Picasso and portraiture : representation and transformation

Edited by William Rubin, with essays by Anne Baldassari ... [et al.]

Author

Picasso, Pablo, 1881-1973

Date

1996

Publisher

The Museum of Modern Art: Distributed by H.N. Abrams

ISBN

0870701436, 0870701428, 0810961601

Exhibition URL

www.moma.org/calendar/exhibitions/283

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PICASSSO AND PORTRAITURE

THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART . NEW YORK

Picasso and Portraiture Representation and Transformation

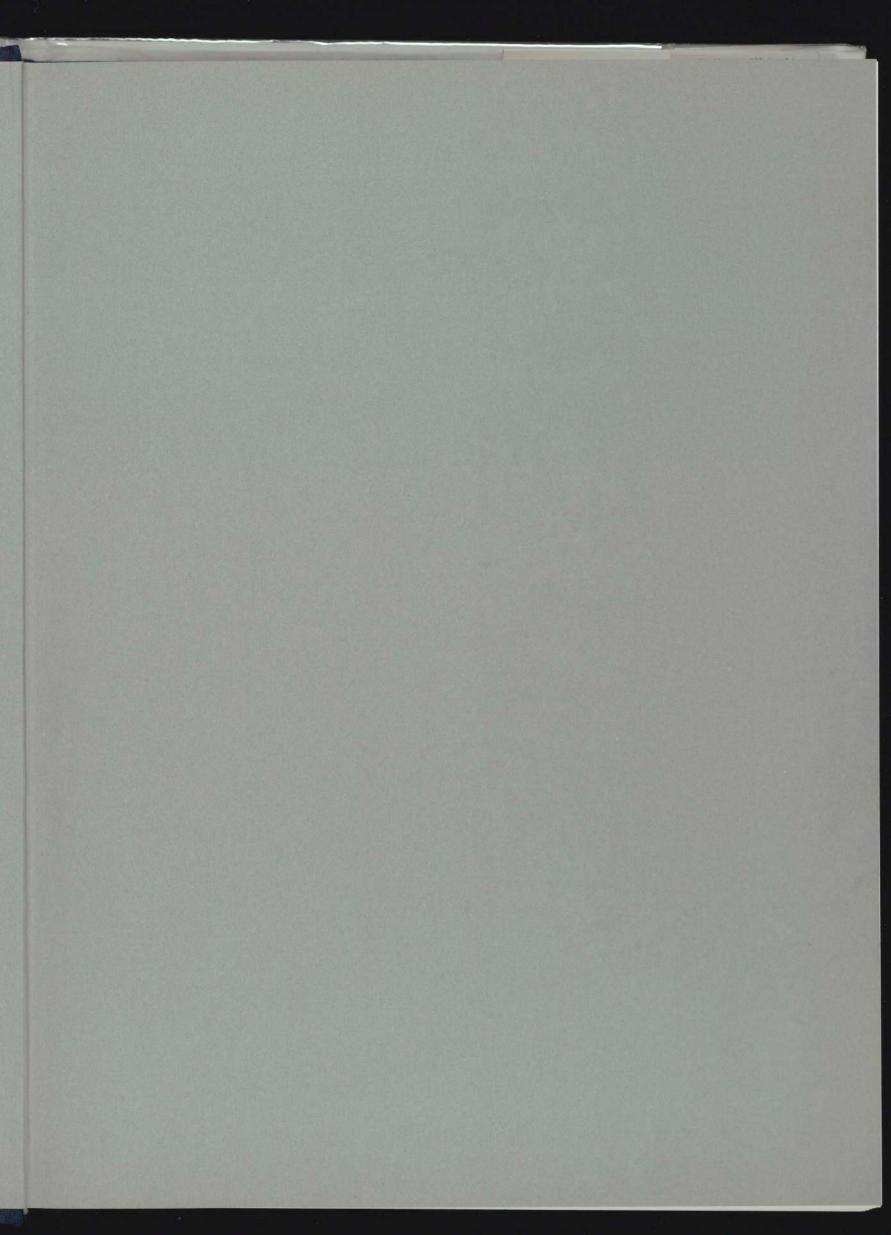
Edited by William Rubin

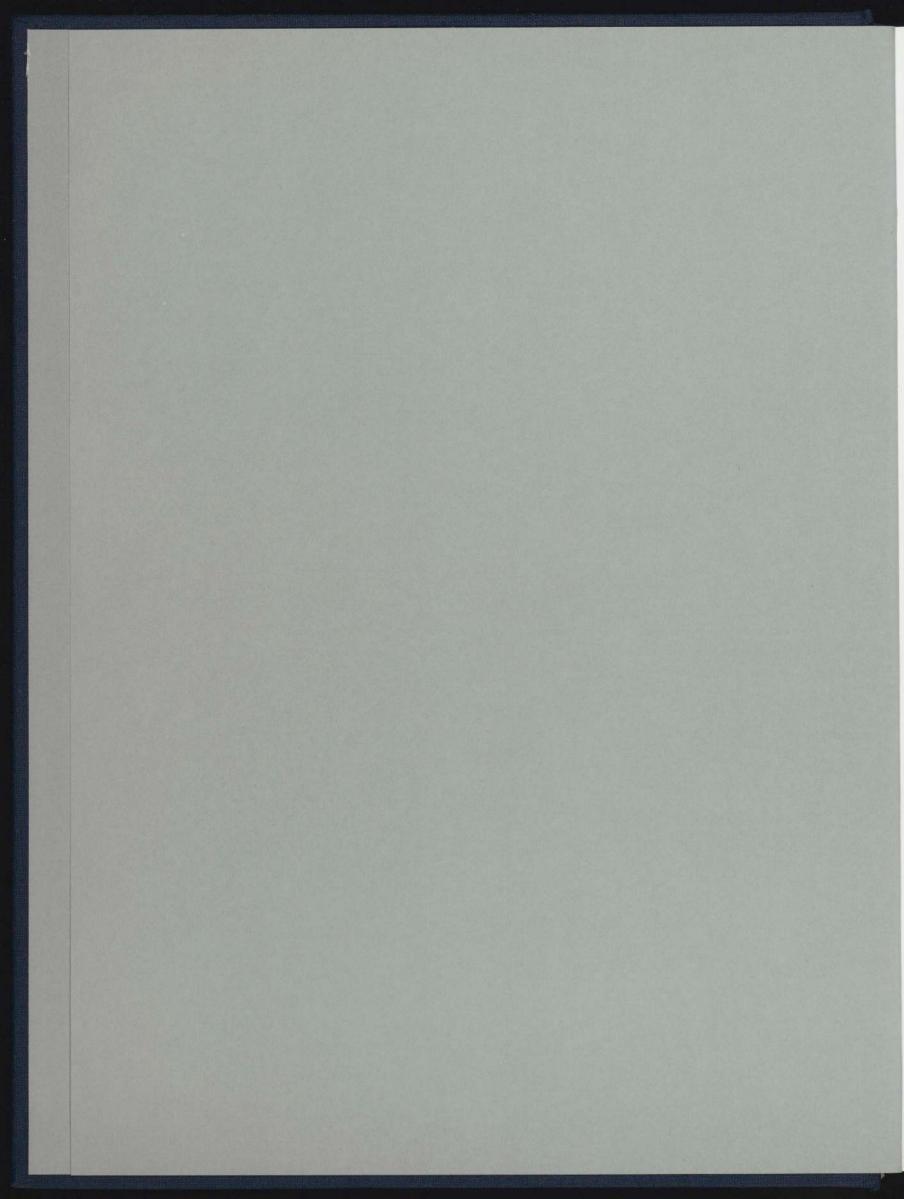
With essays by Anne Baldassari, Pierre Daix, Michael C. FitzGerald, Brigitte Léal, Marilyn McCully, Robert Rosenblum, William Rubin, Hélène Seckel, and Kirk Varnedoe

Portraiture has managed to flourish in modern painting in spite of the popularization of photography, the decline of traditional patronage, and modernism's increasing emphasis on abstraction. However problematic modern styles have been for representational art, painters have continued to discover new possibilities in the imaging of the human face. This book explores the challenge of the modernist portrait through the multiple solutions proposed by its foremost protagonist and, in so doing, becomes the first volume ever published on the subject of Picasso and portraiture. The hundreds of works reproduced here-most of them unfamiliar, some virtually unknowndemonstrate the remarkable range of Picasso's experimentation in all its stylistic and psychological diversity.

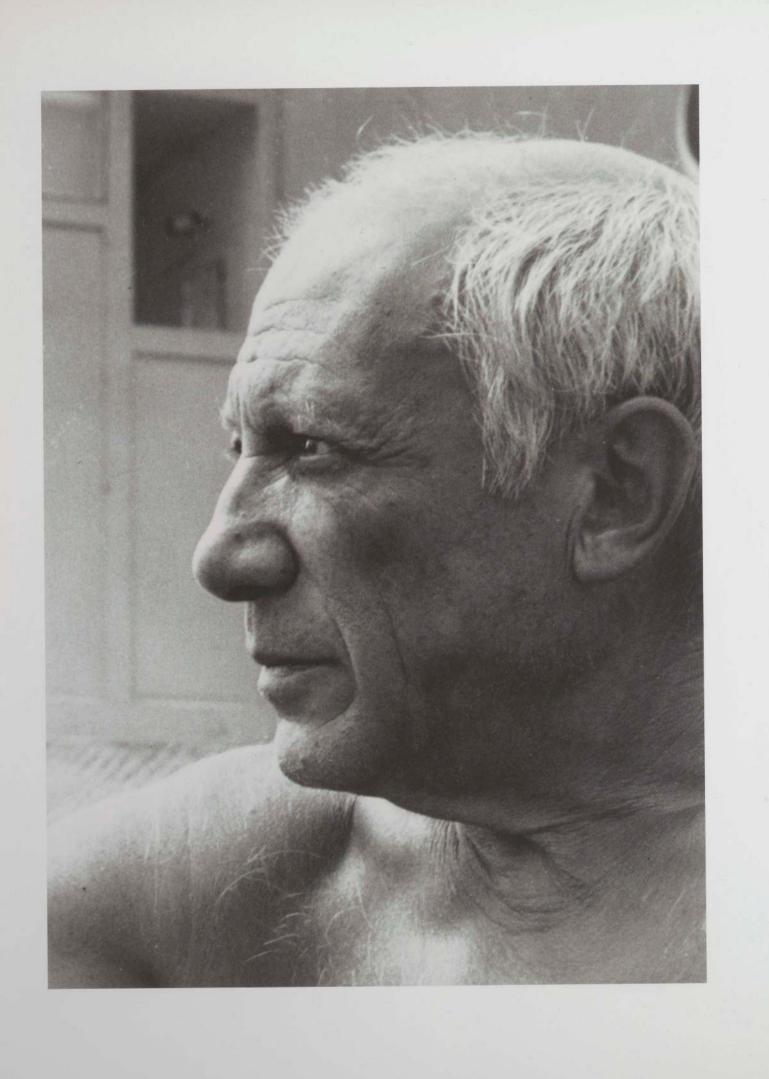
The book opens with an authoritative, broadranging essay by William Rubin; the nine essays that follow—all by major contemporary scholars and critics—examine different periods and aspects of Picasso's career and clarify personal relationships between the artist and his subjects. It closes with an essay by Mr. Rubin on the late portraits. Numerous photographs, some never before published and many by outstanding photographers, present the portrait subjects as seen through the eye of the camera.

This book, published to accompany a major exhibition at The Museum of Modern Art, New York, opening in April 1996, no doubt will long remain the definitive work on its subject.





Picasso and Portraiture: Representation and Transformation



Picasso and Portraiture

REPRESENTATION AND TRANSFORMATION

Edited by William Rubin

With essays by

Anne Baldassari, Pierre Daix, Michael C. FitzGerald, Brigitte Léal, Marilyn McCully, Robert Rosenblum, William Rubin, Hélène Seckel, and Kirk Varnedoe

THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART, NEW YORK

DISTRIBUTED BY HARRY N. ABRAMS, INC., NEW YORK

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Published on the occasion of the exhibition *Picasso and Portraiture: Representation and Transformation*, organized by William Rubin, Director Emeritus, Department of Painting and Sculpture, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, in collaboration with the Musée Picasso, Paris.

The Museum of Modern Art, New York: April 28–September 17, 1996 Grand Palais, Paris: October 1996–January 1997

This exhibition is sponsored in part by Philip Morris Companies Inc.

An indemnity for the exhibition has been granted by the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities.

This publication is made possible by generous grants from the William S. Paley Foundation, Inc., and the Blanchette Hooker Rockefeller Fund, with additional support from Agnes Gund and Daniel Shapiro, and Mrs. Donald B. Straus.

The Luxury Collection of ITT Sheraton is the exclusive hotel sponsor.

EXHIBITION ADVISORY COMMITTEE: Pierre Daix, Claude Picasso, John Richardson

Produced by the Department of Publications The Museum of Modern Art, New York Osa Brown, Director of Publications Managing Editor: Harriet Schoenholz Bee Project Editor: Joanne Greenspun Associate Editor: Barbara Ross Designer: Steven Schoenfelder Production Manager: Amanda W. Freymann Senior Production Assistant: Cynthia Ehrhardt Composition: U.S. Lithograph, typographers, New York Printing and Binding: Amilcare Pizzi S.p.A., Milan Printed in Italy

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Published by The Museum of Modern Art, 11 West 53 Street, New York, New York 10019

Clothbound edition distributed in the United States and Canada by Harry N. Abrams, Inc., New York, A Times Mirror Company

FRONT COVER: Portrait of Olga (detail). 1921. Pastel and charcoal on paper, mounted on canvas, 50 × 38" (127 × 96.5 cm). Musée Picasso, Paris, on extended loan to the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Grenoble. (Colorplate of whole, p. 315)

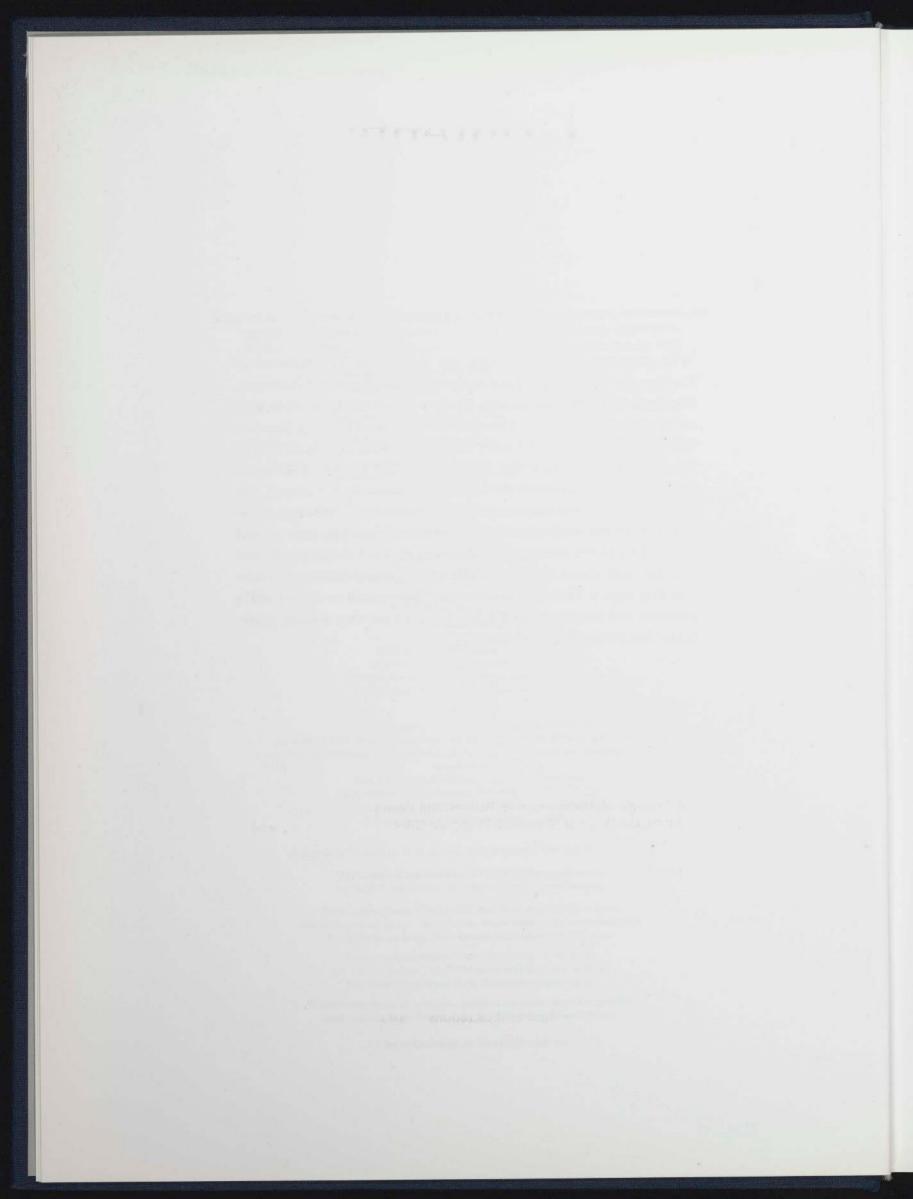
BACK COVER: Seated Bather (Olga) (detail). 1930. Oil on canvas, 64¹/₄ × 51" (163.2 × 129.5 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Mrs. Simon Guggenheim Fund. (Colorplate of whole, p. 64)

FRONTISPIECE: Picasso at Golfe-Juan, August or September 1948. Photograph by Ervin Marton. Musée Picasso, Paris. Gift of Sydney and Claude Picasso

* See credits at page 490 for additional notices.

DEDICATION

With great respect and affection, the Trustees of The Museum of Modern Art dedicate this book to their beloved friend and colleague, Elizabeth Bliss Parkinson Cobb. She has served this institution with extraordinary wisdom and imagination for more than six decades, first as a member of its Advisory Committee, then as a Trustee, as its President and Vice Chairman, and now as a Life Trustee. As a founding member and leader of the Museum's International Council, she has actively fostered international cooperation and exchange in the arts. In all of these roles, by eloquent word and example, with wit and spirit, she has encouraged the Museum to think innovatively and courageously about its future while valuing and preserving its outstanding legacy. This distinctive legacy owes much to Eliza Cobb's guidance and devotion over the years, and we are very warmly grateful for her continuing involvement.



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Foreword

icasso and Portraiture is the fourth exhibition of the artist's work organized by William Rubin, Director Emeritus of The Museum of Modern Art's Department of Painting and Sculpture. Though smaller in scale than the seminal Pablo Picasso: A Retrospective and Picasso and Braque: Pioneering Cubism, it continues Mr. Rubin's study of the myriad aspects of Picasso's protean oeuvre.

Few museums have had as sustained an interest in the study and display of the works of Picasso as The Museum of Modern Art. Alfred H. Barr, Jr., the Museum's founding director, was among the artist's earliest and most prominent supporters, and through his extensive exhibitions and writings helped to establish him as one of this century's most important artists. Barr's interest in Picasso also led to The Museum of Modern Art acquiring over time an astonishing number of the artist's finest works, a collection that now stands at more than 61 paintings, 20 sculptures, 49 drawings, and 329 prints.

Within this context one can only admire the wisdom and cultural perspicacity of the French government, whose treasury sacrificed substantial revenues by accepting from Picasso's heirs, in lieu of death duties, a large and choice part of the artist's enormous collection (including remarkable works by other artists). Prior to the housing of this prize collection in the splendid Hôtel Salé, now home of the Musée Picasso, that museum's founding director, the late Dominique Bozo, collaborated in 1980 with William Rubin on *Pablo Picasso: A Retrospective*, which remains the most integral and exhaustive exhibition of Picasso's work ever held.

The 1980 retrospective could not have succeeded without a very large number of loans from the holdings of the soon-to-be installed Musée Picasso. The same is also true, at least proportionately, of *Picasso and Portraiture*. Like the 1980 exhibition, this is a collaborative effort. I want therefore, first and foremost, to thank the Musée Picasso's present director, the scholar and critic Gérard Regnier, for making this undertaking possible. To Hélène Seckel, chief curator at the Musée Picasso, goes our gratitude for the enormous effort she has put into this renewal of our museums' collaboration. A version of the exhibition will subsequently be displayed in Paris at the Grand Palais, under the auspices of the Musée Picasso.

The cooperation of the Musée Picasso alone would not have made this exhibition possible. Therefore I want to acknowledge and express our gratitude for the support given to us by numerous lenders, public and private. Foremost among these have been members of Picasso's family and the daughter of his second wife, Jacqueline Roque, all of whom made many major loans. They and the other lenders to the exhibition are listed separately in this volume and thanked individually by Mr. Rubin in his acknowledgments. I want, however, to highlight here the cooperation and support we received from Mikhail Piotrovski, Director, The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, and Irina Antonova, Director, The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow. The important loans they made to the exhibition contributed immensely to the quality of the show and reflect the increasing cooperation that the changing political climate of recent years has made possible.

Finally, I want to thank William Rubin, who served both as curator of the exhibition and editor of this publication, for his extraordinary dedication and commitment to the study of Picasso. His scholarship and insights have contributed greatly to an increased knowledge and appreciation of Picasso's work, which continues the scholarly tradition established by Barr over sixty years ago.

Glenn D. Lowry Director The Museum of Modern Art

Preface

n this "century of abstraction," no genre of painting might have been expected to fare worse than the portrait. At first glance, the pictorial requirements for portraying particular individuals would seem more alien to abstractness than are the more generalized pictorial signs needed for landscape or still life. By the first years of the century, the public was finally ready to accept the landscapes of the Impressionists as important art. Some could even tolerate the relatively more abstract landscapes of the Fauve painters. But *portraits* by the latter though no more radical or daring than other Fauve works—became special targets of anger and scorn.

Ninety years have made a considerable difference. Even as such prominent nineteenth-century genres as history painting and religious art virtually disappeared, the portrait found a new lease on life as the multitudinous styles of modern painting were marshaled to its purposes. To be sure, many of these modernist portrayals did not correspond to received ideas about portraiture. But, as had been the case in the Renaissance and Baroque periods, the genius of painters had redefined the genre.

Leaving largely to photography the role of naturalistic representation, modern painters enlarged upon those aspects of portraiture that had always been present but had been less obviously exploited: the communication of psychological and poetic values, and the ways in which purely pictorial values might be mobilized to support them. These qualities, rather than verisimilitude or resemblance, had always, in fact, distinguished great portraiture; modern painters were destined to make more explicit those subjective aspects of representation that had formerly been implied.

The identity of concerns between the pictorialism of twentieth-century painting and the possibilities of portraiture is reflected in the fact that the two greatest artists of our era, Picasso and Matisse, have been responsible for its greatest portraits. It would be fair to say, however, that the human figure, especially in the guise of a specific individual, played an even greater role in the art of Picasso than in that of Matisse. More than any other artist, Picasso explored the openings for such imagery inherent in modernism.

This exhibition and book are the first that propose to study Picasso's career from the perspective of portraiture. As in past exhibitions I have organized—even those nominally titled retrospectives—I have tried to formulate the project in terms of an aesthetic or historical "problem." Sometimes there are no solutions to such problems, but scholars cannot even begin to try solving them until they can study the actual works. *Picasso and Portraiture* should, therefore, be seen as opening the door—raising the issue, if you will—to a relatively unstudied aspect of Picasso criticism. As fuller studies can only be possible *after* the works are seen in concert, we can only hope that the suggestions we have proffered in this volume will ring true.

Those familiar with Picasso's work-and thus with the central role of the human image within it-will realize that adequate justice to this aspect of his enormous oeuvre could only be done in an exhibition at least twice as large as the one we have been able to undertake (for reasons both of space and expense). Regrettably, it has been necessary, for example, to sacrifice virtually all Picasso's portrait sculpture; impressive as this sculpture is, it is not as crucial to portraiture as are his painting and drawing (and, in purely practical terms, one sculpture absorbs the gallery space of about three pictures). But very hard choices were also necessary with regard to the paintings. If one elected to do full justice to the portraits of individuals whom Picasso painted just once or twice, one would not have been able to show any depth among the portraits of those he painted and drew frequently-in many cases, hundreds of times. Faced with this dilemma, we have chosen to emphasize the multiple portrayals of persons central to his life, with the thought that the very range of these representations would best reveal Picasso's inventiveness and qualities.

WILLIAM RUBIN

Director Emeritus, Department of Painting and Sculpture The Museum of Modern Art



Notes on Titles and References

icasso never gave formal titles to his pictures. In exhibitions of his work arranged with his participation, the titles used, like the overwhelming majority of those he provided to the cataloguer of his oeuvre, Christian Zervos, were generic descriptions (Seated Woman, Man Leaning on a Table, etc.). This was true even in most cases where his pictures were inspired by actual individuals well known to his intimates. For only a small minority of catalogue entries did Picasso communicate a proper name to Zervos. Even less frequently did he describe the portrayal of an identified individual as a "portrait," a term he used very inconsistently. Picasso occasionally improvised (or accepted from friends) studio "handles" to differentiate among his pictures. Some of these hardened into formal titles as they were used in exhibitions and publications.

Since the 1920s, critics, biographers, museum curators, and even collectors have had a hand in inventing or reinventing titles for Picasso's pictures. Some of these have survived; many have not. It is not unusual to find half a dozen variant titles for the same well-known picture in different publications. No attempt has been made to impose a wholly consistent system of titles for the works in this book and exhibition, especially given the preference of many museums for retaining their traditional, often generic, designations.

Many of Picasso's single-figure pictures, busts, and heads were inspired by specific persons whose names did not appear—sometimes for reasons of personal privacy in Zervos's *catalogue général*. Some of these were identified in Pierre Daix's entries for the *catalogues raisonnés* of 1966 and 1979, which covered Picasso's work through 1916. Most of the titles containing proper names used in this book—especially those in which the name is prefaced by the words "Portrait of"—can be found in similar form in prior publications. They are here given in italics. Where the identity of the subject who inspired a given picture is known but not referred to in the title, we have placed his or her name in roman type in parentheses after the title, omitting family names, as is common in the Picasso literature, for such figures as Fernande Olivier, Olga Khokhlova, Marie-Thérèse Walter, Dora Maar, Françoise Gilot, and Jacqueline Roque. This parenthetical addition has been omitted for a few highly transformed images where the source of inspiration for Picasso's picture is not clearly demonstrable. On the other hand, the presence of a name in parentheses does not always mean that the picture can automatically be said to portray the person designated, especially in instances where the image is much transformed. It only suggests that documentary evidence, preparatory drawings, or the artist himself have indicated that person as the primary subject.

In the captions, the following abbreviations are given for frequently cited references:

Bloch: Georges Bloch. *Pablo Picasso: Catalogue de l'oeuvre gravé et lithographie, 1904–1969.* 2 vols. Bern: Kornfeld & Klipstein, 1968–71.

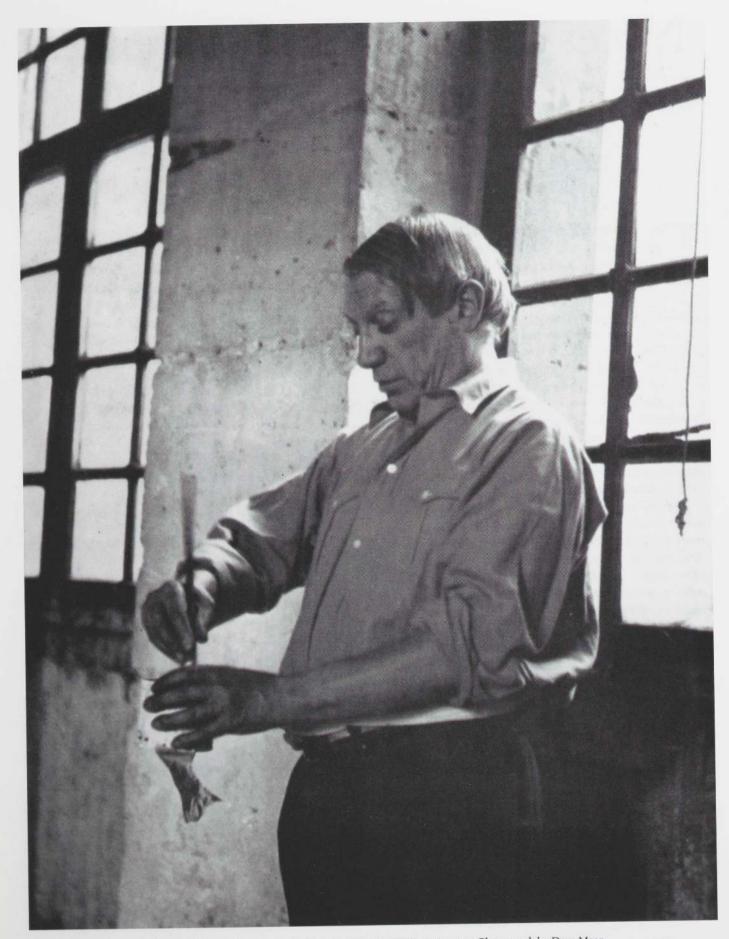
D.B.: Pierre Daix and Georges Boudaille, with Joan Rosselet. *Picasso: The Blue and Rose Periods—A Catalogue Raisonné of the Paintings*. Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1966.

Daix: Pierre Daix and Joan Rosselet. Picasso: The Cubist Years 1907–1916—A Catalogue Raisonné of the Paintings and Related Works. Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1979.

Geiser/Baer: *Picasso, peintre-graveur.* Vol. 1, by Bernard Geiser (Bern: B. Geiser, 1933). Vol. 2, by Geiser, in collaboration with Alfred Schneidegger (Bern: Kornfeld & Klipstein, 1968). Vols. 3–6, by Brigitte Baer (Bern: Editions Kornfeld, 1985–94). Vol. 7, forthcoming.

Spies: Werner Spies. *Das plastische Werk*. Stuttgart: Verlag Gerd Hatje, 1983.

Zervos: Christian Zervos. *Pablo Picasso*. 33 vols. Paris: Cahiers d'Art, 1932–78.



Picasso mixing paints for Guernica in his studio at 7, rue des Grands-Augustins, Paris, spring 1937. Photograph by Dora Maar

Reflections on Picasso and Portraiture

WILLIAM RUBIN

t was as an undergraduate auditing Meyer Schapiro's lectures at Columbia University that I first heard the word "transformation" used as the key to Picasso's way of working; it is the central theme of this exhibition. I want particularly to underline my debt to Schapiro's teachings, since many of his extraordinary insights have not yet found a place in the nonetheless considerable measure of his published writings and will likely survive only through the memories and publications of his friends and students.

In my exhibitions and texts for The Museum of Modern Art, I have had frequent recourse to Schapiro's ideas; and thinking about Picasso's portraiture during the last few years, I have been particularly conscious of the views of this great polymath. It is a subject that, perhaps more than any other I have confronted, demands the multiplicity of approaches, the art-historical inclusiveness, and the deep human sympathy that characterize Schapiro's work. With his teachings as a model, I have tried in the following pages—aided by a number of distinguished colleagues to provide some insight into the work of the artist who, more than any other twentieth-century painter, has expanded the possibilities and parameters of portraiture.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the word "portrait" still presupposed a visual parallelism between a thing seen and its image. Viewers presumed that a painted portrait, or at least its preliminary studies, were made "from life." It was assumed that the *raison d'être* of a portrait was to communicate the appearance and personality of the sitter. By redefining the portrait as a record of *the artist's personal responses* to the subject, Picasso transformed it from a purportedly objective document into a frankly subjective one.

Picasso's portraiture casts the very concept of identity into doubt; it is no longer fixed, but mutable. Caught in the flux of the artist's passion for metamorphosis, the images and identities of his real-life subjects continuously dissolve and re-form. Many of these transitory conceptions are not, of course, "portraits" in the received genre sense of the word, though they are clearly portrayals. Is there a difference? Here it is worth reflecting on the etymology of the word "portrait."¹ It was originally a simple synonym for portrayal, so broad as to cover the image of *any* object. Only slowly did its usage narrow to focus primarily on the human body and face. The more it became associated with a particular genre of painting, the more it became overlaid with assumptions and pulled away from the broader sense of "portrayal."

The work of great artists, however, recasts the meaning of terminology by its own force and inventiveness. Already in the nineteenth century, the Post-Impressionists had undermined some traditional assumptions about the portrait. By breaking decisively in his work with the conventional implications of the genre, Picasso reopened the word portrait to something of its original breadth and then some. Painted mostly from memory, Picasso's portrait subjects were largely imaged not as seen, but as conceptualized, in a variety of figural modes. Picasso invented or reinvented the abstract, surreal, classical, and expressionist portrait types as we know them in twentiethcentury art. He did not wholly abandon realism, but ceased to give it a privileged role in the portrait's definition. And he dissociated it from any ineluctable relationship to direct perception. Some of the most abstract of Picasso's portraits were, in fact, made from life and involved repeated sittings by the subject (pp. 17, 285); conversely, others, among his most realistic, were made from memory (p. 16).

Picasso could quite literally draw a variety of contrasting emotions and pictorial inspirations out of a single individual. He did not try to sum up his experience of people he knew well in single portraits. Exploiting the resources of his accumulated language of figuration, he would distribute differing aspects of their personalities and his own changing feelings toward them—through a whole series of portrayals that often altered dramatically from one image to the next. This exhibition has therefore been constructed primarily around groups of portraits rather than single images, and around images of the persons closest to Picasso.

Even so, Picasso's penchant for transformation sometimes makes it difficult, if not impossible, to draw a clear line between his portrayals of real people and his more generic depictions of the human face and figure. Defining what constitutes a "portrait" in Picasso's work is not a simple matter. One might logically wish to start with the artist's own use of the term. The problem is that he used the word "portrait" only casually in identifying his pictures, often omitting it even where it was obviously applicable. For more than four decades, Picasso cooperated intermittently with the publisher Christian Zervos on the catalogue général of his oeuvre, providing identifications for thousands of works ranging from major canvases and sculptures to tiny sketches.2 There are numerous recognizable portrayals of actual persons in the thirtythree volumes of Zervos's catalogue, but remarkably few of these subjects were identified by name and far fewer were called "portraits." For instance, of the almost two thousand images in the volumes of Zervos covering the years 1904 through 1912 (including supplements), only three canvases and sixteen works on paper were identified as representing Fernande Olivier, the artist's companion of those eight years, and some of those were not called "portraits," despite the fact that we can recognize Fernande's features in more than a hundred other images. One might imagine that formal, seemingly posed portrayals of Fernande would be labeled as portraits, while the more casual sketches might not. But that would be



Portrait of Fernande. 1906. Lead pencil on paper. Zervos VI, 745. Private collection

expecting a consistency alien to Picasso. Thus a sketch of Fernande asleep, from the winter of 1904–05 (opposite, left), is identified as a "portrait," while a large, formally posed brush drawing on canvas of a few months later (opposite, right) is labeled simply "Fernande."³

Sometimes Picasso's silence about his subjects' identities was motivated by discretion. From the mid-1920s onward, for example, many of his pictures reflected the features and physiognomy of the young girl Marie-Thérèse Walter, with whom he was conducting a clandestine affair. However, her existence remained a secret from even his closest friends until 1932, when she appeared as an unmistakable presence in a number of works exhibited at the Galerie Georges Petit. Even then she remained a face without a name. Many in the artist's immediate circle discovered her actual identity only after World War II. Not until the 1960s did Picasso confide, primarily to his friends and biographers Pierre Daix and John Richardson, most of the identities missing in Zervos's catalogue. And, even today, some remain a mystery.

When Picasso did employ the term "portrait" to describe his work, he was hopelessly inconsistent. The contradictions and confusions in the *catalogue général* stem, in part, from the fact that the artist hated all titles (as he did all genre terms and art terminology), largely for the same reason that he disliked talking about specific



Fernande Asleep. 1904–05. Lead pencil on paper, $14^{5/8} \times 10^{5/8}''$ (37 × 27 cm). Zervos VI, 649, where it is titled Portrait of Fernande. Private collection

works: he did not want anything to direct, deflect, or delimit the viewers' reactions to his pictures, preferring to let the latter speak for themselves. And though he was, in fact, responsible for a few titles that had been generated as studio "handles," his claim never to have titled a work was substantially true. The determination as to whether Picasso's images are (or are not) pictures of actual people thus becomes largely the responsibility of the biographer, art historian, or curator. In some cases, fortunately, Picasso named a particular subject; in others, photographic or written documentation exists, making it possible to identify them. Even where formal transformations have virtually eliminated verisimilitude, it is sometimes possible to identify Picasso's models by the characteristic signs associated with them, or by a chain of preparatory drawings leading from a "realistic" to an "abstract" or "distorted" image.

It may emerge that, after this exhibition, it will be even harder than before to define what Picasso meant by a portrait. If so, the artist's ghost will be chuckling, for he thought of himself very much as a challenger of definitions. To be sure, there are a number of portraits in his work that would satisfy even the most conventional interpretation of the term. But these represent only a minority of his images inspired by recognizable individuals. For such pictures as transcend conventional conceptions of



Portrait of Fernande. 1906. Oil on canvas, $39^{\frac{1}{8} \times 31^{\frac{7}{8}"}}$ (100 × 81 cm). Zervos I, 254, where it is titled Fernande. D.B. XV, 41. Private collection, Boston, Mass.

portraiture, I will use the terms "transformed" or "conceptual" portrait. To be sure, all portraits are transformations insofar as they are, by definition, schematic representations. But within the world of images themselves, I will reserve "transformed" for those that break radically with the notion of verisimilitude.

Even within the realm of the "transformed" or "conceptual" portrait there is a considerable range of objectivity and subjectivity. Portraits in Picasso's various Cubist and classicist modes tend toward objectivity—even in the case of very abstract works-while the more surreal and expressionist images are more subjective. From the later 1920s onward, these alternative modes of representation were often chosen more as a function of Picasso's feeling at the time he embarked on a picture than of his overall attitude toward the subject. (However, as we shall see, some stylistic morphologies tended to be associated with images of certain individuals.) Just as Picasso might execute a still life in a Neoclassical mode one morning and return to that same motif in an edgy, pronged, and acidulously colored expressionist mode that afternoon, so too the style in which he depicted an individual-Marie-Thérèse Walter or Dora Maar-would vary to a considerable extent with his mood.⁴ To that degree, it would not be far from the truth to consider these pictures "autobiographical" portraits.



Portrait of Jacqueline. 1955. India ink and pencil on paper, $25^{\frac{1}{8}} \times 19^{\frac{3}{4}"}$ (65 × 50 cm). Zervos XVI, 485. Private collection

Picasso's images of his second wife, Jacqueline Roque, which dominate the last twenty years of his art, constitute the largest single group of his portraits. Throughout Picasso's years with Jacqueline, he executed many fairly realistic pictures of her. A few of these were drawn or painted as she sat for him, mostly during the first year of their relationship. But such posed pictures were rare. The overwhelming majority of Jacqueline's portraits, including some of the most realistic (above), were made from memory. This is true of all the nude Jacquelines (p. 479), none of which were "life studies," as Jacqueline—like Olga Khokhlova before her—never posed nude. She was so much a part of Picasso's daily life, and the painter's visual memory was so acute, that there was no need for her to pose, nude or otherwise.

Some of the Jacquelines are expressionistically distorted, and even more of them are rendered abstractly (and many are both). Those that were pushed furthest will be recognized as images inspired by Jacqueline only by viewers familiar with Picasso's art and with the various artistic conventions he developed to represent her face and impressive carriage (the latter being a feature the painter liked enormously). The most radically transformed of these images shade off into generalized sign structures for "woman" and, hence, become generic.

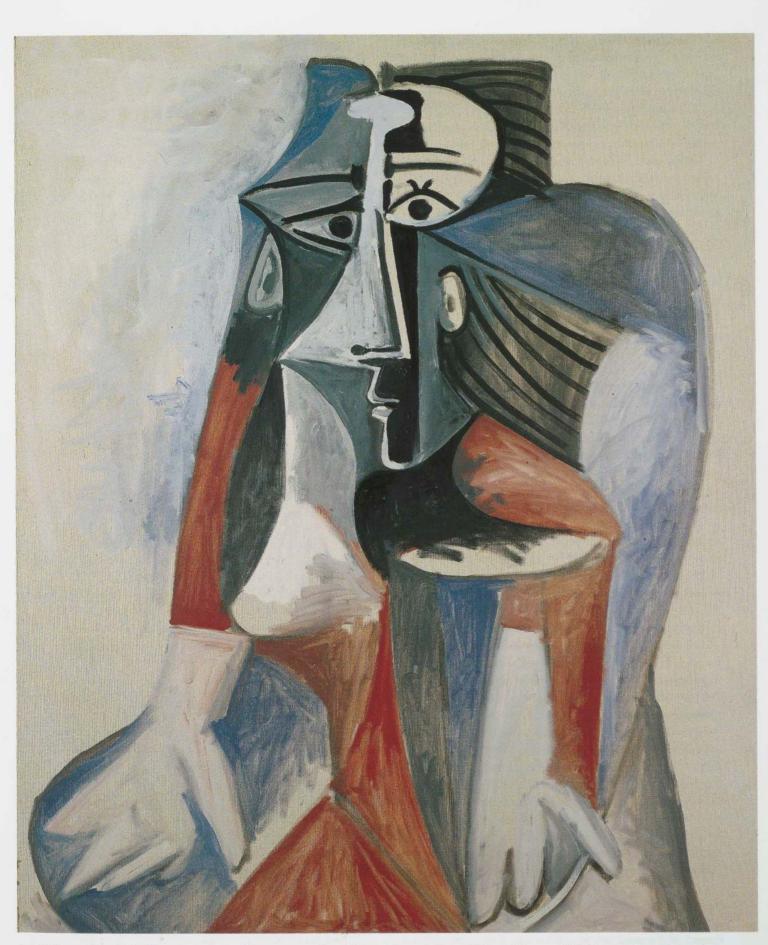
Can one draw a clear line separating Jacqueline's portrayals from other pictures that may incorporate a few signs or conventions associated with her? When does Picasso's portraval of any actual person cease to be a portrait? Such questions are, in a sense, unanswerable. Among Picasso's hundreds of portrayals of Jacqueline, ranging along a continuum from extreme realism to extreme transformation, there is no simple divide, no fixed or single point at which an image inspired by her can securely be said to cease being her portrait. The Seated Woman of November 1960 (opposite), for example, is one of the most dramatically transformed images of Jacqueline in our exhibition. It might well be argued that such a painting should not be called a portrait. Yet Jacqueline herself recognized it as one, and said of this very picture: "Ça, c'est moi."5

Such an approach to portraiture implies a fundamental revolution in the idea of likeness. From 1906 onward, Picasso increasingly understood "resemblance" in broad and ultimately almost poetic terms, closer to the wide range of metaphorical possibilities in the French verb *ressembler* (even when used in the vernacular) than to the limits of the English "resemble." Charles Baudelaire, one of the first poets Picasso learned to read in French, could say "*au pays qui te ressemble*," and the twentieth-century poet Jacques Prévert (a friend of Picasso's) "*une chanson qui nous ressemble*"⁶—usages which cannot be directly rendered in English.

Nor was this broadened sense of "resemblance" limited to poetry. The Symbolist tradition deriving from Baudelaire by way of Stéphane Mallarmé was also influential in freeing French artists from the belief that painting required the literal reproduction of appearances. Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, Picasso's longtime dealer, cited an 1864 letter in which Mallarmé stated his poetic goal as being "to describe not the thing itself but the effect it produces." Impressionism, as it emerged in the following years, was often seen as a visual counterpart to Mallarmé's poetry: the critic Jules Antoine Castagnary, for instance, defended the Impressionists by explaining that they rendered "not the landscape but the sensation produced by the landscape."⁷

Kahnweiler himself rightly rejected the latter comparison, pointing out that the emotional "sensation" of Mallarmé's poetry was not the same thing as the visual, fundamentally empirical sensation of Impressionist painting.⁸ Mallarmé's incantatory poetry was meant to create a new reality, not to reproduce an existing one. Its true pictorial counterpart, Kahnweiler insisted, was Cubism. Indeed, he argued, the Cubists were able "to re-invent conceptual painting" only because of their discovery of Mallarmé's later poems.⁹

Whether or not Picasso was familiar with these particular poems, it is clear that he had absorbed the Symbolist



Seated Woman (Jacqueline). November 27, 1960. Oil on canvas, 39³/₈ × 31³/₄" (100 × 80.5 cm). Zervos XIX, 403. Museum of Modern Art, Toyama, Japan

emphasis on expression rather than representation. Summarizing a fall 1910 interview with the artist, the critic Marius de Zayas wrote that "Picasso tries to produce with his work an impression, not with the subject but the manner in which he expresses it . . . [He believes] that the picture should be the pictorial equivalent of the emotion produced by [the subject]."¹⁰

This Symbolist ideal of nonliteral, expressive representation was more acceptable when applied to subjects such as landscapes and still lifes, however, than to the representation of the human figure. By 1905, Monet's once rejected, highly colored landscapes were widely acclaimed as masterpieces, but Matisse's *Portrait of Madame Matisse/ The Green Line* (p. 140, top left) could still cause a scandal at that year's Salon d'Automne. In portraiture, above all, realistic likeness was still considered a *sine qua non*. One year later, in the summer of 1906, Picasso's portraits moved into uncharted post-Symbolist territory.

The modernist revolution in the nature of portraiture required a fundamental shift in what some historians have called the "portrait situation," which had remained fairly stable from the Renaissance up to modern times. Most Old Master portraits were ordered, paid for, and possessed by their subjects or their families; the others were largely institutional commissions. As the purchasers were usually people of considerable wealth and high social status, there existed from the outset a psychosocial as well as literal distance between most portraitists and their sitters. (Because of their own renown, Leonardo, Titian, Rubens, Velázquez, and a few other great masters constituted exceptions-though only partial ones-to this rule.) This distance tended to diminish dialogue and intimacy and encouraged the painter to concentrate on externals: facial features, costumes, and accessories symbolizing the sitter's formal place in the world. Generally, the portraitist was expected to strive for verisimilitude, tempered only by the need to make the sitter look as attractive as possible.

Nonetheless, the finest portrait painters managed to make great paintings. But these omnipresent preconditions no doubt contributed to the fact that portraiture, in anything less than outstanding hands, was usually the most boring of Old Master genres (as art-sensitive visitors to the "stately homes" will readily attest). The invention of photography had set the stage for unshackling portraiture. By the second half of the nineteenth century, most of the strictly memorializing purposes to which portraitists had formerly bent themselves could be satisfied by photographers. As Picasso (who loved photographs and was himself an avid photographer) argued, the rapid spread of this medium should be considered an important liberating factor for modern art."

The rise of photographic portraiture coincided with other major changes in the nature of patronage-at least, for modern artists-particularly the loss of institutional patrons such as church and state. In their place arose a new art-dealer system, simultaneously liberating and perilous, that largely displaced direct dealings between the executors of portraits and their commissioners, whether private or institutional. As a result of the existence of this relatively new personage, situated between the artist and the final purchaser, the portrait became—except for painters lacking dealers, or for hacks-rather more a matter of choice than of command. And, despite the increasing abstractness of modern painting, portraiture took on an unexpected new kind of life by the dawn of the twentieth century-even as such major genres as history painting and religious art faded from the scene.

In the work of the first generations of modernists, sitters were drawn almost exclusively from among the friends and families of the painters. The artist was now the social equal of his or her subject. Furthermore, the two were linked by personal, often complex psychological relations and sometimes sexual ones. Not surprisingly, this led to significant change in the nature of portraiture. Psychological content became more evident, more intense, and sometimes—by the first decades of the twentieth century—manifestly invasive.

Psychological interests also led vanguard artists toward alternative conventions for the imaging of the human figure. Gauguin had borrowed conceptual elements from the art of other cultures; van Gogh, who, like his French colleague used color in an affective, antinaturalistic Symbolist manner, had introduced expressionism into portraiture (though he carefully balanced its effects through his gift for decorative drawing and coloring). This broad tendency toward a conceptual type of image was further reinforced by the Douanier Rousseau, whose portraits fed as directly into Picasso's 1908 primitivist Cubism as Cézanne's did to the Cubism of the succeeding years.

Gauguin's, van Gogh's, and Rousseau's tentative explorations of what might be called the conceptual portrait never broke, however, with nineteenth-century definitions of modern painting. Even these great pioneers remained faithful to the traditional assumption that the portrait image should be made "from" or "before" a sitter (or, at least, based on drawings made from life). Despite their addition of conceptual motifs, they remained committed to a fundamentally perceptual transcription of their sitters' appearance.

As we shall see, Picasso broke decisively with this perceptual mode of portraiture in summer 1906, initiating, during the following year's long preparation for *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, what I have called the transformed or conceptual portrait. This eventually took many forms: the highly abstract primitivist and Cubist portraits, the more realistic Neoclassical portrait, the fantastical, Surrealist portrait, and the unnaturally "distorted" Expressionist portrait. Picasso's work, as well as that of the countless painters he influenced, offers a host of extrapolations, conflations, and spin-offs from each of these transformative modes. It would be absurd to suggest that Picasso was the initiator of all the modes of twentieth-century portraiture. But Matisse apart, the most significant alternatives to his example-such as the Expressionist portraits of Oskar Kokoschka and Chaim Soutine-were extensions of such nineteenth-century models as the portraits of Vincent van Gogh and Edvard Munch and were much less radical in their transformations than those Picasso introduced in 1907. However important their place in the history of portraiture, those painters stand somewhat apart from the decisive innovations of twentieth-century art.

The emergence of the transformed portrait subverted almost all of the assumptions on which the traditional portrait commission had been based. Even if a patron found the artist willing to undertake such a commission, there was no longer any assumption that the resulting portrait would reflect the self-image desired by the sitter. Despite this risk, the wish to have their features recorded by vanguard artists of their time led a certain number of twentieth-century patrons to press forward with portrait commissions. Often, they were met with simple refusals, as many of those artists still interested in portraiture preferred to choose their own subjects. Nevertheless, even the most advanced of modern artists were sometimes pressured by their dealers (or by others with some kind of leverage) to paint portraits of people they did not know or care for.

While this happened only rarely to Picasso and Matisse, the results of such commissions illuminate the changed conditions of twentieth-century portraiture. In both cases, the artist found himself almost constitutionally unable to carry out the task. Matisse's projected oil portrait of Dorothy Paley went unexecuted after sittings that produced numerous drawings.¹² Picasso's portrait of Helena Rubinstein shared the same fate, and the struggle between sitter and artist, in this instance, reveals a good deal about the psychological dynamics of Picasso's approach to portraiture.

"I cannot make a portrait of just any person," Picasso remarked.¹³ His choice of subjects, over the years, defies rational attempts at analysis. Some people who knew Picasso very well—such as his friend and biographer Roland Penrose—were never drawn, let alone painted, by him. On the other hand, he did numerous portrait drawings and a small number of painted portraits (mostly early) of individuals who knew him only slightly. The motivations for the making of these portraits varied, but the impetus almost always came from Picasso.

Helena Rubinstein—cosmetics magnate, collector of tribal art, and *grande dame*—was not a member of Picasso's circle and would not in the normal course of events have been a candidate for one of his portraits. However, she deeply wanted to be painted by him and campaigned for years to this end (p. 99, bottom left). In the summer of 1955, she thought she had succeeded, telling her confidential clerk and (later) biographer, "Picasso has finally agreed to paint me."¹⁴ Having done an important favor for Marie Cuttoli, a friend of the artist and an important collector of his work, Rubinstein persuaded Cuttoli to plead her case. Picasso grudgingly consented. (Madame Rubinstein believed wrongly that Picasso "owed" a favor to Cuttoli because "they were once sweethearts": hence her apparent success in persuading him.¹⁵)

It is not clear whether Picasso's agreement to paint Madame Rubinstein was entirely in bad faith. He clearly was not eager to paint "that Rubinstein woman."16 Nonetheless, he may have reflected, stranger things had happened. Her willful intrusion would, at least, be used to generate a bit of entertainment. This began with Picasso's Kafkaesque game of letting her cool her heels in Cannes for days on end. When she and her amanuensis telephoned the villa, they got through only to anonymous intermediaries saying that the artist was "at work," "sleeping," or "absent." (These intermediaries often identified themselves as gardeners; actually, Madame Rubinstein claimed, they were Picasso himself.) Picasso may well have been busy with another project, and when he was pursuing an idea in his work, he stopped to see no one. But his handling of Rubinstein was more likely a variation of his occasional (mis)treatment of visitors who needed, in his opinion, to be taken down a peg. Those subjected to this treatment were usually over-eager or importunate acquaintances, art professionals, collectionneurs (pronounced with an extra-heavy rolling of the "r"), or-worse yetart dealers. Exploiters all, Picasso sometimes felt.

Madame Rubinstein finally showed up, unannounced, on August 15, 1955, and was admitted for an early evening sitting; she was invited back for another sitting the following night. The first night, Picasso began by making a serious effort. A few of the seven drawings he did of her the first evening are among his better ones of that year. The artist started with a not unsympathetic profile sketch (p. 20, top center). By the third drawing he had warmed up and secured a good fix on Madame's features. By the fifth, he was convincingly communicating something of her face's character. The seventh and last drawing of the evening showed Picasso's attitude toward Madame Rubinstein hardening, as he found what looks almost like a man's profile within her full face (p. 21, top right).

By the following day, Picasso could see nothing but



Helena Rubinstein. c. 1930s. Photographer unknown. Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives



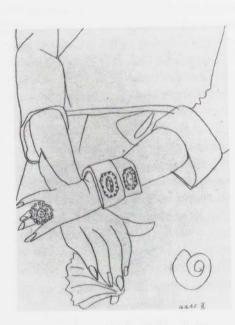
Study for a Portrait of Helena Rubinstein (I). August 15, 1955. Lead pencil on paper, $10^{5/8} \times 8^{1/4}$ " (27 × 21 cm). Zervos XVI, 405. Private collection



Study for a Portrait of Helena Rubinstein (II). August 15, 1955. Lead pencil on paper, 10⁵/4 × 8¹/4" (27 × 21 cm). Zervos XVI, 406. Private collection



Study for a Portrait of Helena Rubinstein (I). August 16, 1955. Lead pencil on paper, 17[%]/₆ × 12[%]/₈" (44 × 32 cm). Zervos XVI, 413. Himeji City Museum of Art, Japan



Study for a Portrait of Helena Rubinstein (II). August 16, 1955. Lead pencil on paper, 17[%]/₆ × 12[%] (44 × 32 cm). Zervos XVI, 412. Himeji City Museum of Art, Japan

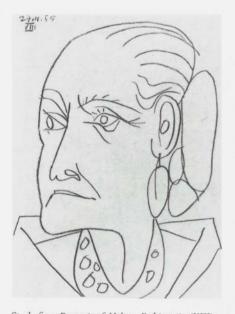


Study for a Portrait of Helena Rubinstein (V). August 16, 1955. Lead pencil on paper, $17^{5}/_{16} \times 12^{5}/_{8}$ " (44 × 32 cm). Zervos XVI, 416. Himeji City Museum of Art, Japan

Rubinstein's elaborate costume and imposing jewels¹⁷ ("under an opera cloak quilted in shades of orange and lemon with calla lilies and sprigs of mimosa, Madame wore a medieval tunic of acid green velvet"¹⁸). The first drawing that evening, a half-length "portrait," omitted her head; the next closed in on her bracelets and ring. From then on it was all downhill as Picasso's anger at this "portrait situation" was increasingly projected into his conception of the subject's visage. That night's sitting ended with a fine but furious conté-crayon drawing (above, right). Rubinstein's final sitting took place more than three months later, on November 27, and the nineteen drawings Picasso made of her that day need no commentary, though they give a clue as to what he meant when he told Roland Penrose that all good portraitists were something of caricaturists. The thirteenth of the series (opposite) shows Picasso half-consciously assimilating Rubinstein to a portrait type familiar in Japanese prints of grimacing actors.¹⁹ The next shows him paying homage to Matisse's featureless portraits of Father Couturier.²⁰ (If the inspira-



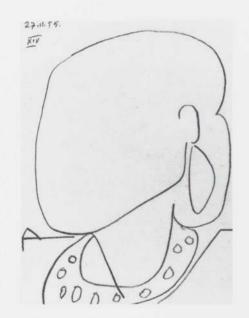
Study for a Portrait of Helena Rubinstein (III). August 15, 1955. Lead pencil on paper, $10^{\frac{5}{8}} \times 8^{\frac{1}{4}''}$ (27 × 21 cm). Zervos XVI, 407. Private collection



Study for a Portrait of Helena Rubinstein (XIII). November 27, 1955. Conté crayon on paper, $17^{\frac{5}{16}} \times 12^{\frac{5}{8}}$ " (44 × 32 cm). Zervos XVI, 516. Himeji City Museum of Art, Japan



Study for a Portrait of Helena Rubinstein (V). August 15, 1955. Lead pencil on paper, $10\frac{1}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ " (27 × 21 cm). Zervos XVI, 409. Private collection

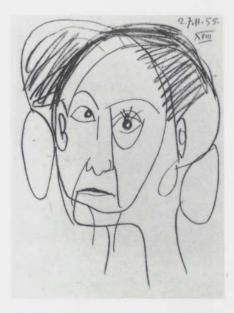


Study for a Portrait of Helena Rubinstein (XIV). November 27, 1955. Conté crayon on paper, $17^{\frac{5}{16}} \times 12^{\frac{5}{9}}$ " (44 × 32 cm). Zervos XVI, 517. Himeji City Museum of Art, Japan

tion for Matisse was the ineffable, that of Picasso was closer to the unspeakable, but the result, in both cases, was the effacement of the subject's facial features.) The much reworked penultimate sketch is very revealing: by adding an inner contour, which had nothing to do with Madame Rubinstein's actual chin, and slightly reworking the hair and the eyes, Picasso found himself staring at nothing less than a suggestion of his own angry countenance (immediately above, right).²¹

"The painter always paints himself," Picasso said to me

Study for a Portrait of Helena Rubinstein (VII). August 15, 1955. Lead pencil on paper, $10^{\frac{1}{2}} \times 8^{\frac{1}{4}}$ (27 × 21 cm). Zervos XVI, 410. Private collection



Study for a Portrait of Helena Rubinstein (XVIII). November 27, 1955. Conté crayon on paper, $17^{\frac{5}{16}} \times 12^{\frac{5}{8}''}$ (44 × 32 cm). Zervos XVI, 521. Himeji City Museum of Art, Japan

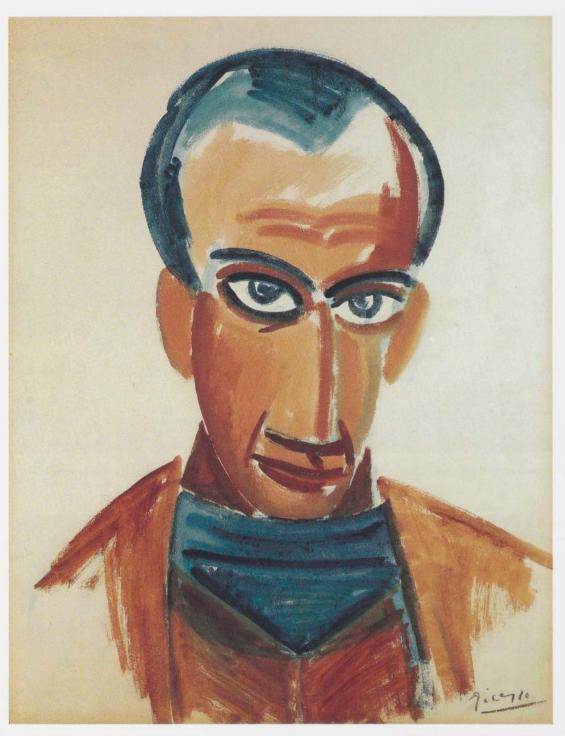
once, citing Leonardo da Vinci. In the case of Picasso's Helena Rubinstein portrait, this was literally the case: he had transformed her face into an image of his own features. But Picasso clearly meant Leonardo's remark in a broader, less literal way, as if to say, "whatever a painter's subject, he is painting his own feelings and experience." And since Picasso's portrayals of people he knew were virtually all made for his own personal understanding and satisfaction rather than for that of his subjects or for any collective "public," it little mattered if an image of



Bust of a Sailor (study for Les Demoiselles d'Avignon). Early 1907. Oil on canvas, 15³/₄ × 16¹/₂" (40 × 41.9 cm). Zervos II¹, 6. Daix 13. Galerie Jan Krugier, Geneva

one person began looking like someone else, or both, or several people.

The figures in Picasso's pictures were often extensions of his own persona, or were invested with literal and/or symbolic references to members of his different entourages. These fluctuant identities were not usually conceived in advance, but emerged by association, as it were, in the process of painting. It was as if Picasso's hand revealed to him the protagonists of his pictures. Such identities were precarious, sometimes investing his figures only fleetingly, and in narrative scenes they could be iconographically contradictory. The telling visual resemblance or symbolic attribute might disappear; the figure could metamorphose into someone else or be conflated with other identities. Such iconographic inconstancy was not limited to the figures in Picasso's narrative compositions but could pervade even projects begun deliberately as portraits. Alternatively, single figures undertaken with



Portrait of Max Jacob. Early 1907. Gouache on paper mounted on cardboard, 24¹/₈ × 18⁵/₈" (62 × 47.5 cm). Zervos II¹, 9. Daix 48. Museum Ludwig, Collection Ludwig, Cologne

generic intentions might be transformed into likenesses of particular individuals as work on them progressed.

The transient and uncertain manner in which images of particular individuals inhabit Picasso's work is most evident in studies for large "narrative" pictures such as *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, and in prints that passed through many states. For example, about halfway through the preparatory studies for the *Demoiselles*, the Sailor begins to resemble Max Jacob. Like his counterpart, the Medical Student, the Sailor had begun as a fairly recognizable self-image of the painter. But Picasso was led radically to change the character of the Sailor into a more passive, timid figure (opposite). This happened at about the time (early 1907) that he executed the most important of his portraits of Jacob, who was shown wearing a sailor's jacket (above). While the new personality of the Sailor cannot simply be equated with that of Picasso's then closest friend, the affinities between the studies of the Sailor's



Raphael and La Fornarina II. September 8, 1968. Etching, 513/16 × 81/4" (14.8 × 20.9 cm). Geiser/Baer VI, 1814. Private collection

head and the *Portrait of Max Jacob* oblige our consideration of the poet as a protagonist in the changing drama of the picture's iconography.²²

Six decades later, Picasso conscripted his friend the printmaker Piero Crommelynck to play a not unrelated stand-in role in a series of drawings and etchings devoted to the theme of Raphael and La Fornarina (above). Picasso had humorously revised Ingres' composition to equate painting and lovemaking. In a September 1968 etching, Piero is seen entering from a door on our left, drawing back a curtain to reveal the scene to the viewera gesture closely resembling that of the voyeuristic Medical Student in the studies for Les Demoiselles d'Avignon. The Student, in these early studies, had derived directly from a 1907 self-portrait by Picasso.23 Piero, in the 1968 print, is thus an alter ego for the artist. Picasso, who was eightyseven in 1968, represents himself a second time (disguised as "Michelangelo") as a hairy and jealous-looking monster peeking out from under the bed, in impotent rage.

As a portrait subject for Picasso (pp. 26, 27), Piero, who with his brother, Aldo, pulled Picasso's prints during the last decade of his life,²⁴ was at the opposite end of the spectrum from Helena Rubinstein. Picasso was particularly drawn to him as a subject; the portraits of Piero on canvas and paper (many uncatalogued, some unpublished) together outnumber those of such very close friends as Guillaume Apollinaire, Max Jacob, and Jaime Sabartés. Indeed, they outnumber those of anyone outside the artist's various family circles. This is probably because Piero reminded Picasso of his own father, don José, who frequently sat for his son's portraits and of whom the young Picasso had been extremely fond.25 To be sure, Picasso has been cited as saying that, when he worked, "[every] man is don José, and will be all my life."26 But it is clear that some men were more don José than others and, by extension, were symbols of Picasso himself. In Piero's case there was a certain resemblance: both he and don José were very tall and thin, with long faces terminating in short beards (though Piero's was and is a goatee, which gives him a touch of the satyr absent in don José²⁷). While Piero did not have don José's red hair, Picasso on occasion endowed him with it. Like don José, Piero was an artist and a professional—and devoted to Picasso's art.

In a 1971 etching of Piero arriving *chez* Picasso (opposite), he serves again as the artist's stand-in. Once more the substitute protagonist arrives through a door on the left, carrying a print portfolio, which replaces the book held by the Medical Student. Piero is greeted by his beautiful wife and attractive young daughter in a scene that probably recalled Picasso's memories of the spring of



Piero Crommelynck Arrives at Picasso's Studio, Greeted by His Wife, Daughter, and Kabul. March 7, 1971. Etching, 5⁷/₈ × 8¹/₄" (15 × 21 cm). Baer VII, 1932. Private collection

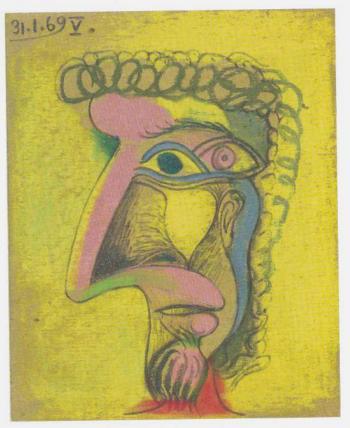


Piero as Painter Drawing His Model at the Maison Tellier. 1970. Etching, $20\frac{1}{16} \times 25\frac{3}{16}$ " (51 × 64 cm). Baer VII, 1876. Private collection

REFLECTIONS ON PICASSO AND PORTRAITURE



Portrait of Piero Crommelynck. September 21, 1966. Charcoal on paper, 23^{13} /₁₆ × $19^{1}/_{2}$ " (60.5 × 49.5 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection



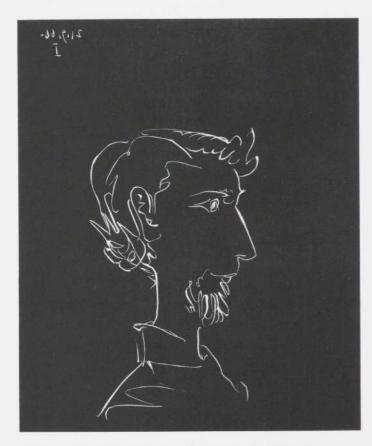
Portrait of Piero Crommelynck. January 31, 1969. Crayon and pastel on cardboard, $6^{1}_{16} \times 4^{7}/8^{"}$ (15.4 × 12.4 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection



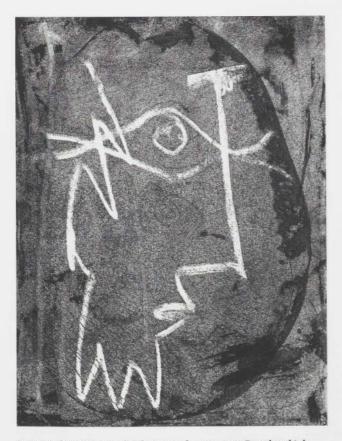
Piero Crommelynck, Nôtre-Dame-de-Vie, Mougins, September 25, 1966. Detail of a photograph by Jacqueline Picasso

1907, when the *Demoiselles* was being developed.²⁸ In those days he was being greeted in the Bateau-Lavoir by Fernande and their pretty adopted daughter Raymonde, who, like Piero's daughter, had blond bangs and was about thirteen—on the verge of puberty.²⁹ In the 1971 etching, Kabul leaps up to Piero just as Picasso's dog Fricka leaped toward the Medical Student in an early study for the *Demoiselles*.³⁰ Finally we note that although Piero's wife, Landa, is shown in a dress she actually wore, the attention given to her nipples, her open mouth, long eyelashes, and exaggerated coiffure endow her here with something of the air of a whorehouse madam, which tends to thrust the image, by dint of association, back into the bordello world of the *Demoiselles*, indeed, the setting of choice for Picasso's late prints (p. 25, bottom).

It was rare for Picasso simply to paint the image of the person in front of him: his view of his subjects was almost invariably filtered through a rich web of personal and artistic associations which found visual expression in the transformations of his subject. Throughout his life, Picasso chose as muses women who coincided to some extent with preexisting mental images. Sometimes these were images he had carried about since childhood; just as often, they were images he had formed from his experi-



Portrait of Piero Crommelynck. September 21, 1966. Engraving on linoleum, $25\frac{1}{16} \times 20\frac{7}{8}^{*}$ (64 × 53 cm). Geiser/Baer VI, 1849. Private collection



Portrait of Piero Crommelynck. September 28, 1968. Pastel and ink on cardboard, 11 $^5\!\!/_8\times 8^{11}\!/_{16}''$ (29.5 \times 22 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection



Portrait of Piero Crommelynck. September 23, 1966. Aquatint, 22¹/₄ × 15¹/₂" (56.4 × 39.2 cm). Geiser/Baer VI, 1400. Private collection

ence of other artists' paintings. If Olga was the "inspiration" for many of his paintings of 1917–19, she often had to share that role then with Ingres, just as Jacqueline would later share her star billing with female figures in the paintings of Delacroix (p. 456) and Velázquez (p. 459, bottom). These women's images, furthermore, were occasionally "contaminated" with Picasso's fleeting recollections of other women (or even men).

To be sure, this phenomenon of psychological projection is an essential element in all human and artistic experience. But it had not hitherto found expression as such in the visual arts. Picasso's transformed portraits open up a realm of psychological experience which had always been foreclosed by traditional portraiture's insistence on fidelity to perceptual experience. This shift from perceptual to conceptual image-making is usually identified with the invention of Cubism in 1908-14. However, the evidence of Picasso's portrait studies indicates that the real breakthrough (for once this tired word is warranted) occurred in the Spanish village of Gosol, in the summer of 1906. It was a function, in effect, of Picasso's search for a schematic type of sculptural drawing. Surprisingly, he seems to have been more strongly influenced, at this juncture, by the masklike simplifications of features in certain ancient Iberian sculptures than by any of his modernist forerunners.



Josep Fontdevila. 1906. India ink on paper, 18⁷/₈ × 12³/₈" (48 × 31.5 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection

At Gosol, Picasso became fascinated—not to say obsessed—with the figure of Josep Fontdevila, a retired smuggler, some ninety years old, whose family kept the inn at this remote mountain village where Picasso and Fernande spent most of the summer. Fontdevila, whom Fernande described as "a fearsome old man of a strange

and savage beauty,"31 was very taken with Picasso and delighted in regaling him with tales of his adventures. Fernande mentions that Picasso had made a drawing of Fontdevila that was "très ressemblant." Actually, he made quite a number of them, as well as a moving oil portrait (opposite). In all of these we see Fontdevila's strongly etched features, characterized by his high and accentuated cheekbones. Some drawings, which show Picasso impressed by Fontdevila's body, still lean and strong despite his age (above), seem like presentiments of the aged Picasso.

Picasso was so fascinated with this old man's personality and appearance that he was led to imagine him both forward and backward in time: as he would be and would have been. One drawing proposes something close to a "death mask" of Fontdevila's face after his demise (below, right); another sketch shows him as a man perhaps thirty years younger (below, left). This is the first of many drawn portraits, done throughout his career, in which Picasso envisioned his subject's appearance at different ages (p. 100). Picasso may have seen drawings by Leonardo in which the Florentine master played with similar transformations (p. 94, left), but this practice probably had its roots in Picasso's obsession with mortality.³²

Along with recollections of the abstract and effigy-like faces of many of the ancient Iberian sculptures Picasso had seen at the Louvre in the spring of 1906,³³ Fontdevila's "death mask" provided a crucial model for the increasingly masklike faces the artist executed that summer, such as that of Fernande in the full-figure standing nude with clasped hands (p. 261). When Picasso returned to Paris, he used the twin models of Iberian sculpture and the Fontdevila "mask" as inspirations for the heads in two pictures that he had begun earlier: a stunningly beautiful portrayal of Fernande as a *Woman Plaiting Her Hair* (p. 265) —summing up in one canvas Picasso's transition from lyrical softness to a harder, more sculptural precision of form—and the celebrated *Portrait of Gertrude Stein* (p. 267).

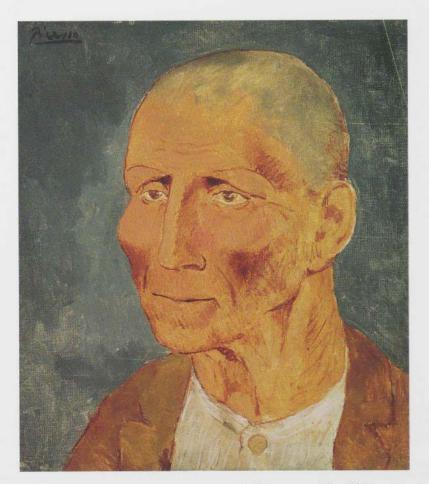
Picasso had labored over Stein's portrait for many months before departing for Gosol in May 1906. In the course of eighty or ninety sittings, he arrived at a satisfactory rendering of her hands and body, but he remained dissatisfied with the depiction of her face, and painted it out before leaving Paris. Shortly after his return from Gosol, he repainted Stein's face, without asking for any



Josep Fontdevila. 1906. Pencil on lined paper, 8¹/4 × 5¹/8" (21 × 13 cm). Zervos XXII, 453. Musée Picasso, Paris



"Death-Mask" of Josep Fontdevila. 1906. India ink on paper, $12\frac{3}{8} \times 9\frac{3}{8}$ " (31.5 × 24.3 cm). Zervos VI, 765. Musée Picasso. Paris



Head of a Catalan Peasant (Josep Fontdevila). 1906. Oil on canvas, $17^{3/4} \times 15^{7/6}$ " (45.1 × 40.3 cm). Zervos VI, 769. D.B. XV, 53. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Anonymous gift, 1992

sittings. His new, conceptual understanding of resemblance had made further perceptual "input" superfluous.

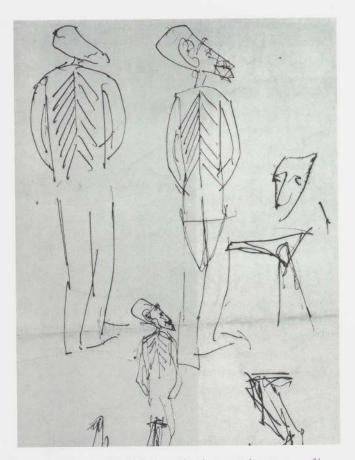
The Portrait of Gertrude Stein raises another critical question: to what extent does our response to Picasso's portraits depend on our knowledge of the sitters' identities? It could well be argued that the quality and character of the Portrait of Gertrude Stein would be the same even if Miss Stein had never existed and the picture at the Metropolitan Museum of Art were merely a generic portrait. But in practice one's experience of the Stein portrait is colored by numerous historical, literary, and biographical associations inseparable from its subject. Even if formal structure is the primary stimulus shaping our response to a picture, additional knowledge inevitably conditions and, with luck, enriches—our experience of it.

Picasso's Gosol breakthrough, the completion of the portrait of Fernande braiding her hair, and the contemporaneous reworking of the Stein portrait opened the door, methodologically speaking, to the more radical inventions that were to follow. Had Picasso died in 1905, he would be remembered today as a fine late Symbolist painter (author of *The Family of Saltimbanques*) who drew the curtain on the nineteenth century at the very time that Matisse and the Fauves seemed to be opening it on the twentieth.³⁴ It was the revolutionary equation between representation and transformation first glimpsed in these 1906 portraits a transformation made possible through conceptualization—that took Picasso beyond Symbolism and established him, ultimately, as the dominant historical figure of twentieth-century art.

The transformation of Gertrude Stein's and Fernande's faces remained, as it were, latent in the portraits of them that Picasso finished in autumn 1906. In contrast, the theme of transformation becomes explicit in his summer 1907 studies for a portrait of André Salmon, the poet, novelist, and critic who, with Max Jacob and Guillaume Apollinaire, formed the nucleus of what Fernande called "la bande Picasso." Insofar as Salmon-more than any other of Picasso's close friends-was both a connoisseur of Oceanic and African art and one of the (rare) admirers of Les Demoiselles d'Avignon, he steps to the forefront of the painter's world at that moment. Picasso's portrait was intended to take the form, not of a painting, but of a wooden sculpture, acknowledging Salmon's role as a champion of the "enchanteurs Océaniens et Africains" whom Salmon would later evoke in his publications on the artist.



Portrait of André Salmon. 1907. Charcoal on paper, $23^{5/8} \times 15^{3/4''}$ (60 × 40 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection, Paris



Studies for Portrait of André Salmon (detail). 1907. Ink on paper, $12^{7/8} \times 15^{3/4}$ " (32.5 × 40 cm). Zervos XXVI, 180 (detail of verso, Zervos XXVI, 179). Private collection



Studies for Portrait of André Salmon. 1907. Ink on paper, $12^{3/4} \times 15^{3/4}$ " (32.5 × 40 cm). Zervos XXVI, 179. Private collection



Study for Wood Sculpture of André Salmon. 1907. Charcoal on paper, $24^{\frac{3}{4}} \times 18^{\frac{3}{4}a''}$ (63 × 47.5 cm). Zervos VI, 967. Musée Picasso, Paris

The large, somewhat caricatural portrait drawing of Salmon (opposite, top left) shows him holding a book as well as a pipe (to which extent, he too becomes a kind of distanced stand-in for the Medical Student in the Demoiselles); his head is turned in three-quarter view, better to expose his long nose and prominent jaw. The next sheet of studies (opposite, bottom), inscribed nota bene very unusually in Picasso's own hand as Portrai[t]s d'André Salmon, subjects the poet's head to a series of fantastical transformations. Some of these, in which the hatched shading of the first drawing becomes a fishbone pattern reminiscent of "primitive" scarification marks, show Picasso looking at tribal sculpture out of the corner of his eye. The wave in Salmon's hair is simplified into a jutting crest which, given the elongation of both the cranium and the face, suggests Egyptian Pharaonic sculpture of the Akhenaton era. This crest would drop down, as Picasso proceeded, to become a jutting brow.

Adam Gopnik has aptly described these particular studies as "the art-historical equivalent of the intermediate fossil, which is the dream and despair of the paleontologist," wherein Salmon's likeness is "caught forever in transition from caricature to primitivised image, caught in transit between *Charivari* and the Congo."³⁵ The stylistic



Study for Wood Sculpture of André Salmon (final state). 1907. Charcoal and India ink on paper, $24^{3/4} \times 18^{7/8}$ " (63 × 48 cm). Zervos XXVI, 284. Private collection

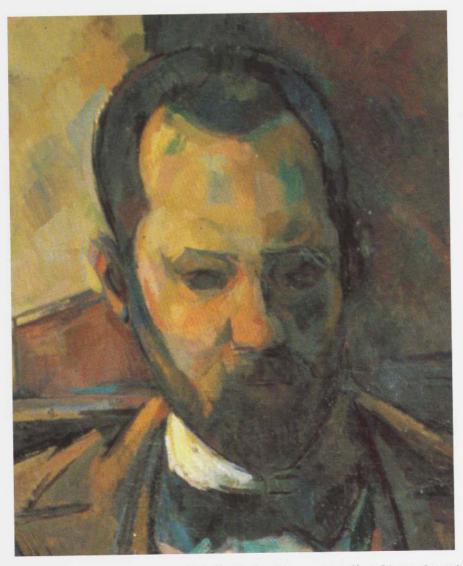
transformation of Salmon's effigy complements the medium—wooden sculpture—as an explicit reference to his role as a champion of tribal sculpture. Transformation no longer plays a hidden role but has been explicitly mobilized for its metaphorical potential.

The penultimate and final studies for the projected wood carving (above, left and right)



André Salmon (detail). 1922 or earlier. Photographer unknown

suggest that Picasso's mind had again begun to dwell on the old outlaw Fontdevila, whose protruding cheekbones and aged body have been melded in these to Salmon's lantern jaw and generous nose. The sculpture (never finally executed)³⁶ would have represented, had it followed its definitive study, a conflation of Picasso's two friends, and, in effect, is a summary of the conceptual revolution which had taken place in Picasso's work between summer 1906 and summer 1907.³⁷

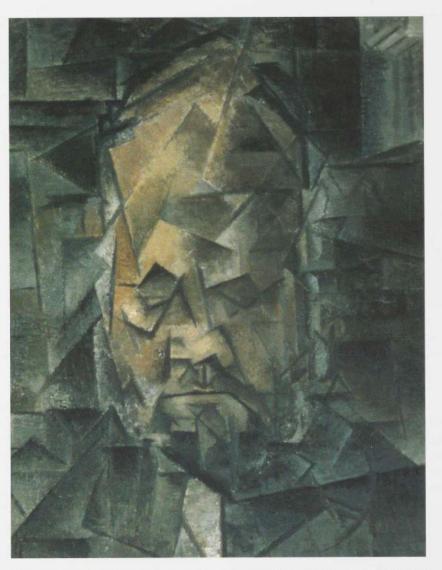


Paul Cézanne. *Portrait of Ambroise Vollard* (detail). 1899. Oil on canvas, 39½ × 32[‴] (100.3 × 81.3 cm). Venturi 696. Musées de la Ville de Paris, Petit Palais

Picasso's work of the period 1907-14 is characterized by a shift from a narrative to an iconic mode of presentation, a shift which tended to result in the suppression of individual identities. As I have discussed elsewhere,38 in the winter of 1908–09, Picasso was elaborating a large allegorical canvas (on the model of his 1905 Saltimbanques) called Carnival at the Bistro, which included representations of himself (as Harlequin) and Fernande, along with symbolic portraits of Cézanne and the Douanier Rousseau; but the final form of this canvas was the still life, Bread and Fruitdish on a Table, in which Picasso had reworked the shapes of the Bistro figures, directly adopting their contours to those of the still-life objects. Not only individual identity, but human form itself, was suppressed in the transformed composition, save for the provocative vestiges of legs under the table.

While there are numerous portrayals of Fernande in the period 1909 through early 1911, she is treated in these pictures more as an impersonal object or "motif" than as a portrait subject, as Pierre Daix argues (p. 276). It is thus doubly surprising to find that the advent of high Analytic Cubism is marked by the execution of three of Picasso's greatest portraits: those of Wilhelm Uhde (p. 281), Ambroise Vollard (p. 283), and Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler (p. 285). We are surprised, first of all, that Picasso should turn to portraiture at a moment when his style seemed, at least superficially, to be approaching pure abstraction. It is also surprising that Picasso's portrait subjects of this period should all be men.

In the earliest stages of his career, Picasso's portraiture was, in fact, dominated by men rather than women. He drew his father far more frequently than his mother, and his formative years in Barcelona yielded a rich crop of drawings of his artistic and literary compatriots. However, throughout the rest of his career, portraits of the women in his life (and of his children) considerably outnumber his portraits of men. His Cubist portraits—the three 1910 pictures, along with the 1909 portraits of the



Portrait of Ambroise Vollard (detail). 1910. Oil on canvas, 36^{1/4} × 25^{5/8}" (92 × 65 cm). Zervos II², 214. Daix 337. Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow. (Colorplate of whole, p. 283)

dealer Clovis Sagot and the painter Manuel Pallarés (pp. 254, 273)—are thus something of an anomaly.

Picasso's emphasis on the male portrait may have been a function of the relatively impersonal, conceptual, and speculative character of Cubist painting itself—qualities which Picasso, given his late-nineteenth-century Spanish upbringing, probably associated with maleness. It may also be significant that his primary artistic dialogue during those years was with a male painter, Georges Braque (although he never painted an actual portrait of Braque).³⁹ In contrast, the artists with whom he was most closely involved later in his career were both women: his companions Dora Maar and Françoise Gilot.

That the sitters for all three 1910 portraits (and one of the two from 1909) were Picasso's art dealers has not, I believe, been sufficiently discussed. The motivations here seem to have had a particular significance beyond that of simply pleasing individuals who were important to Picasso's financial well-being.⁴⁰ The 1910 portraits coincided with a moment in the artist's career when, as a result of the radicality of his thinking, the thread connecting his pictures to the visual world seems nearest to breaking. In order to test just how abstract he could be and still communicate an individualized subject, Picasso needed sharply etched, salient models, who would not disappear into types and generalized symbols in the manner of "passive" still-life and landscape motifs. Inasmuch as Picasso had always been essentially a painter of the human figure, these experimental pictures were almost predestined to be portraits, and only if he thought of them as portraits in an almost conventional way would the experiment be valid.

Picasso's problem here was that he needed portrait subjects who, like Gertrude Stein before them, would sit for hours and hours, day after day, while the artist pondered the problem of the nature and limits of representation. As his art dealers, at least Uhde and Kahnweiler, were themselves caught up in these artistic problems and





Eva Gouel (Marcelle Humbert; detail). Avignon, summer 1914. Photograph by Picasso. Yale Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University

Head of Eva Gouel. 1916. Engraving with roulette; plate: 3¹/8 × 2" (8 × 5.1 cm). Geiser/Baer I, 52. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Mrs. Bertram Smith Fund



Study for Woman in an Armchair (Eva Gouel). 1913. Pencil and wax crayon on paper, $9^{1/8} \times 7^{7/8}$ (23 × 20 cm). Zervos XXIX, 2. Daix 638 (verso). Private collection

understood better what Picasso was about than anyone besides Braque, and as, moreover, they were beholden to him, Picasso could make huge demands on their time and energy. Then, too, they could be counted on not to complain that the portraits did not look like them.

The only picture within the group of high Cubist portraits that seems at all inconsistent with Picasso's development in 1910—it is, indeed, a bit of a sport—is the portrait of Ambroise Vollard (p. 283). It is also the only one for which there were probably not multiple or extended sittings. Pierre Daix believes that Vollard did not sit for Picasso at that time, and that the portrait was based on a photograph, now presumabably lost.⁴¹ The Vollard portrait, in any case, uniquely blends Cubism with an almost illusionistic realism. What explains its particular character?

We should start by reminding ourselves of certain differences between these three picture sellers. Vollard had been a highly successful dealer during the 1890s (when, aside from being Cézanne's unique representative, he showed works by various major Impressionists and Post-Impressionists). All this happened while Picasso was still a boy. By 1910 Vollard was enormously rich and powerful, an almost mythical art-world figure who clearly had the upper hand in his relations with Picasso. Conversely, Uhde and Kahnweiler were relatively impecunious, as yet more amateurs than seasoned dealers, and clearly dependent on Picasso for favors. Unlike Vollard, they were Picasso's creatures. He could demand from both of them the extended time he needed and such dialogue as he might want to have-unthinkable given his rapport with Vollard. This explains, I believe, why the Uhde and

Kahnweiler portraits became purer models of Picasso's new elliptical conception of the portrait, while that of Vollard, which has a strong dollop of very seductive realism, remains somewhat apart.

Exquisite as it is, the Vollard portrait represented a certain accommodation of high Cubism and illusionism: by using his grasp of psychological characterization and by cleverly eliding Cubist signs and shaded flesh tones (found uniquely in the head), Picasso produced an image that Vollard would (and did) appreciate as a likeness.⁴² The picture was thus a cunningly versatile exercise in craft a counterpart in Cubist terms of the sheer laureate virtuosity characteristic of winter 1905–06 (for example, *Boy Leading a Horse*), which Vollard liked most in Picasso's work. Somewhat paradoxically, Picasso's rendering of Vollard's face is in many ways more realistic, as well as psychologically penetrating, than Cézanne's portrait of Vollard, painted eleven years earlier, for which the dealer had repeatedly posed (pp. 32, 33).

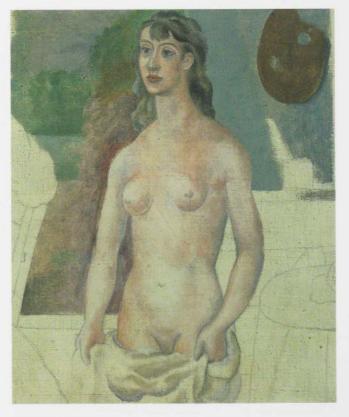
The abstractness of high Cubism was certainly not in itself at all conducive to the practice of portraiture. Braque, for his part, never tried his hand at the genre. Picasso's talent as a caricaturist, however, allowed him to isolate and emphasize a series of telling details that would remain legible amid the pictorial flux of Analytic Cubism: Uhde's pinched upper lip, Vollard's heavy eyelids, and Kahnweiler's features, which Picasso himself summarized as "the wave in the hair, an earlobe [and] the clasped hands."⁴³ Such traits endowed these portraits, despite the latter's considerable abstractness, with an evocative *ressemblance* to their subjects. The portraits of Uhde, Vollard, and Kahnweiler have no sequels in the years 1911-14. During the height of Cubism's Analytic phase—from 1911 through the spring of 1912-Picasso seems to have felt that identity should (or only could) be characterized typologically, being implied primarily through props or textual inscriptions with a personal significance. The figures in his paintings now became schematic types, identifiable as male or female only because of the addition of conventional markers: moustaches for men, stylized breasts for women. The emergence of Synthetic Cubism in 1912, under the impetus of collage, papier collé, and construction, made possible a mode of figuration that was less "abstract" and more legible than its Analytic forerunner, but even more schematic and typological. Meyer Schapiro called it the "Cubism of Rehabilitation": the figures and objects that had been diced, fragmented, and increasingly displaced in Analytic Cubism were now reincorporated as shaped flat planes forming coherent signs. But if Synthetic Cubism was more legible than Analytic Cubism, it was also less illusionistic. The shallow space of Picasso's 1910-11 pictures-the last vestige of "real," three-dimensional space-was now pressed completely flat.

Under these circumstances, it was perhaps inevitable that Picasso's 1911–14 "portraits" of his new love, Marcelle Humbert (later known as Eva Gouel), only rarely attempted to reproduce her facial features (opposite), but grafted elliptical identificatory phrases—"*Ma Jolie*" or "*J'aime Eva*" (p. 289)—onto the stock types of Cubist figuration; Eva was "very sweet," Picasso had told Kahnweiler in a spring 1912 letter sent from the south of France: "I love her very much and I will write this in my paintings."⁴⁴ The *Woman in an Armchair* of 1913 began with stylized sketches in which Eva was recognizable (p. 290, top), but the final painting lacked even the familiar allusive inscriptions addressed to her (p. 291).

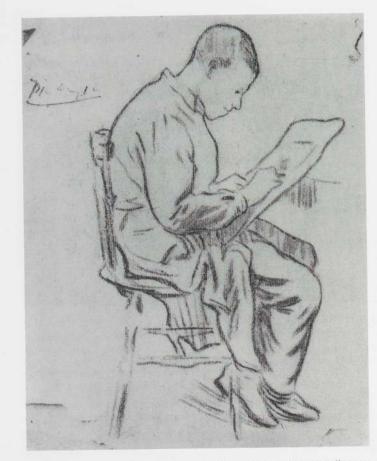
Out of the complex circumstances of Picasso's art in 1912–13—a combination of purely formal considerations and intimate personal experience—emerged a new type of symbolic "portrait," dense with visual associations and ambiguities. The evocative fragments of words and phrases painted and stenciled on his Cubist paintings and glued to his papiers collés, and the freewheeling fantasy of his 1913 figures, would establish Picasso a decade later as the prototype of the modernist peintre-poète. After Joan Miró and Paul Klee had created brilliant oeuvres based in part on Picasso's model, André Breton would proclaim the painter the embodiment of the Surrealist hero, the peintre-poète, declaring that Surrealism "has only to pass where Picasso has passed and where he will pass in the future."45 It should be said that Picasso would become not only a painter-poet in the general sense of the term

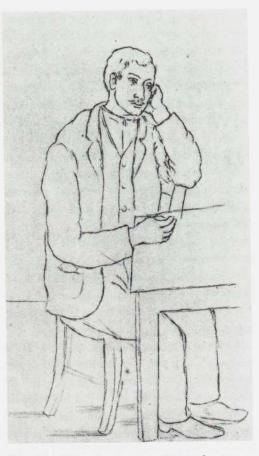


Female Nude: "J'aime Eva" (detail). 1912. Columbus Museum of Art, Columbus, Ohio. Gift of Ferdinand Howald. (Colorplate of whole, p. 289)



The Artist and His Model (detail). 1914. Musée Picasso, Paris. (Colorplate of whole, p. 298)





Seated Man. 1901. Conté crayon on paper. Zervos VI, 339. Private collection

but in a quite literal one, having written a considerable volume of poetry and plays.⁴⁶ Although his reading was otherwise quite limited, Picasso throughout his life found himself deeply moved by poetry and enjoyed close and intense relationships with poets—Jacob, Apollinaire, Cocteau, Breton, and Eluard, to name just a few. On the door of his Bateau-Lavoir studio he tacked the sign "*Au rendez-vous des poètes.*"

Essential to Picasso's type of poetic, free-associational imagery was an extreme rapidity-which should not be equated with rapid drawing-in the decision-making process. Picasso almost always drew at a quite deliberate speed, and never, or at least very rarely, with anything like the velocity of "automatists" such as Masson or Pollock (who themselves never painted as quickly as is supposed). He worked really quickly only on occasion, with the brush, not drawing but "brushing-in." Delacroix had described a good draftsman as one who could draw a body falling from a building before it hit the ground, requiring not only a virtually instantaneous coordination of eye and hand,47 but a mind that determines the crucial aesthetic choices swiftly. This is where Picasso's enormous gifts came into play, for most draftsmen would never have been able to respond so agilely to the chain of associations. Picasso's deliberate speed is much less reflected in

Young Man Sitting, Leaning on the Chair Back. 1914. Pencil on paper, $12^{1/8} \times 9^{1/2}$ " (30.8 × 24 cm). Zervos VI, 1206. Private collection

an appearance of rapid execution than in the staggering *number* of his drawings. Some measure of his obsession with image-making can be gauged by the fact that he surely made far more drawings (and paintings) than any other serious artist in history. Cézanne, for example, who enjoyed a long career, executed somewhere in the neighborhood of nineteen hundred sheets (including watercolors). Picasso made almost nineteen thousand.⁴⁸ Only if van Gogh had maintained the level of production of his final years to a ripe old age would the world have witnessed an oeuvre of comparable numbers, though with less range in mediums.

Cubism thus yielded two completely distinct forms of portraiture. If I stress this point, it is because critics and scholars (myself included) have often tended to present Cubism—or at least Analytic Cubism—as a kind of monolithic entity. Clement Greenberg, for example, used to argue that Cubism was Picasso's greatest accomplishment in part because for four or five years he allowed himself to be "enclosed" or "set" within a style. In this regard, Greenberg liked to equate Picasso's Cubism of 1908–12 with Pollock's "allover" style of 1947–50. During these respective periods, he remarked, the artists could



Smoker in a Top Hat Leaning on a Table. 1914. Lead pencil on paper, 12³/₄ × 9⁵/₈" (32.5 × 24.5 cm). Zervos XXIX, 61. Private collection

"relax in their style" and seemingly "do no wrong."49

If The Museum of Modern Art's 1989 exhibition Picasso and Braque: Pioneering Cubism made one thing clear to me it was that Picasso could not possibly be described as having been "enclosed" within a single style during the years 1908 to 1912, or even for the period (summer 1909 to early 1912) of Analytic Cubism alone. While admiring Greenberg's brilliant insight that Analytic Cubism provided the infrastructure for Pollock's allover poured style, I cannot help feeling that Greenberg was overlooking (or ignorant of)⁵⁰ the many remarkable changes in Picasso's work between 1908 and early 1912. "Cubism" may be useful as an historical label, but there is no one pictorial style that can be intrinsically defined as Cubist. On the contrary, Picasso's notorious tendency toward stylistic multiplicity-usually associated with his work only after World War I-actually emerges fully after Gosol, when he first takes on his real identity as an artist.

Other painters—Mondrian and Malevich, for instance —saw Analytic Cubism as evolving toward abstraction and drew the conclusion that nonfigurative painting was the logical and inevitable end point of this process. However, neither Picasso nor Braque had the slightest intention of going over into a wholly abstract art. Both were, and would remain for the rest of their lives, com-

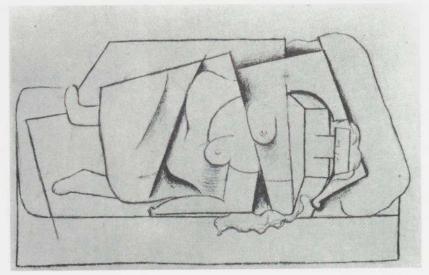


Man Leaning on a Table. 1916. Oil on canvas, 78³/₄ × 52["] (200 × 132 cm). Zervos II², 550. Daix 889. Private collection

mitted to the notion that painting was an inherently figurative and representational art: what interested them was precisely the tension between the abstract elements of painting and the contours of an actual motif. It is significant, in this respect, that the most elliptical phase of Analytic Cubism occurs nearer its beginnings, in the bare scaffoldings of Picasso's summer 1910 canvases, than its terminus, in comparatively legible pictures such as *Man with a Violin* and *The Aficionado.*⁵¹ After he had arrived at a virtually abstract style, Picasso's first impulse was to complicate it by reintroducing legible aspects of reality.

Picasso's ambivalence with regard to abstraction was, in part, a function of his abiding instinct for contradiction. Whatever the thesis or proposition mooted, he inevitably turned it around in his mind and delighted in such paradoxical truth as he could find in its contrary. To some extent his forward motion depended on this dialectic. Picasso disliked all rational, consistent, and closed systems, both in life and in art. Even in his most tightly structured Cubist paintings, there is usually something that doesn't quite "work" visually, someplace where a monkey wrench has been thrown into the gears. Yet, it is precisely such passages that, on extended looking, often come to seem to us the very guarantors of the pictures' "lifelikeness" (in the deepest sense of the word).





Eva Dying. 1915. Pencil on paper, 12⁵/₈ × 9⁷/₈ " (32 × 25 cm). Zervos II², 842. Private collection

Eva on Her Death Bed. 1915. Pencil on paper, $6^{1}\!\!/\!\!4 \times 9^{5}\!\!/\!\!8^{''}$ (16 \times 24.5 cm). Zervos XXIX, 186. Galerie Jan Krugier, Geneva

Picasso's instinct for contradiction is also visible in his lifelong battle against virtuosity. His repeated turns to one variety or another of "primitivism" were essentially means of escaping from his own talent. The most obvious cases are those in which he turned to models outside the mainstream of European painting: Romanesque manuscript illuminations, ancient Iberian carvings, "tribal" sculptures from Africa and Oceania, or the canvases of the Douanier Rousseau. In other instances, he sought a formal or methodological primitivism determined by a reaction against his own painterly achievements. Thus, the supremely nuanced light and brushwork of Picasso's 1911-12 Analytic Cubism- Rembrandtesque in its profundity, Mallarméan in its subtlety — were followed by the deliberately raw and simple expedients of collage and papier collé. Picasso now sacrificed painterly mastery in favor of a kind of art brut. His 1912-13 collages, in their crudeness and (seeming) simplicity, compare to "Ma Jolie" in much the same way as the Demoiselles does to the paintings of the Rose period. What, for example, could have been more homely, simple, raw, and unprepossessing than the sheet-metal Guitar, conceived in the late summer of 1912?52 Yet the "primitive" execution and "constructed" character of this work constituted a fundamentally new approach to sculpture, transcending the alternativescarving vs. modeling-that had dominated Western sculpture from the ancient Greeks through Rodin.

In a 1919 letter to Kahnweiler, Braque condemned Picasso's adoption, during the years of World War I, of a new classical and representational style, commenting that "what is really constant in this artist is his temperament. Picasso remains for me what he has always been, a virtuoso full of talent."⁵³ Picasso himself was equally scornful of mere virtuosity. However, he identified it with the facility that resulted from working continuously in a single style, as Braque now did. "Style," he told one writer, "is often something which locks the painter in the same vision, the same technique, the same formula during many years, sometimes for a lifetime."⁵⁴ For Picasso, style was a "*camisole de force*"—a straightjacket.⁵⁵

The artist had made a series of drawings in 1914–15 that combined, in various ways, elements of both Cubist and "classical" representational figuration (p. 37 and above). Many of these depicted the Cézannesque figure of a seated man: one version of this figure—showing the man seated at a table, head resting pensively on his hand (p. 36, right)—was explored in a series of summer 1914 sketches and then transferred to a large canvas, which Picasso labored over from 1915 through 1916, transforming it from a representational to a Cubist (but still-legible) image, and then into an almost totally abstract *trompe l'oeil* of *papier collé*, suggesting vertical strips of material covered with gridded dots (p. 37, right).⁵⁶

Back in the spring of 1914, Picasso had shown Kahnweiler several of the first realistic figures from this series, commenting: "Still, they're better than before."⁵⁷ It was true. As remarkable a draftsman as Picasso had been from the turn of the century through the Rose period, his long pilgrimage through the "primitivism" of 1906–08 and the multiple Cubisms of 1909–14 had mysteriously informed and thus transformed the quality of his representational drawing. Picasso's line was now much more taut, more wiry, and yet more implicitly sculptural than it had been before, while the infrastructure of his compositions continued to profit from the implicit grid of Cubism.

The disparity between the fragmentation of Picasso's

1910–14 Cubist personages and the massive solidity of his new, realistic, and somewhat classicizing figures makes it difficult to see the extent to which his representational drawings after 1914 remained indebted to Cubism. The continuity of his work is more evident in certain still lifes and landscapes in which the subdivided nature of the motif allowed it to be more obviously aligned with the picture's infrastructure.

Comparing Picasso's 1921 drawing of vine leaves (right) with any of Matisse's line drawings of similar motifs, one is astonished by how much Cubism could be subsumed in Picasso's Neoclassicism. Matisse's more lyric, decorative line characteristically "sits" on the picture surface, reconfirming its flatness; Picasso's line "bites" sculpturally into the surface. Even without the aid of shading, the leaves seem to bow outward toward the spectator in a shallow frontal space deriving from Cézanne. Within the rectangle of the drawing paper, the leaves are "set" in a Cubist manner, their accented forms piling up toward the center and dissolving toward the edges. The "architecture" of the branches echoes the vertical and horizontal axes of the field, locking the curved and diagonal accents into its scaffolding. Even the little cluster of grapes near the top serves as a "button" for the composition in a manner analogous to the nails, knobs, and clusters of green that often "anchor" Cubist compositions at top or bottom.



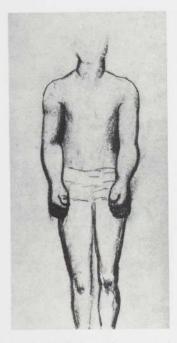
The Vine. July 4, 1921. Charcoal on paper, $25^{1/4}\times 20^{1/4}$ " (64 \times 51.4 cm). Zervos IV, 292. Private collection

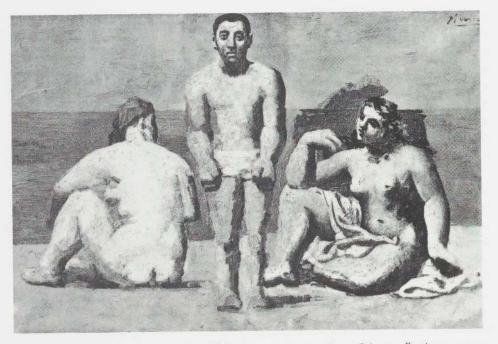




Seven Dancers (including Olga Khokhlova in foreground). 1919. Pencil and traces of charcoal on paper, $24^{3/_{8}} \times 19^{3/_{4}}$ " (62.6 × 50 cm). Zervos III, 353. Musée Picasso, Paris

Olga Khokhlova (foreground) in *Les Sylphides*, taken during the first New York tour of Diaghilev's Ballets Russes, April 1916. Photograph by White Studio, New York





Standing Bather. 1921. Grease pencil on paper, 13 × 6¹¹/₁₆" (33 × 17 cm). Zervos XXX, 152. Private collection

Three Bathers. 1920. Oil on canvas, 211/4 × 317/8" (54 × 81 cm). Zervos IV, 208. Private collection

The Cézannesque figure of a seated man of 1914 had been immediately incorporated into a realistic, proto-Neoclassical painting, *The Artist and His Model* (p. 298), on which Picasso was working when World War I began in August 1914.⁵⁸ These and other representational figures of 1914 also led directly to the 1915 pencil portraits of Ambroise Vollard and Max Jacob (p. 299), drawings whose unmistakably Ingresque facture mark the emergence of a first full-fledged Neoclassical style, which would continue as a part of Picasso's work into the next decade.

During the 1920s, Neoclassical styles would become commonplace among Parisian vanguardists, as a feature of a general "recall to order" provoked by the upheavals, displacements, and horrors of the war.⁵⁹ Recent studies on this subject invariably describe Neoclassicism as a strictly conservative movement. In this context, Picasso's return to a representational style and his supposed abandonment of Cubism have often been considered a simple retreat. A not untypical response is one scholar's description of Picasso's Neoclassical style as a "peculiar and momentously reactionary alternative to Cubism . . . a deep conundrum for historians of modernism."⁶⁰ Furthermore, this opinion was shared by many of Picasso's avant-garde contemporaries, who viewed his Neoclassicism as a desertion of modernism.

For artists such as Mondrian and Malevich, committed to a formal, teleological view of modernism, there could be no question of a turning back from abstraction to representation. Braque, who virtually equated Cubism and modern painting, considered Picasso's "Ingresque" drawings of 1915–19 (pp. 39, 308, 310) an abandonment of modernity. The palpable sense of betrayal in the comments of Picasso's contemporaries is a response not only to his additional style but also to the content of his new portraits, many of whose subjects were drawn from the world of the ballet and the "*beau monde*."

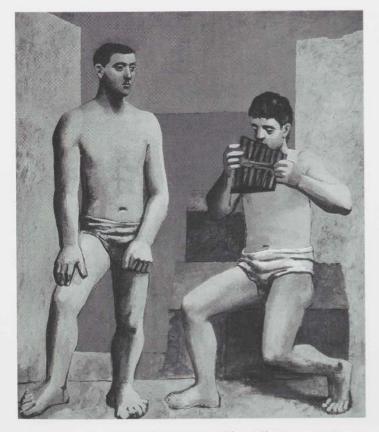
Picasso, needless to say, did not share this teleological view of the history of art. As he said in an interview that Marius de Zayas re-edited in English in 1923, "The several manners I have used in my art must not be considered as an evolution. . . . If the subjects I have wanted to express have suggested different ways of expression I have never hesitated to adopt them."61 For him there was no such thing as a privileged style inherently either better or more modern than other styles. There were only inspired pictures and bad ones. Picasso's lack of interest in modernity, as such, was evident in the way he lived, in the extraordinary hodge-podge of the furnishings with which he surrounded himself. On one occasion, discussing his passion for chairs, tablecloths, and curtain pulls with old fashioned tassels and fringes-constant motifs in his high Cubist pictures-the artist asked almost angrily why he should be expected to admire modern furniture (which he disliked) or modern architecture (much of which he hated).62 Contrarily, Picasso loved objects, people, and behavior that were not only outside the pale of "good taste" but somehow beyond any definable taste at all-as exemplified by the indescribable breakfront that appears in photographs of his various lodgings over the years.63

Furthermore, the scholarly analysis of Neoclassicism

as an element in the postwar "recall to order" fails to take into account the fact that the seeds of Picasso's Neoclassicism (as well as his Surrealism and Expressionism) were already present in his drawing and painting before World War I.64 Whatever the significance of Neoclassicism in the work of the artists who turned to it in the 1920s, Picasso's initial adoption of this style seems to have taken place for artistic reasons particular to himself. It is equally important to bear in mind that the emergence of Neoclassicism in Picasso's work did not put a dent in his exploration of Synthetic Cubism. On the contrary, his largest and boldest statements in that style—the Harlequin (1915; p. 301), Man Leaning on a Table (1916), the two versions of Three Musicians (1921), and The Birdcage (1923; below)-were executed over exactly the same period that saw the emergence and refinement of his Neoclassical style.

Of these two styles, Cubism and Neoclassicism, critics almost invariably view the former as the more serious and the latter as the more superficial. But unbiased examination of the years in question might suggest that the opposite was often true. During the years 1918 through 1923, the flattened, fragmented forms of Synthetic Cubism are often arranged into exceedingly decorative, quite lighthearted compositions, while Picasso's Neoclassical Bather compositions of 1920 to 1923 came to subsume all that was solid and weighty (both literally and figuratively) in his art.

Somewhat paradoxically, Picasso's Neoclassical style became heir to those aspects of Cézanne's style that had played an important role in the monumental and sculpturally modeled Cubism of 1908–09 (Three Women; Woman with Pears, p. 277), but had been undercut, so to say, by the increasing dissolution of forms in Analytic Cubism and then by the flatness of its Synthetic successor. While recent scholarship has often focused on the form-dissolving qualities of Cézanne's late style, artists and critics in the early years of this century were far more aware of the solidity, the compelling gravitas of his figures, still lifes, and landscapes of the years 1875 to 1900. Picasso's renewed attention to Cézanne is evident in a series of 1921 drawings and canvases reprising the earlier artist's depictions of a standing male bather (opposite). His Neoclassical figures share the psychological inwardness and self-absorption of Cézanne's bathers; their appearance of "primitive" massiveness-the figures' circumscribed gestures are literally wrung from themis intensified by the shallow, often claustrophobic spaces they occupy. The projecting, front-modeled forms (and reciprocal "bas-relief" space) of early Cubism are recaptured in these Neoclassical Picassos of the early 1920s, but are handled with vast reserve and tautness (below, left).



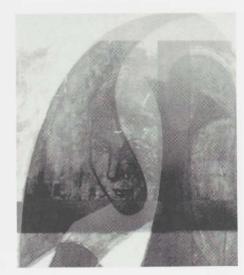
The Pipes of Pan. 1923. Oil on canvas, 80¹¹/₁₆ × 68¹/₂" (205 × 174 cm). Zervos V, 141. Musée Picasso, Paris



The Birdcage. 1923. Oil and charcoal on canvas, $79^{1/8} \times 55^{1/4}$ " (200.7 × 140.4 cm). Zervos V, 84. Private collection

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Transmitted Infrared Vidicon image of *Woman* in an Armchair (Olga) (detail)



Transmitted Infrared Vidicon image of Woman in an Armchair (Olga)

Portrait of Olga. July 26, 1920. Charcoal on canvas, 51 × $38^{1/4}$ " (130 × 97 cm). Zervos IV, 99. Private collection

The virtual interchange between Synthetic Cubism and Neoclassicism is unexpectedly revealed in a 1920 Curvilinear Cubist representation of a *Woman in an Armchair* (opposite). An infrared scan of this image performed in The Museum of Modern Art's conservation laboratory reveals that the painting actually began as a Neoclassical figure in which the face and figure of Picasso's wife Olga were perfectly legible. Picasso's drawings and prints provide many examples of motifs translated in a similar fashion from one style to another. But this is one of only two instances in which we can securely demonstrate, on a single canvas, the oscillation between Neoclassicism and Cubism.⁶⁵ The image of Olga visible in the underpainting is reprised in a charcoal sketch on another canvas of somewhat similar size (above), suggesting that Picasso



Olga Reading. 1920. Oil on canvas, 39³/₈ × 28³/₄" (100 × 73 cm). Not in Zervos. Musée Picasso, Paris

may originally have planned to make two portraits of Olga in precisely the same pose, one Cubist, the other Neoclassical.

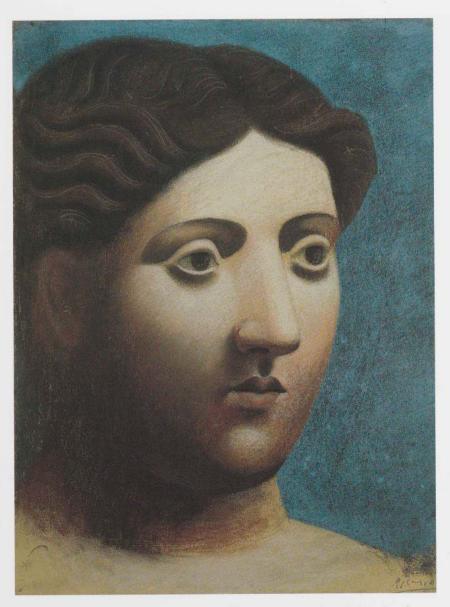
Comparison between the infrared prints and the finished version of *Woman in an Armchair* makes it clear that some of the contours of the Cubist version of *Woman in an Armchair* were carried over directly from the original Neoclassical image: the curve of Olga's chin, her right shoulder and arm, her left upper arm, a part of that lower arm and hand, as well as virtually the entire outline of the chair, right down to the pinched oval of the armrest. The vertical supports of the chair's back remained in the same place, while their silhouette was selectively altered. The remaining contours of the Cubist composition were invented, in effect, out of whole cloth.

Perhaps the most puzzling of these is the vertically divided blue rectangle at the lower center. At first glance this seems to be a purely abstract shape. Neither the underpainting visible in the infrared photograph nor the painting's charcoal-on-canvas "twin" (above, left) reveal a "realistic" motif at this location, suggesting that the twopaneled rectangle was a late (and not altogether felicitous) addition to the composition. The shape derives, I believe, from still another depiction of Olga (below, left), an oil on canvas, showing her as a seated figure reading a book with opened covers, one lit and one in shadow. The motif of a book opened in a woman's lap can be traced back in Picasso's work at least as far as 1913;66 its potential for sexual symbolism becomes explicit in an etching of 1933 (p. 66, bottom), where the intersecting planes corresponding to the covers of a book, accompanied by a pair of spheres, represent the contours of both female and male sex organs.67

Beginning in 1920, Picasso's vision of the classical largely takes leave of Ingres in favor of a variety of "Greek" and Mediterranean models whose chiton-draped figures, sometimes inflated to massive proportions, reflect a wide variety of influences: Pompeian and Ostian frescoes and



Woman in an Armchair (Olga). July 29, 1920. Oil on canvas, 45³/₄ × 33" (116 × 89 cm). Zervos IV, 127. Private collection



Head of a Woman. 1921. Pastel on paper, $25\times18^{7}\!\!/\!\!s''$ (63.5 \times 48 cm). Zervos IV, 349. Beyeler Collection, Basel

mosaics, Renaissance paintings and reliefs, Renoir's late paintings, and Maillol's early canvases. The influence of the early Italian Renaissance is particularly evident in what remain, for me, the greatest of Picasso's Neoclassical pictures: the generic pastel "portrait" heads of 1921 (above), rather than the major paintings of that year, such as *Three Women at the Spring*. These pastels really must be seen in person, as the magical quality of their modeling rarely comes through adequately in reproductions.

Picasso seems to have been inspired, in these images, by Giotto and his fifteenth-century successors, painters whose works reflected the study of both high Gothic and classical sculpture. Of course, Picasso himself, as a student, had drawn studies after plaster replicas of antique sculptures (p. 58, bottom left). The heads in his greatest 1921 pastels, such as his portrait of Olga (opposite), seem, close-up, almost to be carved from tinted stone. In these, Picasso realizes an illusion of sculptural plasticity as compressed and intense as that of Masaccio or Piero della Francesca. He had clearly intuited the fact that the great fifteenth-century Florentine masters did not build their images by transcribing them directly from nature, but by first abstracting from nature a limited number of fundamental qualities—volume, mass, light, and space—and then constructing their pictures out of these isolated, already conceptualized, building blocks.

Unlike many of the Neoclassicizing painters of the 1920s "recall to order," Picasso continued to reject deep perspectival space. Nor did he accept, as they did, the notion of a single and consistent source of light, which had been one of the major discoveries of fifteenthcentury painting. Picasso's 1909 experiments with painted



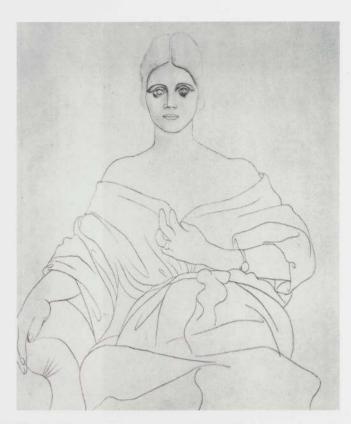
Portrait of Olga (detail). 1921. Pastel and charcoal on paper. Musée Picasso, Paris, on extended loan to the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Grenoble. (Colorplate of whole, p. 315)

and sculpted versions of the same faceted head of Fernande (pp. 276, 277) had revealed to him how much more plastically vivid he could make an imagined play of light and shadow relative to the modeling evoked by the same head lit by an actual consistent light source. His 1921 pastels retain this "autonomous" lighting, even as the rough facet planes of the 1909 heads are replaced by smooth, unbroken contours, modeled with infinitely subtle gradations, but nevertheless preserving much of the sculptural energy of early Cubism.

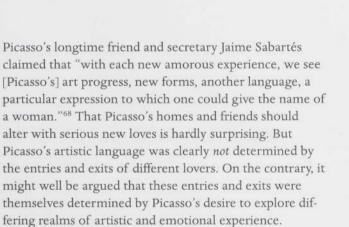
In 1922–23 Picasso's classical figures become freer and more fluid in posture, costume, and coiffure. His drawing is more lyrical, his modeling softer and looser. It is tempting to ascribe this shift to a more atmospheric, more veiled pictorial fabric—reenacting the evolution of Cubism from 1909 through 1911—in Wölfflinian terms, as a shift from a linear/tactile to a painterly/optical style. But the painterliness of Picasso's 1922–23 work does not transcribe visual sensations in the manner of Rembrandt, Rubens, and the other Baroque masters in Wöllflin's artistic taxonomy. It is closer, rather, to the more tactile, "abstract" painterliness found in Leonardo's unfinished works and Titian's late paintings. This stylistic change provides the vehicle for a new sense of ineffable tenderness in Picasso's Neoclassical works of 1922–23, but the shift in emotional tenor also seems to correspond to changes in the artist's life.

According to a famous half-truth proposed by Dora Maar, Picasso's styles, homes, friends, favorite poets, and even dogs changed with each new mistress. Similarly,

REFLECTIONS ON PICASSO AND PORTRAITURE

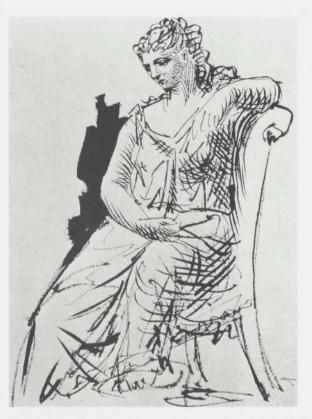


Olga in a Robe. 1920. Pencil on paper, $15^{1/4} \times 12^{5/8}$ " (38.5 × 32 cm). Zervos IV, 90. Private collection



Picasso remarked that he was sometimes introduced to people whose images he had seemingly painted years earlier.⁶⁹ At a less-mystical level, Picasso's tendency, from Cubism onward, to represent men and women as generic types only intermittently particularized by the addition of individual traits might be taken to reflect more general psychological attitudes. To some extent, he may have seen actual men and women as actors who could be cast in one role or another of his private psychodrama. There is, in effect, a Pygmalion quality to Picasso's treatment of the human figure, aptly symbolized by a pair of drawings done during his student years in Spain, one of them offering a realistic description of a plaster bust of an antique figure, the other depicting the same figure as if she had come to life (p. 58, bottom).

Between 1918 and 1938, we find at least four different



Seated Woman (Sara Murphy). 1923. Ink on cardboard, $5\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{6}$ " (14 × 10.5 cm). Zervos V, 261. Private collection

women-Olga Picasso, Sara Murphy, Marie-Thérèse Walter, and Dora Maar-associated with Picasso's shifting classical ideal. As each woman is assimilated to this ideal, her individual features are transformed and, on some occasions, merged with those of her rivals. Similarly, the characteristic costume of one woman may also be found in a portrait of another. For example, there are portraits of Sara Murphy wearing Olga's costume.70 By the same token, Marie-Thérèse, the reigning ideal of the Vollard Suite of etchings, is represented in one of them with the turban worn by Sara (p. 103) in her photograph with Picasso (p. 52) and the portrait drawing of her taken from it. Thus, Picasso's exquisite pencil portrait of Olga from 1920 (above) draws on a typically Ingresque typology whose vocabulary was first secured (in a threedimensionally modeled version) in his portraits of Max Jacob and Ambroise Vollard (p. 299) executed in 1915-a year before Picasso met Olga. Other drawings in this vein such as those based on a promotional photograph for Diaghilev's troupe (p. 39), are so generalized that Olga herself is scarcely recognizable. Nonetheless, it is clear that Olga hovers as a muse over Picasso's pictures of 1918-21.

In a similar fashion, it is an American woman, Sara Murphy, whose image reverberates through his work of 1922–23. Sara was the wife of the painter Gerald Murphy (whose small but original oeuvre, prophetic of Pop art, was exhibited at The Museum of Modern Art in 1974).



Marie-Thérèse Looking at a Sculpture of Herself (4th state). 1933. Etching on copperplate, $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{3}{8}$ " (26.7 × 19.4 cm). Geiser/ Baer II, 345 (B). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Fund

The couple, wealthy expatriates, were attractive personalities, and their unconventional lifestyle drew a wide circle of writers and artists. F. Scott Fitzgerald modeled Dick and Nicole Diver, the protagonists of *Tender is the Night*, on the Murphys; indeed, both Fitzgerald and Hemingway fell in love at one time or another with Sara—attracted by both her beauty and her combination of intelligence, sensitivity, and maternal warmth. Picasso and Olga probably met the Murphys in the fall of 1921, when the painter Natalia Goncharova, with whom they were studying, encouraged them to do volunteer work repainting damaged scenery for the Ballets Russes.

As Sara's countenance has something in common with generic types of female faces found in Picasso's art in the years immediately preceding, his paintings of her were long thought to be images of a generic Neoclassical beauty; a few critics have even mistaken them for representations of Olga. The first intimations of Sara Murphy's image appear in Picasso's work in such Neoclassical pictures as *Seated Woman* of the winter of 1921–22⁷¹ and *Bust of a Woman*, of early 1922 (p. 104, right). Comparing these with confirmed portraits of Sara (pp. 53, 55), we note the similarities in her delicate chiseled features, her demure pose (head and eyes tilted downward), and her characteristic luxuriant coiffure (long wavy hair drawn or tied back and then cascading down her neck). These cascading waves



Dora with a Wreath of Flowers. February 13, 1937. Lead pencil and pastel on paper, $11^{7}/16 \times 9^{1}/16''' (29 \times 23 \text{ cm})$. Zervos VIII, 347. Private collection

of hair, in particular, differentiate the pictures inspired by Sara from those inspired by Olga, who is almost invariably shown with her hair pinned tightly to her head. (On the other hand, there are heads somewhat similar to Sara's that appear in a few charcoal and sanguine "postludes" [p. 104, left] to *Three Women at the Spring*, which may have been drawn before Picasso and Sara met.)

By the summer of 1922, the two families had become good friends. Picasso, Olga, and their son, Paulo, spent that summer at Dinard, in Brittany, while the Murphys were staying in Normandy, a little more than an hour away by automobile. It seems safe to assume that they visited each other at least occasionally, and if Picasso did not sketch Sara from life he would at least have had the opportunity to refresh his visual image of her. A series of notebook drawings, followed by a pastel and four paintings made in the latter half of 1922, reveal that the two women had clearly become linked in Picasso's mind: both of them maternal figures, but Sara warm and relaxed while Olga was tense and fastidious.

Picasso did curiously few drawings of Olga with Paulo, then one and a half years old. However, there are several sketches devoted to this subject in his Dinard notebooks (p. 48); these lead to studies for a more formal *maternité*.⁷² In the definitive watercolor of the series, the mother resembles Sara more than Olga, and the same can be said



Woman and Child (Olga and Paulo). 1922. Pencil on paper, $16\frac{1}{2} \times 12^{"}$ (42 × 30.5 cm). Zervos XXX, 343. Musée Picasso, Paris



Woman and Child (Olga and Paulo). 1922. Pencil and watercolor on paper, $6^{1/_8}\times 4^{1/_8}$ " (15.5 \times 11.5 cm). Not in Zervos. Musée Picasso, Paris



Mother and Child. 1922. Pencil and watercolor on paper, $6^{1/8}\times4^{1/2~''}$ (15.5 \times 11.5 cm). Not in Zervos. Musée Picasso, Paris



Mother and Child. 1922. Pencil and watercolor on paper, $6^{1/8}\times4^{1/2\,"}$ (15.5 \times 11.5 cm). Not in Zervos. Musée Picasso, Paris



Mother and Child. c. 1922. Pencil on paper, 161/2 × 12" (42 × 30.5 cm). Zervos XXX, 360. Private collection

of the oil paintings, especially that in the Baltimore Museum of Art (p. 51), which is closest to the watercolor. But can we say that these oils are portraits of Sara? Certainly Sara was celebrated for her qualities as a mother—her understanding of and intimacy with children, the games she played with them, and the costumes she made. In contrast, Olga left Paulo largely in the hands of governesses. Watching Paulo play with the Murphy children under Sara's supervision, Picasso would probably have been charmed by the maternal qualities not frequently noted, or imaged, in relation to his wife.⁷³ But it would seem more accurate to describe the mother in the oil paintings as a kind of wish-fulfillment, subsuming echoes of both Olga and Sara into a classical apotheosis of the ideal mother/wife. In this sense, the image also antedates both women to the extent that its roots can be found in Picasso's youthful sketches made after antique busts of Greek goddesses (p. 58).



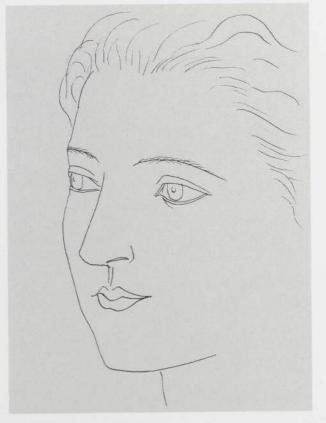
Mother and Child Before a Red Curtain. 1922. Oil on canvas, 511/4 × 385/8" (130 × 98 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection



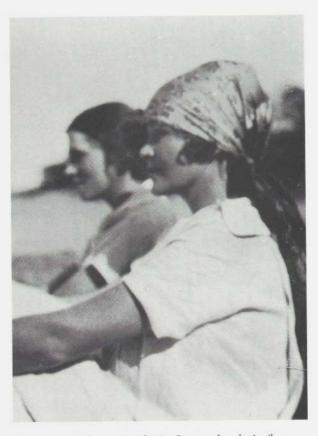
Mother and Child. 1922. Oil on canvas, 39³/₈ × 31⁷/₈" (100 × 81 cm). Zervos IV, 371. The Baltimore Museum of Art. The Cone Collection, formed by Dr. Claribel Cone and Miss Etta Cone of Baltimore, Maryland



Head of Sara Murphy. 1923. Pen and India ink on paper, $14^{3/8} \times 10^{1/2}$ " (36.5 × 26.5 cm). Not in Zervos. Collection Marina Picasso, courtesy Galerie Jan Krugier, Geneva



Head of Sara Murphy. 1923. Pen and India ink on paper, $14^{3/8} \times 10^{3/2}$ " (36.5 × 26.5 cm). Not in Zervos. Collection Marina Picasso, courtesy Galerie Jan Krugier, Geneva



Olga Picasso and Sara Murphy, La Garoupe beach, Antibes, summer 1923. Photographer unknown. Collection Honoria Murphy Donnelly



Sara Murphy and Picasso, La Garoupe beach, Antibes, summer 1923. Photograph by Gerald Murphy. Collection Honoria Murphy Donnelly

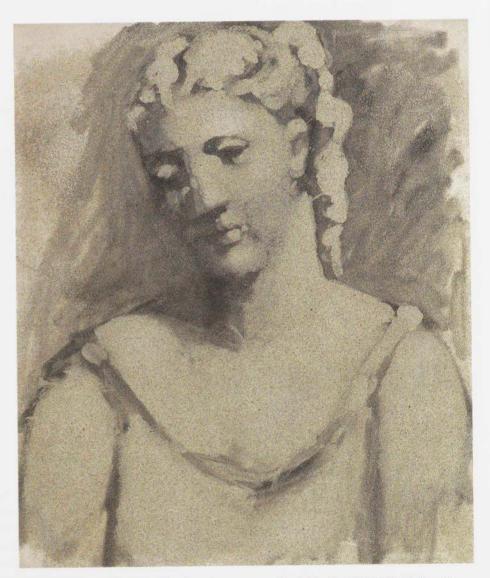


Portrait of Sara Murphy. 1923. Bistre ink on paper, $42^{3/_8}\times 28^{1/_4''}$ (107.7 \times 71.6 cm). Zervos V, 369. Private collection, Switzerland

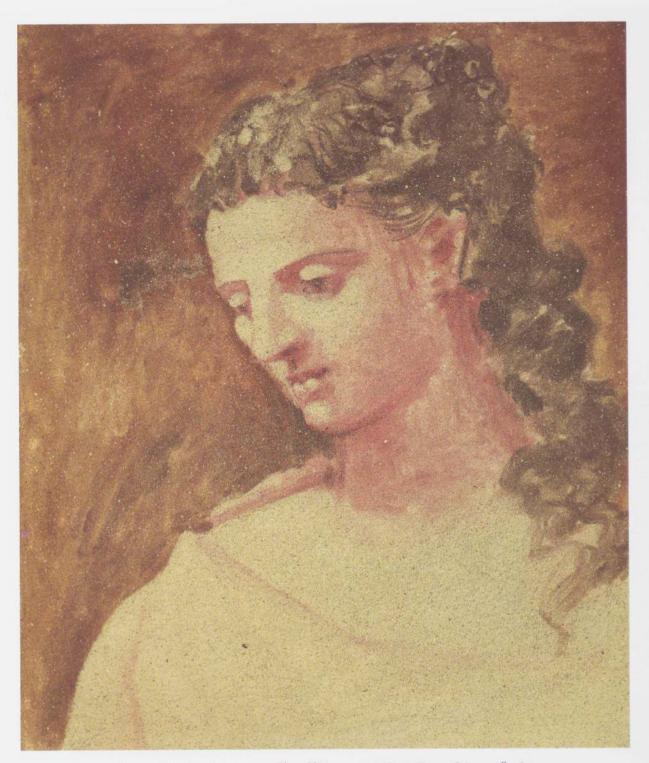
Picasso, Olga, and their young son, Paulo, spent much of the summer of 1923 with the Murphys at the Hôtel du Cap in Antibes. As a special favor to the two families, the proprietor had kept the hotel open during the summer (then the off-season), and they, together with a Chinese family who had decided to stay on, were the sole guests. During the course of the summer of 1923, Picasso painted three portraits of Sara on canvases covered with layers of sand (no doubt from the beach at La Garoupe, where the Picasso family spent almost every day with the Murphys and their children). Only one of these oils, the largest, most stylized, and probably the last of the three, found its way into Zervos's catalogue, under the title *Seated Woman in Blue and Pink* (p. 56). Much smaller, and almost certainly the first (p. 54, bottom), was a picture that, according to Jacqueline Picasso, the artist had kept apart with other paintings and objects that were clearly memorabilia. When I discussed this canvas with her in 1982, Jacqueline could



Head of Sara Murphy. 1924. Pen and ink on paper, $12^{1/\!\!/}\times 9^{1/\!\!/}$ " (31 \times 23.5 cm). Zervos V, 295. Private collection



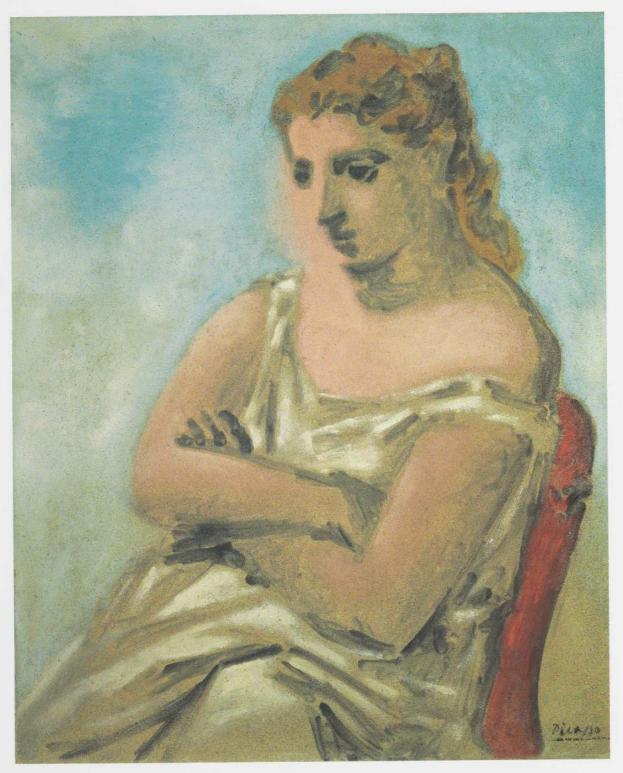
Portrait of Sara Murphy. 1923. Oil and sand on canvas, $21^{1/2} \times 18^{''}$ (54.6 × 45.8 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection



Portrait of Sara Murphy. 1923. Oil and sand on canvas, 21⁵/₈ × 17³/₄" (55 × 45 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection

identify it only as "a portrait of a beautiful American woman." It seemed at the time likely that this was a portrait of Sara Murphy, but I was unable to confirm this until some time later. First, I came upon an outsize portrait drawing of the same person (p. 53), shown wearing a turban; this was obviously based on the image of Sara in a photograph showing her arm in arm with Picasso on the beach (p. 52, bottom right). Picasso, not surprisingly, had kept a print of this image. Later, I learned from Pierre Daix that Picasso himself had, in confidence, identified the very pictures in question as being portraits of Sara Murphy.

From the three sand portraits and a large number of sketches and variants was to come, somewhat later in the summer, the masterpiece among the portraits inspired by Sara, the *Woman in White* (p. 57). Picasso's fragile, dreamlike vision of Neoclassical perfection is expressed here via



Portrait of Sara Murphy. 1923. Oil and sand on canvas, $39^{3/6} \times 31^{3/4}$ " (100 × 80.5 cm). Zervos V, 2. Kunstmuseum, Bern, on long-term loan from the Estate of Hilde Thannhauser

transparent white washes and delicate, superimposed contours. In a little sketch, fixing the pose and framing line of the canvas (right), Sara is shown wearing pearls, which were one of her trademarks. She believed that sun and sea air were good for them and wore the pearls to the beach every day. Like Fitzgerald, Picasso was fascinated by Sara's pearls; indeed, he had himself photographed wearing them.⁷⁴

Picasso had told Sara that he would picture her with her pearls,





Woman in White (Sara Murphy). 1923. Oil on canvas, 39 × 31¹/₂" (99.1 × 80 cm). Zervos V, 1. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Purchase, Rogers Fund, acquired from The Museum of of Modern Art, New York. Lillie P. Bliss Collection, 1951 орроsтте, воттом: Notebook page, detail of sketch for Woman in White. Carnet 067, p. 11. Musée Picasso, Paris and they are indeed visible in many of his portrait and beach studies of summer 1923. They also appear in most of the preparatory drawings and pastels for a very large projected painting, *The Pipes of Pan* (p. 41).⁷⁵ Here, Sara was depicted as a nude Venus, while Picasso himself, in the form of a handsome young alter ego, was represented as Mars. In several studies, he holds a mirror shaped like a picture frame up to Venus, as if to recall his earlier portraits of Sara.⁷⁶

Note that his first version of the sketch for *Pipes of Pan* was not dedicated to Sara. On the contrary, it grew from a ballet commission: Diaghilev had asked Picasso to design new sets for a production of his Mallarmé, Debussy, and Nijinsky ballet *Afternoon of a Faun*, a project which ultimately came to nought. The earliest known sketch for the composition, dated February 4, 1923,⁷⁷ did not yet show Sara in the role of Venus. The following summer, when Picasso decided to use *The Pipes of Pan* as a vehicle for his infatuation with her, he assimilated Sara to Venus rather than Venus to her.⁷⁸

Picasso submitted all his Neoclassical heroines indeed, most of his portrait subjects of 1916–23—to this sort of idealization, correcting any facial or bodily imperfections they might possess. Olga's weak, somewhat reces-



Portrait of Madame Errazuriz. c. 1920. Graphite on white paper, $11^{3}/_{4} \times 9^{1}/_{4}$ " (29.8 × 23.5 cm). Not in Zervos. The Art Institute of Chicago. Bequest of Grant J. Pick



Drawing of an Antique Bust, in Profile. 1895. Lead pencil on paper, $4^{5/8} \times 3^{1/4}$ " (12 × 8.2 cm). Not in Zervos. Museu Picasso, Barcelona



Bust of a Woman in Profile. 1895. Lead pencil on paper, $4^{\frac{5}{8}} \times 3^{\frac{1}{8}^{n}}$ (12 × 8 cm). Not in Zervos. Museu Picasso, Barcelona



Madame Eugenia Errazuriz. January 10, 1921. Charcoal and gesso on prepared paper, 41³/₈ × 29¹/₈" (105 × 74 cm). Zervos IV, 222. Private collection

sive chin (p. 325) is disguised in all of Picasso's pictures prior to 1923; similarly, Sara's slightly turned-up nose is eliminated from his paintings and drawings, even the one based directly on a photograph (p. 53). In a like manner, the large, idealized, and exquisitely limned profile portrait of the aging Chilean-born society beauty Eugenia Errazuriz was also cleansed of imperfections (above), as comparison with Picasso's other images of her confirm (opposite, top). Her friend Igor Stravinsky, who had lauded Eugenia's "subtle and unrivaled understanding of an art which was not that of her generation," said that "she had preserved almost intact marks of great beauty and perfect distinction."⁷⁹ Picasso's large Neoclassical portrait deletes Stravinsky's qualifying term "almost," showing Madame Errazuriz looking some years younger than the artist's other, less idealized images of her. Since the 1950s, scholars have recognized Marie-Thérèse Walter as a crucial muse for Picasso's work of the 1930s. But the precise date of her entry into the artist's life and work long remained a mystery. As the first canvases in which her presence seemed obvious dated from 1932, it initially appeared reasonable to assume that their relationship had begun the previous year. However, in 1974 Pierre Cabanne published an interview with Marie-Thérèse Walter in which she told him that she had met Picasso on Saturday, January 8, 1927, while shopping on the Boulevard Haussmann.⁸⁰

This information led to a new conundrum, since as several scholars subsequently pointed out—Marie-Thérèse's image seemed to be latently visible in Picasso's work at least a year earlier.⁸¹ The mystery was resolved in the minds of some specialists by describing such pictures as "premonitory," or by relying on the idea that Picasso had been drawn to Marie-Thérèse herself because of her resemblance to a model generated from his own imagination.⁸² This Gordian knot was sliced by Dr. Herbert T. Schwarz, a professional physician and Marie-Thérèse aficionado, who has argued that Picasso and Marie-Thérèse had indeed met outside the Galeries Lafayette but in 1925 or 1926 rather than 1927. Picasso's long silence about her, and his subsequent misleading statements,



Passport photograph of Marie-Thérèse Walter (detail). Paris, 1930. Photograph by Photomaton. Collection Maya Picasso



Seated Girl (Marie-Thérèse?). 1926. Ink on paper. Zervos VII, 24. Private collection



Standing Girl (Marie-Thérèse?). 1926. Ink on paper, $18^{1\!/_2}\times12^{5\!/_8''}$ (47 \times 32 cm). Zervos VII, 25. Private collection



Bust of a Girl (Marie-Thérèse). 1926. Charcoal and oil on canvas, $31^{7/8} \times 25^{3/2}$ " (81 × 64.7 cm). Not in Zervos. Musée Picasso, Paris, on extended loan to the Musée d'Art Moderne, Strasbourg

could thus be explained by the fact that their acquaintanceship, though probably *not* their love affair, had begun when she was fifteen or sixteen. From this it would follow that, if their liaison was carried on with obsessive secrecy, it was not only because he feared Olga's wrath but because the relationship's history carried with it the potential for criticism of Picasso's discretion. Dr. Schwarz's imaginative but unscholarly book proposes that Picasso quickly became a welcome visitor at the home in which Marie-Thérèse lived with her mother and sisters in Maisons d'Alfort, near the Marne. Indeed, the monumental canvas called *The Milliner's Workshop* (p. 62),⁸³ long believed to represent an atelier across the street from the artist's studio on rue La Boétie (following



The Milliner's Workshop. January 1926. Oil on canvas, 67³/₄ × 100⁷/₈" (172 × 256 cm). Zervos VII, 2. Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre National d'Art et de Culture Georges Pompidou, Paris

Picasso's own misleading indications), turns out more logically to represent Marie-Thérèse, her mother, and her sister sewing in their home.⁸⁴ It is a strangely Intimist subject for such a monumental canvas. The uncanny, almost dreamlike, and strangely cinematic quality of the composition is accentuated by its striking Curvilinear Cubist style, combining sensual, interlacing arabesques with austere tones of black, gray, and white. Picasso himself appears as a mysterious black silhouette entering through the glass-paneled door at right: the door's oversize knob functions as an unmistakable sexual metaphor, which would reappear in Picasso's pictures of Marie-Thérèse for more than a decade (opposite and p. 336).⁸⁵

There are a number of sketches and several oil paintings of Marie-Thérèse dating from winter 1925–26, when *The Milliner's Workshop* was nearing completion. In the most important of these, an oil portrait that Picasso never showed nor provided information about to Zervos, we see this schoolgirl in the striped dress (and square bib collar) that would be characteristic for her image (p. 61).⁸⁶

But if Dr. Schwarz's theory makes possible the identification of the highly personal motif in this 1926 canvas, it simultaneously complicates our sense of the relationship of subject to style in the work that Picasso would do five years later. From 1917 onward, Jean Arp and Surrealist artists such as Miró, Tanguy, and Masson had elaborated a biomorphic form language indirectly alluding to the internality of the human body.87 It was, in a sense, a reaction against the Cubist grid, with its tacit reference to the inorganic, impersonal forms of architectural structure (beginning with the frame of the picture field itself). But their work was also an extension of Cubism insofar as it drew on Picasso and Braque's discovery of the poetic, evocative power of ambiguous shapes. In the later 1920s, Picasso himself experimented with biomorphic forms, both flat and modeled. His monumental

1927–28 figure drawings of concupiscent Bathers brought him close to the Surrealist imagery of Miró and Tanguy (pp. 66, top).

In 1931 Picasso suddenly adopted a new biomorphic style of painting characterized by organic forms in brilliant, unmodeled colors surrounded by heavy black contours (often compared to the "leading" used in making stained glass). It was, in effect, a surreal counterpart to his Curvilinear Cubism of the 1920s. Since the emergence of this style coincided with the date at which Marie-Thérèse was long believed to have entered his life, and since he used it for so many important images of her, it has come to be widely known as the "Marie-Thérèse" style. However, the fact that this style emerged six years after the commencement of their liaison suggests that Marie-Thérèse can hardly have constituted its sole and sufficient cause.⁸⁸

At the same time, it cannot be doubted that Picasso's long, intense, and sexually passionate liaison with Marie-Thérèse helped inspire what is, after all, the most erotic style in the whole of modern painting. The link between style and biography in Picasso's work of the 1930s is too important to be ignored or dismissed. Certain paintings, such as the coldly monochromatic "bone" *Seated Bather* of 1930 (p. 64), were "inspired" by Olga (as Picasso himself indicated in this case⁸⁹); while others, such as the colorful 1932 *Bather with Beach Ball* (p. 65), were clearly prompted by Marie-Thérèse—however much the finished images emerged as types rather than as individuals. Although one

leading scholar has characterized these two pictures, stylistically, as "nearly twins,"⁹⁰ they seem to me remarkably different and not only in their morphologies.

By the later 1920s, Olga had been profoundly wounded by the failure of her marriage. While unaware of Marie-Thérèse's identity, she was probably conscious of the fact that Picasso was deceiving her. Olga reacted to this situation with frequent bouts of anger and with constant attempts to rein in her increasingly absent husband, to whom she would not grant a divorce.91 A decade earlier, Picasso had treated her "like a goddess." He now began to treat her "like a doormat."92 Later, she would chase after him everywhere, especially at the beach. Picasso, in turn, reacted with rage at Olga's attempts to control his private life and, by extension, his art. Having myself been an inadvertent witness to a momentary but volcanic outburst by the monstre sacré directed toward Jacqueline, I can feel only sympathy for Olga. Picasso's terribilità-the galvanic rage against inhumanity and death that generated Guernica—could also be aroused by personal friction.

Picasso's angry vision of Olga is unforgettably evoked in the 1930 *Seated Bather*, a darkling image of a woman as an aggressive ogress. She is made up of largely angular, hard, and unyielding forms, has a head with a sawtooth, steel-trap mouth and a back as impenetrable as a tortoise's carapace. Her mouth is a *vagina dentata*, a nightmarish symbol of castration that fascinated the Surrealists. (Indeed, the Bather's head also recalls another Surrealist



Woman with Sculpture. 1925. Oil on canvas, $51\frac{5}{8} \times 38\frac{1}{8}$ " (131 × 97 cm). Zervos V, 451. Private collection



Woman in Front of a Window. 1937. Colored pencil on paper, $11^{7}/_{16} \times 9^{3}/_{16}$ " (29 × 23.3 cm). Zervos IX, 79. Private collection

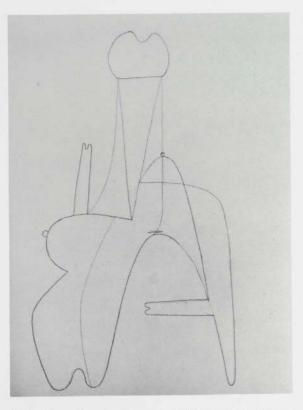
REFLECTIONS ON PICASSO AND PORTRAITURE



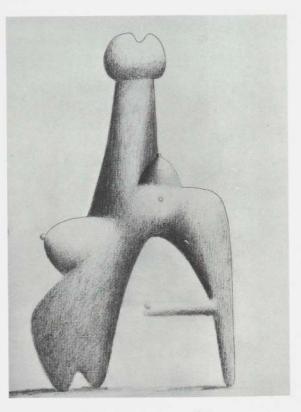
Seated Bather (Olga). 1930. Oil on canvas, 64^{1/4} × 51" (163.2 × 129.5 cm). Zervos VII, 306. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Mrs. Simon Guggenheim Fund



Bather with Beach Ball (Marie-Thérèse). August 30, 1932. Oil on canvas, 57⁵/₈ × 45¹/₈" (146.2 × 114.6 cm). Zervos VIII, 147. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Partial gift of an anonymous donor and promised gift of Ronald S. Lauder



"Bather." 1927. Pencil on paper, $12\times9^{1\!/\!\!\!8^{\prime\prime}}$ (30.5 \times 23 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection

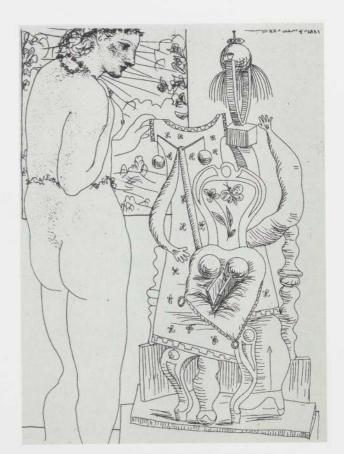


"Bather." 1927. Charcoal on paper, 12 \times 9½" (30.5 \times 23 cm). Zervos VII, 109. Private collection

icon, the praying mantis, which devours its mate in the act of sex.)

The Seated Bather embodies the devouring woman, threatening and repellent; in contrast, the Bather with Beach Ball conceives Marie-Thérèse as a kind of squishy sexual toy—gay, decorative, squeezable, and playful.93 The complementary violet and yellow of her bathing suit are like a banner, heraldically trumpeting Marie-Thérèse's "personal" colors in Picasso's paintings of that time, as Linda Nochlin has observed.94 The morphologies of her body parts, in contrast to those of the seated Bather's, are rounded and soft rather than hard and bony. Marie-Thérèse plays with an inflated beach ball, or ballon; her whole figure has, in fact, become a kind of weightless Thanksgiving Day parade balloon, her mouth serving as the balloon's embouchure, the oval of which simultaneously evokes her genitals. She is, literally, the "pneumatic woman." The formal inventions which made possible the metaphoric languages of these two canvases cannot be attributed to the "influence" of either Olga or Marie-Thérèse; however, the differing formal vocabularies of the paintings clearly reflect Picasso's responses to the characters of their "models."

It might be objected that, even if the *Bather with Beach Ball* is clearly a portrayal of Marie-Thérèse, the so-called Marie-Thérèse style, with its "stained-glass" combination of dark contours and bright colors, is still only contin-



Marie-Thérèse Considering Her Sculpted Surrealist Effigy. May 4, 1933. Etching, 10% × 7% (26.8 × 19.3 cm). Geiser/Baer II, 346. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Fund

gently linked to her—that she happened to be Picasso's chief model at the moment when he evolved this style but was not in any significant sense its inspiration. In support of this position, one might adduce the fact that Picasso's earliest essays in this style are not figure paintings, but such pictures as *Still Life on a Pedestal Table* (p. 69).

Is Marie-Thérèse really absent, however, from such a painting? A quarter of a century ago, discussing the "insistent anthropomorphism" of this picture, I described it as alive with "a pneumatic expansion and contraction . . . as if the components of the human body had been redistributed and transformed into fruit and objects." I also hazarded, with what now seems like surprising reticence, that it was "perhaps not too far-fetched to consider this picture a metaphoric tribute" to Marie-Thérèse.⁹⁵

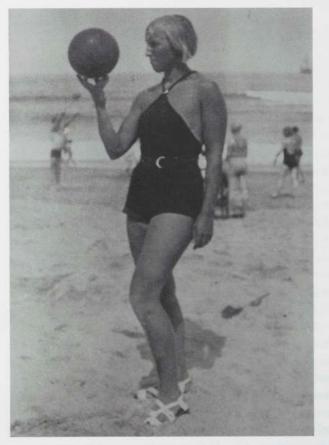
With the passage of time, this interpretation no longer appears farfetched; on the contrary, it has seemed—and not to me alone—almost inescapable. It is apparent that Picasso's tendency to exchange animate and inanimate forms was a fundamental element of his artistic personality, predating by many years the rise of Surrealism, with which it is frequently associated. It is evident in his 1908– 09 canvas *Bread and Fruitdish on a Table*, in which the arrangement of the still-life motifs derives directly from an earlier figure composition.⁹⁶ The equation between the guitar and the female figure in Picasso's Cubist pictures is by now virtually a critical cliché.⁹⁷ Indeed, this equation reappears in *Still Life with Guitar* (p. 71, top), a still-life composition painted on February 13, 1932, in which the instrument's fingerboard curves around its sound box in a formal configuration virtually identical to that of Marie-Thérèse's nose and head, as we see it in many painted and sculpted images of the early 1930s (p. 70, top).

Picasso's use of the anthropomorphic still life to "portray" a particular person links it to earlier symbolic portraits such as "*Ma Jolie*" and "*J'aime Eva*" of 1912–13. Here, individual identity was conveyed by poetic fragments—a bit of a refrain from a popular song, a declaration of love—containing private biographical allusions. However, it seems to me that the most richly poetic of Picasso's symbolic portraits are those that utilize nonliterary, purely visual symbols. More than any other painter (with the possible exception of Leonardo da Vinci), Picasso was able to perceive analogies between the shapes of different objects, assembling a formal lexicon that constituted a veritable "pan-physiognomic" of the visual world.

