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THE ICONOGRAPHY OF PICASSO'S BALLET DESIGNS: 1917-1924.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a study of iconography and meaning in the front-of-stage drop-curtains and the stage sets which Pablo Picasso designed for the ballet between 1917 and 1924. These works were commissioned by two patrons: Serge Diaghilev and Comte Etienne de Beaumont. The extent of Picasso's artistic independence in working for these two patrons is examined.

While the works for the ballet are contextualised within circumstances surrounding each commission, the scenarios of the ballets and Picasso's contemporary artistic and personal preoccupations, it is proposed that both thematically and stylistically they form an integral part of his total oeuvre. Picasso's use of visual images is characterised as metaphoric, and an attempt is made to explicate the process by which metaphor operates in his art.

Five ballets are discussed - Parade (1917), Le Tricorne (1919), Pulcinella (1920), Cuadro Flamenco (1921) and Mercure (1924). Drop-curtains were made for only three of these, viz. Parade, Le Tricorne, and Mercure. A study of the imagery of these curtains reveals that in them Picasso explored thematic concerns that are central to his oeuvre as a whole. Interpretation of the stage-sets for all the ballets likewise shows a thematic consistency. Two major thematic concerns are found to be operative - the notion of

the dialectical relationship between life and death, and a concern with reality, especially in the context of the interaction between artist and public, or performance and audience.

It is shown that, while fulfilling the demands of stage decoration, Picasso simultaneously infuses his ballet designs with an often profound content, the hidden nature of which is in keeping with the artist's overall creative process.

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204. Study for Pulcinella set, Paris 1920, pencil and gouache, 23.5 x 34, Musée Picasso, Paris.

205. Study for Pulcinella set, Paris 1920, pencil and gouache, 23.5 x 34, Musée Picasso, Paris.

206. Study for Pulcinella set, Paris 1920, pencil and gouache, 23.5 x 34, Musée Picasso, Paris.

207. Sketch for final set Pulcinella, Paris 1920, pencil and gouache, 23.5 x 33.5, Musée Picasso, Paris.

208. The Port of Malaga, Malaga, c.1889, oil, 18 x 24, present location unknown.

209. The Boatmen ('To Be or not to Be'), Barcelona 1900, illustration for poem by J. Oliva Bridgman published in Joventut, 16 August 1900, location of original drawing unknown

210. Boat Putting out to Sea, Paris 1902, india ink, 23.5 x 31.5, present location unknown.

211. Blind Minotaur Guided by a Little Girl in the Night, Paris, November 1934, aquatint, 24.7 x 34.7.

212. Blind Minotaur, Paris, 22 September 1934, etching and engraving, 25.2 x 34.8.

213. Blind Minotaur, Paris 23 October 1934, etching, 23.9 x 30.

214. Blind Minotaur, Paris, 4 November 1934, etching and engraving, 22.6 x 31.2.

215. Composition with Minotaur, Paris, 9 May 1936, india ink and gouache, 50 x 65, Jan Krugier Gallery, Geneva.

216. Minotaur in a Boat, Paris, 19 February 1937, pastel and pencil, 20.5 x 23, Marina Picasso.

217. Study for Pulcinella set, Paris c.1923 (?), gouache, 22 x 23, Musée Picasso, Paris. Inscribed "Gaité Lyrique 1923".

218. Programme cover for Ballets Russes Season, Theatre Gaité Lyrique, Paris 1923.

219. Cuadro Flamenco, London 1921, photograph taken during a performance.

220. Cuadro Flamenco set. Basket of Flowers, Paris 1921, fragment of the set, tempera on canvas, 96 x 118, Galerie des Etats-Unis, Cannes.

221. Study for Cuadro Flamenco set, Paris 1921, gouache, Musée Picasso.

222. Boxes at the Theatre, Madrid 1901, black chalk, 20.7 x 35.7, Kroller-Muller Rijksmuseum, Otterlo.

223. Auguste Renoir, La Loge, 1874, oil on canvas, 80 x 64, Courtauld Institute Galleries, London.

224. Cuadro Flamenco set. The Box (lower left), Paris 1921, fragment of the set, tempera on canvas, 187.5 x 143, J.K.Thannhauser, New York.

225. Constantin Guys, Au Theatre, undated, water-colour, 181 x 248, Albertina, Vienna.

226. Cuadro Flamenco set. The Box (lower right), Paris 1921, fragment of the set, tempera on canvas, 190 x 130, Jacques Helft, Paris.

227. Study for Cuadro Flamenco set, Paris 1921, pencil, size unknown, Musée Picasso, Paris.

228. Study for Cuadro Flamenco set, Paris 1921, pencil, size unknown, Musée Picasso, Paris

229. Cuadro Flamenco set. The Box (upper left), Paris 1921, fragment of the set, tempera on canvas, 140 x 132, formerly collection of the artist.

230. Scene from Mercure, Paris 1924, photograph.

231. Scene from Mercure, Paris 1924, photograph.

232. Study for Mercure set, "Night", Paris 1924, pencil, size unknown, location unknown.

233. Mercure set, first scene, "Night", Paris 1924, photograph.

234. Mercure set, second scene, "The Bath of the Three Graces", Paris 1924, photograph.

235. Mercure set, finale of second scene, "The Three Graces and Cerberus", Paris 1924, photograph.

236. Mercure set, third scene, "The Rape of Proserpine", Paris 1924, photograph.

237. The Horse, One of the Managers from Parade, Paris 1917, photograph.

238. Joan Miró. Circus Horse, 1927, oil on canvas, 100 x 81, Private Collection.

I. INTRODUCTION

In the years between 1917 and 1924 Picasso was uniquely occupied in creating designs for five ballet productions: Parade (1917), Le Tricorne (1919), Pulcinella (1920), Cuadro Flamenco (1921) and Mercure (1924). The first four of these ballets were commissioned by the great Russian impresario, Serge Diaghilev, for his Ballets Russes which dominated the European and American ballet worlds between 1909 and 1929. The fifth work, Mercure, was originally created for the French aristocrat, Comte Etienne de Beaumont, but Diaghilev acquired the rights and presented it in 1927. These ballet designs are unique in that they are the only works from his enormous oeuvre that Picasso produced while working for patrons and in collaboration with artists in other media (composers, choreographers, writers and professional scene painters). Picasso's involvement in these five projects provides a lone instance of a body of production within his total oeuvre which forms an integrated whole. The potentially self-contained nature of this work allows it to be viewed as a creative episode set apart from, or at least alongside, the mainstream of the artist's oeuvre.

Such a view is strengthened by problems of style which Picasso's work of this period presents. The dates of the ballet designs coincide with the period which is loosely referred to as a 'classical' or 'neo-classical' interlude in the evolution of Picasso's style; labels which no sooner applied, raise questions about their very meaning. Thus there is a tendency in the literature to identify both the ballet designs and the neo-classical style of the years 1917-1924 as something of a hiatus in Picasso's oeuvre. This, in turn, encourages a treatment of the ballet designs as separate from (and by implication as less serious than) the rest of Picasso's work; or a contextualisation of them within the framework of the demands of the theatre and of the other members of the creative team; or a location of the designs alongside similar contemporary projects which occupied Picasso's fellow artists. While it is acknowledged that Picasso's drop-curtain and set designs for Diaghilev's Ballets Russes can be viewed in the overall context of that innovative ballet company, and that it is likely that Picasso familiarised himself with the work of his Russian contemporaries who were working for Diaghilev, this study does not aim to provide such a view but rather to address the issue of the place which Picasso's designs occupy within his oeuvre as a whole, and specifically in relation to the underlying content to be found there. Both thematically and stylistically the ballet designs can be viewed as an integral part of the mainstream of Picasso's oeuvre. The method by which such an integration will be approached depends on a definition of the way in which metaphor functions in Picasso's oeuvre.

The front-of-stage drop-curtains, which formed a prelude to three of the ballets, and the stage settings for all productions are examined in both their preliminary and final forms. Costume designs have not been included in this study primarily because with few exceptions they are anecdotal and largely descriptive of the characters which wear them. Although a large number of Picasso's sketches for costumes were gathered in the course of the preparatory work for the present study, they were considered too numerous to be included in it and may conceivably form the basis of a future consideration.

Picasso's approach to the creation of these designs was not consistent. The final works themselves vary in structural complexity: thus, for example, the drop-curtain for Parade, which is multi-figured and spatially complex contrasts with the more simplified structure of the Mercure drop-curtain. While both are interpreted as revealing dense layers of meaning, the process of interpretation is, of necessity, more lengthy in the case of Parade. Equally, the project for the Pulcinella set not only progressed through different stages of intention, but each stage was reached via the execution of a great number of designs making this a particularly complex area to explicate. Although such variations within the structure of the designs themselves have dictated the relative proportions of their treatment in this study, these should not be seen as distinctions in their relative significance. Rather the cumulative aspect of all the works under consideration here provides the justification for their contextualisation both thematically and stylistically within

Picasso's total oeuvre. Close examination of the symbolic language which Picasso used in the ballet designs reveals its congruence with the themes that were central to his art as a whole.

II. THE PROCESS OF METAPHOR

> If anyone among modern painters has succeeded in fully expressing and completely realising that poetry of form which comes from secret and hidden correspondences and from the profoundest depths of being, that one is certainly Picasso, the most inventive, metaphorical and poetic of us all.[1]

Severini articulates an appreciation of Picasso's oeuvre that is frequently evoked in order to provide an explanation for that which cannot be explained by logical modes of analysis. Appropriate as these words of a fellow-painter are, they do not, however, go far enough in characterising the precise nature of that "poetry of form" which Picasso's works attain.

The particular point of view from which the art historian chooses to approach Picasso's work can range from the rational organisation of the catalogue raisonné to the intuitive logic of the psychoanalytical interpretation.[2] More often a number of dif-

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[1] Gino Severini, from Cinquanta Disegni di Pablo Picasso (1903-1938) Novara 1943, p.22 translated by P.S. Falla, in Marilyn McCully (ed.), A Picasso Anthology, London 1981, pp.73-74.

[2] This latter is the approach adopted, for example by Mary M. Gedo, Picasso, Art as Autobiography, Chicago 1980. Ernst Gombrich, "Introduction: Aims and Limits of Iconology", in Symbolic Images, London 1972, p.17, cautions against this approach: "Any human action, including the painting of a picture, will be the resultant of an infinite number of

ferent approaches are combined in analyses of this complex oeuvre whose range was succinctly pinpointed by Anthony Blunt in 1966:

> the artist's work as a whole... is so varied and so complex that there are no short-cuts.... the critic who begins to analyse any individual work... finds himself led further and further in his attempt to understand the workings of the artist's imagination.... His eye and mind... employ so many methods, draw on so many sources - visual, literary, philosophical, political, musical - and combine all they see and know into such startlingly new inventions that the historian is bound to approach his painting from a dozen angles.[3]

It is with caution that the historian of art who is inevitably also its interpreter, undertakes such a task.

In the present study Picasso's designs for the ballet have been singled out for iconographic scrutiny. It is only since the artist's death in 1973 that these ballet designs created between 1917 and 1924 have been viewed by art historians as anything more than decorative settings for the theatre. Cooper's comprehensive volume on Picasso's theatre oeuvre was seminal in outlining Picasso's career as theatre designer and in presenting a large number of the theatre works from the artist's private collection.[4] Subsequent writing has focused particularly on the ballet Parade, generally considered to be the most innovative of these works.[5] Other writing has sought to contextualise Picasso's

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contributory causes... the innumerable chains of causation which ultimately brought the work into being must on no account be confused with its meaning".

[3] Anthony Blunt, Picasso's Guernica, (Whidden Lectures for 1966), Oxford 1969, p.7.

[4] Douglas Cooper, Picasso Theatre, London and New York 1968.

[5] The principal studies are, Richard H. Axsom, 'Parade': Cubism

ballets in a general period in which painters of the early twentieth century avant-garde collaborated in ballet productions, and to examine in greater detail Picasso's specific contribution as a theatre designer.[6]

The iconographic approach which forms the substance of the present inquiry stems from a different viewpoint. Within the context of the supremely visual orientation of the ballet, it is tempting to consider the poetic qualities of Picasso's painting as simply being congruent with the decorative and evocative aims of stage design. Closer scrutiny suggests, however, that those "secret and hidden correspondences" which lead to the labyrinthine structure of his oeuvre as a whole are present, too, in the ballet designs. A study of Picasso's painted curtains and sets reveals that in spite of the fact that these works were commissioned to fit spe-

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as Theater, PhD Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1974 (Garland, Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts, London and New York 1979); Conrad de Bold, "'Parade' and 'Le Spectacle Intérieur': The Role of Jean Cocteau in an Avant-Garde Ballet", PhD Dissertation, Emory University, 1982 (University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor and London 1983); Earl Rosenbaum, "Erik Satie: 'Parade'", MA Thesis, California State University, Fullerton, 19?1 (University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor and London 1982); and Marianne Martin, "The Ballet 'Parade': A Dialogue between Cubism and Futurism", Art Quarterly, Spring 1978, pp.85-111.

[6] Melissa McQuillan, "Painters and the Ballet 1917-1926: An Aspect of the Relationship between Art and Theater", PhD Dissertation, New York University, 1979 (University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor and London 1980), looked at all of Picasso's ballets as part of a study of the whole question of French painters' work for the ballet between 1914 and 1929. More recently Sabine Vogel, "Pablo Picasso als Bühnenbild und Kostümentwerfer für die Ballets Russes", PhD Dissertation, University of Köln, 1983, has examined the Picasso ballets in the context of twentieth century theatre design. Although Vogel's study assimilates most of the literature to date, she does not appear to have been cognisant of Mc Quillan's study.

cific scenarios, their mode of expression is characteristic of Picasso's general oeuvre. Not only do they employ closely related symbolic images, but the relationship between image and meaning is shifting and evocative. William Rubin has recently remarked on this relationship:

> to demand a Cartesian logic from level to level in Picasso's work is to mistake the nature of his invention. While Picasso always begins with a nuclear idea, the multiple, interlocking levels of meaning of his more ambitious pictures are more the fruit of associations developed during the course of improvisation than the result of planning - and are consequently not without contradictions...[7]

In order to pursue a study of the meaning of the images in Picasso's ballet designs, it has been necessary, while retaining an awareness of their original contexts, to detach these works as far as possible from their immediate role as adjuncts to theatrical productions and to re-locate them as an integral part of Picasso's oeuvre. Since it is clear that an interpretation of meaning in Picasso's art cannot follow logical and linear pathways it is essential to establish a theoretical framework within which the poetic and metaphoric nature of Picasso's oeuvre can be examined. An interpretation of his oeuvre in terms of parameters of poetry and metaphor is congruent with Picasso's own view of his art.

> He was constantly wanting to advance beyond painting into poetry, music and other fields, not to remain stuck with pictorial art.[8]

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[7] William Rubin, "From Narrative to 'Iconic' in Picasso: The Buried Allegory in 'Bread and Fruitdish on a Table' and the Role of 'Les Demoiselles d'Avignon'," Art Bulletin, LXV (4), December 1983, pp.615-649, p.642.

[8] Joan Miró, from an interview (1979) with Perry Miller Adato

Such an interpretation is also allowed in traditional art historical approaches to iconography and iconology, and corresponds to Panofsky's third category of "intrinsic meaning" or content. While writers like Gombrich and Klein likewise acknowledge that iconographic analysis extends beyond a definition of direct relationships between the image or symbol and that for which it stands, they do not explore the nature of these extended relationships nor their specific possibilities in the twentieth century.[9] Gombrich refers to the open nature of poetic language and stresses the interpretative problems which it presents:

> the 'openness' of the symbol is an important constituent of any real work of art.... But the historian... should realise the impossibility of ever drawing an exact line between the elements which signify and those which do not.[10]

Similarly Klein differentiates between the literal or "vocabulary type" meaning of a work of art and what he calls "unexplicit, almost unconscious symbols".[11] According to Cirlot:

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for the film Picasso: A Painter's Diary (1980), in McCully (ed.), A Picasso Anthology, p.127.

9 Erwin Panofsky, "Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art" in Meaning in the Visual Arts, New York 1955 (reprinted 1983), pp.51-81; Gombrich, "Aims and Limits of Iconology"; Robert Klein, "Some Thoughts on Iconography" in Form and Meaning, New York 1979, pp.143-160. While both Gombrich and Klein see the limits of iconological exegesis being set by the genre, "what is or is not possible within a given period or milieu" (Gombrich, p.7) neither writer confronts the problem of defining such a milieu in the context of the 20th century.

10 Gombrich, "Aims and Limits of Iconology", p.18.

11 Klein, "Some Thoughts on Iconography", p.150.

> the symbol proper is a dynamic and polysymbolic reality, imbued with emotive and conceptual values: in other words, with true life.[12]

Cirlot's study underlines the complexity of all forms of symbolism as well as their interrelatedness and ultimately metaphysical aims. Cirlot reviews the principal contributions to the theory of symbolism, an area which cannot be argued extensively here. It is sufficient to acknowledge that poetic or metaphoric discourse employs images or symbols. The poetic or metaphoric character of a visual language depends, however, not only on the individual images it employs but on the way in which it employs them. If Picasso's art is to be viewed as poetic discourse, then the nature of that discourse itself must first be examined. This will be done with reference particularly to two models, one linguistic, the other concerned with the theory of myth creation.[13]

In his study of the linguistic nature of poetry, Philip Wheelwright characterises poetic language as "tensive language". Open and vital, tensive language is in opposition to the logical language of literal statement which has fixed meaning and is therefore closed and static.

> Meanings always flit mockingly beyond the reach of men with nets and measuring sticks. And the most vital problem of semantics (keeping the word in its broad sense, as the study of meanings) is just how

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[12] Juan-Eduardo Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols, New York 1962, p.xi.

[13] Philip Wheelwright, Metaphor and Reality, Bloomington, 1962, and Peter Munz, When the Golden Bough Breaks: Structuralism or Typology? London and Boston 1973. These two studies seemed particularly appropriate to an explication of the poetic mode in Picasso's art, and I am indebted to them for much of the argument which follows.

> far and by what devices it is possible to give such fluid uncaptured meanings some kind of linguistic expression.[14]

According to Wheelwright, tensive, poetic language is predicated on "finding suitable word-combinations to represent some aspect or other of the pervasive living tension".[15] Thus a link is maintained between the metaphorical language of poetry and reality. The tensions which characterise poetic expression reflect the ineffable tensions of reality.

In applying criteria of poetic language to the analysis of painting, the formal differences between these two types of expression cannot be ignored. While poetry is tied to words and syntax, painting consists of images and their disposition within the picture plane. This latter, which might well be referred to as the painting's 'syntax' in order to promote an analogy between the two forms, includes relationships of space, scale, format, colour, texture and line. Such relationships are primarily apprehended visually, i.e., in direct communication with the senses, and only secondarily subjected to intellectual analysis. Conversely, whilst the verbal images of a poem may evoke mental 'pictures', its apprehension is dependent on an intellectual grasp of the words themselves.[16] Notwithstanding the distinction, both poetry and

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[14] Wheelwright, Metaphor and Reality, p.39.

[15] Ibid., pp.47-48.

[16] Clearly, only representational modes are included here. Non-representational modes, such as the free word association of Dada, and the brutism and zaum of the Italian and Russian Futurists, suggests a blurring of boundaries between the two arts, which, while not irrelevant to Picasso's work, are beyond the scope of this study.

painting in their most developed forms give expression to "fluid uncaptured meanings".

Picasso's works are loosely characterized as 'poetic' inasmuch as the 'real' or natural identities of their imagery assume extended meanings by virtue of their associational values within the painting. Similarly the word in poetry assumes its fluid qualities by associations which gain emphasis from devices such as rhyming, assonance and alliteration, which are appropriately known as figures of speech. Although according to strict grammatical definition metaphor can simply be seen as one such figure of speech, Wheelwright has justifiably seen the necessity for extricating metaphor from this rather limiting classification:

> The test of essential metaphor is not any rule of grammatical form, but rather the quality of semantic transformation that is brought about... What really matters in a metaphor is the psychic depth at which the things of the world... are transmuted by the cool heat of the imagination.[17]

Metaphor thus defined, assumes greater expressive power than symbol. Although both terms are used widely and often synonomously in iconographic studies, it is important at this stage to make a distinction between them. A symbol is generally understood to imply a direct correlation between itself and that for which it stands, while metaphor by its very etymology encompasses a greater flexibility and therefore mobility of meaning.[18] In a hierarchy

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[17] Wheelwright, Metaphor and Reality, p.71.

[18] Wheelwright, Metaphor and Reality, p.68, points out that "By its etymology... the word implies motion (phora) that is also change (meta)" and chooses metaphor over both symbol and image to elucidate the poetic process.

of what may loosely be termed 'symbolic language', the symbol proper stands at a lower level than metaphor. The symbol is 'real' inasmuch as it is derived from the natural world. It concretises an abstract idea or event. Any number of examples spring to mind; the dog symbolises fidelity, the moon passivity, a clenched fist power. The symbol is thus stable and repeatable, its associative value, once established, remains fixed. The metaphor, while sharing the symbolic and associative qualities of the symbol, extends these by shaking the fixed relationship between symbolic entity and that for which it stands. More important, metaphors do not maintain the one-to-one correlation with the natural world which is a defining aspect of the symbol.[18] In fact, the power of metaphor lies, as Wheelwright has noted, in its capacity to transmute the things of the world, to bring about semantic transformation. Peter Munz has developed the notion whereby metaphor is seen to transcend nature:

> In the construction of a metaphor we are putting together several originally disparate elements into one single complex, which, by itself, cannot be found originally in nature. The creation of metaphor presupposes a metamorphosis, a transposition of elements into a new assembly.'[19]

Metaphor removes things and images from their normal expected relationships and moves them into new positions vis-a-vis each other

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[18] The foregoing distinction between symbol and metaphor obviates the necessity of making subtle distinctions between kinds of symbol for example Fromm's differentiation of degree between "conventional", "accidental" and "universal" symbols, as cited in Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols, p.xxx.

[19] Munz, When the Golden Bough Breaks, p.55, (italics added). Much of the argument that follows, concerning the nature of metaphor is indebted to Munz's hypothesis.

and the things around them. Thus it is not the individual images per se but the richness of the associations they evoke and the convergence of all the associations of all the images in the painting that comprise the metaphoric mode. Literal statement, whether verbal or visual, is bound to natural relationships which are fixed. As long as the mind accepts the preconditions of the visible natural world, relationships can only be shifted within the parameters of that world. As soon as the mind moves outside the realm of one-to-one correlations between words and the things they describe, it moves away from the literal and in the direction of the metaphorical. The adherence of symbols to objects drawn from reality or the natural world is a limiting factor. If these known or real objects are dismembered, detached from their natural contexts and reassembled then the limitation is removed and an infinite number of new relationships becomes possible.[21] Symbols, whatever added or new values they may take on through association or usage, are all natural or cultural objects.[22] Symbols are thus closely linked to literal statement and the natural world. Indeed, it is this relationship which provides their universal qualities or correspondences - the very things which allow them to be recognised as symbols. Metaphor, on the other hand, represents a move away from such direct and fixed relationships towards the open, tensive form of expression that constitutes poetry. Meta-

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[21] The parallel between this process and that of Picasso's Cubism proves illuminating in characterising the poetic nature of that style.

[22] Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols, p.li., notes that "All natural and cultural objects may be invested with a symbolic function which emphasises their essential qualities in such a way that they lend themselves to spiritual interpretation".

phor is dependent not on universal relationships but on the individual's ability to forge new and unexpected relationships from a given vocabulary of natural and cultural objects. This imaginative process is one which involves the transformation or metamorphosis of such objects. While symbols are undoubtedly a component of poetry, it is in their transformed metaphorical state that they constitute the substance of the highest poetic expression. The creation of metaphor is thus a process whereby natural objects or simple symbols are rearranged to create new complex symbolic elements. It is a necessary process insofar as there are insufficient simple symbols to correspond to the infinite range of the human mind's conceptualising and emotional powers:

> the metaphor which is essentially a transposition or transfer, an assembly of naturally separate and/or disparate elements, is the symbol par excellence, while the simple non-metaphorical symbol is nothing but a first rough stab at symbolisation. Only the metaphor functions efficiently as a symbol.[21]

In the elaboration of words or images into metaphorical statements, Munz makes another important distinction, between purely formal elaboration based on the internal logic of the image - a process which is self-referential in art and leads to pure aestheticism or abstraction - and elaboration according to what he describes as a typological series which moves towards achieving a more and more concise expression of the artistic content or "feeling-state":

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[21] Munz, When the Golden Bough Breaks, p.63.

> *The one series of images hangs together because of* the logical relationship between the sentences that describe them; and the other series hangs together because each image is a symbol for a state of mind, so that the rationale for the series of images is not provided by the logical relationship of the sentences that describe them or the inherent beauty of their visual appearance, but by the fact that the images are a typological series which progressively defines and specifies a state of feeling.[24]

The creation of poetic *metaphor is an extension of the inherent* symbolic nature of all human thought processes. This is a spontaneous process which does not proceed along a logical pathway.

> Long ago Vico explained that poetry is not written for aesthetic reasons to delight the mind and adorn a drab world, but that it is a necessity. Imagination, he explained, is not a passive reflection of the external world but the mode in which the mind or spirit becomes aware of itself and assumes a definition by spontaneously shaping the several features of the external world into a concrete image. Imagination thus creates metaphor and myth regardless of the process of logical analysis...[25]

Metaphor shares many of its characteristics with myth, indeed for Munz, just as metaphors are extended symbols, so myths are "no more than extreme cases of metaphor".[26]

> By taking a piece or a feature here and a piece there, and by detaching them from their natural context and re-assembling them together, there is no limit to the new series of images and stories one can create.[27]

This is the manner in which myths are created. Each successive rearrangement is aimed at a more precise, yet at the r time more

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[24] Ibid., p.67.

[25] Ibid., p.107.

[26] Ibid., p.55.

[27] Ibid., p.68.

complex, profound and ultimately metaphysical meaning. This theory satisfies Munz's demand for a method of interpreting myth which is inherent in the mythology itself and thus not dependant on the bias of the interpreter. Central to his thesis is seriality, the constantly recurring nature of mythological themes and the notion that these recurrences are not of equal value (i.e., simply substitutions) but are related typologically. The typological series stretches from the "real" or natural world at one end of the scale to the supernatural or metaphysical at the other. Between these two extremes the process of dislocation and rearrangement of symbolic images occurs, and the vehicles of this process are metaphors or their extensions - myths. It may not be simply coincidental that in the opening pages of his book Munz illustrates his argument for typology not only with an example drawn from the visual arts, but with one which directly refers to Picasso. He uses the example of Picasso's series of canvases based on Manet's Le Déjeuner Sur l'Herbe which in turn is dependent on a sixteenth century engraving after Raphael by Marcantonio Raimondi, as one example which indicates that typological series are not confinad to traditional mythological systems.[28]

Before examining how metaphor and myth manifest themselves in Picasso's work, two important methodological points need to be made. Although Munz describes a series, he is careful to point out that such a series does not necessarily develop chronologically:

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[28] Ibid., p.6.

> Let us consider... myths of sacrifice. They can be arranged in such a way that at the bottom of the series there is a story in which there is a sacrifice, but no indication as to who is being sacrificed to whom and for what purpose.... Next comes a version in which one or more of these features is made more specific, and so forth, until, at the top of the series we have the same theme treated very specifically, as, say, the sacrifice of the Son of God by God for the sake of redemption. The increase in specification need not necessarily correspond to the succession of these treatments of the theme in time. There is no absolute necessity why a general and unspecified version should be an earlier one...[29]

Secondly, Munz shows that there is continual feedback from the top to the bottom of the series, so that more developed metaphors can illuminate the less specific symbols in the hierarchy.[30] These observations, taken together, imply that all forms or expressions of a particular metaphor or mythical theme can be taken into account in interpreting any one example within a series. As the examples from Picasso's oeuvre discussed below will show, movement back and forth chronologically is imperative to a full understanding of the works. Images continually foreshadow and illuminate each other. The process of stimulus and feedback is intrinsic to the notion of metaphoric reshuffling and transmutation.

In his recent article, Rubin crystallised the methodological problems posed by Picasso's oeuvre.[31] The unprecedented and uniquely prolific nature of this oeuvre and its vast range of sources not only defies "Cartesian logic" but frequently suggests

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[29] Ibid., p.39.

[30] Ibid. See especially Chapter 7, "Myths and Metaphysics", pp.50-54.

[31] Rubin, "From Narrative to 'Iconic' in Picasso", p.642.

that the imagery may be the result of a process of selection which is either random or capricious or both. While certain major themes can be isolated, many others appear to lie outside or hover on the fringes of these. Virtuoso stylistic shifts and an absence of explanatory statements by the artist compound the difficulties of classification and interpretation. On another level, the many personal references and innuendos in the works invoke the possibility of a personal or subjective mythology. This is often fused or confused with equally numerous references to traditional mythological characters and narratives. When viewed from the perspective of the definitions of metaphor and myth outlined above, however, many of these problems are subsumed within the logic of the imaginative or poetic process. This viewpoint can never exhaustively 'explain' the oeuvre in its entirety, but its account of the process is instructive and illuminating.

There is ample testimony to the metaphysical intention implicit in Picasso's artistic search. Penrose has written: "The work of Picasso is above all an inquiry by visual means into the nature of that elusive thing reality".[12] And Picasso himself affirmed these metaphysical links:

> No explanation can be given in words. Except that by some liaison between the man creator and what is highest in the human spirit, something happens which gives this power to the painted reality.[13]

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[12] Roland Penrose, "Beauty and the Monster", in John Golding and Roland Penrose (eds.), Picasso in Retrospect, New York 1980, p.102.

[13] Hélène Parmelin, Picasso: Women, Cannes and Mougins 1954-63, New York 1964, p.16, cited by Dore Ashton, Picasso on Art: A Selection of Views, New York 1972 (reprinted 1980) p.25.

And:

> Any form which conveys to us the sense of reality is the one which is furthest removed from the reality of the retina; the eyes of the artist are open to a superior reality; his works are evocations.[34]

Although it would be extremely difficult to isolate any single typological series within Picasso's oeuvre, it is feasible to view thematic developments and elaborations in terms of Munz's characterisation of the reshuffling and transforming process. Key works relating to the harlequin theme, which is a significant issue in the ballet designs, can be used to demonstrate this.

The first stage of symbolisation involves the real, natural or unelaborated symbol - in the case of harlequin a generalised image such as the Harlequin (1901: Fig.1) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The figure is presented simply and directly. His very identity and the flattened style of painting speak of the lonely world of the performer/outcast, but the symbol is not elaborated beyond this.[35] In At the Lapin Agile (1905: Fig.2) the harlequin, though

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Rubin, "From Narrative to 'Iconic' in Picasso", p.643, reminds us that "virtually all of what passes for Picasso's own words in books... are, in fact, reconstructions by the authors", and Ashton herself (p.xvii) points out the limitations of reproducing Picasso's views on art via third person accounts. Ashton observes that, as one such reporter, Hélène Parmelin is considered extremely accurate. I am well aware of the methodological dangers involved in placing too great a reliance on Picasso's statements as support for interpretations of his art. I believe, however, that they have a place in any study of the works as illuminations of his complex and often contradictory philosophical views.

[34] Dor de la Souchère, Picasso in Antibes, New York 1960, cited in Ashton, Picasso on Art, pp.82-83.

[35] Many works of this year feature solitary figures. The earliest of these is Child Holding a Dove, cat. no. VI.14 in Pierre Daix and Georges Boudaille, Picasso: The Blue and Rose Periods. A

still relatively straightforward in its presentation, becomes more specific. It is possible to identify the artist's self-portrait as harlequin, as well as the figures of his companion Germaine (later Pichot) and the guitarist Frédé, owner of the Lapin Agile.[36] Based on 'actual' persons, the figures assume a poetic quality through their pictorial relationships and stylistic treatment. The three figures become linked on the picture surface through a flattening of form. A tension is set up between this linking of the forms and a feeling of alienation communicated through the averted gazes of the two foreground figures. Germaine is in sharp profile, her face white and unmodulated, Picasso/harlequin is expressively modelled and placed in three-quarter view. Completing the trio is the frontal, sketchy figure of the guitarist. His static pose and instrument held in suspended animation echo the silence of the couple.

These observations begin to uncover the complex structure of the metaphor. The artist, having assumed the costume of the harlequin/outcast is identified with that figure. His condition

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Catalogue Raisonné of the Paintings, 1900-1906, New York, 1967. Daix and Boudaille cat. nos. VI.17-19 and 23-25 can also be included in this category. The authors note (p.197) that these works mark a new turn in Picasso's oeuvre: "This famous painting [Child with a Dove] shows Picasso's search for a new direction at the end of the summer of 1901. He turns away from Parisian life to deal with more intimate subjects.... He also shows sympathy and unusual feeling for his subjects. It is as if... he expresses his need for a different plastic language to show the change in his attitude".

[36] Roland Penrose, Picasso. His Life and Work, London 1981, p.114, has identified these figures. See also Daix and Boudaille, Picasso: The Blue and Rose Periods, p.263, and William Rubin (ed.), Pablo Picasso: A Retrospective, Exhibition Catalogue, Museum of Modern Art, New York 1980, p.57.

is contextualised through both his female companion and the guitarist/cafe-owner. Frédé's presence specifies time and place, Germaine evokes Picasso's circle of friends at the time as well as the specific incident of Casagemas' death - one of the factors contributing to the artist's morbid condition after 1901.[37] Thus Picasso weaves himself into a mythological structure in which the real people and events are transmuted into more open symbolic structures. The Saltimbanque Family (1905: Fig.3), the Harlequin in the Museum of Modern Art, New York (1915: Fig.4) and the same museum's Three Musicians (1921: Fig.5) are works which, like At the Lapin Agile, employ harlequin and related types as signs for the artist and his closest circle of friends reshuffled both in terms of identity and style into complex iconographic statements.[38] These works demonstrate the constant process of re-shuffling and elaboration of symbols by which Picasso's oeuvre

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[37] Casagemas' suicide is interpreted as being the direct outcome of the failure of his relationship with Germaine.

[38] The literature on these well-known works is extensive and need not be summarised here. While writers are not always in complete agreement, all adopt methodologies congruent with the notion of metaphor as outlined in the present study. The principal sources are E.A.Carmean, Picasso: The Saltimbanques, Exhibition Catalogue, National Gallery of Art, Washington 1980; Ron Johnson, "Picasso's Parisian Family and the Saltimbanques", Arts Magazine, LI (5) 1977, pp.90-95; Carter Ratcliff, "Picasso's 'Harlequin': Remarks on the Modern's Harlequin", Arts Magazine, LI (5) 1977, pp.124-126; Theodore Reff, "Harlequins, Saltimbanques, Clowns and Fools", Artforum, October 1971, pp.30-43, and "Picasso's 'Three Musicians': Masters, Artists and Friends", Art in America, 68 (10), December 1980, pp.124-142; William Rubin, Picasso in the Collection of the Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1972; Peter von Blanckenhagen, "Picasso and Rilke, 'La Famille des Saltimbanques'", Measure, 1, Spring 1950, pp.165-185. An expanded discussion of harlequins will be found below in the discussion of the drop-curtain for Mercure.

reaches beyond the literal symbol into the domains of metaphor and myth and ultimately towards the metaphysical.

Picasso has been quoted more than once as rejecting the notion of copying his own work.[39] Nevertheless images and ideas appear and reappear in his oeuvre in a multiplicity of forms and the ultimate effect is a cumulative one in which meaning is progressively enriched and clarified. Thus the very process by which Picasso's art advances is one of a metaphorical series of reshufflings as characterised by Munz. He proposes that metaphor and myth are directed towards the articulation of "feeling-states" that cannot be expressed by simple language.[40] Picasso confirms that this is his direction too when he says: "Reality is only reached in silence";[41] and

> Solitude does not mean renunciation of the world. Rather it means placing oneself in an observatory whence it is possible to penetrate everything in the world, but filtered and clarified, not things but ideas and emotions. Woe to the artist who denies reality. And woe to the artist who confuses reality with the real.[42]

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[39] Two examples of such statements seem relevant here: "We must pick out what is good for us where we can find it - except from our own works. I have a horror of copying myself", (Christian Zervos, "Conversation avec Picasso", Cahiers d'Art, 10, 1935, pp.173-8, cited in Ashton, Picasso on Art, p.51), and "Repetition is contrary to the laws of the spirit, to its flight forward! Copying others is necessary, but what a pity to copy oneself!" (Souchère, Picasso in Antibes, p.27, cited in Ashton, Picasso on Art, p.33.)

[40] Munz, When the Golden Bough Breaks, p.67.

[41] Domenico Porzio and Marco Valsecchi, Picasso, his Life, his Art, London 1974 (reprinted 1979), p.86.

[42] Ibid.

Another current can be detected in Picasso's rejection of direct statement in favour of the expressive power of an open, poetic language. This is the influence of Nietzsche, with whose writings it is certain Picasso was familier early in his career.[43] A definitive statement as regards parallels between Nietzsche's thought and Picasso's art raises vast methodological problems, and is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Even on a fairly simplistic level, however, this influence is evident. An examination of certain iconographic motifs of Picasso's ballet designs in the light of Nietzsche's Birth of Tragedy suggests some fascinating

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43. Anthony Blunt and Phoebe Pool, Picasso: The Formative Years. A Study of His Sources, New York 1962, p.7, note that Picasso had probably read all of Nietzsche by the time he was seventeen years old. More recently, Ron Johnson and others have investigated other Nietzschean aspects of Picasso's art. In "Picasso's 'Old Guitarist' and the Symbolist Sensibility", Artforum, 13, September 1974, pp.56-62, Johnson has interpreted this work of 1903 in terms of the Nietzschean aesthetic of tragedy and music. In "The 'Demoiselles d'Avignon' and Dionysiac Destruction", Arts Magazine, 55 (2) October 1980, pp.94-101, Johnson interprets Les Demoiselles D'Avignon in terms of Nietzsche's philosophy of the artist as superman, and the Dionysiac as a primitive and nihilistic force. Mark Rosenthal, "The Nietzschean Character of Picasso's Early Development", Arts Magazine, 55, 2, October 1980, pp.87-91, sees Picasso's development from the Blue Period to Cubism as reflecting a Nietzschean model. The artist achieves an emancipation of the will and "a kind of self-glorification that rivals the Nietzschean superman"(p.90). Lydia Gasman, "Mystery, Magic and Love in Picasso, 1925-1938: Picasso and Surrealism", PhD Dissertation, Columbia University 1981 (University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor and London 1984), pp.637-638 and p.647, suggests Nietzsche as one source for the Dionysiac maenad in the Three Dancers (1925). Annette C. Costello, Picasso's 'Volland Suite', (PhD Dissertation, Bryn Mawr College 1978) Garland Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts, London and New York 1979, pp.195-211, examines the influence of Nietzsche on Picasso's portrayal of the opposing figures of minotaur and sculptor. Costello summarises (p.196) the evidence regarding Picasso's contact with Nietzschean thought around the turn of the century.

parallels.[44] Not least among these is Picasso's acknowledged incorporation of classical motifs and allusions into the works of this period. The very personal use that is made of these motifs recalls Nietzsche's equally personal, not to say idiosyncratic references to the Greek world in his first major work, The Birth of Tragedy.[45] Nietzsche wrote of the limited ability which words have to express the profound concepts of Greek tragedy:

> the myth does not find its adequate objectivization in the spoken word at all. The structuring of the scenes and the vividness of the images reveal a deeper wisdom than the poet himself can put into words...[46]

This is stated even more clearly later in Twilight of the Idols:

> Our real experiences... do not communicate themselves... because they lack the right words. In all talk there is a grain of contempt. Language, it seems, has only been invented for the average, for the middling and the communicable. Language vulgarises the speaker.[47]

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[44] The theme of music is one such theme which is discussed below (p.192) in relation to musical imagery in the Mercure drop-curtain.

[45] Friedrich Nietzsche, The Birth of Tragedy or Hellenism and Pessimism, translated by Wm. A. Haussman, Edinburgh and London 1909. The Birth of Tragedy was first published in Leipzig in 1872 under the title The Birth of Tragedy Out of the Spirit of Music. Nietzsche's writings first appeared in Spanish in 1899 (see Paul Ilie, "Nietzsche in Spain: 1890-1910", PMLA, LXXIX, March 1964, pp.80-96). By 1905 all his works were available in Spanish translation. Michael S. Silk and Joseph P. Stern, Nietzsche on Tragedy, Cambridge 1981, stress the the fact that Birth of Tragedy is not a systematic treatise but a loose theory of art which is in itself poetic. The problem of Picasso's 'classical' style in the period 1917-1925 is dealt with below (pp.257-261).

[46] The Birth of Tragedy, section 17, cited in Silk and Stern, Nietzsche on Tragedy, p.366. The authors identify this concern with the inadequacy of language as central to Nietzsche.

[47] Twilight of the Idols, IX, p.26, cited in Silk and Stern, Nietzsche on Tragedy, p.367.

This reference to language corresponds to what Wheelwright terms "steno-language" - the language of literal statement. Picasso's thinking, as reflected in some of his infrequent recorded statements, shows striking parallels to this position:

> No explanation can be given in words.... "You can search for a thousand years" Picasso says, "And you will find nothing. Everything can be explained scientifically today. Except that... painting remains painting because it eludes such investigation".[48]

Metaphorical language with its "fluid uncaptured meanings" is thus in Picasso's own terms the defining characteristic of painting. Like Nietzsche, Picasso rejected the scientific and rational in favour of the poetic. According to Kahnweiler

> Picasso, after reading from a sketch book containing poems in Spanish, says to me: "Poetry - but everything you find in these poems one can also find in my paintings. So many painters today have forgotten poetry in their paintings - and it is the most important thing: poetry".[49]

Like Nietzsche, too, Picasso locates the revelatory power of art in "the structuring of the scenes and the vividness of the images" rather than in the vulgarising effects of explanatory words. This is, in fact, the process of metaphor. The artist or myth-creator works with images, shuffling and rearranging his raw materials into metaphors which vary in the precision with which they express a "feeling-state". The most precise expression is a transcendent one, the "silence" in which true reality - an absolute which can only be intuited through its less precise forms - is attained. The

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[48] Parmelin, Picasso: Women, Cannes and Mougins, p.16, in Ashton, Picasso on Art, p.25.

[49] Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, "Gespräche mit Picasso" in Jahrbuch 59-60, Stuttgart 1959, pp.85-98, in Ashton, Picasso on Art, p.128.

value of Munz's typological model is that it de-mystifies the concept of myth and allows an explanation of diverse mythical systems that transcends particular differences. It thus becomes possible to view the oeuvre of a writer or a painter as parallelling the process of more traditional and widely accepted mythical systems such as the Bible or Greek mythology. At this point it becomes possible to distinguish between Picasso's use of traditional myths and the independent formation of his personal artistic mythology. Traditional myths are for him unelaborated metaphors or symbols, equivalent to all the other diverse sources that can be identified in his work.

