The cult of the Divine Marquis reframed

Tracing the Marquis de Sade in a global surrealist context

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Introduction

"'*No man was more feared, despised and hated than the one known as the Divine Marquis.'*"[1]

On December 2, 1959, a large group of surrealists gathered at Egyptian-English poet Joyce Mansour's Paris apartment. They had received an invitation to assist in the celebration of the one hundred and forty-fifth anniversary of the Marquis de Sade's death. In Mansour's living room, the guests bore witness to a singular performance, details of which have been exaggerated to the extent that, most likely, the only people who truly know what happened were those who were there that day. As part of that year's *Exposition inteRnatiOnale du Surréalisme (EROS)*, Canadian artist Jean Benoît, with the help of Mimi Parent (Canadian surrealist and Benoît's wife), André Breton, and others, performed *The Execution of the Testament of the Marquis de Sade,* a symbol-laden shamanistic ritual that included him wearing a mask, a huge locket-style medallion (see Figure 1), a vest, and an enormous wooden phallus fashioned after the proportions of Brise-cul and Bande-au-ciel's members given in Sade's *The 120 Days of Sodom*. Over the sounds of Radovan Ivsic' specially recorded soundtrack, André Breton read Sade's will aloud, which stipulated that Sade's body be buried anonymously in an unmarked grave in a copse of trees on his estate. "Once the grave has been covered, the ground shall be sown with acorns so that afterwards, the turf covering said grave having been reclaimed, the grove thick with brush as it once was, the traces of my tomb can disappear from the face of the earth, as I flatter myself to think of my own memory erased from the spirit of mankind."[2] Parent removed Benoît's costume piece by piece while artist Jean-René Major explained the meaning of each article. At the climax of this solemn ritual, stripped naked but for the phallus and black painted arrows pointing to a star on his chest, Benoît took a phallus-handled hot iron and branded himself on the chest with the word 'Sade'. This act so inspired his onlookers that Roberto Matta, a Chilean surrealist, seized the brand and seared himself as well.[3]

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[1] Eluard, "Sade: A Revolutionary Intelligence," 185.
[2] Sade, "Testament", quoted in Apollinaire, *Oeuvre du Marquis de Sade,* 15. Translated Maia Kenney. Original text: "La fosse une fois recouverte, il sera semé dessus des glands, afin que, par la suite, le terrain de ladite fosse se trouvant regarni et le taillis se trouvant fourré comme il l'était auparavant, les traces de ma tombe disparaissent de dessus la surface de la terre, comme je me flatte que ma mémoire s'effacera de l'esprit des hommes."
[3] Mahon, "Staging Desire," 285.

The veracity of this tale is contested: the branding was most likely symbolic, not actual scarifying. As a result of the nebulous facts and grandiose gesture, Benoît's heroic feat has become legend, perpetuating and even eclipsing Sadean mythology. After Sade's burial at the Charenton insane asylum where he died in 1814, his spirit limped on throughout the nineteenth century until he was figuratively disinterred by the surrealists in the early twentieth. In the one hundred and forty-five years between Sade's death and Benoît's performance, intellectuals and artists analyzed and appropriated Sade's writings and biography. The performance, designed to symbolically rebury Sade and honor his last testament, served only to pull him further out of obscurity. The December 2 event has been called "the apogee of… surrealism's engagement with Sade",[4] which lasted over four decades and included writings, artworks, and fierce debate. The diversity of the surrealists engaging with Sade – both the sanctioned Bretonian 'core' group and the outcasts – is remarkable, and bears examination in order to understand how Benoît and his friends ended up in a Parisian apartment to witness a symbolism-laden tableau whose only factual moment was its point of departure: Sade's final testament.

Aim of this thesis

This thesis will scrutinize the dynamic relationship between the Marquis de Sade and surrealism. Surrealism studies has barely touched upon the subject of Sade, and has never done so in a systematic manner, an omission whose rectification is past due. There are essentially four facets of this topic that, when thoroughly examined, will shed light not only on what I will call Sadean surrealism, but on surrealism as a whole. These are the written versus visual traditions of surrealism and the core versus peripheral surrealist artists and writers. This thesis therefore aims to answer the following question: *taking both visual and written surrealist traditions into account, what was the role of the Marquis de Sade within the movement – both as defined by Breton and in the spheres beyond his jurisdiction?* To untangle the web of influence and transgression that made up the intersection of Sade and surrealism will involve a close reading of Sadean surrealist texts and artworks in the time period of about 1924 (the official beginning of surrealism) and 1972, when the last Sadean surrealist artworks were made. Given current shifts in surrealism studies towards a non-Bretonian surrealism – a global surrealism – this thesis has

[4] Richardson, "Sade and revolutionary violence," 71.

the end goal of painting Sade in a global surrealist light. Why – and how – did Sade become so utterly ubiquitous? How did Sade factor into surrealist debates on sexuality and politics? How did Sade manifest in surrealist artworks – what *is* a Sadean artwork? Sade meant something different to nearly every surrealist who wrote about him or portrayed him, so there are many Sadean themes. Despite, or perhaps because of, this diversity, Sade is a lens through which to view not only surrealism as we know it now, but a telescope that allows one to see the panoply of a global surrealism.

What is the relation between written and visual Sadean works, and why does this thesis keep them separate? The early years of surrealism, generally considered the years following the publishing of André Breton's *Surrealist Manifesto* (1924), were characterized by meetings and discussions of Breton and his cadre as well as the written output by this group. There is a massive amount of written material from the years 1924 to, say, 1933, with a generally clear vision.[5] I call this the written surrealist tradition; i.e. that written material produced by surrealists with the intention of being consumed as surrealist material. And though surrealist visual art was produced by early converts such as Max Ernst, it was not until around 1927 or 1928 and on that surrealist visual art became the more visible output of the movement. This thesis will mine journals such as *La Révolution Surréaliste* (1924-1929) and *Le Surréalisme au Service de la Révolution* (1930-1933) for Sadean references. Earlier in their production, most references were textual; later, they were visual as well. What is striking is that, while the two traditions certainly do appear in the same journals and most likely had effects on each other, these effects are superficial. I therefore keep the two separate in order to be able to create an overview of Sadean surrealism in *both* traditions that can act as a foundation for in-depth analysis (such as that in Chapter V). A Sadean surrealism will be useful because it will act as a tool for future scholarship to further build global surrealism. As current scholarship does not satisfactorily treat Sade, defining a Sadean surrealism will build a base from the ground up that will hopefully clear some

[5] The surrealists never stopped writing and producing journals, but the revolutionary fervor that characterized their early publications died out after a while. As Robert Short puts it, Breton's group's "scanty finances compelled them to publish their works in limited editions which were bought mainly by bibliophiles. The average circulation of their reviews was only 2000, and the quality of their audience as dubious as its size was small. By 1930, there was no escaping the truth of Aragon's warning: 'The snobs are here'." Around this time, Breton began expelling members of the group, causing rifts within the heretofore cohesive clique. It could be argued that the publications lost their persuasiveness from all the in-fighting. Short, "Politics of Surrealism," 14.

of the confusion and help consolidate the discourse. They hinge upon both explicit and non-explicit references to Sade by surrealists. To categorize Sadean surrealism as a 'subgenre' of sorts is to acknowledge surrealism as a modernist movement. There is not enough space in this thesis to address every Sadean artist, let alone every Sadean work, but I will outline the ways in which a Sadean work can be recognized, no matter when it was made. Indeed, I claim that Sadean surrealism undermines the case for a surrealism centered on Paris, as I will demonstrate in three case studies that conclude this project, along with the other examples of non-'core' surrealists I give throughout.

Structure

Consisting of two parts, this thesis is structured in such a way that separates the traditions of written and visual surrealism with relation to Sade in order to construct a clear picture of how Sade was seen and presented by surrealist thinkers and visual artists. Because the issue of Sade in surrealism has not been addressed, for the most part, by contemporary academia, the approach of this thesis must be meticulous and methodical. To answer the overall question of why and how Sade was of key importance to written and visual surrealism both within and outside of Breton's influence, I examine surrealism through both a macroscopic and microscopic Sadean lens. Part One of this thesis therefore presents a broad conceptualization of a Sadean surrealism in three chapters. Chapter I introduces Sade with a brief biography as well as a publishing timeline; because several of his books were published for the first time by surrealists, this is an important aspect of Sade's biography. Chapter I continues with an examination of the efforts of Guillaume Apollinaire, Maurice Heine, and André Breton in promoting Sade's writings; Apollinaire and Heine made a concerted effort to publish undiscovered texts and Breton's immediate excitement about Sade had an impact on the longevity of surrealist obsession with Sade. Chapter II is a literature review consisting of surrealist texts on Sade. Here, the scope of written surrealism can be seen in texts as varied as the famous *Recherches sur la sexualité,* the minutes of a discussion on sex by Breton and his cadre; and Georges Bataille's 1928 *Story of the Eye (L'Histoire de l'Oeil*), a Sadean novel.

Part Two of this thesis dives into a more microscopic analysis Chapter IV I continue with a meta-analysis of how Sadean surrealism is explained by contemporary scholars, beginning with two opposing opinions on Sade by surrealist poet and scholar Annie Le Brun and Michael Richardson, and ending with Neil Cox's less biased examination of Sadean surrealism. Chapter III presents the case for Sadean surrealism as a subgenre of the movement, and fully investigates the phenomenon of the Sadean imaginary portrait. Finally, Chapter IV consists of a series of three case studies, in which I examine how the Sadean code manifests itself in the work of three surrealists beyond the Bretonian core: Utrecht surrealist Johannes Moesman (1908-1988), Argentinian painter Leonor Fini (1907-1996), and the Israeli contemporary artist Roee Rosen (1963-). Their physical and social distance from the core of the surrealist movement makes the three unlikely conduits for Sadean references.

Sources

The written sources used for this thesis are from three general groupings of literature: biographies and historical writings on Sade (as well as Sade's own writings); surrealist contemporary writings such as journals, novels, and essays; and current literature on Sadean surrealism. The first group is instrumental in establishing the timeline of Sade's life and philosophy, as well as his texts and reputation after his death. The second builds a picture of how the surrealists dealt with Sade and makes up the bulk of the discussion of 'written surrealism' (as opposed to visual surrealism). Analysis of the last category of written sources will make up a literature review in Chapter II; the sources in question are generally journal articles dealing with one aspect of Sadean surrealism (there are no academic books on the subject) or explaining it very briefly. In this last category are articles by Neil Cox, a chapter on Sade in Simon Baker's *Surrealism, History and Revolution,* and Michael Richardson's chapter on Sade in *Surrealism: Key Concepts* (edited by Krzysztof Fijalkowski and Michael Richardson).

Visual sources used in this thesis will be gathered using the criteria I establish in Chapter III. To this end there are several sources that have been invaluable in identifying a canon of works, though none of them are exhaustive in their approach; indeed, one source is problematic. The catalog for the Tate Modern's 2002 exhibition on surrealism and sex entitled *Surrealism: Desire*

Unbound,[6] curated by Jennifer Mundy, is invaluable in this regard. The exhibition included a section on Sade; Neil Cox's essay for the catalog on this topic, "Critique of pure desire, or when the surrealists were right"[7], gives an overview of Sade's presence in surrealism with a focus on the core Bretonian group. Cox makes the case that to surrealism, Sade was the embodiment or perhaps the herald of *l'amour fou*. Another source, Candice Black's survey of Sadean surrealism entitled *Sade: Sex and Death,* is a problematic, distinctly unacademic text that cites neither sources nor images. However, it is the most comprehensive textual and visual survey of Sade in surrealism I have encountered and has been an excellent reference point in regard to its breadth – it introduces Sadean works by surrealists not mentioned by Cox, such as Valentine Hugo and Leonor Fini. In 2001, Kunsthaus Zurich presented an exhibition entitled *Sade/Surreal*, curated by Tobia Bezzola. This was the first comprehensive examination of Sade's presence in surrealism and the first to present Sadean works on a large scale. The catalog, *Sade Surreal,* is a collection of contemporary essays; Surrealist writings on Sade; Sade's life (biography and literature); comprehensive visual materials including 19th century Sade illustrations, Sade's letters, and Surrealist Sadean works; and a survey of surrealist Sadean literature and artworks not included in the exhibition.[8] Finally, Simon Baker's chapter on Sade in *Surrealism, History and Revolution,* "The unacceptable face of the French Revolution,"[9] specifically points to the subcategory of imaginary portraits, as discussed in the second half of Chapter III. Sadean surrealist artworks take many forms, but there are three general categories – i.e. a Sadean title, Sadean visual reference, and/or sadistic or sadomasochistic, atheist, or political subject matter – that all Sadean artworks fall into; it is from this well that I draw examples.

Approach

As mentioned above, there is little academic precedent to approaching the issue of Sadean surrealism in a systematic way. Simon Baker has cast doubt on the integrity of scholarship of Sadean surrealism: "we should remain suspicious of any motives for singling out Sade (including our own)".[10] This word of warning has been running through my mind since I first became aware

[6] The exhibition and catalog had the same title.
[7] Cox, "Critique of pure desire".
[8] Bezzola, *Sade Surreal.*
[9] Baker, *Surrealism, History and Revolution,* 231-294.
[10] Baker, "The unacceptable face of the French Revolution," 231.

of Sade's prevalence in surrealism and the relative lack of scholarly reviews of the nature of his presence therein. What was so obvious about Sade and surrealism that the connection did not need to be discussed? On the other hand, is Sade such a polarizing figure that "both motive and response implicate the critic in the construction of a volatile subject" in the hunt for truth amongst the myths?[11] Along the way, I have had to repeatedly question implicit biases in scholarly sources as well as in myself. Sade as a surrealist, as will become clear in this thesis, can be broken into two essential parts: Sade the libertine and Sade the atheist, anti-establishment revolutionary. The libertine – embodied by Sade's novels but also his personal lifestyle – has been the victim of censorship and a provocateur against social niceties. The revolutionary has been contested, heroized or demonized. Rarely, if ever, have the two of them met on the same page or canvas. Where possible, I will make it clear which 'Sade' I speak of, but to keep them separate would be to continue in a surrealist line of thought, to be uncritical in a detrimental way. On the other hand, to simply conflate the two would be to maintain the status quo of previous scholarship on Sadean surrealism, which maintains a distance that I mean to question. In essence, this thesis tries to break through the jumble of influences and invites us to read more into the motivation and self-consciousness of the movement than has been done thus far. Identifying trends, no matter how small, affords insight into how artist communities function.

Surrealism could be called a self-conscious movement, one that analyzed itself, playing with, celebrating, and fetishizing madness. At its core, surrealism was hyperaware of its own legacy and even composition, which was heavily regulated by André Breton. What happened at the fringes of the movement was more interesting, wilder, more fluid. As with the two Sades, this thesis must be conscious of the two (or more) surrealisms: the Bretonian Parisian core and the independent fringe. In the particular case of surrealism, the notions of 'core' and 'fringe' are actually useful, provided they are not used in a hierarchical manner. Though the idea of core and periphery is outdated when examined from a Western-centric perspective, in the case of this thesis, I use the terms core and fringe to define a boundary of sorts between two kinds of Sadean works. The spatial, temporal, and theoretical divide between what art history long recognized as true surrealism (the movement started by and presided over by Breton) and what we now call global surrealism (beginning with Xavière Gauthier's 1971 *Surréalisme et sexualité,* which

[11] Baker, "The unacceptable face of the French Revolution," 231.

recognized women artists in the movement and jump-started a new wave of surrealist scholarship not beholden to Breton) is arguably still extant. It may be beneficial in defining Sadean surrealism and distinguishing between sanctioned Sadean discourse – say, that appearing in journals edited by Breton or generally in Paris between 1924 and 1939 – and independent Sadean discourse – appearing in publications edited by Georges Bataille or in the of work artists only loosely associated with the movement. Ultimately, this concept shall support a theory of Sadean surrealism that can be applied to the works of Leonor Fini, Johannes Moesman, and Roee Rosen: case studies of a 'fringe' – *global* – surrealism.

Finally, a word on the limits of this thesis: first of all, there is simply neither enough space to do an exhaustive literature review nor an exhaustive visual analysis of Sadean surrealism. This thesis must necessarily cast a wide net, zooming in on specific instances that illuminate the Sadean trend as a whole. Second of all, the Marquis de Sade is, even two centuries after his death, an extremely polarizing literary figure. It is telling that the first wave of feminism took Sade on as a sort of contemporary social and political philosophical sparring partner,[12] as did a long line of twentieth-century philosophers stretching from Bataille to Foucault; indeed, "it once appeared that writing about Sade was almost a predictable stage in establishing an intellectual career."[13] To dive into the philosophical, political, and social discourse on Sade would be to write an entirely different thesis; it is thus imperative to maintain boundaries upon the sources used for this study. Temporally, these are the years the surrealist movement was most active. Thematically, all philosophical texts dealing with Sade must have a direct link to surrealism.

A quarter-century before Benoît's performance, in 1933, the journal *Le Surréalisme au service de la révolution,* edited by André Breton, ran a photograph by Man Ray, entitled *Monument to D.A.F. de Sade* (see Figure 2).[14] A pair of seductively posed buttocks are framed by the vivid black outline of an upside-down cross. The transgressions of this image are twofold: the anonymous nude rear end invites thoughts of not traditional procreative sex but the illicit act of sodomy; the cross – symbol of Christianity – is upended blasphemously and seems to corroborate the invitation, acting as phallus. As a whole, the image exemplifies taboos and fetish,

[12] See, for example, Simone de Beauvoir's 1952 essay "Faut-il brûler Sade?", published in *Les temps modernes* 7:75, and Angela Carter's 1979 book *The Sadeian Woman: An Exercise in Cultural History* (New York: Penguin Books, 2001).
[13] Ferguson, "Sade and the pornographic legacy," 1.
[14] Man Ray, *Monument à D.A.F. de Sade*, reproduced in *Le Surréalisme au service de la revolution,* 5 (15 May 1933): 59.

linking religious imagery to unsanctioned sexual practice. The title of the work invokes surrealism's greatest literary influence, the Marquis de Sade, a man whose work – and whose life – seemed to embody the transgressive, revolutionary artistic activity that surrealists of both sexes wished to explore. If Benoît's *The Execution of the Testament of the Marquis de Sade* represents the apogee of surrealism's engagement with Sade, *Monument to D.A.F. de Sade* is perhaps the ultimate embodiment of that engagement, and Man Ray the standard-bearer for Sadean surrealism. By 1933, Sade had become a ubiquitous reference in surrealist art and literature, which in itself is no great feat; Breton's list of 'Surrealists' in his first manifesto included nineteen other writers who were retrospectively ushered into the movement as both predecessors and contemporaries. Eventually, Sade was cited as an authority in every surrealist publication. Yet I argue that it was Sade alone who transcended both Breton's list and the writings and journals of surrealists into the physical world.

PART ONE

Chapter I
The life and reception of the Marquis de Sade

Introduction

"'Ease, liberty, impiety, crapulousness, all libertine excesses, all those of debauchery, of eating and drinking, in short, of what is known as foul lust, will reign supreme.'"[15]

Who was the Marquis de Sade? "He is the most notorious atheist, the most immoral fellow... Oh, no; his is the most complete and thoroughgoing corruption, and he the most evil individual, the greatest scoundrel in the world."[16] He lived and died over a century before the surrealist movement emerged in Paris. His sordid reputation as a scoundrel and pornographer meant that, for the most part, there was little literary interest in him during the nineteenth century in the public and morally righteous literary sphere. The French historian Michelet declared Sade an outcast, the "'professor *emeritus* of crime… the apostle of murderers'" in 1850;[17] by the end of the nineteenth century Sade had become a curiosity of the medical establishment, which was interested in his rather encyclopedic 'knowledge' of the range of sex acts available to humanity. To say that the surrealists 'rescued' Sade from this historical trajectory, though euphemistic, is hardly wrong. This chapter of the thesis aims to unravel the appearance of – or, perhaps more accurately, renewed interest in - Sade's writings in the early twentieth century. This section will begin with a biography of Sade in order to contextualize the man and the author in eighteenth-century France. I will outline the trajectory of Sade's literature and reputation during his life and after his death, including as a curiosity of the nineteenth-century medical establishment. This is an opportunity to present Sade as a real historical figure who, as we will see in Chapters II and III, became something of a mythologized hero in the eyes of the surrealists. Though there are certainly still gaps in the biography, the facts of Sade's life are generally known. Some of the events in his life became very important to surrealists; it is thus important to establish a factual

[15] Sade, *Juliette,* e-pub edition, 526.
[16] Sade, *Philosophy in the Bedroom,* 3.
[17] Shattuch, "Rehabilitating a Prophet," 123.

foundation that will clarify the extent to which surrealism distorted the image of Sade for its own purposes.

The second part of this section will consist of a bibliography which will reveal the various paths Sade's novels and treatises took throughout the relatively quiet nineteenth century and the unabashedly Sadean twentieth century. I consider the (re)discoveries of Sade's writings in the early twentieth century by Guillaume Apollinaire and Maurice Heine as well as André Breton and the concerted efforts of the three to promote Sade as relevant to contemporary society to be a main reason why Sade became so important to surrealism. The surrealists adopted Sade as a figurehead (to be discussed in detail Chapter II) and by doing so they cemented his place in the twentieth century and the French literary canon. How did the attention of Guillaume Apollinaire, Maurice Heine, and André Breton shape surrealism's engagement with Sade? This question will allow for a preliminary analysis of the actual status of Sade as a *surrealist* entity.

Abridged biography

The following abridged biography is taken from the known chronology of Sade's life, of which a significant percentage was spent in various prisons and asylums in Paris. An extremely useful source in this regard has been E. Pierre Chanover's 1973 *The Marquis de Sade: A Bibliography*, which will provide a basis for tracing Sade's literary works, translations thereof, and (unfortunately not up to date) scholarly writings on sadism. A later source, Lawrence W. Lynch's 1984 *The Marquis de Sade,* thoroughly combs through Sade's known life events, introduces every major text, and discusses Sade's philosophy and reception at length.

Born on June 2nd, 1740 to the Count and Countess de Sade at the residence of the Princess de Condé, Donatien-Alphonse-François de Sade was quickly entrusted at the age of five to the care of his uncle Jacques-François-Paul-Aldonse de Sade.[18] At the age of ten he returned to Paris to attend the Jesuit College d'Harcourt. Throughout his teens he moved up through the ranks of the local cavalry; at eighteen he was promoted to captain. In 1763 he "retires from the Army. Royal assent is given to the proposed marriage between the Marquis de Sade… and Renée-Pélagie

[18] Chanover, *Sade: A Bibliography*, ix.

Cordier de Launay de Montreuil" (1741-1810).[19] The Marquise de Sade became Sade's staunchest and most stubborn ally, standing with him while her mother labored to have him incarcerated or worse – and while he 'ran off' with her sister, Parisian actresses, and dancers. Here it must be noted that, due to the controversial nature of his life and lifestyle, many texts on Sade tend towards the sensationalized and speculative. This is as true of surrealists, as will be discussed later, as for contemporary scholars. See, for instance, John Phillips' *The Marquis de Sade: A Very Short Introduction,* (Oxford University Press, 2005): "From the Jesuits, he may also have acquired a liking for whipping and sodomy. The Jesuits regularly whipped the posteriors of their charges to discipline them, and it is well known that this form of corporal punishment can arouse the victim sexually."[20] Phillips is an expert in French literature, specializing in the works of Sade. However, Phillips' deeply biased and almost defensive stance seems unconscious and indicates that, even in the twenty-first century, Sade is particularly susceptible to mythologizing. This phenomenon may be a key to understanding surrealist fascination with Sade.