The analogies and transformations in Picasso's work might be compared to Dali's Surrealist double images, in which a single set of contours can be read as representing two different motifs. But Dali's double images are achieved



Seated Woman (Marie-Thérèse). 1932. India ink on paper, $14\% \times 9\%$ " (37 × 24.5 cm). Zervos VIII, 2. Private collection



Marie-Thérèse Walter at age twenty, on the beach at Dinard, summer 1929. Photograph by Picasso. Collection Maya Picasso



The Studio. 1926. Ink on paper, $18\frac{1}{2}\times12\frac{5}{8}$ " (47 \times 32 cm). Zervos VII, 32. Private collection

by a kind of brilliant trickery, a visual sleight of hand; stylistically, his pictures remain firmly within the realm of conventional illusionism. In contrast, Picasso—drawing on the biomorphism of Arp and Miró—abstracts and transforms his motifs to the point where their configuration leads the viewer to associate them, consciously or unconsciously, with other things. These open-ended images set off a series of associational reverberations, enhanced by the viewer's own imagination and experience and also by his or her familiarity with Picasso's other works. It is an animated, phantasmagorical, and erotic world in which the lips of pitchers and bowls approach each other, plants converse, and teapots kiss their *faïence* neighbors.⁹⁸

Still Life on a Pedestal Table (opposite) is the greatest of Picasso's essays in this form of visual poetry. There is a surpassing ease and musicality in its drawing, and its metaphoric density reflects the accumulation of many years of associated motifs. The picture's nucleus can be traced, I believe, to a 1926 study (above) depicting a pitcher and an unrolled bolt of cloth, set atop the legs of a dressmaker's dummy (identifiable by its stitched seams). In itself, the motif of a dummy would seem to recall the work of Giorgio de Chirico, with whom Picasso had had a fruitful period of exchange during World War I.99 At first glance, there is no obvious reason why Picasso should have returned to this motif in 1926. However, Dr. Schwartz's thesis that The Milliner's Workshop probably depicts Marie-Thérèse and her family sewing in the living room of their Maisons d'Alfort villa, and his further observation that Picasso had set up a small working area there suggest that the drawing reflects an actual dressmaker's dummy belonging to Marie-Thérèse's family.100 One suspects that Picasso himself set the pitcher and bolt of cloth atop the dummy's semicircular waist, thus confecting an anthropomorphic assemblage of real materials, of a type not unrelated to photographs of lost constructions in Picasso's studios and from such representations as the etching on page 66, bottom.

Five years later, in the 1931 Still life on a Pedestal Table, virtually the same kind of pitcher we see in the 1926 drawing reappears on the semicircular tabletop in conjunction with a tablecloth. Picasso seems primarily to have associated the curved contour of this kind of pitcher with Marie-Thérèse's breasts and torso, as in a 1932 drawing (p. 67, left) which offers, as it were, an interpretive sequel to the 1931 canvas. The pitcher's curved, rising spout seems to echo the "rising spill" of Marie-Thérèse's breasts in several drawings in which she is shown offering her body to a series of antique warriors. In a related drawing of such warriors, one figure is given Picasso's features; we might say that they are all his alter egos (p. 70, bottom).

Picasso's deliberately ambiguous figuration encourages alternative readings: the pitcher's hue and particularly its elegant golden handle may also be read as an intimation of Marie-Thérèse's blond hair, while the nearby green apples on the red tablecloth cry out to be read as breasts. The lavender "womb" shape to the left of the pitcherwhich we will see again the following year in Marie-Thérèse's reflected image in Girl Before a Mirror (p. 357)encloses red and green circles with a prominent black button, which may be read literally as an apple in a bowl, but seems also intended to evoke the image of his paramour's sex. The "womb"-shape's association to the vessel at its right is embodied in the yin-yang reciprocity of their organic forms and in their pairing of complementary colors-the yellow and lavender associated, as we have seen, with Marie-Thérèse. The striped pattern of the table's wooden slats may be a private allusion to the striped dress in which Picasso had drawn and painted Marie-Thérèse (pp. 60, 61) in 1926, not long after they met; it also anticipates the pattern of the bathing suit she wears in Girl Before a Mirror. In the same manner, the allusive biomorphism of the stemmed fruit bowl and its contents in the upper right has implicit physiognomic characteristics spelled out more explicitly in some of Picasso's other still lifes.101



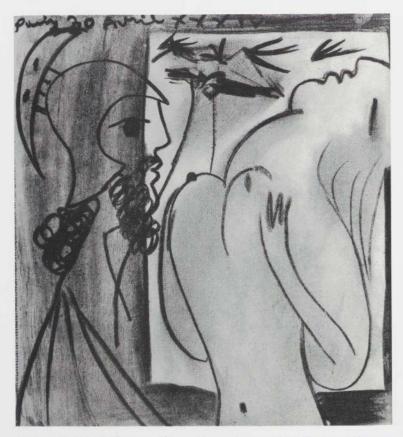
Still Life on a Pedestal Table. March 2, 1931. Oil on canvas, 76³/₄ × 51¹/₄" (194 × 130 cm). Zervos VII, 317. Musée Picasso, Paris



Bust of Marie-Thérèse. 1931. Plaster, $28^{1/8} \times 16^{1/8} \times 13^{"}$ (71.5 × 41 × 33 cm). Spies 110, I. Musée Picasso, Paris



Bust of Marie-Thérèse (detail). 1931. Bronze, $30^{3/4} \times 17^{1/2} \times 21^{1/8}$ " (78 × 44.5 × 54 cm). Spies 131, II. Musée Picasso, Paris



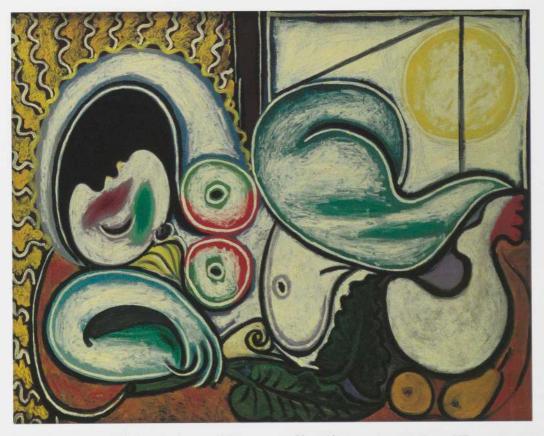
Soldier and Nude. April 30, 1930. Charcoal on paper, 11 \times 10%'' (28 \times 27 cm). Zervos VIII, 200. Private collection



The Peace between Athenians and Spartans (detail). December 31, 1933. India ink on paper, $13\% \times 19\%$ " (34.5 × 50.5 cm). Zervos VIII, 155. Private collection



Still Life with Guitar. 1932. Oil on canvas, 40¹/₄ × 51¹/₄" (97 × 130 cm). Zervos VII, 375. Private collection



Sleeping Nude (Marie-Thérèse). April 4, 1932. Oil on canvas, 51¹/₄ × 63³/₄" (130 × 161.7 cm). Zervos VII, 332. Musée Picasso, Paris

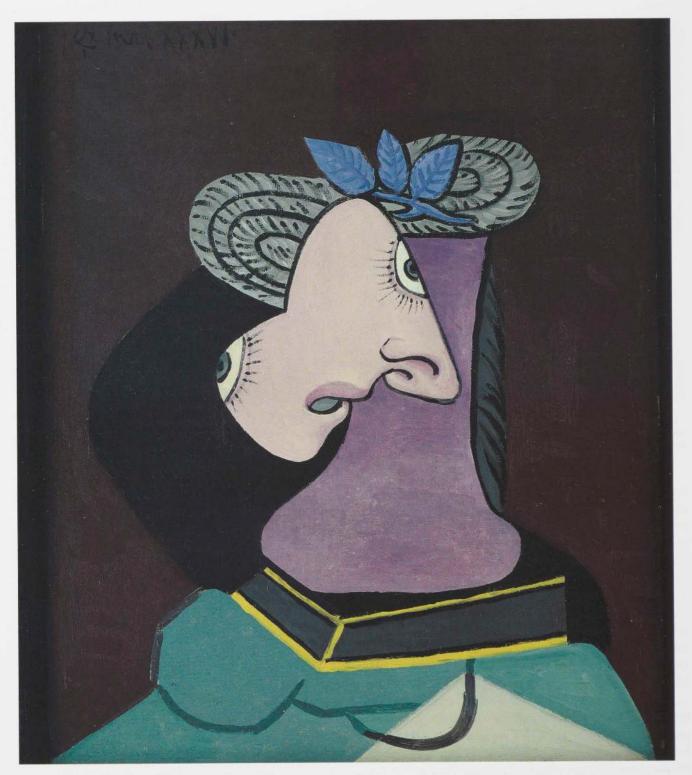


Sheet of sketches. May 1, 1936. India ink on paper, $10^{1/4}\times6^{3/4}$ $^{\circ}$ (26 \times 17.3 cm). Not in Zervos. Musée Picasso, Paris

These ambiguous significations were not limited to Picasso's still lifes; they could equally well appear in the representation of one body part by another. A 1936 drawing (above) provides a kind of "Rosetta Stone" to Picasso's metamorphic language of this period, showing how the image of a recumbent woman (Marie-Thérèse) was transformed into two radically new figurations of the human head. The relatively realistic drawing at the top of this sheet depicts the woman from above, sleeping (or perhaps merely resting) in a narrow bed with striped sheets and a blanket drawn up below her spreading breasts. (Comparison to a 1915 Cubist drawing of a woman in bed [p. 38] suggests that Picasso had long ago been struck by the way that a woman's breasts, normally pulled in the same direction by the force of gravity, might incline in different directions when she is lying down.¹⁰²) The overhead perspective of the "realistic" drawing also yields an unusual view of the face, with the nostrils, seen from below, seeming to merge with the outer contour of the woman's face.

In the second drawing on this sheet, marked with a Roman "II," the head as a whole has been reconfigured as a pair of rounded, breastlike forms. The wildly divergent eyes echo the woman's everted nipples in the first drawing, but the juxtaposition of the two somewhat conical shapes also seems to owe something to the earlier configuration of chin and nose.

In sketches II and III, Picasso experimented with what look like different forms of sculptural bases and supports for what might have become a surreal construction.¹⁰³ But this head was almost immediately realized instead as an oil painting of moderate dimensions, the *Woman in a Straw Hat* (opposite), of May 1, 1936.¹⁰⁴ Picasso retained



Woman in a Straw Hat (Marie-Thérèse). May 1, 1936. Oil on canvas, 24 × 19^{3/4}" (61 × 50 cm). Not in Zervos. Musée Picasso, Paris

this startling work in his own collection. Acquired after the artist's death by the Musée Picasso in Paris, it was included in The Museum of Modern Art's Picasso retrospective of 1980, where it caught the attention of Jasper Johns, inspiring a new set of variations in his subsequent work.

It is, in a sense, easier to elucidate the formal evolution of this head than it is to define its biographical references. The continuity between nose and forehead is typical of Picasso's Neoclassical portraits of Marie-Thérèse and of the biomorphic sculptural busts inspired by her. However, the sense of anguish evident in the revised head is hardly characteristic of Marie-Thérèse—or at least of Marie-Thérèse as Picasso depicted her. I had originally felt that it might possibly be among the earliest paintings influenced



Nusch in a Hat by the Sea (2nd state). 1936. Sugar-lift aquatint, $6^{1/4} \times 4^{1/4}$ " (15.9 × 10.8 cm). Geiser/Baer III, 607 (2). Musée Picasso, Paris

by Dora Maar. Picasso had met her some months before the date of the picture's execution, and its sense of apprehension and foreboding—particularly the feeling of conflict and cross-purposes expressed in the bipolarized glance—was to become a commonplace in pictures of Dora made several years later (p. 384).¹⁰⁵ However, it seems more likely that Picasso was primarily imaging through Marie-Thérèse his own inner turmoil at a moment when he was caught between conflicting demands from her (she had recently given birth to their daughter, Maya), and Olga, who was rendered nearly hysterical by the not unrelated formalization of her separation from Picasso.

The painter would later recall this period as "the worst time of my life."¹⁰⁶ Of course it cannot have been very enjoyable for Olga or Marie-Thérèse, either; but it seems safe to assume that the anguish evoked in Picasso's pictures of this period is essentially his own, even if it is projected onto a female subject. (Similarly, it might be questioned whether the most agonized of the 1936–43 Dora portraits [p. 400, bottom] necessarily "have their roots in [her] chronic distress"¹⁰⁷—as opposed to serving as a vehicle for Picasso's own anxieties.¹⁰⁸)

In any case, the distressed visage of the *Woman in a Straw Hat* soon became a transposable element, which reappeared a month later in an aquatint done as an illustration for Paul Eluard's *La Barre d'appui* (above, left). The head and the adjacent jar might be regarded as signs for



Portrait of Nusch Eluard (2nd state). 1936. Sugar-lift aquatint, $6^{1}/4 \times 4^{1}/4$ " (15.9 × 10.8 cm). Geiser/Baer III, 607 (1). Musée Picasso, Paris

Marie-Thérèse, but the cloche hat and the mass of frizzy hair emerging from it mark the image also as a symbolic portrayal of the poet's wife, Nusch, subject of another, more realistic aquatint in the same volume (above, right).

In the fourth sketch on the "Rosetta" sheet, Marie-Thérèse's head has been imagined as something resembling a Jerusalem artichoke or a mandrake root covered with "contour lines" found on many roots and tubersthe first instance of what would become a favorite morphology in Picasso's work of the following years. The tips of the tuber's extrusions identify themselves as eyes and nose, but these surreal elements cohabit with the relatively realistic shock of hair to the left, recognizable from photographs of Marie-Thérèse and from other portraits of her. The oil painting based upon this sketch (p. 76, top left) was executed later on the same busy day as the drawings and canvas of the Woman in a Straw Hat. As in the previous case, the associations with Marie-Thérèse appear to vanish as soon as the morphology is redeployed. In 1937 it would do service in a series of studies inspired by Dora Maar, culminating in the superb transformed portrait, Seated Woman with a Hat (p. 394).

More surprisingly, this tuber morphology would serve, in the interim, as the nucleus of the monstrous and effeminate cavalier/dragon symbolizing evil, Fascism, and Franco in the *Dream and Lie of Franco* (p. 76). In the third scene (in order of execution) of this nightmare fantasy, "Franco" is shown attempting to destroy an allegorical statue of Truth, based precisely on Marie-Thérèse in her Neoclassical form, which suggests that for Picasso the forces of destruction issue from the same nucleus as those of creation. But it also attests to the contingent character of such morphologies in the artist's work. They have an independent expressive life which allows them very different meanings depending on the contexts of the drama into which they are inserted—essentially political in the *Dream and Lie of Franco*. A psychoanalytic interpretation might relate the tuber morphology elliptically to Marie-Thérèse, or, more generally, to the profound ambivalence that invariably tended, for Picasso, to insinuate itself into love or passion. It was as if the artist's very attraction to a

to rive les mains tremblan Descendait sous la pluie Un escalier de brumes Tu sortais toute mue Faux marbre palpitas Teint de boy mating Tresor garde par ber bete immenses 21 gardaient elles du soleil sous leursaile, Pour foi Des bêtes que nous connaissions Par delà les murs de nos muits Par delà l'horizon de nos baisers de rire contagieurs des hyènes Pouvait bin ronger & ter view Des êtres qui vivent un par my Nous jouions au soleil à la pluie à la merme A n'avoir qu'un regard qu'un ciel et qu'une ter Ces notice

Grand Air, from Les Yeux fertiles, by Paul Eluard (Paris: G.L.M., 1936). June 3–4, 1936. Etching, 16⁷/₈ × 12¹/₄" (41.7 × 31.8 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. A. Conger Goodyear Fund

REFLECTIONS ON PICASSO AND PORTRAITURE





Head of a Woman (Marie-Thérèse). May 1, 1936. Oil on canvas, $24 \times 19^{3/4}$ " (61 × 50 cm). Not in Zervos. Musée Picasso, Paris

Seated Woman with a Hat (Dora). September 10, 1938. Oil and sand on wood panel, $21\frac{5}{8} \times 18^{1/8}$ " (55 × 46 cm). Zervos IX, 228. The Menil Collection, Houston. Gift of Dominique de Menil. (Colorplate, p. 394)

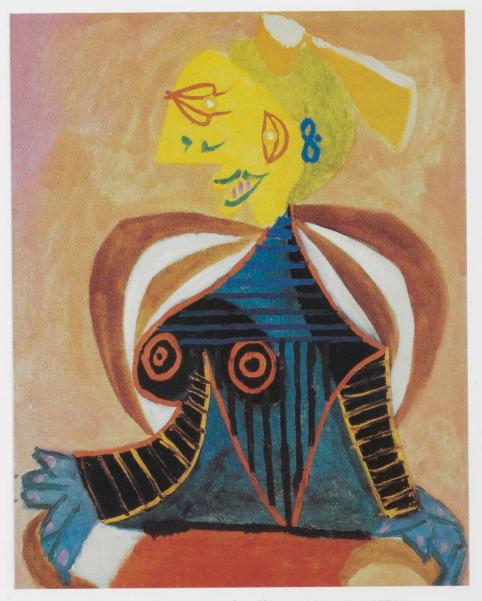




Dream and Lie of Franco, I (detail, upper left; detail, center right). January 8, 1937. Etching and aquatint, 12³/₈ × 16⁹/₁₆" (31.4 × 42.1 cm). Geiser/Baer III, 615. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. The Louis E. Stern Collection



Dream and Lie of Franco, II (detail, center; detail, center right). January 8–9, June 7, 1937. Etching and aquatint, $12\frac{3}{8} \times 16\frac{9}{16}$ " (31.4 × 42.1 cm). Geiser/Baer III, 616. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. The Louis E. Stern Collection



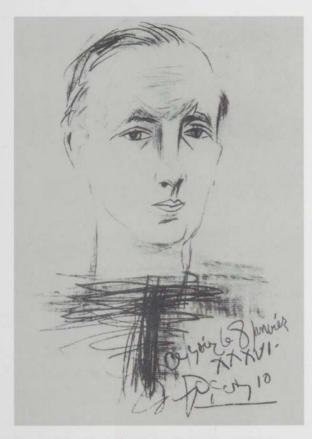
L'Arlésienne (Lee Miller). 1937. Oil on canvas, 31 $\% \times 25\% ''$ (81 \times 65 cm). Zervos VIII, 370. Musée Réattu, Arles

woman—especially if she risked becoming a "muse" endowed her with a threatening power over him, which could then find itself extrapolated into wholly unrelated (to her) dramas of risk and danger.

Insofar as Picasso's art sprang from the deepest wellsprings of his private experience, it is not surprising that the great majority of his portraits are devoted to the women with whom he was intimately involved. However, I want to examine the portraits of at least one masculine subject of this period—the poet Paul Eluard—precisely because of the light they cast on the interaction between portraiture as public statement and portraiture as private expression.

Eluard had known Picasso since the pioneer days of

Surrealism and had formed a significant collection of his work.¹⁰⁹ But their intimacy really began in 1933, when the two worked together on the first issue of Minotaure. It was publicly solemnized in 1936, when Eluard "represented" the absent artist by delivering a lecture at the opening of Picasso's first large exhibition in Spain, organized by the young Catalan architect José-Luis Sert and The Friends of New Art (ADLAN) in Barcelona. A handsome, if bland, portrait drawing of Eluard made at that time (p. 78, left) was one of the first in a series of amicable gestures on Picasso's part that included other portraits and illustrations for books of Eluard's poems. Another portrait, done in 1941, is drawn in an angular style recalling the faceted planes of 1909 Cubism, but remaining fundamentally within the realm of conventional illusionism (p. 78, right). Picasso evidently considered some form of

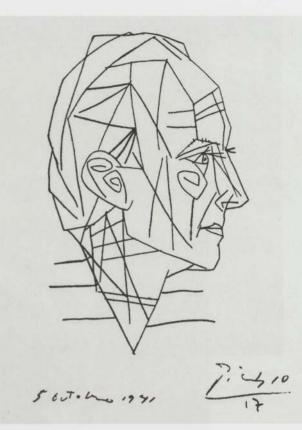


Portrait of Paul Eluard (frontispiece for Les Yeux fertiles). January 8, 1936. Lead pencil on paper, $9^{13}/_{16} \times 6^{3}/_{8}$ " (25 × 16.2 cm). Zervos VIII, 273. Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Saint-Denis. Gift of Dominique Eluard, 1955

"realism" to be the appropriate style for such images, done as gestures and meant for public consumption.

The artist permitted himself far greater liberties in other works, such as his illustrations for Eluard's texts. In the 1936 etching decorating the poem *Grand Air*, which Eluard was able to write out on the zinc plate in his own hand through a new technique developed by Picasso's printer Lacourière (p. 75), the artist surrounded Eluard's text with symbolic figures representing his associations to it. On the right, a beautiful feminine nude with satyr's horns holds a mirror that blinds the eyes of Sol, in the sky on the left. Only the figure of a recumbent woman at the bottom—a synthesis of "abstract," surreal, and expressionist constituents—is as conceptually challenging an image as Picasso's contemporary representations of Marie-Thérèse or Dora.

None of these images, however, prepare the viewer for the profound strangeness of Picasso's 1937 oil portrait of Eluard (opposite). In contrast to the public portraits we have just examined, this is a distinctly private image. When it was painted, Picasso and Dora were vacationing in Mougins with Paul and Nusch Eluard. Picasso emerged from his studio in the small hotel where they were staying and announced that he had just completed a portrait of Paul. The friends present on this occasion—a group



Portrait of Paul Eluard. October 5, 1941. Ink on paper, $10\frac{3}{6} \times 8\frac{1}{16}$ " (27 × 20.5 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection

including Roland Penrose, Lee Miller, and probably also Man Ray, as well as the Eluards—were first excited and then shocked, for the portrait was not only a transvestite but a transsexual image. "It was," Penrose recalled, "a problem for all of us. One could distinguish in the strong features and sparkling eyes a certain resemblance to the profile of Eluard, but one was disconcerted to see this head topped with a little hat in the manner of the women of Arles and to note that the poet had changed sex. Jutting out beneath the bright green shawl were generous breasts at which a striped cat was suckling."^{IIO}

The *Portrait of Paul Eluard* seemed a puzzling and disturbing image to Picasso's friends and such it has remained. Indeed, this portrait obviously so flustered Penrose (who was himself a Surrealist artist) that he remembered the colors wrongly. The shawl was at most a kind of olive green; the bright green was Eluard's skin. Picasso's friends were not the only ones left speechless; although an entire book was later dedicated to the subject of Eluard, Picasso, and painting, its author, Jean-Charles Gateau, made no direct reference to the portrait.^m To be sure, one finds oneself torn between admiration for the painting—the sureness of its drawing and the daring of its palette—and confusion produced by its image.

Some light may be cast on it, however, by examining



Portrait of Paul Eluard. 1937. Oil on canvas, 31⁷/₈ × 25³/₄" (81 × 65.5 cm). Zervos VIII, 373. Private collection



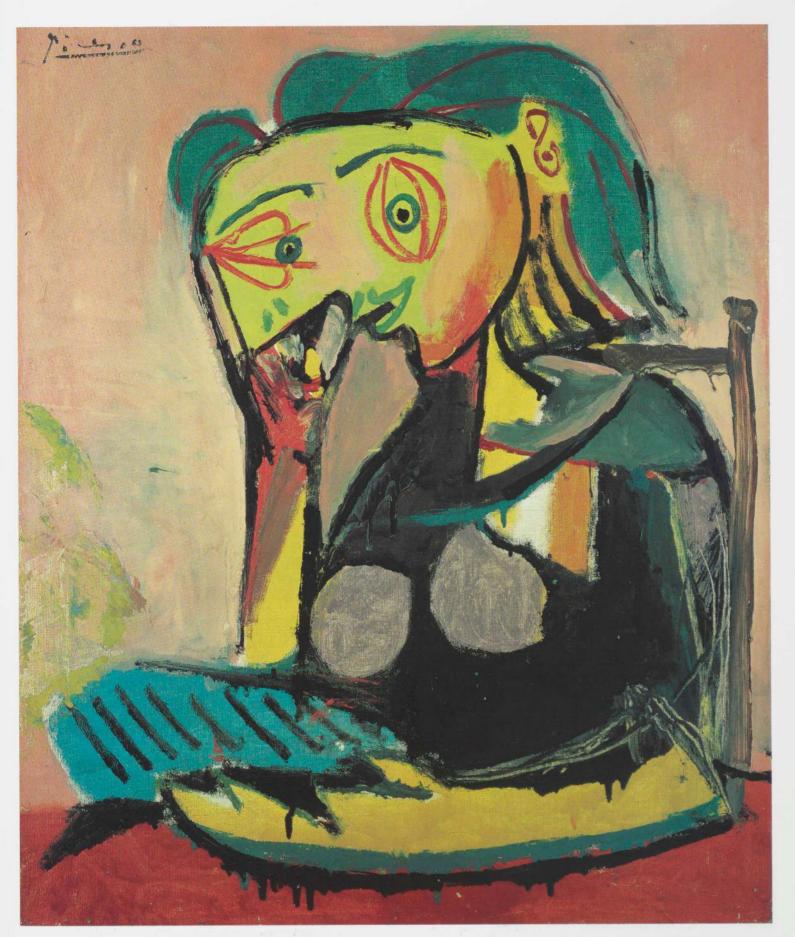
Picnic at Mougins, summer 1937. From left to right: Paul and Nusch Eluard, Lee Miller, Man Ray, and Adrienne Fidelin. Photograph by Roland Penrose. Lee Miller Archives

Picasso's portraits of Eluard's wife, Nusch. Several of Picasso's biographers—some of them no doubt simply following Françoise Gilot-suggest that he and Nusch had had a "carnal adventure," most likely in 1937.112 Indeed, Françoise cites Picasso as saying that Eluard himself had urged the two to be lovers, as a way of symbolizing his own love for both of them.113 This is not quite as improbable as it may sound: Eluard's first wife, Gala, had, with his consent, entered into an affair with Max Ernst and then divorced Eluard (without, however, ending their sexual liaison) in order to marry Salvador Dali. In true Surrealist fashion, Eluard insisted that he was "above" possessiveness when it came to love and that he considered sexual jealousy contemptible. Whatever actually happened between Picasso and Nusch, the assumption that they had been lovers became, in the event, so widespread that—in what I believe is a unique instance—the painter actually denied it.114

Picasso's more conventional portraits of Nusch seem intended to depict her in a public role as the poet's consort. The most "presentable" of these shows her in a decorative palette as an elegant, smiling *parisienne* (p. 82, top). Executed in late summer 1937, this picture subsequently served as an "illustration" to the publication of a poem that her husband dedicated to her, "*Je veux qu'elle*



Portrait of Man Ray. January 3, 1934. India ink on paper, $13^{\frac{5}{8}} \times 9^{\frac{5}{4}}$ " (34.5 × 24.8 cm). Zervos VIII, 165. Private collection



L'Arlésienne (Lee Miller). 1937. Oil and ripolin on canvas, $28\frac{1}{2} \times 23\frac{1}{2}$ " (72.5 × 60 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection



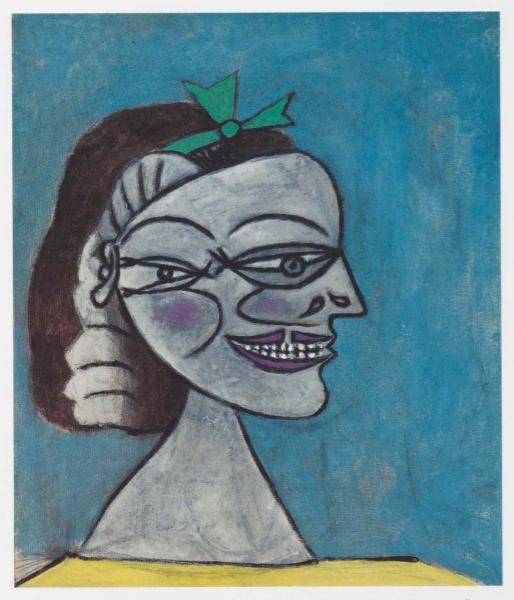
Portrait of Nusch Eluard. 1937. Oil on canvas, 36¹/₄ × 25³/₄" (92 × 65.2 cm). Zervos VIII, 377. Musée Picasso, Paris



Nusch Eluard. [Paris 1936]. Photograph by Man Ray. Man Ray Trust/ADAGP, Paris, 1996. Collection Lucien Treillard

*soit reine!*²⁷¹¹⁵ There is some formal invention in this double-profile oil portrait, but Nusch's elegantly doublebreasted coat and chic hat establish an air of public decorum, countered only by the provocation of the horseshoe in the Schiaparelli-like hat. Another, very casual sketch from the same moment—tinted with plant sap and lipstick—shows Nusch in a movie-star pose, adjusting her sunglasses (p. 108).

In contrast to such public images, a small contemporaneous oil portrait of Nusch that Picasso kept for himself testifies to the intensity of the artist's private feelings toward her (opposite). The pure profile on the right side of the image and the decorative palette of blue, yellow, green, and magenta—which form a color chord in descending quantities—seem to evoke Nusch's "public" persona. But within this impersonal silhouette and deco-



Portrait of Nusch Eluard. 1937. Oil on canvas, 211/2 × 18" (54.6 × 45.7 cm). Zervos VIII, 369. Private collection

rative underpinning, Picasso's surreal/expressionist hand exposes a private, frontal image drawn and modeled in somber blacks and grays. Virtually every facial feature has been altered or displaced; Nusch's right eye faces the "wrong" direction and her tear-shaped nostrils recall the numerous "Weeping Women" Picasso painted that same year. The highlight of her hair has been transformed into a bony vertebral carapace—an allusion, perhaps, to the "bone" Olgas, which pictures the latter as a "destroying woman." Nusch is presented here as a woman simultaneously beautiful and terrifying, a duality intensified on every level by the tension between the picture's decorative and expressive constituents.

This "private" Nusch directly recalls the feline *femme fatale* in some of Man Ray's photographs (right). The bland, guarded smile of Nusch in the "public" portrait

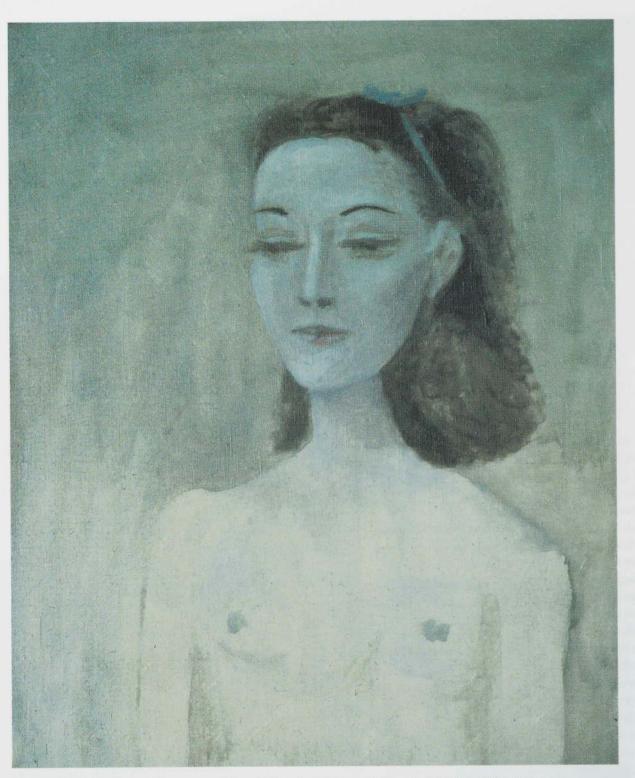


Nusch Eluard. [Montlignon, 1935]. Photograph by Man Ray. Man Ray Trust/ADAGP, Paris, 1996. Collection Lucien Treillard



Portrait of Nusch Eluard. 1938. Charcoal and pencil on canvas, 361/4 × 283/8" (92 × 72 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection

is transformed in this small oil into a toothy rictus, somewhere between the smiles in *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* and the smile of Willem de Kooning's *Woman I*. Nusch's gleaming but menacing teeth seem ready to bite off a limb of the unwary viewer; their ominous (not to say castratory) associations are underscored by the fact that Nusch's own neck and head are presented on what looks like a yellow tabletop, as though they had been severed from her body. It is possible, of course, that the "tabletop" is nothing more sinister than the wide collar of a yellow summer dress; but, if so, Picasso's cropping of it has imbued it with aggressive implications never dreamed of by its designer. The sadistic undertones of the painting inescapably recall Françoise Gilot's description of Picasso



Portrait of Nusch Eluard. 1941. Oil on canvas, 28³/₄ × 23⁵/₈" (73 × 60 cm). Zervos XI, 274. Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre National d'Art et de Culture Georges Pompidou, Paris. Gift of Paul Eluard, 1947

as having "a kind of Bluebeard complex that made him want to cut off the heads of all the women he had collected in his little private museum."¹¹⁶

Four years later, in 1941, Picasso would paint a tender and fragile—almost disincarnate—portrayal of a waiflike Nusch (above), whose echo of the Blue period may well be a reference to Nusch's early years as a performer with a traveling circus. This picture—in which, as Brassaï said, Picasso "wanted to put aside the terrible and rest in the gracious"—the artist gave to Eluard.¹¹⁷

There may also be an allusion to Nusch in the frizzy hair, decorative hat, elegant dress, and high heels of the recumbent woman at the bottom of Picasso's 1936 illustration to Eluard's poem *Grand Air*. Her somewhat

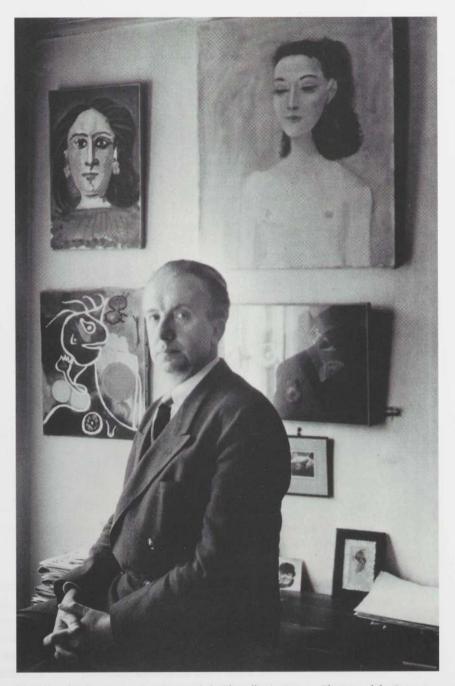


Portrait of Nusch Eluard. 1941. Ink on paper, $10^{5/8} \times 8^{1/4}$ " (27 × 21 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection

tuberlike head relates to the fourth sketch in the "Rosetta Stone" drawing we have already examined (p. 72); at her breast is curled a cat that suckles three tiny fish. This image is sister to the print we have mentioned from the poet's *Barre d'appui*, which fused aspects of Nusch and Marie-Thérèse in a feminine Surrealist "construction."

Returning, with these works in mind, to Picasso's 1937 Portrait of Paul Eluard, we may formulate an extremely provisional hypothesis about its meaning. Whatever actually transpired between Nusch and Picasso, the artist may well have interpreted Eluard's willingness to "offer" his wife as an expression of the poet's own unconscious desires. Crudely put, Picasso may have seen Eluard as a repressed homosexual, employing his wife as a means of entering vicariously into a sexual relationship with the artist. The painting would thus offer a visual expression of the cliché—now outmoded—that a male homosexual is "really" a woman in a man's body. Such a popular theory might, at least, explain some of the confusion and embarrassment with which Eluard's friends greeted the canvas.¹¹⁸

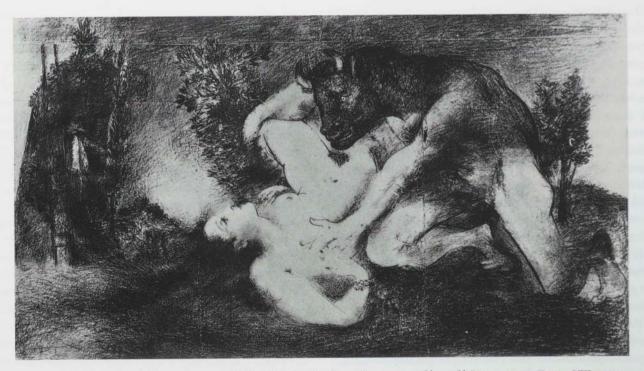
I remain puzzled by the Arlésienne costume in which the poet is dressed. There are no references to Arlésiennes in Eluard's poetry.¹¹⁹ It may have to do with the painting's brilliant, highkeyed "meridional" color, recalling somewhat the paintings of van Gogh, who would return increasingly over the next decades as a point of reference in Picasso's work. Indeed, Eluard's portrait was immediately followed by some highly colored, abstract "Arlésiennes" that Picasso identified as portraits of Lee Miller (p. 77).¹²⁰ As for the cat suckling at Eluard's breast, it seems possible, at least, that it is linked to the woman with a cat at the bottom of the *Grand Air* etching. Considering the two images together, one might read the cat as representing Nusch herself, receiving love and sustenance from Eluard (in the painting) while herself offering them to other men (in the etching).



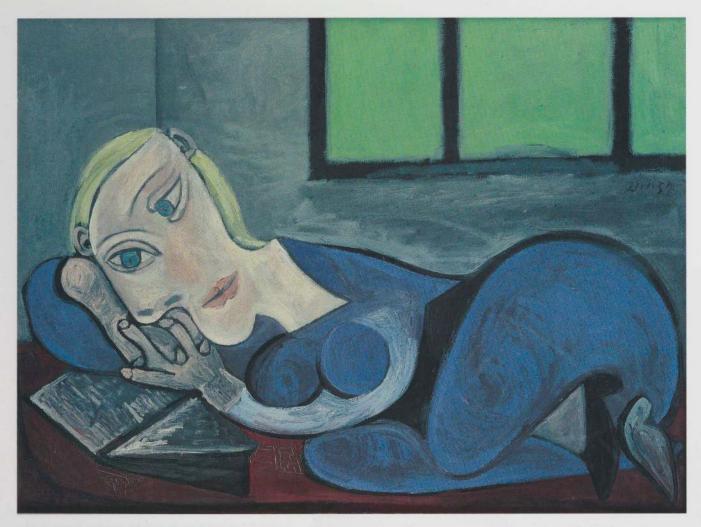
Paul Eluard in his apartment at 35, rue de la Chapelle, Paris, 1944. Photograph by Brassaï



Minotaur and Woman (Marie-Thérèse). June 24, 1933. India ink on blue paper, $18\frac{1}{2} \times 24\frac{1}{2}$ " (47 × 62 cm). Zervos VIII, 112. The Art Institute of Chicago. Gift of Margaret Blake



Minotaur and Woman (Dora). September 1, 1936. India ink and colored pencil on paper, $16\%_{16} \times 27\%_{16}$ " (42 × 70 cm). Zervos VIII, 296. Private collection



Reclining Woman with a Book (Marie-Thérèse). January 21, 1939. Oil on canvas, 38 × 513/8" (96.5 × 130.5 cm). Zervos IX, 253. Musée Picasso, Paris

Although Nusch and Paul Eluard remained Picasso's portrait subjects into the early 1940s, neither's image would again reflect the signs of intimacy with the artist that we see in 1937. As the 1930s drew to a close, the Spaniard's art was dominated by imagery of Marie-Thérèse and Dora, the two women between whom he was now dividing his life. It is sometimes said that pictures of Marie-Thérèse during this period are drier than they had been before, reflecting Dora's ascendancy as Picasso's primary companion. This, I think, may be unfair to both Marie-Thérèse and Picasso himself, for it implies that the artist could love only one woman at a time. Moreover, some portraits of Marie-Thérèse from the later 1930s are among the most lyrical of his career (above and p. 381).

It would hardly be surprising if, following the birth of Maya, and after more than a decade with Marie-Thérèse, the purely sexual aspect of Picasso's love for her might somewhat have diminished—especially in the face of the relative novelty of his sexual life with Dora (though the purely sensual side of the Dora imagery is much less impassioned or abandoned than the comparable imagery of Marie-Thérèse; p. 87). That Picasso was now spending more of his time with Dora than with Marie-Thérèse had, I believe, less to do with passion for Dora than the fact that, as an artist and an intellectually absorbing woman, she fit easily into the painter's circle of friends, and, moreover, challenged the artist in psychological and political ways. Meanwhile, Marie-Thérèse (and Maya, to whom Picasso was deeply attached) remained the center of that secret private world she had always embodied for him.

On a single day in January 1939 Picasso took stock of his emotional life by painting both Marie-Thérèse and Dora in a similar reclining position, in the same setting, on canvases of the same shape and size. This unusual *paragone*, or comparison, was clearly as much an investigation into, as a statement about, his feelings toward the two women and, as such, revealed two very different kinds of love and fascination. The two pictures also stand as excellent examples of the way different "subjects," as Picasso had observed, tended in his art to elicit differing styles, or at least characteristically different morphologies. Both women are pictured in front of the triple windows of the studio that Vollard had put at the artist's disposal at Le-Tremblay-sur-Mauldre, though it is improb-



Reclining Woman with a Book (Dora). January 21, 1939. Oil on canvas, 381/2 × 51* (97.8 × 130 cm). Zervos IX, 252. Private collection

able that either woman was there that day, at least while Picasso was working. Something of the confrontation in this *paragone* had been anticipated three years earlier, just after Picasso met Dora, in a drawing of a voluptuous Marie-Thérèse reclining in that same studio; a mysterious woman (doubtless Dora) is seen through the window (p. 109, left). Such images are not infrequent in the work of Picasso, who had a tendency to dramatize his thoughts and sentiments as a form of private theater.

The deeply felt if not very flattering portrait of a reclining Dora (above) shows her wearing the hat familiar from many earlier portraits. The orange/red and yellow of the couch and dress, combined with the pale green of her skin, remind us of the overheated palette of Dora's portrait as the "Weeping Woman" (p. 390). But here these expressionist hues are softened by the less-acid, more-languid lavender, purple, and magenta of the costume and hat. Nevertheless, the overall effect, if more decorative than most of Picasso's portraits of Dora, seems character-istically tense and discomforted; the forms are predominantly angular and seem sliced into the surface. The anachronistic budding trees seen through the windows

provide an out-of-season note of optimism, though at some cost in terms of the continuity of the surface patterning—a type of decision characteristic for Picasso, especially in these years, in that he sacrifices formal values in favor of expressive and poetic effects.

The opaque green panels that form the windows of the Marie-Thérèse portrait symbolically suggest a verdant world outside, but at the same time emphasize the model's enclosure within the wholly private world of Picasso's studio. Marie-Thérèse herself is realized in sympathetic terms, her large blue eyes dominating the soft curves of her handsome, naturalistically colored face and golden hair. The same lyrical, curvilinear morphology extends through the breasts and torso, establishing a bold contrast between the organic shapes of the figure and the geometrically rigorous ones of the windows. Dora's portrait is marked by its splayed arms and clawlike fingers and by the nervous articulation of her surroundings-the wallpaper pattern, trees, pillow, and bolster. In contrast, the image of Marie-Thérèse is characterized by an unencumbered decorative simplicity, her relaxed, clasped hands reflecting her inner ease.



Leonardo da Vinci. *Mona Lisa*. Oil on wood panel, $30^{1/4} \times 20^{7/8}$ " (76.8 × 53 cm). The Louvre, Paris

The portraits from the remaining thirty-three years of Picasso's career offer a rich panorama of formal invention, visual symbolism, and biographical incident. However, aside from those of Jacqueline, about which I have written in the closing essay of this volume, I will leave them entirely in the capable hands of other scholars in order to conclude by addressing certain unexpected parallels between Picasso and the painter of what is certainly the most famous portrait in the history of Western art, the Mona Lisa.

The comparison between Picasso and Leonardo may, at first glance, seem farfetched or irrelevant. As a young art historian, I myself would probably have rejected any connection between their work as mere coincidence. However, in the course of a series of extended visits with Picasso during the last three years of his life, I found myself surprised by the relative frequency with which the name of Leonardo passed the artist's lips—a greater frequency than is apparent in the various conversations with Picasso published by his intimates and friends. Alas, of Picasso's various references to the Renaissance master, the only one which appears verbatim in my notes is his citation of Leonardo's celebrated remark: "the painter always paints himself."

Over the decades since then, as I have returned repeatedly to Picasso's work in a series of exhibitions and scholarly studies, his curious affinities with the Florentine master have become increasingly apparent to me. Both were primarily draftsmen, gifted with an instantaneous wiring of eye and hand. And both used their gift for drawing more to seize, record, and, above all, comprehend their respective worlds of experience than to make paintings. To be sure, Leonardo's comprehension of the world was far more scientific than Picasso's. But then Leonardo lived at a time when it was still possible to be an uomo universale, simultaneously in the vanguard not only of art and literature, but of subjects such as geology, physics, anatomy, and mathematics.121 (As Meyer Schapiro observed, this was, in part, because fifteenth-century science dealt only with visible phenomena.) Picasso's relative lack of interest in science reflects not only the vicissitudes of his education, but also the almost unbridgeable gap between art and science in the modern world.

In Picasso's work as in Leonardo's, the realms of the real and the imaginary overlap because it is through the imagination that both artists grasp the real. Beyond this, there is a certain similarity to the emotional tenor of their work: a strange combination of passion and remoteness, longing and revulsion, idealism and perversity. Walter Pater, in a famous passage in his book *The Renaissance*, described the Mona Lisa as a kind of "vampire," whose beauty was "wrought out from within upon the flesh, the deposit . . . of strange thoughts and fantastic reveries," a figure "into which the soul with all its maladies has passed."¹²² Surely this description could be applied with equal if not greater justice to Picasso's 1937 portrait of Nusch Eluard (p. 83) and to countless other portraits by him from the Blue period through the 1960s.

Of course, Pater's purple prose itself offers a "strange" and "fantastic" vision of the Mona Lisa. Arguably, it tells us more about the origins of the Decadent movement in England than it does about Leonardo. But this is hardly irrelevant to Picasso, whose Barcelona compatriots were fervent admirers of Oscar Wilde and The Yellow Book. 123 Picasso would surely have endorsed the notoriously amoral conclusion of Pater's Renaissance: that the goal of life was to experience the broadest possible range of passions and insights, "to burn always with [a] hard, gemlike flame," to seek out "ecstasy" wherever it might be found.124 And he might have found philosophical justification for the liberties of his portraiture in Pater's insistence that the "clear, perpetual outline of face and limb" was in fact an optical illusion, an arbitrary image disguising the endless combination and recombination of the elements composing the human frame.125

Yet Pater's comments, however exaggerated, respond





Leonardo da Vinci. *Head of a Woman Three Quarters to the Left* (study for Saint Anne). Red and black chalk with touches of white, $9^{5/8} \times 7^{3/8}$ " (24.4 × 18.7 cm). Royal Library, Windsor, No. 12,534

Leonardo da Vinci. The Madonna of the Rocks (detail). Panel, 74 $^{5}\!\!/_{8}\times47^{1/4}$ " (189.55 \times 120.2 cm). National Gallery, London

to a genuine strangeness in Leonardo's portrait. The fame of the painting is not due to its realism: we probably wouldn't recognize Mona Lisa if we bumped into her on the subway. What we recall is not the details of her face (how many people have noticed that she has no eyebrows?) but the intimate and enigmatic quality of her expression. The Mona Lisa is so much the prototype for subsequent portraiture that it is hard for us to remember that the more usual pose for quattrocento portraits had been a profile view such as we find in Pollaiuolo and Uccello. The profile was felt to capture the true and timeless character of the subject's face, disengaged from the accidentality of everyday perception; it was almost invariably used for emblematic images of rank or power, as in the official portraits stamped on coins. The profile deliberately distanced the viewer from the person portrayed.

Mona Lisa's pose is ambiguous—somewhere between a frontal and a three-quarter view. Together with the dimly lit setting and the muted light playing over her features, it creates a sensation of unusual intimacy between subject and viewer. To this intimacy is added a sense of enigma, generated in part by the mysterious landscape in the background—which Richard Offner described as "winding around the figure like a wreath of smoke"¹²⁶ and in part by Mona Lisa's famously peculiar smile. Ludwig Goldscheider linked the latter to a Renaissance manual advising young women that they could acquire a special allure by smiling on only one side of the face, keeping the lips on the other side pressed together in a horizontal line.¹²⁷ When my wife tried this, it seemed more laughable than alluring. That the source of the smile is Leonardo's unconscious store of imagery, and not the face of Signora del Giocondo, is seemingly confirmed by the similarity of her smile to those of Leonardo's earlier, more generic figures, such as Saint Anne (above, left) in the *Madonna and Child with Saint Anne and Saint John*, and the angel (above, right) in *The Madonna of the Rocks*. But whatever the source of Mona Lisa's asymmetrical smile, Leonardo made out of it a magnificent poem about the duality of the human soul.

Works such as Picasso's 1937 oil portrait of Nusch Eluard (p. 83)—and also the closely associated charcoalon-canvas drawing of the following year (p. 84)—seem to me descendants not only of Walter Pater's Mona Lisa but also of Leonardo's. The seated pose and the sense of intimacy between artist and subject are, in a sense, common properties of the Western portrait tradition deriving from Leonardo. The more profound affinity has to do with both artists' ability to mobilize formal details for expressive purposes: for instance, to evoke psychological tension



Mother and Child. c. 1922. Pencil on paper, $16\frac{1}{3} \times 12^{*}$ (42 × 30.5 cm). Zervos XXX, 360. Private collection. (Colorplate, p. 49)

by emphasizing the asymmetries of the human visage.

Picasso's conceptual (rather than perceptual) approach to representation allows him to explore such asymmetries in the face as a whole, not just in individual features. Thus Nusch's outlined profile on the right (p. 83) recalls the heraldic conventions of public portraiture, while the more frontal presentation of her eyes and mouth permits the viewer to glimpse the "private" self hidden within the public image. The contrast between profile and frontal views seems to parallel the tension between the seductiveness of Nusch's partly closed, heavy-lidded eyes and the threat in her toothy smile and reflects, in turn, the polarization between decorative and expressive components of the image. Here, as in so many of his images, Picasso uses painting to exorcise his own profound ambivalence toward women. Elsewhere, as in his portraits of Marie-Thérèse Walter, he employs similar reconfigurations to evoke the combination of masculine and feminine qualities within the same human being.

Picasso's work sometimes also displays surprising affinities with the formal rather than the psychological aspects of Leonardo's style. This is most apparent in certain of his Neoclassical drawings, such as the 1922 sketch



Leonardo da Vinci. *The Madonna and Child with Saint Anne and Saint John*. Charcoal heightened with white, on brown paper, $54^{3/4}$ " $\times 39^{3/8}$ " (139.7 × 100.1 cm). National Gallery, London

of a Mother and Child (above, left; p. 49), in which the interlocked figures form a "pyramidal" composition of the type originated by Leonardo and reproduced in countless canvases by Raphael and his followers. The benign, half-smiling expression on the mother's face, the shy tilt of her head, and the bulk of her figure, are—save for some "mannerist" elongation-extraordinarily similar to those of the figures in Leonardo's cartoon for the unfinished Saint Anne, the Virgin, the Infant Christ, and the Young Saint John in London's National Gallery (above). The gentle and delicate pencil shading, here and in numerous other Neoclassical works, is also remarkably reminiscent of Leonardo. Yet the indefinable classic beauty of certain of Picasso's and Leonardo's figures is, in both cases, the other side of the coin of their fascination with monsters, both "human" and otherwise (opposite)unlikely subjects from the hand of a Matisse.

It might also be argued that, even where there is no superficial resemblance to Leonardo, Picasso's approach to color and shading remains basically within the model defined for the first time by the Renaissance master. In a brilliant 1962 essay, John Shearman pointed out that Leonardo's handling of *chiaroscuro* entailed a fundamental



Winged Bull Observed by Four Children. 1934. Etching, $9^{\frac{5}{16}} \times 11^{\frac{5}{8}''}$ (23.7 × 29.5 cm). Geiser/Baer II, 444. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Purchase Fund



Leonardo da Vinci. A Dragon. Black chalk and pen and ink on paper, 7^{3} /s × 10⁵/s" (18.8 × 27 cm). Royal Library, Windsor, No. 12,369





Leonardo da Vinci. Profiles of Men and Half-length of a Girl (detail). Pen and ink on paper, 15¹⁵/₁₆ × 11⁷/₆" (40.5 × 29 cm). Royal Library, Windsor, No. 12,276 (verso)

Leonardo da Vinci. Five Grotesque Heads. Pen and ink on paper, $10^{1/4} \times 8^{1/6''}$ (26 × 20.5 cm). Royal Library, Windsor, No. 12,495 (recto)

revision in the role of color within Western art.¹²⁸ While the masters of the Early Renaissance, from Giotto through Fra Angelico, had refined the use of shading to model three-dimensional form, their approach to color had remained fundamentally Gothic in the sense that they tended to use each of the colors available to them—typically blue, red, green, and yellow—in its purest, most characteristic hue. Shading was imposed locally—for instance, to model a piece of colored drapery. However, as Shearman points out, they made little attempt to compensate for the fact that different *hues* had inherently different *values:* red, for instance, being darker than yellow. The sharp shift in value from one colored area to the next created a disjunction between neighboring forms, undoing the consistency of the three-dimensional illusion.

Leonardo's conceptual breakthrough, Shearman argues, was to define his overall composition *a priori* through a consistent system of light-dark shading, to which the *colors were strictly subordinated*. Adjacent red and yellow draperies, for example, might be brought together in overall value by lightening the red with white tints and darkening the yellow with black shading. Leonardo's illusionistically consistent example quickly carried the day, and color remained subordinate to drawing and shading in Western art from the High Renaissance to the late nineteenth century. Leonardo's model begins to lose its stranglehold only with the rise of Impressionism; indeed, the story of modern art is in large part the story of color's progressive liberation from line and shading, in the work of artists from Claude Monet to Henri Matisse to Mark Rothko.

In this sense, Picasso remains closer to Leonardo's essentially draftsmanly and tonal model than to the coloristic tradition in twentieth-century modernism; in many pictures, Picasso deliberately lets the tonal underdrawing show through or remain uncovered (p. 326), as if to remind us that the color—however beautiful or poetic is an "add-on" to the determining light-dark matrix. A black-and-white photograph of a canvas by Picasso gives us a fairly clear understanding of the painting's construction, since it is primarily the rightness of the light-dark values which accounts for the coherence of the pictorial scaffolding. In contrast, a black-and-white photograph of a Matisse often communicates little sense of the picture's real aesthetic arrangement, since his compositional structures depend primarily on the rapports of hues.

"Colors," Picasso said to Apollinaire, "are only symbols. Reality is to be found in light [and dark] alone."¹²⁹ Not only is the visual scaffolding of a Picasso painting determined by its linear structure and accompanying distribution of lights and darks, but the color choices within this scaffolding—no longer dependent upon visual reality—become virtually interchangeable structurally *as long as the color at any given point in the composition has the appropriate value*. Hence, the artist's much-repeated but insufficiently understood *mot*, "When I run out of blue, I use red."¹³⁰

To say this is not, however, to accept the conventional

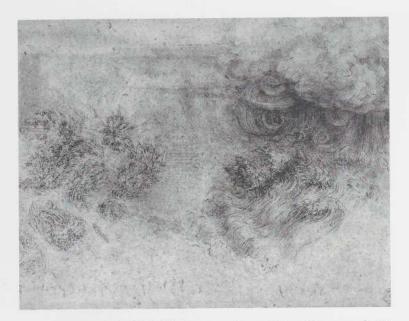
bromide according to which Picasso is "not a colorist." On the contrary, in works such as the 1931 Still Life on a Pedestal Table and the 1932 Girl Before a Mirror, Picasso established himself as one of the great colorists of the century. But he employed color to psychological and poetic, rather than structural, ends. There are a handful of drawings, such as sketch III of the 1936 "Rosetta Stone" drawing examined above (p. 72), in which Picasso jotted down his notations of the colors he planned to use in his painting. Virtually all of the indications that can be determined in this example, such as "burnt sienna" for the ground, "blue" for the hat's sprig of leaves and "light gray" for its brim, "light yellow" for the edges of the collar/sculpture base, and "black" for the dark mass of hair at the left and bottom right, are precisely those of the finished picture.

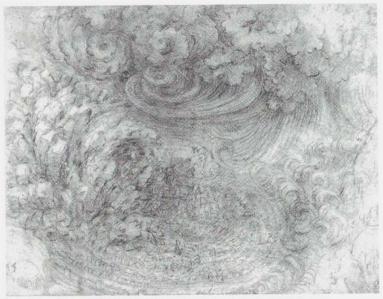
What this notational procedure tells us is that Picasso, at least in this instance, chose his hues conceptually, out of feeling for—and in association with—the forms they inhabited. For him, color's primary purpose was its *affective* function. Once he had made a drawing to establish the compositional matrix of light and dark, he could visualize the colors clearly enough to finish the picture without further modification. He apparently did not feel any need to test colors, to "see what they looked like," though we can be sure that if he had been disappointed by the result he would have changed his picture, as he sometimes did.

Finally, it seems to me that the most significant antecedent for the protean quality of what I called Picasso's "pan-physiognomic" imagination is to be found in the drawings of Leonardo. Both artists had an extraordinary ability to imagine common denominators of form between different things, to find analogies in the patterns and shapes of alien objects. Just as Picasso could discover canine features inhabiting the faces of Dora and Jacqueline (pp. 400, 475),¹³¹ and an owl's in that of Françoise, so too Leonardo could pass uninterrupted from the jaw of a roaring lion (itself compared with the heads of nearby horses) to the brow of a shouting soldier, leveling the distinction between man and beast (below). Similarly, Picasso's 1906 sketches exploring Josep Fontdevila as both a younger and an older man (p. 28, bottom) are matched by a sheet in which Leonardo juxtaposes the profiled head of a youth with the profile of the same man, grown to maturity (opposite). Such "associational" enchainments of mental images are common in the drawings of both artists. Perhaps I should not



Leonardo da Vinci. Studies of Horses' Heads and of a Rearing Horse. Pen and ink on paper, 7³/₄ × 12¹/₈" (19.6 × 30.8 cm). Royal Library, Windsor, No. 12,326 (recto)





Leonardo da Vinci. A Deluge. c. 1514. Pen and ink and brown wash over black chalk on paper, $6^{1}/_{4} \times 8''$ (15.7 × 20.3 cm). Royal Library, Windsor, No. 12,379

Leonardo da Vinci. A Cloudburst. After 1513. Black chalk on paper, $6^{1}\!/_{4} \times 8''$ (15.8 \times 20.3 cm). Royal Library, Windsor, No. 12,377



Leonardo da Vinci. Studies of a Woman's Head and Coiffure. Pen and ink over black chalk on paper, $7^{7/8} \times 6^{3/8''}$ (20 × 16.2 cm). Royal Library, Windsor, No. 12,516



Leonardo da Vinci. *Study of Swirling Water* (detail of a sheet of drawings). Pen and ink on paper, $6 \times 8^{3/8}$ " (15.2 × 21.3 cm). Royal Library, Windsor, No. 12,579 (recto)



Leonardo da Vinci. Deluge. After 1513. Black chalk on paper, 63/8 × 81/4" (16.3 × 21 cm). Royal Library, Windsor, No. 12,378

have been surprised when Picasso mentioned the affinity he felt with Leonardo as a draftsman.¹³²

For both artists, the drive toward metamorphosis seems to have been impelled by a profound anxiety linked ultimately to intimations of mortality. Leonardo, famous as a young man for his own beauty and for that of the generic youths and maidens he conjured on canvas, was obsessed by the images of grotesque old men and women (p. 94). Picasso's private demons, on the contrary, were projected almost exclusively onto images of women.¹³³ We do not need to posit anything so banal as "influence" at work here; rather, we can simply observe that Leonardo's grotesques lie at the origin of the caricatural tradition adapted and transfigured in Picasso's work.

Art served both Leonardo and Picasso as a means of exorcising anxiety—first by confronting the images of danger and disorder associated with it and then by endowing those images with an aesthetic order. In Leonardo's drawings of an apocalyptic deluge, terror is ultimately overcome by transforming the uncontrollable waves and winds into a kind of virtual architecture (above). The entwining curves of water patterns of the deluge (and of his scientific studies of flowing water) reappear in the girl's braided locks, turning and twisting like serpents (opposite, bottom): not unlike Nusch, the girl is simultaneously "virgin" and "monster," Leda and Medusa. The twinelike coils and "basket-weave" surfaces in many of Picasso's 1938 portraits (p. 394) offer another kind of parallel to Leonardo's drawing. But even without these examples, one would sense the affinity between these two artists, who traveled into the heart of darkness and returned with an image of the human figure at once beautiful and terrifying, personal and impersonal, human and inhuman. "If we give a form to [threatening] spirits, we become free." Picasso's declaration to André Malraux might equally well have been made by Leonardo.

NOTES

My friend and colleague Pepe Karmel has given liberally of his time and energy to maintain, for me, a most fruitful dialogue about this text, for which he has offered numerous helpful suggestions. Moreover, his acute editorial instincts have been of profound help in shaping this manuscript. As in the past, Judith Cousins, Curator of Research for the Department of Painting and Sculpture, has been of enormous assistance in all matters bibliographic, and has taken on the extra responsibility in our search for documentary photographs. I owe her more than I can say.

r. See Jean Clair's illuminating remarks on the history of the word "portrait," including its transmission from one language to another, in his essay "Trait pour trait, oeil pour oeil, dent pour dent," in *A Visage découvert* (Paris and Jouys-en-Josas: Flammarion and Fondation Cartier pour l'art contemporain, 1992), pp. 124– 34.

2. Christian Zervos was born on January 1, 1889, in Argostoli, on the Greek island of Cephalonia, and grew up in Alexandria. After living for several years in Marseille, he came to Paris to finish his studies at the Sorbonne, where, during the war years 1914-18, he completed his doctorate in letters on Plotinus. By 1924 he was sufficiently involved with contemporary art to be taken on as managing editor of L'Art d'aujourd'hui, published by Albert Morancé. The aim of this influential review was to acquaint a wide public with the work of leading masters of contemporary art such as Picasso, Matisse, Braque, Gris, and Léger, among others. Zervos probably met Picasso during 1924 (the earliest letter from Zervos to Picasso is dated November 22, 1924; my thanks to Sylvie Fresnault for checking the Picasso Archives, where a substantial correspondence from Zervos to Picasso is preserved). The 1924 issue of L'Art d'aujourd'hui contained an article by Maurice Raynal on Picasso; several subsequent issues had articles on Picasso by Zervos. In 1926 Zervos started his own art magazine Cahiers d'art, which in the late 1920s and 1930s was to be "one of the strongest and most original voices of School of Paris modern art, which Zervos widened to include not only Picasso and the Cubists, the Surrealists and older fantastic art, but also the culture of the entire Mediterranean basin, to which, as a Greek, he was particularly attracted, supervising major publications on Cycladic, Sardinian and Cretan Arts" ("Art News International. Obituaries: Christian Zervos," Art News 69, no. 6 [October 1970], p. 32). Jean Cassou described Cahiers d'art as the embodiment of modern art and said of Zervos that he "was a smiling, prudent, discreet man, the one best suited to give to this triumph [of 'l'art moderne'] an atmosphere of tranquil dignity" ("Christian Zervos . . . était un homme souriant, mesuré, discret, le plus propre à donner à ce triomphe [de l'art moderne] un air de tranquille dignité"). The excerpt is from Jean Cassou's "Hommage," statement in the exhibition catalogue *Hommage à Christian et Yvonne Zervos* (Paris: Galeries Nationales d'Exposition du Grand Palais, 1970–71), n.p.

In 1926 Zervos published his first compilation of Picasso's work, which was called *Picasso: Oeuvres* 1920–1926, and in the first volume of *Cahiers d'art* he printed an extensive extract of its text (Christian Zervos, "Oeuvres récentes de Picasso," *Cahiers d'art* I [June 1926], pp. 89–93). This information is found in Eunice Lipton, *Picasso Criticism* 1901–1939: *The Making of an Artist-Hero* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1976), pp. 148–51. In 1928, at Dinard, Zervos met Yvonne Marion, whom he was to marry in 1932. As early as 1928 she had run the gallery "Cahiers d'Art" and would become an indefatigable collaborator in Zervos's publishing ventures.

According to Christian Derouet (who, in collaboration with Yves de Fontbrune, present owner of Cahiers d'art, is preparing an exhibition on Zervos and Picasso), the idea for a catalogue général of Picasso's oeuvre (Derouet prefers the term catalogue général, which more accurately describes the series of volumes comprising photographs of the work than does catalogue raisonné, which the volumes are not), occurred in the late 1920s and announcement of its publication appeared in Cahiers d'Art, no. 3 (1930) and no. 3/5 (1932). In the latter it was listed as the first volume of a projected fivevolume series. Volume I, published on June 15, 1932, went on sale at a Picasso exhibition at the Galerie Georges Petit (June 16-July 30, 1932). It was issued in an edition of 537, of which 225, with an English text, were sold in advance to Weyhe Bookstore, New York. Picasso was greatly flattered by the idea, since this type of publication devoted to work being produced by a living artist was quite unprecedented. A second edition of this first volume was published, with a few corrections, in 1942, at the same time as two supplements to the second volume. According to Zervos, the Picasso catalogue, far from being a commercial failure, was always self-sustaining.

The project was carried out by means of photographs, Zervos indicating questions on photographs, which he would submit to Picasso, with an ensuing "dialogue autour des photos." Work was facilitated during the 1930s due to the fact that Picasso still lived in and around Paris. During World War II and subsequently, communication was considerably more difficult: Zervos usually managed to spend one or two months during the summer in the south of France, living nearby, but often had to wait until such time as the artist consented to see him. In 1950, for example, Zervos complained that he had not seen Picasso in two years. From 1964 onward, Zervos's letters are usually addressed to Jacqueline (the last letters are from 1970, the year Zervos died).

Design and layout were always submitted to Picasso for his approval (at least in the 1950s). The quality and availability of photographic documentation often determined the layout; the discrepancy in scale and quality of the reproductions was a direct function of the uneven quality of the photographs. The source of Zervos's information about works, titles, etc., was invariably Picasso.

In his letters, Zervos gives the impression of being invested with a mission. The realization of each volume was excruciating; he worked eighteen hours a day. His constant worry was that he might betray the artist; he needed explanations in order to avoid making blunders. Many letters describe the progress of the "book," as he referred to it, page by page. It was not an easy project. Zervos was often in competition with others for Picasso's attention and for information about the latest works, so that he had to flatter the artist and induce his collaboration by means of special issues of Cahiers d'art devoted to his work. Zervos would send packets of photographs on which Picasso was supposed to scribble dates, or whatever information was requested. At times Picasso worked seriously and closely with Zervos; at others he refused to pay attention and months would go by without his returning photographs with the needed information. When Zervos died in Paris on September 12, 1970, the catalogue général was incomplete, having only reached volume 22, with works from 1962-63. This volume was published in April of 1963. The catalogue was still incomplete at the time of Picasso's death in 1973, by which time volumes 23, 24, and 25 had appeared. It would only be completed following the publication of volumes 26 through 33, in the years 1973 to 1978, respectively. The Picasso catalogue project was described by Marc de Fontbrune as Zervos's "oeuvre-fleuve," which, more than any of his other considerable number of publications, contributed to his renown (Marc de Fontbrune, "Biographie," in Hommage à Christian et Yvonne Zervos, n.p.).

In the preparation of this note I am indebted to Sylvie Fresnault, Documentalist, Musée Picasso; Christian Derouet; and especially to Yves de Fontbrune for their invaluable help with information on the collaboration of Zervos and Picasso.

3. Zervos I, 254, listed as "Fernande. Oil. 1905. Paris." As Zervos mistakenly listed a large group of 1906 pictures (especially those from Gosol) as dating from 1905, it is probable, as Daix insists in his catalogue of the early work (*Picasso: The Blue and Rose Periods* [Neuchâtel, Switzerland: Editions Ides et Calendes], 1966), that this portrait dates from the following year.

4. This point was made by Meyer Schapiro in his lectures at Columbia University in 1949–50.

5. Jacqueline Picasso in conversation with the author, June 1983. It was in the course of this same conversation about Picasso's portraits of Jacqueline that she identified the extraordinary drawing of her illustrated on page 16 as, in fact, having been made from memory.

6. Charles Baudelaire, "L'Invitation au voyage," from *Les Fleurs du mal*, in *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1961), p. 51; Prévert reference from his poem "Feuilles mortes" ("Autumn Leaves").

7. Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, Juan Gris: His Life and Work, translated by Douglas Cooper (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1969), p. 98. Jules Antoine Castagnary, "L'Exposition du boulevard des Capucines: Les Impressionistes," *Le Siècle*, April 29, 1874, translated in Richard Schiff, *Cézanne and the End of Impressionism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), p. 2. I would like to thank Pepe Karmel for suggesting the citations from Castagnary.

8. Kahnweiler, Juan Gris, p. 98.

9. Ibid., pp. 100 and 127.

10. Marius de Zayas, "Pablo Picasso," 1911, reprinted in Gert Schiff, ed., *Picasso in Perspective* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1976), p. 47. De Zayas's essay was originally published in a pamphlet accompanying Picasso's first American exhibition, at Alfred Stieglitz's Photo-Secession Gallery; the essay was also published in Stieglitz's magazine *Camera Work*, no. 35 (1911), pp. 65–67. Pepe Karmel, who drew this passage to my attention, suggests that Picasso's phrase "pictorial equivalent" may have provided the title "Equivalents," which Stieglitz later employed for his semiabstract, photographic compositions.

II. In a conversation with Brassaï in September 1939, Picasso told the photographer, "When you see what you [can] express through photography, you realize all the things that can no longer be the objective of painting. Why should the artist persist in treating subjects that can be established so clearly with the lens of a camera? It would be absurd, wouldn't it? Photography has arrived at a point where it is capable of liberating painting from all literature, from the anecdote, and even from the subject" (Brassaï, *Picasso and Company*, translated by Francis Price [Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1966], pp. 46–47); originally published as *Conversations avec Picasso* (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1964).

12. In his memoirs, William Paley recalled the commission as follows: "This same period [around 1935], I came to know Matisse, who agreed to do a painting of my wife Dorothy. Every day I accompanied her to his studio for the sketches—he must have done fifty sketches of her—but when he was about to start to paint, he fell ill, and said, 'I can't finish it this year, but next year we'll do it.' He never did do the painting. Later he sent one of the sketches to Dorothy for Christmas" (William S. Paley, *As It Happened: A Memoir* [Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1979], pp. 99–100).

According to Dominique Szymusiak (*Dessins de la donation Matisse* [Le Cateau Cambrésis: Musée Matisse, 1988], p. 74, no. 30), eight charcoal drawings of Mrs. Paley by Matisse are known to exist, three of which are dated September 10, 12, and 13, 1936, respectively. Mrs. Szymusiak also indicates, on the basis of the account given by Lydia Delectorskaya, that it was Mrs. Paley who commissioned Matisse to do her portrait and that he did only a few drawings of her. Xavier Girard (*Henri Matisse Dessins: Collection du Musée Matisse* [Nantes, Nîmes, and Saint-Etienne, 1989, p. 108, no. 39) refers to the portrait drawings as a "série de huit essais."

13. As reported by Geneviève Laporte, in "Si tard le soir, le soleil brille . . . " (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1973), p. 140, Picasso told her, "D'ailleurs, je ne peux pas faire le portrait de n'importe qui." Jaime Sabartés remarked: "[Picasso] does not like to be bound by the exigencies of a commission. It is well known how little interested he is in doing commissioned portraits" (Jaime Sabartés, Portraits et Souvenirs [Paris: Louis Carré and Maximilien Vox, 1946], p. 132), and Brassaï noted "Basically Picasso has a horror of all 'commissions'" (Brassaï, Picasso and Company, p. 170).

14. Patrick O'Higgins, *Madame: An Intimate Biography of Helena Rubinstein* (New York: Viking Press, 1971), p. 218. I am indebted to John Richardson for bringing this book to my attention.

15. Ibid., p. 219.

16. This expression was used by the artist in

conversation with the present author. An article titled "A Beautician's Booty" in *Time*, April 29, 1966, noted that "As befits a beautician, Helena [Rubinstein] found one subject irresistible herself. Over the years she was painted 30 times. ... The portrait she most coveted escaped her. It was by Picasso" (pp. 82, 85). Accompanying the article was a fascinating photograph of Madame posing in front of ten portraits of herself—among which were those by Marie Laurencin, Pavel Tchelitchew, Cândido Portinari, Graham Sutherland, and Salvador Dali (see below, left).

17. Observed by Werner Spies, "Picasso und seine Zeit," in Pablo Picasso: Eine Austellung zum hundertsten Geburtstag, Werke aus der Sammlung Marina Picasso (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1981), p. 20: "Als [Picasso] von Helena Rubinstein aufgefordet wird, ein Porträt zu machen, wandert sein Blick zunächst auf die Kleidung, den Schmuck... dann kommt es zu der geradezu obszönen Inventarisierung des Schmucks"; reprinted as "Picasso: L'Histoire dans l'atelier," Cahiers du Musée National d'Art Moderne (Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou), no. 9–10 (1982), p. 6of.

18. O'Higgins, Madame, p. 221.

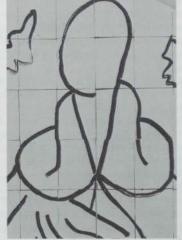
19. I had seen an example of this kind of actor's portrait in an album of original prints in Picasso's studio. Regrettably, the present inaccessibility of the materials from Picasso's library and studio makes it impossible for me to identify accurately the print I had seen. The portrait by Utagawa Toyokuni, a bust of the actor Ichikawa Komazo II, dated 1797, in the collection of the Brooklyn Museum, which I reproduce here, is surely close to the one owned by Picasso. I am extremely grateful to Colta Ives, Curator of Drawings and Prints at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, for bringing this portrait to my attention. I also want to thank Donna Welton, Assistant Curator in the Department of Asian Art, for her help in



Helena Rubinstein in her apartment at 625 Park Avenue, New York, with portraits of herself by Marie Laurencin, Salvador Dali, Graham Sutherland, and Pavel Tchelitchew, among others. 1959. Photographer unknown. Collection Helena Rubinstein Foundation



Utagawa Toyokuni. Portrait of Ichikawa Komazo II. 1797. Woodblock color print, 14⁵/₈ × 10[°] (37.2 × 25.4 cm). The Brooklyn Museum. Gift of Mr. Louis V. Ledoux



Henri Matisse. *Saint Dominic* (detail; posed for by Father M.A. Couturier). 1950. Glazed tile; altar decoration. Notre-Dame-de-Toute-Grâce, Assy

searching for the appropriate example of a Japanese actor portrait; and Lisa Zeitz, Intern in the Department of Painting and Sculpture of The Museum of Modern Art, for assistance with this search.

20. Matisse's featureless portraits of Father Couturier are to be seen in the altarpiece of Saint Dominic in Notre-Dame-de-Toute-Grâce at Assy (painted and glazed tiles, completed May 7, 1950); (see illustration, p. 99, right); and in the full-length mural of Saint Dominic for the Chapel of the Rosary of the Dominican Nuns of Vence (painted and glazed tiles, completed June 7, 1950). For a reproduction and history of the latter, see Xavier Girard, Matisse: La Chapelle du Rosaire (Nice, Cimiez: Cahiers Henri Matisse 8, 1992), pp. 94-101. The Assy Saint Dominic is reproduced in Alfred H. Barr, Jr., Matisse: His Art and His Public (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1951), p. 511. See also William Rubin, Modern Sacred Art and the Church of Assy (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), pp. 34, 150, 156-59, and figs. 46 and 47, and plate p. 158.

21. According to Helena Rubinstein's biographer, Picasso rather meanly (or perhaps not, in view of their character) never showed Madame any of the drawings he had done of her and, as she died shortly before volume 16 of Zervos's catalogue appeared, she never did see what they were like. "The Picasso portrait, for all of Madame's ferocious persistence or maybe because of it (she bombarded him with inquiries, journeyed to Cannes repeatedly, used many intermediaries to lobby for her) was never finished. Nor did she see him again, nor ever see the drawings he did" (O'Higgins, *Madame*, p. 226).

22. See William Rubin, "The Genesis of Les Demoiselles d'Avignon," in Les Desmoiselles d'Avignon, Studies in Modern Art 3 (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1994), pp. 60–62.

23. For a discussion of the identity of the Medical Student, see ibid., p. 59 and nn. 180 and 181.

24. "One cannot overestimate the role," as John Richardson observed, "these young painters and their attractive wives played not just in Picasso's art, but in his daily life" (Richardson, *Pablo Picasso: Meeting in Montreal* (Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1985), p. 88.

25. Picasso himself had drawn Piero's attention to his resemblance to don José during the first of two sittings with the artist. Picasso's earliest portraits of his father originated in La Coruña in 1894–95. The features and personality of don José became an ever-present subject of the work of the youthful artist in the following years in Barcelona, dominating his portraiture in the period 1895–99. Picasso's absences from Barcelona, initiated by his first visit to Paris in October 1900, signaled the corporeal disappearance of don José from his work.

In addition to Sabartés's informative remarks about don José and Picasso in *Picasso: An Intimate Portrait*, translated by Angel Flores (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1948), *passim*, there are two important essays on the subject: Jürgen Glaesemer, "Don José Ruiz Blasco und Pablo Picasso: Der Vater als Lehrer und Modell," in *Der Junge Picasso: Frühwerk und Blaue Periode* (Bern: Kunstmuseum Bern, 1984), pp. 30–43; reprinted with slight modifications, as "Don José Ruiz Blasco et Pablo Picasso: Le père en tant que maître et modèle," in *Picasso/Miró/ Dali: Evocation d'Espagne* (Charleroi: Palais des Beaux-Arts, 1985), pp. 21–37; and M. Teresa Ocaña, "José Ruiz Blasco versus Pablo Ruiz Picasso," in Brigitte Léal, ed., *Picasso jeunesse et genèse: Dessins 1893–1905* (Paris: Musée Picasso, 1991), pp. 32–49.

26. Picasso told Brassaï, "Every time I draw a man, it's my father I'm thinking of, involuntarily. For me, a man is Don José, and will be all my life. He wore a beard, and every man I draw I see more or less with his features" (Brassaï, *Picasso and Company*, p. 56).

27. Regarding Picasso's portraits of his father in the Barcelona period of 1896, Richardson observed that don José "had aged into a figure of patriarchal distinction, gloomily handsome as an El Greco saint. . . . Especially poignant is the contrast between the arrogant casualness of the son's virtuosity and the melancholy dignity of the old father" (John Richardson, with the collaboration of Marilyn McCully, *A Life of Picasso, Volume* 1: 1881–1906 [New York: Random House, 1991], p. 82).

28. For an account of the development of the *Demoiselles*' composition, see Rubin, "The Genesis of *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*," pp. 64–91.

29. See Rubin, "The Genesis of *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*," pp. 14–15, for a discussion of Raymonde's complicating role in the lives of Picasso and Fernande in the spring of 1907, and for reproductions of three drawings of Raymonde by Picasso.

30. This is Study for the Medical Student, March 1907, reproduced in ibid., p. 52, no. 59.

31. "Vieillard farouche, d'une beauté étrange et sauvage" in Fernande Olivier, *Picasso et ses*

amis (Paris: Librairie Stock, 1933), p. 116.

32. Pepe Karmel has convinced me that such drawings are more likely the fruit of Picasso's general obsession with mortality than—as I had felt at first—the example provided by Leonardo, who, to be sure, shared this obsession.

33. Spring 1906 is the date traditionally given for an installation of newly acquired Iberian sculptures in the Louvre Museum. But some of these objects may have been displayed as early as 1905, or even when they first arrived from Spain following their excavation at Cerro de los Santos, Osuna, and Córdoba in 1902, 1903, and 1904. See Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, p. 517, n. 24; and Rubin, "The Genesis of *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, p. 36 and p. 129, nn. 133 and 134.

See Pierre Daix's text in the present volume (pp. 264–66) for a mention of the impact, besides that of Iberian sculpture, of Catalan sculpture on Picasso, in particular of the Virgin of Gosol (p. 262), first noted by Josep Palau i Fabre and then clarified by John Richardson. According to Richardson, "a major revelation of Gósol was the remarkable twelfth-century Madonna and Child (the Santa Maria del Castell de Gósol) that has now been removed to the Museum of Catalan Art in Barcelona. This left more of a mark on Picasso's work than is generally allowed" (Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, pp. 451–52).

34. I say "seemed to be opening it" because, contrary to the majority opinion, I consider Fauvism, the vanguard style of 1905–06, as the final phase of the nineteenth-century Impressionist tradition, far more synthesizing latenineteenth-century options than pointing forward to subsequent twentieth-century styles. It was only when Matisse, in 1907, emerged from Fauvism and established his truly individual style (with such paintings as *Sailor II*) that the tradition of twentieth-century color painting got under way. This took place at about the



Young Boy with Basket. 1939. Lead pencil on paper, 8⁵/₈ × 6¹/₄" (21.8 × 16 cm). Zervos X, 61. Private collection



Old Man. 1939. Lead pencil on paper, 8⁵/₈ × 6¹/₄" (21.8 × 16 cm). Zervos X, 62. Private collection

same time that Picasso made his break with the past in the "run-up" to *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*.

35. Adam Gopnik, "High and Low: Caricature, Primitivism, and the Cubist Portrait," Art Journal 43, no. 4 (winter 1983), p. 375.

36. The sculpture was first mentioned by André Salmon in a review of a Metzinger exhibition held in January 1919. In this review, in which he resumed his history of the origins of Cubism (first explicated in his "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme," in La Jeune peinture française, 1912, pp. 42-52), Salmon stated, "Dans le même temps, Picasso exécuta, étude préparatoire à une statuette en bois, encore à tailler, un portrait de moi-même, au fusain qui, avec la grande toile en question [Les Demoiselles d'Avignon], est à la base du cubisme" ("La Semaine artistique. Cubisme: Exposition Metzinger [Galerie Rosenberg]," L'Europe nouvelle 2, no. 3 [January 18, 1919], p. 139); reprinted in English translation in Hélène Seckel, "Anthology of Early Commentary on Les Demoiselles d'Avignon," in Rubin, Les Demoiselles d'Avignon, p. 247.

Salmon's only other reference to the unrealized sculpture occurred in the final volume of his memoirs *Souvenirs sans fin: Troisième époque* (1920–1940), vol. 3 (Paris: Gallimard, 1961), p. 185: "En 1920, quand je publiai *Peindre*, long poème qui précéda le didactisme de l'*Art vivant*, je donnai en frontispice une réduction du merveilleux fusain de Picasso: mon portrait daté de 1906, naissance du cubisme; une esquisse en vue d'une statuette à tailler dans le bois, ce qui ne serait pas réalisé."

37. A photograph taken by Picasso in 1908, showing the interior of his studio at the Bateau-Lavoir, with the sketches of the bust of Fontdevila/Salmon and a full-length nude figure of Salmon visible on the wall, is reproduced on p. 184 of this volume. For a larger and clearer reproduction made from the "tirage original," and a detailed analysis of the photograph in terms of its composition and contents, see Anne Baldassari, Picasso photographe, 1901-1916 (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1994), pp. 149, 152, and fig. 115. Baldassari identifies the sketches on the wall as Buste de Josep Fontdevila (Zervos II², 630), and as a first state of either the Homme nu aux mains jointes (Zervos VI, 967; M.P. 1990-59) or the Nu debout, portrait d'André Salmon.

38. William Rubin, "From Narrative to 'Iconic' in Picasso: The Buried Allegory in Bread and Fruitdish on a Table and the Role of Les Demoiselles d'Avignon," The Art Bulletin 65, no. 4 (December 1983), pp. 636–39 and passim.

39. Picasso has indicated more than once including directly to this author—that the socalled *Portrait of Braque* was whimsically titled by him and Braque on the basis of the fact that the generic figure in the picture was wearing a *chapeau melon*. See Pierre Daix, with Joan Rosselet, *Picasso: The Cubist Years 1907–1916* (Neuchâtel, Switzerland: Editions Ides et Calendes, 1979), p. 252, no. 330.

40. This purely practical consideration is the only one ever advanced for the unusual group of painted Cubist portraits, and it no doubt contains much truth—though not, I believe, the entire truth of the matter. The most detailed presentation of this position may be found in Michael C. FitzGerald, Making Modernism: Picasso and the Creation of the Market for Twentieth-Century Art (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1995), pp. 32-37. FitzGerald points out that Picasso's new financial stability in the fall of 1909 enabled him to move from the Bateau-Lavoir to the boulevard de Clichy around the same time that Matisse signed a very advantageous contract with the Bernheim-Jeune gallery in September 1909. Picasso lacked a regular dealer, and FitzGerald observes that "his search for a steady backer appears to be registered in the portraits he painted at this time [1909-1910]," during which he painted five portraits, four depicting dealers. "Picasso labored for months over portraits of Clovis Sagot, Ambroise Vollard, Wilhelm Uhde, and Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler" (p. 33).

41. Daix in conversation with this author. Picasso would presumably have procured this photograph, rather than have taken it himself, inasmuch as Vollard—unlike many of Picasso's close friends—had apparently not posed for a portrait photograph by the painter himself. Daix is convinced that the absence of any references in the literature to Vollard having frequented the studio during the months Picasso worked on this portrait is tantamount to the dealer's not having posed for it.

42. Reinforcing his sense of the likeness in Picasso's portrait of him, Vollard recounted the following anecdote: "Picasso did a very notable portrait of me. This painting, of the artist's Cubist period, is now in the Moscow Museum. Of course when they saw this picture, even people who considered themselves connoisseurs indulged in the facile pleasantry of asking what it was meant for. But the son of one of my friends, a boy of four, standing in front of the picture, put a finger on it and said without hesitation, "That's Voyard"" (Ambroise Vollard, Recollections of a Picture Dealer, translated by Violet M. MacDonald (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1978), pp. 221-24; original French edition, Souvenirs d'un marchand de tableaux (Paris: Editions Albin Michel, 1948).

43. Speaking with Gilot about his Cubist portrait of Kahnweiler, Picasso explained, "In its original form it looked to me as though it were about to go up in smoke. But when I paint smoke, I want you to be able to drive a nail into it. So I added the attributes-a suggestion of eyes, the wave in the hair, an earlobe, the clasped hands-and now you can" (Françoise Gilot and Carlton Lake, Life With Picasso [New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964], p. 73). In an antecedent conversation, Picasso told John Richardson, "That's just what he looked like. . . . His ears appear to have grown a lot bigger since then" (John Richardson, "America's Tribute to Picasso," in Picasso: An American Tribute [New York: Chanticleer Press, 1962], n.p.).

44. Picasso's letter of June 12, 1912 written from Céret to Kahnweiler in Paris, is cited in William Rubin, ed., *Picasso and Braque: Pioneering Cubism* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1989), p. 395 (documentary chronology by Judith Cousins). Until the time she entered Picasso's life in the winter of 1911–12, Eva Gouel had been known as Marcelle Humbert and had been the mistress of the painter Louis Marcoussis. Later that summer Picasso began referring to her as "Eva."

45. The complete passage reads, "Le surréalisme, s'il tient à s'assigner une ligne de conduite, n'a qu'à en passer par où Picasso en a passé et en passera encore" (André Breton, *Le Surréalisme et la peinture* [New York and Paris: Brentano's, 1945], p. 29); original edition, Paris, 1928.

46. See Marie-Laure Bernadac and Christine Piot, eds., *Picasso: Collected Writings*, translated by Carol Volk and Albert Bensoussan (New York: Abbeville Press, 1989); published as *Picasso Ecrits* (Paris: Réunion des Musées nationaux and Editions Gallimard, 1989).

47. It was in Meyer Schapiro's lectures at Columbia University that I first heard a reference to Eugène Delacroix's definition of what constitutes a good draftsman-as it was reported by Baudelaire in his essay on Delacroix in The Mirror of Art: "Once he [Delacroix] said to a young man of my acquaintance: 'If you have not sufficient skill to make a sketch of a man throwing himself out of a window in the time that it takes him to fall from the fourth floor to the ground, you will never be capable of producing great machines"" (Jonathan Mayne, ed., The Mirror of Art: Critical Studies by Charles Baudelaire [Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1956], p. 331; translated from the Conrad editions of Curiosités esthétiques (1923) and L'Art romantique (1925).

48. This figure is derived from a numerical study of typologies in Picasso's art according to their frequency over his career. The study was executed by Kathleen Robbins and Pascaline Maare at the author's request.

49. In conversation with the author, from my notes of interviews held in winter 1961–62 on the general subject of Jackson Pollock.

50. In fairness to Greenberg, it should be observed that his views on Cubism were set in the 1950s at a time when many important Cubist works now familiar to us were unseen and even unknown in the United States, if not in the West. The standard account of Cubism, that of Alfred H. Barr, Jr., in *Picasso: Fifty Years of His Art* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1946), failed, for example, to include such major turning points of the movement as *Three Women*, 1907–08 (The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg) or *Bread and Fruitdish on a Table*, 1908–09 (Kunstmuseum, Basel), neither of which had been seen by Greenberg at the time.

Greenberg saw what was shown at The Museum of Modern Art, A.E. Gallatin's Gallery of Living Art at New York University, The Museum of Non-Objective Art, and at New York galleries—where the tendency was to exhibit the same locally owned Picassos over and over again. It is very difficult today to put oneself back in the state of mind of an *amateur* living in the 1940s and 1950s because we now know so much more about Cubism than was the case fifty years ago. Because Greenberg was unfamiliar with Three Women and Bread and Fruitdish on a Table-apart from Zervos's publication of both pictures in 1942 (Zervos II1, 108, 134), neither work resurfaced in the literature on Picasso until 1966 and 1970, respectivelyand a host of Cubist works he saw for the first time only in the 1980 Picasso retrospective, he was not aware of the variety and degree of change in Cubism from the completion of the Demoiselles in 1907 to 1911. Moreover, Greenberg did not own Zervos's catalogue général of Picasso's work, and was not given to perusing it in libraries, so that his knowledge of Picasso's Cubism was based primarily on pictures he saw in New York

51. Compare the summer 1910 paintings reproduced in *Picasso and Braque: Pioneering Cubism*, pp. 164, 168, and 169, with the spring 1912 *Man with a Violin*, p. 217, or *The Aficionado* of summer 1912, p. 239.

52. For a discussion of the sheet-metal *Guitar* and its place in the chronology of Cubist construction sculpture, see William Rubin, "Picasso and Braque: An Introduction," in Rubin, *Picasso* and Braque: Pioneering Cubism, pp. 30-41, and nn. 52–86. See also Yve-Alain Bois, "Kahnweiler's Lesson," *Representations* (Berkeley), no. 18 (spring 1987), pp. 33–68; revised text published in Yve-Alain Bois, *Painting as Model* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1993), pp. 65–97, 280–93; published in French as "La Leçon de Kahnweiler," Les Cahiers du Musée National d'Art Moderne, no. 23 (spring 1988), pp. 29–56.

53. Braque, writing to Kahnweiler in Bern on October 8, [1919], from Sorgues on his return from the front, commented, " J'ai trouvé Gris en train de faire des tableaux patriotiques. Quant à Picasso il créait un nouveau genre dit genre Ingres. . . . Ce qui est vraiment constant chez l'artiste, c'est son tempérament. Or Picasso reste pour moi ce qu'il a toujours été, un virtuose plein de talent. . . . C'est en partie ces impressions et d'autres qui m'ont poussé à écrire dans Nord-Sud" (cited in Isabelle Monod-Fontaine, et al., Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler: Marchand, éditeur, écrivain [Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou, Musée National d'Art Moderne, 1984], p. 126); and in English translation in Rubin, Picasso and Braque: Pioneering Cubism, pp. 51-52, and n. 159.

54. André Verdet, prefatory text to *Picasso* (Geneva: Musée de l'Athénée, 1963): "Le style, c'est souvent quelque chose qui enferme le peintre dans une même vision, une même technique, une même formule pendant des années et des années, pendant toute une vie parfois"; extract cited in English translation as "Style," in Dore Ashton, *Picasso on Art: A Selection of Views* (New York: Viking Press, 1972), pp. 95–96.

55. This expression was used by the artist in conversation with the author in June 1970.

56. As Pepe Karmel pointed out in his Ph.D. dissertation "Picasso's Laboratory: The Role of His Drawings in the Development of Cubism, 1910–1914," New York University, 1993, pp. 296– 99, the figure of the standing man with wineglass was translated in Picasso's drawings from a realistic to a Synthetic Cubist image, and then transferred to canvas. The resulting painting (Daix 783), completed in summer 1914, was Picasso's largest and most ambitious—though far from his most successful—work since the *Three Women* of 1908.

57. In relating this episode to Francis Crémieux, Kahnweiler was not altogether clear as to the meaning of the artist's observation. "Furthermore, I must tell you that in the spring of 1914 Picasso had shown me two drawings that were not cubist, but classicist, two drawings of a seated man. He had said, 'Still, they're better than before, aren't they?' On being asked by Crémieux what Picasso meant when he said 'They're better than before,' did Picasso mean the drawings were better than what he did before cubism, to which Kahnweiler replied, 'Precisely: Better than the classicist, or, if you will, the naturalistic drawings I did before." That's all he meant. He never really 'abandoned' cubism; he did both things concurrently" (Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler with Francis Crémieux, My Galleries and My Painters [New York: Viking Press, 1971], p. 54).



X ray of *Olga in a Fur Collar*. Laboratoire de recherche des musées de France



Olga in a Fur Collar. 1923. Oil on canvas, $45^{5/8} \times 31^{3/4}$ " (116 × 80.5 cm). Not in Zervos. Musée Picasso, Paris

58. For a summary of the different dates proposed by art historians Kenneth E. Silver and Pierre Daix for the unfinished Artist and His Model (Musée Picasso, Paris), not catalogued by Zervos and not published until after Picasso's death, see FitzGerald, Making Modernism, pp. 48-51 and nn. 3, 4, and 11; FitzGerald is in agreement with Daix's suggestion that Picasso must have begun the picture during the summer of 1914 before the outbreak of war, and that its unfinished state reflected Picasso's questioning of Cubism and return to natural forms (See Daix and Rosselet, Picasso: The Cubist Years, pp. 164-66, no. 763). Elizabeth Cowling described it as "probably the first naturalistic painting Picasso had made since 1906, and it therefore anticipates the return to classicism of 1917 onwards." Cowling considered it to have been painted in Avignon in June 1914. (See Elizabeth Cowling and Jennifer Mundy, On Classic Ground: Picasso, Léger, de Chirico and the New Classicism 1910–1930 [London: Tate Gallery Publications, 1990], p. 204, no. 130.)

59. Although Cocteau's phrase "Le rappel à l'ordre" dates from 1926 (in the title he chose for a volume of essays, published by Stock) and is frequently cited in the context of 1920s Neoclassicism, it should be noted that the expression "Le rappel à l'ordre" (variously translated as "the call to order," or "the return to order") was first stated in print by Roger Bissière and André Lhote in March and June 1919, respectively, in their reviews of Braque's March 1919 exhibition at Léonce Rosenberg's gallery "L'Effort moderne." The expression came to designate the postwar phenomenon of classicism in France and elsewhere-a broad range of artistic and cultural manifestations involving the gradual and steady "classicizing" of avant-garde art and Cubism, a turn toward the classical French masters of the past, la grande tradition, and the use of traditional techniques-generally perceived as a reaction to the war but now known to have been already in place by World War I, if not prior to it. On the subject of "Le rappel à l'ordre," see André Fermigier, ed., Jean Cocteau entre Picasso et Radiguet (Paris: Hermann, 1967), pp. 9-33; "Le Retour à l'ordre dans les arts plastiques et l'architecture, 1919–1925," Actes du second colloque d'histoire de l'art contemporain, Université de Saint-Etienne, Travaux VIII (Saint-Etienne: Musée d'Art et d'Industrie de Saint-Etienne, February 17, 1974); Kenneth E. Silver, Esprit de Corps: The Art of the Parisian Avant-Garde and the First World War, 1914-1925 (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1989), pp. 186-298; Christopher Green, Cubism and Its Enemies: Modern Movements and Reaction in French Art, 1916-1928 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987); Elizabeth Cowling, "Introduction," in Cowling and Mundy, On Classic Ground, pp. 11, 14; Pierre Daix, "Return to Order" in his Picasso: Life and Art, translated by Olivia Emmet (New York: HarperCollins, 1993), pp. 161-71; original French edition, Picasso créateur (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1987).

60. This was the phrase used by Rosalind Krauss to characterize Picasso's Neoclassicism in "We Lost It at the Movies," her contribution to the forum on "The Subject in/of Art History," in *The Art Bulletin* 76, no. 4 (December 1994), p. 580.

61. From the interview Picasso gave to Marius de Zayas in Spanish, subsequently published in English translation as "Picasso Speaks," in *The Arts* 3, no. 5 (May 1923), p. 323 (reprinted in Barr, *Picasso: Fifty Years of His Art*, p. 271).

62. In conversation with the author, March 1970. Geneviève Laporte recalled Picasso looking around with admiration in a hotel room with a décor "pour voyageur de commerce," and his comment, "J'aime les choses laides et sans âge. Quelle chambre extraordinaire pour moi qui peut y voir tant de choses!" (Laporte, "Si tard le soir, le soleil brille," p. 49).

63. This breakfront, actually in an exaggerated version of the Henri II style, appears in such paintings and drawings as Zervos XVIII, 375, 379, 384, 385, 389, 394, and 395.

64. As Alfred Barr was the first to note, Surrealism was present in many of Picasso's drawings and some paintings executed between winter 1912–13 and the outbreak of war in August 1914, and Expressionism in and around the final version of *Les Desmoiselles d'Avignon* and its studies.

65. My thanks to Hélène Seckel for drawing my attention to the fact that *Olga in a Fur Collar* was painted over a more recent rectilinear Cubist version of the picture, which has been retrieved by an X ray made by the Louvre services (see illustration, p. 102). See *Picasso: Une Nouvelle Dation* (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1990), p. 28. In this case, the image began as a Cubist painting and was transformed into a Neoclassical one—reversing the process observed in *Woman in an Armchair*.

66. See, for example, the spring 1913 paper construction depicting a guitarist with sheet music (Daix 582), reproduced in Rubin, *Picasso and Braque: Pioneering Cubism*, p. 282.

67. This is the etching Model and Surrealist Sculpture, dated Paris, May 4, 1933, from the Sculptor's Studio theme (no. 74 in the Vollard Suite). In Geiser and Baer, the print is titled Marie-Thérèse considérant son effigie surréaliste sculptée (p. 175, no. 364). The open book on the chair cushion corresponds to the motif of the open book in the lap that was interpreted by Leo Steinberg "as a surrogate for the female sexual organ . . . symbolizing the woman's openness" (letter from Sheila Schwartz to Judith Cousins, December 25, 1995). The idea was first broached in Steinberg's extraordinary study of Les Demoiselles d'Avignon, published in 1972 (see below). Discussing the motif of the docked tabletop that spears the picture from below, he declared, "Of all the ways Picasso invented to insinuate the physical availability of the image, this visual metaphor of penetration is the most erotic." In a footnote to this pas-



Two Nudes and Self-Portrait of Rembrandt from the Vollard Suite (detail). January 31, 1934. Engraving on copper, $10^{7/8} \times 7^{3/4}$ " (27.7 × 19.7 cm). Geiser/Baer II, 414. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Fund

sage, Steinberg added: "The most innocentlooking Picasso may fall into this erotic class. E.g., the Cubist *Liscuse* of 1909 (Zervos II¹ 150), a seated nude dozing, with a book held open between parted thighs" (Leo Steinberg, "The Philosophical Brothel, Part 1," *Art News* 71, no. 5 [September 1972], p. 23 and p. 28, n. 12; republished with minor revisions in French translation for the exhibition catalogue *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, Musée Picasso, Paris, 1988; and in Spanish translation for the exhibition at the Museu Picasso, Barcelona, 1988; additional footnotes and a "Retrospect" in *October* (Cambridge, Mass., and London), 44 (spring 1988), p. 24, n. 12.

The subject of the open book in the lap was further developed by Steinberg in terms of three specific Picasso works, all concerning Marie-Thérèse Walter: Woman Reading of 1932 (Norton Simon Collection); The Dream (ex-Alsdorf Collection, Chicago; Zervos VII, 363); and Reading (Marie-Thérèse) (Musée Picasso, Paris; Zervos VII, 358); these works formed the substance of a lecture titled "The Interrupted Reading, or How Men Have Perceived Women with Books from the 14th Century to Modern Advertising." "Since 1981, Leo Steinberg has given the lecture repeatedly around the country, including: Whitney Museum of American Art, November 7, 1984; Harvard University Inaugural Levintritt Lecture, January 13, 1986" (Schwartz letter of December 25, 1995). I wish to express my thanks to Jane Necol and to Pepe Karmel for drawing these unpublished

lectures to my attention, and my indebtedness to Sheila Schwartz for specifying the subject of Steinberg's lectures on the theme of the open book in the lap and the dates they were given in New York and at Harvard.

68. "À chaque nouvelle expérience amoureuse, nous voyons son art progresser, apparaître une nouvelle forme, un autre language, un mode d'expression particulier auquel on pourrait donner un nom de femme" (Jaime Sabartés, *Picasso: Documents iconographiques*, translated by Félia Léal and Alfred Rosset [Geneva: Pierre Cailler, 1954], p. 50).

69. When Picasso first met Françoise Gilot in May 1943, he saw her together with her school friend Geneviève. Gilot quotes Picasso as saying, "I'm meeting beings I painted twenty years ago." On another occasion he observed: "You know, I've always been haunted by a certain few faces and yours is one of them" (Gilot and Lake, *Life with Picasso*, pp. 21, 49).

- 70. Zervos V, 29.
- 71. Zervos IV, 360.

72. An earlier sketchbook, however, contains a remarkable generic drawing of a *Mother and Child* (p. 49 of this volume), which comes about as close as Picasso gets to fifteenth- and earlysixteenth-century models. The benign, halfsmiling expression on the mother's beautiful face and the shy tilt of the head are reinforced by the gentle and delicate shading of the pencil throughout. While this hairstyle would be characteristic of Sara's portraits, the face, which no longer resembles Olga at all, adumbrates Sara's portraits less in its facial features than in its tender fragility and seeming state of grace. The elongation and bulk of the figures add a not wholly unexpected Mannerist note that recalls the London cartoon for Leonardo's Madonna and Child with Saint Anne and Saint John (see p. 92).

73. Indeed, it was precisely the *Tellus Mater* inflection of Venus/Sara in the *The Pipes of Pan*—an inflection directly connected to Venus/Sara's pairing with Cupid/Paulo in that image—which was intended to give that monumental projected "love song" its particular aura.

74. The photograph of Picasso wearing Sara Murphy's pearl necklace is reproduced in Calvin Tomkins, *Living Well Is the Best Revenge* (New York: Viking, 1971), in the section of reproductions called "An Album," between pp. 44 and 113.

75. See William Rubin, "The Pipes of Pan: Picasso's Aborted Love Song to Sara Murphy," Art News 93, no. 5 (May 1994), pp. 138–47.

76. Picasso's adaptation of Sara to the figure of Venus was entirely in keeping with the transformative and mythologizing nature of his imagery. Later, Marie-Thérèse would appear in a variety of classical roles, not least as Myrrhina from Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (Geiser 389).

77. The sketch is *Cupidon et danse au son de la flûte de Pan*, February 4, 1923, Paris. Musée Picasso, Paris, M.P. 983.

78. It seems likely that Picasso intended to execute the monumental canvas of *The Pipes of Pan* in a style of white washes and linear con-



Head of a Woman. August 1921. Charcoal and sanguine on paper, $25 \times 10^{11}/6''$ (63.5 × 50 cm). Zervos IV, 344. Private collection



Bust of a Woman. 1922. Oil on canvas, $13^{3/4} \times 10^{5/6}$ " (35 × 27 cm). Zervos IV, 396. Private collection

WILLIAM RUBIN



Project for The Pipes of Pan. 1923. India ink on paper, $9^{1\!/_2}\times12^{''}$ (24.5 \times 32 cm). Zervos V, 130. Private collection

tours similar to that of *Woman in White*, preserving the amorous iconography of the pastel studies. Instead, at the end of the summer, Picasso overpainted the original composition (already laid out on the canvas and still visible in X rays) with the painting we know by that title today (p. 57), which has a very different subject: two solipsistic men in a melancholy de Chiricoesque space. Its facture too changed, returning to the firmer, more monumental Neoclassicism of 1920–21. There is no way of knowing whether this was primarily a formal decision or a reaction to a romantic disappointment—or a combination of both.

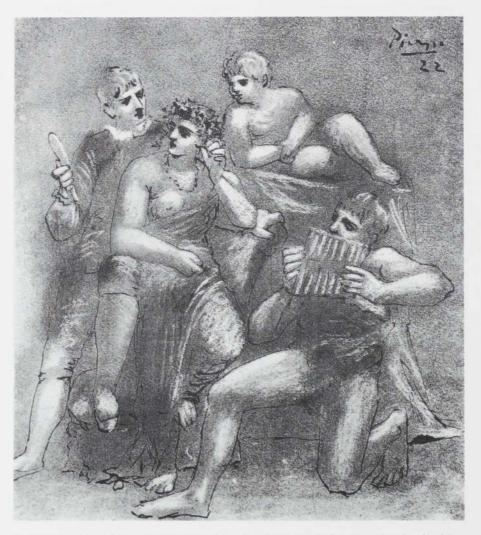
79. Quoted in Igor Stravinsky, An Autobiography (New York: W. W. Norton, 1962), p. 63; translated from *Chroniques de ma vie* and quoted with slight variants in Philippe Jullian, "The Lady from Chile," *Apollo* 89, no. 86 (April 1969), p. 266.

80. Pierre Cabanne, "Picasso et les joies de la paternité," L'Oeil, no. 226 (May 1974), p. 2. Herbert T. Schwarz, Picasso and Marie-Thérèse Walter, 1925-1927 (Montmagny, Quebec: Editions Isabeau, 1988), p. 14, mistakenly attributed the date of the meeting to have been imparted by Françoise Gilot: "[Picasso] finally revealed to Françoise Gilot that 'this meeting took place on the 8th of January 1927 in front of the Lafayette store in Paris." Gilot, in fact, while she made numerous references to Marie-Thérèse, specified only that "[Picasso] had met Marie-Thérèse on the street one day near the Galeries Lafayette when she was seventeen, he told me" (Gilot and Lake, Life with Picasso, p. 234). The date January 8, 1927, has often been cited in the literature on Picasso and Marie-Thérèse without a reference to its original source.

81. See Pierre Daix, "On a Hidden Portrait of Marie-Thérèse," Art in America 71, no. 8 (September 1983), pp. 124–29. See also Schwarz, *Picasso and Marie-Thérèse Walter*, pp. 85–86, for comments on Daix's article.

82. Rosalind E. Krauss, "Life with Picasso: Sketchbook No. 92, 1926," in Arnold Glimcher and Marc Glimcher, eds., *Je suis le cahier: The Sketchbooks of Picasso* (New York: Pace Gallery, 1986), pp. 113–39. The danger in arguing "premonitory" identifications is illustrated by Krauss's assimilation of the woman in the turban (Zervos V, 369) as an image of Marie-Thérèse executed in advance of Picasso's meeting her. In fact, it is clear from the snapshot which served as this drawing's basis that it is a portrait of Sara Murphy.

83. The painting was published in Zervos VII, 2, as *Les Modistes*, 1926. Under the title *L'Atelier de la modiste*, it was shown in the 1955 Picasso retrospective exhibition at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, of which Maurice Jardot was the "commissaire." A note was appended to the catalogue entry for the picture specifying that "Cet atelier se trouvait effectivement de l'autre côté de la rue, en face des fenêtres de l'appartement que Picasso occupait rue de la Boétie" (*Picasso: Peintures 1900–1955* [Paris: Musée des Arts Décoratifs, 1955], no. 67). Antonina



Project for The Pipes of Pan. 1923 (subsequently misdated, upper right, by artist). Pastel and India ink on paper, 8⁷/₈ × 7⁷/₈" (22.5 × 20 cm). Zervos V, 122. Private collection

Valentin repeated this identification in her book about Picasso, published two years later: "D'un monde crépusculaire émergent les courbes fantomatiques de l'Atelier de la modiste (Musée national d'art moderne, Paris. . . . Mais si insaisissable et difficile à déchifrer que paraisse ce nocturne il est un reflet d'une chose vue. L'étrange choix du sujet s'explique par le fait que, de son appartement de la rue La Boétie, Picasso pouvait en effet plonger le regard dans cet atelier situé en face et voir clientes et modistes y évoluer dans cette ambience étrange, inattendue dans un cadre banal" (Antonina Valentin, *Pablo Picasso* [Paris: Editions Albin Michel, 1957], p. 268).

Relevant to this and other misinformation communicated by Picasso is his following observation: "You must not always believe what I say. Questions tempt one to tell lies, particularly when there is no answer." This remark was made to Jacques Prévert, who reported it to André Villers. It is cited in Schwartz, *Picasso and Marie-Thérèse Walter*, p. 117. Picasso certainly resented questions about his private life, especially as regards Marie-Thérèse, for obvious reasons.

84. In the course of researching Picasso's early relationship with Marie-Thérèse, Herbert T. Schwarz set out to find what he called Picasso's "mysterious Atelier de la Modiste," in which the young Marie-Thérèse seemed to figure. The search for the atelier on rue La Boétie proved fruitless; it was, according to Schwarz, nonexistent. But Schwarz subsequently decided that the painting, in fact, represented the setting of the Maisons d'Alfort at 6, Cité d'Alfortwhere Marie-Thérèse lived with her mother, Emilie Marguerite, and a sister. Dr Schwartz proposes that on one of his first visits, Picasso had probably observed the mother with her two daughters busy making the broad-brimmed felt hats they were so fond of. Their presence, in addition to Picasso himself at the door of the atelier, constitutes the subject of the composition. Schwarz believes Picasso's first visit to 6, Cité d'Alfort took place in October or November 1925, that he got the inspiration for Les Modistes possibly in December when Marie-Thérèse's sister, a student, was there for Christmas holidays, and that he finished the picture early in January 1926. (See Schwarz, Picasso and Marie-Thérèse Walter, pp. 101-05, 123-24, 152.) Schwarz's research includes a photograph of the actual glass-panel door that appears to the right in the Atelier des Modistes.

85. That such a large canvas should have been devoted to this subject at that moment in Picasso's life has been a conundrum for Picasso students. Schwartz's thesis not only makes the subject and mysterious aura of the picture understandable, but rationalizes the presence in it of Picasso himself on the right.

86. See John Richardson, Through the Eye of Picasso, 1928–1934: The Dinard Sketchbook and Related Paintings and Sculpture (New York: William Beadleston, 1985), n.p., and Richardson, "Picasso and l'Amour Fou," New York Review of Books 32, no. 20 (December 19, 1985), pp. 59–68; Schwarz, Picasso and Marie-Thérèse Walter, pp. 11–14. Schwarz seems not to have been aware of the oil portrait of Marie-Thérèse (p. 61; not in Zervos), which Picasso had kept for himself and which descended to Jacqueline and, later, to her daughter, Catherine Hutin-Blay, who gave it to the Musée Picasso (see *Picasso: Une Nouvelle Dation*, p. 36).

87. For a discussion of the origin and development of Surrealist biomorphism, see William Rubin, "Toward a Critical Framework," *Artforum*, special issue (September 1966), pp. 36–55; and William Rubin, *Dada and Surrealist Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1968), pp. 18–22, and *passim*.

88. For one of the earliest critiques of the origin of this style see Adam Gopnik, "P loves MT: A Note on the First Appearance of Marie-Thérèse Walter in the Picasso Theater," *Marsyas* (Institute of Fine Arts, New York University) 21 (1981–82), pp. 57–60.

89. I had talked about the Museum's Seated Bather briefly on two different occasions with Picasso, once in June 1971 and then in July of the following year. On the second of these occasions, he had identified the painting's hard and aggressive, somewhat surreal anatomy as having been "inspired" by his wife, Olga Khokhlova, from whom he was estranged though not yet separated at the time of its execution. As the word "inspired" is in French in my notes, I can vouch for its having been the precise word used by the artist. My notes of conversations with Picasso were set down after about an hour's drive from his villa or, at the latest, the following morning. They recorded in English the general substance of what he said; if I remembered a particular word he used, I put it in the original French.

90. "But in all those conditions that we would call style the paintings are nearly twins" (Rosalind E. Krauss, "In the Name of Picasso," in *The Originality of the Avant-Garde* [Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1985], p. 23).

My distinguishing between the two styles of these paintings was originally presented as a lecture on October 12, 1980, at a symposium on the Cubist legacy in twentieth-century sculpture. My comparison of *Seated Bather* with *Bather with Beach Ball*, from which Krauss launched her critique, had been (and remains) in part based on a comparison between the *Seated Bather* and *Nude in an Armchair* (1929; Zervos VII, 263) that Meyer Schapiro had made in his 1949–50 lectures at Columbia University.

91. Picasso married Olga Khokhlova on July 12, 1918. Not long after the birth of their son, Paulo, in February 1921, and notably in the summer of 1923, the marriage began to founder, and it worsened into growing estrangement during the later 1920s and early 1930s. Its disintegration ensued upon the revelation of Marie-Thérèse's pregnancy in early 1935. Olga finally agreed to grant Picasso a divorce, but on terms that were impossible for the artist to accept, as they entailed Picasso's parting with a large part of those paintings and sculptures of his that he had kept, and which he felt were absolutely necessary for the continuity of his work. In the end, Picasso was able to retain access to these works in the framework of a legal separation agreement rather than a divorce.

92. This expression was used by Françoise Gilot in recalling that Picasso "was rather fond . . . of saying, 'For me, there are only two kinds of women—goddesses and doormats.' And whenever he thought I might be feeling too much like a goddess, he did his best to turn me into a doormat" (Gilot and Lake, *Life with Picasso*, p. 84).

93. I am aware that this anodyne view of Bather with Beach Ball is not universally shared. Some critics insist on reading this picture as a monstrous or sinister image. But I believe that reading is wrong and misses what Picasso intended as whimsy. John Golding, for example, viewed the figure as a "giant squid and her limbs . . . sinister and tentacular" ("Picasso and Surrealism," in Roland Penrose and John Golding, eds., Picasso 1881-1973 [London: Paul Elek, 1973], p. 103). Robert Rosenblum's reading in this volume (see pp. 360–61) tends also in this direction. While the association of Marie-Thérèse's body in this picture to some kind of sea creature (though hardly to a "tentacular" squid) seems logical to me, since I believe Picasso wanted to think of the female torso here as squishy-in the sense of soft, wet, and slippery—I cannot square the aggressive assumptions of these readings with the decor of the costume and the playfulness of the motif.

94. Linda Nochlin, "Picasso's Color Schemes and Gambits," *Art in America* 68, no. 10 (December 1980), pp. 120–23, 177–80.

95. William Rubin, catalogue entry for *Girl* Before a Mirror in Picasso in the Collection of The Museum of Modern Art (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1972), p. 140, and p. 226, n. 1.

96. See Rubin, "From Narrative to 'Iconic' in Picasso."

97. For Picasso's association of the guitar to both female and male anatomies, see Rubin, *Picasso in the Collection of The Museum of Modern Art*, pp. 82–83, 211.

98. See Still Life with Cherries (opposite]). Also, Still Life with Pitcher and Apple (1938; not in Zervos; see Picasso intime [Tokyo: Seibu Museum of Art, 1981], p. 101); Plantes Tropicales (Zervos XV, 83–86).

99. For Picasso's borrowings from de Chirico associated with a period of cross-fertilization during World War I, see William Rubin, "De Chirico and Modernism," in *De Chirico* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1982), pp. 66–70, 78–79 and nn. 3I–34.

roo. It should be kept in mind that Maya Picasso unconditionally rejects Dr. Schwartz's thesis. She considers pictures which to Schwartz and other critics might resemble or allude to Marie-Thérèse either generic images or inspired by other individuals.

101. Zervos VII, 82, 354.

102. Observed by Pepe Karmel in conversation with me.

103. Marie-Thérèse's face in sketch III is largely unchanged, except that her lips are once again shown parted, now in apprehensiveness, by carrying over into her mouth the same kind of *S*-curve that defines the nostril and the pattern of the hat. In its unstable and ambiguous implications, the *S*-curve may be said to be the leitmotif of the sketch.

104. Hélène Seckel has kindly drawn my attention to the fact that in 1989 Marie-Laure Bernadac (then a curator at the Musée Picasso) organized an exhibition entitled *Picasso poète: "Le Crayon qui parle"* (Musée Picasso, Paris, 1989–90), in which the series of drawings executed by Picasso from April 2 to May 1, 1936, were shown in conjunction with several of the paintings (none of them recorded by Zervos) to which they relate. The pairings included M.P. 155, Woman in a Straw Hat, May 1, 1936 (see p. 73), and M.P. 1162, *Sketches for "Woman in a Straw Hat*," May 1, 1936 (see p. 72)—in which the notations for the color scheme correspond very precisely to the colors of the painting.

105. See also, for example, pp. 399 and 400. 106. David Douglas Duncan appears to have been the first to record the often-cited phrase Picasso used to describe this period (*Picasso's Picassos* [New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961], p. 111).

107. "Many of the cruel distortions of the late Thirties and early Forties have their roots in Dora's chronic distress" (John Richardson, "Introduction," in *Homage to Picasso for his 90th Birthday: Exhibition of Paintings and Works on Paper* [New York: Saidenberg Gallery and Marlborough Gallery, 1971], p. 9).

ro8. "For months [Picasso] was plagued by these abortive proceedings [legal procedures for divorcing Olga], so much so that for a while he could not bear to go upstairs to his studio [at rue La Boétie]... the solitude of Picasso had become more than the inevitable solitude of genius," wrote Roland Penrose in Picasso: His Life and Work (London: Victor Gollancz, 1958), pp. 250, 253. Brassaï described Picasso during this period: "Bruised and battered in the conjugal wars, disgusted even with painting, living alone in his two apartments, he had sent out a call for help to the great friend of his childhood, Jaime Sabartés. . . . It was a cry of real distress; he was going through the gravest crisis of his life" (Brassaï, Picasso and Company, p. 41). Sabartés also portrayed Picasso's troubled frame of mind in 1935-36: "Procés, visites aux avocats, aux notaires. . . . En un mot tout ce qui peut contribuer à l'empêcher de travailler. . . . En 1936, tracassé par son divorce, il ne veut plus peindre. Il ne monte plus à son atelier, et la seule vue de tableaux et de dessins l'exaspère" (Sabartés, Picasso: Documents iconographiques, pp. 67-69). "At the beginning of March . [1936], he told me that he wanted to go away. He was sick and tired of people, of exhibitions, of hearing the same things from the same persons, and he had no desire to work, or, even if he did, he was bereft of incentive. . . . 'I can't stand it any longer,' he would tell me day after day. . . . 'I can't stand it any longer. You know that this is no life'" (Sabartés, Picasso: An Intimate Portrait, p. 124).

109. Between 1919 and 1924 Gala and Paul Eluard had managed to acquire a fairly substantial collection of paintings so that by the time the collection was partially sold at auction on July 7, 1924, it numbered six works on paper and five paintings by Picasso purchased at the auctions of Wilhelm Uhde's collection (May 30, 1921) and those of Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler's collection (June 13–14, 1921; November 17–18, 1921; July 4, 1922; and May 7–8, 1923). When Eluard sold his collection to Roland Penrose on June 27, 1938, it included ten Picassos. (See Jean-Charles Gateau, *Paul Eluard et la peinture surréaliste* [Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1982], pp. 357–60, annex 1 and 2.)

110. From Roland Penrose, "Un Oeil de liberté," in Paul Eluard et ses amis peintres 1895-1952 (Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou, Musée National d'Art Moderne, 1982–83), p. 20. By way of conclusion to his description of the portrait (cited above) Penrose added, "La blague n'était pas sans rappeler la forme féminine au bas de la planche qui illustre Grand air où l'on voit un chat allaitant trois petits poissons." In his biography of Picasso published in 1958, Penrose had specified that Picasso first portrayed Eluard as an Arlesienne: "As a reaction to his recent preoccupations with tragedy [i.e., Guernica], [Picasso] was seized with a diabolical playfulness. The 'portraits' were most frequently of Dora Maar, but at other times he would announce that his model was Eluard or Nusch or Lee Miller. The paintings were strangely like their models but distorted and disguised by surprising inventions. Eluard first appeared in the traditional costume of an Arlésienne, and a few days later, in a second painting, he was dressed as a peasant woman suckling a cat" (Penrose, Picasso: His Life and Work, p. 279).

111. In Eluard, Picasso et la peinture (1936–1952) (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1983), pp. 28, 31,



Still Life with Cherries. June 10, 1939. Oil on canvas. Zervos IX, 315. Private collection

Gateau, on the basis of a conversation with Penrose in summer 1969, claimed that the portrait in question was that of Paul "habillé en femme" (Zervos VIII, 368, where it is identified as Femme assise, 1937–38). Gateau reproduced it as "Portrait (Paul Eluard en femme?)." He either was unaware of or-more likely-chose to overlook the existence of La femme au chat, August 30, 1937 (Zervos VIII, 373), generally identified as the portrait of Eluard mentioned by Penrose in 1958, and in the text cited above. In his biography of Eluard published in 1988, Gateau merely referred to the portraits Picasso made of Nusch and Paul Eluard during the summer of 1937: "Dès le 3 août, Picasso dessine un portrait de Nusch. Il en fera plusieurs cet été-là, et peindra même Eluard en costume féminin" (Jean-Charles Gateau, Paul Eluard ou le frère voyant 1895-1952 [Paris: Editions Robert Laffont, 1988], p. 245).

112. Indeed, it should be noted that there is no suggestion of any "carnal" adventure between Picasso and Nusch in the recollections by Penrose, Sabartés, or Brassaï.

113. Gilot recalled that "Paul and Nusch had 'discovered' Mougins in the thirties and induced Pablo, he told me, to spend a part of his vacation there in 1936, 1937, and 1938. From that period date Pablo's studies of Nusch. Pablo had had a vague affair with Nusch at that period, he told me, and Paul—he was certain—had turned a blind eye to it: the ultimate test of friendship." Gilot added that Picasso told her, "But it was a gesture of friendship on my part too. . . . I only did it to make him happy. I didn't want him to think I didn't like his wife" (Gilot and Lake, *Life with Picasso*, 1964, p. 137).

Taking his cue from Gilot, Pierre Cabanne proceeded to situate the "affair" between Nusch and Picasso in the summer of 1936: "Paul et Nusch Eluard sont les compagnons les plus proches de ces mois d'été, et le poète, dont le comportement en amour le pousse à ne bien posséder que ce qu'il offre à autrui, et aimer ce qu'il donne à aimer, se fait l'amical intercesseur entre Nusch et Picasso. Ce n'était pas la première fois que la jeune femme se prêtait aux expérimentations amoureuses provoquées par son mari, à la grande indignation de Breton dont le rigorisme s'accommodait mal de ce procédés qu'il réprouvait. Nusch y mettait une grande gentillesse. . . . Le don qu'[Eluard] faisait à Picasso de celle à l'égard de qui il éprouvait une grande passion sublimera l'amitié entre les deux hommes" (Pierre Cabanne, Le Siècle de Picasso: I. 1881-1937 [Paris: Editions Denoël, 1975], p. 491).

114. According to Geneviève Laporte, Picasso told her he had refused to sleep with Nusch: "Nusch était admirable. Juste comme il fallait à Paul. Tu sais que Paul aurait voulu que je couche avec elle . . . et moi je ne voulais pas. J'aimais beaucoup Nusch . . . mais pas pour ça. Paul était furieux. Il me disait que je n'étais pas vraiment son ami pour refuser . . . Parfois il allait à l'hôtel avec une prostituée. Nusch et moi on l'attendait, au café en bas, en bavardant" (Laporte, "Si tard le soir, le soleil brille," p. 39).

115. The poem and portrait were reproduced two years later in *Cahiers d'art* 14 (1939), pp. 138-

39. About this portrait Penrose wrote, "As proof of friendship [Picasso] frequently drew or painted the exquisite charm of Nusch.... With her usual taste for originality and elegance, Nusch one day appeared at the rue des Grands Augustins in a new black dress and hat. On the lapels were two gilt cherubs and the top of the hat was ornamented by a horseshoe. The pale fragile face of Nusch, with her combination of ethereal charm and simple candid high spirits, looked all the more enchanting in the severity of these clothes. Picasso remarked that the hat was shaped like an anvil with the horseshoe in position to be hammered into shape. In the portrait he painted as soon as she had gone he traced the base of the anvil in transparent shadows vertically across the oval shape of her face. The gilt cherubs appeared on the lapels and her dark hair surrounded her head with the movement of clouds" (Penrose, Picasso: His Life and Work, pp. 283-84).

116. See Gilot and Lake, Life with Picasso, p. 242.

117. In May 1945 Brassaï paid a visit to Paul and Nusch Eluard's apartment in the quarter named La Chapelle. "Since my last visit here, however, it is the Picassos that now dominate the walls. Among them, is a portrait of Nusch dated August 1941; a masterpiece. Picasso has painted this ethereal creature with all the gentleness, all the delicacy of which his brush is capable, as if he had wanted to put aside the terrible and rest in the gracious" (Brassaï, *Picasso and Company*, p. 154).

118. This interpretation—a more convincing variant of a line of thinking argued in Mary Mathews Gedo, *Picasso: Art as Autobiography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), pp. 184–85—was suggested to me in conversation with Pepe Karmel.

119. At least up to the date of the "Arlésienne"; see volume I of Paul Eluard's *Oeuvres complètes*, edited by Marcelle Dumas and Lucien Scheler (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1968).

120. In his biography of Picasso, Penrose described the summer of 1937 which he spent at Mougins at the Hôtel Vaste Horizon in the company of Picasso and Dora Maar, Nusch and Paul Eluard, and Lee Miller. "[Picasso] installed himself in the only room with a balcony in the hotel. When he emerged on to the terrace for meals he would tell his friends, who were then occupying the entire hotel, what he had been doing . . . but more often he would announce that he had made a portrait. As a reaction to his recent preoccupation with tragedy [Guernica, completed in June 1937], he was seized with a diabolical playfulness. The 'portraits' were most frequently of Dora Maar, but at other times he would announce that his model was Eluard or Nusch or Lee Miller. The paintings were strangely like their models but distorted and disguised by surprising inventions. . . . The profile of Lee Miller seemed all the more recognizable when combined with large liquid eyes that had been allowed to run with wet paint and an enormous smile from a pair of bright green lips. It was by a combination of characteristics set out in hieroglyphic shorthand that the person in question became ludicrously

recognizable" (Penrose, Picasso: His Life and Work, p. 279).

121. From an unpublished lecture titled "Leonardo as Artist and Scientist," given by Meyer Schapiro at the Y.M.H.A. in New York City c. 1952.

122. Walter Pater, *The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 80.

123. See Richardson, A Life of Picasso, p. 121. 124. Pater, The Renaissance, p. 152.

124. Pater, The Renaissance 125. Ibid., p. 150.

126. Richard Offner, unpublished lectures on High Renaissance painting at New York University, Institute of Fine Arts, 1950–51.

127. According to Ludwig Goldscheider in Da Vinci: Paintings and Drawings (London: Phaidon Press, 1964), p. 157, "A Frenchman (Robert de Sizeranne, 1986) had observed that Gioconda smiles with only the left part of her mouth-but this is in accordance with the advice given to women in Renaissance times as how to look most graceful: we read in Agnolo Firenzuola's Della perfetta bellezza d'una donna, 1541: 'From time to time to close the mouth at the right corner with suave and nimble movement, and to open it at the left side, as if you were smiling secretly . . . not in an artificial manner, but as though unconsciously-this is not affectation, if it is done in moderation and in a restrained and graceful manner and accompanied by innocent coquetry and by certain movements of the eyes.'

128. John Shearman, "Leonardo's Colour and Chiaroscuro," Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte 25 (1962), pp. 13–47.

129. "Les couleurs ne sont que des symboles et la réalité n'est que dans la lumière." From two typewritten pages titled "Guillaume



Portrait of Nusch Eluard. 1937. Drawing on paper tablecloth, $9\frac{7}{16} \times 5^{11/16}$ " (24 × 14.5 cm). Private collection, England, on loan to the Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art, Edinburgh. (See p. 82) Apollinaire, 'Propos de Pablo Picasso'' preserved in the Fonds Apollinaire of the Bibliothèque littéraire Jacques Doucet (7540, B'II-2), first published in Pierre Caizergues, ed., *Apollinaire Journaliste* (Paris: Minard, Lettres Modernes, 1981, pp. 596–98); reprinted in Pierre Caizergues and Hélène Seckel, eds., *Picasso/ Apollinaire Correspondance* (Paris: Editions Gallimard/Réunion des Musées nationaux, 1992), pp. 201, 204, and 152. I am indebted to Hélène Seckel for information as to the origin of this statement by Picasso.

130. "How often haven't I found that, wanting to use a blue. I didn't have it. So I used a red instead of the blue" (Tériade, "En causant avec Picasso," L'Intransigeant, June 15, 1932); reprinted as "Propos de Picasso à Tériade," in Verve 5 nos. 19-20 (1948); reprinted in English translation in Ashton, Picasso on Art: A Selection of Views, p. 89. "Combien de fois au moment de mettre du bleu j'ai constaté que j'en manquais. Alors j'ai pris du rouge et l'ai mis à la place du bleu. Vanité des choses de l'esprit" (from "Couleur de Picasso. Peintures et dessins. Textes de Picasso et Sabartés," Verve 5, nos. 19-20 [1948], n.p.). This remark of Picasso has been published on a number of occasions, sometimes with other pairs of colors.

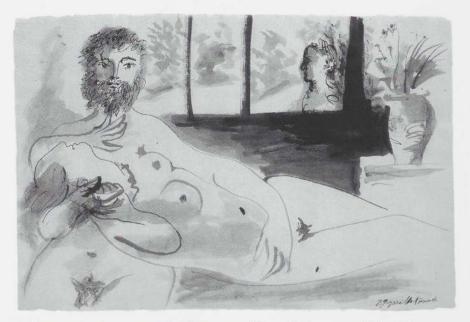
131. Penrose wrote that soon after the completion of *Guernica*, June 4, 1937, Picasso closed his studio and set off to join Nusch and Paul Eluard at the Hôtel Vaste Horizon at Mougins, taking Dora Maar with him. "A third passenger in the Hispano was Kasbec, an Afghan hound Picasso had acquired not long before. The drowsy oriental dignity or sudden alertness of this slender animal earned him a considerable amount of attention. He never left his master's side, and his profile with its sharp inquisitive nose became traceable for several years among the human heads that Picasso invented. In fact Picasso has told me jokingly that his two most important models in these years before and during the Second World War were Kasbec and Dora Maar" (Penrose, Picasso: His Life and Work, p. 278). Kasbec's elegant snout would be associated with many of the portraits Picasso did of Dora Maar in this period. Penrose tells us also that at the time of Paloma's birth in 1949, a new dog named Yan, a boxer puppy, replaced Kasbec, and took his place in paintings of the children at play with their mother. "The shape of the children's faces in the new pictures reflected rather the round snub-nosed head of Yan" (ibid., p. 330).

In June 1961, Picasso and Jacqueline moved into the house called Notre-Dame-de-Vie at Mougins. Part of their ménage was the Afghan hound Kabul, who from now on would appear in many portraits of Jacqueline, his muzzle incorporated in her features, as in *Nude Woman Seated on Grass*, Mougins, December 11, 1961 (Collection Marina Picasso), which was preceded on the same day by another composition showing a nude with Jacqueline's eyes and Kabul's muzzle in the attitude of a baby on its dressing table; or he is shown standing at Jacqueline's side, as in *Woman in an Armchair*, Mougins, December 13, 1961–January 10, 1962, The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

The acquisition of the château of Boisgeloup, which followed upon the maturing of Picasso's liaison with Marie-Thérèse, was marked by the acquisition of a huge Saint Bernard whose "ghostly bark," according to John Richardson, "can occasionally be detected in paintings of the period, for instance, when its vast head and distinctive markings—dark smudges of eyes and ears which fit, neatly, as pieces of a puzzle, into the sides of the white snout—suggest an ingenious new pattern for Marie-Thérèse's features. . . . No. 74 [Baigneuse sur la plage, January 8, 1931, charcoal on primed canvas, Collection Marina Picasso] is especially interesting in that it combines both the canine and the sexual elements. The double profile can be seen in terms of the Saint Bernard also as a pair of meshing genitalia" (John Richardson, "Picasso and Marie-Thérèse Walter," in Through the Eye of Picasso 1928–1934, n.p.).

132. In conversation with the author, July 1971.

133. One of the most familiar of Picasso's symbols of death was either the distorted head or menacing sex of the prostitute. This image was already indelibly established by 1907 in the head of the crouching whore of *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*. Picasso returned to this theme at intervals throughout his career, especially in his late years (see below).



Reclining Couple. July 29, 1936. India ink on paper, 13% × 20% (34.5 × 51 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection

Old Prostitute. June 3, 1972. India ink on paper, 11⁵/8 × 8¹/4" (29.6 × 21 cm). Zervos XXXIII, 406. Private collection



Picasso at age fifteen. Barcelona, 1896. Photographer unknown. Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives

Picasso's Self-Portraits

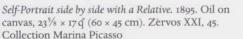
KIRK VARNEDOE

icasso's ego was so vast and his art so rooted in personal experience, we might assume his field of self-depictions would be similarly broad and deep. Yet he made only a few unequivocal paintings of his own likeness, all before he was thirty. For the rest, we find specific renderings of his face only in a smattering of drawings or prints, mostly early and usually minor. This anomaly disappears and the field expands exponentially, of course, if we admit the teeming horde of surrogates-the carnival of harlequins, minotaurs, and musketeers-into which Picasso continually projected self-references. Then the dearth becomes a virtually uncontainable surfeit: the entire oeuvre can, after all, be read, by one tactic or another, as autobiographical. The trick is to find some useful path between the two alternativesneither to constrict self-portraiture into a narrow literalism, nor to inflate it by including a host of guesswork identifications. The middle ground is large but slippery.

As with his portraits in general, simple criteria of resemblance founder. Elements of Picasso's appearance past, present, future, or mixes thereof—may meld in his art with features of other people real or imagined, contemporary or historical. Such seemingly telltale markers as large dark eyes, a striped sailor's tunic, a shock of hair, or a domed pate turn out to be poor gauges of any serious self-examination, since these clues are often fragmentary, scrambled, or, within a series of closely variant personages, unstably evanescent. The absence of such bits of likeness is, alas, equally inconclusive. Picasso often "inhabited" his creations without any reference to his physiognomy, vesting himself in a bestiary of natural and fanciful creatures, in objects like pipes or doorknobs, and even in patterns (such as the varicolored diamonds of the Harlequin's costume) or other abstract signs. He also found countless ways to reflect his own interests and desires in his portrayals of others; for example, his companion Marie-Thérèse Walter was metamorphosed in a 1935 sculpture into a part of him (p. 153, right).

Many of these sublimated selves may embody Picasso's private myths and superstitions or self-directed varieties of the animisms and fetishisms that constituted his own personal voodoo.1 As with so much in his art, though, his troupe of alter egos is also, for all its exoticism, the extrapolation of a basic, shared human experience. Each of us is inherently various; each develops as a community of conflicting potentials. These assemblies, moreover, are never mustered solely from within but are largely conscripted along the way. In our public and also in our intimate lives, we may cobble together ways to present our selves by appropriating bits and pieces from other people, often adapting attributes or behaviors that correspond to our fantasies of being (at least a little) of another age or nationality or class. With insight we may come to recognize, among these parts that make up our personas, which of them represent the parents, teachers, lovers, rivals, or fictional characters we have known or imagined. Picasso's







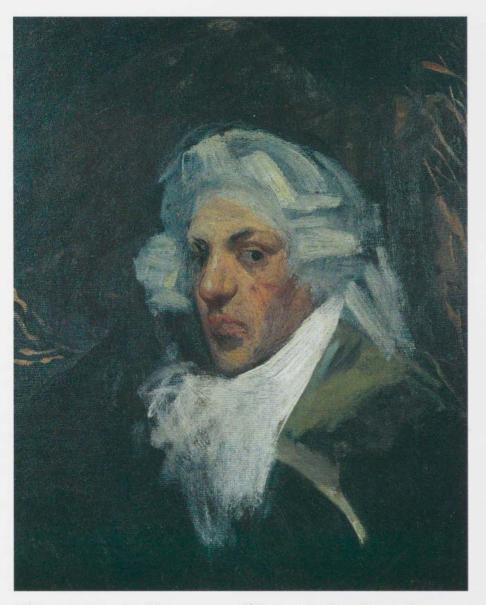
polymorphous self-projection offers a lifelong, evolving catalogue of such insights.

It would be trite to say that the variety of these avatars is only an "expression" of his multilayered personality. Between the worlds he created and the life he lived, the traffic ran both ways; each shaped his understanding of the other, as his art allowed him not simply to express, but to construct and to discover, the complexities in himself. The companions of Picasso's later life described games in which personalities were ascribed, by group discussion, to personages in completed paintings,² and Françoise Gilot witnessed the way Picasso would first create a figure and only later-over a period of weeks or months, by continuing to work on it or its variantsdecide who it was.3 He was also a devotee of tarot, a card game of divination based on the notion that unplanned combinations of conventional figures can, if "read" attentively, reveal a unique personal destiny.4 Doubtless, then, Picasso let tumble from his brush, pen, and stylus many a stock faun or artist, carouser or codger whom he recognized, during the working process or later, as a likely carrier for some aspect of his own identity. He encouraged or suppressed these "self-portraits" according to his whim, as he by turns followed the characters of his imaginings and led them in whatever directions he desired. As one upshot of his overall fusion of truth-seeking and mythmaking, this process involved discovery, disclosure, and disguise in varying dialogue.

What is at issue, however, is not self-analysis in the abstract but visual art, and Picasso's manipulation of

the markers of identity has an essential formal aspect as well. There are constant, central tensions between abstraction and reference or between deformation and description in Picasso's work, and they gain another dimension when, in the almost infinitely variable domain of the face, the marks he makes are caught in an oscillation between anonymity and resemblance. An interchange between extreme stylization and the pointed evocation of character begins in the comedy of Picasso's early caricatures, with their exorbitant exaggerations and pithy economies (p. 116, bottom; p. 119, bottom). It gains in drama when, in the Portrait of Gertrude Stein (p. 267), he begins to confound the distinction between reductive marks that summarize an identity and autonomous masks that impose one. Variations on this tension remain key to his redefinitions of portraiture throughout his life.5 As his art always shows and as he occasionally said, Picasso wanted to use the signs he created not to encode specific messages or meanings but to produce disruptively fertile ambiguities and confusions, which often allowed contradictions to cohabit.6 Applied to the imaging of personalities-and certainly not least the portrayal of his ownthis opened up an exceptional range of possibilities.

Perhaps this preference for disorientation and double entendres may help explain why the mature Picasso made so few specific, look-in-the-mirror self-images: his sense of his own being was so protean and volatile that a simple recording of his appearance likely seemed an impoverished premise for art. But the paucity of direct self-portraits after 1907 may also reflect a more complex



Self-Portrait in a Wig. c. 1897. Oil on canvas, 22 × 18½" (55.8 × 46 cm). Zervos XXI, 48. Museu Picasso, Barcelona

form of egotism. His prime desire in art, with his identity as with everything else in the world, was to control and reinvent rather than merely observe and record. However much it amused and informed him to use his art to look into himself, he grew warier of having his aging mortal self—the outer shell whose changing forms time, not he, commanded—look back at him undisguised.

It has been suggested that Picasso turned to selfportrayal in times of crisis, when he felt threatened or aggrieved,⁷ but the episodic production is actually grouped around a motley variety of moments in his life, hardly consistent in tone or importance. By far the most productive of these periods were his adolescence and early manhood, when he experimented with his appearance as, in John Richardson's words, "a romantic vagabond, a glamorous jeune premier, a decadent poet, a tophatted dandy and much else besides."⁸

The mature Picasso was given to denouncing the whole idea of an artist having *a* style. (He cited God to justify painting in multiple manners, arguing that the cosmos demonstrated its maker's disdain for consistency of design.⁹) Nonetheless, a restless, posturing search for a personal style marks his juvenile self-images, in modes of depiction as well as in costume and carriage. The adoption of an eighteenth-century gentleman's powdered wig, with its overtones of a Beaux-Arts ball and its premonition of the masquerades of Picasso's later period, is only the most obvious of these wishful fancies (see above). By contrast, the so-called "bewildered" self-image of 1896 (left) has a writhing Art Nouveau curvilinearity that starts

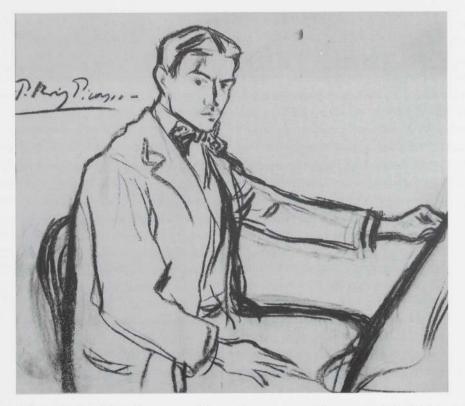


Picasso Bewildered. 1897. Conté crayon on paper, 12³/₈ × 9³/₄" (32 × 24.7 cm). Zervos VI, 114. Private collection

in the flame-lick lapels and rises like smoke through the chin, cheek, and jaw structure, into the snaking white midline of the wavy hair. Both the *modernista* manner and this slicked-down coiffure, seen again in a contemporary self-image at the easel (below), assert a faux-adult dandiness, in contrast to the less-kempt look of a slightly earlier oil portrait (opposite, top). Ironically, though, it is the latter, unruly mane that seems, in conjunction with the pouting expression and sullenly lowered gaze, not just more truculently youthful but also more premonitory.

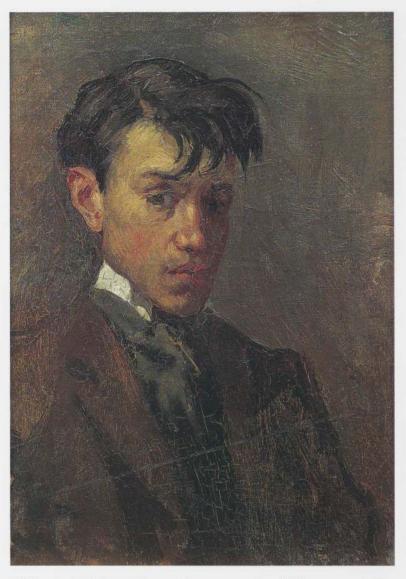
Picasso's hair, a malleable public signboard of selfdiscipline or its absence, was a recurrent focus of his youthful efforts to style himself; yet the closest model for the look he eventually adopted—a shaggy, boyish bang spilling down from a part on the side—is already seen in the novice self-descriptions of his early teens (opposite). Thus, when this combing arrangement was codified around 1908, it may have been a conscious throwback (p. 138, top right; the side on which the hair is parted has changed from left to right). Even in these early variations, the eye looking in the mirror seems to have spotted the way in which such a large forelock could allow a renderer to pin the eyebrow to the ear and flatten the curve of the cranium at the temple (p. 116, bottom left and right).

In several other early self-images, by contrast, centerparted hair served Picasso's interest in marking his own physical and psychic symmetry, or lack thereof. Almost all



Self-Portrait. 1899. Charcoal on paper, 17 $\frac{3}{4} \times 20^{\frac{1}{8}}$ (45.2 × 51.3 cm). Zervos I, 14. Daix, p. 22. Private collection

KIRK VARNEDOE II4



Self-Portrait with Unkempt Hair. 1896. Oil on canvas, $12\%\times9^{3/8''}$ (32.7 \times 23.6 cm). Not in Zervos. Museu Picasso, Barcelona



Self-Portrait. 1896. Pencil on paper, 5³/₈ × 4¹/₈" (13.5 × 10.5 cm). Zervos VI, 50. Private collection



Self-Portrait. 1897. Charcoal and brown crayon on paper, $8\% \times 5^{1/8}$ " (22 × 13 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection



Self-Portrait. 1900. Charcoal on gray paper, $8\% \times 6\%$ (22.5 \times 16.5 cm). Not in Zervos. Museu Picasso, Barcelona



Self-Portrait. 1899. Pencil on paper, 15 $\frac{5}{8} \times 10\%$ " (39.5 × 27.5 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection



Self-Portrait and Sketches of Fuentes, Marti, Pompeu Gener, and Others. 1899–1900. Pen and ink on paper, 12⁵/8 × 8³/4" (32 × 22 cm). Not in Zervos. Museu Picasso, Barcelona



Self-Portrait. 1899. Conté crayon on paper, $13^{1/4} \times 9^{1/4}$ " (33.6 × 23.5 cm). Zervos VI, 107. Private collection



Self-Portrait. c. 1902. Black crayon with color washes on paper, 12 × 9³/₈" (30.4 × 23.8 cm). Zervos XXI, 336. D.B. V, 81. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. Ailsa Mellon Bruce Collection

his full-face, frontal self-portraits appear in this period (above; opposite, top, and bottom left and right), but they are accompanied by a concern to establish a midline that differentiates the two sides of the physiognomy, usually by the standard formula of bisecting the face into areas of light and shadow to intimate a darker interior mood coexisting with the illuminated outward gaze (opposite, bottom center and right; p. 120, top left). Also in threequarter views, and sometimes with partly hooded eyes or a downcast gaze, this *sol y sombra* division added seriousness to the young man's mien.

While all such teen-age self-portraits by Picasso are to one degree or another recognizable likenesses, they lack any evidence of their author's consistent certainty about his own face. Early photographs, however, are unmistakable in this regard. Picasso was already Picasso by the age of fifteen (p. 110), but his adolescent search for a "look" seems to have precluded his forming a ready scheme to encode that appearance. If the "bewildered" drawing, for example, is prescient in its peculiarly unfocused gaze and prominent dark eyes, the skull still seems elongated and the emphasis on the bulb of the nose does not allow the relative breadth in the forehead and nostril wings that will later become canonical. Of course, Picasso saw himself far less often in photographs in these years, and he also may have resisted codifying his features because his interest lay precisely in charting a series of rapid-fire changes not just in dress and manner (p. 118) but equally in his physical being and in his idea of it. Richardson has convincingly proposed, for instance, that two unusual selfportraits with bared torsos (p. 119, top) record Picasso's chunky body momentarily emaciated—and hence for once fashionably long of line-after a bout of illness.¹⁰

His delay in grasping any consistent sense of his own







Self-Portrait. 1901. Conté crayon on paper, $12 \times 6^{1/8''}$ (30.5 × 15.5 cm). Zervos XXI, 416. Private collection

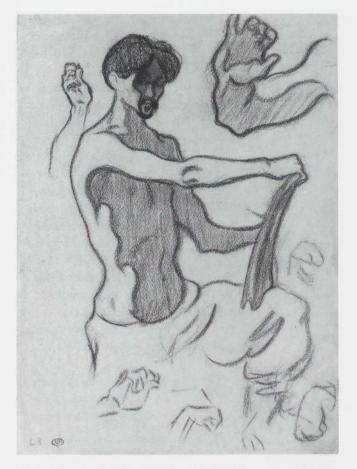
Self-Portrait, 1901. Conté crayon on paper, $18^{1/8} \times 6^{1/2}$ " (46 × 16.5 cm). Zervos I, 45. Galerie Schmit, Paris

Self-Portrait. 1901. Conté crayon on paper, $13^{1/2} \times 6^{"}$ (34.3 × 15.3 cm). Zervos I, 49. D.B. III, 14. Private collection

features is especially surprising in light of Picasso's precocious skills as a caricaturist. In this same period, the overbrimming swarms on his sketchbook pages show his glee in the power of caricature to remake, attack, ridicule, and gain power over the world around him-to exaggerate people's characters, to age them, to transform them into oddities, and to spawn whole new societies of grotesques (opposite, bottom). A fusion of observation and invention, caricature was a marvelous tool for dealing with the world, but it was not, apparently, one Picasso was prepared as yet to turn effectively on himself. In the series of little modernista portraits he showed at Els Quatre Gats café in Barcelona in 1900, his caricaturist's wit and economy were very much in play, but the one with a tenebristically divided face inscribed "Yo" is proportioned more like Beethoven than its author, and ignores the power of his eyes (p. 120, top left). In group scenes, too, he often wound up being vague about his own presence, resorting to devices such as burying his features behind high coat collars (p. 120, top right). Any young artist who could inscribe a self-portrait, as Picasso did, "Yo, el rey" ("I, the



Notas de Arte, "Madrid." 1901. Charcoal on paper. Advertisement in *Arte Joven* for new publication planned by Picasso and Francisco de Asis Soler. Zervos VI, 357. Daix, p. 130. Private collection



Picasso Stripped to the Waist (Self-Portrait). 1898. Charcoal on paper, $13 \times 9^{1/4}$ " (33 × 23.4 cm). Zervos VI, 63. Musée Picasso, Paris

king") three times over could hardly be accused of simple bashfulness;" and it may be overreaching to speculate that these anomalies suggest an adolescent inability or reluctance to step outside himself and see himself as a player like others in the world. Still, it is clear that the pace and pungency of Picasso's self-codification in caricature increased when he experienced himself as an anonymous stranger adrift in a new world of possibilities, with his first trips to Paris in 1900 and 1901.

Picasso produced his most elaborate self-caricature to date when he posed himself before the Moulin Rouge as the newly arrived artiste-peintre par excellence (p. 121). Even if the overemphasized eyebrows and disproportionate neck still seem slightly off target, the essential features of the broad, fleshy nose, large, dark orbs, and flyaway coif are now succinctly pegged. This tiny head sits, however, atop an outsized physique, as if Picasso had stuck his face through a pasteboard photographer's prop at a fair. From his favorite "turkey-breeder's" hat to his collar, he is still a Barcelona boy; below he becomes the very model of a modern painter, bedecked with every possible attribute of the trade and sporting a remarkable outfit that we would hardly believe true were it not documented as his in contemporary photographs (p. 120, bottom). The slightly rueful incongruity between familiar and newly donned personas in this send-up is evidence that a capacity for self-satire had expanded, not a moment too soon, to leaven the formerly earnest task of self-presentation.



Caricatures and Portraits: Guillaume Apollinaire, Paul Fort, Jean Moréas, Fernande Olivier, André Salmon, Henri Delormel. . . . 1905. Pen, brown ink, and lead pencil on paper, 10 × 12⁷/₈" (25.5 × 32.7 cm). Zervos XXII, 200. Musée Picasso, Paris



Sketches with Pierrot Figures. 1900. Ink, conté crayon, and colored pencil on paper, $85/8 \times 12^{1/2}$ " (22 × 31.8 cm). Not in Zervos. Museu Picasso, Barcelona



Self-Portrait. 1900. Pen, ink, and watercolor on paper, $3^{3/4} \times 3^{3/8}$ " (9.5 × 8.6 cm). Zervos XXI, 109. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Gift of Raymonde Paul, in memory of her brother, C. Michael Paul, 1982

Picasso went on to paint four self-portraits in Paris in 1901, and the first three, most likely created during the spring and summer, show a profound surge in self-confidence and self-consciousness. One of these, the sketchy little Self-Portrait in a Top Hat (p. 123), connects suggestively to a newly discovered photograph of the same general period that shows Picasso, similarly top-hatted, as a ghostly, transparent presence (p. 122).12 The latter was inscribed by Picasso on its verso: "This picture could be entitled 'the strongest walls open at my passing—behold'" (or perhaps more accurately, "Watch out!").13 In the very material world of the painting, the artist is a rich man amid women for sale, coolly detached from the panderings of hot flesh around him, the sinecure of every soliciting eye, whose own gaze is outward and beyond. In the spirit world of the photograph-whose double exposure is common to countless turn-of-the-century capturings of "ghosts" on film—he is a transparent wraith who can pass through walls. The common denominator of these fantasies, beyond the affectation of the attire, is Picasso's new wish to see himself as aloof, a man apart-the powerful observer, present but untouchable.

