

## Arnaud Dandieu and the Epistemology of *Documents*

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The significance of the two contributions of Arnaud Dandieu (1897-1933) to the review *Documents* has only recently been realised – though not, until now, by scholars of the avant-garde. Since both articles dealt with Émile Meyerson, they were among the numerous texts by Dandieu rediscovered in a 2004 dissertation, on the psychological contexts of Meyerson's philosophy of science, by Frédéric Fruteau de Laclos, who has otherwise been instrumental in the current renewal of interest in a once-towering figure of French epistemology.<sup>1</sup> Coming on the heels of the recruitment, in a major UK-based human geography journal, of Dandieu's *Documents* texts as a departure-point for theorising world city topologies,<sup>2</sup> this marks the reintroduction of Dandieu's thought into the mainstream of one of the many fields to which he made original contributions, other than to political ideas. In the latter context, in 2001 Thomas Keller was the first seriously to address Dandieu's links with Georges Bataille and *Documents*, in his book about the relationship between French and German 'Third Way' discourses between the wars, notably in the section on Dandieu's 'Personalist anthropology of self-expenditure,' in the chapter devoted to 'the Federalist Personalism of *Ordre Nouveau*.'<sup>3</sup> Keller is the first to have included Bataille's circle in the spectrum of French 'non-conformist' movements, such as *Ordre Nouveau*, that blurred conventional right-left distinctions in the 1930s.<sup>4</sup>

The best known of the other so-called 'non-conformist' movements of the interwar period was Emmanuel Mounier's review *Esprit*. Founded in 1932, *Esprit* is still alive and well, at the forefront of intellectual debates in France, though no longer as closely associated as it once was with Personalist philosophy – which it is often credited with introducing as a widely influential form of Christian progressivism. However, as I have argued elsewhere, Personalism, as a politicised form of existential thought that hinged on a distinction between the concrete particular person and the generic individual conceivable in masses, was first developed in this group's largely – though by no means exclusively – secular 'Nietzschean' context, from its inception in early 1931. Only later was it borrowed, adapted and spread in a more unambiguously Christian guise by the mostly Catholic intellectuals of *Esprit*.<sup>5</sup> In order to establish its credentials for both the Christian and progressive constituencies that it was the first to bridge successfully in France, the *Esprit* group defined its own brand of 'Communitarian Personalism' by casting doubt on the 'revolutionary Personalism' of *Ordre Nouveau*, occasionally portraying it as right-wing or Fascist, so that *Esprit*'s ostensible 1934 break with *Ordre Nouveau* might appear to situate the former squarely on the left. This picture was consolidated by post-war sympathisers of *Esprit*, who projected the binary parameters of the Cold War back onto the 1930s, ignoring the complexities of 'non-conformist'



politics, and giving short shrift to those who continued to propose Personalism as a 'Third Way' between capitalism and Communism. When, by the 1980s, American historians started digging past these left-Catholic reconstructions of the origins of Personalism, they promptly concurred with Marxist imputations of proto-Fascism to *Ordre Nouveau*, which seemed confirmed by the presence of Personalists in the early stages of Vichy institutions (regardless of their prominence in the Resistance as well, and even of some overlaps), and especially by *Ordre Nouveau's* early contacts with German nationalist groups (though not with the National Socialist German Workers Party per se): did not its very name, after all, portend Fascist revolution?<sup>6</sup>

However seductive it has appeared for a number of reasons (including ideological convenience), this line of interpretation is vitiated by, among other things, its assumption of reverse causality, since it explains earlier developments in terms of later ones, often by means of superficial connections and spurious analogies. It thereby fails to examine a 'non-conformist' movement such as Personalism on its own terms and in its own initial context, overdetermining its meaning to suggest the fatal consequences of entertaining critical discourses outside of liberal or Marxist categories. My own studies of *Ordre Nouveau*, based on previously unexplored published and unpublished sources, have been accepted as authoritative by recent continental scholarship.<sup>7</sup> They are the first to have differentiated the emergence, formulation, positioning and ramifications of Personalism, in relation to an ideological spectrum where surrealism figured alongside various faiths as well as political movements of both right and left. Yet the Anglophone literature on Personalism and *Ordre Nouveau* continues to be dominated by outdated, even sensationalistic invocations of 'French Fascism.'<sup>8</sup>

Fortunately, a recent Cambridge dissertation on Denis de Rougemont (an *Ordre Nouveau* Personalist whose ties to the Collège de Sociologie are relatively well-known), which may be the best historical account of Personalism available in English, has reviewed the debate on Personalism's relation to Fascism, concluding that the former falls outside most accepted definitions of the latter in terms of stated objectives and modes of action, despite some common objects of negation; thus, their respective antiliberal, anticonservative, anticapitalist and anticommunist revolutionary claims actually make Personalism and Fascism rivals on the same contested 'Third Way' field.<sup>9</sup> As for *Ordre Nouveau's* networking for allies or counterparts in late Weimar Germany, far from importing to France Germany's 'Conservative Revolution' (a catch-all term for a disparate array of radical neo-nationalist ideologies), it was a conscious attempt to *export* to a still-fluid German revolutionary context, thought of as in dire need of doctrinal clarity, the new dispensation of French Personalism. In fact Personalism's *Ordre Nouveau* originators compared it to the advent of Socialism among earlier revolutionary movements, enabling them to critique all twentieth-century revolutions so far as falling short of their doctrine's exacting standards.



It happens that this graft of French Personalism to German revolutionary politics was only successful to any degree with Harro Schulze-Boysen, a 'National-Bolshevist' intellectual who would go on to lead the pro-Soviet 'Red Orchestra' Resistance network, for which he was executed in 1942. In 1931, Schulze-Boysen had become a close ally of *Ordre Nouveau* in his capacity as director of the revived Dadaist publication *Gegner*, which for a while could even be taken for the French movement's German antenna,<sup>10</sup> some of whose debates found echoes in Bataille's circle in *La Critique sociale*.<sup>11</sup> Arnaud Dandieu was minimally involved in these contacts with Germany, yet his few comments on that scene are unambiguous. In one of his last articles to appear before his premature death on 6 August 1933, he pointedly referred to recent works by German nationalist authors, whom he saw as heirs to Romanticism, in order to dismiss the new Hitler regime as a monstrous still-birth; for like Stalinism and Italian Fascism, it was based on 'the lyricism of dreams and the metaphysics of becoming or synthesis,' against which he called on 'the blood of Nietzsche' to mix with that of François Rabelais and René Descartes (once rescued from Cartesianism), so as to restore balance to Western civilisation in a new order where institutions would be attuned to the creative acts of concrete persons. This for him was what Nietzsche literally *stood* for: 'erect man' (*'l'homme debout'*) as opposed to 'reclining man' (*'l'homme couché, celui des heures nocturnes, comme disait [D. H.] Lawrence'*). To the latter he ascribed three 'prestiges,' all illustrated with examples featuring an implied or overt critique of surrealism.<sup>12</sup>

In reverse order, the third 'prestige' of 'reclining man' was 'the poetry of the belly and the underbelly,' to which psychoanalysis contributed in spite of its undoubted merits; the second 'prestige' was Romantic melancholy and more generally '*irréalisme*' '(including surrealism just as the subconscious is tied to the unconscious)', exemplified by the dispersal of the self in automatic writing, Marcel Proust's '*intermittence des sentiments*' and André Gide's '*acte gratuit*'; the first 'prestige' was what Nietzsche called 'immaculate knowledge,' the mind as mirror for the subject as spectator, in a passive attitude that could have as a counterpart 'adherence to any determinism, even a materialist one,' as in the case of 'the aesthetes of *Le Grand Jeu*, a small group that got itself talked about a while back in avant-garde circles and that claimed to reintroduce Oriental thought in the West,' 'seeing no problem in declaring themselves Marxists, since historical materialism could be considered by the individual as a way to negate himself.'<sup>13</sup> This showed how materialism was but a thinly disguised form of idealism, which Dandieu rejected on account of the passive, disembodied subject it implied; due to its conflation of spiritualist quietism with materialist determinism – the worst of the East with the worst of the West as it were – *Le Grand Jeu* appeared in several of his writings and publications as an adversary to be taken seriously, precisely because its mystical wager was the polar opposite of his own stance: a defence of a West defined by the violence of a creative conflict with the real.



