

FRÈRE JACQUES: A SHRINE TO LOVE AND SORROW

Jacques d'Adelswärd-Fersen (1880-1923)

Will H.L. Ogrinc (2006)

In memoriam Heini J.A. Ogrinc (1946-1951)

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Some historians feel defeated when forced to silence by a paucity of source material. Others, perhaps with fewer scruples, look upon such lacunae as an opportunity to give free rein to their imagination. The conflict between these two approaches is mainly methodological, although we might observe that lack of evidence deters the scientific investigator, whereas perhaps inspiring the literary scholar.

As a medievalist, I find that a lack of sources typifies the period, and one simply has to make the best of what one has. However, as a historian I find it painful when primary source material exists but is inaccessible because access is denied by legal restrictions. But my admiration grows for the "literati," who, faced with fragments, are inspired to piece words together, as an archaeologist assembles potsherds. (1)

What we know about the French poet and novelist, Baron Jacques d'Adelswärd (2) consists very much of pieced together shards, some dubious, others probably assembled in the wrong positions, and many more simply missing. The image which emerges is thus full of guesswork, and will probably remain so.

The first fragments I discovered were in *Les Amitiés particulières* (1943/1944), *Les Amours singulières* (1949), *Du Vésuve à l'Etna* (1952) and *Notre amour* (1967) by the French author Roger Peyrefitte (1907-2000). It was only in 1977 that I was able to examine a copy of his *L'Exilé de Capri* which had appeared in 1959. In reading that novel I became convinced that Jacques d'Adelswärd was, rather than a character in fiction, a real historical person. My curiosity was aroused. I decided to study in greater depth this writer who, following the publication of Peyrefitte's novel, had acquired a reputation as a pitiful poseur whose life had been one great melodrama.

Having decided to study d'Adelswärd, I began to accumulate more fragments, mostly from secondary sources. During the 1980s my curiosity was further aroused by acquaintance with d'Adelswärd's own work which, because of the small editions in which it appeared, is difficult to locate. In the Royal Library in The Hague I found one volume of poetry, two novellas, and a virtually complete set of the magazine, *Akademos*, which d'Adelswärd edited in 1909. I was also able to examine a selection of d'Adelswärd's poetry which a Belgian collector had donated to the Dr. Edward Brongersma Foundation. (3) Confrontation with this authentic material came as something of a shock: it revealed d'Adelswärd as a far more energetic, sincere, and much less frivolous person than the character portrayed in Peyrefitte's novel (4) and in other secondary sources.

The first, but least important, question I asked myself was what went wrong, starting with Peyrefitte? Soon I realized that Peyrefitte had probably just wanted to write a good novel, and that a novelist is not restricted by the rigorous standards of biography. But, then who was the historical person Jacques d'Adelswärd? I had to find additional primary sources, more of the author's own work, newspaper articles, archive materials, and observations about him by his contemporaries.

Peyrefitte's novel proved to be very helpful. I often admired the balance it struck between being a readable story and dry biographical and bibliographical data. I discovered that Peyrefitte was doing his utmost to make the most responsible use of his material. That suspicion was further increased

by reading the definitive version of *L'Exilé de Capri*. Although this edition lacks Cocteau's foreword (found only in the first edition), (5) it is often more detailed, and weaves more bibliographical information into the story. I considered this a generous gesture on the part of Peyrefitte towards his curious readers. However, in the novel, one incident still remains unclear: in 1903 d'Adelswärd was brought before the court on morals charges involving a number of Parisian schoolboys. In both versions of his novel, Peyrefitte glosses over the actual facts of the affair which led up to d'Adelswärd's arrest and subsequent six months prison sentence, five years deprivation of civil rights, and 50 francs fine.

In 1988, in the National Archives in The Hague, I came across some old inventories of important Parisian archives. I asked myself whether material concerning the d'Adelswärd case might still exist, and sent some letters to Paris. The Director of the Archives of the Préfecture de Police informed me at the end of March that a search of the archives had not revealed any relevant material. (6) In May, the chief custodian of the archives of the Paris and Ile-de-France region informed me that the dossier of the affair had "regrettably" been destroyed; (7) they could only furnish a photocopy of the sentence. Meanwhile, I had approached the Archives de France (formerly the Archives Nationales). In mid-March I was told that they did indeed have the material I had requested, but I was at the same time informed that there was a restriction on its being made public until 2003, and that I would have to apply to the director of the archive for access. My written request was refused in April 1988 with the statement that no reasonable arguments could be found to support such a request to the Ministère de la Justice (Ministry of Justice). (8) After a few days of discouragement, I decided not to be stopped by this decision. Had my French perhaps not been correct, or had faulty wording directed my request to the wrong person?

I wrote a letter to the cultural attaché at the Dutch embassy in Paris asking him to intercede on my behalf. I received a positive and enthusiastic response. There followed negotiations with the Archives de France, and in October the cultural attaché informed me that a compromise had been reached: the Archives de France would not object to my inspecting the dossier provided I gave assurance in writing that I would publish nothing which might reveal the identity of the children involved. (9) After wrestling with this offer, I decided not to accept it, because I already knew the identity of a number of the boys from other sources, and above all because I was unable to obtain any guarantee that the Ministry of Justice would also respond positively to my request.

L'Exilé de Capri

It must first be said that Peyrefitte did outstanding research for his novel. He possessed all the writer's works; (10) he immersed himself in the secondary sources and visited places where d'Adelswärd had stayed; he spoke with many people, including family members, who had known the writer personally. Such efforts have, no doubt, given the novel its reputation for historical authenticity, a reputation neither entirely unjustified, nor fully deserved. (11) Peyrefitte did not want to limit himself to writing a historical biography or a biographical novel, as can be gathered from the remarks of Jean-Paul Sartre who, in 1958, spoke with Peyrefitte in Capri about the structure of the book. Sartre's evaluation, with which apparently the author agreed, was that, "The homosexual theme is very interesting. It also gives you the opportunity to portray the decadence of a whole society." (12)

The final result, *L'Exilé de Capri* (fig. 1) is a distortion, however brilliant, perhaps revealing more about Peyrefitte and his times than about d'Adelswärd and his. It is a kind of homosexual gossip about a particular segment of that community at the turn of the century: who did it, might have done it, or perhaps could have done it, and with whom. The hero (and, in any case, the historical d'Adelswärd) finds himself thrown together with most of the "notorious" homosexuals of the fin-de-siècle and the belle époque, who are depicted as motivated principally by promiscuity. But perhaps Peyrefitte was really imposing his own world of the 1940s and 1950s upon d'Adelswärd.



Figure 1 - Cover of the definitive edition (1974)

The point is not that homosexuals of one era are more or less sexually driven than homosexuals of another era, but rather that the reasons for choosing a promiscuous life-style in 1900 were often different from the reasons in the 1950s. These differences are what Peyrefitte denies his readers. He misses the opportunity to provide essential information about the mentality of the people of that time, information that could help us to understand them. D'Adelswärd is to Peyrefitte merely a "phenomenon," a caricature with only a few essential features of his own to distinguish him from all those others who, since history began, have embraced "the love that dared not speak its name." As to the real personality of Jacques d'Adelswärd, Peyrefitte often maintains a malicious silence. One reads little in the novel about the long struggle, so persistent in d'Adelswärd's work, between woman and boy, between hetero- and homosexuality. One thing is clear in the novel: d'Adelswärd's ultimate choice was the adolescent boy, because he did not find mature men a likely alternative, and not (we might add) because he loathed women.

Another objection I have is to the way Peyrefitte somehow manages to involve d'Adelswärd in the vicissitudes of famous homosexual contemporaries. Perhaps he does this to compensate for the fact that he does not define his hero very well, but the historically curious reader must here be on his guard. For instance, the presence of d'Adelswärd at the confrontation between a group of English tourists and Oscar Wilde and Lord Alfred Douglas in the Hotel Quisisana in Capri in 1897 is extremely dubious. (13) Jacques d'Adelswärd did indeed admire Wilde, but there is not one scrap of evidence, as far as I know, that they ever saw each other, much less met.

One final point. Considering the ethical norms of the period in which the novel is written and from which Peyrefitte has not been able completely to insulate himself, and considering also the still vigorous, small-minded secrecy in France about the events of 1903 and the decree that the Archives de France tried to impose upon me in 1988, it seems understandable that Peyrefitte chose either to give pseudonyms to a number of persons associated with d'Adelswärd or not to name them at all. (14) He certainly does not give the names of the Parisian schoolboys involved in the scandal; he only notes that in the sentence, reference is made to six boys of whom three were brothers. Strangely, however, earlier in the novel Peyrefitte gives a list of boys - even divided into the schools they attended! - who might possibly have participated in the events which led up to the

trial. (15) All of these boys, later as adults, played important roles in French society. (16) I must admit that I do not understand Peyrefitte's intentions. A number of possibilities did occur to me. Did Peyrefitte not wish to give the names of the six boys actually involved in the case, either for ethical reasons or because they never became as famous as the boys he did list? Why did he include the names of boys *not* directly involved in the case? Was he just trying to magnify the respectability of their pedagogical institutions, or did the reputations of these boys have to be cleaned up, and, if so, why? Were these the names which are probably recorded in the dossier but which do not appear in the sentence? One of those on the list, Paul Morand, in his *Venises* (1971) recalled d'Adelswärd all too well, and Peyrefitte recently admitted that Morand was one of the more important informants for his novel. (17) Or was it just another vindictive act, common to many of Peyrefitte's books, listing the names to suggest that these boys had more to do with the affair than appeared?

Jacques d'Adelswärd becomes Jacques d'Adelswärd-Fersen

Of d'Adelswärd's mother, Louise Emilie Alexandrine Vührer (1855-1935), we only know that she came from a Catholic Alsatian family, and that her father, Thomas Michel Alexandre Vührer, is said to have been the founder of the Parisian newspaper *Le Soir*. (18)

On his father's side, his family can be traced back to Baron Georges Axel d'Adelswärd, a Swedish officer who was captured by the French in 1793 and imprisoned in Longwy. There he married a daughter of the French notary Bernard; (19) according to Peyrefitte, this daughter was the oldest cousin of Count Hans Axel von Fersen (1755-1810). Before 1783, von Fersen, as aide-de-camp to General Rochambeau, fought with the French troops in the American War of Independence. Later, as a diplomat, he raised a storm in Versailles and arranged the escape of the French royal family to Varennes in 1791. He became the personal favorite of the Swedish King Gustavus III (murdered in 1792) and his son Gustavus IV, who was forced to abdicate in 1809. He operated as a President of the University of Uppsala and was made a Swedish field-marshal in 1801. But in 1810, while singing the "Frère Jacques," he was killed by a mob in Stockholm at the funeral of the new king-elect, Christian of Augustenberg: according to the people, von Fersen was to be blamed for the fact that the new king had suddenly died before his coronation. It is to this same von Fersen that Jacques dedicated his volume of poetry *Chansons Légères* (1901) (figs. 2 & 4) and whose name he later added to his own. (20)

One descendent of the Protestant d'Adelswärd line was Jacques' grandfather, Renauld-Oscar (1811-1898), who became a naturalized French citizen in 1832 and married Amélie Steiner in 1843. After serving in the army, he founded the iron and steel industry in Longwy-Briey, bringing prosperity to the district. In 1848 he was appointed deputy for the Meurthe district in the National Assembly in Paris, where he befriended a deputy from Paris, none other than the famous writer, Victor Hugo. After the coup d'état of 1851, he and Hugo briefly shared exile on the island of Jersey. According to Peyrefitte, the only accomplishment of Renauld-Oscar's son, Axel d'Adelswärd (i.e., Jacques' father, 1847-1887), was to die at an early age of yellow fever in Panama. (21)

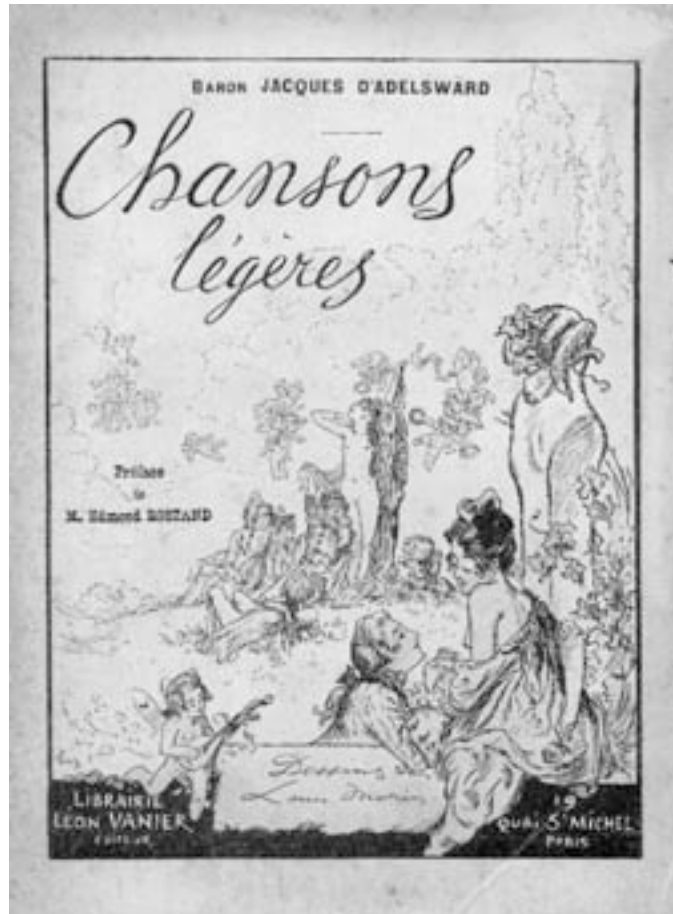


Figure 2 - Cover by Louis Morin

Not much is known about Jacques' early youth. When he was born, his mother was twenty-four (according to Jacques' birth registration: twenty-three) years old and his father thirty-two. Peyrefitte provides us with the name of Jacques' guardian and friend of the family, Viscount [Elie Marie] Audoin de Dampierre, and mentions pleasant outdoor vacations with his grandfather on Jersey. Jacques found these much more interesting than the long summer days spent within the walls of Herserange, the family castle near Longwy (fig. 3), days interrupted only occasionally by visits to the steel mills. During one vacation on Jersey, Jacques seems to have had intimate relations with an unidentified blond Eton schoolboy. In the volume *Chansons Légères. Poèmes de l'enfance* (Light verses: Poems of childhood) his poem, "Treize ans" (Thirteen years old), seems to be dedicated to this youngster, though there is an ambivalence whether it is the poet or (as Timothy d'Arch Smith has suggested) the dedicatee who is thirteen (or both of them). (22) In the same collection Jacques describes in "A Grand-Père" (To Grandfather), the loving but rather remote relationship between himself and his grandfather. Jacques explained the fact that he hardly knew his grandfather by saying that as a boy he was preoccupied with exploring the world around him, catching butterflies, and picking flowers. (23)



Figure 3 - Powerstation Herserange; to the right the d'Adelswärd family castle

Jacques passed the greater part of the year in Paris, part of the time in boarding schools, and the rest of the time with his family which, after his father's death, consisted of his mother and two sisters, Germaine Juliette Fernande (1884-1973) and Jeanne Yvonne Marguerite (called "Solange," 1886-1942). Jacques remembers his little brother Renold, who died young, in a tender *in memoriam* poem. (24)



Figure 4 - Jacques d'Adelswärd in his teens

His secondary school years were characterized by a most tiresome tour of the very illustrious bulwarks of Parisian education: the Collège Sainte-Barbe-aux-Champs, the Lycée Michelet in Vanves, the Lycée Janson-de-Sailly (fig. 5), the Collège Rochefort, and the École Descartes.

Sainte-Barbe-aux-Champs was chosen by his grandfather because of its noble tradition dating back to 1460. The reason for the rapid change of schools remains unclear. The educational system was probably much the same in all of them; the authoritarian approach could not have varied a great deal. Nancy Erber quotes Jacques' own explanation during the trial: that he was called "a girl" by fellow pupils, and that he was horrified when a schoolmate took him to a brothel, which earned him the nickname "stupid kid." Perhaps the best clues of the rapid change lie in Jacques' character. Considering the spirit of the times, he must have seemed a difficult pupil to his teachers: he had his own ideas about things, and was perhaps a bit egocentric, non-conformist, and rebellious against idle authority. (25) He gives a brilliant picture of the boredom of boarding school study hours in the poetry collection *L'Hymnaire d'Adonis* (The Hymnal of Adonis) (1902). This poem also bears the title "Treize Ans":

*Treize ans, blondin aux yeux précoces,
Qui disent le désir et l'émou,
Lèvres, ayant je ne sais quoi
De mutin, de vicieux, de gosse.*

*Il lit; dans la salle ils sont
Tous penchés à écrire un thème,
Lui seul dans un coin lit quand même,
Des vers de Musset, polissons;*

*Le pion passe, vite il se cache,
Semblant travailler avec feu,
À quelque devoir nébuleux,
Très propre, soigné et sans tache,*

*Puis calmé, le moment d'après,
Reprend tout rose sa lecture,
Se met à changer de posture,
Pour être de l'ombre plus près;*

*Coule ses mains, sans qu'on devine,
Dans sa poche percée d'un trou,
Et là longuement fait joujou,
Rêveur de voluptés félines!*

Thirteen

*Thirteen, blond, with knowing eyes,
Flashing restlessness and desire,
Street boys' lips tinged with
The mischievous, even the vicious.*

*He is reading: in the study hall
The others are bent, writing an exercise,
He alone, in a corner, reads
Smutty poems by de Musset;*

*The proctor passes by; quickly he hides himself,
Pretending devoted concentration,
At some nebulous task,
Working properly, neatly, without stains,*

*Calm again, the moment passed,
Resumes his reading, flushing,
Shifting slowly
To be deeper in shadow;*

*Slips his hands, unobserved,
Into his pocket pierced by a hole,
And there, for a while, fondles his toy,
Lost dreaming in feline sensualities!* (26)



Figure 5 - Lycée Janson-de-Sailly (1991)

L'Hymnaire d'Adonis, which swarms with young blond boys, contains many poems directly referring to Jacques' own school years. Were such contacts and meditations as are described in "Crépuscule" (Twilight), "Rêve triste" (Gloomy dream), and "Adieu Mièvre" (Frisky farewell) (27) to have come to light, they would no doubt have led to the immediate expulsion of those involved. I doubt that this happened in Jacques' case; if it had, Peyrefitte would almost certainly have discovered it.

