

ALEX KITNICK

Eduardo Paolozzi

In February 1950, shortly after returning from two years in Paris, Eduardo Paolozzi displayed six sculptures and sixteen bas-reliefs at London's Hanover Gallery, all of which, as the critic Herbert Read would soon put it, displayed "a scorn of bourgeois finish."¹ Placed in oversized wooden frames like archaeological finds, the bas-reliefs were made out of sandy, textured plaster arranged in odd patterns—rashes of bumps, clusters of squares, and sinuous lines. Though many had titles such as *Squid* and *Land and Sea*, and thus claimed a relationship with the natural world, none bore easily identifiable subjects within themselves. Appearing less worked by hand than weathered by nature, their textures were akin to encrusted skeletons or long-dried tire tracks.² They were not so much abstract as they were artifacts, cast-off things and relics that spoke of a distant world.

Poised on inelegant pedestals, Paolozzi's freestanding sculptures possessed similar qualities, finding their forms in plaster of Paris, patinated bronze, and encrusted metal rods. All had a basic quality about them, their scorn of finish stressing their physical properties, and in many cases there seemed to be a correspondence between the medium used and the form an object took, as if each were a study in the properties of its material. Where the bronze sculptures featured tabletop-like surfaces that gave way to alternately organic- and totemic-looking protuber-

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1. Herbert Read, "New Aspects of British Sculpture," in British Council, *The XXVI Venice Biennale, The British Pavilion* (London: Westminster Press, 1952), n.p. The exhibition *Kenneth King, Eduardo Paolozzi, William Turnbull* ran from February 21 to March 18, 1950.

2. One of Paolozzi's bas-reliefs had been shown previously in the exhibition *Les Mains éblouies* at the Galerie Maeght in Paris in 1949. See Frank MacEwen, "Eduardo Paolozzi," *Derrière le Miroir* 22 (October 4, 1949), n.p.

ances, another set of objects built up from metal bars—two sculptures titled *Forms in a Cage* (1950)—possessed a distinctly architectural dimension, suggesting something between scaffolding, a playground folly, and a prison.

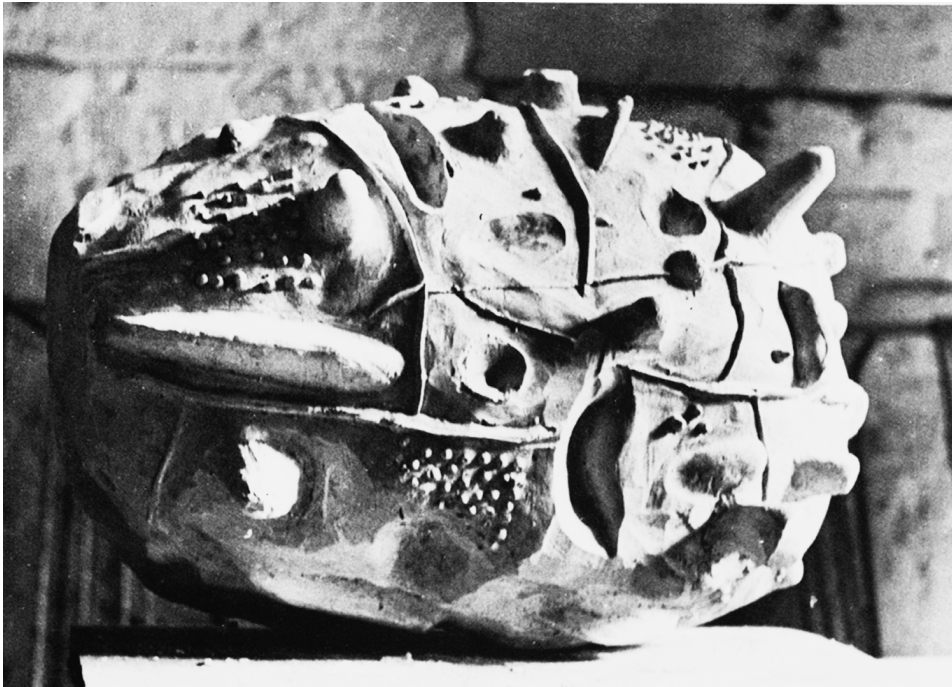
In retrospect, it is this last set of objects that now appears most emblematic of its time, resonating as it does with Herbert Read's concept of a "geometry of fear"—the pathos-laden formalism that the critic imagined to be ingrained in the most important contemporary British sculpture. For Read, such agonized form captured postwar anxiety: "Gone for ever is the serenity, the monumental calm, that a Winckelmann had imposed on the formal imagination of Europe; gone, too, the plastic stress of Rodin," he wrote in a text for the British Pavilion at the 1952 Venice Biennale in which three of Paolozzi's sculptures were included.³ As Read saw it, a sea change was taking place in British sculpture. In lieu of the sensuous masses of Henry Moore, a wiry language, indebted in large part to the work of continental artists such as Alberto Giacometti, was coming to the fore.⁴ Despite his geometric declaration, however, Read was open enough to admit that no one formal quality encompassed the entire spirit of the new sculpture. Indeed, the three works by Paolozzi included in the Biennale—*Bird* (1950), *Forms on a Bow* (1950), and *Study for a Larger Version in Concrete* (1951)—do not necessarily correspond to what we might imagine a "geometry of fear" to look like. Rather, what they have in common is an emphasis on tactility, amorphousness, and materiality. This is especially true of the last of these objects—the *Study*—which virtually demands interaction from the viewer with its mysterious protuberances. In a review of the 1952 *Young Sculptors* exhibition, held at the Institute of Contemporary Arts (ICA) in London, Reyner Banham called this



Eduardo Paolozzi. *Fish*. 1948.
© Paolozzi Foundation.

3. Read, "New Aspects," n.p.

4. In a letter to Nigel Henderson dated September 20, 1949, Paolozzi wrote from Paris, "Did you see the 'Horizon' with photographs of Giacometti sculpture and text by Michel Leiris. I liked the text enormously, this describing a phenomena by indirect images. I would like to be able to do this, but that is as far in the future as it can be placed." See "Letter to Nigel Henderson," in *Eduardo Paolozzi: Writings and Interviews*, ed. Robin Spencer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 64. See Michel Leiris, "Thoughts around Alberto Giacometti," *Horizon: A Review of Literature and Art* 19 (June 1949), pp. 411–17.



Paolozzi. Study for a Larger Version in Concrete. 1951.
© Paolozzi Foundation.

work out for special attention, noting that Paolozzi makes “heavily wrought plaster objects, carbuncular, pocked with sinister pits, of which that titled simply *Study* is the most stimulating, most suggestive of a subversive, autonomous, non-human life.”⁵ Read seems to have sensed something of this “non-human life” as well in his lament for a Europe passed. He understood that the new sculpture was positioning itself outside earlier traditions of Western art, marking either a primeval beginning or an entropic dead end. As he noted in his essay for the Biennale, “Eduardo Paolozzi has moved from skeletal hulks to blind encrusted larvae, formless in mass, logs that seem to have drifted from the primordial Id.”⁶

5. Reyner Banham, “A Man and His Objects,” *Art News and Review* (January 12, 1952), p. 5. In the same year, *Study* was also reproduced in Michel Tapié’s anthology *Un Art autre* (Paris: Gimpel Fils, 1952).