Except for its Eurocentrism (on an East-West axis at least), this intellectual project overlapped with that other dissident orientation relative to surrealism: namely, *Documents*, though perhaps not so much Bataille's 'base materialism' as Carl Einstein's brand of anti-idealism. Sebastian Zeidler's presentation of Einstein's thought, on 24 June 2006 at the conference accompanying the Hayward Gallery 'Undercover Surrealism' exhibition, suggested parallels with Dandieu. For Dandieu also developed Nietzsche's defence of the real, by way of a phenomenology of time and space as critical of Bergsonian flux as of idealist stasis, articulating as a third position that of an active subject who surrenders to neither tendency in its adherence to the instant. Dandieu too pursued a point of dynamic, optimal tension between opposite tendencies in the protoplasmic composite of subjectivity. Not unlike Einstein, Dandieu sought a support for this third position in Africa, which for him represented grounded rhythm (e.g. jazz) and concrete space (the fetish), over against, on the one hand, the endless melody and boundless fluidity of a mystical 'Orient' (including Russia and Germany), and on the other hand, the rigid meter and mechanical methodology of the scientific 'American Cancer' of Western culture. (It has been my experience that some contemporary African intellectuals readily find a kindred spirit in Dandieu in questioning neo-colonial thought patterns, precisely on the basis of his phenomenology of space.<sup>14</sup>) Zeidler could refer to what he disclosed of Einstein's thought as 'the tip of an iceberg,' and I find it tempting to use the same phrase about Dandieu, though his writings still to a large extent await edition and publication, to say nothing of translation.<sup>15</sup>

Even though they were brought back to the attention of *Esprit's* readers by his faithful collaborator Robert Aron in October 1973,<sup>16</sup> the ideas of Arnaud Dandieu are only still remembered today as the main source (along with the Mutualist Socialism of Proudhon to which he was himself indebted) of the Federalist Personalism of the *Ordre Nouveau* movement. *Ordre Nouveau* lives on (however discreetly by now) in a wing of the European federalist movement revolving around the Centre international de formation européenne, based in Nice, where I was able to copy doubles of his original papers, deposited at the Bibliothèque Nationale after the death of Dandieu's sister Mireille in 1962; in 1987 I was the first ever to consult them there.<sup>17</sup> Yet there was little doubt among Dandieu's contemporaries that his early death at thirty-five robbed them of one the most promising thinkers of the early 1930s – 'the Bergson of our generation,' it was even claimed.<sup>18</sup> Dandieu's ideas were perpetuated in the review *L'Ordre Nouveau*, which he had launched in 1933, until its last issue in 1938, and to their last breath by some of the group's more prominent thinkers, be it the Russian-born philosopher-cum-professional-revolutionary Alexandre Marc (1904-2000), the Swiss writer Denis de Rougemont (1905-1986), or Dandieu's early associates Robert Aron (1898-1975), the journalist and editor with whom he co-wrote three books and a number of articles, and Claude Chevalley (1909-1984), one of the great mathematicians of the twentieth century, who helped develop set theory in the Bourbaki Group he co-founded in 1934, while he was fairly close to Bataille.<sup>19</sup>



If Dandieu's legacy was soon to be confined within the largely Judaeo-Christian humanism of an increasingly marginal Federalist wing of French Personalism<sup>20</sup> (which nonetheless played a crucial role in launching the movement for European integration just after the war), the side of his thought that is less easily subsumed under this heading could still find some resonance a few years after his demise. Thus, in his 1938 dissertation for Brown University on *Marcel Proust and His French Critics*, the American literary scholar Douglas W. Alden discerned in Arnaud Dandieu's 1930 book (finished in August 1929), *Marcel Proust: sa révélation psychologique*, 'the culmination of the modernist-surrealist interpretation,'<sup>21</sup> drawing on anthropology (Lucien Lévy-Bruhl), the phenomenology of religious experience (William James), child psychology (Jean Piaget), and epistemology (Émile Meyerson). There thus exists a substantial study of Proust from the standpoint of *Documents'* sensibility (comparing him to James Frazer and invoking G. H. Luquet's work on children's drawings) that had a serious impact at the time (including on Samuel Beckett in his first book devoted to this author),<sup>22</sup> but seems to have fallen below the radar of both Proustian and surrealist studies.<sup>23</sup> The book was published in French by Humphrey Milford, the Oxford University publisher, on the recommendation of Dandieu's friend, the retired diplomat and English literary scholar Abel Chevalley,<sup>24</sup> through whom Dandieu not only met Chevalley's son Claude, but also befriended Émile Meyerson in 1928. Having read Eugène Minkowski's 1927 book on schizophrenia,<sup>25</sup> Dandieu asked Meyerson to arrange a meeting with Minkowski, and the two became close; the influence could well have been mutual, since Minkowski, in his later work on the phenomenology of time and of sensations, draws, like Dandieu, from Meyerson. Dandieu read Meyerson and Minkowski into each other as it were; he rarely mentioned the philosopher of science without bringing up the psychiatrist, and vice versa. This is already clear in Dandieu's contribution to the 'Espace' entry in the 'Dictionary' section of the first issue of *Documents'* second year, 1930.

A year later, Dandieu edited the *Anthologie des philosophes français contemporains*, contributing many introductory essays to the selections from thinkers he divided up between 'conformists' (i.e. Thomists, idealists, behaviourists, sociologists, Marxists, Freudians) and 'heterodox.'<sup>26</sup> Dandieu singled out Meyerson, Minkowski and Lévy-Bruhl among the latter, in addition to writing the entries devoted to them, among others. However, he left the last entry, devoted to René Daumal, to the latter's friend and *Le Grand Jeu* associate Roger Gilbert-Lecomte. As I have already suggested, *Le Grand Jeu's* mystical version of surrealism, aiming at absolute depersonalisation, in an Orientalising Spinozist pantheistic fusion enforced by the secular arm of Stalin, was often alluded to by Dandieu (even in his deathbed delirium) as the most dangerous spiritual temptation facing France and the West. It was obviously the antithesis of Personalism, though Dandieu felt it was contrary to his own orientation prior to his encounter with the latter doctrine on its emergence from the *Ordre Nouveau* group at the beginning of 1931.



Likewise, Dandieu's contributions to *Documents* allow us to see the main outlines of his philosophy of science densely inscribed even before he joined the Personalist cause.

Some time before the foundation of *Ordre Nouveau*, the economic basis for its social criticism and institutional planning was also first presented to the public in another dissident surrealist review: *Bifur*, edited by Georges Ribemont-Dessaignes (who significantly framed his homage to Giorgio di Chirico in *Documents* as a realist creed).<sup>27</sup> Since 1927, Arnaud Dandieu and his school friend Robert Aron, who was close to Roger Vitrac and Antonin Artaud as the manager of the Théâtre Alfred-Jarry, had been hammering out in weekly brainstorming sessions the new critical theory and revolutionary doctrine they felt the modern world desperately needed. Having heard of it, in August 1929, a friend of Aron, Pierre Lévy, who was launching the review *Bifur* as its director, asked the tandem to contribute a political article, and they obliged with the first application of their new approach to a topical issue: the Young Plan for the repayment of war debts, which they discussed as 'a phenomenon of social neurosis' in terms of Minkowski's theory of schizophrenia.<sup>28</sup> Many other articles on the perils of modern nationalism and international finance would soon follow in Romain Rolland's review *Europe*, in a steady collaboration ending with 'La philosophie de M. Meyerson et l'avenir du rationalisme' on 15 August 1932, in parallel with three co-authored books: *Décadence de la Nation française* (1931), *Le Cancer américain* (1932) and *La Révolution nécessaire* (1933).<sup>29</sup> Dandieu's last book drew the full socio-political implications of Marcel Mauss's *Essai sur le don* (1924), concurrent with Georges Bataille's own reading of Mauss, indeed with Bataille's anonymous collaboration. The latter's article 'La notion de dépense' appeared in *La Critique Sociale* shortly before Dandieu completed *La Révolution Nécessaire*, on the eve of his untimely death from a benign hernia operation gone horribly wrong.<sup>30</sup>

It was no doubt Bataille who invited Dandieu to contribute to *Documents* alongside him on one of the topics they would have discussed in long conversations almost daily at the Bibliothèque Nationale, where both men were employed. They even jointly curated a small tercentennial Spinoza exhibition that ran from December 1932 to January 1933. There are detailed witness reports of Dandieu's career as a librarian there from 1924 onwards, and of his interactions with other staff,<sup>31</sup> including historian of religion Jean Baruzi (1881-1953), a specialist of Saint John of the Cross (whose work would be used by Bataille in *L'Expérience intérieure*), and Henry Corbin (1903-1978), the future specialist of Shiite mysticism, who was then fascinated with Heidegger, even translating for *Bifur* his 'Was ist Metaphysik'<sup>32</sup> (also a reference-point of *L'Expérience intérieure*).<sup>33</sup> As for Dandieu's interaction with Bataille, the cross-fertilization of ideas across a similar range of themes and disciplines raises the question of influence as surely as it makes it almost impossible to answer with much certainty, in the absence of surviving correspondence (since daily workplace encounters unfortunately precluded the kind of written exchanges that would have left traces).



