DAUGHTER OF THE MINOTAUR: LEONORA CARRINGTON AND THE SURREALIST IMAGE

by

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ABSTRACT

Surrealism glorified the irrational part of the mind that was best portrayed by images of dream and myth. When Leonora Carrington, a British Surrealist artist, painted And then we saw the Daughter of the Minotaur in 1953, she visually described her career which began with Surrealism, as well as the development of her ideas about art which veered away from Surrealism. In this painting she replaced the minotaur, a recurring Surrealist image for the irrational, with a "Daughter of the Minotaur," her personal symbol for the occult, esoterism and feminism.

Carrington's imaginative use of symbols, dreamlike vistas and hybrid creatures, insured that her paintings were included in international Surrealist exhibitions. She has also had a number of one person exhibitions and published two novels in addition to short stories and plays but, to date, her work has not been treated in an academic study. Because her paintings and writings often complement each other, we can better understand the one by exploring the other. For this reason, I have supplemented an iconographic analysis of selected paintings with an analysis of her literary work. As we examine her life, her art, her writings and the influences upon her of other artists and art movements, two phases of development emerge: first, the rebellious phase (1937-1950) which shows the influence of Surrealism (Chapter II) and earlier European fantastic traditions

(Chapter III); second, the esoteric feminist phase from 1950 to the present (Chapter IV). Such a division allows us to follow a progression in her work that merges in the late 1960s with a renewed interest in the occult shared by many contemporary feminists. Carrington drew mythic images and oneiric worlds from the basic concepts of Surrealism but she altered both the source and the direction as she embarked upon her search for a feminine identity in her works.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT ii

TABLE OF CONTENTS iv

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS vi

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS xi

INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER I: FROM CHILDHOOD TO MATURITY 14

Early Life and Education 14

The Development of Her Art 17

From London to the Continent 22

The Relationship between Literary and Visual Imagery 32

Directions in Carrington's Work 40

CHAPTER II: LEONORA CARRINGTON AND THE SURREALIST MOVEMENT . . . 55

Surrealism: Ideology and Philosophy 55

Carrington in France 68

Women in Surrealism 75

CHAPTER III: INFLUENCES OF THE EUROPEAN FANTASTIC TRADITION . . 97

Surrealism and the Symbolists 98

St. Anthony and Leonora Carrington 103

Bosch, Breughel and Patinir: the Influence on Carrington . . 109

Influences from the Nineteenth Century 114

Different Visions 123

CHAPTER IV: LEONORA CARRINGTON AND ESOTERIC FEMINISM 133

Feminism in North America 134

Carrington as an Esoteric Feminist 137

CONCLUSION 171

ILLUSTRATIONS 180

BIBLIOGRAPHY 210

APPENDIX I 222

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Max Ernst, Leonora in the Morning Light, 1937. Oil on canvas. Collection Leonora Carrington. (Source: Juan Ponce and Leonora Carrington, Leonora Carrington, Mexico City, 1974, 5).

2. Thomas MacKenzie, illustration for James Stephens', Crock of Gold, London, 1926, 72.

3. Leonora Carrington, Crookhey Hall, 1947. Casein on masonite, 31.5 x 60 cm. Private Collection, Mexico. (Source: Ponce and Carrington, 24).

3a. Detail from Crookhey Hall.

4. Leonora Carrington, Self-portrait, 1937. Oil on canvas, 65 x 81¼ cm. Collection of Pierre Matisse, New York. (Source: Leonora Carrington, A Retrospective Exhibition, catalogue for the Centre for Inter-American Relations, New York, 1976, 8).

4a. Detail from Self-portrait.

5. Leonora Carrington, And then we saw the Daughter of the Minotaur, 1953. Oil on canvas, 60 x 70 cm. Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Ignacio Bernal, Mexico. (Source: Once and Carrington, 15).

5a. Detail from And then we saw the Daughter of the Minotaur.

6. Leonora Carrington, The Horses of Lord Candlestick, 1938. Oil on canvas, 35 x 23½ inches. Collection of Peggy Guggenheim. (Source: Art of this Century, New York, 1942, 132).

7. Leonora Carrington, Pastoral, 1950. Oil on canvas, 53.5 x 74.5 cm. Collection of Robert C. Hill, Mexico. (Source: Ponce and Carrington, 22).

8. Leonora Carrington, Portrait of Max Ernst, 1940. Oil on canvas, 50¼ x 26-3/4 cm. Private Collection, New York. (Source: Catalogue, Inter-American Relations, 27).

9. Leonora Carrington, La dame ovale, 1942. (Source: VVV, No. 2-3, March 1943, 83).

10. Salvador Dali, The Bleeding Roses, 1930. Oil on canvas, 60 x 50 cm. Collection of J. Fourjou, Brussels. (Source: Robert Short, Dada and Surrealism, London, 1980, 108).

11. Hans Bellmer, Drawing for Sade, 1946. Pencil on paper, 25 x 21 cm. Collection of F. Petit, Paris. (Source: Short, 168).

12. Rene Magritte, Personal Values, 1952. Oil on canvas, 31-5/8 x 39½ in. Collection of Jan-Albert Goris, Brussels. (Source: William S. Rubin, Dada and Surrealist Art, London, 1978, Colour plate XXIX).

13. Max Ernst, The Nymph Echo, 1936. Oil on canvas, 46 x 55 cm. Collection of Dorothea Tanning. (Source: John Russell, Max Ernst, London, 1967, plate 71).

14. Max Ernst, Joy of Life, 1936. Oil on canvas, 72 x 91 cm. Private Collection. (Source: Short, 125).

15. Victor Brauner, Adrianopolis, 1937. (Source: André Breton, Surrealism and Painting, London, 1972, 76).

16. Leonora Carrington, The Hunt, 1942. Collection of Matta, Paris. (Source: Breton, 77).

17. Victor Brauner, Fascination, 1940. Oil on canvas, 21 x 25 in. Collection Peggy Guggenheim. (Source: Art of this Century, New York, 1968, 125).

18. Leonora Carrington, Wishing Well, 1962. Oil on canvas, 80 x 120 cm. Collection Max Luft, Mexico. (Source: Ponce and Carrington, 39).

19. Leonor Fini, The Shepherdess of the Sphinxes, 1941. Oil on canvas, 14½ x 17½ in. Collection Peggy Guggenheim. (Source: Art of this Century, 129).

20. Leonor Fini, Games of Legs in a Key of Dreams, 1935. Oil on canvas, 92 x 65 cm. Collection Pieyre de Mandiargues. (Source: Constantin Jelenski, Leonor Fini, Lausanne, 1968, 42).

21. Leonor Fini, The Seamstress, 1955. Oil on canvas, 92 x 65 cm. Private Collection, Paris. (Source: Jelenski, 85).

22. Leonora Carrington, The pomps of the sub-soil, 1947. Oil on canvas, 58.5 x 94 cm. Collection Sir Robert and Lisa Sainsbury, London. (Source: Ponce and Carrington, 19).

23. Remedios Varo, Flautista, 1955. Oil on masonite, 75 x 93 cm. Private Collection. (Source: Remedios Varo, Museo de Arte Moderno, Mexico City, 4).

24. Remedios Varo, Born Anew, 1960. Oil on masonite. Collection Walter Gruen. (Source: Estella Lauter, Women as Mythmakers, Bloomington, 1984, 93).

25. Remedios Varo, The Creation of Birds, 1958. Oil on masonite, 54 x 64 cm. Collection of Dr. Manlio Hernandez, Mexico. (Source: Remedios Varo, 6).

26. Remedios Varo, The Double Agent, 1936. Oil on copper, 21 x 17 cm. Private Collection. (Source: Short, 143).

27. Max Ernst, The Temptation of St. Anthony, 1946. Oil on canvas, 109 x 129 cm. Lehmbruck-Museum, Duisburg. (Source: Russell, plate 86).

28. Matthias Grünewald, St. Anthony Abbot assailed by monstrous demons. c. 1510. Wing of the Isenheim Altarpiece. Colmar, Unterlinden Museum. (Source: Grünewald with an essay by J-K Huysmans, London: Phaidon, plate 27).

29. Leonora Carrington, The Temptation of St. Anthony, 1946. Oil on canvas. (Source: Marcel Jean, The History of Surrealist Painting, New York, 1959, 323).

30. Hieronymus Bosch, The Temptation of St. Anthony, c. 1510. Oil and tempra on panel, 27½ x 20 in. Museo del Prado, Madrid. (Source: Lotte Brand Philip, Hieronymus Bosch, New York, n.d., 39).

31. Odilon Redon, St. Anthony: Help me, my God!, 1896. Lithograph, 21.5 x 13 cm. British Museum, London. (Source: Hobbs, 114).

32. Leonora Carrington, Chiki, tons pays, 1947. Oil on canvas, 90 x 90 cm. Collection Jushiro Komiyama, Tokyo, Japan. (Source: Ponce and Carrington, plate 1).

32a. Detail from Chiki, ton pays.

33. Leonora Carrington, Palatine Predella, 1946. Egg tempera on panel, 34.4 x 99.5 cm. Collection of the Trustees of the Edward James Foundation. (Source: Leonora Carrington, Center for Inter-American Relations, 40).

34. Leonora Carrington, Viper! Viper! Of the Sea, 1945. Pencil on paper, 23 x 24 cm. Collection Galeria de Arte Mexicano, Mexico. (Source: Ponce and Carrington, 11).

35. Leonora Carrington, Goddess of Serpents, 1967. Ink on paper, 31 x 25 cm. Collection of Javier Barros Sierra, Mexico. (Source: Ponce and Carrington, 15).

36. Leonora Carrington, The Octave Smile, 1969. Ink on paper, 57.5 x 36 cm. Collection of Galeria de Arte Mexicano, Mexico. (Source: Ponce and Carrington, 10).

37. Odilon Redon, Chimera, 1902. Charcoal. 54.5 x 39 cm. Musee National du Louvre, Paris. (Source: Richard Hobbs, Odilon Redon, London, 1977, 118).

38. Leonora Carrington, Are You Really Syrius?, 1953. Oil on canvas, 55.5 x 91 cm. Museo de Arte Moderno, Mexico. (Source: Ponce and Carrington, plate 28).

39. Gustave Moreau, The Apparition (Salome and the Head of John the Baptist), c. 1875. Oil on canvas, 55-7/8 x 40½ in. Musee Gustave Moreau, Paris. (Source: Robert Delevoy, Symbolists and Symbolism, London, 1982, 41).

40. Franz von Stuck, Sin, 1893. Oil on canvas, 37-3/8 x 23½ in. Neue Pinakothek, Munich. (Source: Delevoy, 104).

41. Dante Gabriel Rossetti, The Daydream, 1872-1878. Pastel and black chalk, 41¼ x 30¼ in. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. (Source: Delevoy, 35).

42. Piero della Francesco, Madonna with Saints, c. 1472-1474. Panel, 248 x 170 cm. Brera Altarpiece, Milan. (Source: Peter Murray, Piero della Francesco, New York, 1967, plate LXIV).

43. Leonora Carrington, The chair: Daghda tuatha danann, 1955. Oil on canvas, 49 x 39 cm. Collection Raul Martinez Ostos, Mexico. (Source: Ponce and Carrington, plate 5).

44. Leonora Carrington, Professional Ethics, 1955. Oil on canvas, 40 x 45 cm. Collection of Ruth Ford. (Source: Leonora Carrington, 36).

45. The Goddess Hathor as illustrated in E. A. Wallis Budge, The Gods of the Egyptians, New York, 1969, 435).

46. Leonora Carrington, The Naked Truth, 1962. Oil on panel, 51 x 81 cm. Private Collection, Mexico. (Source: Leonora Carrington, 38).

47. Leonora Carrington, El Rarvarok, 1963. Oil on canvas, 70 x 100 cm. Collection Emerico Weisz. (Source: Ponce and Carrington, plate 6).

48. Leonora Carrington, Samain, 1951. Oil and tempera on panel, 91 x 55 cm. Collection Mariana Perez Amor, Mexico. (Source: Ponce and Carrington, plate 23).

49. Leonora Carrington, Sidhe: The white people of Dana tnatha de danann, 1954. Oil on canvas, 78.5 x 59.5 cm. Collection Raul Cano, Mexico. (Source: Ponce and Carrington, plate 47).

50. Leonora Carrington, The Return of Boadicea, 1969. Oil on canvas, 80.5 x 80.5 cm. Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Horacio Gil Vertiz. (Source: Leonora Carrington, 18).

51. H. C. Selous, Boadicea Haranguing her Troops, c. 1850. (Source: J. M. Scott, Boadicea, London, 1975, 80-81).

52. Leonora Carrington, Godmother, 1970. Oil on canvas, 55.5 x 56 cm. Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Nesuhi Ertegun. (Source: Leonora Carrington, 28).

53. Diana of Ephesus, seond century A.D., Museo Nazionale, Naplos. (Source: Erich Lessing, Ephesos. Vienna, 1978, n.p.).

54. Andre Masson, Mannequin. Detail of "Surrealist Street" at the international Surrealist exhibition, Galerie Beauz-Arts, Paris, 1938. (Source: William Rubin, Dada and Surrealist Art, figure 383).

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INTRODUCTION

"She likes children; but she doesn't care much for adults," the Canadian poet, P. K. Page remarked to me about her friend, Leonora Carrington.[1] I had been researching and writing about Leonora Carrington and her ties with the Surrealist movement for approximately one year when, in the spring of 1984, I had the opportunity to meet Carrington. P. K. Page's observation was foremost in my mind as I phoned Carrington in New York City with the intention of asking her for an appointment. Well aware, also, of her reclusiveness, I was both surprised and pleased when she asked me to come to her apartment on the following day. She remembered my name from a letter that I had written to her in the fall; she never answers letters and she had not answered that one, but the unanswered letter did provide an introduction.

I expected to meet a reserved, dignified sixty-seven year old woman living in comfortable, reasonably appointed surroundings. After all, her family was British upper class and she had been educated at some of England's best Roman Catholic schools. She attended a prestigious girls' boarding school in Italy and, as an English debutante, was presented to the court at Buckingham Palace in 1934. The woman who greeted me at the door was indeed reserved, dignified and English with a hint of a Spanish accent in her voice obtained, no doubt, during her thirty-seven-year stay in Mexico.

Her apartment was simple and modest, far from the luxurious surroundings that I expected. Carrington once told P. K. Page that the English boarding school furthered the cause of British empire building by preparing their students to endure any and all hardships--they could sleep anywhere and eat anything! Her apartment was not as uncomfortable as a boarding school but was certainly unassuming and sparse. It consisted of one high ceilinged room with a kitchen nook. A ladder allowed access to a half loft where she did her painting but, she said, she preferred the light in Mexico. She was, in fact, in the process of packing to return to Mexico City, the city she had left in 1979, when I visited her. "I am too old," explained Carrington, "to live in New York City!"

In person, Leonora Carrington is beautiful, fragile and bird-like. In fact, the Surrealist painter, Max Ernst, her former companion, captured her essence more thoroughly than any photograph I have seen of her when he painted, Leonora in the Morning Light (1937) (figure 1). This painting shows her ethereal beauty above an entanglement of flora and fauna accompanied by a gentle horse as well as by a screaming minotaur. Yet, in both the youthful portrait and in her mature years, one senses a strength behind her gentleness, a sturdiness behind her fragility.

During our conversation we discussed her children, Pablo, a medical researcher, and Gabriel, a playwright. We talked about her intense and ongoing interest in the work of Carl Jung and his student, Marie-Louise von Franz; about Robert Graves and his work, The White

Goddess, which Carrington says was her introduction to the goddess theme which became an important aspect of her work; about Ireland, the summers spent there during her childhood, the myths and tales with which she became so familiar; about Tibetan Tantrism and her interest in the ideal of an ultimate balance between male and female principles; about her friendship with P. K. Page; and about her attitude toward Surrealism, the school of art with which she is usually associated.

When I told her that I did not think she should be called a Surrealist, she responded, much to my surprise, in the affirmative. An aspect of my research was to suggest that Carrington, as an artist interested in the rights of women to such an extent that she created an ideology revolving around a female deity, should not be called a Surrealist. André Breton and the Surrealist movement that he founded glorified women and aspired to develop feminism while, in effect, treating woman as muse, devourer or object. This theme has been thoroughly explored by Whitney Chadwick in several articles as well as in her recent book, Myth and Surrealism, 1929-1939 (1980). Roziska Parker and Griselda Pollock in their study of the difficulties encountered by female artists over the past centuries, Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology (1981), also discussed the attitude held by André Breton and the Surrealists toward the feminine. "What they [the Surrealists] reacted against," explained Parker and Pollock, "was defined by André Breton as all that was masculine and what they sought was symbolized by all that was attributed to feminity."[2] They went on to say, however, that, "Many of the Surrealist notions of the

feminine and their fascination with Woman are no more than idealist or essential notions of the difference between the sexes and ultimately work to endorse traditional definitions of Woman as Nature, Woman as silent enigma, Woman as Sphinx, Woman as child."[3] In fact the Surrealists included very few female artists among their number and those who were included were usually involved personally with a male Surrealist. This is evident in group portraits; for example, in Ernst's painting, The Meeting of Friends (1922), Gala Eluard, wife of the poet Paul Eluard, is the only woman present; Rene Magritte's photomontage of the Surrealist group, "I do not see the [woman] hidden in the forest" (1929), includes only men, although the portraits are placed around a painting of an anonymous nude female; a photograph, "Artists in Exile" (1942), taken on the occasion of an opening at the Pierre Matisse Gallery in New York, depicts only male figures.

Theoretically, the Surrealists were concerned with the freedom of women but ironically, women remained precisely what they had been to Surrealisms forefathers, the Symbolists: objects, muses, devourers. In his memoirs, Max Ernst's son, Jimmy Ernst, discussed the relationships between the men and the women involved with Surrealism as he remembered them: "It is strange that the spirit of rebellion against the mores of the hated bourgeoisie did not penetrate very deeply into the private lives of nonconformists like Max Ernst. . . . Most of the male prerogatives of home life, including a different code of morality for men and women, remained pretty much in place. And for all the verbal attacks on the hypocrisy of sexual convention these

revolutionaries drew a silent line on homosexuality . . ."[4]

Carrington's own comment about her Surrealism was that in the late 1950s she was young but she was surrounded by artists who were known and who were exhibiting. Asked to include paintings in international exhibits in Paris and Amsterdam when she was only twenty years old, she could hardly refuse. It was with the Surrealists that she showed; it was with a Surrealist that she lived; and it was Surrealist that she was called. She, however, never approved of their attitude toward women. 'Libertine attitude' is how she referred to Breton's philosophy and claimed that she and Breton used to argue for hours about the Marquis de Sade--a significant subject because Sade, along with Lautréamont, became demi-gods for the Surrealists. The Surrealists equated Sadian liberation of sexuality with a liberation of consciousness. According to Chadwick, the Surrealists were, "drawn to Sade for the same reasons they were drawn to the orphic cults of Dionysos and the erotic excesses of Don Juan--the search for an all-consuming passion that would carry within it the seed of a new reality--they managed to abstract a philosophical message from a frenzied lust."[5]

Many works by Surrealist artists include Sadian themes of erotic violence; the violence is most often directed toward women. This can be seen most explicitly in Hans Bellmer's series of dismembered 'dolls' or in André Masson's various paintings of rape and massacre, for example Tormented Woman (1932), Massacre (1932), or The Rape (1939). In certain instances the 'woman as devourer' theme

emerges, for example, in Victor Brauner's painting, The Crime of the Butterfly King (1930) or Remedios Varo's, The Double Agent (1936), but this theme is most often expressed in terms of female insect, usually a praying mantis, devouring her mate. This theme occurs infrequently. However, in both cases, the theme is erotic violence. Leonora Carrington, on the other hand, avoids erotic violence in both her literary and visual works; she frequently makes reference to female rebellion against male domination and, in addition to this, she alludes to a female divinity.

Carrington's use of the female goddess in her works has been explored by Gloria Orenstein in a number of articles about women in Surrealism and in a book, The Theater of the Marvelous: Surrealism and the Contemporary Stage (1975). Orenstein focuses upon plays and stories rather than upon paintings although she cites some examples of Carrington's use of symbolism in paintings which Orenstein relates to the idea of a Mother Goddess.[6] But Carrington does not overtly refer to a female goddess until the 1950s, after she studied Jungian literature and read Robert Graves book, The White Goddess (1948). Paintings which Orenstein discussed in her book and in articles, such as The Garden of Paracelsus (1957), Who Art Thou, White Face (1959), El Rarvarok (1963) or Lepidoptera (1969), and literary works like "The Oval Lady" (1934) and Down Below (1944), according to Orenstein, displayed imagery directly related to a "rebirth of the Mother Goddess." All these works, however, were completed after 1950, after Carrington's brief association with Surrealism, after she had lived in

Mexico for a decade, and after she had removed herself from the mainstream of the Surrealist movement. Although Orenstein based her analysis of these and other paintings on iconographical interpretations and interviews with the artist, a thorough and complete understanding of Carrington's development as an artist since 1937 must be made before we can draw such conclusions.

A consideration of a sample of Carrington's work during the 1940s, for example, after she left Europe and then New York, for Mexico, reveals that much of her work during this early part of her career relied heavily upon a tradition of European fantastic art. This particular aspect of her work and its relationship to such a tradition will be thoroughly explored in Chapter III. Suffice to state at this point that works such as Palatine Predella (1946), Tuesday (1946), Chiki, ton pays (1947) and Mars Red Predella (1947) owe a great deal to sixteenth century masters of fantastic art such as Hieronymus Bosch and Pieter Brueghel, and to Renaissance painters such as Joachim Patinir. In fact, much of Carrington's debt to Surrealism, which will be discussed in Chapter II, comes via these early masters of the fantastic as well as from certain of the nineteenth century Symbolists who were claimed as "precursors" by the Surrealists.

During this first phase of her career (from 1937 to 1950) Carrington cannot be considered a proselytizer for a Mother Goddess. She can, however, be considered rebellious. Along with other Surrealists, she rebelled against the traditions and mores of an industrialized bourgeois society. Unlike the male Surrealists, her

rebellion included insurgency against patriarchy. This is most evident in her stories, for example, "The Oval Lady" and "The Debutante" (both written in 1939). An analysis of the second phase of her work, beginning in the early 1950s, indicates a more specifically defined and developed concern for the rights of women in both her stories and her paintings; this concern includes esoteric symbolism with references to a female deity.[7] For example in the painting, And then we saw the Daughter of the Minotaur (1953), Carrington changes the frequently recurring and violent Surrealist portrayal of the minotaur into a serene image of a goddess-like figure; the artist's young sons, dressed in black capes, are meeting this "Daughter of the Minotaur" in a painting that, as we shall see later, is filled with symbols of a female divinity.[8] This second phase of her work which will be discussed in Chapter IV, includes specifically feminist themes that emerge most strongly in the 1960s.

An iconographic interpretation of Carrington's paintings, done in conjunction with an analysis of her literary work, allows us to explore the development of her ideas and her attitudes from the time she became affiliated with the Surrealist movement until the present. The combination of this type of iconographic analysis along with an analysis and an understanding of both the culture and the artistic traditions to which she was exposed, will enable us to understand how she evolved as an artist and a thinker. She moved away from Surrealism toward an art form of her own but, in doing this, she was not an isolated phenomenon. She and at least two other female

artists who were involved with the Surrealists in their youth, diverged from Surrealism and became more involved with esoterism. Leonor Fini, an Argentinian-born Italian woman, was loosely affiliated with the Surrealists in Paris by 1935 because of her "fantastic" paintings; during that time she was also romantically involved with Max Ernst.[9] Spanish-born Remedios Varo was closely involved with the Surrealists in Paris by 1937; she had married the Surrealist poet, Benjamin Peret, in 1936.[10] The three artists knew each other in France; Varo and Carrington moved to Mexico during World War II and remained close friends until Varo's death in 1963.

All three of these women artists explore mythological themes that relate to a mother goddess, an earth goddess, in their work; all three are interested in the occult (Fini, in fact, calls herself a witch);[11] all three use esoteric symbols in their work. André Breton and the Surrealists became interested in the occult after 1929 but the movement as a whole never went as far into esoterism as these women would. In addition to this characteristic and their common Surrealist heritage, the three women artists all reflect, or are indicative of, a tendency among feminists since the 1960s. This was a heightened interest in the role of a female deity and explorations in the occult.[12] The inclination of this movement is away from a male-dominated patriarchal society and toward a female-dominated matriarchal society. It is a rebellion against established traditions.

Leonora Carrington is the most esoteric of these women artists as well as the artist who probably influenced Varo in her move in this

direction.[13] Carrington's career and development as an artist has not been treated academically to date. Such a study provides an opportunity to explore her work as well as to look at a new type of art that has emerged over the past twenty to thirty years, an art that combines feminism with esoterism. Carrington's symbolism is fantastic and eclectic; her sources include alchemy, the Tarot, astrology, Tantric Buddhims, the Cabala. Her environments are fantastical dream/landscapes; her animals are unrecognizable hybrids. Her early involvement with Surrealism introduced her to an exciting new realm of dream and myth;[14] her independence, her talent, her ideas, carried her away from Surrealism toward her own esoteric eclecticism--an eclecticism that converges upon a female divinity.

Footnotes

[1]P. K. Page, a well-known Canadian poet, as well as a visual artist, lived in Mexico City for four years, 1960-1964, during the time that her husband, W. A. Irwin, served as Canadian ambassador to Mexico. She and Leonora Carrington are very close friends and have worked together on painting as well as on the production of Carrington's play, "Pénélope."

[2]Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology (London, 1981), 138.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Jimmy Ernst, A Not-So-Still Life: A Memoir (New York, 1984), 15.

[5]Whitney Chadwick, "Eros or Thanatos--the Surrealist Cult of Love," in Artforum, Volume 14, November 1975, 49.

[6]In addition to Gloria Orenstein's book, The Theater of the Marvelous: Surrealism and the Contemporary Stage (New York, 1975), see her articles, "Leonora Carrington: Another Reality" in Ms., August 1974; "Art History and the Case for the Women of Surrealism" in The Journal of General Education, XXVII, No. 1, Spring 1975; "La nature animale et divine de la femme dans les oeuvres de Leonora Carrington" in Melusine, Vol. II, 1981; "Reclaiming the Great Mother: a feminist journey to madness and back in search of a goddess heritage" in Symposium, Spring 1982.

[7]This is not to say that a change in the content of her work took place, suddenly, in 1950. For example, Carrington wrote "Pénélope," the play that was produced in Mexico City in 1957, in 1946. This play is mythologically feminine (this will be discussed in Chapter IV). An iconographic analysis of her painting, The pomps of the sub-soil (1947) could yield a similar conclusion but the iconography is not as clearly defined (as mythologically feminist) as in, for instance, Samhain (1951) or in And then we saw the Daughter of the Minotaur (1953).

[8]Mariana Perez Amor, owner of Galeria de Arte Mexicano, Mexico City, told me in an interview, 4 October 1983, that the children shown in this painting are Carrington's sons, Gabriel and Pablo. P. K. Page confirmed this.

[9]See Gaston Diehl, Max Ernst (New York, 1973), 60, and Peggy Guggenheim, Out of this Century (New York, 1979), 235, for mention of the relationship between Fini and Ernst. The most informative works on Fini to date are Silvio Gaggi's article, "Leonor Fini: A Mythology of the Feminine," Art International, XXIII, No. 5-6, September 1979;

Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology (London, 1981), 137-43; Ann Sutherland Harris and Linda Nochlin, Women Artists, 1550-1950 (New York, 1976), 329-31; and Estella Lauter, Women as Mythmakers, Poetry and Visual Art by Twentieth-Century Women (Bloomington, 1984), 114-28. Lauter, in the first footnote to her chapter on Fini, aptly notes that Fini's work has received little attention in the United States. The last one person exhibit Fini had in North America was in New York in 1963. This is of course due in part to the emphasis on nonrepresentational art during the last four decades.

[10]See Janet Kaplan, "Remedios Varo: Voyages and Visions" in Women's Art Journal, Fall-Winter, 1980-1981, 14. Kaplan's article is based upon her soon to be completed Ph.D. dissertation (Columbia University). There is little information available about Varo but, in addition to the Kaplan article, Lauter's chapter in Women as Mythmakers on Varo, "Remedios Varo: The Creative Woman and the Female Quest," 79-97 is extremely useful. All the discussions and interpretations of Varo's work in this study are my own, based upon the retrospective of her work at the Museo de Arte Moderno in Mexico City, August to November, which I attended. Although Varo is not well known in Canada or the United States she is known and highly thought of in Mexico. Her exhibition was only slightly less well attended than the Diego Rivera exhibition that was being held across the street at the Museo Tamayo.

[11]See Constantin Jelenski's Leonor Fini (Lausanne, 1968), 14, for the often-quoted statement of Fini's about her association with witchcraft. Also note that Anne Kent Rush's book, Moon, Moon (New York: Random House, 1976) for women on the occult and witchcraft (this is not an academic study but a collection of feminist myths, rituals, moon calendars, for women interested in exploring "the politics of feminist spirituality," 321) has a full page photograph of Leonor Fini in her "ritual moon goddess costume," 50-51. Fini is wearing the crescent moon headdress of the goddess Diana.

[12]In addition to Anne Kent Rush's book, Moon, Moon, which is mentioned in footnote 9, and is one of the earliest of this type of book to be published, there are also: Vicki Noble, Motherpeace: A Way to the Goddess through Myth, Art, and Tarot (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1983); Starhawk (Miriam Simos), The Spiral Dance: A Rebirth of the Ancient Religion of the Great Goddess: Rituals, Innovations, Exercises, Magic (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1979); Monica Sjöö and Barbara Mor, The Ancient Religion of the Great Cosmic Mother of All (Trondheim, Norway: Rainbow Press, 1981). In addition to these books there are presses that are publishing only "esoteric feminist" books such as Luna Publications in Los Angeles and Persephone Press in Massachusetts.

[13]Emma Garcia, Curator, Museo de Arte Moderno in Mexico City in an interview with me in Mexico City, 4 October 1983, suggested that Carrington influenced Remedios Varo. Mariana Perez Amor and P. K. Page, familiar with the works of both artists, support this view. Kaplan does not mention the connection in her article on Varo, and her book, to date, has not been published. P. K. Page said that in addition to being close friends the two artists used to paint together (Remedios Varo died in 1963). It is probably accurate to say that the artists influenced each other but Carrington's work has been the more consistent; Varo's work changed substantially during her Mexican period--both stylistically and iconographically.

[14]Whitney Chadwick's book, Myth in Surrealist Painting, 1929-1939 (Ann Arbor, 1980) is most informative about Surrealism and myth, and as she herself posits at the end of her book: "The present book is only a first step in the tortuous process of determining the iconographic content of certain Surrealist works" (107).

Chapter I

FROM CHILDHOOD TO MATURITY

> In Ireland we hear but little of the darker powers, and come across any who have seen them even more rarely, for the imagination of the people dwells rather upon the fantastic and capricious, and fantasy and caprice would lose the freedom which is their breath of life were they to unite them either with evil or with good.
>
> W. B. Yeats, The Celtic Twilight (1893).

Early Life and Education

James Stephens's novel, The Crock of Gold, first published in England in 1912, is rich with Irish lore of fairies, leprechauns, the white people of Sidhe, and is filled with imagery that is both fanciful and capricious.[1] Leonora Carrington, proud of her Irish descent, considers this her favourite book. In fact, she believes that Stephens is equal in importance to James Joyce.[2] The Crock of Gold and other books, such as Andrew Lang's "coloured" fairy books, for example, The Crimson Fairy Book, The Lilac Fairy Book, that were popular children's books during Carrington's youth, were lavishly illustrated in a style reminiscent of the nineteenth century English Pre-Raphaelites and French Symbolists (see figure 2). This style recurs in certain of Carrington's paintings.[3] Celtic myths were popularized when Lady Gregory published her translation of Irish mythic history, Gods and Fighting Men: The Story of the Tuatha de Danaan and of the Fianna of Ireland (1902), and Lady Charlotte Guest

published a collection of Celtic Welsh myths, The Mabinogion (1906). The wealthy and well-educated Carringtons surely had such books in their library and the young Leonora, interested in fantasy and art, probably read them and admired their illustrations. In later years she would continually return to themes in her art which relate to Ireland and its myths; for example, The High Queen of Ireland (1948), Samain (1951), Sidhe: The white people of Dana tnatha de danann [sic] (1954). But this is not to say that she dealt only with the myths of her ancestral home. She visually expressed her interest in the myth and history of many areas; for example, Ur of the Chaldees (1950), Good King Dagobert (1952), Cabala (1957), Burning of Giordana Bruno (1964) or The Return of Boadicea (1969). Her interest in myth and history began with Ireland and the tales told to her when she was young but later expanded to include the myths of many cultures.

Leonora's father, Harold Wilde Carrington, a prosperous English textile manufacturer married the daughter of an Irish country doctor.[4] The family home, Crookhey Hall near Lancaster, was staffed with Irish servants.[5] Mrs. Carrington and her children, Leonora and three brothers, spent their summers in Ireland. Leonora's substantial knowledge of Irish folk tales, myths and legends stems from the stories told by grandparents, the servants and her Irish nanny.[6] When Leonora was seven, the staff of Crookhey Hall expanded to include a French governess.[7] By this time the young child could read and play piano as well as frustrate her governess with her "mirror writing" skills.[8] In 1926, at the age of nine, Leonora was sent to a convent

boarding school in Essex; she was soon expelled for what the nuns considered a "mental deficiency."[9] She infuriated the nuns by taking all her notes in mirror writing and refused to concentrate on any subject but art.[10] This began a series of expulsions from various boarding schools which ended only when she was sent to Italy when she was fifteen.[11] Her family decided that she should attend Miss Penrose's boarding school in Florence. The sympathetic teachers in this school encouraged her artistic endeavours, allowed her to visit the Uffizi Gallery and to see museums and monuments in Venice, Rome and Siena.[12] She went to Paris in 1933 for a year of finishing school and, during that time, took some art classes at Académie de Grande Chaumière.[13] It is very likely that this put her in contact with Surrealist works if not with the Surrealists themselves and, like the protagonist, Marian, in her novel The Hearing Trumpet (1974), Carrington probably had "an attack of claustrophobia" when she arrived back in Lancashire.[14] She was, however, a young English woman of "good breeding" and as such was expected to partake in certain rituals. In 1934 she viewed the Ascot races from the Royal Enclosure, attended the Royal Garden Party at Buckingham Palace and had her own ball at the Ritz Hotel in London in preparation for her expected entry into English society.[15] Carrington, however, unhappy with her role as debutante convinced her family by 1936 to allow her to study art in London at the Ozenfant Academy.[16] From this time on her artistic endeavours as well as her choice of a lifestyle that differed from that of the British upper class, would take her away from Lancashire

and from her family. A painting (figure 3) that she completed eleven years after leaving home shows a young woman in white (the colour of the debutante's dress) fleeing down a path away from a country manor. When we compare the country manor in the painting with a photograph of Crookhey Hall, we can see that the painting is a precise rendition of Carrington's family home. The image in Carrington's painting called Crookhey Hall (1947) is obvious: a woman flees frantically away from a stately English manor. Crookhey Hall is a visual representation of Carrington's own flight from home and family.

The Development of Her Art

The art school that Carrington chose to attend in London was operated by Amédée Ozenfant. Ozenfant, along with Le Corbusier, founded Purism in France in 1918 and, in conjunction with this, edited the periodical, L'Espirit Nouveau.[17] Purism was a call for the development of a clear, precise and rational art form that would complement the machine aesthetic of the twentieth century.[18] The need for order in the world, as seen in science and philosophy, should be seen in painting as an "order of the eye."[19] The emphasis was upon "harmonious proportion" along with the use of verticals to express "dynamic power" and horizontals to express repose.[20] The Purists had a preference for browns, grass greens, some pale blue but, generally, colour was considered to "sensual" for lasting importance.[21] Ozenfant declared that Purism was an aesthetic not a movement and his concern was with the "perfection of humanity."[22]

Carrington was exposed to the rigorous discipline of this

school; much of this discipline remains evident in her paintings. For example, one of her early paintings, Self-portrait (1937) (figure 4) aptly displays the clean and precise forms required by Purism. The edges, in this painting, are hard and sharp. Even the colour, with blues, greens and browns predominant, reflects the influence of her training under Ozenfant. The machine-like precision in the rendering of the form tends to disappear in Carrington's later work in favour of a slightly softer line but does, occasionally recur in such works as Adieu Amenothep (1955), And then we saw the Daughter of the Minotaur (1955), or Transferencia (1963). She never loses her love of line; paint always remains a secondary element in her work.

In addition to the emphasis upon line her paintings are always muted. She favours quiet browns, greys, and greens rather than the brighter hues. This remains evident even in paintings where she uses a softer and slightly more "fluffy" brushstroke, although she does, on many occasions, include a bright silver-white in her palette. For example, Orplied (1955) is predominately composed of rich browns and greens but the crests of the waves in the foreground, the waxing moon and slender figure in the midground, and the heads of some of the minute figures in the centre of the painting are luminous silver. The Death of the Great Kudú (1965) is even darker than Orplied. The entire canvas is a muted grey-brown. The Kudú (an African antelope) is black but the eyes, the beard, the wound in the central portion of the body and an oval shape perched atop the head are the same silver-white that recurs so frequently in Carrington's paintings.

