157 Ed Ruscha, *Surrealism Soaped and Scrubbed*, 1966, chromogenic print, 27.9 × 35.6 cm. New York.

Surrealist Intrusion and Disenchantment on Madison Avenue, 1960

Susan L. Power

Commercial gallery interests, bolstered by institutional promotional efforts, set the tone for the North American reception of surrealism from the moment the movement's visual production arrived on American shores in the early 1930s.[1] The tension between North American market or museum-driven forces and the underlying socio-political aims of the movement's collective activities crystallized in their international exhibitions in Mexico City and New York City during European wartime exile.[2] In a sequel to that now well-documented episode of the movement's activities in the Americas, the surrealists staged an encore in New York City some twenty years later.[3] Titled "Surrealist Intrusion

1 Updating the abundant scholarship on this defining period of surrealism's trajectory in the United States, Sandra Zalman has most recently revisited and expanded upon these issues in *Consuming Surrealism in American Culture: Dissident Modernism* (Farnham/Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2015). On the Mexican context, see Courtney Gilbert, "'The (New World) in the time of the surrealists.' European Surrealists and their Mexican Contemporaries," PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2001; and Rachel Kaplan's analysis of the commercial stakes for surrealism in 1940 in this volume: "The Galería de Arte Mexicano and Pathways for Mexican Surrealism in the United States."

2 Refuting formalist readings of surrealist practice, the international exhibitions organized by artists and poets affiliated with the surrealist movement sought to displace the visual production they championed from the realm of pure aesthetics and monetary exchange to inscribe it within another field, one that would unite surrealist principles and artistic output with the movement's social and political ideals. The surrealist exhibitions thus enlisted strategies of display and catalogue documentation to disrupt and undermine the discourses established in the interest of commerce and art history. This conjuncture forms the central premise of my PhD dissertation, "Les expositions surréalistes en Amérique du Nord: Terrain d'expérimentation, de réception et de diffusion (1940–1960)," PhD diss., Université de Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2012. For scholarly examination of these stakes in other notable international surrealist exhibitions, see Elena Filopovic, "Surrealism in 1938: The Exhibition at War," in Raymond Spiteri and Donald Lacoss, eds., *Surrealism, Politics and Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2003), pp. 179–203; and Alyce Mahon, *Surrealism and the Politics of Eros, 1938–1968* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2005).

3 Of the copious literature, two foundational books deserve particular mention: Dickran Tashjian, *A Boatload of Madmen: Surrealism and the American Avant-Garde, 1920–1950* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1995); and Martica Sawin, *Surrealism in Exile and the Beginning of the New York School* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995). An update on Jeffrey Wechsler's *Surrealism and American*

in the Enchanters' Domain," this international exhibition of surrealism was held at D'Arcy Galleries on Madison Avenue from December 1960 through January 1961. Leading the organizing team, André Breton and his "twine" Marcel Duchamp—as the latter had punned in the exhibition catalogue for the 1942 "First Papers of Surrealism"—joined forces once again to orchestrate a revival that was considered, at the onset of the 1960s, somewhat of a lackluster anomaly. Having been declared one of the casualties of the Second World War, surrealism had virtually vanished from the postwar capital of the international art world, along with the departed European exiles and their American champions—Julien Levy and Peggy Guggenheim having shuttered their galleries in the late 1940s. It had long been eclipsed by the next "ism," abstract expressionism, which by the late 1950s was itself waning with the advent of neo-Dada, pop, assemblage, happenings, and so forth. Nonetheless, the cultural clout of the organizers and the solid reputations of the many stalwart artists featured in "Surrealist Intrusion" insured ample press coverage of the event.[4]

In view of the growing institutional popularity and academic scrutiny of surrealism since the dawn of our current century, the dearth of scholarly attention devoted to "Surrealist Intrusion in the Enchanters' Domain" might seem surprising, especially within the relatively recent expanded scope of art-historical inquiry addressing the history of exhibitions. In large part the biased reception of surrealism, circumscribing the history of the movement essentially to the 1930s and 1940s—an imbalance that persists to this day—has undoubtedly contributed to the marginal status of "Surrealist Intrusion" as a latecomer.[5] "Surrealist Intrusion" has garnered the most attention for the scandal that erupted when Salvador Dalí—aided and abetted by the Parisian organizers' longstanding accomplice Duchamp—upstaged the quirkily sober surrealist

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Art, 1931–1947, Jeffrey Wechsler, ed., exh. cat., New Brunswick, Rutgers University Art Gallery (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Art Gallery, 1977), Isabelle Dervaux expanded the chronological scope considerably to include the legacy of surrealism in contemporary art in the exhibition *Surrealism USA*, Isabelle Dervaux, ed., exh. cat., New York, National Academy Museum/Phoenix, Phoenix Art Museum (Ostfildern-Ruit, Germany: Hatje Cantz, 2005).

4 "Surrealist Intrusion in the Enchanters' Domain" was previewed and reviewed in both the mainstream and specialized press. See Mark Roskill, "Surrealists," *ARTnews*, 59/7 (November 1960), p. 18; John Canaday, "Art. Surrealism With the Trimmings," *New York Times*, November 16, 1960, p. 36; and "Nostalgia and the Forward Look. Duchamp Surveys Surrealism and Dali Forges Ahead in All Directions," *New York Times*, December 4, 1960, p. X21; Emily Genauer, "Art. Dalí and Some Surrealist Enchanters," *New York Herald Tribune*, December 4, 1960, p. 19; Robert Coates, "The Art Galleries. The Surrealists," *New Yorker*, December 10, 1960, pp. 198–201; John Canaday, "Surrealistic Sanity," *Time*, 76/24 (December 12, 1960), p. 55; Irving Hershel Sandler, "New York Letter," *Art International*, no. 4 (December 31, 1960), p. 33; and Jerrold Lanes, "Surrealist Events," *Arts*, 35/5 (February 1961), pp. 22–31.

5 Lewis Kachur's groundbreaking study *Displaying the Marvelous* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001), with its focus on the international surrealist exhibitions of the 1930s and 1940s, attests to the convergence of these phenomena.

enterprise in his usual flamboyant fashion.[6] The more subdued format of "Surrealist Intrusion" in the history of surrealist exhibitions may also account for the critical neglect.[7] As they had done under different circumstances in the 1947 and 1959–60 international exhibitions held in Paris, the group renewed their efforts to reestablish their activities and relevance with the 1960-61 New York exhibition.[8] This essay will thus examine the actual circumstances that engendered the tardy surrealist endeavor stateside and in so doing will illuminate the friction that also resulted as the surrealists sought to reiterate the vitality of the Parisian movement in the postwar American landscape at a moment when the contemporary art market was gaining momentum.

Behind the scenes at D'Arcy Galleries

Unlike most of the surrealist exhibitions spearheaded by affiliates of the movement, "Surrealist Intrusion" was instigated by the dealer Maurice Bonnefoy, owner of D'Arcy Galleries. A neophyte to surrealism, he reached out to Breton for advice about showcasing surrealist artists at his Upper East Side gallery in early 1960, amid plans to expand his space in a move from 19 East Seventy-Sixth Street to 1091 Madison Avenue.[9]

6 The misunderstandings and tensions arising from Salvador Dalí's participation in "Surrealist Intrusion" swiftly ended Breton and Duchamp's longstanding collaboration on the international surrealist exhibitions (1938, 1942, 1947, and 1959–60), and strained their friendship. Upon learning from Claude Tarnaud's incendiary account of the opening about Dalí's unexpected and provocative presence in the exhibition, the surrealists in Paris condemned his self-promoting inclusion by issuing the collective tract, "We Don't EAR It That Way." For the most detailed account of the events by a key participant revisiting the episode over forty years later, see Édouard Jaguer, "À propos d'un écart absolu de Marcel Duchamp (et de l'exposition internationale du surréalisme à New York, 1960–61)," *Étant donné Marcel Duchamp*, no. 5 (2003), pp. 22–47.