In seeking to explain Picasso's use of mythological imagery and allusion in the Vollard Suite (1933), Costello has related this usage to "The complete freedom of the poet or playwright with regard to traditional myths [which] had become axiomatic by the 1930's", Picasso, she says

> draws freely upon ancient myths to give his characters and their dramatic exploits a universal significance. In the process Picasso alters the myths at will, incorporating references to Christianity, to Mithraism, to literary, theatrical and artistic masters and their masterpieces, and to his private life.... freely adapting them and freely interpreting them until he weaves a new and personal whole.[58]

Costello does not explore the possibility that the process which she outlines is precisely that of myth formation itself - a process of selecting and reshuffling disparate images, not in any random or arbitrary manner, but directed towards expressing a precise

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[58] Costello, Picasso's 'Vollard Suite', pp.333-335.

feeling. If Picasso's oeuvre in its whole as well as in its parts is seen as paralleling the formation of other mythical systems, then his diverse sources, styles and subjects indicate not simply the artist exercising an unbridled freedom in the cause of self-expression, but a deliberate process of rearrangement aimed at giving precise expression to an ontological condition.

III. PICASSO AND DIAGHILEV

When he agreed to design ballet sets and costumes, Pica[illegible] uniquely for him, submitted himself to the inevitable re[illegible]ons which specific commissions would place on his autonomy as an artist. McQuillan has noted the limitations which accompanied such patronage:

> the artistic material from which the ballet companies selected and to which the painters themselves were exposed was defined by place and time. The conditions of patronage imposed by the ballet companies upon the painters, whether explicit - those of the ballet, numbers of characters, etc. - or implicit, set parameters within which the internal connections and discoveries... took place.[51]

Serge Diaghilev, for whose company Picasso designed four major works,[52] has acquired a legendary notoriety for his autocratic and often high-handed ways of treating the artists who worked for him.[53] No aspect of his productions was allowed to pass without

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[51] McQuillan, "Painters and the Ballet", p.114.

[52] Parade (1917), Le Tricorne (1919), Pulcinella (1920), and Cuadro Flamenco (1921).

[53] Extensive literature and source material exists on Diaghilev and the Ballets Russes. A comprehensive bibliography can be found in Richard Buckle, Diaghilev, London 1972, pp.587-592. Works consulted in preparing the present study are listed in the bibliography.

the impresario's personal stamp of approval. Along with his dictatorial nature, Diaghilev had an intuitive sense of theatricality and a firm belief in originality, not only as a means of sustaining audience support but also to stimulate new levels of achievement in the arts. Picasso on the other hand valued his own artistic independence highly and would not have worked for Diaghilev if the limitations of the commissions had posed any sort of threat to it. Although it expressed itself in different ways, these two strong-willed and fiercely independent characters had in common a total involvement in art. It will be argued that Picasso not only fulfilled the demands of Diaghilev's commissions, but transcended them to create a number of ballet designs which reinforced and enriched his personal oeuvre. In order to provide a context for a detailed examination of the designs, the artistic interaction between Diaghilev and Picasso will be traced.

It is certain that Picasso recognised what, from the artist's point of view, constituted the unique nature of the ballet as compared with other contemporary forms of theatre. This was its visual orientation. Dance theatre is unique in that its primary appeal is to the visual senses. It thus demands a direct sensual, as opposed to an intellectual, response. No other form of performance relies on the visual sense to the same extent. Even the spectacle of opera is secondary to its musical component. A musical score can be read, as of course, can a stage play, but dance notation is a relatively recent introduction. Picasso capitalised on this dominant visual characteristic. Moreover, he transcended the limitations of time and place implicit in the ballets by transposing

his personal symbolism onto the given artistic material. Although recognised in the literature, the precise nature of this personal contribution has not been assessed. McQuillen, for example, has noted in connection with the sets for Le Tricorne that Picasso's contribution dominates the ballet. She views this contribution, however, as a purely formal one.[54]

Specific aspects of style and content will only be considered in outlining the Picasso-Diaghilev relationship insofar as they are relevant to the circumstances surrounding the commissions. These circumstances have generally to be pieced together from a variety of sources which include eye-witness accounts, hearsay reports and recollections which may or may not be substantiated by written evidence (letters, telegrams and contracts). Since Diaghilev often relied on behind-the-scenes manipulation of individuals, and verbal contracts, it can be assumed that some of the 'facts' regarding the commissions will remain unknown and a source of speculation.

Jean Cocteau is generally credited with bringing Diaghilev and Picasso together for the first time in 1916 in the context of the creation of Parade.[55] The relationship between Picasso and Diaghilev need not, however, be predicated on Cocteau's

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[54] McQuillen, "Painters and the Ballet", p.476.

[55] See Cooper, Picasso Theatre, p.16ff.; Axsom, 'Parade': Cubism as Theater, pp.33-34; de Beid, "'Parade' and 'Le Spectacle Intérieur'", p.22; Costello, Picasso's 'Vollard Suite', p.137.

machinations. It is necessary, rather, to examine the activities and preoccupations of both men in the years leading up to 1917, to set the stage for the meeting of the creative minds of Diaghilev and Picasso.

Although Picasso did not exhibit publicly in Paris between 1909 and 1917, his work could be seen at his dealers, Vollard (up till 1912), and Kahnweiler (1912 until the outbreak of war in 1914). His work also received considerable attention through the patronage of Gertrude Stein and her brother Leo, whose Saturday evening gatherings Picasso attended regularly between 1905 and 1914.[56] In her study of Cubist criticism, Gamwell has noted that "by the outbreak of the War Picasso and Braque were the established leaders of Parisian art".[57]

Largely due to the efforts of Kahnweiler, who had become his sole dealer in 1912, Picasso's work was well known in Germany in the years immediately preceding the War. Examples had been included in the first Blaue Reiter exhibition held in Munich at the end of 1911 which travelled to Cologne and Berlin in 1912, and one of his Cubist works was used as an illustration in the Blaue Reiter Almanach edited by Kandinsky and Marc and published in Munich in

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[56] Gertrude Stein, The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas, New York 1933 (reprinted 1966), pp.44-45, notes that Picasso first dined at her home on the rue de Fleurus shortly before he began her portrait in 1905. Although the 'Saturdays' were discontinued in 1914, Picasso continued to visit Gertrude Stein during the war years.

[57] Lynn W. Gamwell, "Cubist Criticism: 1907-1925", PhD Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles 1977, (University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor and London 1980), p.162.

May 1912.[58] At the International Sonderbund Exhibition in Cologne from May till September 1912, Picasso exhibited 16 works and was recognised by critics as the leading painter of his time.[59] On March 2, 1914, at the La Peau de l'Ours sale in Paris, the Saltimbanque Family (1905: Fig.3) was purchased by the German dealer Thannhauser for the record sum of 11,500 francs - a figure considerably higher than the pre-sale estimate of 8,000 francs, and one which drew considerable notice in the Parisian press.[60]

1912 and 1913, Diaghilev's ballet company worked extensively in Germany, performing in Berlin, Dresden, Cologne, Frankfurt and Munich. At the same time Diaghilev was travelling back and forth to Russia.[61] In September 1913 he holidayed in Germany and then went to St. Petersburg and Moscow where he engaged Natalia Goncharova to design Le Coq d'Or. It was on this same visit to Moscow that Diaghilev discovered and hired the young Massine as a dancer, returning with him to rejoin the company in Germany in late 1913.[62] By this time too, Picasso was well represented in the Moscow collections of the two renowned and wealthy Russian merchants Sergei Shchukin and Ivan Morosov.[63] His work was included

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58 Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, Kandinsky in Munich: 1896-1914, Exhibition Catalogue, New York 1982. p.305.

59 Peter Selz, German Expressionist Painting, Berkeley 1957, p.244.

60 See Cermean, Picasso: The Saltimbanques, pp.77-78 for details of the sale and the publicity surrounding it.

61 Buckle, Diaghilev, pp.260-269.

62 Ibid., pp.269-272.

63 Beverley W. Kean, All The Empty Palaces: The Merchant Patrons

in the third "*Jack of Diamonds*" exhibition which opened in St. Petersburg in January 1913 and moved to Moscow in March of that year.[44] It is also a well known fact of art history that Tatlin visited Picasso's studio in Paris in May 1913 where he saw the constructed reliefs which were to have such a formative influence on his own work. Diaghilev had also had direct contact with the Italian Futurists by this time, and both they and the Russians Goncharova and Larionov, who began to work almost exclusively for Diaghilev in 1914, had been greatly influenced by Picasso.

With his known interest in all the arts and his extensive travels ... took *him to Europe's major centres of artistic activity* during these pre-war years, it is likely that Diaghilev was well informed about Picasso and his considerable reputation well before

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of Modern Art in Pre-Revolutionary Russia, London, 1983, has documented these collections. Shchukin started collecting Picasso's work in 1908. By 1914 he was buying works at an average *rate of ten a year* (Kean, p.220). Kean writes that "it was only in Shchukin's home that one could trace the artist's complete development up to 1914" (p.208). From the spring of 1909 Shchukin's collection was open to the public every Sunday. Regular visitors included not only young, radical artists - Larionov, Goncharova, Tatlin and Malevich among these - but also members of more traditional art circles. Among the latter Kean mentions Benois, Korovin and Serov all close associates of Diaghilev (Kean pp.231-232). Although Kean does not document such an event, it is likely that Diaghilev also visited Shchukin's Moscow home to view the collection. Kean does note *frequent contact between the two men after Shchukin* settled in Paris in 1919. In this connection she refers to Diaghilev's interest in recent and revolutionary innovations in Russian art. "It was Shchukin's personal opinion that for Diaghilev, art was beyond politics, revolution was theatre and high fashion; he would have worked happily with Meyerhold, Lissitsky, Tatlin or Lenin himself to produce a major work" (p.264).

[44] John E.Bowlt, chronology, in Angelica Z.Rudenstein (ed.), Russian Avant-Garde Art: The George Costakis Collection, London 1981, *p.508*.

they met in 1916. It is possible that Diaghilev did not at first see Picasso's 1911-12 Cubist works as potentially suited for the theatre, since he himself was partial to spectacular, flamboyant and boldly colourful styles as settings for his ballets. Picasso's pre-1907 Blue and Rose period works, however, may have alerted Diaghilev to the fact that Cubism was not the only stylistic possibility in Picasso's repertoire.

Although Diaghilev spent the greater part of 1915 in Switzerland, at Ouchy near Lausanne, his Russian Ballet company gave a single performance in Paris on 29 December. This charity show which was a benefit for the British, French and Belgian Red Cross, was given on the eve of the company's departure for a coast-to-coast tour of America. Cocteau, who had been working as a volunteer for the French Red Cross, was probably present. Jacques-Emile Blanche recorded the performance in his diaries:

> Everyone was running down pre-war böche taste. The only mistake Diaghilev made was to commission Joseph from Strauss.
>
> The young editor of L'Envol, a magazine which goes in for symbolic-cubist art, took Astruc aside, saying 'Cher maître - ... This kind of art is finished - Schéhérasade is dead as mutton. Give us cubism in the theatre. My colleagues and I will have some ideas for you when the war is over...'[66]

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[66] Buckle, Diaghilev, p.298. Gabriel Astruc, a Parisian music publisher, acted as Diaghilev's agent, administrator and public relations director in Paris from the time of the impresario's first production of Russian music at the Opera in May 1907. Although the two men had a number of quarrels over the financing of the Russian Ballet seasons, Astruc remained a key figure in Diaghilev's organisation throughout its life. See Kenneth E. Silver "'Esprit de Corps': The Great War and French Art 1914-1925", PhD Dissertation, Yale University 1981 (University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor and London 1981) p.off., for a discussion of the social climate in France

Astruc would certainly have passed the young editor's remarks about 'cubism in the theatre' on to Diaghilev to be filed in the impresario's memory until his return from America in May 1916. Back in Europe, one of Diaghilev's first journeys was to Paris where he met Picasso for the first time. A Spanish season was due to open in Madrid at the invitation of King Alfonso on 26 May 1916. Amid the preparations for the Madrid opening, "Diaghilev made a quick dash for Paris".[66] There he was introduced to Picasso by Mme. Errazuriz.[67] It is not certain whether Cocteau was present at this meeting, nor whether Diaghilev discussed the possibility of a ballet with Picasso.

At the outbreak of war in August 1914, Picasso had suddenly been left without a dealer. His contract with Kahnweiler had not terminated, but the dealer had been forced into wartime exile in Switzerland. Although Leonce Rosenberg took over Picasso's dealership, there was no formal arrangement between them at this time.[68] Picasso would have viewed a ballet commission as at least

during World War I which denounced all forms of avant-garde art as 'boche' (the pejorative French term for 'German').

[66] Buckle, Diaghilev, p.311.

[67] Buckle, Diaghilev, p.312. Mme. Errazuriz was a wealthy Chilean woman. Buckle describes her as "a patron of the Cubists" and cites Kochno as the source for his claim that in the third week of May 1916 she took Diaghilev to Picasso's studio in the rue Schoelcher. According to Philippe Jullian, "The Lady from Chile", Apollo, 89, April 1969, pp.264-267, in May 1916 Mme. Errazuriz "settled for a while in Madrid where she received Diaghilev and his company" (p.266). Jullian goes on to claim that she met Picasso through the Ballets Russes, thus reversing the context. See also Axsom, 'Parade': Cubism as Theater, p.39, and McQuillan "Painters and the Ballet", p.100.

[68] Rubin (ed.), Pablo Picasso: A Retrospective, p.173.

a partial substitute for the fall-off in sales which the loss of his dealer must have meant. Once Kahnweiler was to have been the sole outlet for Picasso's work for the three-year period stipulated in their contract, and since a large number of works had been confiscated when the contents of the dealer's gallery were seized by the French authorities in 1914, the loss to Picasso, both in terms of a friend and a source of income, must have been considerable.

It was the war too, that changed the nature of Diaghilev's Russian Ballet. It has been mentioned above that at the time of the company's December 1915 performance in Paris, the flamboyant and exotic style of the productions was considered 'bôche'. Although pre-war analytic Cubism seems also to have fallen into this category, there is an element of ambivalence regarding the way in which Cubism was viewed. The more 'classical' style of synthetic Cubism, practised after 1912, was seen as being more in keeping with France's war-time ideals. It is in this sense that 'cubism in the theatre' would have been seen as desirable. Cocteau's goal of a 'renouvation du théâtre', was related to these ideals.[68] Cocteau's wish to revitalise French theatre in 1916 has been discussed in detail by Axsom:

> In place of a Theater of Naturalism, Cocteau wished to establish a Theate. of effects, one which would rely upon a synthesis of dance, music, and scenic design to engender formalised worlds of fantasy and delight... Diaghilev's Ballets Russes, whose theatrical aims were similar and established in prac-

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[68] Axsom, 'Parade': Cubism as Theatre, p.46.

> tice, was the perfect vehicle for Cocteau's ideas.[70]

It is in the context of a revolutionary art of the theatre that the Picasso-Diaghilev relationship must be seen. The attraction of designing for the ballet involved more than a simple shift in scale in Picasso's work. It opened the new avenue of performance art for him. Diaghilev would have been aware of the new moves which had gained ground in European theatre since the turn of the century. It is necessary to examine these developments here, since they have significant implications both for the Picasso-Diaghilev working relationship, and for the possibilities which they presented Picasso in pursuing his own artistic goals.

In Munich at the turn of the century, a revitalisation of traditional theatre took place in the form of the introduction of cabaret, which encouraged closer contact between audience and performers, and which introduced topical subject matter into performance.[71] When the cabaret was closed down for political reasons in 1903, the vital forms of the popular theatre, as developed in these cabarets, were introduced into conventional theatre:

> By 1908... the MunchnerKunstlertheatre, for which many of Munich's modern painters and graphic artists

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[70] Ibid.

[71] See Annabelle Melzer, Latest Rage the Big Drum: Dada and Surrealist Performance, Ann Arbor 1980 (Studies in the Fine Arts: the Avant-garde, 7), and Peter Jelavich, "Munich as Cultural Centre: Politics and the Arts" in Solomon Guggenheim Foundation, Kandinsky in Munich 1896-1914, pp.17-26, for the background to popular theatre in Germany at the outbreak of World War I.

> designed sets, used styles of acting derived from both popular circus and religious ritual.[72]

Hugo Ball lived in Munich at this time and was active in the avant-garde theatre there, together with Wedekind, Klee, Kandinsky and Kokoschka.[73] Ball was influenced by Kandinsky's ideas on the theatre, published in the Blaue Reiter Almanach. In a letter to his sister dated 27 May 1914, Ball wrote:

> I am planning a new book for the first of October, The New Theatre together with Kandinsky, Marc, Thomas von Hartmann, Fokine, von Bochtejeff. We together want to develop our ideas about the new artistic theatre with new scene paintings, music, figurines etc.... we will found an International Society for Modern Art including not only the theatre but also modern painting, modern music, modern dance.[74]

These revolutionary notions about theatre and performence were to come to fruition in 1916 in Zurich, where Ball's Cabaret Voltaire provided a focus for Dada performance.[75] In the prologue to his diary, Ball sketched a provisional outline for the new theatre:

> An artistic theatre would in theory look approximately like his:

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[72] Jelavich, "Munich as Cultural Centre", p.25.

[73] Melzer, Latest Rage the Big Drum, pp.14-16.

[74] Hugo Ball, Briefe 1911-1927, Einsiedler 1957, p.29ff., cited in Melzer, Latest Rage the Big Drum, p.24.

[75] The founding of the Cabaret Voltaire has been well chronicled in the literature on Dada. In addition to Ball's links with Munich and (probably via Kandinsky) with Russia too, there were also strong links with Paris. Etchings by Picasso were to be found on the walls of the Cabaret Voltaire along with paintings by Kandinsky, Leger, Matisse and Klee. Max Jacob's poetry was featured in early Cabaret Voltaire performances.

[76] Cited in Melzer, Latest Rage the Big Drum, p.25. The outbreak of war, however, prevented the realisation of such a project, and in 1915 Ball left Munich for Zurich.

Kandinsky.....Total work of Art
Marc.....Scenes for the Storm
Fokine.....On Ballet [76]

The inclusion of the Russian choreographer Michel Fokine, one of Diaghilev's earliest collaborators, is a significant link between the rarified atmosphere of traditional ballet and the new theatre of the avant-garde. Fokine had parted company with Diaghilev and the Russian Ballet in June 1912, after disagreements about Nijinsky's suitability as a choreographer. He was recalled at the end of 1913, however, when Nijinsky left Diaghilev's company and at about the same time that Diaghilev annexed the services of Massine and Goncharova.[77] Fokine had been living in Russia in the interim, and Ball's references indicate that he had made contact with the artists of the Russian avant-garde. Fokine's renewed relationsh p with Diaghilev at this point strengthens the link between Diaghilev and advanced ideas in theatre production. Theatre also featured in the experiments of the Russian Futurists. Malevich, closely associated with Larionov and Goncharova in the organisation of avant-garde exhibitions in Russia between 1910 and 1913, designed the sets and costumes for the avant-garde opera Victory Over the Sun, performed in St.Petersburg in December 1913. Malevich's costume designs included ten-foot high constructions, prophetic of the managers in Parade.[78] In 1914 Larionov and

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[77] Buckle, Diaghilev, pp.269-271.

[78] For Victory Over the Sun see Alexander Kruchenykh, "Victory Over the Sun" translated by Ewa Bartos and Victoria Nes Reiky, The Drama Review, 15 (4), Fall 1971, pp.92-124, and Charlotte Douglas, "Birth of a 'Royal Infant': Malevich and 'Victory Over the Sun'", Art in America, 62 (2), March-April 1974, pp.45-51. Three 'Managers' functioned as masters-of-ceremonies in the Parade scenario. Two of them, the French manager and the American manager, were dressed in ten-foot-high Cubist

Goncharova appeared in a Futurist film, Drama in Cabaret 13, which depicted a day in the life of Futurist artists.[78] Although precise dating is not clear, this must have been very close to the time of their first association with Diaghilev.[79] The apparently anomalous association of iconoclastic avant-garde artists and bourgeois theatre impresario can be interpreted in two ways. On the one hand it offered Diaghilev the possibility of including more progressive ideas in his productions while remaining within the Russian parameters of the ballet company's foundations. On the other hand, the opportunity to work for Diaghilev provided Goncharova and Larionov with the opportunity of reaching a wider audience within a context of theatre which was no longer exclusively conventional and traditional.

Diaghilev's considerable interest in the work of the Italian Futurists by 1914 is evidence that he was willing to look beyond traditional frameworks for new ideas in staging his ballets. The ideas of the Futurists would have provided a common source for both Picasso and Diaghilev. Marinetti's activities began well before the publication of the Futurist Manifesto in Paris in 1909. His Ubuesque play Le Roi Bombance was published in 1905, and performed

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constructions made of cardboard. The third Manager took the form of a pantomime-type horse (Fig.237).

[78] Kean, All the Empty Palaces, pp.249-250.

[79] According to Goncharova, "Towards the end of 1914 Larionov and I received an invitation from Diaghilev to leave Moscow and come and work with him abroad". Natalia Goncharova, "The Metamorphoses of the Ballet 'Les Noces'", Leonardo, 12, 1979, pp.137-143, p.137.

at the Théâtre de l'Oeuvre in 1909.[81] Even if Picasso did not attend a performance, he would have been aware of the play and the link it provided to the works of Alfred Jarry. Diaghilev's call "Etonnez-moi" delivered to Cocteau in 1912, has strong echoes of Futurist demands for the theatre.[82] In his Manifesto The Variety Theatre, first published in October 1913, Marinetti wrote:

> The authors, actors, and technicians of the Variety Theatre have only one reason for existing and triumphing - incessantly to invent new elements of astonishment.[83]

Links can likewise be established between Italian Futurism and Dada in Zurich via 'the Paris grapevine'. Nelzer cites the publication and performance of Marinetti's manifestos and plays in Paris, and points out that

> Apollinaire was probably the vital link in channelling Futurist materials to the Dadas, for he was friendly with Marinetti and wrote a number of articles on Futurism starting in 1913. We know that Apollinaire was in contact with Tzara by 1916, for the first issue of Le Cabaret Voltaire features his work as well as that of Tzara, Picasso, Marinetti...[84]

Cocteau's version of the events surrounding the creation of Parade - largely the result of hindsight reflection - promoted the idea

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[81] Michael Kirby, Futurist Performance, New York 1971, p.19.

[82] Francis Steegmuller, Cocteau, London 1963, p.82. For the influence of the Futurists on the Russian Ballet, see Martin, "The Ballet 'Parade': A Dialogue Between Cubism and Futurism"; Axsom, 'Parade': Cubism as Theatre, pp.53-59; and McQuillan, "Painters and the Ballet", pp.118-123.

[83] Kirby, Futurist Performance, p.179. This manifesto first appeared in the journal Lacerba, on 1 October 1913. It was subsequently published in the Daily Mail, London on 21 November 1913 and in Gordon Craig's The Mask in January 1914.

[84] Nelzer, Latest Rage the Big Drum, p.49.

that the Russian Ballet was the agent of Picasso's liberation from a hermetic style both of life and of art. Cocteau, in his inimitable style, described his triumph in obtaining Picasso's services for the Russian Ballet:

> What does concern me is Picasso, the scenic artist. I dragged him into it. His circle did not wish to believe that he would follow me. A dictatorship weighed upon Montmartre and Montparnasse. We were crossing the austere period of Cubism. The objects found upon a café table were, with the Spanish guitar, the only pleasures permitted. To paint a setting, and above all for the Russian Ballet... constituted a crime.[88]

Cocteau's racy expression is surely partly responsible for these lines having been quoted so often that they have become part of the Picasso legend. In fact, the 'austere phase' of Cubism to which Cocteau refers, reached its peak long before 1916 with the hermetic works of 1910-11, such as the Portrait of Kahnweiler. Moreover, to interpret the hermetic style of Cubism as an expression of an hermetic way of life on the part of the artist is to distort the notion of style. Picasso's art is predicated on an involvement in and contact with life which becomes transformed through art. The style or manner in which such transformation is effected is conditioned by the meaning of the artwork which transcends the reality in which it originated. The frequent stylistic shifts in Picasso's work underline the impossibility of artistic style reflecting a lifestyle. It was characteristic of Picasso not only to shift from one style to another, but also to work in

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[88] Jean Cocteau, "Picasso, a Fantastic Modern Genius", (transl. W.Drake), Arts and Decoration, 22 (#4) December 1924, p.44 and pp.72-74, p.73.

a number of different styles at the same time, and he was fully aware of this:

> Basically I am perhaps a painter without style. Style is often something which locks the painter into the same vision, the same technique, the same formula during years and years.... There are, nevertheless great painters with style. I myself thrash around too much. You see me here and yet I'm already changed, I'm already elsewhere. I'm never fixed and that's why I have no style.[66]

This conscious denial of commitment to a style is equally an assertion of complete artistic freedom which Picasso maintained in spite of the potentially limiting factors which the social environment and demands of the Russian Ballet productions might have imposed.

It is safe to assume that, contrary to Cocteau's claims that Picasso was involved in Cubism, and Cubism only, prior to the Parade collaboration, he was, in fact, fully cognisant of the innovations of both the Futurist and Dada movements by 1916. Diaghilev, likewise, as a result of his constant moves around Europe and Russia and his contacts with Larionov and Goncharova, Fokine and the Italian Futurists, must by 1916 have been looking for a way to introduce a more contemporary aesthetic into the traditional context of the ballet. The meeting of their minds in Parade did not require the participation of Cocteau, although his presence cannot be discounted.

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[66] André Verdet, Picasso, Exhibition Catalogue, Musée de l'Athenée, Geneva 1963, cited in Ashton, Picasso on Art, pp.95-96.

Many writers, following Cocteau's lead, have stressed the effects which the social milieu of the Russian Ballet was to have on Picasso's mode of living and, by implication, on his art. Thus Buckle writes

> Under Olga's influence Picasso had undergone a worldly transformation. He wore expensive suits and went to parties...[87]

According to Penrose

> The social life that accompanied the success of the ballet drew Picasso and his wife into a round of rich parties. Olga was delighted at these attentions and Picasso, unlike Derain, who took his applause in a plain blue serge suit and sought more bohemian society, ordered himself suits at the best tailors and appeared at fashionable receptions immaculately dressed in a dinner jacket.[88]

Similarly, Lipton notes that,

> By 1918... [Picasso] was well on his way to being a celebrity. This change is largely explained by his involvement with the Russian Ballet beginning in 1917; through it, his life at once became more popularly successful and more ostentatious.[89]

Claims that Olga (the Russian dancer whom Picasso met in Rome in 1917 and married in 1918) and his contacts with the Russian Ballet suddenly moved Picasso out of an austere and cloistered existence in bohemian Paris and into 'society', must be examined critically. It has been shown above that the artistic gulf between Diaghilev and Picasso in 1916 may not have been as wide as is generally implied. By 1913 or 1914 at the latest, through his association with

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[87] Buckle, Diaghilev, p.356.

[88] Penrose, Picasso: His Life and Work, p.229.

[89] Eunice Lipton, Picasso Criticism 1900 -1939: The Making of an Artist-Hero, (PhD Dissertation, New York University, 1975), Garland Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts, London and New York 1976, p.78.

Larionov and Goncharova and with the Italian Futurists Balla and Depero, Diaghilev must certainly have been aware of Picasso, his growing reputation and his artistic stature. Similarly any shift in Picasso's social status which occurred after 1917 should be interpreted as part of a gradual and continuing process. It is possible to shatter the myth of the cloistered existence of an ascetic, unworldly artist by contextualising Picasso's artistic life during the Cubist years (1907-1916) within their social framework. Picasso's changing economic fortunes have been traced in detail by McFadden and Deitch. They note that, in 1909:

> Leaving the sordid Bateau Lavoir for a spacious apartment on the boulevard de Clichy, Fernande overhears a mover speculating on the likelihood that his client (Picasso) has drawn a winning number in the national lottery. At their new address, Fernande and Picasso employ a servant who waits on them at table. They buy a grand piano and regularly receive guests on Sundays.[80]

While Picasso himself may not have attended any of the Russian ballet's performances in Paris between 1909 and 1917, two of his closest associates at the time did. Both Gertrude Stein and Guillaume Apollinaire were at the second performance of Le Sacre du Printemps in 1913. At the first performance on the 29 May, the audience had been scandalised by the discordant sounds of Stravinsky's score and the unballetic movements of Nijinsky's choreography.[81] Gertrude Stein is not very clear about dates, but

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[80] Sarah McFadden and Jeffrey Deitch, "The Midas Brush", Art in America, 68 (10), December 1980, pp.143-183. See also Stein, The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas, p.110, for reference to this event.

[81] Buckle, Diaghilev, pp.253-254.

the second performance must have taken place early in June 1913, since, according to her, by the 5 June Maurice Ravel had attended the third (and last) performance in Paris. She gives the following account of the event:

> We went early to the russian ballet,... We arrived in the box and sat down in the three front chairs.... Just in front of us in the seats below was Guillaume Apollinaire. He was dressed in evening clothes and he was industriously kissing various important looking ladies' hands. He was the first one of his crowd to come out into the great world wearing evening clothes and kissing hands... after the war they all did these things, but he was the only one to commence before the war.[92]

Kamber relates how, as early as 1909-10, Max Jacob frequented fashionable salons, dressed like a 'dandy' in a 'black tuxedo'.[93]

There were thus distinguished precedents for Picasso when, in 1919, he began to wear evening dress and attend the ballet. Moreover, according to Gertrude Stein's "...after the war they all did these things", he was not the only member of his circle to adopt this behaviour. Gertrude Stein's chronicles also suggest that the shift in Picasso's lifestyle after 1917 was part of a continuing change. Recalling events of the winter of 1914 - 15, she observes, "Picasso and Eve [sic.] were living these days on the rue Schoelcher in a rather sumptuous studio apartment..."[94] This was the apartment where both Cocteau and Diaghilev first met Picasso.

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[92] Stein, The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas, p.136.

[93] Gerald Kamber, Max Jacob and the Poetics of Cubism, Baltimore and London 1971, p.xxvi: "In spite of his material poverty and moral objection, Jacob, after his conversion [the 'vision' which he had in 1909] began to seek out affluent and elegant people.... He loved to visit the brilliant salons..."

[94] Stein, The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas, p.158.

In May 1916 Picasso moved once again, to a "little home in Montrouge"[95] where he again employed a servant.

> We went out to see him. He had a marvellous rose-pink silk counterpane on his bed. Where did that come from Pablo, asked Gertrude Stein. Ah ça, said Picasso with much satisfaction, that is a lady. It was a well known chilean society woman [Mme. Errazuriz] who had given it to him.[96]

Gertrude Stein's Saturday evenings at 27 rue de Fleurus attracted not only artists like Picasso, Matisse, Gris and scores of lesser figures, but also literary personalities, journalists, musicians, wealthy Americans, members of the British nobility and even Royalty. In the summer of 1912 when the Russian Ballet visited London for the first time, Diaghilev had been welcomed into London society. Gertrude Stein mixed in similar circles on her visit to the British capital later that year - "We went to Lady Otoline Morrell's and met everybody".[97] What is significant is not the way in which Picasso was possibly 'corrupted' by close contact with a fashion conscious beau monde, but the degree to which his artistic independence remained unshaken. This situation is summed up by McFadden:

> Picasso wasn't exactly catapulted to celebrity, but fairly early in his life he did begin to live reasonably well from the proceeds of his art. At the beginning of his career, he practiced selective poverty, by and large shunning commercial work, and unsuitable offers of financial security from dealers. Of paramount importance to him was the freedom to develop his art. The money he made seemed to "happen to him" according to one New York dealer, and it provided a useful tool for securing extraor-

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[95] Ibid., p.169.

[96] Ibid.

[97] Ibid., p.127.

dinary liberties, which he knew well how to exploit.[98]

Although the world of the ballet and its hangers-on implied an elitist environment, it also meant a confrontation between advanced art and a more general public.[99] Picasso's own experiences as a spectator of bullfights and circus performances would have made him sensitive to the impact of such direct confrontation. Contact between art and a broader base of society was a premise of Expressionist, Futurist and Dada performance, and as has been pointed out above, it is in the context of these traditions that Picasso's new medium should be viewed. It is suggested that Picasso deliberately wished to move out of the position of isolation into which the avant-garde artist is locked. It is even possible that Picasso discussed this need with Gertrude Stein at the time, for she later wrote in connection with Parade:

> So cubism was to be put on the stage. That was really the beginning of the general recognition of Picasso's work, when a work is put on the stage of course everyone has to look at it and in a sense if it is put on the stage everyone is forced to look and since they are forced to look at it, of course, they must accept it, there is nothing else to do.[100]

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[98] McFadden and Deitch, The Midas Brush, p.143.

[99] Lipton, Picasso Criticism 1909-1939, p.140, acknowledges that "Another important result of his work with the Ballet was the middle class audience it attracted to him and his art. This new visibility coincided with his increased participation in public exhibitions. For example, between 1909 and 1919 he had no exposure in Paris, but in the following decade (1919-1928) there were eight exhibitions of his work in Paris and eighteen others in Europe and America".

[100] Gertrude Stein, Picasso, Boston 1959 (reprinted 1972), p.29.

Although Diaghilev's company generally played to a fashionable audience, there were exceptions. The 1918-1919 London season was given at the Coliseum, home of popular music-hall variety shows whose audiences were boozy and rowdy. The Russian Ballet was presented as part of a programme of mixed music hall acts. The Coliseum season ended on 29 March 1919. In April, the company re-opened at the Alhambra where Le Tricorne received its world premiere on 22 July 1919. The change of venue was noted in the press:

> Vogue was interested in the changed aspects of the public by now flocking to the Ballet. Speaking of the transition from Covent Garden via the Coliseum to the Alhambra, Vogue said: "...We have democratised our imperial entertainment.... There is really something a little incongruous in The Russian ballet serving as popular entertainment in a country which has begun to rage against wealth and leisure".[191]

The first performance of Pulcinella was given at the Paris Opera, a traditional venue for ballet which was frequented by an upper-class audience. The only Paris performance of Cuadro Flamenco, however, given on 22 May 19 as part of a short season at the Théâtre Gaîté Lyrique, once a made contact with a popular audience:

> The Gaîté Lyrique, where the Paris season was to be held, was not the sort of theatre at which Parisians expected to see the Russian Ballet. Situated... in a working class district... it catered for a local audience.... Yet although it was rather a come-down for the ballet to appear in such a thea-

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[191] Neala Macdonald, Diaghilev Observed by Critics in England and the United States, 1911-1929, p.233, citing Vogue, 1 August 1919.

tre, the result was that a new audience began to appreciate it.[162]

Mercure was likewise first presented on 15 June 1924 at a modest venue, the Théâtre de la Cigale, before a relatively small audience and in an atmosphere of informality and experimentation.

[162] Buckle, Diaghilev., p.381.

IV. THE BALLET SCENARIOS

Cocteau had first mentioned Parade as the name for a new work he was planning in April 1916 while he was in Paris on leave from the front. A drawing of Cocteau in army uniform signed and dated '1916' by Picasso, was probably made at this time.[163] Picasso's commitment to collaboration on Parade has a terminus post quem of 24th August 1916, the date on a postcard which Cocteau and Satie sent to Valentine Hugo, saying "Picasso is joining us in Parade".[164] A letter from Diaghilev to Cocteau dated 20 October 1916, not only confirms Picasso's participation, but implies that Diaghilev expected Picasso himself to execute the final sets:

> They [Larionov and Goncharova] not only give me sketches, but paint the décors themselves. You see, the difference can be felt, and I think that the sum that I have offered Picasso is relatively much higher than that for my Russian friends.... I am counting on your work which I intend to produce in Rome in February...[165]

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[163] Cooper, Picasso Theatre, p.20. The history of the Parade commission has been fully documented by Cooper as well as by Axsom, 'Parade': Cubism as Theater; Buckle, Diaghilev; McQuillan, "Painters and the Ballet"; and Steegmuller, Cocteau. This documentation which is based mainly on surviving correspondence is summarised here.

[164] Cooper, Picasso Theatre, p.20.

[165] Bibliothèque Nationale, Diaghilev: Les Ballets Russes, Exhibition Catalogue, Paris 1979, p.82. This letter is cited in full in the catalogue.

It is uncertain, however, what work Picasso did on the project before January 1917, when the unusual evidence of a written contract between Picasso and a patron is documented in the form of a letter:

> Confirming our verbal agreement, I accept to undertake the production (sets, curtains, costumes and properties) of the ballet 'PARADE' by Jean Cocteau and Erik Satie. I will make all the necessary designs and models and I will personally supervise all the work of carrying them out. All the designs will be ready by 15 March 1917. For this work you are to pay me the sum of five thousand francs, and if I have to go to Rome, a thousand francs extra. The drawings and models remain my property. Half the sum named must be paid me on delivery of the designs and models, and the other half on the day of the first performance.[105]

The fee was considerable, and in excess of the three thousand francs paid to Satie for his score. The contract also shows that Picasso's trip to Rome had already been discussed but not yet finalised. In a letter to Cocteau dated Montrouge, 1 February 1917, Picasso wrote: "Miassine [sic] will be satisfied. You can write as I tell him so. Everything will be all right. I'm working on our thing almost everyday. Nobody need worry".[107] On 17 February 1917, Cocteau and Picasso left Paris for Rome, where Diaghilev's company was based and where final plans for Parade were to be made. Picasso had not yet met Massine and the choreography was still to be created.[108]

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[105] Buckle, Diaghilev, p.321. The significance of these scant but important documented dates in interpreting the iconography of the Parade designs will be discussed in the following chapter.

[107] Cooper, Picasso Theatre, p.21 and p.327. The unusual spelling of 'Massine' corresponds to the Russian orthography, which the Russians used at first but later westernised.

[108] Ibid., p.21.

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[188] Ibid., p.21.

In Rome, Picasso and Cocteau, together with Diaghilev, Massine and Bakst stayed at the Hôtel de Russie. Picasso worked in a studio on the Via Margutta. According to Cooper, Picasso spent about eight weeks in Rome, since he was still there on 24 April.[109] Steegmuller writes that "on April 30 the company played a one-night stand in Florence and then entrained for Paris".[110] It is probable that Picasso - by this time already romantically involved with one of the dancers in the company, Olga Khoklova, the daughter of a Russian army officer - travelled with them.

The scenario for Parade centres around the Parisian street theatre or théâtre forain. Cocteau defined Parade as "a burlesque scene played outside a sideshow booth to entice spectators inside".[111] A more detailed synopsis explains that

> The action is very simple. The setting is a Parisian boulevard on a Sunday afternoon. In front of a little théâtre forain, three abbreviated acts... are performed in turn by a Chinese Magician, a little American dancer and an Acrobat. Each preview is announced and bellyhooed by three managers. But much to the growing frustration of the shouting managers the crowd outside somehow believes that it is seeing the actual show - not a preview - and refuses to enter the theater. Despite the pleas and mounting hysteria of managers and performers, the momentarily gathered crowd drifts away from the little sideshow and leaves the pathetic company, which has collapsed in anguish.[112]

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[109] Ibic., p.23.

[110] Steegmuller, Cocteau., p.181.

[111] Ibid., p.146.

[112] Axsom, 'Parade': Cubism as Theater, pp.35-36 Axsom also gives a full account of Cocteau's role in conceiving the scenario (pp.33-65).

The street theatre was a well-known theme in French art and a common sight in most European cities at least until the late nineteenth century. Picasso was familiar with the subject and had painted it on his first visit to Paris in the autumn of 1900.[113] It was not a new subject for Diaghilev either. Petrouchka, first performed by the Ballets Russes in Paris in 1911 with sets and costumes by Benois, music by Stravinsky and choreography by Fokine, dealt with a similar theme. The central question of Petrouchka, however, was the interface between art and life as seen in the treatment of the emotional natures of inanimate puppet characters. Parade poses the question of the relationship between performers and their audience. The dilemma of the artist which it underlines, is fairly obvious. Axsom sees this dilemma as being central to Cocteau's intention in the creation of Parade.

> One inarguable aspect of Parade's narrative... is the view of a scornful public which does not understand the artist's work and which refuses to "enter in". Parade's metaphor of the modern artist's condition is straightforward and is couched within a tradition which regarded the fair and the circus as world, for the estranged.... Parade made a most ambivalent and contemporary gesture to the outside: come in, but do not come in. The psychological dissonance is stated and rationalised in the following theoretical thinking of the artist: "I am devastated because you make no attempt to comprehend my action but that is acceptable because I would not want you to comprehend me anyway".[114]

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[113] Z XXI: 227.

[114] Axsom, "'Parade': Cubism as Theater", pp.59-62. Silver, "'Esprit de Corps': The Great War and French Art 1914-1925", p.121, holds a similar view. Lipton, Picasso Criticism, 1900-1939, p.190, discusses the artist's relationship to the critics: "traditionally the vanguard position is one of outsider, but it is also a culturally privileged position. In spite of the frequent lamentations of both avant-garde artists and critics concerning the loss of a general public, they have, by their vocabulary, insured the continuation of that loss".

The portrayal of the artist as set apart from the rest of society through the image of the street performer, circus artist or clown who fails to attract an appreciative audience, has, as Axsom points out, a long tradition in French poetry and painting.[115] It is a tradition which is linked to nineteenth century Romantic and Symbolist attitudes. Picasso had exploited the image since the early years of the century, most notably in the works of the Rose Period (1905-6). The possibility of Cocteau having deliberately chosen this theme because of both Picasso's and Diaghilev's prior interest in it, cannot be discounted. It has been suggested that Picasso, all too conscious of the tensions between art and life, saw the Russian Ballet commission as a means of presenting his private art to a public audience. While Cocteau's self-conscious brand of aestheticism may have produced a scenario which, on the surface at least, is redolent of traditional attitudes, Picasso's somewhat uncharacteristic acceptance of the Parade commission suggests that he may have viewed it as an opportunity to to take up an entirely new challenge. The Cubist years had distanced the clowns and saltimbanques of the Rose period, and it would be simplistic to see Picasso's Parade as a thematic return to the concerns of 1905-6.

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[115] Vivien L. Rubin, "Clowns in 19th Century French Literature: Buffoons, Pierrots and Saltimbanques", PhD Dissertation, University of California 1970 (University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor and London 1981) and Paula H.Harper, Daumier's Clowns: Les Saltimbanques et Les Parades. New Biographical and Political Functions for a 19th Century Myth, New York, Garland 1981, provide extensive summaries of these traditions.