The next decade was spent in utter caprice. The "incidents" that established Sade the man as an incorrigible libertine took place during this time. A mere four months after his marriage, Sade was arrested for forcing a prostitute to watch him as he "trampled one crucifix, masturbated on another, and told her to trample on it; she hesitated, and he threatened her life."[21] He was jailed for two weeks. The next (known), and much more infamous scandal, was the "Rose Keller Affair" of April 1768, in which Sade enticed a young German beggarwoman (with the promise of money and honest work) to his country house in Arcueil, where he forcibly tied her to a bed, whipped her, and possibly did worse. She escaped to the village after he left her alone; her testimony caused him to be arrested and imprisoned, this time for seven months. [22] Here again we note that John Phillips doubts the story, believing the Marquis' claim that "he never intended [Keller] any harm."[23] The third scandal resulted in Sade and his co-conspirator and valet Latour being burned in effigy in Aix-en-Provence. In June 1772, Sade and Latour went to Marseilles and assembled a group of four prostitutes, who were made to participate in various scenes of

[19] Chanover, *Sade: A Bibliography*, ix.
[20] Phillips, *Sade: A Very Short Introduction*, 1-2.
[21] Lynch, *The Marquis de Sade*, 7.
[22] Lynch, *The Marquis de Sade*, 7-8.
[23] Phillips, *Sade: A Very Short Introduction*, 5.

whipping, group sex, and sodomy with the two men. The girls were encouraged to eat as many of the candies Sade had brought as a 'gift' as possible, these having been "coated with powder from the cantharis beetle, commonly called Spanish fly."[24] Having been painfully but non-fatally poisoned, the women notified authorities. Sodomy was punishable by death, though this punishment was rarely enacted. Instead, the aforementioned burning-in-effigy was thoroughly ineffective in convincing Sade to stop his debauchery. The fourth and final scandal before Sade's first real incarceration was a prolonged one: over the course of the two years or so between December 1774 and October 1776, Sade's castle, Château de La Coste, located in the Vaucluse department, was host to a revolving door of young women who were hired as household staff but subjected to orgies, whippings, and "a chamber decorated with bones and skeletons, used as décor for Sade's activities."[25] By this time, Sade was living under constant threat of arrest.

On the 13th of February 1777, under the directive of his mother-in-law Mme. de Montreuil, Sade was arrested and taken to Vincennes prison. A period of nearly uninterrupted imprisonment – twelve years – ensued. During this time, Sade read voraciously and labored to develop his philosophy.[26] In 1784 he was transferred to the Bastille, where he began an era of truly prolific writing. Between 1785 and 1788, Sade wrote *Les 120 Journées de Sodome, Justine,* and other texts.[27] On 2 July 1789, Sade "indulged in a bit of rabble-rousing. Improvising a megaphone from a rain spout, he yelled to the crowd assembled below that the throats of the Bastille's prisoners were being slashed, and that they must be liberated."[28] He was forcibly removed to the convent at Charenton, and on 14 July the Bastille was infamously stormed. History leaves us to our own conclusions as to whether this outburst from the prison contributed to one of French history's most important events. In 1790, Sade was released by the National Assembly. Free, but penniless due to separation from his wife, Sade spent the next decade writing ignored dramatic works and participating in the new French government as a judge.[29] Ironically, he spared the life of his father-in-law when he came before Sade's tribunal. He also published *La Philosophie dans le boudoir* (1795) and wrote *L'Histoire de Juliette* and *La Nouvelle Justine,* his last important

[24] Lynch, *The Marquis de Sade*, 9.
[25] Lynch, *The Marquis de Sade*, 11-12.
[26] Lynch, *The Marquis de Sade*, 15
[27] Lynch, *The Marquis de Sade*, "Chronology".
[28] Lynch, *The Marquis de Sade*, 16.
[29] Lynch, *The Marquis de Sade*, 16.

libertine novels, during this final decade of freedom. In March 1801, Sade was arrested for the last time, and ultimately transferred back to Charenton, where he spent the rest of his life. He died in 1814 after having spent a total of twenty-seven years of his life behind bars.[30] His will, written in 1806, included Sade's wish to be forgotten by future generations: "'Once the grave has been covered up, acorns will be sown on it, and when the ground has become overgrown and the brushwood turns to be as thick as it used to be, the traces of my tomb may disappear from the surface of the earth, just as *I like to think* that my memory will be erased from the spirit of mankind.'"[31] Sade's wishes were ignored, however, and he was buried in the graveyard at Charenton.[32]

After a text leaves the hands of its author, it can be said that it takes on a life of its own. The distribution of Sade's works during his lifetime contributed to his reputation as an incorrigible libertine and a danger to a moral France; but what happened to them – and Sade's reputation – after his death is more interesting. Sade's works began to appear in surrealist writings and almost immediately after the movement's onset. I examine Sade's texts in the context of his philosophy. Throughout the nineteenth century, Sade's texts and what was known about his life went hand in hand; that is to say, his reputation did not waver beyond that of a pornographer. In the early twentieth century, a few undiscovered texts were published, first in 1904 by Eugen Dühren,[33] in 1909 by Guillaume Apollinaire[34], and then in the 1920's and 1930's by Maurice Heine, amongst others.[35] The most important of these discoveries is also considered to be Sade's most important work: *Les 120 Journées de Sodome.*

Sade's literature and its reception during his lifetime

Sade was able to publish most of his oeuvre during his lifetime. No manuscripts survive from the period before his quarter-century of incarceration; the period that he was in the Bastille is

[30] Lynch, *The Marquis de Sade*, 19-21.
[31] Marquis de Sade, quoted by Apollinaire, *L'Oeuvre du Marquis de Sade,* 15. Quote translated Maia Kenney. "'La fosse une fois recouverte, il sera semé dessus des glands, afin que, par la suite, le terrain de ladite fosse se trouvant regarni et le taillis se trouvant fourré comme il l'était auparavant, les traces de ma tombe disparaissent de dessus la surface de la terre, comme *je me flatte* que ma mémoire s'effacera de l'esprit des hommes.'"
[32] Mahon, "Staging Desire," 284.
[33] Chanover, *Sade: A Bibliography,* 23.
[34] Chanover, *Sade: A Bibliography,* 6.
[35] Phillips, *Sade: A Very Short Introduction*, 62.

considered to be his first chance to accumulate and consolidate his thoughts onto paper. These were among the most prolific years of his career, as well as the ones where he wrote what caused him to later be seen as an immoral, incorrigible fiend. About his lifestyle and whether he actually committed the crimes he describes in his books, Sade said:

> "'Yes, I am a libertine, I confess; I have thought of everything imaginable in that vein, but I certainly did not practice all that I thought of, nor would I ever do so. I am a libertine, but I am not a criminal nor a murderer…'"[36]

The extent of his debauchery is unknown, but most likely he did not practice what he preached in his texts and novels. *Dialogue entre un prêtre et un moribund (Dialogue Between a Priest and a Dying Man,* completed 1782*)* is his first known literary text. It is a short dialogue wherein the two titular men discuss the trajectory of the dying man's soul; however, the traditional arc of "confession, submission, absolution"[37] is turned on its head as the moribund pronounces his staunch atheism, cutting through the weak logic of the faithful and degrading the priest's beliefs and morals until he accepts an invitation to partake in a sexual orgy. *Dialogue* gives the reader a taste of Sade's budding style, his absolute rejection of church doctrine, and his penchant for immorality (in the traditional sense).

After this, Sade wrote *La Philosophie dans le boudoir (Philosophy in the Bedroom), Les 120 Journées de Sodome (The One Hundred and Twenty Days of Sodom), Aline et Valcour,* and, of course, *Justine* and its sequels and *Juliette,* amongst lesser-known texts. He boasted in the postscript of *Les 120 Journées* that "'This entire scroll was begun on 22 October 1785 and completed in thirty-seven days.'"[38] Sade wrote the manuscript upon both sides of a twelve-meter scroll of paper and stashed it in a hole in his Bastille cell wall. In *Les 120 Journées,* the atheism of *Dialogue* blossoms into a full-throated philosophy of the systematic degradation of Western morality. Sade "had in mind an encyclopedia of vice… in *Les 120 Journées de Sodome,* the insistence on and repetition of hedonistic perversion are so intense that even his greatest admirer

[36] Marquis de Sade, quoted by Lynch, *The Marquis de Sade*, 13.
[37] Lynch, *The Marquis de Sade*, 22.
[38] Marquis de Sade, quoted by Lynch, *The Marquis de Sade*, 31.

and defender, Gilbert Lely, was revolted by the emphasis on coprophilia and algolagnia[39]."[40] It has been theorized that this prolific era in Sade's life arose from the realities of his incarceration: deprived of (sexual) human contact, his life was "permanently crossed by… enlightened argument against strict moralism and the consciousness of an uncontrollable sexual energy."[41] Indeed, to read *Les 120 Journées, Juliette,* or any other libertine novel is to notice the periods of exhaustive atheist proselytizing interspersed throughout the debauchery. Any character of immoral authority takes his or her opportunities to educate disciples on the illogic of religion.

The first work published during Sade's lifetime was *Justine, ou les Malheurs de la vertu (Justine, or the Misfortunes of Virtue)*. Written by 1788 (it is included in his catalogue raisonné from October of that year), and published in 1791, *Justine* is widely considered to be Sade's true masterpiece, and very quickly caused Sade's reputation as a corruptor of morality.[42] Justine spends about 1000 pages having each attempted good deed met with punishment and corruption; in insisting on spreading virtue she merely sets herself up for scenario upon scenario of utter degradation. In this sense, the concept of the novel as *Bildungsroman* is subverted as the main character never learns from her 'mistakes' and is in the end "struck by a lightning bolt which completely disfigures her before killing her. Such is Sade's last ghastly evidence against the expectation of reward for virtue."[43] *Justine*'s seven printed editions and widespread (negative) media attention most likely contributed to Sade's eventual permanent incarceration in Saint-Pélagie prison in 1801 and the Charenton asylum in 1803, where he remained until his death.[44] Sade wrote three versions of *Justine;* in the first version the title character was named Sophie; the second was published in 1791; and the final – *La Nouvelle Justine,* published in 1797 – is much longer, and narrated in the third person as opposed to the first, and much more heavily emphasizes "incest, lesbianism, coprologny, and mechanical torture."[45] *Juliette,* also published in 1797, is the companion novel to *Justine;* the main character is Justine's sister, yet her complete opposite: Juliette refuses to bow to conventions of moral citizenship and instead embraces and

[39] *Algolagnia* (n.): "a perversion (such as sadism or masochism) characterized by pleasure and especially sexual gratification in inflicting or suffering pain". ("Algolagnia", Merriam-webster.com).
[40] Lynch, *The Marquis de Sade,* 36.
[41] Cox, "Critique of pure desire," 247.
[42] Lynch, *The Marquis de Sade,* 41.
[43] Lynch, *The Marquis de Sade,* 43.
[44] Chanover, *Sade: A Bibliography,* 12.
[45] Lynch, *The Marquis de Sade,* 46.

pursues every method of gratification, to her utter advantage. Juliette is placed in a convent at a tender age, where she is quickly and willingly initiated by nun Madame Delbène into her sect of pleasure-seeking. She is taught that "'modesty is an illusion… 'tis the result of nought but our cultural manners and our upbringing, it is what is known as a conventional habit.'"[46] From here, Juliette builds a lifestyle of hedonism and embraced criminality that is a mirror to her sister's, framed by an agency of choice.

Was Sade a philosopher?

Sade would consider himself an atheist above all, and this is generally what the surrealists found most valuable in his oeuvre. As in *Dialogue entre un prêtre et un moribund,* Sade's main goal is to present the inherent corruption in religion (by literally corrupting clergy) and to prove that the only guide to human behavior should be one's own impulses, not a moral code or an outside (religious) influence. Therefore, 'hedonistic nihilism' might be perhaps the most accurate name for Sade's way of seeing the world: as a buffet upon which the indiscriminate glutton may feast. Timo Airaksinen has proposed Sade as a philosopher in disguise, as someone who wrote what are, on the surface, pornographic novels, but are in truth a twenty-seven-year philosophical discourse. "Although we cannot read Sade as a conventional philosopher…, his fiction… serves counter-ethical and metaphysical goals."[47] It is not a philosophy of pure hedonism; Sade produced many works in a short period of time and his characters strive just as hard to live a life of vice as Sade did to write. In other words, Sade's creatures do not wait for pleasures to come their way: even the dandies are businessmen, taking the effort of setting up imaginative sexual situations – orgies, torture, voyeurism[48] – seriously. Therefore, as will be discussed later, the inherent insatiability of Sade's hedonistic characters is problematic, as the element of desire – a keystone of surrealist philosophy – is not what it seems. "If the literary merit of *Les 120 Journées de Sodome* is dubious (since it was left unfinished), its philosophical implications are quite clear. *Certain men in positions of power have limitless rights to any creatures which they*

[46] Sade, *Juliette,* e-pub edition, 11.
[47] Airaksinen, *Philosophy of the Marquis,* 5.
[48] See, for example, the scenario in *Eugénie de Franval,* in which the young Eugénie's father sets up an elaborate stage for his friend Valmont to "view her in the nude, but only in a carefully arranged setting in which, by the use of ropes, Valmont can view any part of her that he wishes, without being able to touch her" (Lynch, *Marquis de Sade,* 71).

might choose. The goal is immediate pleasure and orgasm."[49] Sade's male characters – and the sadistic female ones – have a "near total disdain for the vagina"[50]. Though the clitoris is, surprisingly for the eighteenth century, an important aspect of sexual configurations in Sade's erotic scenes, in general, woman is an empty husk, an object to be acted upon. Even in *Juliette,* where the main (female) character is the actor and perpetrator, she is a conduit for Sade's ideas rather than an autonomous being. In this way, Sade is most certainly a philosopher who presents antithetical morality plays, where each character stands for the larger purpose of proving that vice and criminality are the most worthwhile codes to live by.

Sade in the nineteenth century

Sadism: the tendency to derive sexual pleasure from the infliction of pain, humiliation, or suffering on either consenting or non-consenting others. As we may easily guess, the term derives from Sade's name; he did not coin the term himself, however. *Sadisme*'s first appearance is in 1834 in a French dictionary and was used in the 1850's and -60's in literary criticism, especially of Flaubert. In 1886, the German psychiatrist Richard Freiherr von Kraft-Ebbing (1840-1902) appropriated sadism and conjoined it with the bastardized term 'masochism' (from Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, author of *Venus in Furs* and a public masochist, as it were) in his groundbreaking volume on sexual pathologies, which became the new dictionary of sexual deviancy, *Psychopathia Sexualis.* Thereafter, the category of psychopathology was frequently projected backwards to characterize the Marquis and his work.[51]

Roger Shattuck traces Sade's reputation from just after Sade's death – in relative obscurity – until the middle of the twentieth century, when Foucault, Barthes, Beauvoir, Horkheimer, and Adorno noticed and dealt with him. In 1810, or shortly before Sade's death, the Bibliothèque Nationale de France started the project of accumulating every book ever published in France. "In order to accommodate licentious and obscene works and restrict their readership, the library created a special collection, which soon received the name of '*Enfer'* or Hell."[52] Sade's works

[49] Lynch, *The Marquis de Sade,* 36. Emphasis added.
[50] Lynch, *The Marquis de Sade,* 37.
[51] Shattuck, "Rehabilitating a Prophet," 123-4.
[52] Shattuck, "Rehabilitating a Prophet," 123.

ended up in this forbidden section, of course, and for the most part remained there for the next century. In the meantime, Sade's reputation (in France) as "the ultimate representative of a corrupt monarchy and… 'the apostle of murderers'" was meager due to the low circulation of his work.[53] "By 1901 Dr. Jacobus… warned against the dire effect of reading his 'bloody' novels" – a surefire way to capture the attention of less conformist thinkers.[54] Sade may never have meant for *Les 120 Journées de Sodome* – which he carefully hid from prison authorities – to be published widely; "the publication of far less offensive works caused enough difficulty for him."[55] In fact, he believed the manuscript to have been lost during the storming of the Bastille and lamented this. It was not until 1904 that German psychiatrist Iwan Bloch under the pseudonym Eugene Dühren published *Les 120 Journées de Sodome* as a literary appendage to Krafft-Ebing's book of case histories. This edition, however, was problematic; there were only one hundred sixty copies and, full of errors and inaccuracies, it was not considered to be authentic; though Bloch did have the real manuscript, he was unable to decipher it properly. With only two-thirds of Sade's extant writings publicly available, mainly in the realm of sexual psychology, Sade made the leap from dictionarist of sexual pathologies of the nineteenth century to figurehead for modernist transgression in the twentieth via a chance encounter in the Biblothèque Nationale.

The Sadean Project: Guillaume Apollinaire and Maurice Heine

Guillaume Apollinaire (1880-1918) – poet, avant-garde thinker, modernist critic, author of erotica, and coiner of the term 'surrealism' – made his way into the depths of the Bibliothèque Nationale's *Enfer* in the first decade of the nineteenth century, selecting, editing and publishing a series of "licentious works", entitled "Masters of Love", he found there.[56] By far the most influential of these was the 1909 anthology *L'Oeuvre du Marquis de Sade: Selections* (*The Work of the Marquis de Sade: Selections*). Sade impressed Apollinaire, who predicted that "'This man who counted for nothing during the whole nineteenth century could well dominate the

[53] Shattuck, "Rehabilitating a Prophet," 123.
[54] Shattuck, "Rehabilitating a Prophet," 124.
[55] Lynch, *The Marquis de Sade,* 40.
[56] Cox, "Desire Bound," 340.

twentieth.'"[57] Apollinaire's introductory essay "The Divine Marquis" had a well-researched biography, summary of known writings, and "a series of ringing statements about Sade's scientific contribution to the psychopathology of sex and about his neglected cultural significance," the latter being a reference to Bloch's version of *Les 120 Journées,* of which there were only 160 copies but which Apollinaire had seen.[58] Amongst Apollinaire's acquaintances and followers were André Breton and other fledgling surrealists. Breton recalled Apollinaire exposing him to Sade at a visit to the poet's apartment. Louis Aragon wrote that Apollinaire "'deserves every credit for his efforts in defending banned books. It was he who brought Sade, albeit incompletely, within reach of a whole generation.'"[59] It is certainly Apollinaire's activity on behalf of Sade – and Breton's devotion to his mentor – that spurred a flurry of references to him at the dawn of surrealism. These early references were more symbolic and emphatic than truly scholarly. When Breton announced "Sade is surrealist in sadism" in his first *Surrealist Manifesto* (1924), it was amongst a series of illustrious names, some of whom had little longevity within the movement, and most of whom were certainly not referenced *visually* to the extent that Sade was.[60] Shattuck claims that, "known mostly by reputation, difficulty of access, and surrounded by an aura of dangerous seductiveness, Sade had the status in this period of a rare archeological site with an ancient curse to protect it."[61] Outside surrealism, this could certainly be the case. Within the movement, however, Sade's name became ubiquitous, and if anything represented not danger but transgression.

Apollinaire's death in 1918 prevented him from completing his rehabilitation of Sade; he passed this duty on to the poet, scholar and adjacent surrealist Maurice Heine. Heine, well-connected to Surrealism via both Breton and Georges Bataille, in turn, went on to publish four previously unknown works by Sade: *Historiettes, Contes et Fabliaux* (1926), *Dialogue Entre Un Prête et Un Moribond* (1926), *Les Infortunes de la Vertu* (1930). During this time period, he kept his compatriots informed of his scholarly activities; "the phrase 'Actualité du Marquis de Sade'…served as the rubric of a regular column in… *Le Surréalisme au Service de la*

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[57] Guillaume Apollinaire, *L'Oeuvre du Marquis de Sade,* 17. Quote translated by anonymous. "…Et cet homme qui parut ne compter pour rien durant tout le dix-neuvième siècle pourrait bien dominer le vingtième."
[58] Shattuck, "Rehabilitating a Prophet," 124.
[59] Louis Aragon, quoted by Le Brun, "Desire – A Surrealist 'Invention'," 300.
[60] Breton, *Manifestoes of Surrealism*, 26.
[61] Shattuck, "Rehabilitating a Prophet," 125.

Révolution, in which Heine communicated fresh biographical details and reported on his plans for publishing, in discreet editions, a series of important unpublished manuscripts."[62] Most importantly, in 1929, Maurice Heine bought the original *Les 120 Journées* scroll at Bloch's estate auction on behalf of Sade's descendants, deciphered and transcribed it, and published it in three volumes between 1931 and 1935.[63] Annie Le Brun considers *Les 120 Journées* to be Sade's most important work by far, but she claims that Heine and the surrealists hardly reflected this in their intersection with Sade's work. "Maurice Heine rather minimizes the importance of *The One Hundred and Twenty Days* and its key position in the development of Sade's thought."[64] If *Les 120 Journées* is his most overlooked, one of the reasons for this may be the late arrival of the work into Sade's oeuvre; it also came on the heels of Heine's other projects. And yet the iconography of the text was converted to visual art before Heine even published it: most notably in the final scenes of Luis Buñuel and Salvador Dalí's 1930 film *L'Age d'Or,* where the Duc de Blangis murders a young woman. It is therefore possible that Heine was personally sharing the manuscript of *Les 120 Journées* with his surrealist associates while working on converting the manuscript to a typeset text, an indication of the active spread of Sadean knowledge within the group.

Though Le Brun continues by acknowledging that Georges Bataille and others did discuss *Les 120 Journées,* it is in a disjointed manner that is indicative, to me at least, of how surrealists did not dive fully into Sade's texts – it was, in the end, not a literary relationship. When writers mention *Les 120 Journées,* "none of them really pauses to consider the implications of their weird recognition; no sooner is it expressed than it becomes a sort of trampoline, serving to catapult them hastily along some other avenue of thought."[65] In fact, as will become clear in Chapter III, Sade's 'most important work' does not figure in surrealism to the extent that other texts do. In this specific case, Heine's efforts on behalf of Sade are more subtly felt. I argue that his overall campaign to publish Sade is what had an effect on surrealism. Despite Le Brun's lament, this influx of new texts – and Apollinaire and Heine's scholarship and "hagiography" of

[62] Le Brun, "Desire – A Surrealist 'Invention'", 304.
[63] Cox, "Desire Bound," 343.
[64] Le Brun, *A Sudden Abyss,* 2.
[65] Le Brun, *A Sudden Abyss,* 2-3.

Sade – was significant.[66] It may also have accounted for the deepening fascination with Sade, a welcome novelty in a creative society looking for transgressive inspiration. Heine contributed to surrealist journals regularly, and other surrealists took up the cause as well. “Sade, in publishing terms at least, [was] a true contemporary of the surrealist movement.”[67] Sade’s circulation within the surrealist group was thus assured; his name would certainly not have been missed by readers of the journals who would thus have access to freshly published texts by a member of their own group.

