

Max Ernst and the Aesthetic of Commercial Tourism:
Max Among Some of His Favorite Dolls

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Max Among Some of His Favorite Dolls is a photograph of the Surrealist Max Ernst surrounded by at least twenty-nine kachina figurines that he had picked up at a souvenir stand during a road trip through the Southwest in the summer of 1941.¹ Taken by James Thrall Soby, a trustee for New York's Museum of Modern Art, shortly after Ernst sought refuge from the war in Europe by emigrating to the United States, the image made its public debut in the April 1942 edition of *View*, a New York based art and literary journal. There it is accompanied by the caption, since taken as the photograph's title, *Max Among Some of His Favorite Dolls*.² The photograph is the first in what would become an extensive record of Ernst's kachina figurine collection that was created by the numerous photographers who captured Ernst and his domestic environment during his exile. Photographs taken by Arnold Newman and Herman Landshoff documented Ernst's kachina collection at Hale House, the New York brownstone that he shared with Peggy Guggenheim for several years beginning in 1941. Other photographers such as André de Dienes, Lee Miller, Ronald Penrose, and Bob Town later recorded Ernst's Sedona residence and studio, where he and Dorothea Tanning subsequently lived and worked.³ As with the those created by Newman and Landshoff, the images of his Sedona residence reveal his domestic displays of kachina figurines.

In many respects, Ernst's collecting practice is in keeping with those of other European exiled artists and intellectuals—André Breton, Yves Tanguy, Robert Matta, Georges Duthuit, Kurt Seligmann, Robert Lebel, and anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss—each of whom amassed collections of Native American objects while living out the war in the United States. Members of this group not only purchased objects; with some routine they also created documents (drawn and photographic) of objects in their collections. They also posed with their collections, and told stories of how

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they “discovered” specific objects.⁴ Soby’s photograph of Ernst and his kachina figurine collection is an important example of how the Surrealists, in general, and Ernst, in particular, extended their collecting practice beyond the mere acquisition of objects to include the creation of domestic displays and illustrated records of their collections.

Max Among Some of His Favorite Dolls deserves our attention not only as one of the most celebrated images of Ernst and his kachina collection, but also as one of the most popular representations of the Surrealists and their collections of Native American objects. Soby’s photograph and its celebration of the kachina figurines is not found in early biographies of Ernst, but it has become popular in publication over the past thirty years, appearing with some routine in books and essays about the Surrealists in New York, perhaps because of the photograph’s initial appearance in *View*.⁵ In these secondary histories, members of the New York based group are depicted as having frequently visited the ethnographic collections at the Museum of Natural History, shopped for Native American art at Julius Carlbach’s Manhattan curio shop and bought numerous pieces from the financially-pressed Heye Museum, which was deaccessioning some of the objects from its indigenous collections at the time. In these accounts, *Max Among Some of His Favorite Dolls* often serves as evidence of the Surrealists’ collecting passion, yet the relevant cultural connections—of the tourist souvenir industry, reflected in shops such as that in which Ernst bought his figurines, of curio dealers, such as Julius Carlbach, and of ethnographic collections in museums, such as the Heye—remain largely unexamined.

In this article, I argue that Ernst’s collecting practice in general, and the features of *Max Among Some of His Favorite Dolls* in particular, are largely informed by the development of the commercial tourist industry in the Southwest region of the United States, the home of kachina figurines. The importance of tourist culture to surrealist and museum collections has not been obvious because the practices of tourism that underpin these others were largely obscured by museum collectors and ethnographers who have usually represented such creations without reference to the conditions in which they were acquired: that of trade and tourism in the context of a westward expansion of railway access. American Studies scholar Leah Dilworth has traced the close connections of the Fred Harvey Company, a prolific purveyor, through its “trading posts,” of art intended for the tourist market, to ethnographers and museum collections. Art historian Ruth Phillips, in *Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700-1900*, further argues that the adaptation and commercialization of indigenous objects for the tourist market, a category of objects that she refers to as “the souvenir arts,” is a long-overlooked site of contact between settler and indigenous societies. I combine and extend their approaches, arguing that the collecting practices of Surrealists, and those in particular of Ernst as displayed in the features of *Max Among Some of His Favorite Dolls*, are largely informed by the development of the commercial tourist industry of the

Southwest region of the United States.

As my point of departure, I will first note the recognition of the kachina as an object of interest in early surrealist culture, and in the studies of Surrealists by their contemporaries, such as Ernst's relations, and the art historians who have more recently noted the importance of these figurines in Surrealism. I then sketch a brief history of how the tourist industry shaped the Surrealists' first impressions of kachina figurines in 1920s Paris. These impressions ultimately paved the way for Ernst's own experiences as he started his collection in 1941. A reading of *Max Among Some of His Favorite Dolls* should be informed by the complex history of kachina figurines that unfolded late in the century prior to the photograph's creation. The third section turns to the sorts of kachina figurines that Ernst encountered through the collecting activities of his colleagues or his own visits to museums. In all these cases, a good part of figurines that he had access to were also influenced by the culture of commercial tourism in terms of their formal properties and materials of construction. In the final section, I turn to Ernst's own collecting activities and how these build upon the work of his surrealist predecessors to perpetuate a tourist aesthetic.

Max Among Some of His Favorite Dolls: *A Historiographical Overview*

Although the photograph *Max Among Some of His Favorite Dolls* has been reproduced in eight separate discussions of Ernst and the Surrealists, to date it has received little detailed scholarly discussion, and significant treatment in only five accounts. Evan Mauer's 1984 essay "Dada and Surrealism" is the first to consider Soby's photo session thoughtfully. Mauer notes that kachina figurines are "children's supernatural instructional objects representing the over 200 kachinas, or supernatural beings, in the Hopi and Zuni religious firmament," and he suggests that Ernst was fashioning an identity as "shaman," as understood within Freudian circles.⁶

Seven years later, art historian Sigrid Metken's "'Ten Thousand Redskins': Max Ernst and the North American Indians" offers up the first extensive interpretation of *Max Among Some of His Favorite Dolls*. Following in Mauer's footsteps, she discusses Ernst's white coat and flaxen hair, a look that she describes as "like [that of] a magician" and she takes care to identify one of the pictured figurines as "a buffalo kachina (Mosairu) of the Second Hopi mesa type."⁷ She offers up a quotation from Jimmy Ernst who recalls his father's initial purchase of kachina figurines "at a tourist trading post,"⁸ but this biographical note does not link Ernst's interest, or his tourist practices, to the realities of twentieth-century Pueblo life-ways and their connections to the commercial tourist industry.