After initial difficulties with his final examinations, Jacques finally obtained the necessary baccalaureate to go to university. He enrolled at Geneva and there in 1898 he published his first collection of poems, *Conte d'Amour* (Tale of love). The same year, however, his grandfather died, and he was called back to France where he tried to get used to the fact that he had received a rich inheritance. In Paris he enrolled in a number of courses without taking any of them very seriously. After his compulsory military service was abridged to ten months, he returned to Paris on 20 September 1902 and fell again into a rather directionless existence.



Figure 6 - Jacques d'Adelswärd in his twenties

He debated between taking up a career in diplomacy or going into politics, took courses at the École des Sciences Morales et Politiques at Saint-Germain-en-Laye and joined the Royalist Party. He also took courses in law and literature, and a course in experimental psychology at the Salpêtrière in Paris. His urge to show off was temporarily satisfied by the purchase of a royal blue Darracq automobile, driven by a liveried chauffeur. But establishing himself as a writer (fig. 6) offered the greatest promise: he had published two new collections of poems, *Chansons Légères* (1901) and *L'Hymnaire d'Adonis* (1902). He had also published a miscellaneous volume, *Ébauches et Débauches* (Drafts and dissipations) (1901), and a novel, *Notre-Dame des Mers Mortes* (Our Lady of the Dead Seas) (1902), the fruit of a visit to Venice. Meanwhile, he had become a welcome guest in Parisian literary salons: there the ladies, hoping for a casual flirt or merely seeking an ideal son, gushed over the promising but above all rich young dandy; some probably had never read a word he had written. A number of his fellow artists, however, expected better things from his young talent. (28)

Baron Jacques and the *Messes Noires* of 1903

In January d'Adelswärd leased a bachelor's apartment at 18 Avenue Friedland, just two doors away from his mother. The building still stands, and above the top floor windows one can read the incised initials "NC." This is not, however, an homage to Jacques' future boy-friend, Nino Cesarini, but simply the logo of the company that constructed the building, the Nationale Compagnie d'Assurances sur la Vie. It is now occupied by several medical specialists (fig. 7). 1903 was the year of Jacques' friendship with Loulou Locré, a pupil at the Lycée Carnot; (29) and of his ultimately disastrous association with Albert François de Warren (born in the same year as Jacques' brother Renold), who appears in Peyrefitte's novel as Hamelin and whose elder brother, René, was knighted by Pope Leo XIII in 1900. It was also the year of serious marriage plans involving Blanche de Maupéou, who came from a respected aristocratic family and whose father was a wealthy Protestant industrialist. (30) Nothing, however, was to come of those plans, for the long arm of the law intervened.



Figure 7 - Avenue Friedland, Nr. 18 (1991)

By order of the judge for the pretrial hearings, Charles de Valles, Jacques (fig. 8) was arrested by Messieurs Hamard, chief of the Sûreté, and his deputy Blot on 9 July on suspicion of indecent conduct with minors (figs. 9-10) and offending the public decency. He was brought to the Santé prison for questioning.



Figure 8 - Cover with d'Adelswärd's portrait (1903)

The newspapers and magazines were full of the case in the days that followed. (31) Jacques and Albert de Warren were supposed to have held orgies (called *Messes Noires* - Black Masses – by the press) in their homes twice a week, involving countless youngsters from the better circles of society, mostly recruited from Carnot, Chaptal, Condorcet, Janson-de-Sailly, and Saint-Joseph-des-Tuileries schools (figs. 5 & 11). Writing of a confrontation between his father and d'Adelswärd years later in Venice, Paul Morand described how his fellow pupils used to point out Jacques as he waited expectantly outside their school doors. (32)

According to Peyrefitte, the alleged soirées involved the crème de la crème of Parisian high society, including Catholic priests: many prominent ladies and gentlemen came to gape at these exhibitionist *tableaux vivants* and *poses plastiques*, and some of the observers actually participated in them - the much admired courtesan Liane de Pougy, for example, posed as the Callipygian Venus. Nancy Erber quotes the amusing comment in the newspaper *Gil Blas*: “Two young Parisian gentlemen who hungered for novelty hosted a series of children’s parties at their home. This attracted the attention of the police. It seems that they were introducing the little schoolboys of our *lycées* to the sort of homework that had only a distant relation to the kind the Education Ministry is recommending. In addition, a certain number of ladies and gentlemen joined in these juvenile pastimes, which certainly must have flattered the children, who always long for adult attention... The principal of the *lycée Carnot* has assured us that in order to protect his charges from being accosted by ‘shady women’ at the end of the school day, he himself patrols the sidewalk outside the establishment. Alas! He hadn’t reckoned on ‘shady men’.” “Professional ephebes,” young rent boys, seem to have been present too. Erber quotes one of the participants: “We put on pink robes. Sometimes we took them off. Nothing more.” (33)

According to Peyrefitte, scandal erupted following a failed blackmail attempt by Jacques' former valet, “Pierre G.” (fig. 12) who demanded 100,000 francs in return for his silence. When Jacques' mother refused to pay too, he went to the police, who at first refused to believe him. However, Pierre's story was confirmed by a certain “Perrin,” a blackmailer arrested by Inspector Roux and

who seems to have been an intimate acquaintance of Albert de Warren. A number of schoolboys were shadowed and their activities observed, after which the police stepped in. Forewarned, de Warren had fled to the United States on 27 June (probably from Ostende), but d'Adelswärd's mother was forced to retain the famous lawyer, Charles Demange, who had defended Captain Alfred Dreyfus some years before.

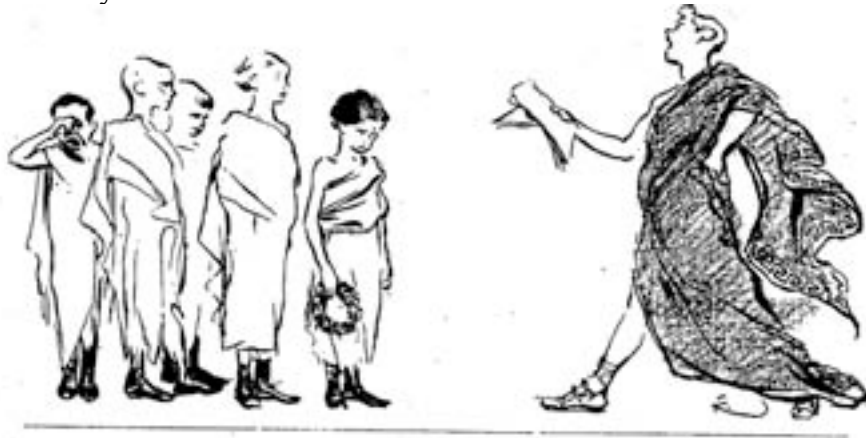


Figure 9 - Caricature by Kupka (1903)

During his detention, Jacques was examined by three psychiatrists named Notet, Magnan and Vallon who, according to the newspaper *Le Matin*, diagnosed insanity, alcoholism, and epilepsy inherited from his grandparents. Vallon described attacks during Jacques' youth which had brought him to death's door, causing brain damage which, according to the psychiatrist, condemned him to lead the life of a congenital liar. Vallon even claimed that his residence in various boarding schools had only added to his lack of education in moral hygiene, and the psychiatrist concluded that Jacques had a damaged sense of responsibility. (34) In August, he was brought to the prison hospital in Fresnes (perhaps also because the regimen was less severe there) to undergo necessary medical treatment. It was at this time that he wrote a collection of poems entitled *L'Amour enseveli* (Love in burial costume), which appeared in Paris a year later. In October he was returned to the Santé; according to Peyrefitte, on the same day Albert de Warren, assisted by his counsel Maître Henri-Robert, voluntarily appeared before Judge de Valles.



Figure 10 - "Two Removals" by Kupka (1903)

The trial began on 28 November in the ninth chamber of the Tribunal de la Seine headed by Judge Bondoux, the court having decided that the proceedings would be held in camera. On 3 December the prosecution lawyer, Lescouvé, outlined the case for the prosecution followed by the statements for the defense by Demange and Henri-Robert. On the same day a guilty verdict was handed down: having already served five months d'Adelswärd was set free that evening. Albert de Warren stayed in prison and appealed to a higher court. (35)

Considering that the trial was held in camera, it is easy to understand why so little was reported about it in the press. Grandgousier, in the republican newspaper *Le Matin*, managed to fill several columns with a piece on "noble deeds" discussed behind closed doors. (36)

It must be observed that the court did not wish to deal with the charge of "offending public decency." The case was restricted to illegal conduct between a number of boys and two young men in their twenties, thus averting the widening of the case and the likelihood that steps would have had to be taken against other, perhaps older, participants. Moreover, according to the sentence, "indecent behavior" was cited with only six minors: Berecki, Boesch, Locré, and the three brothers Adalbert, Jacques, and René Croisé de Pourcelet, sons of a Parisian engineer of whom the oldest was fourteen (fig. 13). (37) In so doing, it was probably hoped that the affair could be contained and above all the public's appetite for sensation dampened.

Whether this was indeed the intention of the court, or whether, as Peyrefitte suggests (following the defense of Maître Henri-Robert), this was the wish of other and more important people, the attempt failed. The degree to which the name d'Adelswärd-Fersen still stirs the public imagination is a result not of his literary output but rather of the fabrications circulated about him from 1903 onwards. In 1904, for example, three years before Peyrefitte was born, the pornographer Alphonse Gallais, using the transparent pseudonym of Doctor A.-S. Lagail, brought out a strange book entitled *Les Mémoires du Baron Jacques: Lubricités infernales de la noblesse décadente*, in which he set out to kill two birds with one stone.



Figure 11 - Lycée Carnot (1991)

As often in Gallais' books, the nobleman was one target of satire, and this time homosexuality was the other. The writer of these apocryphal memoirs obviously had little affinity for, or experience with, the sexuality of children; whenever there is an opportunity, his frame of reference is the (hetero)sexual behavior of adults. But the real purpose of the book is to allow the author to cast aspersions on every one around Jacques: he had intimate relations with Oscar Wilde, Pierre Loti, and Jean Lorrain; he had an incestuous relationship with his mother who took his virginity at an early age; Jacques, in turn, deflowered a number of young boys above the skeleton of his own mother. The piece ends with Jacques' death in the prison hospital at Fresnes as a result of "a delicate operation on his anus." The book also contains a poem of 14 stanzas with 8 lines each, entitled "Notre-Dame des Verges Fortes" (Our Lady of the sturdy cocks), a word play on Jacques' novel, *Notre-Dame des Mers Mortes*, of 1902. The poem is dedicated "to my friends de Barden (de Warren) and La Lorraine (Lorrain)."



Figure 12 - Caricature by Hermann-Paul (1903)

It is not surprising that this small book was condemned in the Cour d'Assises de la Seine on 11 October 1913. (38) A few years later the author tried to resurrect it; using the pseudonym Grimaudin d'Echara, he republished the material in Chapter Four ("Chez le Baron d'Alderswald") of his *Passions de Femmes. Roman vécu de moeurs féminines et autres. Luxures orgiaques et ordurières. Livre III.* (39) Obviously the public way in which the affair was reported provided a rich source of nourishment for this kind of pulp.



Figure 13 - First page of the sentence

Of course, there were comments from higher literary levels too. In a letter to his brother, Pierre Louÿs condemned d'Adelswärd in private, and Paul Léautaud talked with the diseased Marcel Schwob about the affair. In the salon of Madame Marguerite de Pierrebourg, Marcel Proust had defended Jacques: when Paul Hervieu, member of the Académie Française, had cursed the “homosexual Adelsward” and had pleaded for the wrath of Themis, the goddess of Justice, Proust had contradicted him. He had pleaded for compassion, and, modifying the dictum about religion of the Prussian King Frederick II, he had insisted upon the right of every one to love in his own way. This reminds us of the end of Charles-Louis Philippe’s plea of tolerance, “Le Mouton à cinq pattes,” in the issue of July/August of *Le Canard Sauvage*: “each passion is right, great and normal, because it exists.” In the same issue, Alfred Jarry, the famous and notorious homosexual author of *Ubu roi*, took d'Adelswärd under his protection in his ironical contribution, “L’Âme ouverte à l’Art antique.” (40)

The most extensive comment came from the previously-mentioned homosexual writer, Jean Lorrain (pseudonym of Paul Alexandre Martin Duval, 1856-1906). In his *Pelléastres: Le Poison de la littérature*, his tirade against what he termed bad taste in literature, he devoted many pages to d'Adelswärd. His description of *Messes Noires* reads like an eye-witness account; it is not unlikely that he was present at some of the gatherings, even though he disliked d'Adelswärd, and Peyrefitte

expressly states that Lorrain had not been invited. Taken in context, it would seem that we are dealing with a literary settling of accounts. Here are two people perceived by the outside world as "friends" but who in fact lived in nearly separate worlds: a homosexual who worshipped at the shrine of muscle-bound sailors and similar types, and an aristocratic French "Uranian," hankering after loyal intimacy with the companions of his youth. (41) Lorrain's descriptions of d'Adelswärd are telling: not only is Jacques a "snob," but above all "puerile" and "pitiful." In his opinion, the *Messes Noires* do not deserve such a label because they had nothing in common with the Black Masses of Joris-Karl Huysmans, Abbé Guibourg, or Gilles de Rais. Besides, Lorrain added with a sneer, one cannot expect a Protestant ever to make a convincing parody of the Catholic mass.

According to him, the *Messes Noires* were nothing more than ordinary literary salons held on the Avenue Friedland which degenerated into "banal" costume parties with d'Adelswärd at the center (are we supposed to think here of similar gatherings at the house of the German poet Stephan George?). The most shocking and, in light of Lorrain's personal preferences, "pitiful" thing which occurred during one of the gatherings was the appearance of "an adolescent, stark naked, lying on a white bearskin, his body covered with golden gauze, his forehead crowned with roses and his arms resting on a skull of polished ivory." (42)

Was this the "indecent" for which Jacques was condemned? Peyrefitte's description in *L'Exilé de Capri*, based largely upon Lorrain's report, gives us no further information; at the point where the reader might want clarification, the boys disappear behind a screen of discretion, in this case into the bathroom. What follows is one of the strongest passages in the novel; unfettered by details, the author skillfully uses suggestion to draw the reader to one conclusion: "It" happened in the bathroom. But what actually took place in that bathroom?

When Peyrefitte came to write his memoirs, *Propos Secrets*, the screen of discretion came down. Pity for Jacques' family had prevented him from detailing in 1959 what he already knew: Jacques followed the boys, who were stimulated by the tableaux, to the bathroom and masturbated them. (43)

After all the build-up, this revelation is not terribly spectacular. Peyrefitte, however, submitted that his information came from the declarations of those involved, such as can be found in the court documents. Peyrefitte claimed that a copy of the relevant dossier had been given him by "an important magistrate" through a lawyer, a certain Marcel Mirtil. (44) Upon questioning, the Director of the Archives de France assured me three times that no outsider had ever taken the dossier out of the archive, nor inspected it. What then of Peyrefitte's claim? The simplest explanation would be that one of the two parties was lying. I consider this the least likely alternative. If Peyrefitte had wanted to invent, he would have provided us with a more spectacular climax; and one cannot really expect the director of an archive to know the precise history of all the documents in his care. There is always the chance of a leak; some unscrupulous employee could have been bribed to make a clandestine copy of "Top Secret" material. A duplicate of the dossier might have come into the hands of the defense lawyer, Demange, and his copy might have been the one obtained by Peyrefitte. (45)

Another aspect of the case has to be cleared up, one which is referred to neither in the sentence nor in Peyrefitte's novel: newspapers reported that during the police search of d'Adelswärd's apartment a number of pornographic photos were seized - *Le Matin* wrote of "sadistic photos." It was suspected that the photos had been made by a certain Tr., an amateur photographer and brother-in-law of de Warren, a regular guest at the Black Masses. Upon Jacques' arrest, Tr. disappeared. *Le Temps* reported that the police found only sports photos when they searched the photographer's atelier. According to Nancy Erber, obscene photos were also found in de Warren's apartment (which is incorrect), and, during the trial, Jacques admitted the possession of pornographic photos, which he had also shown to the boys: "I considered them artistic. That's why I displayed them openly in my home." (46)

Lord Lyllian

There is another source which might provide us with some clarification of the events leading up to the trial, a novel written by d'Adelswärd in Ceylon and Capri in 1904 and published in 1905, entitled, *Lord Lyllian. Messes Noires* (fig. 14). Oddly enough it was dedicated to the *jugé d'instruction*, that is to the judge for pretrial hearings. One of his strongest works, it consists of an astonishing mixture of fact and fiction. Only the last quarter of it deals with the affair of 1903; the remainder we must consider Jacques' apologia. It is a book full of mirrors and masks (much of it takes place in Venice) in which a layman, perhaps even a judge, must get lost. Maybe that is why the Dutch writer and essayist, Gerrit Komrij, even though he made a good attempt to unravel its mysteries, called it a "deafening mistake." (47)

First of all, there is considerable juggling with names. When the reference is to contemporary events, the players assume their real names: Huysmans, Barrès, Louis of Bavaria. With those of d'Adelswärd's circle, and as events become more and more fantastic, the names take on their own masks: the German industrialist Supp (Friedrich Alfred Krupp), Sar Baladin (Sâr Mérodack = Joséphin Péladan), Montautrou ("the arse climber" = Robert de Montesquiou), Achille Patrac (Achille Essebac = Achille Bécasse), the painter Chignon (Édouard Chimot), Claude Skrimpton (Claude Simpson). Albert de Warren becomes Guy de Payen. The hero lives on Avenue d'Iéna (Friedland), and we can recognize Inspector Roux in the police agent Pioux. Jean Lorrain appears repeatedly as the chatter-box and sexual match-maker, Jean d'Alsace (probably a literary application of the Alsace-Lorraine conflict), who on one occasion even forgets his wig.