Neil Cox notes a shift in attitude from when the Dada movement began morphing into the surrealist one. The newly christened surrealists “sought to articulate a revolutionary poetic discourse of desire, a rethinking of the poetic ideal of love in terms redolent of Lautréamont’s fictional Maldoror, where Sade’s biography, especially his historic role in the French Revolution and his long periods of imprisonment, increased his significance as a real figuring of violent desire.”[68] This sentiment may have reflected surrealists’ attitude to their own relationship with French society. The nation, recovering still from World War I, was considered by surrealists to be the enemy of personal freedoms, especially in the realm of sexuality. Meanwhile, “the catastrophic experience of the first extinction on an industrial scale robbed a generation of belief in all the values and norms of European civilization. As Sade's work expresses the traumatic epochal break of the French Revolution, his nihilism is rediscovered in the collapse of the 1918 Old European world.”[69] Breton and other surrealists believed that Sade had been a victim of state brutality, by three regimes: both before and after the French revolution and even in the Napoleonic era, when he was cast out to Charenton asylum to die in obscurity. Sade’s crimes were overshadowed by the enforcement of senseless morals by an uncomprehending bureaucracy.

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[66] Cox, “Desire Bound,” 342.
[67] Baker, *Surrealism, History and Revolution*, 257-258.
[68] Cox, “Desire Bound,” 340.
[69] Bezzola, *Sade Surreal,* 8. Quote translated Maia Kenney. “Die katastrophale Erfahrung der ersten industriellen Massenvernichtung nimmt einer Generation den Glauben an alle Werte und Normen der europäischen Zivilisation. Wie Sades Werk den traumatischen Epochenbruch der Französischen Revolution zum Ausdruck bringt, so wird sein Nihilismus im Zusammenbruch der alteuropäischen Welt von 1918 neu entdeckt.”

Conclusion

Who, then, was Sade to surrealism: a hero, an idol, a fellow surrealist, a guide to unimaginable new heights of pleasure? The answer may be unique to every artist and thinker. Therein, however, lies the clue to understanding Sade's significance in the movement. When thinking about Sade, two separate entities tend to arise. The first is Sade the person, and the second is Sade the author, the figurehead of the works he produced. In surrealist writings, Sade tends to be caught up in theoretical debates that elevate the person to mythology. The reality of his life is lost in the frenzy to appropriate, quote, or nod at him. Under Breton's administration and in surrealist writings, however, the excitement over Sade becomes muddied. Trying to parse the biography, the true nature, and relevance to surrealist credo enmired surrealists in grandiose statements that fall apart under scrutiny. In surrealist art, however, Sade takes on a mythical meaning, a new life of free-association that had less to do with the noble lineage of Apollinaire's discovery and Breton's adoption and more to do with surrealist experimentation with sexuality and the subconscious. Perhaps this explains the power of Sadean surrealism in its many forms, but also the reason why it is so difficult to pin down what exactly Sade meant to surrealism. The surrealists compartmentalized the conflict between Sade and his works and prevented the overcomplication that came with trying to explain just why Sade was so fascinating. The idea that Sade was a contemporary of the movement is key, due to the fact that many of his writings were published for the first time as the nascent surrealist movement was casting about for influence and intellectual fodder. As the surrealists' contemporary and as someone with a multifaceted life, Sade would not be so easily put into a box. The following chapters will define Sadean surrealism on a broad scale and then microscopically in order to present both the breadth of the subgenre and its strongest aspects.

Chapter II

"Surrealist in sadism" or the disagreeable Sade: multiple surrealist perspectives on Sade

Introduction

Guillaume Apollinaire died in 1918, having left behind a legacy that included the word *surréalisme; L'Oeuvre du Marquis de Sade,* part of his *Masters of Love* series; and his own erotic novel *Les Onze mille verges* (*The Debauched Hospodar,* 1907). Louis Aragon wrote in the preface to the latter that Apollinaire was the first to exhibit "'a lucid awareness of the link between poetry and sexuality, the awareness of an iconoclast and a prophet.'"[70] He had been a major mentor for Breton, Aragon, and other early surrealists. The force of his influence – placing a rare Sade novel into the hands of Breton, for instance, or showing him paintings by revolutionary artists – lingered in the surrealist imagination. I argue that Apollinaire's Sadean legacy is of high importance in surrealist thought and writing. This chapter deals with those writings in order to gain a clearer image of the extent to which Sade figured in surrealist thought and in what ways. As Annie Le Brun writes, "it had taken only forty years for an author quite beyond the pale to become a classic – the favored classic of our impudent modernity, which found in Sade an ideal object of resistance for trying out a critical equipment of hitherto unequaled scope, and which did not hesitate in applying its full investigative powers to so exceptional a case."[71]

The surrealist discourse around Sade began with Breton and his cohort of thinkers such as Eluard, who often included him as an authority of sorts in discussions and essays. To them, Sade's identity fluctuated based on the context of the discussion; Sade could be a political authority, a philosopher upon which to build an argument, an icon of sexual liberty. The lack of a coherent picture of Sade may be one reason why there has not been a comprehensive study about his place in surrealism. In general, Sade could be considered a sort of code of rebelliousness: citing him or quoting him was an indication of cultural transgression (political, societal, or sexual). However, while he was indeed a contentious figurehead for defiance of sexual norms,

[70] Le Brun, "Desire – A Surrealist 'Invention'", 300.
[71] Le Brun, *A Sudden Abyss,* xii.

the controversy he caused was also internal. The infamous feud between André Breton and Georges Bataille comes to a head over Sade. Curiously, Breton and Bataille's feud is mirrored in a contemporary one: that of Le Brun and the scholar Michael Richardson. In this chapter, I aim to present two non-exhaustive literature reviews based on two time periods: surrealist writings, and contemporary scholarship on surrealism, in order to better comprehend the extent of Sade's influence as well as to define how contemporary scholarship views and understands Sadean surrealism. The first part of the chapter shall focus on building a picture of surrealist literary engagement with Sade; tracing references to him in journals such as *La Révolution Surréaliste, Documents,* and others; and examining the Sadean rivalry between Bataille and Breton.

"An imaginary surrealist pantheon": surrealist writings on the Marquis de Sade.

Surrealism's engagement with Sade came before surrealism existed; it certainly has roots in Dada, though I argue that this is primarily due to the interest of Dadaists-cum-surrealists such as Breton, Louis Aragon, and Man Ray. The Dada journal *Littérature* (1919-1924) is a precursor to later surrealist journals. Many of the tactics employed by its descendants are visible here, as are mentions of figures such as Sade who would later feature prominently in surrealism. In 1921, a group of eleven contributors led by Breton, Eluard, and Tristan Tzara published the results of a thought exercise of sorts that they titled *Liquidation* ("elimination", *Littérature* 18, March 1921). They gave academic-type scores to 191 names – people living and dead, writers, philosophers, historical and mythological figures, and of course the eleven Dadaist contributors – scores that went unexplained. From the short introduction, we extrapolate that, on the surface, this exercise had no meaning, except that the people on the list were present in the minds of the collaborators. "'One need wait no longer to find famous names in *Littérature*. But, wanting to finish with all this glory, we thought it best to get together to determine who merited their eulogies.'"[72] Those who "merited their eulogies" had the highest scores (see Figure 3). Were they the 'most Dada'? Breton was, of course, first; Apollinaire twelfth, and Sade sixteenth on the list. Despite Tristan Tzara giving nearly everyone either a '-25' (the lowest score) or a '0' ("absolute indifference"[73]),

[72] *Littérature* 18 (March 1921), "Liquidation," 1. Quote translated Baker, *Surrealism, History and Revolution,* 126. "On ne s'attendait plus à trouver des noms célèbres dans *Littérature.* Mais, voulant en finir avec toute cette gloire, nous avons cru bon de nous réunir pour décerner à chacun les éloges qu'il mérite."
[73] *Littérature* 18 (March 1921), "Liquidation," 1. "0 l'indifférence absolue".

Sade received a relatively high score. Indeed, the future surrealists amongst the contributors (Eluard, Breton, Aragon, Benjamin Péret) all gave Sade a high ranking; their excitement hardly waned over time.

Another issue of *Littérature* (New Series 11/12, 15 October 1923), featured its "first and last comprehensive literary pantheon", entitled *Erutarettil* (*Littérature* spelled backwards, see Figure 4)[74]. Dusted across a centerfold are the names of some sixty-odd writers, where "the obscure stand out and the great recede into the distance."[75] Sade looms over Marat in the right half of the page in a collage full of intrigue and irony. Some of the names align with the *Liquidation* game of 1921, though there is no discernible pattern linking the 'scores' of 1921 to the prominence on the topographical *Erutarettil.* This "literary pantheon", like other surrealist collages, is not to be interpreted deeply. However, we have now seen Sade's name prominent in two such exercises. André Breton's *Surrealist Manifesto* of 1924 is a third such instance: Sade's name appears in a prose poem of sorts, a list of twenty 'surrealists', Sade, of course, being the "Surrealist in sadism".[76] The transition to surrealism had not left Sade behind. However, Cox notes that this very epithet points to a deeper reading of Sade, a less superficial 'name-dropping' that now began to develop along certain ideological lines, specifically in terms of sexual liberation and political revolution.[77] "The increasing importance of Sade was connected to the idea that Surrealism stood for the liberation of sexual desire, and the celebration of desires and sexual acts that flew in the face of bourgeois moral conservatism."[78] Can these tropes be traced within surrealist literature?

Surrealist journals: anti-clerical liberation of sexual desire

La Révolution Surréaliste (1924-1929)*, Le Surréalisme au Service de la Révolution* (1930-1933)*, Minotaure* (1933-1939)*, Documents* (1929-1930): the surrealists were absolutely prolific in sharing their ideas with each other. When one journal lost its readership, it was replaced by a new version of itself, with a new title, look, and approach. To read through the journals is to feel

[74] Baker, *Surrealism, History and Revolution,* 138.
[75] Baker, *Surrealism, History and Revolution,* 138.
[76] Breton, *"*Manifesto of Surrealism," 26-27.
[77] Cox, "Desire Bound", 341.
[78] Cox, "Desire Bound", 341.

as though one is being slammed around in a hurricane of ideas; at times it is only snippets – images, names in bold letters – that stand out. Sade features prominently in these journals from their nascence. A preliminary count of mentions of the name Sade in the entire run of *La Révolution Surréaliste* is nine; in *Le Surréalisme au Service de la Révolution* the number jumps to twelve, in fewer issues.[79] Sade appears in *La Révolution Surréaliste* for the first time in the third issue, April 1925. Jacques-André Boiffard contributed to a list of surreal dreams:

> "We are riding… bicycles toward the castle of the Marquis de Sade… I find myself in an apartment of the chateau, in front of an armoire, beside the Marquis de Sade's domestic (my uncle), choosing from a box of watches and snuffboxes that belonged to [Sade]."[80]

Boiffard's dream literally reflects the depth to which Sade penetrated in the surrealist consciousness. Sade hardly stands out amongst the suicide bulletins,[81] the poems, the dreams and questionnaires, but he maintains a certain presence, which becomes increasingly mythological throughout the run of the two journals.

Sade the political and philosophical revolutionary, quoted in the sixth issue of *La Révolution Surréaliste,* proclaims: "When atheism needs martyrs, it must but speak, and my blood is ready to flow."[82] Sade's blood did not flow for the Revolution, and neither did that of any surrealists, who dropped out of communist groups and eventually lost their political fervor. Also in the sixth issue of *La Révolution Surréaliste,* André Masson admonished would-be revolutionaries to be like Sade, to fight the "tyranny of the times" by acting without any goal of martyrdom and fade into obscurity is emblematic of the growing mythologization of Sade:[83]

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[79] These counts come from the indices of the complete collections of the two journals, published in 1975 and 1976, respectively, by Jean-Michel Place.
[80] Boiffard quoted in "Rêves," *La revolution surréaliste* 3 (15 April 1925), 5. Quote translated by Maia Kenney. "Nous roulons…à bicyclette vers le château du Marquis de Sade…Je me trouve dans un appartement du château, devant une armoire, à côté de la fidèle domestique du marquis de Sade qui est mon oncle, choissisant dans un coffret des montres et des tabatières lui ayant appartenu."
[81] *La Révolution Surréaliste* 1 (1 December 1924), 32.
[82] Marquis de Sade, quoted in *La Révolution Surréaliste* 6 (1 March 1926), 1. Quote translated Maia Kenney. "Quand l'athéisme voudra des martyrs, qu'il les désigne, et mon sang est tout prêt."
[83] Masson, "Tyrannie du temps," *La Révolution Surréaliste* 6 (1 March 1926), 29.

> "Mythological Europe, you will always lack believers… We must truly believe… that there will be no rest for the revolutionary – except in the tomb with Sade, who flatters himself to disappear from the memory of men."[84]

The irony of Sade's own lack of obscurity is either lost on Masson; or, perhaps, Masson sacrifices Sade's obscurity for the good of the current revolution.[85] In 1926, Paul Eluard proclaimed Sade a political and moral revolutionary, victimized by censorship and moral outrage.[86] A year later, in the journal *Clarté,* Eluard continued his vindication, claiming that "because he never acknowledged any barrier to his desire for freedom… Sade was persecuted throughout his life… No evidence has ever been provided to prove the seriousness of the offenses that saw him… imprisoned."[87] In the famous *Recherches sur la sexualité,* a series of round table discussions published in part in *La Révolution Surréaliste*, Breton led a group of male surrealists in pseudo-scientific discussions of matters of non-procreative sex. Breton, though in general condemning homosexual male activity, allowed an exception for Sade: "Everything is permitted by definition for a man like the marquis de Sade, for whom freedom from morals was a matter of life or death."[88] Masson, Eluard, Breton, and others created a story of wrongful persecution that snowballed, separating fact from fiction, hyperbole from biography. Eluard took it upon himself to vindicate Sade from the "web of false accusations that he was subject to",[89] while Breton and Masson also touted the sexual freedoms Sade fought for.

"As already evident in Masson's text on the tyranny of time, Sade was a source of a kind of temporal mysticism in the surrealist movement that corresponded to his quotient of revolutionary force. In many respects this way of thinking mapped the dynamic models of psychoanalysis onto history itself."[90] This jumble of attitudes muddies our understanding of what Sade meant to surrealism at the time. At times, it was a superficial relationship, one where "Sade" was a code

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[84] Masson, "Tyrannie du temps," *La Révolution Surréaliste* 6 (1 March 1926), 29. Quote translated Maia Kenney. "Europe mythologique, tu manqueras toujours de croyants… il faut bien croire…qu'il ne saurait y avoir, pour un révolutionnaire, de repos que dans la tombe et avec Sade se flatter de disparaître de la mémoire des hommes."
[85] Masson, "Tyrannie du temps," *La Révolution Surréaliste* 6 (1 March 1926), 29.
[86] Eluard, "Sade, écrivain fantastique et révolutionaire," *La Révolution Surréaliste* 8 (1 December 1926), 8-9.
[87] Eluard, "Sade: a revolutionary intelligence," 185.
[88] Breton, in "Recherches sur la sexualité," 33. Quote translated Maia Kenney. "Tout est permis par definition à un homme comme le marquis de Sade, pour qui la liberté des moeurs a été une question de vie ou de mort."
[89] Eluard, "Sade: a revolutionary intelligence," 185.
[90] Cox, Desire Bound," 343.

word and one that meant the writer was up to date with the latest trends; Boiffard's rather inconsequential dream is perhaps an example of this. At other times, it was a deeper relationship, where the name Sade came to signify a close reading of his texts and an alignment with his 'teachings'. Le Brun writes of this time that *"*everything suggests that, almost unawares, surrealism was being nourished by Sade's philosophy, with its unique defense of desire and the excesses of desire against conformist definitions of humanism, whose invariable purpose is to assign fixed limits to every human aspiration."[91] At the same time, however, the lack of coherence in how Sade was viewed and treated serves to diminish the power of this nourishment.

Bataille and Breton do battle over Sade

Georges Bataille (1897-1962), editor of the anti-establishment journal *Documents* (subtitled "Archeology, Fine Arts, Ethnography, Variety"), Breton's counterpart, and outcast from surrealism proper, admired Sade as well, but for different reasons. He considered the victimization, vindication and hero-worship of Sade to be unnecessary, even detrimental, to Sade's power and significance as a philosopher and political thinker. In his 1929 essay "The Use Value of D.A.F. Sade", Bataille imagined an orgiastic society that was based on the warring human impulses of need and satisfaction (excitation and ejaculation); "such an organization can have no other conception of morality than the one scandalously affirmed for the first time by the Marquis de Sade."[92] Bataille specifically disagreed with Breton's elevation of Sade, claiming that the pedestal built for Sade removed him from society and ignored his atrocities, both literary and biographical. This was in response to Breton's wholesale embrace of Sade as a victim of censorship. It is a warning against mythologization of the man, though Bataille, of course, also put Sade on a pedestal as the forefather of Bataille's 'heterology' doctrine. "It has seemed fitting today to place these writings (and with them the figure of their author) above everything… that can be opposed to them, but it is out of the question to allow them the least place in private or public life…The behavior of Sade's admirers resembles that of primitive subjects in relation to their king, whom they adore and loathe, and whom they cover with honors and narrowly confine."[93] Bataille demanded that readers recognize the intimate link between amorality,

[91] Le Brun, "Desire – A Surrealist 'Invention'", 304.
[92] Bataille, "The Use Value of Sade," 101.
[93] Bataille, "The Use Value of Sade," 92.

atheism, and politics in Sade's libertinage. He even accepted and corroborated the rumor that Sade himself had started – that Sade was not only present in the Bastille ten days before the fortress was stormed but that his call to action had directly resulted in one of France's most important historical events. That this is not true indicates that Bataille himself was under Sade's spell, willing to believe anything of his political and philosophical predecessor. His admiration shines in this concluding sentence from "The Language of Flowers" (*Documents* 3, 1929): "And the disconcerting gesture of the Marquis de Sade, locked up with madmen, who had the most beautiful roses brought to him only to pluck off their petals and toss them into a ditch filled with liquid manure in these circumstances, doesn't it have an overwhelming impact?"[94]

'Caput Mortuum'*, or the Sadean mirror*

"The attitude of the savage who identifies with an animal or another natural species to his totemic costume is not far from the attitude of a man for whom certain details of a woman's adornment are powerfully erotic."[95] This sexualized version of Bataille's concept of heterology, a sort of state of nature doctrine in which humans are aroused by the animalistic power of the sex act stems directly from Sade's hold on surrealism. The quote is from the last issue of *Documents* (8, 1930), wherein Michel Leiris (an editor of *Documents* and an ethnographer) wrote a telling article entitled "The 'Caput Mortuum', or the Alchemist's Wife'. Accompanied by a series of portraits by the ethnographer and sadomasochist fetishist William Seabrook (which have been wrongly attributed to Jacques-André Boiffard, see Figure 5) and the allegory of a young dervish related by Seabrook, Leiris explores the two-faced revelatory experience of masking a female partner's face. On the one hand is the intensified sexual experience: "Thanks to [masks], the woman becomes unrecognizable, more schematic, at the same time as the image of her body presents itself with heightened intensity... Besides suffering beneath the leather, besides her vexation and mortification (which satisfy our desire for power and our fundamental cruelty), her head – her badge of individuality and intelligence – is insulted and denied."[96] The woman thus

[94] Bataille, "La Langage des Fleurs," *Documents* 3 (1929). Translated Allan Stoekl. "Et le geste confondant du marquis de Sade enfermé avec les fous, qui se faisait porter les plus belles roses pour en effeuiller les petals sur le purin d'une fosse, ne recevrait-il pas, dans ces conditions, une portée accablante?"

[95] Leiris, "Le 'Caput Mortuum'," 25. Translated Maia Kenney. "Il n'y a pas si loin de l'attitude du sauvage qui s'identifie à un animal, ou à une autre espèce naturelle, au moyen de son costume totémique, à celle de l'homme pour qui certains détails de la parure d'une femme sont des facteurs puissament érotiques."

[96] Leiris, "Le 'Caput Mortuum'," *Documents* 8 (1930), 25. Translated Maia Kenney. "Grâce à [masques], la femme devient méconnaissable, plus schématique, en même temps que l'image de son corps s'impose avec un surcroît d'intensité…Outre qu'elle

thoroughly objectified, the man facing her can begin his auto-erotic introspection. In the parable told by Seabrook, the young dervish "had seen the face of God but it had been his own face, and that he had thus found himself, during the long night spent in the ruined mosque, *face to face with God, that is to say with himself.*"[97] The masked face of the woman obscures her soul and the complication of a two-sided partnership, allowing the man to come face-to-face with himself. Through the basest experience – the sexual act – the dominant party has an unobstructed encounter with his deepest self. Whatever it is he learns about himself, he is able to experience "what is true erotism: a way out of oneself, to break the chains of morality, intelligence and traditions; a way to also conjure evil powers and to deny God or his minions… their property."[98] That these were Sade's ambitions as well could hardly have been lost on Leiris or Bataille. However, the difference between Breton's Sade and Bataille's was this: Breton and his group took Sade as having already fought his war, confined, as Bataille said, to kingship; whereas Bataille's approach was to see Sade as a proponent for a sort of primitivist state-of-nature society, a war just starting.

The rivalry between Bataille and Breton had a peculiar twist indeed where Sade was concerned, with Bataille denigrating Breton's hero-worship. On the other hand, Breton also mocked Bataille for being a 'librarian', guilty of the same hero-worship with none of the bravery required to be Sade's equal: "If anyone brings up as an argument the story about… 'Sade who… has the most beautiful roses brought to him in order to dip their petals in… liquid shit…,' I shall reply by saying that, in order for the story to lose any of its extraordinary implications it would suffice that the gesture be done, not by a man who has spent twenty-seven years of his life in prison *for his beliefs,* but by a staid librarian."[99] Each accused the other of misunderstanding Sade, of empty words; each thought himself to understand Sade best. Ultimately, Sade became a mirror, in a way, of the surrealist zeitgeist, reflecting both the personal beliefs of the person referencing him as well as how surrealists saw their place within the movement. Breton and Bataille's

souffre sous le cuir, qu'elle est vexée et mortifiée (ce qui doit satisfaire nos désirs de puissance et notre fondamentale cruauté), sa tête – signe de son individualité et de son intelligence – est insultée et niée."

[97] Leiris, "Le 'Caput Mortuum'," *Documents* 8 (1930), 25. Translated Maia Kenney. "…Qu'il a vu la face de Dieu mais que c'était son propre visage, et qu'ainsi il s'est trouve, au cours de cette nuit passée dans les débris de la mosquée, *face à face avec Dieu, c'est-à-dire avec lui-même.*"

[98] Leiris, "Le 'Caput Mortuum'," *Documents* 8 (1930), 26. Translated Maia Kenney. "…ce qu'est au vrai l'érotisme : un moyen de sortir de soi, de briser les liens que vous imposent la morale, l'intelligence et les coutumes, une manière aussi de conjurer les forces mauvaises et de braver Dieu ou ses succédanés…leur propriété."