The "spirit photograph" may connect as well to the unusual head-and-shoulders image in which the artist appears in mug-shot frontality, with a Frankenstein forehead and exaggeratedly wide-eyed expression, stagily underlit as if by a flash of lightning (p. 124). As has often been remarked, Picasso here seems in the grip of some trance or hallucination, his visionary gaze fixed on matters beyond the mundane. Given our knowledge of his superstitious nature and of the circles in which he moved, it seems highly likely that some vein of Symbolist fancy for the occult, pandemic in European bohemias at the turn of the century, informed both the séance theater of

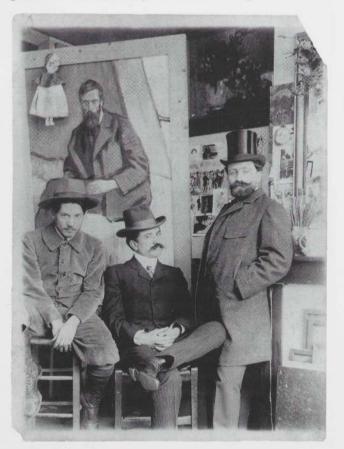


Picasso and Casagemas. 1899– 1900. Ink and watercolor on paper, $7^{1/8} \times 3^{1/8}$ " (18 × 8 cm). Zervos VI, 219. D.B. I, 7. Museu Picasso, Barcelona

the phantom photograph and this painting's aura of hypnotism. The discoverer of the photograph, Anne Baldassari, has argued for such a connection.¹⁴

The best-known and most ambitious of these related self-images from the first part of 1901, called Yo, Picasso after the prideful inscription he set on the painting (p. 126), uses the theatrical lighting of the "hallucination" picture without its heavyhanded intimations of salon diabolism. While the latter painting and the Self-Portrait in a Top Hat seem to have been private essays, Yo, Picasso was clearly conceived as a presentation piece; it is the first work listed in the catalogue of the Picasso exhibition held that summer at Ambroise Vollard's Paris gallery. In the vein of the Portrait of Gustave Coquiot in the same show, the picture is deter-

minedly flashy in every sense. The blinding white shirt against the darkened ground offsets lurid notes of gaslit color, including, in the flesh of the face, an adventurous green that Picasso later promoted as having stolen an



Picasso, Pedro Mañach, and Torres Fuster in the studio at 130ter, boulevard de Clichy, Paris, 1901. At left is Picasso's portrait of Iturrino; beneath the flower piece on the back wall (Zervos I, 59) are pages from *Arte Joven* and a lost sketch for the *Moulin de la Galette* (Zervos I, 41). Photograph by Picasso. Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives

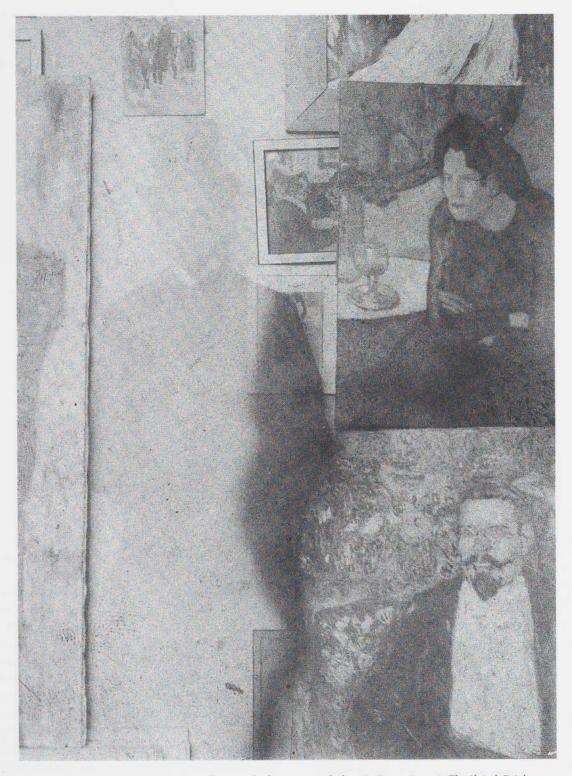


Self-Portrait in Front of the Moulin Rouge. 1901. Ink and colored pencil on paper, $7^{1/8} \times 4^{1/2''}$ (18 × 11.5 cm). Zervos XXI, 250. D.B. IV, 23. Private collection

advance on Matisse's more celebrated liberties with hues.¹⁵ Picasso originally thought to present himself at work (p. 125), but then omitted the easel and the lower body to enhance a pure show of charisma—conveyed most evidently in the intense, dark dots of his widened eyes, which, isolated by the flattening light, fix their laser power on the viewer.

The color and expressionist brushwork of *Yo*, *Picasso* doubtless owe something to the example of van Gogh, but—in conjunction with the two smaller self-portraits that preceded it—the painting also sheds a more complex light on Picasso's development at the time. These nocturnal pictures, like Coquiot's portrait, belong to the seedy world of Parisian libertinism that Toulouse-Lautrec had captured with cynical affection; however, that world

appeared more provocative to young outsiders from repressive countries, such as Picasso and Edvard Munch. Both these painters caught a whiff of sulfurous menace in the raunchy atmosphere of stale perfume and beer. When Picasso first learned how to breathe these fumes as he entered his twenties, they (and the opium he began to sample) had an intoxicating force that fueled his emerging sense of himself as someone with a destiny, set apart from others by exceptional, even magic, powers. The pyrotechnic blend of stagey virtuosity and prestidigitation in *Yo*, *Picasso* evokes the mix of the decadent and the youthful, the sensual rush and psychic electricity, that accompanied his new fantasy of exploding on the Paris scene as a demiurge sprung from the humus of the fleshpits.



In the Paris studio, c. 1901–02. On the wall are works from 1901, including Yo, Picasso (p. 126), The Absinth Drinker (Zervos I, 100), and Portrait of Gustave Coquiot (Zervos I, 84). Photograph by Picasso. Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives. (Colorplate, p. 205)

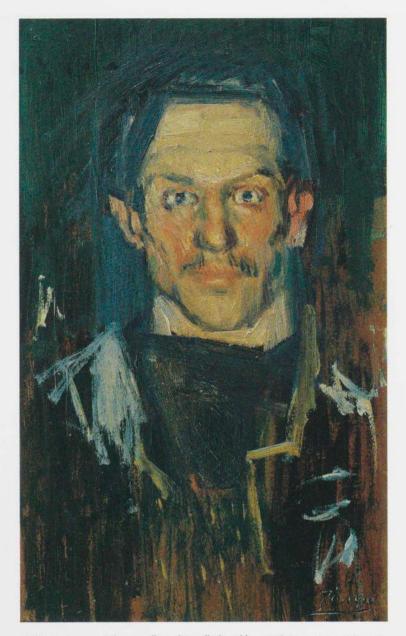
Still, there is arguably something too eager to please about the mugging, cabaret *espagnolismo* of *Yo*, *Picasso*, and we might dismiss it and the other 1901 self-portraits as juvenilia were it not for the two telling self-discoveries they embody. First, it is not unusual for an artist to study his own face in exaggerated expressions—Rembrandt and Courbet are among the countless precedents—but Picasso's decision to limit the mime to the eyes, within otherwise frozen features, unbottles an original and personal genie of lifelong consequence. Second to this augurlike gaze, though, and of equal importance, is the figurative intimation of a wink. In the cocksure bravado of *Yo, Picasso* and the "hallucination" image, a certain element of pleasurable charade and entertaining excess



Self-Portrait in a Top Hat. 1901. Oil on paper, $19^{3/\!\!\!/}4\times13^{''}$ (50 \times 33 cm). Zervos XXI, 251. D.B. V, 41. Private collection

insinuates a grace note of complicitous wit and irony.¹⁶ Picasso's future achievement, the breadth of his appeal and his ability to sustain and renew himself, would ultimately depend not just on the piercing power of vision conjured here, but also on the correcting force of such spirits and on this other, ironical way of looking at himself. These twin elements of his real "magic" announced themselves here, before he found the formal means to empower his swelling sense of originality.

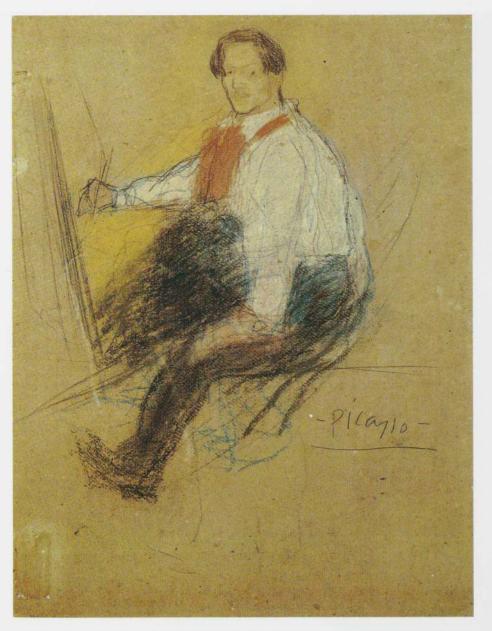
At the end of 1901, following the failure of the Vollard show to launch his career as he had hoped, Picasso began the long detour of the Blue period, striving to make his



Self-Portrait. 1901. Oil on cardboard (cradled), 21¹/₄ × 12¹/₂" (54 × 31.8 cm). Zervos I, 113. D.B. V, 1. Collection Mrs. John Hay Whitney

art weightier by taking on the monochrome hairshirt of a poet of misery and pathos. His *Self-Portrait* (p. 127), painted near the close of the year, is one of the first announcements of this drastic shift. The footlights have now gone out, and a morgue pallor sits on this huddled figure, which tentatively intrudes from the right edge of the canvas. As in some distant echo of Rodin's *Monument to Balzac* (which Picasso had seen the year before), a heavily maned head sits high on the pedestal of a cloaked and armless body. Irony and farce are extinguished in this grimly serious self-scrutiny. Pity, which replaces them, takes on luxuriant subtleties when it is self-directed, and this face is appropriately rendered with a ghoulish delicacy that offsets the brooding mass of the body below it. Surrounded by the fine wisps of a drooping moustache and a beard, the febrile pink of the lips against a porcelain skin offers a frail note of sensibility leeched of sensuality.

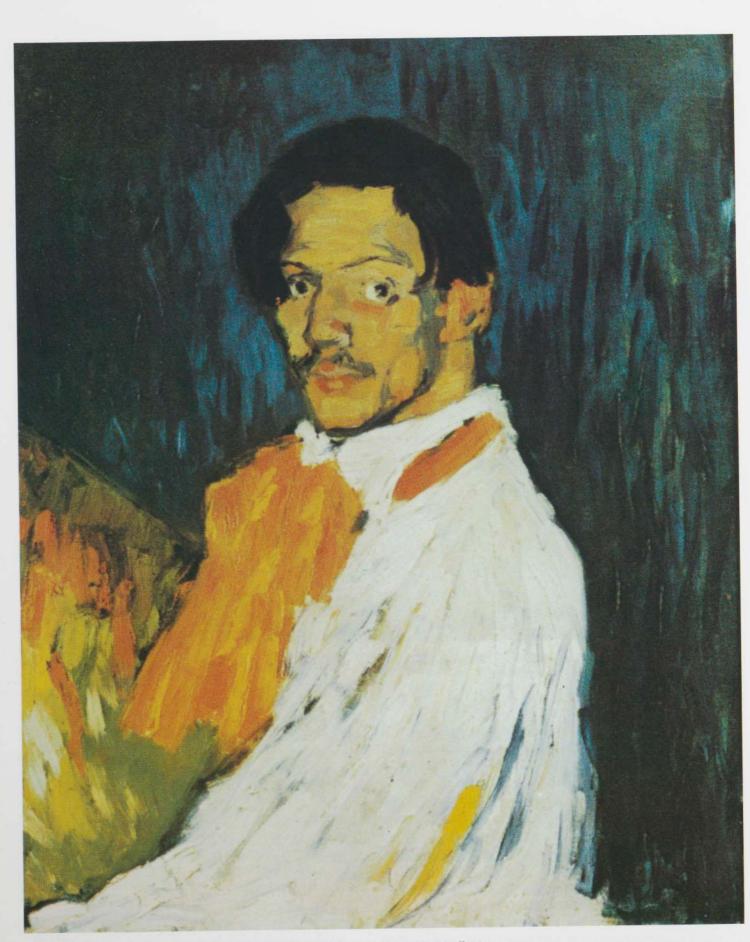
Under the influence of El Greco's soulfully mannered distensions, Picasso also adjusted his features to suit the mood of spiritual anorexia: the nostril wings and eyebrows are narrowed and subsumed into a verticality that leads to a broadened forehead, capped by a massive helmet of hair. The signature dark eyes still turn toward us, but now with a hooded and less focused world-weariness. Their inner searchlight seems dimmed and their avidity muffled: we almost feel, for once, that we look into Picasso as much as he looks into us. Finally, the picture as a whole achieves a sullen, wintry integrity that eludes the



Sketch for Yo, Picasso. 1901. Pastel and charcoal on paper, $26^{3/8} \times 16^{5/8}$ " (67 × 42 cm). Zervos XXI, 190. D.B. V, 3. Private collection

bathos often afflicting the work of the succeeding two years. Picasso felt the work marked an important transition for him, and kept it for life.

The Blue period saw no more independent selfportraits. Several study drawings of 1902 and 1903, however, show that Picasso's drive toward graver themes included an ambition to cast himself as a player within an allegorical drama. Three self-portrait drawings in the nude (p. 128, bottom) replace earlier sartorial experiments with a new notion of moving his identity out of time and into the realm of ideals; the hieratic gestures of command or oath-taking (p. 128, bottom left and center) and an Egyptoid posture (p. 128, bottom right) aim to show the young painter as no longer merely urbane but tarotlike—an emissary of the timeless and the embodiment of a principle.¹⁷ While it is unclear what abandoned project these studies may have served, they seem connected with the early ideas for the elaborate, still obscure painting of the following year, *La Vie* (p. 129, right). It was first conceived as an allegory of an artist and his female companion in a studio, and the initial studies show that Picasso thought to depict himself, falsely smooth-shaven and with gestures that recall the 1902 nude drawings, as the artist (p. 129, left). In the end, his dead friend, the poet Carles Casagemas, who had shot himself in 1901, occupied this position. Especially given that change, it is difficult to say whether the allegory was initially drawn, as later ones would be, from events in Picasso's life, or whether it



Yo, Picasso. 1901. Oil on canvas, 29 × 23⁷/s" (73.5 × 60.5 cm). Zervos XXI, 192. D.B. V, 2. Private collection



Self-Portrait. 1901. Oil on canvas, 31½ × 23⁵/s" (80 × 60 cm). Zervos I, 91. D.B. VI, 35. Musée Picasso, Paris



Self-Portrait. 1902–03. India ink on paper, $5\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$ " (14 × 11 cm). Zervos XXII, 38. Daix, p. 55. Private collection

was always a more universal morality play in which he thought to act; it was likely a little of both.¹⁸ In any event, his apparent sense of the incompatibility of a specific selfimage and a willfully mysterious symbolism might be seen as an initial step toward later allegories such as the *Minotauromachy* of 1935 (p. 155), in which his personal involvement can be discerned only by interpreting more oblique disguises.

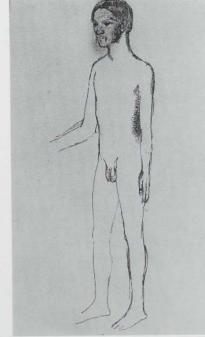
There is another harbinger of the Minotaur, too, in a very different place. La Vie seemingly occupied Picasso during much of the spring of 1903; but on New Year's Day of that year, he had jotted a quick caricature of himself as a grinning monkey-man (p. 130). This wicked little gibe seems miles apart from the serious ambition to make an allegory of life itself, but in fact it is the merger of the two that would later yield some of his most characteristic works. The monkey raises, lightheartedly, the issue of Picasso's sense of his animal nature-here mostly just mischievous, but also, without too much a stretch of implication, a creature of unruly instincts unashamedly demonstrative about all his appetites. Preceding by decades the parade of fauns and bulls and griffins and minotaurs, this first self-image as a "monster" reminds us that in modern art—and in this artist's work especiallythe expressive means of gravity can start out light.¹⁹ The juxtaposition of the simian self and the ideal nude of the studies for La Vie further cautions us how, even before he developed the means to express this condition, Picasso



Self-Portrait with Arm Raised. 1902–03. Pencil on paper, 10% \times 8½" (27.5 \times 20 cm). Zervos VI, 456. Private collection



Self-Portrait with Arm Raised. 1902–03. Pencil on paper, 7³/₁₆ × 3⁷/₈" (18.5 × 10 cm). Zervos VI, 507. Marina Picasso Collection, courtesy Galerie Jan Krugier, Geneva

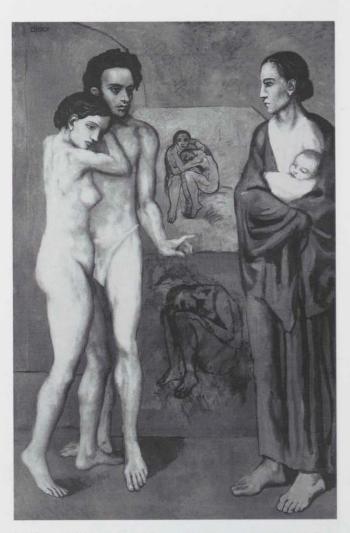


Self-Portrait Standing, 1903–04. Ink on paper. 13³/₈ × 10¹/₂" (33.8 × 26.7 cm). Zervos XXII, 117. D.B. D.XI, 24. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, Mass. Bequest of Meta and Paul J. Sachs

Sketch for La Vie. 1903. Pencil on paper, 10½ × $7^{3/4}$ " (26.7 × 19.7 cm). Zervos XXII, 44. D.B. D.IX, 5. Private collection



Sketch for *La Vie.* 1903. Pencil on paper, $6^{1/4} \times 4^{3/8}$ " (15.9 × 11 cm). Zervos VI, 534. D.B. D.IX, 4. Musée Picasso, Paris



La Vie. 1903. Oil on canvas, $77^{3/8}\times 50^{76''}$ (196.5 \times 129.5 cm). Zervos I, 179. D.B. IX, 13. The Cleveland Museum of Art. Gift of the Hanna Fund

PICASSO'S SELF-PORTRAITS I29 (like most humans) simultaneously harbored self-images of opposing temperament. Paralleling the blunter instrumentation of *La Vie*, the sketchbooks carried on the notion of an incorrigibly scurrilous artist who looked on art as a naughty, barbed weapon. Aspirations to take on big, noble subjects like Life with a capital *L* were, of course, central to Picasso's art; those ambitions often returned, albeit later shorn of some of this solemn, youthful piety. But it was the monkey in his makeup—his malefic "animal" nature, wit, and talent for caricature that would be the source of some of his most original, world-conquering achievements. To echo the earlier photograph inscription, when Picasso brings these two selves together—when the monkey makes peace with the magus and the beast teams up with the bard—"Watch out!"

The painting *At the Lapin Agile*, made in late 1904 and early 1905 when Picasso was emerging from the depressive colors and themes of the preceding three years, was something of a "sport," executed quickly and thinly to adorn a wall in a low-rent bar on the Butte de Montmartre.²⁰ Picasso had done such decorations before, usually directly on studio walls and typically in a mock-grandiose vein of allegory.²¹ Here, however, we find an unfamiliar blend of realism and metaphor that looks back to Lautrec with one eye and forward to the world of the *Saltimbanques* with the other. Tempered by the experiences of the intervening years, the picture replaces the sardonic glamour of



Self-Portrait as a Monkey. 1903. Pen on paper, $4^{5/8} \times 4^{1/4}$ " (11.8 × 10.7 cm). Not in Zervos. Museu Picasso, Barcelona

Picasso's early nightlife scenes with a more downbeat, noncommunicative ennui—more like the world of Edgar Degas's *Absinthe*, which also centered on the seminarcotic and notably unconvivial liqueur the Harlequin is nursing here. This disaffected soul, far from the swaggering *boulevardier* of the 1901 *Self-Portrait in a Top Hat*, now identifies himself (more accurately, given Picasso's straitened circumstances) with outcasts in dives rather than revelers in the high life.

Harlequin had earlier appeared as a moody café thinker, alone or with a female companion, in Blue period paintings that established the trope of the gaily clad performer with a melancholy inner life;²² At the Lapin Agile is the first instance in which Picasso specifically and unmistakably assumed this guise. Several months later, in the final transformative stages of the more important and substantial Bateleurs (p. 132), he would rework the figure of an itinerant acrobat to insert another self-image, more idealized and responsible-a paterfamilias-in the same costumed role.23 From then on, Harlequin (or even just his costume) would recur as one of the artist's most important avatars (see pp. 145, 146). The nature of Picasso's identification with this figure from the commedia dell'arteand precedents in the works of artists from Watteau through Daumier to Cézanne-have been amply examined.²⁴ At the Lapin Agile seems at least as notable, though, for the first promotion of the caricatural self-notation of Picasso's sketchbooks-the shock of hair linking eyebrow to ear, the narrowed chin and broad nose-into an oil painting. It is the combination of this pithy specificity with the emergent role-playing and disguise-a marriage of slang's economy and poetry's ellipsis-that constitutes the particular interest here.

Such elisions and inversions seem to have been of the moment. This bar scene inflates a caricatural slice of life to painting scale, while a watercolor of the same period (late 1904) confers an uncommon, resonant depth on a smaller drawing of a private moment (p. 133). Meditation shows Picasso (looking younger by having shaven his Blue-period beard) gazing down on the radiant figure of a sleeping woman. The motif is thought to stem from the onset of the artist's relationship with Fernande Olivier; a related work showing a haggard figure glaring at this same sleeper is thought to picture Picasso's rival, Fernande's estranged husband.25 The image, however, has wider implications. Like many of Picasso's mature compositions, it involves two opposing figures in a static relationship, with the gaze as a key element; more particularly, it belongs to what Leo Steinberg has analyzed as a long line of "sleepwatcher" scenes in Picasso's oeuvre, where wakeful consciousness is juxtaposed in wondering speculation to the vulnerable figure of a dozer absorbed in dreams.26 The watercolor all but eclipses its minor sketchbook precedent, a caricature of Picasso with a

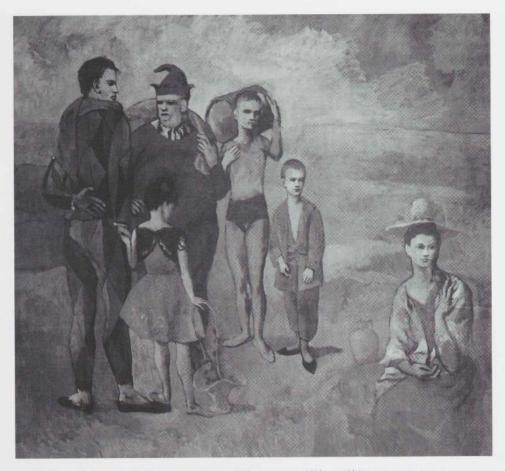


At the Lapin Agile. 1905. Oil on canvas, 39 × 39¹/2" (99 × 100.3 cm). Zervos I, 275. D.B. XII, 23. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The Walter H. and Leonore Annenberg Collection, Partial Gift of Walter H. and Leonore Annenberg, 1992

whore (p. 348), apparently mimicking the composition of Gauguin's *Spirit of the Dead Watching* (p. 348). However, the two pictures have in common exactly what the trick "ghost" photograph also embodied: Picasso's wish to imagine himself as the unseen seer, a "spirit" (whether figuratively or literally) who, though present, cannot be perceived. This is his position in *At the Lapin Agile* as well, turned away in more soulful three-quarter view from the schematic profile and frontal figures behind him, standing outside and looking beyond; his companions are eccentrics of the moment's fashion, but he, in dress

and solitary character, is a performer on a larger, more timeless stage.

Between the autumn of 1904 and his summer 1906 visit to Gosol in the Spanish Pyrenees, Picasso's private life and public position each shifted radically. His amorous arrangements were regularized, as Fernande moved into his quarters in Montmartre; but his position in the Parisian art world was thrown into new question by the *succès de scandale* of the Fauve painters, led by Matisse, at



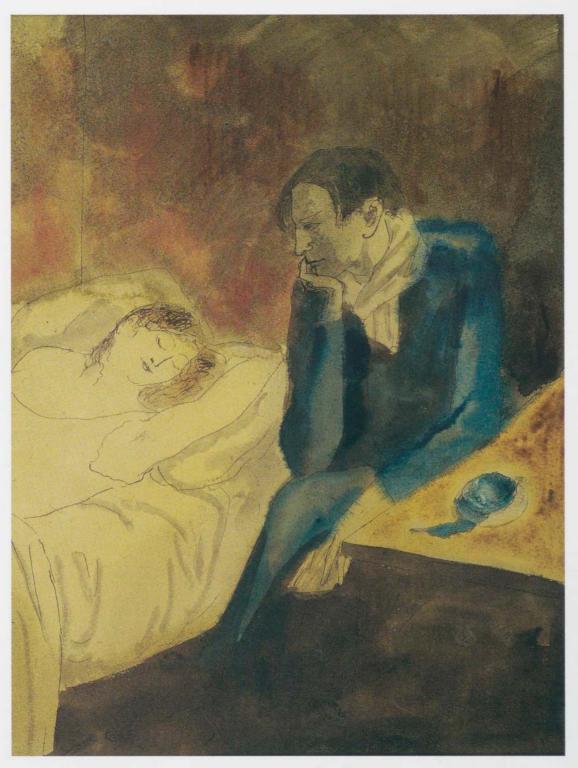
Les Bateleurs (The Family of Saltimbanques). 1905. Oil on canvas, $83^{3/4} \times 90^{3/8}$ " (212.8 × 229.6 cm). Zervos I, 285. D.B. XII, 31. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. Chester Dale Collection

the Salon d'Automne in 1905 and again at the Salon des Indépendants in the spring of 1906. The face that stares at us from the self-portrait drawing done at Gosol (p. 134) is thus also staring down a challenge.

The drawing offers a rare throwback to early sketchbook studies in its frontal symmetry but attacks matters of fashion and style from a sharply different angle. Forelocks, for example, have become a nonissue. In childhood Picasso's head was shaven for the summer months, as a strategy against lice (see p. 110),²⁷ and he may have shaved it again at Gosol;²⁸ in any event, he showed himself as a skinhead, with a smoothed pate that matched the baldness of the aged Gosol innkeeper Josep Fontdevila (see p. 29). Picasso was taken with the skull-like cranium and weathered face of this venerable part-time smuggler; Fontdevila prompted many drawings in the course of the summer, and as an emblem of old age was to haunt Picasso's imagination far longer (see p. 173).²⁹

As Picasso presents his own face here, however, it has less of the old fox of the hills than of the young one at home; the feline, almond eyes, thin, arcing eyebrows, and full lips echo those of Fernande (compare the portrait head on p. 135, top). Spurred by his experiences of early Iberian sculpture, the artist was searching throughout this summer for simplified ways of drawing old men and youths, males and females, which in their "primitive" reductiveness moved toward similarity or even uniformity. It was an enterprise that stood caricature on its head: salient differences in age, gender, physical type, and physiognomy were generalized or suppressed rather than heightened, in a search both for a primal sculptural solidity and for a graphic language of depersonalization. In this study of his own face Picasso intentionally resisted allowing a likeness built on the easy and familiar markers of eyes, nose, and hair, and perhaps just as knowingly moved to adapt for himself some of the stylizations he had been devising for the portraits of his beloved.

In Gosol or in the immediate wake of his sojourn there, we find several paintings of men or boys, and one of a family group, which traditionally have been designated self-portraits (p. 135, bottom). Yet, while they share certain features with Picasso—the hairline, the ear these bull-necked drones and fresh youths typically have the kind of generic "personality" one finds in archaic Greek *kouroi*, and there is a high level of generalization in their features. In retrospect, they seem relatively impersonal and unrevealing exercises in self-rejuvenation when compared to the more aggressively specific self-examina-

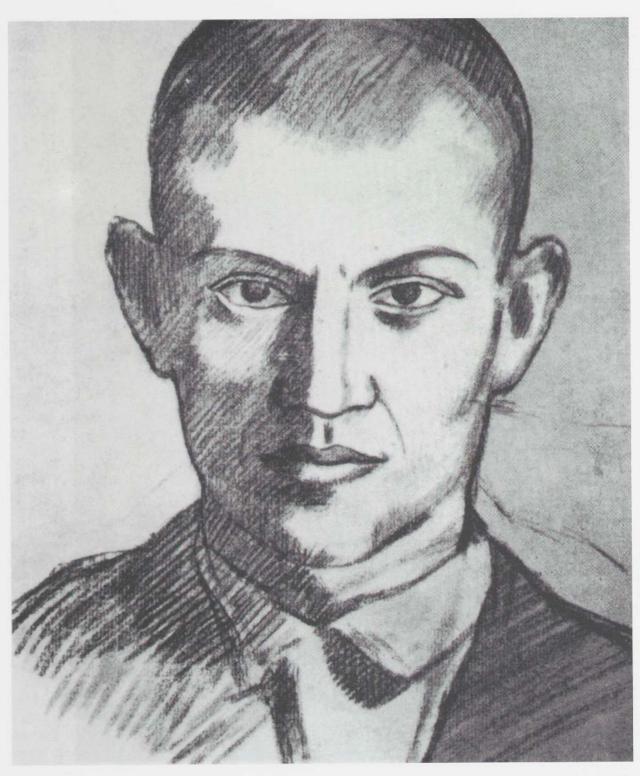


Meditation (Contemplation). 1904. Watercolor and pen on paper, 13⁵/₈ × 10¹/₈" (34.6 × 25.7 cm). Zervos I, 235. D.B. XI, 12. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Gift of Louise Reinhardt Smith

tion they lead toward, the Self-Portrait with Palette (p. 137).

Picasso began this picture when he returned to Paris in the autumn, at the same time that he painted a masklike face onto the *Portrait of Gertrude Stein* (p. 267); it would become his most important self-portrait since the blue painting of 1901, and one of the most carefully considered of his life. For the first time, leaving aside the initial notion for *Yo, Picasso* (p. 126), he determined to show himself as a working painter—or more exactly, in contrast to the overequipped, farcical *artiste-peintre* of early days (p. 120, bottom), as a worker-painter, stripped down to a laborer's tunic and alone in the studio.

In this rawboned self-portrait (in contrast to the prematurely aged Picasso in the *Self-Portrait* of 1901; see



Self-Portrait. 1906. Charcoal on paper, 97/8 × 91/8" (25 × 23 cm). Zervos XXII, 450. Private collection

p. 127), any former echoes of Rodin's *Balzac* are supplanted by anticipations of Brancusi. Painterly modeling of the features is suppressed in favor of sharp, isolated strokes that evoke direct carving; instead of the shaggy capstone atop the dark columnar body, here the head is a smooth ovoid poised atop a block. Gone, too, is El Greco. Picasso now accepts and plays to advantage his own

stocky proportions; the increased ratio of skull to torso imparts a sense of both youthfulness and compressed power. The unusually heavy line where the chin seems to rest on the clavicles simultaneously insists on the foursquare chunkiness of the body and the masklike quality of the face; anchoring the jaw, like pinning the arms to the sides, uses physical rigidity to imply inner rigor.



Head of a Woman (Fernande). 1905. Bronze, $14^{1/4} \times 9^{1/4} \times 9^{1/8}$ (36.1 × 23.5 × 23.1 cm). Zervos I, 232. Spies 6. Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Gift of Joseph H. Hirshhorn

By diminishing the chin and lower face and proportionally enlarging the ear, nose, and eyes, Picasso simultaneously pushes his physiognomy back toward that of his youth (compare p. 110) and suggests a more exotic, Polynesian or Negroid cast—an overlap of childhood and tribal allusions then credible, along with the archaic stiffness and the reduced, cement-and-sandstone palette, as appropriate attributes of a "primitive" spirit. (Gauguin's posthumous retrospective was being shown at the Salon d'Automne in these same months, but the coloration and modeling here signal a rejection of Gauguin's painterly exoticism in favor of a tougher, more sculptural look.) For the all-important eyes, some initial studies show them downcast, and the artist thereby absorbed in paint preparation (p. 136, top); even thinking about this step—eliminating his most distinctive trademark and shutting down the black beacons of *Yo, Picasso*—confirms how height-ened impersonality and intensified interior vision had become linked in importance for him.

In the end, the stare he settled on is as impenetrable in its own way as the closed lids. Both eyes are shown essentially frontal despite the three-quarter turn of the head; only size-diminution and compression of his right side—residually signals perspectival foreshortening. The broad, shadowless separation of the eyes adds to the eeriness of the gaze, which is directed neither at the viewer nor, apparently, at work being done on an unseen easel; the absence of a brush in the right hand further stresses that virtuosity of touch is not the point, just as the fist negates the long-fingered gestures of self-address or delicately mimed communication often found in the Blue and early Rose periods. The fixated gaze may recall the "hallucination" picture of five years before, but it is now utterly earnest and unsettling in its unfocused blankness. In this presentation, freeze replaces fervor and alienated sensitivity turns to stony implacability.

No matter how strong his inner conviction and sense of his own singularity, however, there were many points in his career at which Picasso wanted to see himself through, or even as, another artist he admired;³⁰ this is the



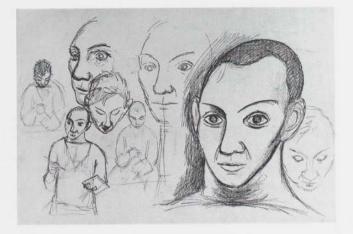
Self-Portrait as a Child. 1906. Oil on canvas, $15^{3}/_{8} \times 11^{7}/_{8}$ " (39 × 30 cm). Zervos II², 592. Private collection



Self-Portrait. 1906. Oil on canvas, $25\frac{5}{8} \times 21\frac{1}{4}$ " (65 × 54 cm). Zervos II¹, 1. D.B. XVI, 26. Musée Picasso, Paris

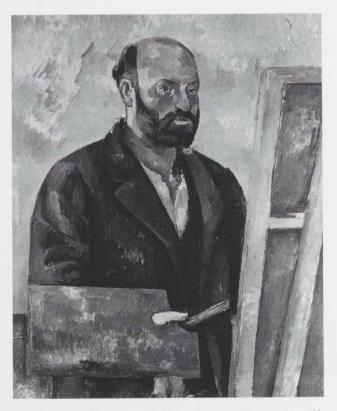


Man, Woman, and Child. 1906. Oil on canvas, 45^{1/4} × 34^{5/8}" (115 × 88 cm). Zervos II², 587. D.B. XVI, 30. Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Kunstmuseum. Gift of the artist, 1967



Studies for Self-Portraits. 1906. Lead pencil on paper, 12³/₈ × 18q[°] (31.5 × 47.5 cm). Zervos XXVI, 5. D.B. A, 22. Musée Picasso, Paris

first self-portrait to evidence that desire. He modeled the image on a Cézanne self-portrait—the one that Meyer Schapiro called the most impersonal of all Cézanne's selfportraits,³¹ and the only one that explicitly shows him as an artist (p. 136, bottom). Picasso clearly appreciated the locked-in alignments of edges and shapes, which Schapiro analyzes in the Cézanne, even to the point of bending his left sleeve outward to join the edge of the palette, although the willful tilting of that slab injects a rebellious note of imbalance. The palette was, in any event, a false prop, as many witnesses testified that Picasso did not typi-



Paul Cezanne. *Self-Portrait with Palette*. 1885–87. Oil on canvas, $36^{1/4} \times 28^{3/4}$ (92 × 73 cm). Foundation E. G. Bührle Collection, Zurich



Studies for Self-Portraits. 1906. Lead pencil on paper, 1278 × 1878" (32.5 × 48 cm). Zervos XXVI, 3. Musée Picasso, Paris

cally hold one;³² but he almost always included it as an attribute of the painters he depicted, and this one may serve another function. While Cézanne holds his at waist height, Picasso, by straightening his left arm, brings the prominent detail of the protruding thumb down to crotch level. With another artist, the idea that this yields a displaced surrogate phallus might seem inadmissable; with Picasso, whose later images so often conflated the acts of sex and painting, it seems unavoidable.

While the Self-Portrait with Palette of 1906 has the solid heft of a planned statement, the following year's Self-Portrait (p. 139) looks like an impetuous, explosive revelation. On first impression it may seem just an aggressive caricatural sketch, exploiting crude cartoon features in sensational, over-the-top exaggeration: a colossal nose, for instance, and eyes that have become as salient a signature as Mickey Mouse's ears, with about the same relation to anatomical reality. The force of the shock is, happily, long-lasting; among all Picasso's self-portraits, this small canvas embodies the fullest expression of his creative powers. It actually derives its strength, though, not just from radical simplifications but from a more complex collision of manners. Structured on bold geometries and harsh formal rhythms, it nonetheless retains the life of something based on visual experience rather than formula, and rewards extended examination.

Picasso conjures his likeness here from a scaffolding of essentially flat, unmodulated, and evenly weighted angular slashes and rhythmical arcs, potently locked together by insistent parallelisms, repetitions, and alignments. The strictness and coherence of these marks make the reductive contours of the 1906 *Self-Portrait with Palette* seem, by contrast, weakly indecisive: compare the two areas of the hairline and forehead to judge the change. Here, the outer edge of the ear exactly joins the sweep of the skull's



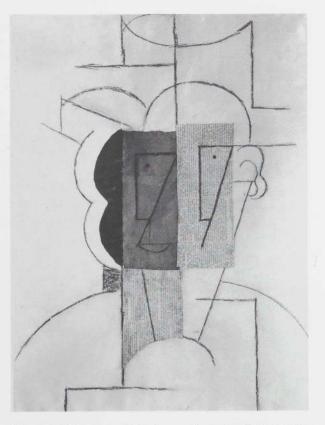
Self-Portrait with Palette. 1906. Oil on canvas, 36¹/₄ × 28³/₄" (92 × 73 cm). Zervos I, 375. D.B. XVI, 28. Philadelphia Museum of Art. A. E. Gallatin Collection

contour, and its top arch—aided by the forelock, which stands for the whole head of hair—rebounds directly into the eyebrow. With this, and with the slashing cheekbone line that simultaneously extends into the curve of the ear, the rear of the head is collapsed into the front; what seems the back of the skull is pulled around to profile flatness, and the face subsumes the head.³³

The angled forelock also drastically reduces and reshapes the forehead, which had been a broad dome of thought in previous self-portraits, into an almost equilateral, spear-point triangle—a shape that harmonizes with several other, more acute triangles and V-forms, from the cheek areas to the points of the collar and lapels, and even into the herringbone pattern of the coat fabric. The upward-pointing wedge of the nose area then locks in with the two downward-pointing daggers of

the cheeks to create an implicit *W* configuration that, beginning in the jaw contour at the right and ending in the mirror stroke of the cheekbone on the left, structures the face between the eyes and the lips.

Such bold strokes and acute angles would become



Man with a Hat. 1912–13. Pasted paper, charcoal, and ink on paper, $24\frac{1}{2} \times 18\frac{5}{8}$ " (62.2 × 47.3 cm). Zervos II², 398. Daix 532. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Purchase



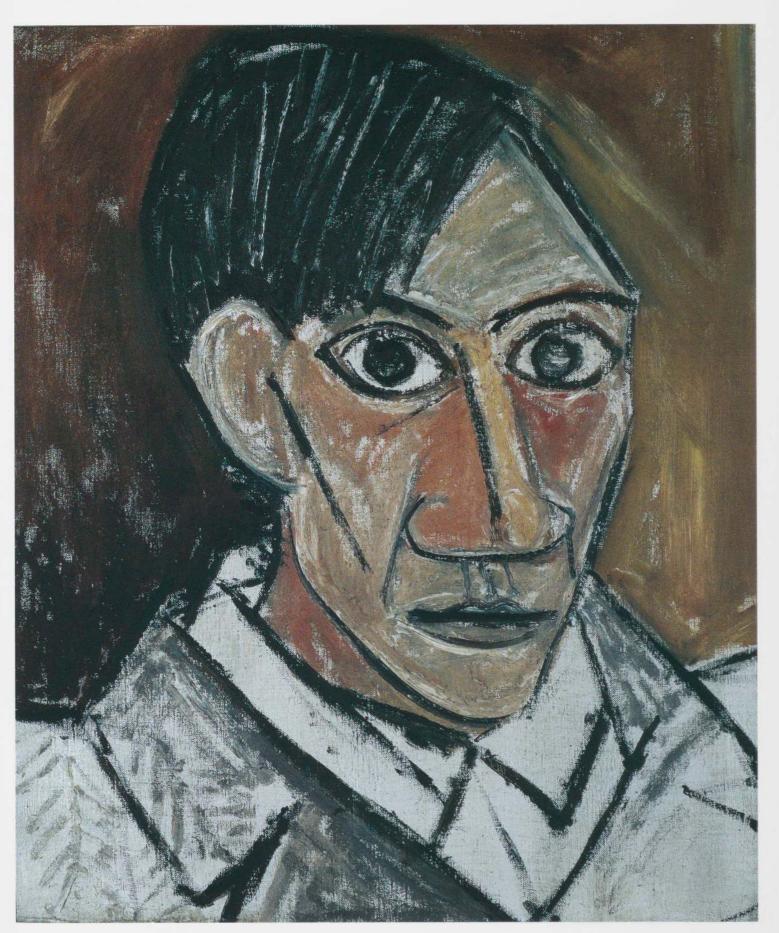
Self-Portrait (Bonjour, Mlle. Cone). 1907. Pen and ink on paper, $8^{5/_6} \times 5p''$ (21 × 14 cm). Not in Zervos. The Baltimore Museum of Art. The Cone Collection, formed by Dr. Claribel Cone and Miss Etta Cone of Balitmore, Maryland



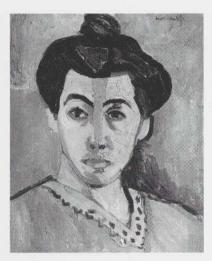
At the Bateau-Lavoir, 13, rue Ravignan, Paris, c. 1908–09. Photograph by Picasso. Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives

typical of Picasso's Africanizing work following Les Demoiselles d'Avignon, but their order here is so exceptionally lean, clear, and consistent that it also anticipates the economies of later Cubism's linear constructions, as in the syncopated arcs that make up the Man with a Hat of 1912–13. A signal difference, however, is that neither the Demoiselles nor any of the other Iberian-influenced or Africanized figures of this period were based on the presence of a model, whereas observation seems implicit in this Self-Portrait. Picasso parted his hair on the right in 1908 (see above, right); the left-side part here would be a classic index of study from a mirror. Also, the herringbone coat is apparently not mere formal invention but a record of one he wore at the time (above, left). More important, though, we find clues to the input of observation in the numerous enlivening idiosyncracies that flesh out the graphic skeleton: the one stray hair in the forelock that keeps it loose and flyaway, the slender tongue of the neck that sets the jaw forward below the ear, and all the soft passages initially sketched in slightly shifted skin tones—the ridge of the ear, for example, or the bulb of the nose, or the channel above the upper lip.

The interchanges between this subtle level of description and the harsher, more autonomous schemas of abstraction are especially clear in the nose. The dark diagonal stroke that designates its left side (from our vantage) is balanced by another on the right, establishing what seems a flat handle for the brow's spear point or axe head; but the relative faintness of that parallel line still seems residually to point up, in this three-quarter frontal pose, a difference between near (left) and far (right) edges, just as the paler paint between the lines suggests a highlight on



Self-Portrait. 1907. Oil on canvas, 19³/₄ × 18¹/₈" (50 × 46 cm). Zervos II¹, 8. Daix 25. Národní Galerie, Prague



Henri Matisse. Portrait of Madame Matisse/The Green Line. 1905. Oil on canvas, 16 × 12⁷/₈" (40.5 × 32.5 cm). Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen

the shelflike ridge of this extraordinary proboscis. In this way, as in the disproportion of the two nostril wings and in the triangular plane of subtly altered flesh tone that "shades" the left side, a flat. sharply unnaturalistic graphic structure that deals only in edges is joined to painterly codes for planar volume and spatial posi-

tion. We need only compare the more typical *quart de brie* or "pie-wedge" nose of Picasso's Africanizing stylizations (see below) to dramatize the greater complexities here. More than confounding painterly cues for flatness and three-dimensionality, such junctures between the subtle and the crude—between the soft codes of illusion and the hard lattice of linear pattern—help give the face the compelling life it has. Picasso's *Self-Portrait* of 1907 stands with Matisse's *Portrait of Madame Matisse/The Green Line* of 1905, with which it is a competitive alternative, as one of early modern art's most radical renegotiations of the terms of collaboration between abstract invention and physiognomic description.

The most riveting aspects of the image, of course, are the eyes; and they might seem the most formulaic signs of all. The compression and miniaturization that differenti-



Head of a Woman. 1907. Oil on canvas, $18^{1/8} \times 13^{"}$ (46 × 33 cm). Zervos II¹, 12. Daix 34. The Barnes Foundation, Merion, Penn.

ated the offside eye in the three-quarter pose of 1906 have now been eliminated; these giants stand side by side like twin die-cut logos, in wholly unnatural proximity. As the rear arc of the cranium seems to rotate frontward on the left, so here the right side of the face seems stretched sideways and pulled around to accommodate the full-size frontality of the eye. Despite such insistent symmetry, however, there are willful distinctions between the two halves of this gaze, and they determine its impact. The little diagonal stroke of declivity below Picasso's right eye, for example, establishes depth in what is the "near" socket, while the blank "far," or left, side seems paradoxically flattened, inverting its spatial recession. At the same time, Picasso's more solidly dark and centered right pupil attaches itself firmly to the top of the eye, while his left pupil, marked by a touch of light in its center, rolls more freely across the bottom lid toward a cross-eyed asymmetry. If we cover one half of the face and then the other, we see the emotive results of all this: his darker, more sunken right eye, anchored at almost the exact midline of the canvasand the one typically covered in shadow in early selfimages (see p. 116, bottom; p. 118, top right; p. 120, top left) —is calmer and more passive in its stare, while his left eye, with highlights above and below, has a more startling, aggressively pop-eyed expression. In this gaze, as in the whole of this remarkable picture, Picasso found the means to give several of his earlier identities-the facile caricaturist and the ambitious painter, the theatrical selfprojector and the man of inner magic—a single face.

Yet there may be a still more profound and original synthesis here, for something subliminally familiar, and chilling, lurks in this visage: the uninterrupted, acute curve of the back of the head, the huge eye sockets, and the decisive jaw with its narrowed chin combine to evoke the latent image of a skull. As if in compression of the tension between eros and thanatos that later would inform *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, the exaggerated signs of intense life here—the wide windows of the soul and the broad, fleshy protrusion of the nose—compete for ascendancy with the configuration of a death's-head.

Picasso revived the Harlequin in 1908-09, at least once with covert personal reference,³⁴ but he never brought the language of early Cubism to bear any more directly on self-representation; it was only after the breakup of his sustained dialogue with Georges Braque, at the time of World War I, that he resumed contending with his own image. In the summer of 1914, the year the war broke out, he started, in a revivified naturalistic mode, a large Artist and His Model canvas that likely referred to himself (though the male figure hardly resembles him) and his current companion, Eva Gouel (p. 298); when Eva died the following year, in a hospital overcrowded and understaffed because of the war, the canvas was still unfinished, and the artist decided to leave it so. But this was only one of the ways in which the 1914-18 period brought death, figuratively and literally, to the milieu in which Picasso had been at home since his arrival in Paris. With Eva's passing and with key cohorts such as Braque and



In the studio at 5*bis*, rue Schoelcher, Paris, c. 1915–16. At left is *Guitar, Clarinet, and Bottle on a Pedestal Table* (Zervos II², 538; Daix 886); at rear, *Man Leaning on a Table* (Zervos II², 550; Daix 889). Photograph by Picasso. Private collection



In the rue Schoelcher studio, wearing fine-art-mover's felt (or flannel) smock and patched work trousers, c. 1915–16. Photograph by Picasso. Private collection



In the rue Schoelcher studio, wearing shorts and zinc worker's jacket, c. 1915–16. At rear is *Seated Man with Glass*, in progress (Zervos II², 845; Daix 783). Photograph by Picasso. Musée Picasso, Paris. Gift of Sir Roland Penrose



In the rue Schoelcher studio, in "boxer" pose, c. 1915–16. Photograph by Picasso. Musée Picasso, Paris. Gift of Sir Roland Penrose

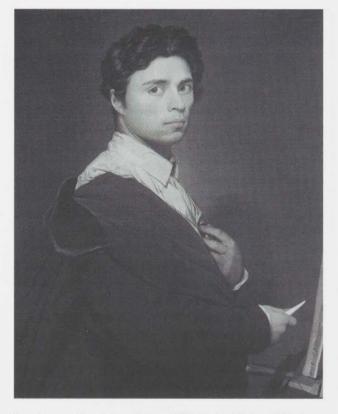


Self-Portrait. 1918. Lead pencil on paper, 13³/₈ × 9¹/₄" (34 × 23.5 cm). Zervos III, 76. Private collection

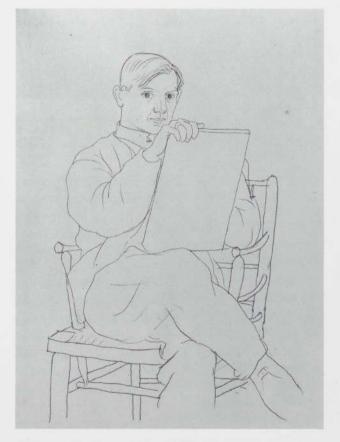
Guillaume Apollinaire in the army, he found himself drawn into very different circles by his association with a new dealer, Paul Rosenberg, the poet Jean Cocteau, and a new romantic interest, the Russian ballerina Olga Khokhlova. Picasso, solidly prosperous in his middle and later thirties, let this new coterie lead him away from the ruder life he had lived in Montmartre toward more elegant comforts and a smarter look.

As Anne Baldassari has described, a series of photographs taken around 1915–16 seems to show the painter in this period of transition, literally stripping away the tailoring of his new *boulevardier* identity to reassert for the camera first the guise of a blue-collar worker—a self-image of the Cubist years, now increasingly untenable—and then the bare-chested swagger of youth (p. 141); run this photographic sequence in reverse and one has a truer "film" of

Picasso's history of the previous decade.³⁵ Perhaps partly from similar concern for the mutations in his physical condition, or because in courtship he was freshly conscious of his looks, or simply because his new style of classicizing naturalism once again allowed it, Picasso also returned around 1917 to the youthful practice he had abandoned for more than a decade, of drawing his own likeness. Three of these renderings seem obvious homages to the drawings of Ingres: two images of the artist at work (above; opposite, bottom), including one where a linear body supports a fully tonal and representational, if unprepossessing, facial portrait; and a tautly incised overworking of a mirror study (opposite, top right) in which Picasso's romantic, over-the-shoulder stare recalls Ingres's Self-Portrait at the Age of Twenty-four.³⁶ A similar three-quarter pose appears in reverse in a fourth,



Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres. Self-Portrait at the Age of Twenty-four. 1804. Oil on canvas, $30^{3/8} \times 247'_{8}$ " (77 × 63 cm). Musée Condé, Chantilly



Self-Portrait. 1917. Pencil on paper, $12^{5/}\!\!\!/ \times 8^{1/2''}$ (32 \times 21.5 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection



Self-Portrait. 1917. Pencil on paper, $25^{1/4} \times 19^{1/2''}$ (64 × 49.5 cm). Zervos XXIX, 309. Musée Picasso, Paris

related drawing that was for many years held to be Picasso's final direct self-portrait, and that ostensibly presents his face as he saw it in a mirror at the Hôtel Lutetia on the eve of the armistice in 1918, at the moment he received the news of Apollinaire's death (p. 144, top left).³⁷

The plump and smoothly groomed composure of all these images seems notably at odds, however, with the more intimate, shaggily agitated, and intense sketchbook study Picasso made of himself near the same time (p. 144, top right); and there is equally contradictory import in the indirect, caricatural image that closed out this flurry of self-portrayals (p. 144, bottom). As Michael FitzGerald has analyzed, this 1919 sketch shows Picasso conjugally ensconced in the elaborate trappings of a grand new apartment he and Olga had rented on the elite rue La Boétie; however, his face-off with the caged songbird perhaps partially a metaphor for the ballerina he had pursued and now possessed—clearly prompts us to question who is the real captive.³⁸

None of these renderings is of great substance, though; the truly telling self-representations of the period are less evident. In contrast to *The Artist and His Model* of 1914 (p. 298), for instance, the element of self-identification and the connection to Eva are much deeper in the abstract *Harlequin* of the following year (p. 145, top). Preparatory drawings show that the image was first conceived as a dancing couple, and only at the last became a solitary





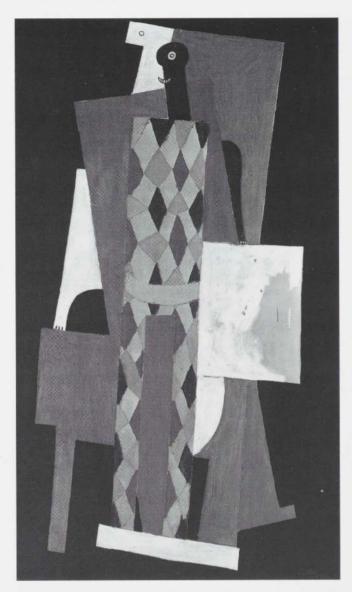
Self-Portrait. 1918. Pencil on paper, 13 $^{3}/_{8}$ × 10 $^{1}/_{4}$ " (34 × 26 cm). Zervos III, 75. Private collection

Self-Portrait. 1918. Pencil on paper, $5^{1\!/_2}\times 3^{3\!/_4}$ " (14 \times 9.5 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection



Self-Portrait in Front of the Window, rue la Boétie. 1919. Watercolor on paper, $6\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{7}{8}^{"}$ (17 × 15 cm). Zervos XXIX, 340. Private collection

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Harlequin. 1915. Oil on canvas, $72^{1/4} \times 41^{3/8}$ " (183.5 × 105.1 cm). Zervos II², 555. Daix 844. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Acquired through the Lillie P. Bliss Bequest. (Colorplate, p. 147)

painter/jester by his easel in a blackened studio. The dark mood-extending, as William Rubin has remarked, to a sober palette as foil for the diamond-paned costume³⁹connects both to the general wartime experience and to Picasso's anguish over the terminal illness that was daily pulling Eva closer to her death while he painted.⁴⁰ In its troubling ambiguity, the emotional resonance of this toothily grinning Harlequin is far more profound than the sentimental sad-clown aura of its predecessors; it connects more tellingly to the grave concert of the 1921 Three Musicians (p. 146), in which Picasso's self-representation as Harlequin anchors a threnody for lost friends and a bygone bohemian life.41 In between, in 1919, a less somber Harlequin musician had proffered a music sheet, the title of which seems Picasso's message of concession to the woman who in part had fostered the change, and who wanted to marry: "Si tu veux"-"If you wish."42

The 1915 Harlequin includes a rectangular area apparently left "unfinished," possibly representing either a painting or a palette held in the figure's left hand (p. 147); it has been noted that the brushy passages of paint here hold in reserve the suggestion of a silhouetted profile.43 If this reading is correct, Picasso would have insinuated into the scene a disembodied "second self," seemingly latent or emergent in the painting process itself (both Picasso's and his avatar's). James Scarborough has proposed that a similar silhouette of Picasso's opposite profile is created in negative (light against dark) along the edges of the brushy shadow area to the left of the head of Olga in her 1917 portrait (p. 147, top right, bottom).44 In either instance, Picasso may have had partly in mind the venerable legend that art began when a woman traced her lover's features from his cast shadow, to preserve a sign of him when he went off to war.45 Resulting connotations of the projected profile as a primal marker of love, absence, and the menace of mortality thus would have overlain his wartime adoption of this means to "haunt" one picture made under the threat of loss, and another enthroning a new mistress. The device took on still other associations, though, when he used it more explicitly and more frequently in the next decade.



Harlequin with Violin ("Si Tu Veux"). 1918. Oil on canvas, 56 × 39½" (142 × 100.3 cm). Zervos III, 160. The Cleveland Museum of Art. Purchase, Leonard C. Hanna, Jr. Bequest



Three Musicians. 1921. Oil on canvas, 79 × 87³/4" (200.7 × 222.9 cm). Zervos IV, 331. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Mrs. Simon Guggenheim Fund

For years biographers reiterated the story that Picasso decided to abandon self-portraiture after the fateful drawing done in the mirror on the day of Apollinaire's death in 1918 (p. 144, top left). We now know that this drawing was not, in fact, the last of its kind, and there also may be reason to question the legend of its morbid conception.⁴⁶ Whatever the truth of the matter, however, Picasso clearly licensed the story, and allowed the related inference that this cessation—as well as his well-publicized dislike for mirrors—was involved with a superstition about death.⁴⁷ It may not be coincidental that his self-representation in the 1920s centered on the idea of *not* looking himself in the eye, and even entailed an implication of his not being physically present. For Picasso

the preferred vehicle for all this was the profile view.

Picasso had drawn casual side views of himself from very early on, in comic-strip narratives but also as independent sketches (p. 148, top left and center); in 1921 he made two more formal, medallion-like versions, probably from photographs (p. 148, top right, bottom left; compare p. 148, bottom right). The evocative profiles of the later 1920s are, however, more idealized, almost generic, likenesses, in the form of blank silhouettes or line renderings (pp. 150, 151; p. 152, top). These may connect, as Baldassari has suggested, to the cabaret shadow-puppet performances of Picasso's early years in Barcelona. Baldassari also has published an intriguing undated photograph from Picasso's papers that shows a profile shadow



Harlequin (detail). 1915



Olga in an Armchair (detail). 1917

(perhaps the artist's own) cast across a framed drawing (p. 149, top); she persuasively argues for a connection between this photographic experiment and the paintings of 1927–29 in which a shadowy Picassoid face confronts a grotesque, usually female presence (pp. 150, 151; p. 152, top).⁴⁸

In what has become a canonic interpretive linkage between Picasso's art and his life, these latter paintings are commonly read as expressions of the mounting discord between the artist and his ever-more-shrewish wife, Olga. The idea seems highly plausible in select instances where, as if in oneiric transformation of the little livingroom scene of the marriage as a face-off between songbird and husband (p. 144, bottom), these domestic interiors become chambers of horror in which a shrieking, spiky monster affronts a phantom head (p. 150, top, second from right and right). Returning to the idea already latent in the "spirit photograph" of his youth, Picasso wishfully imagines himself as an ombre in the multiple senses of the French term, denoting both a cast shadow and the spirit form of a person released from the mortal encumbrance of the body. The disembodied head inserts Picasso in the scene of strife (of which he is, of course, the maker, perhaps in more senses than one) as a blameless bystander, intangible, impassive, and even eyeless; and given the interest in unconscious or "automatic" creativity in the Surrealist circles around Picasso, we might derive still another level of meaning from this mixed imagery of presence and absence. "Projecting" his shadow into these pictures as a sidewise, silhouetted bust with no hands



Olga in an Armchair. 1917. Oil on canvas, $51^{1/4} \times 34^{5/8}$ (130 × 88 cm). Zervos III, 83. Musée Picasso, Paris. (Colorplate, p. 307)



Self-Portrait in Profile. 1903. Watercolor on paper, $8^{1/4} \times 5^{1/8}$ " (21 × 13 cm). Zervos VI, 601. Private collection



Self-Portrait with A. F. de Soto and Sebastià Junyer Vidal. 1902. Ink on paper, 5¹/4 × 3⁵/8" (13.2 × 9 cm). Zervos XXI, 332. Museu Picasso, Barcelona



Self-Portrait in Profile. 1921. Crayon on paper, 10 $\% \times 8^{1}/4''$ (27 × 21 cm). Zervos XXX, 141. Private collection

seems a way to position himself as an objective outsider beside the strange configurations that arise from his imagination; denying the frontality and hands-on agency of the conscious painter, he literally does not "face up" to his role as inventor of the image.

Along these lines, we would also do well to examine the seemingly specific "Olga" scenes in the context of the broader set of artistic "marriages" from which they emerged—Picasso's concurrent experiments with oppositions and overlays of linear structures and transparent planes both dark and light, and with confrontations between sharply divergent forms of stylization. The "shadow vs. monster" conflict entails a face-off between a vestige of Picasso's Neoclassical style of the early 1920s



Self-Portrait in Profile. 1921. Pencil on paper, 10 $\% \times 8^{1/4}$ " (27 \times 21 cm). Zervos XXX, 149. Private collection

Picasso in 1917. Photographer unknown

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and the surrealizing manner that increasingly dominated his art after 1924-a juxtaposition that also appears, without the connotations of domestic strife, in other paintings of the date. Painter and Model of 1928 (p. 152), for example, features the smoothly idealized silhouette on the easel as a creation of the artist at work, and also as his emblem: an island of classical serenity, standing apart from the potent transformations that structure the surrounding world. In a 1927 illustration for Balzac's Le Chef d'oeuvre inconnu (p. 152), Picasso celebrated the painter's obsession to pull apart and retangle into an obscure private language the tidy knit of the visible world. In the later work he shows the reverse: the artist distilling from the jumbled codes of the world a pure, even styleless sign that may connote the primal origins of art and that is, not surprisingly, the vehicle of his own persona.

With this in mind, we can reconsider the earlier, hidden profiles as possible counterpoints—in their simplicity and in their "natural" or emergent origins within "unfinished" areas of paint—both to the Cubism of the *Harlequin* and to the sophisticated realism of Olga's portrait. Similarly revisiting the oppositional grotesques and shadow silhouettes of 1927–29, we see how often one or the other personage is not, in fact, a live presence but a work of art, nailed to the wall or set in a frame (p. 150, top, second from right and right). The shadow profile confronts the abstracted bone head *as art*, or vice versa, setting up a dialogue between the "natural" or indexical sign of the projected silhouette and the invented deformations of the other being. The constant is that the male presence, Picasso's face, is always figured as a natural trace or styleless sign—whether transparent, when a cast shadow, or opaque, when a silhouette in a frame⁴⁹—while the other personage, not always of determined sex but most often female, is the bizarre or monstrous enigma.

Even though particular pictures may have been slanted toward their marital discontent, the spats of Olga and Pablo are only one possible overlay on this broader psychic struggle and stylistic battleground—a field on which the artist, as prime mover, wins either way. As in the Painter and Model, we might say that he wants literally to keep his head as he paints: always able to stand outside the confounding distortions and reformulations, an untouchable presence, to witness the power his art has over the world; and conversely, always able to use that art to resolve for himself, within the refuge of the canvas, a more ideal, and exempt, identity. Profile views are intrinsically more objectified and distanced, but we must reckon with all these added fantasies of absence, dematerialization, and primal autonomy to begin to measure the force of Picasso's evident impulse, as he approached fifty, only to show himself outside his own regard.



Picasso shown in left profile, Paris, 1927. Photograph by Picasso. Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives



The Studio. 1928–29. Oil on canvas, $63^{3/4}\times51^{1/4}$ " (162 \times 130 cm). Not in Zervos. Musée Picasso, Paris



Woman in an Armchair (Composition). 1927. Oil on canvas, $28^{3/4} \times 25^{5/6}$ " (73 × 65 cm). Zervos VII, 78. The Minneapolis Institute of Arts. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. John Cowles



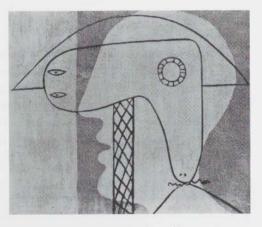
Harlequin. 1927. Oil on canvas, $31^{3/4} \times 25^{1/2''}$ (80.6 × 64.8 cm). Zervos VII, 80. Private collection



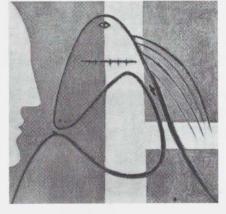
Bust of a Woman with Self-Portrait. 1929. Oil on canvas, 28 × 23⁷/s["] (71 × 60.5 cm). Zervos VII, 248. Private collection. (Colorplate, p. 329)



Figure and Profile. 1927–28. Oil on canvas, $25^{5/8} \times 21^{1/4}$ " (65 × 54 cm). Zervos VII, 144. Private collection. (Colorplate, p. 328)



Head. 1928. Oil on canvas, $18^{1/8} \times 21^{5/8}$ (46 × 55 cm). Zervos VII, 126. Private collection



Head of a Woman. 1928. Oil on canvas, $18^{1/8} \times 18^{1/8}$ " (46 × 46 cm). Zervos VII, 125. Private collection

The silhouette shapes in the 1927 paintings, with their long, straight lines from rounded forehead to nose tip, were ideograms Picasso adapted to stand for himself rather than strict descriptions of his profile; with minor adjustment, they also could be adapted to the representation of Marie-Thérèse Walter when she began to appear in his sculptures and paintings of the early 1930s (p. 153, left). (Or, conversely, since Picasso had already met Marie-Thérèse by 1927, we might speculate that his sign for himself at that earlier date already subsumed—as in the case of the Fernande-like self-portrait completed at Gosol, p. 134-some element of the image he was beginning to encode for her; it would be logical, after all, that Marie-Thérèse, as well as he, would be implicated in the agon against the "Olga" forms.50) The device of combining profile and frontal views in a face-most famously associated with Marie-Thérèse's sun-and-moon head in the 1932 Girl

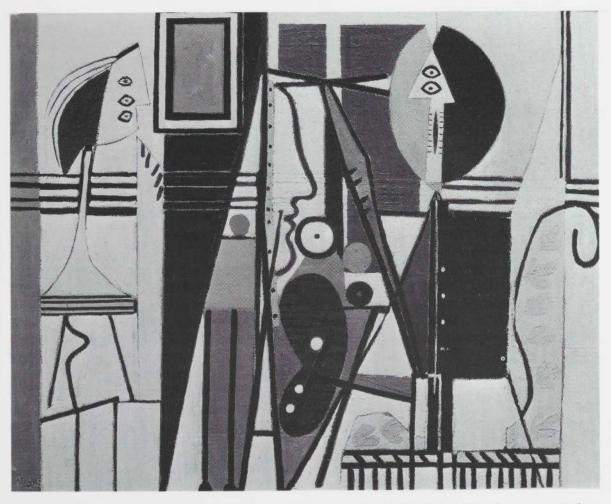
Before a Mirror (p. 357)—also allowed Picasso the opportunity to continue to inhabit or haunt, in this covert fashion, the images of others he created for years to come.

Yet if this provides an element of continuity between the 1920s and the 1930s in Picasso's work, it is only in the context of a massive change—from wiry line and transparent plane to *zaftig* volume, from claustrophobic interiors or stark metaphysical beachscapes to fruit- and eros-filled chambers and breeze-caressed loggias on the Mediterranean, from carping wife to pliant young lover. Nothing could stand in sharper contrast to the disembodied shadow heads, for example, than the robustly physical artist figures of the *Vollard Suite* of etchings done in 1933 (p. 154, top, center left, and bottom left). Although there are no explicit self-portraits in this series, few observers would dispute Picasso's wish to identify himself with these men, who consort with models umistakably based

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Figure and Profile. 1928. Oil on canvas, 28³/₄ × 23⁵/₈" (73 × 60 cm). Zervos VII, 129. Musée Picasso, Paris



Painter and Model. 1928. Oil on canvas, 51¹/₈ × 64¹/₄" (129.8 × 163 cm). Zervos VII, 143. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. The Sidney and Harriet Janis Collection



Painter and Model Knitting. 1927. Plate IV from Le Chef-d'oeuvre inconnu by Honoré de Balzac (Paris: Ambroise Vollard, Editeur, 1931). Etching, 7[%]/₁₆ × 10[%]s" (19.2 × 27.7 cm). Geiser/Baer I, 126. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. The Louis E. Stern Collection

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Head of a Woman. 1931. Bronze, $50^{5/8} \times 21^{1/2} \times 24^{5/8}$ " (128.5 × 54.5 × 62.5 cm). Not in Zervos. Spies 133. Musée Picasso, Paris

on the placid moods and youthful physique of Marie-Thérèse. That new presence in his life had prompted Picasso to pursue a fulsome series of modeled sculptures around 1933 (see above), and the artists in the *Vollard Suite* are predominantly sculptors—not thinkers who configure the world into two dimensions but physically laboring creators in constant, palpable touch with the sensual realities of life—cradling "warm flesh in one hand," as he described them later, "and cool champagne in the other."⁵¹

The typical atelier scene in this series features not the cerebral labor by which the world is remade in art but a postcoital air of relaxation that sets artist and model together in contemplation of the finished object (p. 154, top right). Once again there are oppositions between a classicizing naturalism and surrealist invention (p. 154, center right), but the dominant spirit seems a dream of *luxe, calme et volupté* that rejects the stark, oneiric fantasies of the late 1920s and rebuts the intellectualized nightmares of canonical Surrealism. The Mediterranean order here evokes a sensual, arcadian classicism, immune to the spartan purism of other Neoclassical manners and antipodal to the chilly melancholy that, in the period



Bust of a Woman. 1931. Bronze, $24\frac{5}{8} \times 11 \times 16\frac{3}{8}$ " (62.5 × 28 × 41.5 cm). Not in Zervos. Spies 111. Musée Picasso, Paris

between the wars, attended many of the attempts to imagine ancient culture.

This world of instinct, however, also harbors fates and punishments that may attend the indulgence of animal pleasures; these come to center on the figure of the Minotaur, a hybrid monster of virile power and unbridled appetite who had first begun appearing in Picasso's art in 1928. This cruel beast of ancient legend bore the body of a man, but his head, the seat of reason, had been displaced by that of a bull; incapable of being civilized, he lived in a labyrinth on Crete, and was propitiated by having maidens sacrificed to his appetites, until the hero Theseus slew him. In the Vollard Suite, the Minotaur is sometimes a hearty convive at the studio revels (p. 154, bottom left), but in the later plates it is clear that Picasso saw this creature both as an aspect of himself and as an ultimately tragic figure (p. 154, bottom right). At this point in his life, if not well before, he had come to think of himself as a "monster" in a complex way-not simply as a beast of marauding instincts but as a freak of nature in a higher sense. He gave friends to understand that he lacked complete comprehension of his own special creative



Sculptor Working on the Design with Marie-Thérèse Posing. 1933, printed 1939. Etching, $7\frac{5}{8} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ " (19.4 × 26.7 cm). Geiser/Baer II, 321. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Fund



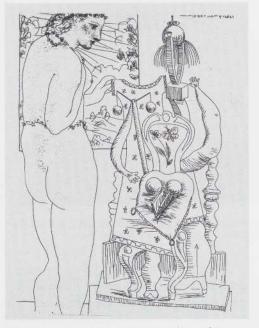
Sculptor at Rest with His Model, Anemones, and Small Torso. 1933, printed 1939. Etching, $7^{5/8} \times 10^{3/2}$ " (19.4 × 26.7 cm). Geiser/Baer II, 315. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Fund



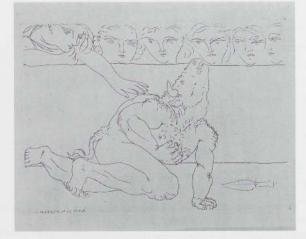
Model and Sculptor with His Sculpture. 1933, printed 1939. Etching, $10^{1/2} \times 7^{5/6''}$ (26.7 × 19.3 cm). Geiser/Baer II, 300. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Fund



Bacchanal with Minotaur. 1933, printed 1939. Etching, $11^{11}/_{16} \times 14^{3}/_{6}$ " (29.7 × 36.6 cm). Geiser/Baer II, 351. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Fund

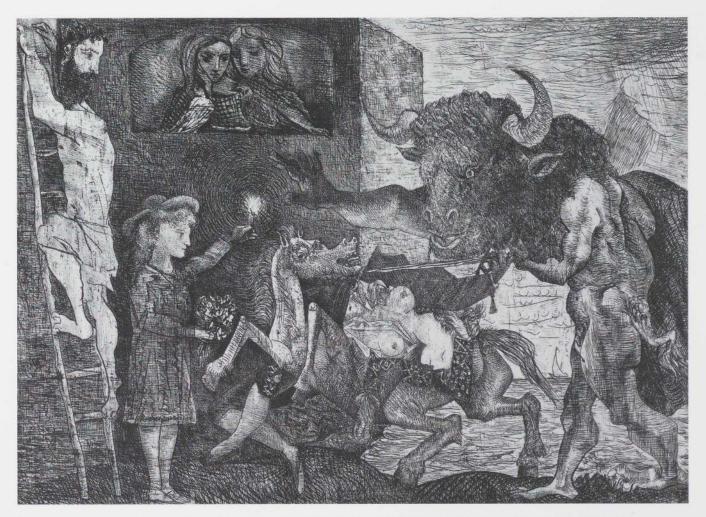


Marie-Thérèse Considering Her Sculpted Surrealist Effigy. May 4, 1933, printed 1939. Etching printed in black, $10\%6 \times 7\%6''$ (26.8 × 19.3 cm). Geiser/Baer II, 346. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Fund



Dying Minotaur. 1933, printed 1939. Etching, $7\% \times 10\%$ " (19.3 × 26.8 cm). Geiser/Baer II, 366. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Fund

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Minotauromachy (7th state). 1935. Etching, 19½ × 27³/s" (49.6 × 69.6 cm). Geiser/Baer III, 573. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Fund

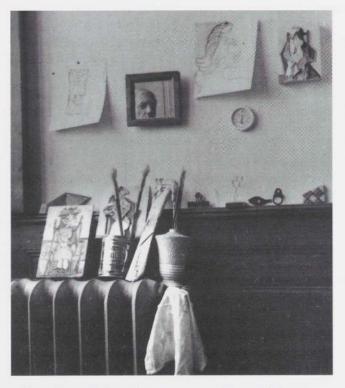
powers; he said he felt commanded by, rather than only in possession of, his gifts. It is this imagining of himself simultaneously as a sacré monstre and a monstre sacré, set apart by his special power and isolated by inner forces fated to drive him according to their demands, which finds form in the part-man, part-animal who is both blessed and cursed by his transcendence of the conventions of human society. Speaking later to Gilot of another scene from the Vollard Suite (see p. 161, top), Picasso said that the horned intruder is wondering whether the sleeping woman he observes "loves him because he is a monster."52 The element of self-pity in this self-aggrandizing myth comes sharply to the fore in the Vollard Suite's later visions of an afflicted Minotaur, and in the brilliant Minotauromachy etching of 1935: at a time when Marie-Thérèse's pregnancy had precipitated a crisis in his already troubled marriage to Olga, Picasso adopted the image of the wounded monster much as he previously had adopted that of the sad clown, showing the hulking beast as an object of pity, led by an innocent child with the features of his young mistress.53 No longer the disembodied and untouchable presence he was in 1927, Picasso

becomes an all-too-physical creature of instinct, touch, and smell, not bystander but agent and victim of disorder.

On simpler terms, though, the Vollard etchings are notable for the acknowledged, if idealized, discrepancy between the hirsute maturity of the men (Picasso was past fifty) and the youth of the women (Marie-Thérèse was barely in her twenties). Picasso found this issue of age increasingly unavoidable as he approached sixty. In 1938 he could show himself as still boyish, in a sailor's tunic (p. 157), but the two self-portrait drawings done from a mirror in 1940—apparently his first such studies since 1918—tell another tale (p. 156, top). One of these images is bolder and more familiarly wide-eyed, the other more recessive and seemingly withdrawn, but both remove his haggard visage from the center of the field of view toward the margin. In this regard they echo a remarkable self-portrait photograph of Picasso's small, fragmentary face spying at us from the corner of a mirror (p. 156, bottom).54 Drawings and photograph were all done in Royan, in the summer of 1940, when the Germans invaded and occupied France. Picasso, who had arranged to have his current companion, Dora Maar, with him but



Self-Portrait. 1940. Pencil on paper, $6^{1/4} \times 4^{3/8}$ " (16 × 11 cm). Zervos XI, 82. Private collection

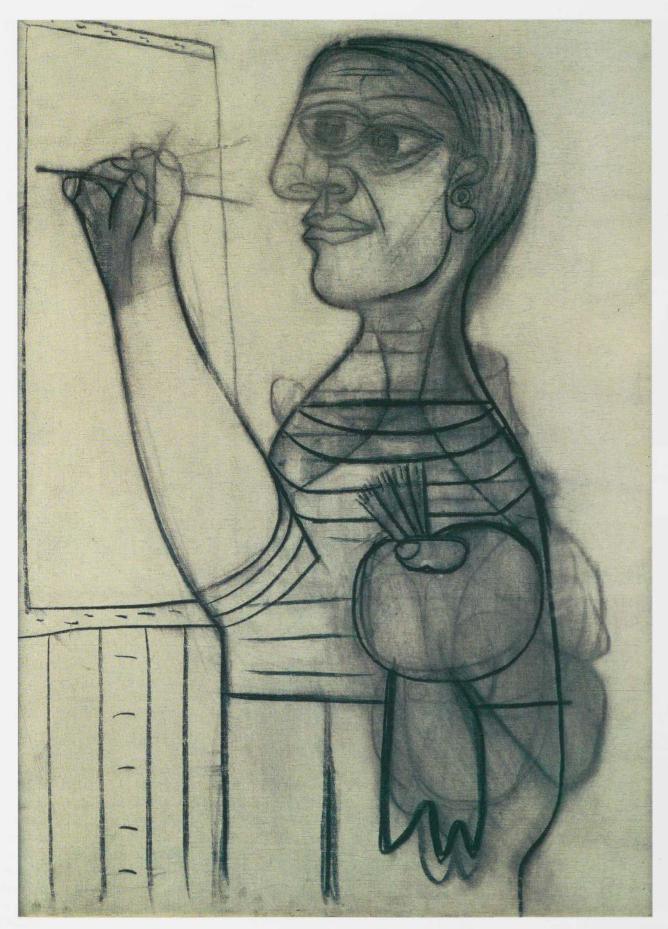


In the studio at Villa les Voiliers, Royan, 1940. The artist's face is visible in the small mirror hanging between sketches of Dora Maar. Photograph by Picasso. Musée Picasso, Paris. Gift of Sir Roland Penrose

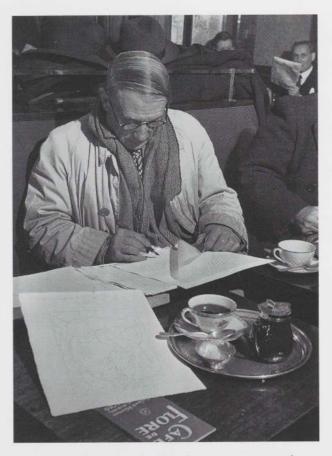


also to have Marie-Thérèse and their daughter in residence in Royan, was living in acute uncertainty under pressures both political and domestic. His life's work had been reviewed at The Museum of Modern Art's retrospective the previous year, and he had been forced to undertake another, more literal sorting and packing of his career when the outbreak of war and the invasion of France obliged him to gather and store all his art and belongings in Paris. With reflection on the past thus forced upon him, questions that clouded the future would have been all the more trying.

On one of his hectic visits to Paris before the Germans arrived, Picasso allowed the photographer Brassaï to shoot a series of candid portraits of him in the cafés and restaurants he frequented.⁵⁵ The evidence of these photographs may have helped seal the artist's recognition of the changes time had worked on his face—and most especially on the top of his head (p. 158, top). By their close cropping, the Royan drawings neatly obfuscate the fact that Picasso by then had lost a great deal of his hair. By 1941, when he drew the amusing little overhead "portrait of the author" that is the frontispiece for his play *Le Désir attrapé par la queue* (p. 158), he was more candid; in what seems a paraphrase of one of Brassaï's photographs (p. 158, top left), he caricatures not only the wispy sparse-



The Artist Before His Canvas. 1938. Charcoal on canvas, 511/4 × 37" (130 × 94 cm). Not in Zervos. Musée Picasso, Paris



At the Café de Flore, Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Paris, September 18 or 19, 1939. Photograph by Brassaï



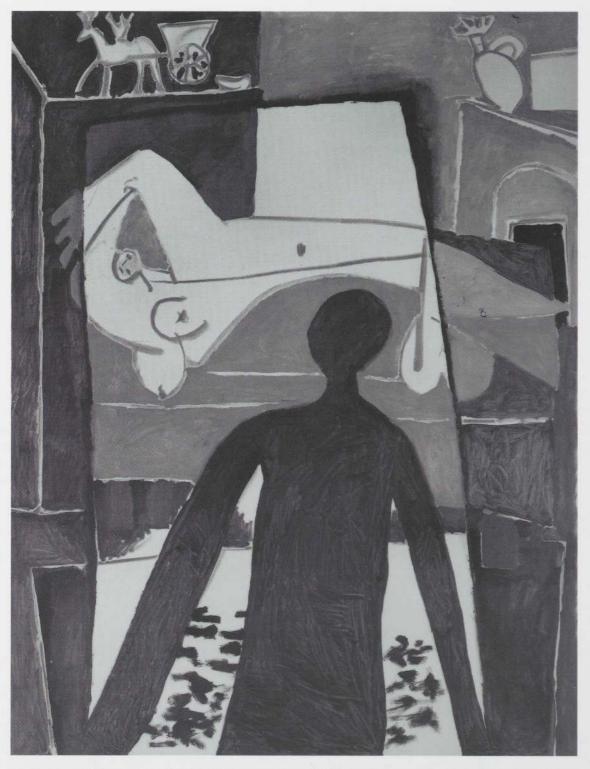
Le Désir attrapé par la queue. 1941. Pen on paper. Published in Messages, no. 2 (1944). Not in Zervos. Musée Picasso, Paris



In the studio at 7, rue des Grands-Augustins, Paris, September 18 or 19, 1939. Photograph by Brassaï

ness of his scalp, but also the addition of reading glasses to his fabled gaze.

Picasso could continue, of course, to imagine himself, and portray his surrogates, in youthful form; but with the war years he stopped denying, on some crucial levels, that he was actually advancing through his sixties. In May 1945 he took the decisive step of cutting off the forelock that had been a signature trait throughout his adult life, and that had served more recently to camouflage his baldness.⁵⁶ We know from Gilot that Picasso was deeply superstitious about having his hair clipped,57 and this particular cut was without question a significant ceremonial gesture; he may well have been aware of the rite of passage in other cultures, where cutting one's topknot marked the entry into old age.58 The symbolism here, however, was not involved so much with forsaking the world as with clearing the decks for another phase. Picasso called the change to the attention of friends who failed to note it,⁵⁹ and he remarked simply to Brassaï after showing him the newly exposed pate, "On ne peut être et avoir été," which might translate loosely as "You can't live in the present and also in the past"; then he asked, "So when are you going to photograph me without my forelock?"60



The Shadow. December 29, 1953. Oil and charcoal on canvas, 51 × 38" (129.5 × 96.5 cm). Zervos XVI, 100. Musée Picasso, Paris

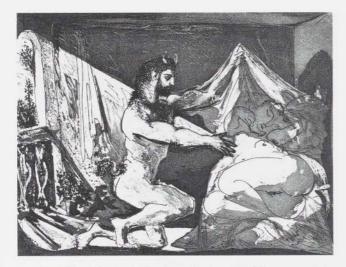
Committed to a new look in life, Picasso was still long in finding his new face in art after World War II. One identity with which he was familiar, but which he perhaps found newly problematic in his sixties, was that of parent to young offspring. With Françoise Gilot, who replaced Dora Maar in his affections in the late 1940s, he fathered a boy and a girl—Claude and Paloma—who brought a fresh surge of interest in infantile delights. In the 1920s he had painted Paulo, his son by Olga, more as a little adult, even showing him in a Harlequin's costume as a junior edition of his father. (Some writers also have seen, almost certainly erroneously, a self-portrait in the 1938 *Maya in a Sailor Suit*, with its cap identifying Marie-Thérèse's daughter as a swabby on the good ship *Picasso* [see p. 377]).⁶¹



The Shadow on the Woman. 1953. Oil on canvas, $51\frac{1}{2} \times 38\frac{1}{2}$ " (130.8 × 97.8 cm). Zervos XVI, 99. Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto. Gift of Sam and Ayala Zacks, 1970

However, whether in recognition of a new age of permissive thinking about early childhood or out of a greater concern to absorb for himself some of the budding vitality of their youth, Picasso in the early 1950s doted on the childishness of Paloma and Claude; rather than imposing premature adulthoood on them in his work, he often let their games, their toys, their own creations—as well as the mercurial intensity of their emotional life inform his art.⁶² Aside from one or two ambiguous examples,⁶³ however, he never opted to show himself as the head of this new family; the image doubtless would have underlined with unwanted clarity the gap in years that separated him from these sprouts and their young mother.

It was the breakup of that family that occasioned



Faun Unveiling a Sleeping Girl. 1936, printed 1939. Etching, $12p \times 16p''$ (31.6 × 41.7 cm). Geiser/Baer III, 609. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Fund

the revival of a former self-image: on December 29 and 30, 1953, after a Christmas during which Picasso and Françoise remained separated, the artist painted two canvases showing the shadow of a figure falling into a room where a woman lies naked (p. 159; opposite). It is unclear whether the recumbent woman represents Françoise (he had never shown her as a nude during their years together), but there is less doubt, since Picasso later said so to a visitor, that this is the artist's own shadow, in the bedroom they had shared.⁶⁴ The device recalls Picasso's previous imaginations of himself as an intruding silhouette (see pp. 150, 151), as well as the plate from the *Vollard Suite* in which a minotaur-like faun steals in through a flood of raking light to unveil a sleeping woman (left). Now he confirms his position in front of, yet outside, the scene, and—as if in two different photographic exposures—alternately projects his shadow as something solid and opaque, from which the female body seems to arch away, and as an all-covering transparent veil. In either case, the notion of the *ombre*, which previously had carried connotations of untouchable power, now seems to assume more poignant overtones of an inability to touch; the towering shadow could signal either an advancing entry or a departure, and the lover within is seen, whether in anticipation or retrospect, by the light of a declining sun.

From the 1950s onward Picasso was the subject of innumerable photographs, but as vanity can provide conflicting goads he often encouraged the photographers who lionized him and then deflected the candor of their recording lenses by literally making a fool of himself, in what became a familiar parade of impromptu masks, fake moustaches, and other forms of posing buffoonery. For those disposed to think so, this stream of mugging selfpresentations could, when paired with the costumed caprices of the late paintings, confirm the image of a self-indulgent old man concerned principally to amuse himself. Seen through a different optic, the clowning masquerades might be aligned with the later art to suggest a more complex attitude of often sardonic, partly defensive gamesmanship in the face of age's inexorable encroachments and an increasing awareness of death. Toward the end, Picasso took an even more active role with regard to this string of photographs, drawing on some of them to



In the Studio. 1954. India ink on paper, $9^{5/\!\!/_8}\times12^{1/\!\!/_2}$ " (23.8 \times 31.8 cm). Zervos XVI, 183. Private collection



The Painter. 1965. Oil on canvas, 393/8 × 317/8" (100 × 81 cm). Zervos XXV, 25. Private collection

alter his appearance and to produce antic scenes of himself and his friends as players in little costume dramas.⁶⁵

Amid all these camouflages, however, the one avatar Picasso embraced most consistently in his final decades was the one with the least disguised self-reference: the figure of the artist. Near the breakup with Gilot, he undertook a series of drawings, often lightly satirical, of the artist in his studio (p. 161, bottom), some of which were published in *Verve* in late 1953; after that, one or another variant of this theme recurred at intervals, especially among his drawings and prints. The focus was not on his own circumstances. Neither live models nor traditional palettes, which are constant attributes of these late studio scenes, had anything to do with his practice, and the artists in question almost never display his features in more than allusive fashion; they tend to be stock types, typically bearded, which Picasso never was. Here, as in the case of countless male busts or figures (above; opposite; p. 165), Picassoesque combinations of traits can come and go within a series (p. 164) in a way that suggests we may risk a certain arbitrariness in singling out one or another as an authentic self-examination. There is, however, a strong consistency in the basic opposition between young female models and older male painters, which does mark the particular and personal framework through which Picasso saw this idea of artmaking as a broadly metaphoric subject.

As he dwelled on the image of the older artist, Picasso in his last twenty years also sought to fraternize and contend with a pantheon of painters of the past. The major steps are well-known and well-studied: a reprise of Courbet's *Demoiselles au bord de la Seine;* a series based on Delacroix's *Femmes d'Alger,* stimulated in part by the legacy of Matisse's *odalisques* and in part by the look of



Seated Man (Self-Portrait). April 3, 1965. Oil on canvas, $39^{1/4} \times 31^{3/4}$ " (95 × 80.5 cm). Zervos XXV, 95. Private collection

Picasso's new wife, Jacqueline Roque; an extended remaking of Manet's *Déjeuner sur l'herbe*; and a lengthy reimagining of the elements of Velázquez's *Las Meninas*. As this latter series melded with the more generic studio scenes, so in reverse certain of the generic busts and images of artists took on costumes or features that associated them with particular painters from history. The first intimation of this seems to have come as early as 1950, when Picasso paraphrased an El Greco *Portrait of an Artist*, which, as Susan Galassi has noted, was then often taken to be a selfportrait by the master of Toledo.⁶⁶ The practice began in greater earnest, however, after Picasso's illness and surgery in 1963, and seems to have centered most tellingly on the disparate figures of Rembrandt and van Gogh.

As Richardson has pointed out, these two artists may have been special cases for Picasso precisely because they are so strongly identified with self-portraiture.⁶⁷ Rembrandt, particularly, had set the standard for charting each rise and fall of his fortunes in a self-image, continuing through the most unflinching confrontations with his flabby features and ebbing vitality in old age. The aging Picasso apparently felt a strengthening bond with the great Dutchman's secular materialism, which fostered an earthy realism about all the body's functions and its weaknesses; but he also found an affinity in Rembrandt's contrary penchant for lavish costumes and theatrical masquerade.68 Not least, he realized that Rembrandt, like Titian, was admired for the achievements of his late style. Gilot recounted that Picasso told her all painters think of themselves as Rembrandt, and described how a spiteful Olga would send a picture of Rembrandt to her former husband inscribed "If you were like him, you would be a great artist."69 Jacqueline felt that all the swashbuckling "musketeer" types that frequent Picasso's later work ultilamit 26.5.69. I



Head of a Man. 1969. Ink on paper, 12 \times 9½" (30.5 \times 24 cm). Zervos XXXI, 209. Private collection



Head of a Man. 1969. Ink on paper, 12 × $9^{1/2''}$ (30.5 × 24 cm). Zervos XXXI, 210. Private collection

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Head of a Man. 1969. Ink on paper, 12 \times 9½" (30.5 \times 24 cm). Zervos XXXI, 211. Private collection



Head of a Man. 1969. Ink on paper, 12 \times 9½" (30.5 \times 24 cm). Zervos XXXI, 212. Private collection



Head of a Man. 1969. Ink on paper, 12 × 9½" (30.5 × 24 cm). Zervos XXXI, 213. Private collection



Head of a Man. 1969. Ink on paper, $12 \times 9^{\frac{1}{2}}$ (30.5 × 24 cm). Zervos XXXI, 214. Private collection

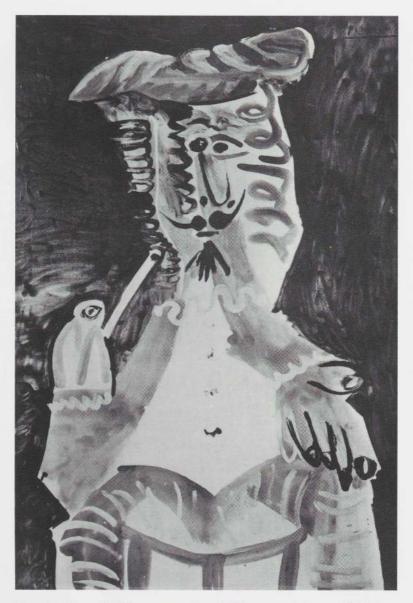


Seated Man (Self-Portrait). December 26, 1966. Pencil on paper, 21⁵/₈ × 18¹/₈" (55 × 46 cm). Zervos XXV, 249. The Hakone Open-Air Museum, Tokyo

mately began in his fascination for the seventeenth-century world of *The Night Watch* (p. 166; p. 167, top left), and Richardson also has noted how often Picasso would add a swift little "portrait" of a Rembrandt-like face to his signature when dedicating a book to a friend (p. 167, top right).⁷⁰

If Rembrandt in his velvet beret seemed the quintessential painter of the North, of material pleasures, and of old age, then his fellow Dutchman, van Gogh, in his straw hat provided for Picasso the perfect counterpoint: an adept of Southern sunlight, never compromised in his bohemian ardor by either wealth or senescence. Even though Picasso spent part of his later years quite close to Aix-en-Provence and Mont Sainte-Victoire, he did not retain the powerful attraction for Cézanne he had felt in his youth (see p. 136, bottom; p. 137). The image of the bald old painter living ascetically in isolated concentration amid the skulls in his studio, and painting by patiently cumulative increments, evidently held no appeal. More stimulating were van Gogh's "physiognomic" brushwork, with its reminiscences of Daumier in the expressive caricature of things, and the passionate intensity for life Vincent had always portrayed in his own eyes.⁷¹

Since traits of these artists could mingle with Picasso's own or with those of other familiars such as Balzac,⁷² few specific or "dedicated" portraits of them exist, yet they still seem paired touchstones in the transfer of Picasso's sense of his own life into the fictions of his art. Years before, he had told his dealer, Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, that he wanted to "live like a poor man with a lot of money,"⁷³ and his final decades fulfilled some of that paradox. He was a beach bum in a castle, spending his days T-shirted or bare-chested in sandals and shorts, in the



Man with a Pipe. 1968. Oil on canvas, $57^{1/2}\times 38^{1/4''}$ (146 \times 97 cm). Zervos XXVII, 383. Private collection

salons of his châteaux from centuries past, which had become makeshift studios or cluttered, pleasurably dusty bins for the accumulation of his art. He obviously loved this straw-hat existence in the remnants of a plumed-hat age, combining the disparate privileges of palace and *plage*. Fantasies of courtly manners cohabited with the casual informality of a sun-soaked Mediterranean routine, in this waning life lived in and through art, at once in the shady groves of history and in the invigorating sun of Provence. Amsterdam and Arles, Rembrandt and van Gogh, became complementary coins in this exchange.

Very close to the end of his life, in 1971, Picasso added another figure to this pantheon, when he undertook a short series of etched variations on several monotypes by Degas that he owned, showing scenes of bordello life (opposite, bottom). There is bittersweet irony in this late return to the brothel, which had been the site of the

eruption of his most complex artistic energies in Les Demoiselles d'Avignon. In that earlier work, he at first had thought to show an opposition between a male figure engaged in sensual pleasure (a sailor amid the prostitutes) and a complementary one whose detached observation was associated with reminders of mortality (a medical student holding a skull and standing to the side). Both males were banished in 1907, but one, the dispassionate observer, returns in these etchings in the role of Degas (whose ambiguous, apparently chaste behavior in the brothels was a point of curiosity for Picasso), standing aside as the whores display themselves or traffic with their clients.74 With its urbane clothes and long, bearded physiognomy, this Degas-like figure also may connote associations with Picasso's father, don José, thus mingling an Oedipal specter of artistic failure with the suggestion of neutered sexuality.75 Earlier in life, when Picasso had



Head of a Man. 1969. Wash on paper, $10\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ " (26.5 × 21.5 cm). Zervos XXXI, 58. Private collection

shown himself as immune to whorish solicitation (p. 123) or as a profiled presence in a scene (pp. 150, 151), he did so to promote fantasies of visionary power; casting the artist in this new, "uninvolved" role has more problematic overtones of voyeuristic impotence.

It is axiomatic that strong art can be made from personal weakness or affliction, and Rembrandt and van Gogh prove the premise. Their way of dealing with straitened circumstances, infirmity, and desperate disappointment was to show themselves with brutal directness. By adopting their attributes, however, Picasso scanted this crux of their achievement, and wound up for many years referring to his own dilemmasold age, impotence, or just increasing insulation from the daily variety of life that had given his early art sustenanceonly in more oblique and inferential ways. Though the graphic works of the 1950s and 1960s are often brilliant in their virtuosity and impressive in the energy of

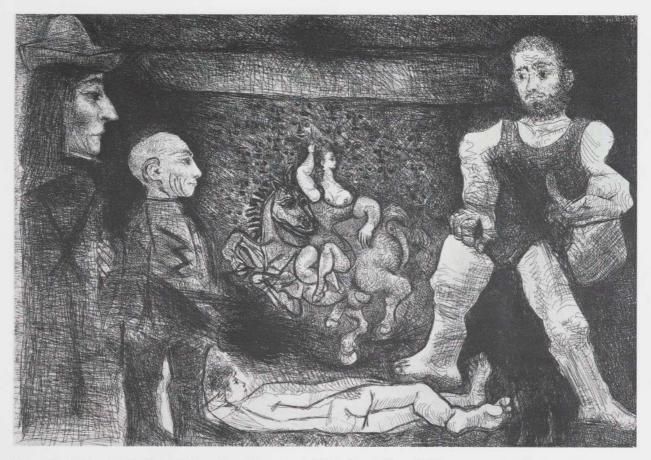


Head of Rembrandt. 1968. Pen, India ink, and wash on paper, 12% × 9%" (32.8 × 25 cm). Zervos XXVII, 267. Collection Angela Rosengart, Lucerne

their fantasy, the countless paintings with Picassoesque attributes or other artists' guises need a devotedly friendly interpretation to be seen, in regard to self-portraiture, as something more than a talented but indulgent spinning of



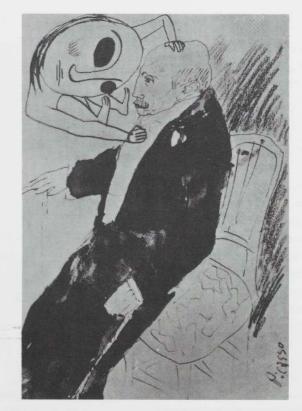
Bordello Scene. 1971. Etching, 145 × 191/2" (37 × 49.5 cm). Private collection



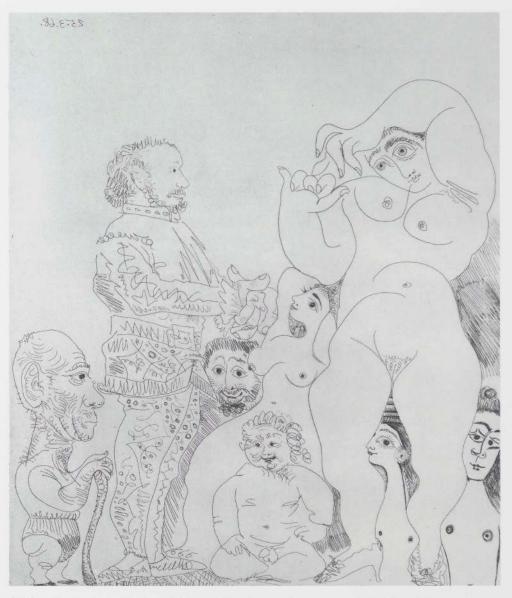
Picasso, His Work, and His Public. 1968. Plate 1 from *Suite 347,* state VII. Etching, 15⁵/₁₆ × 22⁵/₁₆" (39.5 × 56.7 cm). Geiser/Baer VI, 1496. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Gift of the Bibliothèque Nationale (by exchange)

the wheels, without traction in deeper substance and thereby gaining little new ground. Rembrandt and van Gogh left us images of themselves that have surpassed their circumstances and added something central to human understanding. Picasso's invocations of them seem by contrast only to add something marginal to his legend.

For all the masking and charades, however, Picasso in old age did remain capable of seeing himself-and occasionally showing himself-with candor and even painful mockery; this is evident in the scattering of more direct, caricatural self-portraits that began to appear when he entered his late eighties. The very practice of caricature, from its prehistory in Leonardo's drawings of grotesque heads, has always been associated with cruelty, and specifically with the power to impose the ravages of age on a face.⁷⁶ Picasso had indulged this penchant early, with results that came to have disturbingly personal predictive force (right); at the end of his life, he turned the device against himself with far more savage power. The first intimations come early in the outpouring of etchings that became known as Suite 347, from 1968. Two plates contain direct likenesses of Picasso, profiles so precise that one suspects they may reflect photographs (above; opposite); both show him as a dwarfish sideline spectator



Homunculus Attacks Formally Attired Old Man. 1902 or 1903. Pen and ink on paper. Zervos I, 150. Private collection



Self-Portrait with a Cane, with Actor in Costume, Sated Love, and Women. 1968. Plate 8 from Suite 347. Etching, $16\frac{3}{4} \times 13\frac{1}{2}$ " (42.3 × 34.2 cm). Geiser/Baer VI, 1503. Galerie Louise Leiris, Paris

in theaters—the circus and the bordello—where formerly he had seen himself as a performer in more active roles. The suite then goes on to feature other such dwarfs or giant infants (p. 170, top left) that, as credibly as the hairy old Silenuses in other scenes (p. 170, center left), seem plausibly to embody Picasso's commentary on his own diminished condition as a bystander in the orgies of female sexual display and male voyeurism, and in the conflations of painting and lovemaking, that dominate the 347 etchings.⁷⁷

One of the prices exacted for the gift of a long life is an incessantly deepening consciousness of loss; one by one, increment by increment, many of the people and the pleasures that have given the world its savor depart. Somewhere behind what Gert Schiff called the theatrum mundi of Picasso's art in his last years-behind the tumbling troupes of voluminous spread-legged women, gay swordsmen, and antically leering faces-and beneath the consolations of Jacqueline and new young friends lay a life of increasing isolation. The draining hourglass steadily enfeebled the artist's senses, sapped his sexuality, took away the dependable reference points of his universe—rivals and colleagues such as Matisse and Braque, lifelong friends like Jaime Sabartés, dependables such as Cocteau—and left him more and more alone in a world of commercial television, Cuban missile crises, and Pop art that seemed already to have discounted him as passé and left him for dead. One of the visitors who saw Picasso regularly in these late years was Pierre Daix, and it was to him, during a visit on the last day of June in 1972, that the



Venus and Love, in the Style of the Sixteenth Century. 1968. Plate 159 from Suite 347. Etching, $16\frac{3}{8} \times 19\frac{12}{2}$ " (41.5 × 49.6 cm). Geiser/Baer VI, 1655. Galerie Louise Leiris, Paris



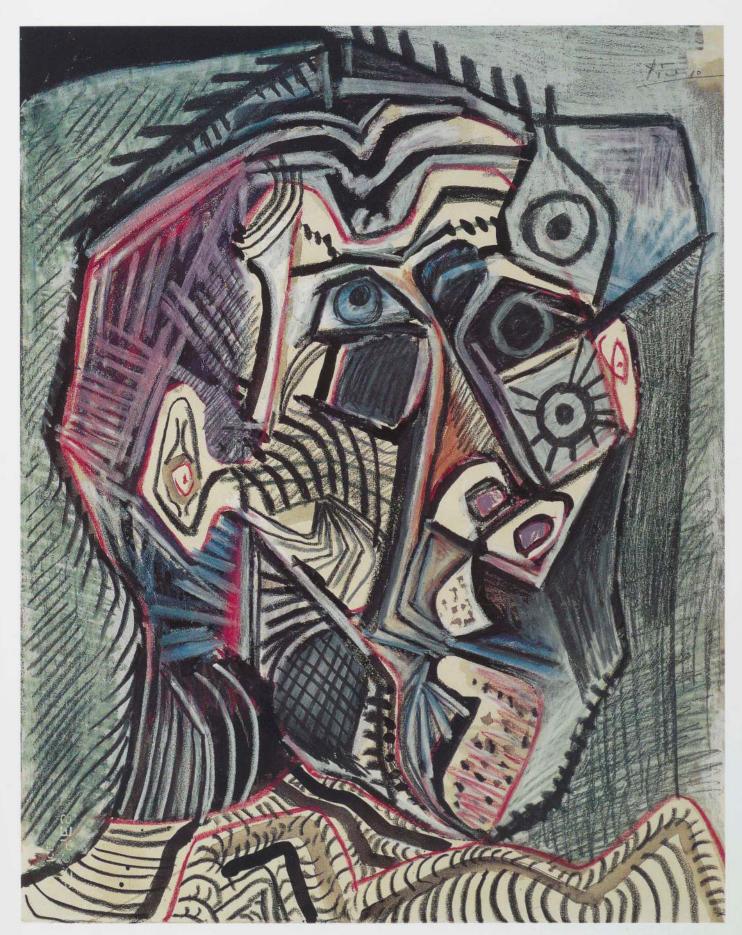
Old Man Sitting with a Woman, and Dancer. 1968. Plate 239 from Suite 347. Etching, $6^{3/4} \times 10^{3/8}$ " (17.2 × 26.3 cm). Geiser/Baer VI, 1736. Galerie Louise Leiris, Paris

artist showed something special. Daix had come to work on a book about the Cubist years, but Picasso was concerned with focusing on present explorations. "I did a drawing yesterday," he said as he led Daix into a semidarkened studio, "and I think maybe I touched on something. It's not like anything I've done before." When Picasso opened the shutters partially and presented the work, it was a riveting, unforgettable self-portrait head in a peculiar palette of green, blue, and mauve crayon (p. 173).⁷⁸

This June 30 drawing is in many ways a singular work, "not like anything . . . done before," but it also has compelling connections both to its immediate neighbors in Picasso's work and to the early epoch of his first selfexaminations. Shortly before, on June 27, Picasso had made a study for a head (right) that he then completed, between June 28 and July 4, in a highly finished drawing (opposite). The June 27 study sets the image of a plaintively dislocated gaze in a turtlelike head defined largely, like the shoulders below it, by furrows of folds and wrinkles; everything that should protrude—nose, ears, lips—is instead flattened or pulled inward. This puckering has accelerated in the definitive version of June 28-July 4, in which the lips have been reversed, the nose has become a snout with upraised nostrils, and the ear has withered into a shrunken cavity.79 Here, too, the wrinkling has proliferated with psychedelic intensity into a calligraphic web of linear patterning that overwhelms the few rounded features it snags as they drift, unmoored. These holes and orbs and spots rhyme in equivalency; the eyes, each of which seems to have a blind twin in the darkened, socketlike form below it, are no more prominent than the spidery black spot on the left cheek-a blemish of age that helps peg this as a specific account of the artist's own face.⁸⁰ The asymmetries of expression that mark the 1907 self-portrait (p. 139) seem exaggerated into a dementia of incoherence here, where the targetlike left eyeball is enlarged, pulled to the vertical, and anchored into an enigmatic trapezoidal chunk appended to the side of the head. The descent down the head's left side-from that fixated monocular gaze to the dark, pupil-less "blind eye" below it, to the insectlike spot, and then to the nostril-is an amazing concatenation of cognate signs for surface and depth, or psyche and physiognomy, the leveled simi-



Head. June 27, 1972. Watercolor and colored pencil on paper, $25\% \times 18\% ''$ (65.7 \times 50.5 cm). Zervos XXXIII, 432. The Hakone Open-Air Museum, Tokyo



Self-Portrait. June 28–July 4, 1972. Colored crayon, gouache, India ink, and ink wash on paper, 25% × 19%" (65.7 × 50.5 cm). Zervos XXXIII, 448. Private collection

PICASSO'S SELF-PORTRAITS I7I larity of which has unnerving implications for our sense of the relation between spirit and flesh.

Still, this remarkable drawing is less harrowingly confrontational than the one Picasso showed Daix (opposite), which demands comparison in every aspect of its impact as well as its configuration with the great self-portrait of 1907. Like that piece, this one is caricatural yet also seems made, exceptionally, from the scrutiny of the mirror; the spidery age spot on the left side of the artist's face, remade in a burst of vectors that link it to the jawline, now marks the opposite cheek-incorrectly, but true to mirror reversal. This drawing differs drastically in conception from the one begun just before it and completed soon after (p. 171); bristling calligraphy has given way to a willfully slow handling, with patiently burnished modeling in the face and grassy hatching in the chin and shoulder areas. Sculptural concerns dominate, and the graphic structure has a brutish reductiveness. The twin ice-tong curves that link the apex of the nose to the lip and chin area combine with the enlarged eyes, for example, to give a dominant facial structure as simple as a pear with two leaves at its stem. The combination of such coarsely blunt lines with the evident pentimenti and scumbling thickets of pencilwork communicates a sense of labor and even clumsiness that, no matter how consciously selected, adds pathos to the power of this emblem of life's terminal ravages.

As Adam Gopnik has noted, the bald, bone-and-jowl schemas for old age in this self-excoriation look directly back to the 1906 drawings of Josep Fontdevila in Gosol⁸¹ —drawings that Richardson has said Picasso kept near at hand in his studio even in the 1970s.⁸² We have to reach back that far, too, for a self-examination so squarely frontal (p. 134). But nothing, early or late, prepares us for the intensely uncomfortable fixity of this gaping stare. The mug-shot rigidity of the head, with its dome flattened against the top of the page and its sides grazing the edges, is undermined by the disconcertingly weak juncture below the chin, which makes the cranial mass into a perilously balanced boulder on the uncertain rolling terrain of shoulders and chest (a comparison with the confidently firm balance of the 1906 self-portrait, on p. 137, will emphasize the point). Monumentality is paired with instability, just as the basic symmetry is countered by the scrubbed-out effacement and jagged, massively illogical reconstruction of the head's right side.

Capped with stubble and cleaved by an inexplicable vertical from crown to eye, the forehead is as vague and lumpy a terrain as the torso below; lines of worry have supplanted the eyebrows as the most prominent features. Below, the signature X-ray eyes have been replaced by a mismatched pair of scumbled, dimmed, and irregularly dilated pupils, one of which seems to roll in a twisting spiral. In 1907 the facial structure flexed to accommodate such a wide-eyed gaze (p. 139), but here that taut stenography of marks has dissolved into a hobo's code of arrows, crescents, and disconnected vectors from which the dominant eyes seem disengaged. In 1907, too, the mouth was a decisive slash augmented above and below by full lips; in 1972 an inversion occurs, with two hard, firm lines clamping between them a murkily pink, uncertain softness. Finally, the nose structure that was such a key to Picasso's face in 1907—that wedge with a bold, sharp thrust that ends in a fleshy knob and wide wings-now appears as a soft, bulbous sack, flattened to expose prominent nostrils. With this, and the heavy pockmarks of the upper lip, the impression of an animal muzzle-and perhaps the muzzle of a specific animal-intrudes.

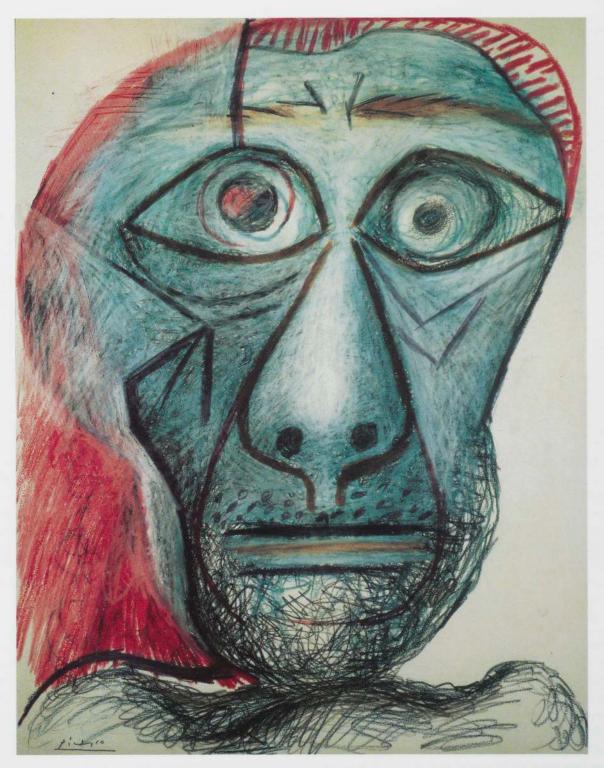
The skull qualities that were latent in 1907 are here overt, and become even more evident in the ghostly, rocklike afterimage Picasso made of this earless head on July 2 (p. 174). Less obvious, though, but perhaps equally telling,



Seated Woman with a Monkey. 1954. Ink on paper, 97/8 × 13³/8" (25 × 34 cm). Zervos XVI, 176. Private collection

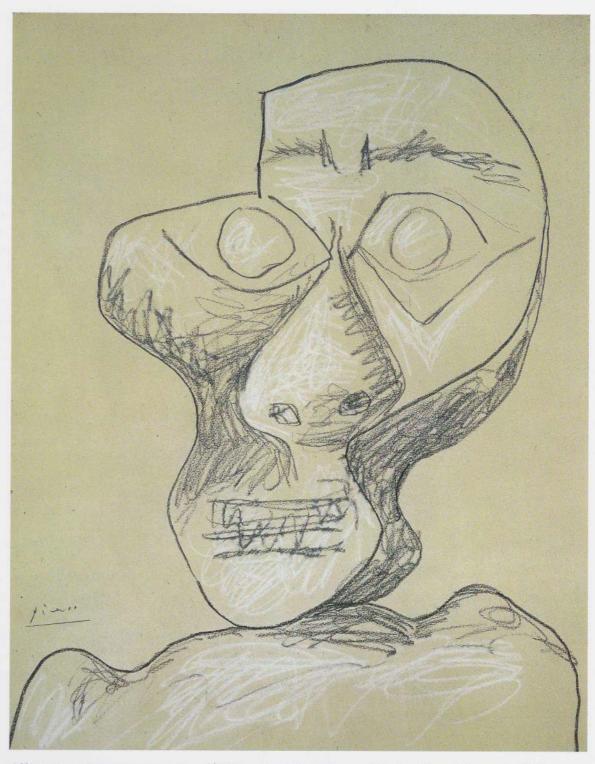


In the Studio. 1954. Ink on paper, $9\frac{1}{2} \times 12\frac{5}{8}$ " (24 × 32 cm). Zervos XVI, 175. Galerie Louise Leiris, Paris



Self-Portrait. 1972. Wax crayon on paper, 25⁷/₈ × 20″ (65.7 × 50.5 cm). Zervos XXXIII, 435. Courtesy Fuji Television Gallery, Tokyo

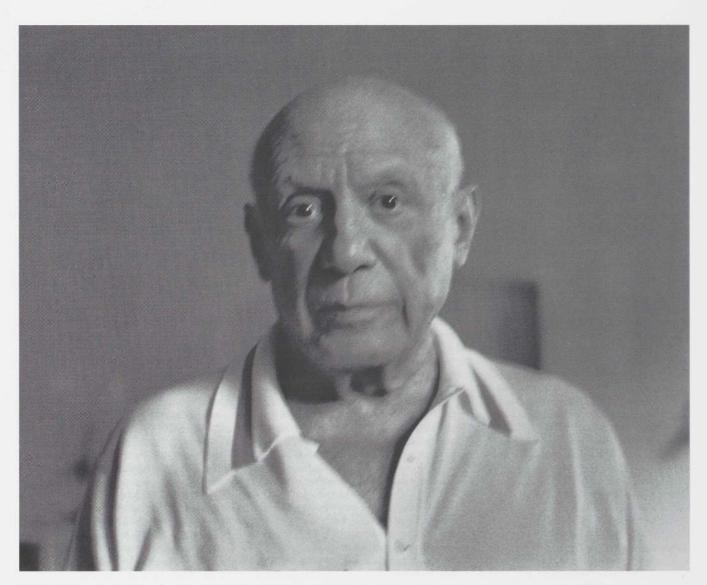
is the suggestion of the monkey that fleshes out these bones.⁸³ Picasso's features always had a slightly simian aspect, and we know that early on he identified himself as a monkey-man in a playful way (p. 130). Later, in scenes of the 1950s, he put the monkey in the place of the artist, in satirical fulfillment of the old notion of art as the ape of nature (opposite). The ape has a more profound place, however, not simply in man's evolutionary origins, but in symbolic imaginations of the baser qualities in human nature; he often has appeared in Western European art as the dark, physical, and mortal antonym to the higher aspirations of the spirit.⁸⁴ As the early means of comedic caricature seem repitched in this image to the most complex level of tragic expression, it would not seem impossible that, even subliminally, the mischievous monkey has returned through blackest humor to supplant the



Self-Portrait. 1972. Crayon on paper, 26 × 19 5/8" (66 × 49.8 cm). Not in Zervos. Collection Gilbert de Botton, St. Moritz

Minotaur as the unspeakably self-mocking avatar of Picasso's eleventh hour.

Make no mistake: the issue here is death. Daix sensed this when he recognized the recurrence in this drawing of the morbid purple-and-green color scheme Picasso had used in a still life of a cow's skull done shortly after the demise of his friend, the sculptor Julio Gonzalez, in 1942.⁸⁵ Even without such expertise, we feel we can see it in the eyes. Cross-eyed or dislocated gazes had become a formula, in countless other Picasso faces of the later years, for a kind of loopily deranged, usually antic spirit; here they convey a volatile combination of quizzical vulnerability and sheer terror. And yet Picasso talked to Daix about the singular qualities of this image in an easy and



At Notre-Dame-de-Vie, Mougins, July 1967. Photograph by Henri Cartier-Bresson

impersonal way, and did not flinch at the suggestion of a connection with the Gonzalez death's-head painting. When he first showed the drawing, the day after it was made, he in fact made a point of holding it up directly beside his own face, "to establish that the fear on the portrait's face was an invention."⁸⁶ In a matter of a few months, he died. This self-portrait stands, then, as the final fiction by which he chose to portray his ultimate truth. He once told André Malraux that *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, worked over after he inferred from tribal art the power of images to intercede with and alter life, was

his first "exorcism" picture.⁸⁷ This was his last. Into its mask he projected emotions that he did not want to have contained in himself, so that he, and now we, could contend with them as representations. When Picasso looked in the mirror on that summer day in his ninety-first year, he was navigating in territory where few of us will ever go, and where little art has ever been produced. On the verge of an exploration from which no travelers return, he looked forward and left us, before pushing on, this final encryption in the ciphers of physical resemblance.

NOTES

This essay is dedicated to Albert Elsen, *in memoriam*. I would like to thank Judith Cousins, Kathleen Robbins, and Jodi Hauptman for invaluable research assistance. Photographs by Picasso reproduced on pages 120, 122, 138, 141, 149, and 156 were very generously made available by Anne Baldassari, author of the twovolume study *Picasso photographe*, 1901–1916 (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musée s nationaux, 1994) and *"A plus grande vitesse que les images…": Picasso et la photographie* (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1995).

I. For a remarkable consideration of the superstitions Picasso held and of the forms of "magic thinking" that seem to have informed much of his work, see Lydia Gasman, "Mystery, Magic, and Love in Picasso, 1925–1938: Picasso and the Surrealist Poets," 6 vols., Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1981.

2. Hélène Parmelin recounts this game in her memoir Voyage en Picasso: "Nous regardions tous les toiles droit dans les yeux. On jouait à donner nos versions de l'homme en face qui ne nous quittait pas de l'oeil. . . . Celui-là est à ne pas rencontrer. Celui-là se moque de nous. Celui-là a une énorme satisfaction de sa personne. Celui-là est un intellectuel lourd. Et celui-là, disait Picasso, regarde comme il est triste, le pauvre! 'C'est surement un peintre quelque part'"(Parmelin, Voyage en Picasso [Paris: Editions Robert Laffont, 1980], p. 87). The passage appears in English translation in Gert Schiff's "The Musketeer and His Theatrum Mundi," in Picasso: The Last Years, 1963-1973 (New York: George Braziller in association with the Grey Art Gallery and Study Center, New York University, 1983), p. 31: "Picasso and the Pignon-Parmelin couple met again and engaged in a new game, ascribing a character to every musketeer. 'With this one, you'd better watch out. That one makes fun of us. That one is enormously self-satisfied. This one is a grave intellectual. And that one, Picasso said, look how sad he is, the poor guy. He must be a painter, somewhere."

3. Françoise Gilot observed Picasso working through successive states of a lithograph, and only gradually arriving at the certainty that the figure he was working on represented Dora Maar. See Gilot and Carlton Lake, *Life with Picasso* (New York/Toronto/London: McGraw-Hill, 1964), p. 92. Also, when showing Françoise other etchings, Picasso said: "You see this truculent character here, with the curly hair and mustache? That's Rembrandt. . . . Or maybe it's Balzac; I'm not sure. It's a compromise, I suppose. It doesn't really matter. They're only two of the people who haunt me. Every human being is a colony, you know" (p. 44).

4. John Richardson, in *A Life of Picasso*, *Volume 1: 1881–1906* (New York: Random House, 1991), pp. 269–70, 274–75, discusses how Picasso was introduced to tarot by the poet Max Jacob, and possibly used it as a model for certain of his early works. 5. On the relation between caricature and portraiture in Picasso's work, see Adam Gopnik, "High and Low: Caricature, Primitivism, and the Cubist Portrait," Art Journal 43, no. 4 (winter 1983), pp. 371–76; see also his further considerations on the same subject in "Caricature," in Kirk Varnedoe and Adam Gopnik, High and Low: Modern Art and Popular Culture (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1990), pp. 101–51.

6. On Picasso's wish that his art always be subversive in this fashion, see Gilot and Lake, *Life with Picasso*, p. 72.

7. Pierre Daix has stated that Picasso "always painted self-portraits at critical junctures of his life: at the time of Apollinaire's death or of the disaster in 1940." See Daix, *Picasso: Life and Art*, translated by Olivia Emmett (New York: HarperCollins, 1993), p. 369; originally published as *Picasso créateur* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1987).

8. John Richardson, "The Significance of Picasso's Self-Portraits," in John Herbert, ed., *Christie's Review of the Year 1969/1970* (London: Hutchinson of London, 1970), p. 124.

9. See Gilot and Lake, *Life with Picasso*, p. 50, for Picasso's affirmation that "God is really only another artist.... He has no real style. He just keeps trying other things."

10. Richardson discusses Picasso's bout with scarlet fever in Madrid, and the subsequent stay in Horta de Ebro, where these self-portrait drawings were made, in *A Life of Picasso*, pp. 98, 99-107.

11. Richardson cites two instances of the inscription "Yo, *el rey*" on Picasso's early drawings, including one self-portrait formerly in the Junyer Vidal collection but now lost, on which the inscription had been repeated three times; see *A Life of Picasso*, pp. 156–57.

12. The photograph was first published by Anne Baldassari in the exhibition catalogue *Picasso photographe, 1901–1916* (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1994), fig. 23, p. 47.

13. Discussed in Baldassari, *Picasso photographe*, pp. 43, 48. The original inscription, written on the back of the photograph, is reproduced on the back cover of Baldassari's book: "Esta fotografia puede titularse 'Los muros mas fuertes se abren a mi paso. Mira!'" Baldassari's French translation is: "Cette photographie peut s'intituler 'Les murailles les plus fortes s'ouvrent sur mon passage. Regarde!'"

14. Ibid., pp. 43, 48.

15. See Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, p. 228. 16. We forget that potent originality and amused, self-assessing irony can coexist in the same instant; for a not entirely fatuous comparison with another emergent revolutionary showing off an incandescent combination of electric joy and casually self-satirizing irony while rewriting the rules, revisit film of Elvis Presley's appearance on *The Milton Berle Show* on June 5, 1956. (For a description of his performance, see Peter Guralnik, *Last Train to Memphis: The Rise of Elvis Presley* [Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1994], pp. 284–85).

17. Richardson, in A Life of Picasso, pp. 274-75,

18. For a thorough discussion of the meaning of *La Vie*, see Theodore Reff, "Themes of Love and Death in Picasso's Early Work," in Roland Penrose and John Golding, eds., *Picasso in Retrospect* (New York: Praeger, 1973), pp. 10–47.

19. See the discussion by Adam Gopnik on the roots in comics of tragic expression in Philip Guston's late work, in his chapter "Comics," in Varnedoe and Gopnik, High and Low, pp. 153-229. It was one of the general premises of the investigations in that book that the loop of creativity in twentieth-century art, by which material from popular culture was taken up by artists, involved the inversion of Marx's dictum that history repeated itself acording to the rule "first time tragedy, second time farce"; in the translations of modern art, on the contrary, material first taken lightly, as farce, more often winds up being adapted as the form of tragedy. Samuel Beckett's use of slapstick is only one of many examples. In discussing caricature and its reinterpretation in Picasso's late work, Gopnik quotes Kenneth Tynan's remark that the central story of modern expression is "the steady annexation by comedy of territories that once belonged to the empire of tragedy" (p. 150).

20. On the origins of *At the Lapin Agile*, its personas, and its setting, see Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, pp. 371–72.

21. For descriptions of Picasso's paintings on studio walls, see Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, pp. 151, 242.

22. See Harlequin (1901), The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Zervos I, 79); and *Two Saltimbanques* (1901), Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow (Zervos I, 92).

23. On the development of this painting, see E. A. Carmean, *Picasso: The Saltimbanques* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1080).

24. See Theodore Reff, "Harlequins, Saltimbanques, Clowns, and Fools," *Artforum* 10, no. 2 (October 1971), pp. 30–43.

25. Richardson, A Life of Picasso, pp. 315–17. 26. See Leo Steinberg, "Picasso's Sleepwatchers" (1968), in Other Criteria (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), pp. 92–114.

27. On the practice of cutting one's hair close as a protection against lice, see Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, p. 61.

28. The photograph of Picasso and Fernande taken just before their departure for Gosol shows him still with a full head of hair; see Richardson, A Life of Picasso, p. 435. On Picasso's general sensitivity to having his hair cut, see Gilot and Lake, Life with Picasso, p. 231. Gilot wrote that "Pablo always had a great distaste for having his hair cut. He would go for months needing a haircut but unable to bring himself to walk into a barbershop. If anyone mentioned the subject, it was high drama. I'm sure that mixed in with his other fears on this subject was the old notion of hair as a symbol of male vigor, as in the Biblical story of Samson and Delilah." This paragraph on Picasso and haircuts begins with Gilot's discussion of the "primitive belief that one person can assume power over another through the possession of his fingernail or hair trimmings; hence they should never be allowed to fall into the hands of someone else. But if they were burned to remove them from an enemy's reach, the person himself might die. The true believers often carried the trimmings in little bags until they found a place secret enough to dispose of them with complete assurance."

29. See Richardson, A Life of Picasso, p. 438. 30. Richardson, in A Life of Picasso, pp. 290– 91, notes how, in an early sketchbook, Picasso inscribed "Yo El Greco" and "Yo Greco." Daix, in Picasso: Life and Art, also notes that in December 1903, learning of Paul Gauguin's death, he signed a nude in the style of his great elder "Paul Picasso" (p. 34). This drawing is reproduced as Homage to Gauguin (no. 937) in Josep Palau i Fabre, Picasso: The Early Years 1881– 1907 (New York: Rizzoli, 1981), p. 360; originally published as Picasso vivent 1881–1907: Infantesa i primera joventut d'un demiürg (Barcelona: Ediciones Polégrafa, 1980).

31. Meyer Schapiro, Paul Cézanne (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1988), p. 34.

32. Jaime Sabartés, *Picasso: An Intimate Portrait* (London: W. H. Allen, 1948), p. 79; originally published as *Picasso: Portraits et souvenirs* (Paris: Louis Carré et Maximilien Vox, 1946). "As a rule the palette was on the floor. . . . I do not recall ever having seen Picasso holding the palette in his hand. He assures me that sometimes he does, just like everyone else. It may be so, but I have always seen him preparing his colors by leaning over a table, a chair or the floor."

33. For a thorough discussion of Picasso's will to combine the frontal and the back views of bodies in his representations, see Leo Steinberg, "The Algerian Women and Picasso at Large" (1972), in *Other Criteria*, pp. 125–234, as well as Steinberg's "The Philosophical Brothel," *October*, no. 44 (spring 1988), pp. 55–57. For a specific discussion of Picasso's rethinking of the face's spatial structure, particularly the positions of ear and eye, see Steinberg's "Algerian Women," pp. 162–64.

34. See Carmean, "Harlequins," in *Picasso: The Saltimbanques*, pp. 56ff.; see also William Rubin, "From Narrative to 'Iconic' in Picasso: The Buried Allegory in *Bread and Fruitdish on a Table* and the Role of *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon," The Art Bulletin* 65, no. 4 (December 1983), pp. 615–49.

35. See Baldassari's discussion in *Picasso photographe*, p. 71. These photographs are reproduced as figs. 47–51, pp. 73–77.

36. Gary Tinterow has dated this drawing to 1919; see Tinterow, *Master Drawings by Picasso* (Cambridge, Mass.: Fogg Art Museum, 1981), no. 60, p. 152. On the broader dialogue of Picasso with Ingres's work, Robert Rosenblum presented his findings in a lecture, "Picasso and Ingres," presented at the International Foundation for Art Research, January 19, 1983. See also Rosenblum's brief discussion of Ingres in the present volume, pp. 359–60.

37. Illustration no. 122, dated 1918, in Jaime Sabartés, *Picasso: Documents iconographiques*

(Geneva: Pierre Cailler, 1954), shows a later print based on this drawing, accompanied by the following caption: "C'est ainsi que Picasso se vit dans la glace d'une salle de bain, a l'Hôtel Lutetia, en 1918, au moment que l'on venait lui communiquer, par téléphone, la nouvelle de la mort de son ami Guillaume Apollinaire." For a consideration of the ambiguities lurking in this statement, see n. 46, below.

38. See Michael C. FitzGerald, Making Modernism: Picasso and the Creation of the Market for Twentieth-Century Art (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1995), pp. 131–32, as well as FitzGerald's "Picasso: In the Beaux Quartiers," Art in America 80, no. 12 (December 1992), p. 61. On the larger issue of birdcages in art as metaphors of imprisonment, see Lorenz Eitner, "Cages, Prisons, and Captives in Eighteenth-Century Art," in Karl Kroeber and William Walling, eds., Images of Romanticism: Verbal and Visual Affinities (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1978), pp. 13–38.

39. See William Rubin, Picasso in the Collection of The Museum of Modern Art (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1972), p. 98.

40. On the circumstances of Eva's death, and on Picasso's citation of his anguish over her loss in a letter in which he also mentions having just completed the 1915 *Harlequin*, see Daix, *Picasso: Life and Art*, pp. 146–47.

41. See Theodore Reff, "Picasso's Three Musicians: Maskers, Artists and Friends," Art in America 68, no. 10 (December 1980), pp. 124–42.

42. For a discussion of this Harlequin with Violin in terms of its particular hybrid costume, see Carmean, "Harlequins," in Picasso: The Saltimbanques, p. 57.

43. The possible existence of this profile in the area of unfinished paint in the 1915 Harlequin has long been a matter of curiosity among those who have worked with the painting at The Museum of Modern Art. I also believe it was pointed out by Theodore Reff in lectures given at Columbia University in the early 1970s. Recently, John Richardson has focused special attention on this latent image. Richardson has stated in lectures that he believes this profile is a hidden self-portrait, made by Picasso in response to the covert self-portrait Matisse had included in his Goldfish and Palette (1914, The Museum of Modern Art). Richardson will examine this issue in greater depth in the forthcoming second volume of his biography of Picasso.

44. Scarborough will advance his argument regarding this concealed self-portrait in a forthcoming article in *Apollo* magazine; I am grateful to him for providing me in advance with a copy of the research paper on which the article will be based.

45. On this motif, see Robert Rosenblum, "The Origin of Painting: A Problem in the Iconography of Romantic Classicism," *The Art Bulletin* 39, no. 4 (December 1957), pp. 279–90.

46. Sabartés was the first to present the story in his discussion of *Picasso par lui-même*, reproduced as no. 122 in *Picasso: Documents iconographiques*. His wording, cited in n. 37, above, holds some ambiguities. Did Sabartés mean to say that this drawing shows us how Picasso looked at that time, or did he mean specifically to say that Picasso was executing this selfportrait when the news came? Seven later texts tell some version of the tale. While Sabartés never actually wrote that Picasso was sketching himself in the mirror at the time the message came that Apollinaire had died, subsequent authors have described Picasso drawing a portrait of himself in the mirror at that moment. Roland Penrose, for example, in Picasso: His Life and Work (London: Victor Gollancz, 1958), defined the drawing done then as "a portrait which marks the end of an epoch for two reasons. A great friend had gone, and Picasso, with this drawing, abandoned his habit of making frequent lifelike portraits" (pp. 205-06). Brassaï first presented the notion that Picasso was shaving when he received the news, in Picasso and Company, translated by Francis Price (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1966), pp. 43-45; originally published as Conversations avec Picasso (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1964). This version was reiterated by Jean-Paul Crespelle in Picasso, les femmes, les amis, l'oeuvre (Paris: Presses de la Cité, 1967), but neither author had a word to explain why the artist would have been shaving in the late afternoon, which is when he received the news. More recently, Daix has explained that Picasso responded "reflexively" to the news of Apollinaire's death by making a "drawing, the image the mirror sent back to him when the telephone gave him the news he had been dreading" (Daix, Picasso: Life and Art, p. 34). Ariana Huffington, in Picasso: Creator and Destroyer (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988), blames Picasso for the story's perpetuation: "For the next twenty years, Picasso kept all his self-portraits secret and even spread the false story that the one he painted the moment the news of Apollinaire's death reached him was his last" (p. 159). Sabartés, in Picasso par lui-même and Daix in La Vie de peintre de Pablo Picasso (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1977), made serious attempts to identify or associate a particular portrait with Apollinaire's death. Both refer to the self-portrait, Zervos III, 75.

However, Peter Read has identified another of the four principal self-portrait drawings from this period-the Ingresque rendering with a more fully modeled head reproduced on p. 143, top right—as being the one done on the evening of the poet's demise. In Picasso et Apollinaire: Les métamorphoses de la mémoire 1905/1973 (Paris: Jean Nichel Place, 1995), p. 143, Read (relying on testimony in David Douglas Duncan, The Silent Studio [New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1976], pp. 3, 19) notes that when Picasso later dedicated this latter drawing to Jacqueline Roque, he told her that it was the self-portrait he had drawn on the evening of November 9, 1918. Read also notes that, according to John Golding (in "Guillaume Apollinaire and the Art of the Twentieth Century," The Baltimore Museum of Art News 26-27, nos. 4-1 [summer-autumn 1963], p. 30), Picasso affirmed that he had executed two self-portraits on that evening, leading to the presumption that the one identified by Sabartés was the second.

Read, on pp. 142-43, further undertakes an informative discussion of the special importance to Picasso of Apollinaire's death within the general framework of Picasso's superstitious nature and fear of death; in this discussion he cites Michel Décaudin's article "Apollinaire et Picasso," Esprit, no. 61 (January 1982), p. 82, where Décaudin remarks: "Or, apprendre une mort quand on se regarde dans un miroir, c'est, dit-on, voir sa propre mort." Décaudin also notes that in describing the atelier of the "oiseau du Bénin [Picasso]" in Le Poète assassiné, Apollinaire had noted a huge broken mirror hung on the wall as a "chose fatale . . . une insondable mer morte." Read in turn cites the following line from Cocteau's Orphée: "Regardez-vous toute votre vie dans une glace et vous verrez la Mort travailler comme des abeilles dans une ruche de verre."

47. Brassaï explained that Picasso began to hate mirrors and ceased making self-portraits because he learned of Apollinaire's death as he was shaving: "It was after this that he developed his hatred of mirrors. . . . Having seen the shadow of death pass across his own face that morning he ceased completely to paint or draw it" (Brassaï, Picasso and Company, p. 119). Sabartés also described Picasso's fear of mirrors: "Je sais d'ailleurs que Picasso—je le lui ai entendu dire bien souvent-a la phobie des miroirs et ne peur supporter l'image qu'ils lui peut renvoient lorsque le hasard l'amène devant une glace" (Sabartés, Picasso: Documents iconographiques, pp. 10-11). Hélène Seckel, in Max Jacob et Picasso (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1994), quotes Jacob as saying, shortly before he was arrested, "Picasso disait: les miroirs mentent, les photographies mentent . . . et ce n'était pas un paradoxe. Picasso n'était pas un homme de paradoxe" (p. 274).

48. For Baldassari's discussion of shadowtheater, see her essay, "Heads Faces and Bodies": Picasso's Uses of Portrait Photographs," in this volume, pp. 206–08. The photograph is reproduced in Baldassari, *Picasso photographe*, figs. 57 and 58, p. 83.

49. Another possible reading of the picture titled *Bust of a Woman with Self-Portrait* (p. 150) is that the framed silhouette on the wall represents a mirror reflection—another form, like a shadow, of "projection" into the picture from outside.

50. In his work on the life of Marie-Thérèse, Herbert T. Schwarz has uncovered evidence which indicates that Picasso may well have met Marie-Thérèse as early as 1925, although strong evidence suggests that their sexual liaison did not begin until the summer of 1927. See Schwarz, *Picasso and Marie-Thérèse Walter*, 1925–1927 (Montmagny, Quebec: Editions Isabeau, 1988), and Robert Rosenblum's discussion of the relationship in this volume, PP. 339–40.

51. Gilot and Lake, *Life with Picasso*, p. 50. 52. Ibid., see the broader discussion here of the nature of the Minotaur, pp. 49–50.

53. For an overview of the many interpretations of the Minotaur in Picasso and especially of this important print, see Sebastian Goeppert and H. Corinna Goeppert, *Minotauromachy by Pablo Picasso* (Geneva: Patrick Cramer, 1987).

54. Photograph published in Baldassari, *Picasso photographe*, fig. 67, p. 89.

55. See Brassaï's description of shooting the candid photographs at the Café Flore, the Brasserie Lipp, and elsewhere in Paris in October 1939, in *Picasso and Company*, pp. 43–45.

56. Brassaï, in *Picasso and Company*, p. 150, described his visit to Picasso's studio on May 12, 1945, after a one-year absence. Picasso talked of the great influx of visitors since the liberation, then showed Brassaï a volume of Mallarmé in which he had drawn a portrait of the poet:

"It seems, however, that he had another reason for showing me the Mallarmé. Beneath the portrait he has scrawled three words, in his spasmodic, unpredictable handwriting. Three words that mark a historic event in his life:

"NO MORE FORELOCK! Paris, May 12, 1945 "The famous black lock of hair that escaped

from beneath Picasso's broad-brimmed hat and frightened his family; the raven's wing that was so often drawn, caricatured, even sculpted, departing abruptly from the extreme right of his forehead and sweeping across it until its point brushed his left eyebrow... In reality it had been gone for a long time. There was nothing left of it but a few sparse symbolic hairs, powerless to mask his baldness, but he continued to groom and nurture them carefully, as emblems of his youth.... It was only this morning that he had had the courage to break at last with the past and solemnly inter the dead forelock on this volume of poetry.

"PICASSO: One cannot both be and have been. So . . . when are you going to photograph me without my forelock?"

57. See n. 28, above.

58. Henry Smith describes the Japanese ritual of shaving one's head and taking ceremonial monk's vows at the age of sixty in *Hiroshige: One Hundred Famous Views of Edo* (New York: George Braziller, in association with The Brooklyn Museum, 1986), p. 10.

59. André Malraux recounted that when he visited Picasso after the war, in his studio on the rue des Grands-Augustins, Picasso asked, "Haven't you noticed anything?" When Malraux replied, "No," Picasso pointed out: "I cut off my forelock!" See Malraux, *Picasso's Mask*, translated by June and Jacques Guicharnaud (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976), p. 102; originally published as *La Tête d'obsidi*enne (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1974).

60. See n. 56, above.

6r. In a conversation with Picasso, an American soldier, Pfc. Jerome Seckler, offered his interpretation of the portrait of Maya in a sailor suit. To Seckler, it was a "self-portrait the sailor's suit, the net, the red butterfly showing Picasso as a person seeking a solution to the problems of the times . . . the sailor's garb being an indication of an active participation in this effort." While Picasso agreed that the painting was a self-portrait, he denied that it had any political meaning, telling Seckler he chose the sailor suit not for its military allusions but because it was his habit to wear a sailor's striped jersey as an undershirt. For excerpts from this interview, see Alfred H. Barr, Jr., *Picasso: Fifty Years of His Art* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1946), pp. 247, 268. A transcript of the entire interview can be found in The Museum of Modern Art Archives. Anyone who reads the full interview will see that Picasso seems hardly to have taken seriously the fanciful interpretations Seckler posed, and there is every reason to assume that, regardless of whatever covert self-projection may have been involved, the painting was predominantly conceived as a portrait of Maya.

62. See Werner Spies, *Picasso's World of Children*, translated by John William Gabriel (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1994), as well as his exhibition catalogue prepared for the Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen, Düsseldorf, and the Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart, *Picasso's Welt der Kinder* (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1995). See also Helen Kay, *Picasso's World of Children* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., n.d.).

Gilot, in *Life with Picasso*, noted Picasso's predilection for taking articles of clothing from Claude, and concluded that "Pablo hoped by this method that some of Claude's youth would enter into his own body. It was a metaphorical way of appropriating someone else's substance, and in that way, I believe, he hoped to prolong his own life" (p. 232).

63. See p. 441 of the present volume for Michael FitzGerald's discussion of the drawing that apparently shows Picasso with Françoise, Claude, and Paloma. According to FitzGerald, this drawing was begun on the last day of the year, 1953, and then picked up again on the first day of the next year. Much doubt surrounds the authorship of the profile of Picasso, manifestly rendered in a different (more Cocteau-like) style and scale than the other figures. Werner Spies has also brought to my attention two groups of cutout shadow silhouettes or ombres chinoises from 1952, now in the collection of Paloma Picasso, which apparently represent Picasso with Françoise and the children; these were shown recently in Berlin in the exhibition Picasso: Die Zeit nach Guernica, 1937-1973 (Stuttgart: Verlag Gerd Hatje, 1993), cat. nos. 100 and IOIA.

64. Picasso told David Douglas Duncan in 1961: "It was our bedroom. See my shadow? I'd just turned from the window—*now* do you see my shadow and the sunlight falling onto the bed and across the floor? See the toy cart on the dresser and the little vase over the fireplace? They're from Sicily and still around the house" (Duncan, *Picasso's Picassos* [New York: Harper and Row, 1961], p. 183). The French version of this text is cited by Denis Hollier in the context of his discussion of these paintings in "Portrait de l'artiste en son absence," *Cahiers du Musée national d'art moderne* 30 (winter 1989), pp. 9–10.

65. On Picasso's practice of drawing on photographs, see Anne Baldassari, *"A plus grande vitesse que les images"* (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1995), pp. 86– 171. On p. 158 Baldassari cites a particularly interesting inscription written on one such altered image: "En 1972 un an avant sa mort, il adressait à Lucien-René Durbach, lissier à Saint Rémy de Provence, un portrait de lui, pris par Lucien Clergue, qu'il avait vivement surchargé à l'encre, parant son crâne de veillard d'une chevelure et d'un barbe de jais ainsi qu'un monocle. Avec ce commentaire: 'J'ai fait cela pour vous, pour comprendre la différence entre ce que l'on perçoit de nous-même ou de l'autre qui n'est souvent que la caricature de nousmême ou de l'autre'" (this quote was taken from Lucien Clergue, *Picasso, mon ami* [Paris: Editions Plume, 1993], p. 170).

66. Susan Galassi discusses Picasso's 1950 painting of a variation after El Greco's Portrait of a Painter in her Ph.D. dissertation for the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, "Games of Wit: Picasso's Variations on the Old Masters," 1991. She notes that the El Greco painting had been exhibited and discussed in the literature as a self-portrait of El Greco in the nineteenth century, but that twentiethcentury scholarship has tended to see the work as a portrait of El Greco's son. Galassi's findings on this and other Picasso variations will be included in a book to be published by Harry N. Abrams, as yet untitled, on Picasso's variations after old-master paintings; my thanks to her for bringing this material to my attention.

67. See John Richardson, "Picasso's Last Years: Notre-Dame-de-Vie," in *Pablo Picasso: Meeting in Montreal* (Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1985), especially pp. 91–95. See also Janie Cohen, "Picasso's Exploration of Rembrandt's Art, 1967–1972," Arts 58, no. 2 (October 1983), pp. 119–26, including her suggestion that Picasso took interest in Rembrandt's documentation of his own aging process, p. 119.

68. See Schiff's remarks on Picasso and Rembrandt in "The Musketeer and His *Theatrum Mundi*," in *Picasso: The Last Years*, 1963–1973, especially pp. 31–40.

69. On Picasso's dictum "All painters take themselves for Rembrandt," see Gilot and Lake, *Life with Picasso*, p. 51; on Olga and the pictures, p. 154.

70. In Picasso's Mask, Malraux recounted a conversation with Jacqueline in which he asked about Picasso's Man with a Sword (published on a poster for the artist's 1920 show in Avignon): "Where do the musketeers come from? Las Meninas?" Jacqueline replied, "No; they came to Pablo when he'd gone back to studying Rembrandt" (p. 4). Later in the book, Malraux wrote about this conversation again: "As Jacqueline explained, Picasso had discovered those musketeers in an album on Rembrandt during his last illness" (p. 86). Richardson also links Picasso's musketeers to Rembrandt: "For Picasso's ubiquitous musketeers could not have a more Rembrandtian provenance; they had stepped straight out of The Night Watch, which the artist used a slide machine to project in all its vastness on his studio wall" (Richardson, "Picasso's Last Years," in Pablo Picasso: Meeting in Montreal, p. 94).

71. On Picasso's earlier expression of van Gogh's importance, see Gilot and Lake, *Life with Picasso*, pp. 74–75: "Beginning with Van Gogh, however great we may be, we are all, in a measure, autodidacts." On p. 75 he is further cited as saying that the individual adventure in art "always goes back to the one which is the archetype of our times: that is, Van Gogh's—an essentially tragic and solitary adventure."

72. See n. 3, above.

73. Describing Picasso's desire for financial stability, Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler wrote in his book *My Galleries and Painters:* "A long time ago Picasso told me, 'I'd like to live like a poor man with a lot of money.' This is really the secret. Picasso wanted to live like a poor man, to continue to live like a poor man, but not to have to worry about tomorrow. That is really what he meant—to be free of financial worry." See Kahnweiler with Francis Crémieux, *My Galleries and Painters*, translated by Helen Weaver, introduction by John Russell (New York: Viking Press, 1971), p. 91; originally published as *Mes Galleries et mes peintres: Entretiens avec Francis Crémieux* (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1961).

74. When Picasso brought out his Degas monotypes to show to William Rubin, in 1971, he expressed to Rubin his curiosity as to what Degas ever did, aside from looking, in his visits to these *maisons closes* (author's conversation with William Rubin). See also Daix, *Picasso: Life* and Art, p. 366.

75. In his essay "Picasso's Last Years: Notre-Dame-de-Vie" for the catalogue Pablo Picasso: Meeting in Montreal, Richardson describes the "significant trick" Picasso plays on "the fatherlike figure of Degas": "On occasion he adds a network of wrinkles to his face so that he looks even older than the ninety-year-old artist who is portraying him. And why not? As Picasso said to Brassaï, 'Everytime I draw a man, automatically I think of my father. . . . I see all the men . . . with his features.' Indeed, so striking is the resemblance between Degas and Picasso's father that one of the artist's recent biographers, Patrick O'Brian, has mistaken the former for the latter in references to these prints. O'Brian's confusion is welcome for the Oedipal light it sheds on the earliest and the latest periods of Picasso's art and life" (p. 99). The text from O'Brian is as follows: "Many of the same subjects had appeared in the 1968 etchings, a series into which he introduced his father on occasion, sometimes as a voyeur, sometimes as a more active participant" (O'Brian, Pablo Ruiz Picasso: A Biography [New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1976], p. 475). The Brassaï reference is from Picasso and Company, p. 56.

76. See Gopnik, "Caricature," in Varnedoe and Gopnik, High and Low, pp. 101–51. 77. See Gert Schiff, "Picasso's Suite 347, or Painting as an Act of Love," in Gert Schiff, ed., Picasso in Perspective (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1976), pp. 163–67.

78. Daix, *Picasso: Life and Art*, pp. 368–69. 79. According to both Rubin and Richardson, Picasso had become hard of hearing in one ear in old age; especially as he had made an issue of his ears in youthful self-portraits (see p. 135, bottom center; p. 139), the diminished opening here may connote the dulling of that sense. 80. Spies referred to this age spot on the left cheek as a "cyclopean third eye" in "The Painter of the Century Is Dead: Pablo Picasso, 1881– 1973," in *Focus on Art* (New York: Rizzoli, 1982), p. 51. According to Rubin, who was shown this June 28–July 4 drawing by Picasso, the artist further confirmed that it was a self-image, in pointing out the little marks that suggest a matching stubble on the chin and on the top of the head; apparently Picasso frequently used such stubble-signs to refer to his own physiognomy, even though in life he rarely showed any sign of a beard (author's conversation with William Rubin).

81. See Gopnik, "Caricature," in Varnedoe and Gopnik, *High and Low*, p. 50, on the connection between the Josep Fontdevila drawings at Gosol and the June 30, 1972, head.

82. See n. 29, above.

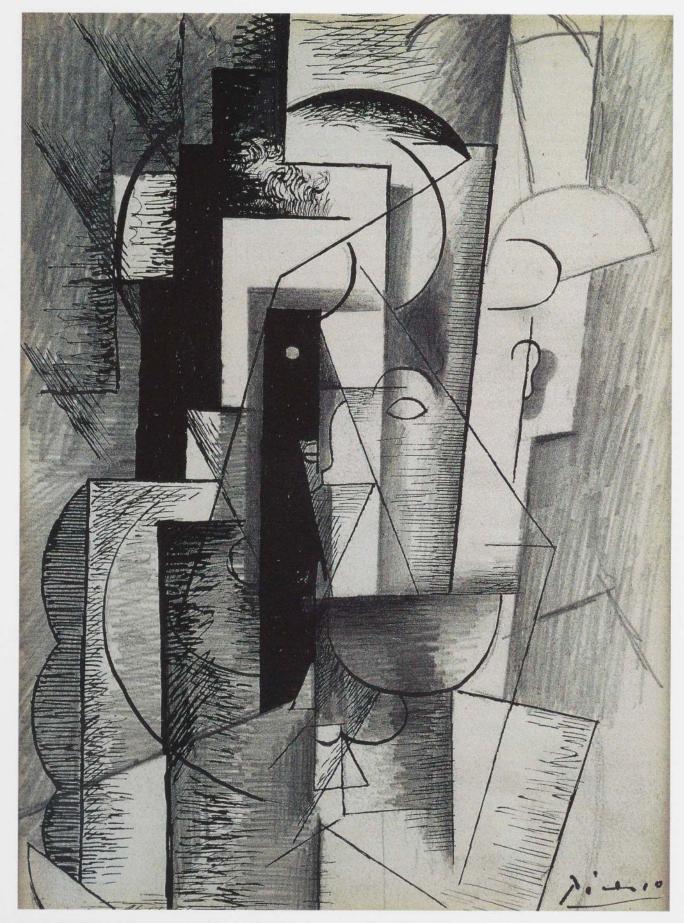
83. Gopnik refers to this drawing's "weak monkey jaw" in "Caricature," in Varnedoe and Gopnik, *High and Low*, p. 150.

84. See H. W. Janson, Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, Studies of the Warburg Institute, vol. 20 (London: Warburg Institute, University of London, 1952).