This technique of resorting to a very restricted and muted palette but incorporating a luminous white was used most effectively by Carrington in her large mural in Mexico City. She was commissioned by the Museum of Anthropology in Mexico City (1963) to paint a mural for the Chiapas room in the Museum. After spending a month with the Chamula Indians in the State of Chiapas (in pre-Columbian times this area was part of Mayan territory) she returned to Mexico City to construct the mural.[23] As a part of the Museum that depicts the contemporary customs and life-style of Mexican Indians, the painting encompasses both ancient tradition and the changes that occurred with the advent of Catholicism. But one of the most fascinating aspects of the mural is a large, white creature that sits in the extreme right foreground painted in silver-white. The predominant colours are browns and greys. The effect of this contrast, in large scale and with the surrounding muted tones, creates a dichotomy between the mythic beast, on the one hand, and the harsh life of the contemporary Indians on the other, that is remarkably poignant but not sentimental. In this particular painting, probably because of its size or perhaps because of its Mexican theme , she does introduce touches of brighter colour, for example, the mythic bird hovering over the scene in the left mid-ground is soft blue and red; the serpent is soft blue; the sun and sky are red. But in most instances her palette is restricted, her forms linear.

1936, the year Carrington studied with Ozenfant, was also the year that a major exhibition, British Archaeological Discoveries in

Greece and Crete, 1886-1936, attracted attention in London. Part of the exhibit called "Illustrative of Minoan culture with special relation to the discoveries at Knossos," was arranged by Sir Arthur Evans. Evans's catalogue entry described objects that related to a female deity, for example, the Ring of Minos which, according to Evans, depicted, "the migration of the Minoan Goddess from one shrine to another across an arm of sea,"[24] goddess figures with snakes which are, "symbols of her chthonic power,"[25] statues of a "Divine Child saluting the Mother Goddess,"[26] a Minoan Goddess, "Our Lady of Sports," dressed in "a gold-plated corset and male loin-clothing."[27] Evans lists many representations of female deities; only two representations of male "Boy-Gods."[28]

Carrington is familiar with Evans' work.[29] Some of her later paintings such as, And then we saw the Daughter of the Minotaur (1953) (figure 5), demonstrate this knowledge of the art of the Minoan area. For example, the head of the 'Daughter of the Minotaur' is similar to the Bull's Head Rhyton that appeared in the show and which is also illustrated in other of Evans's books about Crete.[30] The thick columns in the background of the painting resemble the squat, thick columns found at Knossos. The most interesting similarity, however, between the painting and Minoan art is the butterfly motif that Carrington incorporates into Daughter of the Minotaur. The Minoan exhibition included scales, rings and pendants that were formed in the shape of a butterfly or which included an incised butterfly. Evans connected this motif with the Great Goddess. He also connected the Minoan

double-axe to the butterfly saying that both symbols belonged to the Goddess, specifically to her regenerative powers.[31] Carrington favours the butterfly symbol in many of her paintings and in fact, even called one painting Lepidoptera (1969). The central figure in Daughter of the Minotaur has a diaphanous, butterfly-shaped head. Because Carrington used some imagery from Minoan art or myth does not mean that her view of either the civilization of its goddess corresponded with Evans's view. Evans, however, impressed by the great number of goddess images that he excavated in Crete, was convinced of two things: first, that the same goddess with varying names was worshipped throughout the Mediterranean and Asia Minor areas;[32] second, that Crete (if not other areas as well) had been matriarchal. In his massive study on The Palace of Minos (1930), he wrote: "It is certain that, however much the male element had asserted itself in the domain of government, by the great days of the Minoan civilization, the religion still continued to reflect the older matriarchal stage of social development. Clearly the goddess was supreme."[33]

In her later works Carrington laments the loss of this 'supreme' goddess and the rites and religions attached to the female deity.[34] This is particularly evident in the novel, The Hearing Trumpet (to be discussed more thoroughly in Chapter IV), in which patriarchal desecration of the Goddess's Holy Grail results in the ruin of the earth. Carrington is not willing to relegate a female deity or powers associated with such a deity to an archaeological find

or to a historical treatise. So although she uses imagery and symbols found in Crete, as well as in various other cultures that, at one time or another in their history, worshipped a goddess, her intent is different and has a more ideological approach. This particular symbolism recurs in her work particularly after 1950 even though she was aware of the Minoan civilization and Evans's work much earlier than that.

From London to the Continent

Carrington's explorations of art in London ceased in the spring of 1937 when, at the age of twenty, she met the Surrealist painter, Max Ernst, visiting the city for an exhibition of his paintings.[35] Her family was totally outraged and, according to Max Ernst's son, Jimmy Ernst, the Carringtons "never ceased in their efforts to separate the two in any way possible. They had gone so far as to influence British authorities to issue a warrant for Max's arrest, on charges of exhibiting pornographic paintings in London . . . It was only with the help of Roland Penrose that he escaped discovery."[36] After spending some time in Cornwall with the British Surrealist painter, Penrose, Carrington and Ernst left together for France where they settled into Ernst's Paris apartment on the rue des Plantes. The building, unfinished as a result of the Crash of 1929, housed artists, writers and theatre people.[37] John Russell, Ernst's biographer, said that "bizarre incidents abounded," and that Carrington and Ernst, needing quieter and more private surroundings, moved to and old, rundown farmhouse at Saint-Martin-d'Ardèche, about

fifty kilometres north of Avignon.[38] Jimmy Ernst explained that his father moved to Ardèche because he wanted to get away from the Surrealists. He quoted his father as saying that remaining within the group, "would be as bad as attending morning mass, making the sign of the cross or going to confession."[39] According to Ernst, his father, "did not want to become an enemy to his friends just because it did not bother them as much as it did him to allow one individual [André Breton] to confer benediction on them."[40] The move to Ardèche allowed Ernst and Carrington to remain aloof from the growing tension among the Surrealist artists in Paris, to be together, and to explore their art.

According to Marcel Jean, a French Surrealist, Ernst encouraged Carrington in her painting of dreams and the irrational, paintings that were often humourous and a satire upon her early life.[41] Edward James, an Irish poet and collector of Surrealist works, in the introduction to the catalogue for Carrington's retrospective exhibition in New York in 1976, confirmed Jean's statement by saying that Ernst instructed her, encouraged her, was responsible for the "early and almost immediate recognition of her youthful talent,"[42] but that Carrington's ideas were her own. Peggy Guggenheim, on an excursion to purchase a painting from Ernst, purchased The Horses of Lord Candlestick (1938) (figure 6), from Carrington instead.[43] The horses in this painting are treated in the same manner as the horses in her earlier painting, Self-portrait (1937), smooth, linear and hard-edged. The calmness of the horses in Self-portrait, however, has

disappeared, replaced with a wildness evident in the large, frantic eyes of the horses and their electric manes standing on edge. The background, although muted, is dominated by a volcanic mountain which is spewing forth smoke and, in combination with the frantic horses, lends more eeriness to the painting than can be found in her earlier Self-portrait.

Guggenheim, happy with her acquisition, wrote that Carrington was ". . . not well known but very good and full of imagination in the best Surrealist manner and always painted birds and animals . . . Everyone was delighted by this purchase."[44] Both these paintings, The Horses of Lord Candlestick and Self-portrait, exemplify Carrington's early training at the Ozenfant Academy except that, in the case of Horses, we see an example of one of the rare instances in which Carrington uses a strong diagonal. Even though she veered away from strong verticals and horizontals, the paintings retain precise and linear forms. Another painting completed during this same time, The Cats (1938), prefigures the type of painting she would produce in the 1940s. She eliminated the hard-edged machine-like precision of the form in favour of a short, slightly fluffy brushstroke but arranged her forms in the composition parallel to the picture plane. The Cats is more representative of Carrington's later works, both in the style and in the content. The painting is a collection of mythic fantastic cats, most in sphinx-like poses, a hybrid bird/cat and, most fascinating, in the centre foreground, a head and flower with a serpent-like stem winding away from an egg/vulva-shaped bloom. This

fascination with mythic animals, in this case probably Egyptian cat deities,[45] continues as a constant factor in Carrington's paintings over the years, moving slowly but consistently toward an inclusion of specifically feminine myths and symbols. Her development in this direction was, however, dramatically halted by events taking place in Europe at this time and by personal calamities related to these events.

The quiet life that Carrington and Ernst chose to lead in their house at Saint-Martin-d'Ardèche was halted by the outbreak of the war in Europe. In 1937 Ernst said: "All I want now is to leave Paris for a long time and live with Leonora in Ardèche . . . and to love her . . . if the world will only allow it."[46] By 1939 the world did not allow it! Ernst, a German citizen (but one who was not welcome in Germany during the Nazi regime), in September 1939, was interned in a prison at Largentière by the French government.[47] During the first six weeks of the internment he was given short daily paroles which he spent with Carrington, but the privilege of parole was soon revoked and he was transferred to a camp at Les Milles, near Aix-en-Provence.[48] Through the intervention of Paul Eluard, the French Surrealist poet, Ernst was released in December. He returned to Carrington at Saint-Martin-d'Ardèche with a fear that at any moment he might be arrested again. The fear became a reality when the Germans invaded France in 1940. Ernst was arrested. Carrington had a nervous breakdown.[49]

Carrington discussed Ernst's arrest and her ensuing breakdown in an account of her period of insanity called Down Below which was

published in the Surrealist journal, VVV, more than two years after she had recovered. "I begin therefore," wrote Carrington, "with the moment when Max was taken away to a concentration camp for the second time, under the escort who carried a rifle (May 1940). I was living in Saint Martin de l'Ardèche [sic]. I wept for several hours down in the village; then I went up again to my house, where for twenty-four hours, I indulged in voluntary vomitings induced by drinking orange blossom water and interrupted by a short nap . . . I had realized the injustice of society, I wanted first of all to cleanse myself, then go beyond its brutal ineptitude."[50] This account of insanity provides the reader with certain biographical details in addition to offering an insight into the world of insanity. The experience itself and the events leading up to the actual institutionalization had a tremendous impact on Carrington and on her work.

Soon after Ernst's arrest two friends came to Saint-Martin-d'Ardèche and convinced Carrington that they should all go to Spain before the Germans arrived in the south of France.[51] They had some difficulty leaving the country but after sending numerous wires to Carrington's family in England requesting assistance, they were finally allowed to enter Spain.[52] It is obvious, from Carrington's own description, that she had lost touch with reality. During the two months that the friends spent waiting to enter Spain, Carrington experienced a strong identification with animals. She, in fact, was quite convinced that she was an animal. For example, she related in Down Below that: "I could not walk straight. I walked like a crab; I

had lost control over my motions: an attempt at climbing stairs would again bring about "a jam."[53] She also felt that she could communicate with animals (horses, goats and birds) through her sense of touch. "This was accomplished," she explained, "through the skin, by means of a sort of 'touch' language which I find difficult to describe now that my senses have lost the acuity of perception they possessed at the time."[54] Long after this hallucinatory period, however, her "acuity of perception" remained a factor in her painting. Many of her works include mysterious animals that are depicted with gentleness and with an empathy that suggests a very strong identification with her subject matter. This can be seen clearly in her representation of the mystical beast in her mural in Mexico City as well as in many other paintings but, perhaps, this feeling is most strongly portrayed by her in a painting completed almost ten years after her recovery called, Pastoral (1950) (figure 7). The gentle landscape, painted in her typical muted browns and greens, is inhabited by a menagerie of exotic beasts and two young humans, one male and one female. The female, painted entirely in the silver-white so common to Carrington's palette, rests her head against the shoulder of a seated cat-like animal. The young man, only partially painted in white, reclines on the grass, gazing toward a standing, humanoid creature who holds a rooster. A silver-white, winged, bare-breasted woman, various heads peering from out of the leaves, and a silver-white and blue bird-human in the sky observe the scene from the branches of the trees. The environment is gentle and harmonious suggesting a definite rapport

between human and animal. This, too, is a theme that recurs in Carrington's work and, in later years the theme that emphasizes the need for humanity to reassess its relationship with nature. However, in 1940 as she moved more and more toward insanity, Carrington attempted to "act out" her concerns.

In addition to a few 'mad' escapades in Madrid, which included spending a night tearing up and scattering newspapers throughout the city, Carrington began to make daily visits to the British Embassy in an attempt to convince the Consul, ". . . that the World War was being waged hypnotically by a group of people--Hitler and Company--who were being represented in Spain by Van Ghent."[55] According to Carrington in Down Below, Van Ghent was an employee of Industrial Chemical Industries who knew her father and, apparently on Harold Wilde Carrington's request, kept track of her in Madrid. She also publicly denounced the head of I.C.I. in Madrid, Mr. Gilliland:

> I called every day on Mr. Gilliland, the head of I.C.I. in Madrid; he soon got tired of my visits, most of all because I came to enlighten him on politics and denounced him, pell-mell with papa Carrington and Van Ghent, as being petty, very petty, and pretty ignoble; and this to himself, his wife, his maids, to the hotel servants and to anyone who would listen to me.[56]

At this point, Gilliland, with the assistance of a Spanish doctor, had Carrington put into a sanitorium operated by nuns.[57]

The nuns were unable to cope with Leonora so Gilliland, undoubtedly operating on instructions from Carrington's father (". . . the power of papa Carrington and his millions," she wrote, "as

represented in Madrid by the I.C.I."),[58] soon had Leonora sent to a psychiatric institution in Santander on the north coast of Spain. Jimmy Ernst discussed Carrington's breakdown in his memoirs. He wrote that: "The outbreak of the war had ended her idyllic life with Max in a small town near Ardèche. The separation had become permanent after a series of traumatic misfortunes had befallen Leonora, culminating in her commitment to a Spanish insane asylum through the long arm of her powerful British family. During this tragic detention she came to believe that she was indeed possessed by madness."[59] In fact, there may be a connection between the Carrington family's determination to have their daughter's relationship with Ernst permanently ended and with her subsequent institutionalization. Jimmy Ernst did not comment on Carrington's release from Santander. Gloria Orenstein, in one of her articles, wrote that Carrington was released from the asylum; P. K. Page said that she escaped.[60] Carrington herself does not state when or under what conditions she left the institution. According to Down Below she was drugged up until she left, which was when her 'nanny' of twenty years came to stay with her in Santander.[61] She arrived in Lisbon in the summer of 1941.

Peggy Guggenheim and Max Ernst, together in Lisbon, saw Carrington there after she left Santander and before they sailed for the United States (13 July 1941).[62] Guggenheim and Ernst celebrated Ernst's fiftieth birthday in Saint-Martin d'Ardèche on 2 April and left for Lisbon shortly after; therefore, the meeting with Carrington in Lisbon, which coincided with her release, took place sometime

between 2 April 1941 and 13 July 1941. During this stay in Lisbon, Carrington married Renato Leduc, a Mexican diplomat; this allowed her to escape the 'keeper' whom her family had provided and to enter the United States with her husband on his passport.[63] Guggenheim, who openly states her jealousy of Carrington because of Ernst's continuing affection for his former companion, is the major source of information about this period of Carrington's life.[64] Ernst spent a great deal of time with Carrington and visited her daily when they were all in Lisbon, but according to Guggenheim (who would later marry Ernst) Leonora decided to stay with her husband rather than attempt to renew the relationship with Ernst. Guggenheim, fully aware that Ernst was devoted to Carrington, wrote that Ernst "was completely happy when he was with her, and miserable the rest of the time . . . they seemed to be in perfect harmony."[65] Guggenheim also said that Carrington, "never knew what she wanted in life and seemed perpetually waiting for someone to hypnotize her in order to make her decide."[66] On the contrary, it appears that Carrington knew exactly what she wanted: to escape both her family and war-torn Europe for North America. Her chances of accomplishing this were much greater as the wife of a North American diplomat than as either the daughter of a prominent British family who wanted her to remain in Portugal or as the companion of a German citizen who was having his own problems with the authorities (Ernst's problems continued even when he reached the United States and even with the support of the wealthy Peggy Guggenheim; his immigration problems abated when he finally married Guggenheim.) In addition to

this Guggenheim said that Leduc looked after Carrington, unlike Ernst who "was always a baby."[67] Carrington had, as Guggenheim aptly pointed out, just recovered from a breakdown and required a certain amount of care and attention. In any event she did not return to Ernst either then or in the future. Jimmy Ernst, in his memoir, recalled both Guggenheim's and his father's distress when Carrington arrived in New York: "Her [Peggy Guggenheim] insecurity came to a head when Leonora Carrington arrived in New York by boat with a large body of Max's works in her care . . . I don't recall ever again seeing such a strange mixture of desolation and euphoria in my father's face when he returned from his first meeting with Leonora in New York. One moment he was the man I remembered from Paris--alive, glowing, witty and at peace--and then I saw in his face the dreadful nightmare that so often comes with waking. Each day he saw her, and it was often, ended the same way. I hoped never to experience such pain myself, and I was at a loss of how to help him."[68]

Less than a year later Carrington and her husband moved to Mexico City where Carrington remained for almost forty years. In 1946, after divorcing Leduc, Carrington married a Hungarian photographer, Emerico (Chiqui) Weisz; a son, Gabriel, was born 14 July 1946 and a second son, Pablo, was born 14 November 1947.[69] In 1979 Carrington moved to New York. At that time both her sons lived in the city; Pablo was a medical researcher at a New York hospital and Gabriel was a theatre student at New York University.[70] By the spring of 1984, Gabriel and Pablo had both left New York, and Carrington was

preparing to move back to Mexico, the place she has long considered home.[71]

During the years she lived in Mexico Carrington continued writing and painting. In addition to short stories that have appeared in Surrealist journals such as View and VVV as well as in various anthologies, such as André Breton's Anthology of Black Humour (1966) and The Custom House of Desire (Berkeley, 1975), she has recently written two novels: The Hearing Trumpet (1974) and The Stone Door (1977). Her visual work, over the years, has included rug tapestries and sculpture, but her major contribution to this area are her paintings. Her first one person show was held at the Pierre Matisse Gallery in New York in 1948. Since then she has had several one-person exhibits in Mexico City and Paris as well as a retrospective exhibition in New York. This is in addition to her inclusion in international Surrealist exhibitions in Paris, Amsterdam, New York, Cologne and London. Throughout her career she has explored two fields of art--the visual and the literary--consistently relating the one to the other.

The Relationship between Literary and Visual Imagery

Carrington's writings are a collection of fanciful thoughts and whimsical tales which, when analysed in combination with her paintings, are allegorically informative about Carrington's own life and ideas. For example, the white horse which appears in two forms, as a rocking horse and as a living creature in Self-portrait (1937)[72]

as well as in another early work, Portrait of Max Ernst (1940)(figure 8),[73] also appears as the character, Tartarus, in her story, "The Oval Lady" (1939). The painting, Self-portrait, shows us a young Leonora Carrington with a mass of long, wild hair. Perched on the edge of a small Victorian chair, she extends her hand toward a hyena. A white rocking horse is suspended in the air over the head of the woman. The three characters are frozen and static in the box-like room. Through the window, a second white horse is running free in nature toward a grove of trees. The real or exterior horse is painted in the same static way as the interior subjects but the colour of its coat, a blue-white silvery hue, and the pose in which it is caught leaping toward the trees gives this horse a sense of freedom that is lacking in the wooden rocking horse, as well as in the hyena and the woman. The colour of the horse's coat, however, is repeated precisely in the colour of the woman's pants, providing a link between the quiet woman confined in the room and the horse, free outside. The link between the rocking horse and the woman is reinforced by their physical contact.

In Portrait of Max Ernst, the image of the white horse standing in the frozen landscape is repeated in the oval shaped crystal that Ernst holds in his hands like a lantern. Considering that Carrington has already identified herself with the white horse in Self-portrait there can be little doubt that she herself in the guise of a horse accompanies Ernst on his trek through the icy wasteland robed in his bird-like attire (Ernst, identified himself with birds, particularly

with Loplop, his alter-ego). Both paintings connect woman with animal. This theme, relationship between woman and beast, dominated Carrington's writings of the same period. In her short story, "The Oval Lady" from her anthology, The Oval Lady (1939), Lucrecia, the protagonist, has as a playmate a rocking horse named Tartarus. This horse, according to Lucrecia, "is her favorite," because: "He hates my father."[74] Lucrecia is also able to transform herself into a real horse like the one that we see through the window in Self-portrait. The narrator of "The Oval Lady" tells us that: "If I had not known that it was Lucrecia, I might have sworn that I was dealing with a real horse. She was so beautiful, her whiteness was blinding, with four fine limbs like needles, and a mane that fell around her face as if it were water."[75] This could easily describe the white horse in Self-portrait or Portrait of Max Ernst. But in her story the protagonist, both in turning herself into a white horse and in playing with the rocking horse, Tartarus, is transgressing her father's rules. Lucrecia's father forbade her to play with horses and had threatened to destroy Tartarus if he was not obeyed. By continuing her rebellion and ignoring her father's commands, she brings destruction upon her playmate. In his wrath at being disobeyed over and over again by Lucrecia, he summons her and says: "What I am going to do is for your own good, little one . . . You are too big to be playing with Tartarus. Tartarus is for little boys. Therefore, I am going to burn it until there's nothing left of it."[76]

Gloria Orenstein, in her introduction to the 1975 edition of

the anthology, The Oval Lady, in an attempt to link Carrington's early work with goddess symbolism, states that the white horse, in the story is Epona the Celtic Great Goddess who is frequently seen with or represented as a mare.[77] In later works (these will be discussed in Chapter IV) Carrington uses symbolism that relates to a goddess figure but such a conclusion cannot be based upon her early work. Carrington's white horse is a male ("he hates my father.") named Tartarus (masculine gender).

Lucrecia, the female in conflict with the father figure, is able to transform herself into a living Tartarus and both she and Tartarus rebel against the father. Two years later, during the time when Carrington was in a mental institution she also saw herself as a white horse. Writing about this incident in Down Below she said: "Suddenly a small white horse detached himself from them; the two big horses disappeared, and nothing was left on the road but the colt who rolled all the way down and remained on the back, dying. I myself was the white colt."[78] In the story "The Oval Lady," a male rocking horse is transformed either by or with a female into a live horse. In the painting, Self-portrait, there is a connection between the woman, the rocking horse and the live horse. In Down Below, Carrington herself becomes "a small white horse." At this point in her career, Carrington's rebellion against patriarchal society was carried on with the assistance of the figure of a male horse. In addition, just prior to her institutionalization Carrington wanted to be rescued from the tyranny of the "father" just like Lucrecia in "The Oval Lady." In

Down Below she said: "I hastened to seduce him [her doctor], for I said to myself: 'There's my brother who comes to liberate me from the fathers.'"[79] And, "At that time, Madrid was singing 'Ojos verdes' (Green Eyes) after a poem by Garcia Lorca . . . green eyes, the eyes of my brothers who would deliver me at last of my father."[80]

As far as the horse goes, there is no doubt that Tartarus is a symbol for rebellion against a patriarchal male figure in Carrington's personal iconography. But equally important in a description of this rebellion is the observation that Carrington requires the assistance of a male to release her from the bonds of a male. This changes later in her career until, by the time she wrote The Hearing Trumpet (published in 1974 but written in 1960), the female protagonist is more than able to stand alone. However, in 1937 when Carrington painted Self-portrait and two years later when she wrote "The Oval Lady," she was living with Max Ernst, an assiduous student of Freudian literature.[81]

In Freudian terms a stallion generally represents intense sexual desires.[82] This provides yet another dimension for Carrington's horse imagery in both the paintings and the story but does not detract from the rebellious nature of such symbolism. In the 1950s Carrington "discovered" Jung.[85] Carl Jung thought that the horse might represent intuitive understanding and express the "magic" nature of the human.[84] A change which occurs in Carrington's horse and the rebellion which surrounds the animal is exemplified by her play, Pénélope, which was produced in Mexico City in 1957[85] but, in

the late 1930s the association of the horse with "intense desires" and with rebellion against established tradition is in keeping with the Surrealist anti-bourgeoisie ideology.

The title of her story, "The Oval Lady," with its reference to an egg-shape suggests the presence of the female more than the horse does. This becomes more evident when we look at the paintings, The Cats (1938) and The Oval Lady (1942) (figure 9). The Cats, as mentioned earlier, has an open egg/vulva-like flower in the centre foreground. A serpent-like vine undulates from the oval shape into the mid-ground of the canvas. In Celtic tradition, with which Carrington is familiar, as we have seen, the serpent's egg is a symbol for the life-force.[86] The Oval Lady, both in title and in content, is more specifically related to egg symbolism but it is important to note that this appears as a symbol in Carrington's early work; a symbol which becomes even more important in later works.

The focal point in the painting, The Oval Lady, is a gigantic, elegantly robed female figure. Standing within a circle, near the banks of a stream, she is crowned with a large circular diadem. To her right stands a huge egg topped with the heads of horned stags. Stags are symbols of Artemis in Greek mythology or of Diana in Roman mythology; the story of Actaeon's transformation into a stag only to be pursued and slaughtered by Artemis' hounds because the young man had dared to lay eyes upon the naked goddess, is a common and well known tale.[87] In fact the association of this particular goddess figure with animals is widely known and later, in Christian times,

became part of the iconography surrounding the Virgin Mary.[88] To the left of Carrington's large female figure, tethered to a tree, a dark, pregnant mare kneels toward the woman with an expression that combines fear with awe. A proud white stallion tethered to a nearby tree, is oblivious to the female who towers above the horses dominating the landscape with both her size and her sovereignty. The theme of the link between woman and beast, still prevails in this work as it did in the stories but in this painting the woman dominates. Relating the story "The Oval Lady" to the painting of the same name gives us more insight into Carrington's personal iconography. Lucrecia/Tartarus, the "Oval Lady" in the story, is not, however, as imposing a figure as the "Oval Lady" in the painting. Painted three years after the story was written and also after Carrington's insanity, this new "Oval Lady" is more independent, more related to her environment, more powerful than the horses.

In keeping with an analysis of Carrington's animal iconography in her early works we must return to the painting, Self-portrait, (1937) for a closer look at the other animal on the canvas, the hyena. The hyena, like the female figure, looks straight out at us with startling blue eyes and, although the figures are not touching, the hand of the female reaches toward the hyena hence creating a bond between them. In another of Carrington's short stories, "The Debutante" (1939), also included in the anthology, The Oval Lady, the protagonist has her only friend, a hyena from the local zoo, take her place at her debutante's ball. In order to effect a disguise which

will fool the girl's parents and her parents' friends into thinking that the hyena is the young lady, the animal eats all of the girl's maid, except for her face, which becomes the hyena's "mask."[89] The hyena and the girl assume that the mask will enable the hyena to attend the ball undetected. The feet of the maid, which the hyena cannot eat, are placed in a drawstring bag embroidered with fleur-de-lis. The conspirators, however, neglect to consider the affect that the hyena's smell would have upon the guests, and the plot is discovered. In a last rebellious act, the hyena eats the face of the maid as she flees from the lavish party through a window.

Bettina Knapp, in a discussion of "The Debutante," considers the hyena an expression of aggressive intent emanating from the protagonist's psyche.[90] She also suggests that the hyena is a representation of primitive and "terrestrial needs and wants."[91] Knapp suggests that because the debutante lived in harmony with her instincts she had nothing to fear from the animal, while the adults in the story, who repressed their natural instincts, could be harmed or at least terrified by the beast.[92] There is little doubt about the aggressive intent of the protagonist. Whether or not the aggression is "primitive" (as suggested by Knapp) it is definitely directed toward an event, a social gathering, that is associated with civilization as embodied in British society. Even if the symbol of the hyena in Carrington's work is ignored we can still see that she expressed a contemptuous attitude toward a rite of passage, the debutante's ball, in British society. The rebellion, a conspiracy

between female and beast, is a rebellion against established tradition.

Directions in Carrington's Work

Carrington's relationship with Max Ernst, her experiences in a mental institution (many of which were drug-induced) and her rebelliousness have all contributed to her painting and her writing. Her introduction to the Surrealist movement and its concern with the irrational (in addition to its revolutionary ideology), and her own intimate experiences with a world of visions and dreams, led her to express this other world in her paintings. Her explorations of fantastic subject matter differ from those of the artists generally associated with Surrealism because she focused her explorations on different themes. In works such as Self-portrait, seen in conjunction with the short stories, "The Oval Lady" and "The Debutante," the theme is rebellion; in later works such as Samain (1951), And then we saw the Daughter of the Minotaur (1955), Godmother (1970) or in Grandmother Moorhead's Aromatic Kitchen (1975), the theme is the presence or even the ascendancy of a female deity. The sources for such iconography come from her own opposition to patriarchal authority, from Irish myths about the Tuatha de Danaan and their goddess, Danu, from Robert Graves', The White Goddess (1948), from Jungian psychology, from Tantric Buddhism with its emphasis upon the balance between male and female, and from her hallucinatory experiences as goddess incarnate during her insanity.[93] Carrington's first written reference to a relationship between human and female deity is recorded in Down Below

when she expressed a need for a female aspect within trinity by replacing Christ with a woman: "I knew that Christ was dead and done for, and that I had to take his place, because the Trinity, minus a woman and microscopic knowledge, had become dry and incomplete."[94] In addition to her identification with Christ (the Savior) she also identified with the Holy Ghost.[95] Carrington also thought that she, "a Celtic and Saxon Aryan, was undergoing . . . sufferings to avenge the Jews for the persecutions,"[96] that she was Queen Elizabeth of England,[97] and that she "revealed religions and bore on her shoulders the freedom and the sins of the earth."[98] Down Below is an account of an individual insanity in which the individual experiences a perceived unification with the myth and history of her culture. The oneiric state, in Carrington's work, would seem to express far more than the relationship between the individual dreamer and the realm of the irrational, or the individual dreamer and the primitive societal state (the Freudian perspective). At the time Carrington wrote Down Below, in 1944, three years after she left Santander, the direction of her work was beginning to change. It was during the 1940s that her ideas, as expressed in her work, changed from simple rebellion against society to the creation of a new society in which the female plays an important role. In addition to this characteristic, her art is consistently esoteric. Much of the symbolism requires at least a cursory knowledge of alchemy, astrology, the Tarot, the occult, and while it can be appreciated for its whimsical, fanciful nature, it certainly cannot be understood in simplistic terms. When a Mexican

reporter questioned Carrington about this quality in her work she replied: "I think it [art] should be able to be art in spite of being social painting, but in spite of and not because of . . . comprehension of art passes through the intellect and there are great distortions that vary according to the distortions of each person."[99] Her art, like much Surrealist painting, presents recognizable images with which the viewer can identify even though many of her symbols are highly esoteric. The point that she herself has made, however, with reference to the later work, is that she is a strong advocate of the rights of women.[100] In fact, a reviewer of Carrington's most explicitly feminist work her novel, The Hearing Trumpet, succinctly sums up her ideology when he writes: "To judge from this wildly fanciful rumpus in an old ladies' home she [Carrington] is also a feisty feminist, a dabbler in witchcraft, and a firm advocate of returning control to the Great Goddess."[101] Another reviewer, this time of her visual work, in Connoisseur (1976) wrote that Carrington suggests in her work that "through woman . . . humanity will ultimately be transformed and a psychic evolution will occur."[102]

A close look at Carrington's paintings reveals that an inclusion of a personal iconography relating specifically to feminism and, more specifically, to a feminism that includes magic and the occult (esoteric feminism), appeared in her work beginning in the 1950s. This was after the artist had become a student of the works of Carl Jung and had read Robert Graves; it was also during the time that feminism became a major issue in North America. Carrington herself

conducted meetings in Mexico City about women and mythology (1970-1973) and in 1972 designed a poster, Mujeres Consciencia, for the women's movement in Mexico.[103] Unfortunately Carrington's visual work and its meaning is virtually unexplored by art historians. It is for this reason that an analysis of her paintings in conjunction with her literary work is so important. Gloria Orenstein has discussed Carrington's work in general but the emphasis has been exclusively upon the importance of the goddess and the 'myth making' qualities evident in the work. Orenstein's interest is, as well, the literary more than the visual. Jacqueline Chenieux in her recent study, Surrealism and the Novel (Lausanne, 1983) devoted several pages to Carrington but she discussed Carrington's writings not her paintings.[104] This interest in her literary work might best be explained in the statement by the French critic, Claude Serbanne, who glowingly referred to Carrington as "the greatest English surrealist poet, and, without any argument, one of the four or five greatest poets of . . . surrealist tendency on the international scene."[105] This statement is qualified by Paul C. Ray in his book The Surrealist Movement in England (1971) when he states that because few of her writings are available (the two novels, The Hearing Trumpet and The Stone Door, had not been published at that time), "neither agreement or disagreement with this estimate is possible."[106] Carrington has however been a prolific painter. Originally, as a young woman she associated with the Surrealist movement; eventually she moved in her own direction. Always whimsical, fantastic and illusory, her art, as

she matured, began to include a personal iconography that diverges from Surrealist ideology; Carrington did, in fact, develop her own ideology. She had strong ties with the Surrealist movement as well as with a tradition of fantastic art that has been present in Europe for centuries. Stylistically her art relates to Surrealism and to the fantastic tradition. The rebelliousness that characterized the first part of her career, that is definitely a part of her character (as shown by expulsions from boarding schools), complemented Surrealism. To understand Carrington's art it is first necessary to understand both her relationship with and her divergence from the Surrealist movement (Chapter II) and her stylistic relationship with symbolism (Chapter III). It is equally important to understand the influence of the feminist movement on her work: her connection with this movement and the divergence she took from the "traditional" path of socio-political consciousness raising that is a general characteristic of feminism (Chapter IV).

Footnotes

[1]James Stephens', Crock of Gold (London, 1926) was illustrated by Thomas MacKenzie.

[2]This information was obtained during an interview with P. K. Page, 29 January 1984, in Victoria, B.C.

[3]For example see, Pastoral (1947), Pomps of the Sub-soil (1947), The Burning of Giordano Bruno (1964).

[4]See the biographical information in Leonora Carrington by Juan Garcia Ponce and Leonora Carrington (Mexico City, 1974), 143-44. As limited as the information provided in this book is, it is primarily intended as a book of reproductions of a selected number of Carrington's paintings, it is the best available at the moment. The brief biographie of Carrington in Obliques, La femme surréaliste, Numéro 14-15, 1977 (89-90) is taken from the book, Leonora Carrington. Any additional information that Gloria Orenstein has provided about Carrington was obtained in interviews with the artist. I was able to either obtain or confirm certain information about Carrington's childhood and youth in my interview with P. K. Page (see above) and in my interview with Carrington in New York.

Harold Wilde Carrington, in Ponce and Carrington's Leonora Carrington is called a textile manufacturer. He also had undefined ties with Imperial Chemical Industries. The claim made in Leonora Carrington that he was the 'major stockholder' in I.C.I. is not confirmed in W. J. Reader's two volume study of the history of I.C.I. (See W. J. Reader, Imperial Chemical Industries, A History, London, 1975.) Neither is Marcel Jean's claim that Harold W. Carrington was president of I.C.I. In addition to the information in Leonora Carrington, Carrington herself in Down Below makes a connection between her father and I.C.I. The textile firm, Carrington and Dewhurst, in Lancashire, which is most likely the family firm, was absorbed by I.C.I. in the early 1970s.

[5]Information obtained in an interview with Carrington in New York, 6 May 1984.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Ponce and Carrington, 143.

[8]Photographs of Carrington painting show her using her left hand. It could have been left-handedness that caused what her educators, in the 1920s, considered a disability. P. K. Page says that Carrington is ambidextrous and can 'mirror-write.'

[9]Ponce and Carrington, 143.

[10]Information from P. K. Page.

[11]Ponce and Carrington, 143. P. K. Page said that Carrington may have attended as many as sixteen different boarding schools.

[12]Gloria Orenstein, The Theater of the Marvelous: Surrealism and the Contemporary Stage (New York, 1975), 122 and in "Leonora Carrington: Another Reality" in Ms., August 1974, 27.

[13]Ibid. Meret Oppenheim, another female artist who became associated with the Surrealists during the 1930s, was studying at Académie de Grand Chaumière in Paris at the same time that Orenstein says that Carrington was there. (See Lynne M. Tillman, "Don't Cry--Work," an article based on an interview with Oppenheim in Art and Artists (London), October 1973, 27.) There is no information about the artists meeting at this time. According to Gaston Diehl in Max Ernst (New York, 1973), Ernst and Oppenheim began a "romantic affair" in 1933 (60).

[14]Leonora Carrington, The Hearing Trumpet (New York, 1976). First published as Le Cornet Acoutique (Paris: Flammarion, 1974). Carrington wrote the manuscript in 1960.

[15]Ponce and Carrington, 144.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Ozenfant, Amédée, Foundations of Modern Art (New York, 1931), 117-20.

[18]Werner Haftman in Painting in the Twentieth Century (London, 1961), 251-52, discusses the main points of Purism. The movement, descended from cubism ("But after 1916 I felt that Cubism was slipping into decorative art," wrote Ozenfant in Foundation of Modern Art, 117), did not obtain much renown other than to claim Edouard Jeanneret (Le Corbusier) as a founder, and to point the way for the aesthetics that Fernand Leger would call 'New Realism.' Ozenfant opened an academy in New York during World War II.

[19]See Leger and Purist Paris, a catalogue for the exhibition at the Tate Gallery, London, November 1970-January 1971, 49-51 for an excellent synopsis of the main points of the Purist aesthetic.

[20]Ibid., 49.

[21]Ibid., 50.

[22]Ibid., 50-51.

[23]Edward James in Leonora Carrington, A Retrospective Exhibition, 1976, 19. See also El Mundo Magico de los Mayas (interpretation de Leonora Carrington), a collection of the drawings she did when she was with the Chamulas as well as sketches for the mural and a reproduction of the completed mural, put together by the Museo Nacional de Antropologia with texts by Andres Medina and Laurette Sejourne (Mexico City, 1964). Laurette Sejourne, in her discussion of Carrington's mural, wrote that the artist understood the universe of the descendants of the Maya completely and transferred this understanding to her work.

[24]See British Archaelogical Discoveries in Greece and Crete (1886-1936). Catalogue for the Exhibition, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1936, 11.

[25]Ibid., 16.

[26]Ibid., 32.

[27]Ibid., 17.

[28]Ibid.

