

Surrealism and the slaughterhouse: art and animals in Lotar's La Villette and Franju's Blood of the Beasts

Thomas Aiello

To cite this article: Thomas Aiello (2023) Surrealism and the slaughterhouse: art and animals in Lotar's La Villette and Franju's Blood of the Beasts, *photographies*, 16:3, 359-391, DOI: [10.1080/17540763.2023.2227632](https://doi.org/10.1080/17540763.2023.2227632)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17540763.2023.2227632>



Published online: 09 Aug 2023.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 73



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)

Thomas Aiello 

SURREALISM AND THE SLAUGHTERHOUSE: ART AND ANIMALS IN LOTAR'S LA VILLETTE AND FRANJU'S BLOOD OF THE BEASTS

In the sixth issue of Georges Bataille's surrealist magazine Documents, published in 1929, a series of photographs by Eli Lotar documented an abattoir in the La Villette section of Paris. In text that accompanied the series, Bataille described the slaughterhouse as 'a disturbing convergence of the mysteries of myth and the ominous grandeur typical of those places in which blood flows.' The photographs chronicled both the banality and the horror of what took place in institutions that had removed the process of killing animals and processing their corpses from human view. Twenty years later, Georges Franju's film Blood of the Beasts would provide its own exposure of the slaughterhouse, interspersed with quiet scenes of a Paris suburb, at the other end of the surrealist period. This project uses the two surrealist encounters with the slaughterhouse to evaluate the artistic movement's interpretation of human society's dependence on violence toward animals.

In the sixth issue of Georges Bataille's Surrealist magazine *Documents*, published in 1929, he included a series of photographs by Eli Lotar documenting an abattoir in the La Villette section of Paris. In text that accompanied the series, Bataille described the slaughterhouse as 'a disturbing convergence of the mysteries of myth and the ominous grandeur typical of those places in which blood flows.' The photographs chronicled both the banality and the horror of what took place in institutions that had removed the process of killing animals and processing their corpses from human view. They exposed a process that was largely hidden from humans, and the duality of the mundane and the grotesque that they presented generated a variety of possible interpretations from an audience broadly aligned with the surrealist artistic movement. The images accompanying Lotar's were microscopic photographs by Jean Painlevé, a medical doctor and Surrealist filmmaker who would go on to work at the Institut de Cinématographie Scientifique with Georges Franju, and would supply commentary for Franju's film *Blood of the Beasts*, appearing twenty years later in 1949. That film would provide its own exposure of the La Villette slaughterhouse, interspersed with quiet scenes of a Paris suburb. The two Surrealist encounters with

CONTACT Thomas Aiello taiello@valdosta.edu Department of History, Valdosta State University, 1500 N. Patterson St., Valdosta 31602, GA

the slaughterhouse demonstrate the artistic movement's interpretation of human society's dependence on violence toward animals, and though both are concerned with the human urban social consequences of such violence, it is the suffering of nonhumans that gives both encounters their power. An anthrozoological reading of the Surrealist project, then, as filtered through its two direct engagements with the abattoir, foregrounds the victims of the violence presented in the images, over and against the human metaphors, and demonstrates the consequences of routinized violence based on species difference.

At the core of those encounters was Surrealism itself. André Breton explained that Surrealism believed in 'the necessity of examining enthusiastically certain situations in life characterised by the fact that they appear to belong *at the same time* to the real series and to the ideal series of events,' a reality he called 'objective chance.'¹ In his First Manifesto of Surrealism, Breton demonstrated a consumption with Freudian theory. 'If the depths of our minds conceal strange forces capable of augmenting or conquering those on the surface, it is in our greatest interest to capture them; first to capture them and later to submit them, should the occasion arise, to the control of reason,' he argued. 'The analysts themselves can only gain by this. But it is important to note that there is no method fixed a priori for the execution of this enterprise, that until the new order it can be considered the province of poets as well as scholars, and that its success does not depend upon the more or less capricious routes which will be followed.'² That caprice, then, was cause, not consequence, of Surrealist intent, an effort to hold the old order up to the light as fodder for analysis.

Breton was operating in a Paris ripe for a critique of the old order. Interwar Paris became the center of the European art world, and photography proved 'an exemplary instrument of modernist expression' during the period. As Walter Benjamin has noted, the period beginning with World War I fundamentally altered the storytelling narrative. 'A generation that had gone to school on a horse-drawn streetcar now stood under the open sky in a countryside in which nothing remained unchanged but the clouds, and beneath the clouds, in a field of force of destructive torrents and explosions, was the tiny, fragile human body.'³ Maurice Nadeau has described Surrealism's 'certain tendency not to transcend, but to penetrate reality, to arrive at an ever more precise and ever more passionate apprehension of the tangible world.'⁴ And that tangible world was one that included a broad range of species beyond the human. Breton's *Arcanum* argued that one of humankind's greatest errors was 'the idea that the universe only has intelligible meaning for mankind, and that it has none, for instance, for animals.'⁵ In another essay, Breton explained that 'the Surrealist bestiary gives pride of place, above all other species, to animals that are *sui generis* and have an aberrant or decadent appearance such as the platypus, the praying mantis or the anteater.'⁶ The interwar period was critical for such interpretations. Paul Hammond has seen the 1930s as a 'turning point' for Surrealism, one that emphasized a 'revisioning of nature' in the body of work, broadly considered.⁷ Roger Caillois published an essay in *Minotaure* in 1934 that argued, 'We must realize that man is a unique case only in his own eyes.'⁸ That same year, Robert Desnos's poem 'The Ox and the Rose' emphasized the journey of a black ox, and in it his power, beauty, and meaning.⁹

For the Surrealists, explains Werner Spies, ‘the reality of daily life was held to be as important as the initially unfathomable, poetic world of dreams,’ that of the marvelous or uncanny.¹⁰ But ‘there is a third factor that potentially renders nonhuman animals already Surreal, and that is their large scale disappearance from modern life. Indeed in the industrial world, they have become all but invisible,’ argues Kirsten Strom. In fact, ‘the physical presence of nonhuman animals existing outside these limited confines reads as a provocatively incongruous juxtaposition, which may account for their frequent occurrences in Surrealist paintings, poems, and films.’¹¹

And so Surrealism can profitably be viewed, in the words of Donna Roberts, as ‘a reconsideration of the very question of nature developed by the Enlightenment: further analysing humankind’s place within, or distinction from, the natural world and how both liberty and necessity have a basis in nature.’¹² Katharine Conley argues that Surrealism began ‘a line of questioning about the limits and possibilities of human sentience and identity that was in line with the broader trend in twentieth-century philosophical thought that questioned the centrality of the Western Cartesian subject.’¹³

Among those who immersed themselves in Surrealism’s investigatory aims was Parisian philosopher and literary critic Georges Bataille. Bataille and others, including Michel Leiris and André Masson, were part of a group that broke away from André Breton and the ostensible founders of the movement, and in 1929 he created a new magazine, *Documents*, attempting to tie the Surrealist artistic project to a broader ethnographic and critical analysis.¹⁴ Bretonian Surrealism, for all its nonhuman concern, ‘tended to be less pointed and less direct in thinking through questions of humanity’s relationship to other animals.’ Bataille made the overt case that ‘man, despite appearances, must know that when he talks of human dignity in the presence of animals, he lies like a dog. For in the presence of illegal and essentially free beings (the only real outlaws) this stupid feeling of practical superiority gives way to a most uneasy envy.’¹⁵

Bataille created the magazine while working as a numismatist at the Cabinet des médailles at the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Colleagues from the Bibliothèque, Pierre d’Espezel and Jean Babelon, also aided in the founding. *Documents*’ original financial backer was Georges Wildenstein, publisher of the *Gazette des beaux-arts*, but the magazine’s intentional provocations cut against the publisher’s original intent. In its first five issues, *Documents* included a listed editorial board on its first pages, including scholars from the Bibliothèque, Wildenstein, Carl Einstein, and George Henri Rivière. Beginning with the sixth issue, the one that featured Lotar’s slaughterhouse photographs, the editorial board disappeared, Bataille fully taking over the publication.¹⁶

Documents was, according to James Clifford, ‘a kind of ethnographic display of images, texts, objects, labels, a playful museum which simultaneously collects and reclassifies its specimens.’ It engaged in ‘fortuitous or ironic collage,’ or ‘ethnographic juxtaposition for the purpose of perturbing commonplace symbols,’ holding the image of the city up to the collection and organizing of the ethnographer. The magazine’s use of photographs ‘creates the order of an unfinished collage rather than that of a unified organism’; it was an ‘odd museum’ that ‘merely documents, juxtaposes, relativizes — a perverse collection.’¹⁷ The magazine, then, served to capture and submit Breton’s strange forces to the security of analysts, demonstrating a fundamental continuity in Surrealist thinking despite the earlier schism led by Bataille.

