

# Surreal Encounters: Science, Surrealism and the Re-Circulation of a Crime-Scene Photograph

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This article examines the implications of the surrealist appropriation and re-circulation of a crime-scene photograph depicting the body of Mary Kelly, Jack the Ripper's final victim. The article traces the trajectory of the photograph, taken in 1888, as it shifts from its role as a visual police record in London, to evidence of sexual sadism in the developing field of criminology in France, before finally becoming an object in the text of a play, 'Regards sur l'enfer anthropoclasique', by surrealist Maurice Heine, and being published in 1936 along with that play in *Minotaure*, a luxury art review. As it is re-framed in various contexts, however, the photograph retains some of its prior meaning. A key point in the argument is that this kind of appropriation reveals how photographic meaning is produced and anchored.

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On Friday, 9 November 1888, Thomas Bowyer went to Whitechapel in London to collect overdue rent and instead found the murdered body of twenty-five year old prostitute Mary Jane Kelly. The Metropolitan Police were notified and inspectors were dispatched to investigate. In a move that was unusual for the time, photographs of the scene and of the eviscerated body were taken (figure 1). These photographs were not released to the public, nor were they published in the many newspaper accounts of this, the fifth 'Jack the Ripper' murder. However, the images did find their way into scientific publications. Along with a photograph of another victim, one of the crime-scene photographs was published in France in an 1899 study of serial murderers by noted professor of legal medicine, Alexandre Lacassagne.<sup>1</sup> In the mid-1930s, Maurice Heine, a renowned expert on the Marquis de Sade and sometime surrealist, came across Lacassagne's book during the course of his study of sexual sadism and published a photograph of Mary Kelly's body embedded in the text of his play, 'Regards sur l'enfer anthropoclasique', (A Look at Anthropoclassic Hell), in an issue of the surrealist review, *Minotaure* (figure 2).<sup>2</sup>

The photograph published with Heine's play originated in the domain of nineteenth-century medico-legal science. That Heine took a photograph from a scientific source and reframed it within a surrealist context was not unprecedented, for such appropriation was a common strategy of visual representation in many surrealist periodicals in the 1920s and 1930s. Heine's appropriation of the Scotland Yard crime-scene photograph was remarkable, however, for he did not use it merely to illustrate the surreal. Rather, the

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1 – Alexandre Lacassagne, *Vacher l'éventreur et les crimes sadiques*, Lyon: A. Storck and Co. and Paris: Masson and Co. 1899.

2 – Maurice Heine, 'Regards sur l'enfer anthropoclasique', *Minotaure* 8 (1936), 41–45.

Figure 1. *Crime-Scene photograph depicting Mary Kelly in situ*, 1888. Public Record Office, Kew, England.



3 – The glass-plate negatives have not survived.

photograph appears to function as inspiration for his play. In fact, within the fictional dialogue, this photograph and others were offered as evidence, ironically, as part of the fictitious *mise-en-scène* itself. Thus, the discursive production of meaning begins to reveal itself: we see how the evidentiary force of the photograph is constructed. At the same time, however, an ambiguity of meaning is revealed through the fictionalization of the photographic images.

Tracking the passage of the crime-scene photograph of Kelly's body from its place in a police investigation in England to its publication in a French art review shows not only Heine's attempt to disrupt the discourse of *Minotaure* but also how the horrific crime wrought on Kelly's body continues to haunt the photograph despite its changed frame. In fact, a new horror is added by the furtive circulation of this image, re-enacting the evisceration of this woman whose body was always available for exchange.

### *Forensic Tools of Investigation and Police Archives*

The photograph of Mary Kelly's body in her bed is horrific. There is a tear, a thin, jagged line that cuts an angle across the top left corner of the photograph.<sup>3</sup> The crack is a distraction, a calmer point of focus when the central part of the image becomes too much to bear. In the top half of the photograph, there is only a room: a bare, stained wall, a door, a corner, a bed head. In the bottom half of the photograph, there is a mattress, a bed frame and a tub beneath the bed. In between, there is horror: a bloody bed, an open body, a faceless head. To the right of the centre of the photograph, a hand curls inward, falling on the abdomen. This hand is remarkable, for it is clean and un-mutilated, in contrast to the bloody carnage that surrounds it. The violence enacted on the woman's body is clearly visible in the photograph. We can see the white of a thigh bone, its flesh removed, the opening up of the abdomen and the chest, the blood on the white sheets, the deep cuts on the face, the dreadful pile of flesh on the table beside the bed. While her hand rests on the bloody abdomen, the woman's legs are pulled apart, exposing the mutilated area that was once her genitals.

A contemporary newspaper report indicated simply: '[b]efore anything was disturbed a photograph was taken of the interior of the room'.<sup>4</sup> The Metropolitan Police did not create a photography department until 1901, and so the photographs must have been taken by a professional freelance photographer, most likely Joseph Martin, who photographed corpses for the police from about 1882–1932. In 1933, Martin claimed to have photographed Jack the Ripper's victims.<sup>5</sup> Evidentiary protocols for recording crime scenes were not yet in place, however, when Mary Kelly was murdered.<sup>6</sup> Although

4 – 'The East End Tragedies. A Seventh Murder. Another Case of Horrible Mutilation.' *The Daily Telegraph* (10 November 1888), 5. The article is reprinted in Alexander Chisholm, Christopher Michael DiGrazia and Dave Yost, 'Mary Jane Kelly', in *The News from Whitechapel: Jack the Ripper in the Daily Telegraph*, Jefferson, North Carolina and London: McFarland and Company, Inc. 2002, 195–205.

n'admettait pas qu'on pût imaginer d'outrager la nature au point de déranger l'ordre qu'elle avait mis dans les différentes classes de ses individus, en en élevant un par des secours à la place de l'autre, et en employant à ces secours absurdes et révoltants des sommes bien plus agréablement employées à ses plaisirs.

JACK. — Ce gentilhomme professait des opinions dont je m'honore. Mais dites-moi, je vous prie, était-il prêtre ?

LE MARQUIS. — Pardonnez-moi, il n'avait pas cet avantage. Mais, pénétré de ces sentiments, il ne s'en tenait pas là : non seulement il trouvait une jouissance réelle dans le refus du secours, mais il améliorait même cette jouissance par des outrages à l'infortune. Une de ses voluptés, par exemple, était de se faire chercher avec soin de ces asiles ténébreux, où l'indigence affamée mange comme elle peut un pain arrosé de ses larmes et dû à ses travaux, il aimait à aller non seulement jouir de l'amertume de tels pleurs, mais même à en redoubler la source et arracher s'il le pouvait ce malheureux soutien des jours de ces infortunés ; et ce goût, ce n'était pas une fantaisie, c'était une fureur, il n'avait pas, disait-il, de délices plus vifs et rien ne pouvait irriter, enflammer son âme comme cet excès-là.

LE COMTE. — Ne faut-il pas avoir fourni une longue carrière dans le vice pour en arriver là et s'y tenir ?