[29]Information obtained in an interview with Leonora Carrington (New York).

[30]See Evans's catalogue entry for the Bull's Head Rhyton, 15. This vessel is commonly reproduced in books about the Minoan civilization and in virtually every survey text on the history of art.

[31]Ibid., 11. See also Evans, The Palace of Minos, Vol. III (London, 1930), 154.

[32]See, for example, Vol. III of Evans's study on The Palace of Minos. Sir Arthur Evans links the Minoan Goddess with Rhea and Cybele, two of the most powerful deities in the Near East (472-73). Sir James Frazer, author of the well-known study on magic and religion, The Golden Bough, a contemporary of Evans concurs with this analysis. Frazer also connects the Minoan great goddess with the Greek corn-mother or barley mother, Demeter (See The Golden Bough, A Study in Magic and Religion, Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild, Vol. I, London, 1912) particularly 131ff. See also Frazer's volume, Adonis, Attis, Osiris (London, 1914) for discussion of the connection between Isis, Astarte and Cybele. This particular part of the world remained a stronghold of the female deity, Diana of Ephesus, well into the Christian era. This particular goddess is important in Carrington's work because she does use iconography usually attached to this deity; for example, the deity's relationship with animals

parallels a concern Carrington shows in her work for the relationship between human and animal. In addition to this Carrington's painting The Oval Lady shows the "oval lady" in a stance similar to the famous statue, Diana of Ephesus (a seond century A.D. copy of an earlier work), currently at the Villa Albani in Rome; Carrington's figure is goddess-like and with animals.

[33]Evans, The Palace of Minos, Vol. III, 57.

[34]See Carrington's statements about the ancient rites and mysteries that she considers the property of women in the catalogue for Inter-American Relations, New York, 1976, 23.

[35]Marcel Jean and Gloria Ozenfant both say that Carrington met Ernst when she was nineteen. (See Jean, The History of Surrealist Painting, 289; Orenstein, "Another Reality . . .," 27.) Ponce and Carrington, Leonora Carrington explains that the couple was introduced by the architect, Erno Goldfinger, in 1936 (143). The biographical information in Obliques, La femme surrealiste elaborates somewhat with the additional information that Goldfinger was a friend of Carrington's family (89). John Russell (see Max Ernst, London, 1967) says that Ernst was in London in 1937 and that he and Carrington returned to Paris together (124). Roland Penrose (see Scrap Book, New York, 1981) says that Ernst visited him in the summer of 1937 during which time he met Leonora (107). He includes a photograph of the couple during a stay in Cornwall. He says that it was the same summer that Picasso painted Guernica (1937). Jimmy Ernst, Max Ernst's son met Carrington in Paris in June 1937. She and his father were living together. (Jimmy Ernst, A Not-So-Still Life: A Memoir, New York, 1984). The date, 1937, is then most reliable and contradicts the date given for the meeting in Ponce and Carrington, as well as in the Orenstein article.

[36]Jimmy Ernst, 109.

[37]John Russell, 124-25.

[38]Ibid.

[39]Jimmy Ernst, 109. See also Gaston Diehl, Max Ernst (New York, 1973), 69, for confirmation of Ernst's disgust with the growing disagreements within the Surrealist group.

[40]Jimmy Ernst, 109.

[41]See Marcel Jean, 89 and 289.

[42]Edward James in the "Introduction" to the catalogue for the Inter-American Relations exhibition, New York, Leonora Carrington, A Retrospective Exhibition, 12.

[43]Peggy Guggenheim in her memoirs, Out of this Century (New York, 1979), 216.

[44]Ibid.

[45]In an interview for Excelsior 1 March 1966 Carrington mentions both Egyptian and Etruscan art saying that it is "marvellous." The cats in the painting The Cats are Egyptian-looking cats. The serpent symbol in the foreground figures prominently in Greek myth (Zeus flung the serpent Typhon into Tartarus after he had defeated this youngest child of the earth goddess, Gaea, see Joseph Campbell's Occidental Mythology, New York, 1964, 21-24; Tartarus is the name of Carrington's horse); and, of course, the serpent holds a prominent place in Judao-Christian tradition. The serpent that appears in her painting, Bird Seizes Jewel (1969) is most definitely Judeo-Christian; it holds an apple in its "hand."

[46]As quoted in Jimmy Ernst, 109.

[47]Russell, 125.

[48]Ibid., 126. The camp at Les Milles, unlike the smaller prison in Largentière, was inhabited by a variety of people including many unsavory characters, whose company Ernst, to say the least, did not enjoy.

[49]Ibid. See also Gaston Diehl, 69. Diehl wrote that Ernst was put in a series of camps only to either escape or be liberated each time he was interned, each time returning to Carrington at Saint-Martin-d'Ardèche. Diehl says that the unnerving, unending persecution "drove Leonora into insanity and led Ernst himself on various occasions to the brink of catastrophe" (69).

[50]Leonora Carrington, Down Below (Chicago, 1983) 5. First published in the Surrealist journal, VVV, No. 4, February 1944, 70-86, it was also released in France as En Bas (Paris, 1945). The book was published by Black Swan Press, Chicago, 1983. Both En Bas (1945) and La maison de la peur (Paris, 1938) were in the exhibition at the Hayward Gallery, London, 1978, Dada and Surrealism Reviewed.

[51]Carrington, Down Below, 6-9.

[52]Carrington wrote that, "Finally a curé brought a mysterious and very dirty piece of paper, coming from I know not what agent of the I.C.I. (Imperial Chemicals) which enabled us to resume our journey." In Down Below, 12.

[53]Ibid., 10.

[54]Ibid., 11.

[55]Ibid., 17.

[56]Ibid.

[57]Ibid.

[58]Ibid., 17. For information about I.C.I. and Carrington and Dewhurst, see Arthur Knight's study on the takeover of the smaller textile firms by I.C.I., Private Enterprise and Public Intervention (London, 1974), 62-63 and 119. Imperial Chemical Industries formed in 1926 at the merger of Britain's largest and most powerful companies, including Bruner, Mond and Co. Ltd. and Nobel Industries. (See W. J. Reader, Vol. II, 3.) I.C.I. is today one of the world's largest companies. Ponce and Carrington, in Leonora Carrington, state that Harold Wilde Carrington was a textile manufacturer (143) and also that he was "the principal stockholder" in I.C.I. (144). By 1963, I.C.I. owned 16% of Carrington and Dewhurst which was probably the family firm (see Knight, 119) and by the early 1970s they were the major stockholder. The claim that Carrington was the major stockholder in I.C.I. cannot be substantiated.

[59]Jimmy Ernst, 213.

[60]See Orenstein's, "Another Reality . . .," 27. In conversation with P. K. Page, 29 January 1984.

[61]Carrington says that the drug that the doctor in Santander used repeatedly on her was Cardiazol. Down Below, 17. This is a brand name for pentylenetetrazol, a respiratory and circulatory stimulant that produces convulsions. Its use, in recent years, has been replaced by shock therapy. Its side effects are vomiting, convulsions, diarrhea and shallow respiration. Carrington, in Down Below, wrote that she was strapped naked to a bed and left in the mess created by the "side-effects" without sheets being changed or attendants cleaning her up. See Current Drug Handbook, 1972-74, W. B. Saunders Company, Philadelphia, 67, for information on the drug Cardiazol.

[62]Guggenheim, Out of this Century, 239.

[63]Guggenheim, 237. P. K. Page agrees with this statement. She says that Carrington married Leduc to escape her family, who had provided her with a "keeper" in Lisbon, and to enter the United States.

[64]See Guggenheim, 237-39.

[65]Guggenheim, 238.

[66]Ibid., 238-39.

[67]Ibid., 239.

[68]Jimmy Ernst, 213.

[69]Ponce and Carrington, 144.

[70]This information was obtained during an interview with Mariana Perez Amor, owner of the Galeria de Arte Mexicano, the major distributor of Carrington's work in Mexico, in Mexico City, 4 October 1983, and confirmed by Carrington in New York, May 1984.

[71]This information was obtained in an interview with Carrington in New York, May 1984.

[72]This painting, in the 1976 catalogue for the Centre for Inter-American Relations as well as in the catalogue for the Arts Council of Britain exhibition, Dada and Surrealism Reviewed, Hayward Gallery, London, January-March, 1978 (entry 12:30, 299), is called Self-portrait; it is dated 1937 in the American exhibition and 1936-37 in the London exhibition. The same painting reproduced in the Surrealist periodical, View, Vol. 1, Nos. 7-8, October-November 1941, 1 is called Home of the neglected dawn horse and dated 1940. Because of the events taking place in Carrington's life during 1940 (Ernst's interment and her own mental breakdown) the earlier date is probably accurate. If the painting was done in 1936-37, as suggested in the Hayward Gallery catalogue, this may be an example of her work prior to her meeting with Ernst.

[73]We must assume that this was painted prior to Carrington's institutionalization in the late summer of 1940.

[74]Leonora Carrington, "The Oval Lady" in The Oval Lady (Santa Barbara, 1975) with an introduction by Gloria Orenstein, 14. The Oval Lady was first published as La Dame Oval in Paris in 1939 with illustrations by Max Ernst.

[75]Carrington, The Oval Lady, 14.

[76]Ibid., 17.

[77]See Orenstein's introduction to The Oval Lady, 7.

[78]Leonora Carrington, Down Below, 38.

[79]Ibid., 17.

[80]Ibid., 19.

[81]See Russell,

[82]See J. E. Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols (London, 1978), 152. Freud's "little Hans" case, in which the analyst discusses the young boy's phobia of horses and the sexual implications, is most well known. Published originally as "Analysis of a Phobia in a Five-Year-Old Boy," (1909), the author also discussed the issue in his book, Totem and Taboo (London, 1983), 128-29. First published in 1913.

[83]Interviews with P. K. Page and with Carrington.

[84]See Cirlot, 152. See Carl Jung, The Symbolic Life (Princeton University Press, 1976), 141-43, where Jung clearly delineates the difference between his ideas about animal transference and Freud's. Jung states that in opposition to Freud's view of which "one is inclined to think that it is always a matter of erotic transference," his own experience would suggest that erotic transference is only one type of the many possible types of transference (141). If Carrington did intend the horse to represent sexuality, and this is entirely possible given her relationship with Max Ernst and the Surrealists, this image definitely changed by 1950 if not slightly earlier.

[85]A discussion of Pénélope (1946) produced in Mexico City in 1957, forms a large part of Orenstein's discussion of Carrington in her book, The Theater of the Marvelous, and as Orenstein points out the horse in this play (which is by the way a transcription of "The Oval Lady") does play a more "female" role, and in addition, is not defeated by the father but defeats the father. This image will be explored in Chapter IV.

[86]See Cirlot, 282. The egg is an important symbol in Carrington's paintings. Later it will appear only in the silver-white colour that Carrington favours for small portions of her paintings. According to Carl Jung in Mysterium Coniunctionis (Princeton University Press, 1970), 516, the silver egg, in the Orphic view, was the cosmos itself. This interpretation is interesting from two points of view: first, it appears in Jung (Carrington is heavily involved with Jungian symbolism); second, the Orphic silver egg is the product of the union between the raven (the creative night) and the wind the Surrealists were involved with Orphism and the god, Dionysos. See Whitney Chadwick's article, "Eros and Thanatos" as well as her book on Myth in Surrealist Painting particularly the chapter, "Dionysos: The Myth of Ecstasy" 49-60. Jung wrote that the Orphic silver egg "contained heaven above and earth below, and was therefore a cosmos in itself, i.e., the Microcosm" (516). Carrington, in Down Below, wrote that "The egg is the macrocosm and the microcosm, the dividing line between the Big and the Small . . ." (18). Carrington makes reference

to alchemy and alchemical symbolism in Down Below but not in connection with the egg. Her reference to it is probably Orphic and originates with the Surrealists.

[87]For example, see Campbell, 476. This, like the Orphic ritualized killing of Dionysos, probably held some fascination for the Surrealists. It would be fitting for Carrington to model her figure, in The Oval Lady, upon this vengeful goddess Diana but she eliminated the violence (unlike some of the other Surrealists, for example see Masson's drawing, Dionysos (1933) with its serpent, medusa head, dagger or his bloody Pygmalion (1938) with her gaping, spiked vagina) and, in later years, uses the symbolism in a different way.

[88]For a thorough study of this concept see Jean Seznec's, The Survival of the Pagan Gods (Princeton University Press, 1953), particularly see 266. For a Jungian archetypal study of the female/animal theme, both pagan and Christian see Erich Neumann's chapter, "The Lady of the Beasts" in The Great Mother (Princeton University Press, 1953), 268-80.

[89]Masks are often worn by priests in ancient cultures. See Sir James Frazer, Adonis, Attis, Osiris, 84-86 for a discussion of an example of this in Egyptian culture. The priests of Isis wore jackal masks during the festival which celebrated Osiris' return from the dead.

[90]Bettina L. Knapp in "Leonora Carrington's Whimsical Dreamworld: Animals Talk, Children are Gods, a Black Swan Lays an Orphic Egg" in World Literature Today, Vol. 51, No. 4, Autumn 1977, 527.

[91]Ibid., 527.

[92]Ibid. See also Freud's Totem and Taboo for his interpretation of animal transference which, by the way, he believed, is always either neurotic or childlike (i.e., primitive).

[93]I discussed these influences with Carrington in the interview in New York. The interest with myth in general, in her work, could have been enhanced by her association with the Surrealists. She began her association with them during the time that they most displayed an interest in myth. See Chadwick's Myth in Surrealist Painting, 1929-1939. Carrington, of course, was more aware than the Surrealists of Celtic mythology, but she does not display an overt interest in this until after her move to Mexico. And her themes, as well as the way in which she expresses them, change over the years.

[94]Carrington, Down Below, 40.

[95]Ibid.

[96]Ibid.

[97]Ibid.

[98]Ibid.

[99]Interview in Excelsior, 6.

[100]See particularly her commentary in the catalogue for Inter-American Relations, 23.

[101]Atlantic, Vol. 238, October 1976, 114.

[102]J. T. Butler, "Exhibition review of Leonora Carrington, Centre for Inter-American Relations" in Connoisseur, No. 770, Vol. 191, April 1976, 307.

[103]This information was obtained during an interview with Mariana Perez Amor in Mexico City, 4 October 1983. Gloria Orenstein also provided this information in a letter to me dated 3 December 1983.

[104]See Jacqueline Chenieux, Surréalisme et le Roman (Lausanne, Switzerland, 1983), particularly 254-63. She also discusses En bas, 200-02, as a collection of symbols created from the imagination which effect a "cure."

[105]As quoted in Paul C. Ray's The Surrealist Movement in England, 249.

[106]Ibid.

Chapter II

LEONORA CARRINGTON AND THE SURREALIST MOVEMENT

Leonora Carrington's association with the Surrealist movement began when she accompanied Max Ernst to France in 1937. His influence assured the acceptance of her work in Surrealist exhibitions. Her own choice of fantastic subject matter enhanced this acceptance. Two of Carrington's paintings, The Silent Assassin and What Shall We Do Tomorrow, Aunt Amelia? hung in the Exposition internationale du surréalisme at the Galerie-Beaux Arts, Paris, 1938; Lord Candlestick's Meal and The Horses of Lord Candlestick were exhibited in the Surrealistische Schilderkunst at the Galerie Robert, Amsterdam also in 1938.[1] There are, however, differences in attitudes and philosophies between Leonora Carrington and the Surrealists, therefore, while some similarities must be discussed, these differences must also be explored. After a briéf discussion of certain aspects of Surrealism, I will look at Carrington's debt to and divergence from the movement, as well as two other "esoteric" painters, Remedios Varo and Leonor Fini, and their divergence from Surrealism.

Surrealism: Ideology and Philosophy

The focal point of the first Surrealist manifesto, written by André Breton in 1924, was automatism, the act of writing without relying upon rational thoughts or premeditated ideas. This, in turn, became instrumental in Breton's definition of Surrealism:

> SURREALISM, n. Pure psychic automatism, by which it is proposed to express, verbally, in writing or by other means, the real functioning of thought. The dictation of thought, in the absence of all control exercised by reason, and outside all aesthetic or moral preoccupations.
>
> André Breton, First Surrealist Manifesto[2]

The roots of the concept of Surrealism can be traced to Nietzsche, who spoke of the 'involuntary nature of inspiration,'[3] to Taine, a nineteenth century French psychologist whose work on the hallucinatory experience predates Freud's research on dreams,[4] and most importantly, to Sigmund Freud and his concept of the subconscious mind with its divisions, the id, ego and super-ego, as well as his work on the interpretation of dreams.[5] In the second Surrealist manifesto Breton wrote: "But since by their very nature those individuals who are drawn to Surrealism are especially interested in the Freudian concept which affects the greater part of their deep concerns as men--the concern to create, to destroy artistically--I mean the definition of the phenomenon known as sublimation . . . I believe that if he has any artistic gift, which is psychologically so mysterious, he can, rather than transform his dreams into symptoms, transform them into artistic creations."[6] Breton also revered Lautréamont, the nineteenth century French poet because, in his work, that which is permitted and that which is forbidden achieve ". . . elasticity, to such a point that the words family, fatherland, society, for instance, seem to us now to be so many macabre jests."[7] The Marquis de Sade, like Lautréamont and for similar reasons, was

elevated to the stature of hero in Breton's movement. In the First Manifesto, Breton called Sade a "Surrealist in Sadism."[8] Robert Short, in Dada and Surrealism (1980), wrote that: "In a century of optimism based on faith in reason, the lonely figure of Sade had anticipated Romanticism and Freud in illuminating the devious routes taken by desire in fearlessly exposing the connections between the pleasurable and the forbidden."[9]

It must be pointed out that in these 'pleasurable and forbidden' acts, the object is virtually always woman. A collage from one of Max Ernst's collage 'novels,' A Week of Happiness (1934), shows a female bound at the feet of her male captors; Andre Masson's, Rape (1932), is one of many works he did on the theme of violence and aggression directed toward women; Hans Bellmer's series of 'dolls' are dismembered bodies intended to combine eroticism with violence; Salvador Dali's, The Bleeding Roses (1930) (figure 10), replaces the womb of a voluptuous nude woman with a bouquet of bleeding roses which, in turn, suggests the replacement of reproduction with pain and death;[10] Bellmer's Drawing for Sade (1946) (figure 11) is a room of horror for the spread-eagled female with exposed genitals and of depersonalized sex for a giant phallus. Alberto Giacometti's sculpture, Woman with her Throat Cut (1932) is self-explanatory. In the multitude of images of Sadian sexual liberation, it is difficult to find anything other than violence, bondage and mutilation for the female.

Whitney Chadwick (1980) wrote that:

> One of the most violent attacks on the female's natural procreative functions was that motivated by the writings of the Marquis de Sade . . . De Sade, who regarded the female body as an instrument on which to provoke a divine ecstacy of destruction, favored sodomy, the most anti-female of the perversions in that it obliterates physical distinctions between the sexes and most directly replicates animal copulation . . . The Surrealist's attachment to de Sade is dependent upon the wish to debase and torment women's bodies--an essentially male philosophy which underlies all de Sade's writings, and which the Surrealists never questioned.[11]

Michel Carrouges, a friend and colleague of Breton's, referred to Lautréamont and Sade as the 'demigods of surrealism.'[12] These demi-gods provide a focal point for Surrealism that goes beyond the irrational world of dreams to explorations of the darkest side of human nature. The explorations include horrors and demons laying the groundwork for a sadistic strain that permeates Surrealist literature and art.[13] The interplay between the dark horror of the nightmare and the more rational and reasonable aspects of the mind remains an essential part of Surrealist thought and theoretically corresponds to the struggle between the id and the super-ego in Freudian psychology.

The first phase of Surrealism, 1924 to 1930, also included a political awareness which centred upon the dialectical materialism of Marx and, during these formative years, involved active participation of the group in the Communist Party in France.[14] Breton's interest in the resolution of the conflict between the irrational and the rational parts of the mind which involved an intense and intimate encounter with the irrational, lent itself well to a dialectical approach. This same approach is also evident in his social and political philosophy.

He adamantly maintained that a revolution of the mind required a revolution of social values and that, in turn, a heightened personal or internal reality, an expansion of consciousness, would alter the social values of the world; all this, he insisted, could be expressed in works of art.[15]

As an active political force, Surrealism did not maintain its impetus past 1929 when Breton insisted that the commitment to the exploration of the unconscious was as important, and should be developed simultaneously with, the political revolution.[16] Surrealist Marxism was more an attempt to condemn the bourgeois than to glorify the proletariat; this caused, of course, a major difference of opinion between Communist supporters of the U.S.S.R. and Surrealists. As early as 1926 Breton said: "Not one of us but wishes to see the transfer of power from the bourgeoisie to the proletariat. Pending the transfer, it is no less necessary to continue to deepen our experience of the inner life, and to do so without any outside control, whether Marxist or otherwise."[17] Surrealists admired Trotsky and envisioned a world in which the concept of revolution was not restricted by national boundaries. Breton and his supporters left the orthodox Communist Party but continued to voice their support for a "collective revolutionary action."[18]

These changes in the level of political activity coincided with a second surrealist manifesto (1930). The second manifesto added a new dimension to the movement, a concern with the esoteric, specifically with alchemy, and with what Rubin calls the 'black

arts.'[19] Michel Carrouges wrote a lengthy discourse on the philosophy of the movement, André Breton and the Basic Concepts of Surrealism (1950), in which he explained that Surrealism synthesized two antagonistic points of view (atheistic materialism and esoterism) by utilizing the dialectic. During the 1920s, explained Carrouges, Surrealism expressed, ". . . a deep and continuing tendency to reject all forms of spiritualism and to submit the surrealist mythology itself to a materialistic critique."[20] By 1929 Breton expressed an interest in alchemy, a hermetic tradition often associated with spiritualism while, at the same time, maintaining his loyalty to materialism. Carrouges terms this contradiction an 'absolute dialectic,' the confrontation of oppositions in order to produce a more coherent whole.[21]

Surrealism does glorify the irrational. A discrepancy between esoterism and materialism may not, then, even require explanation. It is simply another juxtaposition of unrelated objects on a disconnected plane which corresponds precisely to Lautréamont's well-known analogy: the encounter between an umbrella and a sewing machine on a dissecting table. In the words of Max Ernst such discrepancy is ". . . the exploiting of the fortuitous encounter upon a non-suitable plane of two mutually distant realities . . . or, to use a more convenient expression the cultivation of the effects of a systematic putting out of place."[22]

But two additional factors may also be considered. First, alchemy, the focus of Breton's esoterism, is by far the most rational

and intellectual of esoteric subjects. In fact, in its external manifestations alchemy can be viewed as the forerunner of the scientific field of chemistry and, in its internal manifestations, it can be viewed as the beginning of the psychological exploration of the human mind and the search for internal perfection.[23] In either of these instances alchemy retains aspects of materialism and does not move into spiritualism, which, according to Carrouges, would not fit the surrealist mode.

Second, the Surrealists thought that the real was more unusual, bizarre and enigmatic than the fantastic. Herbert Gershman in his book, The Surrealist Revolution in France (1969) stressed the strangeness which the Surrealists were able to find in reality; subjective or fantastic experience was, to them, rooted in objectivity.[24] The subjective experience of the surrealist was rooted in reality. Carrouges referred to this as an objectification of the subjective experience.[25] The dream world, the search into the subconscious, and the exploration of esoterism remained in the material world. Robert Short, in Dada and Surrealism (1980) explained that the Surrealist image linked the individual psyche with the external world.[26] Supernatural forces therefore do not exist in the Surrealist world. In keeping with Freudian theory the inner workings of the mind are rooted in the relationship between the individual and personal experience; the surreal is not supernatural nor is it related to spiritualism.

Anna Balakian discussed Breton's interest in esoterism in her

article, "The Progress of Surrealism" (1975). She wrote:

> Not automatism, not the obsessive cult of the dream, not the irrational use of language for the sake of its irrationality, but the process of alchemy is what continued to excite Breton throughout his life and to kindle his poetic vision. The alchemy of love and language, the mysteries of coincidences, the conciliation of opposites are the elements that prevailed in his writings and life attitudes: a Naturalistic hermeticism from which the supernatural forces were deleted.[27]

The doctrine of surrealism, despite the inherent difficulty of assigning esoteric subjects material characteristics, is materialistic and not idealistic or spiritual; as Balakian remarked, "the supernatural forces were deleted."

Dream images also remained within the realm of the material. The dream became the door through which one passed to view the subconscious or the irrational, emanating from a portion of the mind beyond civilization, or to use Freudian concepts, the part of the mind not controlled by the super-ego. Freud equated the dream with primitive myth; primitive myth became an analogy for the early childhood of civilization; the individual returned to childhood or to primitivism via the dream.[28] Therefore the dream remained material originating within the experience of the dreamer. Freud, in the Interpretation of Dreams (1900), wrote that: "All the material making up the content of a dream is in some way derived from experience, that is to say, has been reproduced or remembered in the dream--so much at least we may regard as an undisputed fact."[29] Freud also discussed the complexity of the connection between the dream and reality

suggesting, in fact, that the explicit connection may remain hidden even though it is "an undisputed fact."[30] Like Surrealism's esoterism, the dream was in the realm of the material.

The unexpected connection between dream and reality is most aptly illustrated by the work of the Belgian Surrealist, Rene Magritte. He situates everyday, common objects in juxtapositions that are uncommon or that might occur in a dream. For example, his painting, Personal Values (1952) (figure 12), combines the ordinary accoutrements found in daily life in an unusual way. A comb becomes larger than a bed; a glass becomes larger than a wardrobe. In this 'dream' it is not the representation of the object itself that is important but the relationship between the size of the objects and hence their relative emphasis, that becomes the significant factor. The dream revolves around objects which become frightening, not because they are unreal, but because of the significance they assume. In this instance an understanding of the dream or of the juxtaposition of objects remains within the individual experience, that is, within the material, and not within a mystical or spiritual world.

Salvador Dali also chose to depict recognizable images in contradictory spaces. His nightmarish dream world is often inhabited by dismembered bodies and unrelated objects. For example, in his painting, Metamorphosis of the Narcissus (1937), a giant hand, holding a cracked egg, protrudes from barren ground while an armless figure, not much larger than the hand, crouches, head bent, in a lifeless pool of water. A horse, less than a quarter the size of the hand, stumbles

toward its death in the desolate scene. Each object in the painting is recognizable or 'real' but the conjunction of objects is unreal, a hallucinatory dreamscape. Dali's dreams can often be explained in Freudian terms; for example, the slithering watches in his painting, Persistence of Memory (1931) are often considered to represent "the soft penis of impotence,"[31] and, in fact, Dali was the only Surrealist who impressed Freud.[32]

Along with the interest in the world of dreams, Surrealism, after the publication of the second manifesto, became concerned with myth.[33] The surrealist view of myth followed the Freudian interpretation by equating early or primitive myth with the childhood of the species or to a time prior to the dominance of the rational and the advent of civilization.[34] This also coincided with the Nietzschian concept of the Apollonian-Dionysiac dichotomy whereby Dionysos, the orgiastic god, is seen as capable of overcoming the rational god of light, Apollo. This dialectical conflict between rational and irrational was instrumental in the formation of the surrealist myth.[35] Nietzsche described the Dionysian artist, a description that, in effect, is the Surrealist as he would like to be viewed:

> It is impossible for the Dionysian artist not to understand any suggestion; no outward sign of emotion escapes him, he possesses the instinct of comprehension and of divination in the highest degree, just as he is capable of the most perfect art of communication. He enters into every skin, into every passion: he is continually changing himself.
>
> Nietzsche in Twilight of the Idols, 1889[36]

The Surrealists focused upon the primitive and irrational elements which they saw illuminated in Classical and pre-Classical myths. They also created their own myths. The theme of the personal myth evolved in many paintings and writings of the Surrealists but it is seen most clearly in the development of the muse, Gradiva, a Pygmalion-like character whose prototype was found in a turn-of-the-century German novel, Gradiva by Wilhelm Jensen,[37] and in Max Ernst's development of his alter-ego, the Bird Superior, Loplop.[38]

Another early and ongoing myth which found a permanent and vital place in the annals of Surrealism was the myth which surrounded the beast of the Minoan labyrinth, the Minotaur. He was seen as a creature of the libido, the epitome of unfettered passion. He was the beast/man about to encounter Theseus who represents intellect and rationality. He was sex, sadism, violence, debasement and, to the Surrealist, represented the unconscious mind and unleashed irrationality. Chadwick wrote that the minotaur myth gave the Surrealists a theme that expressed their concept of "the act of love as an act of choice freed from all preexisting moral codes."[39] In fact, the minotaur aptly expressed the complete and total freedom from moral codes which the Surrealists considered not only repressive, but bourgeois; he represented liberty and freedom. The covers of the Surrealist journal, Minotaure, first published in Paris in June of 1933, designed by the leading artists of the Surrealist movement, exemplified the Surrealist concept of the minotaur.[40]

Minotaure, June, 1933, had a cover design by Picasso, an

artist not usually considered a Surrealist, but one who was appropriated at times by that movement. His drawing depicts a muscular, forceful, powerful minotaur, obviously masculine, wielding a knife. The line drawing is superimposed on a collage of doilies and leaves, representing the feminine, on top of corregated cardboard. The May, 1934, cover by Francisco Borès shows a woman, presumably dead, draped across a huge hand. The almost goat-like head of the minotaur with his sharp, pointed horns, looks down upon the victim from the left corner. Salvador Dali's cover for the June, 1936, issue shows a female minotaur, tall, thin and cruel, with a tongue lolling out of her mouth. One hand is placed upon her hip in a seductive pose. A lobster crawls out of her exposed womb; her breast has been replaced by a drawer. The cover done by Rene Magritte for the Winter, 1937 issue, one of the most famous of the covers, consists of a huge robed minotaur whose head is a skull. Eyes peer out of the fleshless sockets. In the left midground is the legless body of a woman who has been cut into distinct pieces. The largest portion of the body is the genital area which ends with the thighs at one end, resting upon barren ground, and with the stomach at the other end. The next largest portion is the torso and after that, the chest and breasts. The smallest part of the woman is her minute head, barely visible against the desolate cliffs in the background.

The image of the Minotaur, one of the most frequently recurring image in Surrealist art, was depicted most often by the painter André Masson, for example, Childhood of the Minotaur (1939) in

which the head of a minotaur emerges from a labyrinth mass of swirling female flesh; The Workshop of Daedalus (1939), which is filled with frightening machines and dismembered bodies; The Labyrinth (1939) in which the body of the minotaur itself becomes the labyrinth; Pasiphae (1943) in which a large black ball is about to penetrate Pasiphae and the bodies of both are a collection of contorted forms. Max Ernst, as we have seen, included the image of the minotaur in his painting, Leonora in the Morning Light (1937) (see figure 1). Leonora Carrington painted her own rendition of this myth in And then we saw the Daughter of the Minotaur (1953) (see figure 5) but her imagery diverges considerably from the Surrealist image of the minotaur. Rubin wrote that the minotaur was the symbol of "irrational impulses"; that, "Theseus, slayer of the beast, thus symbolizes the conscious mind threading its way into its unknown regions and emerging again by virtue of intelligence, that is, self-knowledge--a paradigmatic schema for the Surrealist drama, as indeed for the process of psychoanalysis."[41] Carrington's "Daughter of the Minotaur" is serene, calm, commanding and sovereign. She is more related to "intelligence or self-knowledge" than to "irrational impulses" and, in this painting, dread, debasement and erotic violence are absent.

As the emphasis upon dream and myth escalated with the second surrealist manifesto, the emphasis upon automatism declined.[42] This is most evident in the Surrealists' acceptance of the contrived and representational dream paintings of Salvador Dali. Along with this new attitude, the political tone of the movement, which originally

grew out of and reacted against the nihilism of Dada, became less pronounced and, as mentioned earlier, included a renunciation of affiliations with the Communist Party.[43] Max Ernst, one of the most influential artists in the movement, was an admirer of the nineteenth century German anarchist, Max Stirner, as well as of Nietzsche; therefore he supported the emphasis upon the irrational dream and myth, and the rejection of direct political connections.[44] Leonora Carrington encountered Surrealism and Max Ernst during this second stage of the movement when the myth had been developed, the politics had become more personal, and the art had become a recognized 'ism.'[45]

Carrington in France

Roland Penrose, a British surrealist, in his memoir, Scrap Book (1981) wrote that shortly after their meeting in 1937, Carrington and Ernst travelled with Penrose to Cornwall to take part in what he called a "sudden surrealist invasion." Penrose entertained Carrington, Ernst, Man Ray, Herbert Read, Paul Eluard, Edward Mesens and Lee Miller at his brother's house on the Truro River.[46] Carrington had just turned twenty and had been studying at Ozenfant's Academy for a year where, according to Peggy Guggenheim, ". . . she acquired technical skill, which afterwards was to be completely revolutionized by her encounter with the Surrealists."[47] After the visit to Cornwall, Ernst and Carrington left for France. The artists worked together first in Paris and then in Saint-Martin d'Ardèche and, as Peggy Guggenheim pointed out later when she watched them working together in

Lisbon, they "seemed to be in perfect harmony."[48] Marcel Jean suggested that after Carrington left Ozenfant's Academy, Max Ernst encouraged her to paint dreams and obsessions that led her "more surely in the direction of a strange kind of painting," and which included, "semi-hieratic, semi-caricatured personages in a space and among objects outside the confines of rationality."[49] Jean also mentioned the humour evident in Carrington's works. Ernst certainly allowed Carrington to follow her own inclinations and to develop her creativity but he was forty-six years old and well established as a Surrealist artist; she was twenty. We must assume, then, that he had some influence upon her work, probably most obvious in the direction her work took, for example, into the world of fantasy, whimsy and caprice. She, however, followed her own ideas, thoughts and attitudes and, as she matured, she developed her own individual style and a personal iconography. If we look at paintings that the two artists completed about the same time, we can see similarities in the pursuit of dream-like images; we can also see that the dreams differ.

Ernst's paintings, The Nymph Echo (1936) (figure 13) and The Joy of Life (1936) (figure 14), are somewhat similar to Carrington's The Horses of Lord Candlestick (1938) (see figure 6) in the treatment of the vegetation and the method of handling the paint. All three paintings are smooth, linear and deal with fantastic subject matter. Ernst is slightly more painterly than Carrington. Because of the soft edges and cottony appearance of his flowers, they seem to be expanding, bursting in their fullness, filling the air with petals and seeds.

The leaves and stems of the huge plants in both Ernst's paintings are more hard-edged than the flowers. A fantastic bird with human hands is the focal point in The Nymph Echo; humanoid copulating insects, probably praying mantes, in the centre foreground, are the focus in The Joy of Life.

The bird creature in The Nymph Echo is small with a wide, protruding phallic-like snout. Ernst associated himself with the bird (the bird Loplop is his alter-ego). In Beyond Painting, he wrote:

> Regarding "nature" for example, one may discern in him (Max Ernst) two attitudes, in appearance irreconcilable: that of the god Pan and the man Papou who possesses all the mysteries and realizes the playful pleasure in his union with her (nature) ("He marries nature, he pursues the nymph Echo," they say) and that of a conscious and organized Prometheus, thief of fire who, guided by thought, persecutes her with an implacable hatred and grossly injures her. "This monster is pleased only by the antipodes of the landscape," they repeat.[50]

The bird in the painting, The Nymph Echo, may represent Max Ernst himself. He the bird marries nature but also "persecutes her with an implacable hatred." If he "realizes playful pleasure," he also realizes hatred and with hatred, injures; if there are two attitudes (and Ernst says that there are), one attitude is violent and the violence is directed toward the female.

This same violence is found in The Joy of Life. The praying mantis in the painting recalls the horrific insect images in Lautréamont's Les Chants de Maldoror. A favourite theme of the Surrealists, the mantis as depicted in paintings by Dali, André Masson and Felix Labisse, as well as by Ernst, continues the earlier Symbolist

image of "woman as devourer"; the mantis also exemplifies the Surrealist image of erotic violence. William Pressly in "The Praying Mantis in Surrealist Art" (1973) wrote that:

> Influenced by the writings of Freud and fascinated by his concept of man's repressed sexuality, the Surrealists found this insect's cannibalistic nuptial a compelling image of the potential for erotic violence lurking in the darker recesses of the human mind.[51]

And like Maldoror, in Les Chants, who, after ravaging a girl who was sleeping under a tree, ". . . ordered his bulldog to strangle the blood-stained girl with the movement of his jaws. He showed the mountain dog the spot where the suffering victim breathed and screamed, and stepped aside in order to avoid seeing how the sharp teeth slip into the rosy veins,"[52] the mantis kills its mate after copulation. The focus in Lautréamont, in Sade, and in the surrealistic mantis paintings (as well as in many others) is upon violent sex. Pressly says that the mantes in The Joy of Life, ". . . resemble Ernst's abbreviated treatment of birds, linking these insects with the artist's alter ego, Loplop, Bird Superior, a free, soaring spirit of the imagination . . . the joined insects . . . form an expressive image of the joy of living to be found in nature's ferocious, cyclic fertility."[53]

Carrington does not use such violent imagery. Her painting, The Oval Lady (1942), as well as The Horses of Lord Candlestick, illustrates the differences in attitude toward violence and toward nature between Carrington and Ernst. The Oval Lady (1942) is an image

of an independent woman who is larger than her environment but also very much a part of her surroundings. The light stallion calmly looks away from the mare who is paying homage to the woman. The Oval Lady could be an image of a nature goddess, an earth mother. The Horses of Lord Candlestick respond to the turbulent, unpredictable force of nature, in this case, a volcano. They live with nature and her whims; Ernst, as the pursuer of the Nymph, ". . . is pleased only by the antipodes of the landscape." His creatures do not live in harmonious proximity. The Horses of Lord Candlestick is a depiction of nature's wilder, darker side rather than a display of conflict or confrontation. The flora are hard-edged with definite contrasts of light and dark. The forms in the foreground are enclosed by dark outlines. The flower in the middle of the foreground is full and ripe but, unlike Ernst's, is not on the verge of disintegration. Panic and fright, however, is obvious in the four large horses that resemble the horses in Self-portrait and The Oval Lady. Carrington has used the rearing stance of the central horse along with large, light staring eyes and manes that stand straight in the air, to convey a feeling of distress and agitation. An erupting volcano far to the left of the background heightens the eeriness of the painting. Despite the pending catastrophe, the four horses in the mid-ground are calm; the vegetation is thriving and lush. The flora does not threaten to overrun the environment or strangle the inhabitants but exists in balance with the fauna.

