3-2023

From the Studio to the Field: André Breton's 'Hopi Notebook'

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In 1945, André Breton had been living in New York for four years when he took a trip out West for reasons both personal and intellectual—first, to divorce his second wife, Jacqueline Lamba, and marry his third, Elisa Bindoff Claro, in Las Vegas, and, second, to visit Pueblo Indian villages in Arizona and New Mexico. As an artist-intellectual considered undesirable in the eyes of the occupying German forces during World War Two, he was in self-imposed exile from France, having reached the United States with the help of three Americans—journalist Varian Fry and diplomat Hirham "Harry" Bingham, who helped him leave France, and fellow surrealist Kay Sage, who found him an apartment in Manhattan, furnished it, and initially paid the rent.[1] Although Breton visited Zuni and Acoma in New Mexico on this trip, his focus in what he called the "Hopi Notebook" was mostly on the Hopi Reservation of Arizona (Fig. 1).[2] A devoted Parisian since his days as a medical student, Breton had shaped Surrealism as a Paris-centered movement by the 1940s. Author of the "Manifestoes of Surrealism" from 1924 and 1929, Breton welcomed an international cast of artists and writers into the group. He only truly expanded his personal international perspective, however, during the time he spent in the United States during World War Two, especially through his first-hand experience in the American Southwest.

Breton had had a life-long admiration for Pueblo Indian culture dating back to the 1920s, as he explained on the radio in his 1950 interviews with André Parinaud: "Most of all I was able to satisfy one of my greatest and oldest desires, which was to meet the Indians, particularly the Pueblo Indians (Hopi and Zuni), whose mythology and art held a special attraction for me."[3]

In the October 1927 issue of *La Révolution surréaliste,* Breton published a photograph of a Hopi katsina that he erroneously thought of as a "doll," a carved and decorated figure representing the ancestral spirits of the Hopi katsina religion, known as katsinam or tithu to the Hopi (Fig. 2).[4] The previous June, Breton had

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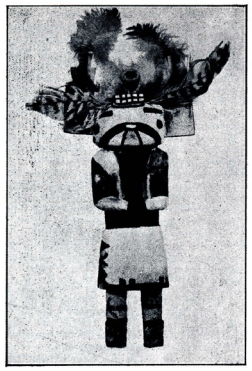
Fig. 1. Breton at Zuni, likely photographed by Elisa Breton, 1945 @ Aube Breton Elléouët; Association Atelier André Breton, http:/www.andrebreton.fr

gone on a buying trip with Paul Eluard, who reported in a letter to his wife: "we found dolls from New Mexico (Pueblo dolls). They're amazing."[5] This katsina was the kind of object Breton sought for his collection throughout his life. His studio was a dynamic space that he constantly arranged and rearranged; it was his workshop for surrealist thought, dreaming, and exchange.[6] He filled it with things, along with paintings, objects and sculptures by his friends, his books, and a growing inventory of sacred objects from parts of the world that were meaningful to him, as reflected in the 1929 surrealist map of the world, which decentered Western Europe and North America (Fig. 3). Instead, *The World in the Time of the Surrealists* centered and exaggerated in size the islands of the Pacific Ocean and on the Pacific Northwest Coast. He loved the things he collected and he also associated them with a larger purpose, a broader worldview that definitively included non-European parts of the world and their cultures.

A visitor to Breton's collection—either at the rue Fontaine in Paris or the Pompidou Center where there is a room dedicated to "Breton's wall," what is left of his collection—can feel the way his books, paintings, sculptures, and things,



Nouveau-Mexique

voir. Il n'avait pas de nez et ses oreilles pendaient comme des tiges de vigne vierge arrachées par le vent. Naturellement il était bête, c'est pourquoi il était marchand de marrons. Un jour, ayant arraché la queue d'une truie, il se promena partout dans la ville de Troyes en hurlant : CECI EST MON SANG. *Bientôt les pharmaciens coururent sur ses traces, puis les avoués, les quincailliers, les vidangeurs, les dentellières, les orthopédistes, les juges de paix, les cafetiers, les sacristains, les herboristes, les pêcheurs à la ligne, les enfants de cochons et enfin les curés. C'est alors que, pris d'une intense terreur, il cacha la queue de la truie dans une boîte à cirage qu'il mit dans une boîte aux lettres avec l'adresse suivante :*

PIPE EN TERRE
à TOUR D'IVOIRE
par SCORBUT (Morbihan)

Et la lettre s'en fut avec des hauts et des bas. Tantôt elle gravissait un iceberg, tantôt elle descendait dans une cuve, tantôt encore elle rampait sur une branche d'arbre dont elle dévorait les feuiles, ce qui, peu de temps après, la faisait tomber dans quelque puits d'où un seau de verre bleu la tirait pour la remettre dans le droit chemin. Enfin, après mille vicissitudes, elle arriva dans un palais. A vrai dire, le palais en question ressemblait plutôt à une tulipe qui aurait surgi d'un crâne en décomposition qu'à un palais bien ordonné. En effet l'escalier était étalé comme un serpent mort dans le hall et on accédait aux étages supérieurs par une flèche qu'on s'enfonçait dans les fesses et que le rez-de-chaussée lancait à l'étage désiré. C'est là que la lettre rencontra son destinataire, lequel arpentait l'escalier de long en large sans rencontrer « âme qui vive » et se demandait dans quel désert il vivait, dans quel désert sans caravane, ni chameaux, dans quel désert peuplé uniquement de craquements et de bruits de verre brisé, dans quel désert il promenait ses pas mélancoliques comme une asperge qui, croyant être mangée à la vinaigrette, n'est que sucée à la sauce blanche. L'inconnu n'était autre que Pipe en Terre, célèbre pour son duel avec les bouteilles vides.

C'est alors que je vis le jour.

Mais peut-être n'est-il pas inutile de raconter les merveilleuses aventures de Pipe en Terre et des bouteilles vides.

Pipe en Terre avait toujours cru que les jeunes filles vierges vivaient dans des tessons de bouteilles. Mais ayant découvert son œil gauche dans l'un d'eux, il s'aperçut qu'il s'était trompé et en fut assez vexé. C'est alors que faute de trouver dans les bouteilles les jeunes filles vierges qu'il cherchait, il résolut d'y élever des grand'mères convenablement ratatinées par un demi-siècle d'usage. Est-il besoin de dire que ce projet avorta misérablement? Les grand'mères à peine enfermées dans le tesson de la bouteille se liquéfiaient et devenaient en très peu de temps une sorte de goudron semblable à celui qu'on utilise pour réparer les rues de Paris. Tout espoir d'obtenir ainsi une génération de grand'mères d'un modèle réduit était donc perdu. Mais Pipe en Terre était infatigable. Sans se décourager, il sema des officiers de marine dans le fond de ses bouteilles et c'est ce qui le perdit, car les officiers de marine ne fument pas de pipes en terre, mais des débris de navires et des cheveux de matelots, lesquels sont, comme chacun sait, très néfastes à la santé des bouteilles vides. Pipe en Terre ne tarda pas à en voir les effets sur ses protégés, et il s'en vengea sur les officiers de marine qu'il réduisit à l'état de limaces, animaux fort appréciés par les bouteilles vides qui en font une grande consommation surtout au printemps. Il eut cependant le tort de ne pas leur cacher l'origine de leur nourriture et les bouteilles qui malgré tout étaient fort attachées aux officiers de marine se fâchèrent net. Un duel au lampion en résulta et Pipe en Terre fut vaincu, n'ayant avalé que 721 lampions tandis que le moindre de ses adversaires en avait dévoré au moins un millier. C'est depuis ce jour que

Pipe en Terre arpente de long en large l'escalier horizontal dans l'espoir de retrouver ses bouteilles vides, mais c'est en vain : celles-ci se sont depuis longtemps enfuies, grâce aux pousses printanières des géraniums qui surgissent si fréquemment sur le ventre des femmes enceintes pour les faire accoucher avant terme.

Et la petite taupe blanche s'en fut comme elle était venue, comme un croissant de lune. Je me trouvai de nouveau seul, désespérément seul, les pieds attachés à une sorte de traîneau que décorait une ribambelle de petits porcs semblables au drapeau des Etats-Unis. Ceci me montra que le traîneau était fait de glands et de fécule de pomme de terre. Pendant que je réfléchissais au peu de solidité d'un semblable véhicule, celui-ci se mit en mouvement pendant que les porcs s'enfuyaient en criant :

« Lafayette me voici!... Over there!... On ne fait pas d'omelettes sans casser des œufs... des œufs... des œufs... des œufs... des œufs... des œufs.. des œufs... Les nègres ont les pieds plats... Les Suédois mangent des moules... » et mille autres choses où le mot « cheveux » revenait souvent.

Seul un jeune porc brillant comme un sou neuf était resté sur le traîneau et, ce véhicule s'étant arrêté à proximité d'une oreille d'éléphant naturalisée, m'adressa la parole.

