

Notes for
Making Trouble:
Surrealism and the Human Sciences

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Preface

ii. “When Susan Sontag was asked” Susan Sontag, “The Art of Fiction,” interview with Edward Hirsch, *The Paris Review* 143, 1995.

Prologue—New York, December 1936

v. “Surrealism may amuse you” Faber and Faber advertisement in *Surrealism: Catalogue* (London: Women’s Printing Society, 1936), 9.

v. “Salvador Dalí nearly suffocating” Salvador Dalí, *The Secret Life of Salvador Dalí*, trans. Haakon M. Chevalier (New York: Dover, 1993), 344.

vi. “a serious public of scientists” Herbert Read, ed., *Surrealism* (New York: Harcourt Brace, nd [1937]), 19.

vi. “One sure thing” *Harper’s Bazaar*, November 1936, quoted in Deborah Solomon, *Utopia Parkway: The Life and Work of Joseph Cornell* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1997), 83.

vi. “most discussed exhibition” Solomon, *Utopia Parkway*, 83.

vi. “muddling the avant-garde and kitsch” I am alluding to Clement Greenberg, “The Avant-garde and Kitsch,” in *The Collected Essays and Criticism, Volume 1: Perceptions and Judgments, 1939-1944*, ed. John O’Brian (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

vi. “Inside the front door of Manhattan’s Museum of Modern Art” “Art: Marvelous and Fantastic,” *Time* XXVIII, No. 24 (14 December 1936).

vi-vii. “art book, anthology, lexicon, and manifesto” Julien Levy, ed., *Surrealism* (New York: Da Capo, 1995). This is the film critic J. Hoberman’s description, from the back cover.

vii. “a completely nude girl” Ingrid Schaffner, *Salvador Dalí’s Dream of Venus: The Surrealist Funhouse from the 1939 World’s Fair* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2002), 32.

vii-viii. “Barr admitted ... skeletal clarity” All quotations from Robert Rosenblum, foreword to 1986 edition of *Cubism and Abstract Art* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1986), 2–3, in Harriet S. Bee and Michelle Elligott, eds., *Art in Our Time: A Chronicle of the Museum of Modern Art* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2004), 45.

viii. “deep-seated and persistent interest” Alfred Barr, “Introduction” (1937), in Alfred Barr, ed., *Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, reprint edition, 1968), 9. Emphasis added.

viii. “a Brave New World of art” Robert Rosenblum, in Bee and Elligott, *Art in Our Time*, 45.

viii. “apparently Surrealist works” Barr, *Fantastic Art*, 7.

viii. “art of children and psychopaths” Barr, *Fantastic Art*, 13. See also 260–1.

viii. “specific intellectual ideal ... evident racial ideal” All quotations from *Entartete “Kunst”: Ausstellungsführer*, in Stephanie Barron, ed., *“Degenerate Art”: The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art/New York: Abrams, 1991), 376, 374.

ix. “at no time in the past four hundred years” Barr, *Fantastic Art*, 10.

x. “a form of social research into everyday life” Ben Highmore, *Everyday Life and Cultural Theory: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2002), 46.

x. “imprudence is a method” Gaston Bachelard, “Surrationalism,” in Levy, *Surrealism*, 188–189. Emphasis in original.

xi. “mechanized petrification” Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons (London: Allen and Unwin, 1930), 182.

I: An Accidental Sagacity

1–2. “Make sure you think your plan through ... analysis of data” All quotations from Economic and Social Research Council, “Writing a good proposal,” at <http://www.esrc.ac.uk/funding-and-guidance/applicants/application2.aspx> (accessed 15 February 2015). Emphasis added. The full list of questions is much longer.

2. “Fruitful empirical research not only tests theoretically-derived hypotheses” Robert K. Merton, “Sociological Theory,” *American Journal of Sociology* 50 (1945), quoted in Robert K. Merton and Elinor Barber, *The Travels and Adventures of Serendipity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), 141. Emphasis added.

2. “furniture, pictures, curiosities, &c.” Horace Walpole, *A Description of the Villa of Horace Walpole ... with an Inventory of the Furniture, Pictures, Curiosities &c.*, third edition as part of *The Works of Horace Walpole*, London, 1798, second edition of facsimile edition (London: Pallas Athene, 2015).

3. “all I could recover was” Horace Walpole, letter to Rev. William Cole, 9 March 1765, in *Letters of Horace Walpole*, Volume 2, ed. Charles Duke Yonge (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1890), 21. Emphasis added.

3. “the most particular and chief beauty of the castle” Horace Walpole, letter to Horace Mann, 12 June 1753, in *Letters of Horace Walpole*, Volume 1, ed. Charles Duke Yonge (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1890), 138.

3. “You will understand it better ... this description” All quotations from Horace Walpole, letter to Horace Mann, 28 January 1754. Quoted in Barber and Merton, *Serendipity*, 2.

3. “the discovery of things which the finder was not in search of” Edward Solly, letter of 3 August 1878, in *Notes & Queries* 5, vol. 10 (1878), 98. Quoted in Merton and Barber, *Serendipity*, 52.

4. “a receptive eye” Merton and Barber, *Serendipity*, 141.

4. “a well-known distinction” Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, trans. Richard Howard (London: Vintage, 2000), 25–27.

4. “Curiosity, wonder, openness” Roald Hoffmann, endorsing Merton and Barber’s *Serendipity*. Quoted on Princeton University Press website, <http://press.princeton.edu/quotes/q7576.html> (accessed 15 February 2015). Emphasis added.

4. “that sort of chance” André Breton, “Surrealist Situation of the Object: Situation of the Surrealist Object,” in André Breton, *Manifestoes of Surrealism*, trans. Richard Seaver and Helen R. Lane (Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 1972), 268.

4–5. “Merton and Barber’s wanderings ... ninety-first birthday” Quotations and information from Merton and Barber, *Serendipity*, xix.

5–6. “the determining ancestor ... canonical passage in the Shandean scripture” All quotations from Robert K. Merton, *On the Shoulders of Giants: A Shandean Postscript* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), xix. Emphasis added.

6. “That of all the several ways of beginning a book” Laurence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, Book VIII, Chapter II, as quoted in Merton, *On the Shoulders of Giants*, xxi.

6–7. “Shandean Method that is not a method ... cluttered up the inquiry” All quotations from Merton, *On the Shoulders of Giants*, xx–xxii. Merton is quoting his own 1968 book *Social Theory and Social Structure* in the passage beginning “rock-bound difference”

7. “‘anything goes’ ... closer look at history” Paul Feyerabend, *Against Method: Outline of an Anarchist Theory of Knowledge* (London: Verso, 1988), vii. Emphasis added.

2: The Bureau of Surrealist Research

9. “vagrancy, the freedom to drift” Teju Cole, endorsement to Brad Zellar (text) and Alec Soth (photographs), *House of Coates* (Minneapolis: Coffee House Press, 2014), back cover.

10. “an instrument of knowledge” Paul Éluard, “Poetic Evidence,” in Read, *Surrealism*, 179–180. Emphasis added.