Louise Tythacott in her 2003 book *Surrealism and the Exotic* picks up and extends the arguments previously forwarded by Mauer and Metkin about how Ernst acquired his collection of figurines from a tourist trading post, asserting that his interest in Native American objects was the reason he initially travelled to the

Southwest. Although she references the tourist trading post where Ernst made his first purchase of figurines, Tythacott locates the Surrealists interest in kachina figurines within the more general taxonomic category of the “curio.” For Tythacott, this category includes mass-produced items such as souvenir matchboxes and post cards.⁹ Although she includes mass-produced items made for the commercial tourist industry, she does not discuss the figurines that Ernst collected, or how his collecting practice was impacted by tourism. Instead, she contends that “The Surrealists could not entirely escape the culture which fostered their rebelliousness, and any idea of relating more directly and easily to exotic rather than French perceptions of the world is naive romanticism.”¹⁰

More recently, art historian Samantha Kavky’s 2010 essay “Ernst in Arizona: Myth, Mimesis, and the Hysterical Landscape” forwards perhaps the most in-depth analysis of *Max Among Some of His Favorite Dolls* and his kachina figurine collecting practices. The essay notes that his initial purchase was at a souvenir stand. Her analysis situates Soby’s portrait of Ernst in relationship to the *View* essay about Ernst, and she adds a layer of complexity to Mauer’s argument about shamanism by citing Philip Deloria’s argument on the longstanding Euro-American performative tradition of “playing Indian” as transformative process.¹¹ She contends that *Max Among Some of His Favorite Dolls* is not simply a game of dress up, but rather it is an expression of Ernst’s desire to become American through actions of “playing Indian.”

Art historian Claudia Mesch’s 2012 article “What Makes Indians Laugh?: Surrealism, Ritual, and Return in Steven Yazzie and Joseph Beuys” begins her analysis of Yazzie and Beuys’ performances with an analysis of Ernst’s use of photographs as performative spaces. Mesch argues that by the time he is staged in photographs taken by Roland Penrose and Lee Miller in 1946, Ernst is no longer “playing Indian.” Instead, Mesch contends that because he appears with what she argues is a home-made kachina mask in the images, Ernst is offering up a critical reflection on the fact that his access to Pueblo cultures was limited: she takes these photographs to be commentaries about the “inauthenticity” of the visitor’s experience and of Ernst’s experience as such a visitor.¹²

Equally important for this essay is the fact that Mesch also points out that there have been numerous recently published photographs that document much about Ernst’s collections of Native American objects, some of which reveal how his collections of kachina figurines were displayed in his Sedona residence. Using these photographs, she offers a brief analysis of Ernst’s domestic installations as in “the style of display that Breton used in his apartment,” though she does not delve into a deep analysis of their installation styles nor does she provide a detailed analysis of similarities between Breton’s and Ernst’s domestic displays.¹³

From Tihu to Tourist Souvenirs

Kachina figurines have different symbolic meaning to the members of distinctive communities. For example, Hopi artist Alph Secakuku describes kachina figurines as “personifications of the kachina spirits, originally created by the Katsinam in their physical embodiment.”¹⁴ The Hopi call the figurines *tihu* or sometimes “dolls”; they reserve the term “Kachina” (or Katsina) for the spirits and certain dancers, calling attention to the fact that cultural outsiders often misuse the terminology. The *tihu* are usually given to young girls of the Pueblo and are sacred objects characterized by some as “prayers” or “rites of passage.” While Hopi girls are known to play with such cottonwood sculptures, the *tihu* are usually respectfully displayed on a wall inside the child’s home.¹⁵

According to kachina figurine scholar Barton Wright, the process of commodification dates back to the 1850s, when the Pueblos of the Rio Grande region came under the control of the United States. The first European collections were started in the 1880s, as rail travel to the region became readily accessible.¹⁶ Wright describes figurines created at this time as

[having] simple proportions. The head takes up one third of the body; little attention is given to hands or feet; the arms are generally clasped against the midsection (generating the term ‘stomachache dolls’); in a great many, male and female genitalia are shown; and the pigments used are almost entirely of native origin.¹⁷

Commerce from without the region noticeably affected the production and formal properties of these cottonwood sculptures by the 1890s as the carvers started to purchase industrially manufactured tools and paints. Wright also notes changes of form in the early 20th century:

The dolls made during the interval from 1910 to 1945 retained many of the characteristics of the earliest dolls: they were still hung from the walls, they were rigid in stance, and attention was still focused primarily on the head although it had diminished in size. The strongest evidence of change was the total supplanting of native pigments with poster paints [...] The dolls, although still static in posture, were carved with more freedom of movement as the arms loosened and moved away from the body. There was more separate carving of arms, legs, and accoutrements...during this period. 18

Wright’s remarks situate the change of form as the outgrowth of Hopi and Euro-American trade relations. As objects made for ceremonial use with Pueblo communities, twentieth-century kachina figurines bear the marks of authenticity

that fit the anti-tourist taxonomies of art and ethnography in the eyes of cultural outsiders. That they are also miniature representations of kachina dancers, parallels what was by then a well-established Native practice of miniature production elsewhere in North America, including the fabrication of souvenir dolls in the Woodlands region, as noted by Phillips.¹⁹

The Kachina religion was sadly very deeply affected in other respects by the development of commercial tourism in the Southwest which challenged and eroded the conventional economies of Pueblo communities. Many of these changes were brought about by the quest for authentic experiences by outsiders. In 1963, Byron Harvey III, an anthropologist and grandson of the founder of one of the most prominent commercial tour operators in the Southwest, the Fred Harvey Company, chronicled aspects of this controversial history. In his essay, "The Fred Harvey Collection, 1899-1963" he wrote:

Temptation to sell sacred articles was having its effect on the Hopis, for... [in July, 1903] 11 masks were purchased [by the Fred Harvey company]. Even kachina dolls were not originally supposed to be sold, but the large collections of Thomas Keam and Walter J. Fewkes of the Smithsonian in the 1880's and 1890's furnished ample precedent.²⁰

Harvey also indicates that "1905 was marked by the shipment of a group of specimens to the Berlin Museum." Although Harvey does not spell out what tempted some to sell, economic duress largely brought about by the expropriation of indigenous land and other resources that were once supported a bountiful agricultural lifestyle, and the rise of the commercial tourist industry, eroded the conventional economies of Pueblo communities.

Zena Pearlstone points out that despite these necessities, the commodification of figurines was, and for some still is, controversial. The sale of kachina faces (masks) is generally considered to be a greater affront than the sale of figurines, for the dancers who wear them embody the Kachina spirits, whereas the figurines merely refer to them.²¹ Nevertheless the need to survive in a rapidly changing economic environment pushed some Pueblo communities to commodify other aspects of their sacred lifeways. For example, Kachina ceremonies were conventionally performed for religious purposes twice yearly in February and June, but by the 1940s, ceremonies were staged throughout the year for the benefit of tourists.²²

Shutterbug tourists also prompted changes to rules regarding photography within Pueblo communities. The Zuni banned photography on the Pueblo as early as 1912, and Hopi followed suit in 1917.²³ Although various accounts circulate concerning why each of these communities initiate laws against tourists taking

photographs, the current official webpages of the Zuni and Hopi nations do much to illuminate the reasons why photography is problematic and why the ban continues today. Among the reasons cited is the fact that their communities, though open to tourists, are nonetheless *private* spaces that should not be photographed or recorded in any fashion. The Hopi website also makes explicit reference to the fact that photographs and other sorts of records have played a significant role in the theft of Hopi intellectual property, including the carving of Hopi kachina figurines by non-Hopi individuals. The Hopi and Zuni nation websites both reference restrictions on photography as part of their processes of guarding the Sacred.²⁴

Dilworth argues that by the early twentieth century, the Fred Harvey Company had close ties to the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway, which played a surprisingly influential role in the field of ethnography.²⁵ The company not only used its connections within Native communities to help ethnographers acquire objects, but also combined its souvenir retailing skills and access to cheap railroad shipping rates to supply museums in Chicago, Pittsburgh, New York, and Berlin with various sorts of ethnographic objects, including kachina figurines.²⁶ Displaced from their original environments and put into museum cases, these objects accrued value as rare examples of “authentic” artifacts with no reference to their means of acquisition. In this sense, the tourist industry played an important role in shaping the Southwestern collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, and consequently, Europe’s view of Pueblo cultures before the Surrealists emigrated to the United States, as we shall see in the following section.