6. Read, “New Aspects,” n.p.

David Sylvester

In a short essay written to accompany the Hanover exhibition, the critic David Sylvester also called attention to this sense of “non-human life” in Paolozzi’s production, though what interested him in particular was the way that the artist’s subject matter demanded a new form of engagement from the viewing subject. Sylvester described his encounter with Paolozzi’s works in blatantly physical terms, writing that “a picture or sculpture of this kind is devoid of a focal point, and the spectator reads it, not by confronting it as a scene detached from himself, but by entering it and moving about in it.”⁷ In certain ways, this sentence provides an apt description of the experience of viewing bas-reliefs in general, given the way they imbue vision with a haptic quality, and yet, at the same time, there was clearly a difference between Sylvester’s engagement with Paolozzi’s work and the way he would have looked at the Elgin marbles in the British Museum. Rather than assuming a traditional contemplative distance, he described himself as entering these works, navigating their landscape in a creaturely fashion. Though their “principal source is the aquarium,” Sylvester wrote, in Paolozzi’s “submarine world we do not swim, but pick our way through a maze of things and creatures at the bottom of the sea.”

If many of Paolozzi’s works suggested an aquatic terrain, however, Sylvester found other topographies in them as well; in their lurking geometries he also witnessed “an aerial view of a landscape or town—either instead of or as well as the sea’s floor,” and for Sylvester, this quality of doubleness gave the works much of their interest, showing certain affinities with the work of Paul Klee, in which Sylvester had recently located the workings of what he called the “multi-evocative sign.” “If Klee had a genius for creating signs that immediately establish the identity of the object they signify,” Sylvester wrote in a 1951 essay published in *Les Temps modernes*,

he was also unsurpassed in the creation of signs with multiple significations, that is, signs which signify two or more species of objects by abstracting and exhibiting their common features. Among Klee’s linear signs of this kind are one that is both flower and musical note, one that is both boat and insect, one that is nipple and eye, one that is dying water lily and snail, one that is tree and archer, another that is tree and ostrich, another that is tree and antennae of a butterfly. No other artist has used the multi-evocative sign—and the device was not only one of the essential features of Surrealism, but has also been used at times by Picasso and Braque, among others—to establish associations so unconventional and unexpected or to make his associations appear so inevitable.⁸

7. David Sylvester, *Kenneth King, Eduardo Paolozzi, William Turnbull*, exh. cat. (London: Hanover Gallery, 1950), n.p.

8. David Sylvester, “Klee II” (1951) in *About Modern Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 45. This is an expanded version of a text that Sylvester had originally written in 1948.

Such similarities help establish a genealogy for Paolozzi's practice. His trip to Paris had been taken out of a wish to get to the heart of Surrealism, and he saw there, amongst other things, the same Klee exhibition that initially inspired Sylvester's review.

If there are continuities between these two bodies of work, however, important differences emerge as well. Where the Klees bind together distinctly graphic "linear signs" (a tree and an archer, for example) in pen and ink, the Paolozzis compound objects, textures, and points of view in cheap plaster. They are distinctly less graphic than the Klees—not so much signs with multiple significations as textures with multiple connotations. The Paolozzis do not change back and forth between referents so neatly; as Sylvester noted, one has to wade around in them to establish one's bearings. Perspective, too, is perpetually shifting in these works. We are either crawling along them on the bottom of the sea or else we are in the sky, aloft above a town, looking down at them. Ultimately, Sylvester saw something redemptive in the way these works tug at vision. "Paolozzi brings us down to earth," he concluded at the end of his essay. "And when we get there we find it mundane no longer."

But what does "mundane no longer" mean exactly? Has the world become enchanting or horrifying—or simply more interesting? In a review of the Hanover exhibition that similarly described Paolozzi's work as "resembling an archaeological excavation seen from the air," we find a related, albeit different, conclusion. Clearly writing with Sylvester's final sentence in mind, this reviewer remarked "that if we contemplate these curious artifacts—for so I think they should be termed rather than sculpture—they begin to work a spell on us and stimulate our fancy until we endow them with a super-mundane significance."⁹ Where for Sylvester, one took a rather belabored journey through these dense landscapes to ultimately hit upon revelation (the world seen through new eyes), for this reviewer all the evocations that the bas-reliefs inspire are not able to hide the fact that they are relentlessly material, earthly things, resistant to meaning. The reviewer's characterization of the bas-reliefs as "artifacts" then, rather than sculptures, is quite to the point, endowing them with a materiality at odds with the typically exalted status of the art object. These works are leftovers and remainders rather than creations; outside of civilization, they are no longer vital or central to culture. Though one might see any number of scenes in them, just as one might envision any number of faces in the side of a mountain, ultimately they return to the banal fact of their own materiality, proclaiming "a super-mundane significance."

Nigel Henderson

Over the course of the Hanover exhibition, Nigel Henderson, a close friend and collaborator of Paolozzi's, took a number of photographs of the works on view, the scratched and worn quality of which captures something of the nature of the

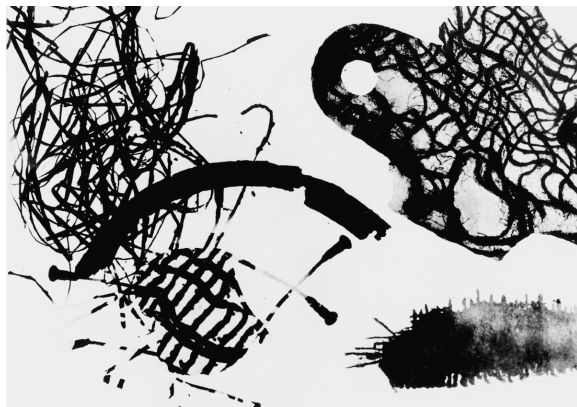
9. Maurice Collis, "Art," *Time and Tide* (March 4, 1950), p. 209.

bas-reliefs themselves. Indeed, much of Henderson's own work from the time, such as his *Photogram to Suggest Microscopic Life* (1949), shares similarities with Paolozzi's bas-reliefs, evoking images of the natural world by other means.¹⁰ If Paolozzi, too, was deeply invested in photography—his many scrapbooks of the time contain images of aerial photographs and fossilized creatures that clearly affected his sculptural production—he nevertheless began his work with the medium of plaster, whereas Henderson, a photographer, turned first to a world of refuse and scrap. Picking up pieces of rubbish and wire from London's bombed East End, he took them back to his darkroom, laying them on light-sensitive paper to make what he called Hendograms—a play on Man Ray's Rayograms.¹¹ Mimicking molecules with mesh and metal, these works locate a kind of science in the street. Indeed, the specimen-like quality of Paolozzi's bas-reliefs comes increasingly into focus when seen alongside Henderson's photographs.