Figure 14 - Cover by Claude Simpson

The main character is Renold Howard Evelyn Monrose, Lord of Lyllian Castle in Scotland who at the age of seventeen lost his parents: first his adulterous mother and then his tender loving father. Following a tender puppy-love affair with a fourteen-year-old girl, the young orphan falls into the clutches of Harold Skilde (Oscar Wilde), the writer of *The Portrait of Miriam Green* (*The Picture of Dorian Gray*, of course). Skilde falls in love with the innocent youth, but perverts him and turns him into a simultaneous reincarnation of Adonis, Heliogabalus, and Narcissus. Countless men and women, mostly older, court him and bind him to serve their sexual needs. Following the suicide of one of his female worshippers during a night-time erotic performance by the Lord in the ruins of a Greek temple, he breaks off his relations with Skilde, who is immediately arrested in England and sentenced to "hard labour." Komrij rightly points out parallels between Lord Lyllian and Lord Alfred Douglas. Chapter Nine even begins with a letter from Skilde to Lord Lyllian which seems a paraphrase of Wilde's *De Profundis* even though this work was only published by Robert Ross in shortened version in 1905. (48)

After protracted wanderings through Europe, filled with memories of his innocent youth and his loving father; after a number of new conquests (which he takes as his due) and the accompanying ennui; and after a short-term love affair with a Gypsy girl in Venice and a "true love" romance with the young Swedish poet Axel Ansen (who unfortunately dies young), Lord Lyllian finally settles down in Paris. There follows the well-known story resulting in the *Messes Noires*, though d'Adelswärd's perspective is that of the sensation-hungry public. All the ingredients are there: the schoolboys arrive (Lyllian's "choirboys"); a naked boy lies on an altar and is bedecked with white

roses and black lilies, a skull in his hand; Lord Lyllian worships in front of him on his knees while reciting poetry. There even follows a scene in which a sword-wielding Lyllian chases a little boy. Someone in the public asks, "Is it true that he cuts the children's throats?" The writer's comment is short but crushing: Black Masses are the ease-loving substitutes of those who lack the capacity to be Rosicrucians! (49)

Lord Lyllian has previously informed us that he only wanted to raise the ethical and aesthetic consciousness of the schoolboys and expose them to good poetry (Byron and Verlaine). He would guide them to experience the magnificent, consoling character of love and so stimulate them into seeking a deserving comrade with whom they would not be ashamed and could share the excitement of discovering life, beauty, and tenderness. (50) In the end Lord Lyllian betrays the boys; he renounces boy-love and abandons his friends to throw himself into the arms of his ultimate love - a young girl of noble birth. The hero is asked to justify himself by one of the schoolboys, André Lazeski (the young Berecki from the sentence), (51) and is subsequently killed in a *mêlée*. The boy also dies in the fight.

The novel is a breathtaking mixture of truth and fiction providing some new information about pedagogical eros. Where the book is of exceptional value is in casting new light on the writer himself, his character, and his artistry. D'Adelswärd appears in the novel in at least four guises, and he even lets them carry on love affairs with each other. Most important, of course, is the decadent Lord Lyllian. He is offset by the chaste Renold (the name of d'Adelswärd's brother who died young). But he is also the sly old diplomat d'Herse range who bears the name of the d'Adelswärd family castle. Renold loses his chastity when he discovers his own body in a mirror; (52) d'Herse range tries to manipulate Lord Lyllian to serve his sexual needs. The fourth is an artist of his own age, Axel Ansen, with whom Lord Lyllian is only able to exchange a single kiss before the poet dies. When Lyllian tells the story to d'Herse range, he realizes that this young man was the first person in his life who loved him without reservation. Axel, of course, was the first name of d'Adelswärd's father. This is sufficient, I believe, to demonstrate the complexity of the novel, which is a virtually unique manifestation of narcissism. We can rightly conclude, I think, that the early deaths of his little brother Renold and his father placed an ineradicable stamp upon the character of the young Jacques d'Adelswärd.

The Dossier d'Instruction of 1903

In 2003 I finally got the opportunity to consult the dossier of the Archives de France. (53) At first glance, it seemed a complete mess! It took some time to restore the chronological order of the documents included. The dossier consists of 24 documents in handwriting, from several authorities, and covers the period of 10 July 1903 to 21 January 1904; especially the orthography of names turns out to be rather sloppy.

Included are two letters concerning de Warren's appeals, (54) and some correspondence between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the French General Consul at New York about the whereabouts of de Warren. There are some instructions to the police and notes of observations during the investigation; short notices about the findings in d'Adelswärd's and de Warren's homes during the police search, and statements by Blanche's father, the Viscount de Maupéou, and the father of the Croisé de Pourcelet boys. Two documents refer to d'Adelswärd's mental and physical examinations, but most of the dossier consists of résumés of interrogations. Of course, there were interviews with d'Adelswärd himself and some of the boys involved, including several rent boys. D'Adelswärd's door-keeper, Adam, was also interviewed, as well as Jacques' chauffeur, Bernadat, his former valet, Velpry, and the valet of his mother, Médard (the latter not included in the dossier). What do these documents add to our investigations so far?

On 2 August 1903, the French General Consul at New York, de Magny, informed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, that de Warren and his brother had arrived in New York on 4 July, traveling with

the pseudonym Rossen because their name had also been divulged in the American press coverage of the scandal; they had departed for Liverpool and Queenstown on the steamer “Oceanic” on 29 July, using the name Fernando. (55) From a letter of the Tribunal de la Seine of 10 July (appendix by the *juge d’instruction*, Charles de Valles), it appears that Jacques had been forwarned too! That is why he had stopped all the gatherings and the reception of youngsters at his home, and why he had fixed his engagement at an earlier date, intending to set out on a journey with Blanche and her family on 11 July.

The story about the failed blackmail attempt by Jacques’ former valet “Pierre G.” (whose real name was Velpry) was probably invented by Peyrefitte. Velpry told de Valles about the frequentations of d’Adelswärd’s apartment by the brothers Croisé de Pourcelet, from April 1903 onwards: after their departure, he had found obscene photos, left on the table, and handkerchiefs stained with sperm; he had informed Jacques’ mother about the situation, and had quit his job because he had become the laughing-stock of all domestics in the house, who knew of Jacques’ moral conduct. On the contrary, it appears that Jacques had been blackmailed by several rent boys. During the investigations, three letters were discovered, one of them addressed to the Viscount de Maupéou, who received it just a few moments before Jacques’ arrest. When the viscount informed de Valles about the letter, he also expressed his joy about the fact that the family had received the revelations concerning Jacques before the marriage. The dossier does not reveal the name(s) of the blackmailer(s); the name “Perrin” is not mentioned at all. However, most close in pronunciation there is the name of Béret, a comrade of the fifteen-year-old rent boy Dascher. Maybe Peyrefitte mixed up this name with the name of Béchet, a close friend of de Warren. (56)

In the dossier, we can find the names of six rent boys, with whom d’Adelswärd had sexual contacts: Béret, Dascher, twenty-one-year-old Kothé, Lefebvre, nineteen-year-old Leroy, and fifteen-year-old Verguet. Dascher declared that in March he had been hauled up from the boulevards and had been taken in Jacques’ automobile to Avenue Friedland; he had spent the night with d’Adelswärd, he had been masturbated and Jacques had oral sex with him too; the next day he had introduced his comrade, Béret, to Jacques. Kothé and Leroy also gave detailed information (not included in the dossier) about their sexual contacts with d’Adelswärd. It was probably from these contacts that he had caught several venereal diseases. During the physical examination of Jacques, the prison doctor, Socquet, diagnosed scabies, gonorrhoea and soft ulcer, which needed immediate medical treatment; Socquet spoke about a “deplorable pathological condition.”

Jacques himself told de Valles that, after his military service in Charleville and Sedan, his former camp comrade, Édouard Chimot, engraver from Lille, had introduced him to the professional ephebes of the streets and other public spots. The germ of his “depravations” had to be traced back to the reading of licentious literature, and to the bad company of fellow pupils at the Collège Sainte-Barbe, the Lycées Michelet and Janson-de-Sailly, and the École Descartes. (57)

A female friend of de Warren, Madame d’Aubusson, had encouraged Jacques to organize gatherings, such as were described in his *L’Hymnaire d’Adonis*, and in the books of Achille Essebac, Jean Lorrain, and Joséphin Péladan. Jacques told de Valles about the previously-mentioned *Messe Noire* described by Jean Lorrain. It took place at Avenue Friedland on 18 May. After the recitation of Baudelaire’s “La Mort des amants” (The Death of the lovers) from *Les Fleurs du mal*, and at the sounds of a funeral march, the guests defiled along the *tableau vivant* of “Youth and Death”: a skull amidst flowers and lights, and a nude fourteen-year-old boy, lying on the floor, his sex covered with a scarf. Jacques emphasized that the gathering had not a licentious character, nor the soirée in March and other mundane afternoon parties; moreover, college boys had not been present. Rent boy Kothé, who assisted at some of the gatherings, testified that usually three fourths of the guests consisted of pederasts known to him. The dossier only mentions two names of regular guests: Count Guy d’Harasat d’Etchegoyen and Abbé Marin. (58)

As to the schoolboys, it must first be observed that the names of boys “*not* directly involved in the case” (from Peyrefitte’s above-mentioned list) do not occur in the dossier. (59) There is a list of

schoolboys (as an appendix of a letter from the Tribunal de la Seine of 13 July 1903), which, compared with the remainder of the dossier, is incomplete. From all the documents in the dossier, one can compose the following list of schoolboys involved: Besnard (a young comrade of André Berecki), Raoul Clerc (probably a special friend of de Warren), Ramo-Braga, and a pupil of the “classe de rhétorique” (60) (no schools mentioned). From the École Saint-Joseph-des-Tuileries, about seventeen-year-old Starcelli. From the Lycée Carnot: seventeen-year-old André Berecki, son of the General Municipal Secretary of the XVIIth Arrondissement; fourteen-year-old Henri Boesch; fourteen-year-old Adalbert and Jacques Croisé de Pourcelet, and their younger brother, René (seven or eight years old); two brothers Jacquet (about fourteen years old); a boy de Laguerre; Loulou Locré; and a boy Ménard, son of Doctor Saint-Yves Ménard.

Most of the boys were introduced to d’Adelswärd by Albert de Warren, who hauled them up in the Parc Monceau, in the vicinity of the Lycée Carnot. The boys were treated to light meals, with fancy cakes and liqueurs, to poetry, and rides in Jacques’ automobile. Sometimes Jacques picked the boys up at their school door; occasionally accompanied by de Warren, at which time both of them, clearly being the subject of conversation of almost every one, were pointed out by a flock of other pupils.

From the declarations of the boys we can infer that they did not attend d’Adelswärd’s soirées; they mostly visited him alone, or in couples, or met him at de Warren’s home. Acts of mutual masturbation between them and Jacques, were reported by André Berecki and the brothers Adalbert and Jacques Croisé de Pourcelet; both brothers testified that d’Adelswärd had performed oral sex on them as well. Saying that he was a collector, d’Adelswärd had made a drawing of Adalbert’s penis; and Henri Boesch declared that d’Adelswärd had measured his sex in a toilet, in the presence of the brothers Adalbert and Jacques. Especially Adalbert seems to be omnipresent (61) in the dossier: when on 12 June d’Adelswärd and de Warren picked up a fourteen-year-old boy at the Lycée Carnot, they drove to a confectioner’s shop at the Avenue de Villiers; there, as by chance, Adalbert turned up as well. It also seems that there was an erotic correspondence between d’Adelswärd and Jacques Croisé de Pourcelet; the latter received d’Adelswärd’s letters and post-cards, under the initials J.C.P., poste restante at the office on the Rue Jouffroy. His brother René, who emerges from the dossier as a precocious young boy, testified that d’Adelswärd only once had touched his fly (which the accused denied).

René declared that once or twice he had masturbated himself, after he had learned how to do it from the continuous conversations of his brothers about the subject in de Warren’s home, and after he had caught his brothers in the act. In the same document, de Warren is accused of having masturbated Jacques (who was thirteen at that time) in front of his brother Adalbert. Of course, the boys’ father was furious when he was informed about the attacks on the virtue of his over-enthusiast sons. He threatened d’Adelswärd with violence, and yelled that he would find de Warren and kill him, if he was not arrested by the police. Hamard, the chief of the Sûreté, and de Valles had to do their utmost to appease him. In a document of 10 October 1903, de Valles observed that d’Adelswärd and de Warren had used no violence to the boys. Regarding Jacques’ physical condition, it is strange that there is no sign of concern about the health of the boys in the dossier.

Compared with the sentence, there is something odd about the dossier. There is no résumé of an interrogation of Loulou Locré! In a document from the Tribunal de la Seine of 12 July 1903, the boy is once mentioned (spelled as “Locret”), (62) by the brothers Adalbert and Jacques, as a regular visitor of d’Adelswärd, whereas in the sentence (and in Peyrefitte’s novel) he plays a prominent part. From this document one cannot possibly understand why Loulou Locré should be mentioned in the sentence as a victim. However, the same document states that “Locret, Boesch, de Laguerre, Starcelli, and a pupil of the rhétorique” will be interviewed tomorrow. Unfortunately, there is no document concerning these interviews! (63) Has it been removed from the dossier? There is a small indication that this might be the case: on the original jacket of the dossier, there is a note “24

pièces” (24 pieces); the note is in a recent handwriting. I am afraid, that we have to conclude that the dossier is incomplete. I do not dare to think of what else could have been removed.

The Years of Exile

Immediately upon his release, on 3 December 1903, Jacques tried to make amends for his past. He appeared with bouquet in hand at the door of his fiancée, Blanche de Maupéou, intending to explain all, but was sent away by a servant without a chance to speak with her. In despair, he decided to end his life with a bullet in the head, but his attempt failed. No longer feeling welcome in the Parisian salons, he decided to join the Foreign Legion. That came to nothing because of his delicate health, although Peyrefitte's version is that his rank would have been that of a common soldier because of his jail sentence. He could expect no support from his family, and so there was no choice for him but to leave France.

Precisely why he established himself on Capri is not known. Many writers point to the long history of the island, from its beginnings with the supposed orgies in Villa Jovis of the Roman Emperor Tiberius. Others point to the fact that Marquis Donatien Alphonse de Sade and Lord Alfred Douglas (after Wilde's trial in 1895) had both fled there, and this cannot be excluded as a motivation. However, I believe there were more practical considerations: Jacques knew Capri from vacations during his adolescence; he was thus probably aware of the existence of its international colony of artists and expatriates which might have seemed at that moment his only safe haven, a place where he could build a new life, and, moreover, which he could use as a stage to profile himself. Jacques appears in the writings of a number of authors who lived and worked there: in the memoirs of the English writer Norman Douglas, *Looking Back* (1933), and in his novel *South Wind* (1917); in the memoirs of Edward Frederic Benson; and in the novels *Vestal Fire* (1927) and *Extraordinary Women. Theme and Variations* (1928) by Compton Mackenzie, in which d'Adelswärd appears as the dandy, Count Robert (Bob) Marsac Lagerström. The American author Edward Irenaeus Prime-Stevenson (better known with his pseudonym, Xavier Mayne), who lived for many years in Italy, stages d'Adelswärd as the protagonist, Dayneford, of his story “Out of the Sun” (1913). The Caprian writer and architect Edwin Cerio staged d'Adelswärd in his story “Il marchese di Pommery” (c.1927). (64)

Jacques took up residence in the Hotel Quisisana and soon purchased land in the small valley of Unghia Murana on a hill opposite the ruins of Tiberius' palace. He commissioned his friend Édouard Chimot to design a villa and hired a local contractor to build it (fig. 15). As the time drew near for construction to begin, he departed with friends to the Far East to visit, among other places, Ceylon (Sri Lanka). He worked on *Lord Lyllian* during that trip; at the same time he began *Le Sourire aux yeux fermés* (The smile with closed eyes) which is imbued with Hinduism and the discovery of opium. He returned to Capri in the spring of 1904, residing temporarily in the Villa Certosella which, according to Peyrefitte, he filled with orchids,



Figure 15 - Villa Lysis

(see also at

http://www.pbase.com/adalberto_tiburzi/capri

oriental perfumes, jewels, ebony furniture, bronze and copper objects, and "suitcases full of opium." (65) He also hired three Caprian boys to help him in the house and garden.

In July he had to flee temporarily to escape the wrath of the islanders who blamed d'Adelswärd when a local worker was killed by an accident during the construction of Villa Lysis. In Rome he met a fourteen-year-old construction worker selling newspapers, Nino Cesarini, (66) who immediately stole his heart. Jacques sounded out the boy's family and obtained their permission to take Nino with him as his secretary. The two of them were greeted with understandable suspicion on Capri. Nino, especially, was a problem: not because he was a boy but because he was from Rome and not from Capri.

In the spring of 1905 they visited Sicily, according to Peyrefitte to make a pilgrimage to the grave of the German poet Count August von Platen Hallermünde (1796-1835) in Syracuse and to visit the photographer Baron Wilhelm von Gloeden (1856-1931) in Taormina. Both visit and pilgrimage are possible, even probable, but I can find no documentary evidence of either, nor for a meeting, later, between Jacques and Kuno von Moltke and Philipp zu Eulenburg-Hertefeld. (67) In Taormina d'Adelswärd began his novella, *Une Jeunesse* (A youth), which, together with *Le Baiser de Narcisse* (The Kiss of Narcissus), appeared in 1907. *Le Baiser*, dedicated to Germain Wenzel and in the opinion of the writer Rachilde really a minor masterpiece which deserved the Prix Goncourt, must be considered a failure; it is hopelessly mired in its own classical allusions: the principal character, Milès, even drowns in his own mirror image! The plot of *Une Jeunesse* revolves around the twenty-three-year-old French painter, Robert Jélaine (fig. 16), who is in love with Nino, a sixteen-year-old seminary student. The couple's antagonists are Father Seraphino, also in love with Nino, and a girl, Michaëla, whom Nino loves. Ultimately, the girl dies and Nino decides to become a priest. The novella is dedicated to "N[ino]. C[esarini]. More beautiful than the Roman light." (68)



Figure 16 - Jacques d'Adelswärd

The construction of the villa was finally completed in July: it was handed over by the contractor, and Nino was invited to put in place the stone with the inscription "In the year MCMV this villa was constructed by Jacques Count [sic] Adelswärd Fersen and dedicated to the youth of love." In the autumn they made a short visit to Paris to deliver the manuscript of the poetry volume, *Le Danseur aux Caresses* (The caressing dancer), which was published the following year. They probably went directly from there to Oxford where *Une Jeunesse* was completed in 1906. Back on Capri, Jacques took a fourth Caprian boy into service in order to depart immediately with Nino on a long journey to China. Towards the beginning of 1907, both returned to Italy, Jacques enriched with a collection of 300 opium pipes which he had assembled in China.