[99] Breton, "Second Manifesto of Surrealism," 186.

accusations of misunderstandings are two sides of the same Sadean coin. A current, art historical, perspective is required to shed light on this and other rivalries. Annie Le Brun – surrealist, poet, and Sade scholar – is the best possible bridge between surrealism and its study.

Conclusion

It may indeed be that Sade is not the thinker for surrealism, but the extent to which Bataille, Breton, Eluard, and others pursued a dialogue with Sade is evidence enough that he fit with the group's ideas. Eluard was wrong about Sade being a victim of the state and censorship. Bataille admonishes Breton and his followers for admiring Sade to the extent that they diminish his power and allowed him a *tabula rasa* for evil actions. Annie Le Brun denounces Bataille's vision as mystical or even religious, claiming that Bataille has fundamentally misconstrued Sade's libertines' approach to death.[100] Denis Hollier writes that "'to keep Sade from becoming literature as usual was one of Surrealism's fundamental moral imperatives. He wasn't liberated from the Bastille in order to be imprisoned in the Pléaide.'"[101] However, by arguing over the intricacies of Sade's victimization by the state or sinking Sade into a winding philosophical treatise (Bataille's 'heterology' based on excitation and ejaculation), surrealism failed the imperative. The significance of Sade in establishing a surrealist worldview, however, cannot be denied. As Cox has put it, "The sudden reappearance of *The 120 Days* was a strange distortion of the order of culture, one that seemed to add weight to Apollinaire's prophesy of 1909 that Sade would dominate the twentieth century… Sade was repressed libidinal energy in the history of France, forcing its way up into the consciousness of the present…This was, so Surrealism suggested, a past only visible to the now, unleashing its truth after a century's existence as ephemeral falsehood. Surrealism, in its foregrounding of Sade, was *redeeming* French history in its own image, rather than merely *retrieving* it."[102]

Having considered how the written surrealist tradition engaged with Sade, it must be, next, to surrealist visual artworks that we turn. In defining a Sadean subgenre of artworks, a clear picture of a much less forced, almost playful, surrealism comes into view. More intriguingly, we

[100] Le Brun, *A Sudden Abyss,* 90-91.
[101] Denis Hollier, quoted in Baker, *Surrealism, History and Revolution,* 249.
[102] Cox, "Desire Bound," 343.

encounter the “imaginary portrait”: a striking visualization of what Sade meant to surrealism that can be nearly universally applied. We can fittingly jump from the Bastille and how it is remembered by France to Sade and how he was remembered – or reinvented – by the 20th century. Sade "enjoyed a belated return to fashion under the careful guidance of left-wing intellectuals.”[103] But it is in surrealist visual works that Sade becomes more interesting. In surrealist art, Sade takes on a mythical meaning, a new life of free association that had less to do with the noble lineage of Apollinaire's discovery and Breton's adoption and more to do with surrealist experimentation with sexuality and the subconscious.

[103] Baker, *Surrealism, History and Revolution,* 248.

CHAPTER III

Sadean surrealism: establishing a body of works

Introduction

The Marquis de Sade began to increasingly permeate the surrealist imagination throughout the 1920's and '30's, vacillating between three (or more) personae the surrealists could not quite settle on: the writer, the sadist, and the revolutionary. Surrealist writings on Sade and Sadean texts such as Bataille's *L'Histoire de L'Oeil* were consumed by their readers, who, in turn, argued about Sade's significance or true nature or began to explore Sade's potential as an artistic subject. During this period, as Baker puts it, "Sade existed in the form of a pit, an open sewer into which ideas were periodically discarded for later recycling. Yet this existence furnished a position from which to speak, of incarceration, alienation, misrepresentation, and even erasure, that coincided precisely with that of a libertarian avant-garde seeking an instant identity."[104] If surrealism was searching for a face to pair with its identity – or an identity to give its face – Sade could be that face or that identity. What constituted a Sadean work of art, and which artists were making artworks based on Sade, is still not clearly defined. Whether the impetus to make Sadean artworks was internal or external (i.e. from an artist's personal interest in Sadean themes or from reading surrealist texts on Sade), the sheer *amount* of Sadean works is large.

This chapter shall define a *Sadean surrealism* as a subgenre of the surrealist movement. The need for this subgenre is implicit in the inability of both surrealists and art historians to reach a consensus on the importance of Sade to surrealism. The conclusions that can be drawn from the series of literature reviews presented in Chapter II are unable to satisfactorily extract a useful generalization about Sade; contemporary discussions of Sade as a surrealist, such as Michael Richardson's, have even undermined the logic of Sade's appeal, leaving more questions in their wake than answers. It is thus to visual works that we turn, having accepted that, logical or not, Sade was very much an integral part of the way surrealists thought about themselves and the world around them, a world that had barely survived the Great War and was facing new political and social issues. Accepting, therefore, that Sade simply *was* a surrealist subject (if not an actual

[104] Baker, *Surrealism, History and Revolution,* 237.

surrealist), can various modes of Sadean representation be distinguished and categorized thematically? Recent advancements in the study of surrealism have focused on expanding the definition of the movement by systematically demolishing its borders and notion of canon. In the case of Sade, the specificity of the theme is such that there is a clear demarcation between Sadean works and non-Sadean works, even within the oeuvres of single artists. Establishing a Sadean surrealism thus continues the exercise of removing boundaries yet building a foundation upon which to better understand surrealism both microscopically – say, by following traces of Sade throughout surrealist literature – and macroscopically – making room for an interdisciplinary and non-movement-specific analysis of how artists integrate the erotic, the political, and the philosophical into their works.

In pursuit of a Sadean surrealism: defining markers for Sadean artworks

What is a "Sadean" work of surrealist art? It is certainly not merely an erotic or pornographic one. The immense scope of surrealist erotic artworks would quash the impact of this study and would deny the obvious specificity of the Sadean erotic; a precise definition of what a Sadean surrealist artwork looks like is thus absolutely necessary. Most pornographic surrealist images must be eliminated from the inventory along with all generally erotic works. Furthermore, not every artwork that I will consider to be Sadean explicitly references him. Therefore, criteria must be established that will help identify a Sadean work and ultimately a Sadean surrealism. For now, I will simply parse the natures of Sadean works mentioned (and many more not mentioned) in these sources into recognizable categories.

Though political revolution arose as a Sadean topic in surrealist writings, the libertinage was much more prominently ignored. On the other hand, for the most part, visual Sadean works tend to employ elements of sadism – the term for experiencing pleasure from the infliction of pain or humiliation on others and deriving from Sade's name. Today, BDSM (Bondage/Discipline, Domination/Submission, Sadism/Masochism) is a recognized sexual practice that many practitioners feel is a freeing experience where the self can be released from societal expectations: a descendant of Sade's philosophy via Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis*. Many surrealists, such as Lee Miller, Johannes Moesman, and Man Ray, practiced some earlier

form of BDSM. Many more surrealists portrayed the acts currently associated with BDSM, though we do not know if they practiced them in their personal lives. Surrealist works steeped in imagery of bondage, extreme fetish, sexual subjugation and violence against women abound. Dalí, for example, linked his fear of castration to his fascination with – and fear of – blood, grasshoppers, and feces. I call such works 'Sadean' even when they do not reference Sade directly. Sade was a conduit for surrealists' specific fantasies and became a surrealist code of sorts with which to communicate the need to destroy societal mores of sex and taboo.

Three general categories of Sadean works may employ:

A Sadean title. The first and perhaps most obvious type of Sadean work is one whose title references Sade directly, either by name, by the title of one of his texts, or by the name of one of his characters. Included in this category are some of surrealism's most iconic images, such as René Magritte's 1947 *La philosophie dans le boudoir (*see Figure 6). Sade's *La philosophie dans le boudoir* was published in 1795, though possibly written earlier. Clovis Trouille also references *La philosophie* in his 1958-1965 work *Dolmancé et ses fantômes de luxure* (see Figure 7). The distinguishing feature between these two paintings, however, is that Trouille's painting also contains Dolmancé (the libertine character in *La philosophie,* he is holding the whip in the left foreground of the work), while Magritte's work does not reference the text in any meaningful way. This illustrates a point that will become clearer as more criteria are given for Sadean works: a Sadean reference has a broad range of possible meanings and levels of significance to the author. Magritte may well simply be using Sade's title as a sort of surrealist game; he decontextualizes Sade and replaces his novel with an entirely separate erotic scenario, one where male cross-dressing is akin to donning the female sex: a philosophical game for the boudoir. Meanwhile, Trouille's derivative canvases are explicit and easily read; Trouille's reference to Dolmancé, the 'philosopher' teaching young Eugénie the ways of the libertine, sits firmly within the Sadean and sadomasochist universe.

A few other examples of works whose titles reference Sade include Man Ray's 1933 photograph *Monument à D.A.F. de Sade* (see Figure 2). Roberto Matta made a series of drawings for *120 Journées de Sodome,* though they were not used for an edition of the book. Clovis Trouille

painted several other Sadean works, such as *Justine* (1937) and *Le Poète Rouge* (1949-1963). In explicitly mentioning Sade in an artwork, artists were using a code of sorts, broadcasting the message that they, too, were in the 'cult of the Divine Marquis'. As in the case of written references to Sade in the surrealist journals, the extent to which Sade was actually being properly cited (i.e. the person doing the referencing was actually reading Sade and engaging with him and his philosophy) varies. Hans Bellmer began to read Sade more thoroughly later in his career, resulting in his series of explicit drawings entitled *A Sade* (1961). One of these drawings, *Plus Lourde* (*Heavier,* see Figure 8) makes an explicit reference to Magritte's *Philosophie dans le boudoir*: two limb- and headless torsos dangled from clothes hangers, sprouting genitalia. Here, however, the lewdness (typical of Bellmer) is a commentary on Magritte's tamer painting. Sade is being used as a code between artists in a personal capacity, a sort of contest of virility.

A Sadean visual reference. Works whose titles may not refer to Sade explicitly may reference him visually. The references may make an obvious reference to a Sadean character. In this case, Luis Buñuel is an excellent example; a sequence in his 1930 film *L'Age d'Or* famously depicts the Duc de Blangis, one of the four industrious libertines of *Les 120 Journées,* preparing to murder a young girl.[105] Johannes Moesman's 1963 *Pavane (pour un marquis défunt)* (see Figure 9) exemplifies another interest surrealists showed in Sade: his ruined castle, Chateau de La Coste, looms in the background of the painting. Moesman worked from visual references, so he may have used a photograph by another surrealist. Moesman chose his references with care, and the placement of La Coste in the painting is hardly accidental. Man Ray photographed La Coste as well, as did Jindrich Štyrský (see Figure 10).[106] Czech surrealist Toyen (born Maria Čerminová, 1902-1980) was an early Sade fan. As did her close collaborator Štyrský, she illustrated Justine and made many other Sadean works. In 1946, she painted *At the Château Lacoste* (see Figure 11). An interior scene rather than the typical crumbling ruin and landscape favored by Man Ray and Moesman, At the Château "depicts a fox drawn upon a crumbling wall from which wild mushrooms sprout, but where the illusory fox holds a dead bird under its claw, alluding to the ferocity of Sade's thought, to the power of imagination, and to Sade's conception of nature as a constant cycle of destruction and creation".[107] Once again, the gamut of references

[105] Black, *Sade: Sex and Death,* 17-19.
[106] Matheson, *Surrealism and the Gothic,* 428.
[107] Matheson, *Surrealism and the Gothic,* 427-428.

to one Sadean motif – his ancestral home – runs from the pedestrian (Štyrský's touristic stroll through the grounds of La Coste) to the fraught with meaning (Moesman and Toyen's paintings). La Coste was the only extant geographical and physical connection to Sade that surrealists had, and therefore many of them took trips to see the castle, as can be surmised by Man Ray and Štyrský having photographed it. The inclusion of La Coste into the group of Sadean motifs is telling, as it serves as a reminder of not only Sade's nobility, but his neglect and ruined reputation. Perhaps reviving La Coste was another way to revive Sade.

Sadistic or sadomasochistic, atheist, or political subject matter. The third and final category of Sadean works is the broadest and most nebulous. And yet it is the key to distinguishing between Sadean and non-Sadean surrealist art. Here I include works with sadomasochist themes. Acts of sexual violence or BDSM[108] are surprisingly common tropes in surrealist art. A somewhat typical subtheme of BDSM is the sexualization of Catholic imagery due to practices such as flagellation by medieval clergy and, most likely, the extreme repression of sexual expression. Notable pieces include Man Ray's circa 1930 bondage series *The Fantasies of Mr. Seabrook*, photographed on commission for William Seabrook, an occult ethnographer, sadist, and fringe surrealist (see Figure 12).[109] Pierre Molinier's auto-erotic photography is also of note, as is much of Hans Bellmer's photographic and graphic oeuvre and Salvador Dalí's drawings depicting coprophilic acts.[110] The drawings and photographs Hans Bellmer made to illustrate Bataille's *Story of the Eye* point to the other Sadean theme included in this category: extreme anti-religious atheism perpetrated via direct subversion of the Catholic church. Bellmer's violent erotic fantasies permeate much of his work, his *La Poupée* series best-known. But Bellmer's true Sadean works – the ones quoting Sade, depicting him, or paying him homage – demonstrate a type of penetrative violence that is hyper-focused on the degradation of female anatomy. We see this explicitly in the paintings of Clovis Trouille and Man Ray's upside-down cross in *Monument to D.A.F. de Sade* (1930). Priests are targeted as the symbols of the corruption of religion, seduced – as is the priest in Sade's *Dialogue Between a Priest and a Dying Man* – or sexually violated and humiliated (even killed), as in Bellmer's photographs for *Story of the Eye.*

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[108] *BDSM* (noun, acronym): Bondage and Discipline, Domination and Submissions, Sadism and Masochism. "Sexual activity involving such practices as the use of physical restraints, the granting and relinquishing of control, and the infliction of pain". Merriam-Webster, "BDSM," https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/BDSM, Accessed 17 July 2019.
[109] Cox, "Desire Bound: Violence, Body, Machine," 336.
[110] Black, *Sade: Sex and Death,* 39.

To sum up, a typical Sadean artwork will include one or more of the following indicators: a Sadean title, a Sadean visual reference, and sadomasochist or atheist (anti-Catholic) imagery. Now that we have identified criteria for Sadean works, we can further dissect this sub-genre of surrealism in order to better understand the presence of Sade in the surrealist consciousness. The question here is how – and why – did surrealism distinguish between Sade as a person and Sade as a body of literary works? Due to the sordid nature of Sade's writings, which are extremely pornographic, his persona beyond merely being the author of his works drew the attention of Sade readers. Invoking Sade's name (in artworks or in surrealist publications) was a sensationalist code of sorts, wherein the invoker signaled their sexual or political enlightenment. Did surrealists try to separate the man from the myth, as it were, and if so, why? The sheer volume of references to Sade in surrealist artworks both muddies and clarifies these questions; though there is hardly one answer, it is possible to make some generalizations about Sadean surrealism that sheds light on how he fit into the movement.

Man versus myth

Breton invoked the names of many writers in the list of surrealists in his first manifesto ("Swift is Surrealist in malice,/Sade is Surrealist in sadism…"[111]) The name that arises most frequently in both his first and second manifestos is Arthur Rimbaud, whom Breton mentions over twenty times.[112] However, references to Rimbaud do not extend beyond the manifestoes into surrealist art. The same goes for the other eighteen names in Breton's list. What was special about Sade, therefore, is that to the surrealists his persona was worth invoking upon a canvas or in a drawing. Paul Eluard calls him "the most feared of philosophers"; a hyperbolic statement that belies the true nature of Sade's prosecution at the hands of his embarrassed mother-in-law's lackeys.[113] Sade, therefore, is more than the sum of his life and his literary achievements. Two kinds of Sadean works can therefore be distinguished within the surrealist canon; these categories can be further specified when paired with the three kinds of Sadean works identified previously. They provide another angle from which to view the vast body of surrealist Sadean material.

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[111] Breton, *Manifestoes of Surrealism,* 26.
[112] Breton, *Manifestoes of Surrealism.*
[113] Eluard, "Sade: A Revolutionary Intelligence," 185.

The first category is works that speak to a close reading of Sade's writings; they indicate an engagement with Sade the author. This could be considered the scholarly category, wherein Sade's thought – his political philosophy, pornographic imagery, and anti-religious atheism – is depicted, most often with a direct reference to a Sade title. The second category is thus works that mythologize Sade even further, abstracting him from his historical reality. In order to understand how surrealists think of Sade, it makes sense to attempt to separate the literary schools of thought that were previously enumerated in Chapter II, i.e. Bataille versus Breton, from the surrealists for whom Sade was more of a code. Those who read his work religiously, such as Hans Bellmer and Man Ray, produced very different work from those who had more of a passing interest (I suggest Magritte). For these other artists, just the name Sade was enough to inspire a creative impulse – a game of association. This shines in the particular case of Sade, who alternated between criminal, revolutionary, political philosopher, and atheist. Simone de Beauvoir, in her 1951 thesis "Must we burn Sade?" succinctly identifies the conflict between Sade and his work, and furthermore presents Sade as a sort of mirror to the reader: "'neither in his life nor in his work does he surmount the contradictions of solipsism.'"[114]

Scholarly Sadean works

The most obvious and most common group of works in this category is book illustrations. As Sade's books became more widely available, and new editions and translations were printed more often by publishers and editors close to surrealism (Maurice Heine, Gilbert Lely, and Jean-Jacques Pauvert[115]), surrealists, particularly draftspeople like Hans Bellmer, Toyen, Valentine Hugo, and André Masson, but also surrealists not in the core group such as Leonor Fini enthusiastically illustrated them. Besides publicly professing the artists' interest in Sade, these illustrated editions communicated with other surrealists who would see the volumes. Toyen illustrated *Justine* in 1932; Bellmer in 1950. Fini illustrated *Juliette* in 1944 (see Figure 13), and Hugo illustrated *Eugénie de Franval* in 1948.[116] The drawings in these editions are not literal depictions of scenes in Sade's texts, but neither are they merely generic sadomasochist scenarios. Fini's *Juliette* drawings are graphically violent, rivaled perhaps only by André Masson's *Justine*

[114] Simone de Beauvoir, quoted by Shattuck, "Rehabilitating a Prophet," 131.
[115] Chanover, *Sade: A Bibliography,* 6-44.
[116] Black, *Sade: Sex and Death,* 191.

(though the book was never published, Masson took on the project in 1928 and produced at least one drawing for it[117]). Fini's sketchy Juliette participates in orgies, holds a woman's head on a spike, desecrates a graveyard, and confronts male and animal phalluses; her understanding of Sade and enjoyment of the text are clear.[118] This category of works is small. That is not to say that artists making Sadean works were not reading Sade's writing; certainly, Clovis Trouille was intimately familiar with the corrupting *Philosophie dans le boudoir* character Dolmancé, depicted in the painting *Dolmancé et ses Fantômes de Luxure* (1958). For the most part, Sade's work was read and discussed by surrealists in general. Illustrating *Juliette* was not merely an academic exercise, however. What fascinated surrealists about Sade could not have merely been the content of his books which, though they contained the very themes that surrealists themselves found important, were hardly alone in containing shocking material and, as was discussed in Chapter II, may not have actually aligned with surrealist thought. Instead, I contend that Sade himself – the man whose known biography was hardly accurate in the twentieth century – became a slate upon which surrealists could project their own thoughts and communicate with other artists.

Mythologizing Sadean works

Therefore, the second category of Sadean surrealism is works that mythologize the name of Sade: they mention his name and elevate it beyond biography. Just as the word 'sadism' stems from Sade and calls up etymological associations with him, Sade's name took on a meaning for surrealists beyond the limits of his work and biographical fact. Sade essentially became a figure larger than the sum of his parts, or perhaps a man before his time, a surrealist whose lifestyle skipped a century and spoke directly to the ideal expression of desire and autonomy that surrealists strived for. To mention his name must have been to cause excitement, titillation and a powerful mental image of sexual transgression. Sade became a sort of blank canvas upon which to project one's innermost lewd or transgressive thoughts. His life behind bars was a life not fully lived; for Sade himself and for the surrealists, his works became a vessel for vicarious living. During Sade's lifetime, his adamant denial of having written *Justine* and *Philosophie dans le boudoir* increased the mystery and confusion: though published in 1795, twenty years

[117] Bezzola, *Sade Surreal,* 88.
[118] Honesterotica.com, "Leonor Fini: *Juliette*".

before his death, *Philosophie* was billeted as a posthumous work by the author of *Justine.*[119] As will be discussed in the second part of this chapter, surrealism did not have access to an authentic surviving portrait of Sade.[120] The erasure – by his own hand and by the hand of time – of facts bloomed into an opportunity for invention. I will argue in Chapter V that the "imaginary portrait" is actually a major subcategory of – or, conversely, an umbrella term for – Sadean works that is able to reveal an underlying motivation for the artists making them.

Conclusion

Sadean surrealism as a subgenre of surrealism is a necessary concept due to the vast scope and easily defined nature of the works. It is indicative of communication between surrealists both within Breton's sphere of influence, as described in Chapter II, and outside Breton's jurisdiction, as evidenced by the works of Clovis Trouille and Johannes Moesman. Finally, a defined Sadean surrealism opens the door to new perspectives on the movement, allowing connections to be made that have as yet been overlooked, for example Hans Bellmer's 1961 *Plus Lourde* as a response to René Magritte's 1947 painting *La philosophie dans le boudoir.* As will be seen in Chapter VI, where I present three case studies of Sadean surrealists Leonor Fini, Johannes Moesman, and Roee Rosen – who do not bear the markers of the Bretonian 'core' group – the ability to include artists and works into the movement via a new pathway (Sade) is beneficial to undermining the concept of 'capital-S Surrealism' and presenting a global surrealism as a 'movement' without borders but with definition.

[119] Ferguson, *Sade and Pornographic Legacy,* 10.
[120] Lynch, *The Marquis de Sade*, 20.

PART TWO

Chapter IV

"Madman, revolutionary, saint": Contemporary perspectives on Sade

Introduction

As of yet, surrealist history has not satisfactorily or anything close to comprehensively approached the question of Sade's place in surrealism. A few sources have revealed themselves as chapters in edited books, often with conclusions disturbingly vague or inexplicably irrelevant. They deny the logic of the surrealist worship of Sade[121] but fall into the same traps that the surrealists themselves fell into. Thus, if this study retains a certain aloofness, it is because the suspicion Baker has of the Sade topic is a proper one. By no means can this be a comprehensive study of Sade's presence in written surrealist traditions. But a critical eye on the historiography as well as a concerted effort to expand the existing knowledge of Sade in surrealism may well show that this is an important, separate theme that can shed light on surrealism - and the current rewriting of "modernism" - as a whole. In this chapter, I identify and unravel contemporary discourse surrounding Sade in surrealism. I begin with an analysis of Michael Richardson and Annie Le Brun's approaches to the question of the "Surrealist in sadism". Richardson's conclusion that Sade cannot be a surrealist is absolutely emblematic of the complexity of this topic; however, given that Sade simply was a major presence in surrealism, Richardson leaves us with a conundrum. It is undeniable that Sade is very much a major figure in surrealist writings; it is therefore rather strange that Sade does not fully fit surrealism's principles (love, desire, doubt), and yet is so ubiquitous. This issue can be partially solved by analysis of other current scholarship on Sadean surrealism, primarily by Neil Cox. Using contemporary scholarship on Sade in surrealism, can a picture be painted of a *Sadean surrealism* that gives us further insight into the written aspects of the movement?