7 Unlike "white cube" masterpiece installations typical of modernist museum display (monographic groupings, chronological, stylistic, and/or medium-specific linear hanging)—with the Museum of Modern Art as a case in point for the New York context (see the installation shots for William Rubin's *Dada, Surrealism and Their Heritage,* Museum of Modern Art, ed., https://www.moma.org/calendar/exhibitions/1884?locale=en, accessed July 17, 2018)—the international surrealist exhibitions adopted outmoded and unconventional methods of hanging artwork (non-linear, salon-style arrangements juxtaposing heterogeneous works, integrated into Marcel Duchamp's theatrical exhibit designs, for instance) in order to stage singular surrealist environments. Commentators usually perceived these spectacular tactics as funfair antics or cheap provocation, unworthy of serious aesthetic appraisal. What critics failed to grasp was the subversive intent of the surrealist exhibition strategies. Disrupting fine art categories and criteria, the disembodied gaze, individual authorship, and stylistic homogeneity was exactly the point, however. By 1960, nonetheless, some art critics possessed a more nuanced understanding of surrealist aims as critical examination of "Surrealist Intrusion" demonstrates.

8 For an extensive reconstruction and in-depth analysis of "Surrealist Intrusion in the Enchanters' Domain," see chapters 8 and 9 of my doctoral dissertation, Power, "Les expositions surréalistes en Amérique du Nord" (note 2).

9 Mere blocks away from his previous Upper East Side space and a block from the Metropolitan Museum of Art between Eighty-Second and Eighty-Third Streets, the uptown locale was situated in a stronghold of dealers specializing in modern European masters. Leo Castelli opened

Formerly an international businessman based in Cuba, Bonnefoy, whose gallery specialized in non-Western art, particularly pre-Columbian, had connections with French collectors, notably Madeleine Rousseau.[10] The gallery venture also brought him into contact with surrealist artist and theorist Wolfgang Paalen (and subsequently his widow Isabel Marin) in Mexico, from whom he acquired pre-Columbian pieces.[11] Through these extended networks, in which dealers and collectors of non-Western art intersected with surrealist circles, Bonnefoy germinated the plan to expand his activity to surrealism during a stay in Paris where he visited the "Exposition inteRnatiOnale du Surréalisme" (E.R.O.S.), held at the Galerie Daniel Cordier in 1959–60.

In an introductory letter to Breton, the dealer outlined his intention to present "significant European surrealists" in his new larger premises. Subsequently, he also proposed a show juxtaposing non-Western objects with surrealist works.[12] Prefiguring William Rubin's 1984 MoMA tour de force "Primitivism in 20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern," Bonnefoy's idea was to demonstrate the influence of the non-Western pieces on the surrealist ones.[13] From the start, his formalist approach revealed a superficial grasp of surrealism's basic tenets. Ironically, of the four non-Western pieces that were included in "Sur-

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his first New York gallery in his fourth-floor apartment at 8 East Seventy-Seventh Street in 1957 in the same area. Bonnefoy stated his intentions in an initial letter to Breton, January 30, 1960, http://www.andrebreton.fr/work/56600100241310, accessed July 17, 2018.

10 Bonnefoy had worked for the familial maritime transport business based in Cuba and had traveled widely in South America, Africa, Indonesia, and New Guinea, which explains his interest in non-Western art. Conversation with the dealer's son Olivier Bonnefoy, December 13, 2005. Selected exhibitions held at D'Arcy Galleries prior to "Surrealist Intrusion" include "A Survey of Pre-Columbian Cultures," "African Art," "3,000 Years of Mexican Art," and "The Arts of Primitive Man; Mother and Child in Primitive Art," all in 1957; then "6,000 Years of Primitive Art," "Primitive Art from the Miguel Covarrublias Collection," and "Treasures of Pre-Columbian America" in 1958. Madeleine Rousseau (1895–1980) worked for the Association populaire des amis du musée (APAM, est. 1936) and edited its journal, *Le Musée vivant*. As an art historian, collector, and educator, she was involved in the postwar Parisian art scene, promoting both non-Western and contemporary art, especially abstraction.

11 Paalen also supplied objects to New York dealer André Emmerich. Conversation with André Emmerich, November 22, 2005. The surrealist affinity for non-Western objects was longstanding and profound. Savvy dealers such as Emmerich played up those connections to appeal to a broader clientele. For instance, an advertisement for his gallery, which appeared above the publicity for "Surrealist Intrusion in the Enchanters' Domain," proposed "aspects of surrealism & fantasy in pre-Columbian art." See *New York Times*, January 1, 1961, p. X14.

12 Letter from Maurice Bonnefoy to André Breton, February 12, 1960, http://www.andrebreton.fr/work/56600100241310, accessed July 17, 2018.

13 The idea was hardly novel as New York galleries had been showcasing the modernist primitivism paradigm since the 1910s. See Marius de Zaya, "Statuary in Wood by African Savages. The Root of Modern Art, 1914," in Jack Flam with Miriam Deutch, eds., *Primitivism and Twentieth Century Art. A Documentary History* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 2003), pp. 70–72. Also Stieglitz's installation of works by Picasso and Braque with African art at Gallery 291, 1915; and de Zayas's Modern Art Gallery, 1916. "Early African Heads and Statues from the Gabon Pahoin Tribes," organized by Paul Guillaume at Durand-Ruel's New York Gallery in 1933, juxtaposed African sculptures with paintings by Derain. That show was recently restaged at the Almine Rech Gallery in New York (May–June, 2017).

realist Intrusion," none of them were from Bonnefoy's gallery. Vincent Bounoure, a non-Western art specialist and recent member of Breton's coterie who authored the "Surrealist Intrusion" catalogue essay titled "Surrealism and the Savage Heart," rejected the pieces Bonnefoy had initially suggested.[14] It was thus left to Duchamp to negotiate the loans for the objects, which were borrowed from the Museum of Primitive Art, founded by Nelson A. Rockefeller in 1954.[15]

Once Breton had agreed to collaborate with Bonnefoy—who had offered the poet consultant fees and a cut on sales from any works he secured—they corresponded regularly.[16] Their epistolary exchange provides an invaluable source of information about the organizational aspects, affording an exclusive glimpse behind the scenes of "Surrealist Intrusion." Despite the absence of D'Arcy Galleries records, primary documents from a number of archives, primarily the André Breton archive and Julien Levy Papers, offer insight into the logistics, curatorial process, and intent.[17] For example, prior to reaching out to Breton, Bonnefoy had already been in discussion with the French artist Jean-Jacques Lebel, who was handling the selection of works by a younger generation of artists affiliated with the Parisian surrealist group—Jean Benoît, Agustín Cárdenas, Yves Elléouët, Manina, Mimi Parent, and Unika Zürn—to be showcased at the gallery in April.[18] As soon as

14 Bonnefoy sent photographs of the objects, whose "art for art's sake" qualities Bounoure found irrelevant to the surrealist vision. The surrealists' affinity for non-Western art was related to its transformative function rather than formal characteristics. Letter from Vincent Bounoure to André Breton, August 24, 1960, http://www.andrebreton.fr/work/56600100527080, accessed July 17, 2018.