— Je vis dans les cabanes des cantonniers, je mange des traîneaux, je lis Paul Bourget en commençant par la fin de chaque ligne, je joue de la musique de table de nuit, je caresse les doigs des mariées et j'héberge un homme politique connu dans la forêt de mes soies. Quel est-il et qui suis-je?

Mais au lieu de lui répondre, je lui demandai :

— Avez-vous dû faire queue?

— Assevez-vous, je vous prie, me répondit-il. J'ai été un peu enrhumé et vous voilà sauvé.

— Je ne comprends rien à toute cette histoire, ne pus-je m'empêcher de lui dire, voici que les choux-fleurs encombrent les chambres sans air et jaunissent lorsque par aventure les petites araignées de cristal viennent à les rencontrer, faisant le soir leur habituelle partie de manille dans les squares déserts, lesquels sont cependant depuis longtemps interdits au public.

Mais ce stupide animal ne me tenait pas quitte si bon compte et me prenant de nouveau à partie, me demanda :

— Monsieur veut-il passer sa robe de chambre?

Espérant m'en débarrasser, je répliquais sur le même ton niais qu'il avait adopté :

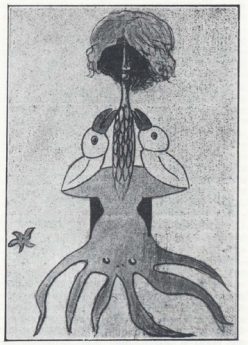
— Je ne trouve pas mes pantouflles.

De nouveau le porc me demanda :

— Monsieur désire-t-il que je lui donne un coup de peigne?

— Faites-moi seulement la raie. Pour le reste je me peignerai bien moi-même, lui répondis-je excédé.

Pendant plus d'une journée le traîneau glissa rapidement entre une double haie de porc-épics qui contemplaient gravement notre bizarre attelage et s'enfuyaient aussitôt que nous étions disparus en poussant des cris si perçants que les oiseaux effrayés tombaient sur le sol où ils restaient plaqués comme un morceau de mastic sur une glace. Je commençais à m'inquiéter, d'autant plus que dans l'air flottait une indéfinissable odeur qui tenait



Le cadavre exquis

du parfum des artichauts et de celui d'une chevelure bien soignée. Et notre vitesse qui croissait sans cesse! Et le porc qui était devenu grand comme une église! Cet animal m'inquiétait plus que je ne saurais le dire avec son immense face pâle barrée verticalement d'une épée et d'un pistolet, tatoués de chaque côté d'un énorme nez supportant une grande canne à laquelle étaient attachés plus de cinquante ballons d'enfants. A vrai dire, ces ballons dont je ne comprenais pas l'usage m'intriguaient beaucoup. C'est que la plupart d'entre eux contenaient un homme à barbe dont la poitrine ornée d'un grand nombre de décorations rouillées, s'ouvrait comme une porte et laissait voir à l'intérieur une poubelle débordant de rats énormes qui se pressaient et s'écrasaient

Fig. 2. *La Révolution surréaliste* 3.9-10 (October 1927): 34-35.

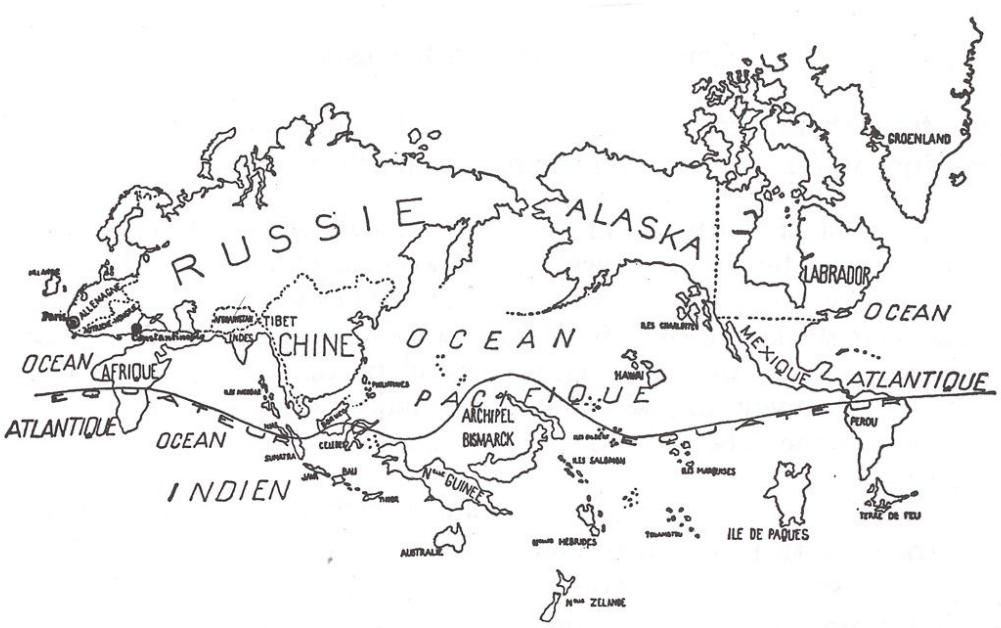


Fig. 3. *The World in the Time of the Surrealists,* unattributed map published in *Variétés* (June 1929): 26-27.

resonate together in a profusion that influenced his thinking about Surrealism and that inspired James Clifford's famous statement about how "[e]thnography cut with surrealism emerges as the theory and practice of juxtaposition."[7] A sense of profusion, from the Latin verb *to pour*, describes the immersive experience of the space in which Breton worked, to which he responded and which he, in turn, poured into surrealist thought. Breton's objects felt alive to him in the way that W.J.T. Mitchell defines the "thing," with reference to a painted sardine dish by Picasso, as something created in "the moment when the object becomes the Other, when the sardine looks back."[8] Breton's definition of surrealist beauty as "convulsive" and his explanation of it in 1934 as a fundamentally physical response to seeing something—a person, a stunning landscape, or a found object—anchored his thoughts and feelings about objects in his body. He explains how the recognition of "convulsive beauty" may be confirmed by a sensation such as "a plume of wind along the temples arousing a veritable shiver," not unlike a rush of erotic pleasure.[9]

The photograph of the Hopi katsina in *La Révolution surréaliste* (see Fig. 2) provided an early example of objects prized and collected by Breton that found

their way into the official journal of the day.[10] Identified only by its place of origin—New Mexico—and surrounded by a surrealist text by Benjamin Péret, with a group "exquisite corpse" drawing on the opposite page, the katsina is rendered surrealist by its presence and position in the journal, appropriated, as Sophie Leclerq argues, in a way that nonetheless confers "recognition" of its importance (Fig. 2A).[11] The first such object appropriated as surrealist by Breton had been an Easter Island statue he bought with prize-money as a teenager and reproduced in *Nadja* in 1928. This statue, like the Hopi katsina in *La Révolution surréaliste,* informed him at the time more about "the surrealist adventure" than it did about its culture of origin.[12] Nevertheless, Hopi katinsam were more than objects for Breton. As Fabrice Flahutez explains, "they were entities who interceded between the living, nature, and life itself"; they "opened to the unconscious," as Claudia Mesch asserts, providing "a way of understanding the world."[13] Indeed, by the time he returned to France in 1946 after his trip to the American Southwest and he hung them on a wall where he could see them from his daybed, they did more than confirm his ideas about Surrealism. As talismans of a culture he had had the chance to visit in person, they became beacons for ways in which Surrealism, and he, himself, might yet develop in the future.

The group games that produced the "exquisite corpse" drawings in the 1920s played a unifying function amongst the participants, just as the practice of group automatism had brought them together when Surrealism launched in 1922. Each player would add a word to a sentence or a body part to the drawing of a figure according to the process that produced the first one-line poem in this way in 1925, which gave the game its name: "the exquisite corpse will drink the new wine."[14] Breton explained in 1938 that what "excited us in these composite productions was the conviction that, at the very least, they were stamped with a uniquely collective authority."[15] In a playful secular, European way, these games played a parallel role to the unifying function many of the desacralized objects Breton collected had had in their cultures of origin, such as lthe Hopi katsinam.[16] The Surrealists's desire to feature images of these objects alongside drawings they had collectively made themselves was part of a larger desire to shift what Louise Tythacott identifies as "the art historical boundaries" of their time "which separated 'art' from non-art.'"[17] Their goal, according to Tythacott, was to "attempt to create another art—another history of art" through their revaluation of "objects traditionally marginalized in the West."[18] The Surrealists took seriously objects that had generally not been appreciated as art before, having been seen only as ethnographic specimens, of interest primarily as symbols of colonial conquest or to scientists. The Surrealists sought to resituate the location of what matters in considering a work of art from the individual to the group, from a fascination with the inner genius of a single artist—usually a European man—to a focus on art that has a social job in a unifying ritual such as the exquisite corpse game and is valued for it. What did not look like art to the average Parisian became valued as art by the surrealists, particularly art that

