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Fire Smoulders in the Veins: Toyen's Queer Desire and Its Roots in Prague Surrealism

Karla Huebner

Abstract

This essay explores Toyen's development of queer themes and places it in the context of her Prague origins. It first looks at its place within the Prague group's early erotica, then considers early Czech surrealism in relation to interwar Czech sex reformism, feminism, and homoerotic activism, and finally examines how Toyen's production of artworks can be seen as enacting her queer desire in a tangible form. In closing, it relates Czech surrealist theory and practice to French surrealist ideas. The article also shows how inter-war Czechs participated in the struggle for sexual minority rights.

> *Toyen's entire oeuvre aims at nothing less than the correction of the exterior world in terms of a desire that feeds upon and grows from its own satisfaction.*
> Benjamin Péret, 1953[1]

During the late 1920s and early 1930s, several members of the Czech avant-garde group Devětsil were moving closer and closer to surrealism. Like the Paris surrealists, they took an interest in Freudian psychoanalysis, dreams, and the unconscious. They shared an attachment to such surrealist 'precursor' authors as Baudelaire, Lautréamont, Apollinaire, and the Marquis de Sade. And, strikingly, they sought to explore and eventually transform human consciousness via desire. This was particularly the case for artists and writers Jindřich Štyrský, Vítězslav Nezval, Toyen (Marie Čermínová, 1902-1980), and their younger friend Bohuslav Brouk, who became founding members of the Prague surrealist group in 1934. All of them had an ongoing commitment to the examination of human sexuality, which became particularly notable in their proto-surrealist erotic and theoretical works of the early 1930s, when they collaborated on a series of works under the imprint of Štyrský's privately printed *Edice 69*.

It was Toyen, however, who expressed what we now would consider a queer sensibility and desire. Toyen was a young woman of rising importance in the Czech avant-garde who had created erotic works as early as 1922, claimed an attraction to women, and was both very popular with and an object of unrequited love among her male peers. Both a founding member of the Prague surrealist group and a member of the postwar Paris surrealist group, she not only adopted an ungendered pseudonym, but stressed her rejection of the heteronormative by speaking in the masculine gender, dressing in both masculine and feminine modes, and telling male friends that she was attracted to women. Secretive about any actual sexual relationships she may have had with either men or women, she was never secretive about desire itself; from

the very beginning of her career, Toyen explored themes of sexual fantasy and transgression, presenting viewers with scenes of orgies, lesbian encounters, phallic toys, and women who are part animal. Her mature surrealist work, while less explicit than the early erotica, developed an elusive but intensely sensuous vocabulary of queer desire, filled with imagery of labia, tongues, and vaginal openings.

It is evident, then, that the intersection of queerness and desire is of signal importance in the work of Toyen. Yet in recent literature, Toyen's personal sexuality has been increasingly heterosexualized. Her relationships with artistic partners Štyrský and Jindřich Heisler have been assumed to be sexual ones, although Nezval wrote that she insisted she and Štyrský were merely friends.[2] Efforts have also been made to link Toyen to other possible male lovers, such as 'a young man of dark complexion' encountered by Czech art historians who visited her in the early 1960s.[3] The 2005 Jan Němec film *Toyen* portrayed her as obsessed with Heisler and implied that Heisler was involved in the creation of heterosexual erotica made when he was in fact barely adult, well before he joined the Prague surrealist group in 1938.

In this essay, therefore, I explore Toyen's queer desire and place it in the context of her Prague origins by first looking at its place within the Prague group's early erotica, then considering early Czech surrealism in relation to interwar Czech sex reformism, feminism, and homoerotic activism, and finally by examining how Toyen's production of artworks can be seen as enacting her queer desire in a tangible form, embodying and making manifest countless permutations of this desire in her drawings, paintings, prints, and collages. In closing, I relate Czech Surrealist theory and practice to French surrealist ideas.

Toyen was producing erotic work by 1922, when she completed the orgy scene *Pillow* (*Cushion*). The artist's friend, surrealist Annie Le Brun, observes that in 1919 the painting was entitled *Secluded Place*, suggesting that the 1922 version is simply the definitive version. Since Toyen turned seventeen in late 1919 and twenty in 1922, this was, as Le Brun says, an incredibly audacious topic for a young woman to paint at that time.[4] Nonetheless, it is probable that Toyen was the first of the Prague group to explore sexual themes in a consistently transgressive manner. Though the activities depicted in *Pillow* were essentially heterosexual, the theme of group sex clearly rebelled against societal norms.

The way for Toyen's erotica had been paved by *fin-de-siècle* culture and especially by the Czech decadents, whose fascination with sexuality included both gender ambiguity and a sense of transgression. During the *fin de siècle*, Paris, Vienna, and Budapest had all been major producers of pornography, while Prague, too, had no shortage of sexually oriented material.[5] Czech erotic photography had existed since the introduction of the daguerreotype, and by the latter nineteenth century, imported nude photos were sold at the downtown Prague shop U města

Paříže (At the City of Paris).[6] Nude and erotic/pornographic photos continued to be readily available after Czechoslovakia's independence in 1918.

As in France and Britain, the decadents had played an important role in bringing sexuality into the public view, and Czech surrealism drew strongly from decadent models and ideas. Decadent interest in intermediate states, such as homosexuality and androgyny, autumn, dawn, dusk, greyness and pastel colours, memory, dying, and the dream, as well as intermediate genres and forms, was shared by Czech surrealists.[7] Prague's decadent *Moderní revue*, edited by Arnošt Procházka and Jiří Karásek ze Lvovic, was an influential cultural forum that continued publication until 1925. While the *Moderní revue*'s aestheticism and lack of interest in the kind of political issues that occupied the surrealists were alien to surrealism, its focus on the imagination, psychology, madness, and sex was akin to surrealism. The *Moderní revue* had a history of confiscation for indecency, and its 1895 issue devoted to Oscar Wilde was the first publication in Bohemia to discuss the literary treatment of homosexuality.[8] Co-editor Karásek's *Sodoma* (1895) was the first openly homoerotic collection of poetry in the history of Czech literature (the first edition was suppressed).[9] Jindřich Štyrský became personally acquainted with Karásek very early and by 1921 was writing of how much good Karásek's ideas had done him.[10]

Nor was Karásek the only exponent of taboo sexuality at the magazine. Artist and writer Karel Hlaváček, whose sexual impulses were tormented and probably bisexual, designed many of the early covers. In *Exile* (1897), he depicted a demonic face conceived 'as an outlaw from a sexual paradise' whose mouth took the shape of 'salivating female genitalia.'[11] His *Execution of the Soul* (1896-7) presented an androgynous head strangled by phallic, taloned, fingers. Both of these works and their explicit meanings were known to the public by 1900, when the *Moderní revue* published the recently deceased artist's descriptions of their genesis.[12]