15 The loans comprised a Tlingit or Haida eagle headdress from British Columbia, a slit-gong head from the New Hebrides, a standing figure from the Marquesa Islands, and a male ancestor figure from Easter Island. See the checklist insert for "Surrealist Intrusion in the Enchanters' Domain," D'Arcy Galleries, ed., exh. cat. (New York: D'Arcy Galleries, 1960).

16 "Qu'il s'agisse de peintres anciens ou nouveaux, notre collaboration devrait se concevoir, à mon sens, sur une base monétaire qui tiendrait directement compte de la vente ici des œuvres sélectionnées par vous, en France, ou ailleurs. Dans le cas de peintres 'nouveaux', notre Galerie tiendra compte dans son prix de vente d'honoraires de 'consultant' comme cela se pratique couramment ici lorsque la sélection de certains peintres se fait en Europe. Dans le cas de peintres 'anciens' où les prix sont d'autant plus flexibles que l'œuvre est plus rare, il vous suffirait de m'indiquer à la fois le prix demandé par le vendeur et celui suggéré pour la vente. Ce dernier me servira de base." Bonnefoy to Breton, February 12, 1960 (note 12).

17 The surrealists were usually present during the development phase of their exhibitions, which comprised a form of collective activity carried out in parallel to other endeavors. Their regular meetings facilitated direct communication and eliminated the need for written correspondence, which accounts for the scarcity of archival documents relating to surrealist exhibitions such as "First Papers of Surrealism."

18 The son of Robert Lebel, a close associate of Breton and Duchamp, Jean-Jacques Lebel had frequented the surrealist group briefly in the1950s and exhibited in "E.R.O.S." Bonnefoy mailed Breton a copy of the letter, dated March 5, 1960, he had sent to Lebel, who suggested replacing the works by Manina, Mimi Parent, and Unika Zürn with others by Jacques Lacomblez, Étienne Martin, and Roberto Crippa. Of the latter, Lacomblez, who was associated with Édouard Jaguer

Breton was onboard, Bonnefoy canceled the arrangement with Lebel, counting on the poet to act as his expert surrealist supplier.[19]

Although the final configuration of "Surrealist Intrusion" borrowed heavily from the artists and works on view in "E.R.O.S.," Bonnefoy was adamant about excluding any work with explicit erotic content, no doubt fearing that any sexual innuendo would be off-putting for his more conservative American clientele.[20] To purely commercial ends, Bonnefoy insisted on exhibiting representative works by well-known surrealist artists from European collections that had never been shown in the United States, depending on Breton's connections to obtain them.[21] Seeking formal similarities between the works by established surrealist artists and the younger generation, the dealer once again betrayed his ignorance of the surrealist perspective on the visual arts. Bonnefoy's formalist approach to surrealist visual production was widespread in the United States, as New York critics parroted similar expectations, adopting a connoisseurial attitude in praise of the "surrealist old masters," such as Giorgio de Chirico, Max Ernst, Francis Picabia, Man Ray, and Yves Tanguy, whose work set an aesthetic standard against which the younger generation could hardly compete.[22]

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and Phases, was the only artist included in "Surrealist Intrusion." Once he had secured Breton's participation, Bonnefoy no longer needed Lebel's services and canceled their arrangement. See http://www.andrebreton.fr/work/56600100241310, accessed July 17, 2018.

19 "Je veux absolument donner à ma Galerie une orientation précise et qui se reflétera d'une façon pertinente dans le choix des œuvres exposées tout au long de l'année. … Je ne peux faire mieux que de m'en remettre complètement à vous pour le choix des peintres et la sélection de leurs toiles. Ce principe établi, il sera nécessaire pour moi de prévoir à l'avance le programme des expositions à venir et d'avoir ici, en permanence, un stock substantiel des œuvres qui, n'étant pas nécessairement exposées, seront néanmoins disponibles lorsque des collectionneurs se présenteront." Letter from Bonnefoy to Breton, February 25, 1960, http://www.andrebreton.fr/work/56600100241310, accessed July 17, 2018.

20 "Vous connaissez comme moi l'Amérique et vous savez sans doute que la notion d'érotisme en peinture doit être abordée ici avec une prudence calculée. En d'autres termes, s'il est vrai qu'il soit 'le seul art à la mesure de l'homme', l'érotisme ne devrait pas se poser à New York et surtout dans une grande exposition rétrospective en manifeste absolu du surréalisme." Letter from Bonnefoy to Breton, February 26, 1960, http://www.andrebreton.fr/work/56600100241310, accessed July 17, 2018.

21 On February 12, 1960 (note 12), Bonnefoy wrote to Breton: "Votre liste des 'anciennes forces' concorde presque point par point avec celle que j'avais provisoirement établie: Arp, Bellmer, Brauner, Duchamp, Ernst, Giacometti, Gorky, Lam, Man Ray, Matta, Miró, Paalen, Tanguy." The dealer also requested that the exhibited works be available for sale although there were exceptions, such as André Masson's *The Cardinal Points* (1923) and Francis Picabia's *Portrait of Arthur Craven* (1918) lent by Simone Collinet, Breton's first wife, and a number of pieces from Julien Levy's collection. See checklist insert, "Surrealist Intrusion," exh. cat. (note 15). For a list of the twenty-one works (including sale price and insurance value) that Julien Levy consigned to D'Arcy Galleries, see letter from Bonnefoy to Levy, November 12, 1960, Series I., Box 11, Folder 4, Julien Levy Gallery Records, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Library and Archives.

22 See Canaday, "Surrealistic Sanity" (note 4), p. 55; Genauer, "Art. Dalí and Some Surrealist Enchanters" (note 4), p. 19; and Sandler, "New York Letter" (note 4), p. 33. As Anne Umland has convincingly demonstrated, MoMA's iconic collection of surrealist painting and sculpture, displayed in a linear presentation of surrealist "masterpieces" from the 1940s through the 1950s, informed American narratives about surrealism. See Umland's essay in this volume.

Beginning in July 1960, two of Breton's associates, Édouard Jaguer and José Pierre, joined the surrealist curatorial team, stepping in while the poet was vacationing in the south of France to locate works owned by dealers, collectors, and artists in Europe.[23] At that point, both co-organizers gradually got a better sense of Bonnefoy's general ignorance and veritable outsider status. They discovered, for instance, that the dealer was entirely unaware of Dalí's *persona non grata* rapport with the surrealists[24] when Bonnefoy unknowingly asked Breton to consult with Duchamp about obtaining older works by Dalí and inviting him to the opening.[25] If at first Bonnefoy's philistinism and crass commercialism was a source of ridicule for the surrealist organizers, their mockery soon turned into annoyance and ire.[26]

As they had done for "First Papers of Surrealism" in 1942, the surrealists were attuned to presenting surrealism with an American slant, although this was not reflected in the selection. Of the fifty-eight participating artists, a mere seven could pass for American: William Copley, Joseph Cornell, Marcel Duchamp, Arshile Gorky, Jasper Johns, Man Ray, and Robert Rauschenberg, only three of whom featured in the catalogue.[27] Copley, Duchamp, Johns, and Rauschenberg were later added to a separate checklist insert. In unpublished handwritten notes, José Pierre sketched some of their preliminary ideas for both the exhibition and the accompanying catalogue. Proposed catalogue essays related surrealism to American themes, such as abstract expressionism, ancient myths and legends, film, poetry, and black humor, whereas the overarching idea for the exhibition was to embody the surrealist universe, as was generally the case for the movement's exhibitions, whether explicitly tied to a surrealist theme like "E.R.O.S." or not.[28]

23 Édouard Jaguer was a French poet and critic affiliated with surrealist circles who contributed to journals from *La Main à Plume*, published during the German occupation of France, to *La Révolution la nuit* and *CoBrA* in the postwar period. In 1953 he founded Phases, a publication and exhibition platform to promote international artists associated with "lyrical abstraction," the international counterpart to abstract expressionism. A French writer, critic, and art historian, José Pierre actively participated in Parisian surrealist group activities from 1952 to 1969, including their international exhibitions from 1959–60 to 1965: "E.R.O.S.," "Surrealist Intrusion in the Enchanters' Domain," and "Absolute Deviation (L'Écart absolu)."