Though it might seem convenient to assume that Bataille, who has made it into the canon, merely found an epigone in Dandieu, who has not, many facts fly in the face of such a hasty conclusion. It would be premature to try to set them out here, before Dandieu's writings and biography have been carefully examined and analysed; yet I have no doubt that the comparative study of Dandieu and Bataille would open new historical insights and theoretical avenues, and turn out to be at least as fruitful as recent comparisons of the latter with Simone Weil across a greater intellectual and moral gulf.<sup>34</sup> For the purposes of this article, I must largely limit myself to discussing Dandieu's texts for *Documents* and their place in this review's project as well as in the context of his own thought, only mentioning in passing some points of contact with Bataille's.



Fig. 1: *Documents* 1, 1930, 42.

The parallel is however suggested by the way Bataille and Dandieu shared the responsibility for a crucial entry in the review's 'Critical Dictionary' in early 1930. In the first part of 'Espace,' taking up one third of the space and entitled 'Questions de convenances' ('Matters of propriety'), Bataille seems content to stick out his tongue at philosophy as a father-figure, juxtaposing jarring images against the general idea of abstract space [fig. 1]. This functions as a



comic warm-up for Dandieu's tightly packed theoretical deconstruction of the latter idea, in the second section, entitled 'Fondements de la dualité de l'espace',<sup>35</sup> which provides a concise statement of many constant themes of Dandieu's thought, as well perhaps as of the implicit epistemology of *Documents*, since it is after all the review's 'dictionary definition' of a theme often treated in its pages, by Einstein in particular.

Dandieu's text begins with a declaration of love for space, consonant with the group of unpublished texts posthumously gathered by Aron under the title *L'espace ami de l'homme*, which draws out the historical, political and economic implications of Dandieu's phenomenology of space.<sup>36</sup> It is presented from the outset as a two-pronged assault against both geometric space and Bergsonian *durée*, since the latter 'subordinates space to time.' Meyerson is said to provide the antidote to this subtler peril by laying bare Bergson's utilitarian assumptions, subordinating *Homo sapiens* to *Homo faber*. This line of argument is of a piece with Dandieu's anti-utilitarian critique of every form of pragmatism, and especially with his radical application to political economy of Mauss's anthropology of the gift.<sup>37</sup> It is the utilitarian principle, in the form of the need to manipulate given objects for the subject's self-interested ends, that explains the passage in Bergson from a primal experience of space as a concrete, discrete solid to a secondary conceptualisation of it as continuous and abstract extension:

The first implies adherence to a concrete and limited thing, the reality of the diverse, of the discontinuous, of transitive action by contact or by shock; the second, which is none other than Cartesian extension, assumes on the contrary the rationality of the real, the logical and icy monism of the scientists.<sup>38</sup>

Dandieu criticises modern physicists' need to 'superimpose the real and the rational' by reducing the former to the generic object postulated by the latter's ideal schemes (even when 'quantum theory, which reintroduces the discontinuous and the irrational in science, appears at first to confirm Meyerson's postulate' of the irreducibility of the real), in his other contribution to *Documents* (5, 1930).<sup>39</sup> It is a review of Meyerson's article 'Le Physicien et le Primitif' in the May-June 1930 issue of Lévy-Bruhl's *Revue philosophique*, to which Dandieu himself would contribute in December an article on 'Le Conflit du réel et du rationnel dans la psychologie du temps et de l'espace.' In all his texts pertaining to the assumptions of science, Dandieu makes critical use of the distinction introduced in Meyerson's first book *Identité et réalité* (1908), which went through four editions by 1932, the year before they both died. The principle of identity here represents the urge to explain by reducing disparate facts to the sameness of the sign of equality that can be introduced between a cause and the effects which are assumed to be already contained therein. It corresponds to the reversibility and homogeneity of time and space, as opposed to the irreversible newness and heterogeneous rawness of endlessly diverse facts that always at first



defy explanation and challenge it to rein them into a causal scheme. But the irrational substratum of the real is never exhausted by any such attempt at mastery, and keeps sticking out, thus spurring on the endless process of science as the steady conquest of an ever-elusive territory that can never be equated with its map.<sup>40</sup>

Yet this is the fantasy pursued by reason when it falls into the trap of the cognitive disorder Dandieu uncovers in every corner of the modern malaise, under the heading of psychophysical or rationalist 'parallelism.' As defined at the beginning of the Proust book Dandieu finished in 1929, 'parallelism is the rationalist theory according to which the series of material facts and that of psychic facts correspond term by term, merely translate into one another, these two orders of facts thus being considered to be parallel.'<sup>41</sup> Robert Aron gives the following gloss on this quotation in his unpublished introduction to a projected anthology of Arnaud Dandieu's works:

This is to say that the laws of the world are the same as those of the spirit, that the latter conceives of nothing other than what is rational: man's moral and spiritual life thus becomes one with the practical life that ends up absorbing everything. This is the veritable diktat of a rational technique that imposes itself on the reality of the spirit and on its relationships with the world. There result from it several very grave symptoms that Arnaud Dandieu analyses or describes in the course of [*L'Esprit révolutionnaire*, an unpublished text from about 1929]: reduction of most people to their economic role, transformation of patriotism into a nationalism that is defined by its borders, general loss of contact with reality, a schizophrenia that leads to every perversion.

It is against all this that the revolutionary spirit must react.

According to Dandieu, it is then inspired by three main doctrines: Marxism, which is valid in economic matters, anarchism, which opposes the State's predominance, and finally Nietzscheanism, which, through its cult of violence, allows the individual to regain contact with the real.<sup>42</sup>

In *L'Esprit révolutionnaire*, the 'refutation of parallelism' rests on the demonstration that 'the relationship between *subject and object, spirit and matter, need and commodity, pre-exists these terms,*' and draws from:

- 1/ sociology (Lévy-Bruhl)
- 2/ epistemology (Meyerson)
- 3/ psychology and psychopathology (Bergson, psychoanalysts, Russell, Whitehead, etc...)



There results from this a new notion of the concrete which, when it becomes conscious, may alter and clarify the true goals of the Revolution.<sup>43</sup>

These goals are suggested in the first sentence of this manifesto, which states that 'individual – and subsidiarily social – life has as its goal and wellspring pleasure accompanied by creation that follows upon it,' as asserted in a first principle ascribed to Minkowski: 'From the psychological standpoint, pleasure is the feeling of contact with the real,' contrary to the parallelistic Freudian opposition of the pleasure principle and the reality principle. Contact with the real in Minkowski's sense already appears as the fulcrum of Arnaud Dandieu's pleasure-driven social and cultural criticism in this 1929 text, in a way that is immediately echoed in his January 1930 *Documents* article on space, where it takes centre-stage halfway through a line of argumentation that first relied on Meyerson. For 'the fundamental distinction' of the rational and the real is 'strongly demonstrated not only by epistemology, but by the psychiatrist's clinical observations,' namely by Dr. Minkowski's identification of a 'concrete space, prior to any intellectual data and whose notion survives the ruin of intelligence' in the demented, as opposed to the schizophrenic:

The second, who on the contrary has by no means lost the notion of Cartesian space, who on the contrary is afflicted with morbid geometrism, has lost the affective notion of the *here-and-now*, of this concrete and specific present where, as Ward very aptly says, the *here* seems to dominate and condition the *now*.<sup>44</sup>

This is the primacy of lived space over notional time that Dandieu aims to restore to creative centrality in Western culture, through an emphasis on the existential sense of the embodied *here-and-now* that finds many echoes among his contemporaries, beyond the *Ordre Nouveau* group of which it is a key tenet; closest to Dandieu's circles, one need only mention the Barthian Protestant review *Hic et nunc*, where *Ordre Nouveau's* Denis de Rougemont, *Esprit's* Roger Breuil and the Bibliothèque Nationale's Henry Corbin would strive to reinterpret the Christian faith as an incarnational event in the existential sense of Kierkegaard's 'instant'.<sup>45</sup> For the Dandieu of *Documents*, 'the instantaneous, the simultaneous' can only be represented as the 'shock' of two solids, like Hume's marbles.<sup>46</sup> A simile that would have been even more at home amidst the shock imagery favoured in *Documents* is used to depict the literal 'shock of the new' in Dandieu and Aron's 1928 *Discours contre la méthode*:

Between this active novelty [*nouveauté agissante*], surprising and as inexplicable as the boxer's punch, and the seasonal novelties that the calendar accounts for, there is the same difference as between brutal Revolution and lazy evolution, which leaves it to time



to solve the problem. Novelty negates time, or rather, acting upon it and putting all clocks forward, it conversely denies it any ability to act upon itself. Born of unexpected contacts, operating by successive leaps, it partakes of the unpredictability and the irrationality of life.

For the real joins life [...].