As in Paolozzi's works, the scientific reference in Henderson's pieces is not exclusive; other points of view (and, similarly, ones characterized by a wildly different scale) are embedded in them as well, perhaps the most important of which are the visual properties of flight. Though Henderson first flew in a plane as early as the mid-1930s, his interest in aerial vision was solidified—and traumatically so—during his tenure as a pilot in the Royal Air Force during World War II, which led to the artist's nervous breakdown. If the binding together of aerial and microscopic views functioned as a recurrent theme in Henderson's work, representing the

10. In 1956, *Photogram to Suggest Microscopic Life* was published with the following caption: "Made by contact printing 'junk' elements and projecting cellular texture from the enlarger probably by using loose-woven bandage as negative. Then the print was reversed." See Nigel Henderson, "Photographs," *Ark: The Journal of the Royal College of Art* 17 (July 1956), p. 51.

11. In one of Paolozzi's scrapbooks from this time (ca. 1950), there is a photograph of a fish fossil that bears a striking similarity to a number of Paolozzi's bas-reliefs. There is also a photograph of a stone on the same page that bears a remarkable resemblance to *Study*. Krazy Kat Arkive, Victoria and Albert Museum, AAD/1985/3/6/6.



Nigel Henderson. Photogram to Suggest Microscopic Life. 1949. Courtesy Estate of Nigel Henderson and Mayor Gallery, London.

vast range of which photography was capable, it was also emblematic of an anxiety about his position as a subject in the postwar world.¹² That aerial and microscopic photography could both create similar-looking images—scale, depth, and space falling away to be replaced by an indefinite picture—was simultaneously a source of interest and something deeply unsettling to Henderson. In such a comparison, space collapses, erasing a haven for the subject as well. In an undated note from his archive, Henderson paired these two points of view—something that he would do many times over the course of his career—elaborating on their relationship:

Aerial Topography

Flight: People who have not been ‘UP THERE’ have missed an important revelation. There is the world, a terrain pinned down as flat as a tiger’s skin. The air view visually, as psychology mentally, has killed perspective. Perspective is the art of both feet on the ground & the eye 5ft in the air.

Below this Henderson wrote:

ANIMAL & PLANT forms particularly sectioned and microsectioned. The backbones of mountains, the rumps of hills, the kidneys of alluvials, the eczema of shales, the erosion of stones and gravel, Deltas & creeks. Tripes, chitterbugs, seed pods & collarbones.¹³

In the first paragraph, one notes the decentering and flattening powers of aerial vision; it can make the world look like a tiger’s skin. Such a viewpoint is said to kill perspective much as the discipline of psychology might be said to “shrink” one’s mental capacities. The classic Renaissance conception of the human—a being at the center of the world—is troubled in both. In each case, the traditional spaces of the subject—physical and psychological—are similarly foreclosed. These effects of aerial vision find their match in the bizarre things that happen to “ANIMAL & PLANT forms” when put under the microscope: shales catch eczema and hills grow rumps. Both aerial and microscopic visions transform their subjects—beholder and beheld alike. What is perhaps most striking, however, is that each category begins to assume characteristics of the other. The world’s topography becomes like “a tiger’s skin” while microsectioned plant forms give way to “Deltas and creeks.” A kind of equivalence appears here that simultaneously functions as a form of collapse.

12. An interest in the paired figures of the microscope and the airplane is not exclusive to Paolozzi and Henderson. In *Language of Vision* (1944), Gyorgy Kepes wrote of the conflation between these two modes of perception as well, stressing how man’s vision was being rewritten in line with technological advancements. See Gyorgy Kepes, *Language of Vision* (Chicago: Paul Theobald, 1951), pp. 149–50, and Victoria Walsh, *Nigel Henderson: Parallel of Life and Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2001), p. 21.

13. “Notes,” Nigel Henderson Collection, Tate Gallery, TGA 9211.4.7.

Parallel of Life and Art

Acting on their shared interests, Henderson and Paolozzi began planning an exhibition of photographic documents with the architects Alison and Peter Smithson and the engineer Ronald Jenkins. All of the group members were friends and colleagues: Paolozzi and Henderson had gone to art school together at the Slade and had spent time together in Paris. Paolozzi had also worked on a number of design projects with the Smithsons and Jenkins. In a series of notes on the exhibition, Henderson stressed this working relationship, pointing out that the planning process was an empirical matter rather than a theoretical affair.¹⁴ When Paolozzi suggested the idea of putting together an exhibition, each of the group's members was already in the habit of collecting images—plucking them from magazines and pasting them in scrapbooks.¹⁵ What the editors chose, Henderson stressed, was what moved them; no particular theory had been mapped out beforehand. In taking such a tack, the exhibition planners distanced themselves from the programmatic displays of earlier avant-gardes, which created photographic spaces in the hope of giving rise to mass publics.¹⁶ In making public the private interests contained in their scrapbooks, however, Henderson, Paolozzi, and the Smithsons nevertheless allowed an audience to explore the impact that a new realm of images was having on contemporary artistic and architectural practice. Indeed, *Sources* served as the exhibition's first working title, which appears in Henderson's notes next to a revision of the coupled paragraphs we looked at earlier: "SOURCES: Animal & plant forms particularly micro sections. Flying. Aerial Topography. The backbones or jawbones of mountains. The Rump of Hills. The eczema of shales. The seepage, the drainage of marshes. Alluvials, Deltas. Tripes, Chitterbugs, Flowers, Collarbones."¹⁷ As before, there is a doubling of terms at work here, and a conflation of species. It is as if two ways of seeing—airial and microscopic—have once again been grafted one atop the other.

The idea of doubling surfaces again in the exhibition's final title, *Parallel of Life and Art*. An early study for the exhibition by Henderson and Paolozzi, consisting of two friezes of photographs pasted one above the other, takes the idea of the *parallel* quite literally, even if the terms *life* and *art* are rather difficult to parse. In

14. "Notes," Nigel Henderson Collection, Tate Gallery, TGA 9211.4.5.

15. A number of Paolozzi's scrapbooks contain imagery pertinent to this discussion. AAD/1985/3/6/5 (ca. 1940–1950) is filled with images of airplanes taken from cigarette packages and magazine pages. It also contains one image of a city seen from the air, which bears the caption: "Berlin seen by the night camera." Another scrapbook, AAD/1985/36/3 (ca. 1948–1952), has an aerial photograph of an estuary on its cover as well as a number of aerial photographs of bombed sites inside. Importantly, this scrapbook also contains a number of scientific images, mostly of insects. A third scrapbook, AAD/1985/3/6/1 (ca. 1947–1953), contains aerial photographs of Hiroshima, lower Manhattan, and before and after pictures of "Precision Bombing in Korea."