It will be argued that for Picasso Parade represented an opportunity to escape artistic isolation rather than to stake his claim as a member of the avant-garde.[116] The theatre would provide him with a forum which confronted the public more directly than the rarified and specialist ambience of the private galleries in which his works were normally exhibited. Furthermore, because of its visual bias, the ballet presented a unique challenge to Picasso's creative powers. If the theme of Parade is characterised in the most general sense as being 'performance', its relevance for Picasso is clear. It is well known that he often depicted himself and close friends in costume or playing various roles, and that the concept of the artist as performer was central to his life and work. One of Max Jacob's biographers describes how, during the Bateau Lavoir days, the artists would create their own theatre, and cites Jacob, the comedian of the group, as saying:

> Evenings we would do plays under the kerosene lamp.... We took turns playing roles including those of the stage manager, the director, the

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[116] It hardly needs debating that Cubism represented the most radical artistic statement of the early twentieth century, and Picasso seemed not to care whether the public comprehended his Cubist works or not. While an 'understanding' of his work by his audience was never an issue for Picasso, he did show an ongoing concern for the accessibility of the art object. This was especially so when the works in question had a quasi-didactic intention, as in the case of Guernica (1937) and the War and Peace murals at Vallauris (1952). In connection with the latter, one scholar has concluded that "a chapel which would afford the viewer the possibility of being surrounded by the art object would have been more satisfactory to Picasso's quest for tangibility than a flat painted canvas". Sne Eugenia M. Lee, "Picasso's 'War' and 'Peace': Time, Myth and the Game of Life. A Study in the Evolution and Meaning of the Paintings", unpublished MA Dissertation, University of Colorado, 1975, p.4. Possible thematic relationships between Guernica, the Peace mural and the Parade drop-curtain will be explored in the following chapter.

> electrician and the stage hands, mixing them into the play.[117]

Parade thus coincided closely with Picasso's most fundamental concerns as an artist and afforded him the opportunity to present his work in public as the integral part of a performance. The visual elaboration of the subject would allow him to exploit a range of media - design, painting, and construction - on an unprecedentedly large scale.

It is uncertain exactly when during the two years that elapsed between the Paris premiere of Parade in May 1917 and Diaghilev's production of Le Tricorne in London in June 1919, Picasso became involved with this second ballet. The commissioning history of Le Tricorne, is neither fully nor clearly documented. Cooper, following Manuel de Falla's biographer, Pahissa, states that Diaghilev had signed a contract with the Spanish composer as early as 1916.[118] De Falla was to write the music for a ballet based on the novel El Sombrero des Tres Picos by the nineteenth century Spanish writer Pedro de Alarcon. The first version of the score was completed by spring 1917, and according to Cooper, this was performed as a mime, accompanied by a chamber orchestra, in Madrid in April 1917. Diaghilev and Massine heard and approved the score

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[117] R.Guiette, "Vie de Max Jacob", Nouvelle Révue Française, CCL, CCLI, 1934, p.251, cited by Kambar, Max Jacob and the Poetics of Cubism, p.xvi.

[118] Cooper, Picasso Theatre, p.39.

in Barcelona during the summer of 1917 and gave de Falla the go-ahead to work it up into a full length ballet [118]

Buckle, on the other hand, does not mention any contract dating to 1916, but states that in Barcelona in 1917, de Falla took Diaghilev and Massine to see a one-act farce by Gregorio Martinez Sorra, for which de Falla had written the music. This play, El Corregidor y la Molinera, was based on Alarcon's novel.[120] Buckle cites Massine's version of these events, in which the choreographer claims that it was after hearing this music that both he and Diaghilev realised its potential for a projected full-length Spanish ballet which would use "the folk dances of the Spanish peasants".

> When we talked to Falla about it, he seemed interested and quite ready to collaborate with us to the extent of omitting some of the pastiche writing in the music for the Corregidor's dance and expanding the ending into a fuller and more powerful finale, in accordance with Diaghilev's suggestions.[121]

Picasso who had by this time formed an attachment to Olga, accompanied the Russian Ballet to Spain in June 1917.[122] Although he remained in Spain until November 1917, his name is not mentioned in accounts of the planning of Le Tricorne which was underway at

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[118] Ibid. The Russian Ballet performed in Barcelona during the last two weeks of July 1917.

[120] Buckle, Diaghilev, p.335.

[121] Leonide Massine, My Life in Ballet, London 1968, p.115.

[122] This was Picasso's first return visit to Barcelona since 1904 when he had settled permanently in Paris. Buckle, Diaghilev, p.335, writes that Olga was introduced to Picasso's close family at this time, and that the couple were engaged.

this time. Diaghilev and Massine spent the summer of 1917 touring the length and breadth of Spain together with de Falla and the Spanish dancer Felix Fernandez Garcia who joined the Russian Ballet and taught Massine "the fundamental grammar of Spanish folk-dances".[123] Massine's account of this trip showed how the two Russians steeped themselves in the Spanish environment while de Falla studied the local music which he was to incorporate into his score:

> Our days were spent sightseeing in monasteries, museums and cathedrals, our evenings in cafés watching the local dancers and discussing plans for our ballet.[124]

Spain had provided Diaghilev with more than artistic inspiration. As a neutral country it served as a place of refuge for his dancers, and on the company's return from its second American tour in November 1917, Diaghilev arranged further engagements in Spain and Portugal. Massine who, according to Buckle, "gets confused over dates"[125] writes that the company returned to Barcelona after the Lisbon season:

> Our stay in Barcelona was brightened by the arrival of de Falla with the completed score of Le Tricorne. Picasso, who was going to do the décor for the ballet had already joined us and we all three - Diaghilev, Picasso and I - listened while de Falla played his composition for us.[126]

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[123] Massine, "My Life in Ballet", p.116.

[124] Ibid.

[125] Buckle, Diaghilev, p.569, n.378.

[126] Massine, My Life in Ballet, p.122.

This account mistakenly locates Picasso in Barcelona sometime after December 1917. Buckle is uncertain as to whether or not Picasso could have been in Barcelona as late as this and suggests that Massine is referring to the autumn, i.e., October 1917.[127] Although Picasso was certainly still in Spain in October, de Falla would not have completed the score so soon. According to Cooper

> Several months went by [after the company arrived in London at the beginning of August 1918] before Diaghilev and Massine could start preparing Le Tricorne partly on account of the lack of money, but also because de Falla had not delivered the full score.[128]

Cooper puts Picasso's involvement as late as April 1919:

> In April 1919 when their popular success was well established... Diaghilev was ready to undertake new productions. Picasso was invited to do the décor and costumes for Le Tricorne [and] went to London early in May.[129]

Most other sources agree that Picasso returned to Paris from Spain in November 1917, and remained in France until May 1919, when he did indeed go to London at Diaghilev's invitation.

The exact date of Picasso's arrival in London in May 1919 is not documented. Like Diaghilev and Massine, Picasso and Olga stayed at the Savoy Hotel, and, as had been the case with Parade Picasso planned and helped execute his designs in close contact with his patron and in parallel with the choreographic evolution of the ballet.

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[127] Buckle, Diaghilev, p.342.

[128] Cooper, Picasso Theatre, p.39.

[129] Ibid.

> Picasso... was working on the décor in the studio we had hired for him in Covent Garden. Here the scene painters, Vladimir Polunin and his [illegible]were already busy on the backcloth...[128]

The sets, drop-curtain and costumes were all designed and executed in the short period between Picasso's arrival in London and the ballet's first performance on 22 July - a period of about ten weeks.[129] While it is possible that the subject of a Spanish ballet was broached with Picasso before he parted company with Massine and Diaghilev in Barcelona in the late summer of 1917, there is no sign in his work of the period between November 1917 and May 1919 that Picasso was contemplating designs for such a project. A single tiny landscape (Fig.6) dated 1918-20, has a strong affinity with the Le Tricorne set designs.[130] The very generalised nature of the townscape depicted in this work, however, makes it impossible to tell whether or not this was intended as a study for the ballet. It is more likely, if indeed this painting can be dated to 1918, that when, almost a year later, Picasso was called on to design a Spanish townscape, he remembered the small work and used it as a basis for the Le Tricorne set. Another work of the period, Woman with a Fan (Barcelona 1917)[131] depicts a Spanish dancer, but the abstracted, synthetic Cubist surfaces which comprise her form

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[128] Massine, My Life in Ballet, pp.139-140.

[129] See Penrose, Picasso: His Life and Work, pp.219 and 228, and Rubin (ed.), Pablo Picasso: A Retrospective, pp.198-9.

[130] This work is in the collection of the Musée Picasso, Paris, and is numbered 60. The Museum's dating thus places it earlier than the well-known Bathers (no.61 in the Museum's sequence) firmly established as having been painted in Biarritz in the summer of 1918. Zervos dates the landscape to "London 1919" suggesting a firmer connection with the Le Tricorne project.

[131] Z III:21.

are unrelated stylistically to the Le Tricorne designs. A series of drawings from this period which focus on a horse being gored by a bull, reflect Picasso's visits to the Spanish bullfights after a long absence.[124] A bullfight scene was to form the background motif for the Le Tricorne drop-curtain.

The scenario of Le Tricorne based as it was on a literary source, provided a far more fully fleshed out narrative than had that of Parade. Pedro de Alarcon's classic story, El Sombrero de Tres Picos, was set in the eighteenth century and dealt with the attempted seduction of a miller's wife by the local corregidor or governor:

> To facilitate his wooing of the miller's wife, the corregidor has the miller arrested on a spurious charge. He then tries to enter the miller's house at night. The miller's wife runs away, with the corregidor in hot pursuit. During the chase he falls into a stream and the miller's wife runs to get help. While she is gone, the corregidor pulls himself out of the stream and returns to the mill, where he removes his wet clothes and falls asleep. The miller escapes his captors, returns home and, finding the corregidor undressed, exchanges clothes with him. The corregidor has no option but to wear the miller's clothes, whereupon his own guards, mistaking him for their escaped prisoner, arrest him. The corregidor is discredited, and right prevails.[125]

This narrative deals with themes of love, deception and mistaken identity. Although its author was Spanish, there is no specifically Spanish element in the narrative. Picasso would, nevertheless,

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[124] Z III:50-70.

[125] Cooper, Picasso Theatre, pp.39-40.

less, have identified with the Spanish setting of Le Tricorne and with de Falla's music, incorporating as it did Spanish folktunes.

Picasso's return to France from London after the successful 1919 Ballets Russes' season, is not documented. According to the most recent published chronology[136] Picasso and Olga vacationed at St. Raphael in the "late summer" of 1919 and it was in December of that same year that Diaghilev invited Picasso to do the designs for Pulcinella.

Although Commedia dell'Arte characters, and especially harlequin and pierrot, form a central theme of Picasso's work, Pulcinella seems to have been the brainchild of Massine. On his first Italian holiday with Diaghilev, shortly after the outbreak of war in the summer of 1914, Massine was introduced to the character of Pulcinella.

> I often used to go to the Viareggio open-air marionette theatre.... Sometimes I would stand there for hours, totally absorbed in the antics of Pulcinella, Pimpinella or Il Capitano. I was intrigued by their grotesque masks and their jerky, loose-limbed movements...[137]

In 1917, again in Italy, Massine saw a live performance of the Commedia dell' Arte at Naples, this time in the company of both Picasso and Stravinsky.

> We journeyed to Naples together (Picasso's portrait of Massine was drawn on the train).... we were both much impressed with the Commedia dell'Arte which we saw in a crowded little room reeking with garlic.

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[136] Jane Fluegel's detailed sequence of events in Rubin (ed.), Pablo Picasso, A Retrospective, p.199.

[137] Massine, My Life in Ballet, p.65.

> The Pulcinella was a great drunken lout whose every gesture and probably every word if I had understood, was obscene...[138]

It seems plausible to speculate that the possibility of a Commedia dell'Arte ballet was raised by the three future collaborators on this occasion, even though it was only in 1919 that such ideas came to fruition. Cooper dates Massine's research into the subject of the Commedia dell'Arte to this visit.[139] Massine, however, places the period of research in August 1919 when he and Diaghilev were once again in Italy, on holiday after the successful London season.

> At the Royal Palace Library in Naples I began to do some extensive researches into the Commedia dell'Arte, for I had an instinctive feeling that this Italian type of folk-theatre, with its emphasis on mime and its use of extempore acting based only on a scenario, might hold a key to my artistic dilemma.[140]

Massine goes on to recount how Diaghilev accepted his idea for the ballet and how together they searched original Pergolesi manuscripts for suitable music which Diaghilev later asked Stravinsky to orchestrate. Buckle writes that

> The evolution of Pulcinella may have begun earlier than this summer of 1919 for Ansermet had referred to a Pergolesi-Picasso ballet in a letter to Stravinsky in May; but Stravinsky was not asked to orchestrate the Pergolesi until the autumn.[141]

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[138] Igor Stravinsky and Robert Craft, Conversations with Robert Craft, New York 1959, pp.104-5. See also Buckle, Diaghilev, pp.32-33, and Cooper, Picasso Theatre, pp.43-44.

[139] Cooper, Picasso Theatre, p.43.

[140] Massine, My Life in Ballet, p.145. Massine claims (p.144) that at the time he was looking for a way of transcending the prescribed limits of the classical ballet's tradition in his choreography.

[141] Buckle, Diaghilev, p.360.

According to Stravinsky's biographer E.W.White, Diaghilev used the Pulcinella commission as a means of enticing Stravinsky, who had been working independently in Switzerland during the war, back into the Russian Ballet fold. Diaghilev put the proposal to Stravinsky in Paris and made the offer even more attractive by including Picasso and Massine. White quotes Stravinsky as having said that:

> The proposal that I should work with Picasso, who was to do the scenery and costumes and whose art was particularly near and dear to me... the great pleasure I had experienced from Massine's choreography... all this combined to overcome my reluctance.[142]

Whether Diaghilev had already obtained Picasso's agreement, whether he offered a similar 'bait' to the artist, or whether, as suggested above, composer, designer and choreographer had already come to some tacit agreement as early as 1917, is a matter for speculation, but, by December 1919, both artists were involved in the project.

Faced with the task of putting Commedia dell'Arte characters on the stage, Picasso did not immediately look to his own existing treatments of the theme. Buckle states that "Picasso's first idea of designing a contemporary setting... was rejected by Diaghilev",[143] and according to Cooper

> To begin with, as he himself has told me, Picasso's idea was to translate Pulcinella into modern terms instead of designing it as a traditional Commedia dell'Arte spectacle such as Diaghilev envisaged.

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[142] Eric W. White, Stravinsky: The Composer and his Works, London 1979, p.286.

[143] Buckle, Diaghilev, p.361.

> This idea for which Picasso apparently made sketches was rejected immediately.[144]

Cooper does not identify these sketches, nor does he elucidate whether they constituted the "project which Picasso first submitted to Diaghilev accompanied by nineteenth-century style costumes for the dancers".[145] It is not clear either, whether by 'modern' Cooper is designating a period more modern than that of the Commedia dell'Arte's own eighteenth century, or whether he is referring to Picasso's period, i.e., the twentieth century. Massine writes that Diaghilev "decided that Picasso should be asked to design Pulcinella for which he wanted a completely abstract décor..." and that

> Picasso's first sketches for the décor had been surprisingly realistic, but after Diaghilev had indicated what he wanted, they became progressively more abstract.[146]

Cocteau's account of the episode, spiced, as always, with hyperbole, may throw some light on these events:

> A confusion over dates, a misunderstanding between the choreographer Massine and the stage designer, a ballet completed in Rome which had to be danced in Paris two days later, prevented Picasso from painting the correct figures on his set for Pulcinella. He improvised costumes; but they did not correspond to the costumes and pantomime he wanted and for which the models existed. Neapolitan prostitutes and pimps played the old puppets like music by Pergolesi re-invented by Stravinsky.[147]

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[144] Cooper, Picasso Theatre, p.46. The story of Diaghilev's rejection of these designs, as told by Stravinsky, has been included in most accounts of the project. Cooper cites Grigoriev, Massine and Kochno as corroborating it.

[145] Ibid.

[146] Massine, My Life in Ballet, p.150.

[147] Wallace Fowlie (ed. and trans.), The Journals of Jean Cocteau, London 1957, p.101.

Stravinsky offers yet another, more dramatic interpretation of events.

> Picasso's first designs were for Offenbach-period costumes with side-whiskered faces instead of masks. When he showed them Diaghilev was very brusque: "Oh, this isn't it at all" and proceeded to tell Picasso how to do it...[148]

In this Stravinsky version, the evening concluded with Diaghilev throwing the drawings on the floor and stamping on them. The next day he placated Picasso and succeeded in getting him to do a traditional Commedia dell'Arte Pulcinella.

In extracting meaning from the above recollections, it appears that three different sets of costume designs are being referred to: modern, i.e., twentieth-century, dress as told to Cooper by Picasso himself, and implied by Cocteau in his reference to eighteenth-century puppet characters being rejuvenated in the same manner that Stravinsky had rejuvenated Pergolesi's eighteenth-century music; Offenbach-period, i.e., nineteenth-century costumes referred to by Stravinsky and Cooper; and traditional Commedia dell'Arte dress, which Diaghilev wanted. Pulcinella, unlike Parade and Le Tricorne, was not revived after Diaghilev's death in 1929, and most of the original material used in the stage production has disappeared.[149] Of the stage backdrop, Stravinsky later recalled:

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[148] Stravinsky and Craft, Conversations with Robert Craft, p.105; White, Stravinsky: The Composer and his Works, p.286.

[149] Perhaps the only remaining fragment is the intact mask in the collection of the Musée Picasso (Fig.7) although according to the Museum reference this was a maquette and therefore probably never actually used.

> It was in the dome of the Paris Opera when I last heard and completely faded except for the moon.... Diaghilev I suppose was in debt to the Director of the Opera and when our company withdrew after the Pulcinella performances the Picasso was kept there.[110]

There remains the problem of resolving what exactly Diaghilev had in mind in demanding décors that were both traditional and abstract (i.e., non-realistic) as stated in the accounts cited above. A close examination of the Pulcinella sets will reveal a complex iconography that underwent a number of metamorphoses. It will be shown that the final set was both traditional in the sense of being within the tradition of the Commedia dell'Arte, and abstract in its reductive formulation. Polunin who painted the sets, says that

> Before deciding on one of his numerous designs, Picasso showed me the whole series and requested my opinion of them from the point of view of their theatrical effect. They were most interesting, but one seemed particularly suited for theatrical interpretation and I told Picasso so. And, though Diaghileff preferred another sketch, Picasso told me that while working on his designs he involuntarily returned to the one that had attracted my attention. In the end this was decided on...[111]

While Polunin, who was anxious to stress his own role in the matter, may not be an entirely reliable witness, this does present further evidence of a possible lack of agreement between Picasso and Diaghilev. Whether the final sets were dictated by Diaghilev or by Picasso, it is clear that warning signs regarding the future working relationship between the two men were beginning to appear.

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[110] Stravinsky and Craft, Conversations with Robert Craft, p.104. No trace of the set survives.

[111] Polunin, The Continental Method of Scene Painting, p.65.

The Pulcinella plot is episodic and confusing.[152] Neither harlequin nor pierrot are included as characters in the scenario worked out by Massine and Diaghilev, which was based on a Neapolitan manuscript of 1700 called The Four Polichinelles Who Look Alike.[153] The main protagonist, Pulcinella, was not a familiar one in Picasso's oeuvre, and a reading of the principal events in the scenario suggests that it is the situations rather than the characters themselves which provide the thematic links for Picasso. The scenario concerns Pulcinella, who is wooed by village girls but is himself in love with Pimpinella. The village girls' suitors disguise themselves as Pulcinellas in order to win over their sweethearts. The false Pulcinellas attempt to kill the real Pulcinella, but the latter has changed places with a magician, who can feign death. The magician is later resurrected by Pulcinella who himself is disguised as the magician. They change places, resume their rightful roles, and Pimpinella and Pulcinella are wed.[154] Pulcinella had its first performance at the Paris Opera on 15 May 1920.

The year which followed was a relatively uneventful one for Picasso, highlighted by the birth of his son, Paulo, on 4 February 1921. The Picassos had been in Juan-les-Pins from mid-June to late

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[152] White, Strevinsky: The Composer and his Works, p.284; Buckle, Diaghilev, p.363, writes "nobody seemed to mind the absurd embroglio with its disguises and feigned deaths...". See also McQuillan, "Painters and the Ballet", p.496.

[153] Penrose, Picasso, His Life and Work, p.230.

[154] The complicated scenario is described in detail by Gavin Henderson, in Picasso and the Theatre, Exhibition Catalogue, Brighton 1982, pp.9-10.

September 1920 and the remainder of the period was spent in Paris. Diaghilev, meanwhile, was as active as ever, frantically making plans for his 1921 seasons in the absence of Massine, who had left, after a series of disagreements, in January 1921. In Spain at the end of March 1921, Diaghilev decided to engage a troupe of Spanish dancers to open in Paris in May and in London later that year. This authentic Spanish Ballet was to be called Cuadro Flamenco and was a ready-made production. The Spanish dancers provided their own choreography and music. All that was needed were sets and costumes to translate the spontaneous cabaret dances into a theatrical event.

Although Diaghilev's original idea for the décor of this Spanish ballet was most ambitious, in the end the décor too, like the choreography and music, was ready made, consisting of an adaptation of one of the early Pulcinella sketches. In mid-April (the season was scheduled to open only one month later) Diaghilev had invited Juan Gris to design the ballet. But by the end of April the invitation was withdrawn on the pretext that Gris had responded to Diaghilev's telegram too late. The designs were to be the creation of Picasso. These events have been variously interpreted. Gris, who especially travelled to Monte Carlo at Diaghilev's request, wrote to Kahnweiler on 29 April "Picasso got away with it by producing a set of designs already made, saying that I would never be able to do it in so short a time."[115] Buckle, relying on Kochno's recollections writes:

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[115] Rubin (ed.), Pablo Picasso: A Retrospective, p.222.

> Diaghilev had decided to invite Juan Gris - like Picasso both Spanish and a cubist - to design the décor for his Cuadro Flamenco and Picasso approved his decision. Diaghilev telegraphed to Gris on 14th April. But a day or two later when Diaghilev visited Picasso in the rue La Boetie, he found that Picasso had made all the drawings himself. It was as if the painter could not bear to be left out of so Spanish a manifestation as gypsy dancers.[156]

The extent of the contact between Picasso and Diaghilev in the year between the Pulcinella opening on 15 May 1920 and April 1921, is not certain. It would appear that it was minimal since Picasso was involved with domestic affairs, while Diaghilev had to deal with major changes in his company occasioned by Massine's departure. The motive behind Diaghilev's approach to Gris remains a point of speculation. It is likely that it was Diaghilev's intention to undermine Picasso (notwithstanding Kochno's observation that Diaghilev had Picasso's approval) perhaps as a result of the disagreements experienced with the Pulcinella project. In the event, the plan misfired and it was Gris who suffered. He blamed Picasso.

Diaghilev was constantly travelling between Monte Carlo (where the company was rehearsing) and Paris, during April and May of 1921. It is not certain how or why he came to visit Picasso in Paris. It is likely, however, that, recalling the rejected Pulcinella designs, he realised that they could be adapted more quickly (and probably less expensively) than starting from scratch with a new artist. Since Picasso's set for Cuadro Flamenco is very clearly related to the Pulcinella designs, and the costumes bear a resem-

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[156] Buckle, Diaghilev pp.380-381.

blance to those for Le Tricorne it is improbable that they were freshly conceived for the new Spanish ballet. Picasso, himself an Andalusian, would have identified with the gypsy dancing, but there is no evidence that he had any knowledge of what was planned in terms of choreography when he selected the designs. The set has very little reference to things Spanish, but Picasso's concern with it is evidenced by the fact that he painted substantial parts of it himself. After Cuadro Flamenco Picasso did not collaborate directly with Diaghilev again, although they did maintain social contact.[187] Possible reasons for the termination of their working collaboration will be suggested after considering two post-scripts to the four ballets of 1917-1921.

Documentation exists for two further projects in the Picasso-Diaghilev collaboration: a new backcloth for L'Après Midi d'une Faune (1922) and a drop curtain for Le Train Bleu (1924). Both Kochno and Cooper provide more or less anecdotal accounts of the first of these, which indicate that Picasso was no longer producing theatrical material which accorded with Diaghilev's taste.

> When he received Picasso's sketch, it showed a simple backdrop of washed-out gray, so Diaghilev hastily withdrew any mention of the artist's name from the program and the author of the décor remained anonymous.[188]

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[187] Cooper, Picasso Theatre, p.52, points out that although Picasso remained in contact with Diaghilev after 1921 and various projects were mooted, "Diaghilev was never again successful in persuading [Picasso] to do an entire production for his company".

[188] Boris Kochno, Diaghilev and the Ballets Russes, trans. A. Foulke, London 1971, p.81.

Cooper cites Picasso himself as the source of the following information:

> At the base was an area of pale yellow, representing a sandy beach, in the middle was a pale bluish-grey sky. The effect, says Picasso, was timeless, calm and visually true for a very hot day. But Diaghilev was furious when he saw it and commented rather acidly: "I wanted Egypt and you gave me Dieppe".[159]

McQuillan states that

> the décor itself has remained virtually unknown. It seems never to have been photographed, nor have any designs been published.[160]

Zervos, however, has published a design which corresponds to Cooper's description (Fig.8).[161] This abstract sketch consists of three horizontal bands and suggests the sort of abstract landscape described by Cooper. Zervos identifies it as a study for the décor for Cuadro Flamenco and thus links it to Picasso's work for the ballet. But since it has little in common with any of the other Cuadro Flamenco or Pulcinella designs, it is possible that this is a design for the 'unknown' décor of L'Après Midi d'une Faune. Rubin records that Picasso's design was rejected, but a contemporary review of the production suggests that Picasso's design was, in fact, the one used - 'A backcloth is seen depicting the sea and sky...'.[162]

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[159] Cooper, Picasso Theatre, p.52, citing a 1966 conversation with Picasso.

[160] McQuillan, "Painters and the Ballet", p.519.

[161] Z XXX:175.

[162] Rubin (ed.), Pablo Picasso: A Retrospective, p.223; See McQuillan, "Painters and the Ballet", p.519, citing André Levinson, "29 mai [1922]: Petrouchka, L'Après-midi d'un Faune, Soleil de Nuit", La Danse au Théâtre, Esthétique et Actualité Mêlées, Paris 1924. p.47.

When Diaghilev next used a Picasso design he made certain that he would get what he wanted (Picasso's giant female figures) by selecting an existing gouache for adaptation. The enlargement of Picasso's La Course of 1922, (Fig.9) from a small gouache measuring 34 x 42,5 cm to the full-scale stage curtain which has come to be associated with Le Train Bleu (1924) was first used by Diaghilev as front curtain for the opening night of the Russian Ballet season at the Théâtre de Champs-Elysées on 26 May 1924. On this occasion "Diaghilev ordered from Auric a special fanfare to greet its appearance".[163] Subsequently, during the same season, the curtain was used for Le Train Bleu and became exclusively associated with that ballet.

Diaghilev was immensely proud that Picasso had signed the curtain with a dedication to him, in spite of the fact that it had been executed by the scene painter Prince Schervashidze. By dedicating this 'copy' of his original to Diaghilev, Picasso was acknowledging the gap which had recently become apparent in their ideals for an art of the theatre. Diaghilev in his pursuit of the new and the exciting, was concerned with scale, spectacle, and the dissemination of taste and fashion. Picasso's concern was ever to push back the frontiers of invention. The fanfare that heralded the unveiling of La Course proclaimed the painted curtain autonomous - a complete stage presence in itself. Picasso's work, in Diaghilev's eyes, no longer needed choreography or music to support it. But Picasso's small gouache had not been conceived with

[163] Buckle, Diaghilev, p.429.

this intention. Diaghilev wanted 'a Picasso' to dazzle his audience. Picasso was concerned with a different range of emotion, as evidenced by his simplified set for L'Après Midi d'une Faune discussed above. He realised that this could no longer be achieved within the ambit of Diaghilev's Russian Ballet. Cooper makes this realisation clear:

> Picasso, whose mocking sense of humour is well known... delighted in proposing to Diaghilev, whose sense of humour was weak, elaborate ideas of his own for future ballets of an extravagantly imaginative kind. One of these projects... called for a still-life décor of assorted meats and vegetables in and around which the dancers, dressed as flies, would weave.... Another... was a ballet about the life of Diaghilev, showing him in a succession of scenes from the day he cut his first tooth to the toothless Diaghilev of old age. These projects were... imaginative flights.... Yet there was behind them the serious purpose of trying to spur Diaghilev on to... produce ballets which were more challenging...[164]

If there remain any doubts, Picasso himself made quite clear the reason why he could no longer work for Diaghilev: "Diaghilev voudrait que je fasse pour ses ballets des décors de Bakst".[165]

At the very time that Prince Schervashidze was rendering La Course into a spectacle for Diaghilev, Picasso began working for a new patron on a production which would once again enable him to break new ground in performance art. Comte Etienne de Beaumont who com-

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[164] Cooper, Picasso Theatre, p.53.

[165] McQuillen, Painters and the Ballet, p.523, citing Boris Kochno, Le Ballet en France du Quinzieme Siecle à nos Jours, Paris 1954, p.219. In Kochno, Diaghilev and the Ballets Russes, p.136, the incident is reported as follows: "... when Diaghilev approached him later on for stage designs... Picasso sidestepped the commissions, remarking to friends that Diaghilev "would have liked me to do Bakst décors signed 'Picasso'".

missioned the designs for the ballet Mercure in 1924, was a French aristocrat and dilettante who had long been a supporter of the Russian Ballet. Massine describes him as "a man of great charm and versatility, who in his leisure time designed jewellery for Cartiers".[166] While he could hardly be called a member of the avant-garde, Beaumont was a dedicated patron of the arts who conceived "a series of evenings of dance, drama, music, painting and poetry to be called Les Soirées de Paris".[167] Massine had left Diaghilev's ballet company in January 1921, and was invited by de Beaumont to collaborate on those evenings, the proceeds of which were to go to charity.

Cooper suggests that the original idea for Mercure dated to early 1923, and cites correspondence between Satie and the Beaumonts to prove this.[168] The date of Picasso's initial involvement is not given by Massine when he writes: "I was delighted when Beaumont asked Satie to write the music for the ballet and Picasso to design the set and costumes".[169] Thus three of the collaborators of Parade were to work together once again.[170] The spirit of Apollinaire was present too, in the title of Beaumont's evenings, borrowed from one of the poet's early periodicals. Beaumont also quite blatantly

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[166] Massine, My Life in Ballet, p.158.

[167] Ibid.

[168] Cooper, Picasso Theatre, p.57.

[169] Massine, My Life in Ballet, p.160.

[170] Cocteau, busy working for Diaghilev on Le Train Bleu which had its premiere on 20 June 1924, two days before that of Mercure, was not available.

borrowed from Diaghilev not only a performance concept but also his artists, composers and choreographer. The atmosphere in which Mercure was conceived and developed is reminiscent of the period of Parade when Diaghilev had adopted a more benevolent attitude towards creative innovation.

The Mercure scenario, like Parade and Pulcinella has little narrative substance, and it was described in the programme not as a 'ballet' but as 'poses plastiques en trois tableaux'. The scenario as outlined in the programme was brief:

> I.Night prepares Apollo and Venus' scene of tenderness - the signs of the Zodiac surround them - Jealous Mercury arrives unexpectedly, cuts Apollo's thread of life, and thanks to his power brings him back to life in the same instant.
> II. Dance of the Three Graces and of Mercury - They bathe. Mercury takes advantage of the occasion to steal their pearls (jewels), and flees, pursued by Cerberus.
> III.Fete at Bacchus - Mercury invents new dances to charm the guests and discovers (opens?) the letters. Proserpina finds herself among the guests. Pluto abducts her with the aid of Chaos.[171]

Penrose has described Mercure as "a skit on the stories of the gods" and "deliberately scatological".[172] The sexual references occur in all three tableaux. In the first, the 'scene of tenderness' between Apollo and Venus; in the second the bath of the Three Graces, in which the latter are played by men en travesti with large imitation breasts; and in the third and final tableau, the rape of Proserpina.

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[171] "Mercure", Soirées de Paris programme, Paris 1924. No pagination. Cited in McQuillan, "Painters and the Ballet", p.632.

[172] Roland Penrose, in Picasso and the Theatre, Exhibition Catalogue, p.11.

While Parade can be seen to have been conceived in the tradition of Expressionist, Futurist and Dada performance, Mercure pointed the way for the newly emerging Paris Surrealists a group of whom interrupted the first performance of Mercure. According to Massine

> There was a sudden shout and a group of men irrupted [sic] into the box where Picasso was sitting with his wife. We continued dancing under a certain sense of strain while they cursed and shouted at him, calling him a vieux pompier! until Beaumont fetched the police and they were forced to leave the theatre. We were told later that the demonstration had been staged by a group of dadaists who were enraged by our cubist performance.[173]

Satie appears to have believed that the attack was directed at his score. "Commotion yesterday at the Cigale; the false Dada came to sonspirer me" he wrote in a letter to Rolf de Mare, dated 16 June 1924.[174] McQuillan suggests that the demonstration was not, in fact, directed against any specific aspect of the ballet, but that it was rather a manifestation of Surrealist intentions, "a rival faction of the artistic milieu struggling to keep its avant-garde status".[175] According to Cooper, however, the hostility was occasioned by the Surrealists outrage that "one of their artistic idols should be willing to work for the benefit of the international aristocracy" (a reference to Beaumont and the beneficiaries of his soirées - French war widows and Russian refugees).[176]

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[173] Massine, My Life in Ballet, p.160.

[174] Cited in McQuillan, "Painters and the Ballet", p.630.

[175] Ibid.

[176] Cooper, Picasso Theatre, p.59.

Whatever the Surrealists' motives, they were not sustained for long. Mercure served to confirm Andre Breton's high estimation of Picasso. A letter praising Picasso and Mercure signed by Breton and his Surrealist colleagues appeared in Paris-Journal on 20 June 1924.[177] Seven years after Parade in which Picasso had crystallised a new tradition of performance art, his latest invention was pointing the way ahead for the next generation of avant-garde artists.

[177] Ibid.

V. THE DROP CURTAINS

Picasso designed drop-curtains or overture curtains for Parade and two other ballets - Le Tricorne and Mercure. The drop-curtains were front-of-stage curtains which remained lowered while the overture was played. The idea of a drop curtain was Diaghilev's. Buckle writes that when planning his ballet productions for 1911,

> Diaghilev had had a lavish new idea: symphonic ante'actes - with illustrations. That is to say a painted curtain would be lowered to keep the audience quiet while the music was played. One was to be Liszt's Orpheus, with a decorative panel by Bakst... another The Battle of Kerjenetz, an interlude in Rimsky's The City of Kitej, with a painting by Roerich. Only the second of these was realised, but Serov painted a big curtain... to hold the attention during the overture... of Schéhérazade.[178]

This is contrary to Axsom's claim that the Parade drop-curtain was the first.[179] Axsom further claims that

> When Diaghilev... used an overture curtain... it depicted a representational scene which was affiliated, in the most general terms, with the narrative of the ballet.[180]

Diaghilev seems to have been somewhat less concerned with the relation of curtain to scenario, than with the use of the painted

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[178] Buckle, Diaghilev, pp.189 and 327.

[179] Axsom, 'Parade': Cubism as Theater, p.99.

[180] Ibid.

curtain to engross the audience during the playing of the overture to the ballet - or of another piece of music. But Picasso's drop-curtains were to be more than mere decorative palliatives for the audience. Buckle has further observed, in relation to Diaghilev's motives for commissioning drop-curtains, that "it was his way of commissioning the best painters to produce their biggest pictures".[181] In at least two cases, Picasso's drop-curtains reversed the relationship between painting and music. For Le Tricorne, the overture music was written especially by de Falla to accompany the showing of the curtain. With Le Train Bleu the curtain heralded by a specially composed fanfare, was unveiled as an autonomous presence on stage.[182] The painting had become performance.

While some thematic connection between curtain and scenario might enhance the unity of the production, it was by no means a requirement of Diaghilev's commissions. On the contrary, the impresario appears to have relied on the drop curtains to create an independent impression, and may even have communicated this to the artists. Thus what many writers have observed to be a shift between the imagery of the curtains and that of the scenarios may well have been an intentional theatrical device. This chapter will show how Picasso took advantage of the creative and iconographic freedom afforded him in the creation of the drop curtains to extend his symbolic treatments of the ballet themes.

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[181] Buckle, Diaghilev, p.361.

[182] Cooper, Picasso Theatre, p.40, n.105; Buckle, Diaghilev, pp.427-8.

Parade

The Parade drop-curtain (Figs.10 & 11) depicts two groups of figures situated in a space that is defined as a theatre stage by the presence of voluminous red draped curtains and what appears to be a painted backcloth. On the left, a white, winged horse suckles a foal. A young girl in a flimsy white dress and similarly winged, appears to be standing on its back. Her raised right hand is grasped by a monkey which balances at the top of a striped ladder. On the right, seven figures are grouped around a table on which a coffee pot, a cup and a plate of fruit are visible. The four seated male figures comprise a torero, two harlequins and a sailor.[183] The harlequin at the far side of the table caresses a sleeping girl who rests her head on his shoulder. On her left, a female figure half-kneeling on a packing case/seat has her arm around the sailor. Behind this group and appearing to lean against a strategically placed column is a turbaned, muscular Negro. The background to these figures presents problems of identification. The column mentioned above is located among the curtains and must therefore be a (painted) stage-prop and not part of the background scene. Directly above and in front of it is a roughly rectangular form

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[183] The various references to toreros, toreadors and matadors in the literature requires some clarification. Gloria May Konig, "Pablo Picasso and the 'Corrida de Toros'", Unpublished MA Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley 1962, pp.123-125, includes a glossary of bullfighting terms adopted from Ernest Hemingway's Death in the Afternoon. This glossary defines 'toreador' as a "Frenchification of the word 'torero'". The latter is in turn defined as "the professional bullfighter, (includes picadors, matadors, banderillo's etc.)". The 'matador' is specifically the torero who kills the bull. 'Torero' is thus a generic term and it therefore seems most correct to refer to all such figures in Picasso's work as 'toreros'.

the corner of which partially obscures the top of the column. This form can be interpreted as a part of a stage set in the process of being raised from or lowered onto the stage. Likewise, the rectangular shape which frames the right hand female figure may refer to some element of stage apparatus. Beyond the red curtains yet apparently adjacent to the far edge of the floorboards, is a landscape which presents an unresolvable tension of depth and flatness. It is comprised of a sky area containing cloud or smoke forms, an undulating horizon, thick green bushy vegetation and an indeterminate greenish ground plane. These elements are composed in a series of horizontal planes which help create the visual tension noted above. In the midst of this landscape stands a rusticated stone arch, its opening emphasised by a part of the vegetation which rises up at precisely this point. It remains to point out the foreground ball, drum and sleeping dog to complete a description of the complexity of elements in the Parade drop-curtain. The discussion which follows will evaluate each of these elements both as symbolic entities and as discrete parts which have been combined into a unique metaphoric whole. As a prelude to this interpretation, the question of scale will be addressed.

As Buckle has observed, a significant feature of the drop-curtains is their scale. Picasso's largest paintings prior to 1917 were the Saltimbanque Family (1905: 2,12 x 2,29m) and Les Demoiselles d'Avignon (1907: 2,43 x 2,33m). Few other works before this exceeded 2m in either horizontal or vertical dimension. Guernica (1937), usually considered his largest painting measures 3,56 x

7,82m and even the War and Peace murals of 1952 in Vallauris, each measuring 4,7 x 10,24m, are small in comparison with the drop curtains. The dimensions of the Parade curtain are 10,6 x 17,25m - a size which has made its exhibition virtually impossible and its viewing a rarity. The Le Tricorne and Mercure curtains have both been cut down, but in order to have filled the proscenium their original scale would have been of the same order.[184]

Axsom considers the scale of the Parade curtain critical to his iconographic interpretation, firstly because it can be included in the category of major paintings which are "on a large scale" and "in an allegorical mode" and secondly because the huge expanse of painted, red draped curtain which frames the scene creates a spatial setting that is integral to his interpretation of the iconography.[185] Close scrutiny of the three existing studies for the final Parade curtain, (Figs.12-14) and the absence of any evidence to the contrary, suggests that the spatial ambiguities of the finished painting were not an issue from the start. The three studies differ from each other in respect of the amount of detail shown, and in the group of figures associated with the ladder. The remainder of the composition is unchanged in all three studies and

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[184] Cooper, Picasso Theatre, p.347, gives the dimensions of the Le Tricorne drop-curtain as 10m x 16m, and that of the Mercure drop-curtain as 4m x 5m (p.352). Because of its present location in the foyer of the Seagram Building, Park Ave, New York, the Le Tricorne curtain in its present state is difficult to measure. I have, however, on an in situ inspection, made an estimate of its dimensions as being approximately 6m x 6m.

[185] Axsom, 'Parade': Cubism as Theater, p.166 and pp.152-3.

in the final curtain (Figs.10 and 11). What does change, in the final curtain, is the viewpoint. In the studies the figures are seen from a close viewpoint with the ball placed right on the picture plane. In the final curtain the figures recede from the viewer and an extensive ground plane intervenes between the ball and the spectator.[186] In each of the three studies the curtains are located behind the figures - an ambiguous situation, as Axsom has pointed out.[187] It suggests that the spectator is back-stage in the wings watching a scene enacted on stage. From this vantage point, the theatre audience would be able to be seen beyond the curtain. But this is not the case. In Fig.12, this area is vaguely defined by a few vertical lines and the outline of a bush or shrub behind the figure of the torero/guitarist. In Fig.13, the vertical

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[186] This effect can only be seen clearly when the curtain is viewed in its entirety. Because of its great size the curtain presents problems both of viewing and of photographing. Most published photographs crop the periphery and focus on the figure groups. As Axsom points out, the only published photograph of the complete curtain is a black and white illustration in Paul W. Schwarz, Cubism, London 1962, p.145 (Fig.10 here). The extension of the ground plane and elaboration of the surrounding drapes can be seen in this illustration and compared with the more usual view as seen in the colour illustration (Fig.11). Axsom was able to see the original curtain at first hand and thus his description is valuable. My own requests to view the curtain, now stored at the Musée Nationale d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris, proved fruitless. Robert Joffrey, whose City Center Joffrey Ballet revived Parade in New York in March 1973, experienced similar difficulties. For an account of this revival see M.S.LoMonaco, "The Giant Jigsaw Puzzle: Robert Joffray Reconstructs 'Parade'", The Drama Review, 28 no.3(T103) Fall 1984, pp.31-45. LoMonaco writes (p.40): "Joffrey went to great lengths to examine what little of the original production was left. He went to the Musée Nationale d'Art Moderne in Paris . are the drop-curtain is stored but not displayed, only to be denied permission to see it. On a subsequent trip he finally did see it after much persistence". It is hoped that once the Musée Picasso is operative, the curtain will be placed on permanent display.