24 The Catalan artist had been excommunicated from the movement in 1938 for his blatant self-promotion and courting commercial interests, hence Breton's derogatory anagram "Avida Dollars."

25 In a letter dated July 9, 1960, Bonnefoy wrote to Breton about contacting Duchamp, who was friends with Dalí and was vacationing in Cadaqués, the town adjacent to Port Lligat, where the Catalan artist resided, http://www.andrebreton.fr/work/56600100241310, accessed July 17, 2018.

26 For a lengthy account of the organizers' standpoint, see Édouard Jaguer's letters of July 15, 1960, and July 24, 1960, to André Breton, http://www.andrebreton.fr/work/56600100684680, accessed July 17, 2018; and http://www.andrebreton.fr/work/56600100484070, accessed July 17, 2018.

27 Having married Alexina "Teeny" Matisse in 1954, Duchamp was granted American citizenship on December 30, 1955.

28 Of the proposed essays and prospective authors only José Pierre's text appeared in the catalogue, which featured: "Homage to Indian Art (Souvenirs of a Journey to Arizona)" (André Breton),

Titled "The Invention (or Reinvention) of the World," the early draft reveals the conceptual underpinnings of the 1960 show.[29] Drawing connections between surrealism and non-Western cultures from an experiential rather than a formal perspective, the tripartite structure referenced the title of Paul Gauguin's painting *Where Do We Come From? What Are We? Where Are We Going?* (*D'où venons-nous, que sommes-nous, ou allons-nous?*).[30] It thus celebrated the painter as a precursor to surrealist painting and situated surrealism in relation to the past (origin, history), present (state, psychoanalysis), and future (becoming, utopia). Adopting the surrealist analogical approach, each of the exhibiting artists was identified with a specific object, animal, or idea, and grouped under one of the three main parts. This elaborate system of associations was discarded, although analogical charts were developed for the various "enchanters" in the "Surrealist Intrusion" catalogue.[31] Of primary relevance here is the surrealist insistence on establishing a radically distinct genealogy as an alternative to official art-historical narratives (and in particular the formalist, teleological progression of modern art).[32]

While conforming to Bonnefoy's demands that the catalogue follow the same physical format he habitually used at the gallery, its contents surpassed the parameters of a conventional exhibition publication.[33]

"American poetry since Whitman" (?), "Funeral March in Jackson Pollock's honor (Abstract U.S. art and Surrealism)" (José Pierre), a passage from Benjamin Péret's preface to *Anthology of American Myths, Tales and Legends*, "American Cinema" (Gérard Legrand), and "Nonsense and Black Humor" (Robert Benayoun); http://www.andrebreton.fr/work/56600100009890, accessed July 17, 2018.

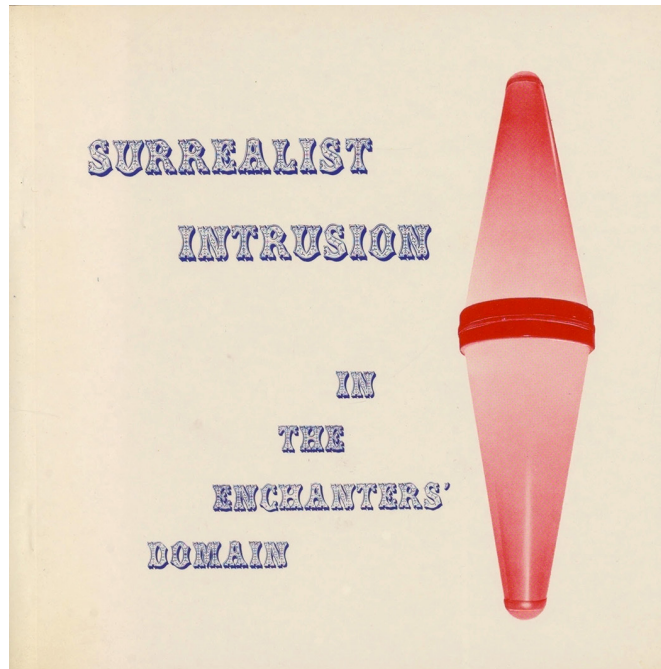
29 The proposed title referenced the eponymous 1952 film by Michel Zimbacca and Jean-Louis Bedouin with commentary by Benjamin Péret. The poetic 25-minute cinematic experiment in praise of "primitive thought," which premiered at the Cinémathèque française in Paris, is a postwar surrealist classic. In José Pierre's notes, other potential themes were listed: Homage to Indian Art, Striptease, Homage to Charles Fourier, and the Key: to freedom, dreams, etc. José Pierre, "Notes," http://www.andrebreton.fr/work/56600100009890, accessed July 17, 2018.

30 In July 1950, Breton was interviewed by Jean-Louis Bedouin and Pierre Demarne for a radio broadcast with the same title. See André Breton, *Œuvres Complètes*, Marguerite Bonnet, Philippe Bernier, Étienne-Alain Hubert, and José Pierre, eds., vol. 4 (Paris: Gallimard, 2008), pp. 618–624.

31 During the New York exile, Breton renewed his interest in the philosophy of French nineteenth-century utopian socialist Charles Fourier, whose theory of universal analogy was central to the orientation of postwar surrealism. See Fabrice Flahutez, *Nouveau monde et nouveau myth. Mutations du surréalisme, de l'exil américain à l''Écart absolu' (1941–1965)* (Dijon: Les Presses du réel, 2007).

32 In a chapter of *L'Art Magique* titled "Two Great Syntheses. Gustave Moreau and Paul Gauguin," Breton featured a reproduction of the painting, which he considered to be the artist's "veritable spiritual testament." See Breton, *Œuvres Complètes* (note 30), p. 269. In his text, Gauguin's painting offers a counter example to the purely formal concerns of decorative painting (symbolism versus impressionism), a contrast Breton transposes to the 1950s context with surrealist "psychic automatism" versus the "plastic automatism" of abstract expressionism, a viewpoint expressed by Édouard Jaguer and José Pierre in their catalogue essays for "Surrealist Intrusion."

33 The 7 × 7 in. (18 × 18 cm) square, sixty-page publication conformed to Bonnefoy's stipulations. According to Édouard Jaguer, the catalogue "remains a faithful reflection" of their concerns. See Jaguer, "À propos d'un écart absolu de Marcel Duchamp" (note 6), p. 24. The catalogue was a primary point of contention between the organizers and Bonnefoy, who threatened not



153 Marcel Duchamp, cover design for the catalogue for the exhibition "Surrealist Intrusion in the Enchanters' Domain," D'Arcy Galleries, New York, 1960.