Other Czech artists also created sexually themed work. Though most of these works were done by heterosexual males, their emphasis on genitalia (both male and female) and their wild playfulness were perhaps an inspiration for Toyen. Male genitals, in fact, were a staple of private Czech erotic imagery. Though the more explicit work was never meant for public display, much of it was known to members of the artistic community. Josef Váchal, for example, designed erotic bookplates for friends of both sexes. As Karásek was a bibliophile and art collector, Štyrský and presumably Toyen would have had ample opportunity to acquaint themselves with his collections, erotic and otherwise.[13]

By 1925, Toyen had gone far beyond the orgiastic heterosexuality of *Pillow*; heterosexual activity had become just one of many possible erotic options, as became clear in a group of sketches made during a 1925 trip to France, which predated her move to Paris with Štyrský later that year. The sketches explore a wide variety of practices and situations, including lesbian

activities, sailors spraying nude women with semen, men masturbating in the company of women, and even bestiality. As Toyen's sketches from this trip also include scenes from popular revues and a record of her visit to the studio of homosexual Czech artist Jan Zrzavý, it is probable that the erotic sketches include some scenes she personally witnessed or participated in, as well as images of physically impossible fantasies. Their diversity correlates with Freud's theorization of the polymorphously perverse child who takes erotic pleasure from all parts of the body and without the restrictions imposed by societal norms.

Though *Pillow* predated the Paris works, it appears that Toyen either found Paris especially conducive to the creation of erotica or that most of her earlier erotic works have been lost or destroyed. It seems plausible that, like other Czechs and like foreign visitors in general, she saw the city as a place of sexual tolerance and libertinage. In 1906, Apollinaire had satirized Eastern European fantasies of Paris: 'In common with his compatriots, the handsome Prince Vibescu dreamed of Paris, City of Light, where all the women are beautiful and every one of them is willing to part her thighs.'[14] Those who sought sexual excess or transgression in Paris usually found it; the Polish painter Tamara de Lempicka found opportunities for group sex in 'shabby clubs' along the banks of the Seine frequented by sailors, male and female students, and the occasional society woman.[15] The presence of sailors in some of Toyen's erotic sketches of 1925 suggests that she too ventured into these haunts. She may also, like the writer Anaïs Nin, have explored Paris brothels, whether alone or with Štyrský.

If Toyen was seeking a lesbian-friendly milieu, Paris was decidedly a locale with a recent history of toleration and even fashionability. Male nineteenth-century writers such as Baudelaire, Gautier, and Louÿs, as well as Remy de Gourmont, Zola, and others, had featured lesbian themes prominently, as had female authors including Rachilde, Jane de la Vaudère, Colette, Natalie Barney, and Renée Vivien.[16] By the 1920s, Paris was the home of such notable lesbian couples as Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas, Djuna Barnes and Thelma Wood, Hilda Doolittle (H.D.) and Bryher (Winifred Ellerman), Janet Flanner and Solita Solano, Sylvia Beach and Adrienne Monnier, and Margaret Anderson and Jane Heap, to name a few familiar to English-speaking readers. *Well of Loneliness* author Radclyffe Hall and her partner Una Troubridge, while not resident in Paris, spent extended periods there.[17] The Danish artist Gerda Wegener, now best known for her marriage to early male-to-female sex-change recipient Einar Wegener and for her mostly lesbian-themed erotic illustrations, also lived in Paris during the 1920s.[18] And, of course, Claude Cahun and her lover Suzanne Malherbe/Marcel Moore had settled in Montparnasse in the early 1920s.[19]

Czech visitors to Paris were well aware of its homoerotic potential. A 1931 Czech article on gay-friendly locales in Paris noted that next to the Moulin Rouge was the internationally

popular café Graff, where the dancing was 'boys with boys and girls with girls.'[20] Toyen's acquaintance Adolf Hoffmeister, meanwhile, noted the 'lesbian beauties in men's clothes' who frequented other popular cafés.[21]

In addition to her sketches, in 1925 Toyen painted *Paradise of the Blacks*, an orgy scene that combined hetero- and homosexual activity. Not only did it fearlessly present a variety of taboo sexual acts, but its coal-black jungle Africans were a parodic echo of the pale blonde northern Europeans typical in Renaissance paintings of the Golden Age. Toyen presented Africa as the locale of the real Golden Age, where no one hesitated to perform any sex act.

In 1925, then, Toyen produced a significant body of erotic works, some of which appear to record observed scenes and others of which are clearly fantasy. Though some of these had heterosexual themes, she did not hide her same-sex interests from friends. Around this time, for instance, she asked the poet Jaroslav Seifert to translate a cycle of Verlaine's lesbian sonnets, three of which Štyrský later published in the *Erotická revue*.[22] She then, however, temporarily abandoned figurative art in favour of Artificialism, a two-person movement founded with Štyrský. Similar to surrealism in many respects, Artificialism nonetheless carefully maintained its distance.

By the latter 1920s, Toyen and Štyrský's work and ideas were growing closer to surrealism, but were visualized abstractly, for the most part as imaginary landscapes. Toyen's return to figuration and discernable erotic content in the early 1930s came as she and Štyrský, along with Nezval and several other members of Devětsil, developed a theoretical basis that was increasingly Freudian and increasingly akin to that of Bretonian surrealism.

Around the same time, Toyen began to illustrate erotica for the imprints *Lotos*, *Olisbos*, *Mys dobré naděje*, and *Edice* 69—projects that included Beardsley's *Venus and Tannhäuser* (1930), Salten's *Josephine Mutzenbacher: Memoirs of a Viennese Tart* (1930), and Louÿs's *Pybrac* (1932), as well as the *Heptameron* (1932) and *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1930).[23] Of the *Heptameron*, Štyrský noted: 'Toyen has succeeded in creating a certain type of modern erotic illustration. In her drawings we find in the first place one predilection: a taste for girls' beauty. The torsos of women, eyes genteel, full of amorous ennui, horrible and perverted in the moment of orgasm, gently befogged in the hour of death ... '[24]

Precisely what prompted Toyen to turn her attention to erotic book illustration at this time is unclear. From 1926 through 1929 she had emphasized abstraction. Nor was erotic work a significant part of Štyrský's oeuvre during the 1920s. Around 1930, however, both artists began to pursue erotic subject matter; they also collected a large library of works on sex and the erotic. Štyrský has usually been given the major credit for the pair's erotic turn, but while it coincided with their move toward acceptance of surrealism, it was clearly a renewal of Toyen's earlier intense interest in sexual themes. Between 1931 and 1933, Štyrský, who was experienced as

artist, writer, and editor, published both the *Erotická revue* and six titles under the imprint of Edice 69. These projects involved considerable input from Toyen, Nezval, Brouk, and others.

