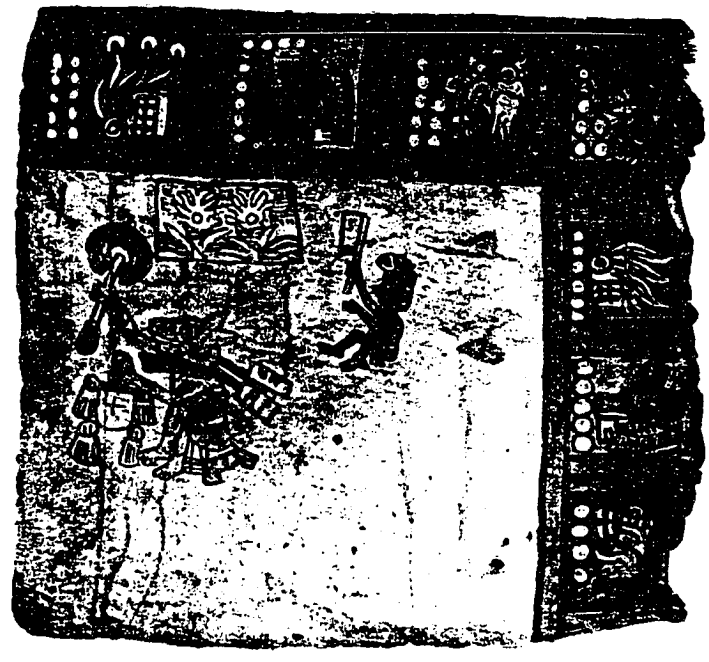


FIGURE 90

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## SEALS OF THE ANCIENT MEXICANS

THE SEALS OR BLOCS were used to make color impressions on the human body, on paper, on cloth, etc., and also on clay as ornamentation of pottery. They are to be found, although rarely, among the remains of primitive cultures, and reappear among the Mayas of the New Empire, in Monte Alban, and in Teotihuacan in the IV epoch. Their use almost disappeared after the Conquest.

They come principally from the East and the South of the United States, from the high plateaus and the Gulf and Pacific watersheds of Mexico and from the Peninsula of Yucatan, from Central America and Columbia, from the Antilles and the Caribbean Islands. They represent stylizations of human figures, animals, plants, and patterns.

JORGE ENCISO

FIGURE 91

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Picture of manners and morals.

"Nini va por leña y vuelve trasquilada."



# Gabriel Vicente Gahona

## MEXICAN ARTIST OF THE XIX CENTURY

*By*

FRANCISCO DIAZ DE LEON

ONLY A FEW YEARS had passed since the illustrious John Lloyd Stephens, explorer of the Mayan ruins, and his companions, the draftsman Catherwood and Dr. Cabot had sojourned in the city of Merida, where they had astonished the inhabitants with their machine for making daguerreotypes and their extraordinary operations for straightening out cross-eyes – when another event disturbed the tranquility of provincial life. This time it was a local satirical newspaper with the picturesque name of *Don Bullebulle* (Mr. Jumping-Jack), which appeared in the year 1857 published by José Maria Garcia Morales and a choice number of collaborators, among whom were Cisneros, Carrillo Suaste, Barbachano and Gabriel Vicente Gahona, this last man a very intelligent artist who made his debut in the peninsula as wood-engraver on the occasion of his return from Italy.

On the brightly colored jacket of the first number, which was bound in the style of the Second Empire, one read the following: "D. Bullebulle. Periodical of burlesque and extravaganza, edited by a society of rioters and revolters." On another page of the same was this

INVITATION

Without anyone hiding
Now erasing himself from the account,
Let all go to the press
Where is Bullebulle.

For he can cure boredom
Always amiable and diligent,
Of course, if the patient
Forks out ONE REAL AND A HALF.

The paper caused the scandal that one might have expected among the timorous and among the politicians, because they considered themselves hurt by the too lively allusions of the writers and the wood-engraver; on the other hand the public enjoyed its unbridled and irrepressible pages as a natural form of recreation. What particularly contributed to the growing success



**FIGURE 92**

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Schoolgirl of Tehuantepec • Photo Rosa Rolanda.

66

FIGURE 93

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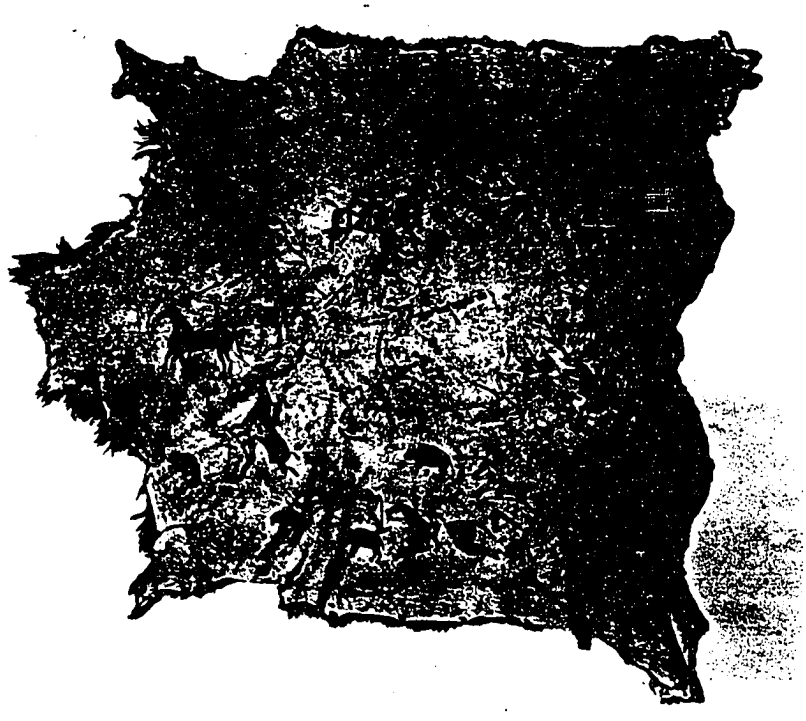


FIGURE 94

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Plates IX, X • Archaic figurines from Tlatilco • Water-color and drawings by Miguel Covarrubias.

FIGURE 95

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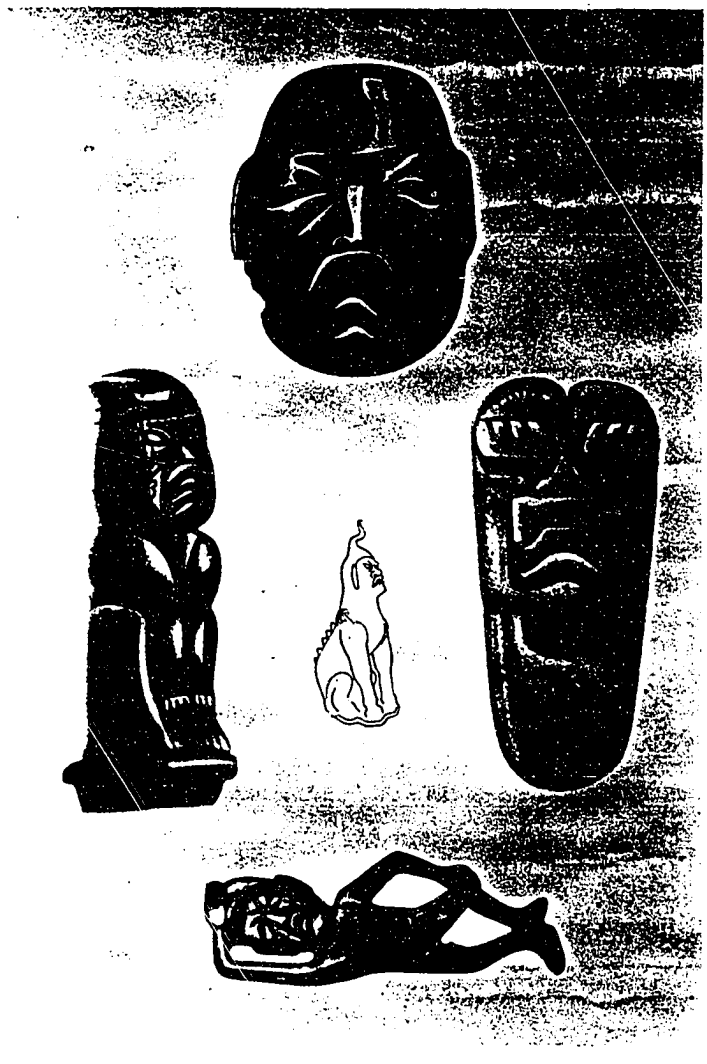


FIGURE 96

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FIGURE 97

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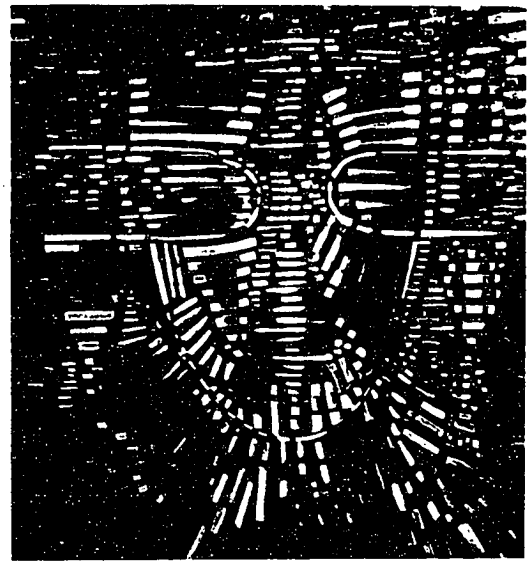
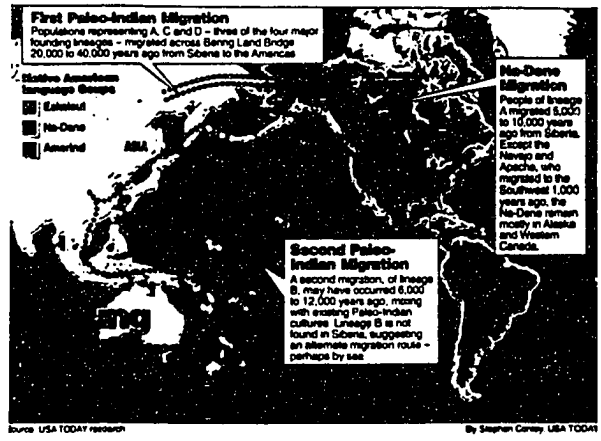


FIGURE 98

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# Genetic detectives trace the origin of the first Americans

FIGURE 99

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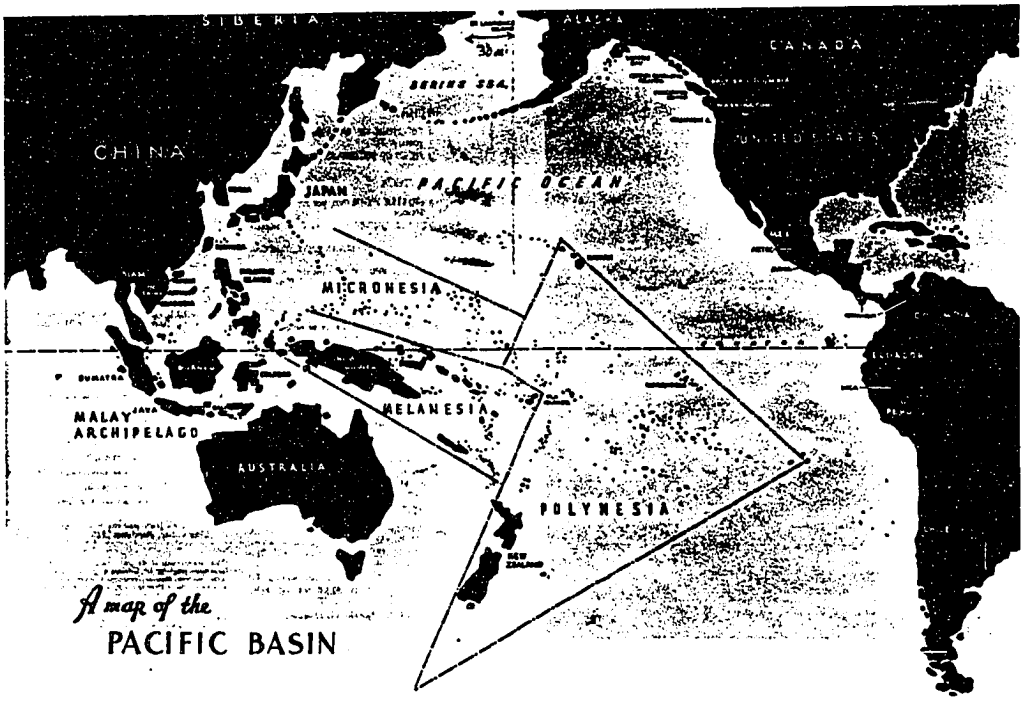



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**FIGURE 101**

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FIGURE 102

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FIGURE 103

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Amphitheatre de Kenko-Cuzco, Peru • Photo Martin Chambi.