It only survived for a brief fifteen issues, but it was decidedly influential for its short life between 1929 and 1930.¹⁸ Michel Leiris described the magazine as ‘a war machine against received ideas.’¹⁹ *Documents*, Dawn Ades and Fiona Bradley explain, ‘utilised strategies of de-sublimation, allowing an unblinking stare at violence, sacrifice and seduction through which art was “brought down” to the level of other kinds of objects.’ The magazine veered from similar publications of the time ‘in its treatment of its heterogeneous subjects.’ The interplay of text and image ‘drew visual and thematic parallels, hilarious and shocking, that undermined categories and the search for meaning.’²⁰

The magazine’s Dictionary section began in its second issue, wherein Bataille and others would write an interpretive paragraph built from a singular term. Twice he used the vehicle to provide definitions of ‘Man’ that ultimately extended his thinking on other species. One described him in chemical and capitalist terms. ‘The bodily fat of a normally constituted man would suffice to manufacture seven cakes of toilet-soap. Enough iron is found in the organism to make a medium-sized nail, and sugar to sweeten a cup of coffee. The phosphorus would provide 2,200 matches. The magnesium would furnish the light needed to take a photograph. In addition, a little potassium and sulphur, but in an unusable quantity. The different raw materials, costed as current prices, represent an approximate sum of 25 francs.’²¹

The second definition pointed out ‘the well known fact that not one of the millions of animals man massacres every year is necessary for his nourishment,’ making their use a ‘red and hideous bloodstain on the face of man.’ And again the calculation. “If, taking the animals put to death in a single day in all the slaughterhouses of the Christian countries, we set them walking head to tail, with only sufficient space between them that they do not tread on one another, they would stretch in Indian file for 1322 miles — more than thirteen hundred miles of warm, palpitating living bodies, dragged each day, as the years go by, to the Christians’ bloody slaughterhouses, so that they might quench their thirst at the red fountain gushing from the veins of their murdered victims.”²²

In its sixth issue, Bataille took on the word ‘abattoir,’ and accompanied the definition with a series of photographs by Eli Lotar, a Paris-born filmmaker and photographer of Romanian descent loosely tied to the Surrealist movement through his association with artists like René Clair, Luis Buñuel, Germaine Krull, and André Kertész.²³ Prior to Bataille’s invitation to Lotar for the project, Lotar learned photography from Germaine Krull beginning in 1926 and studied closely, as did so many other photographers in the era, the work of Eugene Atget. Three years later, he established a studio with his friend Jacques-André Boiffard.²⁴ Lotar had also published portraits of Bataille’s wife Sylvia in *La Revue du Cinema*, and Bataille knew that the photographer would be the perfect chronicler of the Parisian slaughterhouses at La Villette.²⁵

In 1859, Paris officials decided to move slaughterhouses located throughout the city to a central location outside of the city center, part of a broader effort in many industrializing metropolitan areas to remove slaughter and animal facilities away from public view, as a response both to sanitation concerns and the cruelty practiced there. The almost one-hundred-acre district was finally completed in 1867 and remained a center of the Parisian meat industry until the post-World War II period.²⁶

The slaughterhouse project in *Documents* was designed to 'break a taboo on presenting violence,' as Benjamin Noys has explained. 'Our exile from the slaughterhouse does not put an end to the violence but transforms it from something sacred to a technical activity from which we can hide ourselves.' The slaughterhouse protects us from 'intimate contact with death,' a contact upon which most survived. Bataille's goal was to lift the protective cover normally provided by the slaughterhouse walls.²⁷ The text of Bataille's definition tells much of the tale:

The slaughterhouse is linked to religion in so far as the temples of bygone eras (not to mention those of the Hindus in our own day) served two purposes: they were used both for prayer and for killing. The result (and this judgement is confirmed by the chaotic aspect of present-day slaughterhouses) was certainly a disturbing convergence of the mysteries of myth and the ominous grandeur typical of those places in which blood flows. In America, curiously enough, W. B. Seabrook has expressed an intense regret²⁸; observing that the orgiastic life has survived, but that the sacrificial blood is not part of the cocktail mix, he finds present custom insipid. In our time, nevertheless, the slaughterhouse is cursed and quarantined like a plague-ridden ship. Now, the victims of this curse are neither butchers nor beasts, but those same good folk who countenance, by now, only their own unseemliness, an unseemliness commensurate with an unhealthy need of cleanliness, with irascible meanness, and boredom. The curse (terrifying only to those who utter it) leads them to vegetate as far as possible from the slaughterhouse, to exile themselves, out of propriety, to a flabby world in which nothing fearful remains and in which, subject to the ineradicable obsession of shame, they are reduced to eating cheese.²⁹

Bataille's text makes a case that the ritual killing of animals was in the present day divorced from its more pragmatic, use-value aspects, creating in the minds of many a disgust with the process and a desire to segregate places that used to be considered temples to the edges of town, away from the sophisticated scruples of city dwellers, all in the name of sanitation and propriety. But that unwillingness to revel in the mysterious, even spiritual nature of animal slaughter created a 'a flabby world' wherein people 'vegetated' rather than lived. Humans in this formulation required an element of the 'fearful' to enhance the 'ominous grandeur' of their lives, and without it, they became victims of the hiding that they themselves engineered. Those who denied themselves the experience of animal death were 'victims of this curse,' rather than 'butchers' or 'beasts.' Bataille's commentary was all the more provocative because the included images only featured butchers and beasts, but also because it cut against common assumptions of victimhood in the animal-killing industry. Human slaughterhouse workers were presumed to be victims of a system that forced them into dangerous, unsanitary, low-paying jobs that required violence as a prerequisite for employment. The nonhumans were more immediate victims, those whose lives were cut short by artificially imposed violence. Bataille, however, against such assumptions and against the images that would juxtapose his writing, saw the failing of such institutions as their modern separation from the holy. There was, inherent in

such a formulation, a justification of killing as a purity ritual. It was value added to the human project. La Villette's horrors were the result of its secularism and its setting on the outskirts of town. Bataille demonstrated no sympathy for the animals being killed, never acknowledging that those who 'vegetated' in their 'flabby world' would not be personally subjected to the horror of hanging and the sharp blade of the knife. The modern slaughterhouse was a human failing, but one rooted in the mode of its violence rather than the violence itself.

To accompany Bataille's text, Lotar 'produced a photographic reportage of unsparring realism. While most of the illustrations in *Documents* were chosen to accompany the text, Bataille's "Abattoir" entry was written to accompany Lotar's photographs. His images are particularly shocking for their juxtapositions of killing on the one hand and banal order on the other.'³⁰ On the page opposite the text was perhaps Lotar's most famous, an image of calves' legs propped against an outside wall (see [Figure 1](#)).

The legs provide a telling commentary when read in light of Bataille's text. The legs are out of the slaughterhouse, no longer hidden by its thick walls, and in their leaning give the impression that the legs are stepping out of the hidden darkness of the abattoir and into the light of day, giving lie to the assumptions of Paris citizens that the violence that happens within can be contained. At the same time, there is quiet in the image. The knives and blood are locked away, and only the clean remnants of the lives lost are left as monuments to the dead. There is also, however, a disturbing similarity between the calves' legs and human legs, personalizing the violence and drawing parallels to the lost lives of all creatures. It was a parallel not lost on Bataille. Included in the *Documents* 'slaughterhouse' issue was an element of Clifford's 'fortuitous collage,' supplementing Lotar's photograph with the inclusion of another image illustrating a short description of 'Fox Movietone Follies' that featured a group of seemingly disembodied women's legs (see [Figure 2](#)).³¹

It was a connection, as described by James Lastra, 'of strategy as well as iconography, since each serves to isolate, or to "amputate," a part and employ it to undermine established understandings of the whole through radical fragmentation or enlargement.'³² It also, whether unconsciously or not, provided a stark comparison between human and animal lives. The 'Fox Follies' photograph was the issue's final image, emphasizing, for all of Bataille's lament about spirituality and the slaughterhouse, the pseudo-human appearance of Lotar's calves' legs. It was an exclamation point on a particular pictorial sentence that belied Bataille's rejection of nonhuman animals as victims by demonstrating the similarity and the vulnerability of all beings. The theater, too, for example, was a site of spirituality, of transcendence. And those who performed, particularly as the curtain rose, were themselves nervous prior to their exposure, prior to being dissected, in a way, by the audience. Those who watched left the theater after dining on the flesh of women's naked legs to return home and 'vegetate' in their 'flabby world.' The images of the issue meditated on an impotence of life that crossed species barriers, over and against Bataille's willingness to acknowledge it in his prose. And they were only enhanced by Lotar's two additional images included in *Documents*.

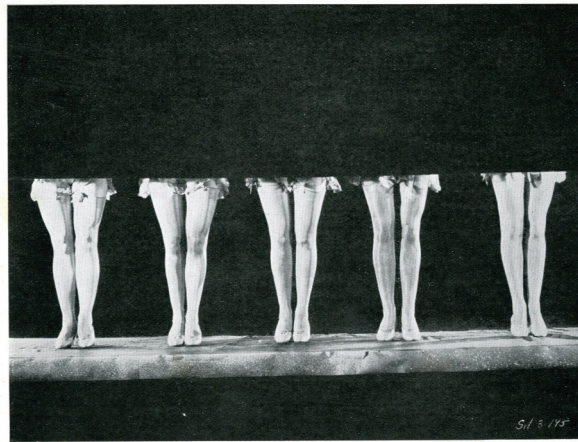
In these images, the bodies aren't clean, the scene not sedate. Blood covers the floor in both, marked by the signs of bodies dragged through a viscous liquid intended to be



Fig. 1. Eli Lotar, *Aux Abattoirs de la Villette*, 1929. Test gelatin — silver, 22.2 × 16.2 cm. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

underneath the skin it covers (see [Figure 3](#)). The first photograph shows a wrapped body dragged through its own blood, an image all the more powerful because vision of the particular species or individual is denied the viewer. The covering of the body, then, acts similarly to the human leg comparison, reminding readers that the contents of the cloth covering could be a member of the human species, heightening the horror of human viewers.

The second image shows the species of the victim all too well, a dead cow lying in a pool of his own blood while his killers busy themselves with other work, unconcerned about their once-suffering victim. There is in the publication of such images an inherent speciesism, as inclusion of, for example, a human victim of killers would have been impossible to publish, even on the fringes of the Parisian avant-garde. Richard Ryder coined the term ‘speciesism’ in an anti-vivisection pamphlet in 1970, and it was popularized by Peter Singer in the years that followed. Speciesism, Ryder argued, was ‘the widely held belief that the human species is inherently superior to other species and so has rights or privileges that are denied to other sentient animals.’ It was any set of ‘beliefs and behaviours if they are based upon the species-difference alone, as if such



FOX FOLLIES : le nouveau film parlant qui passera prochainement au Moulin Rouge et dont nous donnerons un compte rendu dans le numéro suivant.