[121] See, for example, Michael Richardson's essay "The Marquis de Sade and revolutionary violence", in *Surrealism: Key Concepts,* ed. Krzysztof Fijalkowski and Michael Richardson (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2016), 71-80.

The Le Brun – Richardson paradox: the problematics of desire

Surrealist poet and Sade scholar Annie Le Brun (1942-) prefaces her book-length introduction to Sade's oeuvre, which Jean-Jacques Pauvert republished in full in 1986[122] with an apt musing on Sade. She writes that, in preparation for revisiting Sade, "I was sure of very little, except that Sade was neither the madman, revolutionary, saint, fascist, prophet, man of letters, butcher, fellow creature or even the thinker he was made out to be."[123] This is absolutely true for surrealists as well, but with a less self-aware bent. Perhaps the only consensus that can be reached is that Sade was any or all of these things at any given time. Though dissatisfying, it allows for the fact that the only generalization possible about Sade in the written surrealist tradition is that there is no generalization to be made. As of very recently, "no clear sense has so far emerged of precisely what position Sade holds within the surrealist firmament."[124] There is little consensus, and art historians focus on certain aspects of the Sadean discourse – whether that of desire (Le Brun and Michael Richardson) or politics (Simon Baker). Annie Le Brun can present new perspectives on surrealist reception of Sade's oeuvre in her introduction to it, *Sade: A Sudden Abyss*[125]. These perspectives can then be applied to the conclusions I make in this chapter and in Chapter III, a visual analysis of surrealist works. Given Michael Richardson's comprehensive refutation of Le Brun's assertion of Sade as a surrealist, what is the remaining value of Le Brun's theory; i.e., assuming we are back at 'square one', why was Sade so important to surrealism? This question is of great importance in the attempt to parse Sade's significance to surrealism, which is a confusing jumble of multiple perspectives. Sade is never a whole being, but neither do surrealists distinguish between Sade as a person and his literary works, something that could be reasonably expected from a group of intellectuals analyzing a body of work.

To Le Brun, Sade embodies Breton's "Surrealist in sadism"[126] fully. Having been introduced to Sade via publisher Jean-Jacques Pauvert, Le Brun became convinced that not only did her contemporaries not understand Sade (a position we will recognize in Georges Bataille's own

[122] Camille Naish, "Translator's Preface," in Le Brun, *Sade: A Sudden Abyss,* vi.
[123] Le Brun, *A Sudden Abyss,* xvii.
[124] Richardson, "Sade and Revolutionary Violence," 73.
[125] Published in English in 1990 by Jean-Jacques Pauvert.
[126] Breton, *Manifestoes of Surrealism*, 26.

lament), but that a complete rehabilitation of Sade depended on understanding him from a surrealist perspective. But would Sade have considered *himself* a surrealist; would he have recognized himself in the movement? Michael Richardson, in an essay entitled "Sade and Revolutionary Violence"[127] argues that Sade – his writing, his political stance, his philosophy and lifestyle – effectively makes little sense in surrealism. "Indeed, far from being the absolute surrealist she insists he is, Sade comes over to me – even from [Le Brun's] own account of him – as radically separated from surrealism in some very fundamental ways: he appears to deny love, community, desire, and the otherness of being, indeed everything that concerns affectivity with other humans."[128] Richardson questions not Le Brun's understanding of Sade, but her ability to see a Sadean surrealism clearly; he approaches the disagreement from the perspective of surrealist thinking and concludes that Sade is not compatible with surrealism. This problematic conundrum thus establishes that there is a major disconnect in Sadean discourse, a telling sign of the overall confusion in what Sade actually means to surrealism. Richardson systematically deconstructs Le Brun's argument in nine points. In doing so, he leaves us with a paradox. If Le Brun is wrong, and Sade is unable to stand up to surrealism, why was Sade appropriated by surrealism to such an extent? We are left empty-handed, but not where we started. In this section, I will explicate Richardson's deconstruction in order to pave the way for a discussion of how exactly Sade fit into surrealism.

Le Brun's Sade is an irreproachable stalwart, someone whose anchor point for his existence and his actions is himself. He is his own moral compass, and his mind cannot be changed. In a November 1783 letter, Sade writes, "'My way of thinking is the fruit of my reflections: it derives from my existence, from my way of organizing things. I am not in a position to alter it; and even if I were, I would not.'"[129] To Le Brun, this steadfast moral courage is "the distinguishing mark of [Sade's] freedom": the freedom to break the law should the law prove unworthy, the freedom to believe what one feels compelled to believe, the freedom to act on one's passions.[130] It is furthermore "'absolutely surrealist, imagining his way of thinking as a metaphor for his

[127] In *Surrealism: Key Concepts,* edited by Krzysztof Fijalkowski and Michael Richardson (New York and Oxon: Routledge, 2016), 71-80.
[128] Richardson, "Sade and Revolutionary Violence," 73.
[129] Marquis de Sade, quoted by Le Brun, *A Sudden Abyss,* 55.
[130] Le Brun, *A Sudden Abyss,* 55.

relationship with the world'".[131] Richardson points out, however, the rather obvious problem in Sade's belief that only his own thinking has value: it is not laudable, it is troubling, and hardly represents the curiosity surrealists displayed and their penchant for group problem-solving discussions.

As she was preparing to write *A Sudden Abyss,* Le Brun went to the Bronx Zoo and found herself looking at two vultures, an eagle, and a condor. She was struck by the similarity of these four primal predators to the four conspirators at Castle Silling in *Les 120 Journées*; in them she saw the embodiment of pure desire unsullied by moral codes and guilt. In this, Richardson agrees: Sade's characters consume without concern for repercussions for their carnality. However, he argues that the fact that they act on impulses of nature and not on conscious wishes makes them unable to desire, and thus totally static. This is a critique of Sade but also evidence of surrealism's antithesis to Sade: Sade's fearless, unanxious deaths deny desire, while the fear of death – the abhorrence of the meaningless losses of World War I – is an unspoken principle of surrealism.[132] Le Brun and Richardson – and surrealist scholarship in general – agree that desire is fundamental to surrealism. But Le Brun's argument that Sade is the original "poet of desire"[133] and therefore an original surrealist, is unable to be proven. Juliette, for example, Sade's creature of impulse and desire, embodies the value of an unshifting perspective; in remaining "splendidly herself"[134], she embodies the opposite of desire and of the human experience, an experience that, more or less successfully, the surrealists tried their best to depict. The surrealists held eroticism – and its sister, desire – up as the "assent of life even in death"[135]. Le Brun's Sade is uninterested in death, which we can construe as emblematic of his nihilistic atheism. Even here, Richardson refutes Le Brun: though Sade's atheism is certainly what drew the surrealists to him, giving them the courage to rebel at a contentious, very religious time, it is an intolerant atheism that "goes against the surrealist watchwords of 'absolute doubt' and 'absolute divergence'" and undermines surrealist atheism, which does not deny God's existence but merely dismisses God and religion as insignificant.[136]

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[131] Le Brun, quoted by Richardson, "Sade and Revolutionary Violence", 73.
[132] Richardson, "Sade and Revolutionary Violence", 75.
[133] Richardson, "Sade and Revolutionary Violence", 74.
[134] Le Brun, *A Sudden Abyss,* 189.
[135] Richardson, "Sade and Revolutionary Violence," 75.
[136] Richardson, "Sade and Revolutionary Violence," 75.

Furthermore, to superimpose a non-agnostic atheism on surrealist thought is to overlook the fascination surrealists had with non-Western religious thought and practice. Richardson even claims that Marx's atheism, meant to relieve suffering, is closer to surrealism's atheism than that of Sade: surrealism *challenges* belief, while to Sade, society built on religious belief cannot be allowed to continue. Sade sees humanity at its most animalistic, needing nothing but shelter and sex, but he abandons humanity without a way out of this base existence. In his perfect world, society would be made of predators and prey, most likely ending with our extinction (just as Sade imagined himself extinct in the minds of future men). Surrealism refused this delineation and, Richardson claims, was ultimately optimistic about human nature. Richardson and Le Brun agree on one aspect of Sade's real place in surrealism, however: "he provides a thoroughgoing critique of the forms of tyranny and totalitarianism that dominated the twentieth century."[137] He celebrates not *evil* but *crime*: it is the laws of societies (ruled by religions) that control human nature (its passions) that are ultimately to be despised and defied, that are the enemy of a natural society. Sade's libertinism prevents the rise of tyrants because the libertine is self-contained by one's immediate desires, not any long-term goals involving the subjugation of a larger group for an extended period of time.

Story of the Eye: *Sadean or humanist?*

What are we to make of Richardson's recent (2016) dismantling of Le Brun's case for Sade as a surrealist? Let us take the argument a step further and examine a surrealist libertine text in order to test whether it is Le Brun or Richardson who is correct about Sade. In 1928, Georges Bataille penned *L'Histoire de l'Oeil*[138] under the pseudonym Lord Auch. The novella follows the increasing sexual insanity of the protagonist Simone and the unnamed narrator, her lover. While Sade's characters' vices increase in volume and relative 'evilness', Simone's proclivities home in on her erotic obsession with the ovular object and its derivatives (eggs, a bull's testicle, and ultimately a human eye). The external fetish is perhaps not entirely Sadean, as for Sade the goal was as much debauchery in as many variances as possible, not the search for the purest

[137] Richardson, "Sade and Revolutionary Violence," 77-78.
[138] *Story of the Eye* was translated in 1977 by Joachim Neugroschel.

expression of one's own erotic self.[139] But the definitive difference between Sade's characters and Bataille's is in their approach to death. Simone and her lover certainly do not feel guilt or shame in subjugating others. But they display fear of death in this passage:

> "She gave me a playful kick. Her foot struck the gun in my pocket and a fearful bang made us shriek at the same time. I wasn't wounded but I was up on my feet as though in a different world. Simone stood before me, frighteningly pale.
>
> That evening we didn't even think of jerking each other off, but we remained in an endless embrace, mouth to mouth, something we had never done before."[140]

The characters become aware of their own mortality and, momentarily shocked out of their erotic frenzy, they experience their first instance of romantic love: something that figures not at all (except as a laughingstock – something to be punished, as is Justine's belief in a common moral code) in Sade's entire oeuvre.

Bataille's two protagonists thus demonstrate themselves to be capable of desire: they function beyond mere human passions and notice not only each other but themselves in their fear of their lives ending. It is a moment of agnostic calm in a violently anti-establishment and anti-religious novella. The anti-religious theme in *Story of the Eye* seems Sadean indeed: the climactic scene where Simone erotically asphyxiates a priest while her accomplices make an obscene mockery of the sacrament can be interpreted as a clearly political message denouncing organized religion and its repressions of sexual expression. However, the priest is not the focus of the scene: he is a prop. His eye, removed from its orbit at Simone's request, becomes the eye of a girl the two protagonists caused to go mad earlier in the novel, and we see that the scene does not require the *priest* but merely the *eye* to unfold. Ultimately Sade's intolerant atheism – an atheism that denies

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[139] One might argue, however, that the fetish is the twentieth-century addition to the gamut of sexual 'kinks' elaborated by Sade. Sigmund Freud, having in 1927 defined the fetish as a boy's discovery of his mother's lack of a penis, might recognize the single-minded sex scenes in Sade's novels as fetishistic, but he wrote nothing of fetishes in women. Freud, "Fetishism", 198-204.
[140] Bataille, *Story of the Eye,* 19.

not just the existence of God but of belief in general – cannot be superimposed on this scene, though the general surrealist distaste for tyranny is certainly apparent.

Thus, while *Story of the Eye* is clearly Sadean in its approach and subject matter, it is not Sadean in its core principle of humanism. Bataille wrote that "'to admire de Sade is to diminish the force of his ideas;'"[141] this is a novel that does not admire Sade in a meaningful way. Indeed, perhaps its intersection with Sade is with the nineteenth century version of him: an encyclopedia of perversions, a permission slip to transgress. The "force of his ideas" remains powerful as the story does not acknowledge or pander to Sade, with Simone acting like an independent descendant of Juliette, not her clone. Are we, then, truly left at an impasse between Le Brun and Richardson, Sade and surrealism, and does it matter? Richardson makes a compelling argument that Sade at his core hardly fit within the surrealist discourse. However, Sade's very real presence in surrealism belies his incompatibility. If, upon a close reading of Sade, we realize that, like Bataille, though we admire Sade and can imagine a surrealist philosophy guided by Sadean principles, we find him eminently boring, we must recognize that Sade was accepted by the surrealists themselves as one of them.[142]

"History is being colonized by Sade, not Sade by Surrealism"[143]: Sade, and surrealism, and the Bastille

Whether Sade was actually a political revolutionary or not, posterity certainly lauds him as one. He was not, however, imprisoned for any political activities; despite the surrealist belief that that he was punished for "perverse sexual acts or for writing pornography or for his radical political views, or for all three;" this belief was essentially unfounded as Sade's imprisonment was more of an effort to contain scandal by his mother-in-law.[144] His ten years of partial freedom between 1790 and 1800 when he was re-imprisoned under Napoleon are remarkable for his brief stint as a magisterial juror during the Terror.[145] But he was spared execution only by a few administrative errors and a brief incarceration at Picpus prison, from whose window he watched fellow nobles

[141] Georges Bataille quoted by Baker, *Surrealism, History and Revolution,* 231.
[142] Le Brun, *A Sudden Abyss,* 177.
[143] Cox, "Desire Bound," 344.
[144] Cox, "Critique of Pure Desire," 247.
[145] Lynch, *Sade: A Biography,* 17.

executed in the courtyard.[146] His own political leanings, as written to his lawyer in 1792: "'I am an anti-Jacobite…; indeed, I have a mortal hatred of them; I adore the King, but I detest the old abuses; I like many articles of the constitution but others sicken me […] So what am I? An aristocrat or a democrat?'"[147] A lukewarm attitude, to say the least, and yet surrealists rejected his monarchism and touted him as a "revolutionary writer". The twentieth century take on Sade as a revolutionary had the word synonymous with 'transgressive'. While perhaps as a noble his Jacobin sympathies were remarkable, "the description of Sade as a revolutionary was clearly intended not only to refer to historical circumstance, but to allude to the creative revolution that he was retrospectively credited with beginning in terms of expression and sexuality."[148] Sade's amorality was less the true cause of his imprisonment than the insult of his scandals. But perhaps this biographical mud was what made him so appealing to surrealists.

Simon Baker suggests that the Bastille prison is the key to understanding Sade's "origins and his destination" in surrealism.[149] The Bastille relates to Sade in a literal way in that he was incarcerated there – and that he was believed by surrealists to have incited revolt a mere twelve days before July 14th, 1789. Metaphorically, the Bastille, the turning point of the French Revolution and symbol of French democracy and militarism, has superseded its bloody moment in history, gaining, losing, and regaining meaning. Following the storming, the ancient fortress and "long-hated symbol of feudal despotism" was torn down by revolutionaries, literally razed, its foundations torn apart and paved over by the Place de la Bastille.[150] The word 'Bastille' thus no longer signified a physical place but a historical place, and ultimately an idea, one that maintained a metaphorical presence in the tumultuous, regime-ridden nineteenth century, effacing itself as it rebuilt itself as an ultimate symbol of French nationalism. "The official celebration thus suggests a mutual concession not to remember 'the mob' whilst nevertheless celebrating the liberty that its actions achieved."[151] Sweeping the gore of the revolution under the rug with a plaque of remembrance is an ill-fitting coverall, and Bataille considered La Place de la Concorde in Paris unsuccessful in 'pacifying' or concealing the history. Baker places the war

[146] Lynch, *Sade: A Biography,* 18.
[147] Baker, *Surrealism, History and Revolution,* 244.
[148] Baker, *Surrealism, History and Revolution,* 244.
[149] Baker, *Surrealism, History and Revolution,* 238.
[150] Baker, *Surrealism, History and Revolution,* 239.
[151] Baker, *Surrealism, History and Revolution,* 240.

between Bataille and Breton over Sade and whether he was a victim or an actor in perfect historical context, pointing to Sade as having been uniquely placed to represent and experience the French revolution in all aspects simultaneously. He was a libertine nobleman benefiting from the monarchy, but he was also a victim of that same monarchy and its laws. He acted as a bureaucrat during the revolution but later nearly became a victim of the Terror. “In every sense, Sade experienced the vicissitudes of the French Revolution, leaving the lasting impression that he was involved without any obvious sense of how or why.”[152]

Besides his prolific writing career in the forced solitude of the Bastille, Sade’s most singular connection to the prison is his self-promotion in regard to the events leading up to the storming. Maurice Heine characterized Sade's imprisonment as a rebellion against his loss of freedom: “‘No sooner did Sade start writing than the Bastille turned into the 'tower of liberty'.’”[153] The prolific years in the Bastille psychologically liberated Sade from physical captivity. He experienced intense sexual frustrations, but these he believed helped his creative productivity as well as his revolutionary actions (in channeling his frustration into bringing down the walls of the Bastille); he built around himself a shroud of symbolism that linked his personal pain and anger at being incarcerated into the historic events surrounding him, centering on the very prison he occupied. Sade’s 'use-value' – to Bataille – hinged on his infamous rabble-rousing, which may or may not have been a cause of the storming of the fortress. Apollinaire, in 1909, was the first scholar to recognize and suggest the significance of Sade in the events of July 14th, 1789. Apollinaire suggests that Sade began attempting to incite a riot because he had a premonition of the revolution. Apollinaire spun the story in such a way for his readers: “It seems that the hour has come for the ideas ripened in the infamous atmosphere of the 'Enfers' of libraries, and this man who counted for nothing during the nineteenth century may well dominate the twentieth.”[154] Baker denies the possibility of truth in the rumor of Sade stirring up the revolution by calling out the window, but acknowledges its significance in rehabilitating and elevating Sade to his legendary status amongst surrealists.

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[152] Baker, *Surrealism, History and Revolution,* 245.
[153] Baker, *Surrealism, History and Revolution*, 250.
[154] Apollinaire, *L'Oeuvre du Marquis de Sade,* 17. Quote translated Simon Baker. “Il semble que l'heure soit venue pour ces idées qui ont mûri dans l'atmosphère infâme des enfers de bibliothèques, et cet homme qui parut ne compter pour rien durant tout le dix-neuvième siècle pourrait bien dominer le vingtième.”

Conclusion

Perhaps it would be accurate to say that art historical studies discussing Sade act as though the work of placing Sade in surrealism has been done for them – whether by the surrealists or through a collective consciousness of the movement that implicitly understands what Sade meant. Simon Baker is not asking the historian to not read more meaning into Sadean surrealism than there truly is. But Baker himself, though an author of one of the more comprehensive studies of Sadean surrealism, is also guilty of building upon a foundation that I am not entirely sure is there. Annie Le Brun provides an excellent transition from the primary surrealist texts to the art historical ones. Her proximity to surrealism as a protégé of Breton's makes her a witness to the discourse, whereas her current position as a scholar, historian, and curator allow us to segue into contemporary scholarship on Sade. Le Brun's *A Sudden Abyss* attacks previous Sadean scholars as unable to fully comprehend Sade and demands that we read Sade word for word, "'literally and in every sense' – like poetry";[155] only then can we place Sade in the twentieth century without partially censoring him. It is an approach that counters the earlier surrealist attempts at analyzing Sade – and yet even here we find pitfalls. Meanwhile, Michael Richardson's 2016 essay systematically deconstructs Le Brun's argumentation, claiming that her understanding of Sade is sound, but he has "difficulty in accepting the consequences she draws from her analysis as far as surrealism is concerned."[156] To Baker, Sade was "very much the unacceptable face of the French Revolution, a figure whose political and moral ambiguity was occluded in equal measure by the vitriolic force of his rhetoric and the lack of an accurate portrait likeness."[157] There was little evidence to support the surrealist vision of Sade, and yet the surrealists were able to employ Sade to consolidate their personal histories, laced with trauma and an ambiguous push to revolt. The calls to arms trumpeted by Sade's admirers in surrealist journals are more reflective of the writer's mindset than Sade's. Baker's text is highly innovative in its approach to Sade in his examination of Man Ray's "imaginary portrait". The expansion of this methodology into an as yet totally unexplored aspect of Sadean surrealism will provide the fodder for Chapter V of this thesis.

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[155] Le Brun, *Sade, A Sudden Abyss,* xvii.
[156] Richardson, "Sade and Revolutionary Violence", in *Surrealism: Key Concepts,* 73.
[157] Baker, *Surrealism, History and Revolution,* 236.

CHAPTER V
The Imaginary Portraits of the Marquis de Sade

Introduction

This chapter assumes a Sadean surrealism in order to present a case for the utter singularity of Sade's presence in surrealism. Guillaume Apollinaire had reason to believe that there was no surviving likeness taken of Sade during his lifetime, and included this fact in his *L'Oeuvre du Marquis de Sade,* captioning a portrait of a lively but generalized aristocratic man surrounded by demons as "Fantasy portrait of the Marquis de Sade by H. Biberstein (After a reproduction published in the frontispiece of *The Correspondence of Mme Gourdon,* 1866 Edition)".[158] What stemmed from this vacuum was a blossoming of creative energy wherein artists 'portrayed' Sade in an utterly fantastical manner; each portrait became a reflection of the artist him or herself. Starting with Salvador Dalí's "image paranoïaque" in *Le Surréalisme au Service de la Révolution* and examining works by Man Ray, Clovis Trouille, Leonor Fini, Jean Benoît, and Johannes Moesman, amongst others, I explore the significance and singularity of the "imaginary portrait". Simon Baker has made a significant step in this direction with his analysis of Man Ray's 1938 painting *Portrait imaginaire de D.A.F. de Sade*; I aim to prove that the imaginary portrait is not merely Man Ray's, but is a cornerstone of a Sadean surrealism that sees beyond the borders of Breton's Parisian group and into a global surrealism.

"Profoundly unsatisfying": Sade's likeness in the nineteenth century

No known portrait of the marquis de Sade was thought to exist until the 1970's, when an authentic chalk portrait surfaced. The portrait by Charles-Amédée-Philippe van Loo, made between 1760-1762 when Sade was about twenty years old, depicts a fresh-faced young man, confident, relaxed, and innocent (see Figure 14). Almost nothing is known about this tiny chalk drawing, but, as Simon Baker has said, it is "profoundly unsatisfying"[159]: the wickedness and evil associated with Sade is lacking. Despite a relatively well-documented life, it was a rare

[158] Apollinaire, *L'Oeuvre du Marquis de Sade,* 33. Quote translated Maia Kenney. "Portrait Fantaisiste du Marquis de Sade par H. Biberstein (D'après la reproduction publiée en frontispice de la *Correspondance de Mme Gourdon,* Edition 1866)".
[159] Baker, *Surrealism, History, and Revolution,* 290.

occurrence indeed, for an author – and a noble at that – to have left behind no likeness of himself. Perhaps this is appropriate, considering Sade's wish for obscurity in death; the unsatisfactory real portrait may have also not fit Sade's posthumous public image. Jacques Lacan, in his 1963 essay "Kant with Sade" has noted that, "Unbelievably, Sade disappears without anything, even less than in the case of Shakespeare, remaining of his image, after in his will he had ordered that a thicket efface even the trace upon the stone of a name that would seal his destiny."[160] Shakespeare's likeness, thought contested, is at least a face to conjure up with a name. Scholars of Sade had no such reference for their literary subject, and it is in this vacuum that Sade's presence in surrealism takes on a new life. The Breton-vs-Bataille arguments about the meaning of Sade fade as the web of the Sadean likeness becomes apparent. New conclusions can be drawn about Sade as a surrealist that do not hinge upon the Bretonian doctrine of "Surrealism in sadism"; these have far-reaching consequences that extend into the twenty-first century.

