

TORONTO PUBLIC LIBRARY

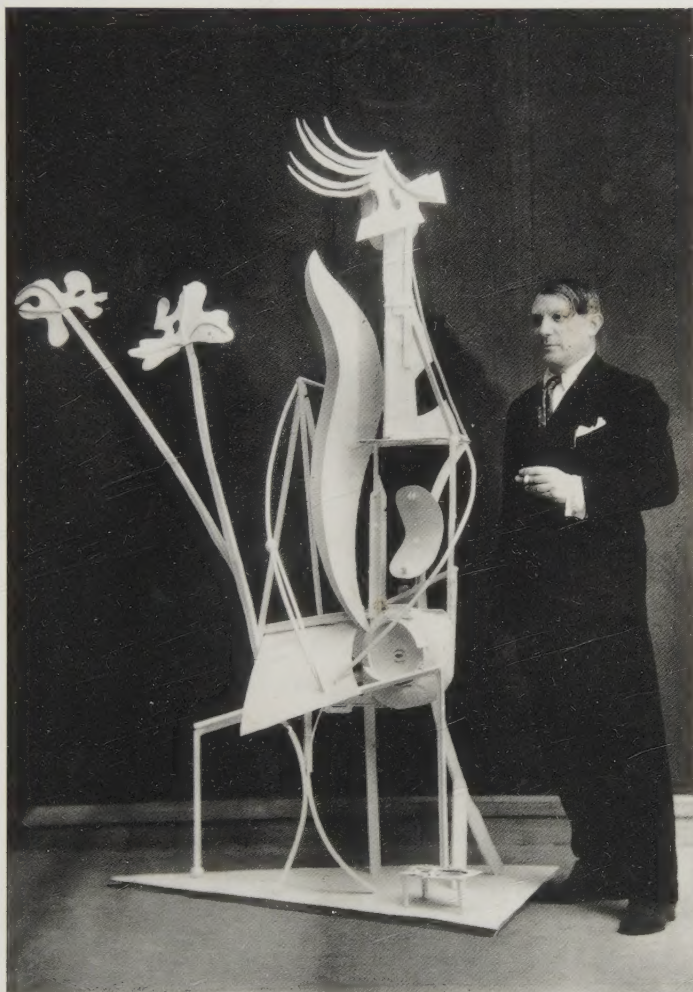


37131 121 557 060

CL NY Central

ched study."—*Times Literary Supplement*

Picasso & Apollinaire



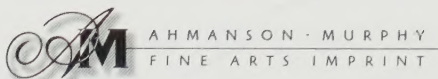
The Persistence of Memory

PETER READ

WITHDRAWN



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2022 with funding from
Kahle/Austin Foundation



THE AHMANSON FOUNDATION

has endowed this imprint
to honor the memory of

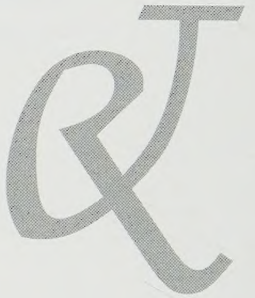
FRANKLIN D. MURPHY

who for half a century
served arts and letters,
beauty and learning, in
equal measure by shaping
with a brilliant devotion
those institutions upon
which they rely.

The publisher gratefully acknowledges the generous contribution to this book provided by the Art Endowment Fund of the University of California Press Foundation, which is supported by a major gift from the Ahmanson Foundation.

Publié avec le concours du Ministère français chargé de la culture, Centre national du livre. Published with the assistance of the French Ministry of Culture's National Center for the Book.

PICASSO AND APOLLINAIRE

Picasso & 

PETER READ

Apollinaire

The Persistence of Memory



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS | Berkeley Los Angeles London

University of California Press, one of the most distinguished university presses in the United States, enriches lives around the world by advancing scholarship in the humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences. Its activities are supported by the UC Press Foundation and by philanthropic contributions from individuals and institutions. For more information, visit www.ucpress.edu.

University of California Press
Berkeley and Los Angeles, California

University of California Press, Ltd.
London, England

English translation © 2008 by The Regents of the University of California

Published in an earlier version as *Picasso et Apollinaire: Les Métamorphoses de la mémoire 1905/1973*. Translated and published here by arrangement with Éditions Jean-Michel Place.

© Éditions Jean-Michel Place, 1995

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Read, Peter (Peter F.)

[Picasso et Apollinaire. English]

Picasso and Apollinaire : the persistence of memory/Peter Read.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN: 978-0-520-24361-3 (cloth : alk. paper)

1. Picasso, Pablo, 1881-1973—Friends and associates. 2. Picasso, Pablo, 1881-1973—Relations with authors. 3. Apollinaire, Guillaume, 1880-1918—Friends and associates. 4. Apollinaire, Guillaume, 1880-1918—Relations with artists. 5. Art and literature. I. Title.

N6853.P5R4313 2008

709.2—dc22

[B]

2007032938

Manufactured in Canada

17 16 15 14 13 12 11 10 09 08
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992 (R 1997) (*Permanence of Paper*).

For Chloé, Dylan, and Emma

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments	• ix
List of Abbreviations	• xi
List of Illustrations	• xiii
Introduction	• 1

PART I

1	First Encounters	• 7
2	Inside the Bateau Lavoir	• 11
3	Circuses and Saltimbanques	• 18
4	Apollinaire's Collection of Works by Picasso	• 25
5	From Caricature to Cubism: Picasso's Portraits of Apollinaire	• 30
6	From Blaise Pascal to Fantômas: A Shared Literary Landscape	• 39
7	Outside the Academy: From Douanier Rousseau to Tribal Art	• 46
8	<i>The Bestiary</i> , Drawings and Poems	• 53
9	The Iberian Statues Affair, 1907–1912	• 59
10	Apollinaire Writing on Picasso in 1905	• 68
11	Apollinaire at the Birth of Cubism: <i>Les Demoiselles d'Avignon</i>	• 73
12	Writing on Picasso after 1910	• 79

13	Picasso in Apollinaire's Fiction	• 90
14	Art and Poetry in Dialogue	• 97
15	Picasso's Frontispiece for <i>Alcools</i>	• 105
16	The Great War	• 110
17	The First Matisse and Picasso Exhibition: The Orange and the Pearl	• 120
18	The Final Months: Picasso and Apollinaire in 1918	• 129

PART II

19	Campaigning for a Tomb	• 139
20	Scandalous Sculptures: Rodin, Epstein, and Picasso	• 144
21	Commemorative Paintings and the Apollinaire Auction	• 147
22	Picasso and Surrealism	• 154
23	Androgynous Bathers and <i>Metamorphosis</i>	• 160
24	Drawings in Space: The Wire Maquettes	• 167
25	Welded Metal Monuments: <i>Head of a Man</i> and <i>Head of a Woman</i>	• 180
26	<i>Woman in a Garden</i>	• 189
27	The Phantom Tomb	• 201

PART III

28	November 1948: <i>The Kitchen</i>	• 209
29	From Brancusi to Matisse: New Commemorative Projects	• 217
30	<i>Head of Dora Maar</i> : An Apollinaire Monument for Saint-Germain-des-Près	• 226
31	Monumental Sculptures, Large Scale and Lost	• 244

Conclusion	• 249
------------	-------

Notes	• 253
-------	-------

Selected Bibliography	• 297
-----------------------	-------

Index	• 307
-------	-------

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The idea for this book grew out of discussions with Michel Décaudin, who was an irreplaceable source of moral support, advice, and hospitality.

Hélène Klein, since our first meeting at Musée Picasso in 1987, has been unfailingly generous, providing practical help, sharing her professional expertise, and directing me toward other essential contacts and sources of information.

Anne Baldassari's support and help have been invaluable. I am indebted to her colleagues, past and present, at the Musée Picasso, including Jeanne Sudour, who has so often provided documentary assistance, and also Marie-Laure Bernadac, Laurence Berthon, Anna Cajal, Pierrot Eugène, Sylvie Fresnault, and Colette Giraudon. I am also hugely grateful to Brigitte Léal at the Musée national d'art moderne.

For all their help and advice while I was researching and writing this book, I am very grateful to Arlette Albert-Birot, Brigitte Baer, Marie-Odette Barbier, Claude Blaizot, Willard Bohn, Gilbert Boudar, Elisa Breton, Pierre Caizergues, Laurence Campa, Jacques Chaize, François Chapon, Cécile Colladont, Marie-Noëlle Delorme, Emile and Paule Gallien, Marie-Odile Germain, Beth Gersch-Nesic, Jacqueline Gojard, Yves Grandfils, Wanda de Guébriant, Etienne-Alain Hubert, Florence de Lussy, Marilyn McCully, Alain Mercier, Jim Page, Bernard Poissonnier, Lionel Prejger, Michael Raeburn, Patricia Railing, Alban and Madeleine Roussot, Robin Spencer, Marielle Tabart, Ornella Volta, and, in New York, Alicia Legg, Clive Phillpot, and William Rubin.

My thanks to all friends and colleagues in Apollinaire studies, and to Claude Debon, Daniel Delbreil, and colleagues in the Department of French Literature and Linguistics at the University of Paris III, where my semesters as visiting lecturer greatly facilitated my research. I am similarly indebted to colleagues at the University of St. Andrews and the University of Kent, who covered for me during research leave.

My thanks to Jean-Michel Place for his faith in this project as it was first conceived, to

Elizabeth Cowling for crucial backing and encouragement, and to Stephanie Fay, of University of California Press, and Jack Flam, who have allowed me to complete and publish this book. Thanks also to Eric Schmidt for his editorial advice and assistance.

Ouvrage publié avec le concours du Ministère français chargé de culture–Centre national du livre. / This book was published with the assistance of the French Ministry of Culture's National Center of the Book.

This project was supported by the Research Leave Scheme of the United Kingdom Arts and Humanities Research Council.



Arts & Humanities
Research Council

ABBREVIATIONS

AB	André Billy Archive, Bibliothèque municipale, Fontainebleau
AP	Archives Picasso, Musée Picasso, Paris
BNF	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
MoMA	Museum of Modern Art, New York
MP	Musée Picasso, Paris
OC	Apollinaire, <i>Oeuvres complètes</i> , 4 vols., ed. Michel Décaudin, iconography by Pierre-Marcel Adéma (Paris: Balland et Lecat, 1966).
PAC	Picasso and Apollinaire, <i>Correspondance</i> , ed. Pierre Caizergues and Hélène Seckel (Paris: Gallimard/RMN, 1992).
Po	Apollinaire, <i>Oeuvres poétiques</i> , ed. Michel Décaudin and Pierre-Michel Adéma, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade (Paris: Gallimard, 1965).
Pr	Apollinaire, <i>Oeuvres en prose</i> , vol. 1, ed. Michel Décaudin, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade (Paris: Gallimard, 1977); vols. 2 and 3, ed. Michel Décaudin and Pierre Caizergues, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade (Paris: Gallimard, 1991, 1993).
RMN	Réunion des musées nationaux, Paris.
Sp	Werner Spies, <i>Picasso: The Sculptures. Catalogue Raisonné of the Sculptures</i> (Stuttgart: Hatje Cantz, 2000).
Z	Christian Zervos, <i>Pablo Picasso</i> , 33 vols. (Paris: Editions des Cahiers d'art, 1932–78).

FOR WORKS IN MUSÉE PICASSO, PARIS, SEE:

Brigitte Léal, *Musée Picasso: Carnets. Catalogue des dessins*, vols. 1 and 2 (Paris: RMN, 1996).
 Dominique Bozo, Marie-Laure Bernadac, Michèle Richet, and Hélène Seckel, *Musée Picasso:*

- Catalogue of the Collections*, vol. 1, *Paintings, Papiers Collés, Picture Reliefs, Sculptures, Ceramics* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986).
- Gérard Régner, Marie-Laure Bernadac, Brigitte Léal, and Hélène Seckel, *Picasso: Une Nouvelle Dation* (Paris: RMN, 1990).
- Michèle Richet, *Musée Picasso: Catalogue of the Collections*, vol. 2, *Drawings, Watercolours, Gouaches, Pastels* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988).

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Picasso in Montmartre, 1904 6
2. Apollinaire in 1905 6
3. Charles-Jean Coussedière, *Théâtre de Montmartre*, 1903 14
4. Picasso, *Family of Saltimbanques*, 1905 21
5. Picasso, *The Embrace*, 1905 26
6. Picasso, *Self-Portrait*, 1903 27
7. Picasso, *Exposition de quelques cons*, 1905 28
8. Picasso, *Apollinaire as a Coffeepot*, 1905 31
9. Picasso, *Apollinaire at the Stock Exchange*, 1905 31
10. Picasso, *Harlequin with Caricatures of Apollinaire*, 1905 31
11. Picasso, *Caricature of Guillaume Apollinaire as an Academician*, 1905 32
12. Picasso, *Druidic Figure with Caricature of Apollinaire and Mythical Beasts*, 1905 32
13. Picasso, *Head (Guillaume Apollinaire)*, 1908 36
14. Picasso, *Apollinaire Photographed in the Artist's Studio, boulevard de Clichy*, 1910 37
15. Picasso, *Guillaume Apollinaire Photographed in the Artist's Studio at 11 boulevard de Clichy, Paris, Fall 1910, 1910* 38
16. Picasso, *Don Quixote*, postcard to Apollinaire, 1907 43
17. Pierre Souvestre and Marcel Allain, *Fantômas* 44
18. Nick Carter: *The Great American Detective* 45
19. Henri Rousseau, *Portrait of a Woman*, 1895 47
20. Giorgio de Chirico, *La Grande Place mystérieuse*, 1913-14 50
21. Yombe nail fetish, twentieth century 52

22. Picasso, *Various Animals*, 1907 56
23. Henri Frick, *Géry Pieret Imitating a Dwarf*, ca. 1904 60
24. *Head of a Woman*, Iberian sculpture, fifth to third centuries BC (stolen from the Louvre by Pieret in 1907) 60
25. *Head of a Man*, Iberian sculpture, fifth to third centuries BC (stolen from the Louvre by Pieret in 1907) 61
26. Picasso, *Young Acrobat on a Ball*, 1905 71
27. Picasso, *Head and Shoulders of a Woman*, 1906–7 74
28. Picasso, *Head and Shoulders of a Sailor*, 1906–7 75
29. Picasso, *Still Life with Chair Caning*, 1912 84
30. “The Benin Bird,” Dahomey, nineteenth century 91
31. Marie Laurencin, *Guillaume Apollinaire and His Friends (Meeting in the Countryside)*, 1909 94
32. Picasso, *Hurdy-Gurdy Man and Young Harlequin*, 1905 100
33. Apollinaire, “Pablo Picasso,” 1917 101
34. Picasso, *Bottle on a Table*, 1912 103
35. Picasso, *Portrait of Guillaume Apollinaire* (frontispiece for *Alcools*), 1912–13 106
36. Picasso, *Apollinaire in the Artillery*, 1914 112
37. Apollinaire, *Les Oiseaux chantent avec les doigts*, 1916 114
38. Picasso, *Portrait of Guillaume Apollinaire with a Bandaged Head*, 1916 115
39. Actors in *The Breasts of Tiresias*, 1917 118
40. Jean Chaize 124
41. Jean Chaize, letter to Louis Chaize, 1918 125
42. Jean Chaize, drawing from Matisse-Picasso exhibition, 1918 126
43. Picasso, *Head of a Woman*, 1908 127
44. Picasso, *Fan, Salt Box, Melon*, 1909 127
45. Picasso, *Man with a Guitar*, 1918 130
46. Picasso, *Self-Portrait*, 1918 136
47. Jacob Epstein, *Tomb of Oscar Wilde*, 1912 146
48. Picasso, *Three Musicians*, 1921 148
49. Picasso, *Reading the Letter*, 1921 148
50. Picasso, drawing, 1927 161
51. Picasso, drawing, 1927 161
52. Picasso, drawing, 1927 161
53. Picasso, *Metamorphosis I*, bronze, 1928 163
54. Picasso, drawing, 1928 164

55. Picasso, drawing, 1928 164
56. Picasso, drawing, 1928 164
57. Picasso, *Head*, 1928 170
58. Picasso, *Figure*, 1928 (MP 264) 172
59. Picasso, *Figure*, 1928 (MP 265) 172
60. Picasso, *Figure*, 1928 (MP 266) 172
61. Picasso, drawing, 1928 174
62. Picasso, drawing, 1928 174
63. Picasso, drawing, 1924 175
64. Picasso, drawing, 1927 175
65. Picasso, *Head of a Man*, 1930 181
66. Picasso, *Study for "Head of a Man,"* 1930 182
67. Picasso, *Study for "Head of a Man,"* 1930 182
68. Picasso, *Study for "Head of a Man,"* 1930 182
69. Picasso, *Head of a Woman*, 1929–30 184
70. Picasso, drawing, 1928 187
71. Picasso, drawing, 1927 188
72. Picasso and *Woman in a Garden*, iron, 1930 190
73. Picasso, drawing, 1928 192
74. Picasso, drawings, 1929 193
75. Picasso, *Woman in a Garden*, bronze, 1931–32 198
76. Serge Férat, tomb of Guillaume Apollinaire, 1935 203
77. Picasso, *The Kitchen*, 1948 212
78. Picasso, *The Kitchen*, 1948 (MP 200) 213
79. Picasso, *Head of Dora Maar*, plaster, 1941 228
80. Picasso, drawings, 1955 229
81. Invitation card for Apollinaire monument ceremony, Paris, 5 June 1959 231
82. Cocteau, Jacqueline Apollinaire, André Salmon, and André Billy at Apollinaire monument ceremony 234
83. Jean Mollet at the ceremony 234
84. Jean Mollet at the ceremony 235
85. Jean Cocteau and André Salmon at the ceremony 235
86. Jean Cocteau and André Salmon at the ceremony 236
87. Jacqueline Apollinaire and Jean Cocteau at the ceremony 236
88. André Salmon at the ceremony 236
89. Jeanne and Gino Severini at the ceremony 236

90. Gabrielle Buffet-Picabia, Tristan Tzara, and Sonia Delaunay at the ceremony 237
91. Gabrielle Buffet-Picabia, Juliette Roche-Gleizes, and Tristan Tzara
at the ceremony 237
92. Attendees at the ceremony 238
93. Jean Cocteau and Youki Desnos at the ceremony 238
94. Marianne Van Hirtum, Radovan Ivsic, André Breton, Jean-Jacques Lebel, and Elisa
Breton, outside the ceremony, refusing to join it 239
95. Marianne Van Hirtum, Radovan Ivsic, André Breton, Jean-Claude Silbermann, and
Elisa Breton, outside the ceremony 239
96. Jean Cocteau, drawing on back of invitation card for Apollinaire monument
ceremony 241
97. Jean Cocteau, text on back of invitation card for Apollinaire monument ceremony 242
98. Picasso, *Monument for Apollinaire (Head of Dora Maar)* 242

INTRODUCTION

From their first encounter, Pablo Picasso and Guillaume Apollinaire established a creative dialogue that fostered and inspired some of their finest art and poetry. They were united in mutual respect, intellectual agreement, and a shared sense of humor. This book documents and explores their working relationship from 1905 until the poet's death in 1918. It then tracks the continuing impact of Apollinaire's legacy on Picasso's life and work, showing how, across subsequent decades, a long series of extraordinary drawings, paintings, and sculptures is directly related to Picasso's understanding of the poet's ambitions and achievements. This topic allows access to all areas of Apollinaire's writing and opens unexpected pathways through the whole of Picasso's output.

The pen and the paintbrush speak different languages, and neither depends on the other. Apollinaire and Picasso each made such a distinctive contribution to twentieth-century culture that any attempt to define their relationship in terms of reciprocal influence would be problematic. Nevertheless, Picasso, Apollinaire, and astute observers such as Maurice Raynal all asserted that during the formative years of Cubism there was a definite sense of intergeneric interplay between Picasso and the poets who were close to him, particularly Apollinaire. Creative complicity was facilitated by their shared attitudes and aspirations.

Both Picasso and Apollinaire uninhibitedly exploited all available stylistic resources, from classical to avant-garde, and for both of them every new work was a fresh adventure. "Canons are to my mind useful only in the artillery," wrote Apollinaire,¹ and both he and Picasso had a libertarian streak that made them allergic to conventions, cliques, and labels. When it came to freedom of expression, both men were combative and uncompromising. Apollinaire, for his part, tirelessly defended Picasso and other young artists to an often skeptical audience, and when he returned to Paris in 1916, after being wounded in the trenches, he openly campaigned for artistic freedom in a climate of aesthetic nor-

malization and conformity. Picasso, for his part, wryly said to Matisse in 1914, “We’ve already been in the trenches for ages,”² referring to the constant critical flak they had both come to expect. Picasso joined the French Communist Party after the Second World War and produced notorious tributes to Stalin, but his art remained beyond party control. Perennially independent, Picasso and Apollinaire both subverted established cultural hierarchies and sought inspiration beyond the confines of established academic values in art and literature. Both were closely attuned to the expressive and spiritual power of African and other tribal arts, appreciated the exciting vitality of contemporary popular culture, and championed unconventional figures such as Douanier Rousseau. They were equally gifted caricaturists, graphic and literary, and they both loved puns and rhymes, visual and textual. They both persistently recycled material from old notebooks and sketchbooks and used cut-and-paste and collage techniques. Never slaves to theory, they developed their works through the practical process of making and shaping. Picasso often defined the complex, matching, polysemic patterns in his work as a kind of poetry, while Apollinaire was acutely attentive to the visual appearance of his verse and before the war planned to publish a volume of picture-poems with a title borrowed from Correggio, *And I Too Am a Painter*. Picasso famously said, “Why do you think I date everything I make? Because it is not enough to know an artist’s works. One must also know when he made them, why, how, under what circumstances.”³ Apollinaire similarly wrote, “Each of my poems commemorates an event from my life” (OC 4, p. 768). Such comments have been used to legitimate biographical interpretations of art and literature. For both Picasso and Apollinaire, observation and experience were certainly pretexts, or points of departure, for every creative act. *Commémorate* does not, however, mean “describe.” Picasso’s art and Apollinaire’s writing imaginatively transpose and adapt events or situations so that personal concerns acquire universal resonance and the play of language, line, color, and composition ultimately determines the finished product.

All chapters in this book are freestanding but also linked by a strong narrative thread. A pattern of systole and diastole reflects the shifting focus between, on the one hand, critical analysis of the creative process and of specific works of art and literature and, on the other hand, the broader narratives of relevant events and their evolving historical context.

The book is divided into three chronological sections. The opening section casts new light on the first encounters between Picasso and Apollinaire, discusses the role of literature in Picasso’s subsequent evolution, and shows how his polymorphous portraits of Apollinaire served as preparatory exercises for the birth of Cubism. Picasso’s 1907 drawings for Apollinaire’s *Bestiary* poems are similarly discussed in the context of his preparatory work on *Les Femmes d’Alger*. Picasso inspired some of Apollinaire’s most beautiful and daring poetry and fiction and is pervasively present in his writing on art. With a shock of recognition, Apollinaire initially viewed Picasso’s paintings as a reflection of his own inner universe and shifting identity. We will see how, maturing as a critic, he went on to promote Picasso as the greatest artist of the age but also defined the essential principles of Cubism and identified every significant stage along the artist’s trajectory.

Apollinaire's extensive collection of works by Picasso is here fully explored, with new documentation, and new light is similarly cast on the tragicomic court case in which Picasso and Apollinaire were both involved in 1911. New research also contributes to discussion of the first-ever Matisse and Picasso exhibition, in January 1918, which controversially used multimedia marketing techniques to promote contemporary art. Apollinaire's involvement in that event brings to the fore his fluctuating relationship with Matisse, an underlying leitmotif in this book, revealing a triangular pattern of communication and conflict between the poet, Matisse, and Picasso.

The first section of the book closes with events surrounding Apollinaire's death, in November 1918, showing how Picasso's immediate response was to draw a self-portrait, imperiously using every line to corral emotion and outface mortality. Thoughts of Apollinaire link this 1918 drawing to a long series of later works, many of them produced during the anniversary month of November, that vary from neoclassical portraits to near-abstract paintings.

The second section of the book covers the interwar years and is dominated by Picasso's involvement in plans to design a monument for Apollinaire's tomb in Père Lachaise cemetery. The project was funded by a charity auction at the Hôtel Drouot, to which Picasso, Matisse, and many other artists generously contributed substantial works. Picasso's evolving response to the tomb project culminated, between 1928 and 1932, in the production of a pneumatic, androgynous nude figure and then a series of extraordinary welded metal sculptures. Picasso combined the principles of Cubist perspective and collage with industrial manufacturing techniques and materials to produce open-work constructions that flouted the established conventions of monumental sculpture. They were utterly incomprehensible to the Apollinaire Committee, but Picasso's work was driven by its own imperatives, guided by plans established in his sketchbooks. This section presents and discusses the development and manufacture of the main works produced during this pivotal phase, concluding with the fearsome *Woman in a Garden*, made in iron, then replicated in bronze, designed to stand guard over the poet's grave.

The final section of the book enters the early years of the Cold War, when art and politics were inextricably enmeshed. After discussion of Picasso's enigmatic, monumental painting *The Kitchen*, which commemorated the thirtieth anniversary of Apollinaire's death, subsequent chapters again draw on archive documents to follow Picasso's cagey involvement in a government-backed project to raise a monument to Apollinaire in Saint-Germain-des-Prés. Brancusi, Ossip Zadkine, Matisse, and other artists had walk-on parts in this saga, which culminated in June 1959, when Jacqueline Apollinaire and Jean Cocteau unveiled the impressive bronze sculpture that Picasso had given to celebrate and commemorate Apollinaire.

In preparing this study, I have consulted archival materials, mainly in France and the United Kingdom, including the papers of Picasso, Serge Féral, and André Billy. I present here for the first time revealing and often entertaining letters and manuscripts from Apollinaire's private papers. Auction catalogs, notably from sales of the Apollinaire estate, pro-

vide new information on paintings, drawings, prints, manuscripts, and other rare items. I often cite press articles, interviews, and published memoirs, with the proviso that the objective accuracy of such sources is never guaranteed.

Other documents used here include all the letters to Picasso from his Catalan friend Julio González, whose metalworking skills and equipment allowed completion of the 1928–32 monuments. Their working relationship and procedures are here fully clarified. The published correspondence between Picasso and Apollinaire is another essential asset.⁴ These messages (113 from Picasso and 50 from Apollinaire) discuss the two friends' travels, food and cooking, relationships, and important artistic and literary issues and projects. There was sometimes friction between them, partly because they were both workaholics, with priorities that were liable to clash. Their relationship was frank and resilient, however; their letters are funny, affectionate, and sometimes sad, and Picasso often included brilliant drawings.

This book sets out to fill historical gaps and, on some issues, to set the record straight, with chapter-and-verse support from primary sources. Another underlying intention is to combine new research with material that is unavailable in English and to bring together relevant research scattered in specialist publications. This includes my own recent publications in French on both Picasso and Apollinaire but also incorporates work by other scholars, mainly French, British, and American. My template is *Picasso et Apollinaire: Les Métamorphoses de la mémoire*, a book I published in France in 1995, which is here revised, developed, and updated. I am indebted to pioneering studies on Picasso's sculptures and the Apollinaire monument by Werner Spies, Michael Fitzgerald, and Christa Lichtenstern.⁵ Essential recent publications include Brigitte Léal's catalog of Picasso's sketchbooks (1996), Elizabeth Cowling's exemplary *Picasso: Style and Meaning* (2002) and her edition of Roland Penrose's notebooks (2006), and John Richardson's ongoing Picasso biography.⁶ Indispensable material has also been provided by exhibitions and their catalogs, including *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* (1988), *Picasso and Braque: Pioneering Cubism* (1989), *Picasso: Sculptor/Painter* (1994), *Picasso photographe: 1901–1916* (1994), *Max Jacob et Picasso* (1994), *Picasso and Portraiture* (1996), *Picasso: The Early Years* (1997), *Matisse/Picasso* (2002), *Les Archives de Picasso* (2003), and *The Surrealist Picasso* (2005).⁷

Most of Apollinaire's writing has now been published in French, in the four volumes of the canonical "Pléiade" edition, though some important texts, including poems, correspondence, and one of his journals, have appeared separately, with various publishers. I call on the whole range of Apollinaire's writing and, as much of it remains untranslated, I have chosen, in the interests of consistency and accuracy, to work only with his original texts in French, providing my own translations.

Part I



1. *Pablo Picasso in Montmartre, place Ravignan, about 1904, 1904.* Musée Picasso, Paris, France. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Photo courtesy of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.



2. *Apollinaire in 1905.* Photo by Edmond-Marie Poullain. Private collection.

First Encounters

IN APRIL 1904 Picasso moved into a studio left vacant by his compatriot Paco Durio at 13 rue Ravignan, in Montmartre (fig. 1). Overlooking a shady square, the wooden building had neither gas nor electricity. Because it was creaky as a laundry barge, it was known as the Bateau Lavoir. Picasso had recently returned to Paris from Barcelona, and most of his Paris friends were Spanish expatriates, all drawn to Paris by the prospect of artistic renewal and freedom. As Picasso himself put it, "If Cézanne had been working in Spain, he would have been burned at the stake."¹ The year 1905 would be crucial for him. The stark chromatic contrasts and compositional dynamism of his 1900 *Moulin de la Galette*, a painting that sizzles with sexy, nocturnal excitement, gave way in late 1901 to a drawn-out period of Symbolist melancholy that began with the suicide of Carlos Casagemas but was also inspired by Théophile Steinlen's blue palette. One denizen of the Bateau Lavoir, Henri Mahaut, rightly viewed the Blue period as suggesting "Spain and something of El Greco. A thin, poverty-stricken, suffering, and gothic Spain."² In 1905, however, Picasso's palette started to warm and diversify, and he developed a new iconography that spoke of family, community, and artistic prowess, though on the edges of mainstream society. The transition partly reflected a change in his personal circumstances as he extended his network of French friends and met Fernande Olivier, his companion for the next seven years. In the spring of 1905, moreover, Picasso was included in a major exhibition and, once again, after a period of low public profile, signs of critical recognition appeared. Picasso had found an ally and spokesman in the poet Guillaume Apollinaire.

Apollinaire and Picasso became friends early in 1905 (fig. 2). Apollinaire discovered Picasso's work at Berthe Weill's gallery on rue Victor Massé, at an exhibition that ran from 24 October to 20 November 1904. Picasso showed over a dozen works, alongside Dufy, Francis Picabia, and others. Apollinaire had a copy of the catalog and noted Picasso's rue Ravignan address on the cover.³ They may have met then, but Picasso himself and other

firsthand accounts consistently suggest otherwise. Jean Mollet always maintained that he was responsible for bringing them together. He was a literary factotum and go-between, dubbed Baron Mollet by Apollinaire. He first met Picasso through the sculptor Manolo, at their local bar, the *Lapin Agile*.⁴ He met Apollinaire in 1903 at the literary evenings run by the magazine *La Plume* in the cellar of the *Soleil d'or*, a boulevard Saint-Michel café where fin-de-siècle Symbolists mingled with young hopefuls, anyone could recite a new poem, and there was music and dancing, including the cakewalk. This was where Apollinaire broke into the Paris literary scene and made friends with budding poets like André Salmon and with charismatic, antiestablishment figures such as Alfred Jarry and Mécislas Golberg.

Apollinaire scraped a living in clerical jobs until he escaped for a year as tutor to the young daughter of an aristocratic patron in Germany. Back in Paris, he worked in a bank and then, in 1904, for an investor's chronicle, *Le Guide du rentier* (*The Shareholder's Guide, Monitor of Little Capitalists*). In September 1905 he moved to a post at the Chateaufort and Poitevin Bank, on rue de la Chaussée d'Antin. After work, the reluctant clerk met his friends, including Jarry, at Austin's Railway Restaurant Hotel and Bar, 26 rue d'Amsterdam, near the Saint Lazare railway station. Run by C. J. Fox, known as "Austin's Fox," it was one of the English-style hostelries that J.-K. Huysmans had made famous in his decadent novel *Against Nature*. The bar became a headquarters for *La Revue immoraliste*, Apollinaire's small-press periodical, whose only issue, in April 1905, contained his first article on Picasso. Saint Lazare was then the terminus for the cross-Channel boat train, and the area's charm was increased for Apollinaire by his unrequited love for Annie Playden, English nanny in the family where he had been tutor. He visited her twice in London, but she emigrated to America, unaware that she would inspire some of his greatest poems.

"That is where I took Picasso one day to introduce him to Apollinaire," recalled Mollet, adding that "Picasso then brought Max Jacob along."⁵ Picasso would himself confirm Mollet's story: "It was through him that I got to know Guillaume Apollinaire. . . . He took me to a bar near the gare Saint-Lazare one day—Austin's, on rue d'Amsterdam—where the poet was a regular. And it was in that same bar that I in turn introduced Max Jacob to Guillaume Apollinaire. Mollet is a regular marriage broker. He loves to make matches."⁶

Max Jacob, who had known Picasso since 1901, gave his side of the story:

One morning when I came over as usual from my room on boulevard Barbès, Picasso, whom I hadn't seen the night before, told me he had spent the evening in a bar on rue d'Amsterdam with an amazing man, Guillaume Apollinaire, and that he would introduce me to him to that very evening. So I got to see Guillaume Apollinaire, who was an impressive figure. He was sitting on a leather bench, surrounded by a thousand little books that he produced from all directions, and by a group of rather vulgar people. He reached out to shake my hand and from that moment began a triple friendship that lasted until Apollinaire died. That was in 1905.⁷

Salmon recalled that when Manolo first took him to Picasso's studio, they arrived as the bells of St. John the Baptist Church, on the nearby place des Abbesses, struck 11:00 P.M. Salmon added that he met Max Jacob there the next day and that "Guillaume Apollinaire had become friends with Picasso a week earlier, in a bar near Saint-Lazare." He also recalled the first postcard he had received from Max, co-signed by his "brand new" friend Picasso, inviting him to an exhibition.⁸ The card itself was published in 1989, and the invitation, added as a postscript, read: "Picasso exhibition—Monday at 2.30 P.M. precisely." The card is marked "Urgent," and the incomplete postmark reads "02.05."⁹ That February 1905 postmark indicates that their meeting was to take place at the Picasso, Trachsel, and Girardin exhibition at the Serrurier Gallery, 37 boulevard Haussmann, which ran from Saturday, 25 February, to 6 March 1905. Salmon was therefore being invited for 2.30 P.M. on Monday, 27 February, meaning he first met Picasso and Max in late February. This allows us to place the Apollinaire and Picasso meeting a week earlier than that, around mid-February 1905.

Other evidence includes a sketchpad Picasso used early in 1905, in which he wrote Maurice Raynal's name and Montparnasse address and the words *Salmon, revue immoraliste*, and *Mollet* (Picasso Succession, Sketchbook 024, p. 8), and Apollinaire's diary for the first four months of 1905, in which he jotted various bibliographical and contact details. On the page for 1 March, Picasso wrote Max Jacob's name and address, and Max wrote Picasso's.¹⁰ The published correspondence between Picasso and Apollinaire began a few weeks later with a letter from the poet on 29 April 1905 (*PAC*, p. 29). Two long trajectories, beginning in Rome (Apollinaire) and in Malaga (Picasso) thus led, via Monaco and Barcelona, to this meeting in an English bar in an area known as the *quartier de l'Europe*, in the continent's cultural capital, in February 1905.

Apollinaire had already explored much of Europe between Rome, London, and Prague, had developed extensive literary and journalistic contacts, and was friendly with several young artists, including Derain and Vlaminck. He had begun writing poetry at the age of twelve, encouraged by his classics teacher.¹¹ He published his first poems in September 1901 in *La Grande France* and went on to write poetry, short stories, and articles on German art for leading cultural periodicals, notably *La Plume* and *La Revue blanche*. His own magazine, *Le Festin d'Esope*, had run for nine issues, from November 1903 to August 1904; he had edited for a time a libertarian newspaper called *Tabarin* while its editor was in prison; and in early 1905 he was preparing his new periodical, *La Revue immoraliste*, which died and was reborn as the less provocatively titled *Lettres modernes*. By 1905, Apollinaire had already written many of the poems for *Alcools*, the collection that would ensure his status among the greatest twentieth-century poets.

Picasso, for his part, had traveled round Spain, had taken an active role in the life of the artistic cabaret Els Quatre Gats, in Barcelona, and in 1901 had founded, with the Catalan writer Francisco de Asís Soler, the periodical *Arte Joven*. He had exhibited about 150 drawings at the Quatre Gats in February 1900 and pastel drawings at Sala Parè in Barcelona in June 1901. His French career had begun auspiciously with a visit to Paris in

1900 to see his painting *Last Moments* included in the Spanish section of that year's Universal Exhibition. In 1901, Picasso was involved in at least three exhibitions in France. Three of his works appeared in a show organized by the periodical *Art et littérature* at La Bodinière Gallery, on rue Saint-Lazare (17–30 June), and an expanded version of that exhibition, including nine of his works, then moved to the Villa Désiré in Dinard, in Brittany (19 August–30 September).¹² That summer he exhibited at least sixty-four paintings and a group of drawings at the important Ambroise Vollard Gallery, not far from La Bodinière, in rue Laffitte (25 June–14 July). In 1902 and 1904 Berthe Weill's gallery also displayed his work, and he took a large share of the mixed exhibition at the Serrurier Gallery in Paris from February to March 1905. Apollinaire's poetic articles on Picasso's part in this last show sealed their friendship.

By 1905, after a period of miserable poverty, Picasso had established enough allies, among a small coterie of critics, dealers, and collectors, to paint and survive. From the spring of 1906, when Vollard bought about twenty of his Rose period works for 2,000 gold francs, he was making a good living. In August 1907 Vollard took a second delivery of work, this time for 2,500 francs: Picasso would never again be short of funds. For Apollinaire, however, there was little money in poetry and freelance journalism, so he continued with his bank job until 1908 and was usually hard up. Until April 1907 his official address was at his mother's rented house in Le Vésinet, west of Paris, where he sometimes took Picasso and Fernande for lunch. Apparently, however, "he only turned up there from time to time, to change his shirt, and stayed most nights at a hotel on rue d'Amsterdam."¹³ Apollinaire had his room at Austin's, but he also slept at friends' places, including the Bateau Lavoir, and sometimes stayed out all night.

In early 1905, aged twenty-three and twenty-four, Picasso and Apollinaire were immigrants, poor, and hugely ambitious. In their different fields, they were both resolutely determined to redefine beauty and shape it to their will. Max Jacob always recalled Austin's café as the point of departure for that shared adventure: "All three of us stepped outside and began a life of triple friendship that lasted up until about the war, in which we separated neither for work, nor for eating, nor for pleasure."¹⁴

Inside the Bateau Lavoir

PICASSO DID NOT share Apollinaire's passion for urban peregrination, so once the poet had entered the Bateau Lavoir, that became the site of their daily meetings. Indeed, if Apollinaire failed to turn up, Picasso chided him, as in his note of 12 September 1906: "Dear Guillaume, We're wondering where you are. Are you by any chance in Poland? Or convalescing in Vésinet? Picasso the painter and your friend" (*PAC*, p. 58). The tone typifies the good chemistry between them, and Picasso uses the intimate *tu* form of address; later he told Christian Zervos that they had immediately spoken to each other in that way, as if they had known each other for years.¹

Apollinaire recounted his impressions of Picasso and the Bateau Lavoir in newspaper articles, such as "The Beginnings of Cubism," in *Le Temps*, 14 October 1912: "He was living in that strange wooden house on rue Ravignan, inhabited by so many artists who to-day are already, or are about to become, famous. I knew him there in 1905. His renown did not then reach beyond the slopes of Montmartre. His blue electrician's jacket, his sometimes cruel turns of phrase, and the strangeness of his art were well known all over Montmartre. His studio, filled with canvases representing mystical harlequins and drawings underfoot, which anyone could take, was the meeting place for all the young artists and all the young poets" (*Pr* 2, pp. 1514–15).

Picasso soon found himself in a tight-knit group of friends, including Apollinaire, Salmon, and Max Jacob, around whom gravitated various lesser lights, most of them involved in Apollinaire's *Festin d'Esope*. They included Baron Mollet; Maurice Cremnitz, a poet and minor functionary who specialized in conversational punning and wicked irony and would enjoy a successful literary career under the name Maurice Chevrier; the poet Nicolas Deniker and his brother Georges, whose father worked at the Botanical Gardens, allowing nighttime visits to the menagerie there; and the poet Maurice Raynal, whom Max Jacob introduced to Picasso.² Raynal turned twenty-one in 1905, and immediately invested a large part of his family fortune in a new magazine, *Vers et prose*.

The Bateau Lavoir poets are sometimes presented as jesters or courtiers sycophantically circling Picasso, the all-powerful genius. But Max Jacob was then writing the stunning prose poems of *Le Cornet à dés*, while Apollinaire was writing *Alcools*. The poets whose company Picasso enjoyed, from Jacob and Apollinaire to Pierre Reverdy, Cocteau, Breton, Louis Aragon, Paul Eluard, and Jacques Prévert, were themselves major creative forces. Their relationship with the artist was based, not on hierarchy, but on mutual respect and emulation, laced with every type of humor. When Roland Penrose remarked to Picasso how "strange" it was that his friends had "usually been poets," the artist replied, "Yes, but the painters are too stupid and their conversation is boring."³ At the Bateau Lavoir, the company of poets, particularly Apollinaire and Jacob, was intellectually challenging and continually brought into question all aspects of received wisdom.

Sheer hilarity was also liberating. Social life at the Bateau Lavoir was often theatrical, and Picasso's studio resembled a private club that specialized in satire and burlesque, "making fun of everything."⁴ Regular visitors included Charles Dullin, later to become one of France's greatest actors and directors, who survived by reciting Villon and Verlaine in courtyards, cabarets, and bars.⁵ Max Jacob was, however, the star turn, with a vocal and piano repertoire that included Offenbach, grand opera, and classic comedies. He could declaim speeches from Racine and play all the parts in a scene from Corneille's *Horace*.⁶ Max improvised parodies of Jules Laforgue's mournful complaints and of the misty, Belgian Symbolist verse of Maeterlinck, but the company all took turns playing Baudelaire and other illustrious visitors whom they imagined coming to view Picasso's latest output.⁷ They watched through the window as Degas or Renoir negotiated the steep steps of rue Ravignan.⁸ These venerable figures would immediately become improvised characters on the creaking boards: "We would 'do Degas.' We would 'do Victor Hugo.' Max was priceless improvising 'a visit from Renoir.'"⁹ For Picasso, of course, watching Degas had deep, personal significance, as he was already involved in his lifelong creative dialogue with the artist, adapting his modern, urban imagery and developing his constant interplay of painting, sculpture, and photography.

For the poets, the private jokes and typically French humor, based on parody and fast-moving wordplay, were a way of bonding the group. For Picasso, his place as host signified his integration and acceptance into company that was cosmopolitan and bohemian but definitely Gallic. Sometimes a butt of jokes, he accepted a role defined by his linguistic limitations in French. Raynal referred to Picasso's "sharpish wit," but several witnesses recalled Picasso's quietness in company. Dora Maar told Roland Penrose, "P. in Bateau Lavoir days never talked. In any case he is worried in company because he has no conversation. His conversation is 'par boutade.'"¹⁰

Most of Picasso's French friends had some connection with theater, especially Apollinaire, who was always at work on plays, from his first one-act comedy in 1902 (*Pr* 3, pp. 1007–16) to *The Breasts of Tiresias* and *Color of Time*, which premièred in Paris in 1917 and 1918. His fascination with dialogue inspired his great "conversation poems" and much of his prose writing. Apollinaire and Salmon also co-wrote a series of plays that they could

never get staged, including a socialist drama on the first railways and, in 1906, a musical comedy, *The Anchovy Merchant*, for which they put new lyrics to well-known tunes (*Pr 1*, pp. 975–1007).¹¹

Fernande Olivier wrote that Picasso found theater boring and preferred gypsy guitars, bullfights, boxing matches, bawdy cabarets, cheap music halls, and the circus, though many evenings he stayed at home.¹² The theater played a bigger part in Picasso's Bateau Lavoir evolution than Olivier's comments allow, though his attitude was never straitlaced and bourgeois. Max Jacob took him to see Puccini's *La Bohème* in 1903, and once they were ejected from the Théâtre des Batignolles for eating sausages during a performance.¹³ Apollinaire's friend Alfred Jarry, the poet and dramatist best known for inventing the mock dictator King Ubu, was a pervasive presence at the Bateau Lavoir, and Picasso always regretted that he and Jarry had never met. Jarry was out when Apollinaire took Picasso to visit him.¹⁴ The Bateau Lavoir poets readily imitated the mechanical diction and burlesque vocabulary Jarry had invented for Ubu and adopted himself.¹⁵ Jarry thus became familiar to Picasso both by reputation and as a palpable presence in his studio, a living legend whose most extreme mannerisms were accentuated by caricature. Ubuesque behavior was indeed contagious, and in 1905 Picasso carried a gun, sometimes firing it on the street.¹⁶ It was the pistol Apollinaire had confiscated when Jarry shot at Manolo during a party at Raynal's house.¹⁷

Jarry's absurdist black humor had a more profound influence, however. *Ubu Roi* had renounced both historical accuracy and all pretence of realism by having one actor portray the whole Polish army and another play a prison door swinging open. Jarry ridiculed naturalist conventions and crucially demonstrated that truth was not dependent on artistic realism or "authentic" props. His iconoclastic use of puppet-show techniques and other forms of popular performance also demolished the intellectually refined pretensions of Symbolism. Jarry thus provided Picasso with a caustic and prestigious model as he moved out of Blue period sentimentality and increasingly ignored realist conventions. Jarry's Rabelaisian vulgarity, which inverted the hierarchy of human faculties, paved the way for Picasso's 1907 revolution against established canons of beauty and retinal perspective in *Les Femmes d'Alger*, a work resonantly summed up by André Salmon: "No care for grace; good taste repudiated as too narrow a measure!"¹⁸

Raynal observed, "Picasso has always liked the theater and the circus, especially when the former bears some resemblance to the latter. Around 1905 we all used to frequent the unpretentious Théâtre Montmartre on place Dancourt. We would attend entertaining performances of popular dramas, notably by Dumas père, which were usually more comic than tragic, given the limited resources of the actors, who were not exactly stars."¹⁹ Opened in 1822, Théâtre Montmartre was only five minutes' walk from rue Ravignan, and its 850 seats were reputedly the cheapest in Paris (fig. 3). Charles Dullin later explained how the melodramas he saw there inspired his own break with realist stage techniques: "You could sense the ghostly presence of the great Romantic actors, while the audience was both unsophisticated and passionate; it is not surprising that great painters used to



3. Charles-Jean Coussedière, *Théâtre de Montmartre*, 1903. Engraving, in Maurice Artus, *Le Théâtre Montmartre* (Tours, 1904).

go there to seek what they could not find in naturalism.”²⁰ Dullin here suggests the importance Théâtre Montmartre had for Picasso as he moved into the Rose period. His drawings of scenes from historical dramas by Shakespeare and Dumas led to an important oil painting from the winter of 1904–5, *The Actor* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art), where the conspicuously drawn prompter hints at the performer’s inadequacy. His June–July 1905 sketchbook (MP 1856) includes portraits of Apollinaire and Salmon and drawings of stage scenes associated with *The Marriage of Pierrette*, a painting that is also structured and lit like a play and depicts a staple situation in French theater: a young woman entrapped by a wealthy, older man and courted by a young rival. To the left sit a pensive, Blue period couple; to the right stands Harlequin, the most exuberant figure in the Italian theater tradition known as *commedia dell’arte*, drawing Pierrette’s attention away from her unsuitable spouse. In this mime play, hand gestures are essential. Pierrette clutches the rich man’s gift but nervously raises her fingers to her lips. Harlequin cheekily blows her a kiss, and in this generational conflict both he and the husband make significantly diabolical gestures, Harlequin behind his back, the rich man over his heart. Harlequin would reappear in subsequent *saltimbanque* paintings, showing that Picasso was aware of how his acrobatic behavior on stage linked theater and circus.

The theater made a critical contribution to Picasso’s transition from Blue to Rose. The new emphasis on theatrical and circus traditions implied that art is performance, en-

couraging a more studied and less overtly confessional mood, which in turn led to Cubism's emphasis on formal and compositional considerations. Apollinaire and his friends, by bringing theater into the Bateau Lavoir and taking Picasso out to the theater, reinforced the antinaturalist ethos that was as important to his painting as it was to their writing.

Another forgotten member of the Bateau Lavoir crew was Edmond-Marie Poullain, who met Apollinaire in June 1903 and Picasso in 1905 at the Closerie des Lilas café. He was a painter and student who returned to his native Normandy at the end of 1905 to follow a career in law. He continued painting, in a style influenced by Millet, Impressionism, and even a touch of Fauvism, staying in touch with Salmon and Apollinaire, who wrote an article on his art for *L'Intransigeant* of 4 December 1913. In Paris, his various abodes included a room on rue de Seine and then, in 1904, a short-lived commune with Salmon and Mollet on rue Broca. He lived for a while at 13 rue Ravignan and finally, from February to September 1905, at 5 rue Campagne-Première in Montparnasse. Describing that heady period, he wrote, "For ten years, as a schoolboy, then a soldier, I'd been directed to learning and discipline. Once in Paris, I was free at last. That's when I met Apollinaire and imagined I was an anarchist."²¹

Poullain features here mainly because of letters Apollinaire wrote him in 1905. A *pneumatique* (express letter with same-day delivery in Paris) that Apollinaire sent him from place des Abbesses, near rue Ravignan, is addressed to 5 rue Campagne-Première:

My dear friend,

Picasso has asked me to apologize to you on his behalf. Because of the Humorists Ball, he is unable to accept your kind invitation. I must also add my late apologies to Picasso's advance apologies. Detained yesterday by the Humorists' first night, I couldn't come. Let's make it another time. Keep me up to date on your exhibition.

Humorously yours
Guillaume Apollinaire and Picasso

This letter probably dates from April or May 1905, as the "Société des Dessinateurs Humoristes" always had their annual dance at that time of year. Apollinaire would often act as Picasso's spokesman and intermediary, but texts like this one, signed by them both, are rare.

Another letter addressed to "M. Poullain, Artist, 42 Rue de Russie, Cherbourg" provides details on Picasso's circle in late 1905:

8 Boulevard Carnot Le Vésinet
Seine et Oise
26. 12. 1905

My dear friend,

I wish you a happy 1906. Forgive my delay in replying to you. I have no excuse either. The dealer I mentioned has given up selling paintings to concentrate on antique engrav-

ings. I'm very pleased you're working on your drawing. Above all do figure drawing with a model. To be a master painter, you have to master that. Send me your experiments with engraving. I'll tell you what I think. I'll tear them up if need be. I'll try to sell some pictures for you.

If you send me a still life as a present, I'll be really pleased. I've seen some you've done that are so charming, sentimental even, far different from Prath's work, which is interestingly truculent but really too crude. Manolo is back in Paris. We see less of Picasso. You know Fernande's name is Bellevallée. Max, who is angry with them, calls Picasso the lily in the beautiful valley.

With the hand of your friend
Guillaume Apollinaire²²

Apollinaire sounds self-assured, bolstered by his publications and his closeness to Picasso, and this letter also confirms his underlying ambitions as art critic and collector. *The Lily in the Valley* is a Balzac novel, and Fernande did indeed use the name Bellevallée.²³ The poet's laconic "We see less of Picasso" reflects how the artist was reaching beyond the Bateau Lavoir poets, partly because he had met an impressive American family, the Steins. Gertrude Stein contacted Picasso through the dealer Clovis Sagot during the autumn of 1905 and quickly acquired the first substantial collection of his work. Picasso began his iconic portrait of Gertrude Stein in late 1905 and also painted less ambitious gouache portraits of her brother Leo and nephew Allan (Z I, 250, 353). Support from the Steins crucially showed Picasso that his aesthetic inclinations would not necessarily lead to penury. Apollinaire's critical and moral support earlier in the year was now being validated by the prospect of international success.

In May 1906, the Vollard deal allowed Picasso to return to Barcelona and take Fernande up to the mountain village of Gósol. Max and Apollinaire helped with luggage and saw them off at the Gare d'Orsay.²⁴ The character and appearance of the Catalan peasants and their religious art and architecture all fed into Picasso's work, allowing him eventually to achieve a breakthrough with his portrait of Gertrude Stein, completing her mask-like features, and so to move toward the stark and schematic figuration of his 1907 proto-Cubist period.

That summer, Apollinaire's rhyming letters kept Picasso abreast of events in Paris, and he replied, often with drawings. Apollinaire's younger brother, Albert de Kostrowitzky, also got to know Picasso, sending him friendly postcards in May 1906 and August 1907 (PAC, pp. 47, 41 n. 3). In June, Picasso was particularly effusive, writing, "Hallo, dear Guillaume, I kiss you and precisely on your belly button" (PAC, p. 53). Such uninhibited manners are confirmed by Fernande, who recalled that it was sometimes so hot in the Bateau Lavoir that "Pablo and his friends quite often strip off completely. They receive visitors practically, if not completely, naked, just wearing a scarf tied round their waists."²⁵

According to Picasso, "In those days, the only thing that interested us was what we were doing. And we all only used to see each other. Apollinaire, Max Jacob, Salmon. . . .

Just think of it, what an aristocracy!"²⁶ Apollinaire, for his part, defined the group not as aristocrats but as revolutionaries. According to Alice Halicka, who married Apollinaire's Polish friend Louis Marcoussis, "Apollinaire liked to compare the Cubist movement to the French Revolution and to confer on its participants famous names from 1789. So Metzinger became Robespierre; Gleizes, Danton; Braque, Talleyrand; Gris, Fouquier-Tinville or Marat; and Marcoussis, Anarchis Klotz. Picasso, after being elected Bonaparte because of his haircut, became 'Voltaire and his hideous smile.'"²⁷ As the French say of their republican revolution, quoting Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables*, "It was all Voltaire's fault."

Picasso left the Bateau Lavoir in September 1909 and moved to 11 boulevard de Clichy. Access to his studio was filtered by a maid who met visitors at the front door. Picasso was still, however, a stone's throw from bohemian Montmartre and seamy Pigalle. Fernande recalled an encounter from that time with the bombastic founder of Futurism: "I once spent a whole night with Apollinaire and Picasso at Marinetti's, in the hotel room where he lived somewhere near the Place Pigalle. As dawn broke we were still there, after listening to him talk uninterruptedly since ten o'clock without ever boring us."²⁸

The Bateau Lavoir was a ramshackle slum, but Picasso always remembered it as a lost paradise, full of friends and animals. Roland Penrose later described the ground floor of Picasso's house La Californie, in Cannes, as "Ali Baba's scrap yard."²⁹ Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler confirmed that Picasso "recreated rue Ravignan wherever he went, its disorder and everything it implied."³⁰ What that mess implied was unfettered creativity. Accounts of Bateau Lavoir jokes and games should never obscure the underlying commitment to art and literature across an extraordinary group, whose usual word of greeting was "How's the work going?"³¹ The poets' creative exuberance undoubtedly helped Picasso break with the static, solitary images of his Blue period. The Bateau Lavoir became an interdisciplinary laboratory whose forward-looking atmosphere also fostered Picasso's artistic revolution of 1907. But his greatest achievement at that time was, as we shall see, born of sustained, solitary endeavor.

Circuses and Saltimbanques

ACROBATS, CIRCUS ACTS, and itinerant entertainers figure in major works by both Picasso and Apollinaire in 1905. As Picasso finished his monumental 1905 canvas *Family of Saltimbanques* (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art), Apollinaire drafted two of his best shorter poems, “Saltimbanques” and “Twilight” (“Crépuscule”). The first of these poems features a procession of traveling circus performers, while the second combines circus, fairground, and theater imagery. Picasso’s work in 1904 and 1905 similarly combined circus and theater, as in a 1905 sheet with sketches of Ubu on one side and circus drawings on the other (MP 508). Apollinaire and Picasso both featured Harlequin in works from this period, and this chapter will explore the importance to them of the motley, acrobatic character and his companions.

Apollinaire gave Picasso several manuscript poems, including, for example, two versions of “Sakountala,” each consisting of two languorous quatrains on the subject of a faithful queen who suffers in love, taken from a Hindu legend (*Po*, pp. 853, 1176; *PAC*, pp. 186–88). On one of the manuscripts, Apollinaire noted, “This version cancels the previous one,” involving Picasso in the creative process. Sakountala reappears in Apollinaire’s epic poem “La Chanson du mal-aimé” (*Po*, pp. 46–59), where, like Orpheus, the poet transforms heartbreak into song, showing how poetry and art can score a lasting victory over life’s vicissitudes.

The most significant poems Apollinaire sent to Picasso, however, arrived on a plain blue postcard, postmarked “Chatou Seine et Oise 2 nov. 1905” and addressed to “Monsieur Picasso, Artist, 13 rue Ravignan Paris.” The only message was the two poems, “Spectacle” and “Les Saltimbanques,” one on each side of the card (*PAC*, pp. 35–36). Apollinaire published definitive versions of the poems in 1909 in the periodical *Les Argonautes*. They were eventually included, as “Crépuscule” and “Saltimbanques” (*Po*, pp. 64, 90), in *Alcools* and became two of the most popular French poems of the twentieth century.

In translation, the 1905 versions sent to Picasso read as follows:

PERFORMANCE

With the forest as a backdrop,
On the grass where day is fading,
The harlequin girl has shed her clothes
And mirrors her figure in the pool.
On the trestle stage, the pale harlequin
First bows to the audience
Of sorcerers from Bohemia,
With witches and wizards.
Once he has unhooked a star,
He waves it at arm's length,
While with his feet, a hanged man
Knocks three times, to raise the curtain.

Guillaume Apollinaire
Wednesday, 1 November 1905

THE SALTIMBANQUES

In the plain with its quiet gardens,
Where the traveling players move along,
Past the doors of gray inns
And through the villages without churches,
The youngest children lead the way,
And the others, dreaming, follow on.
Every fruit tree accepts its fate
When they wave to it from afar.
They have heavy weights, round or square,
Drums and gilded hoops.
The bear and the monkey, well-trained animals,
Beg for coins, as they pass by.
Next to one of them who is dying on the road
And who by tomorrow will be forgotten,
A little saltimbanque uses his hand
In place of the handkerchief he doesn't own.
And the woman breast-feeds
With her River Lethe milk of forgetting
A newborn baby, beside the sad dwarf
And Harlequin Trismegistus.

Apollinaire
Guillaume
Wednesday, 1 November 1905

In the original French, the rhyming couplets of “Les Saltimbanques,” reinforced by internal webs of assonance and alliteration, beautifully evoke the rhythm of the traveling circus troupe, and both poems, conceived as a single project, are distinctly mellifluous. They are also strongly visual, using iconography that is typical of Apollinaire, echoes Baudelaire, and is also related to works by Picasso. Together, the poems reflect complementary aspects of the poet’s inspiration, drawing on the visual arts and impressions left by Rhineland landscapes he had recently explored. Harlequin moves freely between the poems, so that in the definitive versions he disappears from “Saltimbanques” to settle in “Crépuscule” (“Twilight”). Harlequin is equally at home in a dream theater, deep in the forest, or among circus performers and animals. A magical figure, he is named Trismegistus, meaning “Thrice-Great,” after Hermes Trismegistus, author of *The Emerald Tablet*, an occult treatise and creation myth that was supposedly written in Egypt and that, translated into Latin, became a seminal text for European alchemists.¹ In these poems, Harlequin links earth and the heavens as he unhooks a star, which is a cue for his companion, the hanged man from tarot cards, to bang the stage three times, the standard signal in French theater for the show to begin. On the “Saltimbanques” side of the card, there is a progression from gray doors to gilded hoops, closure to openness, monochrome to color, base matter to gold, creating an alchemical analogy for art itself. The modernity of these poems lies in their vivid, painterly images and their reference to travel and rootlessness, to groups and individuals whose unattached identity is defined by their art, skills, and knowledge. These are prime aspects of European modernism, and Apollinaire here suggests that they underpin his and Picasso’s fraternal complicity.

Picasso always kept the postcard inside a 1905 sketchbook (Carnet 218, MP 1875) that contains drawings of harlequins, saltimbanques, and gypsies, confirming the two men’s creative collusion. The sketchbook also contains a preparatory sketch for the graceful colored-pencil drawing *Jester Holding a Child*, which Picasso gave Apollinaire in 1905. Poems and drawings were the currency of their friendship.

The fairy-tale atmosphere and crepuscular light of the poems match the hazy colors of Picasso’s saltimbanque paintings, and in November 1905 the blue postcard saluted completion of a major composition that was at that time Picasso’s greatest work. This was *Family of Saltimbanques*, begun before the spring and finished in the autumn of that year (fig. 4). The painting measures 212.8 × 229.6 cm but was bigger (225 × 235 cm) when it first came up for auction at the Peau de l’ours sale of 2 March 1914. Materials for a picture of this scale implied a serious financial commitment, at a time when Picasso was still barely scraping by.²

The six characters in the painting are almost life-size. They include Harlequin and a portly, red clown with a young adolescent acrobat, another boy, who looks like his young brother, and a little girl dressed as a ballerina, all standing in a close group that fills the left and center of the picture. Seated to the right is a young woman, dressed in Majorcan costume, with an earthenware jar, balancing the composition. There is a visual rhyme between the ballerina’s wicker basket and the woman’s straw hat, reinforcing the com-



4. Pablo Picasso, *Family of Saltimbanques*, 1905. Oil on canvas, 212.8 × 229.6 cm. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Chester Dale Collection, Image © 2007 Board of Trustees, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC.

position's lopsided symmetry. The girl holding Harlequin's hand confers a protective role on him, confirming the close-knit atmosphere. As in *The Marriage of Pierrette*, Harlequin has one hand behind his back, and again the gesture is important, as he shows his open palm and slightly splayed fingers in a way that matches the five characters in his group, suggesting they are as united as the fingers of a hand, yet independent and separate. Harlequin is the forefinger. A gouache and charcoal sketch for the painting set the company near a Degas-style racecourse (Moscow, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts), just the place to find an audience. In the final composition the racecourse has disappeared, removing anecdotal content and dissolving any reference to modern life, so that the scene occurs in "epic timelessness."³

Because the figures to the left have the strongest colors and clearest outlines, the two adult males dominate the picture. The little girl's dress is made of pink gauze, and from her position, moving right, the characters seem increasingly pale and diaphanous. The seated woman's face and neck are unusually white, as if caught in brighter sunlight, mak-

ing her appearance more ethereal. The overall effect hovers between reality and dream, between naturalist representation and a poetic sense of mystery, and these are the qualities that Apollinaire chose to celebrate by sending Picasso the blue postcard, implicitly encouraging him to continue in that style.

Picasso loved the Médrano Circus, near Pigalle, partly because of its Spanish connections. Geronimo Médrano, known as “Boum-Boum,” who ran the circus, was from Madrid, as was one of his stars, Antonio Lozana, who enjoyed meeting compatriots in the circus bar.⁴ Toulouse-Lautrec and Seurat preceded Picasso at the same circus, known then as Cirque Fernando, but Picasso preferred to draw and paint the performers during their leisure moments or rehearsing. Like Apollinaire in “Les Saltimbanques,” he emphasized their tribal identity, mobility, and rootlessness, rather than show them performing in a gilded, permanent ring.

Picasso told Josep Palau i Fabre that circus characters first appeared in his work after he had seen a troupe on the Esplanade des Invalides, on the Left Bank of the Seine.⁵ Apollinaire, however, claimed some credit for the circus performers in Picasso's work. In a letter dated 22 February 1918, to the poet and magazine editor Giuseppe Raimondi, a native of Bologna, Apollinaire recalled “my first, my greatest, my real experience of fear.” His mother had taken him, aged three or four, and his brother Albert to a fair in Bologna. They stopped before a circus attraction with a stage in front where the barker presented the acts, a tradition known as the *parade*: “My mother, to please us, wanted to take us to see a show inside the tent where we had just seen the *parade*. But there was no way of persuading me to go in, because the circus performers had scared me. They have always remained somehow mysterious for me, and I sowed that feeling in Picasso's soul, whence it grew into marvelous works of art” (OC 4, p. 895).

This primitive experience apparently traumatized the poet, and his sensitivity to the oneiric side of circus may well have been contagious. Picasso was aware of the long cultural tradition of writers and artists who identified with circus performers, seen as outsiders, often suffering for their art. That tradition reached back at least to Watteau; was developed from 1830 to 1870 by poets such as Gautier, Baudelaire, and Laforgue; and was adopted by painters such as Daumier, Toulouse-Lautrec, Doré, and Rouault. The outsider theme suited Picasso's Rose period and matched a strain in Apollinaire's own temperament. Apollinaire also knew, however, that the roots of circus, like those of theater, reached back to sacred ceremonies in antiquity. Acrobats were once associated with funeral rites, as in Minoan Crete, where a leap over a bull's back was literally “death defying,” resisting the pull of gravity and demonstrating the spirit's ascension over dark, mortal powers. Harlequin was originally Hellequin, a ferryman between the living and the dead and an animal-faced demon who, deep in the forest, led a howling retinue of lost souls.⁶ In Apollinaire's poem, Harlequin's diabolical streak may be heightened by the allusion in the phrase “Harlequin Trismegistus” to the first lines of *Les Fleurs du mal*, where Baudelaire refers to “Satan Trismegistus,” who dissolves human will and rules the world. Apollinaire in his art criticism consistently casts Picasso as Prince of Light rather than Prince

of Darkness, but the poet discerns at the heart of his work a darkly vertiginous space. Apollinaire's Harlequin expresses that ambivalence. The blue postcard attributes supernatural powers to Harlequin, presents performance as a ritual, and emphasizes the saltimbanques' uncanny empathy with nature. Both of the poems are suffused with references to magic and the occult, and there is a similarly haunted atmosphere to *Family of Saltimbanques*, where the ghostly and the living hesitate between here and eternity.

According to Maurice Raynal, writing in 1922, Apollinaire encouraged Picasso to leave the comfort of acquired skills and knowledge and enter new imaginative territory:

Apollinaire, who had traveled widely, was strongly attracted to anything strange or unusual, and he was sensitive, as poets are, to the beauties of nature and human endeavors beyond the restrictions of established rules. In his company, Picasso found it increasingly legitimate to let his imagination flow freely; with Apollinaire, who had learned everything with his heart, Picasso came to realize that this was really the only way to avoid sterile attachment to surface appearances. Picasso's sensibility was probably already that way inclined, but Apollinaire helped strengthen his convictions. And so it was that by listening to the voice of his heart, Picasso recognized the hollowness of absolute rules in art.⁷

According to Raynal, Apollinaire encouraged Picasso to loosen the grip of his academic education and trust his imaginative instincts.

Rilke, in the fifth of his *Duino Elegies*, gazed at *Family of Saltimbanques* and asked, "But tell me, who are they, these travelers / More transient even than we are." As in his painting *At the Lapin Agile* (Z I, 275), Picasso included his self-portrait as Harlequin in *Family of Saltimbanques*. This overt identification confirms that when Apollinaire refers to "Harlequin Trismegistus" he is directly saluting Picasso and his quasi-divine creative powers. Given Picasso's self-portrait as Harlequin, it is tempting to see the whole *Family of Saltimbanques* as an allegorical image of the Bateau Lavoir group. André Salmon, in 1920, encouraged such hypotheses by suggesting that the corpulent red clown resembled Apollinaire, "the man who built the lyre of the New Spirit poets."⁸ Preparatory drawings reveal that the overweight clown was actually based on a forty-year-old entertainer, El Tío Pepe Don José (Uncle Pepe Don José), who was a father figure and head of a circus troupe. He probably fascinated Picasso because of the link with his own father, Don José Ruiz.⁹ Nevertheless, Salmon was right to highlight the resemblance between the red clown and Apollinaire, though he no more literally represents the poet than the other characters literally represent Salmon, Max Jacob, and Fernande Olivier. Picasso had already included more than a hint of Apollinaire's features, morphed, aged, or expanded, in drawings of other authority figures, such as King Herod in his engraving of *Salome* in spring 1905,¹⁰ or King Dagobert in an ex libris for the poet (Z I, 225). The fictional characters in *Family of Saltimbanques* were designed allegorically to suggest Picasso, Apollinaire, and their group, gathered together and facing a new century with no map, rule book, or clear paths

to guide them. They are together, but each adult is also clearly alone. In this painting, Picasso shows himself at a point where he has to decide on a new direction.

It has been suggested that the little girl in the picture, holding Harlequin's hand, is the homeless child whom Picasso and Fernande fostered for a while at the Bateau Lavoir before handing her over to an orphanage. This episode did occur, but not in 1905, as we know from an entry dated 6 April 1907 in Apollinaire's *Journal*: "The Picassos are looking after a little girl aged nine whose mother is in a brothel in Tunis, the little girl had been with the Dutch Jewish journalist Cohen. The Cohens wanted her to learn the violin to charm them in their old age. As she displayed no musical inclinations, they abandoned her. The Picassos picked her up in time. She's a real little girl, very girlish. Playful and intelligent, named Raymonde."¹¹

The girl in the picture, though not Raymonde, bears witness to Picasso's paternal inclinations, as do children in other family scenes he painted in 1905. Truth in the painting is deeper than strictly literal or biographical interpretations allow. Readings that link the work with the Bateau Lavoir are valid but are reductive if they exclude that broader sense of quest and alienation Rilke emphasized and the defining importance of style and composition.

Apollinaire's Collection of Works by Picasso

AS A NEWCOMER in Paris, Picasso often thanked critics who liked his work by giving them a painting. Gustave Coquiot, for example, wrote a preface for the catalog of the 1901 Vollard exhibition, then placed it as an article in *Le Journal* of 17 June 1901. Picasso painted Coquiot's portrait as Mephistopheles in evening dress, seated before a line of dancing girls shimmying in the acidic glare of stage lights (Paris, Musée national d'art moderne), and then gave it to him. Félicien Fagus, the art critic at *La Revue blanche*, wrote reviews of Picasso exhibitions in 1901 and 1902, and the artist gave him a fine oil painting that had caught the critic's eye in the 1901 Vollard show, *Little Girls Dancing* (*Les Blondes Chevelures*).¹ Picasso thus began a lifelong habit of unpredictable generosity, whose beneficiaries were often poets and writers. It became his way of compensating for the massive difference in market value between good painting and good poetry.

Picasso was particularly generous to Apollinaire, who accumulated well over one hundred of his works, from doodles and sketches to oil paintings. The poet was already collecting contemporary art by 1905, and his Picassos soon became a major part of his private gallery, which included works by August Agero, Brancusi, Braque, Cézanne, Chirico, Robert Delaunay, Derain, Duchamp, Dufy, Goncharova, Mikhail Larionov, Laurencin, Manolo, Matisse, Francis Picabia, Douanier Rousseau, Vlaminck, and many others.² He curated this extraordinary collection alongside his tribal sculptures, books and manuscripts, walking sticks, puppets, and flea-market curios, turning his flat, under the eaves of 202 boulevard Saint-Germain, into a proto-Surrealist environment, with extensive reserves in the cellar.

Picasso's cards and letters to Apollinaire often featured drawings and paintings, from his 1905 drawing of a Dutch girl (PAC, p. 30) to one of his last cards to Apollinaire, in September 1918, which bore a beautiful Cubist still life with a guitar (PAC, p. 182). On a larger scale, Apollinaire's Picasso collection included several Blue period works, including the 1903 gouache on canvas *Head of a Woman* (Z I, 205), whose closed eyes, solip-



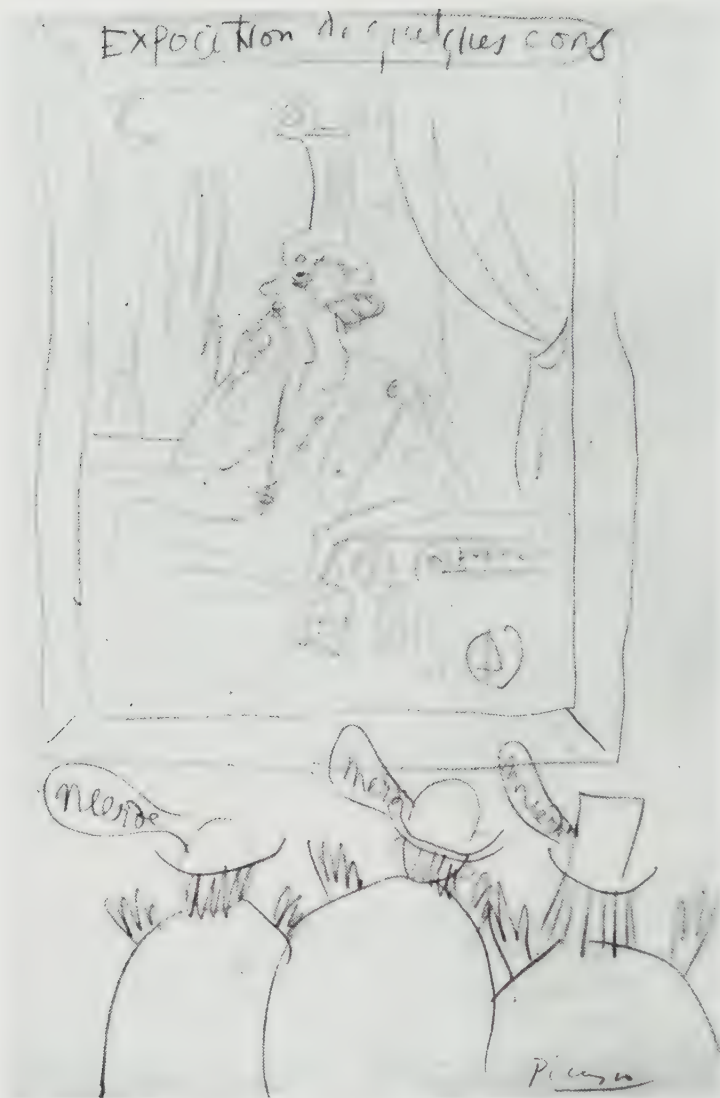
5. Pablo Picasso, *The Embrace*, dedicated "To my dear friend Guillaume Apollinaire Picasso 1905." Oil on canvas, 63 × 90 cm. Private collection. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

sistic expression of filtered stillness, and hazy rendition make it overtly Symbolist. An oil painting, *The Embrace* (Z XXII, 163), signed "A mon cher ami Guillaume Apollinaire Picasso 1905," is both raunchy and tenderly lyrical (fig. 5). Measuring 63 × 90 cm, it represents two naked women embracing on a rumpled, white sheet, their sinuously entwined figures lightly painted beneath a flat blue background. Apollinaire gave this work pride of place over his bed. The poet also owned two similarly sapphic 1901 gouache sketches (Z XXI, 324, 329) and a 1905 ink drawing, on a visiting card, of two naked women kissing.³ Picasso gave Apollinaire a beautiful ink and colored-pencil drawing, *Jester Holding a Child* (PAC, p. 34; Z XXII, 163), signed "Picasso à Guillaume Apollinaire 1905," and a small, intense self-portrait in black ink, from 1903, in which his strong features and dignified gaze are framed by hair that falls around his brow like a raven's wings (Z XXII, 38) (fig. 6). Apollinaire also owned a set of engravings from 1904 and 1905, signed and dedicated by Picasso, that included several saltimbanque subjects, and *The Frugal Repast*, one of the painter's first presents to him, dedicated "A Guillaume Apollinaire avec beaucoup de sympathie. Picasso 24 mars 1905" (PAC, pp. 91–92). Such gifts continued unabated until the poet's untimely death, one of the last being a major Cubist oil painting, *Man with a Guitar* (PAC, p. 175; Z III, 164), his wedding present to Apollinaire in 1918.

6. Pablo Picasso, *Self-Portrait*, 1903 (Z XXII, 38). Ink on paper, 14 × 11 cm. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.



Some Picasso works from the poet's collection were reproduced in a volume of Apollinaire iconography published in 1965, and Hélène Seckel-Klein published a study on the topic in 1993.⁴ Catalogs from auctions of works from the Apollinaire estate provide further information. The 25 June 1986 sale, for example, included ten lots by Picasso, comprising drawings and an engraved wartime portrait of the poet.⁵ The drawings include several female nudes, ranging in style from a confident and voluptuous standing figure in blue pencil (lot 143) to pornographic caricatures (lot 141) and sketches of Henry De-lormel (who underwrote the costs of *La Revue immoraliste*) and of the poet Paul Fort. There are also animals in red ink and others on a bank's headed notepaper, left over from Picasso's 1906–7 plan to illustrate Apollinaire's *Bestiary* poems. One comical pencil drawing (lot 140) depicts a framed painting of a woman in feathered hat and jewelry. Holding a volume of Dante, she is seated near classical pillars, before an open window and an Italian landscape with cypress trees and a crescent moon. In front of the picture stand three men, all exclaiming, "Merde." In the top of the picture frame are inscribed the words "Exposition de quelques cons," making this a punning satire on the exhibition *Quelques-uns* at the Pierrefort Gallery, 12 rue Bonaparte, from 9 to 30 June 1905 (fig. 7). The artists thus mocked, listed in the *Quelques-uns* catalog, included Edvard Diriks, Edmond-Marie



7. Pablo Picasso, *Exposition de quelques cons*, 1905. Pencil drawing, 16 × 25 m. Private collection. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

Poullain, Charles Guérin, Maximilien Luce, and Matisse (no. 63, *Bouquet de fleurs*).⁶ Picasso must have visited this exhibition, as did Apollinaire, who in March 1906 noted that Guérin “said to me one day at *Quelques-uns* in 1905: ‘In our small exhibitions, it’s best only to show small things if you want to sell anything.’ He’d just sold Raynal a pastel for 150 francs.”⁷ Drawings Picasso gave Apollinaire thus included cartoons, caricatures, and beautifully finished graphic masterpieces. Together they provide a visual narrative of their contacts, projects, attitudes, and shared activities.

Picasso's gifts to Apollinaire also included hand-painted everyday objects. In 1906 he took a woven cigarette case and decorated it with two kneeling, naked women, crowned with flowers and holding a shield⁷ bearing the poet's name. He also acquired a notebook from the Galeries Lafayette department store, near Saint Lazare, whose red cover was adorned with the image of two carrier pigeons and the words "Messages Rapides." It thus combined memories of the pigeons he drew as a child with a phrase that describes Apollinaire's modernist poetics, often inspired by high-speed, international communication. On this ready-made cover, in 1907 or 1908, Picasso painted in gouache a radiant yellow sun, with features added in black, to resemble a Senufo mask (MP 1995-13).⁸ Picasso thus saluted the solar aspect of the Apollonian writer's poetics and their joint interest in African art. Picasso similarly gave Apollinaire a cooking pot, impractically decorated with gouache paintings, which prefigured his later passion for ceramics. All of this indicates a fundamental meeting of minds between the poet and the painter. Picasso raised everyday objects to the level of art, just as Apollinaire arranged fragments of overheard conversation into poetry and took lived experience as a point of departure for all his creative writing. For both of them, reality triggered imagination.

One area of Apollinaire's activities unexplored by historians is his buying and selling of art, including works by Picasso. A stamped receipt from M. F. Juniet, proprietor of the Restaurant du faisan doré (the Golden Pheasant Restaurant), 23 bis, rue des Bruyères, Paris, dated 13 July 1913, states that he received from Apollinaire 100 francs "for two small objects painted by Picusseau [*sic*] that I have today sold him." In October 1913, Apollinaire sold a batch of items to Otto Feldmann of the Neue Galerie in Berlin, for 1,200 francs. Apollinaire listed the works as "twenty-two drawings, gouaches, and watercolors by Picasso, one volume, *Sagesse*, signed and dedicated by the author Paul Verlaine and illustrated with an original gouache by Picasso, and finally a framed watercolor (or gouache) signed Rousseau."⁹ Similarly, a receipt for Apollinaire from Paul Guillaume, dated 9 March 1914, lists works the poet deposited at the dealer's gallery, namely "three lithos by Toulouse-Lautrec, for which you require fifty francs each in case of a sale," and "one litho by Degas (Programme for a fête) for which you require one hundred francs."¹⁰ In January 1913, Apollinaire had moved into his new flat on boulevard Saint-Germain and traveled to Berlin with Delaunay, then in November acquired control of the periodical *Les Soirées de Paris*. His high-profile activities meant he needed funds. He also set a trend, followed by Breton, Paul Eluard, and other poets of the next generation, for whom buying and selling art became a survival strategy.

From Caricature to Cubism

Picasso's Portraits of Apollinaire

PICASSO DREW many portraits of Apollinaire between 1905 and 1918 and gave most of them to the poet as gifts. His widow, Jacqueline Apollinaire, wrote to Jaime Sabartés, in a letter dated 28 November 1949, "I have little portraits of Guillaume on café note paper and even on metro tickets" (AP). Some of the portraits remained with Picasso—for example, a summer 1905 sketch of the poet sporting a straw boater (Sketchbook 010, MP 1856, p. 14)—and others were acquired by friends such as Pierre Mac Orlan, who, according to Apollinaire in 1912, had "a little caricature of me by Picasso" over the fireplace in his flat in Auteuil (*Pr* 3, p. 8). The portraits are in every style, but most numerous are the distinctive caricatures depicting Apollinaire in many guises, from soldier or sailor to picador or coffeepot (fig. 8). On a card Picasso sent him on 6 December 1905, a witty ink drawing shows the poet sauntering past Palais Brongniart, the neoclassical Paris stock exchange, with bowler hat, stiff collar, umbrella, and overcoat, looking the epitome of a city gent (fig. 9). The stock-exchange clock says 1:00 P.M., and Apollinaire looks set for a long lunch break. He is followed by his mother's dog on a leash, a comical incongruity that deftly comments on the fraught but dependent relationship between domineering mother and adult son.¹ The books he has under each arm make plain his real priorities and highlight the predicament of a poet employed in finance. The caption reads, "I don't see you anymore. Are you dead? Picasso." True to form, Picasso wants more visits from Apollinaire. The card also gently implies, however, the advice Picasso famously gave Max Jacob, to give up his day job: "Live like a poet!"² There were no Christmas festivities in Picasso's studio that year,³ and in brown ink on vellum, dated on the back with a needle, "24 December 1905 Midnight," he poignantly drew a graceful and muscular young harlequin, with one foot shoeless and his right hand open to acknowledge applause. He is surrounded by caricatures, mainly of Apollinaire, notably as a jovial figure in a suit, hands in his pockets, again walking the dog (MP 509) (fig. 10). Picasso thus creates a telling



8. Pablo Picasso, *Apollinaire as a Coffeepot*, 1905. Ink and watercolor on paper. Whereabouts unknown. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.



9. Pablo Picasso, *Apollinaire at the Stock Exchange*, 1905. Drawing, ink on card, 14 × 12 cm. National-galerie, Museum Berggruen, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin, Germany. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Photo courtesy of Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, N.Y.

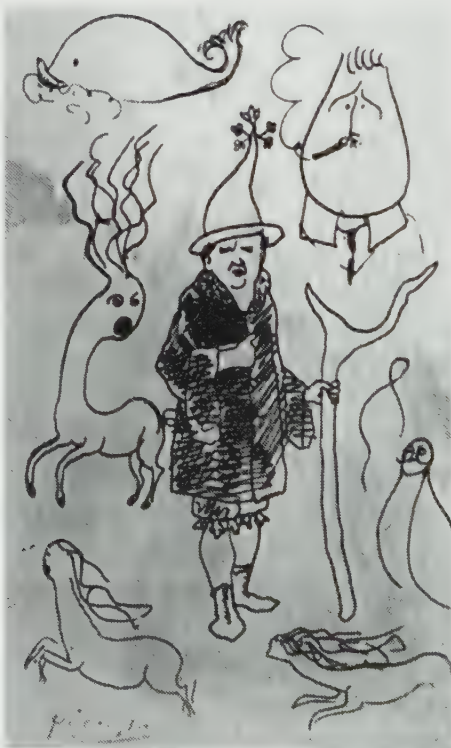


10. Pablo Picasso, *Harlequin with Caricatures of Apollinaire*, Paris, 24 December 1905. India ink on paper, 17.6 × 15.3 cm. Musée Picasso, Paris, France. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Photo by Daniel Arnaudet, courtesy of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.

11. Pablo Picasso, *Caricature of Guillaume Apollinaire as an Academician*, 1905. Pen and ink, 22 x 12 cm. Musée Picasso, Paris, France. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Photo courtesy of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.



12. Pablo Picasso, *Druidic Figure with Caricature of Guillaume Apollinaire and Mythical Beasts*, 1905. Pen and ink, 22 x 12 cm. Musée Picasso, Paris, France. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Photo courtesy of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.



pattern of contrast and association between the central acrobat and the surrounding pictures of the poet, still trapped in his day job.

Picasso often playfully ennobled Apollinaire or otherwise raised his status. On bookplates, he crowned him king ("Guillaume Apollinaire Rex. Ex-Libris") (Z I, 225), and he also drew him as pope, on St. Peter's throne (PAC, p. 17). The drawing reflects Apollinaire's origins in Rome, his Polish Catholic background, and rumors that his father was a cardinal or a military officer with links to the Vatican. It also recognizes, however, his tireless ability to pontificate on art, literature, or any random topic. Apollinaire was fascinated by the dogma of papal infallibility, proclaimed by the Vatican in 1870, and "Infallibility," one of his satirical short stories on theological conundrums, was published in *Messidor* on 8 November 1907 (Pr I, p. 119). Arrayed in all his plush vestments, Picasso's version of Pope Guillaume also sports a conspicuous wristwatch. This new gadget, which reappears in Picasso's other portraits of the poet, signals modernity ("The most modern European is you Pope Pius X," wrote Apollinaire in "Zone" [Po, p. 39]), and emphasizes that this poet's major theme is transience and time.

Picasso gave Apollinaire a double-sided sheet of ink drawings that constitutes an allegorical diptych (MP 1986-40r, v). One side shows Apollinaire being inducted into the Académie Française, reciting his maiden speech, in regulation regalia, with his pipe behind one ear (fig. 11). Picasso was fully aware of his friend's literary and social ambitions, symptomatic of his condition as a stateless immigrant and the illegitimate son of a father he had never met. Apollinaire was quite open about his hankering after official recognition, for example in a January 1915 letter to Jean Mollet, envisaging better times: "Go on, don't worry, we'll be together again, and then we'll be aiming for the Academy if all goes well, my old brother" (OC 4, p. 851). On the reverse of this sheet, Picasso drew a typical caricature of Apollinaire's head, in a dynamic circle of mythological creatures (fig. 12). They surround an imposing, druidic figure who holds an impressive staff and wears a wizard's pointed hat, a fur-collared coat, and laced boots. His connection with the forest and pantheistic religion is emphasized by the oak leaves on his hat and breeches. His stance is imperious, with one hand to his breast, and his fleshy, intense features somewhat resemble Apollinaire's. The drawing evokes Apollinaire's oneiric prose piece *The Rotting Magician* (*L'Enchanteur pourrissant*), whose main character is Merlin, presented as an avatar of the author. Serialized in *Le Festin d'Esope* in 1904, the story centers on Merlin's tomb, deep in a forest, where legendary, mythological, and biblical beasts and characters converge to meet the decomposing but sentient wizard. A dark parody of Christmas, replacing a baby in a manger with a wizard in a tomb, this is the poet grappling with the legacy of his Catholic upbringing and also producing an experimental matrix for much of his subsequent writing. By depicting a wizard and the poet amid his fictional characters, Picasso's drawing combines Apollinaire's outer appearance with the inner world of his imagination, projected onto the page. The two sides of the sheet together represent Apollinaire's literary apotheosis and the means to achieve it: his imaginative writing and, in particular, his first literary masterpiece.

Picasso also drew Apollinaire as a naked bodybuilder, holding *La Culture physique*, a sports magazine to which he contributed two long articles in February and March 1907, “La Danse est un sport” (*Pr* 3, pp. 393–402) and “Guy de Maupassant athlète” (*Pr* 2, pp. 1195–1202). Also in March 1907, he drew Apollinaire as a duelist, wearing a billowing white shirt over a magnificent torso and expertly holding a rapier, as Max Jacob stands by in a frockcoat and top hat (*PAC*, p. 67). The picture commemorates the duel that never was, when Apollinaire sent two witnesses, Jean de Mitty and Max, to challenge the journalist Max Daireaux, who had published a supposedly insulting article on him. A compromise was found and the modernist poet laid down his sword, without renouncing the chivalric values of his Polish ancestors. Sometimes Picasso ages Apollinaire, projecting him twenty years forward, but also perhaps indicating the gravitas and encyclopedic knowledge he could often display.⁴ A Picasso drawing that hispanized his friend, dressing him as a picador, was a supreme compliment, though a laconic entry in the poet’s diary suggests that he was not exactly a *corrida* aficionado. On 10 December 1917 he noted, “This evening Picasso came to see me with Koklova and they talked about bullfighting.”⁵

In his autobiographical novella “The Assassinated Poet,” Apollinaire drew his own portrait as he hurriedly climbed the slopes of Montmartre: “His extremely mobile features appeared successively full of joy or worry. His eyes devoured everything they beheld and when his eyelids rapidly opened and closed like jaws, they swallowed the universe” (*Pr* 1, p. 254). He knew that his voracious visual appetite and flickering transitions between joy and worry were fundamental character traits. Picasso’s caricatures succinctly mirror these qualities, capturing Apollinaire’s anxious expression with wonderful graphic economy in bright, worried eyes beneath arched and wavy eyebrows. Apollinaire referred to this aspect of Picasso’s portraits when he wrote, in his 1913 book *The Cubist Painters*, that “the idea of dying came to Picasso as he was watching his best friend’s worriedly jockeying circumflex eyebrows.”⁶ Apollinaire here recognized how Picasso had expressed his inner insecurity. His reference to mortality, Picasso’s familiar demon, underlines the serious side of these drawings that expose complex psychological truths. Their very diversity perspicaciously reflects Apollinaire’s taste for new experiences, his polymorphic personality, and the quest for identity that energizes his writing.

These caricatures are united by recurring trademark details, such as the eyebrows, the pipe or cigarette, and the pear-shaped outline of Apollinaire’s head. By exaggerating the poet’s broad jowls, Picasso invented a schematic, comic, and instantly recognizable blueprint, a basis for improvisation. By his repeated representation of a pyriform head, Picasso also inscribed his portraits of Apollinaire into a prestigious French satirical tradition. In 1831 Charles Philipon, who founded the periodical *La Caricature* and pioneered the French illustrated press, famously published a page of four drawings that progressively transformed the head of King Louis-Philippe into a pear. The image successfully associated the king with the grocer’s trade, epitomizing petit bourgeois comfort and social atavism, and also worked linguistically, because in French slang a *poire*, or pear, is

a fool or blockhead. Other illustrators, including Daumier, soon adopted his pyriform shorthand, and the satirical campaign was so sustained that it contributed to the fall of the monarchy in 1848.⁷ Its impact was felt throughout the nineteenth century, leading Alfred Jarry to adopt a similar pear shape for the character of Ubu. Jarry's engravings of Ubu were published in 1896 editions of *Ubu Roi*, and he also made an ink drawing of "Monsieur Ubu," wearing a bowler hat. Picasso's interest in these images is confirmed by six similar sketches of the comic dictator that he drew in 1905 (MP 508v).

In his caricatures of Apollinaire, Picasso continued the pyriform tradition, transferring Ubu's shape to the poet. In some of his Apollinaire portraits, Picasso indulged in Ubuesque vulgarity, showing him scratching or defecating. The Apollinaire-Ubu link also implied recognition of the poet's efforts on Jarry's behalf, publishing and promoting him. When Picasso's caricatures of Apollinaire show him walking his mother's dog on a leash or wearing a royal crown on his pear-shaped head, the artist depicts the poet as part Oedipus Rex, part Ubu Roi. That does not prevent the crown from also signifying the true nobility of the poet's profession. The abrasive anger and dark hostility underlying the creations of Philipon and Jarry are absent from Picasso's caricatures of Apollinaire, which demonstrate amused observation, inventive imagination, brilliant draftsmanship, and constant affection.

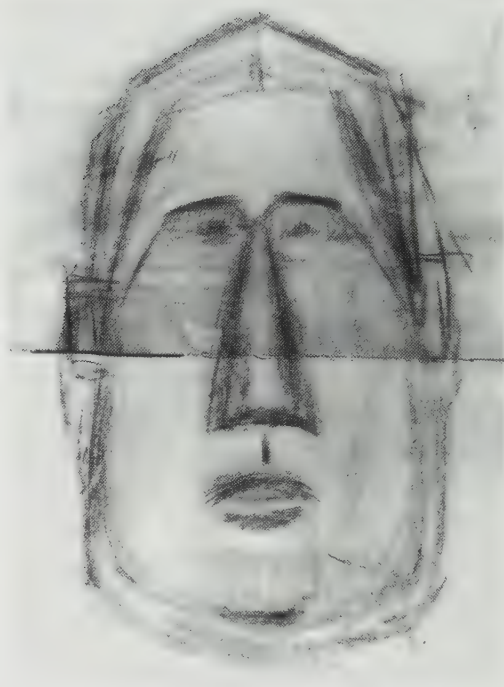
Picasso drew no friend more often than Apollinaire, and this obsessive reworking of the poet's features bears witness to the status he gave Apollinaire as his most charismatic companion. The caricatures also served a significant function in the evolution of Picasso's art during the first two years of their friendship.

Metamorphosis is central to the art of caricature, where distortion and exaggeration serve to demonstrate fundamental truths. If it is true that caricature remodels external form to express reality, the same is true of Cubism. Picasso, in practicing caricature, was limbering up for Cubism. By endlessly repeating Apollinaire's schematized features Picasso prefigured and rehearsed the lessons he would learn from African and Iberian sculptures, which similarly communicate expressive truth without being naturalistically mimetic. The Apollinaire caricatures prepared Picasso for eventual completion of the faithful but masklike features in his portrait of Gertrude Stein, and that painting was a major advance toward the *Demoiselles d'Avignon*.

Apollinaire himself was well aware of the aesthetic import of caricature. André Salmon records a conversation with the Italian painter Gino Severini on the topic of Modigliani and caricature. Severini considered that "it would be hard to say to what extent the spirit of caricature interested Modigliani," but he provided a telling quote on the subject from Apollinaire: "Guillaume Apollinaire once said to me: 'The spirit of caricature has played an important part in the development of modern art; you will realize that later on.' I have always thought that he was right."⁸

Another portrait of Apollinaire, in a very different register, is the monumental view of the poet's head that Picasso drew in 1908 (fig. 13). The charcoal portrait is spread over two sheets, each with another drawing on the reverse, now held in separate collections

13. Pablo Picasso, *Head (Guillaume Apollinaire)*, 1908. Charcoal, 25 × 32 cm. Musée Picasso, Paris, France. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Photo courtesy of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.



(MP 575v and Picasso Succession). Bringing them together reveals a front view of Apollinaire's face, drawn as if carved from a block of stone or wood. Copious shading, deep and close-set eyes, and the wedge of the nose, in emphatic relief, accentuate the sculptural effect. The broad chin and neck are the solid base of an egg-shaped oval, whose narrowing toward the top accentuates the massiveness of the image, drawn in diminishing perspective. Weight and scale are further emphasized by the narrow margins, as the head fills both sheets of paper. By its monumental presence, vertical perspective, and sunken eyes, this masklike drawing also evokes the stone figures of Easter Island. It can be compared to Picasso's oil paintings of sculptural and hieratic female nudes from 1908 (State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg). More specifically, the drawing resembles two oil paintings (Z II*, 91, 92) and charcoal drawings (Z VI, 1002–9) of Mme. Puthman, the farmer's widow and "strapping matriarch"⁹ who was Picasso's landlady during his August 1908 vacation, at the hamlet of La Rue-des-Bois, near the town of Creil, about forty miles north of Paris. From there Picasso sent Apollinaire a pressing invitation: "My dear Guillaume, just imagine how pleased I am to be seeing you here I await only your arrival I embrace you Picasso" (PAC, p. 70). Apollinaire duly joined Picasso and Fernande in their rural retreat, where this portrait was probably drawn. Like some 1907 drawings of André Salmon, this portrait of Apollinaire demonstrates how the interplay between two- and three-dimensional representation and increasingly schematic composition contributed to the development of analytical Cubism.



14. Pablo Picasso, *Apollinaire*
Photographed in the Artist's Studio,
boulevard de Clichy, 1910 (MP
 1998–239). © 2007 Estate of Pablo
 Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS),
 New York.

Picasso's next major portrait of Apollinaire was a Cubist masterpiece, designed as a frontispiece for his 1913 collection of poems, *Alcools* (PAC, p. 101). This would be followed by at least one other great portrait, the 1916 profile of Apollinaire in uniform with a bandaged head that served as a frontispiece for *Calligrammes* (PAC, p. 151). Both works, to which I will return later, were gifts to Apollinaire.

Picasso collected photographs of Apollinaire, among them an extraordinary set of press photographs of the poet at the Palais de Justice in September 1911, under arrest and accused of taking part in the theft of Iberian sculptures from the Louvre (AP PH 4292–4295). Picasso also owned a signed wartime photo of Apollinaire with his girlfriend in Algeria, Madeleine Pagès (PAC, p. 136), and several photos taken after the poet's trepanation, notably one of him with a bandaged head, at the Italian Hospital in Paris, in spring 1916 (AP PH 4291). Other photos, which probably came to her from Picasso, were discovered in Dora Maar's collection, auctioned in 1998, including a studio portrait of Apollinaire, in starched collar and bowler hat, with Annie Playden in Cologne in 1902.¹⁰

An exceptional photograph of Apollinaire, unknown before the Dora Maar sale, was taken by Picasso himself in his 11 boulevard de Clichy studio (MP 1998–239) (fig. 14). Dating from autumn 1910, it shows Apollinaire aged thirty, in a three-piece suit, seated with hands clasped, bright eyes, and a worried look. The slight blurring of the picture accentuates the sense of precarious instability in the poet's features.¹¹ Behind the poet, looking over his right shoulder, stands Picasso's Tiki sculpture from the Marquesas Islands.



15. Pablo Picasso, *Guillaume Apollinaire Photographed in the Artist's Studio at 11 boulevard de Clichy, Paris, Fall 1910, 1910*. Musée Picasso, Paris, France. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Photo courtesy of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.

Another photo by Picasso, from about the same time, shows Apollinaire seated elsewhere in the studio (AP PH 2817) (fig. 15).¹² The photo has been carefully staged to incorporate several emblems of the poet's identity, including his trusty pipe; the book or magazine open on his lap; the hefty, laced boots of this long-distance walker, for whom life is movement, and who writes his poems as he wanders the streets; and the watch chain on his waistcoat, confirming Max Jacob's description of his "very broad chest, crossed by a platinum watch-chain."¹³ The main element in the décor is, again, the large Tiki sculpture, sharing the center of the composition like the poet's familiar and as a focus of occult forces. Its presence transforms the photograph into an aesthetic manifesto and emphasizes Apollinaire's role as a promoter of the tribal arts of Africa and Oceania. The two photographs Picasso took of Apollinaire are thus as carefully composed as his paintings, as psychologically revealing as his caricatures, and equally redolent with fascinated, fraternal empathy.

From Blaise Pascal to Fantômas

A Shared Literary Landscape

PROFESSIONAL EMPATHY WAS the primary bond between Picasso and Apollinaire. The poet started writing on art at the age of twenty-one, collected contemporary art, and made hundreds of drawings and paintings. The painter loved literature, welcomed poets to the Bateau Lavoir by writing “Au Rendez-vous des poètes” with blue chalk on his door,¹ and later wrote many poems and plays himself.

Max Jacob was Picasso's main guide to French language and literature from 1901 until 1905. Jaime Sabartés recalled that from the early days of their friendship Max would read from Verlaine's collection *Sagesse*, reciting slowly and theatrically.² Verlaine combined modern urban imagery with rhythmical, clear language, often in short poems, making him an accessible choice. He remained a favorite with Picasso, who, in a 1905 sketchbook containing drawings for *Family of Saltimbanques*, copied out Verlaine's poem “Cortège” from the 1869 collection *Fêtes galantes* and made drawings to illustrate it (Sketchbook 002, MP 1855, pp. 37–43). Verlaine was also a model for Apollinaire's lyrical modernism.