LE MARQUIS. — Pas un mot. Ce n'était point, m'assurait-il un jour, le fruit de la dépravation ; il avait dès l'enfance cette extraordinaire manie, et son cœur, perpétuellement endurci aux accents plaintifs du malheur, n'avait jamais conçu de sentiments plus doux.

JACK. — Pour ma part, je ne fus jamais cruel. Car, si je n'apportais pas le genre de consolation qu'espère communément le peuple misérable où s'exerçait mon ministère, du moins n'aggravais-je point ses malheurs. Bien au contraire, je mettais à son service comme au mien un moyen infaillible d'en arrêter la fatale progression. (Il passe la main gauche sous le pan de sa redingote et en tire un énorme couteau de cuisine, finement aiguisé.) C'est de pur acier trempé à Sheffield et vous coupe, d'un seul coup, une gorge d'une oreille à l'autre et jusqu'à la colonne vertébrale.

LE COMTE. — Voilà qui est bien vite fait : du travail de boucher... de l'adresse peut-être, mais point d'art à cela.

JACK. — L'art est le fruit du loisir, monseigneur, et la nécessité m'invitait à pousser droit au but. La précaution essentielle contre toute surprise était d'aller vite, c'est-à-dire de donner au sujet une mort prompte, muette et propre. C'est de quoi m'assurait cette arme, maniée de la main gauche, mais dirigée au point même qu'un droïtier eût d'abord atteint et d'où le sang devait jaillir loin de moi. Quant à ce que vous appelez l'art et qu'il me convenait mieux d'exercer sur la chair exsangue d'un cadavre docile, je ne négligeai jamais de lui consacrer les courts délais que me dispensaient les circonstances. En souhaitez-vous la preuve ? Et m'accorderiez-vous qu'il se découvre ici quelque effet de l'art ? (Il tend au comte de Mesanges le document reproduit à la planche I.)

LE COMTE. — Palsambleu ! et tout cela fut fait de votre main et de cette seule lame que voici

JACK. — Uniquement, monseigneur. Votre examen porte sur ma huitième victime que j'eus la chance d'opérer dans sa chambre même, abri un peu moins précaire qu'un recoin de la voie publique.

LE COMTE. — J'obtins, singulièrement sur le visage, des effets de cette force avec une machine de mon invention. Figurez-vous une roue sur laquelle est la fille et qui tourne sans cesse en effleurant un cercle garni de lames de rasoir où la malheureuse s'égratigne



PLANCHE I

et se coupe en tous les sens à chaque tour : mais comme elle n'est qu'effleurée, elle tourne au moins deux heures avant que de mourir.

JACK. — Je ne vous le cache point : le geyser de pourpre qui s'éclanche d'une gorge ouverte, voilà pour moi l'unique prélude aux exploits fantasques d'une bonne lame. Avec quel entrain se jouera-t-elle ensuite à trancher les seins, visiblement destinés à la décoration des tables de nuit... à trancher reins et cœur, offerts sur cette cuisse comme des bijoux dans un écrin... à trancher le nez et les oreilles d'un visage qu'un réseau d'entailles rend décidément anonyme...

LE COMTE. — Oui-da, mais ne ravites-vous jamais quelques organes à vos pénitentes ?

JACK. — Si fait, ceux du sexe, chaque fois que j'eus le loisir de les disséquer.

LE MARQUIS. — Nous ne serons pas si indiscrets que de vous demander à quelle fantaisie vous vous proposiez de les faire servir.

JACK. — A telle ou telle qu'il vous plaira de supprimer, mais en vous souvenant que de toutes la moins prévue est toujours la meilleure.

L'OMBRE DU PROFESSEUR PAUL BROUARDEL. (Il est revêtu de la robe qu'il portait à la Faculté de médecine et ressemble à ses photographies.) Vous vous rendez, messieurs, à l'amphithéâtre des sciences mortes ? (Les trois autres ombres se consultent du regard, puis acquiescent et se disposent à suivre le professeur.) Le cours de médecine légale va commencer. (Un jour moins avare permet d'entrevoir une sorte d'hémicycle, sans murs ni coupole, dont le professeur gagne le centre, tandis que des ombres s'installent sur les gradins.) Messieurs, nous étudierons aujourd'hui les incendies de théâtres. Je vous en parlerai avec quelques développements, parce qu'ils sont fréquents. Les statisticiens... (Déjà les ombres ne prêtent plus guère attention à la leçon magistrale et poursuivent sans nulle gêne leurs conversations particulières.)

Figure 2. From Maurice Heine, 'Regards sur l'enfer anthropoclasique', *Minotaure* 8 (1936), 42.

5 – This discussion is indebted to Robert McLaughlin, who alerted me in email correspondence of 25 June 2005, to ‘Fifty Years a Corpse Photographer’, interview with Joseph Martin, *East London Advertiser* (21 October 1933).

6 – The two photographs of Kelly’s body have a long and interesting provenance, as they were lost for many years but were rediscovered in the City of London Police Archives in 1967 by Donald Rumbelow, an ex-policeman. A third image of Kelly’s body reappeared in 1988, when an envelope containing this and other items from the Whitechapel murders investigation was delivered anonymously to Scotland Yard.

7 – The photographs are available in the archives of the Public Records Office in London and are reproduced in the many books on the Whitechapel murders. See, for example, Chisholm, DiGrazia and Yost, *The News from Whitechapel*, 198–99; Paul Begg, *Jack the Ripper: The Definitive History*, London: Pearson Education 2003, 148, 149; or *The Ultimate Jack the Ripper Sourcebook. An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, ed. Stewart P. Evans and Keith Skinner, London: Robinson 2000, 340, 341.

8 – For discussion of the development of the use of photography in police investigations, see Harris W. Tuttle, ‘History of Photography in Law Enforcement’, *Finger Print and Identification Magazine* (October 1961) 3–28, and Sandra S. Phillips et al., *Police Pictures: The Photograph as Evidence*, San Francisco: San Francisco Museum of Modern Art 1997. See also David Ogawa, ‘Arresting Nudes in Second Empire Paris’, *History of Photography* 31:4 (Winter 2007), 330–47.

9 – ‘Another Horrible Murder. A Woman Fearfully Mutilated. Statements by Acquaintances of the Deceased. Arrest of a Man of Suspicion. Great Excitement’, *Daily News* (10 November 1888).

10 – The inquest records have been lost, but *The Daily Telegraph* reported most of the day-long proceedings. In his testimony, Mr. George Bagster Phillips, ‘divisional surgeon of police’, reported that ‘I was called by the police on Friday morning at eleven o’clock, and on proceeding to Miller’s-court, which I entered at 11.15, I found a room, the door of which led out of the passage at the side of 26, Dorset-street, photographs of which I produce’. ‘Dorset-Street Murder. Inquest and Verdict. Description of the Assassin.’ *The Daily Telegraph* (Tuesday November 13, 1888), 5. Reprinted in Chisholm, DiGrazia and Yost, *The News from Whitechapel*, 210–21. Phillips’s testimony is on 219–20.