Dilworth goes on to argue that the commercial tourist industry’s hand-in-hand relationship with professional ethnologists and anthropologists played an integral role in the development of the concept of Native American art.²⁷ During the nineteenth century, the Fred Harvey Company developed an array of Native-made objects adapted to the tastes of Euro-American cultural outsiders: for example, pottery pieces became prevalent that were based upon designs once used in Pueblo communities but were scaled down to fit more easily into the suitcases of tourists and the decorative schemes of white middle-class homes.²⁸ Although Dilworth does not delve specifically into domestic displays of kachina figurine collections, photographs taken during the 1930s and ‘40s of the Muriel Sibell Wolle collection, now in the Denver Public Library, suggest that they received similar treatment.²⁹

From Tourist Souvenirs to Museum Collections and Surrealist Objects

The fact that Ernst purchased such an array of kachina figurines within the first few weeks of his American exile suggests a familiarity with these sculptures that extends back to his days in Europe. In 1911 he became friends with German Expressionist August Macke (1887-1914). Macke and Emil Nolde (1867-1956) are known to have created paintings depicting some of the kachina figurines that were a part of the Berlin Museum’s ethnographic collections in the early days of

the Ernst-Macke acquaintance.³⁰ A second opportunity presented itself after Ernst immigrated to France in 1922 through his association with Paul Éluard (1895-1952) and Surrealist leader André Breton, both of whom scholars routinely credit with introducing kachina figurines into the practice of Surrealism shortly after the group was founded in 1924.³¹ Ernst frequently accompanied his close friend Éluard on shopping expeditions to flea markets, the source for some of the figurines in his collection. Ernst would also have been familiar with the images of kachina figurines that appeared in surrealist publications and exhibitions at this time, including Breton's 1928 comparison of one of Ernst's paintings to a kachina figurine. As I will show below, the figurines to which these Surrealists had access, in both museum collections and flea markets, did not escape the influence of the commercial tourist industry.

Since art historian Elizabeth Cowling's landmark 1978 essay, histories focused on the Surrealists' general interest in indigenous objects have largely emphasized the role of museum and ethnographer field reports in shaping the Surrealists' conception of Native American objects. Noting that there were few Native American collections open to the public in Paris, Cowling argues that the Surrealists nourished their hunger for Native American objects by travelling to ethnographic collections in Boulogne and London.³² Cowling calls particular attention to ethnographic field reports and to the *British Museum Handbook to the Ethnographical Collections*, which links the origin of the Museum's collection to the voyages of British explorers such as Cook, Franklin, and Vancouver.³³ These discussions reassure readers that the collection is "authentic" because it dates back to the first moments of contact between Western and World cultures.³⁴

The *Handbook's* chapter on North America is illustrated with photographs and engravings of some of the objects in the British Museum's collection, but it is selective in ways that reflect particular opportunities, limits and agendas. Although regions such as the Arctic and Plains are covered, the Pacific Northwest is clearly the focus with visually rich images of elaborate objects, including Chilkat blankets, carved Haida feast bowls, and Nuu-chah-nulth cedar-bark hats. The *Handbook's* sense of visual richness is actually over-inflated, insofar as the section devoted to the Plains also includes some images from the Northwest Coast region. Despite the emphasis on the Northwest, certain distinctive cultural objects that were ubiquitous and would have represented significant cultural life-ways are notably absent from the handbook. For example, there is no mention or depiction of the museum's holdings of elaborate objects made explicitly for trade such as its collection of portrait masks.³⁵ Notwithstanding the so-called civilizing processes being promoted by British enterprise, the *Handbook* thus presented the Surrealists with a view of Native North America as ethnically pure and timeless. Such cultural exchange mirrors what Phillips has observed with respect to contemporaneous displays in North American ethnographic museums that favored large-scale, visually appealing and culturally

significant objects—objects that conformed to Kantian conceptions of art.³⁶ Evidence of trade was absent from the museum's narrative.

Indigenous cultures that lie beyond the boundaries of the British Empire, such as the Pueblo cultures of the Southwestern United States, are absent from the British Museum's collection. As a consequence, the Surrealists would have looked to other sources for information about kachina figurines. Cowling points out that many of the Surrealists owned Smithsonian publications which were readily available in Paris during the 1920s, and it is quite possible that J. W. Fewkes's 1903 *Bulletin of American Ethnology*, which featured kachina figurines, was among the publications they collected. Swedish archaeologist Gustav Nordenskjöld published a travel portfolio about the Southwest that was available in Germany by the late nineteenth century.³⁷ Travelers circulating within the orbit of Surrealism also journeyed to the Southwest, as exemplified by psychiatrist Hans Prinzhorn, an associate of Ernst. Prinzhorn's 1929 trip to the Rio Grande region may have allowed Ernst an opportunity to discuss travel to New Mexico and Arizona.³⁸

The Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin was another likely source. Correspondence between Surrealist Paul Éluard and his wife Gala testifies to the fact that they each traveled to Berlin with the explicit purpose of visiting and documenting the Museum für Völkerkunde's extensive collections of Native objects, which included an inventory of Katsina figurines that they acquired from souvenir dealers such as the Fred Harvey Company and Thomas Keam.³⁹ For example, in a letter dated March 1928, Éluard writes the following directions to Gala, who was in Berlin at the time:

For the museum photos, choose the most beautiful pieces, and also the most strongly 'imagined' surrealist ones[;] don't forget photos of North American and Eskimo objects.⁴⁰

Although Éluard was likely unaware, the very collection that he asked Gala to document was shaped at least in part by the museum's dealings with souvenir dealers in the Southwest, including objects that came from souvenir trading posts.⁴¹ Paintings of figurines in the museum's collection created by Nolde a decade prior suggest that at least some of the figurines in the collection at that time had distinctive legs, one of the hallmarks of commercialization, according to Wright.⁴² Viewed within the context of an ethnographic museum, the impact of trade and specifically commercial tourism on the form of these cottonwood sculptures may not have registered in the minds of Surrealists.

The Surrealists' knowledge of Native American objects was not limited to ethnographic collections or publications, however. For example, Tythacott emphasizes the fact that "curio" dealers and flea markets were also important sources for the acquisition of indigenous objects.⁴³ Although she does not offer a definition

for her use of the term “curio,” the following passage suggests she applies it to a range of small-scale objects that did not match the conventions of art. She writes,

Most Surrealists...were avid collectors. Ernst collected nineteenth-century pulp fiction [...] Éluard accumulated non-Western objects and erotic comic postcards, Jacques Rigaut collected hundreds of matchboxes and ashtrays [...] Guillaume Apollinaire surrounded himself in his apartment...with paintings, popular objects and a variety of African ‘fetishes’. His collecting habits had an important impact on the subsequent tastes and activities of his great friend and admirer André Breton.⁴⁴

Tythacott argues that equally important as the objects they acquired, curio dealers played a formative role in the development of the Surrealists’ displays, which routinely mixed indigenous objects, everyday ones, and works of art created by the Surrealists themselves. There are important differences between the displays.