In Carrington's painting conflict occurs within nature,

between elements of the wild--the earth as represented by the volcano, fauna as represented by the horses, and flora. The human element, even in the hybrid form we saw in The Nymph Echo, or violent, devouring insects such as those in Joy of Life is absent. There is a similarity in the handling of the paint, in the shimmery effect of the highlight areas and in the smoothness of form between the paintings of Carrington and Ernst. In addition to this both artists deal with fantastic dream-like figures in strange landscapes. But Carrington avoids erotic violence or even any suggestion of such violence.

Guggenheim does not discuss similarities in style between Ernst and Carrington in her memoirs.[54] Roland Penrose, familiar with the works of both artists, wrote about Carrington as a gifted painter; he never compared her with Ernst.[55] Reviewers of her major shows have not compared her with Ernst or, for that matter, with any contemporary artists. More often they note similarities to artists of the sixteenth century Flemish tradition. (See Chapter III.)

André Breton however compared her with the Rumanian artist Victor Brauner. He discussed the terrors of hallucination which were extended to the 'objective world' during World War II and said that:

> It is striking to observe that while neither has influenced the other, Brauner and Leonora Carrington should have interpreted this terror from the same interior angle, or at least that their work should present a strangely similar climate.[56]

The paintings reproduced in Breton's article are Brauner's Adrianopolis (1937) (figure 15) and Carrington's The Hunt (1942) (figure 16). The

comparison must be limited to Breton's statement, ". . . or at least their work should present a strangely similar climate," and even such a general statement hardly suffices to express any similarities in the works. Brauner's painting is reminiscent of Dali. The forms are sleek, polished and representational. The central figure is a smoothly contoured, horned female kneeling on wheels. The eye, in the background, like Dali's watches in Persistence of Memory (1931), melts and slithers. The desert landscape also recalls Dali's desolate dreamscapes. The atmosphere in the Brauner painting is completely different than Carrington's painting of crowned figures, suspended in the air over an icy mountain range accompanied by a white, pregnant hyena. Carrington's figures bear no weapons. The Hunt may be better termed a search; there is no aggressive intent. Whether the 'climate' suggested by Breton is mental or physical, the similarities exist only if both are considered dreams and the characteristic 'dream-like' is loosely attached to both paintings.

However, Brauner's Fascination (1940) (figure 17) may be roughly compared with Carrington's Wishing Well (1962) (figure 18). The animals, in both instances, are strange hybrid creatures involved in a struggle. Here the comparison must end. Carrington's creatures, although struggling, seem to be merging rather than vying for domination. The serpent-like entities coiling around the horned, hoofed beasts are not vicious; the parade of birds, boar and deer, are complacent and accepting in their observation of the scene. The reference, again, is a balance of elements. Carrington's beasts, in

other paintings, are rarely in conflict.

Brauner's depiction of a female, a serpent-bird emerging from her hair, shows the beak of the bird open and poised for battle with a snarling dog/wolf image.[57] Conflict is unmistakable and unavoidable. The hostility between male and female (the male genitals are clearly shown under the table) is implacable. Neither the image nor the intent of the works of Carrington and Brauner can be compared beyond the obvious observation that they both enjoy representing hybrid animal forms in their paintings. Carrington's animals nearly always give an impression of gentleness and have a sense of belonging to their environment. Brauner's world is more violent than gentle and exhibits divisions rather than mergings.

Women in Surrealism

Leonor Fini, an artist who was active in Paris during the 1930s and loosely involved with the Surrealists, might better be compared with Carrington. Peggy Guggenheim described Fini as one of Max Ernst's "two Sophies."[58] The other "Sophie" was, of course, Leonora Carrington. Guggenheim, in her memoirs, spoke contemptuously and with only slightly veiled jealousy whenever she mentioned Ernst's former lovers but, to be fair, Guggenheim was more tolerant of Fini and Carrington than she ever was of Dorothea Tanning (Tanning was Ernst's wife when Guggenheim wrote the memoirs). Guggenheim purchased The Horses of Lord Candlestick from Carrington because Ernst did not have a painting available of the time of the collector's first meeting

with Carrington and Ernst. She purchased a Fini painting somewhat later because, said Guggenheim, "Max adored her and wanted me to."[59] André Breton was not so accepting and objected to the inclusion of Fini's painting in Guggenheim's Art of this Century exhibition (1942). "Breton," Guggenheim went on to say, "very much objected to its being in my collection but because of Max he couldn't do anything about it."[60] The painting she bought, The Shepherdess of the Sphinxes (1941) (figure 19), is full of beautiful, bare-breasted sphinxes herded by an Amazon.[61] Because of her outstanding beauty (the Amazon in Sphinxes is a self-portrait) reviewers of the 1930s and '40s tended to focus on Fini's appearance rather than her talent. For example a 1947 review of her work called her ". . . one of the established glamor girls of surrealism, both as a painter and as a personality."[62]

A more informative and less condescending article, "Leonor Fini: A Mythology of the Feminine" (1979), calls the artist a 'militant individualist.'[63] In this article, Silvio Gaggi explained that because of her 'militant individualism' and her concern with the formal as well as the psychological, Fini can never be fully identified with the surrealist movement.[69] Ann Sutherland Harris and Linda Nochlin, in their catalogue for the exhibition, Women Artists, 1550-1950 (1976) explained that Fini's work is compatible with Surrealism because of her strange worlds, her unconscious vision, her eroticism often concurrent with cruelty, and her fantasy and metamorphoses.[65] However, they go on to say that her cultivation of historical ties removes her from Surrealism.[66] For example, the huddled figures on the

bed in the mid-ground of The Black Chamber can be traced to the figures in an 1830 painting by Paul Delaroche, The Children of Edward IV in the Tower, which hangs in the Louvre, Paris; the reclining nude observed by a deity in Fini's Chthonian Deity Espying the Slumber of a Young Man (1947), is modelled upon a popular theme in Rococo and Romantic art that found its prototype in such works as the late Baroque painting, Jupiter and Antiope (c. 1535) by Correggio, now in the Louvre. The Surrealists, of course, were adamantly and deliberately iconoclastic. Surrealist or not, Fini was in France when Carrington lived there; Carrington knew her and was familiar with her work;[67] and there are similarities in paintings by the two women.

Fini's painting, Games of Legs in a Key of Dreams (1935) (figure 20), which was exhibited in the 1936 Surrealist show at the Museum of Modern Art in New York,[68] treats the female figure, the shape, posture and outline, as a mannequin or doll. A stiffness in the form as well as a slightly off-balance stance enhances the doll-like quality of the figure. In comparison, Carrington's figure in Self-portrait (1937), seated and tilted forward on a chair, could almost be interchanged with Fini's erect figure. The mass of wild hair on Carrington's female (a characteristic frequently found in Fini's work that is missing in Games of Legs) along with the penetrating eyes, change Self-portrait's figure into more than a mannequin but the body of the woman, like Fini's bodies in Games of Legs, remains static. The long, tumbling, luxuriant hair found on Carrington's woman as well as on many of Fini's females, may be

compared to the work of the English Pre-Raphaelite, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, and indeed, both artists have been compared to the Pre-Raphaelites and to the Symbolists.[69]

This same static quality of the figure and the mass of hair appears in Fini's painting, The Black Chamber (1939). A large, impressive female figure, said to represent Leonora Carrington,[70] dominates the composition. The woman is wearing a dress; her torso is covered with armor. Her firm, wide-legged stance enhances her image as a warrior. In the mid-ground two smaller figures are huddled upon a large bed. Their eyes are directed toward the dominant figure who looks out at us from the canvas with the same penetrating gaze we saw in Carrington's Self-portrait. The dark background adds an element of fear and mystery to the painting. Similarities between Carrington and Fini are evident in Self-portrait and The Black Chamber. In addition to the dominant, independent female figure in The Black Chamber, who is remarkably similar to the figure in Self-portrait, the two painters, in these instances, handle their paint and treat their forms in a very like fashion. The precision, the smooth, hard edges, the overall appearance of the figures are the same in both paintings.

Similarities can also be found in other paintings by the two women. Both the artists treat many of their figures as androgynous. Fini, with her sleek, bald figures, for example, The Seamstress (1955) (figure 21) and Sleep in a grotto (1955), developed this further than Carrington but androgynous characters can be found in paintings by Carrington such as Pomps of the Sub-soil (1947) (figure 22) and

Tuesday (1946). Carrington, however, produces other-worldly looking figures in contrast to Fini's very earthy, solid figures. In addition, the two women often include animals in their paintings. Fini paints animals, usually cats or sphinxes, as symbols of her own identity;[71] Carrington paints hybrid animals in gentle environments. Fini's beautiful and mysterious females, unlike anything painted by Carrington, always dominate her works and, in many instances, they also dominate her men. For example, Fini's female, in Chthonian Deity Espying the Slumber of a Young Man (1947), observes the passivity of the sleeping male who, in this painting, is the object of the deity's passion and within the sphere of her influence. Carrington does not transfer the position of dominance from the male to the female but, attempts, instead, to replace dominance with balance or equality.

However, there is one iconographical symbol that is common to the works of both women. This symbol, the cosmic egg, appears in Fini's work as an oval shape that recurs in heads, torsos and bare breasts.[72] Her painting, The Moon Woman (1955), is a nude oval shaped bald figure whose pregnancy protrudes as an egg-like form from the body. The egg image, found in many of Carrington's works, most explicitly refers to the female deity in Godmother (1970), because, in this painting the egg actually becomes the female. The precise significance of the egg in Carrington's paintings will be dealt with thoroughly in Chapter IV, but the importance of the symbol must be briefly mentioned here because it is a theme that consistently appears in the work of the two women, Fini and Carrington. In Carrington's

work the egg is usually a specifically identifiable object rather than part of a body. For example, in The Chair: Daghda tuatha danann (1955), a small, silvery egg lies on the floor; a large white egg-shaped vase holds a rose on the table. An egg is a small glowing form in the background in The Naked Truth (1962), and, as we have seen, it appears as a large, oval vessel topped with horned stags' heads in The Oval Lady.

A similar emphasis upon the female figure and upon iconography related to a female deity, found in the work of Carrington and Fini, can also be identified in the work of another female Surrealist, Remedios Varo (1913-1963). Varo, who was known only as Remedios during the years that she associated with the Surrealist group in Europe, was the wife of the French Surrealist poet, Benjamin Peret.[73] She was interested in the fantastic when she was a member of the avant-garde in Spain,[74] but when she returned with Peret to France in 1937 she became 'surrealist' in much the same way that Carrington had become surrealist when she went to France with Max Ernst.

Varo moved to Mexico in 1942. She and Carrington, acquaintances in France, became friends in Mexico[75] where Varo's themes became more and more related to females and to inimate relationships between human and nature. This relationship is often to the point where human and nature merges, one growing out of the other. For example, Flautista (1955) (figure 23), a painting depicting fossilized rocks with imprints of primordial creatures as part of a partially completed octagonal building, shows the flautist as an extension of

the surrounding vegetation. It is impossible to tell where the human ends and the environment begins. This is common in many of Varo's paintings.

Varo also depicts self-sufficient or dominant women. Her painting, Witch of the Sabbath (n.d.)[76] does, like Fini's The Moon Woman, shows a primeval egg-shaped being. Masses of flowing red-orange hair tumble about Varo's oval shaped female. Her body is loosely draped by a robe that is frayed up the centre. The figure looks like female genitalia; the image is one of self-fulfilling sexuality. The Witch is seductive, and self-sufficient and, as such, is more closely related to Fini's commanding deities than to Carrington's more gentle representations. Varo's painting is all the more effective in its Mexican setting. Her vampire-like woman is isolated on the canvas in the familiar stance of the Virgin of Guadalupe, the gentle protectress of the Mexican people who appears in reproductions in homes, on the streets, in cars, in fact all over Mexico. Within this context Varo's painting is blasphemous. The revered virgin becomes a pagan witch; chastity is replaced by blatant sexuality.

In an article, "Remedios Varo: Voyages and Visions" (1980), Janet Kaplan attempts to separate Varo from the Surrealist movement. She says that Varo's work ". . . differed greatly from the dictates of Surrealist theory; she did not pursue, for example, the Surrealist method of psychic automatism . . . She has created a logical system in which each aspect is part of a consistent whole. This sets her work

apart from most painting of the true Surrealist school."[77] However, Varo cannot be dismissed from the Surrealist movement just because she did not practice automatism.[78] In fact, Breton himself virtually abandoned the concept after the publication of his second surrealist manifesto (1930). More to the point, Varo's subject matter, like that of Carrington and Fini, differs from the themes generally found in Surrealist painting. She presents a fantastic world that is dominated by women. Very often this is a moon-goddess figure; as in her painting Born Anew (1960) (figure 24), which shows a lunar woman melding with her vegetal surroundings. In certain instances her world is created by women, for example, in The Creation of Birds (1958) (figure 25) and Embroidering the Earth's Mantle (1961). Varo did not always show us such a world. Early in her career, when she lived and painted in Europe, her work looked similar to many other Surrealist painters. The Double Agent (figure 26) painted in 1936, depicts a male with a huge insect attached to his back. The insect has bloodily severed the man's head but there is no indication that death has occurred. Instead, it is torture in a chamber constructed for horror. This is a work reminiscent of Victor Brauner's painting, The Crime of the Butterfly King (1930).[79] Varo's man faces a wall in a stance suggestive of submissive punishment. The background, the other wall in the room, is covered with naked breasts much like Magritte's 'eyes' in his painting, The Rape (1934). The painting by Varo is, in effect, a pastiche of European Surrealist works of the period. Her move to Mexico and her developing friendship with Leonora Carrington

influenced the direction her work took: mystical, whimsical and focused upon women.

The three women, Varo, Fini and Carrington, vary in their representation of the female in their paintings but all three are intent upon giving women a prominent, or perhaps even dominant, place in their world and, in turn, an equally important place in society. In the artist's statement which she makes in the catalogue for her 1976 retrospective exhibition in New York, Carrington wrote briefly about women in society. She said that:

> The Furies, who have a sanctuary buried many fathoms under education and brain washing, have told Females they will return, return from under the fear, shame and, finally, through the crack in the prison door, Fury. I do not know of any religion that does not declare women to be feeble-minded, unclean, generally inferior creatures to males, although most Humans assume that we are the cream of all species.[78]

In sum, Carrington's paintings, with their whimsical settings and mythical beasts, do not resemble any other Surrealist paintings. The comparison that Breton made between her and Victor Brauner was based upon a subjective reaction to single paintings by the two artists and does not stand up to careful scrutiny. As we have seen, however, a case can be made for finding some common ground among the works of Carrington, Varo and Fini, particularly where the portrayal of independent women or woman and nature is concerned. All three of these women also show a concern for the 'mysteries' associated with women, a concern for a mythological history that has at its core a female deity. Fini does this directly by painting dominant female

deities like her Chthonian Deity Espying the Slumber of a Young Man (1947), primeval women like her beautiful 'survivor' rising from the swamps of destruction in World's End (1949) or her beautiful and independent, Hekate (1965). Fini says of herself that she is bound to nature like a witch (in opposition to society) not like a priestess (a mediator between society and nature).[81] Varo shows her concern with creating a mythical history by painting lunar women or moon goddesses as well as by depicting a female 'creator' or a sorceress like her Witch of the Sabbath. Carrington does this by painting goddesses like those in her pictures of her Godmother or The Oval Lady or by making explicit references to pre-patriarchal cultures such as the Tuatha de Danann of Ireland. Carrington also writes about "the Mysteries which were ours," and the "Rights" which "were there from the beginning" and should be "Taken Back Again."[82] When she writes that: "The Bible, like any other history, is full of gaps and peculiarities that only begin to make sense if understood as a covering-up for a very different kind of civilization which had been eliminated,"[83] she is making reference to pre-patriarchal society. In the novel, The Hearing Trumpet, Carrington writes: "You may well imagine the transports of delight which overcame me when I learnt that Magdalen had been a high initiate of the mysteries of the Goddess but had been executed for the sacrilege of selling certain secrets of her cult to Jesus of Nazareth. This of course would explain the miracles which have puzzled us for so long."[84] The "Mysteries" and "Rights" are part of the ancient religion of the Mother Goddess.[85] This religion, which

managed to survive into the Christian era was generally associated with witchcraft and pagan rites in Europe.[86] Belief in such mysteries is neither atheistic nor materialistic. We have already seen that Surrealism is both atheistic and materialistic so it would seem that Carrington, along with Varo and Fini, diverges considerably from the philosophical underpinnings of the Surrealist movement. However before exploring in depth the direction that Carrington's divergence from the movement took (Chapter IV) I will discuss the stylistic impact that earlier fantastic traditions had upon Carrington's paintings.

Footnotes

[1]See William S. Rubin's, Dada and Surrealist Art (London, 1969), 509, and Marcel Jean's A History of Surrealist Painting (London, 1960), 289-91.

[2]See André Breton's Manifestoes of Surrealism, translated from the French by Richard Seaver and Helen R. Lane, Ann Arbor, 1969, 26. Apollinaire first used the world 'surrealism' to ". . . convey the idea of poetic invention." Marcel Jean, 118. See Breton's "Manifesto of Surrealism (1924)" in Manifestoes of Surrealism, 24-25, for his attribution of the term to Apollinaire. Breton said, "I believe there is no point today in dwelling any further on this word and that the meaning we gave it initially has generally prevailed over its Apollinairian sense. . . . Apollinaire having possessed, on the contrary, naught but the letter, still imperfect of Surrealism, having shown himself powerless to give a valid theoretical idea of it" (24-25).

[3]As quoted by Marcel Jean, 54. Nietzsche, in Twilight of the Idols (New York, 1964). First published, 1889, 71-72, names ecstasy, of whatever form, but most particularly sexual ecstasy, to be essential to art. "This state of ecstasy," he said, "must first have intensified the susceptibility of the whole machine: otherwise, no art is possible" (66). The artist must be totally receptive to ecstasy in all its forms, even to cruelty or destruction, in order to achieve the ". . . feeling of increased strength and abundance" (66). The act of creation will surge out of the irrational. "He who possesses strength," said Nietzsche, "flings intellect to the deuce" (71-72).

[4]As noted in Jean, 117-18. For a thorough discussion of Taine's work see Leo Weinstein's, Hippolyte Taine (New York, 1972). Taine's emphasis upon hallucination and upon man's closeness to madness would have impressed Breton. Taine's theories, as summarized by Weinstein suggests that our reality is a rectified hallucination--a hallucination that is controlled by sensation. "But what happens when the rectifying apparatus does not function properly? Then the result," said Weinstein, "is madness of one sort or another, and, since the natural state of hallucination which our sensations induce is frequently rectified only by another contradictory hallucination, whose nature is nonetheless the same as that of the initial one, the desirable state constituted by health and sanity turns out to be not only far from normal but extremely precarious" (47-48). If we look at Taine's "Ideal of Art," we may begin to question just how familiar the surrealists were with his work. He considered Rubens to be the greatest artist: ". . . no one has gone beyond him in his knowledge of the living organism and of the animal man" (Taine's Lectures on Art, II, 187). Weinstein says: "Since physical man is scarcely changed throughout history, execution provides the difference rather than depth

of subject matter. The painter who by his use of color records perfectly the texture of the skin, the effects of race, climate, and temperament will attain the most stable elements of man, since they are inseparable from the living individual. Thus the greatest paintings are those which manifest profoundly the temperament of the artist's race. In first place are, of course, the great painters of the Italian Renaissance, followed closely by Rubens and the Spanish painters" (111). This attitude hardly corresponds to surrealist thought. We could suggest that Breton was not familiar with Taine, and may have been impressed only with the 'real world as hallucination' concept without understanding that, for Taine, the basis for this thesis was physiological--he saw the subconscious as a ". . . mental phenomen which is analogous to the physiological one of audibility" (Weinstein, 46).

[5]Sigmund Freud's, The Interpretation of Dreams, first published in 1900, provided the Surrealists with a wealth of visual imagery--most often sexual--for paintings and writings. For example, in 'the dream of an uneducated woman' (485), Freud gives us the symbolic references for various dream 'items': church is vagina; steps are a symbol for copulation; hill is mons veneris; a thick wood is pubic hair. Freud also stated that: "Children in dreams often stand for the genitals . . . Playing with a little child, beating it, etc., often represent masturbation in dreams" (474). Children, 'little ones,' represent the genitals. Max Ernst made ample use of this symbolism in two early works that were praised by the Surrealists: Two children are threatened by a nightingale (1924) and The Blessed Virgin Chastises the Infant Jesus Before Three Witnesses: A.B., P.E. and the Artist (1926). The latter painting showing a naked Jesus being spanked by Mary, witnessed by Breton, Eluard and Ernst, and considering the Freudian symbolism attached to 'beating' a child, is, of course, outrageously blasphemous--as it was intended to be. Freud provided the Surrealists with a symbolism that was rooted in the depths of the human mind--the real was also the bizarre and outrageous.

[6]André Breton, Manifestoes of Surrealism, 160.

[7]André Breton in Surrealism and Painting (London, 1972), 4. Also see Breton's essay on "Max Ernst" in Surrealism and Painting, 156. For a thorough discussion of Lautréamont and the 'dark' nature of his work see Alex de Jonge's, Nightmare Culture: Lautréamont and Les Chants de Maldoror (London, 1973). Salvador Dali's paintings could be used as illustrations for Les Chants. The images in Les Chants are of putrification, violence and decay. Statements such as, "An evil viper has eaten my cock and taken its place: the villain made me a eunuch," (as quoted in de Jonge, 92) and ". . . I feel totally paralysed, as it (a spider) climbs up the ebony supports of my satin couch. Its legs seize my throat, it sucks my blood with its belly" (quoted in de Jonge, 93) are aptly illustrated by Dali's

Lugubrious Game (1929) and The Great Masturbator (1929). Maldoror, in Les Chants, says, "Its (an insect) motherly wing has hatched several dozen eggs on your hair that has been withered by the relentless sucking of these redoubtable strangers," (in de Jonge, 83) and Dali, in The Great Masturbator, paints insect eggs gripping the underbelly of his large head-like form. It is difficult to imagine Leonora Carrington making use of any of this imagery.

[8]André Breton, Manifestos of Surrealism, 26.

[9]Robert Short, Dada and Surrealism (London, 1980), 160.

[10]See Whitney Chadwick, Myth in Surrealist Painting, 1929-1939 (Ann Arbor, 1980), 26.

[11]Ibid., 27.

[12]Carrouges, in André Breton and the Basic Concepts of Surrealism (Paris, 1950) uses this term in his study of surrealism (10) and it seems extremely appropriate considering the importance Lautréamont and Sade have in the movement. The juxtaposition of unrelated objects in an unconnected environment is inevitably mentioned in any discussion of surrealism and can be traced to Lautréamont's image of an umbrella and a sewing machine on a dissecting table. Ernst calls this, ". . . the fortuitous encounter upon a non-suitable plane of two mutually distant realities" (from Ernst's essay in Art of this Century, 139).

[13]For an extensive discussion of this point see the section on "Calling on the Powers of Darkness" in Carrouges (27-48). Also see William S. Rubin, Dada and Surrealist Art (London, 1969), 283. The surrealist concern is with the libido, with the potential for amorality that exists within us all. The potential for violence, particularly for sexual violence, is kept under control by the super-ego.

[14]See Whitney Chadwick's, Myth in Surrealist Painting, 1929-1939 (Ann Arbor, 1980), 4-5. Rubin discusses the political stance of the Surrealists, 210-12. He stresses the leftist views of the Surrealists but points out that much of the actual affiliation with the Communists resulted from the opposition to the colonial suppression of the people of Morocco (1925). The majority of French intellectuals sided with the government and, as Rubin said, ". . . the Surrealists found themselves left with only the Communists for company" (211). Herbert S. Gershman in his chapter, "Surrealism and Politics" in The Surrealist Revolution in France (Ann Arbor, 1969), said that "At no time prior to mid-1925 is there any indication that the surrealists, either individually or as a group, had any interest in things social or political" (82). This is too sweeping a statement; many of the Surrealists were very outspoken about their feelings about the destructiveness of the war and the conditions of society both during and after this catastrophe. Max Ernst

had been actively involved with the Communist Party in Germany during his Dada years in Cologne. His concern, both then and in Paris during the '20s, was expressed as an attack against the bourgeoisie. A more comprehensive study of the relationship between the Surrealists and the social and political climate of Europe between the wars can be found in Gaetan Picon's, Surrealists and Surrealism (New York, 1977).

[15]André Breton as quoted in Chadwick, 3. See also, 4-5.

[16]See Chadwick, 6.

[17]As quoted in Picon, 79.

[18]Chadwick, 6.

[19]See Rubin, 127. This preoccupation with 'spirits and mediums' had been noticeable earlier than 1929 but it was not until after the second manifesto that it became pronounced. See Anna Balakian's article, "The Progress of Surrealism" in The Journal of General Education

[20]Carrouges, 10.

[21]See Carrouges, 20. Carrouges states that this 'absolute dialectic' in surrealism rises above the Marxist dialectic which is ". . . choked by the affirmation of the primacy of matter" (20), and also rises above the Hegelian idealistic dialectic.

[22]From an essay by Max Ernst in Guggenheim's Art of this Century, 139.

[23]Alchemy came to play an important role in the psychological studies of Carl Jung. He said, "As the rediscovery of the principles of alchemy came to be an important part of my work as a pioneer of psychology . . ." (Man and His Symbols, 54). His comprehensive work on this subject, Psychology and Alchemy, written in 1944, was published in the Bollingen Series in 1953. Carrington has studied Jung's work thoroughly and considers it both important and significant (from P. K. Page, 29 January 1984). For a thorough discussion of the history of the mythology of alchemy and its relationship to a history of ideas see Mircea Eliade's study The Forge and the Crucible (New York and London, 1962).

[24]Gershman, 12.

[25]See Carrouges, 156-78, for a discussion on the importance of objectivity in Surrealism as manifested by the object in painting. Picon also deals with this in his chapter, "Object and Image," 131-69. The first artist to make the subjective experience of the dream part of

the representational world was Salvador Dali and, although he was 'excommunicated' in 1939, this trend would continue in the work of Magritte, Delvaux and other Surrealists.

[26]Short, 91. The effectiveness of the image was judged by its 'shock' value and in order to shock the image must be recognizable--it must contain the element of the real.

[27]Anna Balakian, "The Progress of Surrealism" in The Journal of General Education, Spring, 1975, 73. Elimination of the supernatural forces will become an important issue when Carrington's interest in alchemy is discussed. She does not eliminate them.

[28]This is discussed by Freud in Totem and Taboo as well as in The Interpretation of Dreams. Jackson Stewart Lincoln in his study, The Dream in Primitive Culture (New York, 1935) discusses the Freudian comparison of the 'child mind' to the primitive. Fantasy expression in the child, in the primitive or in a 'civilized' adult, is an anti-social statement. The fantasy is not acceptable to the cultural reality or to the conscious mind (30). The surrealist dream-image, because of the Freudian approach, is meant to upset society, is meant to be an anti-social statement. Carl Jung, on the other hand, thought that fantasy (of the unconscious mind) should be given a reality value that would be equivalent to the external world (the conscious mind)--there is no suggestion of 'anti-social' behaviour. The differences evident in the Freudian point of view which implies separation and conflict (fantasy vs. reality) and the Jungian point of view, which implies integration, will become a moot point when examining Carrington's works.

[29]Sigmund Freud, The Interpretation of Dreams, 69.

[30]Ibid., 69. Breton actually went further than Freud in seeking for reality in dreams and assigning to them a base in the experience of the individual. Breton called dreams (and revolution) "communicating vessels." Les Vases Communicants was the name of a book he published in 1932, in which Breton blamed Freud for exaggerating the regressive side of dreams and also for having "spiritualized" them. Picon wrote that Breton, in analyzing his own dreams, showed how all elements in his dream stemmed from reality (126). The connection between the dream and revolution was established by Breton because the revolutionary must understand ". . . that man has a right to dream and to love, and not only is there a connection between the outer and the inner world but that in fact those two worlds are one" (126). Breton stated emphatically that, "The poet of the future will overcome the depressing idea of an irreparable divorce between action and dreams" (as quoted by Picon, 126).

[31]See Picon, 138.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Chadwick discusses the development of myth in surrealism thoroughly in the first chapter of her book, Myth in Surrealist Painting, 1929-1939, 1-18.

[34]See Chadwick, 9-10.

[35]Chadwick, 9. See Nietzsche, Twilight of the Idols, 67-68.

[36]Nietzsche, 68.

[37]Gradiva, a character in an obscure short novel by Wilhelm Jensen, Gradiva: ein pomejanisches Phantasiestuck (1903), is a Pygmalion-like image who causes the protagonist, Hanold, to recognize his repressed sexual desires and thereby integrate his childhood eroticism (irrational mode) with his reality (rational mode). Chadwick discusses Gradiva in her book, 77-86, and in two articles: "Eros or Thanatos--the Surrealist Cult of Love Re-examined" (1975) and "Masson's Gradiva: The Metamorphosis of a Surrealist Myth" (1970). The most interesting work on 'Gradiva' from a surrealist perspective, however, is Freud's study. Delusions and Dreams in Jensen's Gradiva (1907). I suspect that the Surrealists were more familiar with Freud's interpretation than they were with the original novel. Masson's Metamorphosis of Gradiva (1939) with its contorted, dismembered female body and gaping vagina certainly bears more resemblance to Freud's theories of repressions than to Jensen's antique statue or innocent childhood sweetheart.

[38]See Chadwick, Myth in Surrealist Painting, 1929-1939, 87-96. Ernst traces his adoption of Loplop as his alter ego or muse to the death of his beloved cockatoo which coincided with the birth of his sister. (See Ernst's Beyond Painting, 9.) Carrington wrote an homage to Ernst, 'the Bird Superior' in the April, 1942 edition of View. She said: "Love Birds, Night Birds, Birds of Paradise and Devil-Birds are all clasped in each others' wings in the Subterranean Kitchen of The Bird Superior. . . . The Bird Superior, with all his feathers painting different images at once, moves slowly around the room evoking trees and plants out of the furniture. A still quiet pulse from the petrified world outside becomes audible like distant drums" (13). She continues with this prose for a full page and the impression is of a powerful Bird Superior who conquers fear, as well as nature. She ends by saying: "Only seven little fishes like eyeless zebras lie suffocating on the fire in the bottom of the big black pot."

[39]Ibid., 40.

[40]See Picon, 200, for a list of publication dates and cover artists. The last issue of Minotaure was published in May, 1939.

[41]Rubin, 295.

[42]See André Breton's, Second Surrealist Manifesto.

[43]Original members of the Surrealist movement who retained ties with the Party denounced Surrealism. Louis Aragon, a co-founder of Surrealism and close friend of Breton's, began to move away from the movement when he attended the Second International Congress of Revolutionary Writers in Kharkov in 1930. He managed to remain within both the Party and Surrealism until 1932 when he was excluded by Breton. This was after the appearance of his article "Surrealism and the Growth of Revolution" in which he said, ". . . it is impossible to consider the growth of Surrealism apart from that of a dialectical materialism, and it is equally impossible to consider the future of the Surrealists apart from that of the Proletariat" (quoted in Picon, 125). Breton was expelled from the Communist Party in 1933. See Picon, 118-26, for a discussion of the end of the friendship between Breton and Aragon, and of the move away from the organized revolution emanating from the U.S.S.R. As late as 1930 Breton had hoped to see Trotsky reunited with the Soviet regime.

[44]See John Russell's, Max Ernst, 9-18. Ernst read Stirner's The Ego and His Own when he was fifteen years old and stated that the book influenced him all his life. The main thrust of Stirner's anarchy is total development of the self and all the potentials of the self. He does not advocate a utopian society. See Max Stirner, The Ego and His Own, first published as Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum (1845).

[45]In 1936 the Museum of Modern Art in New York held the Fantastic Art, Dada and Surrealism exhibition. The movement had achieved official recognition.

[46]Roland Penrose, Scrap Book (N.Y., 1981), 120. Ernst had come to London during his exhibit at the Mayor Gallery. Penrose said that Carrington was ". . . a brilliant girl whose talent as a writer was only exceeded by her gifts as a painter" (120).

[47]Guggenheim, Art of this Century, 132.

[48]Ibid., 238.

[49]Marcel Jean, 283.

[50]Max Ernst, Beyond Painting, 19.

[51]See William L. Pressly, "The Praying Mantis in Surrealist Art" in The Art Bulletin, December 1973, 600.

[52]Comte de Lautréamont (pseudonym for Isadore Ducasse) Maldoror and Poems (first published, 1868). Translated by Paul Knight (Middlesex, England, 1978), 128.

[53]Pressly, 614.

[54]Guggenheim, Out of this Century, 216. Guggenheim did not elaborate upon what she meant by Carrington's style being 'completely revolutionized by her encounter with the Surrealists . . .' which she made in her book. She does not make any comparison between Carrington's earlier work and the work which she purchased; in fact, there is no evidence that Guggenheim saw a Carrington painting prior to 1938, therefore she is probably not qualified to make such a sweeping statement. See Carrington's novel The Hearing Trumpet for a humourous account of a young girl's desire to see Surrealist art in Europe, 66-67.

[55]Penrose, 120.

[56]See the introductory essay, "Genesis and Perspective of Surrealism," in Guggenheim's Art of this Century, 1942 (25). This essay is also included in Breton's Surrealism and Painting (France, 1965), 49-82.

[57]The Crime of the Butterfly King (1930) is another example of explicit violence in Brauner. Two bleeding, savagely mutilated bodies are draped over the stump of a tree. In the foreground a female with a 'butter-fly' torso (looking amazingly mantis-like) surveys the scene. Blood oozes out of her mouth and trickles down her throat. The mutilated bodies are Lautréamont-ish-Maldoror, having murdered a girl, using his pen-knife, ". . . prepared, without blenching, bravely to explore the wretched child's vagina. From this enlarged orifice he extracted a series of organs; intestines, lungs, liver and finally the heart itself were removed from their foundations and dragged into the light of day through the horrid opening (Maldoror, 129). Like many of Dali's paintings, Brauner's The Crime of the Butterfly incorporates the mantis iconography so favoured by the Surrealists, and could be used as an illustration for Les Chants de Maldoror.

[58]Guggenheim, Out of this Century, 235. The reference is to the relationship between Hans Arp and Sophie Tauber.

[59]Guggenheim, 235.

[60]Ibid.

[61]Guggenheim, Art of this Century, 129. The accompanying text names her an independent.

[62]Art News, Vol. XLVI, No. 3, May 1947, 34.

[63]Silvio Gaggi, "Leonor Fini: A Mythology of the Feminine" in Art International, Vol. XXIII/5-6, September 1979.

[64]Ibid.

[65]Ann Sutherland Harris and Linda Nochlin, Women Artists: 1550-1950 at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (New York, 1976), 329. Fini has been compared to the Belgian Surrealist, Paul Delvaux, because she shares with him a quality of 'ritual mystery.' (See Gaggi, 34.) The comparison is justifiable only because women dominate the scenes of both painters. However Fini's females have a vital essence and earthiness that Delvaux's catatonic wanderers totally lack. Delvaux's settings are virtually always environments which display the intervention of technology; Fini's are primordial and, until later in her career when she begins painting 'modern women,' her environments remain untouched by machine or man.

[66]Ibid.

[67]P. K. Page said that Carrington knew Fini and admires her work. (Interview 29 January 1984)

[68]The painting, in the Museum of Modern Art catalogue for the 1936 exhibition, is called, Games of Legs in a Key of Dreams and dated 1935. The same painting is reproduced in Constantin Jelenski's Leonor Fini (Lausanne, 1968), called The Initials and dated 1937. Jeleuski's version is a copy or dated and titled incorrectly because the MOMA exhibition was held December 1936-January 1937.

[69]Gaggi, 34; Picon, 163. In addition to her interest in the Pre-Raphaelites and the Symbolists, Fini shared with Ernst a great admiration for the paintings of the German Romantic, Casper David Friedrich.

[70]Gloria Orenstein, "Art History and the Case for the Women of Surrealism" in The Journal of General Education, Spring 1975, 37.

[71]Gaggi, 35. In her Self-portrait (1935), Fini appears as a modern day version of the Egyptian cat goddess, Bast, surrounded by cats.

[72]Gaggi says that Fini's women are 'guardians' of the egg or the reproductive force (34).

[73]Varo met and married Benjamin Peret, the Surrealist poet, in Spain in 1936. He had gone to Spain from France to fight in the Spanish Civil War on the side of the Loyalists. See Janet Kaplan's, "Remedios Varo: Voyages and Visions" in Woman's Art Journal, Fall-Winter, 1980-1981, 14.

[74]See Kaplan, 14.

[75]See an interview with Leonora Carrington in Excelsior, 1 March 1966, 6.

[76]This painting probably dates from the late 1950s or early 1960s. It is similar to other works by Varo during that time (Remedios Varo Retrospective Exhibition, August-November, Museo de Arte Moderno, Mexico City).

[77]Kaplan, 18.

