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INHERITORS OF THE BLACK LEGEND:
FRANCISCO GOYA AND LUIS BUNUEL

by

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ABSTRACT

Filmmaker Luis Buñuel occupies a unique position in the history of cinema: not only is Buñuel considered the definitive filmmaker associated with a major art movement -- Surrealism -- but he is also considered the embodiment of two national cinemas, those of Mexico and Spain. Buñuelian Surrealism actually derives from the atavistic medievalism of Spain, unique in Western Europe with its history of oppression, intolerance, persecution and specularized violence. It is a Surrealism rooted in a profound sense of moral outrage, closer in spirit to the dark vision of his Aragonese predecessor, painter Francisco Goya, than to André Breton's Parisian inner circle. Consistent with their keen intelligence and true to their Spanishness, these Aragonese masters transcend cultural specificity with a message of universal applicability. In a resounding condemnation of mankind's victimization by the agents of sociopolitical control, they reveal the gaping abyss separating cultural cliché from the reality of human suffering.
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reminder that, in art and in life, there need be no limitations.
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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this essay is to examine the still controversial cinema of Spanish filmmaker Luis Buñuel (1900-1983), focusing on both the director and his early corpus within their cultural/historical context. As will be shown below, Buñuel's "signature" cinematic series not only defines Surrealist cinema, but does so in a way which defines the genre as a distinctly Spanish phenomenon, notwithstanding his initial indebtedness to Parisian Mouvement Surréaliste. Nevertheless, Buñuel's adaptation of Surrealist conventions remained integrally linked to a Spanish "proto-surrealism"; specifically, to the extraordinary vision of Buñuel's fellow Aragonese, painter Francisco Goya y Lucientes (1746-1828).

Buñuel, like Goya, was heir to Spain's fanatically Catholic tradition, to an atavistic medievalism which perdured well into the twentieth century. The spirit of the Reconquista, reinforced by the Holy Office of the Inquisition, guaranteed Spain's ultimate sociopolitical retrogression and stasis and, accordingly, its marked antithesis to the triumph of Pure Reason north of the Pyrenees. Hermetically sealed and parochial, the reality of Spain was sufficiently bizarre to engender a vision of surreality which, rendered by men of considerable talent and keen intelligence, ultimately transcends cultural specificity. The consistently relevant and universally applicable nature of this vision belongs more to the realm of cultural critique than to that of art per se, a
philosophical agenda which extolled individual freedom and justice which Buñuel would refer to as la línea moral -- the moral line. This was essentially an agenda of rejection of any person or institution which claimed to have a monopoly on truth, whether the Inquisition or the dogmatic, Breton-dominated inner circle of Parisian Surrealism. Both Goya and Buñuel, true to their Spanishness (and, ergo, to an almost anarchic individualism), recognized that the spectral truth of dreams has greater validity than the false reality of sociopolitical and cultural cliché. As neorealist critic André Bazin noted in CAHIERS DU CINEMA (cited in Williams 1987:202):

Buñuel's Surrealism reaches to the bottom of reality. It knocks the breath out of us... His Surrealism is a part of the rich and fortunate influence of a totally Spanish tradition. His taste for the horrible, his sense of brutality, his tendency to delve into the utmost extremes of humanity -- these are the heritage of Goya, Zurbarán, and Ribera. And, above all, it reflects a tragic sense of life which these painters expressed through the ultimate human degradation: war, sickness, misery and decay.

Buñuel's early corpus, which includes UN CHIEN ANDALOU (1929, in collaboration with Salvador Dalí), L'ÂGE D'OR (1930), and LAS HURDES: TIERRA SIN PAN (1932), retains an undiminished puissance de choc, an unsurpassed power of
expression equalled only by the haunting, hallucinatory reality of Goya's CAPRICHOS, DESASTRES DE LA GUERRA, and Black Paintings. The quintessential Spanishness of Buñuelian Surrealism was reaffirmed in 1961 by one of Buñuel's lifelong friends, Surrealist poet Rafael Alberti. When asked to comment on the indebtedness of Spanish Surrealism to its Gallic counterpart, Alberti insisted (in Morris 1972: 45): "Le Surréalisme espagnol tenait bien plus de Goya que du Surréalisme français: le nôtre est plus explosif. Le 'CHIEN ANDALOU' traduit notre état d'esprit à l'époque."

Significantly, when the Ministry of Culture under Socialist Prime Minister Felipe Gonzales established the Spanish equivalent of the Oscar in 1987, the award was designated the Goya (Kinder 1992: 140).

The unforgettable images of Goya -- THE THIRD OF MAY, SATURN DEVOURING ONE OF HIS CHILDREN -- embody and reflect the violence, the cruelty, and the Otherness of Spain. A history marked by immersion in the conventions of the Counter-Reformation, confirming Northern European notions of the Black Legend, would continue to reinforce Spanish cultural specificity which, in turn, would in large part determine the nature of indigenous art production -- including cinema. Throughout his career, Buñuel cleverly adapts the tenets of French Surrealism toward ends which reflect an omnipotent Spanish materialism. It is the world of Goya (Kinder 1993: 1).

The first chapter of this essay will develop the issues
of Spanishness and alterity. Relevant topics include ethnographic surrealism, surrealism in Spain (and Goya's critical relation to its development), and general comments on the Parisian Surrealist Movement, including Buñuel's association with the Movement during the mid- to late 1920s. Chapter Two will focus on Buñuel -- biofacts, Spanishness (and, by extension, his relationship to both Goya and the Spanish picaresque tradition) -- and his experience as a provincial in the cosmopolitan French capital. Buñuel's early corpus will then be considered within the general context of Surrealist conventions, and the manner in which he adapts those conventions to his personal artistic and philosophical convictions. The final section will provide a brief summary of the foregoing, with concluding observations.

Ia. SURREALISM IN ART

Buñuel (1983, 1985) acknowledges his indebtedness to the Surrealist Movement for having provided the theoretical/philosophical guidelines realized in UN CHIEN ANDALOU and L'ÂGE D'OR. The assimilation of Surrealist principles -- what Kinder (1993) refers to as an amalgamation of Marx and Freud -- is what "gave form" to Buñuel's pioneer filmmaking between 1928/1930; nevertheless, it should again be emphasized that what he had gleaned from his exposure to Parisian Surrealism was tempered by the legacy of Spain, and of Goya (see Morris, 1972 and Aranda, 1975). Before discussing Parisian Surrealism,
it should be recalled that it was Goya who prefigured many of Surrealism's underlying principles. The fusion of dream and reality, the ambiguous, indeterminate time/space parameters, and the generally oneiric quality of the CAPRICHOS and Black Paintings shattered irrevocably all notions of an ordered Newtonian universe. Given Goya's penchant for the bizarre, the brutal, the horrific -- indeed, for the marvelous -- coupled with his profound moral agenda of rejection, was there anything additional that Parisian Surrealism could possibly offer Buñuel which would amplify such a powerful legacy?

As an art movement, Surrealism was inaugurated in late 1924 by critic and poet André Breton with the publication of the first SURREALIST MANIFESTO. Many of the essentials of Surrealism -- experimentation with "pure psychic automatism", accident, and an overriding commitment to sociopolitical revolution -- had to some degree been present in Surrealism's ideologically diffuse predecessor, Dada. Breton's participation had been instrumental in the coalescence of Paris Dada between 1919/1922. It was his disgust with Dada's inchoate and essentially nihilistic agenda which led Breton, along with poets Louis Aragon and Philippe Soupault, to form a proto-Surrealist counter-movement whose vehicle was the publication LITTÉRATURE. Inspired by the works of Rimbaud and Isidore Ducasse, the Comte de Lautréamont, whose work conveyed intensely subjective, imaginative experiences, the LITTÉRATURE group initiated a search for a new super-reality, forsaking
the world of appearances. This was a search focused on the transformation of two seemingly contradictory states -- dream and reality -- into a sort of absolute reality, a sur-reality (Rubin 1992: 53; Hamilton 1990: 388-391, see also Fer et. al 1993: 47-64).

Surrealism augmented the essential vitality of the Dada attitude, or state of mind, which had already begun to liberate art production from the dying remnants of cultural academicism, insisting on the furious and incalculable energy of the creative principle. Eschewing Dadaist theoretical anarchy, however, the Surrealists imparted structure to freedom by introducing Freud and Marx. Breton asserted that the imaginative life embraced the total psychic experience of the unconscious as revealed by Freud. He insisted on the objective reality of the dream, and the impact of that reality on conscious life. For Freud, the dream was merely symbolic of experience, or expressive of repressed desire, while for Breton dream and experience were the same. As a poet, Breton believed that the dream experience was released by poetic metaphor expressed through the techniques of automatic writing -- pure psychic automatism. Accordingly, Breton defined Surrealism in the 1924 MANIFESTO as follows (Rubin 1992: 64; Hamilton 1990: 389; see also Fer et. al, 1993; Hake 1993: 97):

SURREALISM; noun, masculine. Pure psychic automatism by which one tends to express verbally, in writing or by any other method, the real
functioning of the mind. Dictation by thought, in the absence of any control exercised by reason, and beyond any aesthetic or moral pre-occupation.

ENCYL: Philos. Surrealism is based on the belief in the superior reality of certain forms of association heretofore neglected, in the omnipotence of dreams, in the undirected play of thought.

Hamilton (1990: 390) notes that Breton's belief in the unity of psychic experience with material reality imparts a Hegelian tenor to his thinking, later modified by the Marxist reversal of Hegelian idealism into dialectical materialism. In 1927, Breton and Aragon (inter alia) joined the French Communist Party (PCF). Their endorsement of the PCF marks the culmination of a revolutionary thread of otherwise vague sociopolitical ideas, a trend which had become increasingly evident in the Parisian movement during the mid- to late 1920s, a dimension which enriched the decidedly psychoanalytical emphasis of the 1924 MANIFESTO (Per et. al. 1993: 50-51).

While the Surrealists' imposition of psychoanalytic and Marxist theory signals a structural shift away from Dadaist incoherence, their ambitious attempt to reconcile the intellectual threads of Romanticism, Freud, and revolution into a systematic theory ultimately precluded the movement's success as a cohesive philosophical current. Breton's dogmatic
organizational tendencies served finally to engender protracted debate among Surrealism's members to the point of factionalism and severance with the original inner circle. By 1929, a major fissure opened between those who supported Breton's "Second Manifesto of Surrealism" published in LA REVOLUTION SURREALISTE, and others who chose instead to join Georges Bataille and Michel Leiris, whose theories appeared in the rival publication, DOCUMENTS (refer below to section Ic: Ethnographic Surrealism). This devolutionary process, in turn, only reinforced Surrealism's viability as a commercialized art movement tied to the demands of late Capitalist consumerism, not a philosophical/intellectual vehicle for cultural critique. While the art produced under the auspices of Surrealism would continue to be playful and provocative, its polemic was reduced to "semiotic guerilla warfare" (Marcus and Fischer 1986: 122-125; Fer et. al 1993: 50-52; 204-209).

There is a certain irony in this "devolutionary" development. Although Breton had been inspired by Rimbaud and Ducasse, those who had explored visual situations inseparable from dream and/or hallucination, he had initially disregarded the need for pictorial (or sculptural) support for his program. While referring to painting as "that lamentable expedient" (cited in Hamilton 1990: 390), he nonetheless conceded the importance of the eye "present at the conventional exchange of signals that the navigation of the mind would appear to demand" (ibid). Significantly, the
original MANIFESTO of 1924 devoted very little space to the consideration of the plastic arts: only in a footnote does he mention Picasso and de Chirico, both of whom had been so admirable — and so inventive — for so long. Even Bataille concurred that Picasso's work was integral to an appreciation of the Surrealist perspective; nevertheless, neither Picasso nor de Chirico was ever officially associated with the movement (Hamilton 1990: 389; Fer et. al 1993: 206; see also Rubin, 1992).

The first exhibition of Surrealist art was held at the Galerie Pierre in November, 1925. Among the artists represented were some who had in fact been named in Breton's 1924 MANIFESTO, notably de Chirico and former Dadaist Max Ernst, a friend of Buñuel's who would later appear briefly in L'ÂGE D'OR. It is also noteworthy that the divergent current which would continue in Surrealist art — somewhat analogous to the developing rift in philosophical Surrealism — was already apparent at the first exhibition. Breton's poetic talent led him to encourage plastic artists to seek and produce visual images according to the principles of automatic writing. What was so apparent from the start, however, was the inherent contradiction of the artist subjecting himself to instinctive responses (pure psychic automatism) and the process of fixing painted images on canvas, a conscious, highly controlled activity which renders the image more accessible to the viewer. Certain painters — "Abstract
Surrealists" like André Masson and the Catalanian Joan Miró (both of whom produced images which were to some degree figurative) -- continued to investigate the spontaneous interaction of hand and medium. Alternatively, there were others who, much like de Chirico, discovered in their hallucinations visual metaphors of great clarity and precision. This "Oneiric/Veristic" wing of Surrealism included Yves Tanguy, the Belgians René Magritte and Paul Delvaux, and Buñuel's one-time friend and collaborator, the Catalanian Salvador Dalí. Operating somewhere between these two groups was Max Ernst, whose experimental collage paintings (from 1921) and frottage drawings (from 1925) provided a fertile range of suggestions for the exploration of concrete (representational) and abstract modes of expression. Surrealist painting, like Surrealist poetry, sought to reify and to perpetrate the agenda espoused by Breton in 1924: the generalized critique of rationality (or of "bourgeois" rationality), and an appeal to "the marvelous" -- a celebration of the irrational, the fantastic, and the oneiric (Hamilton 1990: 391; Fer et. al 1993: 50; Williams 1991: 11; see also Rubin, 1992).

While the critical and commercial responses to the canvases of Dalí, Miró, Ernst and Magritte attest to the success of Surrealism as an artistic and cultural phenomenon, these were precisely the criteria of success which mattered least to the explosively iconoclastic personality of Luis
Buñuel. While reflecting on his personal commitment to Surrealism, Buñuel asserted (1983: 109) that it was the revolutionary nature of the movement with its decidedly moral dimension which appealed most to him. His commitment to Surrealism was rooted in the concept of l'amour fou, a mad love so extreme that one is willing to destroy bourgeois values and institutions in the pursuit of often elusive ends. Significantly, Parisian Surrealism's commitment to both the French Left and the Third International is clearly stated in their publication of 1929 (the year Buñuel affiliated with Surrealism), LE SURREALISME AU SERVICE DE LA RÉVOLUTION. Although he disassociated from the Movement between 1930–1932, Buñuel personally remained faithful to Surrealism as a platform from which to launch his counter-cultural polemic. His fidelity to Surrealism's original intent to synthesize Marx and Freud permeates his oeuvre between 1927–1977, filmmaking which would continue to reflect this dialectic between sex (and freedom) and the sociopolitical order -- but with a distinctly moral bent. Buñuel, like Goya, was always quick to remind a comatose audience that this is indeed not the best of all possible worlds (Kinder 1993: 320; Buñuel 1932: 123).

