

Pierre Klossowski: Epiphanies and secrets.

...so much innocence and so much
perversity, so much severity and so much
impropriety, an imagination so ingenuous and a
mind so erudite... Maurice Blanchot, 1965¹

Pierre Klossowski's grandiose drawings in silvery pencil or colour, are dense with mythology and literature. His imaginary encounters embrace the classical, enlightenment and revolutionary worlds and the contemporary, stretching through six decades. His graphic work, supported by eminent artists such as his friends Alberto Giacometti and André Masson, stood completely outside the artistic debates of France in 1950s and 1960s where heritages of abstract and figurative painting and the new *informel* clashed, corresponding to different political ideologies.² When Jean Paulhan, director of the influential *Nouvelle Revue Française* proposed showing Klossowski's work with *art brut* (outsider art) the artist declined...³ Yet in the 1970s, new collaborations brought his work directly into an avant-garde including figures such as Pierre Molinier or Michel Journiac in photography and performance, Pierre Zucca or Raoul Ruiz in film. From the 1980s onwards, Klossowski enjoyed a select following as a 'postmodern' artist. As a contemporary of Georges Bataille and Maurice Blanchot he began to enter the world of 'French theory'; he is at the origin of debates around *simulacra* and concepts of 'hospitality', although the focus upon his written work has been almost exclusive.⁴ This opportunity to see Klossowski's art will be an epiphany: a display of works for the most part hidden in private collections. The attempt to contextualise his work will reveal some of the secrets behind what is made manifest.

As a writer, Klossowski was a master of *ekphrasis*, the vivid description that becomes a substitute for a work of art, so beloved of Ovid in his *Metamorphoses* or Virgil in the *Aeneid*. Evidently the moving images conjured up by the act of reading suggest transpositions between literature and film that do not exist with painting or sculpture. Yet the painting or drawing frozen at a crucial moment may subsume a thousand words. A painting may exist as copy, reproduction, projection, film - or as *tableau-vivant* which returns the work to the models at its origins. It may survive as description, as after-image, as memory. Klossowski played with all these modes, knowing that forms of dissimulation may be separated from the mysteries of content; that confusing contents may serve as a disguise for a meaning ultimately signified by absence. While *ekphrasis* aims at a 'truthful' description of an absent object, the conjuring of visual images beyond time, Klossowski's secrets are linked specifically to history at its most traumatic, hidden in the foldings of his narratives, the conflation of legends and stories. This essay will explore Klossowski's multiple identities, based on his doubled heritage of French and German, Catholic and Calvinist, believer and atheist, working with concepts of child and adult, masculine and feminine, friend and enemy, past and present, archaic and contemporary, immortality and adolescence.

Double identities

Klossowski was entirely fluent in French, German and classical Latin. Virgil's *Aeneid* could cohabit in his mind with the German Romantic poet Hölderlin's *Poems of madness* and Walter Benjamin's famous essay on reproduction'; he translated all of these. He never forgot the world of artifice of his infancy, from children's books and Christmas pageants to the drawings, paintings and theatres-sets. [III 1] His art-historian father Erich Klossowski and his uncle Eugen Spiro, together with the art dealer Wilhelm Uhde, the 'Silesian trio' from

Breslau, were members of the group of German francophiles who frequented the Café du Dome in Paris before the first world war.⁵ Links with Germany were close. While the Munich-based Piper Verlag published Erich Klossowski's *Honoré Daumier* in 1911, Eugen Spiro was commissioned to copy paintings such as Manet's *Olympia* that posed as 'colour photographs' for their monographs: a supreme irony in view of Klossowski's later relationship with Benjamin.⁶ While Erich's passion for Delacroix is apparent in *Saint George and the Dragon*, 1907, [ill 2] Spiro always used the model. Compare his two images of *Children playing soldiers*, showing the Pierre Klossowski and his brother aged seven and three.[ills 3 & 4] In the Paris of 1911, Pierre sports a magnificent French officer's helmet, Balthus holds a huge tricolour. Pierre's helmet subsequently becomes an imperial Prussian *Pickelhaube*, while Balthus holds the black white and red flag of the German Empire. Spiro altered and rephotographed a colour reproduction of his painting some time in Berlin after 1914. Where was this fake 'reproduction' of an 'original' painting first published?⁷

Apparently innocent, this tampered image speaks of the trauma of dispossession. Pierre's parents, decreed 'foreign nationals' in France, witnessed the family's property sequestered, their books and paintings auctioned, like the cubist stock of the Paris-based dealers Daniel Kahnweiler and Uhde. In Berlin, the Klossowski children were mocked for their French 'enemy' accents.⁸ Race and linguistic identity counted, then; and this period heralded the absence of their father when their parents separated in 1917. Pierre would spend the rest of his life wearing two hats, the French and the German. His mother, once a great Jugendstil beauty, conducted her affair with Rainer Maria Rilke in French. For the boys, moving from France to Germany meant a move to a Protestant country, followed by a Calvinist schooling in Geneva. Early inclinations were additionally confused, one supposes, by their mother's Jewish family background, her early conversion to Catholicism, and in contrast, Rilke's fierce hostility towards Christianity: the angelic dimension of his *Elegies*, the Orphic dimension of his *Sonnets*.⁹ The Catholic and Calvinist mindsets co-existed for Pierre, each system challenged by the pagan world of schoolboy classics, with its strange gods and their improbable passions.

As the disciple of André Gide, the question of the passions, of masculine and feminine became vital as Pierre read the page-proofs of *Corydon*. Far from the modern *Eclogue* in Virgilian mode (suggested by its bucolic title) this was an up-to-date manifesto for homosexual love, spurred by a contemporary court case. Literary references to Proust and Whitman mingled with evidence from the new sexologists, Hirschfield and Kraft-Ebbing.¹⁰ In Gide's *Les Faux-Monnayeurs* (*The Counterfeiters*) which Pierre also read closely, the Protestant hero Edouard pursues his noble love for Olivier. The pioneering *mise-en-abyme* construction of this story (Edouard is writing a novel called *Les Faux-Monnayeurs*) was important for Klossowski's future novels, while the linking together in Gide's title of sexual hypocrisy and 'false coinage' anticipates Klossowski's *La Monnaie vivante*, 1970,¹¹ The Socratic relationship enjoyed with Gide would be recalled constantly in Klossowski's later years, from *Le rocking chair*, 1982 – a naked youth sitting on Gide's lap (the writer wears his characteristic beret [ill 5 optional]) – to classical transpositions such as *Socrates interrogating the young Charmide*, 1984,[fig x] and the medieval visions of chivalry and man-boy romance in *Le Baphomet*.¹²

