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(xerox
first)

The Museum of Modern Art

To William Rubin
From Francis Kheppel
Date 2/29
Re Primitivism

Returning to you the copy that bears your
revisions for first half of Picasso

Rubin - Picasso 1-95

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PICASSO

William Rubin

1/ In no other artist's career has primitivism played as pivotal and historically consequential a role as in Picasso's. 1/ It was critical in (though in diminishing proportions) three periods of redirection in his work: between his return from Gosol in 1906 and the resolution of his early Cubist style in winter 1908-09; during the formation 1/M in the context of collage and construction sculpture 1/N of Synthetic Cubism in 1912-13; and in the new directions of both his modelled and constructed sculpture in the early thirties. Overarching these particular interventions were primitivist instincts that represented an abiding strain in Picasso's psychology. They 2/ continuous presence of tribal objects in his studios from 1907 until his death could only have been reinforced by the such sentiments.

2/ Picasso's empathy toward tribal art was so profound and apparent that the earliest critics identified him as the key protagonist of twentieth-century primitivism despite the knowledge that Matisse, Derain, Vlaminck, and perhaps others had "discovered" African sculpture before he did. 3/ So deep, indeed, was this affinity perceived to be that it engendered a myth ascribing African blood to Picasso, presumably through Spanish-Moorish descent 3/M a way of associating Cubism to Africa that was retroactively extended to Cézanne. 4/ But it is on the psychological rather than the racial plane 1/M Picasso's superstitiousness, exaggerated fear of death, and early competitive relationship with his father 1/M that the roots of his special sympathy with Primitive art are to be found. As Picasso's father was a professional painter, the son's instinct for challenge and revolt, which surely began on a psychosexual level, transmuted easily into attitudes toward art.

1/ 2/ 3/ 4/ 5/ 6/ 7/ 8/ 9/ 10/ 11/ 12/ 13/ 14/ 15/ 16/ 17/ 18/ 19/ 20/ 21/ 22/ 23/ 24/ 25/ 26/ 27/ 28/ 29/ 30/ 31/ 32/ 33/ 34/ 35/ 36/ 37/ 38/ 39/ 40/ 41/ 42/ 43/ 44/ 45/ 46/ 47/ 48/ 49/ 50/ 51/ 52/ 53/ 54/ 55/ 56/ 57/ 58/ 59/ 60/ 61/ 62/ 63/ 64/ 65/ 66/ 67/ 68/ 69/ 70/ 71/ 72/ 73/ 74/ 75/ 76/ 77/ 78/ 79/ 80/ 81/ 82/ 83/ 84/ 85/ 86/ 87/ 88/ 89/ 90/ 91/ 92/ 93/ 94/ 95/ 96/ 97/ 98/ 99/ 100/

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Picasso's childhood was bourgeois and conventional. The family was dominated by his tall, exceedingly handsome father, who was not only an able painter but a respected professor in the Fine Arts Academies of Málaga and Barcelona. His manner of painting was as traditional as the values with which he tried ^{only partial} happily with ~~some~~ success ¹⁸⁹⁵⁻⁹⁶ to imbue his children. The young Picasso's First Communion (1898) ⁵ gives us a good sense of the physical impressiveness of his father, in the context of precisely the kind of subject that ^{displayed} ~~expressed~~ his bien-pensant beliefs and attitudes. In the academic bravura of this set-piece, for which his father posed, Picasso defeated him at his own game, so to ^{speck} ~~say~~. That it was executed by a ^{fourteen} ~~sixteen~~-year-old boy reflects not only Picasso's prodigious talent, but his precocious oedipal triumph. (His father, it is said, "^{laid} ~~lay~~ down his brushes" at seeing pictures such as these.) Strengthened by an unusually profound bond with his mother (reflected in his early adoption of her family name, Picasso, in place of his father's, Ruiz), the young artist was to carry the repudiation of his father's world a step further in the form of the bohemian vie d'artiste he took up as soon as he left home.

All this is perfectly banal, and would have remained so had not Picasso intuited that a lasting symbolic defeat of his father and what he stood for would be accomplished not by surpassing him in an art that encapsulated his values, but by rejecting that art in favor of something personal and unique; not, therefore, by hypertrophying his remarkable talent ¹/_M for talent was at once the backbone and measure of academic and salon-type painting ¹/_M but by sacrificing it. Talent was among the screens obscuring the fact that nineteenth-century illusionism had degenerated into a rhetorical and senti^{mental} mental art. By embracing primitivism in 1906, Picasso short-circuited the

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Picasso - 3

continuity of these inherited conventions, and his year-long exploration of increasingly remote and alien ^{esthetic} aesthetic correlatives permitted him to rediscover ~~(for himself) the Ariadne's thread of pictorial authenticity~~

Picasso's primitivism constituted a commitment to conception and invention (that is, genius) ^{skill and} over and against virtuosity (talent).
 The choice of this option was in itself nothing new by the time Picasso exercised it. But in the work of no other modernist who elected it were the talent sacrificed so prodigious ^{nor} the new conceptions so radical, so alien to ^{accepted} received ideas. Picasso's father was not around to be shocked ^{of course} when the young painter's primitivism culminated in Les Femmes d'Alger, but Picasso had long since ^{psychologically equated} generalized Professor Ruiz ^{with} the whole community of artists, indeed, ^{into} the world. ^{with a bourgeois}

Picasso's pre-primitivist painting ^I the stylistic ^M mélanges of 1900-01 and the often bathetic Blue and early Rose pictures ^I constituted, to be sure, a commitment to a certain modernism. But little in these paintings would have amounted to real heresy in his father's eyes. They were still dependent on bravura talent (though admittedly of a different sort than he had exercised as a child prodigy), and they were suffused with a different but equal sentimentality. The distance that separates Picasso's largely Symbolist-inspired "soft" modernism of 1901-05 from the art of his father is slight as compared to that which separates ^N ~~the~~ ^{from the} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~Demoiselles~~ ^{from it.}

In the introductory chapter, primitivism was described as an anti-bourgeois, counter-cultural force.
 $\longrightarrow$ Picasso's instincts in this direction may be discerned prior to 1906 in his celebration of society's outsiders ^I the poor, the blind, the old, the rejected and dispirited ^M

father's art
"soft" or
"soft" modernism?

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entertainers (or various combinations of the above). But whatever critique of society these pictures represent, it is proposed in terms of story^t telling rather than those of painting itself. Only ~~with~~^{at} the inception of Picasso's primitivism upon his return from Gosol does the real pictorial critique begin ~~in~~^{in work} an art that was for the first time wholly identifiable with the young artist's robust personality.

We have already seen that the primitivist critique was, in its beginnings, literary and philosophical. Even ⁱⁿ its incipient modernist pictorial form, the work of Gauguin, it remained largely a matter of symbols and ideas. And it is in this fin de siècle primitivism that Picasso's ~~found~~^{took} roots. Yet by the end of 1907, he had not only recapitulated the Symbolist generation's exploration of Archaic and exotic objects, but had endowed primitivism almost single-handedly with a new, twentieth-century definition. This was anchored in ~~a~~ tribal (rather than court) objects ~~heretofore~~^{with an appreciation} considered just curiosities ~~both of~~ their affective "magical" force and their ~~plasticity~~ plasticity.

What I have said → about Picasso's psychology might apply to any number of modernists whose syndromatic reactions against tradition and authority took the form of épater les bourgeois. But Picasso's deepest aspirations went far beyond a middle-class scion's taste for revolt. He was (not only convinced) that the art of his childhood ^M along with the religious, ethical, and sexual beliefs embodied in it ^M was no longer viable, but that it was incumbent on him to provide new alternatives. Only an artist who ~~could~~^{had been able} so early and so easily ~~imitate~~^{imitate} the sort of painting his father championed ^g could have so readily called its bluff, could have so soon become aware that something was profoundly wrong with what it said and the way it said it. Precisely what was wrong would only

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become entirely clear to Picasso in the "shock" and "revelation" he experienced before the tribal masks and "fetishes" in the Musée d'Ethnologie du Trocadéro: "At that moment," he said later, "I realized what painting was all about."⁸

"That moment," an epiphany of June 1907 discussed in detail below, was only made possible, however, ^Λ by a year-long evolution triggered by a Louvre exhibition of Archaic Iberian reliefs from Osuna.⁹ This inspired Picasso's "Iberian" style, which fully took root the following fall.¹⁰ It constituted the first important stage of his primitivism. ^{But this Iberianism} ^Λ had already been prepared ^{for} by his exploration of Egyptian sculpture, which he had been studying in the Louvre since 1903. (An Egyptian relief is probably echoed in the hieratic gesture of his Woman with a Fan of 1905¹¹.) And the seeds of his primitivism could be said to have been sown even earlier¹² ^M however delayed the germination that was to follow¹³ ^M in his 1901 contacts with Gauguin's art through his friendship with the Spanish sculptor Paco Durrio.

The path of Picasso's interests from Gauguin (whose own primitivist models were primarily in Archaic court art) to Archaic art itself (Egyptian and Iberian sculpture) and then to tribal art (African and Oceanic sculpture) would have been easily ^{interpreted} ~~understood~~ early in the century¹⁴ ^M and was probably so understood by Picasso himself¹⁵ as a journey back in time, to the beginnings of art. This ^{apprehension prevailed} ~~despite the fact that tribal sculpture is~~ ^{objects are} much more recent than any of the non-Classical arts Picasso had been looking at¹⁶ ^M a chronology not understood when Picasso was young. As late as 1920, André Salmon, a charter member (1903) of "la bande à Picasso,"

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(brackets)

could mistakenly write that "a number of the most beautiful pieces [of African art] that have come down to us are much older than the Christian era." He even discerned an "influence of the carvers of 'fetishes'" upon Egyptian (and through it, upon Archaic Greek) art. Given the modern artists' concern with the fundamental principles of construction, Salmon concluded, they were fated "to pass from the Egyptians [back] to the Negroes." This scrambled art history was but the other side of the same counterfeit coin that led certain anthropologists wrongly to speculate that African art had been influenced by Egyptian sculpture.

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^{fact} none of the African pieces Picasso saw in his first few years of fascination with art nègre were more than just decades old, ^{centuries old} ~~though the origins of their traditional styles obviously go back several~~ ~~centuries~~ ~~which, in any case, reflect a high court style rather than a tribal one, were extremely rare in Paris. The same was not necessarily true, however, of all the Oceanic objects Picasso might have seen in the Trocadéro, where some stone Tikis were probably centuries old.~~ But old

13

or new, the tribal works were associated by Picasso's generation with the earliest phases of civilization, in accordance with a highly simplistic model of world history.

(2-line #)

14

rightly
Ron Johnson has emphasized the importance of Picasso's very early contact with Gauguin, whose influence forms the background of Picasso's primitivism and ^{continues} ~~sustains~~ right into the earlier phases of the Demoiselles. Allusions to Gauguin in Picasso's work begin in 1901 when he and Sabartés visited Durrio at the Bateau Lavoir, →

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where Gauguin, then back in Polynesia, had earlier had a studio. "There
 was much talk about Gauguin, Tahiti, and the poem Noa-Noa, about Charles
 Morice, and a thousand other things." ¹⁵ Durio possessed a number of
 Gauguin's works and knew Charles Morice, who soon gave Picasso a copy
 (now apparently lost) of his publication of Noa-Noa, in the margins of
 which Picasso made at least two drawings. ¹⁶ Gauguin, Johnson demonstrates,
 made a sufficiently "deep impression on Picasso that he modelled his
 first sculpture, a Seated Woman ^{2 68} [Z II, 1901], on ideas drawn from
 Gauguin's Portrait Vase of Mme. Schuffenecker (1889)." Johnson would be
 the first to agree, however, that there is nothing Primitive or even
 Archaic about the Gauguin object in question. And although an ink study
 by Picasso related to it ^{2 364} (Z 000) has an archaizing quality, the same is
 not true of Picasso's wholly Rodinesque Seated Woman, of which only the
 motif relates to Gauguin. Johnson also posits a connection between
 Picasso's sculpture, Woman →
Combing Her Hair, of early 1906 (p. 000), and Gauguin's relief, Soyez
amoureux, Vous serez heureux (1889, p. 000); Spies mentions the same
 Gauguin panel in connection with the relief Head of a Woman (Spies 8) made
 somewhat later in 1906. ¹⁷ If, however, Picasso borrowed the bent arm
 position of Woman Combing Her Hair from Gauguin's relief, the style of the
 sculpture ¹/_M and of the drawings related to it ¹/_M shows him rejecting precisely
 those archaizing aspects that are to be found in Gauguin's panel in favor
 of the classical contraposto he had learned in art school. ¹⁸

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Picasso - ?

These few "Gauguinesque" Picassos of 1901 to early 1906 did not anticipate the artist's subsequent primitivism. Such Gauguin influences as were to feed into ^{Picasso's} ~~the~~ remarkable stylistic metamorphosis of later 1906 through 1907 are ~~only~~ discernible in ^{his} ~~his~~ ^{only} work after his exposure to the Iberian sculptures in the spring of 1906. That experience no doubt positioned Picasso for the very different reading he would give Gauguin's ~~art~~ when he visited the latter's large memorial retrospective at the Salon d'Automne upon his return from Gosol.

19/ Apart from a sketch of a Tahitian beauty juxtaposed, with Picasso's characteristic malice, to a fantasy of (her?) decrepitude in old age (p. 000), the Gauguin memorial exhibition, ^{directly} inspired, I believe, an entirely unusual gouache, Two Seated Women (p. 000), which thus far has attracted little attention. In his catalog of Picasso's Cubist work, Daix characterizes this gouache as "totally isolated" in the artist's oeuvre (^{as} which, in most ways, it is), and he dates it "1909?" ¹⁰ Daix's doubts about his dating reflect the fact that while the picture's grays, browns, and greens recall 1909, there is nothing in the space, morphology, and configuration of the work that makes particular sense in that year.

20/ I am convinced that the very uniqueness of Two Seated Women follows from the fact that it was to some extent a paraphrase, experimental or celebratory, of an equally unusual watercolor by Gauguin, Two Figures Flanking a Statue, which was exhibited in the Gauguin retrospective. ²¹ Two Seated Women conflates this watercolor with aspects of Gauguin's Market Day (p. 000) and his sculpture Oviri (p. 000), both also shown in the 1906 exhibition. The mirror-image symmetry of Two Seated Women, ² wholly unexpected in Picasso, ^{is} a peculiarity that ~~alone~~ suggests a particular model ^M and the configuration of Gauguin's Two Figures Flanking a Statue is a perfect one. As Gauguin made this watercolor specifically as an illustration for his Ancien Culte

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all this replaced by yellow sheet

Picasso - 10

by the affinity of the ~~Oviri's~~ non-supporting legs, with the position of a figure that had profoundly moved him from the time of his first visits to the Louvre, namely the Bound Slave of Michelangelo.

(p. 000): This figure's ~~right~~ ^{left} arm, thrust over his head, is ~~in a manner that would be repeatedly echoed in Picasso's work~~ ^{as a manner that would be repeatedly echoed in Picasso's work} bent back at the elbow, and the relaxed lower body seems only half supported, an effect intensified in Oviri. Oviri also recalls the

equivocal half-sitting, half-standing position produced by the bent knee

in much tribal sculpture, e.g. p. 000, p. 000. Conflated with the

Michelangelo and other sources, Oviri feeds directly into the center-left Iberian woman of the Demoiselles ~~p. 000~~. The peculiar posture of ~~this figure~~ ^{the little},

whose contradictory aspects were extensively discussed by ^{Leo} Steinberg,

~~I believe~~ includes the raised bent arm of the Michelangelo. That aspect of the ~~is demonstrably~~ ^{is demonstrably} ~~stat~~ ^{stat}

posture has traditionally and with justice been ~~ascribed to~~ ^{associated with} its many models

in Cézanne (as in Five Bathers, ~~Ventured~~ ⁵⁴² 000), who himself adapted it from

Michelangelo. Picasso, however, would have been familiar with the

Michelangelo for years before he knew its echoes in the work of Cézanne

~~or of Ingres~~.

That the demoiselle in question conflates ^{the work of} Michelangelo as well as ~~that of~~ ^{and} Cézanne ^{and} Gauguin ~~and Ingres~~ is sustained by the sexual equivocalness and conflict at the heart of Picasso's picture. The Neo-Platonic struggle between materiality and pure idea in the Michelangelo can easily be read on the more mundane plane of sexuality versus love, and the very androgynousness of Michelangelo's figure facilitated its association with a female. The raised crooked arm is, of course, directly connected with erotic

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replaces top ~~seven~~^{two} lines of p. 10

I believe, by the motif of its nonsupporting legs, which he would easily have associated with the Bound Slave of Michelangelo (p. 100),^{23/} a figure that had profoundly moved him from the time of his first visits to the Louvre. (Picasso spoke to me about his strong feeling for the Bound Slave while we were looking at a full-size plaster cast of it that stood in the corner of his sculpture studio.) This figure's left arm, thrust over his head, is bent back in a manner that would be repeatedly echoed in Picasso's work, and the relaxed lower body seems only half supported, an effect more intense in the "memory image" posture of Oviri. Oviri also recalls the

and the Demise in question connects Michelangelo as well as Man of
Cézanne ^{and} Gauguin ~~and Ingres~~ is sustained by the sexual equivocalness and
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Picasso - //

revelation in Cézanne (as in the Temptation of St. Anthony,

003 103
~~Venturi 000~~). But Picasso's conflation of it with the Michelangelo as well as the Gauguin ~~could~~ only ~~have~~ enriched these associations; in the later forms of Picasso's "Africanism," as in Three Women, this gesture

assumes a recognizably Michelangelesque ^{sculptural} power. ~~Picasso commented~~
 to me about his strong feeling for The Bound Slave while we were looking at a full-size plaster cast of it that stood in the corner of his studio.

2-line to (that Picasso saw at the Louvre)
 The influence of the Iberian reliefs from Osuna is first signalled marginally in work executed by Picasso in Gosol in the summer of 1906, but it ~~only~~ becomes fully evident ^{only in the} pictures executed after Picasso's return to Paris. 26
 Picasso's taste for the Archaic, however, had already been evident at the beginning of 1906, to the extent that Greek Kuoroi ^{striding, frontal} statues of male nudes given to victors at the Olympic games ^{are secondary sources} ~~share honors~~

(after with Cézanne) ~~this monumental Bathor, c. 1885, in particular~~ in Boy Leading a Horse, the mood and execution of which also signalled the coming shift from the sentimental to the plastic. The Archaic visages in the Osuna reliefs, with their stylized features and hairdos, and their simply modelled surfaces (p. 000), are certainly at the origin of the mask-like faces in Picasso's work of that autumn. The classic illustration, for a variety of reasons, is the Portrait of Gertrude Stein (p. 000). One need only compare the style of Miss Stein's face ^{with} that of her dress ^{the bodice} especially ^{from} and her chair to see, quite literally, how much Picasso's art had changed since his departure ^{from} Paris the previous spring. Stein claims to have posed ninety-two times that ^{winter and} spring before Picasso left for Gosol, but he

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could not get the likeness to satisfy him and, shortly before leaving Paris, he wiped out ~~the~~ face completely.

Picasso's repainting of ^{Stein's} ~~the~~ face in Iberian form the following autumn was done from memory. Hence the picture bridges his crucial leap from a perceptual to a conceptual mode of working (see pp. 00¹/_N00). This can be seen in retrospect as having opened the way for what two years later would become Cubism. However different Picasso's Iberianism of 1906¹/_N07 was from his Africanism of 1907¹/_N08, or from his early Cubism of 1908¹/_N09, one principle remained inviolable. As Salmon¹/_N—who may well have heard it from Picasso¹/_M—later put it, "The great law that dominates the new^a aesthetic is the following: conception ^{overrides} ~~imagination~~ over perception." ²⁷

²⁷ Two Nudes (p. 000), painted toward the end of 1906, has been called "the culmination of the 'Iberian' phase," but it is simply the culmination of the first, or "sculpturesque," period of Picasso's Iberianism¹/_M—that of the immediate post-Gosol months. During the first five months of the following year, the Iberian forms would flatten, becoming not only less sculptural but rougher, simpler, more angular and schematic. A major impetus in this direction ^{seems to have been} ~~provided~~ by Picasso's acquisition, in March²⁸ 1907, of two Iberian heads from Cerro del los Santos (p. 000), which ^{or} ~~unknown~~ to him had been stolen from the Louvre. ²⁸ Though Archaic, these heads were ^{cruder} ~~more raw~~ and seemingly ^{more} "primitive" than the Osuna reliefs (especially the male head, one side of which was significantly damaged). ²⁹

²⁸ Picasso's figure types of late 1906, as exemplified by Two Nudes, were of squat proportions not earlier seen in his work. These proportions ^{and} the mask¹/_Nlike faces¹/_M—especially the heavy-lidded almost lozenge-shaped eyes¹/_M—reflected the continued influence of the Osuna objects, though the sense of bulk in the bulbous and awkward figures is indebted

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to Cézanne. In the handling of the feet of the right-hand figure of Two Nudes, Picasso made a break with verisimilitude unprecedented in his art. In order to assure a more architecturally stable support for the nude's massive trunk, Picasso flattened her feet and omitted the front contour of her lower right leg where it joins the foot. He thus sacrificed the sense of a dynamic relationship between the figure and the ground on which it stands ^{(an abiding (of Western art since it was) convention)} ~~first~~ convincingly established ~~in point~~ ~~in~~ by Masaccio, who ~~had~~ turned the weight of the body through the ankle into a foot that seemingly pressed against a resistant surface. The gravity-free manner in which the ^{weighty} right-hand nude relates to the ground beneath her recalls the Italian Primitives, Giotto in particular, as well as the inorganic stance of African figure → sculptures, of which Picasso had by now seen some examples. ³⁰ While Two Nudes is not "primitive" in the same sense as the work of the two following years, ^{it shows} ~~there is~~ a simplicity and numbing rawness in its facture ¹/_M particularly in the rough hatching on the arms and the scrubby brushwork of the back ¹/_M and a willful awkwardness in its drawing that mark it as an important step in that direction.

(2-line #)

~~The later stages of Picasso's Iberianism~~ ¹/_M ~~the whole of which~~ along with the artist's interest in Gauguin and Egyptian art ¹/_M constitutes the first, or Archaic, phase of his primitivism. ^{The latter stages of that Iberianism may} ~~may as well as not~~ be studied within the framework of the integration of Les Femmes d'Alger, which saw both the culmination of the Archaic phase of Picasso's primitivism and the first appearance of the tribal influence that succeeded it. As it would be difficult to do justice to this picture's art-historical sources and implica^t

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tions *in even* a book-length text, I shall attempt to limit my discussion here as much as possible to the role of primitivism in ^{the picture} ~~M~~ admittedly a somewhat inorganic isolation from among intertwined art-historical themes and influences.

Contrary to the chronology cherished for many years ^{a chronology} largely due to Kahnweiler's Weg zum Kubismus), Picasso did not begin the ensemble sketches for the Demoiselles ^{mention} ~~not to say~~ the canvas itself ^{until well} into 1907. The impression fostered by Kahnweiler was of a painting upon which Picasso had worked for some six to eight months, beginning late in

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1906. Unable to resolve its putative stylistic contradictions, he supposedly abandoned it unfinished by early summer ^{of} 1907. The right side of the picture ^{its} final phases ^{also} constituted, for Kahnweiler, the "beginning of Cubism."

31/ I hope that I have elsewhere satisfactorily laid to rest this matrix of art-historical myths. ^{31/} Studies for the the Demoiselles' composition as a whole date only from March ^{of} 1907; and the painting was executed in its first, Iberian form in late May/early June of that year. ~~During~~ ^{later} in June, and probably into early July, Picasso made a number of changes in the work, probably, as we shall see, on two separate occasions. The picture was complete by ^{early} July ^{of} 1907. (Cubism was developed by Braque and Picasso only in the latter half of 1908; ~~and~~ ^{and} Kahnweiler ^{did not} annex the Demoiselles to it until 1920.)

The earliest large ensemble study for the Demoiselles (p. 000) dates from late February or early March 1907, probably not long before Picasso purchased the ^{Iberian}

(heads ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} Cerro Los Santos. His Iberianism had been less and less sculptural since Two Nudes, and it is therefore not surprising that neither ~~the~~ ^{this} seven-figure pencil-and-pastel drawing ^(p. 000) nor the paintings of individual figures associated with it (p. 000) ^{have} ~~having~~ much modeling. Their light/dark relationships are often abrupt, even brutal, and in subsequent studies (p. 000) take the form of striations and hatchings that Picasso would associate ^{but} only some months later ^{with} African ^{and} Oceanic scarification marks and body painting.

If the little bronze sculpture-in-the-round Head of a Woman (p. 000) ^{belongs} ~~relates~~ to the culmination of the first phase of Iberianism, as exemplified by Two Nudes, the work that relates to this last Iberian phase is quite

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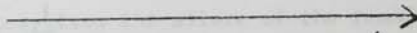
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logically a relief: Head (p. 000). The spirit of this raw and challenging piece, carved awkwardly in wood and offhandedly painted, immediately recalls that of the male head from Cerros, from which it derives its seemingly "primitive" facture and the slightly caricatural cast of its figuration. The Cerros head, as Golding remarked long ago³², is also certainly related to such subsequent Iberian studies for the Demoiselles as the watercolor bust of the medical student → (p. 000)³³ in its large, peculiar scroll-like ear, the ~~asymmetry~~ asymmetry of ^{its} eyes³⁴ and the general coarseness of its facture. The long striations ^{used for} ~~expressing~~ the shadow of the nose in Picasso's watercolor (which have affinities to the hair patterns of the Cerros sculpture) ^{are an} ~~constitute an~~ ^{exaggerated} ~~extrapolated~~ form of the graphic shorthand known as hatching, the more typical examples of which in this same work suggest the shading of the drapery edge that rises in the upper right. The angular, primitivistic nature of this hatching (a word ^{that} ~~which~~ derives etymologically from the cuts of an axe), led some critics to associate it with wood carving³⁵ and, by this declension, ^{with} ~~the~~ the scarification marks and striation patterns of African sculpture. It is clear, however, that such bold striated patterns existed in Picasso's work well before his June "revelation" ^{about} ~~concerning~~ ~~concerning~~ tribal art at the Trocadéro, and ^{were} ~~constituted~~ essentially his own primitivization of a traditional method of shading. After Picasso became interested in African sculpture, such pattern³⁶ ing ^{indeed,} ~~was~~ conflated with his recollections of scarification marks on African masks and figure sculptures, of the parallel copper strips of the Hongwe reliquary figures (pp. 000, 000), and of the so-called "tear patterns" (pp. 000, 000) and the parallel incised lines (p. 000) of Kota reliquary figures.