Fig. 2. Fox-Film, 'Fox Follies,' Documents 6, 1929, 344.

a difference is, in itself, a justification' for those beliefs and behaviors. The term itself was unavailable in the interwar period, but its general dictates were part of the nascent animal rights efforts of the period.³³

There is also in the image a condensed human-animal comparison, presented in a third way than Lotar's previous two photographs. The only photo that includes humans in the frame, the comparison of human workers, all busy industry, with that of the still corpse of the motionless cow presents a statement on the assumed necessity of animal death for the continued progress of human society, a pseudo-justification of a grotesque deed.

But it was hardly a justification. The *Documents* issue was revelatory, but it featured only a portion of Lotar's slaughterhouse images. More of Lotar's slaughterhouse photographs were published the following year in *Variétés*, eight images on four pages



Aux abattoirs de La Villette (cf. p. 329). — Photo Eli Lotar.

Fig. 3. Eli Lotar, Aux Abattoirs de la Villette, 1929. Test gelatin — silver, Documents 6, 1929, 330.

of the magazine. The images have no text accompanying them in *Variétés*. The image of hooves is placed next to a disembodied cow's head. 'On the following pages, the messy process of slaughter is juxtaposed with the ordered, carefully arranged aftermath, the dismembered animal forms placed in a context of work and industry.'³⁴

Gone was any semblance of justification, any comparison with human life. The image presents nothing more than a brutalized victim, staring at the camera with the vacant eyes of someone tortured and killed (see [Figure 4](#)). Other images from Lotar's series bring humans back to the realization of their role in such deaths.



Fig. 4. Eli Lotar, *Untitled (Head of Slaughtered Calf)*, 1929. Gelatin silver print, 20.8 × 15.9 cm. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art.



Figs. 5 and 6. Eli Lotar, *Aux Abattoirs de la Villette*, 1929. Gelatin silver print. Film negative, 6.5 × 9 cm. Paris: Centre Pompidou.



Fig. 7. Eli Lotar, *La Viande*, 1929. Gelatin silver print, 24×18cm. Ghent: Amsab-Institute of Social History.

In a group of paired images, the guts and remains of one of the abattoir's victims lie on the street in one photograph. In another, an observer arrives and confronts what his own dependence on the bodies of animals has placed on the sidewalk (see [Figures 5 and 6](#)). As Dawn Ades explains, 'Surrealism was constituted in an awareness of what Foucault later called the "confrontation, in a fundamental correlation" of ethnography and psychoanalysis.'³⁵ Again, any pseudo-justification of the act of killing is gone. Only the remnants of violence remain, along with the potential mental scarring present for any human who happened upon them. For a movement steeped in Freudian theory, that potential, made possible by the human gaze, assumed a prominent role in both the artistic production itself and the theoretical writing that undergirded it.

Also among those in his series was a closer view of calves' feet, an image striking for its proximity to the limbs of the formerly living (see [Figure 7](#)). It provided an easy juxtaposition to another of the artist's influential photographs (see [Figure 8](#)).

Here the comparison becomes more strained, as the calves' legs carry with them the blood and sinew of life, while the human legs are hollow, fake, a simulacrum of life. Freud referenced 'wax-work figures, ingeniously constructed dolls and automata' as helping one question 'whether an apparently animate being is really alive.' Magritte and other surrealists used their work to demonstrate that 'both nonhuman animals and dolls, mannequins, etc. can be taken as embodiments of the uncanny.'³⁶

When paired, the images project the problems with Bataille's narrative, as genuine life is snuffed out within the walls of the abattoir for the sake of a human society that is built on artificial constructions, on the assumption of a human supremacy without any basis in science or reason, one propped up by many of the religious dictates providing the spirituality that Bataille's statement celebrated. But the human created in the image of God disappears in Lotar's photographs. The human is hollow; the life taken all too real. If the religion of the temples has given man



Fig. 8. Eli Lotar, *Punishment*, 1929, Gelatin silver print, 18.5 × 13cm.
Paris: Centre Pompidou.

dominion over the animals, then man has squandered the privilege, like an abusive parent who requires the intervention of social services.

Neil Cox reads Lotar's slaughterhouse photographs in relation to the theme of sacrifice present in a variety of forms throughout the issues of *Documents*, the modern abattoir being an abandonment of the ritualized killings of both humans and nonhumans in earlier ages. Including Lotar's photographs in the magazine 'constituted an avant-garde shock tactic designed to expose the paranoid-hygienic bourgeoisie to the abattoir, whose accursed nature Bataille interprets as a symptom of the sclerosis of polite society.' For Lotar, however, the effort was more personal. 'He is pricked by the sight of a gathering of stray calves feet, still attempting to stand by propping themselves against a wall, or bovine skins crawling across the pavement while weeping trails of blood grope towards the gutter.' He saw a sinister poetry in the ubiquitous death, focusing on 'the abattoir as a particular place, a curious para-urban site.'³⁷

Lotar's photographs 'explicitly draw attention to La Villette as a heterotopia, a complex parallel world that marks out the ordinary and extraordinary simultaneously, reminding us of the abattoir's location as a miniature city within a city.' The area that he chronicles 'is the highly ritualized and secret world of French artisanal slaughter with its codes of silence, fraternal bonds, familial hierarchies, and close contact with the body of the animal from the point of life through to death and dismembering. This is a world far removed from the modernized, efficient, and mechanized assembly-line abattoirs that had by this point become the norm.' Lotar's photographs, then, 'become as much a witness to the dying skills of *abattage* and this soon to be lost world of the Parisian abattoir as they are a commentary on the biopolitics of animal slaughter.' They are a 'witness to this disappearing world.'³⁸

Lotar's photographs were, in a way, an early form of photojournalism building from the work of Germaine Krull and others, an act of what Robert Hariman and John Louis Lucaites call 'public art,' the creation of 'a real artifact, not a fabricated reality.' 'A photograph's moral content can at best provide only a surge of raw emotional energy that is devoid of the rational capabilities necessary for ethical relationships,' Hariman and Lucaites explain. 'The public is locked into passive spectatorship rather than authentic participation and thereby is given only poor or worse options for ethical living.' Andre Bazin argued that 'photography ranks high in the order of Surrealist creativity because it produces an image that is a reality of nature, namely, a hallucination that is also a fact.' Surrealist photography worked, in the words of Ian Walker, 'as a simultaneous exploitation and subversion of the standard realist frame.' If Surrealism 'works from the subjective and makes it real, then the documentarian takes the real and filters it through his or her subjectivity. The Surrealist works from the hallucination to the fact, the documentarian from the fact to the hallucination. A Surrealist documentary, we might finally say, would fuse the two together.'³⁹

Early Surrealist photography, Ian Walker explains, produced an aesthetic of 'the everyday recorded with such understated directness that it comes to seem haunting, somehow inexplicable.' Yusuke Isotani has argued that French photography became a legitimate art form during the interwar period, pushed by magazines like *Documents*, *Arts et métiers graphiques* and others.⁴⁰ Susan Sontag has argued that photography itself is essentially surreal. It creates 'reality in the second degree,' creating 'abrupt changes in the social level and ethical importance of subject matter' and a 'bourgeois disaffection' among viewers.⁴¹ Hers was a criticism that could easily be leveled at Lotar's abattoir photographs, their 'banality, blockage, and emptiness' in one possible reading stripping scenes of abject horror for animals into the mundane drudgery of working-class humans.

But such is not the only available reading. The banality of the images can also be seen as indicators of horror. It was Hannah Arendt's banality of evil, the normalization of violence to the point where its repetition hid its grotesquery. Arendt used her 'rule of Nobody' to describe the possibility of bureaucracy to allow people to destroy lives as part of assumed functionary duties. 'The essence of totalitarian government, and perhaps the nature of every bureaucracy, is to make functionaries

and mere cogs in the administrative machinery out of men, and thus to dehumanize them.’ The emphasis on dehumanization obviously does not fit in the context of killing farmed animals. But when violence is routinized, when plausible deniability exists that allows functionaries to either deflect blame or demonize victims, tyranny and mass murder are possible. Cows were lesser than humans, their deaths were necessary to help feed an urban population hungry for meat, others were technically doing the killing. Killing cows became ‘almost endless, tedious, highly repetitive.’⁴²

And so photography, in ‘its various social-relational modes,’ allows viewers to reflect on the world they know, but it is also a vehicle ‘through which they experience and reflect on those worlds in which they don’t find themselves or don’t recognize themselves. As such, the unannounced identity of the photographer and the affective and empathic effects of photography both play a constitutive role within the production and mediation of the political.’ Lotar’s *La Villette* is one of those worlds. The move of Paris’s abattoirs to the neighborhood in the 1860s intentionally created a space where the vast majority of humans wouldn’t find themselves or recognize themselves. By providing mediation for an unknown and unknowable place, Lotar’s photographs were able to create those ‘affective and empathetic effects.’ In describing the ‘ethics of representation’ in photography, John Roberts has argued that such representations can either protect victims or push them into view ‘in order to expose them to the “unbearable” look of empathy. To look at violence, in a sense, is to bring it under imaginative reconstruction.’⁴³

In magazines like *Documents*, however, and in the Surrealist project more broadly, that imaginative reconstruction was aided by literary treatments, and several of those treatments evaluated the relationship between human and animal. ‘For the Surrealists, nature was not to be separated from culture,’ explains Ian Walker. ‘Rather that intrusion of the “natural” into the city disrupted the veneer of urbanity and, in turn, undermined the coherence of the bourgeois, capitalist system.’ The point ‘was not to choose the natural over the urban or vice versa, but rather to explore the discomfiting hybridisation resulting from the interpenetration of the two.’⁴⁴ In the full run of the magazine, Bataille included three separate essays on various elements of the human form, but did so ‘in order to attack the concept of human nature.’ One such essay examines human freaks of nature, obviously transgressing ideas of the human normal.⁴⁵ Another writing on the big toe emphasizes ‘the evolutionary importance of the verticality of the human figure, suggesting man’s adoption of an upright posture causes certain deformities.’ The contrast with such human verticality is nonhuman horizontality, a superior state wherein ‘the main axis of the body corresponds with the line of sight.’⁴⁶ The big toe, for Bataille, ‘is the most human part of the human body,’ separating them from great apes and allowing them to move ‘without clinging to branches.’⁴⁷ A third essay deals with the angst and agitation of the human experience, formed in part by dress standards that only exacerbate other evolutionary failures.⁴⁸ There is in such narratives an inherent elevation of the animal over and against the human and the social standards of the species. It was part of Bataille’s larger provocative project, but when combined with photographs like those of Lotar’s *La Villette*, the works put the magazine in an inherently if accidentally anti-speciesist position. If the horizontal was a superior

form, the sight of human verticality in positions of violent power against vulnerable and horizontal animals was a further abomination, one made all the more abominable by the juxtaposition between the calves' legs and those of the Follies dancers.