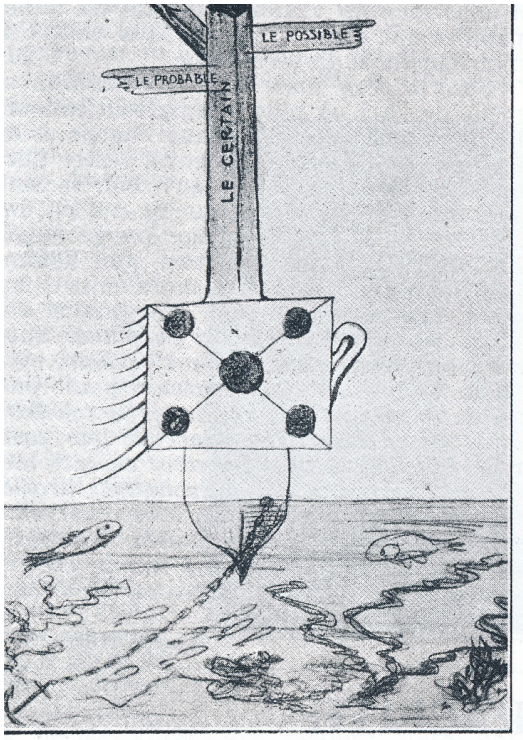


Fig. 4. Group Exquisite Corpse drawing: *La Révolution surréaliste* 3.9-10 (October 1927): 44.

might be understood as accessible to everyone, art that anyone could make, that had a function in a social group. As one of their heroes, Isidore Ducasse writing as the Count of Lautréamont, proclaimed, "Poetry should be made by all. Not by one," a dictum from 1869 reformulated for Surrealism by Louis Aragon in a 1930 homage to collage as "The marvelous must be made by all and not by one."[19]

The transgressive activity of collage, which involved appropriating and reconfiguring fragments of works by others into a new whole using only scissors and glue, constituted "a radical form of image creation" in 1921, as Elza Adamowicz explains, because when Max Ernst first exhibited some of his collages in Paris, he was displaying a technique that abandoned "traditional codes of mimesis and the aesthetics of coherence."[20] Like the group "exquisite corpse" drawings made by multiple author-artists, collage involved multiple hands shaped by one guiding hand that relied not on paint or charcoal but on simple household tools. Collage's sensory quality lies at the center of the fourth and final "exquisite corpse" drawing in the same October 1927 issue of *La Révolution surréaliste* that included the Hopi katsina (Fig. 4).

This drawing involves a play on words that blends image, text, and sound in a way that moves the game from two to three dimensions, reflecting the surrealist commitment to the physical enactment of intellectual ideas implicit in Breton's definition of "convulsive beauty."[21]

From an envelope with incongruous eyelashes on the left and a handle on the right emerges a signpost above that transforms into a pen nib below, dipping through water to an underwater anchor surrounded by fish.[22] This group drawing works like a rebus, as Breton explained four years later in the surrealists's journal, *Le Surréalisme au service de la revolution.* In 1931's "The Phanom Object" Breton published a simplified version of the "exquisite corpse" tea-cup envelope from 1927 and explained how this image produces the word "silence" out of all its linguistic elements: namely, the French words for eyelashes, "cils*,"* and handle, "anse," which together sound out the word "silence."[23] The drawing insists upon a spoken word in the image's silent language while simultaneously breaking that silence by demanding to be spoken aloud by a body, projecting it out of the second and into the third dimension. The "exquisite corpse" retains the ghostly reminder of an envelope's primary function as a bearer of messages now made to depict its opposite, silence, while at the same time blending image and word, through its insistence on how words must be spoken as well as read, how, once ingested like the liquid the tea-cup envelope is designed to contain, they engage the body as well as the mind.[24]

In his studio space, which served as Surrealism's laboratory, surrounded by quasi-animate things that communicated with him, Breton began thinking about how objects like the "phantom" envelope created a rerouting of purpose, a turning away from the thing's original function of transmitting written words that had once been spoken, into ideas that further gelled five years later in his 1936 essay, "Crisis of the Object." Published in an issue of *Cahiers d'art* that served as an exhibition catalogue for the Surrealists's one-week show of objects at the Charles Ratton Gallery in Paris that May, which included Hopi katsinam, Breton explains the surrealist aim of bringing about a "*total revolution of the object* . . . including . . . reclassifying it" so that the object, like the exquisite corpse "envelope," might undergo a "*change of role.*"[25] The exhibition juxtaposed vitrines of Surrealist-made and found objects, renamed as works of art—such as Marcel Duchamp's early Readymade, *Bottlerack* (1914)—with Oceanic and Pacific Northwest Coast masks, all from Ratton's, Breton's and Eluard's personal collections. Breton's theory of the object as active, playing a new role after having had a previous life, was linked to his reverence for katsinam well before he ever saw their role in the katsina religion in Arizona.

As Etienne-Alain Hubert explains in his "Introduction" to Breton's "Notebook," "Breton and Elisa spent almost the entire month of August 1945 traveling" with the mosaicist Jeanne Reynal, a friend of Marcel Duchamp's, along with her partner, Urban Neininger, who had helped them find a place to live in Reno during the weeks when they were waiting for Breton's divorce to be finalized

before he and Elisa could marry.[26] Reynal and Neininger accompanied them on their trip to "the Navajo, Zuni, Apache and Hopi villages in Arizona and western New Mexico."[27] The Hopi Reservation constitutes only a portion of what the Hopi think of as Hopiland or *Hopitutskwa*; it was established by treaty in 1882, on land delimited by the United States government, including three mesas upon which culturally important villages stand that have been inhabited continuously since the CE 500s and 600s.[28] While they were there, Breton, Elisa, and their friends camped in tents and stayed with a teacher on the Hopi Second Mesa, Mr. Powers and his wife.[29] On their travels, they also stopped in Gallup, New Mexico, where they were able to find accommodations.

Hubert, who established the text of the "Notebook" for publication, describes the original Notebook as a 3 x 5 notepad, small enough to fit in Breton's pocket so he could be discrete about taking his field notes in it.[30] Hubert explains how as early as September 1945 Breton had intended to publish the revised "Notebook" with the title of *The Hopi Indians* and signed a contract for it in 1946, but the book was never published.[31] Breton's notes his vivid impressions in the "Notebook," such as the colors of the bright red Indian paintbrush and of the turquoise necklaces worn by the Hopi, as well as the red-brown and white paint the Hopi used on their bodies for some of their dances. He notes the fruit they tasted—peaches, apricots, and apples—and he describes the perched Hopi villages on the mesas as shining "like blond crystal amongst these rock structures organized along eroded table mesas that look as though they are piled on top of one another and resemble standing birds."[32]

The timing of the Bretons's trip overlapped with the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, events of which Breton was keenly aware and which further fueled his personal sense of dislocation and distance from his home in Paris. In Reno Breton started his "Ode to Charles Fourier," dedicated to the nineteenth-century French utopian socialist, and continued to work on it throughout the trip.[33] He interpolated his impressions of the natural landscape of the American West and Southwest into the poem, as well as specific scenes from his impressions of the Hopi Reservation in Arizona. He was impressed with the Hopi individuals he met, explaining in a letter to Jean Gaulmier that their "impressive dignity" provided an important context for the long poem.[34] Marie-Paule Berranger sees in the "Hopi Notebook" a response to Hiroshima, symbolized by the eagle, a bird sacred to the Hopi, "the bird of the sovereign alliance between the visible and the invisible, man and the cosmos," as an alternative way for Breton to think about humanity and the world.[35] In a dedicated a copy of the "Ode," Breton links the poem to the timing of the nuclear bomb: "Between the atomic mirage and Fourier's image."[36] The poem, like the eagles he understood to be sacred, linked realities for Breton—inner and outer, personal and cosmic, the Hopi world he glimpsed that August and his own urban reality, as well as the flawed historical present and a more hopeful future.

Despite the detail Breton sought to capture in the "Notebook," the dress and hairstyles of those he met, the fragments of conversation he was able to have with individual Hopi, the "young ethnographer" Bill Smith and with the Powers, Breton's impressions were necessarily superficial because his visit was brief. They do not substitute for substantive knowledge, despite the effort he made to read many of the books and journals available in 1945 on the Hopi. He reflects on his research in the "Notebook," noting, for example, that the Hopi are a matriarchal culture and expressing admiration for "Hopi pacificism" during the world wars that resulted in resistance to the draft; he comments on the historical split that took place in Old Oraibi in 1906, between Hopi who were "hostile" to cooperating with the United States government and those who were "friendly," as a way to negotiate land ownership.[37] However, as Thomas Sheridan points out: "For nearly five hundred years, the Hopi people of northeastern Arizona have largely been known through the observations of others… Only a handful of outsiders… have attempted to elicit Hopi understandings of their past, although collaboration between Hopi and non-Hopi scholars appears to be increasing."[38] With the exception of Don Talayesva's autobiography, *Sun Chief: The Autobiography of a Hopi Indian* (1942), which Breton owned in French translation, the scholarship to which Breton had access had been written by non-Hopi.