The *Erotická revue*'s three issues included a wide variety of sex-related material from around the world.[25] The French surrealists were represented by translations of two of their *Recherches sur la sexualité*, a selection from *Irene's Cunt* by Louis Aragon, and a selection from the *Immaculate Conception* by André Breton and Paul Eluard. Toyen was one of the main artists represented in the magazine. The contributions marked 'XX' were rough sketches from around 1925: a nude man standing on a hotel bed and masturbating in front of a waiting woman; a woman and a sailor on a couch; four beds populated by two heterosexual couples, one male couple, and one waiting woman; and a mostly female daisy-chain echoed by an animal daisy-chain. The second category, signed 'T,' mostly dated from the beginning of the 1930s and was considerably more sophisticated in both style and content. These drawings included a sleeping woman dreaming of penises; ithyphallic clowns; and a lesbian trio titled 'Women of the East.' There was also a sketch of a woman playing with phallic chess pieces; an image of one white and one black woman lolling on giant penises; a drawing in which tiny African women climb on giant penises growing from the earth; and finally, the highly surrealist and now relatively well known drawing of a woman's face with female genitalia in place of eyes and mouth. The third, much smaller, group was that of drawings openly designated 'Toyen.' The only pictures so identified were a hermaphroditic drawing and the three drawings for an excerpt from Malinowski's legends and stories from Melanesia. These, however, were similar enough in style and content to the 'T' drawings that the alert reader would recognize them to be by the same artist. The strictly physical, pornographic fantasy of the early 'XX' drawings had been replaced by a more imaginative, fairy-tale type of fantasy in which physical plausibility was left far behind, and in which Toyen emphasized depiction of male genitalia.

Štyrský's precise intentions for the *Erotická revue* are unclear. Not technically a surrealist project, it hinted at surrealist connections and tendencies, but overshadowed the surrealist works with pieces from earlier centuries and exotic lands. Its diversity of art and writing suggested, however, a desire to go beyond the standard varieties of heterosexual erotica and to embrace rather more outré topics, to begin to bring in forms of sexual behaviour more familiar to readers of Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis* than of the popular marriage manuals of the day. Toyen's sketches were the main *visual* evidence of a tendency toward the non-normative.

Štyrský also published six works under the Edice 69 imprint: Nezval's *Sexual Nocturne*, illustrated by himself (1931); Sade's *Justine*, illustrated by Toyen (1932); František Halas's *Thyrsos*, again illustrated by Štyrský (1932); a selection from Aretino's *Ragionamento*, illustrated by Toyen (1932); a selection from Pierre-Jean-Baptiste Nougaret, illustrated by Rudolf Krajc

(1932); and his own *Emilie Comes to Me in a Dream* (1933).[26] Four of these have been reprinted, of which *Sexual Nocturne*, *Justine*, and *Emilie* are the most significant for the study of surrealism.

Inspirations for the series were largely French and surrealist. Bataille's *Story of the Eye* (1928) and Aragon's *Irene's Cunt* (1927) had employed a quasi-autobiographical form of narrative akin to the one Nezval would use in *Sexual Nocturne* and Štyrský in *Emilie*. Nezval's *Sexual Nocturne*, a tale of small-town boyhood lust, was written somewhat in the style of Breton's *Nadja*, but with a gothic tone that looked toward his later *Valerie and Her Week of Wonders*. Štyrský's accompanying collages convey aspects of the text rather than illustrating its specifics.[27] Throughout the novella, in fact, Štyrský ignored Nezval's narrative in order to present his own critique of marriage as a trap centred on the insect-like reproduction of the species. Though the male is lured by the female, Štyrský represented the male as a creature driven more by his ceaselessly engorged genitalia than by the promise of union with the female.

Toyen's six illustrations for the Marquis de Sade's *Justine* depict not only bloody physical injuries but also homosexual fellatio, an activity not condoned by Breton despite his enthusiasm for Sade. Very much in the style of her other illustrations of the period, the illustrations for *Justine* were hand-coloured line drawings.

The final work in the series, Štyrský's *Emilie Comes to Me in a Dream*, consists of a dream-like narrative accompanied by a collection of photomontages. These emphasized genitalia of both sexes, with a kind of frantic coupling marked on the one hand by suggestions of voyeurism, and on the other by emphasis on orgasm and ecstasy. Eros and Thanatos were joined via imagery of coffins, skeletons, and gas masks.

Emilie Comes to Me in a Dream included a significant afterword by Bohuslav Brouk, who would become the Prague group's theoretician of sexuality and psychoanalysis. Brouk emphasized the importance of the 'pornophilic' in combating the ruling classes, and argued that '[t]hose who conceal their sexuality despise their innate abilities without ever having risen above them.' Such people, he asserted, cannot escape either their animality or their mortality. Forcing them to be aware of excremental and sexual acts, he stressed, destroys their fantasies of being superior to the corporeal.[28] Brouk argued that so-called pornophiles and pornophilia 'attack any mode of non-animality' people might use to elevate themselves; pornophiles emphasize human nature and thus dispose of old excuses for inequality. He posited that pornophilia could thus be a weapon for the oppressed and claimed that 'those who succumb to pornophilia are of a more revolutionary bent than those mired in the prejudices of the moribund bourgeoisie.'[29] Brouk stressed that pornophilic work glorifies sexual pleasure outside the reproductive realm, combating the ruling classes through the pleasure principle. Art, he asserted, 'mitigates the sadism of pornophilia only in its exploitation of sex's biological function, which is as unpleasant to

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pornophiles as it is to pornophobes.'[30] Distinguishing, however, between what one might call unmitigated pornophilia and titillating kitsch, Brouk excoriated the latter as 'trash pornophilia' that suppresses its sadistic impulses and thus becomes accessible to exactly the caste that pornophilia attacks.[31]

In this essay, Brouk laid out a class-conscious rationale for the future Prague surrealists' use of graphic sexual content (both verbal and visual) which would serve them well when they formed a surrealist group allied with the Breton group but also akin to the Bataille faction.

The persistent and so often transgressive eroticism produced by Toyen and the other early Czech surrealists during the 1930s was simultaneously part of and distinct from early twentieth-century sex-reformist efforts. Though sex-reformism has been more thoroughly studied in the German context, it was energetically pursued in Czechoslovakia by both hetero- and homosexual activists. Indeed, First Republic Czechoslovakia (1918-1938) was the scene of considerable interest in matters relating to gender, the body, and sexuality, an interest that was a natural development from *fin-de-siècle* Czech efforts on behalf of feminism, health, eugenics, and sex reform. The broad topic of 'sex reform' included contraception, abortion, venereal diseases, marriage counselling, divorce laws, rights for unwed mothers and their children and for homosexuals, and also improvements in sex education and sexual technique. Sex-educational books were much advertised in a wide variety of periodicals (Fig. 1).

Fig 1: 'The delights of love—their secrets without consequences!' Advertisement in the humour magazine *Trn* 6, No. 43, 1930.