The hundreds of drawings and paintings related to the integration of the Demoiselles are yet to be fully collated³⁵, but the outlines of its

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development are clear. The inception and implementation of the image from its first sketches through the achievement in late May or early June of a "completed" picture (~~from~~^{of} which only the two central maidens, the still life, and some other passages remain) ~~is~~^{are} to be associated with the last, least sculptural, most schematic and angular phase of Picasso's Iberian period (which also saw his great Self-Portrait in Prague). By March 1907, this Iberianism had produced a project showing the reception room of a bordello (p.000) in which a seated sailor is surrounded by five nude prostitutes in varying postures while a medical student (alternately shown carrying a book or skull) enters from the left. ^{36/} By mid-May, following a host of studies in a variety of media, this gave way to what was to have been the final conception, as seen in the late Iberian watercolor of the Philadelphia Museum (p.000), in which  the two male figures ~~were~~^{are} eliminated and the format of the picture ~~was~~^{is} altered in the direction of the vertical. ^{37/} The "first campaign" of work on the canvas itself ¹/_M which produced a "completed" picture that was a slightly flattened and more vertical version of the late Iberian watercolor ¹/_M dates from late May and/or early June. But Picasso was evidently dissatisfied with the results and, in later June and/or early July, ~~he~~^{he} made a number of changes on the left and right side of the painting. It is in terms of these changes ¹/_M their psychological motivations ²/_o and their expressive and plastic character ¹/_M that the inception of the  tribal phase of Picasso's primitivism can be understood.

(2-line #)

Why was Picasso dissatisfied with the Iberian version of the painting?

I am ^{convinced}  that in the course of transforming his conception from an essentially narrative (i.e., anecdotal) image ^{into}  a more "iconic" one (more

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frontal, more spatially compressed, and comparatively abstracted from time and place), Picasso had sacrificed certain implications of the original story¹telling bordello scene that had been carried in that earlier context by the association of the filles with the sailor and medical student. Picasso's intuitive decision subsequent² to introduce a range of different types of figuration into the Demoiselles ^{and} effect³ recaptured some of these meanings through the medium of style rather than illustration, and recaptured them on a more profound if more generalized level consistent with the "iconic" form the picture had taken on. The center, left, and right= ^{demoiselles} hand ~~women~~ communicate progressively darkening insights into the nature of femininity. I believe that once Picasso had left narrative communication behind, his picture required these differences in style precisely in order to span the polarity from Eros to Thanatos⁴ from the allure of the female body to "the horror" of it⁵ implied, as we shall see, in his original conceit.

¶ Picasso's transformation of the Demoiselles from a narrative to an "iconic" picture must be seen as taking place with a broad —————→ and continuing progression toward a static, frontal, and concentrated type of image that marks the elaboration and reworking of all of the four most ambitious of Picasso's 1905-09 paintings, and is paradigmatic for the development of his art from the Rose into the early Cubist period.

The "iconicizing" of the Demoiselles was at the heart of those innovations in style and symbolic content ^{that} which confirm the picture as an art-historical turning point. But for reasons rather different from those traditionally given. The Demoiselles, as I have observed, is not "the first Cubist painting."³⁸ Indeed, while marking the final stage of Picasso's transition from a perceptual to a conceptual way of working, and suggesting

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something of ~~the~~ shallow relief space ^{that} ~~which~~ would characterize Cubism, this great and radical work pointed mostly in directions opposite to Cubism's character and structure¹—although it cleared the path for its development. The Demoiselles obliterated the vestiges of nineteenth-century painting still operative in Fauvism, the vanguard style of the immediately preceding years; it is thus more a —————→ "breakaway" painting with respect to late nineteenth-century modernism¹ and post-medieval Western painting in general¹—than a "breakthrough" painting with regard to Cubism in particular. The first Cubist paintings were Braque's L'Estaque landscapes of the summer of 1908 and Picasso's revisions later that year of Three Women and Carnaval au bistrot (in the form of Bread and Fruitdish); ^{though yet} the pivotal position of the Demoiselles makes it crucial to an understanding of early Cubism.

Since the 1920⁹s, the Demoiselles had been interpreted primarily in formal terms¹, and seen through the wrong end of the telescope, so to ³⁹ speak ~~say~~, ⁹ essentially as the point of departure for Cubism. This not only discouraged studies dealing with the real beginnings —————→ of the Cubist style³⁹, but ² led to a profound misinterpretation of the Demoiselles. The situation was virtually single-handedly reversed by ⁴⁰ Steinberg's 1972 article⁸ on the picture⁴⁰, which encouraged what might be described as a new literature on the Demoiselles. Steinberg laid to rest the popular belief that Picasso's conversion of the Demoiselles was propelled primarily by a proto-Cubist interest in abstraction. The image's pictorial metamorphosis, he demonstrated, was consistently motivated by a desire for an increasingly profound and intense projection of what had been Picasso's expressive concerns right from the first sketches: his complex and contradictory feelings about women. Steinberg marshaled many convincing arguments to confirm the

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changes in the painting as functions of "the trauma of sexual encounter."

The "African" figures on the right of the Demoiselles were, however, viewed by Steinberg exclusively as embodiments of "sheer sexual energy, as the image of a life force." This is consistent with his view of the picture as a whole as an image of "orgiastic immersion" and "Dionysian release." In this respect, I am obliged to consider Steinberg's characterization too narrow, as I believe that the two "African" figures (and, to a lesser extent, what I call the Gauguinesque, "Oceanic" ⁴¹demoiselle on the left) were as much, if not more, inspired by the fear of death as by the life force. Indeed, in a Freudian sense, the shadow of mortality would be implicit in any picture that was a "sexual metaphor," as Steinberg called the Demoiselles. But I am convinced that it was also present very explicitly in the painting's first project, in Picasso's deliberate pairing of the medical student and sailor ¹/_M and that this dread of death survives in a more vivid, if generalized, form in the final image. ⁴²

⁴² The $\rightarrow$ thanatophobic dimension of the Demoiselles has needed elucidation, I believe, not only because it confirms the last state of the painting as a deepening rather than an abandonment of the picture's original program, and ~~because it~~ clarifies the value of the iconic (as against the narrative) mode in achieving this end, but ^{also} because it throws fresh light on the conundrum of Primitive influence. The cohabitation of Eros and Thanatos in the Demoiselles recalls a particular component of Picasso's psychology: his deep-seated fear and loathing of the female body ¹/_M which existed side by side with his craving for and ecstatic idealization of it. This dichotomous attitude was time and again evidenced in Picasso's art as it was in his behavior; it is parodied in his admitted treatment of women

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as "either goddesses or doormats." To be sure, comparable attraction/
repulsion syndromes are commonplace in male psychology. But in the
Demoiselles, as often in the work of a great artist, such inherently
banal material is so amplified by the spirit of genius that it emerges
as a new insight ¹/_M all the more universal for being so commonplace. ←

strictly
speaking,
"universal"
has no
comparative
or superlative;
see also
next page

Picasso's feelings of revulsion for the female body were projected
in the first state of the Demoiselles through a narrative specificity
that turned on the danger of venereal disease, at that time often fatal
(Picasso had frequented bordellos for many years). This is the real
meaning of the confrontation of the sailor and the medical student (who
carries a skull) in the first project. ²³ The identities, props, and
postures of the male figures do more than just enhance the narrative
particularization of time, place, and transaction in the bordello. The
image lends itself to many readings, but insofar as the sailor represents
one who gets the pox in a brothel ²⁴ and the medical student one who cures
it, their pairing reflected a little-reported but very important sympto-
matic aspect of Picasso's makeup ¹/_M his exaggerated concern for and
fascination with venereal disease, as reflected in his 1902 visits to the
Hôpital Saint-Lazare
~~St. Lazare Hospital~~ to study prostitutes being treated for syphilis.

This motivation has not gone totally unnoticed. Mary Mathews Gedo,
although overlooking the reciprocal symbolism in the pairing of the
male figures, hazarded that "the skull [carried by the medical student]
may refer to the fact that somewhere, sometime during his youthful amatory
career, Picasso himself had contracted a venereal infection." ⁴⁴ To
postulate Picasso's having been diseased is hardly necessary, however;
nor is there any firm evidence for such a suggestion. It more than
suffices that the painter deeply feared such potentially fatal contagion.

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The final painting no longer contains a specific narrative reference to Picasso's dread of disease and death. There, this dread is subsumed in a broader, more universal fear of mortality that is communicated through more direct pictorial means. We sense the thanatophobia in the primordial horror evoked by the monstrosly distorted heads of the two whores on the right of the picture, so opposite to those of the comparatively gracious Iberian courtesans in the center. One can hardly imagine the fear, shock, and awe these heads must have imparted in 1907, given the vividness with which we still experience them. These "African" faces express more, I believe, than just the "barbaric" character of pure sexuality invoked by Steinberg; in the first instance, their violence alludes to Woman as Destroyer^I_M—vestiges of Symbolist femmes fatales^I_M—but they finally conjure something that transcends our sense of civilized experience, something ominous and monstrous such as *Conrad's* Kurtz discovered in the heart of darkness.

(2-line #)

It is precisely because Picasso was looking for new solutions to the direct communication of these primordial terrors, and not because tribal art supposedly offered a proto-Cubist morphology, that he seized upon it at that particular moment as a source of inspiration. To the extent, therefore, that the right-hand demoiselles were inspired by ideas about tribal art prompted by Picasso's Trocadéro visit, their images open outward toward the collective implications of masking as elucidated by Lévi-Strauss. Insofar, however, as those visages were in fact arrived at by Picasso's search for plastic correlatives in exorcising his private psychological demons, they constitute a form of visual abreaction, and lead us inward to the Freudian sense of masking,

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in which an emotion too painful to confront directly (here the artist's fear of death through disease) is dealt with by substituting a "cover" image.

Despite his assertions to the contrary, which began in earnest during ~~the Second~~ World War ^{II}, Picasso had seen some examples of "art nègre," as we have already noted, for at least six months before he absorbed it into the fabric of the Demoiselles. But it had not registered with him ^{any} more than ^{had} his early confrontations with Rousseau ^{because} it did not then relate to his needs. Picasso's "revelation" at the Trocadéro was said by Zervos, and others who saw no reflection of "art nègre" in the Demoiselles, to have taken place in late July 1907, after Picasso completed the picture. But it was surely in June, after he had completed only the first (Iberian) version of the Demoiselles, ^{of} ~~from~~ which the two central figures remain. Indeed, the artist himself spoke of the Demoiselles in relation to "art nègre" in his 1937 conversations with André Malraux. ⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Picasso had gone that day to look at the plaster casts of Romanesque sculpture in the Musée de Sculpture Comparée, which occupied one wing of the Palais du Trocadéro. He had been there before, and the fact that he was drawn back to an art considered "primitive" in those years is probably symptomatic ^{of} another case of Picasso's famous "prescience," here exercised in regard to the kinds of solutions his instinct told him were needed to resolve his dissatisfaction with the Demoiselles. He had, however, never before visited the Musée d'Ethnographie, which occupied the other wing of the Trocadéro, and ^{as} he described it, his entering that wing was virtually serendipitous. In retrospect, however, it seems a logical continuation of the search that had taken him to the Musée de Sculpture Comparée. ^{Further,} ¹ Though Picasso described himself as virtually stumbling upon

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46/ the ethnological material, the configuration of the building was such that he ~~would have had~~ ^{entirely} to exit from one museum to ~~have entered~~ the other.

On entering the Musée d'Ethnographie, he would have had to pass through the large rotunda gallery, ~~which was~~ devoted, at that time, to both African and Oceanic sculpture, ~~large~~ ^{were shown displays} mannikins ~~dressed~~ in masks and costumes, ~~shown~~ in ritual or warlike postures. His various descriptions of the dankness, evil smell, poor installation, and general seediness of the place ^{47/} probably apply more to the individual galleries than the rotunda.

The African gallery would seem to have been in particularly bad shape at the time (see —→ Paudrat's description of it, pp. 000-000), and more confusingly installed than we see it in photographs made in ¹⁸⁹⁵ 1911.

(pp. 000, 000). Access to this gallery was directly from the rotunda, and ^{apparently} except for brief if frequent periods, it was open to the public. ^{48/} A stairway connected it directly to the Oceanic gallery (p. 000), which was probably in better shape as it had ^{been} "officially" closed since ^{almost} the time of its original installation, though Paris's leading museum guide showed it as regularly open. ^{"Closed"} which simply meant that one could enter it only with the assent ^{49/} or in the company of the guard.

49/ Picasso's accounts of this visit (and several that followed) ^{50/} suggest that he was able to wander quite freely. His first instinct, given his disgust with the place itself, was to flee. But something would not let him take his eyes off the tribal material, and he remained. When he finally ^{left} ~~exited~~, it was with a feeling of relief. He thought at first it was just ^{almost} the fresh air, but he realized ^{almost} instantly that it was because something not altogether comfortable or pleasant ^{indeed} ^{51/} ^M something profoundly disturbing ^{had} ^M had been happening to him inside. The words he would use and

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refuse with Malraux, myself, and others ¹/_M "shock", "revelation," "charge,"
and "force" ¹/_M make clear that he had experienced both a trauma and an epiphany.

Insofar as the trauma related to the uncertain state of his recent psychological
probing ¹/_M the virtual self-analysis which had engaged him ever since he had
undertaken the summa of his work and life that became the Demoiselles ¹/_M it
was the "magical" conception of art as catharsis that first claimed Picasso
in the masks and figure sculptures he saw. He was later at pains to
point this out ¹/_M in part, perhaps, because his view of tribal art had
traditionally been misinterpreted as purely formalistic. ⁵² He did, however, also
respond to the reductive, ideographic character of the works he saw (which
he would describe to Salmon as "raisonnable," i.e., logical, in a conceptual
sense), as well as to the ^a/_M aesthetic particulars of certain objects, as his
drawings of 1907 and 1908 make perfectly clear. Picasso's dualistic
attitude toward the objects ^{that he} ¹/_M called "magicaux" and "raisonnables"
involved no contradiction, however. The first word described their
function and their force, the other, the logic of their various reductive
and ideographic (as opposed to descriptive) modes of representation. ⁵³

Picasso's admittedly galvanic reaction to his Trocadéro visit was
surely the inspiration for the "second campaign" of work on the
Demoiselles, which thus would have resulted from a renewed and more
extensive confrontation with tribal art at precisely the moment he
was casting about for an adequate visual idea to embody his dark fore-
bodings and private terrors. Not by accident did he later characterize
the Demoiselles as his "first exorcism-painting." "For me the [tribal]
masks were not just sculptures," Picasso told Malraux. "They were
magical objects. . . . intercessors. . . . against everything ¹/_M against unknown,

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threatening spirits. They were weapons ¹/_M to keep people from being ruled by spirits, to help free themselves." "If we give a form to these spirits," he said (in a perfect definition of what I have called "visual abreaction"), "we become free." ⁵⁴

My conviction that the Trocadéro visit preceded the repainting of the two right-hand demoiselles follows in part from aspects of these figures that cannot be adequately explained by Picasso's experience of a handful of objects from the French territories in Africa, ~~and possibly, retrospectively~~ such as those he had seen in the studios of Derain, Vlaminck, and Matisse during the preceding six to eight months. By 1907, the Trocadéro possessed a large number and wide variety of African and Oceanic objects, a ^{survey} ~~corpus~~ of which ^{I have made} ~~has been formed~~ with the collaboration of my colleague Judith Cousins; regrettably only a small fraction of ^{this material} ~~these~~ can be reproduced ^{here:} ~~in this chapter;~~ ^{of these objects} ~~where~~ (the acquisition dates are included in the captions.) The Trocadéro ~~was~~ not only offered Picasso a ^{much} ~~large~~ number of more stylistically varied works ^{than he saw in his fellow artists' collections} but, more importantly, presented them in a different context. To see a few sculptures in an artist's studio is to see them in a situation of aesthetic delectation. Viewed this way, "art nègre" clearly did not impress Picasso between autumn 1906 and June 1907. ⁵⁵ Then suddenly ⁵⁵ we find him regarding these masks and "fetishes" by a compelling, new light that is relevant to what he is trying to get at in the Demoiselles. He now begins to think in terms of "exorcism," "intercession," and "magic." What could be more logical than that this "revelation" should have taken place in an ethnological museum, where the isolated masks and statuettes of the artists' studios give way to mannikin figures in full ceremonial regalia surrounded by artifacts evoking their cultures and accompanied by labels that declare their ritual function?

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Although the magical, exorcistic roots of art constituted the central feature of Picasso's "revelation," there is another aspect of the "African" figures in the Demoiselles that leads me to relate them to the Trocadéro visit¹_M and that is, ironically, their "Oceanic" coloring. (African objects are most frequently unpainted and when colored tend to be muted in hue¹_M except for the folkloristic palette of the Yoruba. →)

This is consistent with their fundamentally sculptural plasticity, as against the essentially pictorial character of most Oceanic sculpture.) While the tactility and morphologies of the right-hand demoiselles' mask¹_M-like faces are clearly if only elliptically, ~~as we shall see~~ reminiscent of Africa, their highly saturated colors, juxtaposed in brash¹_M-even brutal¹_M combinations, strongly suggest the raw and often grating juxtapositions of orange, blue, white, and yellow in certain Oceanic objects. ^{They are} ~~Not~~, however, ^{related to} ~~the~~ objects from Tahiti, the Marquesas, or New Caledonia, which Parisian artists could have acquired in 1906¹_N ^{To those} ~~but~~ from other areas such as the New Hebrides (a joint British-French protectorate) ^{and New Guinea,} (from which sculpture was not yet commercially available in France, though a number of such intensely colored pieces had entered the Trocadéro in the nineteenth century. ⁵⁶) Impetus to sudden stylistic change is often associated in Picasso with seeing a challenging, unfamiliar art that ~~nevertheless~~ speaks directly to his thinking and feeling at the ^{time} ~~moment~~. Given the sudden rupture in his development represented by the right-hand figures of the Demoiselles, a trigger has certainly to be assumed¹_M and there is not only no better but no other candidate for this than the Trocadéro visit that the artist him¹_M

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self called a "shock" and → a "revelation."

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The unprecedented brut coloring and slashing painterly attack of the right side of the Demoiselles (and paintings related to it, p. 000) ^{have} ~~has~~ sometimes been wrongly associated with Fauvism. But the latter remained throughout its development essentially decorative in its color harmonies, which were consistently anchored to the triad of the primary hues. Moreover, the manner in which this color was applied ¹/_M even at its most "wild" (as in Vlaminck's Woodcutter) ¹/_M was a far cry from ^{the} slashing boldness, ^{from} the almost bodily physicality of some brushwork in the Demoiselles. Nor can ^(Gauguin's decorative palette or) Picasso's new color be associated with ^{the} more Expressionist chromatics of Brücke painters such as Nolde and Kirchner, whose personal color gamuts ⁶⁶⁶ in any case ^{post}date the Demoiselles by more than a year (though it is possible → that a certain rawness in their color too derived from South Seas sources). The Expressionists favored remote tertiary and quaternary hues, which endowed their pictures with precisely that ^{"sicklied o'er"} ~~"sickly o'er"~~ psychological ambiance, that sense of angst, which they were trying to obtain. Picasso's robust new "primitive" coloring of 1907 stays closer to primary and secondary hues than does that of the German ¹s, but not as close to the primaries as that of the Fauves. The particular oranges, blues, reds, yellows, and whites he uses in the Demoiselles and related studies are unlike those of the French painters; not only are they usually ^{even} ¹ more saturated, but ~~more significantly~~ the chromatic intervals that separate adjoining colors have a ^{brutal} ~~dissonance~~ and ~~brutality~~ that is entirely anti¹decorative.

There is no model for this in Western art. But it ^{was} ~~is~~ anticipated in some of the Oceanic art that was in the Trocadéro collection at the

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time of Picasso's visit. The New Hebrides mask illustrated ~~here~~ on page 000, for example, is made up of ~~precisely the~~ raw oranges, blues, and whites ~~close to those of~~ ~~we see~~ the Demoiselles, while its exaggerated nose and grimacing grin ¹/_M though far from having been imitated by Picasso ¹/_M ~~accord~~ ^{accord} with a kind of "horrific" expressionism he initiated. It was this Picassoesque expressionism (which he would himself revive in the period 1925 to World War II) and not German Expressionism (as was often mistakenly assumed) that was to inspire Pollock and de Kooning in the early forties and ^{to} lead directly to the grimacing "smile" on the face of de Kooning's Woman I.

2-line #

If there was no Western precedent for the palette of the right side of the Demoiselles, neither was there one for ^{the morphologies of} its ~~distorted~~ mask-like heads. Their ^{distortions} ~~morphologies~~ ^{complement} go hand in hand with the brut coloring ^{P and} that together ~~they~~ make these figures ~~exist~~ ^{express} precisely ^{the} sense of awe, shock, and horror that ^{cathartically} seems to have been necessary for Picasso to liberate himself from ^{his sexually inspired} fear of disease and death ^{inspired by the} ~~sexual~~ ^{sexual} theme of the picture. ^{as well as telling} they provide ~~the~~ foil for the image of the ^{sexually} attractive female, ^(as represented by) the Demoiselles' center figures. ⁵⁷ The "horrific" heads ^(of the right-hand figures) have been associated with ^{tribal} ~~primitive~~ masks ¹/_M African in particular ¹/_M ever since

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the picture was painted. Indeed, their insistently sculptural character^o and some particulars of their morphologies are distinctly, if only elliptically, African. Yet the "Oceanic" color ^{that} ~~which~~ Picasso applied to these "African" heads is in perfect expressive harmony with them. Picasso cared nothing, of course, about mixing cues and recollections from unrelated cultures. ^{aesthetic} ~~esthetic~~ unity is not, after all, a question of the artist's sources, but of his work, and Picasso's mixture of "African" plasticity with "Oceanic" coloring on the right side of the Demoiselles was genial.

Beyond hazy assumptions (often incorrect) that tribal sculptures related to concerns such as fertility and death, Picasso and his early twentieth-century colleagues knew nothing of their real context, function, or meaning. ^{their ignorance} ~~which~~ was an advantage insofar as it ~~further~~ freed them to interpret the objects in manners suited to their personal concerns. →
→ ^{ignorance or} And this vagueness, needless to say, extended to geography. In common with other artists of his generation, Picasso did not always distinguish, even later in life, between African and Oceanic tribal art. Both were subsumed ^{under} ~~in~~ the term "art nègre." ¹³ To the extent, however, that a distinction was made, "Oceanic" usually tended to signify for Paris artists of Picasso's generation, Matisse for example, a conflation of the Polynesian environment (even more than its art), its extrapolations in Gauguin's work, and the premises (primarily literary) of the French "myth of the primitive" that had inspired Gauguin. Thus, along with a darkling substratum of mysterious ritual, "Oceanic" generally implied the luxuriant, unthreatening natural environment of Polynesia as celebrated in Bougainville's Voyage autour du monde.

Such connotations did not surround the word →

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 "African," which evoked something more fetishistic, magical, and, above all, potentially malefic¹_M far closer in mood to Conrad's ~~The~~ ²Heart of Darkness than to Gauguin's Noa-Noa⁵⁹. The archetypal "night journey" of the soul recounted in ~~The~~ Heart of Darkness by means of the metaphor of Kurtz's voyage to the interior of the Congo seems to me close in spirit to Picasso's descent into his psyche during the elaboration of the Demoiselles. Indeed, Picasso's radical primitivizing of the Demoiselles might well be considered a pictorial realization of Conrad's words¹ "The mind of man is capable of everything¹_M because everything is in it, all the past as well as all the future." Certainly the "African" figures on the right of Picasso's painting were meant to express something alien, menacing, and virtually unutterable about "the primitive" such as Kurtz discovered in the recesses of his own unconscious when, in the heart of the Congo, he released himself from the constraints of "civilization"¹_M something he could express ^{at} ~~in~~ the moment of his death only as "the horror" of it.

(2 - line #)

The role of "art nègre" in the Demoiselles was much talked about early on by friends of Picasso such as Salmon, Stein, and Wilhelm Uhde. So popular did this "explanation" of the picture eventually become that the Demoiselles "postludes" began being titled African Dancer or African Head¹_M as if Picasso had literally made images of Africans or, at the least, had imitated African figures or masks. By the beginning of World War I, this sort of "criticism" had become hypertrophied in the press, both in Paris and New York, in part as the result of the activities of the Mexican-born caricaturist, artist, entrepreneur, and, above all, propagandist ¹Mar_Kus

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de Zayas who, among other things, acted as go-between for Edward Steichen and Paul Guillaume in organizing the celebrated exhibition of African art at "291" in 1914.⁶⁰ De Zayas saw the whole of modernist abstraction as simply the "offspring" of Negro art,⁶¹ which he also claimed in 1916 as the "point of departure" for the "complete evolution" of Picasso's thinking and feeling from 1907 on.⁶² He later evidently identified himself to Alfred Barr as Picasso's interlocutor for the now famous text Barr published as a 1923 "statement made in Spanish to Marⁱcus de Zayas"⁶³ but which is, in fact, an edited ~~version~~^{version} of observations made by Picasso to Florent Fels.⁶⁴ It is not without significance that one of Picasso's remarks to Fels that de Zayas excised¹/_M precisely because it contradicted his own theories about the role of "art nègre"¹/_M was the artist's statement that "the African statues that hang around almost everywhere in my place are more witnesses than models"⁶⁵ (see p. 00). There is no question that the kind of speculations fueled by de Zayas and others angered Picasso, and led to remarks on his part downplaying (and later⁹ denying) the role of "art nègre"¹/_M to the point that from World War II onward, Picasso consistently claimed not only to have seen no tribal art prior to painting the Demoiselles, but that his celebrated visit to the

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Trocadéro had followed rather than preceded the painting's execution. As if further to deflate the "African" explanation, Picasso also then first publicly alluded to the very real and until then wholly unobserved role of Iberian art in the Demoiselles.⁶⁷

Quite apart from the data of the painting itself, however, the collective testimony of friends who knew him during its execution, combined with Picasso's own remarks linking it to "art nègre" in his 1937 conversation with Malraux, make⁶⁸ it clear that Picasso's later comments were a kind of strategy (as I have explained elsewhere⁶⁸) designed to counter prevailing theories and to put discussion of the Demoiselles and, indeed, the whole "African" period into some sort of perspective. For while Picasso had seen some African objects on occasional studio visits (to Matisse, Derain, and Vlaminck) during the six months prior to undertaking the Demoiselles, and while the Trocadéro visit clearly took place during and not after its execution, neither in this picture nor in any ^{other} drawing, painting, or sculpture ~~during his entire career~~ did Picasso literally copy or imitate any tribal object.