[...]If we want to account for it, we have to evoke the affective totality of those privileged moments when the real appears to us and distracts us from our rational faculties.<sup>47</sup>

In an unpublished manuscript entitled 'Renversement du bergsonisme (cf. Whitehead, Forster),' part of a set on duration and space, Dandieu marshals Pierre Janet's realisation of 'the heterogeneity of the world and of man' against the insistence of Bergson and Freud that memory retains everything. On the contrary, 'man retains only the affective peaks of events ascertained by making contact [*prises de contact*].' Dandieu emphasizes, over against both the seamless continuity of abstract space and the smooth flow of Bergsonian *durée*, what he calls the 'temporal discontinuous: psychological analysis. Quantum theory. Search for psychological peaks of memory. Revenge of quality and the concrete.'<sup>48</sup> These quantum leaps of full – if not unmediated – presence can take the form of Proust's madeleine as it catches the narrator unawares when he allows his mind to wander, but also that of the shock value soon to be cultivated in *Documents*, or the satisfaction of overcoming obstacles glorified later on at *Ordre Nouveau*: 'We find triggering them elements of surprise, or even of horror and amazement, and at their culmination elements of pleasure or of conquest,' as Dandieu says in the *Discours contre la méthode*.<sup>49</sup> But whereas at *Ordre Nouveau* Dandieu would define the spirit (equated with permanent revolution in all spheres) in the terms with which he concludes his first *Documents* article – 'the pure violence that escapes time, on which it therefore asserts its primacy' – in January 1930 he still spoke of this concrete space revealed in the moment as introducing 'the positive notion of an irrational and antispiritual real.' Within a few months, the term 'spiritual' would lose for Dandieu the negative connotation he gave it here (perhaps to fit with *Documents*' materialism), and would regain centrality, once divorced from an idealist understanding that all the 'non-conformists of 1930,' not least the Christians among them, agreed in repudiating in the name of embodied spirit. There was thus some existential common ground between them and people like Bataille, who opposed, in his article 'Le bas matérialisme et la gnose' in the same issue of *Documents*, a sovereign experience of base materialism to the sanitized objectivity of rationalist materialism, derided as a hypocritical avatar of idealism.

The discursive shift observable as Dandieu moves from the orbit of dissident surrealism to the germ cell of Personalism may affect slight circumstantial details of his rhetoric, but not the substance of what he has to say, thus attesting to an unexpected element of continuity between these apparently rival ideological horizons. The dramatic apex of this intellectual cross-wiring may



be located in Dandieu's deathbed conversion to a Catholic faith his Proudhonian family heritage had long made him wary of (a religious trajectory opposite to that of the lapsed seminarian Bataille). It was even philosophically motivated when he stated in Aron's presence that Lipiansky (Alexandre Marc's original Russian name) 'reconciles the act and Catholicism.'<sup>50</sup> In their shared *Ordre Nouveau* language, the act was understood as the pure violence of an instantaneous change of plane that reorders reality in a flash of eternity, bringing it to a new level of creativity. Marc was so affected by the reports of his friend Dandieu's last words that he soon thereafter formally joined through baptism the Catholic Church, towards which he had been leaning for several years; he would play a decisive role in spreading in some key French Catholic circles a Personalist philosophy partly shaped by Dandieu, that helped pave the way for the profound transformations in the self-understanding of Christian life that came to a head with the Vatican II Council.

Not the least of these changes was a new appreciation of embodiment, turning away from an implicitly Platonising ascetic deprecation of the flesh. If this keen sense of incarnation was present on its own in Christian founders of *Ordre Nouveau* like Marc, Rougemont, and Daniel-Rops, it could only be confirmed in them by the decisive, even mystical importance Dandieu granted to 'the revelation of touch' (the theme of some unpublished manuscripts)<sup>51</sup> as the privileged sense of contact with the real through an instantaneous, irrational act – as opposed to disembodied, timeless contemplation. An allusion to the crucial function of tactility in Dandieu's thinking is found in his remark in *Documents* that, if mathematical time had historically appeared later than the Cartesian space with which it was practically interchangeable, it was only because touch seemed to maintain 'a fragile, perhaps illusory bridge [...] between the *moi-ici-maintenant* and abstract extension.'<sup>52</sup>

This deficient sense of contact between the self-here-and-now and the surrounding space had far-reaching consequences for Dandieu and Aron who, in their *Discours contre la méthode*, had maintained that 'the false individualism of industrialist democracies relies on this false conception of the personality' as 'a conventional unit without direct contact with the real,'<sup>53</sup> be it extended to the nation-state or reduced to the consumer or the stockholder – all taken to task in turn between 1929 and 1931 in their joint articles for *Bifur* and *Europe*, culminating in the 1932 book *Le Cancer américain*. Hence the need to blast open the 'Socratic self, this final membrane that hides from us primal (protoplasmic) reality,'<sup>54</sup> since 'the affective notion of the other alone has the synthetic value that allows it to unite opposites (the other as same, the other as other).'<sup>55</sup> According to what may be termed Dandieu's heterology, announcing in some ways both Bataille and Emmanuel Levinas, the 'original value of the Other, of the plane of the second person [...] is, before anything else,' beyond any 'idealist mysticism,' a 'contact, an adherence to life and to the present':



The personality is not closed. It is a locus of perpetual exchange between the world and us. The individual in whom the real and thought meet is neither perfect, nor fixed. He owes his dignity and his tragic greatness [*son tragique*] to his position as a frontier post, as a perpetual locus of osmosis between two different universes. To suppress this antinomy so as to obtain unity means to suppress any anxiety, any real progress.<sup>56</sup>

It therefore goes without saying that 'to throw the body outside of spatiality as does G.[abriel] Marcel is the morbid fantasy of a spirit medium,' as Arnaud Dandieu observes in his 'Contribution à un éloge du solide' in *L'espace ami de l'homme*.<sup>57</sup>

In order to be overcome, conflict requires space in general and more particularly the solid, and more particularly a certain affinity of the human body considered as participating in existence and other bodies considered as exterior. Be it from the transcendental standpoint or from the scientific standpoint, it is in the spatial atmosphere that is effected the indispensable conciliation between the other as other and the other as same [*l'autre en tant qu'autre et l'autre en tant que semblable*]. Outside of this atmosphere, anxiety prevails over creation and inhibits it instead of facilitating it. If faith can no longer impose real presence, there must soon appear another real presence....

The flag replaces the host, the uniform, the eagle or the statue replaces the altar; for man can no more do without fetishes than without language.<sup>58</sup>

Hence the linkage of 'Philosophie de l'angoisse et politique du désespoir,' made by Arnaud Dandieu as early as October 1932, between the lapsed Catholic author of *Being and Time* and the Nazi movement on the march, in a prescient article for the *Revue d'Allemagne*.<sup>59</sup> Dandieu may have heard of the philosopher's newfound political leanings before anybody else thanks to Henry Corbin,<sup>60</sup> who had been deeply moved by the second German trip he had made especially to visit Heidegger, as recorded upon his return in Alexandre Marc's 1931 diary, mentioning their April 27 meeting at the Bibliothèque Nationale.<sup>61</sup>

But as far as science's creative role in overcoming conflict with the real is concerned, in the January 1930 issue of *Documents* Dandieu states that:

...by referring to Dr. Minkowski's observations and by comparing them with Meyersonian theories among others, we realize that this purely irrational space is none other than individual contact with nature, to which science itself – however much it would wish otherwise, one might add – cannot refuse itself without committing suicide. At once syntonic and causal, this concrete space provides the basis for both purely affective pleasure and properly scientific hypotheses.<sup>62</sup>



This could be seen as Arnaud Dandieu's rejoinder to the 'division between the spontaneous and causality' that Carl Einstein had set up in the second issue of *Documents*, casting the rationalist's causality as devoid 'of any value from a psychological standpoint' while, 'given that the ego vanishes during ecstasy, we observe a syntonetic attitude' coming into play in hallucinatory processes.<sup>63</sup> Combining features of atmospheric 'sameness' and resilient 'otherness,' Dandieu's definition of concrete space can also ground epistemologically *Documents'* constant juxtaposition of surrealist playfulness and solid scholarship, pop culture and antiquarianism, primitivist provocation and intellectual rigour. A favourite gesture of *Documents* writers is precisely that of demonstrating, on the basis of recent scientific findings, the continuity between the most typically modern, allegedly rational institutions and forms of behaviour on the one hand, and the most 'primitive' features of pre-modern ancient or exotic cultures on the other hand. Bataille and Dandieu's diptych on 'Space' is thus immediately followed in the *Documents* dictionary by Michel Leiris's entry on 'Hygiene,' where he turns on its head the prophylactic explanation of ancient taboos such as those found in Jewish law, claiming instead that 'our modern hygiene is but a kind of more or less rationalised taboo,' making the well-groomed modern man 'worthy of figuring, club or spear in hand, alongside primitive men.'<sup>64</sup>