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The emphasis in these, however, was on decidedly normative practices, although Czech publications often acknowledged that Magnus Hirschfeld and other sexologists considered homosexuality to be normal when innate. Most heterosexual texts stressed happy marriage, with a subtext of positive eugenics. Thus, Czech discourses about sex and sexuality were almost always—apart from erotica and pornography—closely tied to discourses about health, hygiene, and social reform, and thus by extension to discourses about women's rights, gender, and class. This was typical of early twentieth-century European discourses on sex and sexuality, as sexologists and reformers moved away from focus on taxonomies of 'perversion' and efforts to suppress 'vice' and more toward interest in 'normal' (primarily but not purely heterosexual) behaviour. Free love, under various names, was also a major topic as theorists and progressives of both sexes sought to define a non-economically based model for heterosexual partnership (Fig. 2).[32]

Fig. 2: Energol advertisement in the sex-reformist magazine *Moderní hygiena 1*, No. 9, 15 Jan 1930.

Czech feminists, meanwhile, largely examined sexuality in relation to the family and heterosexual couples, and many of them advocated men adhering to strict monogamy rather than advocating greater sexual freedom for women. By the 1920s, this feminist emphasis on 'purity' became one aspect of a generational divide between older feminists of both sexes and the younger, usually less explicitly feminist, generations who came of age during and after the First World War. Throughout the First Republic, older Czech feminists continued to tie feminism to nationalism and to emphasise sexual purity.[33] The younger generation consequently often perceived them as old-fashioned. Nonetheless, while women's journalism emphasized abstinence and purity, leftist feminist periodicals did not shy away from discussions of sex, marriage, prostitution, and free union.

From 1931 to 1934, two Czech magazines, *Hlas sexuální menšiny* (The Voice of the Sexual Minority) and its successor *Nový hlas* (New Voice), published news relating to the homosexual community. Though not the organs of any organisation, *Hlas* and *Nový hlas* reported on meetings of the Československá Liga pro sexuální reformu (Czechoslovak league for sexual reform, ČLSR) and the Osvětové a společenského sdružení Přátelství (Enlightened and social association 'Friendship,' or OSSP). Founded in 1931, the ČLSR was conceived as a branch of the World League for Sexual Reform (founded in 1928) and therefore had goals broader than but decidedly inclusive of homosexual rights. Because the ČLSR was not primarily focused on the homosexual community, the OSSP came into existence in January 1932, taking inspiration from German homosexual organisations, and rapidly became a very active Prague social club.[34]

While *Hlas* and *Nový hlas* gave some space to lesbian and bisexual topics, these were not well covered, and it appears that Czech women were not as actively involved in sexual minority reform efforts or social groups as men. Nonetheless, it is clear that women were involved. The OSSP noted in July 1932 that it would be establishing a women's group and by September, the group was meeting at Batex on Revoluční in Prague.[35] Author Lída Merlínová addressed lesbian issues from time to time in *Nový hlas*, and also published at least one article on the matter of male and female cross-dressing.[36] While lacking direct ties to the future surrealists, in its September 1933 issue, *Nový hlas* began to advertise Brouk's *Psychoanalytická sexuologie*, describing the contents as including 'sexual cohabitation, platonic love, forms of sexual intercourse, homosexuality, sapphic love, perversions, sodomy and more.'[37] The following month, *Nový hlas* listed it as one of 'our books,' along with Mann's *Death in Venice*.

Other Czech periodicals also occasionally reported on sexual minorities. In 1933, *Nový hlas* quoted from the *Moravská Orlice* (Moravian eagle):

> In Prague there are, as already stated, a great many inverts. Let's enter one of their locations, ... Huněk's restaurant on the street 28. října. You'll see dancing couples here circling to pleasant music in modern dance. They are predominantly beautiful people; you

> will see not only inverted men dancing, but lesbian women, who are abundant here, also luxuriate in dance with exaltation. Men pet without shyness here, but women, who are better brought up, conceal their feelings.[38]

Whether the Prague surrealists actually read *Hlas* or *Nový hlas* is unknown, but if Toyen did read *Nový hlas*, she would have found information on lesbian as well as gay venues and groups, as well as lists of 'homoerotic literature' that included a wide variety of authors writing on lesbian themes.[39] While Štyrský's personal sexual interests appear to have been heterosexual, he was regarded by Nezval and others as having a strongly feminine nature that complemented the masculinity perceived in Toyen, and thus, for those who accepted Otto Weininger's theory that amounts of masculinity and femininity in a person must be matched by opposite amounts in the partner, the two created a harmonious pairing.

Toyen's desire was a major subject and subtext in her art. Her eternal desirousness may have found much of its satisfaction in the act of artmaking, of imagining and imaging new forms of erotic expression. We have seen that in the 1920s, Toyen's explorations of sexuality ran to sketches of a wide range of activities, and that in the early 1930s she showed a persistent interest in phallic imagery. Not only was this evident in the works published in the *Erotická revue*, but it was also an important element in her illustrations for *Venus and Tannhäuser* (1930); her 1931 circus-themed sketches; and some of the illustrations for *Justine* (1932) and *Pybrac* (1932). In the mid-1930s, Toyen also sketched a woman's hand caressing a flaccid dribbling penis (1936); a scene of caged penises in front of a masturbating woman; and a sketch of female fingers touching the glans of three penises (1937). In these phallic pieces, she emphasized women's control of the pleasuring phallus.

With her transition to surrealism, however, Toyen began to explore eroticism in a more veiled and symbolic manner, and only occasionally returned to the creation of straightforwardly explicit sexual imagery, as in *Jednadvacet* (*Twenty-one*, 1938), a collection commissioned as a wedding present for Brouk's brother. Her surrealist works emphasise a mysterious, obscure, haunting eroticism, and the paintings in particular substitute a sensuous, highly tactile, use of oils for the baldly descriptive delineation of bodily parts and actions that had characterized the sex drawings. It is almost as though the drawings are records of visual experience or fantasy—sketches jotted for future reference—while the paintings are tactile explorations, erotic experiences in themselves.

Furthermore, Toyen usually rendered the male genitalia as human, purely sexual, organs; while they signify desire, their signification is human and almost always a bit comic, not that of a mystic, all-powerful, unattainable, Lacanian 'primary signifier of all desire.'[40] The role of 'signifier of all desire' in Toyen's work goes more plausibly to the image of the vaginal opening,

which took on a greater and greater role over the years. These began, perhaps, with the ambiguous but possibly vaginal form in *Desire* (1934), the curious openings on the owl-like figures in the *Voice of the Forest* series, and include all the obvious or not-so-obvious openings and vaginal forms of the next forty years. Thus, though Toyen fragmented the body, and to some extent fetishized both male and female, if the male surrealists sometimes imposed a fetishized phallus onto the female form, Toyen located the source of desire very differently than the male surrealists.[41]

Initially, during the 1930s, Toyen's surrealist imagery stressed emptiness, fragmentation, and a sense of phantasmatic horror. These works are not erotic in the titillating sense of the word, but radiate an aura of sexual angst and pain, often focused on the female body. At this time, Toyen was developing the image of a lone girl, generally prepubescent, who wandered as if lost through bleak landscapes. The solitary girl, probably representing a surrealist dreamer, walks among disturbing juxtapositions of toys and dead animals, and is sometimes herself fragmented and dismembered. This imagery became pervasive in the mid-1930s, around the same time as the formation of the Prague surrealist group.