Klossowski subsequently devoured the complete run of the *Revue Française de Psychanalyse* from 1927 onwards, as editorial assistant. It published Freud's case histories and his *Moses of Michaelangelo*, a case of 'applied psychoanalysis', where the work of art becomes the focus of interpretation.¹³ Klossowski's suggestion of the Marquis de Sade's inverted Oedipus

complex (mother-hatred) however, lost him his job, although his *patron*, René Laforgue - was a self-proclaimed expert on Baudelaire's neuroses.¹⁴

Klossowski's drawings, *The Great Lock-up* (1973 and 1988) and *The Ship of Fools*, 1988-90, evoke another case history, Freud's 'Childhood memory of Leonardo da Vinci' (1910) translated in 1927. [ill 6] Here, Leonardo's *Virgin and Child with Saint Anne* reveals secrets relating to Leonardo's confused parenthood and latent homosexuality. Male identity is concealed and revealed via representations of the female: the real and 'false' mother ('bad' seductive mother?) becomes a potentially monstrous unity; two figures unite, one sitting on the other's lap, a motif, together with the juxtaposition of adult and child which were repeated obsessively in Klossowski's drawings.¹⁵ The disturbing figure of the aunt is portrayed here. *Roberte*, as the aunt who seduces her nephew Antoine, is all-important in Klossowski's novel, *Roberte, ce soir* and the film *Roberte interdite* (the strange, doubled pose of the Virgin with Saint Anne is essentially cinematic). As Jean-Noël Vuarnet states: 'for the aunt precedes the nephew; present from his birth, without having been its author, irresponsible parody of the mother, she is the mistress of stereotypes, because she can absorb them almost all: an older but not sacred woman, she knows, she does not intervene.... Contrary to the Oedipal tendency (a refusal of the fantasm the simulacra, the image.. a desire to be blind, not to see that!), Klossowskian education is an education of the gaze...it turns all readers or spectators, whether they wish it or no, into voyeurs, conceptual schoolboys or nephews... An educating aunt, but a spying aunt, a nursemaid aunt and an erotic aunt.'¹⁶

Klossowski, the 'conceptual schoolboy' was becoming a serious author, his 'Sade' analysis following Maurice Heine's new critical edition of *Les 120 journées de Sodome* and his own translation of Otto Flake's post-sexological *Sade*. Flake saw Sade as typically French, a systematiser who 'received the lessons of 'Mistress Paris' very early: a Babylon groaning with brothels, *filles de joie* and purveyors of works of eroticism...'¹⁷ Klossowski's Sade, however, became politicised as the 1930s progressed.

Who is my neighbour?

The context in which Klossowski wrote his most important pre-war article, 'Qui est mon prochain?' (Who is my neighbour?), is a key to his thought before and after the war. Paris as sensual Babylon changed her nature with the economic depression and the influx of refugees from Germany. An explosion of left-wing German culture from Bertold Brecht to John Heartfield accompanied anti-fascist political activity. The shadows of persecution and the knowledge of Dachau tempered the exhilaration of the left's rise to power with Popular Front government in 1936. The Spanish Civil War presaged further conflict. In September 1937, Eugen Spiro, back in Paris, became a founding member of the Union of German artists. In November, 1938, it challenged Hitler's touring 'Degenerate Art' exhibition with the 'Free German Art' show, which included reproductions of Hitler's watercolours, and Oscar Kokoschka's *Male portrait* ripped to shreds by the nazis.¹⁸ The opening coincided with the horrific Kristallnacht pogrom in Germany and Austria.

From 1924, Klossowski's nationality was French; his German philosophical and literary heritage was now under threat.¹⁹ The aim of the review *Acéphale* with which he collaborated from 1933-1939, was in part to save German culture, in particular Nietzsche who had been hijacked by nazi sympathisers.²⁰ Klossowski translated Friedrich Sieburg on German nationalism and Robespierre, and phenomenologist Max Scheler on the meaning of suffering, he worked on translations of Walter Benjmain, Kierkegaard (*Antigone*) and Kafka.²¹ Paul

Ludwig Landsberg's essay on the experience of death and the moral problem of suicide published in 1935 was written directly in French acknowledging Pierre's help.²² Neither changing one's language, as did so many German intellectuals at the time, nor translating are innocent or untraumatic operations: 'translation is impossible', Benjamin declared.²³

With Benjamin, Klossowski shared a Berlin childhood, relationships with Rilke and Gide and the surrealist-affiliated group *Contre-Attaque* at whose meetings they met in 1935. Their collaboration on 'The work of art in the age of mechanical reproduction' is an unresolved issue, particularly as regards Pierre's input.²⁴ Counterbalancing concerns over the loss of 'aura' of the work of art in reproduction, and the banalities of mass culture, Benjamin's prophecy of the 'revenge of technology' was fulfilled almost immediately by the first civilian bombing of the village of Guernica by German Junta planes in 1937.

As the removal of German nationals from Paris to internment camps in France advanced, Klossowski began to write 'Qui est mon prochain?' Nuancing Carl Schmidt's distinction between the *inimicus* (individual enemy) and *hostis* (collective enemy) Klossowski explores the problem of fraternity versus massification and dangerous abstractions such as the term *volonté du peuple* – will of the people.²⁵ Abstractions which, he says, can only find concrete expression via negation, the negative mode (he was attending Alexander Kojève's famous lectures on Hegel at this time). Referring to the French terror, he declares *the revolutionary government found its most original and most concrete expression in the extermination of the aristocrats, while the national-socialist gouvernement found this expression in the extermination of the Jews, these two categories of the 'exterminated' in fact giving a living signification to the principles evoked: the people as sovereign, and race*. Sade's description of a regicide nation finds a contemporary resonance here, a 'nation whose republican model could be maintained only through many crimes because it is already in the realm of crime.'²⁶ Klossowski's article appeared, in the aftermath of Kristallnacht, in the December 1938 number of the Catholic review *Esprit*.

The Collège de Sociologie itself, Georges Bataille's invention, which both Klossowski and Benjamin frequented from its inception, was based not upon the phalanstery of kindred spirits envisioned by Charles Fourier, but upon 'the Sadian secret society par excellence,' the Society of the Friends of Crime.²⁷ Here Klossowski lectured on Sade amidst the Revolutionary celebrations of 1939, citing the eighteen hundred acts of guillotining that Sade witnessed from his window in the Picpus prison... 'All in all, the vision of society in a permanent state of immorality is presented as a *utopia of evil*; this paradoxical utopia corresponds to the potential state of our modern society...'²⁸

Between this lecture and its republication in 1947, Klossowski's friend Landsberg was deported to Orianenberg; Benjamin committed suicide. Klossowski's father Erich, a German national, lived exiled from the Paris he loved in the South of France. While Eugen Spiro escaped to America, his sister, Klossowski's Aunt Berthe was deported to Auschwitz.²⁹ Denise Marie Roberte Morin de Sinclair, Klossowski's future wife and model (a Resistance heroine and Protestant) would be a Ravensbruck survivor.