Designed by Duchamp, the cover features a large embossed image of an enigmatic tobacconist carrot, a red minimalist figure juxtaposed with the elaborate, outmoded typography of the title in blue (fig. 153)—a reference to the actual object that purportedly graced the facade of the gallery. Preceding the title page and exhibition credits, Breton's and Duchamp's handprints, signed and dedicated to the latter's wife Teeny, visualized the authorial imprint of the two principal organizers and were a nod to the occult-themed show (figs. 154 and 155).[34] The rest of the catalogue is divided into three parts: a surrealist pre-history devoted to their pantheon of enchanters, both historical and legendary; three essays by surrealist affiliates Édouard Jaguer, José Pierre, and Vincent Bounoure; and an alphabetically-arranged section with entries and

to publish it because the deadlines were not respected. Breton was expected to write an essay, which never materialized, and Édouard Jaguer had to submit a revised version of "La Face inconnue de la Terre," a catalogue preface for the eponymous exhibition at the Galerie Saint Laurent in Brussels in 1960; http://www.andrebreton.fr/work/56600100986530, accessed July 7, 2018.

34 Jaguer explained that the handprints replaced the missing texts. An allusion to chiromancy, the practice of palm reading had precedents in the surrealist-oriented publication *Minotaure*. See Georges Hugnet, "Petite rêverie du grand veneur," *Minotaure* 2, no. 5 (1934), p. 30; and Lotte Wolf, "Révélations psychiques de la main," *Minotaure* 2, no. 6 (Winter 1935), pp. 38–44.

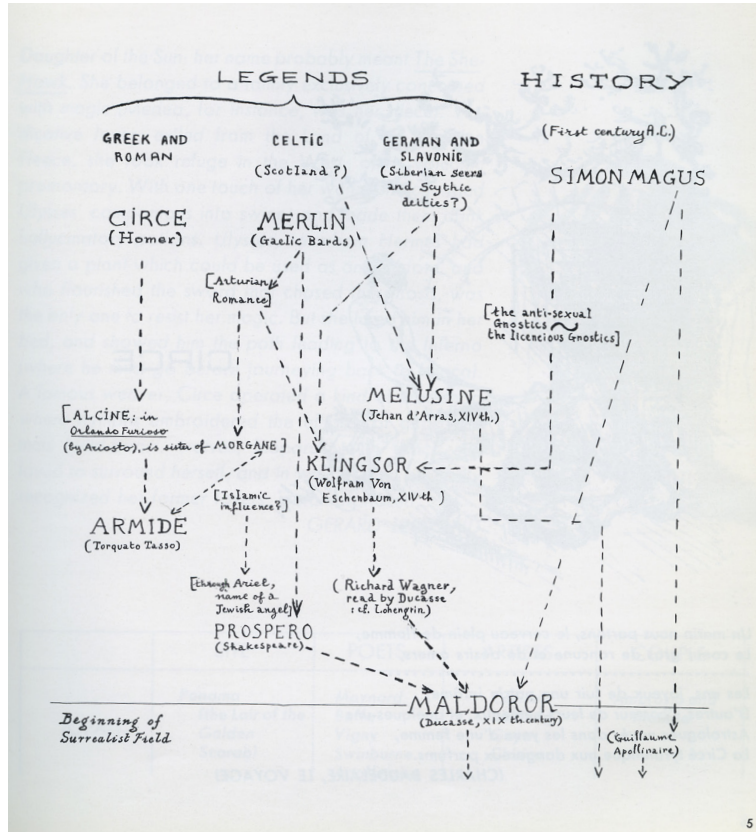
154 Handprint by André Breton, "Surrealist Intrusion in the Enchanters' Domain," D'Arcy Galleries, New York, 1960.

155 Handprint by Marcel Duchamp, "Surrealist Intrusion in the Enchanters' Domain," D'Arcy Galleries, New York, 1960.

images for the participating artists.[35] Whereas the texts and the catalogue of artists were characteristic of a more standard exhibition catalogue, the enchanters section was an innovation and deviated from the museum or gallery norm while mimicking their features, such as Alfred Barr's modern art chart for the cover of "Cubism and Abstract Art."[36] Situating surrealism within an alternative history, Breton's lineage of occult precursors—from Circe, Merlin, and Simon Magus to Mélusine, Klingsor, Armide, Prospero, and Maldoror—posited the surrealist artist as a visionary and underscored the transformative function of art in opposition to the mainstream American formalist history of the movement, forged largely by the Museum of Modern Art (fig. 156).

35 Translating the texts from French was a central concern, especially given their poetic tenor. The question of translation was not limited to linguistic challenges but also entailed the "translation" of basic surrealist concepts to a visual arts (and American) context. Maurice Bonnefoy recommended Julien Levy to both Édouard Jaguer and André Breton, who agreed with his choice. Claude Tarnaud, a writer, artist, and member of the surrealist movement who was working at the time as a translator for the United Nations in New York also contributed to the catalogue texts in English at Breton's request. André Breton, "Letter to Claude Tarnaud, October 10, 1960," TARN 5, Fonds Claude Tarnaud, Bibliothèque Kandinsky, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris.

36 See, for instance, MoMA's 1943 "American Realists and Magical Realists" or Julien Levy's "The Disquieting Muse. Surrealism," Contemporary Arts Museum, Houston, 1958.



156 André Breton, *Enchanters Diagram*, "Surrealist Intrusion in the Enchanters' Domain," D'Arcy Galleries, New York, 1960.

In the end, the more complex Gauguin-inspired structure, in which "every surrealist work participates (in opposition to scientific rationalism) in a poetic hypothesis about the meaning, origin, and future of the universe,"[37] was dropped in favor of classifying the exhibiting artists into the three broad categories defined for the "E.R.O.S." show: 1) pioneers (Duchamp, Picabia, de Chirico, Ernst, etc.) and "senior ranks," including those who had remained faithful to the surrealist spirit (Miró, Tanguy, Brauner, Matta, etc.) as well as the dissidents (Dalí, Picasso, Arp, Hantaï, etc.); 2) the current "vital ranks" of surrealism (Jean Benoît, Yves Elléouët, Adrien Dax, Mimi Parent, Toyen); and 3) artists who had affinities with surrealism without participating directly (Max-Walter Svanberg, Richard Oelze, Friedrich Schroder-Sonnenstern, Yves Laloy, Maréshal)

37 "Thèse – chaque œuvre surréaliste propose (contre le rationalisme scientifique) une hypothèse poétique quant au sens de l'univers, à son origine et à son devenir." José Pierre, "Notes" (note 29). All translations are the author's unless otherwise indicated.

and those affiliated with Édouard Jaguer's Phases group (Karl Otto Götz, Jacques Lacomblez, Carl Frederik Reuterswärd, Pierre Alechinsky, Gianni Dova).[38] This organizational logic allowed for an inclusive roster of artists, some of whom were no longer within the movement's orbit but whose work had been central to the surrealist project, while emphasizing its current and ongoing dynamism, relevance, and reach.[39] Although the grouping was not reflected in the alphabetical order of artists in the catalogue or the hanging (which was supposedly arranged in relation to the enchanters celebrated in the catalogue), the correspondence and press release conveyed this information.[40] Even given the much simpler organizing principle, American critics, faced with a stylistically heterogeneous selection of works and some lesser-known artists, were perplexed.[41]

Staging enchantment

As he had done for the other major international surrealist exhibitions, Marcel Duchamp, the only member of the organizing team on site in New York, handled the installation design.[42] Yet the visual impact of

38 The tripartite structure echoes the placement of works that Breton arranged in his studio, on permanent display at the Musée National d'Art Moderne/Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, since 2003. For a sumptuous photographic essay of Breton's studio by Gilles Ehrmann, commissioned by Elisa Breton at the time of her husband's death, see Julien Gracq and Gilles Ehrmann, *42 rue Fontaine, L'atelier d'André Breton* (Paris: Adam Biro, 1999); and for an extensive analysis, Flahutez, *Nouveau monde* (note 31), pp. 423–425.