Figure 17 - Nino Cesarini by Paul Höcker

The years 1907 and 1908 seem in all respects to have marked a crisis in d'Adelswärd's life. In any case, he found it necessary to restore contact with his family; he visited his sister Germaine, who in the meantime (1906) had married the Marquis Alfredo Capece Minutolo di Bugnano, a young member of parliament from Naples. He invited his sisters and his mother to visit his new home on Capri, during which time Nino was temporarily installed elsewhere. Now seventeen, the boy was in Jacques' eyes in the full glory of his youthful bloom. Such beauty needed preservation, and Jacques commissioned a number of artists to immortalize him. Nino's portrait was painted by Umberto Brunelleschi (1879-1949), a young artist from Pistoia who was making an international furore and liked the company of "young poets." The sculptor Francesco Ierace (1854-1937) from Polistena, whose atelier was now in Naples and who had in the meantime achieved national fame, cast Nino's image in bronze after photos (c. 1906) by Guglielmo Plüschow (1852-1930), a cousin of Baron Wilhelm von Gloeden. A new painting of Nino (c. 1908) (fig. 17) was also executed by the German homosexual painter Paul Höcker (1854-1910), who had been forced to leave Germany because of a sexual scandal. The photo of Nino on the terrace of Villa Lysis (fig. 18) dates from about this time. The boy is wearing a toga, with a diadem around his head and in his left hand is holding a small Nike on a globe, symbols traditionally associated with the power of Roman gods and emperors. (69)



Figure 18 - Glorification of Nino Cesarini

Nino's attractiveness smote others as well. During a visit to Venice, Jacques was roaming about the Square of San Marco (where he met Paul Morand and his father), whereas Nino flirted with Alexandrine (Sacha) Ricoy Antokolsky, who found Nino so much to her taste that she even followed him to Capri and eventually seduced him. It almost seems a compensation of the Parisian schoolboys for the felony of Lord Lyllian. Jacques reacted furiously in a volume of poetry appropriately entitled *Ainsi chantait Marsyas* (So sang Marsyas), an exalted song of praise to his Nino who he felt was about to leave him. "How many tears must it take to wash away *her* kisses?" he asked in the poem "Ce matin, tu dormais comme un petit enfant" (This morning you slept like a

small child). The poem "L'icône" (The icon) is a vision of the future and begins with the conciliatory words, "Later, when you are no longer with me and have left me for another..." But in "La Fripeuse de Moëlle" (The crusher of the pith) the defiler of their common shrine is reproached and Nino receives a lecture on the nature of women: no matter what guise she may assume, Venus or Eve, a whore remains a whore, a vampire, and syphilis follows in her wake. (70)

This explosion of passion can only be understood in light of Jacques' consuming fear of losing the boy and the jealousy aroused by that fear. I doubt that Nino really intended to leave his comfortable situation; rather he would have considered the dalliance as a small adventure and a pleasant distraction from life at Villa Lysis, which had become rather dull.

After this affair the household domestics from Capri were discharged for failing to fulfill their responsibilities and Jacques wired Ceylon to ask that he be sent two Singhalese houseboys.

The Expulsion from Italy

D'Adelswärd's novel about Capri, *Et le feu s'éteignit sur la mer...* (And the fire was smothered by the sea), with the young sculptor Gérard Maleine as principal character, appeared in 1909 and caused a local sensation. The author spared hardly anyone in his exposure of island habits and morals. The book was much criticized and raised fiery discussions among the inhabitants of Capri; some of them, who recognized themselves in the book, attempted to prevent its distribution. According to Ettore Settanni, there was a kind of ostracism against the author, which had contributed to his eventual expulsion. Roberto Ciuni cites a formal decision of the Consiglio Comunale di Capri of 16 September 1909: to pursue the expulsion of the author of the book. (71)

Nino was growing older and Jacques now sought pleasure with Neapolitan boys and in clouds of opium. According to Peyrefitte, he smoked at this time some 30 or 40 pipes a day which sounds like an absurdly high number but actually is not. (72)

There is some evidence that d'Adelswärd also invited the boys from Naples to Capri. Peter Weiermair has published a reproduction of a photo of one of these boys by Guglielmo Plüschow. We can see a nude young boy, resting on a sofa; his bare buttocks are turned towards the viewer, and a skull is resting on a pillow above his head. To the left of the photo, the above-mentioned painting of Nino by Paul Höcker is hanging on the wall (fig. 19). The boy is definitely not Nino, because he is too young. Plüschow and d'Adelswärd must have known each other for some time. Although now living in Rome, Plüschow was a regular visitor of Naples and Capri, and maybe d'Adelswärd even placed Villa Lysis at his disposal as a studio. Plüschow made many photos of Nino; some of them have been published now. A frontal nude of Nino, possibly by Plüschow, was to be found on the Internet at an Italian site (fig. 20). Jean-Claude Féray even suggested, that Plüschow made Jacques and Nino acquainted with each other, which is possible, but of course there is no conclusive evidence. (73)



Figure 19 - Interior of Villa Lysis with Höcker's painting

The “reputation” of Villa Lysis is also documented in the autobiography of Giorgio Amendola (1907-1980), the future leader of the P.C.I. (Italian Communist Party). As an eleven-year-old boy from Rome, he had constituted himself the leader of a small gang of boys and girls who roamed about Capri in 1918: “There were forbidden zones we were not supposed to set foot on. For instance, we were told never to draw near a white villa near [Monte] Tiberio, because (...) nasty things were happening there. Later I grasped that Fersen was meant, and his strange friendships. I was eleven years old, and the Caprian boys were of about my age. They knew very well the meaning of all these allusions.” (fig. 21). (74)



Figure 21 - Bathing boys at Capri (c. 1900)

Events associated with Nino's call-up for military service, and similar festivities at Villa Lysis forced d'Adelswärd to leave Capri. Jacques invented a pleasant skit for Nino's twentieth birthday in which the boy would be elevated to a "soldier of Mithras" (fig. 22). It was performed before a group of friends one night in the Maternània grotto by torchlight. According to local gossip, Jacques himself played an important part as the “handsome youth” Hypatos, whereas the “fat old cook” of his female friends, Kate and Saidee Wolcott-Perry, played the part of Tiberius; a barber

played the part of the high-priest. (75) Peyrefitte minutely describes the twenty lashes which the Singhalese boys, playing the parts of slaves, administered at daybreak to Nino's bare buttocks. A passer-by gathering herbs could not understand what was happening; she informed her father, who lodged an official complaint of violation of public decency.



Figure 20 - Frontal nude of Nino Cesarini



Figure 22 - Nino Cesarini as a Roman soldier (c. 1910)

The local authorities took advantage of this circumstance to rid themselves of d'Adelswärd. Fearing a new outburst in the press following the famous Krupp scandal in 1902, the police were kept out of the affair and Jacques' brother-in-law, the Marquis di Bugnano, was asked to intervene. (76) D'Adelswärd was summoned by the Marquis to Naples and given the choice of leaving the country voluntarily or being officially expelled. Jacques chose the former and returned to France. He briefly stayed in Paris, where he lived at 24 Rue Eugène Manuel.

Jacques could now dedicate all his time to the cultural magazine, *Akadosmos. Revue Mensuelle d'Art Libre et de Critique* (fig. 23), which he had founded the previous year in Paris and which had appeared monthly from 15 January 1909. The foundation of the magazine was probably inspired by German forerunners. From visits to Germany, Jacques knew of Adolf Brand's (1874-1945) magazine *Der Eigene* (1896-1931), and in 1907 the Belgian writer Georges Eekhoud (1854-1927) had established contacts between Jacques and Magnus Hirschfeld (1868-1935), who in 1899 had founded his *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* (1899-1923). Both magazines were the showcases of the German homosexual emancipation movement. (77)

Whoever thumbs through the 2,000 odd pages of the 12 issues of *Akadosmos* which appeared must be impressed. The magazine was very well produced and contains countless interesting original stories, poems, plays, and critical essays, and a very impressive array of contributors, some of whom, it must be said, did not keep their promise to contribute. (78) Even Nino, actually in military service, appears as "M. le gérant" (the book-keeper), and in issue 10 there is a little joke: the author of *Baiser de Narcisse*, Jacques himself, is requested to make his name and address known to the editors! (79)

The editors promised a point of view free of platitudes and preconceptions. They pledged a return to the tradition of Greek simplicity and natural paganism, and to Latin purity. According to the two editorial statements in the first issue, one probably written by Jacques, their greatest enemies were vulgarity, hypocrisy, obscurantism, and ugliness; French culture had to free itself from Slavic decadence, German heaviness, the [Anglo-]Saxon slang of thieves, and Judeo-Christian prejudices. (80) Since they did not wish to confine their vision to France alone, cultural activities in other countries were regularly reviewed and attention was given to what was being published elsewhere, including works by Elisar von Kupffer, Arthur Lyon Raile (Edward Perry Warren), John Henry Mackay, Walt Whitman, and Xavier Mayne (Edward Irenaeus Prime-Stevenson).

There were, of course, a number of contributions by Editor Jacques d'Adelswärd (fig. 24) himself, either under his own name or the pseudonym Sonyeuse. (81) In the first issue there is his "In Memoriam" for the editorial secretary, Raymond Laurent, cousin of Fernand Gregh and friend of Marcel Proust, who had committed suicide in Venice under the hotel window of a young American (M. Langhorn Whistler) with whom he was hopelessly in love on 24 September 1908. According to d'Adelswärd, his still-warm body was found by none other than Vyvyan Holland, Oscar Wilde's son! (82)

In order to promote the magazine and its concepts, d'Adelswärd even flirted for a while with the futurism of Emilio Filippo Tommaso Marinetti (1876-1944), the future literary champion of Italian fascism. In the second issue of *Akadosmos* Marinetti appeared with a poem, "Le Dompteur" (The Tamer), whereas Jacques at the same time published two poems, "Poème dans la rosée" (Poem in Dew) and "Tes Yeux..." (Your Eyes...), in Marinetti's magazine *Poesia. Rassegna Internazionale*. After the publication of Marinetti's Manifesto of Futurism, d'Adelswärd contributed two pieces to the next issue of *Poesia*: a short notice about *Akadosmos* and a letter of adherence in which he wrote: "I adhere to the principles of *Futurism* which will disengage man of all his slavery. If it is true that an *Artist* has to live in *nostalgia*, it would be better for him to cling to the divine essence of the future, instead of the human materialism of the past. (...) Young people have to tremble of unrest to ask for enthusiasm. (...) Let us abandon the twilights, the graveyards, the museums or the legends, in favour of the Nativities, the PROGRESS, the holy FORCE, and

LIFE!” (83) But after only one year, Jacques had to stop publication of *Akademios* as it was consuming enormous sums of money and its circulation remained small. (84)



Figure 23 – The first issue of Akademos

Peyrefitte describes d’Adelswärd’s Sunday receptions of collaborators of *Akademios* and other important people during his sojourn in the Rue Eugène Manuel. (85) He also notes that, at that time, Jacques and Nino frequented bars, like Le Scarabée d’Or, Maurice, and Palmyre; in the latter d’Adelswärd once got so angry that the police had to be called in for assistance. (86) A letter from the Marquise Mathilde de Morny to her intimate friend Colette confirms “riots in the Palmyre, the bistro at Montmartre.” That night d’Adelswärd got so tight that he insulted all those present; the owner of the bar had boxed his ears, and Jacques had poured a glass of wine on her. Then all homosexuals present had risen “like one man (if I may say so)” to throw him out. One of them had plucked out a tuft of d’Adelswärd’s hair; that is why Jacques denounced the bar, at the police station, as “an odious tavern for lesbians and gays.” (87)

The stay in Paris did not last very long. Since Jacques was now accustomed to a Mediterranean climate, he soon took up residence in the Villa Mezzomonte in Nice. Early in 1911 Nino was discharged from military service; the two of them set out for the Far East, returning to Nice in 1912. In the meantime, Jacques had published a volume of poetry, *Paradinya* (1911); some of its poems are dedicated to his brothers in arms of *Akademios* (among them Laurent Tailhade, Georges Eekhoud, and Robert Scheffer), and Nino (“N.C.”) is pleased with an overt sexual literary assault: “Erotique.” (88) Jacques had also completed *Le Sourire aux yeux fermés*, which included a revised version of his essay “L’Extase” (Ecstasy) which had first appeared in *Akademios*. It was published in

1912. In April 1913 Jacques finally obtained permission to return to Capri, which he celebrated in the long poem, "Ode à la Terre Promise" (Ode to the promised land), dedicated to the Prime Minister Luigi Luzzatti.



Figure 24 – Caricature of d'Adelswärd by Moyano (1909)

The Final Years

With the outbreak of war in 1914, Jacques was asked to present himself for military service. In the French consulate in Naples, he was found unfit for combat and was sent to a hospital to be cured of addiction, though he secretly compensated for his abstinence from opium with the use of cocaine. It was during this period that he met the sculptor Vincenzo Gemito (1852-1929). (89)



Figure 25 – Villa Lysis (1961)

Nino was wounded in battle and sent to a hospital in Milan to recover. Jacques returned to Capri, his doctors having declared him incurably ill. In Villa Lysis (fig. 25), he took up his old habits and spent most of his time treading back and forth between his study and smoking room, in the newspaper *Il Mattino* nicknamed the Opiarium. His last published volume of poetry appeared in 1921, *Hei Hsiang. Le parfum noir* (Hei Hsiang: The black perfume) (figs. 26-27), almost entirely devoted to opium. But life had one small surprise left in store for him: his acquaintance in 1920 with fifteen-year-old Corrado Annicelli (1905-1984), son of a notary in neighboring Sorrento, who had come on vacation to Capri with his parents. (90) Corrado's mother and father had no objection to their son's association with a man of the world who knew many important people – including the painter Gennaro Favai (1882-1958) and the composer Ottorino Respighi (1879-1936) – (91) and who above all could stimulate the boy's fluency in French. In Peyrefitte's novel, Corrado is called Manfred, after the half-brother of the Hohenstaufen King Conrad IV.



Figure 26 - Cover of d'Adelswärd's last book

Initially, Corrado was more of a sly fox than a “petit faune” (little faun), as Jacques called him. The boy kept Jacques firmly in tow by expecting all sorts of things in return for his companionship: trips around Italy and the dedication of poems to himself. For the Christmas vacation of 1922, the boy tried to convince Jacques that he was unable to visit him, but Jacques insisted and was invited to come to Sorrento and fetch him. This sort of teasing was probably all part of their erotic play. Corrado also came to Capri, on his own initiative, for his Easter vacation in 1923. Jacques was still working on his poem cycle, *La Neuvaine du petit faune* (The little faun's novena), which was never published. The manuscript was still in Corrado's possession when Peyrefitte spoke with him years later. (92) For summer vacation, Corrado came again to Capri. Now seventeen, the boy was torn between feelings of sincere love for Jacques and compassion and an intense disgust for his drug addiction. On 15 September, Jacques brought the boy back to his parents in Sorrento, and on his return journey he visited his sister Germaine who, since her divorce, lived near Turin. Alarmed by Jacques' physical condition, she advised his mother to come at once. According to Peyrefitte, pressure was put on him to have his will drawn up. (93)



Figure 27 - Autograph of d'Adelswärd

It seems that on 15 October Jacques felt that his end was approaching. He departed hastily for Sorrento to pick up Corrado. According to Peyrefitte, the boy, by chance, was home sick from school that day. They immediately left for Sicily; again von Gloeden was visited in Taormina, and the grave of von Platen in Syracuse. (94) On their return journey to Capri, early in November, they briefly stayed in Sorrento. Because of his physical condition, Corrado's parents advised Jacques to consult a doctor and pass the night in a local inn. But since Jacques intended to buy some new

cocaine at the clandestine market in the Galleria Umberto, he and Corrado departed for Naples and passed the night together in the same suite in the Hotel Excelsior. The next day Nino picked them up and took them to Capri, Jacques by now gravely ill. Jacques died after supper that same evening - of an overdose of cocaine dissolved in a glass of champagne, leaving his friends in dismay. Most commentators have assumed that it was suicide. Norman Douglas noted that a thunderstorm burst out that night and it maintained its fury for twelve straight hours. (95)



Figure 28 - Jacques d'Adelswård

Dr. Gatti (assisted by his colleagues Cuomo and Weber), who signed the death certificate, gives a heart attack as the cause of death. Jacques' devoted female friend Ephi Lovatelli, a princess of Greek origins, prepared the body with rouge and lipstick, sealing his lips with a gold Macedonian coin to be used to pay the boatman carrying him over the River Styx. In order to safeguard the inheritance, Jacques' family spread the rumor that Jacques (fig. 28) was poisoned by Nino out of jealousy. (96) His sister, Germaine, and his mother insisted on a post-mortem examination; it was carried out by the authorities in Naples and lent no support to their accusations. (97) Jacques' body was released and later cremated in Rome. The ashes were placed in the non-Catholic cemetery in Capri. His grave is on a hillside, opposite that of Norman Douglas, whose gravestone bears the inscription, "Omnes eodem cogimur" (We all gather at the same place).

In accordance with Jacques' stipulations, his mother was appointed executor of his last will and universal inheritor. "To bear witness and in recognition of all his benevolence to me, of his advice and his perpetual example of kindness, his indulgence and nobility, which his life has given to me," Nino received 302 shares of the steel mills in Longwy, all credits of Jacques' bank-accounts in Paris, Naples and Capri, and all the money in Jacques' purse and in the villa at the moment of his death. Nino also received the right to inhabit the villa, and the right to rent it out; Germaine became the owner of the villa, without its contents. Jacques' mother inherited the remainder of the capital in

Paris, Lorraine and Switzerland. Lawsuits, about the inheritance and the validity of Jacques' will, were to continue for the next years. (98)

As for Jacques' intimates, Loulou married and lived as the proud father of a daughter in a castle in the French countryside. Nino sold his rights to the villa to Germaine for 200,000 lira. His portrait by Brunelleschi and his statue by Ierace were sold to a Swiss antiquarian and have since disappeared. He returned to Rome, where he owned a newspaper kiosk and a bar, and died in middle-age in a Roman hospital in 1943. Corrado became a talented actor. (99)

Editor's Note:

Will H.L. Ogrinc is a Dutch author and medievalist. The author wishes to thank Raimondo Biffi, Patricia Marcoz, and Caspar Wintermans for their never-ceasing support, Paul Snijders for kind permission to use his library, Dré Leyten and Wolfram Setz for their criticism and photographic contributions, Ed Schilders for assistance with the translation of some obscure passages from the French, and the late Frank Torey for his translation from the Dutch.