10. “an open door on the unknown” “Le Bureau de Recherches surréalistes,” in *La Révolution Surréaliste 2* (1925), 31. Emphasis added.

10. “all the information possible ... their most curious dreams” All quotations from *Le Journal littéraire*, 11 October 1924, quoted in Gérard Durozoi, *History of the Surrealist Movement*, trans. Alison Anderson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 63. First emphasis added. For the French original see Paule Thévenin, ed., *Bureau de recherches surréalistes: Cahier de la permanence Octobre 1924–avril 1925*, Archives du surréalisme tome 1 (Paris: Gallimard, 1988), 107–108.

10–11. “an initial inventory” Thévenin, *Bureau de recherches surréalistes*, 17. The Bible was André Breton’s.

11. “vitrines, poster, ashtrays” This information from Thévenin, *Bureau de recherches surréalistes*, 19–21.

11. “decorating the Centrale” Thévenin, *Bureau de recherches surréalistes*, 27. The wild boar was a plaster cast, and headless: see Durozoi, *History*, 65. I am unsure what “la cloche Hasard” refers to.

11. “An atmosphere of effervescent research reigned” Durozoi, *History of the Surrealist Movement*, 65.

11. “the surrealists’ new journal” This has been republished in its entirety in facsimile as *La Révolution Surréaliste 1924–1929: collection complète nos. 1 à 12*, ed. Georges Sebbag (Paris: Jean-Michel Place, 1975).

11. “Surrealism doesn’t present itself” Announcement published in inside front cover of *La Révolution surréaliste 1* (December 1924).

12. “a poem by Reverdy” André Breton, letter to Comœdia, 24 August 1924. In Marguerite Bonnet, ed., *André Breton Œuvres complètes*, Vol. 1 (Paris: Gallimard, 1988), 1334. Emphasis added.

12. “Woman is the being” *La Révolution Surréaliste 1* (1924), 17.

12. “To Germaine Berton, who has done” Thévenin, *Bureau de recherches surréalistes*, 142.

12–13. “intend to savor fully the profound grief” André Breton, “Second Manifesto of Surrealism,” *Manifestoes of Surrealism*, 128–129.

13. “Péret photograph, Ernst painting” These can be found in *La Révolution Surréaliste 8* (1926), 13, 17.

13. “The world is the abyss of the soul” Antonin Artaud, “Adresse au Pape,” *La Révolution Surréaliste 3* (1925), 16.

13. “a pornographic pastiche” Louis Aragon, Benjamin Péret, and Man Ray, *1929*, reprint (Paris: Éditions Allia, 2004). The original was published anonymously in Brussels (and almost the entire edition confiscated by Customs at the French border).

13–14. “banquet for the symbolist poet Saint-Pol Roux” See Durozoi, *History of the Surrealist Movement*, 91–92. All quotations in this paragraph from this source.

14. “Procedurally it is my preference” Harold Garfinkel, “Studies of the Routine Grounds of Everyday Activities,” in *Studies in Ethnomethodology* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1967), 38. Emphasis added. The relation between surrealism and ethnomethodology is further discussed in Pierce J. Flynn, *The Ethnomethodological Movement: Sociosemiotic Interpretations* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991), ch. 7.

3: Systematic Bewildering

15. “a foundational text of scientific sociology” Emile Durkheim, *Suicide: A Study in Sociology*, trans. John Spaulding and George Simpson (Glencoe, IL: The Free Press, 1951).

15–16. “Addressing itself to all without distinction” *La Révolution Surréaliste* 1 (1924), 2.

16. “There is nothing more muddled than man” *La Révolution Surréaliste* 2 (1925), 2. The responses are presented thereafter, p. 2-17. An English translation by Mitchell Abidor is available as “Is Suicide a Solution?” at <https://www.marxists.org/history/france/surrealists/1925/suicide.htm> (accessed 26 March 2015).

16. “Suicide is a poorly made word” *La Révolution Surréaliste* 2 (1925), 12. Breton is quoting Théodore Jouffroy. He extends this line of thought at the beginning of *Nadja* (trans. Richard Howard, New York: Grove Press, 1960), when he famously answers the question “Who am I?” with another question, “Whom do I haunt?”

16. “The open-ended survey became a favorite surrealist tool” For many examples see Georges Sebbag, ed., *Enquêtes surréalistes: De Littérature à Minotaure 1919-1933*, 2 vols (Paris: Jean-Michel Place, 2004).

16. “‘desexualize’ woman” “Une enquête sur le striptease,” in *Le Surréalisme, même* 4 and 5 (1958), questions reprinted in José Pierre, ed., *Archives du surréalisme 4: Recherches sur la sexualité, janvier 1928-août 1932* (Paris: Gallimard, 1990), 203–204.

16. “brutally frank exploration of sexuality” “Recherches sur la sexualité. Part d’objectivité, déterminations individuelles, degré de conscience,” in *La Révolution Surréaliste* 11 (1928), 32–40. The transcripts of all the sessions are available in English in *Investigating Sex: Surrealist Discussions 1928-1932*, ed. José Pierre, trans. Malcolm Imrie (New York: Verso, 1992).

16–17. “the fiftieth anniversary of hysteria” Aragon and Breton, “Le cinquantenaire de l’hystérie,” in *La Révolution Surréaliste* 11 (1928), 20–22.

17. “the actual functioning of thought” André Breton, “Manifesto of Surrealism,” in *Manifestoes of Surrealism*, 26.

17. “one or more persons during a certain period” Guy Debord, “Theory of the Dérive,” in *Les Lèvres Nues* 9 (November 1956), reprinted in *Internationale Situationniste* 2 (December 1958), trans. Ken Knabb, Situationist International Online, <http://www.cddc.vt.edu/sionline/si/theory.html> (accessed 23 February 2015). In the same text Debord dismissed “the famous aimless wandering attempted in 1923 by four surrealists, beginning from a town chosen by lot” as “a dismal failure,” because “wandering in open country is naturally depressing, and the interventions of chance are poorer there than anywhere else.”

17. “the descent ... where black jazz musicians played” All quotations from Durozoi, *History of the Surrealist Movement*, 176.

18. “fruits of this ethnographic *flâneurie* ... bygone dreamworlds” I am referring to Louis Aragon, *Paris Peasant*, trans. Simon Watson Taylor (London: Cape, 1987); Philippe Soupault, *Last Nights of Paris*, trans. William Carlos Williams (Cambridge, MA: Exact Change, 1992); André Breton, *Nadja*; Charles Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*, trans. Jonathan Mayne (New York: Phaidon, 2005); and Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, ed. Roy Tiedemann, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999).

18. “go off to dream at the antique fair” André Breton, *Mad Love*, trans. Mary Ann Caws (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 28.

18. “games of chance” For many examples see Emmanuel Garrigues, ed., *Les jeux surréalistes Mars 1921–septembre 1962*, Archives du surréalisme, tome 5, (Paris: Gallimard, 1995); Georges Sebbag, ed., *en Jeux surréalistes* (Paris: Jean-Michel Place, 2004).