39 Dalí is a case in point. He was to be represented by two works: the painting *The Specter of the Angelus*, *ca.* 1934, characteristic of his paranoiac-critical method, and a photograph of his costume design for the 1939 "Dream of Venus" pavilion at the New York World's Fair, which was reproduced in the catalogue alongside a quote by Breton and an entry by Jean Schuster that briefly details the artist's career, including his expulsion from the surrealist movement in 1938—another example of how the catalogue served to clarify the surrealist stance.

40 The myriad of artwork and objects were installed throughout the seven gallery spaces. See the copy of the gallery floor plan Bonnefoy sent to Breton, http://www.andrebreton.fr/work/566001009825 20, accessed July 17, 2018. Although the hanging is partially documented in a set of nine black-and-white photographs—roughly one third of the 150 works on the checklist are identifiable in the installation views—no known spatial rendering of the entire exhibition layout exists. Seven of the installation shots are reproduced courtesy of Collection David Fleiss, Paris. See Jaguer, "À propos d'un écart absolu de Marcel Duchamp" (note 6). In his account of the exhibition, Jaguer explained that the painters would be loosely associated with the enchanters: "[S]ans pour autant viser à une impossible 'illustration'; en quelque sorte se tenir à la fois au cœur et à distance dudit thème, dans le but ou l'espoir d'approfondir certaines analogies ou correspondances et de provoquer des éclairs de chaleurs entre les 'enchanteurs' et des peintres dont les recherches procèdent par définition de l'art magique." Jaguer, "À propos d'un écart absolu de Marcel Duchamp" (note 6), p. 23. In his letter of July 30, 1960, Victor Brauner wrote to Breton that he felt an affinity with all the enchanters rather than any one in particular. See http://www.andrebreton.fr/view?rql=victor+brauner+juillet+30+1960, accessed July 17, 2018.

41 Critic Robert Coates devotes a lengthy discussion to the roster, which he esteemed "too inclusive." Coates, "The Art Galleries" 1960 (note 4), pp. 198–201.

42 Primarily a writer, Claude Tarnaud, who co-edited with Yves Bonnefoy the short-lived surrealist-oriented journal *La Révolution La Nuit* (Revolution by Night) in 1945, joined the postwar

"Surrealist Intrusion" was less spectacular and rather understated as compared with his other interventions, a marked difference that did not go unnoticed in the press.[43] While vacationing in Cadaqués, Duchamp wrote to Breton explaining how the layout of the gallery, divided into seven smaller spaces, was ill-suited to the more grandiose, theatrical environments they had staged previously, and suggested that "a surrealist excursion to a tournament of diviners/soothsayers" would be more apt, especially given Bonnefoy's reluctance to finance an elaborate installation.[44] Duchamp also assured the poet that D'Arcy Galleries was a reputable establishment, a remark that hints at the reservations the other Paris-based members of the team were having by that time. The reassuring, enthusiastic tone of his letter shifted to urgency in a subsequent note requesting they meet to discuss concerns regarding the show. The details of the conversation that ensued can be surmised in a lengthy collective missive addressed to the dealer on October 5, 1960, mere months before the scheduled opening. As the tensions became increasingly acute during their exchanges over the summer, the surrealist organizers—together in Paris for the first time since the inception of the project—decided to put the dealer in his place. In the letter, they reproached him for having an entirely different conception of the exhibition and being oblivious to the surrealist point of view: "There has been a fairly serious misunderstanding between you and us from the start. Everything is proceeding as if in your mind a surrealist exhibition should be prepared and presented absolutely according to the same routine formulas as a traditional, or even abstract, painting exhibition, devoid of any conceptual content."[45] Bonnefoy's main point of contention with the surrealists was their failure to respect deadlines and delays in publishing the catalogue, which the dealer threatened to cancel. In response to his ultimatum, they voiced their indignation at his complete lack of awareness of their more urgent commitments, such as their political stance against France's war in Algeria, and the catalogue's crucial

surrealist ranks, participating in the exhibition "Surrealism in 1947" at the Galerie Maeght in Paris.

43 Writing in the *New Yorker*, Coates mentions both the 1938 Paris show that garnered international press coverage due to its elaborate decor and "First Papers of Surrealism" in 1942, which he had reviewed two decades earlier. Coates, "The Art Galleries" (note 4), p. 199.

44 This expression relates to Julien Levy's first suggestion for the title of the exhibition, "Tournament of the Enchanters." After a lengthy debate about the exact phrasing, with suggestions ranging from "Surrealist Intrusion in the Domain of the Enchanters" to "[…] in the Enchanters' States," a reference to the USA, and "[…] in the Realm of the Enchanters," they finally agreed on "Surrealist Intrusion in the Enchanters' Domain."

45 Bonnefoy insisted that the works conform to habitual formats and dimensions so as to accommodate the low ceilings of the gallery space, whereas the surrealists sought to disrupt a linear, symmetrical hanging by including irregular forms and sizes (Paalen's hexagonal canvas and Langlois's long horizontal one). See Marcel Duchamp, André Breton, Édouard Jaguer, and José Pierre, "Letter to Maurice Bonnefoy," October 5, 1960, http://www.andrebreton.fr/work/56600100793540, accessed July 17, 2018.

role of situating the exhibition within its ideological context.[46] Another lesser concern related to Duchamp's proposal for the decor, which entailed covering the floor with a thick rubber mat that was meant to incite a bodily viewing experience by encouraging visitors to jump up and down in front of the paintings.[47] To quell Bonnefoy's fears about the safety risks of the installation, they agreed to simplify the *mise-en-scène* by adopting what they termed a more improvisational approach.[48] Always striving for singularity in their exhibition designs, they opted for a subtle environment of small "inventions" comprising everyday household objects, to be distributed around the gallery in relation to the paintings, sculptures, and other works.

Duchamp's final inventory of these "readymades" included a seemingly random, effectively "improvised" array of accessories—some visible in the installation photographs and others mentioned in the press: a garden hose serpentining through the gallery, three living white chickens in a cupboard converted into a chicken coop, a ray of sunset (or sunrise), a child's bicycle hanging upside-down from the ceiling, a repurposed paint can and conch shell ashtrays, a glass show globe filled with red and green colored liquid on a pedestal, an old typewriter, a bowl of goldfish, a pink telephone placed on the seat of a baby stroller, andirons stacked with charred firewood, a special recording of a little girl awkwardly practicing scales on a piano alternating with Duchamp's own rendition of the Marseillaise, an *Arcane 17* star tarot card projected onto the ceiling, an electric model train in the storefront window, four clocks (one in each room) set at different hours, a tobacconist's "carrot" on the exterior, packs of cigarettes glued to an inside window, an antique time clock for guests to punch their invitations at the opening, and a traffic light blinking red and green.[49] *New York Times* critic John

46 The surrealists were referring to Bonnefoy's complete ignorance of the current political situation to which they were committed, notably the drafting and publication of the "Declaration of Insubmission in the Algerian War," commonly called the "Manifeste of 121," a tract denouncing French colonialist policies in Algeria signed by 121 intellectuals, including many surrealists, on September 6, 1960.

47 This kinesthetic feature was mentioned in the *ARTnews* preview: "[T]he foam rubber floor that Duchamp has arranged for one of the rooms." Roskill, "Surrealists" (note 4), p. 67.

