Introduction

Avida Dollars! Surrealism and the Art Market in the United States, 1930–1960

Julia Drost, Fabrice Flahutez,
Anne Helmreich, and Martin Schieder

"Surrealist art used to be reserved for the happy few": this is how Olivier Camu, international director and co-head of the Impressionist and Modern Art department at Christie's in London, describes with charming understatement the growing demand for surrealism since the turn of the millennium.[1] The auction of André Breton's sizable and impressive personal collection in April 2003 signaled a new high-water mark, leaving a lasting impact. The thousands of objects, artworks, books, and manuscripts from Breton's studio apartment at 42 rue Fontaine in Paris were dispersed. The public auction was eagerly awaited, and illustrated in an eight-volume, 2,300-page catalogue. Having nourished fantasies, the auction proceeded to live up to expectations of surrealism, with the French state exerting its right of pre-exemption 335 times, spending nearly €15 million, or one third of the total value of a sale that brought in €46 million in ten days. We can say that a page was turned, and that at the same time surrealism was entering a new and unusual speculative phase. Building on this momentum, Camu then began holding regular auctions under the title "The Art of the Surreal Evening Sale," which have delivered steadily rising sales ever since. In the brochure for the February 2019 auction, Christie's self-confidently presents itself as market leader—outperforming Sotheby's by between 25 and 75 percent in this particular segment between 2001 and 2018. To highlight its "record success with Dada and surrealism," a number of "exceptional results" are listed, including René Magritte's painting *The Empire of Light* (*L'Empire des lumières*, 1949), which sold in 2005 for $20,562,500, and the $16,332,500 achieved by *The Stolen Mirror* (1941), the highest price ever paid for a work by Max Ernst (2011). Yves Tanguy's *The Closing Days*

1 Olivier Camu, quoted from https://artkuwait.org/2012/09/why-todays-collectors-are-in-hot-pursuit-of-surrealist-art.html, accessed February 13, 2019.

(*Les derniers jours*, 1944) and Roberto Matta's *The Revolt of Opposites* (*La révolte des contraires*, 1944), which fetched, respectively, $7,495,362 in 2005 and $5,010,500 in 2012, also set world records "for the artist."[2] These unprecedented sums suggest that for some years now there has been an almost insatiable demand for surrealist art.[3]

This is a far cry from the conditions of the interwar period, when Léonce Rosenberg, the leading dealer in cubism with his Galerie de l'Effort Moderne in Paris, responding to Joan Miró's offer of *The Farm* (*La Ferme*, 1921–22) (fig. 1), his largest and most important work up to that time, insisted, "As you know, right now times are very hard in Paris. People are going for smaller and smaller flats, tiny places with low ceilings. I therefore propose the following: we could cut the canvas into eight pieces and sell them individually."[4] Were there no collectors in avant-garde Paris interested in this new art at the time it appeared?

It is true that surrealist art initially met with a cool response in the very country in which the first "Manifesto of Surrealism" was published in 1924.[5] Of the leading gallerists of cubism and the French avant-garde, the brothers Léonce and Paul Rosenberg shunned the risk, while others, such as Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, rejected surrealism outright. In Paris between the wars, the surrealist artists were exhibited by no more than a handful of exclusively younger art dealers. These included the galleries of Jeanne Bucher, Pierre Loeb, Leonard Van Leer and Aram Mouradian, Camille Goemans, Pierre Colle, Jan-Hans Effenberger-Sliwinski, and, of course, the Galerie surréaliste founded by André Breton in 1926. Indeed, the surrealists took matters into their own hands, organizing their own exhibitions, such as the "Exposition internationale du surréalisme" in 1938, and were to maintain this practice until after the Second World War.

The number of commercial exhibitions in which works by members of the surrealist movement were shown was small. The first collective show, "La peinture surréaliste," was held at the Galerie Pierre from November 14 to 25, 1925. A "club … one is thrown out [of] for not adhering rigorously to Party rules," carped the critic Maurice Raynal in his review, alluding to the group's communist sympathies.[6] However,

2 "Sell with Christie's. The Art of the Surreal," *Christie's*, https://www.christies.com/zmags?ZmagsPublishID=1b3cd0e8, accessed January 31, 2019.

3 Judd Tully, "Dreams for Sale: Why Today's Collectors Are in Hot Pursuit of Surrealist Art," Art+Auction, September 14, 2012.

4 Joan Miró, interview with Francesc Trabal, *La Publicitat*, Barcelona, July 14, 1928, in Margit Rowell, ed., *Joan Miró. Écrits et entretiens* (Paris: Daniel Lelong, 1995), pp. 103–112, here p. 106.

5 Julia Drost, "Le surréalisme et le commerce de l'art parisien dans l'entre-deux-guerres," in Hélène Ivanoff and Denise Vernerey-Laplace, eds., *Les artistes et leurs galeries, Paris-Berlin, 1900-1950* (Rouen: PUHR, 2019), pp. 287–304.

6 Maurice Raynal in the "Les Arts" column of *L'Intransigeant*, December 1, 1925. Translated from the French.

1 Joan Miró, *The Farm*, 1921-1922, oil on canvas, 123.8 × 141.3 cm. Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art.

Pierre Loeb, who at the time described himself as a "surrealist," put Miró under contract, guaranteeing him regular exhibitions and later lining him up with Pierre Matisse in New York.[7] In so doing, the gallerist boosted the Catalan artist's international renown at an early stage—and surrealism's reputation into the bargain. In 1926, Miró was shown in the Société Anonyme's "International Exhibition of Modern Art" organized by Katherine Dreier and Marcel Duchamp at the Brooklyn Museum of Art.[8] Two years later, the American critic Henry McBride wrote that the whole of New York was talking about Miró, and, moreover, that the artist was "one of the triumphs of surrealism."[9]

7 See *L'aventure de Pierre Loeb. La galerie Pierre (1924-1964)*, exh. cat., Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris and Musée d'Ixelles, Brussels (Paris: Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris, 1979); Albert Loeb, "Pierre Loeb, la galerie Pierre," in Nicolas Hacquebart-Desvignes and Albert and Sonia Loeb, eds., *13, rue Bonaparte, l'aventure de Jacques Povolozky et de Pierre Loeb, deux marchands d'avant-garde* (Paris: Artbiblio, 2017), pp. 95–110. For Miró and his dealers Pierre Loeb and Pierre Matisse, see also Rémi Labrusse, *Miró. Un feu dans les ruines* (Paris: Hazan, 2018).

8 Dickran Tashjian, *A Boatload of Madmen: Surrealism and the American Avant-Garde, 1920–1950* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1995), p. 37. International Exhibition of Modern Art, New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art, November 19, 1926, to January 10, 1927.

9 Henry McBride, "Modern Art," *The Dial*, no. 85 (December 6, 1928), quoted in Henry McBride, *The Flow of Art. Essays and Criticisms*, ed. Daniel Catton Rich (New Haven/

Despite increasingly distancing himself from surrealism during the second half of the 1920s, Miró continued to take part regularly in shows of the group. Thus in 1938 he was included in representative fashion in the "Exposition internationale du surréalisme."[10] This Paris event marked the conclusion of a series of international exhibitions that started with "Surrealistische und Abstrakte Malerei und Plastik" at the Kunsthaus Zurich in 1929 and that brought surrealism to global attention. The intervening shows were "International kunstudstilling kubisme-surrealisme" in Copenhagen in 1935; "První výstava skupiny surrealistù v ĊSR" in Prague in 1935; the "International Surrealist Exhibition" at the New Burlington Galleries in London in 1936; "Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism" at MoMA in New York in 1936; and "Surrealism" at the Nippon Salon in Tokyo in 1937.[11]

Surrealism travels to the United States

In short, surrealism met with commercial success and institutional appreciation internationally far earlier than it did in its country of origin. Although little researched until now, this phenomenon is particularly true of the United States, where interest in surrealist art began to develop early on. In 1931, the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford, Connecticut, mounted the exhibition "Newer Super-Realism" (fig. 2) dedicated to the European surrealists, comprising forty-nine paintings by artists including Salvador Dalí, Giorgio de Chirico, Max Ernst, André Masson, Joan Miró, and Pablo Picasso.[12] This museum was also the first public collection in the United States to purchase a surrealist painting, Pierre Roy's *The Electrification of the Country* (fig. 3). In January 1932, most of the works from this exhibition were reshown at the Julien Levy Gallery in New York. The two shows attracted considerable attention from the American art world, initiating a consistent and much-debated presence for surrealism over the course of the next three decades. The Levy Gallery showed works by Ernst in 1932 and put on Dalí's first solo exhibition in the United States in 1934, the same year that André Mas-

London: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 249; Henry McBride, "Exhibition of Abstract Art at the Museum of Modern Art," *New York Sun*, March 7, 1936, quoted in McBride, *The Flow of Art* (see above), p. 336.