APPENDIX

[dans la marge: Page première]

TRIBUNAL DE PREMIÈRE INSTANCE
du Département de la Seine
Police correctionnelle Neuvième Chambre

Audience publique du Jeudi Trois Décembre mil neuf cent trois

MM.
Bondoux, Président
Chanson, Juge
Coularou, Juge
Lescouvé, substitut
Weydert, greffier

1.67.868
68.067

Pour le Procureur de la République

Dét[enu]: *d'Adelsward* Jacques, 23 ans, né à Paris, 8e arrondissement, le 20 février 1880, de Axel et de Louise Emilie Alexandrine Vuhner, célibataire, demeurant à Paris, avenue Friedland, N° 18,

Mandat de dépôt du 9 juillet 1903

2e Mandat de dépôt du 10 juillet 1903

Dét[enu]: *de Warren* Albert François, 22 ans, né à Saint-Dié (Vosges) le 12 août 1881, de Anthelme Stanislas Firmin Léon et de Pauline Louise Marie Huyn de Varnéville [= Verneville], demeurant à Paris, rue Alfred de Vigny N° 14,

Mandat de dépôt du 17 octobre 1903

Outrages publics à la pudeur; Excitation de mineurs à la débauche.

Le Tribunal, après en avoir délibéré conformément à la loi; Attendu que, d'après la nature des faits reprochés à d'Adelsward et à de Warren, la publicité des débats pourrait être dangereuse pour la morale publique, Faisant droit aux réquisitions du Ministère Public, Vu l'article 87 de la Constitution du 4 novembre 1848, Ordonne que les débats auront lieu à *Huis clos*.

[Signé] Coularou, Bondoux, Chanson, Weydert

1bis.67.868
68.067

Pour le Procureur de la République

Dét[enu]: *d'Adelsward* Jacques, 23 ans, né à Paris, 8e arrondissement, le 20 février 1880, de Axel et de Louise Emilie Alexandrine Vuhner, célibataire, demeurant à Paris, avenue Friedland N° 18,

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Dét[enu]: *de Warren* Albert François, 22 ans, né à Saint-Dié (Vosges) le 12 août 1881, [dans la marge: appel de Warren (...) 17 Décembre 1903] de Anthelme Stanislas Firmin Léon et de Pauline Louise Marie Huyn de Varnéville [= Verneville], demeurant à Paris, rue Alfred de Vigny, [dans la marge: Page deuxième] Numéro 14

Mandat de dépôt du 17 octobre 1903

Outrages publics à la pudeur; Excitation de mineurs à la débauche.

Le Tribunal après en avoir délibéré conformément à la loi, Attendu que de Warren et d'Adelsward sont poursuivis pour avoir en mil neuf cent trois à Paris, 1° à diverses reprises, commis des outrages publics à la pudeur en se livrant à des gestes ou à des actes obscènes en présence de mineurs de vingt et un ans; 2° ensemble et de concert, attenté aux mœurs en excitant, favorisant ou facilitant habituellement la débauche ou la corruption des sieurs Berecki, Boesch, de Pourcelet Adalbert, de Pourcelet Jacques, de Pourcelet René; que d'Adelsward est poursuivi également pour avoir à Paris, en mil neuf cent deux et mil neuf cent trois, attenté aux mœurs en excitant, favorisant ou facilitant habituellement la débauche ou la corruption du sieur Loaré; sur ce premier chef de prévention: Attendu que l'inculpation d'outrage public à la pudeur n'est pas suffisamment établie à l'encontre d'Adelsward et de Warren; qu'en effet les actes obscènes auxquels ceux-ci se sont livrés, ont été commis dans un lieu privé d'où ils ne pouvaient être vus du dehors; que la présence de

personnes qui y ont participé ou qui en ont été les témoins volontaires ne suffit pas pour constituer la publicité exigée par l'article 330 du Code Pénal; Renvoie de ce chef les prévenus des fins de la poursuite.

Sur le deuxième chef de prévention: En ce qui concerne d'Adelsward: Attendu qu'il ressort de l'instruction et des débats la preuve que d'Adelsward, en mil neuf cent trois à Paris, a excité, facilité ou favorisé habituellement la débauche ou la corruption des sieurs Berecki, Boesch, Croisé de Pourcelet Adalbert, Croisé de Pourcelet Jacques, Croisé de Pourcelet René et Locré, mineurs de vingt et un ans, en se livrant à des actes de lubricité, à diverses reprises, à des époques différentes, en leur présence ou dans une chambre voisine et dans des conditions telles que les enfants ne pouvaient ignorer ce qui s'y passait; Attendu que pour parvenir à son but, d'Adelsward attirait ces mineurs par des goûters, leur lisait des poésies lascives et mettait sous leurs yeux des gravures licencieuses; qu'il allait attendre Berecki et Locré jusqu'à la sortie de leur lycée;

En ce qui concerne de Warren: Attendu qu'il ressort également de l'instruction et des débats la preuve que de Warren, en mil neuf cent trois, à Paris, a excité, facilité ou favorisé habituellement la débauche ou la corruption de Croisé de Pourcelet Adalbert, Croisé de Pourcelet Jacques, Croisé de Pourcelet René, [*dans la marge*: Page troisième] mineurs de vingt et un ans, en se livrant à différentes reprises et à des époques différentes, en leur présence, à des actes immoraux; qu'il a de plus, dans un but de corruption, lié connaissance avec ces enfants au Parc Monceau, les a reçus chez lui, leur a offert des goûters et les a mis en rapport avec d'Adelsward; Attendu qu'il y a lieu en raison des circonstances de la cause de faire aux prévenus une application modérée de la loi; Attendu que les faits ci-dessus constituent le délit prévu et puni par les articles 334, paragraphe 1er et 339 du Code Pénal, dont lecture a été donnée par le Président et qui sont ainsi conçus (334) sera puni d'un emprisonnement de six mois à trois ans et d'une amende de cinquante francs à cinq mille francs 1° quiconque aura attenté aux mœurs en excitant, favorisant ou facilitant habituellement la débauche ou la corruption de la jeunesse de l'un ou de l'autre sexe au-dessous de l'âge de vingt et un ans; 2° [*ratu*: quiconque, pour satisfaire les passions d'autrui, aura embauché, entraîné ou détourné, même avec son consentement, une femme ou fille mineure en vue de la débauche] (339). Les coupables d'un des délits mentionnés au précédent article seront interdits de toute tutelle ou curatelle et de toute participation aux conseils de famille savoir: les individus auxquels s'appliquent les paragraphes 1, 2, 3 et 4 de cet article pendant deux ans au moins et de cinq ans au plus, et ceux dont il est parlé dans le paragraphe suivant pendant six ans au moins et vingt ans au plus, si le délit a été commis par le père ou la mère le coupable sera de plus privé des droits et avantages à lui accordé sur la personne et les biens de l'enfant par le Code Civil, livre premier titre IX de la puissance paternelle [*dans la marge*: Dit qu'ils seront interdits pendant cinq années des droits de famille mentionnés à l'article 339 du Code Pénal]; dans tous les cas les coupables pourront en outre être mis, par l'arrêt ou le jugement en état d'interdiction de séjour en observant pour la durée de l'interdiction ce qui vient d'être établi par le premier paragraphe du présent article.

Condamne d'Adelsward et de Warren chacun à *Six mois* d'emprisonnement, et chacun et solidairement à *Cinquante francs* d'amende.

Les condamne sous la même solidarité aux dépens liquides à mille trois cent soixante huit francs quatre vingt dix centimes plus trois francs pour droits de poste. Fixe au minimum la durée de la contrainte par corps s'il y a lieu de l'exercer pour le recouvrement des amendes et des dépens.

[*Signé*] Coularou, Bondoux, Chanson, Weydert

[*Source*: Paris, Archives de Paris. Transcription: Will H.L Ogrinc & Caspar Wintermans]

NOTES

1. The sub-title of this essay is a translation of the inscription "Amori et Dolori Sacrum" that d'Adelswärd placed on his villa in Capri (first called "La Gloriette" and later "Villa Lysis") in 1905. The line is taken from an inscription on the church of Santa Maria della Passione in Milan and at the same time served as title for a book by Augustin-Maurice Barrès (Paris: Félix Juven, 1902). The latter contains, among other things, recollections by Barrès of his youth in Nancy where, with the Marquis Stanislas de Guaita, he attended the lyceum. De Guaita founded the Ordre Kabbalistique de la Rose-Croix in 1884 (see my article "Boys in Art. The Artist and his Model: Ferdinand and Hector Hodler. A New Approach" in *Journal of Homosexuality* 20:1/2 (1990), p. 79). Barrès, a member of this order, and d'Adelswärd knew each other.
2. The following variations appear: Jacques d'Adelsward(-)Fersen; (Jacques) de Fersen; Fersen; Count (de) Fersen; Baron Jacques. His own publications for the most part list the author as Jacques d'Adelswärd(-Fersen), whereas the court documents refer to him as Jacques d'Adelsward. Arvid Andrén, in his *Capri. From the Stone Age to the Tourist Age* (Göteborg: Paul Åströms Förlag, 1980), p. 161, mentions the incredible carelessness to which the writer's name has often been subject: "Fate willed that he, who could not tolerate a single misprint in his poems, had both his first and last names misspelt on his tombstone, which attests that it was raised over the Baron Jaques Adelswärd Fersen." A photo of the tombstone is reproduced in *À la Jeunesse d'Amour. Villa Lysis a Capri: 1905-2005* (Capri: Edizioni La Conchiglia, 2005), p. 122 and R. Peyrefitte, *L'Esule di Capri* (Capri: Edizioni La Conchiglia, 2003), [no pagination]. Peyrefitte had previously pointed out in his *L'Exilé de Capri. Édition définitive* (Paris: Flammarion/Le Livre de Poche, 1974), p. 321, that the data on the tombstone were incorrect: his date of birth was not 20 February 1879, but 20 February 1880, and his date of death not 6 November 1923 but 5 November 1923. J. Money (*Capri: Island of Pleasure*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1986, pp. 86, 310, n. 30) obviously overlooked this correction in the date of birth. Peyrefitte must have copied his correction from the sentence of 1903. It is confirmed by the Civil Registration of Paris: "Jacques d'Adelswärd" was born 20 February 1880, at 13.30 p.m. (Paris, *Archives de Paris. État Civil du Huitième Arrondissement de Paris*, 1880, Nr. 259). Meanwhile the typesetter has played his part in d'Adelswärd's commemoration. On a map of Capri which I bought there in 1985, Villa Lysis is identified as Villa Felsen; in an article by Boudewijn Büch the writer suddenly becomes "Fersnen" (see "Curieus Capri" in *Avenue* 21:8, 1986, p. 82); in *Memorie di un Uomo Inutile* by Francesco Caravita di Sirignano (Napoli: Fiorentino, 1990), p. 243, he is called Jacques Fersen d'Adelswar, whereas Claudia Salaris calls him Adelswärd de Fersne (see *Marinetti editore*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 1990, p. 41). Even in the first edition of my essay, in the journal *Paidika*, the writer's name was misspelt three times (Jacques d'Adelswärd-Fersen, Jacques d'Adelswärdt). Philip Core carries matters a bit too far in his *Camp: The Lie that Tells the Truth* (New York: Delilah Books, 1984), p. 83 by referring to the author as "Von Fersen, Baron D'Adleswaard" and above all by dating him a century earlier, listing the dates of birth and death of Hans Axel Count von Fersen ("le beau Fersen"), a personal friend and purported lover of Marie Antoinette, and instigator of the flight to Varennes. This is hardly "camp"; it is sheer laziness.
3. The reference here is to a number of notebooks with a handwritten selection from d'Adelswärd's volumes of poetry in the Royal Library at Brussels. The copyist faithfully transcribed the various volumes and noted beside the titles of the poems he does not include in his selection the comment "s.i." ("sans intérêt" or "not interesting"). The copyist clearly made his selection on the basis of homosexual themes and is often sloppy in copying the punctuation.
4. In 1987 Eric Wohl produced a very thorough study of the literary reception of Peyrefitte's, *L'Exilé de Capri* in his unpublished B.A. thesis, *Mémoire de IVème Année (...) sur Interférences Morales dans le Domaine Esthétique: de Fersen à Peyrefitte* (Memoir of the fourth year [of university] on moral interferences in the aesthetic domain: from Fersen to Peyrefitte) (Kensington, Australia: University of New South Wales, 1987). Wohl concluded that the criticism of Peyrefitte's novel rested more on moral prejudice than on the upholding of literary/aesthetic criteria. In light of this study the question remains why Peyrefitte depicted the hero of his novel as being so pitiful.
5. As Peyrefitte later attested in *Propos Secrets [I]* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1977, pp. 157-158) and *Propos Secrets 2* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1980, p. 363), he scrapped Jean Cocteau's foreword following Cocteau's death and upon request of d'Adelswärd's nephew, Count Carlo di Bugnano. Peyrefitte, too, found the foreword not very appropriate, based as it was mainly upon Cocteau's jealousy of the aristocratic d'Adelswärd. See also R. Peyrefitte, *Notre amour* (Paris: Flammarion/J'ai Lu, 1975), p. 77.
6. Letter of the Préfecture de Police, Cabinet du Préfet. Archive - Musée, Paris, 31 March 1988: "Research in our archives has not enabled us to discover any documents relating to Baron Jacques d'ADELSWARD (Fersen) and Albert de WARREN." The statement implied that either documents of the affair did not exist or that they could not be (were not permitted to be?) found. For further information, the letter referred me to the Ministry of Justice!
7. Letter from the Direction des Services d'Archives de Paris, Paris, 26 May 1988.
8. Letter from the Directeur Général des Archives de France, Paris, 20 April 1988.
9. Letter from the Ambassade van het Kbninkrijk (sic) der Nederlanden, Hoofd Pers- en Culturele Zaken, Paris, 4 October 1988. Within a year, the same cultural attaché was removed from his duties in Paris and sent to the Dutch embassy in Saudi Arabia (see *NRC-Handelsblad* 23 September 1989, p. 7)!

10. R. Peyrefitte, *Propos Secrets 2*, p. 353.
11. See, for example, J. Money, op. cit., pp. 255, 301. Although Money was aware that the novel is "a blend of fact and fancy," his study of d'Adelswärd's life is often untrue and unreliable in its details because he a) did not consult a number of sources; b) largely based his facts on Peyrefitte's novel which, above all, he sometimes wrongly interpreted or even read censoriously (perhaps the English translation which he used is here to blame); c) used Compton Mackenzie's novel set in Capri, *Vestal Fire* (1927) (London: Hogarth Press, 1985), and the communications of important Italians, as objective historical sources without considering the possibility that they had colored the facts. For instance, F. Caravita di Sirignano, op. cit., p. 184, refers to Nino Cesarini as "Cesarino Romano" (little Caesar from Rome).
12. R. Peyrefitte, *Propos Secrets [1]*, p. 195.
13. R. Peyrefitte, *L'Exilé de Capri*, pp. 19-20; A. Andrén, op. cit., pp. 160-161; J. Money, op. cit., pp. 55, 310, n. 30.
14. It definitely concerned persons who were still alive. Recently Peyrefitte had begun in his *Propos Secrets* to reveal a number of their names.
15. R. Peyrefitte, *L'Exilé de Capri*, p. 80.
16. Peyrefitte mentions pupils of the Carnot, Condorcet, and Janson-de-Sailly lycea. D'Adelswärd knew the latter from his own school years. I was able to document, among others, the following names from the Carnot school: André François-Poncet, politician, diplomat and writer who during the Second World War was interned in Germany; Gabriel Marcel (son of art historian Henry Marcel, after 1912 director of the Musées Nationaux), philosopher and writer and spokesman for Christian existentialism; Paul Morand (son of painter Eugène Morand, director of the École des Arts Décoratifs), diplomat and writer; Pierre-Etienne Flandin, repeatedly minister of several departments after 1924, including Minister of Foreign Affairs for the Vichy regime, arrested by Charles de Gaulle and in 1946, upon Winston Churchill's intercession, found innocent.
17. See P. Morand, *Venises* (Paris: Gallimard, 1985), p. 39-40; R. Peyrefitte, *Propos Secrets 2*, p. 359.
18. We must of necessity rely upon Peyrefitte for some information about Jacques' ancestry and youth. The newspaper, *Le Soir*, was established in 1867 and offered moderate opposition to the empire. Following the war of 1870/71 it supported the politics of Adolphe Thiers and the establishment of a conservative republic. In 1873 the paper was bought by the Orleanists.
19. Ample discussions about Jacques' ancestry in J. Balteau, et al. (ed.), *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française*. I (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1933), p. 545. The biographical note about d'Adelswärd was composed by A. Jaulme, librarian at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. See also Arthur Dupin in *Le Journal* 13 July 1903 about the daughter of notary Bernard.
20. R. Peyrefitte, *L'Exilé de Capri*, pp. 14-15. See also Note 2. L. Aressy, *Les Nuits et les Ennuis du Mont-Parnasse* (Paris: Jouve & Cie., 1929), p. 142. For more information about Hans Axel von Fersen, see N.I. Garde (pseudonym of Edgar Leoni), *Jonathan to Gide: The Homosexual in History* (New York: Nosbooks, 1969), pp. 491-495; A. von Fersen, *Rettet die Königin. Revolutionstagebuch 1789-1793* (München: Paul List, 1969), pp. 189-204; F. Kermina, *Hans Axel de Fersen* (Paris: Perrin, 2001).
21. N. Erber, "Queer Follies: Effeminacy and Aestheticism in fin-de-siècle France, the Case of Baron d'Adelsward Fersen and Count de Warren" in: G. Robb and N. Erber (eds.), *Disorder in the Court: Trials and Sexual Conflict at the Turn of the Century* (New York: New York University Press, 1999), p. 195, incorrectly states that Jacques' father had drowned during a yachting trip to the Far East. Axel d'Adelswärd died 10 July 1887 on the trading-ship "Olinde Rodrigues," between Colón and La Guayra, and before arriving in Venezuela. See: R. Colas, "Les d'Adelsward" in *Pays-Haut. Bulletin de l'Association des Amis du Vieux Longwy* 2 (1969), p. 77; J. Perot, "Le Destin français d'une famille suédoise: les barons d'Adelswärd" in *Bulletin du Musée Bernadotte de Pau* 26 (1986), p. 22.
22. The section "Un Souvenir pour une Larme" (A souvenir for a tear) in d'Adelswärd's poetry volume *Les Cortèges qui sont passés* (Corteges of the past) (Paris: Léon Vanier/Albert Messein, 1903), pp. 93 ff., is dedicated to this guardian. J. d'Adelswärd, *Chansons Légères. Poèmes de l'enfance* (Paris: Léon Vanier, 1901), p. 120; T. d'Arch Smith, *Love in Earnest. Some Notes on the Lives and Writings of English 'Uranian' Poets from 1889 to 1930* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970), p. 118. Concerning "Treize ans" see also R. Peyrefitte, *Notre amour*, p. 90.
23. J. d'Adelswärd, *Chansons Légères*, pp. 156-158.
24. Ibid., pp. 95-96: "À mon frère Renold" (To my brother Renold). In neither version of his novel does Peyrefitte mention the boy! According to the Civil Registration of Paris, Renold was born 18 May 1881; he was registered with the Christian names Reinhold Harald (Paris, *Archives de Paris. État Civil du Huitième Arrondissement de Paris*, 1881, Nr. 726); he died in Paris 11 January 1882, at the age of 7 months and 24 days (communication from Laurent François, President of the Association "Les Amis d'Henri Duvernois," who kindly furnished some genealogical data concerning Jacques' family). Germaine's year of death is to be found on the Internet (<http://www.sardimpex.com/capece/capece%20minutolo.htm>); her year of birth is here listed as 1888. A photo album of the d'Adelswärd family, probably from Germaine's inheritance, is in the Archive of Pietro Tommasini Mattiucci at Città di Castello; it is to be found on the Internet (<http://www.archipho.it:81>). A good example of boarding school impressions is found in the poem "Innocence," from d'Adelswärd's poetry collection, *L'Hymnaire d'Adonis, à la façon de M. le Marquis de Sade. Paganismes* (Paris: Léon Vanier, 1902), p. 118.