A 1931 auction catalogue produced by the Hôtel Drouot for a sale of objects from Breton’s and Éluard’s collections provides us with additional clues that at least some of the Native American objects they acquired came with the help of curio dealers. In Cowling’s 1978 article, she catalogues the objects included in the auction inventory in the following fashion:

six masks, two male figures and one female, six carved horn spoons, two small totem poles and two painted canoe paddles, in addition to the more easily available Haida argillite carvings made specifically for the tourist trade at the end of the nineteenth century. But their Alaskan collection consisted entirely of charming but undeniably minor ivory carvings—bow-drills, amulets, model kayaks and so on.⁴⁵

With phrases such as “made specifically for the tourist trade” and “charming but undeniably minor [...] carvings” she acknowledges the impact of the commercial tourist industry on their collections. Photographs included in the catalogue confirm Cowling’s observations; most of the items put on the auction block were small and uncrushable; they could have been easily transported from North America to Europe in a steamer trunk. Such objects were designed to get around the modern tourist’s problem of packing.⁴⁶

At least some of the miniature objects in their collections conform to what Phillips refers to as “the souvenir arts.” As she observes, a miniature’s diminished scale translates the utility of a standard-sized object into one of dysfunction and fascination for both the indigenous maker and the Euro-American consumer. She points out that long before European contact many indigenous North American

cultures were making miniatures for their own use. The Woodland cultures of the Northeast used miniatures in various ways, including in medicine, as teaching tools, and as children's playthings. Children's playthings were often the first to enter into the trade economy, and in the eighteenth century European consumers referred to them variously as miniatures, models, and toys.⁴⁷

As representations of the exotic other, dolls were among the most popular collectables for Europeans because their diminutive size. When re-contextualized within domestic spaces of Europe, they became safe—any sense of threat to Whiteness was reduced if not eliminated. As a consequence of their popularity with tourist consumers, the dolls' meaning within indigenous communities also shifted: these items became sites where aboriginal artists fashioned their identities for European eyes. At the height of European colonialism at the end of the nineteenth century, public celebrations of Empire had taken on monumental proportions. By contrast, Phillips argues, miniatures mostly inhabited domestic spaces, where on the shelves of European curio cabinets these small-scale replicas were configured in “imperialist schemes of the unknown ‘other’ and affirmed relationships of political dominance of colonizer to colonized.”⁴⁸

Phillips' careful analysis of the popularity of dolls from the Woodlands region among tourists points to reasons why kachina figurines were so attractive to visitors to the Southwest. Although kachina figurines were not initially playthings within Pueblo communities, they, like the indigenous dolls that Phillips discusses, are in a sense small-scale models of indigenous people engaged in activity as Kachina dancers; publications that date from the early 1900s suggest that outsiders often referred to them as dolls.⁴⁹

As discussed in the previous section, changes in the *tibu's* form began in 1910, the same year that the Fred Harvey Company began building hotels at the Grand Canyon and at other sites in the Southwest. Taking my cue from Phillips' analysis, I suggest that this change may well suggest that the cottonwood carvers who created them began to see the figurines as sites for fashioning their identities in the eyes of Euro-American collectors. Moreover, in the hands of adult collectors, kachina figurines could safely be factored into miniature worlds that suited Euro-American political agendas of colonization, as exemplified by domestic displays created around 1930 that include Kachina figurines, fetishes, and a miniature representation of a Northwest Coast totem pole.⁵⁰

The figurines that Éluard and Breton purchased from curio dealers were likely to have been the cast-offs of European travelers who brought them home.⁵¹ The Surrealists, like many other cultural outsiders, saw these cottonwood sculptures as dolls. For example, a photograph of a kachina figurine appears in an advertisement for their 1936 “Exposition surréaliste d'objets,” held at the Gallery Ratton. The accompanying caption, “Poupée Kachina, (Arizona, 14 cm)” links it to the popularity of the doll (French: “poupée”) within the souvenir arts. The

accompanying photograph provides additional information: the depicted figurine is of a Sio Hemis kachina, wearing a headdress embellished with cloud, corn, and rainbow motifs. The figurine's arms and legs are distinct from its body, suggesting it was created after 1910, if Wright's chronology of the changing kachina form is correct. It appears to stand sturdily on its feet, as if it were in fact designed for display on tabletop or shelf, once a traveler to the Southwest had returned home.

This is not the only example of a tourist trade figurine in surrealist collections. Almost a decade earlier, the October 1927 issue of the group's journal *La Revolution surréaliste* includes a black-and-white photograph of a kachina figurine against a white backdrop within Benjamin Péret's essay "Corps à Corps."⁵² The caption below it simply identifies the figurine as "Nouveau-Mexique." Its head-covering, inverted V-shaped mouth, feathery headdress, knee-length wrap, hand rattles, and distinctive limbs mark it as a Navan figurine produced by the Hopis. Anthropologist Edward Kennard's 1938 book *Hopi Kachinas* indicates that the Navan was a fairly recent figure to join Hopi dance cycles, one introduced in the early twentieth century. He notes that Navan dancers usually wear attire that includes trade materials such as colorful ribbons and a velvet shirt.⁵³

Commercial tourism, then, was a primary underwriter of the Surrealists' introduction to and experiences of kachina figurines during the 1920s and '30s. Their scale facilitated their movement from the Southwest to Europe in the bags of travelers; in Europe some of these were re-circulated, creating opportunities for Surrealist such as Éluard and Breton to purchase them. More specifically, the photographic record suggests that at least some of the figurines that Surrealists collected had been adapted to suit the needs of tourists, specifically for the creation of domestic displays once they returned home. Perhaps in contrast to the small scale totem poles and model canoes that went on the auction block, such figurines would have seemed more authentic, as they appeared to be much like those on display at the Berlin museum. While Ernst was on the periphery of these collecting activities, they laid the foundation for his knowledge of kachina figurines at the time he came to the Americas.

From "Surrealist Objects" to Max's "Favorite Dolls"

While in exile the Surrealists continued to nourish their appetites for Native America with visits to ethnographic collections and purchases from curio shops, and their access to Native American objects increased during these years. As the story goes, Ernst's interest in Native Americana was manifested along lines similar to those of his colleagues. He made museum visits and purchased an array of indigenous objects including masks, feast bowls, and totem poles from curio shops and the Heye Museum. During this period Ernst also became a prolific collector of kachina figurines and often crafted bridges between his artistic identity and these Hopi and Zuni sculptures. While others such as Breton had a longer history of kachina

figurine collecting and continued to develop this interest while in exile, it is Ernst who becomes most closely identified with these cottonwood sculptures during this period. Ernst's kachina figurine collecting practice was shaped by his encounters with the commercial tourist industry as made evident by the sorts of figurines he collected and how he made these purchases; yet the influence of tourism is ambiguous and differs in the manner in which it is recounted in the travel narratives of family members. I note that Jimmy's travel narrative, and not Guggenheim's, found favor in secondary histories.