11 – While the post-autopsy photograph of the body of Catharine Eddowes is also significant, it is the beyond the scope of this essay. Although other post-mortem photographs of Eddowes existed, this is most similar to the one reproduced in Lacassagne’s book, and it is possible that it was the only one Heine knew.

12 – Several photography theorists have developed the notion of the photographic archive as productive of meaning. For a

there are no documents to indicate the exact use of the police record photograph of Kelly’s body, its immediate purpose was to record the crime scene before the body was removed for autopsy. To this end, the woman’s entire body falls within the frame and is clearly visible. At least two photographs of the body *in situ* were taken from different angles. The first, re-circulated by Lacassagne and Heine, was taken from above and to the left of the body, showing the viscera on the table beside the bed. The second, a closer shot, was taken from right of the body, looking towards the lower half of the bed and showing the abdominal wounds and the table from the other side.<sup>7</sup> An additional photograph was taken of the outside of the house, showing the windows through which the murderer likely gained entry.

The photographs of Kelly’s body were unusual since taking photographs of the bodies of victims and crime scenes was not common practice in 1888.<sup>8</sup> Photographs of corpses were generally made for identification purposes rather than as evidence. Although the first photographic images of criminals were taken soon after Daguerre announced his invention in 1839 and Alphonse Bertillon had already begun to standardize the process of photographing criminals by the time Jack the Ripper was active in London, photographs of victims were much less common. Bertillon was one of the first to make crime-scene photographs, although it is not clear how these images would have been used in investigation or court cases. Bertillon’s purpose was primarily to preserve unnoticed clues after the crime scene had been destroyed. We can assume, then, that this was why Kelly’s body was photographed.

But it is not known exactly how the photographs of Kelly’s body in her room would have been used. While the images were not taken by forensic physicians, they were taken in the presence of such doctors and were to be used with the autopsy report.<sup>9</sup> They also functioned in conjunction with other kinds of visual documents, such as maps, drawings of the body and of the scene, and various diagrams. These visual documents would have been read alongside notes taken from interviews with potential witnesses, the autopsy report, eyewitness accounts, and other kinds of written evidence. There was a coroner’s inquest to determine the cause of death, but because the jury observed the body itself in the morgue, the photographs of Kelly’s body were not presented at the inquest. At least one photograph, possibly of the exterior of the house or of the lane, however, was presented as evidence to the jurors.<sup>10</sup>

In addition to the crime-scene photograph depicting Kelly’s mutilated body, other photographs were taken of Jack the Ripper’s victims, although none of these were crime-scene photographs. Another image depicted the post-autopsy body of Catherine Eddowes, propped up against the wall in the morgue.<sup>11</sup> In conjunction with other photographs from different angles and at various stages in the autopsy, this second photograph functioned as a visual record of the autopsy to be read alongside the coroner’s report. There was never a trial, however, and this photograph, along with the crime-scene photographs of Kelly’s body, was filed in the police archives.

While it is difficult to determine the meaning of the photographs in the archive without being able to study the archive itself – after all, the archive has changed significantly over the years – it is possible to make certain general assumptions. An image’s place within an archive discursively determines its meaning, along with the larger discursive formations within which it participates.<sup>12</sup> To that end, in the police archives, the meanings of the Kelly and Eddowes photographs were discursively produced as evidence of a crime. This meaning differs little from the meanings imposed by the photographs’ location in the first space: that of the investigators’ files.

Jack the Ripper was never identified, and the investigation closed in 1897. The photographs, which would have circulated actively during the investigation, stopped circulating and were filed, which changed their status, marking a transition from open to closed and from active to inactive. However, it is difficult to determine who would have been able to access them. Indeed, perhaps their availability became more open, as anyone with access to police files would have been able to look at them, whereas when they were part of an active investigation, only investigators assigned to that case would have had access to them. The images became curiosities of history and icons of unsolvable crimes, crimes that had become muddled and confused by the various conspiracy theories that circulated widely. In the end, many of the photographs in the archive were forgotten, stolen or misplaced.

### *To France, Lacassagne and Sadistic Crime*

In Britain, after the investigation was suspended, the photographs depicting Jack the Ripper's horrific crimes remained filed away in the police archives. In France, however, they began to circulate once again. A prominent forensic physician and professor of legal medicine, Alexandre Lacassagne, used them to illustrate *Vacher l'éventreur et les crimes sadiques* (*Vacher the Ripper and Sadistic Crime*), his 1899 book on sexual sadism and mass murder.<sup>13</sup>

As its title indicates, Lacassagne's book took the case of Vacher the Ripper as its starting point. A French version of Jack the Ripper, Joseph Vacher was a notorious mass murderer who preyed upon women and children in the French countryside in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. *Vacher l'éventreur et les crimes sadiques* is a systematic study that sought to reveal and report 'the truth' about Vacher.<sup>14</sup> Using a variety of methods – careful description of Vacher's crimes and his confession, autopsy reports, other reports by forensic experts, including observations of the subject while incarcerated, and comparison of Vacher's crimes with similar crimes – Lacassagne sought to reveal Vacher's motivations. These 'scientific' methods of analysis enabled Lacassagne to diagnose Vacher as a 'pervert' and to define the criminal category of sexual sadist as one who is motivated by desire and pleasure.<sup>15</sup> Notably, Lacassagne ended his book with a section on the Marquis de Sade, whose character and work he pathologized.

Although Lacassagne investigated criminality in order to diagnose and define the criminal mind, his data derived mainly from descriptions of the crime scenes and the victims, and from observation of the murderer. The text of his book was supported by visual documents such as drawings, statistical charts, handwriting samples and photographs, which functioned as tools for comparative purposes, particularly the photographs and diagrams of the victims and their wounds. In his effort to define sadism, Lacassagne cross-referenced the drawings of Vacher's victims, the photographs of Jack the Ripper's victims, and textual descriptions of similar cases, reading them against Sade's literary descriptions of murder, torture and post-mortem mutilation. There were only six photographs in the book, four of which, on the first two pages, showed Vacher. The remaining two photographs appeared in Chapter XI, 'Les Crimes sadiques', which described similar brutal murders.<sup>16</sup> Both of these photographs depicted victims of Jack the Ripper. The first reproduced the photograph of Kelly's body in her room and the second showed Eddowes's body.<sup>17</sup> The photograph of Kelly's body was captioned simply 'Victime de Jack l'Eventreur'.

As in other instances of the use of photography in the emerging social sciences in France in the nineteenth century, Lacassagne's work depends on the role of the photograph as evidence.<sup>18</sup> But while photographic evidence sought

discussion of the relationships between police archives of mug shots and the discursive production of abnormal bodies, see Allan Sekula, 'The Body and the Archive' *October* 39 (Winter 1986), 3–64. For a discussion of the archive in relation to governance and power, see John Tagg, 'The Proof of the Picture', in *Grounds of Dispute: Art History, Cultural Politics and the Discursive Field*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 1992, 97–114. For a discussion of how the archive creates the meaning of photographs, see Rosalind Krauss, 'Photography's Discursive Spaces', in *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths*, Massachusetts: MIT Press 1989.