As early as 1925 -- the year of Buñuel's arrival in Paris -- Jean Goudal (not himself a Surrealist), Antonin Artaud and Robert Desnos recognized the value of cinema as part of the search for the language of dreams, and that the cinematic
experience itself transports the viewer into an hallucinatory realm. Goudal realized that Surrealism was privileged by the film medium, but did not equate the film state with the dream state. He observed that film is in fact conscious hallucination, as opposed to the unconscious hallucinatory state of (dream) sleep. Recognizing that both films and dreams proceed through a succession of images constituting a simulacrum of the real world, he also realized their shared quality of being more or less "real" than reality. Although Goudal, Artaud, and Desnos all agreed that the model of the dream was essential to the development of a specifically Surrealist film practice, they did not concur on the most important features of the model. Artaud and Goudal stressed the structural and formal similarities of film and dream, basing their theory of Surrealist cinema on film's ability to imitate the language of dreams. Desnos, alternatively, concentrated on the development of the wish-fulfilling content of l’amour fou (refer above). Generally, it is the combination of these theories which defines Surrealist cinema; that is, the ability of film to simulate in its textual effects the psychic apparatus as a desiring machine, realizing in filmic processes the means of representing the relationship of the psychoanalytical to the material, mediated through rhetoric and figuration. Beginning with Buñuel's UN CHIEN ANDALOU, Surrealist film discovered a viable visual style (Williams 1991: 17-52; Elsaesser 1987: 26).
Ib. SURREALISM IN SPAIN

Recalling the comments of Alberti and Bazin cited in the Introduction, the discursive consensus clearly suggests Francisco Goya as the visionary predecessor of Spanish Surrealism generally, and of Buñuelian cinema, specifically. Morris (1972: 226-30) further suggests that Spanish Surrealism, as idiosyncratic as the Spanish tradition in painting, owes much of its vision -- including its violence -- to Goya. Kinder (1993: 138-140) also maintains that Spanish filmmakers have consistently utilized the powerful example of Goya as painter/philosopher -- with Buñuel as an outstanding example -- as a means of sociopolitical polemic. Goya's work provided Buñuel (inter alia) with two useful models; primarily, Goya's work afforded the prototype for a rather subtle critique, operating pictorially within well established genres (ultimately of Renaissance/Baroque derivation) including scenes of Spanish folkloric life (plebeyismo), religious commissions and royal portraiture. His scathing portrayal in the FAMILY OF CHARLES IV (1800/1801 Fig. 1) operates effectively as cultural satire on a subliminal level -- the grocer and his wife who have just won the lottery (see Janson and Rosenblum, 1984). In such works, Goya's satire is subtle, often hardly detectable, and the potential for violent reaction is only implied. His second approach, evident in his late work, is (following Alberti) "plus explosif" and, accordingly, more Spanish. Goya's late works profoundly
GOYA: King Charles IV of Spain with his family. Madrid, Prado
reflect his sense of betrayal, abandoned by Enlightenment Reason first by the invasion of Napoleonic forces, and later by the revivification of the Inquisition by the restored indigenous monarchy of Fernando VII. What Goya's late work actually mirrors is a (remarkably modern) darkening personal vision, a nascent Surrealism revealed as psychic and spiritual dissonance, and a sense of disconnectedness with a world gone mad. Like Buñuel, Goya was all too aware of the rupture between the ordained and the actual.

If indeed Goya, along with a Spanish picaresque tradition including LA CELESTINA and LAZARILLO DE TORMES, is considered the éminence grise lurking behind a uniquely Spanish Surrealism, then the parochial, idiosyncratic cultural specificity of Spain deserves mention insofar as its medievalism provided an ambience congenial to this "translation" of "the real". Spain, mired in ignorance and poverty, was the land of the Black Legend where violence was institutionalized and routinely specularized. It was also the land where the demonography of Hieronymus Bosch was first fully appreciated. The enthusiastic reception of his "painted sermons" by His Most Catholic Majesty, Philip II, secured El Bosco's placement in the Western art historical litany. Housed near Madrid in Philip's Palacio Escorial, El Bosco's phantasmagoria would have been readily accessible to Goya (see d'Ors, 1964 and Gibson 1991: 167).

The persistence of medievalism assured Spain's failure to
develop, socially and economically, despite pre-eminence as a hegemonic power during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. By the nineteenth century, Spain was incongruously out of step -- sociopolitically, economically, and intellectually -- with the rest of Western Europe. Although Spanish decline could probably be traced to the defeat of the Armada in 1588, Ortega (1982: 54) notes specifically the almost pathological lack of talent in Spain after 1680, a deficiency reflected in art, science and literature. The end result by the mid-18th century was an almost complete cultural isolation, an alterity reinforced by fashionable *plebeyismo*, an exaggerated version of the national culture (the *idearium español* discussed by philosopher Angel Ganivet in 1897; cited in Glendenning 1977: 175). What was actually a pathological turning inward was transformed by Spain's venal aristocracy into failure with style -- emphasizing all that was indigenous and, accordingly, demonstrably "out of sync" with the world of Kant, Hegel and the French Philosophes flourishing north of the Pyrenees. This was the Spain in which the young Goya's talent was nourished and his career launched, a world which would have been familiar to the young Luis Buñuel, another provincial Aragonese "redneck" from the village of Calanda, 150 years later (Ortega y Gasset 1982: 44-69; Licht 1979: 104-127; see also Buñuel, 1983).

Given that the Spain of Goya's time was a sociopolitical anachronism, it is not surprising that the provincial rococo
tradition in which Goya was trained is generally described as a not very interesting one (see Janson and Rosenblum, 1984). Nevertheless, the decade spanning 1785-1795 reveals a remarkable visual and philosophical expansion in Goya's work, a watershed in his career from which he emerges as an artist of unparalleled expressive power. Twentieth century poet and playwright Federico García Lorca, friend and associate of Luis Buñuel, has noted that Spanish art -- at its most explosive -- is always governed by a keen duende, a dark inner force which imbues it with a certain distinctiveness of invention (cited in Kinder 1993: 173). In the case of Goya, the duende is manifest as a highly imaginative painterly compulsion -- corresponding to Ortega's "Yo", or "I" -- a spirit which frees the creative imagination. Malraux (1957: 10-25) suggests that the deafness which descended upon Goya in 1792 released the suppressed "genius" who, in isolation, began to scrutinize reality in order "to record the testimony of truth" (ibid.: 25). Goya then proceeded to produce "images less of dreams than of dreaming" (ibid.: 28), releasing a pre-Freudian world of fears and obsessions long since banished by Enlightenment Reason.

There is, however, rather clear-cut evidence of a subtle and markedly subjective dimension in Goya's work which actually predates the catastrophic illness of 1792/93 to which Malraux refers. The earliest evidence of Goya's estrangement from reality appears in a religious commission of 1788. Goya
was engaged by his patrons, the Duke and Duchess of Osuna, to produce two paintings for the Borjia Chapel in Valencia Cathedral. One of the works is quite conventional; however, its companion -- ST. FRANCIS BORJIA AT THE DEATHBED OF AN IMPENITENT (Fig. 2) -- reveals Goya as the Spanish artist that he was, forsaking the suave Italianisms in vogue since the High Renaissance which had informed much of his earlier work. Here, the Last Rites of Catholicism are transmogrified into a haunting voodoo ritual having more in common with popular witchcraft (brujería, still alive and well in Spain) than with the universal pieties of Mother Church. Goya introduces for the first time his own preternatural phantasmagoria which, enhanced by the intensely dark overall tonality of the work, seems to interest the artist more than the pathetic figure of St. Francis, reduced to reliance upon ineffectual religious formulae. While the barely discernible monsters are somehow predictable, in fact alluding to those of Bosch, they are nonetheless more disturbing than simply picturesque. The real impact of this work, however, lies in Goya’s ability to render death as something repellent; pious miracle working has failed, and therefore any sense of Renaissance/Baroque transcendence (in death) is precluded. Goya’s impenitent is condemned to the threatening darkness of the Void. Only Goya could desacralize the sacred so effectively, and succeed in doing so under the auspices of a hefty commission. How could such a pictorial statement not appeal to the Buñuel who
Fig. 33. Goya, San Francisco de Borja Exorcizing an Evil Spirit, 350 x 300 cm, 1788. Valencia Cathedral.

ST. FRANCIS established the precedent for Goya's later work, a direction which was augmented by the series of engravings known as the CAPRICHOS. This series, produced in two sets, could be considered the "hinge" between the Enlightenment and the Modern sensibilities. Although intentionally didactic and moralizing thematically, their composition and often diabolic humor adumbrate modern modes of thought and perception associated with the Postimpressionists, with Cubism and, most importantly, with Surrealism. As he attacks a battery of evils including religious abuse, prostitution, and aristocratic snobbery, Goya begins to dissolve the stanchions separating fantasy from fact. As he projects his allegorical vision, Goya refrains from depicting vice as a means of admonishing the viewer, but simply as another aspect of human reality. Nor does he exempt himself from waywardness, as Voltaire -- the voice of the Enlightenment -- would have done (Licht 1979: 92-103).

The CAPRICHOS herald a phenomenon which can only be defined as Surrealismo goyesco: the shock, or sense of the fantastic emanating from these images, becomes a function of the uncanny juxtaposition of the real and the unreal in a disturbingly indeterminate space. Here Goya's diabolic playfulness conforms precisely to what Surrealist cinéaste Ado
Kyrou would later refer to as the marvelous: the ghosts of de Chirico which can only enter through the front door, or an encounter with Frankenstein's monster on the Place de l'Opéra (in Hammond 1991: 169). What is perhaps most unsettling, however, is the spatial/environmental ambiguity, the feeling that the image is everywhere, yet nowhere. Goya's use of light and dark is equally ambiguous, adding to the impression that the CAPRICHOS are set in a disjointed world -- a world separate from the Newtonian universe. By the time Goya conceived the second, more unsettling series of CAPRICHOS -- which presumably began with the well-known No. 43:El sueño de la razón produce monstruos/The Sleep of Reason produces Monsters (Fig. 3) -- the representation of identifiable naturalistic forms was no longer a consideration. All approaches to reality are occluded, as if Goya had lost faith in both the human intellect and the sensorium as means of acquiring knowledge (Licht: ibid.; Nordstrom 1962: 153-171).

The stylistic and conceptual breakthroughs which make their debut in the CAPRICHOS are carried even further in Goya's work after 1800, a corpus which embodies the Nietzschean adage that the quest for truth can indeed be terrible (or terrifying; see Miller 1993: 385). Goya's work was always somewhat idiosyncratic, even while working within the parameters of the Franco-Italian tradition, readily distinguishable from the "academic machines" glorifying the hierarchical establishments of Church and State he sought to
deconstruct (refer above to Kinder, 1993). His psychological predisposition led to the discovery of a new form of art -- an art not derived from external sources but instead dictated by his duende; that is, from the recesses of an active subconscious from which the unexpected was released (refer above). While it could be argued that Goya's vision (and his bizarre articulation of that vision) was without precedent3, it is again noteworthy that the foundation upon which this vision was based -- the nightmares, the coarseness, the violence and, occasionally, the naked realism -- is a reflection of his essential Spanishness (Hertzer 1973: 92-95; see also Kinder 1993: 136-196 on the cultural specificity of violence).

Before proceeding on the last leg of this journey into Goya's dark world, it is worth mentioning briefly the extraordinary impact of this corpus, beginning with the CAPRICHOS, on various 19th and 20th century successors. As Goya's work -- and Spanish painting generally -- became increasingly accessible to audiences outside Spain (beginning in the mid-19th century)1, a multifaceted discourse, constructing a multiplicity of Goyas, developed as part of the indexical litany of an evolving art history5. The general consensus now seems to indicate that while Romanticists, Realists, Impressionists, Postimpressionists, Expressionists and Symbolists ad nauseum all paid homage to Goya, Goya himself defies categorization (according to a typology which
is at best arbitrary). The undeniable conclusion is that, in painting, Goya remains unsurpassed in his consistent relevancy, and in his ability to directly and palpably assault the senses, the intellect, and the emotions. Goya's "revolution" is further augmented by compositional innovation which anticipates the filmic frame, destined to become increasingly important as photography and cinema became the primary vehicles of desire in the 20th century (see Licht, 1973 and 1979; Glendenning, 1977 and Kinder, 1993).

Goya's revolutionary visual/compositional syntax is taken a step further in the DESASTRES, which challenge the viewer, in a manner similar to photo-journalism, to discern -- or to decipher -- a higher purpose in the cycle of life and death. The DESASTRES record the Napoleonic invasion and occupation of Spain, beginning in 1808. While the disjointed time/space configurations of the CAPRICHOS are retained, the extravagant fantasy of the earlier series gives way to horror which is disturbingly real.

The often mocking sense of the burlesque retained in the CAPRICHOS, of esperpento (literally, "nonsense"; see Kinder, 1993), totally disappears in the DESASTRES. Goya, photo-journalist and chronicler of the pointless savagery of war and occupation, provides a visual record of a world abandoned by Reason. His non-elegiac treatment of the human form -- tortured or dead -- recalls the Middle Ages, yet the apparent martyrdoms are purposeless and never really sacrificial in a
religious sense. Goya's message resounds most powerfully in DESASTRES No. 69: Nada. Ello dirá/Nothing. The Event will Tell (Fig. 4). "Nothing" becomes the sum of all things as Goya -- the first modern painter -- begins his descent into nihilism (Licht 1979: 151-154).

Prior to the tumultuous events of 1808, Goya -- the successful court painter -- was drawn philosophically to the circle of educated afrancesados, or Gallicized Spaniards who embraced the republican and libertarian ideals of the Enlightenment. His profound sense of personal betrayal as he witnessed the failure of Reason is evident throughout the DESASTRES, culminating in his last major commission, the THIRD OF MAY. Such vengeful, outraged grandeur would not again surface in the plastic arts until Picasso's GUERNICA of 1937. It has been suggested that the DESASTRES, together with the THIRD OF MAY, represent a highly personalized attempt at exorcism, an effort to purge the artist's perception of the human beast capable of insensate, purposeless cruelty, and do so with the uncompromising directness of the camera shutter (Janson and Rosenblum 1984: 5; Licht 1979: 128-158). Goya, the moral philosopher (and in this regard linked to the Buñuel who conceived L'ÂGE D'OR and LAS HURDES), records the brutal irony: Spain was victimized as Gallic Reason became instead an "imperial French killing machine". Indeed, was there ever a more obvious rupture between the ordained and the actual? (see Aranda 1975: 146).
Goya’s photo-journalistic recording of the horrors of war reaches its climax in the THIRD OF MAY (1814: Fig. 5). It is a brutal painting: a man is about to be shot. As in photography, Goya focuses on motif rather than composition. He conveys his observations while revealing an intuitive ability to achieve the greatest impact by discovering the most highly charged vision of reality. Despite his individualized emotional and intellectual reactions, there is a discernible attempt at authorial anonymity with no trace of a carefully studied stance. The THIRD OF MAY is the first existential painting, representing nothing less than an irrevocable severance with all sentiment and understanding characteristic of an earlier Western art historical milieu⁶. As Goya leads his audience to nothing but darkness, he again opens a mysterious fissure in time and space. In a vision of martyrdom no longer transfigured by the light of eternity, Goya confronts the viewer with the face of Hell, while Reason sleeps⁷ (Hetzer 1973: 111; Licht 1979: 116; 128-158; see also Janson and Rosenblum 1984: 55 and Thomas, 1972).

