CHAPTER ONE

Beyond painting

L’importance stupide donnée à ces ‘genres’: huile, gouache, crayon, confiture, cirage, marbre, sable, ‘collage’, etc., interdit selon moi que l’on en fasse état, désormais, dans un catalogue et dans la conversation.  

René Magritte

‘Enfin Max Ernst vint . . .’ Ernst’s first Paris exhibition was held in May 1921 at René Hilsum’s bookshop and gallery Au Sans Pareil. A full-page advertisement (figure 1), published in the May issue of Littérature, the Paris dada group’s ironically titled journal, announced: ‘LA MISE SOUS WHISKEY MARIN / se fait en crème kaki & en 5 anatomies / VIVE LE SPORT . . . / EXPOSITION DADA / MAX ERNST’.1 The exhibition was reviewed in the contemporary press less as an artistic event than as a provocative dada spectacle. The tone had been carefully orchestrated by the dadaists themselves who had sent out press releases qualifying Ernst as the Einstein of painting.2 The private view, held on 2 May 1921, was staged as a dada event. Jacques Rigaut stood at the door, counting in a loud voice the rows of automobiles and pearls drawing up in front of the gallery. Visitors – among them André Gide draped in his voluminous cape, Kees Van Dongen and René Clair – were greeted by insults hurled at them from inside a cupboard, while strange sounds, absurd phrases and flashing lights emerged through a trapdoor from the bookshop cellar. Louis Aragon impersonated a kangaroo, André Breton munched matches, Philippe Soupault played hide-and-seek with Tristan Tzara, while Benjamin Péret and Serge Charchoune shook hands for an hour and a half. A photograph of the dada group, taken outside the gallery on the opening day, shows Breton, Hilsum, Péret and Charchoune grouped around Soupault, who is standing on a stepladder holding a bicycle, and Rigaut hanging upside down.3 Ernst, who had been refused a visa by the occupying powers in Cologne, was not able to attend the event in person.

Fifty-six works were exhibited, numbered with bus tickets. The
announcement in Littérature lists the works as follows, using Ernst’s words: ‘dessins mécanoplastiques plastico-plastiques peintopeintures anaplastiques anatomiques antizymiques aérophagiographiques antiphonaires arrosables et républicains’. In fact, the works exhibited were produced in a wide range of media – oil paint, watercolour, gouache, pen-drawing, cut-out engravings and photographs. The techniques used included stamped and rubbed drawings, overpaintings (Übermalungen), ‘fatagagas’ (‘Fabrication de Tableaux GARantis GAZométriques’, collective collages made in Cologne in 1919–20 by Ernst, Hans Arp and Johannes Baargeld), a sculpture and twelve ‘collages-découpages’. The term is Ernst’s, who lists the following works:

1. “C'est le chapeau qui fait l'homme. 2. Un peu malade le cheval. 3. Le cygne est bien paisible. 4. Déshabillé. 5. La chanson de la chaise. 6. Aérophagiographique. 7. Le massacre des innocents. 8. Petite pièce à huit mains. 9. Le rossignol chinois. 10. Ingres gazométrique. 11. La Suisse, lieu de naissance de Dada. 12. Le vapo et le poisson.”

Materials were cut out from various sources – encyclopaedic plates, anatomical treatises, engineering diagrams, commercial catalogues and advertisements – and pasted together in new combinations. Many of the works have titles or inscriptions in English, French or German, often forming an integral part of the work.

The advertisement – indicating ‘entrée libre mains dans les poches/sortie facile tableau sous le bras’ – qualifies Ernst’s works as ‘au-delà de la peinture’. Those journalists who did actually mention the works themselves in their reviews, were largely dismissive. For André Déhal, who reviewed the show for L’Ordre naturel, Ernst was a rather mediocre artist whose paintings ‘sont un mélange de mysticisme mythologique, de médecine, de géologie, d’érotisme surtout, mais bien peu de peinture y rentre’. The Daily Mail reporter found the exhibits quite distasteful. ‘In the window there are things you see in a lobster salad nightmare’, he wrote. ‘Nobody knows what the images are intended to convey. There are faces, and
fishes, and animals, and scientific figures, and hats all jumbled up together. The result is... Dada. However, although dadaist in their use of non-artistic materials and their cavalier disregard for artistic codes, Ernst’s works cannot be reduced to strategies of negation or playfulness. At least two journalists underlined the import of the works as a radical departure from mere iconoclastic gestures. Jacques-Emile Blanche suggested that the exhibits were less remarkable for their pictorial qualities than for their poetic resonance, resulting from the unconventional use of familiar elements. And Pierre Deval, in his enthusiastic review of the exhibition, celebrated the poetic quality of the works:

AU DELA DE LA PEINTURE... Des dissociations constantes, un mélange infini de matériaux: tout ce qui n’est pas de l’art, et – de plus en plus fort – tout l’Art, servant, désagrégé, découpé, une partie formant le tout, transposant, recollé, amalgamé encore, en haut le bas, aussi en haut le haut. Beauté des collages: point de départ nouveau, lyrisme, liberté. Quelques phrases folles et magnifiques servent d’indicateur toujours renouvelé de la direction sentimentale. The Paris dada group acclaimed Ernst’s works with unqualified excitement. L’exposition des collages de Max Ernst à Paris en 1920, wrote Aragon, ‘est peut-être la première manifestation qui permit d’apprécier les ressources et les mille moyens d’un art entièrement nouveau.’ In 1941 Breton was to recall the impact of Ernst’s collages on the dadaists: ‘[j]e me souviens de l’émotion, d’une qualité inépuisée par la suite, qui nous saisit, Tzara, Aragon, Soupault et moi, à leur découverte – de Cologne ils arrivaient à l’instant même chez Picabia où nous nous trouvions’ (SP, 64). In the same article Breton claimed that surrealist art was already ‘en plein essor’ in Ernst’s early collages. Later, in a 1952 radio interview with André Parmaud, he stressed the visionary power of the works: ‘Il n’est pas exagéré de dire que les premiers collages de Max Ernst, d’une puissance de suggestion extraordinaire, ont été accueillis parmi nous comme une révélation.’ Such enthusiasm, reiterated thirty years after the event, testifies to the seminal role of Ernst’s collages in the elaboration of surrealism.

An embryonic surrealist poetics is outlined in the texts written by Breton and Aragon on the occasion of the exhibition. In his preface to the exhibition catalogue, titled ‘Max Ernst’, Breton states that with the invention of photography traditional modes of pictorial expression have been rendered redundant, just as automatic writing, defined as a ‘la photographie de l’esprit’, has disrupted the verbal field. The pictorial possibilities opened up by photography and film anchor the collage aesthetic in radical forms of representation based on the transformation of pre-existing elements, ‘l’image toute
faite d’un objet (clique de catalogue’). The innovatory character of collage, however, lies not so much in the words or images used as in their combination, affirms Breton; and the value of the encounter between disparate realities lies primarily in its effect, namely its capacity to ‘nous dépayser en notre propre souvenir’ or disorientate both producer and viewer. Breton’s choice of lexical terms, whether referring to the material used (‘réalités’) or to the effect of the encounter (‘étincelle’), grounds collage as a general aesthetic principle which would subsequently be applied to both pictorial and verbal modes of expression.

Aragon’s text, ‘Max Ernst peintre des illusions’, written in 1923, analyses Ernst’s work, from his early Fiat modo – pereat ars (1919) and the mecanomorphic paintings (1919–20), to the works produced for the Paris exhibition and the ‘collage-paintings’ of 1922 and 1923. Aragon distinguishes cubist papiers collés which, he claims, have a realistic or formal function, from Ernst’s poetic use of printed or photographic images: ‘[l]e collage devient ici un procédé poétique’ (C, 25). Ernst is engaged in the magical transformation of real elements: ‘[t]oute apparence, notre magicien la recrée. Il détouve chaque objet de son sens pour l’éveiller à une réalité nouvelle’ (C, 26). Like Breton, Aragon seizes on the analogy between pictorial and verbal modes of expression, highlighting the metaphorical function of collage: ‘[t]ous ces éléments serviront à Ernst pour en évoquer d’autres par un procédé absolument analogue à celui de l’image poétique’ (C, 25–6). He extends the notion of collage to the texts which accompany Ernst’s works, referring to them as instances of ‘collage intellectuel’, and arguing that they function in a similar way to ‘collage plastique’ (C, 27).