10 Lewis Kachur, *Displaying the Marvelous. Marcel Duchamp, Salvador Dalí, and Surrealist Exhibition Installations* (Cambridge, MA/London: MIT Press, 2001); Annabelle Görgen, *Exposition internationale du surréalisme, Paris 1938. Bluff und Täuschung – die Ausstellung als Werk; Einflüsse aus dem 19. Jahrhundert unter dem Aspekt der Kohärenz* (Munich: Schreiber, 2008).

11 See the list of international exhibitions compiled by Arturo Schwarz in 1989: Arturo Schwarz, ed., *Die Surrealisten*, exh. cat., Frankfurt am Main, Schirn Kunsthalle Frankfurt (Frankfurt am Main: Mazzotta, 1989).

12 See Tashjian, *A Boatload of Madmen* (note 8), p. 37ff.

2 George Platt Lynes, cover of the catalogue for the exhibition “Newer Super-Realism,” 1931. Hartford, CT, Wadsworth Atheneum.

3 Pierre Roy, *The Electrification of the Country*, 1930, oil on canvas, 71.8 × 49.4 cm. Hartford, CT, Wadsworth Atheneum.

son had his first American solo show at the Pierre Matisse Gallery.[13] De Chirico had been introduced to the public even earlier, in a solo show at the Valentine Gallery in 1928.[14]

Looking beyond the commercial art market, the New York exhibition “Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism” at MoMA demonstrates the important role of the European avant-garde at the institutional level (see fig. 27, p. 36). Alfred H. Barr Jr. had started to buy surrealist art for MoMA even earlier, with Dalí’s *The Persistence of Memory* entering the collection in 1934 as a gift to the museum from an anonymous friend

13 See Julien Levy, *Memoir of an Art Gallery* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1977); Ingrid Schaffner, Lisa Jacobs, eds., *Julien Levy, Portrait of an Art Gallery* (Cambridge, MA/London: MIT Press, 1998).

14 “Introducing Giorgio de Chirico,” Valentine Gallery, October 18, 2016, http://www.thevalentinegallery.org/blog/2016/10/6/introducing-de-chirico-to-america, accessed January 31, 2019; Julia May Boddewyn, “A Valentine to European Modernism,” Modernism Magazine 4, no. 2 (Summer 2001), pp. 42–48.

who had purchased it from the Julien Levy Gallery (see fig. 29, p. 54). Museums not only in New York, but also in Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, and San Francisco began showing surrealist art in the early 1930s, when almost no European museum would consider displaying it. Indeed, French museums held back from exhibiting or acquiring art of this kind until after the Second World War. For instance, no works by Max Ernst entered the collection of the Musée d'Art Moderne in Paris until 1949.[15] Another six years were to pass before a second work was acquired—and that was only after Ernst, Miró, and Hans Arp had been exhibited at the Venice Biennale in 1954. It was more than ten years after the Second World War before the Musée d'Art Moderne honored Miró with a retrospective. A year earlier, no less a figure than Michel Ragon, one of the most prominent French critics of the postwar period, had reflected on Miró's "dripping of small spots" ("*dripping de petites taches*") and drew attention to his impact on the American art scene: "Many are Miró's most avant-garde canvases in the collections and museums of the United States. … And neither Gorky nor Rothko try to hide the influence the Catalan painter has had on them."[16]

From the 1920s onward, another avenue for exposure was the trade in so-called "primitive art" conducted primarily by the galleries of Paul Guillaume and Louis Carré.[17] Parisian dealers such as Charles Ratton combined the sale of surrealist art with that of objects from Oceania, Africa, and South America, for which there was a strong demand on the US market from dealers such as Julius Carlebach. Furthermore, French avant-garde periodicals such as *Minotaure* (1933–39) and *Cahiers d'art* (1926–60) circulated in the United States art scene relatively early, serving as models for American magazines like *View* (1940–47). Against the background of this awareness and dissemination of surrealism in the United States, exile for the émigré artists to the other side of the Atlantic proved to be more than merely a tragic necessity—it also made perfect economic sense, as there they had access to an interested circle of art lovers and functioning networks.

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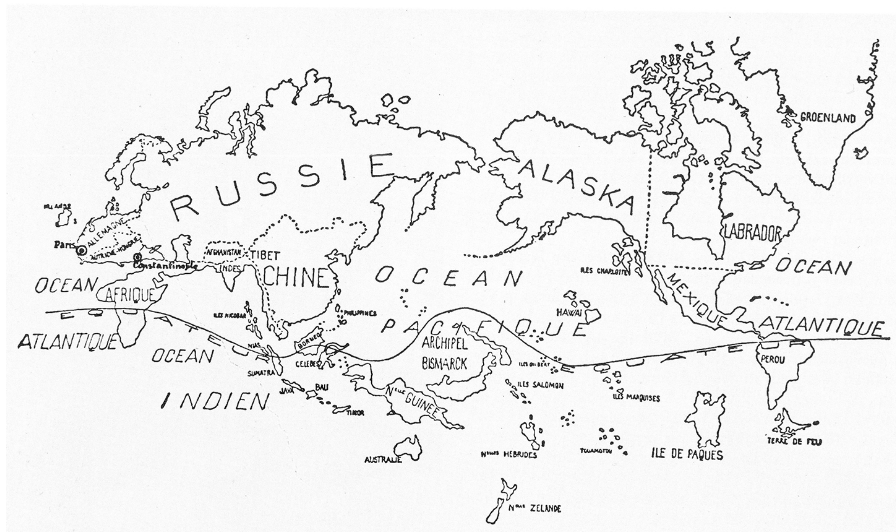
15 This was the painting *Flowers* (*Fleurs*, *ca.* 1928–29, Inv.: AMVP 814). Another, untitled, work by Max Ernst, also *circa* 1928–29 (Inv.: AMVP 1907), followed in 1955.

16 Michel Ragon, "Le Mickey Mouse abstrait," *Profil*, May 3, 1961. Translated from the French. ("Les toiles les plus avant-gardistes de Miró sont nombreuses dans les collections et les musées américains. … Et ni Gorky ni Rothko ne cachent l'influence que le peintre catalan a exercé sur eux.")

17 See Maureen Murphy, *De l'imaginaire du musée. Les arts d'Afrique à Paris et à New York (1931–2006)* (Dijon: Les Presses du réel, 2009) and the chapter "Les objets. La reconnaissance des arts indigènes," in Sophie Leclercq, *La rançon du colonialisme. Les surréalistes face aux mythes de la France coloniale (1919–1962)* (Dijon: Les Presses du réel, 2010), pp. 91–118. Christophe Flubacher, ed., *Surréalisme et arts primitifs, un air de famille*, exh. cat., Crans-Montana, Fondation Paul Arnaud (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz, 2014).