[78]It must be noted that there is a great similarity between Varo's work, particularly during the 1950s, and Ernst's frottage paintings of the 1940s. Kaplan does not mention the similarity to Ernst in her article. The paintings done by Varo during this time are remarkably like Ernst's paintings one in the style of Europe after the Rain (1940-1942), particularly in their treatment of the background foliage.

[79]See footnote 57 in this chapter.

[80]Leonora Carrington: Retrospective Exhibition, Catalogue for Inter-American Relations, New York, 1976, 23.

[81]See Constantin Jelenski, 15.

[82]See Carrington in Leonora Carrington (1976), 23.

[83]Ibid.

[84]The Hearing Trumpet, 75.

[85]This issue, the rights and mysteries of women, is thoroughly discussed in a psychological study by the Jungian scholar, M. Esther Harding, in her book, Woman's Mysteries, Ancient and Modern, first published in 1935, with an introduction by Carl Jung.

[86]See, for example, Margaret Murray's, The Witch Cult in Western Europe (Oxford, 1921). Murray suggests that the witch hunts in Europe were an attempt to suppress pagan religions; women were the primary targets for the suppression. The witchcraft cults were,

according to Dr. Murray, Dianic cults, and should not be confused with Satanic cults. The rites in Satanic cults are anti-Christian; the rites in Dianic cults are pre-Christian.

Chapter III

INFLUENCES OF THE EUROPEAN FANTASTIC TRADITION

> A symbolist and indeed Pre-Raphaelite influence is . . . evident in Leonor Fini and Leonora Carrington . . .
>
> Gaëton Picon in Surrealists and Surrealism[1]

> The spirit of Bosch, Uccello and the alchemists presides over the gothic fantasies of Leonora Carrington . . . [she] is the author of remarkable short stories (e.g. The Oval Lady, 1939) for which her paintings may be illustrations.
>
> Robert Short in Dada and Surrealism[2]

The metaphorical nature and decorative quality of Carrington's paintings, as well as her emphasis upon symbol, have led authors and critics to point out the influence of Symbolists, Pre-Raphaelites and early Renaissance artists on her work; or, to be more specific, to artists within these traditions who depicted the fantastic, the bizarre or the whimsical.[3] Although certain discussions mention these influences while ignoring the influence of Surrealism upon Carrington's art, she is, for the most part, linked with artists whom the Surrealists considered precursors. Before discussing her link with these "precursors," and in particular the influence these artists had upon her style of painting, it is necessary to understand why the Surrealists considered certain artists precursors and why Leonora Carrington is an inheritor of certain of these earlier styles.

Surrealism and the Symbolists

The first Surrealist Manifesto (1924) listed writers to whom Breton ascribed Surrealist characteristics even though, as he put it, "they had not heard the Surrealist voice."[4] These included, along with Sade and Lautréamont, Dante, Shakespeare, Poe, Baudelaire and Rimbaud.[5] Painters from the past who were considered of Surrealist stature but who were only mentioned in one of Breton's footnotes, included Uccello, Seurat and Moreau.[6] However, within a decade of the publication of the manifesto, Bosch, Hogarth, Füssli, Blake and Redon, among others were added to the list of Surrealist precursors although Breton made it clear that the art of the marvellous and the anti-rational had never, at any other time, been so conspicuous as it was during the Surrealist era.[7]

Breton and the Surrealists admired the nineteenth century French Symbolist poets as well as the writings of Sade and Lautréamont. Not long after Breton wrote the first manifesto, the Surrealists began looking to the past for visual as well as literary precursors. The French Symbolists with their explorations of the mysterious, of the shadowy side reality that could not, even in their age of rationality, be explained, and of ancient and irrational myths that were still known in the modern world, were the natural forerunners of the Surrealists. Although the Surrealists were iconoclastic, they still admired earlier artists who had attempted to delve into realms similar to those which attracted their twentieth century minds. André Breton led the way with his admiration for the French symbolist painter, Gustave Moreau (1826-

1898). He admired Moreau's "unhealthy dreams" and his "libertinage," admitting that the painter had forever conditoned his "way of loving."[8] Breton wrote that the Gustave Moreau Museum in Paris was, "the perfect image of a temple, both the ideal image of what a temple should be . . . and the other image of the 'place of ill repute' which it might also become."[9]

In addition to seeking forerunners among the Symbolist artists and poets, Breton also drew close parallels between the socio-political atmosphere from which they grew and his own turbulent era. Breton drew connections between Symbolism and Surrealism, first because the artists in both instances developed from the aftermath of a war: Surrealism from the disillusionment following the First World War; Symbolism from the unrest following the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871).[10] Second, as a reaction against their respective eras, both Symbolism and Surrealism opposed the emphasis upon positivism and the development of industrial materialism in society. Symbolism expressed this by entering the world of spirituality and mythology;[11] Surrealism expressed this by entering the world of the subconscious and the dream. The Symbolists explored an imaginary world through myth and fantasy; the Surrealists explored a world that existed within the inner being, the subconscious mind, that could be expressed mythologically, but which revealed an actual state beyond the exterior reality of the individual rather than a fictitious realm. Anna Balakian, in The Symbolist Movement: A Critical Approach (1977), wrote that: "The Romanticist aspired to the infinite, the symbolist thought he could

discover it, the surrealist believed he could create it."[12] Although Breton claimed at least one French Symbolist, Moreau, as a 'forefather' of Surrealism as early as 1924, the first major attempt to link the Symbolists, as well as other European fantastic artists, to Surrealism occurred when the Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism exhibition was held in New York's Museum of Modern Art in 1936.

In the introduction to the catalogue for this show, Alfred H. Barr, Jr. wrote: "The explanation of the kind of art shown in this exhibition may be sought in the deep-seated and persistent interest which human beings have in the fantastic, the irrational, the spontaneous, the marvelous, the enigmatic, and the dream-like."[13] He proceeded to discuss the 'Fantastic Art of the Past' including Bosch, Hogarth, Füssli, Blake and Redon, and 'Fantastic and anti-rational Art of the Present' including the artists of Dada and Surrealism. He concluded by saying: "We can then describe the contemporary movement toward an art of the marvelous and irrational but we are still too close to it to evaluate it. Apparently the movement is growing: under the name Surrealism it is now active in a dozen countries of Europe."[14]

Over thirty years later William S. Rubin in Dada and Surrealism (1969), said that the Surrealists, ". . . insisted on the importance of certain writers (largely of Romantic or Symbolist persuasion), as they were shortly to insist on the importance of certain painters, whom they 'rehabilitated' as Surrealist precursors."[15] Rubin is careful to point out that there are varying degrees and different ways of providing ancestors for Surrealism. He also refers to Meyer Schapiro's work on

the differences between the fantasy art of previous periods and modern fantasy.[16] The difference lies with the cultural attitude of the particular period. Prior to the modern era the depiction ". . . of a fantastic scene was based on a text or tradition that was the collective property of the culture in question."[17] The modern artist, however, ". . . paints what he alone feels, without taking his image from what everybody around him recognizes as the immediately visible, or from material offered by history, religion, or myth."[18] As is true for most of art history, connections between past and present are tenuous at best and must be made cautiously and always with an understanding of the culture from which the art emerges.

The precursors had been chosen and Surrealism was firmly ensconced in the art world when Leonora Carrington began exhibiting with the Surrealists in 1938. Her choice of whimsical subjects set in fantastical worlds along with her emphasis on symbol, explains the tendency of critics to point out connections between the European tradition of fantasy art and Carrington's work. The tie, already claimed by Barr in 1936, between earlier traditions and Surrealism provided critics with a justification for finding symbolist and Pre-Raphaelite influences in her work. From a Surrealist point of view, Carrington, while displaying stylistic similarities to precursors, often used her art to criticize her own British upper middle class background, thereby continuing the tenuous link with the past as perceived by Surrealists while, at the same time, utilizing the link to satirize a bourgeois society.[19] Finally, her paintings, rich

with symbols, are often literary insofar as they complement her own novels and stories which in turn are rich with symbols. As we have seen the short stories, "The Oval Lady" and "The Debutante," (1939) can be related iconographically to the painting, Self-portrait, which had been completed two years earlier. The painting cannot be considered an illustration for her stories however, anymore than Carrington's paintings in general can be said to be literary in the sense that they tell us a familiar story or tale. If her own stories and paintings are related it is because they treat similar themes, not because one was created for the other. This is a major difference between Carrington and the precursors. The Symbolists recreated myths; they told a visual story, for example, Edward Burne-Jones', The Call of Perseus (c. 1877), or Gustave Moreau's, Hercules and the Lernean Hydra (1876). Carrington's paintings are imaginary; they do not illustrate a familiar myth. This is also a major difference between Surrealists and their precursors. The Surrealists were always more interested in the psychological realm of the individual than in the cosmological realm of collective myth. But stylistically Carrington is closer to the precursors than she is to the twentieth century Surrealists. This becomes most evident in Carrington's painting, St. Anthony (1946), a work which aptly demonstrates stylistic similarities to earlier traditions. In addition this painting is "based on a text or tradition that was the collective property of the culture in question,"[20] and therefore corresponds with the earlier attitudes toward myth as well.

St. Anthony and Leonora Carrington

Painted in response to an invitation from the Loew-Lewin motion picture company, St. Anthony provides an opportunity to compare Carrington with other Surrealists exploring exactly the same theme, as well as with other European artists who have treated this theme over the last four hundred years. Eleven artists[21] from North America and Europe were invited to submit paintings to the film company one of which would be chosen to be featured in the film, Bel Ami, based on the Guy de Maupassant novel, Bel Ami, or the History of a Scoundrel.[22] The paintings were to represent individual depictions of a theme that has occupied artists for hundreds of years: the temptation of St. Anthony in the desert.

The story that has aroused so much interest over the centuries is based on the life of an Egyptian monk who left Alexandria for the wilds of the desert in the third century A.D. He spent at least fifteen years (by some accounts longer) tormented by apparitions of voluptuous women, beaten by demons, and frightened by monsters.[23] Throughout his trials and sufferings, St. Anthony remained virtuous and true to his God. Only at the end of his life did he experience peace. He spent his last years living quietly near a brook with his disciples to whom he related his experiences and whom he admonished to be faithful.[24] He said of the devils: "If they don't succeed in subduing you by obscene voluptousness, they will try terror."[25] It is this struggle with the demons and the subsequent peace following his years of torment that have provided artists with two major themes for

centuries.

As early as 1480, Martin Schongauer (c. 1430-1491) in the Upper Rhine region of Europe, produced an engraving which depicted the violence of St. Anthony's trial, St. Anthony Tormented by the Demons (c. 1480. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). The subject was frequently represented during Medieval times; Hieronymus Bosch (d. 1516) painted several renditions of the theme during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, some violent, some peaceful. Mattias Grünewald (died c. 1528) a master of the northern European Renaissance, created one of the most dramatic renditions of the encounters between St. Anthony and the demons for his famous Isenheim altarpiece (c. 1515, Musée Unterlinden, Colmar). Joachim Patinir (1475-1524) and Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) both produced various renditions of the theme some of which were violent, some placid and peaceful. The tradition continued in Europe into the seventeenth century; Jacques Callot (1592-1635) produced a drawing, Temptation of St. Anthony (1634) in which the saint is tormented by monsters breathing flames. More recently, Odilon Redon and Paul Cezanne, in the nineteenth century, produced works in the same tradition in response to Gustave Flaubert's novel, The Temptation of St. Anthony, published in France in 1874.[26]

Most of the eleven painters who worked with the theme in 1946 chose to represent the horrors faced by the monk. In fact, the winner of the competition, Max Ernst, depicted St. Anthony (see figure 27) stretched across the front of his painting, head upside down,

experiencing the most vile horrors, inflicted upon him by beasts from Ernst's own imagination and also from the painting that Grünewald had completed so many centuries earlier. Harriet Janis, in a review article of the competition and the subsequent exhibition, wrote that Ernst's painting represented the "extreme ecstacy of self-torture."[27] She referred to the repression and introversion, the "sadistic-masochistic delirium" and the "extreme perversion" of Ernst's work, placing it in the stylistic tradition of Grünewald's (figure 28) St. Anthony.[28] In fact, although Ernst's source for his painting was clearly Grünewald, his work represents the Surrealist tradition of torment and violence linked with sexuality. The vicious beasts attacking the body are concentrated in the genital area; the implications are explicitly and sadistically sexual.

Dorothea Tanning showed a St. Anthony whose cloak has become a huge, swirling mass of flame. The saint rests on his knees; his head is thrown back; an expression of terror covers his face. A semi-nude woman in the left foreground of the painting with her back to the viewer, observes his agony. Tanning has elongated the back of her seated nude, leaving the breasts and the buttocks bare while draping the legs with a diaphanous material. The pose is highly erotic. Tanning's temptress is a sexual sorceress offering St. Anthony pleasures of the flesh while his body is being consumed by the fires of hell.

Salvador Dali's contribution is probably the most famous and most often reproduced of all the paintings in the competition.

St. Anthony kneels on his left knee while he extends a large cruxifix into the air in an attempt to hold back encroaching terrors. Gigantic animals with long spidery legs dominate the painting. The horse in the lead rises in a moment of fury, his hoofs ready to strike and crush the man on the desert sands. The temptress, standing in a chalice that rests atop the second spider-legged horse, arches her body and cups her breasts with her hands in a pose that both offers herself to and torments the saint.

In contrast to these tortured renditions, Carrington's St. Anthony (figure 29) is not violent, nor is her "temptress" lascivious or devouring. St. Anthony in Carrington's painting is, in fact, very similar to the quiet, serene St. Anthony found in Bosch's The Temptation of St. Anthony (c. 1600, Museo del Prado, Madrid) (figure 30). Although Bosch painted violent scenes of the temptation (for example, the Lisbon triptych), the painting in Madrid shows a shrouded, meditative Anthony, sitting comfortably in a hollow tree with his pig at his feet, gazing over the calm waters of a stream. There are remnants of his struggles with worldly passions in the painting (a small figure about to drown in the stream and tiny beast/human figures with weapons in the background) but these appear as small and insignificant reminders of the earlier torments unleashed against the devout old man. Carrington's St. Anthony is seated in a large, draped, oyster shell-like covering with his pig at his feet. He is old, restful and meditative, recuperated from his youthful temptations. The similarity between this particular St. Anthony by Bosch and Carrington's

painting is quite striking. She did, in fact, spend some time in Madrid prior to her institutionalization and may well have been familiar with this painting.

A major difference between the Bosch and the Carrington is the small female figure in the centre right of Carrington's canvas. This figure is not present in the Bosch painting.[29] The woman, the temptress, in Carrington's work is a royal figure crowned with a crescent moon headdress (commonly seen on the goddess Diana as well as with other Mediterranean female deities). Five attendants each hold a section of her flowing garment. The female, here, is not obscenely voluptuous but dignified, calm and non-threatening. If she previously played the role of tormentor, she is now a quiet and regal companion to a saintly old man. In the catalogue for the exhibition of the paintings, Carrington commented about her painting and the symbols she used. She wrote that the pig at St. Anthony's feet, the continually flowing water and the ravine are all "adequately accounted for in the myth of St. Anthony."[30] The royal woman, according to Carrington, is the Queen of Sheba.[31] She wrote: "On the right, the Queen of Sheba and her attendants emerge in ever-decreasing circles out of a subterranean landscape towards the hermit. Their intention is ambiguous, their progress spiral."[32] The bald-headed figure preparing an "unctuous broth" is also female.[33]

The face of Carrington's saint (or, in fact, his three faces, one atop the other) bears some resemblance to Odilon Redon's rendition of St. Anthony in an updated version of the third century story. A

Symbolist impressed by Flaubert's novel, The Temptation of St. Anthony (1874), Redon produced a series of lithographs meant to complement the author's work. Redon's, St. Anthony: Help me, my God! (figure 31) (1896), shows the saint as a balding, grey-haired man, shrouded and meditative, in profile and gazing out from the picture plane into a space that the viewer cannot know. Carrington's St. Anthony not only looks very similar physically to the Redon but creates much the same mood, contemplative and introspective. The fine contours and linear quality of Carrington's painting compares stylistically to the image in Redon's lithograph. The emphasis here, as in many of Carrington's paintings, is upon the quality of the line rather than upon colour or paint. Carrington never sacrifices line to paint and often her paintings have a quality about them that suggests the primacy of drawing over colour.

The other modern pictures of Anthony by Dali and Ernst also rely on line, but rely just as heavily upon colour to emphasize gruesome aspects of the temptation. Ernst, as Janis pointed out, follows the tradition established by Grünewald. Grünewald's, St. Anthony Abbot assailed by monstrous demons (c. 1510), comprises one wing of the second stage of the Isenheim Altarpiece. The colour in the altarpiece is vivid and sharp to enhance the horror of St. Anthony's plight. He is assailed by demons of form and colour never seen on earth. The body of a web footed, human-like form in the left foreground is covered with grotesque red sores. Anthony himself, grey-bearded and cloaked in bright turquoise, is being pulled across the

ground by a horned monster as a bevy of demons prepare for another onslaught. In the right foreground an open-beaked bird with claw-fingered human arms raises a knotted stick to strike Anthony.

Max Ernst's The Temptation of St. Anthony adheres closely to Grünewald's rendition. Ernst could have used the Grünewald monsters as models for his own demons but, in Ernst's version, his sufferings are much more explicit. His body is being wracked by grasping, clawed beasts and the torment appears so great that escape seems impossible. Ernst's treatment of the background, however, differs from Grünewald's. The foliage is reminiscent of Ernst's Europe after the Rain (1940/42) and located in its midst, near a large rock, is a nude, serpent-headed Medusa.[34] The rich, vivid colour and the impasto evident in the foliage indicates the importance of the paint to Ernst.

Dali's interpretation of the St. Anthony story cannot be linked to any historical sources. His image is purely imaginative but, like Ernst, he is more entranced by a representation of horror than of tranquility. And, like Ernst, he was interested in colour as well as line. Carrington's St. Anthony, as mentioned earlier, is stylistically more closely related to the linear treatment of Bosch or Redon, and the mood in all three instances is tranquil.

Bosch, Breughel and Patinir: the influence on Carrington

Another of Carrington's paintings, Chiki, ton pays (figure 32) (1947), contains Bosch-like figures and puts them in a Bosch-like environment. The work is filled with symbols, rams' heads, vessels sprouting leaves, ravens and musical instruments. Debates still rage

about whether or not the symbols in Bosch's paintings relate to alchemy, Christianity, astrology or paganism[35] but, regardless of the controversy surrounding Bosch's iconography, we may be certain that Carrington's work contains alchemical symbolism. Carrington's association with Surrealism began after the movement declared an interest in alchemy and, in addition to this, Carrington herself draws some of her symbolism from M. E. Atwood's, Hermetic Philosophy and Alchemy (1850), which was published three hundred years after Bosch's death. For example, Carrington's horse or alter-ego, Tartarus, in her short story, "The Oval Lady," probably derives from Atwood's discussion of Tartarus as a "balance of existence" and a "wholeness of existence."[36] Tartarus, in Atwood, is associated with white, the colour which "contains all"; Carrington's Tartarus is white.[37]

The white horse is absent from Chiki, ton pays but the terrestrial, pregnant hyena, with a raven sitting on her head, maintains a prominent position just as she did in the earlier paintings, Self-portrait (1937) and The Hunt (1942), as well as in the story, "The Debutante." A large triangular bat-shaped animal with the hide of a leopard and the horns of a ram draws a red draped carriage, with an egg emerging from its underside and a barren forest sprouting from its top. The head of a black ram upside down in a circle beneath the carriage holds four antelope (like the ones that appeared on the egg in The Oval Lady). Inside the carriage sit Leonora and her husband, Chiki, behind a large, black shell. The flattening out of the forms, the lack of scientific perspective in the landscape, and the fine, linear detailing

in the small figures all tend to recall Bosch. The vessel, as a symbol, appears in both Carrington and Bosch, and its alchemical reference as "container" is easily understood. In Carrington's painting, St. Anthony, the large vessel that pours forth the stream provides what the artist called "the continually flowing water."[38] In alchemy the vessel is associated with Luna (the moon) and gives moisture and water to the earth.[39] The large vessel in Chiki, ton pays rests upon a harp-like instrument and sprouts forth leaves not water. But it remains a container of life-giving capacity.

Iconographic differences between Bosch and Carrington cannot, and perhaps should not, be thoroughly explored. The two artists come from different centuries, different cultures, different backgrounds and obviously different outlooks. This does not detract from the similarity in style between the two artists, or between Carrington and certain artists of the Renaissance. Edward James (1948) in his introduction to the catalogue for Carrington's exhibition in New York, wrote that her paintings ". . . immediately reminded me of my favorite pictures of Breughel, Bosch or Joachim Patinir."[40] He said that Carrington displayed the same "peculiar enchantment" and "quality of magic" as the earlier artists.[41] In the introduction to the catalogue for Carrington's retrospective exhibition in New York (1976), James wrote that, "if Leonora's work during the decade 1940 to 1950 is sometimes reminiscent of Peter Breughel or of Hieronymous Bosch, this is due to a fortuitous kinship of the imaginative process."[42] Critics like James should not be too quick to label the influences of these

early artists on Carrington as "fortuitous kinships"; after all, she spent time in Florence during her youth and in Paris and Madrid as a young woman. She undoubtedly saw many of the paintings by these artists. She studied art and therefore as a matter of course, would have studied the 'masters.' Only a glance at Bosch's, The Garden of Earthly Delights (c. 1500), now in Museo del Prado, Madrid, provides justification for comparison between this artist and Carrington. The finely drawn mythical animals, the slender androgynous figures, the repetition of the egg-shape and the other-worldliness of the painting are all similar to Carrington's Chiki, ton pays. This is in addition to the already discussed and totally undisguised connection between Carrington's St. Anthony and one of Bosch's paintings of the same subject.

Similarly, many of Carrington's landscapes, for example those in Palatine Predella (1946) (figure 33) and in St. Anthony, show a strong affinity with the work of another sixteenth century artist, Joachim Patinir. Carrington's massively robed, bearded hermit in Palatine Predella receives homage from a draped, hybrid figure in the hermit's lean-to shaped abode carved into the side of a hill. A sleek black cat stands near the central figure. Patinir's hermit, St. Jerome, in his painting, Landscape with St. Jerome (c. 1520, Museo del Prado), seated in his lean-to cave, strokes his lion. Both artists build up their landscapes in bands parallel to the picture plane. Carrington's diminutive figures massed together on a natural crossing which allows them to pass from one side of a gorge to the other side which, in turn,

becomes the roof of the lean-to, creates the same effect as Patinir's tiny dwellings in his mid-ground and background. In both instances the viewer is very rapidly drawn deeply into the landscape as well as into an other worldly domain.

The treatment of the trees and animals in Palatine Predella are very close to Breughel's, Hunters in the Snow (1565), Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. The quickly receding landscape is also a feature in Breughel's work. In Hunters, the snow-covered hills with their bare trees make up the distant background. Similarly the right background portion of Carrington's canvas portrays a tract of grim, barren land. Although treated much the same way as Breughel treats white, wintery snow, Carrington's landscape does not give an impression of seasonal infertility; her land, the dwellings and the remaining sparse vegetation, resembles a decimated sandy-brown wasteland not likely to recover or bloom in spring. Nevertheless both artists create a cosmological, whimsical landscape.

Carrington was a lover of art from childhood. She was, and is, interested in magic. As Edward James reminds us, there is a "corresponding quality of magic in Breughel and in Bosch." For sources or for images that express her own interest, it would seem natural for Carrington to turn to these artists as models for her own work. It is unnecessary to deny, as Edward James attempted to do, that these artists influenced her; rather it is necessary to see that she used their 'magic' and their style to develop and further her own style.

Influences from the Nineteenth Century: the Pre-Raphaelites and Symbolists

Carrington was also influenced by the Pre-Raphaelites and the Symbolists; once again the influence is predominantly stylistic. There is no need to deny or play down the role this influence may have had upon her work but neither is there a need to over-emphasize the importance. Iconographic differences distinguish Carrington from the Symbolists, the Pre-Raphaelites and the Renaissance artists, but there are many stylistic similarities. As mentioned earlier Carrington is a linear painter. This characteristic can be found in Pre-Raphaelite work, in certain Symbolist works, particularly in Redon, and in the works of the Renaissance artists to whom she has been compared. Like all these artists, she is concerned with symbol.

Among the artists called Symbolist, it is to Redon[43] that Carrington may best be compared. Drawings such as Carrington's, Viper! Viper! Of the Sea (1945) (figure 34), Goddess of Serpents (1967) (figure 35), and The Octave Smile (1969) (figure 36) all owe something to Redon. In addition to looking at characteristics that Redon and Carrington have in common it must be noted that the British Museum in London holds a large number of Redon's works, including prints from the Temptation of Saint Anthony series. Redon's lithograph from the series, "Saint Anthony: Help me, my God!," that was earlier compared with the head of Carrington's St. Anthony, is part of that series. Carrington studied art in London for a year and could well have seen Redon's works there or she could have seen them in Paris either when she attended the Académie de Grande Chaumière or when she lived there

with Ernst.

Carrington's drawing of a fantastical creature, Goddess of Serpents, and Redon's Chimera (1902, Musée National du Louvre, Paris) (figure 37), both owe their mysterious quality to an ingenious use of line and black, and to fertile imaginations. In a letter to his friend, A. Mellerio, Redon wrote (1898):

> Fantasy is also the messenger of the 'unconscious', of that very eminent and mysterious personage . . . who arrives in his own time, according to the moment, the place, even the season . . . Nothing in art is achieved by will alone. Everything is done by docilely submitting to the arrival of the 'unconscious' . . .
>
> My drawings inspire yet cannot be defined. They do not determine anything. Like music, they transport us into the ambiguous world of the undetermined.[44]

This statement could easily have been made by Carrington about her own work. She, too, places a high value on the 'unconscious' mysterious quality which surrounds the act of creativity and stresses the importance of this quality in a work of art.[45] And both Redon and Carrington studied Eastern religions.

Redon was introduced to ancient Indian texts and philosophies early in his life, and his drawings and paintings synthesize Western Christianity with Eastern thought.[46] In a 1913 catalogue, Mellerio described a lithograph from Redon's Dreams series (1891), "And yonder the astral idiot, the apotheosis" (British Museum, London), as a god-like figure dressed in Tibetan clothes; the large bow, he said, represented Sagittarius.[47] Richard Hobbs, in his biography, Odilon Redon (1977), suggested that because the bow plays a role in the

exploits of Krishna and Rama, Indian religious myth is a possible source for the print.[48] Redon's painting, Buddha (c. 1905) is a sympathetic depiction of the Buddha kneeling meditatively among flowers beneath the Bo-tree. As an expression of oneness between nature and man, the Buddha virtually blends with his environment to become part of the flora by which he is surrounded. Carrington employed a similar approach in Orplied (1955) where hybrid figures blend qualities of human and beast to the point that they are neither one nor the other; in addition the figures merge with their environment. Carrington's figures tend to harmonize with their environments but it is in her merging of human with animal that we encounter transferences that aptly express the idea of harmony and balance in nature.[49]

Carrington has long been involved with the study of Tibetan Buddhism. She spent some time during the mid-'70s studying with a Tibetan Buddhist teacher, Lama Kalu Rinpoche, near Toronto.[50] The similarity in interest should not be overly emphasized, however, as Carrington and Redon were exposed to different aspects of the religion and interpret it in different ways. Redon studied ancient Indian texts and incorporated ideas from those texts into his Christianity.[51]

Carrington, on the other hand, may combine Tantrism with other esoteric areas that particularly interest her, but not with Christianity. Her Roman Catholic background provided her with something to rebel against, not something to be synthesized.[52] In fact when we consider her approach to Tantrism, it is the occult

aspect of which we must be most aware. Carrington chose to become involved with the most esoteric branch of Buddhism, Tibetan Tantra or vajrayana Buddhism. This is also the form of Buddhism that entered North America during the 1960s when many of the leaders from Tibet sought refuge in Europe and the United States.[53] We may better understand Carrington's interest in Tantra by looking at this "uprooted" Buddhism from the point of view of a Westerner. Walt Anderson, a student of Tibetan Buddhism, in his recent book on this subject (the transplanting of a culture and a religion) wrote that: "The Tantric tradition is . . . criticized for its close relationship to occultism. You will find in tantrism almost everything that is connected with the popular Western conceptions of magic: secret teachings, scriptures in code, the practice of drawing symbols on the ground and uttering spells to call up deities, supernatural powers that can be used for good or evil."[54] Anderson also says that among western thinkers it is Carl Jung and his followers who "held open a door to the East." While most Surrealists identify with the Freudian tradition of psychotherapy in their probing of the subconscious, Carrington, a student of Jung since the 1950s,[55] would have been aware of and interested in, this "new" influx of Buddhism.

Carrington, interested in Tantric Buddhism, is more specifically interested in the ultimate balance of the male/female principles. She says that a close examination of the religions reveals that it is male-oriented, only theoretically attaching any importance to the female principle.[56] It is this feeling of frustration with the lack

of importance granted to the female that prompted Carrington to write her dramatic, and strongly anti-patriarchal statement, directed toward organized religions in the catalogue for her 1976 retrospective exhibition: "I do not know of any religion that does not declare women to be feeble-minded, unclean, generally inferior creates to males, although most Humans assume that we are the cream of all species. Women, alas; but, thank God, Homo Sapiens . . .!"[57] This same frustration with philosophies that offer so much wisdom but so little understanding of women causes Carrington to criticize Tantrism. She said that after studying, reading and being greatly impressed by the enlightenment offered by Eastern religions, ". . . . you look down one day to see that they have bound your feet!"[58]

Ideological differences between Carrington and the nineteenth century artist, Redon, however, vanish when we simply look at the works of Carrington and Redon. Here, an emphasis upon the mysterious clearly emerges. And, interesting enough, both artists employ a similar technique to obtain a transcendental quality in their work; black is often used as the starting point for their images.

In the early 1870s Redon began to use black charcoal drawings to create an imaginery world on paper. Works such as his famous The Smiling Spider (1881) and The Cactus Man (1881) show how effectively Redon was able to use his medium to create images of fantasy and imagination. In 1913 Redon said: "Black must be respected. Nothing adulterates it. It does not give pleasure to the eyes and awakens no sensuality. It is an agent of the mind far more than the fine colour

of the palette or the prism."[59] Robert Delevoy, in Symbolists and Symbolism (1978) said that black was ". . . admirably suited to [Redon's] imagery . . . Blackening (nigredo) was, in the symbolism of the alchemists, the fundamental quality of primary matter, of the universe in its original state of chaos."[60]

Black is an important element in Carrington's work as well. Most of her canvases begin dark; the colour that she introduces on these canvases is worked up from the dark base.[61] A striking example of this can be seen in, Are You Really Syrius? (1953) (figure 38). The painting is extremely dark and immediately gives the impression of colour being applied over a black ground. There is no attempt to hide the ground or the fact that the painting uses this as a starting point. The result is such that the areas in which she uses white achieve a luminosity that might not be present if they moved from a light space. Carrington's butterfly-headed figure in the left-hand corner of the canvas virtually glimmers as she appears from the darkness.[62] This use of silver-white in her palette is characteristic of her work. The small black figures near the base of the pillar in the right foreground of the painting assume a much greater importance than their size would indicate because of the finely detailed linear way in which they are drawn. Also, because of the way Carrington paints with the dark ground, the dark figures, as part of this dark ground, appear to have been in their environment from the beginning. This original or primary quality makes them appear as representations of ancient beings who existed even prior to the architecture that dwarfs them. The same

effect is created by the symbols which adorn the bodies of the large felines. The symbols, which are part of the dark ground, exist first, before the animals, before anything else in the painting. And because of the method which Carrington uses to build up her painting, the darker areas do "exist first." In addition Carrington demonstrates a masterful blend of extremely fine, minutely drawn linear details with a short, soft brushstroke. Linear detailing is most evident in very dark to black areas; the softer stroke is evident in lighter, more luminous areas. The overall result is an effective creation of a mysterious space.

She used the same techniques in other paintings. Sueños del bosque (Dreams of the forest, 1958) is dark, utilizing the browns and golds that are so predominant in Orplied (1955). The black, draped and shrouded sorcerer figures are linear; so are the black birds in the left mid-ground. The flock of gold and green/gold birds near the top of the canvas are painted with the shorter, softer stroke. However as the birds gradually darken, the line becomes more definite and finely drawn. The horse in the left mid-ground, all the more startling because of its whiteness in the midst of the muted canvas, was painted with a softer stroke but the neck and head are finely drawn; and the white head of the horse's rider almost disappears in the fluffiness of the stroke while remaining vivid in the whitness against the dark ground. Reflection on the Oracle (1959) is yet another example of the combination of soft white and dark linear forms. In this case, however, the silver-white hybrid creature in the centre

of the painting dominates the entire canvas; the somewhat smaller, and almost as dominant, dark hybrid creature is not as linear as many of the dark creatures in other paintings. The birds, particularly the five larger birds in the canvas, are examples of exquisite draftsmanship that again combines linear detailing with softness. The small white human face, the same white as the larger hybrid creature, is another example of the influence of Redon in Carrington's work; in fact, the features are very much like the already discussed St. Anthony. In all three of these paintings, Are You Really Syrius?, Sueños del bosque and Reflection on the Oracle, the luminosity of the light figures is enhanced; the dark areas assume a mysterious quality.

These elements, in combination with a matte finish which tends to draw the viewer into the canvas (rather than Varo's highly polished surfaces which tend to keep the viewer at a distance) also tend to lead the viewer into another world: that of Carrington's imagination. This is exactly what Redon accomplished with his 'noirs.'[63] Redon's biographer, Richard Hobbs, said that, "By confining himself almost exclusively to charcoal drawings, he was able to concentrate his style on states of mind, directing the spectator's attention away from the sensuous evocation of the objective world."[64] Carrington is also able to "direct the spectator away from the objective world" by using black and by restricting her palette. Although the ideologies of Redon and Carrington differ, the methods they use to obtain a mysterious quality in their works correspond.

The palette of most Symbolists and the Pre-Raphaelites was not

so restricted. Linear elements were emphasized but so was colour.[65] Moreau, the painter so revered by Breton, worked with a richly coloured palette. On this point Breton wrote: "The accent in Moreau's work is, indeed, centred on mineral luxuriance: an impossible amalgam, with the flesh, of those precious stones which Baudelaire, in Les Litanies de Satan, accused the 'jealous God' of having hidden."[66] The Pre-Raphaelites also created works that glowed, that were rich with colour. John Everett Millias's, Mariana (1850), draped with velvet fabrics, with arrays of hues in autumn leaves in the background and the intricacies of design and colour in stained glass windows, is typical of the work done by these English artists. Dante Gabriel Rossetti's Regina Cordium (1866), depicts a beautiful woman whose billowing dress, feather fan and jewels allow the artist full opportunity to utilize a rich and varied display of colour.

Raised in England and exposed to art at an early age, Carrington was probably familiar with the work of the Pre-Raphaelites and with the French symbolists. It is likely that their influence also came to be felt in her work through early twentieth century illustrators of children's books and fantasy stories. The 1926 edition (available when Carrington was nine years old) of James Stephens' The Crock of Gold, was lavishly illustrated with decorative, linear drawings in a Pre-Raphaelite style (see figure 2). Andrew Lang's The Lilac Fairy Book, (only one of many of his books) published in London in 1910, was illustrated by H. J. Ford and once again the style was derived from the Pre-Raphaelites. The child who

devoted so much of her time to drawing that she was expelled from a number of boarding schools, was surely influenced by illustrations from her favourite books and may have even copied these. In addition, she was raised in an upper class English family and was undoubtedly exposed to many works by the popular English Pre-Raphaelites as well as the Symbolists.

The influence upon Surrealism of these artists (the Surrealists were more specifically interested in the Symbolists than in the Pre-Raphaelites) is most often discussed in terms of subject matter, the bizarre nature of the works, the eerie dream-like qualities to be found in the pictures and, often, in their treatment of the female subject. For example, Marcel Jean, in the History of Surrealist Painting (1959), referred to three works, among others, that point out certain connections between precursors and Surrealists: J. E. Millais' Ophelia (1852), for its "extraordinary minuteness of detail";[67] Gustave Moreau's Galatea (1880) for the "delicate, translucent body" of the female and for his "fantastic visions";[68] and Arnold Böcklin's Island of the Dead (1880) for its "premediated confusion of the concept of time" and because the painting is sinister and menacing.[69]

Different Visions

Carrington's tie to the Pre-Raphaelites and Symbolists is not the same as the tie between these precursors and the Surrealists. The Surrealists were interested in the mythical or mystifying world that the Symbolists created as well as in their attitudes or, perhaps more accurately, Symbolist attitudes as interpreted by the Surrealists.

For example, Breton's "way of loving" was forever conditioned by Moreau's depiction of women, the most notorious of whom is Salome and her sadistically erotic dances. Carrington's interests would appear to be more specifically stylistic with the exception, as we have seen, of the influence of Redon upon her work. Other than Redon, the earlier artists such as Bosch or Patinir, seem to have exerted a greater influence upon her work than the nineteenth century artists. When Edward James referred to Carrington's 'Patinir-like horizons,' he offered a valid descriptive comment. When Gaëton Picon wrote that "symbolist and indeed Pre-Raphaelite influence is evident" in Carrington's paintings, the description must either be elaborated upon, or restricted to, those artists who actually do influence her work. In fact, this particular description may have to be limited to Redon, and 'symbolist' may have to mean simply 'using symbols' rather than referring specifically to the nineteenth century artists.

Moreover, such a description must not be used to link her, by utilizing similarities to precursors of Surrealism, to either movement. There are no female Symbolists. The attitudes of the nineteenth century Symbolists to women is remarkably similar to those of the twentieth century Surrealists. Carrington not only disagrees with, but disapproves of, this attitude and states this emphatically in her stories, novels and paintings.