Dandieu takes this procedure to its logical limit in his other contribution to *Documents*, in a *mise-en-abyme* that equates with shamanistic sorcery the very scientific methods that allow such comparisons with pre-scientific worldviews to be made in the first place. This entitles him to borrow a famous example taken from Lévy-Bruhl, and discussed by Meyerson in his forthcoming book *Le Cheminement de la pensée*, unfavourably to compare the Copenhagen interpretation of quantum physics, which tends to put into question the actual existence of a reality exterior to consciousness, with a Bororo's claim to be an arara parrot; the Fulani herdsman may deny all evidence to the contrary, but he will not deny the existence of parrots, unlike the modern physicist who reduces the outside world to a view of the mind.<sup>65</sup> Émile Meyerson and Louis de Broglie leaned on each other over the course of their respective careers to insist on the objectively real ground of quantum observations, against the increasingly prevalent position issuing from Niels Bohr and Werner Heisenberg, by now popularly believed to converge with Eastern thought in making all of reality dependent on consciousness, and even one with it.<sup>66</sup> Dandieu's commitment to the tactile solidity of discontinuous diversity as the fulcrum of the human spirit's quantum leaps (in contrast to the dizzying abyss that lures it to sovereign ruin as fluid excreta in Bataille's base-materialist religiosity) makes him rise to the defence of more classic atomic models, and of vacuum itself,<sup>67</sup> against this renewed idealist peril of an ether-like unified field.

It is to Meyerson's discussion of Prince de Broglie's recent work on wave mechanics that Dandieu devotes the second half of his *Documents* review of the epistemologist's article 'Le Physicien et le primitif,' of which he clearly has inside knowledge. He starts out by announcing



that it is an excerpt of *Le Cheminement de la pensée*, adding that ‘without abandoning epistemology, the author of *L’Explication dans les sciences* claims to apply the method that is his own to common sense as much as to scientific reason.’ In fact, both Dandieu and Minkowski were going to expand, in their own work, on Meyerson’s sketched attempt to transpose to the cultural sciences his findings on the natural sciences. It was no coincidence if parts of the reviewed text had already appeared in the *Bulletin de la Société française de philosophie*, ‘about the interesting session devoted to the theories of M. Lévy-Bruhl.’ (Dandieu would also publish a review of the latter’s *Le Surnaturel et la Nature dans la mentalité primitive* in *Europe*’s 15 October 1931 issue.) For Meyerson went so far as to ‘unite the prelogical and the logical, the magician and the scientist,’ having established that ‘our intellect’s most serious effort is cast in the same mould.’ Shorn of the dignity that his goals confer on the scientist in the eyes of society, his behaviour ‘takes on the aspect of a sorcerer’s dance – a far more essential dignity.’<sup>68</sup> Here is again the typical *Documents* gesture: the primitive provides the standard that explains the modern, and which it has to live up to. Dandieu would take this procedure with him to several venues other than *Documents*, for instance writing on the same topic with Claude Chevalley an ‘Esquisse d’une phénoménologie du savant,’ for the December 1932 issue of the Marseilles-based *Cahiers du Sud*, part of a series of joint essays, beginning with ‘Logique hilbertienne et psychologie’ in the same year’s January issue of Lévy-Bruhl’s *Revue philosophique*, continuing with ‘Rigueur et méthode axiomatique’ (immediately following an article by Eugène Minkowski) in Alexandre Koyré’s *Recherches philosophiques* of 1933, and coming to an abrupt end with the publication of ‘Réflexions sur la mesure considérée comme acte’ around the time of Dandieu’s death, in the July-August issue of the *Revue philosophique*.

It is likewise as a continuator of *Documents*’ spirit that Dandieu would endeavour to show, culminating in the ‘Bible’ he posthumously bequeathed (with Bataille’s discreet help) to his *Ordre Nouveau* movement as *La Révolution nécessaire*, that ‘the study of the potlatch turns out to be extremely fertile in lessons concerning the genuine nature and the essential source of so-called economic phenomena.’<sup>69</sup> One of these lessons is that the social time of gift and counter-gift precedes the disembodied atemporality of quantifiable material exchange, that credit precedes both barter and cash.<sup>70</sup> ‘But we should not think that this modern term covers new operations without historical precedent: far from raising as they believe above the laws of morals and history,’ people like Herbert Hoover who would make credit out of nothing ‘suddenly return, through the abstract figures of the balance-sheets of their pyramidal trusts, to the region of ritual gift, of the assertion of power characterizing the primitive magician’s naiveté.’<sup>71</sup>

Credit is the most developed modern form of suggestive magic. Far from returning to the exchange of concrete objects, of identical values, we now only exchange fictitious



papers, odourless and weightless, signs at the most: we are in the realm of pure abstraction where the prestige of the sign abolishes real values.<sup>72</sup>

Jean Baudrillard's reiteration of this point in relation to today's electronic environment, in his political economy of the sign in symbolic exchange, goes to show how Arnaud Dandieu's barely re-emerging lost continent of cross-disciplinary critical reflection might complement Bataille's visions of excess, in helping us interpret the postmodern world whose outline they anticipated, by apprehending the pre-modern modes that endure in mutant forms in advanced industrial societies. The far-from accidental pairing of their voices in defining 'Space' for *Documents* thus appears as a tantalizing hint of the radical questioning to which research on Dandieu, and on the Personalist connection to surrealism, may put the epistemological assumptions of modern science and social life.

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<sup>1</sup> Frédéric Fruteau de Laclos, *La Philosophie de l'intellect d'Émile Meyerson. De l'épistémologie à la psychologie*, doctoral thesis in philosophy for Université de Paris X-Nanterre, 2004; this active young scholar (one of the local organizers of the 6<sup>th</sup> International History of Philosophy of Science Congress at the École Normale Supérieure in Paris from 14 to 18 June 2006) has since then organised or contributed to conferences in Amiens and Jerusalem on Meyerson's place in the history of philosophy of science in France, aside from giving several papers along these lines.

<sup>2</sup> R. G. Smith, 'World City Topologies,' *Research Bulletin* 95 (for the 'Globalization and World Cities Study Group and Network') of *Progress in Human Geography*, vol. 5, no. 27, 2003, 561-582, available online at <http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/rb/rb95.html>; Arnaud Dandieu is misleadingly identified as a surrealist on the basis of the appearance of his texts next to Bataille's in *Encyclopaedia Acephalica, Comprising the Critical Dictionary and Related Texts edited by Georges Bataille and the Encyclopaedia Da Costa edited by Robert Lebel & Isabelle Waldberg*, assembled and introduced by Alastair Brotchie. London: Atlas Press, 'Atlas Arkhive, Documents of the Avant-Garde, Number 3: Georges Bataille & Acéphale,' 1995.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Keller, *Deutsch-französische Dritte-Weg-Diskurse der Zwischenkriegszeit*, Munich: W. Fink, 2001, 247ff.

<sup>4</sup> See Jean-Louis Loubet del Bayle, *Les Non-conformistes des années trente. Une tentative de renouvellement de la pensée politique française*, Paris: Seuil, 1969, revised edition 2001. In this seminal political science thesis focussing on the Jeune Droite, *Esprit* and *Ordre Nouveau*, the latter was presented as the most original and coherent representative of this loose constellation



of groups of young intellectuals. It was already introduced in these terms to the British public at the time in the 'French Chronicle' of Montgomery Belgion (future translator of *Ordre Nouveau* Personalist Denis de Rougemont's *L'Amour et l'Occident*), *The Criterion*, no. 46, October 1932, 80-90, noting how 'most definitely anti-Maurras' were *Ordre Nouveau's* aims of 'a territorial, racial, and cultural regionalism,' that made it 'somewhat akin to the New Europe Group over which Arthur Kitson presides in England.' Rooted in Guild Socialism, the latter group soon became *Ordre Nouveau's* closest foreign ally once Dandieu was held up as a luminary in the pages of its publications such as *New Britain* by their Serbian 'guru' Dimitrije Mitrinović, former editor of Wassily Kandinsky's *Blaue Reiter Almanach*, who now championed in them such avant-garde art as that of sculptors Ivan Meštrović and Henri Gaudier-Brzeska or Italian Futurist *aeropittura*. See Andrew Rigby, *Dimitrije Mitrinovic: A Biography*, York: William Sessions, 2006.