The surrealist map of the world

While certain American critics, curators, and collectors demonstrated a keen interest in European surrealism, the Parisian mouthpieces of surrealism, by contrast, emphatically rejected American society—indeed, the United States of America was literally absent from the world map concocted by Breton and his Paris friends. The famous *Surrealist Map of the World* (*Le monde au temps des surréalistes*), published in the Belgian magazine *Variétés* in 1929 (fig. 4), represents a vision of an internationalist world from which national boundaries and the nationalisms of the



4 Anonymous, *The World at the Time of the Surrealists*, in *Le Surréalisme en 1929*, special issue of *Variétés*, June 1929.

interwar period have been eliminated. The double-page spread concomitantly highlights the dualism of two social systems: while communist Russia is depicted oversized on one side of the globe, capitalist America is all but obliterated from the other. Where we would expect to find the United States, only indigenous Alaska and Hawaii, and the former French territory of Labrador are marked. Only a few years later, the surrealists were compelled to flee war and dictatorship and take refuge almost *in toto* in this blank area of their map (while almost all of the expressionist artists and exponents of Dada remained in Europe; fig. 5). Their exile in the United States can thus be viewed as a quasi-tragic misunderstanding.

Since the publication of art historian Dickran Tashjian's book *A Boatload of Madmen: Surrealism and the American Avant-Garde, 1920–1950*

5 George Platt Lynes, photograph taken on the occasion of the exhibition "Artists in Exile," 1942, Pierre Matisse Gallery, New York. Left to right, first row: Roberto Matta Echaurren, Ossip Zadkine, Yves Tanguy, Max Ernst, Marc Chagall, Fernand Léger; second row: André Breton, Piet Mondrian, André Masson, Amédée Ozenfant, Jacques Lipchitz; standing: Pavel Tchelitchew, Kurt Seligmann, Eugene Berman. New York, The Museum of Modern Art Archives.

(1995), intensive research has been devoted to the European surrealists' exile in the United States,[18] with *Surrealism in Exile* by Martica Sawin (2001), *Paris à New York. Intellectuels et artistes français en exil* by Emmanuelle Loyer (2005), and *Nouveau monde et nouveau mythe. Mutations du surréalisme, de l'exil américain à l' "Écart absolu"* by Fabrice Flahutez (2007) particularly worthy of mention here. These accounts have brought to the surface the contrasting fates of the surrealists. Breton, for example, was not especially at ease in American society, in comparison to Duchamp, who had lived in New York since the 1920s. Breton worked as a radio announcer for the United States Office of War Information, but unlike in Paris, he had little success in New York in forming around

18 Josefina Alix, Martica Sawin, eds., *Les Surréalistes en exil et les débuts de l'école de New York*, exh. cat. (Strasbourg: Musée d'Art Moderne et Contemporain, 2000); Martica Sawin, *Surrealism in Exile and the Beginning of the New York School* (Cambridge, MA/London: MIT Press, 1995); *La planète affolée. Surréalisme, dispersion et influences 1938–1947*, exh. cat., Marseille, Centre de la Vielle Charité (Paris: Flammarion, 1986).

him a tight-knit group of surrealist intellectuals.[19] His efforts to maintain the cohesion of the movement in exile are borne out by the founding of the magazine *VVV*, which he edited in conjunction with David Hare from 1942 to 1944, and his collaboration with Charles Henri Ford on several issues of the American avant-garde magazine *View*. Scholars have also tended to view the exhibition "First Papers of Surrealism" in this light.[20] An entire international field of art historians, anthropologists, literary scholars, artists, and critics have taken up the subject of the surrealist presence in the Americas, bringing to attention such facets of their practice as the artists' interest in Native Americans, including the Hopi people and their rites, as well as pre-Columbian and Inuit art.[21]

It is important to emphasize that a clear distinction should be made between the reception of surrealism in the United States, on one hand, and the artistic and intellectual interests of the exiles—above all André Breton as the movement's spokesperson—on the other. The history of surrealism in the United States also requires recognizing the ways in which American consumer culture absorbed the surrealist aesthetic, leaving a lasting impression on media strategies not only in advertising, but also in film and television.[22] In addition to probing the artists' dynamic interaction with their new terrain, Anglo-American art history has also focused its attention on the development and different forms of expression of American surrealism since the legendary exhibition "Surrealism and American Art: 1931–1947" at the Rutgers University Art Gallery in New Brunswick in 1977, such as, for example, in the exhibitions "Surrealism USA" in Phoenix, Arizona (2005), and "American Painting in the 1930s" in Paris, London, and Chicago (2016–17).

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19 For a synopsis by Jean-Paul Salles of Emmanuelle Loyer, *Paris à New York. Intellectuels et artistes français en exil, 1940-1947* (Paris: Hachette-Littératures, 2007), see https://preo.u-bourgogne.fr/dissidences/index.php?id=105, accessed January 31, 2019. Julien Levy's account of Breton's failed attempt to take charge of a meeting of surrealists in Greenwich Village has become legendary; see Levy, *Memoir of an Art Gallery* (note 13), p. 279.

20 See also "Dada and Surrealism: Transatlantic Aliens on American Shores, 1914–1945," *The Space Between: Literature and Culture 1914–1945*, vol. 14, 2018, http://scalar.usc.edu/works/the-space-between-literature-and-culture-1914-1945/vol14_2018_contents; Janine Mileaf and Susan F. Rossen, eds. *A Home for Surrealism: Fantastic Painting in Midcentury Chicago* (Chicago: Arts Club of Chicago/University of Chicago Press, 2018); Fabrice Flahutez, *Nouveau monde et nouveau mythe. Mutations du surréalisme, de l'exil américain à l'"Écart absolu" 1941–1965* (Paris: Les Presses du réel, 2007); Kachur, *Displaying the Marvelous* (note 10).

21 Marie Mauzé, "Des surréalistes en exil," catalogue for the sale of the Robert Lebel collection (Paris: Calmels, 2006), pp. 17–29; Katherine Conley and Pierre Taminiaux, *Surrealism and its Others* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006) (Yale French Studies, no. 109).

22 Sandra Zalman, *Consuming Surrealism in American Culture: Dissident Modernism* (Farnham/Burlington: Ashgate, 2015) (Ashgate Studies in Surrealism).

Questions for research

A review of historical and current research positions reveals that consideration of the art market for surrealism in the United States has by and large been confined to monographic studies of major collectors and dealers. The present volume seeks to advance the field beyond these borders by building on a number of fundamental methodological considerations. Surrealism's success in the United States from the early 1930s until well into the 1960s needs to be understood in terms of its socio-historical context. The performance of, and demand for, surrealist works on the art market was closely linked to the prevailing political, social, and economic conditions—from the Great Depression and the New Deal in the 1930s through to the Second World War and the exile of the surrealists in the 1940s, followed by the anti-communism of the McCarthy era and the Marshall Plan in the 1950s. At the time when many surrealist artists were emigrating to the United States to escape war and persecution, the American art market was at rock bottom: "[I]n 1941 business was not only terrible, it was nonexistent," recalls Julien Levy.[23] Similarly, in a letter of 1942 to Benjamin Péret, Breton reports that neither Ernst nor Masson had sold anything at their solo exhibitions.[24]

Furthermore, as pointed out by the French theorist Bruno Latour, the history of the art market can be seen as a history of agents and systems.[25] These agents include artists, dealers, collectors, financiers, insurers, and art world movers and shakers, in addition to the artworks themselves, their paths of circulation, and their financial value. Until now, astonishingly little has been known about the agency and networks of the European surrealists in the context of the United States market. What public relations, modes of display, and, not least of all, economic strategies did the surrealist movement develop in its unwillingly adopted country? Which middlemen or -women interceded on their behalf? Which galleries exhibited them? Who invested interest and money in these artists? And who, and which, did not? What was distinctive about the collecting profile of the directors and curators of American museums who showed surrealist art and of the collectors of these works—from Chick Austin in Hartford to Alfred Barr and James Johnson Sweeney in New York, and John and Dominique de Menil in Houston? Although hefty monographs and exhibition catalogues are available on the activities of Peggy Gug-

23 Levy, *Memoir of an Art Gallery* (note 13), p. 255.

24 Letter from André Breton to Benjamin Péret, April 7, 1942, *Correspondance André Breton – Benjamin Péret, 1920–1959*, introduced and annotated by Gérard Roche (Paris: Gallimard, 2017), pp. 131–132.