In his 1909 *L'Oeuvre du Marquis de Sade,* Apollinaire included two "portrait[s] fantaisiste[s]… gravé à l'époque de la Restauration", one by an H. Biberstein, and the other quite possibly based on Biberstein's engraving (see Figures 15 and 16).[161] Though Apollinaire was aware that this was nothing more than a 'ridiculous' fantasy, representing nineteenth century stereotypes, a visual representation of Sade was still necessary for twentieth-century readers. The Sade in these fantasy portraits is also young and unblemished, but surrounded by devils and snakes, he is obviously a wicked figure. This Sade provides a clue as to how he was viewed in the nineteenth century; virile, sly, and disheveled, he is already living the life of his books' characters. As Bakery puts it, "Sade's face must convey not only perversion, but the ability to pervert, an active, threatening form of degeneracy."[162] These portraits speak to the imagined life of Sade, a face that matches the debauched mind of the writer of libertine novels. In reading Apollinaire, surrealists were also made aware of the lack of a historical image. Inspired, perhaps, by the idea of a *portrait fantaisiste,* surrealists began to fill the vacuum themselves. Though surrealists played with the concept of portraiture in general and continued in the Modernist vein of depicting the

[160] Lacan, "Kant with Sade," 66.
[161] Apollinaire, *L'Oeuvre du Marquis de Sade,* 63.
[162] Baker, *Surrealism, History and Revolution,* 264.

human form unconventionally, the specificity of and dedication to the Sadean imaginary portrait is, to my knowledge, unique.

"Visage paranoïaque": surrealist discourse on the Sadean portrait

As early as 1931, in *Le Surréalisme au Service de la Révolution,* Salvador Dalí, in a caption under three seemingly identical images subtitled "Visage paranoïaque" (see Figure 17), mentions Breton's preoccupation with Sade in light of the nonexistent portrait:

> "I was looking for an address in a pile of papers when I was struck suddenly by the reproduction of a face I think of Picasso's, an absolutely unknown face. Suddenly, this face disappears, and I recognize the illusion (?) Analysis of this paranoid image allows me to find, via symbolic interpretation, all the ideas that preceded the vision of the face. André Breton interpreted this face as that of Sade, which corresponded to Breton's particular preoccupation with Sade. In the hair of the face, Breton saw a powdered wig, whereas I saw a fragment of unpainted canvas, as is common in Picasso's style."[163]

The "unknown face" in question is an optical illusion based on the bottom-most image, of a group of people (possibly in Africa) posing in front of a straw-roofed domed hut. When turned on its side (left upper image), a sharp-nosed face can be indistinctly picked from the high contrast between the dark figures and the light house and sky. It appears that Dalí (or perhaps Picasso, this is ambiguous in the above quote) copied the scene by hand (right upper image), emphasizing the face and the "powdered wig" by abstractifying the forms and figures in the picture. Dalí did not see Sade but a lesson in the human eye's ability to see patterns in abstract forms, but "all the ideas that preceded the vision of the face" are exactly where the imaginary portrait comes from. While Dalí saw the illusion of the face fall away, that Breton instead saw Sade specifically is telling. It is proof of Breton and other surrealists' fervent engagement with

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[163] Salvador Dalí, "Communication: Visage paranoïaque," *Le Surréalisme au Service de la Révolution* 3 (December 1931), 40. Quote translated Maia Kenney. "Je cherche une adresse dans un tas de papiers et suis soudain frappé par la reproduction d'un visage que je crois de Picasso, visage absolument inconnu.Tout à coup, ce visage s'efface et je me rends compte de l'illusion (?) L'analyse de l'image paranoïaque en question me vaut de retrouver, par une interpretation symbolique, toutes les idées qui avaient précédé la vision du visage. André Breton avait interprété ce visage comme étant celui de Sade, ce qui correspondait à une toute particulière preoccupation de Breton quant à Sade. Dans les cheveux du visage en question Breton voyait une perruque poudrée, alors que moi je voyais un fragment de toile non peinte, comme il est frequent dans le style picassien."

Sade, which became more pronounced in *Le Surréalisme au Service de la Révolution* (1930-1933) than it was in *La Révolution Surréaliste* (1924-1929), and it is more proof – along the lines of *Recherches sur la sexualité* – that surrealists discussed Sade in person. More importantly, this portrait is indicative of the Sadean mirror: a phenomenon where Sade acts as another conduit for the surrealist unconscious. Breton's answer to Dalí's Rorschach test is what came to his mind at the spur of the moment – Sade's imminent presence in the surreal miasma of references, inspiration, and tropes. In 1935, Paul Eluard lamented the missing likeness: "No portrait of the Marquis de Sade exists. It is significant that neither do we have one of Lautréamont. The faces of these two fantastic and revolutionary writers, the most desperately audacious who ever lived, are immersed in the darkness of time."[164] There would soon be a flood of portraits to remedy the omission.

Man Ray's Sade

Simon Baker has discussed the Sadean portrait in one specific instance in his book *Surrealism, History and Revolution*: Man Ray's 1936 to 1940 (with a later sculptural addition made in 1971) series of imaginary portraits of Sade. As already demonstrated, this is hardly the only fantasy likeness of Sade, but it is the clearest and perhaps most intentional example and thus best explains the theory of the 'imaginary portrait'. There are two drawings and two oil paintings in the series. The painting *Imaginary Portrait of the Marquis de Sade* (1938), now in the Menil Collection, has the final sentence of Sade's will inscribed at the bottom (see Figure 18). Baker considers Man Ray's take on Sade's likeness to be a political statement that reflects on Sade as the revolutionary who instigated the storming of the Bastille. In all four works, Sade's gray bust emerges from a broken stone fortification; he gazes at the Bastille burning in the background. Man Ray's depiction of the Bastille is from a nontraditional angle, which makes it appear taller and more ominous.[165] Sade's head is made of stone slabs as if he is a monument himself, a statue in the Place de la Bastille. This Sade is nothing like the nineteenth century dandy; he is corpulent, aged, balding, a testament to a life lived in debauchery, perhaps. At the same time, this Sade is stately and serious, more a political thinker than a nobleman. He is looking at the Bastille as if to indicate that he caused it to erupt in flames. In Man Ray's second painting in the series,

[164] Paul Eluard, quoted by Baker, *Surrealism, History and Revolution,* 283.
[165] Baker, *Surrealism, History and Revolution,* 285.

Imaginary Portrait of D.A.F. de Sade (1940), Sade looks on as revolutionaries demolish the Bastille (see Figure 19). Baker goes so far as to say that the monumental Sade is being built from bricks taken from the Bastille, completing the supposition that to Man Ray and other surrealists, Sade was the literal embodiment of the French Revolution, the surviving attestation to the Bastille's history.[166] One wonders if the irony of inscribing Sade's wish for eternal obscurity was not lost on Man Ray: the lack of portrait had been one of the few ways Sade's will was fulfilled (by time, not human intent), and Man Ray and other surrealists negated that obscurity in pursuing renewed renown for their hero.

The question arises, however, if Sade would actually have looked like this in 1789, at nearly fifty years old. After many years of indulgent living and over half a decade in prison Sade would presumably look wizened, obese and aristocratic. But in the series of four imaginary portraits, the small similarities and differences between the likeness of Sade have little correlation to accuracy or likeness, suggesting the importance of Man Ray's creative process over the end result, an 'accurate' portrait. "This process ends as Sade's imaginary likeness gains weight, becomes 'like' through the process of proliferation, this apostle of liberty built from the scattered stones of the Bastille fulfils the paradox that assures his revolutionary potential."[167] Ultimately, the accuracy of the portrait is a moot point, as Baker has demonstrated: what matters most is what Man Ray *perceived* Sade *to be*; Sade shapeshifted from the young libertine to the old lecher because Man Ray imagined him thus. What is especially interesting is the fact that some later imaginary portraits of Sade continued in the vein of Man Ray's portrait: in the surrealist collective imagination, Sade *was* the dirty old man. This staying power is exemplified by Clovis Trouille's 1949-1963 painting *Le Poète Rouge* (see Figure 20), in which Sade's bust, perched inside an upside-down cone, peers down at a scene dominated by a modern re-imagining of the Bastille. Though Sade is reincarnated here as a sneering pope in a white zucchetto – Trouille adamantly believed religion to be corrupt and often portrayed priests and nuns in compromising scenes – and is less corpulent than Man Ray's Sade, the nose, forehead, and chin – as well as the scene and the 'living stone' of the bust – make the reference obvious. The *imaginary* has become the *de facto.*

[166] Baker, *Surrealism, History and Revolution,* 289.
[167] Baker, *Surrealism, History and Revolution,* 290.

The intrasubjective process of the imaginary portrait

Beyond the political aspect of Man Ray's Sade portrait and its ultimate status straddling reality and fantasy, Simon Baker has remarked on the psychoanalytical implications of portraiture in general and imaginary portraiture in particular. Some recent studies on the act of portraiture indicate that in a typical portrait, there is a "transaction at work between painter, sitter, and observer, which takes place… 'in a purely fictional field.'"[168] The translation of the sitter's likeness onto a canvas by the artist is an act that cannot be objective in any way, given the nature of the triangle consisting of three persons, all with desires and projected preconceptions of what the portrait will entail. The entire transaction is built on what Baker and others call 'the intersubjective relation of self and other in generating the portrait image'." [169] Both the artist and the sitter consider what the other expects while also bearing in mind the end result will be viewed by a certain audience. Leaving aside the observer, we can consider what happens when one of the legs of triangle collapses; i.e. when, for example, the sitter does not exist: the intersubjective transaction breaks down. In the interstitial space left behind by this collapse, the intersubjective relationship is invalidated and replaced with an "intrasubjective process" wherein the artist portrays not the subject but himself *in the act of* portraying the subject. If the act of portraiture exists on an axis of fictionality in any case, the act of portraying a real person with no sitter or reference is the nth degree of fictionality. What motivation there is to produce such an image derives certainly from the "desire on the part of the reader to 'see' the voice behind the text, or to adopt Lacan's perspective, to identify the (imaginary) point of enunciation": putting a face to a voice and a name, in other words. [170]

The psychoanalytical implications of this situation cannot be ignored, but once again they serve to entangle Sade in the quagmire of how surrealists thought of him. Turning the intersubjective process into an intrasubjective one, Man Ray created an entirely original image of someone from within his imagination, replacing Sade the historical person with his own idea of Sade the surrealist. Painting an imaginary portrait of Sade, with whose work he was very familiar, having lived next door to Maurice Heine and even photographed the original handwritten scroll of *120*

[168] Baker, *Surrealism, History and Revolution,* 264.
[169] Baker, *Surrealism, History and Revolution,* 265.
[170] Baker, *Surrealism, History and Revolution,* 264.

Journées de Sodome, became two things for Man Ray: an accurate description of his own *experience* of Sade, and a depiction of what Sade represented within his own psyche. Though it cannot be said that Man Ray's *Imaginary Portrait* is a self-portrait, it is certainly a portrait of an aspect of himself. Sade's face is a mask superimposed on the real Sade, whose persona – revolutionary, libertine, atheist philosopher – was cherry-picked by artists who would represent their own subconscious desires through Sade.

Man Ray was hardly working inside a vacuum, however, and his Sade did not spring forth from his head like Athena from Zeus' skull – his portrait transaction was also not fully an intrasubjective one. Man Ray would have been influenced by surrealist perceptions of Sade, building a mental image of him from conversations with other surrealists (Breton seems likely). On the other hand, when the psychoanalytical interpretation of Man Ray's Sade portraits is turned on surrealism as a whole, not just on Man Ray himself, a larger conclusion can be drawn that opens the door to discovering further imaginary portraits. According to Baker, Man Ray's portraits "can be seen as a memorial process, or transaction with posterity, on the part of Man Ray, an artist whose role had often been to illustrate the collective thoughts of the surrealist group." The collective memory is harnessed in Man Ray's doubling (or quadrupling) of the Sadean portrait, leaving his image of Sade indelibly printed on the surrealist consciousness. Assuming that Man Ray, as the chronicler of the surrealist community, intended his portraits to be seen by surrealists, we may now allow the observer back into the intersubjective triangle of portraiture, where Man Ray (artist), Sade (imaginary sitter), and surrealism (observer) are its three legs. Foucault posits an end result of sorts: what Sade's portrait can tell us about surrealist collective memory: "'a true image is (now) a product of learning: it derives from words spoken in the past, exact recensions, the amassing of minute facts, monuments reduced to infinitesimal fragments, and the reproductions of reproductions'."[171]

More than a portrait

Something even more interesting occurs when we consider Man Ray's 1933 photograph *Monument à D.A.F. Sade* to be a portrait of Sade as well (see Figure 2). Though Baker has said that *Monument* "appear[s] to be based, to an extent at least, upon illustrations to Sade's books,

[171] Michel Foucault, quoted by Baker, *Surrealism, History and Revolution,* 275.

and thus, arguably, illustrate[s] the fictional construct 'sadism' rather than Sade as an author"[172], I argue that this work is, in fact, an earlier portrait of Sade, somewhere on the spectrum between Breton recognizing Sade in an African village scene and Man Ray's figurative *Imaginary Portrait.* We can link the distinct title (*Monument*) to Sade's later representation as a stone monument in the 1938 painting. The freely expressed sexuality in this image; the sadistic bent towards one's own pleasure, can be read as a portrait of the unconscious. I claim that Sade became a tool – a lens, perhaps – through which surrealists could project their psychic states, be they sexual, political, or even mystical (consider Jean Benoît's 1959 performance *Execution of the Testament of Marquis de Sade*). To admire the man means to embrace the libertine or the revolutionary, the victim or the victimizer: in other words, Sade comes to embody whatever he is asked to embody.

The gamut of imaginary portraits

Sade the elder statesman

The Sadean imaginary portrait took on a life of its own following Man Ray's definitive image of the late 1930's. It is remarkable both how many different artists portrayed Sade and how diverse these portraits were in style, method, aim, and the approach needed to understand them as portrait. I begin with the Sadean portraits that take inspiration primarily from Man Ray's imaginary portrait. André Masson was highly attached to Sade, producing illustraitions for *Justine* but never published them; his drawings of Sadean scenes are violent and always fall along the traditional lines of man as dominant and female as violated submissive. Masson's 1940 *Portrait Sade* is perhaps surprising, then, as it is based on Man Ray's corpulent Sade rather than the young libertine: a man no longer active in the lifestyle, even aged by it (see Figure 21). Clovis Trouille was a French surrealist-adjacent who was recognized by Breton and whose 1931 painting *Remembrance* was reproduced in issue 3 of *Le surréalisme au service de la Révolution* (the same issue with Dalí's African village-cum Sade portrait). As mentioned above, Trouille's 1949 *Le Poète Rouge (The Red Poet)* (Figure 20) includes a curious portrait of Sade in monument form. Sade, clad as a masked pope (Pius XII, perhaps), perches atop a tall phallic plinth guarded by a prostitute with a machine gun and two bulldogs. Though the likeness is not

[172] Baker, *Surrealism, History and Revolution,* 275.

exact, the fact that Sade is picked out in stone and presiding over the Place de la Bastille ("Prison des poètes et artistes") is evidence enough. Trouille mocked the atheist by making him a religious figure, though a lecherous one who might certainly appear in a Sade novel. Though Magritte did not engage with Sade to the extent of his peers, his 1955 painting *Souvenir de Voyage (Memory of a Journey)* (see Figure 22) portrays the poet Marcel Leconte as Man Ray's Sade, posing with a lion. The painting in the background references Magritte's earlier paintings by the same title, of the Leaning Tower of Pisa supported by a gigantic feather; here, the tower is a ruin in a mountainous scene: could it be a metaphorical disambiguation of Sade's Chateau Lacoste? A final work that I contend is a Sadean imaginary portrait tenuously based on Man Ray's is Johannes Moesman's 1963 *Pavane (pour un marquis défunt)* (see Figure 9), where the ruins of Chateau Lacoste stand in for Sade himself; in Man Ray's *Portrait imaginaire* the Bastille is as much a portrait of Sade as the monumental bust is, and replacing the Bastille with Lacoste is no great leap. These four works attest to the power of Man Ray's work in creating a canonical – *political* – image of Sade.

Sade the louche libertine

Other imaginary portraits of Sade used the older *portrait fantaisiste* as a base image: the young man with flowing locks and the attire of a rich eighteenth-century dandy spoke to the virility and vice of the marquis. Félix Labisse's 1944 canvas *La Matinée poétique* (see Figure 23) depicts a surrealist salon scene that feels utterly familiar: nude women – all with heads removed in some way – act as furniture while a room full of clad intellectuals and artists presumably do the talking. Sade, with his back turned on the far left, has the manuscript of *Les 120 Journées de Sodome* sticking out of his pocket. Three of the men – Barrault (second from left), Apollinaire (fifth) and Labisse (sixth, standing) – look to Sade as an authority figure and sage. And yet Sade is young enough to not have been imprisoned yet, nor have written *Les 120 Journées* (written when he was fifty-five). Labisse made a conscious choice *not* to depict Sade as Man Ray's elder statesman; given the constellation of both alive and dead figures in the painting, it is thoroughly a fantasy scene. Pierre Klossowski (1905-1996), a French writer and artist associated with Bataille, inserted Sade into scenes from his own novels as an observer. In *The Marquis de Sade contemplating the Death of Justine* (1972) (see Figure 24), Sade sits at a scribe's desk, his quill raised to depict the final scenes of Justine's tragedy. Consider, finally, Argentinian painter

Leonor Fini's 1978 painting *Outre Songe* (see Figure 25), where a Sade-esque figure with an eighteenth-century gentleman's wig is watching a shadow theater scene of domination take place. As in Labisse's portrait, Sade is seen from behind. Sade watching a Sadean scene reminds one immediately of Klossowski's portraits as well. In all three of these works, Sade's back is turned, and his gaze is turned inward into the scene. This Sade has the qualities of an immortal; unaged and not concerned with the observer but with the interior of the painting, he is fictionalized in a way that Man Ray's imagined Sade cannot be. If Man Ray's Sade is the political or scholarly Sade, Labisse, Klossowski, and Fini's Sade is the timeless ideal, unblemished by his amoral philosophy and unfazed by posterity's judgment.

Sade the mystic

A final group of Sadean portraits reaches a level of abstraction and mysticism that falls into the category of mythologizing Sadean works. These are Hans Bellmer's 1958 drawing *Portrait Sade* (see Figure 26) and Jean Benoît's 1959 performance *The Execution of the Testament of the Marquis de Sade* (See Figure 27). Bellmer approached human anatomy as utterly malleable. From his first conceptualization of his *La Poupée,* a doll with interchangeable parts and lewdly exposed genitalia, Bellmer's reduction of the human body to a basic formula meshes well with Sade's inexhaustible description of erotic configurations. Here, the anatomical perversion is turned on Sade himself; his mouthless face folds inward as it is penetrated by a disembodied phallus. Though typical of Bellmer's method, the drawing's specific subject is remarkable in that it reverses traditional sexual roles: it is the dominating male who is penetrated by something more dominant than him. Indeed, as a portrait of Sade it stands alone in recognizing Sade's own homosexual inclinations. In plugging Sade's mouth, Bellmer refuses Sade's ability to speak; Sade's actions (and the actions of his characters) matter more than the philosophy and the surrealist debate surrounding him. Benoît's performance placed action and passion above words as well, Breton had to shout to read Sade's testament over the cacophonous music of Radovan Ivsic (recordings of city traffic).[173] The mysticism of this performance, which included set pieces designed to look like "the tribal masks of the Dogon and the Kwakiutl",[174] pagan symbols such as stars and arrows, and essentially shamanistic body decorations on Benoît, cannot be ignored.

[173] Mahon, "Staging Desire," in *Desire Unbound,* 285.
[174] Mahon, "Staging Desire," in *Desire Unbound,* 284.

Intended as a symbolic reburial of Sade, whose final wish for obscurity was not granted, the performance instead reinforced Sade's strong presence in the twentieth century. Per Michael Richardson, the event was "the apogee of…surrealism's engagement with Sade,"[175] and I would argue that it is the apogee of the Sadean imaginary portrait. Benoît took the imaginary portrait further by inserting himself into the piece; by projecting Sade onto himself he created a Sadean *self-portrait,* thereby exerting the full force of surrealist thought onto a Sade that was no longer recognizable as a singular human being. In the moment Benoît branded the word "Sade" on his chest with a hot iron, he *became* Sade, or rather he became the Sade that surrealism had built over three decades of discussion and disagreement, publishing his books, illustrating his books, and reinventing him in imaginary portraiture.

Conclusion

The many imaginary portraits of the Marquis de Sade speak to the depth and complexity of Sadean surrealism. In the imagination of surrealists from Leonor Fini to Man Ray to Hans Bellmer, Sade ranges from a young, debonair nobleman with a sadistic twist, to a decrepit old man who has lived an evil life but is now a philosophical authority, to an amorphous piece of anatomy that has no bearing in reality. It can be said that each surrealist who portrayed Sade expressed his or her personality through their interpretation of Sade's character. However, the more interesting conclusion that can be drawn from this study is that Sade is a mirror to surrealism *as a whole.* The Sadean imaginary portrait is the ultimate expression of visual Sadean surrealism because it indicates that surrealists turned to Sade when wishing to express an abstract idea, whether a philosophy, as in Labisse's group portrait that includes Sade as the authority figure; politics, as in Man Ray or Trouille's elder revolutionary Sade gazing at the burning Bastille; or mysticism, as in Jean Benoît's becoming Sade himself via the ritualistic branding ceremony. I find the Sadean portrait to be emblematic of the existential experience of the self described by Michel Leiris in his 1930 article "The 'Caput Mortuum', or the Alchemist's Wife", but on a larger scale. Leiris calls forth the idea of the pliant face, wherein an existing or imagined face (i.e., the face of one's lover or of God) can be manipulated to reveal one's own face. In masking the familiar face, the artist (or lover) becomes more intimate with him or herself.

[175] Richardson, "Sade and revolutionary violence," 71.

"Thanks to [masks], the [subject] becomes unrecognizable, more schematic," leaving room for the artist to experience his or her own psyche to its fullest extent.[176] The full range of Sadean imaginary portraits manifests this mirror on a movement-wide scale, allowing surrealism as a whole to look at itself when filling in Sade's likeness with its own desires.