When Picasso moved into Max's room on boulevard Voltaire in 1903, Max used to read aloud from the Romantic poetry of Alfred de Vigny, apparently bringing them both to tears.³ Vigny's great poem “Moses,” whose hero is a solitary figure uprooted and burdened by divine gifts, crops up in an undated poem Picasso wrote for Max, with terrible French spelling. Fractured and strangely modern, it is entitled “Poem to Thank You for Your Drawing”:

It's Sunday night at Guillaume's place
and I'm wearing my white corduroy trousers
my big red sweater
and my black jacket
I'm by the fire with a pipe in

my hand
I'm thinking about you and the rice from
the other evening about your logical lines
Moses and Stendhal⁴

The “rice” must be a paella they ate, the “logical lines” recall Max’s talent for palmistry, while the last line of the poem reminds us that when Fernande Olivier met Picasso she found only one book in his studio, Stendhal’s *De l’amour*, a collection of aphorisms and reflections on love published in 1853. But Picasso, she wrote, “works too hard to be able to devote any time to books.”⁵

When André Salmon first visited the Bateau Lavoir, Picasso spoke enthusiastically of modern French literature and presented him with two volumes that were lying in a tin tub, a book of verse by Félicien Fagus, *Testament de ma vie première*, published in 1898, and a collection of plays by Paul Claudel, entitled *L’Arbre*, published in 1901.⁶ The poetry probably came directly from Fagus, art critic at *La Revue blanche*. The other volume may have been left by Charles Dullin, who knew Claudel’s *Tête d’or* by heart.⁷ Recalling that first visit in a radio interview, Salmon stated that Picasso seemed pleased to see him and Apollinaire and that they talked late into the night: “I saw that Picasso was a beguiling painter, and also a sort of poet, or at least a man for whom poetry was singularly important.”⁸

At about that time Picasso wrote to Jacint Reventós in Barcelona, expressing an interest in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century French literature: “Tell me whether you know Rabelais’s *Gargantua*. Perhaps you know it in Spanish but what a difference. La Bruyère and all the classic French writers. One of these days I’ll send you a book by Pascal you may not know.”⁹ Picasso’s ear for language was later confirmed by Kahnweiler: “Picasso had a very keen sense of French poetry. Apollinaire once told me, ‘Even several years ago, when he could hardly speak French, he was completely able to judge, to immediately appreciate the beauty of a poem.’”¹⁰ Reading their poetry aloud was a normal social activity for the Bateau Lavoir poets, with “still too Symbolist” being Max’s habitually mischievous response.¹¹ Picasso was apparently highly receptive to the poetry but also to the poets’ conversation, assimilating a mass of informed opinions.

On Tuesdays, Apollinaire would take Picasso on foot to the literary evenings in an upstairs room at the Closerie des Lilas, near Montparnasse, sponsored by *Vers et prose* magazine. Picasso would spend his time drawing, covering sheets with jostling caricatures of Apollinaire, Salmon, Henry Delormel, and pretty girls. He also drew picturesque older habitués, among them Paul Fort, whose portrait, in a wash drawing, Picasso gave Apollinaire (*PAC*, p. 57). Fort had been a theater director and had edited *Le Livre d’art*, which had first published *Ubu Roi*; his peers had elected him “Prince of Poets.” Another fixture Picasso often sketched was Jean Moréas (*PAC*, p. 49), author of the 1886 *Symbolist Manifesto*, who subsequently reacted against Symbolist obscurity by founding the Romanesque School of poetry (*Ecole Romane*). After a return visit to his native Greece in 1898, he published *Stances*, a two-volume collection that expressed an impersonal and strictly controlled

classical aesthetic. In 1905, Moréas looked back on his break with Symbolism and remarked, "Today I have the pleasure of noting that everyone is returning to classicism and antiquity."¹² He influenced Apollinaire and Salmon, and Picasso was also susceptible to this neoclassical trend in such "Hellenic" works as his 1906 *Two Youths* (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art).

Picasso took a lively interest in Apollinaire's literary career. All his life he held onto his extremely rare first edition of Apollinaire's first novel, the extravagantly pornographic *Les Onze Mille Verges*, published in late 1906. His is one of only three known copies personally inscribed in Apollinaire's hand (the others were for Cremnitz and Pierre Mac Or-lan). The inscription to Picasso is an acrostic in alexandrines, inviting him to surpass the exploits and immortal glory of the novel's hero, Mony Vibescu (PAC, p. 198–99). Picasso sometimes claimed that the book was Apollinaire's greatest masterpiece.¹³ His letters to the poet provide further information. For example, on 8 February 1911 Picasso wrote to thank the poet for a copy of his edition of Francisco Delicado's *Dialogue du Zoppino* (PAC, p. 84). On 9 and 24 August 1911, Picasso wrote from Céret to congratulate Apollinaire on stories he had published in the newspaper *Le Matin*, referring no doubt to "The Blue Eye" ("L'Oeil bleu") and "Garrulous Memories" ("Les Souvenirs bavards"), published on 31 July and 22 August, the latter tale being, according to Picasso, "the most beautiful you've published in the papers for some time" (PAC, pp. 87, 88). On 29 May 1913, he wrote to Apollinaire from Céret, "I've received your book *ALCOOLS*. You know how much I love you and you know how joyful I am. Reading your poetry I'm very happy." He backed up these words with a gift, including in the letter of thanks a beautiful little papier collé (PAC, p. 106). On his honeymoon, in August 1918, Picasso decorated the house he and his wife had been lent in Biarritz with wall paintings that included lyrical lines from *Calligrammes* (PAC, pp. 9 and 176).

Picasso confirmed to Pierre Daix that "Apollinaire was someone who encouraged his reading and who also unearthed rare texts for him."¹⁴ Apollinaire used to lend Picasso books, and his enthusiasm for all literary highways and byways was contagious. In 1905 Picasso drew Alice Princet (wife of the "Cubist mathematician" Maurice Princet), later to become Alice Derain, reading Apollinaire's copy of Restif de la Bretonne's *L'Anti-Justine*, the eighteenth-century erotic novel he brought to rue Ravignan but reputedly would not let out of his sight.¹⁵ Restif turned up in the stacks of books Picasso accumulated at the Bateau Lavoir, "not methodically organized, but piled up in any order": "Detective and adventure novels were there alongside our best poets, so there were red-cover paperbacks on Sherlock Holmes, Nick Carter, and Buffalo Bill beside Verlaine, Rimbaud, and Mallarmé. He loved the eighteenth century, represented by Diderot, Rousseau, and Restif de la Bretonne."¹⁶ His collection resembled a reduced version of Apollinaire's own library, equally well stocked in eighteenth-century literature, contemporary poetry, and pulp fiction, excluding only novels of ordinary life (though Picasso always admired Zola, the great Naturalist novelist, as a writer and as a man).¹⁷

Rimbaud was there, of course. His collected works had first been published in 1898,

and further, unpublished poems appeared in 1905 in the *Revue de Paris et de Champagne*. In the May–June issue of that same periodical, André Salmon published his poem “Arthur Rimbaud,” which glorified him as a child genius, rebel angel, African adventurer, and utopian visionary. According to Max Jacob, defining the Bateau Lavoir poets, “Our literary opinions were summed up in these words, which were at the time so important, *Down with Laforgue! Long live Rimbaud!*”¹⁸—a slogan to which Apollinaire still partly adhered in 1916, when he wrote to Max of his “strong dislike” for Laforgue (OC IV, p. 745). There are clear parallels between the works of Rimbaud, the 1870s rebel, and those of Picasso, especially in 1907, and especially between *Les Demoiselles d’Avignon* and the opening of *A Season in Hell*: “One night, I sat Beauty on my knee.—And I found her bitter.—And I insulted her.” Apollinaire would make a similar statement in his 1913 book *The Cubist Painters*, where he wrote, just before his chapter on Picasso, “I consider the modern school of painting to be the most daring that has ever existed. It has raised the question of beauty itself.”¹⁹ There is a willful savagery in Picasso’s 1907 masterpiece that transposes in paint the disjunctive rhythms and the provocatively pro-African, anticolonial sentiments expressed in “Mauvais Sang” (Bad Blood) and Rimbaud’s other *Season in Hell* prose poems.

The works of Cervantes were another field of interest shared by both Picasso and Apollinaire, as is evident in the postcard Picasso sent on 29 March 1907 to “Monsieur Señor Don Guillaume Apollinaire,” which bears an ink drawing of Don Quixote on Rosinante, his bony steed, near a windmill, beneath a blazing Castillian sun (PAC, p. 61) (fig. 16). Cervantes had been in the news since 1905, the year of the tricentenary of his novel, and in January 1904 Apollinaire had published a long article in *L’Européen*, celebrating the writer and looking forward to the 1905 festivities (Pr 2, pp. 1187–90). In 1898 Apollinaire had started translating Boccaccio (OC 4, p. 695), and Picasso had tried translating a poem by Juan Maragall that he copied into a 1906 sketchbook (PAC, p. 78). In 1910 Apollinaire and Picasso envisaged a joint translation of “The Glass Graduate” from Cervantes’ *Exemplary Stories*, about a young man who, after being poisoned by a love potion, believes he is made of glass. In his letters of 1 and 17 August 1910 Picasso, away in Spain, told Apollinaire he approved of the translation idea, and the project resurfaced in a letter from Apollinaire, dated 22 March 1917, that drew another positive response from Picasso, away in Italy (PAC, pp. 78–81 and pp. 149, 152). Like their other collaborative ideas, the Cervantes translation started well but eventually foundered.²⁰

Apollinaire and Picasso also both admired Blaise Pascal. Picasso mentioned him in his 1905 letter to Reventós, and in January 1910, reviewing a Cézanne exhibition at the Bernheim Gallery for *Paris-Journal*, Apollinaire wrote, “Nobody reminds one of Pascal as much as Cézanne. The former’s literary gifts were comparable to the latter’s artistic gifts. What they both expressed has that same greatness ‘which is sometimes beyond understanding’” (Pr 2, pp. 126–27). Apollinaire again referred to Pascal in one of his last letters to Picasso, dated 11 September 1918, praising him as modern, profound, and clear, saying “You rightly appreciate him, I think. He’s a man we can both like” (PAC, p. 181). Pascal was the great philosopher of seventeenth-century France, who combined a mod-



16. Pablo Picasso, *Don Quixote*, postcard to Apollinaire, 29 March 1907. Ink on card. Private collection.
 © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

ern spiritual unease with classical rigor of thought and expression. A classical sense of order, serving high intellectual aspirations, was the quality Apollinaire discerned in both Cézanne and Picasso. He often referred to a fathomless chasm at the core of Picasso's work, in his Blue period, for example, where the painter plumbed "the damp depths of the abyss," or in Cubism, where "severely, he questioned the universe" and "grew accustomed to the immense light of the depths."²¹ Pascal, in his *Pensées*, gazed into the night and wrote, "The eternal silence of those infinite spaces terrifies me." Apollinaire saw that infinite space at the heart of Picasso's work, recalling Pascal, the father of existential angst.

In a different register, the detective and cowboy novels Raynal noticed in Picasso's studio reflected a fashion among the new-wave French poets, particularly Apollinaire and Blaise Cendrars, who reveled in their production-line writing and sensational covers. These American-style paperbacks were flooding the cities thanks to new print technology and distribution networks. They seemed to epitomize modernity and so to provide an inspirational alternative to established literary canons. Apollinaire sings their praises in his 1912 poem "Zone," which opens *Alcools*, but already in 1910 he was suggesting that "reading popular novels of imagination and adventure is a poetic occupation of the highest order," citing Dumas and Paul Féval, "American popular epics of Nick Carter and Buffalo Bill," and the home-grown Fantômas stories by Pierre Souvestre and Marcel Allain (*Pr* 3, p. 215) (figs. 17 and 18). In a letter to Picasso on 7 August 1910, Apollinaire wrote that the novelist Elémir Bourges (a member of the Académie Goncourt) "has read all the Nick Carters at a rate of three every two hours, and ditto the Buffalo Bills. No more sign of

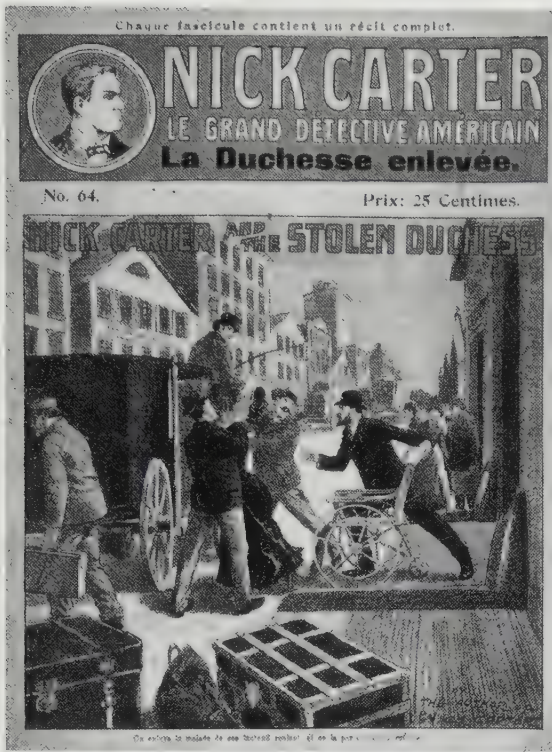


17. Pierre Souvestre and Marcel Allain, *Fantômas*. Collection Mousseau.

Braque, who was supposed to bring me some Nick Carters" (PAC, p. 80). Again on 4 July 1914, Apollinaire informed Picasso that "Max is still reading *Fantômas* like me and everybody else but is furious that Blaise Cendrars has already written a poem about *Fantômas* and is preparing one of his own designed to compete against the first one" (PAC, p. 119). *Fantômas*, the mysterious master criminal, outwitting the police across the rooftops and through the subways of Paris, seemed particularly modern and appealed to an anarchist streak in his fans. All this popular culture also fed directly into Cubism, which assimilated the commercial vitality of popular songs, advertisements, sensational headlines, newsprint, and pulp fiction in, for example, Picasso's 1911 canvas *Buffalo Bill* (Z II*, 255).

Breakneck adventure stories were influenced by movies, and *Fantômas*, in turn, soon appeared in films. Apollinaire included cinema reviews, by Maurice Raynal, in his magazine *Les Soirées de Paris*, and this was another antiacademic art form that he and Picasso explored together. Georges Sadoul reported a conversation with Picasso on the topic: "Cinema, Picasso said to me one day, I got interested in that even before the First World War. I used to go a lot with Guillaume Apollinaire, but without thinking of anything in particular, just as we might go to a café."²²

In a 1923 newspaper interview Picasso paid tribute to his companions, the new generation of poets who redefined their art by rejecting clichés and also the evanescent imagery, recondite vocabulary, and oblique syntax of Symbolism: "In literature, you know



18. Nick Carter: The Great American Detective. Collection Mousseau.

the writers who are responsible for a new state of mind, a new spirit. The most timorous writers no longer dare to write 'Venus, born of the bitter waves' and the phrase 'coral lips' produces an unbearably dated and old-fashioned effect. Alternately inspiring and inspired by Cubism, Max Jacob, Apollinaire, and Salmon sought a formal precision, born of clear thinking that brings a new attitude to language."²³ According to the interviewer, Picasso gave credit to the part played in his own creative evolution by cross-fertilization between art and literature.

Picasso's poet friends were extraordinarily free-spirited, accepting cultural innovations without necessarily rejecting established intellectual values and embracing whatever they enjoyed in a nonsectarian way. Apollinaire, in particular, could move from Pascal to Buffalo Bill without batting an eye and could justify the transition with cogent arguments and a broad grin. Such an example was naturally exhilarating to Picasso after his academic training in Spain. Endlessly variable combinations of classical and modern, of literary and demotic, of high culture and low culture energize all Apollinaire's creative writing. On Picasso's side, Cubism is riddled with the similarly incongruous juxtapositions that soon engendered the art of collage. Apollinaire defined his own creative theory and practice in a lapidary motto that sums up his open-minded creative dynamism and, if adapted to suit the visual arts, could just as well apply to the whole of Picasso's philosophy and output: "There is no literary ideal / Ever onward."²⁴

Outside the Academy

From Douanier Rousseau to Tribal Art

ALWAYS REACHING BEYOND established literary settlements, Apollinaire increasingly took that frontier spirit into his exploration of contemporary visual arts, scouting for innovative or unconventional forms of expression. With similar tastes and attitudes, Picasso and Apollinaire shared an enthusiasm for artists such as Douanier Rousseau or Giorgio de Chirico and for African and Oceanian sculptures.

Apollinaire probably met Henri Rousseau through Alfred Jarry and certainly went with Picasso to Rousseau's music and poetry recitals in his Montparnasse studio.¹ Picasso organized his famous party for Rousseau in late November 1908 to celebrate his discovery of a painting by the artist in a junk shop opposite the Médrano Circus. Dating probably from 1895, it is a full-length, almost life-size portrait of a woman, dressed in black, with short hair and stolid features but sensitive, almond-shaped eyes (fig. 19). The background represents the fortifications built around Paris after the Franco-Prussian War in a peripheral area known as the "Zone," while a brocade curtain, secured with a tasseled rope, sumptuously frames the left side of the composition. Guests at the Rousseau banquet included Max Jacob, Salmon, Cremnitz, Raynal, Apollinaire's old friend René Dalize, Braque, the Spanish sculptor Agero, Jacques Vaillant, Maurice de Vlaminck, and Marie Laurencin. Raynal, in a special Henri Rousseau issue of *Les Soirées de Paris* in 1914, recalled that the company also included "a lot of charming women," and collectors and connoisseurs from Germany and America, among them Gertrude and Leo Stein and Alice Toklas. Apollinaire accompanied Rousseau across Paris and up to Picasso's studio to be enthroned in front of his great painting, which was draped in banners. Fernande made a paella, Picasso provided fifty bottles of wine, and other guests piled in after the meal.² Cremnitz sang a song, Rousseau played the violin, other musicians and singers, including Braque, joined in, Marie Laurencin got completely drunk, and Apollinaire recited a toast to Rousseau in six quatrains of suitably classical design:



19. Henri Rousseau, *Portrait of a Woman*, 1895. Oil on canvas, 160 × 105 cm. Musée Picasso, Paris, France. Photo by R. G. Ojeda, courtesy of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.

We are gathered here to celebrate your glory,
And the time has now come for us all to drink
This wine that in your honor Picasso is serving,
With a united chorus of "Vive! Vive Rousseau!"

Rousseau wrote to Apollinaire after the party, in a letter dated 4 December, "If you see Picasso and the other gentlemen, give them my best wishes, without forgetting Madame, and thank you for the kind party."³

The event was definitely not, as has been suggested, a charade at Rousseau's expense, and indeed, from 1908 onward, Picasso's own work readily adopted elements of the Douanier's style and imagery.⁴ From November 1908 to late January 1909, Rousseau painted two versions of an impressive portrait of Apollinaire with his muse (Moscow, Pushkin State Museum, and Basel, Kunstmuseum), and the poet and Picasso indeed particularly appreciated Rousseau's portrait paintings. Picasso bought, probably in 1913, a colorful painting of 1907, celebrating international peace, fraternity, and diversity, that included a red Marianne, symbol of the Republic, young people dancing in a circle, and, according to John Richardson, likenesses of six presidents of the Republic and all the major crowned heads of Europe.⁵ Twenty-five years later, Picasso acquired a self-portrait by Rousseau and its pendant, representing his second wife, the portrait "in blacks and delicate shades of gray" that Apollinaire had admired in *The Cubist Painters*.

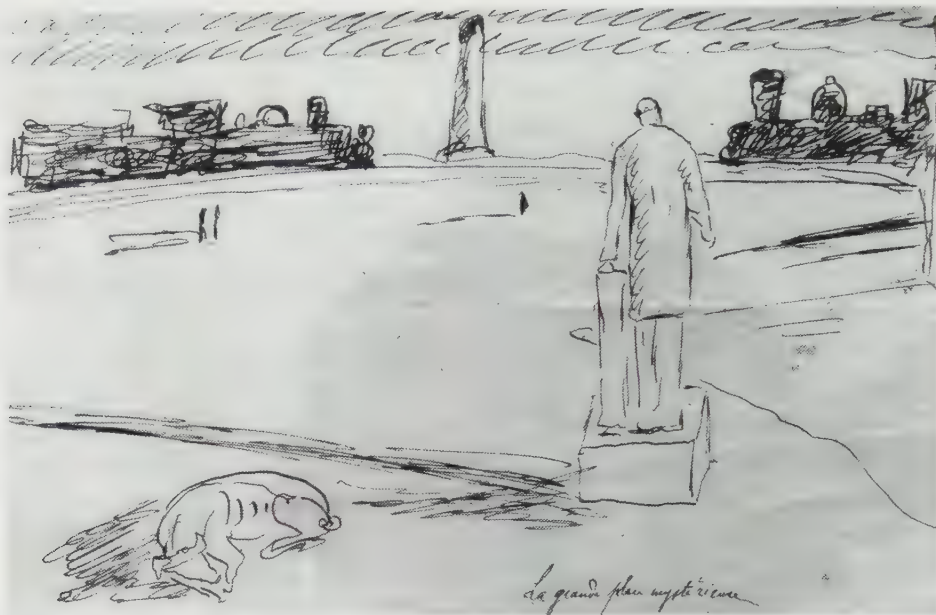
Apollinaire, initially skeptical about Rousseau, became a fervent convert. Although Rousseau exhibited five works at the 1906 Salon des indépendants, the poet, in his copy of the catalog, noted only "Jarry's friend."⁶ Apollinaire noted in a review of the 1908 Salon des indépendants that Gauguin had admired Rousseau's use of black but also suggested that Rousseau lacked the intellectual ambition and sense of direction that make a true artist (*Po* 2, p. 108). By the time of the banquet and the Apollinaire portraits, however, the poet had changed his mind, and from December 1908 the Douanier's letters to him adopt the *tu* form of address, showing how friendly they had become. From then on, Apollinaire campaigned for Rousseau. He pointed out in 1910 how much other contemporary artists admired Rousseau (*Pr* 2, p. 144), published affectionate memories of him in the *Mercure de France* in 1911 (*Pr* 3, pp. 60–63), and inserted a substantial section on him in the Marie Laurencin chapter of *The Cubist Painters*, highlighting his serenity in the face of public ridicule and his gift for color and composition. In January 1914 he produced the Rousseau issue of *Les Soirées de Paris*, and he later wrote a book on the Douanier, which Figuière planned to publish after the war.⁷ In 1913 Apollinaire wrote a poetic epitaph in chalk on Rousseau's tomb, which Brancusi and Ortis de Zarate incised in the stone. He also joined a committee campaigning for a Rousseau monument, to be designed by Archipenko.⁸ When Apollinaire highlighted "a long revolt against academic routine, by Cézanne, Van Gogh, and Douanier Rousseau" (*Pr* 2, p. 529), he summarized what Rousseau meant for Picasso and himself, asserting that his single-minded originality had earned him a place among the greatest modern masters.

Picasso's admiration for Giorgio de Chirico lessened as time passed, partly, no doubt, because Chirico began to produce pastiches of his early masterpieces. Pierre Daix "never heard Picasso say anything good about Chirico."⁹ According to Jean Mollet, however, Picasso and Apollinaire together launched Chirico on the Paris art scene. He made his Paris début at the 1912 Salon des indépendants, and Apollinaire perspicaciously spotted his works amid literally miles of other canvases. Apollinaire and Picasso obtained his address, "decided to do everything they could to gain recognition for Chirico," and persuaded the young dealer Paul Guillaume to take all his output, against a monthly fee of 100 francs.¹⁰

Mollet's stories may not be gospel, but this one rings true. Paul Guillaume himself wrote, "Regarding Chirico, it is perhaps worth recalling that this painter was first discovered by Guillaume Apollinaire in 1913."¹¹ From the start, Apollinaire emphasized his complete originality: "He descends neither from Matisse, nor from Picasso; and he does not descend from the Impressionists" (*Pr* 2, p. 603). Apollinaire persistently promoted the work of the painter he described as "untutored and gifted" (*Pr* 2, p. 610). Chirico became a fixture at his flat on boulevard Saint-Germain, and he and Picasso also used to meet Chirico at Serge Férat's flat, amid his extensive collection of Rousseau paintings. Chirico gave Apollinaire *The Great Tower* (Düsseldorf, Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen) and then, in 1914, two more of his paintings, both featuring a marble bust anachronistically wearing dark glasses to evoke the visionary powers of blind, Homeric poets. One of them, *Portrait of the Poet*, would later belong to André Breton. The other is the magnificent *Premonitory Portrait of Guillaume Apollinaire* (Paris, Musée national d'art moderne), which features a dark profile in the background with a white circle on its forehead, marking the spot where Apollinaire would be wounded by shrapnel in 1916. To highlight its prophetic significance, Apollinaire included an engraving of this painting in ten collector's-edition copies of the program for the 1917 première of his play *The Breasts of Tiresias*. In return for the paintings, and at his request, Apollinaire dedicated to Chirico one of his greatest war poems, "Ocean of Earth" (*Po*, p. 268). Breton would later recall that Chirico "often left it to Apollinaire to think up titles for his pictures."¹² The Chirico cult was part of Apollinaire's multifarious legacy to Surrealism.

Picasso's interest in Chirico lasted at least until the late 1930s, when he bought from Paul Eluard a set of metaphysical drawings, dating from that stunning 1913 to 1915 period, bound with manuscript poems and a rare Italian book on the painter (MP 3590) (fig. 20).¹³ Several works by Picasso, including his 1925 *Atelier à la tête de plâtre* (Z V, 445), clearly refer to Chirico's style and iconography.¹⁴ Picasso's 1918 painting *Bathers* (MP 61) recalls Chirico in its deliberately untutored aspect, the strangeness of the inanimate objects, the illogical perspective, the colors, the light, and the sense of foreboding, as if this, at last, is the seascape that, in Chirico paintings, is hidden but implied, behind a wall or over the horizon.

Picasso and Apollinaire were also equally passionate about the tribal arts of Africa and the South Pacific. Picasso first discovered the expressive power of African art in autumn



20. Giorgio de Chirico, *La Grande Place mystérieuse*, 1913–14. Drawing, ink on paper, 13.2 × 20.9 cm.
© 2007 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/SIAE, Rome. Photo courtesy of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.

1906, when, at Gertrude Stein's flat, Matisse showed him a Congolese sculpture he had bought from a curiosity shop. Then in the spring of 1907 Picasso went alone to the dusty, neglected Ethnographic Museum at the Trocadéro. There he had a real epiphany, described in two undated pages of quotations that Apollinaire typed out and entitled "Sayings by Pablo Picasso" (PAC, pp. 201–4): "I experienced my greatest artistic emotions when the sublime beauty of sculptures by unnamed artists of Africa suddenly appeared before me. These religious, passionate, and rigorously logical works of art are the most powerful and beautiful products of the human imagination." Many years later, in conversation with André Malraux, Picasso added, "The masks were not sculptures like other sculptures. Not at all. They were magical things. . . . The Negroes were intercessors; I learned the French word for that then. They were against everything; against unknown, dangerous spirits."¹⁵ That awareness of their ritualistic function and supernatural charisma shaped and colored *Les Femmes d'Alger*.

Apollinaire first referred to tribal art in 1906, when he planned to write a book entitled *The Art of Savages* (*L'Art chez les sauvages*).¹⁶ In December 1907, writing on Matisse, he lauded African sculptors who "manage to reproduce the human face without using any element taken directly from visual perception," and he emphasized how important tribal art had become as a nonmimetic model for European artists (*Pr 2*, p. 102). In October 1912, writing "The Beginnings of Cubism" for *Le Temps* (*Pr 2*, pp. 1514–15), Apollinaire gave credit to Vlaminck and Derain, whom he had met in 1904, for collecting African

sculptures and initiating the wave of interest that would “so greatly influence the destiny of French art.”

In October 1909, in an article titled “On Museums” (*Pr* 2, pp. 122–24), he prophetically called for the Louvre to exhibit “exotic masterpieces whose appearance is no less moving than that of the most beautiful examples of Western sculpture,” adding that “many artists no longer hide their admiration for unknown sculptors of the Congo, or for the passionate precision of Maori or New Caledonian productions.” Going a step further, he proposed the building in Paris of “a great museum of exotic art to replace the Trocadéro Ethnographic Museum,” whose collections were endangered by underfunding.

Apollinaire made clear at the end of “Zone” that he was similarly susceptible to the animistic power invested in tribal sculptures. In that poem, as dawn approaches, he evokes the obscurely religious function of the masks that watch over his sleep (*Po*, p. 44). In 1915 he wrote “The Sighs of the Gunner from Dakar” (*Po*, p. 235), which was perhaps unique in European war poetry in seeing the Great War through the eyes of a black conscript, one of the many Senegalese soldiers shipped over to fight for France. The army decided he was twenty, he says; putting him in uniform, “they turned me white.” His mind travels back to dancing, chanting, and long, noble speeches; to tales of conquest and tribal dispute; to sweet-talking missionaries and the colonial administrator, carried from village to village on indigenous shoulders; to his mother, with her magic spells; and to his village, watched over by sculptures:

I can remember the delicate and worrying
Fetish in the tree
And the double fertility fetish

Picasso and Apollinaire contributed greatly to taking tribal art out of ethnographic museums and junk shops and to the forefront of Western cultural consciousness. The market moved in swiftly behind them. The poet and the painter both lived surrounded by such works. There are photographs of Apollinaire’s sculptures in his boulevard Saint-Germain flat, but Jean Mollet, looking back to Auteuil, where he lived from 1909 to 1912, recalled that he had already owned some then, “in particular a very large one in a corner of the dining room that was covered with nails from head to feet.”¹⁷ This was the Yombé nail fetish, nearly a meter tall, from the Zaire-Congo region, which remained the most impressive piece in his collection (fig. 21). Other works he owned included a polychrome-painted wood sculpture from Bôma, in the Congo, that represented two choirboys, thus synthesizing traditional techniques and Christian iconography; and “The Benin Bird” sculpture from Dahomey, made of reddish-brown, beaten, and engraved copper, which represents a bird with a fish in its beak, flanked by two snakes.¹⁸

For Picasso, the aesthetic and occult power of tribal sculpture made it a delicate and dangerous topic. Indeed, in April 1920 the periodical *Action* famously quoted him as saying, “African art? Never heard of it!” (“Art nègre? Connais pas!”). Over two years later, how-

21. Magic statue Nkisi Nkonde (Yombe nail fetish), twentieth century. Wood and metal, 97 × 47 × 28 cm. Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, France. Photo courtesy of CNAC/MNAM/Dist. Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.



ever, he commented on that phrase in a wide-ranging interview with Florent Fels: “I have already said there is no more I can tell you about ‘art nègre.’ You answered, on my behalf, ‘African art, never heard of it.’ It has all become too familiar to me, my African sculptures lying around everywhere are to bear witness rather than be exemplary.”¹⁹ Tribal art was so much a part of his environment that by 1923 he had completely assimilated it, but he never actually said, “African art? Never heard of it!” He was very reticent about addressing the subject because the fashion for African art was occluding other important models that had also inspired his proto-Cubist work, such as early Iberian and Romanesque sculptures.

Works such as the Pacific *Tiki* and the African nail figure transfigured Picasso’s and Apollinaire’s modern urban interiors and bore witness to their shared conviction that cultural values are relative; that there are many ways of seeing and recounting the world; that some mysteries resist rational analysis; that art can suggest such truths without being mimetic; and that art can carry meaning and significance that make it more than a purely formalist exercise. African and Australasian arts remained for Picasso and Apollinaire indispensable antidotes to traditional, Western canons of beauty. The same non-conformist perspective underpinned their appreciation of Rousseau and Chirico and their eclectic tastes in literature. This attitude was not, however, iconoclastic; it easily coexisted with their immense respect for historical European works, whether by Rabelais or Pascal, Velázquez or Poussin. Their passion for works that flourished outside the cultural mainstream never precluded a continuing dialogue with established Western masterpieces.

The Bestiary, Drawings and Poems

IN 1909 AND 1911 two of the most prized artist's books of the twentieth century were published. Each featured a text by Apollinaire, illustrated by a young, new-wave artist. The first was *The Rotting Magician* (*L'Enchanteur pourrissant*), telling the story of Merlin, tricked by Viviane, trapped in his tomb, and visited by a string of strange characters, including Three Fake Kings. This "funereal Christmas" was serialized in *Le Festin d'Esope* in 1904, but for the 1909 edition Apollinaire composed a new, visionary conclusion, entitled "Onirocritique." By 1908, close to Picasso, courting Marie Laurencin, he was finally able to turn professional and live by his pen. His new conclusion changed his dark rebel text into an affirmative allegory on the transcendent potential of human creativity and the radiant, conciliatory powers of poetry and art.

Picasso's drawing of a druidic figure surrounded by mythical creatures (fig. 12) suggests that he may briefly have considered illustrating the text. It appeared, however, in 1909, with Fauvist woodcuts by André Derain, in an edition of one hundred signed copies, published by Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler. Kahnweiler's first publishing venture, it was Apollinaire's second book, after his 1906 "voluptuous calvary," *Les Onze Mille Verges*.¹

In March 1911 a set of poems by Apollinaire entitled *The Bestiary or Procession of Orpheus* was published by Deplanche in an edition of 120 signed copies, with woodcuts by Raoul Dufy. It was a beautiful book, but for Apollinaire it was a disappointing compromise, as he had been counting on illustrations by Picasso.

Apollinaire's *Bestiary* revived and renewed the thirteenth-century French tradition of the illustrated Book of Beasts by authors such as Guillaume le Clerc or Pierre de Beauvais, who combined zoological curiosity with a moral message. His new collection comprised thirty classically regular short poems on a series of exotic and domestic animals, lined up behind Orpheus, the first poet, who transformed his sorrow into such sweet music that he charmed all the creatures of the earth. Each poem has its own pleasures and

bittersweet message, but the book as a whole offers a poetic allegory on the power of artists and poets, who creatively control the natural world, reformulating reality according to aesthetic imperatives and imagination.

The collection follows an underlying order that evokes the pattern of human life, where the snake and the rabbit represent erotic desire, the cat represents settled domestic contentment, the mouse nibbles time, and all these animals lead up to the last two, the ibis and the ox. The ibis, on the banks of the Nile, is the penultimate animal because *ibis* in Latin means “you will go,” evoking our final mortal crossing. In a draft of “Ibis,” Apollinaire wrote, prophetically, “It’s true that I will go early into the tomb / So be it So be it.”² The ox is given wings because in Middle Eastern traditions cherubim are thus depicted, allowing the book to end with a vision of lost friends gathering amid celestial beings, in heavenly bliss.

Each lapidary poem reveals an aspect of Apollinaire’s life and character, so that the series becomes a wry and cumulative self-portrait. After the tangled syntax and darkly haunted atmosphere of *L’Enchanteur pourrissant*, even with its blazing new conclusion, Apollinaire’s *Bestiary* is a classically pure entertainment. Dufy’s engravings are elegant and reflective, making the volume an unqualified masterpiece.

The 1911 *Bestiary* was an extended version of eighteen poems that Apollinaire had published in the neo-Symbolist magazine *La Phalange* in June 1908. Both publications begin with the following quatrain:

Admire the remarkable power
And nobility of the line:
It is the voice emitted by light
That Hermes Trismegistus refers to in his *Pimander*.

The *Pimander* is a book of arcane wisdom, attributed to Hermes Trismegistus and much favored by the Rosicrucians and other fin-de-siècle sects. For Apollinaire, as for Baudelaire, alchemy analogically evokes poetic creativity. The reference to “thrice-great” Hermes recalls Picasso’s presence as “Harlequin Trismegistus” in the 1905 “Saltimbanques” poem. The introduction to the *Bestiary* discreetly invokes Picasso, considered “thrice-great,” and his dazzling sheets of drawings.

A note in *La Phalange* explained this introduction: “It praises the line drawings, in woodcuts, that will accompany, when it is published as a book, the entertainment from which we here provide a poetic fragment.” These poems were thus always meant to appear in a book, with woodcut illustrations. Apollinaire explained his preference for woodcuts in a subscription bulletin for *L’Enchanteur pourrissant*: “Intimately associated with the invention of printing, woodcuts are the type of engraving that is stylistically best suited to the appearance of a printed page. . . . Let us not forget that the first work to be printed with movable characters and woodcut illustrations was entitled *Letters of Indulgences* and dates from 1454” (*Pr* I, p. 1071). Apollinaire believed that woodcuts by Picasso would make

the *Bestiary* timeless, a modern masterpiece, emulating the earliest illustrated, printed books.

Apollinaire gave manuscript and proof versions of his *Bestiary*, illustrated with his own animal drawings, to the poet Jean Royère, the editor of *La Phalange*; to the Montmartre novelist Francis Carco; and to Louis Marcoussis.³ He also gave a manuscript or set of proofs to Picasso, who sometimes showed it to friends and visitors. In 1919, for example, Picasso spoke with the journalist Georges Martin about the Bateau Lavoir and showed him his signed version of the *Bestiary*:

That was when I got to know Guillaume Apollinaire. We remained faithful friends to the end. Look, here are the proofs of the *Bestiary of Orpheus*, dedicated by him:

May the birds and the animals
The fish and Orpheus
Follow you Picasso
Like an Enchanted Procession⁴

Apollinaire's dedicatory quatrain imagines Picasso casting a spell not only over the creatures of land, sea, and air but even over Orpheus himself. Forty years later, Hélène Parmelin stated that Picasso's big cupboard in his rue des Grands-Augustins studio, known as "the holy of holies," was full of treasures such as antique bullfighting books, ancient sheet music, and "a thousand souvenirs of poets and writers," including manuscripts, *Les Onze Mille Verges*, and "Apollinaire's Bestiaries, among other things, all annotated in his hand, and with unpublished animals that we started reading aloud."⁵ Brassai similarly recalled, "One day, he showed me the manuscript of Apollinaire's *Bestiaries*, which he had filled with animals of all kinds by his own hand."⁶

The whereabouts of Picasso's copy of the *Bestiary*, with drawings and extra poems, is currently unknown. It probably resembles the set of proofs Apollinaire gave to Carco, who in turn gave it to Pierre Mac Orlan.⁷ Each of the poems in that copy is accompanied by a small, splendidly witty drawing by Apollinaire of the animal in question, or of Orpheus dancing. So the flea is absolutely tiny; the locust looks almost human; Orpheus has a very long nose; the octopus has thirteen arms, to resemble a Mediterranean sun; the peacock is proudly displaying its open tail (and so also revealing its behind); the ox is domesticated, wearing a bell, looking like a pantomime animal. Two extra animals, the louse (or crab) and the condor, are added at the end. Such a set of documents was a magnificent gift, containing so much of the poet's skill and wit and indeed the essence of his identity.

Marie Laurencin asserted that "his *Bestiary* was entirely written to please Picasso, who was to illustrate it with unilinear ink drawings, and Guillaume worked enormously on those quatrains, always drawing the animal."⁸ Why, then, was the book not published with illustrations by Picasso? In May 1946, Claude Mauriac asked Laurencin, who asserted that the *Bestiary* was born "out of drawings that Picasso talked about a great deal without ever doing them and that Apollinaire's verses were supposed to accompany: 'Picasso is



22. Pablo Picasso, *Various Animals*, 1907 (Sketchbook MP 1990–96, p. 14v). Pencil, pen, and ink, 31.2 × 24.7 cm. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Photo courtesy of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.

the only man of whom you could say he influenced Guillaume; but Picasso, naturally, cared nothing about that admiration. Nobody has ever touched him.”⁹ She subscribes here to the postwar myth of Picasso as a heartless *monstre sacré* and incorrectly states that he never made any drawings for the *Bestiary*.

If we return now to the early days of the project, when it was still being developed, we discover that in fact Picasso made dozens of stylish drawings for Apollinaire’s *Bestiary*. Nine pages of one 1907 sketchbook are filled with animals, each drawn without lifting the pen from the page, in a single, fluid, unbroken line (fig. 22).¹⁰ A fly from this sketchbook is replicated on a manuscript page containing draft versions, in Apollinaire’s hand, of five couplets for the *Bestiary*, and this confirms that these are, indeed, *Bestiary* illustrations.¹¹ Ironically, the fly appears above a reference to “the king of the animals,” normally, of course, the lion.

This coexistence of Picasso’s drawing and Apollinaire’s writing on a single page implies direct interaction between them. Their embryonic collaboration is confirmed by another sheet of unilinear animal drawings, described by Christian Zervos: “ANIMALS. Sketches for a project to illustrate the *Bestiary* by Guillaume Apollinaire. Ink drawing.

1907. 26 × 20.5 cm" (Z XXVI, 176). Apollinaire himself owned other *Bestiary* sketches by Picasso. These included a double-page spread of elegant black-ink drawings of about twenty animals, including a turkey, a rooster, an ostrich, an owl, a stork, and a dachshund (MP 1989–1), and two sheets of red-ink drawings of rabbits, a snake, an egret, and an ox. Picasso's animals appear in strict profile, Egyptian style, without depth, relief, or shading. The owl, however, is depicted frontally, with two large ovals and a pointed beak for a face, again demonstrating Picasso's mastery of caricature and concision. The drawings are visual haikus, and the inclusion of animals that do not feature in Apollinaire's poems shows Picasso indulging in pure graphic pleasure. His virtuosity fully confirms Braque's observation that "to see him drawing was like a hand removing the dust from a hidden image."¹²

Two other Picasso ink drawings that Apollinaire owned represent a peacock and a condor, both on a printed transaction sheet from the Chateaufort et Poitevin Bank,¹³ illustrating two of the more mischievous *Bestiary* poems. One of them, "The Peacock," was included in the collection. The other was considered too risqué and so was not included:

THE CONDOR

This bird is called condor
And I only wish that girls had one!
Do you know what? It's not made of gold
The magic ring of Hans Carvel.

(Po, p. 724)

The condor poem uses a pun connecting the bird's name and female anatomy. It is also typical of Apollinaire in its erudite intertextuality: the obscene story of Hans Carvel, the aged jeweler who married a younger woman and dreamed he was placing a magic ring on his finger, is taken from François Rabelais's *Gargantua and Pantagruel* (book 3, chapter 28). Picasso and Apollinaire both reveled in Rabelaisian humor.

Between May and July 1907, Picasso also made engravings of a chick and an eagle, both cut on a single block of wood, one above the other.¹⁴ They are magnificent and prove that the unilinear graphic style could be transferred to woodcuts. Picasso was so pleased with these birds that he hand-printed several proofs of each, with different-colored gouache paints. Gertrude and Michael Stein owned versions, and Picasso himself kept an eagle in dark Prussian blue (MP 3160) and a chick, in black on bright blue, with a pattern underneath of three horizontal and five vertical green and red lines (MP 3161).

Why did Picasso stop there? Illustrating the *Bestiary* should have suited him. At the Bateau Lavoir he had dogs, three cats, a tortoise, and even, for a while, a monkey, and throughout his career he was always drawing, painting, and sculpting animals.¹⁵ Picasso's love of animals inspired the poet's *Bestiary*, but in the end his engravings were too slow in coming, and after a five-year gestation the book finally appeared in 1911 with Dufy's name alongside Apollinaire's.¹⁶

Picasso never liked working to order. He sometimes provided pictures for books by his friends or by writers he particularly admired, including Max Jacob, Robert Desnos, and Pierre Reverdy, but he often gave drawings he had already completed independently. For the *Bestiary* he made dozens of new drawings, but Apollinaire was expecting woodcuts, and the switch from sketch to engraving for thirty poems may have seemed too onerous. Such explanations, however, are only partially satisfactory. The most significant factor in the *Bestiary* conundrum may well be timing.

Picasso's drawings for Apollinaire's *Bestiary* nearly all date from late June and early July 1907. The sketchbook with the highest concentration of such drawings (MP 1990–96) dates from that time and contains a nine-page menagerie that includes lions, turtles, peacocks, hares, a rabbit, crayfish, camels, a goat, flies, bees, fleas, cattle, snails, caterpillars, horses, grasshoppers, fish, birds, a mouse, and an owl. The other pages are, however, almost exclusively devoted to studies for the *Demoiselles d'Avignon*, including faces and figures that would be transferred directly to the canvas. A similar scenario occurs in two other sketchbooks from the same period. Both these sketchbooks begin and end with animal drawings, nearly all in unilinear style, representing eagles, chicks, a cow, an elephant, and a snail, on pages that include the inside and outside back covers. Again, most other drawings in these sketchbooks are studies for *Les Demoiselles*.¹⁷

It is clear that Picasso attempted to focus on the *Bestiary* during the early summer of 1907, when Apollinaire was still writing the poems and the project was new and exciting. This was also, however, the very moment when he was working most intensively on *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, which he completed that July. During those weeks, as he opened and closed a sketchbook, he thought of Apollinaire and his poems, and he duly completed dozens of possible illustrations. As he moved into the sketchbook, however, his own core concerns asserted themselves. There was really no contest between illustrating Apollinaire's *Bestiary* and making *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, a hugely ambitious and all-consuming enterprise. For Picasso that painting was an aesthetic and emotional point of no return: once it was done, he could not pick up the threads of earlier tasks left unfinished. John Richardson has compared Picasso to Dionysus and the *Demoiselles* to the bacchantes or maenads “who tore Orpheus apart, at Dionysos's behest, for worshipping the rival god, Apollo.”¹⁸ In Picasso's sketchbooks, the *Demoiselles d'Avignon* devoured not only Orpheus but also his whole *Bestiary*.

The Iberian Statues Affair, 1907–1912

IN 1905 THE Louvre's collection of ancient Iberian sculptures was enhanced by recent findings from excavations in Cerro de los Santos and Osuna, less than eighty kilometers from Malaga. The impact of these sculptures from Picasso's birthplace, dating from 300 to 500 BC, appeared in his work from autumn 1906, first in self-portraits (MP 8), then in a 1907 wooden sculpture (Sp 11), and then, most dramatically, in *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, where the elongated ears and staring, oval eyes of the two central figures were directly inspired by Iberian stone heads, which also lent the painting their rough-hewn solidity. Since March 1907 Picasso had two such sculptures at the Bateau Lavoir, having acquired them from one of Apollinaire's friends. The story of how they reached Picasso's studio came to light in 1911, when a third Iberian sculpture and then the Mona Lisa went missing from the Louvre. The disappearance of Leonardo's masterpiece jolted the authorities into action and put them on a trail that led to Apollinaire's door. The poet was arrested, charged with being an accomplice in the theft of artworks, and incarcerated for several days in La Santé, the Paris prison. The sculptures were returned to their rightful home, and the judge eventually closed the case against Apollinaire without taking it to trial. Picasso, who risked being charged with receiving stolen goods, was also hauled up before the judge, but his name appeared nowhere in the extensive press coverage; it does, however, figure in judicial files on the case.¹

The Mona Lisa had been stolen on 21 August 1911 by Vincenzo Perrugia, a former employee of the Louvre, who claimed he was returning it to Italy for patriotic reasons, though he also tried, in December 1913, to sell it for half a million lire to a Florentine antiques dealer, Alfredo Geri. The dealer informed on him, and Perrugia received a prison sentence. The case of the Iberian statues was a completely different affair, and the thief in that case was named, coincidentally, G  ry Pieret.

Honor  -Joseph G  ry Pieret, born in 1884 in Belgium, had deserted from the Belgian

européen - lettre de
Spiro à l'Européen -
impures de caféisme
de Maudslayi. lettres à
Hawman et Durrant.

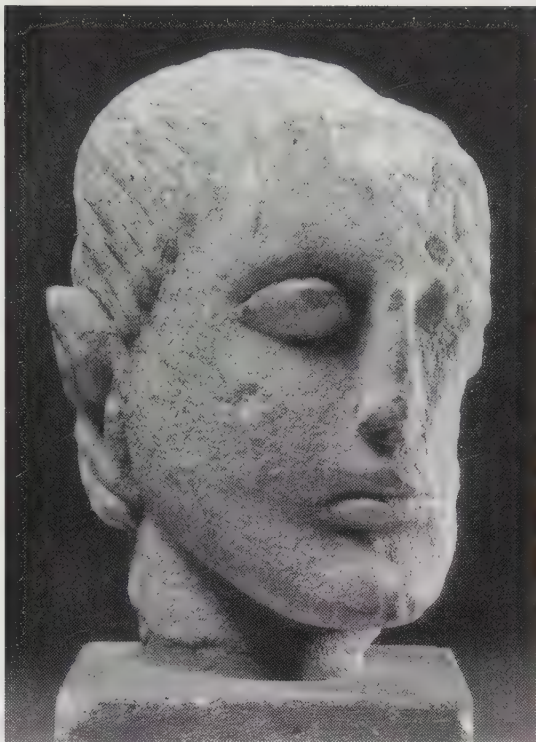


In March 1907, Pieret stole two Iberian sculptures from the Louvre and sold one of them, the head of a woman with plaited hair, to Picasso (fig. 24). When the artist turned down the second statue, the head of a man with elongated ears (fig. 25), Pieret left it with him anyway. Picasso certainly knew Pieret very well by then. In a letter from Brussels, dated 4 April 1907, Pieret told Apollinaire he wanted Picasso to provide a painting as an engagement present for his fiancée, including an IOU to Picasso for 175 francs. He added that they would honeymoon in Paris in May and that “I am even determined to spend one night at the Rats’ Refuge, so as to savor again the horror of the place.”⁴ This is clearly the Bateau Lavoir, meaning that Pieret had previously slept in Picasso’s studio, which had

23. (*far left*) Henri Frick, *Géry Pieret Imitating a Dwarf* (shown with H. Frick), drawing glued onto a page of Apollinaire's September to December 1904 diary. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

24. (*left*) Head of a woman (Iberian sculpture from Cerro de los Santos, Spain), fifth to third centuries BC. Stone, 46 × 27 × 17 cm. Musée des Antiquités nationales, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, France. Photo by Daniel Arnaudet, courtesy of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.

25. (*right*) Iberian head (Cerro de los Santos), fifth to third centuries BC. Stone, 46 × 27 × 17 cm. Musée des Antiquités nationales, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, France. Photo by Daniel Arnaudet, courtesy of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.



a mattress in the corner for guests and was indeed crawling with mice.⁵ Meanwhile, on 2 April, Max Jacob wrote to Apollinaire, "Picasso has chosen a pastel for Géry, the only one, we thought. The pastel is framed and ready to go, but I want to show it to you first."⁶ Apollinaire probably delivered the picture by hand, because he and Pieret jointly sent a postcard to Picasso from Brussels on 13 April 1907 (*PAC*, p. 59).

Pieret then moved to the United States and was in San Diego by October 1907. He returned to Paris in April 1911 and on 10 May moved into Apollinaire's flat in Auteuil, sleeping on a folding bed in the kitchen. Apollinaire gave him jobs and the title of "secretary." André Salmon remembers Pieret saying to Marie Laurencin, "I'm off to the Louvre. . . . Is there anything you need?"⁷ On 11 May 1911, he helped himself to a third Iberian sculpture. When the *Mona Lisa* was stolen in August 1911 and a reward was offered for its recovery, Pieret took his latest Iberian acquisition to a newspaper for which Apollinaire was then writing, *Paris-Journal*. He was paid 250 francs for the sculpture and an interview. On 3 September, Apollinaire took him to the gare de Lyon and gave him a train ticket to Marseilles. They would never meet again, though Pieret continued writing to Apollinaire until October 1918.

Ironically, Apollinaire had published an article in *L'Intransigeant*, dated 24 August 1911, denouncing insufficient staffing and security at the Louvre and noting that paintings were not properly fixed to the walls (*Pr* 2, p. 365). *Paris-Journal* used the Pieret sculpture to fuel

its own sensational campaign on the museum's shortcomings, including a front-page article on 29 August 1911, headlined "A Robber Brings Us a Work of Art Stolen from the Louvre." The article quoted the unnamed thief, who boasted of two works he had already stolen in 1907 and sold to an unnamed Parisian painter. At this point, unsurprisingly, Picasso precipitously returned to Paris from Céret, where he had been working alongside Braque.

In a long letter, dated 30 July 1915, to his sweetheart, Madeleine Pagès, Apollinaire told his side of the story. He assured her that in 1907 he had tried to persuade Picasso to return the two sculptures to the Louvre, using a newspaper as intermediary, "but he was preoccupied by his aesthetic studies from which Cubism was born. He told me he had damaged them in order to uncover some arcane secrets of the ancient and barbarian art that had produced them. . . . Picasso wanted to keep his statues." For Picasso, it seems, work on *Les Femmes d'Alger* took precedence over all else. Apollinaire added, however, that when Picasso returned to Paris in early September 1911 he owned up: "There he was, scared stiff, telling me that he had lied previously and that the statues were intact."⁸ The two men spent the night of 5 September lugging them around the streets, leaving them for a while in a left-luggage office, even contemplating dumping them in the Seine. At the time they were avidly reading thrillers and detective stories, and they must have felt that Fantômas was shadowing them along the line between fact and fiction. The next morning, the poet and the painter reached a decision. Following Pieret's recent example, Apollinaire took the sculptures to *Paris-Journal* so that they could be anonymously returned to the Louvre.

On the evening of 7 September, two policemen knocked on Apollinaire's door. Tipped off by the newspaper, they spent an hour at the flat and then took the poet to meet the examining magistrate, the *juge d'instruction* Drioux, at the Palais de Justice in the heart of Paris. According to *Le Petit Parisien*, on 9 September Drioux asked Apollinaire for "the names of his ex-secretary, the thief, and the antiques dealer who had been the receiver. The man of letters refused to reveal the names of these two men." The newspaper thus suggested that a dealer, rather than a painter, had received the sculptures. Following his refusal to answer all questions, Apollinaire was charged with being an accomplice in theft (*complicité de vol*) and, at around 11:00 P.M., was escorted to prison.

On Friday, 8 September, Apollinaire sent a telegram to his lawyer, José Théry. On Saturday, Apollinaire's brother Albert, probably accompanied by the brothers' childhood friend Toussaint Luca, now a lawyer and civil servant, met Judge Drioux. The poet's friends, meanwhile, had launched a campaign and circulated a petition. Published in *Paris-Journal* on 10 September, it read:

A scandal has just been committed. The arrest of Guillaume APOLLINAIRE, without staining his honor, imperils the interests of the press, the professional dignity of journalists and writers, and indeed that of any gallant man who prefers not to betray his word. Our friend's cause is clear enough for him to be freed within twenty-four hours.

We the undersigned wish to demonstrate to him our support and protest against police proceedings that are unworthy of France and of our literary customs.

Among the many signatories listed by the paper were Salmon, Cremnitz, André Billy, Ricciotto Canudo, Robert Delaunay, Fernand Léger, Max Jacob, and Louis Vauxcelles.⁹ According to the petition, a journalist should not be forced to divulge the names of his informers, and an honorable man should not be asked to denounce his friends.

Tuesday, 12 September, was the decisive day for Apollinaire; he was again interrogated by the judge. Press photographs taken inside the Palais de Justice show Apollinaire with his lawyers, José Théry and Arthur Fraysse, smartly dressed, holding his straw boater over the handcuffs that chain him to a policeman. His lawyer had apparently advised him that his best defense was to answer more frankly. He faced the judge behind closed doors, but the newspaper *Le Matin* on 13 September provided extensive front-page coverage of his testimony, in which he named G ry Pieret and told how he had first lodged him in 1907, with the idea of using him as a character in a short story:

Thereupon, he stole from the Louvre the two Phoenician heads that were recently returned to the museum, via *Paris-Journal*. G ry Pieret had at the time admitted to me that he had committed this theft, and I advised him to go and immediately return what he had taken. G ry Pieret didn't follow my advice, and I have to admit that at the time I did not consider his crime particularly important. Pieret, however, kept asking me to find a buyer for the two stolen heads. As you might imagine, I refused. But one day he heard me mention the name of a painter who was a friend of mine. Thinking that this artist might agree to buy his ill-gotten gains, Pieret sought him out. My friend, who couldn't have known that these were stolen objects, bought one of the sculptures for 50 francs. As he refused to buy the other one, G ry Pieret gave it to him for nothing.¹⁰

The press now had confirmation that a painter was involved, but, crucially, the paper omits all reference to the most poignant part of the drama, when Picasso had to face both the judge and Apollinaire.

Fernande Olivier recounted her version of the saga, telling how scared Picasso was when a plainclothes policeman came to fetch him at home, early on the Tuesday morning, with a summons to appear before the judge: "Picasso dressed quickly, but he was trembling so much I had to help him. He was practically out of his mind with terror." According to Fernande, when he was taken in to face the poet and the magistrate, "Picasso was deeply shocked, and his apprehension turned to desperation."¹¹ Apollinaire, in his letter to Madeleine Pag s of 30 July 1915, recalled the confrontation: "The next day, face to face with my friend, who denied any knowledge of the whole business, and I thought I was doomed." Apollinaire was allowed, however, to question Picasso, who then admitted that "everything I had said was true, the case was dismissed and his name was never even mentioned. . . . There you have the singular, incredible, tragic and amusing story,

which means that I was the only person in France arrested in connection with the theft of the Mona Lisa.”

After the hearings, Apollinaire was set free while the investigation continued and the judge considered the evidence.¹² The case against Apollinaire was officially dismissed on 19 January 1912. Picasso's name then appeared for the first time in official files, in a warrant for Pieret's arrest. The document is headed “Cour d'appel de Paris, Chambre des mises en accusation” and dated 6 February 1912. After some formalities, it provides a synopsis of the case:

The aforementioned Pieret G ry Honor  Joseph, twenty-seven years of age, a Belgian subject, arrived in Paris in 1906, after deserting from the Belgian army. He had no clear means of financial support. In 1907, he succeeded in taking two Iberian statuettes from the Louvre and carried them away without being noticed. He sold one of them to the painter Ruiz-Picasso, who, not knowing its provenance, paid fifty francs for it but refused to buy the second work that the accused left in his studio. On 7 May 1911, the accused took another statue from the collection of Iberian antiquities exhibited in a small room not far from the staff canteen. It was a fragment of a statue of a woman on a stone base, weighing 6 kg, 750 g.

A Paris newspaper, to which Pieret apparently sold this statuette for 250 francs, returned it in August 1911 to Monsieur Pottier, the museum's curator of Assyrian antiquities. Monsieur Picasso, then realizing the fraudulent origin of the first two statuettes left in his studio, returned them without delay to the Louvre.

The document goes on to state that the court, after due deliberation, judged that there was sufficient evidence against Pieret for him to be arrested and charged with stealing three sculptures from the Louvre. But the section describing the accused gives only his height, approximately 1.7 meters, and notes that he was clean-shaven.¹³ The document names but exculpates Picasso, while Apollinaire has completely disappeared from the judicial horizon, as the case against him was now officially closed.

As for Pieret, a letter purporting to come from him, signed “Baron Ignace d'Ormesan,” dated 9 September 1911, appeared in *Paris-Journal*, asserting Apollinaire's innocence. A short story Pieret had written, entitled “Hands Up!” was published in *Les Marges* in October 1911. Set in America among gamblers, boxers, and petty criminals, it features a central character named Robert Astuce, who has fled Europe after committing “a half-artistic crime.”¹⁴ Pieret was eventually sentenced, in absentia, to ten years' imprisonment. He relocated to Egypt, where he worked as a journalist, and was last heard of by Alice Halicka, the wife of Louis Marcoussis, in 1937 in New York. A group of young artists and stage-set painters told her they had met a French anarchist who told stories of having been Apollinaire's secretary at the time the Mona Lisa was stolen.¹⁵

Apollinaire became a scapegoat in the Mona Lisa affair when xenophobic and anti-Semitic newspapers launched a virulent campaign against him. L on Daudet, in *L'Action fran aise*, claimed he was part of an “international and Jewish gang” that was certainly

also behind the theft of the Mona Lisa. Urbain Gohier, in *L'Oeuvre*, similarly cited Apollinaire as exemplifying what he called "the invasion of unsavory foreigners": "The secretary of the Jewish or Polish pornographer—one of the Louvre robbers—is Belgian. Once the whole gang is discovered, they will all turn out to be foreigners or mixed race."¹⁶ As neither Apollinaire nor Picasso had French nationality, they both risked not only imprisonment but also deportation. "What will become of me if I am expelled from France?" Apollinaire asked Toussaint Luca,¹⁷ a question equally relevant to Picasso.

Apollinaire was held in custody from 7 to 12 September. The poet who in February 1910 had published an article on prison reform (*Pr* 3, pp. 429–30) was strip-searched, then kept in solitary confinement with a light on all night. The poems he wrote in prison, included in *Alcools*, give understated expression to his emotional disarray as his name was replaced by a number, and his address was now just a cell: "I am number fifteen on / Eleventh" (*Po*, p. 141). The prison register referred to him as Kostrowitsky, prisoner number 216, and noted that he was "Foreign (Russian)."¹⁸ Such treatment reactivated his deepest questions of identity, rooted in his illegitimate and stateless condition. He would sometimes mask his insecurity with a smile, as in the magazine *Fantasio*, where, on 1 October 1911, he published a droll story entitled "The Robinson Crusoe of Saint Lazare Station, by a Victim of the Mona Lisa" (*Pr* 1, p. 405), illustrated with a photograph of the comic actor Raimu dressed in drag as the Mona Lisa. In other stories, the main character was accused of a crime he had not committed, as in chapter 10 of "The Assassinated Poet" (*Pr* 1, p. 254), significantly set in 1911, where Croniamantal, running up a Montmartre street, hears the noise of the city behind him and stops, out of breath, "like a burglar who has been chased for so long he is ready to give himself up. The shouting and the noise showed that his enemies were at his heels, like a thief." In "The Shadow's Departure" (*Pr* 1, p. 335) the narrator's friends think he has committed a crime: "Their questions encircled my limbs like hissing snakes I couldn't charm. Past torments, you follow me still."

Apollinaire paid a high price for befriending Géry Pieret, whom he always saw as "mad rather than bad."¹⁹ In a draft version of "Zone," the poet, looking back, saw himself as Christ between two thieves, one, Marie Laurencin, who had stolen his heart, and the other, Géry Pieret, the Good Thief, who "will be unhappy and die in prison."²⁰ According to André Billy, the affair traumatized Apollinaire and he "suffered to the very end, though he was too proud to complain."²¹ It would affect his reaction to the First World War, through which, by volunteering, he eventually obtained French nationality and exorcised the threat of deportation. He was also, however, refused the Legion of Honor that his front-line service and head wound would otherwise have merited. Reference in his later writings to "secret distress" (*Po*, p. 308) and the atrabilious tone in his late novel *The Seated Woman* are throwbacks to the summer of 1911.

Although influential figures behind the scenes may have pulled strings and kept Picasso's name out of the limelight, the painter did not escape unscathed. According to Salmon, Picasso was "mortified" at being hauled up in front of the judge, and the affair stayed on his mind "like a fishbone stuck in your throat."²² In the short term, he was con-

vinced that he was being followed by the police and “would only dare to go out at night in a taxi, and would switch several times to put off his ‘tail.’”²³ It was another way of playing Fantômas. In 1918, when he needed identity papers to marry Olga Koklova, a Russian citizen, a police report noted that “in September 1911 he was questioned on being in possession of statues that had been stolen from the Louvre by a collective third party.” The note was disregarded, however.²⁴ He kept hidden away in his own papers four extraordinary photographs of Apollinaire inside the Palais de Justice on the day they were both questioned by the judge (AP PH 4292–95). Years later, he still feared that their courtroom confrontation might be repeated. When fakers started to take a worrying interest in his work, Kahnweiler pressed him to take legal action. Significantly, Picasso replied, “You’re right, but I can’t. I know exactly what will happen: I will be with the examining magistrate, they’ll bring in the criminal with handcuffs on, and it will be one of my friends.”²⁵

By bearing the brunt of the affair, Apollinaire shielded Picasso’s reputation. Earlier that year, *The Bestiary* had been published without the Picasso engravings he had wanted. Some unpublished alexandrines Apollinaire wrote in 1911 are decidedly jaundiced:

Jacob and Picasso live with one another
 One painting pictures and the other rambling on
 Pablo torments his canvas and Max gets on my nerves
 One has his manner of painting and the other his manic behavior.²⁶

Recounting the story in his 30 July 1915 letter, Apollinaire confirmed that Picasso knew exactly where the stolen statues had come from and described him as a “great artist but completely unscrupulous, whose name, thanks to me, was never mentioned in this affair.”²⁷ To his credit, he was quite open with Picasso about his negative feelings: in December 1916, for example, he invited the painter to meet him, “finally to have a real discussion about our personalities and the problems between us, in other words about our friendship. My friendship for you runs deep, which doesn’t mean that it isn’t bleeding in places” (PAC, p. 139).

The Iberian sculptures affair confirmed to Apollinaire that Picasso would always put his own work ahead of all other considerations. The friendship between the artist and the poet was sorely tested but may ultimately have been strengthened by their shared misadventure. In an April 1912 letter, Fernande Olivier told Marie Laurencin that she was pleased Apollinaire had again started visiting them more often (PAC, p. 92). As early as September 1911 Apollinaire had taken Picasso to the press opening of the Salon d’automne, where works by the second-generation Cubists Jean Metzinger, Duchamp, Léger, Albert Gleizes, Henri Le Fauconnier, André Lhote, Francis Picabia, and Jacques Villon were grouped together in Room 8. The artistically atavistic left-wing journalist Henri Guilbeaux was in that room, looking for a story, when he walked Apollinaire with Picasso, the “true painter” and “straight-faced humorist.” Guilbeaux happily reported, “They were

both laughing at the pictures that combined cubes, cones, and tubes and saying how little they thought of them."²⁸ Egging each other on, the poet and the painter had regained their caustic good humor. One of them had harbored a thief, the other had received stolen property, but they had both survived the ensuing court case. The Iberian sculptures affair was traumatic, but it fostered great poems, fiction, and works of art, including *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*.

Apollinaire Writing on Picasso in 1905

APOLLINAIRE'S FRIENDSHIP WITH Picasso was sealed by the two articles he published on the painter in the spring of 1905. He was not, however, the first French commentator to recognize Picasso's talent. In June 1901 Gustave Coquiot had enthusiastically recommended the painter's first Paris exhibition, at Vollard's gallery, to readers of *Le Journal*, presenting young Picasso in Baudelairean terms as "a frenetic lover of modern life."¹ In July of that year Félicien Fagus wrote a positive article on Picasso in *La Revue blanche*; in December 1902 Charles Morice discussed Blue period works in the *Mercure de France*; and there were further articles on Picasso and his various co-exhibitors by Roger Marx, Louis Vauxcelles, and others in late 1904 and early 1905.² Apollinaire, in the spring of 1905, was, however, the first commentator in France of Picasso's own generation to recognize his genius and to promote his work in strikingly poetic terms.

Apollinaire's first brief article on Picasso was published in *La Revue immoraliste* in response to an exhibition at the Serrurier gallery that included thirty paintings and gouaches, three engravings, and an album of drawings. Apollinaire starts by taking issue with Charles Morice, who, in the *Mercure de France*, had criticized Picasso's past work for being too negative, "tending toward sterile sadness and caricature of people and things." Apollinaire plainly states, "I think the opposite," before affirming that "everything enchants" Picasso, whose art propitiously combines "the delightful and the horrible, the abject and the delicate." There is a streak of bravado here, contradicting an older critic who was a leading Symbolist theoretician and a friend of Verlaine and Gauguin. Consistently paradoxical, Apollinaire's text is also well judged, stating that Picasso combines naturalist precision with a typically Spanish mystical streak because he is steeped in Catholicism without being religious. Apollinaire supports this proposal with a typically surprising but apposite reference to Emilio Castelar, president in the 1870s of the first Spanish Republic, defender of a secular state, who always carried rosary beads in his pocket. He goes

on to praise the convincingly human qualities of Picasso's slim harlequins and saltimbanques and his empathy with working-class people and young mothers, highlighting their finely drawn hands and the unashamed beauty of his female nudes. Circus costumes trigger a childhood memory for the poet, so the text slips from mystical Spain to his own birthplace, in Italy. Roman Carnival troops into the text with the commedia dell'arte characters Harlequin and Columbine, who, after a night of wild excess, go in the morning to kiss St. Peter's foot at the Vatican: "Those are beings who would enchant Picasso." Apollinaire thus suggests, from the outset, the propensity for stark contrasts and the links between circus, theater, and popular culture that animate Picasso's work.

Apollinaire had already fictionalized his memories of Roman Carnival as a festival of transgression followed by a return to order in his short story "The Mask," published in 1903.³ Reflecting on Picasso's work, Apollinaire recognizes a mirror of his own paradoxical origins and identity. At the same time, he slips between journalism and fiction, dissolving the frontier between art criticism and creative writing.

Apollinaire was immediately offered the opportunity to reach a much wider readership in a longer article, entitled "The Young Generation: Picasso, Painter," in *La Plume* of 15 May 1905, where he developed his distinctive synthesis of poetic and critical writing. His strategy was to evoke simultaneously both the pictures themselves and his subjective response, in a style that unfolds as freely as his thoughts as he moved around the gallery. The text is carried by a naturally lyrical rhythm, as in the opening thread of references to Picasso's eyes, compared to sunflowers: "These eyes are as attentive as flowers that always wish to contemplate the sun." Picasso's gaze is also equated with that of the slumbering gods of antiquity, sharing the solar acuity of great prophets and seers and the quasi-divine status claimed by Croniamantal in "The Assassinated Poet": "I am Croniamantal, the greatest of living poets. I have often seen God face to face. I have gazed on the divine light that was tempered by my human eyes. I have lived eternity" (*Pr* 1, p. 298). This sacred, visionary register is a unifying factor throughout the May 1905 article.

Apollinaire's article interweaves images from the paintings with elements from his own imagination and experience in patterns that are interrupted in the fourth paragraph by a sudden surge of unrestrained emotion in the cry, "Mummy, please love me!" triggered by the lonely gaze of Picasso's children and adolescents, which reactivates the poet's own feelings of fatherless insecurity. The exhibition review thus becomes a profoundly personal piece, both artistically autonomous and aesthetically equal to the works that inspired it; Apollinaire here applies Baudelaire's theory that "the best response to a painting could be a sonnet or an elegy."⁴ Criticism becomes an equal dialogue between literature and painting.

The article was originally accompanied by illustrations of five works from the exhibition, *Woman with a Crow*, *The Two Friends*, *Seated Harlequin (with Red Background)*, *Acrobat and Young Harlequin*, and *Two Acrobats with a Dog*, a choice that focused on saltimbanques iconography and provided a visual prompt, associating Apollinaire's obliquely evocative formulations with actual paintings. Picasso's paintings from this period, un-

known to most 1905 readers, are now, of course, part of a widely shared cultural landscape. By transposing Picasso's images into poetic prose, Apollinaire allows the informed reader readily to identify many of the works he evokes. He refers to women who iron in fading light; women who find consolation in each other's arms; still old men with children, wrapped in freezing mist; mad beggars and cripples; a Christ-like hanged man, high above the street; and various maternal scenes, including primiparous (first-time) mothers, shadowed by crows of ill-omen, who had given up hope of ever having a child. The article thus confirms the presence in the exhibition of works such as *Woman Ironing*; the gouache *The Two Friends*, showing two naked women seated on a bed; the watercolors *The Old Man and the Child*, *El Loco (Madman with a Dog)*, and *The Madman*, depicting a schizophrenic beggar; the ink and watercolor drawing *The Christ of Montmartre (The Suicide)*; and the gouache and pastel *Woman with a Crow*.⁵

An unpublished manuscript fragment, probably intended for the May 1905 article, continues in a similar vein: "Old men begged a living crumb by crumb. Picasso granted them the exquisite alms of cloaks of light that forever muffle the sobbing of their guitars." The artist is here presented as Saint Martin, who tore his cloak in half to share it with a poor man and so became the patron saint of beggars. Apollinaire is referring to the 1903 oil painting *The Old Guitarist* (Art Institute of Chicago), showing a poor, blind musician in the style of El Greco.⁶

Each picture triggers metaphors and developments by association of ideas. Apollinaire describes the 1905 ink and gouache *Harlequin's Family*, where Harlequin holds a baby to his shoulder and the woman admires herself in a hand mirror; he adds a soundtrack of songs mingling in the air and of cursing soldiers marching past. Words with religious connotations, *transfigure* and *immaculate*, are applied to the parents, who are thus associated with the Christmas story. Circus folk, marching soldiers, and memories of an uprooted family in Bethlehem together create a varied but cohesive web of images, all conveying movement, transience, and diversity, life on the edge, and a vital interweaving of sacred and profane.

A natural progression leads to an evocation of other recent, and now famous, works:

Noël! They gave birth to future acrobats among pet monkeys, white horses, dogs, and bears.

Adolescent sisters, each one acrobatically balancing high on a ball, lightfootedly set the spheres spinning radiantly as the planets.

Here is the 1905 canvas *Young Acrobat on a Ball* (Moscow, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts) (fig. 26), where a muscular acrobat, seated on a cube, observes a girl precariously balancing on a ball, against a background of a woman with two children, a dog, and a white horse; and the watercolor *Circus Family* (Baltimore Museum of Art), depicting a travelers' camp, with the same girl, still on a ball, several babies, and a caravan with a stove and a horse.⁷ Apollinaire's response to the pictures posits a correspondence between



26. Pablo Picasso, *Young Acrobat on a Ball*, 1905. Oil on canvas, 147 × 95 cm. Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, Russia. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Photo courtesy of Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

the harmonious dance of the planets and the acrobatic turns of the saltimbanques. Picasso's 1920s sketchbooks suggest similar connections between the human form and constellations, indicating that he too was susceptible to such Platonic interpretations of existence. For Picasso and Apollinaire, the girl on the ball was a "danseuse-étoile," a star dancer.

Apollinaire's article is also alive to the stylistic and formal qualities of the works, asserting that "the colors are matte as frescoes, and the lines are firmly drawn." Picasso's powdery colors and delicate outlines are thus linked to prestigious predecessors in the arts of antiquity and the Renaissance. Elizabeth Cowling has highlighted direct echoes of Botticelli and Piero della Francesca in *Harlequin's Family*, notably in the faces and figures.² Apollinaire also compares Picasso's incisive drawing to scenes on ancient Greek pottery, thus recalling the slumbering, pantheistic gods, whose power Picasso reactivates at the start of the article, and thereby giving this text a circular unity. Coming finally to his engravings, Apollinaire affirms that "Picasso's love of fluid, changing, incisive lines has produced almost unique examples of linear dry-point engravings in which he has in no way altered the general appearance of the world." Picasso indeed made his first fifteen

engravings in 1904 and 1905, and at least five of them, including *The Frugal Repast*, were made before the early 1905 exhibition.

The soldiers who appear briefly, marching through one paragraph of the article, recur elsewhere in Apollinaire's writing, notably in his 1905 poem "May" (*Po*, p. 112), which also features wandering gypsies and performing animals. Such transmedial transfers, the songs mingling in the air, the images of humanized animals and androgynous adolescents, all contribute to Apollinaire's ekphrastic strategy, which is founded on dissolving boundaries and on the interplay of poetry and prose, fiction and journalism, words and pictures.

The article invokes the saints and Scriptures of Catholic Spain, Poland, France, and Italy but also pantheistic gods, Egyptian myths, and the sacred acrobats of Minoan Crete. Just as Apollinaire first defined Picasso as being steeped in Spanish mysticism without being particularly religious, so the May 1905 article postulates a syncretic tradition that should not be taken literally. It contributes to a metaphorical and Nietzschean construct whereby potential divinity is realized through the highest acts of human creativity. The 1905 articles promote a new creation myth whose ultimate hero is the man Apollinaire proclaimed to be the greatest of all modern artists, Picasso.

Apollinaire at the Birth of Cubism

Les Demoiselles d'Avignon

NOWHERE IN HIS published writings does Apollinaire ever directly discuss *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*. According to Fernande Olivier, around the spring of 1907, Apollinaire used to eat at the Bateau Lavoir every day,¹ and even if that is an exaggeration, he was certainly aware of the artist's evolution. Hélène Seckel wondered whether, in these circumstances, his "surprising silence" on *Les Demoiselles* was a sign of "discretion" or "repudiation"; other art historians have chosen the second option, presenting it as incontrovertible fact.² Apollinaire specialists, perhaps unsurprisingly, have read the situation differently. In 1986, Michel Décaudin admitted to finding the matter puzzling but asserted confidently that, "whatever may be said, he was not in 1907 a man to be offended by that painting's audacity."³ Archival evidence has since been published to support that view.

One relevant factor may be that between May 1905 and 1912 Picasso received no significant coverage in the French press.⁴ He went underground, working through the most radically transitional period of his career. Apollinaire, after his two major articles of April and May 1905, joined this silence. Anyway, between May 1905 and February 1910, Apollinaire lacked a soapbox from which to promote his artistic opinions. Of the nine articles on art that he was able to publish during that period (*Pr* 2, pp. 79–124), one was an interview with Matisse but the others were all on Salons, exhibitions, and museums, venues that Picasso studiously avoided. Only in February 1910 did the poet finally begin to write a column as art critic at *L'Intransigeant*. From then on, his writing followed Picasso's career assiduously.

Apollinaire, in one of his private journals, published in 1991, recorded on the page for 27 February 1907 his reaction to events of the preceding day: "Evening, dinner at Picasso's, saw his new style of painting: even colors, flesh and rose-colored pinks, etc., women's heads, the same and simple, and men's heads too. Admirable language that no literature can express, for our words are made in advance. Alas!"⁵



27. (left) Pablo Picasso, *Head and Shoulders of a Woman*, 1906–7 (Z II**, 618). Oil on canvas, 58 × 38 cm. Whereabouts unknown. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), N.Y.

28. (right) Pablo Picasso, *Head and Shoulders of a Sailor*, 1906–7 (Z II*, 6). Oil on canvas, 40 × 41.8 cm. Private collection. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), N.Y.

So Apollinaire saw and loved Picasso's latest paintings, but which ones exactly? Picasso began *Les Femmes d'Alger* early in 1907. Apollinaire's description suggests that on 26 February he saw the series of male and female heads, painted during the winter of 1906–7, which form part of the extensive campaign of groundbreaking preliminary sketches for *Les Femmes d'Alger*. They included the oil paintings *Head and Shoulders of a Woman* (Z II**, 618) (fig. 27), *Head and Shoulders of a Sailor* (Z II*, 6) (fig. 28), and *Head of a Woman* (Z XXVI, 1).⁶ These beautiful faces have pure and simplified features, influenced by Romanesque art, with flatly rendered surfaces, dominated by shades of pink. The women have large, oval eyes that resemble those of the female Iberian head Picasso had acquired, whereas the sailor's eyes are downcast, as if he is rolling a cigarette. The women's hair is stylishly held back with a ribbon, modernizing their appearance.

Most striking in Apollinaire's private response is his questioning whether any literary language can address or express the purely painterly qualities of these works. Any effort to transcribe such new painting linguistically is, he fears, compromised by the precise established meanings of words. The poet is thus fully aware of all that differentiates words and painting and of the dilemma that Eliane Formentelli, thinking of Apollinaire, formulated as follows: "By articulating the image, the picture, or the painting in a language



other than its own, one moves away from it. One changes space. Any pronouncement 'on painting' (the title of the first chapter of *The Cubist Painters*) comes from painting (or goes towards it), but is incapable of encompassing it."⁷ Picasso would himself affirm the autonomy of painting in 1912, when his synthetic Cubism was becoming increasingly self-referential; as he noted in a sketchbook, "An idea of painting will not be pure if it can be expressed in a language other than its own, painting."⁸

In February 1907 Picasso's newest paintings reinforced the poet's unconditional admiration but also convinced him that something essential in them eludes ekphrasis. Apollinaire's February 1907 diary entry suggests that Picasso's new art incites reflection and silence.⁹ *Les Demoiselles* can only have reinforced that view, especially as the impact of that painting's plastic qualities was compounded by the pantheistic mystery inscribed in striated and distorted features.

Apollinaire publicly reiterated his current thinking in the introduction to his Matisse interview, published in December 1907 in *La Phalange*, where he wrote, "There is no relationship between painting and literature, and I have done my best to avoid causing any confusion on this issue" (*Pr* 2, p. 100). He nevertheless continued creatively to explore every possible point of correspondence between word and image, so that when eventu-

ally he was able to work regularly as a critic, he tried every communicative strategy—from discursive explanation, to poetic prose, to radically inventive visual poetry—to write on Picasso.

Les Femmes d'Alger remained a well-kept secret until July 1916, when it was first shown in public at the Salon d'Antin in showrooms on rue du Faubourg Saint-Honoré, owned by the fashion guru Paul Poiret. The exhibition, organized by André Salmon, was called Modern Art in France and included 166 works by fifty-five international artists. Apollinaire had been gravely wounded in the head in March 1916, but he did give a talk on contemporary poetry at the Salon d'Antin on 21 July. The exhibition would have had more impact during the cultural renaissance of the following spring, when the Russian Ballet brought *Parade* to Paris and painters and poets started arguing again about art and literature. The presence of *Les Femmes d'Alger* in the July 1916 exhibition was brought to light by research associated with the great 1988 exhibition of the canvas and associated works in Paris and Barcelona.¹⁰ Louis Vauxcelles, the only critic to mention the work in the press in 1916, was ironically dismissive, writing that “*Les Femmes d'Alger*, painted a few years before Picasso took up the cubic business, scarcely reveals anything other than his influence on Mlle Laurencin.”¹¹

Picasso kept his brothel painting more or less hidden under a sheet at the Bateau Lavoir, and it was even less accessible once he had moved, in 1909, to boulevard de Clichy, where he could welcome guests in a reception room rather than upstairs in his studio. André Salmon bravely suggested in his 1912 book *Young French Painting* that this work made Picasso “the leading artist of his day” and added that “regular visitors to the strange rue Ravignan studio who trusted the young master were generally disappointed when he allowed them to judge the first state of his new work.”¹² Salmon named the painting *Les Femmes d'Alger* for the 1916 exhibition, though Picasso claimed that “we used to crack tons of jokes about the picture” and stated that he preferred its original title, *Le Bordel d'Alger* (*The Alger Brothel*).¹³ This title unashamedly recalls a bordello he knew on Carrer d'Avinyó, in Barcelona's Barrio Chino. Picasso and Apollinaire indeed used to frequent brothels together.¹⁴ By contrast, Salmon's *Femmes d'Alger* tag is ironic and euphemistic. In 1912 Salmon disclosed another variant of the original title, stating that “Picasso's new canvas was immediately christened by one of the artist's friends *The Philosophical Brothel*,” adding, a decade later, that Apollinaire, Max Jacob, and he himself had thus jointly named the “jealously guarded” canvas.¹⁵ In French, the word *bordel* not only means “brothel” but also is vulgar slang for “untidiness” or “mess,” so the term expresses unresolved contradictions in the composition. The paradoxical title also sums up the contrast between the painting's low-life subject and its high aesthetic ambitions.

While there were plenty of private jokes and discussions about the canvas, a veil was drawn around new developments at the Bateau Lavoir, and Apollinaire later suggested that he chose to respect that. In his chapter on Braque in *The Cubist Painters*, in 1913, Apollinaire presented Braque as the “orator,” or front man, for the Cubist revolution: “The revolution would have taken place two or three years earlier if Picasso had been exhibit-

ing his work, but he needed peace and quiet, and who can say whether the mockery directed against Georges Braque might not have deflected Picasso from the difficult path along which he first walked alone. But by 1909, the revolution which renewed the visual arts was complete. Jibes from the public or critics could no longer stop it."¹⁶

According to Apollinaire, Picasso needed a security zone in which to complete his demanding agenda, at least until 1909. In February of that year Apollinaire gently broke his silence by publishing the blue-postcard poems, "Crépuscule" and "Saltimbanques," in a periodical. Then in 1910 he began to highlight Picasso's work again in the press.

Apollinaire named Braque the revolution's "orator" because at the 1908 Salon des indépendants he exhibited a work, entitled *La Femme*, that was manifestly inspired by Picasso's recent output. According to Fernande Olivier, "Picasso, who had only just disclosed his new method to his closest friends, was rather indignant about it."¹⁷ Apollinaire was well placed to observe the cross-fertilization between Picasso and Braque, since he had introduced them to each other, probably in the spring of 1907, when he took Braque to the Bateau Lavoir.¹⁸ He also saw Picasso's less-than-enthusiastic reaction when Braque exhibited *La Femme* and thus lifted a corner of the curtain protecting the Cubist laboratory. The discretion about Picasso's work at that time had the advantage not only of protecting him from hostile critics and postponing pastiche and plagiarism by lesser artists but also of raising his prestige among a small but important group of informed collectors.

In the catalog for Braque's first exhibition, in 1908, Apollinaire emphasized his formal and structural concerns, invoking essential precursors, including Cézanne, Matisse, and Picasso, and providing a fleeting and evocative reference to the latter's "solitary and relentless labors" (Pr 2, pp. 110–12). The image of Picasso's solitary travails reinforced his heroic status but also fairly reflected his recent activities, suggesting the sustained concentration that went into the production of *Les Femmes d'Alger*.¹⁹ In such writing, Apollinaire refers to *Les Femmes d'Alger* but does so obliquely. In another article, in February 1913, subsequently included in *The Cubist Painters*, Apollinaire quotes from *Twilight of the Idols* a passage in which Nietzsche shows Dionysus tugging Ariadne's ear and saying, "There is something very charming and amusing about your ears, Ariadne. Why aren't they longer still?" According to Apollinaire, Nietzsche is here "making a case against Greek art." By choosing this passage, Apollinaire himself evokes the elongated ears of the two central figures of the *Femmes d'Alger* to praise the painting's anatomical distortions and subversion of classical beauty.²⁰ Apollinaire also includes in *The Cubist Painters*, at the center of his chapter on Picasso, what may well be a description of his own reaction to the *Femmes d'Alger* when he recalls that "this Malagan scathed us like a sudden chill. His meditations were laid bare in surrounding silence." He recognizes a violent, combative streak in the work of that period, admits to feeling a physical response of shivering shock, and then, significantly, invokes a circle of silence around the painting.

Apollinaire's rejection of *Les Femmes d'Alger* is a myth. That myth was inscribed clearly in the first Picasso biography, by Roland Penrose, which cast Apollinaire among

those friends of the artist who, discovering *Les Demoiselles*, reacted with “bewildered yet categorical disapproval.” Penrose added that the poet “could not manage at first to stomach such an incomprehensible change” and that he viewed Picasso’s evolution “with consternation.”²¹ Penrose gave no documentary source for these assertions, and indeed the Apollinaire quotations he provides are all notably positive. Penrose also asserted that only Wilhelm Uhde and Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler appreciated *Les Demoiselles* from the start.²² Kahnweiler actually first wrote on *Les Demoiselles d’Avignon* in 1915, when he described the painting as an “everlasting accomplishment” that was, nevertheless, “inconsistent” and “not entirely successful.” Then, in 1920, he described it as “that mighty painting, never completed, that is the origin of Cubism.”²³ This was how he thenceforth presented *Les Demoiselles d’Avignon*, often adding references to Apollinaire’s rejection of the painting and negative remarks on the poet’s abilities as a historian and commentator on modern art.

Kahnweiler always admired Apollinaire’s poetry, but the two men fell out after the publication of *The Cubist Painters* in March 1913. Apollinaire heard that Kahnweiler had been telling people, including Picasso, that he did not like the book, so he wrote to the dealer, “Dear friend, thank you for ordering my book. I have also heard that you find what I have to say on painting to be of no interest, which seems strange coming from you. As a writer I have single-handedly defended painters you chose only after me.”²⁴ Apollinaire subsequently tried to patch things up, writing in a second letter, “You are my friend, if you speak ill of me, that pains me,”²⁵ but apparently Kahnweiler never forgave him.

There are, of course, other reasons why Apollinaire’s writings on art may appear problematic. His best, poetic, prose is not easily translated, and in his many newspaper articles he often refers to artists who are now forgotten or considered second-rate. Nevertheless, because Kahnweiler was such a prescient and courageous dealer and an important writer on Cubism, his views on Apollinaire have had a particularly damaging effect on the poet’s critical reputation, notably in English-speaking countries. Following Penrose, historians have continued to quote Kahnweiler on Apollinaire and *Les Demoiselles d’Avignon*.²⁶ In an influential book of interviews, published in 1961, Kahnweiler characteristically insisted that the poet “knew nothing about painting.” Picasso pointedly picked up this phrase in his subsequent conversations with Malraux, saying, “Look, Apollinaire knew nothing about painting, yet he loved the real thing. Poets have a sixth sense. In the Bateau Lavoir days, the poets had that sixth sense.”²⁷

Had Apollinaire published a more overt response to *Les Demoiselles d’Avignon*, his standing as a historian of Cubism would certainly have been enhanced. Available evidence nevertheless indicates that he was awestruck by Picasso’s work in 1907 and that from 1905 to 1918 he remained viscerally, intellectually, and unswervingly attached to Picasso’s art. His later writings suggest that he considered Picasso’s trajectory to be one of increasing brilliance and power and that he judged Picasso’s 1907 revolution to be the point of departure for his highest and most sublime achievements.

Writing on Picasso after 1910

APOLLINAIRE'S CAREER AS a professional critic really began in 1910. In March of that year he took over as the art critic of *L'Intransigeant*, a paper with a daily print run of about fifty thousand copies. His column, "La Vie artistique," ran most days of the week and continued until March 1914. In January 1910 he also started writing for *Paris-Journal*, which had a daily print run of forty thousand copies and allowed him to address a broad range of cultural issues, with one of his first articles covering a Cézanne exhibition at the Bernheim gallery (*Pr* 2, p. 126). Eventually, in May 1914, he became the paper's official art critic, but he always freelanced for other publications, and he wrote some of his best articles on contemporary art for *Les Soirées de Paris*, the magazine he and his friends had launched in 1912.

As a regular columnist, Apollinaire was expected to visit every annual Salon and to cover most aspects of the art scene. His nonsectarian spirit led him to seek talent amid the huge range of artists who were then converging on Paris from all over France and the world. His approach was positive and inclusive, highlighting works he admired, but he could be incisive and critical. From the heart of the battle, he also set out to define and explain underlying trends and aspirations. He emphasized the importance of Cézanne, immediately welcomed the arrival of newcomers as diverse as Chirico, Chagall, and Mondrian, and wrote his most convincing and lyrical passages on the artists he most admired, including Matisse, Braque, Delaunay, Archipenko, and Picasso. Apollinaire's art criticism and reviews constitute a panoramic narrative with a huge cast, a well-chosen list of main characters, and a few heroes, headed by Picasso.

One of his first assignments at *L'Intransigeant* was to cover the twenty-sixth annual Salon des indépendants in four articles published from 18 to 22 March 1910 (*Pr* 2, pp. 140–55). He emphasized the prestigious history of his favorite Salon, whose original motto, "Neither Jury nor Prizes," reflected a libertarian spirit that accommodated unconventional

talent and had, for example, welcomed Manet's *Olympia* in the face of public incredulity. Apollinaire emphasized the scale of the current exhibition, which included six thousand canvases and "kilometers of painting," but in his headline and conclusion he defined the essential trend: "Young artists are coming back to composition." His peripatetic survey mentioned dozens of names but also emphasized the rooms that really counted: room 18, including Matisse, Vlaminck, Dufy, Laurencin, Metzinger, Delaunay, Kees Van Dongen, and Douanier Rousseau; and room 21, occupied by neo-Impressionists, including Bonnard, Paul Signac, and Maurice Denis. Retrospectively, his judgment looks faultless. Overall, he suggested that the major influences at work in the Salon were those of Renoir, Matisse, and Picasso (*Pr* 2, p. 146).

That same year, Apollinaire wrote on the Autumn Salon for *Poésie*, a periodical published in Bordeaux. After defending Matisse against his adversaries, he went on to discuss Cubist art at the Salon, mainly represented by Metzinger and Le Fauconnier: "A bizarre manifestation of Cubism has been stirring up some discussion. Ill-informed journalists have ended up seeing it as artistic metaphysics. But it is not even that, it is a shallow and limp imitation of works that have not been exhibited and were painted by an artist with a strong personality who, furthermore, has revealed his secrets to nobody. That great artist bears the name Pablo Picasso. But the Cubism on show at the Salon d'automne was the jay dressed up in peacock feathers" (*Pr* 2, p. 229).

Again emphasizing the secrecy surrounding Picasso's work, Apollinaire charged the second-generation Cubists with producing pastiches of Picasso. After the 1909 Salon des indépendants, Braque had adopted Picasso's strategy of boycotting the annual Salons, so they both showed their work only to insiders, and at Kahnweiler's gallery. The stage was thenceforth clear for a new generation of artists, including Metzinger, Gleizes, and their friends, to adopt or adapt Cubist principles and to claim the Cubist label. Apollinaire set out to rectify the resulting imbalance in perceptions of contemporary art, mainly by reminding readers of Picasso's and Braque's primacy as the true pioneers of Cubism. Between those two, he attributed a creative edge to Picasso.

Reviewing an exhibition by Ramon Pichot in November 1910, Apollinaire evoked the Spanish colony of artists in Paris, specifically naming Picasso and referring to "sublime" works of art "whose influence will grow and spread throughout the world" (*Pr* 2, p. 233). To close the year, in three issues of *L'Intransigeant*, dated 21, 23, and 25 December, he drew readers' attention to a Picasso exhibition that had opened at Vollard's gallery on 20 December. These "old works," exhibited without frames—mainly, no doubt, the paintings Vollard had acquired from the artist in 1906 and 1907—were "artistically very valuable," a "very beautiful collection" made all the more important by the fact that "Picasso does not take part in any Salon" (*Pr* 2, pp. 244, 246).

Apollinaire had lost none of his admiration for Picasso's saltimbanque paintings. At the same time the *Poésie* article showed his complete commitment to the artist's post-1907 Cubist works, which aspired to what he called "the sublime," a term he particularly associated with Picasso.

In 1911 he continued to emphasize Picasso's occult influence, regretting that his name had been completely omitted from *Le Dernier Etat de la peinture* (*The Current State of Painting*), a book by Michel Puy (*Pr 2*, p. 277), and then, at the Salon des indépendants, highlighting his influence on the "modern style" of young painters (he mentioned Delaunay, Le Fauconnier, Laurencin, Gleizes, Metzinger, and Léger) who, he said, were mostly overlooked by his fellow critics: "At the moment, a bare and sober style of art is developing whose still somewhat rigid appearance will before long be humanized. The influence that Picasso's works have had on the development of such a new art will one day be recognized" (*Pr 2*, p. 317). He found the work of these second-generation Cubists rather stilted and mechanical, but, covering the 1911 Salon d'automne, he emphasized Cubism's gathering importance, stating that "Cubism is what is highest in French art today," a judgment he would repeat in another review the following month (*Pr 2*, pp. 372, 381). In 1911 the Cubists had managed for the first time to exhibit as a group at the Salon d'automne, in room 8. Apollinaire presented growing press interest in their work as a vindication of his own position but pointed out the absence from the Salon of "those young masters who are hardly discussed and whose influence is however apparent, namely Picasso, Derain, Braque, and Dufy" (*Pr 2*, p. 369).

Apollinaire was in a delicate position, wanting to be as generous as possible to the rising generation who were contributing to a renewal of French art, and wanting to defend Cubism to a skeptical readership, while having to promote artists whom he knew to be in the second rank, behind the pioneers, who remained aloof from these art jamborees. He did not want to provide any ammunition to the ever-vigilant antimodernist brigade, so he spread his support, but he made clear his overriding admiration for the true innovators, particularly Picasso and Matisse.

The year 1912 saw the publication of two of Apollinaire's most important articles on Picasso, in February and October. The first, "From Michelangelo to Picasso," was written for the first issue of *Marches de Provence*, published in Marseilles (*Pr 2*, pp. 396–98). Viewing the crowds flocking to an exhibition of nineteenth-century paintings at the Louvre, including Millet's *Angelus* and minutely detailed paintings by Meissonier, Apollinaire cited Michelangelo's condemnation of Flemish painting for displaying "neither reason nor art, neither symmetry nor proportion, neither discernment nor choice." Against fastidious realism, whether ancient or modern, he proposed the work of a modern master: "This discernment, this confidence, this substance and nerve that Michelangelo saw as the qualities of good painting can be admired in the paintings of Pablo Picasso." Surveying Picasso's progress from Blue to Rose to his most recent work, Apollinaire moved to his climactic conclusion, presenting the painter's career as a constant climb into brighter light, toward "sublime" heights of perfection:

For Picasso is one of those who according to Michelangelo deserve to be called eagles because they surpass all others and rise through the clouds into the sunlight.

And today all shadow has disappeared. Goethe's last dying cry, "More light," rises

from the sublime and mysterious work of Picasso as it rises still from the work of Rembrandt.

In juxtaposing Michelangelo, Goethe, Rembrandt, and Picasso, the poet places his friend on the Parnassus of Western culture, at the heart of the temporal and spatial simultaneity that is fundamental to his own poetic vision. Picasso towers over his contemporaries, and his work in 1912, mature synthetic Cubism, is prized above all his previous achievements. This was the most lyrical and metaphorical of Apollinaire's articles on Picasso since his May 1905 article for *La Plume*. An excerpt from that article was indeed inserted into this 1912 article, in a way that prefigured the collage technique Apollinaire would use when composing *The Cubist Painters* the following year.

His second essential article that year was a broader historical survey, "The Beginnings of Cubism," commissioned by *Le Temps* and published on 14 October 1912 (*Pr* 2, pp. 1514–15). Centered on Picasso at the Bateau Lavoir, it provided a pedagogical description of changes in contemporary art over the past ten years. In this text Apollinaire forged some of his most striking and evocative formulations on art, commenting on African sculptures that "managed to depict the human figure without using any element of direct visual perception"; on Cubism, "the art of painting new compositions with elements taken not from visual reality but from conceptual reality"; and on the birth of abstract art, "an entirely new art that will be to painting, as it has so far been envisaged, what music is to poetry. It will be pure painting."

Meanwhile, at the 1912 Salon des indépendants, Apollinaire again noted the void left by Picasso's absence (*Pr* 2, p. 435) and then in November, in the *Mercure de France*, published "The Cubists and the Poets," an article where he pointed out that "Delaunay, Gleizes, Le Fauconnier, Metzinger, Léger, etc., in other words most of the Cubist painters, live in the company of poets. As for Picasso, who invented the new painting and who, as nobody can now deny, is the most elevated artistic figure of our time, he has lived exclusively among poets, among whose number I am proud to be counted" (*Pr* 3, pp. 130–31).