[187] Axsom, 'Parade': Cubism as Theater, p.159.

lines emerge as the definition of an arched opening to the right and a ladder to the left. Between these are vague indications of landscape elements. In Fig.14, the loosely blocked-in water colour obscures all detail, but in the final curtain, the landscape emerges more clearly. The absence of the theatre audience and the presence of a landscape whose spatial location and parameters are uncertain, contradicts the notion that this is simply a performance seen from the wings.

The visual tension introduced by this landscape simultaneously presents an illusion of real space and an assertion of the flat, painted artificiality of a theatre backcloth. This tension is compounded by an uncertainty as to whether the spectator is in the auditorium or back-stage. The angle at which the vertical landscape abuts the horizontal floor plane further disturbs the spatial logic of the scene. According to this angle, far from being parallel to the picture- or spectator- plane as is normal for a stage backcloth, the landscape is placed obliquely.[188] This might

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[188] The literature generally regards the landscape as a topographical reference to the Mediterranean south and specifically to Naples, on account of the arch (interpreted by Axsom as part of a Roman viaduct, but also more generally as 'classical' and therefore Italian) and the mountains with clouds or smoke suggestive of Mt. Vesuvius. (See Axsom, 'Parade': Cubism as Theater, p.110, and McQuillan, "Painters and the Ballet", pp.172 and 411 for these observations). Such an interpretation assumes the influence of Picasso's Italian trip on the drop-curtain. The simplified undulating line which marks the distant hilly horizon of the painted landscape cannot be interpreted specifically as Mt. Vesuvius on the basis of visual similarity. This becomes clear when the drop-curtain is compared with the Pulcinella set designs and especially Fig.187 which depicts Mt. Vesuvius in a graphic way. Both the arch motif and the volcano, however, recur in other ballet designs and suggest interpretations which, rather than being simply descriptive will be found to be of metaphoric import.

accord with the viewpoint of a spectator in the wings, looking obliquely towards the back of the stage, but this explanation is contradicted by the position of the curtains.

The heavy flanking curtain and more distant viewing point introduced into the final curtain, may well have been a [illegible]ise necessitated by problems encountered in 'blowing up' from a small - 27,5 x 29,5cm - sketch to the massive s[illegible]' by the proscenium arch of the Châtelet Theatre. A contemporary [illegible]tograph of Picasso and assistants painting the curtain (Fig. [illegible] clearly shows that the painted figures seated around the table 2 - 3 times life size. Although there is no evidence as to what method Picasso used to enlarge the scale of his designs, it may well have been considered aesthetically unsatisfactory to make the figures any larger than this.[185] The solution to the problem of how to 'fill in' the surrounding space was the addition of increased areas of curtain at the sides and top and a greater expanse of the floorplane in the foreground. This increases the spatial ambiguity suggested above. Framing curtains are introduced on the spectator side of the space, i.e., in front of the painted figures. The latter can therefore now be read as being viewed both from the auditorium and from back-stage. The back-stage position remains undefined, and various vantage points in the wings are possible.

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[185] Walter D. Bannard, "Touch and Scale: Cubism, Pollock, Newman and Still", Artforum, 9, June 1971, pp 58-[illegible], discusses the problems encountered in the application of Cubist principles to large scale works, using Guernica as an example, and asserts (p.58) that "The very large painting demands special mechanical treatment and must be preceded by a conception adequate for the size". His remarks are appropriate for the Parade curtain too.

As a result, foreground, background and side views are confused, and the spectator's position in space becomes uncertain. The painted figures are placed in the conceptual equivalent of a central space around which the spectator can take up a number of theoretical positions. In other words, Picasso's curtain transforms the traditional space of the proscenium stage into a space which parallels those areas for performance with which he was far more familiar - the circus arena and the bullring. This arena-like space is not described but rather stated conceptually through the perceptual distortion of the traditional means of depicting a theatre stage. Axsom has characterised what he regards as the juxtaposition of flattened figures and illusionistic space in the curtain as characteristic of the method of Cubist collage.[188] The Cubist nature of the curtain is, however, more complex than this. Kahnweiler understood how the idea of theatre-in-the-round approximated to a Cubist conception of space:

> The circus [was]... the one spectacle which might have provoked a reform of the theatre precisely in the spirit of Cubism, for the circus is a three-dimensional spectacle. The acrobats seen from all sides are sculptures living in space; here was something very much akin to the Cubists' idea of a complete representation of volume. One could imagine

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[188] Axsom, 'Parade': Cubism as Theater, p.106. Although Axsom has noted spatial ambiguity, he defines it as a duality between "front of house" and backstage. He notes that the painted landscape cannot bear the relationship of an illusionistic backdrop to the stage area because its base does not intersect the orthogonals of the floor boards at right angles. Nevertheless he concludes that "If the figures and their props were removed from the curtain's composition, what remains is a convincing illusionistic space derived from Renaissance schemes" (p.158). Axsom then draws a parallel between the curtain and a Cubist collage in its juxtaposition of this illusionistic space with "the relentlessly flattened shapes and forms of the figures animals and props" (p.159).

> them setting the spectacle in the middle of the audience, for example.[131]

McQuillan notes that ideas relating to a new theatre-in-the-round were being expressed at the time in the journal SIC, to which Apollinaire was a frequent contributor.[132] It is very probable that Picasso had given consideration to such a three-dimensional application of Cubism, in spite of Kahnweiler's claim that

> If such an idea ever occurred to the Cubists not one of them ever mentioned it to me. They arrived in the theatre, ignorant of its particular laws and found an existing auditorium and stage with which they had to come to terms.[133]

By locating the figures of his drop curtain "in the middle of the audience", Picasso not only drew an iconographic parallel between this performance, the circus and the bullring, but also suggested the Cubist identity of Parade. Although the spatial limitations of the proscenium theatre prevented the physical creation of ballet-in-the-round, the Parade curtain orientates - or disorientates - the spectator towards a conception-in-the-round.

The Parade overture curtain has been the subject of a number of iconographic interpretations which seek to isolate a complete and self-sufficient meaning within the curtain. Opposed to these interpretations is the view that the curtain holds no meaning at

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[131] Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, Juan Gris. His Life and Work, London 1969, p.156, cited in McQuillan, "Painters and the Ballet", p.123.

[132] McQuillan, "Painters and the Ballet", pp.123-6.

[133] Kahnweiler, Juan Gris. His Life and Work, p.156, in Ibid., p.123.

[134] Axsom, 'Parade': Cubism as Theater, Martin, "The Ballet 'Parade': A Dialogue between Cubism and Futurism", Macdonald,

all.[194] The iconographic interpretation which follows will demonstrate that, in character with the overall nature of Picasso's symbolic structures, the curtain reveals not a single incontestable meaning, but a rich fabric which crystallises key issues of Picasso's oeuvre.

It is not surprising that the image of a horse dominates the Parade drop curtain. The horse is found in a large proportion of Picasso's works where its formal and iconographic treatment ranges from the naturalistic and unelaborated to the stylised and specific. An example of the former category is found in an early series of drawings which shows the horse in a naturalistic setting, bridled and harnessed, emphasising its role as a beast of burden.[195] In contrast, in the Peace mural at Vallauris (Fig.16) the horse is winged, white and draws a plough. Its meaning is specified in the context of the title of the work, in relation to the opposing image of War; and in conjunction with its surrounding imagery. Here through a complex set of associations the neutral or natural image has been elaborated into a metaphorical statement.

Diaghilev Observed by Critics in England and the United States, 1911- 1929, Roff, "Picasso's 'Three Musicians'. Harlequins, Maskers and Friends", Vogel, "Picasso als Bühnenbild und Kostümentwerfer für die Ballets Russes", and, to a lesser extent McQuillan, hold the former view. The latter is reflected by Cooper, Picasso Theatre, who describes the curtain as "popular imagery at its most decorative and enchanting", (p.24). Martin, although offering a complex interpretation (p.91) of the Parade drop-curtain, approaches it stylistically as "an obvious throwback to the so-called rose or circus period". Buckle, Diaghilev, p.380 describes the curtain as having been painted in "a naive but old-fashioned style, like the decoration of a nineteenth-century fairground".

[195] Z VI:138-145

The horse is a key character both in the bullfight and the circus, two events to which Picasso brings extended meaning and which, in the context of performance, are related to Parade. It has already been suggested that these themes were interconnected in Picasso's elaboration of the spatial setting of the drop curtain. One of Picasso's first oil paintings depicts a picador on horseback in a bullring (Fig.17). In other treatments of the theme the horse frequently appears as a victim or martyr-type, culminating in its portrayal in Guernica. An early group of sketches of circus horses is represented by Z I:264-270. The Circus Family (1904-5: Fig.18) shows the horse as part of a travelling circus, a theme which is reinterpreted in the Travelling Circus, (1922: Fig.19). In the 1906 Boy Leading a Horse (1906: Fig.20), the classical and timeless are emphasised through elimination of background detail and reference to classical styles as diverse as those of the ancient Greeks (the Parthenon horses, Kouros figures) and possibly even Cézanne (Picasso's boy has been compared to Cézanne's Bather of 1885-1890 in the Museum of Modern Art, New York). A specific meaning is attributed to the horse in an early work, The Burial of Casagemas (1901: Fig.21). Here the white horse is wingless yet airborne as it carries the body of Casagemas heavenward. As it escapes from the natural world it takes on a metaphysical significance.

In the Parade curtain the distinctive features of the horse are its two large, white wings. Axsom has pointed out that at the turn of the century it was customary for animal trainers in the circus to strap a pair of wings onto a horse in order to present an il-

lusion of flight when jumps were performed.[136] The wings of the Parade horse do indeed appear to be strapped on. This late nineteenth-century practice, recorded in lithographs of the period, cannot therefore be ruled out altogether as a source for Picasso. Two observations may, however, be made. In the first place, although, as has been shown, horses appeared frequently in Picasso's work before 1917 both in circus and other contexts, the Parade curtain is the first instance of a winged horse. Moreover, it is the only instance of a winged horse portrayed in the context of a performance in Picasso's oeuvre. Following, and much later, occurrences of this image are all in the context of works which are connected with the theme of war - The Dream and Lie of Franco (1936: Figs.23 & 24), Guernica (1937: Fig.25), and Peace (1952: Fig.16). Parade was created at a time when Europe was at the height of a horror-filled war. This circumstance and the iconographic links to later works which deal with the theme of war, suggest a specific, if covert, meaning for the drop curtain.

A winged horse, identifiable as the mythical Pegasus, appears in two of the studies for Guernica both dated 1 May 1937. In the first of these (Fig.26) a miniature Pegasus is seated on the back of a standing bull.[137] In the second study (Fig.27) the winged horse emerges from the side of a larger 'mother' in a direct allusion to the birth of the mythological Pegasus who sprang fully formed

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[136] Axsom, 'Parade': Cubism as Theater, p.119.

[137] The suggestion of a band drawn around the bull's girth evokes the Pegasus of the Parade curtain and might be a reference to the strapped-on wings of performing circus horses mentioned above.

from the body of Medusa after she had been decapitated by Perseus.[196] The winged horse, as has already been observed, appears again in the Peace mural from Vallauris, where it is depicted pulling a plough, a symbol of rebirth. It is also found in two pencil studies for this work which are inscribed with the date '24.7.52'.[197] A winged horse appears again in the play Les Quatres Petites Filles which Picasso wrote shortly after World War II and which was first published in France in 1949. In the fourth act of this play, the stage direction reads:

> Enter an enormous white winged horse dragging its guts, surrounded by eagles; an owl is perched on its head; it stays for a short time in front of the little girl and disappears on the other side of the stage.[198]

The mythological Pegasus does not occur frequently in Western Art. Picasso's highly selective use of the image indicates a specific purpose. Outside of the Parade curtain this purpose is made very clear. In both Guernica studies, and in the Peace mural and its study, the winged horse signifies the triumph of the forces of life and light over those of death and darkness, a signification drawn

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[196] Robert Graves, The Greek Myths, Harmondsworth 1969, Vol.1., p.127 and p.239.

[197] Loe, "Picasso's War and Peace", discusses these studies.

[198] Pablo Picasso, The Four Little Girls, translated by Roland Penrose, London 1970, p.62. Although a detailed examination of this play is not possible in the present study, this and other quotations which will be drawn from it suggest that consideration of Picasso's poetic writing must prove illuminating for his art. This is the viewpoint also adopted by at least one writer who analyses The Four Little Girls in considerable detail, see Gassman, "Mystery, Magic and Love in Picasso 1927-1938". Gassman interprets the play "... a statement of optimism made at the end of the Second World War, in which life emerges triumphant over death.

directly from Greek mythology.[281] Pegasus is the horse of the Olympian gods and through the unusual circumstances of his own birth, a symbol of rebirth. Pegasus was the favourite mount of Apollo, deity of the Arts, and favourite horse, too, of the Muses, sources of artistic inspiration. Although born of a mortal, he achieves immortality. The winged horse thus links the notions of immortality and rebirth with the artistic process. At least three times in his oeuvre, in The Dream and Lie of Franco, in Guernica and in Peace Picasso responded to the generally destructive and reactionary wars which threaten both civilisation and art. His attitude to war is clearly reflected in his statement of July 1937:

> My whole life as an artist has been nothing more than a continuous struggle against reaction and the death of art.... As to the future of Spanish art.... The contribution of the people's struggle will be enormous.... Something new and strong which the consciousness of this magnificent epic will sow in the souls of Spanish artists will undoubtedly appear in their works...[282]

Art not only survives but is revitalised by the destruction of war. The image of Pegasus is a precise metaphor for the transcendance of art in time of war.

Two further observations need to be made regarding the winged horse of the Parade drop curtain. Firstly, its iconographic complexity

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[281] In her discussion of the Pegasus in the Peace mural, Lee, "Picasso's 'War' and 'Peace'", p.36, writes: "...the hybrid's presence in the painting of Peace would allude to a utopian state of existence wherein the arts are harnessed for the betterment of mankind. The regenerative act of plowing would then refer to the spiritual rebirth to be witnessed by humanity when peace exists unconditionally".

[282] Picasso, Statement of 1937, first published by Elizabeth McCausland, Picasso, New York 1944, reprinted in Ashton, Picasso on Art, p.143.

is enriched through a stylistic treatment which links it to two other traditions in Picasso's oeuvre which explore the dialectic of life and death, namely the Crucifixion, and the bullfight. The horse appears in a narrative and allegorical context in Picasso's enigmatic Crucifixion (1930: Fig.22) and a study for this work (Fig.28) shows a horse which bends down to munch a tuft of grass. This horse is one of a number of unnaturalistically long-necked horses in Picasso's oeuvre, of which the Parade Pegasus, is one of the first. The type is quite frequently found in depictions of the Bullfight where it is expressive of the anguish of the horse/victim.[203] This recurring image of the long-necked horse suggests an affinity of meaning and reinforces the interpretation of the Parade horse in the context of the life/death dialectic of art and war. The second point concerns the curious narrative detail in which Pegasus is also a mare suckling her foal. This apparent contradiction though observed, has not been accounted for in the Parade literature.[204] The life-affirming power of Pegasus is underlined by this image of a nursing 'mother and child'. It provides a particularly succinct example of the reshuffling powers of metaphorical language.

The connection between the winged horse and Picasso's response to World War I in the Parade curtain emerges clearly. This is in

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[203] This type of expressive distortion can be compared with such works as the Old Guitarist (1901), the Blue Room, (1901), and the Laundress (1904) in which a similar elongation of shoulder and the left side of the neck is an expression of the alienation and tragic situation of the figures.

[204] See Axsom, 'Parade': Cubism as Theater, p.118.

contrast to the literature which, while generally acknowledging that the war disrupted Picasso's social life, fails to find any direct expression of a response to that war in his work of 1914-18.[265] Indeed, Parade itself has been seen to be the creation of a group of artists entirely unconcerned with the carnage that raged close to Paris in 1917. Picasso's visit to Italy in 1917 and his romance with Olga are seen as factors which further dissociated him from the grim realities of the effects of war in France. Yet the Parade curtain would suggest otherwise. Pegasus proclaims the rebirth and renewal that art promises in the face of the "death of art" implied by war. The novelty of Parade, its avant-garde statement, which was immediately acknowledged by critics and which remains a historical fact, was the clearest demonstration of the meaning which Picasso intended his curtain to contain: in art lies a form of salvation. An examination of the other images of the curtain will reinforce the meanings contained in the winged white horse.

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[265] A typical, though anonymous statement is to be found in a recent exhibition catalogue, Picasso from the Musée Picasso Paris, Walker Art Centre, Minneapolis 1980, p.139, "World War I affected Picasso less than it did other artists.... Surprisingly, in light of earlier and subsequent concerns for social and political matters that found expression in his creation, none of his work from this period commented on the War". It is curious that in spite of a universal recognition of the hermetic nature of Picasso's imagery, the absence of overt references to the War is taken as a sign of the artist's indifference. Silver, "'Esprit de Corps': The Great War and French Art 1914-1925", p.426, n.30, distinguishes between explicit and implicit evidence of the influence of World War I on French art, rightly claiming that such influence "is rarely dependent on direct reference to the event". Silver's interpretation of Picasso's response to the War is discussed in greater detail below.

The young girl wearing a flimsy white dress appears to be standing on the horse's back. Like the animal, she has a pair of wings attached to her shoulders (Fig.29). Her position in space is ambiguous, since logically the distance between her feet - which are hidden but assumed to be planted on the horse's back - and her right hand, close to the top of the ladder, is too great to be bridged by her body. Since she cannot clearly be seen to be standing on anything, the notion of flight contained in the image of her wings is underlined. Her upward stretched arms likewise indicate the direction of her movement and the monkey appears to assist her movement in this direction. Wings symbolise spirituality, imagination and thought, and this symbolisation is closely linked to that of flight.[266]

> Flying implies raising oneself and is therefore closely connected with the symbolism of level, not only in relation to moral values but also to the notion of superiority applied to other qualities such as power or strength.[267]

The discussion of the winged horse has shown this association to apply to the notion of the transcendent power of art and artistic creation in the drop curtain.

Winged figures - apart from birds, bats or insects - do not exist in the real world, thus these figures are simple and clear examples of visual metaphors. Two 'real' images - a pair of wings and a girl (or a horse) - are united, as they cannot possibly be in nature.

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[266] Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols, p.354-5.

[267] Ibid., p.104.

to suggest a third principle which is a metaphoric statement of transcendence. Winged creatures commonly populate fairy tales, fantasy worlds and mythologies. If, like Pegasus, the girl is a mythological character, then she may be the winged goddess Iris, the female counterpart of Hermes or Mercury, and messenger of Hera. The winged girl of the Parade curtain is reminiscent of a similar figure associated with light imagery in a 1934 drawing of a bullfight scene (Fig.30). Here a young winged girl, holding a candle, kneels in front of a horse and bull locked in terrifying combat. In the background, the barest indication of an arcaded wall identifies the arena of the bullring. With her left hand the girl holds the light up to the struggling horse, with her right she shields its flame from the bull's destructive rage. The winged girl, horse and light are brought into conjunction - three images whose associations interact and reinforce one another.[288]

The winged girl also appears in other guises. In 1918 at Biarritz, (where Picasso and Olga spent their honeymoon at Mme. Errazuriz's villa), Picasso produced a series of drawings depicting a winged female figure together with a nude, a harlequin and a pierrot (Figs.31-33).[289] Zervos' titles identify the winged figures in these drawings as 'amour'. One of the drawings in the series (Fig.31) certainly suggests an identification of the winged figure with Cupid or Eros by the archer's bow which it carries. A monkey

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[288] Light imagery in the form of the image of the sun occurs in the water-colour sketch for the Parade drop-curtain (Fig.14) and will be discussed below.

[289] Z III:195-197,199 and 200.

is seated in the foreground of this scene. In another (Fig.32), however, the winged figure (bottom left) is definitely female and her dress is similar to that of the winged female of the Parade curtain. The bow is no longer present, instead she holds up a mirror to the large posturing nude who is being serenaded by harlequin and pierrot. In yet a third scene (Fig.33) a monkey is again present possibly standing here, like the mirror, as a reminder of human vanity.[210] Although it is not possible here fully to investigate the meanings of this series of sketches, it seems that in them Picasso contrasts physical beauty which is temporal and associated with eroticism (represented by the large nude) with the permanent beauty of true artistic creation (represented by the winged girl). It is possible that the winged girl of the Parade curtain carries similar connotations.[211]

The monkey of the Parade drop-curtain appears in a different role from that of a vanitas symbol. As Axsom has remarked, there has been little attempt in the literature to explore the symbolism of the monkey and baboon in Picasso's art.[212] This reluctance may be explained by the complex history of ape imagery in Western Art, combined with Picasso's ambivalent treatment of the motif. Janson's volume, and especially his Chapter X which has been

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[210] See Horst W.Janson, Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, London 1952, pp.212-216, for discussion of the image of the monkey as a Vanitas symbol.

[211] Both in their flowing linear style and the concepts of artistic creation which they examine, these drawings anticipate the more fully developed treatment of the theme in the Vollard Suite of 1933.

[212] Axsom, 'Parade': Cubism as Theater, p.122.

briefly summarised by Axsom, provides a comprehensive outline of this history.[213] As Axsom has concluded, Picasso's use of the image depends on the traditional association of ape and artist. But to say this, reveals little, and the specific context in which the monkey appears must govern its meaning. In an extended argument, Axsom interprets the monkey as an allegorical "apotheosis" of the artist/Picasso.[214] Picasso does, indeed, make explicit his own identification with the monkey, but the contexts of such images do not remain constant. A Self-Portrait, (1903: Fig.34) in which Picasso depicts himself as an extremely vulgar-looking monkey, recalls the caricatural tradition of nineteenth century works such as Grandville's satirical images of Delacroix and Ingres (Figs.35 & 36).[215] The Saltimbanque Family and Monkey (1905: Fig.37) shows, on the other hand, the animal as a silent onlooker providing an emblematic contrast to the human figures. In the case of the 1918 Biarritz drawing (Fig.33) the monkey is presented as a reminder of the ephemeral nature of physical beauty, while in a series of drawings dating to 1953-1954, Picasso again explores the relationship of artist and monkey in variations on the artist and model theme (Fig.38).

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[213] Janson, Apes and Ape Lore, Ch.X, pp.278-322, and Axsom, 'Parade': Cubism as Theater, pp.123-124.

[214] Axsom, 'Parade': Cubism as Theater, pp.131-136 and pp.142-145.

[215] These caricatures were originally published in Un autre monde, Paris, n.d. 1844, pp.77-78. For a discussion of these works see Janson, Apes and Ape Lore, p.134.

The artist/monkey image has a history of both positive and negative connotations in the long-standing debate between art and nature.[216] As well as its presence in Medieval and Renaissance art, Picasso may have been aware of the monkey's image as a metaphor for the 'universal artist' in alchemical treatises of the seventeenth century.[217] He may also have been familiar with the works of David Teniers the Younger, in the Prado, Madrid, which employ the monkey in an overt criticism of academic classicism in art,[218] and of Goya's treatment of the theme in Los Caprichos No.41, (Fig.39).[219] In contrast to the Grandville drawings (Figs.35 & 36) Goya's satire is aimed at the ass/sitter rather than at the monkey/artist who, far from 'aping' nature creates a wholly false, though flattering portrait on his canvas. In this work there is a recognition of the monkey as a trickster, a performer and a manipulator of 'nature', and it is in this sense that Picasso may have identified with the creature.

In the Parade curtain, the monkey provides the climax to an ascending series of images associated with the ladder. Pegasus forms the base, the winged girl continues the upward movement, and the

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[216] According to Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols, p.202, this dualism extends beyond the dialectic of art and nature: "The simian generally symbolises the baser forces, darkness or unconscious activity, but this symbolism... has two sides to it.... This is why, in China, the monkey is credited with the power of granting good health, success and protection..."

[217] See Janson, Apes and Ape Lore, pp.305-307, for a discussion of this usage.

[218] Ibid., pp.310-311, discusses these works.

[219] Ibid., p.313.

monkey replaces what, in the water-colour sketch (Fig.14) Picasso originally conceived as an image of the sun at the top of the ladder. Just visible, crowning the monkey's head in the final curtain is a laurel wreath which, in general terms may represent "the classical wreath of victory or deification".[220] But there is a more specific reference. The laurel, is the sacred tree of Apollo, who is not only identified with the sun, but is also the god of the Arts.[221] The monkey/artist, wearing a laurel wreath, is substituted in the final Parade drop-curtain for what was, in an earlier sketch (Fig.14) conceived as an image of the sun. Both the laurel wreath and the sun link the image of the monkey to that of Apollo. This reference to Apollo is congruent with the inclusion of Pegasus, favourite mount of the Muses, and thus also associated with Apollo in Greek mythology, in the same figure group. It is fitting that the artist/monkey/Apollo should occur as the culmination of the upward movement which begins in Pegasus, for Cirlot points out:

> The crowning of the poet, the artist or conqueror with laurel leaves was meant to represent not the external and visible consecration of an act, but the recognition that that act, by its very existence, presupposes a series of inner victories over the negative and dissipative influence of the base

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[220] Axsom, 'Parade': Cubism as Theater, p.133.

[221] Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols, p.14, notes that "in mythology and alchemy his spiritual and symbolic significance is identical with the sun". The lyre, another familiar attribute of Apollo and sign of his role as Apollo Musagetes, the leader of the inspirational muses is a central motif in the Parade set and appears in many of the sketches for the set. Its significance there is discussed in the following chapter. See Graves, The Greek Myths, Vol.1, p.82, for the attribution of Apollo's lyre.

> forces. There is no achievement without struggle and triumph.[222]

In this context, the monkey represents not so much the apotheosis of the artist as Axsom claims, but the triumph of art over the forces which threaten its unfettered progress. In addition the inclusion of a reference to Apollo, may, by suggesting a pun on the poet's name, be a veiled tribute to Apollinaire, who wrote the programme note for the first performance of Parade.

The ladder which connects the winged girl and the monkey is an indispensable prop of circus performers. The ladder itself does not rest against a rigid surface such as a wall. In the studies (Figs.12-14) its position in space is not clear, but in the final version of the curtain it stands free in space. Picasso often included a ladder in his circus compositions, but it is also found in more complexly symbolic works such as those dealing with the theme of the Crucifixion and in Minotauromachy (1935: Fig.40). The ladder occurs both in the Crucifixion painting of 1930, (Fig.22), and in the study already discussed (Fig.28). In the former it plays a narrative role, acting as a support for the soldier who drives a nail into Christ's right hand. In the latter, the ladder's symbolism is underlined by a large upward-reaching arm located close to it on the extreme left of the study. The symbolism of ascension is echoed on the opposite side of this study by a stepped line, also indicative of upward movement. (This line is visible between the front legs of the horse.) The ladder denotes upward movement towards a spiritual realm. It is a device

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[222] Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols, p.173.

which connects the terrestrial and celestial zones, linking the darkness of the underworld and the light of the gods' domain. The ladder image reappears in the set designs for Le Tricorne (Fig.158) although it does not occur, even as a prop, in the production of the ballet.[223] The ladder is also a key image in The Four Little Girls. Although the play appears to defy interpretation in any logical way, it is evocative of the life/death dialectic which so preoccupied Picasso. This is made explicit towards the end of the play where the four little girls of the title read the following lines from a book:

> The life of life to life of life if life the life to life for life so life to life the life the death to death so death the death to death of life to death so life so death the life the death to life of scented life, ladder pointed at the tide of luminous squares of azure...[224]

In the opening scenes of the play, the Third Little Girl who is hiding behind a well, says: "Coming, coming, coming. You won't get me alive and you can't see me. I'm dead". But the other three are intent on saving her and the second little girl says: "We are going to bring you a ladder". The stage directions continue: "(They fetch a long ladder and carry it, held upright with difficulty)".[225] The ladder is the means by which the rescue from the well of death is

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[223] This information was supplied by Jane Pritchard of the London Festival Ballet in a letter.

[224] Picasso, The Four Little Girls, p.39. Gasman, "Mystery, Magic and Love in Picasso 1925-1938", p.161, discusses the imagery of ascent and descent in Picasso's ladder and stairway images with specific reference to The Four Little Girls, and concludes that "it stands for the revelation that is brought about by the beloved and by the superior cognitive gift of art itself".

[225] Picasso, The Four Little Girls, p.21.

secured. Penrose, in the preface to his 1970 translation of the play, likens the four little girls to a Greek chorus:

> Beneath the buffoonery and spontaneous joy of these four charming and precocious children, runs the current of their main preoccupation with instinctive desires and fears: love, death and life.[226]

Like the image of flight embodied in the winged mythological creatures, the ladder is connected with the symbolism of level. Its top, the precise location of which is ambiguous in the Parade curtain, represents a transcendent realm or metaphysical state. In the Crucifixion (1930: Fig.22) the crucified Christ is at the top of the ladder and it is there too that the bearded artist of Minotauromachy (1935: Fig.40) is headed. In the Parade drop-curtain the two winged creatures and the ladder image act in consort to present a clear statement of transcendence.

The ladder is painted in stripes of red, white and blue. Linda Nochlin has characterised this use of the French national colours as a "blatant and apparently parodic misuse of the French colours" since according to her, the curtain depicts "a muted poetic reverie about the artist as watcher and creator" and was thus, in 1917, a "travesty of traditional Gallic values".[227] If, however, the

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[226] Ibid., n.p.

[227] Linda Nochlin, "Picasso's Color: Schemes and Gambits", Art in America, 68, (10) December 1980, pp.105-125, p.115. Nochlin has based her interpretation of the curtain's imagery on Axsom's reading. She acknowledges his work as well as that of Silver. The latter recognises a patriotic intention behind the ballet: "Parade was only in part a 'Cubist' ballet... its authors' intention had been to please, surprise and charm the audience, not to antagonise it.... In the manner of the most convincing 'patriotic' art, Picasso's curtain was

tricolourism of the ladder is read in conjunction with the symbolic meaning of the ladder itself, and the images associated with it, a different interpretation becomes possible.[228]

The rebirth and regeneration that Picasso's art promises is directly relate. to his belief in the triumph of his adopted country in the face of the destruction of war. It is surely only a late twentieth-century viewpoint, fuelled by the continuous presence of armed conflict and the threat of nuclear conflagration, that identifies avant-gardism with anti-war sentiments. One has only to look at Apollinaire's example in volunteering for military service in his adopted country, for confirmation that Picasso's tricolour ladder is a tribute to, rather than a travesty of, French nationalism. Although never stated overtly, Picasso's concern for the fate of France during the war is underlined by two postcards which form a part of his correspondence with Gertrude Stein, who spent most of the war in Spain and Mallorca. The first, posted at Avignon on 11 September 1914, features a photograph of soldiers leaving for the front. Picasso's message to Gertrude Stein on this

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French... not by way of any direct reference to the war at hand, but by allusion". (Silver, "Esprit de Corps': The Great War and French Art 1914-1925", p.124). Silver locates the meaning of Parade "in the myriad dualities of which it is constructed", and while he does not isolate Picasso's contribution nor examine the imagery in any detail, his conclusion is that "Far more than a story of pre-war artistic debate and struggle, it was a wartime story of artistic loneliness, desperation, fear and accommodation". (Ibid., p.128).

[228] The red-white-and-blue ladder is yet another example of symbol elevated to metaphor. The ladder's symbolic meaning is universal. Picasso's colouring of it simultaneously extends and specifies this meaning within the equally specific and - as will be demonstrated below - personal meaning of the Parade curtain.

card is simply "Vive la France". The second postcard, dated 31 March 1915, bears the same message and was addressed to Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas who were by that time in Barcelona.[219] These postcards were not the only references to France and the war. A letter of 6 May 1915 to André Salmon, bears the same inscription next to a rendering of the Tricolour significantly placed against an image of a rising sun (Fig.41). In the water-colour study for the Parade drop-curtain a male figure stands on the ladder and holds up a stylised image of a sun (Fig.14). The sun as a giver of light is an image found specifically in all three of Picasso's works which have been discussed above in relation to the winged horse (Figs.16, 23, 24 & 25). In these works, the sun's light denotes enlightenment, hope, rebirth and a triumph over dark forces. The sun in the Parade sketch is presumably part of some form of theatrical decoration. Its ephemeral nature in this context reinforces the notion of transience or the constant threat of extinction under which the forces of light operate. To its right (but not visible in reproduction) it is echoed by a faint outline of a second sun image in the painted landscape background. Although the sun is not present in the final curtain, the fact that Picasso used it in a sketch is relevant. Light imagery occurs in diverse forms in Picasso's oeuvre. A lighted candle or lamp either in a still life group or held in the hand of a female figure is common.[220]

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[219] These unpublished postcards are located in the Gertrude Stein Archive, Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven.

[220] The image occurs in Guernica (Fig.25); Minotauromachy (Fig.40) and in the Blind Minotaur series (Figs.211-214).

The same patriotic message that Picasso wrote on postcards to his friends in 1914-15 is proclaimed between two tricolours on a white glass in the still life Vive La France painted between the summer of 1914 and 1915 (Fig.42).[231] Other references to France through the inclusion of the red, white and blue of the Tricolour have been noted by Nochlin.[232]

The two horses, girl and monkey on the left hand side of the curtain are monochromatic, even colourless, an expression of their non-reality. At the same time, morphologically, each of them can be identified as a 'real' performer. A delicate and subtle tension maintains the dual meaning of these figures. The concrete, real or natural images pass imperceptibly into ones that are conceptual, mythological and transcendent. Visually both identities co-exist. The figures are contained within a spatial pocket de-

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[231] As Silver, "'Esprit de Corps': The Great War and French Art", p.46, has pointed out, the words in the painting are in fact, 'Vive la' and the viewer is left to complete the reference. Silver observes (p.45) that Picasso "is perhaps the very first member of the Parisian avant-garde to create a work with explicit patriotic reference" and although, as he points out, Vive la France displays no particular stylistic response to the war, it nevertheless indicates that "Picasso was not oblivious to the outbreak of war". (Ibid., p.47).

[232] Nochlin, "Picasso's Color: Schemes and Gambits", passim. A watercolour from the Musée Picasso (Fig.43) not mentioned by Nochlin features four Tricolours and is a further example of a preoccupation with French nationalism during the war years. These patriotic references were made in strictly private contexts - correspondence with close friends and paintings which remained in Picasso's own collection. It is therefore difficult to interpret them as a kind of jingoism on Picasso's part - public protestations of his loyalty to his adopted country. Although it will be argued below that the Parade drop-curtain is a public statement of these concerns, the concealed nature of their presentation there is congruent with this observation.

fined by the ladder behind them and the large blue ball in front. This ball is associated most obviously with the idea of the universe, or, on a more symbolic level, the "All".[233] Its intense blue colour operates formally as a compositional link between the foreground, middleground (the sailor on the right) and background (the distant sky). It also focuses attention on the pale forms grouped behind it. In addition its colour is also symbolic. Generally the colour blue is associated with the heavenly and transcendent.[234] The stars which decorate the ball reinforce this symbolism. They appear here for the first time in the ballet designs, but will recur in the décors of both Le Tricorne and Narcure. The combined images of ball and stars both herald and echo the meanings contained in the figures behind them, for

> the star is a symbol of the spirit... it stands for the forces of the spirit struggling against the forces of darkness. This is a meaning which has been incorporated into emblematic art all over the world".[235]

Although the ball, like the ladder can, on one level be read as a circus prop, it is clear that the associative powers of both images extend well beyond such a narrow reading. Moreover, when read in

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[233] Gasman, "Mystery, Magic and Love in Picasso 1925-1938", pp.125-9, discusses the ball/sphere as it occurs in paintings such as Bather With a Ball (1932) as the "containing All" and links it to contemporary Surrealist writings.

[234] Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols, pp.50-54, includes a discussion of various systems of colour symbolism. In relation to the colour blue, and citing Jung, he notes: "The most relevant comments in our opinion are the following: 'Blue, standing for the vertical' - and the spatial or the symbolism of levels - 'means height and depth (the blue sky above, the blue sea below)'".

[235] Ibid., p.295.

conjunction with the figures which complete the group on the left, these extended meanings are sustained. By selecting images which doubled as naturalistic 'characters' from the world of performance and multivalent symbols drawn from traditional sources, Picasso presented the Parade audience with an introductory curtain whose pleasing and decorative qualities evoked the escape from reality implicit in theatrical performance. Contained within this very fabric, however, is a metaphorical statement of a belief not only in the immediate capacity of France to renew herself in the face of a calamitous war, but also of the power of art and the role of the artist as being inextricably linked to this revitalisation.

Like the ladder, the foreground drum also displays the French colours of red, white and blue. The drum is both naturally associated with itinerant circus performers and a musical instrument with specific symbolic significance. According to Cirlot, the drum is "of all musical instruments, most pregnant with mystic ideas".[316] As one of the earliest forms of musical instrument, the drum has associations with the inducing of states of ecstasy in Dionysiac ritual.

In Picasso's work its occurrence is not confined to a circus context, although it does make an early appearance in the symbolically significant Saltimbanque Family (1905: Fig.3). In Two Brothers (1906: Fig.44) one of a series of works in which the youthful nude male recalls an archaic Greek kouros, the drum at first appears

[316] Cirlot, J. Dictionary of Symbols, p.85.

to play no more than a compositional role: "the figures are deliberately depicted to display their harmony and beauty, without any recourse to literary reference or psychological interpretation".[237] In spite of this observation which is based on the absence of overt symbolic references, the deliberate presentation of the drum invites further investigation.[238] Cut off by the format, the drum attracts attention and suggests a dialectical relationship between its own Dionysiac associations and the Apollonian calm of the young male nudes. The drum is also symbolically equated with the sacrificial altar and as such acts as a mediator between heaven and earth.[239] In Picasso's treatment of the Crucifixion, this meaning is stressed. In 1917, possibly at the very time that he was working on the Parade commission, Picasso made a little known drawing of the Crucifixion (Fig.45).[240] Possible parallel meanings in the Parade drop curtain and the Crucifixion are given credence by this contemporary incidence of the two themes. This Crucifixion drawing includes, in addition

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[237] Phillipe Thiebaut, in Picasso. Oeuvres reçues en paiement des droits de succession, Exhibition Catalogue, Petit Palais, Paris 1979, pp.36-37.

[238] Josep Palau y Fabre, Picasso. 1881-1907, London 1981, p.444, acknowledges this but interprets the drum as a reference to the acrobats and strolling players of the Rose period, which, in 1906, Picasso is about to abandon. Palau y Fabre argues that this impending break in imagery is heralded by the drum which is half cut off by the format as though it is fading out of the picture.

[239] Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols, p.85.

[240] This drawing, Z XXIX:277, is not included in the list of "passion images" drawn up by Thomas L. Lee, in "Picasso and the Passion", MA Thesis, University of Louisville 1969, (University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor and London 1982), Table B, n.p.

to the crucified Christ, a range of narrative references such as armed soldiers, horses, the Magdalen, and the two thieves who were crucified with Christ. The rectangular object with diamond cross-hatching which is located in the right foreground may be identified as a drum which receives strong visual emphasis.[241] In its role as a link between the terrestrial and celestial realms, the drum of the Parade drop-curtain reinforces the symbolism of the ladder, the ball, Pegasus and the winged girl. The drum repeats the red, white and blue of the ladder in two bands of colour around its circumference at top and bottom. This repetition of the French colours suggests that ladder and drum contribute to a common symbolism. It is interesting to note that besides being a ritualistic instrument, the drum played a significant role in the iconography of French Republican ideals:

> France approached the nineteenth century with virtually two folklores... two political movements (Revolution and Counter-revolution)... two systems of thought... and... two symbolical systems.... In 1830 the pupils the Lycée Henri IV demonstrated their support of the Revolution by insisting that the signal for their recreation period should no longer be given by a bell (a sound connected with religion) but by a drum (a sound associated with patriotism).[242]

It is tempting to think that Picasso knew of this Republican tradition which adds a patriotic dimension to the mystic and ritual associations of the drum. The iconographic links between ladder,

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[241] A connection between the Parade drop-curtain imagery and that of the Crucifixion (1930: Fig.22) and its study (Fig.28) has been proposed above with reference both to the horse and the ladder. The drum is similarly foregrounded in both these works.

[242] Maurice Agulhon, Marianne into Battle: Republican Imagery and Symbolism in France 1789-1880, translated by Janet Lloyd, Cambridge and Paris 1981, p.37 and n.80, p.196.

drum and ball are reinforced compositionally and visually. In the water-colour study for the drop-curtain (Fig.14) the three points of a triangle are established by the three circles of ball, base of drum and sun. The ladder extends from the base to the apex of this triangle underlining the imagery of ascension. This configuration remains in the final curtain, even though the sun is no longer present there. Like the human and animal forms on the left side of the drop-curtain, the ladder, ball and drum exist simultaneously as concrete objects which refer to the general notion of performance, requiring the use of such 'props', and as symbols of transcendence. Yet a third layer of meaning is contained in the association, primarily through colour, with French nationalism. These various perspectives are shifted in and out of focus depending on the point of view of the observer, yet they are co-existent and it is this fusion of meaning which constitutes their metaphoric potency.

Next to the drum lies a dog, another animal which appears frequently in Picasso's oeuvre. Although Picasso often includes a dog in a traditional role as part of a circus group, for example in Two Acrobats with a Dog (1906: Fig.46) it is also found in works which have a more direct personal significance for the artist. Examples of this type of image are the Self-Portrait with a Dog (1902: Fig.47) and Death of Harlequin (1905: Fig.48). The prone dog of the Parade drop-curtain is somewhat different from Picasso's circus dogs which are usually found in upright or active poses. In a lying or sleeping position, the dog often occurs in conjunction with a person or group of persons around a table.

Significant examples of this type are two pencil drawings dating to the summer of 1914 when Picasso was in Avignon: Gamblers at a Table (Fig.49), and Man and Dog (Fig.50). The New York version of the Three Musicians (1921: Fig.5) is a further example.

The dog is a symbol of faithfulness and protection, but also of death. It commonly appears at the feet of the dead on medieval tombs, as a Christian symbol of guardianship, and the companion of the dead on their 'Night Sea-Crossing', and is thereby associated with resurrection.[243] It has similar significance in scenes depicting the Mithraic sacrifice of the bull.[244] Reff has discussed the significance of the dog in Picasso's oeuvre at length.