18. “an object [that] lends itself ... [surrealism’s] body of preoccupations” Breton, quoting Dalí, in “Surrealist Situation of the Object,” 276.

18. “super-objective correlate of the female sex” Eileen Agar, *A Look at My Life* (London: Methuen, 1988), 117.

19. “probably the most famous tea set in the world” Alfred Barr, *Fantastic Art*, 12.

19. “Born in 1901 in Buenos Aires” “E.L.T. Mesens Presents Living Art in England. Eileen Agar, Surrealist,” in *London Bulletin* 8–9 (January–February 1939), unpaginated.

19. “the modernist ‘white cube’ gallery” Alyce Mahon, *Surrealism and the Politics of Eros 1938-1968* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2005), 19, 55. See also Lewis Kachur, *Displaying the Marvelous: Marcel Duchamp, Salvador Dalí, and Surrealist Exhibition Installations* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001).

19. “vaginal corridor, uterine chamber” The descriptions are from Mahon, *Surrealism and the Politics of Eros*, 50–52.

19. “surrealist dancer” and “Iris of mists” André Breton and Paul Éluard, *Dictionnaire abrégé du surréalisme*, facsimile reprint of 1938 original (Paris: José Corti, 2005), 76. This “dictionary” was published to accompany the exhibition.

19. “gyrating, wailing and wrestling with a live rooster” Mahon, *Surrealism and the Politics of Eros*, 52. The usual English translation of the term *acte manqué*—of which a so-called “Freudian slip” would be a verbal instance—is parapraxis.

20. “only too premonitory ... a posteriori” All quotations from André Breton, “Before the Curtain,” in *Free Rein*, trans. Michel Parmentier and Jacqueline d’Ambroise (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 80–81.

20–21. “The whole technical effort of Surrealism ... render conditions favorable” All quotations from André Breton, “Surrealist Situation of the Object,” 275, quoting Max Ernst, “Beyond Painting” (1934). Emphasis added. Two versions of Ernst’s text are available in Max Ernst and others, *Beyond Painting* (Chicago: Solar Books, 2009).

21. “the marvelous ability to reach out” André Breton, “Max Ernst,” in *The Lost Steps*, ed. and trans. Mark Polizzotti (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 60–61.

21–22. “breaking through the plausibility barrier ... density of unexpected encounters” All quotations from Milan Kundera, *Testaments Betrayed*, trans. Linda Asher (New York: HarperCollins, 1995), 50–53.

4: The Photographic Uncanny

23. “Lee Miller (re)discovered solarization” The Sabatier effect, as it is called, had been known in the nineteenth century, but Miller and Ray were the first modern photographers to explore its uses as a deliberate photographic technique.

23. “wider reevaluations of the surrealist legacy” See, for example, Rosalind Krauss and Jane Livingstone, *L’Amour fou: Photography and Surrealism* (Washington: Corcoran Gallery/New York: Abbeville Press, 1985); Marion Diez, ed., *La Subversion des images: Surréalisme Photographie Film* (Paris: Centre Pompidou, 2009).

23. “The error of the surrealist militants” Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Rosetta Books, 2005), 41. Emphasis added.

24. “The marvelous is not the same” Breton, “Manifesto of Surrealism,” in *Manifestoes of Surrealism*, 16.

24. “the one art ... reality in the second degree” All quotations from Sontag, *On Photography*, 39–40.

24. “The Czech surrealist Jindřich Štyrský’s images” For examples see Karel Srp, *Jindřich Štyrský* (Prague: Torst, 2001). The influence of Atget, whom the surrealists fêted, is very evident.

24–25. “Lee Miller’s photographs of London during the Blitz” Lee Miller, *Grim Glory: Pictures of Britain under Fire*, ed. Ernestine Carter (London: Lund, Humphries, 1941).

25. “grim skeletal corpses ... illogicality of war” Antony Penrose, “Afterword,” in *Lee Miller’s War: Photographer and Correspondent with the Allies in Europe 1944–5*, ed. Antony Penrose (London: Thames and Hudson, 2005), 205.

25. “surrealism has always courted accidents ... automated machine” All quotations from Sontag, *On Photography*, 39–41.

25. “magical-circumstantial and exploding-fixed” See Breton, *Mad Love*, 10–19. These are two of his three categories of “convulsive beauty” (the other being “erotic-veiled”). It is instructive that the French edition of Rosalind Krauss and Jennifer Livingstone’s classic *L’Amour fou: Photography and Surrealism* is titled *Explosante-Fixe: photographie et surréalisme* (Paris: Hazan, 2002).

25. “Henri Cartier-Bresson’s ‘decisive moment’” “To me, photography is the simultaneous recognition, in a fraction of a second, of the significance of an event as well as of a precise organization of forms which give that event its proper expression.” *The Decisive Moment: Photography by Henri-Cartier Bresson* (Berlin: Steidl, 2014), unpaginated foreword.

25. “there is always a defeat of Time” Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 96. Breton expands on the notion of petrifying coincidence in *Nadja*.

25–26. “photography itself ... association of objects” All quotations from Humphrey Jennings, “Who Does That Remind You Of?” *London Bulletin* 6 (October 1938), 21.

26–27. “earliest surrealist photographs ... Weegee's *Naked City*” All quotations from Sontag, *On Photography*, 39–41. Emphasis added.

27. “We might want to add to this list” Robert Frank, *The Americans* (Berlin: Steidl, 2008); Bill Owens, *Suburbia* (New York: FotoFolio, 1999); William Eggleston, *The Democratic Forest* (New York: Doubleday, 1989); Daido Moriyama, *Shinjuku* (Tucson, AZ: Nazraeli, 2002); Martin Parr, *The Last Resort* (London: Dewi Lewis, 2009); Alec Soth, *Songbook* (New York: Mack, 2014).

27. “deliberately random” The description is from Sontag, *On Photography*, 48.

27. “I think people like the book ... couldn't explain” All quotations from Nicholas Dawidoff, “The Man Who Saw America: Looking back with Robert Frank, the most influential photographer alive,” *New York Times Magazine* (July 2, 2015).

27–28. “an amazement ... indefatigable expression” All quotations from Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 3–4.

28. “It is as if the Photograph ... objects in the world” All quotations from Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 5–6.

28–29. “We know reality only in the past tense” Kundera, *Testaments Betrayed*, 128–129.

29–30. “*agents provocateurs* within institutional archives ... evidence of disorder and disarray” All quotations from Craig Campbell, “The Ephemerality of Surfaces: Damage and Manipulation in the Photographic Image,” in Kyler Zeleny, ed., *Materialities* (London: Velvet Cell Pocketbooks 1, 2016), 57–87. Emphasis added. I quote from the manuscript version of the essay. See also Craig Campbell, *Agitating Images: Photography against History in Indigenous Siberia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014).