Both Aragon and Breton, when distinguishing Ernst’s use of collage from cubism’s papiers collés, foreground the importance of strategies of selection and combination of pre-formed elements, whether photographic reproductions or engravings, as a critique of realism; and both invoke magic and the marvellous when referring to the transformation of reality effected in collage. For Aragon and Breton, Ernst’s pictorial practice is based on an aesthetic which is not medium-specific but encompasses both pictorial and verbal modes of expression. While Breton focuses on collage as a combinatory or syntagmatic practice, Aragon foregrounds its paradigmatic or metaphorical mechanisms. And while Breton engages subjectivity in his analysis of dépaysement, seen essentially in terms of the effect of collage, Aragon’s approach, more technical, analyses the mechanisms of the semiotic process based on the détournement of images. Lastly, their positions diverge on the finality of collage. Breton considers collage as a dialectical structure: ‘la faculté merveilleuse . . . d’atteindre deux réalités distantes et de leur rapprochement de tirer une étincelle’ (OCI, 246). This contrasts with Aragon who considers collage in oppositional terms: deconstructing the so-called...
'illusion' on which Ernst's images are built, Aragon emphasizes the alternating vision between reality and appearance, or between the literal and figurative levels of the pictorial metaphor created.

The importance of the exhibition La Mise sous whisky marin lies essentially in its role as an initiatory surrealist experience. Rosalind Krauss refers to the exhibition as 'a kind of originary moment, almost, one could say, surrealism's primal scene'.¹⁶ For the future surrealist group, Ernst's works were not only a locus of fascination as a source of the merveilleux, but also the occasion for a tentative formulation of the surrealist aesthetic. For me, the initial encounter with Max Ernst's collages was also a 'revelation', and the point of departure of this book. After the initial wordless jouissance which their encounter first provoked, their contemplation raised a number of questions. How could my fascination be verbalized without my resorting to an inarticulate pointing,¹⁷ or the stammering of an emotional effect, the 'zut, zut, zut, zut' of Proust's young narrator? How could I analyse works characterized by fragmentation without cementing the fissures through my own discourse and thereby reducing the alterity of collage? How could I define the workings of a practice which encompasses both pictorial and verbal modes of expression, often within the same work, without blurring the specificity of each medium? The present study explores some of these questions.

Collage and automatism: cutting and flowing

Max Ernst's 1921 exhibition was in fact the second of two seminal events for the early elaboration of surrealism, which took place at the very heart of Paris dada activities. The earlier event was the publication in 1919 of the first automatic text, Les Champs magnétiques, written by Breton and Soupault.¹⁸ The spontaneous verbal flow – and later the graphic gesture – which characterizes early automatism on the one hand, and the deliberate cutting up and assembling of disparate elements specific to collage on the other hand, were to be elaborated as the two essential modes of surrealist production, breaking away from traditional codes of mimetic and the aesthetics of coherence, and exploring the language of the irrational and the chance encounter.

Automatism and collage are presented in Breton's Manifeste du surréalisme (1924) as two distinct techniques for producing a surrealist text. His definition of the surrealist image is based on the encounter of disparate elements: 'C'est du rapprochement en quelque sorte fortuit des deux termes qu'a jailli une lumiére particulière, lumiére de l'image... La valeur de l'image dépend de la beauté de l'étincelle obtenue; elle est, par conséquent, fonction de la différence de potentiel entre les deux conducteurs' (OCI, 337–8).