In characterizing the difference between the narratives of Jimmy Ernst and Peggy Guggenheim, I turn to literary scholar James Buzard's 1993 book *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to 'Culture,' 1800-1918*. Buzard argues that as a greater proportion of the population came to be able to afford leisure travel in the nineteenth century, travel narratives became important class signifiers, rather than simply the capacity to travel itself. Such travel narratives, according to Buzard, are punctuated with references to "originality" and "authenticity" and refer to secret precincts "off the tourists' beaten track" as a means of distinguishing the sensitive and cultured "traveler" from the vulgar commercial tourist.⁵⁴ Depending on the narrator, family narratives about Ernst's experiences of the Southwest oscillate between those of a discerning traveler and of the indiscriminate tourist.

From the beginning, Ernst's kachina figurine collection had direct links to commercial tourism and the Fred Harvey Company. Ernst made his first purchases late in the summer of 1941 during the trip through the western United States that he, Peggy Guggenheim, and their respective young adult children, Jimmy and Pegeen, took in a new Buick convertible.⁵⁵ The trip was a family vacation that combined visits to relatives and friends with scouting for a suitable location for Guggenheim's *Art of This Century Museum*, which she would go on to establish in New York City.⁵⁶ The Ernst-Guggenheim trip also mixed business with pleasure. In keeping with the contemporary rituals of tourism, they made plans to see the Hopi dances and made sightseeing stops at sites with picture-postcard views along Route 66, including Santa Fe and the Grand Canyon.⁵⁷ In these respects, the Ernst-Guggenheim family members behaved like many other tourists motoring through the Southwest, organizing their leisure activities mostly around a codified itinerary of visual experiences, many that the Fred Harvey Company developed and promoted. These experiences also provided opportunities for the purchase of souvenirs to revel upon after the journey had ended.

As the story goes, Ernst purchased his first kachina figurines at a Fred Harvey trading post near the Grand Canyon.⁵⁸ The purchase itself was clearly one of the highlights of the trip: years later, Jimmy Ernst and Peggy Guggenheim each reflected upon the moment of purchase in their individual autobiographies. For example, in the oft-quoted memoirs of Ernst's son Jimmy, he reminisced about the event as follows:

At a tourist trading post in the Grand Canyon, [Max] and I found ourselves in the usually closed attic of the building surrounded by a sea of ancient Hopi and Zuni kachina dolls. The recently hired manager, a merchandising expert from Chicago's Marshall Field's, followed us up the steps, yelling to someone over his shoulder: 'We've got to get rid of all that junk, we need the room for new goods.' Max bought just about every one of the kachinas for \$5 each, \$7 for the larger Zuni dolls.⁵⁹

Although the transaction occurred in a place that the younger Ernst describes as a "tourist trading post," his language is inflected with words that distance their purchase from the usual undertakings of tourists. He notes, for example, that he and his father found their way into "the usually closed attic," differentiating their path of travel from that of the average tourist. In addition, Jimmy describes the figurines as "ancient," encoding them as something other than mere tourist trinkets while positioning the avant-garde artist Max Ernst's aesthetic sensibility above that of the proprietor, who refers to the kachina figurines as "junk," and implicitly above all the "tourists" who have passed up the opportunity to purchase them. In this regard, the younger Ernst's narrative appears as if pulled directly from the Fred Harvey Company script of authenticity as characterized by Dilworth, discussed in the second section of this essay.

Peggy Guggenheim's description of the same event differs dramatically in tone from that of Jimmy Ernst. Instead of seeing the purchase as somehow unique or rare she casts Max Ernst into the role of an indiscriminate consumer, and not a traveler of heightened taste: "[Max] wanted to buy [...] all [the kachina dolls,] he wanted to buy everything he fell in love with."⁶⁰ Her retrospective view of course may well have been informed by her recollection of his lavish spending habits during their marriage: habits that included an array of Native Americana, antique furniture, and jewelry. In contrast to Jimmy Ernst's assessment of the figurines as "ancient" cultural objects, Guggenheim's American background may have also allowed her to see the kachina figurines as popular tourist acquisitions. In 1944 Guggenheim described five figurines exhibited at her new Art of This Century museum as "contemporary Indian art of the last forty years found in New Mexico and Arizona—gift of Max Ernst."⁶¹ The fact that Jimmy Ernst's narrative about their visit to the Grand Canyon focuses more on the interior view of the Fred Harvey shop rather than the grandeur of the canyon adds further credibility to Guggenheim's characterization of Ernst as a relentless consumer.

Although Max Ernst is not known to have recounted the purchase himself, with the creation of *Max Among Some of His Favorite Dolls*, made shortly after his visit to Grand Canyon trading post, he left behind an important visual record of his

collection. James Thrall Soby took the image on the terrace at Hale House, Ernst and Guggenheim's New York home, shortly after they returned from their cross-country road trip and in time for publication in the April 1942 issue of *View*. In *Max Among Some of His Favorite Dolls* Ernst appears to be squatting on the terrace, clad in either a white fur or feather coat and at least twenty-seven kachina figurines, many if not all of which were purchased during his cross-country road trip, are arrayed beside and in front of him. The figurines vary in size, with those in the back row about two or three feet tall and those in the front row measuring about five to six inches. Some appear to be Hopi and others Zuni made; one often-overlooked doll of another sort—perhaps of Inuit or American Eskimo origin—stands in the front row off to the viewer's right. This mixture suggests that Ernst's interest in anthropomorphic sculptures from various cultures may be indiscriminately inflected with a similar interest in indigenous dolls, reflecting those of other souvenir collectors described by Phillips and conforming to the surrealist imaginary.

The figurines that accompany Ernst have clearly articulated legs and arms that enable them to stand fully upright. That they need not hang from the wall reveals that Ernst's purchases were not as "ancient" as Jimmy believed. Instead they were the sort of figurine that emerged as a consequence of Euro-American tourist trade with Pueblo communities and were also the sort that Surrealists were most familiar with in Europe during the 1920s and '30s. These objects are indeed "contemporary Indian art" as Guggenheim states; so, given the type and quantity of figurines that appear in this image, Ernst's engagement with indigenous cultures was as a consumer involved in a specific sort of consumerism largely informed by the commercial tourist trade.

Max Among Some of His Favorite Dolls was not the only photograph of Ernst and his figurine collection taken that day. Another of Soby's images, the photograph discussed by Evan Mauer in his essay, shows Ernst standing and holding a pair of kachina figurines, as if the proud father of newborn twins were presenting them to the camera for the first time. In this image the other figurines are at his feet, though they occupy different positions than they do in *Max Among Some of His Favorite Dolls*. During the period between photos he has evidently reorganized them, and a third frame shows Ernst in the process of arranging his figurines. In that image, Ernst's attire also differs, for he appears in a shirt and is only holding the fur coat—as if he were in the process of preparing for the Ernst-Soby photo session.⁶²

With its publication in April 1942 issue of *View*, Soby's famous portrait of Ernst moved from the private domestic space out into the world. Within the pages of this magazine his photograph appears as part of Ernst's fanciful autobiography, entitled "Some Data on the Youth of ME., As told by himself." The text includes tales of how he hatched from an eagle egg, experienced hallucinations, and came to New York accompanied by a bird. Soby's photograph of Ernst appears beneath another Ernst photograph taken by photographer Bernice Abbot. In the latter

image, Ernst wears a dark suit and is enveloped by an oversized Victorian chair that he purchased from Carlebach's shop; he appears much as Guggenheim described him, as a "matinée idol."⁶³ Kavky interprets this illustrated autobiography as sort of introspective exploration that tends towards the ideals of shamanism; she writes that the juxtaposition of the text and photographs lead us "to believe that his visionary activities transcend time."⁶⁴ She presents the powerful argument that Ernst is cultivating a shamanistic identity.