The year 1913 was Apollinaire's annus mirabilis, marked by the publication of both *Alcools* and *The Cubist Painters*. In March he noted the work of an interesting newcomer, Mondrian, who "seems above all to have been influenced by Picasso," though his "highly abstract Cubism" differs from that of "Braque and Picasso, whose experiments with the material substance of painting [*matière*] are at the moment so interesting" (*Pr* 2, pp. 535–36). In August 1912 Braque had indeed started using sand in oil paint, a technique adopted by Picasso the following October. In June 1913 Apollinaire emphasized Picasso's influence on the Italian Futurist Umberto Boccioni, stating that "three years ago already, a bronze sculpture by Picasso, in which the artist gathered together as much light as possible, partly contained this dynamism" (*Pr* 2, p. 599). Apollinaire was again pointing out the innovative and influential role of a work by Picasso that his readers could not possibly know, in this case his autumn 1909 Cubist sculpture *Head of a Woman (Fernande)* (*Sp* 24), while also explaining how the angular facets of the sculpture were designed to capture and reflect light. The point he made about Picasso's influence on the Futurists

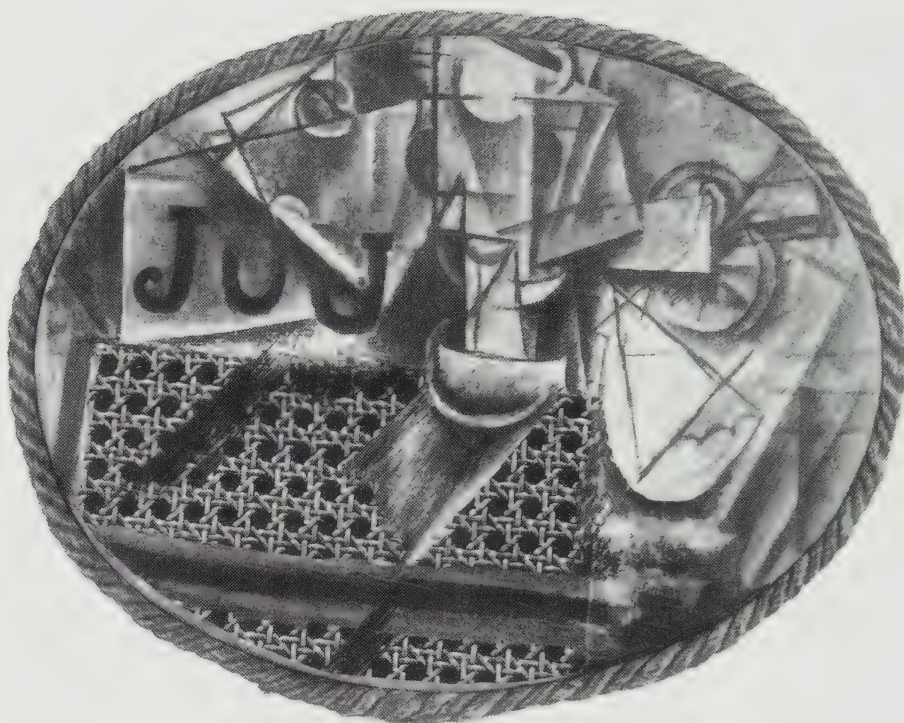
is, incidentally, confirmed by a 1912 letter from Boccioni in Italy to Gino Severini in Paris, telling him, "Get all possible indications on the Cubists, and on Braque and Picasso. . . . Go to Kahnweiler's and if he has photos of recent works (done after my departure) buy one or two of them. Bring us all the information possible."¹

In 1913 Apollinaire, more mature as a critic, further developed the distinctive stylistic synthesis he had deployed in 1905 and 1912, combining poetic lyricism with attention to historical detail. Three longer texts from early 1913 exemplify his approach to Picasso's work at that time. In the February issue of *Der Sturm*, edited in Berlin by Herwarth Walden, Apollinaire provided a new version of the history of contemporary art that he had published four months earlier in *Le Temps* (Pr 2, pp. 501–5). He highlighted the contribution of Derain, portrayed as a solitary and tormented Fauvist, to the present state of art, divided between the "new sublime forms of Picasso" and Delaunay's luminous Orphism. He also analyzed the significance of the latest developments in Cubism: "Picasso and Braque brought the art of lettering from signs and other inscriptions into their works because, in a modern city, inscriptions, signs, and advertising have an important artistic role and can be adapted to this purpose. Picasso has sometimes given up ordinary paints to compose relief pictures made of card, or papiers collés; in doing this, he was following formal inspiration, and these strange, raw, and disparate materials were ennobled because the artist instilled in them his robust and at the same time sensitive personality."

In August 1911 Picasso and Braque had started their experiments with typography, copying the title of a local paper, *L'Indépendant*, into canvases on which they worked side by side in Céret. Stenciled lettering, first used by Braque, appeared in Cubist painting at the end of 1911. Braque started making three-dimensional paper constructions in the spring of 1912, maybe even in 1911, while Picasso's variation on the technique, his cardboard *Guitar*, dates from around autumn 1912. *Fruit Dish and Glass*, the first papier collé, also by Braque, dates from September 1912. Apollinaire thus brought his readers up to date on Cubism, though he underplayed Braque's extraordinarily creative contribution. Braque was so inventive in those days that Picasso used to call him "Wilbourg," after Wilbur Wright, the aviation pioneer.²

Apollinaire also published in February 1913 a longer, French-language version of this same article with a more theoretical spin, under the title "Aesthetic Meditations" (OC 4, pp. 285–90). He here states that "Cézanne's last paintings are Cubist" and that Picasso's inventions are "corroborated by Georges Braque's common sense." Cubist painting, meanwhile, has become so abstract that "subject matter now counts for little or nothing at all," though the artist remains acutely observant and "Picasso studies an object like a surgeon dissecting a corpse." Cubism is here defined as the art of "the fourth dimension," since it transgresses the limits imposed by naturalist depiction of three-dimensional reality. It is here that Apollinaire goes on to quote the Nietzschean dialogue between Ariadne and Dionysus, evoking the elongated ears in *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*.

In February 1913 the Italian poet and pioneering film critic Ricciotto Canudo launched his magazine *Montjoie!* (unashamedly subtitled *Organ of French Artistic Imperialism*). In the 14 March 1913 issue, Apollinaire contributed his "Pablo Picasso" (OC 4, pp. 297–99),



29. Pablo Picasso, *Still Life with Chair Caning*, 1912. Oil on oilcloth over canvas edged with rope, 29 × 37 cm. Musée Picasso, Paris, France. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Photo by R. G. Ojeda courtesy of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.

which was an excerpt from *The Cubist Painters*, published later that month. He uses a poetic register to evoke a sense of awe and endless horizons, illuminated by the flames of creative imagination, closing with the phrase “Painting . . . An astonishing art, of unlimited light.” Into the metaphorical fabric of the text he wove startling glimpses of particular works and indications of specific techniques and innovations. Referring to Cubist collage, Apollinaire writes that Picasso “went so far as to entrust clear light with real objects such as a popular song, an actual postage stamp, or a piece of oilcloth printed with the weave of a chair. The painter’s art would add no pictorial element to the truth of these objects.” Early in 1912, Picasso had stuck an Italian postage stamp onto *The Letter*, an oval painting of a glass, a pipe, and an envelope addressed to “Monsieur Picasso 11 Bd de Clichy Paris” (Z II*, 293), thus introducing the first real object into modern painting. In May of the same year, Picasso included a piece of oilcloth, imitating a woven chair seat, into *Still Life with Chair Caning* (MP 36), thus creating the first Cubist collage (fig. 29). Apollinaire swiftly recognized the import of these actions and the scale of the creative territory Picasso had opened up. Henceforth, he wrote, “You can paint with whatever you like, with pipes, postage stamps, postcards, playing cards, candelabras, pieces of oilcloth, or shirt-

collars." Two recent paintings thus inspired Apollinaire to design a whole creative program for Duchamp, Kurt Schwitters, and their descendants throughout the twentieth century, in terms that also prefigure the use of found objects in Picasso's own sculptures from the late 1920s onward.

The *Montjoie!* article refers to "the famous return from Le Havre," evoking *Souvenir du Havre*, a painting from spring 1912 that marked another turning point for Picasso. It included his first use of *faux bois*, the fake-wood effect favored by painters and decorators, which he had learned from Braque, and the appearance of bright, strong colors in a Cubist composition, a development that disconcerted Braque.³ Apollinaire also recalls Picasso's travels, "carried by mules along the edge of a precipice before arriving in a village where everything smells of hot oil and rancid wine." He probably refers to two mountain villages: Gósol, where Picasso stayed in 1906, and Horta de Ebro, on the edge of Catalonia, where he stayed for several months with his friend Manuel Pallarès in 1898, and again with Fernande Olivier in 1909. Picasso would sometimes claim that he had learned everything he knew up in Horta.⁴ Apollinaire thus weaves into his text cryptic references to stories told by Picasso about events that marked his life and work, enhancing the article's evocative sense of mystery, adventure, and unpredictability. The poet also knew that these references would be fully understood by the painter and his friends and decoded by posterity.

Apollinaire's only book on art, *The Cubist Painters*, was published in March 1913. He intended it to be the first of a series, entitled "All the Arts," presenting the work of other artists he valued, including Matisse and Delaunay; the series would also have included a volume devoted exclusively to Picasso. Apollinaire's original title for *The Cubist Painters* was *Aesthetic Meditations*, but the publisher judged this uncommercial, and so it became the subtitle. The book is a carefully calculated montage of texts written between 1905 and 1912, shaped and unified by symmetrical patterns, metaphorical threads, and conceptual leitmotifs. It is designed as a diptych, whose first part, "On Painting," is divided into seven sections (seven being a magic number). Apollinaire here emphasizes continuity from Fauvism to Cubism to the birth of abstract art and deploys various dialectical strategies to enhance appreciation of contemporary art in the face of widespread skepticism and even hostility.

The second part, "New Painters," devotes a chapter each to ten artists, with other innovative figures gathered together in a postscript. Apollinaire's intention was to bring together Kahnweiler's rue Vignon stable, led by Picasso and Braque, and the second-generation Cubists, who had raised their profile in October 1912 with the impressive Section d'or exhibition, which presented over two hundred works by over thirty artists. He thus posited a united front of artists and provided a representative survey of contemporary Cubism.

Picasso, however, is the undisputed star of the book, pervasively present and specifically referred to in almost every section. Promethean and Pentecostal imagery here returns in force, with light and flame illuminating the whole text. "On Painting," for example, ends

with the sentence “I love today’s art because I love light above all else and all men love light above all else, for they invented fire,” echoing light references in the opening pages of the book. In his manuscript entitled “Remarks by Picasso,” Apollinaire attributed to the painter the lines, “I love light above all else. / Colors are only symbolic and reality is only in light” (PAC, p. 204). One of the crucial unifying metaphors of *The Cubist Painters* was thus born of conversations between the poet and the painter. Furthermore, in the second part of the book, Picasso and Braque are placed at the head of the list of New Painters, so the Cubist pioneers precede their followers, and Picasso, like Orpheus, leads the procession. Apollinaire studiously avoids the term *Cubism* in his chapters on both Picasso and Braque. He never really liked the term because of the sarcastic connotations intended by those who had coined it, and also because he felt Picasso and Braque were too powerfully creative to be labeled or defined by a restrictive doctrine or school of painting.

The chapter on Picasso is in two parts, covering the periods before and after the birth of Cubism, and consists mainly of two texts joined together, namely the May 1905 article for *La Plume* and the “Pablo Picasso” text published in *Montjoie!* to which Apollinaire made a few crucial additions. The two parts hinge on a central sentence that emphasizes the irrevocable and universal consequences of the Cubist revolution: “His persistent pursuit of beauty then changed everything in Art.” Apollinaire recognizes here that in 1907 Picasso brought into question everything he had been taught and reached back toward the roots of art and its original, shamanistic, function, not only changing his own direction but deflecting the course of art itself. Correcting the proofs, Apollinaire also lengthened the list of materials now available to artists (“pipes, postage stamps, postcards, playing cards,” etc.), adding “wallpaper or newspapers.” He thus took account of Picasso’s latest works, including the papier collé *Guitar, Sheet Music and Glass* (San Antonio, Marion Koogler McNay Art Museum), which uses wallpaper as a background for other cuttings, including part of a November 1912 newspaper headline, “The Battle Has Begun” (“La bataille s’est engagé[e]”), presumably a challenge to Braque.

Most significantly, in the second part of the chapter, Apollinaire added two paragraphs to the text of *Montjoie!* to set up a contrast between painters and poets who follow their natural inclinations and those who struggle against such easy options. The former category includes those whose work is dictated by a muse and who allow themselves to be controlled “by an unknown being which uses them as an instrument.” Such artists may be productive, their work may be moving, but “they make no effort and their works show no trace of effort.” In the second category are the true creators, inventive spirits who are “made in the image of God” because they do not copy what already exists but “draw everything from within themselves, and no demon, no muse inspires them.” Renewing the image of solitary labor applied to Picasso in 1908, emphasizing titanic struggle, Apollinaire harks back to the arduous months preceding the summer of 1907 and the various aborted blueprints for *Les Demoiselles d’Avignon* before finally summarizing his message: “Picasso was an artist of the first type. There has never been such a fantastic spectacle as his metamorphosis into an artist of the second type.” Without disavowing the works that preceded the Cubist revolution, amply defended in the first part of the chapter, Apolli-

naire here proclaims the superiority of the work resulting from the great aesthetic upheaval of 1906–7, which he witnessed firsthand.⁵

Following *The Cubist Painters*, Apollinaire published, in November 1913, a special issue of *Les Soirées de Paris*, illustrated by photographs of four recent wood and cardboard Cubist constructions by Picasso and his *Violin, Glasses, Pipe and Anchor* (Prague, National Gallery), a May 1912 canvas in which, as a gesture of support, Picasso emblazoned the title of Apollinaire's magazine. These extraordinary works scandalized many readers, who canceled their subscriptions, while others, including André Breton, were unforgettably amazed by this first sight of Picasso's strange composite constructions.⁶ The 15 February 1914 issue of *Les Soirées de Paris* then contained a portrait drawing of Jarry by Picasso.

In his newspaper articles, Apollinaire continued to provide brief commentaries, anecdotes, and informative notes on Picasso. In March and May 1914, in the *Mercure de France*, he pointed out how aficionados appreciated works by Picasso in the *Peau de l'ours* collection, run by André Level for a group of investors, and in the collection of Jules Claretie, well-known director of the Comédie Française theater (*Pr* 3, pp. 188, 203). On 2 March 1914, at the *Peau de l'ours* auction at Hôtel Drouot, Picasso's *Family of Saltimbanques*, acquired for 1,000 francs in 1908, was bought by the dealer Heinrich Thannhauser for 12,650 francs, confirming Apollinaire's constant claims about Picasso's status among astute collectors and art hounds, often from outside France.⁷ In 1914 Apollinaire linked Picasso and Braque in ways that more fairly recognized Braque's status, suggesting, for example, that the Italian Futurists at the Salon des indépendants had been "increasingly influenced by the innovators (Picasso and Braque)" (*Pr* 2, p. 652). During a controversy on the origins of "simultaneity," he stated that already in 1907 "it concerned Picasso and Braque, who were setting out to depict faces and objects from several angles at the same time" (*Pr* 2, p. 977). Apollinaire's writings are studded with concise and accurate definitions of this sort, at a time when Cubism was utterly incomprehensible to most people, not least to some painters who set out to copy it. He announced Picasso's departure for Nîmes in June 1914 and his arrival in Avignon in July (*Pr* 2, pp. 768, 829) and asked whether his work was essentially Spanish or could be seen as belonging to the "French School" (*Pr* 2, p. 810). Such questions gathered importance as the war reinforced patriotic and nationalistic opinions. So in September 1917, replying to Gustave Kahn, who had claimed that Cubism was originally Spanish, Apollinaire wrote to the *Mercure de France* that all credit for Cubism "must incontrovertibly go to Pablo Picasso and Georges Braque. . . . Anyway, it was born on French soil, and the artists associated with it work in Paris, so it would not be inappropriate to label it 'Parisian.'" To reinforce such credentials, he then informed readers that "Sub-Lieutenant Georges Braque, wounded in the head and trepanned, has indeed just been awarded the Legion of Honor and the *Croix de Guerre* with Palms" (*Pr* 2, pp. 1342–43).⁸

Finally, on 10 July 1914, Apollinaire replied to an opinion poll that his three favorite "Museum paintings" were by Braque, Rousseau, and Picasso, thus ironically highlighting the absence of the best contemporary art in France from any public collection. And predicting Picasso's official consecration, he added that the Picasso he preferred was the

one “that will one day enhance the Louvre’s Salon carré” (OC 4, p. 796). Picasso, replying later that month, sent Apollinaire a similarly ironic postcard from Avignon, showing a recent but absurdly old-fashioned allegorical painting of the apotheosis of the Provençal poet Frédéric Mistral, who had won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1904 and died in 1914. On the back of the postcard Picasso simply wrote, “I will paint your Apotheosis” (PAC, p. 112–13). The poet and the painter promised each other an increasingly glorious future.

When war broke out, *Les Soirées de Paris* closed down and newspapers had little space for art and literature. In 1915 and early 1916, Apollinaire was at the front, in the artillery and then the infantry trenches. Nevertheless, he found ways to stay in touch and relay essential information. Max Jacob had written to him on 7 January 1915, proudly announcing, “I am posing at Pablo’s, and for him: he is making a pencil drawing of me that is very handsome. It looks all at the same time like my grandfather, an old Catalan peasant, and my mother.”⁹ This was the magnificent pencil drawing of Max (MP 1998–307), which in January 1915 confirmed Picasso’s “return to order,” openly expressing the admiration for Ingres that had haunted him for years, particularly since 1905, when he saw *Le Bain turc* at the Salon d’automne. When a letter from André Level to Apollinaire also referred to Picasso’s conversion to neoclassical drawing, the poet included this information in *Le Petit Messager des arts et des industries d’art*, dated 1 March 1915, where he wrote that “Picasso, whose health is too poor to allow activities other than his inestimable work as an artist, ‘has,’ as I am informed by the anonymous author of the excellent preface to the *Peau de l’ours* catalog, ‘in some admirable drawings, easily surpassed Ingres’” (Pr 2, p. 858). Apollinaire, against all odds, and without yet having seen the new drawings, thus highlighted a major development in contemporary art and immediately promulgated what would become a critical commonplace, associating Picasso’s brilliantly accomplished neoclassical draftsmanship with the work of Ingres.

Spring 1917 saw an unexpected renaissance of cultural activities in Paris as the artistic and literary communities erroneously decided that the war was nearly over. Apollinaire had been wounded in the head by shrapnel on 17 March 1916 and, still in uniform but out of active service, found himself back at the center of the Paris art scene. He wrote the preface for the Russian Ballet’s May 1917 production *Parade*, published his important picture-poem “Pablo Picasso,” and then in June premièred his play *The Breasts of Tiresias*. He took up painting, producing dozens of watercolors, and promoted Paul Guillaume’s January 1918 Matisse and Picasso exhibition. He also published his second volume of short stories, *Le Poète assassiné*, and another great book of poetry, *Calligrammes*. After his convalescence, Apollinaire was physically diminished but astonishingly creative.

The war limited Apollinaire’s opportunities to write on art, but in *L’Europe nouvelle* he published an article entitled “Exodus of the Painters,” recounting that many artists of “the young school,” if they were not in the army, were leaving Paris, which since March had been bombarded by “Big Bertha,” the German long-distance gun. One artist stands out from the crowd, as always in Apollinaire’s writing—on this occasion because he is sto-

ically ensconced in the Paris suburbs: "But Picasso remains unmoved in his Montrouge. 'Before the war we had buses (*autobus*), now we have shells (*obus*). Who can say whether the former didn't cause more victims here than the latter,' he declared in a quip that isn't devoid of common sense" (*Pr* 2, p. 1419).

During 1918 Apollinaire would continue to enliven his articles for *L'Europe nouvelle* by regularly referring to Picasso, presented as the leading artist in France and the main inspiration of the Italian Futurists, or as the illustrator of André Salmon's book *A Manuscript Found in a Hat*, who was now preparing an engraving for Max Jacob's "next novel," *Le Phanérogramme*. He even pointed out that Picasso, one of the "most reputable" of young painters, had an "interminable list of Christian names" that ended with Crépin and Crépinien de la Sainte-Trinité, patron saints of the town of Soissons and also of the honorable corporation of shoe menders (*Pr* 2, pp. 1419, 1429, 1447, 1468). So, as the war dragged on, Apollinaire strove to keep Picasso's name to the fore.

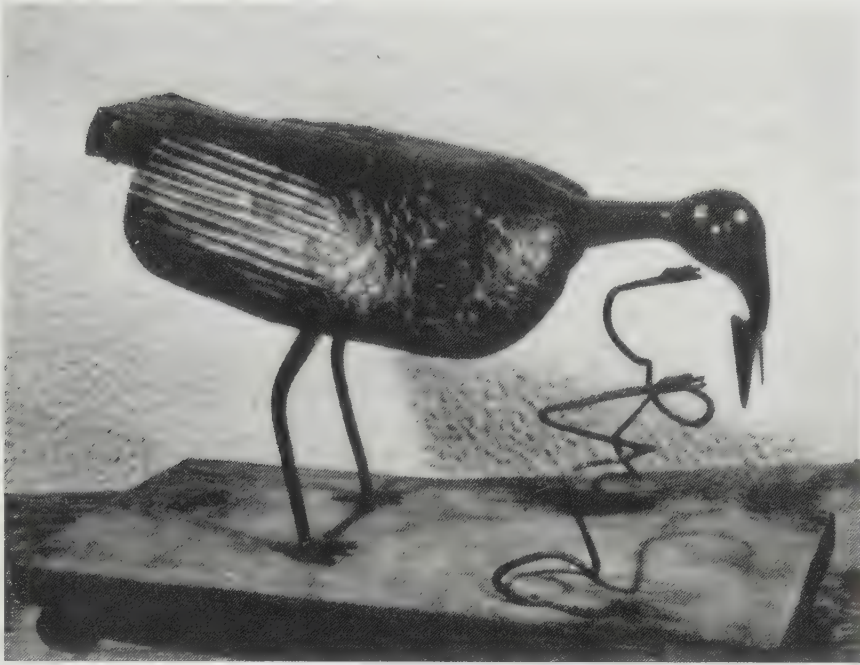
Overall, Apollinaire's critical and journalistic writing on Picasso can be divided into three categories. First, there are the short articles, the brief mentions and the references in bread-and-butter exhibition reviews, providing information or opinions, always emphasizing the value and influence of Picasso's work. Second, there are the historical surveys, explaining and legitimating Picasso's art by integrating it into a great European tradition and affirming the prospect of a promising future. Finally, there are the texts devoted only to Picasso, in which Apollinaire is fully engaged as a creative writer, blurring the frontiers between journalism and literature, poetry and prose, as in the two 1905 articles, or the articles for the *Marches de Provence* in 1912 and *Montjoie!* in 1913, or the Picasso chapter in *The Cubist Painters*. Sometimes in these texts a form of lyrical ekphrasis, responding to specific works by Picasso, leads to discursive variations on Apollinaire's poetics, bringing art and literature together into the narrative frame of his personal creation myths. Apollinaire collages texts together, juxtaposes references to works of art from different periods of Picasso's career, and places him in the company of great masters from the past to communicate a diachronic and simultaneous perception of his work and status. Such characteristics raise Apollinaire's aesthetic meditations on Picasso to the level of his poetry and his best prose fiction.

Such strategies do not prevent Apollinaire from precisely tracking the chronological evolution of Picasso's art, especially after 1910. He perspicaciously follows the successive innovations in Cubist painting and sculpture, highlighting major stages such as the first stenciled lettering, papiers collés, collage, the use of sand, the use of wallpaper, and Picasso's excursions into classically figurative line drawing. The poet is as moved and fascinated by all these developments as he was by his first encounter with works from the Blue and Rose periods, and he presents Cubism as Picasso's greatest achievement. He differentiates between the true pioneers of Cubism and their followers and presents the aspirations and achievements of this aesthetic revolution in pithy formulations. Close observation also opens onto broader perspectives, including Picasso's international influence, that situate his work in its historical and contemporary context.

Picasso in Apollinaire's Fiction

APOLLINAIRE WAS A novelist and an author of short stories, which were published in the press and then collected in two volumes, *L'Hérésiarque et Cie* (1910) and *Le Poète assassiné* (1916). Most of these prose works are semiautobiographical, slipping back and forth between invention and reality, creating a composite self-portrait that is more psychologically revealing and truthful than many published anecdotes. Picasso also inspired characters in some of these tales. While they are creatively fictional and should not be read as documentary records, they afford insight into Apollinaire's view of the painter and their relationship.

"The Poets' Napkin," for example, was first published in *Messidor* on 21 September 1907 (*Pr* 1, pp. 191–94). The story is based on a meal at the Bateau Lavoir where Fernande told her guests, "I've only got one napkin left. Since there are four of you, you'll have to manage with one corner each."¹ In the story, four poets dine regularly, but never together, in the studio of the painter Justin Prérogue. The poets resemble fictional versions of Apollinaire, Max Jacob, Salmon, and Mécislas Golberg, the Polish-Jewish philosopher, critic, and writer (1869–1907), who suffered from tuberculosis. Golberg was a leading figure in French anarcho-Symbolist circles who published in, for example, *Le Festin d'Esopé*, *La Plume*, and *Vers et prose* but who is remembered now for *The Morality of Lines* (*La Morale des lignes*), a study of the caustic caricatures of André Rouveyre, in which he presciently formulated some essential principles of Cubism.² Again, caricature and Cubism are clearly related. In Apollinaire's short story, the poets all use the same increasingly grubby napkin and so all catch TB and die. The painter and his girlfriend then recognize that the colorful stains on the napkin have become a painting, or rather four paintings that can be viewed from four different angles, each a portrait of one of the four poets. It is thus a modern version of the cloth Saint Veronica used to wipe Christ's face, which miraculously retained the imprint of his features. The napkin has become a Cubist "*Sainte-*



30. "The Benin Bird," Dahomey, nineteenth century. Copper and wood, 23.5 × 15.5 cm. Apollinaire collection. Private collection.

Véronique." This story was written shortly before Golberg died and shortly after the completion of *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*. The quadruple portrait on the napkin illustrates Bateau Lavoir discussions on the fourth dimension and on the principles of polyfocal simultaneity. The cost of this marvelous work has, however, been the death of four friends. So Apollinaire's story allegorizes how in Picasso's studio everything, including friendship and even life itself, may be cruelly sacrificed to art.

Typically, Apollinaire slides from real experience into a magical and macabre fictional zone. The opening line of the story places Justin Prérogue "on the limits of life, at the edges of art," and the same formula, inverted, closes the text. The story is thus framed by an artistic article of faith that reiterates the message of the blue postcard of 1905, placing Picasso's art, in a time of radical transition, on a line between experience and invention, where reality and magic connect.³

Critics and art historians more commonly quote "The Assassinated Poet," which gave its title to the 1916 book of stories. This novella is Apollinaire's most overtly autobiographical fiction, recounting the life, death, and posterity of Croniamantal, a poet who is a friend to artists. Written between 1900 and 1913, it is a carefully constructed collage of texts divided into eighteen chapters. Chapter 10 introduces the Benin Bird—named after a West African metal sculpture owned by Apollinaire (fig. 30)—immediately recognizable as a fictional version of Picasso. By giving the Spanish artist an avian alter ego, Apolli-

naire associated him with Paolo Uccello, the fifteenth-century Florentine painter who had revolutionized pictorial perspective and whose name means “bird.” Furthermore, by calling Picasso the Benin Bird, Apollinaire linked him to an ancient culture renowned for its exquisite brass and bronze sculptures. According to Apollinaire, Picasso was the Black Uccello.

Chapter 10 is divided into contrasting parts, one sacred and magical, the other satirical, a change of mood that Apollinaire often deploys as an escape mechanism when he finds he is becoming too deeply confessional. In this instance, the shift also exemplifies aspects of the relationship between the poet and the painter: rooted in respect, laced with humor, but sometimes edgy. The chapter conflates various periods, opening in the manuscript with a reference to 1907 that signals the importance Apollinaire attached to that year. In the published version, Croniamantal’s first visit to the Benin Bird’s Montmartre studio is set during “the first days of the year 1911,” on a bright, cold day, perhaps confirming that Apollinaire first visited the Bateau Lavoir on a winter’s day early in the year. From a specific time and place, the story swiftly takes the young hero to a zone where he must step out of time, beyond life and death, to enter the artist’s studio. The path he takes is initiatory, and when he crosses the threshold he encounters a dazzling epiphany:

The young man entered a single-story building. On the open door there was a sign reading,

Studios This Way

He took a corridor so dark and cold that he thought he was dying and with all his willpower, clenching his teeth and his fists, he shattered eternity. Then suddenly he was again aware of time and the loudly ticking seconds of a clock he could now hear fell like pieces of glass and life took hold of him again as time resumed its flow. But as he got ready to knock on a door, his heart started pounding at the idea there might be nobody there.

He knocked on the door and shouted, “It’s me, Croniamantal.”

And behind the door the heavy step of a tired man, or of someone carrying a very heavy load, slowly came nearer and when the door opened in that sudden light two beings were created and immediately married. (*Pr* I, p. 255)

Memories of his first visit to the Bateau Lavoir triggered this intense piece of writing, which describes a moment of rebirth and mutual revelation as friendship is transformed into union. Picasso would later use the word *alliance*, meaning in French an alliance, a meeting of minds, and a wedding ring, when referring to his meeting with Apollinaire,⁴ while the poet dedicated to Picasso a poem in *Alcools* entitled “Les Fiançailles” (*Po*, p. 128), meaning a couple’s engagement. In February 1916 Apollinaire sent Picasso a ring chiseled from a piece of metal picked up at his front-line artillery position (*PAC*, p. 136). For the poet, at least, their friendship was a kind of marriage.

In the Benin Bird’s studio “yellow books are piled up like pats of butter,” and, ironically, when Croniamantal recites lines by the pious poet Francis Jammes, the painter im-

mediately identifies them. He is interested in theater too, offering to paint the sets for his friend's latest play. His enthusiasm on that subject contrasts with the reverential attitude with which the two men contemplate the artist's latest painting, in Blue period style: "[Croniamantal] looked long and silently at the new canvas on its easel. Dressed all in blue and barefoot, the painter also looked at the picture where in icy mist two women were lost in memories."

In the studio, there are "joys of every hue," but blue predominates, as when Apollinaire first encountered Picasso's work. Blue is also present in the light flooding through a great skylight, opening this studio onto metaphysical space, an impression amplified by the overcoat cast off at the entrance and lying on the floor "like the body of a drowned man." Like a snake shedding its skin, Croniamantal has been reborn. According to Apollinaire, when the spirit encounters imperishable art, it casts off material constraints and enjoys a taste of immortality. In contrast to the canvas on the easel, a mirror on the studio wall reflects the shifting surface of transient material existence. Named a "dead sea," the mirror captures death at work. "So," writes Apollinaire, in this same chapter, "opposite Art, there is its mere appearance, by which people are taken in, and that lowers them, when Art had raised them up." The timeless truths of Picasso's art lift it above mimetic works that merely mirror transient surface appearances. The studio is also compared to a stable and the Benin Bird to a good shepherd, surrounded by the living creatures that are his works. The painter is both Christ-like and Orphic, holding nature subjugated, under his spell.

The year 1907 was important for Apollinaire partly because it was the year he met Marie Laurencin, the painter who would be his partner until 1912. Five years younger than he, she was part Creole, with long, wavy hair, like Baudelaire's Jeanne Duval. She liked to play the *femme-enfant*, carrying a skipping rope and singing traditional and medieval French songs, but she was also intelligent and independent, making her own career. A note she left for Apollinaire in 1907 or 1908 captured the mix of affection and high-voltage tension that characterized their relationship. In it she called him "My dear, kind Sugar" but added, "What is it stops me seeing you? Matisse, Picasso, your rotten gang of friends, who'll be the death of me. I love you but I'm not pleased."⁵

Apollinaire was introduced to Laurencin through Picasso, who met her at Clovis Sagot's art gallery; both events are fictionalized in chapter 10 of "The Assassinated Poet." Marie appears as Tristouse Ballerinet, a pretty name to evoke the graceful, pensive young women, including ballet dancers, who often feature in her paintings. She had studied porcelain painting at the Sèvres factory but had also attended the Académie Humbert, where she met Braque and Picabia. Her early drawings were marked by the influences of Oriental, Assyrian, and Egyptian art, and, after meeting Picasso and Apollinaire, she produced well-structured compositions and striking portraits, notably in her 1908 and 1909 versions of *Apollinaire and His Friends*, one set in the Bateau Lavoir, the other in the countryside. The first version (Baltimore, Museum of Art, Cone Collection) shows Apollinaire and Marie, Picasso and Fernande, with Picasso's dog, Frika, bottom left, balanced



31. Marie Laurencin, *Guillaume Apollinaire and His Friends*, (also called *Meeting in the Countryside*), 1909. Oil on canvas, 130 × 194 cm. Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, France. © 2007 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/ADAGP, Paris. Photo by Jean-Claude Planchet, courtesy of CNAC/MNAM/Dist. Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.

by a bouquet of flowers, top right. Apollinaire (with an open book) has a pale, Slavic complexion; Picasso is dark-skinned and painted in profile, with a staring oval eye, depicted as if seen from the front, in the style of the left-hand figure in *Les Femmes d'Alger*. The second version, known as *Apollinaire and His Friends (Meeting in the Countryside)* (Paris, Musée national d'art moderne) (fig. 31), adopts the more limited range of browns and greens that dominated the 1908 Cubist landscapes of Picasso, Braque, and Derain and bears witness to the influence of African masks. Apollinaire is here enthroned at the center of a group that includes Gertrude Stein (at the edge, with eyes closed); Fernande; the beautiful poet Marguerite Gilot; Frika; Picasso, behind Apollinaire's shoulder, like a royal adviser; another young woman; Maurice Cremnitz; and Marie herself. Exhibited at the 1909 Salon des indépendants, this monumental canvas (130 × 194 cm) was a focal point of Apollinaire's collection. Both these paintings show her partner as the magnetic center of the group, illustrating something Marie Laurencin wrote in one of the remorse-ridden letters she sent Apollinaire after they split up, where she told him, "Everyone was gathered around you."⁶

Benin Bird tells Croniamantal that Tristouse is definitely his style and describes her as having "the dark and childlike features of women who are destined to make men suffer." She is, he says, the epitome of both ugliness and beauty, "like everything we love today," and *jolie-laide* Tristouse is thus directly associated with the innovative modernist aesthetics of the poet and the painter.

At the end of “The Assassinated Poet,” after the persecution and death of Croniamantal, the Benin Bird decides to make him a monument, “for I am not only a painter, but also a sculptor” (*Pr* 1, p. 300). Apollinaire often highlighted the importance to Picasso of sculpture—a part of his output scarcely recognized then—in his fiction, his art criticism, and his panoramic picture-poem “Montparnasse,” which includes a close-up of the “noble right-hand thumb of the well-known painter and sculptor Pablo Picasso” (*Po*, p. 736). Tristouse, who is now his girlfriend, asks him if he will make the monument in bronze or marble. “No, that’s too old-fashioned,” answers the Benin Bird, “I must sculpt him a deep statue made of nothing, like poetry and like glory.” The chosen location for the monument, significantly, is the forest of Meudon, the town outside Paris where Rodin had his house, Villa des Brillants. On Rodin’s own territory, this new monument will outclass even his daring conceptions of monumental sculpture. In a clearing, Benin Bird creates an extraordinary piece of land-art, an inverted sculpture of Croniamantal that is a hole two meters deep, shaped in his likeness. The “monument made of nothing” is as empty as Christ’s tomb. Workmen then line the walls of the sculpture with reinforced concrete, “so that the empty space was shaped like Croniamantal and the hole was filled with his ghost.” Once the concrete is dry, it is filled in with earth. The Benin Bird and his companion then plant a laurel bush to honor poetry, and the story ends in twilight as Tristouse dances around the monument, singing a sad love song. Picasso, struck by the prophetic resonance of these closing pages, never forgot the Benin Bird’s “statue made of nothing,” and this imaginary work influenced the evolution of his own sculptures, as we shall see.

The Seated Woman (*La Femme assise*), the novel on which Apollinaire was working when he died, again collages manuscripts from various periods. A central character is Pablo Canouris, an Albanian painter born in Malaga. This composite figure combines aspects of Picasso with memories of Apollinaire’s close friend Faïk beg Konitza (1875–1942), an Albanian writer, linguist, and nationalist, educated in France and at Harvard, who moved to London from Brussels in 1902 and eventually, from 1926 to 1939, served as Albanian ambassador to the United States. Konitza contributed two articles to *Le Festin d’Esopo*, in December 1903 and June 1904, and Apollinaire stayed with him in Chingford, near London, when the poet went there to court Annie Playden. In that ill-starred love affair, Konitza was Apollinaire’s counselor and go-between. In *The Seated Woman*, Pablo Canouris’s domineering behavior to women was based on tales of kidnap and forced marriage that Apollinaire heard from Konitza or culled from *Kryptadia*, nine volumes of Balkan folklore, published from 1883 to 1906, that he often consulted. It also, however, caricatures Picasso’s Andalusian machismo.⁷

The Seated Woman includes a fictional transposition of Picasso’s affair with Irène Lagut (Elvire in the novel), a painter and former girlfriend of the Russian Cubist Serge Férat. Pablo Canouris “despised women and only knew how to treat them with violence” (*Pr* 1, p. 481) but is himself in the grip of uncontrollable passion: “The whole night she could hear Pablo beating on the ground-floor shutters, shouting, ‘Elbirre, listen to me open up, I luuue you, I adooorrrre you, and if you do not do as I say, I will kill you wis my rebol-

ber'" (*Pr* 1, p. 478). Picasso used to wave a gun around in the streets of Montmartre, and, according to John Richardson, he later used to keep Irène Lagut locked up in his house in Montrouge.⁸ Apollinaire's fiction characteristically turns the tables and shows Canouris locked out all night.

Apollinaire equally emphasizes Pablo Canouris's sublime artistic genius. The shift from "canary" to "Canouris" renews the avian connection already made in "The Assassinated Poet," and Canouris, indeed, has "birdlike eyes" (*Pr* 1, p. 423). Apollinaire thus associates Picasso with vertical aspirations, further emphasized when he writes that "Toledo's picturesque miracle, El Greco himself, was reborn in Pablo Canouris, the painter with celestially blue hands" (*Pr* 1, p. 423). El Greco was a cult figure for turn-of-the-century Catalan modernism, and the mark of his elongated figures and distinctive palette is evident in Picasso's Blue period. Picasso's friend Ignacio Zuloaga, who lived around the corner from the Bateau Lavoir, owned a major work by El Greco, the *Apocalyptic Vision*. As John Richardson has pointed out, Picasso used this painting's monumental proportions and crammed naked figures as a model for *Les Femmes d'Alger*.⁹ By comparing Canouris with the seventeenth-century painter, Apollinaire continues his consistent strategy of placing Picasso alongside the historical masters of Western art, all engaged in a timeless colloquium. He simultaneously highlights the historical credentials of antinaturalist representation and expressive distortion, exemplified by El Greco, and emphasizes that painter's specific importance for Picasso, a point that art historians would develop only decades later. Apollinaire adds that the works of Canouris, like those of El Greco, touch whoever sees them with "angelic violence" (*Pr* 1, p. 423), a formula that perfectly encapsulates the subject, style, and impact of *Les Femmes d'Alger*.

Apollinaire's fictional portraits of Picasso are as distorted and revealing as good caricatures. Reality is always his springboard into creative writing, and his stories are a web of lies that together speak the truth.

Art and Poetry in Dialogue

THE PLAY OF literary and visual assonance between Picasso's saltimbanque paintings and Apollinaire's saltimbanque poems continued in their works after 1905. Equally allergic to clichés, cliques, and labels, both men were open to every available inspiration. Apollinaire's poems include exquisitely crafted regular verse, free-verse compositions, calligrammes, and ambitious combinations of freedom and regularity. Picasso similarly rejected rules and expectations: in spring 1912 he introduced bright colors into Cubism, and in 1914 he adopted a neoclassical style while continuing his Cubist output. Each combined coherent development with constant renewal.

In *Alcools*, Apollinaire dedicated his 1908 poem "The Betrothal" ("Les Fiançailles") (*Po*, pp. 128–36) "To Picasso." He subsequently regarded this as "the newest and most lyrical, the deepest" of his works, his "best poem if not the most immediately accessible."¹ Jagged and fragmentary, uncompromisingly experimental, the poem offers flashing images of urban lowlife, prostitutes and sailors, and premonitions of an early death. It also, however, progressively builds and fills with flames, so that tribulations and resentment are consumed and poetry itself can be reborn, like the Phoenix. The climactic finale refers to the fourteenth-century burning at the stake of two Knights Templar, but the voice that rises from the fire is also a call from the poet to the painter: "Let us prophesy together, oh great master." The title, dedication, form, and content of "Les Fiançailles" mark the poet's commitment to continuing creative dialogue with the painter, in the belief that together they can shape the future.

Apollinaire and Picasso shared an interest in the idea of simultaneity. In Apollinaire's poetry this was geographical and chronological, mingling distant places and times, expressing a new, specifically modern, global consciousness, shrinking the planet and inciting cross-cultural exchange. Simultaneity also defined human identity, reflecting the life of the mind, where past, present, and future, here, now, and elsewhere all coexist above

the fatally consecutive flow of time. Simultaneity thus implies a conceptual rather than a retinal view of the world and often imposes contrasting, fragmentary patterns that disrupt the linear flow of lyricism. Cubism, for its part, also presents consecutive views simultaneously, producing multifaceted representation. So the parallels are obvious, though the differences between, say, "Zone" and a Cubist still life are equally striking, undermining the term *Cubist literature*.

As Apollinaire moved from *Alcools* to *Calligrammes*, and as Picasso moved from analytical to synthetic Cubism, they both gave themselves over to compositional preoccupations originally fostered by simultaneous perspective. Poetry and painting became increasingly self-referential, prioritizing shapes, patterns, and textures. Recognizing this, Apollinaire coined the term *poem-event* (*poème événement*), where the event was the work itself rather than its ostensible subject.² Despite this parallel evolution, neither Apollinaire nor Picasso lost touch with objective reality, and even in their most hermetic compositions they never turned totally abstract.

Always sensitive to the appearance and layout of his poems, Apollinaire sometimes combined the immediate visual impact of painting with the linear and consecutive effect of writing. He used Cubist perspective in the layout of some of his picture-poems, such as "The Bleeding-Heart Dove and the Fountain," where the dove rises vertically, the fountain is viewed frontally, and the pool beneath them is tilted forward (*Po*, p. 213). This view of the pool produces an oval shape that may also represent an eye weeping, a wound bleeding, a mouth saying "Oh!," or a miniature sunset over the sea. These simultaneous readings are all intentionally prompted by images in the text but also indicate the shifting polyvalent value of visual signs. Picasso similarly exploited visual puns, so a protruding tube that represents the inverted sound hole in a constructed guitar also recalls the eyes on stalks of his Grebo mask, and a saddle and handlebars may encapsulate both a bicycle and a bull.

Picasso invented Cubist collage in 1912, and Braque made the first papier collé the same year. Collage was always one of Apollinaire's fundamental compositional techniques, bringing together small fragments or substantial pieces from different periods of his own work and, in *L'Enchanteur pourrissant*, including a ready-made passage by another author. In *Case d'armons*, the booklet Apollinaire published on the battlefield in 1915, one of the poems, "The Seasons" (*Po*, p. 240), includes the lines "And swiftly as a toad's tongue darts / Collages were suddenly unglued and glued," describing his own and Cubist collage techniques. Another poem from that time, "Postcard" (*Po*, p. 226), combines handwritten text with a postmark and printed pieces cut from a real postcard, recalling Picasso's 1912 painting *The Letter*, with its real stamp (Z II*, 293).

Case d'armons was subsequently incorporated into *Calligrammes*, and the manuscript proofs for that larger collection are themselves a work of art.³ Displaying Apollinaire's interest in typography and layout, they juxtapose and layer written and printed text on sheets and scraps of paper and card, in different qualities and colors, to make each page a vibrant and varied artifact. The poet's craft is apparent in his precise organization of each

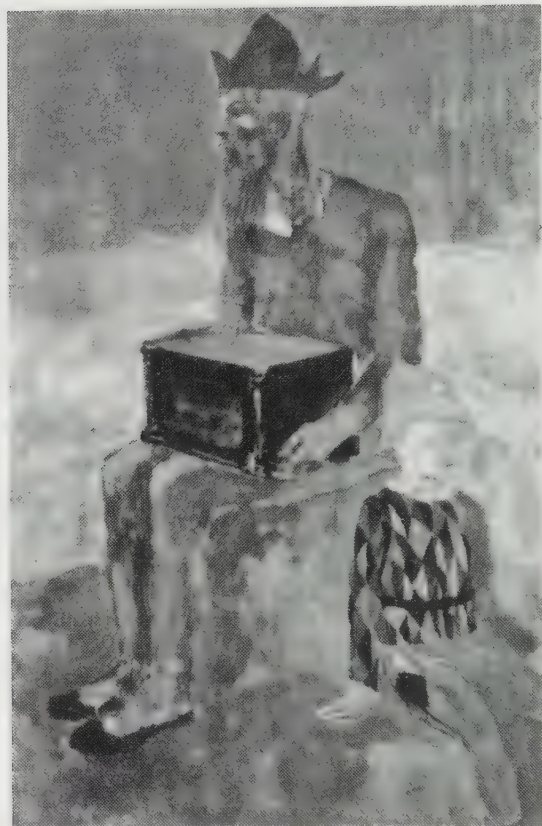
sheet, marked with his detailed annotations for printers, including elegant arabesques in black and purple ink. Many scraps of paper have been torn rather than cut, to emphasize the hand of the maker, the speed and vitality of his gestures, and his pleasure in the material textures. Cheap, thin bits of reused wrapping paper serve the design of emotionally charged and ambitiously innovative poems. The collage is sometimes three layers deep, aligning printed sections with manuscript passages on paper from an exercise book or on bits of blue paper, irregularly arranged for aesthetic effect. Further enhancing this effect, Apollinaire cut out drawings he had made, of animals, people, and landscapes, and glued these in the margins or drew directly onto the page, establishing dialogue between word and image. Mixing abstract and figurative patterns, he created visual and semantic rhymes and contrasts and displayed his uninhibited pleasure in the craft of making and shaping. The process is distinctively Apollinairean but also brings to mind Picasso's collages and *papiers collés*. These are the signs of a practical creative mentality common to the painter and the poet, which Picasso would later apply to scrap metal sculptures.

One of the most memorable poems in *Calligrammes* is "Phantom of Clouds" ("Un Fantôme de nuées") (*Po*, pp. 193–96), published in *Les Ecrits français* in December 1913. The poem is set on the eve of Bastille Day in a little square near Saint-Germain-des-Prés, and the laconic tone of the first-person narrator lends the action an air of authentic, lived experience. A company of saltimbanques have staked their territory on the pavement with grubby rugs. One of them wears a pale pink costume; another is a hurdy-gurdy man, scrawny and wild, with a gray beard, like Tiresias or an Old Testament prophet. His music is silenced, however, when a slim child, also wearing pink, with fur bracelets, appears, half-genuflects, and bows ritualistically to the four points of the compass before gracefully balancing on a ball, cartwheeling and whooping, and then magically disappears, leaving the audience stunned.

Apollinaire has placed Rose period characters against an urban backdrop, taking the child and the old man from specific paintings, *Young Acrobat on a Ball* (Moscow, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts) and *Hurdy-Gurdy Man and Young Harlequin* (Zurich, Kunsthaus) (fig. 32). The Picasso chapter of *The Cubist Painters* brought the saltimbanque pictures back into Apollinaire's thoughts, and their resurgence contributes to the circular and cyclical shapes that animate the whole poem, in the Bastille Day reference to the French Revolution, the ring of spectators, the turning handle of the barrel-organ, the rolling ball, the cartwheel, the juggling, the shape of the fake dumbbells, and the cycle of the generations. Picasso's paintings are thus incorporated into the cyclical pattern, epitomized by the death and rebirth of the phoenix, that structures this poem and all of Apollinaire's writing.

"Phantom of Clouds" slips from prose to poetry, from realism to magic. Picasso's acrobat on a ball becomes a symbol for the miraculous androgynous child who slumbers within every onlooker. A large part of Apollinaire's charm depends on this fundamentally humanist philosophy, which seeks everyday miracles and affirms that everyone has creative potential: "But every spectator sought in himself the miraculous child."

32. Pablo Picasso, *Hurdy-Gurdy Man and Young Harlequin*, 1905. Gouache on cardboard, 100.5 x 70.5 cm. Kunsthaus, Zurich, Switzerland. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Photo courtesy of Bridgeman-Giraudon/Art Resource, N.Y.



When Apollinaire wrote his last prewar letter to Picasso, in Avignon, on 4 July 1914 (PAC, pp. 14–19), he asked the painter if he had received the June issue of *Les Soirées de Paris*, containing his first “lyrical ideogramme,” “Ocean-Letter” (“Lettre-Océan”) (Po, p. 183). That poem is a double-page spread that combines collaged postmarks, concentric wireless waves around the Eiffel Tower, Mayan temples, snippets from conversations, slogans, graffiti, fragments of an old poem, factory sirens, a bus, gramophone records, and the poet’s new shoes, creaking as he creatively walks the streets. In the letter Apollinaire indicated the principles of his new invention, where text and layout interact, illustrating them with a picture-poem for Picasso, “The Pipe and the Paintbrush,” which reads as follows:

[The Pipe]

I am the very shape of meditation and in the end I contain nothing but ashes smoke
that is too heavy and can only go downwards

[The Paintbrush]

But the hand that holds you contains THE UNIVERSE immobilizing all life here are
born all appearances all faces and all landscapes

PABLO PICASSO

Voyez ce peintre il prend les choses avec leur ombre aussi et d'un coup d'œil sublimatoire
 Il se déchire en accords profonds et agréables à respirer tel l'orgue que j'aime entendre
 Des Arlequins jouent dans le rose et bleus d'un beau-ciel Ce souvenir revit
 les rêves et les actives mains Orient plein de glaciers L'hiver est rigoureux
 Lustres or toile irisée or loi des stries de feu fond enmurmurant.
 Bleu flamme légère argent des ondes bleues après le grand cri
 Tout en restant elles touchent cette sirène violon
 Faons lourdes ailes l'incandescence quelques brasses encore
 Bourdons femmes striées éclat de plonge-on-diamant
 Arlequins semblables à Dieu en variété Aussi distingués qu'un lac
 Fleurs brillant comme deux perles monstres qui palpitent
 Lys cerclés d'or, je n'étais pas seul! fais onduler les remords
 montant de l'énorme mer

Nouveau monde très matinal
 L'aventure de ce vieux cheval
 Au soir de la pêche merveilleuse
 Air de petite violons au fond des
 Dans le couchant puis au bout de
 Regarde la tête géante et immense
 L'argent sera vite remplacé par
 Morte pendue à l'hameçon... c'est
 L'humide voix des acrobates
 Grimace parmi les assauts du vent
 Ouis les vagues et le fracas d'une
 Enfin la grotte à l'atmosphère dorée
 Ce saphir veiné
 Rois de phosphore
 La danse des
 Le cadre bleu

sous les arbres les bottines entre des plumes bleues
 dix mouches lui fait face quand il songe à toi
 tandis que l'air agile s'ouvrait aussi
 Au milieu des regrets dans une vaste grotte.

Prends les araignées roses
 Regrets d'invisibles pièges

à la nage

Paisible se souleva mais sur le clavier

Guitare-tempête

O gai trémolo

Il ne rit pas

Ton pauvre

L'ombre agile

Immense désir

Je vis nos yeux

J'entendis sa voix

L'acrobate à cheval le poète à moustaches un oiseau mort et tant d'enfants sans larmes
 Choses cassées des livres déchirés des couches de poussière et des aurores défilant!

GUILLAUME APOLLINAIRE

33. Guillaume Apollinaire,
 "Pablo Picasso," *SIC*, May
 1917.

This is an emblematic portrait of the poet and the painter. The mellifluous text in the shape of a pipe considers transience and mortality, while, in response, the hand that holds the brush masters space and time, because the artist before his canvas is as powerful as a god creating a universe. The slow-burning tobacco also suggests the linear movement of literature, which is set against the immediate, simultaneous impact of a painting. Together, the complementary halves of the picture-poem depict two sides of human identity, combining mortal destiny and timeless aspirations. By thus combining word and image, Apollinaire's picture-poems reaffirm and exploit the potential for interplay and communication between literature and visual art, despite everything that separates and differentiates the two modes of expression.

A final example is the most audacious text of Apollinaire's career. He referred to it as "a beautiful poem on you" in his letter to Picasso of 4 April 1917 (*PAC*, p. 154), then published it in the May 1917 issue of the avant-garde periodical *SIC*. Entitled "Pablo Picasso" (*PAC*, p. 155) (fig. 33), this radical piece of concrete poetry is a densely printed rectangle containing four apparently abstract empty shapes. The text is topped and tailed by the names of Picasso and Apollinaire, in capital letters, bonded as subject and author. The text is undivided, but down its left-hand edge every line begins with a capital letter, as in

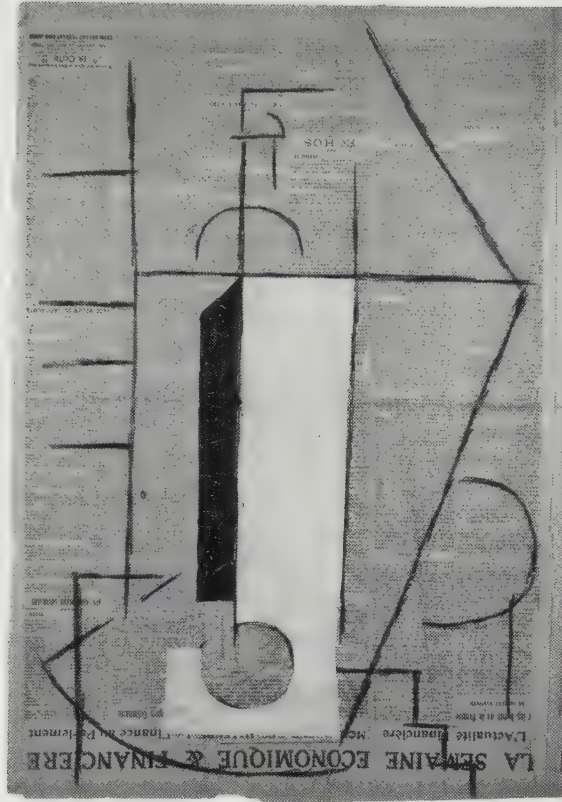
a poem. Its initial impact is predominantly visual, with the block of print as a gray background to the enigmatic cutouts. The text is also, however, a complex piece of poetic writing, allowing Apollinaire to explore further the relationship between the book and the look, between writing and the visual arts.

There is little punctuation, though three exclamation marks emphasize the overall sense of awe and excitement, expressed in visionary language that recalls Rimbaud's *Illuminations*. After the title, the opening phrase is "See this painter" ("Voyez ce peintre"), emphasizing vision. The two opening lines then lead the reader toward Picasso's art, defined as sublimating rather than mimetic and suggesting a synesthetic melding of senses where, as in Baudelaire's poetry, colors, sounds, and perfumes correspond. Following this first reference to Symbolism, the text progresses chronologically into Rose period images of harlequins, acrobats, and circus performers. The colors of the poem are also "the pink and blues of a beautiful sky" on a summer evening, at sunset, until the elated conclusion, when a new dawn unfurls. The harlequins here have divine powers, "similar to God," and the combination of acrobatics with sacred ritual, at twilight, makes "Pablo Picasso" a radically modernist counterpart to the blue-postcard poems, "Saltimbanques" and "Crépuscule."

The narrative moves from the streaky sky, to a forest, to the ocean, and into a huge cave, that dark space at the center of Apollinaire's writings on Picasso. It also shifts from the saltimbanques to the "Kings of Phosphorous" and other imaginary beings. This is the stuff of legends and fairy tales, and the whole poem is theatrical, introducing string and keyboard instruments, musical terms, repeated references to dance, and images of gold, silver, sapphires, and diamonds, shimmering in the shifting light. These are the sights and sounds of the Russian Ballet, and "Pablo Picasso" conjures vivid impressions of the 1917 ballet *Parade*, set among fairground and circus performers. Whereas the penultimate line of the poem introduces an acrobat on horseback, Apollinaire had originally written "manager on horseback," thus including *Parade*'s pantomime horse and famous American Manager, dressed by Picasso in a skyscraper suit. Modernist imagery is thus combined with the sumptuous Oriental iconography of *The Golden Cockerel*, *The Firebird*, and other Sergei Diaghilev productions based on Russian folktales, with sets and costumes by Goncharova and Bakst. Picasso was then on tour with Diaghilev's company in Rome, Paris, and Barcelona and was courting one of the ballerinas, Olga Koklova. Apollinaire's poem, combining text and image, celebrates the creative and erotic alliance that the painter and dancer epitomize and the Russian Ballet spectacularly enacts.

The vocabulary of movement and the breathless syntax of Apollinaire's prose poem express the kinetic dynamism of Massine's and Fokine's choreography and the surging energy of Stravinsky's and Satie's music. The fractured style and layout also recall Cubism and the representational techniques referred to in the opening lines, where the painter is "torn in deep chords," and in the last line, which lists "Broken things torn books layers of dust and unfurling floods of dawns!" The poem is thus framed by two pairs of lines that are semantically and syntactically symmetrical, enclosing the rest of the text, which is organized around patterns of repetition, like the visual rhymes and patterns that

34. Pablo Picasso, *Bottle on a Table*, Autumn–Winter 1912. Cut paper and newspaper collage, 62.5 × 44 cm. Musée Picasso, Paris, France.
© 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/ Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Photo by Hervé Lewandowski, courtesy of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.



bring classical order to Cubism. The white spaces in Apollinaire's composition look abstract, apart from the shape at the bottom, curving like a stringed instrument, both the "siren violin" and the "Guitar-tempest" invoked in the poem.⁴ The interplay of text and space also recalls Cubist *papiers collés*, such as *Bottle on a Table* (MP 369, Z II**, 782) (fig. 34). Picasso uses a whole financial page from a newspaper, dated 8 December 1912, densely printed in six columns. The subject matter is neutral, with no photographs or illustrations, and the sheet is inverted, making newsprint into an unreadable background. The newspaper is also, however, an integral part of the café environment suggested by the still life. A few charcoal lines schematically represent a table and chair, and parts of the text are covered by vertical strips of black and white paper, representing the bottle. Apollinaire's picture-poem similarly uses print as a gray background onto which white shapes were glued, but it differs from the *papier collé* in that the text itself remains poetic as well as visual. Apollinaire thus achieved the appearance of a *papier collé* but adapted Cubist compositional techniques to his poetic requirements.⁵

The presence of harlequins and acrobats in Apollinaire's *papier collé* makes "Pablo Picasso" a portrait of the artist that encompasses his career, from Blue and Rose periods to Cubism and *Parade*. The mixing of artistic and theatrical media in the picture-poem also

makes it a literary equivalent of the alliance of music, painting, and dance that, in the program for *Parade*, Apollinaire christened “sur-realism” (*Pr* 2, p. 865). He combines inventively rhythmical language and streams of striking imagery with empty cutouts. He has faced both the mystery of Picasso’s quasi-divine creativity and the challenge of ekphrasis, which he defined in 1907 when he described Picasso’s art as an “admirable language that no literature can express.” His response has been to unite literary and visual techniques, to integrate the forces of poetry and silence, and thus to produce “Pablo Picasso,” a work that celebrates Picasso’s art by rising to meet it at the highest level of creative beauty.

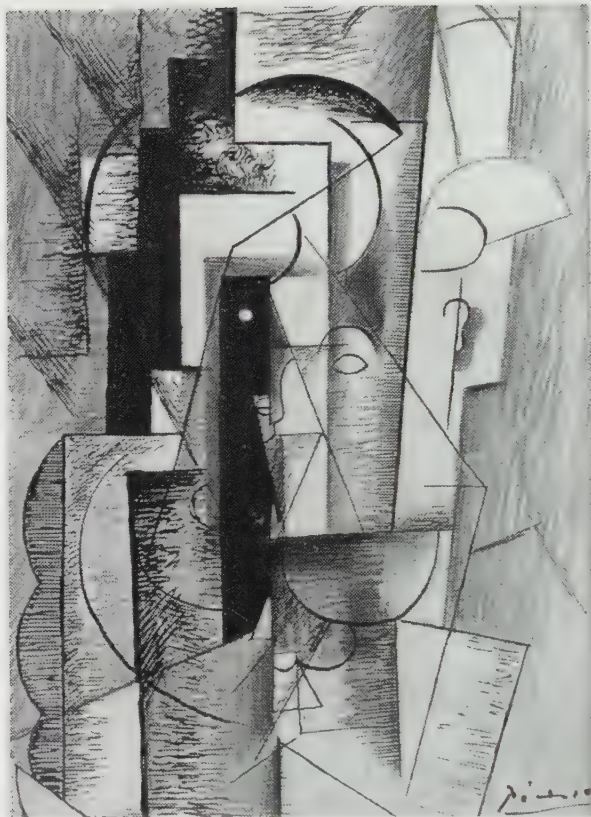
Picasso's Frontispiece for *Alcools*

ALCOOLS IS A collection of fifty-four poems written between 1898 and 1912. It is Apollinaire's most celebrated work and was described by André Breton in 1955 as "the greatest collection of poems our century has seen"; since then, its reputation and popularity have continued to grow.¹

Alcools was first published by Mercure de France on 20 April 1913, a few weeks after *The Cubist Painters*. Apollinaire sent Picasso signed copies of both books.² On 16 May 1913, Picasso had written to him from Céret, on paper edged in black, to tell him of his sadness at the recent loss of his father, and ended his letter by saying, "I would be very happy the day I receive your book of verse and I'm waiting for it impatiently. / I love you my dear Guillaume. / Your old / Picasso" (PAC, p. 105). On 29 May, he wrote that *Alcools* had arrived safely, adding, "You know how much I love you and you know how joyful I am. Reading your verse I am very happy. / Me I'm working." With this letter, as a gesture of thanks, Picasso sent Apollinaire a small and beautiful papier collé that he called "a little guitar" (PAC, p. 106). Picasso jealously protected his copy of *Alcools*, fearing friends in Céret would damage it with cigarette ash, so Max Jacob soon wrote to Apollinaire, requesting his own copy, explaining that "our friend Picasso is very possessive of the thrice-precious treasure you sent him."³

On his return from the Pyrenees, Picasso wrote to Apollinaire, in a letter dated 24 June 1913, as usual wishing him a happy Saint Guillaume's Day for the 25th, and adding, "We arrived in Paris yesterday and if I haven't been to see you yet it's because we thought you were still in Poland but now I know you are in Paris I want to see you so when are you at home? or come to our place" (PAC, p. 108). Then, on 20 September, he wrote to invite Apollinaire for a Sunday lunch of stuffed cabbage with roast rabbit in garlic sauce (PAC, p. 108). The publication of *Alcools* clearly coincided with a particularly warm period in their friendship, partly explained by their shared feelings of professional fulfillment: 1913

35. Pablo Picasso, *Portrait of Guillaume Apollinaire*, frontispiece for *Alcools*, late 1912–early 1913. Pencil, ink, and wash on paper, 21 × 15 cm. Musée Picasso, Paris, France. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Photo by Thierry Le Mage, courtesy of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.



was a high point in the history of European modernism, a last moment of grace before the Great War. Also, Picasso had drawn a Cubist portrait of the poet as the frontispiece for *Alcools* (fig. 35).

Picasso's Cubist portrait of Apollinaire is an ink, pencil, and wash drawing on paper, measuring 21 × 15 cm. Its small size meant that it could be printed in *Alcools* without being much reduced or losing detail or clarity. Its scale and complexity make it a particularly sharp and intense drawing, a Cubist masterwork, flashing with the precision of a cut diamond.

Hélène Seckel points out the significance of Apollinaire's decision to open his book with a daringly innovative drawing that placed his poetry under a modernist banner and recalled *The Cubist Painters*, though "it was not meant to establish some sort of parallel between Cubism and literature."⁴ The impact of the frontispiece, amplified by the scarcity of Picasso's exhibitions since 1905, is attested by reviews of *Alcools*. Most critics reacted pejoratively or ironically to the drawing, describing it as an "indecipherable masterpiece of trigonometry" and relating it to the shocking lack of punctuation in the poems themselves.⁵ Remy de Gourmont, however, expressed his admiration of the drawing by announcing that he would like a Cubist portrait of himself. Picasso's reply, reported

by Apollinaire, was that “he had other things to do and as he did not really know Remy de Gourmont, the portrait would have involved too much work” (*Pr* 2, p. 1047). According to one report, Apollinaire was heard trying to explain “the portrait’s beauties” to a skeptical Paul Léautaud by saying that it showed him “from the front, the back, and the side,” to which his companion replied, “I see, you move round it, like a Morriss column!”⁶ A “Morriss column” is a green metal cylinder, covered with theater posters, still part of the Paris landscape.

Picasso’s reply to Gourmont is revealing, confirming why his portraits tended to be of relatives and friends rather than of models in any traditional sense. His method was “painting faces from the inside outward,”⁷ so he needed to know the true character as well as appearance of his subject. He usually worked from memory, sometimes using photographs. His portrait of Gertrude Stein is typical in that after (reputedly) eighty sittings during the winter of 1906, working on his own after spending a summer in Gósol, he created the mask his subject’s face would eventually resemble.

Pierre Caizergues has suggested that the threshold portrait consolidates the “autobiographical pact” Apollinaire proposed to the reader of *Alcools*, whose poems, among many other qualities, add up to a psychologically complex composite portrait of the author. Furthermore, as the poet constructed his identity through his writing, turning Wilhelm de Kostrowitzky into Guillaume Apollinaire, so Cubism reinvents and brings forth a new reality. There is therefore, he suggests, “a profound complicity between Picasso’s drawing and Apollinaire’s project. . . . The *Alcools* frontispiece reveals its programmatic function. As Picasso reinvents reality, Guillaume Apollinaire, while reinventing himself, creates in his book a new form of writing.”⁸

Pierre Daix sees the frontispiece as “a papier collé portrait, as is evidenced by the composition in vertical strips, matching the requirements of typographic reproduction.”⁹ The main force lines are, indeed, vertical, fanning out slightly toward the right. A counter-movement is created by the diagonal lines running down from the top left-hand corner, while the secondary play of curved lines softens the overall angularity. Picasso is reported to have said, “Painting is poetry and is always written in verse with plastic rhymes, never in prose.” He defined “plastic rhymes” as “forms that rhyme with one another or supple assonances either with other forms or with the space that surrounds them; also, sometimes through their symbolism, but their symbolism mustn’t be too apparent.”¹⁰ This particular composition is a fine example of such rhymes, balancing form and content and establishing a dialogue between *signifiant* and *signifié*, abstract and figurative.

Markedly three-dimensional depth is created by lines and angles suggesting the corner and floor of a room, but these angles, in ink and pencil, placed together to the right, also contradict each other and so indicate the composition’s conceptual and polyfocal space. The layering effect in the drawing is matched by variations in white, gray, and black that create interior depth. In the foreground, there is a densely inked black shape with a hole near the top, providing a plane from which all other planes and perspectives recede. The use of shadows further accentuates depth, notably around the ear, though this shadow’s

position contradicts the implied predominant light source, which is to the right. The portrait thus combines the simultaneous perspectives of Cubism with the receding planes of traditional perspective.

The signs are polyvalent, with right angles on the left suggesting the subject's shoulder, a mantelpiece, or the corners of canvases and folders piled against each other. Similarly, a small circle represents both the hole in an architect's ruler and a beady eye. Apollinaire's eye was, indeed, "round as a nightingale's," Cocteau claimed.¹¹ According to the journalist Robert Rey, Apollinaire thought this central point was important: "'See that little circle?' Apollinaire said to me. 'That's my whole soul.'" The poet was (of course) referring to the Pythagorean doctrine, promulgated by Plotinus and others, that the human soul is spherical.¹² Picasso, however, based the circular shape on the eyes of a Grebo mask from the Ivory Coast (MP 1983–7) that he had acquired during a trip to Marseilles with Braque in early August 1912.¹³ During that same summer, in Sorgues, near Avignon, Picasso drew a preliminary pencil sketch for the Cubist portrait, designing the main shapes, details, and proportions of the finished drawing. The blueprint lacks three-dimensional depth but incorporates the poet's pipe, thus acquiring a touch of caricature.¹⁴ The company of the mask and other African sculptures validated Picasso's expressive and antimimetic strategies.

The top left-hand part of the composition includes elements that also evoke industrial architecture, and a vertical strip to the right resembles a millimeter ruler. Such details recall Picasso's comments on his poet friends, who "inspired and were inspired by Cubism" and whose work was characterized by "formal precision born of clear thinking."¹⁵ In *The Cubist Painters*, Apollinaire commented on Picasso's surgical precision and observed that "geometry is to the visual arts what grammar is to literature" (*Pr* 2, p. 11).

Hugely proud of the frontispiece, Apollinaire told Madeleine Pagès that it was a "masterpiece" and that it "resembled" him "in the immediate sense of the word."¹⁶ He developed this argument in a letter to Georgette Catelain in March 1916, explaining: "Picasso is one of the greatest talents of the age. A portrait should indeed resemble its subject. The word *table* that represents this piece of furniture resembles it to such an extent that it brings it to mind as soon as the word is pronounced, yet there are no apparent analogies between the word *table* and the piece of furniture itself. Don't you think that a painter might represent someone's likeness in the same way [in] their portrait? But in Picasso's art there is something of true realism that can be seen immediately."¹⁷

Some elements in the composition, representing hair, an ear, an eye, the chin, and the shirt collar, are indeed placed according to the proportions of real space, allowing the viewer to decipher the subject. As Apollinaire suggested, this work, though conceptual, depicts objective reality. Compositional factors may take precedence, but Picasso's Cubist portraits still capture the essence of the person represented or, as Picasso put it, "the vibration of their life."¹⁸

Picasso's use of photography is also relevant to the frontispiece of *Alcools*. Picasso was himself a keen photographer, and Anne Baldassari has demonstrated how his 1910 Cu-

bist portrait of Kahnweiler (Art Institute of Chicago) incorporates elements from his own recent photographs. One of these shows the dealer in Picasso's studio, with a Punu mask from Gabon on the wall behind him. This association is repeated in the painting of Kahnweiler, in which elements from the mask are clearly visible. More surprising, the watch chain worn by Kahnweiler in the painting has been taken from the photograph, which shows Apollinaire, reading a book or magazine, sitting in Picasso's studio (fig. 15).¹⁹ To Baldassari's observations it can now be added that Kahnweiler's crossed hands in the 1910 painting are in fact Apollinaire's, transferred from the photograph of the poet that came to light in the 1998 Dora Maar sale (fig. 14). Picasso shifts Apollinaire's attributes to Kahnweiler, disregarding the rivalry between the poet and the dealer. Or are such moves a wry comment on Kahnweiler's adoption of art and artists first supported by Apollinaire?

The Cubist portrait of Apollinaire is similarly attentive to photographs. The drawing is very similar in size to the original 1910 print of the photo of Apollinaire smoking his pipe in Picasso's studio (drawing, 21 × 15 cm; photo, 21.9 × 17.4 cm). The lighting and the position of the head in the drawing further recall that photograph. Picasso's graphic range of black, gray, and white also recalls photography, and in a letter to Apollinaire dated 27 February 1913 he insisted that the drawing be "printed in black and nothing else and stop it being printed in any other color" (PAC, pp. 101–2).

The Tiki sculpture from the Marquesas Islands is strategically placed in both of Picasso's 1910 photographs of Apollinaire. It also haunts the Cubist portrait of the poet, where it is submerged within the broadly faceted composition. The small mouth with rounded lips, half of which is visible in the drawing, resembles the Tiki's mouth. The ear, on the right, exactly matches the poet's ear in the photo of him with a pipe. Furthermore, another ear, with curly lines, as in the Tiki, is hidden in the drawing under a layer of pencil shading, above the oval eye. The fragmented layering of the head in the Cubist drawing stretches and lengthens it so that it matches the proportions and domed outline of the Tiki's head. The assimilation of the Tiki in the portrait refers subtly to Apollinaire's aesthetic options and serves as an introduction to "Zone," the first poem of *Alcools*, where the poet returns home to sleep beneath his African and South Pacific sculptures. It also infuses the drawing with half-hidden magic and a sense of impenetrable mystery, accentuating psychological depth within the layers of physiological representation.

Following the great Cubist portraits of Vollard, Kahnweiler, and Uhde, painted in 1910, this small portrait of Apollinaire, in a more stripped-down style, gives particular prominence to the clear, calm gaze of the oval, wide-open eye near the center of the composition. There are still some traces of caricature, notably in the way eye, ear, and chin are simplified. The overall impression, however, suggests seriousness, order, control, and sobriety. Both innovative and classical, Picasso's frontispiece perfectly sums up the major characteristics of Apollinaire's *Alcools*.

The Great War

THE OUTBREAK OF WAR, at the end of July 1914, found Picasso renting a house in Avignon with Eva Gouel, his girlfriend since autumn 1911. Working productively, Picasso planned to stay put, probably hoping that the troops would be “home for Christmas.” Apollinaire was at the other end of France, in Deauville, with André Rouveyre, reporting on the summer season for a magazine. His poem “The Little Car,” in *Calligrammes*, recounts their nocturnal return to Paris, as call-up posters appeared everywhere and “We realized my friend and I / That the little car had driven us into a New era” (*Po*, p. 208). Apollinaire had been preparing two new articles on Picasso, one of them on his sculpture for *Les Soirées de Paris* (*PAC*, p. 119), but neither was ever completed.

War shattered the artistic community, and rumor quickly replaced information. On 24 August, Eva wrote to Gertrude Stein and Alice Toklas, “It is said that Guillaume Apollinaire has joined up. J’apostrophe too” (“J’apostrophe” was Serge Jastrebzoff, alias Serge Férat). On 22 September, Max Jacob wrote to Kahnweiler, “Our friend Picasso is living at 14, rue Saint-Bernard and people say he’s doing the most beautiful things he’s ever done. Guillaume Apollinaire is [in Orléans] in the Foreign Legion with Serge and Galanis.”¹ The German military invasion was halted only by the Battle of the Marne (4–10 September), which was so close to Paris that French reinforcements were sent to the front in taxis. The government had decamped to Bordeaux on 28 August. On the French side, the situation stirred memories of the capital’s heroic resistance when besieged by the Prussian army during the winter of 1870 and of the period of utopian self-government during the Paris Commune of spring 1871. The threat to Paris in 1914 heightened awareness of the city’s mythical status as a beacon for republican values and a modernist, cultural epicenter, so thousands of foreigners in France rushed to defend their adoptive country. Apollinaire’s application to enlist on 5 August was provisionally turned down, nearly three weeks later, because the authorities were inundated and had suspended recruitment. In

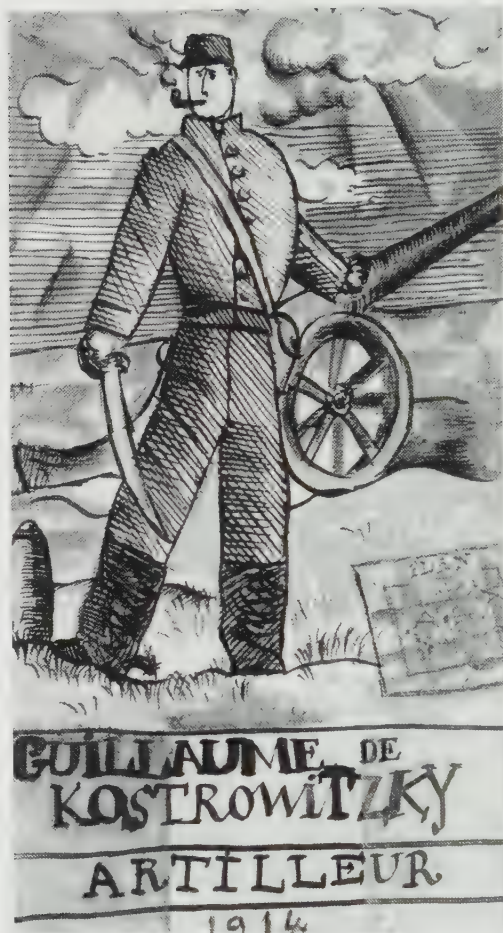
the first week of September, he moved down to Nice, where eventually, on 4 December, he signed up for the duration of the war. At the same time, he applied for French nationality. To his new girlfriend, Louise de Coligny-Chatillon, he wrote that he was “sad to death” to be leaving her.² By 6 December, he had moved into the barracks of the 38th Artillery Regiment in Nîmes, where he enrolled in a subofficer’s training course. Thenceforth he was saddling his horse at 6.30 A.M. and filling notebooks with information on the trajectory of shells and military technology.

Once his fate was sealed, Apollinaire was back in touch with Picasso, who copied his army address in Nîmes next to a Cubist drawing (MP 764) and on 21 December posted him a spoof delivery slip for ten items he pretended to be sending (PAC, p. 122).³ Picasso’s letters to Apollinaire go out of their way to be supportive, providing information on friends such as Braque, Derain, Raynal, Ricciotto Canudo, Léger, and Salmon, including, if possible, their addresses, and sometimes sending on their best wishes or getting Eva Gouel, Max, André Level, or Férat to add a few lines. Férat, who was working in a hospital, wrote to Apollinaire that Picasso was keeping him up to date on his life in the army (PAC, p. 125). Picasso thus became a relay station at the center of the diaspora, answering some of the questions underlying Apollinaire’s late-1914 calligramme “The Bleeding-Heart Dove and the Fountain”: “Where have Braque and Max Jacob gone / Derain with eyes gray as the dawn / Where are Billy Raynal Dalize / . . . / Where is Cremnitz who enlisted / Perhaps already dead” (Po, p. 213).

Picasso’s letters to Apollinaire send love (he often signs off, “I embrace you, my old brother”) and sometimes money (PAC, pp. 129–31) or drawings. The drawings include an ink and watercolor portrait, in the Napoleonic style of an Epinal wood engraving, showing Apollinaire in uniform, heroically standing over a cannon, under a stormy sky, with a map and an artillery shell at his feet, spurs on his boots, saber in hand, and, of course, a pipe between his teeth (PAC, p. 124) (fig. 36). Beneath the drawing, on a tricolor background, Picasso wrote in capital letters, “Guillaume de Kostrowitzky / Artilleur / 1914,” using the poet’s family name with the aristocratic “de” so as to recall his noble Polish lineage, with its connotations of prestige and military prowess. Apollinaire was, of course, as thrilled as Picasso had intended, and in February 1915 he took the drawing as a cue for “They called her Lou” (C’est Lou qu’on la nommait) (Po, p. 218), where he imagines himself as a heroic warrior from an Epinal print. He ends wistfully, however, asking, “Where are those handsome army men / And soldiers gone Where are the wars / Where are the wars of yesteryear.” Apollinaire sent Picasso’s drawing to Lou, asking her to “keep it very safe, as it’s an extremely precious drawing. I’ll get it framed after the war.”⁴ Apollinaire often signed off letters with the words “Ma main amie,” offering the hand of friendship. Echoing that, Picasso closed his letter to Apollinaire of 24 April 1915 by drawing a red, white, and blue hand containing his signature and the words “To say hallo to you my hand becomes a flag” (PAC, p. 133–35). It is a poetic salute, halfway between a calligramme and a painting, melding their respective arts in a symbol of respect and friendship.

Apollinaire received Picasso’s tricolor hand at his first posting after training, in a wood

36. Pablo Picasso, *Apollinaire in the Artillery*, letter to Apollinaire, 22 December 1914. Ink and watercolor on paper, 23 × 12.5 cm. Private collection. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), N.Y.



in Champagne, where he and his artillery comrades were living like Wild West frontiersmen, as he put it, always at risk from a stray shell or bullet, but in good weather and at some distance behind the trenches. He had been made a corporal and nominated “agent de liaison,” carrying messages, and wrote to Picasso that he found this “Amazing! All day on horseback, shells going off, war games.” The war, he wrote, was *Obus Roi* (PAC, pp. 132, 133) (punning on *Ubu* and *obus*, French for an artillery shell). At this time, Apollinaire was writing *Case d’armons*, a booklet of collage, graffiti, and more regular poems, printed at the front and later incorporated into *Calligrammes*.

On 2 August 1914, Picasso famously accompanied Braque and Derain to Avignon Railway Station, where their departure to join their regiments irretrievably ended his close friendship with them.⁵ Back in Paris, he found Max Jacob, happy to have Picasso to himself but behaving erratically, taking drugs, and converting to Catholicism. Kahnweiler was in exile, first in Italy, then in Switzerland. Furthermore, he and Picasso fell out over money, with the artist launching legal action in late 1914 over 20,000 francs the dealer owed him.⁶

In January 1915 Eva fell gravely ill (PAC, p. 128). Picasso's palette darkened. Later that year, when he was shuttling back and forth to visit Eva in hospital, he told Gertrude Stein, "My life is hell."⁷ Eva died on 14 December 1915. Juan Gris wrote to Raynal, away in uniform, that there were "seven or eight friends" at her funeral, which was "very sad, apart of course from a few witticisms by Max, which made it all the more sinister." Max apparently took a fancy to the coachman driving the hearse.⁸

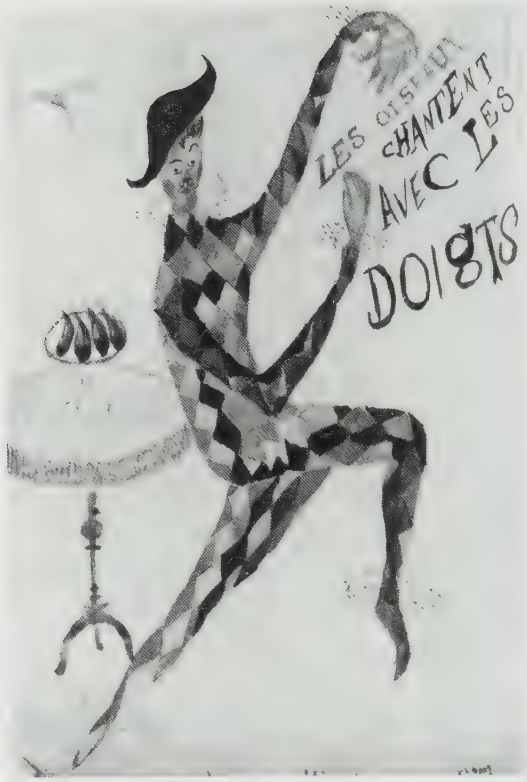
In August 1915 another artist in uniform, Pierre Roy, wrote to Apollinaire that he had been able to escape barracks and go to Paris, adding, "It felt weird being back after about eight months. On the terrace of the Dôme café, Picasso and Max Jacob, faithful to that nymphæa, were there, like memories from times of peace, and they spoke about you."⁹ More than ever, during this period, Picasso's missives to Apollinaire repeatedly asked him to "write me long letters" "as often as possible." Paradoxically, it was Apollinaire, in the army, who had to raise the morale of Picasso, isolated in Paris.

Apollinaire's war was a descent into the inferno, as he moved from the barracks in Nîmes to a relatively calm position, in springtime, observing battlefield pyrotechnics, to commanding an artillery piece during the French attack in Champagne in September 1915, and finally, in November, into the front-line infantry trenches, with the rank of sub-lieutenant. His letters to Madeleine Pagès record his trajectory, describing smothering mud, thousands of rats, and then the "parapet of my trench partly made of corpses," the "unspeakable filth," the soldiers who dream of a "good wound (losing an arm)," and "the tragic, horrible, obscure horror of infernal hand-to-hand fighting in the trenches, tunnels, and craters."¹⁰ His poems were increasingly laced with horror, as in "Ocean of Earth" (Po, p. 268), where men in masks flounder like octopuses, "And there are oh so many of us digging our own graves."¹¹

Apollinaire had less contact with Picasso. He sent him a signed photo of himself with Madeleine, taken during his two-week leave, after Christmas 1915, at her home in Algeria (PAC, p. 136), and he met Picasso and Max Jacob during a forty-eight-hour leave in Paris, beginning 30 January 1916.¹² Afterward, Max wrote to Apollinaire that Braque, who had been wounded, was often out of hospital and had recently lunched with Picasso and himself at Baty's Restaurant in Montparnasse: "We spoke a lot about you and how pleased everyone was to see you."¹³

On 17 March 1916 Apollinaire was gravely wounded by a piece of shrapnel that pierced his helmet during a bombardment as he sat in a trench, reading an article about Syrian history and culture in the *Mercur de France*. He was evacuated to the Val de Grâce, the main military hospital in Paris, on 29 March 1916. The day he arrived, he sent Picasso an express letter, asking him to visit (PAC, p. 137). Ten days later, he was transferred, at his own request, to the Italian Government Hospital, beside the Seine on quai d'Orsay, where Serge Férat was working as an orderly, and he was trepanned there on 9 May.

While in the hospital, Apollinaire, who had always been keen on drawing, took up painting. For Picasso he drew a dancing harlequin on a small sketchbook sheet and wrote next to it, in capital letters, "Birds Sing with Their Fingers" ("Les Oiseaux chantent avec les



37. Guillaume Apollinaire, *Les Oiseaux chantent avec les doigts* (*Birds Sing with Their Fingers*), 1916. Watercolor and pencil, 16 x 10.8 cm. Musée Picasso, Paris, France. Photo by Jean-Gilles Berizzi, courtesy of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.

doigts”) (MP 3588) (fig. 37). It is an elegantly balanced composition. Harlequin is slim and moustachioed, with striking oval eyes. He is leaping up on the tips of his toes, true to his traditionally athletic behavior. Beside him stands a round table with a bowl of fruit, while in the top left-hand corner a green swallow flies upward. Apollinaire has used the whole range of his paint box, so the tablecloth is pink with a green fringe, and Harlequin’s costume is yellow, red, orange, black, blue, violet, and green, while his hat and hair are black. His neck, wrists, and ankles are circled with pink spots, like rings around a planet, enhancing the impression of lightness and movement and giving him an astral appearance that recalls Harlequin Trismegistus and the harlequin who unhooked a star on the 1905 blue postcard. On the back of the sheet he wrote in black ink, “Guillaume Apollinaire, 1916, to P. Picasso.”

Harlequin is juggling the words of the main inscription, which are painted in green and blue. The drawing again associates Picasso with birds, and if he sings with his fingers it is because his gestures create new harmonies on the canvas and also, perhaps, because in Andalusia they say that “hands are birds” when referring to the clapping that accompanies syncopated flamenco rhythms.

This life-affirming watercolor refers to the new series of Cubist harlequins Picasso painted in 1915 and to his more classical drawings of the character in 1916, inspired by

38. Pablo Picasso, *Portrait of Guillaume Apollinaire with a Bandaged Head*, 1916. Black chalk (*pierre noire*) on paper, 29.7 × 22.5 cm. Musée Picasso, Paris, France. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Photo by R. G. Ojeda, courtesy of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.



discussions of *Parade*. Apollinaire's balletic watercolor bears witness to his continuing interest in Italian theater but also indicates that he is aware of Picasso's latest undertaking.¹⁴

Picasso drew several neoclassical portraits of Apollinaire on outings from the hospital. His austere black chalk (*pierre noire*) drawing of the poet's bandaged head and face in profile is a masterpiece (MP 1993–5; *PAC*, p. 151) (fig. 38). The artist has clearly delineated the poet's head and face by going over them with a darker line, whereas his uniform, with the collar badge of the 96th Infantry Regiment, is lightly sketched. Also discreetly apparent, pinned over his heart, is his Croix de Guerre, the medal he was awarded on 17 June after being cited in dispatches for his cool and courageous behavior under fire. "Oh cross of heavy torment / Oh cross of humble misery," wrote the poet in a picture-poem shaped like the medal, comparing infantry service to Calvary.¹⁵ Picasso captured this antiheroic mood, reflected in the noble and infinitely sad expression he attributes to his subject. This drawing, engraved by Jaudon, became the frontispiece for *Calligrammes* in the April 1918 first edition of the book.

Two similarly sober full-length portraits depict the poet seated, in uniform, with his head bandaged. One of them, in graphite on beige paper, is unfinished and shows him with his head sunk into his shoulders; puffy, weary features; and his hands limp and swollen (MP 1997–4). Another, larger, drawing uses the same position, chair, and back-

ground but changes the angle of the paneling and mantelpiece to create more space around the sitter. Here the poet looks straighter, slimmer, and stronger, with a kepi over his bandages, wearing boots and leather gaiters that speak of outdoor activity (Z XXIX, 200; PAC, p. 153). Far from mimetic, this generously idealized portrait is finished and signed “To my friend / Guillaume Apollinaire / Picasso 1916.” An engraving based on it was added to four deluxe copies of *Calligrammes*. Picasso later tried rapid sketchy caricatures of Apollinaire that showed him wearing the leather headband that held a patch over his star-shaped wound and included the old trademark features, such as the pear-shaped head, the furrowed brow, and the pipe (MP 497). The effect, however, is bittersweet.

Apollinaire's classical profile in the frontispiece of *Calligrammes* reflects the inclusion in it, despite the immediate impact of the picture-poems and other formal experiments, of much beautifully regular verse. Apollinaire's writing was always that varied, but in a letter to the anarchist poet Laurent Tailhade, dated 4 November 1916, he envisaged a literary counterpart to Picasso's neoclassical modernism, favoring traditional style for contemporary subject matter: “My aesthetic might be if you like to build on the solid base of what has constituted taste up to now a daring monument for which there is no shortage of new material. ‘On new thoughts let us write classical verse.’ That's the very essence of being modern, while trying to live up to the work of the ancients.”¹⁶ Apollinaire was forever seeking new permutations of what he called, in the last poem of *Calligrammes*, “this long quarrel between tradition and invention / Order and Adventure” (*Po*, p. 313).

The year 1916 ended with Apollinaire writing to Picasso to request a meeting so they could discuss their friendship and the pain it sometimes caused him (PAC, p. 139). Underlying the poet's wounded tone in this letter was his usual insecurity, exacerbated by headaches and bouts of postcombat depression but also, probably, by some new frustration over illustrations. Apparently they met to talk things over in Apollinaire's flat on 19 December (PAC, p. 140). On New Year's Eve, Apollinaire's friends, led by Juan Gris and Paul Dermée, organized in Montparnasse a big afternoon banquet and party to celebrate his return and the publication of *Le Poète assassiné*. The organizing committee was a modernist coalition that brought together Matisse and the major Cubists, Picasso, Braque, and Gris, as well as the poets Max Jacob, Blaise Cendrars, Reverdy, and Paul Dermée. Supporting them was a glittering Committee of Honor that included literary and theater personalities and the painters Moise Kisling, Metzinger, and Vlaminck (PAC, pp. 202–3). According to Gris, “It was a great success, with over a hundred people. Very important literary figures came to show their support for Apollinaire.” Picasso was accompanied by his girlfriend Elvira Palladini, known as Youyou, and other guests included Dufy, Eugenia Errazuriz, Bakst, Waldemar George, Ilya Ehrenburg, Diego Rivera, and Ramon Gomez de la Serna. There were patriotic speeches until these were drowned out by some of the guests, who started throwing flowers and oranges and then danced round the table, holding hands in a circle and singing. Apollinaire wrote to Raynal afterward that the party was “a sort of magnesium flash, exactly what was needed, bright and dangerous, brief, but paroxysmal. There were lots of amputated limbs waving dangerously in the air, Swiss, but Belgian too.”¹⁷

In February 1917 Picasso escaped with Cocteau and the Russian Ballet for two months in Italy, where he painted the costumes and sets for *Parade*, visited Naples and Pompei, and courted Olga Koklova. He sent Apollinaire regular cards and letters from the poet's birthplace, including two postcards and a flyer from a puppet theater, a drawing of Rome by night, and a sumptuous set menu from the Grand Hotel. He also sent him a laurel leaf, as a fragile symbol of lasting glory saved from the ruins, inscribed, "To my friend Guillaume Apollinaire / POMPEI Picasso / 1917" (PAC, p. 147). All these items were calculated to please and interest the poet, who in reply, on 22 March, gave Picasso news from Paris, including the launch of Pierre Reverdy's magazine *Nord-Sud* and his own gatherings every Tuesday at the Café de Flore. Apollinaire's level of activity at this time, as he described it to Picasso, was quite extraordinary, including completed plays, film scripts, a new edition of *Ubu Roi*, which was never published, and work on a novel and for *Calligrammes*. He also planned to write a book on Picasso ("you can give me information and it will be interesting and important"), reminded the artist of their Cervantes translation project, and asked if he could have "an engraving or two" for a short book of poems, which would be "something very new." Apollinaire also had a new partner, Jacqueline Kolb, known as Ruby, who added a few words, including the news that they were expecting a baby (PAC, pp. 149–50). Unfortunately, the pregnancy did not reach its term.¹⁸ In spring 1917 Apollinaire was working flat out and producing some of the best writing of his career.

The little book of poetry he referred to was *Vitam impendere amori*, whose Latin title corresponded to the classical beauty of the prosody within. Picasso replied from Rome, "We'll do the Cervantes translation, and I'll do the engravings you mention for your book" (PAC, p. 152). *Vitam impendere amori* was published in November 1917, but its illustrations were by André Rouveyre.

Picasso put Apollinaire in touch with Diaghilev, who commissioned an essay from Apollinaire for the program of *Parade*, premièred at the Châtelet Theater in Paris on 18 May 1917 (*Pr* 2, pp. 865–66). The music was by Satie, the choreography by Massine, and the script, or "stage poem," by Cocteau, but Apollinaire's essay focuses on the costumes, curtain, and sets by Picasso, using for the first time, with a hyphen, his most famous neologism, "sur-realism."

Picasso then accompanied the ballet to Spain, returning to Paris only in November 1917. Consequently, he missed Apollinaire's play, *The Breasts of Tiresias*, performed on 24 June 1917 in a Montmartre theater near rue Lepic, five minutes' walk from the Bateau Lavoir (fig. 39). The play was a musical comedy on women's rights and the birthrate, both of them hot issues, but it also redefined theatrical space, taking the action from the stage into the audience and then filling the whole theater with noise and flying objects. The sets, props, and costumes, including Cubist masks, were designed by Serge Férat. The theater seated 491 spectators but was so packed that the organizers had to lock the doors and André Breton's friend Jacques Vaché could get a seat only by brandishing a gun. The program was illustrated by a Matisse woodcut and, on the cover, an elegant drawing by Picasso, depicting a horse obediently walking on its hind legs in front of a woman with



39. Actors in *The Breasts of Tiresias*, outside the Conservatoire Renée Maubel, Paris, 24 June 1917. Costumes and masks by Serge Férat (photographer unknown).

a whip. The drawing reflects the style of the play, which mixes Aristophanes with the Medrano circus and includes a gendarme on horseback. It also matches the subject of the play, which shows a determined woman standing up to her doltish husband. News flashes on placards interrupt the action, announcing, for example, “Avignon / Great artist G.r.g.s Braque has just invented a way of intensively growing paintbrushes” (thus Braque’s inventiveness is publicly recognized). Another card announces that Matisse has been named director of the Villa Medici in Rome, while a precocious baby proclaims,

We learn from Montrouge
That Mr. Picasso
Is making a picture that moves
Just like this cradle

The baby’s father replies:

And long live the paintbrush
Of our friend Picasso

As soon as Picasso returned to Paris he contacted Apollinaire, calling at his flat on 28 November (PAC, p. 162). The poet’s ill health had prevented him delivering his lecture

"The New Spirit" at the Vieux-Colombier theater on 26 November, and an actor had replaced him. The lecture itself reiterated Apollinaire's intractable faith in human potential, stating, for example, that "one can be a poet in any field of activity, provided one is adventurous and always open to new discoveries" (*Pr* 2, p. 950). It was probably around this time that Apollinaire established his collection of quotations, entitled "Sayings by Pablo Picasso," referred to in his letter of 22 March 1917. In his introduction to the document, Apollinaire presented himself as the painter's "best friend" (*PAC*, p. 201).

Picasso came back to a city in which the cultural effervescence of spring 1917 had been stifled. The "Lyre and Palette" club, which in Montparnasse had been organizing exhibitions of works by Picasso, Matisse, Modigliani, and their followers, with recitals and poetry readings, was closed by the police in November 1917, in case such incomprehensible activities were a front for pacifist or pro-German sympathies. Meanwhile, the war of attrition dragged on.

The First Matisse and Picasso Exhibition

The Orange and the Pearl

APOLLINAIRE'S COMMITMENT TO Picasso was never exclusive and did not prevent him from appreciating and promoting shockingly new work by, for example, Duchamp and Picabia, or Robert and Sonia Delaunay. But the only artist who could rival Picasso's prestige in his eyes was Henri Matisse. This chapter will focus on one outcome of Apollinaire's admiration for both these artists: his contribution to the first-ever Matisse and Picasso joint exhibition, in 1918.

The poet's most important article on Matisse was based on an interview with the artist, originally set up by Mécislas Golberg and published in *La Phalange* in December 1907 (*Pr* 2, pp. 100–103). From then on Apollinaire consistently presented Matisse and Picasso as the two leading artists of the age. Covering all the cacophonous Salons, he persistently highlighted Picasso's occult influence and Matisse's glorious presence. Despite this, or perhaps because of the poet's divided loyalties, Matisse did not particularly like Apollinaire. At the 1910 Salon d'automne, for example, Apollinaire praised the "rich color and soberly perfect drawing" of Matisse's *Dance* and *Music*, adding that they were certainly his best works to date and asserting that, in the current hostile environment, he had resolved to campaign for Matisse as Mallarmé had for Manet (*Pr* 2, p. 140). Matisse responded privately, in a letter dated 26 October 1910, to the painter Jean Biette, confirming that almost everybody hated *Dance* and *Music*: "Only one person spoke up for me, but as he disgusts me, I'd rather have an enemy. It's Apollinaire."¹ Despite this animosity, Apollinaire held to his distinctive critical position between Picasso and Matisse, sometimes acknowledging their rivalry but always promoting both the father of Fauvism and the inventor of Cubism.

The 1918 Matisse-Picasso exhibition was organized by Paul Guillaume (1891–1934). Apollinaire had first met the dealer in 1910, when he was working for a rubber tire merchant and starting to sell African sculptures. Apollinaire encouraged him, sending him

artists and other customers, as confirmed by Paul Guillaume's first letter to Picasso, in 1912: "Dear Sir, I understand from Monsieur Apollinaire that you are interested in my African sculptures. I have six of them to hand and can bring them to your address at any time you wish, preferably in the afternoon or evening."² Apollinaire became his talent scout and all-round *éminence grise*, shaping his artistic tastes and, according to Max Jacob, "making his fortune."³ Even while Apollinaire was away in the army, the dealer wrote to him, continuing to pick his brains and to ask him to steer Picasso and other Kahnweiler artists in his direction. Apollinaire increasingly saw this as a one-sided relationship but nevertheless edited the gallery's catalogs and its promotional magazine, *Les Arts à Paris*. In 1917, the poet and the dealer jointly signed *Sculptures nègres*, the first book in France to focus on the artistic rather than the ethnographic interest of African and Oceanian sculptures.⁴

The Matisse and Picasso show was Paul Guillaume's most important venture, presented in his three-room gallery at 108 rue du Faubourg Saint-Honoré from 23 January to 15 February 1918.⁵ In "Zone," Apollinaire had confidently proclaimed, "You read prospectuses catalogs and posters that sing out loudly / That's poetry this morning and for prose there are newspapers" (*Po*, p. 39). In tune with that spirit, shared by Paul Guillaume, the Matisse and Picasso exhibition was accompanied by an unprecedented publicity campaign. It was first advertised with posters printed on orange paper.⁶ Apollinaire wrote a press release (*Pr* 2, p. 1650) and placed promotional stories and articles in newspapers and magazines, and part of the exhibition was filmed for cinema newsreels. Every branch of contemporary mass media was thus mobilized, and twentieth-century marketing was, for the first time, applied to an art exhibition.

Matisse authorized the show, though reluctantly. He may by then have warmed to Apollinaire, thanks to the poet's military service. Matisse had himself volunteered, unsuccessfully, in 1914, and in June 1916 he wrote to Léonce Rosenberg of his admiration for the French troops.⁷ Matisse's place alongside Picasso on the Organizing Committee of the Apollinaire banquet, in December 1916, the involvement of all three of them in the Braque banquet shortly afterwards, and the appearance of works by both artists in the program of *The Breasts of Tiresias* strengthened the Matisse-Picasso-Apollinaire triangle.