Taking his cue from subject matter instead of from art, Goya captures the horrific split-second that is the liminal zone separating life and death. The darkness is dense, impenetrable, in a way that nothing emerges from it which would otherwise obscure -- or distract -- the viewer’s attention from this brief moment of stark terror. The abrupt
juxtaposition of figures which contributes to the above-
mentioned lack of compositional harmony is particularly
unsettling -- and readily apparent to any visitor to the Prado
who compares the THIRD OF MAY to the paintings surrounding it.
The puissance de choc resides in the illuminated face of the
central figure, a very real sense of terror which extends
beyond the picture frame. What is perhaps most disturbing is
Goya's temperament: if he sermonizes, he does so only
obliquely. The artist neither dignifies nor embellishes this
erstwhile martyrdom, but instead conveys the existential
vision of a conscienceless world without God. The already
fallen figure at the feet of the "protagonist" is a repulsive
still life, a nature morte composed of bleeding, mangled flesh
which convincingly expresses the stark finality of DESASTRES
No. 18: Enterrar y callar/Bury and Shut up (Fig. 6). Defying
all prevailing notions of connoisseurship, Goya -- with his
jumbled, dissonant colors -- treats an ugly subject in an
appropriately ugly manner, communicating ultimate extinction.
The tradition in painting which began with Giotto has been --
quite effectively -- deconstructed (Hetzer 1973: 110; Licht

Despite their general grisliness and disturbing
commentary on the human condition, the DESASTRES and the THIRD
OF MAY nonetheless represent Goya's final effort to reach an
audience. He portrayed martyrdom as pointless and anti-
rational, while Reason -- always so foreign to Spain -- proved finally to be as brutal and barbarous as Spanish medievalism. The message contained in DESASTRES No. 44 resonates: Yo lo ví/ I saw this. Having seen and experienced a world abandoned by both God and Reason, Goya, accordingly, gradually disassociated himself from a society which obstinately perpetuated the myth of harmony. He then proceeded to conjure one of the strangest lessons in the history of Western art -- the so-called Black Paintings which, much like Goya himself, continue to intrigue and perplex, resisting reduction to a univocal reading. The Black Paintings, despite scholarly hypotheses to the contrary (which will be addressed briefly below), retain their uniqueness as art intended for no one (Licht 9179: 159-195; Malraux 1957: 161; see also Muller, 1984).

Hermetically isolated by both his deafness and his physical removal to the Quinta del Sordo, or Residence of the Deaf Man, Goya was able to give free artistic reign to his ingeniously arcane and highly personal reassessment of a world fraught with folly, hypocrisy, and contradiction. Goya was the survivor who afforded testimony to a world in which chaos had become the universal principle. Although he continued to produce following his move to Bordeaux in 1824, the Black Paintings stand as Goya's final testament as painter/philosopher -- a pictorial synthesis of the appalling consequences of unreason. Despite their overall sense of
urgency, the discovery of sketches and recent X-Ray analyses clearly refute notions that the Black Paintings represent the haphazard, spontaneous eruptions of a deaf and almost blind man. There is nonetheless a non-finito quality about these works which compounds the enigma. Unlike the CAPRICHOS and DESASTRES, there are no more "program notes" to elucidate or enlighten.

One month before Goya's professional career had all but ended, the artist signed the contract conveying ownership of the Quinta on February 17, 1819. All of these paintings were executed between 1820-1823, following a second attack of the illness initially responsible for his deafness in 1792/93. The series was divided into two cycles covering the walls of two superimposed salons (Figs. 7 and 8)\textsuperscript{10}. For the purposes of this essay, the entire series will be reduced to a discussion of two images which more than adequately convey a sense of Goya's power, his intellect, and his desolation: SATURN DEVOURING ONE OF HIS CHILDREN, and A DOG\textsuperscript{11} (Licht 1979: 160; Muller 1984: 17, 45; see also Malraux 1957).

Guillaume Apollinaire, one of the leading art critics and theoreticians of the early 20th century, once defined modern art as "convulsive" (cited in Licht 1979: 168). If this assessment is correct, then surely Goya's image of Saturn is one of the first renderings to correspond to this definition. This ogre -- or humanoid -- appears to be extruded from a dense blackness, operating visually and metaphorically as a
harbinger of the 20th century, yet only obliquely alluding to the mythological being signified by the title. Goya's Saturn lacks the accoutrements of its mythological counterpart, i.e., the scythe and the hourglass linking Saturn with time. Nor does this creature even remotely resemble its classical counterpart, such as that executed by Peter Paul Rubens (Fig. 9), also housed in the Prado. There is no hint that the bestial element which is chaos will be supplanted by a moral/ethical order, traditionally associated with the Olympian gods and heroes. Alternatively, Goya's monstrosity bursts forth as a condensation from the void, but with the suddenness of an hallucinatory assault of almost psychotic magnitude. The implied mythological allusion, which includes cannibalism, could perhaps be interpreted as Goya's final sociopolitical condemnation. The parent, tearing at and devouring its child, suggests scathing commentary aimed at either an oppressive state apparatus victimizing the individual or, more disturbingly, at an entire species hellbent on self-destruction (Licht 1979: 168-169; Janson and Rosenblum 1984: 117).

THE DOG (Fig. 10) is the most surprising and eloquently concise -- although no less apocalyptic -- of the images comprising this series. Here the viewer, like the dog, is placed at the edge of an abyss. The pressing questions of existence will remain unanswered, and there is an almost palpable sense of futility. This painting, in which only a
Las Pinturas Negras

Fig. 66. Roba. Setas, 1675. Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Las Pinturas Negras

Fig. 55. Genoa. Nova Filiarum. Sin Gius Goldi, originally oil on wall, later moved
un known. 1688. Oil on canvas. 1688. Museo del Prado, Madrid.
dog's head is clearly defined, represents what is apparently the sole survivor of a world where all matter has been pulverized. The action is intransitive: what is the dog looking at, and where does it stand? Usually a symbol of devotion, is this canine quality actually signified by the animal's patient gaze? Whatever it is the dog actually anticipates seems destined not to materialize from the vast emptiness of Goya's space. Nobody and nothing are aware of the animal's existence, whose patience will be tested and extended through an eternity of waiting -- this is life in the great Void, a tragic emblem of meaninglessness which echoes DESASTRES No. 69: Nada/Nothing (refer above). Goya perceived this anarchic emptiness and, at the age of 74, perhaps similarly experienced the panic of being lost in oblivion, this presentiment of terror (Janson and Rosenblum 1984: 117; Licht 1979: 177-179).

Ortega (1982: 136-137) remarks on Goya's slow but steady development -- fueled by his "Yo", or duende -- toward his finally realized, explosive potential. He refers to his chimeric countryman as "una realidad tan extraña como es Goya" -- a reality as strange as Goya (1982: 141). Goya resurrected a sort of Jungian collective unconscious belonging to a pre-Renaissance Europe, and proceeded to make the monsters real in a world abandoned by Reason. Unleashing an entirely new range of sensibilities, Goya short-circuited understanding and appreciation by the general audience of his day, only to
experience a revival with early Modernism which persists to date (Licht 1979: 193; Malraux 1957: 128). Ortega (1982: 141-142) goes so far as to cite Goya's elusive, enigmatic quality as the essence of his "dominant virtue", namely, his intellect.

Malraux (1957: 141) raises the interesting question: When Goya conceived the Black Paintings, was he dreaming or excavating, revealing ultimately the lost domain of primal man -- the unconscious? If focused on the unconscious, Goya was the first painter to exploit this primal domain as a source of inspiration (forget the Netherlandish proverbs of Bosch and Brueghel). In doing so, Goya was able to produce works which can only be described as marvelous; Goya effectively annexed a reality he rendered surreal (Malraux 1957: 136). As cultural critique and/or counter-cultural polemic, Goya was the first painter to conform to a Surrealist agenda which contested a reified culture consisting only of artificially determined norms and value hierarchies. Like his 20th century successors, Goya subverted, parodied, and transgressed convention -- artistic and cultural. Expanding (or simply ignoring) the parameters of the Western pictorial tradition, Goya's frontal and direct attack on cruelty performed in the name of orthodoxy qualifies him -- along with Buñuel (and true to his Spanishness) -- as a great moral philosopher (refer again to Aranda 1975: 146).

Before leaving Spain in 1824, Goya lived to witness
Spain's first civil war. Under a Constitutional government installed in 1819, Spaniards for the first time experienced a brief period of political relaxation which lasted until 1823. Priscilla Muller (1984: 38-41; 205-238) notes that during this period of constitutional liberalism, optical theater -- perfected by a Belgian named Eteienne Gaspard Robertson -- was successfully introduced to the still provincial Madrileños. Goya, despite his deafness, remained receptive to the world of fantasy attainable through theater. Muller (ibid.) suggests the possibility that, with proper lighting and even audio effects, Goya could have reproduced a version of Robertson's Phantasmagoria -- relying on the obscure Black Paintings for the maximum shock effect of alternating dream (sueño) and nightmare (pesadilla)\(^{13}\). If he did so -- and this assertion is purely conjectural -- the audience he sought to thrill and/or instruct would have to have been a remarkably sophisticated one. Accordingly, Muller suggests that the elusive meaning characteristic of this series was deliberate for political, rather than for personal reasons. As history would soon demonstrate, Goya's wariness concerning the viability of Spanish liberalism proved correct. Reason again failed -- the oppressive monarchy of Fernando VII was re-installed, and the Inquisition re-imposed. Goya was destined to die in exile, and the incomparable power of his art would be supplanted in Spain by a cool academicism.

Notwithstanding the remote possibility that Goya was
actually involved in the production of optical theater, it is worth recalling that his work anticipated the development of the filmic frame in such disturbing works as the DESASTRES and the THIRD OF MAY. It should also be noted that these snapshot-like visions of horror profoundly impacted the development of photography just over a decade following his death in 1828 (Licht 1979; refer above). Nouvelle Vague cinéaste Jean-Luc Godard has also noted that cinematic "concerns" actually originated in the 19th century, later to be resolved in the 20th (Bellour and Bandy 1992: 159). Goya's anticipatory genius (whether or not realized as optical theater) was destined to be assimilated by Buñuel.

Finally, it is significant that Goya's distinctively Spanish "proto-Surrealism" would also survive in Buñuelian cinema often in the form of a dominant materialism. Spanish Surrealism derives from a cultural reality far stranger than fiction or fantasy. Unlike its Gallic counterpart, the cultural anachronism that was Spain was never devoted to logic. For the Spaniard -- and to two diehard Aragonese like Goya and Buñuel -- Surrealism is not the intellectual distortion of reality, but rather the acknowledgement of rupture which does not defy the natural order. As stated by García Lorca (cited in Aranda 1975: 27): "The ship on the sea and the horse on the mountain."
Ic. ETHNOGRAPHIC SURREALISM

As indicated in the Introduction, the Spain which produced Goya and Buñuel was, by Western European standards, a sociopolitical anachronism -- the ethnographic Other. Following the Napoleonic invasion of 1808, Spain had become a colonized Other; as the embodiment of supreme historical irony, Spain -- Europe's first great hegemonic power -- had become, by Goya's lifetime, a veritable Capricho, a sort of Surreal joke which French traveler Theophile Gautier referred to in 1842 as something "buried in Goya's tomb" (see Licht 1973: 30-31). It is noteworthy that when Buñuel recorded this still extant reality (i.e., protracted medievalism) in LAS HURDES, the film was rather coolly received by the theoretically liberal Republican government. Nevertheless, Buñuel's talent for documentary filmmaking was immediately recognized by a splinter group of French Surrealists led by Georges Bataille, who had severed ties with André Breton as early as 1929 (see Fer et. al. 1993: 204-206). Buñuel was approached by Michel Leiris, who sought to engage Buñuel to record the Dakar-Djibouti expedition (1931-1934), financed by the new Musée de l'Homme and utilizing the expertise of ethnologist Marcel Griaule. Buñuel declined, claiming no interest whatsoever in the cultures of non-Western peoples. However, having declared his disinterest in the application of his own cinematographic breakthroughs to field anthropology, Buñuel had -- consciously or unconsciously -- reinforced the
alterity of Spain by focusing on Spain, capturing its cultural otherness on film in a manner analogous to Goya's critique of Spanish plebeyismo in his own time. The Black Legend survived, only to be recorded by the camera as a Surreal ethnographic documentary narrative (Conley 1987: 176-198; Taussig 1992: 1-10; see also Aub, 1985, and Buñuel, 1983).

Buñuel's groundbreaking documentary narrative was embraced by an intellectual milieu which ignored traditional barriers separating academic disciplines. Surrealism, as a "socio-philosophical" discourse, contested a reified culture, and instead regarded traditional values, attitudes and meanings as artificial (constructed), arbitrary, and repressive. Given a counter-cultural perspective in large part inherited from their Dada predecessors, the Parisian Surrealists proceeded to parody sociocultural conventions by means of subversion and transgression. Their approach -- literary, artistic, and cinematic -- can be traced to Dada and, ultimately, to both Analytic and Synthetic Cubism. The end result was a vision of reality characterized by unexpected juxtapositions, collages of incongruous elements, time/space rupture and illusion. The resulting montage of the uncanny drew heavily from the subconscious, the erotic and the exotic (Marcus and Fischer 1986: 122-123; see also Fer et. al. 1993: 47-52 and 189-203, and Clifford 1988: 117-119, 129-134).

James Clifford (1981; cited in Marcus and Fischer 1986: 123) enumerates those features of the "ethnographic surrealist
attitude" which combine surrealism with the results of (objective) anthropological field work. The first of these is the realization that cultural norms are, as previously noted, merely artificial arrangements which lend themselves to detached analysis and cross-cultural comparison, providing the foundation for the modern semiotic sense of cultural construction. The second feature of ethnographic surrealism is the inescapable availability of cultural alternatives through published field reports, providing the basis for critique of one's own culture. Finally, both Surrealism and anthropology came to regard culture as a contested reality, susceptible to various interpretations depending upon the relative position of power of the particular commentator (Marcus and Fischer 1986: ibid.).