30. “whose influence touched me to the core” André Breton, *Conversations: the Autobiography of Surrealism*, trans. Mark Polizzotti (New York: Marlowe, 1993), 17–18. Breton first met Vaché (as a wounded officer) in February 1916 in the military hospital in Nantes. Vaché's concept of “umor” was at the root of Breton's “black humor,” which I discuss below.

30. “a frock-coat, a mathematical frock-coat” Georges Bataille, “L'Informe,” *Documents* 1, no. 1 (1929), trans. in Georges Bataille et al., *Encyclopedia Acephalica*, ed. Alastair Brotchie (London: Atlas Press, 1995), 51–52. “Déclasser” has also been translated as “to bring things down in the world.”

5: The Ethnographic Surreal

31. “a pervasive—perhaps dominant—modern *sensibility* ... the unconscious” All quotations from James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 118. Emphasis added.

31. “The manifesto was published” “Second manifeste du surréalisme,” in *La Révolution Surréaliste* 12 (1929), 1–17. English translation available in Breton, *Manifestoes of Surrealism*, 117–194. The lips belonged to Suzanne Muzard, Gala Éluard, Marie-Berthe Ernst, Jeanette Tanguy, Alice Apfel, Yvonne Goemans, and Elsa Triolet.

32. “a great big soft strumpet” Georges Bataille, “The Castrated Lion,” in *The Absence of Myth: Writings on Surrealism*, ed. and trans. Michael Richardson (London: Verso, 2006), 28–29. Michael Richardson (who edited the volume) tells me “strumpet” is a proofreader’s error; it should have read “strumpot,” after Alfred Jarry’s *Père Ubu*. I can only suggest it is a fortuitous acte manqué. *Un Cadavre* contained contributions from Bataille, Georges Limbour, Robert Desnos, Raymond Queneau, Michel Leiris, Alejo Carpentier, Jacques Baron, Jacques Prévert, Roger Vitrac, Max Morise, Georges Ribemont-Dessaignes, and Jacques-André Boiffard. Bataille later wrote that he “came to hate this pamphlet as I hated the polemical parts of the Second Manifesto” (“Notes on the Publication of *Un cadavre*,” in his *Absence of Myth*, 32).

32. “surrealism’s old enemy” Georges Bataille, “On the Subject of Slumbers,” in *The Absence of Myth*, 49.

32. “a pitiable treasure-trove” Georges Bataille, “The ‘Old Mole’ and the prefix Sur in the words Surhomme (Superman) and Surrealist,” in *Visions of Excess*, ed. Allan Stoekl (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 39.

32. “who took over direction of the Bureau” See “Réunion du 23 janvier 1925 au bar Certà,” in Thévenin, *Bureau de recherches surréalistes*, 115.

32. “Glossary of the Marvelous” See “Réunion du 27 janvier 1925 au bar Certà,” in Thévenin, *Bureau de recherches surréalistes*, 117.

32. “a Janus-faced publication” Michel Leiris, “From Bataille the Impossible to the Impossible Documents,” in Georges Bataille and Michel Leiris, *Correspondence*, ed. Louis Yvert, trans. Liz Heron (Oxford: Seagull Books, 2008), 14.

32. “Ekoi ritual dance masks ... Mexican baroque” These examples are taken from *Documents* 7 (1929) and 5 (1930). The full contents of the magazine are listed in Dawn Ades and Simon Baker, *Undercover Surrealism: Georges Bataille and DOCUMENTS* (London: Hayward Gallery, 2006), 258–9. The full set of *Documents* is available in facsimile (Paris: Jean-Michel Place, 1991).

32–33. “The journal’s basic method is juxtaposition ... musical instrument” Clifford, *Predicament of Culture*, 132. For a more critical view of Bataille and *Documents* see Franklin Rosemont, “Introduction: Invisible Surrealists,” in Franklin Rosemont and Robin D. G. Kelly, eds., *Black, Brown, and Beige: Surrealist Writings from Africa and the Diaspora* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2009), 11.

33–34 “it is in the form of cathedrals ... places in which blood flows” All quotations from Georges Bataille et al., *Encyclopedia Acephalica*, 35, 64, 72–73. The entries in the Critical Dictionary are reproduced in full in this anthology.

34. “Elie Lotar’s photographs” Many of these images are reproduced in Diez, *La Subversion des images*, 134, 223, 265–267, and Ades and Baker, *Undercover Surrealism*, 106–111.

34. “If in some smothering dreams you too could pace” Wilfred Owen, “Dulce et Decorum Est,” at <http://www.warpoetry.co.uk/owen1.html> (accessed 30 May 2016).

34. “loose from its attachments” Clifford, *Predicament of Culture*, 119.

34–35. “On the first of August 1914” “An Informal Life of M.E. (as told by himself to a young friend),” in *Max Ernst* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1991), 10.

35. “The German gunner, Max Ernst” Éluard, “Poetic Evidence,” in Read, *Surrealism*, 181.

35. “‘For us,’ Ernst later explained” Max Ernst, quoted in Rudolf Kuenzli, ed., *Dada* (New York: Phaidon, 2006), 31.

35–36. “the world was permanently surrealist ... *making the familiar strange*” All quotations from Clifford, *Predicament of Culture*, 120–121. Emphasis added.

36–37. “To know and understand one’s own culture ... aspect of human nature” All quotations from Claude Lévi-Strauss, “The End of the West’s Cultural Supremacy,” in *Anthropology Confronts the Problems of the Modern World*, trans. Jane Marie Todd (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013), 30–31, 37. Emphasis added.

37. “rediscover, reunite and resume” *Minotaure* 1, no. 1 (1933), unpaginated front matter (reprint, Geneva: Skira, 1981).

37. “The second was entirely devoted” *Minotaure* 1, no. 2 (1933).

37. “Leiris published his diaries” Michel Leiris, *L’Afrique fantôme* (Paris: Gallimard, 2008).

38. “the best art review in the world” Brassai, *Conversations with Picasso*, trans. Jane-Marie Todd (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 7, 13.

38. “the great man’s refusal to cut open a Mexican jumping bean” See Roger Caillois to André Breton, 17 December 1934, in Roger Caillois, *The Edge of Surrealism: A Roger Caillois Reader*, ed. Claudine Frank (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 85.

38. “The project of the Collège” See Georges Bataille and Roger Caillois, “Sacred Sociology of the Contemporary World,” in Dennis Hollier, ed., *The College of Sociology 1937–9* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), 157–158.

38. “Myth will be found” Roger Caillois, *Man and the Sacred*, trans. Meyer Barash (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 163.

38. “exhausting and ruinous festivals” Caillois, *Man and the Sacred*, 98, 126.

38–39. “The primitive festival ... *war*” All quotations from Caillois, *Man and the Sacred*, Appendix 3 (1949), 164–165.