85. Daix, Picasso: Life and Art, p. 368.

86. Ibid., p. 369.

87. See Malraux's description of Picasso's experience of tribal art at the Trocadéro Museum in 1907, and his reference to the *Demoiselles* as his first "exorcism-painting," in *Picasso's Mask*, p. 11.



Portrait of Guillaume Apollinaire. 1913. Pencil, India ink, and wash on paper, $8^{1/4} \times 5^{7/8}$ (21 × 15 cm). Zervos XXVIII, 214. Daix 579. Private collection; formerly collection Guillaume Apollinaire

Three Portrait-Manifestoes of Poets: André Salmon, Guillaume Apollinaire, and Max Jacob

HÉLÈNE SECKEL

ortraits of poets are not a category in themselves. For a viewer who cannot identify the sitter, they might seem to belong to the most indeterminate group of portraits. Yet a connoisseur asked to name some of Picasso's famous portraits would quickly call to mind those of Guillaume Apollinaire or Max Jacob. A scholar would cite Jean Cocteau, Pierre Reverdy, or André Breton. This is not surprising considering that, in his youth in Barcelona, the painter frequented literary circles and that a poet, Max Jacob, first served as his mentor upon his arrival in Paris. We know that at the Bateau-Lavoir on place Ravignan, where he moved in 1904, Picasso "wrote in blue chalk on the door of his studio: Au rendez-vous des poètes, in imitation of bistro signs. . . . Poets familiar with the studio had no doubt: Picasso appreciated their work."1 That "Picasso had a very keen sense of French poetry" was confirmed by Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, citing Apollinaire, who said: "Even several years ago, when he could hardly speak French, he was completely able to judge, to appreciate immediately the beauty of a poem."2 Gertrude Stein justified Picasso's preference for writers in her own way: "Why have painters for friends when he could paint as he could paint. . . . He had to know those who were interested in ideas, but as to knowing how to paint he was born knowing all of that."3 André Salmon spoke of elective affinities: "We were a generation of poets linked to a generation of painters,"4 whereas Apollinaire spoke of

being chosen: "Picasso . . . lived only among poets, one of whom I am honored to be."⁵

Poets frequently dipped their pens in the inkwells of criticism—some, including Apollinaire and Salmon, made it a profession—fortified by their often daily encounters with painters. Well aware of the new life poets were bringing to a practice that was academic by nature, Salmon had proclaimed in the March 1914 issue of *Montjoiel* the rebirth of criticism: "We have killed the old criticism. It is dead forever. Criticism placed in the hands of poets renders that of critics—makeshift magistrates who condemn or acquit—impossible. It is the criticism of poets that has delivered the public from the strongest prejudices."⁶ So Picasso committed himself to art in this century, and, following Apollinaire's and Salmon's example (Max Jacob was *persona muta* for a long time), Reverdy, Cocteau, Leiris, Aragon, Breton, and Eluard sang his praises.

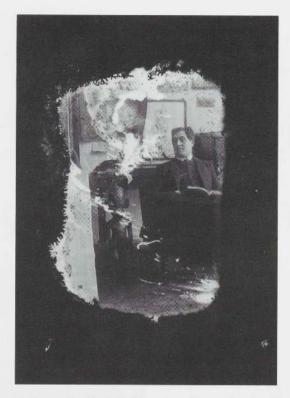
One might think it appropriate, then, that Picasso created portraits of his poet friends. Although generally reticent to do commissioned works,⁷ he gladly agreed to the sometimes urgent requests of one or another poet who wanted a portrait to accompany his writings.⁸ Whether these portraits were drawn and reproduced as the frontispiece of a book or engraved by Picasso for a deluxe edition does not seem to have been quite as important for the authors as for the publishers, who relied on these deluxe editions to attract an audience of bibliophiles.⁹ Thus, Cocteau, though he scarcely knew Picasso



André Salmon in Picasso's studio at the Bateau-Lavoir, 13, rue Ravignan, Paris, spring–summer 1908. Photograph by Picasso. Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives

in 1915, was eager to have a portrait done; he was obliged in 1916, and was delighted to see it published in 1918, reproduced as the frontispiece of *Le Coq et l'arlequin.*¹⁰ Reverdy, who had countless difficulties getting *Cravates de chanvre* published, asked Picasso straight out for a contribution to his book: "Would you help me make this an object of value? I'm asking you for an etching and, if you would be so inclined, for a few deluxe editions extra, my portrait by you."¹¹ The painter did an engraved portrait¹² and generously offered two etchings for the deluxe edition.

André Breton also solicited Picasso for his engraved portrait for Clair de terre. In a somewhat grandiloquent manner but one that revealed the anxious hope of a young author aware of the "inestimable price" of what he was requesting, Breton wrote: "I would do my utmost were you to consent to having the volume open with a portrait of me by you, something I have dreamed about for a long time and have never had the audacity to approach you with."13 And so the engraved portrait of Breton in imperious profile eventually "illustrated"-this much-used term is obviously inappropriate-the first copies of the book (it was reproduced in the others).¹⁴ As for the engraved portrait of Paul Eluard, dated April 21, 1942, it was two years before it appeared as the frontispiece of the first edition of Au Rendez-vous allemand, published in December 1944. There again the first twenty copies included the engraving,15 while the others had a reproduction—"after an etching by Picasso," the caption specified.



Guillaume Apollinaire in Picasso's studio at 11, boulevard de Clichy, Paris, autumn 1910. Photograph by Picasso. Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives

Picasso also did portraits of Salmon, Apollinaire, and Jacob for the frontispieces of their books. But some of these portraits seem to us, in a very specific way, to be valuable as manifestoes in regard to Cubism, insofar as Cubism was, to varying degrees, for the triad of poets also, something of a rite of passage. For if the poets were obviously witnesses to this movement, they were also truly "implicated" in it, more so than is revealed by the usual citations in the footnotes of Cubism's history-the discovery of primitive art and the first title given to Les Demoiselles d'Avignon: Le Bordel philosophique.¹⁶ This would endure in the years that followed.¹⁷ The focus on this trio of poets, so often singled out by historians, critics, exegetes, and hagiographers, was legitimized early on by Picasso himself. He cited all three when comparing the renewal of the plastic arts with that of literature, saying to Florent Fels in 1923: "In turn, inspirers of cubism and inspired by it, Max Jacob, Apollinaire, and Salmon wanted that precision of form that springs from clear thought, that attaches a new attitude to language."18

Picasso happened to have taken portrait photographs of our three poets¹⁹ at the very moment of Cubism's first development. This is not insignificant. Need we detail what these images tell us about the "situation" of the poets photographed in relation to the decor that the painterphotographer chose for them? Must we reiterate that in 1908 Salmon, at the Bateau-Lavoir studio, is camped in front of *Three Women*, in the course of execution, and near



Max Jacob in Picasso's studio at 11, boulevard de Clichy, Paris, autumn–winter 1910. Photograph by Picasso. Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives

Les Demoiselles d'Avignon,²⁰ analysis of which he was the first to attempt (opposite, left)? Must we point out that Apollinaire, seated in the little salon of the apartment on the boulevard de Clichy (where Picasso moved in 1909), is posed in a *mise-en-scène* that emphasizes the presence of the Tiki of the Marquesas Islands placed on the floor next to him (opposite, right)? This designated him as friend and defender of primitive art, as the famous lines of André Salmon. *Peindre*. Paris: Editions de la Sirène, 1921

On January 9, 1919, Salmon wrote to Picasso to invite himself to lunch: "I will read to you, over dessert, a long didactic poem: Peindre, written, I would like to believe, to please you." At the very bottom of the page he added: "And my portrait? When?"24 Was Salmon waiting for Picasso to do his portrait for this soon-to-be-published book? The fact remains that Peindre, a small book, attempting to be engagé, was published two years later with the reproduction of a much older portrait of the author, in charcoal, as the frontispiece (below, right). But the choice of this drawing, according to Salmon, was far from trivial, as he recalled in Souvenirs sans fin: "In 1920, when I published Peindre, a long poem that preceded the didacticism of L'Art vivant, I used as the frontispiece a reduction of Picasso's marvelous charcoal portrait of me, dating from 1906, the birth of Cubism; it was a sketch for a statuette that was to be carved in boxwood but which would never be executed."25 He spoke elsewhere in Souvenirs of this "magnificent drawing, half-realist, halfcubist."26 Thus Salmon was indeed referring to this drawing when he wrote an article for L'Europe nouvelle in January 1919 about a Metzinger exhibition, in which Cubism was more generally discussed. Citing Picasso as the source of this movement, Salmon evoked, without naming, Les Demoiselles d'Avignon, and established the link between the painter's "discoveries" and the "negro statuettes" in which he was greatly interested. He stated: "At the same time, Picasso executed as a preliminary study for a wood statue, yet to be carved, a portrait of me in charcoal which, along with the large canvas in question, is at the root of Cubism."27

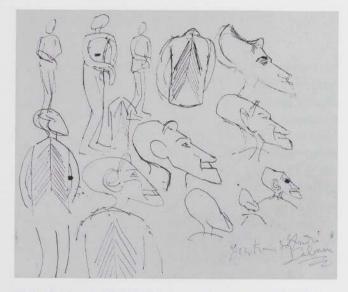
"Zone," the first poem in Alcools, would recall: "You walk toward Auteuil you want to walk home and sleep / Among your fetishes from Guinea and the South Seas."21 But Jacob turns away from the lens (above), thereby indicating that what is essential is not the abandoned mandolin next to him, which appears so often in Picasso's Cubist still lifes. What is important is the very existence of these photographs, conserved by Picasso despite the extreme fragility of the glass plates that fixed them.²² They tell us that the painter-photographer and his poetsitters were there, the former calling the latter to witness the revolution he was in the midst of making, the latter accepting the challenge. These photographs offer a testimony that echoes Goethe's famous remark at the Battle of Valmy: "From this time and place a new epoch is beginning, and you will be able to say that you were there."23



André Salmon. 1922 or earlier. Photographer unknown



Portrait of André Salmon. 1907. Charcoal on paper, 23[%] × 15³/4["] (60 × 40 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection, Paris; formerly collection André Salmon

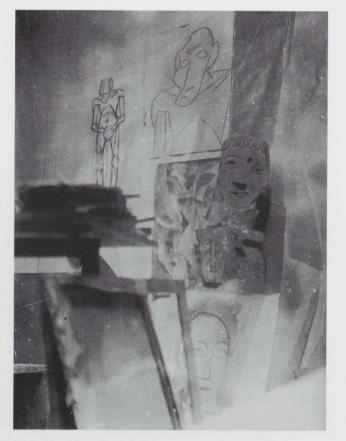


Studies for Portrait of André Salmon. 1907. Ink on paper, $12\frac{3}{4} \times 15\frac{3}{4}$ " (32.5 × 40 cm). Zervos XXVI, 179. Private collection

It is surprising that Salmon would describe this drawing as "half-realist, half-cubist," which is instead a caricature and which corresponds rather well to Max Jacob's description of the poet. Recounting his first meeting at the beginning of 1905 with this "tall gentleman," Jacob

Study for Wood Sculpture of André Salmon (final state). 1907. Charcoal and India ink on paper, $24\frac{3}{4} \times 18\frac{7}{8}$ " (63 × 48 cm). Zervos XXVI, 284. Private collection

wrote: "He bowed in sarcastic benevolence in a raglan coat the color of ocher. His face had the shape of a crescent moon above his upturned collar. His white jaw held a pipe that went opposite his nose."28 At the very most, the schematization of the face, by evoking the style that characterizes the studies for Les Demoiselles d'Avignon of winter 1906-07, brings the portrait closer to the working drawing, giving the quintessence of it, but to excess. But Salmon clearly thought of this drawing in relation to others, which he must have been familiar with, as they were assembled on the same sheet (left), and later titled "Portrai[t]s d'André Salmon" by Picasso. There one observes the poet's long, serpentine silhouette-which recalls that of the Medical Student in the preliminary studies of Les Demoiselles-next to the sketches of his head. Here Picasso pushed stylization to the point of making Salmon look Egyptian; views of the figure are also seen from behind, showing a fishbone pattern, like scarifications, instead of a spinal column. Salmon's invocation of Cubism concerning this portrait and the possibility of it as a plan for a sculpture are illuminated in a more satisfying manner by this sheet of sketches. And Salmon's remarks are all the more meaningful when one examines other studies (below, left, and p. 31, top left)



Picasso's studio at the Bateau-Lavoir, 13, rue Ravignan, Paris, spring 1908. On the wall are two drawings that derive from Picasso's portrait of André Salmon (*Study for Wood Sculpture of André Salmon* [Zervos VI, 967] and *Bust of a Man*, 1907 [Zervos II², 630]). Photograph by Picasso. Private collection



Portrait of André Salmon. 1905. Pencil on cardboard, $4^{1/8} \times 2^{5/8}$ " (10.4 × 7.2 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection; formerly collection Guillaume Apollinaire



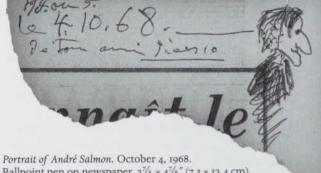
Portrait of André Salmon. [1905]. Ink wash on paper (from a sketchbook), $7^{1/8} \times 5'''$ (18 × 12.6 cm). Not in Zervos. Musée Picasso, Paris



Portrait of André Salmon. 1905. Ink on paper, $7^{1/4} \times 4^{1/2}$ " (18.5 × 11.5 cm). Illustration on a page of Salmon's *Poèmes* (1905). Not in Zervos. Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris, Bibliothèque Apollinaire



Portrait of André Salmon. [1905]. Ink on paper, $11^{\frac{3}{4}} \times 9^{''}$ (30 × 23 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection; formerly collection André Salmon



Ballpoint pen on newspaper, $2^{7/8} \times 4^{7/8}$ " (7.3 × 12.4 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection; formerly collection André Salmon

showing a standing figure whose body seems to be carved with a billhook, a "savage" working drawing derived from preceding sketches.²⁹

Clearly, this series of drawings assumed great importance for Picasso at the time in relation to the painting *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* and the wood carvings more or less contemporaneous with these drawings. This is indicated by a photograph the painter took in the spring of 1908 (opposite, bottom right): one of the clever arrangements Picasso was so fond of when taking photographs of his studios—and which are always illustrative—unites *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* (we see only the left edge), two wood carvings (one, a head fringed with hair, contemporary with the genesis of the large painting) and two of the large drawings (a full-length figure and a bust) that most likely are derived from Salmon's portrait.

There is another series of portraits of the poet which always presents him in the same position: seated, in left profile, his chin jutting severely, his straggling lock of hair, a stiff collar and hastily tied lavaliere, rounded back, and hands crossed on his knees holding a pipe. The latter gesture must have been rather characteristic of Salmon, for Fernande Olivier, ever observant, wrote: "His fine hands held the wooden pipe, which he always smoked, in a way which was typically his. His gestures were a little gauche and clumsy: a mark of his shyness."30 To obtain Picasso's authorization to reproduce one of these drawings (p. 185, bottom left) in the first volume of Souvenirs sans fin, Salmon wrote to the painter on December 14, 1954: "I would like for the frontispiece the reproduction of the drawing, in pen, that you did of me in the winter . . . 1903-04: it is quite a beautiful drawing, never yet reproduced and seen only by my visitors."31 His visitors had, in fact, mentioned it. Frédéric Lefèvre, who called on Salmon to conduct one of the interviews he published regularly in Les Nouvelles littéraires under the heading "One hour with . . . ," described the drawing: "It is dated 1904: this is perhaps the only portrait of Salmon sporting a beard, for this whim would scarcely last."32

It is remarkable that once again the poet does not use the word "caricature" in regard to this portrait, which he considers "quite a beautiful drawing." Yet, the exaggerated representation of the figure and the model's clearly pronounced (and peculiarly aged) features-a strong nose, a smile that has been called Mephistophelian or Voltairean, which is actually more of a grin, the prognathism, a light beard that most often gives the model a "poorly shaven" and somewhat down-and-out look, and the excessive posture with its hunched back and shoulders-bring this image closer to caricature, as does its repetition, because it is a sort of generic image, a type, which on numerous occasions sprang from Picasso's pen or pencil and was repeated, unchanged. One such sketch was done on a page of a notebook that the painter took with him to Holland at the beginning of the summer of 1905 (p. 185, top center).33 There is also a drawing, dated "1905" in pen in one of the copies of Salmon's Poèmes published that year (p. 185, top right),³⁴ which Apollinaire owned.³⁵

On a final portrait (p. 185, center right)—the poet was to die five months later—commemorating their past youth and their meeting, at the approximate date of "1904 or 5," Picasso scribbled "4.10.68" in honor of Salmon's eighty-seventh birthday (the artist himself would reach the same age three months later). Picasso wrote the accompanying dedication, "from your friend," on this corner of torn newspaper³⁶ and drew the tousled locks of a young man, in a harsh profile with an undeniably toothless mouth this time. It is almost a mortuary mask of the friend with whom Picasso was reunited.³⁷



Portrait of Guillaume Apollinaire. [1908]. Reconstruction through montage of the versos of Zervos II¹, 39, and Zervos XXVI, 355; charcoal on paper, $19^{3/8} \times 12^{5/8}$ " (49.1 × 31.9 cm). Musée Picasso and private collection, Paris

Guillaume Apollinaire. *Alcools*. Paris: Le Mercure de France, 1913

Apollinaire's Méditations esthétiques was published in March 1913. This work dealt with "new painters" broadly grouped under the label of Cubism,38 with Picasso presented as its "founder." One month later, Apollinaire published Alcools, a collection of poems comprising almost fifteen years of creative work; it opened with "Zone," a text written in the fall of 1912 and added at the last minute, which begins with the words: "In the end you are weary of this ancient world."39 It is this volume, the sum of his poetic art, and not, as one might have expected, the theoretical and possibly polemical work of Méditations esthétiques, which bears as its frontispiece a reproduction of the Cubist portrait of Apollinaire (p. 180). We have not been able to establish how this decision was madediscussed with Picasso?-or even if the portrait was done with the prospect of its reproduction in Alcools.⁴⁰ Nonetheless, Apollinaire chose this portrait as the frontispiece

for his book, and in 1912, a portrait by Picasso was a Cubist portrait.⁴¹ There was no harm in the fact that it happened to tally with the aesthetic choices of the author of *Médita-tions*, and there is no doubt that it was important to the poet to publish his collection with the ensign of an innov-ative drawing. In any case, it was not meant to establish some sort of parallel between Cubism and literature.⁴²

Commentaries that appeared in the press43 often made an amalgam of what seemed newest and most shocking in Apollinaire's poems-the elimination of all punctuation (yet, in doing this, the poet had not imagined he was playing Alcibiades)⁴⁴—and the portrait's Cubism. Even before the publication of the book, Le Courrier francais announced in a gossip column: "Great news. Mr. Guillaume Apollinaire is to publish poetry with no punctuation. . . . And cu-cubism is back in the spotlight, under the auspices of Picasso. Do you know him? He did the portrait of Mr. Guillaume Apollinaire, and this portrait is to serve as the frontispiece for the volume of poetry . . . with no punctuation. . . . Isn't that enough to revolutionize the Left Bank?"45 Others wanted to see Apollinaire's choice of the Cubist portrait as a promotional device thought up by the poet, "an unbridled apologist for the cubists whom he defends with a devotion worthy of a better cause":46 "Well! He's 'launching' the cubists; he has decorated his poetry collection with his portrait by Picasso, a masterpiece of indecipherable trigonometry."47 The Cubist image was disturbing; yet, it is amusing to note that the negative descriptions of it are rather just perceptions. It is not incorrect to describe the portrait as "a number of stovepipes behind which a tousled lock of hair can be seen."48 To speak of the breaking down of the figure by planes-in scarcely flattering terms, of course -or the persistence of realist detail ultimately suggests a sound appreciation of Cubist representation.

One obviously prefers the "enlightened" remarks of Marc Brésil and Louis de Gonzague Frick-supporters of the criticism of poets that we mentioned earlier: "Lovers of modern art will find at the threshold of this volume an unequaled portrait of Mr. Apollinaire by Mr. Picasso. The great Spanish painter has developed a synthesis of metaphysical decoration and has succeeded in showing us Mr. Guillaume Apollinaire at once frontally, in profile, and from the back; this work is more surprising than we can say, and Mr. Apollinaire's admirers will appreciate this portrait of our new Amphion, rendered in its entelechy."49 There is a certain pride in Apollinaire's account of how, on his way to the publisher Le Mercure de France to deliver "this beautiful drawing by Picasso, my portrait which figures at the beginning of my collection of poems," he ran into Rémy de Gourmont, who was seized with admiration for the portrait and conceived the vain hope of also having "a cubist portrait of his person": "I spoke to Picasso about it, but he had something else

to do and since he did not, so to speak, know Rémy de Gourmont, this portrait would have been too much work for him."⁵⁰ Picasso's response is interesting here for what it tells us of the necessary relationship between the painter's knowing the sitter and the latter's representation, for it was important that the portrait be a likeness. Apollinaire was convinced of this: "The portrait is a likeness in the immediate sense of the word."⁵¹

It is little known that there exists a portrait of Apollinaire that one could call proto-Cubist, drawn in charcoal on two sheets that are separated today: the top of the face is found on the back of a drawing in gouache, *Standing Nude* of 1908, and the bottom on the back of *Head*, in India ink of the same period.⁵² Placing the two versos edge to edge has allowed us to see a man's head; it is undoubtedly that of Apollinaire (opposite), constructed in great geometric masses, as are the figures painted at La Rue des Bois during the summer of 1908. Apollinaire spent several days there, invited by Picasso and Fernande Olivier. Was it then that Picasso drew this massive face, whose natural morphology led to the stylization applied to it?

Apollinaire is portrayed by Picasso once again in his book *Calligrammes*, the last collection published before his death in 1918, which bears the subtitle *Poèmes de la paix et de la guerre*. The poet, who enlisted in December 1914, was



Portrait of Guillaume Apollinaire Wounded. 1916. Graphite on paper, $11\frac{3}{8} \times 8\frac{7}{8}$ " (29.7 × 22.5 cm). Zervos VI, 1324. Musée Picasso, Paris; formerly collection Guillaume Apollinaire



Portrait of Guillaume Apollinaire. 1905. India ink on paper, $12^{1/4} \times 9^{1/8}$ " (31 × 23 cm). Zervos XXII, 294. Collection of the Family of Henry Brandon



Guillaume Apollinaire in the Fields. [1905]. Lead and colored pencil on cardboard (reverse of Bénédictine liqueur advertisement), $6^{1/8} \times 4^{1/4}$ " (16 × 10.7 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection; formerly collection Guillaume Apollinaire



Portrait of Guillaume Apollinaire. [1905]. Violet ink on paper, $5^{1/8} \times 4^{1/8}$ " (13 × 10.5 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection



Guillaume Apollinaire as a Bank Employee. December 6, 1905. Ink on paper (letter-card to Apollinaire), $5\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ " (14 × 12 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection; formerly collection Guillaume Apollinaire



Guillaume Apollinaire as an Academician. [1905]. Ink and wash on paper, $8\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$ " (22 × 12 cm). Not in Zervos. Musée Picasso, Paris; formerly collection Guillaume Apollinaire



The Duel, or Guillaume Apollinaire as a Fencer. 1907. Graphite and colored pencil on paper, $7^{1/8} \times 5^{3/8}$ " (18 × 13.6 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection; formerly collection Guillaume Apollinaire

wounded in the head in a shell explosion in the trenches on March 17, 1916. Picasso possessed several of the photographs taken while the poet was convalescing at l'Hôpital italien after his trephination. In one of these photos, he is seen with his head bandaged, almost in profile but nevertheless looking at the lens.⁵³ Did Picasso draw, from the photograph, the famous portrait of the wounded Apollinaire in profile (p. 187), the one the poet is probably speaking of in a letter to André Breton on August 27, 1916: "I will publish my war poetry at Le Mercure, with a portrait of me by Picasso"?⁵⁴ The rather serene profile,⁵⁵ as though beyond pain, finely drawn in graphite in a very realistic manner, was reworked, its essential features simplified by a stronger line. This technique and the pose





La Culture Physique, or Guillaume Apollinaire as an Athlete. 1907. Ink on paper, $12\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$ " (31 × 23.5 cm). Zervos XXII, 286. Private collection; formerly collection Gertrude Stein

Guillaume Apollinaire as a Sailor. [1910]. Ink on paper, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5^{1/8}$ " (21.5 × 13 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection; formerly collection Guillaume Apollinaire



Guillaume Apollinaire as an Artilleryman. December 22, 1914. Ink and watercolor on paper (letter to Apollinaire), $9 \times 47/s$ (23 × 12.5 cm). Zervos XXIX, 116. Private collection; formerly collection Guillaume Apollinaire



Guillaume Apollinaire at Nîmes, between December 7 and 15, 1914, when he was with his unit in the Thirty-eighth Artillery regiment of the French army. Photograph by G. Meunier



Guillaume Apollinaire as Pope. Page from André Billy's 1923 monograph *Apollinaire vivant* (Paris: Éditions de la Sirène, 1923). The original drawing was in the collection of Guillaume Apollinaire

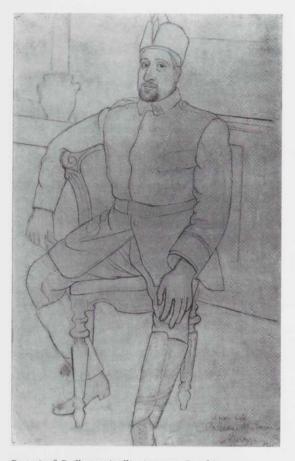


Portrait of Guillaume Apollinaire. 1918. Violet ink on paper, $5^{3/8} \times 3^{3/8}$ " (13.5 × 8.7 cm). Not in Zervos. Musée Picasso, Paris

give the poet the appearance of a bas-relief effigy on a marble funerary monument: Apollinaire—"When into himself eternity changes him."⁵⁶ This image of a wounded man was in keeping with the theme of the war poems published in *Calligrammes*. If the critics railed against what they considered typographical extravagance, artifice, and the out-and-out novelty of these poems, where text created

image, they remained indifferent to the portrait, the classicism of which did not seem to have a particular connection to the innovations of the writing it accompanied.⁵⁷

In addition to the thirty-five copies on vellum "with a drawing by Pablo Picasso," the subscription notice announced four extremely rare copies on old Japanese paper "with two drawings by Pablo Picasso signed by the



Portrait of Guillaume Apollinaire. 1916. Graphite on paper, $19^{1/4} \times 12^{"}$ (48.8 × 30.5 cm). Zervos XXIX, 200. Private collection; formerly collection Guillaume Apollinaire

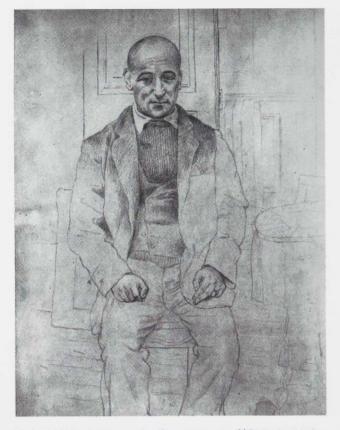


Portrait of Guillaume Apollinaire. 1916. Pencil on paper, $12^{1/4} \times 9^{1/8}$ " (31 × 23 cm). Zervos II², 923. Private collection, courtesy Galerie Cazeau-de La Béraudière, Paris artist."⁵⁸ The second drawing is the haughty portrait of Apollinaire seated, in full military uniform (left), his cap hiding the bandage that is still wrapped around his head. In all likelihood, it is a posed portrait, in the tradition of those initiated by the *Portrait of Max Jacob* of 1915 (opposite), where the meticulous realism of the figure is confronted with a representation of space that bears the mark of Cubism.⁵⁹ There is another portrait, almost identical to this second drawing, which is its ghostly double (bottom, left). Drawn with a less incisive line, shaded and incomplete, even in areas as essential as the bottom of the face, this portrait gives the wounded poet, with his anxious gaze, an image that seems to be erasing itself, as though life were already slipping away.⁶⁰

Aside from several other portraits of Apollinaire, a young man who still had a moustache61 when he met Picasso, there exist numerous caricatures of the poet. Max Jacob no doubt thought of these when he wrote in his "Souvenirs sur Picasso": "The figure of Apollinaire is often repeated in [Picasso's] works."62 From descriptions of the poet found in literature, we understand that Apollinaire had a physique and a demeanor that lent themselves to caricature. He had a "pear-shaped" head (p. 188, top left)—"Guillaume did not at all like it when people spoke of his resemblance to Louis-Philippe; he preferred Louis XIV or Racine" notes André Billy63-and a rather astonishing stoutness,64 which certainly gave him presence. Habits such as stuffing his pockets with books made his hips even rounder, and he always carried a pipe, which he "suckled with greedy lips."65

One of the loveliest descriptions of Apollinaire is given by Jacob, evoking their meeting in early 1905. Apollinaire was wearing "a very small straw hat placed on top of his famous pear-shaped head. He had hazelnut eyes, terrible and brilliant. A tiny tuft of blond, curly hair, a small mouth like a pimiento, very strong limbs, a vast chest traversed by a platinum watch chain, a ruby on his finger."66 Cocteau, who would meet him in 1916, still described with emotion, thirty years later, his "gawky look of a captive balloon."67 His close relations thought he had the air of a prelate, of a Roman emperor. From these physical characteristics, Picasso extracted character traits and even personal ethics, an archetypal image of Apollinaire that he repeated tirelessly:68 a strapping fellow with a head in the shape of a pear, a worried brow, and a somewhat breathless air about him, outfitted with his everyday accessories—a watch, a pipe, a hat that is a bit too small-or imaginary ones, such as a papal tiara or an academician's suit.

The caricatures mock him, certainly, but one senses above all that they are charged with tenderness and with that complicity born of a real intimacy. Evidence of this are the few saucy drawings, such as the one where we see Apollinaire in the fields "relieving himself" (p. 188,



Portrait of Max Jacob. 1915. Pencil on paper, $13\times9^{3/4}$ " (33 \times 24.8 cm). Zervos VI, 1284. Private collection

top center), his inordinately large anus "represented" by a hole in the paper, while in the distance Diana chases a stag; or the one of the poet sitting, masturbating, a scatological detail that Picasso hides with a bowler hat (p. 188, top right).⁶⁹ The caricatures often refer to episodes in the sitter's life, which could not have failed to sustain the conversations of the little "bande Picasso." Indeed, they enliven them; Apollinaire, his arms laden with books, passing in front of the Bourse, is shown to us as Picasso knew him in 1905, when the poet was a bank employee (p. 188, bottom left); Apollinaire as an Academician (p. 188, bottom center) may evoke his hope of one day being crowned with the Prix Goncourt (he was to be an unhappy candidate in 1910 with L'Hérésiarque et Cie); Apollinaire as a Fencer (p. 188, bottom right) refers to the duel he almost had in March 1907, for which he had asked Max Jacobin black clothes in the drawing—to be his second;70 Apollinaire as an Athlete (p. 189, top left) reminds us that in March 1907 he contributed an article entitled "Guy de Maupassant athlète" to the review La Culture physique;71 Apollinaire as a Sailor (p. 189, top center) perhaps alludes to the news items he published in Paris-Journal on the winter floods in Paris in 1910;72 Apollinaire as an Artilleryman (p. 189, top right), which Picasso drew on the back of a letter he sent to the poet, stationed in Nîmes, on December 22, 1914: "Don't think this is a shell exploding in the



Portrait of Max Jacob. 1916. Graphite on paper, $12^{7\!/_8}\times10^{''}$ (32.6 \times 25.3 cm). Zervos III, 73. Musée Picasso, Paris

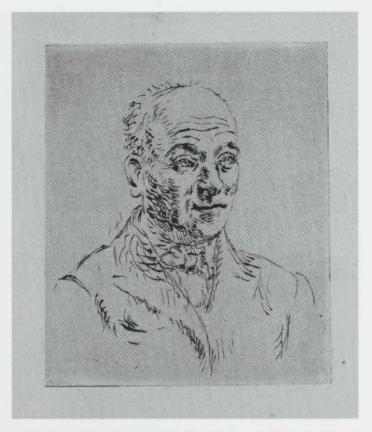
sky of your portrait; it's the most beautiful sun appearing through the clouds."⁷³ Was it inspired by a photograph taken in Nîmes of a cocksure Apollinaire in his military outfit (p. 189, bottom left)?⁷⁴

It is evident that Apollinaire was fond of these comical, warm images, a good number of which he owned.⁷⁵ In his friends' eyes as well, these caricatured representations had the noble stature of portraiture. Proof of this was the widespread success of these drawings. When he published the first monograph on Apollinaire in 1923, André Billy specifically chose to reproduce two caricatures: *Apollinaire as an Academician* (p. 188, bottom center) and *Apollinaire as Pope* (p. 189, bottom center).⁷⁶ Wasn't this a sort of homage?

Max Jacob. Le Cornet à dés. Paris: Chez l'auteur, 1917.

"I am posing for Pablo at his studio. He is doing a portrait of me in pencil that is very beautiful; it resembles at once my grandfather, an old Catalan peasant, and my mother."⁷⁷ So wrote Max Jacob to Guillaume Apollinaire on January 7, 1915. The extreme detail of the drawing gave the portrait (above, left)—which, we may note, Max Jacob does not say resembles him⁷⁸—a realism that prompted many questions. Was Picasso renouncing Cubism? So worried was *le Tout-Paris* frequenting the ateliers that





Portrait of Max Jacob with Laurels. 1928. Graphite pencil and charcoal on paper, $11 \times 8^{1/4}$ " (28 × 21 cm). Not in Zervos. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Orléans

Beatrice Hastings made it a "scoop" for *The New Age*, where she regularly had a column: "By the way, Monsieur Picasso is painting a portrait of M. Max Jacob in a style the mere rumour of which is causing all the little men to begin to say that of course Cubism was very well in its way, but was never more than an experiment. The style is rumoured to be almost photographic, in any case very simple and severe. I can say nothing as I haven't seen it, but I can testify to the state of soul among the cubists."⁷⁹

Picasso regally reassured those around him who were worried, and the naïveté of his responses matched that of his interlocutors. He replied to Henri Mahaut that he wanted "to see if he could still draw like everyone else."80 He was probably already playing the same game in 1914 when, showing Kahnweiler the first "non cubist . . . drawings of a seated man," he asked: "It's better than before, isn't it?"81 This portrait would even be discussed in the Swedish press, in an article written by the painter Arvid Fougstedt for Svenska Dagbladet, recounting a visit to Picasso's studio in the company of Jacob in December 1915. There Fougstedt encountered at once a large Cubist painting in progress, Man Leaning on a Table, and the two portraits of Jacob and Ambroise Vollard. He marveled at the "miniaturist detail" Picasso was able to demonstrate, drawing "with a pencil as thin as a needle." Though he felt this might be a wager on Picasso's part, speaking of the

Portrait of Max Jacob. 1921. Drypoint, $4^{3\!/\!_4}\times 3^{7\!/\!_8}$ " (11.9 × 10 cm). Geiser/Baer I, 62. Musée Picasso, Paris

Portrait of Max Jacob, he subtly concluded: "He is sitting there, in flesh and blood, and yet we are a thousand leagues away from a banal naturalism such as that of Memling."⁸²

In December 1916, when Ozenfant reproduced the drawing of Jacob on the first page of his review *L'Elan*, the debate became even more heated. An anonymous article in *Le Bonnet rouge* of January 13, 1917, sarcastically asked: "Which is the real Picasso," the one of "indecipherable cubism" or the one who draws like "old Ingres"?⁸³ As for Picabia, he proclaimed in *391* that he "doesn't hesitate for a minute" to adhere to the new school of photographic realism founded by a "repentant Picasso."⁸⁴ And at the end of the year, Salmon gave a turbulent talk on "La Jeune Peinture" at the meeting place of "Lyre et Palette," which he described this way to Picasso: "[For]... Metzinger and Co... the school of Metzinger is the only way out, and he does not admit that one can make the portrait of Vollard or Max after what has preceded."⁸⁵

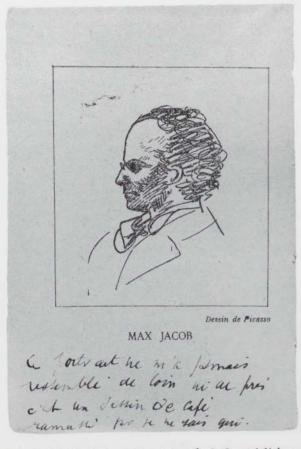
Jacob was indifferent to this commotion. He knew that it was absurd to contrast Cubism and realism, and that this portrait was not a return or regression of art to the style of Ingres or Memling, which would not have been progress. On the contrary, it bore witness to the essential lesson that Cubism brought to painting—a new definition of space. And so Jacob specifically chose to have this drawing, more avant-garde than it would seem at first glance, reproduced as the frontispiece of his book of prose poems, *Le Cornet à dés*, the "great work" he spent more than ten years shaping and that he finally published in 1917, accompanied with a "theoretical preface," as the subscription notice announced. A similar subtle and secret divergence from classical form united the painter and the poet. The first copies—published very late, at the beginning of 1918 would include an engraving in the purest Cubist tradition.⁸⁶ Eager theo-



Picasso beside Max Jacob. [1904]. Ink on paper (letter to Suzanne Bloch). Not in Zervos. Whereabouts unknown

reticians of literary cubism would not need this pretext to start the debate.⁸⁷

In the fall of 1916, at Montrouge, Max Jacob had once again posed for Picasso. The portrait (p. 191, right), a more linear and reductive drawing, like *Portrait of Apollinaire as a Soldier*, done slightly earlier, bears the dedication, "To my friend Max Jacob," leading one to think the poet owned it for a while.⁸⁸ It is certain, in any case, that he owned the portrait he requested from Picasso in 1928 for reproduction in the small catalogue accompanying his



Portrait of Max Jacob. [1904]. Frontispiece for *Le Cornet à dés* by Max Jacob (1923 edition), with handwritten note from 1936 by Jacob. Original drawing not in Zervos. Private collection

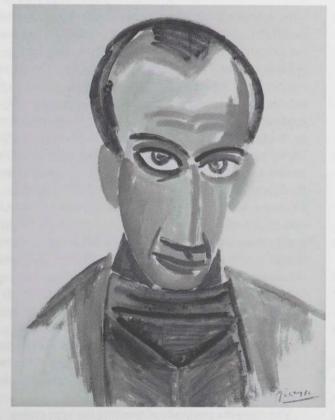
exhibition at the Galerie Théophile Briand. It is a stark portrait (opposite, left), in the manner of a Roman bust, crowned with laurels,⁸⁹ which can be seen as the farcical counterpart to the austere 1916 effigy of Apollinaire with his head bandaged. Jacob would reciprocate with this ironic quatrain: "Of the laurels adorning my head / You more than I are deserving / Picasso, my master, my friend / King of painters and painter of kings."⁹⁰

What neither Salmon nor Apollinaire would receive, an engraved portrait as the frontispiece of a book, Jacob hoped for, and almost obtained, during his lifetime. A portrait for which the poet probably sat in 1921, before his retreat to Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, had been engraved to illustrate Visions infernales (opposite, right). Though two years later, in December 1923, Jacob reminded Picasso of the existence of this plate and told him that the book's publication had already been announced with the engraving, the insistent letters that Gaston Gallimard sent to the painter remained unanswered, and the book eventually appeared in 1924 with the author's self-portrait engraved by Aubert. Thus, the only portrait of Jacob engraved for a book upon request of the author was not included in the work for which it was intended.91 But in 1953, when the art publisher Louis Broder undertook the publication of Chronique des temps héroïques, a book Jacob had written in 1935-36, he asked Picasso for a lithograph for the frontispiece. From memory, the painter did a three-quarter portrait of a young and bald Jacob, a faint smile on his lips, the diamond-shaped pattern around his neck giving him the look of a harlequin.⁹² The book was ultimately published in 1956, with an additional three etchings by Picasso: a nude man seen from behind,93 a portrait in profile that was not a very good likeness, and a depiction of the poet, his forehead enormous, writing in the glow of his oil lamp,94 recalling the first images Picasso made of his friend.

The story the poet tells of meeting the very young painter, who was showing at Vollard's gallery in June 1901, is by now legendary. He recounts how they were immedi-



L'Histoire claire et simple de Max Jacob (The Plain and Simple Story of Max Jacob). January 13, 1903. Ink on paper, 7¹/₂ × 11["] (19 × 28 cm). Zervos VI, 606. Musée Picasso, Paris





Portrait of Max Jacob. Early 1907. Gouache on paper mounted on cardboard, $24\frac{3}{6} \times 18\frac{5}{6}$ " (62 × 47.5 cm). Zervos II¹, 9. Daix 48. Museum Ludwig, Collection Ludwig, Cologne. (Colorplate, p. 23)

Max Jacob. c. 1905–10. Photographer unknown. Universités de Paris, Bibliothèque Littéraire Jacques Doucet

ately fascinated by each other and how the day after Jacob's visit, Picasso in turn went to see the poet at his house. Jacob read him his poems "all night long" while Picasso "painted on a large canvas, since lost or painted over, a portrait [of him] sitting on the ground, amid [his] books and before a great fire."95 This first portrait and the only one painted on canvas, which X rays now reveal, shows us the poet's large, already bald head, and the beard, moustache, and pince-nez he wore at the time. There are two known portraits in profile, which probably date from 1904,96 showing him as young and beardless with a five-o'clock shadow. One of them would be reproduced as the frontispiece of two small editions of Le Cornet à dés, in 1922 and 1923. On a copy of the latter (p. 193, bottom), in a dedication to someone who is not identified, Jacob, embittered and spiteful, wrote in 1936: "This portrait has never resembled me either up close or from afar. It's a café drawing I don't know who picked up."97

Jacob's nature was that of a tormented soul, who thought his portraits were always caricatures, for he eventually had disparaging remarks for almost all of them. Picasso no doubt did more caricatures of him than we know about, freely accentuating the appearance that Fernande Olivier describes thus: "His head was possibly too large and set on a badly proportioned body with narrow shoulders. There was something slightly provincial about his appearance, and this was emphasized by the cut of his too-new clothes."98 A small touching drawing at the top of a letter sent to the singer Suzanne Bloch shows the painter and poet shoulder to shoulder in the studio at the Bateau-Lavoir (p. 193, top). But the most comical of the caricatures of Jacob is the one presented in the form of a comic strip, "The plain and simple story of Max Jacob and his glory, or the rewards of virtue" (opposite, top), where we see first the down-and-out poet, writing by the light of an oil lamp; he brings his manuscript to an editor, who agrees to publish it: Joy! The poet celebrates with a feast, fame crowns him with laurels, and Rodin erects a monument to him. No doubt the mockery here is mixed with Picasso's early admiration for, and unshakable confidence in, the poet's talent in January of 1903.

Finally, if the portrait of 1915 proved, by its economy, that there was no longer any question of abandoning Cubism, another essential portrait of 1907 (opposite, bottom left) revealed its beginnings. This was a painted head in gouache on a large sheet of Ingres paper showing characteristic elements of the preliminary studies for Les Demoiselles d'Avignon.⁹⁹ Max Jacob best described these studies, all showing the same reductive stylization: a very long nose, "attached to the eyes," and drawn in continuity with the arch of the eyebrow and touching the mouth. Of these figures, which Jacob called "staggering," the poet said without hesitation: "Cubism was born." At the same time, he had the great humility to recognize that he did not comprehend it. In a categorical statement implicating his two friends, he said: "I did not understand cubism. Guillaume praised it without penetrating it. Salmon was its enemy." He concluded, "Picasso is the sole creator of this painting."¹⁰⁰

It is likely that the painter and the poets were the only ones truly aware of the subtle web being woven between the former's drawings and the latters' texts. The reader, when not simply unaware of the private aspects of this relationship, has been led to erroneous interpretations, as we have seen in the case of Alcools. But this was of little importance. Apollinaire had chosen a drawing that he considered a "masterpiece" to accompany the publication of a veritable "poetic summation" (most of the texts in Alcools had already been published in journals). As for Le Cornet à dés, the discrepancy between the apparent classicism of the 1915 Portrait of Max Jacob and the disconcerting writing, fairly unknown by the public until then (the poet had published very little), concealed the fact, for the uninitiated, that the portrait was no less innovative than the text. And, opening Salmon's small book in 1921, who could have guessed the importance of the portrait that illustrated it and known that it was part of the origins of Cubism? Yet each time the graphic work placed the stamp of modernity on the written work.

With the exception of the single painted portrait of Jacob, which was immediately covered over, the poets' portraits were all graphic works. One might think that this technical choice was dictated by the fact that the sitters were men of letters and that the painter joined the poets through pencil, pen, and paper, tools with which they all expressed their talent. Years later, the idea of this working community was still present in Picasso's thoughts when he said to Hélène Parmelin: "At that time, we had no other preoccupation but what we were doing. And all the people who were doing it saw nobody but each other. Apollinaire, Max Jacob, Salmon. . . . Think of it, what an aristocracy!"^{roi}

NOTES

I would like to thank Jacqueline and Jacques Gojard for all that I have learned about Salmon; Pierre-Marcel Adéma, Gilbert Boudar, and Pierre Caizergues for all that I have learned about Apollinaire; and Judith Cousins, who, as usual, gave generously of her knowledge. Pierre Bergé, Elisa Breton, Maurice Déchery, Gaston Diehl, Aube Elléouët, Claude Picasso, Maya Picasso, and François Valéry should also be warmly thanked. This essay was translated from the French by Jeanine Herman.

1. André Salmon, *Souvenirs sans fin* (Paris: Gallimard, 1961), vol. 3, p. 182.

2. Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler with Francis Crémieux, My Galleries and Painters (New York: Viking Press, 1971), p. 49.

3. Gertrude Stein, *Picasso* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1938), p. 3. She specifies: "So in the beginning he knew intimately Max Jacob and at once afterwards Guillaume Apollinaire and André Salmon, and later he knew me and much later Jean Cocteau and still later the Surréalistes."

4. Salmon, Souvenirs, vol. 2, 1956, p. 252. 5. Guillaume Apollinaire, "La Vie anecdotique," November 16, 1912, reprinted in *Oeuvres en prose complètes* (Paris: Gallimard, 1993), vol. 3, p. 131.

6. André Salmon, "Le Salon," *Montjoiel*, no. 3 (March 1914), p. 1. For his part, Apollinaire subscribed to "the liberty and sincerity" of Salmon's remarks, which he used in turn to defend his own criticism in an article entitled "La Critique des poètes" (*Paris-Journal*, May 5 1914, reprinted in *Oeuvres en prose complètes*, vol. 2, 1991, p. 671f.).

7. "We already know that [Picasso] took no pleasure in doing a portrait he was asked to do, and the same went for the illustration of a text," Jaime Sabartés wrote in 1946. He added disdainfully: "If books are published with his engravings, it is because the abundance of his oeuvre always allows one to find something to insert if one is not very demanding; his work has such merit and gives such value to the book that nothing else counts" (*Portraits et souvenirs* [Paris: Louis Carré and Maximilien Vox, 1946], p. 140). These are excessive remarks, as we know.

8. The counter example is the lithographed portrait of Paul Valéry that Picasso agreed to do, after much effort on the part of the publisher, for the new edition in 1921, of La Jeune Parque, which was published by La Nouvelle Revue Française. The two men do not seem to have known each other previously. Valéry nevertheless came to Picasso's studio on the rue La Boétie to pose, as shown by two letters addressed to the painter. Valéry wrote to Picasso on April 17, 1921, to let him know that only at the beginning of the afternoon, and not in the morning, was he free for sittings: "I shall be happy to go to see you and bring you my head," he added. Two months later, on June 16, he proposed to call on Picasso "on the offchance": "If you are at home, and if you feel like having me pose a little more, I shall try to be very well-behaved" ("Je serai heureux d'aller vous voir et de vous apporter ma tête"; "Si vous y êtes, et si vous avez envie de me faire poser encore un peu, je tâcherai d'être bien sage"; Picasso Archives, Paris). This perhaps pushes back the date of execution for the portrait proposed in Geiser/Baer, vol. I, no. 224. Regarding Valéry's portrait, Brigitte Baer noted that "Valéry and Picasso were not made to fraternize, as Picasso, much later, would give François Valéry to understand."

9. One of the perverse effects of this indisputably discriminatory distinction is that only works bearing an original print attain the rank of "illustrated book." This explains why one does not find *Alcools* by Apollinaire, for example, or *Le Coq et l'arlequin* by Cocteau (the list would be long) in *Pablo Picasso, les livres illustrés,* the *catalogue raisonné* compiled by Sebastian Goeppert, Herma Goeppert-Frank, and Patrick Cramer (Geneva: Patrick Cramer, 1983). Apollinaire's *Calligrammes* does not appear there either, because the portraits of the poet by Picasso were engraved for the publication by René Jaudon, after drawings by Picasso.

10. Cocteau wrote to Picasso on September 1, 1918: "I have finished correcting the proofs of Le Cog et l'arlequin with my portrait (head) and the two monograms" ("Je finis de corriger les épreuves du 'Coq et l'arlequin' avec mon portrait [tête] et les deux monogrammes"; these are two single-line drawings reproduced in the text; letter in the Picasso Archives). Cocteau had posed at Picasso's studio on May 1, 1916, as he wrote to Valentine Gross: "This morning, pose for Picasso in his studio." The portrait is a drawing in graphite on notebook paper (Zervos XXIX, 199) that Cocteau pronounced "an 'Ingres' head," which he envisioned would be "very suitable for portrait of young author to accompany posthumous works after premature death" (letter quoted in Francis Steegmuller, Cocteau: A Biography [Boston: Little, Brown, 1970], p. 147). He took pleasure in the role of the young poète maudit whom death would strike down before his time, since in September 1915 he had already written to Picasso: "You must paint my portrait quickly because I am going to die" ("Il faut vite peindre mon portrait parce que je vais mourir"; letter in the Picasso Archives). Perhaps they had not even met each other yet (see Pierre Caizergues, "Poèmes à Picasso," Revue des deux mondes [July-August 1993], p. 13).

11. Pierre Reverdy to Picasso, June 27, 1921. "Voulez-vous m'aider à en faire un objet de valeur? Je vous demande une eau-forte et si vous vouliez bien pour quelques luxes en plus mon portrait par vous" (letter in the Picasso Archives). Reproduced in Geiser/Baer, vol. 1, p. 129, where the Reverdy—Picasso correspondence, in correct order, allows one to retrace the history of the book's publication.

12. Geiser/Baer, vol. 1, no. 63. Baer suggests that this engraving could be dated the same day as a little portrait drawn in graphite dated

November 15, 1921, and inscribed: "For Pierre Reverdy his friend Picasso" (Zervos XXX, 266). This drawing, engraved by Aubert, would accompany the publication of *Ecumes de la mer* in 1925. That Picasso had contributed with pleasure to Reverdy's project is suggested by the freedom of the model's pose for his engraved portrait. The poet is seated, absorbed in a book, so much in profile that he is almost turning his back to us.

13. André Breton to Picasso, September 18, 1923. "Je ferais l'impossible auprès de vous pour que vous consentiez à ce que le volume s'ouvre sur un portrait de moi par vous, rêve que je forme depuis longtemps et dont je n'ai jamais eu l'audace de vous entretenir" (letter in the Picasso Archives). Moreover, in this letter the poet stated that he was ready to reduce his demands and content himself, if Picasso had it on hand, with "something that could pass for my portrait, without eyes, nose, mouth or ears" ("quelque chose qui puisse passer pour mon portrait, sans yeux, sans nez, sans bouche et sans oreilles") or any unpublished drawings that he could reproduce.

14. Geiser/Baer, vol. 1, no. 110. Baer dates the engraving October 30, 1923. The book was printed soon thereafter, on November 15, so the engraving was completed just in time for its publication in the book. Picasso had abandoned the first plate—in which the sitter was seated facing forward—because the likeness could not be captured in the drypoint (no. 111).

15. Baer, vol. 3, 1986, no. 681. In our opinion, this portrait "resembles" Dora Maar at least as much as it does Eluard, an example of "contamination" so frequent in Picasso. In the second edition of Au rendez-vous allemand, published in 1945, another portrait of Eluard appears in reproduction. It was one of eighteen in the famous series of portraits of 1941, in which Eluard's profile is seen evolving from a realistic representation toward a geometric schematization (no. 17 in the series, which was published for the first time in 1941 in Eluard's small book Sur les pentes inférieures). The portrait, drawn on January 8, 1936 (Zervos VIII, 273), had been reproduced in Les Yeux fertiles in 1936. On Picasso's taste for series, where swift, repetitive execution allows for a deepening of representation and brings out certain characteristic features of the sitter, see the series of portraits of Prévert in 1956 (Zervos XVII, 221-54) and that of portraits of Leiris in 1963 (Zervos XXIII, 228-38), all dated April 28.

16. It was Salmon who evoked the 'Trocadéro Museum of Anthropology where he said, "Picasso, Apollinaire, Max Jacob and myself discovered l'Art nègre" (Souvenirs, vol. 3, 1961, p. 253). It was Salmon again who revealed the first title of Les Demoiselles, "suggested, reviewed and adopted by Picasso's friends: Guillaume Apollinaire, Max Jacob and myself" (Propos d'atelier [Paris: Crès, 1922], p. 16).

17. One might think, for example, of the debates surrounding "literary cubism," which first concerned Max Jacob, or the attack on *Les Mamelles de Tirésias*, which greatly affected Apollinaire.

18. Florent Fels, "Propos d'artistes: Picasso," Les Nouvelles littéraires, no. 42 (August 4, 1923), p. 2.

19. See Anne Baldassari's analysis of these photographic portraits in *Picasso photographe*, 1901–1916 (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1994), p. 93f., in which she suggests their relation to the plastic oeuvre as "a veritable strategy." She precisely dates and describes the three photographs.

20. Intelligenti pauca: One would indeed have to know Les Demoiselles well in order to recognize the work, on the left in the photograph and partly covered by a flowered cloth. This confirms that these photographs concern a small number of initiates.

21. Guillaume Apollinaire, *Zone*, translated by Samuel Beckett (Dublin: The Dolmen Press, and London: Calder and Boyars, 1972), p. 23. 22. The glass negatives are conserved in the Picasso Archives.

23. "Von hier und heute geht eine neue Epoche der Weltgeschichte aus, und ihr könnet sagen, ihr seid dabei gewesen" (Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Kampagne in Frankreich*, September 19, 1792, *Sämtliche Werke*, Jubiläumsausgabe, vol. 28, 1903, p. 60).

24. André Salmon to Picasso, January 9, 1919. "Je te lirai, au dessert, un long poème didactique: *Peindre*, fait, je veux croire, pour te plaire." "Et mon portrait? Quand?" (letter in the Picasso Archives).

25. Salmon, *Souvenirs*, vol. 3, 1961, p. 185. The exact date of this drawing remains to be determined based on Salmon's absences from Paris in 1906–07; he was away due to theatrical touring engagements with the Baret company (*Souvenirs*, vol. 1, 1955, pp. 354–55).

26. Salmon, *Souvenirs*, vol. 2, 1956, p. 333. He added that the book was dedicated to Derain, a "French painter" (which designation made Picasso "grumble"); "I wanted to show myself surrounded by two friends, the two greatest artists of my time: Picasso and Derain." The didacticism of this little book of poetry is relative (and, moreover, Salmon himself amended

his initial idea). We read in his book, for example: "To paint is to imitate imitation / The only secret if you must re-create nature / And to imitate nothing / But the limitless / In order and measure" (p. 16; the poem then evokes faux marble and the use of letters in painting, which were to be eminent Cubist materials and techniques). Picasso is mentioned several times in the book, and Léger, Braque, and Gris also appear; one of the poems begins thus: "I compare Picasso's limitless work with Nungesser's terrible flight" (p. 22).

27. Salmon, "La Semaine artistique. Cubisme: Exposition Metzinger (Galerie Rosenberg)," *L'Europe nouvelle*, 2nd ser., no. 3 (January 18, 1919), p. 139.

28. Max Jacob, "Naissance du

cubisme et autres," *Les Nouvelles littéraires*, April 30, 1932, p. 7, reprinted in Hélène Seckel, *Max Jacob et Picasso* (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1994), p. 224.

29. For analysis of this series of drawings, the study of the caricature in relation to primitive art, the effect of "contamination" between the portrait of Salmon and that of an old farmer, Josep Fontdevila, whose image obsessed Picasso during and after his stay in Gosol in the summer of 1906, and the question of the sculptures carved directly in wood by Picasso in 1907-08, see William Rubin, ed., "Primitivism" in 20th Century Art (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1984), vol. 1, p. 282f. and p. 31 of this book. It may be amusing to note that Picasso possessed an African Yaka sculpture, a figure of a standing man with a carved protruding chin, which Maya Picasso remembers the painter would call Salmon (below, left). 30. Fernande Olivier, Picasso and His Friends

30. Fernande Olivier, *Picasso ana His Frienas* (London: Heinemann, 1964), p. 75.

31. André Salmon to Picasso, December 14, 1954. "Je voudrais pour frontispice la reproduction du dessin, à la plume, que tu fis de moi en l'hiver . . . 1903–1904: c'est un bien beau dessin, jamais reproduit encore et vu seulement par mes visiteurs" (letter in the Picasso Archives). Writing to Picasso, Salmon forgot that the drawing had already appeared in an article he had written for Les Nouvelles littéraires on "La Jeunesse de Picasso," July 11, 1931, p. 8, and that Fernande Olivier reproduced it in turn in 1933 in Picasso et ses amis (Paris: Librairie Stock, 1933), p. 193. In Salmon's Souvenirs, the drawing appears with its title, "André Salmon," handwritten on top and the date 1904 in the printed caption. Picasso and Salmon probably met each other in early 1905.

32. Frédéric Lefèvre, "Une heure avec André Salmon," *Les Nouvelles littéraires*, May 5, 1928, p. 1. Describing the poet, Lefèvre wrote: "Salmon smiles that strange smile his friends know well and in which there still remains a bit of sadness and sometimes a bitter sarcasm." A later photograph of Salmon (below, right) in his apartment, 73, rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs, taken by Pablo Volta in January 1956, shows the portrait by Picasso mentioned by Lefèvre attached to a bookcase.

33. On page 14 of this same notebook (M.P. 1856) there is a seated figure, facing front and rather corpulent, who may possibly be Apollinaire.

34. There are other drawings (we will not enumerate them here), particularly one in pencil which also belonged to Apollinaire (p. 185, top left). Salmon also appears on sheets of sketches in the company of his literary consorts of the time, Paul Fort, Jean Moréas, and, of course, Apollinaire (Zervos XXII, 200). We find the poet again, disguised as a Napoleonic general in battle, drawn by Picasso in a letter he wrote on May 6, 1915, to his friend, who had voluntarily enlisted (p. 199, right). This drawing is enhanced with watercolor.

35. This copy does not have the engraving. Apollinaire also owned a copy which included Picasso's drypoint of *Two Saltimbanques*. This was the extremely rare, first "illustrated book" by Picasso (Geiser/Baer, vol. 1, no. 6).

36. The newspaper, no doubt published in Cannes, is dated, on the back, Saturday, October 5, 1968. Did Picasso and Salmon see each other that day? In any case, this drawing was preserved in the Salmon archives.

37. We know that for political reasons, during the Spanish Civil War, Picasso carried on a long, stubborn feud with Salmon. They were reconciled at the beginning of the 1950s.

38. Méditations esthétiques: Les Peintres cubistes (Paris: Figuière, 1913), p. 24. The subtitle, Les Peintres cubistes, was added by the publisher in boldface on the title page of the work Apollinaire had chosen to call Méditations esthétiques, which was more in keeping with his intentions.

39. Apollinaire, Zone, p. 9.

40. Correspondence between Picasso and Apollinaire shows only the painter's uneasiness concerning the quality of the reproduction, as he wrote to Apollinaire from Céret on Febru-



Yaka figure. Wood, $24\frac{3}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ " (62 × 14 × 16 cm). Private collection



André Salmon (detail) reading in his apartment at 73, rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs, Paris, January 1956. Attached to the bookcase is Picasso's caricature of Salmon done in 1904 (p. 185). Photograph by Pablo Volta. Archives of the Foundation Erik Satie

ary 27, 1913: "Max [Jacob] who was with you the other day at Le Mercure de France tells me that he saw a proof of your portrait for your book of verse printed in blue. I want it to be printed in black, not otherwise, and all printing in another color should be prevented" (*Picasso–Apollinaire, Correspondance* [Paris: Gallimard, 1991], pp. 100–102). In March, still worried, Picasso wrote: "If you have proofs of your portrait for Le Mercure send them to me" (p. 102). The phrase "your portrait for your book of verse" does not necessarily mean that the portrait was done for *Alcools*.

41. That friendship—and not solely aesthetic preoccupations—guided this project is evident. This hardly needs repeating. Let us merely point out that in this collection of poems, a long one entitled "Les Fiançailles" is dedicated to Picasso, of whom Apollinaire says in a letter of July 30, 1915, to Madeleine Pagès: "The newest and most lyrical, the most profound is *Les Fiançailles* dedicated to Picasso whose sublime art I admire" (Guillaume Apollinaire, *Oeuvres complètes* [Paris: Balland, 1966], vol. 4, p. 495).

42. This is perhaps what Frédéric Lefèvre wanted to suggest in his work *La Jeune Poèsie française* (Paris and Fribourg: Rouart, 1917), a chapter of which bears the unfortunate title "Literary Cubism." In it is a remark whose conciseness could lead to confusion: "Guillaume Apollinaire is the official, so to speak, representative, advocate, interpreter of cubism. One of his poetry collections, *Alcools*, contains his portrait by Picasso" (p. 202).

43. The file of press clips on *Alcools* was published in several issues of the Apollinairean journal *Que vol-ve*?, 2nd ser., no. 18 (April–June 1986); no. 22 (April–June 1987); no. 29 (January– March 1989); no. 30 (April–June 1989); and 3rd ser., no. 4 (October–December 1991). See also Michel Décaudin's study, *Le Dossier d' "*Alcools" (Geneva and Paris: Droz and Minard, 1960), p. 38f.

44. To Apollinaire's way of thinking, eliminating punctuation was not avant-garde: "As far as punctuation is concerned, I eliminated it because it seemed useless to me and, in fact, it is. The rhythm and the line breaks are the true punctuation, and there is no need for another" (letter to Henri Martineau, July 19, 1913, in Apollinaire, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 4, p. 768).

45. Le Masque bleu, "Echos," Le Courrier français, February 22, 1913, p. 8. A similar connection is made by Graville in La Gazette de France of June 27, 1913, p. 2, concerning the absence of punctuation and an "aesthetic of the futurist school": "These are a lot of attempts at strangeness." Henri Hoppenot, in Rivista d'Italia of December 1913 (reprinted in Que vol-ve?, no. 30), wonders: "Wouldn't Mr. Guillaume Apollinaire's poetry reveal all its mystery just by being transposed as cubist paintings? . . . The cubist portrait exists only to shock the bourgeois and to play an excellent joke on the public, the sense of which I have not yet fully understood but which at the very most can only reflect poorly on its author."

46. Henriette Charasson, "Chronique du mois: Les poèmes," *Le Temps présent*, July 2, 1913, p. 61.

47. Henri Ghéon, "La Poésie . . . Alcools par Guillaume Apollinaire," *Nouvelle Revue française*, August 1, 1913, p. 286.

48. See Graville, n. 45, above.

49. Marc Brésil and Louis de Gonzague Frick, "Le Mois du littérateur," *La Phalange*, July 20, 1913, p. 96. 50. Guillaume Apollinaire, "A propos des croquis de Raoul Dufy d'après Rémy de Gourmont," reprinted in *Oeuvres en prose complètes*, vol. 2, 1991, pp. 1046–47.

51. Guillaume Apollinaire, letter to Madeleine Pagès, July 30, 1915, in *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 4, p. 491. The young girl had read *Alcools* and must have shown either reticence or incomprehension in the face of the portrait. Apollinaire refused to explain it: "The course in aesthetics on this subject that I could send you would be inappropriate. And all that remains is your disappointment, my love, before a drawing that is a masterpiece. It is a quite natural disappointment for one uninformed of a highly legitimate art which one appreciates as soon as one has discovered its sense and its logic."

52. Standing Nude is in the Musée Picasso, Paris (Zervos II¹, 39; M.P. 575); *Head* in the Picasso estate (Zervos XXVI, 355; succ. no. 986). One day the conservators of the Musée Picasso were given the opportunity to see the second drawing and to discover its verso, which had never been reproduced. The entire sheet of paper, which now measures approximately 19³/₈ by 12⁵/₈ in. (49.1 by 31.9 cm), was roughly cut through the middle by Picasso no doubt even before the execution of the drawings on the recto side. This reconstituted portrait was recently published in Peter Read, *Picasso et Apollinaire: Les Métamorphoses de la mémoire* (Paris: J.-M. Place, 1995).

53. Picasso Archives. Reproduced in the Album Apollinaire (Paris: Gallimard, 1971), pp. 240–41. There are other known photos of Apollinaire with his head bandaged and his body squeezed into his military uniform. In particular those taken at Paul Guillaume's house (ibid., p. 247), and the one reproduced in André Billy,



Guillaume Apollinaire bandaged after his trephination and in uniform in Paul Guillaume's apartment/gallery at 16, avenue de Villiers, Paris, summer 1916. Photograph by Paul Guillaume



Guillaume Apollinaire as a Coffeepot. [1905]. Ink and watercolor on paper. Not in Zervos. Whereabouts unknown; formerly collection Guillaume Apollinaire

HÉLÈNE SECKEL 198 *Apollinaire* (Paris: Seghers, 1967), opposite p. 33, and here, opposite, left. *L'Esprit nouveau* published a photograph of Apollinaire in his hospital bed (no. 26 [October 1924]).

54. Apollinaire to André Breton, August 27, 1916, in *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 4, p. 877. (The poet here is wearing the *croix de guerre* awarded to him on June 17.) There is nothing in the correspondence between Picasso and Apollinaire that mentions an appointment for a sitting that year. The wounded Apollinaire also inspired André Rouveyre, whose tragic portrait of him, done in May 1916, was reproduced as the frontispiece of *Le Poète assassiné*, published in 1917. It was first reproduced in *Le Mercure de France*, July 1, 1916, p. 46.

55. André Billy finds that in this portrait "pain dominates." He notes that the poet "wears a small goatee and a military cross, as we saw him walk around town then, proud of his new tunic, his boots and his baldric" (Apollinaire vivant [Paris: Editions de la Sirène, 1923], p. 89). There is a good chance Picasso had this portrait in mind when, in 1940, he began drawing profiles that are generally identified as showing Apollinaire. One, with tousled hair and an anxious look, was done at Royan on March 17, 1940 (Zervos X, 519; reproduced in the exhibition catalogue Présence d'Apollinaire at the Galerie Breteau in 1943 [below, left]). There is also a series of portraits of 1945 in which Apollinaire is crowned with laurels (one dedicated to the Baron Mollet, "in memory," July 5, 1945, Blache sale, Versailles, June 17, 1971, no. 151; another dedicated to Georges Hugnet, in his copy of Calligrammes, August 3, 1945, reproduced in Billy, Apollinaire, opposite p. 128), and a series of 1948 (one, of December 23, 1948, added on the half-title page of a copy of Alcools, the binding of which is also decorated by Picasso, no. 5 of catalogue no. 53, *Livres romantiques et modernes*, of the Librairie Berès; another at the Musée Picasso, M.P. 1990–89; yet another, dedicated to Aragon, auctioned at Hervé-Chayette-Laurence-Calmels at Drouot on December 10, 1987, no. 142; and several in the artist's estate). Picasso would also do memorial portraits of Max Jacob.

56. Guy Michaud, "Le Tombeau d'Edgar Poe," *Mallarmé* (New York: New York University Press, 1965), p. 93.

57. See the press file of *Calligrammes* published in *Que vol-ve?*, 2nd ser., no. 13 (January– March 1985), and no. 14 (April–June 1985). Victor Snell, in *Le Canard enchaîné* of August 21, 1918, speaks of the "wretched portrait that decorates this curious volume."

58. Reproduced in Picasso-Apollinaire, Correspondance, p. 156. In a letter dated March 22, 1917, and sent to the painter, who was in Rome, Apollinaire encouraged him to publicize the book about to be published: "If you would tell people around you that there are a few deluxe editions with the two drawings by you and semi-deluxe editions with one drawing, that would be good" (p. 150). What neither the subscription notice nor Apollinaire point out is that the two drawings by Picasso would be engraved by René Jaudon, one on wood, the second on copper. Apollinaire would not obtain from Picasso what he so wished, original engravings, for either one of his books. It was Dufy who did the woodcuts for Le Bestiaire, which was published in 1911; Vitam impendere amori, "a little book of verse" for which he wanted "an etching or two" from Picasso, was published with illustrations by André Rouveyre in 1917. Picasso did not respond to a request for engraved

illustrations for Odes, the project Apollinaire worked on in the summer of 1918 (see Pierre Caizergues, "Sur deux apothéoses," in Picasso-Apollinaire, Correspondance, pp. 11–16).

59. The space is vaguely defined by the diagonal of the paneling, but the chair seat has no depth. Why does this portrait, dedicated to Apollinaire to whom it belonged (as did the other drawing published in *Calligrammes* and the Cubist portrait that is reproduced in *Alcools*), appear in issue no. 26 of *L'Esprit nouveau* in October 1924 with the note "Paul Rosenberg collection"? On the series of "military" portraits of 1916, see Kenneth E. Silver, *Esprit de Corps: The Art of the Parisian Avant-Garde and the First World War*, 1914–1925 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989), p. 111f.

60. This drawing was dedicated and given by Picasso to Jacques Guérin in 1942. The serrations on the left edge tell us that this is a page from a sketchbook.

61. Zervos VI, 728, and Zervos XXII, 287 and 288.

62. Jacob added: "So is mine." This is not quite as obvious. See Max Jacob, "Souvenirs sur Picasso," *Cahiers d'art* 2, no. 6 (1927), pp. 199– 202, reprinted in Seckel, *Max Jacob et Picasso*, p. 208. Baron Mollet recalled that "Picasso, who spent his evenings drawing, did heaps of caricatures [of Apollinaire]" (*Les Mémoires du Baron Mollet* [Paris: Gallimard, 1963], p. 57).

63. Billy, *Apollinaire vivant*, p. 88. The caricatures, aided by his corpulence, sometimes make him resemble Jarry's Père Ubu.

64. Apollinaire's enjoyment of food, which had become legendary, is not irrelevant to this portliness. Carco described him while eating: "Excessively fond of eating and drinking, enor-



Portrait of a Man (Guillaume Apollinaire). March 17, 1940. Pencil on paper, 9¹/₄" (24.2 cm) high. Zervos X, 519. Whereabouts unknown

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Letter to André Salmon with a portrait of the poet. May 6, 1915. India ink, gouache, and watercolor on paper, $6\frac{7}{8} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ " (17.5 × 22.2 cm). Not in Zervos. Musée Picasso, Paris. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Alain Mazo, 1980

mous, delectable to watch, he broke the bones he was served between his jaws, sucked them, covered himself in grease" (De Montmartre au Quartier Latin (Paris: Albin Michel, 1927, p. 183). Apollinaire's hearty love of food explains how Picasso got the idea for an ex libris for the poet showing an obese monarch at table, a new "king drinks" (Zervos I, 225; this is not, strictly speaking, a caricature of Apollinaire), but also how he depicted Apollinaire as a coffeepot with a steaming spout instead of his usual pipe (p. 198, right). Billy notes that "this portliness admirably suited his moral nature, made for radiance and pleasure" (exhibition catalogue, Présence d'Apollinaire, 1943). This corpulence prompted Salmon to say that Tio Pepe, one of the figures in Bateleurs, had the "look of Apollinaire" (Souvenirs, vol. 2, 1956, p. 260). This has led to sometimes questionable interpretations of Picasso's large canvas of 1905. Apollinaire does not always seem to have been very fond of himself. He wrote to Madeleine Pagès on August 5, 1915: "Take me as I am: not ugly but certainly no longer handsome, oh! no. . . . Not at all deformed, lots of hair, but I very often find myself almost ugly" (Apollinaire, Oeuvres complètes, vol. 4, p. 501).

65. Salmon, *Souvenirs*, vol. 3, 1961, p. 133. Salmon's descriptions of Apollinaire's pipes cannot be outdone (ibid., vol. 1, 1955, pp. 53 and 110). Fernande Olivier speaks of Apollinaire's laugh, "which seemed to filter through the pipe stuck permanently between his teeth" (*Picasso and His Friends*, p. 141).

66. Max Jacob, text from a lecture given in Nantes in 1937, published in Seckel, *Picasso et Max Jacob*, p. 244.

67. Jean Cocteau, *La Difficulté d'être* (Paris: Morihien, 1947), p. 173. He described Apollinaire after his injury wearing his small leather helmet (a sartorial detail that allows one to date the last caricatures; p. 189, bottom right): "I saw him in a pale blue uniform, his head shaved, one temple marked by a scar, just like a starfish. An arrangement of bandages and leather made him a sort of turban or little helmet. It seemed this little helmet hid a microphone through which he heard what others could not hear, and he secretly surveyed an exquisite world. He transcribed its messages" (pp. 169–70).

68. These drawings appear to be spontaneous, as though a graphic habit with Picasso. This explains, for example, what we find in the so-called "Catalan" notebook which Picasso had with him at Gosol during the summer of 1906. Next to the typically Gosol drawings are two caricatures of "Don Guillermo" (*Carnet Catalan* [Paris: Berggruen, 1958], pp. 40 and 55).

69. Most likely Picasso is representing Apollinaire in this same activity, one hand in his pants pocket, the other on his fly, in a caricature in which he is seen wearing a papal tiara, a pipe in his mouth. At his side, a naked woman in a lascivious pose encourages one to consider this a scabrous subject (Zervos XXII, 290). André Salmon wondered "where Guillaume had gotten . . . that gift of joyous scatological fury" he was known to possess (*Souvenirs*, vol. 1, 1955, p. 114). Another drawing, which is not a caricature, shows Apollinaire masturbating (right). This was, no doubt, a topic of conversation between Picasso and the author of *Les Onze Milles Verges* and *Les Exploits d'un jeune Don Juan*; it was certainly a topic with Louise de Chatillon-Coligny, to whom Apollinaire wrote on January 13, 1915: "When we were in school, we made a hole in our right pocket, put our hand through it and we did this during the whole class" (*Lettres à Lou* [Paris: Gallimard, 1970], p. 103). Apollinaire and his mistress called this "giving yourself a little hand."

70. See Seckel, *Max Jacob et Picasso*, pp. 59–60. 71. Might not this athletic representation mean that Picasso considered Apollinaire a strapping figure, a "muscle man" of poetry?

72. The "P. J." on his beret may signify *Paris-Journal*, as Pierre Caizergues, whom we consulted, has suggested. Several comical news items, which evoke the rising of the Seine in January 1910 (see *Oeuvres en prose complètes*, vol. 2, 1991, p. 1270f.), corroborate this. Apollinaire lived at 15, rue Gros at the time, a location that provided him with a ringside seat during the flood.

73. Picasso-Apollinaire, Correspondance, p. 122. 74. The text of a letter dated January 14, 1915. that Apollinaire sent to Rouveyre (now in the Bibliothèque Littéraire Jacques Doucet), is generally reproduced with this photograph in which, Apollinaire says, "I look like Mars waiting for Venus." The photograph is not included in the letter (see the reproduction with the five verses by Apollinaire in André Rouveyre, Apollinaire [Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1945], as the frontispiece). It was printed on a postcard to be sent to friends. Pierre-Marcel Adéma, who dates it more precisely between December 7 and December 15, 1914, has confirmed this information, telling us that the photographer was "G. Meunier, 16 rue des Marchands, Nîmes." Did Picasso receive one of these postcards? It seems likely, given how much the drawing is inspired by it. The Picasso Archives does not have any information on this subject. In another photograph, taken at the same time, the pose is less directly related to Picasso's drawing (see the catalogue of the Apollinaire exhibition at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1969, no. 362, opposite p. 136). Apollinaire was proud of his martial allure. On December 26, 1914, he wrote to Eugène Montfort: "I am rather well-dressed, I have beautiful spurs, I walk around town proudly, my revolver strapped across my chest in a beautiful case" (Oeuvres complètes,

vol. 4, p. 797). 75. Years later Apollinaire's widow, who had preserved the poet's collection with great care, wrote to Sabartés: "Picasso drew on anything. I have some small portraits of Guillaume on café stationery, even on metro tickets" ("[Picasso] dessinait sur n'importe quoi. J'ai de[s] petits portraits de Guillaume sur du papier de café même dur des tickets de métro" [Jacqueline Apollinaire to Jaime Sabartés, November 28, 1944, letter in the Picasso Archives]). Apollinaire noted without displeasure that Salmon compared him to "a troika coachman," and Elémir Bourges to "Fabrice del Dongo" or to "a young Roman prelate." "I've even been seen as Emperor Napoleon, Nick Carter and as far as antiquity is concerned, a young painter did a picture where I am Nero" (letter to "Les Treize," September 5, 1910, in Oeuvres complètes, vol. 4, pp. 739-40). Apollinaire, however, was far from insensitive, as was demonstrated by an episode Léautaud recounts in his Journal littéraire (dated November 17, 1908; [Paris: Le Mercure de France, 1955], vol. 2, pp. 333-34): During a literary gathering, he whispered mockingly about "Apollinaire's pouting face." Apollinaire was unable to conceal his distress, and Léautaud, cruelly, replied: "You know, caricatures of people are not only done with lines. They're done with words, too.'

76. André Billy had borrowed these drawings from Jacqueline Apollinaire. He wrote to Picasso on April 7, 1922, to let him know that he was counting on reproducing them and to verify that they were indeed by him (Picasso Archives). Let us note that *Apollinaire as an Academician* is reproduced reversed and without



Portrait of Guillaume Apollinaire. [1905]. India ink on paper, $9^{1/8} \times 5^{1/8}$ " (23 × 13 cm). Zervos XXII, 287. Private collection; formerly collection Guillaume Apollinaire

the caricatures that surround it (we are reproducing the original drawing). There is every reason to believe that the same goes for Apollinaire as Pope, the original of which we have not seen. These two drawings appeared again in the issue of L'Esprit nouveau devoted to Apollinaire (no. 26, October 1924). To cite only one or two of the oldest publications that feature these caricatures, we should mention the book by Apollinaire, Contemporains pittoresques, published in 1929, which reproduces one of Apollinaire's pear-shaped heads with pipe and bow tie (p. 188, top left), a large series of which exists (Zervos XXII, 291-94), or the 1946 edition of Les Mamelles de Tirésias, which contains six reproductions of caricatures. There is also a small caricature of Apollinaire among the drawings used to illustrate André Salmon's 1920 Le Manuscrit trouvé dans un chapeau (p. 108), along with one of a hydrocephalic Delormel.

77. Max Jacob to Guillaume Apollinaire, January 7, 1915 (Seckel, *Max Jacob et Picasso*, p. 16). Regarding Max Jacob, we will refer to our research published in the above catalogue.

78. This is at once praise—Picasso captures not only the model's likeness but that of his ancestors-and disapproval (having to do with the complex relationship Max Jacob had with Picasso, in which admiration existed alongside jealousy). Of the Portrait of Ambroise Vollard (p. 299) drawn by Picasso in an identical style in August 1915, however, Max Jacob would say that it is "a very good likeness in the manner of Ingres" (Seckel, Max Jacob et Picasso, p. 120). In 1933 the poet wrote a verse for his friend Conrad Moricand as a dedication in a copy of Le Cornet à dés, giving this scarcely laudatory assessment of the portrait: "I dedicate this portrait of myself to you/as Picasso depicted it in this place / the stupid peasant's ruddy face / the pallid brow and awkwardness" (ibid., p. 124).

79. Beatrice Hastings (under the pseudonym of Alice Morning), "Impressions of Paris," *The New Age* 16 (January 28, 1915), p. 343. It is because she had not seen the portrait that she speaks of a painting (Picasso barred her from his studio because they had fought about Henri Rousseau).

80. Henri Mahaut, Picasso (Paris: Crès, 1930). Mahaut concluded that Picasso continued "to draw and paint, both in the cubist mode and like everyone else" (p. 12).

81. Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, introduction to the catalogue for an exhibition of Picasso's engraved works at the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Mulhouse, June 25–August 30, 1960.

82. Arvid Fougstedt, "En visit hos Pablo Picasso," *Svenska Dagbladet*, January 9, 1916, p. 10. Quoting Picasso: "People say I've abandoned cubism to do this sort of thing; it's not true, you can see for yourself."

83. "Les Deux Picasso," in Le Bonnet rouge, January 13, 1917, p. 2.

84. Francis Picabia, "Odeurs de partout," 391, no. 1 (January 1917), p. 4.

85. André Salmon to Picasso, December 14, 1917. "[Pour]... Metzinger et C^{ie}... l'école Metzinger est l'unique issue et il n'admet pas qu'on puisse faire le portrait de Vollard ou de Max après le reste" (Picasso Archives).

86. The book, published by the author, was paid for by subscription of the fourteen copies on Japanese paper with the engraving, and the thirty copies on Holland paper, with the reproduction of the portrait. Since March of 1917, Max Jacob had asked Picasso to do an engraving, but he was not particularly concerned whether it was Cubist. He even wrote to the painter, who was in Barcelona, on August 12, 1917: "Don't do something cubist so as not to scare the inspectors" (they were in the middle of war) and added: "Do whatever you like, it will always be beautiful enough coming from vour hand" (Seckel, Max Jacob et Picasso, p. 146). The portrait was kept by Picasso until 1944. A few days after Max Jacob's death at Drancy, the play Picasso had written in 1941, Le Désir attrapé par la queue, was read in Louise and Michel Leiris's apartment. The painter had the 1915 drawing brought there so that this reading could be done in homage to the deceased poet, and, in a way, in his "presence."

87. On the history of "literary cubism," see Michel Décaudin and Etienne-Alain Hubert's article, "Petit historique d'une appellation: 'Cubisme littéraire'" in *Europe*, no. 638–39 (June–July 1982), pp. 7–25. Max Jacob was not entirely innocent in this matter, writing: "While all poetic prose renounces being for pleasing, the prose poem has renounced pleasing for being. It is something like a cubist painting" ("La Vie artistique," 291, no. 10–11 [December 1915–January 1916]). This statement would delight Frédéric Lefèvre (see n. 42, above).

88. This drawing was found in Picasso's estate. Did the painter buy it back from the poet, who was in financial straits? See Seckel, *Max Jacob et Picasso*, p. 139, n. 48. As soon as it was finished, the portrait was reproduced in several copies and accompanied by a short poem taken from *Le Cornet à dés*—"L'archange foudroyé n'eut que le temps de desserrer sa cravate" ("The archangel struck down, only had time to loosen his tie"). Those reproductions of the portraits were sold in early December 1916, to benefit Max Jacob, at a lecture that Dermée devoted to the poet under the auspices of the "Lyre et Palette" association.

89. "Picasso once drew me as Lucullus with a wreath and blossoming cheeks," Max Jacob wrote to Jean Rousselot on June 2, 1942 (Seckel, Max Jacob et Picasso, p. 214). He did not keep this drawing, since on the back, written in his hand, we read: "Drawing done by Picasso in a quarter of an hour for the exhibition of his old friend Max Jacob. This exhibition took place December 28 at Th. Briand 32, rue de Berri. Jacob sold this drawing to his friend André Lefèvre in order to go on vacation because he is very tired. April 10, 1929. Max Jacob." This portrait would become very popular and be widely reproduced (notably in Le Domaine in May 1929 and on the cover of L'Année poétique in January 1934). Maurice Sachs described Max Jacob around this time in this way: "His face is gentle and serious, but his eyes are filled with mischief. His upper lip is thin, the lower one pleasant and sensuous. He looks like a Roman emperor, sometimes a prophet of Israel, and sometimes, too, a faun from La Fontaine" (La

Décade de l'illusion [Paris: Gallimard, 1950], p. 200).

90. "Ce laurier qui pare ma tête / Tu le mérites mieux que moi / Picasso mon ami, mon maître / Roi des peintres et peintre des rois." See Seckel, *Max Jacob et Picasso*, pp. 214 and 215, n. 21.

91. Ibid.

92. Fernand Mourlot, *Picasso Lithographs* (Boston: Boston Book and Art Publisher, 1970), no. 271. Of this characteristic smile, Max Jacob had said: "I have the kind of smile which would long be taken for an amiable smile and which is the smile of madness" (Seckel, *Max Jacob et Picasso*, p. 215).

93. Was this an allusion to Max Jacob's homosexuality, as John Richardson surmises? See A *Life of Picasso, Volume 1: 1881–1906* (New York: Random House, 1991), p. 260.

94. Respectively, Baer, vol. 4, 1988, nos. 959-60 and 958.

95. See Seckel, Max Jacob et Picasso, p. rf. This portrait was covered over by Woman Crouching and a Child (Zervos I, 115).

96. We know that in 1904, following Picasso's example, Max Jacob shaved his moustache and beard (ibid., pp. 30-31).

97. On the subject of the portrait reproduced in *Le Cornet à dés* in 1922–23, Max Jacob's bad faith is evident, since it could not have been published at the time without him at least being aware of it. A drawing similar to this one is Zervos XXII, 124. Max Jacob was at that time as Pierre Abraham described him: "His columnar forehead, his premature baldness emphasized by his jet-black hair, his thick, sensual nose, his elastic jowls like those of old ham actors on tour, all this seemed to have been covered in a sort of transparent lacquer: it was the first face that entirely conjured for me the word *hairless*" (*Les Trois Frères* [Paris: Les Editeurs français réunis, 1971], p. 46).

98. Olivier, *Picasso and His Friends*, p. 33. She nevertheless thought that "all his features were beautiful": "A pretty, elegantly curved mouth, which gave a suggestion of delicacy and wit and malice as well."

99. Let us say in passing—for it has been too abundantly developed to return to it in detail (see, in particular, the exhibition catalogue *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* [Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1988])—that stylistic reasons alone do not place the drawing in the realm of this painting. The fact that Max Jacob is wearing a sailor's pea coat here has prompted critics to consider that he was one of the figures, the Sailor, in the preliminary studies for the great painting (see Seckel, *Max Jacob et Picasso*, p. 57f.).

100. Max Jacob, "Naissance du cubisme et autres," reprinted in Seckel, *Max Jacob et Picasso*, p. 57. See also pp. 53–57 and pp. 206–09.

101. Hélène Parmelin, *Picasso says*... (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1969), p. 106.



Portrait of Dora Maar. c. 1936–37. Photogram by Picasso. Gelatin-silver print from cliché-verre, 113/4 × 93/8" (29.8 × 23.9 cm). Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives

"Heads Faces and Bodies": Picasso's Uses of Portrait Photographs

ANNE BALDASSARI

nd so Picasso commenced his long struggle to express heads faces and bodies of men and of women in the composition which is his composition. The beginning of this struggle was hard and his struggle is still a hard struggle, the souls of people do not interest him, that is to say for him the reality of life is in the head, the face and the body and this is for him so important, so persistent, so complete that it is not at all necessary to think of any other thing and the soul is another thing."¹

With this remarkable assessment, Gertrude Stein takes us to the very heart of the portrait's meaning within Picasso's research. We ought, therefore, to focus on the head, face, and body and above all refrain from seeking some subjective essence of the model. If, in the course of his pictorial work, Picasso began to practice photography,² it was no doubt due to the inherent objective nature of this "vision."³ The camera's mechanical, monocular eye enabled both the cutting out of reality, by the use of framing, and the cutting off from reality. Confronted with the ductility of the living being, the technical distancing of the camera offered a way to capture its bodily form alone.

We now know that Picasso began taking photographs in the first decade of the century and that he printed them himself.⁴ In the years of Cubism's invention, it was one of the ways he strove to *analyze* his vision and to define other modes of representation.⁵ Some of these experiments can be directly related to the elaboration of *papiers collés* and Cubist constructions.⁶ Later, rayographs⁷ were to develop "cameraless" photography in which darkroom work was substituted for camera work and combined with drawing or engraving. Parallel to these experiments and throughout his life, Picasso collected a vast number of photographic documents of the most diverse nature, many of which, through chance visual encounters, were to become a direct source of his work.⁸

Three aspects of this constant interchange between painting and photography are dealt with here. A series of photographs will be used to establish what the profileomnipresent motif in Picasso's approach to the human figure-owes to the processes involved in shadow-theater as well as to those of photography's precursors: silhouette, shadow, and blockout. Some Cubist portraits from the years 1910-12 will then be compared with line drawings from the period 1917–20; despite their stylistic disparity, both were, in fact, elaborated in close relation to a photographic referent: photographs taken by the artist or studio portraits. Finally, the juxtaposition of the 1917 painting Olga in an Armchair and its photographic precedent will be considered. An attempt will thus be made to suggest the complexity of Picasso's uses of photography. Selfportraits or portraits: all are enigmas whose raw material is composed of bodies, faces, and heads.



Self-Portrait with a Cane. [Barcelona, 1902]. Photographic cutout by Picasso. Gelatin-silver print and black ink, $2^{\frac{3}{4}} \times 1^{\frac{3}{4}''}$ (7 × 4.3 cm). Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives

SOMBRA/SOL⁹

In the artist's archives there is a small, full-length silhouette of a man cut out from an old photograph (left).10 It is a portrait of Picasso dating back to the beginning of the century. The figure can be compared to a drawing bearing the title Picasso in Spain, which accompanied a letter sent by the artist to his friend Max Jacob in July 1902 (below)." Although the two documents leave contrasting impressions, the self-portrait in pen and ink clearly derives from the photograph, recapturing its overall configuration. The cutout shows a young bourgeois in a suit and Panama hat; the drawing is of an "artist," whose studied outfit is described by Jaime Sabartés: "Trousers slightly tied at the ankles, a rather broad-brimmed hat and bow tie. . . . In 1902, the walking stick was an indispensable accessory. Everyone carried one, and Picasso more regularly than anyone else. It kept him company and served him as entertainment; with it he would fence with the trees and poles he found on his way."12

The edges of the photographic silhouette Self-Portrait with a Cane bear traces of black ink. These traces may correspond to a drawing that served to guide the action of the scissors. In general, *line* is foreign to the photographic image, which expresses a play of values created by the uneven darkening of the silver salts. Here the cutout of the snapshot operates as a drawing that demarcates and as an engraving that incises. But this ring of ink also suggests the use of the silhouette as a template for the sketch. The comparable scale of the two works allows us to hypothesize that the photograph was at least partially transferred. *Picasso in Spain* presents an angular line quite unlike the artist's usual drawing style, possibly due to the

mon the max it fait lend gue up ne vous arit passe pas que cone fore rapille pas te par la que je me evil 1/2 months for you go part a men annis les artistes de cici me ils trouver quit a trot de amove me pas forme so they dide the sais when avec de a may ils ærigen de søre, tres more at ils prome a l mor quelque hou w la Pel a Pi tableaux inductes -se la vie le ga A die mon and enie moi Fortona il traballe bornip ton ami piccopomes il ne pair vien It wan fame on here as The de la Merced 3-Brychne

Picasso in Spain. 1902. Ink on paper (letter to Max Jacob), $8^{1/6} \times 10^{1/4}$ " (20.5 × 26 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection



Self-Portrait in the Studio. Paris, [1901–02]. Photograph by Picasso. Gelatin-silver print, 4³/₄ × 3⁵/₈" (12 × 9 cm). Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives

adjustment of the pen to the edge of the photographic paper. It is also possible to notice a number of similarities between the cutout and the drawing: to the right, the slope of the shoulder, the bend of the arm, and the inexplicable bump on the side of the thigh, which corresponds to the contour of the jacket worn by the artist in the snapshot; to the left, the relative positioning of arm, leg, and cane. Finally, if, in the drawing, the outline of the legs and their shadows is modified or reversed, the most significant elements from the photograph are retained.

Picasso's first forays into photography appear to date specifically from the years 1901–02. Two original prints bear witness to this: the overprinted photograph Self-Portrait in the Studio (above) and the "assemblage" Blue Studio.¹³ Both show a remarkable command of photographic framing as well as printing. They stand out among other contemporaneous work for their vigorous principle of construction: an allover flat composition and a figure

superimposed on a wall of paintings. Executed in a similar spirit, the cutout¹⁴ Self-Portrait with a Cane appears to have been inspired by the procedure for making sombras, shadow-theater figures, which were featured at the cabaret Els Quatre Gats in Barcelona,15 following the example of Le Chat Noir in Paris.16 Picasso was no doubt aware of the experiments of Miquel Utrillo,17 the creator of these shows, and drew on their principles. Furthermore, recently found in the Picasso archives was a page from L'Illustration18 devoted to "l'ombromanie," a fin-desiècle parlor game in which the players, using their hands and a few accessories, tried to re-create pictograms of characters or animals (below). As for the sombras, they were drawn on cardboard or sheet metal and then incised piece by piece. During projection, they were placed in front of a translucent set lit from behind. Similarly, the cutout of the photograph isolates the subject by extracting it from its context. The drawing's rendering of the cutout then "situates" the model in a symbolic landscape: in this instance, the facade of a church and a bullfighting arena.

An idea of portraiture was being elaborated here, which would assert itself from the years 1898–99 and during the Blue period. The model, wrested from its familiar environment, which is blocked out by a plain color, is singled out. Of his portrait dating from 1901 (p. 239), Sabartés wrote: "Here is the specter of my soli-



"L'Ombromanie" from L'Illustration, December 20, 1890. Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives

tude seen from without."¹⁹ This exteriority indeed distances the artist from his subject, who is seen as the bodily ideogram of an unfathomable psychological entity. Such an approach inspired a series of sketches of his Catalan friends, which Picasso exhibited in February 1900 at Els Quatre Gats. As Josep Palau i Fabre has pointed out, the first of these figures is depicted in descriptive surroundings. Next, the artist "gradually simplified this background to such a degree that in the last ones of all he eliminated it entirely, concentrating the interest of the drawing exclusively on the sitter."²⁰

Similar to the figures in shadow-theater, such portraits also evoke the profiles "à la Silhouette," one of the historical sources of photography. 21 These summary figures were thus named, in derision, due to their economy of means:22 taken from life, they were limited to expressing the model's distinctive contours through a black cutout on a white backdrop. The simplicity of such a stamp of identity remained a sort of phantasm for Picasso, who, as late as 1960, wondered aloud to the photographer André Villers about an impossible project: "We could make a life-size figure from a photograph, I'll make it naked and we'll cover it in vermicelli, that would be funnier, don't you think?"23 On the scale of the palm of a hand, the selfportrait Picasso in Spain combines, "from a photograph," the silhouetting of the model, its outline delineation, and an imaginary environment. It was to set up, at the start of the century, the founding paradigm linking photography, cutouts, and drawing in Picasso's oeuvre.

The physical arrangement that gave depth to the theatrical space of shadow-theater can also be compared to the processes Picasso was to use in his darkroom experiments to confer thickness on the photographic medium. Sombras were manipulated in front of backdrops painted on glass that could comprise up to twenty plates bearing distinct elements, a device that allowed changes of scenes and a great variety of values and color shadings. In the most sophisticated forms of shadow-theater, wire figures bore layers of tight gauze that introduced nuances and semitransparent patterns. From 1911-12, Picasso affixed cardboard masks to the glass of photograph negatives in order to modify the structure and the meaning of the image.²⁴ Similarly, in the works on half-tone plates carried out in 1913-14,25 and again in 1937,26 he was to make use of the thickness of the copperplate, this time by incising it. The result was an image of photographic origin completely revised by engraving.

In 1936–37 Picasso executed a series of rayographs which would be published in the review *Cahiers d'art* in a portfolio prefaced by Man Ray's essay "Picasso, photographe."²⁷ Dora Maar, who assisted the artist in this research, explained that he "spread a thick layer of oil paint on glass and drew in the paint with the blade of a pocket knife in order to create the lines, a process that



Portrait of Dora Maar. c. 1936–37. Photogram by Picasso. Gelatinsilver print from *cliché-verre*, $11^{3/4} \times 9^{3/8}$ " (29.8 × 23.9 cm). Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives. (Colorplate, p. 202)

recalled engraving, and he obtained a negative."²⁸ She points out that for some of these portraits "lace was placed directly on the paper."²⁹ Thus, with Portrait of Dora Maar (above), the modernist practice of the photogram—here a netting placed between the light source and sensitized paper—was combined with the earlier technique of the *cliché-verre*, which involved painting on glass subsequently printed in a photographic manner.³⁰

The production of such a work was similar to that of the sombras, but seen from the other direction, from behind the scenes. The light projected onto the surface of the glass in the darkroom outlined the contour of the face at the same time that its beam, softened by the muslin screen, superimposed a grid pattern on it.31 The grid evokes the process recommended by Alberti in order to facilitate the squaring of the perspective line: "A veil loosely woven of fine thread . . . [is] divided up by thicker threads into as many parallel square sections as you like, and stretched on a frame."32 The work thus becomes as much a metaphor for the artist's gaze as a portrait of his model. The rayographs, moreover, may be compared to three photographs taken by Picasso, which, in a sort of descriptive puzzle, present Dora Maar in three-quarter view, frontally, and in profile (above). This last image may well have served as a reference for the creation of the Portrait of Dora. The negative indeed seems to have been reversed in order to guide, by transparency, the drawing



Dora Maar. Paris, 1936–37. Photograph by Picasso. Gelatin-silver print, $9^{1/_2} \times 7^{1/_4}$ " (24 × 18.2 cm). Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives



Self-Portrait in Profile. [Paris, 1927]. Photograph by Picasso. Modern print, 4³/₄ × 2³/₄" (12 × 7 cm). Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives





Mask. Cannes, Vallauris, [1954–61]. Photogram by Picasso and André Villers. Gelatin-silver print, $12 \times 9^{1/2}$ " (30.5 × 24 cm). Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives

executed on the glass negative. Viewed in this way, the photograph plays a dual role: the picture the artist takes of his model is as much a source as a pattern for engraving on glass; the subsequent arrangement of the printing gives it a radical interpretation.

As in the Freudian game of Fort-Da,³³ the process involves the artist photographically parting with reality, retrieving it with the scratch of a pocket knife, and then letting it spin off into the distance again. The painter would then seize it in turn. In fact, the series of rayographs is among the very first group of works using Dora Maar as a model. It would have thus contributed to the inventory of physiognomic elements that the painter then condensed into a new schema characterized by the brutal combination of two eyes facing forward and a nose jutting out at a three-quarter angle. This exploration was to culminate in 1940–41 with the canvases that, taking such a principle to the extreme, appear as icons of "ugliness."³⁴

The photo-pictorial investigations of 1937 exploit the motif of the profile in all its specificity. In what would be a historiography of portraiture, the profile emerges as one of the earliest forms of representation of a subject. On cave walls, large animal profiles have been found alongside prints of open hands dipped in pigment. According to ancient tradition, the first portrait arose from the drawing "in outline on the wall the contours

Head of a Woman. Cannes, Vallauris, [1954–61]. Photogram by Picasso and André Villers. Gelatin-silver print, $12 \times 9^{1/2}$ " (30.5 × 24 cm). Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives



Woman with a Cat. Cannes, Vallauris, [1954–61]. Photograph by André Villers of a cutout by Picasso. Gelatin-silver print from the original negative, $12 \times 9^{\frac{1}{2}''}$ (30.5 × 23.8 cm). Collection André Villers, Mougins

of [a man's] profile"³⁵ so as to retain his features before he departed. The profile would therefore be the image arrested by the gaze of another; an image offered by the body turning away and leaving. This is not the frontal figure of the subject who looks at, recognizes, and represents himself or herself: the symmetrical effigy, like the divine image in its *mandorla*, inscribed at the center of the world in order to dominate it. Rather, the profile stands out *against* the world. It is the mark of alterity: the sharp, cutout, antagonistic figure of a human traversing space as well as time. Within the primitive community, the profile thus offered the first recording of dissimilarity, reviewing the variants of the species before the individual had definitively constituted his or her "self-image."

Like this original form of representation, a photographic negative taken by Picasso shows his own profile as a shadow standing out against the drawing of a head seen from a three-quarter angle (p. 207),36 Interposed between the light source and the projection surface, the artist's body photographically outlines its contours in the imaginary space of the drawing. Of great complexity, such an image may be read, in the context of Picasso's photographical experiments, as an equivalent of Self-Portrait with a Cane of 1902 and the Portrait of Dora of 1936-37. The cogency of the profile motif in the canvases of the years 1925-30 has also been emphasized.37 However, this shadow recurs throughout all the artist's work. Profiles proliferate38 in an exploration of the multiple possibilities of their noncentrality.39 Linked to the frontal or three-quarter view of the Cubist portraits, they participate in the systematic dislocation of a selfcentralized figure. In the course of the 1920s, unilinear profiles would give way to infinite combinations.

With the photograms Picasso made between 1954 and 1961 in collaboration with André Villers,4° cutout profiles and masks became the matrix of a series of portraits or self-portraits. With increasingly sophisticated experimentation, work with the negative was then to unite preexisting photographs, cutouts, photograms of objects or of fabric, and photographic mise-en-scènes. Among the several hundred works created in this way, the series of Fauns and Masks has its origin in four cutout pictogramsa sunlike head, a bird, a man with one arm raised, and a small bull—that combine to draw a face which is none other than that of the artist (opposite, top left). This rebus thereby condenses the symbols and keys through which Picasso projected his own portrait. Reproduced by contact prints, distorted by the inlaying of plants or other objects, these materials were cut out again so as to form a new mask. Picasso, obliterating the initial face while at the same time accentuating it, superimposed a mouth on the mouth, a ridge on the nose, a hole on the eye. Fused together by the photogram, these different photographic tailles41 form a palimpsest of identity in which features,

like Narcissus' reflection in the water's troubled mirror, link and become blurred in an incessant vibration of the image. If Masks and Fauns grimace frontally, the profiles of female figures—Portrait of Jacqueline, Head of a Woman (opposite), and Woman with a Cat (opposite) are drawn in an ambiguous game of simultaneous surfaces; dual motifs in which cutout figures and their outlines endlessly conjugate the interior and the exterior, the full and the empty, the positive and the negative.

EVERYBODY'S PORTRAIT

In 1910-11, when Picasso photographed his closest friends one after the other in the small sitting room of his studio on the boulevard de Clichy, it was with the likely intention of using this iconographic material for his painting. He had, in fact, recently begun the series of portraits that was to embody Analytic Cubism. The photographs show their models sitting in front of a wall where, juxtaposed, there hang a Spanish shawl, the charcoal drawing Nude Woman, the canvas Mountain of Santa Bárbara, 42 a pipe holder, and a Punu mask, whose enigmatic smile echoes Matisse's Portrait of Marguerite.43 Like wax figures at a shooting gallery, the dark silhouettes go past: Ramón Pichot, Max Jacob, Guillaume Apollinaire, Frank Burty Haviland, Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler (p. 211), or Picasso himself, appearing in a self-portrait with a Siamese cat (p. 210). Among these photographs, that of Kahnweiler is to be placed in direct relation to the portrait painted by Picasso (p. 211, center right), which can be considered its transcription.44 Moreover, playing on both the similarities and dissimilarities of the photographs, the entire sequence can be seen as the source of the paintings The Poet45 and Man with a Pipe46 (p. 211), which combine, in a composite manner, their singular details and recurrent elements.47 Devoted, in theory, to picking out a model's specific characteristics, the portrait here becomes a collective stock of signs that painting redistributes and reorganizes with no further concern for realism. Thus from the photographs taken on the boulevard de Clichy arose synonymous montages that, like the papiers collés, incorporated disparate elements into new plastic unities. The process started with the familiar, the intimate, the known, in order to elaborate a generic system of representation that transcended strict individuality.48

The reverse course was to be taken in the years 1917–20, when Picasso, on several occasions, took to drawing after images borrowed from a stock of photographic portraits dating from the previous century. The documents presented here, until now unpublished, are all *carte-de-visite* prints. This inexpensive format, invented by Adolphe-Eugène Disdéri in 1854, was commonly used by commercial studios until World War I. As Gisèle Freund has pointed out, it was to assure photography an unprece-



Picasso in his studio at 11, boulevard de Clichy, Paris, December 1910. Photograph by Picasso. Gelatin-silver print, $5\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ " (14.7 × 11.6 cm). Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives

dented social success: "From this time on, the debonair, smiling bourgeois himself appeared on mantelpieces, pedestals, sideboards, and apartment walls, along with photographs of his favorite statesmen, scholars, and actresses."⁴⁹ Picasso was to draw on these two types of subjects, making equal use of effigies of unknown men, such as Man at a Stand (p. 212, top left)⁵⁰ and Family Portrait (p. 213, top left),⁵¹ or of famous figures, like The Family of Napoléon III (p. 213, bottom left).⁵²

These diverse examples indicate the strict codification to which photography was subjected: "Members of all professions and all social classes parade before the viewer's eyes, but real personalities are almost entirely obscured, buried beneath conventional social types."⁵³ The sovereign's family is arranged in the same triangular configuration as that of the anonymous bourgeois, and the male figure is so strangely similar in Family Portrait and in Man at a Stand that it is difficult to say whether these are two photographs of the same individual or two different men converted by the camera to the same "type."

The portrait has indeed become a simulacrum that allows the subject to be reduced to a model, to a form that has internalized the necessities of legitimate representation. Alone or in a group, the man places himself standing or sitting amid the studio's toneless decor. The body interacts with some piece of furniture or false architecture, which delineates the space and upholds the pose. Most often this is a pedestal, a half-pilaster, or a balustrade whose curved supports parallel the legs. These anthropomorphic markers suffice to suggest a terrace, a point of view, a panorama. Into the space of a classical "landscape," nature is ordered by and for the gaze. But in the



Ramón Pichot in Picasso's studio at 11, boulevard de Clichy, Paris, autumn–winter 1910. Photograph by Picasso. Gelatin-silver print, $11^{3/4} \times 9^{1/2}$ " (29.9 × 24 cm). Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives



Max Jacob in Picasso's studio at 11, boulevard de Clichy, Paris, autumn–winter 1910. Photograph by Picasso. Modern print from the original glass negative, $4^{\frac{1}{4}} \times 3^{\frac{1}{2}}$ " (12 × 9 cm). Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives



Guillaume Apollinaire in Picasso's studio at 11, boulevard de Clichy, Paris, autumn 1910. Photograph by Picasso. Gelatin-silver print, 85% × 67%" (21.9 × 17.4 cm). Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives



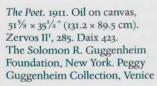
Frank Burty Haviland in Picasso's studio at 11, boulevard de Clichy, Paris, early 1912. Photograph by Picasso. Modern print from the original glass negative, $4\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ " (12 × 9 cm). Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives

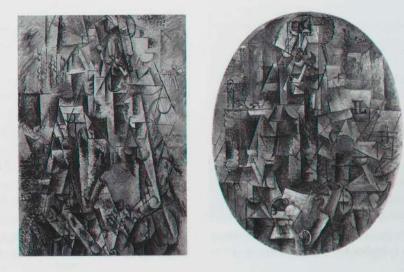


Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler in Picasso's studio at 11, boulevard de Clichy, Paris, autumm–winter 1910. Photograph by Picasso. Modern print from the original glass negative, $4\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ " (12 × 9 cm). Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives



Portrait of Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler. 1910. Oil on canvas, 39⁵/₈ × 28⁵/₈" (100.6 × 72.8 cm). Zervos II¹, 227. Daix 368. The Art Institute of Chicago. Gift of Mrs. Gilbert W. Chapman in memory of Charles B. Goodspeed. (Colorplate, p. 285)





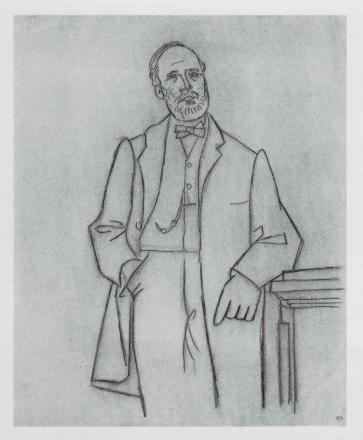
Man with a Pipe. 1911. Oil on canvas (oval), $35^{3/4} \times 27^{7/8}$ (90.7 × 71 cm). Zervos II², 738. Daix 422. Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas



Man at a Stand. Paris. Photograph by Studio Antonin. Albumen-silver print (*carte de visite*), $4 \times 2^{3/8''}$ (10.2 × 6 cm). Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives

studio, the camera takes the place of the absent landscape and the model's erratic gaze rests on the lens as on nature itself. In the overlapping of roles, technique seems to enter the order of "arranged nature." Picture-taking presents itself as a natural-science experiment, regulated by physicochemical laws, of which art would be solely an exact recording.

From these images, Picasso seems to "draw" his "subjects," as one does at a lottery. He attempts to reconstruct them, scrupulously. In his own way, he creates faithful portraits of them. For The Family of Napoléon III as for Family Portrait (opposite, bottom right and top right), Picasso tightens the framing on the torsos of the figures and the circle formed by their glances and hands. The empress looks lovingly at the heir to the throne, who is absorbed in contemplation of his father. In the photograph, the latter seems to be facing the camera as though looking at his people. The drawing style that literally translates the pose of the woman and child nevertheless alters the image of the familiar state leader, whose ornamental chair is the only prop that suggests a noble occupant. The slightly rumpled self-satisfaction to which the photograph attests gives way in the drawing to a figure whose barely sketched body appears to be perched on his fingers and whose absent gaze becomes lost outside the focal field. The drawing is highlighted with pastel, in a



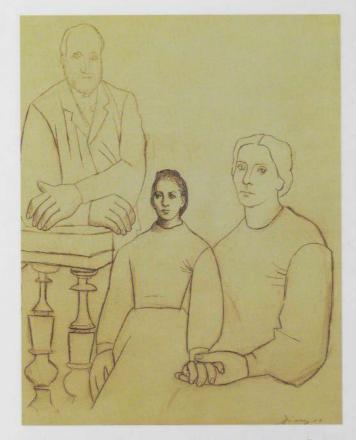
Man at a Stand. 1920. Lead pencil and charcoal on gray paper, $18\% \times 15\%$ " (48.1 × 39.1 cm). Zervos IV, 61. Musée Picasso, Paris

manner similar to that used for the *Portrait of Olga*, dating from 1921 (p. 315). Cerulean or lilaceous blues are similarly juxtaposed to the pinkish-white flat tints of the faces and hands. Equally noticeable is the identical treatment of the busts of the two women and their Leonardesque smiles. The graphic translation, however, is doubly paradoxical for a work based on a photograph, an image whose expressive register ignores line as well as color.

Evoking the earlier practice of tinting daguerreotypes by hand, Roland Barthes described his impression of color in photographs as "a coating applied later on to the original truth of the black-and-white."54 Similarly, here, the addition of chromatic flat tints, instead of conferring an added "realism," seems to propose a transcription of the photograph that evokes the naïve illumination of the images d'Epinal.55 But far from wishing to restore "lifelike colors" to these photographic phantoms, Picasso seems to have deliberately played on the political connotations of such a vocabulary. The blue and red of the clothes, lightened by the white of the flesh tones, offer a tricolor scale which the artist used in several works dating from World War I.56 He was to use this scale again in 1922 in the canvas The Village Dance, in which the relationship to the patriotic iconography of the time has been noted.57 Lent to this idyllic familial and dynastic image, the same chromaticism sums up, in blue, white, and red, the tremendous historical



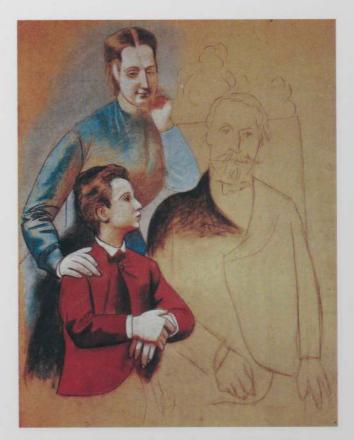
Family Portrait. Photograph by Feulard. Albumensilver print (*carte de visite*), 4¹/₈ × 2³/₈" (10.5 × 6.1 cm). Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives



Family Portrait. 1919. Pastel on paper. Not in Zervos. Private collection



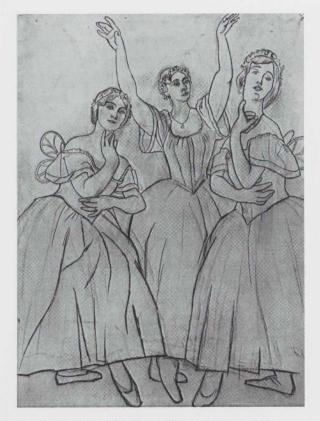
The Family of Napoléon III. Photograph by Studio Levitzky. Albumen-silver print (*carte de visite*), $7\frac{1}{16} \times 4\frac{1}{8}$ " (10.5 × 6.2 cm). Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives



The Family of Napoléon III. 1919. Pastel on paper, $24^{1\!/_2}\times18^{7\!/_8}$ " (62 \times 48 cm). Zervos III, 412. Private collection

farce that, in less than four years, would turn the president of the Republic, cloaked in the colors of 1848, into the second hereditary emperor of the French people.⁵⁸

Picasso seems to take a more innocuous subject when he decides to transpose Man at a Stand (p. 212, top right). The technique used is common to numerous drawings of this same period, also executed with reference to photographs; notably, the portraits of Sergei Diaghilev and Alfred Seligsberg (below, right), Olga Khokhlova, Lydia Lopokova, and Loubov Chernicheva (right), or Auguste Renoir.59 The graphite line is superimposed on the initial softened line drawn in charcoal. This blurring of the contour would scarcely seem justified were it a matter of consigning an immobilized figure to the spatial coordinates of the photographic framing and mise-en-scène. This reworking of the drawing aims, instead, to suggest the density of an image in which one can read, in a single glance, the instant of the shot as well as the duration that separates us from it. The light shading of charcoal has the uncertainty of that "very subtle moment" when every model can say: "I am neither subject nor object but a subject who feels he is becoming an object: I then experience a micro-version of death (of parenthesis): I am truly becoming a specter."60 But Picasso also chose warm gray paper for his drawing in order to reproduce the chromatic affinities that the aging of the print creates between the



Three Dancers: Olga Khokhlova, Lydia Lopokova, and Loubov Chernicheva. 1919. Lead pencil and charcoal on paper, $24^{3/4} \times 18^{1/2}$ " (62.7 × 47 cm). Zervos III, 352. Musée Picasso, Paris

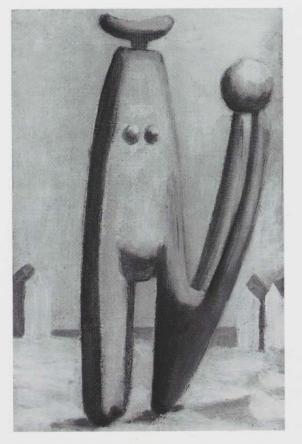




Sergei Diaghilev, director of the Ballets Russes, and Alfred F. Seligsberg, counsel to the Metropolitan Opera Company of New York, New York, [April] 1916. Photograph by Count Jean de Strelecki. Gelatin-silver print, $9^{1}_{4} \times 7''$ (23.5 × 17.8 cm). Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives

Sergei Diaghilev and Alfred Seligsberg. 1919. Charcoal and black pencil on paper, $25\frac{1}{2} \times 19\frac{5}{8}$ " (65 × 50 cm). Zervos III, 301. Musée Picasso, Paris

ANNE BALDASSARI 214

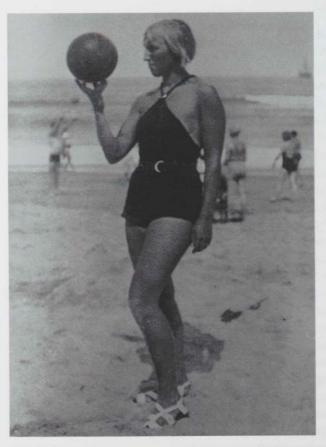


Bather with Beach Ball. September 1, 1929. Oil on canvas, $8\frac{5}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{2}^{r}$ (21.9 × 14 cm). Not in Zervos. Musée Picasso, Paris

model and the background. Graphite, charcoal, and the coarse paper all work toward establishing a system of material equivalence with the sepia photograph and with the passage of time doubly inscribed in it. The stand, the man, and the wall of spotted collodion against which he is leaning form an inseparable entity, occupying a hidden recess, a temporal hollow, of which the drawing offers a muted resonance.

An "anonymous" portrait is thus elaborated, whereby ignorance of the model is so great that the drawing is set up as the body's sole truth. This meticulous survey of appearances simultaneously registers the banality of the image and that which, through its interstices, escapes ordinary codes of representation. For no matter how mediocre a photograph might be, it retains from its very origin the distinctive feature of being the real *index*^{6t} of an existential experience and of preserving its trace. With his body leaning against the balustrade, the poser observes the photographic act as it happens. This fixedness, this consent, this focused attention are necessary in order for the portrait to take shape. In this way the subject participates entirely in "his" shot. He is its author as much as its object.

Photography requires such an encounter, at the center of its lens, between the model's gaze and that of his image. There is a dialogue "in the mirror" in which the



Marie-Thérèse Walter at age twenty, on the beach at Dinard, summer 1929. Photograph by Picasso. Collection Maya Picasso

subject surrenders to the medium a moment of his head, face, and body. It is this initial experience that the examination of any photographic portrait re-creates: "From a real body, which was there, proceed radiations which ultimately touch me, who am here; the duration of the transmission is insignificant; the photograph of the missing being will touch me like the delayed rays of a star. A sort of umbilical cord links the body of the photographed thing to my gaze: light, though impalpable, is here a carnal medium, a skin I share with anyone who has been photographed."⁶²

Leaning on the anthropomorphic balustrade, the subject poses. "Don't move!" The model stiffens: it is time for the "pose" required by the emulsion's low sensitivity. The image will reveal the spectacle of this straining to become the image. The body is exposed, hindered as much as supported by the complications of the console table, the suit, the accessories, sometimes the "headrest," which, Barthes says, "was the pedestal of the statue I would become, the corset of my imaginary essence."⁶³ Indeed, like works in progress in a sculptor's studio, the body is erected here, an amalgam of flesh and bone, an ossuary wrought by the death drive as depicted by Picasso in the canvas *Bather with Beach Ball* (above, left), a tubular totem possibly inspired by a photograph of Marie-Thérèse Walter on the beach at Dinard in 1929 (above, right).

A similar tension can be seen in the drawings presented here. Family Portrait (p. 213), for example, incorporatesin the most disquieting "layering" - a gigantic mother, the man's elongated bust, which appears as a vertical extension of the balustrade, and the microcephalic head of the disproportioned girl. Although this is mainly a line drawing, the girl's miniature face is rendered by a network of fine hatchings that reproduces the photographic model in a manner similar to that of engravings in nineteenthcentury illustrated journals. Its denser graphic matter is inscribed, like a collage, at the exact intersection of the diagonals.⁶⁴ Here, as in other drawings, the figures, through a reverse effect of dilatation, are endowed with enormous hands, heavy links of a chain surrounding the image. In this case, such visual distortion of ordinary representation does not appear to be the result of real proximity, as the studio's arrangement ensured the model was kept at a sufficient distance from the lens.65 On the contrary, the hands in such photographs, as much as the face emptied of expression, formed part of the necessary vocabulary of appearance: "Some subjects placed their right hand across their breast; others held it nonchalantly at their belts or let the hand drop to their thighs. One man plays with his watch-chain, while another plunges his right hand into his waistcoat in the manner of a great parliamentary orator."66 Such visual rhetoric nevertheless revealed itself to the eye-"even in the more natural poses, these figures appear inflated with pride and comically naive in their sense of self-importance"67-while also revealing the constraint imposed on the subject.

In the hands, particularly in their "knotted" gesture, is concentrated the almost painful energy of this action, which is inaction: the pose. They are securely fastened to their prop, and their enlargement betrays a life that would become autonomous. In the hands surges all of the power of the stationary figure. Constricted by the shot, they are monstrously alive and almost animallike. They squeeze, grip, superpose, and intertwine one another. They are sensual rhizomes of a body immured in propriety.

As Family Portrait symptomatically illustrates, hands take on a growing importance in Picasso's drawings and paintings of the 1917–23 period. The wholly physical approach distinguishes itself from the emblematic gestures of the paintings of the Blue and Rose periods. It evokes the Surrealist fetishization of objects of desire, the autonomous life of each member that, according to Jean-Paul Sartre, arouses the existential malaise,⁶⁸ or the strategies of symbolic dismemberment used by the fictional characters of Witold Gombrowicz.⁶⁹ The model appears cut off from himself, dissociated in a swarm of partial representations. With the weight of his body leaning on the Neoclassical balustrade, he is called to the stand to testify to his enigmatic presence in the world.

PLAYING WITH FANS

At Montrouge, in the studio where Picasso retreated in the last years of the Great War,70 Olga poses. The artist has truly positioned her for a photograph (opposite, upper left): her arm is across the back of the chair, her legs crossed, with the right foot propped up on a thick, leather-bound volume to maintain a precarious balance.71 The subject of the photograph appears to be the rococo armchair as much as the model herself; or, rather, it is their concordance, the interplay of their motifs, their "embrace," in a literal sense. A pencil sketch dating from 1917 similarly unites the chair, the studies tacked to the wall, and Olga in an almost identical attitude (opposite, top right). But the framing still accentuates the bias of the composition: here, the interlace of corollas and foliage covering the low-slung chair occupies the center of the image, and the model's body is cut off by the edge of the paper.72

In two other studies (opposite, bottom left and right), Olga, seated on the tapestry-covered chair, is undressed, her hair down. The universe of the studio is summed up in a superimposition of frames and stretchers that form a geometric background for the nude. The model seems to be searching for her position, her hand successively supporting her head, placed against the back of the chair, or in the hollow of her neck—unless the artist invented this unclothed Olga, as the unlikely posture of the body would suggest. The two, three, or four pencil lines brought together create the resonance of a Cézannesque volume. These contours, the falseness of the pose, and the elongated limbs evoke the nudes that, for lack of living models,⁷³ the master of Aix sometimes painted from photographs.⁷⁴

But let us return to the photograph. Olga, resting on the edge of the chair, drapes her white arm across its back and holds a half-open, richly colored fan in her other hand. Her evening attire contrasts with the studio's disarray. The floor is strewn with rubbish, miscellaneous objects, and crumpled papers. On the wall, the painting Nude with Raised Arms of 1908 hangs beside still lifes in pencil, and a Cubist canvas leans on an easel. The model sports a brocade dress with a transparent yoke, silk stockings, and shoes trimmed with ribbons. She is adorned like an icon, her flesh seemingly set in the leafy design of the garment and tapestry. A living idol, she sits beside two Baga statues75 placed on the ground. One frontal, the other in profile, they look like keepers of the code of figuration. Each of these heads is divided by a median line, a structure that seems to echo the rigorous symmetry of Olga's face and hairstyle. The setting also evokes the double photographic image of Clovis Sagot (p. 218), which, in 1909, had been the basis for one of Picasso's first "Cézannesque" Cubist portraits (p. 219, top).76 Model for a painting, the



Olga Picasso in the studio at 22, avenue Victor-Hugo, Montrouge, November 1917. Photograph by Picasso. Gelatin-silver print, $9^{1/4} \times 6^{3/4}$ " (23.5 × 16.4 cm). Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives



Olga Picasso. 1917. Lead pencil on paper, 10 $5\%\times7^{3/4}$ " (27 \times 19.5 cm). Zervos III, 82. Private collection



Studies. 1917. Lead pencil on paper, $15^{1/2} \times 10^{5/8}$ " (39.3 × 27 cm). Zervos III, 2. Private collection



Woman in an Armchair. 1917. Conté crayon on paper, $10^{1/4} \times 7^{1/2}$ " (26 × 19 cm). Zervos III, 3. Private collection



Clovis Sagot shown full-face, in Picasso's studio at the Bateau-Lavoir, 13, rue Ravignan, Paris, spring 1909. Photograph by Picasso. Modern print from the original glass negative, $4^{3/4} \times 3^{1/2}$ " (12 × 9 cm). Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives

photograph of Olga with fetishes can equally be read as an allegory of the system of representation itself.

Using the image as a starting point, Picasso undertook to execute a life-size oil portrait of the young woman he was to marry the following year, and to do so in a deliberately "classical" manner, restituting the delicacy of her complexion and the shimmer of the materials (opposite, bottom left). The canvas is often interpreted as a symbol of his new "Ingresque" manner. There is, nevertheless, reason to emphasize that Picasso chose to leave it "unfinished"77 and that the passage from photograph to painting, far from being a mere copy, follows an entirely dialectic course.78 Picasso blocked out the background of the image and isolated the woman/chair entity revealed by the examination of the pose. This dual element is as if pasted onto the raw canvas, where the composition is limited to a few slashes or smears of paint. Similarly, whereas the chair in the photograph was trimmed with wide fringe, in the painting it is reduced to the tapestry alone, a simplification already effected by the studies in pencil.

Picasso frequently used this type of visual cutting in his treatment of photographic images.⁷⁹ Here the process emphasizes the subject's outline while fusing the elements into a new formal unity. This painting, classical in appearance, thus juxtaposes a flat, unperspectival background, literally designated as a piece of the canvas and



Clovis Sagot shown in profile, in Picasso's studio at the Bateau-Lavoir, 13, rue Ravignan, Paris, spring 1909. Photograph by Picasso. Modern print from the original glass negative, $4^{3/4} \times 3^{1/2}$ " (12 × 9 cm). Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives

a motif that affirms itself as pattern. The almost punctilious description of the tapestry is spread, through proximity, to the fabric and pleats of Olga's dress, then to her face. The effect is similar to that of the fragment of wallpaper, canework, or fake wood decorating Picasso's papiers collés, where ironic, excessive imitation contributed a little more to the undoing of the codes of illusionism. Here, trompe l'oeil—pictorial facsimile—leads definitively to emptying the "likeness" attested to in the photograph. The painting scrupulously, stubbornly, transcodes what the lens has established: the delineation of contour, the system of chromatic equivalence, the arrangement of space. Whether they are transcribed exactly or somewhat "corrected" by the drawing, the distortions born of a monocular vision-such as the extreme foreshortening of the arm or the disproportion of the foregrounds-lose their own expressive value and lead to a flattened representation reduced to a single plane.

Furthermore, in the initial photograph, Olga's dark hair stands out against the still life hanging on the wall parallel to the oblique axis of her body. The pencil drawing of Olga emphasizes the imbrication of the oval of her head and the sheet of white paper. In the painting, the canvas, left untouched, against which the figure of the model detaches itself, seems the metonymic transposition of this framing device. Olga, the armchair, and the white rectangle reassume the places assigned by the photo-



Portrait of Clovis Sagot. 1909. Oil on canvas, 32¹/₄ × 26" (82 × 66 cm). Zervos II¹, 129. Daix 270. Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg. (Colorplate, p. 254)

graph, but in a different hierarchy: the rectangle, the armchair, Olga. The rough sketch on paper is echoed on the canvas by the zigzag of a line of paint. One of the studies of Olga naked in the studio at Montrouge bears opposite it an anthropomorphic diagram. One could likewise read the canvas *Olga in an Armchair* as the collage of a figure a woman pinned down like a butterfly—and of a monochromatic geometry—the expanse of the canvas.

In this case, the photograph is therefore neither a source nor a guarantee of the "truth" of the model or of its representation. Instead, it is used as a tool of subtle, formal dislocation. Gertrude Stein said of Picasso: "He analyzed his vision, he did not wish to paint the things that he himself did not see, the other painters satisfied themselves with the appearance, and always the appearance, which was not at all what they could see but what they knew was there."80 Elsewhere she was to write: "A child sees the face of its mother . . . it knows one feature and not another, one side and not the other, and in his way Picasso knows faces as a child knows them and the head and the body."81 These remarks apply to the upheaval of vision introduced by the Cubist experience. They could equally apply to the year 1917, when a new mode of representation was developed, marked by an



Olga in an Armchair. 1917. Oil on canvas, $51^{1/4} \times 34^{5/8}$ " (130 × 88 cm). Zervos III, 83. Musée Picasso, Paris. (Colorplate, p. 307)



Woman with a Fan (Fernande). 1908. Oil on canvas, 59⁷/₈ × 39³/₄" (152 × 101 cm). Zervos II¹, 67. Daix 168. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. (Colorplate, p. 271)

ostensible return to tradition. For Picasso, at least, such a "neoacademicism" was intentionally ambiguous.

Of this portrait of Olga, Kenneth Silver wrote: "The brilliant incorporation of the unpainted ground which, with the pencil lines and slashes of gray-green paint on both sides, brackets the figure (literally making a quotation of the central form), establishes Picasso's distance from Ingres by way of Cézanne's unfinished canvases."82 Similarly, if the photograph serves here as a "model," it is not only as a method of mise-en-scène or as a guide to illusionist perfection. Through the connection he establishes point by point between the print and the painting, Picasso attempted to introduce, into the very heart of pictorial effusion, automatism, technical distancing, the "inhuman" quality peculiar to the photographic gaze. As a consequence, the figure's formal elegance ultimately emerges to the detriment of its aura. No longer is there either the living presence of the model, of which the photograph preserves traces, or the complete pictorial illusion of what would have been a truly "Ingresque" painting. Rather, one should see this denatured painting as the didactic expression of a new pictorial conception in which the modern aesthetic borrows from the lessons of classicism, just as painting and photography interact.

One of the major canvases that marked the beginning of the Cubist revolution was *Woman with a Fan*, today in the Hermitage (p. 219). Though separated by a decade and despite stylistic disparities, this painting shares with *Olga in an Armchair* a structure in which the model's assymetrical pose stands out against a flat rectangle, its epicenter a half-opened fan.⁸³ In 1908 this object captured the eye as an inaugural sign, introducing the Cubist aesthetic.⁸⁴ It announced the decomposition of the visual pyramid into a multilayering of superimposed, semitransparent planes, sliding over one another, revealing and obscuring their subject beneath a variety of angles and focal distances. Like the fan, the space of painting was thus to become compressed by the rapid flattening of successive planes. At the end of the pictorial adventure of Cubism, a fan, the symbol of a folded and unfolded surface, will be, in the same way, the focal point of Olga's photograph and then of her painted portrait. This time, representation in a new form of antiperspective ambiguity makes use of a broad deployment of planes, like so many strips delicately brought edge to edge to form a single, unified surface.

In a final comparison of the print and the painting one notes that Picasso raised his angle of vision. He placed himself at a point of focal disequilibrium from which the eye lowers the fan to a plane almost parallel to that of the panel, while extending the motif of the tapestry and the garment. The resultant pattern effect definitively erases the temptation of volumetric rendering. While the canvas presents the appearance of Olga—she is undoubtedly identifiable: that is indeed her "head," her "face," her "body"—at the same time the work dissuades from any adhesion to her image. It is not a portrait: it is a *painting*.

"And here the essential question first appeared: did I *recognize* her ? . . . sometimes I recognized a region of her face, a certain relation of nose and forehead, the movement of her arms, her hands. I never recognized her except in fragments, which is to say that I missed her *being*, and that therefore I missed her altogether. It was not she, and yet it was no one else. I would have recognized her among thousands of other women, yet I did not 'find' her. I recognized her differentially, not essentially."⁸⁵

NOTES

This essay was translated from the French by Jeanine Herman and Suzanne Cotter.

I. Gertrude Stein, *Picasso* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1938), pp. 13–14.

2. From 1994 the Musée Picasso in Paris organized a series of exhibitions devoted to Picasso's use of photography at various stages of his work. The first two of these exhibitions were *Picasso photographe*, 1901–1916, June 1–July 31, 1994, and *"A plus grande vitesse que les images . . .": Picasso et la photographie*, October 4–December 31, 1995. Catalogues of these exhibitions are by Anne Baldassari and were published by the Réunion des musées nationaux.

3. Since 1839 the term *objectif* in French, used as a noun, has designated the optical system of the camera. It derives from the term *verre objectif*, which, starting in 1611, was applied to optical lenses in reference to the object observed.

4. Anne Baldassari, *Picasso photographe*, 1901– 1916 (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1994), pp. 25–34.

5. Gertrude Stein was the first to point out the photographs of the countryside taken at Horta de Ebro in 1909 and the photographic compositions of objects dating from 1910–11. See Gertrude Stein, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1933), pp. 110 and 135, and Stein, *Picasso*, pp. 8–9 and 18.

6. See Baldassari, *Picasso photographe*, pp. 213– 43, and Anne Baldassari, *"A plus grande vitesse que les images...": Picasso et la photographie* (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1995), pp. 24–35.

7. The first photograms made by Picasso were the subject of Man Ray's essay "Picasso, photographe," *Cahiers d'art*, no. 6–7 (1937), p. 165: "A man comes and puts himself in the place of the eye, with all the risks this gesture involves. Haven't you ever seen a living camera?" ("Vient un homme qui se met à la place de l'oeil, avec tous les risques que ce geste comporte. N'avez-vous jamais vu une caméra vivante?")

8. In early 1997 the Musée Picasso in Paris will devote a third exhibition to this aspect of the relationship between Picasso and photography. During the artist's lifetime, and upon his instructions, Christian Zervos's catalogue identified several drawings of the 1917-20 period as having been based on photographs. Research conducted in the artist's archives has led to the rediscovery of most of the reference documents. These documents show that cases in which photography can be considered an image source prove much more numerous and varied than the examples most often cited. For example, in The Painter and the Photograph, from Delacroix to Warhol (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1972), p. 64, Van Deren Coke pointed out only four cases of Picasso's works based on photographs, two of which are oils from 1923 depicting the artist's son, Paulo,

the first limited to the face (see p. 322), the second showing the child seated on a little donkey (see p. 323). A more in-depth study of the photography/painting relationship is offered by Carsten-Peter Warncke in the chapter "Kamera und Klassizismus, 1916–1924" in his book *Pablo Picasso* 1881–1973 (Cologne: Benedikt Taschen Verlag, 1992), vol. 1, pp. 245–304.

9. These are Spanish terms meaning shadow/ sun. They designate the two semicircles of tiers where audiences sit at bullfights. The letters sol somb appear in the painting *Spanish Still Life*, Céret, spring 1912, oil on canvas, 18¹/₈ x 13 in. (46 x 33 cm); Zervos II, 301; Daix 476.

10. Probably cut out of a photograph taken by a street photographer, this portrait was rediscovered in an envelope bearing the words "Laurgraff, Fotografia Electrica Automatica, Calle Bailen (Bilbaina) Bilbao" and the number 766.

11. Hélène Seckel, *Max Jacob et Picasso* (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1994), pp. 9–10. This letter was sent from Barcelona. The double page measures 8¹/₈ x 10¹/₄ in. (20.5 x 26 cm).

12. Jaime Sabartés, *Picasso: An Intimate Portrait* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1948), p. 87.

13. Baldassari, *Picasso photographe*, figs. 23 and 106 and pp. 43 and 143.

14. As a child, Picasso had shown remarkable skill in cutting out, with embroidery scissors, "little men" as well as "animals, flowers, strange garlands, and combinations of figures" ("bonshommes... animaux, fleurs, étranges guirlandes, combinaisons de figures"; Jaime Sabartés, *Picasso: Documents iconographiques* [Geneva: Pierre Cailler, 1954], p. 305).

15. John Richardson, A Life of Picasso, Volume 1: 1881–1906 (New York: Random House, 1991), pp. 129–30, and Josep Palau i Fabre, Picasso: The Early Years 1881–1907 (New York: Rizzoli, 1981), pp. 156–57.

16. Mariel Oberthür, *Le Chat Noir*, Musée d'Orsay (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1992).

17. Pere Romeu, future manager of Els Quatre Gats, and Miquel Utrillo had frequented Le Chat Noir and had joined Léon-Charles Mârot's shadow-theater troupe, Les Ombres Parisiennes, which in 1893 was one of the attractions at the Chicago World's Fair.

18. Issue dated December 20, 1890.

Sabartés, Picasso: An Intimate Portrait, p. 63.
 Palau i Fabre, Picasso: The Early Years,
 p. 184.

21. In addition to the profiles drawn at the end of the eighteenth century with the help of the physionotrace, one might also point out the experiments of J. A. C. Charles, who, as early as 1780, projected profiles on a screen by using a "solar megascope," and the experiments of Thomas Wedgwood, who attempted to use the photosensitive qualities of silver nitrate to the same ends.

22. Etienne de Silhouette was a controller of finances in France around 1757–59, whose austere policies made him particularly unpopular.

23. André Villers, *Photobiographie* (Belfort: Dôle, 1986), unpaginated.

24. These printing experiments with masks had as their basis a negative of a Photographic Composition of a Guitar Player, which represented a complex arrangement of works and objects in the studio on the boulevard Raspail. Cf. Baldassari, *Picasso photographe*, figs. 166, 167, 177, and 178, and pp. 229–43.

25. The reference is to seven states of an engraving (Baer, vol. 1, no. 40), executed on a half-tone plate, the basis of which was a photograph by Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler depicting the construction *Guitar and Bottle of Bass*, in its early stages. Picasso's work was reproduced in *Les Soirées de Paris* on November 15, 1913. Cf. Baldassari, *Picasso et la photographie*, figs. 9 and 12–23, and pp. 24–35.

26. This is notably the series Nude in the Studio of 1936–37 (Baer, vol. 3, pp. 103–05), engraved on a half-tone plate that has been used to print a photograph depicting the studio on rue La Boétie and published in *Cahiers d'art*, no. 7–10 (1935). Cf. Baldassari, *Picasso et la photographie*, figs. 32–35 and pp. 36–48.

27. Four of the rayographs then made were reproduced in *Cahiers d'art*, no. 5–6 (1937). Portrait of Dora Maar (p. 207), which was not published then, was executed during the same work session; it is currently in the Musée Picasso in Paris. The two photograms—one of Dora Maar, the other of a Woman in a Mantilla —were printed by contact from the same glass negative. Cf. Baldassari, *Picasso et la photographie*, figs. 42–46 and pp. 49–69.

28. "[II] a étalé la peinture à l'huile en couche épaisse sur un verre et a dessiné avec une lame de canif dans la peinture pour obtenir les traits, procédé rappelant la gravure, et il a obtenu un négatif" (Dora Maar, unpublished letter of February 15, 1989, to Pierre Georgel, then director of the Musée Picasso, Paris).

29. Ibid.

30. Discovered by experiment in England as early as 1839 by the engravers Frederick James Havell and James Tibitt Willmore, the technique of cliché-verre was developed in France by Adalbert Cuvelier, who suggested its use to Jean-Baptiste Corot, to the Barbizon School painters, and to Eugène Delacroix. On this subject, see Adalbert Cuvelier, "Sur plusieurs méthodes de dessin héliographique," Bulletin de la Société Française de Photographie (Paris), 1856, pp. 23-24. Cf. also Elisabeth Glassman and Marilyn F. Symmes, Cliché-Verre: Hand-Drawn, Light-Printed, A Survey of the Medium, from 1839 to the Present (Detroit: The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1980), and Alain Paviot, Corot, Delacroix, Millet, Rousseau, Daubigny: Le Cliché-Verre (Paris: Paris Musées/Paris Audiovisuel, 1994).

31. The fabric used for the printing of the Portrait of Dora Maar is a checkered scarf bearing a regularly spaced pattern of an ace of spades.

32. Leon Battista Alberti, On Painting (London: Penguin Books, 1972), p. 65.

33. Cf. Sigmund Freud, *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* (1920), trans. James Strachey (London: Hogarth Press, 1971), p. 9. The author describes a game his own eighteen-month-old son plays, making a wooden spool with a string tied around it disappear (Fort, "gone" in German) then reappear (Da, "there"). The way the child mimes the departure, then the return, of his mother can be understood as the first symbolic apprenticeship of the "reality principle."

34. Leo Steinberg, "Who Knows the Meaning of Ugliness?" (1972), reprinted in Gert Schiff, ed., Picasso in Perspective (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1976), pp. 137-39. Cf. Baldassari, Picasso et la photographie, pp. 113-14.

35. The myth of Dibutade's daughter drawing the shadow of her lover is told by Pliny the Elder in Histoire naturelle de Pline, trans. Ajasson de Grandsagne (Paris: C. L. F. Panckoucke, 1833), vol. 20, book 35, pp. 61 and 63.

36. Baldassari, Picasso photographe, figs. 57-58 and pp. 82-87.

37. Ibid.

38. Yvon Taillandier, "Les Profils proliférants," in XXe siècle, special issue, Paris, 1971, pp. 87-92.

39. Aaron Scharf has pointed out how Cubism's interpenetration of forms, transparent superimpositions, and ambiguity of spatial relations are indebted to chronophotography and to the practice of instantaneous photography. Cf. Art and Photography (New York: Penguin Books, 1994), pp. 268-71.

40. A part of these investigations was published under the title Diurnes, text by Jacques Prévert (Paris: Berggruen, 1962). On this experiment, cf. Baldassari, Picasso et la photographie, pp. 219-55.

41. This word should be understood in its technical sense as it applies to sculpture or intaglio engraving.

42. This is a painting by Manuel Pallarès dating from 1899.

43. The canvas dates from 1907.

44. On this subject, see William Rubin's analysis, "Picasso," in "Primitivism" in 20th Century Art (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1984), vol. 1, p. 310, as well as Baldassari, Picasso photographe, pp. 115-19.

45. Céret, summer 1911, oil on canvas, 515/8 x 351/4 in. (131.2 x 89.5 cm); Zervos II1, 285; Daix 423.

46. Céret, summer 1911, oil on canvas, 353/4 x 277/8 in. (90.7 x 71 cm); Zervos II2, 738; Daix 422.

47. Baldassari, Picasso photographe, pp. 123-25. 48. The Cubist painters' use of illusionist

materials stemming from photography can be compared to that of the native described by Fernande Olivier in "Africans and Photography," in Picasso and His Friends (New York: Appleton-Century, 1965), p. 175. To do the portrait of a naval officer, he first drew "the head, the body, the legs and the arms, as he saw them, in the traditional style of tribal figures"; then, wishing to depict the uniform, "he saw no reason to put the buttons in their proper place. Instead, he surrounded the face with buttons! He did the same thing with the stripes, putting them at the side of the arms and over the head.

49. Gisèle Freund, Photography and Society (Boston: David R. Godine, 1980), p. 68.

50. The photograph is from the Antonin studio, 47, boulevard de Sébastopol, Paris.

51. The photograph is signed "Feulard, peintre et photographe." The corresponding drawing, from a private collection, is unpublished.

52. The photographic portrait of Napoléon III, Empress Eugénie, and the imperial prince is from the Levitzky studio, 22, rue de Choiseul, Paris.

53. Freund, Photography and Society, p. 61. 54. Roland Barthes, Camera Lucida (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981), p. 81.

55. These were popular engravings, generally

with a political subject, painted with a stencil. On this subject, see the article by Meyer Schapiro, "Courbet and Popular Imagery: An Essay on Realism and Naïveté" (1941), reprinted in Modern Art, 19th and 20th Centuries: Selected Papers (New York: George Braziller, 1982), pp. 47-85.

56. See especially the canvas of 1914-15 Still Life with Cards, Glass, and Bottle of Rum ("Vive la France") (Avignon, summer 1914-Paris, 1915, oil and sand on canvas, 211/4 x 255/8 in. [54 x 65 cm]; Zervos II2, 523; D. B. 782); a drawing sent to Guillaume Apollinaire in a letter of December 22, 1914 (see p. 189), in Pierre Caizergues and Hélène Seckel, eds., Picasso/Apollinaire, Correspondance (Paris: Gallimard/Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1992), no. 98, pp. 122-24; a letter of December 31, 1914, sent to Apollinaire (pen, ink, and colored pencil, 101/2 x 8³/₈ in. [26.7 x 21.3 cm]; M. P. 1985-72); and a drawing sent to André Salmon in a letter of May 6, 1915 ("Vive la France," gouache, watercolor, and India ink, 67/8 x 43/8 in. [17.5 x 11.1 cm]; M. P. 1980-108). On these works and their political interpretation, cf. Kenneth E. Silver, Esprit de Corps: The Art of the Parisian Avant-Garde and the First World War, 1914-1925 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989), pp. 36-39.

57. Fixed pastel and oil on canvas, $54^{3/4}$ x 33% in. (139.5 x 85.5 cm); Zervos XXX, 270; M. P. 73. Cf. Silver, Esprit de Corps, p. 287.

58. Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte, the nephew of Napoléon I, was elected president of the Republic by universal suffrage on December 10, 1848. He would proclaim himself emperor following the coup d'état of December 2, 1852, and would remain emperor until the military defeat of Sedan in September 1870. During the revolutionary days of February 1848, the poet Lamartine had helped to preserve the tricolor flag inherited from 1789, defeating the proposal of a red flag.

59. Paris, 1919–20, graphite and charcoal, 24 x 193/8 in. (61 x 49.3 cm); Zervos III, 413; M. P. 913. 60. Barthes, Camera Lucida, p. 14.

61. In the semiology of Charles S. Peirce, the index is a sign that refers to the object it denotes by a relation of physical connection. The author suggested that photographs, luminous imprints of their objects, come under this category, at least when they have been "produced under such circumstances that they were physically forced to correspond point by point to nature" (Justus Buchler, ed., Philosophical Writings of Peirce [New York: Dover Publications, 1955], p. 106). Cf. on an application to the analysis of photography and certain aspects of contemporary art, Rosalind E. Krauss, "Notes on the Index," in The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths (Cambridge,

Mass.: MIT Press, 1985), pp. 196-219. 62. Barthes, Camera Lucida, pp. 80-81. 63. Ibid., p. 13.

64. This effect is strangely similar to the one produced by a collage by Francis Picabia (Portrait of Max Goth, 1917; reproduced in the first issue of the review 391, February 1, 1917). Combining a line drawing and a cutout face in a photographic portrait, this collage, which Picabia called a "kodak," was an explicit parody of the "classical" manner adopted two years earlier by Picasso in his Portrait of Max Jacob (see p. 299), which was published on the first page of L'Elan, no. 10 (December 1, 1916).

65. Aaron Scharf, following Van Deren Coke, has compared the disproportions characteristic of some of Picasso's paintings from the 1920s with the distortion to which photographic perspective in amateur photographs subjects body parts in the foreground. Cf. Art and Photography, pp. 272-73. Scharf (p. 369, n. 63) takes up the analysis already developed by Alfred H. Barr, Jr.: "The grotesque foreshortening of the running figure in the background of By the Sea suggests the snapshots of reclining picnickers whose feet are comically magnified by the camera' (Picasso: Fifty Years of His Art [New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1946], p. 130).

66. Freund, Photography and Society, p. 64. 67. Ibid.

68. "I see my hand spread out on the table. It lives—it is me. It opens, the fingers open and point. It is lying on its back. It shows me its fat belly. It looks like an animal turned upside down. The fingers are the paws. I amuse myself by moving them very rapidly, like the claws of a crab which has fallen on its back . . . It becomes intolerable . . . I draw back my hand and put it in my pocket; but immediately I feel the warmth of my thigh through the stuff. I pull my hand out of my pocket and let it hang against the back of the chair. Now I feel a weight at the end of my arm. It pulls a little, softly, insinuatingly it exists. I don't insist: no matter where I put it, it will go on existing; I can't suppress it" (Jean-Paul Sartre, Nausea [New York: New Directions, 1964], pp. 98-99).

69. One character's "speciality was breaking down individuals into their constituent parts, with the aid of calculation": "The master of analysis said with intense mental concentration: 'Fingers, the five fingers of each hand.' Mrs. Philifor's resistance, unfortunately, was insufficient to conceal a reality which disclosed itself to the eyes of those present in all its stark nakedness, i.e. the five fingers of each of her two hands. There they were, five on each side. Mrs. Philifor, utterly profaned, gathered her last strength to try to put on her gloves" (Witold Gombrowicz, Ferdydurke [New York: Penguin Books, 1986], pp. 88 and 90).

70. As Kenneth Silver suggests, Picasso's position as foreigner and noncombatant in a city filled with uniformed soldiers could not have been without its difficulties (Esprit de Corps, p. 5).

71. A drawing depicting the same chair (p. 15R in Carnet 7, December 1919-February 1920, M. P. 1990-1999; Picasso: Une nouvelle dation [Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées

nationaux, 1990], p. 199) confirms that, in the portrait of 1917, Olga is seated on the far edge of the narrow, low, armless chair embroidered with tapestry. The environment of this drawing is that of the studio on rue La Boétie, where Picasso and Olga moved at the end of 1918.

72. A vast, padded sofa, a low, armless, tapestry-covered chair, and a fringed pedestal table play a comparable role to that of this chair—that of graphic signs and anthropomorphic equivalents—in the series of portraits, self-portraits, or still lifes made in 1910–11 in the studio on the boulevard de Clichy. Cf. Baldassari, *Picasso photographe*, pp. 112–39.

73. Cf. Gustave Coquiot, *Paul Cézanne* (Paris: Librairie Ollendorff, n. d.), pp. 219–20.

74. The Museum of Modern Art in New York has a photograph that served as a point of departure for Cézanne's painting *The Bather* (1885–90). Cf. Coke, *The Painter and the Photograph*, pp. 82–83.

75. According to William Rubin, Picasso had already acquired these statues, originating from Guinea, by 1907. The author connects them in particular with two drawings titled *Head* (one frontal, one in profile), which are representative of the "primitive" style of this same year. See Rubin, "Picasso," in "Primitivism" in 20th Century Art, vol. 1, pp. 275–80.

76. Baldassari, *Picasso photographe*, pp. 98–103. 77. According to Carsten-Peter Warncke, this "incompletion" is related to the difficulty of continuing to transcribe the photograph's visual material without submerging the portrait "in a conglomeration of forms" (*Pablo Picasso* 1881–1973, vol. 1, pp. 288–89).

78. The portrait of Olga that ends the Cubist period echoes one of the last portraits Picasso painted in a traditional manner—that of Benedetta Canals, dating from 1905—before embarking on the research that would lead to *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*. Cf. Baldassari, *Picasso photographe*, fig. 26, p. 51. As we have already noted, it is significant that this last portrait was also quite likely painted from a photograph. Separated by more than ten years, the two paintings reveal a similar treatment of the background, scarcely painted or left untouched, a similar outline of the model against the background, and a comparable pattern motif.

79. An example of this, dating back to 1903, is offered by *The Soler Family*. We know now that

this painting was inspired by a studio photograph from which the painter chose to eliminate the conventional decor of rustic furniture and potted palms. Cf. Baldassari, *Picasso photographe*, figs. 5 and 6, and pp. 17–18.

