

Artaud, homo sacer .

Artaud, homo sacer', *Antonin Artaud*, La Casa Encendida, Madrid, 2009

'Mais Artaud est un sujet très vaste, très compliqué. Il est très difficile de voir qui est Artaud. Il y a plusieurs Artaud. C'est une grande nuit, pleine d'éclairs'.

Luis Cardoza y Aragon¹

'A great night , full of lightning flashes': Artaud as actor, writer, artist and martyr. These roles constantly merge into the other, while the virtual Artaud extends from the seductive still photographs of the star on stage and film in the 1920s and 1930s to his forthcoming avatar: Artaud as digitized body. Until his death in 1948, these roles were played out against the backdrop of twentieth-century France.

Classicism or cruelty?

The coherence of Artaud's position, extending from his 1923 correspondence with Jacques Rivière to the unbearable performances, utterances and dislocated writings at the end of his life, has often been signalled.² (The letters were notably discussed by philosopher Maurice Blanchot in 1956.³) Yet none has envisaged this position so dialectically, and within the coordinates of such a *longue durée* as Marc Fumaroli, who in 1976 saw the Artaud-Rivière exchange at the centre of a contemporary replay of the 'quarrel' between Cicero and Seneca. Here Cicero, Roman orator and politician, represents the classical position – an emphasis on clarity, the impersonal beauty of a perfect style and the social imperative of its transmissibility, while Seneca, the tragedian, represents interiority, the modern, the extreme – what Artaud would call the 'authentic'. The *querelle du cicéronianisme* had at its heart the paradigm of imitation, revived in the contest between the 'Ancients and moderns' at the time of Louis XIV.⁴ The quarrel comes to the fore again with the 'return to order' and French classicism of the 1920s, embraced by Rivière in his role as editor of the *Nouvelle Revue Française*, versus the young pretender, Artaud, whose poems he rejected: '*La mérite d'Artaud, toutefois est d'avoir restaurée, en pleine néo-classicisme N.R.F. et Art Déco, la violence d'un interrogation spirituelle à qui l'on peut trouver d'aussi dignes répondants que Sénèque et Saint Augustin. Même s'il n'y repond pas, la question qui crie dans son oeuvre est celle du salut personnelle.*'⁵ Challenging the classical Renaissance, the 'counter Renaissance' was marked by a revival of Seneca, late Antiquity and the Fathers of the Church.⁶ As France faced depression and war in the 1930s, these voices again became relevant. Artaud's very being posits the deconstruction, if not the destruction, of the neo-classical edifice of interwar France - including the existential implications of his failure. '*Pris chacun à part, ses ouvrages, ses réalisations sont tous des demi-échecs Fumaroli continues, mais l'ensemble crée une autobiographie métaphysique singulièrement cohérente...*'⁷ We shall explore the ultimate implications of this position in the 1940s: Artaud as *homo sacer*.

Artaud was initiated into poetry in the context of the *asile*, the sanatorium; and initiated through poetry into the art world.⁸ His first volume, *Tric-trac du ciel*, was published by the cubists' dealer, Daniel-Henri Kahnweiler. Reviewing Picasso's show at the Galerie Rosenberg in Spring, 1924, Artaud contrasted the artist's authentic cubist work with the new classicism he dubbed 'work of the past', pleading '*De profundis, Picasso.*'⁹ Artaud would find his own spiritual home within surrealism. He participated centrally in the surrealist movement at a moment when psychoanalysis – born of late nineteenth-century hysteria and war-time trauma – arrived in Paris; it was soon applied to works of art.¹⁰

Artaud's text on the surrealist painting he owned by André Masson, *L'Homme*, 1924, bears witness to their close friendship. Classical cubist architectures dissolve at the centre into an erotic male torso; a female pomegranate explodes at the base. In

Artaud's description, '*Un ventre fin*', lines become circulating veins of wine-like blood mixed with safran and sulphur, crayon marks are compared already with knife attacks and magic human nail scratches...'¹¹ The piece followed a searing psycho-physiological account of Artaud's drugged physical state when it was published in *L'Ombilic des Limbes*, with Masson's frontispiece in 1925.

Artaud's empathic projection - into Masson's canvas, as into an acting role - demanded a reciprocal projection from his readers, his film or theatre public. Theatre and then film offered the body as a new dimension of communication. We know Artaud's eyes, his face, his body, the disturbing voice of his broadcasts, the voice of his writing; this distinguishes him profoundly from a writer we know only through text - a Blanchot for example. Artaud's appeal through time and space affects so many writers who respond to his call for projection, even as they apply psychoanalytical insights to his work; distinctions are blurred: so often the compelling focus on Artaud's personality neglects the wider context.

Surrealism's forgotten frame: the aftermath of the first world war, a profound crisis within European civilisation, and a national mourning for the victims of *la der des der*, 'the war to end all wars'. Paris, reborn as international capital of art and intellectual life in the 1920s could not anticipate a more terrible repetition of war, merely twenty years away. Marc Fumaroli turns to what he calls, typically, '*l'humanisme français, conforté par la victoire de 1918...*' but what a Pyrrhic victory! France while claiming the persistence of classical values, a nationalism enshrined in its Academies and institutions, had survived at a price: the humanist tradition was a facade. Not only Fumaroli but other experts on Artaud's classical and Greek heritage, his contemporaneity with Claudel, Gide, Paul Valéry (*La Crise de l'esprit*, 1919) or René Guenon (*La Crise du monde moderne*, 1927) seem to ignore the consequences of the first world war entirely.¹²

In 1928, ten years after the carnage, Artaud played in Léon Poirier's film *Verdun, visions d'histoire*, a pioneer 'docu-drama' staged on the battlesite, using official army archive footage. In 2008, France looked back to the ninetieth anniversary of the armistice: 360,000 soldiers slain at Verdun and at the Somme: ten million casualties in all - not counting the war-wounded and disfigured: 15,000 *gueules cassées* in France alone.¹³ Surrealism, the 'negation of the negation' in 1920s Paris, pursued its attack on bourgeois values, representations, language, in ways that have become all too familiar. But let us not forget that both André Breton and Max Ernst were closely acquainted with victims of shell-shock; while Ernst's 'conscious sources of the unconscious' involved the study of the verbal delirium of the asylum patients of Emil Kraepelin....¹⁴ The impact of Hans Prinzhorn's *Bildneri der Geisteskranken*, ('The artistry of the mentally ill'), brought by Ernst to Paris in the 1920s and soon circulating in psychiatric circles, offers an important link with Artaud's future doctor, Gaston Ferdière. Ferdière was not the only psychiatrist to who would follow the developments of surrealism closely: another was his colleague, Jacques Lacan.¹⁵

The third number of *La Révolution Surréaliste* which Artaud edited in 1925 - *fin de l'ère chrétienne* - aligned itself with a deep postwar pessimism which found echoes in France long before the translation of Oswald Spengler's *Decline of the West*.¹⁶ It is curious to think of the Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs that same year - jazz-age Paris celebrating the spectacular renaissance of glamour, fashion, all the *industries de luxe* - and to read

simultaneously Artaud's *Adresse au Pape* and his *Lettre au recteurs des universités européennes*. 'L'Europe se cristallise, se momifie lentement sous les bandelettes de ses frontières, de ses usines, de ses tribunaux, de ses universités.' The *Lettre aux médecins-chefs des asiles de fous* (transcribed by his collaborators) is the most devastating and most prescient of these declamatory letters.¹⁷ It not only augured Artaud's future internment (he was already well-acquainted with the culture of the *asile* and the sanatorium) – but the analyses of Michel Foucault who would later reveal the disciplining and punishing structures of society implicit in the very architectures of the city – the seats of power and learning in the centre, hospitals, jails, asylums on the periphery: invisible buildings, containing invisible people. 'On sait - on ne sait pas assez- que les asiles, loin d'être des asiles, sont d'effroyables geôles, où les détenus fournissent une main-d'œuvre gratuite et commode, où les sévices sont la règle, et cela est toléré par vous. L'asile d'aliénés, sous le couvert de la justice, est comparable à la caserne, à la prison, au bagne.

*Nous ne soulèverons pas ici la question des internements arbitraires, pour vous éviter la peine de dénégations faciles. Nous affirmons qu'un grand nombre de vos pensionnaires, parfaitement fous selon la définition officielle, sont eux aussi, arbitrairement internés.'*¹⁸

Artaud's *Adresse au Dalai Lama* and the *Lettre aux écoles de Bouddha* in the same issue of *La Révolution Surréaliste*, look towards the East, like Spengler. Artaud's fascination with China and Japan – extending from literature and theatre to acupuncture or recent cinema in Paris has been gloriously documented.¹⁹ France's own adventure in the East was part and parcel of her colonial strategy, celebrated in the great colonial fairs: the Exposition Coloniale in Marseille in 1922 which Artaud visited, and the Exposition Coloniale in Paris in 1931. Here, like so many tourists, he traversed the huge site in the Bois de Vincennes dominated by a scaled-down version of the Temple of Angkor-Watt – and watched the Balinese dancers whose emphasis on ritual and the sacred would utterly transform his notion of theatre.²⁰ France's 'civilising mission' was everywhere apparent this stucco, orientalist dreamland where colonial-style exteriors and exotic human exhibits clashed with the statistic-filled modern interiors displaying the procuring and processing of raw materials: metals, rubber, coffee. There was no intimation, of course, of British colonial superiority – or the French colonial repression that André Malraux denounced in his journal *Indochine enchaînée*. The Surrealists' manifesto *Ne visitez pas l'Exposition Coloniale!* deplored racism, the 'naturalisation' of the colonial project with the preposterous slogan 'La Grande France', and massacres in Annam, Lebanon, Morocco and Central Africa.... Albert Laprade's Musée des Colonies building symbolised on its exterior and with interior murals the cornucopia of offerings of subjugated nations to France.²¹ The typical materials of classic Art Deco – exotic woods, animal furs, tusks, shagreen, participated in a material trophy culture. One might, in fact, propose a far more dialectical vision of Art Deco, its insouciance and its premonitions, and read the mirrored walls, the polished chrome and dappled hides of Le Corbusier chairs, the black-lacquered surfaces of an Eileen Gray screen as a 'skin', concealing the horror: 'Skinless flesh and the immaculate, fleshless surface are both protagonists of the same idea', says Yehuda Safran in his article *La pelle*, noting how Gray would have read Adolf Loos's 'Ornament and Crime' published in France in both 1926 and 1928.²²

Le Cafard après la fête...