> He is... a trained circus animal when he appears behind the scenes with a monkey and a white horse in the overture curtain for Parade. But... in the Three Musicians... his real function is neither domestic nor professional, but rather funereal, in keeping with the most primitive meaning of the dog in mythology, folklore and legend.... Picasso... need not have known of these ancient myths and legends when he painted the shadowy dog, for they have endured as popular beliefs well into the twentieth century.... That Picasso did know of some of these myths and legends after all is evident from some of his other work. In the Death of Harlequin... he introduces among the mourners a large dog.... In the ballet Mercure... he placed beside the Three Graces the three-headed Cerberus.... And in the Three Musicians itself, he positions the nearly black dog, which in popular belief embodies the soul of the dead returning to earth, directly beneath the Pierrot who stands for Apollinaire, the only deceased member of the trio.[245]

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[243] Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols, p.80.

[244] Ibid.

[245] Theodore Reff, "Picasso's 'Three Musicians': Harlequins, Makers and Friends", pp.135-136.

Reff's comments on the meaning of the dog are illuminating. It is curious, however, that while acknowledging the "funereal" presence of the dog in an early work such as Death of Harlequin (1905), Reff specifically places the dog of the Parade drop-curtain in another context. To describe the dog in the Parade drop-curtain as simply "a trained circus animal" is to distort the imagery of this work. The dog lying in the foreground of the drop-curtain may be associated with the 'performing' horse and monkey only in the most literal sense that all three are animals. There is no evidence in the drop-curtain that this dog has any role as a performer. Both visually and compositionally, it is detached from the imagery on the left side and forms part of the group of figures seated around the table on the right.

Picasso seems always to have had a pet dog around him, as is evidenced by many photographs.[246] One of these is a rare photograph of Eva, his companion during the years 1912 to 1915, whose death in December 1915 came as a shattering blow to Picasso. In this photograph (Fig.51) Eva is seated at a table, and a dog lies at her feet. Penrose writes:

> Photographs taken during these years (1912-14) are scarce and portraits are completely lacking except for the imposing paintings by Picasso of a few chosen friends in the Analytical Cubist style. As a result there are no drawings of Eva (Marcelle Humbert) who became Picasso's companion when he separated from Fernande early in 1912. Her name or her synonym Ma Jolie, however, appears inscribed in many Cubist paintings. Only two photographs of Eva are known. In one she is dressed in a kimono bought for her by Picasso in Marseilles, and in the other

[246] Roland Penrose, Portrait of Picasso, (rev. ed.) London 1981, the illustrations on pp.40, 60, 82 and 102 are a few examples.

their dog, one of a long succession of dogs that have belonged to Picasso, sits at her feet.[247]

The dog in the Parade curtain (Fig.52) is not asleep, as it may, at first glance, appear to be. Its left eye, which is clearly visible, is wide open. This is precisely the case with the dog at Eva's feet in the photograph. In fact, a comparison of the two suggests that, if portraiture is present anywhere in the Parade curtain, it is in this animal with its long pointed nose and cocked ears. The alertness-in-repose signified by open eye and cocked ears suggests the attributes of fidelity and vigilance in both dogs. If, as Penrose implies, only a few photographs of Eva ever existed, it is likely that this one was kept close to Picasso's person in the months that followed her premature death in 1915.[248] This speculation receives support from Gedo, who writes:

> In response to a query, Gilot wrote on February 21, 1978, that when she asked Picasso about Eva, he showed Gilot Eva's photograph "and said that he had loved her deeply but would not make any further comments".[249]

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[247] Ibid., p.40. Fig.53 reproduces the photograph of Eva in a kimono to which Penrose refers.

[248] In response to a written inquiry from me as to the source of this photograph and the likelihood of Picasso's having attached particular importance to it, Sir Roland Penrose wrote in a letter dated 23 March 1983, "The photo of Eva to which you refer was I believe given to me by Picasso but all the material that I used for that book I passed on to the archives of the Musée Picasso in Paris.... Picasso certainly placed sentimental value on many photos". Paul Tucker, "Picasso, Photography and the Development of Cubism", The Art Bulletin, 64 (2), June 1982, pp.288-299, suggests that Picasso actually worked from photographs in many cases, and cites the photograph of Eva in a kimono as one such likely case (p.297).

[249] Gedo, Picasso, Art as Autobiography, p.278, n.11, (italics added). Gedo also provides a precedent for the identification of the dog in the Parade drop-curtain when she links the dog

Intentionally or otherwise Picasso may have transferred the suggestive image of the dog from the photograph to the painting. On the basis both of Raff's interpretation of the dog in Picasso's works as being connected with references to death, and of the traditional symbolic associations of the animal, it is suggested that the Parade drop-curtain concerns itself not only with the notion of death and destruction in the context of the War, as outlined above, but also with the intensely personal event of Eva's recent death.

Picasso first became involved in the Parade project in 1916, not long after Eva's death on 14 December 1915. There is no doubt that Eva's long illness and eventual death was a shattering experience for him. In mid-June 1914 they had travelled south to spend the summer at Avignon.[220] Six weeks later on 2 August, France was at war. The decline in Eva's health seemed almost to parallel the fate of France. By October her condition must have worsened considerably. A joint letter from Picasso and Eva to Gertrude Stein in Paris asks her to make an urgent appointment with a doctor.[221] In mid-November Picasso and Eva returned to a war-torn Paris, but, like the war, Eva's illness dragged on, and the often-quoted letter

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depicted by Picasso in drawings of 1914 (Z XXIX:107-110 and 122) with the dog in the photograph of Eva: "The dog appears to be a German shepherd, a breed Picasso owned during this period and which appears in a contemporary photo with Eva". Ibid., p.277, n.2.

[220] Pierre Daix and Joan Rosselet, Picasso. The Cubist Years 1907-1916. A Catalogue Raisonné of the Paintings and Related Works, translated by D.Blair, Boston, 1979, p.333.

[221] Letter in Gertrude Stein Archive, Beineke Rare Book Library, Yale University.

from Picasso to Gertrude Stein written less than a week before Eva's death, testifies to the personal trauma that accompanied the first eighteen months of the war:

> My life is hell - Eva is still ill and gets worse every day and now she has been in a nursing home for a month... My life is pretty miserable and I hardly do any work. I run backwards and forwards to the nursing home and I spend half my time in the Metro...[252]

It has been postulated that the dog in the Parade drop-curtain and the dog in the photograph of Eva may indeed be one and the same. In view of the iconography of death that attaches to the image of the dog and the fact that Eva's death so shortly proceeded the Parade project, it does not seem inappropriate to interpret the dog of the Parade drop-curtain as having some reference to Eva's death.

Before pursuing the connection between Eva's death and the Parade drop-curtain, it is necessary to digress in order to evaluate existing interpretations of the drop-curtain. These focus on the identification of the three female and five male figures as personalities associated with the Ballets Russes in general and the creation of Parade in particular. While the method of interpretation followed in each of these studies is similar, different conclusions are reached. The first statement of this method was that of Martin, first outlined in two lectures of 1972 and 1973, and published in 1978.[253] Martin stresses the contact between Picasso

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[252] Letter of 9 December 1915, in Gertrude Stein Archive, Beinecke Rare Book Library, Yale University. Translation in Daix and Rosselet, Picasso. The Cubist Years 1907-1916, p.304.

[253] Marianne W. Martin, "The Ballet 'Parade': a Dialogue between Futurism and Cubism", pp.85-111. The lectures, as noted in this article, were delivered at the Courtauld Institute in

and the Futurists in Rome in 1917, and suggests various points of contact between the Parade drop-curtain and Futurist works.[254] Martin's observation of "a striking similarity in mood and setting" between the frescoes by Hans von Marees in the library of the Naples aquarium, in which "the artist and his scientific and other friends [are shown] around a table amid the ruins of the Palazzo di Donna at Posillipo", and the figures around the table on the right side of the Parade drop-curtain, is hardly supported by the visual evidence.[255] It is this parallel, however, which leads Martin to attempt to identify "the select company" which Picasso has depicted:

> The Spaniard [Picasso] has also depicted a select company, not all of whom can be identified with certainty but who seem to include Massine, the harlequin with his back to the audience, Cocteau as Pierrot and a sleepy Columbine, perhaps the dancer Marie Shabelska, his Roman companion, on his shoulder. The lovely, auburn-haired girl wearing a large straw hat has some features of Olga Koklova, Picasso's future wife, whom he met in Rome. The rest - the sailor, the Spanish torero guitarist and the Negro - seem to be partial portrait reminiscences, a form not unusual for Picasso...[256]

London in 1972 and at the College Art Association in New York in 1973.

[254] Ibid., p.101.

[255] Ibid., p.103. The von Marees fresco is illustrated by Martin (Fig.9 on p.9b of her article) and also by Macdonald, Diaghilev Observed by Critics in England and the United States 1911-1929, p.242. Vogel, "Picasso als Bühnenbild und Kostümentwerfer für die Ballets Russes", p.76, comments that this visual parallel stretches the freedom of speculation permissible to art historical interpretation.

[256] Ibid., p.103, (italics added). Martin then proceeds to suggest Stravinsky as the Negro, Diaghilev as the sailor and Picasso himself as the torero. Three other writers, Macdonald, Diaghilev Observed by Critics in England and the United States 1911-1929, pp.239-240; McQuillan, "Painters and the Ballet", pp.408-410; and Reff, "Picasso's 'Three Musicians': Maskers,

Axsom, writing in 1974, appears to have reached his conclusion independently since he does not cite Martin's work and perhaps was not aware of it at the time. Axsom's interpretation begins by identifying the two harlequins as Picasso and Cocteau respectively, and this leads him to search among the Parade collaborators for the identities of the other figures. Thus although his starting point differs from Martin's, Axsom in effect follows a similar course.[217] The most recent study, by Vogel, summarises the previous findings and, while cautioning against the problems of the method, nevertheless goes along with the general notion that because the figures are painted in a "figurative realistic style" they must somehow be connected to the most important people associated with Picasso's Roman period.[218]

The specific findings of these various studies will be summarised as each figure or group of figures in the curtain is identified in the present analysis. The basic assumption on which they all rest may be questioned here, however, in relation to the circumstantial evidence surrounding the creation of the curtain and the weight of probabilities which accompanies this. This basic

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Artists and Friends", p.134, have followed and extended Martin's attempts at identification, based on the assumption, which she is the first to make, that the figures around the table in the Parade drop-curtain are those persons who were directly or indirectly involved in the ballet's conception in Rome between mid-February and the end of April 1917. The conclusions reached in these studies vary slightly and will be discussed below as the identity of each figure is interpreted.

[217] Axsom, 'Parade': Cubism as Theater, pp.112-115. The specific identities suggested by Axsom will be discussed below.

[218] Vogel, "Picasso als Bühnenbild und Kostümentwerfer für die Ballets Russes", p.79.

assumption is, that if the figures in the Parade curtain are members of the Ballets Russes circle, then Picasso must have conceived the curtain during his Italian visit (17 February to end of April 1917) when he himself formed a part of this circle.[258] The iconographic interpretations which link the imagery of the drop curtain so closely to Picasso's Italian visit, go even further and specify that it was Naples, his visit to the aquarium, theatre, museum or even a local tavern that inspired the curtain.[259] The very dates and number of Picasso's visits to Naples are, however, uncertain and could be as early as the end of February or as late as mid-April, when Diaghilev's company performed there. This makes a causal connection between these visits and the conception of the curtain ever more tenuous.[260]

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[258] Martin, "The Ballet 'Parade': A Dialogue Between Futurism and Cubism", p.102, in order to accommodate her thesis, makes this proposal without giving any consideration to available documentation, apart from acknowledging the work of Cooper, whose dating, as will shortly be shown, does not support her argument. Although Picasso knew Cocteau and had met Diaghilev in 1916, he first made the acquaintance of Stravinsky, Massine, Bakst and other members of the company - including the dancers themselves - only once he reached Rome. It will be argued here that the sketches were produced before the trip to Rome.

[259] Vogel, "Picasso als Bühnenbild und Kostümentwerfer für die Ballets Russes", p.68, refers to Spies' identification of the specific locale depicted in the Parade drop-curtain as a Neapolitan tavern. According to Vogel this source is suggested by Spies in the exhibition catalogue, Pablo Picasso. Sammlung Marina Picasso, Munich, 1981, p.26. I was not able to consult this catalogue. In the Italian catalogue of the Marina Picasso collection, Picasso. Opere dal 1895 al 1971 della Collezione Marina Picasso, Werner Spies' contribution is a discussion of two sketchbooks of 1928.

[260] The 'facts' concerning Picasso's visits to Naples can be summarised as follows: Picasso and Cocteau left Paris for Rome on 17 February 1917 (Buckle, Diaghilev, p.322; Cooper, Picasso Theatre, p.21, n.28); Picasso visited Naples for the first time together with Diaghilev, Stravinsky, Cocteau and Massine sometime between his arrival in Rome and mid-April. Picasso's

It is generally agreed that the final curtain was actually executed very close to the date of the first performance of Parade in Paris on 18 May 1917, although it is not certain whether the actual painting was done in Rome before the end of April or in Paris in the first two weeks of May. It is far more difficult, however, to trace and date the origin and development of Picasso's conception of this work. Cooper dates the three studies for the curtain to 1916-17, and writes that "Before leaving Paris [Picasso] had already sketched out the décor and the drop curtain....".[242] Picasso's written contract with Diaghilev, which dates to January 1917, promises that "All the designs will be ready by 15 March 1917".[243] Another firm date is provided by the fact that Satie completed the ballet's score in January 1917. Picasso's letter to

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second visit to Naples was together with the entire company which performed there on 18, 21, 22 and 23 April 1917. Documentation for these facts is provided by a number of sources. Buckle, Diaghilev, p.323, writes: "About the end of the first week in March Diaghilev... took Stravinsky, Picasso, Cocteau and Massine to Naples for a few days sightseeing. Picasso drew Massine in the train". Cooper, Picasso Theatre, p.24, agrees: "In mid-March [Picasso] made an excursion with Cocteau and others, to Naples". Buckle notes, however (n.269, p.568) that Cooper dates the drawing of Massine done on the train to 19 April. This would mean that the drawing was made during the second visit to Naples, and that Picasso did indeed accompany the Ballets Russes there, a fact which Buckle appears to find equivocal. He thus refers to only one visit which took place in March, "I would call it March for safety" (Buckle, p.568). Giovanni Carandente, "Il viaggio in Italia: 17 febbraio 1917" in Picasso. Opere dal 1895 al 1981 dalla Collezione Marina Picasso, n.3, p.55, writes that the Ballets Russes performed in Naples on 18, 21, 22, and 23 April, but that Picasso had already visited Pompeii in March.

[242] Cooper, Picasso Theatre, p.23 (italics added). Cooper, who was in contact with Picasso at the time of writing his book, possibly obtained this information from the artist himself. He does not provide documentation for this claim.

[243] See above, p.53

Cocteau of 1 February shows that the artist was fully involved in the project by that date.[264] Furthermore, one of the set designs, which stylistically would appear to have been made quite early on, includes a miniature rendering of the curtain with all its final elements clearly established (Fig.119). This sketch which will be discussed in the following chapter indicates that the drop curtain was designed before the sets, making it even more likely that the former was settled some time in 1916. These few but vital facts, though not unequivocal, support a reconstruction of events that locates the designs for the drop curtain prior to Picasso's departure from Paris for Rome on 17 February.[265] Having agreed on the collaboration six months earlier, it seems unlikely that Picasso would not have started the work until only one month before the promised date of 15 March. This is supported by the letter of 1 February in which Picasso implicitly confirms that he will meet

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[264] Cooper, Picasso Theatre, p.21, writes: "By 1 February 1917 Picasso's designs for the décor and costumes of Parade were well advanced". Cooper cites the letter to Cocteau quoted above (p.53) as evidence.

[265] Caradente, "Il viaggio in Italia", p.47, claims that the confusion as to where the curtain was painted stems from the incorrect dating of the photograph of the scene painting (Fig.15). He writes: "it has been said more than once that the Parade curtain was painted in Rome, perhaps because of the false impression given by Valentine Hugo's photomontage in the exhibition Jean Cocteau et son temps at the Musée Jacquemart-André in Paris in 1965 in which, in the corner of the photograph of Picasso and his assistents on the curtain was written 'Rome 1917'...It is certain, in fact, as Cooper has clarified...that the curtain was executed in Paris, in a large studio in Montparnasse in a little less than two weeks". Caradente adds (n.15, p.56): "It has always been said, however, that the preparatory designs were executed at Montrouge before the departure for Rome. In two of them the arch and column already appears and the Pegasus is in all of them. The question [as to where they were made] thus remains fairly open".

his deadline - "nobody need worry".[266] The confident tone of this letter is that of an artist who has solved most of the problems of his commission.[267]

It is more likely that the work done in Rome would have involved the set designs and costumes than the drop curtain, since they were the elements which depended heavily on the interaction between designer, choreographer and dancers. This is confirmed by Cooper:

> once he was in daily contact with Massine and Diaghilev, Picasso had to take account of practical necessities... Obviously things had to be altered or added as the ballet came nearer to taking final shape, he had to make a model of the set, and so on.[268]

The drop curtain, as has already been demonstrated, formed a more or less independent entity, and the consistency which exists between the designs for the figure group and the final curtain suggest that these were not subject to alteration in Rome. Cocteau, for all his volubility, provides few facts, but he does mention that a model of the set was made in Rome, a fact which would support the above line of argument.

> a little box contained the model for Parade - the houses, the trees, the booth. On a table... Picasso painted the Chinese magician, the managers, the

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[266] See above, p.53

[267] Martin, "The Ballet 'Parade': A Dialogue Between Futurism and Cubism", p.91, interprets this letter as an indication that "Picasso does not seem to have begun to think very seriously about his own contribution until late 1916 or even early 1917", but even this rather vague statement acknowledges that the curtain could have been designed prior to the Roman visit.

[268] Cooper, Picasso Theatre, pp.22-4. Cooper implies that the aspect of the designs, i.e., the drop-curtains, which did not impinge directly on the ballet's performance, did not need to be carried out in Rome.

American girl, the horse... and the blue acrobats..."[269]

The interpretation of the figures which follows seeks identities for the figures in the Parade drop-curtain (Figs.10 and 11) based, not on literal correlations, but on associational and metaphorical values. These identities moreover do not exist as isolated facts, but are intrinsic to the overall meaning of the curtain. The female figures will be examined first.

The sources discussed above are unanimous that the sleeping girl whose head rests on the harlequin's shoulder, is one of the dancers, Marie Chabelska.[270] Likewise, the girl with the hat on the extreme right of the group is identified as Olga, the Russian dancer whom Picasso met in Rome and later married. Only Macdonald and Axsom have ventured to suggest an identity for the winged girl on the ladder. Macdonald, somewhat fancifully, extends Martin's method in order to identify her as the dancer Lopokova, while Axsom suggests that she is a further reference to Olga.[271] If the iden-

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[269] Jean Cocteau, Oeuvres Complètes, IX:246, cited by Steegmuller, Cocteau, p.177. It is perhaps significant that the aspects of the designs which Cocteau refers to as having been done in Rome, do not include any mention of the drop-curtain. Cocteau's reference to "the American Girl" for whom Picasso made no designs at all, however, once again calls into question the reliability of his testimony.

[270] This identification depends on the prior identification of this harlequin as Cocteau. In Rome, Cocteau, an acknowledged homosexual, had amused his friends by pretending to be in love with Chabelska who danced the role of the Little American Girl in Parade.

[271] Macdonald, Diaghilev Observed by Critics in England and the United States, 1911-1929, p.243; Axsom, 'Parade': Cubism as Theater, pp.140-141.

tities of the three female figures are investigated in the context of the Parade drop-curtain as a whole and in relation to its whole range of signifying images, then an alternative interpretation can be argued.

The dog, it will be recalled, not only has definite associations with the notion of death and the guardianship of the soul, but is also a familiar image in Picasso's personal iconography. It has been argued above that the dog in the Parade drop-curtain alludes to Eva both through its resemblance to the dog which appears together with her in a photograph (Fig.51) and through the iconography of death which it evokes. Picasso's unprecedented departure in working to a commission for ballet designs has been interpreted as his welcoming of some avenue of escape from the low state into which Eva's recent death had thrown him. He had already met Cocteau during the last months of Eva's illness and may well have associated his early contact with Diaghilev's circle with this period. It is consistent with Picasso's mode of working, for him to have created a memorial painting for Eva at some distance in time after her death. This was the way in which he had reacted fourteen years earlier to another great loss, in his large painting of 1901, the Burial of Casagemas. And if Reff's interpretation of the Three Musicians (1921) is accepted, it was three years after the death of Apollinaire that Picasso paid his tribute to this great poet and beloved friend.[271] In both of these works the

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[271] Casagemas' suicide occurred on 17 February 1901, and the Burial of Casagemas was painted in the late summer of that year. Apollinaire died on 9 November 1918. These and other "memorial" paintings will be discussed below.

presence of the dead person is hidden or masked in a metaphorical composition. It will be argued that, in a parallel way, the Parade drop-curtain may be interpreted as a memorial to Eva and that the three female figures in it are hidden portraits of her.

Although, as Penrose has pointed out, no drawings or paintings have been positively identified as likenesses of Eva, her hidden presence, in the form of the words "Ma Jolie" has been acknowledged in at least sixteen Cubist paintings.[273] There is, however, a strong case for identifying certain female figures (as opposed to the verbal reference) in works of 1913-1914 as images, if not likenesses, of Eva. This evidence will first be considered before addressing the question of the relationship which the three female figures in the Parade drop-curtain bear to Eva.

Most of the works which Picasso retained right up until his death were published in Zervos' catalogue or elsewhere. A few, however, remained unseen and virtually unknown until after the artist's death. One of these is an unfinished canvas, The Artist and His Model, painted at Avignon in the summer of 1914 (Fig.54). Daix describes this work as "undoubtedly the most important item as regards Picasso's 1914 work, that the inventory of his studio brought to light".[274] The figure style of the Parade curtain relates very closely to that of the Avignon period as seen in this

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[273] Daix and Rosselet, Picasso. The Cubist Years 1907-1916, nos. 430, 456, 457, 480, 484-485, 541, 622, 627, 683, 737, 738, and 740-742. The last five of these are dated by Daix to "Paris-Spring 1914" or "Avignon-Summer 1914".

[274] Ibid., p.333.

work. It is a naturalistic style born out of Cubism, so that forms are simultaneously organically curved and yet geometrically flattened.[275] Its evolution can be traced in a whole series of drawings which appear to be studies for the figure of the artist in the unfinished painting.[276] In both drawings and painting, the curved outlines of the folds of the man's clothing are exaggerated to give a flattened scalloped effect similar to that seen in the left arm of the foreground harlequin and in the torero of the Parade drop-curtain. A consideration of the stylistic relationship between The Artist and His Model (1914: Fig.54) and the Parade drop-curtain (1916-17: Figs.10 and 11) is relevant to the identification of an iconographic relationship between them.

Daix's extensive discussion of the problematic features of Picasso's stylistic development between 1914 and 1916 is itself equivocal. The central issue is the simultaneous existence of naturalistic and Cubist forms common both to the Avignon works at the beginning of the period and the Parade designs at its end. Daix considers the advent of the war as being relevant to this oscillation of style, but does not specify the relevance. On the basis of evidence provided by Kahnweiler, Daix dates the inception of naturalistic forms to the spring of 1914 before Picasso and Eva left Paris for Avignon. He goes on to state:

> If we take into account the unfinished state of... The Artist and His Model... we have a very strong

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[275] Reff, "Picasso's 'Three Musicians': Harlequins, Maskers and Friends", p.134, refers to a style of caricature.

[276] : VI:1189-1191; 1194-1201;1204-1218; 1223; 1227-1229; 1232; 1233; 1273-1276.

> impression that [this work] dates from before the outbreak of war and this was why work on [it] was interrupted.[277]

Daix thus implies that the outbreak of war (presumably the uncertainty it engendered) caused a shelving of the new interest in naturalism for a while. He continues:

> Picasso was to return to the problems of naturalism, which he re-examined after Cubism, only at the beginning of 1915, with the drawing of Max Jacob.[278]

On the same page, in the catalogue entry for The Artist and His Model (no.763) Daix once again refers to the unfinished state of this work, but revises the date of Picasso's subsequent return to naturalism:

> There is good reason to believe that it was the war which interrupted the impetus, this return to natural forms which Picasso resumed only when he began working on Parade.[279]

In another passage, Daix again evades the issue of the specific effects which the war had on Picasso's work when he writes

> The war was to have its impact on Picasso's production. This was evident in Vive la France in which he reproduced the crossed flags of the mobilisation notices. The more muted Still-life with Bottle of Maraschino may also have been a result of the war mood. But Picasso retained the full freedom of his artistic imagination.[280]

Daix does, however, appear to reject the notion that Picasso's return to naturalism, whether in 1915 or 1916-17, had anything to

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[277] Daix and Rosselet, Picasso. The Cubist Years 1907-1916, p.333.

[278] Ibid. (italics added).

[279] Ibid.

[280] Ibid., p.160. The significance of Still-life with Bottle of Maraschino is discussed below.

do with the war-time hysteria which equated Cubism with 'Boche painting'.[281] He concludes, however, that by

> mid 1916, when he first became interested in the Parade project... Picasso was master of a dual figurative system - both Cubist and naturalist. He could combine the two elements within one linear continuity. He could also assemble them as belonging to different viewpoints and distinct spaces.[282]

This is a succinct characterisation of the style of the Parade designs in general and of the drop-curtain in particular. The complex process of alternation between and combination of naturalism and Cubism which led up to it once again reflects the process of metaphor by which disparate elements are united to produce enriched meanings. Daix implicitly acknowledges this when he refers loosely to the "poetic appearance" of the works from this period.[283] Thus both style and iconography participate in creating the rich content of the Parade curtain, and a stylistic link is established between the important, though unfinished, work of 1914, and the ballet designs of 1916-17.

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[281] Ibid., p.164 and 169, and n.155, p.188. Silver, "'Esprit de Corps': The Great War and French Art 1914-1925", p.76, sees The Artist and His Model as "the precedent for an 'alternate' style that would make him the foremost practitioner of the new wartime and post-war traditionalism". While he is, not surprisingly, unable to establish a causal relation between the war and this shift in Picasso's style, Silver nevertheless insists that "If we cannot really credit the outbreak of war (and the anti-cubist campaign) with instigating Picasso's new realism, we can firmly date his use of Ingres [in the portrait of Max Jacob, January 1915] to a moment after the start of war. This is not to say, though, that I believe that Picasso's new 'realism' is unrelated to the anti-modernist campaign". The problem of Picasso's return to a more naturalistic style during the second decade of the century and the extent to which this was influenced by the cultural climate in war-time France will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

[282] Daix and Rosselet, Picasso. The Cubist Years 1907-1916, p.170.

[283] Ibid., p.162.

Daix, who was the first writer to indicate the important place which The Artist and His Model has in Picasso's oeuvre, observes that:

> the face of the model... seems to have been inspired by Eva, of whom this would then seem to be the only portrait that Picasso made.[284]

Two other writers have supported the identification, and one of these, Timothy Hilton, has added one of a series of watercolours dating to 1913 (Fig.55) as a second possible 'portrait' of Eva.[285] This work, like Fig.56, is a study for the landmark painting of 1913, Woman in a Chemise, Seated in an Armchair (Fig.57). A drawing on the reverse side of Fig.56 (Fig.58) must be interpreted as a detailed rendering of the face of the woman in these works, and may therefore also be linked to the identity of Eva. In his catalogue note to Fig.56, Daix writes:

> When P.D. asked Picasso if the face could have been Eva's he shrugged his shoulders and replied: "It just happened like that.... Of course, Eva was there at the time".[286]

It is extremely difficult, on the evidence of the two known photographs, to positively identify the model in The Artist and His

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[284] Ibid., p.164.

[285] Timothy Hilton, Picasso's Picasso, London 1981, p.51; see also Madeline Richet, in Picasso. Oeuvres reçus en paiement des droits de succession, p.66. The entry for August 1914 in the chronology of Rubin (ed.), Pablo Picasso. A Retrospective, p.198, likewise states: "Canvas on Painter and Model theme (the model apparently being Eva) is left unfinished".

[286] Daix and Rosselet, Picasso. The Cubist Years 1907-1916, no.628, p.312. Gedo, Picasso: Art as Autobiography, p.102, discusses both The Artist and His Model and Woman in a Chemise as portraits of Eva.

Model as Eva. The photographs (Figs.51 and 53) show a young girl with long, dark hair worn pinned back, covering her ears. A stray lock of hair on her left brow interrupts the delicate contour of her small oval face with its fine features. Something of the delicacy of this head can be detected in the two watercolours (Figs.55 and 56). Here the long wavy hair has been released and falls down around the woman's shoulders. The hair on her forehead forms a fringe. The 'Eva' of the The Artist and His Model (Fig.54) has a similar hairstyle. She stands immobile, her chin slightly uptilted as she awkwardly holds on to a piece of drapery which has fallen to reveal a chaste torso. Her elongated neck and arms give her figure a strange sense of disproportion, and whatever slight modelling is present in the flesh areas is denied by the smooth contour which flattens and encloses her form. She has perfectly round breasts and their geometric precision recalls the method of depicting breasts found in the 1913 Woman in a Chemise, Seated in an Armchair series. In these works the breasts are initially geometric semi-circles which become duplicated, finally achieving an exaggerated quality which was later to be admired by the Surrealists. Another parallel between the works is the piece of drapery or 'chemise' which is dropped in some of the Woman in a Chemise, Seated in an Armchair series, to reveal the woman's navel.[287] In the other examples the drapery is absent altogether.[288] In The Artist and His Model the drapery is retained,

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[287] Daix and Rosselet, Picasso. The Cubist Years 1907-1916, nos. 637, 638, 640, and 642.

[288] For example Ibid., nos. 635, 636 and 641.

but it is more fully revealing than in Woman in a Chemise, Seated in an Armchair.

The parallels between these works, suggest the identification of the model of The Artist and His Model, with the woman of Woman in a Chemise, Seated in an Armchair. Since Eva has been posited as the subject in both cases, and since Picasso, while not having confirmed this, did not deny it either, it may be suggested that if not portraits of Eva in the traditional sense, these works were nevertheless inspired by her.

A connection has already been suggested between the dog in the photograph of Eva and the dog of the Parade curtain. A stylistic relationship has also been shown between the curtain and the 1914 Avignon drawing style as seen in the The Artist and His Model. At least four putative 'portraits' of Eva have also been identified. In summarising her findings in relation to Picasso's portrayals of those closest to him, Gedo anticipates the presence of such portraits:

> With his second mistress, Eva, Picasso observed the same taboos against image-making he had maintained with Braque. This omission, usually interpreted as an accidental by-product of the cubist period, probably represented, instead, a voluntary renunciation which had special meaning for Picasso. Eva was the only woman Picasso loved whose portrait he never created in recognisable form. His strict adherence to this prohibition serves as a clue to Eva's unique importance in his life. As with Braque, coded references to Eva probably exist in far greater numbers than in the relatively few examples of Ma Jolie paintings we know.[219]

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[219] Mary Mathews Gedo, "Picasso's Self-Image: A Psycho-iconographic Study of the Artist's Life and Works", PhD

In the light of the above observations, the problem of the identity of the three female figures of the Parade drop-curtain, will now be approached. All three female figures have the oval face and slightly pointed chin of the 1914 'model' (Fig.54). Both the winged girl on the horse and the girl on the extreme right who wears a hat also have a similar elongated neck and upward tilted chin. Both have shoulder-length wavy brown hair and large black eyes with heavy sloping eyebrows. All these features are also seen in the drawing of 'Eva's' head (Fig.58). The curved, yet curiously flattened and disproportionate limbs of the winged girl, and the schematic articulation of both these figures, are also related to the style of the Avignon 'model' (Fig.54). The third girl in the drop-curtain who is seated at the table and rests her head on the harlequin's shoulder, has similar awkwardly articulated shoulders. Her hair, which is also wavy though somewhat lighter in colour, is shorter - or perhaps pinned up as in the photographs of Eva (Fig.51 and 53). These similarities are evoked not in order to suggest a descriptive likeness of Eva in any single work, but to claim an affinity between the three female figures of the Parade drop-curtain and several works in which her 'hidden' persona may be found. It must be stressed that the identification of the female figures of the Parade drop-curtain with the person of Eva is not being made simply on the basis of physiognomic likeness to photographs of her. Rather her veiled presence in what have been called "putative portraits" supports the presence of three further such portraits in the curtain. It will further be argued that

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Thesis, Northwestern University 1972 (University Microfilms International Ann Arbor and London 1981), p.240.

other attributes of the three female figures in the Parade drop-curtain supports such an identification in terms of their meaning within the overall context of the curtain.

The winged girl signifies an ascendant state, which taken in conjunction with the Pegasus and the ladder characterises her as not being 'of this world'. Her affinity with hidden images of Eva suggests that in her are embodied Eva's spiritual and immortal aspects. On the other hand, the girl who is associated with the sailor on the right, is characterised by the details of her dress - her straw hat, for instance and the string of beads around her neck. These 'worldly' attributes suggest a physical presence not unlike that in the two photograph of Eva. A distinguishing feature of the third female figure is a pair of perfectly rounded, bare breasts.[288] She is wearing a vaguely contemporary style of dress with its bodice pushed down to reveal her breasts. Two specific sources are suggested for the female with two bare breasts. The first is a small painting, attributed to Corot, which Picasso acquired in 1910 and which was still in his personal collection at the time of his death (Fig.59).[289] Like the girl in the Parade curtain, Corot's figure has her bodice drawn down, baring both her breasts, her left arm is drawn across her body, and her head is inclined - though not as drastically - towards her right

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[288] Picasso's partially draped female figures are usually depicted with a single bared breast in the tradition of antiquity. Some examples are Three Women at a Spring (1921), La Courve (1922), which is discussed below, and La Source (1921).

[289] Donation Picasso. La collection personelle de Picasso. Exhibition Catalogue, Musee du Louvre, Paris 1978, no.10, p.34.

shoulder. Although the Corot portrait may have no iconographic relevance for Picasso, it most likely had a visual one. The smooth slope of the shoulders and the schematic representation of arms and hands, so that the left arm appears to contain neither muscle nor bone, is not unlike the simplified articulation of the figures in the Parade curtain.[252]

The second suggested source for the bare breasted girl provides an iconographic frame of reference. Delacroix's Liberty Leading the People (1830: Fig.60) is an allegorical figure in contemporary dress, and her symbolic role is emphasised by her bared breasts. The reference is to Marianne, a powerful figure and the female personification of Le Peuple, the French people.[253] If the

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[252] An equally structureless arm is the bent left arm of the harlequin in the Saltimbanque Family (1905). It is perhaps this expressive simplification which attracted Picasso to Corot's image. It should also be noted that the schematisation of head and facial features, the flattening of the face and the straight nose of this portrait, anticipate Picasso's stony neo-classical heads of 1921.

[253] Although no clear symbolic meaning attaches to the motif of the bared bosom, it nevertheless has a long tradition in Western Art. Anne Hollander, Seeing Through Clothes, New York 1978, p.199, writes: "ever since the Greek Amazon and the Christian Virgin... images of women exposing one breast have been linked with ideas of self-forgetful female zeal - heroism, devotion, sacrifice". Whilst the single bared breast is a direct reference to antiquity, a completely bared bosom goes further, and, in Hollander's interpretation is connected with notions of female power (Ibid., pp.203-205). Paleu y Fabre, Picasso 1881 - 1907, p.377, refers to another possible instance of Picasso painting the personification of the French people. Discussing a work of 1904, Woman with a Topknot (Fig.61) he writes, "it has already been observed, I think, that this woman is like a figuration of Marianne the symbol of the French Republic". This identification has presumably been made on the basis of the woman's hairstyle which suggests a Phrygian cap. For a detailed discussion of representations of Marianne, see Agulhon, Marianne into Battle.

bare-breasted girl in the Parade drop-curtain, through her affinity with the 'Eva portraits' suggests the presence of Eva on the one hand, on the other she may tentatively be linked to an archetypal symbol of French nationalism. Such a reference is congruent with the introduction of the French colours - red, white and blue - discussed above, and points to the simultaneous presence of private and public meanings in the Parade drop-curtain.

It is thus suggested that through the three female figures in the Parade drop-curtain, Picasso makes a triple reference to Eva. Such a reference may be understood as a complex metaphor within the greater complexity of the curtain as a whole. The girl on the extreme right is made prominent by her large scale and by the curiously flattened plane behind her. This sets her apart, as though it were a canvas and she a figure painted on it. She is also set apart from the isocephalic seated figures by her raised position, her head being more nearly on the level of that of the standing Moor. Her face, long neck and tilt of her head form almost a mirror image to those of the winged girl on the horse. Together they are two evocations of Eva: on the right the 'real' Eva, now immortalised as a painting within a painting, on the left the spiritual, transcendent winged Eva. (There is a significant precedent for this 'double' reference in Picasso's oeuvre. In the Burial of Casagemas (1901: Fig.21) Picasso's dead friend is shown below on earth, surrounded by mourners, and above, as a transcendent soul on a white horse). Between these two figures is a third Eva, bare-breasted as Picasso had portrayed her in the works of 1913-14. She simultaneously evokes the female power of

her own sexuality and of the French Republic.[294] Her closed eyes and withdrawn pose contrast with the more alert characterisation of her two counterparts, whose heads seem linked by a tense and invisible diagonal which passes the dark figure of the Moor.

The Parade drop-curtain is thus seen as a multivalent memorial to Eva. She is evoked at right and left in her corporeal and spiritual presences. The central Eva image evokes the notion of a female power which sustains the French Republic. Although the war was still in progress, Picasso's ability to immortalise the 'real' Eva through his art is extended to the image of Eva/France. It is art's

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[294] It is of considerable interest to note here that Silver, "'Esprit de Corps': The Great War and French Art 1914-1925", pp.318-326, has ascribed similar references to many of Picasso's post-war works. Writing of the "maternité" or mother-and-child paintings which were largely a response to the birth of Picasso's son Paulo in February 1921, Silver observes (p.320): "[Picasso] had found a theme that was at once filled with personal meaning and charged with larger social relevance". Silver, moreover, interprets an essentially metaphorically unelaborated work as the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Woman in White (1921: Fig.62) as one of the "mythical women [who] had watched over France in her darkest hours and was also a symbol of her [France's] triumph in 1918". (Ibid). In spite of the absence of any symbolic or allegorical attributes in Woman in White, Silver sees this work as dependent "on the significance and poignancy of France's wartime and post-war allegories... so essentially a study in mood [it] is extremely close to the noble and protective character of the patriotic figures" (Ibid., p.321). Figures such as the Woman in White are "at once the symbols for and the protectors of Western civilisation in perpetuity" (Ibid., p.322). Silver's attribution of such complex meanings to Woman in White and to the "maternité" works in general is partly supported by comparison with overtly patriotic contemporary works by French artists. Unlike the Parade drop-curtain, however, there is nothing intrinsic to these 1920-1921 works of Picasso which suggests this kind of metaphorical reading. If such meaning can be attached to a work such as Woman in White, then a fortiori it can be demonstrated in the Parade drop-curtain where the rich elaboration of signifiers allows the identification of specific meanings.

intrinsic and unique power to be able to bring together both the real and the transcendent on a single painted surface. In its immortalisation of Eva, Picasso's art asserts its own almost magical powers over the actual death that had recently so affected him privately. Simultaneously he states his conviction that this public display of his art's vitality will defy the symbolic death with which war threatens the French people. It will be argued that the image of this death is likewise visualised in the Parade drop-curtain in the figure of the Moor or Negro.

While the relationship between the colour black and death may be an extremely generalised symbolic association, reference to other works of Picasso will demonstrate his specific use of it and thus allow an interpretation of the black figure in the Parade drop-curtain. Eva died on 14 December 1915. Only five days earlier, on 9 December, Picasso wrote to Gertrude Stein:

> However, I have done a picture of a Harlequin that in my opinion and in the opinion of several people, is the best that I have done...[235]

The New York Museum of Modern Art's Harlequin (1915; Fig.4) is linked to Eva's death not only by its contemporaneity, but by the deathly quality contained in its black pin-head and sinister toothy smile.[236] Both Rubin and Daix, not unexpectedly, connect

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[235] Letter to Gertrude Stein cited above, p.119.

[236] Gasman, "Mystery, Magic and Love in Picasso 1925-1938", p.310, remarks that this Harlequin is the first example of a symbolic pinheaded figure in Picasso's oeuvre. She interprets such figures as attributes of "mindless, dark and therefore enemy forces". As Gasman further notes (pp.677-678) African Art and particularly the kobe mask in Picasso's own collection (illustrated in John Golding, Cubism. A History and an Analysis, 1907-1914, Fig.46c, p.123) probably provided the initial in-

this harlequin's threatening mien with Picasso's reaction to both his personal tragedy and the gloom which the war had cast over Paris. Thus Daix writes:

> The chronological connection between this picture and the terminal illness of Eva is not accidental. There is death in this harlequin as there was in the carnage into which the war was degenerating in this second half of 1915.[287]

The association between a black figure and death also occurs in two important still-lifes dating to this same period. The still-life Vive la France mentioned above, (Fig.42) bears the most direct reference to blackness, in the form of the words "La Negr" inscribed on what Daix identifies as "a straw-covered bottle...of rum", La Negrita being a brand of rum.[288] It seems significant that whereas other brand names such as Bass and Vieux Marc occur frequently in Cubist still-lifes, this appears to be the only written reference to La Negrita. The significance is underlined by the juxtaposition of the black "La Negrita" bottle with the Vive la France glass, which is not depicted as transparent, but is painted a solid white. An opposition is set up between the two objects - the glass as a symbol of hope, life and rebirth embodied in the slogan "Vive la France" opposes the death and destruction of the ongoing war, contained by implication in the black bottle, its

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spiration for the inclusion of prominent teeth both in this Harlequin and later in many Surrealist works. Moreover, as Gasman writes (p.678): "The teeth jutting out like a fang in the 1915 Harlequin may also be related to the terminal illness of the artist's mistress Eva Gouel...". The symbolism of teeth will be pursued below.

[287] Daix and Rosselet, Picasso. The Cubist Years 1907-1916, p.176. See also Rubin, Picasso in the Collection of the Museum of Modern Art, p.98.

[288] Daix and Rosselet, Picasso. The Cubist Years 1907-1916, p.337.

blackness clearly stated on the label. In another still-life painted at about the same time, Still-life with Bottle of Maraschino (1914: Fig.63) an unlabelled black bottle forms the centre of the composition. This work is probably incorrectly titled, since Daix notes that this bottle must surely be a bottle of 'Le Negrita' rum and not Maraschino at all.[225] Both these still-lifes were painted at Avignon in the summer of 1914, and reference to the war is clearly contained in them. Moreover, in the Still-life with Bottle of Maraschino the bottle with its diamond-patterned straw covering and rounded top recalls the Harlequin (1915: Fig.4) with his diamond-patterned costume and pinhead. The straw 'band' around the neck of the bottle intensifies this identification by referring to the gathered ruff often found decorating the neck of harlequin's costume.