Chapter VI

A global Sadean surrealism: Leonor Fini, Johannes Moesman, and Roee Rosen/Justine Frank

Introduction

Surrealism studies is a rapidly expanding field. With the centennial anniversary of Breton's "Surrealist Manifesto" approaching in 2024, new perspectives on the movement are dismantling what was until the 1970's – when Xavière Gauthier wrote *Le Surréalisme et la Sexualité* – very much a Western-centric, misogynistic field of study. Whether it was the control Breton exerted over who was a 'Surrealist', or whether it was the art historians and critics who accepted Paris as the center of the movement with a small outpost in Brussels, surrealism studies was stagnant. But a decolonization has taken place within the field that has moved beyond acknowledging the place of female artists within the movement and into a shrewd examination of what surrealism means from a global, atemporal perspective. It would therefore be a meaningful exercise to explore a Sadean global surrealism from the vantage of three general themes, using three artists as case studies. As such, I discuss the Sadean works of three artists either loosely affiliated with Breton's core group or not at all: Argentinian artist Leonor Fini (1907-1996), Dutch painter Johannes

[176] Leiris, "Le 'Caput Mortuum'," *Documents* 8 (1930), 25. Translated Maia Kenney. "Grâce à [masques], [le sujet] devient méconnaissable, plus schématique."

Moesman (1908-1988), and Israeli contemporary artist Roee Rosen (1963-) with the corresponding themes of gender, pan-European surrealism, and contemporary surrealism, respectively. The artworks I examine: Fini's illustrations for a 1944 edition of *Juliette,* Moesman's Sadean *Avonduur* (1963) and *Pavane (pour un marquis défunt)* (1962), and the erotic novel and paintings by Justine Frank (an artist invented by Rosen in 2001). How does Sade appear in the works of these three artists? What hold does Sade have over us now, and how easily is his influence transfused across traditional boundaries that are now considered to be moot? Is Sadean surrealism a global surrealism?

In this final, brief chapter, I aim to examine the Sadean works of three artists who do not belong in the traditional surrealist canon. In chronological order, and incidentally in order of spatial distance from the core surrealist group, are the Sadean oeuvres of Leonor Fini, Johannes Moesman, and Roee Rosen. Each artist has an indelible link to what was once considered canonical surrealism, and yet the oeuvre of each is governed by a distinctly non-canonical approach that has grabbed – or should grab – the attention of scholars of global surrealism. Furthermore, each approached Sade in a different way, and expressed different aspects of Sade and Sadean surrealism. What did Sadean works look like outside of Breton and Bataille's Parisian influence? While Fini was closest to the surrealist group of the three, she did not consider herself a surrealist; indeed, the feminist currents in her oeuvre defy much of the written-for-men sexual theories of the *Recherches sur la sexualité* group effort. Moesman, though active during the surrealist period, stayed in his native Utrecht and participated in surrealism very much as an observer. Finally, Roee Rosen's imaginary portrait via biographical exercise is, perhaps, the ultimate iteration of a Sadean surrealist artwork.

Fini, Juliette, and O

Argentinian painter, illustrator, designer and writer Leonor Fini (1907-1996) is best known for the presence of powerful female tropes throughout her oeuvre. Her fascination with the occult – witchcraft and mythological creatures, the sphinx in particular – set her apart from the male group, but her unconventional lifestyle certainly fit the bill. As mentioned previously, Fini joined the group of Sadean illustrators, of whose work she was aware and a little disdainful of.

According to Fini's friend Neil Zukerman, Fini found previous Sade illustrations such as Hans Bellmer's to be tame, not explicit enough, and that she wished to challenge a tired surrealist tradition.[177] In 1944, she illustrated a luxury edition of *Juliette* with twenty-four full-page drawings in fully explicit detail.[178] Appropriately, the book was secretly printed in two hundred copies on the Vatican press.[179] She took on the task of creating a Juliette that would " 'show that which cannot be said'," as Annie Le Brun puts it. Fini's believed her female perspective would be able to manifest a full understanding of Juliette.[180] Valérie Mandia has noted that Fini's "drawings would succeed in showing the portrait of the cruel and infinite Juliette in the full violence of her desire."[181]

Mandia has demonstrated not only Fini's success in illustrating Sade, but that Fini actually did what Sade could not do: create a female character with real desires. As I noted in Chapter I, Sade's characters, the women in particular, are flat and unfeeling. As creatures of 'pure desire', as Le Brun has called them, they in fact lose the ability to desire in their pursuit of base pleasure and animalistic ecstasy. In general, Fini and her contemporaries managed, with varying degrees of feminist intent, to subvert the tropes of femininity common to surrealism – *femme-enfant*, the Madonna-whore, the witch, erotic muse, praying mantis, and the femme fatale. In the case of Fini's Juliette, the reversal of traditional gender roles expressed by Juliette as an extreme sadist made Juliette the ideal example of empowered female sexuality. Juliette commits every conceivable crime, from theft to rape to murder, and in every instance takes command of the scene. The sexual 'perversions' on display include necrophilia, bestiality, coprophilia, and algolagnia, with Juliette conducting the constellations from a point of power (see Figure 28).

Fini was indelibly linked to the budding world of BDSM[182], and Sade's *Juliette* was not the only sadomasochistic erotic novel she illustrated. Pauline Réage (pseudonym of author Anne Desclos) wrote *The Story of O (Histoire d'O,* 1954), a Sadean novel about a fashion photographer called O

[177] Phone interview with Neil P. Zukerman, 7 February 2019.
[178] Mahon, "Leonor Fini and the Sphinx," 15.
[179] Phone interview with Neil P. Zukerman, 7 February 2019.
[180] Annie Le Brun, quoted by Mandia, "Juliette illustré par Fini," 180. Quote translated Maia Kenney. "'…montrer ce qu'on ne peut pas dire.'"
[181] Mandia, "Juliette illustré par Fini," 180. Quote translated Maia Kenney. "…Ses images arriveraient à montrer le portrait de la cruelle et *infinie* Juliette dans toute la violence de son désir."
[182] Though she would not have used this terminology, I use it for simplicity's sake.

who willingly enslaves herself to a series of men in a secret society. Her sexual humiliation escalates until a final, surreal scene, where she appears at a party of the society in an owl mask and a chain attached to a labial piercing; she is used as an object and abandoned (see Figure 29).[183] Réage's idea for the owl mask came directly from Fini, who designed it and wore it at a 'Bal des Oiseaux' in Paris, 1948. Fini's illustrations for *O* are less explicit than those for *Juliette,* but female empowerment is more prominent here. In Sade's novels, such as *Justine,* the masochist is never willing – she or he is acted upon, never the actor. In Réage's novel and Fini's watercolors, O questions herself constantly, not morally, but whether her desires truly align with her situation; her choice to continue her enslavement is entirely hers. Intriguingly, Fini "admitted to identifying more with the sadistic men than with O, their willing victim", but she imbued O with the same flame of desire as she did Juliette.[184]

The dynamic depictions of the two women of seemingly opposing sexual predilections – sadist and masochist – can be seen as auto-portraiture. Mandia has remarked that Fini portrayed herself as Juliette, humanizing Sade's character in order to "thus see through [Juliette's] eyes and, perhaps, configure the features of the artist and her creation in one stroke, all while asserting her self-portrait."[185] The Sadean portrait as self-portrait has thus reached a new configuration, to borrow Mandia's term: Fini depicts herself in the act of depicting Juliette. We see Juliette's – Fini's – "wicked face, a cruel face… without limits nor outline."[186] Fini's depiction of O is at times a literal self-portrait, as the owl scene is inspired by her. Though Fini most likely did not see it as such, illustrating both *Juliette* and *O* was a feminist political act while also a deeply personal one. She took on Juliette as a challenge to previous Sade illustrations made by men[187], and O as a triumph of the female pen – Breton and the rest of the French literary world did not believe that *Story of O* could have been written by a woman.

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[183] Réage, *The Story of O.*
[184] Mahon, "Leonor Fini and the Sphinx," 16.
[185] Mandia, "Juliette illustré par Fini," 180. Quote translated Maia Kenney. "La peintre parviendrait ainsi à voir à travers les yeux d'un sans visage et, peut-être, à configurer dans un même geste les *traits* du créateur et de sa création tout en affirmant son autoportrait."
[186] Mandia, "Juliette illustré par Fini," 205. Quote translated Maia Kenney. "…un visage de la méchanceté, un visage de la cruauté, car sans limites ni contours."
[187] Though Toyen and Valentine Hugo were of course also notable illustrators, and Toyen's erotic drawings are highly explicit, Fini did not comment on these.

Moesman and Sade

The Dutch artist Johannes Hendrikus Moesman (1908-1988) is also emblematic of Sade's far-reaching impact. Moesman's surrealism resulted from collecting a compendium of visual inspiration from journals, books, and exhibitions, all from his home in Utrecht. His method of pastiche, using myriad visual images from various sources integrated into his canvases, has been documented by Jan Steen. Moesman's work had the erotic connotations of a 'typical' male surrealist from early on; dismembered or disfigured torsos or limbs were commonplace in his relatively small oeuvre. In 1933, *Namiddag,* his 'portrait' of Eugénie, empress of France was removed from group exhibition "De Onafhankelijken" ("The Independents") at the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam due to its perceived obscenity. One year later, his male nude *Aangekomene* was removed from the next installment of "De Onafhankelijken". Sade fascinated Moesman from early on – he was not oblivious to the attention paid to Sade in so many surrealist journals. It is unclear whether Moesman could read French to the degree that he could fully understand Sade or the surrealist journals. Evidence points to no: early in the 1960's, Moesman asked his friend Her de Vries to bring him Sade's oeuvre from Paris, since it was not available in the Netherlands and had not been translated into Dutch. He painstakingly translated and transcribed Sadean passages for himself in Dutch in calligraphy and typescript.

After a burst of creativity in the 1930's, Moesman produced less work in the '40's and '50's. The 1960's saw a rejuvenation of his oeuvre, hearkening to his most surrealist and creative early years. Around this time, Moesman wrote in calligraphy his attitude towards Sade: "Speak boldly of Donatien Alphonse François, Marquis de Sade, but take not his name in vain." (see Figure 30)[188] It was an era of oil paintings that depicted Moesman's own sadomasochistic inclinations and his particular affinity with Sade. In 1962, Moesman painted *Avonduur*, the first in a series of four Sadean paintings, whose explicit sadomasochist tropes, derived from both his personal life as well as his avid pursuit of surrealist literature, are fascinating. *Avonduur* is dominated by a seated nude woman in a full leather mask (see Figure 5). This imaginary woman, modeled after one of William Seabrook's masked figures in Michel Leiris' *Documents* article "Le 'Caput

[188] Steen, *Moesman,* 61. Quote translated Maia Kenney. "'Spreek vrijmoedig over Donatien Alphonse François Marquis De Sade maar misbruik zijn naam nooit'"

Mortuum'" (see Figure 31), possesses a deaf inscrutability that emphasizes the mask's power to reflect the artist's unconscious desires. A year later, Moesman painted *Pavane (pour un marquis défunt)*, a small work containing a partially nude bust of the Virgin in front of Sade's ruined Chateau La Coste (see Figure 9). The castle, which was visited and photographed by Man Ray and Jindrich Štyrský, among others, is another imaginary portrayal of Sade's life (see Chapter III). The title references Maurice Ravel's 1899 piano composition *Pavane pour une infante défunte*. *Adieu* and *Oktober* conclude Moesman's Sadean series in a more explicit vein of female humiliation.

Moesman explained his sadistic nature to Bibeb, a Dutch journalist, in 1966: "'I am never cruel to animals, but I would love to torture a beautiful woman – a beautiful woman who likes to be tortured. I wouldn't hang an old cleaning lady by her hind legs. But a beautiful girl. Yes. It's not sadism to kick a defenseless old man. But I do think sometimes; that one, I would like to give him a good beating. Not some old cleaning lady or other, that's what the NSB [Dutch Nazis] did, they dragged the wretched Jews from their homes. No. But a pretty shop-girl from behind her till… But for that, there is no sympathy. However, I think that in the year 2000, we will have moved past this well behaved "good boy" mentality.'"[189] To Moesman, Sade was simultaneously a justification for his own sexual fantasies and a conduit through which to explore his psyche on canvas. Making obscene works in the 1930's and having them rejected by exhibitions he entered them in was an absolutely political move in the extremely conservative interbellum Dutch society. Moesman's Sadean works, though painted, perhaps, in a more permissive time, are nevertheless a natural result of the creative fermentation of Sade, sexuality, and politics. Moesman and surrealism intersected specifically through Sade: Moesman translated written surrealism (i.e. the journals and texts he read) to a visual one. He caught the attention of Breton, but nothing came of plans to participate in a group exhibition in Milan in 1963.[190] Moesman's Sadean works are built from an academic yet also personal approach to the surrealist interest in

[189] Moesman, quoted by Steen, *Moesman,* 59. Translated Maia Kenney. "'Ik ben nooit wreed tegen beesten, maar ik zou best een mooie vrouw willen martelen, een mooie vrouw die er van houdt. Ik zal geen ouwe werkster aan d'r achterpoten ophangen. Maar een mooie meid. Ja. 't Is geen sadism een weerloze oude man een schop te geven. Maar ik denk wel 's, die zou ik flink willen afranselen. Een of andere werkster niet… dat deden de NSB'ers, die de stakkerige joden uit hun huizen sleurden. Nee. Maar een leuk winkeljuffie achter de toonbank vandaan… Daar is geen begrip voor. Maar ik denk dat we in het jaar 2000 de brave Hendrikkerij wel weer te boven zijn.'"

[190] Bosma, "Moesman: Surrealist uit Utrecht," 25.

sadistic eroticism. Despite his physical distance from the movement, Moesman was not an isolated figure, and his Sadean works should place him in the expanding surrealist canon.

Rosen and Justine

Biography and portraiture are a major part of Israeli artist Roee Rosen's (born 1963) oeuvre. Using an array of fictional historical figures as well as iconographic motifs, Rosen retrospectively influences and reforms "not only the canon of the historical avant-garde and transgressive traditions from the Marquis de Sade to Georges Bataille, but also popular media, political propaganda, and classic children's fairy tales".[191] He explores Israeli and Jewish identities through the eyes of a revolving door of characters both fictional and fictionalized, typically linking "current Israeli and world politics with mythical and political references to European and Jewish history."[192] In 2001, Rosen created his first fully fictional historical character, the Belgian Jewish artist Justine Frank (1900-1943). Frank was a painter and an author of the pornographic novel *Sweet Sweat* (1931), and, significantly, a lost member of the surrealist generation, albeit an outsider. Her patchy biography and mysterious oeuvre were revealed when Rosen, posing as a scholar and her biographer, published *Sweet Sweat* in Hebrew in 2001 and in English in 2009; held a retrospective of her work in 2005; and released the film *Two Women and a Man* in 2005, wherein Rosen posed as a female scholar who translated Frank's book and attacks Rosen for appropriating and manipulating Frank's legacy.

This comprehensive rollout of a historical figure probably confused visitors to the retrospective and sparked debate as to whether Rosen was portraying himself as Frank; however, in a 2005 lecture, Ariella Azoulay said that "recognizing in Frank nothing but an image which an artist would adopt as his own, just one more gesture in the tradition of artists who produce their self-portrait "as someone – or something else", is a complete misunderstanding."[193] Rosen cannot be ignored when reading his biography of Frank, which is impressively comprehensive and based on an intimate understanding of surrealism and *Sadean* surrealism, nor when reading *Sweet Sweat* and examining Frank's oeuvre. However, "Rosen is actualizing a Deleuzien notion of

[191] Peleg, "Roee Rosen," documenta14.de.
[192] Peleg, "Roee Rosen," document14.de.
[193] Azoulay, "Rosen is not Frank," lecture 2005, 7.

becoming which should be understood in opposition to the notion [of] *being* around which the discourse of identity usually takes place… Neither Rosen, nor Frank, for that matter, are stable identities that can be substituted for each other."[194] Critiqued for using fictional biography to further his own (frowned upon in the commercial art world, it seems), Rosen has changed the fabric of the history of the surrealist movement, an act of performance art that may lead to factual anomalies in time.

Who was Justine Frank, anyway? The only photograph that exists of her is actually one of Rosen's wife (see Figure 32);[195] but this is hardly a work of spousal homage. Born in Antwerp in 1900 to one of two possible Jewish families, Frank arrived in Paris in 1925 as a budding artist.[196] She latched onto the surrealist group as a marginal player but did not fit in due to her extreme eccentricity. Frank touched the lives of many surrealists, though not memorably enough, of course, for them to have ever mentioned her in writing – a "chilling silence"[197]. In the period 1925-1928 she filled a sketchbook of works called the *Stained Portfolio,* where over one hundred drawings stained with ink blots (intentionally, according to Rosen) range from perversions of the Hebrew alphabet (see Figure 33) to pages upon pages of self-portraits as various characters – including a person in a full leather facemask (see Figure 34), tropes that would appear throughout her oeuvre. New York gallerist and patron Julien Levy apparently bought some of her works, but she ended up alienated by the surrealist group. This alienation probably led her to have an affair with Georges Bataille, whose novel *Story of the Eye* she read and admired deeply. During this affair, she wrote *Sweet Sweat,* her pornographic novel about a woman from a French shtetl, who joins forces with a count on an odyssey of pleasure and debauchery, including the subjugation of two men who must dress as women to please her. A modern Juliette, Rachel's sweat is a potion that can seduce or control anyone she encounters. Frank emigrated to Tel Aviv in 1940 and disappeared and presumably died in 1943.[198] Frank's performative but non-public oeuvre and her penchant for sadism and extreme erotic fetishes can only be analyzed from Rosen's perspective: "Frank devised her entire artistic development in advance, to the last

[194] Azoulay, "Rosen is not Frank," lecture 2005, 7.
[195] Azoulay, "Rosen is not Frank," lecture 2005, 7.
[196] Rosen, "Stained Portfolio," in *Sweet Sweat,* 19.
[197] Rosen, "Stained Portfolio," in *Sweet Sweat,* 34.
[198] Rosen, "Stained Portfolio," in *Sweet Sweat,* 67.

detail…the artist's oeuvre (and, in fact, her whole life) could be understood as a single, gigantic artwork – a labyrinthine, almost monstrously excessive *Gesamtkunstwerk.*"[199]

Justine Frank is thus, in the end, the ultimate postmodern surrealist artwork, one that conflates the visual and written traditions of surrealism; the biographical – the invention of an artist – and the mystical – the manipulation of gaps in history, fairy tales, and the symbolism of icons and letters. She is, furthermore, a *Sadean* artwork: her name an obvious nod; her Sadean novel and the more sordid aspects of her biography invented as proof of the existence of the Sadean obsession in the surrealist spheres. As someone who merely passed through Paris on her way to Tel Aviv and obscurity, Frank "represents an agonistic understanding of influence: the past as staged in the present and actively contested, politically and culturally."[200] In other words, it takes a retrospective look at surrealism to bring the written and visual traditions into one oeuvre. Neither Rosen nor the art world can control Frank; nor could the surrealists control Sade.

Conclusion

The three examples I have chosen for case studies of Sadean surrealism were outside Breton's sphere of influence to varying degrees. Fini has been accepted by the art historical and museal establishment as a surrealist, though she would not have considered herself one; Moesman, on the other hand, is her opposite: he considered himself a surrealist but has not been integrated into the (growing) definitions of the movement. Meanwhile, Rosen has wedged Frank directly into 1920's Paris, sidestepping art historical rules and playing with the laws of time. These three artists are only a few amongst many other options that would fit into these criteria. Leonor Fini, Valentine Hugo, and Toyen were female artists who illustrated Sade's books in varying styles;[201] each merits a comprehensive examination of their Sadean works. Johannes Moesman, Clovis Trouille and Pierre Molinier were all embraced to a certain degree by Breton, but they kept their distance from the movement, maintaining a certain creative freedom. There are many contemporary artists who could be considered part of a new global surrealism. However, one artist who exploits his cultural heritage by shifting reality is Japanese artist Toshio Saeki (born

[199] Rosen, "Stained Portfolio," in *Sweet Sweat,* 27.
[200] Rosen, "My Influences: Roee Rosen," https://frieze.com/article/my-influences-roee-rosen.
[201] Toyen illustrated *Justine* in 1930, and Hugo illustrated *Eugénie de Franval* in 1948.

1945), whose brutal eroticism has been making eerie use of BDSM imagery in traditional woodcut style since the late 1960's (see Figure 35). Though Saeki does not indicate whether he takes inspiration from Sade or from surrealism, the images of bondage, violence, and subversion fit into a looser definition of a global surrealism. The case studies I have presented here express the broader trend of a Sadean surrealism that breaks art historical boundaries yet stay within the definitions discussed in Chapter III. Together with the more conventional surrealists presented in earlier chapters, Fini, Moesman, and Rosen express the convergence of the two sets of opposing criteria I outlined in my research question: written and visual surrealism, and Bretonian and non-Bretonian surrealism.

CONCLUSION

What would surrealism look like without Sade?

The Marquis de Sade: the name invokes images of women in chains, orgies of unimaginable proportions, domination, subordination, pain, murder. Certainly, a disregard for the autonomy of women, for the subjectivity of the female body and psyche, are concerns that arise when considering the sordid works Sade wrote in the waning years of the eighteenth century. It is perhaps no surprise, then, that the surrealist movement, which formalized and emphasized its objectification of the female body, fetishism, exoticism, and the domination of male virility, took Sade as its literary figurehead, citing him as messiah, venerating his lifestyle and embracing libertinage in his name. The Sadean works of core surrealist artists such as Man Ray and Hans Bellmer – as well as by artists outside the central group, such as Johannes Moesman, and Jean Benoît – corroborate our sense of unrestricted violence against the idealized woman and could possibly affirm the common stereotype of surrealism's un-self-conscious misogyny and sexist gate-keeping. And yet, Sade's presence in surrealism is much more complicated, given the agency-asserting presence of Leonor Fini, Toyen, and their contemporaries, as well as the reality-bending insertion of Justine Frank into surrealist Paris by Roee Rosen. The myth of Sade allowed artists to turn their gaze inward, exploring taboo and non-procreative sexual desires on canvas, on paper, and in wood and bronze.

This thesis has aimed not to pinpoint the exact placement of Sade within surrealism, because there is no one place where Sade appeared. It has aimed to demonstrate that Sade was not only instrumental to the movement, but that he helped define it both during the movement's heyday and now from a historiographical vantage, as well as throughout the two 'traditions' of surrealist creation, i.e. the written and visual. That said, what is the relation between written and visual Sadean works? And what does the diversity of Sadean themes say about why and how Sade was important to surrealism? Sade was present from the group's earliest moments, when surrealism was mostly a philosophical and discursive movement. The longevity of his presence and lack of literature on the subject necessitated both a general and specific look at Sade in the written and visual surrealist traditions.

Chapter I presented Sade in a historical context leading up to the nascence of the surrealist movement. As the surrealists felt that they had rescued Sade from obscurity – or the lowly reputation accorded by Krafft-Ebing's appropriation of 'sadism' as a sexual perversion in his *Psychopathia Sexualis* – it is important to describe how Sade came to be recognized by Guillaume Apollinaire as "this man who counted for nothing during the nineteenth century [who] may well dominate the twentieth."[202] When Maurice Heine took up Apollinaire's mantel as rehabilitator of Sade, he made *Les 120 Journées de Sodome* and three other texts available to the public for the first time. This had the unique consequence of making Sade essentially a contemporary of the surrealist movement, almost as if he were alive and writing new works. I argue that this is the first reason why Sade's presence is not easily described: treated as a living author, he was given the complexity of an as-yet unhistorical person.