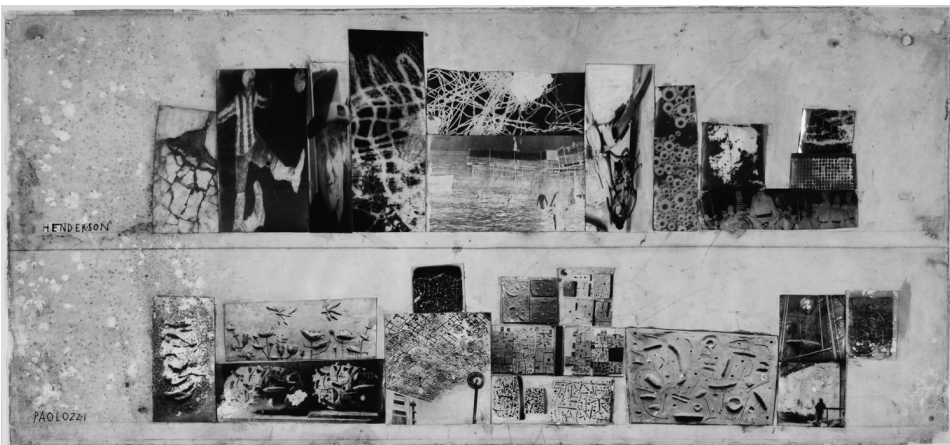
16. See *Public Photographic Spaces: Exhibitions of Propaganda, from Pressa to The Family of Man, 1928–1955* (Barcelona: MACBA, 2009).

17. "Notes," Nigel Henderson Collection, Tate Gallery, TGA 9211.4.8.

lieu of the news clippings and found photographs that would ultimately populate the exhibition, however, the images come from the artists' own work. The top register is filled with miniature versions of Henderson's photographs, a number of his cameraless Hendograms as well as a variety of lens-based works—a solarized footballer, an old lady, and an inverted motorcycle, all “stressed,” bent, and folded, as part of Henderson's darkroom manipulations. An interest in the physical properties of the photographic medium pervades these works—the ways in which photography can be manipulated so as to highlight worldly connections. As an editorial published a few years later noted, a “stressed photo” by Nigel Henderson “shows the relation of figures to the spatial complex of the street, whose topological qualities are greatly heightened by the distortions, giving one a visual image of the whole scene.”¹⁸ Indeed, the parts of Henderson's panel feed into one another—conveying the sense of an environment, an uneasy feeling of connectedness—much in the same way as his stressed photographs.

Laid out below Henderson's stratum, Paolozzi's frieze, filled with an assortment of photographic reproductions of his own projects, appears to have been organized according to a similar logic. It, too, is a mini-retrospective. A number of his bas-reliefs from the Hanover exhibition appear here as do others, which, with marks deeply incised, look like archaic tablets. Two versions of *Study for a Larger Version in Concrete* share the space on the lower left. Portions of Paolozzi's extra-artistic work turn up as well. An all-over wallpaper pattern that the artist produced for the ceiling of Jenkins's office—a blackened tangle of crude lines—takes center

18. See [Michael Pearson], “Editorial,” 244: *Journal of the University of Manchester Architectural and Planning Society* 7 (Winter 1956–57), p. 2; reprinted in this volume.



Nigel Henderson and Eduardo Paolozzi. Untitled (Study for Parallel of Life and Art). 1952. Courtesy Tate Gallery, London.

stage. Finally, two views of the fountain that Paolozzi designed for the Festival of Britain the year before appear on the right. The heterogeneity of Paolozzi's projects—his public commissions, his interior designs, his *objets d'art*—are all pictured here as belonging to a common project, which is indicated, as in Henderson's space above, through formal suggestion. A particularly graphic quality, a kind of primitive decoration, unites them, writing over differences in scale and function.

It is not clear if Henderson and Paolozzi imagined one of these registers to signify *life* and the other *art*. Indeed, it would be hard to know which is which. Both terms are woven throughout the panels. Reproductions of artworks appear in each. Moreover, each stratum makes some kind of claim on life, either through imaging street scenes or depicting social spaces. In many ways, this study effaces the meaning of the individual works themselves, sorting them into something like two layers of geological strata sedimented one above the other. More than a way of establishing a relationship between *life* and *art*, the study seems to be a way of disintegrating the two. A subsequent mock-up by the artists takes this breakdown one step further, bringing together a number of the same images with the structure of the parallel erased. This second study is closer to what the exhibition eventually looked like—an all-encompassing environment—and with its inclusion of two human figures, one standing behind the other, their faces implanted in a spread of crushed tile, it speaks more to its intentions and effects. Ultimately, it was the effect that images had on human subjects that *Parallel* attempted to register.

Both of these studies, however, were only a starting point. Taking them as a ground, Paolozzi and Henderson worked outwards. In the actual exhibition, their artworks were erased. Rather than put their own work forward, Paolozzi and Henderson aimed to look behind the scenes of their practices—to display the images that influenced them and to which they believed themselves to be responding. In so doing, they positioned themselves as *receivers*—artists who do not so much express themselves as much as they are impressed upon by an outside world.¹⁹ The final exhibition was composed almost entirely of images taken from newspapers, scientific manuals, and art magazines, culled from the private collections that the five “editors” had put together. “Editor” was the appellation they gave themselves, a mantle that conjures up a vocation of picking, selecting, and consuming. Though four photographs by Henderson were ultimately tucked into the exhibition—one of coffee grounds, one of a hand print, one of a distorted Victorian lantern slide, and one of Paolozzi's plaster blocks (these latter two were featured in the study as well)—they could just as easily have come from elsewhere. Their authorship and identity were effaced through the company they shared.

The final incarnation of *Parallel* consisted of 122 photographic images hung from various angles around the ICA's Dover Street gallery. The plenitude

19. I borrow this term from Kaja Silverman, “The Artist as Receiver,” *October* 96 (Spring 2001), pp. 17–34.

of material was important to the exhibition's overall effect. Images were everywhere. Some hung from the wall, some close to the ground, some above the door; others were suspended from the ceiling, some perpendicularly, others from acute angles. It would have been difficult to focus on one without another coming into view. Positioned in different ways, the photographs asserted themselves as physical entities, simultaneously engaging the space of the gallery and bringing about an increased emphasis on the subject's position within it. Shedding their status as solitary units, the photographs emerged as points in a three-dimensional matrix, creating a kind of "architecture of images" or "image ecology," a space in which they were able to reach out to one another to form various relationships of affinity and difference.²⁰ Perhaps thinking of Duchamp's 1938 *International Surrealist Exhibition*, in which the gallery space was shot through with string, Henderson described the *Parallel* installation as "a kind of spider's web" that "built up a pretty good nervous tension."²¹ The images caught in the web hung like specimens. Pulled out of their original locations, blown up, rearranged, and with any text that may have previously accompanied them removed, they were undoubtedly modified as a result of the new company they kept. Reproduced in black and white, they were pictured as part of a common system.