As Marja Warehime has explained, Bataille also rejected 'a sense of continuity from one generation to another,' thereby simultaneously rejecting 'the temporal continuity that underlies the conceptions of humanity and human nature.' If that sense of continuity undergirded assumptions of human supremacy, and it proved to be nothing but a cultural construct, then human supremacy itself was a fiction. 'Bataille refuses to accept a view of man as a moment in a continuous process which forms the history of man and gives rise to the concept of human nature. Man is instead a curious and improbable break or "déchirement" in nature.' It was part of Bataille's 'continual efforts to subvert the totalizing effect of overarching systems that subsume the concrete particulars of human experience in abstract categories.'⁴⁹ Those categories gave lie to a false exceptionalism that only exacerbated the power of Lotar's photographs, which demonstrated the violent results of that exceptionalism on those not included in the paradigm.

Carl Einstein, too, wrestled with a version of the human-animal binary in his writing for *Documents*. One of his entries for the magazine's Dictionary analyzed the word 'nightingale.' For Einstein, a nightingale wasn't a bird; 'the nightingale is an allegory, an ornamental motif.' By interpreting the nightingale as nothing more than a signifier, Einstein robs the animal of life, reducing it to a symbol in service to human linguistic ends.⁵⁰ In the second issue of *Documents*, Einstein's essay, 'André Masson, étude ethnologique,' examined Masson's paintings that combined symbolic combinations of humans and animals. 'The human being and the object form a unity, and we assume a totemistic identification.'⁵¹ That totemism is significant in his interpretation. As Claude Lévi-Strauss explained, totems 'are codes suitable for conveying messages which can be transposed into other codes, and for expressing messages received by means of different codes in terms of their own system.'⁵² The mythology generated by such totems, he argues 'has no obvious practical function.' It isn't referencing a different reality. It is referencing an unreality, a world that does not exist and is desirable because of that nonexistence.⁵³ 'The only thing that these totemic systems have in common is the general tendency to characterise the segments into which society is divided by an association between each segment and some natural species or some portion of nature.'⁵⁴ Totemic myth is 'both a language for analogically representing and reconstituting another reality — an hierarchical system of human differentiation — and a means by which that reality can be validated.'⁵⁵ And so the blending of humans and animals in artistic representation can validate a hierarchical conception of human supremacy over animals, a conception played out most graphically in abattoirs like those in La Villette.

But also significant is Einstein's equation of the animal with 'the object.' He describes 'the fish-men, the dying birds and leaf-animals in the paintings of Masson. His animals are identifications in which one projects the experience of death in order not to be killed oneself.'⁵⁶ Animals in this view were 'good to think with,'⁵⁷ but retained no value in their own right, archetypes fit for nothing more than fitting the needs of human consciousness and memory, fitting the interpretive value of the totem. Masson's paintings, then, provide a vision of human-animal combinations, but do so for

Einstein not in service to any functional equating of the two. Instead, the paintings ‘subvert the boundaries,’ as Rainer Rumold has explained, ‘as linguistic constructs.’⁵⁸

In a later issue, Bataille included André Masson’s surrealist painting *L’abattoir* (1930), but gone from Masson’s interpretation were the animals themselves, the blood, the visceral force of the consequences of individual actions (see Figure 9).⁵⁹

While the essays of Bataille and Einstein hued to the Surrealist form, Lotar’s photos were an act of realistic photojournalism. Masson’s abattoir, in contrast to Lotar’s, demonstrated a decided return to the Surrealist painterly form for the magazine. Gone was the blood; gone were the signs of suffering and death, replaced with the unconscious automatism so vital to much of the Surrealist project. The realism and immediacy of Lotar’s photographs, and any realism related to the depiction of classical forms, were replaced by decidedly abstract forms.

Surrealism was, according to Herbert Read, a wholesale rejection of classicism, ‘showing its complete irrelevance, its anaesthetic effect, its contradiction of the creative impulse.’ Surrealism, he argues, ‘is anti-rational, but it is equally anti-emotional. If you wish to reduce Surrealism to its foundations you will find the only basic elements on which any useful structure can be built — the basic elements of natural science and psychology.’⁶⁰ And those were, in fact, disciplines largely unkind to animals.

Enlightenment naturalists, for example, were all engaged in an attempt to classify ‘all objects of existence according to the ancient “Great Chain of Being” system. Every being, from humans to fauna and flora had a naturally assigned position and status.’⁶¹ That chain of being, which had been around in various forms since the ancient Greeks, was refurbished for the modern era in 1764 with the publication of Charles Bonnet’s *Contemplation de la Nature*. Alexander Pope’s *Essay on Man* did much the same work and was perhaps even more influential in the English-speaking and largely still England-dependent American colonies, reprinted as it was throughout the eighteenth century.⁶² Then there was Charles Darwin, whose *On the Origin of Species*, published in 1859 as Paris decided to move its slaughterhouses to La Villette, made



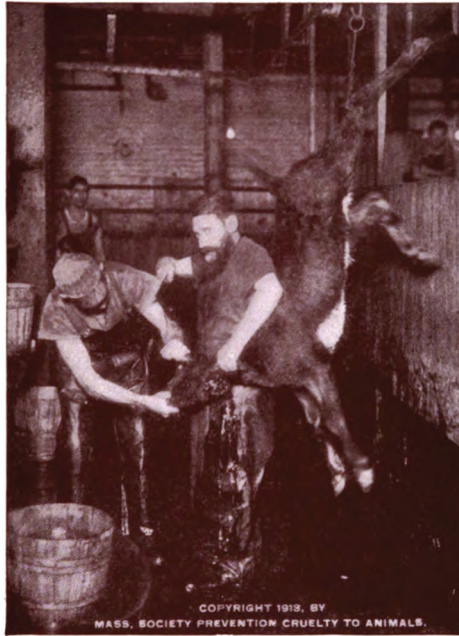
Fig. 9. Masson, *L’abattoir*, 1930. Oil on canvas, 98 × 103.5. Privately held.

the case for broad-based, randomized botanical and zoological evolution that varied by environmental conditions. His theory argued that populations were modified by natural selection, wherein beneficial traits that aided survival and reproduction were favored. Small, inherited variations developed over time to allow species to successfully compete, thrive, and ultimately reproduce.⁶³ Darwinian evolutionary theory could be a double-edged sword for the human relationship with animals. In the nineteenth century, 'Darwinism and the work of other naturalists challenged the notion of the divine plan of creation, in some ways replacing the idea of a fundamental separation between humans and animals with that of similarity and kinship,' Molly H. Mullin explains. That said, the naturalists dealt in hierarchies, and those hierarchies remained in place. 'In Darwinian terms, perceptions of inferiority and superiority, as well as the colonial project, could be justified and explained in terms of evolution.'⁶⁴ And perceptions of inferiority served to justify practices like those depicted in Lotar's photographs.

Meanwhile, Surrealism was itself involved in its own attempt to chronicle human perceptions. By his Second Manifesto of Surrealism, published the same year as *Documents* and Lotar's photographs appeared, Breton's obsession was with Hegel, and his description of Surrealism seemed a fitting justification of Lotar's work.⁶⁵ 'Surrealism, although a special part of its function is to examine with a critical eye the notions of reality and unreality, reason and irrationality, reflection and impulse, knowledge and "fatal" ignorance, usefulness and uselessness, is analogous at least in one respect with historical materialism in that it too tends to take as its point of departure the "colossal abortion" of the Hegelian system,' he wrote. 'It seems impossible to me to assign any limitations — economic limitations, for instance — to the exercise of a thought finally made tractable to negation, and to the negation of negation. How can one accept the fact that the dialectical method can only be validly applied to the solution of social problems? The entire aim of Surrealism is to supply it with practical possibilities in no way competitive in the most immediate realm of consciousness.'⁶⁶ The consciousness represented by the scientific process, and in Breton's statement by Hegelian dialectics that focused on human historical progression, were not relevant to other forms of consciousness, those hidden by evolutionary or historical paradigms imposed by scientists and philosophers. Surrealism's task was to reveal those other forms without the imposition of paradigms, including moral paradigms that imposed judgement on the outgrowths of such states of consciousness.

In that context, the photos of Lotar might be usefully contrasted with the slaughterhouse photographs of Francis Rowley published fifteen years prior as part of the *Proceedings of the International Anti-Vivisection and Animal Protection Congress*. Rowley was a minister and animal advocate who served as president of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. His photographs of slaughterhouses were calculated to show people the things of which they spared themselves the sight, the violence hidden behind the walls of killing centers.⁶⁷ In 'For the Sake of a Veal Cutlet,' Rowley shows a young calf kicking and protesting, suspended from hooks as two men slice his throat (see [Figure 10](#)).

It was a picture that showed the act of violence rather than its aftermath, and unlike Lotar's images, 'For the Sake of a Veal Cutlet' was intended to provoke



FOR THE SAKE OF A VEAL CUTLET

In federally inspected abattoirs during 1912, 2,277,954 calves were killed substantially in the manner indicated above. The annual year-book of Swift & Co. says that in 1911, 8,000,000 calves were slaughtered. For the whole country the figures probably approximated 10,000,000.