13 – Lacassagne made several important contributions to the developing field of forensic medicine, including a handbook that sought to standardize autopsy procedures and other evidence gathering processes that involved the human body. *Vacher l'éventreur et les crimes sadiques* was a departure for Lacassagne as it focused more on the sociological study of mass murder and on the psychology of murderers than it did on forensic methodology doctors.

14 – Lacassagne, 'Préface', *Vacher l'éventreur*.

15 – *Ibid.*, 48–49, Lacassagne established the cause of Vacher's behaviour as a desire for sexual sadism.

16 – *Ibid.*, 245–83.

17 – Lacassagne's text is fragile, and therefore only the .pdf version is available to consult. The images are not clear enough to reproduce here.

18 – See, for example, Dr Hugh Welch Diamond's photographs of the insane taken at the Surrey County Asylum between 1848 and 1858 or Alphonse Bertillon's anthropometric system (*bertillonage*) that used photographs in conjunction with other information about criminals to reduce recidivism.

to appeal directly to the readers, here the photographs relied on the surrounding text for their meaning. Despite the fact that the photographs were not mentioned in the text, the captions connect the photographs with the detailed textual descriptions of exactly what Jack the Ripper did to his victims. Reading the text and looking at the photographs, the photographs of Kelly and Eddowes were assumed to represent accurately what was described in the text, signifying 'Jack the Ripper did this'. At the same time, the photographs of these women also assumed a new didactic role. Lacassagne held them up as demonstrations of the reality of sadistic crime, implicitly advocating their use by medico-legal experts as aids in recognizing the victims of this new category of criminal. The photographs bolstered the case studies drawn from historical accounts and from the literature of criminology and psychology. The images published in Lacassagne's book operated in a nineteenth-century system of scientific investigation based largely on observation of 'facts' – the mutilated bodies of victims – to determine social 'truths' – that such murderers derived sadistic pleasure from their crimes.

It follows that Lacassagne's use of the photographs of Kelly's body in *Vacher l'éventreur* also worked to create the sexual sadist as a type in late nineteenth-century criminology. While the photographs were saturated with the discourses of police, forensics, medical pathology and legal evidence, what they depicted did not yet have a name. But by 1899, the horror in the photographs had a quasi-technical designation. Thus, in Lacassagne's book, a new element of abnormal sexuality came to be attached to the London photographs. The word *desire* accordingly appears often, establishing that, while seemingly uncontrollable, the violent acts were not those of madmen who did not understand their actions. The motivating force was a perverse, unnatural *desire*.<sup>19</sup> The photographs were not published in Britain in the nineteenth century and therefore were not part of a popular discourse on the murderer and his victims, which invoked the image of the 'fallen woman' and reinforced ideas about lower-class women. In Lacassagne's book, the photographs were subsumed under a discourse on gender and sexuality, but the emphasis now shifted from the victim to the killer.

Lacassagne presented the viewer with photographs as visible records of sexual frenzy, and the images became evidence of the horrific excesses of male sexual sadism, by assuming that Jack the Ripper derived sexual pleasure from the entrails of his victims. As images of sadism, the photographs described and defined a classifiable pathology within the discursive frame of late nineteenth-century theories of sexuality and sexual aberrations, as derived especially in the work of Krafft-Ebing who defined both sadism and masochism in *Psychopathia Sexualis*.<sup>20</sup> In this new domain of circulation, the meaning of the photographs shifted from documentary evidence in a criminal case to evidence of sexual sadism as a disorder. They left the closed space of the police archive and entered the discursive space of late nineteenth-century medicine and criminology, in which they now served as evidence for the classification of the sexual sadist as a criminological type. When published in Lacassagne's book, the photographs lent force to the definition of the sexually sadistic criminal as monstrously abnormal, bloodthirsty and completely inhuman. The sexual sadist was no longer the unnamed subject of eighteenth-century literature by Sade, but a type defined in the medico-legal discourse, of which *Vacher l'éventreur et les crimes sadiques* was a pioneering text.

### *Maurice Heine's Play*

In 1936, the photograph of Mary Kelly resurfaced in another location as the inspiration for 'L'Enfer athropoclasique', Maurice Heine's surrealist play

19 – See the section entitled 'Les Crimes Sadiques', in Lacassagne, *Vacher l'éventreur*, 245–82, in particular, 248 and 264.

20 – Krafft-Ebing first published his book on sexual deviance in 1886.

incorporating characters drawn from history and from literature. In this narrative, which was published in the luxurious art review, *Minotaure*, the photograph is presented both as evidence of pleasure and as an object of pleasure itself, undoing the structure of address in Lacassagne's text and in the police dossier as well as implicating the viewer in that disavowed pleasure. While Lacassagne used the photograph to create the sexual sadist as a criminal type, in Heine's play it is used to redeem the contested figure of Sade by representing sadists as libertines and Jack the Ripper as a kind of artist.

Heine was a recognized expert on Sade, having traded in his manuscripts and written in the 1930s a doctoral thesis on him. Heine came to be an official surrealist in the late 1920s, although he already knew André Breton several years earlier.<sup>21</sup> While he has been overlooked in histories of surrealism, Heine's contribution was significant, especially in terms of introducing Sade to the avant-garde.<sup>22</sup> In the 1920s, Sade's work was taboo in mainstream culture. To the early surrealists, the appeal of Sade's writing likely stemmed at least partially from its potential to shock, which was probably one of the reasons that Breton wrote in the *Manifesto of Surrealism* that 'Sade is Surrealist in sadism'.<sup>23</sup> Sade interested many of the surrealist writers and artists, including those who operated outside the official movement.<sup>24</sup> To the surrealists Sade represented revolution and refusal of all kinds. They sympathized with the atheism and sexual freedom expressed in his writing and, likely, with elements of his biography, including his small part in the Revolution – it was generally accepted that he instigated the storming of the Bastille by yelling out the window that prisoners were being beheaded inside. In addition, the fact that he was imprisoned for most of his adult life because of blasphemous, pornographic writing was important to the surrealists, who supported intellectual freedom.

Two sets of photographs are published within the pages of the play. The first set includes two photographs from the case of Jack the Ripper. Each of these images is integrated into the text and takes up less than one quarter of the page. Neither bears a caption, other than an identifying number that corresponds to a brief attribution at the end of the text. The photograph of Kelly, captioned 'Planche I', is delineated by a thin black border and appears at the top of the right column of text on the second page of the play. On the facing page, the slightly longer photograph of Eddowes appears with the caption 'Planche II', at the top of the left column (figure 3). The second set of photographs, taken from an 1895 issue of the medical journal *Annales d'hygiène publique et de médecine légale* (*Annals of Public Hygiene and Legal Medicine*), includes four photographs. The first three depict horribly burned bodies photographed against a neutral background. Each takes up about a quarter of the page and is integrated into the text, following the two-column format. On the last page, there is a photograph of an unknown, unidentified object. It is a roughly oval shape that is cut out from the frame of the photograph. It looks like an oddly shaped rock, or, alongside the other photographs in the text, perhaps a human skull, though the text reveals that it is a burnt human heart.