Though aerial and microscopic photographs were included in the exhibition, other types of images were integrated as well. As the press release explained, *Parallel* was broadly concerned with the various kinds of images that photography was capable of producing: "In this exhibition an encyclopedic range of material from past and present is brought together through the medium of the camera which is used as recorder, reporter, and scientific investigator."²² If photography gathered things together, however, it also produced ambiguity, highlighting formal qualities in such a way as to bring a new visual order into being, transforming things into a series of glyphs. This transformation rewrote one's understanding of the world, bringing, as the editors put it, "a poetic-lyrical order" into being, "a series of cross-relationships" based on form rather than the use or identity of the thing depicted. As images are created, they cleave apart from that to which they originally referred and are reorganized into categories "independent of [their] field." "A common visual denominator" exerts its importance over depicted objects. A photograph of a burlap work by Alberto Burri, for example, hung near a photograph of mud flats at Grigsby, the ripped and rugged edges of the former appearing to have been cut from the same cloth as the congealed contours of the latter. An aerial view of a distant city hung nearby, an image connected to the scenes that Sylvester spied in Paolozzi's bas-reliefs and that Henderson saw in his own photograms. As the editors stated in the

20. Beatriz Colomina uses the former term in relation to *Parallel of Life and Art* in her essay "Unbreathed Air 1956," *Grey Room* 15 (Spring 2004), p. 34. David Joselit uses the latter term in its plural form—"image ecologies"—in *Feedback: Television against Democracy* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2007), p. xii.

21. "Dorothy Morland interviewing Nigel Henderson, 17.8.76," TGA 955.1.14.6, pp. 2–3.

22. "PARALLEL OF LIFE AND ART: Indications of a new visual order (August 31, 1953)," ICA Archives, Tate Gallery, TGA 9211.5.1.2.



Nigel Henderson, Eduardo Paolozzi, Alison Smithson, and Peter Smithson. *Parallel of Life and Art*. 1953.

press release, these relationships were founded solely on the level of form rather than the genetic structure of the objects the photographs depicted. Referents were reduced to patterns, textures, and shapes.

Imaginary Museum

Parallel of Life and Art opened on September 11, 1953. Though Herbert Read inaugurated it, the editors had wanted André Malraux to do the honors, since the French writer's thinking on photography had been so important for their own.²³ In his essay "Le Musée Imaginaire," Malraux had argued that photography embodies many of the same powers as the museum: it was capable of aestheticizing all sorts of cultural objects, from tapestries to religious icons, until they were stripped of their original use values and signified nothing other than Art. If other writers, beginning with Baudelaire, have taken the position that photography spells the end of art,

23. Nigel Henderson, "Lecture notes," Nigel Henderson Collection, Tate Gallery, TGA 9211.5.1.5.

Malraux imagined the opposite to be true—only with photography, he thought, would the spirit of art become fully legible. Unrestrained by walls and capable of making reproductions ad infinitum, photography could gather things from far and wide, bringing together works of art that could not otherwise be assembled. Rather than simply putting together collections of treasures and masterpieces, it could go beyond the traditional parameters of vaunted cultural institutions, setting its sights on decorative objects and items produced by non-Western cultures. If photography could expand the definition of that which was museum-worthy, however, Malraux nevertheless envisioned its scope as stopping at the borders of cultural production. His photographic museum was still an art museum, albeit necessarily transferred to the realm of the book. Though whole new sets of objects would be assembled under photography's gaze, culture remained its primary object.

For Malraux, photography did not simply bring objects closer together, however; it necessarily rewrote them as well. “Thus the angle from which a work of sculpture is photographed, the focusing and, above all, skillfully adjusted lighting may strongly accentuate something the sculptor merely hinted at,” he wrote.

Photography imparts a *family* likeness to objects that have actually but slight affinity. With the result that such different objects as a miniature, a piece of tapestry, a statue and a medieval stained-glass window, when reproduced on the same page, may seem members of the same family. They have lost their colors, texture, and relative dimensions (the statue has also lost something of its volume); each, in short, has practically lost what was specific to it—but *their common style is so much the gainer*.²⁴

By placing a first-century bronze plaque above a twelfth-century Romanesque relief, Malraux did just this, liberating the “style” in both objects and allowing their common aspects to come into view. “Nothing conveys more vividly and compellingly the notion of a destiny shaping human ends than do the great styles, whose evolutions and transformations seem like the long scars that Fate has left, in passing, on the face of the earth,” Malraux concluded.²⁵ For Malraux, photography and fate were bound up with one another; photography made family visible. Rather than an era of optical alienation, Malraux's modernity was an epoch of visualized community, with man standing in control above it all.

In many ways, *Parallel* might be said to have hewed rather closely to Malraux's dicta. Both projects affirmed the power of photography to rewrite objects along formal lines; both created a “family likeness” between things that in truth had “but slight affinity”; and both accepted the image as its primary form of currency. If there are similarities between these two projects, however, there are vast differences as well. Where Malraux envisioned his museum as inevitably taking the form of a book,

24. Malraux's *Le Musée imaginaire de la sculpture mondiale* was published by Gallimard in 1952. A version of this text was published a year later, in English, as André Malraux, *The Voices of Silence*, trans. Stuart Gilbert (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1953), p. 21. Italics mine.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

Parallel insisted on maintaining the art gallery as a site of display—a way perhaps of challenging art’s institutional boundaries, if not the institution of art itself. In the tiny ICA gallery, all different sorts of things were put on display, including reproductions of artworks by Alberto Burri, Jean Dubuffet, Paul Klee, and a Hans Namuth photograph of Jackson Pollock painting. Most memorable, however, are the exhibition’s odder specimens: photographs of forest fires, steam engines, microbes, racing finishes, and exercise sessions. The exhibition’s most important reversal of Malraux’s tenets, then, was its recognition that as artworks entered the photographic apparatus, they inevitably became mixed up with the other things that went in alongside it. Though one might see *Parallel* as a demand that works of art be understood in terms of larger image ecologies, it also contains the more pedestal-toppling claim that artworks are simply one source of images among many.

Despite the exhibition’s increased heterogeneity, however, a belief in photography’s transformational possibilities was nevertheless carried over from Malraux’s “Museum.” If Malraux settled for lighting and close-ups in his rewriting of three-dimensional objects, *Parallel* went beyond it, throwing its cards in with macro lenses, aerial photography, and almost infinitesimally tiny shutter speeds. The effect of such photographic production and reproduction, the exhibition insisted, was to strip all things of their identities and transform them into purely formal glyphs—what the editors of the exhibition called “images.” Where Malraux saw photography as offering proof of a human spirit, delivering up common styles as the mark of Fate, *Parallel* understood it as giving rise to a confounding, if at times intriguing, order of images that lacked any traditional rhyme or reason—“a new visual order.” The expansion of subject matter in *Parallel* revised Malraux’s dearest claims regarding the power of photography. Rather than giving proof of art’s spirit, it was now seen as giving rise to a newly incomprehensible environment. This new order might have been created by man, as Malraux suggested, but it had just as quickly had gone out of his control. Rather than use its collection of images to try and prove a transcendent principle about man’s interconnectedness, *Parallel* focused on man’s alienation from a world he had ostensibly created.