As noted above, both Bataille and Leiris had broken away from Breton and his remaining partisans by 1929. These defectors were drawn toward the Paris Institute of Ethnology, founded by Marcel Mauss, Paul Rivet and Lucien Lévy-Bruhl in 1925. DOCUMENTS, a journal edited by Bataille (1929-1930), served as a philosophical meeting ground for other dissidents from Breton's "orthodox" circle, including future ethnographers such as Griaule and Leiris. Bataille -- ever the eccentric "transcendental pornographer" -- proceeded to develop Mauss's notion of the ambivalence of culture in predictably bizarre ways. Nonetheless, this initial dialogue between Surrealism and ethnography was critical to the
realization that culture is a flexible construction of creative faculties, encouraging ethnographers to expose their representational procedures, provoking their self-consciousness as chroniclers of culture and, ultimately, making them aware of the possibility of including authorial voices other than their own (Marcus and Fischer 1986: 124-125; see also Clifford 1988: 129-134).

The Surrealist agenda, which extolled the imagination and defied the rule of logic, was quite naturally attracted to the vast potential of film. It was Buñuel who first realized this potential in establishing filmic techniques which, decades later, would continue to influence the work of French ethnologue/cinéaste Jean Rouch. Ethnography, which shares with Surrealism the abandonment of the absolute, of the distinction between high and low culture, augments this disruptive -- or questioning -- approach to the symbolic order with an attitude of ironic participant observation among the hierarchies and meanings of collective life. Clifford (1988: 118) maintains that ethnography and Surrealism are not stable entities and, within the context of what he refers to as "the hothouse milieu of Parisian cultural life" of the 1920s and 1930s, it would seem that no field of social, scientific or artistic endeavor could remain indifferent to influences and provocations from beyond its disciplinary boundaries (refer above). Clifford (ibid.) notes further:

The boundaries of art and science (especially the
human sciences) are ideological and shifting, and intellectual history is itself enmeshed in these shifts. Its genres do not remain firmly anchored.

By the 1930s, anthropological interest in film stemmed directly from its possibilities as a medium for ethnographic narrative; it is conceivable, therefore, that this interest was initially stimulated by Buñuel's LAS HURDES which -- situated in a liminal zone between the fictive and the factual -- addressed the interests of both ethnography and Surrealism (Clifford 1988: ibid.; Stoller 1992: 202-209; and Marcus and Fischer 1986: 75).

Significantly, Buñuel's pioneering of ethnographic documentary anticipates issues critical to late modernist/postmodernist representation: reflexivity, intertextuality/dialogism, and radical empiricism. The original definition of reflexivity, derived from philosophy and psychology, appears to be one of a galaxy of satellite definitions specifically applicable to LAS HURDES. That is, reflexivity as self-scrutiny, the capacity for self-reflexion and methodological self-scrutiny realized by Buñuel -- the observer -- observing the Other who he identifies as himself, an Other with whom he identifies. Buñuel himself occupies a liminal zone: he is an educated Spaniard and, while not an Hurdano, equally an heir to the Black Legend. In LAS HURDES, it is as if Buñuel -- Spanish auteur -- Hispanicizes the Surrealist perspective of Paris, combining Surrealist
conventions with the cultural specificity of Spain, and, accordingly, with his own heritage. As will be demonstrated below, however, Buñuel's polemic extends beyond the limitations imposed by both geography and cultural specificity. **Intertextual dialogism**, rooted in social life and history, refers in its broadest sense to the infinite and open-ended possibilities generated by all discursive practices of a culture -- oral, literate and visual. As such, dialogism constitutes a diffuse dissemination of ideas, what Bakhtin (cited in Stam et al 1992: 205) designated the "powerful deep currents of culture". Dialogism, therefore, operates within all cultural production; the filmmaker, accordingly, becomes the orchestrator of this range of cultural production, the amplifier of the ambient messages of the entire culture. Buñuel, both Parisian cosmopolite and cultural insider, weaves his nightmare in a manner which provokes -- and evokes -- viewer reaction to the cycle of life and death, creation and destruction, in LAS HURDES. Buñuel's use of the camera is sensual, enabling the viewer to engage palpably and viscerally to this nightmarish living time-warp, constituting a visual assault comparable to Goya's: running sores, bulbous tumors, unventilated houses, malarial chills and fever, cretinous grins, and the taste of green, unripened cherries. This is **radically empirical** Buñuelian cinema, anticipating Rouch's ability to appeal to the sensorium as well as to the intellect, transporting the viewer beyond "observational

Id. RECAPITULATION

As a prelude to an analysis of Buñuel's early corpus, the foregoing has attempted to highlight those features of Surrealism (sensu lato) relevant to such an analysis. In the process of isolating Surrealism's definitive features, it should be emphasized that Parisian Surrealism, Spanish Surrealism and ethnographic Surrealism share a certain anti-intellectualism which calls into question the stanchions separating fact and fantasy, illusion and reality. In this regard, it is instructive to note Stoller's (1992: 212) reference to Dewey's ART AS EXPERIENCE which draws attention to what Keats designated "negative capability"; that is, the capacity to embrace -- and even relish -- the uncertainties, the ambiguities, and the imponderables of lived experience. The seductiveness of the irrational, the attraction to the uncanny and the ambiguous, and an abandonment of the absolute constitute the essence of a Surrealist vision which problematizes the entire range of cultural production -- literary, artistic, and scientific. In the tradition of skepticism (and relativism) including Nietzsche and de Sade, Surrealism sought nothing less than the deconstruction of
traditional notions of truth as defined by the established intellectual order. In their frontal assault on the cultural ordering of reality, what Kuenzli (1987) refers to as the "symbolic order", the Surrealists carried their art beyond the merely observational into often nightmarish dreamlands, irreducible images which defied categorization (Stoller 1992: 205, 212; see also Stoller, 1989). Extending beyond mere plastic and poetic metaphor, however, exists a Surrealism rooted in moral outrage, an explosive Surrealism which profoundly connects Buñuel to Goya -- and to Spain.

Having noted in Section Ia (Surrealism in Art), that the basic tenets of the Parisian movement owed much to Dada -- as well as to the fragmented universe of Analytic and Synthetic Cubism -- it is worth reviewing briefly the nature of this agenda. As defined in Breton's 1924 MANIFESTO, Surrealism is "pure psychic automatism", dictation by thought which reveals the "real functioning of the mind". Surrealism extolled the "superior reality" of the oneiric, the omnipotence of dreams and the undirected play of thought. Originally a poetic movement founded by Breton, Louis Aragon, and Philippe Soupault -- all former Dadaists -- Surrealism focused initially on the above-mentioned dictation by thought in the form of automatic writing. The "super-reality" of the results of automatic writing discussed in the 1924 MANIFESTO reflects a Freudian emphasis, an interest in the latent content of dreams as revealed by automatic writing. A similar focus on
the Freudian subconscious would -- by 1925 -- form an essential part of Surrealist theorizing in the plastic arts, and in the visual symbols of Surrealist cinema. The conventions associated with this "vocabulary" include uncanny juxtapositions, the blurring of dream and reality, and lack of discernible narrative continuity.

In addition to the decidedly psychoanalytical focus of the 1924 MANIFESTO, Parisian Surrealism adopted a Marxist-derived revolutionary platform. By 1927, two years before Buñuel "officially" associated with the movement, the Parisian Surrealists openly endorsed and joined the French Communist Party. Although it is unlikely that most Surrealists had any real understanding of Marx -- and could in no way anticipate the excesses of Stalinism -- the inclusion of Marxist dialectical materialism provided Surrealism with a politico-revolutionary dimension. This political addendum could have served Surrealism effectively as a platform from which to launch counter-cultural polemic; unfortunately, the rift of 1929, largely attributable to Breton's megalomania, ultimately precluded Parisian Surrealism from becoming a viable, cohesive means of cultural critique. It should be noted, however, that the splinter group led by Georges Bataille and Michel Leiris was drawn to the Institut d'Ethnologie; Surrealism, like sociocultural anthropology, considered culture -- the symbolic order (refer above) -- as nothing more than a reality to be contested, an arbitrarily constructed system of value
hierarchies.

It was Surrealism's revolutionary platform which appealed most to Buñuel who -- because of the powerful legacies of Spain and Goya -- was attracted to this moral thread which would ultimately inform his own agenda of rejection -- a rejection of arbitrarily constructed cultural nostrums. As the discussion of Buñuel's early corpus proceeds from UN CHIEN ANDALOU (1929) to LAS HURDES: TIERRA SIN PAN (1932), it will become increasingly clear that his early interest in the Freudian realm of subliminal sexual fears and obsessions is supplanted by a distinctively Spanish sense of moral outrage directed at the institutions responsible for human misery. Buñuel, the anthropologist as (ironic) participant observer, emerges finally as a diagnostician of civilization -- and this is the essence of his línea moral. Like Goya, Buñuel reveals himself as an artist/philosopher of unparalleled expressive power in his ability to arouse in the viewer a sense of moral indignation. As he parodies, subverts, and transgresses all culturally constructed hegemonic structures, Buñuel -- like Goya -- exposes the rupture between the ordained and the actual.

As this discussion proceeds to an examination of Buñuel's réalité cinématique, a summary glance at surrealist conventions is in order. Again, while a restatement of Buñuel's sources is critical to an understanding of his adaptation of those features associated with each -- Parisian
Surrealism, Spanish Surrealism, and ethnographic surrealism -- it should be emphasized that none of these "categories" is discrete, and the overlap considerable. These include:

1. **Surrealist conventions**, most of which had been anticipated by Dada and Cubism, and include **uncanny juxtapositions, time/space ambiguity**, and the **blurring of dream and reality**. These conventions will feature prominently in *Un Chien Andalou*. It could legitimately be argued that all of these can be traced to **Goya's dissonant vision** -- especially the two sets of *Caprichos* and the Black Paintings -- which really does represent that hinge between the well-ordered universe of Newton, Leibniz and Descartes and a decidedly twentieth-century sensibility;

2. An interest in the **Freudian subconscious**, that integral part of Breton's 1924 *Manifesto*, yet also prefigured in the pre-Freudian demonography of Goya. It was Malraux (1957) who suggested that Goya was "excavating", releasing a phantasmagoria of fears and obsessions, a part of a pre-Renaissance Europe long since banished by Enlightenment reason. This is also part of a Spanish *Weltanschauung* far less tied to logic than its Gallic counterpart;

3. The **Marxist revolutionary dimension** -- an addendum to the original psychoanalytical focus of the 1924
MANIFESTO -- which for Buñuel became part of a moral agenda of rejection of all that is inhibitory and hypocritical. The distinctively moral aspect of Buñuelian Surrealism can be linked to the *moral outrage of Goya*, a manifestation of Spanishness rather than of dialectical materialism (see Aranda, 1975). Goya's photojournalistic accounts of a world abandoned by reason in the DESASTRES and the THIRD OF MAY serve as an uncompromising condemnation of the actual;

4. The importance of *l'amour fou* in Buñuel's corpus which, like the Freud/Marx dialectic, would pervade his work for fifty years. Somewhat Freudian, somewhat Marxian, *l'amour fou* -- literally, crazy love (or even obsession) -- could actually be considered part of Buñuel's attraction to the politico-revolutionary aspect of Parisian Surrealism. The all-consuming nature of *l'amour fou* leads the afflicted to destroy all manner of bourgeois impediment to the realization of desire, and will feature prominently in *L'ÂGE D'OR*; and

5. **Contestation of a reified culture** consisting of arbitrarily constructed value hierarchies, placing Buñuel's cultural assaults within the disciplinary boundaries of ethnography. As he parodies, subverts and transgresses various arbitrarily imposed
hegemonic structures, Buñuel not only emerges as a diagnostician of civilization but also reveals himself as the heir to Goya, and to the Black Legend of Spain. In LAS HURDES, Buñuel combines the techniques of Surrealism and ethnography, going beyond "observational cinema" as he conjures a separate reality. As he brilliantly conceives this réalité cinématique, Buñuel not only establishes the precedent for ethnographic documentary narrative but also calls into question all notions of culture and reality.

II. THE MAN FROM CALANDA: LUIS Buñuel

An appreciation of Goya's charged hallucinatory reality came naturally to Luis Buñuel who, like Goya, was just another "redneck" from Aragon (Buñuel 1983: 62). In his native village of Calanda, undoubtedly similar to Goya's Fuendetodos, the spirit of the Middle Ages survived well into the twentieth century. Buñuel (1983: 8) describes the closed, isolated world of Calanda in which feudal class distinctions were maintained. Few outsiders ever came to Calanda, where each day was like the next as if ordained for all eternity, with the major moments of each marked the bells of the Church of Pilar. The enduring medievalism of Spain was far stranger than fiction or fantasy, a reality as familiar to Buñuel as it would have been to Goya 150 years earlier. The inherent surrealism of the
Spanish experience -- that is, of culture caught in a time warp -- was as nourishing to Buñuel's vision as it had been to Goya's, and would later account for Buñuel's reputation as the embodiment of both cinematic Surrealism and the national cinema of Spain (Buñuel 1983: 8-9; Kinder 1993: 288)\textsuperscript{15}.

Buñuel's break with Calanda (and his Jesuit educational background) came in 1917 when he was accepted at the Residencia de Estudiantes in Madrid. At the Residencia, Buñuel associated with what passed for an avant-garde -- the Ultraists -- and met his lifelong friends, Federico García Lorca and Rafael Alberti (refer above)\textsuperscript{16}. It was in Madrid that he also met the Catalanian Salvador Dalí, never a student at the Residencia but rather an avant-garde tag-along, with whom he was destined to have a life-long love/hate relationship. In 1925, Buñuel moved to Paris with his mother's blessing (his father had just died), without a clue as to how he would survive in the French capital. Working as a freelance critic, Buñuel attended movies more frequently than he had in Madrid, often viewing as many as three daily. Having inveigled a press pass from an acquaintance, Buñuel managed to attend private screenings at the Salle Wagram. Buñuel's enthusiasm for American comedy -- especially the antics of Buster Keaton -- was equalled by his admiration for Sergei Eisenstein's BATTLESHIP POTEMKIN and for the flourishing cinema of postwar Germany: Fritz Lang's THE THREE LIGHTS, METROPOLIS, and NIEBELUNGEN, and Eric von Stroheim's THE MERRY
WIDOW (Buñuel 1983: 87-88; Aub 1985: 56-57). 17

Buñuel's entrée into cinema was facilitated by his acquaintance with Jean Epstein, who Buñuel had known previously in Madrid as a correspondent for L'ESPRIT NOUVEAU. Epstein had subsequently become one of the best-known directors of French cinema, and also operated an acting school. Buñuel enrolled in acting classes, and was awarded a bit role in Epstein's MAUPRAT. Although Buñuel later claimed to have learned little about filmmaking from Epstein, he did meet cameraman Albert Duverger, who would later assist Buñuel in the filming of both UN CHIEN ANDALOU and L'ÂGE D'OR. By 1929, despite Epstein's admonitions, Buñuel was captivated by Parisian Surrealism. Surrealism for Buñuel, however, had little to do with its merits as either a literary or an artistic movement, but rather as a moral movement concerned with social and political engagement (Buñuel 1983: 78-126; Aranda 1975: 7-36; see also Aub, 1985). 18

Once again, it should be noted that Surrealism without "formulaic" fantasy comes naturally to a Spaniard; to any diehard Aragonese, fantasy is impossible, and Buñuel -- ever the materialist (see Aranda, 1975 and De Leuze, 1986) -- was no exception. At the same time, Buñuel could be seduced by the irrational and the mysterious, including the beating of the Good Friday drums of Calanda -- that part of Buñuel's Spanish experience, a "truth" far stranger than fiction. His own statement (1983: 102) is perhaps more revelatory of his
initial attraction to the Parisian movement:

"...I'd felt increasingly seduced by that passion for the irrational which was so characteristic of surrealism. . . . I was fascinated by a photo in LA REVOLUTION SURREALISTE of 'Benjamin Peret Insulting a Priest' and by a survey on sexuality in the same journal."