Most of the scientific research done on the Hopi in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries explicitly excludes the Hopi perspective, thus putting its legitimacy into question, as Lomayumtewa C. Ishii argues in *Voices from our Ancestors: Hopi Resistance to Scientific Historicide*. Ishii persuasively contends that the Hopi were not consulted on their own history because Western anthropologists believed they "could not be counted on to provide accurate details…Seen as primitive and dying, Hopis were…not considered to be 'experts' of their own culture" because, "where social scientists relied on archaeology and other disciplines, Hopis relied on living history" founded in "oral practices."[39] Based on his study of the Harvard Peabody Expedition from 1935 to 1939, Ishii reports: "Nowhere in my research has it been indicated that any Hopi input was taken seriously or judged to be scientifically reliable…I believe that the camp journals reveal… the belief that Hopis needed to be distanced from the expedition."[40] This may be because Hopi history is "a living one," Ishii continues, unlike archaeology, which focuses on the past; "[e]ach has methods that establish authority and reliability."[41] The Hopi view "has persisted since ancient times and has become the logos of Hopi survival," Ishii explains, despite the "general belief that these people were going to become extinct," according to the Bureau of American Ethnology, whose published annual reports Breton read.[42] Ishii concludes that "Hopi culture persists as a form of resistance," pointing out that the "very fact that we are alive has problematized anglophone research."[43]

As a poet and a Surrealist, Breton may have been more open-minded than many of the scientists who had preceded him on the Hopi mesas. He was opposed

to colonialism and French Enlightenment thinking, upon which much of modern science is based. He celebrated the exploration of intuition, dreams, and emotions, as sources of knowledge, as well as of physical sensations as guides to identifying experiences, as his definition of "convulsive beauty" and his addition of the third dimension of speech rooted in breath to his "phantom object" suggest. As a Surrealist he seems to have recognized what he saw on the Hopi mesas as confirming of his approach to the world while at the same time opening up new options. His "Hopi Notebook" attests to his desire to speak with actual Hopi people and to find understanding based on experience rather than to confirm pre-existing theories. Unlike members of the Harvard Peabody expedition in the previous decades, he made an effort to connect with individuals, to name them, to learn from them, not just to consider the Hopi as an abstract entity, as remnants of a past culture who had anomalously survived into the present.

In the "Notebook," Breton describes how the Chief in Orabi "opens his house to us" and how he shared a Hopi meal while sitting cross-legged on the ground—a kind of "double crepe" with watermelons; he also describes houses near the Hopi mesa town of Oraibi he visited: "Kachinas in the houses we enter, hung on the walls or laid out."[44] He records a conversation he had that evening with a Hopi elder named Pumasati and tells him the respect Europeans have for Hopi "art," Pumasati ironically replies, "It's not too soon."[45] The next day Breton bought four carved katsinam, although the following day, he was not allowed to buy the ones he admired.[46] At Shungopovi he bought seven katsinam, recently made, then three more at Shipaulovi, followed by three additional ones back at Shungopovi.[47] He had access to these katsinam because of the American form of colonialism that made the families from whom he purchased them partially dependent on the income from sales to tourists. Wesley Bernardini explains: "Carved, wooden *katsinam (tithu)* became a major target of collectors, raising difficult issues involving the commodification of religious objects that are still sensitive today."[48] Peter Bolz describes how, during the dances, "Dancers…handed out katsina figures carved out of wood to the girls as a symbol of fertility… This motivated the Hopi and other Indians to produce for the constantly growing collectors' market."[49] Breton notes his understanding that the maternal uncle is the family member who has the duty to give katsinam to the children.[50]

The ceremonies Breton and Elisa observed in a group of about twenty Europeans began with two dances, the Antelope dance on August 21st, followed on August 22nd by the Snake dance. "The dance of the Antelope the 21st of August 1945 at Mishongnovi begins at 7am," Breton writes; "We are seated almost three hours in the square (on a bench in front of a house). Torrid heat."[51] He comments on the dancers's intense focus, their air of "*initiation*" and "*solemnity*" as they outline "decreasing and increasing spiral-like circles in the square" over the sacred underground space of the kiva. They stamp "their feet (on a hidden wooden plank

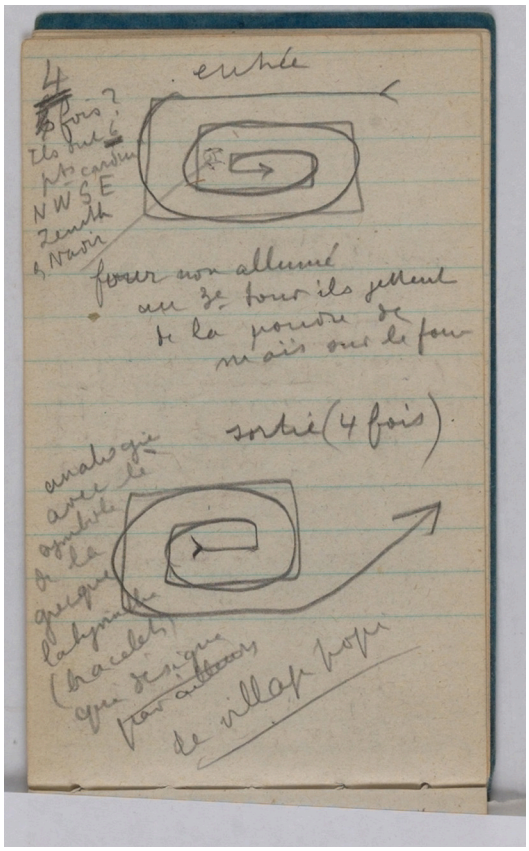


Fig. 5. Spirals of the dance: a page from Breton's Hopi Notebook @ Aube Breton Elléouët; Association Atelier André Breton, http:/www.andrebreton.fr

under the earth)," alternatively spilling cornmeal and water from a "lacquered wicker basket" (Fig. 5).[52]

He identifies the dancers as katsinam, like the carved wooden figures that represent them and that he actively collects, describing one dancer as the "Kachina dancer on the right [who] wears turquoise necklaces."[53]

Breton's witnessing of katsinam as human dancers surely had an impact on how he saw the wooden katsinam he collected as more ancient and complex than he may have previously understood, over and beyond his predisposition to see them as having lives of their own based on his definition of the *surrealist* object. What is unclear is whether he understood that what he was seeing in the dances as mythology linked to the past or a living religion, according to which the dancers represent "messengers to the Hopi gods who control the life-giving snow and rain on which Hopi crops depend…also associated with ancestors."[54] If he reports in the "Notebook" telling Reynal, "if I admire Hopi art, I don't feel at all obliged to respect Hopi *religion* any more than any other," he nonetheless clearly feels stirred by

the dances he witnesses, as evidenced by his poem, "Ode to Charles Fourier," in a way that dance theorist Susan Foster identifies as uniting the viewer with the dancer through a sharing of "emotional states… transmitted through movement."[55] Foster argues that the "viewer, watching a dance, is literally dancing along" and sees the dancing body as capable of impelling the viewer's body "to mimic its movements, and, as a result, feel its feelings," almost like a "contagion" induced by movement.[56]

As the formulator of "convulsive beauty," Breton would have been receptive to Foster's explanation of how watching dance can be a contagious experience, based on her historical explanation of kinesthesia, which she explains as "deriving from the Greek *kine* (movement) and *aesthesis* (sensation)…first implemented in physicological studies of the late nineteenth century to refer to the sense of the body's movement… Often referred to as a kind of 'sixth sense.' … Emotional states…are transmitted through movement. "[57] As a dedicated anti-colonialist, he also would have been aware that in watching the dances, he was watching Hopi history transmitted through dance as "a form of knowledge," as Jacqueline Shea Murphy insists: "[i]ndigenous dancers' bodies, despite the physical effects of colonialization, are a location of ways of being and knowing, held in bodies and everyday movements."[58]

The Snake dance Breton and Elisa saw the following day was designed to bring rain, and, sure enough, after four hours sitting in the heat of the village plaza, a storm broke, bringing large drops of rain. According to Anselm Franke and Erhard Schüttpelz in their film *A Kind of World War* (2019), the Snake dance had been "the most photographed ritual in North America" in the late nineteenth century.[59] By 1945, however, Breton could not have photographed the dance because the Hopi succeeded in obtaining a legal ban on photography at their ceremonies in the 1920s, in what Franke and Schüttpelz identify as "one of the first successful interventions regarding indigenous property rights" in the United States, after "hordes of camera-wielding tourists" arrived to see the Snake dances in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries, as Bolz explains.[60] Breton notes, "No permission to photograph. Must ask the Chief."[61] He notes what he is learning about the dancers as well, for example, that "[d]uring the dances they take a very powerful antidote to snake venom that is made according to a secret Hopi recipe known only to the elders."[62] He describes how the dancers in the Antelope dance are wearing feathers in their hair and fox-fur belts, as they hold rattles and dance steps choreographed in a location that had been inhabited for at least 1500 years.[63] He notes how a second group from the Snake clan joins the dancers from the Antelope clan on the plaza, wearing leather skirts and red feathers and how together they stamp their feet and chant a call to the spirit of the Great Plumed Serpent to bring rain.[64]