80. Stein, Picasso, p. 19.

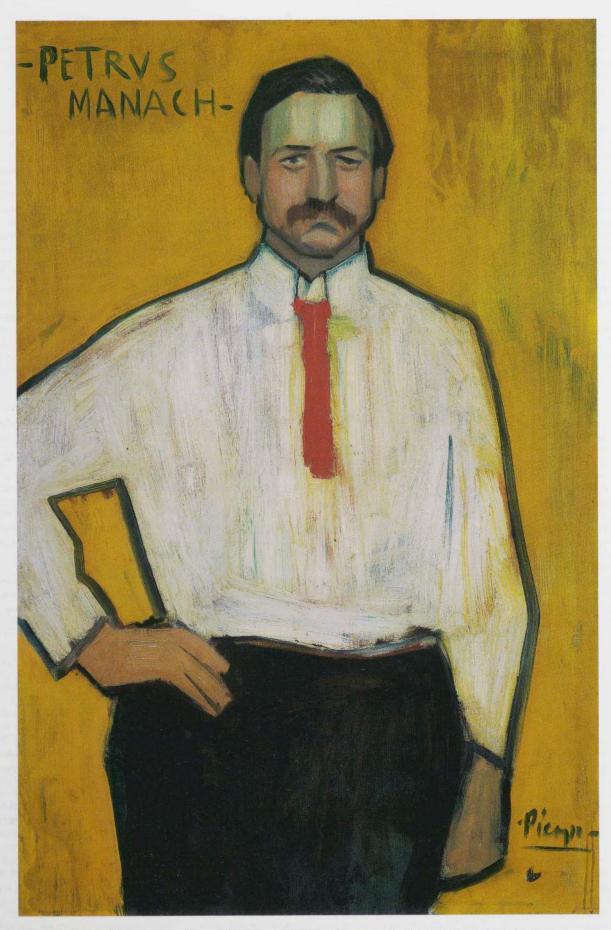
81. Ibid., pp. 14–15.

82. Silver, Esprit de Corps, p. 143.

83. Another canvas, dating from the Rose period (*Woman with a Fan*, Paris, 1905, 39 x 32 in. [99 x 81.3 cm]; Zervos I, 308; Daix XIII, 14), already showed a woman holding an upsidedown fan in front of her; the model appears in profile, her right arm raised. Cf., on this painting, Meyer Schapiro, "Picasso's *Woman with a Fan*: On Transformation and Self-Transformation" (1976), reprinted in *Modern Art: 19th and 20th Centuries*, pp. 111–20.

84. The fan is a recurring motif during the years 1909–10. Cf., in particular, *The Fan*, Paris, fall 1909, oil on canvas, 12 x 26 in. (30.5 x 66 cm); Zervos II, 229; Daix 168; and *Woman with a Fan*, Cadaqués, summer 1910 (completed in 1918), $72^{7/8} x 28^{1/2}$ in. (185 x 72.5 cm); Zervos II, 944; Daix 364.

85. Barthes, Camera Lucida, pp. 65-66.



Pedro Mañach. 1901. Oil on canvas, 41¹/₂ × 27¹/₂" (100.5 × 67 cm). Zervos VI, 1495. D.B. V, 4. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. Chester Dale Collection

To Fall "Like a Fly Into the Trap of Picasso's Stare": Portraiture in the Early Work

MARILYN MCCULLY

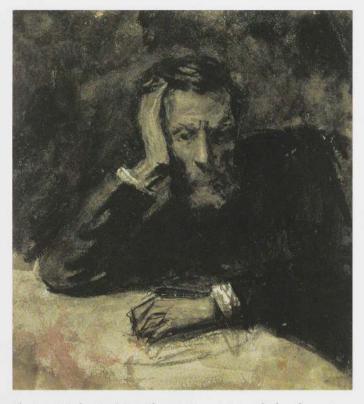
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Many later developments in Picasso's oeuvre have their roots in his formative years. A principal feature of the artist's working method was his obsessive practice of drawing. This can be traced back to his childhood habit of sketching everyone and everything around him. The technical virtuosity he quickly but painstakingly mastered, and his incisive observation of every physical or emotional detail in the people he portrayed, allowed him to invent and elaborate a whole repertory of approaches to the figure, approaches which he transformed into a personal and exceptionally wide-ranging artistic language. This practice carried through to Picasso's very last paintings and drawings—the portraits he painted of his second wife, Jacqueline, and the elaborate suites of theatrical prints and drawings in which he employed a cast of characters taken from history, drama, and fiction as well as from his own life.

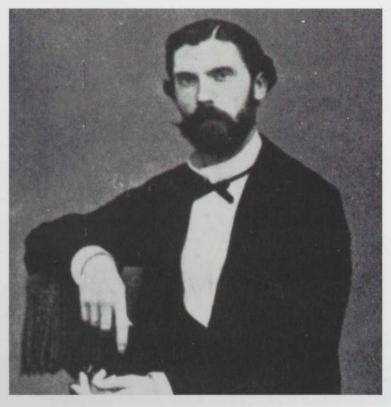
What always comes as something of a surprise in Picasso is that for all his experimentation in form,

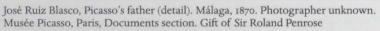
medium, and technique, he remained, in certain respects, a traditional painter. He took his subjects from life and memory-they were never "abstract"-and he preferred to work within the most basic given categories of arthistorical tradition: still life, landscape, and, principally, the figure. While he was stimulated by the work of contemporary artists, he also responded to older masters, including El Greco, Velázquez, Ribera, and Goya, whose work he encountered as a student. The portraits of his early period (1895–1905) bear this out. In addition to painting conventional portraits (some of which were commissioned and purchased by the sitters), he used recognizable models for other types of figure painting, including genre subjects. He also made character sketches for publication in literary and art magazines. Once he left his native country for France, he embarked on his lifelong preoccupation with painting the female nude. Even Picasso's nudes are hardly ever done from anonymous models; they turn out to be portraits of the women in his life.

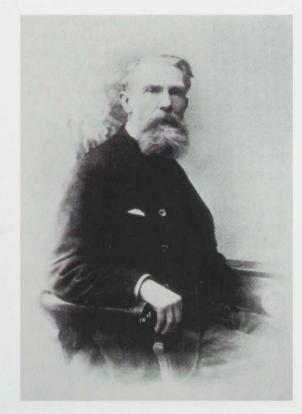
As an art student in La Coruña (1891–95), Picasso attended drawing classes, where he worked more often from casts than from life;¹ outside the classroom he painted and drew his family and himself and also worked from other models, which were arranged for him by his father. Picasso's father, don José Ruiz Blasco, a modest and unsuccessful painter principally of pigeons, was his son's first art master. Don José fervently hoped that the young Pablo would win the prestige he himself had failed



The Artist's Father (José Ruiz Blasco). 1895–96. Pen and ink and aquatint on paper, $6\frac{1}{2} \times 5^{7/8}$ " (16.5 × 15 cm). Zervos XXI, 39. Museu Picasso, Barcelona

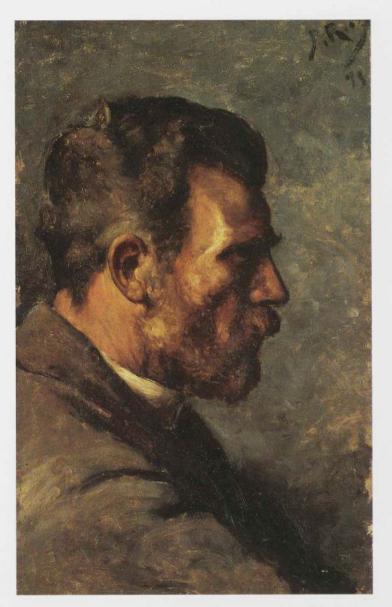






José Ruiz Blasco. c. 1900. Photographer unknown

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The Artist's Father (José Ruiz Blasco). 1895. Oil on canvas, $20\frac{1}{2} \times 12\frac{5}{2}$ " (52 × 32 cm). Zervos XXI, 32. Private collection

to achieve as an academic artist, and, for this reason, he set up a rigorous program for his son's preparation. In addition to teaching him drawing at the art school, don José instructed him at home by giving him his first lessons in oils. He taught him to employ a generally monochromatic palette—so typical of Spanish painting—and to emphasize the sculptural aspects of forms by setting them against shallow, tapestry-like space.

Don José was himself a patient and willing model, and Picasso drew and painted him over and over again, beginning in La Coruña and continuing until the end of the 1890s in Barcelona (above). The image of him that emerges from his son's work is that of a man of elegance and distinction rather than a disappointed, failed artist (p. 228). Don José had been known among his friends in Málaga as "the Englishman" because he was tall, slim, and fair—so

different from the shorter and darker Andalusian looks of his wife and son—and that is how Picasso preferred to portray him. As don José grew older, his reputation as a man about town had been hard to maintain, especially since he had had to take a job away from his hometown and rely upon the meager resources of an art teacher, his own painting having become a sideline. This defeated spirit is reflected in a number of Picasso's drawings, in which an air of melancholy pervades the most intimate portrayals (opposite). Some seventy years later, at the end of his life, Picasso "corrected" his own family history, elevating his father's status as a small-time Spanish art teacher to that of a modern master by presenting him in the guise of Degas. In certain late prints (p. 228), a tall, bearded, and fine-featured don José/Degas can be seen peering from the margins of compositions as a voyeur watching



Don José with an Umbrella. 1898. Charcoal on paper, $23^{5/8} \times 18^{1/8''}$ (60 × 46 cm). Zervos XXI, 86. Private collection

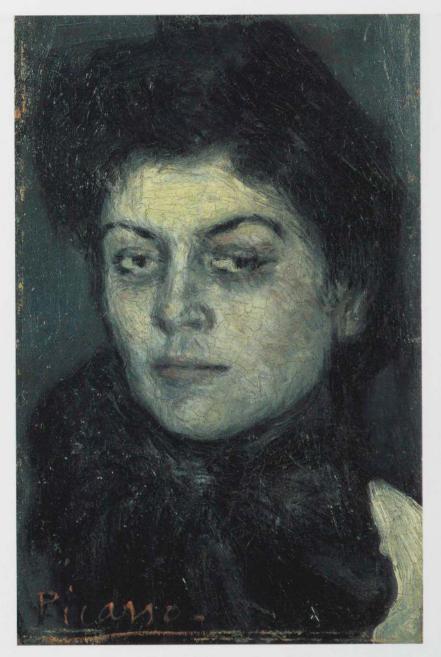
the exchanges in a brothel. These prints were inspired by Degas monotypes that Picasso himself had begun to collect.

Picasso's sister Lola served as his other principal model up to the time of his first visit to Paris in late 1900. The fact that he drew and painted her so often allowed him to experiment with his approach to the female figure, in this case always clothed. (The models at art school were generally male, and it was not until he reached Paris that he had ready access to female nude models.) Lola sometimes appears as a distant and enigmatic young girl with her doll, sometimes as a typically Andalusian maja. Other portraits of her reflect Picasso's response to the contemporary Catalan modernista movement: in some paintings she appears in diaphanous whites, while in others she is seated in the vague light of Symbolist-inspired modernista interiors. His personal adaptation of a fashionable, fin-de-siècle graphic style also gives Lola an air of modern sophistication in his portraits of her (opposite and p. 231). Picasso painted his mother less, no doubt because she was too busy to pose, unlike her daughter or husband. Nevertheless, the portrait of her done in Barcelona in 1896 is an affectionate and convincing likeness (p. 233). While the use of pastels allows him to focus on subtle texturesespecially in the areas of the white blouse and warm skin tones and in the glowing quality of the light-there is no attempt to embellish or enhance his mother's features.



The Bordello. May 16, 1971. Drypoint, 14% × 1911/16" (37 × 50 cm). Galerie Louise Leiris, Paris

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Portrait of a Young Woman (Lola?). 1901. Oil on panel, $14 \times 8^{3/4}$ " (35.6 × 22.4 cm). Zervos XXI, 230. D.B. V, 56. Private collection

From an early age Picasso was well aware of the rich portrait tradition that existed in Spanish art from the seventeenth century onward. His father had first taken him to the Prado on a visit in 1895, and the boy's response to his artistic forebears—among them Velázquez (p. 252) and Goya—played an important role in the earliest of his portraits, just as some of the same painters would represent an artistic challenge to him in his later years. Picasso's remarkably mature portrait of his Aunt Pepa (p. 235), painted in Málaga in the summer of 1896, combines the somber palette of traditional Spanish art, especially that associated with religious portraiture, with a typically latenineteenth-century bravura manner of painting. Picasso's cantankerous maiden aunt apparently was at first reluctant to sit for the fourteen-year-old boy, and he was equally reluctant to carry out the commission.² Nevertheless, a photograph shows that Picasso achieved a high degree of resemblance (p. 235). That the young artist allowed her face—modeled in paint almost as if it were clay—to emerge into light from the dark background and from the surrounds of her black lace cap and cloak results in an intensity that reveals the stern character of his pious old aunt.

A further influence on Picasso was the particular brand of Spanish realism, that, in the hands of Zurbarán, Velázquez, or Ribera, could infuse everyday objects or the



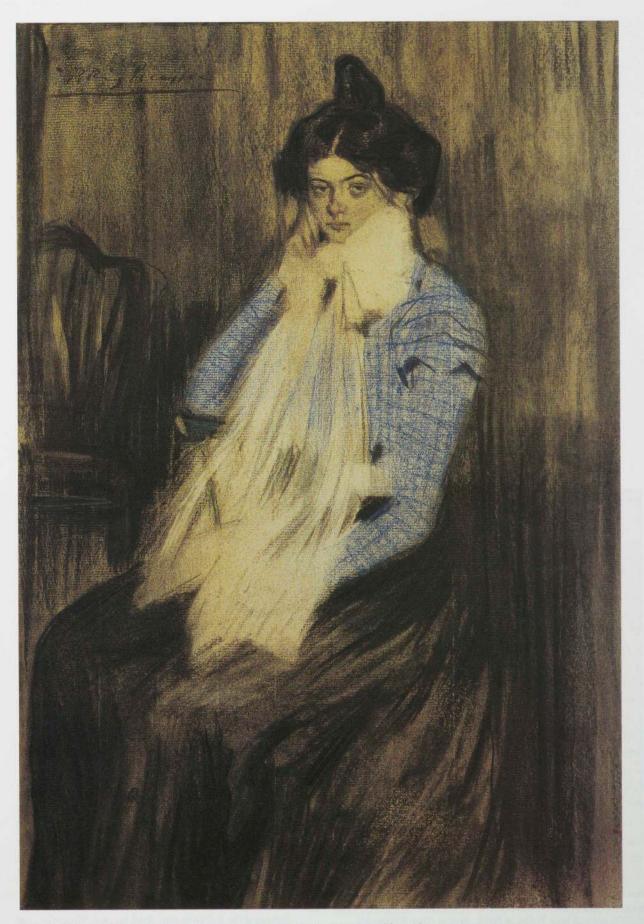
Picasso and his sister, Lola (Maria de los Dolores). Málaga, 1888. Photographer unknown. Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives



Lola Ruiz Picasso, Picasso's sister (detail). Barcelona, c. 1906–09. Photograph by Picasso. Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives

commonest of models with loftier intellectual or religious ideas and meanings. In this way Velázquez's *Aesop* evidently a portrait of a real person—is transformed into a "beggar-philosopher" (p. 253). Picasso draws on this genre in *Beggar in a Cap* (p. 253), a painting which had a special significance for the artist, who kept the canvas in his studio until the end of his life. This work was first exhibited when Picasso was only thirteen (March 1895), in the windows of a shop on calle Real, a fashionable commercial street in La Coruña.³ Local critics singled out the "young Ruiz Blasco" for his impressive handling of paint and truthful recording, particularly in the portrait of "a well known beggar in La Coruña," as one of them pointed out.⁴

Throughout his life, Picasso would return to Spanish art and literature for inspiration. His Blue period portrait, later known as *Celestina* (p. 243), is based on the principal character of one of the most celebrated works of Spanish fiction, Fernando de Rojas's novel *La Tragicomédia de Calisto y Melibea*, first published in 1499. While acknowledging the character in the earlier work, Picasso used a contemporary sitter, Carlota Valdivia, whose name and address he wrote on the stretcher; he later confirmed that she was, in fact, a procuress in Barcelona. Sketches show her both modeling for the artist (p. 242) and also lurking in the shadows of a café, presumably looking for prospective customers.⁵ Drawings confirm that Valdivia was blind in one eye (p. 242), and this aspect of her face also quite dramatically evokes the scarred face of the legendary go-between. Comparison of the painting with the sketch shows that Picasso certainly improved, if not ennobled, his model's real appearance: the scruffy, tanned, and thin face of a gypsy is turned into that of a strong-featured, smooth-complexioned grande dame with "an air of timeless dignity, more in keeping with a seventeenth-century prioress than a twentieth-century procuress."6 Rojas's Celestina was a traditional subject in Spanish painting, and she appears in the work of Murillo and Goya (Picasso had actually copied a print by Goya of this subject in the Prado in 1898). When she reappears in Picasso's late work, notably in the Suite 347 (1968), her role is to arrange the sexual encounters of the artist's voyeuristic imagination.



Portrait of the Artist's Sister, Lola. 1900. Charcoal and colored pencil on paper, 17³/₈ × 11¹/₈" (44 × 29 cm). Zervos I, 29. D.B. I, 14. Museu Picasso, Barcelona



Maria Picasso López, Picasso's mother (detail). Barcelona, c. 1900 or 1910. Photographer unknown. Musée Picasso, Paris, Documents section



Portrait of the Artist's Mother in Profile. June 9, 1896. Watercolor, pen, and pencil on paper, $7^{3}/8 \times 4^{7}/8$ " (18 × 12.5 cm). Not in Zervos. Museu Picasso, Barcelona



Portrait of the Artist's Mother. April 22, 1896. Watercolor and pencil on paper, $7^{1/8} \times 4^{7/8}$ " (18 × 12.5 cm). Not in Zervos. Museu Picasso, Barcelona

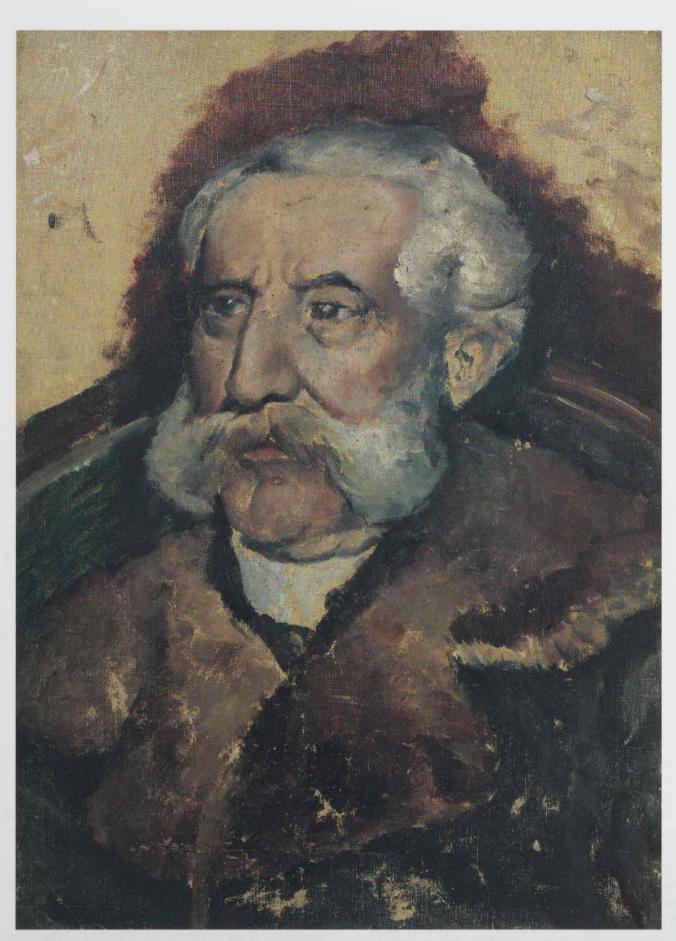


The Artist's Mother (María Picasso López). 1896. Pastel on paper, 19⁵/₈ × 15³/₈" (49.8 × 39 cm). Zervos XIII, 40. Museu Picasso, Barcelona

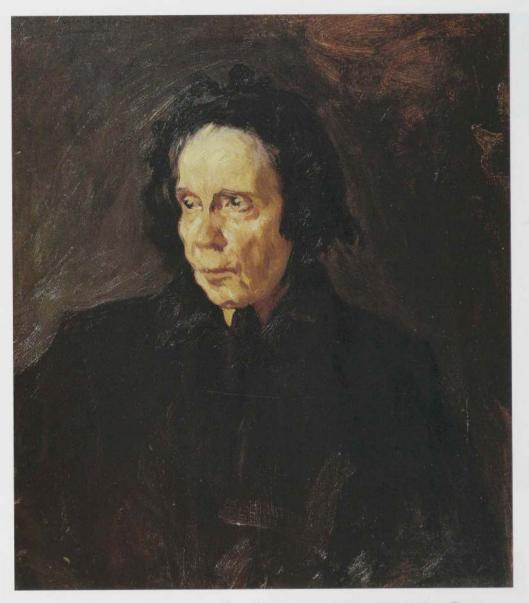
This same process of transforming portraits of specific people into subjects taken from literature as well as art is found in Picasso's Rose period painting *Boy with a Pipe* (p. 250), which began as a study of a Montmartre youth, probably something of a delinquent, who was known affectionately in Picasso's circle as "P'tit Louis."⁷ The artist set the unfinished canvas aside and only returned to it several weeks later, after an evening of conversation about poetry with his writer friends. Back in his studio he painted a wreath of flowers on the boy's head and added the poetic counterpoint of Redon-like patterns on the wallpaper behind, so as to transform the young artisan into a dreamy character of Symbolist inspiration, who seems to come from the pages of Verlaine.

Alongside these portraits in which the subject has become

more important than the sitter, Picasso had also been painting conventional portraits. These were usually commissions or done as favors. The first of them was a portrait of the prominent physician and politician Ramón Pérez Costales (p. 234). This is another La Coruña work Picasso never parted with.8 The doctor, who was a close friend of Picasso's father, was the young artist's first real patron. Picasso later recalled that it was don Ramón and not his father who had backed and supported his first individual exhibition in La Coruña in February 1895.9 Picasso was only thirteen when he painted Pérez Costales, but a comparison with portraits of the doctor by local artists shows that the boy was already capable of accomplishing more than just a good physical likeness.10 Picasso's direct and confident treatment of the face conveys the forceful personality of the celebrated liberal politician. The painting of Pérez Costales initiated a series of portraits of



Portrait of Ramón Pérez Costales. 1895. Oil on canvas, 201/2 × 141/2" (52 × 37 cm). Zervos XXI, 36. Private collection



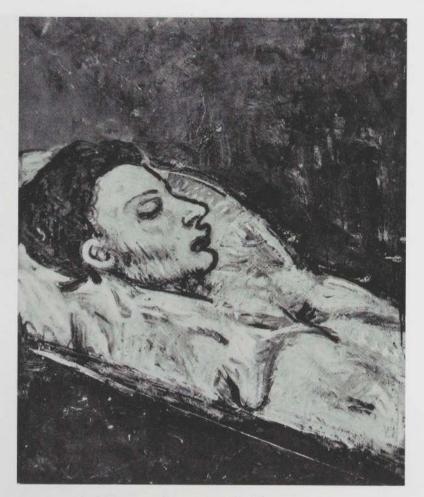
The Artist's Aunt Pepa. 1896. Oil on canvas, 22⁵/₈ × 19⁷/₈" (57.5 × 50.5 cm). Zervos XXI, 38. Museu Picasso, Barcelona



Josefa Ruiz Blasco, Picasso's Aunt Pepa (detail). Málaga, c. 1870. Photographer unknown. Collection Ricardo Huelin

patrons and supporters, who included the Barcelona tailor Soler, the critic Gustave Coquiot, and later the writer Gertrude Stein and others. Likewise, the 1901 posterlike painting of the Catalan Pedro Mañach (p. 224), Picasso's first art dealer, can be seen as the earliest of a series of dealer portraits; it looks ahead to the Cubist portraits of Wilhelm Uhde, Ambroise Vollard, and Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler.

At this period Picasso was willing to undertake portraits commissioned by friends, such as his Blue period *Portrait of Sebastià Junyer Vidal*,¹¹ a comrade from Barcelona who with his brother Carles promoted Picasso in the press; that of the opera singer Suzanne Bloch; and the striking portrait of Benedetta Canals (p. 249). Benedetta, a professional model and the wife of another painterfriend of Picasso's, was also one of Degas's models. Indeed, there is in the character and handling of paint in



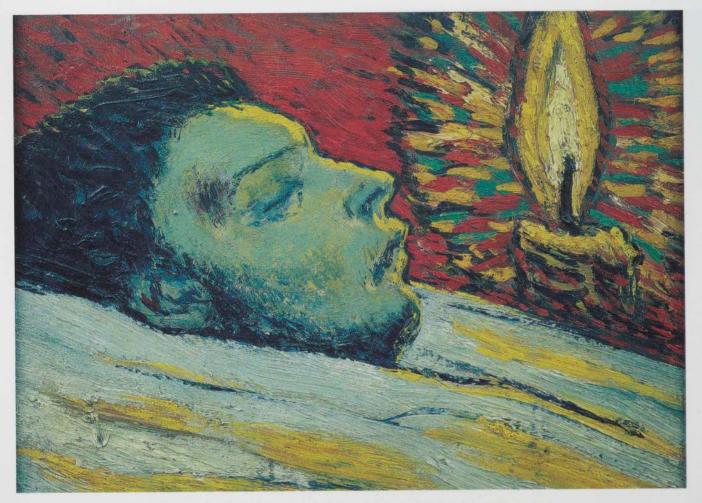
Casagemas in His Coffin. 1901. Oil on wood panel, $28\frac{1}{2} \times 22\frac{7}{8}$ " (72.5 × 58 cm). Zervos XXI, 179. D.B. VI, 6. Private collection



Carles Casagemas. 1900. Pen and ink and watercolor on paper, $4^{3/8} \times 3^{3/8}$ " (10.5 × 7.9 cm). Zervos XXI, 116. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Gift of Raymonde Paul, in memory of her brother, C. Michael Paul, 1982



Portrait of the Dead Casagemas. 1901. Oil on cardboard, $20\frac{1}{2} \times 13\frac{3}{8}$ " (52 × 34 cm). Zervos XXI, 177. D.B. A.6. Private collection

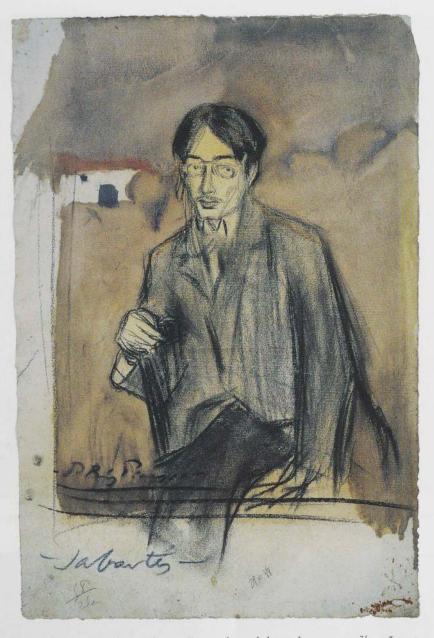


The Death of Casagemas. 1901. Oil on wood, 105/8 × 131/4" (27 × 35 cm). Zervos XXI, 178. D.B. VI, 5. Musée Picasso, Paris

this portrait a flavor of Degas that inflects its Spanish traditionalism. What is particularly noteworthy in all of these paintings is the way in which Picasso combines the conventional demands of portraiture with his artistic language of the moment, so that he enhances his sitters' appearance and at the same time identifies them with his overall artistic concerns.

Picasso used a very different style and technique for the character sketches he did for publication or advertisement. Editors of artistic and literary journals that proliferated in turn-of-the-century Barcelona illustrated their articles with portrait drawings or photographs of the artists, intellectuals, and politicians of the progressive Catalan cultural movement who were featured in their pages. The most celebrated drawings were those by Ramon Casas that appeared in the journals *Quatre Gats* and *Pèl & Ploma*. Casas was one of the older generation of Barcelona artists who had been to Paris in the 1890s, and he enjoyed great success as a graphic artist, especially of posters. His stylish drawings, such as the portrait of the art dealer J. B. Parés (p. 252), were excellent likenesses and followed a fairly standard formula: Casas set his subject, generally standing or seated, against the empty space of the white paper; the drawings were done in charcoal, with the occasional addition of watercolor, touches of pastel, or powdered pigments. When, in 1899, Casas exhibited more than 130 of these portraits of well-known Catalans at the Sala Parés, Barcelona's leading gallery, he provoked a challenge among the younger generation of artists. They urged Picasso to show a group of portraits at the tavern Els Quatre Gats: "Out of a spirit of rebellion, of defiance, as well as out of a desire, perhaps, to cause a commotion, we planned an exhibition of [Picasso's] portraits. Did not Ramon Casas have one-man exhibitions of his portraits? We knew, of course, that to Casas every door was open; that everyone bowed down before him; . . . If Casas had a monopoly of the distinguished people of the city, Picasso could attend to the rejects: us, for example."12

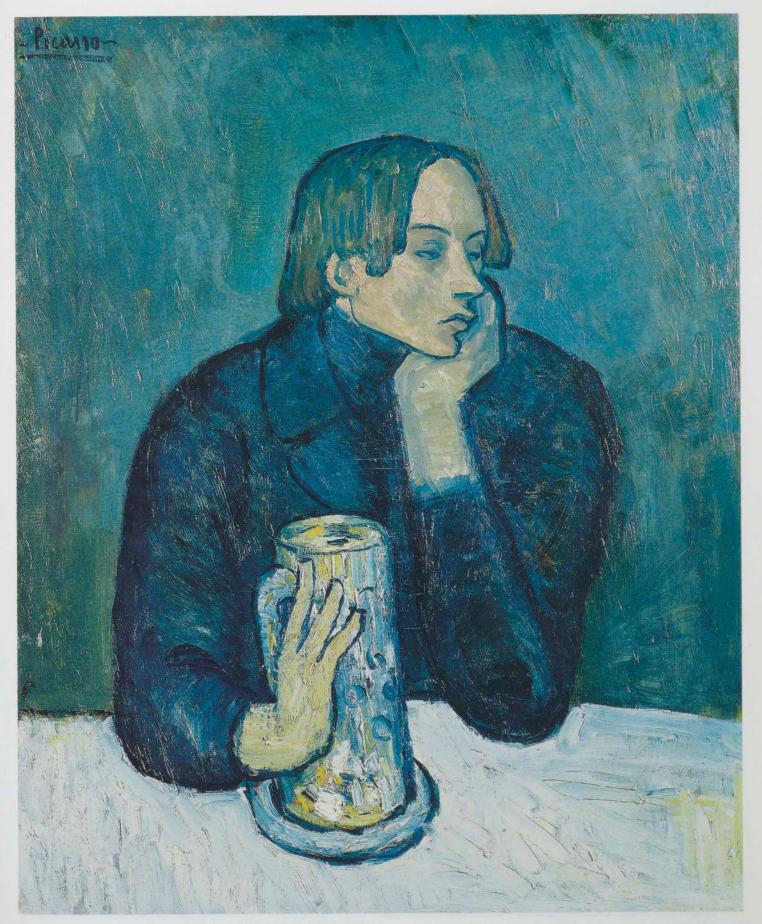
Picasso worked with fury, drawing everyone who appeared at the tavern and many more in the studio on riera de Sant Joan, which he shared with the melancholy



Portrait of Jaime Sabartés, Seated. 1900. Watercolor and charcoal on paper, 19⁷/₈ × 13" (50.5 × 33 cm). Zervos VI, 247. D.B. I, 5. Museu Picasso, Barcelona

Carles Casagemas. In general he drew the portraits from the model but invented backgrounds, often to complement the sitter's occupation or avocation. His seated *Portrait of Jaime Sabartés*—undoubtedly done in the studio—is set against a distant landscape. Working principally in charcoal, Picasso also experimented with color and employed various mediums, such as oil washes and even coffee in his *Portrait of Joan Vidal Ventosa* (p. 240). "Before long his studio was crammed with portraits," Sabartés wrote, "If he found no room for them on the table, he affixed them to the wall with one drawing-pin if he could not find two. At any rate, rather that way than on the floor."¹³

For the Quatre Gats exhibition, which opened in February 1900, Picasso tacked up more than one hundred unframed drawings (reports vary as to the exact number) onto the tavern wall, one row above another. Although the "grand public" reportedly did not come, the show did attract reviews, some of which noted the rivalry with Casas.14 In comparison to a certain sameness in Casas's portraits, Picasso's drawings have a far greater impact. In each case he arrives at a vivid and succinct characterization. His ability so early in his professional career to draw out the distinguishing features of each individual in this assembly of pipe-smoking bohemians was astonishing, but he had no intention of limiting himself to journalism. After he had settled in France, he turned down opportunities to work regularly as a graphic artist so as not to be distracted from his career as a painter. Nevertheless, Picasso retained a graphic style of portraiture in his repertoire, which he used for drawings of public figures, from Sergei Diaghilev, Igor Stravinsky, and the



Portrait of Jaime Sabartés. 1901. Oil on canvas, 321/4 × 26" (82 × 66 cm). Zervos I, 97. D.B. VI, 19. Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow

fashionable world he met in the early years of his marriage to Olga Khokhlova, to writers who wanted frontispieces for their books.

In Picasso's most unconventional portraits, he allowed free rein to the processes of dramatization and manipulation, while still retaining the identity of the model. In February 1901 Picasso's great friend Casagemas committed suicide, and he responded by painting three death'sheads some six months later. Picasso had not been present at the event, but friends who were there would have reported such gruesome details as the fact that the fatal bullet had entered the skull above the right temple. Nonetheless, both the physical features and the psychological state of his companion were well known to the artist, for they had spent almost every day in each other's company the previous year. Thus Picasso's images of the ill-fated Casagemas, while close to his friend's actual appearance (comparison can be made with a Quatre Gats



Portrait of Joan Vidal Ventosa. 1900. Charcoal and watercolor mixed with coffee on paper, $18\frac{1}{4} \times 10^{7/8}$ " (47.6 × 27.6 cm). Zervos VI, 252. Museu Picasso, Barcelona

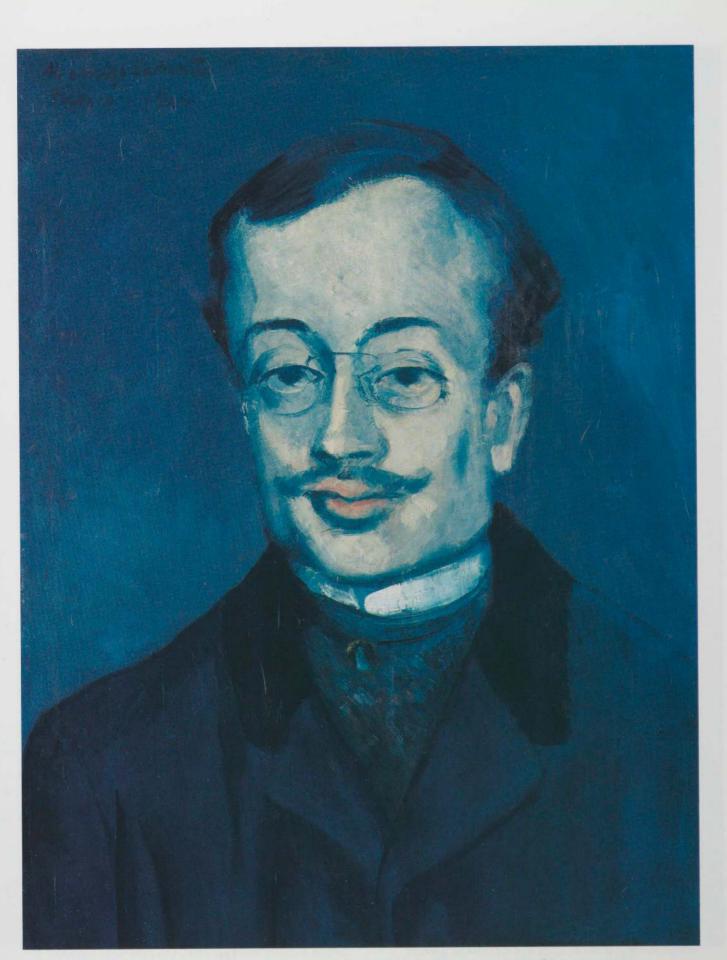


Jaime Sabartés. [Barcelona, 1904]. Photographer unknown. Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives

character sketch, p. 236), draw emotional strength from the way in which they are painted and to some extent distorted. Picasso turned to a non-Spanish source, in this case van Gogh, who also had shot himself, for the palette of the smallest of the three paintings (p. 237). The use of complementary colors to heighten the sense of Picasso's horror at his friend's violent death intensifies the contrast between the heat-ray-like strokes of paint emanating from the candle and the greenish face of the dead man. The closeup view of the head, emphasized by the small scale of the canvas and the device of cutting the head off from the body by the thickly painted, diagonal, yellowishwhite lines of the shroud, eerily turns this moving portrait of his friend into a modern-day head of Saint John the Baptist.

In the second of these *memento mori* (p. 236), the dead man is painted disturbingly in the familiar upright portrait format. A heavy impasto of strokes of white paint beneath the head suggests a shirt rather than a shroud, while the purplish-red of the bullet wound seems to penetrate the canvas just as it had Casagemas's head. The third and largest painting shows Casagemas in his coffin and is dominated by an icy blue (p. 236).

His friend's suicide left a deep impression on Picasso,



Portrait of Jaime Sabartés. 1904. Oil on canvas, 191/2 × 15" (49.5 × 38.1 cm). Zervos VI, 653. D.B. X, 11. Berggruen Collection



Picasso Painting Carlota Valdivia. 1904. Conté pencil and colored pencil on paper. Zervos XXII, 56. Private collection

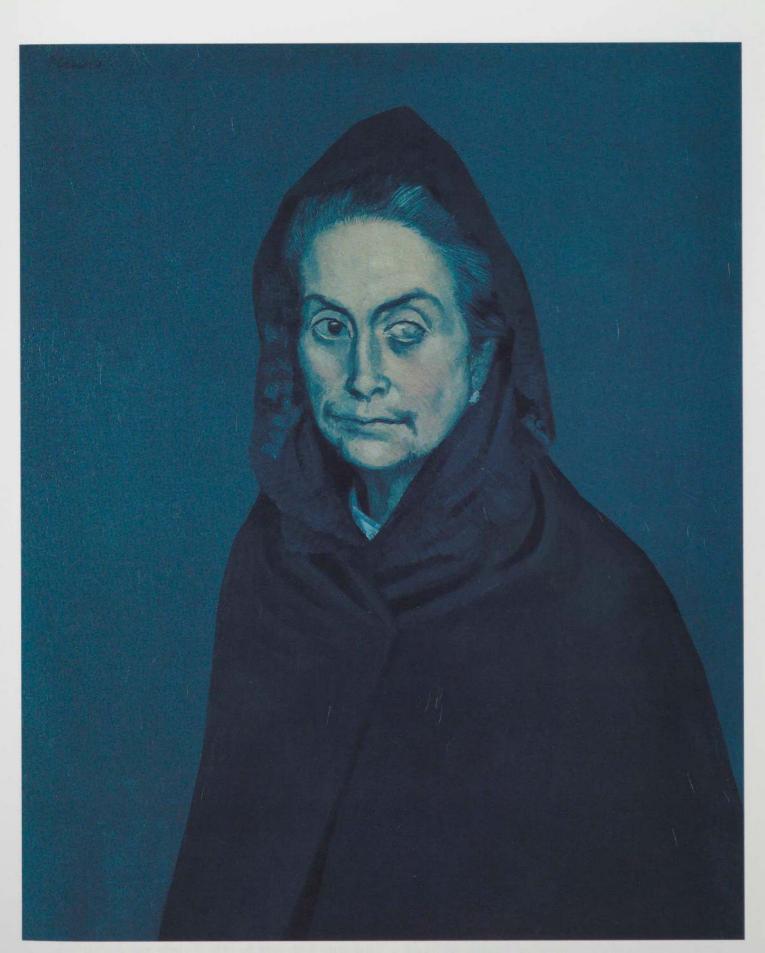


Study of Carlota Valdivia (Celestina). 1903. Colored pencil on paper, $10\frac{5}{8} \times 9^{1}4^{"}$ (27 × 23.5 cm). Zervos I, 191. D.B. IX, 25. Private collection, Geneva

who later claimed that contemplating the event had triggered his Blue period. He even went so far as to merge the dead Casagemas's profile with that of his poet-friend Jaime Sabartés (who liked to see himself as "the progenitor of Blue period blueness"15) in the Portrait of Jaime Sabartés, which was done in Paris in 1901 (p. 239). Sabartés has left a description of how this painting came about. He was sitting alone and bored at the Café La Lorraine when Picasso appeared with their friends. "Unwittingly, I was serving as the model for a picture, a portrait about which I retain two distinct memories: the memory of my unpremeditated pose, in the café, . . . (when thinking I was alone, I fell like a fly into the trap of Picasso's stare), and the other is the impression I received a few days later in [his studio]. . . . When Picasso put it up on the easel, I was astonished to see myself . . . [and] the spectre of my solitude"16-as Picasso saw it.

This portrait is distinguished, as Sabartés noted, not only for its blue tonality but also for its sobriety and the use of an enclosing line, which in its simplicity fixes an idea: the artist's compassion upon surprising his friend in his solitude.¹⁷ The center of the painting is occupied by the tankard of beer, the surface of which is animated with brushwork, and the three fingers of the hand positioned stiffly in front of it, as if in a symbolic gesture. This placement has the effect of distancing the figure psychologically from his surroundings rather than emphasizing the café setting; in this way Picasso conveys a sense of Sabartés's perceived alienation. It is precisely this process—finding expressive means of distortion, color, and evocative line to convey an emotional state—which departs from, and ultimately transcends, conventional portraiture. It is a process that the artist used again and again, most notably in his great portraits of Marie-Thérèse Walter and Dora Maar in the 1930s.

The last of the early oil portraits Picasso did in Barcelona of his friend Sabartés, just before the young writer departed for South America (where he remained until he rejoined Picasso as his secretary in the late 1930s), is typical of the end of the Blue period (p. 241). The palette dominates everything from space and form to the spirit of the work. According to Sabartés, the moody atmosphere of this portrait was a reflection of the artist's state of mind rather than the sitter's. Evidently Picasso was in a particularly bad mood when he suggested painting Sabartés: "Suddenly, as if it were fated that only his ill humour or mine would stimulate him to do my portrait, he began to observe me from different angles. He took a piece of canvas, put it on the easel and got ready to paint. . . . I was standing motionless at a certain distance from his easel. His eyes went from the canvas to me and from me to the canvas; when it was



Portrait of Carlota Valdivia (later called Celestina). 1903. Oil on canvas, 317/8 × 235/8" (81 × 60 cm). Zervos I, 183. D.B. IX, 26. Musée Picasso, Paris

PORTRAITURE IN THE EARLY WORK 243



Portrait of Madeleine. 1904. Pastel and gouache on cardboard, 26³/8 × 20¹/4" (67 × 51.5 cm). Zervos XXII, 74. Musée Picasso, Paris

covered he addressed me again: 'Say something, man! There's no reason for keeping so quiet. Anybody would think you were in a bad mood.' After saying this he put away his brushes, because by now he felt relieved."¹⁸ The work was finished later without Sabartés there, possibly using a photograph as an *aide-mémoire* (p. 240).

This story reveals how Picasso managed to rid himself of his negative state of mind by transferring his feelings to his sitter, in this case to the "blue" mood of the painting. The artist would frequently bring to the surface and dramatize psychological tensions that he himself felt, as well as those he observed or even stimulated in his sitters. This is especially evident when he portrayed those closest to him.

By far the largest proportion of Picasso's work has to do with the women in his life, and even still lifes, landscapes, and mythological subjects turn out to be portraits. Portraiture enabled Picasso to manipulate the images of these women and to exploit their innermost feelings through formal and technical experimentation. The greatest portraits of a woman during the early period are certainly those of Fernande Olivier, beginning in 1906



Madeleine. 1905. Pencil and charcoal on canvas, $39^{3/8} \times 32^{3/8}$ (100 \times 81.5 cm). Not in Zervos. Musée Picasso, Paris

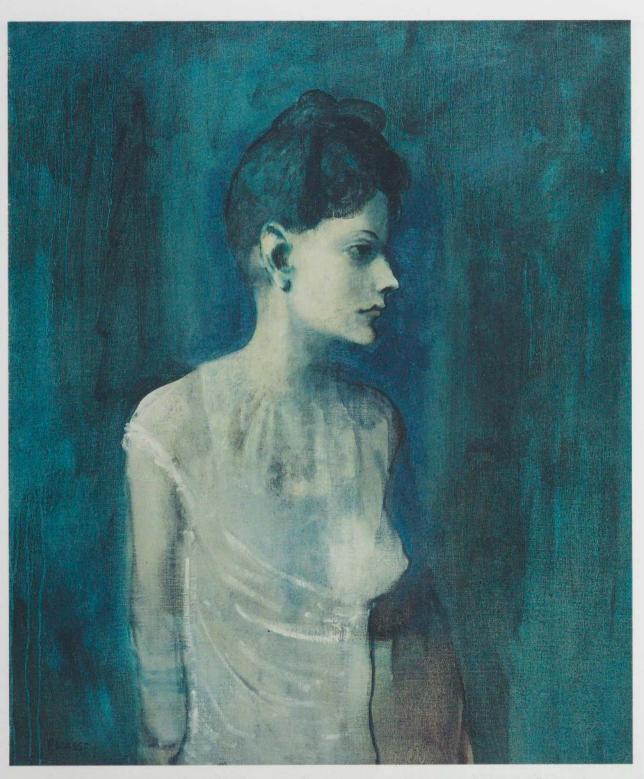
(pp. 257, 259); but there were others who preceded her and who can be identified in the artist's work.

After Picasso settled in Paris in 1904, one of his first girl friends was a model called Madeleine (above), about whom we know little except her name. Her thin body and delicate "birdlike" features¹⁹ were the inspiration for a number of paintings and works on paper or board done in the winter of 1904–05, such as *Woman with Helmet of Hair* (opposite) and *Woman in a Chemise* (p. 246). The function of these paintings was not so much to probe Madeleine's likeness and personality as it was to provide a vehicle for artistic experimentation—as in the exquisite layering of gouache in the essentially monochromatic *Woman with Helmet of Hair*, or the transition from a blue to a pink tonality in *Woman in a Chemise*.

The female nude in Picasso's work is almost always inspired by the presence of a specific woman. The *Seated Nude* of 1905 (p. 247) is clearly based on Madeleine, but here again the artist's predominant concern is pictorial rather than narrative. The whole composition matters more to him than the individual character of the sitter or her relationship to the painter. The highlights on her face and upper body are echoed by the light touching the long, thin fingers of the hand resting on her leg. This use of



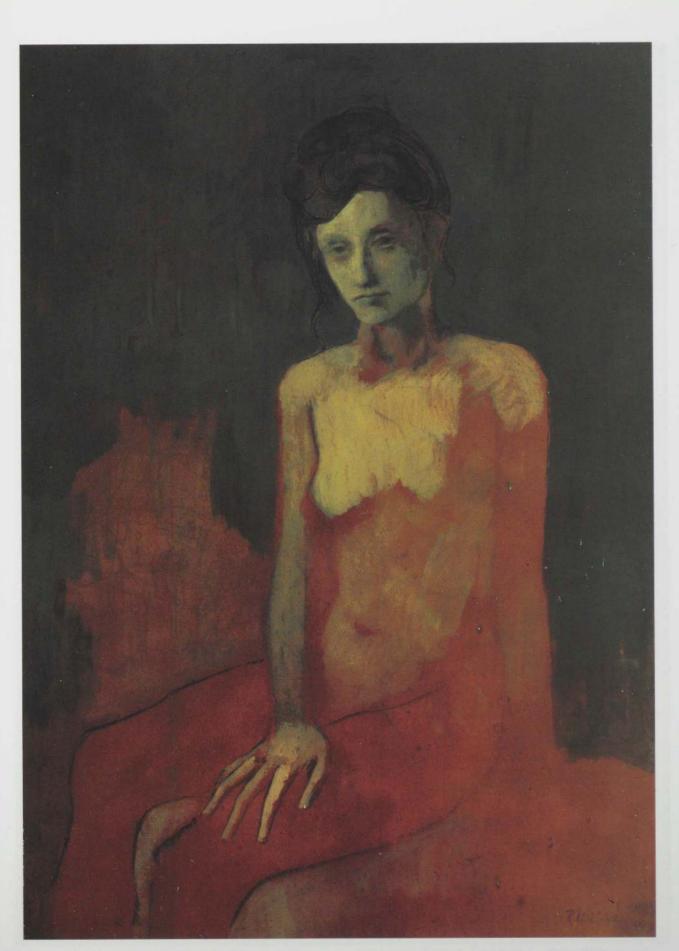
Woman with Helmet of Hair (Madeleine). 1904. Gouache on illustration board, 16³/₈ × 11³/₄" (41.6 × 29.9 cm). Zervos I, 233. D.B. XI, 7. The Art Institute of Chicago. Bequest of Kate L. Brewster



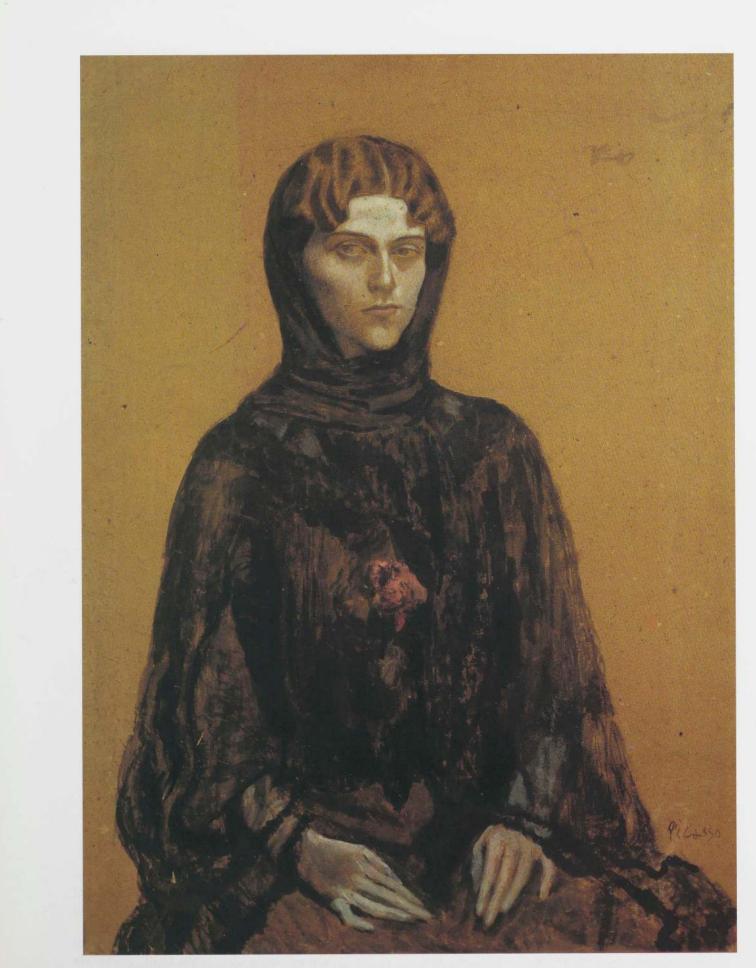
Woman in a Chemise (Madeleine). 1905. Oil on canvas, 28³/₈ × 23⁵/₈" (72.7 × 60 cm). Zervos I, 307. D.B. XII, 5. Tate Gallery, London

light serves to accentuate the way in which the other hand and the rest of the figure dissolve into the red background and the area beneath her.

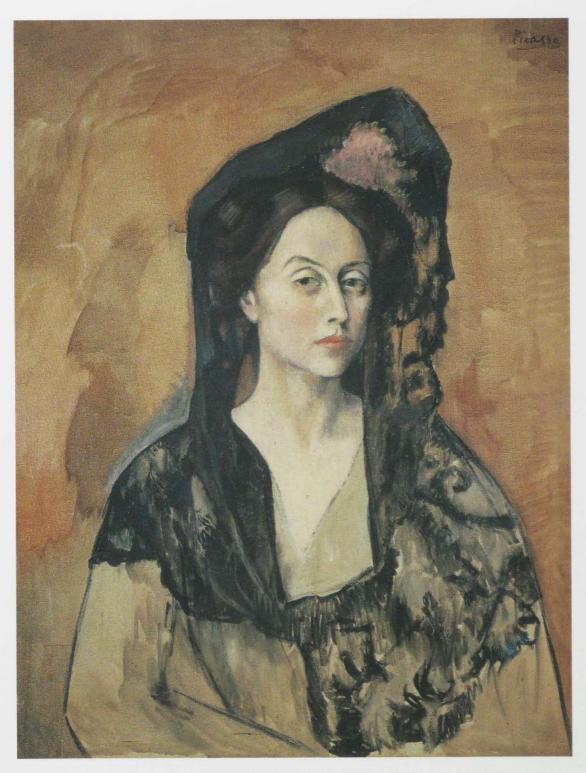
The last of these early works in the Museum's exhibition, the portrait of a Dutch girl (p. 251), done in the summer of 1905, looks ahead to the monumentality of the next few years. Although the identity of the model is not known for certain, she was likely Diewertje de Geus, the unmarried daughter of the postman at Schoorl, where Picasso spent several weeks painting in an attic above the room he had rented from her in a small bargeman's pension alongside the canal. The artist had convinced the young woman to pose naked for him, which apparently scandalized the local residents of this tiny village. By



Seated Nude (Madeleine). 1905. Oil on cardboard, 41³/₄ × 30["] (106 × 76 cm). Zervos I, 257. D.B. XII, 3. Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre National d'Art et de Culture Georges Pompidou, Paris



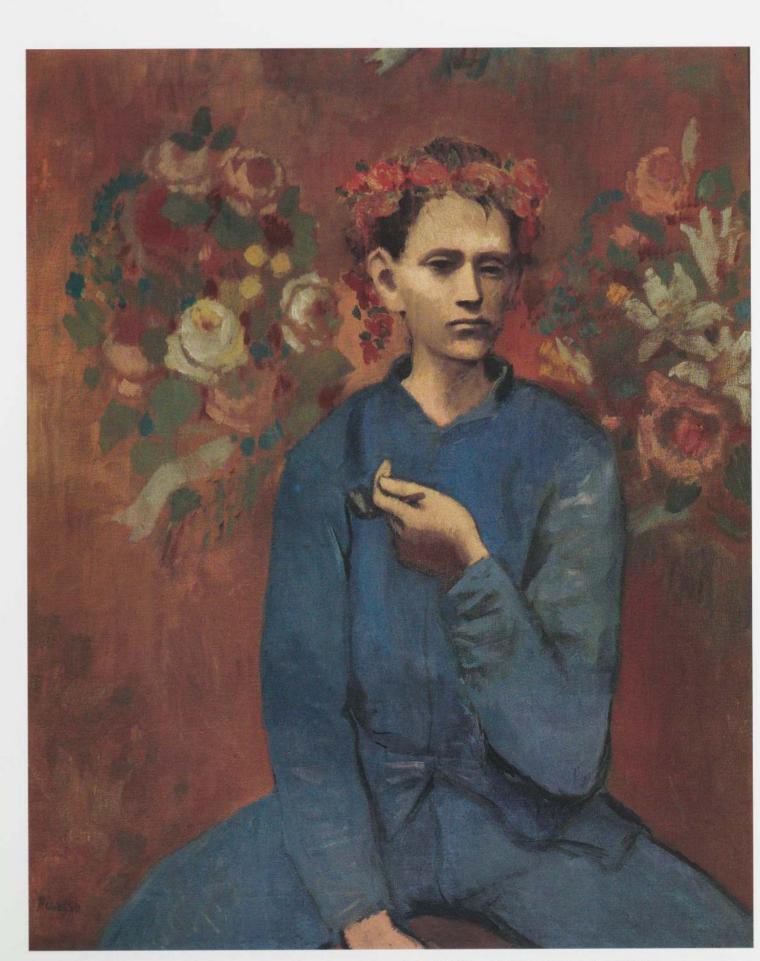
Portrait of Gaby Baur. 1904. Tempera on cardboard, 40 × 29³/4" (101.6 × 75.5 cm). Zervos I, 215. D.B. XI, 17. Private collection, Paris



Portrait of Benedetta Canals. 1905. Oil on canvas, 34³/₈ × 26³/₄" (88 × 68 cm). Zervos I, 263. D.B. XIII, 9. Museu Picasso, Barcelona

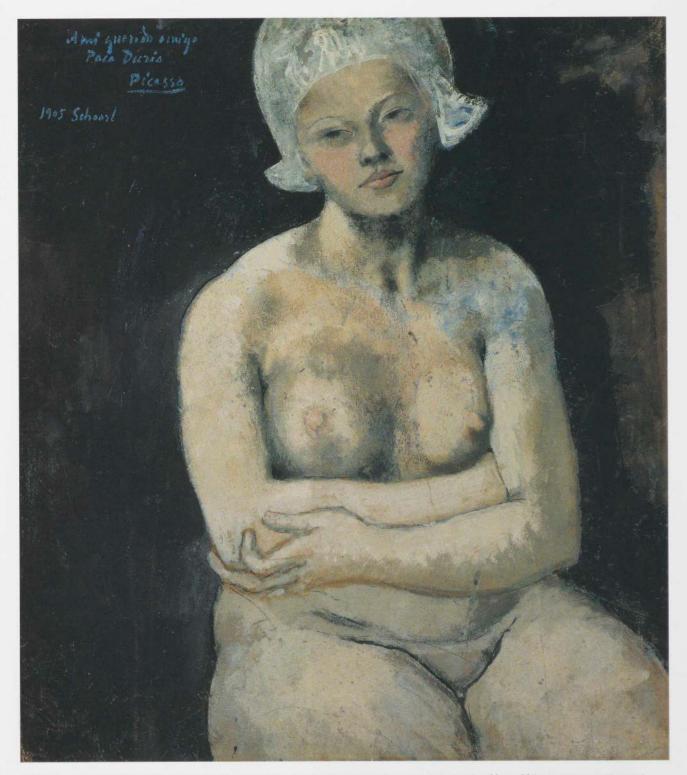
painting a typically North Holland bonnet on her head, Picasso transformed the portrait into a local type, just as Gauguin used headdresses to identify his girls as Bretonnes or Arlésiennes. Picasso was also preoccupied with the sculptural possibilities of his medium, using thick gouache to give real substance to this compelling portrayal of a healthy Dutch girl—so different from the model Madeleine and the denizens of Montmartre.

The lessons Picasso had learned working from life during the early period provided him with enormous artistic resources. Later, when he set out to do a Cubist portrait of his dealer Kahnweiler or an Ingresque drawing of the musician Erik Satie, for example, all the inventive and technical diversity of his approaches to portraiture



Boy with a Pipe (P'tit Louis). 1905. Oil on canvas, 39³/₈ × 32["] (100 × 81.3 cm). Zervos I, 274. D.B. XIII, 13. Collection Mrs. John Hay Whitney

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Dutch Woman in Hat (Diewertje de Geus?). 1905. Gouache and ink on cardboard mounted on panel, $30^{1/4} \times 26^{1/8}$ " (77 × 66.3 cm). Zervos I, 260. D.B. XIII, 1. Queensland Art Gallery, Brisbane. Purchased 1959 with funds donated by Major Harold de Vahl Rubin

fell into place. In contrast to those of most twentiethcentury figure painters, Picasso's models were almost always personal, even when they made appearances (as his father did) as invented characters. The Minotaurs, Spanish grandees, *majas*, weeping women, circus bareback riders,²⁰ and *odalisques* who figure in the artist's later compositions are all, in a sense, portraits. His portraits usually have a "subject," like their distant Spanish forebears in the seventeenth century. When in 1906 Picasso returned to Spain in the company of Fernande Olivier, the image he would devise for her looked back to his own archaic, Iberian roots, but also ahead to a new, monumental plastic energy.

NOTES

I. Picasso's examination results at the School of Fine Arts in La Coruña indicate that he studied ornamental drawing (1892–93); figure drawing from plaster casts (1893–94); copying and drawing from plaster casts (1894–95); and that he took one course in painting and drawing from life (1894–95).

2. The circumstances surrounding this painting are told in Jaime Sabartés, *Picasso: Documents iconographiques* (Geneva: Pierre Cailler, 1954), pp. 295–96.

3. Picasso's painting was shown with works by another boy called Blanca Villareal. Ten days

earlier Picasso had exhibited a few works in a different shop on the same street.

4. Unidentified reviewer, "De Sol a sol," *La Voz de Galicia*, March 3, 1895. Picasso is here referred to by his father's surname. 5. See, for example, Zervos VI, 480.

See, for example, 2ervos v1, 480.
 John Richardson, A Life of Picasso,

Volume 1: 1881–1906 (New York: Random House, 1991), p. 290.

7. André Salmon's account of the repainting of *Boy with a Pipe* is given in Marilyn McCully, ed., *A Picasso Anthology: Documents, Criticism, Reminiscences* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1981), pp. 55, 57.

8. Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, p. 54, recalls that Picasso would proudly show off these

portraits and claim that "they still smell of Corunna."

9. Antonio Marino, "Los Cuatro años de Picasso en la Coruña," in *Picasso e a Coruna* (La Coruña: Gráficas Coruñesas, 1982), p. 6.

10. José Luis Bugallal, Cuatro retratos y cuatro retratistas de D. Ramón Pérez Costales: Meléndez, Pardo Reguera, Picasso y Vaamonde (La Coruña: Moret, 1956), pp. 6, 10, 28.

11. This painting is in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art; Zervos I, 174; note that Junyer Vidal appears to the right of Celestina in the drawing reproduced on p. 242.

12. Jaime Sabartés, *Picasso: An Intimate Portrait* (London: W. H. Allen, 1948), p. 53.

13. Ibid., p. 54.



Diego Velázquez. Mother Jerónima de la Fuente. 1620. Oil on canvas, $63 \times 43^{3/8}$ " (160 × 110 cm). Museo del Prado, Madrid



Ramon Casas. Portrait of J. B. Parés. 1899. Charcoal and pastel on paper, $24^{1/2} \times 11^{1/4}$ " (62 × 28.5 cm). Museu d'Art Modern, Barcelona

14. See, for example, Manuel Rodríguez Codolà, who alludes to Casas in his attributed review, "Els IV Gats: Exposición Ruiz Picazzo," *La Vanguardia*, February 3, 1900, in McCully, *A Picasso Anthology*, p. 22.

 Richardson, A Life of Picasso, p. 216.
 Sabartés, Picasso: An Intimate Portrait, p. 63.

17. Anatoli Podoksik, in *Picasso: The Eternal Quest* (Leningrad: Aurora, 1989), p. 27, believes that while Sabartés saw the portrait as his own reflection in the blue waters of a mystical lake and that within it he recognized the specter of his solitude, Picasso saw it primarily as the image of a poet. 18. Sabartés, *Picasso: An Intimate Portrait*, p. 97. 19. Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, p. 304, describes Madeleine as "pretty, in a delicate, birdlike way (her nose and forehead formed a straight line)."

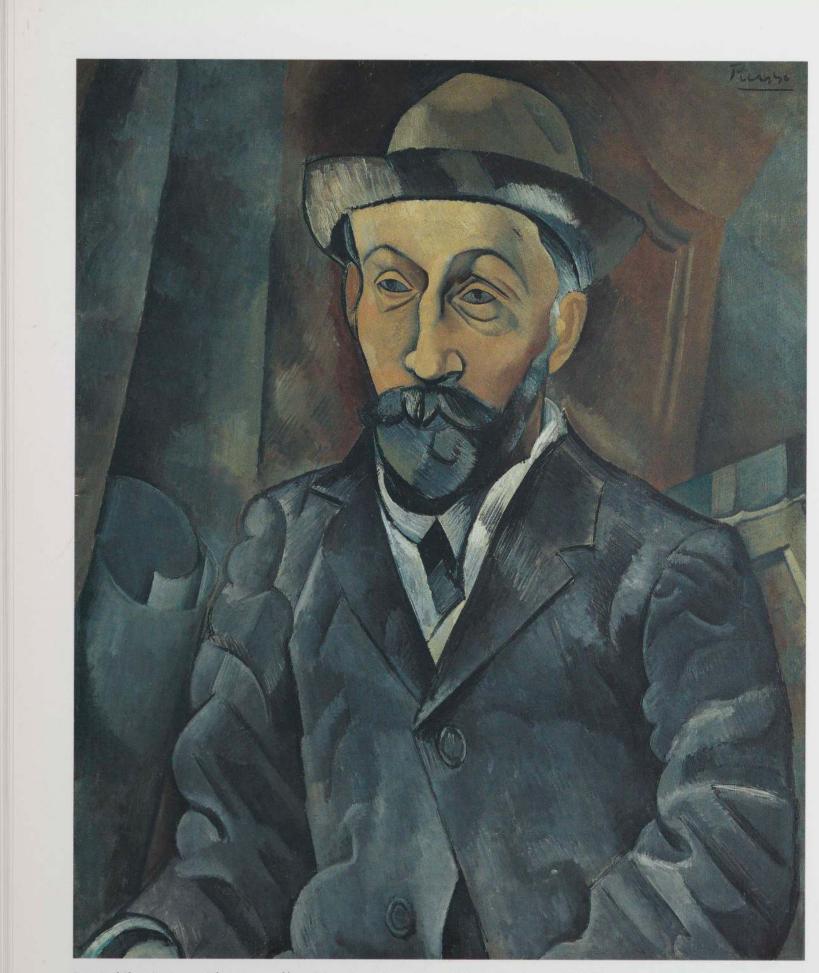
20. Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, pp. 68–69, notes that Picasso's first Barcelona girl friend, a circus equestrienne called Rosita del Oro, reappears at the end of his life in Picasso's work and cites in particular an etching of 1970 in which the artist appears alongside her in disguise.



Diego Velázquez. *Aesop.* 1639–40. Oil on canvas, $70\frac{1}{2} \times 37$ " (179 × 94 cm). Museo del Prado, Madrid



Beggar in a Cap. 1895. Oil on canvas, $28^{3/8} \times 19^{5/8}$ " (72 × 50 cm). Zervos I, 4. Musée Picasso, Paris



Portrait of Clovis Sagot. 1909. Oil on canvas, 32¹/4 × 26" (82 × 66 cm). Zervos II¹, 129. Daix 270. Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg

Portraiture in Picasso's Primitivism and Cubism

PIERRE DAIX

FROM FERNANDE TO GERTRUDE STEIN

ver since his adolescence, Picasso had a gift for creating a good likeness. He also felt a need to grasp every possible aspect of his own face, as well as those of his most familiar models his father and his younger sister-as if to explore the limits of resemblance. Later, his friends also served as models: Carles Casagemas, Jaime Sabartés, and then Guillaume Apollinaire; as did his mistresses, Germaine¹ and Madeleine,² for example. Picasso's psychological studies, his sense of caricature, his diary, his memories, or simply commissions together enabled him to produce a rich catalogue of drawn and painted portraits. In addition to traditional methods of representation, he had, from the outset, used a variety of innovations more or less removed from natural appearances; for example, lengthening faces in the style of El Greco (c. 1899), painting green shadows in his faces, such as in his self-portrait Yo, Picasso (spring 1901, p. 126), or creating his many wellknown portraits in blue monochrome.

During the months following the paintings of Saltimbanques, and after Picasso had created *Woman in a Chemise* and *Seated Nude* (pp. 246, 247), both still inspired by Madeleine, and the *Portrait of Benedetta Canals* (p. 249; its workmanship and the fact that Canals returned to Barcelona enable us to date it prior to the spring of 1905),³ the portrait—except symbolically or by implication—disappears from Picasso's oeuvre. He returns to it only during his summer stay in Schoorl, with the *Dutch Woman in Hat* (p. 251), the subject of which, rather remarkably, has almond-shaped eyes much like Fernande's. Contrary to what was formerly believed, Fernande moved into Picasso's studio at the Bateau-Lavoir only at the beginning of September 1905; yet she appears in several earlier works on paper (*Sleeping Nude*,⁴ for example), and her profile, with her chignon and abundant hair, can be seen in a sketch for *The Actor* from the winter of 1904–05.

It seems probable, nevertheless, that the actual portraits of Fernande—which include an etching and drypoint (p. 256) and a small oil painting in a private collection (p. 257)—cannot be from the period of early acquaintanceship but were executed after her arrival at the Bateau-Lavoir. Picasso's emphasis in these two portraits on the powerful sculptural quality of Fernande's head seems to be a result of work done on his trip to Holland in the summer of 1905, whereas during the Saltimbanques period he was interested only in the frailty of Harlequin's companions.

Nevertheless, from this moment on, by her presence alone, Fernande played a decisive role in the ongoing problems of portraiture in Picasso's work. She is present continuously, under different guises, until the beginning of 1907, whereas the self-portraits no longer appear at the end of 1906 and return only in two isolated works, one





Fernande Olivier (detail). Bateau-Lavoir, 13, rue Ravignan, Paris, c. 1908–09. Photograph by Picasso. Musée Picasso, Paris, Documents section. Gift of Sir Roland Penrose

from summer 1907 and the other from the spring of 1908. For Picasso, unlike Braque, the face was the ultimate test of the validity of pictorial experimentation, and the portrait would become the ultimate stake.

Fernande's "type" is immediately well-defined: very long almond-shaped eyes that are heavy-lidded, at times almost completely closed; thick, voluminous hair; and a sturdy neck and body (opposite). These are loving portraits, finally, in the same tradition as the *Portrait of Benedetta Canals*, even though Picasso uses extreme and unexpected simplifications that culminate in the ravishing Fernande, nude and idealized, from the beginning of his stay in Gosol, *Nude with Joined Hands* (p. 260).

It does, in fact, seem that there was an interval of at least eight or nine months between the etching (above) and this first nude portrait of Fernande. Nevertheless, fall 1905 was dominated by the portrait. After Fernande had come to live with him, Picasso clearly went through an emotional crisis expressed in a number of works we might describe as a farewell to his youth: In *At the Lapin Agile*, he paints his portrait as a disenchanted Harlequin seated beside Germaine Florentin, shown as a coquette (p. 131).⁵ In *Pierrette's Marriage*,⁶ Harlequin says farewell to Columbine, and in the *Death of Harlequin*—which is for Picasso a real kind of death of the self—Harlequin disappears from Picasso's painting, at least as his double or alter ego,⁷ until 1915. At this time, he also painted portraits

Portrait of Fernande. 1906. Etching and drypoint, $6\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{5}{8}$ " (16.2 × 11.8 cm). Zervos XXII, 332. Geiser/Baer I, 18 bis. Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Mass. The Sarah C. Garver Fund and anonymous gift

of such Bateau-Lavoir "juvenile delinquents" as *Young Girl with a Basket of Flowers* (p. 258)—the so-called "Fleur du Pavé," later a model for Modigliani⁸—and "P'tit Louis," who became the *Boy with a Pipe* (p. 250), crowned with a wreath of roses. The latter was painted at the time Picasso had already begun to work on the *Portrait of Gertrude Stein.*⁹ The *Death of Harlequin* was painted a short while later, at the beginning of 1906.

At this time Picasso experienced a crisis in his art. His portraits lack any stylistic unity or relationship to one another. The mysterious Woman with a Fan,10 for example, is completely isolated. Picasso did not exhibit his Family of Saltimbanques (p. 132), although it had been painted in the format of a Salon work. He reworked it after his visit to the Manet retrospective at the Salon d'Automne. Until then, he had known only a few masterpieces by Manet. Seeing this retrospective greatly affected him, and at the very same Salon, he experienced the revelation of Ingres' Turkish Bath." Given its eroticism, its fluid space (constructed by the contrasting rhythms of naked bodies), its bright colors and suppression of chiaroscuro, Ingres' painting led him to recognize in this artist an innovator in regard to those very problems he himself was seeking to resolve.

These intellectual jolts were amplified by the entry of Leo and Gertrude Stein into his still-small universe. Until their arrival, and despite his friendship with Max Jacob,



Portrait of Fernande. 1905. Oil on canvas, $11^{7/8} \times 10^{''}$ (30 × 25.5 cm). Zervos XXII, 331. Private collection

Guillaume Apollinaire, and André Salmon, his world did not extend much beyond the Spanish community of Montmartre and the group of Montparnasse poets known as "Vers et prose." Moreover, by buying "paintings worth eight hundred francs on their very first visit"¹²—Picasso's first sale of such magnitude—the Steins virtually yanked him out of poverty.

It was also the first time that his blue canvases—such as *Two Women at a Bar* and *Woman in Prison* (a prostitute from Saint-Lazare prison in her cell)—were taken seriously. Invited by the Steins to their studio on the rue de Fleurus, Picasso saw his paintings hung next to those of Gauguin, Lautrec, and Renoir, in addition to Cézanne, whose work he did not then know well.¹³ It was also, no doubt, the first time that he was involved with collectors of such stature (André Level, it seems, did not meet him until 1906).¹⁴

Gertrude Stein was the first professed intellectual whom Picasso met, and her heavily accented French allowed him to speak freely in his Spaniard's faulty French without feeling humiliated. Immediately a communion of ideas was established, which led to a kind of emulation between them, as all who saw them together remarked. She immediately considered herself a supporter of the same revolutionary aesthetic as Picasso. A different art had to be created, a twentieth-century art. This was the task that awaited both of them.¹⁵

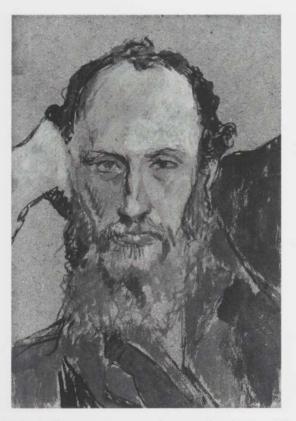


Portrait of Fernande. 1906. Oil on canvas, 39³/₈ × 31⁷/₈" (100 × 81 cm). Zervos I, 254. D.B. XV, 41. Private collection, Boston, Mass.

Leo and Gertrude Stein "were dressed in brown corduroy and sandals à la Raymond Duncan, who was a friend of theirs. . . . Picasso . . . [was] attracted by the woman's physical personality," said Fernande. "He offered to do her portrait, before he really knew her."16 In fact, Gertrude's physique corresponded to the monumental plastic and sculptural concerns that had begun to interest him during his trip to Holland. But it is apparent that—in the same way he remembered Degas when he painted Benedetta Canals (she had been Degas's model)—he did not forget America when he painted Gertrude. In making the decision to paint a portrait of Miss Stein (p. 267), he wanted to create a pioneering work: the first portrait of an American incarnating the "new woman" of the twentieth century; a different kind of woman, new in her freedom.

Gertrude Stein remembered it this way: "Why did he wish to have a model before him just at this time, this I really do not know, but everything pushed him to it, he was completely emptied of the inspiration of the harlequin period, being Spanish commenced again to be active inside in him and I being an American, and in a kind of a way America and Spain have something in common, perhaps for all these reasons he wished me to pose for him."¹⁷

In undertaking such a portrait, did Picasso intend to compete with Henri Matisse? The latter's *Woman with the Hat*—the portrait of Madame Matisse, which had just

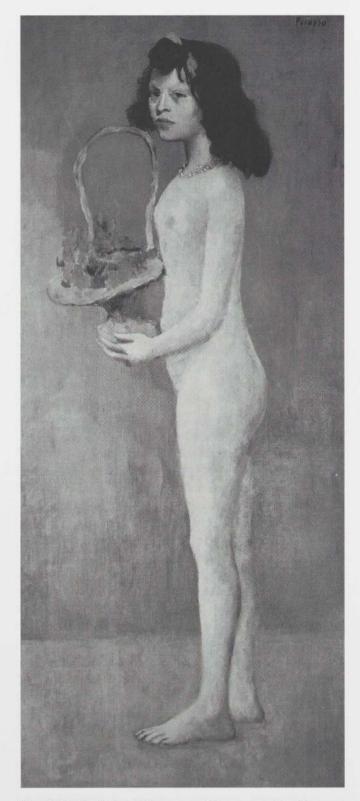


Portrait of Leo Stein. 1906. Gouache on cardboard, $9^{3/4} \times 6^{3/4''}$ (24.7 × 17 cm). Zervos I, 250. D.B. XIV, 1. The Baltimore Museum of Art. The Cone Collection, formed by Dr. Claribel Cone and Miss Etta Cone of Baltimore, Maryland

caused a scandal at the "Cage aux Fauves" (the 1905 Salon d'Automne)—was hanging at the home of the Steins, and Picasso saw it every Saturday when he visited them. Leo, who had at first been disgusted by the Matisse, had been talked into buying it by his sister-in-law, Sarah (the first in their family to become infatuated with Matisse), and, in the end, could not stop praising it. If Picasso was entering into this competition with Matisse, he was doing everything backward.

The Woman with the Hat is a portrait of a woman in formal attire in which the focus is on the hat and the elegance of the costume. Picasso, by contrast, painted Gertrude sitting in her own way and wearing her usual simple outfit à la Raymond Duncan. Her pose recalled the "monumental intimacy" and the imposing immediacy of presence of Ingres' Monsieur Bertin, a painting that Picasso had studied in the Louvre and obviously had in mind. The Matisse painting exploded with color and featured green shadows in the face. But as Picasso had used such colors in his self-portrait Yo, Picasso, the brashly colored picture of the spring of 1901, he did not feel that Matisse could teach him anything really new. He had already, he thought, used color in an expressive way. Characteristically taking the contrary artistic position, Picasso decided that the portrait of Gertrude would have

to be in muted colors. In short, he was reacting against both Matisse (whom he had yet to meet) and the vanguard scandal caused by the "Cage aux Fauves." We can probably get a good idea of what Picasso had been trying to express in the original version of Gertrude's face (later painted out) by referring to the small gouache portrait of



Young Girl with a Basket of Flowers. 1905. Oil on canvas, 61 × 26" (155 × 66 cm). Zervos I, 256. D.B. XIII, 8. Private collection

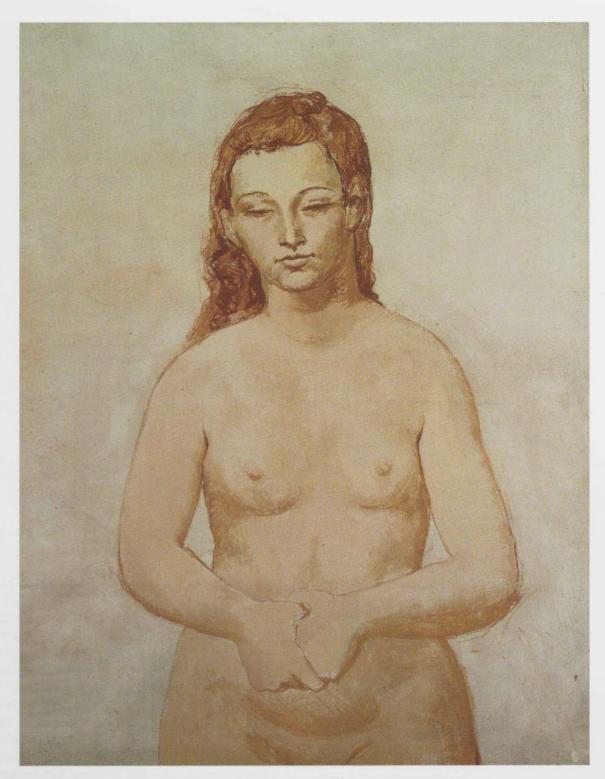


Portrait of Fernande. 1906. Charcoal on ivory laid paper, 24 × 18" (61.2 × 45.8 cm). Zervos VI, 747. The Art Institute of Chicago. Gift of Hermann Waldeck

Leo Stein (opposite) and the larger gouache portrait of their nephew, Allan;¹⁸ those are classical portraits elaborate, indeed, almost monochromatic.

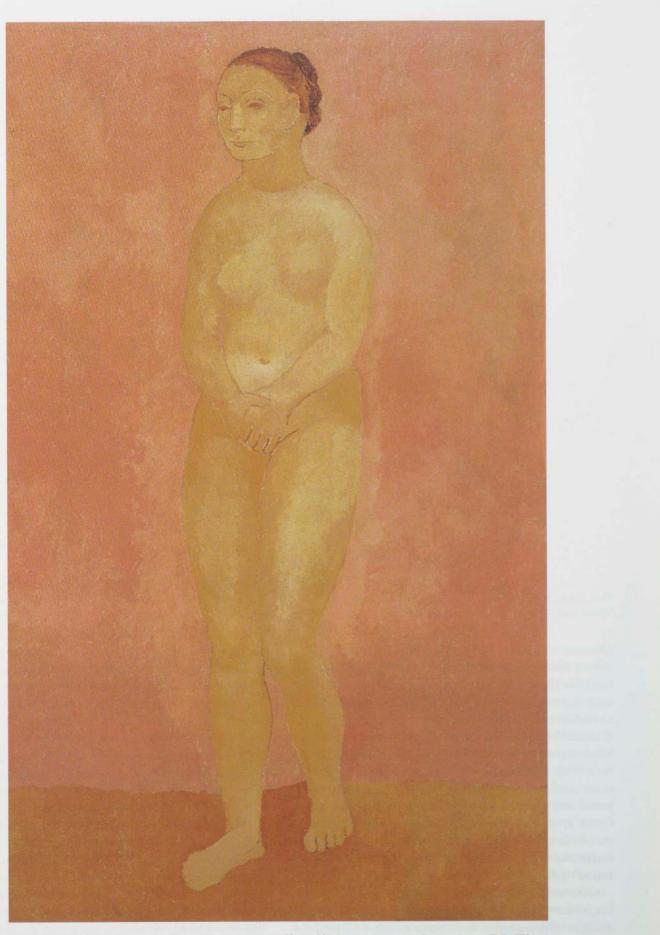
The sittings with Gertrude were occasions for conversation between the two, and sometimes with the participation of Leo and some of his American friends. "There was a large broken armchair where Gertrude Stein posed. . . . There was a little kitchen chair upon which Picasso sat to paint . . . She took her pose, Picasso sat very tight on his chair and very close to his canvas and on a very small palette which was of a uniform brown grey colour, mixed some more brown grey and the painting began."¹⁹

There were some ninety sittings. This was extremely



Nude with Joined Hands (Fernande). 1906. Gouache on canvas, 38 × 29³/4" (96.5 × 75.6 cm). Zervos I, 310. D.B. XV, 28. Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto. Gift of Sam and Ayala Zacks, 1970

unusual for Picasso, or anyone else, and even if both model and painter clearly enjoyed their meetings, the large number of sittings indicates Picasso's growing uncertainty, either about the goal that he was trying to reach or the means of reaching it. "Spring was coming and the sittings were coming to an end. All of a sudden one day Picasso painted out the whole head. I can't see you any longer when I look, he said irritably."²⁰ Unfortunately, as Gertrude later would say with regret, no one thought of photographing the portrait. We are tempted to wonder whether, in this first version, Gertrude Stein wasn't looking at the viewer head on, like Ingres' *Monsieur Bertin*, whose body is also in three-quarter pose and whose "ghost . . . is revived also in the overwhelming



Standing Female Nude (Fernande). 1906. Oil on canvas, $60\frac{1}{2} \times 37^{1/8}$ " (153.7 × 94.3 cm). Zervos I, 327. D.B. XV, 27. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. The William S. Paley Collection



The Gosol Madonna. Twelfth century. Polychrome wood, 30¹/4" (77 cm) high. Museu d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona

presence of Picasso's portrait of Gertrude Stein," as Robert Rosenblum would write.²¹ Picasso was obviously fascinated by the way Ingres, using a dark palette, could make light appear on the face and hands, which stand out so starkly. Something of this remains in his treatment of Gertrude's hands. We must not forget that this period in which the ninety sittings took place (early 1906) was the time of his broader "rivalry" with Ingres, as in the harmonious classicism exemplified by the *Boy Leading a Horse*, a period that continues through the beginning of his stay in Gosol, as we shall see. The sudden, unexpected paintingout of Gertrude's face no doubt had to do with Picasso's decision to distance his portrait from that first illusionistic and somewhat idealizing conception of it.

Gertrude Stein connected Picasso's stopping work on her portrait with the 1906 Salon des Indépendants and in doing so offers us a clue to Picasso's decision. Perhaps the shock he experienced on seeing Matisse's large canvas the Joy of Life, which hung in triumph at the Salon, and Matisse's large exhibition at the Druet gallery, had something to do with it. Picasso must have seen in the Joy of Life a kind of dialogue with the Turkish Bath. There was an exaltation in the rhythms of the bodies of the female nudes of the Joy of Life that went well beyond Ingres, because from that point on Matisse purified these rhythmic contourings of all detail and modeling so that the movement of his composition was created by arabesque outlines. At Druet's, Picasso once again found these kinds of contours-now even more exaggerated and simplified—in the three woodcuts shown there and also, very probably, in the lithographs (such as Half-length Nude), where the abstraction and the interruption of forms, as well as the importance placed on rhythm, broke completely with classical drawing.22

Matisse provoked Picasso on the latter's own ground as a draftsman and engraver, but in an entirely revolutionary way, free of everything that remained academic in Ingres' work. Their competition would become even more intense when the Steins decided to buy the *Joy of Life* and when Matisse and Picasso finally met.

Picasso must have felt surpassed by the older Matisse. We see him taking up the challenge in a new series of still lifes (he had not painted any since the *Still Life* of 1901). At Gosol, in the summer of 1906, he began to paint them again, focusing on the theme of the *porron*²³ (he had seen Matisse's *Still Life with a Purro* at Druet's). In July Picasso also made a wood engraving, *Bust of a Girl*; this type of engraving, which allows for very strong contrasts,²⁴ was then out of fashion, so it can only be linked to Matisse's endeavors in the same medium.

Can one speak of primitivism, in the general sense of the term, at this stage?²⁵ It is surely possible to do so for wood engraving and for the very theme of the *Joy of Life*. The idea of a kind of primitive pastoral was already in the air for the Fauves.²⁶ Picasso had met André Derain at the end of 1905 and very probably had seen his somewhat pointillist large painting *The Golden Age*; it was filled with daring innovations in its composition, and it also borrowed figures from the *Turkish Bath*. In addition, in the winter of 1905–06, he had discovered at the Louvre the Iberian sculptures that predate the Roman Empire; and, as James Johnson Sweeney suggested in 1941,²⁷ they offered him a primitivism from his native Andalusia. In a sense, they could be said to belong to him.

None of this means that in that spring of 1906 Picasso could already foresee the transformation of the *Portrait of Gertrude Stein* into the image we know. But we can surmise that he was discomforted by Matisse's and Derain's "anticlassical" evolution and most likely began to question the path he was following, one that was too influenced by Ingres' ideal of perfection. His stay in Spain seems not to have been planned before Ambroise



Head of a Woman with a Chignon (Fernande). 1906. Gouache on paper, $24\frac{1}{2} \times 18\frac{1}{2}$ " (62 × 47 cm). Zervos I, 332. D.B. XV, 20. Collection Susan and Lewis Manilow

Vollard bought the contents of his studio—which brought in the necessary money only at the beginning of May—even though the backgrounds of *Young Acrobat on a Ball* and *The Family of Saltimbanques* as well as *The Woman of Majorca* show an obvious nostalgia for the deserts near Málaga. In any event, the choice of spending the summer in Gosol, in the Spanish Pyrenees, completely isolated atop a rugged mountain, seems to reflect Picasso's desire to return to a stark life far from all modernity, to an ancestral, if not primitive, life.

Gosol and the Turn to Primitivism

If the paintings from the beginning of Picasso's stay at Gosol—*Two Youths* and *The Adolescents*,²⁸ for example— display his reflections on the contours of nude bodies in a monochrome infused with the ocher of the clay from the

region, the fact that they are stripped of all detail-to the point that the young girl is painted in profil perdu-links Ingres's influence to that of Matisse. Nonetheless, one cannot yet speak of any primitivism here. The same is true of the admirable Nude with Joined Hands, which is, as I have already said, a classical and even idealized portrait of Fernande. La Toilette²⁹ brought Picasso's lyricism to its apogee. The seated portrait of Fernande (p. 259) was probably painted at the same time. It shows her with an almost Ingres-like immobility (one need only turn her around to find Gertrude's pose). Fernande with a Black Mantilla30 is a more psychological portrait of his companion, with a certain nostalgia in her look. After these three paintings, there was a sudden break in Picasso's work. Instead of searching for classical harmony, he used the nude and the portraits as testing grounds for primitivist simplifications in which he tried to recapture





Woman Plaiting Her Hair (Fernande). 1906. Bronze, $16\frac{1}{2} \times 10^{1/4} \times 12^{5/8}$ " (42 × 26 × 32 cm). Zervos I, 329. Spies 7. The Baltimore Museum of Art. The Cone Collection, formed by Dr. Claribel Cone and Miss Etta Cone of Baltimore, Marvland

something of the strength and the roughness of early art.

Typical is the *Standing Female Nude* (p. 261), which picks up on the half-length *Nude with Joined Hands*, now as a full-length nude portrait, the light contours of which barely emerge from the rose/ocher monochrome background. But all conventional charm has vanished. The body has lost its former triumphant femininity, the hands modestly conceal the sex. The torso has been made relatively smaller, intensified by a perspective that rises above the nude in relation to the viewer, whereas the long but heavy legs accentuate a solid monumentality. The idollike character of Fernande in this picture is underlined by a face that has been reduced to simple volumes, with all identifying details removed. It is a sort of mask of Fernande's face.

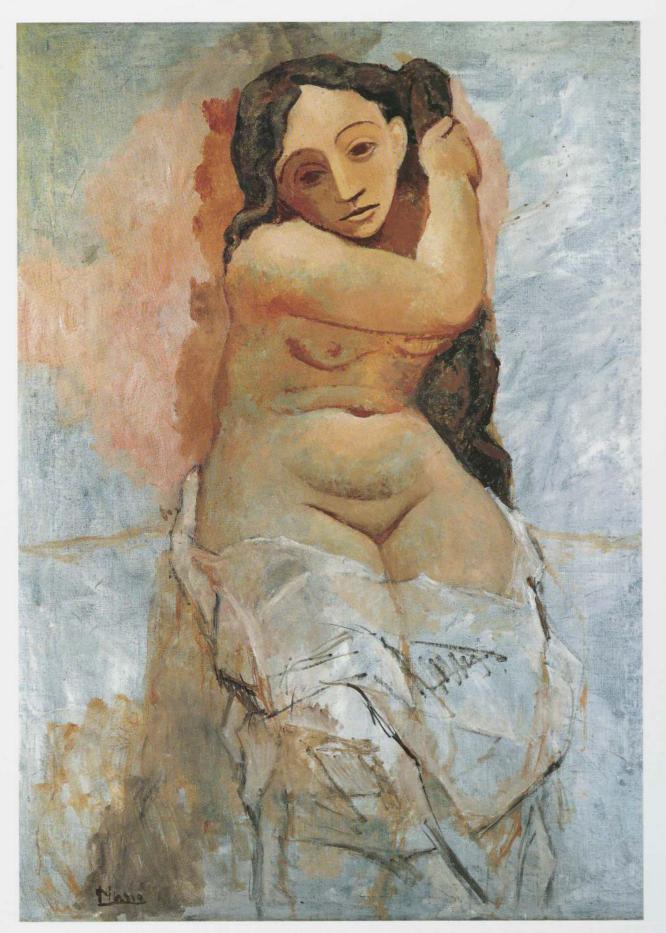
The fact that Picasso felt the need to rupture the tooperfect harmonies that obtained in his work from the beginning of his Gosol stay is in keeping with everything we know about his temperament and the uneasiness that came over him when faced with his greatest successes, which he tended to perceive as impasses. Picasso wanted to go beyond immediate resemblance, beyond even the exaltation of beauty, in order to arrive at an image of a woman outside time, far removed from any fashion, an

Study for Woman Plaiting Her Hair. 1906. Crayon and charcoal on paper, 22 × 16" (55.8 × 40.7 cm). Zervos I, 34I. University of East Anglia. The Robert and Lisa Sainsbury Collection

immemorial woman who would, in fact, hark back to the simplicity of the first attempts at artistic expression.

Did he, at that time, rely on preexisting models? A tendency to return to the origins of art, to primitivism, already existed in the Joy of Life and in the woodcuts from Matisse's exhibition at Druet's, with probably even an example of a face reduced to a mask.³¹ No doubt it also existed in Derain's work, but because Derain was in London from the end of January to mid-March 1906, he and Picasso must not have seen much of each other. Nevertheless, Picasso probably could have seen Derain's Golden Age and even The Dance, if it had already been painted. This remains hypothetical, however. Derain's purchase of Vlaminck's Fang mask has been dated to 1906, and his enthusiasm for the Museum of Mankind of the British Museum can be seen in a letter to Vlaminck dated March 7, 1906.32 Derain could have communicated this enthusiasm to Picasso upon his return to Paris at the time of the Salon des Indépendants.

The gouache *Head of a Woman with a Chignon* (p. 263) offers a study of this masklike face. Again we find Fernande's almond-shaped eyes, but they are expressionless. The special attention paid to her ear, which projects beneath the reduced and simplified head of hair (looking



Woman Plaiting Her Hair (Fernande). 1906. Oil on canvas, 49⁵/₈ × 35³/₄" (126 × 90.8 cm). Zervos I, 336. D.B. XVI, 7. Estate of Florene M. Schoenborn



Gertrude Stein (detail). Fiesole, Italy, summer 1905. Photographer unknown. Yale Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University

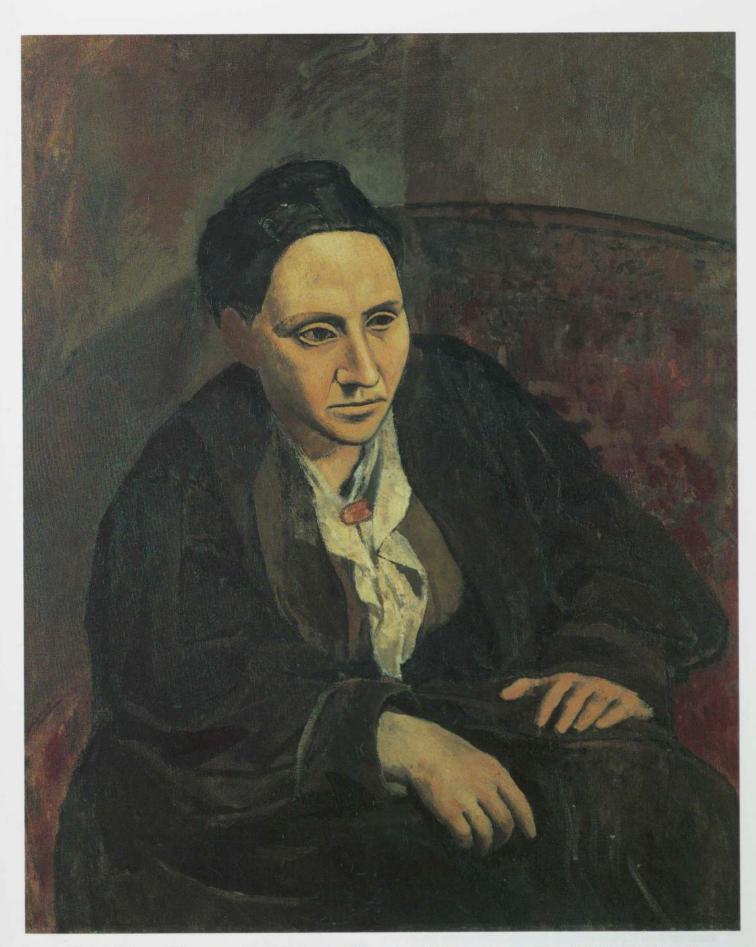
almost plastered to the skull), brings to mind the conventions of Iberian sculpture to such a degree that it is impossible not to see these sculptures as one of the sources for the image. But Picasso's main reference here probably lies elsewhere and comes from Gosol itself. John Richardson³³ has clarified Josep Palau i Fabre's account³⁴ of the role played by Picasso's discovery of the twelfthcentury sculpture of the Virgin of Gosol (which had not vet been transferred to the Museum of Catalan Art in Barcelona; p. 262). He underlines "its hieratic stylizations -the Madonna's wide-open, staring eyes and eyebrows emphatically drawn in as if by a cosmetician." If the eyes in the study, like those in Standing Female Nude, which remained almond-shaped, do not resemble those of the Virgin, the shape of the eyebrows in raised arches and the masklike face do indeed recall her; but above all, Picasso seems to have re-created in his nude the effect produced by the disproportionate size of the head in relation to the narrowness of the torso.

The interest of these first endeavors lies in the fact that here Picasso was fabricating his own primitivism by isolating, within the "primitive objects," disparate elements which were unbalanced in their proportions. Let us recall that these were not his first reflections on archaic or (what was then called) "primitive" art, which included Western medieval styles. The large canvas *Two Sisters*,³⁵ painted in the spring of 1902, in the midst of the Blue period, which represents a whore and a mother beneath the arches of Saint-Lazare prison, had already assimilated the stylization of the drapery taken from Gothic sculpture. The profile of the face on the right, on the other hand, goes further in its schematic character and offers the viewer an almost frontal eye, much like that of the face of the idol in Gauguin's *The Spirit of the Dead Watching* (p. 348); Picasso would use it again in the face of the whore on the left in the final state of *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*. (In 1902 he probably could have seen Gauguin's lithographs of that picture at the studio of Paco Durrio, a collector and friend of Gauguin's, but no doubt he was also struck by a similar kind of representation in the illuminations and in Romanesque statues in Barcelona's Museum of Catalan Art.)

Another aspect of Gosol primitivism is the break with likeness, which is a consequence of Picasso's endeavor to reduce the face to a kind of mask. In the Carnet Catalan, he made numerous sketches of the women of Gosol wearing scarves wound tightly around their heads, and he transformed Fernande in that way. But whereas the Spanish framing of the black mantilla in *Fernande with a Black Mantilla* was very becoming for the youthful grace of Fernande's nostalgic face, the Gosol scarf around Fernande's head, in *Fernande with a Kerchief* or in *Recumbent Nude* (Fernande),³⁶ emphasized only an abstract oval of her face. Picasso sought to render only those aspects of Fernande's face and body that could sustain this simplification and reduction to volumes. The psychological emptiness is now complete.



Gertrude Stein (detail). 27, rue de Fleurus, Paris, c. 1909–10. Photographer unknown. Collection Edward Burns



Portrait of Gertrude Stein. 1906. Oil on canvas, 39¹/₄ × 32["] (99.6 × 81.3 cm). Zervos I, 352. D.B. XVI, 10. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Bequest of Gertrude Stein, 1946

This is the seed of the idea that would dominate Cubism after Picasso and Georges Braque linked up— "like mountain-climbers," the latter said³⁷—in the fall of 1908. Fernande had already become something of a plastic object in Picasso's mind by the middle of the summer of 1906. With these dynamics of primitivist simplification, the artist felt he was on to something both new and successful, and he must have sensed that, in terms of the avant-garde, he was catching up with Matisse and Derain, even surpassing them. A note in the Carnet Catalan expresses his intoxication: "A tenor who reaches a note higher than the one written in the score. Me!"³⁸

When he returned to Paris in late summer, Picasso threw all of this accumulated experience into the masklike face of Gertrude, completing her portrait in the form in which we know it today. No longer was this a testing ground, as had been the successive primitivizations of Fernande during the summer; it had become a way of affirming that he was painting the archetypal Gertrude Stein, beyond the circumstances of her daily life, rendered as she would look for eternity. And, as we know, he succeeded. In 1933 Gertrude wrote: "Only a few years ago when Gertrude Stein had had her hair cut short, she had always up to that time worn it as a crown on top of her head as Picasso has painted it, when she had had her hair cut, a day or so later she happened to come into a room and Picasso was several rooms away. She had a hat on but he caught sight of her through two doorways and approaching her quickly called out, Gertrude, what is it, what is it. What is what, Pablo, she said. Let me see, he said. She let him see. And my portrait, said he sternly. Then his face softening he added, mais, quand même, tout y est, all the same it is all there."39 This was how he created for Gertrude Stein a face as a woman of the avant-garde. Her portrait now corresponded to the role she wanted to play in writing literature for the twentieth century.

During the same period, Picasso transformed the faces in his large canvas *La Coiffure*⁴⁰ into their respective masks. He then took up the pattern again in a series of variations that became increasingly primitivist of an image of Fernande combing her hair while kneeling, fullface, her eyebrows arched, but with blank eyes (p. 264). All of these were painted on a red background, rather than the ocher of Gosol, and they culminated in the magnificent large canvas *Woman Plaiting Her Hair* (p. 265).

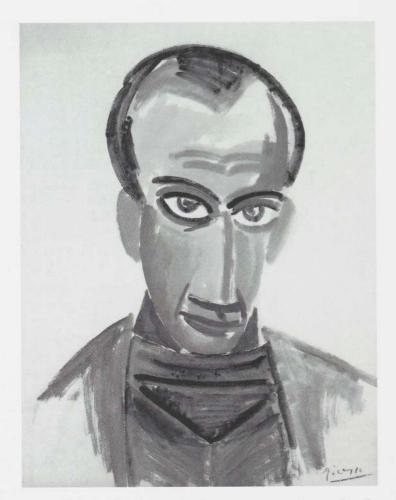
Primitivism and African Art, Late 1906–Spring 1908

For Picasso, Matisse, and Derain, the fall of 1906 was dominated by various forms of primitivism. Derain had bought his African Fang mask, Matisse his first African statuette, and Gauguin's large retrospective at the Salon d'Automne brought together almost two-thirds of his entire production, including many of his previously unexhibited "Oceanic" works.

During the months that followed, Fernande was no longer recognizable in Picasso's experimental feminine figures, some of which would lay the groundwork for Les Demoiselles d'Avignon; significantly, the artist now used his own face as the model on which he experimented with different forms of primitivism-or at least what he considered as such. The effects culled from Iberian sculpture, such as the enlarged ears and heavy eyelids, led directly to the masklike Self-Portrait with Palette (p. 137). An extreme addition to this congregation of stylistic factors is the appearance, in two versions employing Iberian effects,41 of blank eyes. It is true that Picasso had already been led to use blank eyes in his search for primitivist effects in Gosol. (He did so, for example, in the first version of Fernande in a Mantilla.42) However, the eyes in his two self-portraits closely resemble those of the first African figure bought by Matisse, a Vili object from the French Congo (below). This seated personage has large eyes that appear even more blank as the back of the sockets has been laminated with mother-of-pearl.43 It is highly possible that this was the first African object Picasso had ever examined at leisure, and it appears that he was greatly struck by it. By the emphasis he placed on his own blank eyes, he found himself able to establish a meeting, a convergence of sorts, with the anonymous African sculptor. Hence, there



Figure. Vili. People's Republic of the Congo. Wood, $9\frac{3}{8}$ " (24 cm) high. Private collection



Portrait of Max Jacob. Early 1907. Gouache on paper mounted on cardboard, 24³/₈ × 18⁵/₈" (62 × 47.5 cm). Zervos II¹, 9. Daix 48. Museum Ludwig, Collection Ludwig, Cologne. (Colorplate, p. 23)

is a remarkable resemblance between the masklike face of this statuette and at least certain aspects of the two contemporaneous self-portraits,⁴⁴ in which the role of the blank eye takes on major importance. Picasso continued to explore this concern in a series of female heads with blank eyes, which culminate in the large *Seated Nude* in Prague.⁴⁵

While this use of blank eyes is a signal of Picasso's early interest in African art, it is not yet a structural aspect of his work, remaining but one of the borrowings, references, and signatures of primitivism. He had proceeded much in the same way in the influences he had absorbed in Gosol—Roman, Iberian, or even Matissean. In early 1907 we find the same elements—including the blank eyes-in Man, Woman, and Child (p. 135),46 a canvas showing a "primitivized" Picasso clearly moved by a woman in profile holding an infant (whose face is also primitivized). In all likelihood the canvas was linked to his hope of Fernande's becoming pregnant. This hope was never realized, a fact that led Fernande and Picasso to adopt a young girl named Raymonde, whose face appears in sketches in the Carnet 6 (shown in the 1988 exhibition of Les Demoiselles d'Avignon).47 Though the face is sketched in only a few lines, this image is no doubt an excellent likeness. In the meantime, Picasso had been making a number of "caricatural" portraits of both Apollinaire and Salmon and had even planned a sculpture of the latter.⁴⁸ There was also a large gouache portrait of Max Jacob from this time (above), perhaps linked to the presence of a sailor in the original idea for the brothel that became the *Demoiselles*. But these seem to have been momentary inspirations that did not together define any single answer in the direction of a primitivist approach.

The Self-Portrait of 1907 in the Národní Galerie, Prague (p. 139), is an entirely different matter. It dates from a time slightly later, when Picasso—under the shock of Matisse's *Blue Nude: Memory of Biskra* and Derain's *Bathers*, both of which he discovered at the spring Salon des Indépendants of 1907—moved from using bits and pieces of a primitivist vocabulary to a coherent realization of an entirely primitivist style. This formulation would reach its epitome in the repainted version of *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, where he replaced many of the rounded forms of the initial "Iberian" version with angular, roughhewn volumes.

In the Prague *Self-Portrait*, Picasso did not simply represent his face by means of primitivist borrowings such as



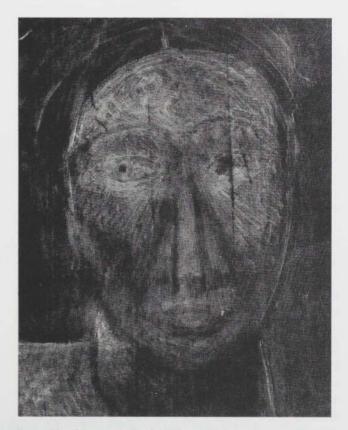
Portrait of Fernande. 1908. Pencil on paper, $7^{7/8} \times 5^{1/4''}$ (20 × 13.4 cm). Zervos II², 700. Musée Picasso, Paris

the enlarged eyes and ear. These preoccupations now became secondary in relation to his move into a primitivism that is no longer expressed mainly by the reduction of the face to a mask, but that is in a way inflicted on the very craft of painting. The Prague self-portrait flouts all the inherited assumptions of painting. The striking relief of the brushstrokes in the hair, a thickness of impasto that permits him to make grooves with the brush handle, places within the pictorial vocabulary of the canvas the effects of roughhewn carving found in some tribal sculptures, which probably inspired a few wood carvings made by Picasso at the same time.⁴⁹ Hence, clumsiness and violence are introduced directly into the facture of the painting itself. That deliberately coarse manner is virtually identical to the slashing brushwork of the masklike heads on the right in the Demoiselles. The Self-Portrait can thus be said to have served as a testing ground for Picasso's way of painting when he reworked his manifesto-like great Demoiselles canvas.

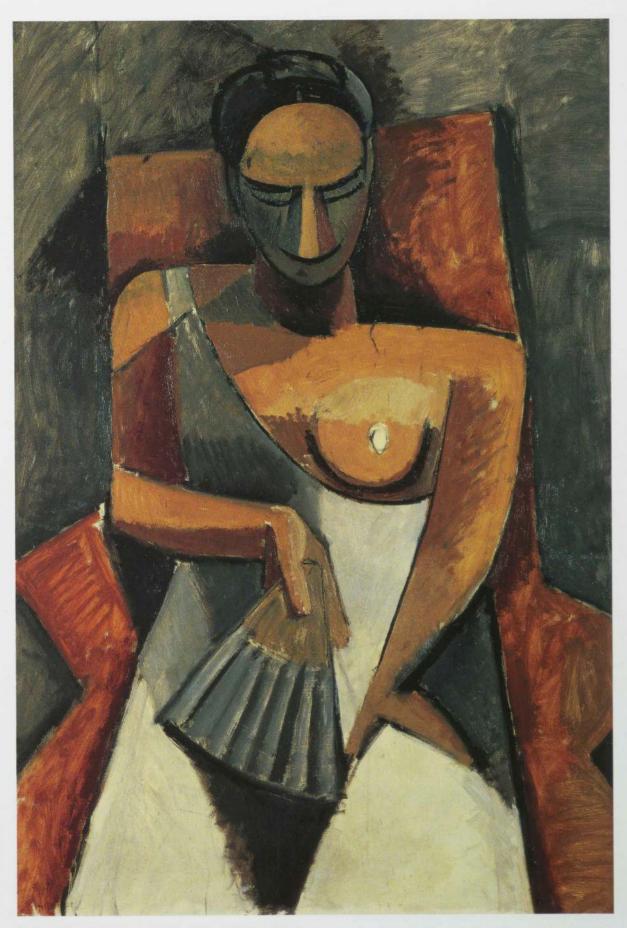
The question of the portrait resurfaces as Picasso rethinks African art during the spring of 1908. Tribal masks and sculpture, in their severe stylization and their frontality, were in some ways "antiportraits," in which all that is individual disappears. In Carnet 16, shown in the 1988 exhibition of *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* at the Musée Picasso in Paris, we find a sketch of a self-portrait remarkable for the primitivism of the large eyes and ears and especially for its total frontality.⁵⁰ In the same Carnet 16 there is a *Portrait of Fernande* (above). If we assume that the order of the pages in Carnet 16 is chronological, Fernande was, in fact, the first to be used in attempts of

this kind; her portrait employs the same frontality as Picasso's Self-Portrait, with the exception of a slight change in the hair. Unlike the self-portrait, however, this portrait of Fernande culminates in a masterpiece, Woman with a Fan (opposite). The initial idea for this paintingalso found in Carnet 16—was a full-face portrait of a woman standing.⁵¹ Here we find something well beyond the "natural" Fernande: an eternal idol, the frontality of whose masklike face brings out the dynamic, powerful dissymetrical balance created by the extremely geometrized unevenness of the shoulders, reinforced by the opposition between the straight lines of the armchair or the fan and the curves of the face and the naked breast, and also by the arc of the circle that crosses the entire composition, marking the contrast of the upper limit of the white dress. Picasso probably had in mind, in addition to African frontality, a broader "archaic" frontality such as is found in Egyptian or Greek sculpture. His work moves, therefore, from the arts that he considers the most primitive, to his rapid, simplified painting, geometrized in its movement, in which he sees a workmanship for and of the twentieth century.

Here Picasso knew how to assimilate the plastic values of African statuary in order to construct from them a new contrast of his own making. He had moved from a series of African borrowings that had been, until then, local, exterior, and anecdotal, to their structural re-creation; at the same time, he went far beyond the bounds of traditional



X ray of head, Woman with a Fan (Fernande)



Woman with a Fan (Fernande). 1908. Oil on canvas, 59⁷/₈ × 39³/₄" (152 × 101 cm). Zervos II¹, 67. Daix 168. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg

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Head of a Peasant Woman (Madame Putman). 1908. Charcoal on paper, $24^{\frac{1}{4}} \times 18^{\frac{7}{6}}$ " (63 × 48 cm). Zervos VI, 1008. Collection Marina Picasso. Courtesy Galerie Jan Krugier, Geneva



Bust of a Peasant Woman (Madame Putman). 1908. Oil on canvas, $31^{7/8} \times 22''$ (81 × 56 cm). Zervos II, 92. Daix 194. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg

portraiture. If Gertrude Stein's masklike face is timeless, her body, her clothing, and her attitude belong very much to the Rose period during which she actually posed. In *Woman with a Fan*, Fernande becomes a geometric abstraction, hieratic and immemorial.⁵²

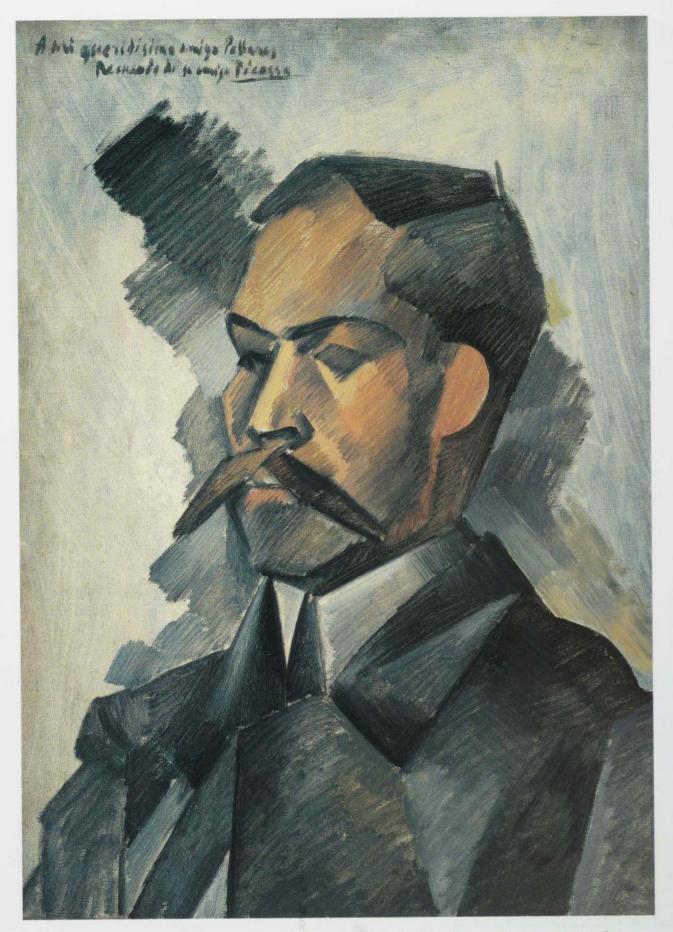
From the "Découpage" of Volumes to the Portrait of Vollard, Spring 1909–Autumn 1910

Picasso's discussions with Braque about the works the latter brought back from l'Estaque, his completion of *Three Women* thereafter, and his move to the series of still lifes that marks the beginning of the Picasso/Braque dialogue took Picasso away from considerations of the portrait. At the beginning of spring the portrait reappears in *Woman in an Armchair*,⁵³ Picasso's first attempt at slicing the planes of the face into facets. He considered it enough of a success to send a photograph of it to the Steins on March 23, 1909.

Most significant, however, was the fact that Picasso immediately began an entirely different type of portrait with the obvious goal of bringing about a comparison of the two methods. The *Portrait of Clovis Sagot* (p. 254) is probably the most Cézannesque of Picasso's portraits, given the rippling folds in the jacket sleeves, the hat, indeed, its overall figure-from-the-nineteenth-century aspect. It is painted very delicately with faint streaks that register the reflections of the light and that are typical of the Braque-influenced workmanship of the paintings from the spring of 1909. "Organic" curves are opposed to the straight lines in the drapery—an opposition that Picasso would push even further by refining the *découpage* of his shapes in the portraits of Fernande that he made the following summer at Horta de Ebro.

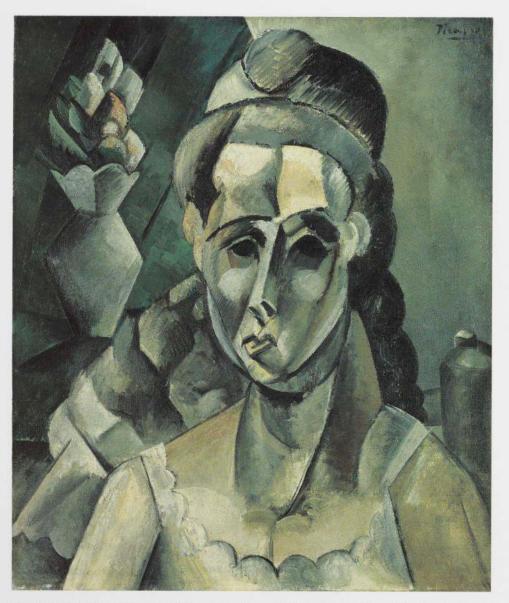
The exhibition *Picasso photographe* at the Musée Picasso in 1994 included two photographs of Clovis Sagot—one frontal, the other in profile—posing in the studio at the Bateau-Lavoir (p. 218). Picasso had used them in painting this portrait.⁵⁴ Anne Baldassari noted that "this pairing of camera angles brings to mind the way photography was used for police identification. . . . The constraints of the form may be understood—and in fact were used by Picasso—as allowing for the most propitious descriptive analysis of the subject for the preparation of a rigorous synthesis of its representation."⁵⁵

If we compare the style of the Sagot portrait to that of *Woman in an Armchair*, we can more easily comprehend Picasso's need to proceed to the most rigorous "descriptive analysis" possible and, at the same time, to remain as pictorially close as possible to Cézanne, who, among his precursors, was the one Picasso believed to have reached the utmost objectivity in this area. One could say that, in the spring of 1909, Picasso compared three models of objectivity—that of photography, and two others that



Portrait of Manuel Pallarés. 1909. Oil on canvas, 26³/₄ × 19¹/₂" (68 × 49.5 cm). Zervos XXVI, 425. Daix 274. The Detroit Institute of Arts. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Ford II

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Woman with Vase of Flowers. 1909. Oil on canvas, $23^{3/4} \times 20^{1/3}$ " (60.5 × 52 cm). Zervos II¹, 156. Daix 282. Sprengel Museum, Hannover, on loan from Collection Bernhard Sprengel Foundation

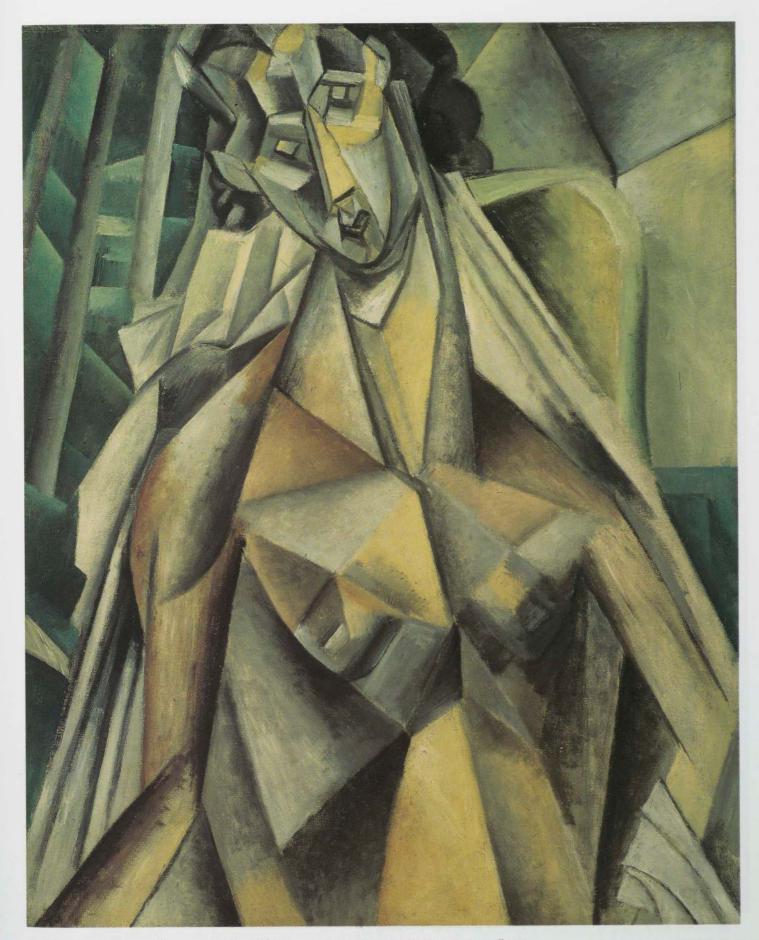
came from his own brushes, one in the manner of Cézanne (to whom, following Braque, he turns with more and more intensity—the canvas *Cézanne's Hat* dates from the same period), and finally, one that results in the elegant geometrization of organic volumes made possible by the cutting into facet planes.

In May 1909 Picasso left for Horta de Ebro with the benefit of this experimentation. Very significantly, he took advantage of a stop in Barcelona to paint a delicately geometrized portrait of his old friend Manuel Pallarés, executed with vibrant, broken-facet strokes (p. 273). In this portrait Picasso is obviously seeking an objective way to synthesize the forms, since Pallarés's portrait is midway between the *découpage* of the *Woman in an Armchair* and the Cézannism of the *Portrait of Clovis Sagot*.

On June 24, 1909, Picasso wrote to the Steins that he

had begun, at Horta, two landscapes and two figures. As the exhibition *Picasso and Braque: Pioneering Cubism* confirmed in 1989, he must have been talking about the two landscapes of the Mountain of Santa Bárbara,⁵⁶ a subject he had already painted in 1898. Now, however, he could apply to that subject the lessons learned from Cézanne's *Mont Sainte-Victoire*. As for the figures, since he writes to Gertrude that it is "always the same thing," he must be referring to the *Bust of a Man*⁵⁷ that was made from the photograph of a violinist, and to *The Athlete* (destroyed in a fire at the São Paulo Museum). These two works, in their slicing of planes, are close to the *Woman with Vase of Flowers* (above), one of the first portraits of Fernande at Horta in which the fragmentation of organic shapes is still discreet.

Picasso had arrived at the point of "slicing" Fernande's



Nude in an Armchair. 1909. Oil on canvas, 36¹/₄ × 28³/₄" (92 × 73 cm). Zervos II¹, 174. Daix 302. Private collection



Head of a Woman (Fernande). 1909. Bronze, $16^{1\!/\!4}$ " (41.3 cm) high. Zervos II², 573. Spies 24. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Purchase

head into rectilinear facets, but he did this out of purely plastic motivation. To see in this either aggression or sensuality is to misread Cubism. He used this device simply because she—like the Mountain of Santa Bárbara or the bottle of Anis del Mono (Anis del Mono was a popular aperitif whose bottle offered facets of glass and on which he would base a still life)—was, so to say, there. In his first series of planarily cut portrayals (p. 295), he objectively records, in clinical detail, Fernande's plumpness, her fatigue, and the first signs of age on her face.⁵⁸

Painting itself now reigned supreme, blossoming with renewed vitality beyond all inherited assumptions as to its limits, subject only to the geometricizing demands of his refiner's fire. In working in this manner, Picasso transferred to these portraits the monumentality acquired in his geometrization of the Horta landscapes, such as Houses on the Hill and The Factory. If Picasso exaggerated the former (far beyond what we see of these landscapes in the photographs he took) in regard to the height, proportions, and simplicity of the houses and hills rising before him (far more than what Cézanne had dared do in his "vertical perspective" of Gardanne)-and added, in The Factory, nonexistent palm trees in order to contrast their arabesques with the rectilinearity of the buildings⁵⁹he did the same thing when using Fernande as subject. She exists as little more than a "motif," a springboard to

the free improvisation of his geometric reconstruction of fragmented shapes. One can, of course, recognize Fernande's voluminous head of hair and the general contours of her face, sliced into large masses in Woman with Pears (opposite). But her almond-shaped eyes have become rectangles so as to harmonize with the lozenges and polygons of her diced forehead, whereas the geometrization of her torso and, above all, her neck, in an ensemble of contrasting and opposed triangles, brings to her the same exalted height, the same pyramidal "vertical perspective" as one finds in the landscapes. The only remaining fragments of curves are in her chin and hair, or in the pears in the fruit dish—also cut into rectangles—on a table to the left. But while Fernande is no longer the subject of the painting, she remains its muse or inspiration. She has become what the new painting has to say about her. This is the culmination of the creative trajectory begun in the masklike images of Fernande at Gosol and in the repainted face of Gertrude Stein, which had been carried a step further in the "African" stylization of the Woman with a Fan. The portrait is no longer a naturalistic representation but has become everything that painting can appropriate from the model in order to transform it into what only painting can express. The portrait becomes the sum of all that Picasso's plastic imagination can extract and transform from the model.

Clearly the stay in Horta led Picasso to another discovery. Fernande's portrait does not appear as a single canvas, but is, so to say, spread across an entire series of works, in a manner more compact in terms of theme than Cézanne's series on Mont Sainte-Victoire. This serial character is no doubt one of the motivations for Picasso's photographs of groupings of his paintings in the studio. It is also a key to the somewhat serial character of the transformations of his later companions.

After Picasso's return to Paris, the fragmentations of



Fernande Olivier and Picasso (detail). Paris, c. 1910. Photograph by Picasso. Musée Picasso, Paris, Documents section



Woman with Pears (Fernande). 1909. Oil on canvas, 36¹/₄ × 28⁷/₈" (92 × 73 cm). Zervos II¹, 170. Daix 290. Estate of Florene M. Schoenborn

Fernande's face are seen again in their sculptural counterpart, executed in the fall of 1909 (p. 276). From then on, Picasso had at his disposal a three-dimensional model of his découpage of her head. This resulted in a refinement of the painted découpage style, as seen in Woman and Mustard Pot and Woman in Green.⁶⁰ Although at Horta Picasso seemed to have put aside the problem of resemblance in order to concentrate on structure and monumentality, he now returned to it. If we take into account the facts that he did not come back from Horta before mid-September, and that he must have had trouble working because of the difficulties caused by his move to the boulevard de Clichy, his renewed interest in the portrait can only be related to his and Braque's response to the 1909 Salon d'Automne, which contained a large group of pictures by Corot that illustrated the artist's amazing ability to integrate his figures into their landscape settings.

At this point, Picasso changed models with *Woman in a Black Hat*—a woman who is obviously not Fernande and with the thin figure in *Nude Woman in an Armchair*,⁶¹ a replica of a painting he had done before leaving for Horta. He then did a painting of Mademoiselle Léonie⁶² (the subject of which, according to Madame Sacher, the painting's first owner, was an acrobat from the Medrano circus), a portrait so named because Max Jacob found she resembled the heroine of his book *Saint Matorel*. At this time, taking a page from Braque, Picasso also painted his first oval format, *Woman with a Mandolin*,⁶³ the model for which remains unknown to us, and the remarkable *Girl with a Mandolin* (opposite), for which the professional model Fanny Tellier posed. Of course, female mandolin players had been a favorite theme of Corot's.

In the meantime, Picasso had painted two versions of a woman in an armchair, in which he abandoned the question of the portrait in favor of generic works wherein he explored the possibilities of *découpage* as a way of eliding the figure and its spatial surroundings.⁶⁴ The *Girl with a Mandolin* took up this question once again, but here Picasso seems to draw closer to the presence of his model, who was posing nude; this can be seen in the gracefulness that emanates from her pose, the delicacy of the geometrization of the chest, and especially the face, where Picasso folds back into the plane of the canvas the hidden facet of the profile, in a procedure which Kahnweiler would call, in reference to the works done in Cadaqués in the summer of 1910, "the shattering of the homogeneous shape."⁶⁵

The Portrait of Wilhelm Uhde (p. 281), done in spring 1910, is painted in light tones with the same luminous vibrations, obtained by means of monochrome tonal variations, that are found in the Tellier portrait; above all, there is a fusion of the facet slices of the figure and those of the ambient space. However, the shape of the face is now shattered in a manner different from anything seen earlier (as the left profile is interrupted near the ear), and there is more Cézannesque "passage" in the play of facet planes that the greater fracturing of the head allows. Another innovation here is that the left eye is completely in profile, while the right remains frontal. This reverses the effect produced in *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* by the frontal eye in the profile face of the woman on the far left. Picasso would return to it again with greater vigor in the "reconstructed" faces created during World War II.

We know from a letter from Fernande to the Steins that Picasso was working on a portrait of Ambroise Vollard (p. 283) in June 1910, and that this portrait had "dragged over several months."66 A comparison of it with works from the spring of 1910, made possible by the exhibition Picasso and Braque: Pioneering Cubism, has led us to shift the date of this portrait's completion to the fall, not only because the overall tonality is darker, but also because the facet planes are more delicate and more complex, the number and frequency of "passages" having increased. With Vollard's portrait, Picasso found himself in a situation similar to the one he had been in when painting that of Gertrude Stein. No doubt he wanted to prove to Vollard the validity of the progress of his "Cubism" (a word that was now already in vogue) by emphasizing its ability to characterize. Vollard would later stress the portrait's resemblance, saying: "The son of one of my friends, a four-year-old lad, finding himself in front of the painting, put his finger on it and said, without hesitating, 'That's Voyard.' "67

Vollard himself does not seem to have posed, nor does Picasso seem to have taken a photograph of him, as had been the case with Kahnweiler, whose portrait he began in the autumn of 1910, when he was completing the Vollard portrait.⁶⁸ This new portrait (p. 285) broke completely with the resemblance achieved in Vollard's, because Picasso takes into account the experience of painting the abstract figures in the summer at Cadaqués. He combines their structural framework with only peripheral references to his model. These references are the result of an analysis of identifying details in Kahnweiler's photograph. His eyes, nose, mouth, gloved hands, and a button of his jacket signal his character and draw attention to his fastidiousness in costume and manners, at which Picasso and his friends constantly poked fun. Except for a more luminous luster in the monochromatic gradations in the planes of the face and a kind of shadow in the torso area, however, there is nothing in the cutting of planes to mark the limit of the sitter as there was in Vollard's portrait.

Yet there is still a human presence created by the combination of the abstract scaffolding and the ensemble of coherent signs. But when we speak of Analytic Cubism in this regard, we must not forget that a process of synthesizing is already at work, though differently from the



Girl with a Mandolin (Fanny Tellier). 1910. Oil on canvas, 39½ × 29″ (100.3 × 73.6 cm). Zervos II¹, 235. Daix 346. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Nelson A. Rockefeller Bequest



Wilhelm Uhde. c. 1906. Photographer unknown

process as it will be seen in the Synthetic Cubism of 1912–14, which will synthesize different mediums, drawings, collages, or imitations of collages. It was a synthesis within painting, a Cézannesque synthesis, produced by variations in the lighting, by gradations and *passages* between the planar facets, which transformed Kahnweiler's portrait and its peripheral analytic references into an aesthetic whole, into a unified "apparition." And as we perceive this apparition, we are able gradually to identify the model by decoding the information provided by the signs. The following summer, in Céret, Picasso would explore the possibilities offered by a tapered scaffolding, but the experimentation for such nonimitative scaffolding for a portrait dates from the autumn of 1910.

The "Loss" of the Portrait and the Elements of Its Synthetic Reconstruction

The *Portrait of Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler* must have seemed to Picasso a compromise between the successful illusionism of the facet slices of the portrait of Vollard and the force of the more skeletonic structural scaffoldings evident in the paintings he created at Cadaqués. In any case, the figures that follow become even more abstract compositions, almost entirely without identifiable traits other than those that can be interpreted from their titles, or from those props that mark out space, such as the tablecloth fringe on a pedestal table, or the curtain loop with its tassel.

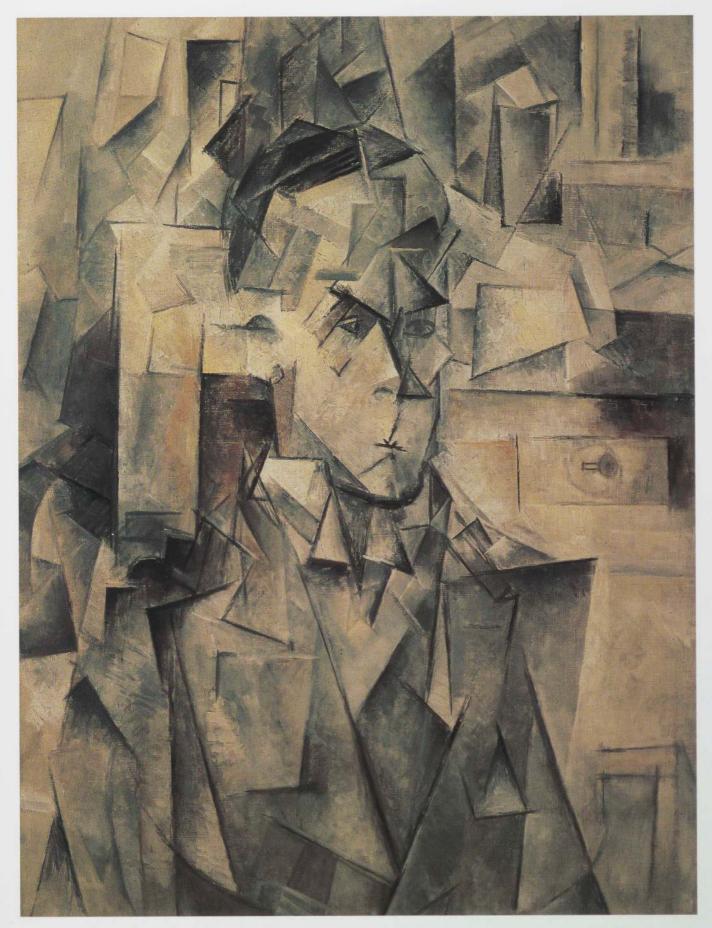
A careful examination of Picasso's photographs of friends in the boulevard de Clichy studio that were included in the exhibition *Picasso photographe* shows just how much "generic" paintings, such as *Man with a Pipe*, owe to them (p. 211).⁶⁹ This exploration leads Picasso, after his return to Paris in the fall of 1911, to the successful *Mandolin Player* and *Man with a Clarinet*, in which he nevertheless allows more personal attitudes to appear within his very abstract generic reconstructions.

As Pepe Karmel has pointed out, Picasso's sketches suggest that he seriously considered executing a portrait based on a photograph of Frank Haviland, a Franco-American dilettante and collector. Fernande Olivier, in her reminiscences, recalls Haviland's "magnificent dinner parties," but describes him as "stingy."⁷⁰ Though he bought only a few paintings, he seems to have been instrumental in arranging Picasso's 1909 commission to paint a series of library panels for the American painter and critic Hamilton Easter Field, who was Haviland's cousin.⁷¹ It was also thanks to Haviland that Picasso discovered the town of Céret in southwestern France, where he spent numerous working vacations during the years 1911–14.⁷²

An early 1912 photograph shows Haviland seated in Picasso's boulevard de Clichy studio (p. 286). As Karmel argues, this photograph seems to have provided a source for two series of drawings. In one, Picasso began with a caricatural sketch of Haviland's face (recalling his 1907 sketch of André Salmon, p. 183) and gradually abstracted its most salient elements: the protuberant chin, the long, "ski-slope" nose, the eyebrows, and the winglike forelocks of Haviland's center-parted hair (p. 286).⁷³

In the second series noted by Karmel, Picasso transcribes and geometrizes Haviland's overall figure, emphasizing the phallic head of the cane rising between his knees and the scalloped arms of the chair in which he is seated (p. 287). In other versions of this drawing, the figure is supplemented by the little circles and crosses corresponding to the tasseled fringe of the armchair.⁷⁴

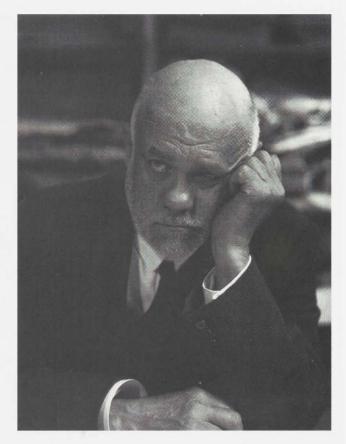
Picasso would return to the image of a seated man with a cane in a drawing (p. 287) of summer 1912 related to the painting *The Aficionado*, but the figure here has lost the markings relating it directly to Haviland, thus entering the category of the merely generic. The figure in the painted *Aficionado* wears a moustache, which does not appear in any known photograph of Haviland. Pictures such as *Man with a Pipe, Mandolin Player*, and (later) *The Aficionado* are in no way portraits; they are generalized structures, hence, character types rather than individuals. When Eva Gouel enters his life, the canvas that celebrates her—"*Ma Jolie*" (*Woman with a Zither or Guitar*)⁷⁵—is



Portrait of Wilhelm Uhde. 1910. Oil on canvas, 31⁷/₈ × 23⁵/₈" (81 × 60 cm). Zervos II¹, 217. Daix 338. Private collection



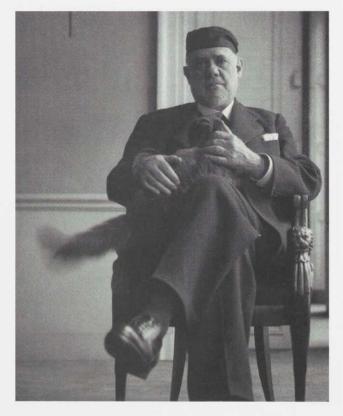
Portrait of Ambroise Vollard I. March 4, 1937 (printed in 1939). Aquatint, sugar lift aquatint, and engraving printed in black; plate $13^{13}/6 \times 9^{15}/6^{\circ\prime}$ (35.1 × 24.9 cm). Geiser/Baer III, 617. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Gift of Klaus G. Perls, in memory of Frank Perls, Art Dealer (by exchange)



Ambroise Vollard. Paris, 1930s. Photograph by Thérèse Bonney. Collection The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley



Portrait of Ambroise Vollard. c. 1945. Oil on canvas, $24\times18^{1}\!/\!s''$ (61 \times 46 cm). Private collection



Ambroise Vollard. 28, rue de Martignac, Paris, 1938. Photograph by Rose Adler. Universités de Paris, Bibliothèque Littéraire Jacques Doucet



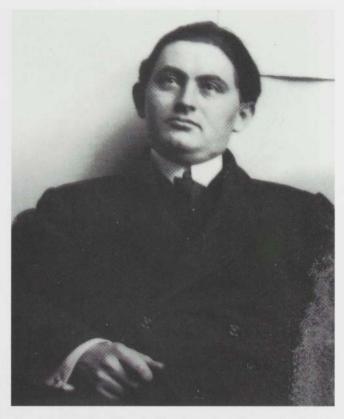
Portrait of Ambroise Vollard. 1910. Oil on canvas, 36¹/₄ × 25³/₈" (92 × 65 cm). Zervos II¹, 214. Daix 337. Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow

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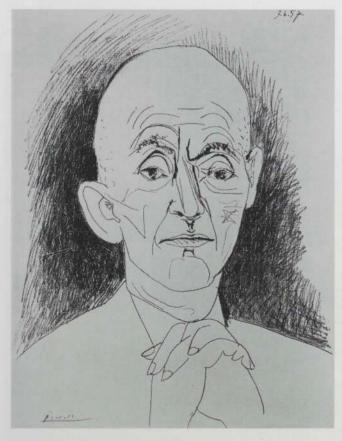
identifiable only by a single object and the inscription; indeed, the degree of abstraction is so great in this painting that Picasso hesitated for a long time between "guitare" and "cithare" for his title.

By the winter of 1911–12, Picasso's and Braque's quest for efficient associations between compositions of abstract purity (whose volumes vibrate beneath differences in the degree of illumination of the monochromatic paintings that are, for the most part, browns, beiges, grays, and whites), on the one hand, and information offered by plastic signs, on the other, exclude any and all ideas of individuality other than gesture or attitude. Thus—except in purely symbolic ways, such as in inscriptions on the surface—it excludes the portrait. This, in fact, led Pierre Reverdy, writing in the first issue of *Nord-Sud* on March 15, 1917, to state: "It will be understood that no cubist painter should execute a portrait."⁷⁶ Yet many other Cubist painters besides Picasso executed them quite well.

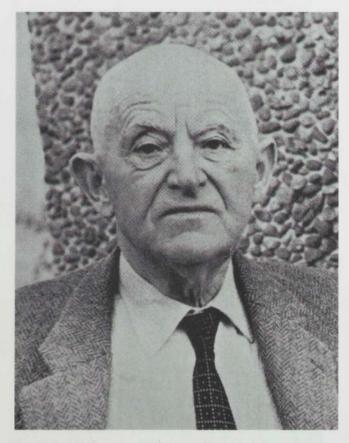
It is from the notion of "peripheral information" that Picasso discovers a set of possibilities that would allow him to return to a real form of portraiture without falling into illusionism. We know that after seeing the stenciled inscriptions (that is, inscriptions not made by the painter's hand) placed by Braque in his canvas *Le Portugais* (*The Emigrant*), Picasso would reintroduce bright color



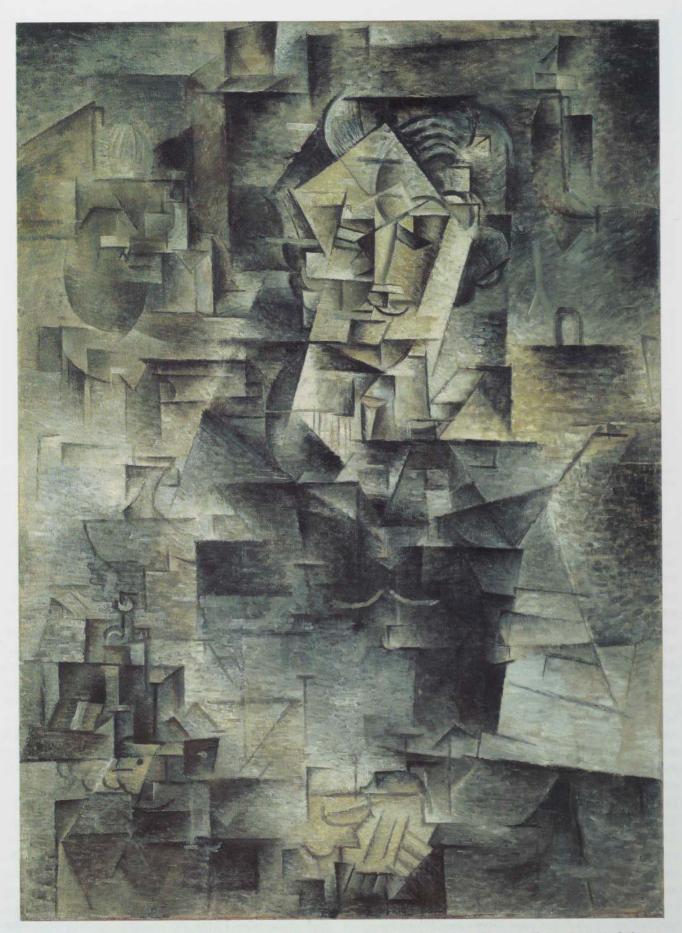
Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler (detail) in Picasso's studio at 11, boulevard de Clichy, Paris, autumn–winter 1910. Photograph by Picasso. Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives



Portrait of Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, III. June 3, 1957. Transfer lithograph printed in black; comp. $25\frac{3}{8} \times 19\frac{5}{16}$ " (64.5 × 49 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Saidenberg



Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler (detail), at "Le Prieuré" of Saint-Hilaire, near Etampes, 1966. Photograph by Franco Cianetti



Portrait of Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler. 1910. Oil on canvas, 39⁵/₈ × 28⁵/₈" (100.6 × 72.8 cm). Zervos II¹, 227. Daix 368. The Art Institute of Chicago. Gift of Mrs. Gilbert W. Chapman in memory of Charles B. Goodspeed

PORTRAITURE IN PRIMITIVISM AND CUBISM



 $\label{eq:Head} \begin{array}{l} \text{Head} \mbox{ (Study for a Portrait of Frank Haviland). 1912. Ink on paper,} \\ 11^{1/_2} \times 9^{1/_8}" \mbox{ (29 \times 23 cm). Zervos VI, 1147. Private collection} \end{array}$

(excluded from the almost monochrome works of 1909–11) into his canvases. However, this color is not treated imitatively, but rather as an external piece of information, almost like a sign. In order to mark the rupture with earlier compositions more clearly, Picasso began to use lacquer and Ripolin, thus breaking more forcefully with the matte look of the monochromatic works (and disconcerting Braque at first).⁷⁷ But the same reasoning would lead Picasso to glue a fragment of oilcloth on a still life to represent, in illusionistic fashion, chair caning (*Still Life with Chair Caning*).⁷⁸

Naturally there was a big step between this "information" and the realization of a nonillusionistic portrait, and Picasso was alone in taking it. The portrait did not interest Braque, whereas Picasso wanted to "sing" his love for Eva and had to content himself with merely "writing it" in his paintings. It was at Sorgues, in the summer of 1912, that he made a painting of a guitar in which there first appeared a gingerbread heart inscribed "J'aime Eva"; in another canvas, *L'Arlésienne*, the general bearing of the woman was reconstructed by the refraction of the image on several planes.⁷⁹ Picasso discovered in this way that he could return to a particular, no longer merely structural, image without recourse to illusionism. A drawing and a



Frank Burty Haviland (detail) in Picasso's studio at 11, boulevard de Clichy, Paris, early 1912. Photograph by Picasso. Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives

famous gouache of *Girl from Arles* (from the Menil collection; p. 288) reveal his progress in capturing the rhythm of the whole, as well as his greater freedom in the choice of evocative signs.⁸⁰ Picasso continued the experiment, after his *papiers collés* at the end of the autumn of 1912, in a large canvas, *Female Nude: "J'aime Eva"* (p. 289) and in early 1913 in the *Portrait of Guillaume Apollinaire* (p. 288), which served as the frontispiece to Apollinaire's *Alcools*. These are Picasso's only portraits at the time: one of his beloved, and the other that of his poet-friend on the occasion of the latter's first great book.

Another move toward a return to the portrait is found in the studies for *Woman in an Armchair* (late 1913–early 1914; p. 291). Once again we have a "synthetic" Cubist statement, although the abstract, nonimitative composition of the woman no longer owes anything to the vertical network of *papiers collés*. The painting brings together feminine elements reconstructed in the same way as in the very abstract paintings of spring 1913, such as *Head of a Girl*,⁸¹ in an armchair that is little modified. It is as if Picasso wanted to revive, in another way, an assemblage he had been working on in early 1913, in which a "conceptual" guitarist was holding an actual guitar.⁸²

This series of studies⁸³ for Woman in an Armchair and



Man in an Armchair (Study for a Portrait of Frank Haviland). 1912. Ink (?) on paper, $12^{3/8} \times 7^{7/8}$ " (31.5 × 20 cm). Zervos VI, 1161. Private collection

the large canvas itself thus constituted another attempt at a "synthetic" portrait of Eva. The many different possibilities Picasso imagined can be seen in these studies. In one he emphasized feminine attributes, such as the waves in her long hair; in another he imagined doubling the breasts, endowing her with a European-type upper half and an African lower half, and marked out the scallops of her silk underskirt; in yet another, we see a garter, and in two others, Picasso draws a "real" face (isolated as such in larger format on the back of the second, p. 290). Here we can clearly make out Eva's features. When I asked Picasso if it could be Eva, he shrugged and replied: "The forms just came to me like that. . . . Of course, Eva was [with me] there."

In the end, Picasso abandoned the recognizable if schematic version of Eva's face and chose the most conceptual, geometrically abstract idea from among the studies. In renouncing what would have been a collage effect, or at least a quotation from Eva's face, Picasso retained in the forms, palette, and lacy details of this great canvas resonant testimony to his love for Eva, and it is surely one of his strongest figure pictures. It bristles with those poetic resonances that would later enchant André Breton.



Seated Man (Frank Haviland). 1912. Ink on paper, $12^{\frac{1}{8}} \times 7^{\frac{3}{4}}$ " (30.8 × 19.7 cm). Not in Zervos. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Alfred Stieglitz Collection, 1949

THE PORTRAIT RECONQUERED

It was in the winter of 1913–14, at the time of a "new crusade," that of *papiers collés*, that Picasso, producing a number of lyrical, joyous canvases in which he sang the praises of "Ma Jolie," began inserting into his Cubist structures bits and pieces of quasi-illusionistic figuration. After using this figuration for objects, Picasso had, in the spring of 1914, taken on human figures. Kahnweiler recounted: "Picasso had shown me two drawings that were not cubist, but classicist, two drawings of a seated man. He had said, 'Still, they're better than before [that is, the pre-Cubist works], aren't they?'"⁸⁴

In these drawings of men at the time, one gets the impression that Picasso was relying closely on Cézanne, once again taking up the question of portraiture that had made him paint the *Portrait of Clovis Sagot* in 1909 as a test of objectivity against the early works in which he cut the surfaces of forms into facet planes. The drawing of a bearded man with a pipe⁸⁵ thus reverses the position of the man in Cézanne's painting *Man with a Pipe*, which had been bought by Sergei Shchukin and which Picasso could have seen at Vollard's until about 1911. It is just as clear in the 1914 version of a man seated at a table (p. 36), with the



Girl from Arles. 1912. Oil on canvas, $28^{\frac{3}{4}} \times 21^{\frac{1}{4}}$ (73 × 54 cm). Zervos II¹, 356. Daix 497. Private collection. Courtesy Thomas Ammann Fine Art, Zurich

movement of the jacket and the design of the collar closer to another painting of Cézanne's, *The Smoker*, which was bought by Ivan Morozov from Vollard. The elongation of the faces in other drawings is somewhat reminiscent of Derain's archaizing imagery of 1913–14, especially in his *Self-Portrait* and in the *Portrait of Iturrino*, which Picasso had surely seen;⁸⁶ the ties between Picasso and Derain had become much closer, leading them to spend time together in Avignon in the summer of 1914. Picasso was careful to avoid a return to real illusionism, with its perspectival space and modeling-in-the-round (as opposed to relief modeling), but was all the while feeling the need to stop fragmenting and recomposing his faces and bodies.

The experimentation that proceeds from drawing to drawing, some of which are highlighted with watercolor, is fraught with hesitation and even with repeated refusals to lapse once again into illusionism. They were only published in the posthumous volume 29 of Zervos because Picasso wanted to avoid all idle discussion of a subject that he knew was highly polemical at the time, and he continued to avoid it even in his final years. He must have retained bitter memories of Braque's reaction to his return to the figure, even if he attached less importance to the reactions of the "Salon" Cubists, who were roundly to condemn the January 1915 Portrait of Max Jacob (p. 299).

In addition, some of the drawings that are part of this reconquering of the portrait were no doubt later incorrectly dated 1915, due to a lack of familiarity with



Portrait of Guillaume Apollinaire. 1913. Pencil, India ink, and wash on paper, $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{7}{8}$ " (21 × 15 cm). Zervos XXVIII, 214. Daix 579. Private collection. (Colorplate, p. 180)

Picasso's work on this problem. The canvas *The Artist and His Model* (p. 298), which issued from the drawings made in Avignon in the summer of 1914, is the prime example. Because of its highly personal significance, Picasso neither showed this picture during his lifetime nor even let it be reproduced; the female nude is the lone, realistic, painted image of Eva that he made.

But during that same stay in Avignon, Picasso had produced the most beautiful, joyous, loving, and the freest of his "synthetic" Cubist portraits of Eva, the canvas known as *Portrait of a Girl* (p. 293). Indeed, all the work from Avignon is characterized by this "dual track" simultaneity and sometimes by a combination of lyrical Synthetic Cubism (at least before World War I broke out) and a renewal of classical figuration (or with the introduction of quasi-illusionistic shapes into the synthetic works). In *The Artist and His Model* and *Portrait of a Girl*, the contrast between these two concepts of painting is pushed to the extreme.

Portrait of a Girl is above all an extraordinary compendium of the joyous and radiant Cubism that came out of the colorful *papiers collés* of 1914. Its consistent elements—some of which, such as the "light bulb," still exist in the form of paper cutouts⁸⁷—were copied in the final picture in *trompe l'oeil*. False moldings, an electric light bulb, and the drawing of a fruit dish coexist with almost abstract pointillist passages of amazing virtuosity. The predominant saturated green—comparable to that



Female Nude: "J'aime Eva." 1912. Oil, sand, and charcoal on canvas, $39^{3/4} \times 26^{"}$ (75.6 × 66 cm). Zervos II⁴, 364. Daix 541. Columbus Museum of Art, Columbus, Ohio. Gift of Ferdinand Howald



Study for Woman in an Armchair (Eva Gouel). 1913. Gouache and black pencil on paper, $12^{7/8} \times 10^{5/8}$ " (32.7 × 27 cm). Zervos VI, 1267. Daix 637. Musée Picasso, Paris



Eva Gouel (Marcelle Humbert; detail). Villa des Clochettes, Sorgues, 1912. Photograph by Picasso. Musée Picasso, Paris, Documents section. Gift of Sir Roland Penrose



Study for Woman in an Armchair (Eva Gouel). 1913. Pencil and wax crayon on paper, 9¹/₈ × 7⁷/₈" (23 × 20 cm). Zervos XXIX, 2. Daix 638 (verso). Private collection



Woman in an Armchair. 1913. Oil on canvas, 58¹/₄ × 39" (148 × 99 cm). Zervos II², 522. Daix 642. Collection Sally Ganz

c##39

of *Green Still Life* in The Museum of Modern Art, New York—adds to the overall joyousness.