The pair of photographs also provides the reader of *View* with an unstated insight about another facet of his biography: that Max Ernst is a collector. Literary scholar Susan Stewart argues that collections function very differently than souvenirs in their relationship to time and space. The collection, she asserts, emphasizes the biography of the collector, rather than the object's origin, as the souvenir does. The collection also emphasizes the relationship among objects—the taxonomies expressed by the collector—rather than the identities and histories of the individual objects, which the collection as a whole serves to obscure.⁶⁵ The application of Stewart's concept of the collection to *Max Among Some of His Favorite Dolls*, especially in its context within the pages of *View*, suggests that Ernst is a collector rather than someone who just owns a casual assemblage of souvenirs, for he appears to have carefully ordered the figurines according height rather than to either Hopi and Zuni principles. Although Ernst may well have been oblivious of Hopi and Zuni taxonomies, the structure he imposes, like those of many collectors, obscures the fact that other alternatives exist, especially those rooted in indigenous conventions. Moreover, the sheer number of "dolls" displayed within the image obscures individual sculptures in this assemblage, as exemplified by the fact that at least one of the "dolls" is not even a kachina figurine.

In *View*, the depicted kachina figurines also become tightly associated with Ernst's biography, and distanced from their context of origin. Any connection to their indigenous creators has been obscured, and they are merely his "dolls." This process of re-inscription, much like that of "playing Indian," renders indigenous people absent and sanctions Euro-American presence in their place. In this regard, *Max Among Some of His Favorite Dolls* participates in the imaginary of colonialism and as a surrealist collaboration in indigenous oppression.

The Photographic Record and Domestic Displays: Tourist and Ethnographic

During the years of Ernst's exile his domestic life was captured in the work of numerous photographers. This rich photographic record reveals much about how Ernst interacted with and displayed his figurines. For example, in 1942, while Ernst was living in New York, American photographer Arnold Newman (1918-2006) created a portrait of Ernst sitting in the same oversized Victorian chair that is featured in Abbot's *View* magazine photograph. Paintings by Rousseau and Picasso hang in the background, and a Zuni kachina figurine stands on the table

beside Ernst.⁶⁶ At about the same time, German-born photographer Hermann Landshoff (1905-1986) took a series of photographs inside Hale House. One of these photographs provides us with a glimpse of Ernst's collection, showing that it includes sculptures from New Ireland (New Guinea) and the Pacific Northwest Coast.⁶⁷ In this display, most of the figurines stand on tabletops, shelves, or the floor. Notably, only two figurines have been tacked to the wall as *tibu* are conventionally displayed.

Photographers also followed Ernst to Sedona after he moved there in 1946 with Dorothea Tanning. Transylvanian-born photographer André de Dienes (1913-1985) was among the photographers who visited Ernst at his new home and studios. In these images, kachina figurines appear perched on bookcases and windowsills, amongst paintings, frames and art supplies.⁶⁸ These photographs suggest that Ernst displayed most of his figurines in a fashion similar to the souvenirs collected by other tourists to the Southwest, as Dilworth references.⁶⁹

In these images, Ernst's figurines appear among a culturally eclectic array of objects that, in this regard, conform to the mixed curio aesthetic that Tythacott uses to describe the Surrealists' collections in general. Yet within these larger domestic displays, Ernst's figurines are organized in a fashion that they can stand upright rather than be hung, suggesting his exhibition strategies are largely informed by the commercial souvenir industry. Ernst's aesthetic choices are further amplified when juxtaposed with the displays created by Breton after he returned to Europe. As with a majority of figurines in Ernst's collection, most of those in Breton's collection had fully articulated limbs, which enabled them to stand upright. Yet as photographs of Breton's Paris apartment taken in 1965 by Swiss-born photographer Sabine Weiss (b. 1924) show, he displayed them like *tibu* hanging on the wall of Pueblo home.⁷⁰ In this regard, Breton's more studious approach to the display of his kachina figurines within his larger collection of indigenous objects differs in significant ways from that of Ernst, whose practice appears to be indebted to commercial tourism.

Photography also plays a role in the formation of Ernst's tourist aesthetic, as Mesch has effectively argued. Writing with regard for a series of photographs taken by Roland Penrose and Lee Miller taken during their visit to Ernst's Arizona residence in 1946, Mesch contends that they may well have been produced partly in response to their encounter with the ban on photography at Hopi, which they all visited during Penrose and Miller's Arizona holiday. The photographs that Mesch discusses depict Ernst with what appears to be a Hopi Heheya face. In a detailed formal analysis, she argues that unorthodox placement of markings on this face suggest that it was likely a replica created by Ernst. In further support of her argument, she notes that Ernst would have had difficulty obtaining a Hopi-made kachina face due to cultural restrictions.

In the photographs taken by Miller and Penrose, Ernst assumes different postures in relationship to the kachina face and in different settings. In one of

these photographs, taken by Miller, Ernst appears bare-chested while wearing the Heheya face, as he kneels on his left leg.⁷¹ He is hammering the ground with his right hand. With the prohibition against photography at Hopi in mind, Mesch reads this particular photograph as the re-enactment of a ceremony that he, Penrose, and Miller saw during their trip to Hopi. Concerning another image taken by Penrose of Ernst with Miller in which Ernst holds the face, Mesch comments on the limits and authenticity of Euro-American encounters with Pueblo cultures.⁷² She contends that Ernst would have known of such limits due to restrictions on the sale of kachina faces and the taking of photographs at Hopi.

Ernst's performances within these photographs are inflected with tourist sensibilities in other ways as well. The Hopi Nation website gives examples of how tourists to Hopi have violated the Sacred over the years. The nation's website indicates that

Clothing items of ceremonial dancers have been photographed without the dancer's permission and sold. Choreography from ceremonial dances has been copied and performed in non-sacred settings [...] Katsina dolls have also been duplicated from Hopi dancers seen at Hopi [...] Through these thefts, sacred rituals have been exposed to others out of context [...] Some of this information has reached individuals for whom it was not intended (e.g., Hopi Youth, other clans, or non-Hopi).⁷³

Although this very brief passage makes specific mention of the replication of kachina faces (photographic and otherwise), I infer from the reference to photographing dancers' clothing and the replication of figurines that it remains a common enough occurrence, given recent concerns about the publication of photographs of kachina faces in a 2013 catalogue for a Paris auction house, as well as their sale.⁷⁴ With this in mind, Ernst's display of the Heheya face in these photographic performances, irrespective of who created the mask, violates current Hopi intellectual property law and the underlying purpose of the Hopi ban on photography. Thus, at best, he and his colleagues, like many tourists to Hopi even today, did not fully comprehend the important difference between the representation of a Kachina spirit and her embodiment—the difference between a figurine and a face.