In his autobiography, Talayesva describes the snake dances from his childhood in the 1890s: "We knew snakes were spirit gods who bring rains and never harm anyone with a good heart," he explains in a description of his memories of

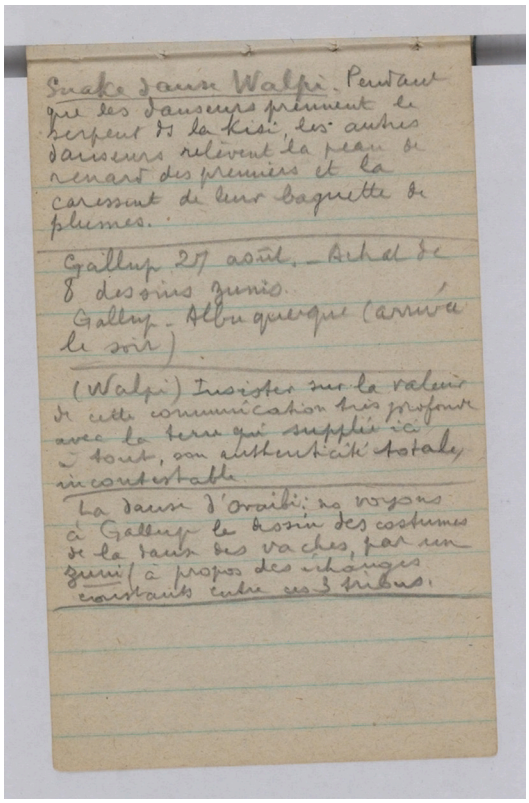


Fig. 6. Notes on the Snake Dance : a page from Breton's Hopi Notebook @ Aube Breton Elléouët; Association Atelier André Breton, http:/www.andrebreton.fr

the dances from when he was four years old. "We were told never to act silly and scream or yell like Whites when a snake goes towards them. My grandfather said that such foolish behavior spoiled the ceremony."[65] The day after they see the Snake dance, Breton and Elisa meet a Hopi named Peter, who brings a basket of peaches to the house of Mr. and Mrs. Powers, and they discuss the dance with him. Breton describes him as having "a beautiful face, with great spirituality and, intermittently, an occasional smile that is very fine and very mysterious. Yes, this feast is beautiful and moving, he says, for those you can appreciate the *depth* (*the background*). Nonetheless, he deplores how the presence of Whites has detracted from the solemnity," a sentiment with which Breton sympathizes, distinguishing himself from the average White tourist by noting, "how can it be otherwise if, during the ceremony, people are moving around any which way on the rooftops while drinking Coca-colas?"[66] Although he does not elaborate, Breton implies that through his research and what he is seeing and learning on his trip, he, unlike the other tourists, will be able to "appreciate" the dances because he is intentionally seeking to grasp that "*depth (the*

background)."

Four days after Breton and Elisa observe the Snake dance, they see a Cow dance in Old Oraibi involving katsina clowns—disruptive, elemental figures in the Hopi tradition, who, in another dance, appear disguised as cats: "During one dance of the Kachinas, clowns disguised as cats appear suddenly on the rooftops. They imitate cats in the night; with various obscenities," Breton writes.[67] It rains again, lightly, during the last Snake dance they see at Walpi, for which they need to climb the tall mesa on foot.[68] Breton describes an elderly dancer from whose mouth, small snakes emerge and continues: "One of the dancers passes by with a snake literally encircling his lips: almost as though he were wearing make-up. These snakes are very active …Expression of utter ecstasy on the face of the third dancer, a man of about twenty-five… In general, he holds large snakes that slink along the entire length of his body. There are many snakes: about fifty of them."[69] Breton takes care in capturing as many details as possible.

On their drive back to Albuquerque on August 27th, they witnessed a double rainbow and Breton slipped a poem into the "Notebook":

> Great purity very sad glides and plunges
> great pure sadness
> mountain almost not terrestrial, already belonging to the sky
> aspires towards space
> element of air
> they do not smile, are detached from everything
> The Indian looks beyond himself
> Stellar continent[70]

The poet's consciousness, "very detached," expresses sadness, intensified by the adverb "very" and the adjective "great"—in "great purity and great sadness"—before turning to the nearby mountain mesas personified (in French) as female beings so tall they "belong" to the sky. A sense of nostalgia emerges from the propulsive emphasis created by the repetition of "great" and "very," and the transformation of "sad" into to the noun, "sadness," linked to the emotions stirred by the landscape and the group's departure. The poem then shifts to the personified plural of "they"—rooted in the three nouns from the first three lines: "purity" and "sadness," followed by "mountain." "They" also implicitly refers back to the dancers themselves, whom he has just seen, gliding and plunging, aspiring to space.

The Indian man in the poem's penultimate line, grounded in the present tense, "The Indian looks," has also begun to blend into the landscape as it inclines upwards and dissipates into the air. Together man and landscape form a "continent" presented as though viewable from outer space as a "stellar" planetary body. The Indian nonetheless retains his human subjectivity as the one who "looks beyond

himself" into the sky, a stand-in for Breton himself in the car watching the darkening sky on the trip southward, as though from the perspective of one of the dancers he has just seen performing a ritual that calls on the gods of nature to grant rain and a bountiful harvest. Bodies both female ("montagne," in French) and male (the "Indian"), non-human and human, become cosmic and connect the poet to the surrounding universe. The constellated sky and the planetary earth mirror one another to the point where they blend into one interplanetary world in which the poet can see himself anew, his senses alert, listening and observing with his own eyes open as he writes in his field notebook.[71]

"Ode to Charles Fourier" suggests that perhaps the answer to Breton's wish to understand his place in the world at the time of Hiroshima lay in his sense of the mythic past within the present that he felt he had discovered in the American Southwest. In a time of profound global disconnection, Breton saw Fourier and the Hopi as following what Berranger calls "analogical thought, that is, the thought of re-connection," or, as Anne Mortal states it, "as the only way to understand a world in which everything makes sense," a way of thinking that is symbolized for the Hopi by the eagle feathers they wear in their dances and, for Breton, the double rainbow he sees upon leaving Hopi territory.[72] He jots in the "Notebook" what he is coming to understand beyond his research, from his personal experience: "Eagles are seen by the Hopi as an intermediary link between the earth and the sky: hence the importance of the eagle feather."[73] Together, the "Ode" and the "Notebook" show Breton's positive response to the magic he found in the rain dance on a hot day that ended with a thunderstorm and influenced his thinking.[74]

One of the last strophes of the "Ode to Charles Fourier" refer specifically to Breton's trip to the Hopi mesas and demonstrate his recognition of the spiritual forces at work in the Snake dance:

> I salute you from the bottom of the ladder that plunges with great mystery into the Hopi kiva underground sacred chamber this 22nd of August 1945 at Mishongnovi at the hour when the serpents mark their readiness to operate their conjunction with the human mouth in an ultimate knot
> From the depths of the millennial pact which, with anguish, has the goal of maintaining the integrity of the verb
> From the great waves of echoes awakened by the feet imperiously stamping the ground to seal the alliance of the powers that cause the seed to rise[75]

In the poem, Breton imagines a consciousness at the bottom of the kiva ladder as a first person "I" connecting the sacred spaces below and above ground. He evokes the aural power of the stamping feet as though he himself could hear

the sound above his head, even though we know from the "Notebook" that in the moment that inspired the poem he was above ground in the village plaza, and would not have been unlikely to be allowed access to the kiva. The poem's consciousness then glides from below to above ground in the way that consciousness slides in the poem inserted into the "Notebook" from the feminine mountain mesas to the male Indian man and, through his looking "beyond," to the cosmos. The "ultimate" knot that links the chanting dancers to the serpents they hold in their mouths constitutes an elemental "conjunction" of man and myth into a present that includes himself, in a reaffirmation of his belief in the "integrity of the verb" that emerges from the universal "mouth" all human beings share. This line shows how in his imagination he was "literally dancing along" with the dancers, as Foster argues.[76] This blended identity in the "Ode," connecting the human body through time from ancient beliefs to one's present place in the universe through dance, shows how Breton felt a physical connection to the dancers through the contagious, immersive experience he had had watching them dance and how he opened himself to the experience.