Portrait of a Girl is a celebration of Eva, achieved by means of a compendium of all the liberties Picasso had touched upon in the vocabulary and syntax of Synthetic Cubism since Eva had entered his life. In addition, it represented the boldness that he had learned to allow himself in relation to his naturalistic representation. The slicing of the head, the hair, the fruit dish on the left, and the armchair into pointillistic planes; the room with its paneling and draperies, with dotted areas where one would expect the model's body to be, and her arms where one would least expect them: all this in the end recomposes her surprisingly young presence in the enchantment of the painting.

The Artist and His Model is the antithesis of Portrait of a Girl. In the former, the painter—Picasso's alter ego—is seated and thoughtful. He is very close, in his figuration, to the "classicist" drawings of seated men from the beginning of Picasso's stay in Avignon.⁸⁸ The painter is seated with his right hand resting on his thigh and the left sleeve of his jacket gathered as in some of Cézanne's male portraits (and as echoed in Picasso's *Portrait of Clovis Sagot*), with the gathers distortedly enlarged to show that they are closer to us. The delicate grace of the nude model presents Eva to us in Picasso's most realistic and direct image of her; it is the only untransformed portrait Picasso left of her, with the exception of the 1915 engraving published as the frontispiece for Max Jacob's *La Défense de Tartuffe*.⁸⁹ Unlike some parts of the picture,

Eva is entirely painted, as is a portion of the canvas of a landscape on an easel behind her and part of the back wall. There is a nail from which a drawing is hanging, while another nail supports a palette. The nail holding the drawing, as in Braque's 1910 still lifes such as *Violin and Palette* and *Violin and Pitcher*, is sufficient to suggest the orientation. Suddenly we understand that everything is not really treated as a piece of illusionistic representation, but as a graphic *sign*. In this fundamental sense, the composition still belongs to Synthetic Cubism.

The seemingly unfinished aspect of *The Artist and His Model*, I am convinced, is intentional, demonstrative, and meant to proclaim that Picasso had brought together the arts of drawing and painting, just as he had earlier assembled Cubist and perspective space and contradictory treatments of the same object in his *papiers collés* of late 1913–early 1914 from the series Glass on a Table.⁹⁰

In *The Artist and His Model*, Picasso reconquers the portrait while not losing the freedoms of the construction of figure and space made possible by Cubism. He must have realized that he had reached a precarious balance. One might be led to believe that the war, mixed with Picasso's loneliness following Braque's and Derain's mobilizations, would have stopped cold the exploration of the "classicist" portrait, the genre of more realistic drawing that Picasso must have considered the most perilous of all. Nonetheless, he was to take it up once again, and this time very deliberately, with the *Portrait of Max Jacob* in 1915. But that is for another chapter.



Portrait of a Girl. 1914. Oil on canvas, 51¹/8 × 38" (130 × 96.5 cm). Zervos II^a, 528. Daix 784. Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre National d'Art et de Culture Georges Pompidou, Paris. Bequest of Georges Salles, 1967

NOTES

This essay was translated from the French by Alyson Waters.

r. Casegemas, we must recall, committed suicide after an unhappy love affair with Germaine. Picasso painted her in *La Vie*, for example (p. 129).

2. Regarding what is known about Madeleine and portraits of her, see Pierre Daix, *Picasso: Life and Art* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993), PP. 39–41.

3. Picasso dated from 1904 the photograph that he took of Ricardo Canals in his studio, where one can see a photograph of Canals's wife, Benedetta, on the mantel.

4. In Sleeping Nude (D.B. XI, 11), she is shown in front of a boorish man who was probably her companion at the time, the sculptor whom she called Laurent Debienne. It is probably this couple whom we find again in Man and Standing Female Nude (D.B. XI, 8). In Meditation (Contemplation), it is Picasso who is looking at her (p. 133). All these drawings are from late 1904–early 1905.

5. The highly colored palette of this canvas has no counterpart before Picasso's trip to Holland. The self-portrait of Picasso as a Harlequin is reminiscent of the final version of *The Family of Saltimbanques*. For many reasons I would change the date of this work, contrary to D.B. XII, 23, to autumn 1905. The identification of the flashy woman as Germaine—for whom Casagemas had committed suicide in 1901—was made by Picasso to John Richardson. See *Picasso: An American Tribute* (New York: Chanticleer Press, 1962), no. 16 (incorrectly dated 1904).

6. This painting also presents a problem in dating. Because of the overall blue tones, it had been dated 1904 (D.B. XII, 22). However, the notebook M.P. 1857 at the Musée Picasso, Paris, contains, next to studies for Harlequin, others on the theme of *La Coiffure*, which refer to autumn 1905; this was confirmed by its examination at the time the painting was up for sale in Paris in late 1989, when it broke a record, selling for more than \$50 million.

7. There exists a whole sequence of Harlequin busts dating from early spring 1909 (Daix 258-61) that may be related to the watercolor Saint Anthony and Harlequin (Daix 257), in which the saint and Harlequin confront a nude woman (or in which Harlequin is shown with two nude women in another version). But what we have here is more an exercise in simplifications and geometric divisions of Harlequin's face or of his bust than the return of a Harlequin that might be Picasso's double. This double did not survive beyond the series of studies made in reference to the theme of Carnival at the Bistro. The latter was the last attempt with this subject, which became transformed, as we know, into Bread and Fruitdish on a Table. See William Rubin, "From Narrative to 'Iconic' in Picasso: The Buried Allegory in Bread and Fruitdish on a Table and the Role of Les

Demoiselles d'Avignon," The Art Bulletin 65, no. 4 (December 1983), pp. 615–49.

8. The title "Fleur de Pavé" must have been given to it by Clovis Sagot, who was announcing that the canvas was for sale at his house.

9. Picasso told Hélène Parmelin (*Picasso says* . . . [London: George Allen and Unwin, 1969], p. 71), that "P'tit Louis" used to come to the Bateau-Lavoir: "He stayed there sometimes all day. He watched me working. He loved that." P'tit Louis, with his disabused pout, had been painted many times by Picasso at the end of 1905, as *Boy with a Pipe* (D.B. XIII, 20, 21), as *Harlequin* (D.B. XIII, 15), and as *Boy with the Ruff* (D.B. XIII, 17 and 18). As for me, I have always thought that this smoker surrounded with flowers, with his absentminded air, may be the only figure alluding to Picasso's experiences with opium smoking.

10. D.B. XIII, 14.

11. See Daix, *Picasso: Life and Art*, pp. 51–52. 12. Fernande Olivier, *Picasso and His Friends* (London: Heinemann, 1964), p. 83.

13. See the photographs of the studio on the rue de Fleurus in *Four Americans in Paris* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1970), pp. 90–91.

14. Michael C. FitzGerald, Making Modernism: Picasso and the Creation of the Market for Twentieth-Century Art (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1995), pp. 26–31.

15. Gertrude Stein, *Picasso* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1938), passim.

16. Olivier, Picasso and His Friends, pp. 82, 83.

17. Stein, Picasso, pp. 7-8.

18. D.B. XIV, 2.

19. "The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas," in Carl van Vechten, ed., *Selected Writings of Gertrude Stein* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), p. 43.

20. Ibid., p. 49.

21. Robert Rosenblum, Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1967), p. 137.

22. See "Matisse's First Lithographs" and "The Three Early 'Woodcuts,' " in Alfred H. Barr, Jr., *Matisse: His Art and His Public* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1951), p. 99.

23. For example, *Still Life with a Purro* and *Still Life* (D.B. XV, 13 and 14). *Purro* is a Provençal form for the Spanish *porron*.

24. The engraving, Geiser 212, was not printed until 1933. The wood block is in the Musée Picasso, Paris; M.P. 3541.

25. It must be recalled that, at the time, the word "primitive," in the sense of original, was used to denote everything that seemed archaic: Roman art as well as Assyrian or Egyptian art, and then African art.

26. See John Elderfield, "The Pastoral, the Primitive and the Ideal," in *The Wild Beasts: Fauvism and Its Affinities* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1976), p. 97f.

27. James Johnson Sweeney, "Picasso and Iberian Sculpture," *The Art Bulletin* 23, no. 3 (September 1941), pp. 191–98.

28. D.B. XV, 10 and 11.

29. D.B. XV, 34.

30. D.B. XV, 43. The reproduction of this

31. I am thinking of the lithograph the *Large Nude*, whose presence at Druet's is disputed.

32. See the most recent edition of Philippe Dagen's *Lettres à Vlaminck* (Paris: Flammarion, 1994), p. 173.

33. John Richardson, A Life of Picasso, Volume 1: 1881–1906 (New York: Random House, 1991), pp. 451–52.

34. Josep Palau i Fabre, *Picasso: The Early Years* 1881–1907 (New York: Rizzoli, 1981), p. 477.

35. D.B. VII, 22.

36. D.B. XV, 45 and 47.

37. Dora Vallier, "Braque, la peinture et nous," *Cahiers d'art* 29, no. 1 (October 1954), p. 14.

38. *Picasso: Carnet Catalan*, preface and notes by Douglas Cooper (Paris: Berggruen, 1958), p. 27.

39. "The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas," p. 53.

40. D.B. XIV, 20.

41. D.B. XVI, 27 and 29.

42. D.B. XV, 46. Picasso always kept this painting.

43. Jack Flam, "Matisse and the Fauves," in William Rubin, ed., "*Primitivism*" in 20th Century Art (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1984), vol. 1, p. 214.

44. See n. 41, above.

45. D.B. XVI, 22-25.

46. D.B. XVI, 30. Picasso kept this painting and later gave it to the Basel Kunstmuseum.

47. Carnet 6, 40v and 41v, in *Les Demoiselles* d'Avignon (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des

musées nationaux, 1988), vol. 1, pp. 201–02. On Raymonde, see vol. 2, p. 509, n. 41. 48. See Rubin, "*Primitivism*," vol. 1, p. 284.

49. Especially Figure (Zervos II², 607).

50. Carnet 16, 51V, in *Les Demoiselles*, vol. 1, p. 307. Pepe Karmel, in a personal communication, suggests that this stylized self-portrait drawing may have been modeled on a late Roman painting from Egypt known as the "Portrait of Ammonius," which entered the Louvre's collection around 1905. See the reproduction in Christiane Desroches Noble Court and Jean Vercoutter, *Un Siècle de souilles françaises en Egypt*, 1889–1980 (Cairo: Ecole du Caire and Paris: Musée du Louvre, 1981), no. 340.

51. Carnet 16, 38R, in Les Demoiselles, vol. 1, p. 305.

52. We also know of the contemporary geometric stylization of another face of absolute frontality (Zervos VI, 905), and its version in profile (Zervos VI, 908), which we find again in the *Figure*, sculpted in boxwood (Zervos II, 668), now in the Musée Picasso. The same problematic treatment can be seen in two other painted portraits from the same period, the *Peasant Woman*, done at La Rue des Bois, and especially the *Bust of a Peasant Woman* (p. 272), which is perfectly frontal. The latter takes up once again the stylizations of the drawing (Zervos VI, 905). Something of this passes into the final version of *Three Women* (Daix 131). There is thus an entire period of work that addresses the issue of geometric stylization during the spring and summer of 1908. This period is, in fact, the one that should be called the "African period" ("la periode nègre"), whereas this term has been used to designate everything that was considered "savage."

53. Daix 269.

54. Anne Baldassari, *Picasso photographe*, 1901–1916 (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1994), nos. 74 and 75.

55. Ibid., p. 99.

- 56. Daix 275 and 276.
- 57. Daix 296.
- 58. Daix 283-88.
- 59. See Baldassari, Picasso photographe, p. 174.
- 60. Daix 324 and 326.
- 61. Daix 329 and 332.
- 62. Daix 340.

63. Daix 341.

64. Daix 342 and 343, in the Musée National d'Art Moderne and the Tate Gallery, respectively.

65. Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, Confessions esthétiques (Paris: Gallimard, 1963), pp. 27–29.

66. Olivier, Picasso and His Friends, p. 144. 67. Ambroise Vollard, Souvenirs d'un marchand de tableaux (Paris: Editions Albin Michel, 1948), p. 273.

68. See Baldassari, *Picasso photographe*, p. 118 and fig. 90. Anne Baldassari insists that the photograph of Kahnweiler as it appears in its entirety (not the cropped version which we knew until then) makes very clear "the formal and symbolic relationship that imposes itself between the image of the dealer and the Mukuyi mask [that hung in the studio above and slightly to the right of Kahnweiler's head in the photograph].... The dealer's expression of beatitude is signified, in a manner analogous to the mask, by the arc of an interior smile." It is possible that for Vollard's portrait, Picasso might have used an existing photograph not taken by himself.

69. Ibid., pp. 117, 119–22, 124–25; Daix 422. 70. For the following discussion of the Haviland drawings, see the doctoral dissertation of Pepe Karmel, "Picasso's Laboratory: The Role of His Drawings in the Development of Cubism, 1910–14," New York University, 1993, pp. 156–58. For Fernande Olivier's descriptions of Haviland, see her *Picasso and His Friends*, pp. 114–15, 143.

71. See William Rubin, "Appendix: The Library of Hamilton Easter Field," in Rubin, *Picasso and Braque: Pioneering Cubism* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1989), p. 63.

72. See Jean Loize, "Frank Burty: 'né dans la peinture,'" Reflets du Roussillon, no. 53 (spring 1966), pp. 3–8.

73. For the more abstract versions of Haviland's head, see Zervos XXVIII, 28 (captioned "Study for the portrait of Franck [*sic*] Haviland") and Zervos XXVIII, 168. In addition to the compositional studies discussed below, see Zervos XXVIII, 176 and 178, both captioned "Study for a portrait of Frank Haviland."

74. For the more developed versions of this sketch, see the drawing reproduced in Zervos XXVIII, 154, and in the estate files of the Musée

Picasso, negative no. 1148-322. This composition was further developed in a summer 1912 *Figure at the Piano* (Zervos XXVIII, 152; Musée Picasso). The original pencil version of this drawing represented the composer Déodat de Séverac—a mutual friend of Picasso's and Haviland's—but when Picasso redrew the composition in ink, he converted the figure into a female nude.

75. Daix 430.

76. Pierre Reverdy, "Sur le cubisme," Nord-Sud, March 15, 1917, p. 7.

77. I recount the entire debate in Picasso: Life and Art, pp. 112–13.

78. Daix 466.

79. Zervos XXVIII, 10 and 102; Daix 485 and 497.

80. Zervos XXVIII, 74.

81. Daix 590.

82. Daix 578. This assemblage, which is no longer extant, is recorded in a photograph of Picasso's studio on the boulevard Raspail. 83. Daix 635-41.

84. Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler with Francis Crémieux, My Galleries and Painters (New York: Viking Press, 1971), p. 54.

85. Zervos XXIX, 77.

86. The Basque painter Francesco Iturrino had been Picasso's friend since their exhibition together at Vollard's in the spring of 1901.

87. Reproduced in Zervos II, 792–803.

88. Zervos VI, 1198, 1199, and 1206.

- 89. Geiser 52.
- 90. See Daix 656-59.



Head of a Woman. 1909. Oil on canvas, $13^{3/4} \times 12^{5/8}$ " (35 × 32 cm). Zervos II¹, 162 (left side). Daix 284. Private collection



Two Heads. 1909. Oil on canvas, $13^{3/4} \times 13^{1/4}$ " (35 × 33.5 cm). Zervos II⁴, 162 (right side). Daix 285. Private collection



Portrait of the Artist's Wife (Olga). 1923. Oil on canvas, 51¹/₄ × 38¹/₄" (130 × 97 cm). Zervos V, 53. Private collection

The Modernists' Dilemma: Neoclassicism and the Portrayal of Olga Khokhlova

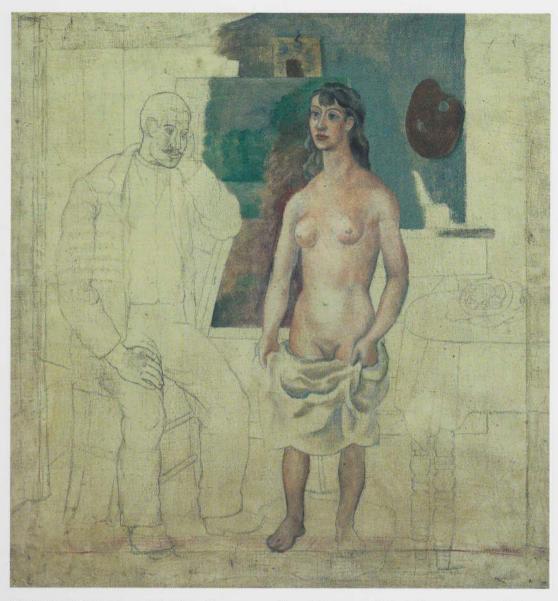
MICHAEL C. FITZGERALD

n the early months of 1914, Picasso showed Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler two drawings that marked a turning point in his career. They were his first real departure from the seven-year adventure of Cubism, and they announced an engagement with Neoclassicism that would slowly grow to dominate his art during the ensuing decade.1 Admitting that it "worried me greatly at that time," Kahnweiler recounted, "I must tell you that in the spring of 1914 Picasso had shown me two drawings that were not cubist, but classicist, two drawings of a seated man." Kahnweiler recognized these drawings as a fundamental divide, one that would soon lead to "the stage of painting."2 During the remainder of the second decade of the twentieth century, portraiture would be the focus of Picasso's germinating Neoclassicism, until it expanded to encompass the full variety of his subjects, and Cubism temporarily abated. Among the many phases of Picasso's work, Neoclassicism is perhaps the most controversial, because its stylistic eclecticism and widespread popularity have led some writers to criticize it as a reactionary departure from modernism.3 When placed in the context of cultural developments during World War I, however, Picasso's Neoclassicism is better understood as a renewal of the avant-garde.4 By explicitly embracing history, Picasso escaped the strictures of an increasingly rigid modernism to define a more vital alternative. He repudiated the convention of modernism's ahistoricism in order to acknowledge its maturity, as well as his own, and reju-

venate the avant-garde by immersing it in the rich humanistic traditions that many Cubist artists and theorists denied in a search for formal purity.

Picasso's interest in naturalistic description was not particularly surprising. As Kahnweiler knew, he had been salting his Cubist compositions with snippets of realistic passages since 1912, when he had begun counterpointing the near abstraction of his paintings with collage. By 1913 his canvases displayed painted versions of these devices. Even portraiture reemerged after an absence of three years; the studies for *Woman in an Armchair* contain a likeness of his companion, Eva Gouel, even though the figure in the final painting (p. 291) is blank-faced and her chemise, instead, is relatively realistic.⁵

Yet the drawings Kahnweiler saw are different. They cannot be explained by the constant ferment of Picasso's Cubism, as it fluctuated between degrees of naturalism and abstraction. These drawings are not studies that would be integrated into a Cubist composition. Quite the opposite, they were the point of departure for a composition that would subordinate Cubism to classicizing styles. Picasso worked on this composition, *The Artist and His Model*, through the summer of 1914 (p. 298).⁶ Its discovery in the artist's estate was arguably the most important single addition to Picasso scholarship in recent years. Until the 1920s, when the artist became wealthy, it was rare for him to keep his paintings. Moreover, his choice never to show this picture, so far as we know, gives it special

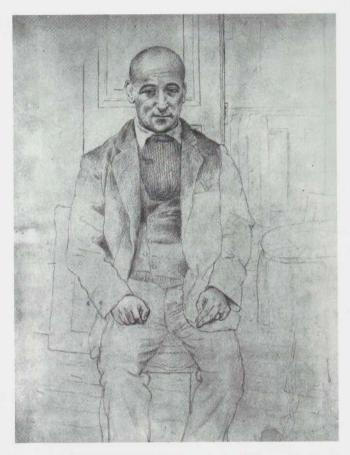


The Artist and His Model. 1914. Oil and pencil on canvas, 22⁷/₈ × 22["] (58 × 55.9 cm). Not in Zervos. Daix 763. Musée Picasso, Paris

status.⁷ Since Picasso did not reveal his reasons for secrecy, we can only guess why he took this unusual course. But there is little doubt that many observers (in both avantgarde and academic circles) would have interpreted the retrospective style of the painting not merely as an expansive gesture by an inventor of Cubism but rather as an abrupt repudiation of modernism.

I believe that the key to *The Artist and His Model* lies in Picasso's statement to Kahnweiler that its preliminary drawings should be judged in relation to his pre-Cubist work. In describing Picasso's response to his doubts about the drawings of the seated man, Kahnweiler related that the artist had said, "Still, they're better than before, aren't they?" Kahnweiler then clarified the remark by stating that Picasso was comparing them to his work before Cubism, and in effect was saying, "Better than the classicist, or, if you will, the naturalistic drawings I did before."⁸ The direction of Picasso's Cubism, inflected by factors such as his repugnance toward the work of the salon Cubists,⁹ led him to broaden his art, not narrow it, by revisiting the styles he had elaborated during the Blue and Rose periods; this opening led to his renewed involvement with a broad range of representation in Western art, which in turn spawned a reinvigorated modernism. The catalyst for this transformation may well have been his encounter with major examples of his Blue and Rose work—which he had long not seen—when they were displayed in March of 1914 for the auction of the Peau de l'Ours collection.¹⁰

Picasso did not simply revert to a previous style. The





Portrait of Max Jacob. 1915. Pencil on paper, 13 × 9³/4["] (33 × 24.8 cm). Zervos VI, 1284. Private collection

taut linear schema of The Artist and His Model recalls the manner of Ingres, as do the attenuated proportions that also link it with the work of the Blue and Rose periods, another phase of Picasso's dialogue with the nineteenthcentury artist most revered by the twentieth-century avant-garde. Cézanne's seated men of the 1890s supply models for the artist's pose and his gargantuan size compared to the woman he appears to sit beside, as well as his idiosyncratic internal proportions. More surprising are indirect references to the work of Courbet. Picasso placed his artist and model before a landscape painting, thereby recalling Courbet's Studio (1854-55) and the allegory of representation it presents.¹¹ Yet The Artist and His Model is ultimately more concerned with the present than with the past. It turns less on questions of realism than on issues of portraiture. Although Picasso's artist is not a literal selfportrait (as is Courbet's), he is a "stand-in" persona, and the fully rendered head of the model is a stylized likeness of Eva Gouel, his companion since 1912.

Disguised portraits were, of course, common in Picasso's art of the Blue and Rose periods; the Peau de l'Ours exhibition of 1914 included several prime examples —sometimes not so disguised as all that—particularly *The Family of Saltimbanques* (in which Picasso symbolically

Portrait of Ambroise Vollard. 1915. Pencil on paper, $18\frac{3}{8} \times 12\frac{5}{8}$ " (46.7 × 32 cm). Zervos II², 922. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1947

represented himself, Fernande, Apollinaire, Jacob, and Salmon; p. 132) and a watercolor called *Meditation* (p. 133).¹² In the latter work, the somewhat idealized portrait of Picasso musing while Fernande sleeps is especially suggestive of the couple in *The Artist and His Model*. As in the case of their predecessors, the figures in *The Artist and His Model* tie the picture's subject to the artist's self-image. At a moment of fundamental change in his art, a divergence which must have caused him considerable hesitation, Picasso portrayed the artist lost in thought. As the point of origin for Picasso's renewed Neoclassicism, *The Artist and His Model* enables us to discern that he returned to classicism through his work of the Blue and Rose periods, and it strongly suggests that his revived interest in portraiture stemmed from this process.

Certainly, Picasso's Neoclassicism became almost synonymous with portraiture during the years 1915 to 1920.¹³ His first "undisguised" portrait during this eclectic revival of representational styles was a likeness of Max Jacob, which he drew in January 1915 (above). The resemblance of this portrait to the sketches from the previous spring and summer demonstrates a clear link.¹⁴ Not only do they share the same medium (pencil on paper) and modest format of approximately thirteen by ten inches (33 by 24.8 cm), but the images correspond to a high degree. A man dressed in a baggy, nondescript suit sits on a chair in a room, the perimeter and other contents of which are only vaguely delineated. Nonetheless, there is no doubt that the latter image is a portrait in the most conventional sense, and that one of the primary purposes is to record the sitter. Picasso rendered Jacob's head with a minute precision that crawls over his collar and jacket until his figure fades into the surrounding space. Even though Picasso rarely drew portraits from life, Jacob testified that he sat for this one, and the frontal pose seems chosen to enhance the sense of confrontation between subject and artist.¹⁵

For both of them, this was a commemorative image. For Jacob it served an official function. It portrayed him on the eve of his baptism into the Catholic faith. With the ceremony scheduled to take place later that month and Picasso serving as godfather, both Picasso and Jacob must have intended this portrait to acknowledge the event. Yet for Picasso, too, it marked a significant moment. His life had changed drastically during the months since he had shown Kahnweiler his first sketches of a seated man. Despite Picasso's exemption from military service, guaranteed by his Spanish citizenship, the initial months of World War I had already demonstrated that he would not escape major disruptions in his life and art. One of its first effects may well be registered by the apparently unfinished state of The Artist and His Model,16 but the war had an even greater impact on Picasso's Cubism, as the mobilization of Georges Braque and André Derain, followed by Guillaume Apollinaire's enlistment, left him with few like-minded artists who might vet and encourage his innovations. The most severe blow for Picasso was the loss of his devoted dealer and the isolation from his recent work that this entailed. Kahnweiler had been surprised by the war and had been caught outside France; his German citizenship precluded his return and forced the sequestration of his stock for at least the duration of hostilities. By January 1915 Picasso realized that his isolation was nearly complete. Besides the loss of contact with many of his fellow artists and his dealer, the bulk of his pictures in Kahnweiler's inventory was inaccessible, whether for his own study or for sale to collectors. The flow of ideas and money had been cut off.17

Max Jacob was Picasso's oldest Parisian friend. By drawing his portrait, Picasso reconfirmed contact with one of his few companions still present in the city and unthreatened by the war. The precision of the portrait seems to reflect Picasso's desire to grasp and hold his links with the past, as the style itself laps back in part to his early years in France. A similar sense of retrospection also characterizes his 1915 portrait of Ambroise Vollard (p. 299), the next in a series that would include two of Apollinaire made during 1916 (p. 190). As the presenter of Picasso's first major exhibition in Paris, a regular buyer of his Blue and Rose work, and the purchaser of some of the most difficult Cubist work of 1910, Vollard was an important, if less intimate, member of Picasso's early community. The process of posing for this drawing confirms a revival of their relationship at a time when Picasso had severed his ties with Kahnweiler and must have been searching for a new dealer. These circumstances suggest foresight as well as reminiscence.

Despite the impression of exact description created by the meticulous detail of these drawings, they are, in fact, far from naturalistic portraits. Appropriately, the portrait of Cézanne's dealer most clearly manifests these departures. Not only is Vollard's head small for his body, but his arms and legs are made to fluctuate according to their role in the composition and their proximity to the viewer. Although Vollard's distant left arm seems almost vestigial, his right arm is elongated so that his right hand can clasp his left. Likewise, his right leg appears unusually long and thick in comparison to the nearly transparent left leg. These are the same devices Picasso had employed in his sketches of 1914, and they draw attention to the possibility that the portrait of Jacob is also less purely descriptive than it first appears. Jacob wrote to Apollinaire, "I am posing for Pablo at his studio. He is doing a portrait of me in pencil that is very beautiful; it resembles at once my grandfather, an old Catalan peasant, and my mother."18 This characterization of Jacob does not correspond to his elegant, even dandyish, dress in contemporary photographs, but it does recall Picasso's seated man from the previous year.¹⁹ With the portrait of Vollard, Picasso had achieved a synthesis worthy of Ingres, a style whose overarching linear armature could bend the figure to its pattern or embrace a naturalistic passage without interruption.

Picasso's friends celebrated these portraits. Jacob informed Francis Picabia that "Picasso made a pencil portrait of Vollard, genre Ingres, very recognizable and very good."20 In March 1915 Apollinaire published André Level's recent intelligence: "Picasso . . . 'has outdone Ingres in his admirable drawings without even trying,' according to a letter I received from the anonymous author of the excellent preface to the catalogue of the Peau de l'ours."21 Yet within Picasso's work, these portraits were rare anomalies; Cubism remained at that moment his primary expressive mode and was to remain a significant alternate style throughout the period we call Neoclassic. As he told a Swedish artist, Arvid Fougstedt, who saw the drawing of Vollard during a visit to Picasso's studio, "People say that I have abandoned cubism to make this sort of thing; that's not true, you can confirm it yourself."22

A furor had, nevertheless, erupted immediately. By late January of 1915, Beatrice Hastings reported that Picasso's portrait of Jacob had caused many people to conclude



Harlequin. 1915. Oil on canvas, $72^{1/4} \times 41^{3/8}$ " (183.5 × 105.1 cm). Zervos II², 555. Daix 844. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Acquired through the Lillie P. Bliss Bequest

that Cubism had been only a passing experiment. Admitting that she had not seen the portrait (which she mistakenly described as a painting), Hastings wrote that she could "testify to the state of soul among the cubists," and concluded that "I can't imagine that Picasso is really doing that. I hope not."23 When the portrait of Jacob was published in the December 1916 issue of L'Elan, advocates of Cubism took the offensive. Pierre Reverdy couched his rejection in theoretical terms and abstained from criticizing Picasso by name. "Cubism is an eminently plastic art; but an art of creation, not of reproduction or interpretation. . . . After the foregoing it will be understood that no cubist painter should execute a [realist] portrait."24 In December 1917 André Salmon disrupted a conference by defending the continual ferment of Picasso's art in opposition to a Cubism that some believed immutable. Explaining his remarks to Picasso, Salmon concluded: "That [his statement that Cubism cannot be codified] cannot be agreeable to Metzinger and Co. For him, the school of Metzinger is the only way out, and he does not admit that one can make the portrait of Vollard or Max after what has preceded."25

As Jean Cocteau later remarked, "A [Cubist] dictator-



Portrait of Léonce Rosenberg. 1915. Pencil on paper, 18¹/₈ × 13¹/₄" (46 × 33.5 cm). Zervos XXIX, 201. Private collection

ship hung heavy over Montmartre and Montparnasse."26 Christopher Green recently characterized the increasingly restrictive definition of Cubism that spread during the war. "Only after 1914 [that is to say, after the greatest era of Cubism had ended] did Cubism come almost exclusively to be identified with a singleminded insistence on the isolation of the art-object in a special category with its own laws and its own experiences to offer, a category considered above life." And he explained the importance of this phase of Cubist theory for conceptions of the avantgarde. "It is Cubism in this later period that has most to tell anyone concerned with the problems of Modernism and post-modernism now, because it was only then that issues emerged with real clarity in and around Cubism which are closely comparable with those that emerged in and around Anglo-American Modernism in the sixties and after."27 Ironically, this conception, so opposed to the fluid practice of Picasso, Braque, and a few others, was not only the basis for criticism of Picasso's portraits in the second decade of the twentieth century, but it also seems to be the point of departure for those who continue to condemn Picasso's Neoclassicism as a regression from Cubism. As is often the case, theory, with its tendency to



Olga Khokhlova in the ballet *Thamar*, performed by Diaghilev's Ballets Russes during their first New York tour, [April] 1916. Photograph by Count Jean de Strelecki. Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives

reduce creativity to a set of precepts, has apparently blinded many critics.

Picasso probably dismissed the public discussion, but he could not isolate himself from this "purified" version of Cubism because he depended at that moment on one of its chief promoters for his financial well-being. The art dealer Léonce Rosenberg had quickly stepped in to fill the gap left by Kahnweiler's exile. With hardly anyone buying art, Rosenberg made major purchases from Picasso, Braque, and Léger; yet he also acquired works by Metzinger, Gleizes, and other Cubists whom Kahnweiler had refused to represent. Under the standard "L'Effort Moderne," Rosenberg's gallery and publications soon would become the preeminent forum for the presentation of Cubism as a cohesive movement.28 Given Rosenberg's single-minded dedication to the whole of Cubism and the widespread criticism of Picasso's portraits within his camp, it may seem surprising that he posed for Picasso during the last months of 1915 (p. 301). On Picasso's part, however, the choice was predictable; the portrait of Rosenberg follows that of Vollard and confirms that Léonce had become his primary patron, thereby assuming the role Vollard had evidently declined to accept. In fact, the drawing depicts Léonce standing in Picasso's studio before a painting, Harlequin (1915; p. 301), which he purchased in November; surely, the portrait celebrates that particular event. Apparently, Léonce put aside his dislike of realism in order to obtain tangible evidence of his importance to the artist. Picasso, for his part, probably enjoyed the irony of the situation.

Picasso's relationship with Léonce illustrates the very significant changes that took place in the artist's life during the last two years of the war. Only a few months after drawing Léonce's portrait, Picasso began to distance himself from the dealer. Léonce had reneged on one of his major purchases, and he ceased making any new ones. But the problem was not only financial. As Léonce pressed him for a commitment to the Galerie de L'Effort Moderne, Picasso grew more and more unwilling to serve as the point man of Léonce's strategy to present the Cubists as a phalanx.²⁹ By 1918 Picasso openly ridiculed the scheme. While visiting Rosenberg's gallery, he reportedly responded to a question about a recent burglary at his home in Montrouge with the quip that he had been "ransacked, . . . pointing to the pictures all around him" in the gallery. Perhaps most important, Léonce's conviction about party-line Cubism had led him to criticize the ballet Parade, the symbol of Picasso's escape from rigid conceptions of avant-gardism.30

Picasso's shift from a more cloistered modernism (fostered by Kahnweiler, partly codified by the "salon Cubists," and defended by Léonce) to his work with the Ballets Russes and other "worldly" activities that followed the war marks a fundamental divide in his career. Whether one chooses to say that it started with the attention of well-heeled and aristocratic buyers and museum curators at the auction of the Peau de l'Ours, or with Picasso's affection for Eugenia Errazuriz and Cocteau a year or two later, there is no question that Picasso's life and art began to take a new course during the war—well before he met Olga in the spring of 1917.³¹ Kahnweiler would later say that "Cocteau was very dangerous because he saw everything in a worldly aspect."³² During



Olga Khokhlova, Pablo Picasso, and Jean Cocteau (detail). Rome, 1917. Photographer unknown. Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives



Jean Cocteau. Picasso and Olga. 1917. Pencil on paper, 10 $\frac{7}{8} \times \frac{8^{1/8}}{1000}$ (27.5 \times 20.5 cm). Private collection



Olga, Left Profile. 1917. Pencil on paper, 7¹/₈ × 5³/₈" (18 × 13.5 cm). Not in Zervos. Collection Marina Picasso



Portrait of Olga. 1917. Pencil on paper, 9¹/₈ × 5⁷/₈" (23 × 15 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection

the Paris debut of *Parade* in the summer of 1917, Léonce warned his artists to avoid contact with Cocteau and to refuse participation in ballets.³³

These Parisians' skepticism of the Ballets Russes is not entirely unfair because Sergei Diaghilev had not presented a full-scale season in the French capital since 1914, and he had substantially transformed his earlier, more conventional aesthetic in the intervening years. In Diaghilev's Ballets Russes, Lynn Garafola characterized this change: "Ironically, Parade came at the end rather than the beginning of an extraordinary revolution initiated by Diaghilev in late 1914. Between that year and 1917, the barin yielded to the visionary radical, the bellettrist to the creative artist: as Europe warred, Diaghilev moved the Ballets Russes to the forefront of the avant-garde."34 If most Parisians' opinion of the Ballets Russes in early 1917 was thus anachronistic, Parade offered a revelatory update. Contrasting with the Cubist sets and some costumes for this ballet, however, the curtain Picasso designed for the production recalls both the subjects and the styles of his pre-Cubist pictures, and one might be inclined to see it as his first major painting in a Neoclassical style. Nonetheless, its rendering fits neatly into a scenographic tradition.35 The two important paintings he executed while working with the troupe in Rome, Harlequin and Woman with Necklace and Italian Woman,36 are indisputably Cubist.

Picasso's exploration of Neoclassicism continued for a time to be confined almost exclusively to portraits, even though the number and stylistic variety of these works rapidly burgeoned.³⁷ Sketches of Diaghilev, Cocteau, Léonide Massine, and other members of the troupe fill his notebooks, but most of the pages are devoted to Olga. Their frequency reflects the romance, although hardly any describe it. One sketch by Cocteau evokes the infectious gamesmanship that drove the exhaustive work on the ballet and spilled over smoothly into casual moments of recreation (above). In this sketch, Cocteau drew a caricature of Picasso and Olga seated at the roulette table of a Mediterranean casino. By showing Picasso holding a copy of Apollinaire's *Le Poète assassiné*, Cocteau has made the artist assume an additional guise: "the Bird of Benin," an artist who befriended the doomed protagonist of that book and shared his bohemian life.³⁸ In mock horror, Olga is shown throwing her hands up and turning away from her corrupter.

When Picasso met Olga in the early months of 1917, she was no neophyte in the theatrical world.³⁹ She had joined the Ballets Russes in 1911, at the age of twenty, to participate in Diaghilev's first independent season. The daughter of Stéphane Khokhlova, a colonel in the Imperial Russian military, and his wife, Lidia Vinchenko, she had already trained in the private St. Petersburg studio of a respected ballet master, Yevgenia Pavlovna Sokolova, but this was her first professional position. Although Olga never became a prima ballerina, she was far from neglected by Diaghilev's choreographers. In 1912 Vaslav Nijinsky chose her to join Bronislava Nijinska among the nymphs in Afternoon of a Faun, and she danced regularly throughout her career with the company (opposite). Massine particularly admired her talent. In 1916 he made her a principal dancer in the premiere of his ballet The Maids of Honor, a role she repeated the following year in Barcelona.

Among the many drawings of Olga that Picasso made in 1917 (above), one stands out (center) for its evidence of the artist's obsessive attention and the sitter's detachment.



Olga in a Mantilla. 1917. Oil on canvas, 25¹/₄ × 20⁷/₈" (64 × 53 cm). Zervos III, 40. Private collection

Picasso departed from his usual practice of regarding his subjects from a distance, in full or three-quarter length.⁴⁰ He brings us close to Olga by presenting only her head and shoulders. This intimate proximity, however, is diffused by her pose in strict profile. Picasso's intense scrutiny of her features, reflected in a delicacy of nuance not seen since the portrait of Vollard, does not engage her gaze. With a wispy touch, Picasso sketched Olga's open blouse and loosely gathered, wavy hair as a frame for her deep-set eye and the crisp line of a profile that fades into a soft chin. The model for this portrait is clearly the ancient tradition of the cameo, with its formal pose enforced by a sharp outline and low relief. Not only is the drawing distinguished by its high finish, it alone among Picasso's extant portraits of Olga bears an inscription. Near the lower left corner of the sheet, Picasso wrote, "Rome 1917 / pour Olga Khokhlova / Picasso."



Rafael Maria Martinez Padilla. La Mantilla. 1909. Oil on canvas, $48^{1/8} \times 39^{3/8}$ " (122 × 100 cm). Private collection



Woman in Spanish Costume. 1917. Oil on canvas, 45⁵/₈ × 35¹/₈" (116 × 89 cm). Zervos III, 45. Museu Picasso, Barcelona

Actually, Picasso corrected the spelling of "Khokhlova," making it difficult to distinguish the precise combination of letters he finally chose.⁴¹ This uncertainty over the dedication, coupled with the pose and style of the portrait, suggest that Picasso made it as a formal matter, as a presentation drawing during their courtship. Despite the seductiveness of this scenario, however, artistic practice plays at least as great a role in shaping this image as does personal romance.

This drawing prepares us for Picasso's first canvas of Olga. With one or two possible exceptions,⁴² all the portraits Picasso had made since 1914 were sketched on paper; the sheets were modest in size, and the medium was either pencil or ink. While in Barcelona during the





Olga Picasso in the 23, rue La Boétie apartment (detail), Paris, c. 1921. On the wall her portrait (Zervos III, 83) and some drawings for *The Three-Cornered Hat*, 1920. Photograph on a postcard by Picasso. Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives

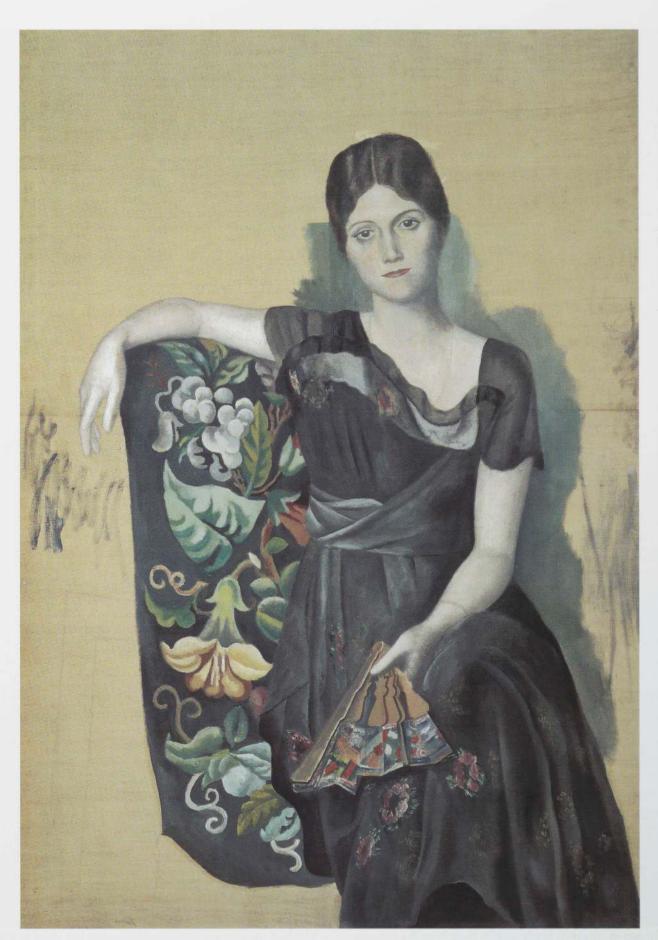
summer and fall of 1917, Picasso transferred his pursuit of portraiture from drawing to painting and executed three canvases, the most important of which depicts Olga (p. 304). This is the portrait "à la mantille," of which biographers from Penrose to Gedo have taken a sour view, as an image that evinces Olga's "apparently rigid, angry, and possessive" personality.43 In the context of Picasso's portraiture, however, such interpretations seem dubious at best. From the beginning of his revival of the genre, Picasso had shown little interest in revealing the psychology of his sitters.44 For all its apparent naturalism, the portrait of Jacob seemed rather fanciful to its subject, and the image of Vollard is riven with formal plays that speak more of a dialogue with art than of attention to the man. Even the cameo of Olga reflects Picasso's strategy of modulating his confrontation with the sitter through a panoply of historical styles to the point that artifice overcomes representation.

This is also the case with his first painted portraits. The canvas of Olga was paired with another picture, a portrait of a woman in Spanish costume (p. 305). In the latter painting—a bravado act in which Picasso, in effect, "repainted" a portrait by his Barcelona friend Rafael Padilla (p. 304)—Picasso fuses his native tradition with an

Olga Picasso in the studio at 22, avenue Victor-Hugo, Montrouge, November 1917. Photograph by Picasso. Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives

opposing modern style based on pointillism; in the portrait of Olga, he subjects his new Russian fiancée to that tradition. Like the "Roman portrait," this painting shows only her head and shoulders, but the delicate gradations in that previous drawing are absent. A heavy mantilla hides all but two spit curls; a searing light picks out each strand of the weave and defines Olga's features with linear precision. The edges of her lips, eyelids, and brows appear even crisper than the fringe at her forehead. Picasso's portrayal of Olga may seem unflattering, but this harshness stems from his attention to style, not personality. By adopting the idiom of Spanish realism, Picasso assimilated her into his native tradition. This is Olga playing Carmen, and Picasso beginning to evolve ideas for the ballet The Three-Cornered Hat.45 Such an interpretation helps explain why he gave the portrait to his mother, who kept it throughout the remainder of her life.

With Olga's departure from the Ballets Russes at the end of June 1917 and the couple's return to Montrouge in the fall, Picasso began the painting that would be, in the view of many, his greatest portrait of his future wife and also the most controversial work of his career during the immediate postwar period, *Olga in an Armchair* (opposite). This painting is the culmination of Picasso's exploration



Olga in an Armchair. 1917. Oil on canvas, 51¹/₄ × 34⁵/₈" (130 × 88 cm). Zervos III, 83. Musée Picasso, Paris





Portrait of Olga. January 27, 1918. Oil on canvas, 13 $^3\!\!/ \times 10^{5}\!\!/ s^{''}$ (35 \times 27 cm). Zervos III, 125. Private collection

Portrait of Madame Georges Wildenstein. 1918. Pencil on paper, $13^{3/4} \times 9^{5/8''}$ (35 × 24.3 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection

of portraiture over the previous four years and his most complex integration of classicism and modernism thus far. Although four drawings show Picasso studying aspects of the pose, a recently discovered photograph he took presumably in late 1917 enables us to penetrate much deeper (p. 306).46 Not only does it show her seated in the chair according to the pose in the painting, but she wears the same dress and holds a fan. The pile of books under her right foot proves that the pose was consciously constructed; the photograph must have been taken to facilitate work on the painting. The existence of the photograph, however, does not preclude the references to Ingres that are frequently cited (or to the work of other artists).47 Nor, of course, does it mean that the painting merely reproduces the photograph. Indeed, the more one compares the two images, the more their points of congruence are overwhelmed by differences, and the remarkable sophistication of Picasso's composition emerges.

Picasso chose not to reproduce the studio clutter seen in the background of the photograph. He lightened the shadows registered in the photograph and darkened its brightest areas, so volumes in the painting are less heavily modeled and seem to flatten. As a result, Olga's face appears thinner, and her overall proportions are slimmed. She sits more erect, her head tilts slightly to the left, and her gaze does not engage ours. Perhaps most obviously,

Picasso left Olga hanging in midair by deleting the skirt and legs of the chair. These steps produce an atmosphere much like the "hermetic environment of feminine luxury" that Robert Rosenblum has ascribed to Ingres' portraits.48 Since at least 1914, Picasso had been deeply interested in Ingres' ability to create portraits that overwhelm the sitter in artistic conceits without entirely dispatching verisimilitude. In this portrait of Olga, Picasso equaled, if not surpassed, the master insofar as he constructed the most harmonious of his Neoclassical compositions on principles that would seem antithetical: Picasso's Cubist experience drives his stylistic revivalism far beyond its Ingresque roots. The portrait of Vollard, for example, contains Cubist passages, but its structure deviates only slightly from the innovations of Cézanne and Ingres. In the portrait of Olga, however, Picasso orchestrated a much greater and more decorative complexity without sacrificing a classical balance. He stretched further the notorious malleability of Ingres' figures and combined their flowing linear plasticity with an independence from strict perspective that draws on the achievements of Cézanne and Cubism.

Divergences between the painting and the photograph cannot be explained by a slightly adjusted pose. Picasso's pictorial manipulations of his sitter—not her shifts in posture—determine the composition and transport it beyond

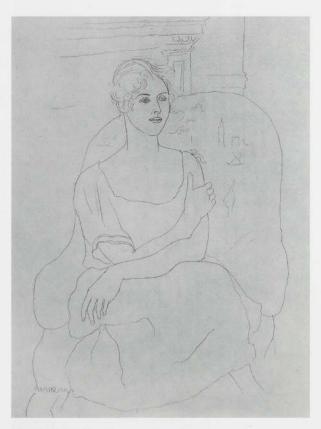


Madame Paul Rosenberg and Daughter. 1918. Oil on canvas, 51¹/₄ × 38¹/₄" (130 × 97 cm). Zervos III, 242. Private collection, Paris

restrictions enforced by the one-point perspective of the camera's lens. The rendering of Olga's head is an obvious departure, both from the photograph and from the preparatory sketches. Gradated with an infinite care that we expect more of Brancusi than of Picasso, this ovoid rests on a lengthened neck that betrays no evidence of the tendons necessary to support it. The face is so shallow that Olga's deep-set eyes seem only slightly indented, and her lips float on the planes of the cheeks, separated only by their color and sharp contour. The extended bonnet of Olga's somewhat reddish hair, however, introduces a distortion beyond the devices of Ingres. Although Olga's face and chest are seen from the frontal viewpoint captured by the camera, her hair disobeys perspective, not only by refusing to recede into depth but also by offering an almost aerial view. Picasso presented much of the figure as if observed from slightly above, as well as straight on. Thus we see the top of Olga's head, the full length of her left arm, and the fan from hinge to border. These variations are not the only ones Picasso wove into the image. As the effect of a higher perspective enabled him to flatten the figure along its vertical axis, another facilitated the same result laterally. Olga's body and the chair she occupies are portrayed as if viewed to the left of the scene. Not only does her right hand seem to overlap the



Igor Stravinsky. c. 1925. Photograph by Man Ray. Musée Picasso, Paris. Gift of Raoul Leven



Portrait of Lydia Lopokova. 1919. Pencil on paper, 14 × 10" (35.7 × 25.5 cm). Zervos III, 299. Thaw Collection. The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

Portrait of Paul Rosenberg. 1918–19. Pencil on paper, 14 × 10" (35.6 × 25.4 cm). Zervos III, 255. Collection Rosenberg Family



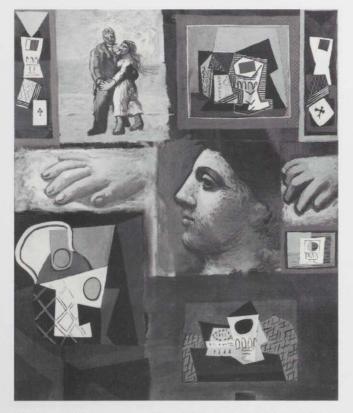
Portrait of Igor Stravinsky. May 24, 1920. Pencil on gray paper, 243/8 × 191/8" (62 × 48.5 cm). Zervos IV, 60. Musée Picasso, Paris



Olga in a Shawl. 1920. Lead pencil and charcoal on paper, $24^{1/4} \times 19^{1/4}$ " (61.5 × 49 cm). Zervos IV, 113. Musée Picasso, Paris



Olga Reading. July 31, 1920. Lead pencil on paper, $16^{3/4} \times 10^{7/8}$ " (42.5 × 27.7 cm). Zervos XXX, 92. Musée Picasso, Paris



Studies. 1920. Oil on canvas, 39 $^{3}\!\!/_{\!\!8} \times 31^{7}\!\!/_{\!\!8}$ " (100 × 81 cm). Zervos IV, 226. Musée Picasso, Paris

upholstery, but her arm appears foreshortened, and the surface of the upholstery flows into the glancing plane of her body.

Unlike Cézanne's portraits of his wife, Picasso's painting does not call attention to the subtle deviations from strict perspective it enfolds. Picasso maintained this visual unity by diminishing the three-dimensionality of his subject, thereby removing the depth that would bring them into conflict. He extended the illusion of shallowness across Olga's body by deleting her forwardprojecting feet and by accenting her crossing knee so slightly that it appears submerged in her voluminous skirt. The patterns woven into the fabrics enhance this effect. Bright florals emerging from the black background of the upholstery are echoed in the rosettes across the bodice and skirt of Olga's gown, and the gathers at her waist extend their rhythm over her figure. Only the projecting fan creates depth in the foreground, but even here Picasso's imitation of a high viewpoint diminishes its plunge. Finally, the rarefied atmosphere of Picasso's painting is heightened by his decision to leave the surrounding canvas largely untouched. Except for the barest suggestions of the studio setting, the figure floats free of reality, mediated only by the washy strokes outlining her face and left side. Besides setting off Olga's white skin from



Woman Reading (Olga). 1920. Oil on canvas, 65³/₈ × 40¹/₄" (166 × 102 cm). Zervos IV, 180. Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre National d'Art et de Culture Georges Pompidou, Paris



Olga Picasso seated in the Picassos' garage at Fontainebleau, in the midst of a group of large pastel drawings (Zervos IV, 347, 356, 345, 324, 346, and 349) associated with *Three Women at the Spring* (Zervos IV, 322); a pastel landscape (Zervos IV, 279); and, tacked to the wall at the right, the *Three Musicians* (Zervos IV, 331). Summer 1921. Photographer unknown. Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow

the neutral canvas, this casual boundary alerts us to the artificiality of what lies within.⁴⁹

As Pierre Daix wrote, "Picasso would get Olga into the Louvre." And Daix specified the achievements that justified this ambition. "He had reached in his painting a point of comprehension. He understood what there was in common between Poussin, Ingres, and Cézanne and the quest conducted by Braque and himself during Cubism's grand phases of discovery: the perfect rigor and order of compositions which carry the powers of painting to their peak of purity and strength."⁵⁰

Following their marriage on July 12, 1918, the couple spent their honeymoon at Biarritz, where Picasso elaborated the Neoclassical elegance of his recent painting in a series of drawings portraying the wealthy and attractive women who increasingly surrounded them. Eugenia Errazuriz provided accommodations for the honeymooners in her villa, as she had previously shepherded Picasso through high society (p. 59). Most of the portraits were exquisite pencil sketches on paper, but the major composition was a large painting of Madame Paul Rosenberg and her young daughter, Micheline (p. 309). Adopting a pose similar to the one he had used for the 1917 Ingresque portrait of Olga, Picasso painted the mother and child in a sedate style that avoids many of the ambiguities he had just explored; its relative conventionality led him to sign a parody sketch after it "Boldini." In this way he seems to have

been poking fun at its similarity to society portraiture.51

Picasso's willingness to pass his honeymoon painting a formal portrait of Madame Paul Rosenberg was the direct result of his decision to join her husband's gallery; this was Picasso's first formal affiliation since the rupture with Kahnweiler in 1914, and it signaled his final rejection of his experiment with Léonce, Paul's brother. Moreover, the portrait of Madame Georges Wildenstein, which Picasso also executed that summer (p. 308), reflects Wildenstein's role as the primary silent backer of this new collaboration in commercial promotion.52 Picasso's alliance with Paul Rosenberg would endure until the beginning of World War II (p. 310). By linking his career with this combination of world-renowned dealers, Picasso completed the migration from bohemia to the beaux quartiers that had begun with the move from the Bateau-Lavoir to the boulevard de Clichy in 1909, before the heyday of Cubism.

Soon after the Picassos returned to Paris in the fall of 1918, they moved into an elegant building at 23, rue La Boétie, next door to Paul Rosenberg's gallery and residence. The portrait of Madame Rosenberg had become the emblem of the new alliance. In late September, Rosenberg wrote to Picasso, "Everyone knows that Picasso painted the portrait of my wife and daughter. Léonce heard about it from Cocteau and, naturally, wishes it were Cubist, even though 'Miche' [Micheline] is 'roundist.'"⁵³ Léonce understood the potential effect of



Portrait of Olga. 1921. Pastel and charcoal on paper, mounted on canvas, 50 × 38" (127 × 96.5 cm). Not in Zervos. Musée Picasso, Paris, on extended loan to the Musée des Beaux Arts, Grenobleo

NEOCLASSICISM AND OLGA KHOKHLOVA ______315



Harlequin with Violin ("Si Tu Veux"). 1918. Oil on canvas, 56 × 391/2" (142 × 100.3 cm). Zervos III, 160. The Cleveland Museum of Art. Purchase, Leonard C. Hanna, Jr. Bequest

this portrait; its subject and style appeared publicly to reject the Cubist aesthetic program he championed.

In late October 1919, Paul Rosenberg opened his first exhibition of Picasso's work. It presented 167 recent drawings and watercolors, but no paintings. This selection emphasized the mediums in which Picasso had developed his Neoclassical style and demonstrated that over the preceding year it had spread far beyond the confines of portraiture. Although the exhibition included twentyseven portraits, that group lagged behind the thirty-four studies of Open Windows at Saint Raphaël and was nearly equaled by twenty-five still lifes and twenty-three Figures. Dancers, Harlequins and Pierrots, Circus Scenes, Bull Fights, Nudes, and Landscapes were also well represented. In this abundance, portraiture took precedence by virtue of chronology: the portraits stretched back to at least 1916, while almost all of the other works dated from 1918 or 1919. Moreover, the cover of the catalogue bore a likeness of Olga.54

The 1919 exhibition not only had showcased Picasso's recent achievements, but also presented the roots of the current work along with a stimulus for future departures. The last three drawings listed in the catalogue were titled either "after Ingres" or "after Renoir." If Ingres had so far been Picasso's dominant inspiration for Neoclassicism,



Idyll under a Tree. 1918. Oil on canvas, 27 × 22" (68.6 × 55.9 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection

Olga Stretched Out, Knitting. 1918. Pencil on writing paper, $10^{7}\!\!/_8\times 8^{1}\!\!/_2$ " (27.8 \times 21.5 cm). Zervos III, 153. Musée Picasso, Paris



Mother and Child (before reduction cutting). 1921. Oil on canvas, 56¹/₂ × 64["] (143.5 × 162.6 cm). Zervos IV, 311. The Art Institute of Chicago. Gift of Maymar Corporation, Mrs. Maurice L. Rothschild, Mr. and Mrs. Chauncey McCormick; Mary and Leigh Block Charitable Fund; Ada Turnbull Hertle Endowment; through prior gift of Mr. and Mrs. Edwin E. Hokin

Renoir provided a model for Picasso to expand the style beyond portraiture and across the full range of his art. Even though Apollinaire had sung Renoir's praises as early as 1913 and Picasso had on occasion emulated him since at least 1918, Renoir was not to be widely respected by the twentieth-century avant-garde until after his death in December 1919.55 Picasso's willingness to call attention to his admiration by including work "after Renoir" in the fall show underlines the Impressionist's importance for Picasso's newly emerging art. Comfortably established with Paul Rosenberg, Picasso measured his stature by addressing the artists whose work filled the galleryprimarily the Impressionists and Post-Impressionists.56 Literally surrounded by Courbets, Manets, Monets, and Cézannes, but especially Renoirs, Picasso accelerated his dialogue with history. He expanded his Neoclassicism beyond portraiture and forged a new, inclusive modernism that played host to a variety of representational styles, including a remodeled Cubism.

Although paintings such as the *Lovers* (1919)⁵⁷ point toward his desired amalgam of Cubism and classicism, a picture of 1920 called *Studies* (p. 312) lies at its center. Across this canvas, Picasso juxtaposed his two primary styles: Cubism alternates with Neoclassicism in a confrontation heightened by opposing subject matter—a contrast monumentalized in the summer of 1921 when Picasso painted two versions of the *Three Musicians* and *Three Women at the Spring* simultaneously in his Fontainebleau garage. Besides turning to Renoir (as well as Ingres and the Italian Renaissance) as a source for the Neoclassical figures in this painting, Picasso based its heterogeneous composition on Renoir's practice of sketching directly in oil on canvas. Like Picasso's painting, Renoir's trial canvases contain a wide diversity of styles and subjects precisely because Renoir used them to project the meditations on modernism and tradition that he had begun in the 1880s as Impressionism underwent intense scrutiny.⁵⁸

Picasso acquired seven of Renoir's later pictures, and they clearly influenced his work of the early 1920s.⁵⁹ Hélène Parmelin long ago noted the remarkable resemblance between one of the Renoirs owned by Picasso, *Seated Bather*, and his own *Seated Nude Drying Her Foot*;⁶⁰ it provides a crucial source for the Mediterranean setting, classical poses, and—to some extent—the almost elephantine bodies of some of Picasso's figures. Yet this comparison also clarifies the differences between Picasso's Neoclassicism during the early 1920s and that of the painters of the "call to order," the broad Neoclassical





Olga Picasso with Paulo (born February 4, 1921). 23, rue La Boétie, Paris, c. 1922–23. Photograph by Man Ray. Collection Lucien Treillard

movement that was to gather force as the decade passed. The austerity and melancholy of Picasso's figures do not project the optimism about a paradise regained that pervades Renoir's happy scenes and those of many of his followers in the growing movement. Picasso's Neoclassicism acknowledges the difficult task of integrating Cubism and tradition, instead of seeking to minimize or dismiss it altogether. His Neoclassicism blossomed during his alliance with Paul Rosenberg and the opportunity it presented to define his position among already historical masters; his synthesis of old and new, however, speaks as much of rupture as it does of continuity.

Picasso's 1921 exhibition at Paul Rosenberg's gallery presented some works in the Cubist mode, but the majority were recent Neoclassical figures. Among these latter pictures, Picasso differentiated those he considered portraits from those that were generic figures. The 1917 portrait of Olga appeared as *Portrait of a Woman with a Fan* and the painting of Madame Rosenberg and her daughter as *Portrait of a Woman and a Child*, while unindividualized depictions of women were called *Woman in a Chemise with Crossed Arms* or *Group of Women*. The significance of this distinction is demonstrated by the largest painting Picasso included in the exhibition, *Woman in an Armchair* (now known as *Woman Reading*; p. 313). Although based on a portrait of Olga, the final painting surpasses in

Woman and child (Olga and Paulo). 1922. Pencil and watercolor on paper, $6^{1\!/_8}\times 4^{1\!/_2 ''}$ (15.5 \times 11.5 cm). Not in Zervos. Musée Picasso, Paris

its transformations any conventional definition of the genre. Its evolution reveals that Picasso detached his Neoclassicism from conventional portraiture in 1920 and that with this liberation he explored a wide range of traditional subjects, whether derived from classical mythology or Christian dogma, as well as transformed portrayals of individuals in his life.

On July 31, 1920, Picasso had sketched a portrait of Olga on holiday at Juan-les-Pins (p. 312). Reflecting the relaxed mood, this pencil drawing shows her wrapped in a long robe and seated in an armchair, reading a letter. Her wavy hair falls loosely to her shoulders, and her crossed foot dangles slipperless. This casualness corresponds to many other portraits Picasso made of her during the second decade of the twentieth century and the early 1920s (including images both of great sensuality and of extreme informality).61 While still at Juan-les-Pins, Picasso translated the small sketch into a large painting (p. 313).62 Although this picture retains a remarkable amount of the minutiae recorded in the drawing, Picasso altered the woman enough for her derivation from portraiture to have gone largely unnoticed. In the painting, she has become a mixture of casualness and monumentality that creates an image of classicism uneasily grafted to modernity. The clothing, hair, pose, and activity are Olga's; yet her bloated proportions overwhelm the quiescent



Mother and Child. 1922. Pencil and watercolor on paper, $6^{1/8} \times 4^{1/2^{''}}$ (15.5 × 11.5 cm).Not in Zervos.Musée Picasso, Paris

original. The armchair is reproduced in meticulous detail, its mismatched legs precisely rendered, yet its proportions can no longer accommodate the massive figure. The gargantuan woman ill suits the quotidian objects surrounding her—not only the drab chair but also the cloths casually draped over its back and laid underneath, and particularly, her loose slippers.⁶³ In subsequent paintings, such as *Two Female Nudes*,⁶⁴ Picasso began to forgo modern dress and domestic settings in order to adopt more consistently classicizing scenes, which he painted in a style that freely mixed illusions of sculptural relief with Cubist passages.

Throughout the winter of 1920–21 and the following spring, Picasso's gradual detachment from portraiture enabled him to elaborate his exploration of classical styles across increasingly large and complex compositions. The culmination of this development is *Three Women at the Spring*, which Picasso painted during his summer residence in Fontainebleau. Although none of the figures in the painting, or in its many preparatory studies and post studies, evince an obvious reference to Olga, posterior works imply such an interplay. Probably as a postscript, Picasso drew a number of exquisite pastels, which he modeled on the head of the woman at the left in the painting. A photograph shows several of these pastels pinned to the wall of his studio (p. 314). Seated in their



Mother and Child. 1922. Oil on canvas, $39^{\frac{1}{8} \times 31^{\frac{7}{8}}}$ (100 × 81 cm). Zervos IV, 371. The Baltimore Museum of Art. The Cone Collection, formed by Dr. Claribel Cone and Miss Etta Cone of Baltimore, Maryland. (Colorplate, p. 51)

midst is Olga. Even more than her proximity, her nearly profile pose suggests some relationship to the drawn figures. It is impossible to decipher if Picasso intended this juxtaposition to reveal her as a conscious source for the work, or if the photograph records a later recognition of a resemblance. Olga's image had so permeated his art over the course of the previous four years that her features habitually recur in combination with a panoply of sources and, later, other women.

By the summer of 1921, this fertilization led in many directions. In at least one case, the Neoclassicism that had grown from portraiture reversed course to shape a likeness Picasso drew of his wife. Made probably while he was executing his postscripts to Three Women at the Spring, this portrait could almost be part of that series (p. 315). Executed in pastel on the same size paper as that of the Neoclassical busts, it shows a three-quarter view of Olga's head, which differs in style only slightly from the generic figures: Olga, easily recognizable, is turned to the left rather than the right, and her eyes look toward the viewer. Her hair appears in heavy waves. Modeled with infinite subtlety in the soft pastel, her head swells to an imposing volume, and her nose, lips, and eyelids are thickened as if they were carved from stone. Even her deeply scalloped collar stands erect like the fluting of an antique sculpture.

Picasso's other major composition during the summer

of 1921, the two versions of the Three Musicians, not only involves the issue of portraiture-on a symbolic levelbut also the particularly thorny question of how he pursued it in a Cubist idiom (a subject that is discussed in other essays in this volume).65 Three Cubist paintings dating from the second decade of the twentieth century and the early 1920s, however, are tied to Picasso's portraval of Olga. Painted in the early months of 1918, Harlequin with Violin ("Si Tu Veux") (p. 316) probably celebrates the couple's betrothal, as Picasso employed his frequent alter ego and the title on the sheet of music to allude to his proposal.⁶⁶ A few months later, he recorded another episode in her life, rarely mentioned by art historians. Olga broke her right leg in the late spring of 1918 and entered the clinic of Dr. Ch. Bonnet in Paris, where she apparently remained until a short time before her marriage.⁶⁷ In fine weather, she passed the time in the garden, with her encased leg elevated on a massive platform. During visits, Picasso drew the scene. After making a rough draft in one of his small notebooks,68 he took a sheet of the doctor's stationery and charted an intricate Cubist composition, showing Olga knitting while seated on the thronelike apparatus (p. 316). In a small painting (p. 316), he dropped most of the details that had identified the subject: the border and folds of Olga's dressing gown are gone, as are the strands of her hair and the ball of yarn that is shown lying on the ground in the preceding sketch. The background is also simplified, although the painting's bright green tonality identifies the outdoor setting. Like a second painting based on a transformed likeness of Olga, Woman in an Armchair (1920; p. 43), which William Rubin discusses in his introductory essay, Picasso effaced almost all evidence that might identify the sitter and reveal the point of departure for the composition.

Increasingly, the elaboration of his Neoclassical paintings spun equally far from their origins in portraiture. In the summer or fall of 1921, Picasso painted another threefigure composition, which nearly equaled the size of the Three Musicians and Three Women at the Spring. No doubt stimulated by the birth of his son Paulo on February 4, 1921, he addressed a subject he had rarely treated before, the family. He showed a mother and child accompanied by a man whose gesture of handing a fish to the baby suggests his nurturing role. After painting the picture, however, Picasso soon chose to alter it fundamentally by cutting down the canvas to exclude the man's body and overpainting the long reach of his arm (p. 317). The result is Mother and Child, a composition of a more nearly square format, whose image of a monumental woman cradling a baby returns to the theme of maternity.⁶⁹

Picasso's work during the summer of 1922 was dominated by studies for a suite of maternity images (pp. 318, 319), which would develop over the winter and the following year into a series of more than ten large paintings devoted to a variety of subjects ranging from portraiture to *commedia dell'arte* characters. Beginning in 1921, Paul Rosenberg had urged Picasso to paint in series (especially harlequins), and, when complete, Rosenberg purchased the lot for the princely sum of nearly a quarter of a million francs. During the winter of 1923–24, he sent them to America as the core of the first exhibition of Picasso's paintings held in the United States (Wildenstein Gallery, New York) and the first to appear in a museum anywhere (The Art Institute of Chicago), before showing them in his Paris gallery the following spring. This international tour of Picasso's recent Neoclassical paintings did more to establish his worldwide fame than any previous event in his career; yet by its conclusion, Surrealism had displaced Neoclassicism as the primary focus of his art.

Once again it is impossible to isolate portraiture from other genres, yet Picasso's sketchbooks offer considerable insight into his process of developing compositions that stemmed from portraiture while radically transforming it. During his summer holiday in 1922, Picasso filled a sketchbook with drawings that move from the documentation of his surroundings to a sketch of Olga and Paulo at play, which immediately began to be transformed, to plans for formal compositions.⁷⁰ As if accustoming himself to his new environment, Picasso inscribed "Dinard" at the beginning of the sketchbook and followed this identification with a sketch of Saint-Malo (the village across the bay). On subsequent pages he drew Paulo's head and then passed on to scenes of domestic life (including Paulo seated on a chamber pot) before drawing a portrait of Olga holding their son on her lap (p. 318). Yet the images in the sketchbook are not confined to this dialogue with his immediate surroundings. Several are tentative trials for a scene of a woman at her toilette, which he would resume the next summer, but the most resolved are plans for compositions on the theme of maternity.

Interspersed with the portraits of Olga and Paulo, these drawings stand out because of their significant departure from the portraits, despite many similarities (p. 319). Although both depict a woman holding a young boy on her lap while offering him a small object, the rendering of the heads, particularly the woman's, no longer corresponds to the portraits. Instead of Olga, Picasso drew a woman with more rounded features. Most significantly, instead of Olga's tightly pinned hair, this woman's tresses fall from a loose gathering at the back of her head. In the final paintings, Picasso maintained these features, but he drew the figures more closely together so that the woman embraces the child and seems to rest her chin on his head. William Rubin has vigorously argued that the transformation of both the face and the nurturing gestures of this woman reflect Picasso's admiration for Sara Murphy, whom he had met in 1921; his admiration would blossom fully during the time they spent together



Portrait of the Artist's Son, Paulo. 1922. Pastel on paper, 241/4 × 183/4" (61.5 × 47.5 cm). Zervos XXX, 357. Private collection

in the summer of 1923.⁷¹ As in *Woman Reading*, Picasso developed these compositions from a wide variety of sources to create a rich amalgam that transcends individual likeness to engage broad themes. In the case of these paintings of a mother and child, we know from Picasso's handwritten receipt to Paul Rosenberg that he chose to title them *Maternity*.⁷² Likewise, he called the contemporary set of paintings for which Jacinto Salvadó posed

Harlequins (pp. 326, 327). Picasso's choice of titles does not deny the fact that the origin of these pictures is portraiture; rather, the titles confirm the process of transformation through which the final image took shape, as Picasso moved into increasingly synthetic compositions.

Even though Neoclassicism would continue as one of the many styles Picasso would employ during the remaining decades of his career, its dominant role came to a



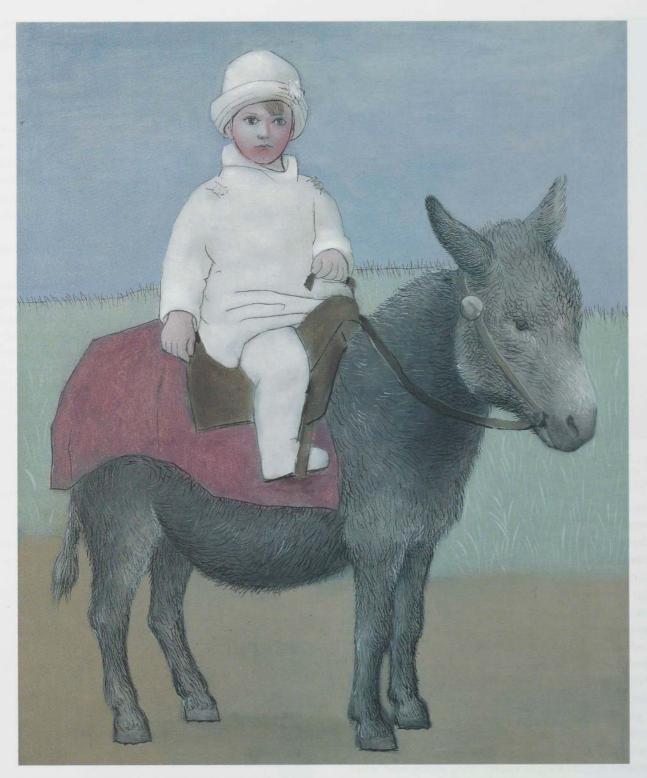
Portrait of the Artist's Son, Paulo. 1923. Oil on canvas, 10³/₈ × 8³/₈" (27 × 22 cm). Zervos V, 180. Private collection

close with these paintings. In reviewing Rosenberg's exhibition of them in 1924, André Salmon wrote that "the pure harlequins . . . form a perfect unity with the Blue and Rose periods."⁷³ Although exaggerated, Salmon's remark captures the retrospection that pervades these works of 1922–23. While retaining the monumental proportions of his recent compositions (but not their massive volumes), Picasso passed through portraiture to create a body of work devoted to the costumed circus performers and sentimental family groups that had been his frequent subjects before Cubism. Moreover, he adapted the saturated colors, flowing glazes, and exquisite draftsmanship he had employed to render them. In a sense, these pictures close the circle on this phase of Picasso's Neoclassicism by returning to his point of departure in the spring of 1914, when he probably responded to the exhibition of his Blue and Rose paintings at the auction of the Peau de l'Ours. By the mid-1920s, Neoclassicism had become fashionable among the Parisian avant-garde, and Picasso shed the pack, much as he had done a decade before, when Cubism had become widely imitated.

Picasso's personal and professional life changed in tandem with his art. The summer holiday in 1922 had ended abruptly when Olga fell seriously ill and had to be rushed to Paris for surgery; although she recovered, this event may have marked the end of their intimacy. Certainly by the following summer, Picasso's eye was wandering, as the recently identified group of drawings and paintings devoted to Sara Murphy reveals. The final likenesses he made of Olga are extremely detached. Portrait of the Artist's Wife (p. 296) of 1923 is so restrained in pose and rendering that it seems fitting it won the first prize at the conservative Carnegie International exhibition in 1930. Except for a few drawings in 1928, Olga's likeness disappeared from Picasso's art in 1923, even though the couple did not separate until twelve years later. Despite a few paintings of Paulo in festive costumes, his presence in Picasso's art also greatly diminished.



Paulo Picasso on a donkey. 1923. Photographer unknown. Musée Picasso, Paris, Documents section. Gift of Sir Roland Penrose



Paulo on a Donkey. 1923. Oil on canvas, 393/8 × 317/8" (100 × 81 cm). Zervos VI, 1429. Private collection

Picasso's estrangement from his family was part of a profound reorientation that took place in the mid-1920s. We now know that he had formed a relationship with Marie-Thérèse Walter no later than 1926, and probably in 1925, and that his domestic situation had deteriorated to the point that heated confrontations with Olga were common.⁷⁴ Picasso was also to dismiss Cocteau and distance himself from Paul Rosenberg, thereby substantially withdrawing from the core of people who had supported his postwar career. Instead, André Breton and the burgeoning Surrealist movement became increasingly important for him. Although Picasso's involvement with Surrealism is beyond the scope of this essay,⁷⁵ it must be mentioned in relation to paintings of the late 1920s and early 1930s that reflect his use of Olga in his art.

Among the pictures of the late 1920s, one has long



Olga Picasso with the Picassos' Saint Bernard. c. 1930–35. Photograph by "Stella Presse" photo agency. Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives

been associated with her, Bust of a Woman with Self-Portrait (p. 329). Roland Penrose, who once owned the painting and received this intelligence directly from Picasso, identified the framed profile in the picture as a self-portrait and stated that the female bust refers to Olga.76 Picasso had begun to use a similar profile in paintings of 1927, and a photograph he took of his own silhouette cast over one of his framed drawings supports the conclusion that the painted profiles derive from his features (p. 207). In 1927 he also began a series of paintings, which culminated in Figure and Profile, in which he juxtaposed his silhouette with a highly contorted female head (p. 328). Throughout the series, certain features of the woman recur, particularly her prominent teeth and spiky strands of hair. At first she is clearly an artistic creation confined to a drawing or canvas hung on the wall, while the Picasso-like silhouette suggests the shadow of a real figure standing in space. In Figure and Profile, however, the relationship is reversed. Picasso's profile is framed on the wall, and the monstrous woman not only occupies the room but seems to threaten the image by sweeping across it.

Although Picasso's increasingly troubled relationship with Olga probably provided raw material for these images, their conception and sequence suggest that imaginative transformation quickly overran representation. Rather similar to Picasso's procedure in the earlier Neoclassical pictures, his process of transformation subordinated direct experience to broader thematic concerns. The silhouettes may symbolize his emotional distance from Olga, but they also affirm a classical order that is threatened with destruction. The predatory females are obviously fantastic constructions; they derive at least as much from the Surrealists' often demonic conception of women as from any personal circumstances.⁷⁷ As if darkly mirroring the consonance of Picasso's Neoclassicism with the early years of his marriage to Olga, his immersion in Surrealism corresponded to the dissonance of their subsequent relationship.

Throughout the 1930s, Picasso absorbed the historical styles and subjects of Neoclassicism into images that evoke the violent, psychological themes of the Surrealists. The monumental figure placed in an elemental landscape of beach, sea, and sky in Seated Bather (p. 64) perpetuates the grandeur of his earlier Neoclassical scenes, such as Mother and Child, without retaining the maternal tenderness that he had originally projected into them. Isolated on the beach and stripped of the ample flesh that enfolds the Neoclassical figures, this "bone" bather's towering stature and classical equilibrium heighten the potential danger of her daggerlike nose and inverted jaws. Since Picasso told William Rubin that Seated Bather was "inspired by Olga," we can be confident that once again his experience with her underlies this intimidating image that, in its final form, so clearly shares the Surrealists' obsession with aggressive sexuality.78

At least twice during the 1930s, Picasso resurrected an historical subject to channel his themes of personal tor-



Portrait of Olga with a Fur Collar. 1923. Drypoint, 19¹/₂ × 19³/₈" (49.5 × 49.2 cm). Geiser/Baer I, 109. Musée Picasso, Paris



Portrait of Olga. 1923. Pastel and black pencil on paper, 41 × 28" (104 × 71 cm). Zervos V, 38. Musée Picasso, Paris

ment. Also associated with Olga by several authors, *Woman with Stiletto (Death of Marat)* (p. 330) casts a gorgon, resembling the previous monsters, as Charlotte Corday in the act of stabbing Marat while he lies in his bath.⁷⁹ In *The Murder* (p. 330), Picasso returned to this subject, but substituted a stylized figure of Marie-Thérèse for Marat and drew her attacker as a wizened hag, whose projecting teeth and stringy hair mirror his recent transformations of Olga. Drawn in July 1934, at the time of battles that preceded their separation the next year, this image surges from Picasso's personal life through his involvement with Neoclassicism to manifest the "convulsive beauty" admired by the Surrealists.

In contrast, Picasso's final transformed portrait of Olga



Portrait of Jacinto Salvadó as Harlequin. 1923. Oil on canvas, 51¹/₄ × 38³/₄" (130 × 97 cm). Zervos V, 17. Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre National d'Art et de Culture Georges Pompidou, Paris. Bequest of Baronne Gourgaud, 1965



Portrait of Jacinto Salvadó as Harlequin. 1923. Tempera on canvas, 51³/₈ × 38¹/₄" (130.5 × 97 cm). Zervos V, 23. Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Kunstmuseum

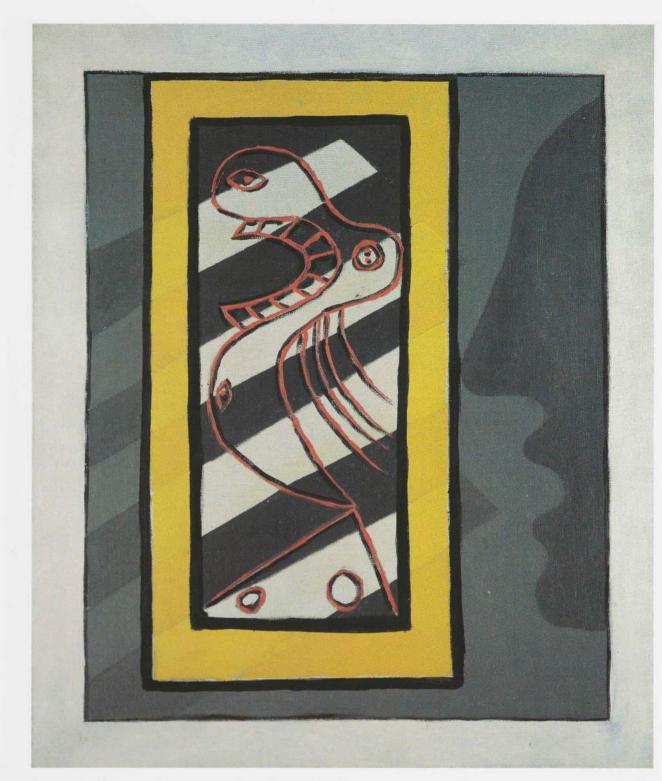
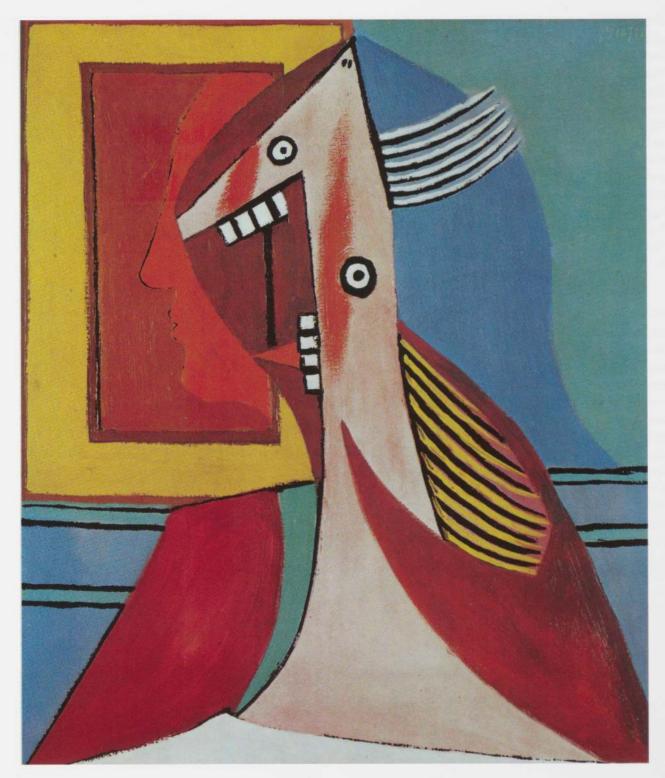


Figure and Profile. 1927–28. Oil on canvas, 25⁵/₈ × 21¹/₄" (65 × 54 cm). Zervos VII, 144. Private collection

(so far as we know) is remarkably calm if deeply sad. Painted in 1935, the year in which Marie-Thérèse gave birth to Maya, and Olga left the rue La Boétie as part of a formal separation agreement, *Woman with a Hat* (p. 331) contains few of the violent distortions that characterize the other images associated with her in the late 1920s and 1930s.⁸⁰ Its pastel tonality is cool, and the woman's pinched angularity is mild compared to the twisted anatomies of some contemporaneous figures. Perhaps this moderation reflects the aftermath of Olga's departure; the dark wells of the eyes, which are recorded in contemporary photographs of her (p. 330), may bear witness to her presence and index her grief,

Given this long sequence of Picasso's images, it is



Bust of a Woman with Self-Portrait. 1929. Oil on canvas, 28 × 237/8" (71 × 60.5 cm). Zervos VII, 248. Private collection

fitting that the final ones are by Olga. In the years following their separation she literally haunted his life, confronting him during regular visits to his Paris bank and interrupting his summer sojourns with Françoise Gilot, near Olga's last home at Cannes.⁸¹ As her health failed and she became bedridden in the early 1950s, Olga resorted to photographs as one of her final means to address her husband. In frequent letters, she enclosed snapshots showing Picasso, herself, and Paulo during their years together.⁸² These were prints from the early 1920s that she had preserved for decades, and, tragically, she now shot back at Picasso to goad his memory. In 1949 her campaign intensified; the birth of Paulo's son, Pablito, and his daughter, Marina, the following year gave her new ammunition. Named after his grandfather, Pablito became the center of an effort to win back Picasso's affection. For her New Year's greeting in 1951 Olga constructed an intricate collage of photographs that linked the recent births with Paulo's in 1921 (p. 335). She cut, juxtaposed, and pasted images of Paulo with those of Marina and Pablito, and then surrounded them with arrays that mixed snapshots of Picasso and Paulo in the 1920s with those of Paulo's wife, Emmanuelle Lotte, and of Olga in old age. These awkward, handcrafted assemblages are a final testament to her desperate effort to maintain the family she had begun with Picasso more than thirty years before. Needless to say, he did not respond to her final pleas for reconciliation, and her death apparently left no mark on his art.⁸³

The origins of Picasso's Neoclassicism signal both its distinction from the broad movement that began during World War I and its essential ties to portraiture. Rather than a revival of classical styles and subjects, his initial steps in the spring of 1914 show a return to his own early work, followed by an engagement with nineteenthcentury artists who had stimulated his Blue and Rose periods. This time, however, the dialogue was very different. In the early years of the century, Picasso had largely assimilated preceding styles, before moving on to create Cubism. In 1914 he looked back from the prominence he had achieved and sought to define his contribution by separating himself from the growing Cubist movement and once again confronting his predecessors. This process would drive his Neoclassicism for a decade, though it subsided somewhat with the disruptions of the war. During those uncertain times, portraiture, which had underlain much of the Blue and Rose work, subsumed



Olga Picasso (detail of group photograph) at Château de Béthusy, Lausanne, July 1931. Photograph by Gisela Reber. Collection Christoph Pudelko, Bonn

Neoclassicism as Picasso used it to fix the diminished community that supported his continuing exploration of Cubism. With the expansion and renewal of that community through his involvement with Cocteau, Errazuriz, and the ballet, portraiture burgeoned and was transferred from small drawings to the grand paintings that reflect Picasso's growing ease outside avant-garde circles.



Woman with Stiletto (Death of Marat). December 19–25, 1931. Oil on canvas, $185_{16}^{5} \times 24_{16}^{3/16}$ " (46.5 × 61.5 cm). Not in Zervos. Musée Picasso, Paris



The Murder. July 7, 1934. Pencil on paper, $15^{1}\!\!\!/ \times 19^{7}\!\!\!/ s''$ (39.8 \times 50.4 cm). Zervos VIII, 216. Musée Picasso, Paris



Woman with a Hat (Olga). 1935. Oil on canvas, 23⁵/₈ × 19⁵/₈" (60 × 50 cm). Zervos VIII, 247. Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre National d'Art et de Culture Georges Pompidou, Paris. Bequest of Georges Salles, 1967

His alliance with Paul Rosenberg in 1918 marked both his establishment in *mondaine* society and the intensification of his dialogue with old and modern masters, a process that spawned his full-blown Neoclassicism of the early 1920s. Far from a regression, Picasso's Neoclassicism both acknowledged the waning of the prewar avant-garde and defined a vital new direction that would infuse his interpretation of Surrealism both in its monumentality (*Seated Bather*, 1930) and its subject matter (*Death of Marat*, 1931), as well as contribute to his continuing examination of his position in the history of art during the years after World War II. In this process, Olga became a temporary partner, sometimes a muse, but neither a dominating force nor an original inspiration.

NOTES

I. Like most terms used to identify diverse movements in the arts, "Neoclassicism" cannot be defined with precision; however, it is generally used to refer to modern artists' practice of borrowing and adapting historical Western styles of representation. For a general discussion of this issue, see Elizabeth Cowling and Jennifer Mundy, On Classic Ground: Picasso, Léger, de Chirico and the New Classicism 1910–1930 (London: Tate Gallery Publications, 1990). For Picasso's Neoclassicism, the basic reference is Ulrich Weisner, ed., Picassos Klassizismus (Bielefeld: Kunsthalle Bielefeld, 1988).

2. Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler with Francis Crémieux, My Galleries and Painters (New York: Viking Press, 1971), pp. 53–54. We do not know exactly which drawings Picasso showed to Kahnweiler, but the description closely corresponds to a series from the spring and summer of 1914; see, for example, Musée Picasso, Paris, M.P. 744–46.

3. This topic is too complex to deal with here, but a brief summary is necessary. Most recently, Rosalind Krauss criticized Picasso's "turn to neoclassicism," writing, "This peculiar and momentously reactionary alternative to Cubism is a deep conundrum for historians of modernism" ("We Lost It at the Movies," The Art Bulletin 76, no. 4 [December 1994], p. 580). Criticism of Picasso's Neoclassicism can be found in the writing of some of his pre-World War I associates, such as Maurice Raynal and Wilhelm Uhde, but it is more common in biographies and essays written by historians and journalists who began commenting on his art after the Neoclassicism of the second and third decades of the twentieth century had ended, particularly Roland Penrose, Pierre Cabanne, and John Berger. Criticism of Picasso's Neoclassicism is often linked to his relationship with Olga Khokhlova; see n. 31, below. In order to conform to the editorial guidelines of this exhibition catalogue, I will henceforth refer to Olga Khokhlova as Olga.

4. Regarding issues of modernism and avant-gardism, Jeffrey Weiss has stated the skepticism that many of us feel when comparing theories with historical evidence. "I use the terms 'modernism' and 'avant-garde' somewhat interchangeably here. . . . Theories of the avant-garde . . . require us to address the phenomenon as a unified project of shared purpose, definable goals and quantifiable success or failure. While such an argument is attractive in the abstract, and manages to comply with a handful of examples, it bears little applicable relation to the daily circumstances of . . . cultural history as they reveal themselves to students of the archive. . . . More developments at the time tend to confute the theory rather than prove it, and proscriptive definitions of convenient terms such as modernism and the avantgarde serve mostly to provide a false sense of security, dulling our intuitive grasp of predominating incongruities and conflicts" (The Popular Culture of Modern Art: Picasso, Duchamp, and

Avant-Gardism [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994], p. xvi).

5. From 1911 through 1913, it appears that Picasso made only one work undisputed as a portrait, a drawing of Apollinaire (p. 180) that was reproduced as the frontispiece of *Alcools*, 1913 (though there are "transformations" such as that of *Woman in an Armchair*; p. 291).

6. Picasso's partial departure from Cubism in 1914 is too broad a topic to receive full discussion here; substantial research is still needed to clarify the issues.

7. Although Picasso did not show all his paintings (he kept secret, for example, the socalled "sand" portraits of Sara Murphy), it was exceptional for him to do so with a painting of this importance.

8. See Kahnweiler, My Galleries and Painters, p. 54.

9. By the term "salon Cubists," I intend to refer to the Cubist artists grouped around Jean Metzinger and Albert Gleizes, who exhibited regularly in the Parisian salons beginning in 1911, in contrast to Picasso and Georges Braque, who refused to participate in these events.

10. In Making Modernism: Picasso and the Creation of the Market for Twentieth-Century Art (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1995), pp. 15–46, I have discussed the Peau de l'Ours collection, as well as many other aspects of Picasso's career from 1914 to 1939 that are touched on in this essay.

11. For a discussion of Picasso's sources for this painting, see Kenneth E. Silver, *Esprit de Corps: The Art of the Parisian Avant-Garde and the First World War, 1914–1925* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989), pp. 63–68.

12. For a discussion of portraiture in relation to *The Family of Saltimbanques*, see Theodore Reff, "Harlequins, Saltimbanques, Clowns and Fools," *Artforum* 10 (October 1971), pp. 30–43. William Rubin has identified the couple in *Meditation* (Zervos I, 235) as Picasso and Fernande Olivier; see *Picasso in the Collection of The Museum of Modern Art* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1972), p. 30.

13. Beginning in 1914, Picasso did make a small number of Neoclassical or realist drawings of still-life subjects. Unlike the portraits, however, they are not finished compositions and generally served as studies for details of larger compositions; see, for example, Musée Picasso, Paris, M.P. 743.

14. Hélène Seckel noted this resemblance; see *Max Jacob et Picasso* (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1994), p. 116.

15. Most of Picasso's Neoclassical portraits, unlike those from almost every other phase of his career, appear to have been made from life and are based on sketches or on a photograph of the subject. A certain number were also surely done from memory.

16. Pierre Daix has argued that the beginning of the war interrupted Picasso's work on this painting (*Picasso: The Cubist Years 1907–1916*, with Joan Rosselet [Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1979], pp. 164–65).

17. Kahnweiler had begun buying Picasso's work in 1907 and had bought heavily from him

18. Cited in Seckel, *Max Jacob et Picasso*, p. 116. 19. For photographs of Jacob taken in 1915

and 1916, see ibid., pp. 121–22 and 129–30. 20. Cited in ibid., p. 120.

21. Reprinted in Leroy C. Breunig, ed.,

Apollinaire on Art: Essays and Reviews, 1902–1918 (New York: Viking Press, 1972), p. 440.

22. Cited in Seckel, Max Jacob et Picasso, p. 125. 23. Cited in ibid., p. 116.

24. Pierre Reverdy, "Sur le cubisme," Nord-Sud, March 15, 1917, pp. 5–7; reprinted in Edward F. Fry, ed., *Cubism* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1966), pp. 144, 145.

25. Cited in Seckel, *Max Jacob et Picasso*, p. 137. 26. Francis Steegmuller, *Cocteau: A Biography* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1970), p. 165.

27. Christopher Green, Cubism and Its Enemies (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), p. 1.

28. For further discussion of Léonce Rosenberg's activities as a dealer, see Malcolm Gee, Dealers, Critics and Collectors of Modern Painting: Aspects of the Parisian Art Market Between 1910 and 1930 (New York: Garland Publishing, 1981), pp. 44–58.

29. See Léonce's letters to Picasso of March 24 and November 29, 1916 (Picasso Archives, Musée Picasso, Paris).

30. This anecdote was recorded by René Gimpel, *Diary of a Picture Dealer* (New York: Universe Books, 1987), p. 71, entry of November 14, 1918. That same month, Juan Gris wrote to Léonce complaining about the high prices he was paying for "false-Picassos, false-Braques, and false-Gris" (Getty Center for the Humanities, Santa Monica). Léonce's criticism of *Parade* is recorded in a letter of September 1917 that Cocteau wrote to him (Centre Pompidou, Paris).

31. Within the Picasso literature, there is a considerable subset that seeks to place responsibility for the artist's involvement in worldly activities and even his Neoclassicism on the preferences and persistence of Olga. As with the question of criticism of Neoclassicism (see n. 3), this problem is too extensive for substantial discussion in this essay. It is worth noting, however, that the two are regularly linked by some authors. Criticism of Olga can be traced to some of Picasso's prewar friends, such as Jacob, who blamed her for their cool relations with Picasso after the war. Among writers working after World War II, Pierre Cabanne goes so far as to assert that Picasso adopted Neoclassicism or a "decorative form of Cubism because he did not wish to shock or deceive Olga" (Le Siècle de Picasso [Paris: Denoël, 1975], vol. 2, p. 81). In my view, Pierre Daix has offered the most cogent assessment of Olga's role in Picasso's life during the early years of their relationship: "Certainly, Olga's tastes were classic,

traditional, but the atmosphere of the Ballets Russes had corresponded to an initiation and, after all, she had not been shocked by the scandal of *Parade*. It was certainly not because of her or to please her that Picasso returned to classical portraits" (*La Vie de peintre de Pablo Picasso* [Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1977], p. 158).

This view is confirmed by interviews that I conducted in preparation for this essay. Among the many people I have questioned about Olga, two were particularly close to the Picassos during the time of their marriage: Micheline Sinclair, daughter of Paul Rosenberg, and Daniel Wildenstein, son of Georges. Although both were children during the 1920s, they grew up in close proximity to the Picassos on the rue La Boétie and saw them frequently. As adults, both maintained cordial relations with Picasso and Olga after their separation. Among those still living, they are probably the most knowledgeable about the Picassos' daily life during the 1920s and 1930s. Independently, both Sinclair and Wildenstein told me that they strongly disagree with the frequently derogatory characterizations of Olga that appear in the Picasso literature. This is also the opinion expressed by Marina Picasso (Olga's granddaughter) in Les Enfants du bout du monde (Paris: Ramsay/ Archimbaud, 1995), pp. 59-77. The book was published after this essay was written.

32. Quoted in Cabanne, Le Siècle de Picasso, vol. 2, p. 94.

33. Statement for distribution, dated September 3, 1917, by Léonce Rosenberg (Centre Pompidou, Paris).

34. Lynn Garafola, *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 76.

35. See Deborah Menaker Rothschild, *Picasso's "Parade"* (London: Sotheby's Publications, 1991), pp. 209–38.

36. Zervos III, 23 and 18.

37. To my knowledge, the only painting, excluding *The Artist and His Model*, that Picasso made in a Neoclassical style before 1917 is a small oil on panel, *Head of a Young Man* (1915; Daix 813). The features of this man resemble those of the figure Picasso had drawn and painted in 1914; whether or not this painting is a portrait is unclear.

38. *Le Poète assassiné* was published in 1916. The story is loosely autobiographical, and many in the Parisian art world immediately assumed that Picasso was the model for "the Bird of Benin"; see Francis Steegmuller, *Apollinaire: Poet among the Painters* (New York: Farrar, Straus, 1963), p. 320.

39. This account of Olga's involvement with the ballet is based primarily on Garafola's *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes*. I greatly appreciate Joan Acocella's generosity in providing material about Olga, introducing me to scholars working on the ballet, and offering her own view of Olga's career and reputation.

40. Picasso had drawn bust-length portraits of Apollinaire and Cocteau in 1916.

41. There is also an inscription in Russian in another hand.

42. In 1917 Picasso also painted a series of

Harlequins in a Neoclassical style; they are generally thought to be idealized portraits of Massine (for example, *Harlequin*, Museo Picasso, Barcelona, M.P.B. 10.941).

43. The words are those of Mary Mathews Gedo (*Picasso: Art as Autobiography* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980], p. 115). For Roland Penrose's earlier interpretation of this painting, see *Picasso: His Life and Art* (New York: Harper, 1958), p. 203.

44. In a statement he made to Marius de Zayas in 1923, Picasso praised Velázquez's portraits for their subordination of the sitter to the artist's interpretation: "Velasquez left us his idea of the people of his epoch. Undoubtedly they were different from [the way in which] he painted them, but we cannot conceive a Philip IV in any other way than the one Velasquez painted. Rubens also made a portrait of the same king and in Rubens' portrait he seems to be quite another person. We believe in the one painted by Velasquez, for he convinces us by his right of might" ("Picasso Speaks," *The Arts* 3 [May 1923], p. 319).

45. Olga's direct stare is another aspect of this performance. Diaghilev first produced *The Three-Cornered Hat* in London in July 1919. Picasso designed sets, costumes, and a curtain for the ballet; according to Massine, he began to plan it while in Spain during the fall of 1917. See Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon, *Picasso: Le Tricorne* (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1992), p. 11.

46. The four drawings are Zervos III, 2, 3, and 32; and estate no. 2286.

47. Anthony Blunt, "Picasso's Classical Period (1917–1925)," *The Burlington Magazine* 110 (April 1968), p. 187; Phoebe Pool, "Picasso's Neoclassicism: Second Period, 1917–1925," *Apollo* 85 (March 1967), p. 201. Despite its fame, this painting has received little analysis; for the most extensive interpretation, see Marie-Laure Besnard-Bernadac, *Le Musée Picasso, Paris* (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1985), p. 28.

48. Robert Rosenblum, Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1990), p. 62. In reading a draft of this essay, William Rubin suggested the useful term "de-frumping" to describe Picasso's process of idealizing Olga in contrast to her appearance in this photograph.

49. At approximately the same time, Picasso painted a second portrait of Olga (Zervos VI, 1335), now in the collection of Marina Picasso. Also executed in a Neoclassical style, the picture is somewhat smaller (45 ⁵/₈ x 29 ¹/₂ in.; 116 x 75 cm) and is rendered in a darker and heavier idiom. Neither the pose, costume, nor setting precisely correspond to the painting in the Musée Picasso.

50. Pierre Daix, *Picasso: Life and Art* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993), pp. 159–60. Despite this achievement, the painting has been attacked by several critics, both during the era in which it was painted and in recent years. Wilhelm Uhde considered the painting "pathetic" and questioned whether its retrospective style meant that Picasso had been trying to please conservative ideologues in France during World War I (Picasso et la tradition française [Paris: Les Quatre Chemins, 1928], pp. 55-56). Yet Uhde had not been in Paris during the war, and he saw the painting under circumstances that probably colored his opinion: It hung in Paul Rosenberg's gallery at the time Uhde's own collection of Cubist pictures, which had been sequestered during the war, was auctioned by the French government in 1921against his wishes. To cite another case, John Berger condemned the painting as "so stuffy . . . that distaste may blind us somewhat to the skill" and went on to dismiss Picasso's Neoclassicism as "caricature" (The Success and Failure of Picasso [Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1965], pp. 90, 94).

51. This drawing is reproduced in FitzGerald, *Making Modernism*, p. 86.

52. Wildenstein withdrew from the partnership in 1932.

53. Letter of September 27, 1918 (Picasso Archives, Musée Picasso, Paris).

54. Geiser/Baer 222.

55. For Apollinaire's praise of Renoir, see Breunig, ed., *Apollinaire on Art*, pp. 278–79. For Picasso's drawings of maternity images modeled after Renoir, see estate no. 2432 and Zervos III, 122. They suggest that the portrait of Madame Rosenberg and her daughter may already reflect his interest in Renoir.

56. In an interview Picasso gave at the time of this exhibition, he is quoted as having emphasized his financial and social success, particularly the patronage of Olivier Saincère (the secretary to the president of France) and Russian collectors (Georges Martin, "Dans l'air de Paris—Picasso," *L'Intransigeant*, October 27, 1919, p. 2).

57. Lovers is in the collection of the Musée Picasso, Paris, M.P. 62.

58. I have discussed these issues at length in "Picasso in the Beaux Quartiers," *Art in America* 80 (December 1992), pp. 86–91.

59. Picasso's acquisition of several of these works can be documented to the second decade of the twentieth century and the early 1920s, and probably all were acquired at that time. The works remained in Picasso's possession and are now in the collection of the Musée Picasso, Paris, T. 61–67.

60. Hélène Parmelin, "Picasso ou le collectionneur," L'Oeil, no. 230 (September 1974), pp. 6–9. Renoir's Seated Bather (1895–1900) is in the collection of the Musée Picasso, Paris, T. 62; Picasso's Seated Nude Drying Her Foot (1921) is in the Berggruen collection (Zervos IV, 330).

61. Among the most sensual are a series of drawings of 1920 (for example, Zervos IV, 90). One of the most casual is a caricature of Olga brushing her teeth (1920; estate no. 2804). In 1920 Picasso also drew the largest number of sketches of Olga in a ballet costume (for example, Zervos IV, 97 and 110). Olga's more casual appearance is recorded in a postcard the Picassos sent to Igor Stravinsky from Juan-les-Pins on July 20, 1920 (p. 335).

62. The receipt for the sale of this painting to Paul Rosenberg is dated January 18, 1921

(Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, gift of Alexandre Rosenberg). The sale is also recorded in one of the small notebooks preserved in the Picasso Archives, Musée Picasso, Paris. The entry specifies that the picture was painted at Juan-les-Pins. The entries in this notebook begin with purchases made at Biarritz in August 1918 and continue through May 1924. Another notebook includes sales made from December 1923 through January 1926. Along with other scholars who have examined these notebooks, I believe that they are in the hand of Olga. (My thanks to Anne Baldassari for advising me that this is also the opinion of Bernard Picasso, who has compared the handwriting to samples among his grandmother's papers.)

63. In 1921 Picasso gave a reduced version of this painting, *Woman Reading*, to the Musée de Grenoble. It thus became the first Picasso to enter the collection of a French museum. See *L'Art du XX^e siècle: La collection du Musée de Grenoble* (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1994).

64. Two Female Nudes is in the collection of the Kunstsammlung, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Düsseldorf (Zervos IV, 217).

65. For an interpretation of these paintings, see Theodore Reff, "Picasso's *Three Musicians*: Maskers, Artists and Friends," *Art in America* 68 (December 1980), pp. 124–42.

66. Two previous articles that have suggested a connection between this painting and Picasso's engagement are Reff, "Picasso's *Three Musicians*," p. 131, and E. B. Henning, "Picasso: Harlequin with Violin (Si Tu Veux)," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 63 (January 1976), pp. 6–7.

67. This episode is documented in Cocteau's letters; see Pierre Caizergues and Pierre Chanel, *Jean Cocteau: Lettres à sa mere, I*, 1898– 1918 (Paris: Gallimard, 1989), p. 370. Obviously, the accident must have limited Olga's ability to dance.

68. The rough sketch is estate Carnet 214/26. 69. Picasso had made these revisions to the composition before Paul Rosenberg sold it to John Quinn on June 12, 1922. In a letter of July 10, 1922, to Quinn, H. P. Roché mentioned having ordered a frame for "the reduction cutting of the Maternity," which Quinn apparently purchased along with the large canvas (Quinn Papers, New York Public Library). My thanks to Charles Stuckey for allowing me to examine the object files and X rays of the painting in the conservation laboratory of the Art Institute of Chicago. During 1921, Picasso painted a considerable number of maternity images, but in the summer of 1922 he returned to the subject of the family in Family on the Seashore (Musée Picasso, Paris, M.P. 80). A drawing for this painting (M.P. 963) shows considerable similarities with the three-figure version of Mother and Child.

70. The crucial sketchbook for this period is Carnet 213, especially pp. 17, 32, and 35–37. Also relevant are Carnets 1137 and 1195. Picasso used all three of these sketchbooks during his summer sojourn at Dinard. My thanks to Brigitte Léal for confirming the dating of these sketchbooks. 71. William Rubin, "The Pipes of Pan: Picasso's Aborted Love Song to Sara Murphy," *Art News* 93 (May 1994), pp. 138–47.

72. This receipt is dated October 22, 1923 (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, gift of Alexandre Rosenberg). It is reproduced in Christian Geelhaar, *Picasso: Wegbereiter und Förderer seines Aufstiegs* 1899–1939 (Zurich: Palladion, 1993), p. 148.

73. André Salmon, *La Revue de France*, May 1, 1924, p. 159. Evidence that Picasso was reconsidering his Rose period work while painting these pictures is his contemporaneous series of drawings and gouaches depicting circus performers, particularly *Traveling Circus* (December 1922; Musée Picasso, Paris, M.P. 981).

74. Regarding the breakup of Picasso's relationship with Olga (and his relations with other women), I believe that the remark attributed to his mother is most apt. Françoise Gilot relayed Picasso's own account of his mother's words: "He told me that when he went to Barcelona with Olga before their marriage and introduced her to his mother, his mother had said, 'You poor girl, you don't know what you're letting yourself in for. If I were a friend I would tell you not to do it under any conditions. I don't believe any woman could be happy with my son. He's available for himself but for no one else'" (*Life with Picasso* [New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964], p. 148).

75. See Ulrich Weisner, ed., *Picassos Surrealismus: Werke* 1925–1937 (Bielefeld: Kunsthalle Bielefeld, 1991); Marie-Laure Bernadac, "André Breton et Pablo Picasso: 'tout le sang du possible vers le coeur,'" in Musée National d'Art Moderne, *André Breton: La Beauté convulsive* (Paris: Editions du Centre Pompidou, 1991), pp. 210–13; Elizabeth Cowling, "'Proudly We Claim Him as One of Us': Breton, Picasso and the Surrealist Movement," *Art History* 8 (March 1985), p. 87; and FitzGerald, *Making Modernism*, pp. 136–51.

76. Penrose wrote that the painting depicts "a profile easily recognizable as a self-portrait, set in juxtaposition to a sharp red-tongued monster," and he characterized the artist's circumstances as follows: "Picasso's reaction I to his difficult relationship with his wife] was to translate the torment that Olga caused him into new and powerful symbols, some of which can be clearly traced to his own personal feelings, whereas others became universal in their meaning. The irrational psychological cruelty that is an integral part of sexual relationships was receiving the close scrutiny of the Surrealists. ... Both trains of thought, the personal and the universal, acted on Picasso as a stimulus" (Picasso: His Life and Work [London: Penguin, 1971], pp. 264-65).

77. The Surrealists' depiction of women has been the subject of wide discussion in recent years; see Mary Ann Caws, "Ladies Shot and Painted: Female Embodiment in Surrealist Art," in Susan Rubin Suleiman, ed., *The Female Body in Western Culture* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986), pp. 262–87; Mary Ann Caws, Rudolf E. Kuenzli, and Gwen Raaberg, eds., *Surrealism and Women* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1991); and Robert Rosenblum, "Picasso and the Anatomy of Eroticism," in Gert Schiff, ed., *Picasso in Perspective* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1976), pp. 75–85.

78. See above, pp. 63, 66, and the text on this painting in Rubin, *Picasso in the Collection of The Museum of Modern Art*, p. 132.

79. See Roland Penrose, "Beauty and the Monster," in Penrose and John Golding, eds., *Picasso in Retrospect* (New York: Praeger, 1973), pp. 179–80. For the subject in late-nineteenththrough early-twentieth-century art, see Michael Marrinan, "Images and Ideas of Charlotte Corday: Texts and Contexts of an Assassination," *Arts Magazine* 54 (April 1980), pp. 158–76.

80. The identification of this painting's subject rests substantially on the statement by the eminent French curator Georges Salles, who donated the painting to the Musée National d'Art Moderne, that Picasso told him it was a portrait of Olga. (Salles relayed this information to John Richardson, whom I thank for having passed it along to me.) This painting is paired with another, *Bust of a Woman* (not in Zervos but reproduced in Weisner, ed., *Picassos Surrealismus*, p. 345), which may also be a portrait of Olga. It would be surprising if others, particularly dating from the later years, do not come to light.

81. On March 11, 1942, Cocteau met Picasso after he had encountered Olga outside his bank and described the circumstances; see Jean Touzot, ed., *Jean Cocteau: Journal 1942–1945* (Paris: Gallimard, 1989), pp. 26–27. For Olga's activities at Cannes, see Gilot, *Life with Picasso*, pp. 196–99. Picasso did pay Olga's expenses during the years after their separation.

82. For Olga's letters to Picasso, see Gilot, *Life with Picasso*, p. 149; several photographs of Picasso, Olga, and Paulo taken in the 1920s are catalogued by the Musée Picasso as coming from letters ranging from the late 1930s through the early 1950s.

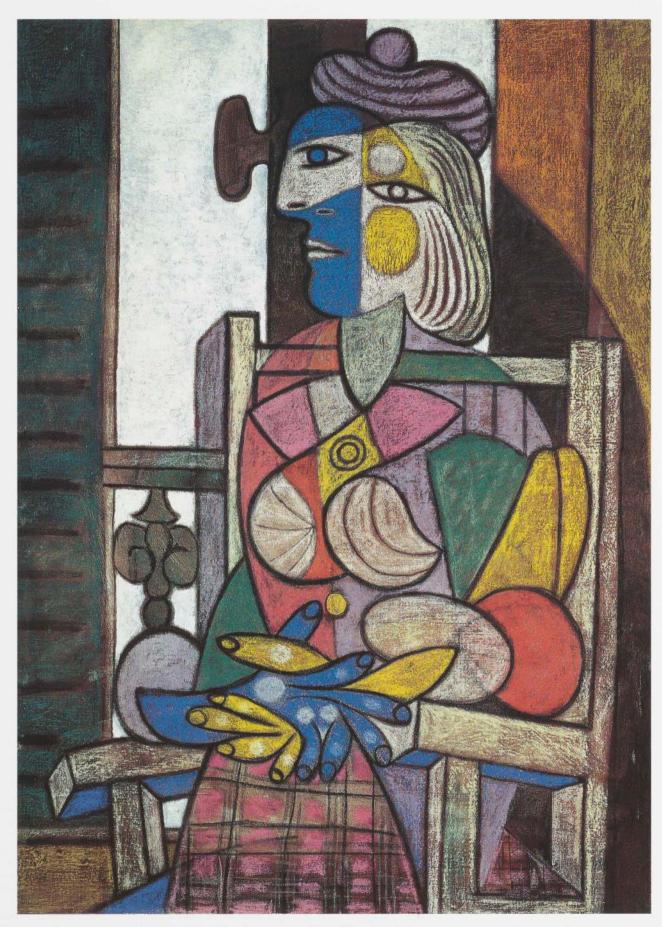
83. In a forthcoming book on Picasso's variations after the work of other artists, Susan Grace Galassi will propose that the variation after Delacroix's *Women of Algiers* (p. 456), painted by Picasso on February 11, 1955, contains a reference to Olga, who died that day.



Merry Christmas, Happy New Year. 1951. Collage made by Olga Picasso, including photographs of Picasso, herself, Paulo, Paulo's wife, Emmanuelle Lotte, and their children Marina and Pablito. Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives



Photograph of Picasso and Olga on a postcard sent to Igor Stravinsky from Juan-les-Pins, July 20, 1920. Photographer unknown. Igor Stravinsky Collection at the Paul Sacher Foundation



Marie-Thérèse Seated. March 11, 1937. Oil and pastel on canvas, 51¹/₈ × 38¹/₈" (130 × 97 cm). Not in Zervos. Musée Picasso, Paris

Picasso's Blond Muse: The Reign of Marie-Thérèse Walter

BY ROBERT ROSENBLUM

t was in 1950, at Yale University, that I heard a startling comment about Picasso from Charles Seymour, a professor not of modern, but of Italian Renaissance, art. Confronted with the recurrent problem of how to explain to undergraduates the bewildering sequence of periods and "isms" in what was then only a half-century of Picasso's art, he threw out the whimsical idea that perhaps the master's rapid succession of changing and often contradictory styles might best be defined by the names of the women who, one after another, had dominated his private life. At the time, the suggestion seemed naïvely off the mark, the uninformed comment of an outsider to the complex languages of modern art. But today, almost fifty years later, the visible connection between Picasso's art and love life is so taken for granted that when, for example, his works of the early 1930s are talked about, the growingly useful phrase "the Marie-Thérèse period" evokes something far more visually specific than, say, "the Surrealist period." In fact, in 1994, this ever more familiar approach was reflected in the very title of Judi Freeman's innovative exhibition, Picasso and the Weeping Women: The Years of Marie-Thérèse Walter & Dora Maar.1

How times have changed! It is something of a jolt to turn back to 1946, the publication date of Alfred H. Barr, Jr.'s *Picasso: Fifty Years of His Art*. In this Old Testament of the Picasso literature, a selfless masterpiece of scholarship that laid the foundation stones for the rest of us, one discovers, for example, that Dora Maar is nowhere mentioned as the human inspiration for many of the grotesque portraits discussed at the book's conclusion, but appears only in her cameo roles as photographer of the progressive stages of Guernica in 1937 and, later, in 1944, as a reader in one of Picasso's plays, Le Désir attrapé par la queue.² But perhaps still more surprising today is the fact that Marie-Thérèse Walter does not even figure in Barr's name-studded index. Of course, Barr, with his always acute eye and lapidary prose, was keenly aware of a sea change in Picasso's art, noting that "in the spring of 1932 Picasso produced with amazing energy a long series of large canvases of women, usually sleeping or seated, unlike anything he had done before in their great sweeping curves, which are echoed in several paintings by philodendron leaves."3 But this succinct truth hardly implies that these "women" might have been a particular woman. To be sure, in 1946 Marie-Thérèse's reality as a living presence in Picasso's life was still very much a secret; and even nine years later, in 1955, the catalogue of the first great Picasso retrospective held in Paris after the war tells us, in the chronology entry for 1932,4 that some nameless woman with blond locks who appears in his paintings will be the future mother of his daughter Maya. It was only, in fact, in the 1960s, especially with the publication of Françoise Gilot's Life with Picasso (1964), that Marie-Thérèse lost her mysterious anonymity, a mythical blond goddess rendered mortal.

Does it matter? Perhaps Barr, relatively uninterested in the flesh-and-blood actresses who played roles in the dramas of Picasso's life, said essentially all that needed to be said about what, after all, was art and not biography. Nevertheless, what is known cannot be unknown; and in the last three decades, the welling profusion of information about Picasso's personal life has also been leavening even familiar works with new layers of meaning that may enrich, rather than adulterate, our experience of the master's art. For instance, the well-known lithograph once titled Face (p. 340) has slowly turned before our eyes into a portrait of the eighteen-year-old blond girl who, according to the most familiar but now challenged account, entered Picasso's life in 1927 and gradually usurped the throne then occupied by Olga Khokhlova, the artist's legal wife. With the accumulation of photographs of Marie-Thérèse to guide us (opposite and p. 341), we can now discern in the print and the related drawing (p. 340) her smooth, unblemished features coming to life, like Pygmalion's Galatea, beneath the imperturbable classical perfections of eyebrow, nose, and cheek already familiar to the teen-age Picasso in the plaster casts of Greco-Roman heads that surrounded him in the art academies of La Coruña, Barcelona, and Madrid. But as Barr put it, the face is "striking for its 'closeup' cutting,"5 which, in biographical terms, takes on a new dimension when one realizes that this startling proximity and cropping produce unexpected effects appropriate to the artist's personal circumstances—an erotic intimacy gleaned from a lover's closeup gaze and touch, and a mood of concealment that permits us to glimpse, but perhaps not quite recognize,



Head of a Woman. November 1925. Lithograph, $5 \times 4^{1/2}$ " (12.7 × 11.5 cm). Geiser/Baer I, 240. Musée Picasso, Paris



Bust of a Girl (Marie-Thérèse). 1926. Pen, chalk, wash, and tempera on paper, 24⁷/₈ × 18⁷/₈" (63 × 48 cm). Zervos VII, 7. Staatsgalerie Stuttgart

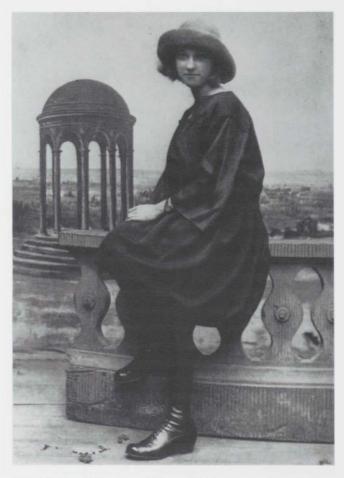
only a fragment of the face of a newcomer still playing a clandestine role. And when we realize that this lithograph was included in the original, deluxe edition of André Level's 1928 monograph on Picasso,⁶ we may be astonished by the master's temerity in half-revealing his personal secret within the public context of his art.

But this stealthy intrusion of life into art, often the equivalent of a secret diary entry, was a recurrent challenge and obvious delight for Picasso, whose ability to invent disguised allusions to his personal entourage was protean. So it was that in 1927, not only did Marie-Thérèse appear in Picasso's art as a physiognomic likeness but also as a cryptogram, disclosed in a series of variations upon that archetypal Spanish symbol, the guitar-at times, for him, almost a self-portrait—suspended on a wall over a molding (p. 343).7 Pursuing the traditional Spanish associations between playing a guitar and making love to a woman, Picasso, in the most overt declaration of this series, animates the rectilinear patterns of the guitar so that they form, like tea leaves to be read, a mysterious message of linked initials, MT and P. (Even eight years later, in 1935, he would use this invented monogram, \mathbb{M} , in one of his poems.⁸)

Such private codes have a familiar ring, harking back to the many verbal puns in Picasso's Cubist work that might evoke, say, the spirit of his then girl friend, Eva

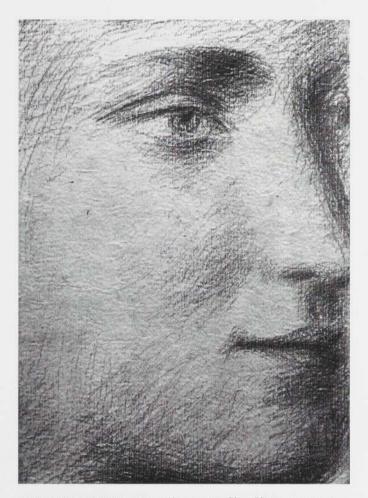
Gouel, through the phrase "Ma Jolie" (simultaneously his pet name for her and the refrain of a music-hall song)9 or even of Max Jacob, whose tribulations were jokingly condensed in the name "Job" (at once the poet's nickname and the brand name of cigarette papers included in several still lifes).10 And still more to the amorous point, there was the brief fling Picasso had in 1916 with Gabrielle Lespinasse, to whom he declared his love on paper by, among other things, intertwining his name with hers in a calligraphic coupling (p. 342)." But now, in 1927, this word play is further complicated by a mysterious human presence who seems to witness the monogrammatic marriage of MT and P. This androgynous profile of blank classical beauty, the perfect distillation of many antique heads he re-created in the early 1920s, conjures up not only the symbolic self-portrait of the artist that often appears in paintings as well as photographs (p. 207) of the late 1920s and early 1930s, but also the mythic mold of ideal serenity that would later transform Marie-Thérèse into an Olympian goddess. And in yet another cryptic way, Picasso once added to this elemental profile the far more specific features of a now seated Marie-Thérèse and incised this image on a still life of musical instruments on a table (1925-26; p. 341).12 But to the casual eye, this linear human presence is so camouflaged beneath the fluid shapes of the mandolin overlaying her body that its existence is almost more subliminal than actual, once more a metaphorical echo of an adulterous relationship that dares not speak its name.

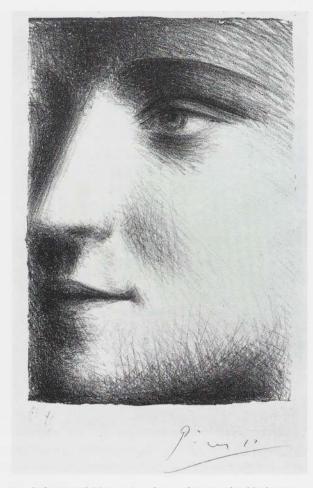
That Picasso, in such works, willfully secreted information about the new love in his life is irrefutable; and, given this fact, it is no surprise that there has been a strong temptation to sniff around his art for the scent of more biographical clues to these ongoing detective stories. Such a pursuit has even cast doubt on the date conventionally given for Picasso's first encounter with Marie-Thérèse. The usual story would have it that on January 8, 1927, in an almost mythical example of the Surrealist search for *l'amour fou*—an obsessive but liberating passion determined by chance rather than by middle-class constraints—Picasso picked up a living symbol of girlish ripeness and purity in front of the Galeries Lafavette.13 But this often-repeated account of what the French call a coup de foudre has also been questioned on the basis of visual as well as new documentary evidence. In 1988 Dr. Herbert T. Schwarz, a professional physician, published the remarkable results of his amateur obsession with Picasso, demonstrating his belief that Picasso, in fact, had first met Marie-Thérèse at the Gare Saint-Lazare as early as January or February 1925, when she was only fifteen (she was born on July 13, 1909), that he continued to see her, and that she made frequent clandestine appearances in his art in 1925-26, an hypothesis supported by interviews with surviving members of the Walter family.14



Marie-Thérèse Walter at age thirteen. Studio photograph, probably taken at Weisbaden, Germany, October 20, 1922. Collection Maya Picasso

There is much to confirm this speculation. In 1926, for instance, a young, innocent girl-her fair hair parted in the middle, her face broad and rounded-seems to slip into the dramatis personae of his work (opposite); and at times she even wears the Peter Pan collar (what the French call a *col Claudine*) that was apparently a part of Marie-Thérèse's customary wardrobe and was also to figure in the legend of what was presumably their first encounter in January 1927, namely, that it was a col Claudine that Marie-Thérèse was shopping for at the Galeries Lafavette when she was first confronted by Picasso and that she would in fact keep this collar as a memento for half a century, until her death by suicide in 1977.15 Indeed, such a teen-ager turns up throughout a sketchbook dated March 21, 1926.16 But even going back to the previous year, there are suspicions of Marie-Thérèse's hidden presence. For instance, a pencil drawing dated November 1925 (p. 382) offers a precedent for the later appearance of the monogram MT emerging from the angular shape of a guitar;¹⁷ and in the same month, a lithograph presents an idealized vision of a facial type (opposite) that seems to look backward not only to the sculptural clarity of Picasso's Neoclassic heads, bathed in Mediterranean





Head of Marie-Thérèse. 1927. Pencil on paper, $7^{7/8}\times5^{5/8''}$ (20 \times 14.2 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection

Head of Marie-Thérèse. 1928. Lithograph, printed in black; comp. $8^{1/_8} \times 5^{9/_6}$ " (20.6 × 14.1 cm). Geiser/Baer I, 243. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Gift of Abby Aldrich Rockefeller

sunlight, but forward to the growing intrusion of a more secretive, inner physiognomy that Picasso would later explore so fully under the spell of an increasingly mature blond sitter.¹⁸ Appropriate to 1925, the year of the ruptured and doubled physiognomies of The Three Dancers and the year in which André Breton claimed Picasso as a kindred spirit to the Surrealists, a shadowy presence emerges in this print, an alternate persona polarized not only in terms of contrasting intensities of light and darkness, but of the duality of a profile imposed upon a frontal view. By the 1930s, such an evocative coupling would become a familiar formula from which Picasso could extract endless variations on the dialogue between external and internal aspects of the human mind and body, such as wakefulness versus sleep, or conscious repression versus sexual release.

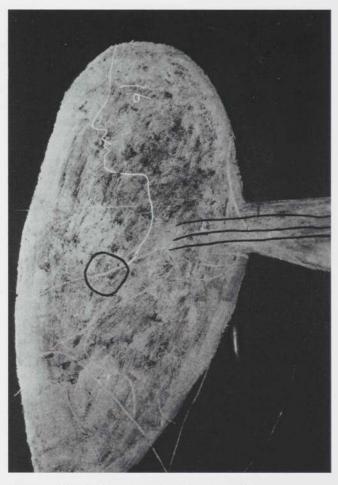
Of course, Picasso, in his art, constantly created visual and psychological fictions into which the *dramatis personae* of his life could then be fitted. In the years 1917–24, facial types re-created from Ingres and antiquity could be accommodated to the specifics of portraiture, whether of himself, his new wife, his first child, or the personages of the well-heeled, arty milieu that transported him from prewar Bohemia to postwar high society. Yet the same types could also be abstracted to a generic ideal that might transform the domestic presence of Olga and baby Paulo into a Raphaelesque Madonna and Child. And such metamorphic fluidity kept expanding, in part under the muse of Surrealism, which demanded ever more slippery identities. The black-or-white choice of categorizing a figure as being a portrait or a nonportrait belies the infinite shades of gray with which Picasso could transform not only people into art, but even existing works of artwhether by himself, by Delacroix or Ingres, by Velázquez or Rembrandt-into contemporary people. Moreover, he could even transform one person into another, particularly in periods of emotional transition. Marie-Thérèse's surreptitious coexistence with Olga must have created the tensest of human triangles and overlappings, producing, for instance, the particularly fraught Dinard summer of 1928, when the teen-age lover, installed in a pension de famille,19 was sent off to play beachside games with other minors while, nearby, the artist maintained a facade of upscale marital propriety. Describing the nature of reality



Passport photograph of Marie-Thérèse Walter (detail). Paris, 1930. Photograph by Photomaton. Collection Maya Picasso

in his Cubist works, Picasso once likened it to a kind of perfume, an aromatic presence that, for a moment, might coalesce and then, eluding fixed definition, evaporate;²⁰ and in the same way, the women in his life drifted in and out of his art, at times specific enough to be recognized and named, but as often as not, defying precise identification, re-created as mythical ideals or hybrid personae that transcend the more earthbound categories of portraiture.

So it is that the human fact of Marie-Thérèse in Picasso's life, whether from 1927 or as early as 1925 on, is subject to constant transformations that range from instantly recognizable portraits to transcendent universal symbols. In a charcoal drawing of 1928–30 (p. 345), there is no question that we are staring into the pale eyes of a young blond woman in modern clothing whose smooth, rounded face and straight hair, cropped at the neck, proclaim her identity as immediately as a snapshot. But even here, Picasso's metamorphic magic holds sway, as the pure oval of her head, reinforced by the contours of her hair and the halolike crescent of the beret, begins to evoke an almost mythical being, a nascent moon goddess. Indeed, in a painted pair of oddly cropped profile heads of



Still Life with Musical Instruments (detail). 1925–26. Oil on canvas, $63^{\frac{1}{4}} \times 80^{\frac{1}{2}}$ " (161.9 × 204.5 cm). Not in Zervos. Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, Madrid

August 1928 (p. 344), we may at first intuit the same face and even sense some real-life scenario to explain the downcast eyes and the biting of a handkerchief held in a somewhat clumsy hand (a preview of the weeping women of the 1930s). However, the ideal clarity of profile, with its uninterrupted line from brow to nose, and the wreath of flowers on her pensive head waft us swiftly to an almost mythological terrain. If this is still to be considered a portrait of Marie-Thérèse (and we may well continue to recognize her altered features here), it perhaps belongs more comfortably to the domain of allegorical portraiture especially familiar to the eighteenth century, when Sir Joshua Reynolds, for example, could elevate his contemporary sitters to such varying roles as Juno, Hope, the Tragic Muse, or Saint Cecilia. But then, constantly moving between fiction and fact, Picasso, in another modest profile image, a drawing of 1930, once more locates Marie-Thérèse in the realm of portrait vignette, still preserving the incisive purity of a classical silhouette, but now adjusting it to the particularities of the twenty-yearold sitter's short-cropped hair, full chin, and high, ruffled collar (p. 345).

The delicate candor of such a portrait drawing was soon to be countered in 1931-32 by a series of painted portraits that now exalt Marie-Thérèse to a position of imperturbable grandeur and security, frequently enforced by her placement in a sturdy, upholstered armchair. The new, regal centrality of her image corresponded as well to various domestic changes, beginning in autumn 1930, when Picasso not only installed her at 44, rue La Boétie, just down the street from his and Olga's apartment at no. 23, but, at the same time, created a more complete sanctuary for himself, for his beloved, and for

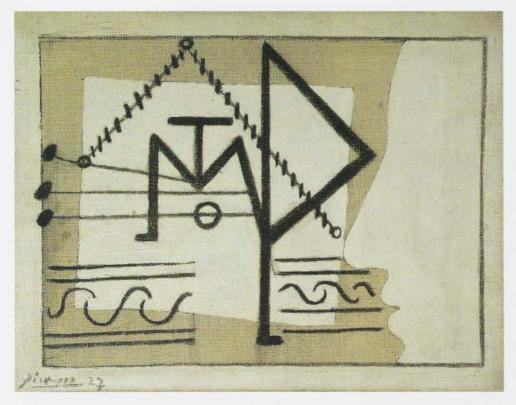


Interlaced Names in Decorative Script: Gaby and Picasso (detail). 1916. Watercolor and ink on paper. Not in Zervos. Private collection

his art, by buying the seventeenth-century château of Boisgeloup, near Gisors, whose stables he converted into a sculpture studio,²¹ where so much of his new work in three dimensions would also be inspired by the blond muse. Already in 1931, a plaster relief (p. 347) gives her disembodied profile a venerable pedigree, as if a Roman archaeological find of a goddess or empress were miraculously reborn, her bulbous nose, rounded cheek, fair hair, and clear, staring eye emerging from a weathered background with uncanny, quickening life.²²

Soon after, Marie-Thérèse's visual and psychological presence became so potent that even in the early 1970s, many Picasso scholars, myself and William Rubin included,23 tended to overlook the then known biographical information that she had already been very much part of Picasso's life in 1927 and, on the evidence of the quantum leap in his work in 1931, tacitly assumed that this date corresponded to her arrival on the scene. Yet if she had, in fact, been with Picasso for perhaps even as long as six years, it was really only in 1931 that Marie-Thérèse, now firmly entrenched in both the city and country life of a lover twenty-eight years her senior, could at last emerge from the wings to center stage, where she could preside as a radiant deity, in new roles that changed from Madonna to sphinx, from *odalisque* to earth mother. At times her master seems to worship humbly at her shrine, capturing a fixed, confrontational stare of almost supernatural power; but more often, he becomes an ecstatic voyeur, who quietly captures his beloved reading, meditating, catnapping, or surrendering to the deepest abandon of sleep.

In one of the earliest paintings in this series, *The Red Armchair*, dated December 16, 1931, an unusual anxiety marks the face and posture of Marie-Thérèse, whose crescent-shaped halo of yellow hair now becomes a telltale symbol of her charismatic presence (p. 346). Her face weds the frontal and profile views that defined her more tentatively in the late 1920s, but also alters them in a more probing and disquieting psychological direction. The mouth and pale eyes, for example, reduce the partly purified shapes of the Ingresque portrait drawing of 1927–28 to a new kind of hieroglyphic mystery; and the serene profile familiar to other work of the late 1920s has regressed to something simpler and cruder, moving rapidly away from the classical beauty already challenged in the plaster relief of 1931 and toward the kind of invisible demon Gauguin had depicted with frontal eye on flattened head in his The Spirit of the Dead Watching of 1892 (p. 348). Picasso must have first seen Gauguin's rendering of a primitive spirit at Vollard's in 1901,24 and would find in it continuing inspiration, not only in 1907, in the mesmerizing gaze of the curtain puller at the left in Les Demoiselles d'Avignon, and in 1925 in The Three Dancers and its progeny, but again in 1931-32, when he newly explored the occult potential of a staring eye on a profiled head, as Gauguin himself had done in many of his would-be primitive sculptures. Moreover, Gauguin's painting may have been freshly topical for Picasso in other ways. For one, its luxurious and mysterious vibrations of complementary colors, especially yellow and violet, would be reinvented by Picasso. This particular pairing, as Linda Nochlin has shown in a path-breaking analysis of Picasso's color,²⁵ became virtually a chromatic symbol of Marie-Thérèse. (In The Red Armchair, there are, in fact, three different yellows coupled with three different violets.) And for another, Gauguin's motif of a voluptuous,



Hanging Guitar with Profile. 1927. Oil on canvas, $10^{3/4} \times 13^{3/4}$ " (27.1 × 34.9 cm). Zervos VII, 54. Alsdorf Collection, Chicago

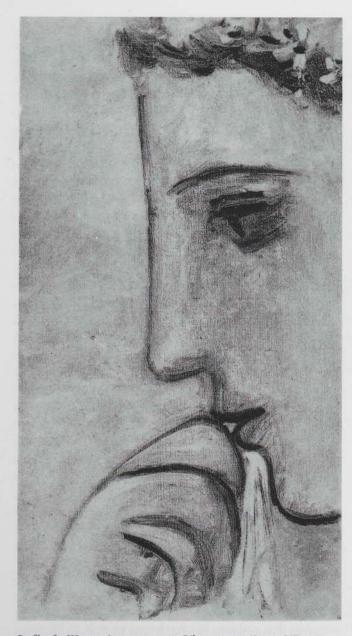
supine nude being quietly observed could also be absorbed into the sexually charged voyeurism of these years. (Indeed, already in 1902–03, Picasso made a rapid drawing after Gauguin's painting in which he transformed the head of the Polynesian evil spirit into a self-portrait [p. 348], a figure who both watches and touches not an exotic, but a contemporary, Western nude.)

In The Red Armchair, the fusion of frontal and profile physiognomy that may find its modern roots in Gauguin's revival of an Egyptian convention now yields a conflicting duality of repression and desire that informs the entire work. The incisive vertical line that marks the length of the nose skewers the figure into rigid place, intersecting a pair of crossed arcs that read as a stressfully furrowed brow. This plumb line is enforced above by the sharp vertical that visibly marks the juncture of the two wall planes behind her and, to her left, by the four stripes on the chairback. And as a further bolt in this imprisoning grid, the perpendicular of the molding and the belt, as well as the diagonal stripes of the chair arm, immobilize her head and body in a frontal posture of iconic stillness that prompts awe and veneration. But within this stiff, heraldic pattern, reminiscent of medieval Madonnas and sixteenth-century Northern court portraiture, organic juices begin to flow. The square of the constraining belt buckle is echoed by the irregular circle of a frontal breast discerned beneath a dress of total concealment; and to its left, a profiled breast matches the swelling protrusions of

the profiled head above, whose shape distills that of the 1931 plaster relief. These sexual rumblings continue below the belt, where the sweeping arcs of the dark brown sleeves end, like a pair of calipers, in the sharp points of two white hands that look more like furry paws than human fingers. Such a subliminal canine presence may reflect the dogs in the Picasso household,26 an Airedale and a Saint Bernard whose conspicuous dark-on-white patches had earlier that year worked their way into drawings of Marie-Thérèse, much as later the snout of a pet Afghan hound would be fused with the features of Dora Maar.27 And in the area enclosed by these protective, feral arms is the

delta of love, so that here, too, what at first appears to be a human fortress of rectilinear chastity begins to curve with the animal pulsations of desire.

Some five weeks later, these sexual constraints were partly released in a painting made, according to the inscription on the stretcher, during the afternoon of Sunday, January 24, 1932, and exhibited the following June with the title The Dream (p. 352).28 The taut and anxious wakefulness of the earlier Marie-Thérèse, like the red armchair that cushions her, has begun to melt, as Picasso captures the fragile moment of transition between consciousness and sleep. Now the controlling perpendicular grid of The Red Armchair has been banished to the upper left-hand corner, where the stripes of the dado magically split the twinned face, dividing it into an upper frontal and a lower profile view that pinpoints the passage from drowsiness to a slumber so deep that it falls below the horizon line. And the shift from the awareness of an external world to the liberation of subconscious desires is further underlined by the lipstick smudge on the upper lip that vanishes in its sleeping counterpart, as if the visible display of modern female lure had moved to a more timeless domain of feminine mystery. This sense of release even pertains to the wallpaper background found in many paintings of 1932; for here, the diamond-shaped pattern (recalling Picasso's familiar identification with the harlequin costume) as well as the three- and four-leaved florets (recalling the ace of clubs, whose traditional symbolism



Profile of a Woman. August 12, 1928. Oil on canvas. Zervos VII, 228. Private collection

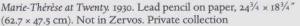
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Profile of a Woman. August 13, 1928. Oil on canvas . Zervos VII, 229.

of good fortune made it the favorite playing card in Picasso's Cubist still lifes)²⁹ begin to wobble with evergrowing freedom from geometry as they yield to the breathing pulse of Marie-Thérèse. And the armchair, glowing with the Spanish national colors, red and yellow, swells, too, embracing, like an imaginary lover, the sitter's transport to an erotic reverie. This sexual unveiling is almost literal. As her blouse falls from her rounded shoulders, caressed by a red-and-yellow necklace that matches the chair's colors, her left breast and nipple, discreetly covered in *The Red Armchair*, now half emerge into view. And the pincer claws that met at her groin in *The Red Armchair* have now become fleshy and pliant, defining a pubic triangle that even includes a sixth finger on her right hand, perhaps a sexual pun evoked as well in the phallic shape of the upper half of her head that rises above the dado, snaking over her lunar profile.

In contrast to this mood of silent inwardness, the colors are ablaze with every hue in the rainbow, often ordered in complementary pairings that clash and merge with magnetic force. Here once again, Picasso may have been competing with his eternal rival in life as in death, Henri Matisse,³⁰ whose 1931 retrospective at the Galerie Georges Petit (June 16–July 25) was to be followed, exactly one year later (June 16–July 30), by Picasso's own retrospective at the same Paris gallery. Of the 145 paintings in the Matisse exhibition, about two-thirds were from the Nice period, which meant a particularly strong display





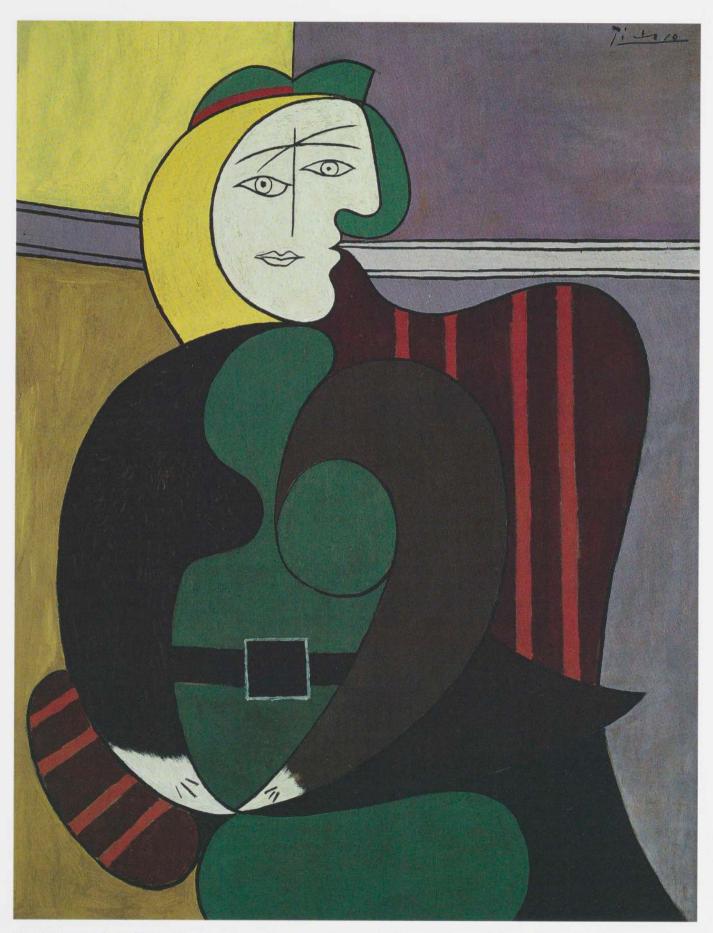


Marie-Thérèse in a Beret. 1928–30. Charcoal on paper, $24^{7/8} \times 18^{7/8}$ " (63 × 48 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection

of variations on a traditional French theme, a domestic harem populated by seated, standing, and reclining women, some nude, some dressed in contemporary or exotic clothing. But Matisse had also rejuvenated this familiar and commercially viable territory with a chromatic dazzle that, in one painting of 1929, The Yellow Hat,31 even focused on the same complementary hues, yellow and violet, that Picasso would soon favor in his treatment of Marie-Thérèse's hair and flesh. Freshly challenged by the Frenchman's genius, Picasso embarked on his own version of a cloistered female paradise where the highestpitched colors could yield an Arabian Nights enchantment; and by the time of the opening of his retrospective in June 1932, he was able to bring to a climax this grand summary of his career with a group of new paintings inspired by Marie-Thérèse, including The Dream.

Characteristically, Picasso's vision of an erotic Eden carried a far denser symbolic and literary weight than Matisse's bourgeois hothouse of the 1920s, recalling more closely the youthful Matisse of the *Joy of Life* (1905–06), with its ecstatic wedding of color to fluid, eroticized line. Moreover, the eruptive force of Picasso's passion could even be translated into language; for in words as well, he made love to Marie-Thérèse, describing her rapturously and chromatically in the image-ridden, unpunctuated flow of his poetry of 1935, where her "cheveux blonds," her "bras couleur lilas," her "bleu de corsage"³² recall such painted images as the supernal blend of blond hair, lilac flesh, and blue bodice in *The Dream*. And if we sense, too, that Picasso's eagerness to reexperience the fullest range of kindergarten colors corresponds to a childlike joy and rebirth synonymous with the universal symbolism of the rainbow (another recurrent image in his poetry),³³ we may even find such a metaphor literally depicted in a 1932 landscape of the château of Boisgeloup in the rain (p. 354). Here the gray, wet skies of Normandy are suddenly dispelled by a sweeping rainbow (dominated by red and yellow arcs) that embraces the rural retreat from sky to earth. The artist's euphoria has resurrected a shopworn symbol.

But this rainbow palette could also be demonized, as in a startlingly ugly image of another enthroned woman painted on January 22, 1932, only two days before *The Dream* and traditionally titled *Repose* (p. 355). Although most of the women of 1932 evoke an ideal Marie-Thérèse as a tender, compliant creature of ample, voluptuous curves, this one appears a frightening intruder, close to the ogress who menaced the works of the late 1920s with shrieking maw, pointed tongue, and predatory limbs, a *femme fatale* who might be viewed as both a mythic



The Red Armchair (Marie-Thérèse). December 16, 1931. Oil and enamel on panel, $51\frac{1}{2} \times 39$ " (130.8 × 99 cm). Zervos VII, 334. The Art Institute of Chicago. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Saidenberg



Head of Marie-Thérèse. 1931. Plaster, 27 × 23⁵/₈ × 4" (69 × 60 × 10 cm). Spies 130, I. Private collection

Surrealist monster and a psychological portrait of the witch Olga, the legal enemy of his adulterous bliss.³⁴ But as John Richardson put it, referring to some of the mixed identities of 1928, "Picasso would not be Picasso if . . . he did not sometimes scramble his carefully differentiated images and perversely see the beloved mistress and hated wife in terms of each other."³⁵ Master of every kind of witchcraft, Picasso seems here to imagine Olga's evil

spirit, like Gauguin's frightening specter, invading the very body and soul of Marie-Thérèse. Now the full spectrum of complementary colors, from lilac flesh to yellow breast, has turned strident and threatening, the chromatic counterpart of a coarse sexual display that offers a shrill contrast to the gentle, caressing disclosures of *The Dream*. Another wanton daughter of *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, the sitter strikes a pose of sexual lure. With arms withdrawn



F. (a)

Paul Gauguin. The Spirit of the Dead Watching. 1892. Oil on burlap mounted on canvas, $28^{3/4} \times 36^{1/2}$ " (72.5 × 92.5 cm). Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York. A. Conger Goodyear Collection, 1965

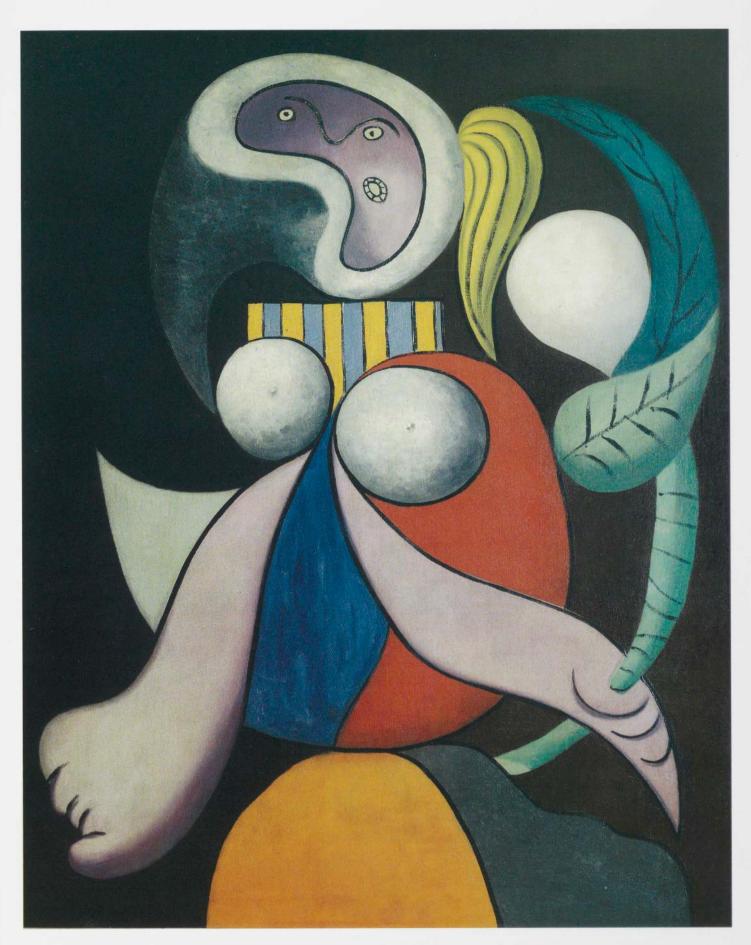
Self-Portrait with Reclining Nude. 1902–03. Ink and watercolor on paper, 6⁷/₈ × 9¹/₈" (17.6 × 23.2 cm). Zervos XXI, 283. D.B. IV, 5. Museu Picasso, Barcelona

behind a cushioned head, breasts wildly askew, and legs both joined and provocatively parted, she becomes a grotesque reincarnation of Goya's brazen Naked Maja; and her body parts, which fuse with the armchair's own arms and legs, are defined by ungainly, twisted contours and bony, muscular textures at opposite poles to the mellifluous curves and pneumatic flesh of the ideal Marie-Thérèse. Above all, the head, with its dangerous bristle of hair and its staring but pupilless eyes aligned above and below a vaginal, lipsticked mouth with exposed teeth, conjures up a grinning sexual sorceress in her lair. So powerful is her presence that even the familiar diamond-shaped wallpaper patterns seem drained of color and geometric stability, now fluttering toward the glowing sitter like moths to a flame. Apparently, Olga's evil spirit had not yet been exorcised, even in Marie-Thérèse's inner sanctum.

A different kind of metamorphic magic is found only five days later in a painting of January 27, 1932, Woman in a Red Armchair (p. 353). Shifting, as he often did, from the insistently flat to the emphatically modeled, from chromatic abundance to monochrome austerity, Picasso now resumes the painted and drawn sculptural language of the many beachside fantasies of the late 1920s, when Marie-Thérèse and her friends, frolicking with beach balls or approaching, key in hand, a bathing cabana, would be transformed into weathered monuments that loom like prehistoric fossils over the horizon. Here the familiar red armchair, its color seemingly dulled by time, becomes a crude, archaic throne, as stony as the anatomical fragments that rest upon it in a balance both solid and precarious. The head, tilted backward with crescent-eye closed, as well as the rounded anatomies recall the posture of chair-bound sleep in The Dream, permitting us to whiff

the scent of a now skeletal Marie-Thérèse. As for the rest of her body, it has been reassembled in a tour de force of Surrealist paleontology familiar to the paintings of Tanguy and the sculptures of Moore. Her bone of a neck is bent to support the reclining head; her back has become a solid stone, like that of a chair; two smaller spheres double as breasts; two arms reach to their chairarm counterparts for regal stability; and, finally, the largest sphere distills buttocks and pelvis on the chair seat into a single, centralized support for these acrobatic fossils. Fantastic reinventions of the human body were always at the core of Picasso's genius; and, here, as in many of the materialized as well as imaginary drawn and painted sculptures she inspired in the years 1931-33 (p. 350, 351), Marie-Thérèse has been re-created as a cluster of rotund fragments, suggesting both archaeological relics of totemic power that have endured from a remote civilization and rudimentary, almost fetal, organisms that quiver with a new life.