6: An Insurrection Against History

41. “rather more belatedly and in ways that remain contentious” Non-Europeans and women played a significantly greater role in surrealism than any other major twentieth-century western avant-garde literary or artistic movement. For examples see Rosemont and Kelly, *Black, Brown, and Beige*; and Penelope Rosemont, ed., *Surrealist Women: An International Anthology* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1998)—a revelatory collection. This has not stopped some feminists from criticizing surrealist art as deeply and inherently misogynist; see e.g. Mary Ann Caws, Rudolf Kuenzli, and Gwen Raaberg, eds., *Women and Surrealism* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991).

41. “the imbecilic cruelties of white decadence ... yellow skin” All quotations from Paul Éluard, “La suppression de l’esclavage,” in *La Révolution Surréaliste* 3 (1925), 19.

41. “absolute detachment ... *insurrection against History*” All quotations from “La Révolution d’abord et toujours!” in Marguerite Bonnet, ed., *Vers l’action politique: Juillet 1925–avril 1926*, Archives de surréalisme 2 (Paris: Gallimard, 1988), 161–162. Emphasis added. The entire Paris surrealist group signed this tract along with members of the Clarté group and others (like Georges Ribemont-Dessaignes). It was published in *L’humanité* (21 September 1925), *Clarté*, and *La Révolution Surréaliste*.

42. “several other members of the Paris surrealist group” Those who joined the PCF with Breton were Paul Éluard, Louis Aragon, Benjamin Péret, and Pierre Unik. Éluard was also expelled in 1933, though he rejoined in February 1942 as an active member of the French Resistance.

42. “Manifesto of the 121” The formal title of the manifesto was “Déclaration sur le droit à l’insoumission dans la guerre d’Algérie” [Declaration of the right of insubordination in the Algerian War]. The text was written by Dionys Mascolo, Maurice Blanchot, and the surrealist Jean Schuster. Robert Benayoun, Vincent Bounoure, Adrien Dax, Yves Ellouet, and Jean-Claude Silbermann were other members of the Paris surrealist group to sign, as did Michel Leiris and André Masson. The signatories also included Simone de Beauvoir, Pierre Boulez, Guy Debord, Marguerite Duras, Henri Lefebvre, Alain Robbe-Grillet, Françoise Sagan, Jean-Paul Sartre, and François Truffaut. The full text is available at http://www.liberation.fr/cahier-special/1998/01/12/algerie-manifeste-des-121-declaration-sur-le-droit-a-l-insoumission-dans-la-guerre-d-algerie_544819 (accessed 21 May 2015).

42. “the fetishes of the West” Durozoi, *History of the Surrealist Movement*, 221. Many would nowadays argue that there is irony, if not hypocrisy, in the surrealists’ own appropriations of such objects (including by Leiris during the Djibouti exhibition).

42–43. “The surrealists’ description of these objects ... forced labor and disease” All quotations from “Premier bilan de l’Exposition Coloniale,” 1931 leaflet, reproduced at <http://www.andrebretton.fr/work/56600100308460> (accessed 3 June 2015).

43. “co-authored a manifesto” André Breton and Leon Trotsky, “For an Independent Revolutionary Art,” in André Breton, *What Is Surrealism? Selected Writings*, ed. Franklin Rosemont (New York: Pathfinder, 1978). Diego Riviera was originally credited as Breton’s co-author.

43. “his apartment at 42 rue Fontaine” The contents of Breton’s apartment, where—his wartime exile aside—he lived from 1922 to his death could easily have provided the material for another section to this essay. I have discussed them in detail elsewhere (Derek Sayer, *Prague: Capital of the Twentieth Century: A Surrealist History* [Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013], 428–433). They were dispersed by auction in 2002: an event that recalled the 1842 Great Sale at Horace Walpole’s Strawberry Hill, which I discuss below. The items sold are recorded in the lavishly illustrated 8-vol. auction catalogue *André Breton: 42 rue Fontaine* (Paris: Calmelscohen, 2003). The wall behind Breton’s desk in his study has been reconstructed in the Centre Pompidou (a gift by the Breton estate to the French state in lieu of inheritance taxes) and accompanying DVD. See also Julien Gracq, *42 rue Fontaine: L’atelier d’André Breton* (Paris: Adam Biro, 2003).

43–44. “Germans, Austrians, Czechs ... the rising sun” All quotations from André Breton, *Martinique: Snake Charmer*, trans. David W. Seaman (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2008), 65–66.

44. “We were to become firm friends” Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes Tropiques*, trans. John Russell (New York: Criterion Books, 1961), 26.

44–45 “what was said was just what needed to be said ... supreme example of dignity” All quotations from Breton, *Martinique*, 86–88. Emphasis added.

45. “utterly crucial and decisive” Quoted in Mark Polizzotti, *Revolution of the Mind: The Life of André Breton* (New York: Da Capo, 1997), 498, from Alain Virmaux, *André Breton (Qui êtes-vous?)* (Paris: La manufacture, 1987), 103–104.

45–46. “From America ... he returned with splendors” Jean Schuster, “1946–1966, les années maudites,” in Angliviel de la Beaumelle, Isabel Monod-Fontaine, and Claude Schweisguth, eds., *André Breton: La beauté convulsive* (Paris: Centre Pompidou, 1991), 398.

46. “Who today could deny the radical power of surrealism?” Georges Bataille, “Surrealism and How It Differs from Existentialism,” in *The Absence of Myth*, 57. Originally published in *Critique* 2 (July 1946).

46. “all the types of reasoning” André Breton, *Arcanum 17*, trans. Zack Rogow (Los Angeles: Sun and Moon Press, 1994), 65.

46–47. “This crisis is so severe” Breton, *Arcanum 17*, 61–62. Emphasis added.

47. “the procedures employed with certain female members” Simone Breton, entry in *Cahier de la permanence*, in Thévenin, *Bureau de recherches surréalistes*, 75.

7: Savage Civilization

49. “did not enjoy university positions” Charles Madge would later hold the first chair in sociology at Birmingham University from 1950–1970.

49. “not popular with the academic establishment” One interviewee in David Attenborough’s film *Tom Harrisson: The Barefoot Anthropologist* calls Harrisson “the Antichrist of anthropology.” See <http://www.iconfilms.co.uk/productions/past-productions/tom-harrisson-the-barefoot-anthropologist.html> (accessed 1 March 2015).

49–50. “Fourteen months as a reporter ... concealed desires” All quotations from Charles Madge, “Press, radio, and social consciousness,” in C. Day Lewis, ed., *The Mind in Chains: Socialism and the Cultural Revolution* (London: Frederick Muller, 1937), 160.

50. “the first thoroughgoing article on the specificity of English surrealism” Michel Remy, *Surrealism in Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 32. Madge even claims John Stuart Mill for surrealism, since he “excuses even an improper use of a term, when, by means of it, some familiar association is called up which brings the meaning home to the mind, as it were by a flash.” C. H. Madge, “Surrealism for the English,” *New Verse* 6 (December 1933), 17.

50. “be bought for sixpence” G.E.C., “Why?” *New Verse* 1 (January 1933), 2.