If Spanish Surrealism lacked the definitive (albeit ambitious) program of its French counterpart it had the advantage of this alliance with an utterly bizarre cultural reality, a reality comparatively less devoted to (Cartesian) logic. As noted previously (refer to Section Ib: Surrealism in Spain), Surrealism for the Spaniard is not the intellectual distortion of reality, but rather the recognition that "rupture" is not a blatant defiance of the natural order. It is useful in this regard to recall Garcia Lorca's statement (cited in Aranda 1975: 27): "the ship on the sea and the horse on the mountain." Although Buñuelian cinema was destined to captivate the French audience, it was perhaps the Spanish audience, unaccustomed to the illusionary devices favored by many French and German filmmakers, to which the cultural specificity of Buñuel's work was actually directed. As the following survey of Buñuel's early corpus -- including UN CHIEN ANDALOU, L'ÂGE D'OR, and LAS HURDES:TIERRA SIN PAN -- will reveal, Buñuel successfully assimilated many of the features associated with Parisian Surrealism while retaining a definitive Spanishness,
a vision derivative of Goya, yet tempered by a fondness for "le gag" -- a legacy Buñuel attributes to a picaresque tradition including LA CELESTINA and LAZARILLO DE TORMES, with perhaps a touch of Buster Keaton, Charlie Chaplin, and Harold Lloyd (see Aub, 1985).

IIIa. FROM CALIGARI TO UN CHIEN ANDALOU

Having mentioned Buñuel's early appreciation of the work of filmmakers Fritz Lang and Erich von Stroheim (refer to Chapter II), the impact of German Expressionist cinema upon the visual syntax of Surrealism merits consideration. It should be noted initially that Dada did not provide its successor with a "ready-made" approach to cinema, and it remains questionable as to whether Dada actually made viable inroads in this medium. While it is true that, in Paris, a proto-surrealist counter-movement focused on the Freudian unconscious and "pure psychic automatism" (and having little to do with "mainstream" Paris Dada) coalesced during the period 1921/22 (refer to section Ia: Surrealism in Art), this Breton-led counter movement failed to establish a cinematographic precedent. And, despite significant parallels to what became integral to the Surrealist agenda -- the role of chance, visual and narrative fragmentation, political engagement, illusion and reflexivity -- it is the experimental, inchoate quality of Dada film which effectively disqualifies most potential candidates as Surrealist
prototypes\textsuperscript{20}. It is instructive that, among the various Dada manifestations, it was only Berlin Dada which, in the form of photomontage, anticipated the concerns of Surrealist cinema. Photomontage was actually designated "static film" by one of its pioneers, Raoul Hausmann\textsuperscript{21}. Employing photomontage as part of their anarcho-communist polemic, the Berlin Dadaists, by cutting up and rearranging the "reality" produced by the media, revealed their rejection of Weimar majority socialism, reinforcing their conviction that reality was nothing more than culturally and politically induced (constructed) illusion (Kuenzli 1987: 1-12; see also Fer et. al. 1993: 47-48).

The rupture between traditional Prussian sociopolitical nostrums and the real horror and savagery of war and defeat provided added stimulus to the German proclivity toward the dark forces of magic and mysticism, an attraction to all that is obscure and indeterminate compounded by a brooding introspection (Grubelei). Following the defeat of 1918, this need to escape into the fantastic was addressed most notably by the haunted Expressionist screen. French Surrealist Albert Valentin (quoted in Hammond 1991: 105) referred to "that air of decomposition" inhaled in German films, which transports the viewer "...along Expressionist streets where a dust similar to cocaine filled the air, and where with every step you sensed...the fairground sideshow, in a word the balefulness of the postwar period." German film critic Lotte Eisner (1965: 24) maintains that German Expressionism was
concerned solely with mental images, and that the film produced during that period rendered the world permeable so that, at any moment, mind, spirit, ghosts and visions could spring forth (ibid.: 15). Exterior facts are transformed into interior elements, while psychic events are exteriorized. Surrealist film critic Ado Kyrou (1985: 73) suggests further that cinematic Expressionism, unlike its literary and theatrical counterparts, rejected the manifest in favor of the latent content of events. Expressionist film’s attraction to the unheimlich (uncanny), to the power of dream imagery and to the search for the hidden forces in man suggests that, in many ways, Surrealist cinema is Expressionism’s logical successor in illogic. Kyrou (ibid.: 72) adds: "Si j'ai faible pour l'expressionisme allemand, c'est qu'il prend sa source au romanticisme frénétique qui fut avant le surréalisme le mouvement plus exaltant."

There is little doubt that THE CABINET OF DR. CALIGARI (1919/20) not only defines the horror genre, but also operates -- on a subliminal level -- as sociocultural critique as well as Psychostudie; accordingly, this film occupies a uniquely influential position vis-à-vis Surrealist cinema and, by extension, Buñuelian cinema. Creators Hans Janowitz and Carl Mayer originally offered the directorship to Fritz Lang, who was otherwise occupied. The job then fell to Dresden stage director Robert Wiene, who revised the original screenplay into what he considered to be a more commercially acceptable
version. In his effort to render the screenplay more accessible, however, Wiene actually succeeded in compounding the theme of political repression with a critique of the German public's tendency to retreat inwardly from reality. Combining set distortion with chiaroscuro lighting effects, Wiene modified the original scenario into a masterpiece of horror with no ostensible political allusions. Nevertheless, the revolutionary theme survived -- but only as a madman's fantasy. CALIGARI's real triumph is its exposure of the German collective unconscious and the sobering revelation that, in Germany, the overthrow of authority was destined to remain hallucinatory (Kracauer 1947: 67; see also Eisner 1965; Stam et. al 1992: 157; De Leuze 1986: 141; and Skal 1993: 36-61).

From the foregoing, it should be clear that postwar Expressionist cinema was destined to be well received by the Parisian Dadaists/proto-surrealists between 1919-1922 and that both the psychoanalytical and revolutionary themes of German cinema would profoundly influence the crystallization of a Surrealist cinematographic style. Kracauer (1947: 61-76) further suggests that, while the German audience was perhaps too "close" to CALIGARI to grasp its significance, it was actually the French who realized its exceptional quality, even to the point of coining the term "Caligarisme". The French applied this term to a postwar world in disarray, thereby recognizing the film's relevance as sociopolitical commentary
(Kracauer: ibid.; see also Kypou 1985: 73-75). Again, CALIGARI's appeal to both the Marxian revolutionary and the Freudian psychoanalytical foci would prove to translate easily into the language of French Surrealism -- and of Buñuelian cinema.

As noted above, Jean Goudal, Antonin Artaud, and Robert Desnos had by 1925 recognized film's unique ability to fuse dream and consciousness and, therefore, its effectiveness as a medium for Surrealism (refer above to Section Ia: Surrealism in Art; see also Hammond, 1991). While French Surrealism was quick to endorse German Expressionist cinema, it rejected (or ignored) Dada/post-Dada cinematic experiments and also dismissed the aestheticized avant-garde cinema of the 1920s which envisioned a pure cinematic art. Among the filmmakers associated with art cinema was Buñuel's former mentor, Jean Epstein (Kuentzli: ibid.).

If Surrealism is in part defined as the collision -- or combustion -- of two realities, UN CHIEN ANDALOU surely qualifies as an example of Surrealist filmmaking without equal. As a combination of two dream scenarios -- those of Buñuel and his then-colleague and collaborator, Salvador Dalí\(^{23}\) -- UN CHIEN ANDALOU (1929) conforms totally to the Freudian notion that the unconscious tends to express itself visually. While Buñuel obliquely acknowledges the assimilation and incorporation of Freudian theory in this film, he concedes that he began to familiarize himself with Freud's
INTERPRETATION OF DREAMS as early as 1923 while studying at the Residencia in Madrid (Aub 1985: 60-66). Buñuel insists that he and Dalí sought a subtle equilibrium between the rational and the irrational, uniting dream and reality, the conscious with the unconscious, while avoiding symbolism. "No quise decir nada/I did not want to say anything" is a statement of intent which Buñuel confided to Max Aub (1985: 66). Insofar as there is no script, the film represents the first cinematic application of the "automatic" language of Surrealism. In this seventeen-minute film, the subconscious was freed for the first time as communicative language -- a language perhaps more authentic than that used to convey logical (conscious) thought (Aranda 1975: 65).

The initial puissance du choc of this low-budget, hastily shot film is contained in the opening "episode": the eye sliced with a razor blade (Fig 11), which could be interpreted as an attack on Cartesian logic, or simply as a manifestation of Spanish violence (see Aranda, 1975). Buache, consistent with Dalí's notion (see footnote No. 24), notes the recurrence of frustration, the failure to fulfill desire as desire collides with the object of desire. Along with rotting donkey carcasses and Marist priests (direct references to Iberian reality), unfulfilled desire as thwarted sexuality is perhaps an allusion to Spain, or to Iberian consciousness²⁵. The scene in which the "protagonist" pursues the "heroine", burdened by the dead weight of the priests and pianos laden
with dead donkeys, evokes Bataille's assertion that "God is
dead but the world is encumbered with his corpse" (cited in

The rambling, oneiric quality of the film is further
enhanced by lack of time/space continuity: "once upon a time",
"eight years later", three o'clock in the morning, on a
terrace, in an apartment -- the doors of which open onto a
beach. It is this ultimately frustrating elusiveness, however,
which is somehow so tantalizing --- and which so effectively
establishes a vocabulary for Surrealist cinema. Stuart Liebman
(1987: 143-158) confirms that CHIEN ANDALOU succeeds
completely in its transformation of latent verbal thought into
visual images. He further suggests that, following Freud's
notion of the rebus, each image appearing in the film must be
broken apart into words or phrases in order to extract
meaning, if in fact there is any meaning ("no quise decir
nada")\textsuperscript{26}. What this apparent lack of meaning actually reveals
is Buñuel's (and in this one instance, Dalí's) clever
appropriation of psychoanalytic concepts in a very
sophisticated -- and occasionally amusing -- manner (Liebman:
ibid.; see also Williams, 1992). Astounded by the film's
enthusiastic reception, Buñuel was convinced that he would
never revert to "mainstream" cinema; Buñuel (1983: 174)
averred that somewhere between chance and mystery dwells the
imagination, and that it is the imagination which protects
individual freedom.
As an admonition to those who, since the release of CHIEN ANDALOU in 1929, have tended to "read" too much into the "script" (or non-script), Buñuel stated clearly and definitively (1983: 175):

I don't enjoy rummaging around in the clichés of psycho-analysis...Amusingly enough, a great many psychiatrists and analysts have had a great deal to say about my movies. I'm grateful for their interest, but I never read their articles, because when all is said and done, psychoanalysis...is strictly an upper class privilege.

Therefore, while Buñuelian cinema -- true to the dictates of pure psychic automatism, the sine qua non of Parisian Surrealism -- began as the amalgam of dream images, Buñuel the trickster never affirms his Freudian allegiance, retaining instead that elusive, ambiguous quality which marks him as both individualist and Spaniard -- and which links him to Goya. As Buñuel notes in his autobiography (1983: 231): "I've managed to live my life among multiple contradictions without ever trying to rationalize or resolve them; they're part of me, and part of the fundamental ambiguity of all things, which I cherish."

Despite her tedious, dogmatic allegiance to Metzian linguistics and Lacanian psychoanalysis²⁷, Linda Williams (1992) provides several instructive observations concerning Surrealist cinema, generally, and Buñuelian cinema,
specifically. Williams reinforces the idea that dreams and films are experienced in similar ways, in darkened rooms where the spectator/dreamer passively perceives, identifies with or believes in the flow of images as real, yet lacking corporeal existence. Film, however, as opposed to dreaming, is conscious hallucination -- as originally surmised by Goudal and Artaud (inter alia). Both dreams and films proceed as successive images, which are merely simulacra of the real world, an illusory reality not unlike a mirror image. Artaud responded to the immediacy of film, a bypassing of the usually coded channels of language -- i.e., the apparent absence of difference between signifier and signified. Artaud realized that in order for film to operate effectively as surreality, it must adapt the mechanics of a dream as its means of signifying; that is, a real interest in "the contained" (latent content) as in CHIEN ANDALOU rather than in "the container" (e.g., the abstract cinéma pur of Viking Eggeling, or Fernand Leger's "100% Dada" BALLET MECANIQUE: see Williams 1992: 19-26).

Williams (1992: 41-52) re-affirms the definitely Surrealist technique of narrative rupture (refer to Chapter I, and to the preceding discussion of Berliner photomontage), which differentiates the Surrealist genre from fictional narrative. In fictional film, the signified is real while the signifier is imaginary; alternatively, Surrealist film -- in more closely approximating the dream state -- equates reality
with the signifier. This attribute of Surrealist film -- the (apparent) reality of the signifier -- would have to be considered an integral aspect of the essential paradox of Surrealist "realism". In other words, reality is restored to the image (actually, the imaginary), but without the technical tricks or "artistry" of fictional film (and clearly evident in both UN CHIEN ANDALOU and L'ÂGE D'OR). As a result, Surrealist film is unique in being relatively unmarked by the distortions of either Expressionist or Fantastic films (although many French Surrealists, notably Artaud and Kyrou, extolled CALIGARI). Even Dada film employed photographic distortions, e.g., split screens in ENTR'ACTE (Williams: ibid.; see also Kracauer 1947: 72).

Alternatively, Buñuel's "signature series" -- UN CHIEN ANDALOU and L'ÂGE D'OR -- is comparatively free of cinematographic distortion. Even the severed hand reclaimed by the androgyne in CHIEN ANDALOU is a profilmic effect, distinguished from cinematographic distortion achieved either by the camera, or in the lab -- such as the superimposition of Marcel Duchamp's head in ENTR'ACTE. Profilmic effects produce no distortions of the image. In this regard, UN CHIEN ANDALOU marks the discovery of a Surrealist visual style distinguished by lack of cinematographic distortion; rather than calling attention to the signifier in a manner which betrays the experience of the imaginary, Surrealist cinema portrays the imaginary in a more or less realistic visual style. The
Surrealist film, therefore, becomes an image-generating process of unconscious thought; the images "think", which in turn constructs the "characters" as a succession of "invoking images" — unlike the extended sequences of subjective unconscious thought, as in a film like CALIGARI. In CHIEN ANDALOU, the characters/thinking images become visual formulations of what are (presumably) sexual desires and fears not actually anchored in a fictional character. These visual formulations are generated by the film text, the dynamics of which are modeled on the rhetorical figures of unconscious thought (Williams: ibid.).