Such regressions reached still more complex levels when Picasso introduced a variety of mirrors into Marie-Thérèse's pictorial sanctuary. In *The Mirror* (p. 356), a painting of March 12, 1932, she has fallen into so profound a sleep that her lilac flesh has sunk in total abandon to the bottom of the canvas. Leo Steinberg has pointed out the continuity of the theme of sleepwatchers in Picasso's long career;³⁶ here it flourishes again, perhaps made even more intense in such works by implying rather than depicting the sleepwatcher. "Combien je l'aime maintenant qu'elle dort" (How much I love her now that she's sleeping)³⁷ is how Picasso would later describe, in a poem of 1935, the voyeuristic rapture so evident in this and other paintings of his often somnolent mistress. But what



Woman with a Flower. April 10, 1932. Oil on canvas, 633/4 × 511/4" (162 × 130 cm). Zervos VII, 381. Private collection



Seated Woman and Head of a Bearded Man. 1932. Ink and pencil on paper, $10^{7/8} \times 10^{''}$ (27.5 × 25.5 cm). Museum Ludwig, Collection Ludwig, Cologne, Germany

was a commonplace of their domestic life here prompts a magical journey through the looking glass. Picasso, in fact, has divided her body into two parts, adored from two angles of vision—one, a still palpable Marie-Thérèse, viewed frontally from head to waist; and two, an impalpable reflection of what would be the rear view of her lower body from buttocks to relaxed leg. Such fragmentation of a passive female nude permits her body to be scrutinized as wondrous erotic topography, a vision paralleled in the photographs of reclining nudes, their useless heads cropped by the frame, that Picasso's friend Brassaï would publish the following year in the first issue of *Minotaure.*³⁸

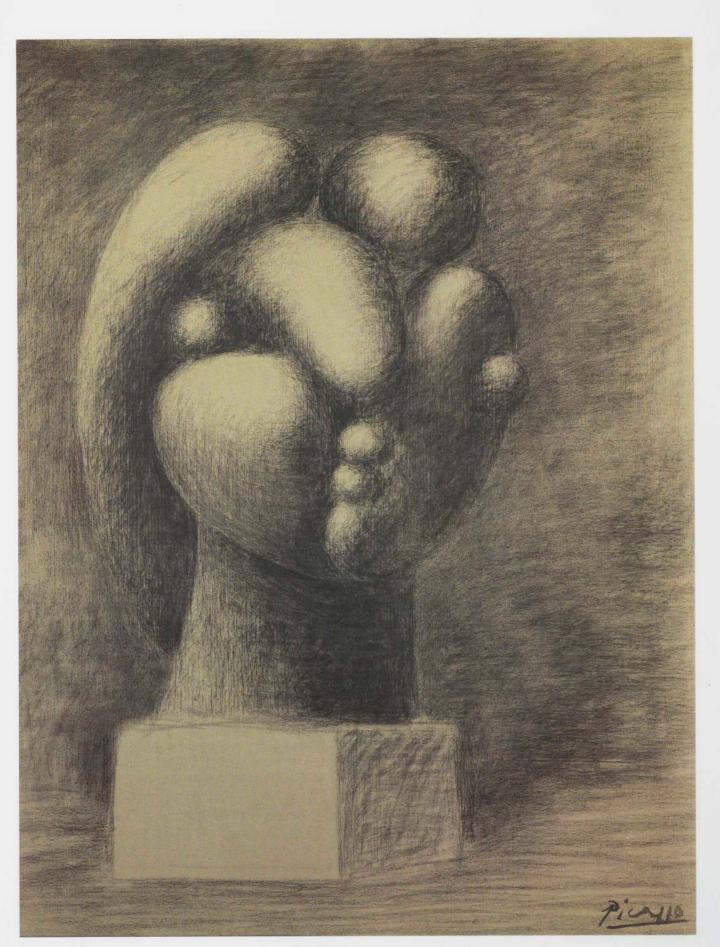
However, Picasso's sexual enthrallment moves still further into an image of woman as a procreative goddess in perfect tune with nature. The Marie-Thérèse of the foreground, curled in on herself with two protective arms, has regressed to so early a stage of human development that, like an infant or an embryo, she instinctively sucks her thumb. Indeed, her head, with its crescent-moon eye closed in total self-absorption, is fetal and seedlike, and the vulval shape of her yellow hair further enriches this uterine imagery. It is the reflection of the hair, in fact, that carries us into the field of the mirror, animating the yellow contours of the frame with the throb of life. Within this swelling enclosure that warps the mirror's geometry, the domain of the womb becomes an imaginary human landscape. Above the buttocks, a burning crescent of red heats the source of generative power, from whose groin a leaf in complementary green coils upward with newborn

vitality. In this sexual context, the erect, vertical silhouette of the mirror's outer swivel frame with its protruding knob (a recurrent symbol in Picasso, as Lydia Gasman has shown)³⁹ provides the single, potent male element in a horizontal terrain of female hills and valleys. Cycles of night and day are also suggested. The diamond wallpaper pattern, now a taut geometric foil to Marie-Thérèse's undulant flesh, twinkles with a bluish nocturnal phosphorescence, whereas the mirror image, by contrast, embraces the glaring, life-giving energy of solar heat. It is a fusion of night and day that often appears in Picasso's recreations of Marie-Thérèse as a goddess of love and fertility who exists in cosmic harmony with sun and moon.

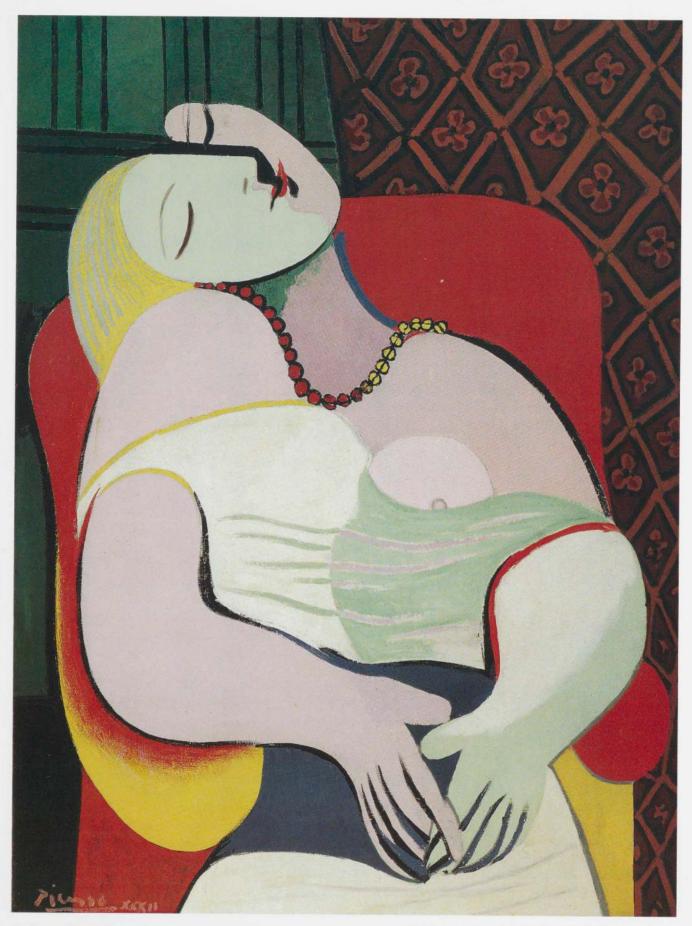
For even a minor artist, the inclusion of a mirror adds, both literally and figuratively, new dimensions of space and symbol; but for Picasso, the potential was staggering. As usual, he could conjure up, like a spiritualist, the ghosts of mirrors past, genealogical tables culled from old and new art that, when applied to the mythical aura of Marie-Thérèse, might range from Velázquez's *Venus*, whose mirror adds a frontal to her dorsal view, to the society portraits of Ingres, whose glassy reflections lend yet further mysteries of psychological remoteness to his



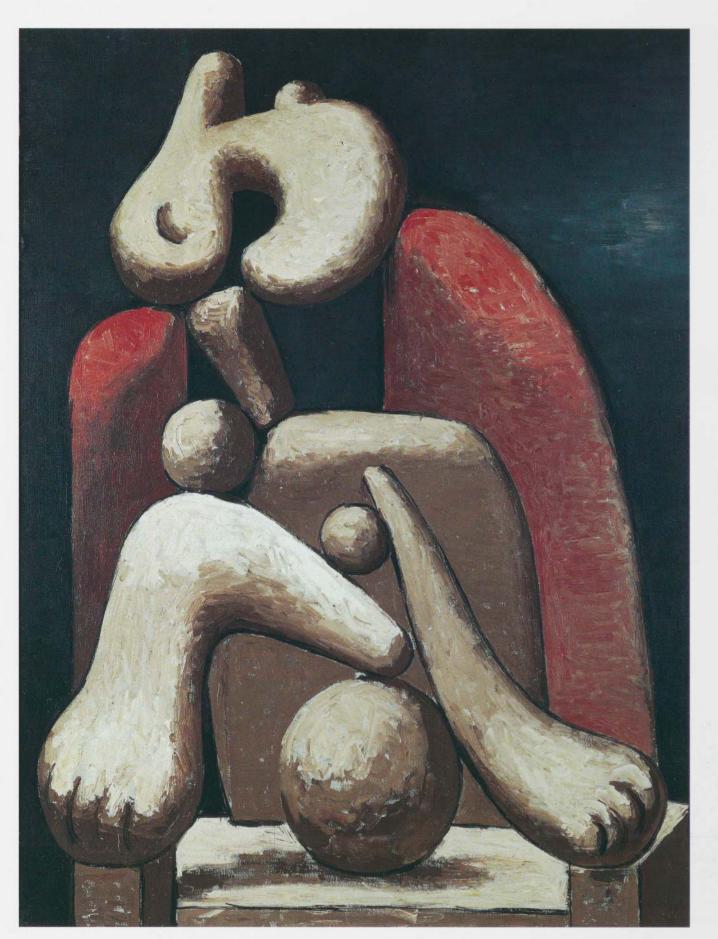
Marie-Thérèse at 6, Cité d'Alfort at Alforville, with Dolly, her mother's dog. 1932. Photograph by Picasso. Collection Maya Picasso



Sculptured Head (Marie-Thérèse). 1932. Charcoal on canvas, 36¹/₄ × 28³/₄ * (92 × 73 cm). Not in Zervos. Collection Beyeler, Switzerland



The Dream (Marie-Thérèse). January 24, 1932. Oil on canvas, 51¹/₄ × 38¹/₈" (130 × 97 cm). Zervos VII, 364. Collection Sally Ganz



Woman in a Red Armchair (Marie-Thérèse). January 27, 1932. Oil on canvas, 51¹/₄ × 38¹/₄" (130 × 97 cm). Zervos VII, 330. Musée Picasso, Paris



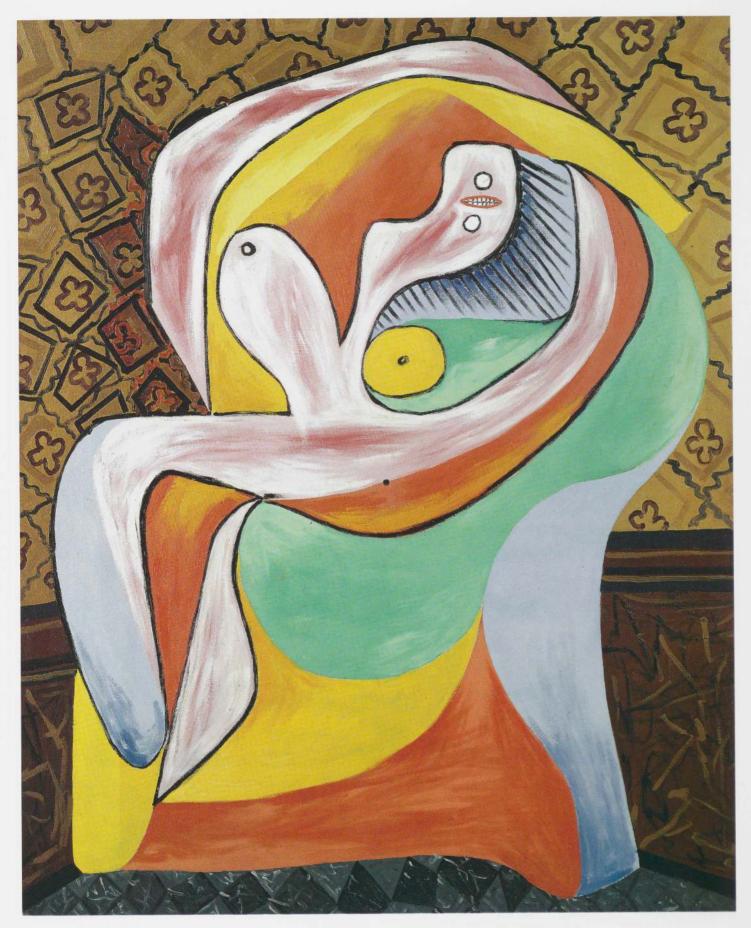
Village in the Rain. 1932. Oil on canvas, $18^{1/8} \times 18^{1/8}$ " (46 × 46 cm). Collection Marina Picasso, courtesy Galerie Jan Krugier, Geneva

imperturbable sitters. And in 1932, the year of his birth centenary and a major retrospective, Manet might well enter this pantheon, especially with a painting of 1876, *Before the Mirror* (p. 358), which then belonged to Justin K. Thannhauser, who in that very year was organizing a Picasso retrospective for Zurich.⁴⁰ Like Picasso's mirror, Manet's is, in fact, a cheval glass, the word for which, in both French and Spanish, *psyché* and *psiquis*, gives it another mysterious layer, surely not lost on Picasso, who could see a mirror not only as an image of the soul or of death, but who, in his poetry, could refer to "the mirror's black light" and the way in which the mirror's "open mouth is ready to devour the sun."⁴¹

It is before such a magical mirror that Marie-Thérèse stands in her most famous transformation, painted on March 14, two days after The Mirror. The Girl Before a Mirror (p. 357), in fact, embraces such a multitude of symbols that to think of it as "Marie-Thérèse before a Mirror" would tether it to a prosaic situation grossly at odds with its metamorphic poetry,42 which endlessly enriches the traditional motif of feminine vanity before a looking glass that ranges from Renaissance Venuses to, in our own century, works by artists as far afield as Otto Dix⁴³ and Norman Rockwell.⁴⁴ To be sure, in Picasso's re-creation of this archetype, we may still recognize Marie-Thérèse's personal code in the sitter's hair and profile, not to mention her rounded, lilac flesh; but she so far transcends the earthbound limitations of a portrait that, as in the case of de Kooning's famous series, we might now wish to refer to her as "Woman," evoking in a Jungian way the coexistence of many cultural archetypes. It is a telling coinci-

dence that in the same year, 1932, Jung himself, prompted by the Zurich retrospective, wrote an essay on Picasso which, though intended to demonstrate that the fractured, contradictory language of the art reflected the abnormal conflicts of schizophrenia, nevertheless made many relevant observations about the newest works of 1931-32, which included the Girl Before a Mirror. 45 Jung comments, for instance, on their brutal collision of color and on their insistent wedding of opposites: light and darkness, above and below, white and black, male and female, and even the light and dark anima. Moreover, in his fascination with archetypes, he speaks of Picasso's identity with Harlequin (today a commonplace of Picasso studies) and of his search for abstract female personaethe Eternal Feminine, whether Eve, Helen of Troy, Mary, or the gnostic demon Sophia. Despite their negative bias, Jung's insights may still be useful in directing our attention to Picasso's protean genius for fusing the widest spectrum of primal, and often contradictory, symbols in a pictorial language which, like James Joyce's in Finnegans Wake (1922-39), carries the ordinary phenomena of metaphorical puns and rhymes ("girth and mirth," "surf and turf," "imagineering") to unprecedented depths of elemental meaning.

Marie-Thérèse's head is just such a marvel of compression, merging, for instance, one of the most pervasive cultural myths about women inherited from the later nineteenth century, the polarity between the virgin and the whore, archetypes that haunted Picasso from his earliest years, when he could alternate between Madonnalike mothers and female creatures of sexual depravity, whether Salome or Les Demoiselles d'Avignon. So it is that the profile view of the head extends to an enclosing contour of white radiance that bleaches the stripe pattern to an ethereal pallor and suggests the chastity of both halo and veil. The half-hidden frontal view, however, becomes a cosmetic mask of sexual lure: the half-mouth lipsticked, the cheek rouged, the skin brazenly gilded. Such a duality, of course, echoes in countless other directions, including the evocative imagery of the sun and moon's cycles around the earth, a metaphor verbally distilled with a wizardry worthy of Picasso in Martin Amis's novel The Information, where a character, Gina, is described as "Mother Earth. Bipolar, sublunar, circumsolar."⁴⁶ In this context of astronomical rhythms, it is not surprising that the theme of the girl before a mirror has even been described as "a girl before her mirror image counting the days when her period is due to find out whether or not she could be pregnant, thus becoming connected with the moon and the sun and concerned with giving life and facing death."47 And one should remember, too, that the ecliptical wedding of the sun and moon has a deep resonance in the iconography of that most Spanish of Christian images, the Virgin of the Immaculate Con-



Repose. January 22, 1932. Oil on canvas, $63^{3/4} \times 51^{1/4}$ " (162 × 130 cm). Zervos VII, 361. Private collection



The Mirror (Marie-Thérèse). March 12, 1932. Oil on canvas, 51½ × 38½" (130.7 × 97 cm). Zervos VII, 378. Private collection, Monaco

ception, who joins in her body the same two heavenly radiances.⁴⁸ But even in terms of the myths of the 1920s and 1930s, this intense physiognomic contrast gives visual form to the ever more popularized Freudian concept of clashing but coexisting aspects of the human mind, a tug between the conscious and the subconscious, the overt and the repressed. Indeed, such a concept had become so

pervasive that, even apart from the Surrealists' programmatic efforts to release what Freud had called the id, a major playwright, Eugene O'Neill, could create a drama, *Strange Interlude* (1928), in which the female protagonist plays a double persona, speaking in frequent asides that disclose her hidden emotional life.

Such invisible worlds, imagined by Freud and Jung,



Girl Before a Mirror (Marie-Thérèse). March 1932. Oil on canvas, 64 × 51¹/4" (162.3 × 130.2 cm). Zervos VII, 322. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Gift of Mrs. Simon Guggenheim

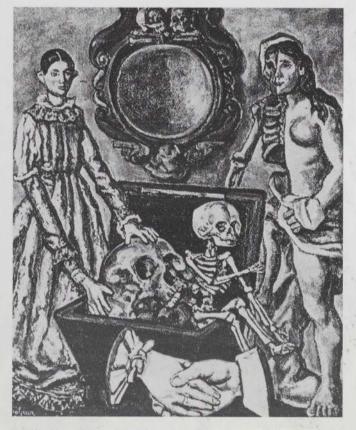
plumbed far into a dark, instinctual level that for Picasso, as for the culture into which he was born in the late nineteenth century, seemed far more potent in the female of the species, the procreative goddess who is foretold in this image of a young girl embracing and peering into a destiny that would wed her to the cycles of nature. It is a concept that extends and deepens a major theme of Symbolism, most familiar in Edvard Munch's variations on the three stages of a woman's life, moving from innocence, to sexual consummation, to withering old age. (Coincidentally, in a canvas also of 1932, Munch repeated the theme once more.49) Picasso, in fact, had already painted such an allegorical drama in La Vie of 1903; but now, with his fully developed genius for metamorphic imagery, he could probe much further into these human ultimates. There is room here for only a suggestion of the endless readings that can be intuited, though rarely fixed, in Picasso's meditation on a young girl's coming of age, a physical, psychological, and sexual evolution that he had known firsthand with Marie-Thérèse, who was then twenty-two (as Picasso himself approached his fiftieth birthday and a major retrospective), but who had been under the master's passionate surveillance since perhaps her later teens. Nevertheless, most readings tend to cluster around the motif of contrasting and cyclical

changes, reinforced by the high-keyed oppositions of complementary colors, such as the orange and blue oval frame that gives the mirror a magical vibrancy.

If the contemplative girl, in the ripeness of puberty, still appears constrained and virginal in the angular corseting of her swelling body (possibly a recall of the literal corseting in Manet's painting), the uterine image in the mirror releases such repressions, even warping the uncomfortably acute collar-pyramid upon which she must support her tensely watchful head. Moreover, the promise of sexual union and procreation revealed in Picasso's familiar genital puns (such as the visual rhyming of upright arm and breasts with erect phallus and testicles)⁵⁰ is fulfilled in the mirror, where one breast, part fruit and part ovum, seems fertilized by a black spot, generating a coiling green shoot already seen sprouting from the female groin in The Mirror of March 12. And if a life cycle is beginning, it is also ending, for the mirror image is haunted by the specter of death, a universal symbol, but one of particularly Spanish inflection, as evidenced in a painting by Picasso's friend and compatriot José Gutiérrez Solana, The Mirror of Death (c. 1928-29; below).⁵¹ In fact, Picasso's mirror image almost literally illustrates the English phrase "from womb to tomb": before our eyes, the tough enclosure of burgeoning life,



Edouard Manet. Before the Mirror. 1876. Oil on canvas, $36\frac{1}{4} \times 28\frac{1}{8}$ " (92.1 × 71.4 cm). Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York. Thannhauser Collection, Gift of Justin K. Thannhauser, 1978



José Gutiérrez Solana. *The Mirror of Death.* c. 1928–29. Oil on canvas, $32^{1/4} \times 26^{1/2}$ " (81.9 × 67.3 cm). Private collection



Woman with Book (Marie-Thérèse). 1932. Oil on canvas, $51\frac{3}{8} \times 38\frac{1}{2}\frac{3}{8}$ (130.5 × 97.8 cm). Zervos VIII, 70. The Norton Simon Foundation, Pasadena, Calif. Estate of Robert Ellis Simon, 1969

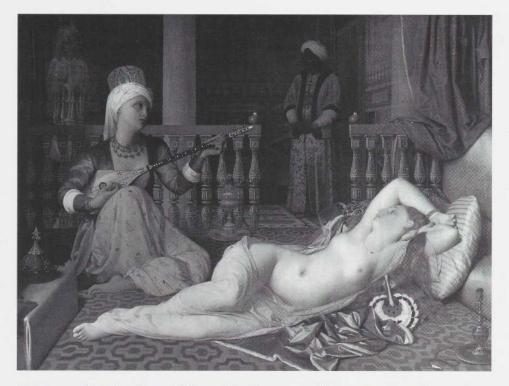
with fetal head and developing internal organs, becomes a mummy's shrouded coffin, with an Egyptoid spirit head painted upon it, perhaps yet another memory of Gauguin's spirit of death. And, as always, Picasso is observing and guarding his female possession. As Jung had recognized in the same year, Picasso's alter ego might well be identified with Harlequin. Here, in fact, as so often before in his work, the diamond harlequin pattern, now of the wallpaper, can become a coded symbol of the artist's own presence, a heraldic field that proclaims his territory and that, when reaching, at the left, the body of his now mythical beloved, burns with the national colors of Spain, red and yellow.

His cryptic presence may be seen as well in another of the great mirror paintings of 1932, the *Woman with Book* (above),⁵² a more recognizable domestic portrait of Marie-Thérèse that re-creates her in the role of one of Ingres' great late portraits, that of Madame Inès Moitessier (1856; above, right). Looked at from one point of view, such translations of Old Master art into the language of contemporary portraiture have ample precedent, whether one considers, say, the way Reynolds painted his own portrait in the guise of a Rembrandt self-portrait or the way Manet made Victorine Meurent masquerade unclothed as Titian's *Venus*. But in the case of Picasso, such quotational



Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres. Madame Inès Moitessier. 1856. Oil on canvas, $47^{1/4} \times 36^{1/4}$ " (120 × 92 cm). The National Gallery, London

portraiture has a more magical, almost voodoolike flavor, as if the ghost of the Old Master painting had been miraculously reincarnated through the presence of a living person in Picasso's life. Marie-Thérèse's predecessor, Olga, had already had the power to resuscitate several of Ingres' portraits, especially that of Madame Devaucey; and now, Ingres' grande dame of the Second Empire is miraculously metamorphosed into a no less mysterious female persona, captured reading in a darkened room that conveys an aura of nighttime privacy. The sibylline posture, which Ingres himself paraphrased from a Roman personification of Arcadia, gives Marie-Thérèse a sphinxlike remoteness at odds with the intense assault of colors and the provocative exposure of nipples; and this psychological distance is given an extra dimension of mystery through the profile reflected in the mirror, again a quotation from Ingres' portrait. It can, of course, be read almost literally as the reflection of Marie-Thérèse's own head, seen in its familiar classicizing guise; but it is also Picasso's coded classicizing profile for himself. The phantom in the looking glass now fuses artist and sitter, lover and beloved, in a single silhouette that is, at once, a real reflection, like Madame Moitessier's, and a poetic fantasy of voyeurism and possession that secretly tells how Picasso, as always, is on the scene.



Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres. *Odalisque with a Slave*. 1839–40. Oil on canvas mounted on panel, $28\frac{3}{8} \times 39\frac{1}{2}$ " (72.1 × 100.3 cm). Courtesy the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, Mass. Bequest of Grenville L. Winthrop

In yet another guise, the ghost of Ingres hovers as well over many of the images of Marie-Thérèse in the voluptuous release of sleep. On April 4, 1932, just three weeks after the Girl Before a Mirror, Picasso re-created in a Sleeping Nude (opposite) the serpents' nests of rounded, yielding flesh that Ingres had invented for his harem beauties (above). Now, Marie-Thérèse, cradled in an earth-colored couch, weds the nocturnal goddess of love to the diurnal fertility of sun-baked soil in a pictorial aubade that blanches her still-dormant lilac flesh with the heat of the morning sun through the window. Its rays penetrate the room, creating an astonishing wallpaper pattern that wriggles and glows around the upper half of her body like a spermatic assault on an egg. And in a transformation worthy of Ovid, whose Metamorphoses Picasso had illustrated in 1930, her body turns into a tree of life. Her fetal head, still under the spell of a crescentmoon eye closed within its dark womb, seems to generate the vital energy that turns her blond hair into a seedpod and her breasts into ripening red and green fruit, a double entendre so convincing that the bottom still life of two green leaves and two pears becomes one with her eroticized anatomy.

As usual, Picasso can muster the broadest visual genealogies, evoking, for one, the fantastic double images (heads composed of fruit, flowers, vegetables) by the sixteenth-century painter Arcimboldo, who had become an ancestral favorite of the Surrealists (p. 362).⁵³ For another, the concept of woman as a personification of

nature's fecundity, beauty, and sexuality as conveyed through a fantastic spectrum of hybrid creatures, from Wagnerian flower maidens and generative earth mothers to tentacular femmes fatales, was an international commonplace in the work of those Symbolist artists who helped to nurture Picasso's budding genius at the turn of the century.54 And on quite another level, Picasso's imagery intersects the grossest popular humor, in which the anatomy of sexual arousal is likened to various fruits, as evidenced in a French postcard of 1917 that illustrates through still life what might be on the mind of a sex-starved soldier (p. 362).55

It is the kind of metaphor, whether exalted or vulgar, that helps us to understand the now

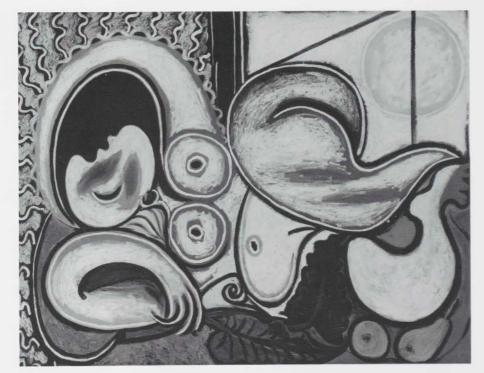
common identification of a major still life of March 2, 1931,56 as a disguised portrait of Marie-Thérèse, whose symbolic colors and ripe, burgeoning body pervade this domestic set piece of pitcher, compotier, and fruit on a three-legged gueridon (p. 362). As is often cited, Picasso himself, when questioned about the painting by Pierre Daix in 1970, outlined with pointed finger those contours that evoked Marie-Thérèse's body,57 creating a subliminal double image that becomes far more overt in the botanical humanoids that soon followed. And in this still life, too, Picasso, lord and master, may be present in the form of the sun-drenched yellow pitcher (on a red cloth), an erect vertical shape that, proud as the crowing roosters Picasso painted, drew, and sculpted in the 1930s, presides over a hothouse of fruit bursting with erotic vitality.58 As John Richardson has noted, a pitcher is often a code for the artist himself, "a bit like a Toby jar."59 In this guise it seems very much part of the sexual entanglements above and below the tabletop, a role also played by the yellowand-red pitchers that dominate two earlier still lifes of 1931.60

Although Marie-Thérèse's biological regressions most often move back into botanical and embryonic domains, she can also be transformed into a submarine creature, appropriate to her passion for swimming, as well as for cavorting with beach balls, both recurrent themes in Picasso's repertory of the late 1920s and early 1930s. In *Bather with Beach Ball* of August 30, 1932 (p. 363), as in other paintings of that great vintage year, the corporeal presence of Marie-Thérèse now dominates the world, swollen into a ballooning giantess, an unexpected preview of the pneumatic cartoon characters that float on high in Macy's annual Thanksgiving Day parade. (Apropos, Museum of Modern Art legend has it that, to add a bit of outdoor pageantry to the 1980 Picasso retrospective, an unrealized scheme would have set aloft a three-dimensional version of this bathing beauty.) But unlike most images prompted by Marie-Thérèse in 1932, this one, at first comically clumsy in its airborne athletics, quickly becomes grotesquely ugly, as if the demon Olga may have once more possessed her rival's placid spirit.

At first, we recognize many of the attributes of the teen-ager who, summering at Dinard, was actually photographed in a bathing suit, beach ball in hand (p. 67). There is the smooth flow of her seedpod hair, the spheroid

anatomy, and even the color code of yellow and violet on her skintight bathing suit. But another kind of being, more predatory than seductive, appears to inhabit her spirit and body, transforming her into a humanoid kin of a rubbery, gray squid. Jet-propelled across the blue sky, her bulbous head, with its two round, staring, lidless eyes and its vertical air vent, both mouth and vagina, mindlessly hunts its prey, the hair streaking behind like waterborne tentacles. The prey, of course, is presumably nothing but a beach ball, but it will never be caught. Rendered in two dimensions, as opposed to the creature's emphatically modeled three, it also becomes the most remote astral body, which its pursuer stupidly grasps at with tumescent, fingerless hands, as demanding and as ignorant as a child reaching for the moon. A voracious creature, perhaps the specter of Olga, has momentarily invaded this seaside romp on what the diminutive tricolor, which shuttles us dizzily from near to far, round to flat, tiny to huge, proclaims as French territory. And as usual, Picasso is secretly present.

As revealed by Lydia Gasman in her illuminating readings of some of the artist's key symbols, the beach cabana (or, in Spanish, *caseta*) was a recurrent prop in Picasso's work,⁶¹ a secret shelter fraught with sexual memories that had become a synonym of a mysterious doorway (here half open and half shut) into the darker recesses of the artist's mind. And it can be added that Picasso may also be symbolically present (and, as usual, erotically possessive) in the seven yellow triangles on the bathing suit, which look like delirious fragments flung from the diamond har-



Sleeping Nude (Marie-Thérèse). April 4, 1932. Oil on canvas, 51¹/4 × 63³/4" (130 × 161.7 cm). Zervos VII, 332. Musée Picasso, Paris. (Colorplate, p. 71)

lequin patterns familiar to the wallpaper of 1932, now almost branding Marie-Thérèse's body on her breasts, navel, groin, and buttocks.

In surveying the emotional and pictorial graph of Marie-Thérèse's covert and overt presence in Picasso's life and art, there is no doubt that 1932 marks the peak of fever-pitch intensity and achievement, a year of rapturous masterpieces that reach a new and unfamiliar summit in both his painting and sculpture. But characteristically for the protean Picasso, he could also play out his love affairs on lesser stages, especially in the copious print production of the early 1930s, where his magical couplings with Marie-Thérèse would be disguised in a multitude of roles. At times they appear together in an imaginary artist's studio, where a classically bearded painter or sculptor transforms her ideal features into exquisitely drawn contours or a worshiped bust on a pedestal (p. 363); or, remaining in an antique milieu, they might break loose from the mental and optical concentration demanded by art and join their bodies in erotic tussles capable of turning Picasso's sexual alter ego into minotaur, centaur, faun, or even an Athenian rapist from the 1934 illustration to Lysistrata.

Nevertheless, Marie-Thérèse also remained for a few more years on center stage, figuring in many canvases of 1933 and 1934 that often provided later variations on the grand themes of 1932. Such is the case in *Nude Asleep in a Landscape* of August 4, 1934 (p. 365),⁶² yet another homage to Ingres' *odalisques*, now recalled even in the exotic red-and-yellow fabric of the small pillow upon which her



Giuseppe Arcimboldo. Summer. 1563. Oil on wood, $26^{3/8} \times 20''$ (67 × 50.8 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna



Postcard. Les Fruits préférés du Soldat



Still Life on a Pedestal Table. March 2, 1931. Oil on canvas, $76^{3/4} \times 51^{1/4}$ " (194 × 130 cm). Zervos VII, 317. Musée Picasso, Paris. (Colorplate, p. 69)

hand rests. At first, everything fits into the mold shaped in 1932 for the sleeping Marie-Thérèse. Here again is the lilac flesh, the yellow seedpod hair, the crescent-moon eye; and here, too, is the constellation of black dots that mark out the erogenous zones of nipples, navel, vulva, and anus. And once more, the sleeper is equated with nature's irrepressible bounty, so that philodendron leaves (so conspicuous in 1932), as well as flowers, appear to sprout from her loins. But within these now familiar formulas, there is a restlessness that leaves one imperfection after another, as if the ecstatic ideal of serenity and pleasure attained in 1932 could no longer be sustained. The contours of her body seem alternately slack and taut, a rhythmic conflict distilled in her hand; the greenery, whether above or below the angular white sheet, has a windswept, ragged quality; and the paint surfaces, mostly brushy, irregular, and impulsive, undermine the earlier images of what Brooks Adams described as "the absolute embodiment of non-threatening womanhood and sensual bliss."63

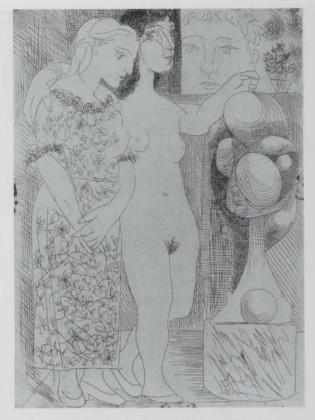
Such falls from grace can often be discerned in the portrait heads that follow the supernal perfection of 1932. For example, a small square of canvas, painted in 1932 but then reworked in 1934 (p. 364), begins to gnarl and knot Marie-Thérèse's placid features into a profound restlessness, as do many of the sculptural prints and drawings of 1933 (p. 364). Indeed, Mary Mathews Gedo, in her psycho-



Bather with Beach Ball (Marie-Thérèse). August 30, 1932. Oil on canvas, 57⁵/₈ × 45¹/₈" (146.2 × 114.6 cm). Zervos VIII, 147. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Partial gift of an anonymous donor and promised gift of Ronald S. Lauder. (Colorplate, p. 65)

analytic readings of Picasso, has even speculated, on the evidence of the art, that there must have been some private disaster in the couple's life in 1932–33, perhaps a pregnancy terminated by abortion or miscarriage.⁶⁴ We may never be able to confirm or deny such an intuition; but at least we do know that tensions with Olga reached an explosive point by 1935, a period which Picasso himself described as the worst in his life. Divorce was considered and then dropped because of legal complications, while, at the same time, his liaison with Marie-Thérèse was literally to bear the metaphorical fruit of his painted dreams of her fertility. Their child, María de la Concepción (named after Picasso's sister Concepción, who died of diphtheria in 1895 at the age of eight), was born on September 5, 1935.⁶⁵ The family would call her Maya.

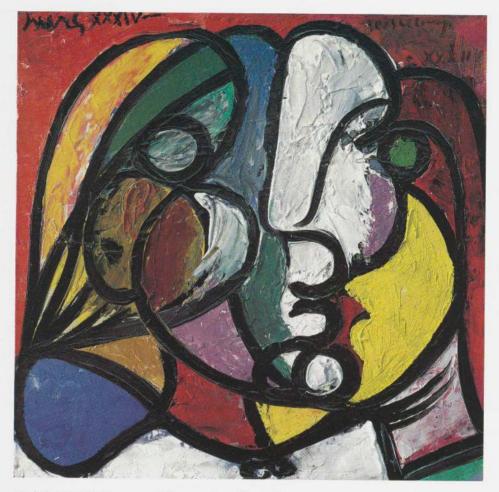
As if to grasp the realities of the immense new fact of his second child, a girl, Picasso made many small and candid drawings of their domestic life, private vignettes often rendered with the Old Master warmth and *chiaroscuro* of a Rembrandt, whose portrait, in fact, began to figure in many of Picasso's prints of 1933–34. In one of November 15, 1935 (p. 366), in which Marie-Thérèse turns her round breast to her bare-bottomed infant daughter, the archetypal theme of maternity, a major motif of the early work that was explored once again after Paulo's birth in 1921, returns a third time to the master's repertory in a perfect



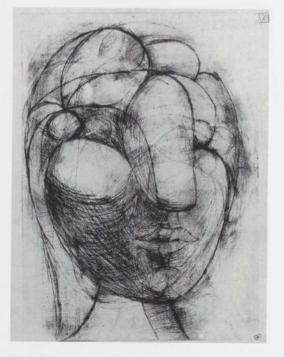
Muse Showing a Thoughtful Marie-Thérèse Her Sculpted Portrait (1st state). March 17, 1933. Etching and drypoint, $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{3}$ " (26.7 × 19.4 cm). Geiser/Baer II, 299. Private collection

fusion of heroic Renaissance grandeur and modern Parisian domesticity; and in other, simpler drawings of the same months, Picasso, the new father, stares at Maya, recording, for instance, on December 24 the specifics of the baby's returned gaze and frizzy hair, but also adding a strange hint of her mother's double physiognomy, suggested by the intense contrast of light and shadow on the two sides of the head (p. 366). And in a pencil portrait of Marie-Thérèse, made three days later (p. 366), Picasso maintains this literalism of observed fact, resuming here the familiar situation of quietly watching her as she wafts off into a daydream, but now bringing back to a more prosaic reality the poetic flights of 1932, when her catnaps could carry us off on voyages to uncharted depths of the psyche. Similarly, in another portrait drawing of the following year, dated July 28, 1936 (p. 367), the intense, confrontational mode that reaches oracular mystery in 1932 is tethered to an earthbound individual, whose uneasy expression, again emphasized by opposition of light and darkness, seems to pertain more to domestic anxieties than to the riddle of the sphinx.

Of course, Picasso, at this or any other time, could never stop turning the people and things around him into the elaborate fictions of his art. So it is, for example, that his new situation could inspire such classicizing drawings as those penned in April 1936 (p. 368). Many of the props

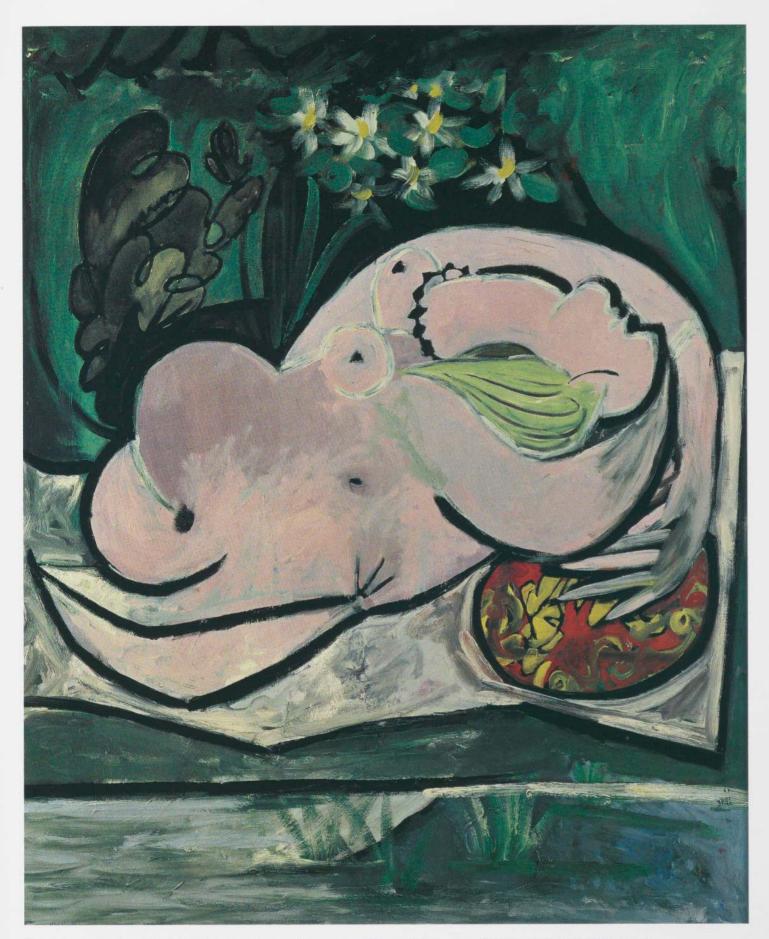


Head of Marie-Thérèse. 1932–34. Oil on canvas, $18^{1/8}\times18^{1/8}$ " (46 \times 46 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection



Head of Marie-Thérèse (20th state). February 18, 1933. Scraper and drypoint, 12⁵/₈ × 9" (32 × 22.9 cm). Geiser/Baer II, 288. Musée Picasso, Paris

here-shutters, wallpaper, palm trees, Mediterranean balcony views-reflect the family's new quarters in Juanles-Pins, where, under his father's family name, Ruiz, Picasso, Marie-Thérèse, and Maya lived virtually in secret for more than a month. But this fresh setting could also become a theatrical backdrop for new roles that would recreate the trio in an antique drama, repeating with variations the classicizing family narratives inspired more than a decade earlier by the birth of Paulo. Here, the father, wreathed and bearded like an antique bust, can further distance his identity by holding a mask; or elsewhere, he can become a tender surrogate mother, while a mysteriously impassive Marie-Thérèse looks on. And from the same period of family seclusion, other fantasies emerged, revealing Picasso's usual multiplicity of invention. In one little drawing of April 3 (p. 370), he offers on the same page a perfect example of his double-track imagination, capturing below a chiaroscuro vignette of Marie-Thérèse rapt in indoor concentration, whereas above, he transforms her into a monumental sculpture that, on the very same day, he would also render as a small painting (p. 371). Resurrecting the monstrous beach-side giantesses of the late 1920s, he desiccates Marie-Thérèse's body through



Nude Asleep in a Landscape (Marie-Thérèse). August 4, 1934. Oil on canvas, $63^{3/4} \times 51^{1/4}$ " (162 × 130 cm). Not in Zervos. Musée Picasso, Paris





Marie-Thérèse Nursing Maya. November 15, 1935. Pen and brown ink on paper, $11^{1\!/_2}\times17^{''}$ (29 \times 43 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection

Maya at Three and a Half Months Old. December 24, 1935. Pencil on paper, $13\frac{3}{8} \times 10^{''}$ (34 × 25.5 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection



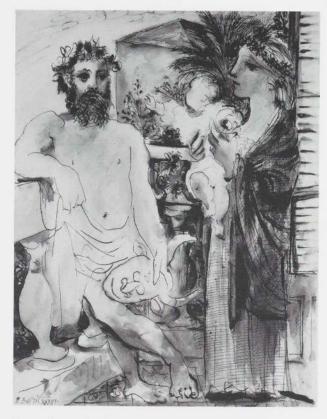
Portrait of Marie-Thérèse. December 27, 1935. Pencil on paper, 10⁷/₈ × 13¹/₂" (27.5 × 34.3 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection

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Portrait of Marie-Thérèse. July 28, 1936. Pen, black ink, and gray wash on paper, 20¹/₈ × 13¹/₂" (51 × 34.3 cm). Not in Zervos. Thaw Collection. The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

the language of open, linear sculpture. From what appear to be coils of wicker, a basketwork skeleton is constructed through which we see the bluest Mediterranean trinity of coast, sea, and sky. The rotundities of her breast and torso, like the mysteries of her twinned physiognomies, have now become fleshless armatures, bleached in the sun, a shell of memory no longer inhabited by a living person. Even in more casual and recognizable images of Marie-Thérèse from these reclusive weeks in Juan-les-Pins, we sense a dissolution of her earlier persona. In a sundrenched window view of April 13 (p. 369), burning with intense yellows and oranges, her crossed hands, once soft and pliant, have become as spiky and brittle as artichokes; and her blue eyes, one frontal, one in profile, register pri-



Man with a Mask and Woman with a Child (Marie-Thérèse and Maya). April 23, 1936. Pen, India ink, and wash on paper, $25\frac{5}{6} \times 21\frac{3}{4}$ " (65 × 50 cm). Zervos VIII, 278. Musée Picasso, Paris



Family Scene (Marie-Thérèse and Maya). April 27, 1936. India ink on paper, $24\frac{1}{2} \times 18^{7/8''}$ (62 × 48 cm). Zervos VIII, 281. Private collection

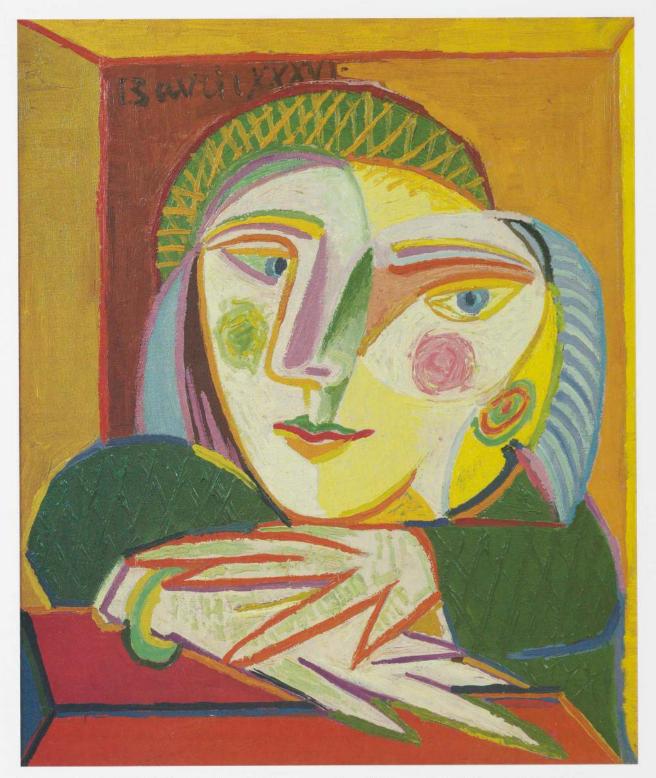


Marie-Thérèse Walter nursing Maya Picasso. Juan-les-Pins, March or April 1936. Photograph by Picasso. Collection Maya Picasso



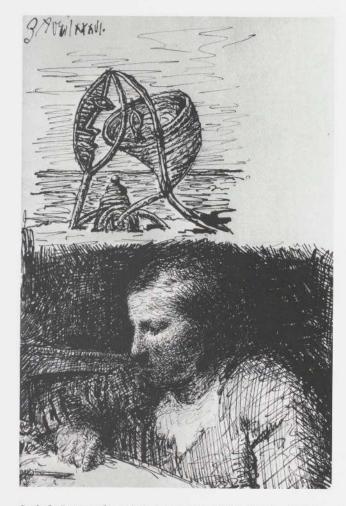
Picasso and his daughter, Maya. Le Tremblay-sur-Mauldre, March 1937. Photograph by Marie-Thérèse Walter. Collection Maya Picasso

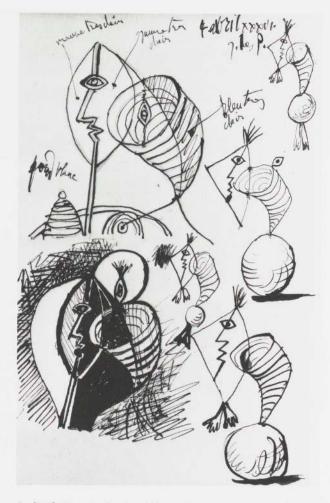
ROBERT ROSENBLUM 368



Woman at a Window (Marie-Thérèse). April 13, 1936. Oil on canvas, 21⁵/₈ × 17³/₄" (55 × 45 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection

vate stress rather than eternal feminine magic. Most startling of this group is the hideous head of May 1 (p. 73), which has become so familiar an image through the work of Jasper Johns, who began to quote it in 1986,⁶⁶ that its disarming impact may now have been dulled. But here a barely identifiable Marie-Thérèse, the inevitable inspiration during this short and cloistered sojourn on the Riviera, projects something near hysteria. Her colors still cling to her in the faint lilac flesh and the yellow stripes of the pedestal, but panic and disorder reign. The image first suggests a sculptured portrait bust on a base, of a kind familiar to the repertory of the early 1930s, but the violet support is now a bony neck⁶⁷ (similar to the skeleton anatomies of Christ in the 1932 variations on Grünewald's





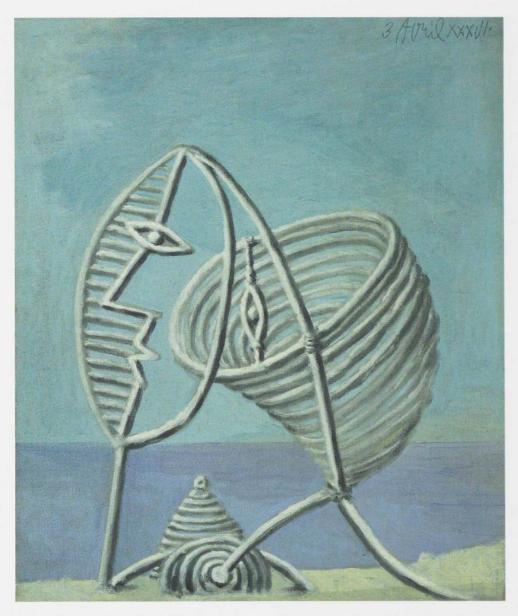
Study for Portrait of a Young Woman; Marie-Thérèse Reading. April 3, 1936. Pen and India ink on paper, $10^{1/4} \times 6^{7/8''}$ (26 × 17.5 cm). Not in Zervos. Musée Picasso, Paris

Studies for Portrait of a Young Woman. April 4, 1936. India ink on paper, $10^{1/4} \times 6^{7/8}$ " (26 × 17.5 cm). Not in Zervos. Musée Picasso, Paris

Crucifixion), resting in turn on a pedestal that is also to be read as a constricting collar compressing her shoulders and ragged breasts. As for the head, topped by a straw hat whose coarse weave is related to the beach fantasy of April 3, it appears to be toppling, its nostrils and mouth frozen in warped curves of anxiety. When read as a frontal view, its hideous eyes, sliced at the pupils (perhaps a memory of Dalí's and Buñuel's *Le Chien Andalou* of 1928–29), stare at us in fixed terror or, when read as a side view, gaze helplessly to the left and right. A nightmare of paralysis and disintegration, she is, almost literally, a fallen idol.

With 20/20 biographical hindsight, it is, of course, tempting to read this painting as a decapitating finale to Marie-Thérèse's reign; for, in fact, she had gradually been replaced by Dora Maar, whom Picasso had met the winter before through the Paul Eluard circle and with whom he was to begin a passionate new liaison. But this would be a drastic, one-to-one simplification of the complex parallel, divergent, and intersecting dialogues between Picasso's life and art. In fact, he continued to create more familiar and tranquil images of Marie-Thérèse until the end of the

decade; but once more mirroring domestic realities, he would now often make virtual pendants of these iconic images in which Marie-Thérèse, on her armchair throne, was challenged by Dora Maar, as if one playing-card queen were conspiring against her rival. So it is in the temporarily majestic portrait of January 6, 1937 (p. 373), in which Marie-Thérèse resumes the meditative pose of Ingres' Madame Moitessier that had been more magically reinvented in 1932. And here, too, Picasso may be cryptically present, not only in the Spanish red-and-yellow of her straw hat, but more familiarly coded in the red-andyellow harlequin patterns of the chairback. But this poise is again threatened by the angular and cramping distortions of the box space in which she is caged, a space in which the low ceiling and crazily tilted floor plane undo the semblance of commanding centrality and timeless calm. The point becomes clearer when we see this in tandem with a portrait of Dora Maar of the same year,68 which also reflects the Ingresque head-to-hand posture but suddenly presides with a new authority, iconically centered in a more rigid box space (p. 391). Like a chameleon,



Portrait of a Young Woman (Marie-Thérèse). April 3, 1936. Oil on canvas, $21^{7}\!/\!s \times 18^{1}\!/\!s'''$ (55.5 \times 46 cm). Not in Zervos. Musée Picasso, Paris

she has adapted to the yellow-and-violet complementaries of Marie-Thérèse, but gives them a new cosmetic blush of Parisian chic and vitality. And the spiky hands that Marie-Thérèse began to display in 1935–36 now end in bright red fingernail polish, an attribute of Dora Maar, conspicuous even in black-and-white photographs of her.

If this dark-haired, cosmopolitan, and well-educated woman seems to be given equal time with her blond rival (whom he had begun to see only once or twice a week), there is no question in the faces of the two portraits of 1937 which of them is the newcomer, a visual confirmation of Picasso's remark to John Richardson that "it must be painful for a girl to see in a painting that she is on the way out."⁶⁹ And in a portrait of Marie-Thérèse of March 11 (p. 336), by which time she and Maya had been removed from his Parisian life to the rural seclusion of

Ambroise Vollard's home at Le Tremblay-sur-Mauldre, not far from the château of Versailles, she seems to be camouflaged to the point of disappearance by the country setting of rough-surfaced wooden planes that drain her of flesh, color, and energy. Her head stiffly gripped by window handle and wall, she sits immobilized in the imprisoning rectilinear frame of an unpainted wooden chair that, in turn, locks into perpendicular place with the balcony grille and shutters. The once vivid colors of the rainbow are now muffled,⁷⁰ and her hands—a restless tangle of phallic fingers-are clasped over a tight plaid skirt in an image of lonely repression. Marie-Thérèse, one feels, has been walled up forever in the country. Almost a year later, in a drawing of January 8, 1938, she is still caged, her fingers still locked together, in the same wooden chair (p. 372).



Woman with Joined Hands (Marie-Thérèse). January 8, 1938. Pencil, charcoal, and oil wash on canvas, 31⁷/₈ × 23⁵/₈" (81 × 60 cm). Not in Zervos. Collection Mr. and Mrs. Marshall Cogan



Seated Woman (Marie-Thérèse). January 6, 1937. Oil on canvas, 39³/* × 31⁷/*" (100 × 81 cm). Zervos VIII, 324. Musée Picasso, Paris

But elsewhere, she could be released from this fictional straitjacket, especially when maternal duty called. In a painting of January 22, 1938, the wooden chair remains, but the sitter now relaxes in order to embrace Maya with such total absorption that the bodies of mother and daughter become almost one in a union whose ineffable sweetness of color and sentiment skirts with greeting-card kitsch (p. 375). Yet Picasso adds a bizarre edge of genetic mystery to this popular formula, transforming Maya into a clone of her mother, whether in the odd inheritance of green nostrils and lipsticked blue lips, the identical coiffure of yellow-green hair, or the interchangeable scramble of mother's and daughter's hands. And as was the case with Paulo in the early 1920s, Maya would also inspire her own full-length portraits, state occasions for which she would be as fancily posed and dressed as an *infanta* by Velázquez.



Maya with a Doll. January 16, 1938. Oil on canvas, 283/4 × 235/8" (73 × 60 cm). Zervos IX, 99. Musée Picasso, Paris

In one of January 16, 1938, she looms large, almost illustrating—to feminize Wordsworth's phrase—that the child is mother of the woman (above). Here, with the gravity of a Madonna, she herself assumes the maternal role, cradling in her lap a female doll in a sailor suit, a then familiar costume for children of either sex. And Marie-Thérèse's color code goes through strange mutations, too, turning Maya's unblinking eyes a hypnotic purple that complements her now beribboned yellowgreen hair. But even more metaphoric in terms of the Picasso family tree is a portrait of Maya in a sailor suit, painted exactly a week later (p. 377). The hat she sports bears Picasso's name (which doubles as a crude signature) in bold letters, evoking a juvenile self-portrait by the



Mother and Child (Marie-Thérèse and Maya). January 22, 1938. Oil on canvas, 25⁵/₈ × 21¹/₄" (65 × 54 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection

artist. Indeed, when the American soldier Pfc. Jerome Seckler discussed this painting with Picasso at the 1944 Salon d'Automne, suggesting that it was a self-portrait, the artist, never one to deny any imaginative reading of his work, concurred, adding for support that he always wore a sailor's striped jersey as an undershirt.⁷¹ But even when Picasso paints a portrait of somebody else, he may also include himself, especially if the sitter is a family member. For example, in 1924, when Paulo was three years old, his father painted him in a harlequin costume, projecting one of his own alter egos onto his son. As for this ungainly child, who clumsily grasps a butterfly net but seems incapable of using it, identity may also be double, as if Picasso the father were merging with the



Maya in a Pinafore. c. 1938. Oil on plywood, $28^{3/4} \times 21^{1/4}$ " (73 × 54 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection

costumed image of his daughter, whose blond hair recalls her mother's. In fact, the very sex of the child is bluntly and surprisingly suggested by the gnarled oval on the tree trunk that appears between her awkwardly widespread legs, which, like those of Maya in other childhood portraits, terminate in hooflike shoes. And as usual, apart from the possessive and mystical fusion of parent and child, Picasso may be absorbing as well remembrances of other artists' portraits of children. The analogy with the flat, primitive charm of Henri Rousseau's icons of children, so well known to Picasso, has often been mentioned;⁷² but it may also be that Picasso is recalling a youthful pictorial dialogue with Matisse. In 1906 Picasso made a modest little gouache portrait of Michael and



Maya in a Sailor Suit. January 23, 1938. Oil on canvas, 47⁷/₈ × 34″ (121.6 × 86.3 cm). Zervos IX, 104. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Gift of Jacqueline Picasso

Sarah Stein's son, Allan, but was totally outshone the next year by his perpetual rival, Matisse, who painted a large and vigorous outdoor portrait of the boy holding a butterfly net.⁷³ Could this new version of a butterfly hunter be Picasso's belated riposte?

In another child's portrait of 1938 (opposite), now clearly of Maya (who holds a toy ship that looks as if it

might have been painted by the three-year-old that she then was), we again sense the ghosts of Rousseau and Matisse in the mixture of a frontality so crude that the shod and stockinged feet turn away from each other at 180 degrees and of a virtuosity so dazzling that the swiftly abbreviated grid patterns of the red plaid dress are flexible enough to stiffen or to rustle. But this willfully infantile



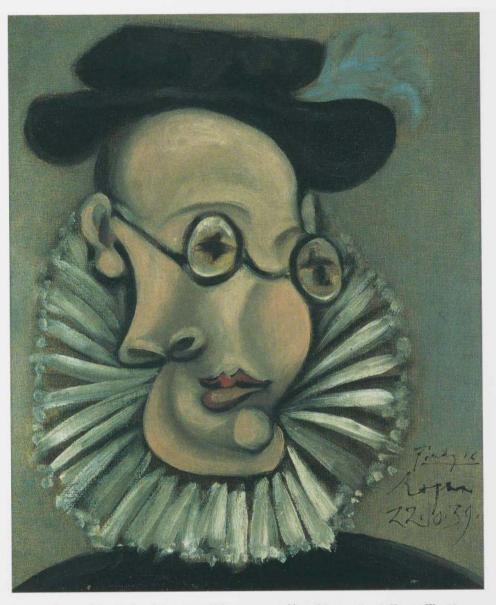
Portrait of Emilie Marguerite Walter (Mémé). October 21, 1939. Oil and pencil on canvas, 16¹/₈ × 13" (41 × 33 cm). Zervos IX, 367. Private collection

style of kindergarten colors and coarse paint dabs (so appropriate to the sitter's age) suddenly matures into an unexpected linear grace in the head, rendered as a yet unformed version of the doubled physiognomies her father had created for her mother. Under the yellow hair, tinged with the green vitality of nature, the wide, blank whiteness of the child's nascent face, viewed frontally, merges unexpectedly with the perfect, classical profile that Picasso had already created as an ideal symbol for both himself and the child's mother. And five years later, in a charcoal drawing of August 29, 1943, Maya, now almost eight, fits even more closely into the classicizing profile silhouette invented for her parents (p. 383).

In Picasso's often irreverent hands, such fluid identities, genetically appropriate when dealing with parents and their offspring, could at times produce comical pairings,



Emilie Marguerite Walter (mother of Marie-Thérèse Walter and grandmother of Maya Picasso). Paris, 1939. Photograph by Photomaton. Collection Maya Picasso



Portrait of Jaime Sabartés. October 22, 1939. Oil on canvas, 18½ × 15″ (45.7 × 38 cm). Zervos IX, 366. Museu Picasso, Barcelona

as in two portraits painted on two consecutive days, October 21 and 22, 1939. In the first one (opposite), he records the beloved matriarch of his new part-time family, Marie-Thérèse's Swedish mother, Emilie Marguerite Walter. After January 13, 1939, when Picasso's own mother, María Picasso López, died in Barcelona, Maya's maternal grandmother must have helped to fill an even larger emotional gap with her warming presence, registered in this portrait. A comforting image of gray-haired sweetness and propriety in black dress and high white collar, she is nevertheless transformed by bizarre facial contortions that permit a pair of thick-lensed eyeglasses to slip over to one side of a figure-eight nose and that can plant a discreetly lipsticked mouth at a rakish, smiling angle in an amorphous swell of pink flesh. No wonder Mémé (as French grandmothers are called) laughed when

she saw her picture.⁷⁴ But a photograph of the lady also proves how sharp Picasso's observations were, right down to the slightly uneven twist of the sitter's thin-lipped mouth (opposite).

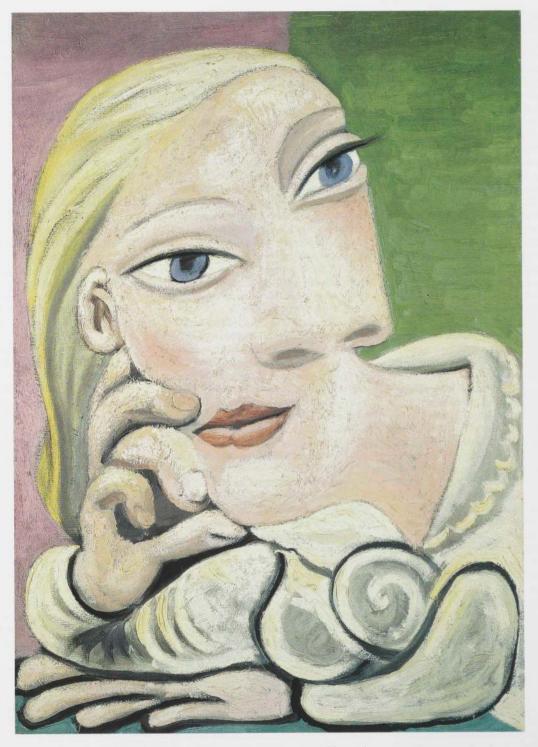
On the following day, Picasso fit a completely different sitter into this twisted mold, his friend and first biographer Jaime Sabartés (above). Grandma's collar now becomes a Spanish gentleman's ruff, and her spectacles continue to meander over the bridge of his nose to an adjacent cheek that, like hers, mixes flesh and putty. Within forty-eight hours, Picasso turned Swedish grandmother and Spanish friend into whimsically grotesque siblings who might well fall under the comic rubric of photographic look-alikes, "Separated at birth?"

But there were portrait pairings of 1939 that bore far more psychological weight, namely, those of Maya's



Bust of a Woman Leaning on One Elbow. January 1, 1939. Oil on canvas, 25⁵/₈ × 21¹/₄" (65 × 54 cm). Not in Zervos. Galerie Louise Leiris, Paris

mother and her successor Dora Maar. Already in 1937, Picasso would occasionally paint the two women as rival queens, creating a variation of the dynastic wars that, a decade earlier, had finally dethroned Olga and inaugurated the reign of Marie-Thérèse. Now, in 1939, Picasso juxtaposed the old and the new monarch even more programmatically in twinned canvases that showed the women in identical postures (above and opposite), usually inflected by the claustrophobic melancholy that mirrored the grimness of Europe in that terrible year. As if to objectify as well as to minimize the differences between his new and former lovers, he would place them in the same physical and psychological mold, comparing what would appear ever more superficial distinctions between



Marie-Thérèse Leaning on One Elbow. January 7, 1939. Oil on canvas, $25^{5/8} \times 18^{1/8}$ " (65 × 46 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection

blond and dark beauty, softness and angularity, languor and alertness. And in life, too, he would repeat the bigamous domestic situations of the years with Olga and Marie-Thérèse. After the outbreak of war in September 1939, he moved temporarily to Royan, where Marie-Thérèse and Maya were installed at a villa and where Dora Maar and he would share a hotel room. Both inside and outside his studio, Picasso could contemplate his pantheon of goddesses and demons, venerating them, comparing them, magically fusing them, and, finally, letting them return to earth.

NOTES

In a letter of November 24, 1995, Maya Widmaier Picasso was kind enough to provide me with some factual details that may help to correct familiar errors in the biographical accounts of these years. I have tried to incorporate them here.

t. Judi Freeman, Picasso and the Weeping Women: The Years of Marie-Thérèse Walter & Dora Maar (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1994).

2. Alfred H. Barr, Jr., *Picasso: Fifty Years of His Art* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1946), pp. 201, 266.

3. Ibid., p. 175.

4. *Picasso: Peintures, 1900–1955* (Paris: Musée des Arts Décoratifs, 1955), p. 20.

5. Barr, Picasso, p. 158.

6. André Level, *Picasso* (Paris: G. Crès, 1928). 7. For the fullest account of these cryptic monograms, see Adam Gopnik, "P Loves MT: A Note on the First Appearance of Marie-Thérèse Walter in the Picasso Theater," *Marsyas* (Institute of Fine Arts, New York University) 21 (1981–82), pp. 57–60.

8. The manuscript, dated November 20, 1935, is illustrated in Marie-Laure Bernadac and Christine Piot, eds., *Picasso: Collected Writings* (New York: Abbeville, 1989), p. 45. ("Fleur plus douce que le miel N tu es mon feu de joie.")

9. First pointed out, I believe, by Maurice Jardot in the 1955 Paris catalogue (see n. 4, above), no. 26, and then often repeated.

10. For an early account of "Job" and cryptic names in Picasso's Cubist work, see William Rubin, *Picasso in the Collection of the Museum of Modern Art* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1972), p. 100.

11. For a vivid, illustrated account of this liaison, see John Richardson, "Picasso's Secret Love," *House and Garden* 159, no. 10 (October 1987), pp. 174–82, 252–54.

12. As disclosed in Pierre Daix, "On a Hidden Portrait of Marie-Thérèse," *Art in America* 71, no. 8 (September 1983), pp. 124–29.

13. Picasso's account of his first encounter with Marie-Thérèse is told in Françoise Gilot and Carleton Lake, *Life with Picasso* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), p. 235. Marie-Thérèse herself added more details in two later interviews: Barry Ferrell, "His Women: The wonder is that he found time to paint," *Life*, special Picasso double issue, 65, no. 26 (December 27, 1968), p. 74; and Pierre Cabanne, "Picasso et les joies de la paternité," *L'Oeil*, no. 226 (May 1974), pp. 2–11.

14. Herbert T. Schwarz, *Picasso and Marie-Thérèse Walter*, 1925–1927 (Montmagny, Quebec: Editions Isabeau, 1988). It should be said, however, that Maya Widmaier Picasso insists that January 8, 1927, was the date of their first encounter. Moreover, Marie-Thérèse, in a handwritten inscription on a Picasso manuscript of January 3, 1936, avowed that she loved him for nine years ("et dire que je t'aime depuis 9 ans") and that on January 11, 1936, Picasso referred to the anniversary of this love ("aujord'hui anniversaire de cet amour"; see Bernadac and Piot, *Picasso*, pp. 393, 89). This certainly suggests that January 1927 marked a significant emotional event. Nevertheless, the date may not have been that of their first encounter, but of a major turning point, sexual or otherwise, in their relationship

15. These details are recounted in what remains the fullest and most detailed presentation of Marie-Thérèse's role in Picasso's life and art: John Richardson, "Picasso and Marie-Thérèse Walter," in *Through the Eye of Picasso*, 1928–1934; *The Dinard Sketchbook and Related Paintings and Sculpture* (New York: William Beadleston, 1985), n.p. Most of this material was then incorporated in an expanded version with many new observations: John Richardson, "Picasso and l'Amour Fou," *New York Review of Books* 32, no. 20 (December 19, 1985), pp. 59–68.

16. The sketchbook is presented, with an essay by Rosalind E. Krauss, in Arnold Glimcher and Marc Glimcher, eds., *Je suis le cahier: The Sketchbooks of Picasso* (New York: Pace Gallery, 1986), pp. 113–39. Believing, like most scholars at the time, that Marie-Thérèse had not entered Picasso's life until January 1927, Krauss makes a case for the artist having invented her features in his art of 1926 and earlier before meeting their real-life counterpart. Although this principle is often true for Picasso, it may have to be altered somewhat in this case to accommodate the new biographical evidence.

17. This is pointed out by Schwarz, Picasso and Marie-Thérèse Walter, p. 90. The pencil drawing in question is at the lower right of a sheet containing four drawings of musical instruments on a table (below) and is illustrated twice in Zervos (V, 406 and VII, 415), where the inscribed date, "novembre 1925," is clearly visible above it. However, this particular drawing was apparently cut out later from the whole sheet (presumably the other three suffered the same commercial fate), thereby losing the inscribed date above it. In this altered state, it appeared for sale at Sotheby's, New York (May 8, 1991, lot 175), where, on the basis of the Zervos illustration, the date is still given as November 1925. A new signature

(probably fake) appears at the lower right, since the original signature (at the lower left) was separated from this drawing when it was cut out of the whole sheet.

18. See ibid., p. 80. 19. The familiar account would have her placed in a *colonie de vacances*, but Maya Widmaier Picasso informs me that it was, in fact, a *pension de famille*.

20. See Rubin, Picasso in the Collection of The Museum of Modern Art, p. 72.

21. As pointed out by John Richardson ("Picasso and Marie-Thérèse Walter," n. p.), the conversion of the stables into a sculpture studio took place in fall 1930, not fall 1931.

22. On this plaster relief, see Elizabeth Cowling and John Golding, *Picasso: Sculptor/Painter* (London: Tate Gallery, 1994), no. 80, where an analogy with Roman coins is suggested. 23. In 1970 I incorrectly presumed that

Picasso's relationship with Marie-Thérèse began in 1931. See Robert Rosenblum, "Picasso and the Anatomy of Eroticism," in Theodore Bowie and Cornelia V. Christenson, eds., *Studies in Erotic Art* (New York: Basic Books, 1970), p. 347, n. 23. In 1972 William Rubin, also on the evidence of the work, narrowed the date down to summer 1931. See his *Picasso in the Collection of The Museum of Modern Art*, p. 226, n. 1.

24. For the impact of Gauguin's painting on Picasso, see John Richardson, *A Life of Picasso, Volume 1:* 1881–1906 (New York: Random House, 1991), p. 264; and William Rubin et al., *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, Studies in Modern Art 3 (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1994), p. 95.

25. See Linda Nochlin, "Picasso's Color Schemes and Gambits," *Art in America* 68, no. 10 (December 1980), pp. 105–23, 177–83, especially part II, pp. 120–23, 177–80.

26. The presence of the Saint Bernard was pointed out in Richardson, "Picasso and Marie-Thérèse Walter," n. p.

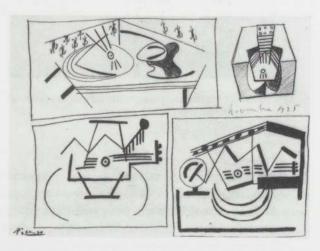
27. On the dog Kasbec's presence in the Dora Maar portraits, see my comments on the *Bust* of a Woman Wearing a Striped Hat (June 3, 1939) in Picasso from the Musée Picasso, Paris

(Minneapolis: Walker Art Center, 1980), p. 75. 28. The work was shown in Picasso's retrospective at the Galerie Georges Petit, Paris.

29. On the symbolism of the ace of clubs, see Jean Sutherland Boggs, *Picasso & Things* (Cleveland, Ohio: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1992), no. 54.

30. Rivalry with Matisse at this time (1930-32) was briefly suggested in Pierre Daix, *Picasso: Life and Art* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993), p. 221. See also Michael C. FitzGerald, *Making Modernism: Picasso and the Creation of the Market for Twentieth-Century Art* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1995), p. 202.

31. For a color reproduction of this painting (Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton,



Sheet of four drawings of musical instruments on a table. November 1925. Pencil, $7^{7/8} \times 15^{3/4}$ " (20 x 40 cm). Zervos VII, 415. Original sheet no longer in the form shown in Zervos

Mass.), see Jack Cowart and Dominique Fourcade, *Henri Matisse: The Early Years in Nice*, 1916–1930 (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1986), p. 230.

32. For these phrases from his poetry, see Bernadac and Piot, *Picasso*, p. xxi.

33. Ibid., p. xv1.

34. I have discussed elsewhere Picasso's use of the myth in both broad terms ("The Fatal Women of Picasso and De Kooning," *ARTnews*, 84, no. 8 [October 1985], pp. 98–103) and in relation to the monstrous women of the late 1920s ("Picasso and the Anatomy of Eroticism," pp. 337–50).

35. In Richardson, "Picasso and Marie-Thérèse Walter," n. p.

36. Leo Steinberg, "Picasso's Sleepwatchers," in Other Criteria: Confrontations with Twentieth-Century Art (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), pp. 93–114.

37. Bernadac and Piot, Picasso, p. 30 (poem of October 21, 1935).

38. The relevant Brassaï photographs are illustrated in my "Picasso and the Anatomy of Eroticism," fig. 233.

39. As discussed in her richly provocative and informative doctoral thesis: Lydia Gasman, "Mystery, Magic, and Love in Picasso, 1925– 1938: Picasso and the Surrealist Poets," 6 vols., Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, New York, 1981, part II, B, chap. 10.

40. The relevance of Manet's painting was first pointed out in Carla Gottlieb, "Picasso's 'Girl Before a Mirror,'" *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 24, no. 4 (summer 1966), pp. 509– 18. I elaborated on it in Robert Rosenblum, "Picasso's 'Girl Before a Mirror': Some Recent Reflections," *Source: Notes in the History of Art* (New York) 1, no. 3 (spring 1982), pp. 1–4.

41. Bernadac and Piot, *Picasso*, p. xxII.
42. The fullest account of this masterpiece remains that by William Rubin in *Picasso in the*

Collection of The Museum of Modern Art, pp. 138–41. 43. Dix's Girl Before a Mirror of 1921 (destroyed during the war) also depicts an oval cheval glass. See Fritz Löffler, Otto Dix 1891–1969: Oeuvres der Gemälde (Recklinghausen: Verlag Aurel Bongers, 1981), no. 1921/8.

44. Rockwell's painting *Girl at the Mirror* (1954) is in the Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

45. Jung's essay, "Picasso," originally published in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (Zurich) 153, no. 2 (November 13, 1932), is conveniently reprinted in translation in Marilyn McCully, ed., *A Picasso Anthology: Documents, Criticism, Reminiscences* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982), pp. 182–86. For a full account of the circumstances surrounding Jung's essay, see Reinhold Hohl, "C. J. Jung on Picasso (and Joyce)," *Source: Notes in the History* of Art (New York) 3, no. 1 (fall 1983), pp. 10–18.

46. Martin Amis, *The Information* (New York: Harmony Books, 1995), p. 169.

47. Hohl, "C. J. Jung on Picasso (and Joyce)," pp. 15–16.

48. I have suggested elsewhere the possible relevance of the Spanish Virgin of the Immaculate Conception for the central figure of *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, a blasphemous quotation from El Greco's Assumption of the Virgin (Art Institute of Chicago) in which the crescentshaped melon slice doubles as the crescent moon on which the virgin-whore floats ("The Spanishness of Picasso's Still Lifes," in Jonathan Brown, ed., Picasso and the Spanish Tradition [forthcoming]).

49. Munch-Museet, Oslo (OKK M375).

50. For more on these sexual puns, see my "Picasso and the Anatomy of Eroticism"; and László Glózer, *Picasso und der Surrealismus* (Cologne: M. DuMont Schauberg, 1974), pp. 56–69.

51. I have elaborated on the connection with Solana's painting in "Picasso's 'Girl Before a Mirror': Some Recent Reflections," pp. 1–4.

52. For a full presentation of this painting, see Robert Rosenblum, "Picasso's 'Woman with a Book," *Arts Magazine* 51, no. 5 (January 1977), pp. 100–105.

53. Arcimboldo's father-figure stature for the Surrealists was codified by his inclusion, with two illustrations, as the earliest ancestor of Surrealism in the pioneering catalogue: Alfred H. Barr, Jr., ed., *Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1936).

54. For a characteristic example, see *La Nature* (1897), a painting by the Belgian Symbolist Léon Frédéric, illustrated most recently in *Lost Paradise: Symbolist Europe* (Montreal: The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1995), fig. 364.

55. This postcard comes from Paul Hammond, French Undressing: Naughty Postcards from 1900 to 1920 (London: Bloomsbury Books, 1976), p. 134.

56. This date, often misread as March 11, 1931, is justified in Pierre Daix, *La Vie de peintre de Pablo Picasso* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1977), p. 231. 57. Ibid.

58. For further discussion of this still life, see my own essay, "Large Still Life on a Pedestal Table," in *Picasso from the Musée Picasso*, pp. 65– 67; and Boggs, *Picasso & Things*, no. 93. 59. Richardson, "Picasso and l'Amour Fou,"

p. 66.

60. See Boggs, *Picasso & Things*, nos. 91, 92. 61. In Gasman, "Mystery, Magic, and Love." The material on the cabana is more conveniently summarized in her "Picasso's *Caseta*: His Memories and His Poems," in Mordechai Omer, ed., *Picasso and Literature* (Tel Aviv University, The Genia Schreiber University Art Gallery, 1989), pp. 114–27.

62. See also my essay, "Nude in a Garden," in *Picasso from the Musée Picasso*, pp. 69–71.

63. Brooks Adams, "Cry Me a River," Los Angeles Times (calendar), February 13, 1994, pp. 3-4.

64. Mary Mathews Gedo, *Picasso: Art as Autobiography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), p. 149. To pursue such gynecological speculations further, the still life of February 13, 1932, suggests menstrual cycles (in the lunar sequence of the three yellow and lilac apples in the *compotier*) and menstrual blood (in the unusual staining and streaking of red paint in the harlequin-pattern wallpaper behind). It is illustrated in color in Ulrich Weisner, ed., *Picassos Surrealismus: Werke* 1925–1937 (Bielefeld: Kunsthalle Bielefeld, 1991), p. 74; also briefly discussed in Dorothy Kosinski, "Körperdinge— Picasso und Bataille," in Weisner, p. 237. As part of the speculative medical history, Maya Widmaier Picasso informs me that in 1932, her mother, always a passionate swimmer, contracted a spirochetal disease by swimming in the infected waters of the Marne.

65. Maya Widmaier Picasso has confirmed this birth date, which is given as September 5, 1935, in many biographies and chronologies.

66. See Nan Rosenthal, *The Drawings of Jasper Johns* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1990), p. 33.

67. Nochlin ("Picasso's Color Schemes," p. 186, n. 106) also reads in the neck the image of a hatstand, equally appropriate to the fancy millinery.

68. These complementary portraits of Marie-Thérèse Walter and Dora Maar are compared as well in Freeman, *Picasso and the Weeping Women*, pp. 175–77.

69. See Richardson, "Picasso and l'Amour Fou," p. 68.

70. Nochlin ("Picasso's Color Schemes," p. 179) reads a metaphorical parallel here between the faded passion and the faded colors and comments also on the "unsympathetic context of simultaneous breakdown and constraint." 71. See Barr, *Picasso*, p. 268.

72. Ibid., p. 265; and Carolyn Lachner and William Rubin, "Henri Rousseau and Modernism," in *Henri Rousseau* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1985), p. 62.

73. On the Picasso and Matisse portraits of Allan Stein, see Jack Flam, *Matisse: The Man and His Art*, 1869–1918 (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1986), p. 217.

74. As recounted in "Picasso par Maya, fille de Pablo," *Air France Madame*, no. 1 (1986?), pp. 74–81.



The Artist's Daughter, Maya. August 29, 1943. Charcoal on paper, $14^{\frac{1}{2}} \times 12^{\frac{1}{4}}$ (37 × 31 cm). Zervos XIII, 94. Private collection



Woman in an Armchair (Dora). 1941–42. Oil on canvas, 51³/₈ × 38³/₈" (130.5 × 97.5 cm). Zervos XI, 374. Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Kunstmuseum

"For Charming Dora": Portraits of Dora Maar

BRIGITTE LÉAL

hile the name Dora Maar,¹ for most true enthusiasts of Picasso's work, conjures up one of the greatest moments of his creative efforts, and while her role not only as a primary inspiration of the war years—linked, moreover, to the history of *Guernica*²—but also as a confirmed artist has scarcely been contested, it must be acknowledged that the impact of her personality on Picasso's art has never been truly assessed, any more than the decisive significance and scope of the stylistic upheaval she engendered. The reasons for this respectful distance on the part of specialized critics follow partly from the silence and dignity Dora Maar obstinately maintained in the face of the dark myth with which she was, quite despite herself, surrounded.

For every Roland Penrose, a friendly witness to her romance with Picasso, who hailed her intelligence,³ and every Michel Leiris, who, though caustic by nature, described her in his *Journal* as "friendly and attractive,"⁴ how many others have uttered hasty and, dare we say, "male chauvinist"⁵ judgments, which, repeated tirelessly throughout the biographies, have incessantly demonized one of the rare creative women in Picasso's orbit and established the myth of a "powerful and solitary" Dora Maar.

Their *terribilità* no doubt explains why the innumerable, very different portraits that Picasso did of her remain among the finest achievements of his art, at a time when he was engaged in a sort of third path, verging on

Surrealist representation while rejecting strict representation and, naturally, abstraction. Today, more than ever, the fascination that the image of this admirable, but suffering and alienated, face exerts on us incontestably ensues from its coinciding with our modern consciousness of the body in its threefold dimension of precariousness, ambiguity, and monstrosity. There is no doubt that by signing these portraits, Picasso tolled the final bell for the reign of ideal beauty and opened the way for the aesthetic tyranny of a sort of terrible and tragic beauty, the fruit of our contemporary history. In spite of its typically Surrealist aura, the story of Picasso and Dora Maar has the magnitude of a Shakespearean drama, borrowing its masks from Greek myth, but lacking neither passion, madness, history, nor even the presence of God.

At first glance, nothing really distinguishes the evolution of the cycle of Dora Maar portraits from that of other female models who preceded her. At the outset, we always find intimate and tender sketches, quickly followed by a series of great classical portraits, often marked by melancholy. Ultimately, the beloved face is crystallized into a representation that is specific to it, in which it submits to the dominant plastic research (thus Fernande Olivier incarnates Cubism and Olga Khokhlova classicism) without losing any of its truth. Caricatures (the contorted dancers of the 1920s) and monsters (Olga as an Erinye) always betray the end of a relationship.

Paintings and drawings project and exorcise Picasso's



Composition. August 1, 1936. Ink on paper, 13⁵/₈ × 20¹/₈" (34.5 × 51 cm). Zervos VIII, 295. Private collection

private conflicts: in the Rescue series of 1932, Marie-Thérèse Walter is the victim of a symbolic death. Later, in June of 1938, a series of drawings returns to a 1927 theme of the cabana attacked by a monster brandishing a key like a weapon, and distinctly describes two or three incontestably female figures,⁶ represented in the form of spiders, who are fighting over entrance to the cabana and possession of a crab, both symbolizing the person of Picasso.⁷ In a 1938 portrait (p. 392) we recognize Dora Maar, for once almost cheerful, in any case triumphant, holding the key to the kingdom tightly in her fingers.

Theatrically orchestrated by Dora, the scene of Picasso's and Dora's meeting at the Deux Magots, in fall of 1935, so typically surrealist that one might think it apocryphal, is a peak in the category of "mad love," assured by the imprescriptible accessories of Bretonian eroticism: glove, knife, chance, blood.⁸ In these games of cat-and-mouse and sadomasochistic rituals, Picasso intended to remain master. Faithful to his method of releasing intimate drama through drawing, he did two sketches on August 1 and September 1, 1936 (above and p. 87, bottom), constituting two facets of a sort of "primal scene" of their relationship, the immutable rules of which he had established based on his absolute domination and his lover's total submission. In the first, we recognize the young photographer, her face and body significantly covered, timidly penetrating the lair of a well-known figure in the private Picassian mythology: his alter ego, the bearded and laurelwreathed god, armed with his majestic scepter, emblem of his absolute authority. The following scene is unequivocal, since we again find the Minotaur smitten with young flesh, reenacting with Dora Maar the scenario of erotic initiation repeated so many times with Marie-Thérèse in the *Vollard Suite*.

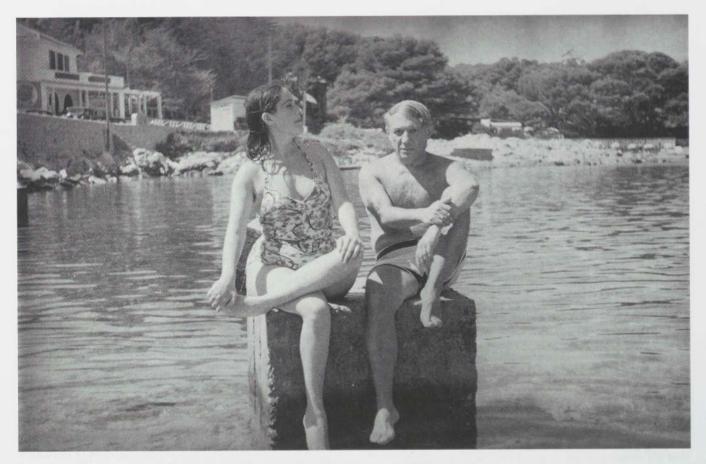
This inscription in a tailor-made mythic dimension and its recurring *topos* perhaps explains why, beyond the anecdotal, Picasso the Minotaur chose to depict Dora, at the start of their romance, as Harpy (opposite), another mythical creature with the head of a woman and the body of a bird equipped with sharp claws, an incarnation of the male phantasm of the evil and fearsome woman.⁹ At the same time he drew sketches of her, done "by heart," as he noted affectionately in the margins of the paper.¹⁰ Like the first drawings depicting Olga in Barcelona in 1917, with long hair and sometimes holding a teddy bear in her arms¹¹—the only affectionate portraits



Dora Maar in the Form of a Bird. September 28, 1936. Pencil, $10^{\frac{7}{8}} \times 8^{\frac{1}{4}}$ (27 × 21 cm). Zervos VIII, 297. Private collection

that he ever did of her—these are intimate and spontaneous sketches of the modern young woman of whom he dreamed, her hair cropped like a boy's and ruffled by the wind; she is a vibrant image of youth and freedom, a sort of female Rimbaud. To please him she agreed to let her hair grow and to braid it, thereby emphasizing the pure oval of her face, made slightly heavy by a strong chin, and he drew new portraits.¹² In spite of all the deformations that he would later cause her features to undergo, this face of an Oriental idol, with its marked iconic character, impenetrable, hard, and unsmiling, and whose haughty beauty is enhanced by makeup and sophisticated finery, would remain the standard pattern of her iconography to the end.¹³

Indeed, if Marie-Thérèse incarnated a wild beauty, a sporty and healthy "beautiful plant," Dora Maar is the perfect prototype of the surrealist Egeria, capricious and eccentric, a direct descendant of the Baudelairean idol who is "accomplishing a kind of duty, when she devotes herself to appearing magical and supernatural."¹⁴ The most provocative emblem of her somewhat flashy elegance is the little over-ornate hat that Picasso places on her head (he would soon give the object a ridiculous [p. 393], then grotesque, and even threatening, aspect, particularly in a whole series of brightly colored paintings of



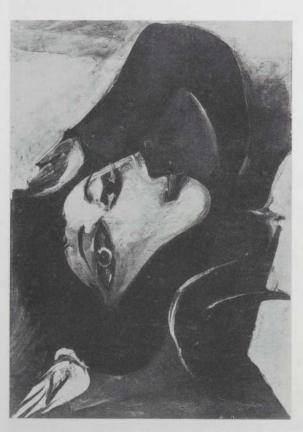
Dora Maar and Picasso. Mougins, summer 1937. Photograph by Roland Penrose. Lee Miller Archives



Head of a Woman. 1936. Oil on wood panel, $187\!\!/\!\!/s \times 13^{5}\!\!/s^{*}$ (48 \times 34.5 cm). Zervos VIII, 304. Private collection



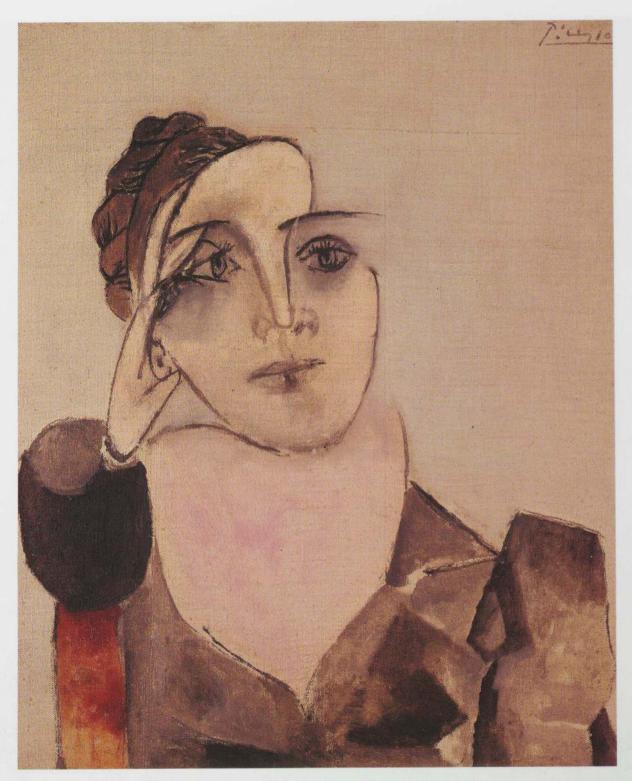
Head of a Woman. 1936. Oil on canvas, $25^{7/8}\times 21^{1/4}{}''$ (65 \times 54 cm). Zervos VIII, 305. Private collection



Head of a Woman. 1936. Oil on canvas, $21\frac{5}{8} \times 18\frac{1}{8}$ " (55 × 46 cm). Zervos VIII, 306. Private collection



Head of a Woman. 1936. Oil on canvas, $25^{7/8} \times 21^{1/4}$ " (65 × 54 cm). Zervos VIII, 307. Private collection



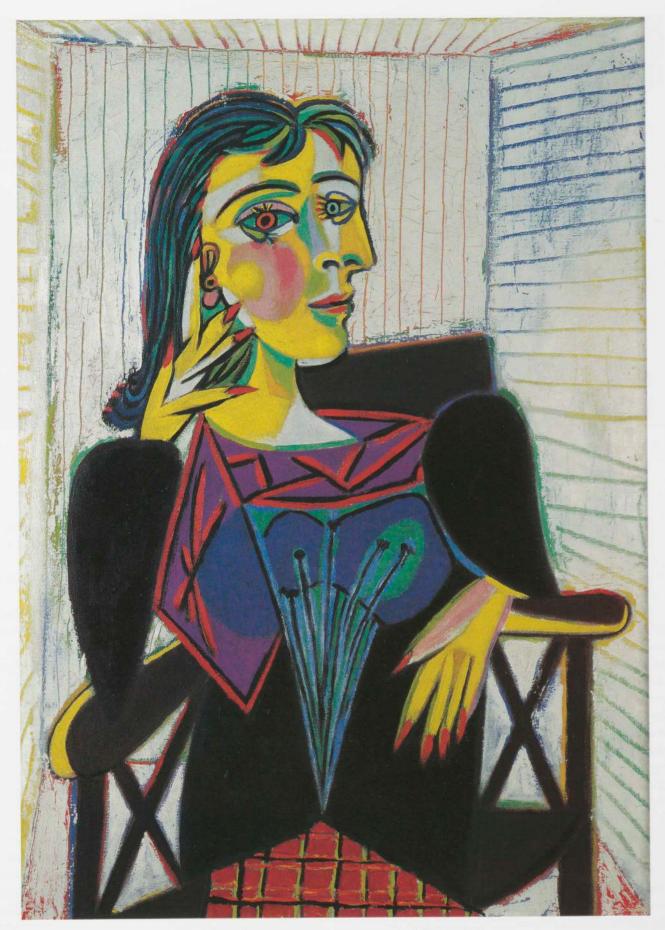
Portrait of Dora Maar. 1936. Oil on canvas, 25⁵/₈ × 21¹/₄" (65 × 54 cm). Zervos VIII, 302. Private collection

1938).¹⁵ In its preciousness and fetishistic vocation, the feminine hat was, like the glove, an erotic accessory highly prized by the Surrealists. Thus Paul Eluard took advantage of the *Art Sauvage* exhibition organized by Charles Ratton in 1937—where one could see all sorts of African headgear with shells that would greatly inspire Man Ray—to bestow moving praise on the female hat: "Among the objects tangled in the web of life, the female hat is one of those that require the most insight, the most audacity. A head must dare to wear a crown."¹⁶ A crown of daffodils, an urchin's beret, or a cool straw hat for Marie-Thérèse, painted like a Manet;¹⁷ nets, veils, and the great wings of a voracious insect for Dora:¹⁸ even their respective ornaments point to the glaring differences in



Weeping Woman (Dora). 1937. Oil on canvas, 23⁵/₈ × 19¹/₄" (60 × 49 cm). Zervos IX, 73. Tate Gallery, London

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Dora Maar Seated. 1937. Oil on canvas, 36¼ × 255/8″ (92 × 65 cm). Zervos VIII, 331. Musée Picasso, Paris





Dora Maar. Mougins, summer 1937. Photograph by Lee Miller. Lee Miller Archives

Woman Holding a Key. 1938. Oil on canvas, $39^{3/8}\times 31^{7/8}$ " (100 \times 81 cm). Zervos IX, 144. Private collection

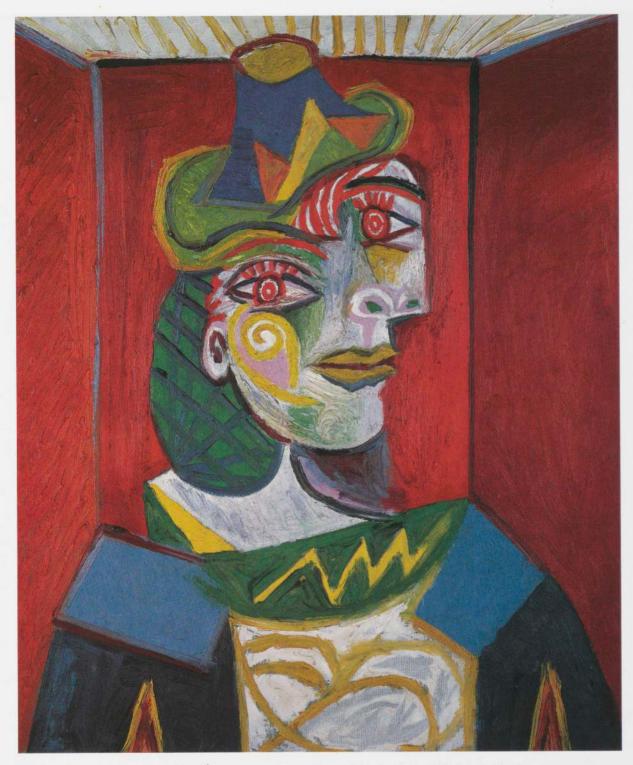
temperament between the two women. Nothing reveals the total divergence of their psychologies better than the parallel portraits that Picasso, not without perversity, constantly drew of both of them, purposely confusing their clothes.

The most eloquent example of this is the 1937 "diptych" in the Musée Picasso of Dora and Marie-Thérèse (pp. 373 and 391), especially since each of these paintings shows the sitter in a similar position, a bust facing front, in the classic pose of melancholy but without morbid ostentation, seated in an armchair in a cramped, narrow space. For Marie-Thérèse, supple lines, curving forms, and pastel and light colors suggest a casual sensuality, a cheerful plenitude. For Dora, there are broken lines, acute, even jagged, angles, like the scarlet claws of her nails; the colors are loud and uneven. The black wings of her blouse recall a bird of prey, caged in a sort of barred cell.

While in portraits of Marie-Thérèse stripes appear in a range of pastel colors that always have a summery and childlike connotation, in the portraits of Dora stripes proliferate until they cover the figure and background entirely, becoming an eloquent statement of the intensely emotional character of her image. What is one to think of the meaning of this network of concentric lines that, not content to bud prettily on her clothes, begins progres-

sively to invade every part of her body in order to end up covering her totally with a fine tattoo that transforms her into some barbarous idol?¹⁹ In a final metamorphosis, with strong sexual connotations, these lines evoke a spider with enormous elytrons pulling its tentacular threads from the four corners of the page (p. 396).20 Picasso would explain himself more or less to Françoise Gilot about this likening of Dora to an insect by confiding that he considered her "a Kafkaesque personality."21 Indeed, the derogatory and even diabolic function of stripes in the Western imagination encourages us to interpret their obsessive proliferation here as a metaphor of madness and confinement.²² In the portrait of 1937 (p. 391) the profusion of stripes in the background already evoked prison bars. In one of the later portraits of Dora (p. 403), the most pathetic, no doubt, in its very "Balthusian" distancing effect, her unattractive striped dress clearly functions as an archetype reflecting a prisoner's garb.23

There is a pathological, prisonlike, exotic, but also erotic dimension to the Picassian stripe when it is woven into golden braids punctuating Dora's waist in a tightfitting coat, at once suggestive and protective. In *The Yellow Sweater* (p. 398), instead of the usual ravishing hands, fine and lacquered, two paws emerge, their thick, gray skin banishing Dora once again to the animal kingdom.²⁴



Dora Maar. 1938. Oil on canvas, 25⁵/8 × 21¹/₄" (65 × 54 cm). Zervos IX, 119. Collection Jan and Marie-Anne Krugier

Alfred H. Barr, Jr., saw the influence of Arcimboldo,²⁵ reintroduced by the Surrealists, in all of Picasso's faces of men and women created in the summer of 1938, with their skin scarred, corded, caned, woven like the straw of their hats, indeed, completely transformed into balls of wool or cord following the example of the spectacular *Seated Woman with a Hat* from the Menil collection (p. 394).

Its obscene form, of a radical syntheticism (the body of the woman and the armchair blended, the mouth/anus, and the phallic nose), is directly derived from the hairy monster in *Dream and Lie of Franco* (1936) and constitutes the summit of Picasso's investigations into the polymorphous and allotropic body, in which wild lines and hallucinatory colors, totally freed from organic representation,



Seated Woman with a Hat (Dora). September 10, 1938. Oil and sand on wood panel, 21⁵/₈ × 18¹/₈" (55 × 46 cm). Zervos IX, 228. The Menil Collection, Houston. Gift of Dominique de Menil



Head of a Woman (Dora). 1938. Oil on canvas, 25 % × 19 % " (65 × 50 cm). Zervos IX, 216. Private collection

participate in a single hysterical image. Picasso claimed that his vision of Dora as the hysterical woman was wholly objective. "For me she's the weeping woman. For years I've painted her in tortured forms, not through sadism, and not with pleasure, either; just obeying a vision that forced itself on me. It was the deep reality, not the superficial one."²⁶

As early as November 1936, less than four months after the start of their relationship, Picasso depicted Dora as melancholic, her hand pressed to her forehead (p. 389). Her face, which until now had remained intact, for the first time underwent the famous frontal/profile split which, though scarcely perceptible here, nevertheless suggests a "black mood," a temperament prone to withdrawal, to introspection; the hollowness of the cheek is most likely a sign of the mind's flight, a schizophrenic slide.

Indeed, the images that follow, also done in November of 1936, clearly portray her as an insane woman (p. 388): her grimacing and swollen face, dilated eyes, and convulsive postures recall quite unambiguously the "passionate poses" of hysterical women abundantly photographed at the end of the nineteenth century. These photographs were widely distributed in the 1920s by the Surrealists (especially by Breton and Aragon in an issue of La Révolution surréaliste of 1928), who embraced any source likely to nourish their reflections on the necessary disordering of the senses and the mind.27 These images could also be interpreted as apotropaic representations by a painter confronted with a personality who confused and fascinated him at the same time. In 1938 Picasso noted, in the margin of a portrait of Dora (p. 406), her eyes twinkling like stars, catlike and magical: "Afghan



Dora Maar Seated in a Wicker Chair. April 29, 1938. Pen and ink, gouache, oil pastel, and crayon on paper, 30¹/₂ × 22¹/₈" (77.5 × 56.9 cm). Zervos IX, 132. The Jacques and Natasha Gelman Collection

cat/chameleon/bear!" Equally projected is a premonitory vision of the rapid psychological degradation of a woman whom Picasso "had made . . . unhappy in a very concrete way"—to repeat the remarks Gilot attributed to Eluard witness in 1945 the nervous breakdown from which Dora was rescued by Dr. Jacques Lacan.²⁸

This stylization of Dora Maar's face, first as weeping woman, then as dog/woman glued to her chair of torture,²⁹ and finally as cadaver, as crucified carcass, more and more disfigured and monstrous, is certainly a vision of the world, the sign of universal catastrophe.

We shall not return here to the well-known genesis of the Weeping Woman series of 1937, which, as Alfred Barr had remarked, appeared as a postscript to *Guernica* (it would seem that the profile of the woman at the window holding the lantern is that of Dora Maar), as well as the etchings of *Dream and Lie of Franco*, which illustrate a text based on the obsessive repetition of the word "cry": "Cries of children cries of women cries of birds cries of flowers, etc."³⁰ Rather than paint the war, Picasso chose to paint the cry, taking up the most universal image of suffering in order to do so: that of Mary Magdalen pouring forth tears for eternity to express her sorrow for human folly. One sensational painting is the so-called "*Tête Penrose*" (p. 390), with the colors of the Catalan flag and the eyes truly out of the head (drawn as if outside the face, they take on an otherworldly turn in the manner of Redon); but in spite of the strident colors and the deformations pushed to paroxysm, Dora Maar's features and even her beauty remain identifiable,³¹ while at the same time comparable figures painted by Picasso's compatriot Miró (especially the extraordinary *Head of a Woman* of 1938) and the figures in his "savage paintings" that reflect the same despair in the face of Spain's political situation are stylized in organic elementary forms, degraded to the point of animality and tossed about in a chaotic space.

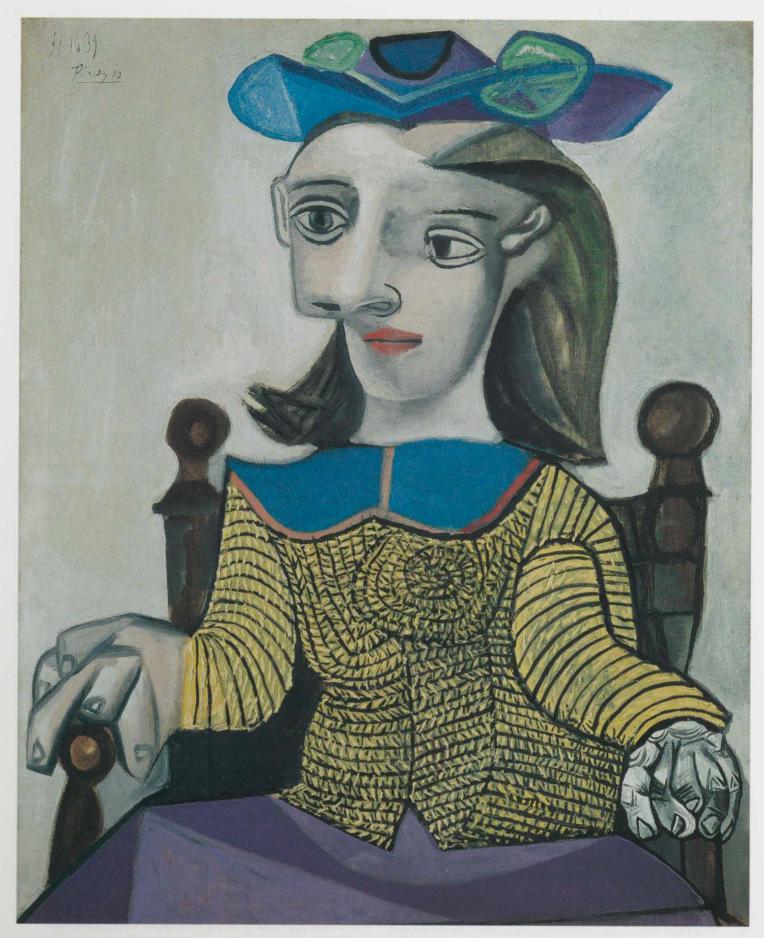
Picasso preferred to isolate his monsters in a cube (for example, *Bust of a Woman* of January 1, 1939), which forces them into immobility and deprives them of every illustrative characteristic, especially when they are viewed in closeup. In 1939, when the fusion of Dora's face and the snout of his dog Kasbec is definitively achieved,³² one would not think of laughing at this hybrid monster, though it is clearly the result of a phallic combination, so evident does its symbolic meaning seem. From then on Picasso rejected the earlier rainbow-colored palette for colors of mourning where—as Christian Zervos has pointed out³³—there is no lack of the grayish-green



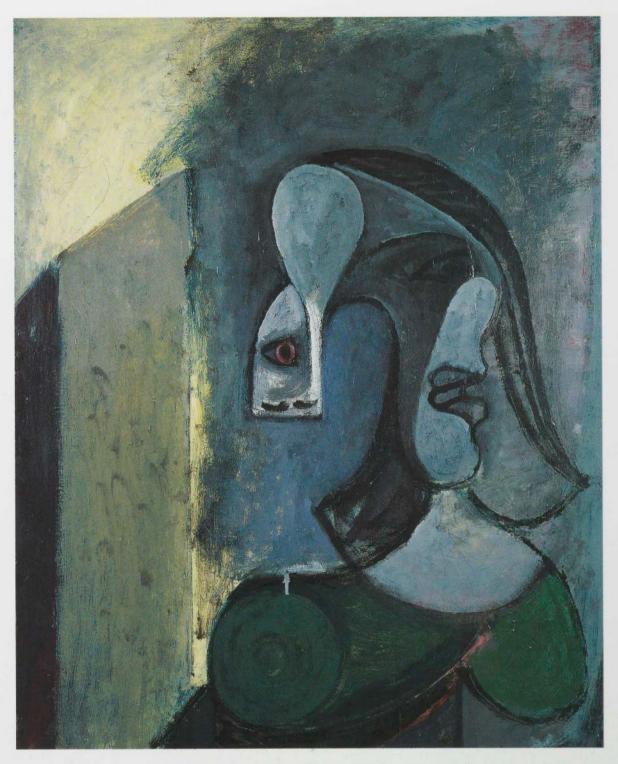
Seated Woman (Dora). 1938. Ink, gouache, and colored chalk on paper, $30^{1/8} \times 21^{1/8}$ " (76.5 × 55 cm). Zervos IX, 133. Collection Beyeler, Switzerland



Portrait of Dora in a Garden. December 10, 1938. Oil on canvas, 51¹/₂ × 38¹/₄" (131 × 97 cm). Zervos IX, 232. Collection Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Saidenberg



The Yellow Sweater (Dora). October 31, 1939. Oil on canvas, 317/8 × 257/8" (81 × 65 cm). Not in Zervos. Berggruen Collection



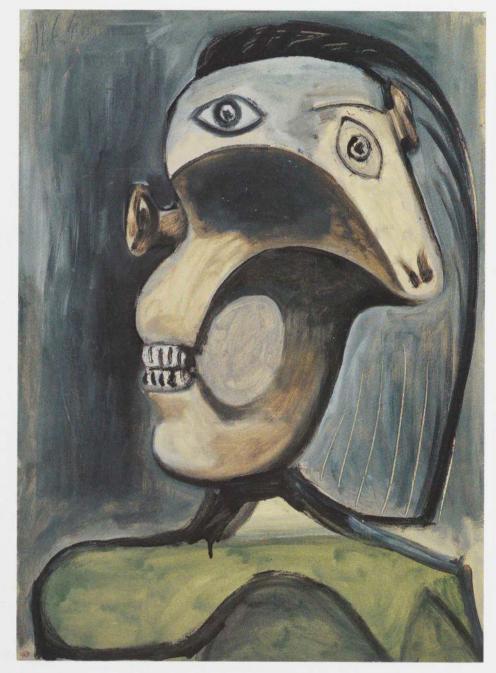
Head of a Woman (Dora). April 1, 1939. Oil on canvas, 361/4 × 283/4" (92 × 73 cm). Zervos IX, 282. Collection Mrs. Lindy Bergman

of the German uniform that reinforces the particularly macabre nature of the *Head of a Woman* of June 11, 1940 (p. 400), in which the features of Dora, Kasbec, and a skull gritting its teeth in rage become amalgamated.

The monumental dimensions of the canvas, the gigantic proportions of the figure, and the excessiveness of the displacements and enlargements of the organs incontestably accentuate the dramatic scope of *Woman Dressing Her Hair*, painted at Royan in June 1940 (p. 401), which confirms the function of Dora's face as allegorical *topos*. This is not a private portrait; there is no attempt at psychology, just the image of a carcass with very prominent ribs, of the tortured or seemingly crucified remains evoking all the violence of the war.³⁴



Sketches of Dora Maar and Death's-Heads. 1940. Pencil on paper, $8\frac{5}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ " (22 × 19 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection



Head of a Woman (Dora). June 11, 1940. Oil on paper, $25^{\frac{1}{2}}\times17^{\frac{3}{4}''}$ (64.8 × 45 cm). Zervos X, 526. Musée Picasso, Paris

BRIGITTE LÉAL 400



Woman Dressing Her Hair (Dora). 1940. Oil on canvas, 51¹/₄ × 38¹/₄" (130 × 97 cm). Zervos X, 302. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Gift of Louise Reinhardt Smith



Head of a Woman (Dora). 1941. Oil on canvas, 21⁵/₈ × 15" (55 × 38 cm). Zervos XI, 143. Národní Galerie, Prague

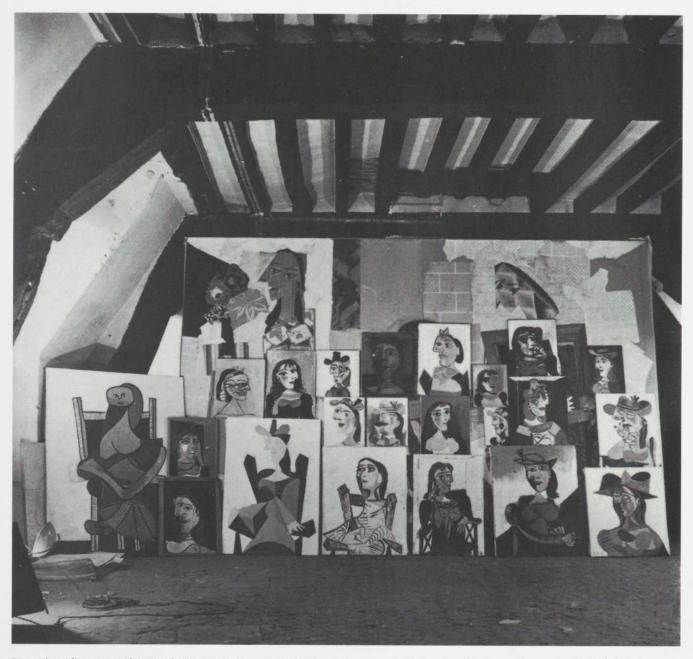


Dora Maar. c. 1941. Photograph by Rogi André. Cabinet des Estampes et de la Photographie, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

BRIGITTE LÉAL 402



Portrait of Dora Maar. October 9, 1942. Oil on panel, 36^{1/4} × 28^{3/4}" (92 × 73 cm). Zervos XII, 154. Collection Stephen Hahn, New York



Picasso's studio at 7, rue des Grands-Augustins, Paris, c. 1939. Improvised arrangement of works of the same "generation," which includes a series of portraits of the previous two years placed in front of the large pasted paper-and-gouache *Women at Their Toilette*, of 1938 (Zervos IX, 103). Included in the group are the *Portrait of Nusch Eluard* (p. 83) and *Dora Maar Seated* (p. 391). Photograph by Dora Maar. Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives

"Similarities! . . . We all love the prehistoric paintings, but no one resembles them!" Picasso would say to André Malraux, unveiling for him, at the end of the war, his latest portraits, "intransigent works [that] were creating a world of painting that had never before existed."³⁵ Yet one can still recognize the significance of Dora's features in the series Woman in an Armchair, repeated in an obsessional way during the war years. The rigidity of a sphinx, the strict frontality, the body treated in an "Arcimboldesque" variant of Curvilinear Cubism, in geometric volumes brought into relief by the interlace of black rings and a very dense mesh of lines, often brightly colored—all of these describe *Woman in a Wicker Chair* (p. 407). The essentially illustrative and decorative quality of these portraits seems to deviate from the Surrealist canon of "convulsive" beauty that perfectly suited Dora's psychology. In actual fact, in their absolute distance in relation to life, they embody the height of modern beauty as Breton envisioned it, based on the principle of vital disorder, which the figure of Dora Maar, in her extreme mutability, her real, spiritual restlessness, will forever incarnate.



Woman in Green (Dora). 1944. Oil on canvas, 51¹/₄ × 38¹/₄" (130 × 97 cm). Zervos XIII, 49. Private collection

NOTES

The first three words of this essay's title, "For Charming Dora," are a translation of a dedication written in Catalan by Picasso in a copy of Georges Buffon's *Histoire naturelle*. He gave this book to Dora Maar. Playing on the name "Buffon," Picasso's words were "Per Dora Maar tan rebuffon." This essay was translated from the French by Jeanine Herman.

I. According to the notarial deed of November 15, 1944, which made her owner of a house in Ménerbes, in the Vaucluse region, her real name was "Markovitch Henriette Dora," born on November 22, 1907, in Paris. This document refers to her as an "artistpainter," whereas in 1936, when Picasso met her, she was working as a professional photographer at 29, rue d'Astorg in the eighth arrondissement of Paris (Henri Bolle, "Autour de Picasso à Ménerbes en 1946," in *Mémoires de l'Académie du Vaucluse*, 8th ser., vol. 1, 1992).

2. Dora is generally identified as the model for the woman with the lantern, but, above all, she was the only photographer allowed to record the seven successive stages of *Guernica* between May and June 1937. All of these photographs were published in a special issue of *Cahiers d'art* in 1937.

3. Penrose, vacationing with Lee Miller in Mougins in 1937 and with Dora and Picasso, recalled "the variety of ways in which the presence and intelligence of Dora Maar nourished Picasso's inspiration" (*Picasso: His Life and Work* [Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981], p. 340).

4. Michel Leiris, *Journal*, 1922–1989 (Paris: Gallimard, 1992), p. 298, dated January 7, 1936, when Dora Maar was still seeing Georges Bataille. According to Michel Surya, who was Bataille's biographer, Dora was one of Bataille's numerous mistresses and collaborators, particularly in the context of "Contre-Attaque," the "band of revolutionaries" he formed between October 1935 and May 1936.

5. Professional rivalry doubtless explains Brassaï's initial opinion of her ("prone to tempests and outbursts"), which, sadly, has become canonical (Brassaï, *Conversations avec Picasso* [Paris: Gallimard, 1964], p. 63); but Marcel Duhamel's assessment of her as "pigheaded," quoted by Pierre Daix (*Raconte pas ta vie* [Paris: Le Mercure de France, 1973], p. 355), is even more brutal.

6. Zervos IX, 164 and 172.

7. Lydia Gasman bluntly titles these drawings Dora Maar and Marie-Thérèse at the Cabana and takes the crab for a scorpion, which was Picasso's astrological sign. Lydia Gasman, "Mystery, Magic, and Love in Picasso, 1925– 1938: Picasso and the Surrealist Poets," Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, New York, 1981, pls. 172 and 173, vol. III, p. 1709, and chap. V, pt. I, "The Cabana Series."

8. "She was wearing black gloves with little pink flowers appliquéed on them. She took off the gloves and picked up a long, pointed knife, which she began to drive into the table between her outstretched fingers to see how close she could come to each finger without actually cutting herself. From time to time she missed by a tiny fraction of an inch and before she stopped playing with the knife, her hand was covered with blood" (Françoise Gilot and Carleton Lake, Life with Picasso [New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964], pp. 85-86). Breton was naturally a master at describing unexpected encounters with "mad love." See especially his novel Nadja (1928), in which gloves play a significant role.

9. He would continue to depict Dora in this manner, since we find her as a bird with small horns on her head and her eyes spoked with rays until 1941 (Zervos XI, 103 and 104), when he depicted himself as a winged Minotaur, making them two of a kind (Zervos XI, 105). Picasso always claimed his monstrous dimension by showing himself as a Minotaur in erotic situations.

- 10. Zervos VIII, 289.
- 11. Zervos III, 39.
- 12. Zervos VIII, 298–300.

13. The evolution of Dora Maar portraits does not follow a straight course, beginning with

positive representations and ending with monstrous ones, but alternates regularly between realistic portraits and tormented apparitions. In the years 1941–42, we still find many "normal" representations of Dora (notably Zervos XI, 273, 106, and 145, similar to the sculpture installed in the St.-Germain-des-Prés square). There is a series of drawings (Zervos XI, 96, 97, 101, 102, and particularly 98) in which the face is framed so tightly that it almost loses its human aspect.

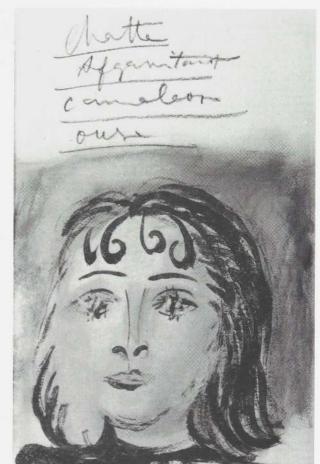
14. Charles Baudelaire, "In Praise of Cosmetics," in *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays* (London: Phaidon Press, 1964), p. 33. In this chapter Baudelaire premonitorily praises the beauty of the savage, who alone has understood the "lofty spiritual significance of the toilet" (p. 32).

15. Zervos IX, 119-25.

16. Text titled "La Mode au Congo," quoted by Jean-Charles Gateau, in *Paul Eluard et la peinture surréaliste* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1982), p. 212; originally published in *Marianne*, May 5, 1937, and reprinted in *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris: Gallimard, 1968), vol. 2, pp. 850–51.

17. Woman in a Straw Hat of June 25, 1938, seems directly derived from a portrait of Mery Laurent by Manet titled Autumn (1881; Rouart-Wildenstein, 1975, no. 193).

18. André Breton's Nadja is described as having a fascination for extravagant hats and also "enjoyed imagining herself as a butterfly whose



Face of a Woman. 1938. Ink, crayon, and oil on paper, $9^{7}/_{8} \times 6^{1}/_{4}$ " (25 × 16 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection

body consisted of a Mazda (Nadja) bulb toward which rose a charmed snake" (*Nadja* [New York: Grove Press, 1960], p. 129).

19. Zervos IX, 118. Need we recall that Picasso's discovery of primitive art prompted him, beginning in 1907, to streak faces with bands of strong color (for example, *Mother and Child*, summer 1907; Zervos II¹, 38)? In addition to the marked emotional power of this painting, the resurgence of an anti-illusionist use of color, which is specific to the portraits of Dora Maar, signaled a new surge of primitivism in Picasso.

20. Zervos IX, 131, 146, and 147. If the sexual symbolism of the spider is too banal to consider at length, we shall examine more closely this intrusion of figures by a line, a practice equally indebted to non-European art (one thinks in particular of the masks from New Guinea that Breton appreciated for their elements "finely assembled by lines of light colors"; Rêve I, Alentours, in Oeuvres complètes [Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1988], vol. 1, p. 387). We may also note Giacometti's later use of these "lines of force" in the face, which Jean-Paul Sartre justifiably understood "as the expression of the intimate relations of a being with himself" ("Les Peintures de Giacometti," in Situations IV [Paris, Gallimard, 1964], p. 355).

21. Gilot, *Life with Picasso*, p. 92. Picasso also confided to Gilot that he had decorated the walls of Dora's apartment with insects!

22. The reference book in French on the history of stripes is Michel Pastoureau, *L'Etoffe du diable* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1991). A revealing poem written by Picasso in a notebook on March 11, 1937, evokes "behind its bars desire so confined in its prison" ("derrière ses barreaux le désir si à l'étroit dans sa prison"; Marie-Laure Bernadac and Christine Piot, eds., *Picasso: Collected Writings* [New York: Abbeville Press, 1989], p. 161).

23. Dora herself told James Lord the unpleasant story of this portrait—initially entrusted to Cocteau and ultimately painted over entirely by Picasso—which coincided with the death of her mother. She had a small window in the right-hand corner painted over, which, to her taste, too blatantly accentuated the prisonlike aspect of the space (James Lord, *Picasso and Dora* [New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1993], pp. 121–22).

24. These paws clearly recall those of the unidentifiable monster reproduced by Dora in one of her most famous photographs, the *Portrait of Ubu*, of 1936.

25. Alfred H. Barr, Jr., in Picasso: Fifty Years of

His Art (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1946), p. 219, alludes to Arcimboldo in commenting on *Man with an Ice Cream Cone* of August 20, 1938, a sort of male equivalent to the portraits of Dora, who, in the contemporary painting *Night Fishing at Antibes*, is also shown licking an ice cream cone.

26. Gilot, Life with Picasso, p. 122.

27. See the plates of "passionate poses in 1878" illustrating the article devoted to the fiftyyear anniversary of hysteria by Breton and Aragon in *La Révolution surréaliste*, no. 11 (March 15, 1928).

28. Gilot, Life with Picasso, p. 89.

29. In 1945 Picasso confided to André Malraux: "Dora, for me, was always a weeping woman.... And it's important, because women are suffering machines.... When I paint a woman in an armchair, the armchair implies old age or death, right? So, too bad for her" (André Malraux, *Picasso's Mask* [New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976], p. 138). 30. Penrose, *Picasso: His Life and Work*, p. 298.

31. The metaphoric character of the representation did not prevent Picasso from also considering it a veritable portrait of Dora, whom he described, not without irony, in one of his poems of February 18, 1937, as "devilishly enticing in her disguise of tears and a marvelous hat" ("diablement séduisante dans son déguisement de larmes et chapeautée à merveille"; Bernadac and Piot, eds., *Picasso: Collected Writings*, p. 156).

32. Picasso here emphatically makes use of the sexual symbolism of the elongated nose as snout, which is a psychoanalytical commonplace, but the morbid symbolism of the dog quintessential animal of the melancholic type was certainly not unknown to him.

33. Christian Zervos, introduction to volume X of his catalogue of Picasso's work.

34. This unbearable image was certainly an important model for some of Francis Bacon's paintings (*Painting*, 1946), in which one again finds the idea of the crucified, slaughtered carcass, a fascination with tortured flesh, and the confusion between man and animal.

35. Malraux, Picasso's Mask, pp. 125 and 111.



Woman in a Wicker Chair. 1944. Oil on canvas, 39³/₈ × 31⁷/₈" (100 × 81 cm). Zervos XIII, 328. Private collection



Françoise in an Armchair. March 23, 1949. Oil on canvas, 451/2 × 35" (116 × 89 cm). Zervos XV, 141. Private collection

A Triangle of Ambitions: Art, Politics, and Family during the Postwar Years with Françoise Gilot

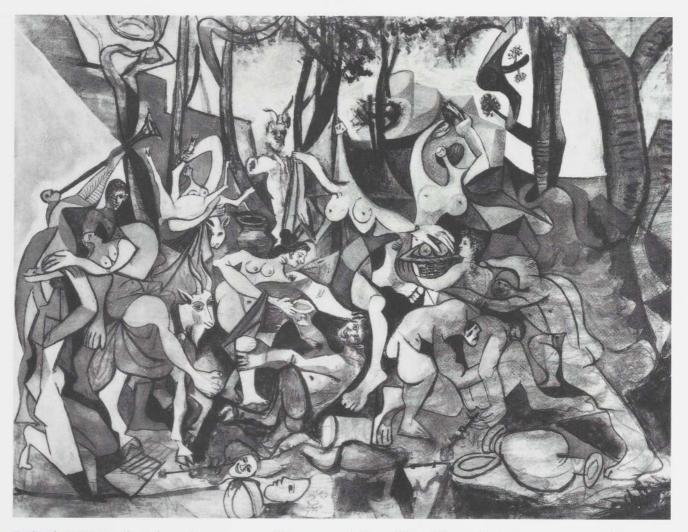
MICHAEL C. FITZGERALD

ith the end of World War II, Picasso was overwhelmed by an outpouring of admiration that swept away the cold, dark silence of the war years and raised him to a level of public acclaim never before experienced by a living vanguard artist. No longer known primarily for artistic innovations that left many observers puzzled or enraged, Picasso became the first modern artist to step from the relative isolation of the avant-garde into the mainstream of society and assume a role of moral conscience in contemporary life. Intensely observed by worldwide audiences, he sought to fulfill the vast expectations placed upon him by a multitude of groups ranging from such close friends in the Communist Party as Paul Eluard and Louis Aragon to the representatives of artistic, benevolent, and political organizations that constantly importuned him. While seeking to live up to his public stature, Picasso, already in his sixties, also fought to renew his art and cultivate his private life. At the center of these three competing, often contradictory, ambitions, Picasso could no longer often impose the distance, clarity, and control that had made his earlier career so remarkably productive; increasingly, his successes were shadowed by failures and missteps. As his partner during most of the first decade after the war, Françoise Gilot, a young painter whom he had met in May 1943, contributed to an artistic dialogue that funneled through these conflicts and produced a body of work that is both intimately related - and

at the same time often opposed-to the "public" Picasso.

Fame was not thrust upon him by chance; Picasso had sought it from the beginning of his career, and he frankly reveled in its achievement. Having established an international reputation and amassed great wealth by the late 1920s, Picasso had seen his artistic stature confirmed by a series of major retrospectives during the 1930s. He had participated vigorously in most of these projects, and he unequivocally affirmed to his friend Brassaï the importance of widespread acclaim. Rejecting the notion that an artist should work "for oneself, for 'the love of art' and scorn success," Picasso claimed not simply the right to earn a living but proclaimed that public recognition was essential for the fulfillment of art: "An artist has a need for success. And not simply to be able to live, but above all to realize his work." In his opinion, art was not complete without garnering respect and influencing others.1 The cornerstone of this approval, an "apotheosis" according to Brassaï, had been Picasso: Forty Years of His Art, the exhibition that had opened in New York in November of 1939, two months after Germany began World War II.²

This exhibition had set the stage for the postwar Picasso. Not only had it anointed him as the preeminent twentieth-century artist; it had expanded the definition of his achievement to include the artist's political commitment to the Spanish Republic, as well as his recent aesthetic innovations: surrounded by forty studies, the *Guernica* mural stood as Picasso's greatest contribution in

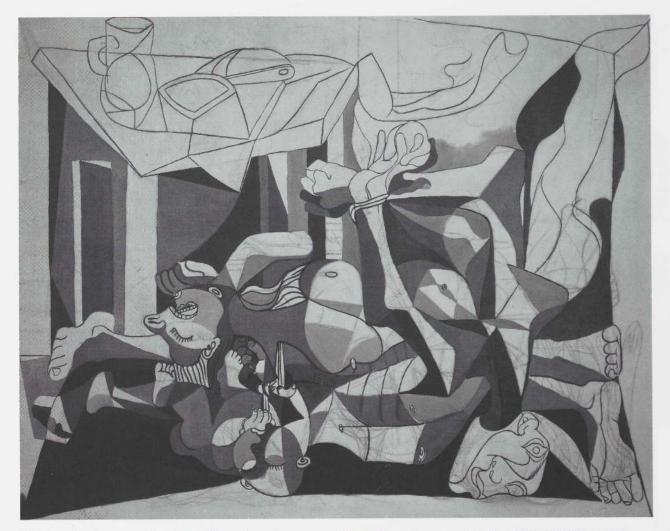


Bacchanal. 1944. Watercolor and gouache on paper, 12 × 16" (30.5 × 40.5 cm). Zervos XIV, 35. Private collection



Nicolas Poussin. Bacchanal: The Triumph of Pan. 16_{38} -39. Oil on canvas, $54^{3/4} \times 61^{3/4}$ " (139 × 157 cm). The Louvre, Paris

the immediately preceding years. Despite the cessation of most artistic events in Europe during the war, Picasso emerged at the liberation of Paris with his reputation not only intact but greatly enhanced. He had remained in Paris during the Occupation, refused the special treatment offered him by the Nazis, and probably aided members of the Resistance. His long-standing reputation for artistic rebellion was transformed in public accounts to embrace political defiance as well.³ Summarizing a visit four days after VE Day, Brassaï described the situation: "Picasso's studio was invaded. . . . His courageous attitude had made him a flag bearer, and the entire world wanted to salute him as the symbol of regained liberty. Poets, painters, art critics, museum directors, writers dressed in allied military uniforms; officers or simple soldiers, climbed en masse up the rugged stairs. . . . He [his name] had become as popular in Red China, in Soviet Russia as he had been in the United States since his great exhibition in New York." Somewhat ruefully, Picasso quipped, "Yes,



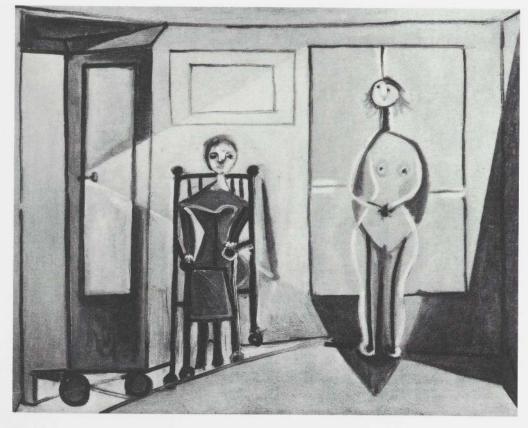
The Charnel House. 1944–45; dated 1945. Oil and charcoal on canvas, 78⁵/₈ × 98¹/₂" (199.8 × 250.1 cm). Zervos XIV, 76. The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Mrs. Sam A. Lewisohn Bequest (by exchange) and Mrs. Marya Bernard Fund in memory of her husband Dr. Bernard Bernard and anonymous funds

it's an invasion! Paris was liberated, but me, I was, and I am, continually under siege."4

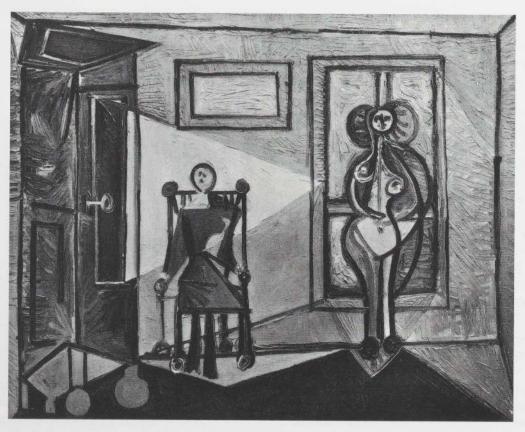
In the decade following the war, Picasso's public reputation would be profoundly affected by paintings devoted to political themes: The Charnel House (1944-45), Monument to the Spanish Dead (1947), Massacre in Korea (1951), War and Peace (1952), and the drawing of Stalin's portrait (1953). Except for the first, these pictures reflect Picasso's allegiance to the French Communist Party, which he had announced in the fall of 1944, and they perpetuate the image of him as a figure who had gone beyond the art world to take a position in the pantheon of "worldhistorical" figures.⁵ Yet, as his remark about being under siege suggests, Picasso soon found his fame constraining, and his global acclamation cast him into a ring of political adversaries more treacherous than the bullfights he so admired. His earnest and often explicit efforts to support the program of the Communist Party would be challenged by Party officials as well as art critics and political

enemies. Reflecting both the widespread paranoia of the Cold War years and his own qualitative judgments about the work involved, Alfred H. Barr, Jr., did not include either of Picasso's two postwar political easel paintings in the exhibition he organized at The Museum of Modern Art to commemorate the artist's seventy-fifth birthday in 1957.⁶

Although the public, political side of Picasso's art made the best news, it was not his primary achievement during the postwar decade. No matter how much the problem fascinates scholars, it now seems clear that Picasso's efforts to engage the Party's program were generally unsuccessful, in part because he rejected fundamental tenets of Communist ideology, especially as he found them put into practice. Rather than the handful of programmatic pictures, it is Picasso's still lifes, portraits, and figure paintings that constitute his major work of these years. Yet because Picasso did not put the majority up for sale at the time, so that they later passed to heirs



Two Women in an Interior. April 12, 1944. Oil on canvas, $28^{3/4} \times 36^{1/4}$ " (73 × 92 cm). Zervos XIII, 251. Private collection

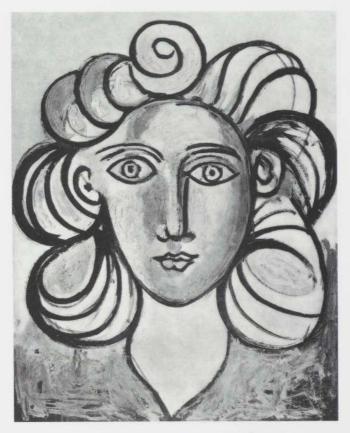


Two Women in an Interior. April 15, 1944. Oil on canvas, $28^{3/4} \times 36^{1/4}$ " (73 × 92 cm). Zervos XIII, 252. Private collection

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Portrait of Françoise. July 28, 1944. Charcoal on paper, $25^{3/4} \times 19^{3/4}$ " (65 × 50 cm). Zervos XIV, 36. Private collection



Portrait of Françoise. April 15, 1944. Oil on paper, 25³/₄ × 19³/₄" (65 × 50 cm). Zervos XIII, 270. Private collection

who mostly wished to retain them, many of these paintings—particularly the portraits—are relatively little known among art historians and even less by general audiences. Moreover, the portraits of Françoise and their children, Claude and Paloma, not only constitute a remarkable group of private images; they also frequently infuse the more public pictures with a welcome element of playfulness and renew a dialogue with past art that would increasingly propel Picasso's late career.

The nature of Picasso's postwar work is best established not by such pictures as The Charnel House but by the Bacchanal (pp. 411, 410), which he painted during the liberation of Paris. As an evocation of suffering during the war, The Charnel House has no parallel in Picasso's postwar art or that of his contemporaries, yet it is fundamentally a retrospective work. Its subject of a family brutally murdered in their home, and its grisaille Cubist-Expressionist style make it a pendant to Guernica. Like that great mural, The Charnel House is a generalized cry of outrage against brutality. During the course of developing his composition, Picasso substituted a common still life for the crowing cock that would have symbolized France's ultimate triumph. The Bacchanal is no more explicit. Painted during the street fighting of August 1944, this gouache is a variation on a painting by Poussin in the Louvre (p. 410).

Characteristically, Picasso leaped over the immediate circumstances ("gunshots everywhere . . . tanks slamming into the building") to evoke the celebration that would follow victory.⁷ Even then, Picasso's dialogue was as much with past art as with current events. By choosing Poussin as his starting point, Picasso was embracing classical French culture (as many artists had done after World War I) and declaring both its continuing significance—and his role in the vanguard of its vital embodiment. Painted little more than a month before Picasso announced that he had joined the Communist Party, *Bacchanal* conveys the exuberant strength of this modern master without being freighted with political messages.

Besides selecting a Cubist idiom over Poussin's classicizing one, Picasso primarily departed from his source by transforming the two women dancing near the statue of Pan. Extending the proportions of his composition so that the woman embracing the statue stands at the center of his design, Picasso uncovered both women's bodies and metamorphosed them into pliable creatures whose swelling breasts and diminutive heads signal sensual abandon. Although Picasso painted this small gouache in Marie-Thérèse's apartment, and his figures evoke some images of her from nearly twenty years earlier, these carousing revelers are not simply persistent ghosts. Their



Seated Woman (Françoise). March 5, 1945. Oil on canvas, 51³/₄ × 31⁷/₈" (131.5 × 81 cm). Zervos XIV, 77. Musée Picasso, Paris

primary source was living and immediate, Françoise Gilot.⁸

On July 28, 1944, he had drawn her face, distinguished by its wide, oval shape, large eyes, and straight nose surrounded by flowing waves of hair; her encompassing gaze (often transposed to an unblinking owl) would appear frequently in his work of the later 1940s and early 1950s (p. 413, left). Having met by chance over dinner in May 1943, Picasso and Françoise saw little of each other until the end of the year, when she began making regular visits to his studio to see his current work and show hers to him. After encountering Françoise on one of these occasions in early December, Brassaï recorded his impression of her compelling presence: "Rue des Grands-Augustins-I met Françoise Gilot. . . . I have known her for three years. . . . Very young-seventeen or eighteen years old-passionate about painting, eager for advice, impatient to prove her talent, . . . I was struck by the vitality of this girl, by her tenacity to triumph over obstacles. Her entire personality radiated an impression of freshness and restless vitality."9 Throughout their years together, Picasso tapped this energy and channeled it to his art.

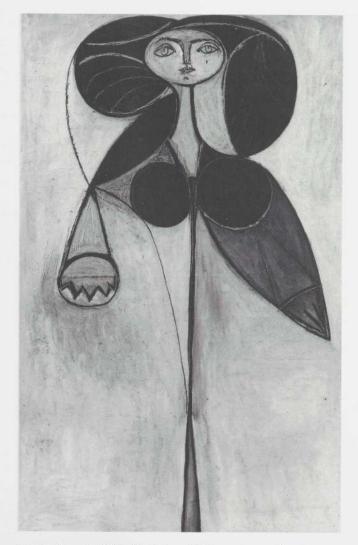
In April 1944 he made perhaps his first attempts to convey both Françoise's inquiring visage and her fecund body. On the fifteenth, he sketched two bust-length portraits that bear Françoise's features, without resolving to strict likenesses (p. 413, right). That day he also made the second of two paintings (the first is dated April 12) that not only define his conception of her body but map her increasing grasp on his imagination (p. 412). Both paintings depict two women in an interior. One woman, wearing a long-sleeved dark dress, sits in a chair near a corner of the room. Next to her, a naked figure stands before an open window, whose light shines into the space and reflects off the mirror next to the seated woman. The implied comparison between these two figures could not present a greater contrast: one seated, the other standing; one fully covered, the other nude; one in shadow, the other illuminated. In the first painting, the seated woman receives far greater definition than does the standing figure. Positioned as Picasso had frequently portrayed her during the previous seven years, the seated woman is identifiable, despite its stylization, as a portrait of Dora Maar. In the second version, however, her features are reduced beyond recognition. Picasso has shifted the focus of the composition to her counterpart, who now stands as a radiant presence rather than as an amorphous apparition. Her body is voluptuously developed, and her head bares the open features and lush hair of the portraits of Françoise he painted the same day. She has materialized in his art, and she dominates the composition by her statuesque presence and the backdrop of light streaming through the tall window. Even the bright ray reflecting off the armoire leaves Dora in shadow.



Head of a Woman. January 30, 1945. Oil on canvas, $18^{1/8} \times 14^{7/8}$ " (46 × 38 cm). Zervos XIV, 63. Private collection

Although Picasso's friendship with Dora would linger for another year or two and Françoise would not officially join his life until April 1946, images of his new interest would punctuate his art from this time forward. Her physique appears regularly in his sketches (May 26 and June 27, 1944) before joining the revelers in the *Bacchanal* that August.¹⁰ Françoise's youthful vitality and mature dedication to art revivified Picasso's spirits as he stepped beyond the oppressive years of the Occupation and sought to create an art that would address the challenges of the postwar world. Her frolicking image at the center of Picasso's revision of Poussin's masterpiece connects past and present through a shared commitment to art as their primary means of expression. In a contemporary selfportrait, Picasso even depicted himself as an adolescent.¹¹

Although Picasso did not portray Françoise as an artist until later, her professionalism played an essential role in their relationship from the beginning. Soon after they met, Picasso visited an exhibition of her work (the first, a two-person show with a friend named Geneviève), and she regularly brought her work to his studio so that she could benefit from his advice, as well as advance the growing romance. In late 1944 Françoise began to draw portraits of Picasso that parallel Picasso's ones of her. Executed from memory in her Neuilly studio and without Picasso's knowledge (she did not show them to him until much later), the series stretches into the next year and includes two basic groups: studies of his naked torso and



Woman-Flower (unfinished state). 1946. Oil on canvas, $57\frac{1}{2} \times 35^{"}$ (146 × 89 cm). Not in Zervos. Repainted in 1946. Unique photographic print, courtesy Sidney Janis Gallery, New York

of his head. Most are devoted to the latter; they shift from naturalistic sketches to highly stylized renderings that reduce his features to a pair of deep eyes, a blocky jaw, and a helmetlike cranium. A painting of 1944 is the most abstract (p. 443, center).

Picasso's portraits of Françoise also were not drawn from life; yet the dialogue between artist and subject influenced their form. Françoise was not interested in truly naturalistic images, and, unlike in the cases of Picasso's other wives and mistresses, there are almost none that reproduce her features strictly. Moreover, until the spring of 1946, the couple sought to keep their relationship secret, particularly from Dora, so Françoise's likeness in Picasso's work could have betrayed them. In two paintings, however, Picasso confirmed the disguised subject when he gave them to Françoise; she kept them in her studio until she moved to the rue des Grands-Augustins. Painted on January 30, 1945, this pair of heads records the waved hairstyle she wore in those years, but neither of them bears a likeness of her face (p. 415) nor the characterization Picasso had developed the previous year. Only her mouth remains in place. No longer dominant, her eyes are shifted to the left side of her face, and her nose is drawn in profile, so that the image may be read as either a frontal or a side view.

Within the context of portraiture, this radical reconfiguration of Françoise's face takes a step beyond Picasso's previous renderings of her; yet it does so by adopting techniques that he had employed for many years. Similarly, one of his first large portraits of Françoise, generally called Seated Woman (p. 414), does not differ greatly from his contemporary pictures of other figures. Françoise's staring eyes and ample bosom are evident, but the dynamic of this powerful painting lies elsewhere. Picasso created an image that plays off the figure's static, seated pose to create an effect of great force. By choosing a canvas with proportions that emphasize its verticality and then constructing the image from a low viewpoint that accentuates the figure's height, he contradicted the essential stability of the pose. Instead of a sedentary figure (her chin is planted on her right arm, which in turn is braced on the armchair, while her left arm rests on her hip), Picasso orchestrated a series of Cubist dislocations that turns the body into an assemblage of twisted masses. The modeled, frontal view of Françoise's face is framed between a profile of her cranium (on the right) and a flat, masklike plane that meets her fist (only the schematic rendering of a mouth and an ear, which doubles as a displaced eye, identifies this form as the remainder of her profile). The convolutions are matched by the angular, disjointed thrusts of her arms. These pictures are primarily focused on formal and painterly issues of concern to both artists; they engage the question of portraiture only indirectly.

The point is obvious when *Seated Woman* is compared to Picasso's quintessential portrait of Françoise, *Woman-Flower*, which he painted a little more than a year later (opposite). Standing rather than seated, the figure in *Woman-Flower* rises up an even more vertical canvas, and during this passage the body seems to shed nearly all of its mass as it blossoms into an iconic image of Françoise's face. Although apparently effortless in the final painting, this coupling of a striking stylistic departure with a multivalent portrayal of Françoise is the result of a laborious process that harnessed nearly the full range of Picasso's artistic concerns at the beginning of the postwar epoch.

As is so often the case with his finest portraits, *Woman-Flower* melds Picasso's conception of the individual he is portraying with the personal and aesthetic issues that then drove his art. In this case, domestic arrangements were a catalyst.¹² Finding Picasso's affection toward her increasingly controlling, Françoise had avoided him for much of 1945, although she returned for a memorable visit on her birthday (November 26); on December 2,



Woman-Flower (Françoise). 1946. Oil on canvas, $57\frac{1}{2} \times 35^{''}$ (146 × 89 cm). Zervos XIV, 167. Private collection, courtesy Thomas Ammann Fine Art, Zurich

Picasso drew an idealized portrait of her in a lithograph.¹³ Still, Françoise did not accept his pressing invitations to move in with him until the following April, when she settled in the Grands-Augustins studio after Picasso had traveled to her hideaway in the south and finally convinced her to sever her ties with her family in order to join him. Predictably, this conquest stimulated Picasso to produce a cluster of portraits. But the form taken by these pictures frames the union between two other forces: Picasso's dialogue with another artist and his remembrance of his own past work.

The other artist was, of course, Matisse. Heightened by Françoise's respect for him and Matisse's appreciation of her, Picasso began a new phase of their long-running



Head of a Woman (Françoise). 1946. Oil wash, black stone, and charcoal on plywood, $25^{\frac{5}{8}} \times 21^{\frac{1}{4}}$ " (65 × 54 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection, courtesy Galerie Jan Krugier, Geneva

friendly competition. As Françoise recounted, she and Picasso paid a visit to Matisse while in the south during the early spring of 1946.¹⁴ Their relationship was still secret, and Picasso introduced her simply as a young artist of interest. With apparent nonchalance, Matisse responded by describing how he would paint her portrait. Picasso reacted as if Matisse had become his rival in love as well as in art; he seemed goaded to possess Françoise more fully through his art and demonstrate his superiority to Matisse in the same act.

If Matisse's attraction to Françoise helped stimulate Picasso to begin *Woman-Flower*, his initial efforts did not engage Matisse's art. *Woman-Flower* started as a composition remarkably different from its final form; in fact, it resembled *Seated Woman* in several ways. Picasso painted a fairly naturalistic image of Françoise sitting

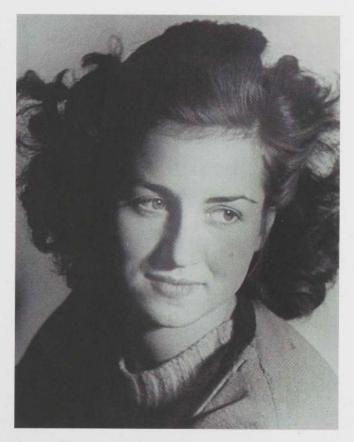
on a wide African chair with her hands resting on its arms. (The original configuration is discernible under later accumulations of pigment.) Having sketched this arrangement, however, Picasso reversed course and chose to depict Françoise standing. This radical reorientation marks Picasso's shift from executing an almost generic composition of a seated woman-a format he had used for decades—to an intricately modulated portrait of Françoise, a portrait not only of the individual but also of her place in his art. Picasso told her, "No, it's just not your style. A realistic portrait wouldn't represent you at all." And he continued, "I don't see you seated. You're not at all the passive type. I only see you standing."15 In order to convey Françoise's independence, Picasso did far more than simply shift her posture or obscure her features. At first he drew her standing firmly on two feet; yet he soon



Portrait of Françoise. May 20, 1946. Lead pencil, charcoal, and colored pencil on paper, 26 × 20" (66 × 50.6 cm). Not in Zervos. Musée Picasso, Paris

reduced her legs to a single stem, whose quavering outline, as it modulates up to a tiny waist and on to a wider torso, suggests both delicacy and assertion.

Thanks to Sidney and Harriet Janis, who visited Picasso during the spring of 1946, we have a photograph of the painting in an unfinished, intermediate state (p. 416); it enables us to follow Picasso's extensive revision of the figure.¹⁶ The legs and lower torso are already thinned, although Picasso would overpaint the straight shaft that then supported her body. (Unfortunately, in the photograph the floor is cropped off so that the bottom of the painting is not visible.) The very substantial differences in the upper body demonstrate Picasso's desire not only to depict Françoise standing but to impart an impression of lift and bounce to the entire figure. As the photograph records, Picasso significantly altered the balance of Françoise's body, beginning with the placement of her arms. He detached her right arm from her shoulder and connected it below her bosom; for balance, he narrowed her left arm and retained only a segment of the previous outline that had swelled from her breast. Picasso said that he wanted to lighten the figure; the left arm had been "too heavy" and the right misdirected: "A falling form is never beautiful. Besides, it isn't in harmony with the rhythm of your nature. I need to find something that stays up in the air." As Françoise remarked, "I noticed often at that period that his pictorial decisions were made half for plastic reasons, half for symbolic ones."17 Continuing his motif, Picasso reshaped her breasts and pointed the nipples in opposite directions, as if they were independent orbs bobbing in space. The most startling transformation, however, is the rendering of Françoise's head. Picasso



Portrait of Françoise Gilot by Endre Rozsda. Paris, January 1943. Private collection

expunged her shoulders and thinned her neck to the point that her head seems in danger of toppling; its equilibrium depends on the twisting fronds that have replaced her full head of hair.

As Picasso resolved his conception of Françoise, he reintroduced Matisse into the conversation. His rival had been quite precise about how he would portray her. He would paint her hair olive green and her face light blue, and he would be sure to emphasize both the circumflexlike arch of her eyebrows and the way they seem to meet her nose at the forehead. During the visit, Picasso had deflected Matisse's intense concentration on Françoise by suggesting that his friend would choose these colors only to match the Oriental carpet he would no doubt include in the painting, thereby implying that Matisse's art was essentially decorative. In his own portrait, Picasso created an image that is firmly opposed to the luxurious settings found in many of Matisse's paintings. (Its only decorative element is the strip of red flooring, which Matisse apparently suggested, barely visible at the bottom of the composition.18) Picasso took possession of Matisse's Françoise by placing her in a radically reduced composition and making explicit the analogies Matisse may have implied by his choice of colors. The green hair becomes the broad leaves of a plant, her slim body and oval head like the stalk and bloom of a sunflower. Yet the flower's radiance



Portrait of Françoise. 1946. Pencil and collage on paper, $15^{3/8} \times 11^{3/4}$ " (39 × 30 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection

has been transferred to the background; her blue tonality injects a lunar coolness that counterpoints the burgeoning metaphor of the "woman-flower." In fleeing one form of Matisse's art, however, Picasso may have embraced another. Speaking of Matisse's method of drawing, Picasso had told Brassaï, "Matisse makes a drawing, then he recopies it. . . . He recopies it five times, ten times, always purifying its features. He is persuaded that the last, the most stripped down, is the best, the purest, the definitive."¹⁹ (It is probably not fortuitous that Picasso hung Matisse's highly simplified portrait of his daughter Marguerite, which Françoise greatly admired, in his studio during this time.²⁰)

The path to *Woman-Flower*'s extremely reductive image lies not only through Matisse's past art but also his most recent innovation. Matisse's adoption of scissors and painted paper as his primary medium—he called it "drawing with scissors"—provided a revolutionary outlet for this aspect of his art. Françoise recorded that Matisse was sitting in bed cutting forms from sheets of prepared paper when she and Picasso visited; not surprisingly, Picasso jumped on the idea. Although descended from collage and *papiers collés*, which Picasso and Braque had invented before World War I, Matisse's technique differed significantly from theirs. Picasso's cutouts are generally flat silhouettes and are rarely shaped to mimic more than a fraction of the contours of the objects they represent; sometimes, only their placement in the composition defines their identity. Matisse, on the other hand, not only maintained the shape of his subjects, but trimmed, or "carved," their contours to imply volume as well.²¹ Picasso used Matisse's variation on the technique of *papiers collés* to define the honed shape of Françoise's face. Painting a sheet of paper blue, he cut out a series of variations and then pinned one after the other to the canvas. Having found an acceptable model, he then copied it into the painting, leaving no evidence of his procedure.

A contemporary exchange reminds us that Françoise was not the passive subject of a dialogue between Picasso and Matisse. Playfully exploring the possibilities of Matisse's new technique, she and Picasso made cutouts the focus of a series of drawings: he cut and pasted blue ovoids onto a sheet before drawing her features; she then cut a hole in another sheet, pasted the cutout behind, and drew her self-portrait on top (p. 443, right). In another image of Françoise, Picasso found a different way to schematize her: a tracery of overlapping lines resolve her face and hair while absorbing them in a fluid web (p. 418).