# CORICANCHA

## The Golden Quarter of the City

*By* CESAR MORO

SHEETS OF WATER dancing down on the ashes of the empire. At each turn the luminous immensity in its powerful flight arresting the impetus of the cataracts of mountains. Revelation, marvelous country where roll demoniac pebbles, fragments of steles carved in the phosphorescent times when cultures flourished from the nearby shores of the ocean to the limits of eternal ice.

Ocean overflowing with history where swims the debris of a fabulous and glittering past measurable by the cannibalistic rage of the Conquest that devoured stones, reduced to money the gold and the silver, the spinal column of the great dream of pre-Columbian civilizations in Peru.

The gold spreads out like the rays of the melting sun: each temple, each royal palace, and there are many in the enormous territory, dazzles one with gold, with precious stones. The artificial gardens peopled with metallic beasts, other temples, other palaces pale in comparison with the one that ornaments a summer residence of the Incas on the island of Puná. They made blankets of gold, pieces of imitation wood out of gold. When the Inca came out of his palace his throne, Tiana, was a block of gold mounted on a vast plank of gold carried by twenty-five men reserved as throne-carriers. At the birth of his heir, Huaincava Inca had a cable of gold made so long and so heavy that two hundred men of the nobility, two hundred "orejones" could hardly lift it. In memory of this mad jewel the prince was later named Huasca, which means cable. He was to reign under the name of Huasca Inca.

During the last years before the downfall one saw circling about the immense terraces of the palace a smoke-colored shadow among the hot rust reflections, veined with aerial blood absorbing into its night the flames of the Empire. It was the last nocturnal message



**FIGURE 104**

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Panoramic view of Machupicchu.
Photo Martin Chenkin.

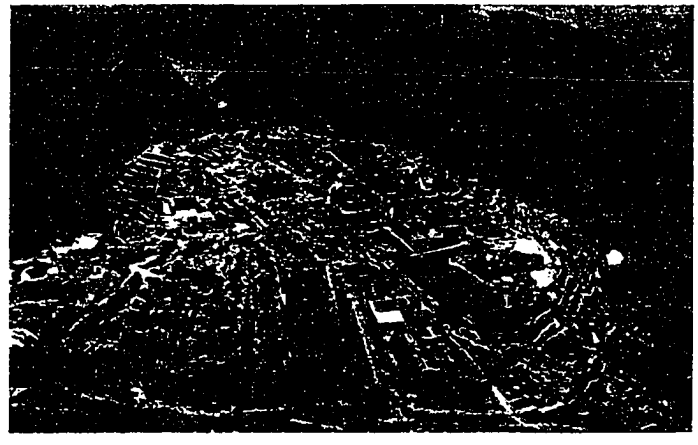


**FIGURE 105**

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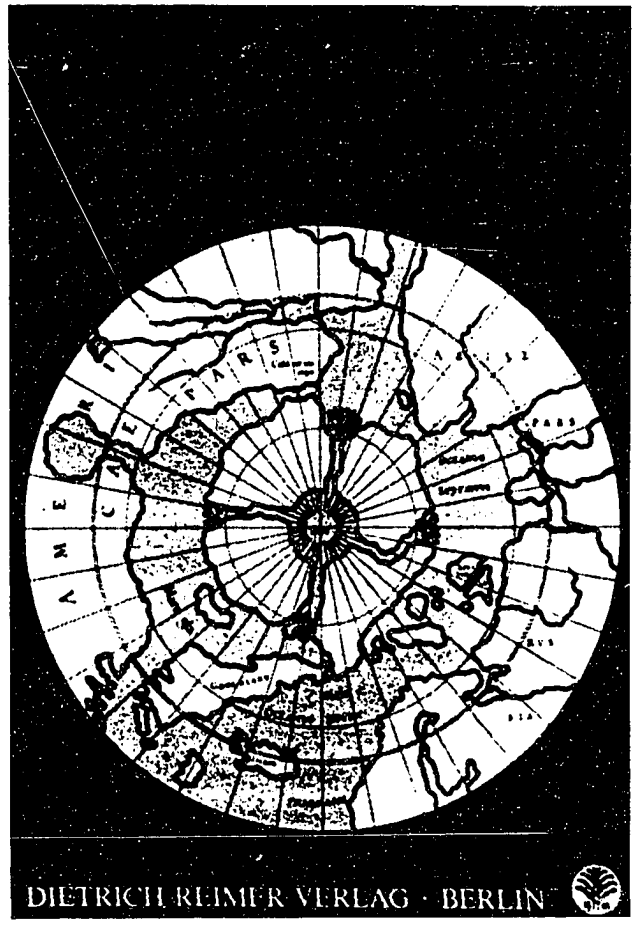



FIGURE 106

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# SOUVENIR DU MEXIQUE

Terre rouge, terre vierge tout imprégnée du plus généreux sang, terre où la vie de l'homme est sans prix, toujours prête comme l'agave à perte de vue qui l'exprime à se consumer dans une fleur de désir et de danger! Du moins reste-t-il au monde un pays où le vent de la libération n'est pas tombé. Ce vent en 1810, en 1910 irrésistiblement a grondé de la voix de toutes les orgues vertes qui s'élancent là-bas sous le ciel d'orage: un des premiers fantasmes du Mexique est fait d'un de ces cactus géants du type candélabre de derrière lequel surgit, les yeux en feu, un homme tenant un fusil. Il n'y a pas à discuter cette image romantique: des siècles d'oppression et de folle misère lui ont conféré à deux reprises une éclatante réalité et, cette réalité, rien ne peut faire qu'elle ne demeure latente, que ne persiste à la couver l'apparent sommeil des étendues désertiques. L'homme armé est toujours là, dans ses loques splendides, comme il peut seul se relever soudainement de l'inconscience et du malheur. Des prochains embroussaillements de la route il se détachera à nouveau, porté par une force inconnue il ira au devant des autres, pour la première fois il se reconnaîtra en eux. Qu'on ne s'arrête pas à ce qu'au bout de telles aventures entraîne apparemment de rigide la formation de toute hiérarchie militaire: peut se parer du titre de général au Mexique quiconque a été ou est encore capable de mouvoir, de sa propre initiative, un certain nombre d'hommes pris individuellement dans les campagnes. Les « généraux » dont je parle, formés pour la plupart à la rude école d'Emiliano Zapata, et dont quelques-uns tiennent le pouvoir, continuent eux-mêmes, il faut le dire, à participer de cette admi-



FIGURE 107

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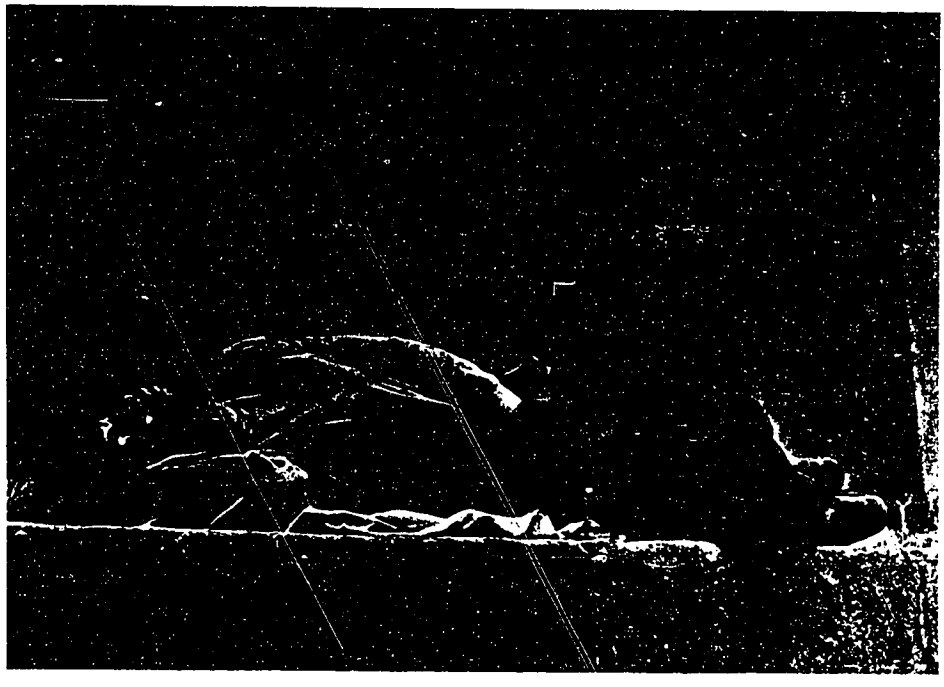


FIGURE 108

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FIGURE 109

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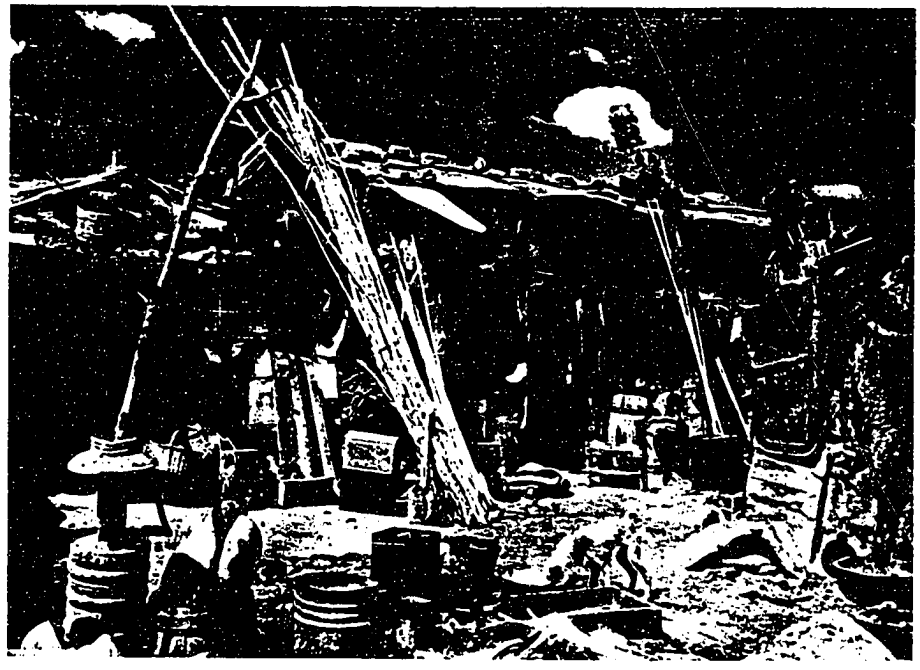


FIGURE 110

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FIGURE 111

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**FIGURE 112**

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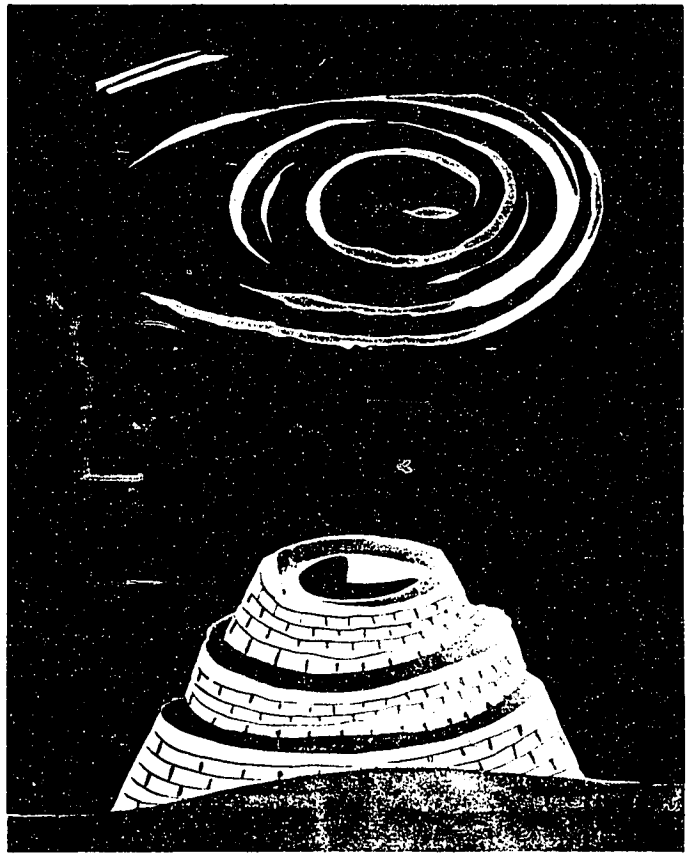