Fig. 10. Francis Rowley, 'For the Sake of a Veal Cutlet,' Proceedings of the International Anti-Vivisection and Animal Protection Congress, held at Washington, DC, December 8–11, 1913, Washington, 1914, 48–49.

sympathy for the animal victims of such practices. As J. Keri Cronin has noted, the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals stamp on the photograph gave it authority and situated the image decidedly in favor of the suffering animal.⁶⁸ Rowley did not document the physical space of a slaughterhouse, he documented the action and brutality of killing itself. While both Lotar and Rowley depict violence, then, and both expose the human supremacy behind such practices, the animal rights photograph emphasizes intent over setting.

And whereas Lotar's published photographs in *Documents* came accompanied with a far-ranging Surrealist text by Bataille, Rowley's illustrated a speech he gave to the Animal Protection Congress. 'Of all the sufferings inflicted upon defenseless animal life none mass in their volume of pain with those endured by the unwilling victims that are daily driven into the great world's slaughter pens,' he explained. 'All other forms of cruelty combined will not equal the inhumanities that make the shambles the horror-chambers of our modern life.'⁶⁹ He went on to describe the statistics related to animal slaughter and described the various practices used. Another photograph

included in the *Proceedings* showed the ‘Jewish Method of Slaughter — The Severed Throat,’ which demonstrated the finality of death, the slaughterers standing with fixed unconcern over a killed cow twisted in the agony of death with his foot still attached to the suspension apparatus similar to that of the secular gentile version in the first included photograph (see [Figure 11](#)).

Here was the aftermath of killing, but unlike Lotar’s aftermath, the act was still present in the frame, the deed still fresh, with other victims waiting behind the killers. The caption explained that ‘the dying lasts from two to four minutes.’ Whereas Lotar wanted his viewers to see the abattoir to know the absurd cruelties upon which their lives depended, Rowley wanted his viewers to stop such cruelties and to fight against them.

Of course, some of Lotar’s images not used in *Documents* did have a similar effect but not a similar intent.

Lotar’s emphasis on the slaughterhouse worker shows a man with blood on his hands and the tools of his trade at his side (see [Figure 12](#)). He is proud, if not defiant, but the victims of his tools are not in the frame. There is little to associate the man with any specific death, no overt plea for change. It is clear, however, from the man’s



JEWISH METHOD OF SLAUGHTER — THE SEVERED THROAT

Death, according to the Kosher, or Hebrew method, is by bleeding to death. The photograph shows the wide-gaping throat, from which the blood pours. The dying lasts from two to four minutes, according to expert testimony—that is, from the time of the cut to the suspension of the corneal reflex action. This is often much prolonged by unskilful handling of the animal.

Fig. 11. Francis Rowley, ‘Jewish Method of Slaughter—The Severed Throat,’ *Proceedings of the International Anti-Vivisection and Animal Protection Congress*, held at Washington, DC, December 8–11, 1913, Washington, 1914, 50–51.



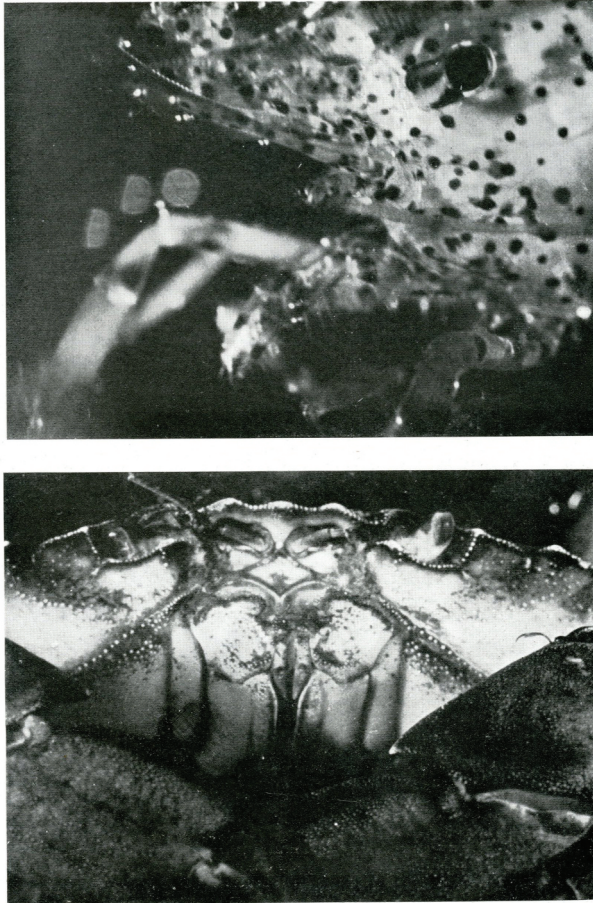
Fig. 12. Eli Lotar, *Aux Abattoirs de la Villette*, 1929. Test gelatin — silver, 24 × 18cm. Paris: Collection Centre Pompidou.

countenance, his bloody hands, and his tools, that he is associated with death. In the mode of Breton, Lotar is seeking to reveal a form of human life without the imposition of paradigms, but the ghosts of those no longer present remain in the frame.

Surrealist photography of compromised or dead animals would become relatively commonplace in the wake of Lotar's work at La Villette. Jacques-André Boiffard in the first three years of the 1930s took and displayed pictures of dead insects as part of his larger project. In 1933, Henri Cartier-Bresson's *Sans titre, viscères* depicted a collection of animal entrails resonant of those in Lotar's images, but without the surrounding context of the slaughterhouse.⁷⁰ Four years later, Man Ray published his infamous essay, *La photographie n'est pas l'art*, in which he included several animal photographs. Using artistic photographs of animals in service to a case that photography was not art demonstrated the contradictory nature of Ray's thinking. 'There's no point trying to find out if it's an art,' he wrote. 'Art is a thing of the past. We need something else. You've got to watch light at work. It's light that creates. I sit

down in front of my sheet of photographic paper and I think.⁷¹ It was an early version of Levi-Strauss's conception of animals being 'good to think with,' mentioned above. Finally, in 1938, the early work of Wols would feature photographs of the corpses, body parts, and viscera of a variety of dead and decomposing animals.⁷²

The work of Ray, Wols, Boiffard, and Cartier-Bresson was not isolated. At the time of Lotar's abattoir photographs, he was working as a cameraman for Jean Painlevé, a medical doctor and Surrealist filmmaker loosely associated with the Surrealists, best known for a series of short films about sea animals and underwater life, films that use 'an almost deliberately excessive anthropomorphic and cultural referencing' to demonstrate the vast separation between the human and animal worlds.⁷³ Painlevé's microscopic animal photographs would accompany Lotar's in the issue (see Figure 13). 'These images of a "tête de crevette" and a "tête de crabe" are as discomfiting in their viscerality as the



1. Tête de crevette; 2. Tête de crabe. (cf. p. 332). — Film Jean Painlevé (1929).

Fig. 13. Jean Painlevé, 'Tête de crevette; Tête de crabe,' Documents 6, 1929, 331.

abattoir scenes opposite,' Ian Walker argues. 'In both cases, the order — of man and of nature — seems tenuously balanced against a threat of chaos.'⁷⁴

As Michael Richardson explains, 'The Surrealists were especially interested in fast-moving, quickly made films that entered the popular unconscious, eluding the controls that would increasingly constrain the cinema as it entered adulthood.'⁷⁵ Painlevé would go on to work at the Institut de Cinématographie Scientifique with Georges Franju, and would supply commentary for Franju's film *Blood of the Beasts*, appearing twenty years later in 1949.⁷⁶

'Lotar's photographs seem eerily like outtakes from the film Franju would make twenty years later.'⁷⁷ Georges Franju was born in northwestern France in 1912 before moving to Paris to begin working in cinema in the mid-1930s. That decade, he co-founded the Cinémathèque Française with Henri Langlois.⁷⁸ Cinema was fundamental to the Surrealist project. In 1927, Surrealist Robert Desnos wrote, 'The screen perhaps might be equal to our dreams.'⁷⁹ And dreams and the subconscious, as Breton explained in his manifestos, were a core constituent of much of the surrealist project. In his First Manifesto of Surrealism, he argued that 'the future resolution of these two states, dream and reality, which are seemingly so contradictory, into a kind of absolute reality, a *surreality*.'⁸⁰ The projection of light onto the screen was a metaphor for the projection of thought on the mind. The images were in black and white, as human dreams in the age of Freudian theory were assumed to be. More prosaically, the cinema was experienced in the dark, as was sleep. When combined with the technological wonder of film, the medium became a favorite of the Surrealists, who created myriad movies between the 1920s and 1940s.⁸¹

Beginning in 1949, Franju started the process of making his own movies, a series of nine documentary films, the first being a twenty-two-minute chronicle of a day inside a La Villette slaughterhouse. *Le Sang des Bêtes*, or *The Blood of the Beasts*, uses 'unflinching, transfixed clinical detail' to portray a 'brutality' that 'seems characterized by a rage aimed at "breaking all that stifles," of engendering a fierce new way of seeing for his audience.'⁸²

The film begins in the Paris suburbs, the peaceful life of those unburdened by the violence that sustains them, before transitioning to scenes of horror at the abattoir. At its conclusion, Franju's camera returns to the peaceful neighborhood and a long shot of a barge passing along the canal that runs along the slaughterhouse, a calm sky behind. Adam Lowenstein has explained that Franju 'visually links this ghost ship not only with the abattoir, but with the bridge that connected the slaughterhouse and the market, and thus also with the passing sheep' that are included in the frame.⁸³ Lowenstein returns to Bataille's definition of the abattoir in *Documents*, one that described the slaughterhouse as being 'cursed and quarantined like a plague-ridden ship.'⁸⁴ Painlevé's commentary over the images describes the sheep as 'condemned men.' They 'will not hear the gates of their prison close, nor the Paris-Villette train which pierces the pastoral night to gather the victims for tomorrow.' The sheep were 'led by the traitor among them, who knows the way and whose life will be spared.'⁸⁵

The one principal contextual difference in Lotar's photographs of La Villette and Franju's film is the Holocaust that happened between them, and Franju's comparison between the slaughterhouse and the death camp is hard to miss. Siegfried Kracauer



Fig. 14. Georges Franju, *Le Sang des bêtes*, Criterion Collection, 1949.

has explained that both images ‘beckon the spectator to take them in and thus incorporate into his memory the real face of things too dreadful to be beheld in reality.’⁸⁶ The film was, in his analysis and in that of Lowenstein, a reckoning with the forces of history resonant with Breton’s earlier Hegelian lament.