With these images and the choice of the word "conjunction" Breton echoes the response of another White European visitor to the Hopi villages from the period described by Talayesva from his childhood. Art historian Aby Warburg visited the Hopi villages fifty years before Breton in 1895 and gave a talk in 1923, over twenty years later, that became famous, at the Kreuzlingen mental health clinic in Switzerland, in which he describes the Snake dance as an "extreme approximation" of a "magical desire for unity with nature via the animal world."[77] Warburg was in treatment for a breakdown at the time, and the talk, entitled "Images from the Region of the Pueblo Indians of North America," "was intended to prove that its author was sane."[78] The talk, accompanied by slides, was successful because Warburg showed a continuity between his work on the Hopi and his past research on European classical art. As Bolz argues, he saw "the same rituals practiced in the desert of Arizona as in the pagan mysteries of antiquity."[79] He saw Hopi rituals as confirmation of the validity of rituals from his own cultural history.

Warburg did not see the Snake dance in person on his visit to the Hopi Reservation; he analyzed it based on a few photographs. Franke and Schüttpelz argue that "Warburg took the image of Hopi people through a subterranean healing and grafted onto it a whole series of European snake cults" linked to European art history as part of his own desire for a new beginning. He made a visual link between the two, based on the snake as a "fellow rainmaker," "a messenger" for the Hopi as a conduit to the rain-granting lightening the snakes were intended to bring.[80] After asking Hopi schoolchildren to draw lightening from a German fairy-tale he had asked their teacher to read to them, Warburg found to his satisfaction that two "of the fourteen children drew the lightening in the form of a serpent," proving to him what Georges Didi-Huberman calls the "*dance of lost time,*" whereby a visual shape from the European mythological past could persist into the present, even in a non-

European desert landscape, like a fossil from the past rediscovered and playing a role in the present.[81] Warburg saw the Hopi snakes as linking Hopi religion to his own European past. Breton, however, who would not have read Warburg's talk before visiting the Hopi, saw the Hopi eagle as a link between the Hopi present and his hope for a renewed global future, which included Europe, with the eagle feather poised between the two, as a kind of *Surreality* that links states of consciousness with the unconscious, holding the potential for a future reconciliation into a more harmonious reality that might reflect what he had learned from his American experience.[82] His notebook suggests he was more open than Warburg to what he did not know or fully understand, seeking guidance from having been present during the dances and having had the chance to talk to Hopi people.

As White Europeans, both Warburg and Breton saw aspects of their own beliefs in the Hopi, confirming an argument by Mel Chen that "one key aspect of settler colonialism is its overwriting of extant ontologies," to see in cultures dominated by colonialism aspects of the colonialists's home culture.[83] Unlike Warburg, nonetheless, who saw the dances as a link to a past of "ancestral, cosmologic legend" that lived on as a "survival" of visual forms into the present, Breton opened himself up to discovering ways of thinking about the future that might provide hope for greater human harmony after the devastation of the world wars and the atomic bomb. Where Warburg saw the influx of modern technology as a threat to "the magical unity" he admired, to the "space required for reflection," Breton, as a Surrealist inclined to learn from physical experience, made an effort to see the Hopi in their present reality, commenting twice, for instance, on the Hopi as the "best cultivators of dry land in the world."[84] What Warburg missed was what Ishii contends about how the Hopi "accept alien forms of living without compromising Hopi ethos," which is "why contemporary Hopi life has embraced modern-day technologies and teachings, but still maintains a Hopi-centered perspective."[85]

Shortly after Breton's return to Paris in 1946, he was interviewed by Jean Duché in his apartment for *Le Littéraire*. He discussed some of the objects surrounding him, including his collection of katsinam. "Isn't this poetry itself, as we continue to understand it?" he asks, pointing out how: "[t]his Hopi doll evokes the goddess of corn…In the crenelated crown of the head you find clouds on the mountains; in the checkerboard pattern in front, you can see the ear of corn; a rainbow around the mouth; falling rain in the vertical stripes of the dress."[86] Looking at this figure, which was reproduced with him in the *Le Littéraire,* Breton plunges into the natural phenomena represented stylistically by the katsina figure and through it relives his memories of Arizona. He remains capable of imagining his way into the world of the katsinam he collected in the manner described by his old friend Benjamin Péret ten years later when he wrote in 1955: "I am thinking about the Hopi katsina figures from New Mexico, with heads that sometimes resemble medieval

castles. I am trying to enter this castle."[87] Breton, like Péret, never stopped "trying to enter" the castle of Hopi thought through his studies and memories, although his frame of reference would have extended beyond Péret's European "medieval castles."

With Breton's visit to the Hopi Reservation he saw first-hand what the katsinam he collected represented—human dancers who themselves represent supernatural, ancestral spirits. The contagiousness of watching the dances translated for him to the katsinam he brought home, because they remained alive for him, as Flahutez and Mesch have argued, intercessors between worlds and realities. Witnessing the Hopi dances had created a sensual awareness of matter's vibrancy for him that confirmed his understanding of the reciprocal profusion of *thing-power* he initially explored with his growing collection in his Paris apartment in the 1920s and 1930s. With objects, Breton enacted what Sara Ahmed describes as "affective economies" whereby "'the subject' is simply one nodal point in the economy, rather than its origin and destination."[88] He left himself open to what he might learn from them, through a respectful relationship to things that anticipates views expressed today by scholars of "new materialisms," such Jane Bennett in *Vibrant Matter* (2010), who posits things as having "a positive, productive power of their own."[89] Without referring to Breton, Bennett suggests a way of understanding Breton's personal relationsip to his things when she concludes: "In a vital materialism, an anthropomorphic element in perception can uncover a whole world of resonances and resemblances."[90]

Bennett's twenty-first-century phrase "vital materialism" describes the poetic impression Breton's studio made on visitors such as Radovan Ivsic during his first visit in 1954, who experienced it as an awakening of "forces with which one and another of these objects are charged. By their proximity to one another, they created an exchange of shivers and multiple echoes."[91] Bennett implicitly identifies one of the causes for Ivsic's enchantment with "this forest of presences" as linked to Breton's belief that things could have lives of their own, which was partially founded on his research through reading copies of the Smithsonian Bureau of Ethnology annual reports, through which he is likely to have gleaned that some of the objects he collected were viewed as having had lives of their own in their culture of origin.[92] Julia Bryan-Wilson ties this belief in the life of things to art history, that has "long considered objects to be animated bearers of history. We teach our students that in some perhaps not totally metaphorical sense, the things of material culture can, with proper attention, come alive."[93]

Animacy is the word Chen proposes for "a quality of agency, awareness, mobility, and liveliness" ascribed to matter that "animates cultural life in important ways."[94] Chen thus hones in on "the second life, … a quasi-animal life" that, in 1928, Surrealist Antonin Artaud ascribed to objects subjected to the close-up technology of the movie camera.[95] Chen's qualification of animacy as a physically apprehensible

"quality" that can "pulse through bodies" and expose hierarchies of beings as hierarchies of "sentience, mobility, and personhood" captures the impression Breton's apartment made on the visitor as a place in which lively things co-existed with him. In his 1948 preface to an exhibition of Oceanic objects in Paris, in which he includes references to American Indian objects, Breton seals the link between objects and Surrealism itself: "I am still as captivated by these objects as I was in my youth, when a few of us were instantly enthralled at the sight of them. The surrealist adventure, at the outset, is inseparable from the seduction, the fascination they exerted over us."[96] Breton's relationship with the things he collected was intensely personal, as he explains in the 1948 preface: "I often need to come back to them, to watch them as I am waking up, to take them in my hands, to talk to them, to escort them back to their place of origin so as to reconcile myself to where I am."[97] Breton not only opened up to Surrealism being transformed by encounters with objects like the katsinam he admired, he also opened up himself.

Already in New York in 1942, Breton recognized that he could no longer hold the same kinds of certainties he had believed prior to World War Two. In "The Great Transparent Ones," he surmised that there might exist unknown beings in the universe as small as moths or as huge as whales who would one day make us question our own importance.[98] Before he visited the Hopi pueblos, in other words, he not only was inclined to see the things with which he surrounded himself as alive; he was also preoccupied with the interrelationships between humans and the cosmos, between what he understood and what he did not. What the travels he recorded in the "Hopi Notebook" show is how he remained open to learning more about Hopi people and the role that Hopi katsinam played in their worldview, so that he might expand his own and that of Surrealism, thanks to the chance he had had to witness an ancient culture very much alive in the present, by being allowed to encounter Hopi people and see their ceremonial dances.

My thanks to Abigail Susik, Effie Rentzou, and Viktor Wynd for giving me the opportunity to test this material in invited talks and to Kate Mattingly, Danielle Moretti-Langholz, Richard Stamelman, and the anonymous reader for the *JSA* for their advice.