FIGURE 113

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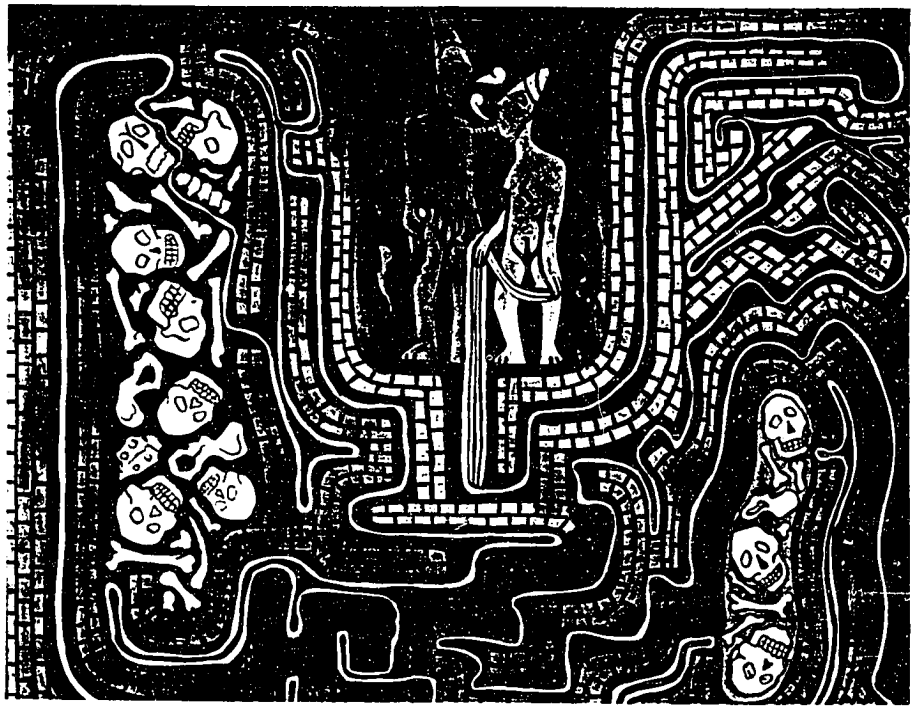
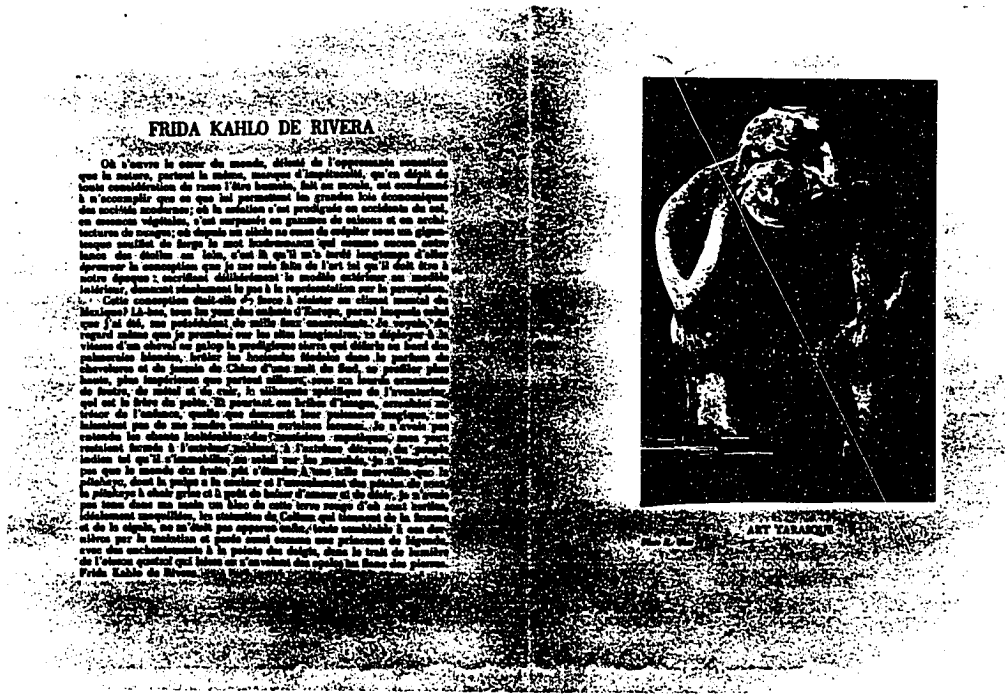


FIGURE 114

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FRIDA KAHLO DE RIVERA

FIGURE 115

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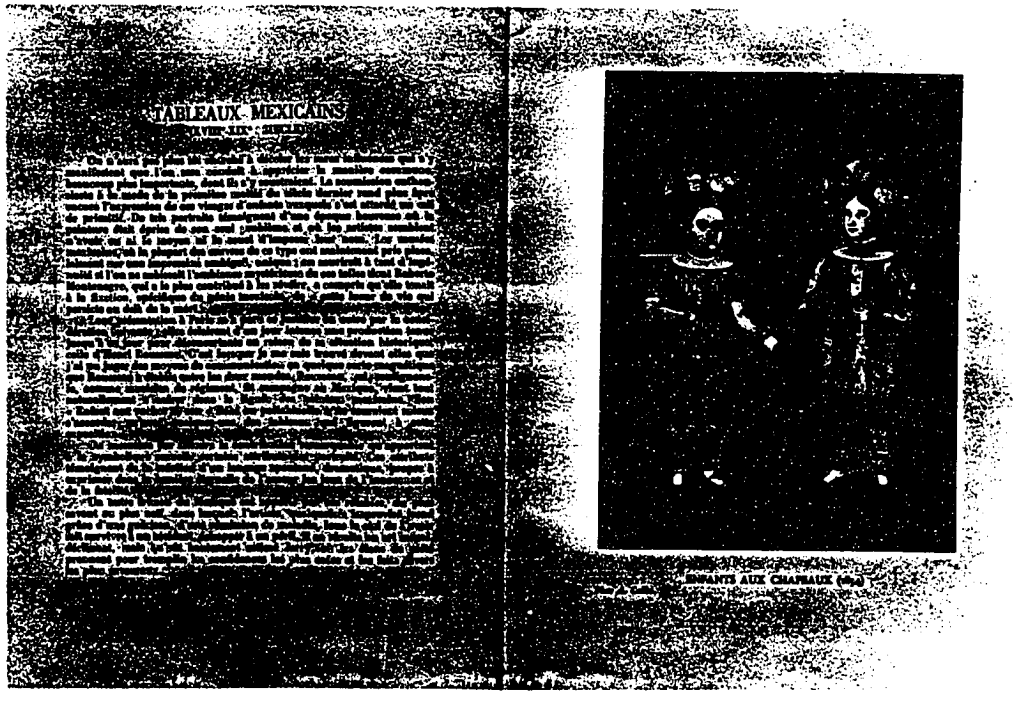



FIGURE 116

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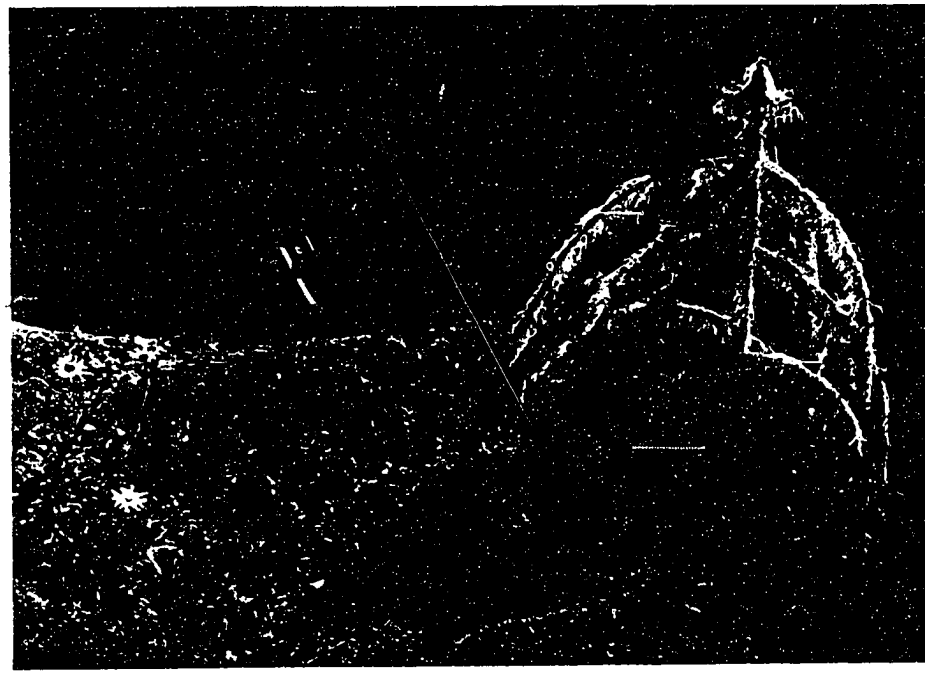


FIGURE 117

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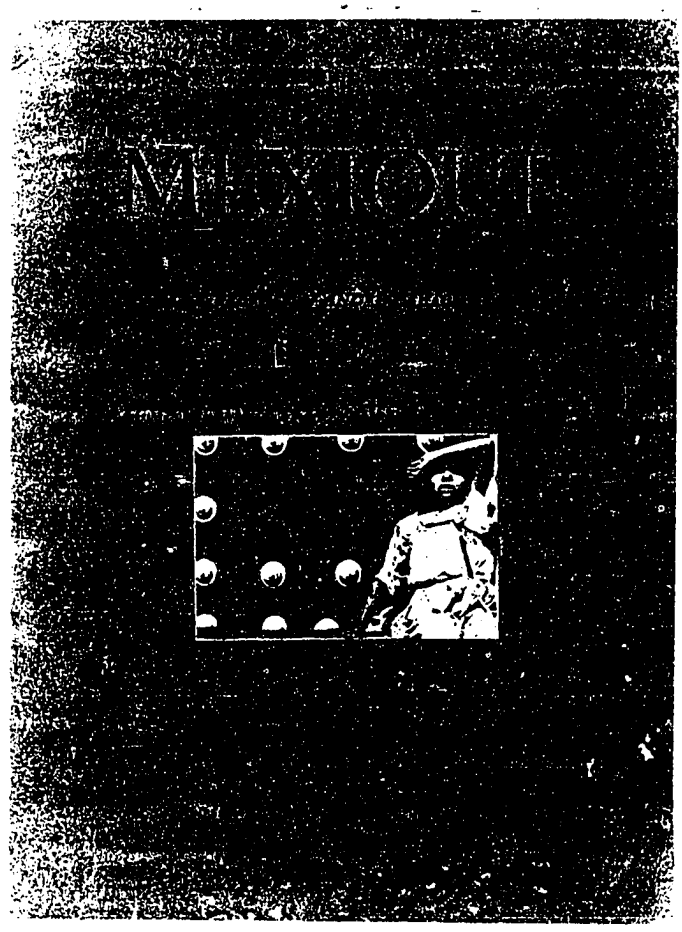


FIGURE 118

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*La "aparición" de la Gran Esfinge de la Noch*
*en la Exposición Surrealista.*