Apollinaire went into the hospital on 1 January 1918 with a respiratory illness that took him to death's door, but in a letter dated 14 January 1918 Paul Guillaume told him that he had only just learned of his illness from Max Jacob. He had written to Apollinaire on 8 January inviting him to write a press release and a catalog preface for the exhibition, urgently repeating his request on 12 and 16 January.⁸ He also wrote last-minute letters to Matisse and Picasso asking for their cooperation, stating that money from catalog sales would go to wounded soldiers. Playing off one artist against the other, he wrote Picasso on 18 January that he would call to collect "the picture you promised me" and added, "I am going to have enough important works by Matisse and want you to be as honorably represented."⁹

Matisse's private reaction was predictably prickly. In a letter to André Rouveyre, dated

2 March 1918, he first wrote kindly of Apollinaire's *Vitam impendere amori* but then refused all responsibility for the Paul Guillaume exhibition, "especially for the ultramodern advertising campaign, which absolutely disgusts me"—a reiteration of the hostile vocabulary he had used in 1910.¹⁰ On 8 May 1918, however, Matisse wrote to Rouveyre that he was concerned not to have received his copy of *Calligrammes*, which he had ordered on a subscription form Apollinaire had sent him.¹¹

The cover of the modest catalog bore a Picasso drawing of Harlequin, listed works exhibited, and included two texts by Apollinaire, one on each artist (*Pr* 2, pp. 874–75). They are prose poems in which the writer uses rhythm, imagery, and resonant turns of phrase to achieve a distinctive ekphrasis.

The Picasso text is divided into eight paragraphs whose differing lengths produce a fragmentary pattern and rhythm. This staccato effect is compounded by a series of surprising interruptions and juxtapositions, including references to a clockwork rabbit and to Cleopatra. Structure and imagery thus contribute to an effect of unpredictable, nonlinear progression, presenting Picasso as a constantly mobile and experimental artist. The textual fragmentation also corresponds to the multiple planes and facets of Cubist representation. Picasso is constantly pushing forward, but from the outset Apollinaire also states that "Picasso is the heir to all the great artists." He thus identifies an essential tension in Picasso's work between renewal and continuity, suggesting that the great innovator is anything but an iconoclast.

At the heart of the text on Picasso is a reference to light, "an inner light, at the bottom of which lies, however, a deep gulf of mysterious darkness" ("lumière intérieure au fond de laquelle git pourtant un gouffre de mystérieuses ténèbres"). Intonation, cadence, and sounds here are all arranged on a falling scale, calculated to lead the reader on a speleological descent. Viewing Picasso's work, Apollinaire always experienced that same heart-stopping emotion, as if, with lamp in hand, he were discovering an Egyptian tomb or prehistoric cave paintings. At the heart of Picasso's work he discerned an awesome mystery and a modern awareness of dark, empty space.

The outstanding image in this text compares Picasso's work to "a beautiful pearl," thus suggesting the flickering, silvery, iridescent light and hard resistant surface that the artist achieved in some major Cubist compositions, with their multiple dabs of pearl gray (*gris perle*), a chromatic term used in French since the seventeenth century. The image also suggests perfection, as in the phrase *ouvrage perlé*, implying that each of Picasso's works is a paragon of painting. The alchemy that engenders the pearl, in its rarity and inaccessibility, is also a clear analogy for Picasso's creative process.

The image appears in the brief, closing paragraphs: "You are thinking of a beautiful pearl. / Cleopatra, don't throw it in vinegar!" The unexpected appearance of the last Queen of Egypt reinforces the strategy of contrast and surprise. It also breaches the poet's modernist discourse to reveal a distant historical horizon, implying the atemporal nature of Picasso's genius. Cleopatra evokes the graceful majesty of Picasso's compositions but also recalls his visits to the Louvre's Egyptian collections. Viewing Picasso's painted profiles

in *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* and elsewhere, Rousseau had famously told him, "We are the two greatest painters of our time, you in the 'Egyptian' style, and I in the modern."¹²

The enigmatic injunction to Cleopatra also recalls Pliny's *Natural History*, which Apollinaire had already quoted in chapter 2 of his *Cubist Painters*, where he recalled the story of Apelles and Protogenes to suggest the creative partnership between Picasso and Braque.¹³ So it is significant that he returned to Pliny in 1918 in the context of a Matisse-Picasso confrontation. In book 9 of *Natural History*, Pliny recounts a banquet where Cleopatra, facing Antony, was wearing as earrings the two largest pearls known to man, handed down to her through royal dynasties. She called for a bowl of vinegar and, to amaze her guest, dropped one of the pearls into it, watched it dissolve, and then drank it. Only the intervention of those around her saved the other pearl from the same fate. Apollinaire's text begins with a reference to Picasso's artistic inheritance, and the closing reference to Cleopatra's inherited pearl thus echoes that beginning, giving the text a circular unity that matches the spherical image. It also suggests that if Picasso has inherited the great gifts of illustrious predecessors, he must not behave like Cleopatra but must nurture that treasure, avoiding impulsive gestures intended to impress the friend and rival who watches his every move.

In contrast, the five-paragraph Matisse text is woven together by anaphora, with particular emphasis on the words *strength*, *probity*, *instinct* (all mentioned twice) and *light* (mentioned four times), qualities Apollinaire had associated with Matisse since 1907. Such repetitions also generate rhythm and create lexical threads to unify the text. Formal elements thus suggest a particular image of the artist's work, both sinuous and harmonious. *Light*, however, is the key word here. On one level the poet is evoking Matisse's expansively chromatic palette, but the clarity is also metaphorical, as the text ends with a contrast between increasingly confident luminosity and memories fading into mist. The light filling Matisse's work is therefore a vital energy and a moral force that dispels misty-eyed nostalgia. Always "sumptuous," this is an art of life-affirming spontaneity and increasing simplicity.

These qualities come together in a memorable analogy in the second paragraph: "If we had to compare Henri Matisse's work to anything, we would have to choose an orange. Like the orange, Henri Matisse's work is a fruit bursting with light." The analogy refers, first and foremost, to the images of oranges and to the color orange, both of which feature prominently in Matisse's paintings, such as *Coupe d'oranges* (1916; listed in the 1918 exhibition catalog), whose riveting intensity and compositional simplicity give it a brilliantly charismatic presence.¹⁴

The Matisse orange thus faces the Picasso pearl in dialectical symmetry, contrasting expansive and interiorized light, centrifugal and centripetal energy. Solar luminosity is paradoxically associated with Matisse, the northerner, and pearly light with Picasso, the Andalusian. Picasso once referred to Matisse and himself as North Pole and South Pole.¹⁵ According to Apollinaire, each of them seeks and deploys a light he did not initially possess.



40. Jean Chaize (photographer unknown).

In the 1918 catalog, Apollinaire definitively consecrated Matisse and Picasso as the two leading contemporary artists, while giving an advantage to the Spaniard, accumulating more superlatives on his side of the diptych. Though the poet refused to take sides, Picasso still topped Matisse on the summit of Apollinaire's contemporary Parnassus.

The newsreel clip of the exhibition, held in the Gaumont Archives, allowed Anne Baldassari to identify three specific works included in the 1918 exhibition: a Matisse *Interior of the Artist's Studio* and two works by Picasso: a Cubist collage, *Woman with a Mandolin*, and a 1907 drawing of a Cubist male head, enigmatically entitled *Modern Anacreon*.¹⁶ Anacreon was a sixth-century BC Greek philosopher and also the first poet of wine, women, and song. His poem "The Picture" gives instructions for painting female beauty, adding: "So, to life th'hast come so near, / All of her, but voice, is here."¹⁷ "Modern Anacreon" was perhaps a title conferred on Picasso by the Bateau Lavoir poets at the time of *The Philosophical Brothel*. Beyond such hypotheses, two further works by Picasso, definitely included in the exhibition, can now be identified, thanks to a letter written by a doctor who visited it at Apollinaire's behest.

Apollinaire wrote the texts for the Matisse-Picasso catalog on stationery from the Villa Molière, an annex of the Val-de-Grâce military hospital at 57 boulevard de Montmorency (PAC, p. 206). One of his young doctors, Jean Chaize (1891–1938) (fig. 40), went to see the exhibition on his advice. In a letter to his brother Louis (fig. 41), Dr. Chaize recounted his activities on 13 February 1918:

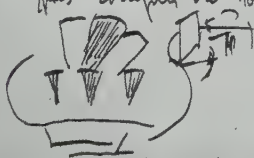
Le 16 février 1918

Mon cher Louis, tu penses d'une vie agitée -
cette semaine - je ne sais pas comment rattrapper mon temps -
mais voilà 3 jours de suite où je le perds consciemment -
Perdu? pas complètement cependant, je ne le regrette pas -
Il y a à Paris que ces choses qui me dérangent :

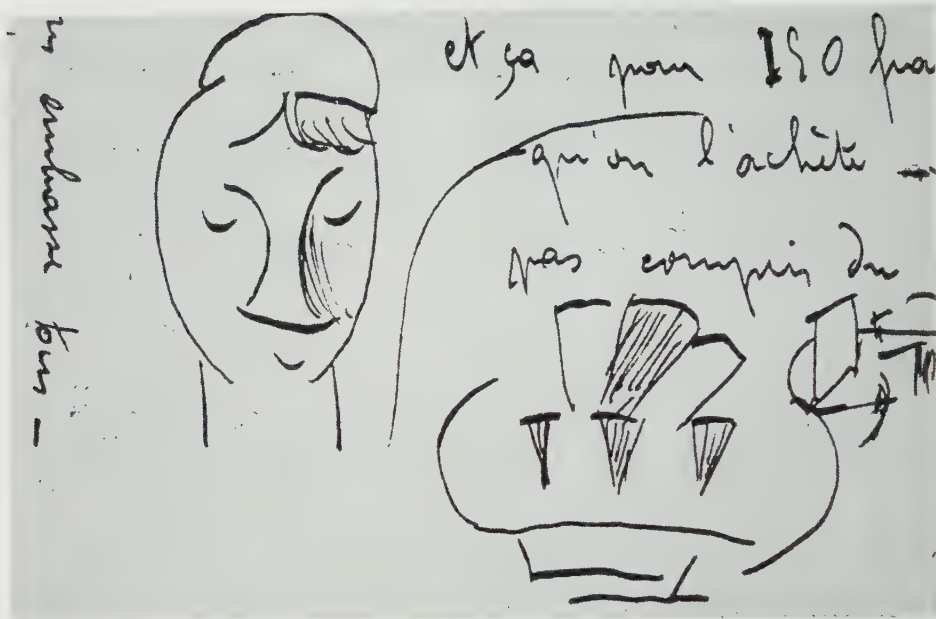
D'abord mercredi j'ai eu la visite d'un
bon vieil ami de jeunesse - un noble - de Druat - mais toi quel
quand même - Ne sachant que faire ensemble, je l'ai emmené à
me montrer de peinture : du cubisme, de l'impressionnisme - un peu
pas un de mes malades : Guillaume Apollinaire qui comme critique
dans le "Miroir de France" Ah pauvre vieux, j'en
comprends plus rien dans cette peinture - je me fais traiter de
surdoté, de ignorant et on me plaint - Mais si tu voyais ça -
j'ai fait après moi-même de ce que je voyais - alors j'en suis fier
après tout - et sans regretter -

et ça pour 150 francs au moins - le plus curieux, c'est
qu'on l'achète - bien une autre que je n'ai
pas compris du tout - et peut-être plus cher -

Honnêtement ce nouvel
art est très différent de l'ancien



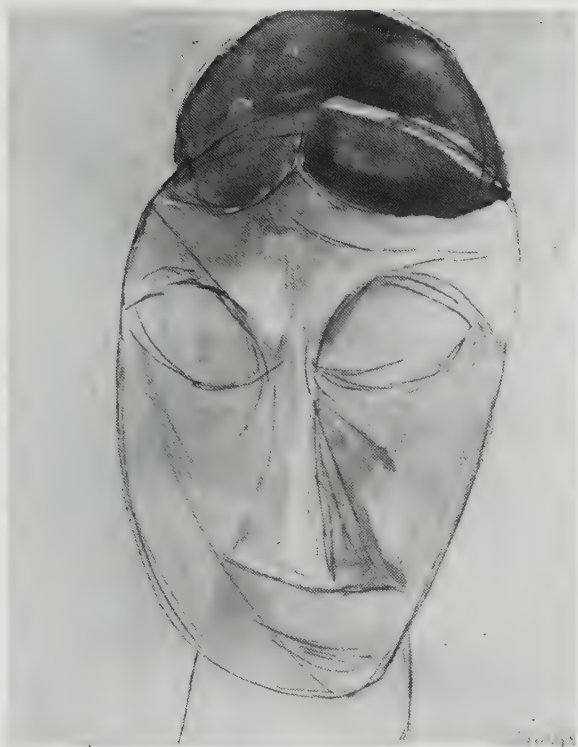
Le Président a fait un concert d'un quart, on devait faire la partie -
avec mon monnaie - j'ai travaillé pour rattrapper le temps perdu -
Verny envoie bien -



42. Jean Chaize, drawing from Matisse-Picasso exhibition, Paul Guillaume Gallery, February 1918.

First on Wednesday I received a visit from a good old friend from the war, an aristocrat, named de Druat, but very kind and friendly despite that. Not knowing what we could do together, I took him to an art exhibition, all Cubism and Impressionism, recommended by one of my patients, Guillaume Apollinaire, who's very well known as critic for the *Mercure de France*. Ah, poor old chap, I don't understand anything in that type of painting any more. I get called a vandal, an ignoramus, and people feel sorry for me. But if you could only see that stuff. I did a few sketches of what I was looking at. Here, I'll copy one for you. And I'm not exaggerating. [Drawing, *Head of a Woman*] And that goes for at least 150 francs. The weirdest thing is that people actually buy it. Look, here's another one I didn't understand at all, and that was perhaps even more expensive. [Drawing, *Cubist picture*].¹⁸

The doctor's sketches, made in the exhibition and copied for his brother, make clear the two works he refers to (fig. 42). One of them is a *Head of a Woman* from 1908, a drawing in pencil with blue and pink watercolor (Z II**, 684) (fig. 43).¹⁹ The 1918 catalog states that the show included five Picasso works entitled *Head* but also "several watercolors and drawings by each artist," so this could be in either category. The Cubist picture that Jean Chaize found more difficult to decipher and draw can nevertheless be identified as *Fan, Salt Box, Melon* (Cleveland Museum of Art; Z II*, 189) (fig. 44),²⁰ probably one of the three works in the catalog referred to as a "still life." As this work from 1909 is an oil painting, it would indeed have been more expensive than the watercolor.



43. Pablo Picasso, *Head of a Woman*, 1908 (Z II**, 684). Watercolor and pencil. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), N.Y.



44. Pablo Picasso, *Fan, Salt Box, Melon*, 1909. Oil on canvas, 81.3 × 64.2 cm. Cleveland Museum of Art. © The Cleveland Museum of Art, Leonard C. Hanna, Jr. Fund 1969.22. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), N.Y.

These paintings from 1908 and 1909 confirm that the exhibition was a true retrospective, including important Cubist works in a style that matched Apollinaire's tastes but did not feature in Paul Guillaume's personal collection. Jean Chaize's letter enables us to see how difficult the art of Matisse and Picasso was in 1918 even to an educated and interested viewer, whose reactions ranged from curiosity, to astonishment, to consternation. It also confirms that Apollinaire's reputation at that time rested more on his work as a critic than as a poet and illustrates his tireless efforts, even from his hospital bed, to promote Matisse and Picasso.²¹

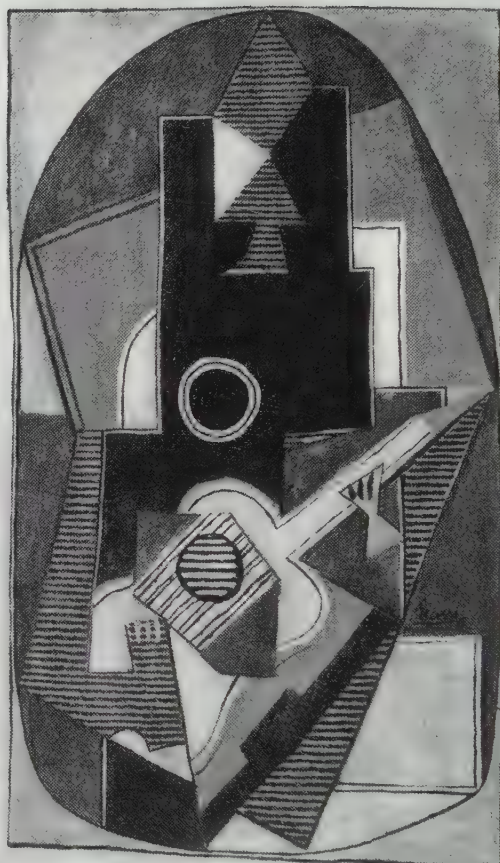
This exhibition was successfully mounted in a climate of increasing intellectual conformity and intolerance. For Apollinaire, the values of freedom and creativity, threatened first by foreign invasion and then by atavistic nationalism and cultural austerity, had to be defended, particularly by writers and artists. The exhibition vindicated Apollinaire's long-standing support for both these artists, whose works, side by side, mirrored the poet's view of life as a process of contrast, movement, and change and of art as a constant tension between order and adventure. By showing that there was no need to oppose or choose between Matisse and Picasso, Apollinaire's catalog preface prefigured late-twentieth-century recognition of how their rivalry and interplay shaped and enhanced their art.

The Final Months

Picasso and Apollinaire in 1918

DISCHARGED FROM THE HOSPITAL on 13 May 1918, still in uniform, Apollinaire was posted to the Press Office of the French Ministry of War, based in the Stock Exchange building, back in the financial district of Paris. He had been let out of the hospital several times, notably for his wedding on 2 May 1918 to Jacqueline Kolb, whom he had met in 1914 through her friend the poet Pierre Jordaens, who had subsequently been killed in action. Their paths crossed again in April 1917 outside the Printemps department store,¹ near the café where the poet had first met Picasso. Ten years younger than Apollinaire, Jacqueline inspired “The Pretty Redhead” in *Calligrammes*, and she appears in his novel *The Seated Woman* as “pretty Coral, a redhead with nut-brown eyes, who altogether resembled a drop of blood on the tip of a sword” (*Pr* I, p. 423). They were married in the 7th Arrondissement Town Hall, then in the Church of St. Thomas Aquinas. Apollinaire’s two witnesses were Lucien Descaves and Picasso, and the bride’s were Ambroise Vollard and Gabrielle Buffet-Picabia. For Apollinaire, who had become a French citizen in March 1916 and joined the Société des Gens de Lettres in April 1918, getting married was the final step toward the social integration he had always wanted. The wedding was followed by lunch at Poccardi’s Restaurant, and, according to Apollinaire’s *Journal*, Picasso dined with the couple that evening in the poet’s flat. His wedding present to them was a recent Cubist oil painting, *Man with a Guitar* (Hamburg, Kunsthalle) (*PAC*, p. 175) (fig. 45). Apollinaire placed it in the main room of his flat, facing his bed and opposite Marie Laurencin’s *Apollinaire and His Friends*. In Picasso’s large painting (130 × 89 cm), the dominant colors are black, gray, white, and green, but the blue of the musician’s clothing is that of Apollinaire’s uniform. The human figure both plays and resembles a guitar, creating a fascinating pattern of shifting, reflecting shapes and planes, suggesting physical and spiritual unity between the musician and his instrument and creating a poetically apposite image for the couple’s bedroom.

45. Pablo Picasso, *Man with a Guitar*, 1918. Oil on canvas, 130 × 89 cm. Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg, Germany. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Photo by Elke Walford, courtesy Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, N.Y.



On 12 July, Picasso, in turn, married Olga Koklova, in the Russian Church on rue Daru, with three poets, Apollinaire, Cocteau, and Max Jacob, as his witnesses. Cocteau later described the event to his mother: "I held a gold crown over Olga's head and we all looked as if we were acting *Boris Godounov*. A very beautiful ceremony, a real wedding with rituals and mysterious chanting."² Apollinaire had undertaken some bureaucratic formalities, obtaining documents for Olga, whose papers, since the Russian Revolution, had been inaccessible. Ironically, Apollinaire now had good contacts with the Paris Police headquarters, thanks to Lucien Descaves, whose brother worked there (OC 4, p. 899). Apollinaire brought a bouquet of flowers for Olga and wrote a celebratory poem, which he probably recited at the lunchtime reception in Hotel Meurice. In rhyming couplets and full of puns, this is one of Apollinaire's last, but not best, poems. It suggests that both he and Picasso have found love and marriage because of the long war and then goes into a digression on Cleopatra:

If from Cleopatra's long nose
By chance four noses had been made
The way of the world would have required
That in your moldering bachelorhood
You should stay without a partner
And that is why I went into battle
Our marriages are the children
Of this war and are triumphant

There is a private joke here, no doubt related to the Cubist faces and anatomies that were becoming Picasso's trademark in the popular press. Smell, according to Apollinaire, was the primary human sense (*Po*, p. 209), but his imagery is also characteristically bawdy because in France a long nose is traditionally associated with sexual potency. The joke is also very erudite, referring back to the Paul Guillaume catalog essay and Pliny's Cleopatra; to Cleopatra's big nose, as shown on ancient coins and medals; and to Blaise Pascal, who famously wrote, "Had Cleopatra's nose been shorter, the whole face of the world would have been changed." Cubist distortions are thus endowed with an aura of epic, historic import.³

A collector, Henri Matarasso, later acquired a two-page manuscript draft of the poem, featuring a sketch by Apollinaire of Cleopatra's profile with a comically phallic nose (*PAC*, p. 170). When Matarasso showed this to Picasso, he said, "Your manuscript must be the original. I own a beautiful copy that Apollinaire wrote out for me in his best handwriting. He gave it to me on my wedding day, in a leather binding."⁴

On 27 July, Apollinaire and the Picassos were invited to lunch by Misia Sert with Cocteau, Max Jacob, and Henri Simon, the French minister of colonies, Apollinaire's boss since the poet had been transferred to his ministry in April 1918. "We laughed a lot," wrote Cocteau.⁵ In August, Apollinaire was allowed three weeks' leave, which he spent in southern Brittany. At the end of July, Picasso and Olga left for their honeymoon in Biarritz, where the Chilean heiress Eugenia Errazuriz lent them a house, called La Mimoseiraie. Picasso had already enlisted Apollinaire's help when he had sent on, in advance, some boxes containing paintings and other material (*PAC*, p. 166). Picasso liked having Apollinaire around when there were papers or other formalities to be completed. The poet and the painter stayed in touch. Apollinaire had written his seaside address in one of Picasso's sketchbooks,⁶ and on 3 August Picasso sent him a card there with his address in Biarritz and an ink drawing of a castle in the style of a Russian Ballet décor by Bakst or Goncharova (*PAC*, p. 173). The drawing depicts, in fact, a neighboring neo-Gothic house belonging to the owner of the Biarritz gasworks.⁷

In Brittany, Apollinaire worked on a light opera called *Casanova*, for which Henry De-fosse, musical director of the Russian Ballet, was to compose the score, but on 13 August he informed Picasso that he was also writing "a series of *Odes* that you can illustrate if you like and that we'll sell ourselves" (*PAC*, p. 174). Picasso replied, "I'm working and am

pleased you are doing the same. We will do the little book of Odes you tell me you're doing in Kervoyal." In the same letter, he sent Apollinaire a tobacco flower from the garden, saying he'd be pleased to smoke a pipe with him, and on the back of the page, he drew them both doing just that, chinking their aperitif glasses, Apollinaire in uniform, Picasso in a straw hat. He also asked Apollinaire to write him "long letters" and sent him his "purest friendship" (PAC, pp. 176–78).

Picasso's seaside honeymoon reminded him of Malaga and inspired him to paint women bathers, a subject to which he would often return. At La Mimoseraie, he entirely decorated the "Blue Bedroom," mainly using blue-black Waterman ink, as if to emphasize a link between verbal and visual poetry. The blue ceiling, with stars painted white or scratched in the plaster, recalls Giotto's Scrovegni Chapel in Ravenna, which also inspired Matisse. Picasso painted seven panels on the walls, showing bathers and dancers garlanded with flowers and grapes, the three Graces, and the birth of Venus, combining classical subjects with a linear, fluid, and modern style. Picasso's frescoes recall his recent travels in Italy, they are a tribute to Botticelli, and they celebrate love, female beauty, and Mediterranean civilization, but they also illustrate a quatrain by Apollinaire. At the center of the mural, over a pretty vase of flowers, Picasso copied the first stanza of the poem "The Seasons" (Po, p. 240), from spring 1915, included in *Case d'armons* and then adapted for *Caligrammes*, where it read,

That was a blessed time we went out on the beaches
Go early in the morning hatless and barefoot
And swiftly as a toad's tongue darts
Love wounded crazy hearts as well as wise

These lines recall the summer of 1914 and the last days of peace, when Apollinaire was in Deauville with André Rouveyre, accompanied by his three pet toads. Apollinaire was fascinated by how the toads caught flies with tongues that "moved faster than the blink of an eye" (Pr 3, p. 237). For Picasso, this quatrain in harmonious alexandrines and the reference to Cupid's arrows seemed appropriate to his classical honeymoon mood.⁸

Toward the end of their stay in Brittany, Serge Férat came to stay with Apollinaire and Jacqueline, and the poet wrote to Picasso that he had stopped working for a couple of days, though he wanted to send him his new poems soon. He added, "I'd like to see you paint big pictures like Poussin, something lyrical like your copy of *Le Nain*" (PAC, pp. 179–80). In 1917 Picasso had painted a version of *Le Nain's Return from the Christening* (MP 56), a brightly colored pointillist adaptation that Apollinaire had found "dazzling" (PAC, pp. 163–64).⁹ The poet evidently hoped that Picasso's stay in the south would encourage him to persevere with this brighter palette. While Apollinaire was adopting the classical form of the ode, he encouraged Picasso to seek inspiration in the work of Poussin, the master of French classical painting. In 1913 Apollinaire had admired Picabia's monumental, abstract, and brilliantly colored canvases *Udnie* and *Edtaonisl* and had written that they reminded him of Poussin's claim that "painting has no other aim than the delec-

tation and pleasure of the eyes" (*Pr* 2, p. 618). In 1918 he was pushing Picasso to make ambitious, harmonious, chromatically sumptuous compositions.

In Apollinaire's last long letter to Picasso, dated 11 September 1918 (*PAC*, p. 181), he said how proud he was that his poetry had been included in the Biarritz fresco, adding that his latest poems were closer to the painter's "current concerns." He promised to send the first poems soon, "so you can make the engravings but don't make me wait too long, you know that waiting poisons me, and that's really the word." He went on to explain that he was trying to write something completely new but in classically regular rhythm, an aspect of poetry he claimed never to have abandoned. He hoped to create a work so thoughtful and personal that no one could accuse him of being retrograde or of parodying Moréas or classical ancestors. He closed with a tribute to Blaise Pascal, asking, "What is there today that is more new, modern, concise, and rich in content than Pascal? I think you rightly appreciate him. There's a man we can love. He moves us more than, say, Claudel, who just mixes averagely Romantic lyricism with theological clichés and political or social truisms." The dismissal of Claudel prefigures Surrealists' abhorrence of the Catholic poet, playwright, and diplomat but is balanced by the pleasure of fraternal complicity between Apollinaire and Picasso in their shared admiration for the great Pascal. That mature meeting of minds is also apparent in the poet's explanation of his aesthetic ambitions and his hope that the artist will follow a parallel path, leading them both to a new synthesis of classicism and modernity.

Picasso replied with a beautiful little Cubist still life drawn in ink on the "Correspondence" side of a picture postcard (*PAC*, p. 183). No trace has been found, however, of Apollinaire's "Odes."

In March 1918 Paul Budry, editor of *Les Ecrits nouveaux*, based in Lausanne, had offered Apollinaire eight francs a page for a "complete and important" ten-page article on Picasso, a commission he apparently never fulfilled.¹⁰ In his diary Apollinaire noted an appointment with Picasso and Paul Guillaume on 11 June, and one of Paul Guillaume's last messages to the poet, in September 1918, asked, "And the book on Picasso?"¹¹ Picasso's last missive to the poet was a telegram from Biarritz, dated 28 September 1918, saying the house in Montrouge had been burgled, giving the proprietor's address, and asking Apollinaire to "do whatever's needed" (*PAC*, p. 184). Picasso left Biarritz soon afterward, and on 3 October Apollinaire wrote to Soffici, "I have been seeing a lot of Serge and Picasso, who are in Paris."¹²

Some of Apollinaire's last articles reported how influenza spread across France and Europe, turning into a pandemic that eventually claimed some fifty million victims, many more than the war. Apollinaire caught the virus. Weakened by his head wound, his lungs damaged by gas warfare, he quickly declined.

Cocteau recalled that on 9 November "Picasso and Max Jacob came to see me that morning [9 November] to get me to telephone Dr. Capmas. Apollinaire was in a very bad way."¹³ When Capmas arrived, the poet said, "Save me, doctor! I want to live! I've still got so much to say!"¹⁴ At 5:00 P.M. he died. Cocteau immediately regretted he had only known him ill and overweight. "But I saw him young; it was on his deathbed. Picasso held a lamp

and, saying to me, 'Look, he's like he was when we first met,' he shone the light on his admirable features, in profile, slim and youthful."¹⁵ At midnight, Cocteau wrote to André Salmon,

My dear André,

Poor Apollinaire is dead. Picasso is too sad to write. He's asked me to do it and to write notes to the newspapers. I've got no experience in that. Would you be kind enough to do it?

Apollinaire didn't see himself die. My doctor hoped to save him, but both his lungs were affected. It's very sad. He managed to survive with miraculous energy until 5:00 P.M.

His face is calm and young-looking.

I embrace you
Jean Cocteau¹⁶

André Billy's obituary for Apollinaire, after paying tribute to the poet's extraordinary charisma and vitality, described the scene in the flat on 11 November: "Under a loftily indecipherable painting by Pablo Picasso, between two candles whose yellow, flickering flames brought to life in their frames the strange creations of the painters he loved best, Apollinaire's body was submerged under piles of flowers. . . . The shutters were closed, but the windows open, and the cool air of an autumn morning carried the shouts of joyful students. . . . I there experienced one of those crushing minutes that, despite destiny's ordinary inclemency, are rare in a lifetime."¹⁷ André Billy's tribute demonstrates his love for Apollinaire but also the two men's artistic incompatibility.

Apollinaire's death was quickly transformed into a mythical event, surrounded by rumors and legends. These included the story that as he lay dying he could hear crowds in the street calling for the end of Germany's Kaiser Wilhelm and shouting "Down with Guillaume!"¹⁸ A more credible version was provided by André Salmon, who recalled heading down the stairs from the fifth-floor flat and encountering the street-level euphoria unleashed by the Armistice, two days after the poet's death:

On 11 November we momentarily left the bedside of the man whose genius and friendship gave us courage in the face of all of destiny's cruelties. All the bells in all the belfries of Paris were riotously ringing out. A procession of students from the Saint-Cyr military academy was heading down boulevard Saint-Germain. These victorious young men, some of whom had proved their courage, were freely expressing their joy that no more of them would be killed! They were shouting, "Down with Guillaume!"

Picasso, Max Jacob, and I stopped on the stairs and looked at each other, horrified.¹⁹

Dark omens made these events all the more sinister for the superstitious Picasso. He later told how, in the late afternoon of 9 November, he was walking back to his rooms in the comfortable Hôtel Lutétia. As he headed through the arcades of the rue de Rivoli, he passed a widow, dressed in black, whose crêpe veil was blown across his face, momen-

tarily blinding him.²⁰ This omen was soon fulfilled when a telephone call informed him of Apollinaire's death. Jaime Sabartés stated that Picasso was standing in front of a mirror when he heard the news.²¹ According to superstition, to learn that someone has died while you are facing yourself in a mirror is to see your own death.²² Picasso not only lost his closest friend but was sharply reminded of his own mortality.

Rumors and coincidences soon joined the double sign of the black veil and the mirror, casting the poet's death in an eerie light. Eugène Montfort, for example, claimed that before Apollinaire died he received a letter from the poet's former secretary, probably Jean Mollet, saying that "during a night-watch Apollinaire had appeared to him, and he feared he was dead." Fernand Fleuret, who had co-written with Apollinaire a catalog of obscene books in the Bibliothèque nationale, claimed that a bird of ill omen had perched on his windowsill on the evening of 9 November 1918 before flying off toward boulevard Saint-Germain.²³ Louis Aragon, in his obituary, called Apollinaire "a magus and a prophet" and recalled Chirico's premonitory portrait of the poet: "Signs prefigured the events of his life; a painter in 1913 saw on his head the scars of a wound that was yet to appear. Linked by a pact with all sacred animals, he knew all the gods and could make all the magic potions."²⁴

Such stories show how the poet even after his death continued to cast a spell over his friends and associates. The stories were matched by a series of real events, certainly known to Picasso. Apollinaire's mother and his younger brother, Albert, who had emigrated to Mexico, both died a few months after the poet. Jules Weil, longtime companion of Apollinaire's mother, died a few days after her. A tragic destiny seemed to be pursuing all those who were close to the poet.

"Watch yourself your whole life in a mirror and you will see Death at work, like bees in a glass hive," confides the Angel Heurtebise in Cocteau's play *Orpheus*.²⁵ Picasso transcribed for all time the expression of his own face, as he saw it in the mirror, on the evening of 9 November 1918. Facing death, his natural response was to grab a pencil, his weapon of defiance and exorcism. Two different drawings have been identified as the self-portrait Picasso drew that night. In both, he is facing the mirror, wearing a jacket and tie; he has carefully brushed hair and a deadly serious expression. One drawing focuses on the artist's face (Z III, 75). The other shows him seated and includes his hands; he is drawing on a sketchpad (Z III, 76) (fig. 46). In this more elaborate portrait the jacket and chair are lightly sketched, and attention is fixed on the artist's head and shadowed face, with strong, clearly defined features, furrowed brow, and wide, dark eyes. Parts of the face are so incisively drawn that they are engraved into the paper, creating a 3-D relief that makes the artist's left cheek and eyebrow convex and deepens the eyes. Picasso gave this drawing to his second wife, Jacqueline Roque, and David Douglas Duncan used it as a frontispiece for a book of photographs of Picasso's house shortly after his death. Duncan's caption reads, "Self-portrait, 1918, signed, pencil on paper. 11½ × 9—29 × 22.8 (dedicated 'Pour Jacqueline chérie' and given to her in 1971). Picasso told her he drew this when he learned of the death of his friend, poet Guillaume Apollinaire, at the end of the First World War (*a mirror-reversed image*)."²⁶

46. Pablo Picasso, *Self-Portrait*, Paris, 9 November 1918. Pencil on paper. Private collection. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), N.Y.



This self-portrait (Z III, 76) is on a long, rectangular sheet and is, in fact, signed and inscribed twice. Near the bottom of the sheet, Picasso wrote, “Pour Jacqueline chérie / Picasso / le 3 . 11 . 59.” Discoloring of the paper shows that the drawing was then framed in a way that covered those original words, so Picasso added a second inscription, “Pour Jacqueline chérie / Picasso,” placed higher up, to be visible after framing. When Duncan saw it, only the second inscription was visible. The earlier inscription shows that Picasso gave this drawing to Jacqueline in November 1959, and this new evidence, dating the gift to November, confirms its link to Apollinaire’s death. Throughout Picasso’s life the first days of November remained important to him, and he often marked them with a meaningful gesture or work of art. In November 1959, by giving this drawing to Jacqueline Roque, Picasso commemorated Apollinaire’s death but also turned a historic self-portrait into a token of love reborn.²⁷

The very last entry in Apollinaire’s *Journal* notes his visit to the “big new apartment Picasso has rented on rue de la Boétie.”²⁸ In a letter dated 13 November 1918, the day of the poet’s funeral, Picasso told Gertrude Stein he was moving into that new flat,²⁹ which was near the site of the Matisse and Picasso exhibition. He rapidly left Hotel Lutétia, where he had learned of Apollinaire’s death.

In the 1950s, if asked when he had last painted or drawn a self-portrait, Picasso replied unhesitatingly, “On the day Apollinaire died.”³⁰ It was a lie that contained a deeper truth, for it emphasized the importance that the artist attached to the evening of 9 November 1918 and to the look he saw in the mirror and definitively impressed on paper.

Part II

Campaigning for a Tomb

APOLLINAIRE'S FUNERAL, WITH full military honors, took place on 13 November 1918. At the head of the mourners who packed the Church of St. Thomas Aquinas were the poet's widow and his mother, flanked by Serge Férat and Max Jacob, followed by Pablo and Olga Picasso, Jean Mollet, André Billy, Blaise Cendrars, Cocteau, Pierre Mac Orlan, Frédéric from the *Lapin Agile*, Brancusi, Ossip Zadkine, Metzinger, Gino and Jeanne Severini, Alfred Vallette and Rachilde, Paul Guillaume, Léonce Rosenberg, Léger, Derain, Paul Léautaud, Paul Fort, Jacques Doucet, Lucien Descaves, Raymond Radiguet, and André Breton, who brought a bouquet of white flowers. A long procession of friends and associates, artists, musicians, novelists, poets, journalists, workmates, and men in uniform walked behind the horse-drawn hearse, across the Seine, and up to Père Lachaise Cemetery.¹

"Cemeteries are hideous, and poets' tombs are particularly miserable," wrote André Salmon in 1912, in the first issue of *Les Soirées de Paris*.² Despite the impressive ceremony, Apollinaire's tomb was marked, for several years, with only a wooden cross. Jacqueline Apollinaire said that when he died they had only fifty francs to their name.³ On 8 November 1920, Apollinaire made his final journey, leaving his first grave in Père Lachaise, Division 89, Row 23, for a plot taken in perpetuity in Division 86, Row 8.

The anniversary of the poet's death, every 9 November, has always been marked by a gathering of friends and admirers at his grave, around 11.30 A.M., a custom that continues to this day. For many years, Picasso attended these commemorative meetings alongside Jacqueline Apollinaire, Salmon, Billy, Férat, and others. From 1920, these annual reunions focused discussion on the need for a decent tomb with a suitable sculpture. In December 1920, *L'Esprit nouveau*, a modernist periodical that took its name from Apollinaire's 1917 lecture, announced a plan to bring his friends together in an association to be called *Le Souvenir d'Apollinaire*, "to collect documents concerning the great poet and to honor every year the anniversary of his death." In October 1924 the magazine's edi-

tors, Amédée Ozenfant, Charles-Edouard Jeanneret (better known as Le Corbusier), and Paul Dermée, produced a special issue with poems, paintings, and other unpublished Apollinaire documents, as well as articles by his friends. Meanwhile, in December 1920, Florent Fels, editor of *Action: Cahiers individualiste de philosophie et d'art*, launched a public subscription to build the poet a monumental tomb. *Action* was a dynamic and free-spirited magazine that published twelve issues from February 1920 to April 1922, with a roster of contributors that included Max Jacob, André Salmon, Cendrars, Cocteau, Ezra Pound, Artaud, and Tristan Tzara. Apollinaire was the only posthumous contributor to the magazine, which in 1920 published his "Opinions on Negro Art" (April issue), twelve calligrammes (October issue), and his May 1905 article on Picasso (December issue). The first issue of *Action* was seized because Georges Gabory's article "In Praise of Landru" (a famous mass murderer) was judged to be seditious, and the resulting publicity ensured the success of subsequent issues. But the public subscription needed to reach beyond the readership of this ambitious little review, so Florent Fels produced a flyer, on *Action* stationery, that read:

APOLLINAIRE'S oldest companions, his associates and those closest to him, have decided to put into immediate effect the project established after his death, which is to provide him with a tomb as durable as his memory.

A committee has been formed comprising A. Albalat, P.-A. Birot, Elémir Bourges, André Billy, J.-J. Brousson, Cremnitz, André Derain, Florent Fels, Serge Férat, Louis de Gonzague Frick, Gaston Gallimard, Roch Grey, Max Jacob, Léautaud, André Level, Toussaint Luca, Robert Mortier, Pierre Mac Orlan, Pablo Picasso, Georges Pioch, André Rouveyre, Jean Royère, André Salmon, Jean Sève, Soffici, Alfred Vallette, Maurice Vlamincq.

The model for the monument is a work by Picasso.

Painters will provide the committee with pictures; writers will contribute rare editions and manuscripts; friends and admirers, money.

Contributions should be sent to SERGE JASTREBZOFF 229, Boulevard Raspail, Paris (14th).

The list of subscribers will be published in the magazine *Action*.

This declaration falsely implied that a design for the tomb already existed. Before launching the subscription, Florent Fels went with Robert Mortier (a painter, a musician, the author of a book on billiards, and a friend of Apollinaire) to enlist support from the *Mercury de France*. Paul Léautaud reported on their meeting with the magazine's coeditor, Mme. Rachilde:

Cassou just told me about an event that sickened him. A while ago, Robert Mortier and Fels, editor of the magazine *Action*, came to see Rachilde to speak to her about an Apollinaire monument and to say that it would be appropriate for the *Mercury* to be involved and to publicize it. Vallette and Rachilde asked whether there weren't too

many strange people in the committee, like foreigners, Cubists, Bolsheviks, Dadaists, and other Kraut types. Mortier and Fels told her there were Apollinaire's friends, like Salmon, and of course Cubists, including Picasso and others. Rachilde didn't say much, was noncommittal, only that people were making too much of Apollinaire, just vague twaddle. Once Mortier and Fels had gone, she stayed in Vallette's office and burst out, "I wanted to slap them both. They're really getting on our nerves, going on about Apollinaire. I was pleased when he died. I said, thank goodness. We're rid of him."⁴

Rachilde never made any secret of her xenophobic dislike of Apollinaire, but, thanks to Vallette, the 15 January 1921 issue of the *Mercure de France* published *Action's* appeal under the heading "A Monument to Guillaume Apollinaire" and so publicly launched the project. *L'Esprit nouveau*, issue 5, in February 1921, then published a short note that read, "Apollinaire Monument—A committee has just been formed to place on Apollinaire's tomb in Père Lachaise a monument by Pablo Picasso."

Picasso's involvement in the project was thus recorded from the outset. The costs were to be covered by public subscription and a sale of books, manuscripts, and works of art. The list of committee members was impressive and reflected the late poet's varied activities. It included old friends from the Bateau Lavoir, painters, poets, novelists, critics and journalists, editors, an art collector (Level), an old school friend (Toussaint Luca), and Gaston Gallimard, who, from 1920, was the main publisher of Apollinaire's work. Most belonged to Apollinaire's generation and some, like Bourges and Vallette, to the one before. The person collecting funds was Serge Jastreboff, the Russian aristocrat and artist, who had been awarded a Special Commendation at the 1906 Salon des Artistes Français but who from 1905 to 1911 also exhibited at the Salon des indépendants under the pseudonym Serge Roudnieff. He then became a Cubist and adopted the name Serge Férat.⁵ He had financed *Les Soirées de Paris* and was always a good friend to Apollinaire, who referred to him as "an elite heart" (OC 4, p. 664). After this initial show of hands, the committee soon shrank to a hub of active members centered on Férat, Salmon, and André Billy, liaising with the discreetly watchful Jacqueline Apollinaire. Picasso continued working independently and met the others every 9 November.

Completely missing from the committee were the young poets from the rising generation of Dadaists and future Surrealists, such as Tzara, Breton, Philippe Soupault, Aragon, even Dermée and Cocteau, for all of whom Apollinaire had been a magnetic inspiration, bringing them together. Soupault, Breton, and Aragon had all been under the same roof for the first time, with Jacques Vaché, for the June 1917 première of Apollinaire's "Surrealist drama," *The Breasts of Tiresias*; Apollinaire had published Soupault's first poem and introduced him to Breton; and Breton and Eluard had first met at the première of *Color of Time*. Their exclusion from the committee demonstrated a widening split in postwar French culture that, according to Gertrude Stein, was exacerbated by Apollinaire's demise: "The death of Apollinaire at this time made a very serious difference to all his friends apart from their sorrow at his death. It was the moment just after the war

when many things had changed and people naturally fell apart. Guillaume would have been a bond of union, he always had a quality of keeping people together, and now that he was gone everybody ceased to be friends.”⁶ This polarization would be a significant factor throughout the campaign for a monument.

In May 1921, Florent Fels provided an update. In *Action*, issue 7, he identified the Apollinaire Committee, including a new member, Fernand Fleuret, and again invited painters and writers to contribute works to the cause. He closed with the following information:

Contributions so far received:

Mme. Nelly Claudet	2 fr.
Mme. Errazuris	500 fr.
M. André Level	50 fr.
M. André Lefèvre	100 fr.
M. Jacques Seligmann	100 fr.
M. Jean Tournaire	20 fr.
CURRENT TOTAL:	772 fr.

In August 1921, *Action* issue 8 repeated the appeal, with the following table:

Previous total	772 fr.
Contributions received	
Mme. and M. José Théry	50 fr.
Mlle. Catelain	20 fr.
Mme. Yves Blanc	20 fr.
M. Paul Guillaume	50 fr.
M. Henri Duvernois	50 fr.
Imprimerie “Union”	50 fr.
CURRENT TOTAL:	1012 fr.

To these lists can be added the following unpublished contributions noted by Serge Férat:

M. Bellier	100 fr.
M. Barnes	500 fr.
M. Paul Guillaume	377 fr. 75 c.
M. de Segonzac	200 fr.
M. Braque	unrecorded amount ⁷

Mme. Nelly Claudet, first on the list of donors, remains a mystery. The young auctioneer Alphonse Bellier; Paul Guillaume and his best customer, the Philadelphia millionaire Alfred Barnes; and the art dealers Seligmann and Level together contributed a tithe from the art market. Jean Tournaire was Level's son-in-law; Georgette Catelain was

one of Apollinaire's girlfriends; Jeanne-Yves Blanc was his wartime correspondent and "godmother" (French soldiers could be adopted by a *marraine de guerre*); José Théry was his lawyer; Henri Duvernois had nursed him after his trepanation; Henri Lefèvre was a printer, involved in the launch of *Les Soirées de Paris*, which was afterwards printed by the *Imprimerie "Union,"* as was *Les Arts à Paris*; and Mme. Errazuriz was a rich, Chilean patron of the arts who in 1918 had lent her house in Biarritz to Picasso. Segonzac and Braque here set an example for their colleagues, contemporary artists, many of whom would subsequently make a crucial contribution to the monument fund.

At the end of the year, Henry McBride, art critic for the *Dial* (published in Chicago), reported an evening spent at Gertrude Stein's, writing that "Lipchitz and Braque, with whom I dined at Miss Stein's, are still deploring the passing of Guillaume Apollinaire, and insist that what the new movement chiefly lacks is an adequate spokesman."⁸ The Apollinaire Committee was evidently helping to keep the poet's name and achievements in people's minds.

Scandalous Sculptures

Rodin, Epstein, and Picasso

WHEN PICASSO AGREED to design a tomb for Apollinaire, commemorative sculptures were much in the news and hotly debated, as monuments sprang up throughout France, nearly all of them designed in a predictably realist or symbolic style.

Thousands of war memorials had been built after 1918. Sculptors, stonemasons, and foundries maintained the momentum into the 1920s by creating a new generation of public monuments to famous men, particularly artists and writers. In 1924, for example, there were press articles almost every day announcing a new monument to some cultural icon in Paris or the provinces. In May and June of that year alone, newspapers announced new monuments to the writers Emile Zola, Michel Abadie, Louis Pergaud, and José-Maria de Heredia. A monument to Emmanuel Frémiet (the animal sculptor who had made the monument to Joan of Arc on the place des Pyramides), a bronze self-portrait of Frémiet that showed him making a sculpture, was unveiled in the Botanical Gardens. A committee was debating where in Normandy to raise a monument to Maupassant; a committee had been formed to get a monument to Maurice Barrès erected on the hill of Sion, in his native Lorraine; monuments to Verlaine were to be raised in Metz, his birthplace, and Rethel, where he was a teacher.¹ Among the many who commented on the “proliferating statues,” Paul Souday, in *Le Temps*, did not object in principle but in practice found them ugly; “Planton,” in *Action*, proposed a “system of interchangeable statues,” where the statue of someone who had recently died would replace that of someone who had been dead for a while. André Billy particularly objected to the statue of the playwright Victorien Sardou (1831–1908), on the place de la Madeleine, and proposed a new law stating, “It is forbidden to raise statues to great men who have not been dead for at least fifty years.”² Henri Béraud, in a ringing diatribe entitled “Beware of Sculpture” on the front page of *Le Journal*, 12 June 1924, denounced the conventional ugliness of “the great gathering of bronze men” that were increasingly cluttering the urban landscape. He described the typical mon-

ument as “the metallic portrait, the black record of anthropometric immortality,” and declared that “death and statuary, side by side on the edge of the void, await great men.”

The Apollinaire monument was for a graveyard rather than a thoroughfare, but it was nevertheless commissioned amid this public debate. Monumental sculpture had fallen decades behind the best contemporary art in other genres, and any work by Picasso was likely to contradict the aesthetic and cultural norms that dominated public art and particularly funerary monuments. From the outset, disagreement between the artist, the committee, and the graveyard authorities was inevitable.

Breaking with routine, all Picasso's projects for public sculptures were affiliated to an alternative, radical tradition that began with Rodin's *Balzac*, rejected in 1898 by the body that had commissioned it, the Société des Gens de Lettres. A public subscription was then launched, in 1904, to have Rodin's *Thinker* erected in front of the Pantheon, the Republican temple to Great Men on a hill dominating the Left Bank. The young Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler contributed to the fund. *The Thinker* was highly controversial, however, notably because it dared to incarnate Thought in the muscular anatomy of a working man. Once in place, a first version of the sculpture was castigated by the press and then smashed by a man with an ax. A bronze version replaced it in 1906, but in 1922 this was removed to the more discreet setting of the Rodin Museum gardens.³

Closer to Picasso's concerns in the 1920s was the scandal of Oscar Wilde's tomb, unveiled in 1912 in Père Lachaise Cemetery. It was the work of Jacob Epstein, born in New York in 1880 and thus Picasso's contemporary, who spent most of his long career in England. The Wilde tomb, sculpted in a twenty-ton block of Hopton Wood stone, represents an angel with a sphinxlike head and closed eyes, in horizontal flight, with a massive wing that reaches back over its whole body. Impressions of weight and speed are thus combined (fig. 47). The sculpture recalls the winged bulls of Assyrian art (also featured in Apollinaire's *Bestiary*), but the streamlined shape of the wing, with its mechanistically chiseled parallels, is dynamically futuristic. When Epstein arrived at Père Lachaise to add some finishing touches one October morning in 1912, he found the tomb covered by a tarpaulin and guarded by a gendarme. The police authorities at the Préfecture de la Seine were offended neither by the Vorticist lines of the wing nor by the figure's mythological syncretism but by the fact that this flying angel was male and unashamedly naked. The offending part was subsequently covered with a bronze plaque, which was soon removed by a group of Latin Quarter expeditionaries determined to restore the sculpture's integrity. The tomb was again covered by a tarpaulin that stayed in place until the Great War, but the angel was emasculated in 1961 by another outraged iconoclast.⁴

The Epstein scandal led to international protest, centered on a petition, headed “For Freedom of Art,” launched in the spring of 1913 by *L'Action d'art*, a fortnightly libertarian periodical. In April 1913, the paper published letters of support from literary big guns Remy de Gourmont and Emile Verhaeren and a list of nearly 250 signatories, including the artists Brancusi, Francis Picabia, Léger, Archipenko, Severini, Théophile Steinlen, Albert Gleizes, Edvard Diriks, Anglada Camarasa, Harold Gilman, Spencer Gore, Walter



47. Jacob Epstein, *Tomb of Oscar Wilde*, 1912. Hopton-Wood stone. Paris, Père Lachaise Cemetery (current condition). Photo by Matthieu Place.

Bayes, William Roberts, Roger Wild, the American dancer Raymond Duncan, the influential editors Gaston de Pawlowski and Alfred Vallette, and the writers Paul Fort, Lucien Descaves, Alexandre Mercereau, Olivier Hourcade, Paul Dermée, André Billy, Max Jacob, and Guillaume Apollinaire.⁵ Picasso did not sign the petition, but he did meet Epstein in Montparnasse between June and November 1912, at the time of the tomb affair.⁶

Epstein was faced by hidebound detractors who, he recalled, would have preferred to see Wilde's tomb marked by "a Greek youth standing by a broken column." That experience led him to the following conclusion, expressed in 1931:

Cemetery sculpture rarely departs from certain very fixed forms, and in Latin countries in particular there is, far more than in England, a "cult of the dead," so that anything original was certain to give offence of some kind. . . . One of the main reasons why public statues the world over are very rarely of any interest is because the artist is usually bullied by pressure of opinion into producing something that will please the committee and through them the masses. I do not believe that great art can immediately be recognised by the untutored.⁷

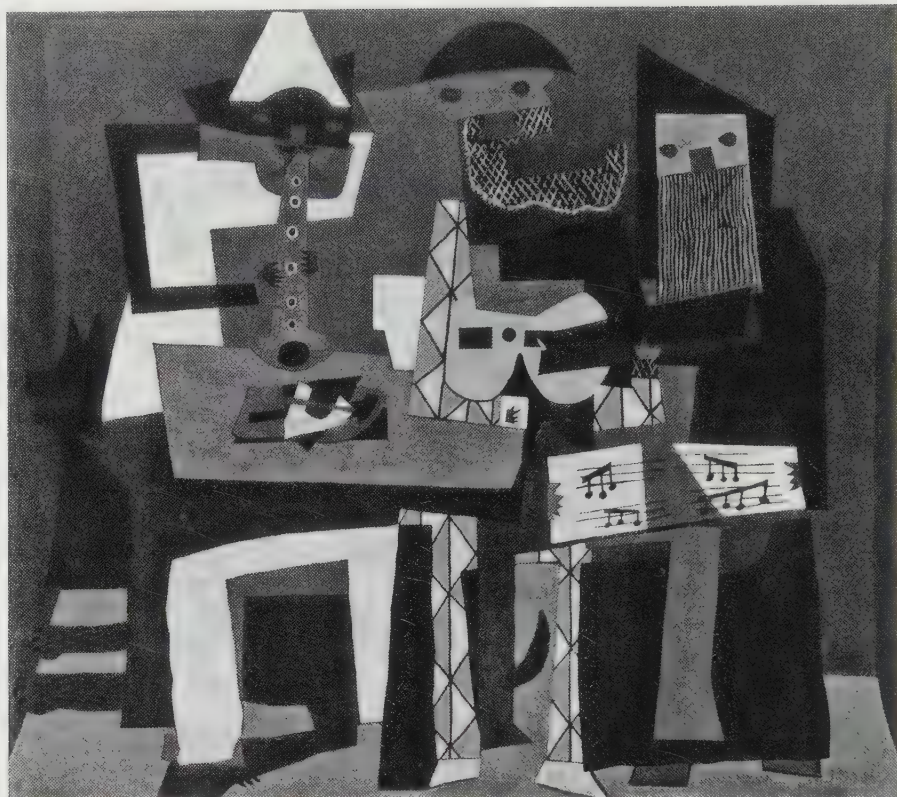
Epstein knew how difficult it was for an unconventional sculptor to create an acceptable design for a tomb, or indeed for any public monument, a lesson entirely confirmed by Picasso's experience of the Apollinaire tomb commission. As Picasso himself later put it, "But what did they expect? . . . I can't make a muse holding a torch just to please them."⁸

Commemorative Paintings and the Apollinaire Auction

IN 1921 PICASSO'S NAME was publicly associated with the Apollinaire tomb project. The impact of that campaign and the ensuing nostalgic mood may be discerned in three large and melancholy canvases Picasso painted at that time.

During summer 1921, Picasso painted two versions of *Three Musicians* (New York, MoMA, and the Philadelphia Museum of Art), measuring 201 × 223 cm and 203 × 188 cm (fig. 48). The scene is overtly theatrical, depicting Harlequin and Pierrot playing musical instruments, with a monk singing and, in the Philadelphia version, playing an accordion. The stage space is low and narrow and claustrophobic; the characters fill the frame; and their staring, empty eyes give them an eerie presence. Theodore Reff suggested that Harlequin here represents Picasso, whereas Pierrot and the monk represent Apollinaire and Max Jacob.¹ Max had converted to Catholicism in 1915 and in late June 1921 had moved away from Paris and into the presbytery of the abbey of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, near Orléans. On 6 July he sent Picasso a picture postcard of the abbey with his new address.² Pierrot is playing a clarinet, which, for Reff, recalls "The Musician of Saint-Merry" (*Caligrammes*), where a faceless flautist, representing the poet and the power of his music, leads a procession of entranced women into an old, abandoned house and so crosses over to the land of the dead. It has since been argued, however, that *Three Musicians* is probably a tribute to Satie, Stravinsky, and Falla, the composers with whom Picasso had collaborated on the ballets *Parade*, *Le Tricorne*, and *Pulcinella*.³ The painting successfully eludes the grasp of a single, autobiographical interpretation.

In 1921, Picasso also painted *Reading the Letter* (MP 72) (fig. 49), which may be seen as a neoclassical counterpart to *Three Musicians*, with human figures again filling the available space. Two young men wearing modern suits are reading a letter; they are seated on a rock in a quarry, with stones and chippings at their feet. The picture is thus both contemporary and timeless. One man leans against the other, with a protective and affec-



48. Pablo Picasso, *Three Musicians*, Fontainebleau, summer 1921. Oil on canvas, 201 × 223 cm. Mrs. Simon Guggenheim Fund. The Museum of Modern Art, New York, N.Y., U.S.A. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Digital image courtesy of The Museum of Modern Art, licensed by Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

49. Pablo Picasso, *Reading the Letter*, 1921. Oil on canvas, 184 × 105 cm. Musée Picasso, Paris, France. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Photo by J. G. Berizzi, courtesy of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.



tionate arm round his shoulders, gestures of male friendship in southern Europe that recall the uninhibited intimacy of Picasso's letters to Apollinaire. In *Reading the Letter*, the shared facial expressions and focus of the two men increase the impression of fraternal complicity, while the halo of white paint around them implies spiritual concordance. The melancholy atmosphere is enhanced by the painting's chromatic harmony, dominated by shades of brown, while the characters' unlined features, between adolescence and adulthood, suggest a meditation on time and transience. The overall sadness emanates from what is being read; in 1921 such a scene inevitably evoked the tragic news that wartime letters had often brought.⁴

When *Reading the Letter* was first exhibited, Dominique Bozo suggested that the autobiographical subject to which it alluded was friendship, "That of the poet, Apollinaire, that of the painter who had shared the Cubist adventure, Braque! The bowler hat in the foreground is the same as in portraits of Apollinaire and Braque. But aren't the book and the text being read the attributes of the poet and writer?"⁵ The two hats in the picture may well be associated with Braque, who in 1911 had bought a job lot of one hundred hats and distributed them to all his friends, including Picasso and Manolo in Céret.⁶ But Picasso also drew Apollinaire wearing a bowler, and the hefty lace-up boots in the painting resemble those he wore, with a suit, when Picasso photographed him in 1910.

The solidly schematic modeling of the figures and the hands of the young man on the left, apparently sculpted in stone, suggest that Picasso is considering a dialogue between painting and sculpture. The setting of the scene, on a rock in a quarry, is similarly significant. Painting an elegy to lost friendship, Picasso thought of sculpture.

By the end of 1921, Picasso had not, however, delivered a design for Apollinaire's tomb. Jacqueline Apollinaire broached the subject in a letter dated 10 August 1922, addressed to Olga, on holiday with Picasso in Dinard. It contained the following passage:

I'm going to ask you to pass my letter to Pablo as I have a request to make.

I received from the tomb company notification that the wooden barrier round the grave was falling into disrepair and that they were awaiting my instructions, as things couldn't stay as they were without endangering anyone who ventured onto the stone slabs, which are only sealed, and so, Pablo, would you be so kind as to undertake your project, as you must have more free time than in Paris to make the maquette, and tell me very frankly if you are inclined to do so. . . . So let me know what you intend to do.
(AP)

Another year passed, the fifth anniversary of the poet's death approached, and the tomb was still bare. The *Mercure de France* was the first paper to resurrect the issue, on 1 October 1923, in an article by Léon Dierx headed "Forgotten Projects, Abandoned Projects." Dierx reprinted the January 1921 text, "A Monument to Guillaume Apollinaire," and followed it with a description of the current state of the grave: "It is decorated with fuchsias and geraniums and surrounded by an iron grill. But there is still no monument, and, on

the wooden cross that we saw on the day of the funeral and that followed him here, the white letters of his name, Guillaume de Kostrowitzky, are starting to fade.”⁷

The impact of Dierx’s article was multiplied by its being mentioned in *L’Intransigeant* of 26 September 1923 and quoted in *Paris-Midi* on 11 October. It was also followed by a further article in *L’Intransigeant* on Armistice Day, 11 November, which repeated that the grave was still marked only by a wooden cross, “like a war grave on a battlefield,” before adding, “There is no monument, but Apollinaire’s widow is planning soon to have a granite slab installed, with a place on which a bust will later be erected.” This last phrase is significant, indicating that those concerned were hoping to see the most conventional style of memorial, a bust of the poet, placed on his tomb. On 31 October 1923 André Salmon wrote to Max Jacob, “I saw Serge [Féat] this morning. In advance of some auction sale or charity event, he has had definitive work done on the tomb, at his expense, including a marble plaque with Apollinaire’s name.”⁸ On 9 November Picasso attended a memorial Mass at the Church of St. Thomas Aquinas, followed by a graveside gathering.⁹ In January 1924 he bought a sculptor’s turntable and wooden board: after seeing the bare tomb again, he was gearing up to produce a sculpture.¹⁰

For their part, the Apollinaire Committee, in 1924, launched their most successful initiative. They organized the public auction of an impressive collection of works of art provided by the poet’s friends and admirers and raised a considerable sum of money. The works were exhibited from 16 to 18 June in the Paul Guillaume Gallery, 56 rue de la Boétie, and then sold in room 7 of the main Paris auction house, Hôtel Drouot, on Saturday, 21 June. The auctioneer was Alphonse Bellier, who, since arriving in Paris in 1918, had specialized in contemporary art and created a place for it in Paris auctions. Through the Apollinaire sale he first met Picasso and Braque.¹¹

The operation was launched by a cyclostyled letter, dated 24 May 1924, signed by Serge Féat and André Salmon and sent to all potential donors, including Picasso. It read:

The Group of Friends that formed a committee to ensure for the remains of our Dear and Great Guillaume Apollinaire a tomb that would be worthy of his glorious reputation believes it is finally close to completing everything undertaken since November 1918.

We have decided to organize on 10, 11, and 12 June an exhibition of Works that the poet, who was a clear-sighted and generous promoter of the Art of our time, loved or would have loved. The product of the sale of works given to the Memory of Apollinaire sale, to take place on 12 June, will allow the completion of the Monument that is to be raised in Père Lachaise, on what is now a decent tomb but is, as all would agree, still too humble.

We considered, Sir, that you were among the first to whom our request should be addressed and that, in memory of Apollinaire, you would wish for one of your works to become a stone for his tomb. (AP)

A second cyclostyled letter, dated 12 June, again signed by Féat and Salmon, thanked Picasso for contributing “a beautiful work” to the sale, adding that “practical difficulties

have obliged us to move to Monday, 16 June, the Exhibition of canvases and art objects included in the sale" (AP). Finally, Picasso received a printed invitation to the exhibition:

You are invited to honor the Paul Guillaume Gallery with your presence during the exhibition of works contributed by artists who are friends and admirers of Guillaume Apollinaire.

The exhibition will open on Monday, 16 June, and will close at precisely 2:00 P.M. on Wednesday, 18 June, with an auction by Maître A. Bellier, Auctioneer.

The result of the sale will be devoted entirely to the prompt execution of the funeral monument, worthy of this great memory and for which Picasso has given the plan. (AP)

The sale, probably on Bellier's advice, took place at Hôtel Drouot, to raise the profile of the event and attract bidders. The invitation again gave the impression that Picasso had already provided a design for the monument. After the sale, Férat and Salmon sent a third cyclostyled letter, dated 4 July 1924:

Dear Pablo,

We are extremely pleased to be able to inform you that the sale organized for an APOLLINAIRE Monument was a huge success.

Our aim has been reached. Our friend will have a tomb worthy of his glorious reputation.

Allow us to thank you for the generous participation that allowed us to achieve this result.

SATURDAY, 12 July 1924, at 9:00 P.M., in a Lounge at the Closerie des Lilas, the organizers will report on the outcome of the sale and on everything for which they have up to now taken responsibility. We are honored to invite you to join the poet's friends for whose approval we will submit reports and documents. Gratefully yours,

S. Férat André Salmon

Picasso's copy of the letter bears the handwritten postscript,

Have you thought about the plan??

Yours

S. Férat. (AP)

In July 1924, everything was in place, except the design by Picasso. The future of the Apollinaire tomb project depended on him.

French newspapers took a close interest in this celebrity auction, and their coverage allows us to follow it in more detail. The sale was first announced in *L'Intransigeant* and *Paris-Soir* of 15 June. They reported on the exhibition about to open in the Paul Guillaume Gallery and added, "Poets and writers are invited to join their comrades by sending manuscripts, books with autograph inscriptions, etc."¹² The *Gazette de l'Hôtel Drouot* of 17 June carried a front-page article entitled "Sale to Fund the Funeral Monument for Guil-

laume Apollinaire," which quoted the Paul Guillaume invitation and provided the following information:

The exhibition, open from Monday, 16 June, will end on Wednesday, 18 June. It will be followed by an auction sale at Hôtel Drouot, room 7, Saturday, 21 June, at 2:00 P.M., under the direction of Maître Alph. BELLIER, auctioneer.

The result of the sale will be entirely devoted to the prompt execution of the funeral monument, worthy of this great memory and for which Picasso has donated the plan.

We are authorized to announce that artists who have generously contributed works to this end include Barthe, Chagall, Charbonnier (Pierre), Chavenon (Roland), Chériane, Crissay (Marguerite), Demeurisse, Derain, Dufy (Raoul), Favory, Férat (Serge), Foujita, Friesz (Othon), Galanis, Gleizes, Goncharova, Gris (Juan), Gritchenko, Halicka, Helessen, Jeanneret, Kisling, Laboureur, Lagut (Irène), Laurencin (Marie), Larionov, Latapie, M. and Mme. Laurence, Lansky, Lewitska, Lhote (André), Marcoussis, Marval, Matisse (Henri), Max Jacob, Mendès-France, Mondzain, Mortier, Ortiz, Ozenfant, Per-Krogh, Picabia, Picasso, Prax (Valentine), Roche (Juliette), Roch-Grey, Rousseau, Roy (Pierre), Sévérini, Simon-Lévy, Sola, Survage, Téréchkovitch, Utrillo, Utter, Valadon (Suzanne), Vassilief, Vlaminck, Zadkine.

Other artists who gave works at the last moment were Hermine David, Jules Pascin, and Reno.¹³ All these names were also featured on a poster, produced by Bellier, advertising the exhibition and the sale.¹⁴ G.C. (Georges Charensol) in *Paris-Journal*, 20 June 1924, referred to "this monument whose maquette is a work by Picasso" and provided further details of the sale:

Among the most remarkable works, we should cite the landscape by Matisse, the nude by Picasso and another by Kisling, the portrait by Pascin, the small picture of a woman bathing by Derain, watercolors by Vlaminck, Dufy, Hermine David, and Max Jacob, and works by Friesz, Chagall, Juan Gris, Serge Férat, Chériane, Lhôte, Foujita, Irène Lagut, Picabia, Marval, Valentine Prax, Zadkine, Favory, Simon Lévy, Marcoussis, Survage, Galanis, Charbonnier, Mondzain, Per Krogh, Halicka; a sculpture by Laurence, etc.

Also on sale will be some fine editions, an Apollinaire manuscript and poems by André Salmon and Fernand Divoire.

The result of the sale and some individual prices are provided by a front-page article in the *Gazette de l'Hôtel Drouot* of 24 June:

Paintings.—The sale of paintings and drawings given by artists to raise funds for the monument to Guillaume Apollinaire [*sic*] drew a large crowd, and the session, by Maître Bellier, produced a total of 30,343 francs.

A painting by Picasso was sold for 4,600 francs; another by Matisse, 3,000 francs; a painting by Marie Laurencin, 3,500 francs; and another by Derain, 1,900 francs.

There was no catalog for this sale.¹⁵

Over sixty artists gave works for the auction, and the 30,343 francs it produced was an impressive sum. The 4,600-franc price for the Picasso nude was the highest of the day. This unidentified canvas should be added to the long catalog of works that Picasso gave the poet during his lifetime. The prices paid for works by Marie Laurencin, divorced from her German husband and faithful to Apollinaire's memory, and by Henri Matisse, another significant contributor, were second and third highest. The organizers, Salmon and Férat, with support from Guillaume and Bellier, had successfully promoted one of the first French auctions of exclusively contemporary art. The outcome compared favorably with the sale of Paul Eluard's collection, twelve days earlier, on 3 July, where ninety-eight lots totaled 44,675 francs. On that day a Cubist painting by Picasso, entitled *Guitare*, also achieved the highest price, at 2,900 francs.¹⁶ That so many artists had generously united around the name and memory of Apollinaire bears witness to the poet's unique place at the heart of this brilliant and cosmopolitan community. The event superbly recalled the gathering of so many illustrious and obscure characters around Merlin's tomb in *L'Enchanteur pourrissant*. It also gave the artists and writers of Paris an opportunity to salute the poet's memory and celebrate his work as spokesman for what he had called the New Spirit in art and literature.

Picasso and Surrealism

DURING THE EARLY 1920s Picasso had been going through a neoclassical period, producing works that recall the advice, in Apollinaire's last letters to him, recommending ambitious, modern, sensuously chromatic, but classically structured paintings. *Reading the Letter* partly matched those criteria; other prime examples of contemporary, classical works were *Women Running on the Beach (The Race)* (MP 78), from 1922, and the much larger *Pipes of Pan* (MP 75), from the summer of 1923.¹ In March 1924, Picasso was interviewed for *Paris-Journal*, and to J. Salvado's question "You must like El Greco a lot?" he replied, "I used to like him very much, but now I prefer Zurbarán, that very great painter who is so intensely Spanish and so little known in France. But above all, I love the sculptures on some Roman sarcophagi."² Such a remark, clearly related to the tomb commission, suggests that Picasso was ready to envisage a classically inspired monument for Apollinaire.

After this interview, however, as pressure to produce a tomb design increased, a new surge of inspiration moved Picasso away from the Apollinaire Committee. His work became more violently erotic, and he painted twisted bodies and voracious mouths, depicted as vertical slits lined with metal teeth. This sudden turbulence also produced the 1926 *Guitars*, where the body of the instrument is represented by a floor cloth punctured with nails whose points are turned toward the viewer (MP 87) or by another rough piece of cloth nailed to a wooden panel (MP 86). That work was published in *La Révolution surréaliste* of 15 June 1926.

Salvado's account, in his article, of how he had first seen the artist in a Paris theater on 6 July 1923 reflected this new, anticlassical side to Picasso: "A dark little man, in evening dress, jumping up and down in his box and desperately shouting, 'No . . . ! Not outside! Not outside . . . !' It was at the Théâtre Michel, on the evening of *The Bearded Heart*. Pierre de Massot had just announced, 'Picasso, killed on the field of honor!' and the creator of

the 'Bathers' was set on proving that he was still very much alive and was vehemently protesting against André Breton's being thrown out." This was a multimedia event, combining poetry, dance, film, and music, that was to end with Tristan Tzara's play *The Gas-Powered Heart* (*Cœur à gaz*). Breton, Robert Desnos, and Benjamin Péret interrupted it by climbing onstage because they objected to the recuperation of Dada in a show designed for a bourgeois audience. Breton broke Pierre de Massot's arm and was ejected from the theater by eight gendarmes.³ The pretext for their intervention was Massot's abuse of Picasso's name, and Picasso responded with vociferous support for Breton. Breton then reiterated his "boundless admiration for Picasso" (as Picabia ironically put it) by disrupting the opening of the ballet *Mercur*e at the Cigale Theater on 15 June 1924, when he and Aragon shouted, "Long live Picasso, down with Satie!"⁴ The conditions looked right for an alliance between Picasso and Surrealism. The extent and effects of that alliance are relevant to any consideration of Picasso's work between 1924 and 1932, when the Apollinaire monument was very much a live issue.⁵

Breton had first encountered Picasso's work in *Les Soirées de Paris*, which, in November 1913, published reproductions of his flotsam-and-jetsam Cubist constructions that set the standard for the collage aesthetic the Surrealists later exploited.⁶ The two men themselves met for the first time in the hallway of Apollinaire's flat the day before his death, when, according to Picasso, Breton was in uniform, extremely courteous, and very sad about Apollinaire's illness.⁷ They met again during the intermission of Apollinaire's play *Color of Time* at the Renée Maubel Theater in Montmartre on 24 November 1918, and from then on maintained a cordial relationship, strengthened by this shared Apollinaire connection.⁸ Twice, in December 1922 and early 1923, Picasso rejected invitations from Breton to sit on the committee of a Revolutionary Salon that was being set up to compete with the Salon des indépendants,⁹ but later in 1923 Picasso agreed to Breton's pleas for a portrait as frontispiece for his book *Earthlight* (*Clair de terre*). This magnificent collection of poems has blazed its own trail, but, as was the case for *Alcools*, a Picasso portrait as frontispiece enhanced the book's initial impact. In August 1923 Picasso told Florent Fels, "I like beautiful fairground images, the heads and dummies in hairdressers' and women's clothes shops. I still have great appetite and affection for strange and attractive objects."¹⁰ These remarks exemplify Picasso's empathy with the nascent Surrealism of Aragon's *Paris Peasant*, partly set in a labyrinthine shopping arcade. They also recall the imagery of the Surrealist heroes Chirico and Rimbaud, particularly the latter's "Alchemy of the Word" from *A Season in Hell*: "I loved idiotic paintings, signs over doorways, stage décors, saltimbanque backdrops, advertisements, and popular illustrations."

Since December 1921, Breton had been pressing Jacques Doucet to acquire *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, which the couturier duly did in February 1924.¹¹ A reproduction of the painting was published for the first time in France in *La Révolution surréaliste*, dated 15 July 1925. Finally won over by the Surrealists' constant acclamation, Picasso joined Miró and other painters from the group in their first joint exhibition, Surrealist Painting, at the Pierre Gallery, in November 1925. The unexpurgated eroticism of some of his paint-

ings and the dangerous voodoo power of his 1926 *Guitars* thrilled the Surrealists, who continued to write copiously on him and to publish reproductions of his work. Picasso, for his part, was happy to find himself once more in the company of poets, recapturing some of the spirit of his old complicity with Apollinaire, Max Jacob, and the Bateau Lavoir crew and establishing new, lifelong friendships with Eluard and Aragon.

During Picasso's time as a Surrealist fellow-traveler, monumental sculpture was one of his main concerns. When Breton retrospectively designated the works by Picasso that typified his Surrealist affinities, he listed "parts of his artistic output during 1923 and 1924, a number of works he produced from 1928 to 1930, the metallic constructions of 1933," and his "semiautomatic" poetry and plays.¹² Picasso first proposed a project for an Apollinaire monument in 1927, and most of the metal constructions cited by Breton, made between 1928 and 1932, are closely related to that commission. Major aspects of his work between 1924 and 1932, such as the theme of metamorphosis, overt sexuality and violence, contrasting juxtapositions, and a resurgence of interest in tribal art, all confirmed Picasso's Surrealist affinities and would be integrated into the Apollinaire tomb projects.

In 1955, however, looking back from a very different political and cultural context, Picasso contested the presence of Surrealism in his work, apart from some drawings of 1933.¹³ He was referring to the series *An Anatomy*, published in the first issue of *Minotaure* in June 1933. For his part, also with hindsight, Breton recognized that Picasso had always been prevented from full immersion in Surrealism by his "indefectible allegiance to the external world," which led to imaginative and oneiric "blindness."¹⁴ Picasso confirmed that attachment to the material world, which also prevented his art from turning abstract, in 1945, when he reportedly said, "I seek always to observe nature. I cling to resemblance, to a deeper resemblance, more real than the real, attaining the Surreal. That's how I understood Surrealism, but the word was used in a completely different way."¹⁵ Picasso's understanding of Surrealism here recalls the virulent debates about the ownership and meaning of the term around 1924, played out largely in the French press,¹⁶ but also shows how closely he identified with Apollinaire's original definition of the word. In his preface to *The Breasts of Tiresias*, referring to his work in the theater but in terms that apply to all artistic endeavor, Apollinaire wrote:

I thought it necessary to come back to nature itself, but without copying it as photographers do.

When man wanted to imitate walking, he created the wheel, which does not resemble a leg. He was thus being Surrealist without knowing it. (*Po*, pp. 865–66)

Françoise Gilot confirmed that Picasso liked to quote this definition, seeing the wheel as a brilliant example of imaginative innovation surpassing imitation.¹⁷ The founding principle of Breton's Surrealism was free expression of the subconscious and dreams, whereas Picasso's sketchbooks show how carefully and gradually he prepared his paintings and sculptures in these graphic laboratories, rarely relying on inspirational au-

tomatism. Consequently, Picasso's art is to Surrealism what war is to politics: its continuation by other means.

The *Surrealist Manifesto*, published in October 1924, asserted the movement's confident ascendancy. At the same time, after the June 1924 auction, the Apollinaire Committee shrank to a small core of activists in a way that focused and hardened its attitudes. André Billy assumed a leading role, continuing to promote and pursue his conception of the committee's original purpose.

Born in 1882, Billy had met Apollinaire in 1903, an encounter that he saw as one of the most important events of his life. He helped distribute *Le Festin d'Esope* but then lost touch with Apollinaire until 1910, by which time he had become a novelist, a journalist, and a literary critic at *Paris-Midi*, where he adopted the pseudonyms "Jean de l'Escritoire" and "Planton." In 1912, with André Tudesq, René Dalize, Serge Férat, and Apollinaire, he founded *Les Soirées de Paris*, and in 1917 he cowrote with the poet *La Bréhatine*, a film script that was sold to a producer but never shot. So Billy had plenty of credentials as Apollinaire's close associate. After 1918, he became a "man of letters" and literary historian and was also the most assiduous promoter of Apollinaire's posthumous reputation in books and numerous articles, into the 1960s, for *Le Figaro littéraire*.

Although Billy admired Apollinaire, his political and literary attitudes were markedly conservative, and he was virulently anti-Surrealist. The contempt was mutual. Diametrically opposed perceptions and understandings of Apollinaire's work increasingly became the focus of this hostility. The conflict actually began while Apollinaire was still alive, at a time when press articles by Billy certainly irritated Breton, Aragon, Philippe Soupault, and the other young poets who, in 1917 and 1918, congregated around the wounded poet. Billy's writings, compared with their youthful admiration, were strangely lukewarm. In *L'Oeuvre* of 15 July 1918, for example, he reviewed *Calligrammes* in largely negative terms, criticizing the picture-poems for their "unfinished" typography and "off-putting" appearance and condemning the free-verse poems for being "amorphous," with no place "in literary history, or in Apollinaire's work." He went on to compare *Calligrammes* unfavorably with *Alcools*, stating, "I am suspicious of this verbal vertigo that is the only attraction of some pieces. I suffer from ingrained repugnance against anything incoherent and absurd." More insidiously, Billy went on to ask whether Apollinaire wasn't in fact a clever conjurer tricking his readers while laughing at their gullibility.¹⁸ Billy's review is in striking contrast with that of Aragon, for example, who in October 1918 enthusiastically welcomed Apollinaire's war poetry: "Could the cannon have resurrected the great god Pan? Pan! his head opens, and there's a flower. / THE CALLIGRAMMES are ROSES."¹⁹

Surrealist enthusiasm for Apollinaire's war poetry would subsequently wane. Billy, however, always hated in Apollinaire's work everything the Surrealists loved. In his 1923 book *Apollinaire vivant* he again attacked the "conversation poems, Cubist poems, and calligrammes," and deplored that "the glory and genius of our friend should be gambled away on such a risky wager."²⁰ The book also confidently attacked Apollinaire's artistic tastes, condemning Cubism as well as Giorgio de Chirico, stating that Apollinaire "al-

ways refused, most exasperatingly, to admit that these works of a hypochondriac furniture mover had no genuinely artistic qualities."²¹

Billy's attitude toward the new postwar generation of writers was openly expressed in a fifth-anniversary Apollinaire issue of the periodical *Vient de paraître*, published in November 1923, where he wrote that "we are aware of loving in Apollinaire both the representative of an era that was superior to this one as far as intellectual civilization is concerned and the writer to whom current modes are most indebted." André Rouveyre, similarly old guard, contributed "The Monkeys around Apollinaire," provocatively suggesting that the young poets Apollinaire had befriended toward the end of his life were now imitating him like monkeys. In contrast, young Soupault, in the same publication, was the soul of elegant modesty, frankly admitting that "almost all those who have set out to write since the war have imitated, or been more or less directly inspired by, *Alcools* or *Le Poète assassiné*."²²

In July 1918 Apollinaire himself had replied to Billy's review of *Calligrammes* by telling him in a letter, "If I stop these types of research one day, it will be because I'm tired of being treated as an oddball precisely because such research seems absurd to those who are happy to stick to the path of convention" (OC 4, p. 778). In June 1918, Apollinaire had already sent Billy a "Calligramme shaped like a sugar-cube" (*Po*, p. 690), an item that might normally reward a performing dog.

The Surrealists, of course, hit back at Billy. Aragon opened fire in *Paris-Journal*, 30 November 1923, where he compared Apollinaire's situation to that of Rimbaud, who was being posthumously repackaged as a Catholic poet by his family and associates. He enrolled Billy into "The Association of Friends of the Dead," whose aim was to "moderate all abnormal exaltation," and denounced his attack on Chirico and his "small-minded reservations mixed with sentimentality" regarding Apollinaire's poetry.²³ A few days later, the first issue of the short-lived periodical *Interventions*, in which Francis Picabia and Georges Ribemeont-Dessaignes were involved, carried the headline "Apollinaire Assassinated" over an article by Paul Dermée, similarly attacking Billy's book. The article was reprinted in *Images de Paris* and quoted in various newspapers, provoking a riposte from Billy in *Paris-Soir*, where he accused Dermée of being "completely ignorant of Apollinaire" and repeated his claim that Apollinaire's "conversation poems," particularly "Windows" ("Les Fenêtres"), were of no literary value.²⁴

A huge gap opened between two opposing views of Apollinaire and his work. On one side was the view strongly defended by Billy, who was convinced that Apollinaire's reputation depended exclusively on his apparently classical verse and felt that the rest was just eccentric or a joke. On the other side stood the Surrealists, who valued everything Billy rejected and would later criticize classical or conventional aspects of Apollinaire's output and character but who ardently promoted him as an avant-garde trailblazer. Each camp was thus pushed into promoting a reductive and subjective image of a poet whose appetite was, in fact, as voracious as his tastes were paradoxical and who sought poetry anywhere it could be found, whether in order or in adventure.

The clash between Billy, Dermée, and the Surrealists typified the violent fragmentation of the postwar Paris art scene. In this context, with different groups claiming Apollinaire as their own, plans for his tomb took on emblematic significance. The Apollinaire Committee wished to obtain from Picasso a classical monument to confirm the image of the poet they wanted to project. For Billy, in particular, an enduring reputation could be expressed only in classical form. He was convinced that only a monument epitomizing conservative definitions of archetypally French qualities, associated with temperate, balanced, and logical reason, could affirm Apollinaire's status as a truly French poet. Picasso's evolution after 1924 led him to conceive daringly innovatory designs that left him totally at odds with the committee.

Picasso was not directly involved in the arguments around Apollinaire and was concerned mainly to safeguard his creative freedom and independence. He knew how far Billy's dogmatic views differed from Apollinaire's own conception of his personal, national, and European identity, which comprehended cultural diversity and a joyfully eclectic modernism. Picasso sided with the rising generation of poets but remained, at most, a libertarian Surrealist, never subscribing to doctrine, manifesto commitments, or the personal authority of a charismatic leader. Picasso's genuine understanding of Apollinaire, as well as the company of the Surrealists, with their aesthetic intransigence and their pleasure in goading the bourgeoisie, hardly encouraged him to seek a compromise with the monument committee.

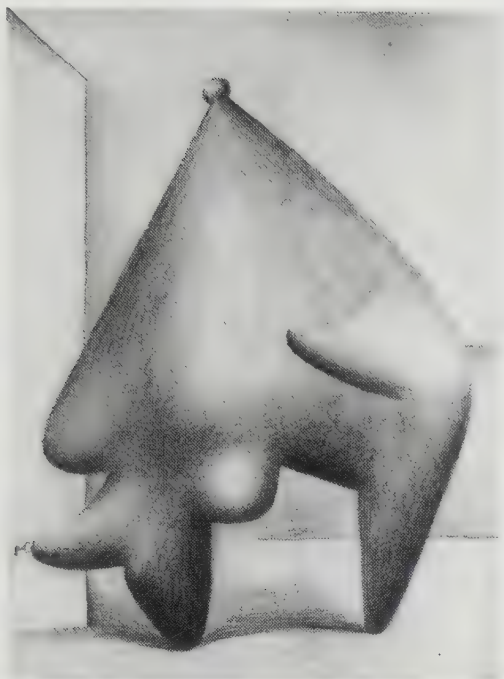
Androgynous Bathers and *Metamorphosis*

AN ARTICLE ENTITLED "On G. Apollinaire's Tomb," in *L'Intransigeant* on 10 November 1927, reported that during the annual commemoration, "The poet's widow was accompanied by Mme. Picasso, and Messieurs Picasso, André Billy, Serge Férat. . . . Next year, for the tenth anniversary, the monument, for which Picasso has designed the plan, will be unveiled."¹

Three years had passed since the auction, nearly seven since the article first announcing Picasso's involvement in the project. Before 9 November 1927, with the tenth anniversary of Apollinaire's death looming, Picasso had indeed invited the committee to visit his studio to view possible projects for the tomb. Paul Léautaud reported André Billy's account of the meeting:

He told me there was recently a meeting at Picasso's for the monument to be placed on the tomb in Père Lachaise. He was there. Picasso produced a bizarre, monstrous, mad, incomprehensible, almost obscene thing, a sort of unidentifiable lump that looks as though it's got sexual organs sticking out of it here and there. He thinks that Picasso, in fact, still hasn't done anything for the monument and as he had the meeting with the committee, he produced any old thing from his folders. He said to me laughing, "Apollinaire would be very pleased, if he could see it, to have that on his tomb. It would amuse him. It would bring a bit of originality to Père Lachaise."²

Billy's account indicates that Picasso showed the committee at least one of two sketchbooks he had been working on during his summer in Cannes: Sketchbook 015 (MP 1874), dated 17 July to 11 September, and Sketchbook 011 (MP 1990-107), 11 to 24 September 1927. Most of their pages are filled with drawings of naked female bathers, whose anatomy turns dramatically androgynous as it distends into phallic swellings (figs. 50-52). Some

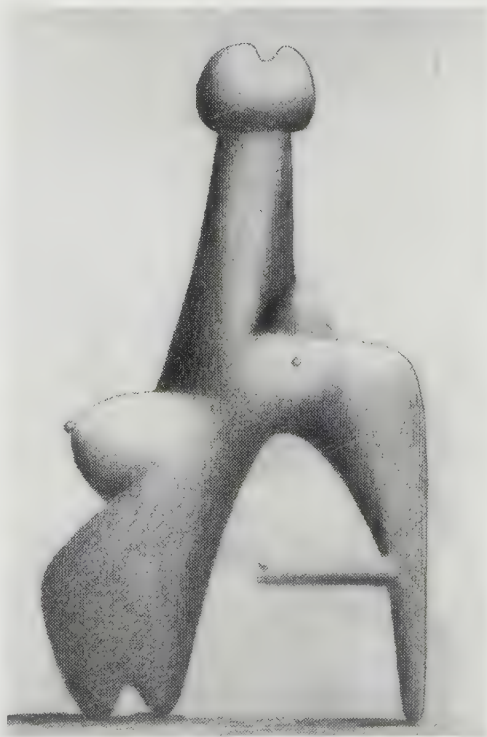


50. (*above*) Pablo Picasso, drawing, September 1927 (Sketchbook 015, MP 1874, p. 29r). Pencil, 30 × 23 cm. Musée Picasso, Paris, France. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Photo by Thierry Le Mage, courtesy of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.



51. (*above, right*) Pablo Picasso, drawing, September 1927 (Sketchbook 011, MP 1990–107, p. 1r). Pencil, 30.5 × 23.2 cm. Musée Picasso, Paris, France. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Photo by Madeleine Coursaget, courtesy of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.

52. (*right*) Pablo Picasso, drawing, September 1927 (Sketchbook 011, MP 1990–107, p. 14r). Pencil, 30.5 × 23.2 cm. Musée Picasso, Paris, France. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Photo by Béatrice Hatala, courtesy of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.



of the faces have horizontal or vertical mouths lined with dangerous teeth. Otherwise, these drawings celebrate vitality, uninhibited and tumescent. They were inspired primarily by Marie-Thérèse Walter, the athletic, blonde teenager Picasso had met one Saturday afternoon in January 1927 on boulevard Haussmann, outside the Galeries Lafayette department store.³ Their liaison thus began in the area near Saint Lazare Station where Picasso met Apollinaire in 1905 and where the poet met his future wife, Jacqueline Kolb, in 1916. Marie-Thérèse already featured in Sketchbook 061 (MP 1873), which Picasso used in Paris in 1927. It contains her portrait (p. 32r) and a series of distorted nubile anatomies that prefigure the pneumatic bathers drawn some months later in Cannes.⁴

In the Cannes sketchbooks, some of the bathers are turning a key in the lock of a bathing cabin. In Picasso's drawings, this seaside commonplace is redolent with sexual symbolism, but, given the double life he was now leading, it may equally refer to his increasingly difficult relationship with Olga, represented as invasively trying to unlock his secrets.⁵ Picasso's bathing cabin, however, also resembles a traditional French tomb, an association that gives the key in the door an altogether different symbolic resonance and relates these drawings directly to the tomb project. Picasso develops and accentuates this darkly symbolic aspect of the 1927 drawings in those he completed the following summer in Dinard.

Picasso's 1927 drawings of bathers counter an understated reference to graveyard architecture with exuberant female beauty and comically androgynous anatomical distortions. André Billy's reaction was predictable but did not inflect Picasso's chosen trajectory. The smooth surfaces and voluminous curves of his sketchbook bathers were already eminently plastic, and he swiftly transformed them into two sculptures, *Metamorphosis I* and *II* (Sp 67, 67 A) (fig. 53). Modeled in plaster and cast in bronze, they give a striking impression of scale and solidity, despite being just 22.8 and 23 cm tall. *Metamorphosis* is patently a maquette for, as Roland Penrose put it, "a monument of massive anthropomorphic shape."⁶ Its elephantine foot and other bulbous swellings are balanced by empty spaces and tapering appendages, with some anatomical details economically engraved, to produce a globular model that recalls Arp, Tanguy, and Miró, placing Picasso in the Surrealist orbit.⁷ The shape of the sculpture suggests self-sufficient circularity, but it is also unashamedly tumescent, displaying an organism in which any remnants of rational reasoning have been consumed by sexual desire.

The sculpture's androgynous morphology has prompted comparison with Apollinaire's play *The Breasts of Tiresias*, in which the heroine abandons her female attributes to pursue male activities, leaving her husband miraculously to engender a whole new generation of bawling babies.⁸ Some of the preparatory drawings for *Metamorphosis*, in the Cannes sketchbooks, amusingly depict a wonderful breast on legs, perhaps confirming the connection. Apollinaire's interest in androgyny, partly prompted by sexual insecurity, was also born of his recognition that gender stereotypes rank among the mental dispositions that narrow human horizons. His May 1905 article on Picasso praised the androgynous grace of adolescent acrobats and slim harlequins, and androgyny also features



53. Pablo Picasso, *Metamorphosis I*, 1928. Bronze, 22.8 × 18.3 × 11.0 cm. Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, France. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Photo by Béatrice Hatala, courtesy of CNAC/MNAM/Dist. Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.

strongly in his 1918 light opera, *Casanova*. Picasso countered attempts to entrap Apollinaire in the ossified imagery of conventional commemoration by imagining the erotic transfiguration of a voluptuously androgynous being. He thus commemorated Apollinaire as the herald of perpetual movement and change, a risk-taking poet and an erotically erudite writer who in 1910 had declared that “everything to do with sexuality is of primary importance” (*Pr* 3, p. 836) and in 1914 had published a poem, “The Musician of Saint-Merry” (*Po*, p. 188), later made into a play and then a ballet, in which the main character, a “man without eyes nose and ears,” is a walking phallus. Picasso’s transgressive sculpture confirms his creative affinity with the poet.

In May 1928, Paul Guillaume wrote that “Picasso has recently submitted several maquettes to the committee, who will soon make a choice, in full agreement with all subscribers. If the administration of the great Necropolis where Apollinaire’s remains are at rest does not overcomplicate the formalities, the material realization of the tomb may be expected in the near future.”⁹ Guillaume suggests, correctly, that Picasso offered the committee a range of options. His reference to the cemetery administration also, no doubt, reflected genuine concern that any radically unconventional tomb design might be officially vetoed.

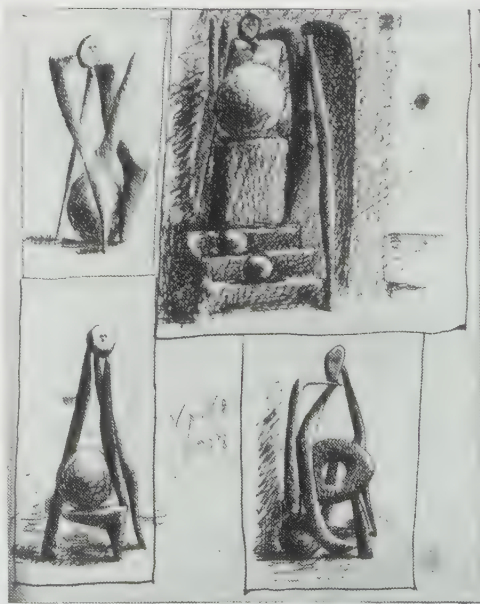
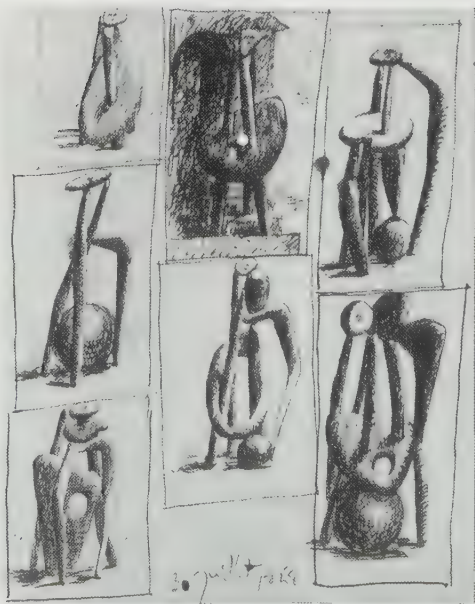
Picasso spent the summer of 1928 in Dinard, on the Brittany coast, and on 27 July started a new sketchbook (Picasso Succession, Sketchbook 1044). He used it until 28 August, then returned to it on Armistice Day, 11 November, in Paris. This crucial sketchbook turned out to be a graphic workshop for a series of major monumental sculptures,



54. (left) Pablo Picasso, drawing, July 1928 (Sketchbook 1044, p. 4). Pen and ink, 31 × 38 cm. Picasso Succession. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), N.Y.

55. (bottom, left) Pablo Picasso, drawing, 30 July 1928 (Sketchbook 1044, p. 7). Pen and ink, 31 × 38 cm. Picasso Succession. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), N.Y.

56. (bottom, right) Pablo Picasso, drawing, 31 July 1928 (Sketchbook 1044, p. 8). Pen and ink, 31 × 38 cm. Picasso Succession. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), N.Y.



including transparent wire constructions. The first ten pages, however, from 27 July to 2 August, demonstrate a continuing line of research, from one summer to another, on androgynous bathers.

In 1927 Sketchbook 015, shown to the committee, had already included two drawings in which a bather's anatomy was abstracted into stones and pebbles balancing against and on top of each other (pp. 37r and 38r). This idea was developed a year later in Sketchbook 1044, where hard, smooth shapes are piled in precarious, vertical equilibrium. Flat, perforated stones topping the constructions suggest faces with round, astonished mouths and eyes, humanizing these hieratic monuments. Some even represent a couple with heads intimately leaning together, but incisive black ink has now replaced the softer touch of pencil drawing, and they cast a dark shadow on the surrounding empty space. Spherical objects still recall the bather's beach ball, and it has even been suggested that a drawing dated 28 July 1928 is an abstract inverted adaptation of Picasso's 1905 *Young Acrobat on a Ball*.¹⁰ Apollinaire was particularly attached to that painting, referring to it in his May 1905 article on Picasso; it inspired his poem "A Phantom of Clouds," for *Calligrammes*. Figures in the Dinard sketchbook are inspired mainly, however, by the rocks and stones of the Breton landscape, weathered by wind and waves. Curvaceous flesh has melted away to reveal the bare bones underneath; after vibrant sexuality comes starkly rigid mortality (fig. 54).

In drawings dated 29, 30, and 31 July, the smooth stones stand before a bathing cabin, already present in the Cannes sketchbooks (fig. 55). In Dinard, however, Picasso accentuates the resemblance between this windowless cubicle and a tomb, whose narrow doorway opens onto darkness. Again, Picasso casts a spell on quotidian reality, as Christian Zervos remarked in 1929: "From a bathing cabin, Picasso makes a supernatural apparition. Inside it he encloses mystery!"¹¹ This visual pun brings together cabin and tomb, beach and graveyard, sunshine and darkness. Variations on these simultaneous contrasts were carried into two paintings, dating from May 1929, *Baigneuse à la cabine* (MP 114), where the bather leaving a cabin resembles a resurrected corpse, and *Grande baigneuse* (MP 115), where a gigantic bather, apparently sculpted in wood, lifts a towel that becomes a shroud. Picasso thus developed and accentuated the funereal connotations of his beach scenes over nearly three years, so that retrospectively those hands turning keys in cabin doors seem to enact metaphysical questions concerning the threshold between life and death.

The stones and bones series in Sketchbook 1044 continued until 2 August 1928, but a drawing dated 31 July already represented a logical conclusion (fig. 56). The page is divided into four. In the top right-hand quadrant is a tomb/cabin and, in front of it, a rectangular plinth placed on three stone steps. On the plinth is a stone sphere, and around it are several slim, bony shapes and a flat, round stone marked with the three small holes that economically express astonishment. Still and austere, like most of these drawings, this is a monument to be made in marble or granite. The gloomy atmosphere relaxes only in the following page of the sketchbook, dated 1 August 1928, where lines become

less sharp and shapes more figurative. One of the four drawings dated 1 August depicts a stone balanced on two bones and an animal jawbone; another little group is made of a lamb chop, three French fries, and a radish on a fork. Picasso thus turned a pirouette, satirizing the monuments on previous pages. Parody allowed him to break the mood and move on.

These Dinard drawings were conceived as strange and beautiful projects for Apollinaire's tomb, though whether they were shown to the committee is debatable. In *Cahiers d'art* in 1929, Christian Zervos published ten "stone and bone" drawings from Sketchbooks 021 and 1044 under the heading "Picasso Projects for a Monument." He also included one drawing of a sculpture made of metal rods and sheets, dating from November 1928 (Sketchbook 1044, p. 58), a seminal design to which we will return. He presented the 1928 Dinard drawings as a "confirmation" of the 1927 androgynous bathers and stated that Picasso liked to imagine the latter as a line of monumental sculptures along the Croisette, the seafront promenade in Cannes. The article begins by emphasizing Picasso's creative independence, stating that all these drawings are "studies for a monument that Picasso would like to realize as his sovereign spirit conceived them." Picasso thus intimated that he was not inclined to compromise.¹²

Zervos makes no mention here of the Apollinaire monument, but one project did not exclude the other. Thinking about commemorative sculpture had led Picasso to think about public sculpture in general. Astutely emphasizing the interpenetration of matter and space in these projects, Zervos added that Picasso "has always had an acute feel for architecture." Indeed, in 1929, Picasso went on to paint *Monument: Head of a Woman* (Z VII, 290), where a woman's face covers the façade of a large modern building. Such utopian projects were beyond the technical resources available to Picasso at the time, but they formed the basis for the urban monuments in concrete and steel he made in the 1960s. All those projects derive from drawings he originally made for the Apollinaire tomb commission.