<sup>5</sup> Christian Roy, *Alexandre Marc et la Jeune Europe 1904-1934: L'Ordre Nouveau aux origines du personnalisme*, with an afterword by Thomas Keller: 'Le personnalisme de l'entre-deux-guerres entre l'Allemagne et la France,' Nice: Presses d'Europe, 1999. Keller's substantial postscript to the published text of my Ph. D. dissertation is an early French draft of his book quoted above. For a more succinct account of the invention of Personalism at *Ordre Nouveau* and its gradual translation to *Esprit*, see Christian Roy, 'Emmanuel Mounier, Alexandre Marc et les origines du personnalisme,' in Guy Coq, ed., *Emmanuel Mounier: L'actualité d'un grand témoin*. vol. 1, Paris: Parole et Silence, 2003, 19-49.

<sup>6</sup> See in particular John Hellman, *Emmanuel Mounier and the New Catholic Left, 1930-1950*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981; Zeev Sternhell, 'Emmanuel Mounier et la contestation de la démocratie libérale dans la France des années trente,' in *Revue française de science politique*, vol. 34, no. 6, December 1984, 1141-1180; Zeev Sternhell, *Neither Right, Nor Left: Fascist Ideology in France*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986; Zeev Sternhell, 'La troisième voie fasciste ou la recherche d'une culture politique alternative,' in Gilbert Merlio, ed., *Ni gauche, ni droite: les chassés-croisés idéologiques des intellectuels français et allemands dans l'entre-deux-guerres*, Talence: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme d'Aquitaine, 1995, 17-29; Robert Wohl, 'French Fascism Both Right and Left: Reflections on the Sternhell Controversy,' *The Journal of Modern History*, no. 63, March 1991, 91-98.

<sup>7</sup> E.g. Olivier Dard, *Le rendez-vous manqué des relèves des années trente*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2002.

<sup>8</sup> See my detailed critique of the most extreme example, John Hellman's *The Communitarian Third Way: Alexandre Marc and Ordre Nouveau 1930-2000*, Montreal & London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002: 'À propos d'une biographie spéculaire d'Alexandre Marc par John Hellman: Le personnalisme comme "antinazisme nazi"?' *L'Europe en formation*, no. 4, 2003, 81-136.

<sup>9</sup> 'In sum, personalists competed with fascists in the arena of antiparlamentarism. They irreducibly opposed fascism on the question of the nationalism, on the state, and on the idea of central power.' Emmanuelle Hériard Dubreuil, *The Personalism of Denis de Rougemont: Spirituality and Politics in 1930s Europe*. History dissertation for the University of Cambridge, 2005, 213.

<sup>10</sup> Aside from my dissertation cited above, see John Hellman & Christian Roy, 'Le personnalisme et les contacts entre non-conformistes de France et d'Allemagne autour de l'Ordre Nouveau et de *Gegner*, 1930-1942,' in Hans-Manfred Bock, Reinhard Meyer-Kalkus, Michel Trebitsch, *Entre Locarno et Vichy, les relations culturelles franco-allemandes dans les années trente*, vol. 1, Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1993, 203-215.

<sup>11</sup> Schulze-Boysen praised leftist dissident Communist Karl Korsch's new edition of *Das Kapital* in *Gegner* no. 4-5 in March 1932, at the same time as a *Gegner* article from the previous month was reviewed in *La Critique sociale* no. 5, 235, as 'Karl Korsch, Contribution à l'histoire de l'idéologie marxiste en Russie,' while Korsch was hailed as 'one of the rare German Marxists today who have survived the bankruptcy of official ideologies' (202) in the editorial introduction to Georges



Bataille & Raymond Queneau, 'La critique des fondements de la dialectique hégélienne,' 209-214, followed by the translation of a Korsch text from *Gegner*: 'Thèses sur Hegel et la révolution,' 214; Korsch's letter in reply to the Bataille-Queneau article in the next issue, no. 6, September 1932, 183; 'Sur Hegel — sur *Le Capital*,' continued a diatribe against Nicolai Hartmann's reinterpretation of Hegel's dialectics that he had begun in response to the philosopher in the pages of *Gegner*. Dandieu himself would take off from Bataille and Queneau on Hartmann's rediscovery of the master-slave dialectic in one of his last texts, 'La philosophie sociale marxiste,' in *Demain?*, July-August 1933, reissued as 'Théorie marxiste de la révolution' in *L'Ordre Nouveau*, no. 41, 1 June 1937, 24-31 (in the same issue as a controversial text by Roger Caillois, witness to the enduring *Ordre Nouveau*-Bataille connection: 'L'agressivité comme valeur,' 56-58).

<sup>12</sup> Arnaud Dandieu, 'Le sang de Nietzsche,' *La Revue mondiale*, 15 July 1933, 30-32.

<sup>13</sup> Dandieu, 'Le sang de Nietzsche.'

<sup>14</sup> See Christian Roy, "'L'espace ami de l'homme": l'Afrique vue par Arnaud Dandieu?,' *L'Europe en formation*, no. 310, Autumn 1998, 53-75.

<sup>15</sup> Plans are being developed jointly by Gavin Parkinson and myself to start closing this gap in the research on the environs of surrealism; as a first fruit of this new collaboration, Dandieu is already discussed in this context in Parkinson's forthcoming book, *Surrealism, Art, and Modern Science: Relativity, Quantum Mechanics, Epistemology*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008. The English reader may also refer directly to Robert Aron & Arnaud Dandieu, 'Back to Flesh and Blood. A Political Programme,' *The Criterion*, no. 47, January 1933, 185-199.

<sup>16</sup> Robert Aron, 'Un précurseur: Arnaud Dandieu (1897-1933),' *Esprit*, October 1973, 425-436.

<sup>17</sup> The Centre international de formation européenne's set of Dandieu papers, not all of them typed doubles of the Bibliothèque nationale de France's manuscripts, have been transferred to the archives of the European University Institute in Florence after the death of *Ordre Nouveau*'s founder Alexandre Marc in 2000, as part of the latter's papers.

<sup>18</sup> Echoing similar appreciations from many corners, it was the writer and Church historian Henri Daniel-Rops (1901-1965) who, two decades later, interviewed as part of a series of articles that is the earliest item in the literature to focus on 'non-conformists of the 1930s' as an intellectual generation (Gilbert Ganne, 'Qu'as-tu fait de ta jeunesse ? L'Ordre Nouveau,' *Arts*, no. 562, 4-10 April 1956, 7), could still say of his *Ordre Nouveau* comrade: 'Dandieu était un garçon de génie. S'il avait vécu, il aurait été le Bergson de notre génération.' Cited in Jean-Louis Loubet del Bayle, *Les Non-conformistes des années trente*, 91.

<sup>19</sup> Claude Chevalley's friend and junior *Ordre Nouveau* comrade Pierre Prévost would become even closer to Bataille, from 1937 to their founding of the review *Critique* after the war, even introducing him to Maurice Blanchot in 1940; see his memoir of this ten-year friendship for a first-hand account of the contacts and interaction between Personalist and *Collège de sociologie* circles: *Rencontre Georges Bataille*, Paris, Jean-Michel Place, 1987. As for Chevalley, in his post-war introduction to set theory for the Bourbaki collective of mathematicians, he explicitly refers to Blanchot when comparing mathematics to literature, and implicitly to Bataille about 'expérience intérieure' and sacrifice. See the significantly titled study by Maurice Mashaal, *Bourbaki: A Secret Society of Mathematicians* (trans. Anna Pierrehumbert), Providence, RI: American Mathematical Society, 2006.

<sup>20</sup> For a presentation of this body of doctrine in terms of its self-understanding as a continuation of Proudhon's Mutualism, see Lutz Roemheld, *Integral Federalism – Model for Europe – A Way Towards a Personal Group Society – Historical Development, Philosophy, State, Economy, Society* (trans. Hazel Bongert), 'Democracy, Ecology, Federalism' Series of Publications of the International Society for Politics, Peace and Environmental Research, Inc., vol. 7, Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1990.



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<sup>21</sup> Douglas W. Alden, *Marcel Proust and His French Critics*, Los Angeles: Lymanhouse, 1938, 133.

<sup>22</sup> Samuel Beckett, *Proust*, London: Chatto & Windus, 1931; French translation and presentation by Édith Fournier, Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1990. I owe this information to Frédéric Fruteau de Laclos (e-mail of June 7, 2006), who detected clear signs of this influence of Dandieu (such as the notion of sacred act) that the editor had overlooked, not knowing about his work on Proust.

<sup>23</sup> Yet according to Pierre Prévost, the passages on Proust in Bataille's *L'Expérience intérieure* (1943) clearly owe much to Dandieu's book, as he maintained in his diptych study of his successive 'spiritual masters': *De Georges Bataille à René Guénon ou l'expérience souveraine*, Paris: Jean-Michel Place, 1992, 70.