Inés Amor, in "A Tribute to Leonora Carrington" for the exhibition catalogue, Leonora Carrington (1976) wrote that: "It can be said that she [Leonora Carrington] never was an improvised artist.

She drew from the time of her childhood and very early in her life she studied painting regularly, observing all the classical precepts, which are nowadays rejected as inoperative, but which are the resources at the disposal of the painter with lasting value. You might think that such a formula would limit Leonora's freedom of expression. Not so."[70]

Leonora Carrington draws upon the resources to which a person from her background would be exposed. She studied and observed. Her work is not created in a vacuum, isolated from a tradition of western art. Her vision, however, is her own. Her work may share the oneiric, dream-like quality of Surrealists like that found in the work of her one time partner, Max Ernst, but the dreams are different. Her work may share an incorporation of symbols with the Symbolists, but the symbols are different. Carrington is esoteric and feminist; in the final analysis her visions, her dreams and her directions distinguish her from both Surrealism and Symbolism.

Footnotes

[1]Gaëton Picon, Surrealists and Surrealism (New York, 1983), 163.

[2]Robert Short, Dada and Surrealism (London, 1980), 158.

[3]See, for example, Edward James in his introductions to the Leonora Carrington exhibition at the Pierre Matisse Gallery in 1948 and the retrospective exhibition in 1976. Carlos Fuentes in his introduction to Carrington's exhibition at the Anglo-Mexican Cultural Institute, 1965, relates her art to Medieval or Gothic art (the word "surreal" or Surrealist is not mentioned).

[4]André Breton, The Surrealist Manifestos (Ann Arbor, 1969), 27.

[5]These names and others also appeared on a double page in Littérature, No. 11-12, October 1923. See Picon, 46-47, for a reproduction of the page that was designed by the Surrealists.

[6]Breton, 27.

[7]Fantastic Art, Dada and Surrealism, Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1936, 9-10. This exhibition was the first, and remains the most significant, statement about the place of surrealism in the history of art.

[8]André Breton, at age sixteen, discovered Moreau's paintings in Paris at the studio and house of the artist that, after his death, became the Musee Gustave Moreau. See the article written by Breton in 1961, "Gustave Moreau," published in Breton's Surrealism and Painting (New York, 1972), 363-66. Breton was completely enamoured of Moreau's women. He said, "The particular 'type' of these women plunged me into a state of complete enchantment and probably prevented me from recognizing any other type" (363).

[9]Breton, 363.

[10]See Robert L. Delevoy, The Symbolists and Symbolism (London, 1978), 14. Breton published an essay in 1922 which is considered, ". . . a bridge between Surrealism and historical Symbolism" (Delevoy, 14). In this essay Breton stressed that both art movements were indictments against 'old art by young men' (Dolevoy, 14).

[11]See Edward Lucie-Smith's, Symbolist Art (London, 1972), 23-31, for a synopsis of the exotic, romantic nature of symbolism. The most famous of the Spiritualists associated with Symbolism was Josephin Peladin (1859-1918) who assumed the title of Sâr or Magus when he

founded the Orders of the Rosy Cross, the Temple and the Grail, in 1892. See Robert Pincus-Witten's, Occult Symbolism in France: Josephin Peladan and the Salons de la Rose-Croix (New York, 1976) for a thorough discussion of the cult figure and his circle. Much of the sensationalism of symbolism originated in the Salons of Sâr Peladan.

[12]Anna Balakian, The Symbolist Movement: A Critical Approach (New York, 1977), 16. In her study of literary symbolism, Balakian treats it in relation to Romanticism and Surrealism, indicating that the three movements share a common heritage.

[13]Fantastic Art, Dada and Surrealism, 9.

[14]Ibid., 13.

[15]William S. Rubin, Dada and Surrealism (New York, 1969), 113.

[16]See Meyer Schapiro's "Introduction of Modern Art in America: The Armory Show" in Modern Art: 19th and 20th Centuries (London, 1978), particularly 142-43 for a discussion of the 'image' in modern art.

[17]Rubin, 123. In addition to discussing Schapiro, Rubin also discusses Marcel Jean's attitude toward surrealist ancestors.

[18]Ibid.

[19]See Marcel Jean, 289.

[20]Rubin, 113.

[21]Harriet Janis, "Artists in Competition" in Arts and Architecture, April 1946, 30-33 and 52-55. Janis includes brief descriptions of the works of the eleven artists: Ivan Albright, Eugene Berman, Leonora Carrington, Salvador Dali, Paul Delvaux, Max Ernst, O. Louis Guglielmi, Horace Pippin, Abraham Rattner, Stanley Spencer and Dorothea Tanning. The judges for the competition were Marcel Duchamp, Alfred Barr, Jr., and Sidney Janis.

[22]Ibid. Also see Jean Seznec, "The Temptation of St. Anthony in Art" in Magazine of Art, March 1947, 86-93. See also, Marcel Jean, 323-24 for the most information about Carrington's entry. The exhibition was circulated by the American Federation of Arts to New York, Washington, Boston, Baltimore, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Houston, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Kansas City and Akron. When it had completed its American tour, the exhibition was sent to England and France (Seznec, 87). Seznec's article is a comment upon and a defense of the works in response to public outrage (particularly in Boston) at the "sacrilegious nature" of the paintings.

[23]Jean Seznec presents a comprehensive overview of the St. Anthony theme from the Middle Ages through Cezanne and up to the competition of 1946.

[24]The account of the life of the saint most often referred to is St. Anthanasius' (d. 373 A.D. in Alexandria) "The Life of St. Anthony." See Seznec, 67. More recent artists, for example, Redon and Cezanne, based their interpretations of the story on the novel by Gustave Flaubert, The Temptations of St. Anthony (1874).

[25]Seznec, 87-88.

[26]Seznec, 91. See also Richard Hobbs, Odilon Redon (London, 1977), 100-17.

[27]Janis, 54.

[28]Ibid.

[29]A female figure is not present in Bosch's Temptation of St. Anthony in the Museo del Prado to which Carrington's painting is being compared. In his triptych, The Temptations of St. Anthony, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, however, female figures are present. The right wing of the triptych includes a naked woman in the hollow trunk of a tree and an old woman, above the tree and slightly to the right, wearing a scalloped headdress and pouring liquid from a pitcher. It is possible that Carrington was familiar with this triptych by Bosch--she did spend time in Lisbon after her release from Santander and prior to her departure for New York. But she does not refer to the iconography of this work in her painting.

[30]See Carrington's catalogue entry as quoted by Marcel Jean, 323-24.

[31]The Queen of Sheba is an important character in Flaubert's novel. See The Temptations of St. Anthony (London, 1980), 84-89. She tempts him in one instance when she says: "I am not a woman, but a world. My clothes need only fall away for you to discover in my person one continuous mystery!" (89). The saint, of course, does not succumb and the Queen of Sheba, according to Flaubert, "withdraws, letting out a sort of convulsive hiccup, not unlike a sob or a snigger" (89). Carrington's image of the queen, like Flaubert's, is royal rather than voluptuous or grotesque.

[32]See Marcel Jean, 323.

[33]Ibid.

[34]There is a striking similarity between Ernst's large female figure in his painting, The Robing of the Bride (1939), and the female

in the background of his St. Anthony. In the Robing the woman is associated with bird, in St. Anthony with serpent.

[35]See Madeline Bergman's, Hieronymus Bosch and Alchemy: A Study on the St. Anthony Triptych (Stockholm, 1979), for a thorough discussion of the work that has been done on Bosch's iconography.

[36]M. E. Atwood, Hermetic Philosophy and Alchemy (New York, 1960; first published 1850), 328. This is one of Carrington's favourite books. Information from P. K. Page.

[37]See Atwood, 324-36 for some indication of the importance of the colour white in alchemic thought. It is light, 'subjective and inseparate,' dew 'which nourished the most exalted saints,' manna 'which descends into the field of sacred fruits' and so on.

[38]Marcel Jean, 323.

[39]See C. G. Jung, Mysterium Coniunctionis, an Inquiry into the Separation and Synthesis of Psychic Opposites in Alchemy (Princeton, 1970), 129-31.

[40]Edward James in his introduction to the catalogue for the exhibition, Leonora Carrington, Pierre Matisse Gallery, New York, 1948, 5.

[41]Ibid.

[42]See Edward James in his introduction to the catalogue for the exhibition, Leonora Carrington, Inter-American Relations, New York, 1976, 12-13.

[43]Redon is generally considered a symbolist although he must also be considered a 'figure aloof.' See Odilon Redon, Gustave Moreau and Rodolphe Bresdin, Museum of Modern Art, 32. Huysmans included descriptions of Redon's works in his symbolist novel A Rebours (Against the Grain) and introduced the artist to Mallarmé, the symbolist poet. Redon and Mallarmé ". . . became brothers whose mutual affection was enriched by a deep, a total respect" (MOMA, 32). Redon's 'fantasies,' unlike many of the symbolists, grew out of his imagination--and rarely came from classic sources. "His visions exist by themselves, in an independent sphere over which they reign absolutely" (MOMA, 24). This is also true of Carrington.

[44]As quoted by John Rewald in Odilon Redon, Gustave Moreau and Rodolphe Bresdin, MOMA, 24-25.

[45]P. K. Page mentioned in conversation the importance that spiritual development plays in Carrington's life. Leonora Carrington, during a conversation in New York, 5 May 1984, discussed the reading

and studying that she has done in these areas; she stressed the important role Jungian scholars, such as Maria von Franz, and Eastern religious thought (specifically tantric Buddhist writings but also Taoist thought) have in her life and art.

[46]See Richard Hobbs, Odilon Redon (London, 1977), 109-10. Hobbs points out that Redon had a ". . . generally mystic quality rather than a specific Christian emphasis," and that his "interpretation of religious subjects . . . betrays more than a passing interest in contemporary attempts to bring world religions and mythologies together in some kind of synthesis." Redon was introduced to ancient Indian literature by his friend, the scientist Armand Claraud, in the late 1850s. (See Hobbs, 11 and 110.)

[47]See Hobbs, 105-06.

[48]Ibid.

[49]Gloria Orenstein discussed the importance of imagery of human/animal beings in her article, "La nature animale et divine de la femme dans les oeuvres de Leonora Carrington," in Melusine (Cahiers du centre de recherche sur le surréalisme) Vol. 2, 1981, 130-37. Jacqueline Chenieux, in Le Surréalisme et le Roman (Lausanne, Switzerland, 1983), 254-63, is interested in the transformation of human into beast, as for example Tartarus/Lucrecia or the relationship between the 'debutante' and the hyena.

[50]Information from Leonora Carrington, 6 May 1984, New York. I also discussed this with P. K. Page. Gloria Orenstein makes brief reference to Carrington's stay in Toronto in "Women of Surrealism," 41.

[51]See Hobbs, 110.

[52]This is most evident in her novel, The Hearing Trumpet. One of the major figures in the novel is a witch/nun, a devotee of a female deity, who is canonized by the Roman Catholic Church. Carrington also includes "priest" figures in certain of her paintings, for example, El Rarvarok (1963) shows three vampire-looking priests (unmistakable because of their attire). A howling wolf grows out of the backs of two of the men. Rebellion against the Roman Catholic Church was also a characteristic common to many Surrealists (Ernst Carrington and most of the other artists involved with the movement were Catholic.)

[53]Walt Anderson in his book Open Secrets (Middlesex, England: 1980) discusses the problems facing the Tibetan Buddhist culture and traditions as the leaders of the community live and teach in the West and as more Westerners "convert." Another recent book, Franz Michael's historical study of Tibetan society, Rule by Incarnation: Tibetan

Buddhism and its Role in Society and State (Boulder, Collorado, 1982) also raises the problem of the "survival of a culture in exile." Leonora Carrington is one of many Westerners who, over the past two decades, have become interested in or part of this "transplanted" culture.

[54]Anderson, 64.

[55]Interview with P. K. Page, 29 January 1984; interview with Carrington, New York.

[56]Interview with Carrington, New York.

[57]Leonora Carrington in the exhibition catalogue, Leonora Carrington, Center for Inter-American Relations, 23.

[58]Interview with Carrington, New York.

[59]As quoted by Hobbs, 26.

[60]See Robert Delevoy, Symbolists and Symbolism, 61.

[61]P. K. Page who has painted with Carrington made this observation. When I was with Carrington in New York, I saw one example of a painting in progress with a black ground; one with a light grey ground. The dark ground was a still life. The second painting had three very dark patriarchal (rather rabbi-like) figures on the grey ground. Unlike the figures in Syrius or Daughter of the Minotaur, these figures were not an integral part of their environment but remained divorced from their surroundings.

[62]Unfortunately this effective use of the black ground is not evident in reproduction. Many of Carrington's works are so dark that they do not read well in reproduction unless lightened and when lightened, many of the nuances and subtleties are lost.

[63]Noirs was Redon's own term for the black drawings. See Hobbs, 16-17.

[64]Hobbs, 26-27.

[65]There are, of course, exceptions to this, for example, the line drawings by Aubrey Beardsley.

[66]Breton, Surrealism and Painting, 366. Huysmans also included descriptions of Moreau's paintings in A Rebours. In a description of Salome and The Apparition in his novel, he wrote: ". . . her breasts form two hillocks whose nipples stand up, rubbed by her jangling necklaces; diamonds glisten on her moist skin, while her

bracelets, belts and rings throw out sparks of light. Her triumphal dress is sewn with pearls and interwoven with a design of silver and gold, while the breast-plate, product of a goldsmith's art, in which each stitch is a precious stone, seems to flame and become entangled with fire serpents who swarm over her dull flesh and her skin the colour of a tea rose, like glorious insects with marvellous wings, marbled in carmine, crossed with flashes of yellow, speckled with steel-blue and spotted with peacock green . . ." Delevoy's translation, 43. See Against the Grain, translated in 1931 with an introduction by Havelock Ellis, for a slightly less poetic translation, 140 (no translation indicated).

[67]See Marcel Jean, 13.

[68]Ibid., 14.

[69]Ibid., 16.

[70]Inés Amor in the exhibition catalogue, Leonora Carrington (1976), 25.

Chapter IV

LEONORA CARRINGTON AND ESOTERIC FEMINISM

Gloria Orenstein, in The Theater of the Marvelous: Surrealism and the Contemporary Stage (1975), wrote that a recurring theme in Leonora Carrington's visual and literary works is the cosmic egg. The egg, said Orenstein, is a female symbol which suggests, ". . . that it is through woman that the spiritual transformation of humanity will occur."[1] Carrington's works address the problem of feminine identity in the twentieth century as well as "spiritual transformation," and many paintings and stories allude to a female oriented society. Should we assume, then, that she took a stance in her early paintings, in the decade 1940 to 1950, that was in anticipation of the recent feminist movement in North America? Or does the development of her images coincide with a new form of feminism that is interested in the "spiritual transformation" of women as well as in their political and economic liberation? These questions will be explored and discussed as we examine Carrington's works within the socio-cultural environment to which Carrington herself, as a woman acutely conscious of her role and the expectations of that role, was exposed. In order to do this a concise history of recent feminism will be presented along with a brief analysis of the type of feminism with which Carrington is most closely associated.

Feminism in North America[2]

Amid much controversy, a new stage in the women's movement emerged in the 1960s. John Kennedy established a Presidential Committee on the Status of Women in December 1961. In 1963 Betty Friedan published The Feminine Mystique and, in 1966, she became the first president of the National Organization of Women (NOW).[3] The purpose of this organization was ". . . to take action to bring women into full participation in the mainstream of American society now, exercising all the privileges and responsibilities thereof in truly equal partnership with men."[4] Simone de Beauvoir's now famous book, The Second Sex, which had been published in France in 1949 and in the United States in 1953, also, by the early 1960s reached a very wide audience.

Women's liberation, or feminism, in the second half of the twentieth century, evolved from de Beauvoir and Friedan, gained momentum with academics such as Germaine Greer (The Female Eunich, 1970) and Kate Millett (Sexual Politics, 1970), and was popularized by media personalities such as Gloria Steinem. This renewed concern for the status of women approached and attacked the political, psychological and socioeconomic problems that confronted women in institutions and systems that were dominated by men.[5] The fundamental message was the advancement of the rights of women in a man's world. Maren Lockwood Carden in her study, The New Feminist Movement (1974), discussed two branches of feminism: 'liberation-oriented women' who use their own experiences as data, for example, consciousness raising

groups and 'rights-oriented feminists' who follow more traditional routes in order to enact change, involvement in political campaigns, formal resolutions.[6] Contemporary artists such as Judy Chicago and Joyce Kozloff fall into the first category, that is, they are 'liberation-oriented' women; the active participants in the National Organization of Women fall into the second category, that is, 'rights-oriented' women.

A somewhat different approach to the problems and issues surrounding the equality of women has attracted attention since the mid-1970s. This different approach toward women's rights can be seen as early as 1935 when M. Esther Harding published, Woman's Mysteries, Ancient and Modern.[7] This treatise lauds peculiar and particular woman's mysteries which surround a cult of fertility, birth and death, as old or older than the Eleusinian mysteries. The last decade has seen a proliferation of books on this and similar themes ranging from semi-academic studies such as Merlin Stone's, When God was a Woman (1978) and Nor Hall's, The Moon and the Virgin (1981), to academic studies such as Jean Markale's, Women of the Celts (1972) and Marija Gimbutas's, The Gods and Goddesses of Old Europe (1974). Markale drew his conclusions about the struggle between an older, matrilineal Celtic culture and a new increasingly patriarchal culture by first analysing the legal system of the Celts.[8] Gimbutas defended the hypothesis that older, female oriented societies pre-existed and, for a time, co-existed with newer patriarchal cultures.[9] What is most significant, however, in looking at Leonora Carrington's art and the

relationship between it and a new current of feminism, is the profusion of semi-academic or non-academic books that suggest the same hypothesis that Carrington does: the existence of a female deity. Works like Merlin Stone's and Nor Hall's appear in ever increasing number. These studies, like Harding's, discuss the "mysteries" which emanate from the sexuality and fecundity of women. They emphasize pagan rather than monotheistic philosophies, as well as assigning magic and mysticism (associated with pagan) to the realm of the female. Carol P. Christ, one of the editors of the book, Womanspirit Rising: A Feminist Reader in Religion (1979), which treats the subject of mysteries and rites associated with female-oriented religions, included one of her own articles in the book. The article, "Why Women Need the Goddess: Phenomenological, Psychological, and Political Reflections" was the keynote address at a conference, "The Great Goddess Re-Emerging" held in 1978 at the University of California (Santa Cruz).[10] She suggested that the interest in "feminine spirituality" began in the United States in the early 1970s. As part of her discussion about this renewed interest in rites and rituals which celebrate a female deity she posits questions that become relevant for an examination of Carrington's art within its own context: specifically within the context of the artist's "spiritual" concerns. Christ asked:

> What are the political and psychological effects of this fierce new love of the divine in themselves for women whose spiritual experience has been focused by the male God of Judaism and Christianity? Is the spiritual dimension of

> feminism a passing diversion, an escape from difficult but necessary political work? Or does the emergence of the symbol of the Goddess among women have significant political and psychological ramifications for the feminist movement?[11]

Leonora Carrington is an artist who translates the "spiritual dimensions of feminism" into visual form. She explores an esoteric realm that includes magic and mysticism, and she is a feminist. It is for this reason that I have chosen to call her work after 1950, "esoteric feminism."

Carrington as an Esoteric Feminist

Carrington was exposed to the occult as a young woman when she was in France among the Surrealists. She has carried on this tradition ever since although she and at least two of her contemporaries (Fini and Varo) have taken a different direction than their early male companions. Carrington began her career expressing rebellion; later this became more focused or directed and more specifically feminist. The occult was always present.

As mentioned earlier, the short stories, "The Oval Lady" and "The Debutante," can most certainly be considered protests against patriarchal authority as well as laments for female powerlessness in the face of such authority. Lucrecia, the protagonist in "The Oval Lady," can also magically turn herself into a white horse. Gloria Orenstein, as an attempt to establish a firm link between Carrington and a goddess figure, considered the white horse a symbol for Epona, the Celtic goddess. Carrington is familiar with Irish myths and

legends; in fact she refers to Epona in her novel, The Hearing Trumpet.[12] However, in "The Oval Lady," as well as in "Pénélope," the white horse is Tartarus. Tartarus is the underground prison of the Titans, children of the earth goddess Gaea, who were defeated in battle by Zeus.[13] In addition to this, Carrington's major source for alchemical information, M. E. Atwood in her book Hermetic Philosophy and Alchemy, referred to Tartarus as "the place of the soul's trial, where the balance of existence is struck, and imperfections are made manifest; physically . . . it is the wholesness of existence."[14] Carrington's Tartarus is white; Atwood wrote that the alchemical white contains all.[15] In "The Oval Lady," the destruction of the white horse, Tartarus, by the patriarch is a metaphor for destruction of "wholeness of existence" by the male. Carrington did not allude to a female deity in this story; she alluded to the right to exist, whole and unthwarted. A specific connection between "The Oval Lady" and a female deity is tenuous at this point; a specific connection between "The Oval Lady" and female rebellion is not.

Carrington struggled with authority and convention; at nineteen against her family's wishes and without financial support, she studied art in London. In her novel, The Hearing Trumpet (1974),[16] Carrington's elderly protagonist, Marian, recounted her youthful desire to study art in London. Marian's struggle is fictitious and amusing but, nevertheless, probably approximates Carrington's own youthful struggles with her family. Carrington herself said that she could never understand why her three brothers were constantly allowed

to do things which she was not.[17] According to Marian:

> Back in Lancashire I got an attack of claustrophobia and tried to convince Mother to let me go and study painting in London. She thought this was a very idle and silly idea and gave me a lecture about artists. "There is nothing wrong about painting," she told me. "I paint boxes myself from jumble sales. There is a difference though in being artistic and in actually being an artist . . . Artists are immoral, they live together in attics, you could never get used to an attic after all the luxury and comfort you have here . . ."
>
> "I want to paint nude models," I said. "You can't get nude models here."
>
> . . . Finally I did go to London to study art and had a love affair with an Egyptian. A pity I never actually got to Egypt but thanks to my Mother I did see most of Europe during my youth.
>
> Art in London didn't seem quite modern enough and I began to want to study in Paris where the Surrealists were in full cry.[18]

Carrington did as Marian did. She studied art in London, then once again defying her family, she went to Paris "where the Surrealists were in full cry." In the 1940s she changed. From the strong, self-willed, upper-class young English woman who accompanied Max Ernst to France, she became a mature, independent individual. She had had a nervous breakdown; or a "breakthrough" as she sometimes refers to it;[19] she had moved to a new country; and she had begun a new life. In 1948 Edward James wrote: "When I met her in the early spring of 1944 on the shore of Acapulco, she struck me as a haughty, brittle, witty, but slightly arrogant woman . . . a ruthless English intellectual in revolt against all the hypocrisies of her homeland, against the bourgeois fears and false moralities of her conventional background and sheltered upbringing . . . even since 1944 she has changed. I

feel that every year her serenity is growing at the expense of her former intolerance."[20] Her paintings, too, changed.

Self-portrait (1937) (see figure 4) iconographically relates to the short stories, "The Oval Lady" and "The Debutante." The image of the woman in this painting is rebellious. The posture, the wide positioning of the legs, the firm pose, the masses of wild hair and the penetrating eyes, suggest defiance. The figure represents a strong willed, independent woman. The connection made earlier between the hyena in the painting and the story, "The Debutante," reinforces the rebelliousness of Carrington's Self-portrait. A young woman refused to attend her own debutante's ball and sent, in her place, an odorous hyena. The rebellion against such societal rituals is obvious. Self-portrait's arrogant young woman joined herself to the hyena with an outstretched hand.

The young woman in the painting was, as James suggested, "in revolt" against the "false moralities of her conventional background and sheltered upbringing," an intense woman would not be a "debutante" in her society. Paintings completed after Carrington's experiences in Santander such as, The Oval Lady (1942) (see figure 9) and Giantess (n.d., Pierre Matisse Exhibition, 1948) depict large, independent women who are more part of nature than part of civilization, who are regal and supreme. Both these later paintings show women of "goddess-like" stature. The female in The Oval Lady is larger than life. In addition her proud, upright stance is reminiscent of the pagan cult statue, Diana of Ephesus (second century A.D., Museo Nazionale,

Naples) or the famous Minoan Snake Goddess. Flora and fauna are subservient to this powerful woman. Carrington painted this just before she wrote Down Below (1944) in which she made statements about the necessity of the female principle in religion, and in which she also alluded to the egg, an important feminine symbol in her later work. She wrote: ". . . the Trinity minus a woman and microscopic knowledge has become dry and incomplete";[21] ". . . I was the Holy Ghost . . . Leonora Carrington and a woman";[22] "I was she who revealed religions and bore on her shoulders the freedom and the sins of the earth changed into Knowledge";[23] and "This morning the Egg idea came again to my mind and I thought that I could use it as a crystal."[24]

An egg, sprouting new life, is the focal point of Carrington's painting, Pomps of the Sub-soil (1947) (see figure 22). Although three figures inhabit the painting, all of about the same size, the seated female draped with a blue gown, located in the left mid-ground, is the most important. Four of the many birds in the painting rest in the branches of a beautiful, lacy green tree that grows out of the woman's head. The two other slender figures, occupying the other half of the canvas, give homage to the reclining tree-headed female. Birds fly out of the huge cloak which is wrapped around the tall women in the painting, Giantess. She holds an egg between her hands. Before discussing the egg itself as symbol, one other characteristic of this painting should be noted: such an image of woman does not exist in Symbolist paintings or in Surrealist paintings. Giantess could be compared with Eini's Moon Woman, or perhaps even more appropriately

with her beautiful primordial survivor in The World's End, 1949, or with Varo's Witch of the Sabbath, but not with paintings of women created by other Surrealist artists. Paintings of women by Symbolists, as well, fall into the tradition of woman as devourer, for example, Moreau's paintings of Salome (see figure 39); woman as temptress, for example, Franz von Stuck's painting, The Sin (1893) (figure 40); or woman as muse, for example, Dante Gabriel Rossetti's, The Daydream (c. 1872) (figure 41). Paintings of women by the Surrealists fall into precisely the same categories.[25] Giantess, on the other hand, depicts strength and independence without any associating characteristics of "sin" or destruction. Giantess, like the woman in Self-portrait or the woman in The Oval Lady, is free, unthwarted and closely affiliated with nature. In addition she holds the egg.

The egg has symbolic meaning in many religions and mythologies as well as in alchemy. In Christian thought the egg represents hope and resurrection[26] or purity and chastity.[27] In Piero Della Francesca's painting, Madonna with Saints (c. 1472, Brera Altarpiece, Milan) (figure 42) the egg, in this instance said to represent either the four elements or creation,[28] hangs suspended from a chain in the "shell" apse, directly over the head of the Virgin. The woman neither holds the egg nor does it become part of her body as it does in the paintings of Carrington, Fini or Varo.

Alchemists considered the egg a container for thought and matter.[29] Madeline Bergman, in Hieronymus Bosch and Alchemy, wrote

that the egg which is materia prima in alchemic thought, is also hermaphroditic.[30] M. E. Atwood, in Hermetic Philosophy and Alchemy wrote that ". . . the First Matter is indeed the union of masculine and feminine spirits."[31] Because Carrington believes in the ultimate balance of the male/female principles, the egg may represent this balance. Orenstein, however, in The Theater of the Marvelous, says that: "Many of her [Carrington's] works relate the alchemical symbol of the egg . . . to the female symbol of the egg, suggesting that it is through women that the spiritual transformation of humanity will occur."[32] Orenstein took this a step further making an association between egg and female deity in Carrington's works.[33] The egg is usually seen with a female (Giantess, Pomps of the Sub-soil, The Naked Truth) however, the specific reference to the egg in Down Below does not designate it female nor an aspect or symbol of a goddess. However, Carrington is a student of alchemy. Therefore, attaching that particular symbolism to the egg, that is to relate it to the materia prima, the "union of masculine and feminine spirits," would be an accurate description of the egg in Carrington's work.

In addition to the alchemical egg symbol, the egg in the painting, The Oval Lady, because of the association with the story in which Lucrecia/Tartarus is destroyed, could also incorporate the more common Christian interpretation as a sign of hope or of resurrection. Similarly, in Pomps of the Sub-soil, the egg which in this instance is definitely related to the female in the painting, could suggest hope or, as in Madonna with Saints, indicate creation. Carrington's eggs,

because of our tendency to associate white with "good" or hope, insert optimism into her paintings and, in conjunction with her harmonious environments, tend to suggest, as Orenstein indicated, a "spiritual transformation of humanity."[34]

The egg was also an important symbol for the Druids in ancient Britain.[35] Carrington knows the Celtic myths and tales. A later painting, The Chair: Daghda tuatha danann (1955) (figure 43) is an explicit reference to such mythology. Daghda was the god of the Tuatha de Danann, the mythic people of Ireland who existed prior to invasions by migrating tribes. After their land was conquered they became the "fairy" people, the Sidhe or Shí. Daghda was the consort of the goddess, Dana, and both they and their people had mystical and magical powers.[36] James Stephens, in his book The Crock of Gold, explained that Daghda, along with other gods, gives protection and assistance to their people but only upon request. The gods, he said, "cannot give any help until it is demanded."[37] Stephens also described Dana, the goddess who is important in this painting because of her association with Daghda, as well as other of Carrington's Celtic paintings. According to Stephens, Dana, is the "Serene One . . . the Mother of the gods, steadfast for ever. Her breath is on the morning, her smile is summer. From her hand the birds of the air take their food. The mild ox is her friend, and the wolf trots by her friendly side; at her voice the daisy peeps from her cave and the nettle couches his lance. The rose arrays herself in innocence, scattering abroad her sweetness with the dew, and the oak tree laughs to her in

the air."[38]

In Carrington's painting, Daghda's head forms the top of a chair which has been decorated with mystical symbols. His hands, floating on the floor, reach for a small silver egg. The white vase on the table, holding a white rose, "the rose [Dana] arrays herself innocence," is an egg-shaped container, possibly the alchemic container for thought and matter. The egg, in this painting, is with Daghda, with the male with the consort of a female deity, Dana, "the Mother of the Gods." In this instance, the imagery is masculine and feminine. Despite Orenstein's insistence upon equating the egg exclusively to the female, the symbolism of the egg, in Carrington's work is much more varied and more inclusive than Orenstein suggested. We may not assume that all oval/egg images in Carrington's work are indications that the Goddess is, as Orenstein writes, "the supreme source of mystical revelation."[39] But at least from the time Carrington wrote Down Below (1944) and possibly because of her experiences in the institution, she has been interested in spiritual development and in the right of women to exist as self-contained individuals.

In Down Below she wrote, "There's my brother who comes to liberate me from the fathers."[40] There is little doubt that she would have, indeed, felt the need to be liberated from the patriarchal authority that restricted her during her childhood and adolescence and from which she had escaped but only with the assistance of Max Ernst, a man old enough to be her father. Just prior to leaving France for

Spain during the Nazi invasion, according to Carrington in Down Below, her friend Catherine, ". . . persuaded me that my attitude betrayed an unconscious desire to get rid for the second time of my father in the person of Max, whom I had to eliminate if I wanted to live."[41]

This attitude of rebellion toward patriarchy and assertion of her rights as a woman, evident in paintings such as Self-portrait, The Oval Lady and Giantess, can also be found in the short stories, "The Oval Lady" and "The Debutante" and the account of her 'breakthrough,' Down Below. Specific and intentional reference to a female divinity as an ideological assertion against male dominance is first found in her work in the early 1950s. At this time rebellion against a patriarchal system becomes more than just a rejection of authority; rebellion becomes an ideology advocating a feminine deity. Again, it must be stressed that this was not a sudden shift in viewpoint; rather it was a gradual development of ideas throughout the decade of the 1940s when Carrington lived in Mexico away from the "mainstream" of Surrealism. The beginnings of this direction can be found in her play, "Pénélope," which she wrote in 1946. The significant differences between this play and the short story, "The Oval Lady," from which it derives will be discussed shortly but before that two other influences upon Carrington's life and works must be mentioned: Robert Graves and Carl Jung.

Carrington claims that she became aware of an alternative to the male-dominated patriarchal system when she read Robert Graves's book, The White Goddess (1948) in the early 1950s.[42] Graves's book is

about a tradition of Goddess worship which was preserved in the bardic "muse-poems" of Europe. He focused upon Celtic myths with which Carrington was already familiar. Graves ended his study with a discussion of the difficulties facing the twentieth century world by stating that "Father-god" worship in a patriarchal society, would never resolve global problems such as war or environmental destruction.[43] He advocated "some practical form of Goddess-worship, with her love not limited to maternal benevolence and her after-world not deprived of a sea," and "inspired magic."[44]

It is easy to understand why the rebellious Carrington, dissatisfied with patriarchal authority and dominance, but also very interested in spiritual transformation, would be influenced enough by this work to begin including references to a goddess in her paintings and writings. For example, her painting, Professional Ethics (1955) (figure 44) is dominated by the beautiful white cow whose sweeping horns, enclosing the solar disc, is associated with the Egyptian goddess (see figure 45), Hathor.[45] Two large ears of corn, three stalks of wheat and an open pomegranate, all well known symbols of the Greek goddess Demeter,[46] are on the floor of the room in which a partially nude woman with a triangular headdress stands. All the references to a female divinity are obvious as well as easily identifiable. Similarly, in Carrington's book, The Hearing Trumpet, written in 1960, the symbolism is anything but obscure. The goddess in this novel is an eighteenth-century witch who is a nun in disguise. The nun/witch, Dona Rosalinda Alvarez della Cueva, becomes Abbess of

El Convento de Santa Barbara de Tartarus; she is canonized by the Roman Catholic Church after her death. Once again Tartarus, in this instance a place, not a horse, holds and protects rebellion. The "goddess" keeps the castle, at Tartarus, as her refuge and her stronghold while she plans how to regain possession of the Grail which had been stolen by apostates. She has a male "priest" (a Bishop in the Church) as a helper, an assistant. He is not her equal; she is supreme, pre-eminent.

However we must remember that Carrington is a complex, highly intelligent and extremely well read individual and to limit her iconography to one theme, even though that theme can be represented by many symbols, would be too restrictive. But the inclusion of female deity symbolism certainly occurs after 1950 in many paintings and in her writings, and in this respect Carrington is a pioneer of a feminism that advocates spiritual development and equality by pointing out and referring to a feminine mythic history.

In 1960 Carrington read the works of Carl Jung.[47] She also became very interested in the work of one of Jung's students, Marie-Louise von Franz and read M. Esther Harding (whom she does not like as much as von Franz).[48] This material only increased her concern for the emergence of more independent and more spiritually aware women. This, she would argue, must coincide with or come before economic or political changes; that a development of the feminine aspects within the psyche of both the male and the female would result in a more healthy individual and a more healthy society.

Marie-Louise von Franz expressed similar attitudes. She insisted that the "radical materialism" evident in our society today resulted from the loss of the feminine goddess, or as von Franz says, the "feminine Godhead."[49] Because her approach is psychological, she insists that the incorporation of the "feminine Godhead" must be in the individual. Such works appealed to Carrington and, in conjunction with the emphasis that Robert Graves placed upon his "goddess," led to the development of her ideas about the role of women as we see them iconographically expressed in her works.

To seek out the early stages of the development of such a point of view, we will return to the story, "The Oval Lady," and discuss it together with Carrington's play, "Pénélope" (1946). "Pénélope" is, with some changes, the story transcribed for the stage; it is the changes that Carrington made in the plot and in the characters that parallel changes in her attitudes and ideas about the feminine role and independence from the male. Gloria Orenstein, in her description and analysis of the play in The Theater of the Marvelous, links Tartar (Pénélope's horse) with Tartarus, the Greek underworld and with the white horse divinity, Epona from the Celtic otherworld.[50] Orenstein drew the same conclusion about the horse in "The Oval Lady"[51] and, as mentioned before, the leap from Tartarus or Tartar to Epona is a debatable conclusion. But there are enough changes in the plot (leaving the horse and what it symbolizes aside) to see that Pénélope, unlike her counterpart Lucrecia, can definitely be linked to the female deity. Both Pénélope and Lucrecia can

magically metamorphose into white horses; the dominant fathers of both destroy the white rocking horses as statements of their power over their daughters. But Pénélope retaliates.

In "The Oval Lady," the father said to Lucrecia:

> It is exactly three years and three days since I prohibited your playing with the horses . . . I see myself obliged, my beloved Lucrecia, to punish you very severely.[53]

In "Pénélope," the father asked:

> Am I not the most handsome? My daughter? My daughter? I am the Master; the only Master. Isn't that so, my daughter?[54]

In both instances the father asserts his authority and domination and, in Pénélope, the insinuation is incestuous. Pénélope's father, however, is unaware that his daughter has been visited by a being from another world, a cow with the horns and solar disc of Hathor, like the cow in the painting Professional Ethics, 1955; both cows symbolize female deities. The cow said to Pénélope:

> The men of the quadruped (four-footed) family are of a weak and wicked race; they are men who do not know magic . . . There is a man with long hair and savage eyes (Pénélope's father) that belongs to this race and who is an enemy of magic.[55]

Lucrecia, in "The Oval Lady," received no such support. In fact she was thwarted and betrayed by an old woman, Matilda, the señorita of Rochefroide, who supported the patriarch. The story ended when the father asked Matilda to assist him with Lucrecia's removal; then the father, himself, destroyed Tartarus.

> "Señorita de la Rochefroide, help Señorita Lucrecia to leave," said the father, and the old lady took the poor creature out of there, now changed into a thin and trembling spirit . . . some frightening blows were heard upstairs, as if a beast were suffering unusual tortures . . .[56]

Unlike the story, the play does not end with the destruction of Tartar but with the merging of Pénélope and Tartar after the horse's destruction. The daughter, unable to actually prevent the father's brutal act, merged with her white horse and, in so doing, saved Tartar.