The difference between the two institutionalized horrors were that one was eliminationist, one intended to continue in perpetuity, and that the slaughter of animals was still ongoing.⁸⁷ So while Franju’s comparative intent was part of a larger response to Nazi violence, it was also a demonstration of the violence that perpetuated the society that defeated the Nazis. Europe responded to the slaughter of Jews, Roma and Sinti, and other dispossessed groups with the Nuremberg Trials, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and other varied attempts at forms of recompense.⁸⁸ But the human actors in those attempts responded to the slaughter of nonhuman animals with a willful ignorance that worked like Franju’s attempted to expose. Prior to the ship metaphor that closed *Blood of the Beasts*, the imagery presented by Franju mirrored Lotar’s photography that had attempted to peer behind the barrier of the slaughterhouse walls twenty years prior (see Figure 14).

But Franju’s imagery went even farther, combining the problematic vision of Lotar with the provocative photographs of Francis Rowley (see Figure 15).

The Holocaust metaphor was vital to Franju’s conceptualization of the slaughterhouse, but so too was the film’s actual violence directed at animals, a violence ongoing (see Figure 16). It was a Surrealist presentation that, in the words of Benjamin, ‘perceives the everyday as impenetrable, the impenetrable as everyday.’⁸⁹ Scenes of routine suburban Parisian life are interspersed with traumatic renderings of grotesque acts against animals. At one point, the image of a dead horse is followed quickly by a painting of a horse, demonstrating the power of human idealizations made possible by visual representation and geographical spacing like the nineteenth-century abattoir shift to La Villette.



Fig. 15. Georges Franju, *Le Sang des bêtes*, Criterion Collection, 1949.



Fig. 16. Georges Franju, *Le Sang des bêtes*, Criterion Collection, 1949.

While Franju never returned to the abattoir in his film career, he continued to seek out the grotesque and provocative. His most famous film was the 1960 fictional feature *Les Yeux sans visage*, *Eyes Without a Face*, in which a plastic surgeon seeks to graft a new face onto his daughter, who had been disfigured in a car crash. Here the animal metaphor was removed and the consequences of violence on the human sat alone in stark, disturbing detail.⁹⁰ Meanwhile, Jean Panleivé continued to make his

own filmic analyses of animals into the 1960s, concluding with the 1965 film *Amours de la pieuvre, Love Life of the Octopus*. Absent from such movies were the grotesque images of animal slaughter, though the element of human voyeurism remained.⁹¹

Thus it was that members of the Parisian avant-garde took their turns at representing human violence against animals in a decidedly realistic, almost journalistic fashion. Luis Bruñel's *Un Chien Andalou* (1929) includes two dead donkeys as part of the impediment keeping the human protagonists apart. In *L'Age d'or* (1930), a cow lies on the protagonist's bed. In 1934, Magritte's *The Portrait* featured a piece of ham on a plate with an eye staring back at the viewer, a reminder that the object of the meal was once a being with vision, with a life. In his *The Pleasure Principle* (1937), he painted a woman biting into a just-killed bird. Later, Dorothea Tanning's *Poached Trout* (1952) depicts a woman sitting in front of a plate of fish, but the fish is alive, raising its head to the woman with an open mouth, as if to speak.⁹²

Neither Lotar nor Franju intended to make an animal rights statement, but it is impossible to read their work without recognizing the horror of a horrible act. The visual trauma of the images was made all the more powerful because the animal rights movement was in what Robert Garner and Yewande Okuleye have described as 'a long period of quietism' from the 1920s to the 1960s.⁹³ The pre-World War I activism of those like Rowley had dissipated, leaving the Surrealist documentary efforts at La Villette some of the most prominent exposures of the real violence at slaughterhouses, an exposure in the post-World War II period that found an easy comparison with the human slaughterhouses behind Nazi lines. 'It would be a fool's mission to argue that Surrealism was a committed animal liberation campaign. It was not.' But Surrealism's project was, for Kirsten Strom, 'a radical de-hierarchizing of the rational (i.e. human) over the nonrational (i.e. animal and/or machine).'⁹⁴ The scenes of La Villette demonstrate Surrealism's interpretation of human society's dependence on violence toward animals between 1929 and 1949, leaving what Katharine Conley has called a 'Surrealist ghostliness' of those who were victims of the process and presenting the suffering of farmed animals in the generation prior to the birth of factory farming.⁹⁵

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Notes

1. Breton, "Limits Not Frontiers of Surrealism," 103–4.
2. Breton, "First Manifesto of Surrealism."
3. Benjamin, *Illuminations*, 84.
4. Quoted in Rabinovitch, *Surrealism and the Sacred*, 42.

5. Breton, *Arcanum 17*, 44.
6. Breton, "Caught in the Act," 129.
7. Quoted in Parkinson, "Emotional Fusion with the Animal Kingdom," 265.
8. Callois, "The Praying Mantis," 69.
9. Strom, *The Animal Surreal*, 26.
10. Werner Spies, *Surrealism and Its Age*, 13, 16–17.
11. Strom, *The Animal Surreal*, 31–32.
12. Roberts, "The Ecological Imperative," 220. See also Jaguer, *Les Mystères de la Chambre Noire*.
13. Conley, "Surrealism, Ethnography, and the Animal-Human," 1.
14. Spies, *Surrealism and Its Age*, 107. For more on Bataille, see Hussey, *Inner Scar*; Kendall, *Georges Bataille*; and Surya, *Georges Bataille*.
15. Bataille quoted in Strom, *The Animal Surreal*, 60, 144. In his later *Erotism* (1961), he similarly noted that 'in the world today only animals can be treated as things. A man can do whatever he likes with them; he is accountable to no-one. He may really be aware that the beast he strikes down is not so very different from himself. But even while he admits the similarity, his furtive act of recognition is immediately contradicted by a fundamental and silent denial.' Bataille, *Erotism*, 150.
16. Ades and Bradley, "Introduction," 11–13; Rubin, *Dada, Surrealism, and Their Heritage*, 207; Rumold, "Archeo-logies of Modernity in 'Transition' and 'Documents' 1929/30," 49–50; and Durozoi, *History of the Surrealist Movement*, 178.
17. Clifford, "On Ethnographic Surrealism," 550–2.
18. Warehime, "'Vision sauvage' and Images of Culture," 39.
19. Leiris, "De Bataille l'impossible à l'impossible *Documents*," 689.
20. Ades and Bradley, "Introduction," 11, 14.
21. Quoted in Strom, *The Animal Surreal*, 126.
22. Quoted in Strom, *The Animal Surreal*, 127.
23. Warehime, "Vision sauvage," 40; and "Aux abbatoirs de La Villette, 1929."
24. Walker, *City Gorged with Dreams*, 130–1. See also Amao, *Eli Lotar et le mouvement des images*.
25. Walker, "Phantom Africa," 648–9; and Lastra, "Why Is This Absurd Picture Here?" 212.
26. Philipp, "L'approvisionnement de Paris en viande et la logistique ferroviaire," 113–141; and Damien, "De l'horreur du sang à l'insoutenable souffrance animale," 52–68.
27. Noys, *Georges Bataille*, 24.
28. Bataille refers here to William Seabrook's *The Magic Island*, 1929, a travelogue of the author's time in Haiti observing voodoo and witchcraft. It was in the tale that he first introduced the concept of zombies to the western world.
29. Bataille, "Abattoir," 329.
30. "Aux abattoirs de La Villette, 1929"; and Walker, *City Gorged with Dreams*, 127. See also Krauss and Livingston, *L'amour Fou*, 69, 175; and Bois, "Abattoir," 43–46.
31. Fox-Film, "Fox Follies," 344.
32. Lastra, "Why Is This Absurd Picture Here?" 192.

33. Ryder quoted in Corman and Calling, "'Nailing Descartes to the Wall' by Propagandhi," 36–37, 42. Singer concurred, seeing speciesism as 'a prejudice or attitude of bias toward the interest of members of one's own species and against those of members of other species,' and argued that it could only be properly understood in relation to other dispossessions like sexism and racism. Singer, *Animal Liberation*, 7.
34. Lotar's abattoir photographs were also reprinted in *VU, L'Art vivant*. Cox, "Sacrifice," 112; Walker, *City Gorged with Dreams*, 134–5; and Isotani, "Arts et Métiers PHOTO-Graphiques," 99.
35. Ades, "Surrealism," 68.
36. Freud, "The 'Uncanny,'" 4; and Strom, *The Animal Surreal*, 14.
37. Cox, "Sacrifice," 112.
38. Lusty, "Eli Lotar's Para-urban Visions," 87, 90.
39. Or, in the words of Dali, "Nothing proves the truth of surrealism so much as photography"; Hariman and Lucaites, *The Public Image*, 5, 9, 162–3; and Walker, *City Gorged with Dreams*, 11, 23, Bazin quoted in Walker, 5; Dali quoted in Walker, 21.
40. Walker, *City Gorged with Dreams*, 88; and Isotani, "Arts et Métiers PHOTO-Graphiques," 2, 83–84.
41. Sontag, *On Photography*, 51–58. See also Hall-Duncan, *Photographic Surrealism*; and Bate, *Photography and Surrealism*.
42. Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, 289. There is obviously much more that could be said about bureaucracy and banality and its relationship to violence, particularly through the lens established by Arendt. See, for example, Arendt, "Personal Responsibility Under Dictatorship," 17–48.
43. Roberts, *Photography and Its Violations*, 5, 53.
44. Walker, *City Gorged with Dreams*, 114–5.
45. Bataille, "The Deviations of Nature," 53–56.
46. Warehime, "Vision sauvage," 42; Bois, "Abattoir," 47.
47. Bataille, "Le Gros Orteil," 297–302; and Rumold, "Archeo-logies of Modernity," 57.
48. Warehime, "Vision sauvage," 42.
49. Warehime, "Vision sauvage," 43, 45.
50. Einstein, "Rossignol," 117–8; and Rumold, "Archeo-logies of Modernity," 54.
51. Einstein, "André Masson, Étude Ethnologique," 93–105.
52. Levi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind*, 75–76.
53. Levi-Strauss, *The Raw and the Cooked*, 10.
54. Radcliffe-Brown, "The Sociological Theory of Totemism," 122.
55. Borneman, "Race, Ethnicity, Species, Breed," 48.
56. Einstein, "André Masson," 100.
57. Levi-Strauss, *Totemism*, 89.
58. Rumold, "Archeo-logies of Modernity," 56.
59. Cox, "Sacrifice," 106.
60. Beard, "Introduction," 22–23, 37–38. As André Breton explained, "The magnificent discoveries of Freud offer an opportune enlightenment, a startling revelation of the depths of the abyss opened by this abandonment of logical thought and