<sup>24</sup> With an academic background in French literature and law, Arnaud Dandieu assisted Abel Chevalley at the Association France-Grande-Bretagne (still in existence, launched in 1916 and officially under the patronage of the President of the French Republic from 1920 to 1974) from their first meeting at the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1925 to their respective deaths in 1933. Having devoted some of his first published articles to H. G. Wells, Harold Laski and E. M. Forster, he also left unfinished a monograph on the English Romantic poets on the pattern of his Proust study.

<sup>25</sup> Eugène Minkowski, *La Schizophrénie: psychopathologie des schizoïdes et des schizophrènes*, Paris : Éditions Payot & Rivages, 2002.

<sup>26</sup> Compare, on the page before Dandieu's second contribution to his magazine, Georges Bataille's review in *Documents*, yr. 2, no. 5, 1930, 310-311 of the article 'Conformismes freudiens' by Emmanuel Berl (originator of this derogatory catchphrase for the bourgeois kind of thinking 'non-conformists of the 1930s' felt united against) in *Formes*, no. 5, April 1930.

<sup>27</sup> Georges Ribemont-Dessaignes, 'Giorgio de Chirico,' *Documents*, yr. 2, no. 6, 1930, 337-345.

<sup>28</sup> Robert Aron & Arnaud Dandieu, 'Un phénomène de névrose sociale -Le Plan Young,' in *Bifur*, no. 3, 30 September 1929, 169-182.

<sup>29</sup> A reprint of *La Révolution nécessaire* was published in Paris in 1993 by Jean-Michel Place (who also reissued *Documents* and many other publications relating to surrealism and its environs), with an introduction by Nicolas Tenzer. At this writing, pending the permission of Aron's son, a reissue of *Le Cancer américain* with a substantial introduction by Olivier Dard is set to open a new collection of 'Classics of Political Thought' of the Swiss publisher L'Âge d'Homme. An Italian translation should be released shortly thereafter.

<sup>30</sup> In the concluding paragraph of his memoir, Pierre Prévost explains as follows the long gap separating Bataille's 1933 article on 'the notion of expenditure' from his mature treatment of *La Part maudite* thirteen years later: 'The death in 1933 of his friend and colleague Arnaud Dandieu, who had just signed *La Révolution nécessaire* with Robert Aron, had already brought a stop to Georges Bataille's research of an economic nature, and then a change of orientation that one realizes when one compares the study on the notion of expenditure with that of *The Accursed Share*. Bataille had indirectly collaborated to Dandieu's work through numerous suggestions and pieces of information.' *Rencontre Georges Bataille*, 157.

<sup>31</sup> See the interview with Dandieu's Bibliothèque Nationale colleague Jean Lavaud of 19 February 1965, appended to Robert Aron, typed manuscript of an introduction to an unpublished planned edition of Arnaud Dandieu's works, 182-183, among the Alexandre Marc papers at the European University Institute, Florence.

<sup>32</sup> Martin Heidegger, 'Qu'est-ce que la métaphysique?,' with an introduction by Alexandre Koyré (5-8), in *Bifur*, no. 8, June 10, 1931. Corbin had his translation read by Bataille, who had asked him to write an article for *Documents* on Rudolf Otto upon his return from his first trip to Germany in the summer of 1930. Corbin had then visited Otto (like Baruzi before him) and met Rabindranath Tagore, aside from first reading Heidegger and Karl Barth. There is no trace of Corbin's projected contribution to *Documents*, but it is through his translation of Heidegger in *Bifur*



(which had first been turned down by the *Nouvelle Revue Française*) that Denis de Rougemont came to join him in promoting Barth's dialectical theology in France and that Jean-Paul Sartre discovered Heidegger's existential philosophy. See Maria Soster, *Le développement de la pensée d'Henry Corbin pendant les années Trente*, D.E.A. thesis in history of philosophy for Université de Paris I-Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2002, 22, available on the website of the Association des Amis de Henry et Stella Corbin at <http://www.amiscorbin.com/textes/francais/SOSTERMaria.pdf>.

<sup>33</sup> Aside from Heidegger in Corbin's *Bifur* translation, several other works Bataille borrowed from the Bibliothèque Nationale during the war as documentation for *L'Expérience intérieure* are by authors of vital importance to Dandieu, and already figure in the bibliography of *La Révolution nécessaire* in 1933, like psychologist of anguish, ecstasy and belief Pierre Janet, Kierkegaard and Hegel scholar Jean Wahl, and especially the excommunicated modernist Catholic historian of religion Alfred Loisy for his 1920 *Essai historique sur le sacrifice*. The full list from the last volume of Bataille's complete works is provided in Prévost's *De Georges Bataille à René Guénon ou l'expérience souveraine*, 15-16.

<sup>34</sup> See my online review essay suggesting further comparisons with Personalists such as Rougemont: 'Alexander Irwin, *Saints of the Impossible: Bataille, Weil, and the Politics of the Sacred*. Minneapolis & London: University of Minnesota Press, 2002,' in *H-France Review*, vol. 3, no. 131, November 2003, <http://h-france.net/vol3reviews/roy.html>.

<sup>35</sup> Translated as 'Fundamentals of the Duality of Space' ('foundations' might have been more accurate) in *Encyclopaedia Acephalica*, 77-79. The translations of citations of Dandieu are however my own in what follows.

<sup>36</sup> See Christian Roy, "'L'espace ami de l'homme": l'Afrique vue par Arnaud Dandieu?.' Being only familiar with the Dandieu texts from *Documents* translated in the *Encyclopedia Acephalica*, R. G. Smith ('World City Topologies') understandably overlooks the subtleties of his phenomenology of space, issuing in the dialectic of the concrete and the abstract, the particular and the universal, the sedentary and the nomadic, that underlies *Ordre Nouveau's* radical world federalism of local units. Thus for him, 'Dandieu rightly points to degrees of abstraction, but his distinction between the abstract and the concrete is problematic because the dualism manufactures distinct and separate geographical scales. Here the global and local are distinguished so that the former is abstract, remote, and unaccountable, while on the other hand, the later is concrete, familiar, and accountable.' And yet Smith still sees how 'surrealists such as Dandieu' (sic) anticipate 'Foucault who most famously introduced space to time oriented social theory because poststructuralism has become such a significant intellectual movement. In answering several "Questions on Geography" Foucault ([*Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings 1972-1977*. New York: Pantheon Books,] 1980: 70) asked: "Did it start with Bergson or before? Space was treated as the dead, the fixed, the undialectical, the immobile. Time, on the contrary, was richness, fecundity, life, dialectic". Indeed, Foucault is widely credited with foregrounding space over time and is often cited as an origin to the "spatial turn" (Jameson, [*Postmodernism or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. London: Verso,] 1991) that has become one of the chief interests of the social sciences and humanities in recent decades.' But as we shall see, Arnaud Dandieu consciously took this 'spatial turn' half a century before Michel Foucault, and it would be tempting to add that, when he sketched the '*prodromes d'une philosophie "structurelle"*' in terms of his anti-utilitarian critique of Bergsonian temporalism by contrasting 'Conciliation évolutionniste et conflit structurel' in a fragment of this title (to be found in folder 34 of the Bibliothèque nationale de France's Dandieu papers as well as among the Marc papers in Florence), Dandieu may also have been pointing toward both structuralism and poststructuralism.

<sup>37</sup> This Maussian strand of Dandieu's thought is explored at length in two articles by Christian Roy: 'Transpositions of Mauss' Theory of the Gift in the Personalist Social Critique of Arnaud Dandieu (1897-1933),' in Antoon Vandavelde, ed., *Gifts and Interests*, no. 9 in the 'Morality and the Meaning of Life' series edited by Albert W. Musschenga & Paul J. M. van Tongeren, Leuven:



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Peeters, 2000, 177-189; 'La théorie maussienne à l'origine de la critique sociale personaliste d'Arnaud Dandieu (1897-1933): revenu de citoyenneté, service civil, libération du crédit,' *Revue du M.A.U.S.S.* (Mouvement Anti-Utilitariste dans les Sciences Sociales), no. 19, 1st Semester 2002, 357-371.

<sup>38</sup> Arnaud Dandieu, 'Fondements de la dualité de l'espace,' *Documents*, yr. 2, no. 1, 1930, 41.

<sup>39</sup> Arnaud Dandieu, 'Émile Meyerson, *Le Physicien et le Primitif*, dans la *Revue philosophique*, mai-juin 1930,' *Documents*, yr. 2, no. 5, 1930, 312.