'What existed sporadically in 1793 was rationally exploited from 1933-1945'... Klossowski's *Sade mon prochain* of 1947 reprinted pre-war articles and included this note. It may be read as an allegorical indictment of war, the holocaust, and the internecine excesses of the post-war purge, the *épuration*.³⁰ Freud's concepts of repression and 'unresolved mourning' have already been applied to these years. The issue of bad taste, which fascinated Klossowski, so

visible in the International Surrealist exhibition of 1947 and its aftermath, merits a similar analysis.³¹ Considerations of Sade from the later 1950s onwards conflating revolutionary libertinism with ‘revolution’ at a time of the relaxation of sexual mores, progressively obscured Klossowski’s early political challenge.³²

In the winter of 1939-40, while Georges Bataille meditated on what would become *L’Expérience Intérieure* (the key, Klossowski has said, to the meaning of the *Acéphale* adventure) it became imperative to leave Paris.³³ The spiritual crises and theological dramas he experienced during wartime should not be underestimated; the impact of the Augustinian *theologia theatrica* on Pierre’s visionary work is central.³⁴ But with his already Sadean and Nietzschean mindset (both writers supreme atheists) debates evidently surpassed the scholastic, terminating in the ‘interruption’ of his vocation. An unfinished mural painting, the *Triumph of Faith*, becomes the allegorical crux of *La vocation suspendue*, 1950. The hero Jérôme’s *alter ego*, the painter Malagrida, imports the ‘false coinage’ of blasphemy into this work, depicting the features of a nun violated and exhumed in the Spanish civil war... The frame narrative, moreover, does not blanch at discussing the judeo-christian curse on homosexuality, nor nazi homosexuality and the persecution of the Jews as a ‘virile’ revenge on the church’s matriachal values...³⁵

Persecution is even the secret of *The Revocation de l’Edit de Nantes*, 1959. The vivid description of Roberte’s seduction and the ‘parallel bars scene’ tends to obscure the ‘Roman Impressions’ in her diary. She recalls the story surrounding a list of Jewish children saved from deportation, hidden in a locked tabernacle inside a church in Anzio. The list is laid in the very place of the ‘Real Presence’ in Catholic dogma, a substitution, revealingly overlooked in Michel Foucault’s analysis....³⁶ Roberte’s memories of Rome at the end of the nazi occupation focus on her erotically-charged encounter with the enemy von A, who confides this secret to her. The *dénouement* becomes increasingly entangled... The secret marks a silent ‘disappearance’ at the vortex of Klossowski’s fictional enterprise, aligning him as much with Georges Perec, as with *nouveau roman* contemporaries.³⁷

The Past in the Present

The Calvinist Roberte’s past in Rome emerges with her diary into the present of *Roberte ce soir*, 1953. Her husband Octavio is a *voyeur*, connoisseur of paintings and author of a novel (*Roberte ce soir*). Roberte is a modern and experienced woman, a sophisticated Parliamentary deputy, who has married a Catholic aesthete with a dubious past. Deputies such as Marie-Claude Vaillant-Couturier and Simone Weil, both resisters and former *déportées* enjoyed great moral authority in postwar France. Roberte is thus all the more provocative; as member of the Censorship council she is trying to suppress Octavio’s calumnious novel in which she is the heroine. Sitting on her bidet she sees sheets of a chapter protruding from the wall; the author’s imagined figures of the Colossus and tiny hunchback intrude with molesting intent into Roberte’s space...

Klossowski’s first large-scale drawings were published with the novel in 1953. His ‘primal scene’, Roberte’s dress catching on fire (Roberte alight, *allumée*, burning with desire). is surely reminiscent of ‘Little Pauline’ from Heinrich Hoffmann’s *Struwwelpeter*, [ill 1]); the lurching, entwined figures in *The Fireplace* suggest another of Hoffmann’s contemporaries. [ills 7,8] *The Fireplace* ‘illustrates’ a dialogue recalling a photograph of this scene, which projected on a wall, allowing nephew Antoine to say precisely what he sees: a virtuous description (*ekphrasis*) which directly excites the readers’s fantasy, bypassing previous stages

of the image. Klossowski's remarkably eidetic memory and playful attitude to reproduction seem a world away, here, from Benjamin's pessimism.

Just prior to 'The Work of Art', Benjamin wrote a long study of Johann Jakob Bachofen's *Mutterrecht*, which proposed matriarchy as the system of the pre-classical world.³⁸ He was fascinated by the role of the feminine within modern capitalism at this time...³⁹ Klossowski may even have discussed translating Bachofen with him.⁴⁰ Much later, Klossowski would offer an account of the 'mythic and cultic origins of the behaviour of Roman ladies': a summary of Bachofen and the sexual differentiation (in effigy and legend) of once androgynous gods.⁴¹ Continuing in the literary orbit of Georges Bataille, Klossowski re-introduced the sacred into the realm of the nude in his study, *Le Bain de Diane*, 1956.⁴² Both his emphasis on the eternal sacred of woman, virginal and procreative, and the parallels that we might draw with the primitive violence of his times (the humiliation of the *tondues* -shorn women- for example, during the purge period) mean that this work may be read as an oblique critique, rather than merely an archeology of legend. (In post-Simone de Beauvoir Paris, the liberated woman's 'Diana complex' was actively discussed).⁴³ Moreover *Le Bain de Diane* was conceived after Klossowski's long engagement from 1950 with Saint Augustin's *City of God*; the idea of the 'sacred city' doubled by its demonic counterpart, semi-pagan Rome, *civitas diaboli* (contemporary Paris?) Michel Foucault would draw analogies between the Diana mythologies and *Roberte, ce soir*; he saw Klossowski's prose itself, the 'prose of Acteon', as transgressive, exploring as with Bataille and Maurice Blanchot the relationship between the purity of silence, the impurity of words.⁴⁴