- by suspicion as to the fidelity of sensorial testimony.’ Breton, “Limits Not Frontiers of Surrealism,” 102.
61. Anderson, “The Beast Within,” 308–9.
 62. Anderson, “Charles Bonnet’s Taxonomy and Chain of Being,” 45–58; and Sibley, *Alexander Pope’s Prestige in America*, 23.
 63. Darwin, *On the Origin of Species*, 1859.
 64. Mullin, “Mirrors and Windows,” 206–7.
 65. Barr, *Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism*, 61.
 66. Breton, “Second Manifesto of Surrealism.”
 67. Cronin, *Art for Animals*, 92–93.
 68. Cronin, *Art for Animals*, 95.
 69. Rowley, “Slaughter House Reform,” 49.
 70. Cartier-Bresson visited La Villette in 1932, but only one of the images he took there remains. Centre Pompidou, *La Subversion des images*, 260–1, 263; and Walker, *City Gorged with Dreams*, 136.
 71. Ray, *La photographie n’est pas l’art*.
 72. Alfred Otto Wolfgang Schulze, who used the pseudonym Wols, was a German national working predominantly in Paris. Pompidou, *La Subversion des images*, 262, 264–5.
 73. Walker, ‘Phantom Africa,’ 649; and Pompidou, *La Subversion des images*, 255.
 74. Walker, *City Gorged with Dreams*, 134.
 75. Richardson, ‘Surrealism and Film,’ 99.
 76. Lowenstein, *Shocking Representation*, 20; and Walker, “Phantom Africa,” 648–9.
 77. Lowenstein, *Shocking Representation*, 20.
 78. See Ince, *Georges Franju*.
 79. Desnos, “Fantômas, Les Vampires, Les Mystères de New York,” 153.
 80. Breton, “First Manifesto of Surrealism.”
 81. Finkelstein, *The Screen in Surrealist Art and Thought*, 1–3. For more on Surrealism in cinema, see Richardson, *Surrealism and Cinema*.
 82. Lowenstein, *Shocking Representation*, 20. See also Lowenstein, “Films Without a Face,” 37–58.
 83. Lowenstein, *Shocking Representation*, 21; and Sloniowski, “‘It Was an Atrocious Film,’” 160–175.
 84. Bataille, “Abattoir,” 329; and Lowenstein, *Shocking Representation*, 20.
 85. Franju, *Le Sang des bêtes*.
 86. Kracauer, *Theory of Film*, 306.
 87. Including nonhuman animals in discussions of genocide and holocaust has a contentious history. While the term ‘holocaust’ was used prior to World War II — and comes from the ancient Greek *holocaustos*, meaning ‘to burn a dead animal’—it has come almost uniformly to be associated with the Nazi mass murder of European Jews. Kolozova, *Capitalism’s Holocaust of Animals*, 110–1. ‘Genocide’ was created specifically in reference to that mass murder but was intended to be able to broaden its scope to other instances of such killings. Both have historically been associated solely with human groups. Still, ‘the use of Holocaust analogies in the context of animal rights and environmentalism is a widespread practice,’ and one that has proven problematic for two principal reasons. Buettner, *Holocaust Images and Picturing Catastrophe*, 106. First, human

trauma associated with the comparative event is still lived by those who experienced it or whose ancestors experienced it, and that human ability to experience historical trauma creates an important sensitivity on one side of the comparison. Second, the use of such comparisons has been applied inconsistently, often without a considered understanding of that use. The debates surrounding such terminology are significant, but what they don't do is situate historically the relationship of those terms to the events the terms originally described. The physical act of animal confinement and killing on an institutionalized scale happened in similar form and function to — and simultaneous to — acts against human populations in World War II that drove specific responses to eliminate such behavior.

88. See, for example, Morsink, *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights*; and Conot, *Justice at Nuremberg*.
89. Benjamin, "Surrealism," 216.
90. Franju, *Les Yeux sans visage*. See also Hawkins, *Cutting Edge*.
91. See Cahill, *Zoological Surrealism*.
92. Strom, *The Animal Surreal*, 37, 39, 41, 42, 102.
93. Garner and Okuleye, *The Oxford Group and the Emergence of Animal Rights*, 79–80.
94. Strom, *The Animal Surreal*, 8, 85.
95. Conley, *Surrealist Ghostliness*.

ORCID

Thomas Aiello  <http://orcid.org/0000-0003-2766-0271>

Bibliography

- Ades, Dawn. "Surrealism: Fetishism's Job." In *Fetishism*, edited by Anthony Shelton, 67–85. London: Royal Pavilion, 1995.
- Ades, Dawn, and Fiona Bradley. "Introduction." In *Undercover Surrealism: Georges Bataille and Documents*, edited by Dawn Ades and Simon Baker, 11–13. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006.
- Amao, Damarice. *Eli Lotar et le mouvement des images*. Paris: Textuel, 2017.
- Anderson, Kay. "'The Beast Within': Race, Humanity, and Animality." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 18, no. 3 (2000): 301–320. doi:10.1068/d229.
- Anderson, Lorin. "Charles Bonnet's Taxonomy and Chain of Being." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 37, no. 1 (1976): 45–58. doi:10.2307/2708708.
- Arendt, Hannah. *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*. New York: Viking, 1963.
- Arendt, Hannah. "Personal Responsibility Under Dictatorship." In *Responsibility and Judgment*, edited by Jerome Kohn, 17–48. New York: Schocken, 1964.
- "Aux abbatoirs de La Villette, 1929." Metropolitan Museum of Art. <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/286057>.
- Barr, Alfred H., Jr. *Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism*. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1936.

- Bataille, Georges. "Abattoir." *Documents* 6 (1929): 329.
- Bataille, Georges. "Le Gros Orteil." *Documents* 6 (1929): 297–302.
- Bataille, Georges. "The Deviations of Nature." In *Documents 2 (1930)*. Reprinted in *Georges Bataille. Visions of Excess: Selected Writings, 1927-1939*, edited by Allan Stoekl, 53–56. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1985.
- Bataille, Georges. *Erotism: Death and Sensuality*. San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1986.
- Bate, David. *Photography and Surrealism: Sexuality, Colonialism and Social Dissent*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2002.
- Beard, Herbert. "Introduction." In *Surrealism*, edited by Herbert Read, 1–38. New York: Faber, 1936.
- Benjamin, Walter. *Illuminations*. New York: Schocken, 1969.
- Benjamin, Walter. "Surrealism: The Last Snapshot of the European Intelligentsia." In *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings, Volume 2, 1927-1934*, edited by Michael W. Jennings, Howard Eiland and Gary Smith, 207–221. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Bois, Yve-Alain. "Abattoir." In *Formless: A User's Guide*, edited by Yve-Alain Bois and Rosalind E. Krauss, 43–46. New York: Zone Books, 1997.
- Borneman, John. "Race, Ethnicity, Species, Breed: Totemism and Horse-Breed Classification in America." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30, no. 1 (1988): 25–51. doi:10.1017/S0010417500015036.
- Bracegirdle, Anne. "'Avant-Garde Photography in Paris' and 'Surrealism.'" In *Photography: The Whole Story*, edited by Juliet Hacking, 224–227. Munich: Presel, 2012.
- Breton, André. "First Manifesto of Surrealism." 1925. <https://www.tcf.ua.edu/Classes/Jbutler/T340/F98/SurrealistManifesto.htm>.
- Breton, André. "Second Manifesto of Surrealism." 1929. <https://theoria.art-zoo.com/second-manifesto-of-surrealism-andre-breton/>.
- Breton, André. "Limits Not Frontiers of Surrealism." In *Surrealism*, edited by Herbert Read, 103–104. New York: Faber, 1936.
- Breton, André. *Arcanum 17*. Translated by Zach Rogow. Los Angeles: Sun and Moon Press, 1994.
- Breton, André. "Caught in the Act." In *Free Rein*, translated by Michel Parmentier and Jacqueline d'Amboise, 125–169. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995.
- Buettner, Angi. *Holocaust Images and Picturing Catastrophe: The Cultural Politics of Seeing*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011.
- Cahill, James Leo. *Zoological Surrealism: The Nonhuman Cinema of Jean Painlevé*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2019.
- Callois, Roger. "The Praying Mantis: From Biology to Psychoanalysis." In *Originally Published 1934, in The Edge of Surrealism: A Roger Callois Reader*, edited by Claudine Frank, 66–81. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003.
- Centre Pompidou. *La Subversion des images: Surréalisme, Photographie, Film*. Paris: Centre Pompidou, 2009.
- Clifford, James. "On Ethnographic Surrealism." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 23, no. 4 (1981): 539–564. doi:10.1017/S0010417500013554.
- Conley, Katharine. *Surrealist Ghostliness*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2013. doi:10.2307/j.ctt1ddr900.