In his review of the exhibition, Reyner Banham was quick to pick up on *Parallel*’s alienating effects. While still valorizing photography to a certain extent—he wrote that its ability to document “is one of the greatest services which the camera has done for the Western man and the Western artist”—he also noted its ability to create commonalities where none exist.²⁶ Photography, he understood, forms a world apart from the one that it ostensibly documents, giving rise to “a new visual environment”—an autonomous world. “The photograph, being an artifact,” he wrote,

applies its own laws to the material it documents, and discovers similarities and parallels between the documentations, even where none exist

26. Reyner Banham, “Parallel of Life and Art,” *Architectural Review* 114 (October 1953), p. 259; reprinted in this issue.

between objects and events recorded. Thus, between a head carved in porous whalebone by an Eskimo and the section of a plant stem from Thornton's *Vegetable Anatomy*, there is no connection whatsoever except their community of outline and surface texture (even matrix of alveoles with symmetrically disposed roughly lenticular irruptions) in photographic reproduction. They come from societies and technologies almost unimaginably different, *and yet to camera-eyed Western man the visual equivalence is unmistakable and perfectly convincing.*²⁷

Photography is a lawmaker, Banham makes clear, and it legislates identically no matter its subject. It does not document things as much as it translates them into homogeneous code, establishing "a community of outline and surface texture" emphatically ignorant of both context and culture. Banham's phrase here brings Malraux's rhetoric to mind once again—a common spirit is brought into being—except that Banham finds this community dubious at best, a superficiality more than anything else. Though both Banham and Malraux relate photography to a particularly Western way of seeing—Banham's "camera-eyed Western man," we might say, is an extension of Malraux's museum-eyed Western subject—the two draw rather different conclusions from this common point of departure. Where Malraux understands photographic vision to be a positive thing—it is what brings Art into being after all—for Banham it brings about misrecognitions that nevertheless appear perfectly convincing. As such, nothing is revealed to him in *Parallel's* assemblage of images except for a form of vision that emphatically excludes traces of history and particularities of culture, and which has now become the dominant vision of the Western subject.

Banham made no attempt to hide his feelings about this situation. He ended his review on a rather mournful note, lamenting the incorporeal and passive position of this alienated "camera-eyed" subject. "We should recognize that if the camera has increased our visual riches," he wrote, "we are richer only in bills of credit, most of which cannot be cashed—there can be no direct visual apprehension of scenes which have passed, or of those which exist only on the photographic plate of instruments like the electron microscope." He continues:

The camera, with its strong moral claims to truth and objectivity now over a century old, has established its manner of seeing as the common visual currency of our time, and we come to think of the photographic experience as the equivalent of personal participation. But we should ask ourselves who would be truly richer—one who possessed photographs of every surviving building of the Classical world, or Sir John Soane, who had measured every stone of the orders of the Coliseum and could quote its intercolumniation even in his old age.²⁸

27. Ibid., p. 260. Italics mine.

28. Ibid., p. 261.

Banham's question here is blatantly rhetorical. At this moment at least, he preferred an active agent of measurement and memory to a passive subject—a kind of mechanical archive—totally beholden to the image. He understood *camera vision* as a loss of memory and tactility alike, one that offered only an illusion of participation and involvement. Though photography delivers a glut of visual riches, it is in a form of credit that cannot be redeemed.

Anomic Atlas

Like Banham, David Sylvester also found himself feeling rather anxious before *Parallel's* scattering of images, and in his review of the exhibition, he communicated a comparable sense of loss. Though he sensed something of the ambiguity he found in Paolozzi's bas-reliefs, here he was more disgruntled than intrigued. As if he were trying to save the editors from a childish mistake, he did not provide their names in his review, which he began with a hurried list of what he believed himself to be seeing, as if the act of naming would ease the cacophonous and jarring effect instantiated by the exhibition:

News photos, aerial photos, Victorian photos, X-ray photos, kinetic photos, photo-finishes, photo-montages, photograms, photographic illustrations from manufacturers' catalogues; and photographs of antique sculpture, Japanese scripts, Leonardo drawings, Blaue Reiter drawings, children's drawings, classical temples, figures from text-books ancient and modern of botany, geology, mechanics, and anatomy.

All of this led to a "consummate inconsequentiality."²⁹

In Sylvester's view, as in Banham's, photography did not place the world at man's disposal; it made the world incomprehensible by erasing the differences between its elements: "Thanks to the camera, which must reduce all things to a uniform texture, and the enlarger, which can blow things up beyond all recognition, this exhibition is a vocabulary of visual metaphors which shows that a thing can be almost anything once you have removed its name." This too hews closely to Banham's perspective, but in this last fragment Sylvester provides an additional insight: photography removes names from things. Opening up onto the space of the arbitrary, it allows them to shift identity and become almost anything else. Sylvester's claim here is an assertion of biblical proportions. The Old Testament begins with God giving Adam the power to name the world, and thus to take control over it, a power that photography here overturns. For Sylvester, the homogenizing power of the camera takes things "beyond all recognition"—not simply by removing their names but by undermining the very possibility of naming. In so doing, photography returns the world to a state of nature without man, a world outside of man's control, a world without language.³⁰

29. David Sylvester, "Round the London Art Galleries," *The Listener* (September 24, 1953), p. 512.

30. In his great essay on photography, Siegfried Kracauer makes a similar point in regards to the

The catalogue that accompanied *Parallel* did make some attempt at countering the homogenizing and disorienting powers of the photographic apparatus. It identified the various images in the exhibition and disclosed their sources, grouping them under various headings arranged, for the most part, in alphabetical order.³¹ Despite this information, the catalogue did not exactly function as an explanatory guide. For Sylvester, it added yet another layer of mystery to an already opaque display of photographs.³² From even the briefest of glances at the exhibition's leprello-style checklist it quickly becomes clear why Sylvester was so confused. The section titled "Anatomy" included

a watch, two radio valves, under side of TV chassis, dissection of a frog, sections of a tree, bark drawing of native spearing a large black rock kangaroo, locomotive, sections of an insect, female bulb scale mitt, diverticulum of colon X10 (photo-micrograph), dismembered typewriter, feature of coniferous wood (micro-photograph), radiograph of a jeep.

In addition to a building by Le Corbusier, "Architecture" included a detail from the mask of Quetzalcoatl and "different types of vegetable cellular tissue." "Art" contained a painting by Alberto Burri and "racing cyclists crash (news photo)." "Landscape" was imagined broadly enough to encompass marbled paper, a handprint, a "fossil fish," "Zyggurat, remains of an ancient temple," and a "burnt out forest in California." It is not only the sundry collection of images included within these categories that draws our attention, however, but the odd nature of a number of the categories themselves. "Calligraphy"? "Date 1901"? What is hinted at in this organization is the fact that the information provided in the catalogue—the names and sources of the images—is not enough to compensate for the dedifferentiating effects to which they had been submitted. The images, in other words, had already been sufficiently estranged from the things to which they were ostensibly supposed to refer that even with the names of their refer-

medium's powers: "For the first time in history, photography brings to light the entire natural cocoon; for the first time, the inert world presents itself in its independence from human beings. Photography shows cities in aerial shots, brings crockets and figures down from the Gothic cathedrals. All spatial configurations are incorporated into the central archive in unusual combinations which distance them from human proximity." According to Kracauer, as photography exposes a world previously hidden from man's vision, it forms a world independent from human beings as well. Man may produce photographs but as he makes them he loses control over what he captures, thus becoming alienated from his own production. See Siegfried Kracauer, "Photography," in *The Mass Ornament: Weimar Essays*, trans. Thomas Y. Levin (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995), p. 62.