Drawings in Space

The Wire Maquettes

IN 1928, THE Apollinaire tomb project led Picasso to make some of the most innovative decisions of his career. Leaving behind the hieratic melancholy of the stones and bones series, he created new forms of sculpture, neither carved, nor modeled, nor cast. Developing templates in his sketchbooks, then working with iron and fire, he welded together found or cut pieces of metal and assembled a series of revolutionary constructions.

Picasso had already tested the creative potential of these new materials. In spring 1914 he made a metal and wire *Guitar*, based on a 1912 cardboard model (Sp 27, 27A),¹ and a fascinating series of small, cut, folded, and painted tin sculptures, including *Bottle of Bass*, *Glass and Newspaper*, and *Glass* (MP 249, 250). Other occasional sheet-metal pieces included a second metal *Guitar*, 111 cm tall, painted gray, black, and white and designed, like the first, to be hung on the wall (Sp 63, MP 260). It dates from spring 1924, when the tomb project and forthcoming auction had turned Picasso's thinking back toward sculpture. The metal pieces Picasso made between 1928 and 1932 took this 1924 experiment much further by using increasingly substantial pieces of metal and industrial techniques to assemble them. Metal was the raw material directly manipulated by the sculptor, and the outcome, rather than a solid mass, was more or less transparent.

Such construction techniques transposed into sculpture Apollinaire's patterns of cut-and-paste textual composition but were also appropriate to his monument for other reasons. Apollinaire always emphasized the contemporary importance and aesthetic value of industrial artifacts. In "The Renaissance of Decorative Arts," in *L'Intransigeant* of 31 May 1912, he wrote, "They say there is no modern style. As for me, I believe people are wrong on that and I think there is a modern style, but the specific characteristics of today's style are less apparent in the fronts of houses or in furniture than in iron constructions, machines, cars, bicycles, and airplanes. . . . Modern-style masterpieces are made of cast iron, steel, and sheet metal" (*Pr* 2, p. 466).

In March 1913 Apollinaire suggested that the “Stone Age of sculpture was over” and envisaged new works, inspired by steam engines, that would take sculpture into its Iron Age (*Pr* 2, 518). The clear correspondence between Picasso’s sheet-metal *Guitars* and Apollinaire’s modernist aesthetics suggests that, when he later decided to make the poet an iron monument, Picasso was paying tribute to his friend’s passion for the Eiffel Tower, iron bridges, railway stations, and machines. His inclusion of African characteristics in some of those metal monuments recalls Apollinaire’s naming him the Benin Bird and thus links him with a kingdom famous for its metal sculptures. Furthermore, in September 1912 Apollinaire had published an article on the Trocadéro ethnographic museum, where he had highlighted “that pearl of the Dahomey collection, the great iron statue representing the god of war, which is, without any doubt, the most unusual and one of the most graceful art objects in Paris” (*Pr* 2, p. 473). Apollinaire’s passionate admiration of this fearsome standing metal representation of the god Gou, wielding a hefty machete, prefigured and justified Picasso’s African-style metal monuments, particularly the tall and aggressive *Woman in a Garden*.²

Picasso immediately faced major practical problems. In early 1928, he turned to Julio González (1876–1942), an artist and accomplished craftsman he had met nearly thirty years earlier at the Quatre Gats in Barcelona. Born into a family of Catalan metalworkers, González had been in Paris since the turn of the century, working as a painter and using his practical skills to make applied art and jewelry. In 1918 he had learned welding in a factory called La Soudure in Boulogne-sur-Seine, an industrial suburb of Paris.³ He had all the skills Picasso needed, as well as a forge and tools in his workshop at 11 rue de Médéah, near his flat at 40 rue Friant, not far from Douanier Rousseau’s old studio in Plaisance.

According to his daughter, Roberta, González was so affected by the death of his brother Joan in 1908 that he withdrew from social life and fell out with Picasso, making up with him only in 1921.⁴ In the autumn of 1928, they began a mutually enriching partnership. Watching González, Picasso learned metalworking skills, while, working for Picasso, González discovered his true vocation. He devoted the rest of his life to constructed metal sculptures, establishing his reputation as a pioneering master in the field.

One eyewitness was the painter Jean Xceron, who recalled that around 1928 Picasso used to come to the rue Médéah workshop. There, he watched over González as he executed the designs for the Apollinaire monument, which, Xceron emphasizes, were very much Picasso’s own.⁵ Roberta González also recalled that she met Picasso for the first time in about 1931 in the workshop, where her father was making the Apollinaire monument for him.⁶ Picasso and González spent three or four years working on various versions of the Apollinaire monument.

The González-Picasso correspondence provides further essential information. The Musée Picasso holds thirty-six cards, letters, and *pneumatiques* to Picasso from González. The first four letters date from 1904, and these are followed by a break in the correspondence until 1922. The final letter from González is dated 30 January 1942, two months before his death. Nineteen of his messages to Picasso date from 2 January 1928 to 6 April

1932, with a more marked concentration in 1930 and 1931.⁷ The first messages are written in Catalan, but then the correspondence is mainly in Spanish, with some words or phrases in Catalan and French. In a letter postmarked 2 January 1928, González informed Picasso, "If you want to see me this week, I will be in the workshop 11 rue de Médéah, every afternoon from 3 until 6." In a letter edged in black, postmarked 13 May 1928 (mistakenly dated 1927 by González), he then informed Picasso that his mother had died and requested an advance on his payments, writing, "If, as I think, you are planning to give me some work, could you please be so kind as to let me have an advance. If you can we will be extremely grateful." González also wrote a similar letter to Brancusi, for whom he had worked as an assistant.⁸ In his reply, dated 14 May 1928, Picasso wrote, "I received your letter telling me of the sad news of the death of your mother. Believe me, I'm very sorry for you and your sisters, but for you whom I love, I am doubly sorry. I'm not going to see you for fear of disturbing you. For you, I'm sending a check since I don't have any ready cash."⁹ On 15 May 1928, González replied, "Dear Picasso, a thousand thanks for your letter! No, you'll never disturb us at home. We have always felt brotherly affection for you. Very best wishes, Julio." On 14 September 1928, González told Picasso he remained ready and willing, and most of the following messages are brief notes telling Picasso the days he would be in Monthyon, in the countryside near Meaux, where his family had a little house, and fixing days when Picasso could go to the workshop on rue Médéah.

On 30 December 1930, González wrote that he had a cold but that if Picasso needed to go to the workshop "I'll be there at the time you say"; on 24 May 1931, he informed Picasso that he was off to the country but would be back on Thursday and so, "if it suits you, you will be able to go to rue Médéah." On 20 June 1931, González let Picasso know that he was expecting a family visit, adding, "Excuse me, on Tuesday I will again be at your command." The following day, González confirmed that family were arriving from Barcelona, adding, "Excuse me, and Tuesday, rue Médéah, back to work. Another thing, I'm impatient to see you and your things. I'll explain everything and I think you'll be pleased." On 20 October 1931, a note from González said that he was taking his own iron sculptures to the Salon of Superindependent Artists (the "Surindépendants") but that "tomorrow I will again be at your command." On 28 January 1932, he let Picasso know that he would not be at the workshop the next day; "I'll tell you why when I see you." Finally, on 6 April 1932, he wrote "I'm back from Monthyon," which suggests that they continued working together until that date, after which their correspondence stopped until 1936.¹⁰

One relatively expansive message is an express letter González sent on 2 April 1931:

Thursday 6.30 am

Pau,

Could you call round this morning or tomorrow, as I need your wise advice. Yesterday I went to the *ironmongers* to buy a pair of even bigger hammers, because the *saucepan*



57. Pablo Picasso, *Head*, October 1928. Iron and brass, 18 × 11 × 7.5 cm. Musée Picasso, Paris, France. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Photo by Béatrice Hatala, courtesy of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.

is turning into a Titanic enterprise. *You won't be angry, will you?* I didn't want to go to Monthyon *but* because of the saucepan, I will go and rest for 3 days. *See you later.*

Best wishes
Yours
Julio

I will return to this letter in discussing the demanding work González undertook for Picasso in spring 1931. Overall, there is a steady sense of urgency and excitement in these messages, indicating that the creative momentum driving their relationship lasted from 1928 to 1932. Picasso made frequent visits to the workshop but went away every summer. González twice used the phrase “at your command,” confirming that Picasso was in creative control.

Picasso and González began their work together by making a small figure, known as *Head*, that is signed and dated on the back “Picasso 1928” and was planned in a sketchbook used from 20 March to 8 May 1928 (MP 1990–108) (fig. 57).¹¹ Made of brass and

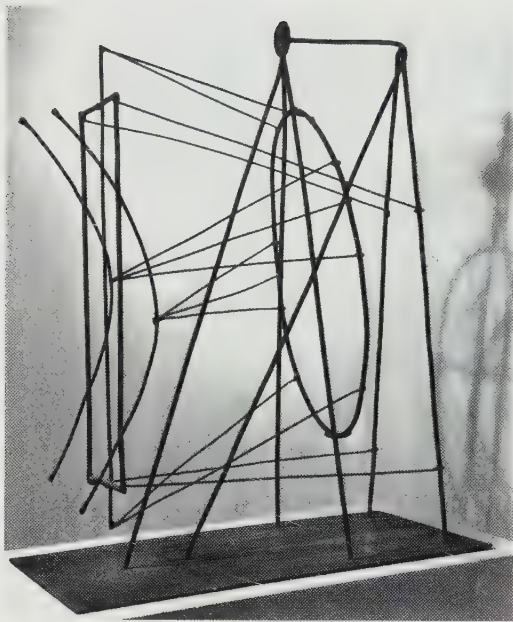
iron, just 18 cm tall, the sculpture features a circular disc from which a wedge has been cut, adorned with a ring and strip of corrugated metal to represent wavy hair, placed on a tripod, and painted black and white. It has always been thought that there were three versions, each painted slightly differently (Sp 66, 66A, 66B): one acquired by Gertrude Stein and Alice Toklas, now in a private collection; one kept by Picasso, now in Musée Picasso (MP 263); and one reproduced in *Cahiers d'art*, 1929, no. 1. It seems possible, however, that only two versions were made and that the Musée Picasso and *Cahiers d'art* versions are the same sculpture, whose paintwork was modified after the *Cahiers d'art* photo had been taken.¹² The disc is divided vertically by the sharp features of two interlocking profiles, so it may represent a kissing couple. González had been working for Brancusi, and this surely strengthens Elizabeth Cowling's idea that Picasso's *Head* was inspired by Brancusi's *Kiss*, a 1909 stone sculpture that marks a grave in Montparnasse cemetery.¹³ For Apollinaire's tomb in Père Lachaise, Picasso updated Brancusi's handsome *Kiss* by designing its soldered and riveted Cubist counterpart.

During the autumn of 1928, Picasso took the collaboration forward with four linear, geometrical sculptures made of wire rods of various calibers (Sp 68, 69, 70, 71). He kept the original wire sculptures, and three of them survived (MP 264, 265, 266) (figs. 58–60). They were designed as maquettes for Apollinaire's tomb.

The original maquettes vary in height between 37.5 and 60.5 cm. Brassai rightly said, "They could have been taken for the works of some 'constructivist,' were it not for the fact that the presence of the human body could be felt in each one of them."¹⁴ Each of the models is clearly individualized, but they all include a schematic representation of a human form, surrounded by a defined area of personal space. Wire rods suggest limbs, sometimes with ends flattened and splayed in the shape of open hands. Two of them are primarily rectangular or round, so they resemble a man and a woman, with the smaller maquettes as their two children. Their lines imply harmonious balance, or dynamic movement through the frame of space that contains them. In three of the four wire maquettes the head is a metal disc, marked with three small circles in an inverted triangle, expressing a sense of fear, surprise, or wonder but also recalling Picasso's own features, which Malraux described as "the same eyes from another world in an astonished Pierrot's mask."¹⁵

The maquettes are not perfectly symmetrical, and their irregular curves and lines match the freehand style of Picasso's preparatory sketches, but they also humanize these figures, differentiating them from mechanically geometrical constructions. Viewed from the front, MP 264 (Sp 68) resembles a tall ship with its rigging swaying over the ocean.

The quality of the shaping and welding indicates that the wire maquettes were made by González, working from Picasso's sketchbook blueprints. Sketchbook 1044, begun in Dinard on 27 July 1928, opens with stone and bone drawings but also contains preparatory sketches for wire constructions. They are set amid drawings of women bathers with beach balls or keys, and the wire constructions may be seen as schematic transparent bathers. Thirty-four drawings of wire constructions are here concentrated on two days,



58. (left) Pablo Picasso, *Figure, Autumn 1928* (MP 264). Wire and sheet metal, 60.5 × 15 × 34 cm. Musée Picasso, Paris, France. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Photo by Béatrice Hatala, courtesy of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.

59. (bottom, left) Pablo Picasso, *Figure, Autumn 1928* (MP 265). Wire and sheet metal, 60.5 × 18 × 34 cm. Musée Picasso, Paris, France. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Photo by Béatrice Hatala, courtesy of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.

60. (bottom, right) Pablo Picasso, *Figure, October 1928* (MP 266). Wire and sheet metal, 37.5 × 10 × 19.6 cm. Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, France. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Photo by Béatrice Hatala, courtesy of CNAC/MNAM/Dist. Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.



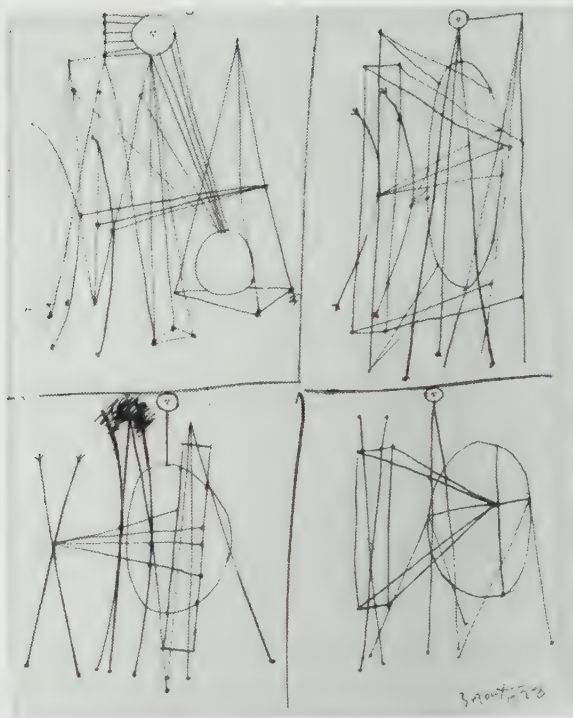
3 and 12 August 1928 (figs. 61 and 62), and three of them are blueprints. In Sketchbook 1044, the drawing on page 18, top right, closely matches the wire model MP 264. No blueprint has been identified for MP 265. Sketchbook 1044, page 26, bottom right, matches MP 266. The fourth maquette (Sp 70) has gone missing but can be seen, to the left of the three others, on a shelf in Picasso's studio in a photograph taken by Brassai in 1932 (MP 1986–15).¹⁶ Sketchbook 1044, page 20, top right, closely matches this model, though the oval representing the figure's trunk is placed lower in the sculpture than in the drawing.

The 1928 wire models and their blueprints resulted from a developmental process contained in sketchbooks. The idea for a disc with three circles in an inverted triangle to represent a face appeared for the first time in 1924, in Picasso's marvelously kinetic drawings for the ballet *Mercure*, unfolding in three sketchbooks (MP 1990–104, 1990–105, 1990–106). One page shows three discs, marked with increasingly simplified variations on the three-dot pattern (MP 1990–106, p. 13). Other drawings show that in the ballet this facial shorthand was to be used in the stage set for “The Night” and that other discs, placed on rods, would represent the heads of the Three Graces (MP 1990–104, pp. 40r–42r and 62r).¹⁷ A similar disc, marked with three small circles, reappeared in stone and bone drawings of 1927 and 1928 and then finally in the wire maquettes. In *Mercure*, Picasso's drawings were transposed into flexible wicker outlines that were fixed onto large panels and into linear sculptures moved around by the dancers. There is thus a clear line of development from Picasso's work on *Mercure* to his wire constructions of autumn 1928.

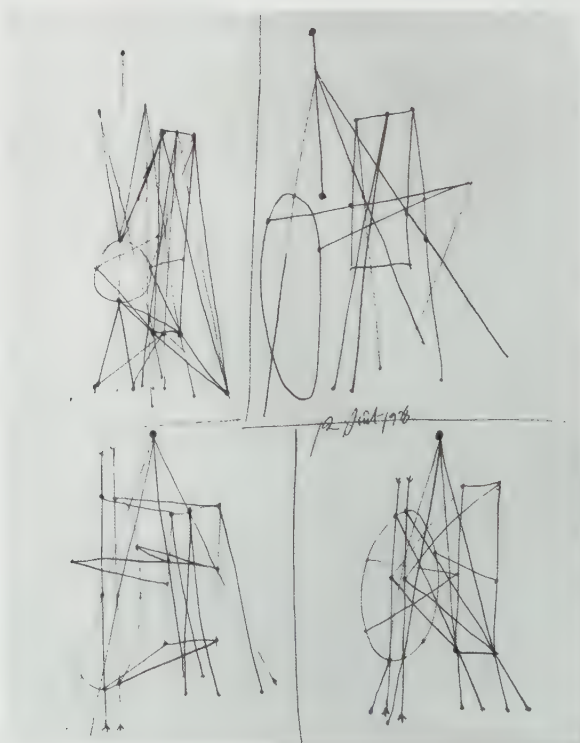
There are other points of departure in Picasso's 1924 sketchbooks. In Juan-les-Pins that summer, Picasso covered eighteen pages with drawings in which mainly straight lines run from dot to dot to create the shapes of musical instruments (Picasso Succession, Sketchbook 003). In the following sketchbook, similar networks of dots and lines become more complex, suggesting both guitars and astronomical maps (Sketchbook 004, MP 1869). The merging of music and astronomy implies a Platonic ideal of stellar harmony often referred to in Apollinaire's writing, notably in “La Chanson du mal-aimé” and *Color of Time*.

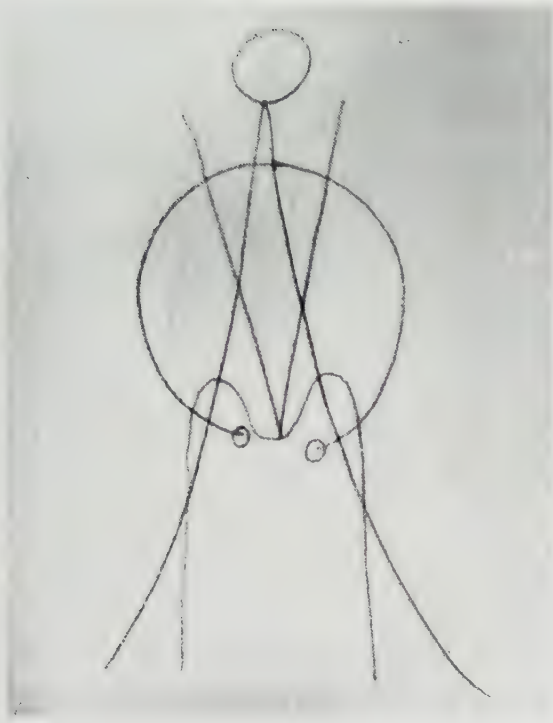
Back in Paris, in October 1924, a press report claimed that Picasso was preparing illustrations for a new edition of Apollinaire's “Le Poète assassiné” and he may well have considered using that summer's dot-and-line drawings to illustrate the novella.¹⁸ Instead, they were used in 1931 to illustrate Vollard's edition of Balzac's *Unknown Masterpiece*. Picasso, meanwhile, continued to develop the poetic potential of the dot-and-line style, and in a sketchbook started on 12 October 1924 (Picasso Succession, Sketchbook 215) he gave the constellations human shape (fig. 63). The style continued in 1926 (Picasso Succession, Sketchbook 1122–21); then, crucially, in 1927, these linear drawings suddenly acquired depth and volume, becoming plans for cagelike structures. This occurred in a Cannes sketchbook, already encountered in the previous chapter, begun on 11 September 1927 (Sketchbook 011, MP 1990–107) (fig. 64). The first three pages depict the pneumatic bathers that inspired the sculpture *Metamorphosis* and are followed by the drawing

61. Pablo Picasso, drawing,
3 August 1928 (Sketchbook 1044,
p. 18). Pen and ink, 31 × 38 cm.
Picasso Succession. © 2007
Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists
Rights Society (ARS), N.Y.

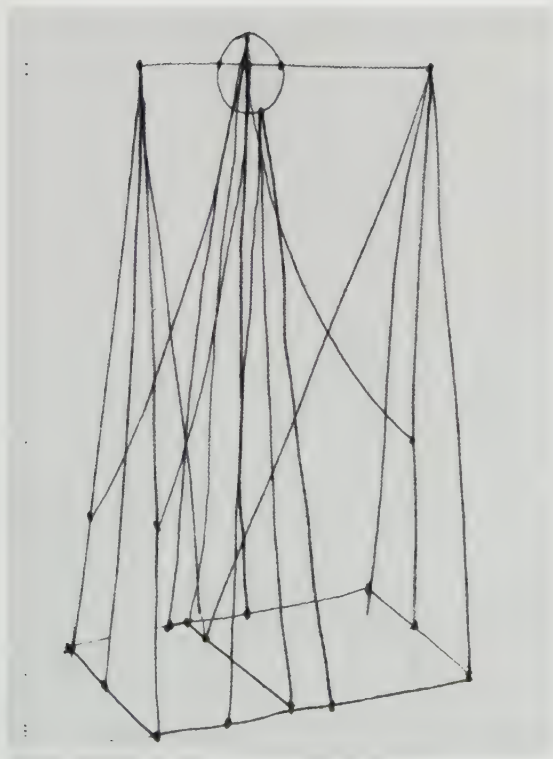


62. Pablo Picasso, drawing,
12 August 1928 (Sketchbook 1044,
p. 26). Pen and ink, 31 × 38 cm.
Picasso Succession. © 2007
Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists
Rights Society (ARS), N.Y.





63. Pablo Picasso, drawing, 1924
(Sketchbook 215, p. 16). Pencil,
23 × 30 cm. Picasso Succession.
© 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/
Artists Rights Society (ARS), N.Y.



64. Pablo Picasso, drawing, 1927
(Sketchbook 011, MP 1990–107,
p. 101). Pencil, 30.5 × 23.2 cm. Musée
Picasso, Paris, France. © 2007 Estate
of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights
Society (ARS), New York. Photo by
Madeleine Coursaget, courtesy of
Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art
Resource, N.Y.

of a sculpture inspired by African masks, to be made from a welded metal sheet and rods. The next seven pages return to the androgynous bathers but reduce their tumescent volumes to geometrical webs of lines so that their silhouettes delineate empty, transparent space. The drawing on page 10 places one such structure on a rectangular base and includes dots that resemble welding points and a flat disc to suggest a face, bringing it several steps closer to the wire maquettes.

From 1924 to 1928, Picasso resolutely developed his themes and graphic style. In 1927, he breathed volume into the dot-and-line designs and so reached a stage where drawings could rise up as miniature wire monuments.

In January 1929, a photograph of one of the wire maquettes appeared in *Cahiers d'art* with a caption that confirmed that these were models for a larger work: "Picasso, plan for a wire sculpture. October 1928."¹⁹ The first commentary on them had already appeared in an interview with Picasso published by Tériade in *L'Intransigeant* on 27 November 1928. Tériade found Picasso in his studio, working at sculpture: "I think sculpture is close to his heart at the moment. You can feel he is absorbed by these lines of research, which, if they have not yet been completely resolved, allow us to hope that they will lead the painter Picasso toward new destinies." Picasso showed Tériade his Dinard sketchbooks, with "plans for sculptures" that, as the critic put it, "look like sculptures of bones or stones." They then examined the wire maquettes, which inspired the following remarks:

Here are little wire constructions surmounted by minuscule round and flat heads. They are the graphic shapes of his recent drawings. They demonstrate Picasso's wish to make sculpture that would be spatial and have its share of air. Space will no longer serve to mark the limits of closed sculptural mass and shapes. It will intervene in the very construction itself and participate in its formation. The wire parallels and lines in matching rhythms that Picasso is constructing will, in turn, with their outline, mark the limits of space. Picasso can see these sculptures of masts and antennas enlarged, with pillars of iron or some other material.

"I would now like to make along these lines," he tells us, "the monument for Guillaume Apollinaire."²⁰

Picasso here clarified his intentions in these works that shape emptiness into art. In the same interview, still on the wire maquettes, Picasso added, "Up to now, we've translated the plastic essentials of Cubist painting into sculpture. I found it interesting to venture out from a new point of departure." By Cubist sculptures he means his *Woman's Head (Fernande)* from 1909, his relief *Guitar* from 1912 and 1924, and the Cubist tin miniatures of 1914. Assessing his own evolution, he recognizes that his latest venture has taken him into new forms of expression that Kahnweiler appositely defined as "drawings in space."²¹ They also resemble calligrammes in space, recalling Apollinaire's picture-poems. After four years of work, Picasso thus created, for the tenth anniversary of his death, a plan for a monument that was worthy of a constantly experimental poet.

Henri Laurens in 1915 had made painted, open-work sculptures, using wood, sheet metal, nails, and rivets. A decade later, Jacques Lipchitz created his “transparent,” including *Harlequin with Guitar* (1926), where the finest details are made from wire, added to the bronze body of the work. Subsequent transparents, such as *Acrobat on a Horse*, *Woman with Guitar* (both 1927), and *The Harpist* (1928), were entirely constructed from metal rods and wire.²² Picasso saw some of them at the Galerie de la Renaissance, where, in March 1927, Jeanne Bucher ran a Lipchitz and Picasso exhibition.²³ André Salmon in 1926 and the Surrealist playwright Roger Vitrac, in 1927, both suggested links between Lipchitz’s transparents and works by Apollinaire. Salmon emphasized the sculptor’s poetic temperament and saw his work as realizing the “tactile art” promoted by Apollinaire;²⁴ Vitrac, addressing Lipchitz directly, wrote, “Here you are now, exploiting with metal wire the new quarries of air, following lines of vision, redrawing meridians, rediscovering the magic of imaginary lines and displaying in bright sunlight the famous and illusory hollowed-out statue of the Assassinated Poet.”²⁵

Picasso’s wire maquettes matured slowly in his sketchbooks. They are absolutely original and differ from all earlier sculptures in their minimalist construction, higher degree of transparency, and brilliant synthesis of geometric abstraction and human physiognomy. Salmon’s and Vitrac’s commentaries on Lipchitz, however, may well have given Picasso food for thought as he prepared the wire sculptures and then, with González, began making more complex, welded metal constructions. Vitrac’s reference to Croniamantal’s monument was relevant to Picasso’s work on Apollinaire’s tomb.

The new Sans Pareil edition of “Le Poète assassiné” was eventually published in November 1926 “for the eighth anniversary of the death of the poet Guillaume Apollinaire,” in 470 copies, illustrated by Raoul Dufy. A cheaper, ordinary edition was published in April 1927. Picasso was undoubtedly aware of these editions, the first since 1916. The Benin Bird says he cannot make a monument to Croniamantal in marble or bronze because that would be “too old-fashioned” (*Pr* 1, p. 301). Working with iron, Picasso similarly rejects the traditional materials of commemoration. The Benin Bird builds a “statue made of nothing” to celebrate the divine power of the poet, who creates beauty from nothing, and to represent his posthumous glory, which is real, durable, but utterly intangible. The essential material of Picasso’s iron maquettes is similarly nothingness and empty space enclosed in a wire frame. The wire maquettes he designed as a monument to Apollinaire are an innovative interpretation of the monument the poet himself imagined for his alter ego, Croniamantal.²⁶

At the tenth anniversary gathering around Apollinaire’s tomb, Picasso, according to the *Mercure de France*, assured Jacqueline Apollinaire of his good faith: “Pablo Picasso announced to Apollinaire’s widow that the maquette for the monument is now entirely complete. It will be made in bronze and can be unveiled next April.”²⁷ In November 1928, Picasso had completed *Metamorphosis*, the drawings for which had horrified André Billy. He also had the wire maquettes, which could certainly have been enlarged in bronze, now his preferred option. Members of the committee must have seen the interview with Téri-

ade in *L'Intransigeant* of 27 November 1928, but there is no documentary evidence that Picasso actually showed any of them the wire maquettes.

On 16 September 1929, Jacqueline Apollinaire wrote to Olga Picasso, asking her to pass her husband a message that summarizes a steadily deteriorating situation:

What follows concerns your Pablo.

Someone with whom you recently had a conversation about Guillaume's monument is proclaiming that, reporting your own words, you have said that your project is finished, ready to be built, but that I had come to beg you to abandon this idea of a monument.

I'm sure there is some misrepresentation in this report, as I suppose you well understood that my opinion was limited to the idea of a monument in too modern a style that could cause a scandal and would doubtless not be allowed. If it is true that you have made a project that can be simply realized, and is ready to be realized, take the trouble to put that in writing to me and I will get Billy or Salmon to put round a note that will satisfy all our friends. (AP)

Jacqueline Apollinaire, on behalf of the committee, and after discussing the issue with Picasso, thus clearly informed him that she would still like him to propose a project but that "too modern" a design would be unacceptable. The situation was utterly deadlocked.

In 1932, in Picasso's rue de la Boétie studio, Brassai photographed the four wire maquettes, "covered with dust on a shelf next to bottles of linseed oil, turpentine, and hydrochloric acid."²⁸ The photo appeared in the first issue of *Minotaure* in June 1933, with another photo on the same page showing the view from Picasso's window, looking across zinc rooftops and chimneypots to the Eiffel Tower and highlighting its structural similarity to the wire maquettes. These models were certainly designed to recall Apollinaire's affection for the Eiffel Tower, symbol of Parisian modernism but also a wireless receiver and transmitter, a function with which he, as an urban poet, easily identified. On page 22 of the same issue of *Minotaure* there is a photo by Brassai of just one of the maquettes (MP 264), taken down from the shelf. In future decades, Picasso would often return to that particularly harmonious and tenderly poetic model.

In 1929, Christian Zervos, who was in regular contact with Picasso, twice stated that he had considered covering an enlarged version of the wire maquettes with sheets of metal. In the January 1929 issue of *Cahiers d'art*, Zervos described that intention as follows: "Using wire he first writes the outline of his sculpture and then enlarges it, for it to be covered with sheets of wrought iron." Later that same year, he confirmed the idea, writing: "Picasso tried making small sculptures so as to fix his plans. He realized that if drawing expressed his initial *idea* of a sculpture, this was nonetheless a misleading image and far from the specific quality of the monument. He then had to seek the initial *appearance* of this monument in wire constructions, which were a sort of skeleton that he intended later to cover with metal."²⁹

Enlarged and covered, the human shape of the sculptures would have been enclosed within the metal walls of a cabin that would more closely resemble a traditional funeral vault. Picasso may have considered this solution an acceptable form of compromise with the poet's widow and the committee. And the result could have been extremely striking. Picasso would have sacrificed transparency to create a closed, dark, and mysterious space containing a skeletal figure with an astonished expression, reaching out with open arms.

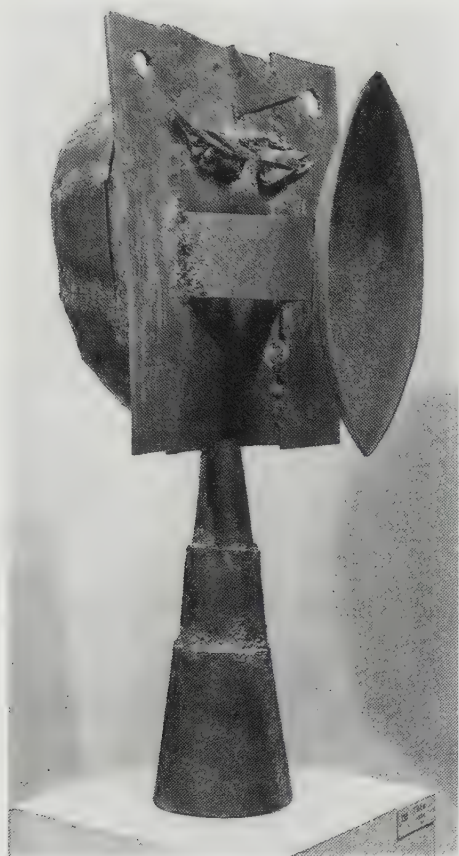
All the transparent maquettes have an inherently kinetic quality, and any one of them scaled up, as Picasso intended, would offer an astonishing play of lines sliding and criss-crossing as the viewer circled around it. Installed outdoors, the structure would cast endlessly varied linear shadows, like a complex sundial, writing patterns on the ground. In 1954, Jean Cocteau wrote of Apollinaire and Picasso in terms that contradict Baudelaire's Parnassian ideal of impassive, static beauty: "Until he [Apollinaire] died, Picasso represented for him the prince of movement who displaces lines, the assassin of boredom, the wrecker of the weak, the superb disturber of traffic."³⁰ By designing a monument whose lines are dramatically displaced by the spectator's movements, Picasso celebrated in Apollinaire that same disruptive dynamism.

Welded Metal Monuments

Head of a Man and Head of a Woman

JACQUELINE APOLLINAIRE'S LETTER of September 1929 made it clear that Picasso's projects in no way matched the committee's expectations. He was, however, in full creative flow and could not be diverted from exploring with González the potential of metal open-work sculpture. By this time he had various places where he could work, including his studio and home on rue de La Boétie; the manor house with outhouses, which he had bought in June 1930, at Boisgeloup, near Gisors; and González's cramped and smoky workshop, near Montparnasse. At this last address, between October 1928 and 1932, he realized three major welded metal sculptures, *Head of a Man*, *Head of a Woman*, and *Woman in a Garden*. All three remained with the artist and are now in Musée Picasso (MP 269, 270, 267). All three resulted from the Apollinaire tomb commission.

Head of a Man was probably the first sculpture in this series (fig. 65). Made of iron, brass, and bronze, it was built in 1930, at a time when Picasso first had sheets of bronze brought into the rue Médéah workshop. It is 83.5 cm tall and appears the simplest, heaviest, and most solid of these metal constructions. It has a dark, burnished appearance and is dominated by a large, lozenge-shaped mouth, protruding vertically from the rectangular face. The lozenge is made from two symmetrical, curved sheets that have been cut and welded with a clean precision that betrays the sure hand of González. The same goes for the two rectangular pieces that join the mouth to the face. In contrast, the circular eyes were roughly scratched into the metal, then burned or drilled out. The face is also adorned with a comically pointed nose, perforated by two small holes, and an elegant mustache made from layered shards of metal. The back of the head is a bronze disc beaten into a flattened dome. Incisions around the side of the disc were welded shut once the desired shape had been achieved, and strands of hair were then lightly incised into the metal. The head stands on a long neck made from three rectangular sheets beaten round into tubes and welded into a tapering cylinder.

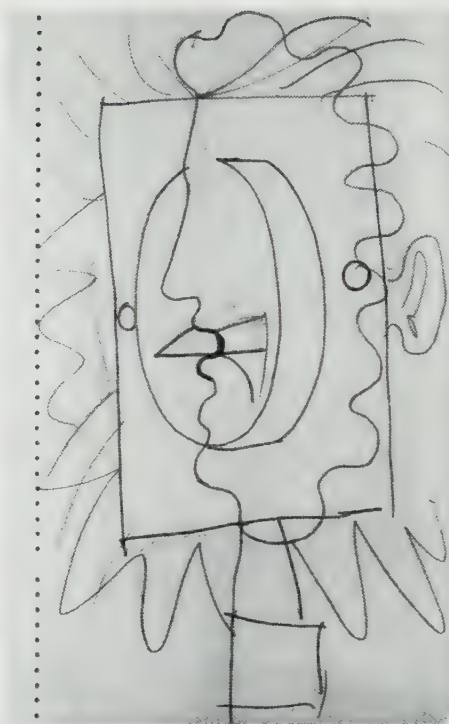


65. Pablo Picasso, *Head of a Man*, 1930. Bronze, iron, and brass; 83.5 × 40.5 × 36 cm. Musée Picasso, Paris, France. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Photo by Béatrice Hatala, courtesy of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.

The sculpture recalls an oil painting from 1914 called *Man with a Moustache* that includes a collage of printed cloth (MP 40); Picasso kept it with him. To the rectangular head in the painting, with its mustache and round eyes, the metal sculpture adds the protruding mouth. This has been compared to the American Manager's megaphone in *Parade*, for which Apollinaire wrote the program,¹ and it may symbolize the power of his lyrical voice. An emblematic bronze portrait of the poet took Picasso closer to the requirements of the Apollinaire Committee.

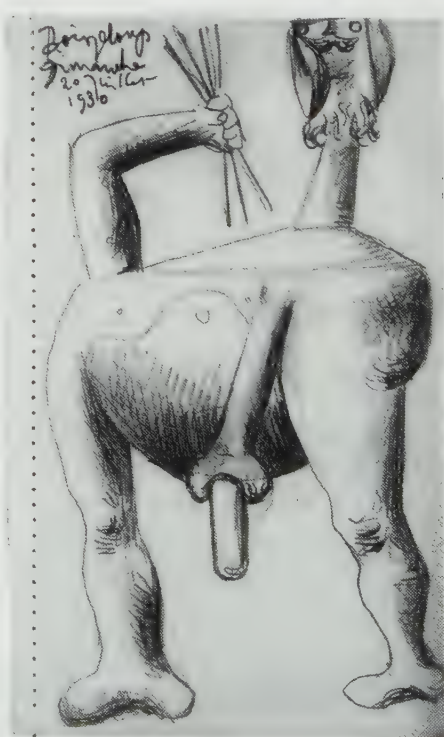
Brassaï, recalling his 1932 visit to see Picasso's sculptures in Boisgeloup, referred to *Head of a Man* as "Project for a Monument."² The idea that it was part of an incomplete monument is confirmed by the first publication, in 1930, of a photograph of the sculpture, in a book by Eugenio d'Ors, where it was captioned "Detail of a Monument."³ This intention and the 1930 date of fabrication are confirmed by Sketchbook 020 (MP 1990–109), in which the head undergoes a series of transformations and Picasso tries out ideas for adapting or completing it.⁴ On the inside cover Picasso noted the addresses of Volard and González, and the book opens and closes with three drawings of a woman by González. *Head of a Man* then appears, poking his tongue out (fig. 66); then with a super-

66. (right) Pablo Picasso, *Study for "Head of a Man,"* 20 July 1930 (Sketchbook 020, MP 1990–109, p. 27r). Pencil, 17 × 10.5 cm. Musée Picasso, Paris, France. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), N.Y. Photo by Madeleine Coursaget, courtesy of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.



67. (bottom, left) Pablo Picasso, *Study for "Head of a Man,"* 20 July 1930 (Sketchbook 020, MP 1990–109, p. 32r). Pencil, 17 × 10.5 cm. Musée Picasso, Paris, France. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), N.Y. Photo by Madeleine Coursaget, courtesy of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.

68. (bottom, right) Pablo Picasso, *Study for "Head of a Man,"* July 1930 (Sketchbook 020, MP 1990–109, p. 47r). Pencil, 17 × 10.5 cm. Musée Picasso, Paris, France. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), N.Y. Photo by Béatrice Hatala, courtesy of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.



imposed, bearded, classical profile; and then surrounded by a halo of light, to become a flaming portrait of Apollo. A simply drawn rectangle interrupts the narrative, and a new sequence begins, showing the head in its definitive form, placed on a tall stool and a square plinth, with cloven-hoofed legs wrapped around it (fig. 67). A leg of the stool then becomes a penis, the legs unfold, and the head finds itself on top of an upright, impressively endowed, male figure. This swiftly sketched narrative leads up to the last three drawings in the book (pp. 46, 47, 48), two of them dated 20 July 1930. The rectangular head, with its projecting mouth, mustache, and even a flowing, classical beard, is here placed on a muscular body with a sagging belly, like that of a bull or some mythical beast, and two, strong, human legs. One raised hand clutches a bunch of rods, like Jupiter holding lightning bolts, while the figure's other hand reaches down to hold his huge phallus (fig. 68).⁵

The two sequences in the sketchbook, separated by a plain rectangle, refer back to classical antiquity and present first the bright solar side of this figure's identity and then its nocturnal, lubricious aspect. The sketchbook is thus related to Picasso's drawings and paintings of the Minotaur, all of which reveal a view of himself, the archetypal *monstre sacré*, part animal, part divine, capable of exquisitely beautiful creativity but also driven by base appetites.

This sketchbook project for a monument echoes Epstein's unashamedly male angel for the tomb of Oscar Wilde, inspired by winged Assyrian bulls. It also commemorates Apollinaire, the Apollonian poet whose Dionysiac side made him a connoisseur of erotic writings by Baffo, Sade, and Aretino and the author of *Les Onze Mille Verges*. Picasso owned an autographed first edition of this novel (PAC, pp. 198–99). Furthermore, it was republished in 1930 in an edition of 130 copies, with a preface by Louis Aragon (discreetly signed “***”), which stated that Picasso considered it Apollinaire's greatest masterpiece. Picasso must have discussed the book with Aragon, and this new edition would have brought it to the forefront of his thinking. The three final drawings in Sketchbook 020 are directly related to the novel because of the visual pun they contain, playing on the double meaning of the word *verge*, meaning both “birch rod” and “penis.” In Picasso's drawings, the creature raises a birch in its right hand and holds its penis in its left hand. The same pun structures the whole narrative of the novel, which progresses from the vigorously active *verge* of its amazingly virile main character, Mony Vibescu, to the fatal birching that is finally inflicted on him by the eleven thousand soldiers of the Russian army. Apollinaire's title is also a sacrilegious pun on the legend of St. Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins (*onze mille vierges*), martyred by Huns in Cologne during the fifth century. Picasso transforms a verbal pun into a visual pun.

Les Onze Mille Verges was also patently relevant to Picasso's concerns in 1930 because of its closing chapter. After a final erotic tableau, the narrative focuses on the tomb of its hero, Mony Vibescu, which lies near a battlefield strewn with bones. On the tomb a monumental sculpture is raised by the sculptor Genmolay, in whom may be recognized Jean Mollet, who introduced Picasso to Apollinaire. The creative process is described as follows:

69. Pablo Picasso, *Head of a Woman*, 1929–30. Iron, springs, and colanders, 100 × 37 × 59 cm. Musée Picasso, Paris, France. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Photo by Béatrice Hatala, courtesy of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.



The next day, Genmolay set to work. He had soon finished an astonishing funerary monument. It was surmounted by the equestrian statue of Prince Mony.

On the plinth, relief sculptures depicted the prince's exploits. On one side he could be seen leaving the besieged town of Port Arthur in a balloon, and on the other he was shown as protector of the arts that he had come to study in Paris. (*Pr* 3, p. 954)

The end of *Les Onze Mille Verges* in many way prefigures the end of “Le Poète assassiné,” as it confers on Mony Vibescu the posthumous destiny Apollinaire imagined for Croniamantal (and himself), allowing the hero's fame to spread so that his life becomes a popular legend, consecrated by his commemorative monument. The relief sculpture of Vibescu leaving the town in a balloon fictionalizes Léon Gambetta's famous exit from the besieged city of Paris during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. It also adds to the proud and virile verticality of the monument, making it the symmetrical male opposite of Croniamantal's inwardly shaped, female monument, sculpted as a hole in the ground. All of Picasso's tomb projects for Apollinaire set out to emulate the complementary monuments imagined by the poet in his two greatest prose texts. In Picasso's eyes, any less astonishing sculpture would be unworthy of the poet or of the artist himself.

Head of a Woman (fig. 69) is a lighter, more delicately constructed work. It is made of an oval and concave sheet of iron, representing a face, onto which has been welded a small, protruding mouth, puckered, cartoon-style, as if for a kiss. Picasso gives iron a sense of humor. Two rods in a downward-pointing triangle create a nose, which has fixed across its bridge a rectangle of metal, pierced with two holes, representing eyes. On the right-hand side of the oval sheet appear two larger holes, one above the other, behind which, on the reverse, have been fixed two metal cones, suggesting breasts. The head and trunk of a woman are thus economically combined. Pointed rods and long, tightly rolled metal springs represent the woman's plaited hair, curving down over two metal colanders that create a sphere, also fixed to the back of the face. Seen from one side, the sphere evokes the back of the head. From the other side, with the cones also visible, they evoke the swelling shapes of a pregnant woman, emphasizing fertility and femininity.

The structure stands on an elongated, diamond-shaped tripod whose struts flex outward above their center. The origin of this pattern is to be found in the sketchbook begun on 30 March 1924, which also contains some of the earliest dot-and-line drawings, where the constellations were first given human form. There, a similar, diamond-shaped tripod supports a globe surrounded by a ring, resembling Saturn (Picasso Succession, Sketchbook 215, p. 18). In *Head of a Woman*, the colanders replace the planet, again linking astronomy and anatomy. Picasso had kept an idea from a 1924 drawing in reserve until he found an appropriate opportunity to use it. Furthermore, when he sent González off to hunt for two colanders, he was pursuing an important idea, one that gave him access to a new sculptural vocabulary, in which the function and significance of a ready-made object could be subverted wittily by its use in a work of art.

The oval shape of *Head of a Woman* complements the rectangular shape of *Head of a Man*, confirming that these shapes are for Picasso geometrical gender codes. These sculptures also mark a clear return toward the forms of African sculpture, and *Head of a Woman*, in particular, recalls West African Kota figures. William Rubin has pointed out that Picasso owned two or three Kota sculptures, which were traditionally made from sheets of metal fixed over carved wood. They feature a flat, concave, oval head placed on a diamond-shaped base, a configuration that clearly inspired *Head of a Woman*.⁶ Kota figures were particularly relevant to Picasso because they were funeral objects, designed to stand guard over ancestral reliquaries, keeping malevolent forces at bay. Working in this style celebrated Apollinaire's writing on ethnic art but also meant that the sculptures were invested with a strongly spiritual or magical charge, enhancing their hieratic presence.

The African dimension is reinforced by Picasso's painting the finished *Head of a Woman* white. Fernande Olivier recalled that in the Bateau Lavoir, "Picasso was particularly fond of one small mask of a woman where the white paint of the face stood out against the wood colour of the hair, which gave it a strangely gentle expression."⁷ Fernande is referring here to Picasso's Mukuyi or Punu mask, from Gabon, representing a young woman who has an elaborate hairstyle carved in dark wood and a face coated with kaolin (MP 3639).⁸ It is probably the same sculpture that Picasso showed Roland Penrose in 1955:

"From the pile of Negro sculpture on the settee table P. takes out a Balumbo with smooth gentle features whitened with lime. 'This is the first mask I ever bought' he says."⁹

In October 1934, the journalist Maurice Noël undertook a report on the Apollinaire monument for *Le Figaro*. He recalled the day when the committee went to visit Picasso:

Mr. Picasso, who was expecting them, spread out a few dozen drawings, all of which could, to his eyes, provide a preliminary basis for the project. Some of them tended toward a monument made of wire, others presented such a strange combination of volumes that an imaginative mind might sense they were obscene, as in *Princess X* . . . , by the sculptor Brancusi, which caused a scandal. It is said, in Montparnasse, that some of those present found it difficult to hide their unease and uncertainty. Fearing, perhaps, that they would be taken for Philistines, they stayed silent [ellipsis in original].¹⁰

Referring here to preparatory drawings for the wire maquettes and for *Metamorphosis*, Noël compares the latter project to Brancusi's famously androgynous sculpture *Princess X*, whose smooth curves represent both a woman and a phallus. It had been banned from the Salon d'Antin in 1916 and then excluded from the 1920 Salon des indépendants. A letter of support for Brancusi, sent to the newspapers, was signed by Picasso, Braque, Salmon, Derain, Cocteau, Gris, André Billy, Serge Férat, and many other artists and writers.¹¹ In 1927, opponents of Picasso's plans were apparently too intimidated to voice their opinion openly, and Picasso would not readily have organized another such excruciatingly embarrassing meeting. Noël's account suggests that there was just one formal meeting at which Picasso showed his plans to the Apollinaire Committee, and Léautaud's *Journal* confirms that it took place in October or November 1927. Among the people Noël interviewed in 1934 was Serge Férat, who attended that 1927 meeting. He told Noël,

"Picasso has lots of ideas; he is always into new research. You cannot rush him. It is true that in 1928 he presented us with some drawings. For example, to explain his project, which isn't easy. . . . But here's a composition . . . "

Mr. Serge Férat shows me, in *Cahiers d'art*, the work reproduced above.

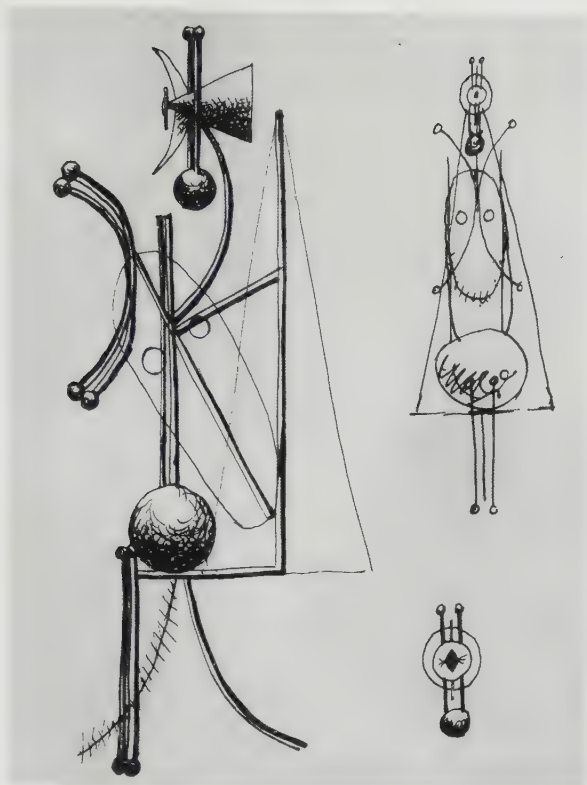
"And what do you think of it?"

"It's very beautiful in itself but, for our project, it has one major failing, which is that it would make a transparent monument. . . . You would see through it the monuments and tombs of Père Lachaise, which are desperately ugly. . . . "

My host leads me to the window of his flat, which looks out over a corner of Montparnasse Cemetery, and points to the crime.

"Look at that. Picasso's monument should make us forget these horrors [ellipsis in original]."

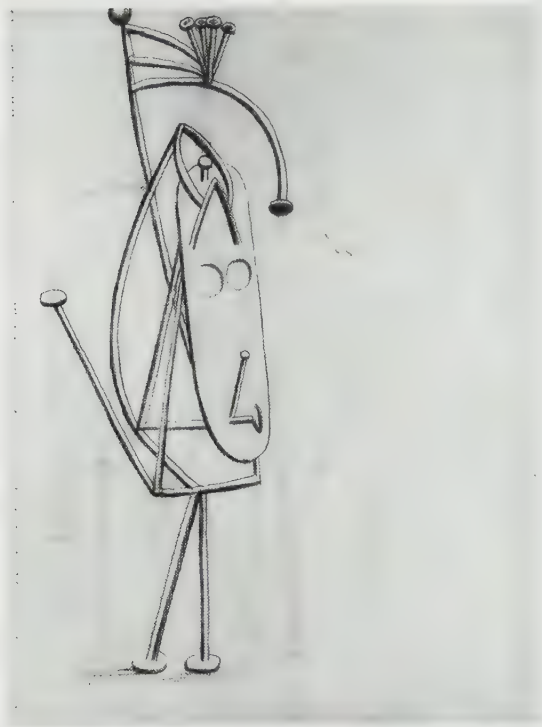
Férat showed Noël a Picasso drawing reproduced in a 1929 issue of *Cahiers d'art*, illustrating an article by Zervos entitled "Projects by Picasso for a Monument."¹² In Noël's *Figaro* article, the same drawing was captioned, "Composition by Picasso for the Apolli-



70. Pablo Picasso, drawing,
11 November 1928 (Sketchbook
1044, p. 58). Pen and ink,
31 x 38 cm. Picasso Succession.
© 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/
Artists Rights Society (ARS), N.Y.

naire Monument (in bronze rods).” Taken from a sketchbook that contains mainly drawings from Picasso’s stay in Dinard during the summer of 1928, this particular page of ink drawings was made in Paris on 11 November 1928, marking the tenth anniversary of the Armistice and of Apollinaire’s death (Picasso Succession, Sketchbook 1044, p. 58; Z VII, 424) (fig. 70). It shows a carefully thought-out plan for a sculpture, seen in one drawing from the side and the front simultaneously and in another drawing just from the front. It represents a welded structure of metal rods, sheets, and balls placed on a seat or throne with a triangular back and three legs. The curved, vertical arms, reaching forward, would be used in the wire maquettes. The large oval sheet, perforated with two holes, representing the trunk, the breast, and perhaps the eyes of this figure, is inspired by Kota reliquaries. This sheet, some of the rods, and the metal cone that feature in this drawing would all be incorporated into the *Head of a Woman* sculpture. The loudspeaker mouth in the drawing would be enlarged for *Head of a Man*.

Because this drawing dates from 1928, however, it could not have been one of the drawings Picasso showed the committee in 1927. The sketchbook he did show them, begun in Cannes on 11 September 1927, contains drawings for the wire maquettes and for *Metamorphosis* but also a pencil drawing of a welded construction, inspired by Kota reliquaries, made of metal rods and an oval plate perforated with two holes and including a small



71. Pablo Picasso, drawing, 1927
(Sketchbook 011, MP 1990–107, p. 4).
Pencil, 30.5 × 23.2 cm. Musée Picasso,
Paris, France. © 2007 Estate of Pablo
Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS),
N.Y.

version of a lozenge-shaped protruding mouth (Sketchbook 011, MP 1990–107) (fig. 71). This is the drawing for a transparent sculpture that Férat remembered from the meeting. In 1934, he showed Maurice Noël the November 1928 drawing because he had it to hand in *Cahiers d'art* and because it closely resembles the drawing Picasso showed him and the others in 1927.

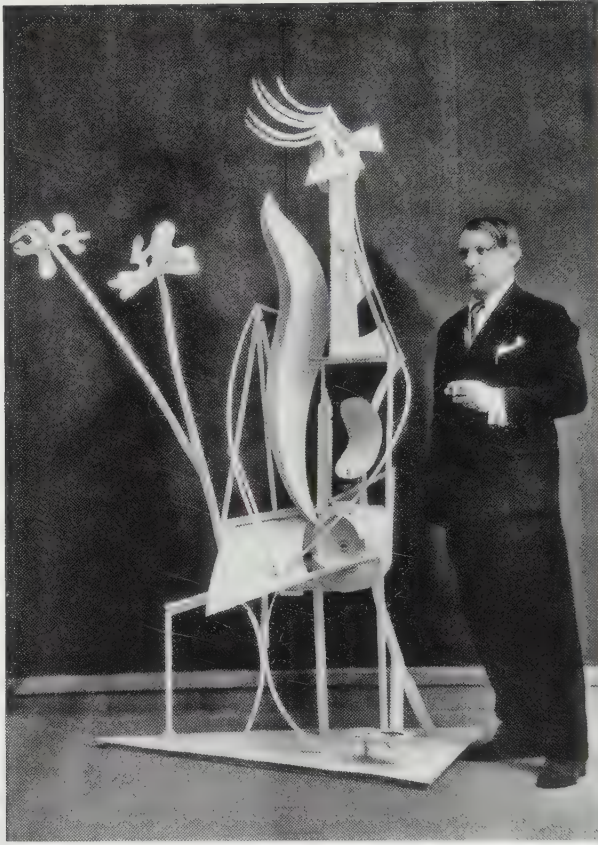
Maurice Noël then went on to interview Picasso. I will come to that conversation later. The interview with Férat, for its part, confirms that drawings Picasso originally showed the committee included plans for *Head of a Man* and *Head of a Woman*. Billy had rejected plans for *Metamorphosis* as comically obscene. The interview with Férat shows that he rejected a basic principle of the wire maquettes and of *Head of a Woman*, which was the inclusion of transparency and space in the body of the sculpture. The Apollinaire Committee wanted a solid monument; Picasso built see-through constructions.

Woman in a Garden

THE MOST AMBITIOUS of Picasso's welded metal constructions is *Woman in a Garden*, of which there are two versions, one in iron and one in bronze (Sp 72 I, II) (fig. 72). Larger than life (206 cm tall), the iron original is made from dozens of scraps and shards, as well as rods and shapes that were specially cut, beaten, and bent. It represents a woman standing next to a small table whose top is tilted downward, in Cubist perspective. Beside it rise the elegant curves of two long, broad-leaved branches. Christian Zervos refers to this sculpture, with its "philodendron branches," as "the iron monument to Guillaume Apollinaire" (Z VII, p. 8).

Built to guard a poet's tomb, the sculpture fuses human, animal, vegetable, and mechanical forms in a structure whose main lines of force emphasize vertical energy. The head is angular and aggressive, with a shock of hair made from five curved and pointed blades, like a claw or the crest of a fighting cock. The profile is sharp as an ax, two big nails serve as eyes, and the mouth is vertical and lined with teeth, in the style of a mechanical trap, an image of sexual menace. The flat, triangular base of the sculpture repeats the acute angle of the face. In contrast, the rest of the figure is softened by sinuous lines and the inclusion of a circular bowl, making a maternal curve below the waist. This convex shape began as a disc, roughly cut from a sheet of iron, then beaten into shape. The rear view of the sculpture recalls the back of a stage set or billboard, held in place with supportive struts. Published photographs always show it from the front. Though freestanding, *Woman in a Garden* is thus related to the original metal *Guitar* and to the larger, painted metal *Guitar* of 1924, both designed to be hung on a wall and viewed from the front and side.

To some parts of *Woman in a Garden* Picasso added layers of small pieces of metal picked up in González's smithy. Four such pieces were welded onto the back of the figure's neck, and others to the front, bound with a circle of thick, iron wire. These additions reinforce the neck but also intentionally enhance the figure's disparate appearance. Simi-



72. Picasso and *Woman in a Garden*, 1930. Iron, 206 × 117 × 85 cm. Photographer unknown; probably photographed in Galeries Georges Petit, June 1932 (MP). © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), N.Y.

lar additions to one foot of the structure are more apparently gratuitous, with no supportive function. Christian Zervos observed Picasso at work in this way and thought he was trying to instill as much vital energy as possible into his sculpture:

Picasso regrets that the artist does not have the power to animate his works and to make them really participate in the rhythm of life. And I think that is one of the main reasons that somehow oblige him to turn to sculpture. His most recent sculptures more clearly show how he is concerned to make the work partake of life. He gets emotionally involved in the coming and going of spiders in the tall metal sculpture he has just finished. He gets great joy from seeing them live in the eyes, slip into all the cavities, stretch their webs from one end to the other of his work. Feeling that the sculpture is participating in the life of the cosmos fills him with deep satisfaction.

It is again this love of everything that belongs to the world that explains his affection for the humblest objects from which he can produce the surest plastic effects. You only have to see his studio to realize how much he values these objects. How worried he is every time a visitor walks among the shavings, empty paint tubes, cigarette boxes, and bits of wood, some of which have taken on fantastic appearances. These things, which

for others are unimportant, are for him friends full of potential. When working on his large metal figures, instead of kicking away the scraps of old iron littering the floor, Picasso carefully sifts through them and picks out pieces that nobody else would have bothered with, but that he can immediately use in his sculpture.¹

Reference to the work's scale, eyes, cavities, and vital energy confirms that the sculpture in question is *Woman in a Garden*. Though, in this 1932 article, Zervos believed the artist had "just completed" it, the spiders had found time to weave their webs. The exuberant, discordant vitality of the structure makes it the antithesis of a conventional, classical monument.

The sculpture was already finished at the time of Zervos's visit. He nevertheless emphasizes Picasso's hands-on involvement and love of raw materials, and its rough-and-ready finish confirms that he probably built *Woman in a Garden* himself, without much help from González. He may have practiced welding on a little *Figurine*, made from about fifteen odd pieces of crudely assembled metal, which he later decorated with little toys and bits of string, making it into an anthropomorphic Christmas tree and emphasizing its ludic character (Sp 73, 74).

Christian Zervos, Roberta González, and the artists Gio Colucci and Xceron, questioned by Josephine Withers, all confirmed that *Woman in a Garden* was built by Picasso as a monument for Apollinaire.² We also have two texts by Julio González in which he looks back on his work with Picasso. In *Cahiers d'art* in 1936 he published a short text called "Picasso Sculptor," in which he recalled conversations with Picasso on early Cubist paintings and relief sculptures, adding the following commentary:

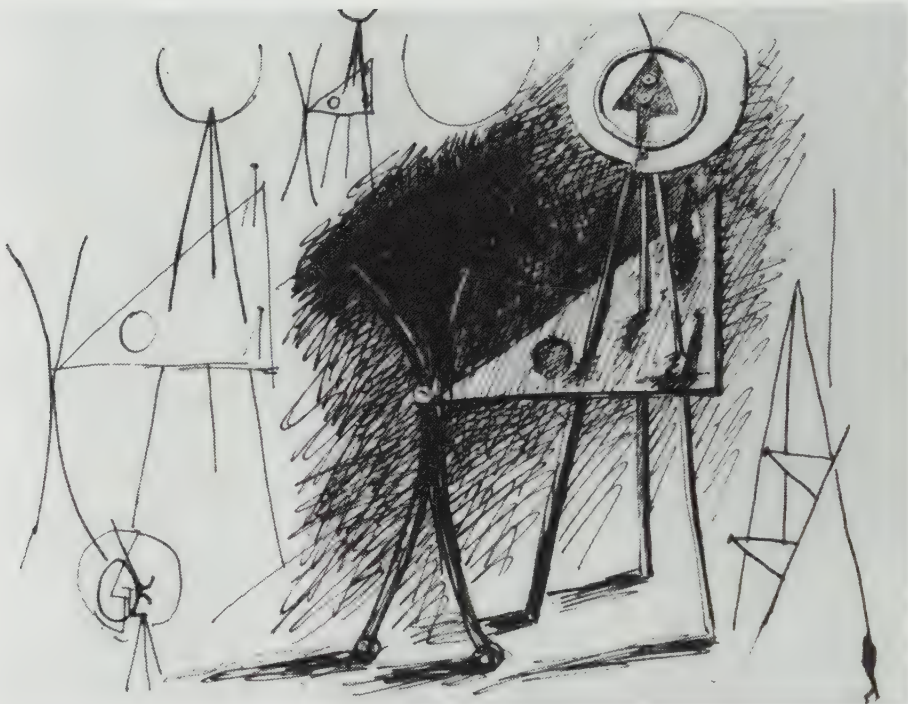
Picasso must feel he has the true temperament of a sculptor because, when he was recalling that period of his life for me, he used to say, "I had never been so happy" or "I was so happy."

Later, in 1931, at the time he was working on sculpture—*Monument to Apollinaire*—I often heard him repeating, "I again feel as happy as in 1908."³

The other González text, entitled "Picasso Sculptor and the Cathedrals," probably dates from 1931 or 1932. It is the draft of a chronological study that compares Picasso's recent sculptures to Gothic architecture, showing how both depend on "the marriage of matter and space." He devotes two paragraphs to the Apollinaire monument:

1931

Picasso can never find time to realize any of his projects. On the rare occasions when he does decide to, he always chooses to work on the most recent one. This is because he is so anxious, always wanting to surpass himself, that he ends up just filling more pages in his sketchbooks. That is why, despite his thousands of sketches, he didn't take a single one on the morning he set to work at the forge. His hammer was all he needed



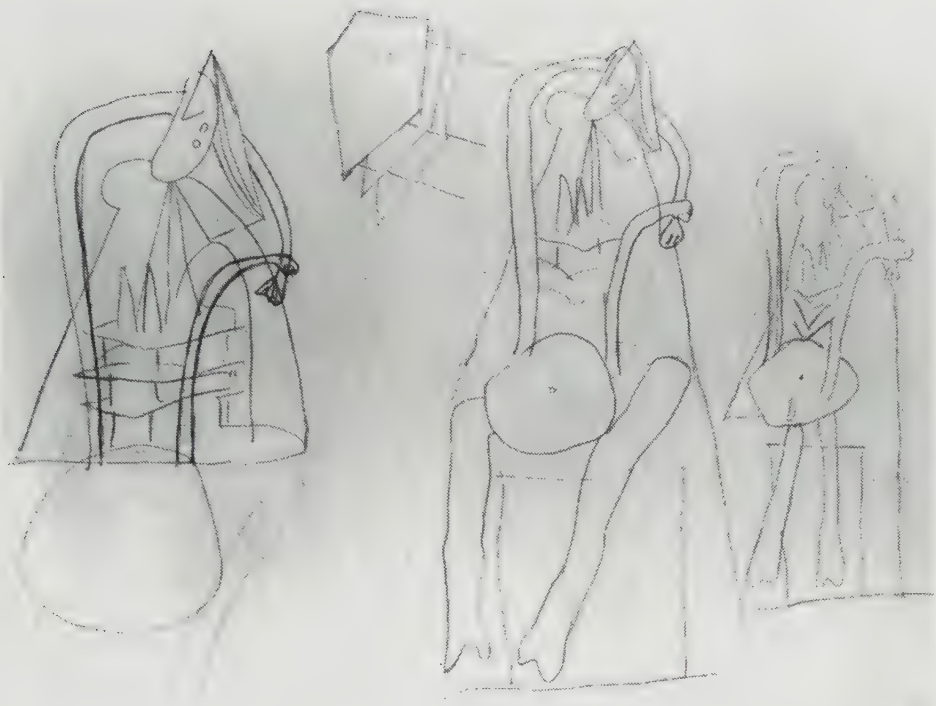
73. Pablo Picasso, drawing, 1928 (Sketchbook MP 1990–108, p. 47r). Pen and ink, 26.5 × 35.5 cm. Musée Picasso, Paris, France. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Photo by Béatrice Hatala, courtesy of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.

to try to build his monument to Apollinaire. He worked at it over a period of several long months, and he completed it. Often he would say, “I feel as happy again now as I did in 1912.”

This original work is a purely sculptural interpretation, made as expressive as possible, of a spiritual vision of nature, synthesizing the dimension of organic forms, the primary characteristic of life. Full of grace and imagination, so beautifully balanced, so human and so personal, this work was made with so much love and tenderness in memory of his dear friend, that now he does not want to be parted from it, does not want to think of it in Père Lachaise, that bazaar of monuments where people never, or rarely, go. He would like the monument to become the reliquary that watches over the remains of the sorely missed Poet, but that he should be allowed to have them near his house, in his garden. . . .

And often he and others could gather round their absent friend.⁴

This complex, organic sculpture that took months to make is evidently *Woman in a Garden*, and González clearly states that Picasso built it himself. Never satisfied, always driven forward by the desire to surpass himself, Picasso is shown here putting all previous projects behind him as he throws himself into this new enterprise. González had obviously seen Picasso's sketchbooks and refers to “thousands of sketches,” but Picasso fol-



74. Pablo Picasso, drawings, 1929 (Sketchbook 018, MP 1875, p. 17r). Pencil, 23.5 × 30.5 cm. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), N.Y.

lowed no blueprint when he went to work. He had, however, worked out some ideas for the sculpture in nine pages of ink drawings, made between 21 and 26 April 1928 (MP 1990–108, pp. 39–47), that incorporate designs for the small painted *Head* (MP 263) but also show vertical rods, rising in a pyramid toward the head, next to a triangular table on curved legs with, in some drawings, a half-sphere and two cones (fig. 73). Most of these elements recur in *Woman in a Garden*, though in the sculpture the table became almost rectangular and the triangle dropped down to become the base. The two cones were used in *Head of a Woman*. In the drawings they are laid on the table and so recall the early Christian martyr Saint Agatha, who had her breasts cut off and was often depicted holding them on a platter.

Further studies for a metal sculpture continue in Sketchbook 018, MP 1875, which Picasso used between February 1929 and January 1930. Here again he combined elements that he eventually separated to create *Head of a Woman* and *Woman in a Garden*. The drawings include a full-length female figure, with a round belly and, as in the sculpture, a protruding navel, stretched out in an armchair (pp. 17 and 19) (fig. 74), suggesting a scale and formal disposition that prefigure *Woman in a Garden*. These drawings were the basis for the sculpture itself, as Picasso eventually improvised it, working like a jazz musician around established themes and patterns.

The success of *Woman in a Garden* lies in this combination of sketchbook planning and heat-of-the-moment inspiration. The drawings prepared the main structural and representational elements of the design, but actual construction, with iron and tools in hand, accentuated the materiality of the sculpture. Picasso took great pleasure in handling the metal, shaping the recalcitrant material to his will, fixing worthless scraps to his iron creature. *Woman in a Garden* was made in heat, grime, and noise. Sparks flew, and eyewitnesses emphasized the physical presence at the heart of the process, Picasso hammering the metal into shape, hammering energy into the work. After a decade of clean fingernails and high society with Olga, this intense activity in González's smoky den was a liberating experience, producing an elation that was transferred to the windswept, organic sculpture. Picasso discovered in the iron sheets, rods, struts, and fragments the potential for an astonishingly broad and expressive vocabulary, including sharp angularity and taut elasticity, rigid lines, elegant curves, supple planes, and cumulative accretions, all combined into joyfully heterogeneous unity.

The uninhibited crudeness of some of the welding lends further energy to the innovative syntax of *Woman in a Garden*. Explicit reference to the manufacturing process was thus inscribed in the finished product, underlining the significance of this moment, as industrial techniques broke into high art. The intimacy between the artist and his material produced a work in which the texture, density, and incontrovertible presence of iron itself are emphasized. Technique and material thus became ends in themselves, vying for attention with figurative or symbolic aspects of the sculpture.

Picasso built *Woman in a Garden* in November and December 1930. That year was the fiftieth anniversary of Apollinaire's birth, and characteristically, Picasso launched into this new initiative in November, around the anniversary of the poet's death. On 4 September 1930, Jacqueline Apollinaire had written to André Billy from near Kervoyal, in Brittany, where, in 1918, the poet had spent his last holiday:

Don't you think this would be the right moment to raise the question of the monument, for the fiftieth anniversary.

Picasso's reply if you ask him about it is invariably, "He's thinking about it." It seems to me that it's time to set fire to his backside so as to ripen his project! (AB)

Picasso was, in fact, using fire and iron to work on the project. He had apparently told Jacqueline Apollinaire that he had not forgotten the commission, but he did not keep her up to date with the work in progress. One member of the committee, however, did see *Woman in a Garden* as it was being built. In a letter to Picasso, postmarked 15 November 1930, André Salmon wrote:

Friday evening

Pablo!

Nothing is more beautiful.

I've experienced a moment that lived up to some times in 1906. You know what I mean.

Antigone replied to her sister that one should please "the dead longer than the living." You also have to work for agreement with those who will be born in the future. And as for the dead, one honors them properly only by restoring them to life. Guillaume would have defended your work.

I hugely wanted to let you know straight away how pleased I am. Not available! came the mechanical reply. I'd like to see you, at your place or in the strange cigar box (on rue Médéah) full of big nails.

Despite a stupefying workload, I'm freer than legend has it. If only we could meet up a bit, this winter!

You read precisely none of the countless poems I distribute round the world—I don't blame you. They are often long. I also do short ones, for a laugh, the laughter of the old days. I'm giving you—opposite—the lines that came to mind when I crossed Julio González's threshold.

Please give my respects to your wife.

Yours, with all my heart
André Salmon

González spoke clearly about your work and showed me a sheet of bronze. It's tempting, but iron is very pure. You'll have to see! (AP)

Salmon had evidently been to rue Médéah, met González, and afterwards unsuccessfully phoned or called on Picasso. Salmon certainly saw *Woman in a Garden* in a fairly advanced state of construction (he already knew the wire maquettes, as they had been reproduced in *Cahiers d'art*) and at a time when Picasso was already considering a bronze version of the sculpture. González told Salmon that this was a monument to Apollinaire, and Salmon spoke for Apollinaire as well as himself in backing this great new work, which, he suggested, was ahead of its time. He harked back to the Bateau Lavoir days, which he alone on the committee had experienced. He also referred to ancient Thebes and the legend of Antigone, who, in the face of establishment opposition, strove to give her warrior brother Polynices a decent burial. Cocteau's adaptation of Sophocles' *Antigone* had premiered in December 1922 at Charles Dullin's Théâtre de l'Atelier (previously known as the Théâtre Montmartre), with a stage set by Picasso.

On the same page, opposite the letter, was the poem Salmon had composed after his visit:

FABLE
for Picasso

A blacksmith lodged in narrow quarters
Dazed by the noise of his anvil
Had as companions a cat and a jay
Driven almost crazy by this racket

Not to mention the fire constantly rekindled.
Taking an unusual break one day
The blacksmith threw the cat the jay
To eat
Down to its feathers
And in turn devoured the cat stuffed with jay
Then following chance or the customs
Of some distant foreign ancestor
And don't spare the anvil!
Both relieved and subtly burdened
In this smoky smelly inferno
Made two new dream companions, in wrought iron.

André Salmon

Salmon's enigmatic "Fable" is an allegory of how, in Picasso's art, nature's brutality feeds the creative imagination. It also suggests that he saw two new metal sculptures in González's workshop, probably *Head of a Man* and *Woman in a Garden*, and it captures the infernal atmosphere that filled the narrow, hot, and smoky space.

A few weeks later, in a message postmarked 26 December 1930, Salmon sent Picasso his best wishes for the New Year:

1931

Just as you are forging shade
Greenery for your Venus
So I hammer out for you and yours countless good wishes
Keeping the faith of our Ravignan days, PICASSO! (AP)

These lines indicate that the iron lady was built first and that the shady branches were added later, in December 1930.

Salmon fed information gleaned from his visits and conversations into a survey of contemporary art that he published in *La Revue de France* in February and March 1931. The second installment, devoted mainly to Picasso as sculptor, was the first article to highlight his use of industrial tools and techniques to revolutionize the genre.

Salmon describes Picasso at work on his iron sculpture (so he must have been back to rue Médéah), and, like González, he emphasizes the jubilant pleasure Picasso finds in this task: "I have seen Picasso hunting through a pile of metal to complete his monument, in the Plaisance den where the forge was flaming, where the peaceful torpedoes were spitting gas. He was laughing out loud!" According to Salmon, this new work is a direct descendant of the sheet-metal *Guitar* Picasso once made with "diabolical hammer blows," and he recalls how at that time Picasso used to say "he would not sell *El Guitare* (I think he has still got it) but that he would get the plans published and sold for a few pence, so that anyone could make their own version!" He then goes on to describe Picasso's current undertaking:

Henceforth, far from the sumptuous apartment of this modern hero, in a narrow workshop in Plaisance, close to where Douanier Rousseau lived and died, a more impoverished workshop than the famous studio where Picasso began his career, in Montmartre, on picturesque place Ravignan (now renamed place Emile-Goudeau . . . Goudeau the Hydropathe, whose ideas were resolutely hostile to what we were trying to do), a tiny workshop crammed with a forge and an anvil, Picasso is putting the finishing touches to various monumental works, all of them planned to be in wrought iron, though the most beautiful of them will probably be recreated in bronze.

Picasso, who has been ardently hammering iron, has also been using welding equipment, which makes the Plaisance workshop still more baroque. He has put the most disparate bits of iron together . . . and the result is monuments that are obviously very controversial, because they are so unexpected, but also absolutely pure. . . .

Picasso, who is wealthy enough to have bought a château in Normandy, has no other ambition than to fill the grounds with these monumental statues. Only one of them has a special destination. It is the monument to be erected in Père Lachaise cemetery, over the tomb of our mutual friend Guillaume Apollinaire, the poet and soldier whose name is engraved on the walls of the Pantheon. From the triangular base, a sheet of iron plate that is itself, in its equivalent proportions, a pendant to the famous *Guitar*, rises a figure that entirely describes its own upward energy and that for some will be utterly graceful, the delicate structure from which could be made the elegant body of a woman, and for others an incomprehensible diagram. From the end of the triangle really leap upwards, in parallel balance, strong, leafy branches, beyond conventional proportions, not stylized but very nearly realistic. When I say beyond conventional proportions I, of course, mean "larger than life." Why larger? Because Picasso has calculated that this is how they best and most harmoniously merge with the balance and vertical energy of his arbitrary figure.

Salmon also explains that because this sculpture was designed for an outdoor setting, the branches connect it with nature, allowing the artist to "integrate his work into the surrounding atmosphere (that of a landscaped environment, his own grounds or the cemetery) by bringing it as directly as possible into harmony with the natural elements."⁵ So the branches were added to balance the two sides of the sculpture and to provide a transition between the antinaturalistic female figure and the natural environment in which it was to stand.

Once *Woman in a Garden* was finished, Picasso painted it white, like *Head of a Woman*, unifying its appearance but also making it more skeletal. He then ordered a bronze replica, setting González a massive challenge (fig. 75). A cast could not be made of such a complex open-work sculpture, so González made copies of every part and assembled them to create a twin sister for *Woman in a Garden*. González worked with a young assistant, Augusto Torres, who later recalled that Picasso had frequently returned to rue Médéah to watch the work in progress.⁶ This is the project González was referring to in his *pneumatique* of 2 April 1931 when he asked Picasso to come see him, for he needed his "wise advice." He wrote that the job in hand was a "Titanic enterprise" that had obliged him to buy bigger hammers. Bronze is harder to work than iron. Twice in his letter, González



75. Pablo Picasso, *Woman in a Garden*, 1931–32. Bronze, 210 × 117 × 82 cm. Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, Madrid. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), N.Y.

referred to the sculpture as the *casserole*, meaning “saucepan.” *Passer à la casserole* is French slang for the sex act, so, by extension, González was wryly describing the metal woman as a partner to whom he was practically wedded, who was so demanding that he had to take an unscheduled three-day break in the country.

González finished his Herculean task in time for the major Picasso retrospective at the Galeries Georges Petit, in Paris, from 16 June to 30 July 1932. It included 236 works, and according to the catalog preface, by Etienne Bignou, “The works on show were chosen by the artist so as to include major pieces representing all the stages of his artistic career.”⁷ The exhibition came a year after a Matisse retrospective at the same venue and thus was particularly important to Picasso, who, according to Jacques-Emile Blanche, took full responsibility for the design and hanging of the show. Blanche found him at the gallery before the opening, “in the midst of hanging, unhang[ing] and reorganizing groups of paintings that a team of rough-looking workmen had spent a week trying to arrange according to his wishes.”⁸ The last seven items in the catalog, nos. 224–30, are sculptures. Four of them are early works, cast in bronze. No. 228, described as “Painted metal. Height, 1 meter. Made in 1931,” can only be *Head of a Woman*. After that, came both versions of *Woman in a Garden*. The catalog designates them as follows:

229. Sculpture. Painted iron. Height, 2 m 10. Made in 1930.

Project for No. 226.

230. Sculpture. Bronze. Height, 2 m 10. Made in 1930–31–32.⁹

This suggests that the manufacture of the bronze replica may have continued sporadically over the whole period between completion of the iron version in December 1930 and the run-up to the June 1932 retrospective. André Breton wrote in his June 1933 *Mino-taure* article that these tall sisters were placed face to face across a long room and stated that the iron version seemed to have been very recently painted white.¹⁰

By the time Brassai went to photograph Picasso's sculptures for that first issue of *Mino-taure*, both versions of *Woman in a Garden* had been moved to Boisgeloup. His photos, accompanying a text by André Breton, show that *Head of a Woman* was kept inside the house. Made of iron, it would have deteriorated outside. *Head of a Man* and *Woman in a Garden* were photographed outside, on the grounds, and the photo of the latter sculpture was captioned, "Wrought-iron statue, erected in the forest (photographed at night)."¹¹ The photo actually shows the bronze version of *Woman in a Garden*, and indeed Picasso had commissioned a replica in bronze precisely because the sculpture would then resist the elements. In November 1928, he had promised the committee a bronze monument, so that is what he made. By translating it into bronze, he gave his sculpture a certain traditional nobility and attenuated its disparate appearance and the inherently revolutionary connotations of welded iron. If he parted with the bronze version, he would still be able to keep her pale, iron sister that he had shaped with his own hands.

In fact, he kept both versions. Salmon's March 1931 article had warned him that some people, meaning the rest of the committee, would find *Woman in a Garden* an "incomprehensible diagram." Picasso never offered it to the committee. González noted, in his "Picasso Sculptor and the Cathedrals," that Picasso wished Apollinaire's remains could be moved to Boisgeloup. Picasso must have suggested that idea, thinking aloud, as the two men worked together. By placing his monument among the trees of Boisgeloup, Picasso was certainly faithful to the monument imagined in "The Assassinated Poet," which is constructed by the Benin Bird, not in a graveyard, but in a wood in Meudon. The idea of moving the poet's tomb to Boisgeloup, while sincerely expressing Picasso's attachment to Apollinaire, was never meant to be taken literally. Picasso would actually have been horrified by the prospect of Billy, Férat, Salmon, and the others regularly turning up at his country retreat to pay their respects. Realistically, the poet's grave could not have been moved from Père Lachaise. Realism was not, however, Picasso's priority when he was making the Apollinaire monument.

The 1932 retrospective marked a turning point for Picasso and the end of four years of extraordinarily productive collaboration with González. With single-minded tenacity, Picasso had realized all the projects he had revealed to the Apollinaire Committee at their meeting in late 1927. From the outset, the committee had shown itself incapable of accepting such plans. Picasso had, nevertheless, persevered with his sculptural agenda, re-

maintaining consistently faithful to his understanding of how Apollinaire should be commemorated. After the androgynous *Metamorphosis* and then the wire maquettes, he went on to build his African-influenced metal constructions *Head of a Man* and the open-work *Head of a Woman*. In these works, the drawings seen by the committee were his blueprints, but he improvised and enhanced the sculptures as they were being built. He then constructed the full-size *Woman in a Garden* and a replica designed to stand outside. He stayed in touch with the poet's widow and readily confirmed his commitment to the project. He was driven mainly, however, by his own creative imperatives and by his ongoing personal dialogue with the late poet and his writings. He fulfilled the commission, but on his own terms.

In an article published in 1930, Eugenio d'Ors wrote that "there is no other alternative for a statue: it must be either an idol or an ornament."¹² The committee wanted an ornament, but Picasso designed an idol. He gave his iron goddess those cruel features, her clawlike crest, man-trap mouth, and imposing stature, to keep evil spirits at bay and so to protect the memory of his friend the poet.

The Phantom Tomb

IN OCTOBER 1934, Maurice Noël investigated the monument affair for *Le Figaro* and interviewed Serge Férat, who claimed that the drawings Picasso had shown the committee were unsuitable because they implied an open-work monument. The enterprising journalist then bearded Picasso himself and reported their conversation as follows:

On his brick-colored features I saw he was momentarily irritated.

"No, it's not my fault if Apollinaire's tomb has no monument. I said to Billy and Salmon to come to my house in the country and choose from my sculptures one they find suitable. They haven't been. I can't always be proposing ideas. Ideas get worn out while you think about realizing them."

In Boisgeloup, Picasso had a whole range of sculptures, including all the welded metal constructions, but also the big, rounded, plaster heads of Marie-Thérèse that he had been making since he had returned to modeling in 1931. He would give Salmon or Billy whatever they preferred from among the works available. To bring the interview to a close, however, Picasso again stuck his neck out and made a new commitment:

"Come on! We'll be waiting for a long time yet . . ."

"Why? I will make that monument. I've got an idea. A head of Apollinaire. Wouldn't that be better for a tomb?"

"So long as that idea isn't one of those that get worn out. . . . When will we see this head of Apollinaire?"

"Next year. You'll have it for the anniversary of his death."¹

This interview shook the committee and led to the following announcement by André Salmon:

I have been asked to announce to the friends of Guillaume Apollinaire gathered before his tomb, in Père Lachaise, on the dark anniversary date of 9 November, that the monument we have awaited by Pablo Picasso will not be built.

Everyone has acted in good faith, and everything that has been published on the subject, over the last sixteen years, has been untrue. Did Picasso himself, who could not say no and who today, with dignity, blames himself for that, ever believe it possible that his hands could produce such a work?

We should, perhaps (and that is what Picasso meant, but expressed badly, last month) have made some arbitrary choice from among Picasso's finished sculptures. Arbitrary? Something that Apollinaire, had he been alive, might have chosen for his tomb. Today Picasso confesses that he cannot conceive of a funeral monument.

I am not one of those who will lay the slightest blame. He believed he could. He was wrong. We were all wrong to believe it.²

Picasso, who had completed his own sculptural agenda but was incapable of delivering a conventional graveyard monument, had determined he could take the project no further. André Billy went on to fill in some of the background in an article entitled "The Phantom Tomb." He stated that after the Maurice Noël article Salmon wrote Picasso a letter, which meant that "the next morning the painter visited him, denying that he had said the words quoted by the journalist and, finally, declaring that he was withdrawing from designing the monument." Billy went on to state that on 9 November Picasso turned up a little late, but faithful as ever, for the commemorative gathering, which "he has not once missed, come rain or shine." In the usual café near the cemetery entrance, on place Gambetta, where Picasso always picked up the bill, "some of those present tried to get him to change his mind, which no doubt would not have been very difficult, as Picasso hates refusing to promise what is asked of him; but others were against the idea." Billy also recalled the day Picasso summoned the committee and showed them "a whole sketch-book of funerary projects!" In his view, however, these drawings "were not made for a tomb" and not one of them was "realizable." Billy, like Férat in 1934, referred to only one meeting in Picasso's studio. He then laid all the blame at Picasso's door, portraying him as "eluding the opportunity to repay his debt toward the man who did everything to establish his reputation among connoisseurs." It was Picasso's fault that the tomb had not received its "bronze or marble décor," a phrase that reiterated Billy's unswerving attachment to commemorative conventions.³

Serge Férat had taken care of Apollinaire's funeral in 1918 and had paid for the tomb acquired in 1920 and for further work on it in June 1924.⁴ Since 1924 he had been treasurer of funds from the public subscription and auction. In 1935 he contacted the maker of monumental stonemasonry Tayssèdre, on boulevard Ménilmontant, and ordered a tomb: "At Jacqueline's request, I designed the tomb. According to the rules."⁵ His choice was a tall, standing stone, roughly shaped from a massive piece of Breton granite, that rose to an irregular point and was marked with a smooth cross fading into the surface. On 7 September 1935, the monument was placed on the tomb and engraved with the poet's



76. Serge Férat, tomb of Guillaume Apollinaire, 1935, Paris, Père Lachaise Cemetery. Photo by Matthieu Place.

name, “Guillaume Apollinaire de Kostrowitzky 26 August 1880–9 November 1918” (fig. 76). The horizontal surface of the tomb was a new, polished granite slab, engraved with lines from *Calligrammes* that Jacqueline had chosen. These included three visionary verses from the long, lyrical wartime poem “The Hills”:

I have at last detached myself
 From all natural things
 I can die but may not sin
 And what no one has ever touched
 I have touched I have felt
 And I have gazed on what no man
 Can in any way imagine
 Often I have weighed
 Even imponderable life
 I can die with a smile
 Accustom yourself as I have done
 To these prodigies I announce
 To the kindness that will rule
 To the suffering I endure
 And you will know the future

These lines are accompanied by an alexandrine in the shape of a heart, from the prewar picture-poem "Heart Crown and Mirror": "My heart like an inverted flame."⁶ André Billy judged the whole thing "unattractive."⁷

Tayssèdre's file on the tomb shows that Férat first drew a plan incorporating "The Bleeding-Heart Dove and the Fountain," but the text and the design of this calligramme must have been too complicated to be engraved in the stone. Choosing lines from *Calligrammes* rather than the better-known *Alcools* revealed an independent spirit, and the tomb's juxtaposition of octosyllabic quintils with an extract from a picture-poem reflects the paradoxical identity of the poet of Order and Adventure, for whom the flame was a constant symbol of creativity and rebirth. The prophetic tone of "The Hills" also complements the tall menhir, which recalls the megalithic landscapes of Brittany and thus evokes Arthurian legends and the beginnings of French literature. Apollinaire had always identified with Merlin, and the tomb promotes an image of him as a bardic, oracular poet.

In 1934 Picasso entered another turbulent and difficult period. The rise of fascism and the Spanish Civil War worried him as much as his personal problems, including separation from Olga in June 1935. Marie-Thérèse gave birth to his daughter Maya in September, and he began a new relationship with Dora Maar, the photographer he had met through Paul Eluard. From May 1935 to April 1936 he stopped painting, a gesture that was symptomatic of his emotional turmoil. He wrote dozens of poems in Spanish and French, some of which were published in 1936 in a special issue of *Cahiers d'art* that also included a selection of his drawings, paintings, and sculptures since *Woman in a Garden*, with texts by Breton, Eluard, Benjamin Péret, Man Ray, Dalí, and Georges Hugnet. Surrealists' efforts to draw him into their circle here reached a climax.⁸

Picasso's *Collected Writings* are more automatic than his painting, and his prose poems are a space for totally free expression, transgressing rules of grammar and logic, relentlessly dynamic, like souped-up Surrealism. Images constantly morph into each other, producing startlingly Surreal juxtapositions: a bowl of nail soup, a sperm statue in the middle of a square. Historical events and the mood of the late 1930s are reflected in images of gangrene, executions, snails dressed as bishops, broken wings, and children crying. Lines are loaded with nouns, creating a percussive rhythm, but the texts are also strongly visual in their layout, patterns, and calligraphy and are sometimes illustrated. References to color in the text are fired by an acute sense of paint deprivation, references to food and scatological humor are Ubuesque, and other literary echoes recall Apollinaire. Picasso's best-known text is a play, *Desire Caught by the Tail*, that dates from 1941 and is full of references to food, at a time of penury and rationing. In act 3, scene 3, the Tart and her friends leap on the main character, Big Foot, and cut his hair so he is bald, "like a Dutch cheese called *death's head* and through the slats of the blinds at the window the whips of the sun start to beat the four women sitting around Big Foot."⁹ In "The Hermit," an early poem from *Alcools*, the main character is delirious with hunger and sexual desire. Staring at a skull, he imagines a piece of Gruyère cheese, then calls on God to whip the curvaceous clouds that at sunset lay bare "in the sky such pretty pink bottoms." The associ-

ation in both texts of cheese, a skull, the rays of the sun, and flagellation is more than purely coincidental.

Picasso continued to attend the commemorative gatherings, but these were increasingly contaminated by international politics. At Père Lachaise on 9 November 1936, Picasso refused to shake hands with André Salmon, who had been reporting the Spanish Civil War for the pro-Franco newspaper *Le Petit Parisien*.¹⁰ For Picasso, the atmosphere in November 1937 was equally noxious. The National Museums Council, meeting in Paris, refused to accept for national collections a 1908 Picasso still life that had been acquired at auction for 56,000 francs by the curator of the Jeu de Paume galleries. According to *Le Figaro*, this matter split the council in two, stirring up old antagonisms between modernists and conservatives and moving one of the latter, who was also a senator, to pronounce an “ultraviolent” diatribe against Picasso’s painting. Some members walked out, and the painting was then rejected by a 9–5 vote, a decision that caused “many comments among painters and art critics.”¹¹ Meanwhile, on 9 November 1937, a violent “incident” occurred at Père Lachaise, in front of Apollinaire’s tomb, between Picasso and Marinetti, the Futurist turned fascist and supporter of Mussolini.¹² That same day, in Spain, Franco’s nationalists were fighting government forces just outside Madrid.

Part III

November 1948

The Kitchen

AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR, Jacqueline Apollinaire remained resolutely attached to the idea of a monument to the poet by Picasso. She had kept the boulevard Saint-Germain flat as a November 1918 time capsule and stayed on good terms with Picasso, who admired her devotion to Apollinaire's memory. He gave her various presents, including, for the tenth anniversary of the poet's death, a magnificent hand-colored engraving, *Still Life before a Window in Saint-Raphaël*, dedicated in pencil, "For our dear Jacqueline from her brothers [sic] Olga and Pablo. Paris, 25 October 1928." Other gifts included Picasso's version of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, with thirty original engravings, published by Skira in 1931; his greatest engraving, the 1935 *Minotaure*; and a rare facsimile edition of the illustrated manuscript of *Desire Caught by the Tail*, signed, dedicated, and dated "21.3.49."¹ After the Liberation a reassembled Apollinaire group sought and obtained the support of Jean Marin, city councillor for Saint-Germain-des-Prés, to place a monument in that prestigious area, still a hub of intellectual life, near the cafés where the poets of the 1918 generation had gathered around Apollinaire.

Picasso's first reaction to the Liberation of Paris was to paint two versions of his *Triumph of Pan*, the first dated 23 August 1944 (Z XIV, 34, 35), both bursting with long-repressed Dionysiac energy, both based on a work by Poussin, the model Apollinaire had recommended near the end of the previous war. For the rest of his life, as friends, artists, and poets of his generation died, Picasso extended his dialogue with the great masters of the past, reworking Manet, Rembrandt, El Greco, David, Degas, Courbet, Delacroix, and Velázquez. He thus looked back to his beginnings and to the first paintings he had ever sold, to a convent in Barcelona when he was fifteen. He told Apollinaire, "The nuns had asked me to copy two paintings by Murillo, and as that was boring I copied them all right, but modifying the works in my own way, and I have to admit that, given my age at the time, I was very pleased with them" (PAC, p. 201). His Murillos were destroyed, he said,

during civil disturbances in 1909. Now he again moved uninhibitedly into the sacred space of “eternal” masterpieces, merging past and present, abolishing time.

After the war, Picasso's output diversified to include the thousands of ceramics he made in Vallauris. In January 1949 the publication of Kahnweiler's *Les Sculptures de Picasso*, with photographs by Brassai, renewed Picasso's interest in sculpture. In 1949 and 1950 he made, in a few months, such important sculptures as *Pregnant Woman* (MP 334), *Little Girl Skipping* (MP 336), *Woman with a Pram* (MP 337), and *The Goat* (MP 339, 340), all of which gleefully incorporated found objects and bits of junk. He also gave Vallauris a bronze version of his 1943 sculpture *Man with a Sheep* (MP 331), unveiled on the town square on 6 August 1950. From 1945 onward his increasingly frequent absences from Paris, in Antibes, Vallauris, and then Cannes, hardly facilitated contact with the Apollinaire Committee.

Political sectarianism further complicated the picture. On 4 October 1944 Picasso joined the French Communist Party in the offices of the party newspaper, *L'Humanité*, flanked by his sponsors, Louis Aragon and Paul Eluard, who both made speeches; the event was headline news the following day.² The hardening of political divisions after the Liberation increased the gap between Picasso, the Apollinaire Committee, and the committee's supporters in local and national government. Despite his leftist commitment, however, in matters artistic Picasso remained decidedly independent.

The new Apollinaire monument campaign began in 1948, with the approach of the thirtieth anniversary of the poet's death. In a letter dated 2 November of that year, Jacqueline Apollinaire wrote to Picasso, mentioning Robert Lemasle, a doctor and art collector:

My dear Pablo,

... I have recently seen a young man you probably know, named Robert Lemasle, who wrote to you inviting you to be president of a committee that is being formed for a monument to Guillaume. The place that is planned for it would be ideal: Saint-Germain Square or the little square on the corner of boulevard Saint-Germain and the rue des St. Pères.

I was asked if you would like to do the monument, and I answered quite hopefully, with the idea that this setting might have a positive influence on your decision, and your two names, dear Pablo, should be sealed by something lasting; for you, for me, the most beautiful monument is Guillaume's deep friendship for you, but for future generations there should be something tangible. If my letter annoys you, Pablo, think no more about it. If not, let me know what you think. (AP)

Jacqueline's letter produced immediate results. Picasso first drew two portraits of Apollinaire, seen in profile, wearing a crown of laurel leaves, in the style of a Pisanello medalion. The artist kept one of the drawings (MP 1990–89) and gave the other to Louis Aragon, who published it on the front page of a special Apollinaire issue of *Les Lettres françaises*, dated 11 November 1948.³ Picasso thus demonstrated that he was perfectly capable of designing a classical and conventional relief portrait to satisfy the Apollinaire Committee, though he had no intention of doing so. Françoise Gilot, viewing the situation from the

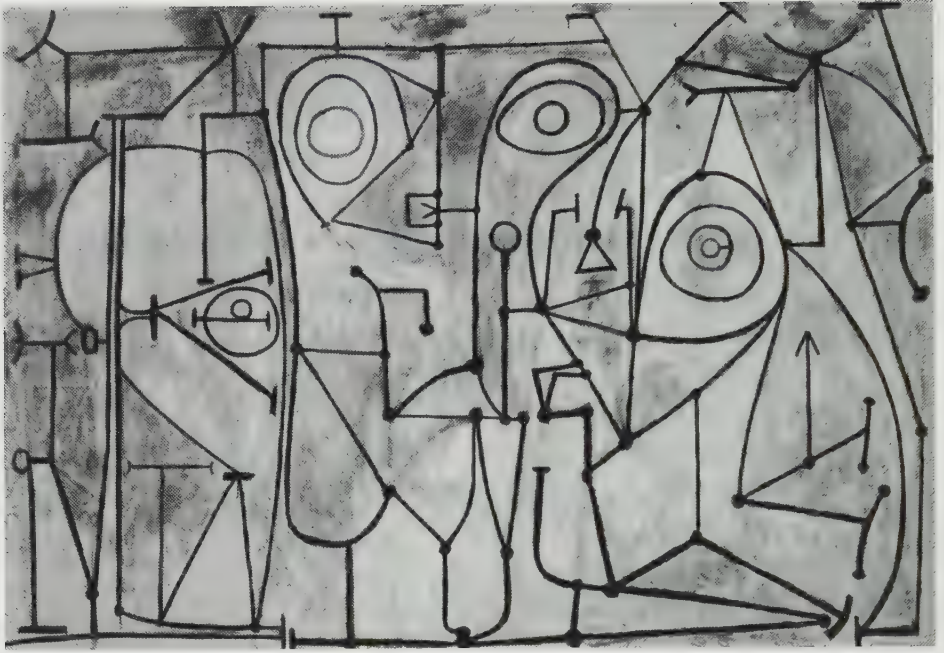
Picasso camp, saw the new committee as politically and artistically split and also dependent on support and finance from the Paris City Council. Deputations from the committee and Jacqueline Apollinaire herself visited Picasso, but the artist always insisted on complete creative autonomy, telling them, "Either I do the job that way or you get someone else. If you want me, I'm going to do something that corresponds to the monument described in *Le Poète assassiné*: that is, a space with a void, of a certain height, covered with a stone."⁴ In 1948, as in 1928, Picasso's preferred option was a version of the Benin Bird's "monument made of nothing." It was at this stage that Picasso painted a large and enigmatic canvas that was directly related to the Apollinaire monument campaign.

Since 1937 Picasso had rented a flat and studio in the seventeenth-century hôtel de Savoie-Carignon, on rue des Grands-Augustins, in the Left Bank heart of Paris. Here he created a series of monumental and almost monochrome paintings, including *Guernica* and, in 1945, *The Charnel House*, showing a massacred family piled on their kitchen floor. Picasso gave the depiction of recent tragic events universal significance. In November 1948, he produced *The Kitchen*, a work similarly domestic, monochrome, and monumental, but much more abstract.⁵

The Kitchen is structured by a complex and asymmetrical black grid. Taut curves, straight and angular lines, concentric circles, and a vertical arrow constitute a graphic vocabulary as dynamic as urban graffiti. The white and gray background leaves parts of the canvas bare to reinforce the impression of summary, rapid brushwork. The first version of the painting (New York, MoMA) (fig. 77), which measures 175.3 × 250 cm, served as a template for a second version, of similar size (MP 200) (fig. 78).