Everything in Toyen's work begins to appear in pieces and in the process of cracking and crumbling or dematerializing. None of the illustrations for *Justine* (1932) show a complete figure, but are composed of torsos, genitalia, and faces. And, of course, *Message of the Forest* (1934) includes a girl's decapitated head. This theme of fragmentation was one Toyen shared with Štyrský during the early 1930s, as well as with Karel Teige's collage work, and may relate to Brouk's theory of partialism, in which the extremities and their clothing are stand-ins for the penis, while the torso and head substitute for female genitalia.[42] Heads, headlessness, and empty garments can thus refer to the female genitalia, while gloves represent the male (although their openings are female). Both Toyen and Štyrský also hinted at anxiety about scopophilia and voyeurism. By 1933, disembodied eyes begin to appear on fragments of matter or superimposed on pieces of torn material, as in an illustration for Apollinaire's *Alkoholy* (1933) and for the 1934 book *Čajové květy* (Tea Flowers). *Mirage* (1934) presents a young woman's head, possibly on a pillar, with eyes apparently gouged out; *Girl's Head with Spiderweb* of the same year employs the same theme.

As early as 1931, the figure of the headless woman appears in an illustration for S. K. Neumann's *Žal* (Woe). Headless and armless, this lightly draped figure resembles a modern version of an ancient Greek statue, and is an intermediary between Toyen's naturalistic illustrations and the delicate, fragmentary, semi-surrealist imagery she was in the process of developing for her literary illustrations. Similarly, *Wedding Allegory* (1932) juxtaposes a faceless bride with her headless upper torso in a see-through bra. The female body first became a stony

or nebulous torso in works such as *Magnetic Woman* (1934), and then disappeared, represented only by garments and shadows. Yet while women faded out of Toyen's paintings and drawings of the 1930s, and even figures with heads often lacked faces, they never left entirely. Women continued in the form of shadows and ghosts, becoming particularly notable from the late fifties on.

Empty garments became a favourite signifier in Toyen's work beginning in the mid 1930s, hinted at with the headless *Rose Ghost* and *Yellow Ghost* (both 1934), and becoming decidedly empty with the collages for *Ani labuť, ani Lůna* (1936), followed by *Dream*, *Sleeper*, *The Abandoned Corset*, and *Morning Encounter* (all 1937). In *Sleeper*, there's no girl, but just a white, fissured, empty cone of a coat topped with a head of reddish hair. *Dream*, too, presents a haunted garment in a barren landscape. The bloody-seeming garment has a childish air but stands up for itself, like an all-too-solid ghost, one encrusted with laundry starch and old gore.

Such hung-up or floating garments had first appeared in the collage *Ani labuť, ani Lůna* (1936) and the painting *The Abandoned Corset* (1937). Katja Zigerlig suggests that Toyen's use of the corset—which signifies restriction—functions as an affirmation—because the corset is empty.[43] 'Life is elsewhere,' as Rimbaud, Breton, and Kundera all said. Perhaps, but the corset and the other garments also signify the absent woman or girl and her sexuality. Such garments reappeared in *At the Green Table* and in the collage-painting *Natural Laws* (1946). The preferred motif shifts to one of ghostly figures defined largely by garments and shadows, and to small items of clothing, particularly gloves. Thus, the untenanted garment, in its various forms, became one of the most important themes in Toyen's work from the 1930s on.

In these works, especially in her later paintings but already visible in Toyen's pre-surrealist (but so utterly surrealist) drawing of the woman's face with eyes and mouth made of female genitalia, metaphor and metonymy are simultaneously at work, with parts metonymically standing for a whole and one thing metaphorically like another (female genitalia representing other bodily parts but also having a metaphoric similarity). At the same time, elements such as the raptor's claw speak of pain and death, while gloves and other items of female attire increase in frequency over time and signify the female body and female sexuality, as, to some extent, does the postwar imagery of interiors, doors, windows, and intense surface patterning. Toyen's move from the often-dismembered girl of the 1930s to the usually vaporous woman of the postwar period suggests a shift from haunted self (Breton's 'who am I') to haunting self (Breton's 'whom do I haunt').

Toyen's postwar iconography moved increasingly toward themes of queer desire and eroticism. She had signalled her intent to recombine and regender the figure as early as *Hermaphrodite* (1932); now, both the bold yet veiled nature of the late imagery, and titles such as

Desire, *Fire Smoulders in the Veins*, and *They Touch Me in Sleep* revealed her preoccupation with a polymorphous desire that was woman-centered yet never limited to standard understandings of lesbian nature or practice.

Toyen's early surrealist work had emphasized the figure of the lone girl; now, the postwar successor to the empty girl became the figure of an adult seductress who often appeared in a partly animal form or with animal attributes. In 1957, her series *The Seven Swords Unsheathed* (*Les sept épées hors du fourreau*, an hommage to Apollinaire) depicted seven faceless phantom women in the nebulous, painterly style typical of her mid-1950s work. The series was a return to erotic content and was a preliminary exploration of imagery and iconography that she would further develop in the 1960s. Subsequent to these phantom women, she created the female figures in *The Silences of Mirrors* (1958), *Paravent* (1966), *Eclipse* (1968), *When the Laws Fall Silent* (1969, named from *Justine*[44]), and *Midsummer Night's Dream* (1970).

Simultaneously, discrete fetishized body parts took on a new importance. Toyen's first faceless heads of hair had appeared in the 1930s, suggesting anonymous physical masses; postwar, they developed into fetishized depictions, of which the most notable are the two collages *Midi-Minuit*. Hair also appears in *Debris des rêves* and other works of the late 1960s and early 1970s, especially in imagery of birds reaching for locks of women's hair. 1960s mass visual culture also made its appearance in her collage work, particularly in the form of brightly lipsticked mouths with glaringly white teeth, but also through other sexualized female bodily parts.

Mouths, tongues, and kisses had quietly begun to appear around 1949 with entwined bird tongues. After a brief period of stylized kiss imagery in the early 1950s, Toyen turned to tongues as a notable element of their own. These tongues, whether in *Melusine* (1957), *They Touch Me in Sleep* (1957), *Furrow in the Mirror* (1959), or *Made Up for the Performance* (1962), often combine with vaginal imagery, taking the lips-nether lips concept one step further and suggesting a clitoris that is also a tongue. Tongues appear in other forms as well: bats show their tongues (*Frequently Strewn Sheets*, 1959; *Night After Night*, 1960); tongues appear as discrete elements (*Mists of Solitude*, 1961), purse closures (*One in the Other*, 1965), and as the end of a knife (*Banquet of Analogies*, 1970). *Les Puits dans la tour/Débris de rêves* (1966) features tongues prominently on the cover and lurking slyly in additional prints. This tongue, to be sure, can have a phallic look to it as well. Toyen, like Bellmer, played with reorganization of the body.