> They are of a dazzling, blinding white. They are holding hands. Pénélope has a horse's head again. They pass silently through the window.[57]

The father saw the magical transformation and realized that his daughter had escaped his tyranny. He committed suicide.[58]

The changes that Carrington made in "Pénélope" seven years after she wrote "The Oval Lady" transform an independent but unsuccessfully rebellious young woman into a magical devotee of a female deity who not only eluded patriarchal domination but caused the father's self-inflicted death. This idea became death of patriarchy on a much larger scale in Carrington's novel, The Hearing Trumpet, when the goddess sought to restore the stolen Grail to its rightful place: ". . . you will at once appreciate the necessity to at least see the wonderful cup and if possible to restore it to the Goddess Barbarus, or should I give her a more recent title? Who knows that this might be a means of eventually returning stolen property to the original owner, Venus?"[59] The goddess herself, in an ancient document given to

the protagonist, Marian, by one of her companions in the "institution for aged and infirm" women, declared that: "For since the Cup has not rendered fruit. The sterile jailors of the cup having banished Her from Her Most Rightful Realm in the Caverns of Her Most Secret Mysteries . . . Woe unto the children of earth who worship a trinity of men. Woe unto the Sterile Brothers who have torn the cup from Her keeping."[60] The document was signed, "Epona, Barbarus, Hekate."[61] Barbarus, of the female trinity, is, of course, the nun/witch Abbess of the convent at Tartarus.

A change can also be seen in her paintings, although not all Carrington's visual images depict a triumph of the female over patriarchy. For instance, in the painting The Naked Truth (1962) (figure 46) a unicorn (Carrington's unicorn is a naked female with the single horn of the unicorn emerging from the top of her head) has been caught and caged by four patriarchs, three of whom are sitting at a table with their manuscripts in front of them; the fourth stands in front of the table reading from a book. All four are bearded, wear large black hats and are draped with black cloaks from the top of their hats to the ground.[62] Beside them, receding into the background of the painting are shelves filled with books. A silver egg glimmers in the background, behind the branches of a beautiful tree. The men, however, seem out of place, dour and stern, unaware of the tree, the goat resting his front hoofs upon the tree or the egg. They are aware of the unicorn; two of the patriarchs stare at her from the corners of their eyes. The foreground is inhabited by a large white parrot and

seals. The male figures are associated with books; the female, with nature.

This is not the only painting which includes patriarchs and, when they do appear it is always with a "trapped" female or feminine symbol. For example, in El Rarvarok (1963) (figure 47) three darkly robed patriarchs and three Christian priests survey a scene in which a silver-haired female has fallen supine, into a trance. Two foxes stealthily approach the woman. Through the door near a white forest, two horses, one dark, one white but both with breasts, await her. In The Birdmen of Burnley (1970-71), three black hatted and cloaked patriarchs with wizened faces observe seven birds caught in a cage of ice. In Adieu, mon général (1969) the patriarchs form part of the funeral procession. James Stephens in The Crock of Gold, dealt primarily with the "imprisonment" of humans by the "Intellect of Man," but the end of the novel boded release: "And they [the gods of Dana] took the Philosopher from his prison, even the Intellect of Man they took from the hands of the doctors and lawyers, from the sly priests, from the professors whose mouths are gorged with sawdust, and the merchants who sell blades of grass--the awful people of the Fomor . . . and then they returned again, dancing and singing, to the country of the gods. . . ."[63] It is the "Intellect of Man," the "sly priests," who prevent joy and freedom, who cage the unicorn in The Naked Truth and imprison the birds in The Birdmen of Burnley, and who always appear in Carrington's paintings as dark robed and humourless.

Samain (1951) (figure 48) is one of the first paintings which

includes intentional iconographic reference to a female deity but the references are more obscure than the ones we saw in Professional Ethics. Samain or All Souls' Eve is the day when the spirits may move freely between this world and the other world. James Stephens in Irish Fairy Tales (1924) described Samain (or Samhain) in the story, "The Boyhood of Fionn":

> It is to be known that on the night of the Feast of Samhain the doors separating this world and the next one are opened, and the inhabitants of either world can leave their respective spheres and appear in the world of the other beings.[64]

The doors remain open until the cock crows in the morning.[65] The major figure in Carrington's painting Samain is a large white female with a fox tail draped around her to the front of her body. Her "clothing" is the colour of fox fur with cat markings; her white head is butterfly-shaped. Near her feet in the immediate right foreground rests the silver egg; to her left sit a raven and a dove. The cock that will crow the morning light is perched atop the frame of the door, presumably the entrance way to the otherworld. The world that we see has two moons, one of which is eclipsed. The painting is inhabited by lithe, floating female figures, felines and a hybrid butterfly/bird ensconced in a transparent kite-shaped bag. A second smaller opening at the top of the wall which holds the door, is filled by a spider's web. Immediately behind the dominant female, standing near her right shoulder is another female whose head is surrounded by the glimmering of starlike jewels. All the "inhabitants" of the

painting relate either to Samain, the doorway to the otherworld, the cock, or to a female deity (moon, cats and birds particularly the raven to Dana and the dove to Aphrodite).[66] In keeping with her use of white, Carrington's main figure, the three floating figures, the moons and, of course, the egg are all the same silver-white. Other than the symbolic references to a female deity, the most obvious reference to a goddess can be found in the name of the painting itself, Samain, which is associated, in Ireland, with the Tuatha de Danann, the tribe of the goddess, Dana.[67] The day is also associated with "witches." We know the day as Hallowe'en and all it conjures up in the form of demons, goblins and witches. Carrington's image, however, relates to pre-Christian celebrations by goddess-worshipping cultures.

The female deity also appears in the painting, And then we saw the Daughter of the Minotaur (1953) (see figure 5). The white cow, who was the magical figure in the play, "Pénélope," appears again as a central figure in this painting. The cow shares the focal point with a butterfly headed figure similar to the figure in Samain, except the head is much larger and has floating diaphanous "tails." Crystal balls lie on the table and on the floor. The capitals of the most prominent columns in the painting are decorated with sheaves of grain. In the right foreground of the painting, near two white dogs, lies a red rose. Again most of the parts of this painting are symbols for female deities or magic: the white dog, the grain are symbols of the Greek goddess Demeter;[68] the butterfly can be associated with the Minoan goddess;[69] the crystal ball is associated with magic; the rose

is often associated with the Virgin Mary who was called Wreath of Roses, Mystic Rose, Queen of the Most Holy Rose-garden.[70] In addition to this Dona Rosalinda represents Carrington's goddess in The Hearing Trumpet. She wrote that, "A Rose is a secret, a beautiful Rose is a Great Lady's Secret, a Cross is the parting or the joining of the Ways, this is the meaning of Abbess Rosalinda Alvarez Cruz della Cueva's name."[71] In addition to this, as we have already seen, James Stephens referred to the goddess Dana as a rose.[72] In Carrington's personal iconography then, the rose symbolizes the female deity. But the most interesting symbol in the painting is the white cow who is the "Daughter of the Minotaur." The cow is a symbol of the female deity; the minotaur was a dominant theme for the Surrealists. Carrington depicts a white cow (goddess) as a "Daughter" of the minotaur (a Surrealist image).

Sidhe: The white people of Dana tnatha [sic] de danann (1955) (figure 49) is another painting that, like Samain, makes reference to the people who worshipped the female deity. James Stephens described the Sidhe or fairy people through the eyes of one of the characters in his novel, The Crock of Gold: "With wonder, with delight, the daughter of Murrachu watched the hosting of the Shee. Sometimes her eyes were dazzled as a jewelled forehead blazed in the sun, or a shoulder-torque of broad gold flamed like a torch. On fair hair and dark the sun gleamed: white arms tossed and glanced a moment and sank and reappeared . . . The voices of free people spoke in her ears and the laughter of happy hearts, unthoughtful of sin or shame, released from

the hard bondage of self-hood."[73]

Carrington's painting visually captures the sparkling, glowing quality evident in Stephens's description. Two cocks (from Samain), one red, the other silvery white, are in the left corner of the painting; a cat is in the other. A white cow with an unusually large head stands along the right side of the canvas. The focal point, however, is the group of white, androgynous, ethereal Sidhe sitting around a table. Light shimmers and radiates from the one standing figure who holds a sparkling white globe high overhead. The white people of the Sidhe, according to Lady Gregory in, Gods and Fighting Men: The Story of the Tuatha de Danann and of the Fianna of Ireland (1902), were the original inhabitants of Ireland. Defeated in battle by a more ferocious migrating tribe, they followed their goddess, Dana, into the otherworld, a world that exists parallel to the 'real' world.[74] This myth may indicate that there was a struggle between two groups of peoples, one group worshipping a female deity, the other group worshipping a male deity.

Carrington has not ignored this historical, or mythological, struggle. One painting, The Return of Boadicea (1969) (figure 50) is based on a theme from a historical source that can be documented and that does inform us of such a struggle. The struggle itself was violent and, in an attempt to relate this to the viewer, we have a rare example of Carrington herself resorting to violent imagery. The most often quoted source for the battle between the British ruler, Boadicea and the Roman forces, is the Roman general and historian

Tacitus. Even before Boadicea's rebellion, according to Tacitus, the Romans had fought battles in which British female warriors participated. Tacitus, in The Annals, wrote about a battle on the Isle of Mona (Anglesey) in which the Roman soldiers faced female warriors in battle:

> On the shore stood the forces of the enemy, a dense array of arms and men, with women dashing through the ranks like furies; their dress funereal, their hair dishevelled, and carrying torches in their hands . . . Afterwards, at the earnest exhortations of the general, and from the effect of their own mutual importunities that they would not be scared by a rabble of women and fanatics (the druids), they bore down upon them, smote all that opposed them to the earth, and wrapped them in the flames they themselves had kindled.[75]

Boadicea and her husband, Prasutagus, ruled the kingdom of the Iceni in East Anglia until the time of his death in 60 A.D., when the relationship between the Romans and the client kingdom ended. Catus Decianus, Procurator of Britain, moved his forces into the area to conduct a full inventory of the lands, livestock, jewels and all portable wealth. Accustomed to royal treatment and prerogative, Boadicea questioned the Roman intrusion. As punishment for her insubordination the Romans had her stripped and lashed; her daughters were raped repeatedly by the soldiers.[76] After this injury to their royal leaders, the Icenians, led by their Queen, conducted the last all-out rebellion against the Roman invaders. Dio Cassius, a Roman historian who wrote about the Roman invasion of Britain a century after Boadicea's death, gave us a physical description of the Queen: "Boudicca was tall, terrible to look on and gifted with a powerful

voice. A flood of bright red hair ran down to her knees; she wore a golden necklet made up of ornate pieces, a multi-coloured robe and over it a thick cloak held together by a brooch. She took up a long spear to cause dread in all who set eyes on her."[77]

Graham Webster, a British professor of archaeology, wrote a pioneering work on Boadicea in 1965. Since that time he and others have researched and published new works on the Icenian queen and the uprising she led against the Romans. Webster, in Boudica (1978) published as a result of his new research, wrote that battle was invoked by the Britons under their goddess, Andrasta, a fierce and brutal goddess of war. Consequently, in accordance with their sacrificial rites to this goddess, the Icenians savagely dealt with their prisoners of war.[78] Charles Knightly in Folk Heroes of Britain (1982) suggested that Boadicea may have been the generic name for an exalted position, probably priestess as well as leader, rather than a specific person.[79] In any case, the battles between the Romans and the Icenians were fierce and bloody. Despite an early Icenian victory, the more organized and highly trained Romans emerged victorious. Boadicea and her daughters committed suicide rather than fall into Roman hands.[80]

Carrington's painting, The Return of Boadicea (1969), does not recreate a specific incident from Boadicea's life or battles, nor does it attempt to create an historical representation of the queen. A once well-known, but now obscure nineteenth century English painter, H. C. Selous,[81] in his historical painting, Boadicea Haranguing the

Iceni (c. 1850)(figure 51) shows a bare-breasted Boadicea towering over a swarming mass of people, most of whom are nude or partially nude; rearing, frantic horses clutter the painting in a style reminiscent of the early French Romantics. Carrington, on the other hand, totally removes the Queen from this type of romantic reality and, instead, depicts a mythical return from defeat. As the title implies, Boadicea, the Celtic priestess/queen with her entourage of ferocious beasts, has returned. Her chariot pulled by one dark and one light hybrid horse/boar has wheels of fire. Both the horse and the boar are animals sacred to female deities: the horse to the Celtic goddess, Epona; the boar to Mediterranean goddesses Demeter and Astarte, as well as to a German goddess whose people, said Tacitus, "worship the mother of the gods and wear as a religious symbol the device of a wild boar."[82] The queen herself, is butterfly-headed (she looks like the figures that Carrington calls lepidoptera in her painting of the same name, 1969), but in this representation the butterfly is not a floating, diaphanous shape; it is a fierce and frightening mask for a large head with streaming hair and a body trailing flame. Three horses/boars are ahead of Boadicea and her chariot; the one in the lead has felled and gored a shrouded figure; the second is about to grapple with its victim, another shrouded figure who is most definitely male, the genitals are clearly visible. Boadicea has returned with wrath and fury. She is neither the gentle representation of the female deity in Daughter of the Minotaur nor the elegant, serene representation in Samhain. This representation of a female warrior/

goddess shows another aspect of Carrington's previously gentle female deities, giving us a different insight into the male/female balance. It is a deification of rebellion, a combination of Carrington's rebellion against patriarchal society as seen in the independent woman of Self-portrait and the pre-eminence of the deity in Professional Ethics.

Godmother (1970) (figure 52) continues this trend but softens the blow. This painting, completed a year after Boadicea, combines the gentleness and the power of a female deity into one. The all-encompassing egg-shaped body protects the embryonic faces growing within her and summons the dove of peace to her fingertips. The falcon, resting on the other hand, a hunting bird, a bird of omen, is according to Graves, connected with Circe (meaning "she-falcon"), the daughter of Hekate.[83] Life-giving forces and destructive forces are both present: they have one source. Carrington's Godmother, is a mother of gods, protective figure, a cosmic egg. This painting combines the female with the egg. Like the woman in Carrington's painting, The Oval Lady (1942) who stands beside the egg, the Godmother is supreme but, in the later work, she contains existence within her own body. The environment of The Oval Lady, full of flora and fauna, has disappeared, replaced by a cosmic being who stands alone on the canvas. In this respect, Godmother, also relates to Giantess (c. 1948) and, in turn, all three of the paintings can be related to the pagan cult statue, Diana of Ephesus (see figure 53). The goddess Diana, portrayed as a sovereign, contains life within her body; her breasts

provide nourishment for humanity. Carrington's Godmother shows us the same image: nourishment and life.

Undoubtedly Carrington includes imagery in her paintings, as well as in her stories and plays, that makes direct reference to a female deity. For the viewer who is unfamiliar with iconography related to a goddess, the titles of Carrington's works provide some clues about her interests and intentions, her concern for the status of women in today's world and her understanding of the problems connected with the issues of women's liberation. Carrington's concern goes beyond the material conditions of women (their employment, equality under the law) to the underlying structure of a patriarchal society which rests upon a foundation of male monotheism. Carol Christ in her article, "Why Women Need the Goddess," when she discussed the 'compelling hold' religion has on our secular society also points out the problem with which Carrington grapples:

> Even people who no longer "believe in God" or participate in the institutional structure of patriarchal religion still may not be free of the power of the symbolism of God the Father. A symbol's effect does not depend on rational assent, for a symbol also functions on levels of the psyche other than the rational . . . Religions centered on the worship of a male God create "moods" and "motivations" that keep women in a state of psychological dependence on men and male authority, while at the same time legitimating the political and social authority of fathers and sons in the institutions of society.[84]

Carrington's major concern, at least from the time she wrote Down Below (1944) and possibly since the time she painted, Self-portrait (1939), has been "the political and social authority of

fathers and sons in the institutions of society," and the effect of this authority upon women. Expressed first as rebellion, her stance became increasingly associated with an ideological point of view that called for a female deity.

The gentle, protective deity, Godmother, and the ferocious, vengeful deity, Boadicea, vie for domination in Carrington's world. This is most lucidly expressed in her apocalyptic novel, The Hearing Trumpet. In this novel, the world as we know it is destroyed but those faithful to the goddess remain, watching and waiting for a new humanity. At the end of the novel the Grail has finally been returned to its female keepers with the help of wolves. But still the world must wait to renew itself. According to Marian, Carrington's protagonist and narrator:

> Ice ages pass, and although the world is frozen over we suppose someday grass and flowers will grow again. In the meantime I keep a daily record on three wax tablets.
>
> After I die Anubeth's werecubs will continue the document, till the planet is peopled with cats, werewolves, bees and goats. We all fervently hope that this will be an improvement on humanity, which deliberately renounced the Pneuma of the Goddess.[85]

Footnotes

[1]Gloria Orenstein, The Theater of the Marvelous: Surrealism and the Contemporary Stage (New York, 1975), 124.

[2]Since Carrington arrived in New York in 1941, she has travelled back and forth from Mexico to New York. When she left Mexico City in 1979, she moved to New York. I have connected her, then, with the feminist tradition in North America rather than the European tradition (it is specifically with the United States that the feminist movement in Mexico, slight that it is, identifies).

[3]Barbara Deckard, The Women's Movement: Political, Socio-economic and Psychological Issues (New York, 1975), 330. The beginnings of the upsurge in the movement in North America can be dated from the time 1961 to 1963. See also Maren Lockwood Carden's, The New Feminist Movement (New York, 1974) for a comprehensive history of the movement.

[4]Deckard, 330.

[5]Germaine Greer published The Female Eunuch in 1970; Kate Millett published Sexual Politics in 1970. Both these books caused a sensation with the public. Although Friedan's The Feminine Mystique had been published earlier, it was Greer and Millett who received the widest public attention. Gloria Steinem and Friedan published the first edition of Ms. magazine in 1972.

[6]Carden, 33-37 and 141-44.

[7]Carl Jung, in his introduction to Esther Harding's Woman's Mysteries Ancient and Modern (the book was revised and re-released in 1955) discusses the conflict into which a woman is thrown when she attempts to develop the masculine nature within her. He says: "This masculine development is definitely related to her life in the world of affairs; in the majority of cases it is even sought as a prerequisite for earning a living in the world, practicing a profession, or following a trade. The change of character, which has accompanied this evolution, does not stop at the professional part of a woman's life but affects her whole personality and has caused profound changes in her relation to herself and to others" (11). Jung in no way denies that woman must be equal to man; in fact, he stresses that a problem facing society is man's inability to develop the anima, or female in his nature, and has overdeveloped the animus, or male in his nature. See Jung's Man and His Symbols (1964) for a full discussion of the ramifications of societal emphasis upon masculinity (animus).

[8]Jean Markale, in Women of the Celts (first published in Paris, 1972) states that, "Little exists to confirm or deny the extent of the purely matriarchal society, but it may be claimed, in contradiction of Freud, who takes great pains in Totem and Taboo to prove the existence of a primitive father figure, that this was the Golden Age for women . . . The oldest myths match the observations of the ethnologists. In the beginning, humanity was convinced that woman was mainly responsible for precreation, and the first divine being worshipped was the mother goddess" (13-14). Mircea Eliade in, A History of Religious Ideas, Vol. 1 (Chicago, 1978), 40-44, supports this point of view.

[9]Marija Gimbutas, an anthropologist, supports Markale's view that early Neolithic peoples in Europe worshipped a female deity as an integral part of their belief system. Gimbutus also stresses the importance of egg symbols for the Goddess of Regeneration. See, 174 in The Gods and Goddesses of Old Europe: 7000 to 3500 BC Myths, Legends and Cult Images (London, 1974).

[10]Carol P. Christ, "Why Women Need the Goddess: Phenomenological, Psychological, and Political Reflections" in Womanspirit Rising: A Feminist Reader in Religion edited by Carol P. Christ and Judith Plaskow (New York, 1978). Christ's article dates the beginning of the interest in feminine spirituality to the early '70s in the United States. This should be considered an accurate dating of the origins of widespread knowledge about such a movement but the 'underground' witchcraft organizations in Europe which survived persecutions by the Christian religion are undoubtedly responsible for the retention of many rituals, i.e., summer solstice celebrations, moon movements, etc.

[11]Ibid., 274.

[12]Leonora Carrington, The Hearing Trumpet (New York, 1976), 91. Carrington wrote that the Grail (sacred to the goddess), "was buried in a deep cavern, abode of Epona the Horse Goddess."

[13]See Mircea Eliade, A History of Religious Ideas (Chicago, 1978), 247-53 for a description of Zeus' defeat of the Titans. See also Campbell, Occidental Mythology, 22-23.

[14]Information about Carrington's interest in Atwood obtained from P. K. Page. M. E. Atwood, Hermetic Philosophy and Alchemy (New York, 1960), 328. First published in London in 1850.

[15]Ibid.

[16]It must be mentioned again, with regard to the development of Carrington's feminism, that she wrote The Hearing Trumpet in 1960. It was first published in France in 1974; in New York and London in 1976.

[17]This information was obtained in conversation with Leonora Carrington in New York, 6 May 1984.

[18]Leonora Carrington, The Hearing Trumpet, 65-66.

[19]In Down Below when Carrington introduces her account, which she states she is doing three years after she was committed, she refers to her mask which she can wear at will and which is her "shield against the hostility of Conformism" (5). See also Gloria Orenstin, The Theater of the Marvelous, 123.

[20]Edward James in the catalogue for the exhibition, Leonora Carrington, Pierre Matisse Gallery, New York City, 1948, 1-2.

[21]Leonora Carrington, Down Below, 40.

[22]Ibid.

[23]Ibid.

[24]Ibid., 18.

[25]See Whitney Chadwick's article, "Eros or Thanatos--the Surrealist Cult of Love Re-examined" in Artforum, November 1975 and her book, Myth in Surrealist Painting, 1929-1939 (Ann Arbor, 1980) for in depth discussions of the attitude of the Surrealists toward women.

[26]See George Ferguson, Signs and Symbols in Christian Art (New York, n.d.), 14.

[27]See Gertrude Grace Sill, A Handbook of Symbols in Christian Art (New York, 1975), 130.

[28]See Kenneth Clark, Piero della Francesca (London, 1969), 231-32, and The Complete Paintings of Piero della Francesca, with an introduction by Peter Murray and notes and catalogue by Pierluigi de Vecchi (New York, 1967), 106-07.

[29]See J. E. Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols (New York, 1962), 94.

[30]Madeline Bergman, Hieronymus Bosch and Alchemy, 62.

[31]M. E. Atwood, Hermetic Philosophy and Alchemy, 89. See also Carl Jung's Man and His Symbols for a discussion of the concept of anima/animus in our society.

[32]Orenstein, The Theater of the Marvelous, 124.

[33]See particularly her article, "Art History and the Case for the Women of Surrealism" in The Journal of General Education, Spring 1975, 41-43, and her book, Theater of the Marvelous (New York, 1975), 126-29.

[34]Orenstein, Theater of the Marvelous, 124.

[35]Cirlot, 37.

[36]See, for example, James Stephens, Irish Fairy Tales (London, 1924). He calls the Shi the "tribes of Dana" (80). For the sake of consistency I have used Carrington's spelling of Celtic names in this text. There are, in fact, many different ways of spelling Samain, Daghda, Danann, etc.

[37]James Stephens, 219.

[38]Ibid., 225.

[39]Orenstein in "Reclaiming the Great Mother," 64. In the same article Orenstein discusses Leonor Fini's use of the egg symbol and heavily stresses an intent, on the part of the artist, to link this with Goddess symbolism. Fini's symbol, too, because of her androgynous beings, may be more closely related to materia prima in alchemy.

[40]Carrington, in Down Below, 17. It must be noted that although her liberation is from patriarchy, it occurs with the assistance of a male. This is a significant point in any discussion of Carrington's attitude toward male/female relations. See Chapter I.

[41]Ibid., 7-8.

[42]This information was obtained in conversation with Leonora Carrington in New York, 6 May 1984.

[43]Robert Graves, The White Goddess (London, 1960), 479 and 484-85. First published in 1948. Most academics view Robert Graves with anything from scepticism to disdain but as his writings have unquestionably influenced Carrington his academic status is not an issue.

[44]Ibid.

[45]See E. A. Wallis Budge, The Gods of the Egyptians (New York, 1969), 433-37. First published in 1904.

[46]See Eliade, 290-301, for a brief description of the myth and of the rites and rituals associated with the worship of Demeter. See

also Barbara G. Walker, The Woman's Encyclopedia of Myths and Secrets (San Francisco, 1983), 218-20 for a description of this goddess, her names and her symbols.

[47]Carrington said, in conversation with me in New York, that she and P. K. Page "explored Jung together" beginning in 1960.

[48]In conversation with Carrington.

[49]Marie-Louise von Franz, Alchemy: An Introduction to the Symbolism and the Psychology (Toronto, 1980), 212-19.

[50]Orenstein, Theater of the Marvelous, 132.

[51]See Orenstein's "Introduction" to The Oval Lady, 7.

[53]Leonora Carrington, The Oval Lady, 17.

[54]Orenstein, 136.

[55]Ibid., 133.

[56]Carrington, 19.

[57]Orenstein, 136.

[58]Ibid.

[59]Carrington, The Hearing Trumpet, 94.

[60]Ibid., 95.

[61]Ibid., 94.

[62]A canvas that I saw in Carrington's apartment in New York that was "in progress" with three patriarchs was worked up from a grey ground. These figures do not emerge from a black ground as do, for example, the black figures in Are You Really Syrius? This subtle shift in technique, in effect, causes them to be removed from or stand out in their environment not to merge with it as many of Carrington's creatures do. In addition, this is not a change in style because another canvas that was being worked on at the same time, a still life cabbage was worked from the dark ground.

[63]See Stephens, The Crock of Gold, 228.

[64]Stephens, Irish Fairy Tales, 78.

[65]Graves, 103.

[66]See Graves, 403 for the association of the raven with Dana (or Danu) as well as with other female deities; 337 for the symbolism of the dove. The dove is also a Christian symbol associated with the Holy Ghost or the messenger to the Virgin but the association with Aphrodite is common. The raven is commonly associated with Celtic war goddesses such as Morrigan or Boadicea's fierce goddess of war Andrasta (Andraste). See Ann Ross, Pagan Celtic Britain: Studies in Iconography and Tradition (London, 1967), 218, 242-49.

[67]See Stephens, 80.

[68]Graves, 64.

[69]See Evans' catalogue for the exhibition, British Archaeological Discoveries in Greece and Crete, 1886-1936, 15-16.

[70]See Ferguson, 162; Sill, 52; The Woman's Encyclopedia of Myths and Secrets, 866-67.

[71]Carrington, 73.

[72]Stephens, The Crock of Gold, 225.

[73]Ibid.

[74]See Lady Gregory's, Gods and Fighting Men: The Story of the Tuatha de Danann and of the Fianna of Ireland (London, 1902) or W. B. Yeats', The Celtic Twilight (1893). There are more recent and more thorough archaelogical, anthropological and mythological academic studies of the history of Ireland, for example, Ann Ross, Pagan Celtic Britain: Studies in Iconography and Tradition (London, 1967). But I have tried to remain with sources to which Carrington would have been exposed as she grew up in England and in Ireland. The exception, of course, is Graves's The White Goddess with which I know she is very familiar. However the iconographical interpretations that I have used can all be confirmed in Ross's academic study. See Lady Gregory, 77-80. It is this struggle between female oriented and male oriented peoples that provides writers such as Merlin Stone (When God was a Woman), Nor Hall (The Moon and the Virgin) and Jean Markale (The Women of the Celts) among others, with material for their books.

[75]See Works of Tacitus: The Annals, Vol. I (The Oxford Translation, London, 1896), 372-73.

[76]Tacitus, 373. For a full historical account of this period and of the rebellion see Donald Dudley and Graham Webster, The Rebellion of Boudicca (London, 1965) and the newer version published as a result of more recent archaelogical finds, Graham Webster, Boudica (London, 1978).

[77]Dio Cassius as quoted in Gerhard Herm, The Celts (London, 1976), 212-13.

[78]Webster (1978), 94-95.

[79]Charles Knightly, Folk Heroes of Britain (London, 1982), 38-39.

[80]Ibid. See Tacitus, 376-77 for an account of the battle. He wrote that ". . . the soldiers spared not even the lives of women; nay, the very beasts, pierced with darts, served to swell the heaps of the slain. The glory gained that day was signal indeed, and equal to the citories of ancient times; for, there are authors who record that of the Britons were slain almost eighty thousand; of our men about four hundred, with not many more wounded: Boadicea ended her life by poison" (377).

[81]Christopher Wood, Dictionary of Victorian Painters (London, 1971), 148, makes brief mention of Selous (1811-1890).

[82]Tacitus, 731.

[83]Graves, 375.

[84]Christ, 274-75.

[85]Carrington, The Hearing Trumpet, 158.

CONCLUSION

As we have seen Leonora Carrington has always been rebellious. At the age of nine she was expelled from a convent for refusing to conform. She insisted upon limiting her curriculum to drawing; she annoyed the nuns with 'mirror-writing.' At age seventeen she was a debutante and as such was expected to enter English society. She refused. Against the expectations of family and society, she entered art school in London and, within a year, left for Paris with Max Ernst.

Ernst supported and encouraged her creative endeavours. In 1938, not long after they had taken up residence together, Carrington's paintings were included in an international Surrealist exhibition in Paris. Since this time Leonora Carrington has been called a Surrealist. When she was asked about Surrealism by a Mexican reporter (March, 1966) she said that ". . . Surrealism is a unique movement that I accept because of its uniqueness . . . Surrealism is the fantastic aspect of reality and with me it is a reality that includes the exterior and the interior."[1] When I asked her specific questions about the philosophy of the movement and the status of women within Surrealism, she said that she had never approved of the attitude toward women, even less of the cult of erotic violence epitomized by the veneration of Sade and Lautréamont, and had argued with Breton about precisely these things as well as his 'libertine attitudes.'

Leonora Carrington's art has nothing to do with the 'libertine';

nothing to do with erotic violence; and nothing to do with woman as muse, child or devourer. Her art is whimsical, capricious and fantastic. Many of her works stress a relationship between humanity and a female deity, a Mother Goddess. Gloria Orenstein, in her writings about Surrealism and the role of women in the movement, has stressed this aspect of Carrington's paintings and writings. Orenstein does not treat Carrington's work in an art historical context nor does she question the validity of including women in the male-dominated movement of Surrealism.

There are an increasing number of studies being done on the growing phenomenon of a feminist ideology that includes a female deity. Estella Lauter in her recent book, Women as Mythmakers: Poetry and Visual Art by Twentieth-Century Women (Bloomington, Indiana, 1984) explores the myth-making qualities evident in the work of contemporary artists, two of whom are closely associated with Carrington, namely Remedios Varo and Leonor Fini. The emphasis within these "new" myths is upon women and their relationship with nature; with themes of woman/earth, earth goddess, earth mother or woman as source. As Lauter points out, however, "no individual makes a cultural myth, but many individuals working along the same lines may do so if their work becomes known to a receptive audience."[2] Carol Christ, in her article, "Why Women Need the Goddess," explains that women "must develop a theory of symbol . . . congruent with their experience at the same time as they 'remember and invent' new symbol systems."[3]

Leonora Carrington "remembers and invents" symbols which refer

to feminine mysteries. In many ways this removes her from the historically monotheistic, patriarchal tradition of our culture. It also removes her, ideologically and philosophically, from established art movements. Surrealism and Symbolism are the movements with which she is most often associated by critics; they attach her to Surrealism by association and to Symbolism by heritage. But, both these movements have a very specific view of women: women is seen as a muse, child, seductress or devourer. In an article about Remedios Varo, another 'female Surrealist,' Janet Kaplan wrote:

> As the femme-enfant, femme-fatale, muse, and goddess described by Breton and Peret, woman, although put on a pedestal as a figure of central importance, was being relegated to the status of object--object of desire, of inspiration, of fear, of devotion. Such status, although seemingly flattering, is ultimately limiting; it does not offer women claim to an independent identity. It is woman as defined in man's terms--defined as Other instead of Self. Thus, the women among the Surrealists had to struggle to find personal definitions and imagery through which to express themselves as autonomous creative beings.[4]

When Leonora Carrington was only twenty years old, she became part of the Surrealist movement. Marcel Jean, Roland Penrose and Peggy Guggenheim, associated one way or another with the Surrealists in addition to being 'critics,' all point out Carrington's talent as a visual artist and as a writer; yet, to date, her work has not been extensively studied. However, no great deductive powers are required to conclude that at twenty any artist, regardless of sex, talent or birth, will have difficulty placing paintings in international exhibitions with known artists. Carrington had two paintings in the

Paris exhibition, two more in Amsterdam. The works were included because Max Ernst wanted them included. Peggy Guggenheim pointed out in her memoirs that Leonor Fini's paintings were "accepted," despite Breton's disapproval, because Fini had Ernst's support. In other words even the "Pope" of Surrealism acquiesced to Ernst's request. Fini's work, along with Carrington's, was included in the 1938 Paris exhibit.

Both Carrington and Fini are technically proficient artists; both are creative and imaginative; both are "good" artists. But without the support of Max Ernst neither of these women would have achieved the status they did as quickly as they did. But why, over forty years after their association with Ernst are they both called (Carrington more often than Fini) Surrealist artists? If Carrington has remained in London, held an exhibit there, would she have been called 'surreal'? Is there anything about her painting, The Horses of Lord Candlestick (1938), which hung in the 1938 exhibition in Amsterdam to which we can objectively apply the term "surrealist" as a valid descrptive comment? The painting shows a group of frightened, rearing horses in a lush environment with an erupting volcano in the background. If we compare this work to some others which were included in the 1938 international exhibition we cannot see a relationship between this painting and either Roland Penrose's collage, The Real Woman or Andre Masson's The Death of Ophelia, both of which treat the female violently. Neither is there a resemblance to Andre Masson's Mannequin (1938) (figure 54), a nude mannequin (female) with feathered covered

genitals, bare breasts, a bird-caged head and a gagged mouth; or to Paul Delvaux's, The Visit (1939), an unreal vista in which a seated nude woman offers her breasts to an adolescent boy entering her empty room.

The connection or link between Carrington and the Surrealists exists in the exploration of an "other" world, a world that is not tangible. The difference lies in the conception of this other world by a particular artist. The male Surrealists (and some of the female as well, for example, Meret Oppenheim's Painting of an Exquisite Corpse (n.d.) depicts a large phallus nailed to a crucifix) emphasize the Freudian concepts of repression and sexuality along with the potential for violence which exists within the libido because of repressed sexuality. Carrington, on the other hand, did not create any images of repressed sexuality or sexual violence. She emphasizes a spiritual or mystical realm as part of the unconscious or dream world, images that sometimes criticize the world of reality as it is, images that suggest a "better" world. But, like the Surrealists, she has undertaken an exploration of a world that goes beyond what we see and call real.

In addition, in 1938, with a disastrous World War only two decades behind them, and with the world on the brink of new calamities, the Surrealists were rebels against society, its norms and its traditions. They wanted to do away with old moral orders and intellectual values. In her novel, The Hearing Trumpet, Carrington's ninety-two year old protagonist, Marian, says exactly that as she

reminisces about her youth.

> Art in London didn't seem quite modern enough and I began to want to study in Paris where the Surrealists were in full cry. Surrealism is no longer considered modern today and almost every village rectory and girl's school have surrealist pictures hanging on their walls. Even Buckingham Palace has a large reproduction of Magritte's famous slice of ham with an eye peering out. It hangs, I believe in the throne room . . . In my day people in London would have been shocked. Today the Lord Mayor opened the exhibition . . . and the Queen Mother hung a wreath of gladiola on a piece of sculpture called "Navel" by Hans Arp.[5]

In 1937, the Surrealists, like Carrington, were "shocking." The Surrealists were shocking the world; Leonora Carrington was shocking her family. The binding force between Carrington and the Surrealists was that both were anti-bourgeois, against tradition. The direction of Carrington's defiance, however, was different from the art movement with which she associated. Particularly after her breakdown, and more specifically after 1950, Carrington's rebellion against a patriarchal society assumed an ideological stance that differed significantly from Surrealism.

Carrington suggests an alternative. She presents an option. She implies that humanity will progress if more emphasis is placed on feminine qualities, if, in fact a female divinity becomes important, and ultimately if a balance of opposites (male/female) is achieved. Her ideological position removes her philosophically from Surrealism as well as from the precursors that the Surrealists claimed for their movement.

Both the Surrealists and Carrington rebelled against society.

If, however, Carrington's protagonist in The Hearing Trumpet is correct, the former rebels, the Surrealists are now the status quo. "The Royal Academy recently gave a retrospective exhibition of Dada art and they decorated the gallery like a public lavatory."[6] Marian, of course, is right. All but the most outrageous Surrealists works have become completely acceptable. Max Ernst's shocking and sacrilegious, Virgin Spanking the Child Before Three Witnesses: Andre Breton, Paul Eluard, and the Painter (c. 1923), was, according to William Rubin, ". . . a typical example of Surrealist 'scandal.'"[7] Rubin also pointed out that, "Almost every one of the Surrealist painters had been born and baptized a Catholic, and blasphemy . . . is closer to belief than indifference."[8] In the last analysis the Surrealists remained part of an historical and ongoing tradition. Carrington's paintings never shocked or scandalized (probably because they do not overtly attack established values and, perhaps more to the point, because they are not sexually titillating) but they have never changed in their continual depiction of a new humanity ordered upon a different set of beliefs. She is still a rebel. Jean Markale, in his book, The Women of the Celts, explained the tremendous difference that exists between female rebellion and male rebellion:

> People have always dwelt at length on the rebellion of the son . . . but the rebellion of daughter against father remains unexplored.
>
> This is because the son's rebellion does not threaten the structure of patriarchal society. On the contrary, it is essential that some internal danger revitalize inert energies and lead to a resolution in which the establishment is reaffirmed rather than changed. By the laws of nature,

> individuals pass away while the institution goes on. . . .
> The whole process is but a vast fraud at the expense of the sons and, more especially, of the daughters. When daughters open their eyes to what the law of the father, aided and abetted, albeit unconsciously by the mother, has made of them, moral rebellion will become possible.[9]

Markale, although he discussed society in general, has pointed out exactly why the Surrealists have become "acceptable," why their rebellion was not ongoing; and why Carrington's rebellion is so different.