Nor was tribal art¹ contrary to popular assumptions¹ to have anything like the role of Cézanne's in the development of Cubism.

This does not mean that recollections of ^{tribal} objects were not occasionally points of departure for his work. But when that happens, what really interests us even more than his source¹ if it can be divined¹ is how Picasso metamorphosed it. Beyond the sense of the magical (i.e., psychological and spiritual) force of tribal art, Picasso was impressed by aspects of its conceptual structure, principles that he could abstract from their sources and use to his own ends (cf. pp. 00¹00).

Neither of the two ———→ "African" heads on the right of the Demoiselles nor the one on the far left ^{that} ~~which~~ I have called Gauguinesque/

"Oceanic" resemble^s any African or Oceanic mask Picasso could have seen

66

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69 in Paris in 1907 in the studios of his friends or at the Trocadéro Museum. 69

Proceeding from over-simplified conceptions as to how Picasso worked, scholars have, nevertheless, associated four ^{particular} types of masks with the Demoiselles. Not one of these, however, would have been accessible to

70 Picasso in 1907. Alfred Barr, for example, proposed a relationship ⁷⁰(after) ⁷¹ward cited by Laude and others) between the head on the upper right of the picture ¹indeed, the most mask-like and "African" of the faces ¹with a type of mask from the Etoumbi region of the (then) French Congo (p. 000). This remains a most interesting juxtaposition, even if it must be "demoted"

72 from an influence to an affinity because none of the three masks of this type known to exist came out of Africa until 1929. ⁷²In fact, no objects at all from this particular region are known to have reached Paris until much ^{after 1907} ~~later~~. Let us even imagine, however, that by some accident of history one such rare Etoumbi region mask had been brought to Paris by some sailor or colonial. Even then, the chances of Picasso's having seen it appear nil.

We know that no such mask was (nor is) in the Trocadéro museum, and we know that this was not at all the type of object collected by his three painter friends (who then probably had not more than thirty African sculptures, only some of them masks, between them). ⁷³These four sources

73 constitute the whole of Picasso's visual experience of tribal art up to and through the execution of the Demoiselles. As Picasso ~~only~~ began

74 collecting tribal art ^{only} ^{after} he completed the Demoiselles, ²⁴he had not yet started visiting shops handling them, only one of which in any case ¹that of Emile Heyman ^{at} Au Vieux Rouet ¹was established by 1907.

As I have explained earlier (p. 00), such similarities as were signalled by Barr do not necessarily imply artistic contact between ^{the authors of} the objects. ^{or} ~~artistic~~. All artists who represent the figure through conceptual signs rather than through descriptive ^{on} ~~artistic~~ share a commonality of

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H problems and, hence to some extent, of solutions. ^Q In comparing the Etoumbi mask with the upper-right demoiselle, Laude, for example, emphasized ^{the} long triangular nose of the Etoumbi mask. ^{This} which he saw as the source of a type of nose common in Picasso's heads of later 1907 and early 1908, which the French call the quart-de-brie (^{wedge} ~~slice~~ of brie cheese) nose. But when we look at the ~~wedge shape of the~~ other noses in Picasso's "African"-period works, at least those wide enough to merit the term quart-de-brie, we see that in most of them the triangle is formed less by the nose itself ^{$\frac{1}{M}$} that is, $\longrightarrow$ by the front of the nose, as in the upper right demoiselle and the Etoumbi mask ^{$\frac{1}{M}$} than by the ^{profile} $\wedge$ contour of the nose in combination with its shadow (pp. 000, 000). This formula

lation is anticipated in a number of the heads associated with the Iberian phase of the Demoiselles (p. 000) $\longrightarrow$ realized prior to Picasso's Trocadéro visit. The rude hatching through which ^{Iberian} ~~(such imagery)~~ was realized is ^{ultimately} ~~at the source~~ ^{origin} of the parallel complementary red and green stripes that "shade" the upper right demoiselle's nose. Thus the very origin of the so-called quart-de-brie nose was pictorial rather than sculptural ^{$\frac{1}{M}$} a primitivizing of a two-dimensional shading device.

This should remind us of a point often forgotten in the quest by certain critics for primitive models in Picasso's work, namely, that these putative models are sculptures while the Demoiselles is a painting, so that a whole series of different ^{aesthetic} ~~of painting~~ conventions apply. In primitivizing the ^(of painting) ~~conventions~~ Picasso unquestionably merged them with recollections of surface-design aspects of the tribal art he had seen ^{$\frac{1}{M}$} ~~incised~~ scarification patterns, for example. But taken as a whole, Picasso's primitivizing $\longrightarrow$ in the

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Demoiselles presupposed his absorption of the ^{entire}~~whole~~ Western pictorial tradition. This would not apply, at least in the same manner, to Picasso's (or Brancusi's) sculpture. But in its 1907-08 phase, that sculpture, most of which was left unfinished, has only oblique relationships to tribal objects ¹/_M and then, as we shall see, as much to Oceanic as to African models.

The second of the four kinds of masks scholars have associated with the Demoiselles is the type of Dan mask Golding reproduced in his classic article on the Demoiselles, ¹⁵/_M which he compared ¹/_T with the head of the dark-ling maiden on the extreme left. He did not, of course, imply that this particular mask (p. 000), which is in the collection of the Musée de l'Homme, was the mask Picasso saw. And, indeed, this particular mask only entered the Trocadéro in 19⁵². But such resemblance as the face of Picasso's figure might have to this or any other Dan mask would have to ^{have been} entirely fortuitous, as no Dan masks were to be seen in Paris until some years after the Demoiselles was painted. —> The "pacification" of the interior regions of the Ivory Coast where the Dan live ^(only began) in 1908, in the face of fierce opposition. Some Dan masks may have made their way to French ports in the years just prior to World War I, but despite their later ubiquity, the overwhelming majority arrived only during the entre-deux-guerres. One Dan mask was reproduced in Level and Clouzot in 1919, ⁷⁶ but the earliest to enter the Trocadéro collection arrived only in the ^{1920s}~~nineteen twenties~~.

Golding's association of the left-hand figure's head to Africa notwithstanding, I have always considered this visage to be essentially Gauguinesque in character, and probably through Gauguin more indebted to Oceanic or Egyptian —> art than to anything African. Although this demoiselle's head shares many of the Iberian characteristics of those of the two central women, its more summary and more geometrical contouring, more sculptural modeling, and dark color render it more masklike, and as Golding observed, the head and neck seem clearly

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detached, both stylistically and in hue, from the body. While the upper parts of the two figures in the center show no signs of repainting, the neck, head, hair, left hand, and parts of the body of the left-hand demoiselle were unquestionably reworked after Picasso had completed the painting in its original, Iberian form. It is possible that this was done at the same time he repainted the two demoiselles on the right, but I believe that it took place at a somewhat earlier moment ¹/_M and that there were thus two periods of repainting, the visit to the Trocadéro probably falling between them. Two reprises seem to be suggested, although somewhat confusingly, in Salmon's La Jeune peinture française, the only really significant early account by an eyewitness to the painting's progress. ⁷⁷

Gauguin's The Spirit of the Dead Watching (p.000), which Picasso probably knew only in lithographic form (though its elements are also present in Noa-Noa), contains a half-idol, half-human Tupapau (a female ancestor spirit), which is situated on the extreme left and is represented in absolute right profile, but with a frontal eye ¹/_M all of which characteristics are shared by Picasso's left-hand demoiselle. And although the face of the latter is more masklike and more Iberian, the Gauguin figure, with its conflation of Archaic influences ¹/_M Egyptian, in particular ¹/_M seems to me as close to the Picasso as any African or Oceanic mask. Indeed, there are no masks that, viewed in profile, show frontal eyes; this is a pictorial convention, ^{puzzling} although it was occasionally adapted to three dimensional Polynesian Tikis and is fundamental to Egyptian painting and to other forms of Archaic art from which Gauguin borrowed ideas. On the poetic and psychological plane, the Spirit of the Dead Watching is even more relevant to the Demoiselles.

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It shows a troubled young girl at the age of sexual awakening reclining on a bed (Gauguin described this figure as "slightly indecent," and she is not unrelated to the heroine of his loss-of-innocence paraphrase, Nevermore). Her "fear" or "dread" (Gauguin's words) is related to the imagined Tupapau, hence to death. The combination of Eros and Thanatos in Gauguin's picture is especially apt to the exploration of the identif cal polarity ^{that} ~~which~~ I find at the heart of the Demoiselles.

An Oceanic (as opposed to African) inspiration for the Demoiselles was one of Ron Johnson's theses, and in this regard he saw as a possible source for the picture a mask from the Torres Strait (p.000) that had been published as being in Picasso's collection. ⁷⁸ Picasso's mask does not, however, have the ⁷⁹ sinister look of the tortoise-shell masks of this region, which usually have the elongated visage of the powerful wooden one we reproduce on ^{page} 000. Picasso's is, in fact, far more imaginative, with its small superposed second head and seashell "cap." But its round features are in no way related to the faces in the Demoiselles, and its ^{primarily} pale green ^{and} ^{secondary} dark red coloring is equally alien to the picture. Moreover, though this cannot be proved, Picasso's mask was understood among his friends to have been acquired in the 1920s; ⁸⁰ ~~which is hardly surprising~~ ^{further,} Charles Ratton, dean of ^{French} ~~the~~ dealers in tribal art, told me that so far as he knew, no Torres Strait masks ^{were available in Paris} ~~came to France~~ before that time.

Perhaps the most extraordinary masks to have been associated with the Demoiselles are the remarkably abstract Kifwebe masks of the Songye people (pp. 00, 000-¹000, 000). Warren Robbins, Senior Scholar and Founding Director Emeritus of the National Museum of African Art (Smithsonian Institution),

necessary to
bring in "tortoise-shell"
and a wooden "here?"
They tangle the
argument.

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is among those ^{who have} ~~that~~ identify ^{id} these masks ¹/_M normally characterized by bold distortions and large projecting mouths ¹/_M with the head of the seated demoiselle in the lower right of Picasso's picture. ⁸¹ But it is impossible that Picasso could have seen such a mask as early as 1907. Even today ² the Musée de l'Homme possesses only one, which did not enter its collection until 1967. Moreover, Ratton told me that the first Kifwebe mask he ever saw (it was in the very late 1920[s]) was the one subsequently shown in 1935 in The Museum of Modern Art's exhibition "African Negro Art," illustrated on ^{page} 00. Material from the then Belgian Congo, Ratton observed, especially from the interior areas, where the Songye live, remained extremely rare on the Parisian markets until after ~~the Second~~ World War II. Even in Belgium, which in 1908 had taken over the Congo Free State ^{thitherto} ¹/_M ~~heretofore~~ virtually the private property of Leopold ^d II ¹/_M Songye Kifwebe masks were rare early in the century. The first to enter Le Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale at Tervuren ¹/_M which has the largest holding of Kifwebe masks ¹/_M arrived only in 1911. ⁸²

Like most African objects, Kifwebe masks are symmetrical, and it is usually the mouth (which often ^{angulls} ~~overhangs~~ the chin), rather than the nose, that projects radically. In the head of the lower-right demoiselle, the mouth is small, displaced to the side, and diagonal rather than horizontal; it is rather the immense scalloped nose and the asymmetrically placed, differently colored eyes that carry ¹/_M along with the saturated orange and blue hues ¹/_M the ^{lower} ~~weight~~ of the expressionistic charge. The physical and psychological violence expressed in this face is in keeping with the increased ^(the position of the figure) torsion to which ¹/_M was subjected as the work progressed. In the early sketches (Z 000) ¹/_M → she is shown entirely from the back, facing inward. ² Then her

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head begins turning left towards ^g the picture plane, first in profil perdu,
 (p. 000), then pure profile, then in three-quarters ^{view} toward the spectator
 (p. 000). But all the while her body faces directly inward. In the final
 version, the forms reflect ^(with an almost perverse realism) the violence of Picasso's having twisted her
 head 180° ^{static} against the always ^{unchanged} torso ^M as if literally wringing
 her neck. Insofar as scalloped noses with brutal shading, and asymmetrical
 eyes were already present, though in less extreme form (pp. 000, 000), in
 Iberian ~~studies~~ studies for the Demoiselles, the role of the objects Picasso
 saw on his first visit to the Trocadéro was ^{obviously} less that of providing plastic
 ideas than of ———→ inspiring and sanctioning his ———→ even more
 radical ^{progress} along a path he was already breaking. ^{Neither} the rawest color of
 Oceanic art nor the boldest distortions of African sculpture ^{can be read as suggesting}
^{the kind of} expressionist violence ^{generated} in the seated ^{figure}
^{the direction of} of the Demoiselles.

⁹⁶ Even though Picasso could not have seen such masks as the Songye
 Kifwebes, or the one from the Etoumbi region, the ^{resemblance} nevertheless interest
 us ^{in terms of} affinities. As such, they measure the depth of the artist's grasp
 of the informing principles of African sculpture as a whole. Nor do

such masks mark the limits of Picasso "prescience" with regard to African
^{solutions} ~~forms~~. Indeed, the stylized asymmetry of certain Pende masks (p. 000) provides
 an even more analogous example ^M involving parallelisms of content as well ^M insofar as
 these masques de maladie are not only closer to the plastic character of
 the seated demoiselle's face, but represent ^{persons suffering} ~~sufferers~~ from advanced states
 of syphilis, among other disfiguring diseases. As in the case of the
 other masks, however, Picasso could not have seen a masque de maladie
 in Paris in 1907. No Pende masks entered the Trocadéro until the 1920s,
~~nineteen-twenties~~ and even today it has no masque de maladie; a much less

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?
 82
 (mask (mislabelled "masque de guerre"))
 Picasso-like Ibibio sickness did, however, figure in the collection of
 André Level in 1917. But ^{surely} this would not have been accessible to
 Picasso a decade earlier. ⁸³ ^{He should} keep in mind, moreover, that even the most
 violent distortions in the African masques de maladie were based upon
 facial disfigurements that existed in reality; the artist ^{essentially} imposed his people's
 traditional ^{physical} stylization upon ~~the~~ data. Picasso's distortions, on
 the contrary, were an invented projection of an internal, psychological
 state. Their characteristics are exaggerated versions of asymmetries
 and distortions visible in the early projects for the Demoiselles, prior
 to the artist's experience of tribal art at the Trocadéro.

The resemblances between the heads in the Demoiselles and the masks
 that have been compared to them ^{in art-historical studies} are thus all fortuitous ¹/_M reflections of
 affinities between arts that communicate through conceptual signs rather
 than through pictorial conventions directly derived from seeing. Yet
 the fact that so many more such affinities may be found between Picasso's
 art and that of the tribal peoples than is the case with the work of other
 pioneer modernists [→] reflects, on Picasso's part, a profound identity
 (with the tribal peoples)
 of spirit ^{as} well as a generalized assimilation of the principles and
 character of their art.

(2-line #)

Though the three "masked" demoiselles of Picasso's picture have little
 direct relation ¹/_M except for scarification markings ¹/_M to any masks Picasso
 could have seen at the time, they bear affinities ^(at least) in the daring of their
 abstraction (as well as in aspects of their surface patterning), to a
 type of tribal object that was indeed visible very early at the
 Trocadéro and available even before the turn of the century [→] in the

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curio shops, namely, the copper-covered reliquary guardian figures of the Kota and Hongwe peoples. The Kota figures, which both Barr and Golding had associated with the Demoiselles, are found in an impressive variety, of which we can give only a slight sampling (pp. 000, 000, 000); some of this range was already evident in those in the Trocadéro at the time of Picasso's visit (pp. 000, 000). Their heads range from quite realistic visages streaked symmetrically by diagonals that are not scarification marks but stylized "tears" (p. 000) to exceeding ^{by} abstract conceptions → where the face consists of nothing but a relieved vertical running centrally from top to bottom between two hemispheric ~~and~~ ^{eyes} (p. 000). Others contain a wide variety of parallel line designs that derive from scarification patterns. The shapes of the heads are roughly oval (sometimes slightly pointed at the top or bottom or both), extended sometimes ^{into} stylized lozenges.

¶ The heads of the Hongwe reliquary figures, on the contrary, adhere to a single prototype: a pointed oval cut horizontally at the bottom (pp. 000, 000). In these Hongwe sculptures the concave curve around the vertical axis of the face is sometimes exquisitely balanced against a less marked concave curvature along the horizontal one. The hallmark of the Hongwe visages is a pattern of ^{multiple} thin strips of copper ascending diagonally from a central axis. This no doubt reminded Picasso of hatchmarks, and many of his studies of 1907-08 show this kind of African patterning ^{mutated} ~~extrapolated~~ to shade ^{upon his figures,} the body, as in the views of André Salmon's back (p. 000). Here again, the assimilation of ^a particular tribal type depended on the proximity of its effects to the notation Picasso was already developing in the course of his radical post-Gosol simplifications.

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85 Taken together, the Kota and Hongwe reliquary figures¹/_M certainly the most abstract of the sculptures Picasso encountered¹/_M constitute the most important African prototypes for his art from June 1907 until the summer of the following year. The painter owned two Kota reliquaries⁸⁵ (pp. 000, 000), and though there is no documentation, photographic or otherwise, as to when he acquired them, the simplicity, rawness, indeed the very mediocrity of both of them⁸⁶/_M quite apart from their influence on his work in 1907¹/_M suggest that they were among the earliest tribal objects he acquired. By the time of ~~the First~~ World War^I/_M Paul Guillaume (p. 000) possessed some of the very finest Kotas⁸⁷, but Picasso seems not to have reached for these (in part, no doubt, because they were very expensive).⁸⁷

88 The lozenge-shaped lower supports for the heads of the Kota reliquary guardians are usually taken¹/_M wrongly, the specialists tell us⁸⁸/_M as legs. And the readings by the modern artists were no exception. If we imagine them as legs, the reliquary figure as a whole suggests a dancer¹/_M as we see in the little leaping personage in Klee's Idol (p. 000)¹/_M whose heels are together and whose knees are splayed out in profile below the frontal head. Picasso was evidently sufficiently fascinated by this bent knee position to explore it in a large drawing (p. 000), ^{which} ~~there~~ was extrapolated in paintings such as Nude with Raised Arms^g, known generically as "Dancing Figures" or "African Dancers" (pp. 000, 000).

In this period Picasso worked conceptually, without models, so that when he made the drawing on ^{page} 000, his inspiration was triggered by a generalized recollection of Kota reliquary figures rather than by any individual object. Unlike Klee, who retained the lozenge shape of the "legs" of the Kota figures by keeping the ankles together, Picasso was

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interested only in the radically bent knee, and in that ^{only} as a start⁺ing point. In the upper right figure of the drawing on ^{page} 000 the feet are together, but even here ^{the} legs are treated asymmetrically ¹/_M an asymmetry that would mark all the paintings derived from this motif (where even the bent knee is largely abandoned), thus putting these paintings at a still greater remove from the reliquary figures. In this unusual sheet of drawings, we see Picasso exploring a transform⁺ation of the flat, planar disposition of Kota reliquaries' "legs" into formulations that assimilate the bent-knee position to rudimentary forms of Western perspectival space. This shallow, "collapsed" relief space ¹/_M the detritus of pre⁺modern Western space ¹/_M had just been established in the Demoiselles, and constituted the first step towards ^{the} the Cubist space that followed it.

If the legs of Picasso's "Dancing Figures" thus bear an indirect relation to Kota reliquary guardians, the position of their arms, raised and bent ⁹ over their heads, corresponds to that of the central figure in the Demoiselles and was thus already part of Picasso's vocabulary during his late Iberian phase. ^{(Z. 000) Z. XXVI, 190} ^{probably} indeed, it was ^{extrapolated} from Cézanne's Bathers. Such African caryatids as he could have seen in 1907 ⁸⁹ (pp. 000, 000) obviously interested him, as the drawing on ^{page} 000 attests, but they can hardly be counted a source for the raised-arms positions of the "Dancers." Moreover, the most marked characteristic of Picasso's "Dancing Figures" ¹/_M a sense of energetic, indeed convulsive, movement conveyed not only by the postures but by the bold and rapid facture ¹/_M is entirely antithetical to the stasis of tribal art (however ^{much that movement} ⁹⁰ might relate to the artist's imaginings with regard to tribal dances). This may be what led Lucy

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Lippard to observe that while the Nude with Raised Arms is "often taken
 as the ultimate instance of African influence, in fact it demonstrates
 the relative superficiality of Picasso's borrowings from the African." ⁹¹
 I would amend this by substituting "indirectness" and "fragmentariness"
 for "superficiality" ¹/_M on the plane of "borrowings." The power of
 Picasso's imagination and his instinct for manipulation and metamorphosis
 were such that the kind of direct borrowing from the Primitive we see
 occasionally in other artists, or the ^{integral} ~~simple~~ representation of tribal
~~objects~~ ^{objects} as in the German Expressionists, would be hard to imagine in his
 painting.

More important, however, than any visible borrowings was Picasso's
 sense of tribal objects as charged with intense emotion, with a magical
 force capable of deeply affecting us. ^{This was accompanied by} ~~and~~ his understanding of the
 reductive conceptual principles that underlie ^{ic} ~~lay~~ African representation.
 On this level, Picasso's debt to African art was not superficial but
 profound. In the drawing on ^{page} ~~A~~ 000, the presence of Picasso's hand,
 which rises from the bottom of the sheet as if magically commanding the
 activities of the figures, is an important link to the Primitive tradit^{ion}
 tion. Picasso had already developed a sense of the artist's hand as a
 kind of thaumaturgic wand. In Boy Leading a Horse of 1906, the
 unbridled animal seems to follow the boy as if mesmerized by the power
 of his gesture. Although oversimplified ^(and perhaps) ~~anthropologically~~ incorrect,
 Picasso's assumptions about tribal usages ¹/_M the laying on of the shaman's
 or medicine ¹/_M ~~man's~~ hands, for example ¹/_M could only have reinforced his personal
 sense of the magical. And as the "fetishes" were religious objects, the
 notion of art-making and of religion —→ became fused in a conscious^{ness}
 ness of the force of the artist-shaman's hand. In the drawing on ^{page} ~~A~~ 000,

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one of the earliest of Picasso's many representations of his own hand, he makes → this explicit by the "lines of force" that emanate from it. His hand is repeated in another position in the center of the drawing, where again the emanating lines of force suggest that the hand magically "commands" the movement of the figures, thus paralleling metaphorically the reality of Picasso's hand as the agent of their creation. The representation of the artist's hand in isolation¹_M ~~which is to be found from~~ the cave painters to Pollock (← pp. 000¹_M 000)¹_M is always an allusion to the notion of image-making as a supernatural, ritual power, which is, of course, ~~the conception that overwhelmed Picasso in his~~ ^{at} "revelation" and the Trocadéro.

(2 - line #)

Picasso's characteristic distancing from his sources in Primitive art may be seen in a variety of drawings of 1907 of which I shall treat three examples: a sketch clearly inspired by Bambara antelope dance-mask crests (p. 000); an altogether unusual drawing I shall call Mask and Heads (p. 000); and a project for a sculpture ~~initially~~ inspired by the Baga people's goddess of fertility, Nimba (pp. 000, 000).

Given the variegated, fanciful, and sometimes highly abstract forms that antelope crests took in the hands of African sculptors (p. 000), it is interesting that Picasso's study should move in the directions both of greater realism and greater simplification¹_M almost as if a Bambara antelope had been reworked in the more rigorously geometrical spirit of Dogon sculptors (pp. 000, 000). Indeed, the spare geometricity of the Dogon style presents the closest affinity with what would become the early Cubism of late 1908¹_N 1909. It is often said, to be sure, that Dogon sculpture was unknown to the Cubists, and it is true that certain types of Dogon work¹_M not to say

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(2 - line #)

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Given the variegated, fanciful, and sometimes highly abstract forms that antelope crests took in the hands of African sculptors (p. 000), it is interesting that Picasso's study should move in the directions both of greater realism and greater simplification¹~~almost as if a Bambara antelope had been reworked in the more rigorously geometrical spirit of Dogon sculptors (pp. 000, 000).~~ Indeed, the spare geometricity of the Dogon style presents the closest affinity with what would become the early Cubism of late 1908¹_N. It is often said, to be sure, that Dogon sculpture was unknown to the Cubists, and it is true that certain types of Dogon work¹_M not to say

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To *William Rubin*
From *Francis Kloeffel*
Date *3/5/84*
Re *Primitivism*

Herewith edited pp. 45-79 of Picasso ms.