Akin to these representations of tongues, an open, often collaged, red-lipped mouth makes its appearance in *The Folding Screen* (1966), *Sur-le-champ* (1967), *Through the Balmy Night* (1968), *When the Laws Fall Silent* (1969), and the masks for Ivšić's *Roi Gordogane* (1976). By 1968, the symbol of the full-lipped closed mouth with protruding tongue had appeared, as in *Eclipse* (1968) and the print *Tir* (1972). As Srp points out, Toyen had long since replaced the

human face with masklike imagery, sometimes from her vast collection of clippings, which she saved in envelopes (lips, eyes, corsets, etc.).[45] This avoidance of the life-like face, this preference for blankness and masking, suggests protectiveness of the woman's true identity in the process of her enacting Riviere's theorized 'masquerade' of femininity.[46]

Vaginal and clitoral imagery came to the fore in Toyen's late work as well. *Fire Smoulders in the Veins* (1955), probably inspired by a black Schiaparelli dress of 1945 featuring a vertical vaginal zipper, shows a dark object—almost certainly also a dress, given the extremely similar Schiaparelli design and Toyen's fondness for garments as signifiers—with a white vertical vaginal opening topped by a tiny bow. And, rather than having a head, the green-gowned figure in *The Seven Swords: Melusine* (1957) has gigantic billowy labia with a tongue-like central clitoris; *They Touch Me in Sleep* (1957) presents small abstracted vaginal openings with tongue-like clitorises; while the figure in *Furrow in the Mirror* (1959) has, in place of a head, a well-furred pubic area with a particularly tongue-like clitoris reaching down to a more anatomical-looking specimen in the form of a collar. Discrete vaginal imagery that is often suggestive of the Czech graffiti symbol for the female genitalia also appears in works of the 1960s such as *Dream* (1964) and *Secret Room without Lock* (1966). Less explicitly, glove and other long buttoned openings also take on a strongly vaginal significance in such works as *Far in the North* (1965), *One in the Other* (1965), *Midsummer Night's Dream* (1970), and the complex drawing and collage of 1976 in which a partially buttoned gown reveals the mostly invisible wearer's mons veneris. A vaginal collage done for Annie Le Brun includes Le Brun's notation: '*Bijou favori*: 'La patte méditative d'un grand fauve sur la clitoris' (1968).

Toyen began to use animals and birds to express eroticism in the 1950s. Images of mating animals appear frequently in the late work, having begun in 1955 with the beetles of *So Far, So Old*. These mating animals include the butterflies of *Paravent* (1966), the wildcats of her untitled collage of 1972, the lizards and frogs of *Vis-a-vis* (1973), and the dogs of the 1976 drawing. However, animals or parts of animals often signify sexuality without explicitly mating. Birds (especially of prey) usually seem to represent the male, leopards the female, but many other types of animal appear in the late work, especially foxes and mustelids, perhaps because of their role in the fur industry and associations with luxurious women's wraps. In *Elective Affinities* (1970), for instance, mustelids blend into the couch as if in a game of One in the Other.

Toyen's themes of animals, mutating women, and landscape, in which she portrays birds, fish, and insects as well as mammals, indicate female power as well as vacancy. She made a practice of suggesting presence by absence.

In the 1940s, Toyen began to use a new signifier: the shadow. Her use of shadows had been remarkably infrequent before around 1940, when she began to add somewhat non-

naturalistic shadows to the series *The Animals Are Asleep* and *Day and Night* and other works. In *Paravent* (1966), an apparently male shadow lurks to the left while the faceless female phantom clothed in leopards pulls off her green glove above the head of a lipstick-mouthed leopard, her own foggy head shadowed by two mating moths. The figures in *Eclipse*, meanwhile, are formed by shadows or silhouettes and are definitely not cast shadows; in *When the Laws Fall Silent*, the 'male' shadow, with collaged lipsticked mouth, produces a masked bird in lieu of an erect penis, while the 'female' figure is represented mainly by a leopard-skin with gleaming human breasts.

Shadows in Toyen's late work, then, have a life of their own, not necessarily bearing any relationship to solid objects; they are thus a version of the phantoms she had begun to work with in the 1930s. Insubstantiality links here to an ever-present desire, floating from painting to painting like a cloud or miasma.

Toyen's postwar work also used architectural elements such as doors, windows, walls, and cross-sections, but tended to make walls permeable or transparent, with the external and internal flowing one into the other. This permeability of built spaces became eroticized in subsequent years with such works as *Midnight, the Heraldic Hour* (1961), *Made Up for the Performance* (1962), *Chessboard* (1963), *At a Certain Hour* (1963), *Dream* (1964), *Midi-Minuit* (1966), *Paravent* (1966), *Secret Room without a Lock* (1966), *Eclipse* (1968), *The New World of Love* (1968), *At Silling Castle* (1969), and *Reflection of Ebb Tide* (1969). As Karel Srp points out, in *At a Certain Hour*, the window frame becomes autonomous, no longer linking exterior and interior, while the unusual view of the Bernini sculpture, which removes Apollo, renders the viewer Daphne's pursuer: 'Anyone looking at the painting is now Apollo ... Daphne is the artist herself.'[47]

Toyen also often combined her favourite signifiers in the late work. For example, *Made Up for the Performance* (1962) presents a ghostly seated woman outlined by reddish fox faces; a bright rose object that simultaneously suggests a tongue, a feather, and a venus fly-trap curls forward from her waist to form a dark vaginal opening, while in the background rises a kind of enormous suspended vaginal architecture in dim bluish tones.

Toyen's, Štyrský's, and Nezval's erotica of the early 1930s, and Brouk's Marxist-psychoanalytic theorization of the role of pornophilia, fit within the larger surrealist project of liberating human consciousness by exploring the unconscious and material that had been repressed by the individual or by society. Graphic sexual material was meant not just to shock the bourgeoisie, but was part of a psychoanalytically based investigation of the human mind and desire. This erotica grew in part from the Czech sex-reformist and gay liberation movements of the day. The Prague surrealists' work, however, went well beyond what most sex reformists and gay liberationists dared print. Even Štyrský's privately printed *Erotická revue* avoided publication of some of Toyen's more extreme topics, such as bestiality. Brouk's critiques of bourgeois

sexuality and marriage were aligned with international surrealism's vision of sex as liberatory rather than as reproductive or as a cog in the socio-economic machine. They thus vehemently separate Prague surrealist erotica and especially the work of Toyen, the only female artist in the group, not just from the daring but in most respects normative heterosexual erotica of other interwar Czech artists, but from mainstream interwar Czech feminists' emphasis on moral purity and monogamous heterosexual relationships.