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**FIGURE 120**

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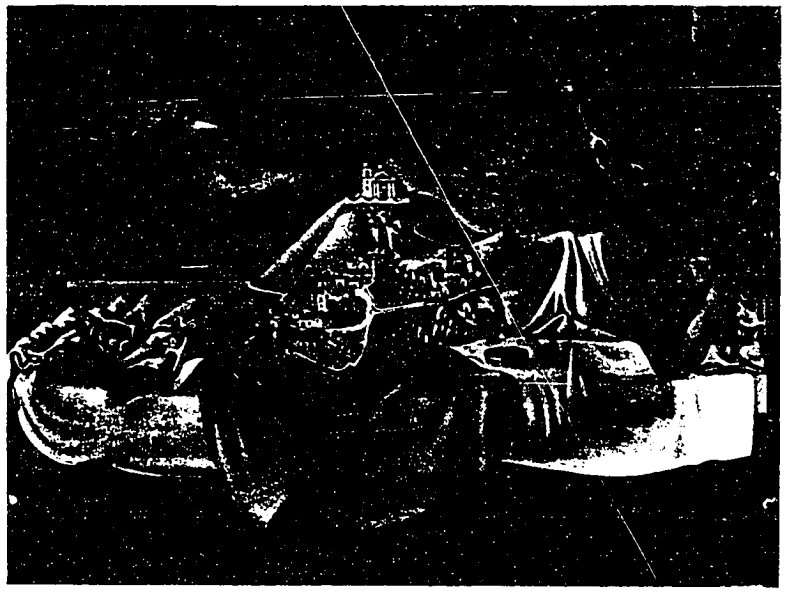


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**FIGURE 122**

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FIGURE 123

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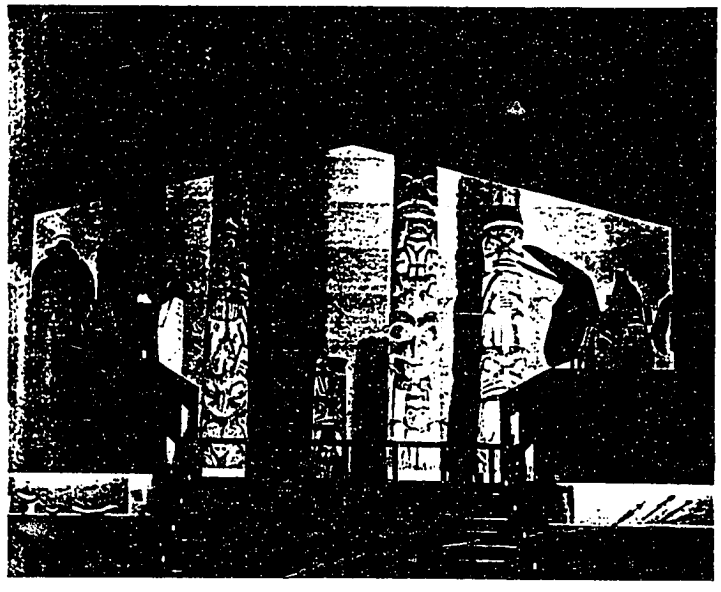


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FIGURE 128

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FIGURE 130

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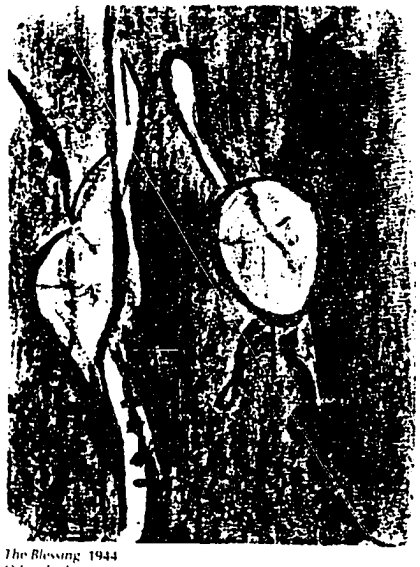
FIGURE 131

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FIGURE 132

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*The Blessing* 1944
Oil and oil crayon on paper, 25½ x 19 inches.
Estate of the artist



*Gea* 1945.
Oil and oil crayon on paper, 28 x 22 inches.
Collection Annalee Newman, New York

**FIGURE 133**

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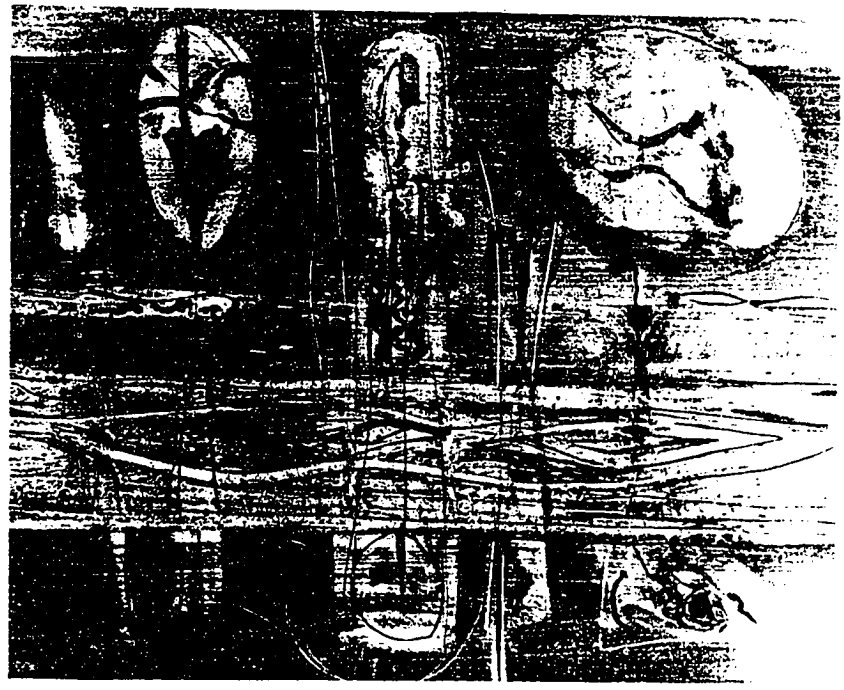


FIGURE 134

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FIGURE 135

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FIGURE 136

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FIGURE 137

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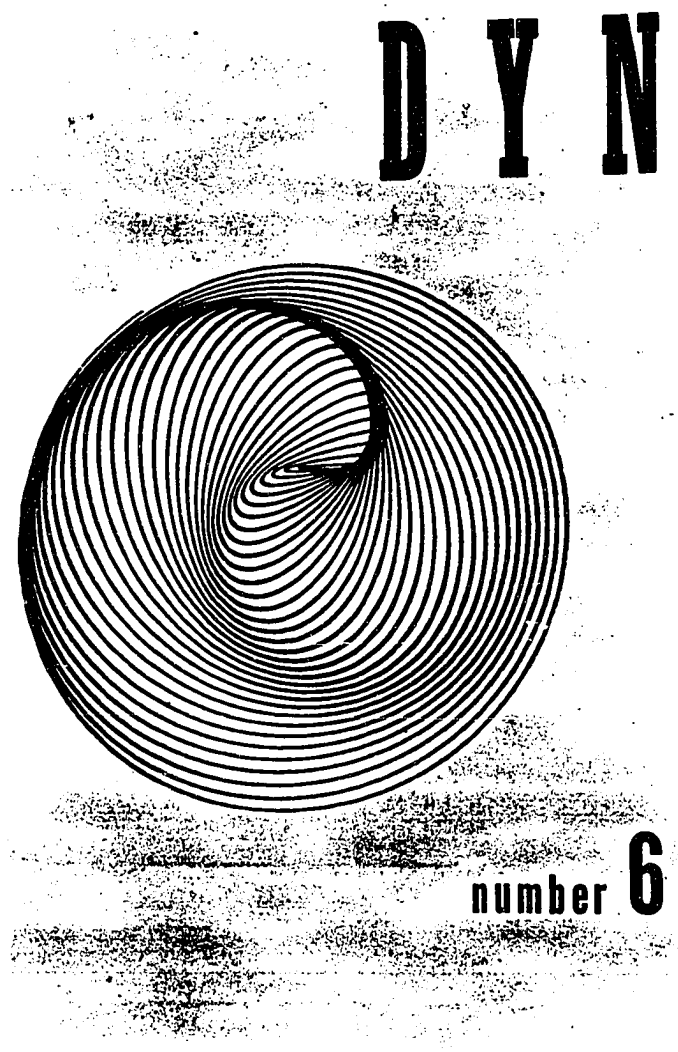



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**FIGURE 139**

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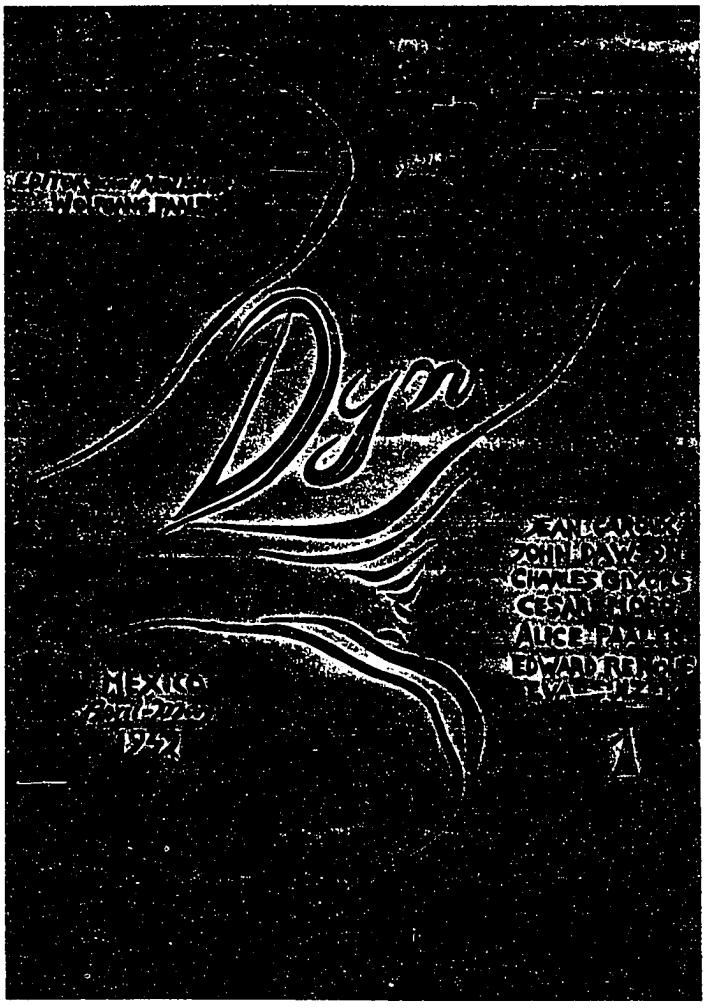



**FIGURE 140**

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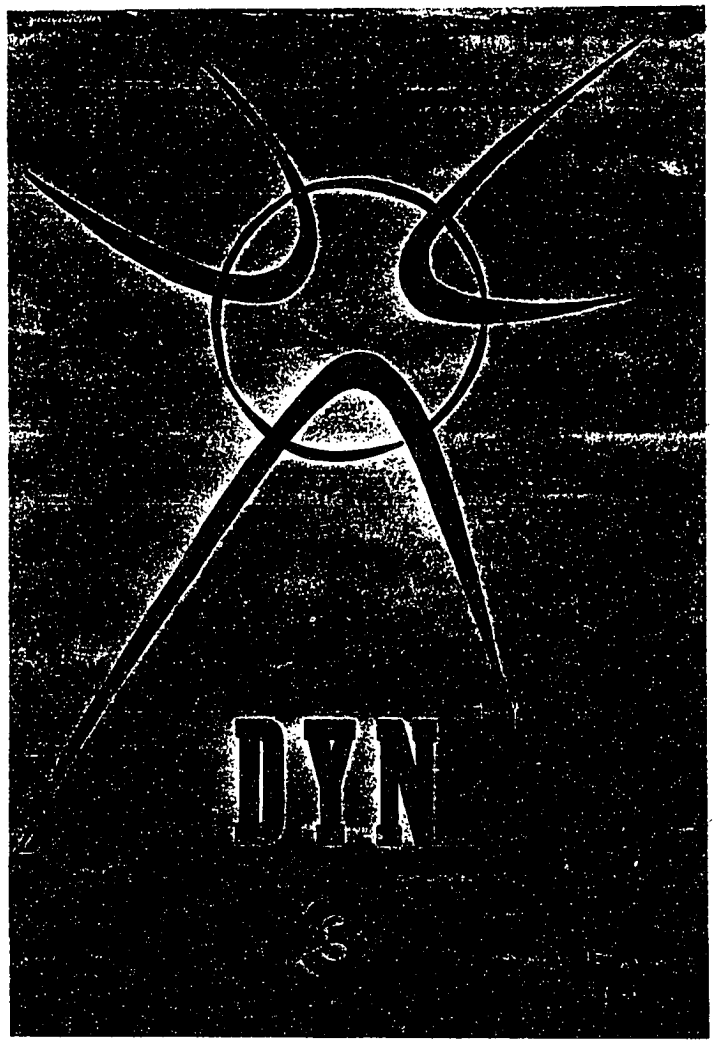