IIIb. L'ÂGE D'OR

Buñuel's treatment of recurring Surrealist "themes", l'amour fou coupled with a rejection of normative (bourgeois) values, is transformed from something tentative and exploratory in UN CHIEN ANDALOU into a revolutionary call to arms in L'ÂGE D'OR (1930). While L'ÂGE D'OR retains the feeling of Buñuelian Capricho which pervades in CHIEN ANDALOU, Buñuel manages to employ the carnivalesque as part of a frontal assault on everything that is false, hypocritical and inhibitory as the result of the control exercised by that "unbeatable team" — God and Country which, together, "break all records for oppression and bloodshed" (Buñuel 1983: 170). While Buñuel continues to (obliquely) exploit the Freudian unconscious, there is no hint of the "automatic writing" or
"pure psychic automatism" which pervades the essentially experimental CHIEN ANDALOU. In fact, Buñuel's change of mood and temperament during the brief interval separating L'ÂGE D'OR from its predecessor is analogous to Goya's explosive development during the period separating the CAPRICHOS from the DESASTRES and THE THIRD OF MAY. Conceivably, both masters were expressing a profound sense of betrayal; Goya brutally records the triumph of unreason (refer above), while Buñuel was denounced as a result of CHIEN ANDALOU's surprising success by the Surrealist inner circle which he insists had nurtured that success, only to be condemned for "selling out". Buñuel's heightened level of awareness evident in L'ÂGE D'OR marks a spiritual and intellectual return to individualism and Spanishness -- la línea moral. This was not, however, the conventional morality of a bourgeoisie reinforced by the vital, cynical lie of Christianity, but rather a realization of the relativity of all values reminiscent of Nietzsche and de Sade, an anthropological approach to culture as a contested reality.

The prologue of L'ÂGE D'OR, while no less shocking in its (Hispanic) violence than the sliced eyeball in CHIEN ANDALOU, is presented in dry academic/documentary style, an uncanny juxtaposition or undercutting of the violence, which will resurface even more effectively in LAS HURDES. It is a biology lesson: el alacrán es un género de arácnido esparcido por las regiones cálidas del mundo antiguo/the scorpion is a
type/genus of arachnid found throughout the warm regions of the Old World. The scorpion prefers shade and solitude, ejecting all would-be intruders, including other scorpions and a large, predatory rat. In the struggle for survival, the scorpion kills the rat. As L'ÂGE D'OR unfolds, its revolutionary message endorsing violence as the means to overthrow the sociopolitical and economic forces of repression will become increasingly clear (Caesarman 1976: 88; see also Buñuel/Alexandre, 1963; Durgnat, 1967 and Buache, 1973).

Following the scorpionoid victory of the prologue, Buñuel again provokes viewer sensibility with a radical, Darwinian equation between animal existence and human life, undermining the usually privileged status of human existence (Stam 1985: 176). The disinherited, marginalized members of society, represented by a rag-tag group of banditos/guerrillas led by "Dada Max" (cum Surrealist) Ernst, are the human equivalent of scorpions under rocks. As their parched, rocky world is threatened by the arrival of the "Majorcans" -- representatives of the sociopolitical elite and the founders of Imperial Rome, the carriers of a higher culture -- group leader Ernst issues the futile order "Aux armes!" Unlike the ferociously successful scorpion, its human counterparts are unable to resist and eject an insidious enemy. Enter the dead weight of the Romano-Christian phantasm (see Caesarman 1976; Durgnat 1967; Buache 1973; and Williams 1992).

Significantly, the "founding" of Imperial Rome takes
place in a time warp, introducing yet another Surrealist rupture -- the Year of Our Lord, 1930. The "Majorcans", represented by an assortment of political, clerical and business types are led by a dwarfish, self-important governor sporting a hilariously oversized moustache. As the usual pompous, inflated -- yet ultimately meaningless -- commemorative speech is about to begin, the ceremony is interrupted by the erotic moaning of a couple (Gaston Modot and Lya Lys) grappling amorously in the mud: transgression. They are immediately separated by the agents of social control, and while they are being forcibly separated, Modot has a series of eroticized scatological visions of his love seated on the toilet: unheimlich -- the juxtaposition of erotic love and scat\textsuperscript{29}. The scatological allusion is reinforced by scenes of bubbling lava accompanied by the sound of a flushing toilet. Order is restored, and the ceremony concludes with the placement of a lump of concrete resembling a turd atop the cornerstone (ibid.; see also Weiss 1987: 159-160).

As this controversial film develops episodically, reinforcing the theme of never consummated sexuality as a result of culturally instilled Christian sanctity, it becomes increasingly clear that the episodes are united by violence, i.e., sexual violence as the ultimate transgression of Christian law. From prologue to conclusion, the episodes become components of a rhetorical construct comparing
violence, or transgressive behavior of one species to that of
a more evolved other; scorpions merge figuratively with the
banditos/guerrillas who -- unlike the scorpions, are unable to
overcome the rat, which operates as both metaphor and mockery
of Christianity. The apparent episodic contiguity of L'ÂGE
D'OR (which distinguishes this film from its rambling, oneiric
predecessor) is attributable to the function of character with
diegesis, establishing spatio-temporal continuities lacking in
CHIEN ANDALOU. The final transition, however, from the 1930s
scenario to the 18th century, marks a break with synchronicity
and any sense of reality (as narrative cohesion). This is
Surrealist rupture; previously established continuities based
on character and diegesis -- however tenuous -- are shattered.
The final Château de Selby/Duke de Blangis episode is extra-
diegetic, and the film reverts to Surrealist metaphoric
procedures focused on the discovery of similarities between
the Modot character, the Sadean Blangis, and Jesus Christ
(Williams 1992: 106-150; see also Stam et. al. 1992: 30)\(^9\).

During the hour-long process which moves the viewer along
from the sign of the scorpion to the sign of the cross, Buñuel
-- like Bataille -- develops a kind of transcendent
cosmography which conflates religion with sexual
transgression. Buñuel effectively consolidates his reputation
as a latter day poète maudit, taking the spectator on a tour
ranging from sociopolitical polemic to outrageous blasphemy.
Violence pervades: occasionally on Sundays, buildings explode;
in various episodes, Modot strikes a helpless blind man and slaps a dignified society matron (Lys's mother) in the rarified atmosphere of an elegant reception. Once Modot is reunited with Lys au jardin, the latter exclaims: "Quel joie, d'avoir assassiné nos enfants" (Saturn Devouring?) (Williams 1992: 106-150; see also Stam et. al. 1992: 38).

Buñuel's assault assures a frontal attack on all hegemonies. The discreet charm of an essentially uncaring, contemptible bourgeoisie is revealed as nobody notices when a maid is blasted out of the kitchen as a gas oven explodes. They remain equally unperturbed when a horse-drawn cart carrying drunken peasants rambles through the very center of the salle de reception. Their inattention to the lives of the marginal is awakened only when the estate gamekeeper shoots his retarded son like a rabbit, and even this transgression receives only mild recriminations on the part of those carriers of a higher culture, revelatory of a cold detachment -- the dead kid is merely one less estate expense. Finally, as hero and heroine are reunited in the garden, amorous maneuvers are restricted by awkward wicker furniture. In the background, a chamber orchestra (including the ubiquitous Marist priests) performs the Liebestod from Wagner's TRISTAN UND ISOLDE, a tribute to unfulfilled desire in the Golden Age. As heroine leaves hero for the orchestra director (who is actually Lys's father -- a sort of Oedipal reversal), the drums of Calanda begin. The crescendo gradually increases as Modot, victim of
l'amour fou, casts "cultural artifacts" ranging from a bishop to a phallic plow from Lys's bedroom window. Throughout, Buñuel continues to surprise the viewer with the decontextualization of Christian symbols and icons -- including a reliquary in a limo. As the ultimate statement of blasphemous intent (and moral relativizing), the sadistic Duke de Blangis is conflated with the (masochistic) Christ, while the band strikes up a jaunty bolero. Puissance de choc? Bien sûr! L'ÂGE D'OR, subjected to every right-wing attack with the blessing of the Parisian Chief of Police, was not shown again publicly for fifty years (Aranda, 1975; Buñuel, 1983; Williams, 1992; see also Stam 1989: 175-176, 102-103; and Abel 1988: 11-14).

The extraordinary effectiveness of L'ÂGE D'OR is due in large part to Buñuel's ability to interject "le gag" in a series of zany ruptures including the above-mentioned procession of the horse-drawn cart through the society gala, or Lya Lys dismissing a lounging cow from her bedroom like an ordinary house pet. Buñuel, perhaps more than any other filmmaker, forges a link between cinema and the medieval heritage of the carnivalesque. This linkage could arguably be related to the Spanish picaresque tradition which, like Goya, contributed significantly to Buñuel's formative experience as both Spaniard and provincial Aragonese. Like the medieval carnival, Buñuel's marvelous desacralizations necessarily depend on Christianity as a primary source of imagery and
inspiration. Buñuel's sense of humor echoes the *grammatica jocosa* of Rabelais while incorporating the rupture and dislocation of Surrealism. Buñuel takes the carnivalesque a step further as he effectively deconstructs, with anthropological detachment, all aspects of the social order (and its value hierarchies) -- attitudes toward sex and religion, high culture, social etiquette, and even cinematic narrative (Stam 1989: 104, 204; see also Buñuel 1983: 159).

*L'ÂGE D'OR* (with its *línea moral*) stands as a monument to the genius of Buñuelian cinema, and does so for reasons specified by anthropologist Stephen Tyler (1987: 55):

The master of tricks is the one who plays the tricks best, whose technique and style produce illusions so brilliant and captivating that they are valued above the reality they both obscure and reveal, not because they are understood but because they seem to be just beyond the limit of understanding at the same time as they are within it.

Also note that while *L'ÂGE D'OR* continues to develop a Surrealist agenda of counter-cultural polemic begun in UN CHIEN ANDALOU, it does so in a way that is less psychoanalytic in its subject matter, focusing less on unconscious discourse. Williams (1992: 109) supports Stam's (1989) assertion that *L'ÂGE D'OR* is anthropological, drawing instead upon anthropology's detached, comparative study of myths,
ceremonies and social organization. As this discussion proceeds to a consideration of LAS HURDES: TIERRA SIN PAN, it will be noted that while the detachment of documentary field anthropology is retained, the inclusion of the carnivalesque noticeably disappears as Buñuel, returning to the land of the Black Legend, establishes the precedent for both documentary narrative and ethnographic cinema (Conley 1987: 188; Stoller 1994: personal communication).

IIIc. LAS HURDES: TIERRA SIN PAN -- Existence at Absolute Zero

L'ÂGE D'OR became an overwhelming succès de scandale which, true to the revolutionary spirit of Surrealism, more than fulfilled its duty-- épater la bourgeoisie. Buñuel earned the renewed support of Breton's inner circle, which had condemned him following the unanticipated popularity of UN CHIEN ANDALOU. But while the Surrealists issued a manifesto in defense of Buñuel and his controversial call to arms, Buñuel himself concluded that it would perhaps be wiser to at least temporarily leave Paris. After all, even his influential financial supporter, the Vicomte de Noailles, had been obliged to resign from the fashionable Jockey Club. Returning to Spain, Buñuel realized the opportunity to capture on film the land of the Black Legend32. The first "human geography" provides a record of something remotely resembling human existence, that world which 19th century French traveler
Theophile Gautier (refer above) described as "something buried in Goya's tomb", a world which would have been familiar to Velásquez and Zurbarán (see Buñuel, 1983 and Aranda, 1975).

The locale, combined with Spanish cultural specificity, provides Buñuel with the basis for more general commentary on the social milieu. The uncompromising naturalism of LAS HURDES qualifies Buñuel as a diagnostician of civilization as he reveals a world bled dry by the forces of history, including the self-generating destructive forces of the Black Legend. It is the chronology of an originary cycle, a cycle of development and reabsorption into the natural/social/cultural matrix from which a particular "phylogeny" emerged. Such a cycle has already been observed in L'ÂGE D'OR: the quasi-Darwinian "phylogenetic" (episodic) development reaches its apogee in Imperial Rome, only to devolve, becoming reabsorbed into the brutal matrix of an originary world exemplified by the final Sadean episode -- scorpionic barbarism defeats the predatory rat (Christianity). The founding of Imperial Rome is elided by a regressive shift to the Chateau de Selliny, where the sadistic Duke de Blangis merges with Christ, a manifestation of a primal, diabolical god. In LAS HURDES, Buñuel reveals a state of existence brought about by the would-be carriers of a higher culture who have succeeded only in the realization of a Goyesque world, a world in which God's presence or absence has simply become irrelevant (DeLeuze 1986: 124-125; see also Weiss 1987: 159-175).
Buñuel's dry documentary narrative is accompanied by the
autumnal melodies of Brahms' Fourth Symphony, which operates
as a *Symphonie des Grauens* as the camera shifts from one grim
scenario to another. The Hispanic bolero, introduced so
effectively as a picaresque element in CHIEN ANDALOU and L'ÂGE
D'OR, disappears; as Buñuel points out, there is no music
indigenous to this breadless land. One hears instead only the
doeful appeal for prayers for the dead, for it is only death
which mediates the oppressive monotony of life in LAS HURDES. 33

Buñuel applies his talent in such a way that the musical
soundtrack, episodes of human suffering and a narrative as dry
as a chemistry lesson are fused into a pastiche which can only
be defined as ethnographic surrealism: to what extent is this
nightmare real, and in what ways is it culturally authentic?

As a documentary, LAS HURDES begins with a geography
lesson which informs the viewer that this region -- located in
Extramadura Province, western Spain -- is merely one of
several pre-modern, underdeveloped European enclaves, the
others being located in the Circum-Carpathian region and in
the Franco-Italian Piedmont. LAS HURDES is located only sixty
miles west of Salamanca, a major cultural center since the
Middle Ages, but the main road dead-ends in La Alberca. The
Hurdanos, who live just the other side of a dividing
cordillera, exist in a state of medieval vassalage to the
inhabitants of La Alberca (Durgnat 1967: 56-59; Buache 1973:
31-37; see also Aranda, 1975).
En route to LAS HURDES, the viewer is treated to a taste of local culture in La Alberca -- another Buñuelian Capricho. On a local feast day, it is customary for young grooms recently married during the course of the current year to demonstrate their virility by decapitating a cock. The bird is hung upside down from a string stretched horizontally over the main street; later, the young men on horseback take a passing swipe. All the while, the guests' glasses are kept filled with the local wine. Generally speaking, La Alberca could be any village in the premodern Spain of the 1930s, but not really poor -- simply Spanish. On the other side of the dividing range, however, in a landscape rendered barren by the forces of history, the world revealed has remained virtually unchanged for a millennium (ibid.).