Françoise Gilot's comments help decipher this wall of hieroglyphics. She remembers that before starting the picture Picasso spoke to her about how Cézanne's apples redefined the relationship between the apparent subject of the painting and the spatial planes around it: "The form itself is only a hollow area with sufficient pressure applied to it by the space surrounding it to make the apple *seem* to appear, even though in reality it doesn't exist. It's the rhythmic thrust of space on the form that counts."⁶ Thinking in this way about space, form, and emptiness, Picasso proceeded to paint *The Kitchen*, as Françoise Gilot further explained: "With this in mind, Pablo made a first version of a large painting he called *La Cuisine*. It was based on the kitchen in the Rue des Grands-Augustins, where we sometimes ate our evening meal." She added that "essentially, the kitchen was an empty white cube," adorned only with caged birds (an owl and some doves) and three Spanish plates hanging on the wall. "One night Pablo said, 'I'm going to make a canvas out of that—that is, out of nothing.' And that is exactly what he did."⁷

So the challenge facing Picasso in November 1948 was to represent on canvas the empty space of a white room. Picasso sometimes liked to quote a painter friend of his father's, who used to tell him, "When you can't see anything, use black."⁸ To represent the white kitchen, he painted a black network against a light background, articulating the lines of force of this domestic space and pulling onto the canvas the various elements of the decor. A restricted palette allowed him to concentrate on rhythmic representation, reducing do-

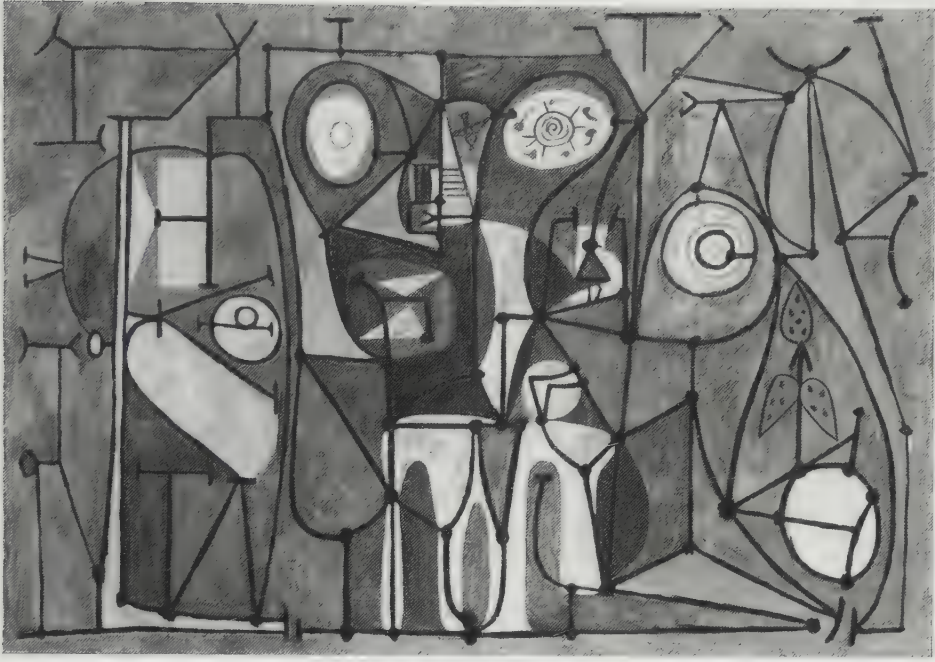


77. Pablo Picasso, *The Kitchen*, Paris, November 1948. Oil on canvas, 175.3 × 250 cm. Acquired through the Nelson A. Rockefeller Bequest, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, N.Y. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Digital image courtesy of Scala/Art Resource, N.Y.

mestic objects to schematic linear signs, but the criss-crossing lines also chart the movements of those inhabiting this space. Apart from the title, however, few elements confirm the subject of the painting.

In 1945, when he was working on *The Charnel House*, Picasso confessed, “If I were capable of it, I’d leave it as it is, I’d start again and take it to a more advanced state on another canvas.”⁹ In *The Charnel House*, hesitations and pentimenti indicate alternative directions the composition could have taken. Picasso readily admitted that none of his works were ever really finished: “You can put a painting to one side, saying that you won’t touch it again. But you can never apply the word FINISHED to it.”¹⁰ The creation of two consecutive versions of *The Kitchen* constituted a new response to this state of perpetual dissatisfaction because it allowed him to stop the work in progress, keep that result, and then take the experiment further, in another direction, on another canvas. So the linear network from the first version of *The Kitchen* was transposed onto another, similar canvas as a starting point for the second version.

The background of the second version is painted with broad and rapid brushstrokes, somewhat less summarily than in the first painting and with a more contrasting palette, ranging from white through all the shades of a typically Parisian grisaille. Overall, the background is darker, though brightened by rhythmically spaced patches of white. A progres-



78. Pablo Picasso, *The Kitchen*, Paris, November 1948 (MP 200). Oil on canvas, 175 × 252 cm. Musée Picasso, Paris, France. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Photo by Béatrice Hatala, courtesy of Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y.

sion from the light gray edges of the composition toward the darker, central space contributes to a three-dimensional effect.

In the second version, the calligraphy of the black lines becomes more legible. Two of the oval targets turn out to be plates, decorated by the artist, the right-hand one in pale blue. The large central plate is adorned with tadpoles or spermatozoa, caught in a whirling spiral. On the left, the circle of a third plate encloses a white shape suggesting the silhouette of Picasso's owl. Two small caged birds also appear, drawn in white triangles; another bird with wings outspread flies freely. Their simple style recalls the display of children's art that had accompanied the February 1946 exhibition *Art et Résistance* at the Paris Museum of Modern Art, a show that had included *The Charnel House*. In *The Kitchen*, the birds' open beaks suggest background music and a touch of spring. An arrow, expressing vertical energy, has sprouted green leaves and thus become a plant. In sculptures from 1948 and 1949 that represented a pregnant woman (MP 333 and 334), the perpendicular arrow symbolized female fertility. Françoise Gilot, painted as *Woman-Flower* in 1946 (Z XIV, 167), also inspired these sculptures of a maternal goddess, synthesizing the verticality and circularity of male and female principles. In *The Kitchen*, the fertile green arrow again refers to Françoise, who in April 1949 would give birth to Paloma. A natural vitality, combining elements of water, air, earth, animals, plant life, and humanity, thus ani-

mates the closed space of the painting, energizing the composition and making the second version less abstract and austere.

Françoise Gilot gives the impression that the second version of *The Kitchen* came shortly after the first one, which dates from early November. This likelihood is confirmed by preparatory sketches for the second version, representing a fish, a plate, and a birdcage, that Picasso drew on a page of the daily newspaper *Ce Soir*, dated 12 November 1948.¹¹ She describes the graphic vocabulary Picasso was using then as “long linear signs, rounded at the ends,” and recalls that he had recently adopted a similar style to illustrate a work by Pierre Reverdy entitled *The Song of the Dead* (*Le Chant des morts*),¹² published by Tériade on 30 September 1948 in an edition of 270 copies. The scarlet arabesques of *The Song of the Dead* are continued in black paint, on a larger scale, in *The Kitchen*. This linear vocabulary dates back, however, to the sketchbooks Picasso used in Juan-les-Pins during the summer of 1924 (Sketchbook 004, MP 1869), where patterns of punctuated lines, incisively drawn in india ink, recalling the shape of guitars, were inspired by astronomical charts.¹³ From that stellar style developed an extended family of works that in 1928 included the wire models, made as a monument to Apollinaire. Twenty years later, the same graphic matrix engendered *The Song of the Dead* and *The Kitchen*, in which the original line broadens and proliferates.

This brings me to a consideration of the exact date on which *The Kitchen* was painted. Christian Zervos, in direct contact with the artist, stated on two separate occasions, first in the periodical *Cahiers d'art* in 1949 and then in volume 15 of his Picasso catalog, that the original version was painted on 9 November 1948.¹⁴ That day was precisely the thirtieth anniversary of Apollinaire's death.

Picasso insisted that his monument for Apollinaire would be made “out of nothing.” *The Kitchen* is a pictorial transposition of that intention, expressed to Françoise Gilot in a phrase that now acquires new resonance: “I’m going to make a canvas out of that—that is, out of nothing.” He proceeded to adapt and regenerate the plastic vocabulary of the wire maquettes in a painting that indeed resembles a wrought-iron grid, as if to recall the metal-working skills of González. With patterns of intersecting lines, Picasso created on canvas a two-dimensional image of empty space and nothingness, “like poetry, like glory.” *The Kitchen* is a pictorial monument to the memory of Apollinaire, marking the thirtieth anniversary of his death.

Black lines on a pale background, *The Kitchen* resembles writing. The meaning and implications of the painting are far from purely literary, however. On 25 August 1948, Picasso had taken a plane for the first time, flying from Paris for a two-week stay in Poland. The focal point of the trip was the Wrocław Congress of Intellectuals for Peace, but he also visited Warsaw and other places with Paul Eluard and Pierre Daix. Later Daix would recall how stunned they were by the wasteland that had been the Warsaw ghetto and how, later on the day they saw it, they heard ambiguous remarks about the “Jewish question” from a city official, who informed them that “Poland was made up not only of Jews.” Picasso retorted, “Whenever anyone’s asked *me*, I’ve always said I’m Jewish. And my paint-

ing is Jewish painting, isn't it. Ask Eluard if his poetry isn't Jewish poetry. And Apollinaire? Just like Max Jacob." They then visited Auschwitz and Birkenau, where, Daix recalls, "I saw Picasso shed a tear. . . . We had come this far so that such things should never happen again."¹⁵

After *Guernica* and *The Charnel House*, monochrome requiems for the victims of fascism, *The Kitchen* expresses, though less figuratively, the painter's heartfelt reaction to the sites he had visited in Warsaw, Auschwitz, and Birkenau. In this context, the date of 9 November 1948 is again highly significant, for it not only coincides with the thirtieth anniversary of Apollinaire's demise but also comes shortly after All Saints' Day (when the French traditionally visit family graves) and two days before the thirtieth anniversary of the Armistice. *The Kitchen* uses a language of abstract black calligraphy, spread over empty space, to express the inexpressible.

This view of the painting is confirmed by the telling presence, in the center of the canvas, of a large skull whose eye sockets are represented by two plates. In the first version this disturbing figure might have appeared by chance or through some other, hardly conscious, creative process. But in the second version the outline of the skull has been clarified and completed. The artist carefully adjusted the composition by darkening some areas, adding lines, and deleting other details, so that a death's head gazes out from the heart of the work.¹⁶ A supposedly reassuring domestic space is thus haunted by the Holocaust and a symbol of individual mortality. The canvas balances death and destruction, however, with vital energy. Picasso counters the negative pressure of the world with irrepressible creative dynamism and sets a tragic vision amid signs of natural and poetic renaissance.

When Picasso claimed he was a "Jewish painter," he was identifying his work with the "degenerate art" condemned by the Nazis. *The Kitchen* is intentionally dissident, and even decadent and degenerate, in relation to a different ideology, the "antiformalist" dogma espoused by the Soviet regime and promulgated as its official aesthetic. "Formalism" and Socialist Realism had also become subjects of intense debate in the French Communist Party, especially since the 1946 exhibition *Art et Résistance*. That show had been organized by a communist-led organization, the Association Nationale des Francs Tireurs et Partisans Français, with money from works sold going to widows and orphans of Resistance fighters. Picasso generously contributed *The Charnel House*. The magazine *Arts de France* published a special issue that served as an exhibition guide. It contained a large reproduction of the *Charnel House* and an opening text by Paul Eluard, who declared that the main impression that the exhibition gave "is one of absolute freedom of expression. It shows us that self-expression is an essential part of being alive." Louis Aragon, however, in his preface for the exhibition, deplored the great painters' representation of "the corpse and the charnel house. . . . They have mainly seen death, and not what rises up from death."¹⁷ Thus was revealed a rapidly deepening split in the Communist Party regarding artists who deviated from Soviet policy, which required art inspired by visions of "a better tomorrow." In November 1946, on the front page of *Les Lettres françaises*, Aragon

condemned both “formalism” and “aesthetic eclecticism.” Communists, he asserted, had the “right to be selective in Picasso’s work”; “the Communist Party does have an aesthetic, and it is called realism.”¹⁸ In the 9 September 1948 issue of *Lettres françaises*, Aragon praised Commissar Jdanov, the Soviet régime’s most vociferous proponent of Socialist Realism, in an obituary article entitled “Jdanov and Us.” Against this background, in November 1948, Picasso’s dark and almost abstract monumental canvas *The Kitchen* was a calculated counterattack against Socialist Realism and aesthetic orthodoxy.

The reproduction of both versions of *The Kitchen* together for the first time, with other recent works, in *Cahiers d’art*’s second issue for 1949 confirms the artist’s intentions. This setting is significant, for they appear directly after a powerfully polemical text by Christian Zervos.¹⁹ Zervos refutes a Marxist interpretation of Picasso’s work as representing the “physical decomposition of the upper classes” and denies any connection between Picasso and Socialist Realism. According to Zervos, the artist’s political commitment, stemming from his “deep and sustained love of the people . . . , has never deflected the artist from vehemently rejecting anything he sees as hindering essential artistic freedom.”

Zervos was right. *The Kitchen* is a radical declaration of artistic insubordination, a cat among the Stalinist pigeons. Refuting Jdanov and commemorating Apollinaire were, indeed, perfectly compatible intentions. Apollinaire consistently championed freedom of expression and recognized the subversive nature of certain apparently apolitical works. In 1917, for example, during a period of increasing cultural orthodoxy, he wrote a preface for Baudelaire’s *Les Fleurs du mal* in terms that prefigure Zamiatin, Huxley, and Orwell: “The great democracies of the future will allow little freedom to writers; it is a good idea to raise up poets like Baudelaire as banners. We can then wave them from time to time to rouse the small number of slaves who still have any life in them” (*Pr* 3, p. 875).

When he gave Geneviève Laporte a copy of Reverdy’s *Le Chant des morts*, Picasso told her, “Nothing is harder than drawing a line. Nobody realizes how much you have to think about it.”²⁰ Picasso thus insisted that his seemingly simple, abstract graphic style, in that book and elsewhere, resulted from sustained reflection. In *The Kitchen*, “lines and shapes rhyme and animate each other,” as Picasso himself put it in 1946.²¹ But neither compositional concerns nor the reassuringly domestic subject can hide the painting’s function as a commemorative monument, expressing strong and expansive emotions. Proclaiming absolute artistic independence, *The Kitchen* is a brilliantly apposite monument to Apollinaire, a commemoration of the Holocaust, and a powerful weapon of cultural combat.

From Brancusi to Matisse

New Commemorative Projects

ON 28 NOVEMBER 1949, Jacqueline Apollinaire wrote to Picasso's assistant, "Dear Mr. Sabartés, . . . Remind Picasso of his promise and tell him he's putting me in an embarrassing position. Thank you. J. Apollinaire." The Apollinaire Committee, meanwhile, maintained its official contacts and set out to clarify its membership and status. In a letter to André Billy, dated Monday, 30 October 1950, Jacqueline Apollinaire revealed the political undercurrents involved: "I can no longer clearly remember who is on the committee membership list. If it isn't brilliant can't we establish a more worthy one? Apart from Aragon and Eluard, who have to be discounted for political reasons, there are still plenty of other representative figures" (AB). The marginalization of Picasso's communist comrades, which typifies the political sectarianism of that time, reinforced André Billy's influence and certainly exacerbated the artist's reluctance to deal with the committee and the Paris authorities. On 29 November 1950, Jacqueline again wrote directly to Picasso:

My dear Pablo,

. . . So we have established a list: Adéma is in charge of preparing its statutes—I know that is already under way, as he has just written to me asking me to confirm definitively that you will be the author of the bust.

Do we agree on this, Pablo, because once the committee and the city council have reached agreement, I would just have to jump in a river from shame if you were to change your mind. (AP)

Pierre-Marcel Adéma, mentioned here for the first time, was a young civil servant in the Ministry of Agriculture, passionately devoted to the life and work of Apollinaire. He published an authoritative biography of the poet in 1952.

In November 1950, following his participation in peace conferences in Wrocław, Paris, and Sheffield, Picasso was awarded the Lenin Peace Prize by the Soviet Union. That same

month there was a Picasso exhibition in Paris at the communist-controlled Maison de la Pensée Française, with a catalog preface by Aragon. In this context, Picasso declined to accept the title of president of the Apollinaire Committee. In a letter dated 7 April 1951, Jacqueline Apollinaire wrote to André Billy, "I am like you astonished that Picasso is president of the Friends of Max Jacob while not wanting to be president of the G. A. Committee. I'll ask him about it." Later that year, forced to vacate the premises on rue La Boétie that he had retained since November 1918, Picasso angrily felt himself victimized by a new police chief who was "an archenemy of the Communists."¹

Between 1951 and 1954 the Apollinaire Committee turned away from Picasso and sought a monument elsewhere. The first artist to be approached was Brancusi.

CONSTANTIN BRANCUSI

In her April 1951 letter to André Billy, Jacqueline Apollinaire indicated that she was still hoping for a Picasso monument but was now ready to consider alternatives. She also referred to the little street in Saint Germain-des-Prés that was to be named after Apollinaire:

I was very pleased to hear from J. Marin that the plan for a rue G. Apollinaire had been approved. Now the smallest street will have one of the greatest names! This street, which almost amounts to nothing, corresponds to Guillaume's thinking when he has the Benin Bird say, "I must sculpt him [Croniamantal] a deep statue made of nothing, like poetry and like glory."

But let's still hope for more than such deep nothing from Picasso. I don't think he'll make us a maquette, because everything he makes is spontaneous, and even unintentional! I'll write to him again this week.

Why did you all reject the idea of a Brancusi monument, which I had managed with some difficulty to get this artist to agree to? Now it's out of the question. (AB)

Referring to rue Guillaume Apollinaire (inaugurated on 9 November 1951), Jacqueline recognized the possible significance of the monument made from nothing in "The Assassinated Poet" but, ironically, seemed to discount this very principle. We also learn here that Jacqueline had persuaded Constantin Brancusi to design the monument.

Apart from the quality and standing of his work, the choice of Brancusi was justified by Apollinaire's admiration for this artist, whom he described in 1912 as a "delicate and very distinctive sculptor whose works are among the most refined" (*Pr* 2, p. 434). In 1913 Brancusi carved a poetic epitaph by Apollinaire on Douanier Rousseau's tomb (*Po*, p. 654) and gave Apollinaire a stone sculpture of a female head. Much later, he made Jacqueline Apollinaire a new, plaster, version of that work for her little country house in Chandon.² The Apollinaire Committee rejected out of hand, however, the idea of a monument by the Romanian sculptor, who was unlikely to produce a conventional portrait bust.

OSSIP ZADKINE

On 20 September 1951, André Billy wrote a formal letter to Picasso, asking him to design “a bust of Guillaume or some other monument” and adding that his friend Jacques Jaujard, director general of art and literature at the Ministry of Education, “has promised me a million [francs] for the monument on condition that our project gets under way this autumn.”³ On Saturday, 29 December 1951, Jacqueline wrote to Billy that she had had no news from Picasso and was unable to suggest an alternative sculptor, “as I know nothing about such things.” She did, however, veto “the thing reproduced in *Figaro littéraire* on 9 November.” In that paper, a report on the official opening of rue Guillaume Apollinaire was illustrated by a photograph of a sculpture, captioned “Zadkine’s project for an Apollinaire monument,” accompanied by a brief but enthusiastic commentary by Paul Léautaud.⁴ His remarks were taken from a longer chronicle where he explained that André Rouveyre had shown him the sculpture in an art gallery, rue de Beaune, and that he had recently congratulated Zadkine on his maquette when they met at an Apollinaire evening organized by the young Réverbères theater company.⁵

Ossip Zadkine, born in 1890 in Belarus, first exhibited at the Salon des indépendants in 1911 and then met Apollinaire, sitting with Serge Férat, on the terrace of the Closerie des Lilas.⁶ He contributed a work to the 1924 Apollinaire auction and sold a three-meter-tall wooden statue, *Orpheus*, to the City of Paris in 1935. The first version of his Apollinaire monument, dated 1937, 110 cm tall, shows Orpheus seated with an open book, playing a lyre with his right hand and holding a pipe in his left.⁷ Zadkine gave a new, plaster version of that sculpture, dated 1948, to the Apollinaire Museum in Stavelot, Belgium, returning to the project in 1950, when he produced six copies in bronze, 44 cm tall.⁸ The works combine ancient and modern iconography, a Cubist style, and the subject of Orpheus, the central character of Apollinaire’s *Bestiary*, to celebrate the poet in a witty and intelligent way. Zadkine subsequently created a series of works inspired by poets, as he himself recounted: “The works I consider important from this pre-1940 period are my four monuments to poets, Apollinaire, Rimbaud, Lautréamont, and, a little later, Jarry. None of these projects have yet been realized and they will not, I fear, be realised during my lifetime. In France, monuments are always raised to generals, on foot or on horseback.”⁹ The monument to Jarry, on his famous bicycle, was, however, realized in his hometown of Laval in 1968.

Françoise Gilot recalled that at one meeting with Picasso some members of the Apollinaire Committee had mentioned that they might turn to Zadkine.¹⁰ Jacqueline Apollinaire, however, torpedoed that possibility.

PABLO PICASSO

Picasso tried again to find a project that might satisfy the committee. Françoise Gilot recalled that “Pablo decided on a compromise: a huge base, supported by four pillars about

five feet high, with the empty space beneath it that he couldn't bring himself to eliminate, and then, on top of the stone base, a massive head of Apollinaire, the head itself about three and a half feet high. He made a number of drawings, in some of which there was a laurel wreath on Apollinaire's head."¹¹ This construction harked back to the "stones and bones" drawings of the late 1920s, now adapted to include both a portrait of the poet, in the style of his November 1948 drawings, and a central, empty space. According to Gilot, Picasso subsequently learned that the conservative majority on the Paris City Council had vetoed all his work. That event occurred in March 1952, so these drawings were made before that date.

Just as he had once dreamed of placing his "stone and bone" constructions along the promenade in Cannes, so Picasso subsequently imagined another use for his new dolmen-style Apollinaire monument. In September 1954, Picasso stayed with Jacques and Paule de Lazerve in their house in Perpignan. Roland Penrose visited and found Picasso excitedly presenting sketches of a marble "temple of peace" he was hoping to build nearby in the Pyrenees. In his notebook, Penrose wrote that it was to be built on top of a mountain overlooking Spain and the sea: "The temple will be seen from miles away in Spain." He added that the "sketches had not gone far but showed a general idea of heavy irregular marble columns holding a heavy flat roof on which would stand a large dove-like creature. Showed some studies of dove-woman figures to fit in somewhere. . . . He has never yet had a serious architectural project. He would like to make a non-Christian temple and is always talking of the mystery of the Matisse chapel, the Braque windows at Varengeville, etc."¹² Picasso's secular temple, countering religious work by Matisse and Braque, is clearly an enlargement of the Apollinaire monument, with a dove of peace replacing the poet's head.

Early in 1952 the discussions and negotiations took a new turn. Jacqueline Apollinaire, returning to the idea that they should choose an existing work by Picasso, visited his studio and identified suitable sculptures. André Billy, however, immediately rejected this solution, insisting on his conception of the monument. This is clear in Jacqueline's letter to him, dated Saturday, 1 March 1952:

I see that the monument project you allude to does not include the works by Picasso that I contemplated during my visit to his studio. The idea of a relief medallion is interesting; we'll have to see with Jaujard which sculptor could make it.

As far as documents are concerned, you know the very beautiful profile of Guillaume with a bandage reproduced in *Calligrammes*; it's both lifelike and classical and couldn't shock anyone. I don't think that art world or city council officials could object to a work by a sculptor nominated by Mr. Jaujard working from Picasso's 1917 drawing. It would be moving to see Guillaume's memory perpetuated by that image from the last year of his life! Naturally Salmon should be on the committee and I don't think Picasso could object to his being involved. (AB)

It is impossible to identify the works Jacqueline had chosen in Picasso's studio, with his support. Her letter shows that, since the 1936 incident in Père Lachaise, André Salmon had been excluded from the debate. Jacqueline's comments here characteristically combine modesty and determination. André Billy, because of his links with French bureaucracy, and his place as a leading columnist on the influential and very establishment *Figaro littéraire*, nevertheless continued to hold sway.

Bad feeling between Picasso, the authorities, and the committee eventually spilled over in public. On 10 March 1952, Jacqueline Apollinaire wrote to Picasso:

My dear Pablo,

I wrote to tell Billy about the visit I paid you and that you were available to the committee so they could choose one of your works. He replied that he had seen Jaujard and that the city council will not accept any of your projects and that he thinks it would be more practical to have a monument on the lines of the one to Stendhal in the Luxembourg Gardens. In other words an upright stone with a bronze medallion set into it.

I replied that as the city was rejecting any project coming from you I would ask for a reproduction of the very beautiful profile of Guillaume with a bandage that appeared in *Calligrammes*, it's very lifelike and classical, arts and city council officials couldn't in any way object to this work by you and Guillaume's memory should be perpetuated by that beautiful image from the last year of his life. Billy will let me know the date of the meeting in Jaujard's office. I'll keep you up to date and embrace you.

Jacqueline (AP)

Picasso was immediately outraged by what looked like a blanket rejection of his art by the Paris City Council. Significantly, to reply, he turned to the procommunist *Lettres françaises*, giving an interview for the issue dated 20 March 1952. It was headed "Picasso offers to make a monument for Paris, which has just rejected, without seeing them, his plans for a statue to Guillaume Apollinaire." The interview was announced on the front page with a headline reading "Paris City Council in a corner: Picasso proposes to make the monument to Hugo." In 1952, the Victor Hugo Committee, which included both Aragon and Billy, had proposed to erect a monument on place Victor Hugo to replace the monument to Barrias that had previously stood there, which, like many others, had been removed and melted down by the Nazis. Meanwhile, Hugo was being promoted as a hero of the Left; Paul Eluard had recently given a lecture, entitled "Hugo, Poet of the Common Man," at the Moscow Scientific Institute.¹³ Picasso stepped in, suggesting that a contemporary work, possibly by him, would be preferable to Rodin's design for a monument to Hugo, adding, "In any case, if it is so decided, I'll be the first to sign up on the list of candidates. I'm ready to compete with my comrades, the sculptors of our time. Victor Hugo seems to me an excellent subject for assessing the state of contemporary sculpture." In the interview published by *Lettres françaises*, Picasso thus emphasized his preference for an innovative monumental sculpture, despite the difficulties:

PP: Furthermore, as soon as you set out to glorify poets in a public setting, you're faced with difficulties. In 1918, when Guillaume Apollinaire died, all his friends decided to raise a monument to him in Paris, and they first thought it natural to approach me . . . but time passed. Three or four years ago, the spot was decided on. At the crossroads of boulevards Saint-Germain and Raspail, where the inventor of wireless telegraphy used to be. . . . So the place had been decided. The Apollinaire Committee then came to persuade me finally to make the monument. In the last few days, however, a letter has informed me that the people on the committee have seen M. Jaujard and have been told by him that the City of Paris will not accept any of my plans.

LF: Did you submit any, *Maître*?

PP: None at all. The council's attitude is completely unwarranted. I'm also informed that a monument along the lines of the Stendhal monument in the Luxembourg Gardens seems 'more practical.' In other words, an upright stone, with a bronze medallion set into it. That's another good reason for me to offer to take part in the Victor Hugo monument competition.

LF: Allow me to say that all who love and knew Apollinaire will be astonished or indignant that he should be refused so . . . categorically a monument by the artist he admired above all others. But apart from the personal side, do you think that a 'stone,' as they say, is really a suitable type of statue for the assassinated poet?

PP: I'm not unaware of the commemorative intentions (*intention mortuaire*) involved here. It appears that nowadays people are scared of representing great men in our cities. Their fear is disguised behind pretexts of good taste. And maybe cleanliness, because it's difficult to keep dust out of little corners. . . . And yet, making commemorative monuments in Paris is basically nowadays very natural and very appropriate to the spirit of those who are in charge of public places.¹⁴

Picasso skims over the prewar saga of the tomb to focus on the site then envisaged for the monument, at a major crossroads, replacing the monument to Chappe, which had been removed during the Occupation. But for him, the idea of an upright stone (or stela) is redolent of graveyard thinking, completely opposed to the vibrant tradition with which he identified, which included Rodin's 1909 *Monument to Victor Hugo*.¹⁵ Beyond artistic considerations, the interview in *Les Lettres françaises* turned the affair into a political attack on the cultural policies of local and national government.

AUGUSTE PERRET

Following the *Lettres françaises* interview, André Billy, on behalf of the committee, published an optimistic update entitled "Apollinaire the Ill-Beloved," in *Le Figaro littéraire* of 19 April 1952:

We are hopeful that before the year is out Guillaume Apollinaire will be honored in bronze and stone in a Left Bank Parisian square, as near as possible to where he lived on

boulevard Saint-Germain and to the little street that now bears his name, in the shadow of the old church of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, his true parish, because it was already, in those days, the parish of poets. Pablo Picasso has promised to model a medallion that would be set in a small monument, perhaps a fountain, designed by the great architect Auguste Perret. For the moment, it is only a project, but I wouldn't mention it if there were not a real chance of it being realized.¹⁶

Counting on a behind-the-scenes deal, Billy continued to promote his idea of a "small monument." Auguste Perret (1874–1954) had now entered the picture, supposedly sharing the design brief with Picasso. Alongside Le Corbusier, he was a leading French architect and had known Apollinaire well. Before the Great War, he attended the gatherings of the Section d'or cubists, in Puteaux, and he and the poet also met at Louise Faure-Favier's flat, on the île Saint-Louis, and through Perret's wartime association, *Art et liberté*, founded to defend freedom of artistic expression. Perret, best known for his *Théâtre des Champs-Élysées* (1911–13), with its pioneering use of reinforced concrete, and his reconstruction of Le Havre after the Second World War, certainly influenced Apollinaire's own modernist views on architecture.¹⁷

Perret soon found, however, that Picasso was unavailable to discuss the project; nor did Picasso reply to letters from the government's Department of Art and Letters.¹⁸ The Perret-Picasso plan was dropped.

On 25 June 1952, Jacqueline Apollinaire wrote to Billy that Picasso should be asked "to make a maquette of the medallion and the fountain himself and as soon as it was ready it could be submitted to M. Jaujard and the committee. . . . We would just have to tell him exactly what would be acceptable" (AB). The idea of issuing such instructions was, of course, misguided, and on 20 April 1953 Jacqueline wrote to Billy, "I agree with you that we have to bring things to a conclusion. We can doubtless no longer include Picasso, who seems to be definitively settled in Vallauris" (AB).

RENÉ ICHÉ

André Billy subsequently proposed that René Iché (1897–1954) be commissioned to produce the monument. A letter from the artist to Billy, dated 19 March 1954, described his design, which would include "neither a bust nor a medallion. A very simple quadrangular upright stone, inscribed with a profile and various signs, among which some *Calligrammes*" (AB). André Salmon gave his support in a letter dated 17 March 1954, describing Iché's monument as "a beautiful and sufficiently tall stone, with an unpolished look. It would carry an effigy of Guillaume, not a traditional medallion but rather a strong indication of his face. For the rest, it would be made up of 'signs' inspired by *Calligrammes*, which Iché loves. . . . You were the first to mention Iché to me and I was wrong not to have thought of him straight away. Right afterwards, Iché was put to me as the ideal candidate by Marie Laurencin" (AB).

A student of Antoine Bourdelle, Iché had sculpted war memorials and then taken part in the 1937 Exposition Universelle, where he was responsible for the façade of the French Merchant Navy Pavilion. He worked with Auguste Perret and notably made a Joan of Arc for his church in Boulogne-Billancourt. In 1949 he also made the tomb of Max Jacob at Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire. His works displayed a muscular, unsophisticated style, recalling the sculptures of Archaic Greece, that gave them a degree of expressionistic power.¹⁹ While Billy was promoting Iché, however, rather more imposing negotiations were initiated with Henri Matisse.

HENRI MATISSE

Contacts with Matisse began in 1953 and from the start were highly official, initiated by the Direction Générale des Arts et des Lettres, a department of the Ministry of Education.

By the Second World War, Matisse had apparently forgotten his old antipathy toward Apollinaire, and over a decade he created a substantial series of affectionate portraits of the poet. He was encouraged in this by André Rouveyre, who had first met Matisse in Gustave Moreau's studio in 1898. Rouveyre provided Matisse with photos of Apollinaire, including the stills from a short film he and the poet had made of themselves on 1 August 1914. Matisse wrote to thank Rouveyre for the stills on 12 June 1941, remarking on the vividly mobile expressions of the two friends and adding, slightly condescendingly, "How sad at the same time to have lost this good young man (*brave garçon*) who was so interesting from many points of view."²⁰ Matisse made linocut portraits of Rouveyre and Apollinaire together, based on the film stills, their smiling features outlined in white on black and red backgrounds. He gave Rouveyre an ink drawing of the poet in December 1943 and drew two other portraits of him, dated 28 February and 4 March 1944.²¹ In April 1945, Matisse established a list of his favorite Apollinaire poems and agreed to illustrate this anthology for a group of bibliophiles from Lyons, a book project that unfortunately fell through. His list comprised three poems from *Alcools*, twelve from *Calligrammes*, and the six short poems from *Vitam impendere amor*i, a selection that confirms his admiration for Apollinaire the soldier-poet and his preference for the poet's more classical side.²² For Rouveyre's 1952 limited-edition book on Apollinaire, Matisse made a series of portraits, six of which were finally included. Based on a photo of Apollinaire as a young man, they show him with sensitive and sometimes anxious features. The frontispiece features a group of three overlapping masks, representing Apollinaire, Matisse, and Rouveyre, symbolizing friendship.²³

The idea that Matisse might design the Apollinaire monument was probably inspired by his drawings for Rouveyre's book. The government's emissary, M. Goudal, went to meet Matisse in Menton, and on his return Jacques Jaujard, in a letter dated 6 August 1953, wrote to André Billy, "I am pleased to inform you that Matisse has accepted, in principle, to draw up the plan of a ceramic monument for Apollinaire" (AB). Billy was kept informed of developments, as in a letter from Goudal, dated 16 December 1953:

Matisse has two projects in mind. He contemplated either a big ceramic panel to be installed in the little square bordered by boulevard Saint-Germain, replacing the big Sèvres ceramic panel, which everyone agrees could be taken down.

Apart from that, he is also considering a project for a ceramic fountain for the little garden on place Saint-Germain-des-Prés. (AB)

Jacqueline Apollinaire also sent Billy an undated copy of a letter to Goudal from Mme. Guynet, a museum curator in Nice, confirming Matisse's commitment to the project:

I met Matisse, who was back in Nice. He is better but has clearly aged, and I'm keen to see things move forward quickly.

I've seen his ceramic panel, which would go very well in the spot I spoke to you about. It's simple to adapt into a commemorative monument, there is an allegorical medallion that can be replaced by a profile of Apollinaire and a pattern underneath that can be very prettily changed into a fountain. Before sending you photos, dimensions, and the cost, however, the *Maître* wants to order a photo of the setting for the panel and another one of the little lawn on the other side of the church, as he hasn't completely abandoned the idea of the circular fountain I spoke to you about. (AB)

Both these plans associate Apollinaire's memory with a fountain, symbolizing creativity and rebirth and recalling his most harmonious calligramme, "The Bleeding-Heart Dove and the Fountain." Matisse's panel would have replaced the Sèvres ceramic plaque, dated 1900, which today still overlooks the boulevard, beside the church at Saint-Germain-des-Prés. The work described here is Matisse's *Apollo*, a heroically ambitious composition measuring over 4 × 3 meters, based on a cutout gouache maquette. At its center, the face of Apollo, which could have been replaced by a portrait of Apollinaire, is surrounded by floral patterns and a sunset over the sea, all framed by classical columns. Hues of yellow, white, blue, and green confirm the panel's vibrantly Mediterranean character. The heavy ceramic panel was made in 1953 by Robert Roselen, in Nice, with each of its sixteen sections held in a metal frame fixed to a concrete slab.²⁴

On 24 February 1954, Rouveyre sent Matisse a cutting, entitled "Paris Seeks a Sculptor," from the latest *Figaro littéraire*, referring to the Apollinaire monument. According to the article, Matisse had declared that "his health would hardly allow him to undertake the ceramic composition that would have decorated a stone plinth." Tellingly, there was also some disagreement over whether the design should be figurative or in a more daring style.²⁵ Matisse clarified matters for Rouveyre: "True, I did agree to take on the Apollinaire monument; untrue, that I was already working on it and that my current state of health forced me to stop. Thinking about it, I simply realized that I was going to get involved in a task that is a bit too much for my strength at eighty-four years old, and so I preferred to drop the project before I'd started."²⁶ Matisse died in November 1954, and his last great work, the ceramic *Apollo* and its cutout maquette, went to the Moderna Museet in Stockholm.

Head of Dora Maar

An Apollinaire Monument for Saint-Germain-des-Prés

IN 1954, AFTER their anniversary gathering at Père Lachaise, the Apollinaire circle went to the brasserie Lipp on boulevard Saint-Germain. "Discussion again turned to the monument, once more delayed because of the death of Henri Matisse. Destiny is out to thwart us, but we are nevertheless sure that the monument will soon stand in the garden of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, near rue Guillaume Apollinaire."¹ This optimism was not unfounded. Following Matisse's death, Picasso felt that the years of dialogue and rivalry from which they had both benefited left him with a legacy of unfinished business that included the Apollinaire monument. The year 1955 ended with a breakthrough.

On 28 November 1955, Jacques Jaujard sent André Billy photographs of "a bronze sculpture, 110 cm tall, that Picasso would be ready to provide as a gift, to be placed in Saint-Germain-des-Prés, in memory of Apollinaire" (AB). On 14 December 1955, Jacqueline Apollinaire wrote to explain the situation to Billy, who had been excluded from the discussions:

Dear André,

I'm writing to tell you how the current campaign regarding a monument for Guillaume was instigated so you won't see it as any kind of plot.

At the last anniversary, as at so many others, nobody broached the matter of the monument. Even if I don't mention it, it still pains me!

Last year, I had lunch with Picasso. Bernard Poissonnier came to fetch me and he bravely raised the matter of the monument for Guillaume. Picasso then took us into his studio and showed us what he was making available to us. B. Poissonnier managed to get hold of the rare and expensive book that reproduces all of Picasso's sculptures, including this beautiful head. He then went to submit it to M. Jaujard, who was unavoidably away, so he met M. Goudal, who agreed with us on the value of this fine work. . . .

The Ministry of Art and Literature can send, for example, M. Goudal on a trip to the South of France where he could meet Pablo. The matter could be finalized there and then, face to face, as we can't expect Picasso to resolve it all alone. (AB)

Bernard Poissonnier, born in 1898, had been a close friend of Jacqueline Apollinaire since 1936. He was editor of *Le Journal* until 1945 and also curated exhibitions, including *La Peinture française moderne*, at the Kurhaus, Baden Baden, in 1946. In 1952 he produced a substantial anthology of unpublished Apollinaire poems entitled *Le Guetteur mélancolique*.² I met Monsieur Poissonnier on 9 March 1989, in his small modern room in a Montparnasse retirement home. On his bedside table stood a beautiful little Cubist collage by Picasso. Looking back to 1955, he remembered joining Picasso and Jacqueline, after their lunch together, in a restaurant on rue Saint-Benoît and then going with them to the artist's studio to look at work that might be suitable for the monument. They had agreed on the sculpture of a head that Picasso singled out. Poissonnier had had the impression that "Apollinaire's death was too distant to concern Picasso," and he recalled how heavy the sculpture had been when he eventually collected it from the foundry.

From all the above, it is clear that in November 1955, from the works on offer, Picasso and Jacqueline Apollinaire decided on a head that Jacques Jaujard subsequently approved for the Apollinaire monument.³ Poissonnier then had second thoughts, however, and decided that this sculpture would be too big for the square in which it would stand. On 18 January 1956, he returned to the artist's studio and, with Sabartés, in Picasso's absence, identified a different, smaller sculpture. The next day, Poissonnier presented a photograph of the new choice to Jacques Jaujard and then wrote to André Billy, recounting his second thoughts, describing his session with Sabartés, and sending him a photo: "With Sabartés, I looked through Picasso's sculpture albums, and Sabartés showed me the photo, from which I obtained a print, enclosed with this letter. It's an admirable thing that should get unanimous support." Sabartés had assured Poissonnier that "Picasso was very committed to the monument," and Poissonnier assured Billy that Jaujard "much admires the new head and thinks it's of a kind that will get everyone's vote."⁴

The work finally chosen was *Head of Dora Maar* (fig. 79), 80 cm tall, dating from 1941. It had been made in Picasso's bathroom, the only room he could then heat in his Grands-Augustins flat. Alberto Giacometti later remembered visits he had paid Picasso when he was making the head and "all the extraordinary changes and transformations it went through": "I kept saying to him, 'Why don't you just go on doing it? Why do you have to change your mind all the time?'"⁵ Kahnweiler's *Les Sculptures de Picasso*, published by Les Editions du Chêne in 1948, contains a fine full-page photograph of the original plaster, seen in profile. Four bronze casts of the sculpture were produced, two by Valsuani, then two others by the Susse foundry in Paris, dated 1958 (Sp 197). If Picasso appeared less than enthusiastic, as Bernard Poissonnier suggested, this was perhaps because a sculpted head was so far removed from the solutions he had always envisaged. His mind-set is confirmed by ink drawings dated 16 November 1955, on sketchbook pages numbered I, II and III, that show a new series of transparent wire sculptures, some standing on rectangular bases or with outstretched, curved arms (Z XVI, 498–500), recalling his 1928 "drawings in space" (fig. 80).

Government approval was confirmed by a letter from Jacques Jaujard to Picasso, dated



79. Pablo Picasso, *Head of Dora Maar*, 1941. Plaster, 80 × 42 × 55 cm. Ludwig Museum, Cologne. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), N.Y.

6 February 1956, headed "French Republic / Ministry of National Education / General Directory of Arts and Letters / The Director General":

I have learned you have generously decided to make a gift of one of your sculptures in memory of Apollinaire.

This work in bronze, as his friends have requested, would be placed in Saint-Germain-des-Prés Square near the street named after the great poet.

Like Mme. Apollinaire and M. Poissonnier, who have told me of your undertaking, I am extremely moved by the thinking that has led you to make this generous gesture.

Only an artist like you could evoke the personality of such a beautiful writer, and he would have been happy to see himself honored by an artistic tribute of this kind.

I know that the Friends of Guillaume Apollinaire are taking steps to obtain necessary authorization from departments of the City of Paris and the city council, and I hope they will obtain a speedy outcome. (AP)

Poissonnier delivered Jaujard's letter to Sabartés, who, some weeks later, on 19 March 1956, forwarded it to Picasso with a characteristically ironic letter in Spanish, comparing bureaucratic negotiations to a bullfight. He explained that Bernard Poissonnier, happy to see the monument project moving forward, was nevertheless raising a fundamental question:

80. Pablo Picasso, drawings,
16 November 1955 (Z XVI, 499).
Pen and ink. © 2007 Estate of
Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights
Society (ARS), N.Y.



Where is the head you have given? I know it is in the dining room of your house LA CALIFORNIE, I've had it facing me several times, each time I've eaten with my back to the dresser. . . .

I enclose the letter from the esteemed director general of arts and letters (you are the arts and Apollinaire the letters) of the Ministry of National Education of the French Republic.

Applause all round the bullring, both ears and the tail.

To think that you never believed—oh ye of little faith! that the monument could be realized. (AP)

The last obstacle was getting agreement from the local authorities in Paris. A letter dated 26 January 1956, signed by all the committee members, was sent to the president of the city council:

The Guillaume Apollinaire Committee, made up of the great poet's old friends André Billy, Francis Carco, Jean Cocteau, Roland Dorgelès, Mac Orlan, and André Salmon, is honored to ask the City of Paris to authorize, in a Left Bank square of the city, a monument that will be a sculpture by his friend, Pablo Picasso, of which a photograph is enclosed. . . .

We are confident, M. President, that you and the Paris City Council will agree to the installation of this unobtrusive tribute that we would like to see, in the shadow of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, not far from rue Guillaume Apollinaire, in the shape of a bronze female head symbolizing Poetry. (AP)

Jacqueline sent Picasso a copy of the letter, reminding him that *Head of Dora Maar* was one of the sculptures he had offered her in November 1955 and also reminding him of his commitment:

Everything is going ahead and we just need your agreement. When I saw you about this last year, you showed me this large, bronze, woman's head (80 cm tall) reproduced in your Editions du Chêne book. That is the photo sent to the city council.

Sabartés told me you had taken it to Cannes. If you cannot get it back to Paris, could you ask Sabartés to order a new cast for you from your foundry? The monument that I am so attached to *now depends on you*, and I'm counting on you now, Pablo, and I'm counting on you with all my heart, on your attachment to Guillaume's memory, and on our old friendship for this finally to reach a conclusion. (AP)

Bertrand Monnet, the head architect for historic buildings in France, who was notably responsible for restoring Strasbourg Cathedral, took charge of design issues. He first drew a plan, dated 15 December 1956, indicating where the sculpture should stand in Laurent Prache Square, at the junction of place Saint-Germain-des-Prés and rue de l'Abbaye, near the main entrance of the church. This little garden is named after one of Apollinaire's contemporaries, a court of appeals lawyer who was a city councillor and member of Parliament for Paris from 1890 to 1910. Bertrand Monnet also prepared a detailed plan, dated 1 March 1957, for the plinth, in the shape of a rectangular granite column, 1 m 30 cm tall, measuring 60 × 60 cm at the base, with its top surface sloping back. On 28 January 1958 Bernard Poissonnier sent the plans to Picasso, confirming that he had informed the architect of "the plinth you spoke to me about and the style of presentation you wanted" and that the project had been designed "according to your instructions" (AP).

Monnet's drawings inscribe the year 1957 on the plinth, but the mills of French bureaucracy ground slowly. In September 1957 the plans were submitted to the Technical Services for Parks and Gardens of the Seine Region, in November to the city council, and then to the Central Commission for Memorial Monuments.⁶ The monument was finally approved in a decree dated 15 December 1958. Jacqueline Apollinaire wrote to Picasso on 28 January 1959:

Dear Pablo,

At last!! I'm very pleased to inform you of the final agreement of the Paris Municipal Council and of Historic Buildings for the monument to Guillaume Apollinaire, with your bust, on Saint-Germain-des-Prés square.

LE DOCTEUR PIERRE DEVRAIGNE, PRÉSIDENT
ET LES MEMBRES DU BUREAU
DU CONSEIL MUNICIPAL DE PARIS

vous prie de vouloir bien leur faire l'honneur d'assister
à l'inauguration du monument élevé à la mémoire de
Guillaume APOLLINAIRE, square Laurent-Prache (angle
de la place Saint-Germain-des-Prés et de la rue de
l'Abbaye), le Vendredi 5 Juin 1959, à 11 heures.

81. Invitation card for Apollinaire monument ceremony, Paris, 5 June 1959 (MP).

Here are photocopies of the relevant letters.

Now we have to hurry erecting the monument and for that we need your bronze.

Could you tell Sabartés to give it to Bernard Poissonnier, so he can pass it to the architect in charge.

How happy I would be to see you in Paris for the unveiling of your bust in memory of your old friend Guillaume. I'll let you know the date.

Thank you with all my heart for what you have done for Guillaume. I embrace you affectionately.

Jacqueline.⁷

In 1959, with all the red tape untied, Picasso handed over the sculpture.

THE MONUMENT CEREMONY

Bernard Poissonnier, "General Secretary of the Apollinaire Committee," organized the inauguration, and on 24 April 1959 the secretary to the president of the city council confirmed to him that the official ceremony would take place at 11:00 A.M., Friday, 5 June, in Laurent Prache Square (fig. 81). In a letter of 14 May 1959, the office of André Malraux, French minister of culture, informed him that Malraux was happy to sponsor the event. On 30 May 1959, Jacqueline wrote to Picasso, "I know you hate all official ceremonies; at the moment of the unveiling I'll think of you" (AP). On 3 June 1959, Jean Cocteau sent Poissonnier a telegram from Saint-Jean-Cap-Ferrat: "Will be there at 11:00

A.M. but alas not for lunch. Heartfelt greetings to Jacqueline and friends. Jean Cocteau" (AP). Eventually, neither Picasso nor Malraux attended, leaving Cocteau center stage.

Le Figaro littéraire on 6 June 1959 carried the headline, "This Friday, Apollinaire's Moment of Glory!" The report was illustrated by a photo of a craftsman carving lettering on the plinth, behind a canvas screen. It announced that the monument would be unveiled by Dr. Pierre Devraigne, president of the city council, in the presence of Jacques Jaujard, representing André Malraux; Monsieur Eyraud, director of the Paris Council for the Arts, "largely responsible for getting the wishes of the friends of poetry fulfilled"; and André Salmon, who would "make a speech on behalf of the friends of Apollinaire." The article concluded as follows: "This monument, exemplary in its sobriety, in the memories associated with the sculptor's work and with its setting, has been designed by Monsieur Bertrand Monnet, chief architect for Historic Buildings. Guinet Quarries, of Lyons, has resolved, in this demonstration of support for poetry and for a great poet, to present the plinth as a gift to the Friends of Apollinaire." Remarkably, the article managed to avoid mentioning Picasso.⁸

The Apollinaire ceremony came a few days after the unveiling of a monument to Gérard de Nerval, on 22 May 1959, with André Billy attending, at the foot of the Tour St. Jacques. *Le Figaro littéraire* recalled that the Nerval monument was originally supposed to be inaugurated in May 1912, near the Church of St. Pierre in Montmartre, and that Apollinaire was then a member of the Nerval Committee.⁹ Apollinaire indeed adored Nerval's writings; he had told his readers of plans for a Nerval Monument in *Paris-Journal* of 14 March 1910 and then had returned to the subject in *L'Europe nouvelle* of 31 August 1918, saying that the project had sunk without a trace (*Pr* 2, pp. 1174, 1471). The Apollinaire and Nerval monuments had both taken decades to realize.

"Jean Cocteau Reunited with Guillaume Apollinaire in Saint-Germain-des-Prés," wrote *Le Figaro* of 6–7 June 1959, over another photo of the monument ("a long and beautiful woman's face"), flanked by Cocteau and Jacqueline listening to Salmon making a speech. *France-Soir* adopted a similarly positive tone, reporting the relief felt by those living nearby:

Dr. Devraigne, president of the Paris City Council, has inaugurated, in Saint-Germain-des-Prés, the bronze bust of the poet Guillaume Apollinaire by Picasso. The monument project was long subject to controversy, as some regular visitors to Laurent Prache Square feared seeing a Picasso sculpture rising up amid the ruins of the chapel of Pierre de Montreuil.

The arguments seem now largely to have been stilled because of the character of the work, which is a bust of the poet, cast in bronze, in an essentially figurative style and which, by its manner, more resembles sculptures of archaic antiquity than the "surprising" shapes usually expected from Picasso. The monument is particularly at home in this square. The poet lived for years on boulevard Saint-Germain, near the abbey, and that is where he died from Spanish flu on 9 November 1918.

Finally, we should recall that this is a gift from Picasso to the City of Paris, in homage

to Apollinaire. The artist was closely associated with the author of *Alcools*, who was himself a great supporter of the Cubist painters in both his writing and his actions. The monument is both an act of gratitude and a gesture of faithful friendship.¹⁰

France-Soir was not the only paper to see the sculpture as a portrait of Apollinaire, but the report usefully indicates local opposition to any plans for a more radically innovative monument.¹¹

A week later, *Le Figaro* published a fuller account of the event, noting the presence alongside Jacqueline Apollinaire of Cocteau, Salmon, André Billy, Sonia Delaunay, Jean Mollet, Jeanine Moulin, and Claude Chéreau; the poets Philippe Chabaneix, Maurice Fombeure, Noël Ruet, Henri de Lescoët, and Robert Sabatier; a delegation from Stavelot in Belgium, including M. and Mme. Armand Huysmans and Camille Deleclos; Apollinaire specialists Michel Décaudin, Pierre-Marcel Adéma, and Marie-Jeanne Durry; and Bernard Poissonnier (figs. 82–88).¹² Other survivors, not mentioned but present at the ceremony, included Jeanne and Gino Severini, Nicolas Beauduin, Tristan Tzara, Gabrielle Buffet-Picabia, Juliette Roche-Gleizes, and Youki Desnos (figs. 89–93).

Cocteau, Pierre Devraigne, and André Salmon made speeches, but Salmon, overcome with emotion, had most of his text read by Henri de Madaillan. According to *Le Figaro*, the monument itself was much admired: “Mme. Jacqueline Apollinaire finally unveiled the monument, revealing a head of a woman whose beauty is as far removed as possible from the idea of Venus promoted by magazines, but in which can be seen, not the poet’s features, despite the claims of one evening paper, but the ardent face of Poetry. . . . M. Bertrand Monnet, City of Paris architect, was warmly congratulated, and this is indeed an exemplary monument, by its sobriety and presence in the shade of the lime and chestnut trees.” The poet Maurice Fombeure described the monument “that Cocteau declared he had chosen with Picasso from the (according to him) numerous works lying around in the incomparable artist’s studio.”¹³ Cocteau may have discussed the issue with Picasso and helped him identify uncontroversial sculptures for the monument.

Aragon’s *Lettres françaises* highlighted the monument’s political context, recalling splits among Apollinaire’s friends and followers and the resulting ideological and artistic imbalance in the committee: “Some people opposed it, using the architectural style of the Saint-Germain-des-Prés site as a pretext; they really would have opposed the erection of any monument by Pablo Picasso. They have not given up, and the inauguration ceremony, which because of this was not attended by many of Apollinaire’s and Picasso’s friends, included a speech by André Salmon.”¹⁴ Aragon stayed away, and politics and old quarrels certainly influenced Picasso’s attitude toward the whole project.

The consensual mood was also broken by André Breton, who pointedly distanced himself from the ceremony, standing outside the square, with Elisa Breton, Jean-Jacques Lebel, Radovan Ivsic, and other young Surrealists, mainly to demonstrate their contempt for Cocteau (figs. 94 and 95). A Surrealist report on the event referred to the monument as “Picasso’s bust of a cleaning lady.”¹⁵



82. Pablo Volta, Jean Cocteau, Jacqueline Apollinaire, André Salmon, André Billy, Apollinaire Monument Ceremony, Saint-Germain-des-Prés, 5 June 1959. © Erik Satie Archives, Paris.



83. Pablo Volta, Jean Mollet, Saint-Germain-des-Prés, 5 June 1959. © Erik Satie Archives, Paris.



84. Pablo Volta, *Jean Mollet*, *Saint-Germain-des-Prés*, 5 June 1959. © Erik Satie Archives, Paris.



85. Pablo Volta, *Jean Cocteau*, *André Salmon*, *Saint-Germain-des-Prés*, 5 June 1959. © Erik Satie Archives, Paris.



86. (top, left) Pablo Volta, Jean Cocteau, André Salmon, Saint-Germain-des-Prés, 5 June 1959. © Erik Satie Archives, Paris.

87. (top, right) Pablo Volta, Jacqueline Apollinaire, Jean Cocteau, Saint-Germain-des-Prés, 5 June 1959.

88. (middle, left) Pablo Volta, André Salmon, Saint-Germain-des-Prés, 5 June 1959. © Erik Satie Archives, Paris.



89. (bottom, left) Pablo Volta, Jeanne and Gino Severini, Saint-Germain-des-Prés, 5 June 1959. © Erik Satie Archives, Paris.



90. Pablo Volta, *Gabrielle Buffet-Picabia*, *Tristan Tzara*, *Sonia Delaunay*, *Saint-Germain-des-Prés*, 5 June 1959. © Erik Satie Archives, Paris.



91. Pablo Volta, *Gabrielle Buffet-Picabia*, *Juliette Roche-Gleizes*, *Tristan Tzara*, *Saint-Germain-des-Prés*, 5 June 1959. © Erik Satie Archives, Paris.



92. Pablo Volta, *Laurent Prache Square, Saint-Germain-des-Prés*, 5 June 1959. © Erik Satie Archives, Paris.



93. Pablo Volta, *Jean Cocteau, Youki Desnos (center), Saint-Germain-des-Prés*, 5 June 1959. © Erik Satie Archives, Paris.



94. Pablo Volta, Marianne Van Hirtum, Radovan Ivšić, André Breton, Jean-Jacques Lebel, Elisa Breton, outside Laurent Prache Square, Saint-Germain-des-Prés, 5 June 1959. Breton refused to join the ceremony.
© Erik Satie Archives, Paris.



95. Pablo Volta, Marianne Van Hirtum, Radovan Ivšić, André Breton, Jean-Claude Silbermann, Elisa Breton, outside Laurent Prache Square, Saint-Germain-des-Prés, 5 June 1959. © Erik Satie Archives, Paris.

Two different versions of Cocteau's speech appeared in the Paris press, at opposite poles politically. According to *Le Figaro littéraire*, Cocteau spoke as follows:

HIS WOUND FORETOLD HIS RISING STAR

Guillaume Apollinaire never set out to reign in the literary firmament. He preferred to gather flowers on the banks of the Seine and the Rhine. He did not believe in his own glory and died without realizing that his face between candles would resemble the decapitated head of Orpheus, that his war wound foretold his rising star, that on 11 November 1918 the flags would be out to honor him, and that the muses were unfortunately going to choose him like the praying mantis that devours the partner it has wed.

He lengthens the list of that saintly and prestigious race of poets who swiftly give way to the work of which they must be both the dark substrata and the archaeologists.¹⁶

A week later, *Les Lettres françaises* published a front-page picture of the monument with another version of the speech, more probably the one spoken by Cocteau:

To Guillaume Apollinaire
My dear Jacqueline,
My dear friends,

Because the ink that trembled at the tip of his pen fell onto the white page to form a star, Apollinaire became a constellation. He never set out to reign in the literary firmament. He did not believe in his own glory, he was unaware that his war wound would become his rising star, that his face between candles would resemble the decapitated head of Orpheus, that the muses, ferocious women like praying mantises, would devour him.

To salute Apollinaire is to salute Picasso, whom he compared to a pearl.

This bronze muse is perhaps one of the nine who command that the artist give way to his work.

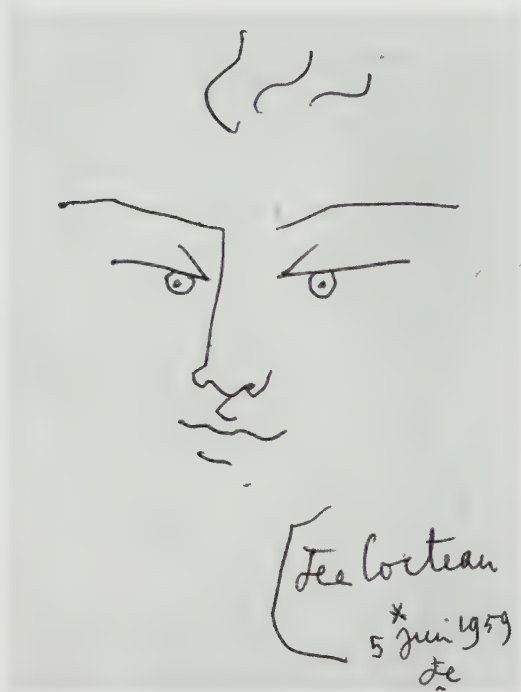
Here is the peerless poet honored on the little lawn around which we used to walk and talk of our misfortunes.

Only, the misfortunes of poets are the reverse side of the mysterious good fortune that is born after they die.

But I imagine the true statue of Apollinaire cast in the empty space he leaves among us, even among those who did not have the joy of knowing him and of clasping his hands, which were those of an archbishop, an alchemist, and a friend.¹⁷

Cocteau's words, steeped in the spirit of his 1959 film *The Testament of Orpheus*, also reach back to 1918, when, for the Matisse and Picasso exhibition, Apollinaire compared Picasso's work to "a beautiful pearl." He also propitiously recalls Croniamantal's "monument made of nothing," interpreting it as the space reserved in the hearts of all who knew Apollinaire or appreciated his work.

The morning ended with Cocteau and friends at the brasserie Lipp, across the boule-



96. Jean Cocteau, drawing for Bernard Poissonnier on back of invitation card for Apollinaire monument ceremony, Paris, 5 June 1959 (MP.1989.3–8). © 2007 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/ADAGP, Paris.

vard, where the owner, Monsieur Cazes, served a complimentary aperitif. As a gesture of thanks, Bernard Poissonnier was given four invitation cards for the event, each inscribed with a tribute. One of them read: “A good day! André Billy 5/6/59.” Another read:

Saint-Germain-des-Prés 5 June 1959

To my friend Bernard Poissonnier, to whom we owe everything
that touches our hearts and our minds on this morning of glory

André Salmon

The other two cards were in Cocteau’s hand. One of them bore a signed and dated ink drawing of a handsome Orphic face (fig. 96). The other bore the following text, also in black ink:

A word spoken by the Dalai Lama at Harrer
at the moment the communists first arrived

The secret of Tibet is that
there isn’t one—but that is a secret that
must be protected above any other

JC

Une parole de
Dolai Lema
dit à Hauer
au moment de la première arrivée
de communistes.

Le secret du thibet c'est
qu'il n'y a pas, mais
c'est un secret qu'il
fait protéger avant tout
autre.

97. Jean Cocteau, text for Bernard Poissonnier on back of invitation card for Apollinaire monument ceremony, Paris, 5 June 1959 (MP.1989.3-9). © 2007 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York/ADAGP, Paris.

98. Pablo Picasso, *Monument for Apollinaire (Head of Dora Maar)*. Bronze, 80 x 42 x 55 cm. Saint-Germain-des-Prés. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Photo by Jean-Michel Husson.



For want of a monument made of nothing, Cocteau elegantly invoked a secret made of nothing, like poetry and glory (fig. 97).

Picasso's portrait of Dora Maar thus came to symbolize Poetry and commemorate Apollinaire. She had been the model for Picasso's *Weeping Woman* paintings, archetypal images of sorrow dating from the Spanish Civil War that recall tearful Gothic Virgins. The Saint-Germain-des-Prés sculpture, particularly in Picasso's original plaster (Cologne, Ludwig Museum), which was varnished before it was cast in bronze, recalls earlier Romanesque Virgins, with their steady gaze and controlled sadness. The figure's hair is pulled back to reveal her strong features, with high cheekbones that recall Dora Maar's Slavic ancestry, a tenuous link with the poet. The profile is a purely sinuous line, but the pitted, irregular surface of the work and the summary rendition of the hair and base enhance its archaic charisma (fig. 98).

Neither signed nor dated, the bronze bears the foundry seal, "C Valsuani Lost Wax." On the plinth, facing the entrance to the square, are engraved the words:

TO
GUILLAUME APOLLINAIRE
1880-1918

The left side bears the words,

THIS BRONZE SCULPTURE
BY PABLO PICASSO
IS DEDICATED
BY HIM TO HIS FRIEND
GUILLAUME APOLLINAIRE
1959¹⁸

Apart from his Icarus fresco for the UNESCO building, Picasso's monument to Apollinaire is his only public work of art in Paris. Sheltered from a wide and busy crossroads, against a backdrop of broken Gothic columns and arches, relics of the Great Chapel of the Virgin built by Pierre de Montreuil from 1245 to 1255, the monument stands discreetly and serenely on a patch of grass, near a drinking fountain, shaded by chestnut trees, where Apollinaire used to walk.

Monumental Sculptures, Large Scale and Lost

PICASSO KEPT HIS 1928 wire maquettes and by the 1960s also owned three enlargements of two of them (MP 264, 265). Made of welded metal rods, the enlargements are painted dark red and brown. One of them (Sp 68A), 95 cm tall, eventually went to Picasso's daughter, Marina; another (Sp 68B), 198 cm tall, Picasso gave to the New York Museum of Modern Art in 1972. The enlargements are hard to date exactly. William Rubin recalled that according to Françoise Gilot, the first enlargement was made after her split with Picasso, and according to Jacqueline Roque, it was made before she met the artist.¹ If both Gilot and Roque are correct, Picasso had the first enlargement made in 1953 or 1954, significantly at a time when the Apollinaire Committee and the Ministry of Education were in discussions with Matisse. The MoMA enlargement combines geometrical rigidity with shifting lines and perspectives. A little taller than life-size, it stands on a rectangular steel plate, which measures 74.08 × 159.08 cm and so would perfectly cover a tomb. The original 1928 wire maquette was therefore ideally proportioned for its intended purpose.

In 1963, a group of American architects visited Picasso at Notre-Dame-de-Vie, his house in Mougins. They invited him to design a monumental sculpture for a piazza in Chicago where the city's new Civic Center was located. According to Roland Penrose, who organized the meeting, Picasso told them he was "honored that the two cities famous for their gangsters, Marseille and Chicago, should be the first to ask him for monuments." He immediately suggested they should make "an enlargement of the wire 'space' sculpture of 1928." As Penrose commented, a giant version of one of the transparent maquettes "would indeed have looked magnificent against the background of the enormous glass-fronted walls of the new law courts."² The architects, however, wanted a completely new metal sculpture. Since 1960, with the help of Lionel Prejger and a local metalworker named Thiola, Picasso had been making folded and welded sheet-metal sculptures, and he even-

tually gave the architects a recent model from that series, representing a woman's head, 104.7 cm tall (Sp 643), now in the Art Institute of Chicago. From that model was built Chicago's extraordinary twenty-meter Civic Center sculpture. The figure's chin is supported by a steel plate representing her trunk and resembling an upright smoothing iron, creating a visual pun that emphasizes the material being used. Two flat metal wings at the back of the head, in the shape of a 1960s hairstyle, are joined to the figure's profile by rows of diagonal rods. They fill the central space with criss-crossing patterns that vary according to the spectator's viewpoint and cast shifting shadows. This massively monumental but largely transparent "drawing in space" was thus a direct descendant of the 1928 wire maquettes and the welded metal heads that Picasso made with González. The Chicago monument was unveiled in summer 1967, and Picasso subsequently refused the \$100,000 fee he was offered, making the sculpture "his gift to the people of Chicago,"³ a generous gesture that also signaled his artistic independence.

In 1971, Picasso presented his first, historic, open-work metal construction, the 1914 *Guitar*, to New York MoMA, and the following year his 198 cm enlargement of one of the wire maquettes went to join it. From that model, MoMA ordered a larger version, over four meters tall, made of steel rods (Sp 68C), keeping Picasso informed with photographs and discussing with him the materials and scale of the work.⁴

Picasso was thus involved in projects related to his 1920s plans for an Apollinaire monument right to the end of his life. Apollinaire was often on his mind. When he started courting Jacqueline Roque, in 1954, he used to ask her to read him Apollinaire's wartime love poems from the 1947 volume *Ombre de mon amour*.⁵ Picasso loved poetry as much as ever. In September 1954, when staying with both Françoise Gilot and Jacqueline Roque at Jacques and Paule de Lazerve's house in Perpignan, Picasso gave his hosts a copy of his illustrated edition of Reverdy's *Chant des morts*, and they spent an evening reading the poems aloud. Roland Penrose, also present, noted Picasso's reaction: "'When all's said and done, that makes you happier and does you more good than reading newspapers,' said P and he went on to praise the powers of poetry."⁶ In November 1959, he gave Jacqueline the self-portrait he had drawn on the night Apollinaire died. Hélène Parmelin reported how often in the 1960s he spoke of Max Jacob and Apollinaire, recalling the unrivaled freedom they claimed for their generation of poets and artists: "There was so much Picasso in Apollinaire, there is so much Apollinaire in Picasso."⁷ When William Rubin met Picasso in the early 1970s, he found him happy to recall Braque and Matisse and reported that Picasso "often spoke of poets such as Apollinaire."⁸ In 1971 the *New York Times* quoted a "close friend" of Picasso, who reported that he often evoked Apollinaire and Van Gogh, artists who had died young without being recognized during their lifetime, and contrasted their destiny with his own.⁹ That same year, Werner Spies visited Mougins and found Picasso, aged ninety, apparently living and working outside transience and time. He enjoyed televised wrestling matches, as they reminded him of fairgrounds from his youth, but also loved to recall his long-lost poet friends:

When it comes to reading, he prefers poetry, especially by his friends Guillaume Apollinaire, Max Jacob, and Paul Eluard. He even recites extracts from their works and sometimes sings one of those songs with words written by Apollinaire or Max Jacob. Sometimes, so as to recall his work with Diaghilev and Stravinsky, he hums a few bars of *Petrushka*. "Do you remember *The Assassinated Poet*? The plan for a monument to Croniamantal? It isn't a statue. It's a hole dug in the ground, lined with concrete and then filled up again. I've always wanted to do something like that."¹⁰

As Spies was cataloguing his sculptures, Picasso evoked his plans for a monument to Apollinaire that would be true to the poet's writing.

On 8 April 1973 a cardiologist was caring for Picasso, whose strength was failing. Picasso rose from his bed, but respiratory difficulties forced him back: "He had not the least notion that he was dying. At times he drifted off, talking quietly to himself, and the doctor often heard him speak of Apollinaire."¹¹

Shortly before he died, Picasso had two bronze casts made of his 1933 sculpture *Woman with a Vase* (Sp 135), which had been exhibited outside the Spanish Republican Pavilion, where *Guernica* was shown, at the 1937 International Exhibition in Paris. Why did Picasso have two copies made, at such a late date? He sent one of the casts to rejoin *Guernica* at the Prado in Madrid. His widow, always attentive to his wishes, placed the other over his grave at the Château of Vauvenargues. His tomb is thus marked by a sculpture that poignantly recalls his antifascist and Spanish Republican commitment and stands as an awesome fertility goddess, personifying creativity. Larger than life (219 cm tall), with her thick, phallic neck and bulbous head, her swollen belly and breasts and massive right arm, she is also directly descended from Picasso's 1927 drawings of pneumatic bathers and the 1928 sculpture *Metamorphosis*. The androgynous monument originally proposed for Apollinaire's grave in Père Lachaise finally stood over Picasso's own resting place.

The Saint-Germain-des-Prés monument discreetly graced its pretty square for forty years. On the night of 30 March 1999, however, it disappeared from its plinth. The garden was being renovated, occupied by workmen and their equipment, so no one batted an eye until, eventually, an employee of the nearby Réunion des musées nationaux publishing house raised the alarm.

The police opened an investigation, but two years passed before Paris Town Hall received any news of the sculpture. In May 1999 a council employee had found a bronze sculpture, weighing eighty kilos, in a ditch at Grouchy Park, in Osny, Val-d'Oise, outside Paris. The Osny Town Council informed the local police, and then the Regional Office of Cultural Affairs, but no one linked this discovery to the theft from Saint-Germain-des-Prés. Christian Gourmelin, mayor of Osny, decided to clean the work, which "was covered with green mold and moss." He was struck by its quality, so for the annual *Fête du patrimoine*, a national celebration of cultural heritage that offered open access to public and historic buildings, he installed the unsigned, unidentified sculpture at the top of the main staircase of his town hall, a handsome eighteenth-century château.

Only during the same event one year later, in September 2000, did a “visitor from Paris” recognize it as a work by Picasso—a suggestion that left Osny’s cultural affairs officer “incredulous.”

Eventually, in February 2001, an official description of the missing work allowed it to be formally identified. The local police, however, because of their own investigations, opposed its immediate return to Paris. So the Apollinaire monument stayed in Osny, where it was moved to a more secure room, with an alarm, amid an exhibition by an English painter, William Thorley. As Mr. Gourmelin put it, “You can’t leave a Picasso hanging around just anywhere.”¹² Eventually it was restored and returned to its plinth in Paris. For three years, however, Apollinaire had been honored, in Saint-Germain-des-Prés, by a stone plinth bearing, literally, a “monument made of nothing.”

CONCLUSION

Defining the function of poetry, Paul Eluard coined the phrase *donner à voir*, implying that the poet directs our gaze, opens our eyes, teaches us to see. Writing on Picasso, Apollinaire cut through the seething melee of contemporary art in early twentieth-century Paris and directed his readers' gaze toward the works that really mattered. He was making decisions in the heat of battle, and posterity has confirmed his judgment. By his writings, however, a poet can influence posterity. Apollinaire's response to Picasso's Cubism invented terms for twentieth-century critical debate. He also wrote beautifully on all aspects of Picasso's output, and his poetry and prose remind us of the crucial role played by modern poets, from Cendrars and Reverdy to Breton, Eluard, Francis Ponge, and Yves Bonnefoy, in promoting and celebrating the work of visual artists, connecting separate fields of expression and sometimes drawing them closer together.

According to Max Jacob, "Of all the young and brilliant friends who came to the rue Ravignan, Picasso preferred Guillaume Apollinaire. . . . How he dazzled us, how he charmed us! and what a place he held in Picasso's life. What a spectacle to see the friendship of those two geniuses who understood each other so well."¹ That understanding was still apparent fifty years later to Pierre Daix, who wrote that, "in talking to Picasso, I always had the impression that Apollinaire was the congenial friend with whom he could share everything, the friend no one else ever replaced."² That personal empathy recalls Michel de Montaigne's lapidary explanation of his legendary friendship with Etienne de la Boétie: "Because it was him, because it was me." Their intuitive understanding was, however, strengthened by a constant exchange of ideas, shared aspirations, and parallel creative development. Picasso's illustrations for *The Bestiary*, his portraits for *Alcools* and *Calligrammes*, his letters to the poet, and the sculptures he later designed for him all confirm his subtle and authentic appreciation of Apollinaire's poetry and prose. *Les Onze Mille Verges* mattered as much to him as "The Assassinated Poet," and all Picasso's work,

alongside his astute comments on the subject, shows how fully he subscribed to Apollinaire's original conception of the term *Surrealism*.

Apollinaire and the best poets of his generation, working during the period between late Symbolism and the birth of Surrealism, opened a space of unrivaled creative freedom, untrammelled by sectarian mind-sets, spurious labels, or the dictates of manifestos and programmatic theorizing. They moved effortlessly between literary styles and genres and combined irrepressible vitality with the highest aesthetic commitment. That combination of freedom and ambition was contagious and inspirational. The example set by Apollinaire, Salmon, Jacob, and other poets whom Picasso welcomed to the Bateau Lavoir undoubtedly encouraged him to distance himself from the slow narrative of his Blue period and to open his painting to the imaginative energy already apparent in his caricatures and sketchbooks. He thus adopted the model of creative independence and constant stylistic renewal that would underpin all his subsequent achievements.

Picasso threw commemorative propriety to the winds when he designed his monuments to Apollinaire. The result was a series of formidable, jubilantly life-affirming, and radically innovative welded metal constructions, built between 1928 and 1932. It is impossible to overestimate the impact of these works on the subsequent development of Western sculpture. From González, through Jean Tinguely and David Smith, up to the present day, a lion's share of modern sculpture has developed along trajectories that were defined by works Picasso produced in a smoky, noisy, matchbox forge in Plaisance. Those monuments to the poet, and their descendants in modern sculpture, are a major part of the continuing legacy that was generated by the Picasso-Apollinaire relationship.

The Apollinaire Committee, however, always wanted a traditional monument with a conventional effigy of the poet. Picasso's approach was consistently more inventive and conceptual, seeking rather to celebrate the poet's literary legacy. Picasso recognized that Apollinaire's true and timeless identity lived on in his work, so his projects represented biomorphic, androgynous sexual energy; realized the idea of a monument shaped in space and made of nothing; recalled Apollinaire's writing on African and Oceanian art; and embodied the poet's enthusiasm for industrial artifacts and metal architecture.

During the 1950s, when the prospective site of the monument shifted from Père Lachaise to the city center, fundamental disagreement between the committee and the artist was exacerbated by political antagonism. Furthermore, France was then in the midst of a concerted campaign to rebuild national morale after the humiliating years of the Occupation. Cultural icons deployed in the campaign included the 1940s Resistance poets, who during the Occupation had saved the nation's honor, but also Apollinaire, presented as a great poet and a heroic soldier, "mort pour la France," though in an earlier war. His image and references to his work therefore featured regularly in French newspapers and periodicals of every political persuasion, from *L'Humanité* and *Les Lettres françaises* on the left to *Le Figaro* on the right. In that context, conceptions of French national prestige and identity became relevant to the search for a monument to the poet, increasing the need for a commemorative style that would be suitably heroic and would satisfy the broad-

est possible range of tastes and opinions. While such considerations seemed important to members of the Gaullist city council, or to parts of the Apollinaire Committee, they were utterly irrelevant to Picasso, making communication between the two sides practically impossible.

The stalemate was eventually broken thanks to the persistence of Jacqueline Apollinaire, incisive action by Bernard Poissonnier, national and local government support, and Picasso's generosity. In January 1956 Poissonnier and Sabartés imposed a compromise by choosing a massive plaster head from among the range of sculptures Picasso had offered Jacqueline during her visit to his studio a few weeks previously. Cast in bronze, *Head of a Woman (Dora Maar)* was thus eventually unveiled on a stone plinth in a prestigious Left Bank setting halfway between Apollinaire's flat at 202 boulevard Saint-Germain and the rue des Grands-Augustins, where Picasso had painted *Guernica* and *The Kitchen* and where in 1941 he had made this powerfully assertive work that became his monument to the poet.

Among the topics I have discussed in this book are the strength and humor of male bonding; the strategies and limitations of poetic ekphrasis; the interplay of art and literature, drawing and sculpture; the sometimes obsessive solitude of high artistic endeavor; the cruel tension between personal loyalties and professional commitment; the plans for a poet's tombstone that provoked a revolution in the language of sculpture; the problematic encounters of public authorities and contemporary art; the interpenetration of art and ideology; and the role of public sculpture as a "site of memory," focusing shared history, values, and identity. I have revisited works of art and literature and have uncovered some new material. Equally striking, perhaps, is the amount of material that has been recorded but has disappeared from view. Where is Picasso's watercolor portrait of Apollinaire as a coffeepot? Where are Picasso's *Bestiary* proofs, with drawings by Apollinaire? Picasso's signed and dedicated copies of *Alcools*, *The Cubist Painters*, *Calligrammes*, and other books? His leather-bound manuscript of Apollinaire's poem celebrating his wedding? Where is the copy of *Sagesse*, signed by Verlaine, containing a gouache by Picasso, sold by Apollinaire in 1913? Where are the manuscripts of Apollinaire's unpublished books on Jarry and Rousseau? Did he complete any of the "odes" he was working on toward the end of his life? Those and other unanswered questions leave this study open-ended.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Guillaume Apollinaire to Madeleine Pagès, 20 May 1915, *Lettres à Madeleine: Tendre comme le souvenir*, ed. Laurence Campa (Paris: Gallimard, 2005), p. 45.
2. Matisse to Picasso, draft letter, dated Vence, 28 December 1944, in Elizabeth Cowling et al., *Matisse, Picasso* (New York: MoMA, 2002), p. 383.
3. Brassai, *Conversations with Picasso* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), p. 133.
4. PAC. Picasso told Françoise Gilot that his first wife, Olga Koklova, had destroyed some letters from Apollinaire and Max Jacob. Françoise Gilot and Carlton Lake, *Life with Picasso* (London: Virago Press, 1990), p. 300.
5. Werner Spies, *Picasso: The Sculptures. Catalogue Raisonné of the Sculptures* (Stuttgart: Hatje Cantz, 2000); Michael C. Fitzgerald, *Pablo Picasso's Monument to Guillaume Apollinaire: Surrealism and Monumental Sculpture in France, 1918–1959* (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1988); Christa Lichtenstern, *Pablo Picasso, Denkmal für Apollinaire: Entwurf zur Humanisierung des Raumes* (Frankfurt: Fischer Taschenbuch, 1988). Michael Fitzgerald's thesis is summarized in a chapter of his *Making Modernism: Picasso and The Creation of the Market for Twentieth-Century Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996). Lichtenstern's book was republished in French in 1990.
6. Brigitte Léal, *Musée Picasso: Carnets. Catalogue des dessins*, 2 vols. (Paris: RMN, 1996); Elizabeth Cowling, *Picasso: Style and Meaning* (New York: Phaidon, 2002) and *Visiting Picasso: The Notebooks and Letters of Roland Penrose* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2006); John Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, 2 vols. (London: Jonathan Cape, 1991, 1996).
7. Hélène Seckel, *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* (Paris: RMN, 1988); William Rubin, ed., *Picasso and Braque: Pioneering Cubism* (New York: MoMA, 1989); Elizabeth Cowling and John Golding, *Picasso: Sculptor/Painter* (London: Tate Gallery, 1994); Anne Baldassari, *Picasso photographe: 1901–1916* (Paris: RMN, 1994); Hélène Seckel and André Cariou, *Max Jacob*

et Picasso (Paris: RMN, 1994); William Rubin, ed., *Picasso and Portraiture: Representation and Transformation* (New York: MoMA, 1996); Marilyn McCully, ed., *Picasso: The Early Years, 1892–1906* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1997); Elizabeth Cowling et al., *Matisse/Picasso* (New York: MoMA, 2002); Laurence Madeline, *Les Archives de Picasso: "On est ce que l'on garde!"* (Paris: RMN, 2003); Anne Baldassari, ed., *The Surrealist Picasso* (Paris: Flammarion / Fondation Beyeler, 2005).

CHAPTER 1. FIRST ENCOUNTERS

1. Maurice Raynal, "Panorama de l'oeuvre de Picasso," *Le Point: Revue artistique et littéraire*, October 1952, p. 5.
2. Henri Mahaut, *Picasso* (Paris: Crès, 1930), p. 6.
3. Auction catalog, Etude Couturier Nicolay, *Ancienne Collection Guillaume Apollinaire. Manuscrits. Carnets. Dessins. Livres* (Paris: Hôtel Drouot, 30 April 1993), lot 98.
4. Jean Mollet, "Les Origines du cubisme: Apollinaire, Picasso et Cie," *Les Lettres françaises*, 3 January 1947, p. 7, and *Les Mémoires du Baron Mollet* (Paris: Gallimard, 1963), p. 37.
5. Mollet was unable "to give the exact date of all those events." See Mollet, "Origines du cubisme," p. 7, and *Mémoires du Baron Mollet*, pp. 56, 144.
6. Brassai, *Conversations with Picasso* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), p. 229. Picasso confirmed that version of events to Hélène Parmelin, emphasizing how amazingly English the bar was (Hélène Parmelin, *Voyage en Picasso* [Paris: Christian Bourgois, 1994], p. 124). In April 1912, Picasso invited Fernande Olivier to meet him at Austin's-Fox on his return from Le Havre (Judith Cousins, "Documentary Chronology," in *Picasso and Braque: Pioneering Cubism*, ed. William Rubin [New York: MoMA, 1989], p. 389). In letters dated 24 and 25 September 1912, he invited Apollinaire to meet him at the Criterion, another English bar in the same area (PAC, pp. 96, 97).
7. Max Jacob, "Souvenirs sur Picasso," *Cahiers d'art* 6, no. 2 (1927): 202. Max often told this same story, varying the date of these events between 1904 and 1905. See, for example, Max Jacob, "The Early Days of Pablo Picasso," *Vanity Fair*, May 1923, pp. 62, 104, "L'Inédit de Max Jacob sur Picasso, Fox" (1931), *Les Lettres françaises*, 22 October 1964, pp. 1 and 11, "Naissance du cubisme et autres," *Les Nouvelles littéraires*, 30 April 1932, p. 7, "Souvenirs sur Guillaume Apollinaire" (1937), *Le Flâneur des deux rives* 6 (June 1955): 2–6, and ["Guillaume Apollinaire"], in exhibition catalog *Le Temps d'Apollinaire* (Paris: Galerie Breteau, December 1943–January 1944), n.p.
8. André Salmon, *Souvenirs sans fin, 1903–1940* (Paris: Gallimard, 2004), pp. 179, 176, 182.
9. Photographs of the card from Max to Salmon, with postmark, are included in Max Jacob, *Les Propos et les jours: Lettres, 1904–1944*, ed. Annie Marcoux and Didier Gompel-Netter (Paris: Zodiaque, 1989), p. 26.
10. "Picasso 13 rue Ravignan / Max Jacob 33 boulevard Barbès," page reproduced in Laurence Campa and Michel Décaudin, *La Poésie à perte de vue: Passion Apollinaire*

- (Paris: Textuel, 2004), p. 86. Apollinaire's diary for September to December 1904 (Apollinaire Papers, BNF, Department of Manuscripts) contains no trace of either Picasso or Max Jacob.
11. The teacher was M. Becker. Guillaume Apollinaire, *Lettres à Madeleine: Tendre comme le souvenir*, ed. Laurence Campa (Paris: Gallimard, 2005), pp. 257–58.
 12. See Florence Rionnet, "A la croisée des chemins: Une Exposition méconnue, Picasso à Dinard en 1901," in *Picasso à Dinard*, ed. Florence Rionnet (Dinard: Mairie de Dinard, 1999), pp. 23–31.
 13. Mme. de Kostrowitzky, quoted in André Billy, *Guillaume Apollinaire* (Paris: Seghers, 1947), p. 17. On Apollinaire's earnings, see Jacqueline Gojard, "Sources et ressources de Guillaume Apollinaire et de quelques-uns de ses contemporains," in *Apollinaire en son temps* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne nouvelle, 1990), pp. 11–36.
 14. Jacob, "Souvenirs sur Guillaume Apollinaire," p. 3.

CHAPTER 2. INSIDE THE BATEAU LAVOIR

1. Christian Zervos, *Pablo Picasso*, vol. 1 (Paris: Cahiers d'art, 1932), p. xxxvi.
2. Maurice Raynal, *Peinture moderne* (Geneva: Skira, 1953), p. 106. The fraternal atmosphere is reflected in correspondence received by Picasso during the summer of 1905, including a letter from Raynal, postmarked 1 June, informing Picasso that he had just become a proud father, and a postcard from Honfleur in Normandy, postmarked 4 August, sent by Raynal and his wife and signed by Cremnitz, who sent best wishes to Picasso "as well as to Jacob and Apollinaire" (AP).
3. Roland Penrose, notebook dated "July 55," in Elizabeth Cowling, *Visiting Picasso: The Notebooks and Letters of Roland Penrose* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2006), p. 119.
4. André Salmon, "Testimony against Gertrude Stein," *Transition* 23, pamphlet no. 1 (The Hague, February 1935), quoted in Marilyn McCully, ed., *A Picasso Anthology: Documents, Criticism, Reminiscences* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1981), p. 63.
5. Fernande Olivier, *Loving Picasso: The Private Journal of Fernande Olivier* (New York: Harry N: Abrams, 2001), p. 169; Maurice Raynal, *Picasso* (Geneva: Skira, 1953), p. 29. In a 1905 letter to his sister, Dullin wrote that Picasso had given him a painting, adding, "I think he has a golden touch and will soon succeed." Dullin's painting was confiscated by his landlady for unpaid rent. See Pauline Teillon-Dullin and Charles Charras, *Charles Dullin ou les ensorcelés du Chatelard* (Paris: Société d'Histoire du Théâtre, 1955), pp. 209–10.
6. Olivier, *Loving Picasso*, p. 205.
7. André Salmon, *Souvenirs sans fin, 1903–1940* (Paris: Gallimard, 2004), pp. 661, 595.
8. Raynal, *Peinture moderne*, p. 90.
9. André Salmon, "La Jeunesse de Picasso," *Les Nouvelles littéraires*, 11 July 1931, p. 8.
10. Roland Penrose, notebook dated "July 55," recording a conversation with Dora Maar,

- in Cowling, *Visiting Picasso*, p. 115. *Par boutade* means “in the form of quips.” See also Maurice Raynal, *Picasso* (Paris: Crès, 1922), p. 37; Henri Mahaut, *Picasso* (Paris: Crès, 1930), p. 7; Jaime Sabartés, *Picasso: Portraits et souvenirs* (Paris: Louis Carré / Maximilien Vox, 1946), p. 97.
11. Peter Read, *Apollinaire et “Les Mamelles de Tirésias”: La Revanche d’Eros* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2000), pp. 55–59. See also J. Gewertz Harris, *The Theater of Guillaume Apollinaire* (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1979).
 12. Olivier, *Loving Picasso*, p. 200.
 13. Geneviève Laporte, *Sunshine at Midnight: Memories of Picasso and Cocteau* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1975), pp. 5–6. Picasso also went to see plays featuring his friend Harry Baur (p. 22).
 14. Hélène Parmelin, *Picasso sur la place* (Paris: Julliard, 1959), p. 242. See also “The Absence of Jarry,” in John Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, vol. 1, 1881–1906 (London: Jonathan Cape, 1991), pp. 358–67.
 15. André Billy, *La Terrasse du Luxembourg* (Paris: Fayard, 1945), p. 194. Salmon also knew Jarry, Maurice Cremnitz had played a foot soldier in the 1896 première of *Ubu Roi*, and Raynal was a fervent Jarry disciple (Salmon, *Souvenirs sans fin*, pp. 158, 202).
 16. Olivier, *Loving Picasso*, p. 159; Salmon, *Souvenirs sans fin*, p. 197.
 17. Brassai, *Conversations with Picasso* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), p. 271. In a letter of 22 April 1905, Jarry asked Apollinaire to take good care of his snub-nosed “bulldog” pistol (Alfred Jarry, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 3, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade [Paris: Gallimard, 1988], p. 590).
 18. André Salmon, *La Jeune Peinture française* (Paris: Société des Trente / Albert Messein, 1912), p. 47.
 19. Raynal, *Picasso* (Geneva: Skira, 1953), p. 67. In October 1900, Picasso’s close friend in Paris, Carlos Casagemas, wrote to Ramon Reventós, “Yesterday we saw a horror drama at the Théâtre Montmartre. There were a lot of deaths, shots, fires, beheadings, thefts, rapes of maidens, and other evil deeds” (McCully, *Picasso Anthology*, p. 28).
 20. Charles Dullin, *Souvenirs et notes de travail d’un acteur* (Paris: Librairie Théâtrale, 1985), p. 35. See also Peter Read, “Au rendez-vous des poètes: Picasso, French Poetry, and Theater, 1900–1906,” in *Picasso: The Early Years, 1892–1906*, ed. Marilyn McCully (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1997), p. 217. Théâtre Montmartre is now Théâtre de l’Atelier. Picasso returned there in 1922 to design the set for Cocteau’s *Antigone*.
 21. Pierre-Marcel Adéma, “L’Ami Poullain,” in *Edmond-Marie Poullain, 1878–1951*, by Pierre-Marcel Adéma, P. Bonafoux, and J. Millet (Paris: Arts et cultures, 1986), pp. 16–17. Apollinaire owned several paintings by Poullain (*L’Abandonnée*, *Paysanne dans son intérieur*, *Premiers Printemps*, *Bouteille de chartreuse et verre sur une table près d’une fenêtre*), and Poullain also painted a large portrait of Apollinaire.
 22. Poullain sent André Billy copies of these two 1905 letters from Apollinaire (AB). For

- three other letters from Apollinaire to Poullain, from 1905 and 1914, see Peter Read, *Picasso et Apollinaire: Les Métamorphoses de la mémoire* (Paris: Jean-Michel Place, 1995), p. 30 n. 7.
23. Bellevallée may have been Fernande's father's name or a gallicized version of a Jewish grandmother's name. See Marilyn McCully, foreword to Olivier, *Loving Picasso*, pp. 12–13. In March 1906, Apollinaire noted that Othon Friez's girlfriend was “the sister of Fernande Bellevallée, Picasso's girlfriend.” See Michel Décaudin, “Apollinaire et les peintres en 1906 d'après quelques notes inédites,” *La Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, February 1970, p. 119.
 24. Olivier, *Loving Picasso*, p. 180. Apollinaire sent Picasso an epic poem, dated 29 May, caricaturing their farewell (PAC, pp. 41–45).
 25. Olivier, *Loving Picasso*, p. 164.
 26. Hélène Parmelin, *Notre Dame de Vie* (Paris: Cercle d'Art, 1965), p. 185.
 27. Alice Halicka, *Hier: Souvenirs* (Paris: Editions du Pavois, 1946), p. 56.
 28. Olivier, *Loving Picasso*, p. 273.
 29. Roland Penrose, notes headed “Cannes 15 Oct. 1957,” in Cowling, *Visiting Picasso*, p. 201.
 30. Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, *My Galleries and Painters* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), p. 90.
 31. “Et le travail, ça marche?” Fernande Olivier, *Picasso et ses amis*, ed. Hélène Klein (Paris: Pygmalion / Gérard Watelet, 2001), p. 39.

CHAPTER 3. CIRCUSES AND SALTIMBANQUES

1. F. Sherwood Taylor, *The Alchemists* (London: Palladin, 1976), pp. 77–78.
2. See E. A. Carmean Jr., “The Saltimbanques Sketchbook No. 35, 1905,” in *Je suis le cahier: The Sketchbooks of Picasso*, ed. Arnold Glimcher and Marc Glimcher (New York: Pace Gallery, 1986), p. 16.
3. This term is applied to *Family of Saltimbanques* in Elizabeth Cowling, *Picasso: Style and Meaning* (New York: Phaidon, 2002), p. 131.
4. Michèle Richet, “Bateleurs et cirque dans l'oeuvre dessiné de l'époque rose,” in *Picasso: Jeunesse et genèse dessins, 1893–1905*, ed. Brigitte Léal (Paris: RMN, 1991), p. 120.
5. Josep Palau i Fabre, *Picasso: The Early Years, 1881–1907* (Barcelona: Ediciones Polígrafa, 1985), p. 398.
6. On the myth of the artist as circus performer and the sacred and magical aspects of acrobats and Harlequin, see Jean Clair, ed., *The Great Parade: Portrait of the Artist as Clown* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); Jean Starobinski, *Portrait de l'artiste en saltimbanque* (Paris: Flammarion, 1970).
7. Maurice Raynal, *Picasso* (Paris: Crès, 1922), pp. 39–40.
8. André Salmon, “Picasso,” *L'Esprit nouveau* 1 (May 1920): 64.

9. On El Tío Pepe Don José, see E. A. Carmean, *Picasso: The Saltimbanques* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1980), p. 41, and Richet, "Bateleurs et cirque," pp. 119–21. Apollinaire owned a 1905 Picasso engraving of El Tío Pepe Don José, published by Vollard in 1913 (sale catalog, Etude Couturier Nicolay, *Ancienne Collection Guillaume Apollinaire* [Paris: Hôtel Drouot, 30 April 1993], lot 125).
10. Georges Bloch, *Pablo Picasso: Catalogue de l'oeuvre gravé et lithographié 1904–1967*, 2nd ed. (Berne: Kornfeld and Klipstein, 1971), p. 13, no. 14. Apollinaire then wrote a "Salome" poem that was published in the first issue of *Vers et prose* in December 1905 (*Po*, p. 186).
11. G. Apollinaire, *Journal intime* (Paris: Editions du Limon, 1991), p. 143. Theodore Reff identified *Family of Saltimbanques* as a Bateau-Lavoir group portrait in his "Harlequins, Saltimbanques, Clowns and Fools," *Artforum* 10 (October 1971): 30–43. Ronald Johnson suggested that the little girl in the painting could be an orphan they fostered ("Picasso's Parisian Family and the Saltimbanques," *Arts* 57 [January 1977]: 90–95). André Salmon in his 1920 novel *La Négresse du Sacré-Coeur* includes the story of Raymonde, whom he calls Léontine, and who matches Apollinaire's diary description.

CHAPTER 4. APOLLINAIRE'S WORKS BY PICASSO

1. Pierre Daix and Georges Boudaille, *Picasso: The Blue and Rose Periods. A Catalogue Raisonné, 1900–1906* (London: Evelyn, Adams and Mackay, 1967), pp. 152, 165.
2. In his catalog of the spring 1906 Salon des indépendants, Apollinaire noted that he owned works by Bonnard (signed lithograph), Brunelleschi, Diriks (three seascapes), Robin, and Félix Vallotton (signed lithograph). See Michel Décaudin, "Apollinaire et les peintres en 1906 d'après quelques notes inédites," *La Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, February 1970, pp. 117–22.
3. Etude Couturier Nicolay, *Ancienne Collection Guillaume Apollinaire* (Paris: Hôtel Drouot, 19 November 1999), lot 165. Lot 166 is a saucy ink drawing of a Dutch girl, also on a visiting card.
4. Pierre Cailler, *Guillaume Apollinaire: Documents iconographiques* (Geneva: Pierre Cailler, 1965); Hélène Seckel, "Apollinaire collectionneur de Picasso," in *Apollinaire, critique d'art*, ed. Béatrice Riottot El-Habib and Vincent Gille (Paris: Paris-Musées / Gallimard, 1993), pp. 214–27.
5. Etude Couturier Nicolay, *Exceptionnel Ensemble provenant de l'ancienne collection de Guillaume Apollinaire: Manuscrits, poèmes, dessins, livres* (Paris: Hôtel Drouot, 25 June 1986), lots 140–50. A beautiful 1906 pencil drawing of Fernande, with an ink nude on the back, features in Laurin, Guilloux, Buffetaud, Tailleur, *Ancienne Collection Guillaume Apollinaire: Manuscrits et épreuves corrigées* (Paris: Hôtel Drouot, 27 January 1992), lot 94.
6. *Quelques-uns* may be translated as "a select few"; Picasso's *Quelques cons* may be translated as "a few fools" (the word *con* is more familiar and nearly always considerably less aggressive than "the c word," its literal English translation). On the *Quelques-uns* exhibition, see Xavier Deryng, "Les Variations Golberg, 2: La Critique d'art," in *Mécislas Golberg, passant de la pensée, 1869–1907*, ed. Catherine Coquio (Paris: Maisonneuve et

Larose, 1994), p. 273. According to Deryng, Mécislas Golberg had a hand in organizing this exhibition, and the catalog had a similar format to his periodical *Les Cahiers de Mécislas Golberg*. On Picasso's *quelques cons* drawing, see also Phillip Denis Cate, "Fumism and Other Aspects of Parisian Modernism in Picasso's Early Drawings," in *Picasso: The Early Years, 1892–1906*, ed. Marilyn McCully (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1997), pp. 132–41.

7. Décaudin, "Apollinaire et les peintres," p. 119. Another important pen and ink drawing, 34.4 × 26.6 cm, dating from 1902–3 and inscribed "Picasso à Apollinaire," was sold at Christie's Paris on 23 May 2007 (Art Impressionniste et Moderne, lot 112). Entitled *Trois femmes dans un intérieur*, it represents the old procuress Celestina, clutching keys, behind two naked prostitutes and a cat drinking from a bowl. Another pen and ink drawing, 44 × 28 cm, unsigned, undated, from Apollinaire's collection, was sold at Christie's London on 30 March 1982 (Drawings and Watercolours, lot 331). Entitled by Christie's *Les Jumelles (en maison)*, it also shows a brothel scene: two tall, slim, female twins, wearing only stockings and high heels, stand before a short, fat, bald man in a suit. Above him hangs a framed painting of a woman. Behind the twins stands a short, rotund, naked black woman. Beneath this scene, Picasso has drawn three other figures: a reclining female nude in stockings and shoes, a reclining black cat, and an effeminate male, unshaven, wearing only stockings and make-up. The drawing is inscribed on the back in Apollinaire's hand: "dessiné par Picasso en mai 1905 dans l'imprimerie Brieuve (?) au Passage St. Anne Paris—Guil Apol."
8. For a photograph of a Senufo mask that Apollinaire owned, see Katia Samaltanos, *Apollinaire: Catalyst for Primitivism, Picabia and Duchamp* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1984), illustration no. 5.
9. The sale was instigated at Feldmann's request, and the poet's intermediary was Adolphe Basler. In a letter to Apollinaire dated 27 February 1914, Feldmann stated that Wilhelm Uhde had judged the Rousseau to be a fake. In a draft reply, dated 3 March 1914, Apollinaire rejected this claim, listed the works involved, and said he would agree to cancel the whole sale if the dealer would return all items.
10. Juniet, Feldmann, and Paul Guillaume receipts and letters are in Apollinaire Papers, BNF, Department of Manuscripts. André Billy recalled that Apollinaire was "then going through a financial crisis." André Billy, *Apollinaire* (Paris: Seghers, 1956), p. 27.