FIGURE 141

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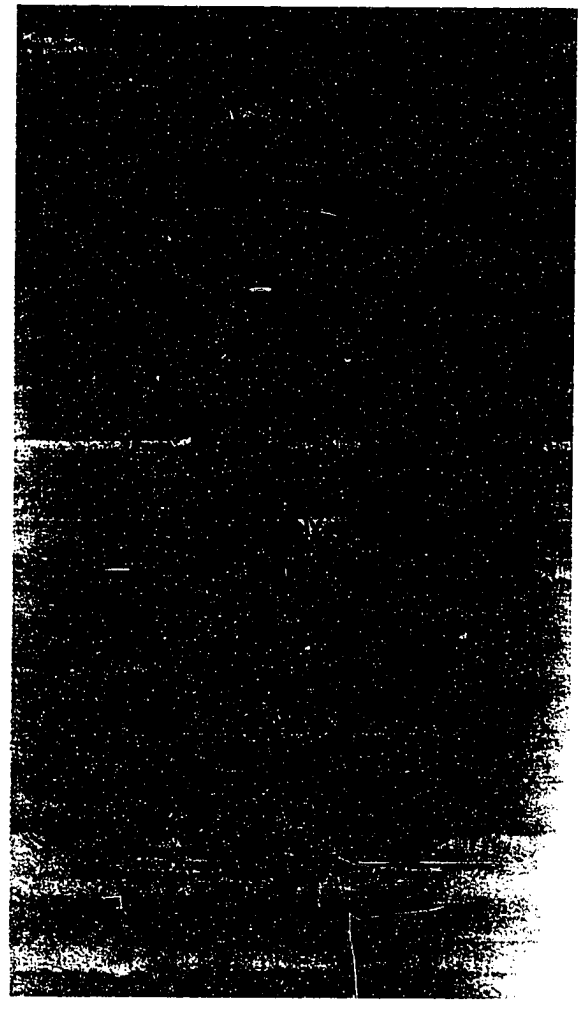


FIGURE 142

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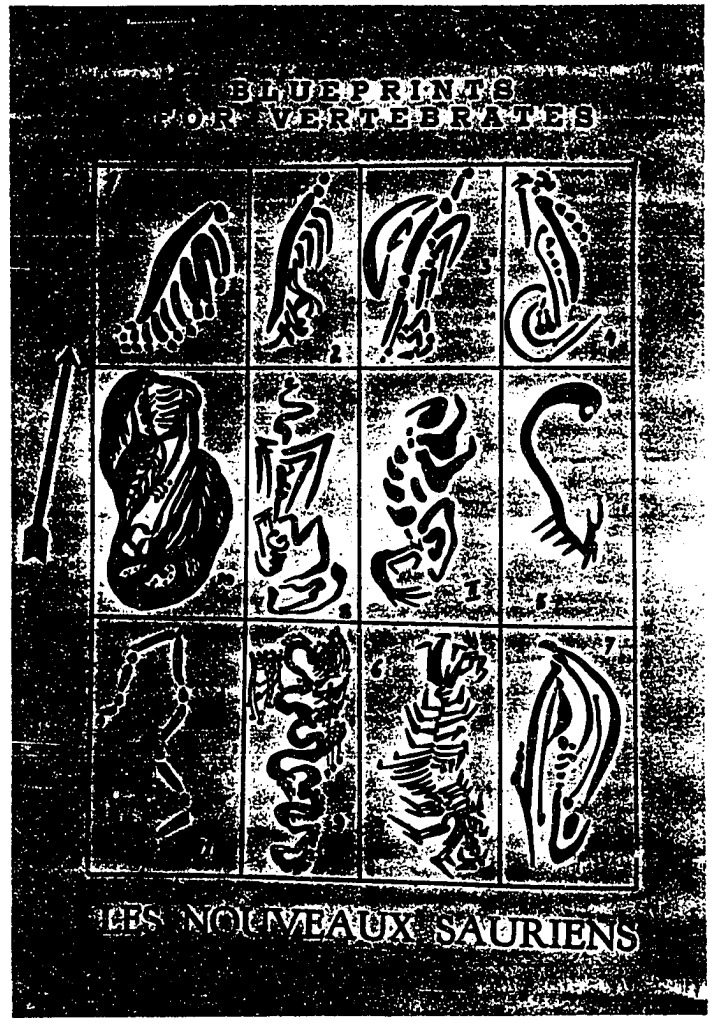



FIGURE 143

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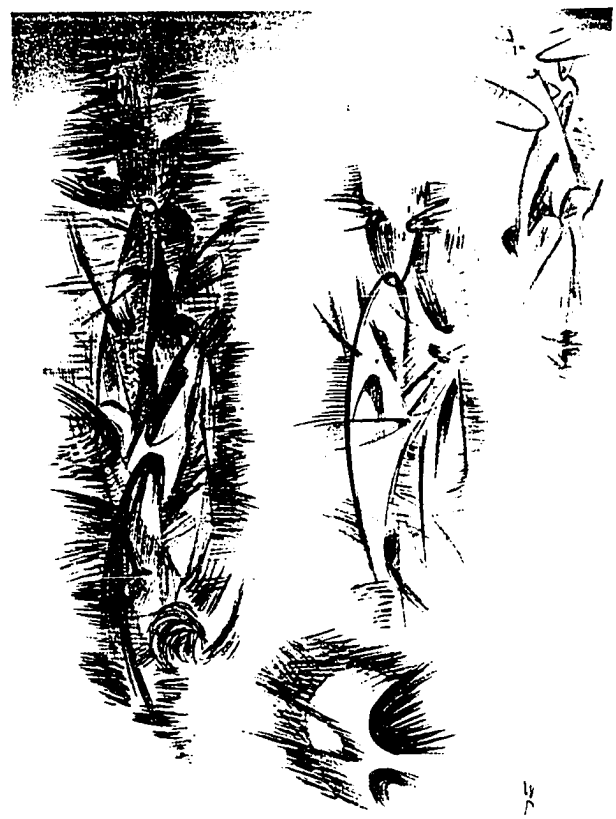


**FIGURE 144**

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## SEEING AND SHOWING

Nature has never taught anyone either to paint or to write; nature is of no aid in learning *how to show*, but it is only in nature that we can *see* what to show.

■

Painting serves above all to show us that which we cannot see in nature.

■

When there is no longer any agreement on that which ought to be shown, the artist, at any price, must attempt to see: "être voyant, se faire voyant".

■

Not to paint *after* nature, but to work according to its great rhythms; not to follow its fortuitous aspects, but to grasp its universal procedures.

■

I treat nature not as master but as mistress.

■

The invention of nature permitted the invention of the laws of nature (but not of those of roulette).

■

Not to forget that nature was invented by Thales, father of occidental thought, in the year 501 B. C., toward the end of a sunny afternoon.

■

27

FIGURE 145

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POEME-TABLEAU



*Le sourire de la mort*
*couché sur le chemin*
*inattendu comme le visage du retour*

Alice Paalen

**FIGURE 146**

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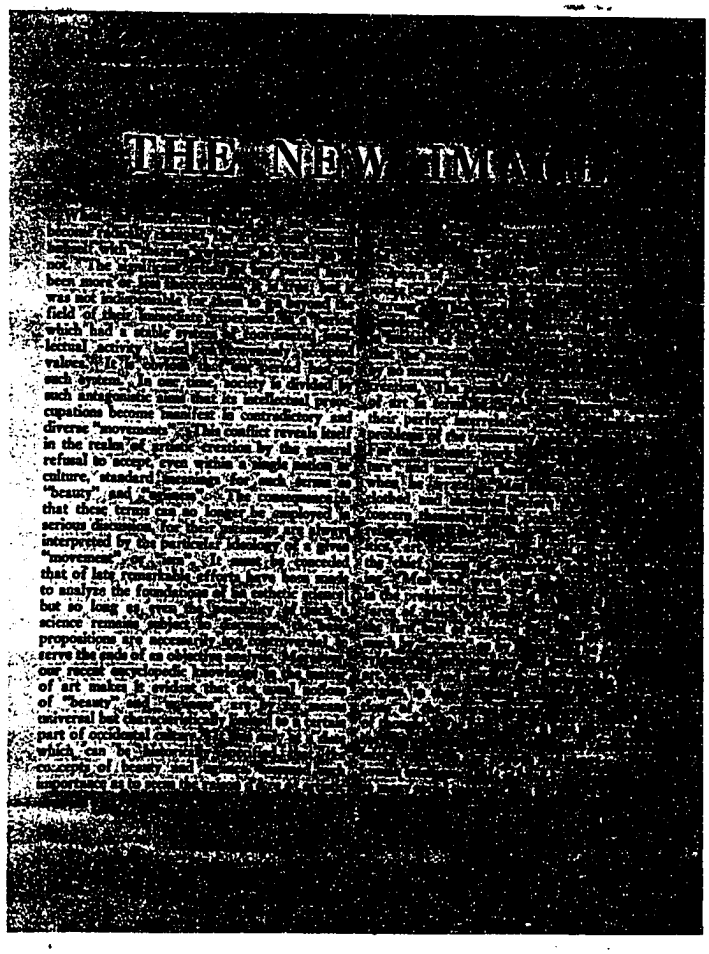


FIGURE 147

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Robert Motherwell. The Room. Gouache, 1944.

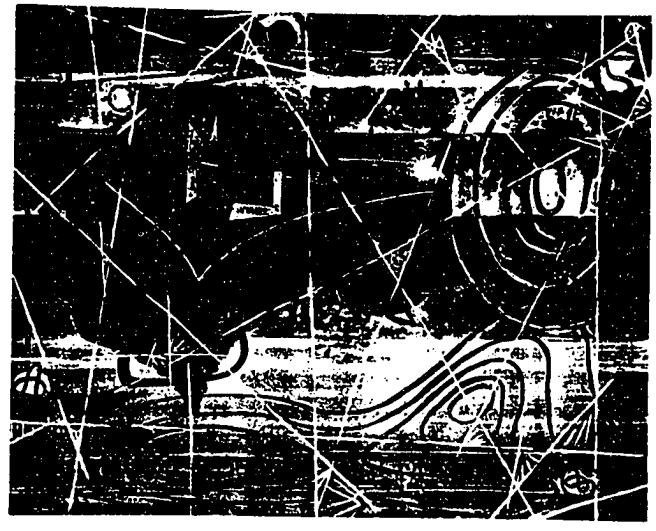
**FIGURE 148**

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FIGURE 149

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ONSLOW FORD

*Si l'on est sensible aux rêves que le soleil rend plus saisissants, il est possible de voir, au delà du rationnel, des entités indépendantes des illusions qui nous assaillent.*

*Les théories dogmatiques sont opaques, ne laissent place à aucune agitation et se dévorent mutuellement jusqu'à ce que tout soit transparent et flottant, contrôlé par des forces dont l'action se déroule dans un domaine non perceptible à nos cinq sens. On peut constater que la matière n'est que l'ombre informe de la réalité.*