Conclusion

The story of *Max Among Some of His Favorite Dolls* is important because it shows how Ernst's aesthetic was initially—though in most respects inadvertently—informed by the impact of commercial tourism on Pueblo ways of life. His very first purchases were shaped by figurines reconfigured to meet the demands of tourism,

and by commercial tour outfitters such as the Fred Harvey Company. The company's influence on figurine design also found its way into European public collections as well as into the private collections of Surrealists such as Éluard and Breton. Hence, commercial tourism greatly informed the Surrealist appropriation of these cultures. Though other Surrealists such as Breton studiously developed extensive collections while in exile, partly distancing themselves from tourist origins, Ernst appears to have embraced the tourist aesthetic in domestic displays and in the creation of photographs such as *Max Among Some of His Favorite Dolls*.⁷⁵

By publishing this paper without images, I endeavor to call attention to these important political and spiritual issues and offer up a new model of engaging with *Max Among Some of His Favorite Dolls* and other images of Ernst and his Native American collections. I do so with the hope of underscoring the importance of these images and of bringing forward various indigenous practices of image-keeping that are tied to memory. This might facilitate a more comprehensive understanding of *Max Among Some of His Favorite Dolls*.

I have included no images in this paper as a means of calling attention to the need to give greater regard to the intellectual property of indigenous artists and their cultural context. Soby's *Max Among Some of His Favorite Dolls* is one example among photographs routinely reproduced alongside the names of their Euro-American creators and those of Euro-American artists and artworks found within the frame. The names of kachina figurine carvers whose work is also displayed within these images is often lost and invariably goes unmentioned, registering a difference in treatment of the work of Euro-American and indigenous artists that reflects a devaluation of the latter. The difference between those who are named and those not named has profound implications for the process of obtaining appropriate permission, as well as paying for rights, to reproduce the work depicted within such images. My choice not to reproduce images is also out of respect for the Sacred and the Secret, and particularly the Sacred properties of Hopi and Zuni kachina masks. As a White art historian who has not consulted a Hopi or Zuni elder of the home community, I do not have the wisdom to know whether respectful practice has been pursued in photoreproduction of a kachina mask or replica mask.

1 Jeffrey J. Spalding, *Max Ernst: From the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Jimmy Ernst* (Glenbow Museum: Calgary, 1979), 50. There are various spellings of the word "kachina", including katsina, and katchina. I have elected to use "kachina" as it is the most common spelling; in quotations of others I have preserved their original spellings in an effort to preserve the authors' voices. For a further discussion of the terminology see: Zena Pearlstone's "Notes on Orthography," in *Katsina: Commodified and Appropriated Images of Hopi Supernaturals*, ed. Zena Pearlstone (Los Angeles: UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History, 2001), 15.

2 Max Ernst, "some Data on the Youth of M.E. as Told by Himself," *View* (April, 1942): 29-31.

3 Reproductions of these images may be found in Evan Mauer's "Dada and Surrealism" in *Primitivism*

in *20th Century Art*, Vol. 2, eds. William Rubin, et al. (New York: Museum of Modern Art), 566; and in Werner Spies ed. *Max Ernst Life and Work* (Cologne: Dumont, 2005), 167-195, respectively.

4 For more details on Surrealists' collections see: Elizabeth Cowling, "The Eskimo, the American Indians and the Surrealists," in *Art History* 1, no. 4 (1978): 493; Edmund Carpenter, "Repatriation Policy and the Heye Collection," *Museum Anthropology* (1991): 16; and Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Way of the Masks*, trans. Sylvia Modelski (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1982), 9-10. For an extended study of the Surrealists' Yup'ik masks, consult Ann Fienup-Riordan, *The Living Tradition of Yup'ik Masks: Agayuliyararput, Our Way of Making Prayer* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1996), 260.

5 Early biographies lacking the photograph include Patrick Waldberg, *Max Ernst* (Paris: Pauvert, 1958); John Russell, *Max Ernst: Life and Work* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1967); Peggy Guggenheim, *Out of This Century*, and the special issue of *XXe siècle review*, *Homage to Max Ernst*, ed. G. Di San Lazzaro (New York: Tudor Publishing, 1971). Ronald Penrose was among the first to reproduce the image in his 1981 book *Scrapbook-1900-1981* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1981), 141, and a decade later, it was reproduced in Werner Spies' 1991 celebrated exhibition catalogue *Max Ernst: A Retrospective*. In 1995, art historian Dickran Tashjian also reproduced the same photograph in *A Boatload of Madmen: Surrealism and the American Avant-Garde, 1920-1950* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1995), 194, as did Martica Sawin in *Surrealism in Exile and the Beginning of the New York School* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995), 206. Soby's photograph later appeared in the catalogue for *La Danse des Kachina: poupées Hopi and Zuni dans les collections surréalistes et alentour* (Paris: Paris musées, 1998), 35; in Pierre Amrouche, *Esprit Kachina: poupées, mythes et cérémonies chez les Indiens Hopi et Zuni* (Paris: Galerie Flak, 2003), 15; in Louise Tythacott, *Surrealism and the Exotic Esprit Kachina* (London: Routledge, 2003), 159; and in Samantha Kavky "Max Ernst in Arizona," *Myth, Mimesis, and the Hysterical Landscape*," in *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 57/58 (2012): 211.

6 On the relationships of shamanism and Freudian theory to Ernst's attire in Soby's photographs, see Mauer, "Dada and Surrealism," 556-575. See also Sigrid Metken's "Ten Thousand Redskins: Max Ernst and the North American Indians," in *Max Ernst, 1891-1976*, ed. Werner Spies (Munich: Prestel, 1991), 357.

7 Metken, 357.

8 Jimmy Ernst, 216.

9 Tythacott, *Surrealism and Exotic*, 42.

10 *Ibid.*, 158.

11 Kavky, 216.

12 Claudia Mesch, "What Makes Indians Laugh?: Surrealism, Ritual, and Return in Steven Yazzie and Joseph Beuys" *Journal of Surrealism of the Americas* 6, no. 1 (2012): 48.

13 *Ibid.*, 44.

14 Quoted in Zena Pearlstone, "The Contemporary Katsina," in *Katsina: Commodified and Appropriated Images of Hopi Supernaturals*, 43.

15 Janet C. Berlo and Ruth B. Phillips, *Native North American Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 54-5.

16 Barton Wright, "The Drift From Tradition," in *Katsina: Commodified and Appropriated Images of Hopi Supernaturals*, 146.

17 *Ibid.*, 147.

18 *Ibid.*, 149.

19 Phillips, 86-87. A 1905 photograph depicting the interior of a Fred Harvey Store in the Alvarado Hotel in New Mexico documents how Indigenous souvenirs were presented to tourists. Baskets are shown hanging on the wall in the background, and jewelry and silver displayed in a glass case in the foreground, with a pair of kachina figurines standing on top of the case. For additional details see: Palace of the Governors (MNM/DCA) Negative no.: 014573.