The Czech surrealists, like many of their counterparts in Paris, diverged from Breton, who had claimed in 1928 that he opposed homosexuality and only condoned masturbation if it was accompanied by images of women.[48] Toyen, a queer artist if one ever existed, depicted men and women's masturbation both with and without imagery relating to a second person, and made manifestly obvious her interest in homoerotic sexuality.

Toyen and Štyrský were widely perceived to have traded gender roles, an estimation supported by Toyen's insistence on speaking in the masculine gender, her pronouncements that she was attracted to women, and her often masculine style of dress. Toyen's insistence that she was attracted to women, however, does not in itself tell us how she conceptualized sexual preference. We do not know whether she considered herself lesbian, bisexual, or simply refused to be categorized. Her sketches, however, make clear that she was interested in the topic of sexual encounters between women, and her work in oils, printmaking, collage, and drawing stresses the sensuous erotic pleasure she took in both the invention of sexually expressive imagery and in its tactile creation.

Toyen differed from most of her female peers in her depiction of erotic themes. Male surrealist exploration of the erotic is one of the most striking features of both surrealist art and writing, and given the vital role that the sexual and erotic were theorized to play in the liberation of the human spirit, this is hardly surprising. Certainly, the women in and close to the movement gave the erotic an important role and were more willing to present explicit sexual imagery than were most women outside surrealism. At the same time, women's art was hardly a mirror image of the men's; women associated with surrealism never eroticized the image of the male to the degree that male surrealists did the female. For example, while Valentine Hugo created a few erotic works employing the male body, this was never a major theme for her. Likewise, Léonor Fini's depictions of sleeping or quiescent males relate more to myth than to Eros as a transformative force. Toyen's phallic imagery is thus perhaps the only work by a surrealist woman of her generation that uses the body of the opposite sex to explore sexuality in a manner at all similar to the men's use of the female body.

Again, while the female nude sometimes appears in the work of surrealist women, it was not their main way of exploring their sexuality.[49] The female nude occasionally appears in the

work of Frida Kahlo, while the female nudes that appear so frequently in Fini's work are typically more expressive of self-discovery than transformative eroticism. But as Whitney Chadwick observes, the contrast within surrealism between persistent male exploration of the erotic and female hesitance is striking.[50] Toyen's own use of the female nude was sometimes erotic, sometimes not, but it was never hesitant. Her interest in the erotic signification of the female body presumably relates to her proclaimed erotic interest in women; it certainly predated her interest in surrealism.

Perhaps, as Chadwick suggests, most women connected with surrealism, unwilling to adopt either conventional feminine roles or the roles envisioned by Breton and other male surrealists, and lacking a tradition of a specifically female erotic pictorial language, were hard pressed to participate fully in surrealist pursuit of revolutionary transformation of consciousness based in sexuality.[51] Toyen's preoccupation with the erotic, on the contrary, was unwavering throughout her life. Her determination to explore multiple forms of sexuality suggests that she sought to unearth a deep understanding of eroticism and desire.

Czech same-sex and transgressive desire, then, plays a significant if still obscure role in surrealism, and its elucidation will help clarify the workings and meanings of non-normative desire throughout the movement. While early surrealism has often been chastised for its (specifically for Breton's) early rejection of queerness, the enthusiastic reception of Toyen's work by Breton and other surrealists indicates that her ability to convey desire—central to surrealist thought—was highly valued and that the queerness of that desire was not scorned.

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1 'Toute l'Oeuvre de Toyen ne vise pas à autre chose qu'à corriger le monde extérieur en fonction d'un désir qui s'alimente et s'accroît de sa propre satisfaction,' Benjamin Péret, 'Au Nouveau-Monde, maison fondée par Toyen,' in André Breton, Jindrich Heisler, and Benjamin Péret, *Toyen*, Paris Éditions Sokolova, 1953, 24.

2 Vítězslav Nezval, *Z mého života*, Prague, Československý spisovatel, 1965, 130.

3 Jan Kříž, 'Toyen,' *Starožitnosti*, No. 3, March 1996, 20, quoted in Karel Srp, *Toyen*, trans. Karolina Vočadlo, Prague, City Gallery Prague and Argo, 2000, 88.

4 A. Le Brun, 'Toyen ou l'insurrection lyrique,' *Nouvelle Revue Française*, No. 559, October 2001, 135.

5 Harry Oosterhuis, *Stepchildren of Nature: Krafft-Ebing, Psychiatry, and the Making of Sexual Identity*, Chicago, University of Chicago, 2000, 259–60.

6 Pavel Scheufler, "'Počátky fotografie aktu v Čechách, na Moravě a ve Slezsku,' in *Sex a tabu v české kultuře 19. století*, eds. Vladimír Macura and Vladimír Duchek, Prague, Academia, 1999, 208–9.

7 See Robert B. Pynsent, 'The Decadent Nation: The Politics of Arnošt Procházka and Jiří Karásek ze Lvovic,' in *Intellectuals and the Future in the Habsburg Monarchy 1890–1914*, eds. Laszlo Peter and Robert B. Pynsent, London, 1988, 88–89.

8 Katherine David-Fox, 'Prague-Vienna, Prague-Berlin: The Hidden Geography of Czech Modernism,' *Slavic Review*, Vol. 59, No. 4, Winter 2000, 751.

9 Rudolf Vévoda, 'Sodoma: předtím a potom (Dobový kontext Karáskova vystoupení),' in *Sex a tabu v české kultuře 19. století*, 217.

10 Štyrský to Karel Michl, 18 January 1921, Michl fond, LA PNP.

11 Karel Hlaváček, 'Dopis Stanisław Przybyszewskému,' *Moderní revue* (1900), quoted in Otto M. Urban, *In Morbid Colours: Art and the Idea of Decadence in the Bohemian Lands 1880–1914*, trans. Barbara Day, Prague, Municipal House/Arbor Vitae/Moravian Gallery in Brno, 2006, 473.

12 Karel Hlaváček, 'Dopis Stanisław Przybyszewskému,' *Moderní revue* (1900), quoted in Urban, *In Morbid Colours*, 477. Some viewers perceived the head as feminine, others as masculine, apparently depending on sexual preference.

13 Karásek's personal library included a good many books designed by Štyrský and Toyen, as well as their exhibition catalogues. His library and art collection now belong to the Památník národního písemnictví. Regarding his collecting, see Jan N. Assmann, et al., *Sen o říši krásy: Sbirka Jiřího Karáska ze Lvovic/Dream of the Empire of Beauty: The Collection of Jiří Karásek of Lvovice*, trans. Barbara Day, Prague, Obecní dům and Památník národního písemnictví, 2001.

14 Guillaume Apollinaire, *Les Onze Mille Verges or The Amorous Adventures of Prince Mony Vibescu*, trans. Nina Rootes, London and Chester Springs, Peter Owen, 2001, 23.