Adolphe Basler's 'morning after the night-before' analysis, *Le Cafard après la fête*, of 1929 chimed with the Wall Street crash, whose repercussions threw Europe into economic crisis.²³ Paris's Exposition Coloniale was erected in its aftermath; the Exposition des Arts et des

Techniques de la Vie Moderne, of 1937 – harbouring Picasso’s *Guernica* in the Spanish pavilion – was constructed by a France poised on the brink of political debacle. The construction and subsequent demolition of the vast exhibition site on the Champ de Mars disguised growing unemployment – prior to army conscription in a second World War which would claim 600,000 French victims.²⁴ Artaud wrote to Anne Manson as early as September 8, 1937 from Ireland with uncanny prescience: ‘*Une grande partie de Paris va disparaître sous peu dans le feu. Ni le tremblements, ni la peste, ni l’emeute des fusillades dans les rue ne seront épargnées à cette ville et à ce pays.*’²⁵

Artaud’s writings, adaptations, performances, films of the 1930s were orchestrated against the background of the depression, the rise of the French Popular Front and the growing force of Communism, in conjunction with an anti-fascist struggle affecting not merely the protests and intellectual meetings such as those of the Association des Artistes et des Ecrivains Révolutionnaires, but the very demographics of Paris: German Jewish emigrés poured into the city, often as a point of new departure – among them a Walter Benjamin, a Max Raphael, or a Bertolt Brecht (Artaud visited Berlin in 1930 to play a beggar in Georg W. Pabst’s film version of Brecht’s *Threepenny Opera*).

Artaud’s performances and Theatre of Cruelty writings are rarely situated this context, whose repercussions in the art world were immediate. The *rappel à l’ordre* of the 1920s – a new classicism in art, concomitant with the ideology of the ‘new man’ all over Europe and the USSR, preceded a more lugubrious return to realism in the 1930s.²⁶ Major retrospectives in Paris echoed contemporary tendencies: Georges de la Tour was reflected in the ‘neo-humanist’ Forces Nouvelles group; Les Frères le Nain in the nascent social realism of a Frances Gruber.²⁷ Surrealism turned to the frozen improbabilities of a Magritte or the paranoiac ‘hand painted dream photographs’ and *art cruel* of Dali.²⁸ Artaud evoked both Courbet’s *Atelier* and ‘*le technique du temps de David au service d’une inspiration violente, moderne*’ when writing on Balthus, who showed at the Galerie Pierre in 1934. Balthus’s magic realism was by no means avant-garde; the dark sexuality of his themes taken from Emily Bronte’s *Wuthering Heights* was malevolent: ‘*l’inspiration d’une époque malade ou l’artiste qui conspire ne se sert du réel que pour mieux le crucifier*’. Harsh words; Artaud would fill the same gallery space with his excoriating portraits in 1947.²⁹

In 1931 Artaud published *Le Moine*, the contemporary ‘copy’, as he called it, of Matthew Lewis’ *Ambrosio or The Monk* (1794), and posed for melodramatic *tableau-vivant* publicity shots. The anglophilia of these years has provoked little comment. With Balthus and his close friend and Pierre Leyris, discussions surely centred around the English gothic novel (the huge black helmet in Balthus’s decors for *The Cenci* is the centrepiece of Horace Walpole’s *Castle of Otranto*, 1764). England at this time witnessed both the revival of the Metaphysical Poets and Elizabethan and Jacobean drama, soon exported to France.³⁰ While Artaud’s engagement with *le drame elisabéthain* has long been noted, vital facts have been passed by: the distinction between primitive Revenge Tragedy, from the ‘Ur-Hamlet’ to Thomas Kyd (*The Spanish Tragedy or Hieronimo is Mad againe*) and the celebrated ‘golden age of Shakespeare’, contrasting with the anxious theatrical context of the Puritan revival in the reign of James 1, (1603-23).³¹ The background to these largely ‘Italian’ Revenge tragedies was Senecan.³² Parricide, incest, cannibalism, plague: Seneca’s ‘modern’ Roman versions of Greek myths invoked a violence subsequently wrought by his Elizabethan followers upon language itself. Hyperbole and oxymoron (John Webster’s *White Devil*: ‘the devil in crystal’), flashed through jagged lines in which latinate words were hit with blunt anglo-saxon: verbal textures which were anathema to the classic French alexandrine.³³ Translated into French, like

the Romantic poet Percy Bysshe Shelley's revivalist *Cenci*, these plays recreated an exotic and refined Italian civilisation plagued with a new Machiavellian brutality; they transposed well to a 1930s France already looking back to its own 'golden age', a decade previously.³⁴

Writing in the violent context of 1960s Poland, Jan Kott noted in *Shakespeare our contemporary* that 'The beginnings of Elizabethan tragedy had been very similar to the beginnings of film. Everything that was at hand could be included in a tragedy. Every day events, tales of crime, bits of history, legends, politics and philosophy....'³⁵ Artaud's film life and dramatic life overlapped – and the *glissages* of time involved in contemporary restagings were close to each: *Cenci*'s Elizabethan doublet chased with the nerve-branches of the transparent, neurasthenic man of the 1930s says all.³⁶ Artaud's most important film roles were indeed 'historic'. With the benefit of hindsight, looking at his role as the assassinated Marat, how macabre it is to think that the French revolutionary and proto-terrorist had written a book on electric treatments in 1782...³⁷ And how prescient was Artaud's monk, Brother Jean Massieu, in Carl Dreyer's *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc*; his burning compassion for the Saint surrounded by flames returns time and again in Artaud's imagery of conflagration, at a time when burning books, as the German poet Heinrich Heine had predicted, prefigured burning lives.³⁸

Artaud's *senequisme augustinien* – Fumaroli's clairvoyant prediction – is entirely vindicated. In December 1932 he wrote: *Je suis en train de lire Sénèque ... le plus grand auteur tragique de l'histoire, un initié au Secrets et qui mieux qu'Eschyle a su les faire passer dans les mots. Je pleure en lisant son théâtre inspiré, et j'y sens sous le verbe des syllabes crépiter de la plus atroce manière le bouillonnement transparent des forces du chaos.*³⁹ He envisaged public readings of Seneca's tragedies, notably *Atréus and Thyestes*, to potential patrons of the Theatre of Cruelty, and proposed an adaptation, *Le Supplice de Tantale*, to be played in the summer of 1934 in an extra-theatrical setting – a factory or exhibition hall – for the piece to appear with all its urgency and contemporary relevance.

In the wake of these premonitions, Artaud's first lecture on theatre and plague, given on April 6th 1933 at the Sorbonne, followed the reporting in France of the Reichstag fire in Berlin, Hitler's seizure of dictatorial powers in March and the first anti-Jewish demonstrations. The French press responded immediately.⁴⁰ Artaud's histrionic performance was surely metaphorical: Plague is a portent – the diseased cadaver at one with the death throes of the body politic: '*Sous l'action du fléau, les cadres de la société se liquifient. L'ordre tombe.*' ...' Artaud recounts a history of frightful apparitions, stretching back from the plague of 1720 in his birthplace, Marseilles, to 1502 in Provence (Nostradamus); 1347 in Florence (Boccaccio's *Decameron*); finally to Herodotus and the Bible. Pustules, glands, ravaged and boiling volcanoes under erupting skin...Artaud's terrifying description of the victims (always already physiological - an augur of his later portraits) uses the same strategy as Saint Augustin whose *City of God* he cites extensively: Augustin's 'sacred city' was doubled by its demonic counterpart, semi-pagan Rome, *civitas diaboli* (the analogy was contemporary Paris...). While Augustin denounces tawdry spectacles devised to appease pagan gods, Artaud proposes an interior, invisible plague inside an actor at a paroxysmal moment of gratuitous actions... '*Il y a dans le théâtre comme dans la peste quelque chose à la fois de victorieux et vengeur*'. As a 'true piece of theatre' Artaud chooses John Ford's *Tis pity she's a whore* – figuring incest, murder, hearts ripped out: '*comme la peste il est le temps du mal, le triomphe des forces noire, qu'une force encore plus profonde alimente jusqu'à l'extinction.*'⁴¹

One month after the performance of Artaud's *Les Cenci* – perfectly Senecan with its father-daughter incest, its interfamilial murders - Artaud refused to participate in the Communist-led Congrès des Ecrivains pour la Défense de la Culture in June, 1935. His draft letter damned a contemporary materialist culture which needed no 'defence':

*'La vie qui échappe à ce qui s'écrit et la poésie qui en est l'expression violente, la métamorphose en perpétuelle action, ne sont pas liées à la conservation d'une culture qui aboutit aux matérialismes qu'on sait... ... La culture n'est pas née d'aujourd'hui et je ne peux lui pardonner l'usage qui en a été fait ici, en France, en Allemagne, en Italie, au nom de l'usage plus raisonné et plus logique qui est fait en Russie, car c'est la même culture qui a régné dans tous ces pays.'*⁴² Here, the image of pure, poetic energy, the flame of the spirit, contrasts with a burning pyre of books; Artaud's apocalyptic vision is again of the *longue durée*... For Abel Gance's *Lucretia Borgia*, filmed in July, Artaud played Savonarola, the terrifying preacher and visionary who conceived the 'Bonfire of the vanities' in Florence and oversaw books and paintings flung onto the flames...