Picasso - Picasso 45-79

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Continuation of
Rubin - Picasso

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the best-quality objects ¹/_M (only began coming to France) after the Dakar-
~~Djibouti mission of 1931~~ ³/_N and, in far greater numbers, after World
~~War II~~. Nevertheless, there were a number of Dogon pieces at the
Trocadéro at the time of Picasso's 1907 visit, including a large typi-
cally geometrical figure (p. 000, left) that was actually photographed
in the Trocadéro's galleries in 1909 by the Czech Cubist Josef Capek. As
the lesson of such works ~~depended~~ ^{style rather than their} on their quality (recall Picasso's
remark that "You don't need the masterpiece to get the idea"), Dogon
sculpture must be considered along with the then better known tribal
genres as ^{implementing} the background of Picasso's "Africanism."

The extreme simplicity of Picasso's antelope no doubt responds in
part to the fact that Picasso envisioned ~~his~~ ^{not} execution in wood, and he was
still a novice at carving. But the treatment of the legs as discrete
cylinders ^{repeating} ~~paralleling~~ the cylinder of the neck was certainly an ^aesthetic
decision ^{taken} in the spirit of African reductionism. It was basically a quest
tion of appropriating this ^{reductionist and} principle of ~~abstraction and~~ intensifying and
extending it ^{that became} the paradigm of Picasso's response to tribal art. He may
well have seen, for example, as early as 1907, the kind of Bambara figure
from Kahnweiler's collection reproduced on ^{page 92} 000. The treatment of the
shoulders and upper arms as a semi-circle in this work would ^{have} certainly
interested ^{Picasso} ~~the artist~~. But it would be characteristic for him to press the
idea even further by reducing the shoulders, arms, and hands to a complete
circle, ^{and then to} ~~which he sets~~ ^{this} against an equally geometrical triangular torso
(p. 000).

Mask and Heads (p. 000) is one of the most unusual of Picasso's "primi-
tive" drawings of 1907. It is built around a large, powerful head
resembling a mask, which Laude assumed was based on an African work.

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73 ("vraissement congolais").^{33/} But one searches in vain for any mask, African or Oceanic, that resembles it. Indeed, it is a mistake to assume that Picasso would base ~~any~~ his imagery directly on a particular prototype.^{94/} When questioned by Pierre Daix about this drawing, Picasso denied that it was inspired by ~~a~~ ^{a tribal} object, saying ^{that had it} he ^{invented} from his imagination.^{95/} and this was surely the case. But as the imagination springs from the same unconscious that is the storehouse of visual memories and "forgotten" images, it is not surprising that different aspects of this "mask" evoke, at least obliquely, bits and pieces of ~~various~~ recognizable styles. The ears^{1/} the most clearly identifiable of its motifs^{1/} are in fact not inspired by tribal art at all. They represent a more rounded, ~~quite~~ ^{symmetrical} version of the scroll-like ear that impressed Picasso in his "own" Iberian head, ~~in 000~~ whose ear he echoed in less stylized form in the Iberian watercolor study for the Demoiselles (p. 000). The striated triangular shadow areas to the sides of the nose^{of this "mask"} had already been anticipated in ^{his} Iberian studies, such as the watercolor just mentioned, though the rigorousness of the pattern here presupposes Picasso's recollections of tribal scarification patterns and the symmetrical "tears" of certain Kota reliquary figures. On the other hand, the form of the mouth, virtually an extension of the long thin nose, is Melanesian rather than African in character.

More interesting if less arresting than the central ^{imaginative} ~~face~~ of Mask and Heads is the evidence ² ~~that~~ ^{time} surrounds it of the "automatic" character of Picasso's drawing, which almost instantaneously records the chain of his mental associations, suggesting that Picasso's thought, as Tzara put it, "is made in the hand."^{96/} In the lower left, Picasso has inverted the patterning of diagonals that descends from the nose of his "mask"

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so as to create a head that is also a leaf. This leaf-head, which pref^{er} figures Klee, leads by the same associative logic to the even more fantastical and larger head at the bottom-center of the drawing, whose "mouth" is a horizontal flower pot, whose nose and cheeks are plant stems, and whose eyes are tiny palm or papyrus fronds ^{double-duty elements that} ~~which~~ remind us of his transformation of the idol in the Gauguin watercolor (pp. 000¹ 000). In the context of such imagery, the trapezoidal objects in the upper left and right of Mask and Heads might be taken as vases¹ and Zervos so titled a separate study of the one on the left (Z. ~~000~~ ^{XXVI, 162}). But given the exoticism of the imagery, these two forms ^{will} ~~are~~ probably also, if not primarily, intended ^{as} ~~as~~ tribal shields. In drawings such as this, one interpretation does not exclude another. On the contrary, the multiple identities of the motifs and the associational linkages between them tell us more about the processes of Picasso's mind, and the nature of his assimilation of tribal material, than do his paintings of this period. In the latter we sense the richly textured, many-levelled fabric of his ^{in the drawings} ~~imagery~~, but ^{more} ~~we see it~~ discretely.

Among the 1907 drawings that can be linked to tribal sculpture, none are more revealing of Picasso's ways of thinking and working ^{than} ~~that~~ those ^{people's} ~~related~~ to Nimba, ⁹⁷ the Baga goddess of fertility. In Baga art, Nimba takes the form of huge dance masks (pp. 000, 000, 000), or of smaller figure sculptures in which a human body supports a Nimba-type head (p. 000). Picasso unquestionably saw the dance mask illustrated ^{page} on ~~pp~~ 000 during his visits to the Trocadéro; in 1907 it was the only such object in the Musée d'Ethnographie. This mask shares some but not all of the characteristics of "classic" Nimbas: the long arched head is cantilevered forward, its projection intensified by ~~the salience of~~ an extraordinarily large nose;

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92 ✓ the head culminates in a low crest, slightly hollowed out, which passes from the forehead almost to the back of the neck. The latter, a long cylinder, separates the head from the bust, which is characterized by large but flattened breasts, below which project the four supports held by the dancer ⁹⁸ ✓. When in use, a large raffia dress, which descended from just below the breasts, covered the dancer ^{he} entirely, though ^{he} could see out through small holes bored between the breasts.

While the Nimba mask was used exclusively for dances ^{and thus seen in movement,} ~~related to~~ fertility rites, the smaller, integral Nimba figures ^{were stationary objects} ~~apparently served~~ ^{whose purpose is not known} ~~for instructional purposes~~; in 1907, the Trocadéro owned one of these as well (p. 000, right). They were also among the types of smaller objects occasionally available in the curio shops, and it may well be that one of ^{pair of} both of the ~~virtually identical~~ Nimba figures Picasso owned ^{in rear of photo, p. 000, and} (p. 000, left) were purchased by him at the time he made the drawings in question.

99 ✓ The large pencil drawing of a head (p. 000, upper left) which ^{VI, 907} ^M with a similar less-developed study (Zervos ^M ⁹⁰⁷) is probably Picasso's first elaboration of a Nimba-derived motif, is already quite distanced from what we are considering its source of inspiration. Nevertheless, Reinhold Hohl's argument that its crest, a chain of almost semicircular forms, relates to a Nimba is ultimately persuasive. ⁹⁹ ✓ Hohl, however, associated Picasso's crest simply to the long crest of the Nimba mask that encircles its coiffure, as does the more ornamental one in Head. Yet ^{the} ~~that~~ Nimba crest is straight-edged. It appears to me that while Picasso retained the idea of a crest from either the Trocadéro mask or from the smaller Nimba figures, the rhythm of near semicircles that characterize its appearance in Head was extrapolated not from a Nimba crest, but from the sequence formed by the rounded nose ^{and} the curved forehead ^{with} ~~and~~ its echoing projection, a rhythm we see when we look at the ~~Trocadéro's Nimba~~ heads of the Trocadéro's Nimba figures in

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profile. Such a sequence cannot be disengaged from the ^{lone} ~~the~~ Nimba mask then at the Trocadéro, ~~though it can be from more "classical" Nimba masks,~~ such as the one Picasso purchased around 1920 (p. 000). Hence, the artist no doubt extrapolated it from either the Baga figurine at the Trocadéro or more likely if he had already acquired them from the study of one of his own.

Head, then, is in no ^{sense} ~~way~~ a copy of a Nimba. When Picasso is inspired by motifs in tribal art, he extrapolates, metamorphoses, and fuses them to the point ^{where} ~~that~~ he creates his own version of tribal art—a simulacrum inspired by the real thing, but different from it. A good example of this is Woman in a Long Dress (p. 000, lower left), where a careful look shows that the ^{familiar} ~~same~~ chain of semicircles ^{again} forms the extremity of the subject's coiffure. Were further proof necessary ^{for} of the "African" inspiration of this motif, we would need only to consider the "undressed" version of the woman in the same drawing, which shows ~~quite literally~~ how she might look as an African sculpture. Indeed, there are few more obvious examples than ^{the latter} ~~this~~ of Picasso's use of hatching as the equivalent of ^{as} ~~hatching~~ or chisel ^{cuts} ~~marks~~ in ^{marking} ~~the~~ geometrically precise planes suggested by African ^{objects} ~~sculpture~~. A further insight into the associative nature of Picasso's invention is ^{offered} ~~provided~~ in Hohl's observations regarding the pencil study Woman with Raised Arms Seen from Behind (p. 000, lower right). Here ^a ~~a~~ separately worked detail of the woman's braid is ^{assimilated} ~~related~~ to ^a ~~a~~ Nimba crest ^{by} ~~the~~ juxtaposition with fragments of the coiffure from Head.

The ~~combination of~~ ^{metamorphosis} of Head and its variants ^{culminated in} ~~the~~ the exquisite if unfinished carving Figure (p. 000). That Picasso ~~already~~ had all along envisioned the making of a wood sculpture is

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confirmed by the fact that the profile in Head was accompanied by a front-view companion study (p. 000, upper right). Picasso clearly began his wood sculptures of 1907 by transferring such outline drawings to the faces of a wood block (a procedure manifest in the unfinished Caryatid Figure, p. 000, where traces of the orange outline drawing are still preserved). By the time Picasso actually began carving Figure, he had eliminated the crest (or "braid") and slightly minimized the salience of the nose and lips, as is already anticipated in a notebook sketch for the head ^{of the sculpture} (p. 000), which probably just preceded ^{the} carving. Although we cannot be entirely sure of Picasso's intentions regarding the top and rear of the head of Figure, as that portion of the sculpture remains unfinished, the notebook sketch indicates that the ~~vestigial~~ ^{inspired} still ^{visible} Nimba motifs ⁱⁿ Head would have totally disappeared.

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There is perhaps no more remarkable indication of the associational character of Picasso's imagery than the fact that his large, caricatural ^{charcoal} portrait of his friend André Salmon (p. 000), one of the earliest ^{proponents} ~~of~~ ^{tribal art,} ~~pioneers~~ ^{executed} of ~~the movement~~ should have been ~~drawn~~ ^{Salmon is} on the verso of the very sheet → on which Picasso had explored the bent-knee position inspired by Kota reliquary figures. Though ^{overshadowed} in the literature on Picasso's early years by the artist's two other poet friends, Max Jacob and Guillaume Apollinaire, ^{he} ~~she~~ played an important role in Picasso's life around this time. Not the least interesting aspect of this ~~was~~ ^{followed from} ~~his~~ ^{his} interest in tribal art, which apparently developed a year or two before Picasso's and ~~some years before~~ ¹⁰⁰ Apollinaire's. Once Picasso had had his Trocadéro "revelation," and begun buying and studying tribal

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material, it was probably Salmon who ~~in these early years~~ served as his principal interlocutor on the subject. Nevertheless, Salmon tells of having himself only fully understood certain of these objects after Picasso had talked to him about them, had pointed out their "logic" and "purity" (a "purity of expression," Picasso would later tell Sabartés, "which Western art never attained").¹⁰¹ Unlike Apollinaire, who¹⁰² though he later collected African sculpture (pp. 000-000)¹⁰³ wrote comparatively ~~less~~ ^{little} about it and hardly remarked on its relationship to vanguard art, Salmon very early championed ~~primitive and African~~ ^{tribal} art both for itself and as an inspiration for contemporary artists. He was the first to write about ~~it~~ ^{it} in connection with Picasso: "Already [in the Demoiselles] Picasso was passionate about the Negro sculptors, whom he placed far above the Egyptians. Polynesian or Dahomean images appeared 'reasonable' [raisonnable] to him. The sorcerer's apprentice constantly ~~examined~~ ^{consulted} interrogated the Oceanic and African magicians."¹⁰⁴ For all its wrong-headed theories regarding the relation of African, Egyptian, and Greek art (ideas nevertheless widely entertained at the time), Salmon's article "L'Art nègre" was sufficiently appreciated to be reprinted in The Burlington Magazine.¹⁰⁵ Its ~~many~~ ^{frequent} references to plastic qualities should remind us that it was not only the magical but the aesthetic ~~quality~~ ^{aspect} of tribal art that intrigued Picasso.

Though Salmon's various observations about tribal art are scattered and fragmentary prior to the appearance of "L'Art nègre" in 1919, that article probably reflects his conversations with Picasso of many years earlier (while Apollinaire's text of 1917¹⁰⁶ is obviously grounded in his conversations with Paul Guillaume).¹⁰⁷ In one of its principal passages,

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Salmon identifies tribal art as a form of "realism," a reality based on truth to feeling rather than appearances ¹/_M not unlike an observation

¹⁰⁸ Picasso himself made to me. "The carver of idols," Salmon wrote, ~~unquestionably the~~

is unquestionably the
most scrupulous of realists. His diligence and fidelity

in the study of human perfection do not arise from the

base fetishism of imitation, which leads academically

minded Europeans to rejoice when they can confound a

painting with a mirror. The African and his rival the

Polynesian draw all their inspiration from human perfect

tion without ever subordinating the work of art to it.

As realists, *they direct scrupulous attention to*
~~their scrupulous attention is directed to~~

the construction of a harmonious whole. [the] plastic

translation of emotion, taken preferably at its most

intense instant (from which we may argue that even

psychology is not lacking in Negro art).

~~Sketch~~ Picasso's portrait of Salmon was intended as a starting point for a wood sculpture. "During the same period [that of the Demoiselles]",

Salmon recounts, "Picasso executed a charcoal portrait of me that was a

preparatory study for a small wood sculpture yet to be executed. ¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹ While the Kota sketches on the verso of that same sheet progressed, in

Picasso's characteristic manner, *away from* in directions opposite to their African

sources, the development of the Salmon portrait *by reason of* Salmon's

passion for "art nègre," ¹¹⁰ reversed the process. Its *subsequent metamorphoses* (pp. 000-000)

~~show~~ *sort* of a tribal

sculpture.

The Salmon portrait brings us to a consideration of the role of caricature

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caricatures' external forms in some way mirror the

internal structure of our mental representations, the idealized and schematicized internal imagery that our minds use to "pre-sort" and structure perception. The "mind's eye" in effect sees caricatures, not portraits. Our conceptual system knows that it uses exaggerations, simplifications, generalizations, to encode our knowledge of appearances, and can recognize these deviations when confronted with a cartoon or caricature.

Not surprisingly, one discovers that the "low art" of Picasso's caricatures ^{starts} fuses with his "high art" at precisely the moment his primitivism begins: with the repainting ^{on his return from Gosol} of Gertrude Stein's face in ^{the} Iberian ^{manner} style. As Adam Gopnick observes in a brilliant recent study of this subject, ^A likeness [the Stein portrait] which

began in the grand manner, is transformed through the use of primitive forms into a study in physiognomic identification through distortion. The forms which Picasso selects from the vocabulary of Iberian art ^{the} oversized eyes, the magnified and thrust-out brows ^{are} precisely those physiognomic features which any "how-to" book still encourages the beginning caricaturist to emphasize. What Picasso has done is to invent a kind of creole, a language which assimilates an alien vocabulary to a familiar syntax. The move from low to high, the victory of the notebook over the easel, is accomplished through the Trojan horse of primitivism.

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In the portrait of Salmon, Picasso starts ~~from~~ ^{with} caricature ¹/₁₀ and ^{it} gradually assimilates ¹/₁₇ to the graphic vocabulary of his primitivism. The relaxed ^{drawing} ~~classical portrait~~ of "the imperturbable evangelist of primitivism" shows him frontally, holding a book (like a stand-in for Picasso's medical student/self-portrait in the early studies for the Demoiselles) and a pipe, his head turned in a three-quarters view so as better to expose his long nose and prominent jaw. As Picasso begins to play with this image in the upper left of the multiple study on page 000, he turns Salmon's body in profile and then considers him from the back. The "fishbone" hatch ¹/₁₄ marks leading from Salmon's spine ¹/₁₄ by now Picasso's scarification-like shorthand for "primitive" sculpture ¹/₁₄ indicate the direction the portrait is taking. The wave of Salmon's hair is simplified into a jutting crest which, given the elongation of the skull ^{on} ~~to~~ one side and the face ^{on} ~~on~~ the other, creates something like a Pharaonic profile. This crest will drop down, as Picasso proceeds, to become a jutting brow, and by the time the artist has arrived at his definitive conception (p. 000, right), the project for a sculpture looks more "tribal" than caricatural. The ^{original} ~~Salmon portrait~~ ^{of the} ~~sinuous contrapposto~~ has given way to a blocky, flat-footed image of an aged nude whose frontality and symmetry are alleviated only by a slight turning of the head.

Picasso's conversion of a young man into an old one ¹/₁₄ a not uncommon form of his malicious wit ¹/₁₄ reenacts a kind of metamorphosis the artist was familiar with in the celebrated so-called caricatures of Leonardo. ¹¹⁸ Along the way, some of Salmon's attributes ^{are} ~~have been~~ dropped (the wave of hair gives way to baldness); many are retained (the long nose and jutting chin); and still others added (the large and prominent ears). Salmon's conversion into a "tribal sculpture" was a project at which Picasso worked quite hard;

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there are many variant drawings (p. 000). In the course of this transformation, Salmon ceased to be himself and became, as was the case with so many of Picasso's subjects (though notably not Gertrude Stein), entirely a creature of the artist.

That Picasso never advanced to the stage of carving "Salmon" is hardly surprising. For every sculpture he actually started, far many more projects for sculptures remained literally on the drawing board. There are many reasons for this, beginning with questions of time and patience. Picasso was interested in sculptural ideas. Their ^{attendant} problems could be solved on paper in minutes ¹/_M and at that point Picasso ~~would~~ ^{lost} interest. He clearly hated the effort that went into carving or otherwise realizing ^{his ideas} ~~the~~ three-dimensionally. Execution was ^{an annoying} ~~an annoying~~ and time-consuming matter that ~~he~~ ^{he largely left} would eventually ~~be~~ ^{be largely left} to others. By standards of a Brancusi, Picasso was lazy ^{and little} ~~concerned~~ ^{concerned} with the ^{nature} ~~sculpture~~ of sculptural ~~the~~ ^{the} finessing of materials ^{and} their surfaces. Though ^{he was} the most revolutionary and inventive of modern sculptors ¹/_M whose work ^{at} least in quantitative, stylistic, and conceptual terms ¹/_M has altered the history of art more than Donatello's, Bernini's, or Michelangelo's ¹/_M Picasso's accomplishments ^{in this area dilige} ~~are~~ a study based more on drawings than on objects. The latter function primarily as verifications or "proofs" of the concepts explored on paper. Even when ^{Picasso did} ~~using~~ the less laborious technique of modelling ¹/_M in his sculptures of the thirties and thereafter ¹/_M ~~he~~ ^{he} telescoped the time and effort involved by ~~using~~ ^{employing} found objects to rapidly bulk out his forms. That these objects also added a poetic, sometimes surreal element to many of his sculptures takes nothing from the fact that for Picasso they were, in the first instance, short-cuts to the three-dimensional realization of graphic images. ¹¹⁹

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Such considerations should be very much in our mind in treating Picasso's

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1907 carvings¹ that phase of his work most visibly related to his primitivism. ~~And indeed~~ No text on these sculptures alludes to ~~the fact that~~ his handful of 1907 objects represents but a fraction of the sculptures conceived and developed that year in his drawings. Indeed, only rarely ^{at 4} ~~mentioned~~ ^{which} that of those ~~which~~ progressed to the three-dimensional stage (pp. 000, 000, 000), the majority remain in differing degrees unfinished. With the exception of the Iberian-style relief (p. 000) executed in the spring of 1907¹¹, there is no firm context for placing these objects in any particular season of 1907; nor has there been any scholarly discussion of this question. In view, however, of the affinities of these works not simply with African but with Oceanic sculpture (which we have no compelling reason to think Picasso saw before his Trocadéro visit in June)¹², I am disposed to give all these objects to the second half of 1907.

The small carving of a Standing Figure (p. 000) is typical of the composite character of these sculptures as far as sources are concerned. Its head contains distinct echoes, in its elongation and outward curve, of the big, predominately red Grade Society fernwood ^{sculpture} ~~carving~~ from the New Hebrides ^{that} ~~which~~ was the center ^{piece} of the Trocadéro's Oceanic room (p. 000); ~~the~~ ^{the} arms, legs, and body proportions ^{of the Picasso} are closer to African carving. Johnson, comparing ^{Standing} ~~the~~ Figure to Gauguin's Saint Orang, sees it as revealing the ^{Post-Impressionist's} "direct influence". ^{on Picasso} ~~Gauguin~~. If so, it was more a question of Gauguin's interest in ~~wood~~ sculpture ~~by Gauguin~~ (which would have been brought home to Picasso with particular force by the retrospective the previous autumn) than of the actual character, forms, or finish of ~~the~~ ^{his} carvings¹ except insofar as they themselves subsumed aspects of Polynesian sculpture. The yellowish color of Standing Figure is seen by Johnson as "possibly an ironic reference to Gauguin's

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Saint Orang and Yellow Christ." If that is true, these associations are certainly mingled with the recollections of the painted New Hebrides and New Guinea objects at the Trocadéro (as well, perhaps, as some painted Yoruba carvings he could have seen there, p. 000, at his painter friends, or at Heyman's shop).

Johnson is certainly correct, however, when he cites Picasso's Doll (p. 000) as representing probably "the most direct influence of tribal art on [the artist's] carvings of 1907." He notes that the stylized hands and mouth, squat body proportions, large head, and goggle eyes are very close to the figures on Marquesan fan handles. In fact, Doll could represent a typically Picassoesque metamorphosis of any one of the many types of Polynesian Tikis (pp. 000, 000) then at the Trocadéro. Johnson further observes that the small hole in the back of this piece indicates that it was intended to be hung, like Picasso's New Caledonian figures (p. 000), on the wall. "one of the more revolutionary steps in breaking down distinctions between painting and sculpture in mode of display." Although Doll was evidently painted in red, green, and blue, the color has since been largely lost.

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Standing Figure and Doll are among the few sculptures-in-the-round from this period that were completed. Only the front of Figure (p. 000) ¹/_M the ~~original~~ Nimba-related sculpture discussed earlier ¹/_M was carved, though that ^{part} was smoothly finished. Picasso abandoned Caryatid Figure (p. 000), the largest of his 1907 wood pieces, at the roughing-out stage; much of the front, sides, and back of the piece of wooden beam from which ^{it was} worked remains only partially carved, with the outlines in orange paint. Picasso inscribed as guides still intact.

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Johnson speaks of Caryatid Figure as "roughly executed" and compares it to the Demoiselles in its effect of "brutalization, a kind of savage sexuality." I ~~do not doubt~~ ^{am sure}, however, that this figure, though conceived with angular contours, was intended to be smoothly finished, in the spirit of the female caryatids in the sketch reproduced on ~~page~~ ^{page} 00, the lower right of which is obviously the project for Caryatid Figure. Certainly it was to have had a smoother, less chipped and brutal surface than it now possesses. Indeed, Picasso himself confirmed to Werner Spies that he considered the ~~axe-hewn~~ ^{project} ~~object~~ unfinished. ¹²⁵ This said, its present character, which gives it an expressionist dimension alien to tribal art, may have ended by pleasing Picasso, who would otherwise probably have thrown it away. The ~~inspiration~~ ^{source} for Caryatid Figure was obviously African rather than classical (as in Modigliani's ~~as the now well-known Luba~~ ^{(Caryatid (p. 00) and} ~~carved~~ caryatid stools (p. 00) would not have been visible in Paris ^{in these} ~~that~~ years ^{these of the}, the African models must be sought in Ivory Coast, ~~which~~ or in the type of Senufo drum-support figures that were already making their way to France (p. 000). Picasso's studies do not directly resemble any of these, of course, but they share their frontal, iconic character as well as the motif of the symmetrical and vertical forearms.

(2-line #)

Two ~~the~~ characteristics of Picasso's 1907 painting that continued into 1908 ¹/_M blocky, symmetrical torsos and concave faces ¹/_M have a decided kinship with tribal art. ~~These~~ ² Physiognomies ~~in particular~~ that combine a wide convex forehead and a long, tapering, concave lower face, such as in ^{we see} ~~which descend~~ ^{derive} Woman's Head of winter 1907 ¹/_N 08, ~~which descend~~ from the upper right-hand

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head in the Demoiselles, ^{but} also unquestionably answer to Fang sculpture (pp. 000-000). As a source of vanguard interest in the pre-war years, Fang sculpture compares in importance with Kota reliquary figures.

Fang masks were owned by Picasso (p. 000), Braque (p. 000), Derain, and other artists; Fang reliquary guardian figures (p. 000) and heads were rarer and much sought after; the fierce one on ~~the lower left of~~

^{page} 000, which Einstein reproduced, was probably known to Picasso in the years just before World War I. ¹²⁶ Fang-inspired concave facial types

continue in Picasso's work well into 1908 (as shown in the study for Friendship, compared here to a Fang reliquary head, p. 000), indeed, right into Three Women, whose repainted version of the following winter would mark the end of Picasso's "Africanism." A rather idiosyncratic

form of concavity can be found in studies for the head of a Peasant Woman that Picasso executed in late summer 1908 during his stay at La Rue des Bois. The versions of the head in the lower center and right of the sheet

on ^{page} 000, however, ^(less recall) the concavity of Fang masks (which usually had convex foreheads) than that of Bambara animal masks of a type ^{probably} ~~had to~~ ^{then} ~~have been~~ visible in France (p. 000). ¹²⁷

The solid, closed, reductive, and symmetrical character of the Peasant Woman ^{taken} in her entirety (p. 000), confirms the African inspiration of Picasso's figure paintings at La Rue des Bois. The landscapes executed there, howf ever, have another filiation. For these, there was naturally no model in Primitive art, and the counterpart role fell to Henri Rousseau.