Her artistic beginnings, her ideas and thoughts may be rooted in the oneiric and rebellious Surrealist tradition but as a mature artist she becomes a feminist "mythmaker." She has rebelled against the rebels, moved on to her own kind of revolution reminiscent of Markale's injunction, "When daughters open their eyes to . . . the law of the father . . . moral rebellion will become possible." For Carrington the road to this final moral rebellion has been a long one--rejection of her religious and class background, involvement with Surrealist values and life style, a growing consciousness of the role of female archetypes for a new feminist ideology. Perhaps she herself provides the best image for her hard-won independence as a person and an artist. Appropriately it is one of her own paintings, <u>And then we saw the Daughter of the Minotaur</u>.

Footnotes

[1]Interview with Leonora Carrington in Excelsior, 1 March 1966, 6.

[2]Estella Lauter, Women as Mythmakers: Poetry and Visual Art by Twentieth-Century Women, 18.

[3]Carol P. Christ, "Why Women Need the Goddess: Phenomenological, Psychological, and Political Reflections" in Womanspirit Rising (New York, 1978), 279.

[4]Janet Kaplan, "Remedios Varo: Voyages and Visions" in Woman's Art Journal, Fall/Winter, 1981, 17.

[5]Leonora Carrington, The Hearing Trumpet (New York, 1976), 66.

[6]Ibid.

[7]William S. Rubin, Dada and Surrealist Art (London, 1978), 231.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Jean Markale, Women of the Celts (London, 1978), 168.

Figure 1: Max Ernst, Leonora in the Morning Light, 1937.
Oil on canvas.

He saw Caitilin Ni Murrachu walking a little ...

Figure 2: Thomas MacKenzie, Illustration for James Stephens', The Crock of Gold, 1926.

Figure 3: Leonora Carrington, Crookhey Hall, 1947. Casein on masonite, 31.5 x 60 cm.

Figure 3a: Detail from Crookhey Hall.

Figure 4: Leonora Carrington, Self-portrait, 1937. Oil on canvas, 65 x 81¼ cm.

Figure 4a: Detail of Self-portrait.

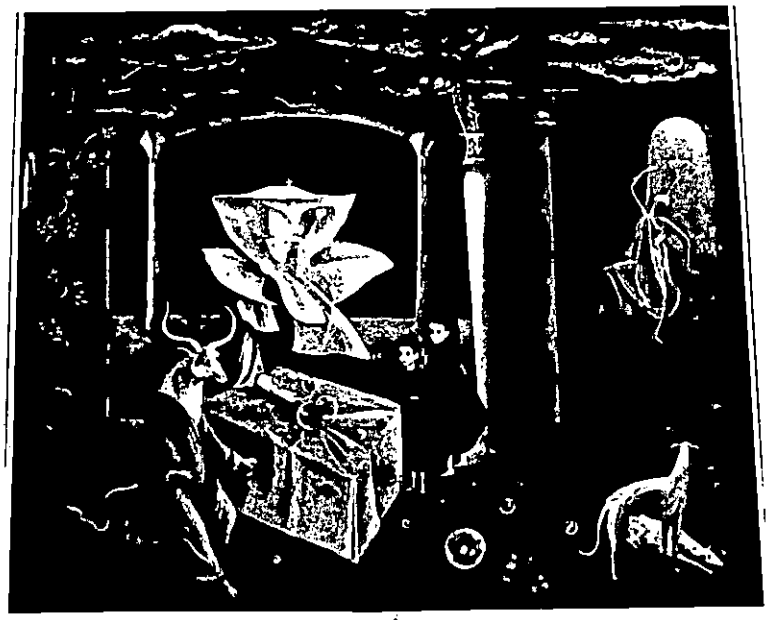

Figure 5: Leonora Carrington, And then we saw the Daughter of the Minotaur, 1953. Oil on canvas, 60 x 70 cm.

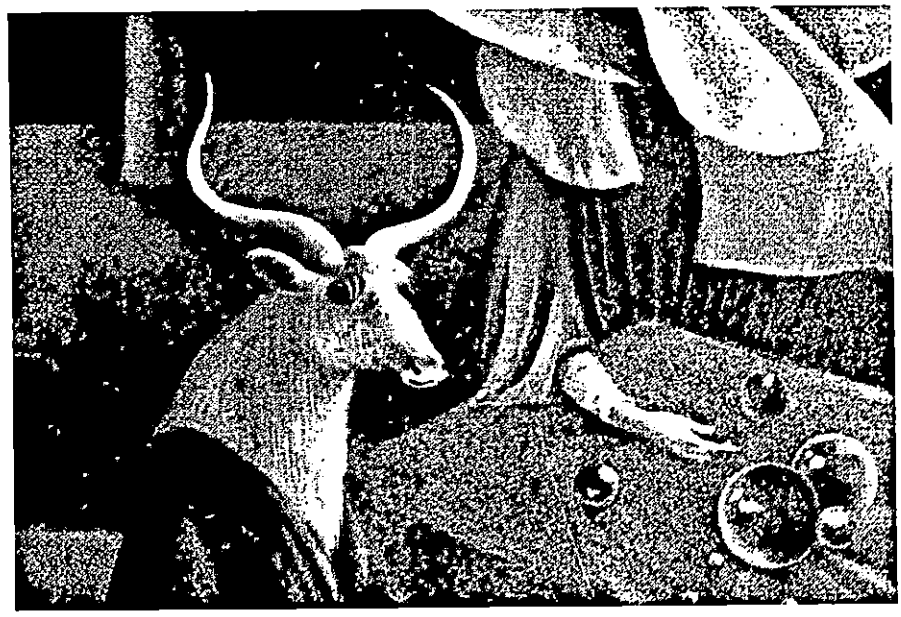

Figure 5a: Detail of And then we saw the Daughter of the Minotaur.

Figure 6: Leonora Carrington, The Horses of Lord Candlestick, 1938. Oil on canvas, 35 x 23½ in.

Figure 7: Leonora Carrington, Pastoral, 1950. Oil on canvas, 53.5 x 74.5 cm.

Figure 8: Leonora Carrington, Portrait of Max Ernst, 1940. Oil on canvas, 50¼ x 26 3/4 cm.

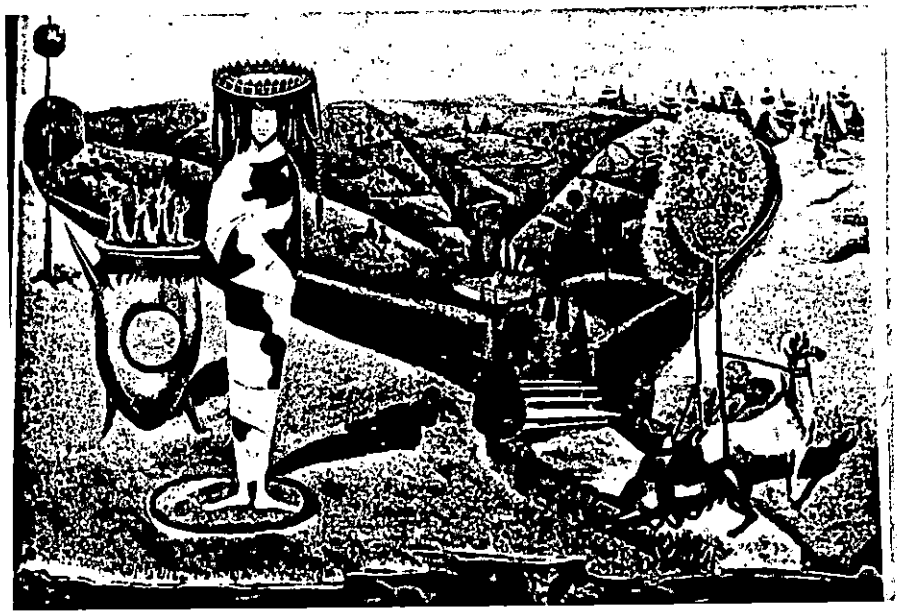

Figure 9: Leonora Carrington, La Dame Ovale (The Oval Lady), 1942.

Figure 10: Salvador Dali, Bleeding Roses, 1930. Oil on canvas, 60 x 50 cm.

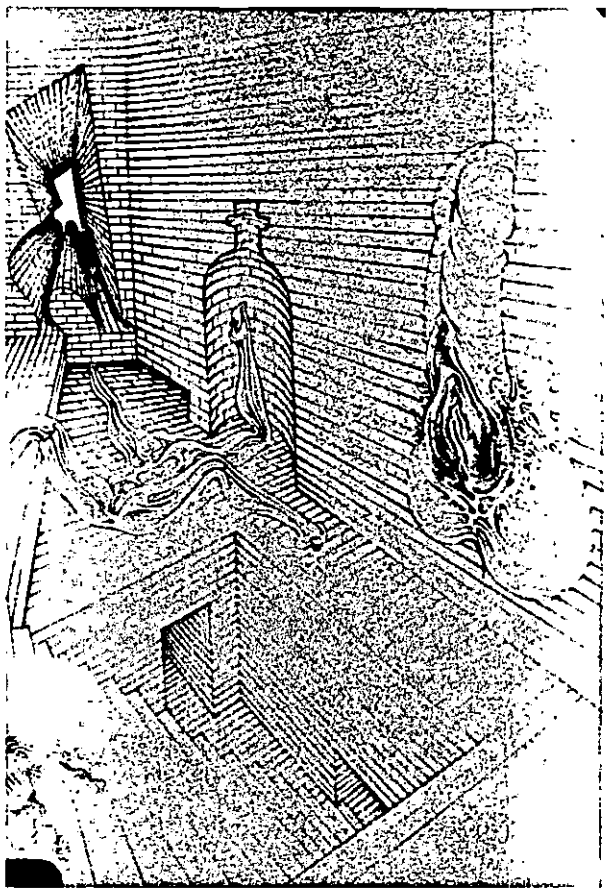

Figure 11: Hans Bellmer, Drawing for Sade, 1946. Pencil on paper, 25 x 21 cm.

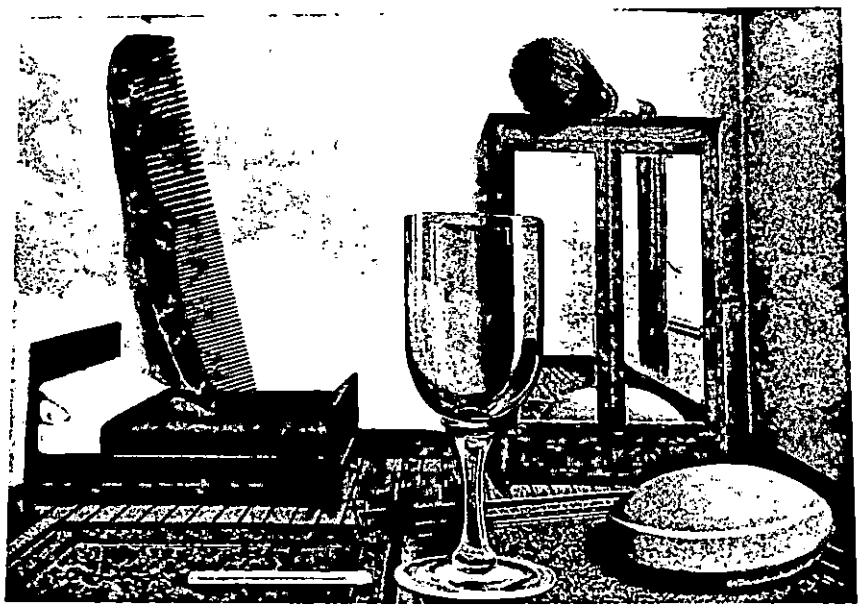

Figure 12: Rene Magritte, Personal Values, 1952. Oil on canvas, 31 5/8 x 39 1/2 in.

Figure 13: Max Ernst, The Nymph Echo, 1936. Oil on canvas, 46 x 55 cm.

Figure 14: Max Ernst, Joy of Life, 1936. Oil on canvas, 72 x 91 cm.

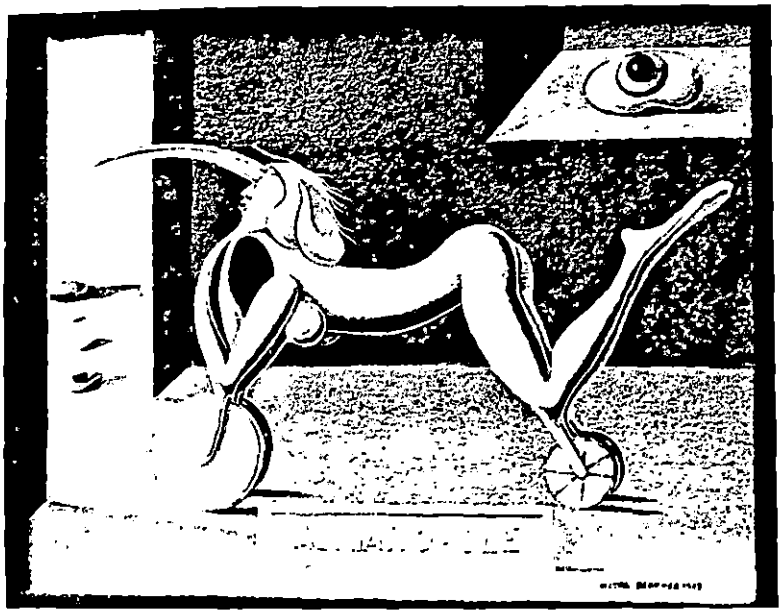

Figure 15: Victor Brauner, Adrianopolis, 1937.

Figure 16: Leonora Carrington, The Hunt, 1942.

Figure 17: Victor Brauner, Fascination, 1940. Oil on canvas, 21 x 25 in.

Figure 18: Leonora Carrington, Wishing Well, 1962.
Oil on canvas, 80 x 120 cm.

Figure 19: Leonor Fini, The Shepherdess of the Sphinxes, 1941. Oil on canvas, 14½ x 17½ in.

Figure 20: Leonor Fini, Games of Legs in a Key of Dreams, 1935. Oil on canvas, 92 x 65 cm.

Figure 21: Leonor Fini, The Seamstress, 1955. Oil on canvas, 92 x 65 cm.

Figure 22: Leonora Carrington, The pomps of the sub-soil, 1947. Oil on canvas, 58.5 x 94 cm.

Figure 23: Remedios Varo, Flautista, 1955. Oil on masonite, 75 x 93 cm.

Figure 24: Remedios Varo, Reborn, 1960. Oil on masonite.

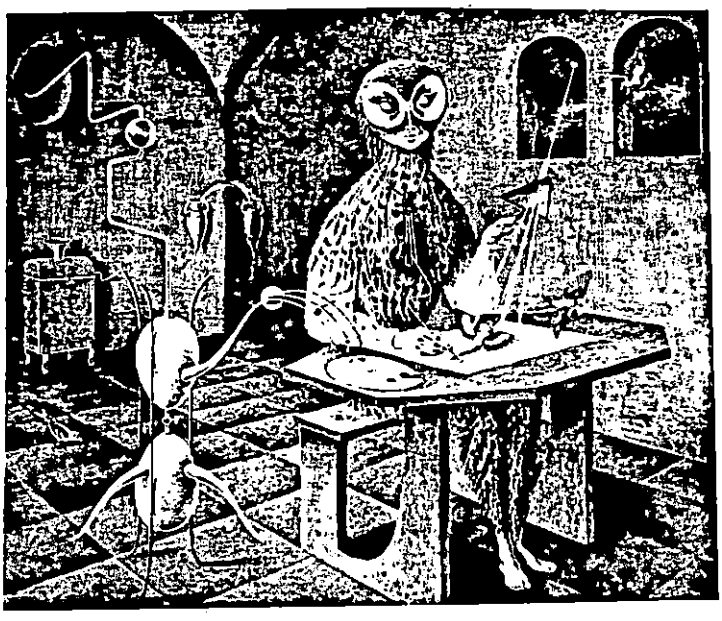

Figure 25: Remedios Varo, The Creation of Birds, 1958. Oil on masonite, 54 x 64 cm.

Figure 26: Remedios Varo, The Double Agent, 1936. Oil on copper, 21 x 17 cm.

Figure 27: Max Ernst, The Temptation of St. Anthony, 1946. Oil on canvas, 109 x 129 cm.

Figure 28: Matthias Grunewald, St. Anthony Abbot assailed by monstrous demons, c. 1510. Wing of the Isenheim Altarpiece, Colmar.

Figure 29: Leonora Carrington, The Temptation of St. Anthony, 1946. Oil on canvas.

Figure 30: Hieronymus Bosch, The Temptation of St. Anthony, c. 1500. Oil and tempura on panel, 27½ x 20 in.

Figure 31: Odilon Redon, St. Anthony: Help me, my God! 1896. Lithograph, 21.5 x 13 cm.

Figure 32: Leonora Carrington, Chiki, ton pays, 1947. Oil on canvas, 90 x 90 cm.

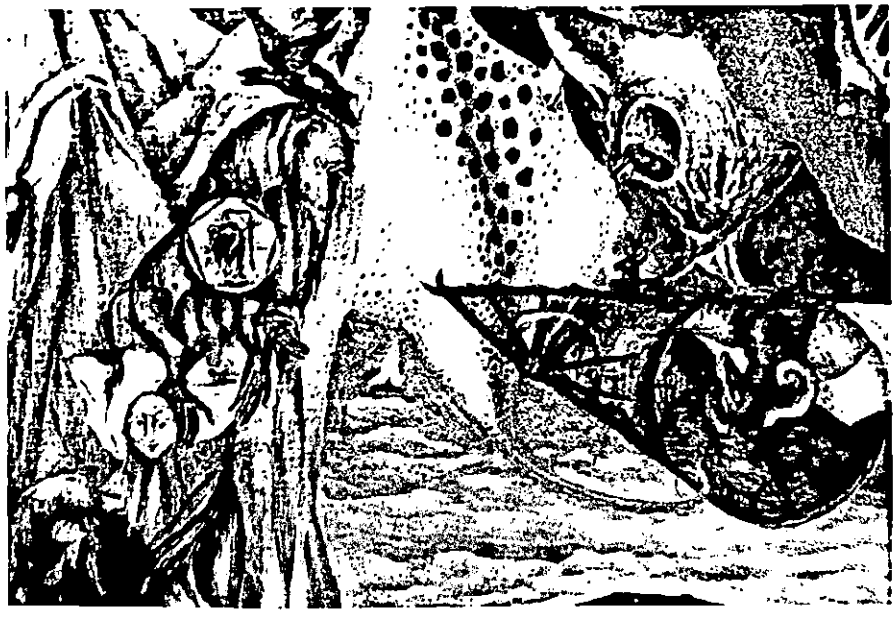

Figure 32a: Detail from Chiki, ton pays.

Figure 33: Leonora Carrington, Palatine Predella, 1946. Egg tempera on panel, 34.4 x 99.5 cm.

Figure 34: Leonora Carrington, Viper! Viper! Of the Sea, 1945. Pencil on paper, 23 x 24 cm.

Figure 35: Leonora Carrington, Goddess of Serpents, 1967. Ink on paper, 31 x 25 cm.

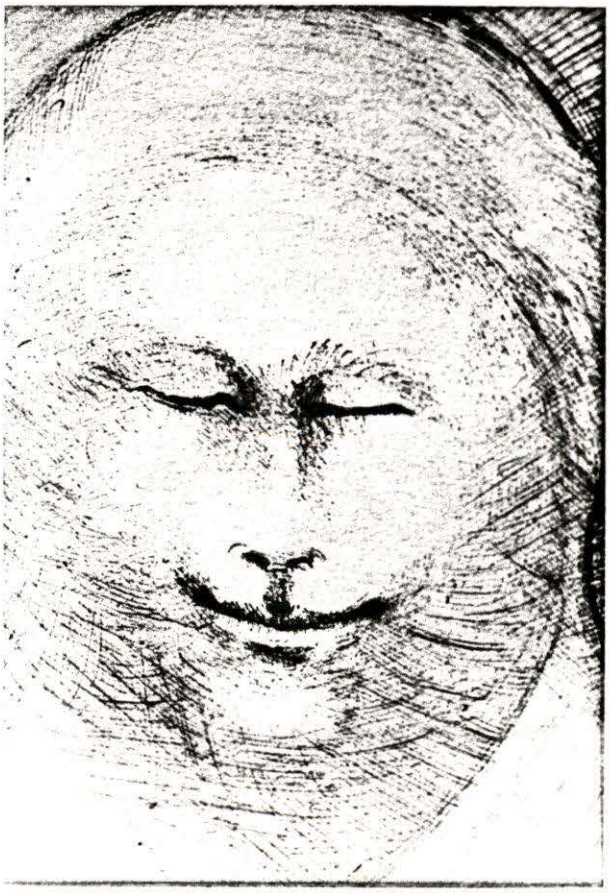

Figure 36: Leonora Carrington, The Octave Smile, 1969. Ink on paper, 57.5 x 36 cm.

Figure 37: Odilon Redon, Chimera, 1902. Charcoal, 54.5 x 39 cm.

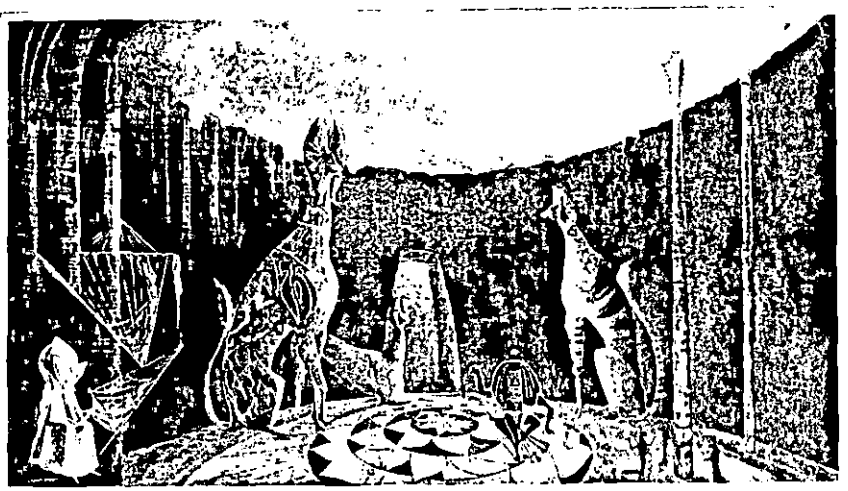

Figure 38: Leonora Carrington, Are You Really Syrius? 1953. Oil on canvas, 55.5 x 91 cm.

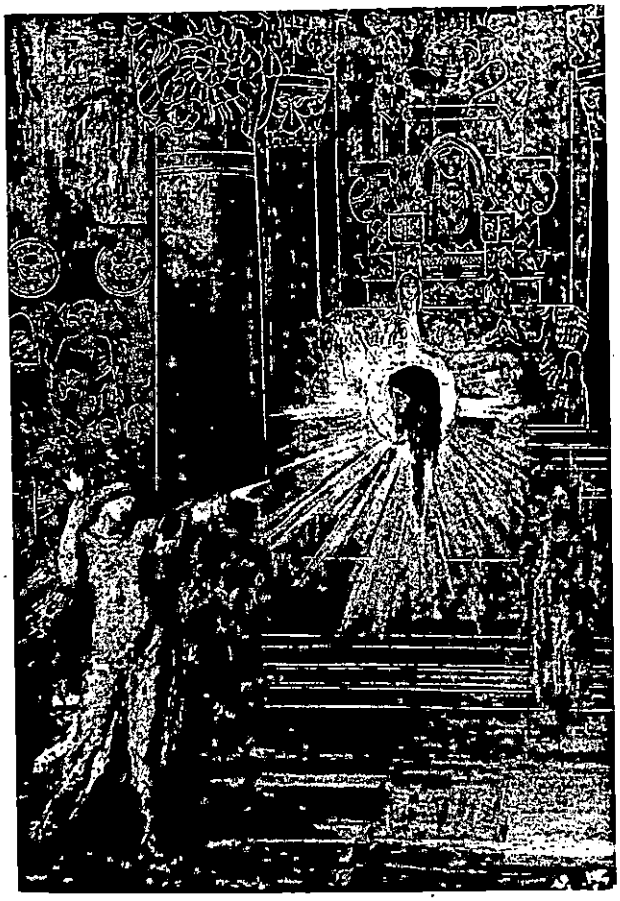

Figure 39: Gustave Moreau, The Apparition (Salome and the Head of John the Baptist), c.1875. Oil on canvas, 55 7/8 x 40 1/2 in.

Figure 40: Franz von Stuck, Sin, 1893. Oil on canvas, 37 3/8 x 23 1/2 in.

Figure 41: Dante Gabriel Rossetti, The Daydream, 1872 - 1878. Pastel and black chalk, 41¼ x 30¼ in.

Figure 42: Piero della Francesco, Madonna with Saints, c.1472 - 1474. Panel, 248 x 170 cm.

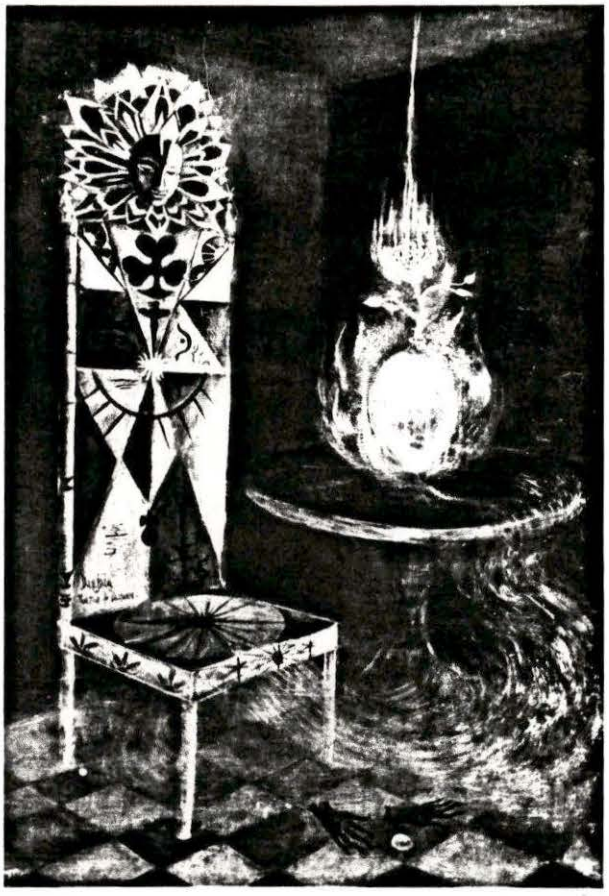

Figure 43: Leonora Carrington, The chair: Daghda tuatha danann, 1955. Oil on canvas, 49 x 39 cm.

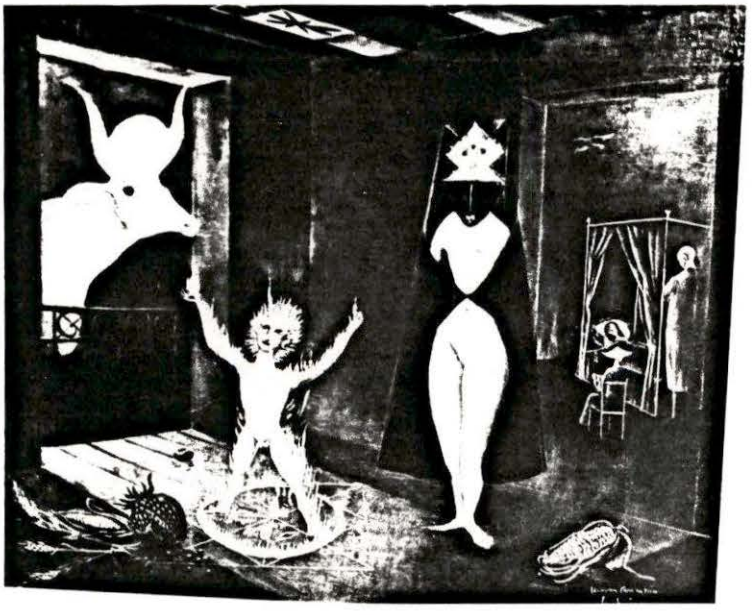

Figure 44: Leonora Carrington, Professional Ethics, 1955. Oil on canvas, 40 x 45 cm.

Figure 45: The Goddess Hathor as illustrated in E.A. Budge, The Gods of the Egyptians.

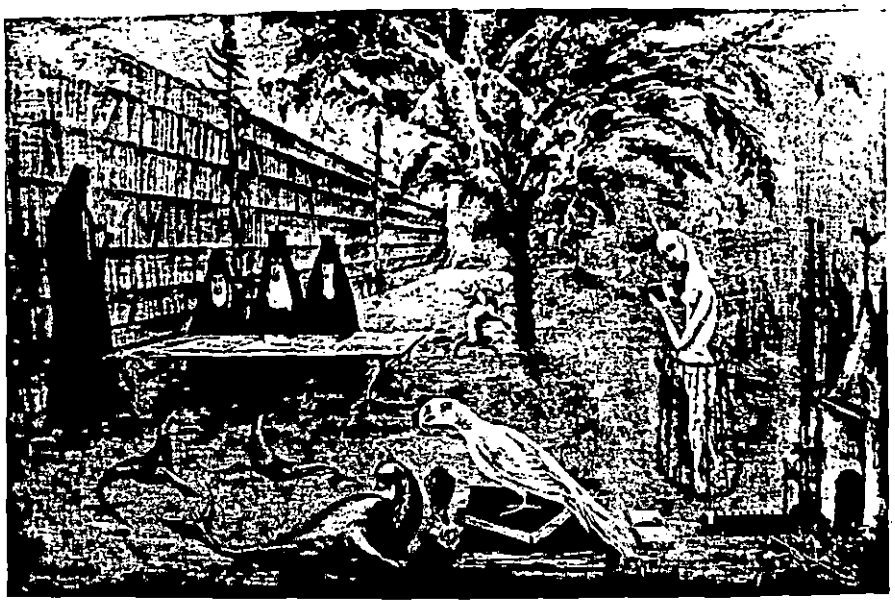

Figure 46: Leonora Carrington, The Naked Truth, 1962. Oil on panel, 51 x 81 cm.

Figure 47: Leonora Carrington, El Rarvarok, 1963. Oil on canvas, 70 x 100 cm.

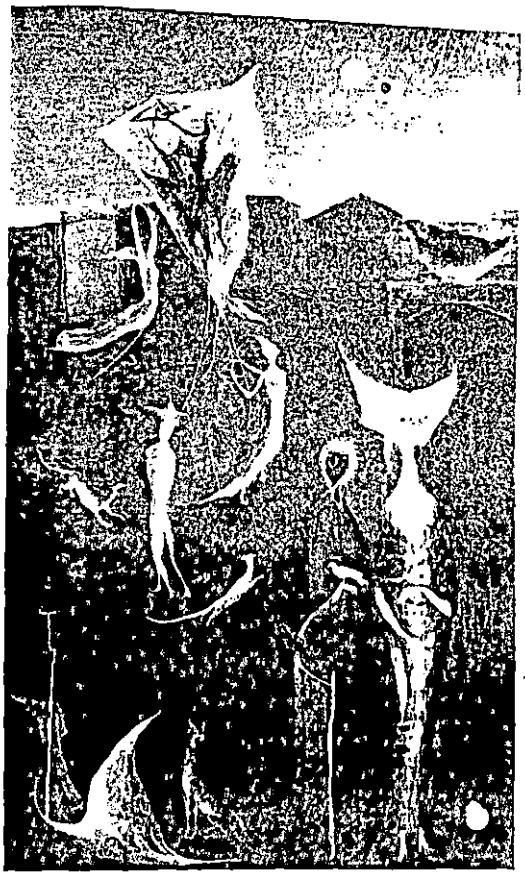

Figure 48: Leonora Carrington, Samain, 1951. Oil and tempera on panel, 91 x 55 cm.

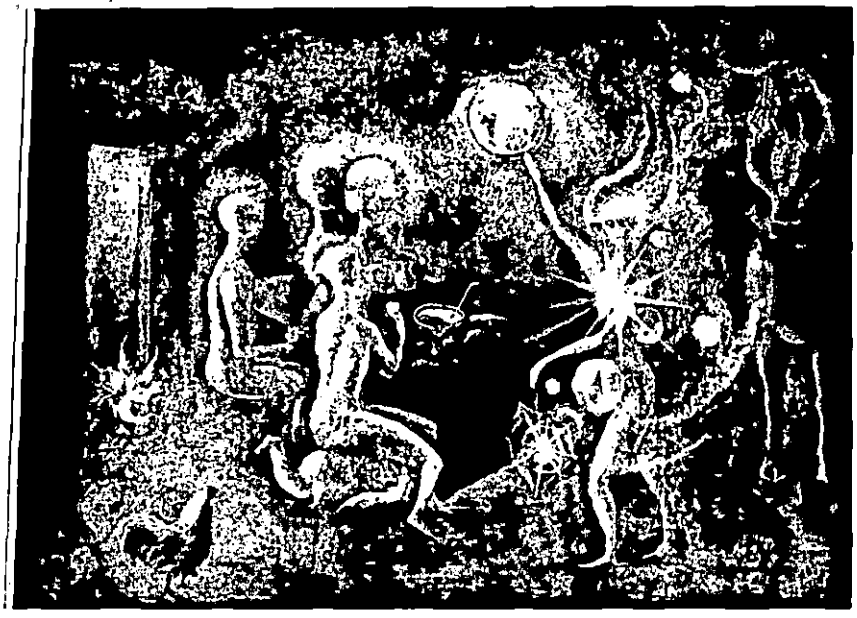

Figure 49: Leonora Carrington, Sidhe: The white people of Dana tnatha (sic) danann, 1954. Oil on canvas, 78.5 x 59.5 cm.

Figure 50: Leonora Carrington, The Return of Boadicea, 1969. Oil on canvas, 80.5 x 80.5 cm.

Figure 51: Henry Courtney Selous, Boadicea haranguing the Iceni, c. 1850. Detail.

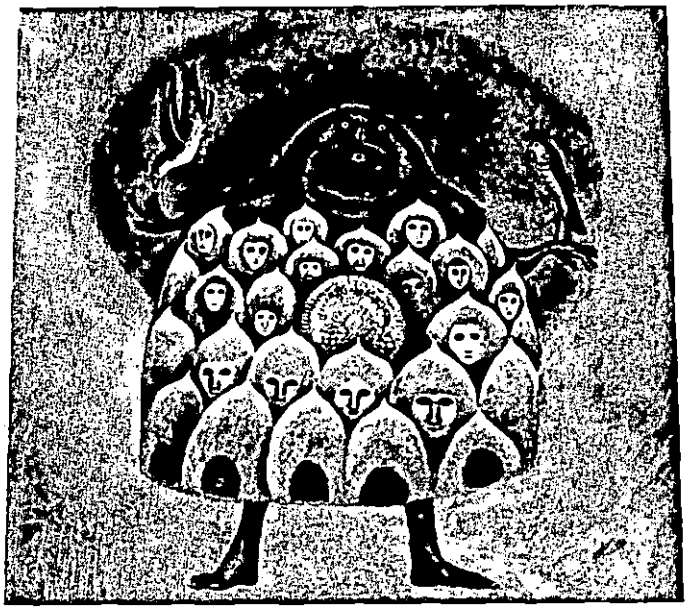

Figure 52: Leonora Carrington, Godmother, 1970. Oil on canvas, 55.5 x 56 cm.

Figure 53: Diana of Ephesus, 2nd century A.D.

Figure 54: Andre Masson, Mannequin. Detail of "Surrealist Street" at the international Surrealist exhibition, Paris, 1938.

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APPENDIX 1

LEONORA CARRINGTON, EXHIBITIONS

Major Personal Exhibitions

Pierre Matisse Gallery, New York, 1948

Galería Clardecor, Mexico City, 1950

Galerie Pierre, Paris, 1952

Galería de Arte, Mexico City, 1956

National Museum of Modern Art, Sala Nacional, Palace of Fine Arts, Mexico City, 1960

Galería de Arte Mexicano, Mexico City, 1965

Anglo-Mexican Cultural Institute, Mexico City, 1965

Galería de Arte Mexicano, Mexico City, 1969

Alexander Iolas Gallery, New York, 1975

Centre for Inter-American Relations, New York, 1976

University Art Museum, University of Texas, Austin, 1976

Meseo de Arte Moderno, Mexico City, 1976

Brewster Gallery, New York, 1977

Major Group Exhibitions

Galerie Beaux-Arts, Paris, 1938 (Exposition internationale de surréalisme)

Galerie Robert, Amsterdam, 1938 (Surrealistische Schilderkinst)

D'Arcy Galleries, New York, 1961 (International Surrealist Exhibition)

Galerie L'Oeil, Paris, 1966 (Exposition international de surréalisme)

APPENDIX 1 (Continued)

Baukunst Galerie, Cologne, 1971 (Au Coeur du surréalisme)

Musee des Arts Decoratifs, Paris, 1972 (Le surréalisme)

Hayward Gallery, London, 1978 (Dada and Surrealism Revisited)

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AND THE SURREALIST IMAGE

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