- 20 Harvey, 38.
- 21 See Pearlstone, 59-60 and Leah Dilworth, *Imagining Indians in the Southwest: Persistent Visions of a Primitive Past*, (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1996), 45. For many practitioners, photography of the dancers' masks is also considered to be a violation of their spiritual practices. For a further discussion see Berlo and Phillips, 54-5.
- 22 Amrouche, 18.
- 23 Alfred Bush and Lee Clark Mitchell, *The Photograph And The American Indian* (Princeton University Press: Princeton, 1994), 1-50. See also John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze. Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (Sage Publications: London, 1990), 138-140. <http://nativeamericannetroots.net/diary/1202>.
- 24 The Zuni Pueblo Department of Tourism. "What to do in Zuni Pueblo," http://www.zunitourism.com/what_to_do_in_zuni.htm; Restoration, and "Visiting Hopi Land," <http://hopi.org/visiting-hopi/>; Restoration, Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, "Intellectual Property Rights," <http://www8.nau.edu/~hcpo-p/intellectPropRights.html>.
- 25 Dilworth, 125-172.
- 26 Ibid., 83.
- 27 Ibid., 82-84.
- 28 Ibid., 132-33.
- 29 For an example of this see: Denver Public Library photoarchive, image : X-5729.
- 30 Donald E. Gordon, "German Expressionism," in *Primitivism' in 20th Century Art*, 381.
- 31 See Marie-Lizabth Lanierl-Le Francois "La poupée-Kachina" in *La Danse des Kachina*, 12-15, and Pierre Amrouche, "Kachina and Surrealism," in *Esprit Kachina*, 12-15.
- 32 Cowling, 486-487. More recent scholarship by Canadian art historian Leslie Dawn calls attention to the fact that the 1927 *Exposition d'art canadien* at the Musée du Jeu de Paume in Paris included Northwest Coast material. Although there is no clear evidence to suggest any of the Surrealists attended the exhibition, the Northwest Coast material capture the attention of several Parisian critics opening up the distinct possibility that the Surrealists were also aware of the exhibited Northwest Coast material. See Leslie Dawn, *National Visions, National Blindness: Canadian Art and Identities in the 1920s* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2006), 94-115.
- 33 *British Museum Handbook to the Ethnographical Collections*, Second ed. London, 1925.
- 34 *British Museum*, v.
- 35 Examples of portrait masks in the British Museum's collection appear in J. C. H. King's *Portrait Masks from the Northwest Coast of America* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979).
- 36 Phillips, 56-58.
- 37 Rich illustrations of Katsina dancers may also be found in Jesse Walter Fewkes, ed. *Hopi Kachinas*, 21st annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology 1899-1900 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1903).
- 38 Metken, 357.
- 39 Peter Bolz and Hans-Ulrich Sanner, *Native American Art: The Collections of the Ethnological Museum in Berlin*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, and Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 1999) 115-116. Another source was Aby Warburg, whose travels through the Southwest are discussed in Phillippe-Alain Michaud, "Un pueblo à Hambourg: le voyage d'Aby Warburg au Nouveau-Mexique, 1895-1896," in *Cahiers du musée national d'art moderne* 52 (1995): 43-73.
- 40 Paul Éluard to Gala Éluard, Paris, 28 March 1928. Paul Éluard, *Letters to Gala*, trans. Jesse Browner (New York: Paragon House, 1989), 8.
- 41 Bolz and Sanner, 113-122.
- 42 Amrouche, 11.
- 43 Tythacott, 36.
- 44 Ibid., 42.
- 45 Cowling, 486. Tribal art consultant Pierre Amrouche in his essay for the Galerie Flak's 2003

exhibition catalogue *Esprit Kachina* interprets the absence of kachinas from the Éluard-Breton sale “as proof of these two friends’ particular admiration for these objects.”

46 Phillips, 94.

47 Ibid., 4-6.

48 Ibid., 102.

49 Pearlstone, 46.

50 Denver Public Library Archival Image, 5-30869

51 See Metken, 357, and Paul Éluard to Gala Éluard, Eaubonne, France, 29 May 1927, 6.

52 *La Revolution surréaliste* (October 27, 1927): 34

53 Edward Kennard, *Hopi Kachinas* (1938; reprint Walnut Creek: Kiva Publishing, 2002), 8.

54 James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to ‘Culture,’ 1800-1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 1-17.

55 Anton Gill, *Peggy Guggenheim: The Life of an Art Addict* (London: HarperCollins, 2001), 282. Peggy Guggenheim married Ernst later in 1941. Prior to their marriage, he had been married twice: his first wife was Louise Straus-Ernst, a student of art history, and his second was Marie-Berthe Aurenche. After his relationship with Guggenheim ended, Ernst married Dorothea Tanning. For more details about Max Ernst’s marriages consult Jimmy Ernst, *A Not-So-Still Life* (New York: St. Martins Press: 1984), and Peggy Guggenheim, *Out of this Century: Confessions of an Art Addict* (New York: Universe Books, 1979).

56 Route 66—yet to become the celebrated vacation highway of the post-World War II era—since the mid 1920s has enabled motorists to travel between Chicago and Los Angeles. For more details about this history, see Arthur Krim, “Mapping Route 66” in *Roadside America: The Automobile in Design and Culture*, ed. Jan Jennings (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1990), 199. For information about the Ernst-Guggenheim cross-country trip see Peggy Guggenheim, *Confessions of an Art Addict* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1960), 89-90, and Peggy Guggenheim *Out of this Century: Confessions of an Art Addict* (New York: Universe Books, 1979), 252-258.

57 Jeffrey J. Spalding, *Max Ernst: From the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Jimmy Ernst* (Calgary: Glenbow Museum, 1979), 50.

58 Spalding, 50.

59 Jimmy Ernst, 216.

60 Guggenheim, 263.

61 Peggy Guggenheim (ed.), *Art of this Century* (1942; reprint New York: Arno Press, 1968), 151.

62 Reproductions of these images can be found on 566 in Mauer’s essay and in Werner Spies, ed. *Max Ernst Life and Work* (Cologne: Dumont, 2005), 169, respectively.

63 Guggenheim, *Confessions of an Art Addict*, 92.

64 Kavky, 215.

65 Susan Stewart, *On Longing* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1992), 151-166.

66 Mauer, 562.

67 See Spies, 167 and 169.

68 Spies, 204.

69 Even after Ernst moved to Sedona, only rarely do we catch a glimpse of a figurine hung from the wall like a *tibu*, as exemplified by a portrait of Ernst and Tanning taken by Roland Penrose in her studio.

70 Amrouche, 14 and 21.

71 See Kavky, 217; Mesch, 45; and Spies, 195.

72 Mesch, 47-48.

73 Restoration, Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, “Intellectual Property Rights,” <http://www8.nau.edu/~hcopo-p/intellectPropRights.html>.

74 Dennis Wagner, “French plan to auction Hopi masks stirs furor,” *The Arizona Republic* (April 3,

2013): <http://www.azcentral.com/news/arizona/articles/20130402french-plan-auction-hopi-masks-stirs-furor.html>.

75 For a recent account of such debates, see Jaynie Anderson ed., *Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migration and Convergence: The Proceedings of The 32nd International Congress in The History of Art* (Melbourne: Miegunyah Press, Melbourne University Publishing, 2009).