Heine's play opens with the ghosts of the Marquis de Sade and the Comte de Mesanges, a minor character in Sade's *Les 120 journées de Sodome ou l'école du libertinage* (*120 Days of Sodom, or the School of Libertinage*).<sup>25</sup> The drama centres on the character of Sade and attempts to aestheticize sadism. Significantly, the two photographs of victims taken from Lacassagne's book are implicated in this aestheticization. As the two spectres of the Marquis de Sade and the Comte de Mesanges discuss the count's preferred method of torture, another ghost appears. Dressed in a minister's robes, he introduces himself as Jack the Ripper and proceeds to debate the count on the 'art' of

21 – For an example of Heine's dealings in manuscripts, see Letters between Heine and Simon Kra of Librairie Kra, *papiers Maurice HEINE*, tome XIV, Na fr. 24397, ff. 127–29, where Heine negotiated with Kra about purchasing the manuscript of *Juliette*. Heine also published many of Sade's works, including texts from manuscripts that had not previously been published.

22 – Heine's name appeared in letters Breton wrote to Jacques Doucet about acquiring Sade's books and manuscripts. See André Breton, Letter to Jacques Doucet, 4 August 1924, Fonds André Breton, Bibliothèque littéraire Jacques Doucet, B.I.V, 7210.51; Breton to Doucet, 5 August 1924, 7210.53; Breton to Doucet, 5 August 1924, 7210.54.

23 – André Breton, *Manifesto of Surrealism* (1924), in *Manifestoes of Surrealism*, ed. André Breton, trans. Richard Seaver and Helen R. Lane, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press 1924, 26.

24 – This does not mean, however, that there were not conflicts in the ways in which Sade was adopted, which was the case especially between the Bretonian surrealists and the 'dissident' surrealists who worked with Georges Bataille. While different versions of surrealism, both at the group and individual levels, engaged Sade and his work in differing ways, both visual and literary, there was always a connection to Maurice Heine, either at a personal level, or through his work.

25 – This novel, a sensational tale of brutal sexual fantasies acted out in a 'school of libertinage', was not intended to be published. Sade hid it in the walls of his cell in La Bastille, and it was lost when he was moved to the Charenton Asylum. It resurfaced in Germany and was published in 1904. The Comte de Mesanges appears in a story that was recounted on the sixteenth day. While Heine was working on his play, he was also editing a new edition of Sade's *Les 120 journées de Sodome* taken from the manuscript, which became the definitive edition of that text.



PLANCHE II.

JACK. — J'allais tout à l'heure placer sous vos yeux ma dernière victime. (Il présente l'image de la planche II au marquis de Sade qui l'examine en souriant.) Daignez excuser le travail de ces messieurs les médecins légistes : j'avais taillé, ils ont recousu, ici, tout au long de la poitrine et du ventre...

LE PROFESSEUR. — La poitrine est souvent ouverte, avec la régularité et la rectitude d'une ouverture pratiquée à l'autopsie : il n'y a ni déchirure, ni dentelure de la peau...

JACK. — En tout cas, ils n'ont pas pu recoudre les jambes, et je crois qu'elles courent encore le monde toutes seules. Si je n'avais craint d'être surpris d'un moment à l'autre, sous la voûte du chemin de fer, j'aurais aussi amputé les bras.

LE PROFESSEUR. — Les membres sont très fréquemment fracturés, ou si vous aimez mieux, amputés.

JACK. — J'avais pu m'occuper beaucoup plus longtemps de ma neuvième victime, la jeune femme de Chelsea, que je pris tant de plaisir à réduire à l'état de tronc.

LE COMTE. — A la bonne heure, mais votre grand diable de couteau me chagrine. Dans ce dessin, je préfère encore les quatre membres attachés à quatre ressorts qui s'éloignent peu à peu et les tiraillent lentement jusqu'à ce qu'enfin ils se détachent et que le tronc tombe dans un brasier. Ainsi s'ordonnait le quatrième supplice de mon enfer.

JACK. — Vous reprochez à mon couteau d'être trop expéditif, et moi, c'est à votre brasier que j'oppose ce grief. Il m'eût empêché de vérifier si ma partenaire n'était pas enceinte, et par bonheur il se trouva qu'elle l'était.

LE COMTE. — Pour moi, je ne recevais mes victimes que toujours exactement vierges. Mais prétendez-vous donc qu'il soit aisé de brûler une matrice et, qui plus est, une matrice pleine ?

LE PROFESSEUR. — Les organes abdominaux qui opposent à la combustion la plus longue résistance sont la vessie pleine d'urine et l'utérus. Cette résistance de l'utérus à la combustion nous permet de reconnaître le sexe du cadavre, qu'il serait impossible de déterminer, si la matrice n'existait plus.

LE COMTE. — Vous pouvez m'en croire, car je confesse avoir prodigieusement usé du feu dans les divers supplices qui s'appliquaient chez moi. Un de mes bourreaux, par exemple, n'avait pas son pareil pour maintenir sa patiente sous une cloche de fer rouge qui lui servait de bonnet sans appuyer, de manière que sa cervelle fondait lentement, et que sa tête grillait en détail.

LE PROFESSEUR. — La tête est rapetissée ; chez l'adulte elle se réduit, d'après Tardieu, à la dimension de la tête d'un enfant de douze ans. On peut considérer, dans les modifications que subit la tête, deux périodes. Dans la première, les parties molles se racornissent, elles se dessèchent ; la bouche s'ouvre ; nous avons pu constater ce fait sur la plupart des cadavres. La rétraction des parties molles suffit à elle seule pour diminuer le volume de la tête.

LE MARQUIS. — Vous devez ici opiner du bonnet, mon cher comte.

LE PROFESSEUR. — Dans une deuxième période, grâce à la dessiccation à laquelle les os du crâne sont soumis, ils deviennent friables ; et alors le crâne éclate, au niveau des pariétaux, soit qu'il y ait eu, ce qui peut arriver dans un incendie, un choc par suite de la chute d'un corps étranger, ou qu'il se soit fait, à l'intérieur de la boîte crânienne, un dégagement de vapeur qui en disjoint et fait éclater les parois.

LE COMTE. — Parbleu, la chose est d'évidence ! La cervelle se met à bouillir, et c'est l'histoire de la marmite de M. Papin, dont il faut que le couvercle se soulève pour laisser échapper la buée. Voilà pourquoi le bonnet rouge de mon bourreau n'enserrait que lâchement le crâne du sujet. Il fallait voir cela éclater, ah, ah, ah, ah, ah !

LE MARQUIS. — Il est donc prouvé que le feu agit tout aussi bien que le fer sur le corps humain et le découpe, pour ainsi dire, avec une égale autorité.