Chapter II took up the thread from where Chapter I left off, this time analyzing the surrealist written tradition in its relation to Sade. Surrealist thinkers such as Breton and Eluard believed Sade to be a martyr to his cause, a revolutionary whose vilification was inevitable in a morally righteous state. On the other hand, Georges Bataille questioned the idea of placing Sade upon a pedestal, as it detracted ultimately from his revolutionary ideas. The rivalry between Breton and Bataille is apparent in their treatment of Sade, though I argue that they both heroize Sade. Taking a step back to examine this fraught relationship between the two thinkers, we see that Sade binds them – and the rest of the surrealist writers – together. By writing about him in essays that were published in surrealist journals, the surrealists spread knowledge of Sade to their readership, fostering discussion and disagreement but ultimately a Sadean written surrealism.

On the other side of this coin, I propose a Sadean *visual* surrealism in Chapter III. Here, I define visual artworks by surrealists that bear the markers of Sadean influence: a Sadean title (such as René Magritte's *La philosophie dans le boudoir,* 1947), a Sadean visual reference (I suggest artworks that portray the ruins of Sade's family home, Chateau La Coste), and sadistic or sadomasochistic, atheist, or political subject matter (such as Man Ray's photo series *The*

[202] Apollinaire, *L'Oeuvre du Marquis de Sade,* 17. Quote translated Simon Baker. "Il semble que l'heure soit venue pour ces idées qui ont mûri dans l'atmosphère infâme des enfers de bibliothèques, et cet homme qui parut ne compter pour rien durant tout le dix-neuvième siècle pourrait bien dominer le vingtième."

Fantasies of Mr. Seabrook, ca. 1930). These visual categories can be paired with two thematic ones that pertain to the intentions of the artist, i.e. scholarly Sadean works and works that mythologize Sade. These last categories link the way the surrealist making the work saw Sade: as an author and historical figure *or* as a mythological hero. This also has bearing on the content of the work, as I argue that 'scholarly' Sadean works tend to acknowledge or portray the actual contents of Sade's texts, whereas the mythologizing works are more tenuously linked to Sade's thought and life, making the work more introspective.

Part II of this thesis zooms in on a few aspects of Sadean surrealism that have a bearing on the overall understanding of this subgenre but also surrealism as a whole. Chapter IV therefore identifies current art historical discourse on Sadean surrealism and points out the controversies and problems that have not been satisfactorily solved. In particular, I note Michael Richardson's problematic refutation of Annie Le Brun's claim that Sade is the perfect surrealist. If Richardson is correct, then we are essentially left at square one: where there is no reason for Sade to have been so thoroughly appropriated by surrealism. I examine Georges Bataille's *Story of the Eye* to check whether Sade is compatible with a twentieth-century version of sadism; ultimately, I think Sade is very much able to fit into surrealism despite fundamental philosophical differences (e.g. Sade is a nihilist, while Bataille is a humanist). Simon Baker examines the claim that Sade was a revolutionary and finds that, in fact, he spread rumors about himself[203] that the surrealists later believed. A picture of Sade as a chameleon becomes clearer: even when he was alive, he remade himself in order to cause the greatest stir – or to save himself from execution. It is hardly surprising, then, that the surrealists took diverse inspiration from him, often not realizing that they essentially agreed with each other.

Was Sade this chameleon within the visual tradition? Absolutely. In Chapter V, I fully expand Simon Baker's discussion of Man Ray's 1938 *Imaginary portrait of the Marquis de Sade,* identifying not one but three tropes within the subcategory of Sadean imaginary portraits. These are: Sade as the corrupt elder statesman, someone who could easily be one of the four libertines in *Les 120 Journées de Sodome;* Sade as unblemished libertine dandy, whom we see as wicked

[203] Such as having single-handedly instigated the storming of the Bastille by shouting down to passers-by that guards were executing prisoners.

and authoritative but not yet marked by his evil life*;* and Sade as abstract, mystical entity that has transcended commonplace portraiture. Many quite diverse surrealists participated in this fascinating phenomenon, but the three most emblematic are, respectively: Félix Labisse's *La matinée poétique,* 1944; Man Ray's 1938 *Imaginary portrait;* and Jean Benoît's *Execution of the Testament of the Marquis de Sade,* 1959.

These three artists fall well into the category of Bretonian surrealists, despite petty squabbles and excommunications. What of artists beyond Breton's reach? In Chapter VI, I present three case studies of Sadean surrealists who make the case for a global Sadean surrealism, namely Leonor Fini, Johannes Moesman, and Roee Rosen's invented surrealist Justine Frank. The Sadean works of all of these artists will merit further examination in future research.

Breton's description of Sade as "Surrealist in sadism"[204] is apt. The animalistic beast, the fetishist, the mystic, the philosopher, the revolutionary, the pornographer: Sade could be any or all of these to any surrealist, because they accepted him as a contemporary. Perhaps this explains why he is so interesting and why he is so difficult to pin down. Surrealism is a complex movement, blurred for so long in the eyes of art history by Breton's tyrannical gatekeeping, but Sade becomes a lens through which to better understand the movement, and at the same time can be seen as a rock upon which to build a vision of a global surrealism. As Sade's works became more and more well-known from the 1920's to the 1940's, due to the efforts of Apollinaire, Heine, Breton and Bataille, knowledge of Sade spread amongst surrealists. Artistic interpretations of Sade's 'teachings' varied wildly and manifested in imaginary portraits, novellas, illustrations of Sade's books, and sadistic scenarios. What is notable is the extent to which Sade appears in surrealist artworks, as if he floats in the unconscious plasma of the entire movement. Ultimately, Sade cannot be placed in a box within surrealism, but that is what makes Sadean surrealism a dynamic subgenre of the movement that has the ability to stand on its own. The cult of the Divine Marquis, indeed.

[204] Breton, "Surrealist Manifesto," 26.

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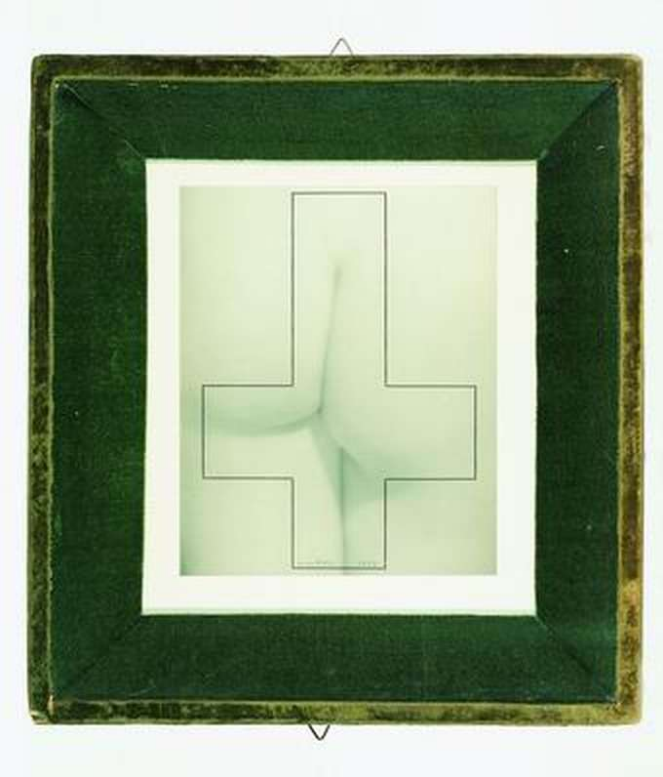
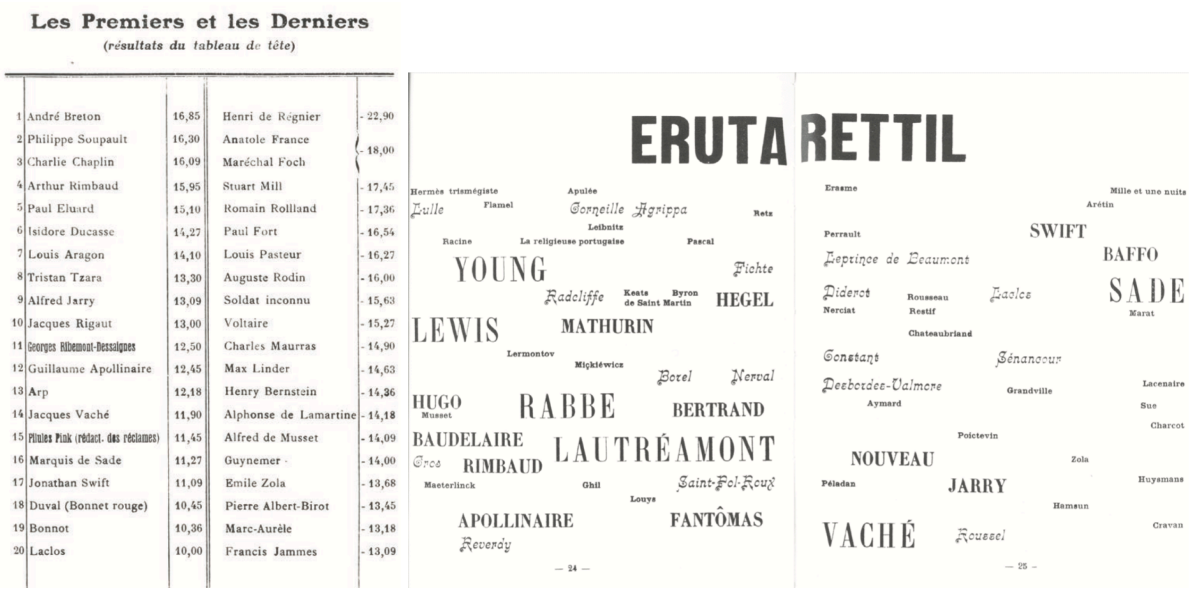
Appendix 2: Figures

1. Jean Benoît, *Medallion for the Execution of the Testament of the Marquis de Sade,* 1959. Photograph by Marc Vaux. Courtesy André Breton Collection.



2. Man Ray, *Monument to D.A.F. de Sade,* 1933. Gelatin silver print and ink. Israel Museum, Jerusalem.



Les Premiers et les Derniers

(résultats du tableau de tête)

1	André Breton	16,85	Henri de Régnier	22,90
2	Philippe Soupault	16,30	Anatole France	18,00
3	Charlie Chaplin	16,09	Maréchal Foch	
4	Arthur Rimbaud	15,95	Stuart Mill	17,45
5	Paul Eluard	15,10	Romain Rolland	17,36
6	Isidore Ducasse	14,27	Paul Fort	16,54
7	Louis Aragon	14,10	Louis Pasteur	16,27
8	Tristan Tzara	13,30	Auguste Rodin	16,00
9	Alfred Jarry	13,09	Soldat inconnu	15,63
10	Jacques Rigaut	13,00	Voltaire	15,27
11	Georges Ribemont-Dessaignes	12,50	Charles Maurras	14,90
12	Guillaume Apollinaire	12,45	Max Linder	14,63
13	Arp	12,18	Henry Bernstein	14,36
14	Jacques Vaché	11,90	Alphonse de Lamartine	14,18
15	Pinlès Pink (rédact. des réclames)	11,45	Alfred de Musset	14,09
16	Marquis de Sade	11,27	Guynemer	14,00
17	Jonathan Swift	11,09	Emile Zola	13,68
18	Duval (Bonnet rouge)	10,45	Pierre Albert-Birot	13,45
19	Bonnot	10,36	Marc-Aurèle	13,18
20	Laclos	10,00	Francis Jammes	13,09

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ERUTA RETTIL

Hermès trismégiste · Apulée · Lulle · Flamel · Corneille · Agrippa · Retz · Leibnitz · Racine · La religieuse portugaise · Pascal · YOUNG · Fichte · Radcliffe · Keats · Byron · de Saint Martin · HEGEL · LEWIS · MATHURIN · Lermontov · Mickiéwicz · Borel · Nerval · HUGO · Musset · RABBE · BERTRAND · BAUDELAIRE · LAUTRÉAMONT · Cros · RIMBAUD · Maeterlinck · Ghil · Saint-Pol-Roux · Louys · APOLLINAIRE · FANTÔMAS · Reverdy

Erasme · Mille et une nuits · Arétin · Perrault · SWIFT · Leprince de Beaumont · BAFFO · Diderot · Rousseau · Laclos · SADE · Nerciat · Restif · Marat · Chateaubriand · Constant · Sénancour · Desbordes-Valmore · Grandville · Lacenaire · Aymard · Sue · Charcot · Poictevin · NOUVEAU · Zola · Péladan · JARRY · Huysmans · Hamsun · VACHÉ · Rousset · Cravan

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3. André Breton et al. "*Liquidation,"* in *Littérature* 18 (March 1921), 1.

4. 'Erutarettil' (Littérature written backwards), word collage/calligram in *Littérature New* Series 11/12, Paris (October 1923).

5. William Seabrook (Formerly attributed to Jacques-André Boiffard), *Masque de cuir et chaîne,* 1930. Gelatin silver print. Centre Pompidou, Paris.

6. René Magritte, *La philosophie dans le boudoir,* 1947. Oil on canvas. Private collection.

7. Clovis Trouille, *Dolmancé et ses fantômes de luxure,*1958-1965. Oil on canvas.

8. Hans Bellmer, *Plus Lourde (pour Á Sade)*, 1961. Pencil on paper. Courtesy Ubu Gallery.

9. Johannes Hendrikus Moesman, *Pavane (pour un marquis défunt),* 1963. Oil on panel. Centraal Museum Utrecht.

10. *Jindrich Štyrský,* Untitled (Photograph of Chateau La Coste), *1933. Reproduced in* "Kraj Markýze de Sade," *Rozpravy Aventina*, 9, no. 1 (September 27, 1933), 6.

11. Toyen, *At the Château Lacoste,* 1946. Oil on canvas. National Gallery Prague.

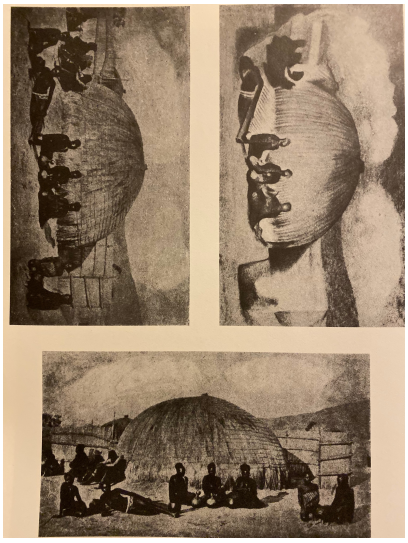
12. Man Ray, *The Fantasies of Mr. Seabrook,* 1930. Photograph.

13. Leonor Fini, *Illustration for* Juliette*,* 1944. Ink on paper. Honesterotica.com/portfolios/124.

Imaginary Portraits

14. Charles-Amédée-Philippe van Loo, *Portrait of Marquis de Sade,* 1760. Wikimedia Commons.

15. Left: H. Biberstein, *Portrait Fantaisiste du Marquis de Sade,* Reproduced in Apollinaire, *L'Oeuvre du Marquis de Sade,* 33.
16. Right: Anonymous, after H. Biberstein (?), *Portrait Fantaisiste du Marquis de Sade (Gravé à l'époque de la Restauration).* Reproduced in Apollinaire, *L'Oeuvre du Marquis de Sade,* 63.

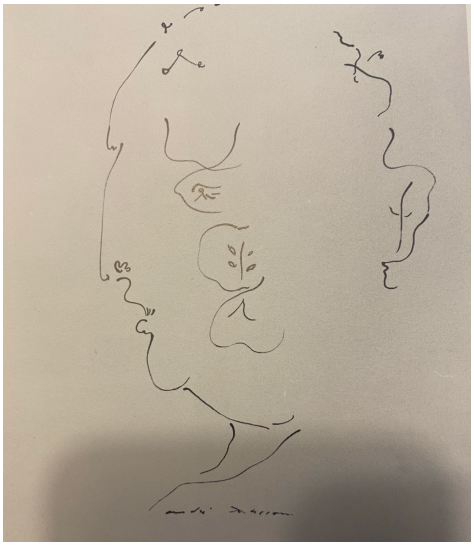


17. Salvador Dalí, *Communication: Visage paranoïaque.* Reproduced in *Le Surréalisme au Service de la Révolution* 3 (December 1931), 40.

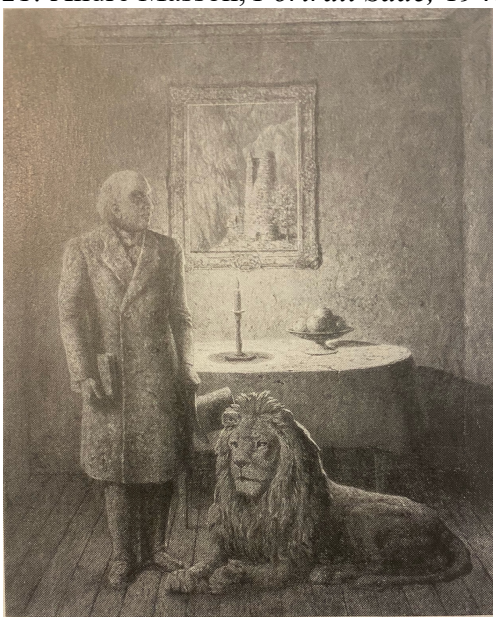
18. Man Ray, *Imaginary Portrait of the Marquis de Sade (Portrait imaginaire de D.A.F. de Sade)* 1938. Oil on canvas with painted wood panel. Menil Collection.

19. Man Ray, *Imaginary Portrait of D.A.F. de Sade,* 1940. Oil on canvas. Private collection.

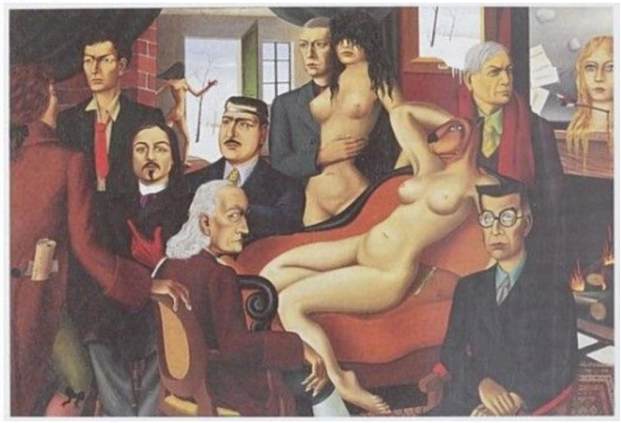
20. Clovis Trouille, *Le Poète Rouge,* 1949-1963. Oil on canvas. Association Clovis Trouille.



21. André Masson, *Portrait Sade,* 1940. Drawing.



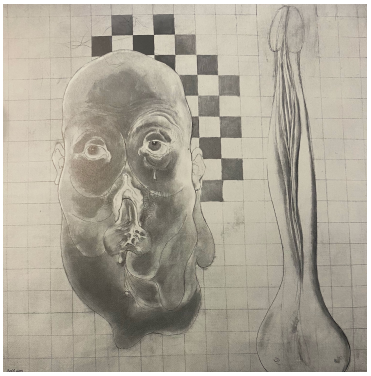
22. René Magritte, *Souvenir de Voyage* (*Memory of a journey*), 1955. Oil on canvas. (MoMA).



23. Félix Labisse, *La Matinée Poétique,* 1944. Oil on canvas. (male sitters from left to right: Sade [seen from behind], Jean-Louis Barrault, Alfred Jarry, William Blake, Guillaume Apollinaire, Félix Labisse, Pablo Picasso, Robert Desnos)

24. Pierre Klossowski, *Sade méditant la Mort de Justine* (*Sade contemplating the Death of Justine),* 1974. Watercolor and pencil (?).

25. Leonor Fini, *Outre Songe,* 1978. Oil on canvas. Private Collection.



26. Hans Bellmer, *Portrait Sade,* 1958. Ink on paper.

27. Gilles Ehrmann, *Jean Benoît in front of the Costume for 'The Execution of the Testament of the Marquis de Sade',* 1959. Photograph. Private collection, Paris.

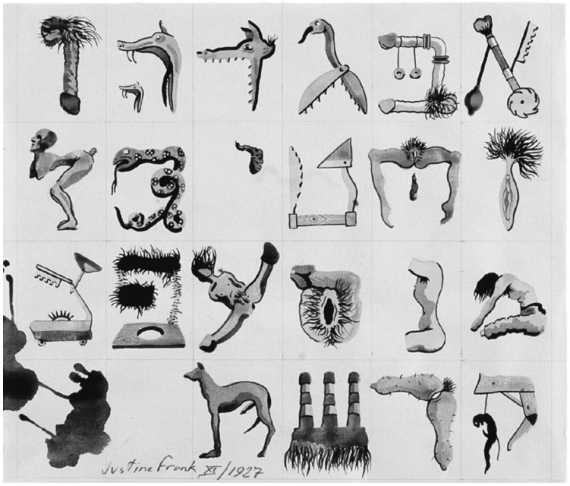
28. Leonor Fini, *Illustration for* Juliette*,* 1944. Ink on paper. Honesterotica.com/portfolios/124.

29. Leonor Fini, *Illustration for* Histoire d'O, 1962. Watercolor and ink. Honesterotica.com/illustrator/leonor-fini.

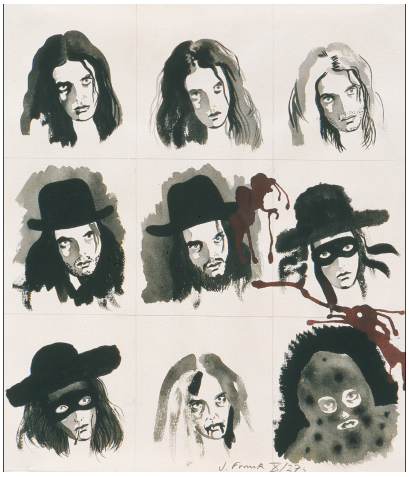
30. Johannes Hendrikus Moesman, *Spreek vrijmoedig over Donatien Alphonse François Marquis de Sade maar misbruik zijn naam nooit,* 1960. Red ink on yellow paper. Private collection. Reproduced in Bauduin et al, *Moesman, Surrealisme en de Seksen,* 25.

31. Johannes Hendrikus Moesman, *Avonduur (Evening Hour),* 1962. Oil on canvas. Centraal Museum Utrecht.

32. Unknown photographer (Roee Rosen), *Justine Frank,* 1928. Reproduced in Rosen, *Sweet Sweat,* 22.



33. Justine Frank (Roee Rosen), from *The Stained Portfolio (56),* 1927-28.



34. Justine Frank (Roee Rosen), from *The Stained Portfolio* (43), 1927-28. Reproduced in Rosen, *Sweet Sweat,* 30.

35. Toshio Saeki, *Hatu,* 1972. Woodcut. Image courtesy of elephant.art.