^{2-line #} Though Picasso had seen Rousseau's work much earlier (almost surely in 1901 but without question ⁱⁿ ¹²⁸ ~~from~~ 1905), it becomes influential in ^{his} ~~Picasso's~~

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work only in 1908, when ~~he needed~~ ^{filled} it ~~for~~ his ~~own~~ purposes. Rousseau's painting seems to have been of some interest to Matisse and Derain in 1906, ⁱⁿ terms of a kind of generalized primitivism that prevailed ~~in 1906~~ following the showing of Le Lion ayant faim in the Salon d'Automne a year earlier, ~~that had made the Fauves famous~~. As an agent of simplification, ^{its} possible role in Matisse's Marguerite (p. 000), which Picasso had chosen in an exchange of paintings ^{in 1906} while still in his Iberian style -- the Rousseau model, ~~overtaken~~ ^{with} Picasso in 1908. ^{for} not only provided Picasso prototypes of highly stylized, "geometrized" landscapes, but a paradigm of plastic order and serenity such as ^{with} could have made sense for him only at a time when the ~~more~~ more violent and expressionistic effects -- the brutal coloring and the brash, energetic brushwork -- of his 1907 "African" paintings were giving way to a more monumental, more classically contained and stable art. This tendency culminated in the smoother, more "controlled" brushwork and a more monochrome (greens, browns, and greys) palette of the repainted version of Three Women, the transitional masterpiece that assimilated into early Cubism, ^{the} the vestiges of Picasso's ~~earlier~~ "Africanism".

It seems perfectly logical, at least in retrospect, that Rousseau's influence on Picasso should have crested prior to the latter's renewed interest ⁱⁿ and deeper ^{understanding} ~~penetration~~ of Cézanne's art, which ~~was~~ ^{were} prompted by Picasso's seeing the early Cubist Braques that led him entirely to repaint Three Women. Rousseau's archaism, which was closer to tribal art than was anything in Cézanne, thus acted as a bridge between "art nègre" and the Cézanne-Braque influences that ^{increasingly} determined Picasso's course once he returned to Paris from La Rue des Bois. By the end of 1908, only the facet ^{of} of Picasso's early Cubism (p. 000) -- which

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~~obliquely~~ recalls the planification of some tribal sculpture even as it primitivizes Cézanne¹_M remained from his earlier battery of "African" effects.

Many of Picasso's friends ^{of} in this period underlined what they considered a comparable simplicity and "innocence" in the work of Rousseau and tribal artists, who shared a sense of the sacred in their approach to their work: "The Douanier," wrote Salmon, "painted his ambitious compositions the way the black image-maker carved his religious images."

Salmon also, however, compared Rousseau to Giotto and Uccello, adding that "we cherished [him] not for barbarism, but for his science." ¹³²

In fact, it is only if at all in relation to the Italian Primitives, hence in terms of the ^{nineteenth}~~19th~~ century connotations of ~~primitif~~ ^{primitif} that the

^{latter} word has any significance in regard to the Douanier.

Rousseau himself ^{was not interested} ~~had no interest~~ in tribal art, nor is it in any way reflected in his painting. He considered himself resolutely contemporary, and in most ways he was. His famous mot to Picasso has been widely quoted, but invariably taken simply as a joke: "You, Pablo, and I," he said, "are the two greatest artists of the age; you in the Egyptian style and I in the modern." What he said was not illogical, however, if we consider the context. By the end of the nineteenth century, the word "Egyptian" had become a ———> surrogate for "primitive" in critical jargon (and remained so until the latter took on its tribal connotation in the years just prior to World War I). It was applied quite readily to any art that tended toward the exotic, the highly stylized, the static, simple, geometrical, or frontal. In his letters, Van Gogh^{had} used "primitive" to describe Egyptian art, and the reader will recall that Matisse had talked about Egyptian art when he first showed

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Picasso an African carving; a few years later, Lipchitz would purchase his first African object under the impression that it was Egyptian. 133

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In the light of such confusion, it is quite understandable that Louis Vauxcelles's autumn 1908 review of Braque's first Cubist pictures should speak of the painter's "obsession with the style of Cézanne and with the recollection of the static art of the Egyptians." 134 Vauxcelles would have been correct (of course) had he paired Cézanne with African art, which Braque was already collecting. 135 But in 1908, the art of Africa and Oceania was little known even in vanguard critical circles, and Vauxcelles was obviously unaware of Braque's interest in it. Considering that Rousseau was familiar with Picasso's primitivism, especially the Demoiselles, in which the head on the left, though in profile, contains as in Egyptian art a frontal eye ~~it is~~ ^{not} so surprising that he ~~could~~ ^{did} characterize Picasso's work as "Egyptian!"

As for his own modernity, the Douanier thought of it, I believe, largely in terms of motifs: airplanes, ocean liners, the Eiffel Tower, soccer games, factories, many of which would be taken up in the Cubism of his young friend Robert Delaunay. To be sure, Rousseau "the primitive" has been misleadingly treated as sui generis, or even worse, as the founder of a school of naïfs that produced such painters as Vavin and Bombois. In fact, his Symbolist poetic preoccupations, exotic iconography, and flat-lit, archaizing, decorative style identify him quite logically with the Post-Impressionist generation, to which he belonged chronologically in any case. ^{And it is} ~~Not is it~~ not illogical that in the years when the styles of Cézanne, Gauguin, Seurat, and van Gogh were variously influencing the young Fauve

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and Cubist painters, the art of the Douanier should also have been of interest—especially as the four leaders of Post-Impressionism (Seurat, van Gogh, Gauguin, and Cézanne) were already dead, while Rousseau was established by 1908 as an active member of the young painters' circle.

Aside from being celebrated by Picasso and his poet friends, ^{Rousseau} ^{aside,} Apollinaire and Salmon in particular, the championing of ^{the Douanier} ~~Rousseau~~ became the self-imposed lifetime task of two former students of Matisse, the American painter Max Weber³⁶ and the Hungarian-born sculptor turned art dealer, Alfred Brummer. In the shop on the Boulevard Saint-Germain that Brummer established toward 1908, one encountered the Douanier's canvases face to face with tribal art, of which Brummer became the principal dealer in the period from 1908 to World War I (pps. 000-⁹000).

^{2 lines to}
The addition of Brummer's shop to that of Heyman on the Rue de Rennes, where Matisse bought his first African sculptures, significantly expanded opportunities to obtain tribal art, which was otherwise available in Paris only here and there in curio shops and stands at the flea market. ^{This} raises the vexing question of the makeup of Picasso's personal collection in the crucial period from 1907 until World War I. While it is possible to characterize Picasso's early collecting in a general way¹ and I have done so in the Introduction (pages 00-¹00)¹ it is difficult to be specific about the work he owned during this period ^{because of} the sparsity of documentation. We ^{do possess} have, however, some information, and ^{further} ~~some~~ conclusions may be drawn from Picasso's work itself.

We have already observed that Picasso was probably shown his first African sculpture by Matisse on the occasion of a visit to Gertrude Stein in autumn¹⁹⁷ 1906. Matisse later spoke of his conversation with Picasso about it, and many writers have concluded that Picasso's "Africanism"

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Picasso's assertion to me that he began buying tribal objects only after finishing the Demoiselles (i.e., in early summer 1907). His excitement about owning such objects, which he always considered "charged" with a mysterious "force"¹⁴⁵—words I have recorded him as using¹⁴⁵—could only have developed after his "revelation" about their magical nature.

Bill,

I'm assuming that there is a note 147 and that the number was just not entered in the text. If I'm mistaken, could you possibly insert a note 147—rather than renumber every note from here on?

F.K.

possible) exception,¹⁴⁵ in which no Primitive art is known photographs of Picasso's studio prior to clues that may yet turn up among documents in the there is scant evidence concerning the artist's earliest "nègre." In view, however, of Picasso's statement to on to doubt Kahnweiler's recollection that he saw a e studio before the end of 1907. This Tiki (p. 000) of great quality that we can be sure Picasso owned, and it may well have been purchased from Heyman.¹⁴⁶ anic acquisition should have been Polynesian is most kis have a sculptural plasticity that distinguishes art but is comparable to that of Africa¹⁴⁷—and this t sculptural concern for Picasso. His pictorial,

Melanesian objects (p. 000) were largely acquired after 1920, when his own art moved in related directions.¹⁴⁸ Not surprisingly in view of its quality, Picasso's Tiki remained in his studio through the years when ~~many~~ of his early "art nègre" acquisitions were ~~shut~~ shut away. We see it in a beautiful, previously unpublished photograph of Apollinaire ~~at~~ ^{at} Picasso's ^g c. 1911 (p. 000)¹⁴⁹ and in numerous images of the studios in later years.

Most of Picasso's early tribal objects, he told me, were purchased on promenades with Fernande, especially Sunday walks to the flea market. His estate contains a large number of obviously old but ~~extremely~~ ^{rather} poor

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Picasso's assertion to me that he began buying tribal objects only after finishing the Demoiselles (i.e., in early summer 1907). His excitement about owning such objects, which he always considered "charged" with a mysterious "force"^M—words I have recorded him as using^N—could only have developed after his "revelation" about their magical nature.

With a single (possible) exception,¹⁴⁵ in which no Primitive art is visible, there are no known photographs of Picasso's studio prior to late 1908. Short of clues that may yet turn up among documents in the Picasso archives, there is scant evidence concerning the artist's earliest acquisitions of "art nègre." In view, however, of Picasso's statement to me, there is no reason to doubt Kahnweiler's recollection that he saw a Marquesan Tiki in the studio before the end of 1907. This Tiki (p. 000) is the only object of great quality that we can be sure Picasso owned prior to World War I, and it may well have been purchased from Heyman.¹⁴⁶ That his initial Oceanic acquisition should have been Polynesian is most logical, for such Tikis have a sculptural plasticity that distinguishes them from Melanesian art but is comparable to that of Africa^M—and this was a moment of great sculptural concern for Picasso. His pictorial, Melanesian objects (p. 000) were largely acquired after 1920, when his own art moved in related directions.¹⁴⁸ Not surprisingly in view of its quality, Picasso's Tiki remained in his studio through the years when ~~many~~^{many} of his early "art nègre" acquisitions were ~~shut~~ shut away. We see it in a beautiful, previously unpublished photograph of Apollinaire ~~at~~^{at} Picasso's ^gc. 1911 (p. 000)¹⁴⁹ and in numerous images of the studios in later years.

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masks and figures that might well have been acquired on those promenades,
 but we cannot confirm their dates of purchase. ¹⁵⁰ I find it hard to
 believe he would have sought out such objects after World War I, years
 during which the choice of tribal material was rapidly expanding, and
 during which he obtained most of his finer pieces, some of them by
 exchange for his own work. The acquisition of his many poor examples ¹⁵¹
 which constitute the core of Picasso's "collection" ¹⁵¹ makes more sense at
 a time when "art nègre" was a novelty for him, and when his own aims and
 needs led him to discover useful concepts in routine objects (see p. 00).
 Some of this poor tribal material is visible among the objects in the
 photographs taken by Claude Picasso at La Californie (p. 000). Tzara had
 looked over this mass of objects toward 19XX and was surprised by its
 mediocrity. ¹⁵² But he did not understand how and why Picasso accumulated
 "art nègre." ^{also} It should be kept in mind ~~moreover~~ that in the years
 prior to World War I ^{also} truly fine tribal objects were not inexpensive,
 and in 1907-12 ¹⁵³ Picasso's art was too difficult to bring much immediate
 financial success. By the eve of World War I, Paul Guillaume reportedly
 sold an African object for 30,000 francs, or \$6,000 (over ⁱⁿ \$60,000 today's
 dollars), ¹⁵³ which was then around half the going price for an important
 Cézanne at Vollard's. ¹⁵⁴ ^{moreover} Picasso was a notably low-price buyer of
 tribal objects, despite his passion for them; and his well-known reluctance
 to part with money certainly had some bearing on the quality of his acqui-
 sitions. In 1918, when he was already becoming fashionably successful
 and had accumulated a certain wealth, we find him writing to Gertrude
 Stein, who had found some interesting tribal objects in Nîmes and proposed
 that Picasso purchase them: "...I would be happy to have them if they're

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conflict?

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not expensive." And ten days later: "Offer the fellow a hundred francs for the two of them." The deal in which Stein served as intermediary evidently went through, and Picasso liked the objects. The carvings, he writes her, "m'ont plus" (I retain his spelling), and he indicates that he is enclosing "avec cete letre" the hundred francs "que je vous dois pour les negres." ¹⁵⁵ It is very probable that Picasso enjoyed finding bargains, and he seems especially to have enjoyed what he called "chasses aux nègres" whenever he travelled to port cities where tribal sculptures were liable to be found.

The ordinariness of most of Picasso's early tribal objects is largely confirmed by the first studio photograph that shows them (p. 000). It was taken in the Bateau-Lavoir late in 1908. ¹⁵⁶ So far as is known, none of the tribal sculptures shown in it were seen in Picasso's studios or apartments after World War I. But knowing the artist's reluctance to part with such objects—indeed, his superstitious, almost fetishistic possessiveness with respect to them—¹⁵⁷ I guessed they might turn up in his estate. The two New Caledonian objects hanging on the wall have been selected by the Musée Picasso. I found the two African pieces shown on the table in the photograph among the studio claptrap and miscellany in the lots of two of the heirs. Together with the Tiki, which was exceptional in its quality, these four constitute the inventory of what we can be sure Picasso owned in 1908.

The two New Caledonian house-post figures ^(by today's standards) are rather routine, though no worse than their counterparts in the Trocadéro collection, and they were probably fairly rare objects in 1907-¹⁰_{NR} Paris. The larger one can be made out to the left of Kahnweiler's head in Picasso's 1910 portrait of him (p. 000), so that this figure, at least, continued to be visible in Picasso's quarters after he had moved from the Bateau-Lavoir to his apartment on the Boulevard Clichy.

On the famous drop-leaf table in the ¹⁹⁰⁸ → photograph is a curious African sculpture from the Loango coast (then the French Congo) of a type generally identified as → Yombe; it is a multitiered object

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with
 ^ coiling snakes on an elephant socle. Of the six or seven such objects I
 have seen¹⁵⁸ including the one ^{that} ~~which~~ entered the Trocadéro in 1900 (p. 000)
 and may have influenced Picasso's choice here¹⁵⁸ all were made as ornamental
 supports for ceremonial hand drums. This is clearly not the case with
 Picasso's object, which never supported a drum (nothing is missing at the
 top, nor is there any place the drum could have been attached). As his
 object is therefore a variant not made for traditional purposes, we may
 surmise that it was a "special order" by a colonial (a conclusion
 supported by the presence of Europeans amongst ^{the} ~~the~~ figures). Hence, this
 construction falls into the category of "tourist objects," which includes
 a significant number of the earliest works to turn up in the West.¹⁵⁹ As
 there is little plastic interest or magical "force" in this construction¹⁵⁹
 the folkloristic style of which is reminiscent of much Yoruba sculpture¹⁵⁹
 I must conclude that Picasso was amused by its almost circus¹⁵⁹ like whimsy.

To the right of the Yombe construction ^{in the photograph} is a Punu harp from Gabon,
 crested by a small female figure tapping a drum held between her legs.
 With its parallel diagonals and curiously serrated decoration above the
 resonating box¹⁵⁹ the front of which is covered with colored lozenges that
 would have recalled Harlequin's costume to Picasso¹⁵⁹ this musical instrument
 was probably a handsome object ^{before} ~~prior to~~ its deterioration, which included
 the loss of the female figure at the top (it is shown on p. 000) ^{as} restored).
 A number of the figures had in fact fallen off the Yombe construction, but
 I was able to have them put back according to their positions in the photo¹⁵⁹
 graph.

The 1908 photograph shows only one corner of Picasso's little studio,
 however, and we must assume that, in addition to the Tiki, other tribal
 objects were already to be found in it. It is very probable, for example,

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160 that Picasso had already purchased his white-faced Shira-Punu mask (p. 000), which, as Fernande emphasized its importance, ¹⁶⁰ was probably among his first purchases. The earliest documentation of it ^{however,} is in a photograph of 1910 that shows Picasso's friend Ramon Pichot in the Boulevard de Clichy studio (p. 000), where the mask hangs to the right of two oil paintings, a landscape of Horta by Picasso's childhood pal, Manuel Pallerés, and a painting by himself (⁰⁰⁰⁰ Zervos). Such Shira-Punu masks were among the first objects to have been bought by the Fauves (whose collecting anticipated that of Picasso by more than six months); not only was their stylized "orientalism" easy to appreciate and readily assimilable to the inherited Gauguinesque concept of the Primitive, but their average quality ran particularly high, and they were evidently readily available on the Paris market.

Among the other likely candidates for Picasso's "collection" in its earliest years, aside from the two small Baga figures (p. 000) already mentioned in connection with Head, ^{is} ~~are~~ one or both of his copper-covered Kota reliquary figures. This contention is supported first by the indications of interest in such objects in Picasso's work itself, ^{especially} in 1907 (see below, p. 000); second, by an observation about their origin¹⁶¹ ality made to me by Picasso; and third, by the fact that both of the Kota reliquary figures Picasso owned are markedly inferior in quality to those available at Paul Guillaume's and other Paris dealers by the years just prior to World War I. ¹⁶² The first purchased by Picasso is probably the challengingly raw¹-even crude¹-one visible in the foreground of a photo¹ graph taken of the room in which many of Picasso's tribal objects are stored at La Californie (p. 000). Picasso's other Kota reliquary figure

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(p. 000), more typical of the genre and more travaillé, cannot by today's standards be considered more than an "honest" example. Both are less handsome than some of those (pp. 000, 000) already in the Trocadéro collection by 1907. (A quite imposing Kota reliquary figure, published in 1982 as having been Picasso's ^{1/}~~M~~ indeed, as having been in his collection at the time he painted the Demoiselles ^{1/}~~M~~ has no connection with him whatever). ¹⁶³

Of the two objects published as "Collection Picasso" by Clouzot and Level in 1919, ¹⁶⁴ the Fang mask (p. 000) was probably acquired, ^{given} ~~I must assume~~ ^{taste for} in view of Picasso's one-upmanship, ~~somewhat~~ before the better one Braque had owned by 1911 at the latest (p. 000). The Gueré mask reproduced in Clouzot and Level is remarkably close ^{1/}~~M~~ judged by the ~~the~~ photographs ^{1/}~~M~~ to a ⁴ ~~mask~~ from Paul Guillaume's stock put on sale by de Zayas in New York in 1916. ¹⁶⁵ If these are indeed identical, Picasso could obviously not have owned this mask prior to the war.

By far the most interesting of the African objects probably purchased by Picasso in the prewar years was the finer of his two Grebo masks (p. 000), which may have been obtained during his "chasse aux nègres" with Braque in Marseille in the second week of August 1912. A postcard from Braque to Kahnweiler speaks of having shown Picasso around the city and "bought up all the African objects" ("...avoir acheté tous les nègres"). ¹⁶⁶ A sketch in Picasso's notebooks, dated August 9 ² (p. 000) of that year, shows what is probably an African mask under the café table in the lower right. Edward Fry, who pointed this out, has identified ^{the} ~~this~~ mask as Picasso's Grebo, which he assumed was acquired then. ¹⁶⁷ But despite the summariness of the sketch, it is clear that the mask which is represented ^{1/}~~M~~ if, indeed, a mask is what Picasso intended to show ^{1/}~~M~~ little resembles

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either of Picasso's two Grebo objects. As Picasso's finer Grebo mask is shown on the wall of the apartment at Montrouge in a drawing of 1915 (p. 000), the trip to Marseilles provides a logical but far from obligatory date for Picasso's ^{having rd} purchase of it. Even assuming this date to be correct would not necessarily confirm anything, ^{contrary to} ~~as~~ Fry ^{had} assumed, ^{time 168} with respect to the ^{a sculpture} dating of the Guitar, ~~which was~~ influenced, as we know, by one or both of Picasso's Grebo masks (then wrongly known as Wobé; pp. 00-00 and note 00), for Picasso would almost certainly have already been in possession of his inferior one (p. 000). The latter is precisely the type of mediocre, little-used object available very early in the century, when Grebo masks were among →

the more available types. ¹⁶⁹ Picasso would never have purchased such a routine Grebo after having acquired the one on ^{page} ~~000~~; nor is the poor one the kind of object that might have been given him later as a gift (especially in view of the excellent one he owned). ^H ~~He~~ Given the unknowns of the situation, we cannot be sure which of Picasso's Grebo masks relates most directly to the Guitar, if ^{indeed} ~~one~~ does more than the other. ¹⁷⁰ Since both Kahnweiler (p. 00) and Apollinaire (p. 000) owned Grebo masks prior to World War I, and both began collecting later than Picasso, the probability is that Picasso acquired his routine Grebo mask sometime between later 1907 and 1912, and then perhaps improved his representation of the type with a purchase at Marseilles in 1912 (though nothing prevents him from having acquired the finer one in Paris during ^{these} same years).

(2 - line #1)

As the nature of the Grebo masks' impact on the conception of the Guitar was discussed at some length in the Introduction (pp. 00-00), I shall not

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repeat it here. It should be noted, however, that this was precisely the kind of "invisible" influence that defined the relation of Braque's Cubism to tribal art.

Though Braque is rarely mentioned in connection with "art nègre" primarily because none of the forms in his pictorial vocabulary recall ~~tribal art~~, even obliquely, Braque was nevertheless an avid collector in his early years (see p. 000) and did not mince words in regard to African art's importance for him: "The African masks...opened a new horizon to me. They made it possible for me to make contact with instinctive things, with uninhibited feeling that went against the false tradition [late Western illusionism] which I hated."

The lovely photograph of Braque in his studio in 1911 (p. 000) shows his handsome Fang mask on the wall and one of his Cubist paintings on the floor. Nothing visibly relates the two, yet the conceptual principles of ^{and ideographic representation} reductive abstraction that govern the mask are operant, albeit in quite another spirit, in the painting. If one can ^{apprehend} the tenuous and obviously elliptical relation between these works, one grasps the nature of Braque's rapport with tribal art. His appreciation of it was, however, more formalistic and, in that sense, more limited than Picasso's. Unlike the Spanish artist, he was not interested in the magical "charge" or mysterious "force" of these objects. Braque, as Picasso later asserted, "did not really understand 'art nègre' because he was not superstitious."

Nor did Braque appreciate the mélange of materials, so characteristic of tribal art, ^{that} ~~which~~ form the background for Picasso's inventions of collage and construction.

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also attests to

The 1911 photograph of Braque ~~confirms~~ the ubiquity of musical instruments, both modern and tribal, in Cubist studios. Both Picasso and Braque loved guitars, violins, lutes, and zithers not for their sounds but for the beauty of their abstract and "lyrical" forms. Picasso, whose sense of fantasy far exceeded Braque's, tended consistently to think of such instruments as analogues for the human torso or face. ¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁴ The frequent anthropomorphism of African instruments (pp. 000, 000) could only have reinforced his thinking. (Oceanic instruments are also often figural in quality, though usually in the form of animals or monsters, ~~such~~ as in the friction drums from the Solomon Islands, (pp. 000, 000)).

(2-line #)

As → Picasso's Cubism moved in 1910 from a language of solidly modelled bas-relief forms to a "painterly" style in which fragments of increasingly transparent motifs hovered in an uncertain and immeasurable luminous space, any rapport his work could have had with tribal sculpture, indeed ^g with sculpture of any sort, necessarily became more tenuous. From 1909 until 1912, the only link ^(I can find) between his work and → tribal art is the common denominator of their conceptualism. The utterly pictorial nature of high Analytic Cubism rendered it, both in style and in spirit, *not only to tribal art, but* alien [^] to the more factual, tangible, "raisonnable" Cubism of 1909, ¹⁷⁵ to say nothing of Picasso's "African" ~~work~~ ^{work} of 1907-08.

¹⁷⁵ During ~~this period~~ ¹⁹¹⁰⁻¹¹ Picasso nevertheless continued to enjoy his tribal art; most of the early studio photos, which date from those years, show it on the walls, tables, and floors. But while the conceptual analysis that African art had fostered continued to provide the dialectical underpinning of Picasso's and Braque's progress, the solutions to the pictorial problems they confronted could no ^{longer} [^] be directly influenced

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by tribal sculpture. A style in which Cubism's solid forms were dissolving in a manner that more and more recalled Cézanne's late watercolors and oils than the paintings of his solid, "architectural" middle period, could hardly accommodate the kind of sculptural ideas Picasso had earlier absorbed from tribal objects.

176 The background of the portrait of Kahnweiler provides an interesting measure of this ^aesthetic distance. ^{So abstract is the style that} ~~the~~ the two tribal objects on the wall behind the sitter ⁱⁿ the finer of Picasso's two New Caledonian pieces to the left ^{an} and an identifiable mask to the right (both p. 000) ¹⁷⁶ would probably never have been noticed had not Picasso himself alluded to them. The upper part of the New Caledonian figure can be firmly identified ~~within~~ ^{not by} ~~the picture~~ because of its crown-like hairdo (arrows), though the face, ^{which to the point of unrecognizability} has been "analyzed" ~~geometrically (except for one curved outer contour);~~ the bottom of the ^{is} figure dissolves into a matrix of abstract forms that ^{is} derive from other objects in the visual field, such as the liqueur glass which can be made out at a point where the figure's midsection would have appeared.