LE COMTE. — Ce qui m'engage à le préférer au couteau du révérend Jack, c'est qu'il fait mieux encore et qu'un cadavre traité en conscience par le feu...

LE PROFESSEUR. — Je vais, messieurs, vous faire passer l'image d'un cadavre sur lequel on voit le siège des amputations ; la calotte crânienne a éclaté, le thorax et l'abdomen sont ouverts, les côtes sont nettement sectionnées, les os des membres émergent des moignons carbonisés.

JACK. — Voyons donc cela. (Après avoir attentivement considéré la planche III.) Je n'ai rien fait de mieux dans toute ma carrière.

LE COMTE. — Mais il me semble que, d'entrée de jeu, il n'est pas nécessaire de pousser les choses si loin : on a toujours le temps d'y venir et il est bien permis, je pense, de marquer quelques haltes sur le chemin de la perfection. Par exemple, j'aimais exces-



murder, torture and the desecration of human bodies. As Jack produces two photographs of his victims to show what he has done, a fourth ghost appears: Professor Paul Brouardel, who held the Chair in Legal Medicine at the Faculty of Medicine in Paris in the 1880s.<sup>26</sup> Brouardel invites Sade, the Count, and Jack the Ripper to attend his 'cours de médecine légale' in the autopsy amphitheatre. However, soon bored with the lecture, the three men return to their debate about various forms of torture. Throughout, the Marquis de Sade remains hospitable, guiding the conversation and listening carefully to the opinions of the other two ghosts, while the ghost of the professor continues his lecture, at various moments circulating photographs to illustrate his points. In the final lines of the play, the professor produces a burnt human heart, at which point a fifth ghost, that of a teenaged Spanish shepherd girl named Dolores, appears. Screaming that it is the heart of her father whom she killed for separating her from her lover, she approaches the professor, snatches the burnt heart from his hands and eats it as she runs away. Enthralled, they all chase her, for, as Sade explains, she has done something that not even his most notorious character Juliette would have done.<sup>27</sup>

'Regards sur l'enfer anthropoclasique' highlights several of Heine's intellectual concerns. Heine's interest in sexual deviation in both medical and literary contexts and familiarity with nineteenth-century medical literature,<sup>28</sup> for example, is evident in the stories his characters tell. The Marquis de Sade tells Jack the Ripper a story of a man who took 'great sensual pleasure' in humiliating the poorest of the poor in asylums, referring to the man's 'fervour' and 'mania' in terms borrowed from psychological discourse.<sup>29</sup> The play also conveys knowledge of medico-legal language and the processes of autopsies, suggesting that Heine took an interest in the work of Brouardel as well as Lacassagne.<sup>30</sup>

While the play's intertextuality is significant, it was the photographs that functioned as its inspiration, as well as objects within it, driving much of the dialogue.<sup>31</sup> An extended discussion of knives and tortures based on cutting are drawn from the horrific display of cutting in the photograph of Kelly. When the character of Jack the Ripper declares that 'the crimson geyser that shoots out of an open throat, there you have it, for me it is the only prelude to fantastic exploits with a good knife', he clearly refers to the photograph of Mary Kelly's body and its spectacle of blood.<sup>32</sup> After he speaks, Jack produces that photograph from his pocket to show what he has done.

Heine's use of the photograph of Kelly is significant because it reveals contemporary notions about photography. For the character of Jack the Ripper, the photograph of Kelly acts as evidence of his crime and of criminal capabilities. He pulls the photograph of Kelly from his pocket at a crucial moment, when the Count and the Marquis doubt the validity of his 'art'. To prove that there is 'art' in his method of killing, Jack states: 'Do you wish proof of it? And grant me, if you will, to discover here some kind of art?'<sup>33</sup> Heine's directions following the character's words allow Jack to substantiate his claim: 'He hands the document reproduced on Plate I to the Count de Messanges'.<sup>34</sup> The photograph Jack produces also functions didactically, for it reveals how such an 'art' might be practised. If they wanted to, Jack's cohorts could administer the same kinds of punishment on a body by imitating what was depicted in the photograph, meaning that the photograph of Kelly acted as an element in a lesson in murder and post-mortem mutilation, particularly as it is framed in a discussion of methods of torture and murder with sharp objects. Lastly, the photograph that Jack carries in his pocket functions as a memento, preserving an important moment for him. By revealing these three functions of the images, Heine creates a lesson in the uses of photography.

26— Brouardel was a prolific writer and respected teacher. He performed forensic autopsies for students in an operating theatre, just as his character does in the play.

27— Juliette and her sister, Justine, are Sade's main female characters. See Donatien Alphonse François de Sade, *Œuvres complètes du marquis de Sade*, 11 vols., eds. Annie LeBrun and Jean-Jacques Pauvert, Paris: Jean-Jacques Pauvert 1986–1991.

28— The study of sexual aberration was an intellectual focus for Heine throughout the 1930s, and he published a book on sexual deviation the same year he published his play. See Maurice Heine, *Recueil de confessions et observations psycho-sexuelles tirées de la littérature médicale*, Paris: Crès 1936.

29— Heine, 'Regards sur l'enfer anthropoclasique', 42.

30— Brouardel was a widely-read, prolific writer, covering such topics as public health, toxicology, autopsies, legal medicine. His book *Le Secret médical: honoraires, mariage, assurances sur la vie, déclaration de naissance, expertise, témoignage, etc.*, for example, was published several times, beginning in 1887, by J. B. Baillière in Paris.

31— The photographs are credited as: 'NDR—Les deux premières planches illustrant cette étude sont reproduites d'après l'ouvrage du Professeur A. LACASSAGNE, *Vacher l'éventreur et les crimes sadiques* (Lyon, Storck, 1899), et les suivantes d'après les *Annales d'hygiène publique et de médecine légale*, 3e série, tome XXXIV, no. 1 (Juillet 1895). Heine, 'Regards sur l'enfer anthropoclasique', 45.

32— All translations are my own unless otherwise noted. Heine, 'Regards sur l'enfer anthropoclasique', 42.

33— *Ibid.*, 47.

34— *Ibid.*, 42.

When Jack produces a second photograph, the post-autopsy image of Eddowes, for the Count and for Sade, his words parallel Brouardel's lecture, crossing from a language of passion and excitement, to the descriptive, antiseptic language of medical discourse:

JACK –Earlier I already showed you my last victim. (*He presents the image from Plate II to the Marquis de Sade, who examines it with a smile*). Be so good as to excuse the work of the forensic doctors, dear sirs: where I have cut, they sew up, here all along the chest and the belly...

BROUARDEL –The chest is often opened, with the regularity and rectitude of an autopsy: there is neither a tear nor a jagged outline in the skin.<sup>35</sup>

35 – Ibid., 43.