Although applied here to an exclusively verbal medium, this definition, and
its poetic formulation, echoes and develops Breton’s account of collage in the 
preface to Ernst’s exhibition discussed above. It also presents an extreme 
reformulation of Reverdy’s concept of the poetic image whose notion of sur-
prise is radicalized by Breton in the metaphor of the spark produced by the 
disparity between the two elements brought together. Breton presents two 
methods for producing a surrealist text. Firstly, under the title, ‘SÉCRETS DE 
L’ART MAGIQUE SURREALISTE COMPOSITION SURREALISTE ECRITE, OU 
PREMIER ET DERNIER JET’ (OCI, 331) – a parody of popular literature on 
magic – detailed instructions are provided for writing an automatic text. The 
poet, in a passive-receptive state, writes without any preconceived idea, and 
without exercising any control over what he writes; the text produced is 
claimed to be a direct transcription of the ‘fonctionnement réel de la pensée’ 
(OCI, 328). Secondly, Breton proposes a formula for writing a collage text or 
‘POÈME’: ‘Il est même permis d’intituler POÈME ce qu’on peut obtenir par 
l’assemblage aussi gratuit que possible . . . de titres et de fragments de titres 
découpés dans les journaux’ (OCI, 341). This is followed by an example of such 
a text (which I analyse in chapter 3). The immediacy, however illusory, of 
automatism or ‘la pensée parlée’ (OCI, 328) as a play on signifiers, appears to 
contrast radically with the mediated discourse of collage: while the material 
for the first is the linguistic code (langue) or the graphic impulse, collage 
material involves the recycling of ready-made messages, whether pre-formed 
linguistic entities (parole) or iconographic fragments. In addition, the material 
fluidity of automatic production contrasts with the dryness of the collage 
process.

Although the Manifeste presents collage and automatism as two distinct 
modes of textual production, Breton grounds his general definition of surrea-
listism on the overarching concept of ‘psychic automatism’: ‘SURREALISME, 
n. m. Automatisme psychique pur par lequel on se propose d’exprimer, soit 
verbalement, soit par écrit, soit de toute autre manière, le fonctionnement réel 
de la pensée. Dictée de la pensée, en l’absence de tout contrôle exercé par la 
raison, en dehors de toute préoccupation esthétique ou morale’ (OCI, 328). 
With such a definition Breton appears to assimilate automatism as a principle 
(‘automatisme psychique’) with automatism as a technique (‘écriture automa-
tique’), and indeed throughout the 1920s the term ‘surréaliste’ is held to be 
largely synonymous with the restrictive use given it by Breton as an automatic 
mode of production. Hence, for example, the rubric ‘textes surréalistes’ in La 
RÉVOLUTION surréaliste (1924–9) comprises exclusively so-called automatic texts. 
And in the pictorial field Breton privileges the graphic automatism of Joan 
Miró and André Masson – in a footnote to his 1924 Manifeste, which contains 
the only reference in that work to pictorial modes of expression, he refers to 
Masson as ‘si près de nous’ (OCI, 330) – alongside Max Ernst’s more pre-
meditated collages.
Breton’s programmatic or theoretical texts of the 1920s are dominated by the engagement with automatic means of production. To Pierre Naville’s claim that surrealist painting does not exist – ‘Plus personne n’ignore qu’il n’y a pas de peinture surréaliste. Ni les traits du crayon livré au hasard des gestes, ni l’image retraçant les figures de rêve, ni fantaisies imaginatives’ 19 – Breton counters with his essay, ‘Le Surréalisme et la peinture’ (1925), initially published in instalments in La Révolution surréaliste, where he privileges gestural automatism and automatism of the dream. 20 As a technique collage itself is rethought in terms of automatism, an appropriative gesture evidenced in Breton’s analysis of Ernst’s work in this same essay. Breton stresses the importance of chance in the manufacture of collage, referring to the encounter between objects ‘préalablement disqualifiés et tirés au hasard’ (SP, 27), which suggests that collage is the result of an automatic process. In ‘Au-delà de la peinture’ (1936), Max Ernst, in line with Breton’s discourse on the primacy of automatism, models his own account of collage on the mechanisms of automatism:

je fus frappé par l’obsession qu’exerçetaient sur mon regard irrité les pages d’un catalogue illustré . . . j’y trouvais réunis des éléments de figuration tellement distants que l’absurdité même de cet assemblage provoqua en moi une intenstification subite des facultés visionnaires et fit naître une succession hallucinante d’images contradictoires.  