This process of transformation suggests that visual punning of forms is operative during this period, parallelling the verbal puns frequently encountered in synthetic Cubist works. From Vive la France, through Still-life with Bottle of Maraschino to Harlequin the black bottle is transformed into a stylised harlequin and a metaphorical image of death. The bottle, a neutral object drawn from perceived reality, through its association with a specific colour, black, and other specific signs, such as the tricolours and the anchor, takes on a specific meaning - a universal darkness which signifies the war. The object is progres-

[225] Daix and Rosselet, Picasso. The Cubist Years 1907-1916, p.336. Here the bottle is juxtaposed not only with a wine-glass, but with an anchor which, as will be demonstrated below, p.153, signifies hope and salvation.

sively elaborated into the form of a Harlequin, which although humanoid, has no basis in nature. The process demonstrates the typological elaboration of a specific metaphor. The memorial to Eva in the Harlequin provides a prototype for the Parade drop-curtain.

The identification of a black figure with death occurs elsewhere in Picasso's oeuvre. In the Three Dancers (1925: Fig.84) the death of Ramon Pichot is signified by an equally sinister black figure looming in the background of the painting.[99] As Daix has pointed out, citing this and other examples,

> In Picasso's case (because of his Spanish heritage) the death of a loved one or a close relative was always expressed with great intensity in his work.[101]

Roff interprets the Three Musicians (1921: Fig.51 as

> a memorial to his lost friends... painted at a moment when he felt that loss most keenly, a memorial in which, employing a familiar symbolic language, he projects himself as the Harlequin and his closest friends Apollinaire and Max Jacob as the Pierrot and the Monk.[102]

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[99] Ronald Alley, Picasso: The Three Dancers, Newcastle Upon Tyne 1967, p.11, notes that Picasso himself told Sir Roland Penrose who negotiated the sale of the Three Dancers to the Tate Gallery in 1965, that, "While I was painting this picture an old friend of mine, Ramon Pichot, died and I have always felt that it should be called the Death of Pichot rather than the Three Dancers. The tall black figure behind the dancer on the right is the presence of Pichot." Alley cites the Tate Gallery Report 1964-1965, London 1966, as the source of this information.

[101] Daix and Rosselet, Picasso: The Cubist Years 1907-1916, p.188, n.186.

[102] Roff, "Picasso's Three Musicians: Masking, Artifice and Friends", pp.140-1

Reff characterises the paintings which Picasso made in response to the deaths of his closest friends as

> an expression of his struggle to overcome death through the magical power of his art.[183]

Reff cites the Burial of Casagemas (1901), La Vie (1903), At the Lapin Agile (1904), Death of Harlequin (1905), Still-Life with Skull (1908), and Still-Life with Skull (1942), in addition to Harlequin (1915), the Three Musicians (1921), and the Three Dancers (1925) as iconographically related "memorial" works. It is proposed that the Parade curtain be added to this list.[184]

The Harlequin (Fig.4) has been identified as a metaphor of death by his blackness which is related to black images such as the bottles in the two 1914 still-lifes discussed above, as well as by his pinhead and toothy smile. Details of the events which affected Picasso's life at the time the Harlequin was painted in 1915 make this painting the metaphor of a specific death - the death of Eva in December 1915. Moreover, seen in relation to the two paintings Vive la France (Fig.42) and Still-life with Bottle of Maraschino (Fig.63) the Harlequin's blackness also refers to a more general notion of death as embodied in World War I. It has been proposed that the Parade drop-curtain likewise discloses a metaphorical reference to Eva's death and that in the drop-curtain this personal event is linked to the public one of the war and its continuing threat of death and destruction in 1917.

[183] Ibid., p.138

[184] As has been noted, two of these "memorial" works - the Three Musicians and Death of Harlequin - include the image of a dog.

If this interpretation of the drop-curtain is pursued, then the enigmatic figure of the Negro or Moor becomes explicable. This character is something of an exception in Picasso's oeuvre,[365] and the identification of him in the Parade literature as either the slave from Schéhérazade[366] or some sort of representation of Igor Stravinsky on account of his thick lips and the fact that one of the characters of Stravinsky's Petrouchka is a Blackamoor, appear to be desperate efforts to contextualise the image within the framework of the Ballets Russes.[367] If, instead, the Moor's distinguishing feature, his blackness, is taken into account and related to similarly darkened images in Picasso's work discussed above, there is a strong argument for identifying this figure as an image of death, darkness and destruction. The figure of the Negro, Le Negre, can be seen as a verbal as well as a visual

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[365] Two other references to a Negro could be traced: Theodore Reff, "Themes of Love and Death in Picasso's Early Work", in Golding and Penrose (eds.), Picasso in Retrospect, n.112, p.181, points out that among notes in Picasso's handwriting on a preliminary sketch for the last 1905 work, Pierrot's Wedding, are the words "A Negro..." which suggest that Picasso may have intended to include such a figure in that work; in a caricature of 1918-1919 (Z III: 353) Picasso depicted the single figure of a Negro with a large smiling mouth dressed in a morning suit and carrying a bouquet of flowers.

[366] Axsom, 'Parade': Cubism as Theater, p.116.

[367] Martin, "The Ballet 'Parade': A Dialogue Between Cubism and Futurism", p.103, writes: "thus, the thick-lipped, large-toothed, long-nosed Negro might be seen as a clever pun on Stravinsky turned into the Blackamoor of his Petrouchka" Macdonald, Diaghilev Observed by Critics in England and the United States 1911-1929, p.246, follows Martin, as do Reff, "Picasso's 'Three Musicians': Maskers, Artists and Friends", p.134, and McMillan, "Painters and the Ballet", p.408. Vogel, "Picasso als Bühnenbild und Kostümentwerfer für die Ballets Russes", p.74, cites Martin's work, and additionally suggests that the Negro together with the torero represents some sort of servant at the Neapolitan taverna suggested as the setting for this scene.

counterpart of La Negrita in Vive la France. The blackened silhouette of the Three Dancers (1925: Fig.64) can also be interpreted as a parallel to this figure. The Negro looms large behind the table around which the other figures are seated. He is characterised not only by his blackness and threatening pose but by a set of gleaming white teeth which his parted lips reveal. Like his colour, the Negro's teeth link him to the Harlequin (1915: Fig.4) and it is no accident that he alone among the figures of the Parade drop-curtain displays this striking physical feature. Gasman's thesis, which examines Picasso's imagery in relation to that of the Surrealist poets, contains an extended discussion of teeth images.[388] Although Gasman's study focuses on the period 1925-1938, according to her, the Harlequin (1915) displays "the first clearly symbolic teeth in Picasso's oeuvre".[389] The precise nature of this symbolism, as outlined by Gasman, accords both with the meaning of the Harlequin and with that proposed for the Negro of the Parade drop-curtain.

> In [Picasso's] pictorial "sign language"... teeth stand out as the most visually striking and gripping [anatomical fragments]... The thematic recurrence of teeth in Picasso represents a unique phenomenon in modern art... The extraordinary power projected by Picasso's teeth is unfailingly aggressive. Exposed in a sinister grin, they never smile, nor laugh, and all share the naked countenance of Death embodied by the skull's teeth... Above all, they allude to the devouring essence of fate and to Picasso's revolution against fate.[390]

[388] Gasman, "Mystery, Magic and Love in Picasso 1925-1938", pp.683-700.

[389] Ibid., p.678.

[390] Ibid., pp.685-686.

Moreover, teeth do not occur exclusively in works of an overtly threatening nature:

> the motif of destructive teeth ramifies throughout a significant part of [Picasso's] iconography which on the surface does not seem to be pessimistic. In deceptively neutral intimate scenes... teeth are a memento mori

The expression on the Negro's face in the Parade drop-curtain could indeed be described as a "sinister grin". He neither smiles nor laughs. He is surely a reminder of death, and implicit in that reminder is Picasso's retaliation against its fatalistic nature. The Parade drop-curtain may be seen to embody Picasso's retaliation against both Eve's death and the destruction of the War. The Negro is set in opposition to the forces of life represented by the predominantly white Pegasus-group on the left, and the essential duality of existence is emphasised.

The remaining four male figures are the two harlequins, seated opposite each other, a guitar-playing Arlecchino and a bowler-hatted sailor. As was seen in the case of the three females and the Negro, the tendency in the literature has been to read these figures as 'portraits' of individuals connected with the Ballets Russes. Cocteau, for example, is generally agreed upon as the harlequin dressed in blue and brown on the far side of the

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[111] Ibid., p.664.

[112] Discussion of the identities of the male figures of the curtain can be found in Martin, "The Ballet 'Parade': A Dialogue Between Cubism and Futurism", p.103; Macdonald, Diaghilev Observed by Critics in England and the United States 1911-1929, p.240; Reff, "Picasso's 'Three Musicians': Masters, Artists and Friends", p.154; McQuillan, "Painters and the Ballet", pp.408-410; Vogel, "Picasso als Bühnenbild- und Kostumentwerfer für die Ballets Russes", pp.76-78 and Axsom, "Parade": Cubism

table.[212] Martin identifies the harlequin who has his back to the viewer as Massine, while Axsom sees this as a self-portrait of Picasso. Axsom, on the other hand tentatively associates the torero with Satie since he plays a musical instrument, Martin suggests that it is this figure which represents Pi xsom does suggest, alternatively, that "the Toreador bi-ographical allusion to Picasso's Spanishness".[213] T as pr even more problems. Martin suggests that this figure i "take-off" of Diaghilev who had a well-known phobic of the s McQuillan is hesitant but offers either Picasso, Diaghile Apollinaire or, indeed, even Leon Bakst. Axsom appears to give up at this point:

> A portayal of the collaborators seated around the table is an attractive interpretation, and it would accelerate the search for meaning in the overture curtain. Unfortunately the argument is awkward. The Toreador and the Sailor would have to accommodate the identities of Satie and Massine... But little evidence supports the attributions"[214]

The tentative nature of most of these proposals and the general lack of consensus indicates that this search for specific identi-

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as Theatre, pp.111-117. Since Macdonald, Reff, McQuillan and Vogel generally follow Martin, their indentification of the figures will only be mentioned insofar as they differ from Martin's study. Axsom does not refer to Martin, which is understandable since his original research was completed in 1974, whereas Martin's study was only published in 1978, although she had first stated her thesis in lectures in 1972 and 1973.

[213] Axsom, 'Parade': Cubism as Theater, p.116.

[214] Axsom, 'Parade': Cubism as Theater, p.115. Martin likewise expresses reservations, p.105: "not all of [the figures] can be identified with certainty". She adds that "It is quite possible that the harlequin may allude to [Picasso] himself" (n.34, p.118). Axsom concludes (p.116) that "the claim that the men at the table are Parade's collaborators is difficult to substantiate".

ries must prove fruitless. One element, however, is common to all the interpretations: in the case of each of the costumed figures seated around the table, an aspect of the artist himself can be revealed. Picasso himself can be demonstrated to have an affinity with all three - harlequin, torero and sailor.[115]

The identification of Picasso with harlequin has been generally accepted. Reff states this point of view:

> That the Harlequin is a symbolic self-portrait seems obvious enough: it has long been recognised that throughout his life Picasso assumed this role in order to express his most poignant feelings about himself.[116]

Harlequin, however, traditionally appears in many guises, "He has been described as a chameleon assuming all colours".[117] Characteristically Picasso's alter ego is continuously transformable. Like all Comedia dell'Arte characters, harlequin is compounded of a multitude of different experiences and attributes. This 'cu-

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[115] The simplicity of this conclusion, implicit in all the treatments of the Parade drop-curtain cited above, has curiously been avoided in favour of more tortuous, yet ultimately insupportable arguments. Martin, "The Ballet 'Parade': A Dialogue Between Cubism and Futurism", p.103, even goes so far as to state that "both these personages [the Negro and the Sailor] and the guitarist seem also to embody traits of Picasso himself, his musicality, his sentimental Spanish side, and his free and easy navigation in the creative world like Popeye the Sailor". Martin, does not, however, pursue this possibility to an interpretation of the meaning of the drop-curtain. The argument presented in the present study for the harlequin, torero and sailor being references to Picasso are somewhat different from Martin's suggestions.

[116] Reff, "Picasso's 'Three Musicians': Masters, Artists, and Friends", p.131. A more detailed consideration of harlequin will be given below in the context of the curtain for Mercure.

[117] Allardyce Nicoll, The World of Harlequin, Cambridge 1963, p.23.

mulative' quality parallels the very process of metaphor, and thus harlequin provides Picasso with a sign par excellence in its potential for metaphoric elaboration. In Picasso's hands, harlequin could serve as a reflection of all the artist's varying and even contradictory moods and concerns. This is exemplified in a comparison of the 1915 Harlequin (Fig.4) and the two harlequins of the Parade drop-curtain. In 1915, in direct response to Eva's death, harlequin becomes a metaphor for Picasso's grief and spiritual isolation. By 1917 this grief was being transmuted into a more positive expression of renewed vitality. Axsom has stated the problem involved in identifying *all* Picasso's harlequins as self-portraits:

> The Harlequin figure, however, is not always a self-portrait of the artist, although once the identification is made in a self-portrait, it is assumed that the artist's personal association with the character still resonates even in those works in which the features of the Harlequin do not match those of Picasso.[118]

But there are lesser known and less frequently used identities which Picasso assumes in his own works. One of these is the sailor.

The earliest references to a sailor in Picasso's oeuvre are in studies for Les Demoiselles d'Avignon early in 1907. The original idea for this work included two male figures, one of which was to

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[118] Axsom, 'Parade': Cubism as Theater, p.113. As was argued above in the case of the female figures and their association with Eva, the nature of Picasso's art predicates that meanings contained within specific personalities, whether the artist himself or his close associates, will be presented in a concealed form. An extension of this argument would be that the recognizable portraits of Olga made during the first few years of Picasso's relationship with her celebrate her specific beauty, but do not disclose any metaphoric content.

be a sailor.[219] In 1915, de Chirico made a caricature of Picasso dining with friends under the watchful eye of a Henri Rousseau self-portrait (Fig.65). Picasso is depicted bare-chested, and painted or tatooed on his chest is an anchor. Two similar anchors are depicted on the sailor's collar in the Parade curtain (Figs.10 and 11) where the girl's hand has been drawn so as to studiously avoid obscuring the motif.[220] Cubist works of the time also contain the anchor motif.[221] It is not inconceivable that, as the words "Ma Jolie" in Cubist works of 1912-1914 refer to Eva, so the anchor in these works refers to the artist himself.[222] Still-life, Composition with an Anchor (1914: Fig.66) is a good example. It is referred to in a catalogue note as being a "homage to a

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[219] See Daix and Rosselet, Picasso, The Cubist Years 1907-1916, nos.27, 28 and 29, p.195-196. Picasso's identity as the sailor in these works is discussed by Lee Steinberg, "Philosophical Brothel" and Gedo, Picasso: Art as Autobiography, pp.77-8 and p.271, n.36.

[220] Only one of these anchors is clearly visible in most photographs (see Fig.52). The reproduction in Diaghilev and the Ballets Russes, Exhibition Catalogue, Paris 1979, p.83, of the photograph of Picasso and his assistants painting the drop-curtain, shows a second and identical motif in the right corner of the sailor's collar. The photograph is part of the Kochno Bequest in the collection of the Library of the Paris Opera, and the illustration in the catalogue was most certainly made directly from the original photograph.

[221] Z II(1): 304 and 306 (corresponding to Daix and Rosselet, nos.459 and 457; Z II(2): 467 (corresponding to Daix and Rosselet, no.649); and Daix and Rosselet no.654 (not in Zervos).

[222] Gedo, Picasso: Art as Autobiography, pp.91-92, similarly suggests that musical instruments in works of this period are 'portraits' of Synge.

[223] Picasso, Opere dal 1895 al 1971 dalla Collezione Marina Picasso, no.105. The catalogue entry states that "Tutti gli ingredienti del quadretto farebbero pensare a un omaggio a un lupo di mare".

sea-wolf".[323] In this work the presence of a pipe, reminiscent of the pipe held by the sailor of the Parade drop-curtain, suggests that rather than being a still-life composition, specific reference is being made to an individual in this work. There is insufficient information in the painting, however, to allow its identification as a self-portrait.[324] In one of the examples cited above, Violin, Wineglass, Pipe and Anchor (Spring 1912: Fig.68) the anchor appears with a whole range of Cubist imagery, including the familiar "Ma Jolie" reference to Eva. This is the third of the series of 16 paintings in Daix's catalogue which contain typographical references to Eva.[325] In the light of the above discussion it is possible that this could now be reinterpreted as a disguised or metaphorical double portrait of Picasso and Eva.[326]

The sailor reappears in the 30's and 40's. In an aquatint dating to November 1934, three sailors are included in a night scene involving the blind minotaur and a young girl carrying a white dove.[327] Three 'portraits' of sailors date to 1938, 1939 and 1943. (Figs.69, 70, and 71 respectively). In his well known 1945 inter-

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[324] A similar anchor to the one on the sailor's collar in the Parade drop-curtain and the one in Fig.68 can be seen in Head of a Man (1913: Fig.67) where it is superimposed on the bowl of the subject's pipe. This painting may also be a portrait.

[325] Daix and Rosselet, Picasso. The Cubist Years 1907-1916, no.457, p.277.

[326] For a study of hidden double portraits in Picasso's oeuvre, see Linda Jane F.Laughton "Disguised Double Portraits in Picasso's Work, 1925-1962", PhD Dissertation, Stanford University 1977 (University Microfilms International Ann Arbor and London 1981).

[327] Those works will be discussed later in connection with the sets for Pulcinella.

view with Picasso, the American ex-soldier, Jerome Seckler, attempted an interpretation of the wartime work The Sailor (Fig.72) which is clearly a self-portrait, since the artist's name is inscribed on the front of the sailor's cap.

> I said I thought it to be a self-portrait - the sailor's suit, the net, the red butterfly showing Picasso as a person seeking a solution to the problem of the times, trying to find a better world - the sailor's garb being an indication of an active participation in this effort. He listened intently and finally said, "Yes, its me, but I did not mean it to have any political significance at all". I asked why he painted himself as a sailor. "Because" he answered, "I always wear a sailor shirt. See?" He opened his shirt and pulled at his underwear - it was white with blue stripes!'[328]

As usual, Picasso took refuge in reality, while admitting, in this same interview, the symbolic nature of his work:

> I express myself through painting and I can't explain through words..... people see in painting things you didn't put in... But it doesn't matter, because if they saw that, it's stimulating - and the essence of what they saw is really in the painting.'[329]

Picasso disclaims any intention of literary painting, yet admits the presence of extended meanings in his work. The sailor can be identified with the artist, but Picasso's own fatuous explanation that this identity is based solely on his striped sailor's vest, is misleading. The specific connection made between the figure of the sailor and the motif of an anchor suggests a possible context for the sailor figure. The anchor is an age-old and unequivocal symbol of hope and salvation.[330] The anchor thus marks the sailor

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[328] Jerome Seckler, "Picasso Explains", New Masses, (New York) March 13, 1945, cited in Ashton, Picasso on Art, pp.135-136.

[329] Ibid., p.138.

[330] Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols.

as a metaphor of hope, a symbol of retaliation against the negative forces that are embodied in the Negro's blackness and smile of death. The sailor is a 'survivor' figure and Picasso, the artist, identifies with him. In much the same way it will be argued that the harlequin and the torero present aspects of the positive and retaliatory potential of the artist and his art.

Although clear portrait-type renderings of a torero are not common in Picasso's oeuvre, the image is, of course, found in many bullfight scenes. Two late works which date to October 1937 (Fig.73 and 74) can be cited as exceptions in that they depict single figures which occupy the entire canvas, as thus can be defined as portrait-types. In contrast to the inconclusive methods of existing interpretations Costello, in a study of Picasso's Vollard Suite provides positive and convincing support for identifying Picasso with the torero figure.

> Death, art and the bullfight are inextricably linked in Spanish tradition both metaphorically and literally. Small wonder that Picasso is likened to a matador, and that bullfight imagery and references should play such a crucial role in his a t.[111]

Costello illuminates Picasso's identification with the bullfighter with two of the artist's own statements on the subject:

> Just imagine for a moment that you're in the middle of the ring. You've got your easel and your white canvas, and you've got to paint it, while the whole world is there watching you... If you make the least

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[111] Costello, Picasso's 'Vollard Suite', p.285. On p.298, n.73, Costello cites two sources which identify Picasso with the bullfighter: P.G.P. "Picasso, pigeon, Picasso matador", Inedit, XVI, 163-5, Aug-Oct 1962, and Ramon Gomez de la Serna, "Le Torero de la peinture", Cahiers d'Art, 1932, nos.3-5.

> mistake you die. And there's no need even for a bull.[322]

And

> It's odd... how people have a horror of technique in anything. Just imagine a matador who knows nothing at all. He would have to improvise the death in the ring. Or rather his own death, with a bull weighing thirteen hundredweight... Its the same in painting. The more technique you have, the less you have to worry about it.[323]

Picasso took great care in the Parade drop-curtain to detail the elaborate embellishment of the torero's costume. The embroidered suit of a torero is known in Spanish as a Traje de luces or 'suit of lights'.[324] As has been discussed earlier, light-imagery in Picasso's oeuvre is a sign for the positive forces of life. Here the torero's suit is specified as being connected with that imagery, thus enriching the life-affirming metaphor implicit in his very identity.

The Parade curtain, Picasso's most public work up until that date, reflects a most private and sacred part of the artist's life. Picasso as harlequin joins Picasso as sailor and torero in a memorial homage to Eva, his greatest love. The triple persona of the artist is an uncommon statement of self-revelation and testifies to the completeness of his attachment to Eva. As Gedo writes:

> His tender solicitude for the dying Eva varied so greatly from his usual phobic avoidance of sickness and death that one is inclined to agree with those biographers who speculate that Eva may have been

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[322] Ibid., p.285, citing Parmelin, Picasso Plain, p.163.

[323] Ibid., p.298, n.74, citing Parmelin, Picasso Plain, pp.158-159.

[324] Konig, "Picasso and the Corrida de Toros", p.125.

> Picasso's great love. His relationship with her is the one about which we are least informed, not only because he ostensibly preserved a taboo against painting her features in recognisable form, but also because he preserved an uncharacteristically discreet silence about their relationship. Gilot, who does not mention Eva in her book, recently confirmed my speculation that the artist had spurned her attempts to discuss Eva beyond affirming that he had loved her very much.[325]

All three characters, harlequin - "the ephemeral being who triumphs over all human woes, even mortality" -[326] the Sailor with his talismanic anchor which symbolises hope and salvation, and the torero in his suit of light, are figures with which Picasso identified precisely because of their powers of life over death. By assuming these various identities he was in a sense "magically" arming himself against the forces of death and destruction. Picasso used the Parade curtain as an opportunity to demonstrate his death-defying art in public. The personal tragedy of Eva's loss is linked to the national tragedy of war and both specific events are universalised through the images of transcendence contained in the group of white figures on the left. Eva, who simultaneously belongs to all three realms, provides the link between them. The curtain can be seen as Picasso's means of coming to terms with and transcending the events of the previous few years.

In the Parade curtain, Picasso laid the ghost of Eva by reincarnating her. On one level, then, the curtain is the summation of the Ma Jolie and Avignon canvases. At the same time he expresses patriotic concern for his country of adoption. As has been shown,

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[325] Gedo, Picasso: Art as Autobiography, p.110.

[326] Ibid.

the two traumas, private and public were linked. Using a metaphorical visual language forged out of a multiplicity of symbols both real and imaginary, Picasso affirmed the transcendent power of art.

Le Tricorne

In his second ballet drop-curtain, that for Le Tricorne, first performed in London on 22 July 1919, Picasso made a number of alternative designs and selecting from these, worked towards greater resolution of form and space. The Spanish setting of Le Tricorne was undoubtedly responsible for Picasso choosing an incident from the bullfight as the central event of the curtain. His return to Barcelona in 1917 prompted a return to this theme, and it is a series of drawings made there that form the prototypes for the scene depicted in the centre of the first sketches for the Le Tricorne drop curtain.[117] As was the case with Parade, the curtain bore only a superficial relation to the theme of the ballet.

The Le Tricorne drop-curtain (Figs.75 and 76) depicts two groups of spectators at a bullfight.[118] On the left is an elegant couple,

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[117] See Z III:65-67 (not illustrated).

[118] Fig.75 represents the final curtain in its present state. The absence of colour illustrations of this curtain in the Picasso and Diaghilev literature seems to have been occasioned by the problems involved in photographing it in its present location in the foyer of the Seagram Building, Park Avenue, New York. The detail photographs included in this study (Figs.84, 87, 88 and 92) were taken from the original. Because of the restricted space in which it is placed and the fact that it is lit from above, it is impossible to photograph the entire

the man standing, the woman seated. On the right is a group of three women. All are dressed in generalised versions of traditional Andalusian garb. The women wear mantillas and carry fans. The man wears an Andalusian hat but his clothing is hidden beneath a flowing cape. A young boy, barefoot and dressed in simple peasant clothes appears to be selling or offering fruit to the woman at the right. His scale is disproportionately reduced in relation to the female figures. The figures are all situated in a part of the galleries surrounding the bullfight arena which is visible beyond the arcades which enclose their space. In the background these arcades continue around the arena. Within this circular space, two plumed horses, led by a whip-lashing man drag a bull from the arena (the beast's body is concealed by the couple on the left). The fact that the bullfight, or a part of it, is over, helps explain why four of the six foreground figures turn their backs to the arena and look out of the picture. On the far side of the arena a mounted torero assumes a static pose. Four black swallows are clearly visible in the sky above the arena. In the extreme foreground is a tray bearing a bottle and three glasses.

The iconographic elements thus described in the Le Tricorne drop-curtain have little connection with the scenario of the bal-

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curtain or to obtain reasonable photographs of its upper part. A detailed account of the cutting down and sale of the Le Tricorne curtain and of the Cuadro Flamenco sets is given by Serge Grigoriev, The Diaghilev Ballet, Harmondsworth, 1960, and reported by Cooper, Picasso Theatre, pp.51-52. Kochno, Diaghilev and Les Ballets Russes, London 1971, p.136, dismisses the incident in a few lines. Fig.76 is a pencil drawing which contains all the elements of the final curtain in the same relationships but with several iconographic details omitted.

let as outlined in Chapter III. Diaghilev seems to have acknowledged the autonomy of the curtain by having de Falla compose a special overture, to be played while the drop-curtain was being shown [339]

There is no documented evidence as to the sequence of the designs for the curtain. The order suggested here is based on an analysis of the sketches themselves and the internal logic revealed by them. The first idea seems to be that of Fig.77, which is worked out more fully in Fig.76. Closely related are the 'details' represented in Figs.90 and 91.

The spatial construction of the Parade curtain had resulted in a complex spatial ambiguity as regards the relationship between audience and performance. The first designs for the Le Tricorne curtain seek a solution to the problem of combining performance and audience in a single planar surface. In the Parade curtain the spectator had to come to terms with the complex arrangement of space in order to establish this relationship for himself. In the Le Tricorne sketches (Figs.77 and 78) Picasso combines the two spaces and resorts to a diagrammatic rather than a complexly illusionistic treatment of space. The audience ranged around the arena is shown in ascending rows within a rectilinear architectural scheme. The arena is similarly flattened onto the surface, forming a central circle which strains against the rigid archi-

[339] Cooper, Picasso Theatre, p.105, p.40. According to Cooper this overture was composed in London shortly before the season started.

tectural grid. While all these elements are flattened onto the surface, the action being played out in the arena is depicted with some attention to foreshortening in order to present an illusion of three-dimensionality. In the second, more finished version (Fig.78) this illusionism is extended to the drawing and cross-hatched shading of the Spanish woman on the right, and to a lesser extent to her opposite number on the left. The remainder of the composition, however, excludes illusionistic space completely.

The problem of scale remained. Cooper gives the dimensions of the Le Tricorne drop-curtain as 10m x 16m.[340] This is very close to the 10,6m x 17,25m of the Parade drop-curtain. Although Cooper does not make it clear, this size must refer to the entire curtain as it existed originally.[341] The enormous scale would have presented problems similar to those encountered in the creation of the Parade drop-curtain. In his first sketch for the Le Tricorne drop-curtain (Fig.77), Picasso seems to have taken this into account and tried to overcome these difficulties by literally floating his architectonic scheme in space, indicated by the cloud-like forms which surround it on all sides. Such a space could be extended indefinitely but would detract from the impact of the central images. Indeed, Picasso must have soon realised that the architectural structure itself, divided up into a number of spatial

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[340] Cooper, Picasso Theatre, p.347.

[341] In its present state, the dimensions of the drop-curtain are about 6m x 6m. This is an estimate based on personal viewing of the Le Tricorne drop-curtain in its present location.

pockets, would lack pictorial coherence in spite of the fact that all these pockets were equalised on the surface.

In order, perhaps, to establish a more coherent spatial setting, Picasso next (Fig.79) seems to have abandoned this original idea in favour of one which included a greater sense of spatial recession, and a group of men and women in traditional Andalusian dress replaced the bullfight as a central motif. In this drawing the opening of the proscenium arch is echoed by an arcaded wall. A chair in the right foreground seems to serve as a spatial marker and also as a reference to 'reality', forming a bridge between the spectator space and that of the audience. Within the arch a broad ground plane affords sufficient space for the figure group, while the space of the arena beyond is indicated by echoing arcades and orthogonal lines in the ceiling area. Fig.80 seems closely related to this study.[342] In this sketch, the foreground archway has been removed and the first spatial plane is defined by orthogonals of floor and ceiling in a traditional manner, although their construction is far from orthodox. Two separate spaces are created, a foreground for the spectators, and an arena for the performers.

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[342] Both Cooper, Picasso Theatre, p.40, and McQuillan, "Painters and the Ballet", p.462, discuss Fig.80 as a separate idea for the drop-curtain. Cooper (p.40) refers to it as "a sun-drenched bull-ring" and cites it as a preliminary idea, alternative to Figs.77 and 78 on the one hand and Figs.90 and 91 on the other. McQuillan (p.462) likewise refers to Fig.80 as depicting "a bare, sundrenched ring" which she acknowledges as "the housing of the final, populated curtain". Comparison of Figs.75 and 80 underlines the relationship of this sketch to the final curtain. It is unlikely that Picasso would have intended so vacant a scene as that of Fig.80 as an independent curtain design and it may therefore be suggested that this study represents an attempt to work out the spatial relationships prior to populating the space with figures.

At the same time the repetition and counterpoint of large and small arcades establishes a surface pattern which asserts the integrity of the plane. This pattern effect is enhanced by the pattern area of floor, ceiling and balustrade.

The existence of alternative ideas for the spatial composition of the Le Tricorne curtain suggests that it was more carefully deliberated than that for Parade. The spectator is no longer in an ambiguous relationship to the performance. In fact, the imagery operates independently of the actual audience although contact between audience and performance is established through the fictive audience of the bull-fight.

Two oil sketches for the curtain (Figs.81 and 82) which elaborate the design of Fig 80 are remarkable for their painterly quality, especially in view of the linear style found in the final curtain. Heavy black outlines in the sketches foreshadow this linearity. It is suggested that Fig.81 is the first of these two oils. Its figure composition differs from the final curtain and is based on Fig.79. Picasso has however removed the archway and chair which in Fig.79 formed a barrier between real and fictive audience. Such a barrier is more subtly indicated in Fig.81 by broad diagonal brushmarks across the bottom left-hand corner. These indicate an oblique horizontal surface in the foreground. In order to establish this plane convincingly, a still-life of tray, bottle and glasses is placed on it. It thus appears to be a ledge of sorts and, since it is cut off by the left side and base of the picture,

belongs equally to the picture space and to that of the spectator.[343] As part of the picture space it is continuous with the ground plane, and we must conclude that these objects have been set down on the floor. As an intrusion of the spectator space on the other hand, this area can be read as a shelf or platform, possibly part of a raised seating area or 'theatre box' from which a real audience observes the fictive one. Thus despite a seeming clarity, an element of ambiguity enters the spatial construction, questioning the stability of its pictorial 'reality'.

The figure group of Fig.81 differs from those of Fig.82 and the final curtain (Fig.75) especially in respect of the group of three women on the right. The figure in the centre of this group has her back turned towards bull-fight in Fig.81, she bends forward, apparently adjusting a shoe. This is a typical position adopted by ballet dancers and given the definitive treatment in a number of Degas' studies of dancers. In a drawing of 1917, Picasso had portrayed Olga in a variation of this pose (Fig.83) and its inclusion in this oil sketch suggests that Picasso may here have been making a subtle reference to the context of ballet within which this bullfight scene was situated.

In the second oil study (Fig.82) this figure has been turned around and now has her back to the viewer. She wears a black mantilla and her head is turned towards her right and seen in profile, the

[343] McQuillan, "Painters and the Ballet", p.461, reads this as "a diagonal wedge of descending stairs and a still-life tray with sherry bottle and glasses [which] cut across the lower left corner".

change in pose conferring an increased coherence on the group. This sketch also indicates how Picasso proposed dealing with the large scale of the proscenium arch. He enclosed the figurative scene within a firm border, and then framed this with painted curtains. Although this would appear to emphasise the illusionistic treatment of the space within the frame, this is not necessarily the case. Because the frame is also painted, it stresses the surface quality of the scene. It is not at all certain, however, whether these 'curtains' survived in the final curtain which no longer exists in its original form. According to Cooper, the Andalusian scene was presented in a rectangle "floated" on a grey background.[344] The drop-curtain would thus have had the appearance of a very large easel painting rather than of a completely illusionistic scene set within the proscenium arch as had been the case with the Parade drop-curtain.

The final curtain (Fig.75) is remarkable for its extreme linear clarity, giving the figures an almost caricatural quality. The colour scheme is muted and limited to olive-green, brown, and the orange and purple complementaries. Light areas are enclosed in strong dark outlines, while dark planes are juxtaposed with light ones to give a silhouetted quality. Three-dimensional form is indicated by limited chiaroscuro applied to drapery in linear strokes and by isolated stippled areas on the ground which denote cast shadows. (This can only be seen in a detail photograph such as Fig.84). The figures strike stylised attitudes, and facial

[344] Cooper, Picasso Theatre, p.40.

features are entirely unmodelled and bounded by smooth contour lines.[245] This linear style continues the tendency begun at Avignon and noted in the discussion of the Parade curtain. In the Le Tricorne curtain the smooth line becomes transversal. In spite of the limited modelling it does not appear to enclose actual volumes but rather to be inscribed on a flat surface.

It will be argued that, as he had done in the Parade drop-curtain, Picasso included extremely personal imagery in the drop-curtain for Le Tricorne. Although the ballet's scenario is located in a generalised context, Picasso indicates a more specific identity in his drop-curtain. Possibly taking his cue from de Falla's musical score, Picasso dressed the figures of the drop-curtain in distinctively Andalusian costume.[246] Picasso of course, like de Falla, was Andalusian by birth. As though to underline this fact he included specific signs of it which only appear in the final curtain.

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[245] The stylisations found in the Le Tricorne drop-curtain may be an outcome of Picasso's fascination at this time with the essentially stylised movements of ballet dancers. Massine, My Life in Ballet, p.123, writes that during rehearsals for Le Boutique Fantasque in Barcelona in 1917, "Picasso, who was always intrigued by the process of moulding a ballet into shape, attended most of our rehearsals, which he said he preferred to the actual performances. What really fascinated him was seeing the dancers resting between dances and the lines of their bodies in repose as they gathered their forces for the next burst of activity. He would sit in the rehearsal studio and produce delightful thumbnail sketches of them".

[246] For de Falla see Otto Mayer-Serra, "Falla's Musical Nationalism", The Musical Quarterly, 29 (1) January 1943, pp.1-17, and Alex Orga, "Falla and Spanish Tradition", Music and Musicians, 16 (12) August 1968, pp.24-29.

In the still-life at bottom left of the final Le Tricorne drop-curtain, the label on the bottle reads "XER..., AMO..." (Fig.85). The inclusion of word-fragments as signifiers was one of the distinctive characteristics of Picasso's Cubist paintings from 1911 onwards. The words or fragments of words included in these paintings usually referred to objects or persons from Picasso's immediate reality, but the significance of the reference was generally of a complex nature.[247] Usually the words inscribed on Cubist bottles refer in the first instance to their contents, generally some form of alcoholic beverage. This can be seen in the many bottles bearing the words "Vieux Marc", "Bass", or, as in the case discussed above, "La Negrita". As was seen in the latter case, the words not only refer objectively to the contents of the bottle, but may also be understood to contain a more allusive meaning. In line with this process, an interpretation of the bottle bearing the word-fragments "XER...AMO..." which is congruent with the obvious Andalusian context of the Le Tricorne curtain, can confidently be made. The first word is a fragment of "XERES", French for 'Sherry' and for Jerez, the Andalusian town of origin of the famous Spanish drink.[248] This identification is made even

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[247] Two specific cases, those of "Ma Jolie" and "La Negrita" have been discussed above, pp.128 and 141

[248] See Alec Gold (ed.), Wines and Spirits of the World, London 1948, pp.362-377, for the history of sherry and a discussion of its various types. See Robert Rosenblum, "Picasso and the Typography of Cubism" in Golding and Penrose (eds.), Picasso in Retrospect, p.37, for a discussion of the labelling of alcoholic drinks in Picasso's Cubist works. Rosenblum notes (n.56,p.186) that Juan Gris suggested his Spanish identity "by the inclusion in his still-lifes of such alcohols as Jerez de la Frontera and Anis del Mono". At least two other works of Picasso from 1919 include specifically labelled Spanish alco-

more specific by the second word-fragment. Two well known types of Sherry are the Amontillados and the Amoroso.[352] Picasso's bottle may thus refer to one or both of these drinks. 'AMO', however, also has other connotations. It is a part of the verb 'to love' in Latin and most Romance languages. The words on the label thus read 'I love sherry' or 'I love Jerez', an unusually vociferous declaration of national identity for Picasso, and one possibly encouraged by his recent return to Spain and his association with de Falla who strongly supported a return to a truly Spanish form of music. Just as the Parade curtain had made reference to French nationalism at a critical juncture in that nation's history, so renewed association with his birthplace may have induced Picasso to include a hidden protestation of patriotism in the Le Tricorne curtain. It seems worth noting too, that one of the characteristics of sherry links it to ideas of immortality.

> Sherry grows in vitality with age, becomes more pungent, gets fuller-bodied and increases in alcoholic strength. This is the reverse of what happens with a human being who, when age advances, gets feeble and loses strength and vitality. It can be said of a sherry that it will 'never die'.[353]

It is possible that Picasso was aware of this characteristic of his national drink and, as in the case of La Negrita, he evokes far more than the description of a bottle of alcohol with this image. The personal references contained in the sherry bottle are enhanced by Picasso's signature in the opposite corner of the

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holic drinks in still-life compositions. They are Bottle of Oporto and Glass (Fig.86) and The Bottle of Malaga (Fig.87).

[352] Gold, Wines and Spirits of the World, pp.370-371.

[353] Ibid., p.377.

curtain (Fig.88): "Picasso Pinxit 1919". Picasso did indeed paint the major part of the curtain[351] and the inspiration for this large, bold and clear inscription may have come from Ingres in whose work Picasso showed a marked interest at this time.[352] Ingres inscribed a number of his works with Latin legends, and one in particular, the painting of Bathers in the Louvre known as The Turkish Bath (1862: Fig.89) is inscribed "J.Ingres Pinxit MDCCLXII AETATIS LXXXI".[353]

As Rosenblum has shown, early in his career Picasso demonstrated a self-consciousness as regards the typographical form of his signature.[354] Although both Picasso and Braque studiously avoided

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[351] See Vladimir Polunin, The Continental Method of Scene Painting, London 1927, p.55, and Cooper, Picasso Theatre, p.41.

[352] The relationship of Picasso's style during this period to that of Ingres and classicism generally will be discussed below in relation to the sets for Pulcinella.

[353] Patricia Condon, Marjorie Cohn and Agnes Mongan, Ingres In Pursuit of Perfection. The Art of J.-A.-D.Ingres, Exhibition Catalogue, J.B.Speed Art Museum, Louisville and Indiana University Press 1984, p.125. Phoebe Pool, "Picasso's Neo-Classicism: Second Period, 1917-25", pp.198-207, suggests Ingres as an influence, and notes (p.205) "reminiscences of Le Bain turc in the fine rhythmical drawings of [Picasso's] Baigneuses done at Biarritz in 1918". A parallel which has not, to my knowledge, been noted in the literature is the curious resemblance between the standing figure in the middle ground of Ingres' painting and the mantilla-wearing Spanish women of the Le Tricorne drop-curtain. Ingres' figure wears a bright yellow-gold headgear whose drapery continues down over her shoulders and upper torso. The sharp outline of this figure and her costume as well as her profile stance recall a number of the females in the studies for the Le Tricorne drop-curtain and most especially the figure on the balcony on the left of Fig.78.

[354] Rosenblum, "Picasso and the Typography of Cubism", pp.41-45.

signing their paintings between 1908 and 1913, Rosenblum points out that

> By 1914... Picasso once more began to sign his pictures in an explicit way, except that now, in many cases, his signature was the subject of the same kind of metamorphoses which characterised his cubist treatment of other objects and typographical elements.[355]

The prominent signature at the bottom right of the Le Tricorne curtain is unique on account of its size, its clarity and its impersonal style. The announcement "Picasso painted this" on the right hand side of the curtain operates in conjunction with the statement "I love sherry" suggested in a similar typographic style by the bottle label on the left. In the Parade curtain Picasso suggested the complexity of his personal make-up through the triple identities of harlequin, sailor and torero. This disclosure had, however, remained largely hidden and unnoticed. A more direct statement of his own presence is manifest in the Le Tricorne curtain. Having declared "I love sherry" with patriotic fervour, Picasso leaves in no doubt the identity of the "I". "Picasso Pinxit..." is more than a signature, it is an unambiguous statement about the personal significance of this painted curtain, expressed with a clarity of style which is bound to arrest the spectator's eye.

Although two of the sketches for the action in the bullring show a bullfight in progress (Figs.90 and 91) in the final curtain Picasso chose to depict a moment after the action (Fig.75). In the arena beyond the foreground spectators, a presumably dead bull is

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[355] Ibid., p.42.

being dragged out of the arena by a pair of horses. In Picasso's work where bull and horse are locked in combat, the bull usually appears to be the aggressor, the horse the innocent victim; if the bull is victim, it is generally man who subdues him. The Le Tricorne curtain is significant for providing one of the few instances in Picasso's work where the bull is victim rather than aggressor.[356]

The meaning of Picasso's bulls has been the subject of a number of studies, with no definitive interpretation being provided.[357] Meaning shifts in relation to the context in which the animal is portrayed.[358] Given that in the Le Tricorne curtain the bull has been slain in a traditional Andalusian bullfight, certain assumptions can be made as to the significance of this event. Konig has

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[356] Costello, Picasso's 'Vollard Suite', p.268, provides support for this contention.