Klossowski's style in *Le Bain de Diane* is exquisite: he speaks of living language and its own *spectre-words*, words like transparent flame at noon that can burst into vivid brightness in the penumbra of our spirits; our fallacious daylight is contrasted with the shadows of our memory, a starry night of extinguished constellations: the ancient myths. Slowly he describes the story of the seduction of the goddess Diana prior to Acteon's metamorphosis ... a description which parallels Saint Augustin's own astonishing lingering at the beginning of the *City of God* on Tarquin's rape of Lucretia and the problem of her potential pleasure.⁴⁵ Pierre's first finished watercolour, *Lucretia and Tarquin*, 1952-3 froze this specifically 'theological' moment of ambivalence[**fig X**], though red curtains, carved couch, the velvet bolster with figures, the statue embraced by columns in a niche, distract from the rape itself. In a silvery monochrome *Lucretia and Tarquin* of 1956, the limbs become entwined; amorous gazes and guiding hands transform rape to a potential love story. [**fig X**]

While *Lucretia and Tarquin* is a painting by 'Tonnerre' that Octavio contemplates with Augustinian delectation in *La Revocation de l'Edit de Nantes*, *Roberte*, his spouse, both in her features and her fashionable felt hat, tight boots and bodice, becomes Diana in *Diana and Acteon*, 1953. [**figX/ill 9 new loan**] Our pleasure is based upon these anachronisms; enhanced by the 'invisible' anticipation of the horror linked with looking: the moment when Acteon's gaze preludes his own body being torn to shreds by the goddess' hounds. The 1954 version [**fig X**] quotes the position of the Colossus grabbing *Roberte* from *Roberte, ce soir*; here, as Acteon's right hand becomes a cloven hoof, Diana's left hand guides his member towards her sex. *Roberte is Diana*, then: the goddess lives in the present; the body possesses an archaic memory. From 1953 Klossowski refines his own technical skills by looking at Italian sources, simultaneously insisting upon the mysteries conveyed by their haunting presence. The guiding hand, for example, is a motif of initiation that Adrien Sina has examined in the context of erotic Pompeian frescos [**ill 10**].

‘The very idea of the *Nude*’ Klossowski says, ‘is only a *neutralisation* - an aesthetic and social compromise - of a *primitive and violent* act, ... The profaner’s gaze upon the female body contained the primitive violence of which this [nude] is only the simulacrum...’⁴⁶ *M. de Max and Mlle Glissant in the roles of Diana and Acteon* (1954-73), one of many later versions of the theme, emphasises contemporary pantomime in fancy dress, an effect heightened in Klossowski’s late sculpture.[fig X] The sacred origins of polychrome are recalled in this debased parody, uncanny in its three dimensions.; the sculptures’ lineage, from Greece to Giambologna to Raymond Mason, Klossowski’s contemporary, is equally uncanny; again a comment on today’s profaning gaze.⁴⁷

Poised between contemporary and classical worlds, Klossowski’s portraits, among his first large-scale pencil drawings, comment upon the learned nature of his sitters (an extraordinary contrast to violent, graffiti-like portraits of writers by Jean Dubuffet or Antonin Artaud). For André Breton, the surrealist leader Klossowski would write on the importance of demons in the work of art; Robert Lebel was an antiquarian and Duchamp scholar, Jean Paulhan, director of the *Nouvelle Revue Française*. All have a gaze of Roman gravity, the sketched-in shoulders suggesting portrait busts. The posthumous portrait of André Gide is more lively, his left hand resting on Virgil’s *Bucolics*, with the *Aeneid* on the table.[fig X] The writer’s attention is attracted by the hermaphroditic flautist sculpture stepping off its pedestal. No doubt the classical figurine delighting Georges Bataille is female: his eyes are level with her sex; his toothy leer contrasts with the fine line of Gide’s repressed smile. [ill 11] These works parody Renaissance paintings of the connoisseur enjoying his classical collection, such as Lorenzo Lotto’s 1527 portrait of Andrea Odoni, who thrusts the phallic, many-breasted goddess figurine of Diana of Ephesus towards the viewer, emphasising his power and taste. [ill 12] Klossowski’s *Portrait of the artist’s wife tapping on the machine*, 1957, [fig X] inverts and deconstructs this theme. Diana/Denise naked, her elongated fingers in typing position, responds to the tiny erection of her animated *homunculus*, the classical figurine become a miniature man. He seizes her equally erect finger. Dominatrix, she seizes the phallus. Muse, she dwarfs Pierre. Denise incarnates sexual inversion, the archaic in the present, in this masterpiece of contemporary irony and bathos.

Seductress? Nude? Hermaphrodite? Who is the Denise figure of *Siesta at Traize* with her elongated, Pontormo-like pose, rapt in a moment of contemplative hesitation prior to her self-caress? [ill 13 & [fig X].] The disposition of her limbs and above all her elegant hands delight the spectator/voyeur but she threatens metamorphosis, from passive to active and monstrous. The innocence of Denise/Roberte as she ‘becomes’ a criminal monster, Dumas’ Milady or Sade’s Juliette, is latent in paradox of the pencil medium. *Initiatrices, incitatrices et libératrices, surféminisés en surfemmes*, these women are experts in initiation, incitation and liberation. Hyperfeminised they relate to Klossowski’s analysis of the Sadean androgynye as *femme-homme* not *homme-femme*: Juliette as simulacrum of the meaning of the act of sodomy, the ultimate transgression against God. Sadean women are the very exemplars of reason.⁴⁸

In the 1970s, two figures from the past, Sade and Gulliver, become critical **tools** for the present. A dramatisation of the sadistic on the one hand; critical ‘opticks’ and economics on the other. ‘Sadistic’ works focus on extreme moments: in *Milady and the Executioner of Lille*, 1972, [fig X], the executioner prepares to brand the criminal heroine from Dumas’ *Three Musketeers* with a phallic, red-hot iron; in *Gilles’s kitchen* [ill 14], the medieval torturer Gilles de Rais heats pincers to white hot, a prostrated male adolescent, over his knee.⁴⁹ The

latent sadism of Klossowski's brother Balthus's *Les Beaux Jours*, 1946-7 haunts these works; again the fireplace (site of childhood games) signifies burning desire and the rage to hurt. (As critics note, Balthus is 'soft', Klossowski 'hard'.⁵⁰) Coloured pencils reinforce the message: the child latent in the adult becomes the equivalent of the archaic in the contemporary. [ill 15]

The *homunculus* returns with the first *Roberte et Gulliver* series. Jonathan Swift's miniature Gulliver becomes our contemporary.⁵¹ *Sade listening to his Juliette read The Prosperities of Vice*, 1972, [fig X] confuses Sade and Gulliver. Denise/Juliette, caressing herself, becomes *lectrice*, as naked, she reads Sade's account of her exploits; he poses coyly in coat tails against her knee. Proceeding to the boudoir, we encounter Gulliver, Dean of Dublin, a diminutive adult version of the adolescent *collegiens* (college boys) who, like the tiny hunchback, peek at Roberte's sex whenever they can [fig X, ills 16 new loan, 17]. Gulliver first slides down the thigh of a sleeping and languorous Roberte, pointing to her exposed sex, in a drawing of 1971. Philosophy in the boudoir or philosophy in the nursery? Is the *homunculus* author/voyeur presiding over Freud's primal scene?