25 For an introduction to actor-network theory, as theorized by Bruno Latour, see, *Reassembling the Social, An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

genheim, Julien Levy, and Pierre Matisse,[26] relatively little is still known about the majority of dealers in surrealist art in the United States—for example, Alexander Iolas in New York, who established Magritte on the United States art market, and William Copley, who, after the Second World War, ran the Copley Galleries in Beverly Hills (which proved to be a short-lived venture). In six exhibitions held between 1948 and 1949, the Copley Galleries showed works by Joseph Cornell, Ernst, Magritte, Matta, and Tanguy for the first time in Los Angeles, and, in 1948, held a show titled "Paintings Repatriated from Paris" of Man Ray works sent over from Europe. Even Barr's commitment to surrealism awaits scholarly investigation, as does that of native Englishman Gordon Onslow Ford, who facilitated transatlantic contacts between artists, collectors, and museums. After arriving in the United States in June 1940, Onslow Ford soon became an influential proponent of surrealism. In 1941, he gave a series of lectures on surrealism accompanied by exhibitions, organized by the art dealer Howard Putzel at the New School for Social Research in New York. Putzel, meanwhile, before becoming an adviser to Peggy Guggenheim, ran a gallery initially located in San Francisco and later in Los Angeles, thereby playing a pivotal role in the early dissemination of surrealism in the Southwest. Among collectors he worked with were Walter and Louise Arensberg, to whom he sold Max Ernst's painting *The Forest* (*La Forêt*) in 1937. These few examples suffice to illustrate the intended focus of this publication: surrealism found in America what it had lacked in France during the interwar period—dealers and museums, and even attracted interest from the general public.

"They do the pioneering"

A key figure in this network was Julien Levy, who, before becoming an art dealer, studied art history under Paul J. Sachs in the Fine Arts department at Harvard—alongside Alfred Barr and James Thrall Soby.[27] When Levy opened his gallery at 602 Madison Avenue in New York in 1931, *ARTnews* wrote, "Today there is a slump in the art trade of Great Britain and America brought about by large numbers of collectors who

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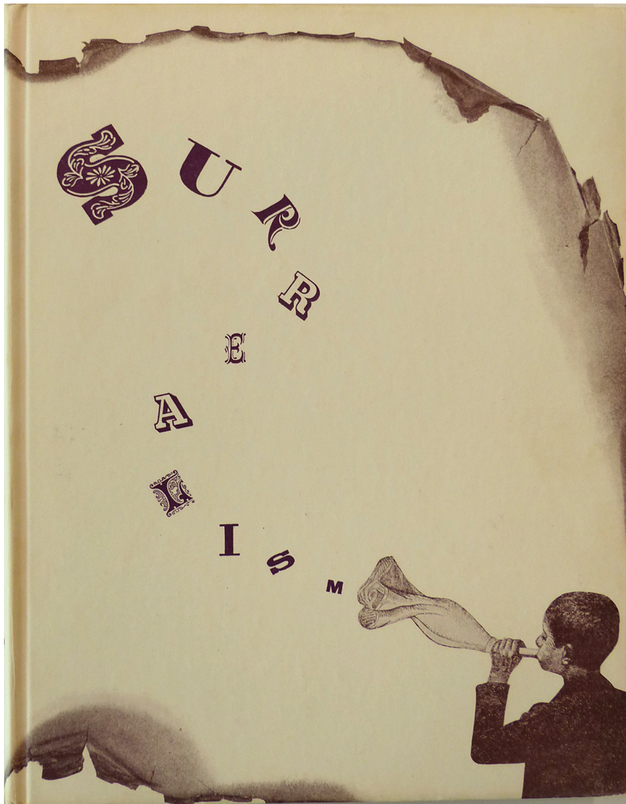
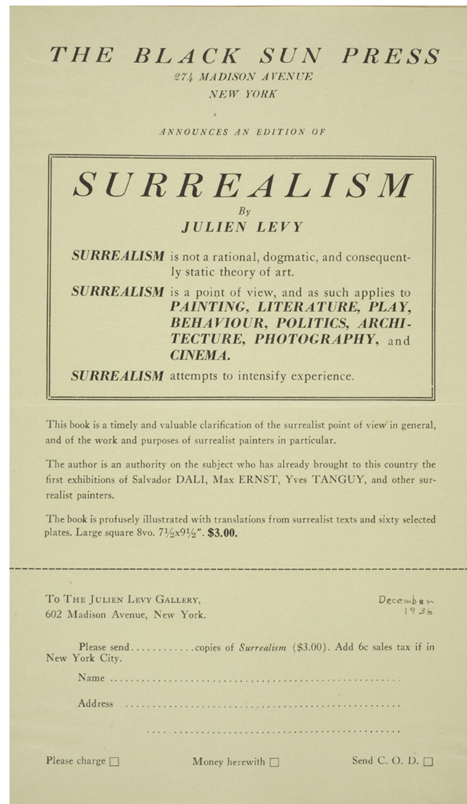
26 Susan Davidson and Philip Rylands, eds., *Peggy Guggenheim and Frederic Kiesler. The Story of Art of This Century*, exh. cat., Venice, Peggy Guggenheim Collection (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz, 2004); *The American Matisse, The Dealer, His Artists, His Collection*, exh. cat., New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2009); Pierre Schneider, ed., *Pierre Matisse, un passeur passionné. Un marchand d'art et ses artistes*, exh. cat., Mona Bismarck Foundation, Paris (Paris: Hazan, 2005); William Griswold, Jennifer Link Tonkovich, eds., *Pierre Matisse and His Artists* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 2002). For Julien Levy, see note 14.

27 See the essay by Anne Helmreich in this volume, pp. 319–339.



6 Joseph Cornell, cover of Julien Levy's book *Surrealism* (1936), 1931–32.



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7 Order form for Julien Levy's book *Surrealism*, 1936.

are in the habit of buying art [and who are] temporarily ceasing to make purchases."[28] The Julien Levy Gallery provided artists such as Dalí, Ernst, Leonor Fini, Alberto Giacometti, Frida Kahlo, and Magritte, as well as the Americans Man Ray, Joseph Cornell, Walter Quirt, and Lee Miller with their first opportunity for an exhibition in New York. In his autobiography, Levy described his vision for his gallery venture: "It was to be the gallery that represented the most enduring artists of the period: the Surrealists."[29] In 1931, Levy bought Dalí's iconic painting *The Persistence of Memory* for $250 from the Galerie Pierre Colle in Paris and showed it in his exhibition "Surrealism: Paintings, Drawings and Photographs" in January 1932; Barr then included it in "Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism" two years later. The extent of the reputation Levy built for himself within the space of just a few years is illustrated by his inclusion in *Vogue* magazine's 1938 list of New York's seven "distingu-

28 "Art and the Slump," *ARTnews*, August 19, 1931, p. 19.
29 Levy, *Memoir of an Art Gallery* (note 13), p. 12.