[357] There is a vast literature on this topic, most of it centering on the meaning of the bull in Guernica. Apart from the monographs devoted to this work, too numerous to list here, significant studies are E.B.Cantelupe, "Picasso's Guernica", Art Journal, 31 (1), Fall 1971, pp.18-21; Herschel Chipp, "Guernica': Love, War and the Bullfight", Art Journal, 3 (2), Winter 1973-74, pp.100-115; W.Darr, "Images of Eros and Thanatos in Picasso's 'Guernica'", Art Journal, 25 (4), Summer 1966, pp.338-346; Mary M. Gedo, "Art as Autobiography: Picasso's 'Guernica'", The Art Quarterly, ns. 2 (2) 1979, pp.191-210. Carla Gottlieb, "The Meaning of the Bull and Horse in 'Guernica'", Art Journal, 24 (2) Winter 1965-66, pp.106-112; and William Proweller, "Picasso's 'Guernica', a Study in Visual Metaphor", Art Journal, 30 (3), Spring 1971, pp.24-26. Konig, "Pablo Picasso and the Corrida de Toros", provides a comprehensive study of the mythological origins and meanings attaching to imagery of the bull. Costello, Picasso's 'Vollard Suite', examines the meaning of the bull specifically in that series, but also throws much light on the meaning of the image in Picasso's oeuvre.

[358] This is of course the case with other symbols too. Harlequin is a case in point.

traced the mythological origins of the bull and the ritual of bull slaughter from Mesopotamia, where "...as a vigorous life-giving force the bull became a fitting emblem of the sun, rising out of the sea",[159] to the Mediterranean, where the animal is first specifically associated with resurrection via the Dionysus myth. The slaughter of the bull in the Spanish bullfight derives, at least in part, from ancient re-enactment of this myth in which Dionysus, in the form of a bull, was torn apart by the Titans. The bull-god was perpetually restored to life, and thus the association with resurrection.[160] This interpretation accords with a modern Spanish reference to the bullfight as "...a true religious drama where, as in the Mass, there is adoration and a God is sacrificed".[161] In the Spanish bullfight, the moment at which the bull is killed is a "moment of truth"[162] and the animal's sacrifice can be interpreted as an act of salvation or redemption as is the case in the Christian myth.[163] There is thus a significant difference between slaughter and sacrifice, and it is the sacrificial act with its corollary of rebirth and redemption which informs the killing of the bull. Whilst the Parade curtain expressed a belief in the redemptive powers of art and of the artist by means of a complexly structured metaphor, the Le Tricorne curtain presents direct sym-

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[159] Konig, "Pablo Picasso and the Corrida de Toros", p.2.

[160] Ibid., pp.2-4, passim.

[161] Federico Garcia Lorca, "Theory and Function of the Duende", in Lorca ed.J.L.Gili, (Baltimore 1960), cited in Costello, Picasso's 'Vollard Suite', p.276.

[162] Costello, Picasso's 'Vollard Suite', p.269.

[163] Ibid., p.277, citing Marrero, Picasso and the Bull, p.34.

bols of resurrection. Reinforcing the image of the sacrificial bull are at least two other symbols of resurrection.

The first of these is the pomegranate proffered by the boy to whom Cooper refers as "a boy selling oranges".[364] The fruit held up by this figure is not an orange, but a pomegranate, identifiable by its triple-pointed top (Fig.92).[365] Although not common, the image of the pomegranate occurs in at least three other works of Picasso, all pre-dating the Le Tricorne curtain; two Cubist still-lifes of Autumn 1911, Pomegranate, Wineglass and Pipe and The Pomegranate. (Figs.93 and 94), and a drawing dating to Avignon, Summer 1914, not illustrated here.[366] In The Pomegranate (Fig.94) the triple-pointed 'crown' of the fruit can be seen to the left as it

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[364] Cooper, Picasso Theatre, p.40.

[365] This distinguishing feature of the fruit is only visible in the final curtain.

[366] Z VI:1220. Another possible example, later than the Le Tricorne drop-curtain, may be found in the Still-life with Plaster Head (1925: Fig.95). William J. Mahar, "Neo-classicism in the Twentieth Century: A Study of the Idea and its Relationship to Selected works of Stravinsky and Picasso", PhD Dissertation, Syracuse University 1978 (University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor and London 1981) pp.519-522, identifies the fruit in the centre of this painting as a pomegranate and the sprig of leaves below it as a pomegranate branch. Although Mahar discusses meaning and metaphor in Picasso's oeuvre, he does not suggest any specific meaning for the pomegranate in this work. Rubin, Picasso in the Collection of the Museum of Modern Art, p.120, calls the fruit an "apple" and suggests that the leaves may be those of the laurel. Apart from seeing an affinity between the "apple" and a breast, Rubin does not suggest meanings for these images. It seems likely that this enigmatic work might be investigated using the metaphoric model. The presence in this same work of a toy theatre reminiscent of the Pulcinella set, and its overt subject of the artist's studio, suggest that it may refer to Picasso's view of his own work in 1925 when his involvement in the theatre was drawing to a close.

appears in the Le Tricorne curtain (Fig.92). The Avignon drawing (not illustrated) shows a pomegranate cut open to reveal its complex interior. The date of this drawing may be significant since it coincides with the unfinished The Artist and His Model (Fig.54) discussed above in relation to the Parade curtain. The pomegranate is a fruit whose hard exterior conceals an abundance of seeds. It is thus associated with fertility and fecundity and is related to the symbolism of Spring:

> In pagan mythology, [the pomegranate] was the attribute of Proserpina, and symbolised her periodical return to earth in the spring. From this pagan symbolism of the return of spring and rejuvenation of the earth, was derived the second symbolism of the pomegranate in Christian art, that of hope in immortality and of resurrection.[267]

Picasso's choice of imagery allows for conflation of pagan and Christian meanings, enriching the chosen metaphor. The theme of resurrection resonates strongly in the pomegranate image, since it also has connections with the sacrifice and resurrection of Dionysus.

> At Hera's orders the Titans seized Zaus' newly-born son Dionysus... and, despite his transformations, tore him into shreds.... a pomegranate tree sprouted from the soil where his blood had fallen; but... he came to life again.[268]

The sacrificed bull and the pomegranate both refer to episodes of rebirth related to the myth of Dionysus. Dionysus' spilt blood is a life-giving force. The pomegranate symbolises the ensuing rebirth. In both the Dionysus and the Proserpina myths the fruit is clearly symbolic of the positive associations of death - its

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[267] George W. Ferguson, Signs and Symbols in Christian Art, New York 1961, p.37.

[268] Graves, The Greek Myths, Vol.I, p.103-4.

promise of resurrection. Cirlot confirms this meaning, adding that

> the predominating significance of the pomegranate, arising from its shape and internal structure rather than from its colour, is the reconciliation of the multiple and diverse within apparent unity. Hence in the Bible... it appears as a symbol of the oneness of the universe".[169]

In this respect then, the pomegranate echoes the role of the star-covered ball in the Parade drop-curtain. Although the boy, at first glance appears to be offering his fruit to the three women on his left, closer inspection suggests that this is not the case. Like the couple, on his right, he is turned towards the audience. His left forearm and the hand which holds the fruit are closer to the picture plane than is the figure nearest to him. This can be seen in the final drawing (Fig.76) as well as in the curtain itself (Fig.75). The foreshortening of his left forearm and the articulation of his left shoulder indicate a forwards, rather than sideways extension of this arm (i.e., towards the picture plane and audience rather than in the direction of the group of women). He does not so much look at them as at the fruit which he holds up for the real spectators to see, drawing attention to the symbolism of the curtain.

The third image of resurrection in the Le Tricorne curtain is that of the swallows which "flash across the arena".[170] Like the pomegranate, the swallows are found in the final curtain but do not appear in any of the sketches for it. In general terms, the

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[169] Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols, p.249.

[170] Cooper, Picasso Theatre, p.40.

swallow is the bird which heralds the arrival of spring and is thus a sign of rebirth. This symbolism is quite specific in the tradition of Christian art:

> In the Renaissance the swallow was the symbol of the incarnation of Christ. For this reason it appears in scenes of the Annunciation and of the Nativity, nestling under the eaves or in holes in the wall. It was thought that the swallow hibernated in the mud during the winter, and its advent in the spring was looked upon as a rebirth from the death-like state of winter. For this reason it also became a symbol of resurrection.[371]

It would seem that Picasso was aware of this traditional symbolism from an early age. In a study for one of his early oil paintings on a religious theme, The Communion (1897: Fig.96) swallows, not unlike those seen in the Le Tricorne curtain (Fig.75) are included. Swallows also occur in at least two other instances in Picasso's work. Three swallows in flight appear in a series of sketches of open windows, executed as designs for a letterhead for Picasso's dealer, Paul Rosenberg, during the winter of 1918-19.[372] In these sketches the decorative curves of the balcony railing form the initials PR - referring both to Rosenberg, and to the artist himself.[373] In 1934 the swallow image again occurs in connection with an extremely personal object. Three ink drawings disclose a highly distorted female figure, partly dismembered and constructed of a combination of organic and mechanical parts.[374] Two of these drawings are titled Les Hirondelles in the Zervos catalogue

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[371] Ferguson, Signs and Symbols in Christian Art, pp.25-26.

[372] Z III: 259-265.

[373] Pablo Ruiz.

[374] Z VIII: 168, 173 and 175.

(Figs.97 and 98). In terms of conventional interpretations of the images of threatening females in the works of the period leading up to Picasso's separation from Olga in 1935, it appears that these drawings refer in some way to the monstrous image that Olga had become in Picasso's imagination. In this context, the swallows may perhaps suggest an impending rebirth for the artist once he extricated himself from his involvement with Olga. The swallows in the Le Tricorne drop-curtain, appear as a portent or sign in the sky. The other contexts in which they have been noted in Picasso's oeuvre are either religious or personal. These two themes converge in the drop-curtain, the religious embodied in the bullfight and, perhaps in a lesser way in the image of the pomegranate, the personal in the references to Spain, Andalusia and Picasso himself.

It is difficult to give any specific meaning to the remaining figures of the Le Tricorne curtain. Their static features, calm elegant postures and elaborate costumes evoke a group of Andalusian dancers, and their figure style anticipates the treatment Picasso was to give to his depiction of dancers over the next few years. The couple at left have an air of refined elegance. The man's hat and cape are suggestive of a matador, but his relaxed stance appears to have been based on direct observation of ballet dancers. This is underlined by his exaggerated calf muscles, a common physical characteristic of dancers (and especially of male dancers), and one which seems to have attracted Picasso's attention on other occasions too, for example Fig.99. The studied pose of the female figure on the left in the Le Tricorne drop-curtain

(Fig.75) seems to also reflect this type of direct observation in which Picasso focuses on the stylisations characteristic of the art of ballet. The couple look out of the curtain and connect the world of the performance with the real world. In this they reinforce the spatial ambiguity set up by the still-life of bottle and glasses. The three female figures on the right are in counterpoint to the couple. They ignore the audience and form a close-knit architectonic pyramidal group, their attention focused on each other. They anticipate later appearances of groups of three female figures in Picasso's work.[375]

Located in the context of the bullfight arena, these stylised figures form a link between dance and the bullfight, both typical forms of performance in Spain. Massine, whose Spanish education had been partly supervised by de Falla, identified a parallel between Spanish dance and the bullfight:

> I learned a great deal about folk-dancing from these bullfighters; as I watched them actively engaged in the exercise of this sport.... I began to grasp the underlying ferocity present in such dances as the farruca. I realised too that it was essentially the same elements in the Spanish temperament which had produced both their dances and their national sport.[376]

Much earlier, in 1894-5, Picasso had made drawings of Spanish folk dances, and Gasman has found references to "the ancient Andalusian folk dances, the fandango and flamenco..." in Picasso's poems of

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[375] Examples are Three Women at a Spring (1921), the Three Dancers (1925), and also the Three Graces in Mercure. The two versions of the Three Musicians (1921) although containing male figures, are also relevant. The significance of the group of three will be discussed below in the context of the Mercure sets.

[376] Massine, My Life in Ballet, p.122.

1935.[377] Lorca, whose work Theory and Function of the Duende has been cited above in the discussion of the bullfight, goes on to discuss Spanish dance in the same context. According to him, the duende is a force present both in the bullfighter and in the truly inspired or possessed dancer. For Lorca, dance, like the bullfight, is a religious expression. In both bullfight and the dance the duende "does not appear if it sees no possibility of death".[378] Gasman, who discusses the significance of the possessed dancer in the context of the Three Dancers (1925) suggests that the duende of Spanish folk dances would have been present in both Le Tricorne and Cuadro Flamenco.[379]

In the Le Tricorne curtain, Picasso brings together the two events, bullfight and folk dance, which contain the essence of the Spanish preoccupation with the forces of life and death, a preoccupation which is an overriding concern of Picasso's art. The moment depicted here is not, however, one of the heightened emotion that often accompanies these events. Rather, as signified by the images of pomegranate and swallows, the calm prevailing among the dancer figures and the silent, static matador in the background, struggle is over and the forces of life prevail. This state of affairs is congruent with the general expression of order which

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[377] Gasman, "Mystery, Magic and Love in Picasso 1925-1936", pp.644-645, citing poems in Cahiers d'Art 10 (7-10), 1935, pp.190 and 256.

[378] Lorca, "Theory and Function of the Duende" in Gili (ed.), Lorca, p.130, cited in Gasman, "Mystery, Magic and Love in Picasso 1925-1936", p.646.

[379] Gasman, "Mystery, Magic and Love in Picasso", p.647, n.1.

permeated much French art immediately after the war. In both its style and iconography, the Le Tricorne curtain represents a resolution of tensions perceived in the Parade curtain. Picasso's confident, even egotistical, claim to its authorship, his proud avowal of his Spanish heritage and his depiction of the triumph of regenerative forces may be understood to indicate that he had regained his personal equilibrium after the disturbing events of the war years.

One further design needs to be discussed in order to assess the full implications of the imagery of the Le Tricorne curtain. This is a small gouache from the Musée Picasso (Fig.100) which does not appear in either Zervos or Cooper, and which seems to have been published for the first time, in black and white, in 1980.[388] Surrounding a sketchy rendering of the Le Tricorne drop-curtain, framed by its red drapes, are four panels (two horizontal and two vertical). Each of these panels contains a large lozenge-shape on a black background. Each lozenge is bisected vertically and horizontally into four triangles, two of which are coloured green, one brown and one blue. Superimposed on each of the two vertical lozenges is an abstracted guitar on a white ground. In the 1980 catalogue this sketch has, not unexpectedly, been juxtaposed with the New York Museum of Modern Art's large Guitar (1919: Fig.101). There is a strong visual parallel between this Guitar and the four lozenge panels of the Le Tricorne gouache. In an earlier publication, Rubin dated the Guitar to "early 1919" on the basis of the

[388] Rubin (ed.), Pablo Picasso. A Retrospective, p.213.

date of the newspaper fragment pinned to it.[281] In the 1980 publication, however, it is dated "autumn 1919". Both these dates locate it close to the period of the Le Tricorne commission, and although no reference is made to this in the catalogue, the close juxtapositon of the images there suggests that a connection was perceived between them.[282] Rubin has identified the lozenge shape as a sign for harlequin:

> The heraldic and monumental four-colored diamond against which the paper guitar is pinned has always been read as a purely abstract, decorative motif. But it may be considered the ultimate graphic abbreviation for Harlequin - an interpretation consistent with the relative proportions and dispositions of the guitarist's prismatic figure, and reinforced by the presence, at the appropriate juncture, of the words 'urinary tract' (voie urinaire) which appear on the band of newsprint.[283]

The four multi-coloured lozenges of this Le Tricorne design may thus be identified as signs for harlequin.[284] Although they were excluded from the final curtain, their presence here associates harlequin, or the artist's alter ego, with the Le Tricorne curtain as it had been with Parade. Five years later, in June 1924,

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[281] Rubin, Picasso in the Collection of the Museum of Modern Art, p.104.

[282] Rubin (ed.), Pablo Picasso: A Retrospective, p.213.

[283] Rubin, Picasso in the Collection of the Museum of Modern Art, p.104. The words are not visible in reproduction.

[284] Reff, "Picasso's 'Three Musicians': Maskers, Artists and Friends", p.131, refers to the guitar held by the harlequin of the Three Musicians as "a Spanish instrument par excellence and one that Picasso had chosen to paint a few years earlier, against a diamond form emblematic of Harlequin, on the overture curtain for Le Tricorne, a ballet set in a Spanish village". Although Reff does not here distinguish between this study for the curtain and the curtain itself, it seems clear, since he cites Rubin's work as a source (n.48, p.141), that it is the sketch (Fig.100) to which he refers.

harlequin was to reappear prominently in the drop curtain for another ballet, Mercure.

Mercure

The Mercure drop-curtain (1924: Fig.102) like that for Le Tricorne was subsequently cut down to the size of a large easel painting and is in the collection of the Musée Nationale d'Art Moderne, Paris. McQuillan notes that the Mercure curtain was shown as a prelude to all works performed by the Soirées de Paris, and not confined to performances of Mercure itself.[365] This may in part explain the shift in subject matter between the curtain and the ballet's scenario. McQuillan suggests that the Mercure curtain in its original state consisted of the large existing rectangle centred in a neutral field, "something like the drop-curtain for Le Tricorne".[366] In contrast to the spatial, compositional and symbolic complexities of the Parade and Le Tricorne curtains, the curtain for Mercure (Fig.102) is simplified and lyrical. A guitar-playing harlequin and a violinist-pierrot stand, float, or dance in an indeterminate space. In the foreground another stringed instrument is placed against a white fragment which probably indicates a musical score.

Few studies have been documented for the Mercure drop-curtain. Apart from a single exception (Fig.105) these have small dimen-

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[365] McQuillan, "Painters and the Ballet", p.634.

[366] Ibid.

sions and use a medium of pastel and ink on g . textured paper.[387] The matt effect of the pastel was preserved in the final curtain by the use of tempera.[388] Two studies of pierrot (Figs.103 and 104) anticipate almost exactly the form that this figure will take in the final curtain (Fig.102). Of these two studies, Fig.103 explores the pierrot with a rather more tentative, meandering line, while in Fig.104 the notion of positive and negative lines is suggested. As the black line traverses the dark right side of pierrot's form it is transformed into a white 'shadow' of itself. This pictorial subtlety is, however, not found in the final curtain. Two further sketches (Figs.105 and 106) represent ideas for the arrangement of two figures in space. In Fig.105 the pierrot and (less clearly) the harlequin of the final curtain are identifiable. In Fig.106 harlequin (on the left) is recognisable, but the figure on the right is, if identifiable at all, an extremely sketchy sign for pierrot. In this study (Fig.106) a linear framework behind the figures attempts to locate them in some sort of constructed spatial setting. Two unpublished sheets from the Musée Picasso (Figs.107 and 108) would appear to complete the inventory of studies for the Mercure drop-curtain. The first of these (Fig.107) contains three separate sketches on a sheet of 20 x 22cm. Only the lower, larger sketch is identifiable as a study for the Mercure drop-curtain.[389] In Fig.107 harlequin and pierrot are seen

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[387] Polunin, The Continental Method of Scene Painting, p.79, commented on the size of these designs: "The designs done in pastel, were no larger than a match box".

[388] Polunin, The Continental Method of Scene Painting, p.79, recalled the technical difficulties involved.

[389] The two upper sketches which are extremely small and whose

against a flat background of brown earth and blue sky. Pierrot is coloured black and white while harlequin is yellow and reddish brown. The final curtain (Fig.102) seems to have been translated directly from a small sketch (Fig.108). Apart from variations in the background colouring and the obvious difference in scale, the two works are identical. It is in this sketch that a musical instrument and sheet music appear for the first time in the foreground, and that harlequin and pierrot are first placed on an irregularly shaped ground that evokes parallels with this musical instrument. In the Mercure drop curtain harlequin and his companion pierrot are the sole figures and principal images. In order to identify the specific role of the Commedia dell'Arte figures in the Mercure drop-curtain, it is necessary to contextualise their appearance in Picasso's oeuvre.

Picasso can hardly be credited with originality in selecting the figure of harlequin as his alter ego.

> From the time when he first stepped onto the stage at the close of the seventeenth century down to modern days...[harlequin] is the person who has most securely seized upon the imagination alike of the general public and of the intellegentsia.[398]

Like the other Commedia dell'Arte characters, harlequin is compounded out of a multitude of different experiences and charac-

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imagery is, as a result, impossible to define, could be ideas related to the Mercure sets. This conclusion is arrived at through consideration of the way in which these sketches are 'framed' on three sides only, indicating the proscenium arch which appears in the set designs.

[398] Nicoll, The World of Harlequin, p.68.

teristics - as expressed in the infinitely varied dramatic episodes of the Commedia dell'Arte.

> In the cumulative nature of their characters, the figures of the Commedia dell'Arte can be likened to the gods and heroes of Greek mythology.[391]

Although volumes have been written on Harlequin and the Commedia dell'Arte, surprisingly little is revealed about his qualities.[392] It is generally agreed that chief among these are his physical agility and acrobatic prowess, allied to which is a certain mental adroitness.[393]

> Rarely does he initiate an intrigue, but he is adroit at wriggling out of an awkward situation. Although he may seem a fool, he displays a very special quickness of mind.[394]

He is also variously described as amoral, impulsive, fond of assuming disguises, ignorant, witty, awkward, graceful, loyal, credulous, greedy, insolent, obscene, amorous and lazy.[395] Harlequin provided Picasso with a type and a range of characteristics from which the artist could select and upon which he could elaborate specific meanings.[396]

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[391] Ibid., p.23.

[392] Extensive bibliographies are included in both Nicoll, The World of Harlequin, and Cyril Beaumont, A History of the Harlequinade, London 1926.

[393] Nicoll, The World of Harlequin, p.70; Beaumont, A History of the Harlequinade, p.50.

[394] Nicoll, The World of Harlequin, p.72.

[395] Nicoll, The World of Harlequin, pp.70-74; Beaumont, A History of the Harlequinade, pp.46-50.

[396] Silver, "'Esprit de Corps': The Great War and French Art 1914-1925", pp.161-3 and pp.304-6, has interpreted the popularity of the Commedia dell'Arte as a theme in the immediate post-war art of Picasso as well as of Severini, Gris, Metzinger and Derain as, on the one hand (p.162) "a paradigm of normal collective behaviour" and on the other (p.305) an expression

The origins and meanings of Picasso's Commedia dell'Arte characters have been traced extensively in the literature.[397] Pierrot's first appearance dates to a watercolour of January 1900,[398] which Picasso made in Barcelona as a design for a poster advertising a New Year Carnival, and the earliest harlequins to about a year later when Picasso first visited Paris. Sitwell suggests that Commedia dell'Arte characters in Picasso's work may have had their source in the ongoing and living tradition as it existed in late 19th century Spain:

> All through his career he has painted harlequins.... They must have been one of the strong impressions of his childhood, and in his early pictures on this theme we are reminded of the straight suburbs of Barcelona and the rows of actors booths, each complete with clown, prostitute and harlequins.[399]

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of a "latin" culture and way of life that connoted civilised values. Although Silver claims (p.305) that "by 1924 the troupe of Italian players seem to have arrived at their zenith of prestige", it is difficult to simply locate Picasso's Mercure drop-curtain within that context. In the first place, harlequin, as has been shown above, was a long-standing symbolic element in Picasso's work. In the second, the deliberate ways in which Picasso elaborated this symbol into specific metaphorical expressions, discloses a process far removed from the banalities which Silver perceives in many of the harlequins painted by Picasso's contemporaries around 1924.

[397] See especially Ellen H.Bransten, "The Significance of the Clown in Paintings by Daumier, Picasso and Rouault", Pacific Art Review, 3, 1944, pp.21-29; Carmean, Picasso: The Saltimbanques, Johnson, "Picasso's Parisian Family and the Saltimbanques", Ratcliff, "Picasso's 'Harlequin': Remarks on the Modern's Harlequin", Reff, "Harlequins, Saltimbanques, Clowns and Fools", "Picasso's 'Three Musicians': Masters, Artists and Friends", Rubin, Picasso in the Collection of the Museum of Modern Art, and von Blanckenhagen, "Picasso and Rilke, "La Famille des Saltimbanques'".

[398] Z XXI: 127.

[399] Osbert Sitwell, in the preface to Cyril Beaumont, A History of the Harlequinade, pp.xv - xvi.

Although Sitwell suggests a likely source, his interpretation is somewhat limited. From the start Picasso eschewed the performance and fairground ambience which Sitwell evokes, in favour of the solitary, alienated aspect of performers, identified with the figure of the artist. This was in line with the French 19th century literary tradition as exemplified by Banville, Baudelaire and Mallarme and continued into the 20th century by Apollinaire and Max Jacob.[480] In the works of these poets, harlequin becomes conflated with the more generalised figures of clown and saltimbanque (the latter defined as an acrobat or tightrope walker) and loses his specific Commedia dell'Arte identity. This process is parallelled in Picasso's early work where harlequin is never found in the company of other Commedia dell'Arte characters.[481] In the Rose period paintings, alongside the identifiable figure of harlequin are figures variously identified as acrobats, clowns and saltimbanques. It is only in 1917-18 that harlequin makes his first appearance in the company of pierrot. Pierrot, the white-faced ancestor of modern clowns was a French addition to the Italian Commedia dell' Arte, and his role is even

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[480] For 19th century manifestations of this tradition, see Rubin, "The Clown in 19th century French Literature". For Apollinaire, see Marilyn McCully, "Magic and Illusion in the Saltimbanques of Picasso and Apollinaire", Art History, 1 (4) December 1980, pp.425-434, and for Max Jacob see Judith M. Schneider, Clown at the Altar: The Religious Poetry of Max Jacob, Chapel Hill, 1978.

[481] Examples illustrated in the present study are Harlequin (1901: Fig.1), At the Lapin Agile, (1905: Fig.2), Two Acrobats with a Dog, (1905: Fig.46), and The Death of Harlequin (1905: Fig.48). The following further examples, all dated to 1905, can be found in Daix and Boudaille, Picasso, The Blue and Rose Periods: cat nos. XII: 1, 6, 10, 24, 26, 28 and the drawings IX.I: 3-6, 11 and 18-21.

less defined than that of harlequin. He is usually characterised as an essentially tragic figure, simple-minded and generally frustrated in love, and can be identified with Watteau's Gilles."[81]

A more complete understanding of the iconographic role of harlequin in Picasso's oeuvre demands an interpretation that, as Roff has suggested, goes beyond the immediate context of the Commedia dell'Arte.

> Clearly the Harlequin whom Picasso chose as his alter ego...was not only the costumed entertainer of the theater, the fairground and the circus, but also the mythical figure who, in Jean Leymarie's words, 'under his fancy costume and jester's cap harbors supernatural secrets bound up with his mercurial agility, his overriding boldness, his collusion in the subterranean forces and the kingdom of death'."[82]

It is not coincidental that links can be made between the characters of Mercury and of harlequin. Cooper states that:

> The episodes of the ballet as drafted by Massine were intended to evoke various aspects of Mercury's mythological personality: the god of fertility, the messenger of the gods, the cunning thief, the magician, and the henchman of the Underworld."[83]

Like her twin, Mercury is a multifaceted character and Picasso, who has been credited with a large degree of responsiblity in the devising and mounting of this ballet would have known this. Willeford has shown that the harlequin, clown or fool occupies a

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[81] Dora Panofsky, "Gilles or Pierrot? Iconographic Notes on Watteau", Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 39, 1952, pp.319-340.

[82] Roff, "Picasso's Three Musicians: Maskers, Artists and Friends", p.313, citing Jean Leymarie, Picasso, p.2.

[83] Cooper, p.56.

> mysteriously ambiguous position on the borderline between good and evil, order and chaos, reality and illusion, existence and nothingness."[405]

Among other things, Willeford demonstrates the relationship of clowns in general and harlequin in particular - as a clown - to these dualities, including that of life and death. It is significant that at least four of Picasso's 'commemorative' works discussed above, focus on the figure of harlequin.[406]

In 1905, Picasso modelled the head of a Jester, which may partly have been inspired by his close friend Max Jacob.[407] In her study of Jacob's religious poetry, Schneider shows how the concept of duality is central to Jacob's work and demonstrates his use of the clown image to juxtapose "the mystical and the burlesque". Her exposition of this thesis is quoted in full:

> The title of the present study, Clown at the Altar, comes from a list of alternative titles proposed by Max Jacob for Les Penitents en maillots roses. Each of the paradigmatic substitutes suggests the antithesis of the mystical and the burlesque...At the time Jacob wrote these poems, the clown was an established archetype in literature and painting. Yet, although the theme had become a cliché, the contexts created by Jacob invested the figure with renewed

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[405] Welsford, E. in the preface to Willeford, The Fool and his Sceptre pp.ix-x.

[406] The Saltimbanque Family (1905), Death of Harlequin (1906), Harlequin (1915) and the Three Musicians (1921). The Parade drop-curtain may now be added to this list.

[407] Penrose, Picasso, His Life and Work, p.116, writes of this bronze: "It was begun late one evening after returning home from the circus with Max Jacob. The clay rapidly took on the appearance of his friend, but next day he continued to work on it and only the lower part of the face retained the likeness. The jester cap was added as the head changed its personality". This account, probably derived from discussion between Penrose and Picasso reveals graphically Picasso's method of transforming the known into a symbol.

> poetic force. In his life and in his texts, the clown embodied the principle of contradiction. The condensation of contraries, the alternation of opposite states, the asymmetrical couple or double man, these movements of division associated with the clown motif, in Jacob's writings, reached the painful intensity of a quest for identity, as well as a salvational Passion: "Tous mes cris et tous mes ecrits/ au carrefour du crucifix!"[638]

While the relationship between the works of Picasso and the poetry of Max Jacob has hardly been investigated by scholars, their close personal relationship which began in the spring of 1904 when the two young men first met and shared a room at the Bateau Lavoir, and lasted until 1921 when Jacob entered a monastry, is well known.[639] In 1918 Picasso made an etching of pierrot as an illustration for a volume of Jacob's Phanerogame - the story of a man who flew by flapping his thighs.[640] It is certain that through his contact with Apollinaire, Max Jacob and other writers, Picasso was aware of the dense meanings which attached to his alter ego, harlequin.

The seven year period between the Parade curtain of 1917, and that for Mercure, is characterised by a simplification of elements which signify content, accompanied stylistically by an increasing emphasis on linear elements. This progressive linearity is the manifestation of an increasing two-dimensionality and abstraction.

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[638] Schneider, Clown at the Altar, pp.25-26. Schneider's quotation is from Max Jacob, L'Homme de crista , Paris 1947, p.60.

[639] In 1915, Jacob, a Jew, converted to Roman Catholicism. Picasso acted as his godfather at the official ceremony. After this they did not associate as closely as they had in the past, and the friendship was almost completely at an end by 1921.

[640] Rubin (ed.), Pablo Picasso. A Retrospective, p.198.

In the Mercure curtain abstraction of line is emphasised by the separation of linear and chromatic elements. The single moving line which describes each figure, emphasises the drawn, insubstantial quality of the forms and at the same time underlines the organic shapes of the musical instruments.[411] Yet there remains a reference to three-dimensional volume in the thickening of the lines to denote a volume curved into space where the limbs of harlequin and pierrot bend at calves, knees and elbows. Harlequin's motley costume is hardly described, but the essential duality of his nature gains by the simple juxtaposition of two flat colour areas upon which the linear form is superimposed.

In the drop-curtain (Fig.102) harlequin and pierrot with their musical instruments hover ghost-like in a vague landscape located outside of time and space. Their non-specific nature suggests extreme freedom in the interpretation of their meaning. The spatial ambiguity of the Parade curtain, and the need to involve the audience directly in the performance as expressed in the Le Tricorne drop-curtain, have here given way to an ideal conception of space. Only the atmospheric blue background suggests a third dimension. The upper curve of the landscape behind the figures makes a visual parallel with the familiar double-curved outline of Picasso's Cubist violins and guitars, here seen in the hands of the two protagonists. The four irregular lines which serve both to separate and link the two figures, create a visual play on the strings

[411] This linear preoccupation is paralleled in other works of the period, specifically in the drawings later used as illustrations for Balzac's Le Chef d'oeuvre inconnu, published by Vollard in 1931.

of the instruments and the lines of music on the white sheet in the foreground. It is difficult to identify the musical instrument superimposed on this sheet. Cooper describes it as a guitar and suggests that it might be "a symbolic reference to Mercury's invention of the lyre".[412] Although the lyre is an antecedent of modern stringed instruments, an assumption such as Cooper has made does not take into account the form of the painted instrument. While this form is not definitive it does not seem able to be stretched to encompass either the shape of a lyre or the familiar double-curve of Picasso's guitars.[413] Reference to three still-lifes from the same period, Still-life with a Cake (May 1924: Fig.109), The Red Tablecloth (1924: Fig.110), and Mandolin and Guitar (Summer 1924: Fig.111) suggest a more likely identification of the musical instrument in the foreground of the Mercure drop-curtain with the mandolin or lute-type instrument seen in these works. Mandolin and Guitar clearly differentiates between the two instruments by juxtaposing them. In The Red Tablecloth (Fig.110) the parallel with the instrument of the Mercure curtain is emphasised both by the adjacent sheet of musical notation and by the abstracted red 'shadow' area underlying the instrument which recalls the abstracted shape of its counterpart in the curtain. Although the curtain seems at first to be a typical and unexceptional treatment of the Commedia dell'Arte theme, the em-

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[412] Cooper, Picasso Theatre, p.58. McQuillan, "Painters and the Ballet", p.635, refers to it as a lute.

[413] It should however be noted here that Picasso does make references to the lyre in other works, and notably in the set designs and final set for Parade. These will be discussed in the following chapter.

phasis placed on the musical instruments and the concurrent use of similar musical images in still-lifes, suggests that the theme of music preoccupied Picasso at this time, as it had at others (notably during the Cubist period).

Music was also present, though less emphatically in the guitarist-torero of the Parade curtain. Its imagery recurs throughout the ballet designs, notably in the set for Parade and in a number of the Pulcinella designs. Musical instruments in varying contexts abound in Picasso's oeuvre yet their significance remains obscure. While it is not within in the scope of this study to provide a detailed coverage of the theme of music in Picasso's oeuvre, consideration of some of the approaches to it in the literature will provide a context for the interpretation of musical imagery in the ballet designs.

Musical instruments and especially the guitar, appear early in Picasso's oeuvre. Johnson has noted at least twelve works which contain guitars in the Blue period.[414] Focusing specifically on the guitar, Johnson interprets the 1901 Old Guitarist in a symbolist context in which there exists a correspondence between the guitar and the female identity. Linking the Spanish instrument to the death of Casagemas, Johnson posits a further equation between the guitar and the notion of tragic love. Johnson's proposal of a 'correspondence', however, depends on one image acting as a substitute for another and not on the idea of a metaphorical re-

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[414] Ron Johnson, "Picasso's 'Old Guitarist' and the Symbolist Sensibility", Artforum, 13, Summer 1974, pp.56-62.

shuffling of images and parts of images. As such, the interpretation of musical content is restricted to the setting up of a one-to-one relationship between image and idea.

It is during the Cubist period that the iconography of musical instruments is most pronounced. The Cubist still-life places emphasis on the musical instruments by isolating them from any possible narrative context. They are found either forming part of a collection of objects, or in the hands of portrait subjects as is the case in the 1910 Woman with a Mandolin.

Golding's pioneering study of Cubism located the musical instruments so common to Cubist iconography within the notion of Cubism as an art of realism: "The... musical instruments... were part of the equipment or decoration of many typical advanced studios in Montmartre".[415] A 1910 photograph of Picasso in his studio (Fig.112) illustrates Golding's point, and a contemporary photograph of Braque's studio underlines it (Fig.113). The mere objective presence of such instruments does not, however, indicate how they are to be interpreted in the artist's work.[416]

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[415] Golding, Cubism, A History and Analysis (1907-1914), p.89.

[416] Penrose, Portrait of Picasso, p.39, publishes the 1910 photograph and refers to the instrument as a guitar, which is incorrect. The assumption that the instrument in the 1910 photograph is one of the several similar instruments visible in photographs taken 50 years later (Fig.114) does suggest that a particular importance might be attached to it, notwithstanding Picasso's reputation as a prolific hoarder.

The musical instruments in Cubist works cannot simply signify their equivalents in the real world. Nor should their significance be restricted to one of purely formal interest as Rosenblum appears to suggest:

> The frequency of violins, guitars and mandolins may be better explained, perhaps by the fact that these instruments provided a convenient and easily manipulable example in reality of the purified pictorial forms of early Cubism.[117]

Becker proposes the use of musical structure as a metaphor for Cubist structure and composition.[118] In a discussion of verbal references to music in Cubist painting, she suggests that the meaning of such references extends beyond that of simple signifiers:

> the words do together constitute information about the musical preferences and tastes of the Cubists as well as raise symbolic and formal considerations.[119]

According to Becker, in addition to signifying the instruments themselves, the words point to some extra-musical object or activity such as the female body, the act of lovemaking, or the activity of drinking, the latter suggested in relation to Braque's depiction of the flute.[120] Thus she concludes:

> The words about music usually evoke an object whose presence may not be explicitly drawn, but...is included rather than denied...the words about music themselves describe concrete ideas and not abstract

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[117] Rosenblum, R. Cubism and Twentieth Century Art, New York 1966, p.64, cited in Kayda Becker, "The Letter and Word in Cubism: Picasso, Braque and Gris (1911-1915)", Unpublished MA Dissertation, University of South Africa, 1979, p.94.

[118] Becker, "The Letter and Word in Cubism", p.99.

[119] Ibid., p.93.

[120] Ibid., p.96.

> ones...The [mpor ant aspect of music in Cubism is that...the words bring the work firmly back to some kind of reality.*[21]

Although discerning an associational rather than purely referential meaning in the musical imagery, Becker thus returns to the concept of a firm connection between the image and 'reality'.

The relationship between music and the visual arts in the early 20th century was generally one of analogy, which reached back to the Romantic demand enunciated by Delacroix and Baudelaire that painting should attain to the melodious quality of music. This tradition is one in which the intangible and therefore transcendent harmony of musical form is set up as a formal condition towards which painting, so essentially materialist, should aspire in order to itself achieve transcendence. This line of thinking is pursued in the theories of Gauguin, Matisse and Kandinsky, leading ultimately and inevitably to abstraction of painted form. A similar notion of transcendence informs the Nietzschean view of music as the metaphysical statement of tragedy. Johnson has suggested the influence of Nietzsche in The Old Guitarist. He links Nietzsche's identification of tragedy with music to Picasso's figure of the "tragic" guitarist who is also a musician and a Nietzschean hero.*[22] If we look to Nietzsche as a source it becomes clear that through his reading, especially of The Birth of Tragedy, Picasso would have been familiar with the

*[21] Ibid., pp.100-101.

*[22] Johnson, "Picasso's 'Old Guitarist' and the Symbolist Sensibility", pp.81-82. For a general discussion of the influence of Nietzsche see above, Chapter 1.

notion of music as an expression of artistic inspiration. In The Birth of Tragedy Nietzsche outlined the supreme transcendant position of art in general and of music in particular. Picasso's insistent musical imagery, though located in his own immediate environment, is linked to Nietzsche's insistence on "the superiority of figurative and mythical language" which is identified with music.

> Nietzsche's words for 'to be an artist' are treibe Musik which by itself means to 'practice music ... Musik has a wider sense here, the sense of the Greek word from which it derives... mousike. This word usually means poetry sung to music... or music in particular, but also the arts in general.[423]

In the context of the symbolism of musical instruments in Western art, Winternitz has observed that:

> the interest in instruments is not confined to a consideration of them within a purely musical context. They carry meaning beyond their function as tools - that is beyond their musical significance...[424]

Investigating the relationship between music and poetry, Winternitz traces the image of the inspired musician to the Renaissance where it is embodied in the form of mythological figures, chiefly those of Apollo and Orpheus. This tradition coincides with an age in which "celebrated virtuosi... improvise the accompaniment... on the lira da bracchio or viol or lute".[425] Stringed instruments were generally regarded as a symbol of noble music as opposed to wind instruments which had connotations of

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[423] Silk and Stern, Nietzsche on Tragedy, p.334.

[424] Emanuel Winternitz. Musical Instruments and Their Symbolism in Western Art, London 1967, p.18 and p.37.

[425] Ibid., p.205.

lasciviousness and physicality, and it is precisely the stringed instruments which were traditionally associated with artistic inspiration. In Nietzschean terms this dichotomy can be identified with the Apollonian and Dionysiac impulses respectively.[436] This dialectic allows an approach to the meaning of musical instruments in Picasso's oeuvre. Stringed instruments connote the more lofty ideals of poetry and artistic inspiration, whilst wind and percussion instruments are associated with sensuous, ecstatic and anti-rational modes. Since these two currents are clearly present in Picasso's oeuvre (though not always clearly distinguishable) it seems reasonable to attach this kind of meaning to his imagery. Both types of instrument occur in Picasso's oeuvre. His awareness of the distinction in meaning suggested here can be confirmed by the context in which such instruments occur. It has been suggested above that the drum, especially as it occurs in the crucifixion ritual, has Dionysian connections. A similar interpretation will be made in the next chapter concerning a tambourine-beating figure in the Parade set.

The overt musical imagery and presence of three different stringed instruments in the Mercure drop-curtain can thus be read as a statement about music in its widest and most elevated sense, - as poetry, and specifically, as poetic or artistic inspiration. The deliberate exclusion of a definition of time or place emphasises the idealistic nature of this imagery. That the musicians should

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[436] Thus, while Johnson emphasises the primitive, spontaneous and, in Nietzschean terms, Dionysiac aspects of folk-music as being relevant for The Old Guitarist, it can be argued that, as a stringed instrument the guitar is, in fact Apollonian.

be an abstracted harlequin and pierrot is fitting too, for these are mythical persons with shifting identities. Moreover, their mode of performance is one of improvisation, the very quality which defines artistic inspiration as a process of free creativity.[427] The Mercure drop-curtain is neither simply stylistically evocative nor thematically a replay of a well-known Picassean subject. Style and subject are meaningfully united in a simple yet concentrated metaphor which proclaims the transcendent nature of true artistic inspiration. Winternitz might be describing the Commedia dell'Arte musicians of the Mercure curtain when he writes:

> All the mythical musicians... are mere symbols of the power of music, and some, the solitary fiddlers and lutenists, possibly signify inspiration.[428]

The conflation of imagery and themes is a key aspect of Picasso's symbolic and sign language. The works demand to be read in such a way that distinctions between categories such as Commedia dell'Arte, Greek mythology, Christian iconography, as well as perceived reality are broken down, and images are enriched by virtue of their compound and complex nature.