CHAPTER 5. FROM CARICATURE TO CUBISM

1. Apollinaire freely admitted that his mother "still treats me like a ten-year-old and is quite capable of hitting me," attributing this to her excessive love and Slavic temperament. Guillaume Apollinaire, *Lettres à Madeleine: Tendre comme le souvenir*, ed. Laurence Campa (Paris: Gallimard, 2005), p. 147 (letter dated 2 September 1915). For a photo of Apollinaire's mother with a similar dog, see Pierre Cailler, *Guillaume Apollinaire: Documents iconographiques* (Geneva: Pierre Cailler, 1965), no. 2.
2. For the advice to Max Jacob, see Hélène Seckel and André Cariou, *Max Jacob et Picasso* (Paris: RMN, 1994), p. 29. Some Apollinaire portraits feature in Z XXII, 287–94. See

also Hélène Seckel, "Three Portrait-Manifestoes of Poets: André Salmon, Guillaume Apollinaire, and Max Jacob," in *Picasso and Portraiture: Representation and Transformation*, ed. William Rubin (New York: MoMA, 1996), pp. 180–201; and Anne-Marie Conas and Michèle Touret, eds., *Apollinaire portraits* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 1996).

3. Fernande Olivier, *Loving Picasso* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001), p. 169.
4. See Pierre-Marcel Adéma, *Guillaume Apollinaire* (Paris: La Table Ronde, 1968), illustration 13; Z XXII, 288.
5. Guillaume Apollinaire, *Journal intime* (Paris: Editions du Limon, 1991), p. 154.
6. Guillaume Apollinaire, *The Cubist Painters* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), p. 38.
7. See David S. Kerr, *Caricature and French Political Culture, 1830–1848: Charles Philippon and the Illustrated Press* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).
8. André Salmon, *Modigliani: A Memoir* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1961), p. 97. On caricature and Cubism, see also Adam Gopnik, "High and Low: Caricature, Primitivism, and the Cubist Portrait," *Art Journal* 43 (Winter 1983): 371–76; Kirk Varnedoe and Adam Gopnik, *High and Low: Modern Art and Popular Culture* (New York: MoMA, 1990), pp. 123–36; Brigitte Léal and Maria Teresa Ocaña, eds., *Picasso: From Caricature to Metamorphosis of Style* (Aldershot: Lund Humphries, 2003).
9. John Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, vol. 2, 1907–1917 (London: Jonathan Cape, 1996), p. 94.
10. Piasa and Mathias, *Pablo Picasso et Dora Maar. Une histoire—des oeuvres. Importantes Photographies de 1906 à 1946* (Paris: Maison de la Chimie, 28 and 29 October 1998), pp. 82–83, no. 417.
11. The photo is an enlargement made by Dora Maar, ca. 1937–40. The fuzziness may have occurred then. See Peter Read, "Le Portrait cubiste d'Apollinaire par Picasso, frontispice d'*Alcools*," in *Guillaume Apollinaire 21: Apollinaire et le portrait*, ed. Michel Décaudin (Paris: Revue des lettres modernes / Minard, 2001), pp. 49–69.
12. The glass plate for this photo has survived (AP, Glass Negative no. 41). A modern print from the deteriorated plate is reproduced in Seckel, "Three Portrait-Manifestoes of Poets," p. 182.
13. Max Jacob, in a 1935 lecture, quoted in Seckel and Cariou, *Max Jacob et Picasso*, p. 224.

CHAPTER 6. FROM BLAISE PASCAL TO FANTÔMAS

1. André Salmon, *Souvenirs sans fin, 1903–1940* (Paris: Gallimard, 2004), pp. 178, 921. The phrase parodies traditional French café names, a common example being "Au Rendez-vous des sportifs" ("Where the Sportsmen Meet").
2. Jaime Sabartés, *Picasso: Portraits et souvenirs* (Paris: Louis Carré/Maximilien Vox, 1946), p. 81.

3. Max Jacob, "Souvenirs sur Picasso," *Cahiers d'art* 2, no. 6 (1927): 200.
4. For the poem in Picasso's French, see Pablo Picasso, *Collected Writings* (London: Aurum Press, 1989), pp. 372–73.
5. Fernande Olivier, *Loving Picasso: The Private Journal of Fernande Olivier* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001), p. 166.
6. Salmon, *Souvenirs sans fin*, pp. 84, 176.
7. Pierre Scize, "Charles Dullin raconté par Henri Béraud," *Bonsoir*, 30 November 1922.
8. Francis Crémieux, "Entretiens avec André Salmon," French radio recording, broadcast 28 July 1965, in *Digraphe* 85 (Spring 1998): 148.
9. Marilyn McCully, ed., *A Picasso Anthology: Documents, Criticism, Reminiscences* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1981), p. 51.
10. Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, *My Galleries and Painters* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), p. 49.
11. Salmon, *Souvenirs sans fin*, pp. 353, 595.
12. Georges Le Cardonnel and Charles Vellay, *La Littérature contemporaine (1905). Opinions des écrivains de ce temps* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1905), p. 38. See also Marilyn McCully, "Mediterranean Classicism and Sculpture in the Early Twentieth Century," *Catalan Review* 5, no. 1 (July 1991): 145–67.
13. Aragon reports this "quip" from Picasso in his 1930 preface to *Les Onze Mille Verges*, signed "***," reprinted in a later edition (Paris: Régine Deforges / L'Or du temps, 1970). A letter postmarked 10 December 1906, from Henri Hertz to Apollinaire, asking for a copy of *Les Onze Mille Verges*, allows us to date the first edition to late 1906. See *Que vlo-ve? Bulletin international des études sur Guillaume Apollinaire*, 4th ser., no. 22 (April–June 2003): 51 (www.wiu.edu/apollinaire). For an assessment of the novel's qualities and significance, see Peter Read, "Les Onze Mille Verges, livre secret, livre ouvert," in *Apollinaire à livre ouvert*, ed. Eva Béranková (Prague: Université Charles de Prague, 2004), pp. 163–77. The 2004 essay also refers briefly to Apollinaire's other, "softer," erotic novel, *Les Exploits d'un jeune Don Juan*, which is in fact a translation and adaptation of an anonymous German novel entitled *Kinder-Geilheit*, first published in 1891.
14. Pierre Daix, *La Vie de peintre de Pablo Picasso* (Paris: Seuil, 1977), p. 171.
15. Maria Teresa Ocaña and Hans Cristof von Tavel, eds., *Picasso, 1905–1906: From the Rose Period to the Ochres of Gósol* (Barcelona: Museu Picasso, 1992), pp. 214, 215.
16. Maurice Raynal, *Picasso* (Paris: Crès, 1922), pp. 52–53.
17. Picasso drew a green-pencil portrait of Zola, with the writer's name in dramatic capitals, in 1901, at the height of the Dreyfus Affair, when Zola took a heroic stand against injustice. Josep Palau i Fabre, *Picasso: Life and Work of the Early Years, 1881–1907* (Barcelona: Ediciones Poligrafa, 1981), p. 178.
18. Max Jacob, "Souvenirs sur Picasso," *Cahiers d'art* 6 (1927): 202.

19. Guillaume Apollinaire, *The Cubist Painters* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), p. 27.
20. About 1910, Apollinaire wrote 122 manuscript pages for a book on Spanish literature that was probably intended to be a sequel to his *Anthologie du théâtre italien* (Paris: Michaud, 1910) but that was never published (Etude Couturier Nicolay, *Ancienne Collection Guillaume Apollinaire* [Paris: Hôtel Drouot, 25 June 1986], lot 4). Picasso himself wrote an unpublished, seven-page translation of the start of "The Glass Graduate" (PAC, p. 78 n. 2).
21. See Apollinaire, *Cubist Painters*, pp. 33 and 35.
22. Georges Sadoul, "Picasso cinéaste: Le Tableau qui bouge," *Les Lettres françaises*, 26 October–1 November 1961, p. 8. In the same article, Sadoul tells how Picasso made a 16-mm film in Vallauris. He placed a young woman in front of the camera and then, "with a few brush-strokes, both her legs became young kids, with her calves as their bodies and her knees as faces—bearing a singular resemblance to Guillaume Apollinaire."
23. Florent Fels, "Propos d'artistes. Picasso," *Les Nouvelles littéraires*, 4 August 1923, p. 2.
24. "Il n'y a pas d'idéal littéraire / Toujours en avant." Apollinaire, manuscript note, in Apollinaire Papers, BNF, Department of Manuscripts.

CHAPTER 7. OUTSIDE THE ACADEMY

1. Fernande Olivier, *Loving Picasso* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001), p. 221. John Richardson and Hélène Seckel-Klein state, however, that Max Weber introduced Picasso to Rousseau; see John Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, vol. 2, 1907–1917 (London: Jonathan Cape, 1996), p. 110; Hélène Seckel, *Picasso collectionneur* (Paris: RMN, 1998), p. 214. Weber was an American artist who befriended Rousseau and collected his paintings and drawings.
2. Maurice Raynal, "Le Banquet Rousseau," *Les Soirées de Paris* 20 (January 1914): 69–72. In a letter dated 24 December 1913 (postmark), Raynal informed Picasso that Apollinaire has asked him to write an article on the event and asked if he had any objection (AP). A vivid and judicious account is to be found in Roger Shattuck, *The Banquet Years: The Origins of the Avant-Garde in France, 1885 to World War I*, rev. ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1968), pp. 66–71.
3. Letter transcribed in *Les Soirées de Paris* 20 (January 1914): 38.
4. For Rousseau's influence, see Picasso's *Vase of Flowers, Wineglass and Spoon* (Z II*, 88), painted at La Rue-des-Bois in 1908. Elizabeth Cowling has highlighted Rousseau's influence on landscapes Picasso painted in La Rue-des-Bois and has identified versions of the cord and tassel from Rousseau's *Portrait of a Woman* in Picasso's *Mandolin Player* and other 1911 Cubist compositions. See Elizabeth Cowling, *Picasso: Style and Meaning* (New York: Phaidon, 2002), pp. 204, 224. On Picasso and Rousseau, see also Christopher Green, *Picasso: Architecture and Vertigo* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 74–113.

5. Richardson, *Life of Picasso*, vol. 2, p. 113.
6. Michel Décaudin, "Apollinaire et les peintres en 1906 d'après quelques notes inédites," *La Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, February 1970, p. 121.
7. In a letter dated 2 August 1916, Figuière informed Apollinaire that he could add nothing to the 800 francs in royalties that Apollinaire had received before the war (for *The Cubist Painters*), adding, "As for the Rousseau manuscript, I prefer to wait until after the war, printing costs being too high at the moment." Apollinaire Papers, BNF, Department of Manuscripts. The first collectors of Rousseau's work were Robert Delaunay and Wilhelm Uhde, followed by Vollard, Picasso, Serge Férat, and Férat's cousin Hélène d'Oettingen (whose pen name was Roch Grey). See Arlette Albert-Birot, "Roch Grey, un témoin de l'Esprit nouveau," in *Les Oubliés des avant-gardes*, ed. Barbara Meazzi and Jean-Pol Madou (Chambéry: Université de Savoie, 2006), pp. 139–57.
8. An undated manuscript minute on a single sheet of paper was included in the auction of the *Bibliothèque Tristan Tzara*, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 4 March 1989, lot no. 366/5:

The committee meeting in the lounge of the Closerie des Lilas, in order to raise a monument in memory of Henri Rousseau, has decided

 - 1) to accept the generous offer of the sculptor Archipenko.
 - 2) to choose Renoir as president, Paul Fort and Granié as vice presidents, and myself, Jacques Nayral, as treasurer.

Paul Fort, E. Figuière, A. D. de Segonzac, Maximilien Volochine, A. Archipenko, G. Apollinaire, Le Fauconnier, S. Jastreboff, Alex Mercereau, Delaunay, P. Sérusier, Albert Gleizes, H. de Groux, Canudo, André Mare, R. de la Fresnaye, R. Lotiron, J. Nayral.
9. Pierre Daix, *La Vie de peintre de Pablo Picasso* (Paris: Seuil, 1977), pp. 199 and 202 n. 26.
10. Jean Mollet, *Les Mémoires du Baron Mollet* (Paris: Gallimard, 1963), pp. 96–97.
11. Jacques Villeneuve [Paul Guillaume], "Echos et actualités," *Les Arts à Paris* 13 (June 1927): 3–4.
12. André Breton, "Surrealism and Painting" (1928), in *Surrealism and Painting* (Boston: MFA Publications, 2002), p. 18. On Apollinaire and Chirico, see also Willard Bohn, "Metaphysics and Meaning: Apollinaire's Criticism of Giorgio de Chirico," *Arts Magazine* 55, no. 7 (1981): 109–13, and "Giorgio de Chirico's *Portrait of Guillaume Apollinaire* of 1914," *Burlington Magazine* 147 (November 2005): 751–54.
13. See Seckel, *Picasso collectionneur*, pp. 97–110.
14. Daix, *Vie de peintre*, p. 198. On points of convergence between Picasso and Chirico, see William Rubin, "De Chirico et la modernité," in *Giorgio de Chirico* (Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou, 1983), pp. 9–37.
15. André Malraux, *La Tête d'obsidienne* (Paris: Gallimard, 1974), pp. 17–18. On the encounter with tribal art, see Elizabeth Cowling et al., "Chronology," in *Matisse/Picasso* (New York: MoMA, 2002); Jack Flam, *Matisse and Picasso* (New York: Westview Press, 2003), pp. 32–34. See also Cowling, *Picasso*, pp. 175–94; William Rubin, ed., "Primitivism" in *Twentieth-Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern* (New York: MoMA, 1984).
16. In 1906, Apollinaire detailed his plans for an "Encyclopedia of Art to be edited by Guillaume Apollinaire. Monographs on Art and Artists from all periods and all

- countries." He listed possible authors and attributed to himself the book on tribal art and, with Adolphe Basler, three volumes entitled *New Trends in Art*. See Guillaume Apollinaire, *The Cubist Painters* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), pp. 100–101.
17. Jean Mollet, "Apollinaire intime," *La Revue de Paris*, October 1963, p. 84.
 18. Sixteen works of tribal art from Apollinaire's collection are reproduced in Katia Samaltanos, *Apollinaire: Catalyst for Primitivism, Picabia and Duchamp* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1984), illustrations 5–17. Photographs of the Bôma sculpture and of the copper bird feature in Etude Couturier Nicolay, *Ancienne Collection Guillaume Apollinaire* (Paris: Hôtel Drouot, 19 November 1999), lots 12 and 13. On Picasso's collection of around 120 works of tribal art, see Seckel, *Picasso collectionneur*, pp. 236–53.
 19. Florent Fels, "Chronique artistique. Propos d'artistes. Picasso," *Les Nouvelles littéraires*, 4 August 1923, p. 2.

CHAPTER 8. THE BESTIARY

1. The terms *funereal Christmas* and *voluptuous calvary* were coined by Apollinaire himself in *L'Enchanteur pourrissant* (Pr 1, p. 28) and *Les Onze Mille Verges* (Pr 3, p. 940).
2. G. Apollinaire, manuscript, "Ibis": "C'est vrai j'irai tôt dans la tombe / Ainsi soit-il / Ainsi soit-il" (Apollinaire Papers, BNF, Department of Manuscripts).
3. Michel Décaudin, "Destins de manuscrits: Le Bestiaire d'Apollinaire," in *Le Manuscrit littéraire: Son Statut, son histoire, du Moyen Age à nos jours*, Travaux de littérature 11 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1998), pp. 351–59. On Apollinaire's *Bestiary*, see also Anne Hyde Greet, *Apollinaire et le livre de peintre* (Paris: Minard, 1977); Claude Debon, "Relire et revoir *Le Bestiaire ou cortège d'Orphée* d'Apollinaire," *Que vlo-ve?*, 4th ser., no. 1 (January–March 1998): 1–32.
4. Georges Martin, "Dans l'air de Paris, Picasso," *L'Intransigeant*, 27 October 1919, in Etienne-Alain Hubert, "Une Dédicace du *Bestiaire*," in *Guillaume Apollinaire 7* (Paris: Revue des lettres modernes, 1968), p. 216.
5. Hélène Parmelin, *Picasso sur la place* (Paris: Julliard, 1959), p. 146. Picasso's literary treasure trove included manuscripts of *Ubu cocu*, by Alfred Jarry, of *L'Immaculée Conception*, by Breton and Eluard, and of *Le Con d'Irène*, by Louis Aragon. See Roberto Otero, *Forever Picasso: An Intimate Look at His Last Years* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1974), p. 172.
6. Brassai, *Conversations with Picasso* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), p. 202.
7. Apollinaire, *Le Bestiaire*, printed and manuscript proofs, with collages and drawings by the poet, Bibliothèque littéraire Jacques Doucet, Paris. The inscription reads, "A mon ami Francis Carco. Très cordial souvenir Guillaume Apollinaire." For further discussion of Apollinaire's drawings for the *Bestiary*, and his other drawings and paintings, see the articles by C. Debon, J. Burgos, P. Caizergues, P. Read, and E.-A. Hubert in *Guillaume Apollinaire 22: Apollinaire, le dessin et les traces*, ed. Jean Burgos (Caen: Revue des lettres modernes/Minard, 2007).

8. Marie Laurencin, *Le Carnet des nuits* (Geneva: Pierre Cailler, 1956), quoted in Etienne-Alain Hubert, "Petit Cortège pour *Le Bestiaire*," in *Circonstances de la poésie: Reverdy, Apollinaire, Surréalisme* (Paris: Klincksieck, 2000), pp. 260–61.
9. Claude Mauriac, *L'Oncle Marcel* (Paris: Grasset, 1988), p. 327.
10. Sketchbook MP 1990–96, pp. 12v–15v, inside and outside back cover. These sheets are reproduced in Hélène Seckel, *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* (Paris: RMN, 1988), vol. 1, pp. 285–86. Five of the pages are reproduced by Zervos, Z VI, 923, 924, 931, 939, 940.
11. "Variantes inédites du *Bestiaire*," manuscript page reproduced in André Billy, *Apollinaire vivant* (Paris: Editions de la Sirène, 1923), p. 65. Also reproduced in Hélène Seckel, "Apollinaire collectionneur de Picasso," in *Apollinaire, critique d'art*, ed. Béatrice Riottot El-Habib and Vincent Gille (Paris: Paris-Musées/Gallimard, 1993), p. 223.
12. Picasso attributed these words to Braque and quoted them to Roland Penrose. Penrose, notebook, dated "July 55," in Elizabeth Cowling, *Visiting Picasso: The Notebooks and Letters of Roland Penrose* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2006), p. 122.
13. For the double-page spread, see Seckel, "Apollinaire collectionneur de Picasso," p. 223; for the red-ink drawings and the bank document, see Etude Couturier Nicolay, *Ancienne Collection de Guillaume Apollinaire, manuscrits, poèmes, dessins, livres* (Paris: Hôtel Drouot, 25 June 1986), lots 148, 149.
14. Bernhard Geiser, *Picasso, peintre-graveur*, vol. 1 (Berne: Kornfeld, 1990), nos. 213, 214.
15. Fernande Olivier, *Loving Picasso* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001), p. 258. In 1936, Picasso began a series of thirty-one sugar-lift aquatint prints of animals, birds, and insects to illustrate Buffon's *Histoire naturelle*. See Neil Cox and Deborah Povey, *A Picasso Bestiary* (London: Academy Editions, 1995); Patrice Triboux, "Picasso animalier: Un Bestiaire dessiné," in *Picasso: La Passion du dessin*, ed. Dominique Dupuis-Labbé (Paris: RMN, 2005), pp. 66–81.
16. Apollinaire made his disappointment clear to Picasso in March 1908 (*PAC*, p. 65) and then in a 7 August 1910 letter informing him that "the bestiary will appear in October with Dufy's thingies [*machins*]" (*PAC*, p. 78).
17. These three sketchbooks are reproduced in Seckel, *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, vol. 1, pp. 270–95.
18. John Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, vol. 2, 1907–1917 (London: Jonathan Cape, 1996), p. 15. Yves-Alain Bois has suggested that the unilinear *Bestiary* drawings may have been a response to Matisse lithographs included in his Druet Gallery retrospective, 19 March–7 April 1906: "What Matisse can do with a couple of strokes, I can do with just one." Y.-A. Bois, *Matisse and Picasso* (Fort Worth, TX: Kimbell Art Museum, 1998), p. 18. *Les Demoiselles* was, of course, a riposte in a bigger battle against Matisse's *Le Bonheur de vivre*.

CHAPTER 9. THE IBERIAN STATUES AFFAIR

1. See Franck Balandier, *Les Prisons d'Apollinaire* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2001). Balandier, an employee of the French Ministry of Justice, has researched the case and Apolli-

- naire's stay in prison and located previously unpublished archival documents that include references to Picasso. A preliminary version of his study, with illustrations, was published as the first issue of *Filigranes: Revue de la Direction régionale des Services pénitentiaires de Paris*, Ministère de la Justice, n.d. [October 1999]. For Pieret's entertaining letters to Apollinaire, see Jacqueline Stallano, "Une Relation encombrante: G ry Pieret," in *Amis europ ens d'Apollinaire*, ed. Michel D caudin (Paris: Presses de la Sorbonne nouvelle, 1995), pp. 11–29. For reprints of press coverage, see Michel D caudin, "L'Affaire des statuettes et la presse belge," *Que vlo-ve?*, no. 1 (January 1973): 7–11; Christine Jacquet and Michel D caudin, "Il y a soixante-quinze ans—La Sant ," *Que vlo-ve?*, 2nd ser., no. 19 (July–September 1986): 3–26, and "Note conjointe," *Que vlo-ve?*, 2nd ser., no. 22 (April–June 1987): 9–11; Christine Jacquet-Pfau and Michel D caudin, "L'Affaire des statuettes: Suite sans fin . . .," *Que vlo-ve?*, 2nd ser., no. 23 (July–September 1987): 21–23. On the Iberian heads and other Iberian sculptures acquired by Picasso, see H l ne Seckel-Klein, *Picasso collectionneur* (Paris: RMN, 1998), pp. 254–60. See also Guillaume Apollinaire, "Mes Prisons," *Paris-Journal*, 14 September 1911 (*Pr* 3, pp. 420–22); John Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, vol. 2, 1907–1917 (London: Jonathan Cape, 1996), pp. 20–24, 198–205.
2. Drawing by Henri Frick, *G ry Pieret Imitating a Dwarf*, page dated 30 September, Apollinaire's September to December 1904 diary (Apollinaire Papers, BNF, Department of Manuscripts).
 3. Michel D caudin, *Le Dossier d'"Alcools"* (Paris: Minard, 1960), p. 80.
 4. Pieret calls it "l'Asile aux rats" (Stallano, "Une Relation encombrante," p. 17).
 5. Fernande Olivier, *Loving Picasso* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001), pp. 163, 185.
 6. Letter-card, postmarked 2 April 1907, from Max Jacob to Apollinaire, 8 boulevard Carnot, V sinet (Apollinaire Papers, BNF, Department of Manuscripts). The date and content of Max Jacob's letter suggest that before enlisting Apollinaire's help Pieret wrote directly to Picasso about the picture.
 7. Andr  Salmon, *Souvenirs sans fin, 1903–1940* (Paris: Gallimard, 2004), p. 507.
 8. Guillaume Apollinaire, *Lettres   Madeleine: Tendre comme le souvenir*, ed. Laurence Campa (Paris: Gallimard, 2005), pp. 96–97.
 9. See Jacquet and D caudin, "Il y a soixante-quinze ans," p. 15. A letter from Albert Gleizes to Andr  Salmon shows that they and Paul Fort took an active part in the campaign from their headquarters at the Closerie des Lilas (see Balandier, *Les Prisons d'Apollinaire*, p. 126). Other petition signatories were Octave Mirbeau, El mir Bourges, Remy de Gourmont, Andr  Billy, and Alexandre Mercereau.
 10. The article, headlined "M. Guillaume Apollinaire Tells the Story of His Secretary G ry Pieret, Baron Ignace d'Ormesan, Robber from the Louvre and Several Other Places," is quoted in full in Jacquet and D caudin, "Note conjointe."
 11. Olivier, *Loving Picasso*, p. 275.
 12. At this stage, Albert Gleizes introduced Apollinaire to an art-loving lawyer, Joseph

- Granié, who subsequently went to speak with Judge Drioux (Albert Gleizes, "Apollinaire, la justice et moi," *Rimes et raisons*, Apollinaire special issue, 1946, pp. 53–65).
13. Balandier, *Les Prisons d'Apollinaire*, pp. 127–30.
 14. Géry Pieret, "Hands Up!" *Les Marges* 8, no. 29 (October 1911): 92–97, reprinted in *Que vlo-ve?*, 2nd ser., no. 19 (July–September 1986): 27–29.
 15. Alice Halicka, *Hier: Souvenirs* (Paris: Editions du Pavois, 1946), p. 47.
 16. Gohier's article is reprinted in Jacquet and Décaudin, "Il y a soixante-quinze ans," p. 19.
 17. Apollinaire, letter to Toussaint Luca (*OC* 4, p. 700). In a letter dated 10 December 1911, Toussaint Luca advised Apollinaire to obtain French nationality to avoid the risk of being expelled from France (Apollinaire Papers, BNF, Department of Manuscripts).
 18. Balandier, *Les Prisons d'Apollinaire*, pp. 118–23. Apollinaire gave his own address as "La Santé Prison, 11th Division, 15th Cell."
 19. Apollinaire, *Lettres à Madeleine*, p. 98.
 20. Décaudin, *Le Dossier d'"Alcools"*, p. 80.
 21. André Billy, *Apollinaire vivant* (Paris: Editions de la Sirène, 1923), pp. 39–40.
 22. Salmon, *Souvenirs sans fin*, p. 509.
 23. Olivier, *Loving Picasso*, p. 276.
 24. Pierre Daix and Armand Israël, *Pablo Picasso: Dossiers de la Préfecture de Police, 1901–1940* (Paris: Editions des Catalogues raisonnés, 2003), pp. 64–65.
 25. Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, *My Galleries and Painters* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), p. 79. In June 1959, the paper *Paris-Presse* quoted a version of the Picasso-Apollinaire confrontation that the poet and film director Gilbert Prouteau claimed to have obtained directly from Picasso: "When the judge asked me, 'Do you know this gentleman?' then a terrible fear took hold of me and, without knowing what I was saying, I answered, 'I have never seen this man before.' I saw Guillaume's expression changing. The blood drained out of his face. I still feel ashamed about it, you know." Yvan Audouard and André Parinaud, "Voyons un peu: Picasso passe aux aveux," *Paris-Presse*, 20 June 1959, p. 2. In 1951, Prouteau had made a twenty-three-minute film, entitled *Je m'appellerai Apollinaire*, that included archive footage and shots inside Apollinaire's boulevard Saint-Germain apartment. In 1954, Cocteau organized for Prouteau to show this documentary to Picasso and Jacqueline Roque at the artist's house in Mougins. Picasso watched the film twice, then thanked Prouteau by giving him three signed and dedicated lithographs, saying, "For thirty minutes, I was thirty years old again." According to Prouteau, Picasso was apprehensive before the projection, then patently relieved that the film skimmed over the 1911 affair (events related by Prouteau during a presentation of his film at an Apollinaire research seminar, Institut Universitaire de France, Paris, 8 November 2005). The 1959 *Paris-Presse* article is, however, garbled and inaccurate throughout and is probably a "sexed-up" report on Prouteau's encounter with Picasso in Mougins.

26. "Jacob et Picasso vivent de compagnie / L'un peignant des tableaux et l'autre divagant / Pable emmerde sa toile et Max va m'encagant / L'un d'eux à sa manière et l'autre sa manie" (Apollinaire Papers, BNF, Department of Manuscripts). The third line also means, less figuratively, "Pablo puts crap on his canvas and Max craps on me." For another manuscript version of this poem, see Laurin, Guilloux, Buffetaud, Tailleur, *Ancienne Collection Guillaume Apollinaire: Manuscrits et épreuves corrigées* (Paris: Hôtel Drouot, 27 January 1992), lot 12.
27. Apollinaire, *Lettres à Madeleine*, p. 96. In the original edition of this correspondence (Guillaume Apollinaire, *Tendre comme le souvenir*, ed. Marcel Adéma [Paris: Gallimard, 1952]), Picasso's name was replaced by an "X" and the passage referring to him as "unscrupulous" was cut. The full text, including Picasso's name, appeared only in 2005. The protection Picasso was afforded in 1911 thus continued until 2005.
28. Henri Guilbeaux, "La Vie et les arts. Le Cubisme de MM. Urbain Gohier et Apollinaire," *Les Hommes du jour*, 11 November 1911.

CHAPTER 10. APOLLINAIRE WRITING ON PICASSO IN 1905

1. Gustave Coquiot, "La Vie artistique. Pablo Ruiz Picasso," *Le Journal*, 17 June 1901, p. 2.
2. For an anthology of some of the 1901–6 articles and catalog prefaces on Picasso, see Pierre Daix and Georges Boudaille, *Picasso: The Blue and Rose Periods. A Catalogue Raisonné, 1900–1906* (London: Evelyn, Adams and Mackay, 1967), pp. 333–36. Details of previously unlisted reviews are provided by Robert J. Boardingham, "Gustave Coquiot and the Critical Origins of Picasso's 'Blue' and 'Rose' Periods," in *Picasso: The Early Years, 1892–1906*, ed. Marilyn McCully (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1997), p. 147.
3. "The Mask" appeared in *Le Journal de Salonique*, 17 August 1903, before being expanded into the autobiographical short story "Giovanni Moroni" in *Le Poète assassiné* (Pr 1, pp. 325–27, 1294).
4. Charles Baudelaire, "Salon de 1846," in *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 2, ed. Claude Pichois, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade (Paris: Gallimard, 1976), p. 148.
5. Daix and Boudaille, *Picasso*, p. 254, lists the titles given in the 1905 catalog. The works I identify are numbered XI.6, XI.8, D.XI.3, X.5, X.6, D.X.1, XI.10.
6. The crossed-out manuscript is on a sheet of paper torn from an exercise book and also bears an ink portrait of Apollinaire, attributed to Max Jacob. Etude Couturier Nicolay, *Exceptionnel Ensemble provenant de l'ancienne collection de Guillaume Apollinaire* (Paris: Hôtel Drouot, 25 June 1986), lot 2.
7. Daix and Boudaille, *Picasso*, XII.6, XII.19, XII.18.
8. Elizabeth Cowling, *Picasso: Style and Meaning* (New York: Phaidon Press, 2002), pp. 121–22.

CHAPTER 11. APOLLINAIRE AT THE BIRTH OF CUBISM

1. Fernande Olivier, *Picasso et ses amis*, ed. Hélène Klein (Paris: Pygmalion / Gérard Watelet, 2001), p. 149.
2. Hélène Seckel, "Anthology of Early Commentary on *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*," in *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, ed. William Rubin, Hélène Seckel, and Judith Cousins, Studies in Modern Art 3 (New York: MoMA, 1994), pp. 227–28. In the 1990 Picasso and Braque exhibition catalog, William Rubin stated that Apollinaire "was clearly put off by *Les Demoiselles*," and Judith Cousins, in the catalog's "Documentary Chronology," wrote that he found it "incomprehensible" (William Rubin, *Picasso and Braque: Pioneer-ing Cubism* [New York: MoMA, 1989], pp. 46 and 346). Apollinaire "utterly failed to appreciate" *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, according to John Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, vol. 1, 1881–1906 (London: Jonathan Cape, 1991), p. 366.
3. Michel Décaudin, in a review of J. Warnod, *Le Bateau Lavoir* (Paris: Mayer, 1986), *Que vlo-ve?*, 2nd ser., no. 21 (January–March 1987): 16–17.
4. Richardson, *Life of Picasso*, vol. 1, p. 512 n. 1.
5. Guillaume Apollinaire, *Journal intime* (Paris: Editions du Limon, 1991), p. 142.
6. See Hélène Seckel, *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, 2 vols. (Paris: RMN, 1988), vol. 1, pp. 56, 90.
7. Eliane Formentelli, "Ecrire 'Picasso' d'Apollinaire," *Etudes françaises* 21, no. 1 (Spring 1985): 10. Formentelli adds, regarding Apollinaire, that "the problem does not enter his head, so he is not consciously aware of the risk involved when painting becomes language." That assertion now appears untenable.
8. "Une idée de peinture ne sera pure si on peut la exprimer dans un autre langage que le sien la peinture." Sketchbook MP 1864, Sorgues, June–September 1912, fol. 25r, in Brigitte Léal, *Musée Picasso: Carnets. Catalogue des dessins* (Paris: RMN, 1996), vol. 1, p. 221.
9. The impact of the paintings caused Apollinaire such a crisis of confidence that he wrote in the same notebook, a week later, on 5 March 1907, "At the Louvre saw the new Rembrandt room. I don't want to talk about painting any more, I don't understand it; neither do painters" (Apollinaire, *Journal intime*, pp. 142–43).
10. Penrose influentially stated that the *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* was not shown for thirty years after 1907. Roland Penrose, *Picasso: His Life and Work* (New York: Icon Editions, 1973), p. 139.
11. Louis Vauxcelles, in *L'Événement*, quoted in Pierre Daix, *Picasso: Life and Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1993), p. 153.
12. André Salmon, *La Jeune Peinture française* (Paris: Société des Trente, Albert Messein, 1912), pp. 47, 43. For the reactions of Derain, Braque, Félix Fénéon, etc., see Seckel, "Anthology."
13. Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, "Huit entretiens avec Picasso," *Le Point: Revue artistique et littéraire*, October 1952, p. 56.

14. Daix, *Picasso*, p. 381.
15. Salmon, *La Jeune Peinture française*, pp. 43–44; André Salmon, *Propos d'atelier* (Paris: Crès, 1922), p. 16.
16. Guillaume Apollinaire, *The Cubist Painters* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), p. 41.
17. Fernande Olivier, *Loving Picasso* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001), p. 259.
18. D.-H. Kahnweiler, 1915, in Seckel, "Anthology," p. 234. See also Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, *My Galleries and My Painters* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), p. 39.
19. By August 1908, Picasso had to take a break, on doctor's orders, withdrawing to La Rue-des-Bois and writing to Leo Stein, "I worked so hard in Paris this winter and last summer at the studio with all that heat that all my work has finally made me ill" (Judith Cousins, "Documentary Chronology," in Rubin, *Picasso and Braque*, p. 345).
20. See Apollinaire, *Cubist Painters*, pp. 16 and 129–31.
21. Penrose, *Picasso*, p. 133.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 135.
23. Kahnweiler's views are collected in Seckel, "Anthology," pp. 234–42.
24. Isabelle Monod-Fontaine and Claude Laugier, *Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler: Marchand, éditeur, écrivain* (Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou, 1984), p. 118.
25. Jean Adhémar, ed., *Apollinaire*, exhibition catalog (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1969), p. 109, no. 329.
26. In an important 1988 publication, for example, the assertion that Apollinaire disliked *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* was exclusively supported with remarks that Kahnweiler addressed, on different occasions, to Jean Adhémar, Francis Crémieux, and Claude de Givray (William Rubin, "La Genèse des *Demoiselles d'Avignon*," in Seckel, *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, vol. 2, p. 381).
27. Kahnweiler, *My Galleries and Painters*, p. 41; André Malraux, *La Tête d'obsidienne* (Paris: Gallimard, 1974), p. 113. On Kahnweiler and the *Cubist Painters* affair, Pierre Daix wrote, "When I talked to Picasso about it, he told me he hadn't agreed with Kahnweiler's opinions, which were vehemently negative. In *Les Peintres cubistes* there was a great deal which would seriously annoy a rigid aesthetic theoretician like Kahnweiler" (*Picasso*, p. 131).

CHAPTER 12. WRITING ON PICASSO AFTER 1910

1. Judith Cousins, "Documentary Chronology," in *Picasso and Braque: Pioneering Cubism*, ed. William Rubin (New York: MoMA, 1989), p. 398. In October 1916, Apollinaire again emphasized how Boccioni's work had been influenced by Picasso's sculptures (*Pr* 3, p. 244).
2. Christian Zervos, "Georges Braque et le développement du cubisme," *Cahiers d'art*, nos. 1–2 (1932): 23. The Wilbur Wright tag was originally inspired by the fact that Louis

Vauxcelles's article, entitled "Exposition Braque: Chez Kahn Weiler, 28, rue Vignon," in *Gil Blas*, 14 November 1908, which seminally asserted that Braque had reduced everything "to geometrical schemas, to cubes," appeared directly over a report on Wright's latest exploit, breaking the altitude record.

3. Braque's reaction, "So we're changing our tune," was reported in Gino Severini, *Cinquanta disegni di Pablo Picasso* (Novara, 1943), included in Marilyn McCully, ed., *A Picasso Anthology: Documents, Criticism, Reminiscences* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1981), p. 73.
4. John Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, vol. 1, 1881–1906 (London: Jonathan Cape, 1991), pp. 99–107.
5. For fuller discussion of both the Picasso chapter and the book as a whole, see my edition of Guillaume Apollinaire, *The Cubist Painters* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).
6. André Breton, "80 Carats . . . with a Single Flaw" (1961), in *Surrealism and Painting* (Boston: MFA Publications, 2002), p. 116.
7. On the Peau de l'ours syndicate and 1914 sale, see Michael C. Fitzgerald, *Making Modernism: Picasso and the Creation of the Market for Twentieth-Century Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), pp. 15–48.
8. See Etienne-Alain Hubert, "Georges Braque selon Guillaume Apollinaire," in *Circonstances de la poésie: Reverdy, Apollinaire, Surréalisme* (Paris: Klincksieck, 2000), pp. 291–98.
9. Pierre Daix, *Picasso: Life and Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1993), p. 144.

CHAPTER 13. PICASSO IN APOLLINAIRE'S FICTION

1. Fernande Olivier, *Loving Picasso* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001), p. 261.
2. Mécislas Golberg, *La Morale des lignes* (Paris: Léon Vanier / A. Messein, 1908). See particularly the chapter "Déformation." An extract is included in Edward F. Fry, *Cubism* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1966), pp. 45–46.
3. Picasso perhaps recalled "The Poets' Napkin" in 1925, when he drew an irregular square in which appear the outlines of four male, symmetrically overlapping profiles. Picasso Successión, Sketchbook 007 (Juan les Pins, 20 August–13 September 1925), p. 28.
4. Picasso recalled that Mollet introduced him to Apollinaire: "Il adore faire des alliances." Brassai, *Conversations avec Picasso* (Paris: Gallimard, 1986), p. 206.
5. Marie Laurencin wrote, "Cher Mi en sucre et bien gentil—/ Je reviendrai ce soir à 6 heures—6 heures 1/2. / Quelles circonstances m'empêchent de te rencontrer—/ Matisse—Picasso—ta sale bande d'amis qui me feront mourir. / Je t'aime mais je ne suis pas contente" (unsigned, undated note to Guillaume Apollinaire, on stationery of the Conseil municipal de Paris, Cabinet du Président, in Apollinaire Papers, BNF, Department of Manuscripts).
6. In a card to Apollinaire, dated 17 June 1915, when the poet was in the artillery, Joseph Granié wrote that Marie Laurencin "asks me to send you a money order for 25 francs.

- 'If after the war he's rich,' she writes, 'then so much the better and I'll allow him to repay me'" (Apollinaire Papers, BNF, Department of Manuscripts).
7. Apollinaire provided an account of his friendship with Konitza in *Le Mercure de France*, 1 May 1912 (*Pr* 3, pp. 105–9). The kidnapping episode in *La Femme assise*, based on *Kryptadia* material, was borrowed from Apollinaire's short story "L'Otmika," set in Bosnia, published in *La Revue blanche*, January 1903 (*Pr* 1, pp. 137–47). On Konitza, see also Luan Starova, *Faïk Konitza et Guillaume Apollinaire: Une Amitié européenne* (Paris: L'Esprit des péninsules, 1998).
 8. On Irène Lagut, see John Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, vol. 2, 1907–1917 (London: Jonathan Cape 1996), pp. 394–405.
 9. *Ibid.*, pp. 15–16.

CHAPTER 14. ART AND POETRY IN DIALOGUE

1. Guillaume Apollinaire, *Lettres à Madeleine: Tendre comme le souvenir* (Paris: Gallimard, 2005), p. 99. "Les Fiançailles" has been defined as "Apollinaire's *Demoiselles d'Avignon*." See Leroy C. Breunig, "Apollinaire's 'Les Fiançailles,'" *Essays in French Literature* 3 (November 1966): 1–32.
2. Jean Cocteau recalled that Apollinaire "always used to talk to me about the 'poem-event,' which he placed above all others." Such poems, explained Cocteau, "do not comment on any event. They are the event to be commented on." Jean Cocteau, *Poésie critique* (Paris: Gallimard, 1959), vol. 1, pp. 91–92. André Breton also described Apollinaire as "the champion of the poem-event." André Breton, *Conversations: The Autobiography of Surrealism*, trans. and introd. Mark Polizzotti (New York: Paragon House, 1993), p. 15.
3. Guillaume Apollinaire, *Calligrammes*, proofs, Bibliothèque littéraire Jacques Doucet, Paris.
4. It has been suggested that the other white spaces represent the pipes, body, and keyboard of the organ mentioned at the start of the text, or the broken things and torn books at the end. See R. Fourdin, "Le Calligramme évidé," *Que vlo-ve?*, 3rd ser., no. 4 (October–December 1991): 105–9. On "Pablo Picasso," see also Jennifer Pap, "Apollinaire's Ekphrastic 'Poésie-Critique' and Cubism," *Word and Image* 8, no. 3 (July–September 1992): 206–14.
5. The copiously corrected proof of "Pablo Picasso" is reproduced in Florence de Lussy, "Picasso vu par Apollinaire, Jean Cassou et Francis Ponge: Regards de poètes sur un peintre," *Revue de la Bibliothèque nationale* 35 (1990): 29.

CHAPTER 15. PICASSO'S FRONTISPIECE FOR *ALCOOLS*

1. André Breton, "The Presence of the Gauls" (1955), in *Surrealism and Painting* (Boston: MFA Publications, 2002), p. 333. Sales of the current French paperback edition of *Alcools* (Gallimard, "Poésie" series), published in 1969, in a volume that also includes *Le Bestiaire*, exceeded 1,100,000 copies by 2003.

2. Picasso wrote to Kahnweiler on 11 April 1913, saying he had “received Apollinaire’s book on Cubism.” Isabelle Monod-Fontaine et al., *Donation Louise et Michel Leiris: Collection Kahnweiler-Leiris* (Paris: Musée national d’art moderne, 1984), p. 170.
3. Max Jacob to Apollinaire, 2 June 1913, in Jean Adhémar, ed., *Apollinaire* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1969), p. 105, no. 313. Max told Kahnweiler about the arrival of Picasso’s copy of *Alcools* and the artist’s worries over cigarette ash in an undated letter from late May 1913. Max eventually received his own copy of *Alcools*, which he always treasured. Hélène Seckel and André Cariou, *Max Jacob et Picasso* (Paris: RMN, 1994), pp. 102, 108 n. 17. Picasso’s copy of *Alcools*, containing an inscribed dedication, has not been traced.
4. Hélène Seckel, “Three Portrait-Manifestoes of Poets: André Salmon, Guillaume Apollinaire, and Max Jacob,” in *Picasso and Portraiture: Representation and Transformation*, ed. William Rubin (New York: MoMA, 1996), p. 187.
5. Henri Ghéon, review of *Alcools* in *La Nouvelle Revue française*, 1 August 1913, p. 286. Seckel, “Three Portrait-Manifestoes,” provides a synopsis of such press comments. The complete file of contemporary reviews of *Alcools* was published in several issues of *Que vlo-ve?* from 1986 to 1991.
6. *Paris-Midi*, 29 May 1913, in Pierre Caizergues, “Echos,” *Que vlo-ve?*, no. 2 (July 1973): 21.
7. This phrase by Picasso is recorded by Geneviève Laporte, *Sunshine at Midnight: Memories of Picasso and Cocteau* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1975), p. 77.
8. Pierre Caizergues, “Sur le paratexte d’*Alcools*,” *Recherches et travaux* no. 14 (1999): 167, 169–70.
9. Pierre Daix, *Dictionnaire Picasso*, Bouquins (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1995), p. 734.
10. Françoise Gilot and Carlton Lake, *Life with Picasso* (London: Virago Press, 1990), p. 114.
11. Jean Cocteau, “Apollinaire,” *La Parisienne*, January 1954, in *Théâtre inédit et textes épars*, Cahiers Jean Cocteau no. 9 (Paris: Gallimard, 1981): 191. In spring 1912, Picasso painted *Architect’s Table*, which included an architect’s ruler with a hole in it (New York, MoMA; Z II*, 321).
12. Robert Rey, “Exposition Pablo Picasso,” *Beaux-Arts, Revue d’information artistique*, 15 April 1924, pp. 125–26, quoted and explained by Etienne-Alain Hubert in his essay “Apollinaire et la propriété: Autour du *Larron*,” in *Circonstances de la poésie: Reverdy, Apollinaire, surréalisme* (Paris: Klincksieck, 2000), p. 228. Apollinaire’s “Le Larron” (*Alcools*) contains the line “There were fruit as round as souls.”
13. Daix, *Dictionnaire Picasso*, pp. 563, 734. The Grebo mask is shown in Hélène Seckel, *Picasso collectionneur* (Paris: RMN, 1998), p. 241.
14. Brigitte Léal, *Musée Picasso: Carnets. Catalogue des dessins* (Paris: RMN, 1996), vol. 1, p. 219 (Carnet 16, fol. 10v).
15. Florent Fels, “Propos d’artistes: Picasso,” *Les Nouvelles littéraires*, 4 August 1923, p. 2.
16. Guillaume Apollinaire, *Lettres à Madeleine: Tendre comme le souvenir*, 30 July 1915 (Paris: Gallimard, 2005), p. 92.

17. Guillaume Apollinaire, "Lettres inédites du mal-aimé à une amie," presented by André Billy, *Le Figaro littéraire*, 4–10 November 1968, p. 10 (letter dated 12 March 1916).
18. Christian Zervos, "Conversation with Picasso," *Cahiers d'art*, special issue, 1935, in Pablo Picasso, *Propos sur l'art*, ed. M.-L. Bernadac and A. Michael (Paris: Gallimard, 1998), p. 34.
19. Anne Baldassari, *Picasso photographe: 1901–1916* (Paris: RMN, 1994), pp. 118–19, 123. Baldassari also compares *Man with a Pipe*, from the summer of 1911 (Z II*, 738), to Picasso's 1910 photo of Apollinaire with a pipe, suggesting that the photo was used as a matrix for the painting, for which it provided particular details and overall pattern (p. 123). Baldassari also suggests that an "Ingres-style" drawing of Apollinaire, seated and in uniform, in 1916, includes elements taken from photos of the poet in 1911 and 1916, both in Picasso's collection. Anne Baldassari, *Picasso and Photography: The Dark Mirror* (Houston, TX: Museum of Fine Arts, 1997), pp. 142–45.

CHAPTER 16. THE GREAT WAR

1. Judith Cousins, "Documentary Chronology," in *Picasso and Braque: Pioneering Cubism*, ed. William Rubin (New York: MoMA, 1989), pp. 431, 432.
2. Guillaume Apollinaire, *Lettres à Lou*, ed. Michel Décaudin (Paris: Gallimard, 1969), p. 29. For an illustrated survey of these events, see Laurence Campa and Michel Décaudin, *La Poésie à perte de vue: Passion Apollinaire* (Paris: Textuel, 2004).
3. This delivery slip is described in Jean Adhémar, ed., *Apollinaire* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1969), p. 121, no. 364. The document has since disappeared, but its envelope, post-marked "21.12.14," is among Apollinaire manuscripts at the Bibliothèque nationale (BNF NAF 16282, fol. 141). It is addressed, in Picasso's hand, to "Guillaume Kostrowitzky / 2e Canonier conducteur / 38e Rgt d'art. de campagne / 70e batterie / Nîmes / (Gard)." On the back is written, "Envoi—Picasso—5 bis R. Schoelcher—Paris—14e."
4. Apollinaire, *Lettres à Lou*, p. 66.
5. Years later, Picasso told Kahnweiler, "I never saw them again," meaning that their friendship would never be the same again. Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, *My Galleries and Painters* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), p. 46.
6. See Michael C. Fitzgerald, *Making Modernism: Picasso and the Creation of the Market for Twentieth-Century Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), p. 54, pp. 280–81 nn. 17 and 20; Isabelle Monod-Fontaine, *Donation Louise et Michel Leiris* (Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou, 1984), p. 171.
7. See the section on Eva in Pierre Daix, *Dictionnaire Picasso*, Bouquins (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1995), pp. 311–15.
8. See Hélène Seckel and André Cariou, *Max Jacob et Picasso* (Paris: RMN, 1994), p. 121. See also Leroy C. Breunig, "Max Jacob et Picasso," *Mercure de France*, December 1957, p. 585.
9. Pierre Roy to Guillaume Apollinaire, 22 August 1915 (Apollinaire Papers, BNF, Department of Manuscripts).

10. Guillaume Apollinaire, *Lettres à Madeleine: Tendre comme le souvenir* (Paris: Gallimard, 2005), pp. 313, 322, 357, 360, 361, 375, 359, 380 (letters from November and December 1915).
11. See Peter Read, "Gaz toxiques et 'larmes de rire' dans *Calligrammes*," in *Apollinaire au feu*, ed. Laurence Campa (Paris: RMN / Historial de la Grande Guerre, 2005), pp. 48–58.
12. Apollinaire mentions this meeting in a letter to Derain, 20 February 1916 (OC 4, p. 882).
13. Undated letter [1916], in André Billy, "Max Jacob à Guillaume Apollinaire: Lettres inédites," *Livres de France* 7 (December 1954): 7.
14. On Picasso's 1916 Harlequin drawings, see Theodore Reff, "Picasso at the Crossroads Sketchbook No. 59, 1916," in *Je suis le cahier: The Sketchbooks of Picasso*, ed. Arnold Glimcher and Marc Glimcher (New York: Pace Gallery, 1986), pp. 81–111. In 1918, Apollinaire headed a letter to Cocteau with a banner carrying the words "The Bird Sings with Its Fingers." In 1950, Cocteau reused this phrase in his film *Orpheus*. See Peter Read, "L'Oiseau qui chantait à l'oreille de Cocteau ou les métamorphoses d'une petite phrase," *Que vlo-ve?*, 2nd ser., no. 25 (January–March 1988): 22–28.
15. Guillaume Apollinaire, "Croix de Guerre," in *Soldes*, ed. G. Boudar, Pierre Caizergues, and Michel Décaudin (Fontfroide: Bibliothèque artistique et littéraire, 1985).
16. Pierre-Marcel Adéma, ed., *Guillaume Apollinaire* (Paris: La Table Ronde, 1968), pp. 293–94.
17. Juan Gris, 1 January 1917, in C. Dérouet, "Le Cubisme 'bleu horizon' ou le prix de la guerre: Correspondance de Juan Gris et de Léonce Rosenberg, 1915–1917," *Revue de l'art* 113 (March 1996): 60; Céline Arnould, "Le Banquet," *L'Esprit nouveau* 26 (1924): n.p.; Apollinaire to Raynal, OC 4, p. 800. For the guest list and press coverage of the Apollinaire banquet, see [Michel Décaudin], "Qui a signé pour Apollinaire le 31 décembre 1916 au Palais d'Orléans?" *Que vlo-ve?*, 4th ser., no. 20 (October–December 2002): 121–28. Apollinaire, Picasso, Matisse, and Gris were then on the organizing committee of the Braque Banquet, in Montparnasse on 14 January 1917.
18. Apollinaire did not tell Picasso of the more mundane side of his professional life, which included a stint from 6:00 to 10:00 A.M. every day at *Paris-Midi*, editing foreign news, and then from 2:00 to 5:30 P.M. in the government censor's office, checking provincial newspapers. He included these details in a letter, also dated 22 March 1917, to Georgette Catelain, where he confirmed that his "definitive edition of *Ubu Roi*" had been "delivered to M. Fasquelle." See André Billy, "Lettres inédites du mal-aimé à une amie," *Le Figaro littéraire*, 4–10 November 1968, pp. 9–11.

CHAPTER 17. THE FIRST MATISSE AND PICASSO EXHIBITION

1. Isabelle Monod-Fontaine and Claude Laugier, "Éléments de chronologie (1904–1918)," in *Henri Matisse, 1904–1917*, ed. Dominique Fourcade and Isabelle Monod-Fontaine (Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou, 1993), p. 95. It has been suggested that the Matisse-Apollinaire relationship soured when Apollinaire published his interview with the artist in *La Phalange* rather than in *Cahiers Mécislas Golberg*. Hilary Spurling, *The Unknown Matisse: Man of the*

- North, 1869–1908 (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1998), pp. 397–401, and *Matisse the Master: The Conquest of Colour, 1909–1954* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 2005), p. 206.
2. Laurence Madeline, ed., *Les Archives de Picasso: "On est ce que l'on garde!"* (Paris: RMN, 2003), p. 261.
 3. Max Jacob to Aurel, 26 February 1927, in Max Jacob, *Les Propos et les jours: Lettres, 1904–1944*, ed. Annie Marcoux and Didier Gompel-Netter (Paris: Zodiaque, 1989), p. 274.
 4. Paul Guillaume, comp., *Sculptures nègres: 24 photographies précédées d'un avertissement de Guillaume Apollinaire et d'un exposé de Paul Guillaume* (Paris: Paul Guillaume, 1917).
 5. See Jean Bouret, "Une Amitié esthétique au début du siècle: Apollinaire et Paul Guillaume (1911–1918) d'après une correspondance inédite," *La Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., no. 76 (1970): 373–99; Peter Read, "Apollinaire, Paul Guillaume et *Les Arts à Paris*," in *Guillaume Apollinaire 20: Clés pour "Couleur du temps"*, ed. Michel Décaudin (Paris: Revue des lettres modernes / Minard, 2000), pp. 175–201.
 6. The poster is reproduced in black and white in Pierre Daix, *Journal du cubisme* (Paris: Skira, 1982), p. 139. For Apollinaire's copy of the poster, on orange paper, see Etude Couturier Nicolay, *Ancienne Collection Guillaume Apollinaire* (Paris: Hôtel Drouot, 30 April 1993), lot 126.
 7. Matisse to Rosenberg, 1 June 1916, in Monod-Fontaine and Laugier, "Eléments de chronologie," p. 119.
 8. Apollinaire Papers, BNF, Department of Manuscripts.
 9. Madeline, *Les Archives de Picasso*, p. 261.
 10. Matisse explained that he did not need the advertising and that such a campaign was not of his generation. See Henri Matisse and A. Rouveyre, *Correspondance*, ed. Hanne Finsen (Paris: Flammarion, 2001), p. 30.
 11. *Ibid.*, p. 31. Rouveyre replied that the book should be out in about three weeks, gave him Apollinaire's address, and said he would pass on his good wishes.
 12. Fernande Olivier, *Loving Picasso* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001), p. 225.
 13. Apollinaire told the story of Apelles and Protogenes, who competed to see who could paint the finest, thinnest line within a line already painted. He used that tale, taken from book 35 of Pliny's *Natural History*, as an allegory of the Braque-Picasso relationship and to provide a convincing precedent for art based on form, color, and texture rather than anecdotal or moralistic content. Guillaume Apollinaire, *The Cubist Painters* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), pp. 13 and 127.
 14. For the 1916 *Coupe d'oranges*, see Fourcade and Monod-Fontaine, *Henri Matisse*, p. 371.
 15. Fernande Olivier, *Picasso et ses amis*, ed. Hélène Klein (Paris: Pygmalion/Gérard Watelet, 2001), p. 116. To put it another way, they were Night and Day: "Picasso worked by night, Matisse by day" (Jack Flam, *Matisse and Picasso* [New York: Westview Press, 2003], p. 48).
 16. On the Gaumont newsreel report and the exhibition, see Anne Baldassari, "Exposition 'Matisse-Picasso,' galerie Paul Guillaume, Paris, 1918," in *Matisse/Picasso*, ed. Elizabeth

Cowling et al. (Paris: RMN/Centre Pompidou, 2002), pp. 360–64. For other suggestions regarding works exhibited, see Daix, *Journal du cubisme*, p. 138.

17. From T. R. Smith, ed., *Poetica Erotica* (New York: Crown, 1921).
18. My thanks to Jacques Chaize, who kindly gave me a photocopy of this letter, written in February 1918 by his uncle, Dr. Jean Chaize.
19. Pierre Daix and Joan Rosselet, *Picasso: The Cubist Years, 1907–1916. A Catalogue Raisonné of the Paintings and Related Works* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979), p. 217, no. 141.
20. William Rubin, ed., *Picasso and Braque: Pioneering Cubism* (New York: MoMA, 1989), p. 144; Daix and Rosselet, *Picasso*, p. 249, no. 314.
21. More details on Jean Chaize and his links with Apollinaire can be found in Peter Read, “Apollinaire, Jean Chaize et Lucien Descaves en 1918,” in *Le Sens à venir: Création poétique et démarche critique. Hommage à Léon Somville*, ed. David Gullentops (Berlin: Peter Lang, 1995), pp. 27–33.

CHAPTER 18. THE FINAL MONTHS

1. Louise Faure-Favier, *Souvenirs sur Apollinaire* (Paris: Grasset, 1945), p. 180.
2. Jean Cocteau, *Lettres à sa mere*, vol. 1, 1898–1918, ed. Pierre Caizergues (Paris: Gallimard, 1989), pp. 397–98.
3. According to Plutarch’s *Life of Antony* (75 AD), Cleopatra was not particularly beautiful, but her voice and behavior were irresistible. For Blaise Pascal and others in seventeenth-century France, a large nose signified strength of character. See Susan Walker and Peter Higgs, eds., *Cleopatra of Egypt: From History to Myth* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); Blaise Pascal, *Pensées and Other Writings*, ed. A. H. T. Levi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
4. Henri Matarasso, “L’Ami des poètes,” *XXe Siècle*, special issue, “Hommage à Pablo Picasso,” 1971, p. 29. Current whereabouts of Picasso’s bound copy of the poem are unknown.
5. Cocteau, *Lettres à sa mere*, vol. 1, p. 406.
6. Arnold Glimcher and Marc Glimcher, eds., *Je suis le cahier: The Sketchbooks of Picasso* (New York: Pace Gallery, 1986), no. 64.
7. The house had six towers and was known as “Bluebeard’s Castle.” See Jean-François Larralde and Jean Casenave, *Picasso à Biarritz été 1918* (Paris: Editions Lavielle, 1995), pp. 70–71.
8. Photos of the Blue Bedroom, taken in 1961, before the house was demolished, are included in Larralde and Casenave, *Picasso à Biarritz*. See also Z III, 226–30. Picasso gave Mme. Errazuriz a book of twenty-four drawings, including one of Apollinaire with a leather headband, playing a lyre.
9. On Picasso’s 1918 version of *Le Nain* and Apollinaire’s reaction, see also Elizabeth Cowling, *Picasso: Style and Meaning* (New York: Phaidon, 2002), pp. 327–29.

10. Budry's letter, dated 21 March 1918, requesting an article on Picasso, also offered Apollinaire further articles on tribal art and on his theater. On 29 June, Budry wrote to ask for news of the Picasso article (Apollinaire Papers, BNF, Department of Manuscripts). In reply, Apollinaire requested ten francs a page because "I'm married and from now on what I do belongs to my wife as much as to me." He also said that choosing illustrations would be difficult because Picasso's work was so varied. See two undated letters and a postcard from Apollinaire to Budry, cited in Victor Martin-Schmets, "Index permanent des lettres d'Apollinaire," in *Guillaume Apollinaire 16* (Paris: Revue des lettres modernes, 1983), p. 192.
11. Apollinaire, "Picass/Guill/Exelmans," *Agenda Bijou 1918*, 11 June 1918, and letter from Paul Guillaume, 20 September 1918, Apollinaire Papers, BNF, Department of Manuscripts.
12. Lucia Bonato, ed., *Guillaume Apollinaire 202, Bd. Saint-Germain, Paris*, Quaderni del Novecento Francese 13 (Rome: Bulzoni, 1992), p. 139.
13. Jean Cocteau, "Apollinaire," *La Parisienne*, January 1954, reprinted in *Théâtre inédit et textes épars*, Cahiers Jean Cocteau no. 9 (Paris: Gallimard, 1981), p. 194.
14. Faure-Favier, *Souvenirs sur Apollinaire*, p. 204.
15. Jean Cocteau, "[Apollinaire]," *SIC*, nos. 37–39, Apollinaire tribute issue (January and 15 February 1919): 287.
16. Pierre-Marcel Adéma and Michel Décaudin, *Album Apollinaire* (Paris: Gallimard, 1971), p. 298.
17. André Billy, "Guillaume Apollinaire," *L'Opinion*, 16 November 1918 (also in *SIC*, January–15 February 1919).
18. Gertrude Stein wrote that Olga Picasso told her this story. *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1977), p. 67.
19. André Salmon, "Apollinaire et Jarry," *Paris-Journal*, 9 November 1923, p. 1.
20. Roland Penrose, *Picasso: His Life and Work*, rev. ed. (New York: Icon Editions, 1973), p. 228.
21. Jaime Sabartés, *Picasso: Documents iconographiques* (Geneva: Pierre Cailler, 1954), no. 122.
22. See Michel Décaudin, "Apollinaire et Picasso," *Espirit*, January 1982, p. 82.
23. Les Treize, "Les Lettres: Les Poètes et les présages," *L'Intransigeant*, 27 July 1924, p. 2.
24. Louis Aragon, "Oraison funèbre," *SIC*, January and 15 February 1919, p. 283.
25. Jean Cocteau, *Orphée* (Paris: Stock, 1927), scene 7, p. 71.
26. David Douglas Duncan, *The Silent Studio* (New York: Norton, 1976), pp. 3, 19. In 1963, John Golding reproduced Z III, 76, considering it "likely" that this, rather than Z III, 75, was the drawing Picasso made on 9 November 1918 after hearing that Apollinaire had died. Golding also reports that Picasso told John Richardson that he drew two self-portraits on 9 November 1918. See John Golding, "Guillaume Apollinaire and the Art of the Twentieth Century," *Baltimore Museum of Art News* 26, no. 4, and 27, no. 1 (Summer–Autumn 1963): 30. Zervos and Sabartés, however, date to 1917 the

- self-portrait of the artist with pencil in hand (Z III, 76, and Sabartés, *Picasso*, no. 118). Sabartés reproduces the other self-portrait (Z III, 75), dates it to 1918, and states, ambiguously, “This is how Picasso saw himself in the bathroom mirror, at Hotel Lutétia, in 1918, at the moment he had just been told, by telephone, the news of the death of his friend Guillaume Apollinaire” (Sabartés, *Picasso*, no. 122). He was shaving when he heard the news, according to Brassai, *Conversations with Picasso*, p. 165. On the November 1918 self-portrait(s), see also Kirk Varnedoe, “Picasso’s Self-Portraits,” in *Picasso and Portraiture: Representation and Transformation*, ed. William Rubin (New York: MoMA, 1996), pp. 146, 177–78.
27. This drawing was shown, with both inscriptions visible, in the exhibition *Picasso intime: La Collection de Jacqueline*, at the Pinacothèque de Paris, 7 November–28 March 2004. The reproduction in the exhibition catalog crops the sheet to show only the second, undated signature. Marc Restellini, *Picasso intime* (Paris: Skira, 2003), p. 51, no. 6.
 28. Guillaume Apollinaire, *Journal intime, 1898–1918* (Paris: Editions du Limon, 1991), p. 161.
 29. Pierre Daix, *Picasso: Life and Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1993), p. 166.
 30. Antonina Vallentin, *Pablo Picasso* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1957), p. 237. In 1921 Picasso drew his own features in classical profile (Z XXX, 149), and other self-portraits would follow throughout his life.

CHAPTER 19. CAMPAIGNING FOR A TOMB

1. Louise Faure-Favier, *Souvenirs sur Apollinaire* (Paris: Grasset, 1945), pp. 207–9; André Salmon, “Funérailles de Guillaume Apollinaire,” *L’Eveil*, 14 November 1918, quoted in Pierre-Marcel Adéma, *Guillaume Apollinaire* (Paris: La Table Ronde, 1968), pp. 343–44. Breton’s presence is mentioned in Henri Béhar, *André Breton: Le Grand Indésirable* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1990), p. 69. Ossip Zadkine recalled his own sorrow and solitude at the funeral, where “tragic misfortune” turned “a little group of friends into a pile of leaves flattened by destiny.” See Guillaume Apollinaire and Ossip Zadkine, *Sept Calligrammes: Dix Eaux-fortes originales* (Paris: Christophe Czwiklitzer, 1967), n.p.
2. André Salmon, “Observations déplacées,” *Les Soirées de Paris* 1 (February 1912): 29.
3. “Il nous restait 50 francs,” quoted in Pierre Gaxotte, “Mon Amie Jacqueline Apollinaire,” *Le Figaro*, 15 September 1967. Official records show that Jacqueline received 300 francs from French government social services on 15 February 1919. Claude Debon, “Apollinaire en 1918,” in *Apollinaire en 1918* (Paris: Méridiens Klincksieck, 1988), p. 21.
4. Paul Léautaud, 6 October 1921, *Journal littéraire* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1956–63), vol. 3, p. 378. For *Action*, see Florent Fels, ed., *Action 1–12, 1920–22*, facsimile ed. (Paris: Jean-Michel Place, 1999). Laurence Campa, “Quand l’avant-garde piétine: *Action* (1920–1922),” in *Les Oubliés des avant-gardes*, ed. Barbara Meazzi and Jean-Pol Madou (Chambéry: Université de Savoie, 2006), pp. 221–37.
5. See Muriel Levé, “Serge Férat ou le goût du masque,” *Que vlo-ve?*, 3rd ser., no. 10 (April–June 1993): 36–38.

6. Gertrude Stein, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1977), pp. 67–68. Stein added, “It was a changed Paris. Guillaume Apollinaire was dead” (p. 207).
7. Information provided to Jacqueline Apollinaire by Serge Férat and sent by her to André Billy in a letter dated 10 December 1954 (AB). According to this letter, the collection reached a total of 1,989 francs, 75 centimes.
8. Henry McBride, “Modern Art,” *The Dial* 71, no. 6 (December 1921): 720.

CHAPTER 20. SCANDALOUS SCULPTURES

1. *Paris-Soir*, 16 June 1924, p. 1; *L'Intransigeant*, 2 May 1924, p. 2; *Action*, 7 June 1924, p. 2; *Le Petit Parisien*, 15 June 1924, p. 2; *L'Intransigeant*, 15 June 1924, p. 2; *Paris-Soir*, 8 June 1924, p. 2; *Le Figaro*, 24 June 1924, p. 3.
2. *Le Temps*, 16 June 1924, p. 1; *Action*, 1 June 1924, p. 2; *Petit-Journal*, 26 and 27 April 1924, p. 1. Louis Aragon included a powerfully ironic diagnosis of urban “statuemanía” and what he called the “cemetery of the imagination,” in his essay “Le Sentiment de la nature aux Buttes-Chaumont,” serialized in four issues of *La Revue européenne* (March–June 1925), then incorporated in his 1926 book *Le Paysan de Paris* [The Paris Peasant] (repr., Paris: Gallimard, Folio, 1993), pp. 186–89.
3. Albert E. Elsen, *Rodin's Thinker and the Dilemmas of Modern Public Sculpture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).
4. See Michael Pennington, *An Angel for a Martyr: Jacob Epstein's Tomb for Oscar Wilde* (Reading: Whiteknights Press, 1987).
5. Banville d'Hostel, “Pour la liberté de l'art: Protestation à propos du Monument Oscar Wilde. Notre Pétition,” *L'Action d'art*, no. 4 (1 April 1913): 1–2. See also Atl, “A propos du monument Oscar Wilde au Père Lachaise,” *L'Action d'art*, no. 2 (1 March 1913): 1; Atl, “Les Edits Delanney,” *L'Action d'art*, no. 3 (15 March 1913); “Notre Protestation en faveur du Monument Oscar Wilde,” *L'Action d'art*, no. 6 (10 May 1913): 3. For other press coverage, see, for example, Georges-Bazile, “Oscar Wilde, prisonnier de la Préfecture de la Seine,” *Comoedia*, 9 October 1912, p. 2; Georges-Bazile, “Autour du tombeau d'Oscar Wilde: Une Pétition des artistes pour la liberté de l'art,” *Comoedia*, 21 March 1913, p. 3; Laurent Tailhade, “Le Tombeau d'Oscar Wilde,” *Comoedia*, 23 April 1913, p. 1; La Palette, “Les Arts. Le Tombeau d'Oscar Wilde,” *Gil Blas*, 4 March 1913, p. 4; Séverine, “Requête à M. Delanney, Prefet de la Seine,” *Gil Blas*, 31 May 1913, p. 1. In the British press, see, for example, R. E. D., “Art in France,” *Burlington Magazine*, April 1913, pp. 52–54; Horace Holley, “Epstein's Oscar Wilde Monument,” *New Freewoman*, 1 July 1913, pp. 30–31; “Monument to Oscar Wilde Unveiled: Defiance of Paris Authorities,” *Times*, 6 November 1913, p. 11; Jacob Epstein, “The Oscar Wilde Monument: To the Editor of *The Times*,” *Times*, 8 November 1913, p. 7.
6. Jacob Epstein, *An Autobiography* (London: Hulton Press, 1955), p. 46; Richard Buckle, *Jacob Epstein: Sculptor* (London: Faber and Faber, 1963), pp. 38–39, 60–65. Epstein considered Picasso “a remarkable artist, both as a virtuoso and a man of exquisite

taste and sensibility,” and shared his views on, for example, tribal art and artistic freedom. See Jacob Epstein, *The Sculptor Speaks* (London: Heinemann, 1931), pp. 103–7.

7. Epstein, *Sculptor Speaks*, pp. 19–20, 101.
8. Roland Penrose, *Picasso: His Life and Work*, rev. ed. (New York: Icon Editions, 1973), p. 229.

CHAPTER 21. COMMEMORATIVE PAINTINGS

1. Theodore Reff, “Picasso’s *Three Musicians*: Maskers, Artists and Friends,” *Art in America* 68 (December 1980): 124–42. Carolyn Lanchner and William Rubin have developed Reff’s analysis, identifying, in the Philadelphia version, Apollinaire’s profile on Pierrot’s clarinet. They also suggest that both versions contain elements intended to evoke Douanier Rousseau and that Picasso mixes and combines attributes of Apollinaire, Max Jacob, and Rousseau across all three characters. See Carolyn Lanchner and William Rubin, “Henri Rousseau et le modernisme,” in *Le Douanier Rousseau* (Paris: RMN, 1984), p. 64.
2. Hélène Seckel and André Cariou, *Max Jacob et Picasso* (Paris: RMN, 1994), p. 181.
3. Elizabeth Cowling, *Picasso: Style and Meaning* (New York: Phaidon, 2002), pp. 364–67. Diaghilev was planning to produce the three ballets, and in May and June 1920 Picasso had drawn portraits of the three composers (Z IV, 59, 60, 62).
4. In a 1918 drawing, a woman, with four female companions (a woman, an adolescent, and two children) reads a letter with an intent and serious expression (Z III, 124). *Reading the Letter* is a male counterpart to that wartime drawing.
5. Dominique Bozo, “Préface,” in *Picasso: Oeuvres reçues en paiement des droits de succession* (Paris: RMN, 1979), p. 16. Marie-Laure Bernadac supported Bozo’s reading and suggested that in 1921 the tomb project had brought thoughts of Apollinaire to the forefront of Picasso’s concerns. See Marie-Laure Besnard-Bernadac, *Le Musée Picasso Paris* (Paris: RMN, 1985), p. 34.
6. See PAC, p. 86 n. 5.
7. L[eon]. D[ier]X., “Projets oubliés, projets abandonnés,” *Mercure de France*, 1 October 1923, p. 288.
8. My thanks to Jacqueline Gojard for this letter from Salmon to Max Jacob.
9. Paul Léautaud, *Journal littéraire* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1956–63), vol. 4, p. 220.
10. A bill to Picasso from the artists’ supplier Castelucho Diana, Paris, for a sculptor’s turntable and board is dated 5 January 1924 (AP). Picasso was also billed for materials and tools for sculpture in January 1927 and February 1928. All cited by Cowling, *Picasso*, pp. 354, 662 n. 32.
11. Malcolm Gee, *Dealers, Critics and Collectors of Modern Painting: Aspects of the Parisian Art Market between 1910 and 1930* (New York: Garland, 1981), pp. 25–27, 29 n. 1.

12. Les Treize, "Les Lettres," *L'Intransigeant*, 15 June 1924, p. 2; "A tous échos," *Paris-Soir*, 15 June 1924, p. 2. The exhibition is again announced in "Les Arts. Peinture, sculpture," *L'Intransigeant*, 17 June 1924, p. 2.
13. Jacqueline Apollinaire to André Billy, 10 December 1954 (AB).
14. Pierre-Marcel Adéma collection. The poster announces the sale for 3:00 P.M. on 21 June 1924.
15. The outcome of the sale was also reported in *L'Intransigeant*, 26 June 1924, p. 2. *L'Intransigeant*, 9 July 1924, p. 2, announced the postsale briefing at the Closerie des Lilas. Paul Guillaume, under the pseudonym Colin d'Arbois, published in his gallery's promotional magazine the names of donors and the outcome of the sale, which "will therefore allow the rapid construction of a monument worthy of this great memory" (Colin d'Arbois, "Echos-Actualités," *Les Arts à Paris* 10 [November 1924]). An Epinal-style colored woodcut made and contributed by André Salmon was bought by Ozenfant for 250 francs. See André Salmon, *Souvenirs sans fin, 1903-1940* (Paris: Gallimard, 2004), p. 914.
16. *Gazette de l'Hôtel Drouot*, 5 July 1924, p. 1.

CHAPTER 22. PICASSO AND SURREALISM

1. Elizabeth Cowling has highlighted the "fascinating coincidence" between Apollinaire's last letters and Picasso's early 1920s neoclassical paintings. See Elizabeth Cowling, *Picasso: Style and Meaning* (New York: Phaidon, 2002), pp. 409, 438.
2. J. Salvado, "Chez Picasso," *Paris-Journal*, 14 March 1924, p. 5.
3. Michel Sanouillet, *Dada à Paris* (Paris: Pauvert, 1965), pp. 380-87. See also j. h., "Soirée Coeur à Barbe," *Little Review*, Spring 1923, pp. 27-29.
4. Francis Picabia, "Erik Satie," *Paris-Journal*, 27 June 1924, p. 1.
5. On Picasso and Surrealism, see Anne Baldassari, ed., *The Surrealist Picasso* (Paris: Flammarion / Fondation Beyeler, 2005); John Golding, "Picasso and Surrealism," in *Picasso, 1881-1973*, ed. Roland Penrose and John Golding (London: Paul Elek, 1973), pp. 76-121; Elizabeth Cowling, "'Proudly we claim him as one of us': Breton, Picasso and the Surrealist Movement," *Art History* 8 (March 1985): 82-105; Michael Fitzgerald, *Making Modernism: Picasso and the Creation of the Market for Twentieth-Century Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), pp. 139-51.
6. André Breton, "80 Carats . . . with a Single Flaw," in *Surrealism and Painting* (Boston: MFA Publications, 2002), p. 116.
7. Robert Otero, *Forever Picasso: An Intimate Look at His Last Years* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1974), p. 82.
8. André Breton, *Nadja*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 1, *La Pléiade* (Paris: Gallimard, 1988), p. 653.
9. Sanouillet, *Dada à Paris*, p. 380.

10. Florent Fels, "Chronique artistique. Propos d'artistes: Picasso," *Les Nouvelles littéraires*, 4 August 1923, p. 2.
11. Judith Cousins and Hélène Seckel, "Chronology of *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, 1907 to 1939," in *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, ed. William Rubin, Hélène Seckel, and Judith Cousins, *Studies in Modern Art* 3 (New York: MoMA, 1994), pp. 175–84.
12. Breton, "80 Carats," p. 117.
13. Picasso's response to the proofs for a 1955 exhibition catalog prompted the following added note: "The influence of Surrealism on his work is contested by Picasso in all cases where certain captions in the catalog (nos. 66, 68, 69) propose it as a possibility. He recognizes this influence, especially in his drawings, only in 1933, when he was starting to undergo the great difficulties that would soon lead to his separating from Olga" (Catalog, *Picasso: Peintures, 1900–1955* [Paris: Musée des Arts Décoratifs, 1955], no. 40).
14. Breton, "80 Carats," p. 117.
15. Picasso, statement to André Warnod, quoted in Brassai, *Conversations with Picasso* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), p. 36.
16. For debates on the sense and ownership of the word *Surrealism*, see Michel Décaudin, "Autour du premier manifeste," in *Surrealismo*, ed. P. A. Jannini (Rome: Bulzoni, 1973), pp. 29–47. Picasso's interest in this debate is indicated by a cutting he kept of an article by Maurice Martin du Gard, "Le Surréalisme? André Breton," *Les Nouvelles littéraires*, 11 October 1924, cited in Fitzgerald, *Making Modernism*, p. 148.
17. Françoise Gilot and Carlton Lake, *Life with Picasso* (London: Virago Press, 1990), p. 298.
18. André Billy, "Calligrammes par Guillaume Apollinaire," *L'Oeuvre*, 15 July 1918, p. 3.
19. Louis Aragon, "Les Oeuvres littéraires françaises. Critique synthétique: Calligrammes par Guillaume Apollinaire," *SIC* 31 (October 1918): n.p.
20. André Billy, *Apollinaire vivant* (Paris: Editions de La Sirène, 1923), pp. 57–58.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 41–42.
22. André Billy, "In Memoriam," André Rouveyre, "Les Singes autour d'Apollinaire," and Philippe Soupault, "Souvenirs," all in *Vient de paraître* 24 (November 1923): 11, 17–18, and 11–13 respectively.
23. Louis Aragon, "Le Ciel étoilé," *Paris-Journal*, 30 November 1923, p. 4. Pierre Reverdy backed Aragon a couple of weeks later in the opening paragraphs of an article entitled "Pablo Picasso," recalling Apollinaire's "tireless" and "often bitter" struggle to defend his ideas on art and calling Billy "an officious and often perfidious friend." Pierre Reverdy, "Pablo Picasso," *Paris-Journal*, 14 December 1923, p. 6.
24. Paul Dermée, "Apollinaire assassiné," *Interventions: Gazette internationale des lettres et des arts modernes* 1 (December 1923): 1, reprinted in *Images de Paris* 49–50 (January–February 1924), then also quoted in *Paris-Soir*, 13 March 1924, and *Paris Journal*, 14 March 1924. For Billy's reply to Dermée, see his letter to the "Académisards," *Paris-Soir*,

16 March 1924, p. 2. Dermée wrote a final letter to the “Académisards” to defend Apollinaire, “the marvelous spinner of glass for whom street signs, headlines, and conversations overheard from a nearby café table could all be a pretext for his most lyrical creations!” (*Paris-Soir*, 19 March 1924, p. 2).

CHAPTER 23. ANDROGYNOUS BATHERS AND METAMORPHOSIS

1. M. S., “Sur la tombe de G. Apollinaire,” *L’Intransigeant*, 10 November 1927, p. 3.
2. Paul Léautaud, 14 December 1927, *Journal littéraire* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1956–63), vol. 4, p. 164. Léautaud wrote, “il a sorti n’importe quoi de ses cartons.” *Cartons* here does not mean boxes but rather sheets of drawing paper, or large artists’ portfolios (*carton à dessin*).
3. In an interview with Pierre Cabanne, Marie-Thérèse Walter said that Picasso approached her outside Galeries Lafayette on 8 January 1927 and invited her to meet him again at Saint Lazare metro station two days later. See Pierre Cabanne, “Picasso et les joies de la paternité,” *L’Œil* 226 (May 1974): 2–11.
4. Sketchbooks 061, 015, and 011 are reproduced, with commentary, in Brigitte Léal, *Musée Picasso: Carnets. Catalogue des dessins* (Paris: RMN, 1996), vol. 2, pp. 65–95.
5. The interpretation of the key in the door as a reference to a spouse invading the artist’s secrets is suggested by Marie-Laure Besnard-Bernadac, *Le Musée Picasso Paris* (Paris: RMN, 1985), p. 54. Keys were also dear to Apollinaire and used in his early poem “The Key” (*Po*, p. 553), from which some lines were used in later poems, notably in “Across Europe” (*Po*, p. 201), dedicated to Chagall, in *Calligrammes*.
6. Roland Penrose, *Picasso: His Life and Work*, rev. ed. (New York: Icon Editions, 1973), p. 229.
7. *Metamorphosis* may, for example, be compared to Miró’s 1932 painting *Une femme*, reproduced in Margit Rowell, *Juan Miró: Peinture = Poésie* (Paris: Editions de la Différence, 1976), p. 63.
8. Michael Fitzgerald, *Making Modernism: Picasso and the Creation of the Market for Twentieth-Century Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), pp. 174–75.
9. Jacques Villeneuve [Paul Guillaume], “Echos et actualités,” *Les Arts à Paris* 15 (May 1928): 1. As the preceding issue of the periodical dates from October 1927, this note may have been written any time after the meeting in Picasso’s studio.
10. Werner Spies, *Pablo Picasso on the Path to Sculpture: The Paris and Dinard Sketchbooks of 1928 from the Marina Picasso Collection* (New York: Prestel, 1995), p. 20. This book provides reproductions of Sketchbook 1044, as does Elizabeth Cowling and John Golding, *Picasso: Sculptor/Painter* (London: Tate Gallery, 1994), pp. 84–87.
11. Christian Zervos, “Picasso à Dinard été 1928,” *Cahiers d’art* 4, no. 1 (January 1929): 8. Lydia Gasman first compared the cabins to miniature chapels or “a typically Spanish funeral vault.” Lydia Gasman, *Mystery, Magic and Love in Picasso, 1925–1938: Picasso and the Surrealist Poets* (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1982), p. 280. On Picasso’s work in Dinard

in 1928 and at other times, see Florence Rionnet, ed., *Picasso à Dinard* (Dinard: Mairie de Dinard, 1999).

12. Christian Zervos, "Projets de Picasso pour un monument," *Cahiers d'art* 4, nos. 8/9 (1929): 342–53. Zervos reproduces Sketchbook 021, pp. 2 and 36, and Sketchbook 1044, pp. 1–6, 10, and 58.

CHAPTER 24. DRAWINGS IN SPACE

1. The metal *Guitar* can be dated from late March to mid-June 1914, between a letter from Vanessa Bell, dated 25 March 1914, describing a visit to Picasso, who was planning to make the metal sculpture, and his departure for Avignon in June. See John Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, vol. 2, 1907–1917 (London: Jonathan Cape, 1996), p. 256.
2. For a photo of the metal god Gou, see Béatrice Riottot El-Habib and Vincent Gille, eds., *Apollinaire, critique d'art* (Paris: Paris-Musées / Gallimard, 1993), p. 231.
3. Roberta González, "Julio González, My Father," *Arts* 30, no. 5 (February 1956): 23; Margit Rowell and Elizabeth A. Brown, "Chronology," in Margit Rowell, *Julio González: A Retrospective* (New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, 1983), p. 210.
4. González, "Julio González, My Father," pp. 22, 24.
5. David Smith, "González: First Master of the Torch," *Art News*, February 1956, p. 65.
6. González, "Julio González, My Father," p. 24.
7. For the period of their collaboration, the messages from González to Picasso were spread as follows. 1928: 2 January, 13 May, 15 May, 14 September; 1929: 26 February; 1930: 25 May, 21 November, 19 December, 20 December, 30 December; 1931: 16 February, 22 February, 2 April, 24 May, 20 June, 21 June, 20 October; 1932: 28 January, 6 April. This correspondence, translated into French in collaboration with Anna Cajal, was presented in Peter Read, *Picasso et Apollinaire: Les Métamorphoses de le mémoire, 1905–1973* (Paris: Jean-Michel Place, 1995), pp. 194–96. Extracts are also given in English in Marilyn McCully, "Julio González and Pablo Picasso: A Documentary Chronology of a Working Relationship," in *Picasso: Sculptor/Painter*, ed. Elizabeth Cowling and John Golding (London: Tate Gallery, 1994), pp. 211–21. See also Peter Read, "From Sketchbook to Sculpture in the Work of Picasso, 1924–1932," in Cowling and Golding, *Picasso*, pp. 198–210; Laurence Madeline, *Les Archives de Picasso: "On est ce que l'on garde!"* (Paris: RMN, 2003), pp. 105–6. Josephine Withers cited six postcards and letters addressed to González by Picasso between 14 May 1928 and 1932. Josephine Withers, *Julio González: Sculpture in Iron* (New York: New York University Press, 1978), p. 23.
8. Rowell, *Julio González*, p. 19.
9. Josephine Withers, "The Artistic Collaboration of Pablo Picasso and Julio González," *Art Journal* 35, no. 2 (Winter 1975–76): 114 n. 12.
10. Some messages refer to projects other than the Apollinaire monument. On 20 December 1930, 16 and 23 February 1931, González referred to "your six little pedestals"

and "twelve marble pieces," ready in his studio, suggesting that Picasso had ordered stands for some small works, maybe the slim wooden sculptures he had carved that autumn (MP 272–283). They maintained postal contact from 1936 to 1942. On 6 March 1940, González gave Picasso advice on the techniques involved in working with gold. Picasso attended González's funeral in Arcueil on 27 March 1942 and expressed his sadness in a series of paintings, including the 5 April 1942 *Still Life with a Steer's Skull* (Düsseldorf, Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen). See also the 6 April 1942 canvas (Z XII, 35).

11. See Brigitte Léal, *Musée Picasso: Carnets. Catalogue des dessins*, vol. 2 (Paris: RMN, 1996), pp. 96–105.
12. It has been suggested that after the *Cahiers d'art* photo Picasso repainted in white the back leg of the tripod and the left half of the metal ring. See Diana Widmaier Picasso, "Between Form and Medium," in *The Sculptures of Pablo Picasso*, ed. Diana Widmaier Picasso et al. (New York: Gagosian Gallery, 2003), pp. 15–17.
13. Elizabeth Cowling, *Picasso: Style and Meaning* (New York: Phaidon, 2002), p. 510.
14. Brassai, *Conversations with Picasso* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), p. 14.
15. André Malraux, *La Tête d'obsidienne* (Paris: Gallimard, 1974), p. 97.
16. Photo reproduced in André Breton, "Picasso dans son élément," *Minotaure* 1 (1 June 1933): 11. Brassai's photograph shows that the missing maquette (Sp 70), was unfinished in 1932. Also on the shelf stand two other metal sculptures, Picasso's version of *Head* (MP 263) and *Figure* (MP 271).
17. See Léal, *Musée Picasso*, vol. 1, pp. 341–95. Léal also includes photographs of the *Mercury* sets and props.
18. "M. Picasso, qui est le personnage principal du *Poète assassiné* d'Apollinaire, prépare pour le *Sans Pareil* une série d'illustrations pour ce livre." "Courrier littéraire. Projets," *Le Journal littéraire*, 18 October 1924, p. 9.
19. Christian Zervos, "Picasso à Dinard été 1928," *Cahiers d'art* 4, no. 1 (January 1929): 6.
20. E. Tériade, "Une visite à Picasso," *L'Intransigeant*, 27 November 1928, p. 6.
21. Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, *Les Sculptures de Picasso* (Paris: Editions du Chêne, 1948).
22. Alan Wilkinson, *The Sculpture of Jacques Lipchitz: A Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. 1, *The Paris Years, 1910–1940* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996), nos. 188, 209, 210, 216.
23. Jacques Lipchitz and H. H. Arnason, *My Life in Sculpture* (New York: Viking Press, 1972), pp. 93–94.
24. André Salmon, "Nouvelles Sculptures de Lipchitz," *Cahiers d'art*, September 1926, pp. 162–65. Apollinaire gave a talk on "tactile art" in Paul Guillaume's gallery on 13 November 1917 (*Pr* 2, p. 1406) and published an article on the topic in *Mercury de France*, 16 February 1918, where he referred to a tactile sculpture by the American artist Clifford Williams, reproduced in Duchamp's magazine *Rongwrong* (*Pr* 3, pp. 270–71).
25. Roger Vitrac, *Jacques Lipchitz* (Paris: Gallimard, 1927), p. 8.

26. Correspondence between Croniamantal's monument and the wire maquettes has been suggested in various ways by Werner Spies, *Pablo Picasso on the Path to Sculpture: The Paris and Dinard Sketchbooks of 1928 from the Marina Picasso Collection* (New York: Prestel, 1995), pp. 10–11; Laura E. Smith, "Iconographic Issues in Picasso's *Woman in a Garden*," *Arts* 56, no. 5 (January 1982): 143; Christa Lichtenstern, *Pablo Picasso, Denkmal für Apollinaire: Entwurf zur Humanisierung des Raumes* (Frankfurt: Fischer Taschenbuch, 1988), pp. 69–84; Michael C. Fitzgerald, *Making Modernism: Picasso and the Creation of the Market for Twentieth-Century Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), pp. 177–78.
27. "A la mémoire de Guillaume Apollinaire," *Mercure de France*, 1 December 1928, pp. 499–500.
28. Brassai, *Conversations with Picasso*, p. 14.
29. Zervos, "Picasso à Dinard," p. 11; Christian Zervos, "Projets de Picasso pour un monument," *Cahiers d'art* 4, nos. 8–9 (1929): 342.
30. Jean Cocteau, "Apollinaire," *La Parisienne*, January 1954, in *Théâtre inédit et textes épars*, Cahiers Jean Cocteau no. 9 (Paris: Gallimard, 1981), p. 194.

CHAPTER 25. WELDED METAL MONUMENTS

1. Elizabeth Cowling and John Golding, eds., *Picasso: Sculptor/Painter* (London: Tate Gallery, 1994), pp. 268–69.
2. Brassai, *Les Artistes de ma vie* (Paris: Denoël, 1982), p. 158.
3. Eugenio d'Ors, *Pablo Picasso* (Paris: Editions des Chroniques du Jour, 1930), plate 48.
4. Sketchbook 020 is reproduced in Brigitte Léal, *Musée Picasso: Carnets. Catalogue des dessins*, vol. 2 (Paris: RMN, 1996), pp. 118–24.
5. Hélène Klein pointed out to me that the fist grasping a bunch of rods recalls Jacques-Louis David's *Oath of the Horatii* (Paris, Louvre). Picasso drew the central element in that painting, a hand holding three sword blades, in Sketchbook 1875, p. 40, dated 25 May 1929.
6. William Rubin, "Picasso," in *"Primitivism" in 20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern*, ed. William Rubin (New York: MoMA, 1984), vol. 1, pp. 241–343; see pp. 301, 321, 337 n. 85, 340 n. 197. The protruding mouthpiece of *Head of a Man* resembles a Kota figure from the old Trocadero Ethnographic Museum, reproduced by Rubin (p. 266). The springs representing locks of hair in Picasso's sculpture also recall the metal, spiral decorations on each side of the faces of some Kota figures, such as the Trocadero example or the magnificent specimen reproduced in *Gazette de l'Hôtel Drouot*, 8 July 1988, p. 1.
7. Fernande Olivier, *Loving Picasso* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001), p. 254.
8. Hélène Seckel, *Picasso collectionneur* (Paris: RMN, 1998), p. 239. Picasso also owned a white Tsogho mask from Gabon, a male with a raffia beard (MP 3640).

9. Roland Penrose, notebook dated "July 55," in Elizabeth Cowling, *Visiting Picasso: The Notebooks and Letters of Roland Penrose* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2006), pp. 119–20.
10. Maurice Noël, "Le Monument de Guillaume Apollinaire . . . ou les dix années de gestation de M. Pablo Picasso," *Le Figaro*, 20 October 1934, p. 5.
11. "Pour l'indépendance de l'art," *Le Journal du peuple*, 25 February 1920. See Marielle Tabart, ed., *Princesse X: La Série et l'oeuvre unique*, Les Carnets de l'Atelier Brancusi (Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou, 2000).
12. Christian Zervos, "Projets de Picasso pour un monument," *Cahiers d'art* 4, nos. 8–9 (1929): 352.

CHAPTER 26. WOMAN IN A GARDEN

1. Christian Zervos, "Picasso," *Cahiers d'art* 7, special issue "Exposition Picasso aux Galeries Georges Petit" (June 1932): 2–3.
2. Josephine Withers, "The Artistic Collaboration of Pablo Picasso and Julio González," *Art Journal* 35, no. 2 (Winter 1975–76): 111.
3. Julio González, "Picasso sculpteur," *Cahiers d'art* 11, nos. 6–7 (1936): 189.
4. Julio González, "Picasso sculpteur et les cathédrales," in *Julio González: Sculpture in Iron*, by Josephine Withers (New York: New York University Press, 1978), p. 142.
5. André Salmon, "Vingt-cinq Ans d'art vivant," pt. 2, *La Revue de France*, 1 March 1931, pp. 122–26.
6. Margit Rowell, *Julio González: A Retrospective* (New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, 1983), p. 22.
7. Etienne Bignou, preface to *Exposition Picasso, 16 juin–30 juillet 1932, documentation réunie par Charles Vrancken* (Paris: Galeries Georges Petit, 1932), n.p.
8. Jacques-Emile Blanche, "Rétrospective Picasso," *L'Art vivant* 162 (July 1932): 333–34.
9. *Exposition Picasso*, p. 72. The reference in the catalog entry to no. 226 is a mistake. The bronze version of *Woman in a Garden* is now in Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, Madrid.
10. André Breton, "Picasso dans son élément," *Minotaure* 1 (June 1933): 16.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 21, 22. Brassaï later said that in those days *Woman in a Garden* was known as *The Stag*. Brassaï, *Conversations with Picasso* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), p. 17.
12. Eugenio d'Ors, "Les Idées et les formes," *Formes* 1 (January 1930): 5.

CHAPTER 27. THE PHANTOM TOMB

1. Maurice Noël, "Le Monument de Guillaume Apollinaire . . . ou les dix années de gestation de M. Pablo Picasso," *Le Figaro*, 20 October 1934, p. 5. The article was partly

- reprinted in Le Cousin Pons, "Les Arts. Le Monument Apollinaire," *L'Intransigeant*, 24 October 1934, p. 6.
2. André Salmon, "Les Lettres. 9 November 1918–1934," *L'Intransigeant*, 10 November 1934, p. 6.
 3. André Billy, "Chronique apollinarienne. Le Tombeau-fantôme," *Les Marges* 55, no. 215 (10 January 1935): 56–58.
 4. Julia Hartwig, *Apollinaire* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1972), p. 393; Salmon, "Les Lettres."
 5. Hartwig, *Apollinaire*, p. 402.
 6. Tayssèdre files show that the bill for the monument, in Férat's name, came to 18,489 francs, 60 centimes. The Serge Férat Archive (Paris) includes estimates, bills, and receipts, all in Férat's name, for work on the Apollinaire tomb in 1921, 1924, and 1935. Férat paid in installments, with a final payment dated 7 November 1949. The name of Jacqueline Apollinaire (1891–1967) was eventually added to the menhir.
 7. André Billy, *Avec Apollinaire* (Paris: La Palatine, 1966), p. 142.
 8. Picasso, 1930–1935, special issue of *Cahiers d'art* 10, no. 7 (1935) (Paris: Editions Cahiers d'art, 1936).
 9. Pablo Picasso, *Collected Writings*, ed. Marie-Laure Bernadac and Christine Piot (London: Aurum Press, 1989), p. 266. Picasso wrote over 340 texts between 1935 and 1959, with 280 of them dating from 1935 to 1940.
 10. Adéma cites a letter from Salmon to Max Jacob, where he refers to Picasso's refusal to shake his hand. See Pierre-Marcel Adéma, "L'Ami Poullain," in *Edmond-Marie Poullain, 1878–1951*, by Pierre-Marcel Adéma et al. (Paris: Arts et cultures, 1986), p. 17. Léautaud confirms Picasso's presence at Père Lachaise, 9 November 1936. P. Léautaud, *Journal littéraire* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1956–63), vol. 11, p. 259. In 1938, Billy listed those who every year faithfully attended the memorial meeting, alongside Jacqueline Apollinaire: Picasso, André Salmon, Francis Carco, André Rouveyre, Jacques Dyssord, Léon Deffoux, Paul Léautaud, Louis de Gonzague-Frick, Serge Férat, Pierre Roy, Fernand Fleuret. André Billy, "Le Vingtième Anniversaire de la mort de Guillaume Apollinaire," *Le Figaro*, 5 November 1938, p. 6.
 11. Les Alguazils, "Courrier des Arts. Un Picasso refusé," *Le Figaro*, 11 November 1937; "Bataille autour d'un Picasso," *Le Figaro*, 13 November 1937, p. 5.
 12. Léautaud, *Journal littéraire*, vol. 12, p. 91.

CHAPTER 28. NOVEMBER 1948

1. For *Still Life before a Window in Saint-Raphaël*, see Pierre Bergé et al., *Ancienne Collection Guillaume Apollinaire et divers* (Paris: Drouot-Richelieu, 11 June 2003), lot 36. This engraving is based on a summer 1919 gouache (Z III, 596). For *Les Métamorphoses*, see Etude Couturier Nicolay, *Ancienne Collection Guillaume Apollinaire. Manuscrits. Carnets*.

- Dessins. Livres* (Paris: Hôtel Drouot, 30 April 1993), lot 127. Jacqueline's copy was no. 4 of twenty in the luxury, collectors' edition. For *Minotauremachie*, see Etude Couturier Nicolay, *Ancienne Collection d'Apollinaire* (Paris: Hôtel Drouot, 20 November 1998), lot 252. For *Le Désir attrapé par la queue*, see *Ancienne Collection Guillaume Apollinaire* (Paris: Hôtel Drouot, 22 April 1994), lot 101. On Jacqueline Apollinaire, see "Entretien avec Monsieur Gilbert Boudar, à propos de sa tante Jacqueline Apollinaire," in Anne Clancier, *Guillaume Apollinaire: Les Incertitudes de l'identité* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2006), pp. 139–58.
2. "Le Plus Grand des peintres aujourd'hui vivant Picasso a apporté son adhésion au Parti de la Renaissance Française," *L'Humanité*, 5 October 1944, p. 1.
 3. For the drawing Picasso kept, see Brigitte Léal, "Portrait d'Apollinaire," in *Picasso: Une Nouvelle Dation*, ed. G. Régnier et al. (Paris: RMN, 1990), pp. 172–73. The other drawing (64 × 49 cm) is inscribed on the back, "For Louis Aragon / In memory of Apollinaire / to his friend / Picasso" and featured in an auction sale at Hôtel Drouot, 15 March 1985. Picasso drew an ink profile of Apollinaire on the title page of a copy of *Calligrammes*, signed and dedicated "Picasso pour Georges Hugnet Paris 3 août 1945" (photograph in André Billy, *Apollinaire* [Paris: Seghers, 1956], p. 129). A first-edition copy of *Alcools*, with leather binding decorated in black ink by Picasso, has, on the title page, another classically drawn portrait of Apollinaire, crowned with laurel leaves, signed and dated "Picasso le 23. 12. 48" (details of this copy of *Alcools* provided by documentation held at the Musée Picasso). A lost portrait of Apollinaire in profile, with staring eye and spiky hair, drawn on a piece of paper tablecloth, dated 17.3.40, and reproduced in the *Picasso and Portraiture* catalog, reappeared in 1998. Piasa and Mathias, *Les Picasso de Dora Maar* (Paris: Maison de la Chimie, 27–28 October 1998), lot 35.
 4. Françoise Gilot and Carlton Lake, *Life with Picasso* (London: Virago Press, 1990), p. 299.
 5. *The Kitchen* has been compared to books on spells and cabalistic diagrams, of the kind favored by Max Jacob, who dabbled in the occult. He died in captivity, a victim of anti-Semitism, in 1944. John Finlay, "De la magie blanche à la magie noire: Primitivism, magic, mysticism and the occult in Picasso," *Apollo* 159, no. 500 (October 2003): 19–25. My interpretation is developed from Peter Read, "Dans *La Cuisine* du peintre: Connotations littéraires et politiques d'une oeuvre de Picasso," *Revue du Louvre* 53 (October 2003): 75–84.
 6. Gilot and Lake, *Life with Picasso*, p. 210.
 7. Ibid.
 8. Hélène Parmelin, *Picasso dit . . .* (Paris: Gonthier, 1966), p. 82.
 9. Brassai, *Conversations with Picasso* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), p. 251.
 10. Parmelin, *Picasso dit . . .*, pp. 12–13.
 11. Anne Baldassari, *Picasso Working on Paper* (London: Merrell, 2000), pp. 176–79.
 12. Gilot and Lake, *Life with Picasso*, p. 209.