ished art dealers"—along with the well-established Knoedler's, Valentine, Marie Harriman, Carstairs, Wildenstein, and Durand-Ruel. "They do the pioneering. They do the subsidizing. They take the chances. … It is in their galleries, and each gallery has a personality as sharp and distinct as any movie star, that art in New York gets its first impetus." Levy's special merit lay in his ability to make his artists, "the enthusiasms also of some of the cleverest and gayest art collectors."[30] Levy also helped to publicize and disseminate surrealism in his capacity as an author. His book *Surrealism*, published in 1936, was the first American publication on the movement (figs. 6 and 7).[31] Incidentally, it should be noted that the first history of surrealism as such, written by Maurice Nadeau, did not appear until 1945.[32] Levy's book pays tribute to surrealism in an artistic, poetic manner and emphasizes the vast spectrum covered by the movement in terms of different media. It deals with photography, literature, art, film, architecture, theater, and so on, while at the same time undertaking a historical contextualization. Levy reports one particular anecdote that is characteristic of the creation of surrealist works and their guiding principle of chance. On one occasion Cornell, who was first exhibited by Levy in 1932, visited him in the gallery and asked to borrow his photograph of the Parisian dancer Cléo de Mérode. Levy replied:

> "'Of course.' I lit a cigarette, very pleased, for she was a favorite of mine too. Idly picking up a proof of the catalogue cover for his exhibition, I put a match to one corner, watching it brown and curl as the flame spread. "Disturbing, isn't it? Let me hold it," said Joseph, and carefully revolved the paper so that the edges burned almost around, bordering the image. … And we later used that burnt sheet for the jacket of my book *Surrealism*."[33]

The book was variously received by American reviewers, and their reactions can be seen as emblematic of the reception of surrealism as a movement in the United States. Some recommended the book as a suitable gift for the upcoming Christmas season, but there were also

30 Sallie Saunders, "Middle Men of Art," *Vogue* New York, vol. 91, iss. 6 (March 15, 1938), pp. 102, 154–155, here p. 154.

31 Julien Levy, *Surrealism* (New York: Black Sun Press, 1936).

32 Maurice Nadeau, *Histoire du surréalisme* (Paris: Seuil, 1945).

33 Levy, *Memoir of an Art Gallery* (note 13); Levy was originally considering entrusting the design of the cover to Max Ernst: "I've heard from Caresse concerning the planned book: *What is Surrealism*? I'll do the cover design over the next few days and let you have it straight away" ("J'ai reçu un mot de Caresse à propos du livre projeté: What is surrealism? Je ferai d'ici quelques jours le projet pour la couverture et vous l'enverrai aussitôt"), letter from Ernst to Levy, March 22, 1936, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Levy Archive.

harsh voices. A reviewer in *Town & Country* magazine denounced Levy's "Faulkneresque ganglia of words" and observed, "Notice that it is a jargon, that it is clubby, that being uninitiated, you have no idea what it means."[34] *The Nation* criticized as a "Surrealist Field Day" the artists' claim to produce inner images while ignoring rationality, and challenged the feasibility of this approach. According to the reviewer, despite all its criticism of bourgeois society, surrealism served precisely this end. In the communist journal *The New Masses*, Meyer Schapiro went even further. In his article titled "Shrines of Unreason," he condemns surrealism as authoritarian, referring to a sentence from Levy's catalogue introduction: "The [surrealist] point of view is essentially anti-definitive and anti-explanatory."[35] A little further on Schapiro states that "Surrealism is not a rational … theory of art." These aspects led Schapiro to draw a connection with fascism: "I am aware that it is dangerous to cry fascism. I am aware that Surrealists include anti-fascists … Still, to which would Surrealism most appeal as a philosophy, to communism or fascism?"[36]

In order to avoid adopting any political positioning with his exhibition "Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism," Barr evidently ignored surrealism's social dynamic, instead staging the works as pure art. Lewis Mumford, in his article in the *New Yorker*, highlights the combination of older Continental art and surrealism in the exhibition, but adds regretfully, "They therefore neglect the wild Surrealist element that has been present in American art and in American humor from the very beginning."[37] Mumford clearly attributes to the surrealist aesthetic a proximity to an American tradition, and attempts to inscribe it into the nation's own modern culture. Yet, the European surrealists were accused by their American communist colleagues of adopting a bourgeois outlook and of producing art devoid of any social relevance. Thus, the critic Margaret Duroc writes in *Art Front* in 1936 of an exhibition at the John Reed Club, "Surrealism is a false medium for the revolutionary artist. It uses an occult language which needlessly separates the artist from his audience."[38]

34 *Town & Country*, December 1936.

35 Meyer Schapiro, "Shrines of Unreason," *New Masses*, December 29, 1936.

36 Ibid.

37 Lewis Mumford, "The Art Galleries: Surrealism and Civilization," *New Yorker*, December 19, 1936, p. 68.

38 Margaret Duroc, "Critique from the Left," *Art Front*, no. 2 (January 1936), pp. 7–8; quoted in Ilene Susan Fort, "American Social Surrealism," *Archives of American Art*, vol. 22, no. 3 (1982), pp. 8–20, here p. 11.

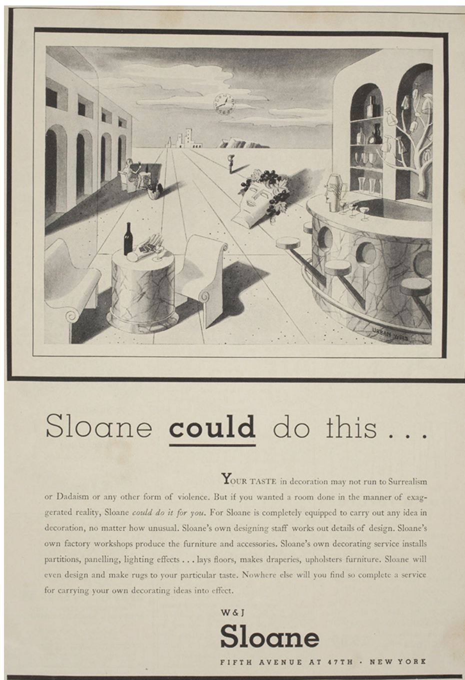
Surrealism and American consumer culture

The hypothesis that the exhibition and museumization of surrealism in the United States went hand in hand with the depoliticizing of this art movement raises the fundamental question: What were the parameters that governed the reception of surrealism in the United States? Did it reach a wider audience in the United States—even before the outbreak of the Second World War—than it had in Europe in the 1920s and 1930s as a result of its acculturation and transformation in accordance with the local conditions that prevailed in matters of taste and the art market? Did a capitalistically oriented society categorically reject surrealism's "communist" superstructure, or was it simply eclipsed by this society? Were the surrealists perceived in the United States largely as a European avant-garde movement, as a unified group, or did interest lie primarily in their individual artistic positions? The concept behind the 1942 "Artists in Exile" exhibition at the Pierre Matisse Gallery in New York, for example, could be interpreted from the latter perspective. Placing the emphasis on exile—starting with the exhibition's very title—there is no suggestion either of it as a surrealist group show, or, indeed, of it being categorized as surrealist in any sense. Rather, collector and curator James Thrall Soby's introductory lines in the catalogue emphasize the varied positions of the artists: "They are a disparate group, but all belong to the rare company of those who have brought originality and authority to the art of their period."[39] Clearly, surrealist works of art were transferred from Europe to the United States and fed into the local art market—but the worldview and aesthetic idea behind them were not.