Versions of *Roberte and Gulliver* traverse the aftermath of *La Monnaie Vivante*. Just as Gulliver himself became 'living money' in a freak show, he proceeds to 'sell' Roberte in subsequent drawings, waving a cheque above her genitals; in a later version his gentleman's breeches 'conceal' the slit of Roberte's sex. [fig X] *Okonomia* was originally a theological term...⁵² Here, the problematics of 'paper money', in contrast with the very term *monnaie* (currency) recall new work on symbolic economies after Marx and Freud published by Jean-Joseph Goux in the 1970s. (Goux takes Gide's *Counterfeiters* as his exemplum.⁵³) As with Swift, who provoked accusations of deep misanthropy, Klossowski's *gulliverian optick* proposes a savage critique of contemporary mores.

La Monnaie vivante: photography and cinema.

Klossowski's earliest idea for a film of the *Revocation of the Edict of Nantes* was realised as a proposal in 1966.⁵⁴ He offers here the clearest possible summary of the 'laws of hospitality' under whose aegis his three interconnecting novels, *Roberte ce Soir* (1953), *Le Révocation de l'édit de Nantes* (1959), and *Le Souffleur* (1960) were published together in 1965. Octave's perverse idea of the prostitution of the spouse by the husband is explained as the relationship between prostitution, merchandise, value and the image/sign of woman. The laws depend entirely, as do the novels, upon conjugal fidelity: the antithesis of centuries of literary traditions premised on adultery and libertinage.

Pierre's meeting with the young photographer and film-maker Pierre Zucca was serendipitous. *La Monnaie vivante* (Living Money) was published in December 1970.⁵⁵ It coincided with a post-revolutionary moment in Paris where contemporary eroticism was already tinged with an orgiastic melancholy. Pierre's text confronts the moral power industrial civilisation has exercised over the last century, at the expense of human emotions and affections. What is the place here of the world of objects, the world of *simulacra*, or bodies, which also have their use and exchange value? Zucca's photographs, comment with their superb fakery on the exploding industries of photographic and cinematic pornography. Here, Pierre's drawings translate into photographed, living flesh, from the improbable, Giambolognesque pose in which Roberte is lifted up and transported, kicking, down the staircase, to her embodiment as *Surplus value*, straddling her ravisher, on a chair above a sea of paper money.[ill.18] It is a spoof, deadly serious, on marxist economics, saluted by Michel

Foucault as 'the greatest book of our epoch... desire, value, simulacrum, a triangle which has dominated and constituted us doubtless for centuries of our history.'⁵⁶

Gilles Deleuze's relationship with Klossowski developed at this time. Fashionable neo-marxisms were being countered with Nietzsche's radical individualism and the deconstructive powers of 'madness', together with the rediscovery of Frankfurt school critical theory, familiar to Pierre from the 1930s.⁵⁷ Deleuze's 'Klossowski or Bodies-Language' (1965), analysed his novels, particularly *Le souffleur*, with its psychoanalytic notion of healing through repetition, not via Dr Ygdrasil (Jacques Lacan) but theatrical repetition (Roberte rehearses the play *Roberte ce Soir*), and the Christ/antiChrist theological system of *Le Baphomet*.⁵⁸ On reading *La Monnaie vivante* however, Deleuze emphasised Pierre's transformation: 'You introduce desire into the infra-structure or inversely, amounting to same thing, you introduce the category of production into desire: this seems to me of an immense importance; for it is the only means to get out of the sterile parallelism Marx-Freud, Money-Excrement ... once again I'm following you.'⁵⁹ Deleuze's letters to Pierre traverse the period of evolution of *Anti-Oedipus*, (1972), written with Félix Guattari.⁶⁰ Both this analysis of 'capitalism and schizophrenia' and Jean-François Lyotard's *Libidinal Economy* of 1974, are highly indebted to Klossowski.⁶¹

For Pierre, however, the new adventure was film. Following a black and white trial sequence at the Palais Royal in 1975, *Roberte Interdite* was filmed with Zucca in full colour during the summer of 1977. (Raoul Ruiz's *Vocation suspendue* and *L'Hypothèse du tableau volé* based on the *Revocation*... were also made with Klossowski at this period). Zucca uses both Pierre and Denise as actors, faithfully mirroring *The Revocation's* dialogue and above all its cinematic *mises-en-abyme*. A crumbling façade and courtyard give access to Octave's house; its empty rooms, old wallpaper, dusty mantelpieces open, suddenly onto a fictitious sequence of five secret, windowless rooms painted in bright yellow, blue, pink and sienna. The last room, Octave's, is where he organises a show of *tableaux vivants* based on his paintings by Frédéric Tonnerre, the 'student of Courbet', whose works Octave suspects are fakes, as their heroines resemble Roberte. Zucca's turns fiction to celluloid; the paintings come 'alive' in his film as apotheoses of high kitsch: see *Tarquin and Lucretia* [ill 19].

In 'The Indiscernable', a text of 1978, Klossowski contrasts Zucca's unique sensitivity to the doubling of Denise as Roberte (and *Roberte*) with Michaelangelo Antonioni's comments to him on the constraints and compromises of commercial cinema.⁶² Yet the comparison between *Roberte interdite* and Pier Paolo Pasolini's Sadean allegory, *Salò...or the 120 Days of Sodom*, 1975, are instructive: *Salò* represents a moment when Italy was at last able to explore the problems of its recent fascist past, using Sade to address the meaning of extreme encounters between bodies and the body politic, while warning that history can repeat itself.⁶³ Klossowski had anticipated these concerns from 1950 onwards; his novels as we have seen, contain flashbacks to the most dubious wartime scenarios; filmed with Zucca in the 1970s, Klossowski's concerns again become vitally contemporary.

Drawings generated photographs and film which generated drawings. New series of the *Parallel Bars* and other episodes of *Les Lois de l'Hospitalité* shown in Paris Antwerp and Milan from 1978-80 heralded Klossowski's grand re-entry as a 'postmodernist' with Rémy Zaugg's *Simulacrum* exhibition in Berne in 1981 and his selection with the conceptual artist Daniel Buren for the Kassel Documenta of 1982. This antithetical pairing contrasts with the resonances between Klossowski and the Viennese Actionist Gunter Brus, prosecuted, like

Sade for the violation of morals and decency; see his sacreligious graphic series such as *La Croce del Veneto* (1974) ; they exhibited together in *Bilderstreit*, Cologne, in 1989. ⁶⁴ [ill 20].