Artaud left for Mexico in January 1936. Here he sought a radical *dépaysement*: leaving a corrupt and belligerent Europe in search of purer and more ancient forms of life; he embarked upon the searing physical as well as mental experiment of his pilgrimage to the Sierra Tarahumara. The voyage to Ireland followed – conceptually perhaps as distant as Mexico, and where Catholic ritual likewise was braided with earlier sacred practices. Intense poverty and self-neglect, drug addiction and withdrawal symptoms; all heralded his incipient schizophrenia - his *folie*. As we know, Artaud returned in a straitjacket in late 1937 to the hospital at Le Havre, then Sotteville-lès-Rouen; he was transferred in April 1938 to Saint-Anne for eleven months, thence to Ville-Evrard, from February 22 1939– January 22, 1943: three years and eleven more months, in an asylum, 'incurable', untreated.

L'Extermination douce...

La folie... France herself now became subject to extreme deregulation: from May to June, 1940, it is now estimated that 100,000 people died or disappeared during the *exode* – the flight from the north to the unoccupied zone.⁴³ Occupied by the nazis, the defeated, radically impoverished country was forced to deliver a regular war-debt to the Reich; Parisian monuments were melted down for armaments, museums emptied, art taken as war booty. Antisemitic laws were passed; the propaganda exhibition 'Le juif et la France', 1941, attracted thousands of visitors; the pillage of Jewish art collections, now comprehensively documented, was coordinated and centralised.⁴⁴ Art, then bodies. As France set up internment and deportation camps, former citizens now became objects: the racial and eugenic prescriptions for the human body of the 1930s, 'the making of the new man', were fulfilled in policies pursued by the Vichy regime.⁴⁵ The city itself was subject to *rafles*, round-ups of its Jewish populations. Over one hundred and twenty-five artists of the School de Paris were among the thousands of Jews deported from France who died during the war; sixty-four named artists were gassed.⁴⁶ While deported populations faced extermination outside France's national boundaries, within, the population in mental asylums faced a slow death by attrition - starvation - of which Artaud too was a victim. In 1952, the review *Esprit* mentioned a figure of 40,000 deaths; in 1990, long after the publication of Max Lafont's *L'Extermination douce*, **with its intolerable nazi parallels** and the ensuing polemics, and in the context of French anxieties around the trial of Klaus Barbie, -the figures of asylum deaths mounted to over 76,000.⁴⁷

In this context how should we re-read the war-time Artaud? His earlier creative pieces and more recently published letters, speak painfully of opium addiction, repeated hospitalisations, failed ‘cures’ and physical torture. It would be inconceivable to write of Artaud’s tropes of plague, of extremity, without relating them to the artist’s own body. His radical weight loss and the psychosomatic dimensions of deprivation in Ville-Evrard are documented in his medical records and letters pleading for food - including one to Paris-based Vichy authorities.⁴⁸ But for those who knew him, Artaud, from within the asylum, fully embodied a debate whose origins were far more ancient than nineteenth-century, post-Darwinist fears of ‘degeneration’: they lay in the primitive and the sacred. Artaud’s paper ‘spells’, burned with holes - *body-sieves* to use Gilles Deleuze’s term - sent to friend and foe from Ville-Evrard, anticipate his frighteningly acute crayon portraits, the signs and scribbled words that blacken the grids of the schoolboy *Cahiers* he wrote over in Rodez. Thus, the framing of Artaud’s experience by the *extermination douce* now interacts disturbingly for us with discourses around ‘genius’, ‘madness’ and the concept of the *homo sacer*, played out over our mental image of his prostrate, electroshocked body.

To many, the Ville-Evrard asylum seemed similar to a concentration camp: ‘locked-up pavilions, bursting with people, ventilation shafts, grills, barbed wire’.⁴⁹ It was here that Dr Lucien Bonnafé would make the comparison with returned *déportés* in his memoirs, remarking upon the prodigious starvation, with or without latent tuberculosis, organisms with defence mechanisms annihilated, huge swellings, skeletal bodies filled with water and ‘emptying themselves’ in incredible diahorreas... He recalls the morning smell of corpses in the dormitories.⁵⁰ Compare the photograph of emaciated psychiatric hospital inmates taken in 1945 with Buchenwald-survivor Boris Taslitzky’s painting *La Pesée mensuel dans le prison de Riom*, exhibited in Paris in 1946 (his own role had been to remove famished corpses from the dormitory of his French prison camp each morning).⁵¹ In *Homo Sacer, Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, 1995, Giorgio Agamben quotes survivor Robert Antelme on the victims of Buchenwald reduced to *mangeurs d’épluchures*; Max Lafont quotes French psychiatric hospital inmates eating their fingers, tree bark, their own excrement...⁵² Agamben cites the German eugenicist **Ottmar von Verschauer**’s blueprint, *Etat et santé*, published in Paris in 1942.⁵³ Lafont cites a Frenchman, not a nazi, eugenicist Alexis Carrel, author of *l’Homme cet inconnu* in 1936 (France’s *ersatz* version of *Mein Kampf*), who was appointed under Vichy as director of the ‘Fondation française pour l’étude des problèmes humains’.⁵⁴ Agamben’s crucial definition of sovereignty in its relationship to ‘bare life’ stems from the early writings of Carl Schmitt - who published, alas, alongside Freihauer in Paris.⁵⁵ The matrix of ideas is the same, then - but there is a disturbing difference in the internal French situation, in terms of legitimacy and guilt...

The question of the involvement of the official Vichy government is crucial...⁵⁶ Certainly there was rationing and hunger everywhere; certainly the psychiatric establishment was responsive: an official report on malnutrition was submitted to the director of the Bonneval hospital as early as February 1941; a ‘dizzying growth’ in the number of deaths was reported in November, 1942.⁵⁷ Within a wider perspective, the quasi-legitimacy of the Vichy government during the war time period - under the direction of Verdun hero Pétain - invokes the vexed question of the quasi-legitimacy of France’s massive collaboration and complicity with certain policies. Opinions did not change after the war. Dr Lucien Bonnafé concluded his article on psychiatric patient conditions in 1952 by saying ‘*Les aliénés sont (aux yeux de la classe dominante) les noirs, les indigènes, les juifs, les prolétaires et autres malades*’.⁵⁸ Sylvère Lotringer’s radical demonstration - following **Max Lafont and Thomas Maeder** - of

‘Artaud the jew’ pursues all the logics above: **it is** an exercise in what Artaud himself, writing to Arthur Adamov, called "radical absolute humour".⁵⁹

‘The whole period was mad, whatever madness means’ said Gaston Ferdière, who took over the psychiatric hospital in Rodez, in the South of France in July, 1941.⁶⁰ The story of Artaud’s move to Rodez, thanks to the poet Robert Desnos is now familiar. Though acute schizophrenia was the diagnosis, Artaud was accorded extraordinary privileges: his own room, a personal library, an improved diet, many visitors. Ferdière’s literary and surrealist connections are also well known: he was in touch with French writers and publishers and the erudite asylum network which harboured poets *en voyage* (Paul Eluard in Saint Alban); he was also in touch with expatriate surrealism in London via his friend, Jacques Brunius, a member of the ‘Free French’ *litterati*. Ferdière fed Artaud with a literature of excess: from Ronsard’s *L’Hymne aux Daimons* to more *recherché* English sources, not only Lewis Carroll’s *Through the Looking Glass* but Robert Southwell’s metaphysical, Christmas Day poem ‘The Burning Babe, for example; Artaud worked on these – transmutations rather than translations – with the help of the anglicist *aumonier*, Abbé Julien.⁶¹

Artaud relived his Mexican experiences, writing *‘Le Rite du Peyotl chez les Tarahumaras’* in December, 1943. The spectacle of ritual cruelty and the Tarahumara chants, which Artaud transcribed with a combination of phonetic imitation and glossolalia, marked his subsequent work with painful intensity. To what extent were the chants a catalyst? Artaud’s glossolalia, magic incantations in languages known and unknown, is surely the most innovative dimension of his writing at the time. Artaud’s attempt to force ‘literature’ to reckon with the preverbal body simultaneously takes on his electroshock experiences. The history of this practice is now clear; Ferdière has been comprehensively exonerated as Artaud’s ‘torturer’; he and his interns continuously emphasised the positive and creative effect of the results.⁶² Yet reading, hearing the broken language, looking at the assaulted, inverted legs of Artaud’s drawing, *l’Exécration du Père-Mère*, we cannot but think of the convulsive and broken body:

o penis ta penis
atura
o petura a petur peni
ta ksartam
ta kharon⁶³

The extrapolation from Carroll’s *Jabberwocky* would be included in the Russian Futurist Iliadz’s *Poésie des mots inconnus*, 1949, a parchment- folded, typographic masterpiece, where a century of linguistic shatterings extended from Khlebnikov’s ‘Laughter’ poem through Dada and Schwitter’s *Ursonate* to the works of Nigerian princess Akinsenoyin... Artaud’s work was the most recent: a nursery quatrain metamorphoses into a scream:

*Jusque là où la roughe est a rouarghe a rangmbde
et rangmbde a rouarghambe....*⁶⁴

Alien, lost syllables stick sharply in the throat: these are transcriptions of performance with all the inadequacies of our alphabet – an alphabet that the lettrist poet Isidore Isou, a Jewish Roumanian, was simultaneously trying to expand with sighs, exhalations, the obscene noises Holocaust deaths ...⁶⁵

The authentic madman...