- Conley, Katharine. "Surrealism, Ethnography, and the Animal-Human." *Symposium: A Quarterly Journal in Modern Literatures* 67, no. 1 (2013): 1–5. doi:10.1080/00397709.2013.762850.
- Conot, Robert E. *Justice at Nuremberg*. New York: Harper & Row, 1983.
- Corman, Lauren, Sarat Calling, Anthony J. Nocella, and Scott Robertson. "Nailing Descartes to the Wall" by Propagandhi." In *Rebel Music: Resistance Through Hip Hop and Punk*, edited by Priya Parmar and Martha Diaz, 29–42. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2015.
- Cox, Neil. "Sacrifice." In *Undercover Surrealism: Georges Bataille and Documents*, edited by Dawn Ades and Simon Baker, 112–113. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006.
- Cronin, J. Keri. *Art for Animals: Visual Culture and Animal Advocacy, 1870–1914*. University Park: Penn State University Press, 2018. doi:10.1515/9780271081632.
- Damien, Baldin. "De l'horreur du sang à l'insoutenable souffrance animale. Élaboration sociale des régimes de sensibilité à la mise à mort des animaux (XIXe-XXe siècles)." *Vingtième Siècle Revue d'histoire* 123, no. 3 (2014): 52–68. doi:10.3917/vin.123.0052.
- Darwin, Charles. *On the Origin of Species, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*. London: John Murray, 1859. doi:10.5962/bhl.title.82303.
- Davies, Hugh Sykes. "Surrealism at This Time and Place." In *Surrealism*, edited by Herbert Read, 120–121. New York: Faber, 1936.
- Desnos, Robert. "Fantômas, Les Vampires, Les Mystères de New York." In *Cinema*, 153. Paris: Gallimard, 1966.
- Durozoi, Gérard. *History of the Surrealist Movement*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Einstein, Carl. "André Masson, Étude Ethnologique." *Documents* 2 (1929): 93–105.
- Einstein, Carl. "Rossignol." *Documents* 2 (1929): 117–118.
- Finkelstein, Haim. *The Screen in Surrealist Art and Thought*. Burlington, NC: Ashgate, 2007.
- Fox-Film. "Fox Follies." *Documents* 6 (1929): 344.
- Franju, Georges. *Le Sang des bêtes*. New York, NY: Criterion Collection, 1949.
- Franju, Georges. *Les Yeux sans visage*. New York, NY: Criterion Collection, 1960.
- Freud, Sigmund. "The 'Uncanny.'" Originally published *Imago*, Bd. V., 1919. <https://web.mit.edu/allanmc/www/freud1.pdf>
- Garner, Robert, and Yewande Okuleye. *The Oxford Group and the Emergence of Animal Rights: An Intellectual History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2020.
- Hall-Duncan, Nancy. *Photographic Surrealism*. Cleveland, OH: New Gallery of Contemporary Art, 1979.
- Hariman, Robert, and John Louis Lucaites. *The Public Image: Photography and Civic Spectatorship*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016.
- Hawkins, Joan. *Cutting Edge: Art-Horror and the Horrific Avant-Garde*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2000.
- Hugnet, Georges. "1870 to 1936." In *Surrealism*, edited by Herbert Read, 188. New York: Faber, 1971.
- Hussey, Andrew. *Inner Scar: The Mysticism of Georges Bataille*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000. doi:10.1163/9789004455993.
- Ince, Kate. *Georges Franju*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005.

- Isotani, Yusuke. "Arts et Métiers PHOTO-Graphiques: The Quest for Identity in French Photography between the Two World Wars." Phd diss., City University of New York, 2019.
- Jaguer, Edouard. *Les Mystères de la Chambre Noire*. Paris: Flammarion, 1982.
- Kendall, Stuart. *Georges Bataille*. London: Reaktion, 2007.
- Kolozova, Katerina. *Capitalism's Holocaust of Animals: A Non-Marxist Critique of Capital, Philosophy and Patriarchy*. London: Bloomsbury, 2019. doi:10.5040/9781350109704.
- Kracauer, Siegfried. *Theory of Film: The Redemption of Physical Reality*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Krauss, Rosalind, and Jane Livingston. *L'amour Fou: Photography and Surrealism*. Washington: Abbeville Press, 1985.
- Lastra, James F. "Why is This Absurd Picture Here? Ethnology/Herology/Buñuel." In *Rites of Realism: Essays on Corporeal Cinema*, edited by Ivone Margulies, 185–215. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003. doi:10.2307/j.ctv123x744.13.
- Leiris, Michel. "De Bataille l'impossible à l'impossible Documents." *Critique* 195-96 (1963): 688–689.
- Levi-Strauss, Claude. *Totemism*. New York: Harper & Row, 1963.
- Levi-Strauss, Claude. *The Savage Mind*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966.
- Levi-Strauss, Claude. *The Raw and the Cooked*. New York: Harper & Row, 1975.
- Lowenstein, Adam. "Films without a Face: Shock Horror in the Cinema of Georges Franju." *Cinema Journal* 37, no. 4 (1998): 37–58. doi:10.2307/1225726.
- Lowenstein, Adam. *Shocking Representation: Historical Trauma, National Cinema, and the Modern Horror Film*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005.
- Lusty, Natalya. "Eli Lotar's Para-urban Visions." In *Photography and Ontology: Unsettling Images*, edited by Donna West Brett and Natalya Lusty, 87–103. New York: Routledge, 2019. doi:10.4324/9781351187756-7.
- Morris, Desmond. *The Lives of the Surrealists*. London: Thames and Hudson, 2018.
- Morsink, Johannes. *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights: Origins, Drafting, and Intent*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999.
- Mullin, Molly H. "Mirrors and Windows: Sociocultural Studies of Human–Animal Relationships." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 28, no. 1 (1999): 201–224. doi:10.1146/annurev.anthro.28.1.201.
- Nadeau, Maurice. *The History of Surrealism*. New York: Macmillan, 1965.
- Noys, Benjamin. *Georges Bataille: A Critical Introduction*. London: Pluto Press, 2000.
- Parkinson, Gavin. "Emotional Fusion with the Animal Kingdom: Notes Toward a Natural History of Surrealism." In *The Art of Evolution: Darwin, Darwinisms, and Visual Culture*, edited by Barbara Larson and Fae Brauer, 262–287. Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 2009.
- Philipp, Elisabeth. "L'approvisionnement de Paris en viande et la logistique ferroviaire, le cas des abattoirs de La Villette, 1867-1974." *Revue d'histoire des chemin de fer* 41, no. 1 (2010): 113–141. doi:10.4000/rhcf.1170.
- Rabinovitch, Celia. *Surrealism and the Sacred: Power, Eros and the Occult in Modern Art*. Boulder, NC: Westview Press, 2004.
- Radcliffe-Brown, Alfred R. "The Sociological Theory of Totemism." In *Structure and Function in Primitive Society*, 117–132. New York: Free Press, 1965.
- Ray, Man. *La photographie n'est pas l'art*. Paris: GLM, 1937.

- Richardson, Michael. *Surrealism and Cinema*. Oxford: Berg, 2006.
- Richardson, Michael. "Surrealism and Film." In *The Colour of My Dreams: The Surrealist Revolution in Art*, edited by Dawn Ades, 99. Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 2011.
- Roberts, Donna. "The Ecological Imperative." In *Surrealism: Key Concepts*, edited by Krzysztof Fijalkowski and Michael Richardson, 217–227. New York: Routledge, 2016.
- Roberts, John. *Photography and Its Violations*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2014.
- Rowley, Francis H. "Slaughter House Reform." In Proceedings of the International Anti-Vivisection and Animal Protection Congress, held at Washington, DC, December 8-11, 1913, 49–52. New York: Tudor Press, 1914.
- Rubin, William S. *Dada, Surrealism, and Their Heritage*. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1968.
- Rumold, Rainer. "Archeo-Logies of Modernity in 'Transition' and 'Documents' 1929/30." *Comparative Literature Studies* 37, no. 1 (2000): 45–67. doi:10.1353/cls.2000.0005.
- Seabrook, William. *The Magic Island*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1929.
- Sibley, Agnes Marie. *Alexander Pope's Prestige in America, 1725-1835*. New York: King's Crown Press, 1949.
- Singer, Peter. *Animal Liberation*. New York: HarperCollins, 1975.
- Sloniowski, Jeannette. "'It Was an Atrocious Film': Georges Franju's *Blood of the Beasts*." In *Documenting the Documentary: Close Readings of Documentary Film and Video*, edited by Barry Keith Grant and Jeannette Sloniowski, 160–175. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2014.
- Sontag, Susan. *On Photography*. New York: Picador, 1977.
- Spies, Werner. "The Eye and the Word: Collected Writings on Art and Literature." In *Surrealism and Its Age*. Vol. 7. New York: Abrams, 2011.
- Strom, Kirsten. *The Animal Surreal: The Role of Darwin, Animals, and Evolution in Surrealism*. New York: Routledge, 2017.
- Surya, Michel. *Georges Bataille: An Intellectual Biography*. London: Verso, 2002.
- Walker, Ian. "Phantom Africa: Photography Between Surrealism and Ethnography." *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 37, no. 147 (1997): 635–655. doi:10.3406/cea.1997.1374.
- Walker, Ian. *City Gorged with Dreams: Surrealism and Documentary Photography in Interwar Paris*. New York: Manchester University Press, 2002.
- Warehime, Marja. "'Vision sauvage' and Images of Culture: Georges Bataille, Editor of *Documents*." *French Review* 60, no. 1 (1986): 39–45.

Thomas Aiello is a professor of history and Africana studies at Valdosta State University. He is the author of more than twenty books on American history. He holds PhDs in history and anthrozoology, and he also writes about the relationship between humans and animals, in particular the role of speciesism and human supremacy in creating vulnerabilities for nonhuman animals. He serves on the board of the Animals and Society Institute, the largest animal studies think tank in the United States. Learn more at www.thomasaiellobooks.com.