(E, 258)

Collage (and by extension frottage), tapping the resources of the unconscious mind, are considered processes parallel if not equivalent to automatic writing, in their capacity to stimulate the hallucinatory powers of the artist and generate a flow of multiple, contradictory images, as in hallucinations or visions of half-sleep. Ernst’s intervention is minimal, reduced to a passive gesture, ‘en ne faisant que reproduire docilement ce qui se voyait en moi’ (E, 259), to fix the hallucinatory mental images set in motion by the pages of the catalogue. Privileging the mental activity instigated by the collage elements, Ernst stresses the flow or continuity between the images of the unconscious and their projection onto the page, glossing over the production stage of collage. Several critics too, following Breton’s emphasis on automatism, consider collage to be a feature of automatic production. J. H. Matthews, who promotes a view of surrealist collage which encompasses all allotopic utterances, equates the collage effect of automatism, as the expression of the fragmented inner voice, with collage as a deliberate process, when he refers to the speed with which Benjamin Péret wrote his poems, ‘in which verbal collage is of course a sign of the unrestricted play of free association’. 21 In his analysis of automatism, Michel Murat dismisses collage as a post-automatic stage in the montage procedures of a number of texts of Les Champs...
magnétiques, or as an abortive genre in Breton's early poetic development: 'Le découpage-collage est une pratique poétique qui a failli se développer en un genre de Clair de terre aux textes relégués de Poisson soluble.'

While collage did indeed suffer a momentary eclipse after 1924 in Breton's critical and theoretical texts, following his hortatory exegesis in favour of automatism, it was very present in other surrealist programmatic texts, as an innovatory mode of perception or production. Pierre Naville, in the text quoted above, proposed an alternative to automatism in his celebration of the fragmented images of modern life:

Mais il y a des spectacles.
La mémoire et le plaisir des yeux: voilà toute l’esthétique...
Le cinéma, non parce qu’il est la vie, mais le merveilleux, l’agacement d’éléments fortuits.
La rue, les kiosques, les automobiles, les portes hurlantes, les lampes, éclatant dans le ciel.
S’habiller, – se revêtir.

More important, collages continued to be produced, as testified by their significant presence in surrealist publications, journals and exhibitions throughout the 1920s. Literary collages include poems made partly or entirely from ready-made materials (Péret, ‘Hier en découvrant l’Amérique’ 1926 (figure 10)), collage elements in prose works (Aragon, Paysan de Paris, 1926), and collaborative collages such as surrealist games or ‘L’enfant planète’ (1926), a montage text by Robert Desnos and Benjamin Péret. Towards the end of the 1920s, once the disruptive and poetic potential of appropriating and combining ready-made material without modification had been explored, such experiments were abandoned in favour of techniques which rework earlier texts, as in Aragon and Breton’s Le Trésor des jésuites (1928) or Breton and Eluard’s L’Immaculée Conception (1930). In the artistic field, Tanguy, Magritte, Miró and Ernst are among the many artists who produced pictorial collages in the latter part of the 1920s. Yves Tanguy integrated collage elements into his oil-paintings of 1925–6: Le Phare incorporates a cut-out cardboard lighthouse, steps made out of pasted matchsticks and a child’s folded paper boat, Le Pont includes metal wires, and Le Bateau cotton-wool smoke. Between 1925 and 1928 Magritte produced approximately thirty collages made of pasted paper with gouache or watercolour. He sometimes produced two versions of the same image, one as an oil-painting and the other as a collage (such as Le Goût de l’invisible and Le Ciel meurtrier). Miró produced
very few paintings between 1928 and 1930, his main output being works exploiting collage and assemblage techniques. In 1928 he made a series of object-pictures (for example, Portrait de danseuse and Danseuse espagnole), where figurative elements are suggested by objects pasted onto the canvas, such as sandpaper, feathers, a nail, a hatpin or a draughtsman’s triangle. In the summer of 1929 he produced a series of about twenty papiers collés, where irregular shapes have been cut out or torn from coarse paper, such as sandpaper or wrapping paper, and pasted onto the canvas, with a few lines added in charcoal. Ernst, who after 1922 turned to collage-paintings (1922-4), then frottage and grattage techniques, went back to collage in 1929 with his first collage-novel, La Femme 100 têtes.