If *Woman-Flower* is a remarkable testament to Picasso's ability to meet the challenge he perceived in Matisse's

words, its success rests equally on the store of his own images that he had amassed in previous decades. Picasso's metamorphosis of Françoise's "green hair" into leaves and his elaboration of this motif into a symbolic personification of his lover as a flowering reed go back nearly fifteen years to images he had created of Marie-Thérèse. His first characterization of Françoise in the Bacchanal and preceding studies recalled the fluid anatomies of his images of Marie-Thérèse cavorting on the beach in the late 1920s. In Woman-Flower, he shifted his attention from the grand series of the early 1930s, in which his reduction of Marie-Thérèse's pliant flesh to rounded pods is frequently paired with foliage that seems to sprout from her body (p. 361). Picasso's linkage of these two young and beautiful women is not surprising; yet Woman-Flower is not merely a recapitulation of past conceits. In the portraits of Marie-Thérèse, Picasso generally insinuated a fruitlike metaphor from his mistress's dreamy, mental abandon and luxuriant, supine posture. In Woman-Flower, he created an image that is at once a seamless union of the two realms and an icon of riveting human intelligence. No longer merely juxtaposed to the figure or vaguely intertwined with it, leaves now sprout directly from Françoise's head, thereby minting an integrated



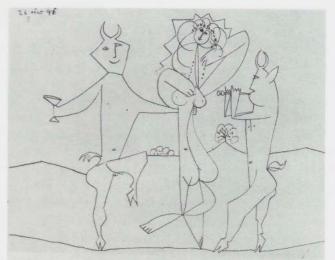
The Rape of Europa (unfinished state). 1946. Oil on canvas, $76^{7/8} \times 51^{1/4}$ " (195 × 130 cm). Not in Zervos. Painted over in 1946. Unique photographic print, courtesy Sidney Janis Gallery, New York



Woman with Knife and Bull's Head. June 6–19, 1946. Oil on wood, $51^{1/4} \times 38^{1/4}$ " (130 × 97 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection



Faun and Centaur. August 24, 1946. Ink on paper, $19^{3/4}\times25^{3/4}$ " (50 \times 65 cm). Zervos XIV, 220. Private collection



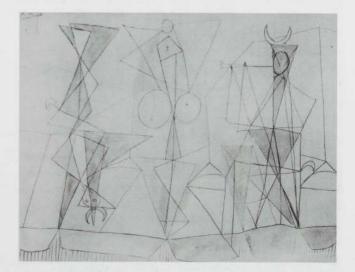
Fauns and Nude Woman. August 26, 1946. Ink on paper, $19^{3/4}\times 25^{3/4}"$ (50 \times 65 cm). Zervos XIV, 225. Private collection

symbolic form, whose believability is abetted by the taut armature that embraces both nearly abstract signs and naturalistic passages. Françoise's erect stance and piercing, hieratic stare convey a beaconlike rationality rather than a descent to a more primeval state, however desirable may be the liberation the latter implies. So when Picasso told Françoise, "You're like a growing plant. . . . I've never felt impelled to portray anyone else this way,"²² he was flattering her by overlooking his past and not entirely telling a lie: his portrayals of Marie-Thérèse generally suggest a luxuriant fruit more than a striving blossom.

Woman-Flower not only became Picasso's "signature" portrait of Françoise; it also initiated a reengagement with allegory that would inflect many of his following images of her and permeate his more public works as well. A little more than a month after finishing the portrait, Picasso included it in an exhibition of his work held at the Louis Carré gallery in Paris during June and July of 1946. The cover of the catalogue bore a likeness of Françoise, and the exhibition showcased his portraits of her; the prominence and frequency of her image among the pictures on view made the couple's relationship official, much as had his placement of a portrait of Olga on the cover of the catalogue of his first exhibition with Paul Rosenberg in 1919. In the weeks following the completion of Woman-Flower, his productivity continued unabated; yet his obsession with his new partner transformed Françoise into increasingly hostile personages.

Opposite *Woman-Flower* in Carré's main gallery hung a painting Picasso had finished on June 6, eight days before the exhibition opened—*The Rape of Europa* (p. 421; a month and a day separate the dates of completion of the two pictures). Although unusual in these years, Picasso's choice of a mythological subject continues the

engagement with classicism he had revisited two years earlier, in 1944, and advances the dialogue with preceding art that would grow to dominate his last decades. Yet as its placement in the Carré display suggests, this image is not simply a modern variation on an ancient theme: it appropriates a traditional subject to develop Picasso's conception of Françoise. He admitted as much in a conversation with Matisse during December 1947. Discussing the topic of portraiture, Picasso queried Matisse about why he had chosen a kneeling posture for Françoise in a cutout portrait he had made of her: "Do you associate her in your mind with a posture of devotion? Or with praying, perhaps? I can tell you she is just the opposite, quite a rebellious character, without consideration or respect—a nihilist! I can imagine her only standing erect or proudly riding a horse." Matisse then retorted, "Nevertheless, there is a reclining nude in the Museum of



Dance on the Beach. 1946. Graphite and watercolor on paper, $19^{7/8} \times 25^{1/2}$ " (50.5 × 65 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection, France



Joy of Life. 1946. Oil on board, 471/4 × 981/2" (120 × 250 cm). Zervos XIV, 289. Musée Picasso, Château Grimaldi, Antibes

Antibes who seems to be taken from—." Picasso interrupted, "No, no, that painting originated from an old habit of painting reclining nudes. The one I did in the spring of 1946 with Europa riding Zeus in the shape of a bull is much more to the point."²³

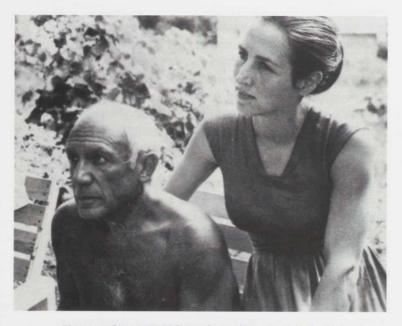
Indeed, the title of this painting is misleading, because "Europa" is not being raped. Sitting on top of the bull, she is the dominant one, who subdues the beast by holding both his tail and a horn. Now a monumental figure, whose imposing proportions contradict the much slighter Woman-Flower, Europa nonetheless exhibits the buxom torso and schematic, rectilinear physiognomy that Picasso derived from Françoise's features.²⁴ In formulating this characterization, Picasso probably once again returned to those deeply conflicted years of the late 1920s and early 1930s, in this instance to the elemental settings and aggressive angularity of his "bone" figures, such as Seated Bather (1930; p. 64), a picture he said derived from Olga. The dialogue became even more intense in the painting Woman with Knife and Bull's Head (p. 421), which he began the day after completing Europa. Repeating Europa's pose, Picasso reduced the bull to little more than a head (in the woman's left hand) and added a butcher knife (in her right). Instead of the Seated Bather's jagged mandibles, Picasso armed this woman with a modern version of the sword Judith used to cut off Holofernes's head: Surrealist metamorphosis is wedded to historical precedent, much as Picasso had done in Woman with Stiletto (Death of Marat) (p. 330). The references to those years multiply further when one realizes that the figure in Woman with Knife does not grasp the head of a bull, but rather that of a minotaur (distinguished by its snoutless, human face).²⁵ If Picasso considered *The Rape of Europa* an emblem of Françoise's "rebellious character," then the bull she rides presumably personifies himself, as does the trophy minotaur.

These abundant evocations of Picasso's bitter conflicts with Olga and his blissful idylls with Marie-Thérèse conflate to help shape his conception of Françoise in the first years of their relationship. The image of Dora does not seem to reappear after the *Interiors* of 1944, even though she was both Françoise's immediate predecessor and the primary precedent in his life for an affair with an artist. Perhaps, Picasso was too eager to renew his art through Françoise to allow Dora to remain and cloud the present with memories of the war years. Unlike Olga, who, as his legal wife, could not be entirely dismissed after he lost interest in her, Dora was apparently more easily put aside. Only in the early 1950s, toward the end of his relationship with Françoise, do references to Dora return. Nor are there allusions to the contemporary Olga or Marie-Thérèse.

Picasso built his conception of Françoise in part on a remembered contrast between an Olga-like will and a Marie-Thérèse–like fecundity. Similar to his subtle variations on his transformations of Marie-Thérèse, however, Picasso far from duplicated the harpy image Olga had inspired. It was Françoise's independence, not her dependence, that troubled him and drove him to stage battles in his art, as well as in his life with her. Moreover, Picasso's decision to portray Françoise in classical guises stems from both her interests and a shift of locale. Françoise had received a traditional French education, which she frequently drew upon to explore arcane myths with Picasso. His return to the Côte d'Azur (after being denied access to the area during the war) helped precipitate a classical revival in his art that drew him increasingly into a dialogue with earlier masters. It also stimulated him to take up ceramics. He rapidly transformed this ancient medium and, in the process, used it during the late 1940s and early 1950s to make many portraits of Françoise and their children.²⁶

Through the remainder of 1946, Picasso elaborated the imagined and real confrontations between himself and Françoise, but, increasingly, their personal relationship became absorbed into larger themes. In August he made a series of drawings that show a pitched battle between a faun and a centaur (p. 422, top left) and end with the faun standing in mourning over his foe.27 Yet Picasso immediately proposed an alternative: the series resumes with the centaur's resurrection, now as a beautiful woman, whose dance is joined by the joyous faun (p. 422, top right). The woman bears Françoise's features, and Françoise's birth sign of Sagittarius links her with the centaur as well.28 Apparently, Picasso composed a fantasy to fulfill his desire for Françoise to submit to his authority and then topped it off with a scene of the idyllic life that would follow. Meanwhile, she made a sketch of Picasso pushing a piece of fruit into her mouth, which she called Adam Forcing Eve to Eat an Apple.29

Characteristically, Picasso did not keep these games private. He used the final, celebratory drawing as the basis for a watercolor, *Dance on the Beach* (p. 422, bottom), and he appropriated its female dancer for the central figure in the *Joy of Life* (p. 423). Both of these works were painted in the Grimaldi castle. *The Joy of Life* was given to



Picasso and Françoise Gilot in the garden at La Galloise, Vallauris, summer 1948. Photograph by Robert Capa. Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives

the museum at Antibes. Matisse was quite right to perceive Françoise's reclining figure in another of these paintings (presumably the *Nymph*);³⁰ yet the distinction made by Picasso is accurate: they are no longer primarily concerned with portraiture. The pictures echo the theme of the *Bacchanal* and stem from a long tradition of pastoral subjects. They address public audiences concerned with other issues and not privy to Picasso's personal life.

Although he would continue to portray Francoise in many guises-as a kind of fortress, as a puzzle of brilliant hues in Bust of Françoise (opposite), and as an almost waiflike sculptural apparition in Head of a Woman (p. 426)the obsession with portraiture that had driven his art since late April of 1946 was subsiding. During that summer, Picasso's art took a turn away from easel pictures, a shift that would guide his painting into the early 1950s. In part this reorientation occurred because the curator of the museum at Antibes offered him rooms in the Grimaldi castle as a studio and encouraged him to donate the work he made there for display in the museum. In many ways, however, this circumstance was merely the catalyst that prompted Picasso to fulfill a growing desire to create art that primarily engaged, by means of mural painting, a larger audience. Matisse's increasing involvement in large decorative projects, which would culminate in the Vence chapel (completed in 1951), no doubt stimulated his competitive spirit and found a response in Picasso's version of the Joy of Life, Matisse's old subject. Indeed, Picasso's Joy of Life became the centerpiece of his installation at the Antibes museum. Besides creating works for this museum, Picasso would soon donate an important group of his recent paintings to the Musée d'Art Moderne in Paris (in 1947), following the museum's acquisition of major works by Matisse and Braque in 1945 and 1946. Despite a continuing reluctance to purchase works, the French museums, which had neglected Picasso and his peers until the end of World War II, accorded them increasing respect. Such respect not only fed Picasso's self-esteem and sense of competition with his contemporaries but also drew him into a more intensive dialogue with past masters. Jean Cassou's offer to display the paintings Picasso had donated next to specified works in the Louvre (Picasso selected Zurbarán, Delacroix, and Courbet), particularly galvanized the artist's interest.³¹ Moreover, acclaim by France's cultural establishment was paired with equal prominence, if not equal commendation, within the Communist Party, both in France and abroad.

In advance of a Party Congress in March 1945, Picasso had drawn several portraits of Maurice Thorez, the general secretary of the French Communist Party (p. 428). Although Picasso's choice to depict Thorez at this moment confirms his adherence to the Party, Picasso's delicate, almost effete, rendering of the minister seems far from engaged in any political program. In February



Bust of Françoise. June 17, 1946. Oil on wood, 393/8 × 311/2" (100 × 80 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection

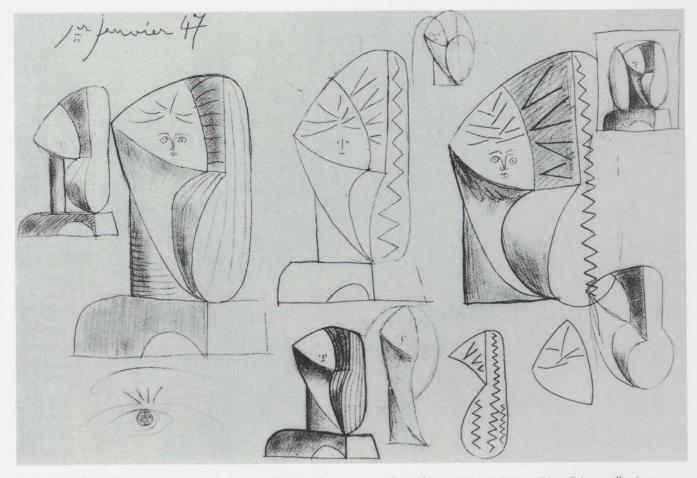
and March of 1946, Picasso had participated in the exhibition *Art and Resistance* by including the recently completed *Charnel House* and possibly the *Monument to the Spanish Dead.*³² The latter painting, which Picasso inscribed January 31, 1947, conveys little of the horror and anguish so powerfully captured in *The Charnel House*. Its almost burlesque assembly of standard motifs—a bust, banner, bugle, and skull, among others—totters between slipping into a traditional mold and parodying the convention. Despite his presumably authentic desire to commemorate the Spaniards who died defending France against the Nazis, Picasso apparently could, in this case, neither create a new form of monument (as he had in *Guernica*) nor accept an old one. This diffidence would



Head of a Woman (Françoise). December 30, 1946. Oil on canvas, 361/4 × 283/4" (92 × 73 cm). Zervos XIV, 284. Private collection

characterize most of his political works of the following few years, even though he devoted many hours to attending Party conferences (Warsaw in 1948, Sheffield in 1950) and received the Lenin Peace Prize in 1950 for his efforts.

More than any other picture, *Massacre in Korea* (p. 428) epitomizes Picasso's awkward involvement in world politics during the decade after World War II. Both Pierre Daix, who participated in many of Picasso's political activities, and Françoise, who did not, have described the artist's pained and confused response to the lukewarm reception of this painting, a picture in which he attempted to create an image that would galvanize opposition to the United States military involvement in the Korean War.³³ (I doubt that future historians will judge it any more



Studies for Head of a Woman (Françoise). January 1, 1947. Lead pencil on paper, 127/8 × 193/4" (32.5 × 50 cm). Zervos XV, 24. Private collection

effective as a political statement or as a work of art.) In accommodating himself halfway to the Party's demands for realistic images that could inspire diverse audiences, Picasso blunted the expressive power of his art. But even if he had not compromised aesthetically, it is unlikely the picture would have been convincing; notwithstanding the savagery of the conflict, Korea was probably too alien to focus his creativity. Picasso's sources of inspiration were direct, immediate, and generally closer to home.

Despite some efforts to cooperate with the Party's political program, Picasso ridiculed its aesthetic directives. He instantly flouted its repudiation of abstraction (in many of his finest works of the period, such as *The Kitchen*, 1948),³⁴ but, most significantly, engaged himself almost totally with themes outside its program, subjects which a Stalinist would probably call "decadent": intimate examinations of his family, and reflections on his place in the history of art. Picasso had joined the Party primarily in solidarity with his friends and as an expression of support for the Resistance organization that seemed to symbolize both opposition to Fascism and hope for social renewal at the end of the war, not because he shared its specific ideology. In February 1950 he contradicted the Party's emphasis on Courbet as a critic of bourgeois soci-

ety by painting a variation on *Women on the Banks of the Seine* that submerges social content in inventive stylistic initiatives, and a variation on a portrait of a painter by El Greco, through which Picasso links himself to an elite artistic tradition.³⁵ But perhaps the most blatant demonstration of Picasso's fundamental differences with the Party is his continuing participation in the capitalistic art market at a time when he was wealthy enough to withdraw from it.

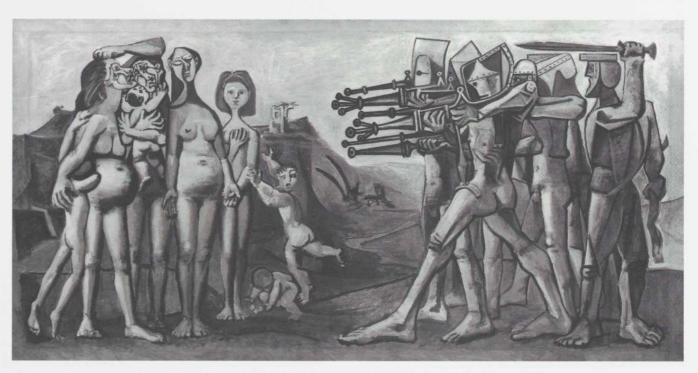
Partly due to Picasso's cooperation with the Party, the market for his art remained sluggish until the mid-1950s, and this period of relative commercial inactivity had a significant impact on the public's access to his work.³⁶ Despite several retrospectives in museums or public halls during the late 1940s and early 1950s,³⁷ Picasso's recent paintings were not widely exhibited or readily available for sale because the steady stream of exhibitions in galleries that had served to showcase his new work since 1919 (except for a wartime halt) dwindled during the early postwar years. In Paris, Louis Carré held two major Picasso exhibitions in the mid-1940s, and in New York Samuel Kootz held two small ones, but Picasso did not develop lasting ties to either of these dealers, nor did he revive his prewar relationship with Paul Rosenberg.³⁸



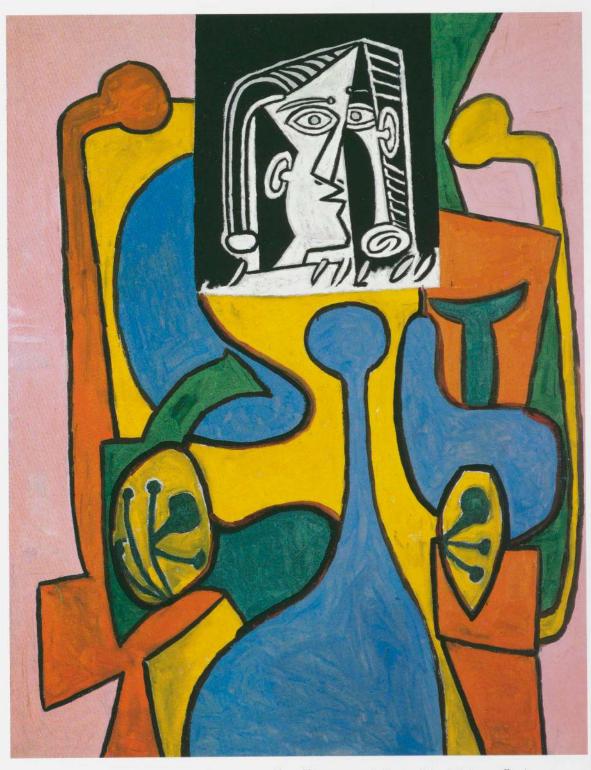
Portrait of Maurice Thorez. May 23, 1945. Lead pencil on paper. Zervos XIV, 112. Private collection

Even after Picasso concluded an agreement with Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler for the Galerie Louise Leiris to become his exclusive agent in 1947, the gallery did not hold an exhibition of his paintings until May of 1953. This limited exposure in commercial galleries reflects the fact that Picasso sold a relatively small number of paintings during the decade following the war. Instead, he accumulated a cache of pictures that is only now coming to light.

These many canvases that depict Picasso's family-Françoise and their children, Claude and Paloma-constitute a sanctuary from the conflicts that roiled Picasso's public life during the late 1940s and early 1950s. After the enthrallment of the spring and summer of 1946, Picasso's portraits of Françoise are more detached. Many subordinate his perceptions of her character to the role she continued to play as an intermediary between himself and Matisse. During their frequent stays in the south, Picasso and Françoise regularly visited Matisse in his villa at Vence or Nice-Cimiez, and as Françoise's long-standing admiration for Matisse developed into a warm friendship, including exchanges of letters and drawings, she employed the esteem in which both masters held her to ease the sometimes prickly relations between them. In one series, which he painted in March of 1949, Picasso returned to the challenge of Matisse's cut papers that he had explored in Woman-Flower. Instead of scissoring paper to stand for



Massacre in Korea. January 18, 1951. Oil on plywood, 43³/₈ × 82⁵/₈" (110 × 210 cm). Zervos XV, 173. Musée Picasso, Paris



Woman in an Armchair (Françoise). 1949. Oil on canvas, 45⁵/₈ × 35¹/₈" (116 × 89 cm). Zervos XV, 128. Private collection

Françoise's head, he took a lithograph he had recently modeled on her face and copied it onto the canvas, while preserving its black-and-white palette, Cubist architecture, and the sharp edges of its sheet to stand in contrast to the fluid surrounding figure (above). Besides a possible reference to Matisse in this collage effect, Picasso rendered Françoise's body as a puzzlelike pattern of curvilinear sections, whose bright hues of red, yellow, blue, and pink as well as their unmodeled flatness evoke both Matisse's cutouts and the structure of his last paintings. In a contemporaneous portrait of her (p. 408), Picasso recast her head in the calligraphic style of his recent illustrations of Gongora's *Vingt Poèmes*.³⁹

With the birth of Claude on May 15, 1947 (followed by

the birth of Paloma on April 19, 1949), Picasso's portraits are increasingly devoted to his children with Françoise. Unlike the earlier pictures of his first son, Paulo (born in 1921), which generally present the youngster in a formal pose and fancy dress, and the more uninhibited portraits of Maya (born in 1935), the images of Claude and Paloma reflect Picasso's joyful immersion in their world, and a liberation from adult expectations. Even in his portrait of Claude wearing a costume brought back from a Party conference in Poland, the composition has a spontaneous feel, due to Claude's position next to an open door (as if he has just toddled into a room) and the costume's dominance of all except Claude's head and multicolored ball (right). As if seated on the floor, we meet Claude's gaze and join his ramble through the house. This viewpoint, the child's rather than the adult's, was one of Picasso's primary strategies to lend his subjects a stature not normally accorded children and simultaneously to draw us into the youngster's mind; he used it regularly in his portraits of Claude as well as of Paloma. In Claude Drawing (p. 434), the son looks directly at us and seems to assume his father's role as portraitist, even though Picasso, of course, controlled the image. Picasso frequently used Claude's love of drawing (below) to link father and son in these portraits; in tandem, his portraits of Paloma regularly associate her with Françoise.

Having brought us into sympathy with the child's universe, Picasso then immerses us in their world by inverting an old canard against modern art. He took the conventional dismissal of non-naturalistic styles as



Picasso with Paloma, and Claude looking at his portrait of Picasso, at La Galloise, Vallauris, possibly Christmas 1953. Photograph by Edward Quinn



Claude in a Polish Costume. 1948. Oil on canvas, $46^{7}/_{8} \times 19^{3}/_{4}$ " (119 × 50 cm). Zervos XV, 101. Private collection

"something a child could do" and employed it to project the perceptions of a youngster not yet adjusted to his or her own body, or certain of how to navigate the outside world. In *Paloma with an Orange* (p. 432), her disarticulated arms and scrambled features are not simply Cubist riffs (as they primarily are in the 1944 portrait of Françoise, *Seated Woman*); here they convey the bumbling, uncoordinated gestures of a two-year-old. In paintings such as *Claude and Paloma at Play* (opposite), Picasso not only distinguished each child's demeanor (Claude watchful versus Paloma oblivious) but also makes us a part of an environment shaped by their sensibilities: everything from floor



Claude and Paloma at Play. 1950. Oil and enamel on plywood. 461/2 × 571/8" (118 × 145 cm). Zervos XV, 163. Private collection

tiles to drapes wobbles and swirls with their rambunctious games. Photographs record Picasso's own participation in the communal drawings (p. 442); however, Picasso rarely chose to portray himself with the children.⁴⁰

In contrast to these images of Claude and Paloma, Picasso's portraits of Françoise with the children are generally more sober. A few are dazzling simplifications. In *Françoise Gilot with Paloma and Claude* (p. 437), each figure is reduced to a flat, white silhouette that floats on a block of red, blue, or yellow. Yet each person is identifiable and distinguished by a characteristic activity (Françoise reclining on a couch, Paloma tending a train, and Claude driving a car). This bold, formal solution suggests not only Matisse's cutout technique but also his early images of his own family.⁴¹ If the asymmetry of Françoise's eyes leaves the impression that she may be less at ease than are her children, she is rarely portrayed as playing with the kids. Most of the images showing the three together present Françoise engaged in reading or drawing, while the children amuse themselves with toys. Lying on a couch or seated at a table, she is physically close to them, yet intellectually detached and elevated above their arena of the floor.

By 1950 Picasso and Françoise were drifting apart. He continued to devote much of his spare time to Party politics. (He had been attending a peace conference in Paris the day Paloma was born.) After Paloma's birth, Françoise became increasingly preoccupied with two activities in which Picasso took a small role: raising their children and developing her own art. She refused Picasso's urging for



Paloma with an Orange. 1951. Enamel on plywood, $42^{1/_2} \times 35^{1/_8}$ (108 × 89 cm). Zervos XV, 175. Private collection

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Paloma with a Doll. December 23, 1952–January 3, 1953. India ink on paper, $26 \times 19^{7/8}$ " (66×50.5 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection

a third child (her decision may have prompted him to make two sculptures of a pregnant woman in 1949–50).⁴² Instead, she returned to painting after a hiatus of several years. Picasso's portraits of her reflect this change, a growing separation that would lead her to end the relationship in September 1953.

During these last years, Picasso's portraits present a

characterization of Françoise radically different from the one that had introduced her in his art. Instead of being associated with Marie-Thérèse's voluptuous form or Olga's rigid mentality, Françoise—still only twenty-eight years old—now took on features that Picasso had previously used to depict her predecessor, Dora. In a drawing of August 23, 1950, the Weeping Woman reappears as a



Claude Drawing. 1951. Oil on canvas, 181/8 × 15" (46 × 38 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection

portrait of Françoise (p. 438, top). Adopting a characteristic pose (in profile with hair streaming down her back), Picasso conflated a schema he had often used to portray Dora with a portrait of Françoise; inside the contours of the profile, he inscribed a frontal likeness of the younger woman, so that the image is subject to a dual reading. Françoise's large eyes, long nose, and full mouth are heavily outlined and shaded; even though she is dry-eyed, the rendering evokes the incision-like tracts of the Weeping Woman's tears (not all of which show signs of crying). By the following March, she seems to have become more wan, at least as depicted in Picasso's portraits (p. 439). As



Paloma in Blue. 1952. Oil on plywood, 317/8 × 255/8" (81 × 65 cm). Zervos XV, 202. Private collection

Françoise continued to refuse to bear another child and increasingly matched Picasso's devotion to his affairs with her own concentration on her art and the children, he aged her substantially. But these images do not merely return to the portraits of Dora. Instead of writhing in anguish, Françoise stands impassive, independent. Even in *Head of Françoise* (p. 438), in which Picasso carved her features with heavy, black lines and swelled her tear ducts to bursting, nothing flows; her lips remain firmly closed, and the network of lines resolves into a benign pattern. In other portraits, Picasso paired Paloma with her mother, mirroring the match of himself with Claude.



Paloma at Three Years Old. 1952. Oil on canvas, 161/8 × 13" (41 × 33 cm). Zervos XV, 209. Private collection

He made a whimsical sculpture of Françoise carrying Paloma on her shoulders that seems almost to merge the two into a single figure (p. 444). And he painted a portrait of Paloma (above) that is a pendant to Head of Françoise. Yet here the mood is nearly serene because the mesh of lines is less dense, the segments less overlapped, and the colors brighter. At the end of 1952, Picasso returned to this motif in a drawing that is devoid of color but is a masterpiece of graphic display (p. 433). With a variety of touches rarely seen since van Gogh's reed drawings, Picasso covered most of the sheet with a fluctuating array of dots, dashes, and strokes that densely model Paloma's eyes, nose, mouth, chin, and cheeks before diffusing to suggest a shadowy background and to outline lightly the doll she grasps with her tiny hands. Earlier in December, he had portrayed her in much the same pose, but in a

style of monumental volumes rather than flat patterns (p. 435).

As in 1946, when Picasso's portraits of Françoise spilled over into his paintings for the Antibes museum, in 1952–53 his portraits of Claude and Paloma infused his public murals, *War* and *Peace* (p. 445). Claude was the model for the classical soldier who stands guard against an assortment of fantastic creatures intended to symbolize the threat of germ weaponry in *War*. In *Peace*, both children and their mother populate the Matissean idyll of arcadian pleasure Picasso imagined as an alternative to the dangers of modern technology. Claude is particularly apparent, as a child who drives the winged horse and as a child who balances in midair.⁴³

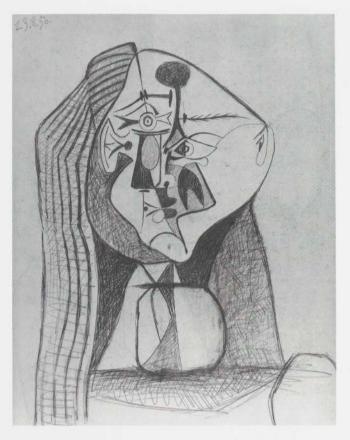
In 1953 both Picasso's private and public worlds exploded. To comply with Louis Aragon's request for a



Françoise Gilot with Paloma and Claude. 1951. Enamel on plywood, 44⁷/₈ × 57¹/₂" (114 × 146 cm). Zervos XV, 191. Private collection



Picasso and Françoise Gilot with their children, Claude and Paloma, in the garden at La Galloise, Vallauris, 1953. Photograph by Edward Quinn. Musée Picasso, Paris, Picasso Archives



Portrait of a Woman (Françoise). August 23, 1950. Pencil on paper, $25^{7/8} \times 19^{7/8}$ " (65.5 × 50.5 cm). Not in Zervos. Collection Marina Picasso, courtesy Galerie Jan Krugier, Geneva



Head of Françoise. 1952. Oil on canvas, $18^{1/8}\times15^{''}$ (46 \times 38 cm). Zervos XV, 206. Private collection

portrait of Stalin, who had died on March 5, Picasso drew a simplified image based on a photograph of Stalin as a young man (p. 445). When Aragon published the sketch in Les Lettres françaises, a scandal erupted among French Communists. Apparently, many believed the portrait was disrespectful because it did not depict the Soviet leader in glory or illustrate the details of his aged features; the French Communist Party officially condemned it. Relations between the artist and the Party were never fully restored, and three years later Picasso welcomed the display of his art by Hungarians revolting against Soviet rule.44 At the end of the Stalin controversy, Françoise left for Paris with the children. Her decision was the culmination of two years during which they had drifted apart and Picasso had conducted several affairs, most prominently with Geneviève Laporte. Although the family was reunited in Vallauris during the summer, Françoise's departure in March marked the end of their relationship and the renewal of her professional activities, first as a painter and later as a writer as well.⁴⁵ During a visit the following May, Picasso painted several portraits of the children alone or with their mother (in each, Claude's engagement in drawing is the primary activity), but these are postscripts.

The portraits he painted in December 1953 reflect Picasso's meditation on his isolation, and his expectation that there would be no reconciliation: a black figure, a stand-in for the artist, paints while Paloma plays behind him (p. 441, left), or he appears as a shadow cast over a voluptuous nude, evoking Françoise, who reclines in his bedroom (p. 441, right). Yet, the most haunting image is a drawing, which, according to Picasso's inscription, links the last day of 1953 with the first day of 1954 (p. 442, top). On December 31, when the children had returned to Vallauris for the holidays but Françoise remained elsewhere, Picasso began to sketch a tender scene of Claude and Paloma handing a bouquet of flowers to their mother, who sits with a pet boxer on her lap. Presumably, as the drawing developed into the next day, he added the profile of himself that looms in the background and the pair of arms that reach around his children's shoulders and support a vase for the flowers. This may also have been the moment when he reworked Claude's head so heavily that the paper tore, and he heightened Françoise's features. Picasso's inclusion of himself in a family portrait is extremely rare, yet his presence affirms his separation from them. His profile is out of proportion to the others, too large to join the group, and his large black eye is not directed toward the children, despite his embrace.⁴⁶ Since the mid-1920s, Picasso had used a profile silhouette to represent himself, frequently in the context of domestic scenes. In 1944 he had celebrated the beginning of his affair with Françoise and the end of the war by filling out this shell to portray himself as a youth. Now, the profile



Woman Drawing (Françoise). March 13, 1951. Oil on plywood, 45⁵/₈ × 35["] (116 × 89 cm). Zervos XV, 178. Private collection



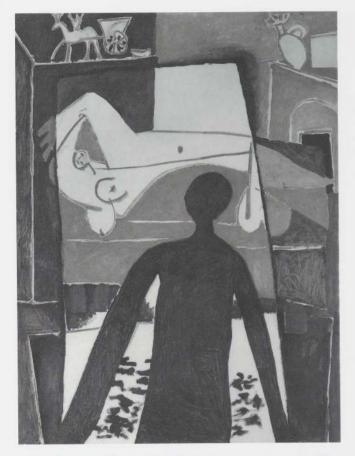
Seated Nude (Françoise). 1953. Oil on canvas, 51¹/4 × 37³/4" (130.2 × 95.9 cm). Zervos XV, 292. The St. Louis Art Museum. Gift of Joseph Pulitzer, Jr.



In Front of the Garden. December 28, 1953. Oil on wood panel, $51^{1/4} \times 38^{1/4}$ (130 × 97 cm). Zervos XVI, 97. Private collection

bears the features of a far older, bald man—Picasso at the age of seventy-four.

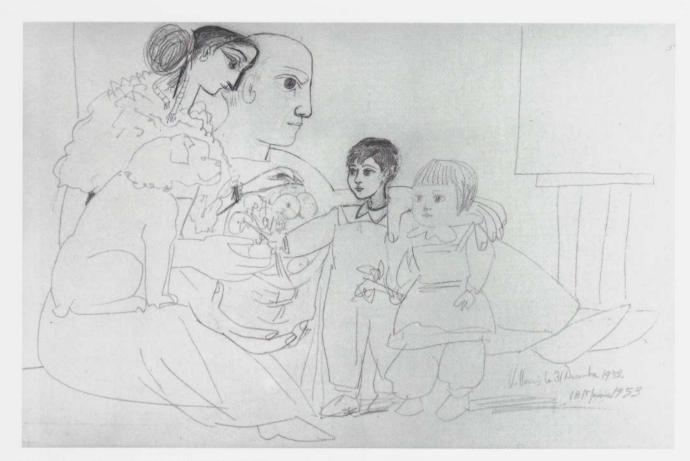
By the end of 1953, Picasso's hopes for humanity that had welled up with the end of the war had largely collapsed; they were preserved only in utopian compositions, such as *Peace*. The ambassadorial role Picasso had accepted, if grudgingly, with the liberation of Paris had been turned into a farce by partisan politics. His personal life was shattered, and the market for his art still appeared hobbled by his political affiliation. In the remaining nineteen years of his life, Picasso would never return to the



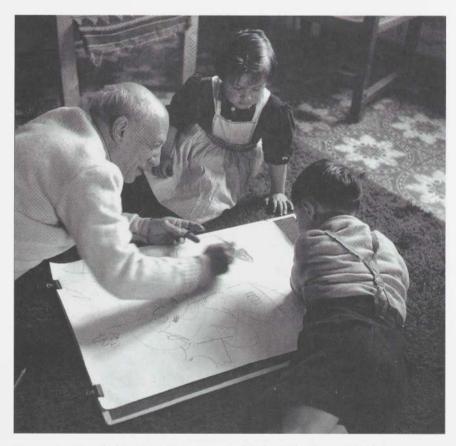
The Shadow. December 29, 1953. Oil and charcoal on canvas, 51 × 38" (129.5 × 96.5 cm). Zervos XVI, 100. Musée Picasso, Paris

social activity he had engaged in during the previous nine, despite the overwhelming acclaim for his art that would soon expand at a seemingly exponential rate. Instead of attempting to reestablish his public role by engaging political issues or rebuilding his private life with a new family, Picasso would withdraw to his studio with a new companion and increasingly turn his attention to the past of his own art and that of art history. As Picasso said following Matisse's death in November 1954, his old rival had left him a "legacy" he had to pursue.⁴⁷

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Family of the Artist. December 31, 1953–January 1, 1954. Ink on paper, $12\frac{3}{4} \times 19\frac{7}{8}$ " (32.5 × 50.5 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection



Picasso drawing with Claude and Paloma, at La Galloise, Vallauris, possibly Christmas 1953. Photograph by Edward Quinn

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NOTES

I would especially like to thank Claude Ruiz-Picasso and Françoise Gilot for their generous cooperation in preparing this essay. During several meetings in the fall of 1994, Claude contributed significantly to the process of developing the basic themes of my research, he gave me access to the archives of his mother's art, and he enhanced my understanding of the work of both of his parents. In two interviews, conducted in December 1994 and in June 1995, Françoise was most helpful, by offering extremely precise recollections and candid discussions of the period.

1. Brassaï, Conversations avec Picasso (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1964), pp. 161–62. 2. Ibid., p. 52.

3. The most recent accounts of this period are Werner Spies, *Picasso: Die Zeit nach Guernica* 1937–1973 (Berlin: Nationalgalerie Staatliche Museen, 1992), and Frances Morris, ed., *Paris Post War: Art and Existentialism* 1945–1955 (London: The Tate Gallery, 1993).

4. Brassaï, Conversations, p. 182.

5. Picasso's increasing involvement in politics was highlighted by his participation in the 1944 Salon d'Automne. Dubbed the "Liberation Salon," it marked the first time Picasso had participated in a French salon. The organizers devoted a special section to seventy-four of his paintings and five of his sculptures; protests, sometimes violent, resulted. Picasso had announced his allegiance to the French Communist Party in anticipation of the exhibition's opening on October 6.

6. Picasso: 75th Anniversary Exhibition, May 22– September 8, 1957. While preparing an earlier version of this exhibition in 1954, Barr discussed with René d'Harnoncourt, the Museum's director, whether they should include "the problematic pictures such as the Korea, War and Peace," and whether "Picasso, who is capricious and might well be guided by his Party friends. may insist on the inclusion of such pictures as the Korea and he may also insist that we invite him to this country or he will cancel the exhibition." The McCarran Act would have banned Picasso from entering the United States because of his membership in the Communist Party. Barr also reminded d'Harnoncourt how difficult Picasso had been when the Museum organized the retrospective in 1939: "I remember Paul Rosenberg's warning to me that 'Picasso is a devil.' I didn't believe him until one day after we had been working together in the most cordial way, Picasso suddenly turned on me with an extraordinary ferocity and made a completely unreasonable ultimatum about the inclusion of four mediocre works which I had set aside for consideration and then had decided to discard. He insisted that I take them or he would cancel the show. He is not a reasonable man and the immense diet of flattery he has fed on, his age and his sense of power have certainly increased since 1939" (letter dated June 15, 1954, The Museum of Modern Art Archives, Alfred H. Barr, Jr., Papers, Box 11, subgroup V, series A). For the incident in 1939, see Michael C. FitzGerald, Making Modernism: Picasso and the Creation of the Market for Twentieth-Century Art (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1995). pp. 254-55.

7. Brassaï, Conversations, p. 260. 8. Françoise Gilot's two books, Life with Picasso, with Carleton Lake (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964) and Matisse and Picasso: A Friendship in Art (London: Bloomsbury, 1990), are essential sources. Citations of Life with Picasso that follow refer to the New American Library edition (New York, 1965).

9. Brassaï, Conversations, p. 124. 10. These drawings are Zervos XIII, 271–72,

and 320, among others. 11. This brush-and-ink drawing, dated August

13–15, 1944, is in the collection of The Museum

of Modern Art, New York. In conversation with the author, Françoise Gilot identified this and other drawings as self-portraits by Picasso. Their profile format and the outline of the profile correspond to his self-portraits from the mid-1920s. Jean Sutherland Boggs has asserted that Picasso "painted himself as one of the quieter figures—a youth solemnly bearing a basket of fruit" in his version of Poussin's *Bacchanal* ("The Last Thirty Years," in Roland Penrose and John Golding, eds., *Picasso in Retrospect* [New York: Praeger, 1973], p. 198).

12. See Françoise Gilot's account of this painting's development in *Life with Picasso*, pp. 89–115.

13. Ernst-Gerhard Güse and Bernd Rau, Pablo Picasso, die Lithographien (Stuttgart: G. Hatje, 1988), no. 61.

14. See Gilot's accounts in both Life with Picasso, pp. 93–94, and Matisse and Picasso, pp. 23–25.

15. Gilot, Life with Picasso, p. 111.

16. See Harriet and Sidney Janis, *Picasso: The Recent Years* 1939–46 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1946). My thanks to Jeffrey Figley of the Sidney Janis Gallery for his help in obtaining a photograph of the painting in its unfinished state.

17. Gilot, Life with Picasso, p. 112.

18. Gilot, Matisse and Picasso, p. 23.

19. Brassaï, *Conversations*, p. 71. 20. Many years earlier, Matisse had given

20. Many years earlier, wallse had given Portrait of Marguerite (1907) to Picasso. It is now in the collection of the Musée Picasso, Paris (T.49). Between December 5, 1945, and January 17, 1946, Picasso made a lithograph, Bull, in a series of eleven progressive states that shows a similar reductive process (Fernand Mourlot, Picasso Lithographs [Boston: Boston Book and Art Publisher, 1970], pp. 27–30, no. 17).

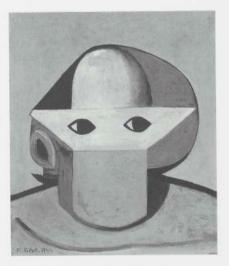
21. See John Elderfield, The Cut-Outs of Henri Matisse (New York: Braziller, 1978), p. 10.

22. Gilot, Life with Picasso, p. 113. 23. Gilot, Matisse and Picasso, pp. 76–77

24. In conversation with the author, Gilot



Françoise Gilot. *Portrait of Picasso as a Mask*. 1944. Pencil on paper, 26 × 20["] (66 × 50.8 cm). Collection Françoise Gilot



Françoise Gilot. Sorcerer's Mask (Portrait of Pablo Picasso). 1944. Oil on masonite, $21^{3/4} \times 18''$ (55.3 × 45.7 cm). Collection Françoise Gilot



Françoise Gilot. *Self-Portrait with Two of Diamonds.* 1946. Pencil and *papier collé*, 26 × 20¹/s["] (66 × 51 cm). Collection Françoise Gilot



Woman Carrying a Child. 1953. Painted wood and section of palm leaf, $68^{1/8} \times 21^{1/4} \times 13^{3/4''}$ (173 × 54 × 35 cm). Spies 478. Private collection

stated that Picasso overpainted *The Rape of Europa* during the fall of 1946. In a letter to Alfred H. Barr, Jr., dated December 21, 1946, Louis Carré wrote that the painting "no longer exists" (The Museum of Modern Art Archives, Alfred H. Barr, Jr., Papers, Box 15, subgroup VI, series A). According to an article in *Time* (July 8, 1946), it had been priced at the equivalent of \$13,000 during Carré's exhibition. My thanks to Jeffrey Figley of the Sidney Janis Gallery for his help in obtaining a photograph of the painting.

25. The painting was given the title *Woman* with *Knife and Bull's Head* at the time of the inventory of Picasso's estate.

26. See Claude Ruiz-Picasso's account of his father's work at the Madoura pottery works, "The Valley of Gold: Picasso as Potter," in Elizabeth Cowling and John Golding, *Picasso: Sculptor/Painter* (London: The Tate Gallery, 1994), pp. 223–27.

27. Zervos XIV, 202-27.

28. She was born on November 26.

Sagittarius is often symbolized as a centaur. 29. No. G574 in Gilot's archives.

30. Zervos XIV, 17.

31. Gilot, *Life with Picasso*, pp. 190–92. My thanks to Susan Grace Galassi for having discussed with me Picasso's variations on other artists' work. Her book on this subject is scheduled to be published by Abrams in 1996.

32. Monument to the Spanish Dead (1945–47) is in the collection of the Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía in Madrid.

33. For Daix's account of these years, see *Picasso: Life and Art* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993), pp. 277–311.

34. Zervos XV, 106.

35. Women on the Banks of the Seine, after Courbet (Zervos XV, 164); Portrait of a Painter, after El Greco (Zervos XV, 165).

36. Despite his considerable wealth, Picasso consistently demanded prices for his work that surpassed those received by his peers, especially Matisse and Braque. Apparently, Picasso took this commercial success as a matter of prestige, a demonstration of the world's recognition of his artistic achievement. During the period of his association with the French Communist Party, however, some American collectors, who constituted the largest pool of his buyers, seemed hesitant to acquire his paintings. In turn, many of the leading dealers, including Paul Rosenberg (who had represented Picasso from 1918 to 1940), refused to pay the high prices Picasso required. Rosenberg, at least, doubted that he could sell the pictures profitably in the near future. For Françoise Gilot's discussion of Picasso's relations with Rosenberg, Louis Carré, Samuel Kootz, and Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, see Life with Picasso, pp. 168-71. In conversation with the author, she stated that the agreement between Picasso and Kahnweiler in 1947 (which reestablished a commercial relationship that had effectively ended in 1914) was based on the purchase of printsnot paintings-because Kahnweiler believed that Picasso was demanding too much for his oils.

37. During these years, Picasso's paintings

were shown at several noncommercial exhibitions, particularly at the Maison de la Pensée Française in Paris in 1949, and the retrospectives held in Lyon, Rome, Milan, and São Paulo in 1953, but the paintings were returned to his possession after these shows closed.

38. After the exhibition in June 1946, Carré held a few shows of Picasso's work but they were based on stock he had not sold or pictures he acquired on the secondary market—not paintings directly from Picasso's studio. Kootz held two shows with work he acquired from Picasso: January 27-February 15, 1947 (ten paintings), and January 26-February 14, 1948 (fourteen paintings of 1941-47). For Picasso's relationship with Rosenberg and involvement in the art market from 1900 to 1940, see FitzGerald, Making Modernism. During the war, Picasso sold a small number of works to Carré and probably traded a few through Martin Fabiani, a dealer who was later condemned for collaborating with the Nazis. On July 28, 1943, Picasso drew a series of portraits of Fabiani in the artist's studio on the rue des Grands-Augustins. Fabiani described the session in Quand j'étais marchand de tableaux (Paris: Julliard, 1976), p. 127.

39. Paris: Les Grands Peintres Modernes et le Livre, 1948.

40. For a discussion of Picasso's portrayals of children throughout his career, see Werner Spies, *Picasso's World of Children* (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1994).

41. Particularly *The Painter's Family*, 1911 (The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg).

42. See Cowling and Golding, *Picasso: Sculptor/Painter*, pp. 275–76. Gilot stated her belief that the sculptures were inspired by her recent pregnancies and reflect Picasso's wish that she would bear him a third child (*Life with Picasso*, p. 295).

43. For a discussion of these murals, see Kirsten Hoving Keen, "Picasso's Communist Interlude: The Murals of 'War' and 'Peace,'" *The Burlington Magazine* 122 (July 1980), pp. 464–70.

44. In a letter dated December 16, 1956, Roland Penrose wrote to Alfred H. Barr, Jr., concerning Picasso's response on learning that Hungarians protesting against Soviet rule had held aloft a reproduction of the Massacre in Korea: "He seems relieved that he is no longer, unlike many French intellectuals, identified with the party line on this particular issue." Penrose also told Barr that Picasso had signed an open letter to L'Humanité protesting the French Communist Party's support for the Soviet's suppression of the revolt. On January 16, 1957. Barr replied: "Of course I am pleased that he signed the open letter to L'Humanité, but I can't help feeling a certain sense of disgust that it should have taken him so long to declare what has been so painfully obvious to the rest of the world, namely that the communist press everywhere is a great deal more corrupt than the non-communist press." All correspondence in The Museum of Modern Art Archives, Alfred H. Barr, Jr., Papers, Box 2, Subgroup II, series C.

45. For Gilot's work as a artist, see Françoise

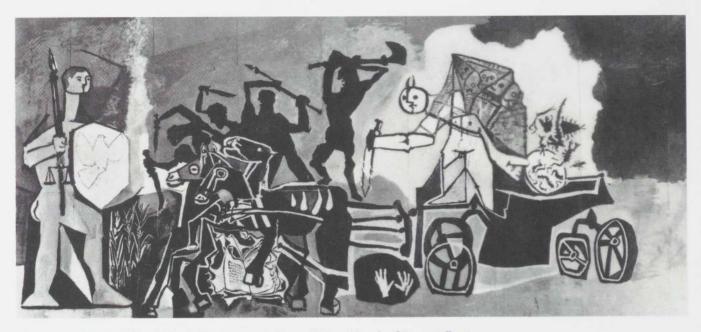
Gilot: An Artist's Journey, introduction and interview by Barbara Haskell, foreword by Danièle Giraudy (New York: The Atlantic Monthly Press, 1987).

46. In September 1953, Picasso made a number of ink drawings showing silhouettes of himself, Françoise, Claude, and Paloma. For example, see Gilot, *Life with Picasso*, illustration following p. 176. As if to emphasize the breakup of his family, Picasso appears not to have depicted the entire group until after Françoise had left.

47. Cited in Roland Penrose, *Picasso: His Life* and Work (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), p. 406. Responding to Penrose's remark that his recent variations on Delacroix's *Women of Algiers* reminded him of Matisse's *odalisques*, Picasso said, "You are right, when Matisse died he left his odalisques to me as a legacy."



Portrait of Stalin in Les Lettres françaises, March 12–19, 1953



War, 1952. Oil on wood fiber, 401/8 × 185" (102 × 470 cm). Zervos XV, 196. Temple of Peace, Vallauris



Peace. 1952. Oil on wood fiber, 40¹/₈ × 185" (102 × 470 cm). Zervos XV, 197. Temple of Peace, Vallauris



Jacqueline Sitting. October 8, 1954. Oil on canvas, 57¹/₂ × 44⁷/₈" (146 × 114 cm). Zervos XVI, 328. Private collection

The Jacqueline Portraits in the Pattern of Picasso's Art

WILLIAM RUBIN

f The Museum of Modern Art's exhaustive 1980 retrospective of Picasso's work succeeded, it was in part by unexpectedly disclosing an artist less given to sudden changes in style than to incremental advances. Only by bringing together a sufficient number of paintings with a comparable representation of drawings and sculptures was it possible to provide a context for the familiar "monuments" that would make visible their filiation within Picasso's imagery. An artist whose career had seemed mercurial, characterized by a patchwork of contrasting styles, was revealed as a focused—indeed, sometimes relentless—explorer of even the most remote implications of his pictorial inventions.

It also became clearer than before that changes in Picasso's painting, while often interrelated with events in his private life, had a quite evident logic of their own, subject to a dialectic (see p. 37) deriving as much from temperament and instinct as from intellect. In some phases of Picasso's career, the crucial 1906 Gosol period for example, the 1980 retrospective was able to explore close-up, as it were, the processes of what we may characterize as the artist's pictorial thought. This kind of study was renewed in the 1984 examination of *The Young Picasso* at the Bern Museum, the 1988 *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* exhibition at the Musée Picasso in Paris, and The Museum of Modern Art's 1989 scrutiny of the Picasso and Braque dialogue. As a result of these and other in-depth reviews of small areas in the artist's oeuvre, particularly those organized by the Museu Picasso in Barcelona, critics and public began increasingly to perceive a kind of continuity in the artist's career where none seemed to have existed before—a consistency as regards his fundamental approach to making art. This integrality was not the conventional one provided by a signature style, but constituted instead a unity of mind, eye, temperament, and purpose on the part of a single individual who had tasked himself with probing the nature and testing the limits of pictorial representation an inquiry that often took precedence over the fullest possible realization of individual paintings and sculptures.

Picasso's explorations of new (but also renewed) ways of imaging effectively questioned, short-circuited, and ultimately overrode prevailing assumptions about style. His development presupposed that style—what Mark Rothko and other of my Abstract Expressionist friends used to call "my image"—was in a sense a trap into which artists could fall far too willingly, closing themselves off from the richest possible pictorial materialization of their thoughts and identities. Picasso transgressed style in part by questioning its implicit historicity and by inundating his various manners with alternatives, which his work threw off like mutations in the process of natural selection. All artists generate some of these alternatives, but the commitment to a concept of style often



Portrait of Sylvette David. April 21, 1954. Lead pencil on paper, $12\frac{5}{8} \times 9\frac{3}{8}$ " (32 × 24 cm). Zervos XVI, 284. Private collection

constrains them from following them up. Picasso, as observed in my introductory essay, made no bones about his distaste for the constraints of style. This stance took no small courage; the only other twentieth-century artists who consciously induced multiple manners in their work —Max Ernst and André Masson, for example—found that posture detrimental to their careers.

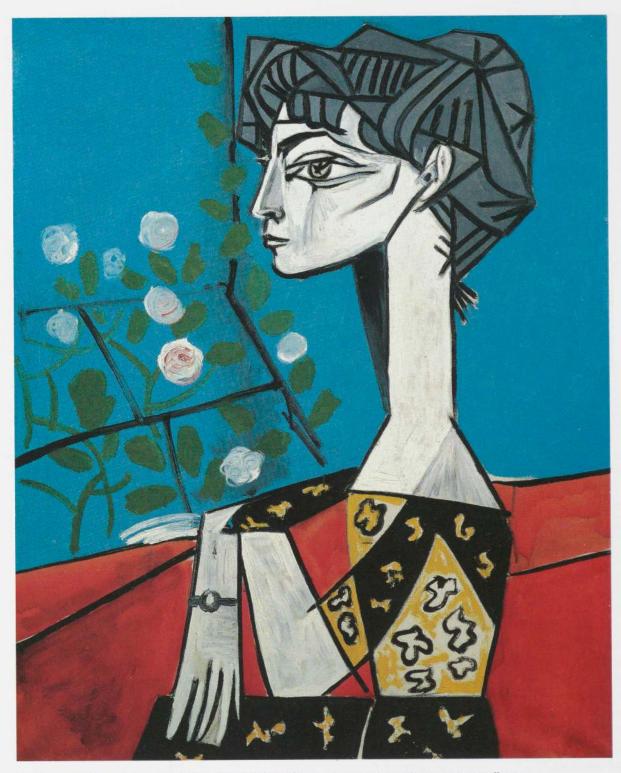
That I return here to a consideration of style follows from the fact that Picasso's portrayals of his second wife, Jacqueline Roque, not only constitute the largest single group of his portraits, but dominate the work of the artist's seventies and eighties. These would be precisely the years in question if art historians were to measure Picasso for an *Altersstil*, or old-age style. To the extent that it is possible to use this term in relation to twentiethcentury art, the late *papiers découpés* of Matisse must surely constitute its most logical model, one whose distinctiveness reveals not only a distillation but a sublimation of the artist's earlier work.

The articulation of Picasso's career shows a very different kind of pattern. That his late work does *not* in fact reveal an *Altersstil*, even in the sense exemplified by Matisse's, Bonnard's, and Mondrian's later works (and especially not in the sense of those of Michelangelo, Titian, or Rembrandt) should hardly come as a surprise, for Picasso was without a signature style to begin with.[†] But consideration of the Jacqueline portraits nevertheless raises the question of how the dynamics of Picasso's late work compare with and relate to those of his prior career, and whether the last decades of his art cannot be said to have betrayed consistent differences or particular inflections that were incumbent upon his advanced age.

We see an enormous stylistic variety and range of mediums in Picasso's work over the almost twenty years of the Jacqueline portraits. A number of superb works were realized throughout this period, although, in the final ten years of the artist's life, proportionately fewer of these were paintings and more were drawings and prints. Picasso and Jacqueline had first met in 1952,² and the artist began making portraits of her in the spring of 1954. Thirteen of the seventeen oils of Jacqueline chosen for this exhibition were painted during the first decade of their relationship. Only four come from the final ten years, although these are among the best. Indeed, the last of these portraits, the poignant and sumptuously painted Jacqueline of 1971 (p. 481), is one of the most moving of Picasso's paintings, a consummation of his imagery of his wife.

The accepted model for Picasso's career consists of a succession of "periods": Blue, Rose, Iberian, "African," Cubist, Neoclassical, etc. Skeptics of his art have tended to interpret this changing sequence as reflecting a shallowness and lack of conviction on Picasso's part, a superabundance of talent as over and against genius and, above all, a lack of unity in his work. Braque, for example, at a time of great dissatisfaction with Picasso for seemingly having deserted Cubism for Neoclassicism, wrote Kahnweiler denigrating his erstwhile colleague as a "virtuoso full of talent," and arguing that "the only real constant in this artist [Picasso] is his temperament."3 Braque was perhaps being less critical here than he intended, for Cézanne himself had emphasized "temperament" as the primary requisite of a great painter.4 And if we place such qualities as ambition, daring, intellect, wit, energy, and persistence under the general rubric of temperament, we are well on the way to understanding the cohesiveness of Picasso's oeuvre.

To be sure, the aim of Braque's angry letter was, quite contrarily, to establish Picasso as the paradigm of the "antigenius," the antithesis, in effect, of Cézanne, and to cast him as a painter whose astonishing talent blinded one to the (implied) shallowness of his message. But Braque, like many later critics of Picasso, oversimplified and misconstrued the dynamics of his art. Given the Spaniard's enormous gifts, virtuosity was something that he not surprisingly considered a great danger precisely if and when an artist remained for a long period in a single, unchanging style. Such a commitment doomed the painter, Picasso felt, to a self-imposed academicism.⁵ Hence, within the unique dialectic of Picasso's development, his recurrent changes in style represented less an exercise of



Jacqueline with Flowers. June 3, 1954. Oil on canvas, 39³/₈ × 31⁷/₈" (100 × 81 cm). Zervos XVI, 325. Private collection

talent than a reaction *against* the dangers of virtuosity.

Style was clearly associated in Picasso's mind with received values and ideas, and he placed virtuosity in the same category inasmuch as it also can be defined only by reference to prior models.⁶ Picasso considered virtuosity a Satan he had to get behind him. While arguably the most brilliant draftsman since Leonardo (if a man of a less mature though more focused ego than the Italian master), he sometimes clearly succumbed to it. Most geniuses in the plastic arts are not menaced by such an excess of talent, which is all virtuosity really is. Cézanne, for one, had little talent. But he had the mind, eye, and—in his art, at least—the ethical stamina to turn that absence to advantage.⁷ Talent is cheap; it can be found in any art school. Picasso understood early on that the payoff was on genius —not on the hand that executes, but on the mind and



Head of a Woman (Jacqueline). October 18, 1954. Ink on paper, 14 × 10⁵/s[°] (35.5 × 27 cm). Zervos XVI, 335. Private collection

imagination that tells it what to do.

In a lecture almost half a century ago, Meyer Schapiro argued that those who saw Picasso's art as without focus and unity had missed the over-arching coherence of it.8 This could not be grasped, Schapiro said, by searching in it for the usual patterns of order (as exemplified by A-B-A, A-B-A-C-A-D, etc., or A-A'-A"-A"' and the like). Picasso's career, Schapiro suggested, might be better likened to the letters A-B-C-D-E-F-G, etc., that is, the sequence of the entire alphabet-its oneness made up of unique, hence different, parts within an extended but ultimately closed system. The unity was not in the structure or style of Picasso's successive works so much as in the way the author had been able to imprint himself on all its aspects. Indeed, if temperament means the particular tuning of the mind and spirit, it is precisely temperament that provides the viewer of even Picasso's failed pictures with a minimal visual reward often absent from the bad pictures of other good painters: the excitement of the transmutation into purely plastic energy of an extraordinary and convincing temperament.

We have by now become sufficiently familiar with Picasso's heretofore unknown or little known work to see that even the "model" Schapiro had proposed implies the legitimacy of the received periodicity of supposedly successive styles and fails to take into account the *cumulative* aspect of the artist's stylistic inventions which, once acquired, remained permanently accessible to him in the form of an *a priori* vocabulary. One has only to list the attributes that account for the names of each of Picasso's so-called periods to become aware of the problems of the traditional periodicity, not the least of which is the assumption that these "periods" denote, like the letters of the alphabet, comparable *kinds* of entities. Yet what prompts us to use the term "Blue" for Picasso's pictures of 1903 or "African" for those of 1907 is different both in nature and in kind from what has led to the characterization of the work of 1907–14 as Cubist, or some of the work of 1915–23 as Neoclassical.

Several of Picasso's "periods" did not even mark any real change in style. The Rose period, for example, differed from the preceding Blue period primarily in that the dominant tonality, an inherited Symbolist mood-creating device, shifted from Blue to Rose. Although Picasso's attitude toward his subjects became more affirmative and less sentimental, his drawing more decisive, and his brushwork freer and more emphatic, the Rose period portraits are ultimately in the same style as most of those of the Blue period. Indeed, there are greater differences in the morphologies of style within the Blue period works of 1903 alone, between portraits such as that of Sabartés (p. 239) or Carlota Valdivia (Celestina, p. 243) and the stylized, highly attenuated, more generic Grecoesque images, such as the Old Guitarist,9 than there are between the characteristic portraits of the two "periods." Picasso's



Head of a Woman (Jacqueline). December 9, 1954. Ink on paper, $16\frac{7}{8} \times 13\frac{5}{8}$ " (43 × 34.5 cm). Zervos XVI, 337. Private collection

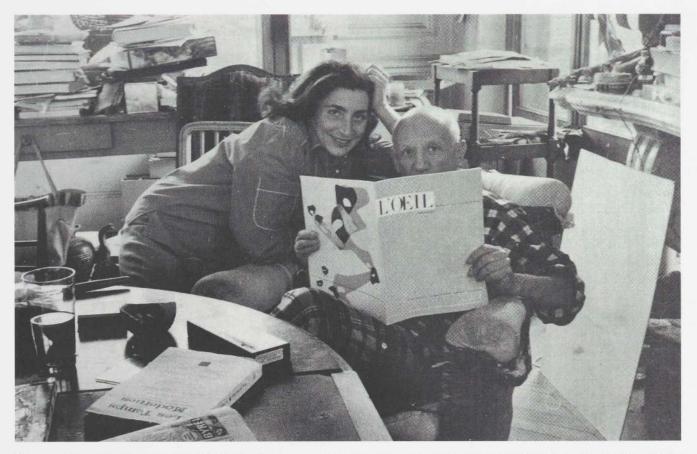


Jacqueline with Folded Legs. October 5, 1954. Oil and charcoal on canvas, $36^{1/4} \times 28^{3/4}$ " (92 × 73 cm). Zervos XVI, 326. Private collection

development resists theoretical (indeed, logical) characterization as much as Mondrian's invites it. Its "messiness" was mirrored in his human relationships and in the seeming disorder¹⁰ and heterogeneity of his studios, which reflected Picasso's art as much as Mondrian's studios mirrored his.

To recognize the significant stylistic dualism existing in

the work of the year 1903 alone is to understand that, even before the astonishing caesura represented by *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, Picasso's development was far from the monolinear one assumed by use of the familiar periodicity and exemplified in a career like Mondrian's. Any vestiges of such a linear chronological thread disappear definitively in Picasso's work during the "Iberian" period



Picasso and Jacqueline Roque reading L'Oeil, in the dining room of La Californie, above Cannes, 1957. Photograph by Roland Penrose. Lee Miller Archives

of 1906, when he began working in a manner more conceptual than perceptual. It is between Gosol and the *Demoiselles* that his art passes from the stylized to the transformative, and its rate of change begins to accelerate exponentially; in the year that separates the Gosol works from the *Demoiselles*, one can distinguish at least half a dozen substyles jostling and tumbling over each other. By the time of the great canvas, it has become a question of Picasso's using multiple styles not simply in the same month, week, or day, but in the same picture.

One of the tasks of Picasso criticism in the last two decades has been to atomize the traditional "periodistic" visualization of his work with a view to anatomizing it in a truer form. Cubism, for example, had already been subdivided during Alfred H. Barr, Jr.'s generation into Analytic and Synthetic phases.¹¹ But the next generation found this two-part schema inadequate. First *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, long taken to have been Cubism's foundation, had to be almost entirely severed from its definition in order for the term to make any sense as a style. Then the "primitivist" Cubism of 1908, as in the portraits of Madame Putman (p. 272), Fernande (p. 271), and especially the two formerly overlooked monuments —the various stages of *Three Women* (St. Petersburg) and *Bread and Fruitdish on a Table* (Basel)¹²—had to be modified by the prefix "early" to identify it as a mode that preceded "Analytic" Cubism; the latter would be used now only for pictures dating from the summer of 1909 at Horta through the immediately succeeding years.

Yet the increased knowledge of the differences between the sculpturally modeled Horta pictures of 1909, the abstract and more painterly scaffoldings of those from Cadaqués a year later, and the luminous, highly painterly canvases from Céret of 1911 led to the term "early Analytic Cubism" in order to mark off those 1909 pictures from the works of 1910, to which the "early" was no longer applicable, and those of Céret and Paris from 1911 and early 1912, for which the prefix "high" was frequently added.

The illusoriness of Cubism's periodicity, even as modified by the introduction of these salami-slicing, substylistic terms, became painfully clear in the *Picasso and Braque* exhibition. There, one witnessed the unfolding in Picasso's work of a continuous if complex fabric of ideas (further enriched by his dialogue with Braque), whose sometimes meandering formulations entirely resisted the teleology heretofore imprinted on Cubism by the critics, art historians, and museologists of the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s. For the most part, these writers had extrapolated



Jacqueline in a Black Scarf. October 11, 1954. Oil on canvas, 36¹/₄ × 28³/₄" (92 × 73 cm). Zervos XVI, 331. Private collection



Women of Algiers, after Delacroix. December 13, 1954. Oil on canvas, 22 × 283/4" (60 × 73 cm). Zervos XVI, 342. Private collection

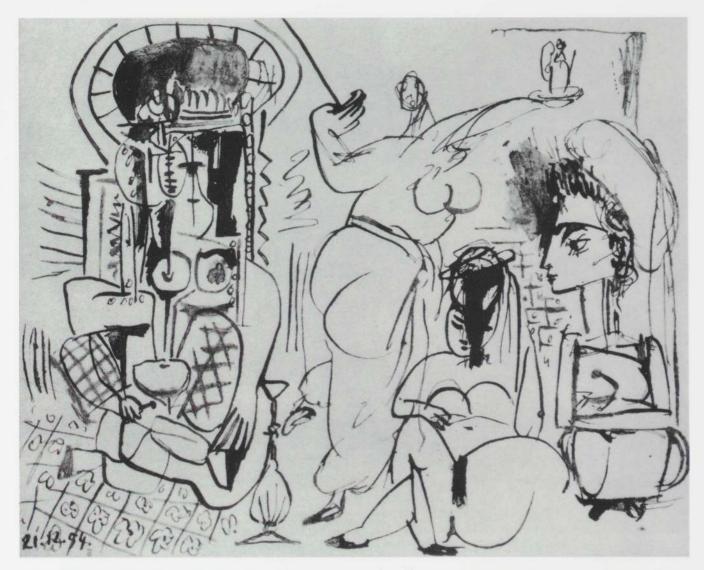
their ideas from conclusions Mondrian (and, to a lesser extent, Malevich, Delaunay, and Kupka) drew from Picasso's and Braque's work.

We know that periodicity, even at its most sophisticated, involves deeply problematic generalizations imposed on history to give it an order that makes it manageable for discourse. We are all aware that we do not go to sleep one night in the Romanesque period and get up the next morning in the Gothic. But the absolute mincemeat made of even the most developed periodicity for Cubism by the evidence of the Picasso and Braque show suggested that, while we probably must continue to use "period" terminology for reasons of convenience, we must constantly remind ourselves of the ultimate erroneousness of this sort of schema as regards the shape of Picasso's career in general and his Cubism in particular. That means confronting a surprising fact: during the five years separating primitivist early Cubism of 1908 from the Synthetic Cubism of 1912-13 (and its concomitants,

collage and construction), there are greater differences in style and conception in Picasso's art, quantitatively speaking, than those which distinguish the styles of the Romanesque and Gothic periods at their most different.

Cubism, as referring to Picasso's art of 1908 to 1914, can hardly be interpreted, then, as representing a single coherent style. There is not a season, hardly a month, during these years in which Picasso's pictures do not reflect profound quantitative changes in anything we might seriously define with the latter word. The only common denominator that remains from the dynamic of those years is the continuously transformative character of the work itself. But this cannot be said to constitute the unifying principle of Cubism inasmuch as, to a greater or lesser degree, it characterizes the concatenation of his career as a whole.

Thus, the changes in Picasso's work, throughout his career, have no evolutionary or teleological destiny. They



Study for Women of Algiers, after Delacroix. December 21, 1954. Ink on paper, 135/8 × 171/8" (34.5 × 43.5 cm). Zervos XVI, 344. Musée Picasso, Paris



Study for Women of Algiers, after Delacroix. January 23, 1955. Pen and ink on paper, 165/8 × 215/8" (42.1 × 55 cm). Zervos XVI, 350. Musée Picasso, Paris



Women of Algiers, after Delacroix. February 14, 1955. Oil on canvas, 45 × 57 1/2" (114.2 × 146 cm). Zervos XVI, 360. Collection Sally Ganz

are guided rather by the inclusionist tendencies of an artist fascinated, above all, by the nature of representation itself. Picasso accepts that he is, to some extent, bound by his moment in history. He feels it incumbent upon him, however, not only to develop new forms that express his own spirit and thus those of his epoch, but to re-explore past art to discover whatever aspects of its language might once again be rendered viable—in effect, to exploit the presentness of the past.

As Picasso expands the range of his artistic language, no discovery is ever lost; new ideas may linger unused for years before being explored, presumably because new contexts will not yet have warranted their exploitation. But they are never forgotten. As the vocabulary of modalities, morphologies, and styles of Picasso's art begins to accelerate in 1906–07, the artist sometimes puts out ideas and absorbs influences with which he will only really come to grips four to fifteen years later.¹³ But by 1914, the four prevailing tendencies of his career—Cubist, classicist, expressionist, and surreal—are already evident, though evidences of the latter two are relatively fragmentary; they would be the object of particular exploration in the period between the two world wars.

Picasso continued to add new discoveries to his expanding gamut of styles during the years immediately following World War II, spent largely with Françoise Gilot, and through the first decade of his life with Jacqueline. But the frequency of new ideas during those years diminished. Except for a few moments of crisis— "black-holes," relatively speaking, in his career¹⁴—Picasso had maintained an altogether remarkable creative intensity between 1906 and 1939. Only the standard he himself had set permits us to say that there are fewer inventions during the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s than before, for the *best* work of those years was still remarkable by the standards of any other artist.

In 1954, the year of his definitive break with Françoise, Picasso executed the only large series of pictures that reflect a real inauthenticity of feeling—the portraits for which Sylvette David modeled.¹⁵ Many of these suffer from a pouting, modish notion of chic that belongs more to the model (and the predilections of her generation)



Jacqueline in a Turkish Jacket. November 1955. Oil on canvas, 317/8 × 255/8" (81 × 65 cm) Not in Zervos. Private collection

than to the taste of Picasso himself. This series sounded a momentary knell in the artist's work that seems successfully to have reminded Picasso that he, at least, could only make great art from subjects that truly involved him. One has but to compare the Sylvette portraits with those of Jacqueline made later in that same year to see why, unlike Matisse, Picasso had eschewed models virtually all his mature life, preferring to paint individuals whose lives had both impinged on, and had real significance for, his own.

Picasso's continuing psychic stamina was reflected in his ability to repress the profound hurt and distraction caused by Françoise's definitive parting from him, an acceptance of the inevitable that opened the way for what would become a final great love of his life. Françoise may have made the same mistake as some others before her: that of assuming Picasso's love for her would give her



Bust of a Woman (Jacqueline). January 21, 1955. Drypoint, $13^{1/2} \times 9^{15/16}$ (34.3 × 25.3 cm). Geiser/Baer IV, 914. Private collection

primacy in his life. But Picasso had always made clear that the primary and only permanent bond in his life was with his art—and that love of women (or children) would, if necessary, be sacrificed to its purposes.

Jacqueline never forced Picasso to choose; his relationship with her was not the agonizing, novelistic kind of love that the artist had experienced in certain of his earlier liaisons. Picasso did not have to win Jacqueline from another man, nor struggle to keep her. Her understated, gentle, and loving personality combined with her unconditional commitment to him provided an emotionally stable life and a dependable foyer over a longer period of time than he had ever before enjoyed. The dissatisfactions, rages, and moments of depression continued, of course. But they were less frequent than in prior years, and Jacqueline knew how to brush aside and defuse Picasso's provocations and incitements to the kind of emotional agon that had characterized, in particular, his liaisons with Dora Maar and Françoise Gilot. Especially during the final decade, Jacqueline's presence was constant, day and night, dutifully keeping Picasso company in his studio or sitting at work in her adjacent alcove. Jacqueline's selfless patience and protectiveness inevitably took their toll. After Picasso died, she was unable to reconstruct a life for herself and, following the opening

of the Musée Picasso in Paris, she seemed to have sensed her earthly mission accomplished.

Jacqueline with Flowers (p. 449), Picasso's first painting of his future second wife, well captures certain of her features, such as her patrician nose and small chin. But it is a view of her that is inhabited—not surprisingly, given the characteristic "carry-over" in the artist's imagery—by the elongated neck and concomitant concerns for elegance that had marked the immediately prior Sylvette series (p. 448). This "mannerist" elongation (it was no more an attribute of Sylvette's neck than of Jacqueline's) would disappear from the artist's images of the latter in the course of the following year (1955), as Picasso's relationship with her deepened.

The most important stylistic influence inhabiting *Jacqueline with Flowers* is that of Matisse, with whom Picasso had renewed his personal dialogue a few years earlier. Not that one would mistake the drawing style here, with its mordant sculptural edge or the picture's dense, hard color, for that of Matisse. But the painting does pay homage to the French master in its open-ended planarity and in the decorative patterning of Jacqueline's dress and the flowers below and behind her. Jacqueline's almost frontal eye, inscribed on the profile of her head, though by now somewhat formulaic, also functions inevitably as a reference to the *Demoiselles* and, by implication, to the contemporaneous ritual that



Jacqueline as Lola de Valence, after Manet. October 4, 1955. India ink on paper, $12\frac{5}{8} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ " (32 × 24 cm). Zervos XVI, 479. Private collection



Portrait of Jacqueline. May 3, 1955. Charcoal and India ink on paper, $26 \times 19^{7/8}$ " (66 × 50.5 cm). Zervos XVI, 389. Private collection



Jacqueline as an Equestrian, after Velázquez. March 10, 1959. India ink and colored pencil on paper, $14\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{5}{8}$ " (37 × 27 cm). Zervos XVIII, 367. Private collection



Portrait of Jacqueline. May 4, 1955. Charcoal and India ink on paper, 25% × 195% " (65 × 50 cm). Zervos XVI, 390. Private collection

cemented Picasso's friendship with Matisse: their exchange of paintings.¹⁶

The frontal eye in *Jacqueline with Flowers* was used primarily to communicate the pride of an almost imperious gaze, a kind of feminine counterpart to Picasso's own *mirada fuerte*.¹⁷ When I met Jacqueline with the painter fifteen years later, her pronounced, erect carriage and focused, intense gaze were constant aspects of her body language. But John Richardson's impressions of her were somewhat different, suggesting that certain of her expressions were unconsciously absorbed over time from Picasso's images of her, which reinforced the artist's fantasies about the prophetic nature of his art.¹⁸

October 1954 witnessed a number of Picasso's best early portraits of Jacqueline. *Jacqueline with Folded Legs* (p. 451), an endearing charcoal-on-canvas profile portrait, shows the sitter poised in her rocking chair. It was probably intended originally as the early stage of a painting that would have formed a pair with the oil of three days later (p. 446). As was almost certainly also the case with such superb charcoal portraits on canvas as those of Marie-Thérèse (p. 372) and Nusch Eluard (p. 84), the artist must have realized that his preparation was so perfect in its own right that he determined not to paint over it. A soft-focus realism similar to that of the large charcoal drawing was deployed in characterizing Jacqueline in an



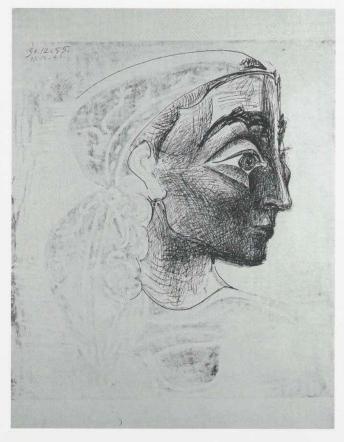
Jacqueline Roque (detail) at La Californie, 1956. Photograph by André Villers



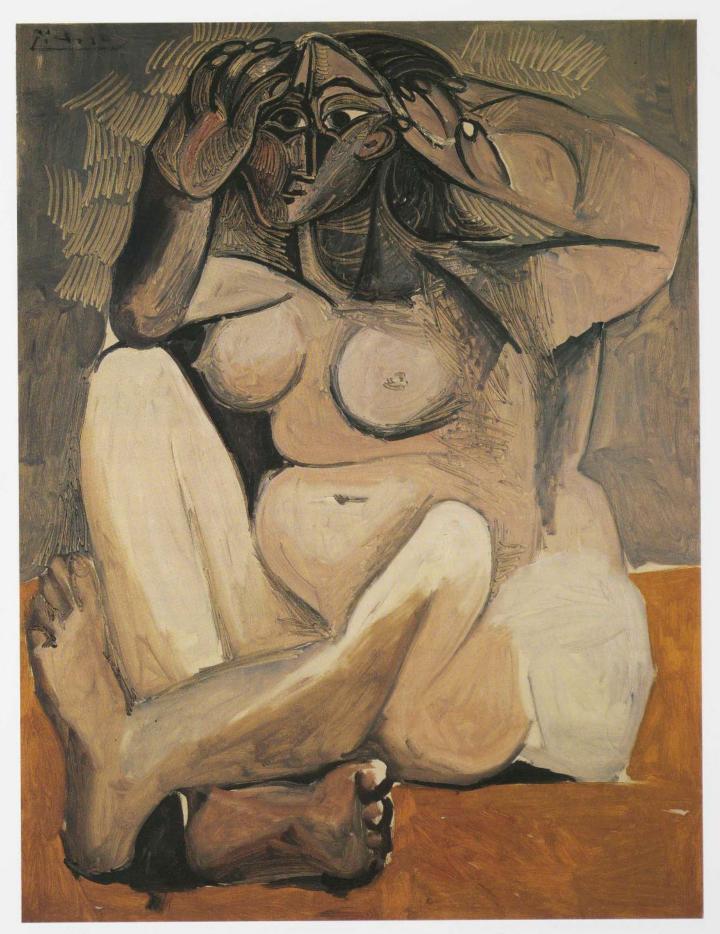
Jacqueline in a Head Scarf. December 28, 1955. Linocut, $21\frac{5}{8} \times 20^{\frac{1}{8}}$ (54.9 × 51.1 cm). Geiser/Baer IV, 1033. Collection Marina Picasso, courtesy Galerie Jan Krugier, Geneva



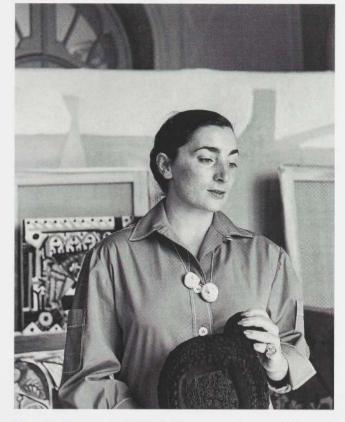
Portrait of a Woman (Jacqueline). December 29, 1955. Lithograph, $25^{3}/_{16} \times 14^{15}/_{16}$ " (64 × 38 cm). Bloch 780. Museu Picasso, Barcelona



Portrait of Jacqueline. December 30–31, 1955. Pen and India ink over linocut proof of print illustrated above, 26 × 20[°] (66 × 58 cm). Zervos XVI, 525. Museum Ludwig, Collection Ludwig, Cologne



Seated Nude (Jacqueline). January 3, 1956. Oil on canvas, 46 × 35" (117 × 89 cm). Zervos XVII, 2. Private collection





Jacqueline Roque at La Californie (detail), 1956. Photograph by André Villers

oil of the following week: the tender *Jacqueline in a Black Scarf* (p. 453), in which the sitter is again shown in her rocking chair but now with the directness of a frontal view. Despite the pervasive painterliness of this picture, Picasso has modeled Jacqueline's head in a more sculptural manner than elsewhere in the image. This decision, in combination with her serene, internalized gaze and the manner in which the black scarf encircles her face, recalls the 1906 Gosol portraits of Fernande.¹⁹

I spoke in my introductory essay about Picasso's habit of associating the women in his life with figures from earlier paintings by the masters he admired. Among the artists with whom Jacqueline was paired were Delacroix, Velázquez, and Manet (see, for example, her equestrian portrait, a gloss on Velázquez's royal portraits such as Baltasar Carlos on Horseback, and her personification as Manet's Lola de Valence, pp. 458, 459). Picasso had paraphrased (and parodied) the paintings of early Spanish and French masters since his youth. These did not represent an attempt to outstrip the earlier artists or improve upon their work, as is sometimes suggested. Certainly Picasso, like most other great artists, felt himself in competition with the best painters of the past as well as those of the present. But his paraphrases always reflected a deep and affectionate affinity with the painters evoked; and

Head of a Woman (Jacqueline). January 25, 1957. Colored crayon on paper, $25^{7/8} \times 20^{1/8''}$ (65.7 × 51.1 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection

Picasso's psychology in them, though not competitive, was anodynely cannibalistic. By taking apart and reconstituting another artist's picture, Picasso could better digest that painter's particular "magic." Whatever Picasso extrapolated from a painter's work, the result was always intended as an autonomous object, no different in kind from Picasso's other paintings.

Paraphrases such as those that compare Jacqueline to Manet's Lola de Valence are to be found here and there, with varying frequency, throughout Picasso's career, largely in drawings. But large groups or "series" of paintings and drawings based on a single work begin only in the 1950s (those extrapolated in 1932 from the *Crucifixion* panel of Grünewald's Isenheim Altarpiece were all drawings). These late groups were less paraphrases than extended variations on a theme, and they sometimes carried Picasso so far from his original source that, without their contexts, we might not always recognize them for what they are.²⁰

The stage had been set for Picasso's late series of Old Master variations by the extraordinary success of his 1950 paraphrase of Courbet's *Women on the Banks of the Seine*.²¹ This relatively little known large painting in the Basel Kunstmuseum is one of Picasso's great masterpieces, a picture that one might even prefer to Courbet's superb



Portrait of Jacqueline. February 13, 1957. Collage and charcoal on paper, $26 \times 20^{1/8}$ " (66 × 51 cm). Not in Zervos. Private collection



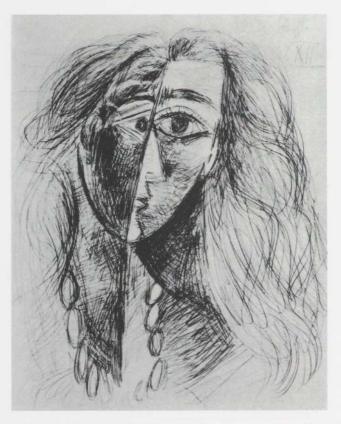
Head of a Woman. February 14, 1957. Gouache, colored pencil, and ink on paper, $26 \times 19^{3/4}$ " (66 × 50 cm). Zervos XVII, 330. Private collection

antecedent. Picasso had often admired and studied Delacroix's *Women of Algiers* on his visits to the Louvre, and the sketches of figures from it drawn in the Royan notebook of 1940²² indicate that a project for some kind of encounter with this particular Delacroix painting had percolated in Picasso's mind for at least fifteen years before he undertook his extraordinary variations on it.

As to why Picasso's interest in Woman of Algiers was renewed in 1954, a few reasons suggest themselves. Picasso was obviously struck by the subsequently muchnoticed resemblance between Jacqueline and the woman crouching on the right in the Louvre version of Women of Algiers; this unusual "omen" might have been consciously or unconsciously an aspect of Picasso's initial attraction to her. (The resemblance exists mainly in the 1834 Louvre version of Delacroix's masterpiece, p. 484, left, not in the 1849 one in the Montpellier Museum, p. 484, right, though Picasso would exploit elements of the latter version as well in the course of his variations on them.) Marie-Laure Bernadac has characterized Jacqueline as "the ultimate odalisque" in terms of "her physique, in her strange likeness to one of the women in the [Delacroix] painting, in her temperament, her calm, her sensuous nature."23

The immediate trigger, however, for Picasso's variations on Delacroix's *Women of Algiers* was most probably the death of Matisse in November 1954. "Why shouldn't one inherit something from one's friends?"²⁴ Picasso later remarked apropos of Matisse's *odalisques*, which the artist liked to imagine Matisse "had left to me as a legacy."²⁵ Orientalism was, of course, nothing new for Picasso, who had been virtually traumatized by Ingres' *Turkish Bath*, when it re-emerged into public view in 1905.²⁶ Indeed, one of the earliest anticipations of *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* in Picasso's work had been the Ingres-inspired *Harem*,²⁷ which he painted at Gosol in summer 1906; this work celebrated the happiness of Picasso's first months of being truly alone with Fernande Olivier, whose face and figure would provide the starting point for all the *odalisques* in that picture.

Now Picasso was embarking with Jacqueline on what he no doubt hoped would be a parallel period of happiness. Jacqueline manifestly inhabited Delacroix's Orientalist vision in the Louvre; Picasso would assert his rights again to the dream of the Levant that he associated, as a result of the work Matisse did there, with that artist's long sojourn on the Côte d'Azur (so opposite in spirit from Picasso's Paris-oriented, *engagé* life). It was surely not by accident that, just a month after the completion of his *Women of Algiers* variations, while he was still at work on "postludes" showing Jacqueline dressed in Turkish garb (p. 457), Picasso purchased for their idyll a spacious villa, La Californie, in Cannes. Its bastardized



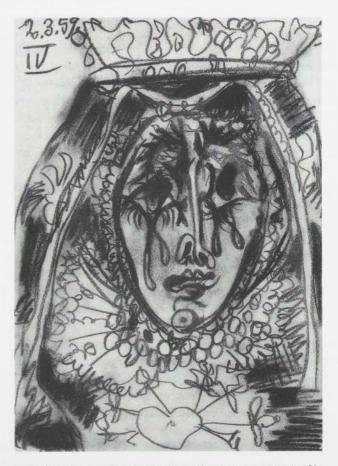
Portrait of a Woman. May 13, 1959. Lead pencil on paper, $16\frac{1}{2} \times 13^{"}$ (42 × 33 cm). Zervos XVIII, 480. Private collection

architecture featured, as Penrose and Richardson have observed,²⁸ virtually Neo-Moorish window motifs that smacked of the ambiance in which Picasso had pictured Jacqueline in his Delacroix paraphrases.

Picasso had begun his series of Women of Algiers on December 13, 1954, with a small oil sketch (p. 454) loosely based on the earlier Louvre version with which he was intimately familiar, but probably also with his eye cocked on a reproduction of the Montpellier version; clear in his memory was probably also Cézanne's Afternoon in Naples,²⁹ which had partially inspired his 1901 parody of Manet's Olympia. In this first Delacroix variation, there is no direct reference to Jacqueline, whose presence only becomes visible in the India ink sketch of December 21 (p, 455, top). And while there are occasional hints of her in subsequent compositions (such as the oil sketch of January 16, 1955), she does not really appear again until her reincarnation as the *odalisque* with the hookah on the left of the final variation (p. 456). Of course, the real drama of Picasso's Women of Algiers has to do not with Jacqueline but with that extended exploration of pictorial means analyzed so closely in Leo Steinberg's classic text³⁰ -a remarkably profound and detailed plotting of Picasso's intricate artistic thought.

The end of 1955 would witness Picasso's most penetrating image of Jacqueline, a linoleum print (p. 460, top right) that plumbs her fragile equilibrium and her vulnerability to despair, foreshadowing the Jacqueline that one often discovered in Mougins following the painter's death. No other portrait of Jacqueline in any medium so totally captures these tragic aspects of her nature; next to this, her visualization four years later as the *Mater Dolorosa* (below) appears almost a caricature (and perhaps was partly so intended). The artist's daily portrayals of her document a regained composure; we might imagine that the Cubistic and architecturally structured lithographic portrait made of her the following day (p. 460) was Picasso's attempt "magically" to prop her up, while the India ink drawing made over a lightly printed proof of the linocut itself (p. 460), executed a day later, records Jacqueline's uneasy return to the world of the living.

Surely one of the most extraordinarily inventive portraits Picasso ever painted is the *Seated Nude* of 1959 (opposite). Its particular resonance derives from a harmonious melding and resolution of contraries—expressionist "distortion" and Cubist-derived structure. Rarely was Picasso able to make so imperiously manifest the sheer power and sureness of the aesthetic decision-making process. In few other portraits has he derived so much tension from the analogies and contrasts between the structure of the figure and that of the chair in which she

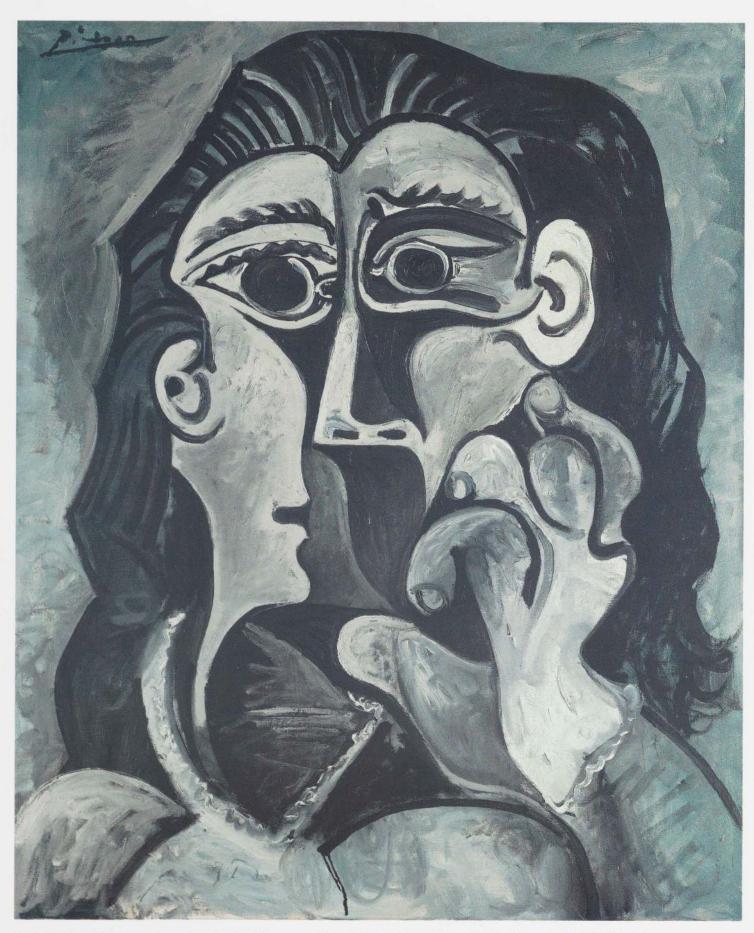


Mater Dolorosa. March 2, 1959. Lithographic crayon on paper, $14\frac{3}{8} \times 10\frac{5}{8}$ " (37 × 27 cm). Zervos XVIII, 338. Private collection

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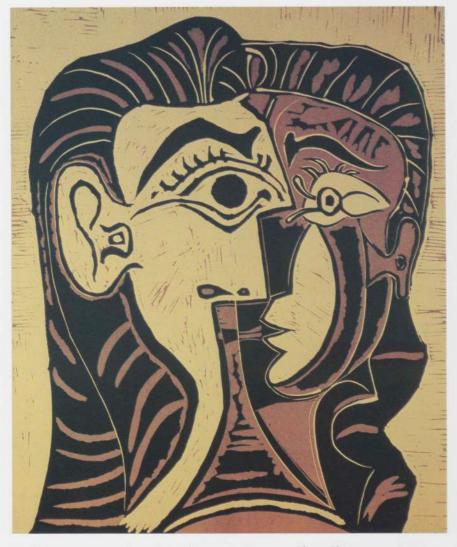
Seated Nude (Jacqueline). 1959. Oil on canvas, 57¹/₂ × 45["] (146 × 114.2 cm). Zervos XVIII, 308. Private collection



Head of a Woman (Jacqueline). December 18, 1961. Oil on canvas, 39³/₈ × 31⁷/₈" (100 × 81 cm). Zervos XXIII, 1. Collection M. and W. Staehelin



Head of a Woman (Jacqueline). December 20, 1961. Lead pencil on paper, $12\frac{5}{8} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ " (32 × 24 cm). Zervos XX, 163. Private collection



Head of a Woman (Jacqueline). December 21, 1961. Linocut, $25^{3}\!/_{16}\times20^{7}\!/_8$ " (64 \times 53 cm). Geiser/Baer V, 1278. Museu Picasso, Barcelona

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Woman in an Armchair (Jacqueline). January 2, 1962. Oil on canvas, $63^{3/4} \times 51^{1/4}$ " (162 × 130 cm). Zervos XX, 179. Private collection



Woman in a Yellow Hat (Jacqueline). December 19, 1961–January 20, 1962. Oil on canvas, 36 × 28³/₄" (91.5 × 73 cm). Zervos XX, 162. Private collection

sits, or between the silhouette of figure and chair together as opposed to the shaping of the residual background areas of wall and floor. The power of the self-inhibiting rectangle formed by Jacqueline's two arms, right breast, and exaggerated clasped hands is remarkable. The parallelism between the chair's right arm and Jacqueline's left upper arm obliges us to compare the architecture of her tightly locked but animated form with that of the inanimate object on which she sits, and to find the latter comparatively lacking in tensile strength. Even the continuous diagonal formed by her right lower leg and foot, and the vertical of the left one, play a more emphatic structural role in the composition than the solidly rectilinear legs of the chair.

Few portraits by Picasso boast a more extraordinary asymmetry of the human face than this *Seated Nude*. The

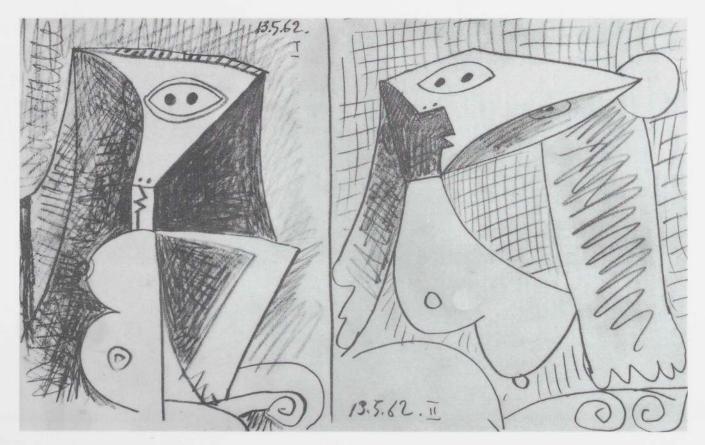
manner in which Jacqueline's right cheek is pulled out laterally in a way that allows its plane to "double" as that of her forearm, and her right ear to approach her elbow so as to enhance the analogy between the two shapes, is pictorial invention at its highest. The "down and dirty" flesh tones of Jacqueline's body are one with the *expressivo* of her underarm hair, whose prickly patterns creep up to the top of her head; its rhythms are echoed in the brushwork, the sureness and determination of which make many "gestural" pictures of the 1950s look finicky by comparison.

Jacqueline's entire pose is one which emphasizes the containment and closure—if not the denial—of the self, psychological states made all the more poignant by the beggarliness of the homely props, such as the bottle of water and the high-heeled shoes. The latter are very consciously fixed at right angles to show simultaneously the objects' front and side views, with one parallel to the picture plane, the other moving through space but tilted upward. Thus the two together form a microcosm that re-enacts the fundamental plastic tension at work in the figure as a whole.

Perhaps because of their astonishing number, Picasso's individual pictures usually appear more a part of an ongoing exploration of ideas than do the successive pictures

of other artists. The four portraits of Jacqueline begun between December 18 and 21, 1961 (two oils, one drawing, and a linocut), provide an excellent illustration of the degree to which Picasso's pictures are linked with one another even in the absence of conscious serial intent. The concatenation of these four images does not follow the type of logic we find in such series as the eleven states of Bull³¹ (where, for example, the eleven representations pass from total painterliness to total linearity), or even in the looser series such as Women of Algiers. Yet the interrelationships are unmistakable, even though the order of the works sometimes contains surprises. Inasmuch as Picasso dated most of his work by the calendar day, at least from his middle years onward, we are facilitated in pursuing the task Picasso bequeathed us in undertaking this practice: to help "learn more about man in general through the study of the creative man." "I often think about such a science," Picasso continued, "and I want to leave to posterity a documentation that will be as complete as possible."32

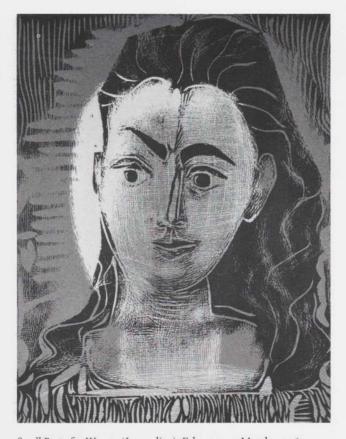
If Picasso's dating did not indicate otherwise, one would probably assume that the pencil drawing of Jacqueline with her head leaning on her hand, dated December 20, 1961 (p. 467, top), preceded—indeed, served as a sketch for—the monumental oil of December 18 (p. 466). Certainly that daring canvas, which attains its



Two Busts of a Woman (Jacqueline). May 13, 1962. Lead pencil on paper, 10 5/8 × 161/2" (27 × 42 cm). Zervos XX, 221. Private collection



Seated Woman (Jacqueline). May 13-June 16, 1962. Oil on canvas, 57 1/2 × 44 7/8" (146 × 114 cm). Zervos XX, 227. Collection M. and Mme Claude Laurens, Paris



Small Bust of a Woman (Jacqueline). February 15–March 7, 1962. Lithograph, $13\frac{3}{4} \times 10^{\frac{5}{8}}$ " (35 × 27 cm). Geiser/Baer V, 1300. Museu Picasso, Barcelona



Head of a Woman (Jacqueline). May 20, 1962. Conté crayon on paper, $16\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{5}{8}$ " (42 × 27 cm). Zervos XX, 228. Private collection



Jacqueline at Notre-Dame-de-Vie, Mougins, 1961. Photograph by Jacqueline Picasso. Private collection

looming monumentality as a result of its combination of absolute scale and close cropping by the frame, is the more challenging image of the two and seemingly the more developed. Picasso's emphatic contouring of Jacqueline's hair, the saliency of her features, and the sureness with which the shaded areas are determined all mark this canvas as one of the artist's real successes, while the beauties of the pencil drawing (which, to be sure, take account of a certain sadness in Jacqueline's mien) are only perceived through an uneven and, in some passages, unsure web of markings. The distancing of Jacqueline within the illusioned space of this drawing and the framing of her image are also comparatively more conventional. Given what we know of the dates of the two images, we have to imagine Picasso, in effect, stepping back from the boldness of his canvas.

Upon closer inspection of the pictorial context for these three days in December, we discover that the painting and the drawing were, in fact, separated by the layingin, on December 19, of another painting, the lyrical *Woman in a Yellow Hat* (p. 469), which would undergo its final revision—probably the whole of the hat and chignon, and perhaps some of the yellows and reds in the face—only in January of the following year. This bust view of Jacqueline, which shows her leaning on her right



Bust of a Woman (Jacqueline). May 20, 1962. Colored pencil on paper, $16\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{5}{8}$ " (42 × 27 cm). Zervos XX, 229. Private collection.

hand rather than her left, is set in a comparatively conventional manner within the space and framing edge of the canvas. And in tandem with the perspective of the hat brim, these decisions push the figure into a deeper (if still somewhat shallow) space compared to the oil of the day before.

If the drawing of December 20 is clearly based upon the large canvas of December 18, its recession into space was nevertheless obviously inflected by the oil begun on the nineteenth. The differences between them suggest that, after executing the large canvas, Picasso wanted further to develop certain aspects of Jacqueline which fall generally under the rubric of the polarized or divided personality. For Picasso, this meant achieving through a conflation of images the simultaneous presentation of an outgoing or "public" self and a more subjective, psychologically withdrawn "private" self. From the mid-1920s onward, Picasso had used for this purpose variations on his celebrated "double-face," which usually discloses the darker, private self in the form of a shaded or more darkly colored profile enclosed within the silhouette of a full-front face. This trope, the possibilities of which Picasso appears first to have noticed in winter 1908-09, while abstracting in a Cubist manner the light and dark shading in the face of his standing Bather,33 became his



Head of a Woman on a Green Background (Jacqueline). May 5– August 2, 1962. Oil on canvas, $28^{3/4} \times 21^{5/8}$ " (73 × 55 cm). Zervos XX, 231. Private collection

most frequently employed visual symbol (although it never reappears in exactly the same form). By shrinking Jacqueline's giant thumb (as it appears in the large oil), and by pulling the fourth and fifth fingers of her hand sufficiently to the right, Picasso makes room in the pencil drawing for a clearer division of the head into two distinct and expressively contrasting aspects. His interest in asymmetry also leads him to a greater contrast in the figuration of Jacqueline's eyes. Though somewhat different in size in the large oil, both had been figured there with the same patterns; in the drawing, however, Jacqueline's eyes have been represented divergently, her left, more shrunken and more deeply recessed into its socket than her right. The result heightens those suggestions of malaise already present in the large painting and renders manifest the potentially darker self within the personality.

One day after the drawing, Picasso returned to the same image in a linoleum print (p. 467, bottom). Here the technique itself ensured a flatter and more inherently abstract image, in which linearity and planarity would dominate, and where any suggestion of modeling would necessarily be raw and simple. In some respects this print is the most striking of the four images in the group we are considering. The Cubist elements that had remained largely a matter of infrastructure in the large canvas of



Sketches for Bust of a Woman. May 21, 1962. Pencil on paper, each image: $16\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{5}{3}$ " (42 × 27 cm). Zervos XX, 234–42. Private collections

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December 18 become more evident here, but are set off, at the same time, against a more intensely expressionist component carried largely by the contrast between Jacqueline's eyes. For the first time in this succession of works, Picasso forcefully articulates the eyebrows and lashes. Unlike the intensely expressive and intricate drawing lavished on the eyes, the hand supporting Jacqueline's head is now relatively "de-characterized" to the point that its abstract form can virtually be read as part of the plane of the face. Although Picasso fills the picture field with the head itself almost as much here as in the large oil, the linocut does not communicate as much of the looming grandeur of the personage found in the canvas, where it is achieved not only by the scale relationship of its silhouette to the field as a whole, but by its largerthan-life-size image.

During the period of the works we have just been discussing, Picasso was absorbed in making his flat metal cutout sculptures, of which the giant head in Chicago is probably the best known. A number of these cutouts can be considered portraits of Jacqueline,³⁴ although in the Chicago work the artist has conflated his wife's head with the snout of Kabul, the couple's Afghan hound (opposite and right). These sculptures lie outside the purview of the exhibition (for reasons of space), hence this book. But we must observe that, as was usually the



Jacqueline Seated with Kabul. May 31–June 7, 1962. Oil on canvas, $57\frac{1}{2} \times 44\frac{7}{8}$ " (146 × 114 cm). Zervos XX, 244. Private collection



Bust of a Woman (Jacqueline). May 28, 1962. Oil on canvas, $42^{3/8} \times 19^{1/2}$ " (107.5 × 49.5 cm). Zervos XX, 243. Private collection

case with Picasso, his sculptural investigations crossfertilized his painting (and both emerge, ultimately, from his practice of drawing). Here the series that closes with the painted counterpart of the Chicago sculpture (p. 473, right) is clearly less accomplished than the portrait of Jacqueline as a *Seated Woman* completed on June 16, 1962 —equally related in general to the cutout sculptures. Realized in subtle tones of black, white, and warmed-up grays—a palette with which Picasso could not go wrong —this image endows Jacqueline with regal stability (p. 471).



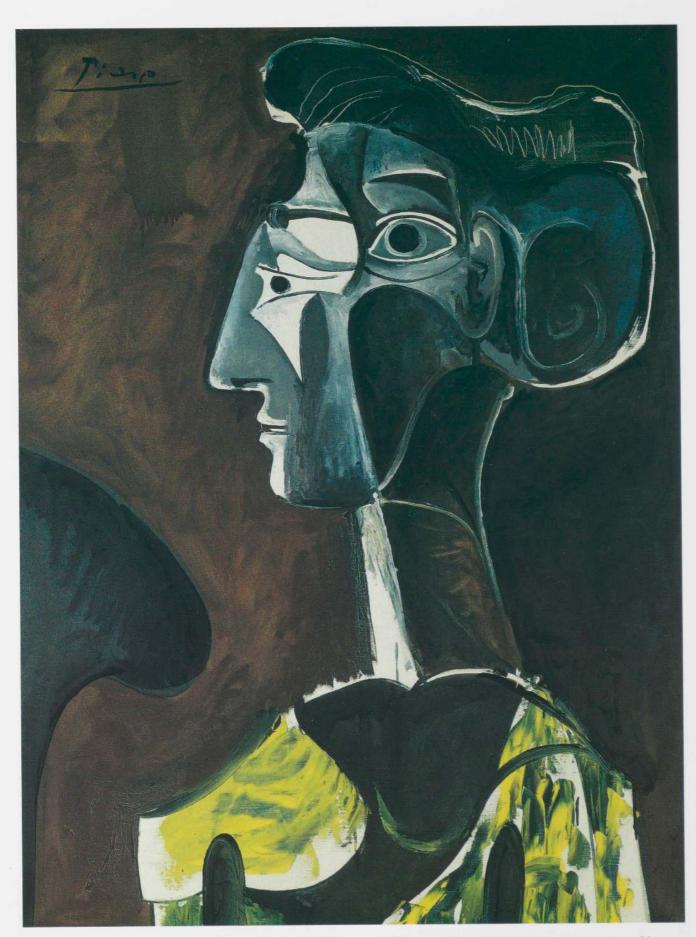
Jacqueline Picasso and her daughter, Catherine Hutin-Blay (detail), at La Californie. Photograph by Jacqueline Picasso. Private collection

The years 1963 and 1964 found Picasso focusing more than ever on images of Jacqueline, most of them exploring a kind of painterliness that contrasted markedly with the illusioned découpage of the 1962 Seated Woman. Large Profile (opposite) of January 7, 1963, has an airiness, a kind of transparency, that depends in part upon its brushed-out and relaxed facture. Jacqueline's head acquires a formal dignity through the heraldic absoluteness of her profile, while the immensity of the image is reinforced by the fact that her head is sized much larger than life. If she seems made out of some otherworldly, lighter-than-air substance in this 1963 portrait, the Nude in an Armchair (p. 478), finished in June of the following year, has brought her back down to earth. This comfortable and intimate portrait has a fleshiness that is less a quality described or illusioned by the painter than a property of the pigment itself.

From the mid- to the late 1960s, Picasso pressed his

language of pictorial signs into a very economical shorthand that lent itself more readily to a generic type of imagery than to the particularizations congruent with the type of portraiture we have been discussing. By 1969, however, we find him returning to less staccato images of Jacqueline that are easily recognizable. The palette and brushwork of these images convey a tenderness and delicacy—indeed, a certain empathy with their subject—that were but intermittently delineated before.

Only a lifetime of drawing with a brush could have produced the homely grace of Jacqueline's contouring in *Woman on a Pillow* of July 10, 1969 (p. 479). Here, everything that belongs to the laureate hand of the younger Picasso has been set aside. The awkwardness of the image is willed—and full of feeling. This is not a question of the loss of dexterity in old age. Picasso had remained capable of remarkably controlled and highly refined drawing virtually until his final days, as his graphic work

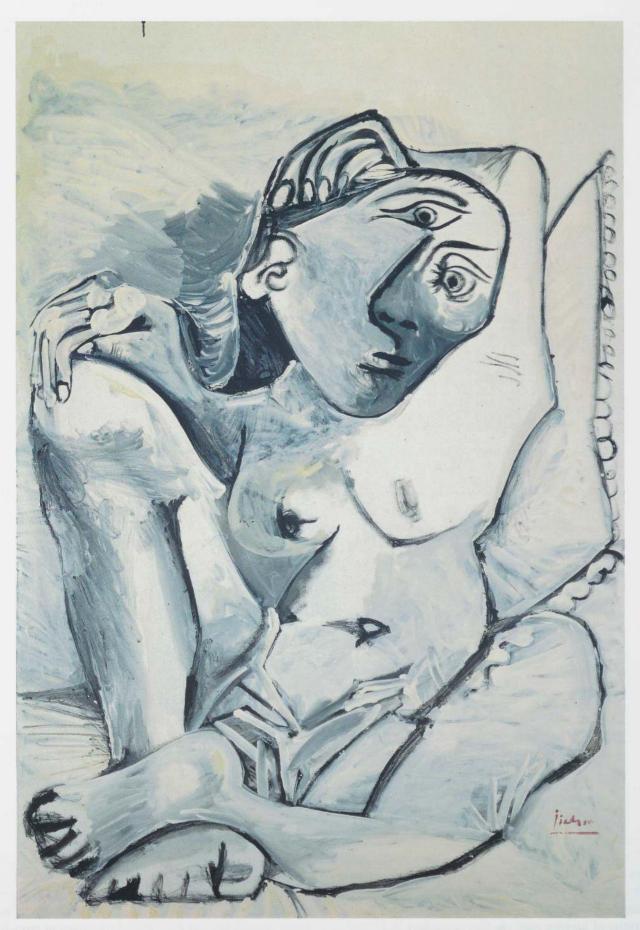


Large Profile (Jacqueline). January 7, 1963. Oil on canvas, 51¹/₄ × 38¹/₄" (130 × 97 cm). Zervos XXIII, 117. Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen, Düsseldorf

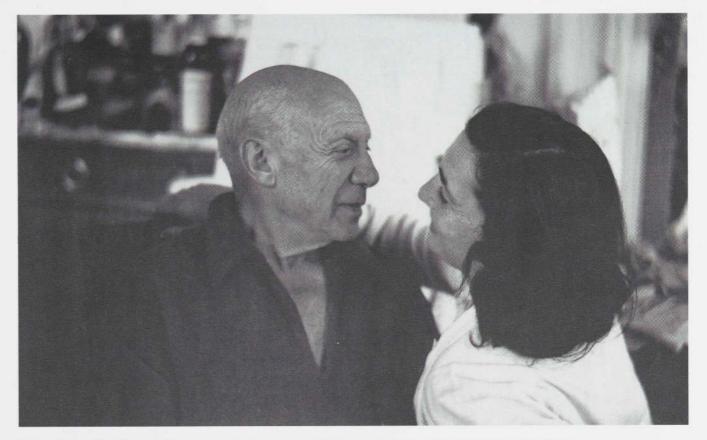


Nude in an Armchair (Jacqueline). May 2-8–June 7, 1964. Oil on canvas, $45\frac{5}{8} \times 31\frac{3}{4}$ " (116 × 80.5 cm). Zervos XXIV, 138. Private collection

demonstrates; indeed, some etchings made in his ninetyfirst year have a blinding virtuoso brilliance that have made them popular among collectors. Such technical finesse had been necessary to explicate the complex and detailed narrative situations with which those prints and drawings often dealt. It would have been entirely alien to the simple iconic directness of his figure paintings, as in *Woman on a Pillow.* If there is any virtuosic element in this canvas, it is not in the drawing but in the subtlety of gradations in the gray-blue shading and the relaxed, nuanced manner in which that tone is warmed by ochers and cooled by whites. This is a virtuosity of the eye rather than the hand, and comes as close as modernism probably ever gets to the spirit of late Titian.



Woman on a Pillow (Jacqueline). July 10, 1969. Oil on canvas, 763/4 × 511/4" (195 × 130 cm). Zervos XXXI, 315. Musée Picasso, Paris



Pablo and Jacqueline Picasso at Notre-Dame-de-Vie, Mougins, 1961. Photograph by Jacqueline Picasso. Private collection

Picasso was in his mid-seventies when he began living with Jacqueline. During their years at La Californie, he managed to maintain a large number of contacts with old and new friends, including, as before, painters as well as poets. As the artists of his own generation and those of the next disappeared, Picasso's contacts with the ongoing tradition of modern painting became fewer, and the several practicing painters he continued to see in his eighties were no longer drawn from their generation's handful of creative vanguardists, the caliber of artist with whom Picasso had maintained a dialogue for half a century. This isolation-enforced primarily by age but also, to some extent, by celebrity-did not serve Picasso as well as it did such painters as Bonnard and Matisse. As an artist whose temperament responded strongly to challenge, and whose emotional sources were drawn from the drama of urban sociability, loss of milieu and absence of contact with the cutting edge of modernism stripped Picasso's work of some of its cultural urgency.

Another painter might have worked less; ever the fighter, Picasso responded by working more. If Matisse's late work reflects a coming to terms with mortality, Picasso's shows him obstinately fighting against the dying of the light. With more stability and calm in his daily life during his last ten years, Picasso turned for drama to the narrative of his own past—as that could now be filtered and relived through the sentiments and sensibility of old age; this produced a remarkable flowering in Picasso's prints and drawings, mediums which lent themselves far better to such "narratives" than did the inherently "iconic" vocabulary of modern painting. Picasso's isolation drew the painter increasingly into a dialogue with artists of the past, not only variations on particular works by the Old Masters, but in the appropriation of subject types such as the Musketeers, which reflected his particular affinities with the Baroque masters.

Even when painting such generic types, however, Picasso always seems to have wanted some real, some particular person in mind. We are not surprised that, before embarking on the series of Musketeers, he asked Piero Crommelynck to "model" a hat and cape the artist had on hand and that many of the Musketeers bore some resemblance to Piero. It is not, therefore, surprising that many of the most deeply felt pictures of his final years should have been inspired by Jacqueline, by then the only significant presence in his life. Few of his more generic late pictures contain the subtleties of emotion expressed in the superb portrait of Jacqueline of September 14, 1971 (opposite); few balance so clearly the passion of the pure painter with the love and compassion of the man. The style of this picture does not constitute an Altersstil. But the canvas reflects the abandon made possible by a long lifetime of painting culture, which Picasso could take for granted.



Seated Woman (Jacqueline). September 14, 1971. Oil on canvas, 571/2 × 447/8" (146 × 114 cm). Zervos XXXIII, 181. Private collection

NOTES

r. Though Picasso is known throughout the world more for his Blue period than for anything else, even the art of those years constitutes less a style than simply a Symbolist decision to paint in a single, pervasive hue; as Verlaine had instructed: "pas de couleur, rien que la nuance." Within that hue limitation, Picasso actually worked in at least two quite different styles. See p. 450.

2. Françoise Gilot wrote that during the fall of 1952, when she had already begun to think of separating from Picasso, Madame Ramié [who with her husband ran the Madoura pottery in Vallauris], "imported a young cousin of hers named Jacqueline Roque to be a salesgirl at the pottery. . . . She spoke a little Spanish and since very little pottery was sold in winter, her chief occupation appeared to be holding conversations in Spanish with Pablo. . . . A week after I left Vallauris on September 30, Pablo came to Paris and stayed two weeks. Within a week of the time he got back to the Midi, Jacqueline Roque had taken over. 'One can't leave that poor man alone like that, at his age. I must look after him.' That was the substance of the quotations that were passed along to me at the time" (Françoise Gilot and Carlton Lake, Life with Picasso [New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964], p. 358).

John Richardson was more precise, specifying that "Jacqueline Hutin [Roque had been her maiden name] entered Picasso's life in the summer of 1952, shortly after she went to work in the Galerie Madoura. This gallery-in the rue d'Antibes at Cannes-was the retail outlet for the artist's Vallauris potters, the Ramiés. Over the next two years Picasso saw more and more of this attractive young divorcée, but did not introduce her into his work until summer 1954." Richardson adds in a note that "lacqueline was no relation of Madame Ramié, as most biographers have assumed, but a casual acquaintance of her daughter-in-law, Hugvette" (John Richardson, "L'Epoque Jacqueline," in Late Picasso: Paintings, Sculpture, Drawings, Prints 1953–1972 [London: Tate Gallery, 1988], pp. 17, 48, n. 1); original French edition, Le Dernier Picasso (Paris: Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, 1988).

3. Letter of October 8, 1919, from Braque in Sorgues to Kahnweiler in Bern, following Braque's return from the front (cited in Isabelle Monod-Fontaine et al., *Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler: Marchand, éditeur, écrivain* [Paris: Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, 1984], p. 126); in English translation in William Rubin, *Picasso and Braque: Pioneering Cubism* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1989), pp. 51–52, and n. 159.

4. Typical of Cézanne's remarks concerning temperament is the one contained in a letter of February 22, 1903: "I have nothing to hide in art," Cezanne wrote Charles Camoin. "Primary force alone, *id est* temperament, can bring a person to the end he must attain" (cited in John Rewald, *Cézanne: A Biography* [New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1986], p. 228).

5. The substance of the views attributed here

to Picasso is drawn from my notes of two conversations with him in July 1970. These notes, recorded in the evenings of the conversations in question, after I had returned to my summer home, did not attempt to reconstruct verbatim any part of these conversations (which would have been impossible without a recording device, never acceptable to Picasso). In attempting to set down the gist of Picasso's observations, I paraphrased them in English, though any individual word I happened to remember was recorded in the original French.

6. Conversation with the artist, July 1970. 7. I say "in his art, at least" because Cézanne showed much less of his temperament, willpower, and ethical stamina in many of his life activities than in his work. That he was aware of his incapacity to order equally well his life as his art is revealed by a letter he wrote to Chocquet in 1886, the year of his marriage "Chance has not favored me with an equal selfassurance [i.e., the intellectual equilibrium that characterizes you]; it is the only regret I have about things on this earth" (cited in Rewald, Cézanne: A Biography, p. 127). His self-awareness of the weaker side of his personality is further described by Rewald: "Little by little, this lack of 'intellectual equilibrium,' his dread of life and doubtless also of death, as well as the influence of his mother and sister, made of Cézanne, who had been inveterately anticlerical, a churchgoing Catholic. 'It is fear!' he explained to Paul Alexis in 1891. 'I feel that I have only a few days left on earth—and then what? I believe I shall survive and do not want to risk roasting in eternum."" Although Cézanne went to Mass, he considered it a sign of weakness and mockingly referred to it as taking his "'slice of the Middle Ages.' He hated priests and was afraid of getting into their 'clutches,' and this aversion even extended to religion, which he called 'moral hygiene'" (Rewald, p. 127).

8. This observation and the substance of the following sentences are taken from notes recorded by the late Professor Albert Elsen, Jr., from lectures by Professor Meyer Schapiro at Columbia University during the school year 1950–51. Elsen had made these notes available to this author, who missed this lecture at the time. 9. Zervos I, 202.

10. Describing the boulevard de Clichy studio, to which Picasso moved in September 1909, Fernande wrote: "He worked in a large, airy studio, which no one could enter without permission, where nothing could be touched and where, as usual, the chaos-which never remotely resembled those carefully worked-on states of disorder designed to appeal to visitors and show the host in a flattering light—had to be treated with respect. . . . The studio was never cleaned unless Picasso gave orders for it to be. No sweeping was done because he couldn't stand dust, except as it lay in its undisturbed state. Dust in the air and sticking to his wet canvases made him wild with rage" (Fernande Olivier, Picasso and His Friends [New York: Appleton-Century, 1965], pp. 135, 136).

Brassaï described his first meeting with Picasso, which occurred in 1932 at the rue La Boétie apartment that Picasso used as a studio:

"I began then to survey my strange surroundings. I had expected an artist's studio, and this was an apartment converted into a kind of warehouse. Certainly no characteristically middle-class dwelling was ever so uncharacteristically furnished. There were four or five rooms-each with a marble fireplace surmounted by a mirror-entirely emptied of any customary furniture and littered with stacks of paintings, cartons, wrapped packages, pails of all sizes, many of them containing the molds for his statues, piles of books, reams of paper, odds and ends of everything, placed wherever there was an inch of space, along the walls and even spread across the floors, all covered with a thick layer of dust. . . . The floors were dull and lusterless, long since deprived of any polish, coated here and there with splotches of paint, and strewn with a carpet of cigarette butts. Picasso had stood his easel in the largest and best-lit room—and this was the only room that contained any furniture. . . . Madame Picasso never came up to this apartment" (Brassaï, Picasso and Company, translated by Francis Price [Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1966], p. 5); originally published as Conversations avec Picasso (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1964).

Sabartés had ample opportunities to observe Picasso's "studio and/or living" habits, having moved into rue La Boétie in November 1935. at the artist's request, to live with him: "Observing him at close range and pondering his strange ways. I sometimes think that perhaps he does not dare exert pressure upon events for fear that the air displaced by a voluntary gesture may shatter the equilibrium of his life and change his fate. Who knows?" (Jaime Sabartés, Picasso. An Intimate Portrait, translated by Angel Flores [New York: Prentice-Hall, 1948], p. 106). "When he finally got out of bed, he would take the letters and papers and pile them on the buffet, or a chair, or a table, or even in the dining room or bathroom. This new pile is added to another pile begun some other time, with the same care and the same aim. Everything has been placed here or there in order not to mix this with that, with the intention of going over it later more carefully; but he always receives new mail and never finds an opportunity to reread any of it. Thus it is that the piles overflow on tables and chairs, and nothing can be touched or put in order until the day and the hour of the final sorting. . The mantelpiece in the dining room is laden with things. . . . Obviously, it would never have occurred to him to build up this cluttering labyrinth of bagatelles did he not have a mania for collecting everything, without rhyme or reason. His pockets testify to this: filled with papers, nails, keys, pieces of cardboard, pebbles, pieces of bone, a pocketknife, a small knife, notebooks for his literary lucubrations, matchboxes, cigarettes, cigarette lighters without fluid . . . letters and bills, very crumpled or totally shredded-irretrievably ruinedbecause of his fear of losing them!-seashells, a stone which suggested something to him on seeing it on the ground, pieces of string, ribbons, buttons, an eraser, a pencil stump, his fountain pen, etc. Of course his coat is very

heavy and his pockets bulge and finally split. When he returns from his summer trips, he brings along vast quantities of stones, shells, pieces of glass and porcelain smoothed by the sea, fishbones, jawbones of animals, at times whole skulls-in short, anything that attracted his attention on the beach. . . . He keeps to this day ties which he wore as a child, his first drawings and paintings, packs of Spanish cigarettes, matchboxes of olden days, some full and some empty, and of the most diverse origin, cigars of different brands, chunks of bread, . . . mandolins and other musical instruments, Negro sculptures, castanets-in short, everything he has ever laid hands upon for however brief a moment" (Sabartés, An Intimate Portrait, pp. 107-11).

"After three years, in spite of the attentions of Jacqueline Roque," wrote Roland Penrose of La Californie, "the situation has not changed much. Incongruous objects, crowded together, become more deeply hedged in by a forest of newcomers. Packing-cases are opened to see what is inside, then left packed. Flowers stand desiccated in their vases. Food, clothing, toys, books, lamps, presents of all descriptions, and objets d'art pile up on top of each other like the crusts of the earth. Yet strangely enough, in spite of all this, there is no squalor. As the visitor grows used to the disorder, details of fascinating interest catch the eye. A Sicilian marionette in golden armour hangs from a lamp standard, a cage of noisy tropical birds can be seen among books and papers, a small self-portrait of the Douanier Rousseau and a night landscape by Max Ernst emerge from piles of ceramics. . . . The quality essential to every object in this heterogeneous collection is its value to Picasso in his work. Everywhere there are signs of his activity, everything has gone through his hands and been scrutinized by him before taking its place in this agglomeration. Canvases, ceramics, tiles, plates, bronze and plaster sculptures, bulging portfolios crammed with drawings and engravings mingle with things that have been brought there intentionally or by chance. All have their significance and their place in the alchemist's den in which he lives" (Roland Penrose, Picasso: His Life and Work [London: Victor Gollancz, 1958], p. 357).

To the above, this author would add only that Picasso seemed to know the precise location of every book, bibelot, object, and work of art in any of his studios or ancillary rooms.

11. The division of Cubism into Analytic and Synthetic phases was first proposed in Documents: Archéologie, Beaux-Arts, Ethnographie, Variétés 2, no. 3 (1930), pp. 180, 181, issued as an Hommage à Picasso. No author was indicated for this "Notice Documentaire," but it was probably Carl Einstein (as the same definition occurs, as we shall see, in a publication by Einstein the following year). Documents, on whose editorial board Einstein sat, categorized Picasso's Cubism as follows: "1910-1914 Période qui peut être dite celle du CUBISME ANALY-TIQUE. C'est la phase héroïque du cubisme; 1914–18 Vers 1914, commence ce qu'on appelle fréquement le CUBISME SYNTHETIQUE. A la description des objets par détails séparés dont la somme restituait les objets primitifs, se substitue une manière moins énumératrice d'en rendre compte." This definition of the two phases of Cubism recurs in the third edition of Carl Einstein's Die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts (Berlin: Propylaën-Verlag, 1931). It had been absent from the first and second editions, published in 1926 and 1928, respectively. In the chronological outline of Picasso's career up to 1928 (p. 87), one reads: "1910–14 die Zeit des analytischen Kubismus; 1914-18 der synthetische Kubismus." Einstein's chronology is only approximate. Had Kahnweiler been responsible for this division, as is sometimes suggested, he would surely have begun Synthetic Cubism in 1913, or even in the autumn of 1912, as he was close enough to the actual events not to have made the same mistake that was made in Documents.

12. Even though Three Women (and many of its studies) and Bread and Fruitdish on a Table were published in 1942 by Zervos (II1, 101-08, and 134, respectively), they dropped out of the canonical history of Cubism as a result of the absence of these paintings from Barr's monographs on Picasso (1939 and 1946). Only in 1964 did Pierre Daix identify the importance of Three Women in Picasso's oeuvre and reproduce it, for the first time in color (Pierre Daix, Picasso [Paris: Somogy, 1964]); its greatness was not measured until the publication of Leo Steinberg's magisterial text, "Resisting Cézanne: Picasso's Three Women," Art in America 66 (November 1978), pp. 114-33. The importance of Bread and Fruitdish on a Table was not recognized until the 1970s.

13. The stylistic multiplicity Picasso aborded in *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* was, for example, resurrected only from 1912 onward in works featuring *trompe l'oeil* collage. This multiplicity of styles is not unrelated to Picasso's very first *papier collé*, the 1908 *Bathers* (Zervos II⁴, 66), which would go without suite until autumn 1912. The collage/construction implications of some of the tribal art that Picasso had collected between 1907 and 1911 were only fully assimilated into his own work beginning in 1912. By the same token the "proto-Surrealism" of Picasso's 1913 painting and drawing would only really flourish again subsequent to Picasso's links with Surrealist poets and artists in 1925.

14. The most important of these was the period 1934–36—a bleak one, indeed, during which Picasso was confronted by events such as the breakup of his marriage with Olga and its ensuing complications: the birth of his daughter Maya, not without difficult consequences; full separation from Olga; the beginning of his involvement with Dora Maar; and the deteriorating political situation in Spain. Picasso's work in 1935 was numerically minuscule as compared to that of the preceding or following years.

15. During the tortuous process of Françoise Gilot's ending of her liaison with Picasso in 1953/54, he made the acquaintance of the conventionally very pretty Sylvette David, the fiancée of a young English chair designer, who personally attended all the sessions in which his fiancée modeled for the painter. According to Françoise, it was during the spring of 1953 that Picasso became intrigued by the silhouettes of Sylvette and her young English fiancé, who designed and assembled very unusual chairs. Having purchased a number of these chairs for La Galloise, Picasso "decided that Sylvette, with her blond pony tail and long bangs, had very pictorial features and he began to make portraits of her. . . . The first few portraits he did with enthusiasm, and then he began to drag his heels like a schoolboy doing homework on his vacation. The pleasure was shrinking. One day he reproached me: 'You don't seem at all unhappy about it. You should refuse to admit another face into my painting. If you knew how Marie-Thérèse suffered when I began making portraits of Dora Maar and how unhappy Dora was when I went back to painting Marie-Thérèse. But you-you're a monster of indifference" (Gilot and Lake, Life with Picasso, p. 352).

16. In early 1907, as he was working up the *Demoiselles*, Picasso exchanged a powerful still life (Daix 66) with Matisse. In return, he chose Matisse's "primitivist" portrait of his daughter Marguerite, just recently completed, in which the "conceptualized" profile nose in the frontal face paralleled Picasso's own visualization of the moment.

17. Mirada fuerte is, besides machismo, another prominent Andalusian characteristic. Picasso, who was born in Málaga, remained deeply Andalusian at heart. Richardson has stressed the importance of Picasso's preoccupation with the mirada fuerte, especially in his old age. "Being Andalusian, [Picasso] . . . was at the mercy of that other Andalusian obsession, the mirada fuerte (literally, 'strong gazing')." Citing a definition from David D. Gilmore's Aggression and Community: Paradoxes of Andalusian Culture (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), Richardson finds it relevant to Picasso:"In Andalusia the eye is akin to a sexual organ . . looking too intently at a woman is akin to ocular rape" (John Richardson with the collaboration of Marilyn McCully, A Life of Picasso, Volume 1: 1881-1906 [New York: Random House, 1991], p. 10).

18. Richardson, writing about Picasso's portraits of Jacqueline, observed: "Jacqueline had a far from easy time. Picasso manipulated people -often by way of his work-as ruthlessly as he manipulated form. . . . Once the image had been established, Picasso did not hesitate to manipulate it in ingenious and occasionally diabolical ways, manipulating Jacqueline's feelings in the process. Subtle adjustments to the portraits enabled Picasso to worship or humiliate or test her . . . and even on occasion predict one of her frequent bouts of illness. This prediction might take the form of a drawing like one done on Saint Valentine's Day, 1957, in which Jacqueline's anguished portrait is superimposed over a network of zigzag lines in fever-chart pink. When Jacqueline, who was nothing if not suggestible, fell ill the following day, the artist could take pride in his prophetic powers" (John Richardson, "The Catch in the Late Picasso," The New York Review of Books 31, no. 12 [July 19, 1984], p. 24); reprinted as "Picasso's Last Years," in Pablo Picasso: Meeting in Montreal (Montreal

Museum of Fine Arts, 1985), pp. 102–03. 19. See Daix XV, 47.

20. For example, certain oils such as Zervos XVII, 370, 371, and 374, from the Meninas series would be difficult to identify without knowledge of their context in the oeuvre.

21. Zervos XV, 164.

22. Picasso's sketches of figures from Delacroix's *Women of Algiers* in the Royan sketchbook of 1940 (Musée Picasso, Paris, M.P. 1879), are reproduced in Marie-Laure Bernadac, "Picasso 1953–1972: Painting as Model," in *Late Picasso*, p. 56, figs. 18, 20.

23. Ibid., p. 55.

24. Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, "Entretiens avec Picasso au sujet des Femmes d'Alger," *Aujourd'hui*, no. 4, 1955.

25. "[Picasso] said with a laugh, 'when Matisse died he left his odalisques to me as a legacy, and this is my idea of the orient though I have never been there'" (Penrose, *Picasso: His Life and Work*, pp. 351–52).

26. Picasso saw the *Turkish Bath* at the retrospective exhibition organized in homage to Ingres and held during the Salon d'Automne at the Grand Palais, Paris, October–November 1905.

27. Zervos I, 321.

28. "The grandiose Villa La Californie . . . had an Orientalist air. He had put so much thought into the 'Women of Algiers,' Picasso told Daix, that he ended up with a house that, as it were, matched them" (Richardson, "L'Epoque Jacqueline," p. 19).

29. Lionello Venturi, *Cézanne: son art—son oeuvre* (Paris: Paul Rosenberg, 1936), no. 224.

30. Leo Steinberg, "The Algerian Women and Picasso at Large" (1972), in Steinberg, *Other Criteria: Confrontations with Twentieth-Century Art* (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 124–234. An article containing some indications from this chapter had been published a year earlier under the title "Picasso and Drawing as if to Possess," in *Artforum* 10, no. 2 (October 1971), pp. 44–53.

31. *Bull.* Paris, December 5, 1945–January 17, 1946. Eleven progressive states of the same lithograph published in Fernand Mourlot, *Picasso Lithographs*, translated by Jean Didry (Boston: Book and Art Publisher, 1970), pp. 27–30; 17, states I–XI. The eleven states were reproduced in William Rubin, ed., *Pablo Picasso: A Retrospective* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1980), pp. 390–91.

32. On Monday, December 6, 1943, Picasso explained to Brassaï: "Why do you think I date

everything I do? Because it is not sufficient to know an artist's works—it is also necessary to know when he did them, why, how, under what circumstances. . . . Some day there will undoubtedly be a science—it may be called the science of man—which will seek to learn more about man in general through the study of the creative man. I often think about such a science, and I want to leave to posterity a documentation that will be as complete as possible. That's why I put a date on everything I do" (Brassaï, *Picasso and Company*, 1966, p. 100).

33. Zervos II¹, 111. Robert Rosenblum's observations regarding the origin of the "double-face" in the 1908–09 *Bather* were cited by this author in *Picasso in the Collection of The Museum of Modern Art* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1972), p. 227, nn. 5 and 6.

34. Spies, 620 and 626.



Eugène Delacroix. The Women of Algiers. 1834. Oil on canvas, $69^{11}/6 \times 89^{3}/8$ " (177 × 227 cm). The Louvre, Paris



Eugène Delacroix. The Women of Algiers. 1849. Oil on canvas, $33^{1/16} \times 43^{11/16''}$ (84 × 111 cm). Musée Fabre, Montpellier

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Acknowledgments

ounting an exhibition of this scale and importance necessitates the assistance and collaboration of a great number of individuals and institutions. I have been fortunate in the generous help I have received from people outside The Museum of Modern Art, the extraordinary dedication of the Museum's staff members, and the support and encouragement of its former director, Richard E. Oldenburg; Glenn D. Lowry, Director; and the members of the Board of Trustees—especially Chairman Emeritus David Rockefeller, Chairman Ronald S. Lauder, and President Agnes Gund.

This project could hardly have been contemplated, not to say realized, without the cooperation of Picasso's heirs and their families. Maya Widmaier Picasso, Claude Ruiz-Picasso, Bernard Ruiz-Picasso, Marina Picasso, Christine Ruiz-Picasso, and Jacqueline Picasso's daughter Catherine Hutin-Blay have not only lent generously, but their high level of personal cooperation, their willingness to search out and deal with questions of documentation, and finally their encouragement have all made this project a more enjoyable one for me and for my staff.

Claude Ruiz-Picasso has also served as a special advisor, as have Pierre Daix and John Richardson; their contributions are visible throughout the publication and exhibition. Brigitte Baer, on whose work we have depended for all our print documentation, has also been extremely helpful with advice, and Maya Widmaier Picasso has helped us to avoid a number of historical errors in our book.

Our heartfelt gratitude goes to the lenders-institutions, private individuals, and galleries (listed on page 485)-whose sacrifice in parting with works in their collections has made possible the realization of this exhibition. Foremost among the lending institutions, the Musée Picasso, Paris, merits our deepest appreciation. Gérard Régnier, Director, has generously approved our numerous loan requests, and Hélène Seckel, Chief Curator, has provided invaluable advice, information, and scholarly contributions throughout the preparation of this show. To her I offer my very particular gratitude. From the same institution, Brigitte Léal, Curator, and Anne Baldassari, Curator of Archives and Photography, have helped with many inquiries; along with Hélène Seckel they should also be thanked for the essays they have contributed to this volume. I would also like to express my gratitude to Irène Bizot, General Administrator at the Réunion des Musées Nationaux, for her constant and wise help, which reprises her collegial participation in previous shows.

The Museu Picasso, Barcelona, is another institution whose numerous loans have much enriched our exhibition. We owe a special word of thanks to its director, Maria-Teresa Ocaña. The Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre National d'Art et de Culture Georges Pompidou, Paris, continues its role as a most cooperative lender to the Museum; we would like particularly to thank its director, Germain Viatte, and its chief curator, Madame Isabelle Monod-Fontaine. Other museums around the world have opened their collections to us and provided much needed documentation. Russian museums, in particular, continue to be generous lenders. We want to thank Dr. Mikhail Piotrovski, Director, The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, and Dr. Albert Kostenevich, Chief Curator of Modern European Painting. At The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, we thank Irina Antonova, Director; Alla Butrova, Deputy Director; and Inna Orn, Head of Foreign Relations. At the Národní Galerie, Prague, we thank the former director, Dr. Jirí Sevcík, and Director Martin Zlatohlávek, as well as Dr. Olga Uhrova, Curator-in-Chief. Dr. Peter Ludwig and Dr. Alfred M. Fischer, Curator, the Ludwig Museum, Cologne, have graciously lent three important works. We owe special thanks to Nicholas Serota, Director, the Tate Gallery, London, and to Katharina Schmidt, Director, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, both of whom continue the extraordinary level of participation they have established in the past. Our thanks for loans and/or help with this book go to Dr. Armin Zweite, Director, Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen, Düssseldorf; Dr. Christophe von Tavel, Kunstmuseum Bern; Dr. Felix Baumann, Director, Kunsthaus Zurich; Shinya Ueda, Director, The Hakone Open-Air Museum, Tokyo; Chicanao Yagi, Director, the Museum of Modern Art, Toyama.

The participating American museums have been equally supportive and generous to us, and we would like to extend our gratitude to Arnold L. Lehman, Director, The Baltimore Museum of Art, and Brenda Richardson, Deputy Director for Art and Curator, Modern Painting & Sculpture; James N. Wood, Director, Charles F. Stuckey, former Frances and Thomas Dittmer Curator of Twentieth-Century Painting and Sculpture, and Suzanne Folds McCullagh, Curator of Earlier Prints & Drawings, The Art Institute of Chicago; Irvin M. Lippman, Executive Director, the Columbus Museum of Art; Samuel Sachs II, Director, The Detroit Institute of Arts; Mrs. John de Menil and Paul Winkler, Director, The Menil Collection; Philippe de Montebello, Director, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and William S. Lieberman, Jacques and Natasha Gelman Chairman of 20th-Century Art, who was particularly helpful; James Burke, Director, and Sidney M. Goldstein, Associate Director, The St. Louis Art Museum; Maxwell L. Anderson, Director, the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, and its former chief curator, Alan G. Wilkinson; Earl A. Powell III, Director, and Alan Shestack, Deputy Director, the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; and James A. Welu, Director, Worcester Art Museum.

Continuing with private lenders, I wish to acknowledge Ernst Beyeler, Heinz Berggruen, Gilbert de Botton, Mrs. Henry Brandon, Mr. and Mrs. Marshall Cogan, Eugene Thaw (whose loans were facilitated by Charles E. Pierce, Jr., Director, The Pierpont Morgan Library, and by Stephanie Wiles, Associate Curator of Drawings and Prints), Mrs. Sally Ganz, Mrs. Jacques Gelman, Stephen Hahn, M. and Mme Claude Laurens, Susan and Lewis Manilow, Mrs. Daniel Saidenberg, M. and W. Staehelin, and Mrs. John Hay Whitney. The late Mrs. Florene M. Schoenborn, whose lawyer, Stewart G. Rosenblum, is currently endeavoring to fulfill her wishes, and the late Mrs. Louise Reinhardt Smith will forever remain in our memory as very special lenders and benefactors to this institution. I want further to acknowledge with gratitude those private collectors who have chosen to remain totally anonymous.

Several gallery directors and dealers have facilitated our loan requests or acted as intermediaries: we are indebted to William Acquavella in New York, Doris Ammann in Zurich, William Beadleston in New York, Marc Blondeau in Paris, Galerie Cazeau-de La Béraudière in Paris, Richard Gray in Chicago, Mariko Goto at the Fuji Television Gallery in Tokyo, Quentin Laurens at the Galerie Louise Leiris in Paris, and Lionel Prejger in Paris. Jan Krugier and his assistant Evelyne Ferlay have played an important role in helping out with numerous inquiries as well as loans. We would also like to thank Jean-Marie Rouquette, Chief Curator of Arles Museums; Doug Hall, Director, the Queensland Museum, Brisbane; and James Cuno, Director of the Harvard Art Museums, for assistance in many crucial areas.

Other individuals helped us trace the works we were considering, generously made their time available to us, enriched us with their special expertise, and on occasion negotiated certain loans for us. In this category, we would like to thank Jeffrey Deitch, President of Jeffrey Deitch Inc., Art Advisory Services; Arne Glimcher, Chairman of Pace-Wildenstein, and his assistant Eileen Costello; Alexandra Schwartz, Director of Pace Master Prints; John Leighton, Curator of 19th-Century Paintings, The National Gallery, London; Thomas M. Messer, Director Emeritus, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum; Christopher Burge, Chairman of Christie's; Wendy Luers; David Nash, formerly executive vice president of Sotheby's New York; Harumi Kohara, formerly at Sotheby's Japan; Angela Rosengart; and Werner Spies.

Almost all The Museum of Modern Art's departments have participated in one way or another in the preparation of this publication and exhibition. I am especially grateful to Kirk Varnedoe, Chief Curator of Painting and Sculpture, who has been a staunch supporter of this project as well as a major contributor to this book. As in the past, James S. Snyder, formerly deputy director for planning and program support, has diligently helped with Russian loans and various other matters. Beverly M. Wolff, Secretary and General Counsel, provided expertise in legal matters which has been invaluable. In the same area, Stephen W. Clark, Assistant General Counsel, has offered invaluable help. I am also indebted to the development group for its unstinting efforts in obtaining funding for the exhibition and publication, particularly Michael Margitich, Deputy Director for Development; Monika Dillon, Director, Major Gifts; Brett Cobb, Director of Development and Membership; and John L. Wielk, Manager, Exhibition and Project Funding.

Peter Galassi, Chief Curator, Department of Photography, has given important help on questions of Picasso's experimental photographs. Riva Castleman, formerly chief curator in the Department of Prints and Illustrated Books, and her staff, including Andrea Feldman, Assistant Curator, and Starr Figura, Curatorial Assistant, have all helped with inquiries and print loans. I have been fortunate to benefit from the expertise of Richard L. Palmer, Coordinator of Exhibitions; he has been outstanding in his meticulousness, especially in matters related to U.S. indemnity. I am also indebted to his staff: Eleni Cocordas, Associate Coordinator; Rosette Bakish, Executive Secretary; and Maria DeMarco, Assistant to the Coordinator. Special thanks are due the departments of Registration and Conservation, especially Diane Farynyk, Registrar; Meryl Cohen, Associate Registrar, who handled foreign loans; Elena Amatangelo, Assistant Registrar, U.S. loans; Jana Joyce, Registrar Assistant, New York loans; Pete Omlor, Manager, Art Handling and Preparation; and James Coddington, Senior Conservator; Anny Aviram, Conservator; Karl Buchberg, Conservator; and Michael Duffy, Associate Conservator. Their work has ensured the transport, handling, and safest display possible for all the objects. In addition, James Coddington's transmitted infrared Vidicon Images and infrared examinations have yielded some interesting insight into one of the paintings in the exhibition. Helping with the technical examination was intern Suzanne Siano.

I am ever more indebted to the particular installation skills of Jerome Neuner, Director of Exhibition Design and Production. Special thanks are also due Karen Meyerhoff, Assistant Director in that department, and to the indefatigable Pedro Perez, Conservation Framer, his team in the workshops, and Steven Jo, Production Manager and Frameshop Coordinator. Jessica Schwartz, Director of Public Information, and her staff, including Elisa Behnk, Assistant Director, Alexandra Partow, Press Representative, and Tavia Fortt, Writer/Editor, have all been most efficient in their efforts to bring an enlightened audience to this exhibition. Patterson Sims, who recently joined the Museum as Deputy Director for Education and Research Support, generously agreed to prepare the introductory brochure for the exhibition. Jo Pike, Director of Visitor Services, and her staff merit a special acknowledgment for their well-planned services for the public. I would also like to express my thanks to Joan Tenney Howard, Director of Special Events, and to her staff for organizing the exhibition's opening festivities. Ethel Shein, Director of Special Programming and Protocol, has, as always, acted as troubleshooter and my personal handholder through it all.

The publication of this book of multiple essays has been an enormous task. In one connection or another, I have already acknowledged several of the authors above, with the exception of Michael C. FitzGerald, Marilyn McCully, and Robert Rosenblum, whom I wish to thank here. The editing and the production of the book have been admirably handled by the Department of Publications. I owe a particular debt of gratitude to Osa Brown, Director; Harriet Schoenholz Bee, Managing Editor; Barbara Ross, Associate Editor; Nancy T. Kranz, Manager, Promotion and Special Services; and especially Amanda Freymann, Production Manager, with whom it has been a very great pleasure to work and who is largely responsible for the exceptional beauty of this book. I would also like to thank Cynthia Ehrhardt, Senior Production Assistant, and Dorothée Horps, Business Manager, for their important contributions. Joanne Greenspun, who served as project editor for this complicated book, undertook the principal share of the editorial work, which she accomplished graciously, deftly, and with superb professionalism. It was a pleasure to work once again with Steven Schoenfelder, who designed this book with all the elegance and speed he has made his trademark. Thanks are also due Mikki Carpenter, Director of Photographic Services and Permissions, as well as Kate Keller, Chief Fine Arts Photographer, Tom Griesel, Senior Photo Lab Technician, and Rosa Laster Smith, Photo Lab Technician. In Graphics, Emily Waters, Assistant Director; John Calvelli, Senior Graphic Designer; Jean Garrett, Graphic Designer; and John Donahue, Production Manager, have ably handled the wall texts and labels as well as the graphic needs of the entire exhibition. In Sales and Marketing I wish to thank Louise Chinn, Director, and Kara Orr, Paper Products Manager.

In the Department of Painting and Sculpture the early stages of this project were handled by Lynn Zelevansky, formerly curatorial assistant. We were most fortunate in having Fereshteh Daftari, Curatorial Assistant, to take on the role of principal exhibition assistant and fulfill this demanding role with intelligence and expertise. As the head of the curatorial support team, she has worked extraordinarily hard to coordinate this project, and we are deeply appreciative. Carolyn Lanchner, Curator, was personally helpful to me in preparing my texts, as was writer and art historian Pepe Karmel, who generously took over the responsibility for overseeing the audio tour for the exhibition. None of the people working intimately on this exhibition could have survived psychologically were it not for the lively participation of my assistant Anne Lampe in every aspect of this exhibition; her energy and constant good humor always raised our spirits when things went wrong or when work on the book seemed to lag. She has been an unbeatable collaborator.

Kathleen Robbins, Research Assistant, pursued the statistical research at the Musée Picasso in Paris, and in New York she engaged in numerous tasks, including the collection of photographic materials and the preparation of the majority of the captions for the book. Several interns helped us along the way on both book and exhibition: Pascaline Marre undertook a thorough statistical research; Yves Théoret, among other things, helped in the preparation of the study and indemnity albums; Christine Stotz and R. Dale Tucker were invaluable in ordering photographs and preparing captions for some of the essays in the book; and Lisa Zeitz helped Judith Cousins, Curator for Research in the department.

Judith Cousins has, once again, served as guarantor for the scholarly seriousness of this endeavor. As in the case of many other exhibitions and books, I cannot imagine how we could ever do without her. She, in turn, has naturally had to call upon many other people, whose special help in researching various problems or in the procuring of documentary photographs must be recognized. In addition to those whose names appear elsewhere above, they are: Philippe Arbaizar, Frédérique Barret, Marie-Laure Bernadac, Catherine Biedermann, Salvador Bonet, Yve-Alain Bois, Gilberte Brassaï, Edward Burns, Pierre-Yves Butzbach, Carole Callow, Henri Cartier-Bresson, Carrie T. Chalmers, Micheline Charton, Mary Chan, Stephen Cohen, Victoria Combalia Dexeus, Ellen Cordes, Neil Cox, Lydia Cresswell-Jones, Piero Crommelynck, Léonor Cuahonte, Caroline de Lambertye, Marie-Noelle Delorme, Christian Derouet, Ines Dickmann, Virginia Dodier, Honoria Murphy Donnelly, Deirdre Donohue, Catalina Draper, Janis Ekdahl, Sol Enjuanes Puyol, Pierrot Eugène, Adrienne Fischier, Daniel Fermon, Jane Fluegel, Yves de Fontbrune, Phyllis Freeman, Sylvie Fresnault, Phillippe Garner, Lydia Gasman, Françoise Gilot, Colette Giraudon, Jacques and Jacqueline Gojard, Béatrice Hatala, Marc Hauvette, Maureen D. Heher, Nancy Herrault, Eumie Imm Stroukoff, Colta Ives, Maurice Jardot, Mme Kaganowich, Beatrice Kernan, Billy Klüver and Julie Martin, Gibert Krill, Jay Kruger, Suzanne Kudielka, Claude Laugier, Kathy Lee, Ariane Lopez-Huici, Dora Maar, Janice Madhu, Marta Marton, Yves Mathieu, Lisa Messinger, Kimi Mikami, Yvan de Monbrizon, Jean-Paul Morel, Ulrich Mosch, Diane Moss, Jane Necol, Enrique Negre Gomez, Mary Ann Newman, Richard Ogar, Karen Otis, Joanne Paradise, Melissa Piper, Philippe Peltier, John Pennino, Valérie Philippe, Edith and Sidney Posel, Nicole Prevot, Christoph Pudelko, Edward Quinn, Mathias Rastofer, Nancy Reynolds, Michèle Richet, Hélène Rogier, Lydia Roman, Deborah Rothschild, Endre Rozsda, Sheila Schwartz, Herbert T. Schwarz, R. Josue Seckel, Suzanne Slesin, Daniel Starr, Jonas Storsve, Joseph Struble, Jeanne Sudour, Michael Sweeney, Christine Swenson, Genevieve Taillade, Antoine Terrasse, Lucien Treillard, Anne Umland, Amanda Vaill, Pierre Vidal, George Vilinbahkov, Andre Villers, Brigitte Vincens, Ornella Volta, Ingo F. Walther, Donna Welton, Gerrard White, Patricia Willis, Elizabeth Wisniewsky, Helen Wright, and Chloe R. Ziegler.

William Rubin

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Published by The Museum of Modern Art 11 West 53 Street, New York, New York 10019

Distributed in the United States and Canada by Harry N. Abrams, Inc., a Times Mirror Company 100 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10011

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BACK COVER: Seated Bather (Olga) (detail). 1930. Oil on canvas, 64¼ × 51″ (163.2 × 129.5 cm). The Museum of Modern Art, New York. Mrs. Simon Guggenheim Fund. (Colorplate of whole, p. 64)

Printed in Italy

0-87070-143-6 (MoMA) 0-8109-6160-1 (Abrams)