48 By virtue of their collective nature and due to limited resources, the surrealist exhibitions commonly incorporated improvisational tactics to a greater or lesser degree.

49 Though seemingly random, the ordinary objects accrued significance on display and connected to the surrealist world in numerous ways. The toys were borrowed from Claude Tarnaud's children. See Claude Tarnaud, "Lettre à Édouard Jaguer," cited in Jaguer, "À propos d'un écart absolu de Marcel Duchamp" (note 6), pp. 26–27. An allusion to the alchemical origins of the pharmacy, the show globe filled with red and green water was an outmoded object placed in apothecary window displays in much the same way as the tobacconist's carrot on a shop's facade signaled the proprietor's activity. Duchamp recorded David Hare's daughter awkwardly practicing the piano. One critic mentions the grating piano exercises alternating with a rudimentary rendition of the Marseillaise played by Duchamp. See Canaday, "Nostalgia and the Forward Look" (note 4), p. X21. An explicit reference to the eponymous poetic work André Breton

Canaday described the result as "gently freakish," concluding perhaps presciently that the "nightmare world has become home sweet home."[50]

Three other display "innovations" are worthy of mention. Hung vertically between the paintings, small unframed rectangular mirrors captured the fleeting reflections of the public as they circulated through the galleries, an interactive device capturing the viewer's participation in the artistic process and evoking Duchamp's notion of "to see seeing."[51] The mirror effect would have also inserted excess visual stimuli to an already packed presentation, thereby adding further distraction and disrupting the isolated aesthetic gaze the surrealists eschewed.[52] Handwritten paper price tags hanging from strings identified the works, while small paper flags signaling the artists' nationalities were affixed to the artworks. These tacky alternatives to more tasteful wall labels or a price list could hardly have escaped the critics' notice, although only Irving Sandler mentioned them in his write-up, concluding that "the atmosphere generated is more like an international trade fair than 'The

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wrote while on a road trip through Canada during his US exile in 1944, the image of the tarot card, representing hope and regeneration, also signals the occultation of surrealism and surrealism's postwar orientation to reaffirm its revolutionary stance and vitality after the ravages of war. The text was published in France in 1947, coinciding with "Le Surréalisme en 1947," the first international surrealist exhibition following the exile. The equivocal allusion points to the predominant themes in the exhibition: esotericism as a metaphor for the surrealist quest for knowledge in the service of transformation. "Esotericism … at least offers the immense interest of maintaining in a dynamic state the limitless field of its system of comparison, for man to discover the relationships between seemingly unrelated objects in order to partially discover the mechanics of universal symbolism." Translated from the French by the author. See André Breton, "Arcane 17," in Breton, *Œuvres Complètes* (note 30), p. 826. According to Canaday, there were five clocks in the same room, which Duchamp told him represented the omnipresence of time, but that the visitors might not notice them right away and that later recalling this detail might trigger an enigma. He also mentioned how the train cars advertised the names of participating artists. See Canaday, "Art. Surrealism With the Trimmings" (note 4), p. 36. Rather than an improvised addition to the panoply of objects, the "carotte de tabac" had been shipped from Paris along with the second shipment of artwork. The surrealist organizers explained, not without irony, to Bonnefoy that the object was proof that they were trying not to ruin him with the installation and that the exterior signage fulfilled both the surrealist criterion of singularity and the dealer's requirement of economy. They boasted that it would bring in more visitors than anything designed by Arp or Miró but paradoxically no mention of it was made in the press. See Duchamp et al., "Letter" (note 45). In a footnote, Étienne-Alain Hubert credits Radovan Ivsic with the purchase of the object at the Bazar de l'Hôtel de Ville. See Breton, *Œuvres Complètes* (note 30), p. 1462. The mirrors were not listed in Duchamp's inventory but are visible in the installation photographs and were mentioned in a press review. See Genauer, "Art. Dalí and Some Surrealist Enchanters" (note 4), p. 19.

50 Canaday, "Nostalgia and the Forward Look" (note 4), p. X21. The full title of the article, "Nostalgia and the Forward Look. Duchamp Surveys Surrealism and Dalí Forges Ahead in All Directions," which reviews both "Surrealist Intrusion" at D'Arcy Galleries and Dalí's concurrent solo show at the Carstairs Gallery, sums up his appraisal of them respectively: current surrealism looks old and the "old masters" still look fresh, whereas Dalí's latest work looks new.

51 See Marcel Duchamp, "The Creative Act," in Michel Sanouillet and Elmer Peterson, eds., *Marcel Duchamp Salt Seller: The Writings of Marcel Duchamp* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 138–140; and Michel Sanouillet, ed., *Duchamp du signe* (Paris: Flammarion, 1994), p. 37.

52 One review in particular suggests that the surrealist installation successfully achieved the disruptive effect. See Coates, "The Art Galleries" (note 4), pp. 198–201.

Enchanters' Domain.'"[53] No doubt an ironic stab at both the surrealists' insistence on the international dimension of the lineup and Bonnefoy's exclusively commercial concerns, the shoddy add-ons also betrayed a Duchampian disdain for the art system.[54]

On the one hand, an analysis of the vast network of connections between these objects—both within the context of the exhibition as well as the expansive field of surrealist practice across time and space—offers a hermeneutical field day.[55] As an ensemble their presence was intended to underscore how a surrealist exhibition as a collective artistic manifestation was an environment meant to enact the movement's principles and materialize its conceptual realm in opposition to museum and gallery displays of painting and sculpture presenting surrealism as another art-historical category or style. Although critics were often privy to this distinction—between the exhibition as artistic practice rather than institutional discourse—the average American gallery visitor would have been unlikely to grasp the difference.[56]

A surrealist vanishing act?

By featuring emerging artists representing the most recent art world developments alongside the mainstays, "Surrealist Intrusion" participated in the movement's quest for renewal, thereby seeking to ensure not only its enduring vitality but also its legacy at a turning point when a plurality of approaches—neo-Dada, new realism, pop art, happenings, and so

53 Sandler, "New York Letter" (note 4), p. 33.

54 In a letter to Jaguer, Tarnaud recounted his reticence about the flags and the discussion with Duchamp that ensued. Jaguer, "À propos d'un écart absolu de Marcel Duchamp" (note 6), pp. 36–37.

55 A number of the scenographic details connected with the theme of enchantment and the related concepts of transformation or metamorphosis, albeit rather obliquely. For instance, the ceiling projection of *Arcane 17*, the star tarot card, was a key motif for Breton (and the title of his major work from the exile period). Along similar lines, the impressive show globe, placed on a pedestal alongside Duchamp's rectified readymade titled *Pharmacy*, a chromolithograph of a winter landscape, to which the artist added two spots of red and green paint along the horizon, signaled the alchemical dimension of the early pharmaceutical profession. The conical red tobacconist's shop sign was an obscure reference to the French revolutionary-period radical Père Duchesne and a metaphor for the politically engaged surrealist magician-artist. The surrealists channeled occult practices such as tarot for their poetic and transformative significance, so it was only fitting that they hired a fortune-teller to perform at the opening for "Surrealist Intrusion." For in-depth analysis of the theoretical foundations and iconography of these themes, see Flahutez, *Nouveau monde* (note 31), pp. 219–278.