In Artaud's drawings, geometric forms evolved into sadistic sarabandes of bones and body parts, nails, gibbets and coffins which translate to some extent the physical and mental dislocation of the electroshock experiences, penetrated with the memory of the Tarahumaras; the comparison with Jackson Pollock's psychoanalytic drawings with their American Indian memory traces at this time is striking.⁶⁶ To some extent, the smaller-scale drawings and the *peinture-écriture* of the Cahiers might be categorised within a post-Prinzhorn version of *art-thérapie*,⁶⁷ This was currently part of the experimental agenda of Rodez - hence the presence of psychotic artist Guillaume Pujolle.⁶⁸ The genesis of Artaud's large-scale portrait drawings is a different matter.. Frédéric Delanglade, from Sainte-Anne in Paris, reappeared and set up a studio in the Rodez hospital.⁶⁹ Excoriating self-portraits, made without a mirror in Delanglade's studio followed. Jean Dequeker, Ferdière's intern declared:

'...sans miroir reflétant, je l'ai vu créer son double, comme dans un creuset, au prix d'une torture et d'une cruauté sans nom. Il travaillait avec rage, cassait crayons sur crayons, souffrait les affres internes de son propore exorcisme. je l'ai vu crever aveuglément les yeux de son image.'⁷⁰ It was the portraits, shown at the Galerie Pierre in June 1947, whose departure from zero – yet whose magical likeness – would be so frightening yet compelling. Artaud wrote in the catalogue: *J'en ai d'ailleurs définitivement brisé avec l'art, le style ou le talent dans tous les dessins que l'on verra ici. Je veut dire malheur à qui les considérait comme des oeuvres d'art, des euvres de simulation esthétique de la réalité...*⁷¹

In May 1946, Artaud returned to a Paris where the euphoria of liberation had passed; rationing was reestablished; deprivation still rife. The sense of abjection, of a country deeply sullied, victimised, 'unmanned', related to the violence of the *épuration* or 'purge', first publically exercised upon the female population: *La France sera virile ou morte....* Around 20,000 women had their heads shaven and were sexually humiliated all over France between 1943 and 1946: *La coupe de cheveux n'est pas le châtement d'une collaboration sexuelle mais le châtement sexué d'une collaboration*, a specialist concludes...⁷² Fraught with personal disputes, the numbers of reprisal killings, administratively-sanctioned or clandestine - Frenchmen killing Frenchmen - were difficult to assess...⁷³ As as early November 1944, the Minister of the Interior allowed an exaggerated figure to circulate: 100,000 victims of the purge. In Paris, the Comité National des Ecrivains relentlessly pursued intellectuals; Jean Paulhan, Artaud's protector and friend, disapproved. His *Lettres aux directeurs de la Résistance*, 1951, would give the an estimate of 60,000 Frenchman killed... Whatever the unimaginable truth, the violence represented by inflated figures filled the contemporary imagination.⁷⁴ What, indeed, happened one evening in Paris in 1946 - an apocalyptic moment that Artaud recalled in the 'postscript to the postscript' of his text on Van Gogh? *Et n'y eut-il pas un certain soir ou l'atmosphère de l'air et les rues devint comme liquide, gelatineuse, instable, et ou la lumière des étoiles et de la voute celeste disparut.?* A 'massive unfurling of hatred' he says, by people with 'swinish souls'...⁷⁵

Far worse than collaboration was the scale of unspeakable crimes to which the so-called *retour des déportés* bore living witness. The harrowing accounts of camp survivors accumulated; the *univers concentrationnaire* acquired more and more reality...⁷⁶ Disgust was one response. Jean Dubuffet's series *Plus beau qu'ils veulent croient, beau malgré eux*, shown in March, 1947, offered ugly, graffiti-inspired portraits gouged in thick *matière*, of contemporary writers. Paulhan and Artaud figured alongside more contentious figures such as Marcel Jouhandeau who

had accepted Goebbels' invitation to Weimar; Dubuffet would later cultivate the notorious antisemite Louis-Ferdinand Céline....⁷⁷ Even Jean-Paul Sartre's *Réflexions sur la question juive* managed to omit all reference to deportation and the camps – through several editions.⁷⁸

A Paris of existentialism; of *L'Être et le néant* – being and nothingness – of a Sartrean atheistic absurd; of a Catholic religious despair, of the self-righteousness of the Communist Party (the martyred party of 'cent mille fusillés') – a Paris where thousands of copies of Albert Camus' plague-ridden novel *La Peste* were sold in 1947; where the International Surrealist exhibition of that summer would restage the Nazi gas chamber shower rooms as part of the grotesque installation in the Galerie Maeght.⁷⁹ A *deuil inachevée* – incompleting mourning process – marked the whole postwar climate; but the mourning was primarily for France itself, not its extra-territorial victims. Old art debates rekindled as galleries re-emerged on the postwar scene: abstractions and figurations **clashed** in incipient Cold War dialogues. But the new *informel* movement, Dubuffet, Fautrier and Wols at the outset, marked a state of collapse, of the 'formless', of victimisation, of the feminine: in Fautrier's *Otages* (hostage paintings), the last vestiges of individuality are taken away; identifying traits vanish into bleeding female flesh (*La Juive*, 1943). Wols, the internment camp survivor, illustrated Artaud's *Théâtre de Séraphin* with a prickly, *informel* engraving just before his premature death: Artaud's words of 1936 resounded in the postwar era:

Je veux essayer un féminin terrible. Le Cri de la révolte qui piétine, de l'angoisse armée en guerre, et de la revendication. C'est comme la plainte d'un abîme qui ouvre: La terre blessée crie, mais des voix s'élèvent, profonde comme le trou de l'abîme, et qui sont le trou de l'abîme qui crie.
Neutre. Féminin. Masculin.⁸⁰

This is the Paris for whom Artaud wrote '*Van Gogh, le suicidé de la société*': a society whose violence cannot be exaggerated; in which fear, sexual cruelty and murder were no longer theatrical, but doubled within and without the precincts of the city; and where the bombing of civilians – by the French – recommenced immediately, under the auspices of a new Fourth Republic (Haïphong, November 1946 – six thousand victims): the inevitable recommencement of a *Realpolitik*.

Should we listen to Paul Eluard?

*En ce temps-la
Pour ne pas chatier les coupables
On maltraitait les filles....*

*Une fille fait pour le bouquet
Et couverte
Du noir crachat des ténèbres...*⁸¹

Or Artaud?:

*Dans un monde ou on mange chaque jour du vagin cuit à la sauce verte ou du sexe de nouveau-né flagellé et mis en rage.....
... la vie présente se maintient dans sa vieille atmosphère de stupre, d'anarchie, de désordre, de délire, de déreglement, de folie chronique, d'inertie bourgeoise, d'anomalie psychique (car ce n'est pas l'homme mais le monde qui est devenu anormal) de malhonnêteté voulue de d'insigne tartufferie, de mépris crasseux...*⁸²

The very concept of ‘norm’ versus abnormality was constantly at stake in this society. Arguably the most interesting art event of 1946 was the psychotic art exhibition held in the Saint-Anne psychiatric hospital, with Ferdière’s contribution. In his catalogue preface, Waldemar George juxtaposed the question of ‘genius’ and folly’ with critic Camille Mauclair’s assertion – following the nazis, that the masters of modern painting were the inspiration for psychiatric hospital inmates...’⁸³ The fascination and fear aroused by the ‘genius versus madness’ debate enlarged to a national public with the great Van Gogh retrospective at the Orangerie des Tuileries from January to March, 1947.