31. They are: *Anatomy, Architecture, Art, Calligraphy, Date 1901, Landscape, Movement, Nature, Primitive, Scale of Man, Stress, Stress Structure*. These are followed by: *Football, Science Fiction, Medicine, Geology, Metal, Ceramic*.

32. The editors, he wrote, "have been equally unhelpful in the arrangement of the catalogue, in which the items are classified under headings, but in so arbitrary, inconsistent, and perverse a fashion as only to confuse, and in which no explanation is provided, beyond a handful of quotations, of an exhibition whose meaning and purpose seem as obscure as its title." Sylvester, "Round the London Art Galleries," p. 512.

ents assigned, the photographs could not be assembled into their original ontological categories; they had already been remade and hence refiled.

With its interest in classification, *Parallel* appears as an Enlightenment project unraveled, or perhaps exacerbated—the discipline of natural history gone awry. In the scientific atlases that were natural history’s primary medium, Foucault writes in *The Order of Things*, “creatures present themselves one beside the other, their surfaces visible, grouped according to their common features . . . stripped of all commentary, of all enveloping language.”³³ Such a clinical way of seeing was made possible by scientific advancements, such as the invention of the microscope, which allowed new sights to come into view, but which also had the effect of excising much else. The emphasis that the editors of *Parallel* placed on X-rays, aerial photographs, and the like brought about a similar interest in structure and form at the expense of other signs and meanings. If natural history tried to make nature speak and find its hidden order, it often had the effect of rendering nature still and lifeless, flattening and pinning things down. Similarly, the various things pictured in *Parallel’s* images—natural and man-made alike—were eventually trumped by their status as photographs and “artifacts.” Each image was figured as a kind of ruin in which the muteness and resilience of nature were once again put on view, emphasizing its obstinate opacity in the face of man’s attempt to make sense of it. Assembled together, they signified disorder more than anything else. In many ways, then, *Parallel* represents the science of natural history at its absurdist conclusion—in the throes of “second nature.” Entirely beholden to images, its editors looked only at structure, excising all other information. In a way, the editors of *Parallel* were victims of visuality. They could only see, and they were overwhelmed, affected, and taken over by what they saw. For them, the whole world had become a vast sea of images.

Image

“Image” was an oft-used term at the historical moment we have been surveying—oft-used, and ill-defined. The editors of the exhibition used it in their press release (“the editors . . . have selected more than a hundred images of significance for them”), and Nigel Henderson incorporated it as part of the title of another exhibition of his, *Photo-Images*, which was held at the ICA a year later.³⁴ In 1955, Reyner Banham, made it central to his definition of the New Brutalism, which focused on the architecture of the Smithsons and included *Parallel* in its scope; the image, he

33. Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (1966; New York: Vintage Books, 1994), p. 131. For more on scientific atlases, see Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York: Zone Books, 2007).

34. Henderson’s exhibition, *Photo-Images*, was held in the Members Room of the ICA from April 1–May 15, 1954. Unfortunately, little is known about this exhibition; the only documentation available is a negative of the title placard, which shows bits of frayed fabric and graffiti-like scratches. Nigel Henderson Collection, Tate Gallery, TGA 9211.9.5.33.

wrote, was something both “visually valuable” and suffused with “human association.” The word broke through the boundary separating high and low, opening up onto a wide cultural continuum. Despite these frequent invocations, however, no particularly concrete definition seems to have been worked up as a support. The word was as much an enigma as it was a “mana” term. In a list of questions Henderson posed to himself at the time, he asked, “What do you mean by ‘IMAGE’?”³⁵

Today the currency of this word in the artistic discourse of the 1950s is often seen as foreshadowing the advent of Pop art, with which many artists in this milieu, including Paolozzi and Richard Hamilton, would come to be identified in the 1960s. In his essay “The Development of British Pop,” published in 1966, Lawrence Alloway stressed the word’s importance at this early moment: “‘Image,’ a powerful word by this time, was used to describe evocative visual material from any source, with or without the status of art.”³⁶ By 1972, the group of young artists that gathered around the Institute of Contemporary Arts in London, including Henderson, Paolozzi, the Smithsons, and Hamilton among others, would be patriarchally dubbed the Fathers of Pop.³⁷ At this later moment, “image” was synonymous with “pop culture” and was thought to function on the order of language.³⁸ In his seminal text of 1964 “The Rhetoric of the Image,” Roland Barthes stressed this linguistic aspect; for him, “image” essentially meant “advertisement,” a condensed site of visual codes.³⁹ Codified and reified, the parameters of the image were imagined to be both fastened and set, its contours well-honed and intended to elicit a specific response.

Though there is certainly a kernel of this later moment at work in this period, it should not overshadow the differences at stake. If the artists involved in *Parallel* were presaging Pop art (if not popular science), they were also invoking the precedent of Surrealism, which, after all, was their principal point of artistic reference. Surrealism, as its spokesman André Breton emphasized, was in the business of making images as well. “It is true of Surrealist images as it is of opium images,” Breton wrote in his “Manifesto of Surrealism” of 1924,

that man does not evoke them; rather they ‘come to him spontaneously, despotically. He cannot chase them away; for the will is powerless now and no longer controls the faculties.’ It remains to be seen whether images have ever been ‘evoked.’ If one accepts, as I do,

35. “Notes,” Nigel Henderson Collection, Tate Gallery, TGA 9211.4.7.

36. Lawrence Alloway, “The Development of British Pop,” in Lucy R. Lippard, *Pop Art* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1966), p. 33. In his chronicle of Britain in the 1950s and ’60s, *The Neophilias*, Christopher Booker also makes “image” a central term in his argument. See Christopher Booker, *The Neophilias* (Boston: Gambit Incorporated, 1970), especially p. 36.

37. See *Fathers of Pop*, dir. Julian Cooper (1979).

38. See, for example, Christopher Finch, *Image as Language: Aspects of British Art 1950–1968* (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1969).

39. Roland Barthes, “The Rhetoric of the Image,” in *The Responsibility of Forms*, trans. Richard Howard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 21–40.