The Immortal Adolescent.

In *The Ship of Fools* 1988-90 [fig x] (the title comes from Foucault's *Madness and civilisation*) Pierre joins his own, imaginary pantheon as an impish boy. This is the final version of *Le Grand Renfermement*, (*The great Lock-up*) a theme of 1973 and 1988 that appropriated Michel Foucault's phrase for the great 'locking up' of lunatics in the age of enlightenment. Blessed by *il Papa ultima*, are Strindberg, Nietzsche, Foucault, Sade, Gilles de Rais, Antonin Artaud and Savonarola; Freud gazes, still rapt, at the eternal conundrum of the *Virgin and Child with Saint Anne*; Bataille remains transfixed by those classical buttocks. Foucault holds the list of names; the adolescent Pierre holds a paper inscribed with the motto of the city of Paris, its coat-of arms a ship: *fluctuat nec mergitur*, 'It sails but never sinks'. It is Klossowski's ironic *envoi* to the city and these great thinkers: a moment of twentieth-century history already receding. ⁶⁵ [ill 21]

As late as 1994 (at the age of eighty-nine) Klossowski dramatised *Le Baphomet* for theatre. *L'adolescent immortel*, dedicated to his last boy model, Gabriel des Fôrets. appeared after decades of silence. Based on drawings and themes from *Le Baphomet*, the sequences he describes are essentially choreographies staged frontally: now the drawings of the 1980s, inspired by the young Alexandre Nahon, are scripted as *tableaux vivants*. As in *Le Baphomet*, Klossowski's visions are staged in a series of imaginary gothic spaces: the oratory, the tower of Meditation, the refectory or the forest, setting for the first scene in which Ogier, the young hero provokes the Brother Knight Lahire: he peeps from behind a tree, imitates a stag, cocks a snook and reminds Lahire of his lascivious dream of Ogier naked; Lahire caresses him bewailing the fact that his rich clothes must soon be exchanged for those of the black and white costume of the Templiers' pageboy; they embrace climatically as the palfrey whinnies... The scene was drawn and superbly coloured in in 1972, with sweeping curves, the play of hands and looks and the imminent kiss which tellingly quotes Giotto's *Kiss of Judas* [fig X]); Ogier's seduction of the Commander of St. Vit proceeds (see fig X).

And so the imaginary scenarios, love and legend continue. Apotheosised, the immortal adolescent declares: *I am still and will always be fourteen years old.... in my fourteen years I have more memories than if I had lived a thousand....* ⁶⁶ Klossowski has kept many secrets, but shares with us his writings and the epiphany of his visual universe, rich with those memories.

¹ Maurice Blanchot, 'Laughter of the gods' ('Le rire des Dieux', *Nouvelle Revue Française*, 151, July, 1965, pp. 91 –105), *Decadence of the Nude*, Sarah Wilson ed., Alyce Mahon introduction, Paul Buck and Catherine Petit, tr., London, Black Dog, 2002, p. 163

² See *Paris, Capital of the Arts, 1900-1968*, London, Royal Academy of Arts, 2002; Saint Germain des Prés and Latin Quarter sections.

³ Klossowski, with Rémy Zaugg, *Simulacrum*, Berne Kunsthalle, 1981, p. 124; see Zaugg and Klossowski, 'Simulacra', in 'Phantasm and Simulacra, *Art and Text*, 18, July, 1985, p. 59.

⁴ See bibliography for works by Jane Gallop (1981); *Art &Text* (1985); Ian James (2000); Eleanor Kaufman (2001); in France new psychoanalytic studies should be signalled by Hervé Castanet (1992 and 2001). For the *simulacra*, see Allen W. Weiss, 'A logic of the Simulacrum, or the Anti-Roberte', *Art and Text*, 18, 1985. op. cit., pp. 115-125 and inevitably, Jean Baudrillard's *Simulacra and Simulations* (anthology, 1998). Hospitality as a

political praxis developed by Tahar Ben-Jelloun and Jacques Derrida has generated an extensive bibliography

⁵ See Annette Gautherie-Kampka ed., *Les Allemands du Dôme*, Bern, Peter Lang, 1995, and *Café du Dôme, Deutsche Maler in Paris, 1903-1914*, Kunsthalle Wilhelmshaven, Bremen, Donat Verlag, 1996.

⁶ Two half-size reproductions exist in the Spiro family collection, London.

⁷ For *Soldaten spielender Kinder*, 1911 (92 x 73, private collection) see Wilko von Abercron, *Eugen Spiro Spiegel seines Jahrhunderts* Alsbach, Drachen Verlag, 1990, p. 91. Peter Spiro showed me the modified plate in a private family album created in New York in 1989.

⁸ Frances Schor, an older cousin to Peter Spiro, (with whom Balthus played sadistic games in the 1920s); confirmed to the author, 5 July 2006.

⁹ Pierre described the 'terrifying' nature of Rilke's angels from the *Duino Elegies* for Georges Bataille's review *Critique*, 5, 1946.

¹⁰ The 'Renard trial' of 1909 is described in Christian Gury, *L'Honneur piétiné d'un domestique homosexuel en 1909; sur Gide et "Corydon"* Paris, Eds Kimé, 1999. A first version of *Corydon* was published in twelve examples in 1911; Gide's 1922 preface for the 1925 edition, claims that Hirschfeld's prewar theories of the 'third sex' cannot account for *l'amour grec* or even the passions of contemporary French generals.

¹¹ See Jean-Claude Bonnet, 'Gide, "Maitre Pierre" et "L'adolescent immortel"', *Traversées de Pierre Klossowski*, Laurent Jenny and Andreas Pfersmann, eds., Geneva, Librairie Droz, 1999, pp. 13-24. For the *mise-en-abyme* (a 'putting into the abyss' from the heraldic device of a shield within a shield) see Lucien Dallenbach, *The Mirror in the Text*, (1977), University of Chicago Press, 1989. (Gide noticed a mirror reflecting the artist in a painting by Quentin Metsys in his 1893 journal).

¹² See in particular the Galerie Lelong, Zurich catalogues, 1983 and 1992.