*GORDON ONSLOW-FORD.*

**FIGURE 150**

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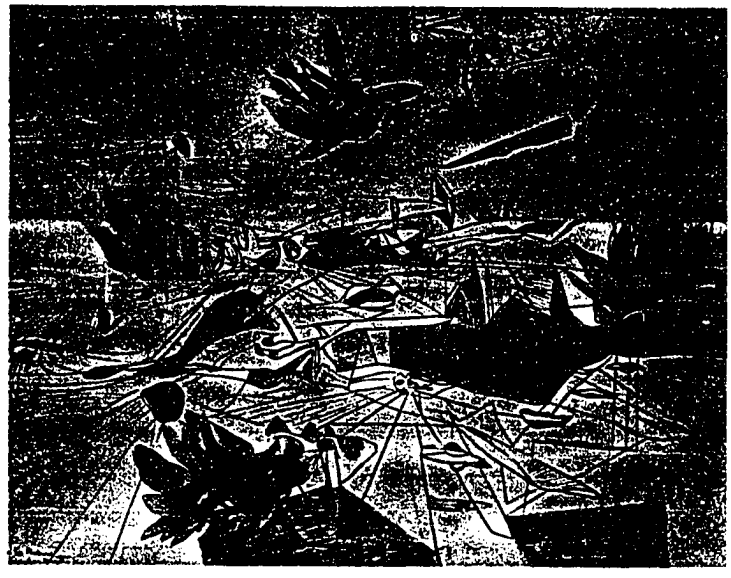


**FIGURE 151**

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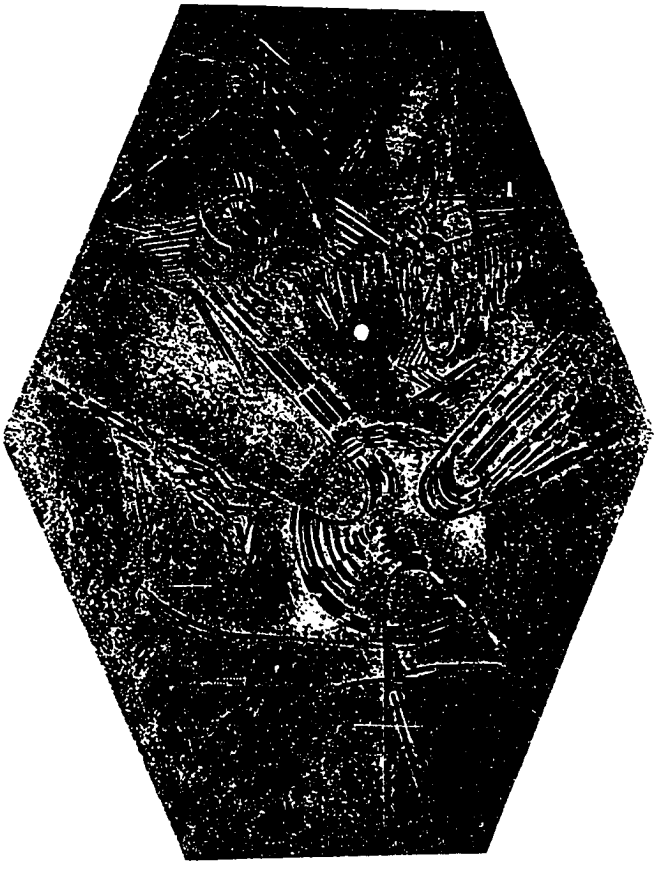


**FIGURE 152**

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FIGURE 153

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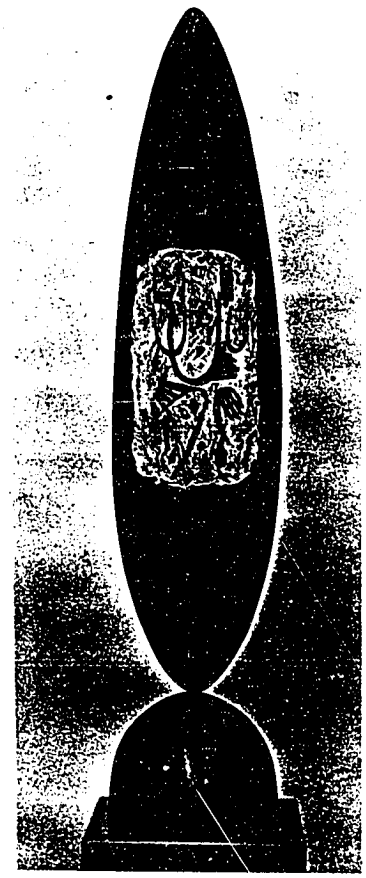


FIGURE 154

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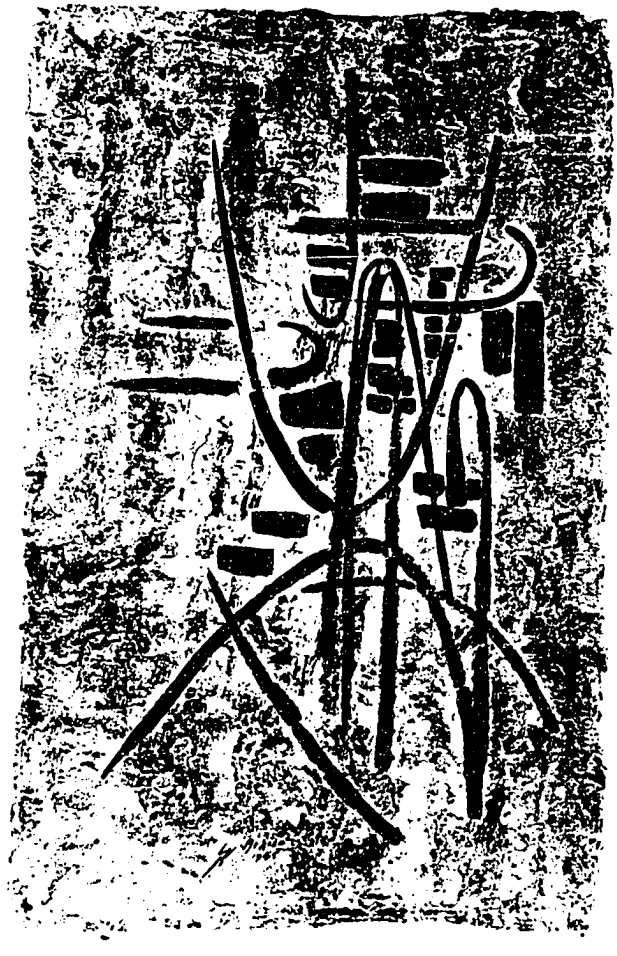


FIGURE 155

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**FIGURE 159**

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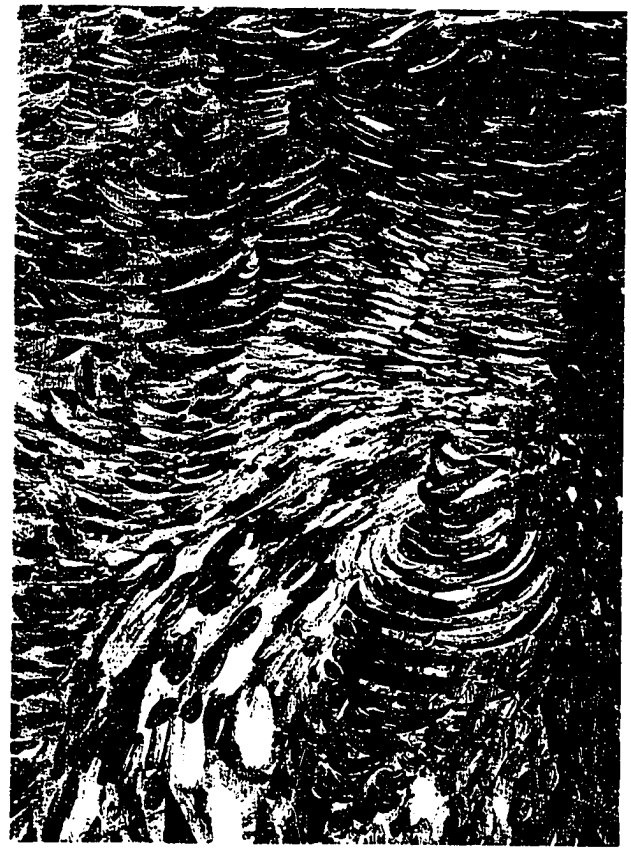


FIGURE 160

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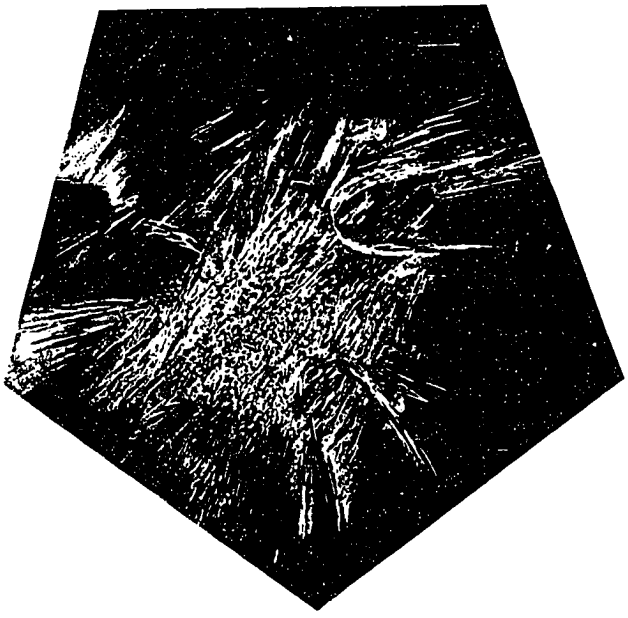


FIGURE 161

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FIGURE 164

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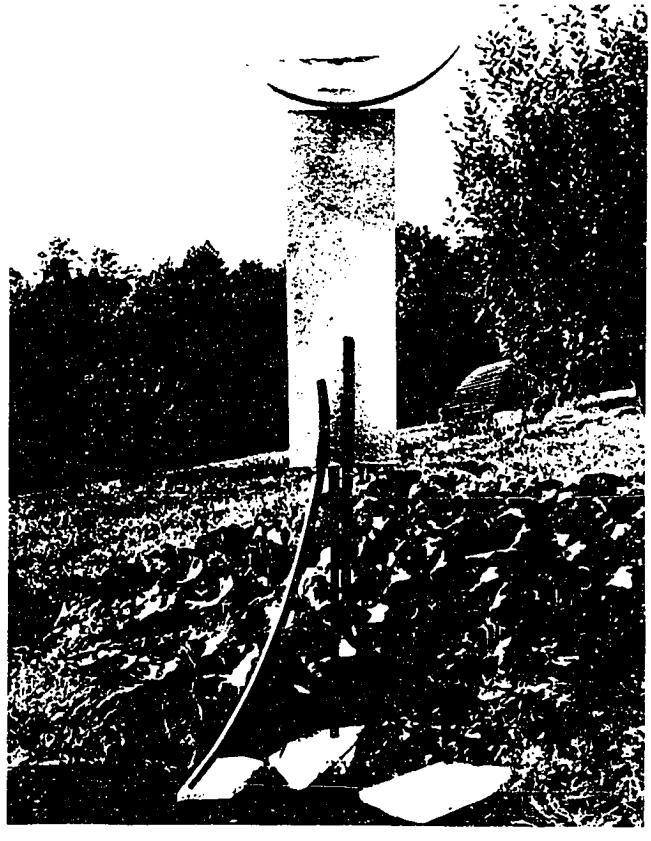


FIGURE 165

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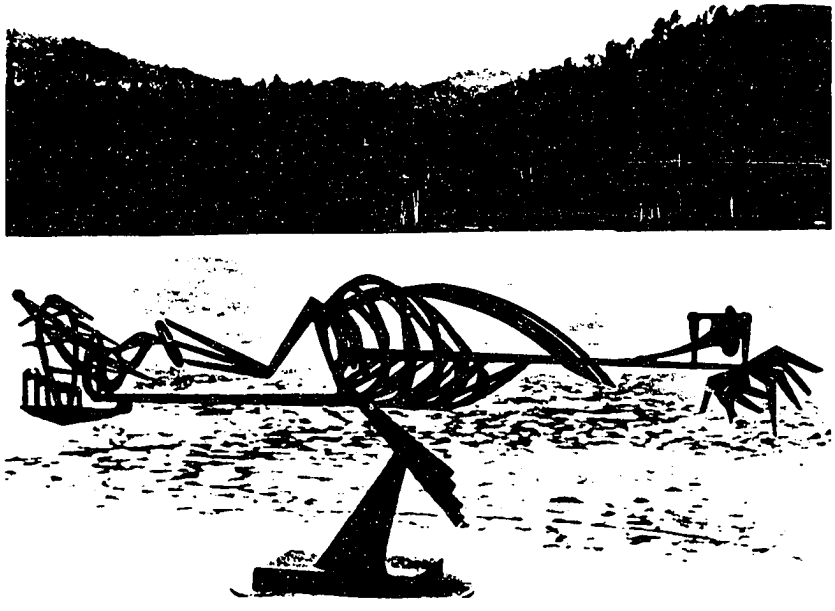