15 Laura Claridge, *Tamara de Lempicka: A Life of Deco and Decadence*, New York, Clarkson Potter, 1999, 94, 96–97, 108–9.

16 Catherine van Casselaer, *Lot's Wife: Lesbian Paris, 1890–1914*, Liverpool, The Janus Press, 1986, 39–61.

17 Neil Miller, *Out of the Past: Gay and Lesbian History from 1869 to the Present*, New York, Vintage Books, 1995, 158. For discussion of Left-Bank women, especially expatriate Americans, see Shari Benstock, *Women of the Left Bank: Paris, 1900–1940*, Austin, University of Texas Press, 1986.

18 Wegener, who was well enough known in her day, is sometimes mistakenly considered a male artist called Gerda-Wegener, as in Kenneth Silver, *Esprit de Corps: The Art of the Parisian Avant-Garde and the First World War, 1914–1925*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1989. Even a recent study of lesbian Paris presents her work (a cartoon of a female *ménage a trois*) as if it

represented a mainstream straight male perspective, and misspells her name. See Tirza True Latimer, *Women Together, Women Apart: Portraits of Lesbian Paris*, Rutgers University Press, 2005, 12–13.

19 Sharla Hutchison, 'Women and the Avant-Garde: Sexual Difference in Discourse and Art 1900–1950,' Ph.D. diss., Norman, University of Oklahoma, 2002, 124.

20 Pavel Forman, 'Cestovní dojmy,' *Nový hlas* Vol. 1, No. 2, June 1932, 15.

21 Adolf Hoffmeister, 'La Rotonde: S kresbami autorovými,' *Rozpravy Aventina* Vol. 2, No. 5, 1926–27, 49–50.

22 Jaroslav Seifert, *Všecky krásy světa*, Prague, Eminent /Knižní Klub, 1999,159.

23 In 1932-3, the Prague bookseller B. M. Klika ran an ad in *Žijeme* announcing the publication of the *Heptameron* for lovers of erotic literature, with 76 daring drawings by Toyen. An ad for the Lawrence book appeared in the first issue of *Levá fronta*. I have not been able to locate a copy to assess the illustrations. It was published as a private print, available by subscription, by Odeon.

24 Jindřich Štyrský, 'Inspirovaná ilustrátorka,' in *Každý z nás stopuje svoji ropuchu. Texty 1923–1940*, ed. Karel Srp, Prague, Thyrsus, 1996, 94–95.

25 The three issues of the *Erotická revue* were reprinted in 2001 by Torst.

26 See Jed Slast, 'Translator's Note,' in *Edition 69*, trans. Jed Slast, by Vítězslav Nezval and Jindřich Štyrský, Prague, Twisted Spoon, 2004, 128–33.

27 Štyrský's approach toward book illustration was as follows: 'No illustration, save kitsch, can ever express the idea of the work. Modern illustration places acute emphasis on the relationship between the work's *principle* and its *formal expression* [... It] naturally adapts to the intent of the poetic work, yet exists as a work in itself,' Jindřich Štyrský, 'The Joys of a Book Illustrator,' quoted in Jed Slast, 'Translator's Note,' 132.

28 Bohuslav Brouk, 'Afterword,' in *Emilie Comes to Me in a Dream*, in *Edition 69*, 109–10.

29 *Ibid.,* 110–11.

30 *Ibid.,* 112–3.

31 *Ibid.,* 113–4.

32 See Karla Huebner, 'The Whole World Revolves Around It: Sex Education and Sex Reform in First Republic Czech Print Media,' forthcoming in *Aspasia* 4.

33 For example, see Věra Babáková, 'Masaryk a mravní základ ženského hnutí' (Masaryk and the moral basis of the women's movement), in *Masaryk a ženy,* Prague, Ženská národní rada, 1930, 260-63, and other contributors to the same volume such as Alois Hajn.

34 Jan Seidl, 'Úsilí o odtrestnění homosexuality za první republiky,' unpublished master's thesis, Brno: Masarykova univerzita v Brně, 2007, §9.3. On the Brno congress, see Seidl §9.4.

35. 'Spolková hlídka' (Society column), *Nový hlas* Vol. 1, No. 4, July 1932, 16, and 'Spolkové zprávy: Ženská hlídka' (Society news: Women's column), *Nový hlas* Vol. 1, No. 5, September 1932, 15.

36.Lída Merlínová, 'Omyly a nevkusy 'našich' mužů a žen' (Blunders and bad taste of 'our' men and women), *Nový hlas,* Vol. 2, Nos. 7-8, July-August 1933, 111-112.

[37] *Nový hlas,* Vol. 2, No. 9, September 1933.

38 'Poznámky a informace' (Notes and information), *Nový hlas* Vol. 2, No. 12, December 1933, 172-5, reprinting *Moravská Orlice*'s 'Kluby a život homosexuálních lidí' (Clubs and life of homosexual people).

39 During this period the term "homoerotic" (often used in *Nový hlas*) was often used in contradistinction to "homosexual" to refer to a more sublimated attraction without overt sexual contact, Mark Cornwall, 'Heinrich Rutha and the Unraveling of a Homosexual Scandal in 1930s Czechoslovakia,' *Gay and Lesbian Quarterly*, Vol. 8, No. 3, 2002, 326.

40 Hal Foster, 'Violation and Veiling in Surrealist Photography: Woman as Fetish, as Shattered Object, as Phallus,' in *Surrealism: Desire Unbound*, eds. Jennifer Mundy, Vincent Gille, and Dawn Ades, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2001, 220.

41 See Rosalind Krauss, 'Corpus Delicti,' in *L'Amour fou: Photography and Surrealism*, by Rosalind Krauss and Jane Livingston, essay by Dawn Ades, Washington and New York: The Corcoran Gallery of Art and Abbeville Press, 1985, 86, 95.

42 Bohuslav Brouk, 'Psychoanalytická sexuologie,' in *Lidská duše a sex*, Prague, Odeon, 1992, 111, 113.

43 Katja A. Zigerlig, 'Fetishized and Fossilized: Feminine Presence in Toyen's Drawings and Paintings,' unpublished master's thesis, Washington, DC, American University, 1998, 29.

44 Srp, *Toyen*, 251.

45 *Ibid.,* 280.

46 See Joan Riviere, 'Womanliness as a Masquerade,' *The International Journal of Psycho-Analysis,* Vol. 10, April-July 1929, 303–13.

47 Srp, *Toyen*, 242–44.

48 'Recherches sur la sexualité: part d'objectivité, determinations individuelles, degree de conscience,' *La Révolution surréaliste*, No. 11, 15 March 1928, 33. A Czech translation of this text was published in the *Erotická revue*.

49 Whitney Chadwick, *Women Artists and the Surrealist Movement*, New York, Thames & Hudson Inc., 1985, 123.

50 *Ibid.,* 126.

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51 *Ibid.,* 140.

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