While Jack shows a photograph depicting the sewn-up evisceration of Catherine Eddowes, a much less spectacular photograph than the one of Kelly, Brouardel lectures on what happens when a human body is burned. In Heine's description, the languages of autopsy and murderous fantasy intersect, seemingly inspired by the Eddowes photograph, which, while depicting the stitched-up torso that is the normal result of an autopsy, also reveals Jack the Ripper's murderous rage. The photographs from this first set are personal mementoes to be shared with those the bearer wishes to impress, people with whom he feels a certain affinity, and Jack literally holds them close in his jacket pocket. They are not presented as official or archival. He does not show the photographs to Brouardel, who represents science. Thus, here in Heine's play, the meaning of the Kelly photograph is transformed from a record of a crime to a personal memento.

A contrast in rhetorical styles and purposes for showing dead bodies reveals itself in the second set of photographs. Brouardel's lecture, when separate from Jack's description, has been inspired by this second set of photographs, three images of severely burned bodies. As he describes the physical stages of trauma, Brouardel circulates ordered and clinical photographs, which present the bodies, isolated on a neutral background, as specimens. Neither the reader nor the characters in the play are given any information about the bodies depicted in the photographs, nor how they met their fate. Their evidence is of a general kind, functioning, therefore, as the image of a scientific law, implying that if one were to reproduce the conditions of the 'experiment', the effects, and in turn, the image, would be the same. However, despite Brouardel's detached, medical description, Jack the Ripper and the two libertines are fascinated and excited by what they see. There is an overlap between medical discourse and the discourse of sexually-motivated murder in the play, both in Heine's sources and in the photographs that inform the dialogue. The photographs slip out of their role as neutral, typical, scientific documents to become objects of desire and pleasure.

While the photographs within the frame of the play are deployed differently, they are drawn together by the horrors they depict. It is difficult to understand why Heine used them, but, certainly, his choice derived from an intellectual interest in Sade and in a sexuality that, in the 1930s, was construed as extreme or abnormal. Indeed, Sade's work operated in and around limits, and, thus, it is reasonable to assume that this was Heine's interest. Heine's text and his use of the images in the play crossed over into something else, revealing the limits of medical, forensic and scientific discourses. According to Michel Foucault, since Sade, 'the universe of language has absorbed our sexuality' and has 'placed it in a void [...] where it incessantly sets up as the Law, the limits it transgresses'.<sup>36</sup> In this kind of language, 'the "scandalous" violence of erotic literature', the search for totality is replaced by 'the act of transgression'.<sup>37</sup> In its use of photographs, Heine's play creates a visual language of transgression. In adopting photographs from forensic science, Heine reveals the limits of

36 – Michel Foucault, 'A Preface to Transgression', in James D. Faubion, ed., *Aesthetics, Method and Epistemology*, Volume Two of Paul Rabinow, ed., *Essential Works of Foucault 1954–1984*, New York: The New Press 1998, 85.

37. Foucault, 85.

scientific and legal discourses to speak to the horrors of torture, murder and dismemberment. When paired with a text that articulates a fantasy of torture, the images begin to function as excessive to the clinical, impassive language of nineteenth-century criminologists and forensic specialists represented by Brouardel.<sup>38</sup>

While the photograph of Kelly was always horrific, it became even more horrific in Heine's play, for it began to express its savagery through the character of the murderer who engaged in acts that resist understanding. Framed within a discussion of murderous fantasies, both the image and the dialogue became more shocking as they drew meaning from one another. The meeting of the discourses of science (in the photographs) and art (in the text of the play) produced a photographic meaning that alternated between reality and fantasy, an oscillation that was particularly gruesome, for it meant that elements of reality erupted into what was presented as imagination. Thus, through the use of photographs, Heine introduced an element of the real to the fictional world of Sade, a world that had only been bearable because it was not real.

## Minotaure

While the play itself functions as one location, its framing within *Minotaure*, the art review in which Heine's play was first published, also lends meaning to the photographs. *Minotaure* was a luxurious, large-format magazine, founded in 1933 by the art publisher Albert Skira. It represented not only an amalgamation of members of both the official and unofficial surrealist groups but also a move towards the commercialization of surrealism.<sup>39</sup>

Each issue offered a cover designed by an avant-garde artist, and the review's status as a luxury item was affirmed in its editorials.<sup>40</sup> Works by fashionable contemporary artists were reproduced in the review, often accompanied by articles by noted art historians and critics. While Skira certainly wanted the surrealists to publish in his review – they were, after all, well-known by the 1930s – he did not want it to become a platform for surrealist polemics.<sup>41</sup> To that end, he agreed to publish reproductions of works of art, surrealist poetry and 'literature' but rejected manifestoes, tracts or declarations. Thus, *Minotaure* represented the artistic and literary side of surrealism, while attempting to suppress the movement's politics. This was to shape the understanding of surrealism as it became accepted by the mainstream.<sup>42</sup>

*Minotaure's* status as a luxury item and its appeal to bourgeois tastes also affected its use of photographs. While many photographs had been seen in the pages of earlier surrealist publications, here they were larger, and there were noticeably more of them.<sup>43</sup> Almost every article in *Minotaure* carried at least one photograph, and, other than the art reproductions, most photographs appear to have been commissioned to illustrate specific articles.<sup>44</sup> However, *Minotaure* was a less likely venue for the use of found images to criticize France's cultural legacy than earlier surrealist magazines such as *La Révolution surréaliste* or *Documents*. Indeed, as the magazine entered the mainstream, appropriation as subversive action was pushed to the background. For these reasons, Heine's play and the photographs published alongside it stood out as subversive and revolutionary.

It is difficult to determine how shocking the photographs accompanying Heine's article would have been, for while there were no other photographs of murder victims in *Minotaure* there were several images of death. For example, André Masson contributed a series of drawings entitled 'Massacres' that depicted the murder of people, mostly women, singly or in groups.<sup>45</sup> However, these line drawings obviously differed from a photograph of a murder victim,

38 – It is here that Heine is much closer to renegade surrealist Georges Bataille than to his colleague André Breton.

39 – The first issue of *Minotaure* was published in February 1933, and the thirteenth issue, the last, appeared in May 1939. Most issues had a print run of three thousand, and there were about three hundred subscribers. E. Tériade, who had worked with Skira and had been involved in another contemporary art review, *Cahiers d'art*, served as art director until issue number ten, when an editorial board was formed to replace him. In issues ten and eleven, this editorial board included André Breton, Marcel Duchamp, Paul Éluard, Maurice Heine and Pierre Mabille, all of whom had been involved, in one way or another, with the wider surrealist movement. Archival sources suggest that Heine was more than just a name on the masthead and he was actively involved in the production of the magazine. See, for example, a letter asking whether an author's article had appeared in the review after he had corrected the proofs. Dr Menard, Letter to Maurice Heine, 12 July 1939, Correspondance et Varia, Papiers Maurice Heine, Bibliothèque nationale de France, tome XIV, Na fr. 24397, f. 154.