13. Brigitte Léal, *Musée Picasso: Carnets. Catalogue des dessins*, vol. 2 (Paris: RMN, 1996), pp. 29–36.
14. The two versions of *The Kitchen*, dated “9–11–1948” and “November 1948,” appear among the illustrations in Christian Zervos, “Oeuvres récentes de Picasso exposées à la Maison de la Pensée Française,” *Cahiers d’art*, no. 2 (1949). See also Z XV, Table des Planches, no. 106.
15. Pierre Daix, *J’ai cru au matin* (Paris: Editions Robert Laffont, 1976), pp. 223–24.
16. I am indebted to Elizabeth Cowling for pointing out the spectral presence of a skull in *The Kitchen* (letter dated 27 October 2003).
17. Louis Aragon, *Ecrits sur l’art moderne*, ed. Jean Ristat (Paris: Flammarion, 1981), pp. 65–67.
18. Louis Aragon, “L’Art ‘zone libre’?” *Les Lettres françaises*, 29 November 1946, pp. 1, 4. Aragon was replying to Roger Garaudy, who had spoken out against “aesthetic orthodoxy” and had insisted, in capital letters, “THERE IS NO COMMUNIST PARTY AESTHETIC.” Roger Garaudy, “Artistes sans uniforme,” *Arts de France* 9 (September 1946): 17–20. See also Laurent Casanova, *Le Communisme, la pensée, l’art*, speech delivered at the PCF National Congress, Strasbourg, 25–28 June 1947 (Paris: Editions du PCF, 1947). On Picasso and Socialist Realism, see also Gertje R. Utey, *Picasso: The Communist Years* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 134–45. See also Picasso’s seven Communist Party membership cards (1946–52), presented by Laurent Ferri, “Picasso et les communistes,” in *Les Archives de Picasso: “On est ce que l’on garde!”*, ed. Laurence Madeline (Paris: RMN, 2003), pp. 286–319.
19. Zervos, “Oeuvres récentes,” pp. 237–40.
20. Geneviève Laporte, *Sunshine at Midnight: Memories of Picasso and Cocteau* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1975), p. 12.
21. Picasso said, “Les lignes et les formes riment et s’animent,” quoted in Anatole Jakovski, “Midis avec Picasso,” *Arts de France*, no. 6 (June 1946): 8.

CHAPTER 29. FROM BRANCUSI TO MATISSE

1. Françoise Gilot and Carlton Lake, *Life with Picasso* (London: Virago Press, 1990), p. 307.
2. For the Brancusi stone sculpture, see Pierre Cailler, *Guillaume Apollinaire: Documents iconographiques* (Geneva: Pierre Cailler, 1965), no. 77. For the later version, see Constantin Brancusi, *Naïade. Tête de femme*, original plaster, approx. 31 cm tall, Etude Couturier Nicolay, *Ancienne Collection Guillaume Apollinaire* (Paris: Hôtel Drouot, 19 November 1999), p. 20, lot 47.
3. A draft of this letter, dated 20 September 1951, is held in the André Billy Archive.
4. Paul Léautaud, “Le Projet de Zadkine pour un monument à Apollinaire,” *Le Figaro littéraire*, 10 November 1951, p. 4.
5. Paul Léautaud, *Le Théâtre de Maurice Boissard, 1915–1941*, vol. 2 (Paris: Gallimard, 1958), p. 374.

6. Ossip Zadkine, *Le Maillet et le ciseau: Souvenirs de ma vie* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1968), p. 77. See also Guillaume Apollinaire and Ossip Zadkine, *Sept Calligrammes: Dix Eaux-fortes originales* (Paris: Christophe Czwiklitzer, 1967).
7. Ionel Jianou, *Zadkine* (Paris: Editions d'Art, 1979), plate 51. There is a bronze version of this sculpture, 55 cm tall, also dated 1937. See exhibition catalog, *Hommage à Zadkine* (Paris: Musée Rodin, 1972), p. 69, plate 71.
8. Catalog, *Exposition Zadkine* (Paris: Galerie Schmit, 15 April–15 May 1970), p. 59.
9. Zadkine, *Le Maillet*, p. 132. Zadkine's monuments to poets feature in Sylvain Lecombe, *Ossip Zadkine: L'Oeuvre sculptée* (Paris: Paris-Musées, 1994), nos. 307–10.
10. Gilot and Lake, *Life with Picasso*, p. 299.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 300. In 1992, Françoise Gilot added that these were "simple ink sketches on letter paper. . . . If I remember correctly, there was a roughly shaped stone at the base of the monument, placed horizontally, that supported four rough-hewn columns (three- or four-sided, I'm not sure), which in turn held another uncarved stone slab, a bit like a dolmen. It was all conceived first without, then with a head of Apollinaire, crowned with laurels, made of bronze, dominating the whole thing" (letter dated 2 October 1992 from Françoise Gilot to Hélène Seckel, Musée Picasso).
12. All this took place on 18 September 1954. See Elizabeth Cowling, *Visiting Picasso: The Notebooks and Letters of Roland Penrose* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2006), pp. 89–90.
13. Paul Eluard, "Hugo, poète vulgaire," *Les Lettres françaises*, 13 March 1952, p. 1.
14. Georges Meyzargue, "Picasso offre de faire un monument pour Paris qui vient de lui refuser, sans les voir, ses projets de statue à Guillaume Apollinaire," *Les Lettres françaises*, 20 March 1952, p. 7.
15. A plaster model for Rodin's *Monument to Victor Hugo* is dated 1895. A full-sized version was presented at the 1897 Salon; the final monument, in marble, was unveiled in the garden of Palais-Royal in September 1909. See Ruth Butler, *Rodin: The Shape of Genius* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), pp. 312–13, 431–33.
16. André Billy, "Propos du samedi. Apollinaire le mal-aimé," *Le Figaro littéraire*, 19 April 1952.
17. See Karla Britton, *Auguste Perret* (London: Phaidon, 2001).
18. A letter from Monsieur Goudal, director of the Bureau de Travaux d'Art at the Ministry of Education, dated 25 March 1953, informed André Billy that Picasso was not answering letters and Perret was complaining that he could not meet him (AB).
19. E. Bénézit, *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres; sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs de tous les temps et de tous les pays* (Paris: Librairie Gründ, 1976), vol. 5, p. 699.
20. Henri Matisse and André Rouveyre, *Correspondance*, ed. Hanne Finsen (Paris: Flammarion, 2001), p. 48.
21. *Ibid.*, *Correspondance*, p. 285. For the charcoal portrait of Apollinaire, which Matisse gave to the Musée national d'art moderne in 1951, see Isabelle Monod-Fontaine, *Matisse:*

Oeuvres de Henri Matisse (1869–1954), Collections du Musée national d'art moderne (Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou, Musée national d'art moderne, 1979), pp. 130–31. For the linocuts and lithographic portraits of Apollinaire, see also Marguerite Duthuit-Matisse and Claude Duthuit, *Henri Matisse: Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre gravé*, vols. 1 and 2 (Paris: Duthuit, 1983). In 1943, Matisse had agreed to engrave portraits of Apollinaire and Rouveyre for the latter's Gallimard book on the poet (Matisse and Rouveyre, *Correspondance*, p. 281). Rouveyre also lent Matisse a photo of Monseigneur Theuret, bishop of Monaco, suggesting that he was Apollinaire's true father and commenting on the family resemblance, adding, "But as you said, in what a different character!" (Matisse and Rouveyre, *Correspondance*, p. 283).

22. Matisse sent Rouveyre the list of his favorite Apollinaire poems in a letter dated 26 April 1945. It included *Vitam impendere amor*; from *Alcools*, "Crépuscule," "Marie," and "La Blanche Neige"; from *Calligrammes*, "Mutation," "Vers le Sud," "Fête," "La Nuit d'avril 1915," "La Boucle retrouvée," "Refus de la colombe," "Les Feux du bivouac," "L'Adieu du cavalier," "Photographie," "L'Inscription anglaise," "Dans l'abri-caverne," and "Le Chant d'amour"; and "Puisque les jours nous abandonnent," published in 1939, a preliminary version of one of the *Vitam impendere amor* poems. See Matisse and Rouveyre, *Correspondance*, p. 316. For the illustrated anthology project, see p. 657. A Matisse drawing of Apollinaire illustrated Rouveyre's article "Apollinaire enfin là," in *Combat*, 18 November 1948.
23. Matisse and Rouveyre, *Correspondance*, p. 295; André Rouveyre, *Apollinaire*, six lithographies de Matisse (Paris: Editions "Raisons d'être," 1952). Matisse also designed the cover.
24. See Louis Aragon, *Henri Matisse, roman*, vol. 2 (Paris: Gallimard, 1971), p. 308. It has been suggested that the central head in Matisse's *Apollo* was based on Apollinaire's features (Raymond Warnier, "Apollinaire inédit," *Journal de Genève* 292 [13–14 December 1958]: 5).
25. Matisse and Rouveyre, *Correspondance*, p. 645. The article Rouveyre sent Matisse stated that those concerned (Jaujard, Salmon, Billy, and Jacqueline) disagreed as to whether the commission should now go to Paul Cornet, who would produce a recognizable portrait of Apollinaire, or to a more daring artist, matching Apollinaire's tastes, such as Laurens or Lipchitz. Ideally, the monument should combine "tradition and avant-garde" ("Paris cherche un sculpteur," *Figaro littéraire*, 20 February 1954, p. 3).
26. Matisse and Rouveyre, *Correspondance*, p. 646.

CHAPTER 30. HEAD OF DORA MAAR

1. "Informations-Echos. Le Souvenir d'Apollinaire," *Le Flâneur des deux rives* 4 (December 1954): 55.
2. Guillaume Apollinaire, *Le Guetteur mélancolique*, ed. Bernard Poissonnier and Robert Mallet, preface by André Salmon (Paris: Gallimard, n.d. [1952]). In 1989, Bernard Poissonnier donated to the Bibliothèque nationale a case full of Apollinaire manu-

scripts and Apollinaire's copy of *Prose du Transsibérien et de la petite Jeanne de France*, by Blaise Cendrars and Sonia Delaunay.

3. There is no "bronze sculpture 110 cm tall" in Kahnweiler's *Les Sculptures de Picasso* (Paris: Editions du Chêne, 1948). The work that comes closest to Jaujard's and Jacqueline's descriptions is a bronze head of Marie-Thérèse, with a long neck, on a flat base (Sp 133).
4. Poissonnier's letter to Billy, dated 19 January 1956, recounting his second thoughts, his meeting with Sabartès, and then his meeting with Jaujard, was published in André Billy, *Avec Apollinaire* (Paris: La Palatine, 1966), pp. 144–46.
5. This was Giacometti speaking to the artist, art historian, and curator Andrew Forge in David Sylvester's flat in London in the early 1960s and recalling 1941 visits to Picasso, as recounted by Andrew Forge in 1995. See Andrew Forge, interviewed by Cathy Courtney, in *Artists' Lives Collection: National Life Story Project*, tape F4879 B, transcription, p. 347, London, Hyman Kreitman Research Centre for the Tate Library and Archive. My thanks to Robin Spencer for this document.
6. Details sent to Jacqueline Apollinaire by C. Eyraud, director for art and architecture, Prefecture of the Seine, on 30 September 1957. Jacqueline sent Picasso a copy on 11 November 1957 and then, on 14 May 1958, informed him, "I'll write to you as soon as we have final authorization for installation of the monument in Saint-Germain-des-Près. What a rigmarole, what a load of committees to be consulted!" (AP).
7. Jacqueline enclosed photocopies of two letters addressed to Bernard Poissonnier, one from the Directorate of Art and Architecture, dated 5 January 1959, confirming the decree of 5 December published in the *Journal Officiel* of 23 December 1958, and the other from Bertrand Monnet, dated 16 January 1959, stating that Guinet, the company making the plinth, had agreed to take delivery of Picasso's bronze (AP).
8. "Ce vendredi, gloire à Apollinaire!" *Le Figaro littéraire*, 6 June 1959, p. 9. The previous week, the same paper had also published an anonymous note announcing the ceremony.
9. P. Ms., "Le Prince d'Aquitaine a pris sa revanche sur Monsieur Delavigne," and [Anon.], "De Saint-Pierre à Saint-Jacques," both in *Le Figaro littéraire*, 30 May 1959, p. 7.
10. "Objet d'une longue polémique le buste d'Apollinaire par Picasso inauguré à Saint-Germain-des-Près," *France-Soir*, 6 June 1959, p. 14.
11. The issue of *L'Aurore* dated 4 June 1959 presented a photo of the sculpture as "the bronze bust of the poet Guillaume Apollinaire." See also Alain Bosquet, "En relisant Apollinaire," *La Revue de Paris*, July 1959, p. 114. In April 1962, when a commemorative plaque was placed on 202 boulevard Saint-Germain, Paul Minot, president of Paris City Council, emphasized the city's support for Apollinaire: "In 1951, Pierre de Gaulle opened his street; in 1959, we inaugurated his bust by Picasso, and today, here is the commemorative plaque on the building in which he lived and died." Conseil municipal de Paris, *Inauguration d'une plaque apposée 202, boulevard Saint-Germain à la mémoire de Guillaume Apollinaire vendredi 13 avril 1962*, pp. 6–7.

12. Hugues Fouras, "Le Matin où l'on statue Guillaume Apollinaire à l'ombre de Saint-Germain-des-Prés," *Le Figaro littéraire*, 13 June 1959, p. 4.
13. Maurice Fombeure, "Homages officiels à Apollinaire," *Cahiers des Saisons*, Autumn 1959, pp. 331–33. According to Fombeure, Salmon's speech referred to "all the parts of Paris frequented by the friend of his younger days that would have been equally suitable sites for a monument," though *Le Figaro's* version of the speech focused on the poet's final hours, ending, "Of a soldier whose eyes are closed far from what is called the field of honor, it is officially said that he died for France, and Guillaume Apollinaire did indeed die for France, but he died in his poet's bedroom, thinking of the legacy he would leave us, dreaming of works still to come, casting a final look over the beautiful works of art he defended and promoted; yes, in his poet's bedroom, and that is why I say that, far from the front, Guillaume Apollinaire died on the field of honor." André Salmon, "Au champ d'honneur, dans sa chambre de poète," *Le Figaro littéraire*, 13 June 1959, p. 4. For an ironic eyewitness report of the event, see Francis Steegmuller, *Apollinaire: Poet among the Painters* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1986), Appendix 3, pp. 299–308.
14. René Lacôte, "Le Courier de la poésie," *Les Lettres françaises*, 11–17 June 1959, p. 2.
15. Jean-Claude Silbermann, "Les Blancs-seings de Guillaume," *BIEF Jonction surréaliste* 8 (15 July 1959).
16. Jean Cocteau, "Sa Blessure préfigurait son astre," *Le Figaro littéraire*, 13 June 1959, p. 4.
17. Jean Cocteau, "A Guillaume Apollinaire," *Les Lettres françaises*, 18–24 June 1959, p. 1. There is a three-page manuscript of this speech, in Cocteau's hand, signed and dated 5 June 1959.
18. According to André Billy, it had at first been intended to include a line from "Vendémiaire" (*Alcools*), "Men of the future remember me," but the architect decided that the words would have been too cramped to be readable (André Billy, "Propos du samedi," *Le Figaro littéraire*, 2 May 1959, p. 2).

CHAPTER 31. MONUMENTAL SCULPTURES

1. William Rubin to Peter Read, 18 November 1985. A MoMA press release, dated 9 June 1972, announcing Picasso's gift of the 198 cm enlargement, stated that this was a "version made some ten years ago." Another MoMA document, or "poop sheet," dated 12 May 1972, stated that "about ten years ago Picasso had this sculpture enlarged under his direction to a height of slightly over six feet." Consequently, this original enlargement is usually dated 1962. See also William Rubin, *Picasso in the Collection of the Museum of Modern Art* (New York: MoMA, 1972), p. 223, no. 100.
2. Roland Penrose, *Picasso: His Life and Work*, rev. ed. (New York: Icon Editions, 1973), pp. 454–55. At that time, "a group of enthusiasts" in Marseilles were hoping to see a monumental sculpture by Picasso on the Old Port. With Carl Nesjar, Picasso made for a Marseilles High School (Lycée Sud) in 1965 a large concrete sculpture, *Profiles*.

3. Roland Penrose, *Picasso*, p. 458.
4. For the circumstances of Picasso's gift of the 198 cm model, see Milton Esterow and William Rubin, "Visits with Picasso at Mougins," *Artnews* 72, no. 6 (Summer 1973): 42–46. See also Hilton Kramer, "Rare Picasso Work for Modern Museum," *New York Times*, 7 June 1972, p. 52. Another enlargement, based on wire maquette MP 265 (Sp 69), was built in 1985 by the Ecole de Maîtrise des Ouvriers Métallurgistes in Longwy, eastern France, for the garden of the Musée Picasso, Paris. Musée Picasso also holds a smaller enlargement (241 × 60 × 130 cm) made by Haligon in 1984 as a model for their monumental version.
5. Hélène Parmelin, *Voyage en Picasso* (Paris: Christian Bourgois, 1994), p. 123.
6. Roland Penrose, notes referring to events of 18 September 1954, in Elizabeth Cowling, *Visiting Picasso: The Notebooks and Letters of Roland Penrose* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2006), p. 90.
7. Hélène Parmelin, *Picasso dit . . .* (Paris: Gonthier, 1966), pp. 74–75.
8. Esterow and Rubin, "Visits with Picasso," p. 45.
9. John Hess, "Almost Every Place but Picasso's Town Noting His 90th Birthday," *New York Times*, 23 October 1971, p. 5.
10. Werner Spies, "Das neunzigjährige Jahrhundert," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 22 October 1971, p. 32. Picasso was probably singing Yves Montand's and Léo Ferré's musical arrangements of Apollinaire poems "Saltimbanques" and "Le Pont Mirabeau," hugely popular in France since they were recorded in the early 1950s.
11. Patrick O'Brian, *Pablo Ruiz Picasso: A Biography* (London: Collins, 1976), p. 479.
12. Tanguy Berthemet, "Un Picasso volé réapparaît," *Le Figaro*, 20 April 2001.

CONCLUSION

1. Max Jacob, "The Early Days of Pablo Picasso," *Vanity Fair*, May 1923, pp. 62, 104.
2. Pierre Daix, *Picasso: Life and Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1993), p. 46.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

WORKS BY PICASSO

- Bloch, Georges. *Pablo Picasso: Catalogue de l'oeuvre gravé et lithographié, 1904–1967*. 2nd ed. Berne: Kornfield and Klipstein, 1971.
- Bozo, Dominique, Marie-Laure Bernadac, Michèle Richet, and Hélène Seckel. *Musée Picasso, Catalogue of the Collections*. Vol. 1. *Paintings, Papiers Collés, Picture Reliefs, Sculptures, Ceramics*. London: Thames and Hudson; Paris: RMN, 1986.
- Daix, Pierre, and Georges Boudaille. *Picasso: The Blue and Rose Periods. A Catalogue Raisonné, 1900–1906*. London: Evelyn, Adams and Mackay, 1967.
- Daix, Pierre, and Joan Rosselet. *Picasso: The Cubist Years, 1907–1916. A Catalogue Raisonné of the Paintings and Related Works*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1979.
- Geiser, Bernhard. *Picasso, peintre-graveur*. Berne: Kornfeld, 1990.
- Glimcher, Arnold, and Marc Glimcher, eds. *Je suis le cahier: The Sketchbooks of Picasso*. New York: Pace Gallery, 1986.
- Léal, Brigitte. *Musée Picasso: Carnets. Catalogue des dessins*. 2 vols. Paris: RMN, 1996.
- Picasso, Pablo. *Collected Writings*. Edited by Marie-Laure Bernadac and Christine Piot. London: Aurum Press, 1989.
- . *Propos sur l'art*. Edited by Marie-Laure Bernadac and A. Michael. Paris: Gallimard, 1998.
- Picasso, Pablo, and Guillaume Apollinaire. *Correspondance*. Edited by Pierre Caizergues and Hélène Seckel. Paris: Gallimard / RMN, 1992.
- Régner, G., M.-L. Bernadac, B. Léal, and H. Seckel. *Picasso: Une Nouvelle Dation*. Paris: RMN, 1990.
- Richet, Michèle. *Musée Picasso, Catalogue of the Collections*. Vol. 2. *Drawings, Watercolours, Gouaches, Pastels*. London: Thames and Hudson; Paris: RMN, 1988.
- Spies, Werner. *Picasso: The Sculptures. Catalogue Raisonné of the Sculptures*. Stuttgart: Hatje

- Cantz, 2000. Originally published as *Picasso, das plastische Werk* (Stuttgart: Hatje Cantz, 1983).
- Zervos, Christian. *Pablo Picasso*. 33 vols. Paris: Editions des Cahiers d'Art, 1932–78.

WORKS BY APOLLINAIRE

- Journal intime*. Edited by Michel Décaudin. Paris: Editions du Limon, 1991.
- Lettres à Lou*. Edited by Michel Décaudin. Paris: Gallimard, 1969.
- Lettres à Madeleine: Tendre comme le souvenir*. Edited by Laurence Campa. Paris: Gallimard, 2005.
- "Lettres inédites du mal-aimé à une amie." Presented by André Billy. *Le Figaro littéraire*, 4–10 November 1968, pp. 9–11.
- Oeuvres complètes*. 4 vols. Edited by Michel Décaudin. Iconography by Pierre-Marcel Adéma. Paris: Balland et Lecat, 1966.
- Oeuvres en prose*. Vol. 1. Edited by Michel Décaudin. Bibliothèque de la Pléiade. Paris: Gallimard, 1977.
- Oeuvres en prose*. Vols. 2 and 3. Edited by Michel Décaudin and Pierre Caizergues. Bibliothèque de la Pléiade. Paris: Gallimard, 1991, 1993.
- Oeuvres poétiques*. Edited by Michel Décaudin and Pierre-Marcel Adéma. Bibliothèque de la Pléiade. Paris: Gallimard, 1965.
- Soldes*. Edited by G. Boudar, Pierre Caizergues, and Michel Décaudin. Fontfroide: Bibliothèque artistique et littéraire, 1985.

APOLLINAIRE IN TRANSLATION

- Alcools: Poems*. Translated by Donald Revell. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1995.
- Apollinaire on Art: Essays and Reviews, 1902–1918*. Edited by Leroy C. Breunig. Translated by Susan Suleiman. Introduction by Roger Shattuck. Boston: MFA Publications, 2001.
- Calligrammes: Poems of Peace and War (1913–1916)*. Translated by Anne Hyde Greet. Introduction by S. I. Lockerbie. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.
- The Cubist Painters*. Translated with commentary by Peter Read. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.
- The Heresiarch and Co*. Translated by Rémy Inglis Hall. Boston: Exact Change, 1996.
- Les Onze Mille Verges: Or the Amorous Adventures of Prince Mony Vibescu*. Translated by Nina Rootes. Introduction by Richard Coe. London: Peter Owen, 2001.
- The Poet Assassinated and Other Stories*. Translated by Ron Padgett. Manchester: Carcanet, 1985.
- Selected Writings*. Translated with an introduction by Roger Shattuck. New York: New Directions, 1971.

AUCTION CATALOGS

- Etude Couturier Nicolay. *Ancienne Collection d'Apollinaire*. Paris: Hôtel Drouot, 20 November 1998.

- . *Ancienne Collection Guillaume Apollinaire*. Paris: Hôtel Drouot, 22 April 1994.
- . *Ancienne Collection Guillaume Apollinaire*. Paris: Hôtel Drouot, 19 November 1999.
- . *Ancienne Collection Guillaume Apollinaire. Manuscrits. Carnets. Dessins. Livres*. Paris: Hôtel Drouot, 30 April 1993.
- . *Exceptionnel Ensemble provenant de l'ancienne collection de Guillaume Apollinaire: Manuscrits, poèmes, dessins, livres*. Paris: Hôtel Drouot, 25 June 1986.
- Laurin, Guilloux, Buffetaud, Tailleur. *Ancienne Collection Guillaume Apollinaire: Manuscrits et épreuves corrigées. Dessins*. Paris: Hôtel Drouot, 27 January 1992.
- Piasa and Mathias. *Les Picasso de Dora Maar*. Paris: Maison de la Chimie, 27–28 October 1998.
- . *Pablo Picasso et Dora Maar. Une Histoire—des oeuvres. Importantes Photographies de 1906 à 1946*. Paris: Maison de la Chimie, 28–29 October 1998.
- Pierre Bergé et al. *Ancienne Collection Guillaume Apollinaire et divers*. Paris: Drouot-Richelieu, 11 June 2003.

OTHER WORKS

- Adéma, Pierre-Marcel. *Guillaume Apollinaire*. Paris: La Table Ronde, 1968.
- Adéma, Pierre-Marcel, and Michel Décaudin. *Album Apollinaire*. Bibliothèque de la Pléiade. Paris: Gallimard, 1971.
- Adhémar, Jean, ed. *Apollinaire*. Exhibition catalog. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1969.
- Balandier, Franck. *Les Prisons d'Apollinaire*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2001.
- Baldassari, Anne. *Picasso and Photography: The Dark Mirror*. Houston, TX: Museum of Fine Arts; Paris: Flammarion, 1997.
- . *Picasso photographe: 1901–1916*. Paris: RMN, 1994.
- . *Picasso Working on Paper*. London: Merrell; Dublin: Irish Museum of Modern Art, 2000.
- , ed. *The Surrealist Picasso*. Paris: Flammarion / Fondation Beyeler, 2005.
- Besnard-Bernadac, Marie-Laure. *Le Musée Picasso Paris*. Paris: RMN, 1985.
- Billy, André. *Apollinaire vivant*. Paris: Editions de la Sirène, 1923.
- . "Chronique apollinarienne: Le Tombeau-fantôme." *Les Marges* 55, no. 215 (10 January 1935): 56–58.
- . *Guillaume Apollinaire*. Paris: Seghers, 1947.
- . *La Terrasse du Luxembourg*. Paris: Fayard, 1945.
- Bohn, Willard. "Giorgio de Chirico's *Portrait of Guillaume Apollinaire* of 1914." *Burlington Magazine* 147 (November 2005): 751–54.
- . "Metaphysics and Meaning: Apollinaire's Criticism of Giorgio de Chirico." *Arts Magazine* 55, no. 7 (1981): 109–13.
- Bouret, Jean. "Une Amitié esthétique au début du siècle: Apollinaire et Paul Guillaume (1911–1918) d'après une correspondance inédite." *La Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., no. 76 (1970): 373–99.
- Brassaï. *Les Artistes de ma vie*. Paris: Denoël, 1982.
- . *Conversations with Picasso*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.
- Breton, André. "Picasso dans son élément." *Minotaure* 1 (June 1933): 8–29.

- . *Surrealism and Painting*. Boston: MFA Publications, 2002.
- Butler, Ruth. *Rodin: The Shape of Genius*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.
- Cabanne, Pierre. "Picasso et les joies de la paternité." *L'Oeil* 226 (May 1974): 2–11.
- Cailler, Pierre. *Guillaume Apollinaire: Documents iconographiques*. Geneva: Pierre Cailler, 1965.
- Campa, Laurence, and Michel Décaudin. *La Poésie à perte de vue: Passion Apollinaire*. Paris: Textuel, 2004.
- Carmean, E. A. *Picasso: The Saltimbanques*. Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1980.
- Clair, Jean, ed. *The Great Parade: Portrait of the Artist as Clown*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.
- Cocteau, Jean. "A Guillaume Apollinaire." *Les Lettres françaises*, 18–24 June 1959, p. 1.
- . "Apollinaire." *La Parisienne*, January 1954. Reprinted in *Théâtre inédit et textes épars*, pp. 188–94, *Cahiers Jean Cocteau* no. 9 Paris: Gallimard, 1981.
- . *Lettres à sa mère*. Vol. 1. 1898–1918. Edited by Pierre Caizergues. Paris: Gallimard, 1989.
- . *Poésie critique*. Vol. 1. Paris: Gallimard, 1959.
- Coquio, Catherine, ed. *Mécislas Golberg, passant de la pensée, 1869–1907*. Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1994.
- Cousins, Judith. "Documentary Chronology." In *Picasso and Braque: Pioneering Cubism*, edited by William Rubin, pp. 335–452. New York: MoMA, 1989.
- Cowling, Elizabeth. *Picasso: Style and Meaning*. New York: Phaidon, 2002.
- . "'Proudly we claim him as one of us': Breton, Picasso and the Surrealist Movement." *Art History* 8 (March 1985): 82–105.
- . *Visiting Picasso: The Notebooks and Letters of Roland Penrose*. London: Thames and Hudson, 2006.
- Cowling, Elizabeth, and John Golding. *Picasso: Sculptor/Painter*. London: Tate Gallery, 1994.
- Cowling, Elizabeth, et al. *Matisse/Picasso*. Paris: RMN; London: Tate Gallery; New York: MoMA, 2002.
- Daix, Pierre. *Dictionnaire Picasso*. Bouquins. Paris: Editions Robert Laffont, 1995.
- . *J'ai cru au matin*. Paris: Editions Robert Laffont, 1976.
- . *Picasso: Life and Art*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1993.
- . *La Vie de peintre de Pablo Picasso*. Paris: Seuil, 1977.
- Daix, Pierre, and Armand Israël. *Pablo Picasso: Dossiers de la Préfecture de Police, 1901–1940*. Paris: Editions des Catalogues raisonnés, 2003.
- Décaudin, Michel. "Apollinaire et les peintres en 1906 d'après quelques notes inédites." *La Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, February 1970, pp. 117–22.
- . "Apollinaire et Picasso." *Esprit*, January 1982, pp. 80–84.
- . "Autour du premier manifeste." In *Surrealismo*, edited by P. A. Jannini, pp. 29–47. Rome: Bulzoni, 1973.
- . "Destins de manuscrits: Le Bestiaire d'Apollinaire." In *Le Manuscrit littéraire: Son Statut, son histoire, du Moyen Age à nos jours*, Travaux de littérature 11, pp. 351–59. Paris: Klincksieck, 1998.
- d'Ors, Eugenio. *Pablo Picasso*. Paris: Editions des Chroniques du Jour, 1930.
- Duncan, David Douglas. *The Silent Studio*. New York: Norton, 1976.
- Dupuis-Labbé, Dominique, ed. *Picasso: La Passion du dessin*. Paris: RMN, 2005.

- Elsen, Albert E. *Rodin's Thinker and the Dilemmas of Modern Public Sculpture*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.
- Epstein, Jacob. *An Autobiography*. London: Hulton Press, 1955.
- . *The Sculptor Speaks*. London: Heinemann, 1931.
- Faure-Favier, Louise. *Souvenirs sur Apollinaire*. Paris: Grasset, 1945.
- Fels, Florent. "Propos d'artistes. Picasso." *Les Nouvelles littéraires*, 4 August 1923, p. 2.
- Fitzgerald, Michael C. *Making Modernism: Picasso and the Creation of the Market for Twentieth-Century Art*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.
- . *Pablo Picasso's Monument to Guillaume Apollinaire: Surrealism and Monumental Sculpture in France, 1918–1959*. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1988.
- Flam, Jack. *Matisse and Picasso*. New York: Westview Press, 2003.
- Formentelli, Eliane. "Ecrire 'Picasso' d'Apollinaire." *Etudes françaises* 21, no. 1 (Spring 1985): 9–29.
- Fourcade, Dominique, and Isabelle Monod-Fontaine. *Henri Matisse, 1904–1917*. Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou, 1993.
- Gasman, Lydia. *Mystery, Magic and Love in Picasso, 1925–1938: Picasso and the Surrealist Poets*. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1982.
- Gee, Malcolm. *Dealers, Critics and Collectors of Modern Painting: Aspects of the Parisian Art Market between 1910 and 1930*. New York: Garland, 1981.
- Gilot, Françoise, and Carlton Lake. *Life with Picasso*. London: Virago Press, 1990.
- Golding, John. "Guillaume Apollinaire and the Art of the Twentieth Century." *Baltimore Museum of Art News* 26, no. 4, and 27, no. 1 (Summer–Autumn 1963): 3–31.
- . "Picasso and Surrealism." In *Picasso, 1881–1973*, edited by Roland Penrose and John Golding, pp. 76–121. London: Paul Elek, 1973.
- González, Julio. "Picasso sculpteur." *Cahiers d'art* 11, nos. 6–7 (1936): 189.
- . "Picasso sculpteur et les cathédrales." In *Julio González: Sculpture in Iron*, by Josephine Withers, pp. 131–45. New York: New York University Press, 1978.
- González, Roberta. "Julio González, My Father." *Arts* 30, no. 5 (February 1956): 20–24.
- Green, Christopher. *Picasso: Architecture, and Vertigo*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.
- Halicka, Alice. *Hier: Souvenirs*. Paris: Editions du Pavois, 1946.
- Hicken, Adrian. *Apollinaire, Cubism and Orphism*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002.
- Hubert, Etienne-Alain. *Circonstances de la poésie: Reverdy, Apollinaire, Surréalisme*. Paris: Klincksieck, 2000.
- Jacob, Max. ["Guillaume Apollinaire."] In *Le Temps d'Apollinaire*, n.p. Paris: Galerie Breteau, December 1943–January 1944.
- . "L'Inédit de Max Jacob sur Picasso, Fox" (1931). *Les Lettres françaises*, 22 October 1964, pp. 1 and 11.
- . "Naissance du cubisme et autres." *Les Nouvelles littéraires*, 30 April 1932, p. 7.
- . *Les Propos et les jours: Lettres, 1904–1944*. Edited by Annie Marcoux and Didier Gompel-Netter. Paris: Zodiaque, 1989.
- . "Souvenirs sur Guillaume Apollinaire" (1937). *Le Flâneur des deux rives* 6 (June 1955): 2–6.
- . "Souvenirs sur Picasso." *Cahiers d'art* 6, no. 2 (1927): 199–202.

- Jacquet, Christine, and Michel Décaudin. "Il y a soixante-quinze ans—La Santé." *Que vlo-ve?*, 2nd ser., no. 19 (July–September 1986): 3–26.
- Jakovski, Anatole. "Midis avec Picasso." *Arts de France*, no. 6 (June 1946): 2–13.
- Kahnweiler, Daniel-Henry. *Les Sculptures de Picasso*. Paris: Editions du Chêne, 1948.
- . *My Galleries and Painters*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1971.
- Laporte, Geneviève. *Sunshine at Midnight: Memories of Picasso and Cocteau*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1975.
- Larralde, Jean-François, and Jean Casenave. *Picasso à Biarritz été 1918*. Paris: Editions Lavielle, 1995.
- Léal, Brigitte, ed. *Picasso: Jeunesse et genèse dessins, 1893–1905*. Paris: RMN, 1991.
- Léal, Brigitte, and Maria Teresa Ocaña, eds. *Picasso: From Caricature to Metamorphosis of Style*. Aldershot: Lund Humphries, 2003.
- Léautaud, Paul. *Journal littéraire*. Paris: Mercure de France, 1956–63.
- Levé, Muriel. "Serge Férat ou le goût du masque." *Que vlo-ve?*, 3rd ser., no. 10 (April–June 1993): 36–38.
- Lichtenstern, Christa. *Pablo Picasso, Denkmal für Apollinaire: Entwurf zur Humanisierung des Raumes*. Frankfurt: Fischer Taschenbuch, 1988.
- Lussy, Florence de. "Picasso vu par Apollinaire, Jean Cassou et Francis Ponge: Regards de poètes sur un peintre." *Revue de la Bibliothèque nationale* 35 (1990): 22–36.
- Madeline, Laurence, ed. *Les Archives de Picasso: "On est ce que l'on garde!"* Paris: RMN, 2003.
- Mahaut, Henri. *Picasso*. Paris: Crès, 1930.
- Malraux, André. *La Tête d'obsidienne*. Paris: Gallimard, 1974.
- Matarasso, Henri. "L'Ami des poètes." *XXe Siècle*, special issue, "Hommage à Pablo Picasso," 1971, pp. 24–30.
- Matisse, Henri, and André Rouveyre. *Correspondance*. Edited by Hanne Finsen. Paris: Flammarion, 2001.
- McCully, Marilyn, ed. *A Picasso Anthology: Documents, Criticism, Reminiscences*. London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1981.
- , ed. *Picasso: The Early Years, 1892–1906*. Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1997.
- Meyzargue, Georges. "Picasso offre de faire un monument pour Paris qui vient de lui refuser, sans les voir, ses projets de statue à Guillaume Apollinaire." *Les Lettres françaises*, 20 March 1952, p. 7.
- Mollet, Jean. "Apollinaire intime." *La Revue de Paris*, October 1963, pp. 76–88.
- . *Les Mémoires du Baron Mollet*. Paris: Gallimard, 1963.
- . "Les Origines du cubisme: Apollinaire, Picasso et Cie." *Les Lettres françaises*, 3 January 1947, pp. 1, 7.
- Monod-Fontaine, Isabelle, and Claude Laugier. *Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler: Marchand, éditeur, écrivain*. Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou, 1984.
- Noël, Maurice. "Le Monument de Guillaume Apollinaire . . . ou les dix années de gestation de M. Pablo Picasso." *Le Figaro*, 20 October 1934, p. 5.
- O'Brian, Patrick. *Pablo Ruiz Picasso: A Biography*. London: Collins, 1976.
- Ocaña, Maria Teresa, and Hans Cristof von Tavel, eds. *Picasso, 1905–1906: From the Rose Period to the Ochres of Gósol*. Barcelona: Museu Picasso, 1992.

- Olivier, Fernande. *Loving Picasso: The Private Journal of Fernande Olivier*. Foreword and notes by Marilyn McCully. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001.
- . *Picasso et ses amis*. Edited by Hélène Klein. Paris: Pygmalion / Gérard Watelet, 2001.
- Otero, Roberto. *Forever Picasso: An Intimate Look at His Last Years*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1974.
- Palau i Fabre, Josep. *Picasso: The Early Years, 1881–1907*. Barcelona: Ediciones Polígrafa, 1985.
- Parmelin, Hélène. *Notre Dame de Vie*. Paris: Cercle d'Art, 1965.
- . *Picasso dit . . .* Paris: Gonthier, 1966.
- . *Picasso sur la place*. Paris: Julliard, 1959.
- . *Voyage en Picasso*. Paris: Christian Bourgois, 1994.
- Pennington, Michael. *An Angel for a Martyr: Jacob Epstein's Tomb for Oscar Wilde*. Reading: Whiteknights Press, 1987.
- Penrose, Roland. *Picasso: His Life and Work*. Rev. ed. New York: Icon Editions, 1973.
- Picasso, Diana Widmaier, et al. *The Sculptures of Pablo Picasso*. New York: Gagosian Gallery, 2003.
- Que vlo-ve?* *Bulletin international des études sur Guillaume Apollinaire*. January 1973–December 2004. Complete series online at <http://www.wiu.edu/apollinaire/>.
- Raynal, Maurice. "Panorama de l'oeuvre de Picasso." *Le Point: Revue artistique et littéraire* 42 (October 1952): 4–21.
- . *Peinture moderne*. Geneva: Skira, 1953.
- . *Picasso*. Paris: Crès, 1922.
- . *Picasso*. Geneva: Skira, 1953.
- Read, Peter. *Apollinaire et "Les Mamelles de Tirésias": La Revanche d'Eros*. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2000.
- . "Au rendez-vous des poètes: Picasso, French Poetry, and Theater, 1900–1906." In *Picasso: The Early Years, 1892–1906*, edited by Marilyn McCully, pp. 210–23. Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1997.
- . "Dans *La Cuisine* du peintre: Connotations littéraires et politiques d'une oeuvre de Picasso." *Revue du Louvre* 53 (October 2003): 75–84.
- . "From Sketchbook to Sculpture in the Work of Picasso, 1924–1932." In *Picasso: Sculptor/Painter*, edited by Elizabeth Cowling and John Golding, pp. 198–210. London: Tate Gallery, 1994.
- . "Les Onze Mille Verges, livre secret, livre ouvert." In *Apollinaire à livre ouvert*, edited by Eva Béranková. Prague: Université Charles de Prague, 2004.
- . "L'Oiseau qui chantait à l'oreille de Cocteau ou les métamorphoses d'une petite phrase." *Que vlo-ve?*, 2nd ser., no. 25 (January–March 1988): 22–28.
- . *Picasso et Apollinaire: Les Métamorphoses de la mémoire*. Paris: Jean-Michel Place, 1995.
- . "Le Portrait cubiste d'Apollinaire par Picasso, frontispice d'*Alcools*." In *Guillaume Apollinaire 21: Apollinaire et le portrait*, edited by Michel Décaudin, pp. 49–69. Paris: Revue des lettres modernes / Minard, 2001.
- Reff, Theodore. "Harlequins, Saltimbanques, Clowns and Fools." *Artforum* 10 (October 1971): 30–43.

- . "Picasso's *Three Musicians*: Maskers, Artists and Friends." *Art in America* 68 (December 1980): 124–42.
- Restellini, Marc. *Picasso intime*. Paris: Skira, 2003.
- Richardson, John. *A Life of Picasso*. Vol. 1. 1881–1906. London: Jonathan Cape, 1991.
- . *A Life of Picasso*. Vol. 2. 1907–1917. London: Jonathan Cape, 1996.
- Rionnet, Florence, ed. *Picasso à Dinard*. Dinard: Mairie de Dinard, 1999.
- Riottot El-Habib, Béatrice, and Vincent Gille, eds. *Apollinaire, critique d'art*. Paris: Paris-Musées / Gallimard, 1993.
- Rowell, Margit. *Julio González: A Retrospective*. New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, 1983.
- Rubin, William. *Picasso and Braque: Pioneering Cubism*. New York: MoMA, 1989.
- . *Picasso in the Collection of the Museum of Modern Art*. New York: MoMA, 1972.
- , ed. *Picasso and Portraiture: Representation and Transformation*. New York: MoMA, 1996.
- , ed. "Primitivism" in *Twentieth-Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern*. New York: MoMA, 1984.
- Rubin, William, Hélène Seckel, and Judith Cousins. *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*. Studies in Modern Art 3. New York: MoMA, 1994.
- Sabartés, Jaime. *Picasso: Documents iconographiques*. Geneva: Pierre Cailler, 1954.
- . *Picasso: Portraits et souvenirs*. Paris: Louis Carré / Maximilien Vox, 1946.
- Salmon, André. *L'Air de la Butte*. Paris: Editions de la Nouvelle France, 1945.
- . *La Jeune Peinture française*. Paris: Société des Trente / Albert Messein, 1912.
- . "La Jeunesse de Picasso." *Les Nouvelles littéraires*, 11 July 1931, p. 8.
- . "Les Lettres. 9 November 1918–1934." *L'Intransigeant*, 10 November 1934, p. 6.
- . "Picasso." *L'Esprit nouveau* 1 (May 1920): 61–68.
- . *Propos d'atelier*. Paris: Crès, 1922.
- . *Souvenirs sans fin, 1903–1940*. New ed. Preface by Pierre Combescot. Paris: Gallimard, 2004.
- . "Vingt-cinq Ans d'art vivant," pt. 2. *La Revue de France*, 1 March 1931, pp. 112–34.
- Salvado, J. "Chez Picasso." *Paris-Journal*, 14 March 1924, p. 5.
- Samaltanos, Katia. *Apollinaire: Catalyst for Primitivism, Picabia and Duchamp*. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1984.
- Sanouillet, Michel. *Dada à Paris*. Paris: Pauvert, 1965.
- Seckel, Hélène. "Apollinaire collectionneur de Picasso." In *Apollinaire, critique d'art*, edited by Béatrice Riottot El-Habib and Vincent Gille, pp. 214–27. Paris: Paris-Musées / Gallimard, 1993.
- . *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*. Vols. 1 and 2. Paris: RMN, 1988.
- . *Picasso collectionneur*. Paris: RMN, 1998.
- . "Three Portrait-Manifestoes of Poets: André Salmon, Guillaume Apollinaire, and Max Jacob." In *Picasso and Portraiture: Representation and Transformation*, edited by William Rubin, pp. 180–201. New York: MoMA, 1996.
- Seckel, Hélène, and André Cariou. *Max Jacob et Picasso*. Paris: RMN, 1994.
- Shattuck, Roger. *The Banquet Years: The Origins of the Avant-Garde in France, 1885 to World War I*. New York: Vintage Books, 1968.

- Smith, David. "González: First Master of the Torch." *Art News*, February 1956, pp. 35–37, 64–65.
- Spies, Werner. *Pablo Picasso on the Path to Sculpture: The Paris and Dinard Sketchbooks of 1928 from the Marina Picasso Collection*. New York: Prestel, 1995.
- Stallano, Jacqueline. "Une Relation encombrante: G ry Pieret." In *Amis europ ens d'Apollinaire*, edited by Michel D caudin, pp. 11–29. Paris: Presses de la Sorbonne nouvelle, 1995.
- Starobinski, Jean. *Portrait de l'artiste en saltimbanque*. Paris: Flammarion, 1970.
- Steegmuller, Francis. *Apollinaire: Poet among the Painters*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1986.
- Stein, Gertrude. *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1977.
- Tabart, Marielle, ed. *Princesse X: La S rie et l'oeuvre unique*. Les Carnets de l'Atelier Brancusi. Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou, 2000.
- T riade, E. "Une Visite   Picasso." *L'Intransigeant*, 27 November 1928, p. 6.
- Utley, Gertje R. *Picasso: The Communist Years*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Vallentin, Antonina. *Pablo Picasso*. Paris: Albin Michel, 1957.
- Varnedoe, Kirk, and Adam Gopnik. *High and Low: Modern Art and Popular Culture*. New York: MoMA, 1990.
- Wilkinson, Alan G. *The Sculpture of Jacques Lipchitz: A Catalogue Raisonn *. Vol. 1. *The Paris Years, 1910–1940*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1996.
- Withers, Josephine. "The Artistic Collaboration of Pablo Picasso and Julio Gonz lez." *Art Journal* 35, no. 2 (Winter 1975–76): 107–14.
- . *Julio Gonz lez: Sculpture in Iron*. New York: New York University Press, 1978.
- Zadkine, Ossip. *Le Maillet et le ciseau: Souvenirs de ma vie*. Paris: Albin Michel, 1968.
- Zervos, Christian. "Picasso." *Cahiers d'art* 7, Special Issue "Exposition Picasso aux Galeries Georges Petit" (June 1932): 2–3.
- . "Picasso   Dinard  t  1928." *Cahiers d'art* 4, no. 1 (January 1929): 5–20.
- . "Projets de Picasso pour un monument." *Cahiers d'art* 4, nos. 8–9 (1929): 342–53.

INDEX

Page numbers in italics refer to illustrations.

- Abadie, Michel, 144
- abstract art, 82, 85, 98, 156, 211, 216
- Action* (periodical), 51, 140, 141, 142, 144
- L'Action d'art* (periodical), 145
- L'Action française* (newspaper), 64
- Adéma, Pierre-Marcel, 217, 233
- African art, 94, 120–21; Apollinaire on, 38, 49–51, 82, 121, 140, 168, 250; Apollinaire's and Picasso's shared interest in, 2, 29, 46, 49, 51, 52, 91; Picasso on, 50, 51–52; Picasso's art influenced by, 35, 38, 50, 108, 109, 168, 176, 185, 200, 250
- Agero, August, 25, 46
- alchemy, 20, 54, 122
- Allain, Marcel, 44
- Anacreon, 124
- androgyny, 3, 162–63, 186, 200, 246, 250
- anti-Semitism, 64–65, 290n5
- Apollinaire, Guillaume: and abstract art, 82, 85, 98; and African art, 2, 29, 38, 46, 49, 50–52, 82, 121, 140, 168, 250; and androgyny, 162–63; art collection of, 3, 25–29, 51, 94, 258n2; artwork bought and sold by, 29, 251, 259n9; artwork by, 39, 113–15, 114; on Braque, 76–77, 80, 82, 83, 86, 87, 276n13; and Catholicism, 33; on Cervantes, 42, 117; on Cézanne, 42, 79, 83; and Chirico, 46, 49, 52, 79, 157–58; and circuses, 18, 22, 102, 118; clerical employment of, 8, 10, 30, 60, 275n18; and collage, 98, 99; and Cubism, 45, 76–77, 78, 80–87, 89, 98, 102–3, 120, 122, 128, 157, 249; death of, 1, 3, 133–36, 295n13; Dufy's illustrations of work by, 53, 54, 57, 177; and eroticism, 54, 183, 260n13; French nationality sought by, 65, 111, 129, 267n17; funeral of, 139, 202, 279n1; and Harlequin, 19–20, 22–23, 102, 113–14; head wound suffered by, 37, 49, 65, 76, 87, 99, 114, 114, 133, 135, 240; and Iberian statues affair, 59–67, 267n25; illness of, 121, 133, 155; marriage of, 129; and Matisse–Picasso exhibition, 3, 120–24, 126, 128, 240; Matisse's depictions of, 224, 293n21; on Mondrian, 82; and Nerval, 232; Paris street named in honor of, 218, 219; on Pascal, 42–43, 133; periodicals edited by, 9, 29, 44, 87, 157; photographs depicting, 6, 37–38, 37, 38, 149, 274n19; Picasso as correspondent of, 4, 9, 11, 16, 18, 25, 36, 41, 42, 43–44, 88, 100, 101, 105, 111, 112, 113, 116, 117, 131–33, 154; on Picasso's art, 1, 2, 34, 42, 68–89, 99, 108, 122–23, 162, 165, 240, 249, 269n2, 276n13; Picasso's artwork owned by, 3, 20, 23, 25–29, 30, 37, 105, 129, 258n9, 259n7; Picasso's depictions of, 2, 14, 23, 30, 31–32, 33–38, 36–38, 106–9, 106, 111, 112, 115–16, 115, 147, 149, 220, 221, 251, 274n19, 290n3; Picasso's first

Apollinaire, Guillaume (*continued*)

meetings with, 1, 7–10; Picasso's illustrations of works by, 2, 27, 37, 53–58, 56, 105–9, 106, 132, 173, 249, 251; Picasso's response to writing by, 41, 45, 78, 105, 245–46, 249; and popular culture, 43–44, 45; on Poullain's art, 15; Prouteau's documentary film on, 267n25; residences of, 10, 25, 29, 41, 51, 251, 267n25; and Henri Rousseau's art, 25, 46, 48, 52, 87, 251; Henri Rousseau's depiction of, 48; and Russian Ballet, 76, 88, 102, 117, 131; and saltimbanques, 18–20, 22, 77, 97, 99, 102; and simultaneity, 82, 87, 89, 90, 97–98; and Surrealism, 49, 104, 117, 141, 156–59, 250; and typography, 98–99, 157; and World War I, 65, 88–89, 98, 110–15. *See also* monument to Apollinaire; tomb, Apollinaire's

Apollinaire, Guillaume, writings by:

ART CRITICISM: "Aesthetic Meditations," 83; "The Beginnings of Cubism," 11, 50, 82; *The Cubist Painters*, 34, 42, 48, 76–77, 78, 82, 84, 85–86, 89, 99, 105, 106, 108, 251, 270n27, 276n13; "The Cubists and the Poets," 82; "Exodus of the Painters," 88–89; "From Michelangelo to Picasso," 81; Matisse-Picasso exhibition catalog, 122–23; "On Museums," 51; in periodicals, 8, 11, 42, 50, 68, 73, 79–89, 110, 120, 140, 167; "The Renaissance of Decorative Arts," 167; "The Young Generation: Picasso, Painter," 69–72

FICTION: "The Assassinated Poet," 34, 65, 69, 91–96, 173, 177, 184, 199, 218, 246, 249; "The Blue Eye," 41; *Les Exploits d'un jeune Don Juan*, 261n13; "Garrulous Memories," 41; *L'Hérésiarque et Cie*, 90; "The Mask," 69; *Les Onze Mille Verges*, 41, 53, 56, 183–84, 249, 261n13; "L'Otmika," 272n7; *Le Poète assassiné*, 88, 90, 116, 211; "The Poets' Napkin," 90–91, 271n3; "The Robinson Crusoe of Saint Lazare Station," 65; *The Rotting Magician*, 33, 53, 54, 98, 153; *The Seated Woman*, 65, 95–96, 129; "The Shadow's Departure," 65
NONFICTION: "La Danse est un sport," 34; *Journal*, 24, 129, 136; in periodicals, 34, 51, 61, 232; preface to *Les Fleurs du mal*, 216; program notes for *Parade*, 88, 104, 181; "Sayings by Pablo Picasso," 50, 119, 209

PLAYS: *The Anchovy Merchant* (with André Salmon), 12–13; *The Breasts of Tiresias*, 12, 49, 88, 117–18, 118, 121, 141, 156, 162; *Casanova*, 131, 163; *Color of Time*, 12, 141, 155, 173

POETRY: "Across Europe," 284n5; *Alcools*, 9, 12, 18, 37, 41, 43, 65, 82, 92, 97, 98, 104, 106, 107, 108, 109, 155, 157, 158, 204, 224, 233, 249, 251, 271–72, 290, 293, 295; *Bestiary*, 2, 27, 53–58, 66, 145, 219, 249, 251; "The Bleeding-Heart Dove and the Fountain," 98, 111, 204, 225; blue-postcard poems, 18–20, 22, 23, 77, 91, 102, 114; *Calligrammes*, 37, 41, 88, 98, 99, 110, 112, 116, 117, 122, 129, 132, 147, 157, 158, 165, 203, 204, 220, 221, 223, 224, 249, 284n5, 290n3, 293n22; *Case d'armois*, 98, 112, 132; celebrating Picasso's wedding, 130–31, 251; "La Chanson du mal-aimé," 18, 173; conversation poems, 12, 157, 158; "Les Fiançailles," 92, 97; *Le Guetteur mélancolique*, 227; "Heart Crown and Mirror," 204; "The Hermit," 204; "The Hills," 203, 204; "The Key," 284n5; "The Little Car," 110; "Musician of Saint-Merry," 147, 163; "Ocean-Letter," 100; "Ocean of Earth," 18, 19, 113; *Ombre de mon amour*, 245; "Pablo Picasso," 88, 101–4, 101; "Performance," 18, 19; "Phantom of Clouds," 99, 165; picture-poems, 2, 88, 95, 98, 100–104, 157, 204; "The Pipe and the Paintbrush," 100–101; "Postcard," 98; "The Pretty Redhead," 129; "Sakountala," 18; "Salome," 258n10; "The Saltimbanques," 18, 19, 22, 54, 77, 102; "The Seasons," 98, 132; "The Sighs of the Gunner from Dakar," 51; "They called her Lou," 111; "Twilight," 18, 20, 77, 102; *Vitam impendere amori*, 117, 122, 224, 293n22; "Windows," 158; "Zone," 18, 19, 22, 43, 51, 65, 98, 109, 121

TRANSLATIONS, 42, 117

Apollinaire, Guillaume, writings relating to Picasso by:

ART CRITICISM: "The Beginnings of Cubism," 11, 82; *The Cubist Painters*, 85–86, 89, 99, 108, 251, 276n13; "The Cubists and the Poets," 82; "Exodus of the Painters," 88–89; in periodicals, 8, 68, 79–89, 110, 140; "The Young Generation: Picasso, Painter," 69–72
FICTION: "The Assassinated Poet," 91–95,

- 96; "The Poets' Napkin," 90–91, 271n3; *The Seated Woman*, 95–96
- NONFICTION: *Journal*, 24; "Sayings by Pablo Picasso," 50, 119, 209
- PLAY: "The Breasts of Tiresias," 118, 121
- POETRY: celebrating Picasso's wedding, 130–31, 251; "Pablo Picasso," 88, 101–4, 101; "Phantom of Clouds," 99, 165; "The Pipe and the Paintbrush," 100–101
- Apollinaire, Jacqueline (née Kolb), 117, 129; and Père Lachaise tomb for Apollinaire, 141, 149, 177–78, 180, 202, 203; and Saint-Germain-des-Prés monument to Apollinaire, 3, 209, 210, 211, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 225, 226, 227, 230–33, 234, 236, 251, 293n25, 294nn6,7
- Aragon, Louis, 12, 135, 141, 155, 156, 157, 158, 183, 210, 215–16, 217, 218, 221, 233, 261n13, 280n2, 291n18
- Archipenko, Aleksandr, 48, 79, 145
- Les Argonautes* (periodical), 18
- Aristophanes, 118
- Arp, Jean, 162
- Artaud, Antonin, 140
- Arte Joven* (periodical), 9
- Art et littérature* (periodical), 10
- Art et Résistance exhibition, Paris, 213, 215
- Art Institute of Chicago, 245
- Arts de France* (periodical), 215
- auction of artworks to raise funds for Apollinaire's tomb, 3, 150–53, 219, 282n15
- Austin's café, 8, 10, 254n6
- Bakst, Léon, 116, 131
- Baldassari, Anne, 108–9, 124, 274n19
- Balzac, Honoré de, 16, 173
- Barnes, Alfred, 142
- Barrès, Maurice, 144
- Bateau Lavoir, 7, 10, 11–17, 23, 24, 39, 40, 41, 42, 56, 59, 73, 76, 78, 82, 90, 91, 92, 93, 124, 141, 156, 185, 195, 250
- Baudelaire, Charles, 12, 20, 22, 54, 68, 69, 93, 102, 179, 216
- Bayes, Walter, 145–46
- Bellier, Alphonse, 142, 150, 151, 152, 153
- Benin Bird, 51, 91–95, 91, 168, 177, 199, 211, 218
- Béraud, Henri, 144–45
- Bernheim Gallery, 79
- Bignou, Etienne, 198
- Billy, André, 3, 63, 134; and monument to Apollinaire, 217–25, 227, 229, 232, 233, 234, 241, 293n25; and tomb for Apollinaire, 139, 140, 144, 146, 157–59, 160, 162, 177, 178, 186, 188, 194, 201, 202
- Blanc, Jeanne-Yves, 142, 143
- Blanche, Jacques-Emile, 198
- Blue period, 7, 13, 14, 17, 25, 43, 68, 81, 89, 93, 103
- blue-postcard poems, Apollinaire's, 18–20, 22, 23, 77, 91, 102, 114
- Boccioni, Umberto, 82, 83
- La Bodinière Gallery, Paris, 10
- Bonnard, Pierre, 80, 258n2
- Bonnefoy, Yves, 249
- Botticelli, Sandro, 71, 132
- Bourdelle, Antoine, 224
- Bourges, Elémir, 43
- Bozo, Dominique, 149, 281n5
- Brancusi, Constantin, 3, 25, 139, 145, 171, 186, 218
- Braque, Georges, 17, 25, 44, 46, 57, 76–77, 79, 80, 81, 85, 93, 94, 111, 112, 113, 116, 118, 123, 142, 143, 186, 220, 245; and Cubism, 82, 83, 86, 87, 98, 149
- Brassaï, 55, 171, 178, 181, 199, 209
- Breton, André, 12, 49, 87, 105, 117, 139, 141, 155, 156, 157, 199, 204, 233, 239, 249, 272n2
- brothels, 76, 124, 259n7
- Bucher, Jeanne, 177
- Budry, Paul, 133
- Buffalo Bill, 41, 43, 44, 45
- Buffet-Picabia, Gabrielle, 129, 233, 237
- Buffon, Georges-Louis Leclerc de, 265n15
- Cahiers d'art* (periodical), 166, 171, 178, 186, 188, 191, 195, 204, 214, 216
- Caizergues, Pierre, 107
- Camarasa, Anglada, 145
- Canudo, Ricciotto, 63, 83, 111
- Carco, Francis, 55, 229
- caricature: Cubism's relation to, 35, 90; French tradition of, 34–35; and Picasso's portraits of Apollinaire, 31–32, 32, 35, 38, 40, 108, 109, 116
- Carnival, Roman, 69

- Casagemas, Carlos, 7
 Castelar, Emilio, 68
 Catelain, Georgette, 108, 142
 Catholicism, 33, 68, 72, 112, 147, 158
 Cendrars, Blaise, 43, 44, 116, 139, 140, 249
 ceramics, 29, 210, 224, 225
 Cervantes, Miguel de, 42, 117
 Cézanne, Paul, 7, 25, 42, 43, 48, 77, 79, 83, 211
 Chagall, Marc, 79, 152
 Chaize, Jean, 124, 124, 125, 126, 128
 Charbonnier, Pierre, 152
 Chavenon, Roland, 152
 Chirico, Giorgio de, 25, 46, 49, 50, 52, 79, 135, 155, 157–58
 cinema, 44
 circuses, 13, 14, 18, 22, 23, 69, 70, 102, 118
 Claudel, Paul, 40, 133
 Claudet, Nelly, 142
 Cleopatra, 122–23, 130–31, 277n3
 Closerie des Lilas, 15, 40, 151, 219
 Cocteau, Jean, 12, 108, 117, 130, 131, 133–34, 135, 139, 140, 141, 179, 186, 195, 272n2, 275n14; and monument to Apollinaire, 3, 229, 231–33, 234, 235, 236, 238, 240–41
 Coligny-Chatillon, Louise de, 111
 collage, 2, 3, 45, 84, 98–99, 181
 commedia dell'arte, 14, 69
 Communist Party, French, 2, 210, 215–16, 217–18, 291n18
 Coquiot, Gustave, 25, 68
 Corneille, Pierre, 12
 Cornet, Paul, 293n25
 Courbet, Jean, 209
 Coussedière, Charles-Jean, 14
 Cowling, Elizabeth, 4, 71, 171, 262n4
 Cremona, Maurice, 11, 41, 46, 63, 94, 111, 140, 255n2, 256n15
 Crissay, Marguerite, 152
 Cubism, 11, 17, 66; and Apollinaire's art criticism, 34, 42, 48, 76–77, 78, 80–87, 89, 120, 249; and Apollinaire's poetry, 98, 102–3, 122, 157; and Braque's art, 82, 83, 86, 87, 98; and caricature, 35, 90; and collage, 45, 84, 98; and literature, 45, 98, 106; and Picasso's art, 1, 2, 3, 15, 25, 26, 35–37, 45, 61, 75, 80–87, 89, 97, 98, 106–9, 120, 122, 124, 153, 155, 176, 249; and simultaneity, 87, 98
La Culture physique (periodical), 34
 Dada, 141, 155
 Daireaux, Max, 34
 Daix, Pierre, 49, 107, 214, 215, 249
 Dalí, Salvador, 204
 Dalize, René, 46, 157
 Dante Alighieri, 27
 Daudet, Léon, 64
 Daumier, Honoré, 22, 35
 David, Hermine, 152
 David, Jacques-Louis, 209
 Décaudin, Michel, 73
 Degas, Edgar, 12, 21, 29, 209
 Delacroix, Eugène, 209
 Delaunay, Robert, 25, 63, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 85, 120
 Delaunay, Sonia, 120, 233, 237
 Delicado, Francisco, 41
 Delormel, Henry, 27, 40
 Deniker, Georges, 11
 Deniker, Nicolas, 11
 Denis, Maurice, 80
 Derain, André, 9, 25, 50, 81, 83, 94, 111, 112, 139, 152, 186
 Dermée, Paul, 116, 140, 141, 146, 158, 284n24
 Descaves, Lucien, 129, 130, 139, 146
 Desnos, Robert, 58, 155
 Devraigne, Pierre, 232, 233
 Diaghilev, Sergei, 102, 117, 246
Dial (periodical), 143
 Diderot, Denis, 41
 Dierx, Léon, 149–50
 Diriks, Edvard, 27, 145, 258n2
 Divoire, Fernand, 152
 Doré, Gustave, 22
 Doucet, Jacques, 139, 155
 Duchamp, Marcel, 25, 66, 85, 120
 Dufy, Raoul, 7, 53, 54, 57, 80, 81, 116, 152, 177
 Dullin, Charles, 12, 13–14, 40, 195, 255n5
 Dumas, Alexandre, 13, 14, 43
 Duncan, David Douglas, 135
 Duncan, Raymond, 146
 Duval, Jeanne, 93
 Duvernois, Henri, 142, 143
Les Ecrits français (periodical), 99
Les Ecrits nouveaux (periodical), 133
 Ehrenburg, Ilya, 116
 Eiffel Tower, 168, 178

- ekphrasis, 72, 75, 89, 104, 122, 251
- Eluard, Paul, 12, 49, 141, 153, 156, 204, 210, 214, 215, 217, 221, 246, 249
- Epstein, Jacob, 145–46, 183
- eroticism, 41, 54, 154, 155, 163, 183, 260n13
- Errazuriz, Eugenia, 116, 131, 142, 143
- L'Esprit nouveau* (periodical), 139–40, 141
- Ethnographic Museum. *See* Trocadéro Ethnographic Museum
- L'Européen* (periodical), 42
- L'Europe nouvelle* (periodical), 89, 232
- Fagus, Félicien, 25, 40, 68
- Falla, Manuel de, 147
- Fantasio* (periodical), 65
- Fantômas, 43–44, 44, 62, 66
- Fauvism, 15, 53, 83, 85, 120
- Feldmann, Otto, 29
- Fels, Florent, 52, 140, 142, 155
- Férat, Serge, 3, 49, 95, 110, 111, 117, 132, 139, 140, 141, 150, 151, 152, 153, 157, 160, 186, 188, 201, 219; Apollinaire's tomb designed by, 202–4, 203, 289n6
- Le Festin d'Esopé* (periodical), 9, 33, 53, 90, 95, 157
- Féval, Paul, 43
- Le Figaro* (newspaper), 186, 201, 205, 232, 233, 250, 295n13
- Le Figaro littéraire* (periodical), 157, 219, 221, 222, 225, 232, 240
- Fitzgerald, Michael, 4
- Fleuret, Fernand, 135
- Fokine, Michel, 102
- Fombeure, Maurice, 233, 295n13
- Formentelli, Eliane, 74–75
- Fort, Paul, 27, 40, 139, 146
- Foujita, Tsuguhara, 152
- fourth dimension, 83, 91
- Fox, C.J., 8
- France-Soir* (newspaper), 232–33
- Frémiet, Emmanuel, 144
- French Revolution, 17, 99
- Friesz, Othon, 152
- Futurism, 17, 82, 87, 89, 205
- Gabory, Georges, 140
- Gallimard, Gaston, 140, 141
- Gambetta, Léon, 184
- Garaudy, Roger, 291n18
- Gauguin, Paul, 48, 68
- Gautier, Théophile, 22
- George, Waldemar, 116
- Gérardin, Auguste, 9
- Geri, Alfredo, 59
- Giacometti, Alberto, 227
- Gilman, Harold, 145
- Gilot, Françoise, 156, 210, 211, 213, 214, 219, 220, 244, 245, 292n11
- Giotto, 132
- Gleizes, Albert, 17, 66, 80, 81, 82, 145, 152
- Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 82
- Gohier, Urbain, 65
- Golberg, Mécislas, 8, 90, 91, 120, 260n6
- Golding, John, 278n26
- Gomez de la Serna, Ramon, 116
- Goncharova, Natalya, 25, 131, 152
- González, Julio, 4, 168–71, 177, 180, 181, 185, 189, 191–92, 194, 195, 196, 197–98, 199, 214, 245, 250, 285–86n10
- Gore, Spencer, 145
- Gouel, Eva, 110, 111, 113
- Gourmont, Remy de, 106–7, 145
- El Greco, 96, 154, 209
- Gris, Juan, 17, 113, 116, 152, 186
- Guérin, Charles, 28
- Guilbeaux, Henri, 66–67
- Guillaume, Paul, 49, 120–21, 128, 131, 133, 139, 142, 152, 163, 282n15
- Paul Guillaume Gallery, 150, 151
- Halicka, Alice, 17, 152
- Harlequin, 14, 19–24, 30, 54, 69, 70, 71, 102, 113–14, 122, 147
- Heredia, José-Maria de, 144
- Hermes Trismegistus, 20, 54
- Holocaust, 214–15, 216
- Hourcade, Olivier, 146
- Hugnet, Georges, 204
- Hugo, Victor, 12, 17, 221, 222, 292n15
- L'Humanité* (newspaper), 210, 250
- Huxley, Aldous, 216
- Huysmans, J.-K., 8
- Iberian statues affair, 59–67, 267n25
- Iché, René, 223–24
- Impressionism, 15

- L'Indépendant* (newspaper), 83
 Ingres, Jean, 88
Interventions (periodical), 158
L'Intransigeant (newspaper), 15, 73, 79, 80, 150, 151, 160, 167, 176, 178
 Ivisic, Radovan, 233, 239
- Jacob, Max, 8–9, 34, 38, 39–40, 42, 45, 46, 88, 89, 90, 105, 110, 111, 112, 113, 116, 121, 130, 131, 133, 139, 140, 146, 218, 245, 246, 290n5; at Bateau Lavoir, 11, 12, 13, 16, 90, 156, 249, 250; and Catholicism, 112, 147; and Iberian statues affair, 58, 61, 63, 66; Picasso's depictions of, 88, 147; and project for Apollinaire's tomb, 140, 152
 Jammes, Francis, 92
 Jarry, Alfred, 8, 13, 35, 46, 87, 219, 251, 256
 Jaujard, Jacques, 219–24, 226–28, 232, 293n25, 294nn3,4
 Jordaens, Pierre, 129
Le Journal (newspaper), 25, 68, 144, 227
- Kahn, Gustave, 87
 Kahnweiler, Daniel-Henry, 17, 40, 53, 78, 80, 83, 85, 109, 110, 112, 121, 145, 176, 210, 227, 270nn26,27
 Kisling, Moise, 116
 Koklova, Olga, 66, 102, 117, 130, 131, 139, 149, 162, 178, 194, 204, 209
 Kolb, Jacqueline. *See* Apollinaire, Jacqueline
 Konitz, Faik beg, 95, 272n7
- Laboureur, Jean-Emile, 152
 Laforgue, Jules, 12, 22, 42
 Lagut, Irène, 95, 96, 152
 Lanchner, Carolyn, 281n1
 Landru, Henri, 140
 Lapin Agile, 8, 23, 139
 Laporte, Geneviève, 216
 Larionov, Mikhail, 152
 Laurencin, Marie, 25, 46, 53, 55–56, 61, 66, 76, 80, 81, 93–94, 94, 152, 153, 223, 271n5
 Laurens, Henri, 177
 Lautréamont, Comte de, 219
 Léautaud, Paul, 107, 139, 140, 160, 186, 219
 Le Corbusier (Charles-Edouard Jeanneret), 140, 152, 223
 Le Fauconnier, Henri, 66, 80, 81, 82
- Lefèvre, Henri, 142
 Léger, Fernand, 63, 66, 81, 82, 111, 139, 145
Les Lettres françaises (periodical), 210, 215–16, 221–22, 240, 250
Lettres modernes (periodical), 9
 Level, André, 87, 88, 111, 140, 141, 142
 Lhote, André, 66, 152
 Lichtenstein, Christa, 4
 Lipchitz, Jacques, 177
 Louvre museum, 37, 51, 81; artworks stolen from, 59–67
 Luce, Maximilien, 28
 Lyre and Palette club, 119
- Maar, Dora, 12, 37, 204, 243; and Picasso's sculpture *Head of Dora Maar*, 227–33, 228, 242, 243, 246–47, 251
 Mac Orlan, Pierre, 30, 41, 56, 139, 140, 229
 Maeterlinck, Maurice, 12
 Mahaut, Henri, 7
 Mallarmé, Stéphane, 41
 Malraux, André, 231, 232
 Manet, Edouard, 80, 209
 Manolo (Manuel Hugué), 8, 13, 16, 25, 149
 Maragall, Juan, 42
Marches de Provence (periodical), 81, 89
 Marcoussis, Louis, 17, 55, 64, 152
Les Marges (periodical), 64
 Marinetti, Emilio, 17, 205
 Martin, Georges, 56
 Marx, Roger, 68
 Massine, Léonide, 102, 117
 Massot, Pierre de, 154–55
 Matarasso, Henri, 131
Le Matin (newspaper), 41, 63
 Matisse, Henri, 2, 3, 25, 28, 50, 73, 75, 77, 79, 80, 85, 117, 118, 119, 132, 152, 153, 220, 226, 244, 245, 293nn21,22; and Matisse-Picasso exhibition, 3, 120–24, 126, 128, 240
 Maupassant, Guy de, 144
 McBride, Henry, 143
 Médrano, Geronimo, 22
 Meissonier, Jean, 81
 Mercereau, Alexandre, 146
Mercure de France (periodical), 48, 68, 82, 87, 113, 126, 140–41, 149, 177
 Metzinger, Jean, 17, 66, 80, 81, 82, 116, 139
 Michelangelo, 81, 82

- Millet, Jean-François, 15, 81
Minotaure (periodical), 156, 178, 199
 Minotaur figure, 183
 Miró, Joan, 155, 162
 Mistral, Frédéric, 88
 Mitty, Jean de, 34
 Modigliani, Amedeo, 35, 119
 Mollet, Jean, 8, 11, 49, 135, 139, 183, 233, 234, 235
 Mona Lisa, theft of, 58, 61, 64, 65
 Mondrian, Piet, 79, 82
 Monnet, Bertrand, 231, 232, 233
 Montaigne, Michel de, 249
 Montfort, Eugène, 135
Montjoie! (periodical), 83, 85, 86, 89
 monument to Apollinaire, at Saint-Germain-des-Prés: Brancusi's artwork proposed for, 3, 218; ceremony for the inauguration of, 231–33, 231, 234–39, 240–41, 242; committee for, 209, 210–11, 217–25, 226–31, 244, 250–51, 293n25; Cornet's artwork proposed for, 293n25; Iché's artwork proposed for, 223–24; Matisse's artwork proposed for, 3, 224–25, 244; Paris City Council's involvement in, 211, 220, 221, 222, 228–30, 232, 294n11; Perret's work proposed for, 223; Picasso's artwork proposed for, 3, 217–18, 219–23; Picasso's *Head of Dora Maar* chosen for, 227–33, 242, 243, 251; Picasso's *Head of Dora Maar* stolen from, 246–47; Zadkine's artwork proposed for, 3, 219
 Moréas, Jean, 40–41
 Moreau, Gustave, 224
 Morice, Charles, 68
 Mortier, Robert, 140–41
 Murillo, Bartolomé Esteban, 209
 mysticism, 68, 72
 naturalism, 14, 68
 neoclassicism, 3, 40–41, 88, 147, 154, 159
 Nerval, Gérard de, 232
 Neue Galerie, Berlin, 29
New York Times (newspaper), 245
 Nietzsche, Friedrich, 72, 77
 Noël, Maurice, 186, 188, 201, 202
Nord-Sud (periodical), 117
 Oceanian art, 36, 38, 46, 49, 109, 121, 250
L'Oeuvre (newspaper), 65, 157
 Offenbach, Jacques, 12
 Olivier, Fernande, 7, 13, 16, 17, 24, 40, 46, 63, 66, 73, 77, 85, 90, 93, 94, 185, 254n6
 Orpheus, 18, 53, 55, 58, 86, 93, 135, 240, 275n14
 Orphism, 83
 Ors, Eugenio d', 181, 200
 Orwell, George, 216
 Ovid, 209
 Ozenfant, Amédée, 140, 152
 Pagès, Madeleine, 62, 63, 108, 113
 Palladini, Elvira, 116
 Pallarès, Manuel, 85
 pantheism, 72, 75
 papiers collés, 84, 86, 89, 98–99, 103, 107
Parade (Russian Ballet performance), 76, 88, 102, 117, 131, 181
Paris-Journal (newspaper), 61, 62, 63, 64, 79, 152, 154, 158, 232
Paris-Midi (newspaper), 150, 157
Paris-Presse (newspaper), 267n25
Paris-Soir (newspaper), 151, 158
 Parmelin, Hélène, 56, 245, 254n6
 Pascal, Blaise, 40, 42–43, 52, 131, 133
 Pascin, Jules, 152
 Pawlowski, Gaston de, 146
 Peau de l'ours collection, 87, 88
 Penrose, Roland, 4, 12, 17, 77–78, 162, 185, 220, 244, 245
 Père Lachaise Cemetery, 3, 138, 141, 145, 146, 150, 160, 171, 186, 192, 197, 199, 202, 203, 205, 221, 226, 246, 250
 Péret, Benjamin, 155, 204
 Pergaud, Louis, 144
 Perret, Auguste, 223, 224
 Perrugia, Vincenzo, 59
Le Petit Messager des arts (periodical), 88
Le Petit Parisien (newspaper), 204
La Phalange (periodical), 54, 55, 75, 120
 Philipon, Charles, 34, 35
 photography, 108–9
 Picabia, Francis, 7, 25, 66, 93, 120, 132, 145, 152, 155, 158
 Picasso, Pablo: and African art, 2, 29, 35, 38, 46, 49–52, 108, 109, 121, 168, 176, 185, 200, 250; Apollinaire as correspondent of, 4, 9, 11, 16, 18, 25, 36, 41, 42, 43–44, 88, 100, 101, 105, 111, 112, 113, 116, 117, 131–33,

Picasso, Pablo (*continued*)

154; Apollinaire depicted by, 2, 14, 23, 30, 31–32, 33–38, 36–38, 106–9, 106, 111, 112, 115–16, 115, 147, 149, 210, 220, 221, 251, 274n19, 290n3; and Apollinaire's art criticism, 1, 2, 34, 42, 68–89, 99, 108, 140, 162, 165, 240, 249, 269n2, 276n13; and Apollinaire's death, 3, 133–36, 278–79n26; and Apollinaire's fiction, 90–96; Apollinaire's first meetings with, 1, 7–10; Apollinaire's ownership of artwork by, 3, 20, 23, 25–29, 30, 37, 105, 129, 258n9, 259n7; and Apollinaire's playwriting, 118; and Apollinaire's poetry, 88, 97–104, 122–23; Apollinaire's visits to Bateau Lavoir studio of, 10, 11–12, 73, 92, 249, 250; Apollinaire's works illustrated by, 2, 27, 37, 53–58, 56, 105–9, 106, 132, 155, 173, 249, 251; on Apollinaire's writing, 41, 45, 78, 105, 245–46, 249; Balzac's work illustrated by, 173; Blue period of, 7, 13, 14, 17, 25, 43, 68, 81, 89, 93, 103; Breton's work illustrated by, 155; Buffon's work illustrated by, 265n15; and Catholicism, 68, 72; and Chirico's art, 46, 49, 52; and cinema, 44; and circuses, 13, 14, 18, 22, 23, 69, 70; and Communist Party, 2, 210, 215–16, 217–18; and Cubism, 1, 2, 3, 15, 25, 26, 35–37, 45, 61, 75, 80–87, 89, 97, 98, 106–9, 120, 122, 124, 153, 155, 176, 249; death of, 246; early critical responses to work by, 68, 76; and earnings from sales of artwork, 10, 87; and eroticism, 154, 155, 163; González's collaboration with, 4, 168–71, 177, 180, 181, 185, 189, 191–92, 194, 195, 196, 197–98, 199, 214, 245, 250, 285–86n10; Harlequin depicted by, 14, 20–24, 30, 69, 70, 71, 122, 147; and Iberian statues affair, 59–67, 267n25; Max Jacob depicted by, 88, 147; Jarry depicted by, 87; Kahnweiler depicted by, 109; literary interests of, 12, 39–45, 245–46; and marriage to Olga Koklova, 130–31; and neoclassicism, 3, 88, 97, 147, 154; and Oceanian art, 36, 38, 49, 250; photographs depicting, 6, 190; and photography, 108–9; and popular culture, 41, 43–44, 45, 69; residences of, 7, 10, 11–17, 36, 39, 41, 46, 76, 85, 90–93, 110, 136, 180, 210, 211, 251 (*see also* Bateau Lavoir); Reverdy's work illustrated by, 214, 245; Rose period of,

10, 14, 22, 81, 89, 99, 102, 103; and Henri Rousseau's art, 46, 48, 52, 262n4; saltimbanques depicted by, 14, 18, 20–21, 21, 26, 69, 71, 80, 97, 99, 258n11; self-portraits by, 3, 23, 26, 27, 135–36, 136, 245, 278–79n26; and simultaneity, 87, 90, 97–98; Gertrude Stein depicted by, 16, 35, 107; and Surrealism, 154–57, 159, 162, 204, 250, 283n13; and theater, 12–15, 18; tomb of, 246; and World War I, 110–19; writings by, 39–40, 204, 209; Zola depicted by, 261n17

Picasso, Pablo, exhibitions of works by: Art et Résistance exhibition, 213, 215; La Bodinière Gallery, 10; Galerie de la Renaissance, 177; Galeries Georges Petit, 198; International Exhibition of 1937 (Paris), 246; Lyre and Palette club, 119; Maison de la Pensée Française, 218; Matisse-Picasso exhibition (1918), 3, 120–24, 126, 128, 240; Quatre Gats (Barcelona), 9; Sala Parés (Barcelona), 9; Salon d'Antin, 76; Serrurier Gallery, 9, 10, 68; Universal Exhibition of 1900 (Paris), 10; Villa Désiré (Dinard), 10; Ambroise Vollard Gallery, 10, 25, 68, 80; Berthe Weill gallery, 7, 10

Picasso, Pablo, works by:

COLLAGES AND PAPIERS COLLÉS, 84, 86, 89, 98–99, 103, 105, 124
DRAWINGS, 26–28, 259n7; *An Anatomy* series, 156; *Apollinaire as a Coffeepot*, 31; *Apollinaire at the Stock Exchange*, 31; *Apollinaire in the Artillery*, 112; bathers, 160, 161, 162, 164, 165–66, 246; *Caricature of Guillaume Apollinaire as an Academician*, 32; *Don Quixote*, 43; *Druidic Figure with Caricature of Guillaume Apollinaire and Mythical Beasts*, 32, 53; *Exposition de quelques cons*, 27–28, 28; *Harlequin with Caricatures of Apollinaire*, 31; *Head (Guillaume Apollinaire)*, 32; *Head of a Woman*, 126, 127; *Jester Holding a Child*, 20, 26; *Modern Anacreon*, 124; *Portrait of Guillaume Apollinaire*, 106; *Portrait of Guillaume Apollinaire with a Bandaged Head*, 115; *Self-Portrait*, 136; self-portraits, 26, 27, 135–36, 136; in sketchbooks, 3, 14, 20, 30, 39, 56, 58, 71, 160, 161, 162, 164, 165–66, 171, 173, 174, 181, 182, 183, 185, 187–88, 187, 188, 192–94, 192, 193, 214, 227, 229; *Study for "Head of a Man,"* 182; *Various Animals*, 56

ENGRAVINGS, 23, 26, 57, 71–72, 209, 258n9;
Minotauromachie, 209; *Still Life before a
Window in Saint-Raphaël*, 209

PAINTINGS: *Acrobat and Young Harlequin*,
69; *The Actor*, 14; *Architect's Table*, 273n11;
Baigneuse à la cabine, 165; *Bathers*, 49; “*Blue
Bedroom*,” *La Mimosefaie*, 132; *Buffalo Bill*,
44; *The Charnel House*, 211, 212, 213, 215; *The
Christ of Montmartre (The Suicide)*, 70; *Les
Demoiselles d'Avignon*, 2, 13, 35, 42, 50, 58, 59,
62, 67, 73–78, 83, 86, 90, 91, 94, 123, 155,
269n2, 270n26; *The Embrace*, 26, 26; *Family
of Saltimbanques*, 18, 20–24, 21, 39, 87,
258n11; *Fan, Salt Box, Melon*, 126, 127; *Grand
baigneuse*, 165; *Guernica*, 211, 246, 251; *Guitare*,
153; *Harlequin's Family*, 70, 71; *Head
and Shoulders of a Sailor*, 74, 75; *Head and
Shoulders of a Woman*, 74, 74; *Head of a
Woman*, 25–26; *Hurdy-Gurdy Man and
Young Harlequin*, 99, 100; *The Kitchen* (two
versions), 3, 211–16, 212, 213, 251, 290n5;
At the Lapin Agile, 23; *Last Moments*, 10; *The
Letter*, 84, 98; *Little Girls Dancing*, 25; *El Loco
(Madman with a Dog)*, 70; *The Madman*, 70;
Man with a Guitar, 26, 129, 130; *Man with a
Moustache*, 181; *The Marriage of Pierrette*, 21;
Monument: Head of a Woman, 166; *Moulin
de la Galette*, 7; *The Old Guitarist*, 70; *The Old
Man and the Child*, 70; *Pipes of Pan*, 154; *Read-
ing the Letter*, 147, 148, 149, 154, 281n4; *Seated
Harlequin (with Red Background)*, 69; *Souvenir
du Havre*, 85; *Still Life with Chair Caning*, 84,
84; *Three Musicians*, 147, 148, 281n1; *Triumph
of Pan*, 209; *Two Acrobats with a Dog*, 69; *The
Two Friends*, 69, 70; *Two Youths*, 41; *Violin,
Glasses, Pipe and Anchor*, 87; *Weeping Woman*,
243; *Woman-Flower*, 213; *Woman Ironing*, 70;
Woman with a Crow, 69, 70; *Women Running
on the Beach (The Race)*, 154; *Young Acrobat
on a Ball*, 70–71, 71, 99, 165

SCULPTURES: at Chicago Civic Center, 244–
45; *Figure* (three versions), 172; *Figurine*, 191;
The Goat, 210; *Guitar* (two versions), 167,
168, 189, 196, 197, 245, 285n1; *Head*, 170–
71, 170; *Head of a Man*, 180, 181, 181, 183, 185,
187, 188, 196; *Head of a Woman*, 180, 184,
185, 187, 188, 193, 197, 198, 199, 200; *Head
of a Woman (Fernande)*, 82, 176; *Head of Dora*

Maar, 227–33, 228, 242, 243, 246–47, 251;
Little Girl Skipping, 210; *Man with a Sheep*,
210; *Metamorphosis I and II*, 162–63, 163, 173,
177, 186, 187, 188, 200, 246; wire maquettes,
166, 167, 171, 172, 173, 174–75, 176–79, 186,
187, 188, 195, 214, 227, 244–45, 296n4;
Woman in a Garden, 3, 180, 189–99, 190,
198; *Woman with a Pram*, 210; *Woman with
a Vase*, 246

STAGE SETS, 117, 173, 195. *See also* monument
to Apollinaire; tomb, Apollinaire's

Pichot, Ramon, 80

Pieret, Géry, 59–61, 61, 63, 64, 65

Piero della Francesca, 71

Pierrefort Gallery, 27

Pierrot, figure of, 147

Platonism, 71, 173

Playden, Annie, 8, 37, 95

Pliny, 123, 131, 276n13

Plotinus, 108

La Plume (periodical), 7, 9, 69, 82, 86, 90

Plutarch, 277n3

Poésie (periodical), 80

Poiret, Paul, 76

Poissonnier, Bernard, 227, 228, 230, 231, 233,
241, 251

Ponge, Francis, 249

popular culture, 41, 43–44, 45, 69

pornography, 27, 41, 65

postcards, 9, 16, 42, 43, 60, 88, 90, 98, 99;
and Apollinaire's blue-postcard poems, 18–
20, 22, 23, 77, 91, 102, 114

Poullain, Edmond-Marie, 15–16, 27–28

Pound, Ezra, 140

Poussin, Nicolas, 132, 209

Prado museum, Madrid, 246

Prejger, Lionel, 244

Prévert, Jacques, 12

Princet, Maurice, 41

Prometheus, 85–86

Prouteau, Gilbert, 267n25

Puccini, Giacomo, 13

Puy, Michel, 81

Pythagoras, 108

Els Quatre Gats cabaret, Barcelona, 9

Quelques-uns exhibition, Paris, 27–28,
259–60n6

- Rabelais, François, 13, 40, 52, 57
 Rachilde, Mme., 139, 140–41
 Racine, Jean, 12
 Radiguet, Raymond, 139
 Ray, Man, 204
 Raynal, Maurice, 1, 9, 11, 12, 23, 28, 44, 46, 111, 113, 116, 255n2, 256n15, 262n2
 realism, 13, 81
 Reff, Theodore, 147, 258n11, 281n1
 Rembrandt, 82, 209
 Renoir, Pierre-Auguste, 12, 80
 Restif de la Bretonne, 41
 Reverdy, Pierre, 12, 58, 116, 117, 214, 216, 245, 249
La Revolution surréaliste (periodical), 154, 155
La Revue blanche (periodical), 9, 25, 40, 68
La Revue de France (periodical), 196
La Revue immoraliste (periodical), 8, 9, 27, 68
 Rey, Robert, 108
 Ribemont-Dessaignes, Georges, 158
 Richardson, John, 4, 48, 96
 Rilke, Rainer Maria, 23, 24
 Rimbaud, Arthur, 41–42, 102, 155, 158, 219
 Rivera, Diego, 116
 Roberts, William, 146
 Rodin, Auguste, 95, 145, 221, 222, 292n15
 Romanticism, 13, 39, 133
 Roque, Jacqueline, 135, 136, 244, 245
 Rosenberg, Léonce, 139
 Rose period, 10, 14, 22, 81, 89, 99, 102, 103
 Rouault, Georges, 22
 Rousseau, Henri, 2, 25, 46, 47, 48, 52, 80, 87, 124, 152, 218, 251, 262n4, 263n7
 Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 41
 Rouveyre, André, 90, 110, 117, 121, 132, 140, 158, 219, 224, 225, 293n21
 Roy, Pierre, 113, 152
 Royère, Jean, 55
 Rubin, William, 244, 245, 281n1
 Russian Ballet, 76, 88, 102, 117, 131
 Sabartès, Jaime, 30, 39, 135, 227–28, 230–31, 251
 Sadoul, Georges, 44, 262n22
 Sagot, Clovis, 16, 93
 Salmon, André, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 23, 35, 40, 41, 42, 45, 46, 76, 89, 90, 111, 139, 140, 177, 186, 205, 250; and Iberian statues affair, 61, 63, 65; and projects to commemorate Apollinaire, 140, 150, 151, 178, 194–97, 199, 201–2, 221, 223, 229, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 241, 282n15, 293n25, 295n13
 Salon d'Antin (1916), 76, 186
 Salon d'automne (1905), 88
 Salon d'automne (1910), 80, 120
 Salon d'automne (1911), 66, 81
 Salon des indépendants (1906), 48, 258n2
 Salon des indépendants (1908), 77
 Salon des indépendants (1909), 80, 94
 Salon des indépendants (1910), 79–80
 Salon des indépendants (1911), 81, 219
 Salon des indépendants (1912), 49, 82
 Salon des indépendants (1920), 186
 saltimbanques, 14, 18–22, 21, 26, 69, 71, 77, 80, 97, 99, 102, 258n11
 Sardou, Victorien, 144
 Satie, Erik, 102, 117, 147, 155
 Schwitters, Kurt, 85
 Seckel, Hélène, 27, 73, 106
 Section d'or exhibition, 85, 223
 Segonzac, Henri de, 142, 143
 Seligmann, Jacques, 142
 Serrurier Gallery, 9, 10, 68
 Seurat, Georges, 22
 Severini, Gino, 35, 139, 145, 152, 233, 236
 sexuality, 131, 156, 160, 162, 163, 165, 189, 250
 Shakespeare, William, 14
SIC (periodical), 101
 Signac, Paul, 80
 Simon, Henri, 131
 simultaneity, 82, 87, 89, 90, 97–98
 Smith, David, 251
 Socialist Realism, 215–16, 291n18
Les Soirées de Paris (periodical), 44, 46, 48, 79, 87, 88, 100, 110, 139, 141, 143, 155, 157
 Soleil d'or café, 7
 Soler, Francisco de Asis, 9
 Sophocles, 195
 Souday, Paul, 144
 Soupault, Philippe, 141, 157, 158
 South Pacific, art of. *See* Oceanian art
 Souvestre, Pierre, 43
 Spanish Civil War, 204, 205, 243, 246
 Spies, Werner, 4, 245–46
 Stein, Gertrude, 16, 35, 46, 50, 57, 94, 107, 110, 113, 136, 141–42
 Steinlen, Théophile, 7, 145

- Stendhal, 40
 Stravinsky, Igor, 102, 147, 246
Der Sturm (periodical), 83
 sublime, 80, 81–82
 Surrealism, 25, 49, 104, 117, 133, 141, 154–59,
 162, 177, 204, 233, 250, 283n13
 Surville, Léopold, 152
 Symbolism, 7, 8, 12, 13, 26, 40–41, 44, 68, 102, 250
- Tabarin* (newspaper), 9
 Tailhade, Laurent, 116
 Tanguy, Yves, 162
Le Temps (newspaper), 11, 50, 82, 83, 144
 Thannhauser, Heinrich, 87
 theater, 12–15, 18, 154–55
 Théry, José, 63, 142, 143
 Tinguely, Jean, 250
 Toklas, Alice, 46, 110, 171
 tomb, Apollinaire's, at Père Lachaise Cemetery:
 anniversary of Apollinaire's death observed
 at, 139, 141, 150, 160, 177, 202, 205, 226;
 artworks auctioned to raise funds for, 3, 150–
 53, 219, 282n15; committee for, 3, 140–43,
 150, 157, 159, 160, 163, 178, 180, 181, 186–88,
 194, 199, 200, 201–2, 250; Férat's design of,
 202–4, 203, 289n6; public subscription, 141,
 142–43
 tomb, Apollinaire's, at Père Lachaise Cemetery,
 Picasso's artwork proposed for, 3, 149, 151,
 152, 153, 154, 156, 159, 201–2; and drawings
 of bathers, 160, 161, 162, 164, 165–66; *Head*
 of a Man, 180, 181, 181, 183, 185, 187, 188,
 196; *Head of a Woman*, 180, 184, 185, 187,
 188, 193, 197, 198, 199, 200; and *Metamor-*
 phosis I and II, 162–63, 163, 177, 186, 187,
 188, 200; and wire maquettes, 166, 167, 168,
 171, 177–78, 186, 187, 188, 195, 214; *Woman*
 in a Garden, 3, 180, 189–99, 190, 198. *See also*
 monument to Apollinaire
 Torres, Augusto, 197
 Toulouse-Lautrec, Henri de, 22, 29
 Tournaire, Jean, 142
 Trachsel, Albert, 9
 Trocadéro Ethnographic Museum, 50, 51, 168,
 287n6
 Tudesq, André, 157
 typography, 83, 98–99, 157
- Tzara, Tristan, 140, 141, 155, 233, 237
- Ubu, 13, 18, 35, 40, 112, 117, 204
 Uccello, Paolo, 92
 Uhde, Fritz von, 109
 Universal Exhibition of 1900, Paris, 10
 Utrillo, Maurice, 152
- Vaché, Jacques, 117, 141
 Vaillant, Jacques, 46
 Valadon, Suzanne, 152
 Vallette, Alfred, 139, 140, 146
 Van Dongen, Kees, 80
 Van Gogh, Vincent, 48, 245
 Vauxcelles, Louis, 63, 68, 76
 Velázquez, Diego Rodríguez de Silva, 209
 Verhaeren, Emile, 145
 Verlaine, Paul, 12, 29, 39, 41, 68, 144, 251
Vers et prose (periodical), 11, 40, 90, 258n10
Vient de paraître (periodical), 158
 Vigny, Alfred de, 39
 Villon, François, 12, 66
 Vitrac, Roger, 177
 Vlaminck, Maurice de, 9, 25, 46, 50, 80, 116,
 140, 152
 Vollard, Ambroise, 10, 109, 129, 173, 181
 Ambroise Vollard Gallery, 10, 25, 68, 80
 Voltaire, 17
 Vorticism, 145
- Walden, Herwarth, 83
 Walter, Marie-Thérèse, 162, 201, 204
 Watteau, Antoine, 22
 Weber, Max, 252n1
 Berthe Weill gallery, 7, 10
 Wilde, Oscar, 145–46, 183
 World War I, 51, 88–89, 98, 110–19
- Xceron, Jean, 168
- Zadkine, Ossip, 3, 139, 152, 219, 279n1
 Zamiatin, Yevgeny, 216
 Zervos, Christian, 11, 56, 165, 166, 178, 186,
 189–91, 214, 216
 Zola, Emile, 144, 261n17
 Zuloaga, Ignacio, 96
 Zurbarán, Francisco de, 154

DESIGNER: SANDY DROOKER
TEXT: 9.5/14 SCALA
DISPLAY: SCALA SANS
COMPOSITOR: INTEGRATED COMPOSITION SYSTEMS
INDEXER: ANDREW JORON
PRINTER AND BINDER: FRIESENS

 TORONTO
PUBLIC
LIBRARY



37131 121 557 060

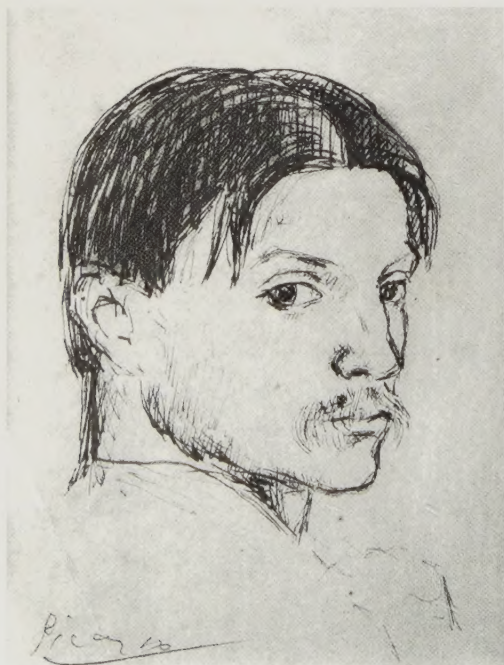
"The book combines penetrating insights with exciting discoveries obtained through hard scholarly digging." —*French Studies*

"Beautifully produced and illustrated and lucidly written. . . . A deeply intellectual biography, driven throughout by Read's intelligent and subtle analyses of specific poems, paintings, sculptures, and texts of art criticism."

—*Forum for Modern Language Studies*

"Read's scholarly deciphering using the original texts is astonishing, daring and enlightening."

—*H-France Review*



PETER READ is Professor of Modern French Literature and Visual Arts at the University of Kent, Canterbury, England. He is the translator of Apollinaire's *Cubist Painters* (UC Press) and the author of *Picasso et Apollinaire: Les métamorphoses de la mémoire*, which he has revised extensively for this English-language edition.

Cover design: Sandy Drooker

Cover illustrations: (*Front cover*) Picasso and *Woman in a Garden*, 1930. Iron, 206 × 117 × 85 cm. Photographer unknown; probably photographed in Galeries Georges Petit, June 1932 (MP). © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. (*Back cover, upper right*) Pablo Picasso, *Apollinaire at the Stock Exchange*, 1905 Drawing ink on card, 14 × 12 cm. Nationalgalerie, Museum Berggruen, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin, Germany. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York. Photo courtesy of Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, N.Y. (*Back cover, lower left*) Pablo Picasso, *Self-Portrait*, 1903 (Z XXII, 38). Ink on paper, 14 × 11 cm. © 2007 Estate of Pablo Picasso/Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.