The gallerist Pierre Loeb suggested Artaud should write on Van Gogh even before the show opened. Artaud asked Paule Thevenin to read him Loeb’s letter and a review including extracts from an extravagant ‘psychiatric’ analysis of Van Gogh’s ‘demon’:

‘Van Gogh était un déséquilibré avec excitations violentes à allure maniaque, avec des déchaînements brutaux comme manies coléreuses (formes mixtes de Kraepelin) ... Ses déficiences, ses incapacités, ses mauvais penchants accablaient ceux qui devaient partager son existence. Mais il se distinguaient des déséquilibrés sans génie... hanté par des idées d’autocastration ils se tranche le lobule d’une oreille... van Gogh était un dégénéré du type Magnan....’⁸⁴

Artaud’s Van Gogh was a passionate and private performance. Partly dictated from his own manuscripts, partly improvised, (using two monographs and the letters to Theo) it offers a striking example of what Thevenin calls an *écriture vocale* – *elle s’imprime à la fois dans l’air et dans l’oreille de l’auditeur, le premier auditeur étant le locuteur lui-même.*⁸⁵ Artaud, seeing Van Gogh, hearing his own writing, later writes over graphic transcriptions of his voice, for a text written to be read aloud, *à voix haute*, to be shouted, reperformed. Disgust and obscenity offer the pitch at which from the outset, Artaud decides to act, but there are also passages of intense lyricism. In the wings of the crows on the wheatfield painted two days before Van Gogh’s death Artaud sees the black of truffles, the black of excrement, microbes thrown over the canvas; he follows visually the line of the beating plumage in its relationship to earthly tempest, to a suffocating menace. Into the calm of the picture, he says, blood and wine might have soaked the landscape with a last emulsion and the taste of vinegar. He perceives a tone – *un timbre abrupte et barbare du drame elisabéthain le plus pathétique, passionnel et passionné.* **We experience** a piece of chanting, singing, writing, of glossolalia mixed with quotations from Van Gogh’s own letters; there are slow passages of looking – and again an Elizabethan comparison which bursts into the humble bedroom: *Le simple motif d’un bougeoir allumée sur un fauteuil de paille au chassis violacé en dit beaucoup plus sous la main de van Gogh que toute la série des tragédies grecques ou des drames de Cyril Tourneur, de Webster ou de Ford jusqu’ici d’ailleurs demeurés injoués....* Invented conversations follow incessant condemnations of the psychiatric establishment... again the painting of the crows appears. Artaud’s text is not simply an invitation to psychobiography, but a tumultuous meditation upon a threshold experience, and a painting consciously created at a moment suspended between life and death.

The central question remains:

Et qu’est ce que un aliéné authentique?

C’est un homme que a préféré devenir fou, dans le sens ou socialement on l’entend, que de forfaire une certaine idée supérieure de l’honneur humain....’⁸⁶

Powerfully reversing the pathetic fallacy, Artaud creates a Van Gogh who not only indicts his own society but speaks through time.⁸⁷ Van Gogh's own portrait reappears – a shining palimpsest – in Artaud's *Portrait of Minouche Pastier*, with its violent strokes of red and orange. Artaud's Van Gogh speaks to our times - in which iniquity, bourgeois inertia, extreme cruelty have not changed. The philosopher Karl Jaspers, first to study the 'Van Gogh case' from an informed psychiatric viewpoint in 1921, surprised his French exegetes in 1947 **with his publication on the question of guilt.**⁸⁸ **Guilt in the** 'mad' year of Van Gogh, of William Blake, of Art Brut and of Artaud in Paris.⁸⁹ Criminal fault, political fault, moral fault, metaphysical fault, everyone's fault - or fault as an alibi? Jaspers and Nuremberg; Artaud and Paris... Artaud who spoke of the 'unfurling of hatred' in the city in his Van Gogh postscript; who saw the hurricanes of Egypt and the plains of semitic Judea in Van Gogh's skies, who performed as a 'madman' on stage and on radio in 1947; who wanted to finish with God's judgement. All these late moments of writing and performance, like Van Gogh's 'last' painting, were threshold experiences, deeply eschatological, for Artaud and his audience alike: Artaud as *homo sacer*.

Homo Sacer

Homo sacer: Lafont's first study of wartime asylum victims, invoked a 'sacrificial determinism' and opened onto the question of violence: he wrote with the illumination of René Girard's 1972 study of the sacred and the scapegoat in classical drama.⁹⁰ Agamben's *Bare Life, Homo Sacer*, 1995, defines bare life, as 'the life of *homo sacer* (sacred man) who may be killed and yet not sacrificed... the figure which elucidates not only 'the sacred texts of sovereignty but also the very codes of political power... the realm of bare life... gradually begins to coincide with the political realm... Agamben eloquently moves from Aristotle's *Politics* to Michel Foucault's *biopolitics*, thence via a discussion of eugenics and their terrible consequences to the provocative idea of the 'The Camp as the 'Nomos' of the Modern' ...in some ways, he says, 'as the hidden matrix and *nomos* of the political space in which we are still living.' And he explains how, through historical and etymological progressions, *homo sacer* becomes one with 'an outcast, a banned man, tabooed, dangerous... dirtying... accursed'⁹¹ Compare Dr Henri Ey on the anthropology of the mental patient in 1952]: '*Il est considéré comme un être 'sacré' ou 'tabou'...*, (*Sorcier, medicine-man, possédé ou saint*).'⁹²

Artaud is their precursor. An Elizabethan to the quick, he was intimately aware of the issues of body versus body politic in Shakespeare's *Richard II*; of anointed King versus the fool in *Lear* (a classic device of theatre's 'doubling'), and of the reduction of the human power and panoply to the 'poor bare forked animal' alone in a howling tempest.⁹³ 'I died at Rodez' Artaud would claim. His 'living death' as patient and electrochock victim, his disturbing resurrection in 1947 – bare life on stage - the gathering of disciples in Paris and his premature death in 1948, saw him indeed 'killed and yet not sacrificed': 'suicided' for society's purposes. *Suicidé par la société*: this grammatical solecism was anticipated in the magic of drawings with the power to 'assassinate' magic itself (*50 dessins pour assassiner la magie*).⁹⁴ It was reiterated above all in the presumption of a sovereignty outside of God's judgement: *Pour en finir avec le jugement de Dieu* (a counter to the Marquis de Sade: *L'idée de Dieu est le seul tort que je ne puisse pardonner à l'homme...*)⁹⁵

Artaud, then, *in extremis*, became the paradigm victim of civil society; the 'fool', the speaker of uncomfortable truths, licensed through his physical pain, his destitution and outsider status. Agamben's evocation of the Marquis de Sade's 'theatre of bare life' as staging the *theatrum politicum* here is of particular interest; 'the growing interest of sadomasochism in

modernity' throws us forward precisely to Gilles Deleuze (after Artaud), from the Theatre of Cruelty to his 'Coldness and Cruelty'.⁹⁶ There follows the disturbing question of Artaud's pain and the *jouissance* of the Other - ourselves. Renata Salcecl, writing after Lacan, evokes 'the unbeliever, the heretic, the Resistant or paradoxically the Saint' as 'the dangerous Other... this circular relationship between a community and its Other raises the question of *jouissance* and thus of responsibility. If a community's victim can be said to be its symptom, then it becomes evident that the community holds itself together by means of a vital attachment to an intense negative pleasure - or *jouissance*'⁹⁷

Artaud's *oeuvre* was slowly revealed over the next few decades – an always incomplete, always fragmented textual body. His voice resounded through French culture of the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s. He profoundly disturbed the constructions of structuralism and linguistics. (Should we see Paule Thevenin doubled as *le couple scripteur-lecteur* that she herself describes – or as the chaste lover of 'her' Artaud within?⁹⁸) Artaud offered a point of memory for a still feminised, 1960s Paris of expansion, modernisation and the repression of war-time memories. In the 1970s, Artaud became a beacon for the *doyens* of anti-psychiatry and psychoanalysis – his strange sexuality and *execration du père-mère* consecrating him as the great anti-Oedipal precursor: Gilles Deleuze's and Felix Guattari would, of course, expand the schizophrenic predicament to the whole of society under capitalism.⁹⁹ Artaud also became the psychedelic visionary, the Maoist, Julia Kristeva's 'subject in process', the proto-masturbatory phantasm who 'wrote' Pierre Guyotat.¹⁰⁰ Above all he was the precursor of the tolling bell of certitudes for Jacques Derrida. He was loved – revered - for the immense gift he gave this generation in France, a disturbing legacy which questioned all grand narratives: precisely one of trauma, the voice screaming beyond language and syntax, the psyche in constant osmosis with the cumulatively destroyed body and body-memory. The body in pain – but a body constantly performing, writing, appealing, visible. All risks taken: a limit-experience reproduced in text that his exegetes could never begin to approach through their own intellects or senses. Artaud offered to his publics the ultimate *jouissance* through the pain of the Other at the very fulcrum of deconstruction.¹⁰¹

Terminal Curses

Terminal Curses, Stephen Barber's examination of the 406 notebooks that Artaud wrote from 1945-1948, concludes with 'The Digitized Body of Antonin Artaud'. Barber returns to 'the combat-surface of the note-book page itself' where words exist enmeshed in Artaud's 'wound-strewn' graphic signs and faces – a huge contrast with the now classic Artaud, locked into the volumes of Paule Thévenin's *Oeuvres complètes*.¹⁰² This 'original' Artaud constitutes the body of notebook material which will be digitized, entering not merely a French national electronic archive, but the promiscuous space of the 'all-engulfing universal webscape, vertiginously scrambled and levelled to zero-point, gestural violence mutated into pixel-count data – on a par with billions of web-based pornographic or corporate images...'¹⁰³ Barber continues: 'In many ways, the contemporary status and perception of Artaud's work - as a set of seminal ghost-traces, fluctuating and virtual, but integrally resistant – exactly matches, in an intensified and contrary form, the status of the contemporary human body within its process of digitization: a corporeality enmeshed and disintegrating within digital environments, in perpetual flux, and possessing elements of persistent irreducibility only in its most elusive or deviant manifestations.'¹⁰⁴

Paradoxically Artaud's very force has been his *transmissibilité* - a quality Marc Fumaroli ranged with the Ciceronians, with classical order and with the social contract, countering the

tragic. But Artaud not only acts as a figure who unlocks the repressed and explicit traumas of the years through which he lived; his phantom in text, in image, his deranging and ever-extensible *oeuvre*, his constant invocation of the sacred and salvation- *Pour en finir avec le jugement de Dieu* - can be used to examine our age: the digitized body in the plague-era of global terror, and late capitalism's collapse.¹⁰⁵

¹ Luis Cardoza y Aragon, in 'Artaud au Mexique', conversation with Gaston Ferdière and Jean-Claude Fosse in *Artaud et l'Asile 2, Le cabinet de Dr Ferdière*, Paris, Segquier, 1996, p. 245.