FIGURE 166

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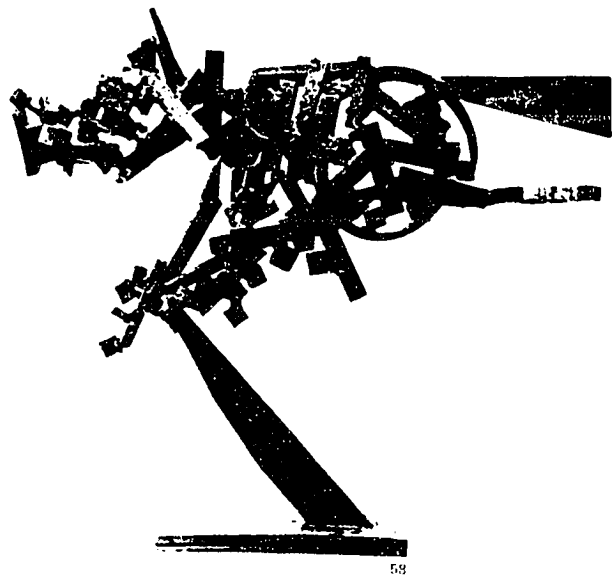


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FIGURE 172

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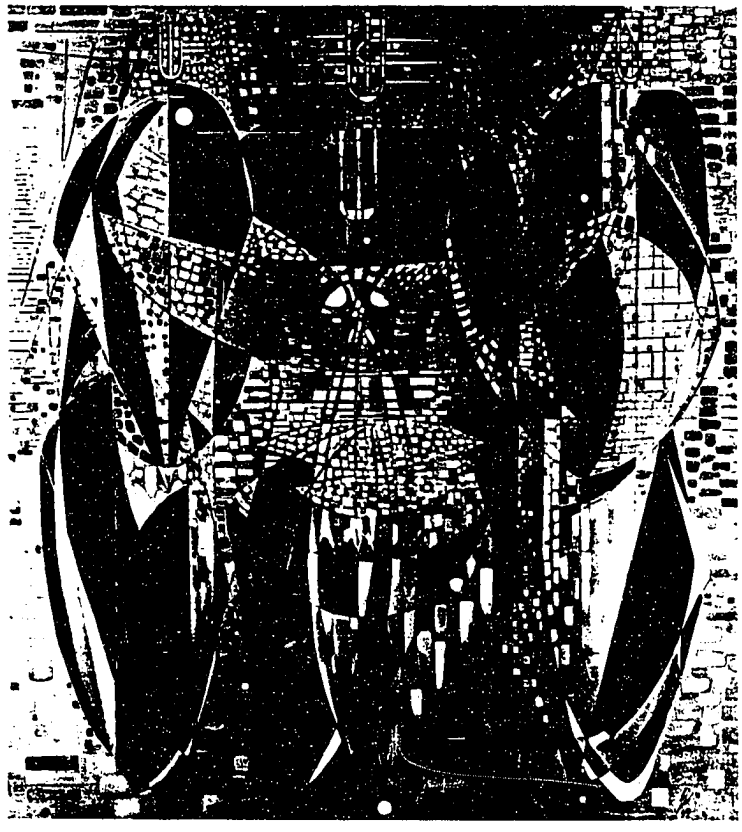


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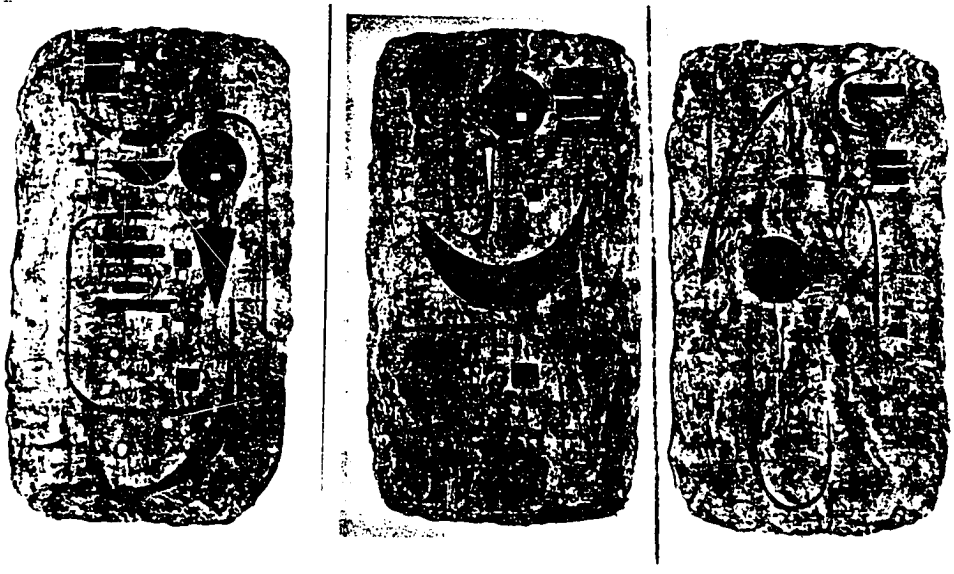


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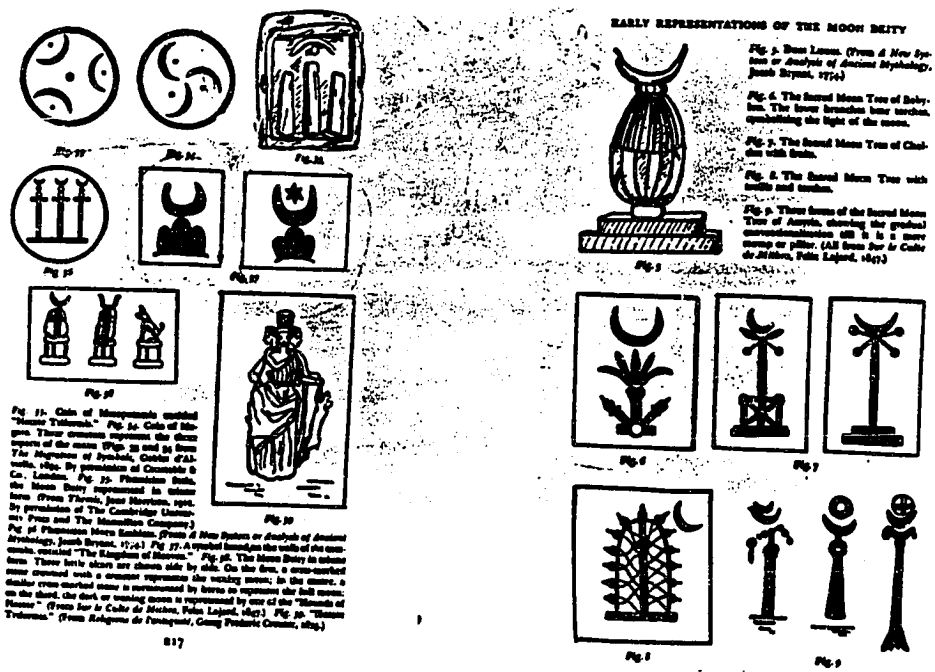



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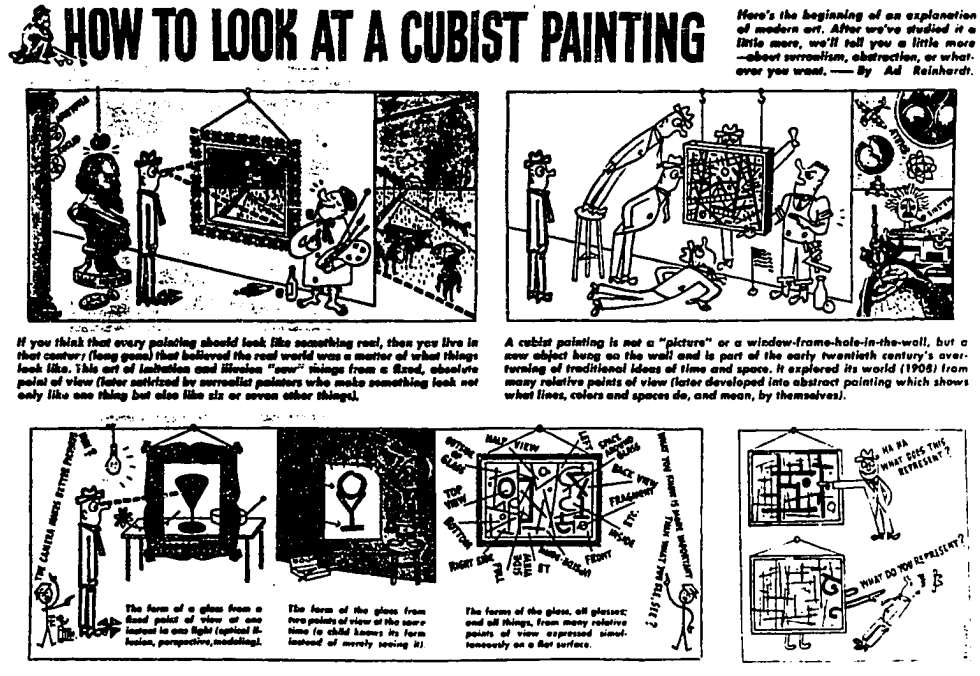



FIGURE 182

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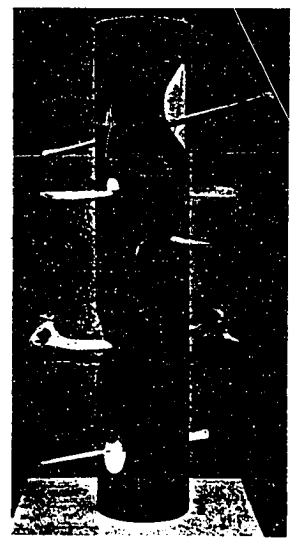


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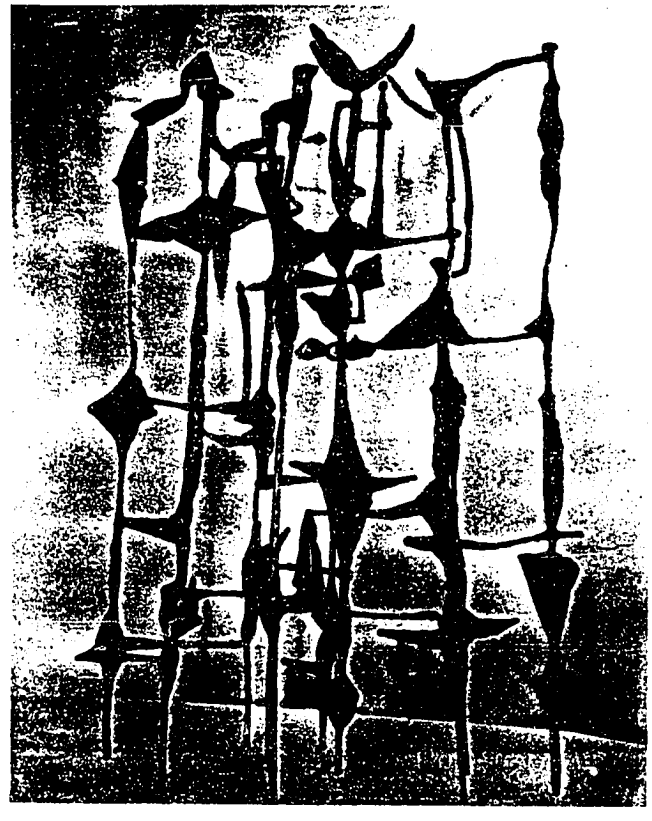