56 "A thoroughgoing surrealist exhibition involves more than a display of surrealist art. It must be a work of surrealist art in itself, and it was to this end that Mr. Duchamp was enlisting the services of the chickens, for which he had arranged a small, green-lighted recess of a gallery." Canaday, "Art. Surrealism With the Trimmings" (note 4), p. 36. "Because this isn't really an art exhibition at all. … It's the illustration of a theory." Genauer, "Art. Dalí and Some Surrealist Enchanters" (note 4), p. 19.

forth—began to upend reigning modernist paradigms, notably abstract expressionism. Staging a postwar international exhibition of surrealism after having been sidelined from the New York scene for nearly a generation, the movement unexpectedly (though perhaps unsurprisingly) came face-to-face with one of its specters—none other than Dalí, the most American surrealist of them all. Harking back to the foundational moment of surrealism's American reception in the 1930s, when Dalí proclaimed "Ai bring ou surrealism,"[57] the Catalan showman precipitated a sudden ending to the surrealist revival. Prominently displaying his recent large-format painting *L'Oreille anti-matière*, as it was titled in the catalogue checklist, also known as *Madonna*, the "affair Dalí" provoked outrage from Breton's cohort, who canceled plans for an intercontinental tour of the show, which had been slated to travel first to the Walker Art Center in Minneapolis and then the Institute of Contemporary Art in Boston, West Coast venues, and even the Museum of Modern Art in Rio de Janeiro.[58]

Nevertheless, the surrealists had succeeded in orchestrating a comeback as critics could hardly fail to point out: "Surrealism is with us again this week in force strong enough to remind us how persistently it has been with us since its inception close to half a century ago, and also how strongly it has contributed to forms of contemporary art that we may not even think of as having surreal overtones," asserted John Canaday in his *New York Times* assessment of "Surrealist Intrusion." Yet his viewpoint unabashedly assigned surrealism to a "now lengthy past," praising the show's "nostalgic—traditional rather than innovational" dimension.[59] Always the "action painting" apologist, Irving Sandler

57 A phonetic transcription excerpted from the press conference Salvador Dalí gave during his first visit to New York in 1934, reprinted in Julien Levy, *Surrealism* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1995; first published 1936 by Black Sun Press, New York), p. 160.

58 Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art's holdings, the painting had previously featured in Dalí's one-man show at the Carstairs Gallery, December 6, 1958, to January 20, 1959. Responding to the Dalí fiasco, Breton penned two personal letters to Duchamp in an attempt to get his side of the story. Written after the surrealists had received Claude Tarnaud's scathing report of the incident (see Jaguer, "À propos d'un écart absolu de Marcel Duchamp," note 6, pp. 33–34), Breton's first missive expresses his incomprehension, seeks an explanation, and clarifies the surrealist position, reiterating their current political engagement (against the conflicts in Algeria) and its incompatibility with the Catalan artist's participation, especially in view of Dalí's fascist tendencies and sympathies with the repressive Spanish regime under Franco. Unpublished letter from André Breton to Marcel Duchamp, December 6, 1960, Fonds d'archives de l'Association Marcel Duchamp, Villier-sous-Grez, France. In reply to Duchamp's cursory dismissal of the surrealist uproar (see Francis M. Naumann and Hector Obalk, eds., *Affectionately Marcel. The Selected Correspondence of Marcel Duchamp*, Ghent, Amsterdam: Ludion Press, 2000, p. 371), Breton's second letter expresses his regrets about the entire undertaking and his desire to forget about the unfortunate outcome as well as preserve his deep friendship with Duchamp. Unpublished letter from Breton to Duchamp, December 15, 1960, Fonds d'archives de l'Association Marcel Duchamp, Villier-sous-Grez, France.

59 Canaday, "Art. Surrealism With the Trimmings" (note 4), p. 36; Canaday, "Nostalgia and the Forward Look" (note 4), p. X21.

weighed in less kindly: "There can be no question that the Surrealist spirit persists and will probably continue to do so, but the particular kind of enchantment exhumed in this display stopped enchanting long ago."[60] Robert Coates concurred that "Surrealist Intrusion" was "extremely valuable as a historical survey" although "the tomfoolery now [was] a little tired."[61]

Maurice Bonnefoy, perhaps unwittingly, or maybe with uncanny commercial flair, had his finger on the pulse of the emerging art market when he embarked on the short-lived surrealist adventure. His prescient vision of the lasting appeal of "old novelties" or "new classics" had the desired effect of enchanting the press, who almost unanimously praised works by surrealism's prominent artists. "It was the old masters who stole the show," one critic observed.[62] Yet banking on surrealism was not without its risks and Bonnefoy's promotion of Dalí backfired, fatally quashing his financial future in surrealist art. We find him two years later soliciting Joseph Cornell about organizing a solo show of his work, a venture which never came to fruition.[63] The new decade was indeed ushering in a sea change, and the American "soaped and scrubbed" version of surrealism would be riding the wave again with an *Artforum* special issue featuring Ed Ruscha's cover design hitting the stands in September 1966 (fig. 157), just weeks before Breton's passing, and a second act at the Museum of Modern Art—William Rubin's 1968 blockbuster "Dada, Surrealism and Their Heritage."[64]

"Surrealist Intrusion" served as locus, a convergence point or "contact zone" where disparate agents—both individuals and objects—intersected, interacted, commingled, coalesced, and collided. At once a surrealist environment, a fleeting imaginary territory staking a claim for a different vision, a distinct way of relating to and existing in the world, and a Madison Avenue showroom counting on another future, primarily a platform for investment and monetary exchange—the exhibition encapsulates these conflicting agendas, demonstrating how the movement's idealist aims were at odds with Bonnefoy's commercial strategy yet dependent on him for the material conditions crucial

60 Sandler, "New York Letter" (note 4), p. 33.

61 Coates, "The Art Galleries" (note 4), pp. 198–201.

62 Canaday, "Surrealistic Sanity" (note 4), p. 55.

63 Letter from Maurice Bonnefoy to Joseph Cornell, December 12, 1962. Series 2.1, Box 2, Folder 11, Joseph Cornell papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

64 The title of Ed Ruscha's cover image for the special Surrealism issue of *Artforum* 5/1 (September 1966), *Surrealism Soaped and Scrubbed*, might aptly describe the American reception of the movement. Not insignificantly, and coinciding with the social and political unrest of the 1960s that culminated in the May 1968 demonstrations and riots in France, some 300 protesters—including a wide spectrum of politically engaged artists—voiced their opposition to MoMA's evisceration of Dada and surrealist visual production at the opening of "Dada, Surrealism, and Their Heritage" on March 25, 1968.

to their collective activity. Furthermore, the exhibition focuses a lens on the deep-rooted misconceptions of the movement's basic tenets that persist to this day, especially in the United States. A counterpoint to museum and gallery exhibitions of surrealist visual art, "Surrealist Intrusion" attempted, albeit to little avail, an incursion into the formalist aesthetic territory of the American art world. And while it turned out to be more short-lived than either the dealer or the surrealists had anticipated, their joint venture, though conflictual, bears witness to the movement's under-the-radar tenacity and lasting creative potential, if not the efficacy of their social and political ends—a view articulated most vehemently by one American art world insider: "Surrealism is by all odds the most important, interesting, and fertile artistic and/or literary movement of the twentieth century, both in its theory and, still more, its practice; in its realizations, the most beautiful and profound."[65] "Surrealist Intrusion" stands as a reminder of the movement's resistance to the distortions of its American reception, a relic of its enduring, if compromised, subversive force.[66]

65 Lanes, "Surrealist Events" (note 4), p. 22.

66 For a succinct analysis of the American reception of surrealism in the mid-1960s, see Scott Rothkopf, "Returns of the Repressed. The Legacy of Surrealism in American Art," in Dervaux, *Surrealism USA* (note 3), pp. 66–75.