² 'Une correspondance', *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, 132, 1 September, 1924; *Correspondance avec Jacques Rivière*, Paris, NRF, 1927; Evelyn Grossman ed., *Antonin Artaud, Oeuvres*, Paris, Gallimard, 2004, pp. 69-83 (henceforth *Oeuvres*).

³ Maurcie Blanchot, 'Artaud', *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, 47, November 1956, pp. 873-81 (*Le livre à venir*, Paris, Gallimard, 1959, pp. 51-62), and in *Antonin Artaud, a critical reader*, Edward Scheer ed., London, Routledge, 2004, pp. 109-115.

⁴ Fumaroli's article is written the year of completion of his thèse de l'Etat, *Jésuites et Gallicans : recherche sur la genèse et sur la signification des querelles de rhétorique en France*, (Paris IV, 1976).

⁵ Marc Fumaroli, 'A propos d'Antonin Artaud et de Senèque. Tradition senéquienne et tradition cicéronienne', *Obliques*, 10-11, Artaud, 1976, p. 76.

⁶ See the exchange between Paolo Cortesi and Angelo Poliziano who insisted on his interior truth. His cry '*Ego non sum Cicero*' was taken up by Erasmus; Fumaroli also refers to Hiram Haydn, *The Counter-Renaissance*, New York, Scribner, 1950, *Ibid.*, p.70.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 75; Fumaroli footnotes productions of Seneca in the 1970s: *Medée*, Théâtre de France, *Thyeste*, Théâtre des Nations 1964; *Medée*, Espace Cardin etc.

⁸ Dr Edouard Toulouse, a eugenicist at the Villejuif hospital, initiated Artaud, publishing his writings the review *Demain*.

⁹ Artaud, 'Exposition Picasso' in 'Lettre de Paris', *La Criée*, 27, June 1924, pp. 219-220; *Oeuvres*, p. 34.

¹⁰ See *La Revue française de psychanalyse* in the 1920s. Artaud stopped his own psychoanalysis after ten sessions in 1931.

¹¹ 'L'air est plein de coups de crayon, des coups de crayon comme des coups de couteau, come des stries d'ongle magique...', 'Un ventre fin', preceded by 'Description d'un état physique,' *L'Ombilic des Limbes*, Paris, NRF, 1925; *Oeuvres*, pp. 110-111.

¹² See Olivier Penot-Lacassagne, 'Antonin Artaud et la Grèce, in *Antonin Artaud, Ecrivain du Sud* (Thierry Galibert ed.,) Marseille, Edisud, 2002, pp. 99-112; 'Artaud, Valéry, La fiction de l'euro péen' in *Modernités d'Antonin Artaud* (Penot-Lacassagne ed.), *Lettres modernes*

Minard, Paris-Caen, 2000, pp. 37-72 and Juan Carlos Sanchez León *L'Antiquité grèque dans l'oeuvre de Antonin Artaud*, Presses universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2007.

¹³ See for example 'Verdun, Terre de sacrifice et de mémoire'; 'Vieil Armand: Le Verdun Alsacien'; 'Une saignée sans précédent' (with statistics); in the free newspaper *Directsoir*, nos. 439, 440, 6 and 7 November, 2008, pp. 16, 6.

¹⁴ See Elizabeth M. Legge, 'Conscious source of the Unconscious. Ernst's use of psychoanalytic themes and imagery' Ph.D., University of London, 1985; less detail in *Max Ernst, the Psychoanalytic Sources*, Michigan, Ann Arbor, UNI Research Press, c.1989.

¹⁵ For the reception of Prinzhorn's *Bildernei der Geisteskranken* in Paris see Sarah Wilson, 'From the Asylum to the Museum. Marginal Art in Paris and New York, 1938-1968', *Parallel Visions, Modern artists and Outsider Art*, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1992 pp. 120-149 (NB Spanish edition).

¹⁶ Oswald Spengler, *Le Declin de l'Occident*, Paris, NRF, two volumes, 1931-1933.

¹⁷ See Paule Thevenin in the *Oeuvres Complètes, Supplément au Tome I, Appendices*, pp. 185-6, notes p. 235 regarding debates on Artaud's input, conception and authorship; letter attributed to Robert Desnos and Theodore Fraenkel in *Oeuvres*, p. 154.

¹⁸ From Camille Claudel to Jean Genet – to mention only celebrities - arbitrary internment traversed the two world wars. The classical essayist, diplomat and catholic Paul Claudel did almost nothing to help his sister Camille, the celebrated sculptor.

¹⁹ Florence de Mèredieu, *La Chine d'Antonin Artaud / Le Japon d'Antonin Artaud*, Paris, Editions Blusson, nd.

²⁰ The restored film footage shot in Bali between 1936 and 1939 by anthropologist Margaret Mead now allows us to share Artaud's experience: see www.interculturalstudies.org/film-preservation.html.

²¹ The Musée des Colonies, subsequently the Musée des Arts Africains et Océaniens, now Sarkozy's 'Musée de l'Immigration', keeps its alligator-filled menagerie in the basement...

²² Yehuda Safran, 'La Pelle' (on Eileen Gray), *9H*, 8, London, 1989, p. 159.

²³ Adolphe Basler, *Le Cafard après la fête, ou l'esthétisme aujourd'hui*, Paris, Jean Budry & Cie, 1929.

²⁴ See Alexandre Lahat, 'Le projet de reconduction' with statistics of over 33 million visitors for the Exposition of 1931; over 34 million for 1937; *Paris, 1937 Cinquantenaire*, Institut Français d'Architecture/Paris Musées, 1987, pp. 478-482. The second world war incurred 250,000 military losses, 350,000 civilians in France, according to Marc Nouschi, *Bilan de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale*, Paris, Seuil, 1996.

²⁵ Letter to Anne Manson, 8 September, 1937, from Galway, Ireland; *Oeuvres*, p. 829.

²⁶ See Jean Clair ed., *Les Réalismes* (Centre Georges Pompidou, 1980), *Melencolia* (Grand Palais, 2005) and *The Making of the New Man* (Montreal, Museum of Fine Arts, 2008) which emphasises the progression from eugenic theory to racism, totalitarianism, extermination.

²⁷ The exhibition *Les Peintres de la Réalité en France au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, Orangerie des Tuileries, November 1934 to February 1935, was highly influential.

²⁸ See 'Art Cruel', Galerie Billiet-Vorms on December 17th, 1937' François Moulignat 'Art Cruel,' *Cahiers du Musée National d'Art Moderne*, 9, 1982, p.57.

²⁹ 'Exposition Balthus à la Galerie Pierre', *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, 248, 1 Mai, 1934; *Oeuvres*, p. 489.

³⁰ For metaphysical poetry, see T. S. Eliot's essays of the 1930s, and Joseph E. Duncan, *The Revival of Metaphysical Poetry. The History of a Style, 1800 to the present*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1959. For France, see *Les Contemporains de Shakespeare*, Ben Jonson, Marlowe, Dekker, Middleton: *Volpone ou le renard, le Juif de Malte, le Mardi-gras du cordonnier, le Moyen d'attraper un vieillard*, Georges Duval tr., Paris, Flammarion, 1920; John Webster, *Le Démon Blanc (Vittoria Corombona)* suivi de la *Duchesse d'Amalfi*, Camille Cé, tr., Paris, La Renaissance du Livre, 1924; Joseph du Smet, *Thomas Kyd, l'homme, l'oeuvre, le milieu, suivi de la tragédie espagnole*, Bruxelles, Editions de la Renaissance d'occident, 1925; and *Les contemporains du Shakespeare: I Ben Jonson, L'Alchimiste*, John Fletcher, *Les Événements imprévus*; II Christopher Marlowe, *La Tragique Histoire du Doctor Faustus*; Philip Massinger, *Le Portrait*; James Shirley, *Les Soeurs*, Madeleine Mélese tr., Paris, 1932, 1934.

³¹ See Irving Ribner, *Jacobean Tragedy, the Quest for Moral Order*, London, Methuen and co., 1962.

³² See Alexander Neville, *Seneca. His Tenne Tragedies*, 1581 (1927); B.R. Rees, 'English Seneca, a preamble, *Greece and Rome*, vol 16, no 2, October, 1969, pp. 119-133 and Juan Carlos Sánchez León, 'La tragedie grèque, Sénèque' in *L'Antiquité grèque dans l'oeuvre de Antonin Artaud*, Presses universitaires du Franche-Comté, 2007, pp. 48-61. ... Seneca's *Oedipus* opens with his lament on the plague of Thebes....

³³ Jonathan Pollock's *Le Rire du Momo, Antonin Artaud et la littérature anglo-américaine* (Paris, Editions Kimé, 2002) mentions no contemporary translations; excellent on Artaud's range, it is disappointing on language itself.

³⁴ Regarding Artaud's *Cenci*, see *Béatrice Cenci*, tr. Marc Hélys, Paris, Perrin et cie, 1926; Shelley, *Les Cenci*, Maurice Castelan tr., Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1935, as well as Artaud's source in Stendhal's Italian-manuscript based *Chroniques italiennes*, Paris, Michel Lévy, 1855 (serialised 1837-9).