¹³ Many of Freud's studies including those on Moses and Goethe were published as *Essais de psychanalyse appliquée* tr. E. Matty and Marie Bonaparte, Paris, Gallimard, 1933

¹⁴ See René Laforgue, 'Devant la barrière de la nevrose. Etude psychanalytique sur la nevrose de Charles Baudelaire', *Revue Française de Psychanalyse*, 2, 1930-31, pp. 245-258 and 276 ff, and Klossowski's *Eléments d'une étude psychanalytique sur le Marquis de Sade*, *RFP*, 3-4, 1933, pp. 457-474,

¹⁵ *Un souvenir d'Enfance de Léonard da Vinci*, tr. Marie Bonaparte, Gallimard, Paris, 1927.

¹⁶ Jean-Noël Vuarnet, 'Trois fragments pour Pierre Klossowski' in 'Roberte au cinéma', special number of *Obliques*, 1958, p. 100.

¹⁷ See Le Marquis de Sade, *Les 120 Journées de Sodome*, Maurice Heine ed., Bibliophiles souscripteurs, 1931-5 (3 vols); Otto Flake, *Le Marquis de Sade* tr. Pierre Klossowski, Paris, Bernard Grasset, 1933, p. 23.

¹⁸ See Hélène Roussel, 'Les Peintres allemands émigrés en France et l'Union des artistes libres' Gilbert Badia et al., *Les bannis de Hitler, Accueil et lutte des exilés allemands en France, 1933-1939*, Presses Universitaires de Vincennes, 1984, pp. 286-326.

¹⁹ See 'nationalité fr...' (evidently prior to his military service, 1924) in Klossowski's manuscript notes for a biography, reproduced by Alain Arnaud, *Pierre Klossowski*, Paris, Seuil, 1990, p. 194.

²⁰ *Acéphale*, 2, 'Nietzsche et les facsistes. Une Réparation' attempted to reply to publications such as Marius-Paulin Nicolas' *De Nietzsche à Hitler*, 1936; for the ambiguities of French nationalism see Zeev Sternhell, *Neither Right nor Left, Fascist ideology in France*, California, Princeton University Press, 1986.

²¹ See Friedrich Sieburg, *Defense du nationalisme allemand*, Paris, Bernard Grasset, 1935; *Robespierre*, (Paris, Flammarion, 1936), Paris, Mémoire du Livre 1972.

²² See P. L. Landsberg, *Essai sur l'expérience de la mort*, Paris, Desclée de Brouwer, 1935; (Seuil, 1951; 1993 with a postface by Olivier Mongin).

²³ See Paul de Man's analysis of Benjamin's 'The Task [*Aufhebe* 'giving up'] of the Translator' (1931, prefacing his translation of Baudelaire's *Tableaux parisiens*), Lecture, 1983, *Yale French Studies*, 69, 1985, pp. 25-46 and *Lost childhood and the language of exile*, Judit Szkacs-Weisz and Ivan Ward eds, Freud Museum, London 2004. The conference *Schriftstelle ohne Sprache*, ([German]Writers without a language) was held in London in September, 1941.

²⁴ See Walter Benjamin, *Ecrits français de Walter Benjamin*, Jean-Meurice Monnoyer, ed., Paris, Gallimard, 1991; 'Enfance Berlinoise' pp. 61-74 (written simultaneously in French with Jean Selz); 'L'oeuvre d'art à l'époque de sa reproduction mécanisée', pp. 117-192.

²⁵ Denis Hollier's 'Hostis, hospes: des lois de l'hostilité à celles de l'hospitalité' explores the relationship with Schmidt and the double meanings in etymology essential to Klossowski's later construction of 'hospitality' in *Traversées de Pierre Klossowski*, Laurent Jenny and Andreas Pfersman eds., Geneva, Droz, 1999, pp. 25-32.

²⁶ Klossowski, 'Qui est mon prochain' (*Esprit*, 75, December 1938, pp. 402-33), in *Ecrits d'un monomane, Essais 1933-1939*, Jean Decottignies ed., pp. 173-5

²⁷ **Denis Hollier** continues 'the crime committed in common, said by Freud to be what society is based upon', in *The College of Sociology, 1937-1939*, Hollier ed. (Gallimard, 1979) Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1988, p. 219.

²⁸ Klossowski, 'The Marquis de Sade and the Revolution' (February 7, 1939); *ibid.*, p. 222

²⁹ Of Klossowski's maternal Spiro family, Peter Spiro confirms, 'those who married Jewish partners succumbed; those who married non-Jews survived' (repeated in 'Die Brüder Klossowski. Liebsestrunken, von allen veressen' *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 16 February 2003, p. 53

³⁰ *Le Figaro*'s statistics of April 1946 (60,000 revenge killings, revised by later scholars) were quoted in Jean Paulhan: *Lettre aux Directeurs de la Résistance*, Paris, Minuit 1951, (reedited by Jean-Jacques Pauvert, 1968)

³¹ Compare Alyce Mahon's recent work with Henri Rouso's celebrated *The Vichy Syndrome, History and Memory in France since 1944*, (Seuil, 1987) Princeton, Harvard University Press, 1991

³² Klossowski's 'Sade ou le philosophe scélérat' precedes texts on Sade by Barthes, Sollers and Hubert Damisch in *Tel Quel*, 28, 1967; literary and philosophical rather than political it would preface his 'revised' edition of *Sade mon prochain*, 1967.

³³ Klossowski to Emily Tsingou; see her *Acéphale*, MA thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, 1991, p. 46.

³⁴ Alain Arnaud's *Pierre Klossowski*, 1990, was written with full theological understanding of Pierre and in profound friendship. For the *theologia theatrica* see p.27.

³⁵ Klossowski, *La Vocation Suspendue*, Gallimard, 1950, especially pp.30-1.

³⁶ Curiously Foucault 'forgets' the tabernacle's content, for the 'void left behind by the division of Christian theology...' the void of the sign and the artwork', Michel Foucault, 'The Prose of Acteon', 1964 (*Nouvelle Revue Française*, March 1964) in Klossowski, *The Baphomet*, Sophie Hawkes and Stephen Sartarelli tr., Colorado, Eridanos Press, p. xxxiv.

³⁷ 'The 'Impressions Romains' serve as revelation of the 'explicitly German-Jewish nexus' in *La Révocation...* in Jeffrey Mehlman's in 'Literature and Hospitality: Klossowski's Hamman', *Studies in Romanticism*, vol. 22, 2, Summer 1983, pp. 329-347. His analysis (which daringly posits a 'Klossowski-Benjamin....or Benjamin-Octave) is based around Klossowski's translation, *Les méditations bibliques de 'Hammann' avec une étude de Hegel*

(Les Editions de Minuit, 1948). 'Les lois de l'hospitalité' he remarks, first appears here (in the context of Herodias, Salomé and John the Baptist) .