Collage and its cognates, photocollage and photomontage, are also very present in surrealist journals towards the end of the 1920s. In Le Surréalisme en 1929, a special issue in June 1929 of the Belgian publication Variatés, edited by E. L. T. Mesens, several collages and photomontages were reproduced: six works by Ernst, including two plates from La Femme 100 têtes, Miró’s Portrait de danseuse and Danseuse espagnole, Mesens’s Je ne pense qu’à vous and L’Instruction obligatoire, Paul Nougé’s Carte postale éducative, and four cadavres exquis. Aragon and Breton’s Le Trésor des Jésuites (1928) also appeared in the same issue. The last number of La Révolution surréaliste, dated December 1929, includes paintings integrating collage elements by Dalí (Les Accommodations du désir and Les Plaisirs illuminés), three collages by Ernst (L’Esprit de Locarno, Nostradamus, Blanche de Castille et le petit Saint-Louis and Jeanne Hachette et Charles le Téméraire), photomontages by Magritte (L’Opéra de Paris and Je ne vois pas la femme cachée dans la fée) and Albert Valentin (Monument aux morts), as well as several cadavre exquis. The same issue also contains Magritte’s text ‘Les mots et les images’, Breton and Eluard’s ‘Notes sur la poésie’, and Buñuel and Dalí’s scenario for Un chien andalou, texts which mark a move towards more consciously constructed modes of production. This change of focus in literary production, from the so-called spontaneous mode of automatism to more deliberately (re)worked texts, corresponds to a shift in interest among the surrealists from Lautréamont’s Chants de Maldoror, generally considered to be the paradigm for Breton’s elaboration of automatic writing, to Poésies – ‘un immense monument élevé avec des collages’, according to Aragon (C, 110) – the model for ‘Notes sur la poésie’, which is a rewriting of a text by Paul Valéry. These experiments in collage and related techniques coincide with a critique of automatism, which, towards the end of the 1920s, was in danger of becoming reified as the ‘poucif surréaliste’ whose very principle Breton had rejected in his 1924 Manifeste. In Traité du style (1928), Aragon launched an attack on automatism as a mere gimmick:
Collage is also codified in a number of texts, which suggest through their very titles – ‘La peinture au défi’, ‘Au-delà de la peinture’ – an alternative to the more traditional pictorial experiments of a Dalí or a Magritte. In 1930 the first retrospective of papiers collés and collages, held at the galerie Goemans in Paris, exhibited forty cubist, dada and surrealist works. Aragon wrote the preface to the exhibition catalogue, polemically titled ‘La peinture au défi’. In a later, self-laudatory critique (1960), Aragon refers to his preface as a seminal text, ‘probablement le premier texte systématique qui ait tenu à faire l’his-torique de cet art nouveau en notre siècle’ (C, 75). He underlines the importance of collage practice while deploring the general absence of critical interest in this activity: ‘Il est curieux que presque personne n’ait semblé prendre garde à une occupation singulière, dont les conséquences ne sont pas encore toutes appréciées, à laquelle certains hommes se sont livrés ces temps-ci d’une manière systématique qui rappelle plus les opérations de la magie que celles de la peinture’ (C, 37). Aragon sets out to remedy this situation by outlining a history of collage over the past twenty years, from cubist papiers collés (Braque and Picasso) to dada (Duchamp and Picabia) and surrealist collage. Ernst is once again the initiatory figure, but Aragon’s overview also encompasses the works of Arp, Tanguy, Masson, Magritte, Picasso, Miró and Dali. He enumerates the various functions of surrealist collage: its metaphorical and dramatic use in Ernst’s work, its representational or ‘anecdotal’ role in Tanguy, and its function as a critique of realism in Dali’s paintings. This exhibition and Aragon’s text contributed to the increased visibility of collage as a mode of production, and to a further elaboration of the poetics of collage. The following year Tzara published a key text, ‘Le papier collé ou le proverbe en peinture’, which constitutes yet another challenge to traditional painting and literature: ‘Le papier collé, sous tant de différents aspects, marque dans l’évolution de la peinture, le moment le plus poétique, le plus révolutionnaire, le touchant essor vers des hypothèses plus viables, une plus grande intimité du provisoire et des matières temporelles et périsposables, la souveraineté de l’idée.’ In 1936, Ernst wrote ‘Au-delà de la peinture’, where he relates his discovery of collage (‘Histoire d’une histoire naturelle’) and discusses the mechanisms of collage (‘La mise sous whisky marin’), drawing parallels between pictorial and verbal collage and linking the dialectical structure of collage to the concept of identity (‘Identité instantanée’). During the 1930s two main tendencies can be charted in collage produc-