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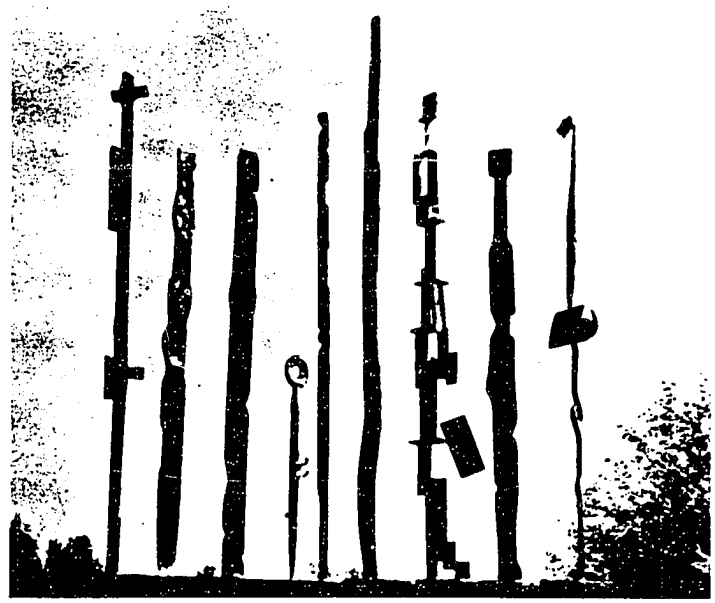


FIGURE 187

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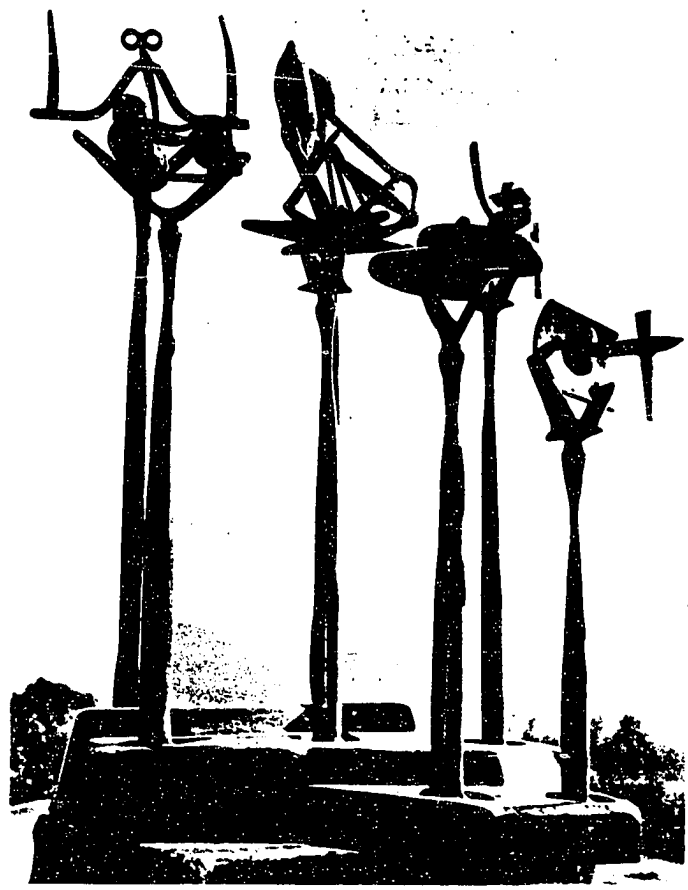


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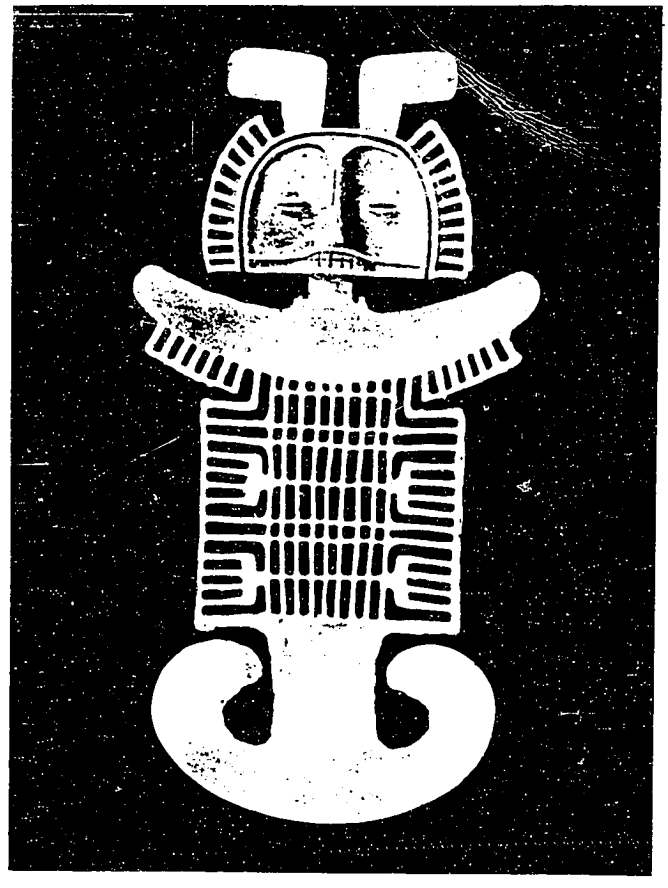


FIGURE 193

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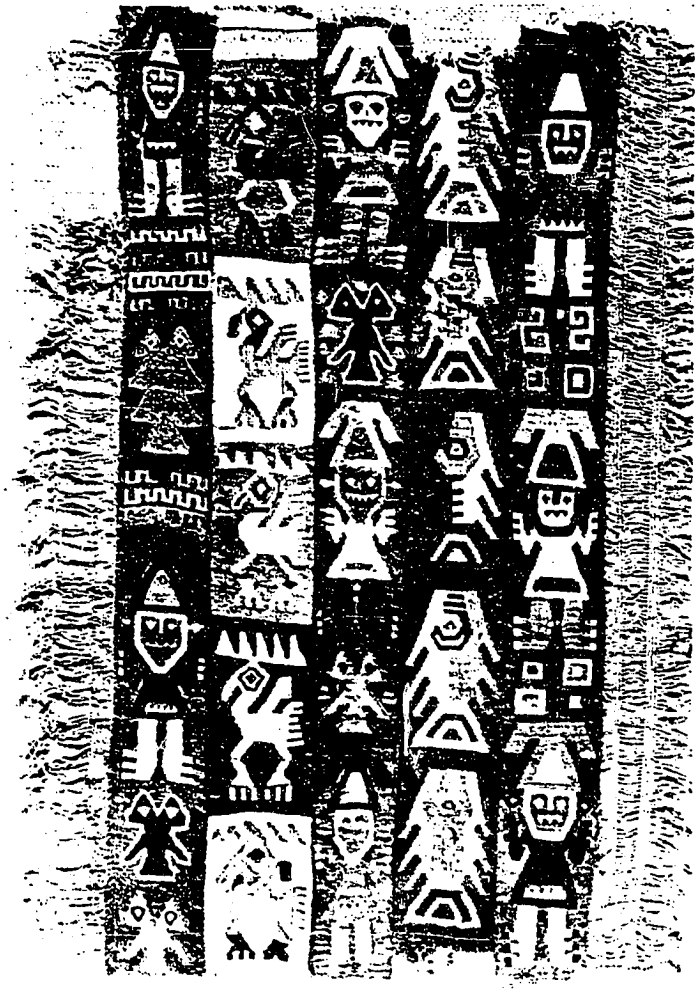


FIGURE 194

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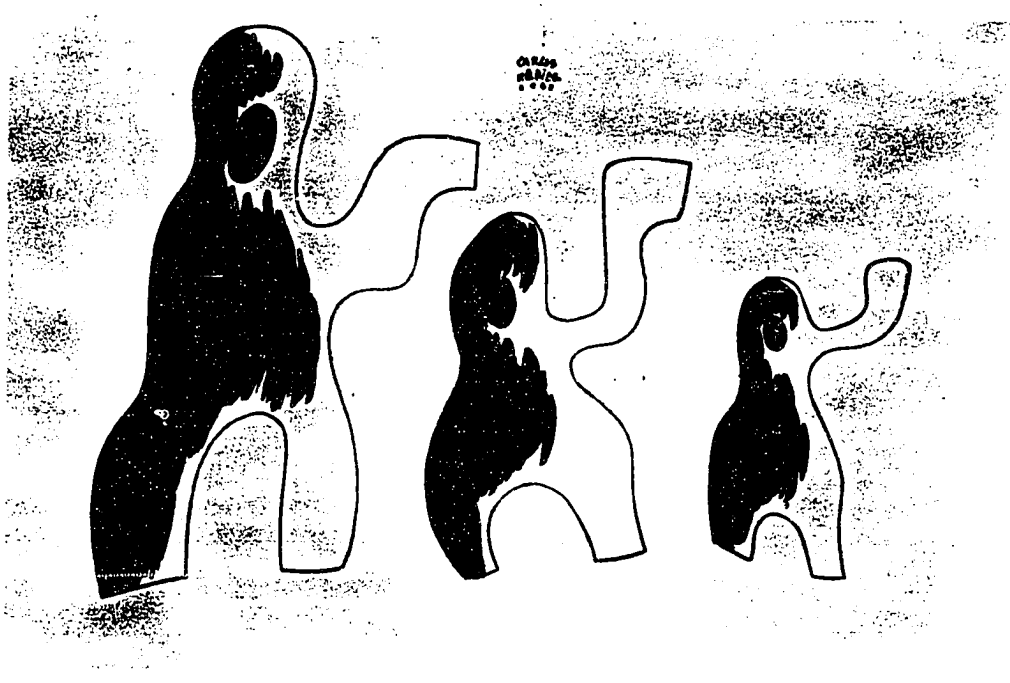


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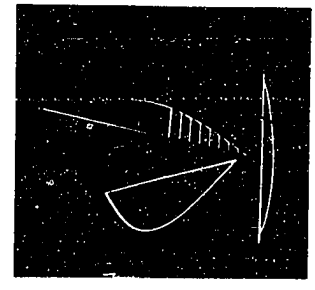


FIGURE 197

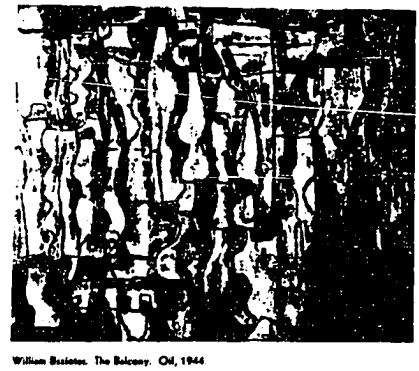
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David Smith. Sculpture. Steel, Oxide. 1937.
Courtesy of Willard Gallery, New York.



Xenia Cage. Silver Fish. Mobile. 1944.



William Baziotes. The Balcony. Oil, 1944.

FIGURE 198

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Jackson Pollock. The Moon Woman cuts the Circle. Oil, 1943.

William Fett. Drawing. Pencil, 1944

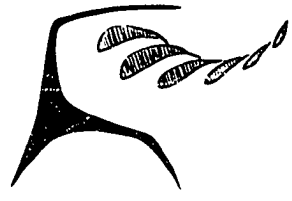


FIGURE 199

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Robert Motherwell — *Huile d'Espagne, 1948* — *gouache*



*Alexander Calder* — *Dancing*

**FIGURE 200**

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FIGURE 201

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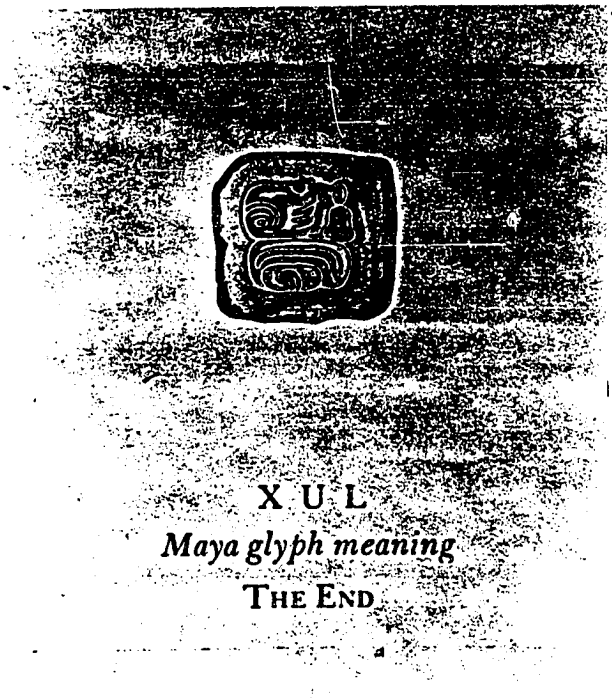



FIGURE 202

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