³⁵ Jan Kott, *Shakespeare our Contemporary*, London, Methuen, 1965, p. 284.

³⁶ Franz Tschakert's *Glass man*, shown in the eugenic context of the second Universal Hygiene Exhibiton, Dresden, 1930, spawned copies shown at the Worlds' Fairs in Paris, 1937 and New York, 1939.

³⁷ Jean-Paul Marat, *Mémoire sur l'électricité médicale, couronné... par l'Académie... de Rouen...* Paris : N.-T. Méquignon, 1784; see Florence de Meredieu, *Sur l'électrochoc. Le cas Antonin Artaud*, Paris, Blusson, 1996, p. 33.

³⁸ "That was only a prelude. Where they have burned books, they will end in burning human beings." ("Das war Vorspiel nur. Dort, wo man Bücher verbrennt, verbrennt man am Ende auch Menschen." Heinrich Heine, *Almansor*, 1821.)

³⁹ Artaud, Letter to Jean Paulhan, December 16th, 1932, *Oeuvres*, p. 481. Fumaroli had no proof of Artaud's direct links with Seneca in 1976 (Fumaroli, op. cit., p.69).

⁴⁰ See *L'Illustration*, 4696, 4 March, 1933: 'L'incendie du Reichstag'; *Le Miroir du Monde*, 168, 20 May, 1933, Livres brulés sur la Place d'Opéra à Berlin'. The first antisemitic acts took place in Germany on April 1, 1933.

⁴¹ Artaud, 'Le théâtre et la peste', *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, 253, I October, 1934; *Oeuvres*, pp. 512-521; John Ford, *Domage qu'elle soit une prostituée, [suivie de Le Sacrifice d'amour*, Georges Pillement tr.,nd., Paris, La Renaissance du livre] was produced by Charles Dullin around this time.

⁴² Letter draft for the Congrès international des écrivains pour la Defense de la Culture, 1935; *Oeuvres*, pp. 497-8.

⁴³ See Pierre Miquel, *L'Exode, 10 mai - 20 juin 1940*, Paris, Plon, 2003: 100,000 dead or disappeared; twelve million French and Belgians on the road if unarmed soldiers are taken into account...

⁴⁴ *Le Juif et la France*, a German initiative (Palais Berlitz, September 1941) attracted over 200,000 spectators. See André Kaspi, *Les Juifs pendant l'Occupation*, Paris, Seuil, 1991, pp. 104-110 and Didier Schulmann, *Le Pillage de l'art en France pendant l'occupation et la situation des 2,000 oeuvres confiés aux musées nationaux*, Paris, Centre Georges Pompidou, 2000.

⁴⁵ See Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps : l'internement, 1938-1946*, Paris, Gallimard, 2002, and for his 2001 thesis, <http://histoire-sociale.univ-paris1.fr/Denis.htm>

⁴⁶ Hersch Fenster's *Undzere farpainikte Kinstler*, a testimony to 'artist-martyrs' published in Yiddish, (preface by Marc Chagall, Paris, 1951) provides the basis for Nadine Nieszawer, Maris Boyé, Paul Fogel, *Peintres Juifs à Paris 1905-1939, École de Paris*, Paris, Denoël, 2000

⁴⁷ *Esprit*, 197, 'Misère de la Psychiatrie,' (December, 1952, 40,000 deaths quoted twice - unsubstantiated) preceded by two decades Max Lafont's Doctor of medicine thesis, *Déterminisme sacrificiel et victimisation de malades mentaux...* (Université Claude Bernard ,

Lyon -1) 1981, no 408, published as *L'extermination douce. La mort de 40,000 Malades Mentaux dans les Hôpitaux Psychiatriques en France, sous le Régime de Vichy*, Editions de l'AREFPPI, 1987; updated as *L'extermination douce. La cause des fous. 40,000 Malades Mentaux morts de faim dans les hôpitaux sous Vichy*, Latresne, Le Bord de l'Eau, 2000 (revised). A total of 76, 327 deaths, (p. 205) is based on Claude Quétel's research in the Archives nationales.

⁴⁸ For the medical dossier see André Roumieux, *Artaud et l'asile I. Au-delà des murs, La mémoire. Récit*, Paris, Nouvelles Editions Seguiet, 1996; and Lucien Bonnafé in *La folie au naturel*, Paris, L'Harmattan, France, 2005, pp. 25-6: 'Je possède une lettre d'Antonin d'Artaud qui, au fond de sa folie, écrivait au Général Gouverneur de la place de Paris pour solliciter de sa bienveillance un peu de nourriture pour survivre!' (sic).

⁴⁹ Souvenirs of Danielle Sabourin-Sivadon, Lafont, 2000 edition, p. 39.

⁵⁰ Lafont, 1987 edition, p., 98 (Lucien Bonnafé's forthcoming memoirs); repeated without reference in Antoine Spire's preface to the 2000 edition, p. 7.

⁵¹ Lafont, 1987 edition, p. 127, reproduced the 1945 photograph of inmates from the CHP, Clermont sur l'Oise. See also Jacky Tronel, 'Boris Taslitzky, Le Maître de Saint-Sulpice,' *arkheia*, 11-12-13, 2003, pp. 3-47 (Riom, p. 38).

⁵² Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer, Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, (1995), Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1998, quotes Robert Antelme, *L'Espèce humaine*, Paris, Gallimard, 1947, p. 10 etc.; compare Dr André Requet, interview, in *Le Journal quotidien Rhone-Alpes*, April 9, 1979, in Lafont, 1987 edition, p. 59 'cet univers concentrationnaire est devenu un veritable camp de la mort'...

⁵³ Agamben, *ibid.*, p. 53; see Otmar von Verschuer ed., *Etat et santé, Cahiers de l'Institut allemand*, Paris, F. Sorlot, 1942 (see also his *Manuel d'eugénique et hérédité humain*, Paris, Masson, 1943); he later experimented in Auschwitz.

⁵⁴ Antoine Spire, 'Préface', *L'Extermination douce*, 2000, pp. 10-11; Bertrand Poirot-Delpech, 'Le surhomme, cet air connu', from *Le Monde*, 16 March, 1994 (with extensive quotations from Carrel), pp. 192-4.

⁵⁵ For Schmitt in France see *Considérations politiques*, Paris, R. Pichon and R. Durand Auzias, 1942; *Cahiers de l'Art allemand*, 6, *Quelques aspects du droit allemand*, Paris, 1943.

⁵⁶ Lafont (2000), quotes Samuel Odier's discovery of a letter from the Vichy Secretariat d'Etat de la Santé, XXIIe region, regarding *réalimentation*, p. 254-5, from *Saint Egrève, des Horreurs de Vichy à la médicalisation d'un Asile (1930-1960)* [sic, no fuller reference].

⁵⁷ Docteur Henri Ey, 'Sur les conditions hygiéniques et alimentaires de son service à Monsieur le Directeur de Médecin de l'Hôpital Pscyhiatrique de Bonneval, 16 Feburary 1941; and Lucien Bonnafés' recollections of the Congrès des Alienistes et Neurologistes, Montpellier, 1942, in Jacques Chazaud, Lucien Bonnafé, *La folie au naturel. Le Premier Colloque de Bonneval comme moment décisif de l'Histoire de la Psychiatrie*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2005, pp. 119-129, 22-3.

⁵⁸ Louis Le Guillant and Lucien Bonnafé, 'La condition du malade à l'hôpital psychiatrique', *l'Esprit*, December 1952, op. cit., p. 896.

⁵⁹ Sylvère Lotringer, 'Artaud, était-il chrétien? (Introfiction)', *Fous d'Artaud*, Paris, Sens & Tonka, 2003, p 13, ff and e-mail to the author, 2 November 2008.

⁶⁰ *La folie était dans l'époque même, quoi qu'on entende par folie...*: Gaston Ferdière, *Les Mauvaises Fréquentations*, Paris, Jean-Claude Simoen, 1978, p. 182

⁶¹ The translation of Chapter VI of Carroll's *Through the Looking-Glass*, L'Arve et l'Aume' was published in *l'Arbalète*, 12, Spring, 1947. Artaud, Brunius and Ferdière published together in *Cahiers du Sud*, 287, *Exploration du pays des merveilles*, 1948,

⁶² See Isidore Isou, *Antonin Artaud torturé par les psychiatres*, Maurice Lemaître', *Qui est le Docteur Ferdière?*, Paris, Editions lettristes, 1970; Florence de Meredieu, *Sur l'électrochoc. Le cas Antonin Artaud*, 1996, op. cit., Laurent Danchin, *Artaud et l'asile, II, Le Cabinet de Dr Ferdière*, Paris, Séguier, 1996.

⁶³ See Antonin Artaud, *Oeuvres Complètes*, XVIII, Cahiers de Rodez, September-November 1945, p. 157.

⁶⁴ Iliazd, [Ilia Zdanevitch], *Poésie des mots inconnus*, Paris, le degré 41, 1949, np.

⁶⁵ See Isidore Isou, 'Cris pour 5,000,000 de juifs égorgés', *Introduction à une nouvelle poésie et une nouvelle musique* Paris, Gallimard, 1947

⁶⁶ Drawings were made at Pollock's suggestion during his Jungian analysis by Dr Joseph Henderson in 1939; see C. L. Wysuph's *Jackson Pollock: Psychoanalytic Drawings*, New York, Horizon Press, 1970.

⁶⁷ Adrian Hill's *L'Art contre la maladie. Une histoire d'Art-thérapie* (Paris, Vigot, 1946) probably introduced the English term to France.