1 Mark Polizzotti, *Revolution of the Mind, The Life of André Breton* (New York: Farar, Straus and Giroux, 1995), 486 and François Bazzoli, "Un parcours en temps de guerre," *Varian Fry, Marseille 1940-1941* (Arles: Actes Sud, 1999), 45. Jacqueline Lamba Breton noted that "Kay Sage paid the rent, furnished it and so forth until André could get a job with 'Forever France' or something. Kay Sage *was* a help to us. She saw to finding the apartment and furnishing it just the way André liked it." Stephen Robeson Miller, *Biographical Chronology* (New York: Gallery of Surrealism, 2011), 39. Claude Lévi-Strauss traveled to New York on the same ship as Breton and describes their meeting on the *Capitaine Le Merle,* which launched a friendship that enhanced Breton's knowledge of Native American culture, in *Tristes Tropiques,* trans. John and Doreen Weightman (New York: Penguin Books, 1973), 24-25.
2 André Breton, "Carnet de Voyage chez les Indiens Hopi," *Oevures completes,* vol. 3 (Paris: Gallimard, 1999), 183-209. Text established by Etienne-Alain Hubert.
3 André Breton, *Conversations: The Autobiography of Surrealism,* trans. Mark Polizzotti (New York: Marlowe & Co., 1993), 160-61.
4 For the Hopi katsina figure image, see *La Révolution surréaliste* 3.9-10 (1 October 1927): 34. Wesley Bernardini explains that the Hopi think of these figures as *katsinam (tithu)* in Wesley Bernardini, Stewart B. Koyiyumptewa, Gregson Schachner, and Leigh Kuwanwisiwma, *Becoming Hopi, a History* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2021), 312. An installation at the Denver Art Museum explains: "Although they are popularly known as Katinas, the preferred Hopi name for the figures is tithu. Often mistakenly called 'dolls,' these carved figures represent benevolent spirit beings and are given to Hopi girls at specific times in their youth to encourage virtuous behavior and their well-being." (Noted on 2 November, 2017.) For more on the history of katsina religion see Thomas E. Sheridan, "Introduction, Documentary History, Oral Traditions, and the Trauma of History," in Thomas E. Sheridan, Stewart B. Koyiyumptewa, Anton Daughters, Dale S. Brenneman, T.J. Ferguson, Leigh Kuwanwisiwma, and Lee Wayne Lomayestewa, *Moquis and Kastiilam, Hopis, Spaniards, and the Trauma of History Volume I, 1540-1679* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2015), 220-22.
5 Quoted in Etienne-Alain Hubert, Introduction to Breton's "Carnet de Voyage chez les Indiens Hopi," in André Breton, *Oeuvres complètes,* vol. 3 (Paris, Gallimard, 1999), 1224, note 3.
6 Isabelle Monod-Fontaine, "Le tour des objets," *André Breton: La Beauté convulsive* (Paris: Centre Pompidou, 1991), 64-58; Blachère, 148-49.
7 Chen, *Animacies,* 51. *October,* 21. James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 147. Breton, *Free Rein,* 174.
8 W.J.T. Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 156.
9 André Breton, "La beauté sera convulsive," *Minotaure* 1.5 (1934): 10-12.
10 Two more objects from his collection, visible in two photographs published in the final issue of *The Surrealist Revolution* in December 1929, were boxes made by mentally ill patients, whose meticulous organization of discarded things represented a reordering that made a kind of idiosyncratic sense of old key chains, pen quills, wooden handles, buttons and broken scissors, all of which had long lost their practical use. The next journal, *Le Surréalisme au service de la revolution,* launched in 1929, featured an entire series of surrealist-made objects, including Valentine Hugo's *Objet,* which wound up in Breton's collection.
11 Sophie Leclercq, "L'Appropriation surréaliste de 'l'art sauvage' dans l'entre-deux-guerres: l'objet surréaliste contre l'objet colonial," *Histoire de l'art* 60 (April 2007): 140. My translation.
12 André Breton, *Nadja,* trans. Richard Howard (New York: Grove Press, 1960), 129. André Breton,

Free Rein, trans. Michel Parmentier and Jacqueline d'Amboise (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 172. Jean-Claude Blachère confirms the seductive power of things for Breton: "Breton had passionate feelings about his objects, similar to feelings for a woman," my translation, in *Les Totems d'André Breton* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996), 133.

13 Fabrice Flahutez, *Nouveau monde et nouveau myth: Mutations du surréalisme, de l'exile américain à l"Écart absolu' (1941-1965)* (Paris: les presses du reel, 2007) 10. My translation. Claudia Mesch, "'What Makes Indians Laugh,' Surrealism, Ritual and Return in Steven Yazzie and Joseph Beuys," *JSA* 6.1 (2012): 41, 42.

14 Polizzotti, 258. In 1922, Breton announces "Surrealism" as "a certain psychic automatism that corresponds rather well to the dream state" and characterizes the results as a "revelation." André Breton, "The Mediums Enter," *The Lost Steps,* trans. Mark Polizzotti (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 90-91.

15 André Breton, "The Exquisite Corpse, Its Exaltation," *Surrealism and Painting,* trans. Simon Watson Taylor (Boston: MFA, 2002), 290. Although dated 1948 in *Surrealism and Painting,* this text was originally published for a brochure prepared to accompany an exhibition by the same name at the Galerie de la Dragonne in Paris, 7-30 October, 1938. André Breton, *Oeuvres completes,* vol. 4 (Paris: Gallimard, 2008).

16 See note 4.

17 Louise Tythacott, *Surrealism and the Exotic* (London: Routledge, 2003) 81.

18 Tythacott, 81.

19 Lautréamont, *Maldoror,* trans. Guy Wernham (New York: New Directions, 1946), 333. Louis Aragon, "Challenge to Painting," *The Surrealists Look at Art,* ed. and trans. Pontus Hulten (Venice, CA: Lapis Press, 1990), 72.

20 Elza Adamowicz, "Collage," *Surrealism,* ed. Natalya Lusty (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021) 179, in reference to Breton's admiring introductory essay to Ernst's first Parisian exhibition at the Sans Pareil gallery-bookshop, "Max Ernst," *Lost Steps,* 60-61.

21 *La Révolution surréaliste* 3.9-10 (1 October 1927): 44.

22 The fish, with which Breton identified personally, having been born under the sign of Pisces, swim in water suggestive of the unconscious, leading up to the envelope, a symbol for transport and communication, out of which a signpost for "certainty" emerges. Breton explains his identification with the fish in the first "Manifesto of Surrealism." André Breton, *Manifestoes of Surrealism,* trans. Richard Seaver and Helen R. Lane (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1972), 40.

23 André Breton, "The Phantom Object," *Le surréalisme au service de la revolution* 1.3 (December 1931): 20. My translation.

24 Breton could almost have been quoting fellow surrealist René Magritte's *Treachery of Images* (1929), because of the way Magritte announces through painted words that his painting of a pipe is "*not* a pipe."

25 André Breton, "Crisis of the Object," *Surrealism and Painting,* trans. Simon Watson Taylor (Boston: MFA, 2002), 280, translation modified.

26 Introduction to the "Carnet de Voyage chez les Indiens Hopi," by Etienne-Alain Hubert, in Breton, *Oeuvres complètes,* vol. 3, 1223-25. See also Hubert's "Introduction" to the "Notebook" here. See Hubert, 1223, note 2 for more on Reynal.

27 Hubert, 1225.

28 Bernardini et al, 57. Hopiland or *Hopitutskwa* is a larger landscape "used by the Hopi people in their ongoing cultural pracrices and their historical understanding of the past," in Saul L. Hedquist, Maren P. Hopkins, Stewart B. Koyiyumptewa, and T.J. Ferguson, "A Hopi Atlas," in Bernardini, 27. See also Bernardini and Stewart B. Koyiyumptewa date a "robust population of farmers . . . already present on the Hopi Mesas by the AD 500s and 600s (and likely much earlier)" in "Becoming Hopi People," in Bernardini et al, 319.