The camera pauses briefly at the Carmelite Monastery of Las Batuecas, now home exclusively to a population of snakes and frogs. Since the Church has already been equated with rats and the anti-Christ, all that remains is Durgnat's rhetorical question: plus ca change (?) (1967: 57). Injustice is the product of a human order through which clever parables about Good and Evil effectively make a travesty of basic notions of truth and justice. Buñuel denounces the masquerade of Church and State; he points an accusing finger at syphilitic faces and running sores which form part of a world crucified by Christianity -- a religion that always sends forth its priests to accompany the oppressors in order that they bless the
victims, thereby cleansing the consciences of the criminal
defenders of property, tradition, and order (Buache 1973: 31).
This is a deep rupture between the ordained and the actual --
and this is the essence of revolutionary Buñuelian Surrealism.

As the camera moves from horror to horror, the viewer is
reminded of the caption which accompanies Goya's DESASTRES No.
37: Esto es peor/This is worse. Children and pigs drink from
the same spring. Although most Hurdanos are too poor to afford
livestock, those who can keep the animals inside their
unventilated homes overnight. Most often when a pig is
acquired, it is almost immediately consumed. The Hurdano diet
otherwise consists of potatoes and beans; in spring, when
these staples are in short supply, the Hurdanos supplement
their diet with unripened cherries, which induce dysentery.
Sickness abounds: malaria is endemic to the region, and
dwarfism and mongolism have become common following centuries
of inbreeding. The idiotic grins of dwarfish mongoloids are
the only signs of mirth in LAS HURDES -- yet it is the
diabolic mirth of the CAPRICHOS (Aranda 1975: 94-96; see also

Durgnat (1967: 58) discusses the "Yes, but..."
architecture of LAS HURDES earlier discerned by Ado Kyrou. As
he employs Surrealist rupture to compound the nightmare,
Buñuel presents a harrowing fact, provides a glimmer of hope,
then reduces that glimmer to something derisory. The villagers
are so poor that bread is unknown; however, the schoolmaster
(from another area) doles out bread to the children during the
day -- only to have the bread stolen by their parents. But the
schoolmaster continues to instill the Golden Rule specifying
respect for the rights (and the property) of others. Lacking
good soil and farm animals to provide fertilizer, the Hurdanos
must go into the hills to gather plants whose fermentation
will produce the soil nutrients necessary for garden plots.
But the hills are home to a type of poisonous snake; while its
venom is not usually fatal, the herbs with which the Hurdanos
try to heal the wound cause infection and, occasionally,
death. The world of the villagers is so degraded that they
have virtually no music or folklore (refer above), yet there
is the ubiquitous Church, the only sign of luxury. A drain on
what few resources the Hurdanos have, the Church has become
nothing more than a source of spiritual consolation of the
obscurantist variety. (Durgnat 1967: 59).

Buñuel's polemic is most effective in its dry, precise
enumeration of facts, ranging from a discourse on the habits
of scorpions in L'ÂGE D'OR to a Biology 101 commentary on the
anopheles mosquito in LAS HURDES. This surreal academic
digression is hardly pointless: both interludes, carefully
woven into the narrative, are spellbinding insofar as they
identify reality with nightmare which, in turn, impart to this
living nightmare a greater sense of reality. Forcing the
viewer to look from the effect to the cause, these instructive
digressions preclude the possibility of sympathetic reaction,
of pathos, but rather a sense of indignation in keeping with Buñuel's revolutionary spirit -- and with his línea moral. As Buñuel arouses spectator awareness of the state of civilized barbarism into which the world has fallen, he not only expresses a call to arms but also evokes the voice of Goya who so relentlessly called attention to the utter pointlessness of it all in DESASTRES No. 69: NADA, ello dirá. (Aranda 1975: 96; see also Licht 1979: 154-155).

LAS HURDES, like L'ÂGE D'OR, is a hard-hitting critique of hegemonic structures, and in this regard reveals Buñuel -- heir to the legacy of Goya and to the Black Legend of Spain -- as both moral philosopher and diagnostician of civilization. By combining the techniques of Surrealism and ethnography, he has actually embedded the circumscribed world of the Hurdanos within a larger, more impersonal schema encompassing social, historical, political and economic structures. The unparalleled expressive power of the Goyesque legacy emerges in Buñuelian cinema as uncompromising cultural critique; LAS HURDES, as a microcosmic study which vividly reveals the shock of the actual, operates as a disturbing metaphor for all that is rotten in the universally ordained (see Kovacs, 1991 and Marcus and Clifford, 1986).

IV. CONCLUSIONS

In an effort to evaluate the contributions of Goya and Buñuel to their respective mediums, what becomes abundantly
clear is that their talents represent nothing less than extraordinary news from nowhere. Spain was not a participant in the Western European tradition which developed north of the Pyrenees, and the Spanish milieu, with its history of sociopolitical and religious repression, would not really seem capable of nurturing two talents which so profoundly impacted later developments in European painting and cinema. What is so intriguing about these talents, however, is that the Black Legend continues to speak through their texts. Buñuel, the avowed atheist, would never be unaware of the drums of Calanda. Beyond their Spanishness, however, there is something more -- a sense of justice, of individual freedom, what Buñuel discovered in the Surrealist Movement which affected his life and work most profoundly: _la línea moral_/the moral line. As David Robinson (1978: 243) observed:

If Buñuel's creative life had ceased with _L'ÂGE D'OR_ he would have had a safe place in film history. That film revealed unforeseen possibilities in the cinema for surrealism, for anarchy, for philosophy, for anger.

Jean Delmas (1978: 186) also notes that, while Buñuel was unfaithful to the formulaic surrealism of the Parisian inner circle -- from which he was already estranged by the time he conceived _LAS HURDES_ (1932) -- he remained loyal to a Surrealism which reflected his own revolutionary spirit.

Buñuel, as a young anarchist of twenty-eight, discovered
the writings of the Marquis de Sade and immediately recognized the lack of integrity inherent in such cultural nostrums as "freedom" and "religion". In so doing he also recognized the element of deceit in a sociopolitical structure (which in Spain included the clergy) he, like so many, never thought to question. Buñuel's discovery of de Sade resulted in an ill-defined anarcho-communism, which had more to do with individual freedom and justice than it did with Bolshevism. He remained convinced of essential human goodness -- and in this regard quite unlike the 75-year old Goya who came to equate society with the Aquelarre, the Witches' Sabbath executed on the walls of Quinta del Sordo. Buñuel recognized that man was victimized by the structures which supported capitalism and the bourgeoisie; accordingly, Surrealism remained -- for him -- an integral part of a moral agenda of rejection. Although his sympathies were unquestionably associated with the political left (as were those of Parisian Surrealism), Buñuel was never a member of the Communist Party (Aub. 1985: 67-72). Both Goya and Buñuel were able to identify the enemy and that enemy is mankind itself: Saturn devouring his own.

In their Spanishness, Luis Buñuel and Francisco Goya conform to an idea espoused by a Spanish scholar Buñuel was fond of quoting (Jean-Claude Carrière in Mellen 1978: 70-102): "Everything that does not come out of tradition is plagiarism". And yet Buñuel's career itself is as baffling as his oeuvre: he is the only filmmaker in the world who has been
described as not only the singular embodiment of a major movement -- Surrealism -- but also the founding spirit of both Spanish and Mexican film, neither of which had a "national character" before Buñuel. His talent was originally nurtured in France, and most of his filming was done in France and Mexico.

The issue of Spanish cultural specificity and its impact on Buñuelian cinema is problematized by the above-mentioned fact that most of Buñuel's work was produced outside of Spain. While the universality of Buñuelian cinema has been acknowledged (Kinder, 1993; refer below), the question remains as to what extent this universality derives from cultural specificity, and from Buñuel's experience as a product of the Spanish milieu. For example, the mounting sense of violence of the final episodic shift in L'ÂGE D'OR, from Lya Lys's bedroom where Gaston Modot casts various cultural artifacts from the window to the Sadean world of the anti-Christ, is actually augmented by the hypnotic beating of the Good Friday drums of Buñuel's native Calanda.

Kinder (1993: 278-279)), citing an essay by Rockwell Gray, (1987/88: "Spanish Diaspora: A Culture in Exile") notes that Spain is itself historically unique in its association with intolerance, persecution and exile -- the so-called "hammer of heretics" (see Kovacs, 1991). Beginning with the persecution and expulsion of its Moorish and Jewish communities in 1492, Spain's dogmatic adherence to the
dictates of the Inquisition forced the Jesuits into exile
during the 18th century, followed in the early 19th century by
the exodus of Constitutional liberals as a result of Fernando
VII's absolutism. This pattern of alienation and exile reached
its climax during the 20th century with the imposition of
Fascist/Phalangist rule by Generalísimo Francisco Franco. It
should be recalled that the overthrow of Constitutional
liberalism led to Goya's departure from Spain in 1824;
likewise, the atmosphere of anarchy and military violence
culminating in Fascist victory forced 250,000 Spaniards into
exile -- those who had endorsed libertarian or leftwing causes
and organizations -- a diaspora of the magnitude of 1492.
Among those exilic Spaniards was Luis Buñuel; although never
actively political, Buñuel remained committed -- like Goya --
to the phantoms of liberty and individual freedom within the
parameters of a morally just society (Buñuel 1983: 231; see

Naficy (1993: 9, referring to Park, 1950) suggests that
the exilic experience of living in two competing, or even
antagonistic societies engenders cosmopolitanism, albeit a
cosmopolitanism mired in doubt concerning cultural absolutes
and, most importantly, in a sense of self-doubt as the result
of being caught in a "slipzone of indeterminacy" (see Kinder
1993: 279 and Naficy 1993: 7,9). The end result is permanent
Otherness in both cultural contexts which, in a positive
sense, can serve to enhance cross-cultural appeal. Upon
examining the unique case of Luis Buñuel, the issues of hybridity, dialogism and freedom must be examined in light of a 50-year career in both filmmaking and editing in France, Spain, Mexico, and even the United States (Kinder 1993: 278-280, 287; see also Aranda, 1975).

Having positioned Buñuel in the above-mentioned "slipzone of indeterminacy" within a multicultural context, he would, as a result of this placement, have had every opportunity to question, subvert and transgress the structural boundaries of these various sociocultural and political systems. Always somewhat of an outsider, which includes his formative years in provincial Calanda, his effectiveness as a filmmaker somehow managed to confirm Buñuel's significance as an international sense of Spanishness. Although other Spanish expatriates, including Pablo Casals, Pablo Picasso, and his one-time cohort Salvador Dalí undoubtedly attained a similar international reputation, none was ever considered the singular embodiment of a national movement as was Buñuel. His status as definitive Spanish cinéaste is perhaps related to the fact that at the time Buñuel began working independently as a filmmaker in the late 1920s, the only flourishing national film industries in Europe were those of France and Germany. It should be noted, however, that while Spain -- always slow to change -- became frozen in the international consciousness as Francoist Fascism (evocative of the Catholic Monarchs, and of the Black Legend), Buñuel himself retained a remarkable resiliency, always able
to shift according to the specific hegemony he sought to
attack: Francoism, Catholicism, the bourgeoisie, and even the
Hollywood star system ("...the best actors I've worked with
have been children and dwarves." Buñuel 1983: 192). What is
even more intriguing, however, is that the Francoist
government both repressed and promoted Buñuel's reputation as
the embodiment of Spanishness (Kinder 1993: 286-291; see also

Despite his acknowledged liminality in Paris where in
1925 he first experienced the abyss between Spain and France,
Buñuel's early acquaintance with Breton and Aragon, as well as
the debut of UN CHIEN ANDALOU, insured a certain congeniality
to the agenda of Parisian Surrealism. Kinder (1993: 288-290)
notes that both Linda Williams (1992) and Steven Kovacs (1980)
insist that Buñuel was in fact the "only true" Surrealist
filmmaker, Williams focusing on the psychoanalytical content
of his films, Kovacs emphasizing the sociopolitical militancy
of Buñuelian cinema. Since Buñuel clearly states that his
attraction to Surrealism was based on its revolutionary and
fundamentally moral positions, Kovacs' analysis is perhaps
closer to Buñuel -- again demonstrating Buñuel's philosophical
proximity to Goya, and to Spanishness. The Surrealist's
condemnation of Buñuel when -- mirabile dictu -- CHIEN ANDALOU
became a commercial success reinforced his essential
unwillingness to compromise his individual freedom. Buñuel's
anarchic individualism anticipated his severance with the
movement after 1929, especially after having endured the idiocy — a sort of Bretonian *auto da fe* — of being put on trial for the crime of success by his erstwhile *compadres* Breton and Aragon. Buñuel immediately realized that he was once again free to do what he liked: "They had no right to control me." (Buñuel 1983: 108-109; 182-183; Kinder 1993: 286-289). It should again be noted, however, that it was only Buñuel who, among pioneer Surrealist filmmakers (refer above to section Ia: Surrealism in Art), remained true to the surrealist mode of filmmaking throughout his career, though occasionally sublimating or interweaving Surrealist conventions with narrative, as in LAS HURDES, or even with melodrama, as in some of his Mexican and later French and Spanish films (see Kinder 1993: 303-304).

Although Buñuel's career was destined to endure the vagaries of international politics, it should also be noted that he was the target of petty professional jealousies. While working as a film editor at MOMA (1938/39), Buñuel was identified (incorrectly) in *THE SECRET LIFE OF SALVADOR DALI* as a Communist, as well as the producer/director of the notorious *L'ÂGE D'OR*, and was consequently asked to resign by the directorship. Having been forced into exile by the Spanish Civil War, victimized by rightwing extremism in Paris following the release of *L'ÂGE D'OR*, unable to return to Europe with the outbreak of hostilities in 1939, and professionally undermined by Dalí, Buñuel's only recourse was
to join the ranks of Spanish emigrés in Mexico.

Although Buñuel claimed little interest in or affinity toward Latin America generally, he nonetheless conceded that, as a Spaniard, adaptation to life in Mexico was a relatively easy, even natural transition (1983: 197-216). Kinder (1993: 301) submits (correctly) that while the degree of cultural continuity between Spain and Mexico is great, it is nevertheless a congruity based on a painful colonial experience, a fact either overlooked or ignored by Buñuel's Spanish biographer, Luis Aranda (1975). The Spanish legacy, however, survives very well in Buñuel's best Mexican films, many of which could in fact be Spanish because the hegemonies attacked are identical: Catholicism, feudal class distinctions, the patriarchal family and machismo (Buñuel: ibid.; see also Kinder 1993: 301-304). Despite the fact that Mexican films have always been enthusiastically received by Spanish-speaking audiences in the United States, it is only Buñuelian cinema which has been widely distributed among English-speaking audiences. Carl Mora (cited in Kinder 1993: 291) suggests that this targeted distribution has largely contributed to Buñuel's international reputation as definitive Mexican cinéaste.