177 The mask on the other side of ^{indicated} ~~Kahnweiler~~ ^{of} the wall behind ~~the~~ (p. 000) is ~~represented~~ ^{its} by planes derived from one of its outer contours, ~~the suggestion of~~ a triangular beard and ^{and} long nose, ~~as well as~~ a horizontal panel ^{across} ~~along~~ the forehead ~~which~~ not unlike the one on Picasso's better Grebo mask (p. 000). ¹⁷⁷ So much do these fragmentary planes dissolve into their neighbors through passage that one cannot guess what kind of mask was actually hanging there, ^{let alone} ~~no~~ ~~few~~ identify it with any that is known to have been in Picasso's possession. The very transparency of which the passage is a pictorial function was seized upon by

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178 Kahnweiler much later and made the focal point of a confused and confu-
 178 fusing text, whose aim was to show that the thrust of African influence
 on Picasso's art was not in the period of the Demoiselles, but precisely
 in that of high Cubism. To this end he attributed to Ivory Coast masks,
 and to the forms of Ivory Coast masks (Grebo in particular), a "trans-
 179 parency" that they demonstrably do not have.

179 ~~Picasso obviously realized that~~ ^{the} high Analytic Cubist style
 which, given its illusionistic transparency, created a unity ~~that~~ ^{ing} ~~resided~~
 more in its continuum of light than in the ~~matrix~~ ^{and Picasso obviously realized that this} of forms that emerge and
 submerge within that light, did not lend itself to sculpture. And after
 fashioning the Head of Fernande of 1909 (p. 000), which was without a
 suite, he abstained from sculpture until late 1912, when ^{under the}
 impact of collage, a new, more factual form of non-illusionistic Cubism
~~was emerging~~ ^{ed}. If there is any sculptural counterpart to the high
 Analytic Cubism of 1910-11, it is ^{to be found} ~~not~~ in the work of Picasso but in that of Pevsner. The
 translucent planes of Pevsner's celluloid reliefs, ^{were} ~~The conception of~~
~~these works~~ ^{that} ~~no doubt extrapolated from 1912-14 Cubism~~, to which they
 owe their abstractness, their brownish tonality, and their partial trans-
 parency. Indeed, it is not hard to ^{a realization} ~~an extrapolation~~ of ideas implicit
 in Picasso's treatment of the mask hanging on the wall in the Kahnweiler
 portrait. Kahnweiler's later theories notwithstanding, such "transparency"
 as one can attribute to a Grebo ^(or any other tribal) mask is not optical but conceptual, ^{and takes the form}
~~insofar as its planarity may be associated~~ ^{as} ~~is later~~ ^{an} ~~in~~ in Picasso's
~~Guitar~~ ^{of} ~~with~~ a "cutaway" rather than ^{an} ~~illusionistic~~ method of indicating
 the positioning of planes in depth.

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It is thus not by chance that Picasso's Analytic Cubism had generat^{ed} little sculpture ^{to none except in the} and then only in its earlier "tactile", 1909 phase. It seems at first a paradox that Picasso's ^{painting} ~~work~~ of late 1908 to spring 1910 ^{ultimately} given its sculptural plasticity ¹/₁ should have produced so little three-dimensional work while the anti^{sculptural}, flat patterning of the Synthetic Cubism that emerged in 1912 should lead to some of Picasso's greatest sculptures. But this paradox is illusory, and to understand why Picasso returned to sculpture in 1912--and why his work then and in the following year was once again to relate directly to tribal art ¹/₁ is to grasp the nature of the ^{profound} revolution Picasso wrought in the art of sculpture.

In the Head of Fernande (p. 000) of autumn 1909, Picasso had created a sculptural counterpart to his early Analytic Cubism. But he ^{must have} ~~surely~~ realized that this ^{recreation} of the forms used in his paintings amounted ironically to but a sculptural illusion of a pictorial device. When we compare the Head of Fernande with the paintings of ¹⁹⁰⁹ ~~the period~~, such as Woman with Pears, ¹⁸⁰ we discover ^{much} ~~and Picasso obviously did too~~ that there is more truly sculptural plasticity in the paintings than in the sculpture; ~~The~~ ^{the} latter lacks the intense sense of material weight and density that Brancusi, for example, would bring to his ^{sculpture} ~~objects~~. This ^{happened} ~~was the~~ case precisely because the Head of Fernande was not conceived essentially in terms of mass, but as a relief turned in 360 degrees ¹/₁ a cylindrical surface illusioning the ridging ^(at surfaces) of the artist's painted forms. The greater plasticity of the paintings was partly a question of Picasso's ability to light each plane so as ^{to} ~~to~~ ^{maximally} enhance the quality of ^{its} ~~the~~

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^{relief} projection. ^{therefore} The comparable planes in Head of Fernande look comparatively inert.

~~inert~~ given the unfocused, uncontrollable dynamics of natural light.

^{in the paintings} As the light was pure illusion, that lighting system within the 1900 paintings could be (and ^{was} ~~was~~) made wholly inconsistent in

logical terms in order to enhance the plasticity of the forms. Natural light is ^{uncontrollable as it is} constrained by the laws of physics, so the same possibility

was not available for sculpture, ^{181 and the} Head of Fernande constituted a dead

end, and Picasso seems to have recognized it. ¹⁸² It demonstrated that an

illusionistically modelled Rodinesque ¹⁸³ approach to representation ¹⁸⁴ itself

the last phase of a plastic tradition that went back to the Ancient

world ¹⁸⁵ could not engender a truly sculptural counterpart for Cubist

painting.

^{2 line space} ^{checkmate} ^{constituted by the} Following the ~~echo~~ ^{9-line #} that Head of Fernande, ~~constituted~~ Picasso made no sculpture for three years.)

¹⁸⁴ When he resumed ~~again~~ in autumn 1912 with the Guitar, ¹⁸⁴ it was because the

name of the game had changed. Now he would create a relief art that

would give the tangibility of real objects to images ^{which} that in his paint

ings had become flat, bodiless forms ^{reverse} just the ~~contrary~~ of the situation that obtained

in 1909. ^{The} Sculpture's traditional plasticity, based on mass, weight, and

^{central to traditional sculpture} density ^{to be} were no longer issues. And the new sculpture would be made of

materials dissociated from that tradition, materials heretofore consid

¹⁸⁵ dered "unworthy" of high art, ¹⁸⁵ its style would be anti-virtuosic, and the objects

^{indeed} would look both homely and homemade. Compared to the Head of Fernande,

the Guitar ^{is} appears distinctly unprepossessing. But it bodied forth a

concept that revolutionized sculpture: the substitution of additive

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modelling and carving of the "monolith" tradition. This made possible the invention of planar and linear "open-work" configuration in sculptures that constituted conceptually encoded objects in themselves rather than sculptural illusions of them.

As I observed in the Introduction (pp. 000, 000), Guitar and other of Picasso's Cubist reliefs and constructions (p. 000) share characteristics with certain types of tribal art. How much this commonality of materials and modes of figuration was fortuitous and how much the tribal objects actually stimulated Picasso's ideas if sometimes only subliminally is obviously impossible to determine. At the very least, there are many parallels. Many of the tribal objects Picasso preferred were revetted with copper or tin or incorporated bits and pieces of various found objects, thus contradicting Western traditions governing both the hierarchy and unity of sculptural materials.

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* Notes - Picasso

As Picasso's work is discussed extensively in the Introduction (pp. 14-21, 51-55, 59-61, 64, 73), I shall assume, with regard to the exposition in this chapter, the reader's familiarity with those *earlier passages*.

- 1) The role of primitivism was equally pivotal in the career of Max Ernst, but less consequential for the history of art as a whole.
- 2) This holds generally for such early witnesses as Apollinaire, Salmon and Stein and becomes increasingly the case in the second decade of the century with writers such as de Zayas.
- 3) This was something Picasso told me in the course of a discussion precipitated by his questioning me on the current situation of blacks in America. I have no idea who propagated this notion, nor how widespread it was. Picasso seemed to have been charmed by the idea.
- 4) As exemplified by Robert J. Coady, art editor of The Soil magazine, and director of the Washington Square and Coady galleries in New York City (1914-19), who wrote in 1917:

"Cézanne was not French. It was the Negro blood of his mother that gave his canvases most of their qualities."

Cited in Judith Zilczer, The Aesthetic Struggle in America, 1913-1918. Abstract Art and Theory in the Stieglitz Circle. (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Delaware, 1975). Ann Arbor, Mich. and London; University Microfilm International, 1979, p. 151.
- 5) Illustrated in Picasso: A Retrospective, ed. William Rubin, Exh. cat. Museum of Modern Art, New York 1980, p. 14.
- 6) Picasso's father died on May 3, 1913, but never saw the Demoiselles or any other "African" period paintings, and probably never saw a Cubist painting. *In the latter case, as one exception, he should have seen the portrait of Manuel Pallarès executed in Barcelona during Picasso's brief stopover in Barcelona on his way to Horta (spring-summer 1909). If Picasso's father saw this picture, there is no record of his*

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* Picasso - Notes 2

reaction.

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- 7) For my use of this term, see pp. ³⁻⁵~~100~~.
- 8) The full sentence, taken from Francoise Gilot and Carlton Lake (Life with Picasso. New York, Toronto, London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964, p. 226, runs: "At that moment I realized that this was what painting was all about." I have chosen this version of Picasso's account as coming closer to my notes of my own conversation with him--in which he covered the same ground--than the version of André Malraux (Picasso's Mask, transl. by June Guicharnaud with Jacques Guicharnaud, [from La Tête d'obsidienne, Paris: Gallimard, 1974]. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976, p. 11) in which Picasso says, "I understood why I was a painter."
- 9) The series of bas-reliefs that were placed on ^{view} ~~^~~ in the spring of 1906 (or as early as the end of 1905, according to Pierre Daix, La vie de peintre de Picasso. Paris: Editions du Seuil, p. 72), had been excavated from the Iberian fortress at Osuna by a French mission in 1903. The results of these excavations, first published in 1906 by Arthur Engel and Pierre Paris, (Une forteresse ibérique à Osuna, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1906) and the coincidental Louvre installation, provided much stimulus for awakening enthusiasm for Iberian sculpture at that time.
- 10) There is some difference of opinion as to how far Picasso had proceeded into his sculptural, early Iberian phase while still at Gosol, though ^{his} ~~his~~ ^{Iberianism} ~~^~~ certainly began there. Some critics (Barr, Leymarie) place Woman with Loaves (Philadelphia Museum)--the head of which was reworked in the new, mask-like style--entirely at Gosol. I believe that, like the Stein portrait, the head in the Philadelphia picture was repainted after Picasso's return to Paris.

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- 11) See André Salmon's "L'Art nègre" (1919), in his Propos d'ateliers. Paris: Les éditions G. Grès et Cie, 1922, pp. 116, 123, 128.
- 12) see pp ⁷⁵⁻⁷⁶ 68, note ³² 68
- 13) This is the assumption of most Africanists, though as observed above (p. ⁷⁷ 68, note 68), we know little of what happens before the mid-nineteenth century. What we do know from rare preserved and excavated material (Nok, Djenné, Benin), some of which goes back more than ten centuries, is that ~~some~~ aspects of tribal art are already forecast.
- 14) ~~See~~ Johnson, "Primitivism in the Early Sculpture of Picasso." Arts Magazine, 49, No. 10, June, 1975, pp. 64-68.
- 15) Cited in Ibid, p. 64.
- 16) Picasso had told Pierre Daix of this, but the volume did not turn up in his estate.
- 17) In Picasso: Das Plastische Werk, exhibition catalogue by Werner Spies in collaboration with Christine Piot. Nationalgalerie Berlin, October 7-November 27, 1983 and Kunsthalle Düsseldorf, December 11, 1983-January 29, 1984, p. 33.
- 18) For this reason, I remain skeptical about Johnson's probed relationship between the Gauguin panel and Woman Combing Her Hair.

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* Notes - Picasso 4

- 19) This is just a guess on my part based upon Picasso's fantasies of disgust regarding aged women and the "Vanitas" character of certain juxtapositions of young and old women throughout his *imagery*.
- 20) Pierre Daix and Joan Rosselet, Le Cubisme de Picasso: Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre 1907-1916. Neuchâtel: Editions Ides et Calendes, 1979, p. 247, cat. no. 304.
- X ? 21) Though not listed ^{as such} in the catalog of the 1906 Gauguin retrospective, Two Figures Flanking a Statue seemed to me so much to anticipate Picasso's gouache that I felt Picasso had to have seen it. Geneviève Monnier, curator in the Department of Drawings of the Louvre, who kindly checked the watercolor, tells me that it has a sticker indicating that it was shown in the 1906 retrospective.
- 22) I suspect that the section under the chair on the left was originally left blank, as is still the case on the right. Picasso seems to have returned to the gouache to explore the curious foreshortened representation of the legs of the chair that we now see on the left. This spatial representation is clearly at odds with the laterality prevailing elsewhere in the image. The jarring effect it creates probably explains why Picasso left blank the corresponding section on the right.

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- 23) The two full-size plaster ^{casts} (after Michelangelo's marble Bound Slave and Dying Slave in the Louvre) in Picasso's studio were relative newcomers, his early admiration for the ^{originals} notwithstanding. The ^{casts} had apparently been in the Château Grimaldi, which housed the Antibes museum, when Picasso began working there in 1946, and were given him by Romuald Dor de la Souchère, curator of the museum, just after he had settled into villa Notre-Dame-de-Vie at Mougins in 1961. (Roland Penrose, Picasso: His Life and Work. Revised edition. New York, Evanston, San Francisco, London: Icon Editions, 1973, p. 452 (first published London: Victor Gollancz, 1958).)
- 24) "The Philosophical Brothel, Part 1." Art News 71, no. 5 (September 1972), pp. 24, 29 notes 15-20.
- 25) In my notes, Picasso says ^{that he} loved the Michelangelo statue since his youth. It is not clear from the context, however, whether he meant replicas. he would have seen in art schools in Spain, or the original which--as was evident from the conversation--he saw on his first trip to Paris. A photograph showing the "Salle Michelange" in the Louvre, in 1906, is reproduced in Gertrude Berthold's Cézanne und die alten Meister (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1958, illustration 88). Michelangelo's Slaves, according to Berthold (pp. 49, 59 note 41), were in place by 1877 in this gallery, built to replace the "old" Michelangelo gallery where the sculptures stood until 1875.
- 26) See above, note 10
- 27) "L'art nègre" (as in note 11), p. 125 *to be checked*
- 28) Picasso had purchased them from Géry Pieret (also referred to as Géry-Piéret, Gérard Pieret, Guy Pieret, etc.). Apollinaire's secretary. John Golding, Cubism: A History and an Analysis 1907-1914. 2nd edition. London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1968, p. 53 note 1. (First published London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1959.)
- 29) For a reproduction of the female head Picasso had purchased from Géry Pieret, which seems much less to have interested him than the one we reproduce in this text, see John Golding, "The 'Demoiselles d'Avignon'," The Burlington Magazine, 100 (May 1958), p. 158, fig. 24. Other examples of the Cerro sculptures are reproduced below:

[Reproductions: Captions]

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- 30) He had seen a handful of pieces in the studios of Matisse, Derain and (probably) Vlaminck beginning in early autumn, 1906.
- 31) 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, LXV, No. 4 (December 1983), pp. 615-649.
- 32) For more on caricature see text below, pp. 284-286
- 33) Golding, Cubism: A History and an Analysis (as in note 28) pp. 53-54.
- 34) The asymmetry of the Cerro sculpture is ^{almost} entirely a question of the damage sustained by one side of the face. This seems to have fascinated the profoundly superstitious Picasso, who probably connected the lone remaining eye to popular beliefs about the "borgne" with the "evil eye." The asymmetry in the eyes of the sailor (Bust of a Sailor, p. 250) and the medical student (Head of a Medical Student, p. 251) cannot, however, be directly equated with the more obviously literary implications of one-eyed figures such as Celestina (1903).
- 35) In collaboration with Michèle Richet, Marie-Laure Bernadec and Hélène Seckel of the Musée Picasso, Pierre Daix and I are hoping to correlate all the sketches, published and unpublished, related to the Demoiselles, thus better to precise the development of the

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painting and its chronology. Our conclusions will be published in the catalog of the exhibition "Autour des Demoiselles d'Avignon," scheduled at the Musée Picasso in 1986.

- 36) In the Basel sketch (p. 250), the final version of the first state, the medical student carries a book rather than a skull. There are, however, many studies (e.g. Z XXVI, 45) that show he was originally conceived holding a skull, and Picasso described him in that form to Kahnweiler, Barr, and me.
- 37) For a detailed discussion of this see my "From Narrative to 'Iconic' in Picasso" (as in note 31).
- 38) Ibid. See especially Appendix V: The Demoiselles and Cubism
- 39) The failure of students of Picasso and of Cubism to focus on the period ^{between} summer 1908 and summer 1909 is reflected in the virtual absence in the literature ^{literature} until ^{recently} recent years of discussion (or even reproductions) of the two major monuments of Picasso's early Cubism: Three Women (The Hermitage, Leningrad) and Bread and Fruitdish on a Table (Kunstmuseum, Basel).
- 40) "The Philosophical Brothel", published in two parts in Art News, September 1972, 22-29 (part 1) and October 1972, 38-47 (part 2). All subsequent citations from Steinberg in the main text are from this article.
- 41) For a discussion of this figure see my "From Narrative to 'Iconic' in Picasso" (as in note 31) pp. 627-632 and especially Appendix VI: The Left-Hand Figure in the Demoiselles.

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- 42) See note 36
- 43) In the course of a number of protracted visits to Picasso's villa, I discussed a variety of subjects with him. The frequency of Picasso's references to venereal disease (often, to be sure, of a humorous nature) struck me as noteworthy. Among his friends, Picasso was long known to have had an exaggerated obsessive fear of death. As he was a frequenter of brothels in his early years, that anxiety might well have intensified an understandable fear of fatal venereal disease. In Picasso's art, images with references relating directly or elliptically to venereal disease are surely more common than in the work of any other major painter. A survey of them would take an article in itself.
- 44) Picasso: Art as Autobiography, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1980. 75-80, 270-72, and "Art as Exorcism: Picasso's 'Demoiselles d'Avignon,'" Arts Magazine, October 1980, 70-83.

Gedo focused on the sailor (whom she supposes to symbolize both Picasso's early childhood self and his youthful initiation to the brothels), the medical student, and the prostitutes--particularly the association between physicians and diseased prostitutes--and, interpreting them as reflecting aspects of Picasso's own past history,

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formulated the hypothesis that the initial conception of the Demoiselles responded to Picasso's own "double-edged experiences as both objective observer and subjective victim of diseased prostitutes." Thus, the presence of the skull —————→

————→ might refer to the possibility that Picasso had himself contracted a venereal infection, presumably syphilis, perhaps from Fernande Olivier. (Gedo, citing the gossipy and notoriously inaccurate Pierre Cabanne, remarks that Fernande was rumored to have had a history of promiscuity and actually to have prostituted herself when she had previously lived with another artist.) Elsewhere in Art as Autobiography (pp. 53, 267), Gedo, referring to the prevalence of the motif of blindness in Picasso's work of 1903 and the many interpretations as to its origin, speculates that this motif "originated in Picasso's guilt and anxiety over the damaging effects of a venereal disease he had contracted." In this, she invokes John Berger (The Success and Failure of Picasso. New York: Pantheon Books, pp. 43-44. Reprint of 1965 ed., published by Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, England), who saw the artist as "probably...suffering from venereal disease" and fearing blindness "as the result of his disease."

- 45) La Tête d'obsidienne, pp.17-19. Malraux's account of his conversation with Picasso is based on notes from a 1937 meeting. As I have already observed, Picasso covered much of the same territory with me. On the second of the two occasions that I was able to get him talking about the Demoiselles, he mentioned that his 1907 visit to the Trocadéro had been profoundly moving. In the context of the conversation, however, the remark could as well have referred in general to the "African" pictures

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of 1907-08 as to the Demoiselles in particular.

As my notes
corres-

pond in a general way to what Picasso says more eloquently about the Demoiselles in Malraux's account of his conversation, I have permitted myself to use his text, although some passages in La Tête d'obsidienne have been rumored to be Malraux's inventions in whole or in part.

- 46) In my transcription of my conversations with Picasso he describes his first visit to the Musée d'Ethnographie as virtually the result of pushing the wrong door, yet he elsewhere alluded to Derain's having advised him to visit that museum.

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- 47) "...c'était dégoûtant. Le marché aux Pucés. L'odeur." (La Tête d'obsidienne, p. 17)
- 48) As there were, for ^{some} periods of time, only two guards for the Musée d'Ethnographie, the absence or illness of one would have sufficed for closing all areas except the Rotunda Gallery at the entrance.
- 49) One commentator even writes in 1910 of the principal Oceanic gallery having been officially closed for fourteen years, though the leading guide of the period, Joanne's Les Musées de Paris of 1903, shows it as open (as does a revised edition of 1905). The resolution of such conundrums may lie in the indications given by Baedeker during this period. The guards seem to have profited from a system not unknown even today in certain churches, monuments, and provincial museums. Baedeker lists the Oceanic gallery as officially closed, but indicates that one could visit the museum, even at normally closed hours for a "pourboire"--or, as the English edition quaintly puts it, "by feeing the guardian." Not subject to closing, during regular hours at least, was the large Rotunda Gallery near the entrance, which was devoted to a selection of African and Oceanic material. That access to untended areas of the museum was a somewhat casual matter is attested to by the inordinate number of thefts the Trocadéro suffered; in his characterization of the museum (in "L'ethnographie en France et à l'étranger" Revue de Paris, 20^e année, V, Sept.-Oct. 1913 pp. 537-560, 815-837), Marcel Mauss signaled "notable thefts."

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- 50) Picasso indicated to me that he had returned more than once to the Musée d'Ethnographie in his early years, and —————→
on → one or more of these return visits he was accompanied by friends; on the first visit he was alone. There is a clear indication that one of these return visits was in the company of Apollinaire (Ekaterini Samaltanou-Tsiakma, Guillaume Apollinaire: Catalyst for Primitivism, for Picabia and Duchamp. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1981, pp. 31-37). From my —————→ notes, it seems that the last time that Picasso visited the Trocadéro was in the 1930s, for the opening of some special event (which may have been the 1933 exhibition of material gathered by the Dakar-Djibouti mission, of which his close friend, Michel Leiris was a member).
- 51) In my notes it is clear that Picasso received the full force of his "revelation" just after *le* had exited from the museum.
- 52) Just as Picasso's late-in-life assertion that he had not seen tribal art until after completing the Demoiselles was, in a sense, a compensatory strategy in relation to ideas that had developed around the picture (see "From Narrative to 'Iconic' in Picasso, as in note 31, Appendix VII: Picasso's Equivocations with Respect to Art Nègre), so his repeated references to the magical quality of tribal objects (in conversations with Christian Zervos, Françoise Gilot, André Malraux, me and no doubt others) was directed to overcoming the widespread view (as epitomized in Goldwater, Primitivism in Modern Art, pp. 144-163) that his interest in this art was essentially formalist. Picasso's emphasis, however, should not lead us to the notion that his interest was only magical. Quite apart from the tenor of his remarks to Salmon (Picasso found African art "raisonnable" "L'Art nègre", as in note 117, and "Picasso had 'meditated on geometry', choosing as guides the savage artists..." "Histoire anecdotique du Cubisme", La Jeune peinture française, p. 467, and some observations to me

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touching on the inventiveness of tribal objects and their materials (regrettably only paraphrased in my notes), it is evident from material explored in this ^{chapter} that Picasso's feeling for tribal objects was many-faceted. *What artists talk about cannot be directly equated with what they do.*

- 53) Lydia Gasman's chapter on Picasso and magic in her dissertation Mystery, Magic and Love in Picasso, 1925-1938, (Ph.D dissertation, Columbia University 1981; Ann Arbor, Mich: University Microfilms International, 1984, a revised and expanded version of which will be published in 1985 by the Yale University Press) provides a brilliant accumulation of material reinforcing the notion of Picasso's magical attitude toward tribal objects. As against what Goldwater referred to as Picasso's "intellectual primitivism," she proposes the term "magical primitivism." While my own sense of Picasso's reaction to tribal objects is considerably closer to Gasman's than to Goldwater's views, ^{and "magical" primitivism, taken together,} "intellectual" ~~suggest~~ a dichotomy that falsifies, I believe, Picasso's way of thinking and working. Gasman seems to see "intellectual primitivism" and "magical primitivism" as alternative and alternating modes:

To be sure, Picasso as "magician" did not replace the cool Picasso searching for innovating forms and conceptions in the newly discovered primitive treasures. This "intellectual primitivism" was as earnest as his "magical primitivism" and it paralleled the modernistic primitivism of his contemporaries. "One is not a sorcerer all day long!" he exclaimed to Malraux. (p. 472)

Picasso did not have two different mind-sets ^{in regard to tribal} ~~suggest~~ material. What Goldwater refers to as "intellectual primitivism" relates to what

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Picasso meant when he told Salmon that African art was "raisonnable," i.e. that the tribal sculpture was subject to the reasoning faculty, hence logical and conceptual; the remark thus treated the ideographic mode of figuration in Primitive objects. "Magical primitivism", inspired by many statements by Picasso, and ^{now} reinforced by much other supportive material gathered by Gasman, deals with Picasso's psychological attitudes, and relates to his generalized interpretation of what the objects meant to tribal peoples. Thus the two "primitivisms" are really aspects of a single unified approach. When, (for instance, Picasso) discussed his Grebo mask with me in terms of essentially formal problems of figuration, he was not in any way suspending his sense of the object as a magical intercessor.

The material in Gasman's thesis makes up for Goldwater's failure to have dealt with French ethnological thinking in a manner comparable to the way he treated German and English anthropology. Her text is full of much relevant material drawn from Marcel Mauss and others that give us an excellent sense of the distinctive French ethnology in the intellectual air early in the century. I take exception only to her hints that Picasso might have read Mauss' 1903-4 essay on magic, or that Lévy-Bruhl's 1910 text on magic in Primitive art "would have caught Picasso's attention." Quite apart from the state of Picasso's French in the first decade of the century, these are not the kind of things he read. Gasman's exposition of the parallelism between Picasso's and Mauss' thinking is a fascinating instance of the zeitgeist at work. But it remains simply a parallelism. Moreover, had Picasso in fact read Mauss' early essay, his experience at the Trocadéro would hardly have been a "revelation." Once he had ^{had} that revelation, he had no need to read Mauss.