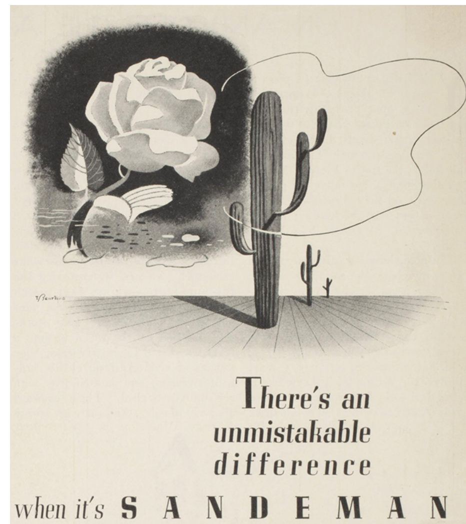
In light of this, can we, and perhaps should we, talk of a specifically American way of seeing surrealism? One reviewer's response to Herbert Read's book *Surrealism* of 1936 is particularly interesting in this context: "In this volume it is fully and clearly explained, not as one more movement from Paris, but as a fundamentally new attitude toward all aspects of life."[40] Here, then, surrealism is regarded not so much as an artistic movement, but rather as an appropriate form of reflection on modern life, one that pervades every area of existence. On the other hand, in his foreword to the catalogue of the 1939 New York World's Fair, titled "American Art Today," at which some 1,200 works of contemporary American art were displayed, arts administrator Holger Cahill reflects on the degree to which surrealism had infiltrated and been absorbed into American art:

39 James Thrall Soby, "Europe," in *Artists in Exile*, exh. cat., New York, Pierre Matisse Gallery (New York: Pierre Matisse, 1942), unpaginated.

40 Herbert Read, *Surrealism* (London: Faber & Faber, 1936); Oliver Larkin, "Inspirations of the unconscious," *Saturday Review of Literature*, August 21, 1937.



8 A surrealism-inspired advertisement in *The New Yorker*, February 6, 1937.



9 A surrealism-inspired advertisement in *The New Yorker*, December 26, 1936.

10 "Insanity Time Only Right Time for Surrealist Hair Dressings," article in the *New York World-Telegram*, December 31, 1936.

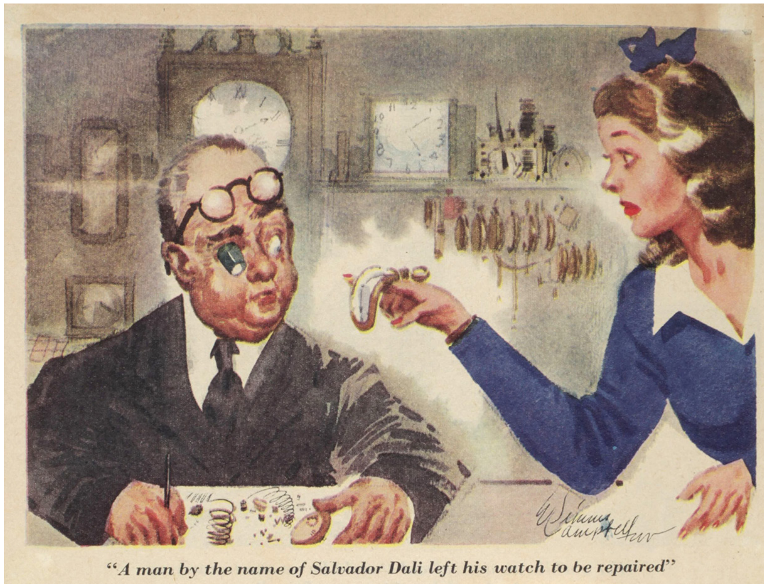
> "Straight surrealism, as practiced by the European adept, has not proved attractive to many American artists, and this type of work is distinctly in the minority in this exhibition. However, a good many of the works exhibited indicate that surrealist ideas and technique have been assimilated into the stream of contemporary American expression. Surrealism has given the artist a new daring in the use of narrative, and an enhanced power of emotional statement through unusual handling."[41]

The success story of surrealism in the United States cannot be properly understood without considering the prevailing visual culture. In America, the pictorial worlds of surrealism penetrated everyday life as never before, spreading rapidly as a result of commercialization, media absorption, and popularization. Against a background of Walt Disney cartoons, the introduction of television, advertising campaigns for American shrines to consumerism, and fashion and lifestyle magazines such as *Harper's Bazaar* and *Vogue*, surrealism had a very different reception and cross-media popularization in the United States than it had experienced in interwar Europe.[42] For example, the Sloane furniture chain advertised rooms à la de Chirico (fig. 8), and surrealist imagery was used in advertising for the New York department store Bamberger's and for Sandeman Sherry (fig. 9). For the 1937 New Year celebrations, surrealist hairstyles and fashions were recommended in the press (fig. 10). Furthermore, a number of popular cartoons show how deeply surrealism had entered society (fig. 11). These few examples illustrate how surrealism conquered the media and American high society, not only in the world of art, but also in film, ballet, and theater (fig. 12). In the field of advertising and fashion, endless variations were played out on the theme of Dalí's limp watches; the artist's public appearances provided the press with a constant feast of material, while his media strategies and the high prices commanded by his works were caricatured. Perhaps the most spectacular example of Dalí's strong media presence is the Dream of Venus pavilion that he unveiled to an equally fascinated and shocked public at the New York World's Fair in 1939, with which, as *Time* magazine observed, he was likely to "win more converts to Surrealism than a dozen highbrow exhibitions."[43] Dalí is known to have ceased to be an official member of the surrealist movement in 1934—expelled by Breton for his ambivalent attitude toward fascism, he nevertheless continued to present himself as

41 Holger Cahill, "Introduction," in National Art Society, ed., *American Art Today. New York World's Fair*, exh. cat., New York (New York: National Art Society, 1939), p. 27.

42 See Zalman, *Consuming Surrealism* (note 22).

43 "World's Fairs. Pay as You Enter" *Time*, June 26, 1939.



11 "A man by the name of Salvador Dali left his watch to be repaired," cartoon in *Esquire*, June 1943.

12 Cover of the program for the Surrealist and Fantastic Film Festival, New York, Fifth Avenue Playhouse, December 1941.

a surrealist artist.[44] His carefully calculated appearances and provocative showmanship were therefore seen as a betrayal of the movement, and ultimately inspired Breton to come up with his "Avida Dollars" anagram (fig. 13).[45] Dalí's expulsion from the movement and simultaneous meteoric rise in the American art market reflect, and effectively exemplify, the transformed reception of surrealism in the United States art market, while also pointing to the need to investigate this reception in a way that takes into consideration these diverse, complex, and to some extent opposing, interests.

13 Yale Joel, *20,000 Dollar Dalí*, 1954. The LIFE Picture Collection.

44 Robin Adèle Greeley, *Surrealism and the Spanish Civil War* (New Haven, CT/London: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 81. See Ingrid Schaffner, *Salvador Dalí's Dream of Venus. The Surrealist Funhouse from the 1939 World's Fair* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2002).

45 See the essay by Martin Schieder in this volume, pp. 191–215, p. 199.

Between appropriation and accommodation

The commercial appropriation of surrealism in general, and Dalí in particular, was the subject of controversial debate among contemporaries.[46] Indeed, surrealist artists came in for open criticism in the press. This was nourished not only by their purported communist convictions, but also by their marketing strategies, which contrasted diametrically with their political beliefs (or perceived ideologies). Interestingly, it was a German exile, the writer Klaus Mann, who initiated a campaign against the surrealists by reproaching them for sacrificing their convictions for the sake of mere show. Mann's article "Surrealist Circus" was published in the *American Mercury* in 1943:

> "Deplorably passé in Montmartre and Montparnasse even before the war, surrealism has a new lease on life along Park Avenue and in the 57th Street galleries. Shocked and amused, Americans witness an increasingly fashionable revival of all the familiar gags: the fancy publications and complicated intrigues, the noisy artistic snobbery, the fights, the pretentious blare and bustle. Of course, some of the more daring gadgets have to be sacrificed—the anti-capitalist and anti-God stuff, for example, is a trifle too hot for Park Avenue palates."