50. “surrealism is not a literary school ... surrealist laboratory” All quotations from Charles Madge, “The Meaning of Surrealism,” *New Verse* 10 (1934), 13. Madge is quoting Georges Hugnet here.

50–51. “Floods are frequent ... no debts were paid” Charles Madge, “Bourgeois News,” *New Verse* 19 (Feb.–March 1936), 7–8.

51. “six items, one of them a satirical collage” *Surrealism: Catalogue*, 20.

51. “*The Impact of Machines* exhibition” See *London Bulletin* 4–5 (1938), special double issue on “The Impact of Machines.” This contains texts by Elton, Mesens, Jennings, Breton, Madge, Stuart Legg and others and a full catalogue of exhibits (5–12). These were organized under the headings: 1. Machines before the 19th century; 2. Engineers’ drawings; 3. Romance of machines; 4. The anatomy of machines; 5. Humour and caricature; 6. Naive views of machines; 7. Impact on modern painting. The latter section included works by Calder, De Chirico, Duchamp, Ernst, Lett Haines, Jennings, Leger, Magritte, Picabia, Man Ray, and E. Stewart-Jones.

51. “a solo exhibition” Jennings’s exhibition lasted from 14 October through 12 November. The catalogue of exhibits was published in *London Bulletin* 6 (1938), 20.

51. “co-translated Benjamin Péret’s *Remove Your Hat*” Benjamin Péret, *Remove Your Hat*, trans. Humphrey Jennings and David Gascoyne (London: Roger Broughton Contemporary Poetry and Prose Editions, 1936).

51. “one of the earliest (and best) books on surrealism” David Gascoyne, *A Short Survey of Surrealism* (London: Enitharmon Press, 2000).

51. “major accent, eternal and modern” Paul Éluard, “Note,” in Péret, *Remove Your Hat*, 6.

51. “joined the Communist Party” David Gascoyne: Interview by Mike Plumbley (Isle of Wight, 1994). *Critique*, nd.
<http://critique-magazine.com/article/gascoyne.html> (accessed 25 September 2015).

52. “‘Coincidences’ have the infinite freedom ... *La Révolution Surréaliste*” All quotations from Humphrey Jennings, “Surrealism,” *Contemporary Poetry and Prose* 8 (December 1936), reproduced in Kevin Jackson, ed., *The Humphrey Jennings Film Reader* (Manchester: Carcanet Press, 2004), 220.

52. “I see a thousand strange sights” Humphrey Jennings, “I See London,” in Jackson, *Humphrey Jennings Film Reader*, 297. Is it just me who hears a premonition of Bob Dylan’s “Hard Rain” in Jennings’ cadences here?

53. “a little known matter of great importance ... much of it valuable” All quotations from T. H. Harrison and P. A. D. Hollom, *The Great Crested Grebe Inquiry*, 1931, at
https://britishbirds.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/article_files/V26/V26_N03/V26_N03_P062_092_A013.pdf (accessed 31 May 2016). Emphasis added.

53. “liked and was liked” Angus Calder and Dorothy Sheridan, eds., *Speak for Yourself: A Mass-Observation Anthology 1937–1949* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 5.

53–54. “Ever after ... Hollywood movie” All quotations from Judith M. Heimann, “Harrison, Tom Harnett,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/31205?docPos=1> (accessed 1 March 2015). Harrison himself was the subject of the film, an “Oxford in the jungle” story, as he describes in *Savage Civilisation* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1937, Left Book Club edition, third impression), under the title “Hollywood (Ho! Ho!)” (424–431). He saw the black humor of the situation: “Life was an ascending fantasy. To fail in two universities and come out on behalf of a third whom I had just assaulted in print; to come out as a biologist; deflower the highest peak, last virgin thing; to drift into beachcomber, ‘going native’; rise from the ranks to a signed up civil servant, sworn to bring about the end of the savagery which I most admired; finally to deform the ultimate desecration, film my cannibals, drift home for Hollywood” (424).

54. “decided that it was worth employing me” Tom Harrison, *Savage Civilisation*, 420.

54. “an outline of tribal life in north-west Malekula”
Harrison, *Savage Civilisation*, 15.

54–55. “period of vigorous and vicious exploitation ...
European civilisation” All quotations from Harrison,
Savage Civilisation, 125. Emphasis added.

55. “Octopus ... coconut palms” All quotations from
Harrison, *Savage Civilisation*, 241.

55. “So clean ... girl in a white pinafore” All quotations
from Harrison, *Savage Civilisation*, 284.

55. “We have brought these fine people low”
Harrison, *Savage Civilisation*, 423.

55–56. “This is not a story of decadence ... arts of life”
Harrison, *Savage Civilisation*, 8.

56. “Pattern in Chaos” Harrison, *Savage Civilisation*,
9–10.

8: The Anthropology of Ourselves

57. “that anthropological study of our own civilisa-
tion” Geoffrey Pyke, “King and Country,” *New
Statesman and Nation* (12 December 1936), 974.

57–58. “English anthropology ... mass science” All
quotations from Charles Madge, “Anthropology at
Home,” *New Statesman and Nation* (2 January 1937),
12.

58. “I have a brother” T. H. Harrison, “Coconut
Moon: A Philosophy of Cannibalism, in the New
Hebrides,” *New Statesman and Nation* (2 January
1937), 12–13. This began life as what Harrison says
was “the only part of [*Savage Civilisation*] that was
written in the islands.” See *Savage Civilisation*,
387–394.

58–59. “We are [...] working out a complete plan of
campaign ... midwives” Tom Harrison, Humphrey
Jennings, and Charles Madge, “Anthropology at
Home,” *New Statesman and Nation* (30 January
1937), 155.

59. “shattered ... wild profusion of existing things” All
quotations from Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things:
An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York:
Vintage, 1994), xv.

59. “coalminers, factory hands, shopkeepers ... example of the method in action” All quotations from Humphrey Jennings and Charles Madge with T. O. Beachcroft, Julian Blackburn, William Empson, Stuart Legg, and Kathleen Raine, eds., *May the Twelfth: Mass-Observation Day-Surveys 1937 by over two hundred observers* (London: Faber and Faber, 1937), ix–x.

60. “The original purpose of the Day Surveys ... what it looks like to them” All quotations from Charles Madge and Tom Harrison, *The First Year’s Work* (London: Lindsay Drummond, 1938), 66.

60. “we, who have made no effort whatsoever to filter” André Breton, “Manifesto of Surrealism,” in *Manifestoes of Surrealism*, 27–29. Emphasis added.

60. “counteract the tendency ... divina voluptas” All quotations from Charles Madge and Tom Harrison, *Mass-Observation* (London: Frederick Muller, 1937), 29–30. The *divina voluptas* allusion is to Lucretius’ *De Rerum Natura*, book 3, lines 28–29, where the poet talks of being “overcome by a certain divine pleasure and dread” (*quaedam divina voluptas percipit atque horror*) at realizing the majesty of the universe. The coupling of opposites—pleasure and dread—is interesting, in the present context.