⁶⁸ Pujolle was transferred from the Baraqueville hospital near Toulouse to Rodez to facilitate Jean Dequeker's research; see his 1948 thesis (Toulouse) *Monographie d'un psychopathe dessinateur: étude de son style*.

⁶⁹ See F. Delanglade: 'L'Art à l'asile' in *Quadrige*, 1946, 7, issue devoted to 'La folie'.

⁷⁰ Jean Dequeker 'Naissance de l'image', *Le Tour de Feu*, 112, December, 1971, p. 72.

⁷¹ 'Portrait et dessins d'Antonin Artaud', Paris, Galerie Pierre, 4-20 July, 1947, *Oeuvres*, p. 1535.

⁷² See Patrick Parodi, http://histgeo.ac-aix-marseille.fr/pedago/femmes/paro_001.htm, and Fabrice Virgili, *La France "virile". Des femmes tondues à la libération*, Paris, Payot, 2000, p. 7 (statistics), p. 311 for 'La France sera virile ou morte' *La Renaissance republicaine du Gard*, 30 August, 1944.

⁷³ See Louis-Dominique Girard, *La guerre franco-française*, Paris, Editions André Bonne, 1950.

⁷⁴ The most recent estimates of *épuration* deaths are of 10-11,000; see for the statistical debate and most up-to-date bibliographies, http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Épuration_à_la_Libération_en_France. See also Philipp Watts, *Allegories of the purge. How Literature responded to the trials of Writers and Intellectuals in France*, Stanford University Press, 1998.

⁷⁵ ...*l'un de ces déferlements massifs de la haine...leurs âmes de bas porceaux...*' Artaud, 'Postscriptum' to 'Van Gogh, le suicidé de la société, 1947, *Oeuvres*, p. 1463.

⁷⁶ Notably David Rousset, *L'Univers concentrationnaire*, Paris, Editions du Pavois, 1946; see Annette Wieviorka, 'Témoignages et ouvrages parus avant 1948', *Déportation et génocide. Entre la mémoire et l'oubli*, Paris, Plon, 1992, pp. 446-475,

⁷⁷ See Marcel Jouhandeau, *Le péril juif*, Paris, Sourlot, 1938; Louis-Fernand Céline, *Bagatelles pour un massacre*, Paris, Denoel, 1938...

⁷⁸ Jean-Paul Sartre, *Réflexions sur la question juive*, Paris, Gallimard, 1946 and reeditions.

⁷⁹ See Sarah Wilson 'Paris Post War. In Search of the Absolute', *Paris Post War. Art and Existentialism, 1945-1955*, Tate Gallery, London, 1992, pp. 25-52; 'Saint-Germain-des-Prés: from Occupation to Reconstruction', *Paris, Capital of the Arts, 1900-1968*, Bilbao, Guggenheim Museum, 2002, pp. 236-249.

⁸⁰ Artaud, *Le Théâtre de Séraphin* (no edition or date) Paris, L'Air du Temps, 1948, illustrated by Wols.

⁸¹ Paul Eluard, 'Comprenez qui voudra,' *Les Lettres Françaises*, 2 December 1944, *Au rendezvous des allemands*, Paris, Minuit, 1944.

⁸² Artaud, 'Van Gogh, le suicidé de la société, *Oeuvres*, p, 82.

⁸³ *Exposition des Oeuvres exécutés par des Malades Mentaux*, catalogue of the exhibition at Saint-Anne, February 16th-28th, 1946. Camille Mauclair's, *La Crise de l'art Moderne*, 1942, egregiously anti-semitic, compared works by Braque with unacknowledged copies from Prinzhorn in Saint Anne.

⁸⁴ Paule Thevenin reproduces the article 'Sa folie?' (*Arts*, 31 January, 1947) sent to Van Gogh by Pierre Loeb, in Antonin Artaud, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. XIII, Paris, Gallimard, 1974, pp. 302-4. They first met during her period as intern in the service of Professor Dadet, at the Charenton psychiatric hospital.

⁸⁵ Paule Thevenin, *ibid.*, p. 307.

⁸⁶ Artaud, 'Van Gogh...' *op. cit.*, *Oeuvres*, p. 1441, and 'Elizabethan' passages, **pp. 1456**,

⁸⁷ Wilhelm Uhde's *Vincent Van Gogh*, Vienna, Phaidon, 1937, one of Artaud's two monograph sources is an archetypal example of the 'psychobiography' damned by later art histories.

⁸⁸ Karl Jaspers, *Strindberg und Van Gogh, versuch einer pathographischen analyse unter vergleichender heransiehung von Swedenborg und Hölderlin*, Leipzig, Ernst Bircher Verlag, 1922. See also Mikel Dufrenne, Paul Ricoeur, *Karl Jaspers et la philosophie de l'Existence*, Seuil, 1947, p. 394, ff: while correcting proofs, Jaspers' *Die Schuldfrage – Ein Betrag sur Deutschen Frage – Artemis Verlag, Zurich, 1946* was published, raising the question of politics versus 'criminal fault' and guilt, in the shadow of the Nuremberg trials.

⁸⁹ *William Blake*, Galerie René Drouin, June 1947, *Portraits et dessins par Antonin Artaud*, Galerie Pierre Loeb, 2-20 July, 1947; Ferdière's *art psychopathologique* was exhibited in the International Surrealist exhibition (July, 1947); Jean Dubuffet's 'Foyer de l'Art Brut' (rebaptising *art psychopathologique*) was set up in René Drouin's basement space, in November 1947,

⁹⁰ See René Girard, *La Violence et le Sacré*, Paris, Bernard Grasset, 1972 (quoted by Laffont, 2000, pp. 117-9. 121. 185), on Oedipus, plague, scapegoats, the monstrous double, etc., citing Ernst H. Kantorowicz's classic study of the medieval body politic, *The King's Two Bodies* Princeton, 1957.

⁹¹ Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer*, 1998, op., cit., pp. 8-9, 71 on *homo sacer* (Pompeius Festus); p. 136 on suicide; pp. 166- -171 ff on the camp as the 'nomos' of the modern where '*homo sacer* is virtually confused with the citizen...'

⁹² Henry Ey, 'Anthropologie du "malade mentale"', *Esprit*, December, 1952, op. cit., p. 892.

⁹³ William Shakespeare, *King Lear*, Act 3 scene 4: 'Is man no more than this? ...unaccommodated man is no more but such a poor bare, forked animal as thou art ...

⁹⁴ Artaud, *50 dessins pour assassiner la magie*, Paris, Gallimard, 2004 with facsimiles and a superb preface by Evelyne Grossman based on the anagram 'image/magie'.

⁹⁵ Sade quoted by Maurice Blanchot, in 'L'inconvenance majeur', preface to *Français, encore un effort si vous voulez être republicain*, Paris, Jean-Jacques Pauvert, 1965, p. 48. It is Blanchot (via Klossowski) who resurrects this text for Agamben; Pierre Klossowski who added Sade to the matrix of Carl Schmitt's political thought in 1938... unacknowledged genealogies.

⁹⁶ See Gilles Deleuze, 'Presentation de Sacher Masoch. Le froid et le cruel', Paris, Minuit, 1967, preceding Artaud's presence in his *Logique du Sens*, Minuit, 1969.

⁹⁷ Renata Salcecl, *(Per)versions of Love and Hate*, London, Verso, 1998, p. 123.

⁹⁸ Thevenin on taking dication for 'Van Gogh...' in *Oeuvres Complètes*, XIII, op. cit., p. 307; Germain Viatte on Thevenin in *Dessinsd'Antonin Artaud reçus en legs pour le MNAM en 1993, publication en hommage à Paule Thevenin*, Paris, Editions du Centre Georges Pompidou, 1994, np.

⁹⁹ Gilles Deleuze, Félix Guattari, *L'Anti-Oedipe*, Paris, Minuit, 1972; *Mille Plateaux*, Paris, Minuit, 1980.

¹⁰⁰ See Benjamin Balitmore's psychedelic covers for *Planète Plus*, 'Antonin Artaud', 10 February 1971; Julia Kristeva, 'Le sujet en procès'; Pierre Guyotat, 'Langage du Corps'; Jacques Henric, 'Artaud travaillé par la Chine' in *Artaud*, Colloque de Cérisy, Philippe Sollers ed., Paris, 10/18, 1973, pp. 43-108, 163-181, 235-244; and Elisabeth Roudinesco, 'Antonin Artaud, quatre lieux de la mer' in *La Psychanalyse mère et chienne*, Paris, 10/18, 1979, on his *délire genealogique*....

¹⁰¹ Renata Salcel (*Per*)versions of Love and Hate, London, Verso, 1998, p. 123.

¹⁰² Provocatively, Barber questions Paule Thévenin's life achievement: see 'The Digitized Body of Antonin Artaud', *Antonin Artaud, Terminal Curses, The Notebooks, 1945-1948*, London, Solar Books, 2008, p. 114.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 123; Barber cites Guillaume Fau, 'Digitizing manuscripts at the Bibliothèque nationale de France: technical and legal issues', Paris, 2004 (in English).

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 115.

¹⁰⁵ See the last interview by Jacques Derrida published in his lifetime: 'Les Voix d'Artaud (la forec, la forme, la forge)' with Evelyne Grossman in *Magazine littéraire*, Artaud l'insurgé', 234, September, 2004, p. 36; Artaud haunted Derrida's *oeuvre* from 1967 onwards.