³⁸ Benjamin, 'Johann Jacob Bachofen' in *Ecrits Français*, op. Cit., 1991, pp. 91-113 (he notes Erich Fromm's *Signification psychologico-sociale des théories matriarchales* on Bachofen and fascism, and the patriarchal *détournement* of the swastika). He was reading Ludwig Kluge, *Vom kosmogonischen Eros*, Munich, 1922 at this time.

³⁹ See Christine Buci-Glucksmann, 'Fémininité et modernité : Walter Benjamin et l'utopie du féminin' on the *Trauerspiel du 'corps-prostitué'* (tragedy of the prostitute-body) in Heinz Wismann ed., *Walter Benjamin et Paris*, Paris, Les Editions du Cerf, 1986, pp. 204-420.

⁴⁰ Klossowski's archives contain the cover of Bachofen's *Mutterrecht und UrReligion*, Alfred Kroner Verlag and a proposal (unsigned and undated) for a translation to be called *Les amazones*.

⁴¹ Klossowski, *Origines culturelles et mythique d'un certain comportement des dames romaines*, [Nouvelle Revue Française, 1965], Fata Morgana, 1986.

⁴² For major recent studies of *Le Bain de Diane*, see Patrick Amstutz and Ian James in the bibliography.

⁴³ See Françoise Eaubonne, *Le Complexe de Diane*, Julliard, 1951, p. 120.

⁴⁴ Foucault, 'La prose d'Actéon', *Nouvelle Revue Française*, 1964 op. cit., see note 36.

⁴⁵ See St Augustine 'What if... she herself consented, seduced by her own lust?' in 19, 'Of Lucretia...', *The city of God against the Pagans*, R. W. Dyson, ed., Cambridge, 1998, pp. 29-30

⁴⁶ See 'Le Décadence du nu' published as 'The Falling Nymphs. A survey of the nude as a subject in modern painting from Ingres to our contemporaries 1960' *Portfolio or Art News Annual*, 3, 1960; hence between 'Balthus' (1957) and 'La Judith de Frédéric Tonnerre (1865)', (1961), misdated in the 1990 Paris retrospective catalogue and, alas, subsequently,

⁴⁷ Klossowski's long conversations with polychrome sculptor Raymond Mason are noted in his conversation with Remy Zaugg, *Simulacrum*, Berne Kunsthalle. 1981, p. 124. Thanks to Jean Paul Reti for our conversation on his sculptural work with Pierre.

⁴⁸ See Klossowski, 'Le Philosophe Scélérat' (*Tel Quel*, 28, 1967) in *Sade mon Prochain*, second edition, Editions du Seuil, 1967, pp. 48-9, and for my emphases, Adrien Sina's pertinent reading, 'L'Hypothèse du tableau restitué', www.adrien-sina.net/klossowski/

⁴⁹ Klossowski translated the Latin for Bataille's edition of the trials of Gilles de Rais in 1959.

⁵⁰ Marie-Christine Hugonot, 'Pierre Klossowski', *Le quotidien de Paris*, 19 February 1982.

⁵¹ Jonathan Swift, *Gullivers' Travels*, 1726, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1976, p. 134, recalls Gulliver's name in Brobdignag, 'Gridrig...the word imports what the Latins call *nanunculus*, the Italians *homunculetino*, and the English *manikin*.'

⁵² *Oikonimia* used teleologically and christologically by Saint Paul in Arnaud, *Pierre Klossowski*, op. cit., p. 81

⁵³ See Jean-Joseph Joux, *Economie et symbolique* (Seuil, 1973 tr. 1990), discussed in Joux, *The coiners of Language*, (Galilée, 1984) tr. Jennifer Curtiss Gage, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman and London, 1994.

⁵⁴ See Klossowski 'Argument de 1966' and 'La Séquence des Barres parallèles' in *Obliques*, Pierre Klossowski and Pierre Zucca, 'Roberte au cinéma', 1978, pp. 11-14, 86-90.

⁵⁵ For studies of Klossowski and Zucca, *La Monnaie vivante*, Paris, Eric Losfeld, 1970, see Ingrid Orfali, *Fiction Erogène a partir de Klossowski*, LiberForlag Lund, 1983 and Angelo Koyfalas, Pierre Zucca, *L'immagine, La Menzogna, il Simulacro*, University of Bologna, 2005. Using Zucca's interview in 'Le cinéma des cinéastes', 19 March 1979 Koyfalas recalls that Zucca's reminiscences of his father André, the first colour photographer in nazi-Occupied

Paris, (pp.91-2); the meeting with Pierre and visit to Le Cadran Solaire exhibition in 1967, pp.93-4; the commercial project for a *Roberte* with James Mason, p. 104.

⁵⁶ Michel Foucault to Pierre Klossowski, 20 February 1971.

⁵⁷ See Marc Jimenez. 'Situations. Sur la reception de la théorie critique. Contradictions et incohérence: les années 60-70 en France', *Adorno et la modernité. Vers une esthétique négative*, Paris, (Le Sycomore, 1983), Éditions Klincksieck, 1986, pp. 35-47.

⁵⁸ Gilles Deleuze 'Klossowski or Bodies-Language' (*Critique*, 4, 1965) in *The Logic of Sense*, (1969, 1990tr.) New York, Continuum, 2003, pp. 280-301.

⁵⁹ Deleuze, letter to Pierre Klossowski, 21 April, 1971.

⁶⁰ Deleuze to Klossowski, 19 December 1969; undated 'mercredi'; 18 February, 1971 and above; on 'Roberte au cinéma, *Obliques*, 25 July, 1978.

⁶¹ Jean-François Lyotard, *Libidinal Economy* (1974), Ian Hamilton Grant, tr. London, the Athlone Press, 1993, pp. 78-9.

⁶² Klossowski, 'L'indiscernable', *Nouvelle Revue Française*, June, 1978; 'The indiscernable' in *Decadence of the Nude*, op. cit., 2002, pp. 142-159.

⁶³ Pasolini's earlier film *Theorem*, 1968, starring Terence Stamp can be read as a study in the 'laws of hospitality'. It follows Klossowski's 1967 Sade lectures in Italy...

⁶⁴ 'Klossowski's work follows the erotic-political and critical path opened by Sade - without the abomination, the horror, the crime, the necrophilia and the infanticide. Günter Brus is the missing link between Klossowski and Sade.' (Adrien Sina).

⁶⁵ Thanks to Jean-Charles Tison for showing me *The Ship of Fools* (family collection), where Foucault holds an itemised list of participants.

⁶⁶ In an unpublished conversation with Hans-Ulrich Obrist of 1998, Klossowski is still keen to film *l'Adolescent Immortel*, possibly with Alain Fleischer.