61. “In taking up the role of observer” Charles Madge and Humphrey Jennings, “Poetic Description and Mass-Observation,” *New Verse* 24 (1937), 3. Emphasis added.

61. “did not encumber themselves ... adventitious” All quotations from Bronislaw Malinowski, “A Nationwide Intelligence Service,” in Madge and Harrison, *The First Year’s Work*, 85–86. Malinowski was nevertheless generally supportive of Mass-Observation’s project, including contributing a lengthy article to *The First Year’s Work*.

61–62. “a clearly stated plan of inquiry ... irrelevant crude fact” All quotations from Raymond Firth, “An Anthropologists’ View of Mass-Observation,” *Sociological Review* 31, no. 2 (1939), 178–179.

62. “the sociological law of universal validity” Malinowski, “A Nationwide Intelligence Service,” 85.

62. “representative objective record of real opinion” Firth, “An Anthropologists’ View of Mass-Observation,” 179.

62–63. “serious offenses against the rules of sociological method” Michel Leiris to Georges Bataille, letter of 3 July 1939, in Hollier, *College of Sociology*, 354.

63. “*The first and most basic rule*” Emile Durkheim, *The Rules of Sociological Method*, ed. Steven Lukes, trans. W. D. Halls (New York: The Free Press, 1982), 60.

63. “to treat them as *data*” Durkheim, *Rules*, 69.

63. “*systematically discard all preconceptions*” Durkheim, *Rules*, 72.

63. “The subject demands the minimum of prejudice” Harrison, Jennings, and Madge, “Anthropology at Home,” *New Statesman and Nation* (30 January 1937), 155. Emphasis added.

9: Surrealist histories

65. “*May the Twelfth*, with its quotations from Confucius” Kevin Jackson, *Humphrey Jennings Film Reader*, xiv.

66. “such earlier texts as ‘One-Way Street’” “One-Way Street,” in *Walter Benjamin Selected Writings: Volume 1, 1913–1926*, ed. Marcus Bullock and Michael W. Jennings (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1996), 444–488. See further Highmore, *Everyday Life and Cultural Theory*, 60–74.

66. “a considered and rigorous methodology” I discuss Benjamin’s methodology in more detail in *Prague, Capital of the Twentieth Century*, 1–7.

66–67. “Method of this project ... crystal of the total event” All quotations from Benjamin, *Arcades Project*, 458–461. Emphasis added.

67. “wheels with cogs and gears” Sophie Bernard, “Hannah Höch: Schnitt mit dem Küchenmesser Dada,” in Laurent Le Bon, ed., *Dada* (Paris: Centre Pompidou, 2005), 494.

67. “not-yet conscious knowledge ... politics and history emerges” All quotations from Benjamin, *Arcades Project*, 388–390.

68. “It’s not that what is past casts its light” Benjamin, *Arcades Project*, 462. Emphasis added.

68. “moment of awakening” Benjamin, *Arcades Project*, 464. Emphasis added.

68. “texts on the Impact of the Machine” Humphrey Jennings, “Do Not Lean Out of the Window,” *London Bulletin* 4–5 (July 1938), 13–16, reprinted in Jackson, *Humphrey Jennings Film Reader*, 221–225.

68. “a posthumous (and much abridged) edition” Humphrey Jennings, *Pandaemonium 1660–1886: The Coming of the Machine as Seen by Contemporary Observers*, ed. Marie-Louise Jennings and Charles Madge (London: Icon Books, 2012). At 376 pages, writes Marie-Louise Jennings, “the present book is around one third of the original text” (xxviii).

69. “any misconception that *Pandaemonium* was an anthology” Marie-Louise Jennings, in Humphrey Jennings, *Pandaemonium*, xxvii.

69. “Humphrey Jennings’s conception of the all-importance of the image” David Gascoyne, “Humphrey Jennings,” in David Gascoyne, *Selected Prose 1934–1996*, ed. Roger Scott (London: Enitharmon Press, 1998), 334.

69. “a distinct genre he identifies as ‘surrealist histories’” Michael Saler, “Whigs and Surrealists: the ‘Subtle Links’ of Humphrey Jennings’s *Pandaemonium*,” in George K. Behlmer and Fred M. Leventhal, eds., *Singular Continuities: Tradition, Nostalgia, and Identity in Modern British Culture* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), 124. Emphasis added. This essay, which Michael kindly sent me having read my *Prague, Capital of the Twentieth Century*, was one of the stimuli for my writing the present pamphlet.

70. “In this book I present ... *the whole inexpressible uncapturable process*” All quotations from Jennings, *Pandaemonium*, xiii–xiv. Emphasis added.

71. “The owl of Minerva” G.F.W. Hegel, “Preface,” in *Philosophy of Right*, trans. S.W. Dyde (Kitchener, Ontario: Batoche Books, 2001), 20.

71. “the other side of making western history coherent” See (among many other postcolonial critiques) Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007).

71. “the angel of history” Walter Benjamin, “On the Concept of History,” in *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings, Vol. 4*, ed. Howard Eiland and Michael W. Jennings (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003), 392.

72. “the pattern of words to fit the pattern in fact; *angular fact*” Harrison, *Savage Civilisation*, 8. Emphasis added. This is in response to friends who are “unanimously agreed that the prose style is at times unsatisfactory, unpolished.” He continues: “Literary values are inclined to be upset by a few years living among people who regard writing as ludicrous; who express their lives in memory and motion, in patterns of colour and dance.”

72. “Long after Octavio Paz ... joining fragments to yield a ‘voice of voices’” All quotations from Ronald Christ, “Dramas that Scorch,” *The New York Times* (Books section, October 27, 1985). Emphasis added.

72–73. “I don’t know what literary form ... statuary bronze and monumental marble” All quotations from Eduardo Galeano, *Memory of Fire: Genesis*, trans. Cedric Belfrage (New York: Pantheon, 1985), xv. Emphasis added. The other volumes in the trilogy are *Faces and Masks* (1987) and *Century of the Wind* (1988).

73. “*Yo lo vi*” This is Goya’s caption to plate 44 in the series. See *Goya: Caprichos, Desastres, Tauromaquia, Disparates. Reproducción completa de las cuatro series* (Barcelona: Gustavo Gilli, 1980), 127.

73. “1537: Rome” Galeano, *Memory of Fire: Genesis*, 98. Here and in the following two extracts the words in (Galeano’s) italics are quoted directly from primary sources.

74. “1625: Samayac” Galeano, *Memory of Fire: Genesis*, 204–205.

74. “1908: San Andrés de Sotavento” Eduardo Galeano, *Memory of Fire: Century of the Wind*, trans. Cedric Belfrage (New York: Pantheon, 1988), 14.

10: Anne Boleyn’s Clock

75. “Where the Gothic Castle now stands ... the noted toy-woman” All quotations from Horace Walpole, *A Description of the Villa*, 399.

75. “the castle I am building of my ancestors” Quoted in Nigel Richardson, “Strawberry Hill house: blast from a Gothic past,” *Daily Telegraph* (9 October 2010), at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/destinations/europe/uk/london/8050529/Strawberry-Hill-House-blast-from-a-Gothic-past.html> (accessed 30 March 2015).