25. On the French educational system at this time, see A. Prost, *Histoire de l'Enseignement en France 1800-1967* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1970), pp. 57 ff., 246 ff. N. Erber, op. cit., p. 199.
26. J. d'Adelswärd, *L'Hymnaire*, pp. 136-137. English translation by the author. Referring to this poem, Mirande Lucien (ed.), *Akademios. Jacques d'Adelswärd-Fersen et «la cause homosexuelle»* (Lille: Gay Kitsch Camp, 2000), p. 6, observed: "If Fersen has not the genius of Rimbaud, it looks like he has."
27. J. d'Adelswärd, op. cit., pp. 49, 114-115, 144-145. According to some authors, probably following A. Jaulme's information, the publication of *L'Hymnaire* brought about d'Adelswärd's first legal prosecution; I could not find any evidence. See: J. Balteau, et al. (ed.), op. cit., p. 544; M. Lucien (ed.), op. cit., p. 7; G. Picq, *Laurent Tailhade ou De la provocation considérée comme un art de vivre* (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 2001), p. 629.
28. J. Balteau, et al. (ed.), loc. cit.; R. Peyrefitte, *L'Exilé de Capri*, pp. 30, 46. During his military service, he first stayed at the fortress of Les Ayvelles (91th Infantry Regiment), and later in Charleville-Mézières and Sedan (Ardennes), where he rose to the rank of a corporal. According to Peyrefitte, d'Adelswärd read to his camp comrades, including Édouard Chimot, engraver from Lille, passages from works by Rimbaud, Péladan, and Huysmans. It remains unclear whether Jacques was licensed at law: this was claimed in an anonymous article in *Le Matin* headed "Messés Noires en plein bacchanale," 11 July 1903, p. 2, but was denied by A. Jarry, "L'Âme ouverte à l'Art antique" in *MESSES NOIRES. Le Canard Sauvage* 1:19 (1903), [no pagination]. It has been suggested that d'Adelswärd had to finance himself the publication of his books, and that title page imprints, such as "third edition," were often spurious, clearly intending to exaggerate his commercial success. However, I have seen myself different editions of some of his books. A recently discovered letter of d'Adelswärd of 19 August 1902 (Rome, Italy, *Collection Raimondo Biffi*), apparently written from Sedan to his publisher, confirms that there were several editions of *Chansons Légères* and *Ébauches et Débauches*, and that Jacques was expecting the payment of royalties.
29. The poem, "Noëlleries" (Christmas tales), in the collection *Les Cortèges*, p. 16, is dedicated to this Loulou. R. Peyrefitte, op. cit., pp. 74-75, constructed the last name of Loulou, who lived on Rue de Berri, in the form of a puzzle. To solve the puzzle, one combines the data from P. Larousse, *Grand Dictionnaire Universel du XIXe Siècle* (Paris: Administration du Grand Dictionnaire Universel, 1865-1890), Volume IV, p. 526 and Volume X, p. 613, with the names in the sentence. Loulou was descended from the jurist Jean-Guillaume Locré, Baron de Roissy (1758-1840), author of the 31-volume work, *Législation civile, commerciale et criminelle de la France* (Paris: Treuttel et Würtz, 1827-1832).
30. Albert François de Warren, called Hamelin by his intimates, was born 12 August 1881 at Saint-Dié (Vosges). He married Marguerite Lévy in 1911 (see "Mariages" in *Le Figaro* 29 March 1911); the marriage was without children. He died at Amiens in 1928 (communication from Jean-Claude Féray). Jacques' engagement with Blanche was reported in the press. One newspaper announced both the engagement and Jacques' arrest on the same day! See Regina, "La Vie de Paris. L'Île de Puteaux" and (Anonymous) "Un scandale Parisien" in *Le Figaro* 10 July 1903, pp. 1, 4.
31. See Note 30 and, among other sources, (Anonymous) "Messés Noires" in *Le Matin* 10 July 1903, p. 2; (Anonymous) "Messés Noires en plein bacchanale," loc. cit.; (Anonymous) "Un scandale" in *Le Temps* 12 July 1903, p. 3; A. Jarry, "Le Périphe de la littérature et de l'art. Héliogabale à travers les âges" in *La Plume: littéraire, artistique et sociale bimensuelle* 16:343 (1903), pp. 209-210; *MESSES NOIRES. Le Canard Sauvage* 1:19 (1903), the whole issue. The case was not overlooked by the foreign press. The report in the *Berliner Tageblatt* 10 July 1903 (taken directly from *Le Matin*) appears in I. Bloch, *Das Sexualleben unserer Zeit in seinen Beziehungen zur modernen Kultur* (Berlin: Louis Marcus Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1909), p. 698. Nancy Erber wrote an excellent article about the press coverage of the case (see N. Erber, op. cit.). Caspar Wintermans is preparing an annotated anthology of articles from the French press.
32. P. Morand, op. cit., p. 40. Morand recalls the response of his school friends on a walk with his father over the Square of San Marco in Venice, during the course of which they suddenly encountered d'Adelswärd. His father refused Jacques' proffered hand on the grounds that he did not wish to shake hands with a pederast, much to the amusement of the young Morand who observed that his father, without realizing it, did so all day long! Morand must have been mistaken here in the year he cites (1908), for the meeting can only have taken place in 1907.
33. (Anonymous) "Cette Répugnante Aventure" in *Gil Blas* 11 July 1903; N. Erber, op. cit., pp. 190, 193.
34. Grandgousier, "Un procès à huis clos. Les Messés Noires" in *Le Matin* 29 November 1903, p. 1.
35. According to N. Erber, op. cit., p. 202, there "is no record of an appeal and no trace in the public record of de Warren's life after his release." However, in the margin of fol. 1 of the sentence (Ms. 3 December 1903, Paris, *Archives de Paris. Tribunal de Première Instance du Département de la Seine. Police correctionnelle Neuvième Chambre. Audience publique du Jeudi Trois Décembre mil neuf cent trois*), there is a handwritten note "appel de Warren (...) 17 Décembre 1903." This date must be a mistake. Added to the *Dossier d'Instruction* of 1903 (Paris, *Archives de France. BB18 2255, dr. 1468 A 1903*) there are two letters from the Parquet de la Cour d'Appel de Paris. In a letter of 16 December, an appeal of de Warren of 12 December is mentioned. A letter of 21 January 1904 (referring to the decision of the Cour d'Appel of 12 January 1904) confirms the sentence of the Tribunal de la Seine of 3 December 1903, and states that de Warren has appealed to the Cour de Cassation (see also: "Gazette des Tribunaux. Nouvelles Judiciaires" in *Le Figaro* 13 January 1904).
36. Grandgousier, loc. cit., and "Tribunaux. Les Messés Noires" in *Le Matin* 4 December 1903, p. 2.

37. Ms. 3 December 1903, Paris, *Archives de Paris*, op. cit., fol. 1-3 (see Appendix).
38. A.-S. Lagail, *Les Mémoires du Baron Jacques: Lubricités infernales de la noblesse décadente* (Priapeville: Librairie Galante, An IV du XXe siècle foutatif [=1904]). A clumsy English translation was published in Canada in 1988; it had one positive result: the 1991 reprinting of the original text in France, now provided with page numbers, and the pages printed at last in proper sequence. See: A. Gallais, *The Memoirs of Baron Jacques: The Diabolical Debaucheries of Our Decadent Aristocracy*. Transl. and introd. by Richard West (Vancouver: Ageneios Press, 1988); P. Cardon (ed.), *Dossier Jacques d'Adelsward-Fersen* (Lille: Cahier Gai-Kitsch-Camp XX-4, 1991), pp. 63-95; P. Pia, *Les Livres de l'Enfer. Bibliographie des ouvrages érotiques du XVIème siècle à nos jours*. II (Paris: Coulet er Faure, 1978), p. 441; L. Perceau, *Bibliographie du roman érotique au XIXe siècle*. II (Paris: Georges Fourdrinier, 1930), pp. 41-43. Perceau, who described the work as "the most horrible of its kind," mis-states the title of the poem as (perhaps a Freudian error): "Notre-Dame des Vierges Fortes" (Our Lady of the sturdy virgins), instead of "Notre-Dame des Verges Fortes" (Our Lady of the sturdy cocks)!
39. P. Pia, op. cit., pp. 535-536.
40. J.-P. Goujon, *Pierre Louÿs, une Vie Secrète* (Paris: Seghers, 1988), p. 84; P. Léautaud, *Journal littéraire. I. 1893-1906* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1954), p. 74. Léautaud talked with Schwob on 14 July 1903; about d'Adelswärd no further details are mentioned. M. Duplay, *Mon ami Marcel Proust. Souvenirs intimes* (Paris: Gallimard, 1972), pp. 136-137; C.-L. Philippe, "Le Mouton à cinq pattes" in *MESSES NOIRES. Le Canard Sauvage* 1:19 (1903), [no pagination]; A. Jarry, "L'Âme ouverte à l'Art antique" in *MESSES NOIRES. Le Canard Sauvage* 1:19 (1903), [no pagination]. Already in 1903, Jean de la Lune had sneered at d'Adelswärd in the story "Narva" in his *Les Pantins* (see: J. de la Lune, *Les Pantins*, Paris: Genonceaux, 1903, pp. 73-78, and *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* 7, 1905, pp. 887-888). On 17 February 1904, Roland Brévannes' play, *Messes noires*, was performed in the Théâtre de la Bodinière in the Rue Saint-Lazare in Paris; the 'quatrième tableau,' entitled "La messe noire au XXe siècle: Les dégénérés," with the protagonist Axel Wartz (= Adelsward), is about the Fersen affair (see R. Brévannes, *Les Messes noires. Reconstitution dramatique en 3 parties et 4 tableaux, donnée au théâtre de la Bodinière, le 17 février 1904*, Courbevoie: Impr. E. Bernard, [1904], pp. 23-31).
41. de Fersen, *Lord Lyllian. Messes Noires* (Paris: Léon Vanier/Albert Messein, 1905), pp. 169-171.
42. J. Lorrain, *Pelleastres: Le Poison de la littérature* (Paris: A. Méricant, 1910), p. 135. The book was posthumously published by Georges Normandy, the executor of Lorrain's last will. The passages about d'Adelswärd were first published in serial form in *Le Journal* in 1903. In the last few years a lot of new studies have appeared on Gilles de Rais and Joris-Karl Huysmans. On the Black Masses of Abbé Guibourg, see U. K. Dreikandt (ed.), *Schwarze Messen. Dichtungen und Dokumente* (Herrsching: M. Pawlak Verlagsgesellschaft mbH., 1970), pp. 69-77, and R. Cavendish, *Die schwarze Magie* (Frankfurt/Main: G. B. Fischer Verlag, 1969), pp. 377-381. It is here revealed in passing that as early as 1889 the newspaper *Le Matin* had given special attention in its news coverage to "Black Masses." This study, on pages 46-49, gives some other details of the Black Masses of Abbé Boullan (1824-1893) who during the 1880s and 1890s had captured the imagination of many in France. Huysmans and Stanislas de Guaita (see Note 1) were members, for shorter or longer periods, of his circle. Typical of all cited examples seem to be accusations of ritual child murder combined with orgiastic convocations. It almost seems as if Lorrain regretted that d'Adelswärd had spared the lives of his young friends!
43. R. Peyrefitte, *Propos Secrets* 2, p. 362.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 361.
45. The furnishing of duplicate copies of court dossiers for the benefit of the accused is a rather recent practice in many countries of Europe (communication from the late Edward Brongersma). It is unclear whether this began at an earlier period in France. In 2000, Michael Sibalis, Professor in History at Wilfrid Laurier University (Ontario, Canada), suggested to me that Marc Daniel (pseudonym of Michel Duchein) might have been the one who gave Peyrefitte the opportunity to see the dossier. Both, Peyrefitte and Daniel, were important members of "Arcadie," the French gay association (1954-1982). Marc Daniel was a historian and archivist at the Archives Nationales.
46. (Anonymous) "Messes Noires," loc. cit.; (Anonymous) "Messes Noires en plein bacchanale," loc. cit.; (Anonymous) "Un scandale," loc. cit. In the sentence there is only reference to "gravures licencieuses" (licentious engravings) which d'Adelswärd showed to the schoolboys. N. Erber, op. cit., pp. 194 and 200, is quoting *Le Journal* and *Le Figaro* of 11 July 1903, and *Le Journal* of 29 November 1903. The information about the findings in de Warren's home is incorrect. In the *Dossier d'Instruction*, op. cit., there is a note of Charles de Valles (appendix of a letter from the Tribunal de la Seine of 10 July 1903), in which he states that nothing was found in de Warren's home, because de Warren had destroyed all compromising evidence. However, "obscene photos" must have been present before. In a document from the Tribunal de la Seine of 12 July 1903 in the *Dossier*, Adalbert Croisé de Pourcelet testified that he had seen how a stark naked de Warren had left his bath, and had taken photos of Raoul Clerc, who was nude as well.
47. See Note 41. G. Komrij, *Verzonken Boeken* (Amsterdam: Synopsis, 1986), p. 67.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 68; de Fersen, op. cit., pp. 78-83; R. Ellmann, *Oscar Wilde* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1987), p. 551.
49. de Fersen, op. cit., pp. 151-180. I have been unable to discover whether d'Adelswärd himself was a member of the Rosicrucians or only sympathized with them. In any case, Péladan and Barrès, leaders in the Ordre de la Rose-Croix

Catholique (a secession of the Ordre Kabbalistique de la Rose-Croix), participated in d'Adelswärd's magazine *Akados* in 1909. In my opinion, Lyllian's cryptic remark refers to concepts of Péladan about "The Worthy Subject" and "Ephobic Beauty" (see my article "Neither to Laugh nor to Cry. A Failure in the End: Charles Filiger (1863-1928)" in *Paidika* 1:4, 1988, pp. 38-41).

50. de Fersen, op. cit., p. 162.

51. Erroneously given by Komrij, op. cit., p. 67, as a "Hungarian poet." It was a seventeen-year-old Polish boy whom Lord Lyllian encouraged to write poetry. From the sentence it seems that not just Loulou Loaré but also the Berecki boy had special bonds with d'Adelswärd. The *Dossier d'Instruction*, op. cit., also mentions the boy's Christian name: André.

52. de Fersen, op. cit., p. 27: at the threshold of puberty, the boy fondles himself in front of a mirror, fantasizing about a non-existent "brother"! Already in *Notre-Dame des Mers Mortes (Venise)* (Paris: P. Sevin et E. Rey, 1902), p. 215, d'Adelswärd's principal character, Jacques de Liéven, is weeping when he recalls his deceased "little brother" Renold: "I love him since I do not have him any more."

53. Paris, *Archives de France*. BB18 2255, dr. 1468 A 1903.

54. See Note 35.

55. See also N. Erber, op. cit., p. 207, n. 26. According to *Le Journal* of 14 July 1903, his family had received a message of de Warren from the United States: that he had visited New York, Chicago and Philadelphia. He was expected home in three months.

56. Béchet was a departmental chief of *Le Petit Méridional* in Paris; he was a close friend of de Warren since 1899. From the boy's mother, he knew of a letter of d'Adelswärd to a boy-friend of de Warren, Raoul Clerc, which contained "obscene proposals."

57. During the trial, d'Adelswärd mentioned the writers he was introduced to at school, and whose works he most admired: Virgil, Plato, Theocritus, Shakespeare, and Huysmans. There he had found, in colourful and poetical descriptions, the same things which occurred in his presence (see Grandgousier, "Un procès à huis clos. Les Messes Noires," loc. cit.). N. Erber, op. cit., p. 199, adds the names of Baudelaire and Verlaine, and that Judge Bondoux had interjected: "Very unhealthy literature!" In a letter to an unknown addressee (Trouville-sur-Mer, 26 September 1902), now in the collection of Raimondo Biffi in Rome, d'Adelswärd already mentioned the authors Heinrich Heine, Alphonse de Lamartine, François de Malherbe, Clément Marot, Alfred de Musset, Pierre Ronsard, Albert Samain, and François Villon (pseudonym of François de Montcorbier).