40 – Picasso designed the first cover. Subsequent covers were made by, as follows in sequence: Gaston-Leon Roux, André Derain, F. Borès, Marcel Duchamp, Joan Miró, Salvador Dalí, Henri Matisse, René Magritte, Max Ernst, André Masson (some issues were combined). The plan to have renowned artists design the covers was announced in the first issue, and the magazine's editorials consistently used the word 'luxe' to describe *Minotaure*. For example, one editorial stated that: 'Le luxe de MINOTAURE ne doit être considéré qu'comme une nécessité organique'. Albert Skira and E. Tériade, Editorial, *Minotaure* (1935), n. p.

41 – The editorial board included Raoul Vitrac, Jacques Baron, André Masson and André Breton. The main English-language secondary source for information about the review is Dawn Ades, 'Minotaure', *Dada and Surrealism Reviewed*, London: Arts Council of Great Britain 1978. See also *Regards sur Minotaure: la revue à tête de bête*, ed. Claude Gaume, Genève: Musée d'art et d'histoire ca 1987. See also Georges Bataille, *The Absence of Myth: Writings on Surrealism*, trans. Michael Richardson, New York: Verso 1994, and André Breton, *Conversations: The Autobiography of Surrealism*, translated and with an introduction by Mark Polizzotti, New York: Paragon House 1993.

42 – In many ways, the movement lost its political edge when it chose to separate its art from its politics. I do not want to suggest, however, that the movement ceased to be a political one or that the surrealists were not involved in politics during the 1930s. For a good discussion of surrealist politics in the 1930s, see Stephen Harris, *Surrealist Art and Thought in the 1930s: Art, Politics, and the Psyche*, Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press 2004.

43 – The first issue of *Minotaure* had more than 125 illustrations.

44 – For example, in the first issue, Brassai's photographs of Picasso in his studio accompanied an article by André Breton entitled 'Picasso dans son élément', *Minotaure* 1 (1933), 3–23.

45 – André Masson, 'Massacres', *Minotaure* 1 (1933), 10–14.

46 – Other examples of images of death include photographs of an animal sacrifice, as well as drawings that illustrated death and murder in an article on 'le roman noir'. See Michel Leiris, 'Le Taureau de Seyfou Tchenger', *Minotaure* 2: 75–82; Maurice Heine, 'Le Roman noir', *Minotaure* 5 (1934), 1–4.

47 – Breton praised photographs for their illustrative value in his book on surrealist painting. André Breton, *La Surréalisme et la peinture*, Paris: Gallimard 1965. This text was initially published in *La Révolution surréaliste* 4 (15 July 1925) and 9–10 (1 October 1927).

48 – I use the term 'surrealist imagery' loosely here, to encompass images the surrealists made as well as those they admired. For a discussion of the relationships between surrealism and death, see Hal Foster, *Compulsive Beauty*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press 1993. Foster argues that to fully understand Bretonian surrealism we must look at it through Freud's concept of the uncanny, because, although Breton claimed surrealism was a movement of love and freedom, it was, indeed, concerned with death and repression. The surrealists, Foster argues, used the return of the repressed – the uncanny – as a kind of unacknowledged, repressed aesthetic that informed most of their work and aesthetic concepts.

since they could be construed as fantasy, whereas a photograph that had previously circulated as scientific evidence operated in the realm of reality.<sup>46</sup> The discursive presentation of the Kelly photograph as evidence, even when structured as an element of fiction, continued to shape its meaning. While photographs and drawings of dead bodies certainly appeared in sensational publications (such as tabloids or detective periodicals) or in more serious publications (such as daily newspapers), their location within an art review was certainly unusual, and the ways in which the images were treated within the play was disturbing. Certainly, their annexation to a passionate discussion of murder and torture may have been unpleasant for many bourgeois art lovers who purchased Skira's books, especially as Heine's play neither moralized nor attempted to elicit pathos for the women depicted therein.

The significance of the recirculation of borrowed photographs and the creation of new meanings was never explored in discussions of aesthetics or photography by the surrealists. Again and again, the images were called up to represent surrealist objects, but were not construed as themselves revolutionary. The traditional surrealist understanding of the use of photographs remained conservative, and here and in other surrealist magazines, photographs were usually used to illustrate surrealist concepts.<sup>47</sup> Heine's article and chosen photographs, however, interrupted the ways in which Breton and others believed photographs should be used, as well as the ways in which photographs were indeed used in the review. These functioned very differently from other photographs in *Minotaure*, for they were neither illustrations nor the representation of Bretonian or traditional surrealist aesthetic principles. Heine's photographs were not only called upon to illustrate already-existing surrealist meaning; instead, they were asked to actively produce it. Although Heine did not acknowledge the ways in which photographs functioned in his play, it is clear that the images worked to develop the characters and to advance the dialogue. The distinction between photograph and text become blurred, as the two operate in a reciprocal relationship, despite the white space that separates image and text on the page. This differing function of photography suspended Breton's notion of photographic illustration. Indeed, the interruption is significant, for it becomes difficult to situate Heine's article within the Bretonian program, despite the friendship between the two men and their editorial positions at *Minotaure*.

While the photographs published alongside Heine's play certainly pushed at the boundaries of Bretonian aesthetics, they also pushed at the boundaries of the discursive frame of *Minotaure*. Although much surrealist imagery referenced death, above all the death of women, the image of Kelly's murdered body operated at the limits of what could be understood as luxurious, and indeed, even as surreal.<sup>48</sup>

### Surrealisms

Heine's use of photographs in 'Regards sur l'enfer anthropoclasique' created a dialogue with the notion of photographs as evidence, revealing just how photographs are used and understood as evidence. Thus, the appropriation of a police record photograph was in itself revolutionary, for it was an act that tore the photograph from its rigorous presentational place and made it function in another discursive space, one that exposed the process of photographic meaning. But Heine's play and the images that were published with it also revealed the darker side of surrealism and an adoption of Sade that surpassed a simple admiration of the man's revolutionary politics. In a surrealist context, the photograph of Mary Kelly's mutilated body becomes an object of forbidden pleasure, which was certainly the territory of Maurice Heine. The surrealist

adoption of Sade was a significant element in the reframing of the police record photograph. The photograph relied on Sade and sadism for meaning in both its psychological frame of reference and its avant-garde frame of reference.

As in other examples of surrealist photographic appropriation, after the photographs were taken from previous discursive locations and re-framed as surreal, something of their earlier incarnation remained. What remained of the crime-scene photograph was the depiction of the horror of physical trauma enacted on the body of a woman, Mary Kelly. Despite its movement across discourses, from police archives, to medico-legal science and criminology, to surrealism, the photograph remained horrific. The horror of that image revealed another side of Sade, the side that was more than revolutionary, the side that could be sickening, and the side that Breton attempted to sublimate. In the end, the excess of the Kelly photograph with its reminder of mutilation could not be subsumed under art. The photograph is significant, for it reminds us that neither surrealism nor photographic representation were totalities or closed systems. Their meanings, always plural, were discursively produced, sometimes even in the pages of a review such as *Minotaure*.