In particular, Mann was struck by the fact that despite Dalí's scandalous behavior, the artist's "solid craftsmanship has been recognized and well paid for by exacting collectors," and that Peggy Guggenheim flew the "surrealist family" to the United States in a plane and took them "under her wing." Yet what did one see in her gallery Art of This Century? In Mann's words, "The Guggenheim gallery looks like the amusement area at a second-rate World's Fair, say in Mexico City or Bucharest, with all kinds of turning wheels, changing lights, and mechanical tricks."[47] This condemnation of surrealism's putative commercial mien is found repeatedly in American criticism, and in 1944, in *The Nation*, Clement Greenberg castigated the profit-oriented popularization and appropriation of surrealism with his own brand of sarcasm:

> "The desire to change life on the spot, without waiting for the revolution, and to make art the affair of everybody is Surrealism's most laudable motive, yet it has led inevitably to a certain vulgarization of modem art. The attempt is made to depress it to a

46 Robert S. Lubar, "Salvador Dalí in America: The Rise and Fall of an Arch-Surrealist," in Isabelle Dervaux, Michael Duncan, eds., *Surrealism USA*, New York, National Academy Museum (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz, 2004), pp. 20–29, here p. 26.

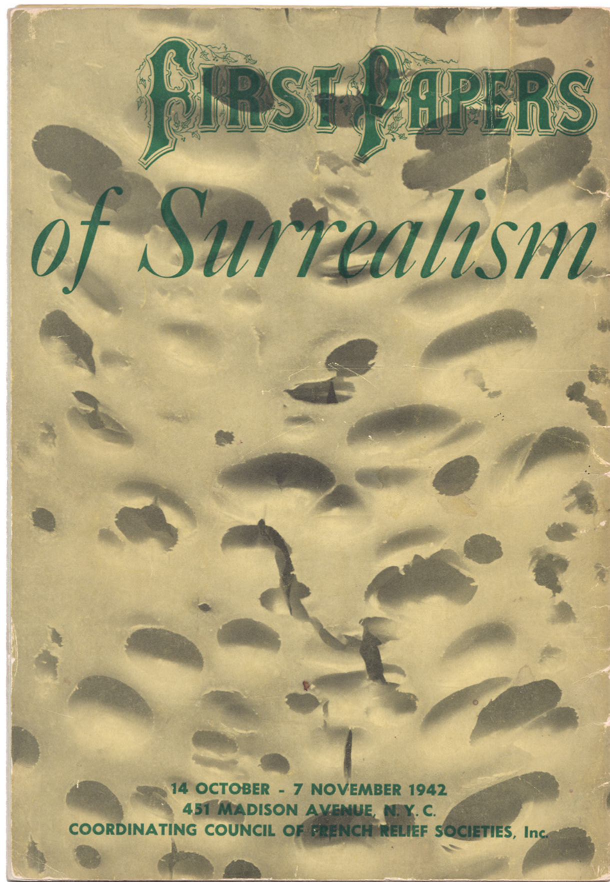
47 Klaus Mann, "Surrealist Circus," *American Mercury*, February 1943, pp. 174–181, passim.

> popular level instead of raising the level of popularity itself. The anti-institutional, anti-formal, anti-aesthetic nihilism of the Surrealists—inherited from Dada with all the artificial nonsense entailed—has in the end proved a blessing to the restless rich, the expatriates, and aesthete-flaneurs in general who were repelled by the asceticism of modern art. Surrealist subversiveness justifies their way of life, sanctioning the peace of conscience and the sense of chic with which they reject arduous disciplines."[48]

On one hand, the acculturation of surrealism in the United States was largely determined by the expansion of consumerism and modern visual culture; on the other, surrealism was only perceived to a limited extent as a European avant-garde movement. While some exhibitions and critics repudiated the political claims, ideology, and group character of the movement, others criticized the compromising of surrealism's ideological values to satisfy the demands of consumption. As we have argued, the interest of the American public appears to have depended on the particular artistic position or aesthetic value of a work rather than the underlying worldview—or, put another way, a worldview did not necessarily travel with the artwork as it entered the networks of dealers, museums, and collectors.

This shift in possibilities for the artist and understandings of works of art can be described as a process of accommodation or adapting to circumstances. In this context, it is worth underscoring once again that the historicization and canonization of surrealist art occurred on the continent of America rather than in Europe. Surrealism experienced its first phase of museumization in the United States within the context of large-scale group and individual exhibitions, such as at MoMA in New York and the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford, whose curators served as active agents, buying and also reselling surrealist art.[49] Significantly, the majority of exhibitions were no longer organized by the surrealists themselves but by art historians and curators in the white cube, where the displays "inevitably took on some of the character of the clean lines of a Bauhaus-derived approach to design."[50] Thus in 1936–37, Barr's pioneering show "Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism" took the form of a historical survey—in other words, not a surrealist exhibition but an exhibition *about* surrealism. After attracting 50,000 visitors in New York, the show then traveled to Pennsylvania, Boston, Springfield, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, and San Francisco.

48 Clement Greenberg, "Surrealist Painting," *The Nation*, August 12, 1944, p. 192–193, here p. 192.
49 Tashjian, *A Boatload of Madmen* (note 8), p. 44.
50 Kachur, *Displaying the Marvelous* (note 10), p. 16.



14 Cover of the catalogue for the Marcel Duchamp-designed exhibition "First Papers of Surrealism," New York, Whitelaw Reid Mansion, 1942.

Its success helps to explain how Breton, as the self-proclaimed impresario of surrealism, lost his control and sway over the movement's exhibitions and displays during his exile in the United States. Although he endeavored, as he had in Paris, to play a part in the planning and mounting of group shows, and to organize his own exhibitions, such as "First Papers of Surrealism" at the Reid Mansion Gallery in 1942 (fig. 14), at the same time Peggy Guggenheim was creating a commercial platform for surrealist art with her Art of This Century gallery, Levy and Pierre Matisse were organizing their own successful group and individual exhibitions, Sidney Janis curated the 1944 exhibition "Abstract and Surrealist Painting" at the San Francisco Museum (in which artists from both continents were hung next to one another as equals), and Duchamp was advising important American collectors such as Walter and Louise Arensberg. Thus, not only did Breton have to share his interpretive sovereignty

with American agents and institutions, he also had to surrender it to the individual interests of those artists for whom a new market was opening up in the United States. The exiled surrealists associated with Breton distanced themselves from Dalí, "the painter of Franco's ambassador" and a "stinking Don Quixote," as underlined by Nicolas Calas in *View* in June 1941.[51] Indeed it can be observed that by this time, the exiled artists hardly ever acted as a united group. In this, they were in a sense betraying the fundamental principle of surrealist exhibition strategy, whereby the collective had always taken precedence over individual success. In exile, they now pursued their own interests and projects, conducting their marketing individually and developing a wide range of business and finance models with their agents and gallerists. Marcel Duchamp wrote:

> "My friends Tanguy, Léger, Seligmann, Ernst are on the job and working; but unlike during our early days of exile, our regular meetings of lost souls are a thing of the past. Each has gone his own way. Breton is the only one I see reasonably often. He has been speaking for nearly three years, and continues to speak, several times a day, on the radio."[52]

American surrealism

In the catalogue for "Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism," Barr emphasizes the contribution of American artists to surrealism:

> "The fantastic and marvelous in European and American art of the past five centuries is represented by about one hundred and fifty items. The main body of the exhibition is devoted to the Dada and Surrealist movements of the past twenty years together with certain pioneers. A number of artists, both American and European, who have worked along related but independent lines, are brought together in a separate division."[53]

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51 Nicolas Calas, "Anti-Surrealist Dalí. I say His Flies Are Ersatz," *View*, vol. 1, no. 6 (June 1941), pp. 1 and 3. See Julia Pine, "Anti-Surrealist Cross-Word Puzzles Breton, Dalí and Print in Wartime America," *Journal of Surrealism and the Americas*, no. 1 (2007), pp. 1–29.