29 Breton, "Carnet," 185, 187. See also translation here.
30 Hubert, 1225 and Introduction here. Today, Breton's notes would possibly be considered research by the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, whose protocols may be found on their website: https://www.hopi-nsn.gov/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/HCPO-Research-Protocol.REVISED.2021.pdf
31 Hubert, 1224.
32 Breton, "Carnet," 185.
33 The letter to Jean Gaulmier is cited in Etienne-Alain Hubert, "Ode à Charles Fourier, 1947, Notice," in Breton, vol. 3, 1246.
34 Letter to Jean Gaulmier allso cited in Marie-Paule Berranger, "André Breton chez les Indiens, le "Carnet Hopi," *Notes, notations et carnets de voyage,* Ed. Marie-Paule Berranger (Caen: PUC, 2009) 163-80. 175.
35 Berranger, 177, note 38.
36 Ibid.
37 Breton, "Carnet," 188, 187. For more on Hopi history see Bernardini et al, especially 57-65; on those tensions as they played out in the 1940s see Brian Haley, "Ammon Henacy and the Hopi Traditionalist Movement: Roots of the Counterculture's Favorite Indians," *Journal of the Southwest* 58.1 (Spring 2016): 141-43.
38 Sheridan names Harry James, Peter Whiteley, Wesley Bernardini, and T.J. Ferguson as examples of "outsiders" who have elicited Hopi understanding of the past. Sheridan, 3.
39 Lomayumtewa C. Ishii, *Voices from our Ancestors: Hopi Resistance to Scientific Historicide,* dissertation, Northern Arizona University (Ann Arbor: UMI Microform 3016598, 2001), 9, 8.
40 Ishii, 9.
41 Ibid., 20, 1.
42 Ibid., 6, 26. Flahutez confirms that Breton owned no less than 14 volumes of the d'*Annual Report of the Smithonian Institution Bureau of Ethnology.* Flahutez, 331. Ishi shows how the view that the Hopi were on the road to extinction was basically evolutionist, which some anthropologists such as Frank Boas considered racist. Ishii, citing Richard O. Clemmer's *Roads to the Sky: The Hopi Indians in a Century of Change* (San Francisco: Westview Press, 1995), 27-28.
43 Ishii,180, 61.
44 Breton, "Carnet," 186, 185. I use the name Oraibi because it is the name in Breton's "Notebook." Contemporary spelling is Orayi.
45 Ibid., 185.
46 Ibid., 186.
47 Ibid., 188, 189, 193.
48 Bernardini, et al, 312.
49 Peter Bolz, "Indians and Katsinam: European avant-garde approaches to the indigenous cultures of North America," *Dada Afria* (Zurich: Museum Rietberg, Berlinische Galerie, and Verlag Scheidegger & Speiss, 2016), 57. Gallerist Julien Flak describes them as made for Hopi children "to familiarize them with the spirits and characters that compose their magical universe"; they were "sculpted to be offered to children by masked dancers at sacred ceremonies" in Julien Flak, "Kachina Spirit," *Kachina Spirit* (Paris: Galerie Flak, 2003), 8.
50 Breton, "Carnet," 188.
51 Ibid., 197.
52 Ibid., 196, 194.
53 Ibid., 193.
54 Breton refers to his admiration for Hopi "mythology" in his 1950 interviews with André Parindaud, see note 3. From "The Katsina Religion and the Pueblo World," Sheridan, et al, 221.
55 Breton, "Carnet," 197. Susan Leigh Foster, "Movement's contagion: the kinesthetic impact of performance," *The Cambridge Companion to Performance Studies,* ed. Tracy C. Davis (Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press, 2008), 49.
56 Foster, 54-55, 57.
57 Ibid., 47.
58 Jacqueline Shea Murphy, *The People Have Never Stopped Dancing* (University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 9-10. My thanks to Marie Tollon-Everett for this reference. Haida curators of the "Listening to our Ancestors" exhibition at the National Museum of the American Indian in 2006, Lucille Belle, Nika Collison, and Joelen Edenshaw write about how the tribe's history is inscribed in their dances: "Our oral histories trace our lineages back to the time of the supernatural beings. Since this time, our ancestors have recorded—through our oral histories, carvings and paintings, songs and dances—the events they witnessed, such as the Ice Age, the first tree, and the great floods. These events have collected together over time to create a rich and complex history, an intimate relationship with our lands and waters, and a way of life we would not trade for anything." Lucille Belle, Nika Collison, and Joelen Edenshaw, "Haida, We Carry our Ancestor's Voices," *Listening to our Ancestors,* ed. Chief Robert Joseph (Washington, DC: Smithsonian National Museum for the American Indian and National Geographic, 2006), 147.
59 Anselm Franke and Erhard Schüttpelz, *A Kind of War,* Germany, 2021, 59 min., https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EjwrGMxE44U point out that the popularity of the Snake dance in the days when it could be photographed served to help prevent a ban on it as a sacred ceremony, unlike the legal bans other tribes suffered on their ceremonial rites in the United States and Canada, as part of an official effort to wipe out "primitive" religions. For restrictions on Canadian Northwest Coast tribes in the form of potlatch bans see Candace Hopkins, "Outlawed Social Life," *Stages* 8 (January 2019): 1-18, and Robert Joseph, Chief, ed., *Listening to Our Ancestors* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian National Museum for the American Indian and National Geographic, 2006).
60 Franke and Schüttpelz; Bolz, 57.
61 Breton, "Carnet," 185.
62 Ibid., 186.
63 Ibid., 193.
64 Ibid., 196.
65 Don Talayesva, *Sun Chief, Autobiography of a Hopi Indian,* ed. Leo Simmons (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942), 44.
66 Breton, "Carnet," 201.
67 Ibid., 206.
68 Ibid., 207.
69 Ibid., 208.
70 Ibid., 209.
71 The "Ode to Charles Fourier" is another example.
72 Berranger, 175. Anne Mortal, "Voir les Kachina," *Melusine* 20, *Merveilleux et surréalisme,* ed. Nathaline Lemat-Letellier and Claude Letellier (Lausane: L'Age d'Homme, 2000), 273. My translation.
73 Breton, "Carnet," 190.
74 Berranger, 177.
75 Breton, "Carnet," 362.
76 Foster, 54-55.
77 Aby Warburg, *Images from the Region of the Pueblo Indians of North America,* trans. Michael P. Steinberg (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1995), 35. See also Peter Loewenberg, "Aby Warburg, the Hopi Serpent Ritual and Ludwig Binswanger," *Psychoanalysis and History* 19.1 (2017): 92.
78 Joseph Leo Koerner, "Paleface and Redskin," *The New Republic* (March 24, 1997): 30. Review of Aby Warburg, *Images from the Region of the Pueblo Indians of North America,* trans. Michael P. Steinberg (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995).
79 Bolz, 57.

80 Warburg, *Images,* 36, 37.
81 Georges Didi-Huberman, *L'Image survivante: Histoire de l'art et temps des fantômes selon Aby Warburg* (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 2002), 335, 356. My translation.
82 Breton, *Manifestoes,* 14. Breton would not have read Warburg's talk because Warburg "did not wish the lecture published and it was withheld for sixteen years after delivery and a decade after his death," so that it was first published in English in 1939 and only recently published in French. He nonetheless might have heard of Warburg's visit. See Loewenberg, 92.
83 Mel Y. Chen in Candace Lin, Mel Y. Chen, Jih-Fei Cheng, "What is 'contagion'"? *sublevelmag.com,* 2017, 2.
84 Warburg worried that by attracting lightening in their dances the Hopi risked creating a source for modern electricity, which he saw as responsible for putting "the planet back into chaos." In Warburg, *Images,* 54. Breton, "Carnet," 197.
85 Ishii, 182.
86 Breton, *Conversations,* 202.
87 Benjamin Péret, *Anthologie des mythes, legends, et contes populaires d'Amérique* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1960), 15. My translation.
88 In Ahmed's essay, "objects" are not things, as in Breton's studio, but psychoanalytic social bodies as distinguished from "subjects" in the Freudian or Lacanian sense. Nonetheless, I believe her notion of "affective economies" applies to the circulation of emotion and insight derived by Breton from working in a space inhabited by things that felt alive to him because of their past lives, whether spiritual, as in his collection of katsinam, or practical, as in the found objects discovered at Paris flea markets. Sara Ahmed, "Affective Economies," *Social Text* 79.22.2 (Summer 2004): 117-39.
89 Jane Bennett, *Vibrant Matter* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1990), 1. I thank Kate Mattingly for introducing me to "new materialisms" and the relevance of dance to Breton's collection and my approach through profusion. I thank Bennett for her openness to my reading.
90 Bennett, 99. Bennett uses the notion of *assemblage* in *Vibrant Matter,* taken from Lucretius: "Lucretius tells of bodies falling in a void, bodies that are not lifeless stuff but matter on the go, entering and leaving assemblages, swerving into each other." Bennett, 18. This idea of matter composed and recomposed within assemblages linked to *thing-power* is also key to Deleuze and Guattari's *Thousand Plateaus:* "an assemblage establishes connections between certain multiplicity drawn from each of these orders [namely, "a field of reality (the world) and a field of representation (the book) and a field of subjectivity (the author)." Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus, Capitalism and Schizophrenia* ((Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 22-23.
91 Radovan Ivsic, *Rappelez-vous cela, Rappelez-vous bien tout* (Paris: Gallimard, 2015), 23, 35, my translation.
92 Ivsic, 35.
93 Response to the "Questionnaire on Materialisms" ed. Emily Apter, *October* 155 (Winter 2016): 16. Bryan-Wilson continues, "many non-Western and Native epistemological frameworks propose a fluid subject/object divide, yet such worldviews have been scarcely considered in the mainstream object-oriented ontology literature (which is dominated by white men)" (16-17).
94 Mel Y. Chen, *Animacies, Biopolitics, Racial Mattering, and Queer Affect* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012), 2.
95 Antonin Artaud, "Sorcery and Cinema," *The Shadow and Its Shadows,* ed. and trans. Paul Hammond (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 2000), 103.
96 André Breton, *Free Rein,* trans. Michel Parmentier and Jacqueline d'Amboise (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 172.
97 He refers to his trip through a comparison between his admiration for Oceanic art and "Indian art." Breton, *Free Rein,* 174.
98 Breton, *Manifestoes,* 293-94.