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Notes - Picasso 14

54) La Tête d'obsidienne (as in note 8), p. 18

55) This is testified to not only by the absence of any visible influence of African art in Picasso's work during that period, but was implicit in the remarks he made about the African piece Matisse showed him at Gertrude Stein's apartment. See below pp ^{260, 296} ~~89~~ and notes ^{138, 139} ~~88~~.

56) Present curators of the Musée de l'Homme tell me that virtually every mask and figure sculpture, and a majority of the arms and utensils, were on view in the early installations of the museum (a view supported by the crowded character of ^{the presentations in} the 1895 photographs). The New Hebrides mask illustrated here is one of two very similar ones that came to the Museum in 1894; at least one--and probably both-- ~~were~~ on view during Picasso's first visit.

57) However they may appear to those unfamiliar with Picasso's Iberian style, there is no question that the central women were intended to appear attractive and sexually appealing. This is evident in their coloring, their seductive postures, the lyric character of their contouring and their relatively undistorted features. As the picture progressed to completion they became all the more engaging by contrast with the figures on both sides, which developed in the direction of the menacing and the monstrous.

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Notes - Picasso 15

58) See p. ⁷⁴~~70~~, note ¹¹~~00~~.

59) Both Noa-Noa (which means "very fragrant") and The Heart of Darkness were based on direct experiences of the Polynesian and African worlds of about the same moment, and were published about the same time. Gauguin arrived in Tahiti in June 1891, just one year after Conrad made his long voyage up the Congo river. Noa-Noa was published in modified form) in 1901; The Heart of Darkness was serialized in 1899 and appeared in book form in 1902.

I have compared Conrad's novella with Noa-Noa as providing an excellent idea of the contrast between European views of Africa and of Polynesia. Picasso could not then, of course, have read The Heart of Darkness, which was published in French as Au coeur des ténèbres only in 1926. But French attitudes toward Africa in the first years of the century--influenced by earlier commentaries on Stanley's explorations as well as subsequent récits de voyages, and colored even more by the heavy losses the French were then suffering in their central African military adventures--were very different from their views of their pacific possessions, and Picasso, an avid newspaper and magazine reader, certainly absorbed the moods and feelings in the Paris air. Francine N'Diaye, curator of African art at the Musée de l'Homme, tells me that French writers on Africa not infrequently cite The Heart of Darkness because there is no counterpart to it in French literature. Indeed, Malraux embeds the phrase "coeur des ténèbres" in his discussion of Picasso and African art (La Tête d'obsidienne, 158) in an obvious salute to the earlier novelist.

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* Notes - Picasso 16

60) The objects in that show were chosen by Guillaume, but all the arrangements for it were made by de Zayas. For his role, see Francis M. Naumann, introduction and notes to "How, When, and Why Modern Art Came to New York" by Marius de Zayas: Arts Magazine. Vol. 54, no. 8 (April 1980), pp. 96-126.

61) Marius de Zayas, African Art. Its Influence on Modern Art. New York: Modern Gallery 1916, p. 41. This book has been a constant embarrassment to de Zayas' admirers not only because--its title notwithstanding--it says virtually nothing about the influence of African art on modern art, but because of its pervasive crackpot racism. Despite de Zayas' admiration for African sculpture he considers Africans to be cases of arrested development.

"Analyzing the art of the different human races, one can see that each race has a determined conception of representation, and that the degree of the development of their art toward naturalism is in direct relation to the intellectual development of the race that produces it...The small amount of direct imitation--the almost abstract form of the plastic representation of the African Negro--is nothing more than the logical result of the conditional state of this brain.. *p. 17* —————>

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Notes - Picasso 16A

(*[The negro race]*)
 They remain in a mental state very similar to that of the children of the white race. Their life is purely sensorial. Like the white child they are egocentrists [p. 10]. It can be said that the cerebral condition of the Negro savage is particularly primitive, and that his brain keeps the conditional state of the first state of the evolution of the human race... [p. 10]. The reason of the stationary state of the mental faculties of the savage Negro is due to his natural and social milieu...The Negro is therefore incapable of any intellectual sentiment properly speaking, and he looks but for the satisfaction of the physical needs...[p. 13]. Though the eye of the Negro sees form in its natural aspect, the state of his brain is unable to understand it and retain it in his memory under that aspect... He does not reason; and does not make comparisons to obtain relative values, because he does not possess the faculty of analysis... [p. 32]

- 62) "Cubism?" (an exchange), Arts and Decoration, April, 1916, pp. 284-86, 308. Cited in Naumann, "How, When and Why", p. 104.

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Notes - Picasso 17

- 63) Picasso. Forty Years of His Art (with two statements by the artist), ed. by Alfred H. Barr, Jr., exhibition catalog. The Museum of Modern Art, New York, in collaboration with The Art Institute of Chicago, 1939, pp. 9-12, 200. The 1923 statement was published under the title, "Picasso Speaks" in The Arts, III No. 5 (May 1923), pp. 315-326. Barr's reprinting of "Picasso Speaks" in Picasso. Forty Years of His Art, 1939, as an interview given by the artist to de Zayas, is the first instance of de Zayas's name being identified with this particular statement. In fact, when it first was published, in May 1923, an accompanying note by the editor of The Arts merely specified that "Picasso gave his interview to The Arts in Spanish, and subsequently authenticated the Spanish text which we herewith translate" (p. 315), without any reference to de Zayas. Even as late as 1936, no such pairing of de Zayas and "Picasso Speaks" is to be found either in Merle Armitage's little book [reproducing the 1923 interview and a later statement by Picasso] or in the letter Armitage wrote to Barr to bring the book to his attention.
- 64) An additional problem concerns the bibliographical entry (in Picasso. Forty Years of His Art, p. 200) which states that "A French version [of this interview], with additional paragraphs dealing with... Rousseau, negro art, and literature, appeared in Florent Fels, Propos d'artistes, Paris, Renaissance du Livre, 1925, pp. 139-45." What has not been taken into account here (and elsewhere for that matter) is the existence of an earlier interview of Picasso by Florent Fels, published in Les Nouvelles Littéraires, Artistiques, et Scientifiques, (No. 42, Samedi 4 aout 1923, p. 2) under the title "Propos d'artistes. Picasso,"

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Notes - Picasso 17A

which most likely, and not the so-called "de Zayas's" "Picasso Speaks" constitutes the source of the version published by Fels in his Propos d'artistes of 1925.

Fels further explained the genesis of the "longue interview" published by Les Nouvelles Littéraires in another text on Picasso in his later book of essays (Florent Fels, Le Roman de l'art vivant, Paris, 1959, pp. 172-175), stating that he had had numerous conversations with Picasso (whose studio he first visited when the artist lived on the rue Schoelcher, 1913-1916, then living on the rue la Boétie since October or November 1918).

When Picasso said to Fels in the 1923 interview, "--Je vous ai déjà dit que je ne pouvais plus rien dire de 'l'art nègre.' "Vous avez répondu pour moi, en une précédente enquête: 'L'art nègre, connais pas.'", this is of course a reference to the "Opinions sur l'art nègre," published in Action, April 1920, and additional evidence of their familiarity in those years.

- 65) Picasso's remark to Fels, comes directly after the above preceding statement: "C'est qu'il [l'art nègre] m'est devenu trop familier, les statues africaines qui traînent un peu partout chez moi, sont plus des témoins que des exemples." (Les Nouvelles Littéraires, as in note 64, p. 2).

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* Notes - Picasso 17B

- 66) Picasso made this very clear to Pierre Daix, who recounted it to me.
- 67) Christian Zervos, Pablo Picasso. Oeuvres de 1906 à 1912. Vol. II, part 1. Paris: Editions "Cahiers d'Art", 1942, pp. XXXVII-XXXVIII, 10. See also James Johnson Sweeney, "Picasso and Iberian Sculpture." The Art Bulletin, XXIII, No. 3 (September 1941), pp. 191-198.
- 68) "From Narrative to 'Iconic' in Picasso" (as in note 31), Appendix VII: Picasso's Equivocations with Respect to Art Nègre.
- 69) The nearest relationship is that of the head of the standing figure on the right--not to masks but to the heads of Fang reliquary figures.



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Notes - Picasso 18

This resemblance, however, is rather elliptical as compared to its similarities to masks Picasso could not have seen (p. 263). Though there was at least one Fang figure at the Trocadéro when Picasso made his first visit, his heads take on a ^{decidedly} Fang physiognomy only toward early 1908 ———> (pp. 290-291). Picasso owned a Fang reliquary ^{quite early, certainly} figure ~~no later than around~~ 1910; it can be seen silhouetted against the studio window in an unpublished, undated photograph in the archives of the Musée Picasso that was ———> taken in the Boulevard de Clichy studio to which Picasso moved in September or October, 1909 (he remained there until autumn 1912).

- 70) Alfred H. Barr, Jr., Picasso: Fifty Years of His Art. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1946, pp. 55-257.
- 71) Jean Laude, La Peinture française (1905-1914) et "l'Art nègre". Paris: Editions Klincksieck, 1968, pp. 254-255.
- 72) *See page 18, note 82.*
- 73) Matisse seems to have had the most tribal objects, some twenty, by 1907. There is no indication that Vlaminck or Derain had more than four or ^{each} five ^{at} that date.
- 74) He stated this to me very clearly and, for reasons explained below (p. 296), I see no basis for doubting him.

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Notes - Picasso 19

- 75) John Golding, "The 'Demoiselles d'Avignon'," The Burlington Magazine, Vol. 100 (May 1958), p. 57 fig. 19.
- 76) Henri Clouzot et André Level, L'Art nègre et l'art océanien, Paris: Devambez, Editeur, 1919, Plate XXXVI: Masque lunaire, Côte d'Ivoire. Collection André Level. 25 cm
- 77) André Salmon, chapter entitled "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme" in La Jeune peinture française. Paris: Société des Trente, Albert Messein, pp. 42-50.
- 78) Ron Johnson, "Picasso's 'Demoiselles d'Avignon' and the Theatre of the Absurd," Arts Magazine, Vol. 55, No. 2 (October 1980), pp. 104-105. The Torres Strait mask was published by Christian Zervos, as being in Picasso's collection, in "L'Art nègre," Cahiers d'art, II, No. 7-8, 1927, p. 231.
- 79) These are the characteristic masks of the region; they are, however, rare and extremely expensive, and it is doubtful that Picasso would have purchased one even if it had been offered him. An excellent one was in the collection of his friend Georges Salles in the 1930s; this ^{mask} was later purchased by Kenneth Clark and has been wrongly described by a representative of his heirs as having been in Picasso's collection.
- 80) This was communicated to me by Pierre Daix.
- 81) In lectures at the National Gallery ("Picasso, Cubism and African Art", Feb. 28, 1982) and elsewhere.

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Notes - Picasso 20

- 82) Letter to me from Ms. Huguette Van Geluwe of the Musée Royale de l'Afrique Centrale, Tervuren. She refers here to the so-called "full" Kifwebes with protuberant features, which are the masks at issue.
- 83) Even today there is not a single masque de maladie in the Musée de l'Homme (Trocadéro) and precious few in French collections; such masks are still rare in commerce in France, and Charles Ratton observes that before the change in taste that followed the Second World War they were considered too ugly to be saleable. The type of mask illustrated on page 264 is, according to Susan Vogel, largely inspired by the advanced stages of syphilis or gangosa. This particular ^{Pende sickness)} mask, which I came upon in the reserves of the Tervuren Museum, is at once more beautiful and more abstract than the norm; it was brought from Africa only in 1954, and while its age cannot be fixed, its fabrication in all likelihood postdates that of the Demoiselles.

Level claimed to have begun collecting in 1904, but this claim has been questioned. However that may be, there is no indication that he met Picasso prior to 1908--a year after the Demoiselles. (In his Souvenirs d'un collectionneur, Level stated that he became acquainted with Picasso in 1908 in the course of a visit to the artist at 13, rue de Ravignan, and his succeeding purchase of the Family of Saltimbanques for the collection of La Peau de l'Ours. See André Level, Souvenirs d'un collectionneur [published posthumously]. Paris: Alain C. Mazo, 1959, p. 23). Nor is there any basis for assuming Level owned the mask in question a whole decade before publishing it. Finally, his Ibibio masque de maladie has much less resemblance to the head of the seated figure in the Demoiselles that we find in ~~some~~ Pende masks.

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Notes - Picasso 20A

- 84) Our attribution of certain kinds of metal-covered reliquary guardian figures from Gabon and Congo to the Kota follows a long established but mistaken convention that was initiated and then abandoned by the French colonial administration. As Leon Siroto pointed out to this author, many of the first known figures of this kind were made by the Ndasas and the Wumbus, peoples who spoke languages related to that of the Kota to their north. These true Kota, however, did not share their style of sculpture. Since then scholars have learned that many, if not most, of the sub-styles within this corpus originated among the Mbamba, a people who, although living next to the Kota-speakers, differ markedly from them in history, language and social organization.

Applied strips under the eyes of some Kota metal covered figures from the Mossendjo region do not correspond to scarification (not



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Notes - Picasso 21

practiced by the Kota); they tend to be interpreted by ^{certain and dealers} laymen ^{as tears.}

This notion, which runs counter to the value system and iconography of the society concerned, finds no support in ethnography. According to Siroto, the motive might derive from small vertical tattoo marks formerly in fashion (one finds them in some images from other peoples to the Northwest) or, just as likely, from a decorative choice.

- 85) These are no doubt what are referred to on the inadequate list referred above (p. 00) to ^(note 00) under no. 69: "Masques (sic), Plat cuivre et bois, effigie funeraire, Gabon, Bakota. Ht. 50 [cms]." In fact, we cannot be sure whether Picasso owned more than the two Kota reliquary figures that I have discovered in the estate (p. 301). ^{One heir,} Bernard Picasso, has been unresponsive to scholars in general ^{to} and the Museum in particular, hence it is not possible to check his holdings.

- 86) Had Picasso purchased his Kota figures in the twenties or later, they would ^{certainly} have been much finer, first because a greater selection was available, second because at that time Picasso loosened his purse-strings to some extent in his purchases of tribal material. The object on the upper left of page 301 is of a crudeness that more characterizes the material being ^{offered} at the very beginning of the century, prior to the activities of Brummer and Guillaume.
- In answering a question of mine about Matisse's having shown him an African object at Gertrude Stein's, Picasso took issue with Matisse's ~~see below~~ ^{note 00}; in so doing, he also indicated that he was drawn to African objects different from those that interested Matisse, African objects that made Matisse's equation of African and Egyptian objects wrong-headed or foolish. (Though —————>

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Notes - Picasso 22

I was unable to remember Picasso's exact words, my notes indicate that he said something to this effect "scoffingly"). Picasso then mentioned some of the objects he liked. In so doing, he may have used some conventional appellations such as Nimba or Kota. But as I knew ^(virtually nothing) about African art at the time, I ^{would have)} missed them. In my notes, however, I paraphrase Picasso talking about "small metal figures, very abstract" and "big-nosed masks." In retrospect, I believe ^{that} these cannot be other than the Kota reliquary guardian figures and the "Nimba-headed" figures and/or Nimba masks of the Baga. These two types of object can be directly connected to the work of 1907 (p. 268-269; 276-277). That fact, in combination with Picasso's observations, makes it virtually certain that they were among the earliest objects to interest him, hence almost certainly among the earliest objects he collected (though the earliest document showing the Baga figures in his studios or apartments is in a photograph of Olga used for the portrait of her in 1917 [Zervos III, 83]).

- 87) In the years prior to World War I, Guillaume's (and presumably Heymann's and Brummer's) fine Kota reliquary figures were surprisingly expensive-- in part, perhaps, because they were mistakenly represented as objects many centuries old. Paudrat (p. 154) notes that the two ^(reliquary figures Guillaume) sent on consignment to Stieglitz ^{for the 1914 exhibition)} were priced at 3,000 francs each, that is, six times

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Notes - Picasso 23

more than he asked for de Chirico's Song of Love, one of that painter's masterpieces (worth today at least ten times the price of a superb Kota reliquary figure).

There is a mistaken impression among collectors and historians that fine tribal objects were very inexpensive early in the century. One could, of course, buy poor conventional material for very little--as one can today as well. But the top examples were extremely expensive, ^(and still are) (though no longer in comparison to the masterpieces of modern art; indeed, in terms of the latter prices, tribal masterpieces, though they usually cost in the hundreds of thousands of dollars, are relatively low).

- 88) The first acquaintance of art historians with metal covered reliquary guardian figures attributed to the Kota led them to interpret arbitrarily, the lozenge-shaped base as conventional legs. This is incorrect. Some later studies based on "Kota" informants (E. Andersson, "Contributions à l'Ethnographie des Kuta" I, Studia Ethnographica Upsaliensia, vol. VI, 1953 pp. 340) and stylistic comparisons (L. Siroto, "Notes on the Bakota, Pangwe, and Balumbo sculpture of the Gabon and the Middle Congo", Masterpieces of African Art, Brooklyn Museum [exhibition catalog], October 21, 1954-January 2, 1955, pp. 26-30) reason more closely that the form probably represented arms. Photographs of integral reliquaries usually show the lower part of the lozenge buried in the shrine, hence not visible.
- 89) There is not the slightest indication that the now celebrated Luba caryatid stools were available in France during the first decade of the century (and they were certainly not to be found in the ^{collection of the} Musée d'Ethnographie).

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Notes - Picasso 24

This notwithstanding, some writers have been tempted to associate them with the work of Paris artists of that time (Manfred Schneckenburger, for instance, in Welt Kulturen und moderne Kunst exhibition catalog (Munich, Haus der Kunst, June 16-September 30, 1972, pp. 492-493, makes precisely such an association with Modigliani's painted caryatid of c. 1910). I have chosen my examples from French territories regions, whose sculptural material was already in circulation in Paris.

- 90) The convulsive movement and projection of limbs in Picasso's dancing figures have no relation to any African or Oceanic art he could have seen, nor, indeed, to what can be made out in early engravings of tribal dance ceremonies such as can be seen in Le Tour du Monde and other popular magazines Picasso saw. I think there is no doubt that he fantasized about such ceremonies and, to the extent he imagined dances, thought of the dance figures as expressing great violence and energy, more along the lines of the ejaculatory gestures common in Martha Graham's choreography than the *regular* and contained movements we see in films of African dances.
- 91) "Heroic Years from Humble Treasures: Notes on African and Modern Art," Art International, vol. x, no. 7 (Sept. 1966), reprinted in Changing: Essays in Art Criticism, New York: Dutton, 1971, p. 38.
- 92) Though the Bambara figure reproduced on page 280 was in Kahnweiler's collection at the time of his death (it is visible on top of a bookcase, in a photograph of 1913 of Kahnweiler's home, rue George Sand [reproduced in My Galleries and Painters by Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler with Francis Crémieux, transl. from the French by Helen Weaver, introd. by John Russell. New York: The Viking Press (The Documents of 20th Century Art series), 1971, between pp. 15-17]), there is no way of knowing when he acquired it. Since Kahnweiler lost many of his early tribal acquisitions at the time of World War I, it is probable that this was not among the —————>

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* Notes - Picasso 25

objects he owned when he began collecting. It is, however, a type of object that might well have appeared in commerce at that time.

93) Laude (as in note 71) p. 253.

94) There is no drawing or painting by Picasso that is directly copied from any tribal object.

95) Communicated to me by Daix in conversation

96) Artes, Antwerp, no. 3-4 (1947-1948): 3, cited in Lydia Gasman, Mystery, Magic and Love in Picasso, as in note 53, p. 456

97) Michel Leiris told me that Picasso certainly knew that his Nimba mask (p. 327) represented a goddess of fertility, and in general, the "Nimba-headed" figures of the Baga (p. 287) were also--though wrongly--interpreted this way.

According to Leon Siroto, "our present knowledge prevents us from inferring any more than a stylistic relationship between the Giant Nimba mask and the statues, male and female, that show an identical treatment of the head. Old accounts tell us that such statues were important to certain Baga communities, but they do not mention Nimba masks in this connection. The field study of Baga iconography has been greatly neglected." (Communication to this author, 1984.)

Presumably
98) ^ due to the immense weight of these masks, it is sometimes said

that they were supported by more than one dancer under the raffia skirt.

In fact, by a combination of support by the head, and ^{by} ^ lifting on the circular hoop around the "legs" (still preserved in Picasso's mask, p. 327), a single dancer could and did control the mask.

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Notes - Picasso 26

- 99) Reinhold Hohl, catalog text for No. 52 (sheet with drawings from early summer 1907) in Pablo Picasso: Eine Ausstellung zum hundertsten Geburtstag, Werke aus der Sammlung Marina Picasso. Exhibition catalog, ed. by Werner Spies. Munich, Haus der Kunst, February 13-April 20, 1981; Cologne, Josef-Haubrich-Kunsthalle in collaboration with Museum Ludwig, August 11-October 11, 1981; Frankfurt, Städt. Galerie im Städelischen Kunstinstitut, October 21, 1981-January 10, 1982, pp. 115-116.
- 100) At different points Salmon indicates an awareness of tribal art in both 1905 and 1906. If this was the case, his interest would have anticipated Picasso's 1907 involvement by a year or two. Since Salmon elsewhere wrongly dates the latter in 1906, it is possible--indeed probable--that his early dates are mistaken, and were based upon what we now know to be a mythical 1905 date widely described as the moment of the modernist "discovery" of tribal art.
- 101) L'Art nègre" (as in note 11), p. 114
- 102) Picasso told Sabartés, "On n'a jamais dépassé la sculpture primitive."
- ← Jaime Sabartés, Picasso, portraits et souvenirs. Translated from the Spanish by Paule-Marie Grand and André Chastel. Paris, Louis Carré, Maxmilien Vox, Editeurs, 1946, p. 223.
- 103) In Apollinaire's The Cubist Painters, there is but one brief reference to tribal art--mentioned in the same breath with Egyptian art. See Guillaume Apollinaire, Méditations esthétiques--Les Peintres cubistes. Paris: Eugène Figuière et Cie, Editeurs, 1913, p. 16-17:

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Notes - Picasso 26A

"Ajoutons que cette imagination: la quatrième dimension, n'a été que la manifestation des aspirations, des inquiétudes d'un grand nombre de jeunes artistes regardant les sculptures égyptiennes, nègres et océaniques..." *the passage* suggests that it resulted *(in part)* from the author's interview with Matisse, ("Henri Matisse," La Phalange, No. 2, 15-18 décembre 1907, reprinted as "Matisse interrogé par Apollinaire" in Henri Matisse. Ecrits et propos sur l'art. ed. Dominique Fourcade. Paris: Collection Savoir, Hermann, 1972, pp. 56-57: "Je n'ai jamais évité l'influence des autres . . . —————> Par conséquent toutes les écritures plastiques: les Egyptiens hiératiques, les Grecs affinés, les Cambodgiens voluptueux, les productions des anciens Péruviens, les statuettes des nègres africains proportionnées selon les passions qui les ont inspirées peuvent intéresser un artiste et l'aider à développer sa personnalité-- rather than in relation to Picasso).

For an analysis of Apollinaire's role in the spread of primitivism, see Ekaterini Samaltanou-Tsiakma, Guillaume Apollinaire: Catalyst for Primitivism... (as in note 50), passim, and pp. 48-50 for her comments on the tendency of the time to associate Negro and Egyptian sculpture with the "fourth dimension."

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Notes - Picasso 27

- 104) André Salmon, chapter entitled "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme" in his La Jeune peinture française. Paris: Société des Trente, Albert Messein, 1912, pp. 43, 44.
- 105) André Salmon, "Negro Art" (transl. by D. Brinton). The Burlington Magazine, No. 205 (April 1920), pp. 164-172.
- 106) The necessary critique of the traditional view of Picasso's primitivism (as advanced by Goldwater), of which Gasman's impressive text is the epitome, may be resulting ^{in a} ^{of} swing ^{the} pendulum too far in the other direction. Much of this writing is based on words (citations from Picasso and various authors) rather than ^{on} direct confrontation of ^{the} work of art. Unlike Matisse, Picasso rarely spoke about formal questions. Even his references to Cubism were in a poetic vein (see my Picasso in the Collection of the Museum of Modern Art Exhibition Catalog. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1972, pp. 72, 206 note 3). Yet the work shows that Picasso was very engaged in the resolution of formal problems--and we should not lose sight of this in regard to his primitivism.
- 107) In my notes, I paraphrase Picasso as saying: "The greatest realism is the closest correspondence between the marks the artist makes-- whatever their style--and the nature...of his most intense feeling." In other words, realism is not a question of illusion or illustration but of communication.

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* Notes - Picasso 28

- 108) André Salmon, "La Semaine artistique. Cubisme: Exposition Metzinger (Galerie Rosenberg)." L'Europe Nouvelle, 2ème année, no. 3 (18 January 1919), pp. 139-140.
- 109) I have no space here to illustrate a number of variant studies, among them Zervos (WR to complete)
- 110) Though I focus here on caricature, we should keep in mind that⁴ as the bric-a-brac, old magazines etc. that Picasso kept around him (and used in papiers collés and constructions) attest--he was a lover of "low" art.
- 111) For example, his parody at once of Manet's Olympia and Cézanne's L'Après-midi à Naples in Christian Zervos, Pablo Picasso. Paris: Editions "Cahiers d'art". Vol. VI, Supplément aux vols. 1-5, 1954, No. 343.
- 112) Rubin, Picasso in the Collection (as in note 106), p. 66
- 113) Not until Picasso himself alluded to the presence of one of his New Caledonian figures (long known to scholars through the Burgess photograph) in the upper left of the Kahnweiler portrait was it recognized in the configuration (see p. 310). For Picasso's remark to John Richardson see below note 176.
- 114) Roland Penrose, Picasso: His Life and Work. London: Victor Gollancz, 1958, p. 126.