52 Letter from Marcel Duchamp to Henri-Pierre Roché, December 17, 1944, Scarlett and Philippe Reliquet, eds., *Correspondance Marcel Duchamp – Henri-Pierre Roché, 1918–1959* (Geneva: Mamco, 2012), p. 67. Translated from the French. ("Les amis Tanguy, Léger, Seligmann, Ernst sont fidèles au poste et travaillent; mais il n'y a plus comme aux premiers jours de l'exil de fréquentes réunions d'âmes en peine. Chacun s'est débrouillé de son côté. Breton est le seul que je voie assez souvent, il a parlé depuis presque trois ans et parle encore à la radio plusieurs fois par jour.")

53 Alfred H. Barr Jr., "Preface to the first edition," in Alfred H. Barr Jr., ed., *Fantastic Art Dada Surrealism*, exh. cat., New York, Museum of Modern Art (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1936), pp. 7–8, here p. 7.

In recent years, not only has the fate of the exiled surrealists been studied extensively in a number of exhibitions and publications, but genuinely American movements such as the social surrealists and the post-surrealists have also drawn increasing attention. In the United States of the 1930s and 1940s, a heterogeneous American surrealist scene developed that was positioned between internationalism and regionalism, between European modernism and national realism. In contrast with European surrealism, psychological and erotic subject matter took a back seat, while the political and social relevance of the art itself was formulated more trenchantly. Through a range of different aesthetic and political approaches, artists sought to develop a visual language somewhere between social surrealism, post-surrealism, and magic realism. In the United States, the transitions between the different "isms" and forms of expression were seldom distinct or even predetermined. While recognizing these conditions, as well as the development of platforms for the dissemination of American surrealism—such as the Gallery of Living Art in New York (renamed the Museum of Living Art in 1936), directed between 1927 and 1943 by Albert E. Gallatin, whom art critic Forbes Watson described as ranking among the American collectors "who have done their bit to keep the American artist from being swamped in the waves of the Paris vogue"—the attention of this volume is largely directed to the fate of European surrealism in the United States.[54] We look forward to future projects that can advance the investigation of the networks of dealers, collectors, and museums that helped to foster and sustain an artistic identity for American artists that was distinct from their European colleagues, as in the case of a Californian offshoot of American surrealism that emerged in Los Angeles as early as the mid-1930s around Lorser Feitelson, Helen Lundeberg, Philip Guston, Reuben Kadish, Harold Lehman, Knud Merrild, and Grace Clements. Known as subjective surrealism or post-surrealism, this movement deliberately distanced itself from both European surrealism and the East Coast, as critic Jules Langsner observes in his foreword to the exhibition "Post-Surrealists and Other Moderns" held at the Stanley Rose Gallery in Los Angeles in May 1935: "Post-surrealism affirms all that surrealism negates."[55] One year earlier—in other words, prior to the emigration of the European artists and agents to the United States—Helen Lundeberg defined a "new classicism" as an answer to "manneristic" European surrealism:

54 Forbes Watson, "Honor List of American Art Supporters," *Creative Art*, no. 9 (November 1931), p. 416; quoted in Gail Stavitsky, "A. E. Gallatin's Gallery and Museum of Living Art (1927–1943)," *American Art*, vol. 7, no. 2 (Spring 1993), pp. 47–63, here p. 54.

55 Jules Langsner, "Introduction," in Elisabeth Ann Mills, Jules Langsner, eds., *Post Surrealists and other Moderns*, exh. cat., Los Angeles, Stanley Rose Gallery (Los Angeles: Stanley Rose Gallery, 1935), unpaginated, quoted in Susan Ehrlich, ed., *Pacific Dreams: Currents of Surrealism and Fantasy in California Art, 1934–1957* (Los Angeles: Armand Hammer Museum of Art and Cultural Center, 1995), p. 15.

"The aesthetic structure in the works of Lurcat, Pierre Roy, Chirico, Severini, Dali, and Max Ernst is of no historical significance, since it is still imitative and manneristic in its faithful mimicry of the essential principles of pictorial pattern to be found in Renaissance painting. In NEW CLASSICISM alone do we find an aesthetic which departs from the principles of the decorative graphic arts to found a unique order, an integrity of subject matter and pictorial structure unprecedented in the history of art."[56]

The making of surrealism

The new research gathered here, both grounded in the archive and methodologically diverse, collectively investigates, for the first time, the United States art market networks of the 1930s to the 1960s in relation to surrealism. Twenty case studies take as their subjects various exhibitions, artists, dealers, and collectors chosen for their ability to serve as critically informed examples. Divided into three sections, "Private / Public," "Agents / Artists," and "Galleries / Dealers," this book offers an innovative and lasting contribution to research and scholarship on the history of art in America, while focusing specifically on the expansion and reception of surrealism in the United States.

The essays brought together here pursue the leading questions discussed since 2014 within the framework of the international research project "Surrealism and Money. Galleries, Collectors, and Intermediaries" ("Le surréalisme et l'argent. Galeries, collectionneurs et médiateurs"), initiated by the DFK German Center for Art History in Paris in collaboration with the Université Paris Nanterre and the Universität Leipzig. This project explores the extent to which the global success of surrealism in the twentieth century was due to the roles played by, and factors embodied in, private collectors, museums, and exhibitions, as well as the commercial strategies of artists. The intention is to shed light on the formal and informal networks that sustained surrealism as an international movement, as well as to establish formal and informal networks of emerging and senior scholars, drawn largely from the United States and Europe, to stimulate new scholarship on surrealism. Since 2014, supported by the DFK Paris and the Labex Arts-H2H, directed by Fabrice Flahutez, we have been studying the galleries, dealers, and networks of surrealism in various workshops, and

56 Helen Lundeberg, "New Classicism," 1934; quoted in Michael Duncan, ed., *Post Surrealism*, exh. cat., Pasadena, Museum of California Art (Logan: Utah State University, 2002), http://digitalcommons.usu.edu/artmuseum_cat/7, accessed January 31, 2019, p. 19.

have endeavored to establish an international and innovative research team that brings together both established specialists and young scholars of surrealism and the art market on a regular basis, focusing on a range of topics. The first workshop was devoted to surrealism as a worldwide phenomenon, examining whether we can approach the surrealist movement, which spread across all of the world's continents over the course of forty years, from such a perspective. The subsequent workshops pursued specific geographic, chronological, or systematic questions: "The Surrealist Map of the World" ("Le monde au temps des surréalistes," Paris 2014), "Surrealism in Europe Between the Wars" ("Der Surrealismus in Europa zwischen den Weltkriegen," Paris 2016), "Surrealism and Indigenous Arts" ("Surréalisme et arts premiers," Paris 2016), "Surrealism in Paris, North Africa, and the Middle East from the 1930s" (Beirut, 2016), "Surrealism's Galleries, Collectors, and Dealers, 1945–1969" ("Galerien, Sammler und Händler des Surrealismus, 1945–1969," Paris 2017), and, from November 27 to 29, 2017, "Networks, Museums, and Collections. Surrealism in the United States" (at the DFK in Paris).

The present volume is the work of many heads and hands, and its editors owe a debt of sincere gratitude to numerous institutions and many colleagues for their ideational, scholarly, and practical support. Without the ongoing support of the DFK Paris, and in particular its director Thomas Kirchner, neither the project nor the publication would have been possible. We would like to thank the Terra Foundation for American Art and its president Elizabeth Glassman for generously supporting our conference and publication.

We also thank Markus A. Castor, responsible for online publications at the DFK, Béatrice Adam and Marthje Sagewitz for their reliable and careful editorial supervision of this volume, and Carolin Muser, Luca Arendt, Clara Forcht, and Yorick Berta for their assistance with picture research and editing. We are also grateful to Marcel Fleiss, Regina Karl, and María Fernandez Lopez for the attention they have shown to this project.

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