Buñuel's position vis-à-vis Spanish cinema, however, is somewhat more difficult to ascertain. Spanish critics, such as Aranda (1975), along with Buñuel's fellow Aragonese filmmakers -- Carlos Saura and José Luis Borau -- have
extolled Buñuel's work as the exemplary model of world-class Spanish filmmaking. It is noteworthy, however, that both Saura and Borau remain ambivalent regarding the degree to which the Buñuelian "standard" has actually influenced their own work. Peter Besas (cited in Kinder 1993: 290) notes further that the opinions of resident Spanish filmmakers are divided: while some would argue that the exilic Buñuel was the most Spanish filmmaker of them all, others maintain that, since most of his films were made outside Spain -- and, until recently, not even shown in Spain -- Buñuel should instead be regarded as an essentially foreign director. Although his talent is generally acclaimed, Buñuel's work, according to the latter group, is universal and, therefore, international, linking him to Picasso and Casals.

Kinder (1993: 291) suggests that Buñuel's career in exile dialogizes the auteurist and nationalist texts, and that neither alone is sufficient (cf. Aranda, 1975). Since the nationality of almost all of Buñuel's film is hybridized, his exilic status demonstrates the extent to which nationality can be ideologically constructed. The making of VIRIDIANA (1960) is a case in point insofar as its realization also coincides with Buñuel's return to Spain following some 25 years in exile in Mexico. VIRIDIANA is one of the most thoroughly Spanish films Buñuel ever made, including a Spanish subject (which could just as easily be construed as Mexican, given the hegemonies Buñuel subverts; refer above), a primarily Spanish
cast and crew, and even partial Spanish financing. When the film's transgressive, blasphemous subject matter was denounced by the Vatican and banned in Spain, its nationality became Mexican. VIRIDIANA was awarded the French critics' prize by the French press, as well as the prestigious Palme d'or at the Cannes Film Festival. No mention of the film's achievement of even the Palme d'or appeared in the Spanish press (Kinder 1993: 287-291; Aranda 1975: 204-205).

The universality of Buñuel's message is evident in his documentary narrative LAS HURDES (1932), yet the message is brilliantly couched in what Katherine Kovacs (1991: 20-21) refers to as an undiminished Hispanic sense of place. This deeply Surrealist documentary, exemplar of the first ethnographic narrative set to sound, involves the division of characters between insiders and outsiders. The insiders are the Hurdanos themselves, trapped in poverty and misery, while the outsiders are represented by the (presumably bourgeois) narrator — actually, Buñuel himself — who provides detached, scholarly commentary on the conditions. Although the insiders appear at first to be those who are trapped, the film actually reveals that — by extension — everyone is equally caught in the deplorable sociopolitical web responsible for that misery (Kinder 1993: 289, 291).

Ultimately, the issue of exile, of liminality — that middle phase of exile — is an exceedingly complex knot to disentangle. Liminality is the retention of Otherness,
allowing the freedom to critique two (or more) cultures, enhancing cross-cultural appeal with universal applicability. Buñuel's exilic experience was motivated by all of the reasons which have historically induced artists and thinkers seeking expressive freedom to emigrate: fame, curiosity, the search for a more stimulating environment and better economic opportunities, and the escape from political harassment -- including censorship, persecution, and death. His personal experience embodies the entire paradigm, while the man -- both artist and social philosopher -- remains as elusive and enigmatic as his oeuvre. In this regard, the multifaceted discourse stimulated by Buñuel and his work has failed to yield viable univocal interpretations, which again parallels the many attempts to both decode and reduce the dissonant universe of Goya (see Williams, 1987, Ortega, 1982 and Glendenning, 1977). Buñuel's oeuvre, rooted in the Surrealist concept of *l'amour fou* (refer above to Section Ia: Surrealism in Art), continues to reflect that synthesis of Freud and Marx, a dialectic of sex and politics which pervades his work from 1927-1977. The competition between these two discourses is further complicated by the introduction of the Franco-Spanish dialectic. Perhaps the most common (and most effective) Buñuelian strategy is that of forcing the spectator to shift from one grid to another, analogous to the kind of shift the exile himself must make when moving from one culture to another. Such shifts demonstrate that no single framework
is either natural or inevitable, but instead ideological and arbitrary. Buñuel's exilic strategy enabled him to position his texts in that liminal slipzone between Spanish and French cultures, between sexual and political discourse, between Surrealist and commercial cinema, between the margins and the center (Kinder 1993: 287, 320, and 338).

Goya, unlike Buñuel, left no autobiography -- much less a record of interviews and conversations -- and therefore remains more enigmatic personally and professionally, "una realidad tan extraña"/a reality so strange (refer above to Ortega, 1982), yet so profoundly and consistently relevant. Goya remains unique as the man of the Enlightenment who "discovered" the Existential vision, only to descend ultimately into a dark, nihilistic place. Like Buñuel, Goya -- alluding to the stark realism of his Spanish Baroque predecessors -- effectively annexed that reality he proceeded to render surreal (refer above to Malraux, 1957; see also DeLeuze, 1986). As he develops stylistically, however, Goya's work -- concerned more with subject than composition -- becomes more difficult to place within the indexical litany conceived by the community of discourse known as art history (refer above; see also Tyler 1987: 55). Again, Goya's significance is a philosophical, not a formal-technical one. He, like Buñuel, denounced sociopolitical outrage and injustice. To that end, Goya's message equals Buñuel's in its universality. True to his Spanishness (and similar to the
anarcho-communism of Buñuel), Goya understood the kind of individualism which erupted when threatened by the imposition of Imperial French notions of the State. Finally, there is a sense that, for both, the unrealized goal of individual freedom within the parameters of a morally just society was in fact the elusive "object of desire". And if their art often lacks -- rather conspicuously -- the formal allegiance to what masquerades for beauty (see Durgnat: 117), it also lacks the trivial finesse which too often passes for true sensitivity.
FOOTNOTES

1. Denis Hollier (1988) suggests that Breton's "bolshevizing" of the Surrealist Movement, based on the interiorizing of Leninist models, served to transform Surrealism into an "artistic" phenomenon increasingly estranged from revolution. Apparently, the Stalinization of the original Soviet model during the 1930s had become so intolerable to even diehard Communists within the movement that nothing other than art production remained open to Surrealism as a viable agenda. Surrealism, therefore, had simply "devolved" into a vehicle for cultural reification. Buñuel (1983: 123) also remarks on Surrealism's failure as a revolutionary movement.

2. García Lorca (1928: cited in Kinder 1993: 468, 486) also suggests that it was the duende which provided "proto-surrealist" visionary Isidore Ducasse with such images as "dead fishes eyes at dawn on the boulevard".

3. Pre-Goya graphics -- those of Dürer, Caillot, and Rembrandt -- begin with a mental template which reconciles aesthetic, ethical and religious ideals with palpable realities (Licht 1979: 132-133).

4. A gallery of Spanish paintings, the so-called Musée Espagnol, was established by King Louis-PHillippe during the 1840s (Janson and Rosenblum 1984: 229).

5. Cf. Linda Williams (1987: 199) on Buñuelian cinema: the multifaceted discourse stimulated by an equally elusive oeuvre has to date succeeded only in the construction of several Buñuels.

6. The photographic pioneer Nadar, whose interest was stimulated by the CAPRICHOS, was the first in his field who assiduously studied and admired Goya.

7. Pierre Koslowski (in Hollier 1986: 223-232) reveals that it was the notorious Marquis de Sade who realized than an old, corrupt monarchy like Bourbon France could never be reformed, nor aristocratic criminality eradicated, by the French Revolution. His prophecy was indeed fulfilled by the Napoleonic tyranny.

8. Lafuente Ferrari (in Licht 1979: 111) has justifiably referred to this work as an historic watershed: "la explosión de la pintura moderna".

9. Despite the lack of sentimentalizing or sanctity in Goya's erstwhile martyrdom, allusions to Christian symbolism appear in the THIRD OF MAY. These include the
cruciform pose, suggested stigmata, and even the heraldic/canonical colors of the Church, yellow and white (Licht 1979: 121).

10. In 1873, the Black Paintings were "moved" onto canvas by the gifted conservator, Salvador Martínez Cubells, as directed by the Franco-German banker, Baron Emile d'Erlanger, who had acquired the property (Nordstrom 1962: 188).

11. Since the titles referring to these images were coined by critics after Goya's death, they should be considered with reservations (Licht 1979: 168).

12. Spanish sociologist Emilia Pardo Bazán suggests that Goya's power of redemption is neither spiritual nor emotional, but intellectual (cf. Ortega, 1982). Goya, the unlettered afrancesado, worshipped at the altar of reason (Glendenning 1977: 175-176).

13. Mueller (1984) notes that figures shown as not wholly within the confines of pictorial space seem to enter from the spectator's space, allowing the audience to "participate" in the activities enacted before them.

14. Buñuel (1983: 126) affirmed that the terrorists he most admired were those willing to blow up the world and themselves along with it, but declared that he was personally incapable of imitating those he admired most.

15. Memories of his childhood and his Jesuit education would continue to permeate Buñuel's production, especially the influence of the Catholic Church on Spanish life generally and its particular impact on the provincial Spanish bourgeoisie (Aub 1985: 45).

16. During his years at the Residencia, Buñuel was loosely connected with the Ultraists, who admired Dada, Cocteau, and Marinetti (Buñuel 1983: 59). It should also be recalled that the Franco-Hispanic Dadaist, Francis Picabia, launched his Dada publication 391 from Barcelona (See Fer et. al. 1993: 30-46).

17. The impact of German Expressionist cinema on the development of the Surrealist cinematographic style was considerable. Among the Expressionist filmmakers praised by the Surrealists -- and admired by Buñuel -- are Wiene, Sternberg, Pabst, Lang, Stroheim and Murnau (Hammond 1991: 51; see also Kyrou, 1985).

18. Buñuel had actually met Breton as early as 1925, four
years prior to his association with Surrealism. Breton prepared a lengthy, detailed horoscope for Buñuel. Although this horoscope failed as a predictive device, distinct astrological allusions would continue to surface in Buñuel's work (Aub 1985: 53).

19. Elsaesser (1987: 13-27) cites problems of chronology, attribution and classification in Dada film production. Richter's FILMSTUDIE, Man Ray's ENMAK BAKIA and Marcel Duchamp's ANEMIC CINEMA all date to 1926, while Man Ray's ETOILE DE MER was first shown in 1928. No chronology of any Dada manifestation stretches beyond 1921/1922. Fernand Léger's BALLET MECANIQUE, released in 1924, also postdates Dada. While Léger is generally considered a Cubist, German painter/cineaste Hans Richter designated BALLET MECANIQUE "100% Dada". It is also noteworthy that the Picabia/Clair collaboration in ENTR'ACTE was in part a protest to André Breton's usurpation of power within the Parisian avant-garde (see also Freeman 1987: 28-45 and Judovitz 1987: 46-57).

20. Kuenzli (1987: 10) notes that while Surrealist film defamiliarizes [sociocultural] reality, it nonetheless relies on a degree of conventional cinematography, including narrative, optical realism and character. Alternatively, Dada film defamiliarizes through cinematic manipulations, never really permitting viewer access to the film.

21. Grosz's and Heartfield's LIFE AND ACTION AT UNIVERSAL CITY AT 12.05 NOON (1919) is an example of montage linking film-related photographs to cinematic montage (Kuenzli, 1987).

22. Kyrou's only major critique of the Expressionist genre was its use of violent contrast and hyperbolic distortion (ibid.). Eisner (1965: 21), citing German critic Rudolf Kurtz, notes that deliberate formal and spatial distortion was intended to provoke audience response and, additionally, to provide a decidedly metaphysical dimension.

23. Finkelstein (1987: 139-141) addresses the issue of Dalí's collaboration in the realization of CHIEN ANDALOU. Although unable to rise to Buñuel's standards as a cineaste, Finkelstein suggests that Dalí's participation served to moderate Buñuel's penchant for violence, raw sexuality and anti-clericalism. Buñuel (cited in Aranda 1975: 59-60) insists that Dalí's presence during the film's shooting was very limited, having appeared on set only on the final day -- although he did play one of the
Marist priests.

24. Dalí (cited in Aranda 1975: 64) asserted that the film intended "to reveal the principal conviction which animates all surrealist thought: the overwhelming importance of desire."

25. Buache (1973: 10, referring to Brunius, 1954: EN MARGE DU CINEMA FRANCAIS) also notes the tendency to impart pat Freudian interpretations to Buñuel's images, observing that many -- e.g., Marist priests and donkeys -- derive directly from Spanish reality.

26. Liebman (1987) asserts that UN CHIEN ANDALOU is actually a "talkie" insofar as both imagery and structure are tied to the French language and, specifically, to French argot, or popular figurative speech. He points to the words, phrases and implied sentence fragments involving themes of violence, perversity and eroticism.

27. Naomi Greene (1983: 91-93) questions Williams' application of Metzian Semiology and Lacanian psychoanalysis to Buñuelian cinema, asserting instead that Buñuel -- occasionally -- was simply having fun. Williams herself admits that Buñuelian cinema remains tantalizingly elusive, even referring to "the wary dance between filmmaker and critic" (1987: 199).

28. The prologue reveals Buñuel's lifelong fascination with insects and entomology -- notwithstanding the taxonomic status of the scorpion as an arachnid. This rather bizarre obsession emerged in UN CHIEN ANDALOU as ants crawling out of a hole in Pierre Batcheff's hand, and will reappear in LAS HURDES as the same sort of Biology 101 lecture, this time focused on the anopheles mosquito (see Aub, 1985 and Buñuel, 1983).

29. The astrological reference to the sign of the scorpion (Scorpio) pervades the opening sequences. Scorpio (Oct. 23 - Nov. 21) is associated with hidden things and lower body functions -- excretion, sex/regeneration, as well as with death (refer above to Footnot No. 18 and to Buñuel, 1983).

30. Williams (1992: 137-143) suggests that the rational association of one sequence with another is metonymic, and that the association of episodic sequences is only partially attributable to spatio-temporal contiguous. True to her linguistic model, Williams proposes that Buñuel employs surrealist metonomy which treats each new diegetic segment as if it were a metaphoric vehicle, but
forcing no abrupt leap onto the connotative plane — unlike the metaphoric construction of CHIEN ANDALOU.

31. At a certain point in the garden love scene, Modot is called to the phone, having been summoned by the Minister of the Interior (conscience?). Lys then proceeds to fulfill desire by performing fellatio on the phallic toes of a male statue.

32. Buñuel's knowledge of Las Hurdes Altas was gleaned from a lengthy doctoral dissertation prepared by Father Maurice Legendre, who had spent nearly twenty years in the region, and who was once director of the Institut Français in Madrid (Aranda 1975: 89-90).

33. Goya's DESASTRES No. 62 (Las camas de la muerte/The beds of death) suggests another Buñuelian link; the risen "zombie", wandering among corpses, is reminiscent of the old Hurdana calling out in the night for prayers for the dead (Licht 1979: 155).
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