X
Salmon
Daguer
reproduction

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- 115) Adam Gopnik, "High and Low: Caricature, Primitivism, and the Cubist Portrait", Art Journal, Vol. 43 No. 4 (Winter 1983) pp. 371-376
- 116) Ibid. p. 374
- 117) Ibid. p. 375. In Souvenirs sans fin. [Troisième époque (1920-1940)], Paris: Gallimard, 1961, p. 185, André Salmon recalled that in 1920, "quand j'e publiai Peindre, un 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, ^{le} naissance du Cubisme; une esquisse en vue d'une statuette à tailler dans le ^{bois} ~~bois~~, ce qui ne serait pas réalisé."
- 118) As for example the sheet (WSR to complete)

On an occasion when Picasso, Jacqueline and I were looking at some of his early caricatures (which Picasso feared had been —————→ stolen from the Barcelona Museum), I asked ^{him} if he knew the so-called caricatures caricatures of Puvis de Chavannes. He replied in the negative but said he liked those of Leonardo.

- 119) This method was subsequently used to more purely poetic and iconographic ends in the sculptures of Max Ernst.

- X 120) So far as I know, this point has been made only by Spies, ^{Sculpture by Picasso} ~~(Rubin to complete)~~ AP 00

- 121) This work has been identified by Spies with the winter 1906-07 (Werner Spies, The Sculpture of Picasso, with a Catalogue of the Works. Translated from the German Picasso das Plastische Werk by J. Maxwell Brownjohn. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc. Publishers, 1971, p. 301 Fig. 11), but the resemblance of its

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hair pattern--to say nothing of its brut manner--with the Cerro head Picasso acquired only in spring 1907 (see p. 249) obliges me to attribute it to that moment.

- 122) For Picasso to have seen Oceanic sculpture before then, he would have to have seen it in the collections of Matisse, Derain or Vlaminck. No discussion of their early acquisitions mentions Oceanic art. Inasmuch, however, as the term "art nègre" covered Oceanic as well as African art, and as confusion between the two was commonplace, we cannot exclude the possibility.

- (123) Ron Johnson, "Primitivism in the Early Sculpture of Picasso." Arts Magazine, vol. 49, No. 10 (June 1975), pp. 66, 67.

- 124) When Johnson inspected the piece, only traces remained, perhaps because it was actually played with as a doll by the child to whom it was given (later Madame André Masson). Today there seems even less trace of these colors on the object.

- 125) Spies, Sculpture by Picasso (as in note 121), p. 23

- 126) This head is said to have been purchased by Arensberg from Frank Burty-Haviland, who was a friend of Picasso, Brancusi and, through de Zayas, the members of the Guillaume circle.

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- 127) By 1908, a considerable number of Bambara objects could be found in France, although there is no documentation of the presence there of the specific type of mask illustrated on p. 295.
- 128) See "From Narrative to 'Iconic' in Picasso" (as in note 31), pp. 620-622.
- 129) Daix (letter to me of Dec. 15, 1982) insists on an interest in the Douanier on Matisse's part as early as 1905, and cites Barr (Matisse: His Art and His Public, New York, ^{The} Museum of Modern Art, 1951, 77) in regard to the possible association between Matisse's 1906 Pink Onions and the still lifes of Rousseau.

It is evident that the art of Rousseau played at least a certain role in the step toward simplification and reduction of means that marks Matisse's transition from Fauvism to his own personal style in later 1906 (the difference, essentially, between the two versions of The Sailor). This role was, however, subordinate to that of Gauguin, Cézanne, and the various "primitive" arts Matisse was already collecting.

For me the work that best illustrates Matisse's generalized primitivism of winter 1906-1907 is Marguerite (p. 253), which Picasso would select in an exchange of works between the two artists shortly after its execution.

Some critics have interpreted Picasso's choice of this seemingly awkward, simple, and naïve Matisse portrait as an attempt to show up Matisse by having in his (Picasso's) own studio a picture that could be taken to be a poor Matisse. In fact, one has only to compare the head

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of Marguerite in this quite extraordinary little picture to Picasso's post-Gosol work, indeed, to the Iberian heads in the center of the Demoiselles, to see why Picasso might have preferred it to other Matisse's. Matisse's Marguerite belongs to a moment (early 1907) when, for the Fauves, the "primitive" meant a variety of "archaic," often exotic styles, art nègre, Gauguin, and Rousseau, while for Picasso, it meant primarily the archaic Iberian, and secondarily Gauguin. Only later, more than a year after his June 1907 revelation regarding art nègre, was Picasso's work influenced by Rousseau; once again the Douanier's work functioned as it had for Matisse, as a simplifying agent in the context of a major stylistic transition. Daix correctly sees the interest of both Matisse and Picasso in the work of Rousseau as "following quite naturally from their interest in 'primitive' arts."

- 130) The affinity of the last phase of Picasso's Iberianism (early spring 1907) with the style of Matisse's Marguerite is underlined by the comparison of the latter with one of the central heads of the Demoiselles on page 253. The two works are no more than a few months apart at most.
- 131) For a discussion of the reworking of Three Women see this author's essay "Cézannism and the Beginnings of Cubism," in Cézanne: The Late Work. ed. William Rubin. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1977, pp. 184-188
- 132) "L'art nègre" (as in note 11), p. 119.

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- 133) For Lipchitz's account of this, see below, Wilkinson, p. 425
- 134) Louis Vauxcelles, "Exposition Braque. Chez Kahnweiler, 28 rue Vignon," Gil Blas, 14 Novembre 1908, reprinted in Edward F. Fry, Cubism. London, Thames and Hudson, 1966, p. 50
- 135) There is no question that Braque owned a number of African sculptures ^{However,} by 1908. (The suggestion by Habasque, cited by Paudrat (pp. 139, 150 note 50), according to which Braque would have purchased his first African object in 1905 is ———> highly suspect. This would have made him anticipate Matisse as a collector when, in fact, it was probably Matisse's collecting (begun in 1906) that served as Braque's model. The commonplace attribution of such "firsts" to 1905 follows from the fact that for many decades 1905 was considered the year in which Matisse, Derain, and Vlaminck had begun collecting. We now know that to be 1906.
- 136) See Sandra E. Leonard, Henri Rousseau and Max Weber. New York: Richard L. Feigen & Co., 1970.

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- 137) For further discussion of this see Paudrat (pp. 139-141) and Flam
²¹⁶⁻²¹⁷
 (pp. ~~000~~)
- 138) This is the position, for example, of Laude, and most writers have followed his lead. This view is inspired by Tériade's 1951 version of Matisse's account of the events at Gertrude Stein's apartment in autumn 1906. In this interview ("Matisse Speaks", Art News Annual, 21, 1952 reprinted in Jack D. Flam, Matisse on Art, London: Phaidon Press, 1973, p. 134) when Matisse shows Picasso the African object (most probably the Vili figure on p. ~~000~~ ²¹⁴; see above, Paudrat, p. ~~000~~ ¹⁴¹), Picasso is said to have been "astonished" by it. The Tériade interview, which Flam has characterized to me privately as "unreliable", deprives Matisse of his usual discretion; Flam considers this "a corrupt text." He judges the 1942 Courthion interview more reliable. Both he and Paudrat have had access to ~~unpublished parts of that~~ interview "lu et approuvé" by Matisse. In this ^{interview} Matisse merely says: "Picasso est arrivé, nous avons causé. C'est là que Picasso a remarqué la sculpture nègre. C'est pourquoi Gertrude Stein en parle." (My gratitude to Flam for this information.) See also Flam (p. 238, notes 44, 47)

It is evident that if Picasso had been "astonished" by the African object (all the more unlikely if it was ^(in fact) the Vili figure), Picasso would have become interested in African art then. In fact, he did not begin collecting--nor is there any sign of ^{the influence of} tribal art in his work--for some half year afterwards.

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- 139) When I asked about this meeting, Picasso *described* seeing Matisse's African object as of no special importance, having already made the point that his "revelation" took place later (and responded to very different kinds of African and Oceanic objects).
- 140) The exact date of this unfinished painting is unknown, but the style suggests to me the winter 1906-1907, which would accord with Matisse's interest in the Vili figure at that time. There is no documentation for the picture's date and Pierre Schneider, in his forthcoming book on Matisse will date it 1907-8.
- 141) As observed in the Introduction (p. 00), Matisse's taste in African art was conservative. The "classic" objects he preferred could be (and were) more readily associated with Egyptian art than the Baga, Kota and Grebo objects central to Picasso's taste.
- (see above, note 86))
- 142) In my notes, ~~Picasso~~ ^{Picasso} ~~scorns~~ Matisse's equation of the African and Egyptian and says something to the effect (this is paraphrased): "Matisse didn't know what was really good in African art."
- 143) Picasso did own and admire a white Shira-Punu mask, a Vouvi mask and some other objects in the more "classic" taste shared by Matisse. It should also be observed that--at least later, at some time after the period at issue--Matisse acquired two Baga figures as well as a New Ireland sculpture, objects which are far from "classic." However, Lydia Delectorskaya made the point to me emphatically that the New Hebrides ^{Megapode spirit mask} ~~that was~~ given Matisse by a friend (p. 333) ^{and} which Matisse gave Picasso, did not represent Matisse's taste in tribal art.

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- 144) Thus, in the chapter "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme" from La Jeune peinture française, 1912, pp. 41-61 [the book according to Fry, Cubism, p. 90, was written by April 1912 and published in the autumn], Salmon implied that the Demoiselles (referred to as the "grande toile"), was begun following the completion of Boy with a Pipe (the painting dates from late 1905) and described it as containing six figures. In L'Art vivant, 1920, pp. 109-118, he is unspecific about its beginnings, alluding to both "aux environs de 1908" and "des 1906", whereas in his article on the "Exposition Metzinger" in L'Europe nouvelle (January 1919, p. 139) the "grande toile" is ascribed to "un peu après 1906." In Souvenirs sans fin (as in note 117), Salmon misdates Picasso's 1907 portrait of him 1906.
- 145) The single possible exception is a photograph published by Christian Zervos without a date, but showing Picasso's studio, 13, rue Ravignan, and the date "1907" written in beside the two drawings and one of the paintings shown in the photograph. ("Oeuvres et images inédites de la jeunesse de Picasso," Cahiers d'art, 25, No. 2, 1950, p. 278). Werner Spies (in Picasso, Das Plastische Werk [as in note 17] p. 42) reproduces a photograph from Claude Picasso's archives that but for the lack of any dates inscribed is identical with Zervos', which he assigns to "um 1907."
- 146) In working with the curation of the Musée Picasso on the projected exhibition "Autour des Demoiselles d'Avignon, I have seen all the photographs in their archives that show tribal sculptures. The Musée Picasso will publish these ^{photographs} later. Given their small number and their post-Bateau Lavoir dates, they do not tell us a great deal about Picasso's early acquisitions. The Musée Picasso archives does, however, contain letters and other material from these years (still being reviewed by the archivist), which may throw further light on Picasso's early purchases of tribal work.
- 147) Heymann was, in 1907, the only dealer specializing in tribal art. At some point prior to Picasso's purchasing the Tiki, a photograph of it was supplied to the German ethnologist, Karl von den Steinen, who published it later in his monumental compendium of Marquesan art (Die Marquesaner und Ihre Kunst, Vol. III Berlin, 1928, n.p. fig. 13a and b) as "in dealers' hands." Since von den Steinen received the photo from

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a dealer--and it had to be a dealer, ^{when} he sought out knowing that he handled tribal art--it is hard to see who this could be besides Heymann.

- 148) As Melanesian objects are less sculptural, more fantastic and "surreal", it is not surprising that Picasso's purchase of such objects as his Torres Strait mask (p. 315) should have been made in the 1920s and 1930s, when Picasso's own work evolved in directions related to Surrealism.
- 149) David Douglas Duncan, The Private World of Picasso. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1958, pp. 36-37, 41, 67, 72, 109. Besuche bei Picasso. (Fotos von Siegfried und Angela Rosengart). Galerie Rosengart, Lucerne, 1973, p. 17.
- 150) No documentation would $\rightarrow$ exist for purchases at the flea market. It is possible that some documents (e.g. offering letters) will turn up in the Musée Picasso archive that can be associated with objects that have come down to us, but there is small likelihood of this, in part because the tribal and geographical appellations used by dealers prior to World War I are almost invariably incorrect, which makes the matching of objects and references to them exceedingly difficult.
- 151) See ^{14 y} above, p. 14, for my reservations in regard to calling Picasso's group of tribal objects a "collection."

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- 152) Laude, La Peinture française (1905-1914) et "l'Art nègre" (as in note 71), pp. 116-117 note 92. Laude does not specify the date but says only that

Tzara saw the objects in Picasso's studio "à Antibes." It was most likely at villa La Californie in Cannes (and not Antibes where Picasso never had a studio) that Tzara saw Picasso's tribal objects, which had been stored in boxes until he moved into La Californie in 1955.

- 153) op. cit. Mention of sales of single pieces for as high as 30,000 francs

is made by Frederick W. Eddy in the Sunday World, October 29, 1916, in his review of the exhibition of African negro sculpture organized by Marius de Zayas for the Modern Gallery, cited in Naumann, Introduction and Notes to "How, When, and Why Modern Art came to New York" by Marius de Zayas (as in note 60), p. 110.

- 154) According to John Rewald, the Meyer family paid Vollard \$10,000 each for large, important Cézannes (now in the National Gallery, Washington) around 1912 and again in 1917.

- 155) In the correspondence which Gertrude Stein bequeathed to Yale University and now preserved in The Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, there are six letters and one postcard from Picasso to Gertrude Stein (who at that time was living in Nîmes), dating from December 1917 (?) to 8 June 1918 that concern his wishes in having her purchase "statues negres" for him.

I am indebted to Margaret

Potter for bringing this correspondence to my attention.

- 156) This is the generally accepted date, though it is possible that the photograph was taken early in 1909. See Edward F. Fry, "Cubism 1907-1908: An early eyewitness Account." The Art Bulletin, XLVIII, No. 1 (March 1966),
- 157) There is no question that Picasso's possessiveness with regard to these objects had to do with what he called ^{their} magical "charge." Giving an object which belonged to his intimate life to some other person would have been understood by the superstitious ^{artist as, in effect,} giving that person a kind of

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power over him. To my knowledge, no object which Picasso possessed was ever given away or sold--though he would have been more likely to part with something acquired late in life ^(and quite readily, something given to him) than with his early acquisitions.

- 158) For an illustration of one such object, see R. S. Wassing, African Art: Its Background and Traditions, trans. D. Imber, New York, 1968, p. 46.
- 159) On the basis of visits to the reserves of the major European ethnological museums, I would say that a large minority (if not a majority) of the earliest acquired tribal objects were not used ritually. How many of these were unused because they ^{were} made for colonials, sailors or ethnologists is impossible to say.
- 160) Fernande Olivier, Picasso et ses amis. Paris: Librairie Stock, 1933, p. 170 (the period 1910-1914), "Picasso aimait particulièrement un petit masque de femme à qui la peinture blanche du visage, ressortant sur la couleur bois de la coiffure, donnait une expression étrangement douce."
- 161) This was in the conversation in which he denigrated Matisse's view of African art and singled out as (paraphrased) "inventive" some "small metal figures, very abstract" and "big-nosed masks", which remark (see note 86) I believe, must be associated with Kota reliquary figures and Baga Nimba masks and figures.

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- 162) An example of the quality of the latter is the reliquary figure consigned to Stieglitz by Guillaume shown in the installation photograph on page 152.
- 163) Primitive Art Newsletter, Vol. 5, No. 6 (June 1982), p. 7
- 164) Henri Clouzot et André Level, L'Art nègre et l'art océanien (as in note 76), pl. XX, Masque pahouin [Fang] 35 cm., and pl. XXXIV, Masque côte d'Ivoire [Guere], 25 cm., both listed as collection Picasso.
- 165) It is possible, but highly doubtful, that some document will turn up in the archives related to these masks. Both are of a type known to be in circulation prior to 1914. A Guere of the type owned by Picasso (Clouzot and Level, plate XXXIV) so similar to his that it is probably by the same hand, was put on sale by de Zayas (who undoubtedly got it from Guillaume) in the Modern Gallery, New York, in 1916. It is illustrated in Naumann "How, When and Why", as in note 70, no. 73.
- 166) Cited in "Braque 1912-1918. Repères chronologiques", in Georges Braque les papiers collés. Exhibition catalog. Centre Georges Pompidou, Musée National d'art moderne, Paris, June 17-September 27, 1982, p. 180.
- 167) Edward F. Fry, "Les Dimensions du modernisme" (transcript of a series of four lectures given in May-June 1982 at the Centre Georges Pompidou, Musée National d'art moderne, Paris) in CNAC Magazine (published by

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the Centre National d'art et de Culture Georges Pompidou), No. 16, July-August 1983, p. 18.

168) Fry assumed that the purported "discovery" of a "Wobé" (Grebo) mask in Marseille inspired the solution of the sound-hole of the Guitar. But aside from the fact that Picasso almost certainly already possessed his *less-great* Grebo, he surely knew others in the Trocadéro, the collection of Kahnweiler and elsewhere. Grebo masks were among the more familiar types of mask in Paris in the first decade of the century.

169) Jacques Kerchache, who had an opportunity to study the mask on p. ²⁰~~20~~ confirmed this fact to me.

170) As the concept of cylindrical eyes is common to all Grebo masks of this type, and as Picasso abstracted the concept, a purely one-to-one relationship cannot be established between the objects.

171) Dora Vallier, "Braque, la peinture et nous" (propos de l'artiste recueillis par Dora Vallier), Cahiers d'art, 29, No. 1-2 (October 1954), p. 14.

172) Malraux, La Tête d'obsidienne (as in note 8), p. 19.

173) The word "collage" is often used for "papiers collés" as well as the gluing together of alien materials (oilcloth on canvas as in Picasso's Still Life with Chaircaning) and the assembling of diverse materials (the mariner's rope used as a frame in that same pioneer work). But

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papier collé, insofar as it maintains a unity of materials, is more classical than other forms of collage, and should be distinguished from them. It is characteristic for Braque's Classicism and conservation that he worked only in "papier collé." Collage in all other forms--which are those with affinities to tribal art--are entirely the invention of Picasso.

174) The analogy is much less common in Braque's work, and is never carried as far. On the occasion that Picasso gave me the Guitar for the Museum, he propped it up in a chair like a seated figure and had Jacqueline photograph it that way.

175) The more sculptural, tactile, "factual" Cubism of late 1908 through 1909, though removed from tribal art as compared to Picasso's work of 1907-8, is still much closer to it than the pictorial forms of High Analytic Cubism where the nature of the reductionism is further from what Picasso meant by the "realism" of tribal art. In 1911-12, another kind of realism takes over (see Rubin's Picasso in the Collection, as in note 106, p. 72 for the artist on the "reality" in High Cubism).

176) See Picasso. An American Tribute, ed. John Richardson. Exhibition catalog. New York: Public Education Association, 1962, n.p. Of the portrait of Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, Richardson reported (in the Introduction) that Picasso told him, "That's just what he looked like...His ears seem to have grown a lot bigger since then. Somewhere I've still got the sculpture that appears in the background--it's from New Caledonia."

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- 177) Despite this similarity, the other forms of this illusioned mask make it quite clear that this could not have been the Grebo on page 305.
- 178) Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, "L'Art nègre et le cubisme," Présence africaine (Paris/Dakar) no. 3, 1948, pp. 367-377.
- 179) Kahnweiler here had confused the ideographically "reduced" (of tribal art) with the "cut-away" (of Cubism).
- 180) Illustrated in Picasso in the Collection (as in note 106), p. 60.
- 181) The lack of control that this implied obviously became clear to Picasso at this point and virtually none of his later sculpture, its range and variety notwithstanding, depended on this Impressionist-inspired, post-Rodinesque play of pictorial light.
- 182) My notes contain, in paraphrase, a sentence in which Picasso says "it was pointless to go on with this kind of sculpture." For years I have debated as to ^{precisely} ~~to~~ what ^{he} ~~it~~ meant. He was clearly disappointed in aspects of the modelled Head of Fernande, and the remark may simply reflect fatigue at something that turned out to be a dead end.
- 183) Goldwater had long ago rightly characterized Head of Fernande as "Rodin's art of the hollow and the lump'." (What is Modern Sculpture? New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1970, p. 42)

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184) I now accept Fry's emendation for the date of the (maquette of) Guitar (Fall 1912 instead of early in the year, as Picasso had suggested).

185) See Introduction p. ⁶⁴ ~~60~~

186) See Introduction pp ^{18-20.} ~~60~~

187) Illustrated in Spies, Sculpture by Picasso (as in note 121), p. 53

188) Illustrated in Ibid. pp. 132, 133

189) My point here is that Picasso was certainly conscious of the fact that early Cubism had two important immediate sources, the principal one, modernist painting, being inflected by the ideographic reductionism of tribal art.

190) Though this is not readily apparent because the mouth has been enlarged and turned vertically, there can be no question of the identification of this feature. The nose is a triangle projecting from near the top-center of the facial rectangle, the eyes are round holes flanking the nose.

191) My search has turned up no reproductions of masks of this type which could possibly have been available in scholarly--not to say in artists' circles--in Paris prior to 1930.

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- 192) This was the Kota reliquary guardian figure that Giacometti had purchased from Serge Brignoni (c.f. below, Krauss p. ^{528, note 13} ~~600~~).
- 193) This identification, ^{clear} clear to me through affinities of Head of a Woman (p. 323) with the "bone" Bathers known to be Olga, is confirmed by the sketch on page 322, in which there is a "mirror image" identification on an early form of Head of a Woman (on right of sketch) with an image of Olga screaming (Picasso so identified her to Penrose) very much as she appears in Bust of a Woman with Self-Portrait, 1929 (Picasso: A Retrospective, p. 272).
- 194) The first of these is The Embrace, 1925 (Picasso: A Retrospective, p. 257).
- 195) E.g. Seated Bather, 1930 (Picasso: A Retrospective, p. 279)
- 196) Penrose mentioned to me--though requesting a discretion no longer necessary (Picasso was still alive)--that in Olga's most distracted moments she had threatened Picasso's life.

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- 197) This statement is based on having seen around seventy of Picasso's c. 100 tribal objects, and having studied photographs of some of the rest. [#] Metal and metal-covered tribal objects of any size are relatively rare. While Picasso might have owned one more Kota reliquary figure than we estimate, it is hard to imagine what other metal or metal clad objects of any size he might have possessed in the early years, aside from Marka masks--and I have found no record of his owning one.
- 198) The large size female Nimba mask--as opposed to the "Nimba-headed" Baga figures, which are found in both sexes (see ^{above} note 97)--was widely understood as symbolizing agricultural rebirth and human procreation. Generally, Picasso paid little attention to ethnological particulars, but Michel Leiris assured me that he knew the significance of the Nimba figure as popularly interpreted.
- 199) Gonzalez had begun to realize Picasso's metal sculptures, mostly from drawings, in 1928. The realization of Head of a Woman (p. 323) became, for Gonzalez, the lynchpin of his new career as a vanguard metal sculptor. Most of his important work relates to Picasso's openwork "drawing-in-air" sculptures. Gonzalez also executed, however, a series of "Masks" (p. 320), less obligated to Picasso in their inspiration, which reflected Gonzalez' own interest in tribal art.
- 200) I have in my notes a reference to Picasso's having acquired it in 1928, but I have lost track of the source. Jacques Kerchache points

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out that it was reproduced as "Collection Picasso" in _____
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201) See *above* p. 276, and *below*, p. 000 note 00

202) See *above*, note 97

203) "This piece", Penrose observes (Picasso: His Life and Work, London, 1958, p. 242) "found its echo in the monumental plaster heads in the stables across the courtyard."

For Picasso, the malleable character of the clay in which these sculptures were modelled, and *of* the plaster, in which they were reworked, was (as I suggest ^{ed} in the text) an important expressive dimension of their make-up. The plasters, despite their large size, have an appearance of weightlessness and buoyancy that speaks to Marie-Thérèse's image in Picasso's mind (as literalized in Girl with a Beach-Ball, 1932, Picasso: A Retrospective, p. 295). The bronzes lose a great deal of this, and Picasso knew it, as the following citation confirms (from [Gyula Halász] Brassai, Picasso and Company. Translated from the French Conversations avec Picasso by Francis Price. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1966, p. 51)

Picasso: They [The modelled sculptures of the early 30s] really were more beautiful in plaster. At first I wouldn't even hear of having them cast in bronze. But Sabartés kept saying, "Plaster is perishable... You have to have something solid...Bronze is forever..."

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He's the one who persuaded me to have them done in metal. And at last, I gave in. What do you think of them? (Brassaï: Some of them have lost in the change. Especially your monumental heads.

*Start
New line*

- 204) "A Life Round Table on Modern Art. (Held in Penthouse of Museum of Modern Art and reported by Russell W. Davenport in collaboration with Winthrop Sargent). Life Magazine (October 11, 1948), p. 64
- 205) My gratitude to Dr. George MacDonald, Director of the National Museum of Man, National Museums of Canada, for answering my questions about the iconography of Northwest Coast objects.
- 206) As observed by Meyer Schapiro in conversation with the author.
- 207) Illustrated in Arts Primitifs dans les ateliers d'artistes. Exhibition catalog. Introductory texts by Gaëtan Picon and Jean Laude. Musée de l'Homme, Paris, 1967, pl. 41.
- 208) Pierre Loeb, "Une main" in Voyages à travers la peinture. Paris: Bordas, pp. 29-30, "Je ne m'en serais jamais séparé, mais Picasso la vit et la désira."
- 209) Ibid. p. 30
- 210) 40,000 Years of Modern Art: A Comparison of Primitive and Modern Art. The Institute of Contemporary Arts, London, 1949.

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- 211) Letter to William Rubin from Roland Penrose, 30 September 1982.
- 212) This is the "Temes Malau" or "Megapode Spirit." The mask, the top part of which is missing in the Matisse/Picasso example, is normally some eight feet high. For a sketch of a complete mask, see T. Harrison, Savage Civilization, New York, 1937 p. 340 (my gratitude to Douglas Newton for this reference).