75. “little plaything-house ... got out of Mrs Chenevix’s shop” All quotations from Walpole, letter to H. S. Conway, 8 June 1747, in *Letters of Horace Walpole, Vol. 1*, 111.

75–76. “the first building to be Gothic inside and outside” Quoted in Richardson, “Strawberry Hill house.”

76. “Strawberry Hill has also been claimed” See Roderick Conway Morris, “The Gothic Pioneer Horace Walpole Finally Gets His Due,” *The New York Times* (March 22, 2011).

76. “confabulate” “Psychiatry: Fabricate imaginary experiences as compensation for loss of memory” (*Oxford English Dictionary*).

76. “I am almost as fond of the Sharawaggi” Quoted in Christopher Tunnard, *Gardens in the Modern Landscape: A Facsimile of the Revised 1948 Edition* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 61. Tunnard’s book—a modernist manifesto—originated in a series of articles in *Architectural Review* in 1937–1938. He goes on: “The term *sharawaggi* (*sharawadji*) is probably not of Chinese origin.” According to J.S. Curl, “It would appear that *sharawadji* is a corruption of the Japanese, filtered through Dutch, probably misheard by the C17 visitors to the Japanese gardens at Kyoto” (*A Dictionary of Architecture and Landscape Architecture* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000]). The word was introduced into English in 1690 by Sir William Temple, who had been British ambassador at Kyoto.

76. “The theorists of Sharawadgi” Tunnard, *Gardens in the Modern Landscape*, 61.

76. “giving the impression of the accretions of age” John Iddon, *Strawberry Hill and Horace Walpole: Essential Guide* (London: Scala, 2011), 8.

76. “roof, battlement and mantelpieces ... ‘gloomth’ (Walpole’s word)” All quotations from Maeve Kennedy, “Strawberry Hill, Horace Walpole’s fantasy castle, to open its doors again,” *The Guardian*, 25 February 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2015/feb/25/strawberry-hill-horace-walpole-gothic-castle-otranto-open-again> (accessed 29 March 2015).

76. “the dazzling brightness of the gallery” Richardson, “Strawberry Hill house.”

77. “taken from the tomb of Edward the Confessor” Walpole, *A Description of the Villa*, 468. Scagliuola (scagliola) is a form of plaster, traditionally gypsum, which imitates decorative stone.

77. “air of enchantment and fairyism” Walpole to George Montagu, 17 May 1763, in *Letters of Horace Walpole, Vol. 1*, 237.

77. “A gigantic cabinet of curiosities” See Walpole, *A Description of the Villa*, for an inventory of Strawberry Hill’s contents. The fullest account of the collection is to be found in Michael Snodin, ed., *Horace Walpole’s Strawberry Hill* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009).

77. “the largest and finest in any country” Quoted in Iddon, *Strawberry Hill and Horace Walpole*, 26.

77. “exhibited in the same equalizing plane” I mean “exhibited” quite literally here. Like many eighteenth-century aristocratic properties Strawberry Hill was open to the public in ticketed and guided tours. See Iddon, *Strawberry Hill and Horace Walpole*.

77. “cut from his corpse in St George’s Chapel at Windsor” Strawberry Hill website, <http://www.strawberryhillhouse.org.uk/collections.php> (accessed 3 March 2015).

77. “a locket with hair of Mary Tudor” Walpole, *A Description of the Villa*, 505.

77–78. “The armour of Francis 1st” Walpole, *A Description of the Villa*, 439.

78. “Other rooms contained ... reign of queen Elizabeth” All quotations from Walpole, *A Description of the Villa*, 414, 455, 481, 501.

78. “Two Saxon tankards” Walpole, *A Description of the Villa*, 411.

78–79. “A portrait of Sarah Malcolm” Walpole, *A Description of the Villa*, 428. Malcolm was a Roman Catholic.

79. “humor in its pure and manifest state” André Breton, *Anthology of Black Humor*, trans. Mark Polizzotti (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1997), vii.

79. “the theatrical (and joyless) pointlessness of everything” Jacques Vaché, letter to André Breton, 29 April 1917, quoted in Polizzotti, *Revolution of the Mind*, 42.

79. “the mortal enemy of sentimentality” Breton, *Anthology of Black Humor*, xix.

79. “A clock of silver gilt” Walpole, *A Description of the Villa*, 444–445.

80. “Tudor revolution in government” The phrase is G. R. Elton’s. Philip Corrigan and I took up many of his arguments for the crucial importance of the 1530s for English state formation—albeit within a very different theoretical framework—in our book *The Great Arch: English State Formation as Cultural Revolution* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985).

80–81. “In February 1948, Communist leader Klement Gottwald ... the cap on Gottwald’s head” Milan Kundera, *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*, trans. Michael Henry Heim (London: Penguin, 1986), 3.

81. “My buildings are paper” Quoted on Strawberry Hill House website, <http://www.strawberryhillhouse.org.uk/history.php> (accessed 30 March 2015).

81. “a grand Drawing Room ... style of Hampton Court” All quotations from Strawberry Hill House website, <http://www.strawberryhillhouse.org.uk/lady-waldegrave.php> (accessed 3 July 2015).

82. “to take the House back ... Lady Waldegrave’s bell-system” All quotations from Strawberry Hill House website, <http://www.strawberryhillhouse.org.uk/restoration.php> (accessed 30 March 2015).

82. “sell Walpole’s precious collection and let Strawberry Hill rot” Strawberry Hill House website, <http://www.strawberryhillhouse.org.uk/lady-waldegrave.php> (accessed 30 March 2015).

Coda: A Disorganized Mind

83. “there is a kinship between certain historical epochs” Merton and Barber, *Serendipity*, 23.

83. “the debate as to whether or not Walpole was gay” Amanda Bailey, “Welcome to the Molly-House: An Interview with Randolph Trumbach,” *Cabinet* 8 (Fall 2002), at

<http://cabinetmagazine.org/issues/8/bailey.php> (accessed 12 June 2015).

83–84. “closest friends were women ... easily fatigued temperament” All quotations from Austin Dobson, *Horace Walpole: A Memoir with an Appendix of Books* (London: Osgood McIlvaine and Co., 1893), quoted in Merton and Barber, *Serendipity*, 35.

84. “His mind as well as his house ... most marvellous to see” William Hazlitt in *Edinburgh Review* 31 (1818), quoted in Merton and Barber, *Serendipity*, 24.

84–85 “Serious business was a trifle ... *no connection*” Thomas Babington Macaulay, “Walpole’s Letters to Sir Horace Mann,” *Edinburgh Review* 58 (1833), quoted in Merton and Barber, *Serendipity*, 30–31. Emphasis added.

85. “One works *ad hoc* and *ad interim* ... out in the backyard” Clifford Geertz, *After the Fact: Two Countries, Four Decades, One Anthropologist* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 20.