58. The dossier mentions another priest (who might have visited some of the gatherings): fifty-five-year-old Abbé Jean Baptiste Labeyrie, a former vicar of Saint-Philippe-du-Roule in Paris, and "nowadays Chaplain of the Military Hospital at Vincennes." Because of his visits to the public toilets on the Boulevard Haussmann, the Rue Tronchet, and the Avenue des Champs-Élysées, Labeyrie had a reputation for pederasty, and he had already been subject of surveillance by the police. For many years he had been the private teacher of de Warren and his brother. In his home, the police seized about fifty letters of the fugitive de Warren, addressed to his teacher. In the letters, de Warren was on first-name terms with Labeyrie; he called him his very dear friend, expressed an ardent desire to have him near himself, and sent his "kisses" and his "caresses."

59. See Note 15.

60. Except one, the highest form of the French lyceum.

61. See also Note 46. According to Norman Douglas, *Looking Back: An Autobiographical Excursion* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1934), pp. 358-364, d'Adelswärd was a talented drawer.

62. Due to a transcription error, Jean-Claude Féray, "L'exilé de Capri: un portrait très retouché" in *Inverses. Littératures, Arts et Homosexualités* 4 (2004), pp. 209-215, transposes the prominent role of Loulou Loaré to Jacques Croisé de Pourcelet. However, the document of 12 July 1903 does not read "... seroient les Jacques Loaré, Boesch, de Laguerre, Starcelli, ..." but "... seraient les jeunes Loaré, Boesch, de Laguerre, Starcelli, ..." A Jacques Loaré/Loaré did not exist! The name Loulou means "doggy" or "darling."

63. Only a résumé of an interview of Henri Boesch is to be found in a document of 20 July 1903.

64. J. Money, op. cit., pp. 86-88. Nino Cesarini, Jacques' later boy-friend, is recognizable in the novel, *Vestal Fire*, in the person of Carlo di Fiore, and Villa Lysis (named from Plato's dialogue on "the good" as the ultimate goal of all human desires) is called Villa Hylas, after the beloved of Herakles. E.[I.] Prime-Stevenson, "Out of the Sun" in *Her Enemy, Some Friends - and Other Personages: Stories & Studies Mostly of Human Hearts* (Florence: Obsner, 1913). In the protagonist of the story, Dayneford, we can recognize d'Adelswärd, and his lover Gino must be Nino. Reprinted in: M. Mitchell and D. Leavitt (eds.), *Pages Passed from Hand to Hand. The Hidden Tradition of Homosexual Literature in English from 1748 to 1914* (Boston-New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), pp. 394-403. E. Cerio, *Aria di Capri: il libro degli uomini*. ([Portici]: Casella, [c.1936]); pp. 63-78 contain the short story "Il marchese di Pommery," with d'Adelswärd as the protagonist Marchese Paolo de Pommery dei Lenormant d'Etoile.

65. R. Peyrefitte, *L'Exilé de Capri*, p. 130.

66. According to Jacques' last will, Nino was born in Rome 30 September 1889 (see F. Esposito, *I misteri di Villa Lysis. Testamento e morte di Jacques Fersen*, Capri: Edizioni La Conchiglia, 1996, p. 62). According to Peyrefitte, op. cit., pp. 137-142, they met each other for the first time on 9 July 1904, a year after Jacques' arrest in Paris.

67. R. Peyrefitte, op. cit., pp. 169-174, and my article, "Op het snijpunt van twee wegen - John Henry Mackay, anarchist en knapenminnaar" in *Maatstaf* 31:8 (1983), pp. 70-78.
68. J. d'Adelswärd-Fersen, *Une Jeunesse/Le Baiser de Narcisse* (Paris: Léon Vanier/Albert Messein, 1907); Rachilde "Une Jeunesse" in *Mercure de France* 70:248 (16 October 1907), p. 700. The Uranian and expert on witchcraft, Montague Summers (1880-1948), wrote with great sympathy about d'Adelswärd and even dedicated a collection of his poetry to him, *Antinous and Other Poems* (London: Sisleys, [1907]). He incorrectly wrote that the novella took place in Venice, whereas it actually was set near Taormina and in Verona. See M. Summers, *The Galant Show. An Autobiography by Montague Summers* (London: Cecil Woolf, 1980), p. 236. Summers also was a secretary to the department for the study of homosexuality of the British Society for the Study of Sex Psychology (see also Note 77). The supposition made by T. d'Arch Smith, op. cit., p. 156, that Rachilde (pseudonym of Marguerite Aymery Vallette) used Jacques' name for the two incestuous homosexual brothers Fertzen in her novel, *Les Hors nature. Moeurs contemporaines* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1897), must be corrected: in 1897 Jacques had not yet acquired his "reputation"! Possibly Rachilde was referring to Hans Axel von Fersen (see Note 20).
69. A photo of the dedication stone of Villa Lysis is reproduced in *À la Jeunesse d'Amour*, op. cit., p. 74. For a description of Brunelleschi's painting, see F. Esposito, op. cit., p. 91. For reproductions of the statue of Nino cast by Francesco Ierace, see J. Money, op. cit., p. 95; P. Cardon (ed.), *Dossier Jacques d'Adelswärd-Fersen* (Lille: Cahiers Gai-Kitsch-Camp 21, Curiosa 3, 1993), p. 14; *À la Jeunesse d'Amour*, op. cit., pp. 36 (photo by Guglielmo Plüschow), 37, 46-47; *Amori et Dolori Sacrum*, introd. by Roger Peyrefitte (Capri: Libreria «La Conchiglia», 1990), pp. 23 and 45; T.G. Natter and P. Weiermair (eds.), *Et in Arcadia ego* (Zürich: Oehrli, 2000), pp. 18 and 19 (photos by Guglielmo Plüschow!). R. Peyrefitte, *L'Esule di Capri* (Capri: Edizioni La Conchiglia, 2003), [no pagination], includes reproductions of a photo of the statue by Ierace, and photos of Nino by Guglielmo Plüschow (c. 1906) which seem to have been used by Ierace as a model for his statue. These photos are also reproduced in *À la Jeunesse d'Amour*, op. cit., p. 101-102, and in P. Weiermair, *Guglielmo Plüschow* (Köln: Benedikt Taschen, 1993), pp. 30 and 33. The photo of Nino on the terrace is to be found in *À la Jeunesse d'Amour*, op. cit., p. 103, *Amori et Dolori Sacrum*, op. cit., p. 41, and M. Hirschfeld, *Geschlechtskunde. IV* (Stuttgart: Julius Püttmann, 1930), p. 632. With respect to the photo, the same symbols - although in mirror image - can be found on a drinking vessel from the First Century B.C. on which Emperor Augustus is shown in all his majesty, and on a Fourth Century A.D. coin on which the Emperor Constantius II is depicted as Perpetuus Augustus. The closest resemblance with the photo is found in Second and Third Century A.D. depictions of Zeus Nicephorus, see A. Dimitrova-Milcheva, *Antique Engraved Gems and Cameos in the National Archeological Museum in Sofia* (Sofia: Septemviri Publishing House, 1981), pp. 32-33, Nrs. 13-14a. The photo differs in the following respects: standing posture, lack of scepter, and a Christian cross around Nino's neck. Recently there has been published a reproduction of a painting of Nino (c. 1908) by the German artist Paul Höcker (Professor at the Academy of Arts in Munich and co-founder of the "Munich Secession"), which is now in the private collection of Inka Nero in Switzerland (see *Good bye to Berlin? 100 Jahre Schwulenbewegung*, Berlin: Verlag rosa Winkel, 1997, pp. 62, 78-79). Nino, more or less undressed, was painted several times by Höcker. One of these paintings, "Roman Youngster," appeared on the title page of Number 26 of the magazine *Jugend* (1904) (see also: A. Sternweiler (ed.), *Selbstbewusstsein und Beharrlichkeit. Zweihundert Jahre Geschichte*, Berlin: Schwules Museum, 2004, pp. 69-70). Fausto Esposito, loc. cit., describes another painting of a dressed Nino, hanging in the "camera goyesca" of Villa Lysis, and signed with "Paul." In 1897 Höcker had fled to Italy, when it became common knowledge in Germany that he had used a rent boy from Munich, with whom he had an intimate relationship, as a model for a painting of a Madonna.
70. J. d'Adelswärd-Fersen, *Ainsi chantait Marsyas.... Poèmes* (Florence and Paris: Léon Vanier/Albert Messein, 1907), pp. 15-16, 23-28. The photo of Jacques in J. Money, loc. cit., dates from this time and gives evidence of d'Adelswärd's increasing use of opium.
71. On the response of the residents of Capri, see: J. Money, op. cit., pp. 109-111; E. Settanni, *Scrittori stranieri a Capri* ([Napoli]: La Conchiglia, 1986), pp. 30-31; R. Ciuni, *I peccati di Capri* (Roma: New Deal, 1998), p. 99. One of Jacques' friends suggested that readers might have mis-read the implications of the dots following "mer," which of course means that they interpreted it as "merde" (shit).
72. The use of opium - following the Chinese Chandu method - was very popular with a number of artists, especially since the drug was easily obtainable in European apothecaries, even after the First World War. W. Schmidbauer and J. vom Scheidt, *Handbuch der Rauschdrogen* (München: Nymphenburger, 1975), pp. 139-146, states that the smoking of 20 to 40 pipes (6 to 7 grams) per day was common for the average user (10 grams of opium contain approximately 1 gram morphine, of which 0.2 to 0.3 grams come directly into the blood with smoking). A. Hayther, *Opium and the Romantic Imagination* (London: Faber and Faber, 1968), goes deeply into the influence which the drug had on various artists. Jacques' attraction to this particular drug can be explained in part by the fact that from ancient times opium has been used in various mystery cults and initiation ceremonies.
73. For reproductions of the photo of the Neapolitan boy, see: *À la Jeunesse d'Amour*, op. cit., p. 43, E. Cooper, *Fully Exposed. The Male Nude in Photography* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990), p. 157, P. Weiermair, op. cit., p. 69, *Amori et Dolori Sacrum*, op. cit., pp. 31 and 39 (divided into two parts!), and R. Peyrefitte, op. cit., [no pagination]. In the early 1870s the German Guglielmo (= Wilhelm Eduard Hermann Gottlieb) Plüschow lived as a photographer in Naples (Mergellina district). Between 1892 and 1909 he operated in Rome. In the aftermath of the Krupp scandal, he was

accused of sexual match-making, the seduction of minors, and the production and distribution of “obscene” photos. He was arrested 14 May 1907 because he had made photos of a twelve-year-old Roman boy, Ernani Marinelli, in “a pose not in accordance with the laws of decency” (see: “L’arresto di un fotografo tedesco” in *Il Messaggero* 15 May 1907, p. 4; “Il fotografo arrestato” in *La Tribuna* 16 May 1907, p. 3; “Un fotografo corruttore” in *La Tribuna* 15 May 1907; “Il fotografo tedesco arrestato” in *Il Messaggero* 16 May 1907, p. 4; “Un processo scandaloso” in *Il Messaggero* 15 June 1907; “Fotografi corruttori” in *Bollettino della Lega per la Moralità Pubblica* 13:2, 1908, pp. 6-7; and L. Ferriani, “E lo scandalo del fotografo?” in *Battaglie d’oggi* 3:14, 1907, pp. 1-2). During the police raid of Plüschow’s apartment, a famous German concert singer was found in his home with a young “civus [= civis] romanus” (Roman citizen) in a compromising situation (see Xavier Mayne, *The Intersexes. A History of Similisexuality as Problem in Social Life*, Naples: [Privately printed, c.1910], p. 486). Recently Enrico Oliari has published the complete transcription of the sentence of the Corte Penale di Roma of 4 April 1908 (<http://www.oliari.com/ricerche/sentenzaplueschow.html>). Xavier Mayne’s “civus romanus” can now be identified as the Roman boy, Amedeo Moretti, and the German concert singer, “Dott[ore] Wulmer Luigi,” must be Dr. Ludwig Wüllner (1858-1938) (see *Spemanns goldenes Buch der Musik*, Berlin-Stuttgart: Verlag W. Spemann, 1900, Nr. 1390, which also contains a photo of the concert singer). Plüschow was sentenced to seven months and fifteen days prison, and a big fine. After 1910 he returned to Germany (see U. Pohlmann, *Guglielmo Plüschow (1852-1930). Ein Photograph aus Mecklenburg in Italien*, Grevesmühlen: NWM-Verlag, 1995, pp. 8-11). Reproductions of Plüschow’s photos of Nino are to be found in the following books: U. Pohlmann, op. cit., Inv. Nr. 89/74-84 “Rückenakt eines männlichen Modells” (Nude back of a male model); Inv. Nr. 89/74-78 “Portrait eines jungen Mannes” (Portrait of a young man); and Inv. Nr. 89/13-45 “Männlicher Akt mit ‘Heiligenschein’” (Male nude with a ‘nimbus’). The latter is also reproduced in *À la Jeunesse d’Amour*, op. cit., p. 100, *Amori et Dolori Sacrum*, op. cit., p. 35, on the cover of F. Esposito, op. cit., in R. Peyrefitte, op. cit., [no pagination], and in P. Weiermair, op. cit., the first photo of the book. According to Pohlmann, these photos are from about 1900, which is dated too early. D. Leddick, *The Male Nude* (Köln: Taschen, 1998), p. 134, reproduces a photo of Nino as a nude Roman soldier, and in *Wilhelm von Gloeden, Wilhelm von Plüschow, Vincenzo Galdi. Italienische Jünglings-Photographien um 1900* (Berlin: Janssen, 1991), p. 37, we can find a nude back-pose of Nino, playing with a tambourine. R. Peyrefitte, op. cit., has more photos of Nino by Plüschow, including several nudes (c. 1906). These are also to be found in *À la Jeunesse d’Amour*, op. cit., pp. 99, 104-105 (see also P. Weiermair, op. cit., pp. 10, 13, 21, 91). J.-C. Féray, loc. cit. If the supposition, made by Féray, is correct, it casts a new and less romantic light on the acquaintance than in Peyrefitte’s novel: Nino would be one of the boys possibly exploited by Plüschow. The editors of *À la Jeunesse d’Amour*, op. cit., p. 12, claim that Nino already was a model of Plüschow, and Féray’s supposition is additionally supported: in the above-mentioned sentence of the Corte Penale di Roma, we can find a quote from the seized correspondence of Plüschow, in which a certain Geofray is looking at a photo of Nino (Cesarini?), and recalls the beautiful moments he had with the boy. Another boy, Rodolfo Consorti, testified that he was introduced by Plüschow in Capri to the “passive pederast” Fersen, who had made “obscene” proposals which the boy had rejected. From all this, it seems obvious, that Plüschow was not only selling photos, but also selling boys.

74. G. Amendola, *Una scelta di vita* (Milano: Rizzoli, 2001), p. 33.

75. A. Andrén, op. cit., p. 161. (Anonymous) “Le triste héros des messes noires Jacques d’Adelsward meurt mystérieusement à Capri” in *Le Matin* 10 December 1923, p. 1, prints sensationalistic reports from the local rumor mill: the residents of Capri crossed themselves when strange sounds and lights came from similar nocturnal “orgies” held in Villa Lysis. During the Plüschow scandal (see Note 73), the Italian press even referred to a note of the Carabinieri of 7 June 1907: in his “small villa at Capri (...), D.F.” (= De Fersen) not only received “molti ragazzi” (many boys); “celebrations, similar to the ones he was condemned for by the Tribunal de la Seine,” took place: “messe nere” (Black Masses). Reference is also made to his “Roman lover C.A.” (= Antonio [= Nino] Cesarini) (see “Un processo scandaloso”, op. cit.; also to be found on: <http://www.oliari.com/ricerche/plueschow.html>).

76. See Note 67. According to Edwin Cerio (*L’Ora di Capri*, Capri: La Conchiglia, 2000, pp. 208-209), the course of events had turned out differently: the performance was brutally terminated by the police. The preparations of the celebration had raised suspicions of the local priest, who feared for an orgy, and the mayor, who hoped for a scandal: “So when, one night, the whole heretical and erotic company of the island disappeared into the grotto by torchlight, for both of them there was no doubt, and the intervention of the Carabinieri was decided.” D’Adelswärd and others were arrested and a list was made of seized objects. By intervention on high authority (mention was made of “diplomatic pressure”) the scandal vanished into smoke.

77. In a letter of 8 December 1907, d’Adelswärd thanked Eekhoud for the contacts with the “leaders of the German party.” See: P. Cardon (ed.), op. cit., pp. 64-65; M. Lucien (ed.), op. cit., p. 15; P. Snijders, “De komeet van Fersen. Het literaire tijdschrift Akademos (1909)” in *De Parelduiker* 1:1 (1996), p. 43. *Der Eigene* was founded by Adolf Brand and Benedict Friedländer (1866-1908), and was clearly influenced by the philosophy of the German anarchist pedagogue and philosopher Max Stirner (pseudonym of Kaspar Schmidt, 1806-1856), centering upon the self-development of the individual. In 1897, the psychiatrist and sexologist Hirschfeld had founded in Berlin the first association of the German gay liberation, the “Wissenschaftlich-humanitäres Komitee” (1897-1933), with a special branch in the Netherlands (“Nederlandsch Wetenschappelijk Humanitair Komitee,” 1912-1940). Together with the Alsatian jurist Numa Praetorius (pseudonym of Eugen Daniel Wilhelm, 1866-1951), Hirschfeld also published the

quarterly *Vierteljahrsberichte des Wissenschaftlich-humanitären Komitees*, in fact a follow-up of the *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*. In the presence of, among others, Numa Praetorius and the Swiss psychologist Camille Spiess, d'Adelswärd attended a "crowded" meeting in the building of the Sociétés Savantes in Paris on 26 February 1910, during which Hirschfeld, by request of the Cercle International d'Études Sociales et Littéraires, read a lecture on "the deviations of the sexual instinct, with special attention to the homosexual question" (see *Vierteljahrsberichte des Wissenschaftlich-humanitären Komitees* 1, 1909/1910, p. 342). Praetorius stayed for a longer time in Paris (see Numa Praetorius, "Homosexuelle Pissoirinschriften aus Paris" in *Anthropophyteia* 8, 1911, pp. 410-422). During 1909, Spiess figured on the list of collaborators of *Akademios*, but he never made a contribution to the magazine. Spiess (1878-?) was a friend of d'Adelswärd and a visitor of Villa Lysis (see C. Spiess, *Mon Autopsie. Éjaculations autobiographiques*, Nice: Athanor, 1938, pp. 109-112, 129). A site on the Internet (<http://www.multimania.com/jgir/fersen.htm>) suggested that d'Adelswärd also might have been a member of the "Order of Chaeronea." The name of this worldwide secret society was inspired by the battle of Chaeronea in 338 B.C., when 300 members of the Sacred Band of Thebes (composed entirely of friends and lovers) were slaughtered by the army of Philip of Macedonia. The Order was founded in 1897 by the homosexual Edwardian poet and author, George Cecil Ives (1867-1950), co-founder of the British Society for the Study of Sex Psychology (1914), and most famous of his study *The Graeco-Roman View of Youth* (London: Cayme Press, 1926). Its aim was to promote the end of the oppression of homosexuals.