Reverdy's definition it does not seem possible to bring together, voluntarily, what he calls "two distant realities." The juxtaposition is made or not made, and that is the long and short of it.⁴⁰

The Surrealist image, Breton notes, comes into being through the juxtaposition of "two distant realities" brought together in the artist as if by magnetic force. No intentionality is involved. The subject, for Breton, is not active but mediumistic. He urged his Surrealist colleagues to put themselves "in as passive, or receptive, a state of mind as you can."⁴¹ As Rosalind Krauss has argued, however, if such a collision of realities was to take place in the space of the subject, it ultimately occurred nowhere more frequently than in the space of Surrealist photography. There it assumed a logic of morphological doubling, creating signs that suggested two things at once (a woman and a phallus, for example), much like the ones that Sylvester detected in Klee's drawings. It is this doubling that sends the Surrealist image, like its Pop counterpart, into the realm of language: "In this way the photographic medium is exploited to produce a paradox: the paradox of reality constituted as sign—or presence transformed into absence, into representation, into spacing, into writing," Krauss argues.⁴² "Surreality is, we might say, nature convulsed into a kind of writing."⁴³ If *Parallel* is indebted to Surrealism, it is on this point that it departs from it. The conception of the image we encounter in 1953 is immeasurably more ambivalent—less *written*, we might say—than the one placed before us in 1924. The images that comprise *Parallel* are less signifying objects than they are objects stripped of references, less juxtapositions of things than ambiguities of form. As distinguished from a sign, which binds together signifier and signified in the service of representation, the image lacks such a composite dimension; it is simply a presence, an enigmatic appearance, a "thing itself," and as such, it possesses a visceral quality as well.⁴⁴

Figure

At the end of his *Parallel* review, David Sylvester traced a short genealogy for the ideas behind the exhibition, picking out some of its precedents in addition to claiming some of its contemporaries. He began with a disavowal. The exhibition, he wrote, "does not relate to surrealism, in which unexpected analogies are drawn between things that are recognized as such, which is to say,

40. André Breton, "Manifesto of Surrealism," in *Manifestoes of Surrealism*, trans. Richard Seaver and Helen R. Lane (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1972), p. 36.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

42. Rosalind E. Krauss, "The Photographic Conditions of Surrealism," in *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1985), p. 112.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

44. Reyner Banham, "The New Brutalism," *Architectural Review* 118 (December 1955), pp. 355–61; reprinted in this volume.



Francis Bacon. Study After Velázquez's
Portrait of Pope Innocent X. 1953.
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reserved. / ARS, New York / DACS, London.

named (and this, surely, is why the editors have not made juxtapositions between similar images).⁴⁵ Separating *Parallel* from Surrealism, however, did not leave the exhibition alone in the wilderness. Sylvester asserted that it “does relate to Giacometti and Francis Bacon.” Despite Paolozzi’s frequently professed interest in the work of Alberto Giacometti and the fact that Francis Bacon is widely known to have used photographic images in the making of his paintings, Sylvester’s comment is nevertheless a rather provocative thesis.⁴⁶ What do these two artists who are so preoccupied with the figure—one who renders it impossibly impoverished and the other affectively contorted—have to do with an exhibition that on the surface does not seem to have any particular interest in human form? Though we catch glimpses of bodies from time to time—most

45. Sylvester, “Round the London Art Galleries,” p. 512.

46. For more on Bacon and photography see David Sylvester, *Interviews with Francis Bacon* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1985), and Martin Harrison, *Francis Bacon: Incunabula* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2009). It seems worth mentioning that Bacon had a number of photographs by Henderson in his personal collection.



*Henderson. Installation View of "Parallel of Life and Art." 1953.
Courtesy Estate of Nigel Henderson and Mayor Gallery, London.*

often in the form of a sculpture—it is not privileged any more than the large image of a leaf, for example, or the news-photo of a bicycle crash.⁴⁷ In a way, however, the entire exhibition points toward the figure—it is what is caught in its image ecology.

Over the course of the exhibition, Henderson returned to the ICA at different times to take installation photographs. In one series, Henderson's daughter appears in different locations around the room. The selection of a child as model here—and, indeed, the artist's own child—is significant; everything pictured is the result of reproduction. If the child performed an important function in post-war England as a sign of new life after a period of destruction, it also served as a monitor by which one might gauge the media's inventory of effects.⁴⁸ Indeed, with the child's body as measure, we feel for the first time the truly distorting sense of scale at work in *Parallel*. The girl is as big as a molecule as she is as a mountain; she is on discombobulating terrain. In one particular image she stands in constellation with a crouched figure and a disassembled typewriter, among other things. Apparently, she had to hold the pose for a long time—and perhaps as an effect of this, she looks like an image herself. She is smeared and ghostly, alternately transparent and darkened; she does not look altogether unlike the photographs that surround her. She has become like them, and is beholden to them. She has been brought into the matrix of images. In his book on Francis Bacon, Gilles Deleuze described this phenomenon as the "Figure," an entity that does not have so much to do with figuration as it does with coming-into-being. In the Figure, Deleuze writes, "an intense movement flows through the whole body, a deformed and deforming movement that at every moment transfers the real image onto the body in order to constitute the Figure."⁴⁹ To put it bluntly: body plus image equals Figure. Where for Deleuze such an equation added up to a vital being, here it gives off the semblance of calcification and deadliness.

This photograph gets to the heart of the *Parallel* exhibition and to the heart of what the image meant at this time. In it we see the new photographic

47. The cover of the exhibition catalogue features an image from Lászlo Moholy-Nagy's *Vision in Motion*—an X-ray of a human skull immersed in the act of shaving. If this image has everything to do with the interest in imaging technologies that was the purported subject of the *Parallel* exhibition, it is also a depiction of a human skull. Implicitly, it draws a connection between the pervasiveness of photographic technologies and the death of the subject, a challenge to the latter's traditional position in the world. See Lászlo Moholy-Nagy, *Vision in Motion* (Chicago: Paul Theobald, 1947), p. 252.

48. In a 1959 text, "Child Art and Image," Paolozzi wrote, "Today an increasing number of children learn through the medium of television, often in an environment which pays homage to the modern movement in architecture. During the middle forties this was impossible to imagine. Battering ceaselessly on the Mind's Eye through the medium of magazines, cinema, advertising techniques, etc. in the every-day world of our period, IMAGES pour forward in a Niagara of experience like the endless fruits of a technological cornucopia." See Eduardo Paolozzi, "Child Art and Image," *Sunday Pictorial National Exhibition of Children's Art* (London, 1959), p. 4. I thank Robin Spencer for bringing this document to my attention.

49. Gilles Deleuze, *Francis Bacon: The Logic of Sensation*, trans. Daniel W. Smith (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), p. 18.

subject, a subject that has assumed the qualities of, and is disoriented by, the photograph. The Figure is a surface, impressed upon by the outside world, and it is in this respect that *Parallel* most clearly breaks with Surrealism. Though equally passive, the human subject here is not pictured as harboring an unconscious—an interior that can be flooded with juxtaposed realities—but is rather imagined as a bombarded exterior pummeled by images. In the Figure, we also see the precedent of Pop we have been looking for. For ultimately, what else was Pop besides a conflation of image and body?