<sup>40</sup> In the fragment 'Lorsque M. Meyerson...' published amidst posthumous writings pertaining to *Documents*, Bataille begs to differ with the epistemologist's definition of the irrationality of the diverse as improbable, which does not allow it to be irreducible enough to his taste. Admitting he has not thereby given credit to 'the profound significance of Mr. Meyerson's work,' with which Dandieu would surely have acquainted him, Bataille however adds that 'we must be in opposition to his personal resolution' when it comes to philosophy's dependence on science, as well as to issues of stochastics – that is to the theme of chance so crucial to Bataille, which allows the editors to link this note to others found with the manuscript of 'L'oeil pinéal,' where 'the Meyerson analysis' is joined by 'heterological analysis' as a knowledge condition of mythological thought. Georges Bataille, *Oeuvres complètes II: Écrits posthumes 1922-1940*, Paris: Gallimard, 1970, 137-139, 414, 429.

<sup>41</sup> Arnaud Dandieu, *Marcel Proust: sa révélation psychologique*, London: Humphrey Milford & Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1930, 33-34.

<sup>42</sup> Robert Aron, typed manuscript of an introduction to an unpublished planned edition of Arnaud Dandieu's works, 182-183, among the Alexandre Marc papers at the European University Institute, Florence.

<sup>43</sup> Arnaud Dandieu & Robert Aron, *L'Esprit révolutionnaire*, text included within Robert Aron's typed manuscript of an introduction to an unpublished planned edition of Arnaud Dandieu's works, 182-183, among the Alexandre Marc papers at the European University Institute, Florence.

<sup>44</sup> Arnaud Dandieu, 'Fondements de la dualité de l'espace,' 41-42.

<sup>45</sup> Rougemont's early intellectual career and involvement with *Hic et nunc*, *Ordre Nouveau* and *Esprit* are the focus of Emmanuelle Hériard Dubreuil's thesis on *The Personalism of Denis de Rougemont: Spirituality and Politics in 1930s Europe*, mentioned above.

<sup>46</sup> Arnaud Dandieu, 'Fondements de la dualité de l'espace,' 42.

<sup>47</sup> Arnaud Dandieu & Robert Aron, *Discours contre la Méthode*, text of first part ('L'Évidence') included within Robert Aron, typed manuscript of an introduction to an unpublished planned edition of Arnaud Dandieu's works, 180, among the Alexandre Marc papers at the European University Institute, Florence.

<sup>48</sup> Arnaud Dandieu, 'Renversement du bergsonisme,' among the file of '*Manuscrits inédits, dépouillés par Claude Chevalley*' relating to their philosophy of science, among the Alexandre Marc papers at the European University Institute, Florence.

<sup>49</sup> Arnaud Dandieu & Robert Aron, *Discours contre la Méthode*, text of first part ('L'Évidence') included within Robert Aron, typed manuscript of an introduction to an unpublished planned edition of Arnaud Dandieu's works, 180, among the Alexandre Marc papers at the European University Institute, Florence, 181.

<sup>50</sup> Robert Aron's transcript of Dandieu's last words, preceding his introduction to an unpublished planned edition of Arnaud Dandieu's works, among the Alexandre Marc papers at the European University Institute, Florence. It would be misleading to retroactively characterize Arnaud Dandieu on this account as 'deeply Catholic,' as Dominique Lecoq does in the biography provided in Appendix III of the *Encyclopaedia Acephalica*, 161. The delirious expressions of Dandieu's



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newfound faith remained idiosyncratic, in line with the personal interpretation of the figure of Christ through the prism of the economy of sublimated pleasure in religion that he had been developing as an agnostic in his unpublished writings for many years, comparable in some ways to William Blake's appropriation of Christian myth, to which he devoted much attention, not only in his work on the English Romantics, but also in his pre-*Ordre Nouveau* doctrinal efforts. See Christian Roy, 'Révolution et Révélation: Arnaud Dandieu entre Nietzsche et Jésus,' *L'Europe en formation*, nos. 315-316, Winter 1999-Spring 2000, 199-230.

<sup>51</sup> See for instance Arnaud Dandieu, *L'espace ami de l'homme*, I-Contribution à un éloge du solide, 2: La révélation du toucher, manuscript compiled and typed by Robert Aron, among the Alexandre Marc papers at the European University Institute, Florence, and 33-Manuscrits inédits divers, 5: La révélation du toucher, among the Dandieu papers at the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

<sup>52</sup> Arnaud Dandieu, 'Fondements de la dualité de l'espace,' 42.

<sup>53</sup> Arnaud Dandieu & Robert Aron, *Discours contre la Méthode*, full typed and annotated manuscript among the Alexandre Marc papers at the European University Institute, Florence, 52.

<sup>54</sup> Arnaud Dandieu & Robert Aron, *Discours contre la Méthode*, 22.

<sup>55</sup> Arnaud Dandieu & Robert Aron, *Discours contre la Méthode*, 40.

<sup>56</sup> Arnaud Dandieu & Robert Aron, *Discours contre la Méthode*, 22. The last two sentences of this citation are handwritten interlinear additions to the typed manuscript.

<sup>57</sup> Arnaud Dandieu, *L'espace ami de l'homme*, I-Contribution à un éloge du solide, 2bis: Corps, plaisir, espace, 26, manuscript compiled and typed by Robert Aron, among the Alexandre Marc papers at the European University Institute, Florence; original manuscript in folder 4-Corps, plaisir, espace, among the Dandieu papers at the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

<sup>58</sup> Arnaud Dandieu, *L'espace ami de l'homme*, I-Contribution à un éloge du solide, 5: Présence réelle, 24, manuscript compiled and typed by Robert Aron, among the Alexandre Marc papers at the European University Institute, Florence; original manuscript in folder 2-L'espace ami de l'homme, among the Dandieu papers at the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

<sup>59</sup> Arnaud Dandieu, 'Philosophie de l'angoisse et politique du désespoir,' *Revue d'Allemagne*, 15 October 1932, 883-891.

<sup>60</sup> About traces of Corbin's input in Dandieu's article, see Maria Soster, *Le développement de la pensée d'Henry Corbin pendant les années Trente*, 21.

<sup>61</sup> It is also at their workplace that Dandieu would introduce Marc to Bataille on 21 October 1931 to discuss their respective notions of the gift and of expenditure – used to demolish Freud's 'immanentist' dream theory in Bataille's case. Marc could agree to that much with Bataille, who, 'being "of surrealist extraction," so that unfortunately his reactions are specifically warped, nonetheless seems very interesting,' he noted. A week earlier, Marc had mentioned again the early project for an *Ordre Nouveau* weekly that he had apparently first submitted on 18 May to Carlo Rim, editor of *Vu* and *Jazz*, illustrated magazines whose pioneering visual style - and even intellectual scope in the latter's case - can be likened to that of their contemporary *Documents*, according to Dawn Ades and Fiona Bradley's 'Introduction' to Dawn Ades & Simon Baker, eds, *Undercover Surrealism. Georges Bataille and Documents*. London: Hayward Gallery & Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006, 13. See Christian Roy, *Alexandre Marc et la Jeune Europe 1904-1934: L'Ordre Nouveau aux origines du personnalisme*, 197, 207-208.

<sup>62</sup> Arnaud Dandieu, 'Fondements de la dualité de l'espace,' 42.

<sup>63</sup> Carl Einstein, 'André Masson, An Ethnological Study,' *Documents*, yr. 1, no. 2, as translated from the French by Krzysztof Fijalkowski and Michael Richardson in Dawn Ades & Simon Baker, *Undercover Surrealism*, 266-247.



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<sup>64</sup> Michel Leiris, 'Hygiène,' *Documents*, yr. 2, no. 1, 1930, 42.

<sup>65</sup> Arnaud Dandieu, 'Émile Meyerson, *Le Physicien et le Primitif*, dans la *Revue philosophique*, mai-juin 1930,' 312.

<sup>66</sup> See Louis de Broglie's November 1960 lecture before the *Société française de Philosophie*, 'Hommage à la mémoire d'Émile Meyerson,' in his *Certitudes et incertitudes de la science*, Paris: Albin Michel, 1966, 237-244.

<sup>67</sup> See Arnaud Dandieu, *L'espace ami de l'homme*, I-Contribution à un éloge du solide, 1: L'homme inventeur du vide, manuscript compiled and typed by Robert Aron, among the Alexandre Marc papers at the European University Institute, Florence; original manuscript in folder 2-L'espace ami de l'homme, among the Dandieu papers at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

<sup>68</sup> Arnaud Dandieu, 'Émile Meyerson, *Le Physicien et le Primitif*, dans la *Revue philosophique*, mai-juin 1930,' 312.

<sup>69</sup> Arnaud Dandieu, *La Révolution nécessaire*, 97.

<sup>70</sup> Arnaud Dandieu, *La Révolution nécessaire*, 98.

<sup>71</sup> Arnaud Dandieu, *La Révolution nécessaire*, 105-106.

<sup>72</sup> Robert Aron & Arnaud Dandieu, 'De Wall Street à La Haye (Essai sur le crédit),' *Europe*, vol. 22, no. 88, 15 April 1930, 587.

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