78. The following are some of the best known names: Paul Adam, Henri Barbusse, Maurice Barrès, Jules Bois, Norman Douglas, Georges Eekhoud, Achille Essebac, Claude Farrère, Jean Ferval (pseudonym of Roger Charbonnel), Anatole France, Henry Gauthier-Villars and his wife Colette Willy (pseudonym of Sidonie-Gabrielle Colette), Maxim Gorky (pseudonym of Alexey Maximovich Peshkov), Robert d'Humières, Pierre Loti, Maurice Maeterlinck, F.T. Marinetti, Octave Mirbeau, Robert de Montesquiou, Jean Moréas, Joséphin Péladan, Laurent Tailhade and his close friend Robert Scheffer, Emile Verhaeren, Renée Vivien, Eugene (sic) [Daniel] Wilhelm. For a more detailed evaluation of the magazine, see the article of Paul Snijders, op. cit., pp. 39-51.

79. (Anonymous "N.D.L.R."), "Note de la Direction" in *Akademios* 1:10 (1909), p. 640.

80. "Inaugural" and "Notre But" (Our Aim) in *Akademios* 1:1 (1909), pp. 1-2, 113. Though he was listed as a collaborator, Norman Douglas, op. cit., p. 363, knew only this issue of the magazine. J. Money, op. cit., pp. 109, 311-312, knew of 10 of the 12 issues but only consulted six.

81. Jacques borrowed this pseudonym from the book by Jean Lorrain, *Sonyeuse* (Paris: Charpentier, 1891).

82. Vyvyan Holland's part is not mentioned in the press articles I found: "Il suicidio di uno sconosciuto" in *La Gazzetta di Venezia* 25 September 1908, and "Il suicida francese R. Laurent" in *La Gazzetta di Venezia* 27 September 1908. See also: C. Arnaud, *Jean Cocteau* (Paris: Gallimard, 2003), p. 45.

83. F.T. Marinetti, "Le Dompteur" in *Akademios* 1:2 (1909), p. 176; J. d'Adelswärd-Fersen, "Poème dans la rosée" and "Tes Yeux..." in *Poesia. Rassegna Internazionale* 5:1-2 (1909), pp. 43, 77. On page 75, in the same issue of *Poesia*, there is a poem by Robert Scheffer, "Visions de Minuit," dedicated to "J. de Fersen." Together with Victor Litchfousse, the French writer Robert Scheffer (1864-1926) was interim editor of *Akademios*. Marinetti's Manifesto was simultaneously published in *Poesia* and *Le Figaro* (20 February 1909). Fersen, "Akademios" in *Poesia. Rassegna Internazionale* 5:3-6 (1909), p. 49; J. Adelswärd de Fersen, "Mon cher Poète" in *Poesia. Rassegna Internazionale* 5:3-6 (1909), p. 8. In a letter to Marinetti of 5 July 1909 (New Haven, USA, *Yale University. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library*. Marinetti Collection GEN MSS 130, Series III, Box 7, Folder 79), Jacques again praised the Manifesto, and invited Marinetti to send new contributions to *Akademios*.

84. Although, on 10 May 1909, d'Adelswärd was still confident, and even intended a bimonthly publication of the magazine (starting in January 1910), in the same letter to Georges Eekhoud (who made several contributions to *Akademios*) he complained about the "ludicrous rarity" of subscriptions, and that he felt himself abandoned by other "adonisiens" (worshippers of Adonis) who, out of fear, had turned their back upon him ("perhaps by custom?" Jacques added with a sneer), instead of helping him. See P. Cardon (ed.), op. cit., pp. 66-67. The letter is part of a collection of six letters (and a post-card for New-Year 1908) from d'Adelswärd to Eekhoud, preserved in the Royal Library Albert I, Archives et Musée de la Littérature, at Brussels. A reproduction of the post-card is to be found in M. Lucien (ed.), op. cit., p. 142.

85. R. Peyrefitte, *L'Exilé de Capri*, pp. 221-225.

86. R. Peyrefitte, op. cit., pp. 227-228.

87. J. Thurman, *Colette. Roman ihres Lebens* (Berlin: Berlin Verlag, 2001), pp. 873-874. Mathilde de Morny (nicknamed "Monsieur le Marquis," "Missy," or "Oncle Max") not only financially supported the publication of *Akademios*; together with her partner Colette, she also frequented d'Adelswärd's salons, went with him for dinner, or visited the cinema (see C. Francis and F. Gontier, *Mathilde de Morny. La scandaleuse marquise et son temps*, Paris: Perrin, 2000, pp. 260-262).

88. J. d'Adelswärd-Fersen, *Paradinya* (Paris: Edition de <Pan>, 1911), p. 23.

89. J.H. van Epen, *Compendium Drugverslaving en Alcoholisme. Diagnostiek en behandeling* (Amsterdam: Agon/Elsevier, 1974), p. 90, cites Freud's experiments with curing opium addiction by administering cocaine. This resulted in the patient becoming psychotic. On *Gemito*, see my article "Street-Urchins: Antonio Mancini (1852-1930)" in *Paidika* 2:3 (1991), pp. 31-47, passim. According to F. Esposito, op. cit., p. 90, Jacques possessed a bronze statuette

of a nude ephebe on a pedestal of agate, made by Gemito. In a new edition of an Italian translation (1959) of *L'Exilé de Capri*, we can find a portrait by Gemito (1920) of a moustached Nino with a turban, now in the collection of Lino Maesano (see: R. Peyrefitte, *L'Esule di Capri*, back of the cover, and *À la Jeunesse d'Amour*, op. cit., p. 107). J. Money, op. cit., pp. 124-126, 134, has d'Adelswärd undertake in 1913/14 another trip to the Far East, with Nino and some female friends from the colony at Capri. This trip is only mentioned by E.F. Benson and Compton Mackenzie and is probably based upon fantasy.

90. R. Peyrefitte, *Propos Secrets 2*, p. 355. J. Money, op.cit., pp. 159, 170, describes Nino after 1918 as a young man who "at last" was set on the straight and narrow path through his war experiences; he was not only decorated with the cross of war but seems to have suddenly taken on Anglo-Saxon morals. He is supposed to have stayed with d'Adelswärd only out of compassion for the "madman"; "they were now 'just friends,' and Fersen's attempts to revive the old sexual relationship were rejected." This is a concatenation, perhaps based upon wishful thinking, of absurdities and suspicions presented as fact which is based in no respect upon existing documentation. Above all, because of Jacques' preference for ephebes, we may assume that the sexual component of the relationship had ended years before. 91. See: M. Kietsvi Favai, *Vita con Gennaro* (Milano: Ceschina, 1965), pp. 147-155; E. Respighi, *Ottorino Respighi: dati biografici ordinati da Elsa Respighi* (Milano: Ricordi, [1954]), p. 138.

92. R. Peyrefitte, loc. cit. A copy of *La Neuvaine du petit faune* is in the collection of Alexandre de Villiers (Peyrefitte's godson and executor of his last will) in Paris. It is not clear whether this is the original manuscript, given by Corrado to his friends Romolo Valle and Giorgio de Lullo, directors of the Teatro Eliseo in Rome, with whom Peyrefitte spoke on Capri.

93. In fact, Jacques himself had his last will drawn up in French in Villa Lysis 21 November 1921; after the recitation of the Italian version on 16 November 1923, it was registered by the notary Aniello Paturzo from neighbouring Piano di Sorrento on 23 November 1923 (see: F. Esposito, op. cit., p. 62-63; *À la Jeunesse d'Amour*, op. cit., pp. 163-164).

94. According to Peyrefitte's novel; I can find no other documentation. Peyrefitte's opinion is highly probable. It raises the question of why d'Adelswärd visited von Gloeden with Corrado just as he had with Nino years before. He must have been fond of von Gloeden's photos, and perhaps he wanted both youngsters preserved in the work of the most famous photographer of boys at that time. Perhaps these photos will some day come to light! R. Peyrefitte, *L'Exilé de Capri*, pp. 292, 298, says that d'Adelswärd also had sketches made of Nino and Corrado by the sculptor Vincenzo Gemito (see also Note 89). The imprint (lower left corner) on d'Adelswärd's photo, sent as a gift to Georges Eekhoud, and now in the Archives et Musée de la Littérature at Brussels (see M. Lucien, op. cit., cover), testifies that there also were contacts between d'Adelswärd and the Bohemian photographer Rudolph Lehnert and his German assistant Ernst Landrock, famous of their photos (and post-cards) of (nude) oriental boys (see: Ph. Cardinal, *L'Orient d'un photographe. Lehnert & Landrock*, Lausanne-Paris: Favre, 1987; Winckelmann [pseudonym], "Lehnert & Landrock. Photographers of the Orient" in *Gayme* 3:2, 1997, pp. 26-33).

95. F. Esposito, op. cit., pp. 67-68. N. Douglas, op. cit., p. 365. It remains unclear whether Jacques died on 5 November or 6 November. Peyrefitte, without giving any evidence, expressly states that it was on 5 November (see Note 2), whereas the Italian press and Nino's testimonies have 6 November.

96. (Anonymous) "Le triste héros des messes noires Jacques d'Adelsward meurt mystérieusement à Capri," loc. cit.

97. On 8 December 1923, in the presence of Joige Ferrara, the autopsy was carried out by Vincenzo Maione, Professor in Forensic Medicine at the University of Naples, and Vincenzo Gianturco, Professor in Pathological Anatomy, and lasted from 11.30 a.m. to 15.30 p.m. See: "L'autopsia del cadavere del barone De Fersen" in *Il Messaggero* 8 December 1923, and "Sulla morte del Barone De Fersen. L'autopsia eseguita ieri confermerebbe la morte per sincope" in *Il Mezzogiorno* 8/9 December 1923.

98. F. Esposito, op. cit., pp. 62-63, reprints the Italian translation of Jacques' will in facsimile and in partial transcription. The document does not mention any shares of foreign railway-companies, often referred to by the Italian press. Concerning the lawsuits, see pp. 75-80. A British professor, who, in his youth, was the lover of the photographer Algernon Islay de Courcy Lyons, told Raimondo Biffi an odd story. In a deposit in New York there had been a huge quantity of photos, books, and letters from d'Adelswärd and his friends from Capri. It was part of Lyons' inheritance to his adopted Thai son, Manop Charoensuk. Lyons had been the last lover of the Scottish writer Kenneth Macpherson, husband of the lesbian and millionaire writer "Bryher" (Annie Winifred Ellerman), the lifelong partner of the poetess Hilda Doolittle. Bryher supported her husband and his friend in Capri, and also stipulated that they should take into their home the aging Norman Douglas. The material of d'Adelswärd's circle most probably came from Douglas. It was inherited by Macpherson, who left everything to his lover Lyons. Charoensuk sold it to an American millionaire. A few years ago, the complete collection was offered by Sotheby's in London to the American antiquarian David Deiss, but was bought by an unknown British dealer.

99. J. Money, op. cit., pp. 172, 315; R. Peyrefitte, op. cit., p. 314; *Propos Secrets 2*, loc. cit. Giuseppina Messanelli told James Money that Nino died in 1939 (see F. Esposito, op. cit., p. 76). A site on the Internet of Jacques Girard has 1943 as year of death (<http://www.multimania.com/jgir/fersen.htm>); the latter is confirmed by Giovanbattista Brambilla, who is preparing a book about Nino Cesarini, and who recently discovered his grave at a Roman cemetery, the Campo Verano. In 2001, Nino's grand-nephew still owned the same newspaper kiosk on the Via Veneto in Rome (communication from Raimondo Biffi). After Nino's death, his family destroyed all his letters from d'Adelswärd, most

of the photos representing Nino as a nude boy, as well as oriental erotic objects, deposited by Nino in a private case in a Roman bank. In R. Peyrefitte, *L'Esule di Capri*, there are some photos of objects from Nino's inheritance, now in the possession of his heirs, the Maesano family (see Note 89). These are also reproduced in *À la Jeunesse d'Amour*, op. cit., pp. 158-161. The Internet Movie Database (www.imdb.com) even lists 23 films (between 1930 and 1970), in which Corrado played a part.

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Music

Les Amants Solitaires (2003), composed and performed by the French soprano and accordionist Nicole Renaud; contains four songs based on poems by d'Adelswärd: 'Les extatiques' and 'Gongs' from *Ainsi chantait Marsyas*, 'Chanson cruelle, chanson d'adieu II' and 'T'en souvient-il?.....' from *L'Hymnaire d'Adonis* (CD-Label: Le Producteur Invisible; Cat.Nr. 9287).

Cinque Liriche per Canto e Pianoforte (1918), by the Italian composer Ottorino Respighi (1879-1936); contains two songs based on poems from *L'Hymnaire d'Adonis* by J. de Fersen: '3. Par les soirs...' and '4. Par l'étreinte' (CD-Label: King; first issue Cat.Nr. NKCD359).

Les extatiques, by the French composer Jean Nouguès (1875-1932); song based on a poem from *Ainsi chantait Marsyas*.

Il pleut, gentil berger (1919), by Ottorino Respighi; song based on a poem from *L'Hymnaire d'Adonis* (CD-Label: Nuova Era; Cat.Nr. 7182).

Films

Musik, die sich entfernt: Capri und die Träume des Cyrill K. (1984), directed by Ferry Radax.

Sources of Figures

1. Cover by Gaston Goor of the definitive Livre de Poche edition of 1974.
2. Cover by Louis Morin.
3. Powerstation Herserange; to the right the d'Adelswärd family castle. Collection of the author.
4. Jacques d'Adelswärd in his late teens. In: *Chansons Légères* (Paris: Léon Vanier, 1901).
5. The Lycée Janson-de-Sailly (1991). Photo by Dré Leyten.
6. Jacques d'Adelswärd in his twenties. In: *Ébauches et Débauches* (Paris: Léon Vanier, 1901).
7. Avenue Friedland, Nr. 18 (1991). Photo by Dré Leyten.
8. Cover of *Les Cortèges qui sont passés* (Paris: Léon Vanier/Albert Messein, 1903) with d'Adelswärd's portrait.
9. Caricature by František Kupka, in *MESSES NOIRES. Le Canard Sauvage* 1:19 (1903) [no pagination].
10. "Two Removals" Caricature by František Kupka, in *MESSES NOIRES. Le Canard Sauvage* 1:19 (1903) [no pagination].
11. The Lycée Carnot (1991). Photo by Dré Leyten.
12. "At the Aesthete's - ... My Master is busy..." Caricature by Hermann-Paul, in *MESSES NOIRES. Le Canard Sauvage* 1:19 (1903) [no pagination].
13. First page of the decision by the Ninth Chamber of the Tribunal de la Seine, 3 December 1903.
14. Cover by Claude Simpson.
15. Villa Lysis. From: B. Büch, "Curieus Capri" in *Avenue* 21:8 (1986), p. 68. Photo by Martin Thomas.
16. Jacques d'Adelswärd. In: M. Hirschfeld, *Geschlechtskunde*. IV (Stuttgart: Julius Püttmann, 1930), p. 632.
17. Painting of Nino Cesarini (c. 1908) by Paul Höcker. In: *Good bye to Berlin? 100 Jahre Schwulenbewegung* (Berlin: Verlag rosa Winkel, 1997), p. 62.
18. The glorification of Nino Cesarini. In: M. Hirschfeld, *Geschlechtskunde*. IV (Stuttgart: Julius Püttmann, 1930), p. 632.
19. Interior of Villa Lysis with Höcker's painting. In: P. Weiermair, *Guglielmo Plüschow* (Köln: Benedikt Taschen, 1993), p. 69.
20. Frontal nude of Nino Cesarini.
21. Bathing boys at Marina, Capri (c. 1900). Picture post-card by Richter & Co., Naples. Collection of the author [there also exists a copy of this post-card, with the postmark "Capri (Napoli) 18 Giu [19]04," in the correspondence of Georges Eekhoud in the Archives et Musée de la Littérature at Brussels (ML 2970/543), written by an undecipherable sender].
22. Nino Cesarini as a Roman soldier (c. 1910) by Guglielmo Plüschow. In: D. Leddick, *The Male Nude* (Köln: Taschen, 1998), p. 134.
23. Cover by George Auril of the first issue of *Akademios* (15 January 1909).
24. "FERSEN. The writer of: *Et le Feu s'éteignit sur la Mer...*" Caricature by Moyano, in *Akademios* 1:5 (1909), p. 708.
25. Villa Lysis (1961). Collection Raimondo Biffi, Rome.
26. Cover by Ernest Marie Brisset of *Hei Hsiang. Le parfum noir* (1921).
27. Autograph of d'Adelswärd, double signed: *Au passant, l'inavouable. F[ersen.] avec beaucoup de sympathie [sic] vraie. Fersen.* (To the passer-by, what we try to conceal. F[ersen.] with lots of sincere sympathy. Fersen.) In: *Hei Hsiang. Le parfum noir* (Paris: Albert Messein, 1921). Collection of the author.
28. Portrait from the *in memoriam* "Le triste héros des messes noires Jacques d'Adelsward meurt mystérieusement à Capri" in *Le Matin* 10 December 1923, p. 1.