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[427] Winternitz, Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art, p.37.

[428] Ibid., p.205.

VI. THE SETS

Picasso's designs for the stage settings of the five ballets invite separate consideration since both their structure and function differ significantly from that of the drop-curtains. While the curtains functioned in a more or less pictorial manner, the sets demanded the creation of a spatial environment which encompassed both the real (in the sense that they defined the real, three-dimensional space of the stage) and the illusionary (in that they created the artificial environments dictated by the ballets' scenarios). This tension between reality and illusion is evident in many of the preparatory sketches. The actual method of construction of the sets changed with each ballet, moving in a general direction of greater simplification. This claim requires elaboration and will become clear as each of the sets is discussed.

A major problem encountered in assessing the sets is that virtually nothing remains of the actual sets created by Picasso. In one case only, that of Cuadro Flamenco is there anything left of the original set.[425] In the case of Parade and Le Tricorne revivals of

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[425] Cooper, Picasso Theatre, pp.51-52, cites Serge Grigoriev's account of the way in which Diaghilev converted both the Le Tricorne drop-curtain and the Cuadro Flamenco set into saleable paintings in December 1926 by cutting them into

the ballets occasioned reconstructions of the original sets (of which there is no surviving trace) and with Pulcinella and Mercure neither of which were revived after Dieghilev's death, only a few black and white photographs taken during performances remain.

Parade

The only surviving record of the original set for Parade is a single black and white photograph contained in the Kochno Bequest housed in the library of the Paris Opera (Fig.115). This photograph does not reveal how the various elements of the stage setting were disposed in a three-dimensional space. The set was reconstructed by the City Centre Joffrey Ballet for its New York revival of Parade in 1973. Axsom, who examined this reconstruction, diagrams its spatial arrangement (Fig.116). According to him the set consisted of a plain white backcloth or toile de fond and in front of this a framing cut-cloth on which the false proscenium was depicted. The 'legs' were painted as trees (the downstage pair), and buildings.[429] The balustrades were separate free-standing elements placed between these legs as was the shrubbery or bush on the right

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smaller units. According to Cooper, the four separate fragments of the Cuadro Flamenco set went to different collections: "the upper box on the left is in the possession of Picasso himself, that on the lower left belongs to Mr J.K.Tannhauser of New York, and the box on the right to M.Heift of Paris; the basket of flowers belongs to M.Serge Lifar". On p.350, however, in the "List of Plates" to his book, Cooper locates the Basket of Flowers (plate no.295) at "Galerie des Etats-Unis, Cannes", which suggests that it was subsequently sold by Lifar.

[429] Axsom, 'Parade': Cubism as Theatre, p.23, defines these as "curtains which were normally used in addition to other flanking scenic elements to block glimpses of backstage and to provide entrance and exit ways for the dancers".

hand side. The seven overlapping planes thus formed, appear to interlock and read as a single plane in the black-and-white photograph.

There are at least twelve preparatory sketches for the Parade set. Most are in pencil while the one water-colour sketch (Fig.121) scarcely exploits its medium since it is dominated by black and white with only limited application of colour. The studies for the set, like the photograph, reveal nothing of this spatial arrangement. All are composed of tightly interlocking spatial planes. Depth is, however, indicated by dark shapes, generally triangular, which act as pools of shadow as well as flat surface patterns as seen, for example, at the top left of Fig.127. Pages from Cocteau's Roman notebook (Fig.117) which show him mimicking this style, suggest on the one hand that at least some of Picasso's sketches for the décor were made in Rome, and on the other, that the apparent simplicity of Picasso's Cubist style was difficult to imitate.[431]

It is difficult to establish a sequence for the designs, although a pencil drawing of the view from Picasso's window at 5 rue Schoelcher, appears to be closely related and provides a convenient starting point (Fig.118).[432] This landscape juxtaposes the

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[431] Cocteau's attempts are either too flat or too volumetric. He does not achieve the synthesis of the two modes which maintains the tension of Picasso's drawings

[432] According to the chronology in Rubin (ed.), Pablo Picasso: A Retrospective, p.196, Picasso moved from rue Schoelcher in June/July 1916, thus establishing a possible terminus post quem for this drawing. McQuillan, "Painters and the Ballet",

straight lines of architectural forms and the curves of treetops and smoke or clouds. Space is compressed, but a gradual diminution in scale from bottom to top, signifies a movement back into depth. There are few orthogonals, and despite certain anomalies, such as the row of trees on the right which appears to climb up a slope, a more or less strict frontality is maintained. This frontality persists in a number of the sketches, for example, Figs.119-121. Others, like Figs.122 and 123, though still predominantly frontal, show a greater spatial complexity. Figs.124-128 elaborate on this spatial development. Although the sequence of the studies cannot be known with certainty, they will be discussed in the above order which suggests a linear development.

In Fig.119 Picasso presents the barest outline of the set - a rectilinear proscenium arch, superimposed on a landscape consisting of a multi-storied building at the left with vaguely organic forms close by, perhaps indicative of trees, clouds or smoke. In the foreground to the right, is a pedestal supporting an ornamental shape. Next to this is a vestigial rounded shape which has been cut off at the bottom by the format. This curious shape may signify the head of a spectator or it may possibly indicate the stage footlights.

Already in 1915 or 1916, Picasso had investigated the relationship between audience and performers in drawings and a water-colour (Figs.129-131) which may represent some of his earliest ideas for

p.416, sees the rue Schoelcher drawing as an "immediate predecessor" for the set designs.

Parade. In these, auditorium and proscenium are combined in a series of flattened, overlapping planes. In Fig.129 the performers on a stage, signified by its surrounding fringed curtains, are sandwiched between a background plane containing the arches of theatre boxes and a foreground schematic representation of the heads of spectators in front-row seats. In Fig.130 the composition has been simplified but the basic elements remain the same, and in Fig.131 although the surrounding auditorium space remains, the spectators at the sides have all but disappeared. These three sketches also have in common the image of an Apollonian lyre, placed on top of the proscenium arch. This image is repeated often in the curtain and set designs and its significance will be elaborated later. Stylistically the flat planes and geometricised anatomies in these works relate them to the style of the 1915 Harlequin. Since they also date to the early period of Picasso's association with Cocteau, their subject matter suggests Picasso's immediate response to the ballet commission. Indeed, the top-hatted man in evening dress in Fig. 131 foreshadows the managers of Parade. The early date of these sketches is significant since it supports the contention made earlier that Picasso did not wait until 1917 to begin working on the Parade project. This particular idea for portraying spectators and spectacle simultaneously appears, however, to have been shelved, although echoes of it were seen in the first designs for the Le Tricorne curtain (Figs.77 and 78). Picasso was to return to it yet again when he came to design the sets for Pulcinella in 1921.

Directly under Fig.119, on the same sheet, is a rough but relatively complete rendering of the Parade drop-curtain. This indicates that the design for the curtain preceded that for the set, and that Picasso had it in mind when he began to design the set. In Fig.120 Picasso again sets up the proscenium of his street theatre in a strictly frontal way. At bottom left the flat rectangle of a building is crossed by a diagonal, and a similar combination is seen on the right. These diagonals may be read as orthogonals, and allow the surrounding architecture notionally to move into depth, but the flatness of the drawing in all these sketches seems deliberate. Picasso seems to have been aware that although his set would be deployed in a three-dimensional space on stage, it would always appear flat, i.e., with the space intervals compressed, to the audience, and this tension is reflected in the sketches. It should also be remembered that although it has not survived, Picasso was simultaneously working with a three-dimensional model of the set, and that the pencil drawings may represent his three-dimensional construction rendered on a flat surface.[33] This same sketch introduces additional iconographic elements. A circular 'apron' stage is indicated in front of the performers' booth which is decorated with a scalloped band, a triangular shape, and bunting reminiscent of that found on circus tents.[34] The flag at the apex of the triangle has three vertical stripes which may refer to the Tricolour.[35] At bottom

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[33] See above p.125

[34] Compare the triangular top and scalloped edge in the Travelling Circus (Fig.19).

[35] Compare this with the flags in Fig.43.

right is the outline of the heads and shoulders of a group of spectators. In the water-colour (Fig.121) flag and bunting have been removed, and the flat surface is 'penetrated' by a number of more or less solid black shapes. Of these, the two adjacent triangles at top left and the rectangle to the right of the 'circus-tent' top would seem to indicate the sky. The central black rectangle, locked between two colour areas, suggests a more distant backdrop of the painted theatre, while the other three black shapes may be read as either receding or advancing, and thus seem to float. The entire design is enclosed in a thick black frame, expanded in the bottom left corner where a black rectangle surrounds a smaller white one. This reverses the relationship of black and white forms set up above it and increases the visual tension between space and non-space. Faint vertical lines on the apron stage (not visible in the illustration here) indicate that it is a horizontal surface in spite of its being quite flattened on the picture plane. The spectator figures in the bottom right foreground are given greater prominence than previously, and a mottled area at top right, although rectangular in shape, signifies the presence of trees or at least, vegetation. Picasso, respecting the cardboard-cut-out reality of theatre settings, conceived his first designs in terms of that reality and thus paradoxically stressed their artificiality.

The sheet of Fig.122 contains two sketches. At the top the street theatre and its audience are framed by the curtains of a proscenium arch recalling the red drapes of the drop curtain. In the lower part of this sketch is an enlarged detail of the set which intro-

duces prominent curvilinear shapes at the top on the right. Fig.123 introduces steps in the centre foreground, a balustrade on the left, a fringed and scalloped pelmet patterned with shapes which suggest gas lamps and above it an elongated rectangular shape with a horse drawing an unidentifiable object, a dog and a 'sun' form lightly drawn in. (These details are somewhat faint and not clearly seen in the illustration). Above this rectangle the shape of a circus tent reappears. At the left, a sharply angled building indicates a backward shooting space which is countered at the right by the flattened form of a tree. Its foliage becomes conflated with identical forms in the sky area which read as clouds and/or smoke.[438] The low balustrade separates performers from audience. This separation is emphasised by the steps leading up to the stage area. The anonymous audience, now placed in two groups, is a flat faceless and amorphous mass, a shadow of the real three-dimensional audience. Above the stage, life and light are introduced by the leaping horse and sun of the frieze, which contrast strongly with the figures below, and paradoxically point to the greater reality contained in the artifice of the stage set.

Figs.124 and 125 are the first sketches in which the top of the inner prosconium arch is shifted off the horizontal. Fig.124 contains little detail apart from a curvilinear, scroll-shaped prosconium and a single semi-circular shape in the foreground - possibly the disappearing presence of the fictive spectator. Fig.125 can be compared with Cubist collage in its juxtaposition

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[438] These forms correspond in position to the curvilinear shapes identified in the previous drawing.

of different elements and styles. The proscenium arch itself is fragmented into a series of interlocking and overlapping forms which confuse the eye and disallow the notion of any coherent space apart from the flatness of the drawing itself. The curious fragment of a fish-tail may be read as part of a sea-siren or mermaid. Although the remaining elements of this sketch - the sloping balustrade with ornamental vase, the buildings, tree and cloud forms - are familiar from the examples discussed previously, they are presented here in a greater pictorial complexity which defies translation into three-dimensional form.

In Figs.126 and 127 this complexity is organised into a more structured rendering in which the inner proscenium arch, now sloping away from the horizontal at a steep angle, defines a clear space between the surrounding buildings, tree and cloud forms, that indicate the street setting of Cocteau's théâtre forain. Both these sketches include the gas lamps, and Fig.127 again introduces a group of spectators. Fig.128 is close to Fig.127 with the spectators omitted. A more acute angle between the floorboards of the stage and the lower horizontal border of the sketch reduces its flatness. The pentimenti in Fig.128 (not easily visible in the illustration) show that Picasso was still thinking in terms of a more ornate interior - indicated by the draped and fringed pelmet partly erased in the centre. The sketch retains a combination of rectilinear and curvilinear elements which derive from the Cubist works, but the curves are regularised and geometric rather than organic - giving a crisp and flattened effect. A strong foreground

tension is maintained between rectilinear and curved forms as well as between surface and depth.

Although its basic formula is suggested by the series of sketches just examined, the final set, as represented in the surviving photograph (Fig.115) introduces some entirely [illegible] nts, while simplifying others to give greater visual [illegible] buildi[illegible] are for most part confined to the side 'legs' o[illegible] set, [illegible]vid[illegible] a 'frame' for the inner proscenium arch. The exceptio[illegible] of windows to the upper right of the arch, acts more [illegible] source than an architectural feature, by reversing the positive/negative relationship of the lateral bu[illegible]ings. Interspersed with the 'legs' which represent architecture, are two 'legs' which represent trees, thus maintaining the geometric/organic interplay of the sketches.[1] The proscenium arch combines the frontality of the first designs with the angled aspect of the later ones. The frontality is maintained by the viewpoint adopted in the depiction of the painted twisted columns, scrolls and lyre which decorate the arch. These decorative elements are given volume by a schematic chiaroscuro, but the relative lack of foreshortening presents a frontal view to the audience. In contrast, the sharply rising horizontal line which pulls the whole proscenium arch up to the left, notionally twists it off the frontal plane thus allowing a conceptual pe[illegible]ration of space inside the arch. The baroque-like curves of t[illegible] decoration intersect

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[1] This discussion of the 'legs' follows the analysis in Axsom, 'Parade': Cubism as Theater, p.238.

abruptly with the angular edges of the arch itself, and replay the rectilinear/curvilinear dialogue of tree forms and buildings.

The spatial complexity of the set is intensified by the black and white shapes which form a background to the tilted proscenium arch. Furthest back is a white frontally placed triangle which rises to an apex at the centre of the stage. This form can be equated with the one signifying the circus tent in the early drawings. Its pure lines also bring to mind the pediments of classical Greek temples.*[33] The white area seen through the proscenium arch is not, in fact, on the same plane as this triangle. If we accept Axsom's reconstruction, the white triangle would be painted onto the framing cut-cloth, whilst the white area seen through the false proscenium arch would be part of the backcloth. The white triangle thus remains a discrete form. At the top of the second white area (i.e., the one seen through the proscenium arch) is a black, right-angled triangle. Its oblique edge is continuous with the top of the proscenium arch, while its base affirms the horizontal from which the proscenium arch has been shifted. Like its white counterpart, this black triangle must logically be part of the painted cut-cloth. The two triangles, black and white, encapsulate the flat/frontal - depth/oblique dialogue of the set.

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*[33] Both the disposition and colour of these triangular forms, anticipate the background structure of Guernica (Fig.25) and especially the triangular forms between the head of the woman who leans out of the window on the right and the electric light/sun above the horse's head in that work.

The apparent use of black and white as dominant colours in the Parade set is not fortuitous. As regards the reconstruction of the original colouring of the set, Axsom writes:

> There was very little to go on except the memories of Massine and others who saw the original production. Most accounts recalled that the stage set was considerably subdued in colour, although in what specific manner it was difficult to remember.... Lydia Sokolova wrote that the set was... "a monochrome sketch in pale sepia or light brown. The lyre gilded over the arch. Not very vividly. Some dark green trees but not distinct. More a suggestion than a reality".[439]

According to another source

> Douglas Cooper was familiar with the few colours Picasso used and advised Burbridge [the designer of the reconstructed set] on them. The set was predominantly black and white with some bright red and yellow in the scrolls and lyre that decorated the proscenium arch, and some dark green foliage in the back.[440]

Sokolova, recollecting events which took place more than fifty years earlier, relates the monochrome of the set to Picasso's analytical Cubist works when she describes them as sketches in "pale sepia or light brown". Axsom notes that

> a correspondence of Picasso's style here with [synthetic cubism] was qualified by the monochromatic color, which was more appropriately affiliated with the earlier Analytic phase of Cubism.[441]

This affiliation is not confirmed by other accounts which suggest that Picasso's intention for the set was not an indeterminate monochrome, but a definite contrast of black and white. This is

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[439] Axsom, 'Parade': Cubism as Theater, p.94, quoting a letter of 10 December 1972 from Sokolova to W. Crawford, general manager of the Joffrey Ballet.

[440] LoMonaco, "The Giant Jigsaw Puzzle: Robert Joffrey Reconstructs 'Parade'", p.40.

[441] Axsom, 'Parade': Cubism as Theater, pp.97-98.

apparent from the photographs, where a clear separation of black and white areas occurs not only in the background geometric shapes, but also in the buildings and the balustrades. Evidence is provided by the scene painter Polunin, who recounts that in London in 1919:

> Diaghileff asked me to revise Parade in the designer's presence.... the scene needed serious attention. Picasso complained that the latter, hurriedly painted by some one in Paris, was unsatisfactory that it required to be repainted before almost every performance. The black tones so injured the white and vice versa, that instead of clearly defined black and white surfaces, there remained only patches of nondescript colour.[442]

A contemporary critic confirms Polunin's account, and adds that in addition to the black and white contrast, the set contained "pinkish tones":

> To the left and right, the city, that is the high sections of walls, riddled with black rectangles which are windows. In all that, this delicacy, which belongs to M.Picasso: a range of very subtle colours with the white and black which dominates. The entrance of the circus, gaping and illuminated, makes a kind of whitish furnace.[443]

The balustrades on either side of the false proscenium arch not only continue the black/white opposition, but underline the shifting quality inherent in all such positive/negative relationships. The left hand balustrade is white against a black background, the right hand one is predominantly black against a white ground. The informal style of drawing used for the uprights of the

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[442] Polunin, The Continental Method of Scene Painting, p.59, (italics added).

[443] Anonymous, "Parade", L'Opinion, 1 January 1921, cited by McQuillen, "Painters and the Ballet", p.415.

balustrade, makes it somewhat difficult to distinguish positive form from negative space.[444] The odd perspective of the balustrades is also relevant to this opposition. The left hand balustrade diminishes in scale towards the edge of the stage, the right hand one towards the centre. They provide a visual balance to the top of the proscenium arch, since their repeated slope is equal but opposite to the one above. At the same time they appear not as mirror reflections of each other, nor as ornamental framing devices, but as a repeated motif. Their departure from expected symmetry underlines the dialectical nature of the black/white opposition.

Proscenium arch and balustrades are linked not only visually, but also thematically by the introduction of a musical instrument as a decorative element in each. The arch is surmounted by a lyre, while the end-piers of the balustrades are decorated with a violin and a mandolin.[445] The lyre is distinct from other instruments depicted by Picasso - in this case the violin and the mandolin, but also the various lutes, guiters, clarinets and drums in his repertoire. Unlike the latter instruments which, whatever their more profound connotations, formed a part of Picasso's tangible

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[444] On the left, the white forms are stressed by black linear elements in the sections between the round bulges. If the black poles of the right hand balustrade were unrelieved by the patches of white, there would be a confusion of form and space, and the essential opposition between right and left hand . . . would be lost. It is a measure of Picasso's visual acuity that he compensated for this problem in such a manner.

[445] Axsom 'Parade': Cubism as Theater, p.93, identifies these instruments. McQuillan, "Painters and the Ballet", p.177, refers to "mandolins". Close inspection of available photographs supports Axsom's identification.

reality, the lyre is not so much a musical instrument as a mythological attribute.[446] The lyre, though invented by Mercury, is the attribute of Apollo in his role as god of poetry and music.[447] It is emblematic, too, of at least two of the nine mythological muses - Terpsichore, the muse of dancing and song; and Erato the muse of lyric and love poetry.[448] Like the musical instruments in the Mercure drop-curtain, the lyre of the Parade set signifies poetry in its elevated form as presided over by Apollo "the embodiment of the classical Greek spirit, standing for the rational and civilised side of man's nature".[449] A similar reference has been noted in Parade, both in the water-colour sketch and in the drop-curtain where Apollo is evoked both by the sun and by another of his attributes, the laurel wreath.

A dancing figure is painted on a panel to the left of the proscenium arch in Fig.115. Bare-breasted and with fluttering drapery, she raises a tambourine above her head in Bacchic frenzy. There is no hint of her figure in any of the sketches. This dancer is a prototype of figures that will emerge in Picasso's work of the 1920s - figures of antasy epitomised by the two running fig-

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[446] James Hall, Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art, London 1979, p.197, defines the lyre as a "stringed instrument of ancient Greece". A lyre appears exceptionally in one of a series of still-lifes in water-colour and pencil from 1915 (Fig.132). That Picasso was well aware of its association with art and in particular poetry, is evidenced by a caricatural sketch he made in 1903 depicting his writer friend Sebastian Junyer Vidal as a "rhapsode" or ancient poet (Fig.133).

[447] Ibid., p.27.

[448] Ibid., p.217.

[449] Ibid., p.25.

ures on the beach which Diaghilev chose for his Train Bleu curtain (Fig.9). A similar pair of figures is found in the Peace mural at Vallauris (Fig.16). In the discussion of the Parade drop-curtain, parallels have been drawn with the imagery of the Peace mural, especially with respect to the winged horse. It was suggested that the imagery in both works encompasses the affirmation of positive life-sustaining forces over those of death and destruction. The tambourine-beating dancer of the Parade set provides a further parallel between these two works. Lee interprets the Bacchic dancers of Peace as a synonym for the hedonism of Picasso's life, when relieved from the turbulence of warfare, and also an expression of "Picasso's fundamentally emotional desire for peace and its inherent physical freedom".[550] There is a thin line which divides the expression of positive joyful ecstasy in the dionysiac abandon of the dancers of Peace and the Parade set from the mad frenzy of the possessed dancers as seen in the left-hand figure of the Three Dancers, (1925: Fig.84) and echoed in the mother with dead child on the extreme left of Guernica.[551] In the

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[550] Lee, "Picasso's 'War and Peace': Time, Myth and the Game of Life", pp.40-42.

[551] Blunt, Picasso's Guernica, p.30, notes that in its appearance on Ancient Greek vases, the raving maenad figure "is generally a manifestation of the Dionysiac ecstasy, but it is sometimes used to express the death agony and in these instances the parallel with Picasso is startlingly close". Gasman, "Mystery, Magic and Love in Picasso 1925-1938", Ch.IX, discusses the maenad figure in the Three Dancers at length in relation to the conflation of Classical and Christian sources as the 'maenad under the Cross'; to the notion of the possessed dancer in the cult of Dionysus (reference to which is made in The Four Little Girls); and in the context of Spanish folk dance. She notes the simultaneous occurrence of life and death imagery in the motif of the possessed maenad. Among the many and complex sources and associations which Gasman suggests for this figure in 1925, are the 'possessed' young maiden in

Parade set, the Bacchic dancer is primarily an ornamental embellishment to the elaborate false proscenium arch, yet, juxtaposed to the golden Apollonian lyre, and flanked by musical instruments, the tambourine-busting dancer can be read as an expression of the Nietzschean aesthetic in which all art has both Dionysiac and Apollonian origins. She is not a superficial entertainment, but a more complex metaphor of dance in which the forces of life and death are embodied.

The imagery of the Parade set - as opposed to its architectural elements - resides in the motifs of lyre, dancer, violin and mandolin. McQuillan interprets the violin and mandolin as a sign for one of the "components of ballet".[452] Axsom sees them as "amusing allusions to Picasso's major Cubist concern for still-life".[453] The interpretation of the Mercure drop-curtain has, however shown that the imagery of music provides a metaphorical statement of artistic inspiration. A similar reference in the Parade set is congruent with Picasso's concerns as reflected both in the drop-curtain and within the dialectical relationships of the set itself. The Parade set balances two terms of a dialectic which Nietzsche considered intrinsic to the highest

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Stravinsky and Massine's Rite of Spring, and Nietzsche's treatment of the theme. In view of earlier discussions of Nietzsche's influence on Picasso it would seem that this is a likely source. For the iconography of the 'maenad under the Cross' see Frederick Antal, "The Maenad Under the Cross: The Maenad in Florentine Art of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, I, 1937-1938, pp.71-73.

[452] McQuillan, "Painters and the Ballet", p.177.

[453] Axsom, 'Parade': Cubism as Theater, p.95.

form of art - the Apollonian aspect, represented by the lyre, violin and mandolin, and the Dionysiac tambourine-beating maenad. Picasso underlines the twofold nature of art through a juxtaposition of formal elements: black and white; space and surface; geometric line and organic line. Musical instruments signify the inherent poetry of transcendent art. The paradox of life in death and the restorative and redemptive power of art are presented in Nietzsche's superior "figurative and mythical language".

Le Tricorne

The Le Tricorne set survives as a study in india ink, pencil and gouache (Fig.137) whose effect when enlarged on the stage can be gauged from a photograph of the 1973 revival by the London Festival Ballet company (Fig.159). This and photographs of the original production[***] indicate that the set consisted of a cut-cloth comprising the central arch and the houses on either side, a backcloth painted with landscape and sky and a free-standing triple-arched bridge. In contrast to this, the study (Fig.137) flattens the bridge and locates it on the background plane. The separation of the bridge from the rest of the set was necessitated by the choreography.

In spite of the structural simplicity and the fact that throughout the studies the imagery is more or less constant, a far greater number of studies were executed for the Le Tricorne set than for

[***] Reproduced in Cecil Beaton, Ballet, London 1951, between pp.22 and 23.

that of Parade. Zervos has catalogued at least twenty-four drawings and gouaches for the set, and there are a further five works - pastels and gouaches - in the collection of the Musée Picasso. While the imagery scarcely shifts, the studies show a range of compositional nuances and colour variations which makes it difficult to categorise them or to establish a sequence. Two of the water-colours (Figs.134 and 135) signify a new approach on Picasso's part to designing for the stage. Unlike his previous set designs, they are executed on multiple cut-out sheets superimposed on one another in the manner of theatrical 'flats'. The main compositional elements in all the sketches are two groups of buildings at left and right respectively; a large single or double arched structure; a triple-arched bridge which plays an important role in the choreography; a background townscape of buildings dominated by a church tower set against mountains; a sky either solid black, dark blue and starry, or filled with billowing clouds; and various areas of green vegetation. As was suggested in Chapter III, Fig.6 may have been the initial inspiration for the Le Tricorne set and appears to refer to an actual landscape.[111] Comparing Fig.6 with Fig.137, it can be seen how Picasso has transformed a starkly realistic landscape into the evocative essence

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[111] Zervos dates this sketch (Z XXIX: 384) "London 1919" which suggests that it was made at the same time as Picasso was working on the Le Tricorne designs. A second landscape (this time a drawing) made at roughly the same time (Fig.136) is probably an early idea for the Le Tricorne set. Zervos' title is "Le Tricorne. Paysage" (Z XXIX: 355). These naturalistic prototypes suggest that, as the Parade set may have been derived from the view from Picasso's window in Paris (Fig.116), so too the set for Le Tricorne had its origins in nature, although although in this case it is not possible to suggest a specific site.

of a Spanish village with spare, flattened forms and muted synthetic colour. An observer at the 1919 London season wrote:

> The brilliant cream-coloured setting created by Picasso was even further removed from the usual fustian settings or painted backcloths, wings and flats seen on the London stage, and it seemed to come from a new planet. What he produced was a common denominator of his own Spanish countryside; with a few lines on canvas he had conveyed a picture by suggestion, far more credible than the built-up structures whose effect is always lessened by the fact that the audience knows it is composed of canvas, papier-maché and wood. So true were Picasso's wiry balconies, the birdcage attached to the wall, the striped awning and the sharp punctuation of the suggested village floating in the plain under the glaring sun, under a sky of clear but un-innocent blue, that when, much later on, I visited Spain, I easily recognised its characteristics.[436]

Beaton recognises the anti-naturalistic intention of the set and the resulting credibility of Picasso's artistic 'lie'. This intention is confirmed by another sensitive artist, Tamara Karsarvina, who recalled in her memoirs that Picasso's design for her costume as the Miller's Wife

> was a supreme masterpiece of pink silk and black lace of the simplest shape - a symbol more than an ethnographic reproduction of a national costume.[437]

In the final design (Fig.137) the arch, itself derived from a bridge-type structure as seen in Fig.6, has been so greatly increased in scale that it no longer bears a logical scale-relationship to the figures - unlike the bridge on which they walk and dance, which, if anything, is somewhat small. The central arch thus becomes a linking and framing element. In the studies, the arch is sometimes flattened to the extent of becoming simpli-

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[436] Beaton, Ballet, pp.21-22.

[437] Tamara Karsarvina, Theatre Street, London 1950, pp.191-192, cited in McQuillan, "Painters and the Ballet", p.473.

fied into two lines drawn across the sky. This is particularly evident in some of the colour studies.[454]

The schematic nature of Fig.138 indicates that this may be one of the early sketches. In line with the first studies for the Parade set, the scene is presented with complete frontality in the two small water-colour sketches on this sheet. The large arch appears as an arching band across the sky, and while it links the buildings on each side of it, is not conceived as part of the architectural structure.

A consideration of the pencil drawings related to the watercolours and gouaches for the Le Tricorne set, shows the arch to be the dominant motif, appearing either as a pair of flattened lines curving across the sky (Figs.139-144), a more fully three-dimensional architectural structure (Figs.145-150), or a combination of the two (Figs.151 and 152). In almost all of these examples, the large arch is echoed by the shape of the smaller bridge with its arch-shaped supports, as well as by doorways and windows. In one sketch (Fig.138) the underside of the arch is emphasised by a dark shadow.[455] This repetition of the arch motif imparts a quality of simplicity and wholeness to these sketches which is congruent with the continuous curving configuration of

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[454] For example Figs.136-140.

[455] In this sketch, one of the few in a collection other than that of the Musée Picasso, the left side of the scene is extended to include additional buildings and a ladder and wagon leaning up against a tree-like form. Picasso also made two detailed studies of the building and ladder (Z XXIX: 391) and Musée Picasso no.160 (not in Zervos).

the arch-form itself. Where the Parade set was underpinned by a duality of stylistic elements, Le Tricorne exhibits a calm unity and resolution, which in the final set is also expressed in its muted tonality.

Palau y Fabre is the only writer who has noted the repetition of the arch motif in Picasso's work and attempted to interpret it. Writing of the 1901 works, he observes:

> Both in The Dead Man [the Mourners] and in the Burial of Casagemas there is an arch, more abstract in the former picture and giving access to the sarcophagus in the latter; we find it again in the portrait of Germaine done shortly afterwards and we shall come across it in Life painted at a later date. What is the meaning of the arch? I personally cannot help thinking of a passage written by Casagemas in which he speaks of a wicket-gate opening strangely and letting the spectres in.[640]

Although it is not clear what interpretation Palau y Fabre intends here, he does go on to relate the arch motif to Romanesque and Gothic architectural forms, and sees this "Gothicism" as being based on the intention "...of constructing pictorial works in accordance with canons quite different from those of the Renaissance or Impressionism".[641] It would seem that Palau y Fabre is suggesting an expressive dimension to the use of the arch motif and that such expression is of a spiritual and transcendent nature in opposition to the supposed rationality and objectivity of Renaissance and Impressionist painting.

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[640] Palau y Fabre, Picasso 1881-1907, p.272.

[641] Ibid, p.297.

Two distinct usages of the arch motif can be defined in Picasso's oeuvre. The multiple arch or arcade is associated with references to the bullring or arena as discussed in the interpretation of the drop-curtain above. In this form the arch appears as a kind of shorthand description for a specific location. The single arch, as it appears in the works mentioned by Palau y Fabre, plays an emblematic rather than descriptive role and would appear to contribute to the overall content of the works in which it is found. Thus, for example, in a drawing for The Two Sisters (1901: Fig.153) the expressive quality of the two curving female forms is framed and enhanced by the curve of the arch behind them. In the final design for the Le Tricorne set (Fig.137) the repeated arch form synthesises both of the above tendencies. On the one hand, as a part of a naturalistic setting, a 'real' space in which a narrative action is played out, it assumes a descriptive, architectural role. At the same time, the way in which its naturalistic three-dimensional existence is denied through a schematised treatment in many of the studies as well as in the final set, imparts to it the more overtly symbolic qualities found in the Blue period works.

An examination of the symbolic meaning of the arch gives an indication of the metaphor contained in the Le Tricorne set. In the most general terms, the arch is a framing and linking element, both enclosing the space within it, and joining two seperate architectural members. As an architectural device it typically acquired symbolic meaning. This derived in the first place from its function as an opening or gateway, which, according to Palau y Fabre, is

the way it was used by Casagemas. Baldwin Smith has shown how, from Roman times, and carried over into a Christian context during the Middle Ages, the gateway to the city acquired a celestial connotation by association with the divine ruler whose processions passed through it. In this way the arch was identified with heaven and spirituality.

> There is an intimation of why the Roman public associated the archway with heaven in the fact that the Porta Triumphalis became known as the Arcus Divorum. This kind of imagery, however, was merely the continuation of much earlier ideas. From the time when the cut-stone arch was first introduced into Italy from the Hellenistic East and was used for portals in the existing walls of Etruscan cities, its shape had acquired ideational values not only from the gateway ceremonies but also from the belief that the arch was the simulacrum of Janus, the ancient sky-deity of the Latins who was "the god of the heavens," a sun deity comparable to Jupiter, and "the keeper of the gate of heaven." This old and persistent identification of the arch form with the apparent curve of heaven was given more specific overtones of celestial significance by the impressive spectacles of the Triumphant One being received as the king of Heaven after he had passed through the Triumphal Gate,... men visualised the arch as a sky image because they were accustomed to think of the figure of a triumphant general on his arcus as the embodiment of the supreme sky-god on the arch of heaven. During the Empire this habit was further strengthened when the Triumph and Adventus had become a form of emperor worship and the passage through the arch was celebrated as the apotheosis of a divine Augustus. Also it was because of this heritage of ideas that the Christian came to think of the church as a Porta coeli and to see in the "triumphal arch" of its crossing a processional way leading to heavenly glories."[62]

The arch has obvious metaphysical implications, since movement through it implies transcendence. If we look again at the Le

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[62] E.Baldwin Smith, Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages, New York 1978, pp.30-31, and also p.106. Gasman, "Mystery, Magic and Love in Picasso: 1925-1938", pp.278-289, discusses Picasso's use of the arched doorway at length and interprets it as a sacred temenos or sanctuary.

Tricorne set designs in the light of this symbolic explanation, it will be seen that the large central arch seperates the foreground space from the background. Since this arch was actually a cut-cloth the seperation was real as well as pictorial. The space in front of the arch is occupied by 'real' buildings. The space behind it contains an undulating landscape whose vaguely outlined buildings are dominated by a tower structure and a starry sky. Picasso's "picture by suggestion" of a Spanish landscape carries meaning which extends beyond literal description. It is an evocation of a transcendence which is located on the far side of the arch.

In the sketches in which the arch appears as two flattened lines in the sky (Figs.139, 140, 142 and 144) there is an ambivalence between the existence of the arch as part of an architectural system and its actual presence in the sky. An 'arch in the sky' translates literally in French as arc en ciel the French phrase for a rainbow. In the creation of this hybrid arch, Picasso stretches the actual into a visual metaphor. The arch is neither fully an architectural structure nor a rainbow, but shares characteristics of both. In the play The Four Little Girls, the image of a rainbow is associated with the third little girl, whose elusive nature results in her being concealed for most of the play's duration.[463] It was suggested above in the discussion of the Parade drop-curtain that the winged girl might be associated with the

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[463] Picasso, The Four Little Girls, p.21.

Greek mythological figure Iris, whose name means rainbow.[665] Like the arch itself, the rainbow represents a bridge between physical and metaphysical realities. The rainbow depends for its existence on sunlight, yet paradoxically in the watercolour sketches it is found in a dark or night sky. This paradox is sustained by the stars which are black as though to emphasise the fact that their light depends on atmospheric darkness. Rainbow and stars are thus simultaneously presented in terms of the antithetical notions of darkness and light, night and day. According to Cirlot:

> As a light shining in the darkness, the star is the symbol of the spirit.... it nearly always alludes to multiplicity. In which case it stands for the forces of the spirit struggling against the forces of darkness.... Being nocturnal, their symbolism is associated with that of night.[666]

The importance that Picasso attached to the stars and the tower is suggested in Polunin's recollections of the Le Tricorne scene painting:

> Diaghileff laughingly transmitted to me Picasso's wish to paint the stars on the sky with his own hand, which he informed me he had granted on the strict condition that no blot should be made. Picasso, putting on slippers, then painted on the backcloth seven stars and the silhouette of the distant tower.[667]

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[665] See above p.99. For the meaning of Iris see Carl Karenyi, The Gods of the Greeks, Harmondsworth 1958, p.53.

[666] Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols, p.295. This account of the symbolic nature of stars recalls Van Gogh's Starry Night (1889). It is possible that the spiritual burst of light in Van Gogh's stars influenced Picasso's treatment of the glowing candle with its bright impasto rays of light in his Death of Casagemas (1901). This work which is not published by Zervos is cat. no.VI.5 in Daix and Boudaille, Picasso, The Blue and Rose Periods, p.192.

[667] Polunin, The Continental Method of Scene Painting, p.55.

A concern with darkness and the nocturnal is seen in a number of the colour sketches for the Le Tricorne set. In some the sky is black and starless (Figs.135, 134 and 153). In others, the blue sky with its stars casts deep shadows of blackness (Figs.139 and 156). Only in Fig.157 do we find the light and colour that infuses the final set design. The fact that the action of Le Tricorne has a temporal dimension, and passes from day to night and then to dawn, may account for the fact that Picasso's studies range from hot daytime colours to black night scenes. The final design, however, is neither day nor night, yet combines elements of both - a starry blue sky and a clear white light. In production, the passing of time was indicated through changes in lighting.

> Although the scene had been planned in accordance with the usual lighting, the changes expressive of the passing from day to night, and night to dawn, introduced by Diaghileff, proved to be exceedingly interesting. The scene, owing to the presence of some soft reddish tints, acquired the aspect of a Japanese print which, so far from impairing its beauty, endowed it with a certain unexpected charm.[467]

The dialogue of day and night, light and dark, and by extension life and death is central to the Spanish psyche and epitomised by the bullfight.[468] Fig.157 is a more naturalistic variant of the final set. The central arch appears solidly architectural and curves down behind the buildings on the right, rather than appearing to end on top of them. The house on the right is not a flat

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[467] Ibid., pp.55-6.

[468] Lee, "Picasso's 'War' and 'Peace'", p.103, discusses Picasso's symbolic use of daylight and night scenes and concludes that "the chapel plan explores the antithetical themes of dark opposing light on the grand scale of the sun of Peace balancing the night of War".

form with projecting portico, but a volumetric solid as its sloping roof indicates. The hill in front of the bridge is a naturalistic green, and the landscape seen through the arch appears to fade away into the distance.

By contrast, the final set design (Fig.137) is deliberately anti-naturalistic and thus gains in its evocative quality as Beaton so accurately perceived. Surface and space are perfectly harmonised.[455] The signifiers of three-dimensionality, in particular the undersides of the arches, are also flat shapes. Doors and windows are flat black holes, and even the angles of the buildings on the left are reduced to flatness by the colour. The buildings of the distance, which in some of the studies were depicted in considerable detail, have become mere signs, yet the central pointed tower is retained and seems to refer to the inherent spirituality of the starry sky. Polunin, like Beaton, recognised the abstract nature of the set, and he comments on the infinite care that Picasso took to ensure that the scene- painters' colours matched his own exactly:

> Having dealt so long with Bakst's complicated and ostentatious scenery, the austere simplicity of Picasso's drawing with its total absence of unnecessary detail, the composition and unity of the colouring - in short, the synthetical character of the whole - was astounding. . . Picasso came to the studio daily, evinced a keen interest in everything, gave his instructions regarding the drawing and requested us to preserve its individuality and pay special attention to the colouring. . . . All this care was of the utmost importance, for the entire

[455] The flat inscribed quality of the final set is in apparent conflict with its actual three-dimensionality when realised on stage. This tension is especially clearly seen in photographs of performances of Le Tricorne (Fig.159).

scene was based on the very clever combination of the four fundamental tones and on a deeply meditated composition."[270]

Pulcinella

The final set for Pulcinella, which survives only in the form of a single study (Fig.207) belies, in its austerity of both form and colour, the many and frequently elaborate sketches which led up to it. The fifty designs for the Pulcinella set included here do not purport to comprise a complete catalogue, but sources indicate that the actual number of designs is close to this figure.[271] In contrast to the spare and simplified Le Tricorne set, where the different studies may be viewed as variations on a single theme, the Pulcinella project includes a range of formal treatments and iconographic motifs. In order to explore the levels of meaning in the final set against the background of the complex process which led up to it, it will first be necessary to obtain a broad overview of the project. In a more or less descriptive analysis

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[270] Polunin, The Continental Method of Scene Painting, pp.53-55.

[271] The large number of set designs for Pulcinella (1921), may be a reflection of the dissension which accompanied the ballet's creation. Zervos publishes 46 different studies: Z XXX: 1; 7-13; 16-21; 23; 24; 27; 39; 47-59; 63 and 64. Z IV: 15-24; 26-28. Vogel, "Picasso als Bühnenbild und Kostümentwerfer für die Ballets Russes", illustrates 48 different designs. Scrutiny of the files of the Musée Picasso in Paris revealed around 50 studies and related sketches. In contrast to these comprehensive listings, Cooper, Picasso Theatre, published 16 sketches and McQuillan, "Painters and the Ballet", 12. If one takes into account the fact that many individual sheets contain two or more separate sketches, the number of designs is greatly multiplied. A problem in ascertaining the exact number of Pulcinella set designs is the overlap between the Pulcinella and Cuadro Flamenco sets which will be discussed below.

of the designs, principal compositional and iconographic motifs will be isolated and an attempt will be made to group them in general categories. The findings of this analysis will then be discussed so as to uncover the meanings implicit both in the structure and the individual symbolic forms of the Pulcinella set.

The designs will be discussed in four broad categories. The first of these will include drawings which, on account of a looseness of style, a schematic rendering of imagery, apparent incompleteness and frequent revisions are interpreted as initial stages of the project. Secondly a group of drawings depicting an elaborate theatre interior in a more precise drawing style will be examined. The latter works correspond to what is generally regarded as the first plan for the ballet which was rejected by Diaghilev.[72] The third group consists of a transition from the previous elaborate design towards the greater simplification of the definitive Pulcinella set. Finally the evolution of this set will be investigated.

There is a certain amount of overlap between these categories, both as a result of stylistic shifts and because multiple designs are frequently found on a single sheet. Furthermore it is entirely characteristic of Picasso's working method to have worked out several concepts for the design simultaneously. It would therefore be misleading to consider the above categories as strictly se-

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[72] See p.67

quential."[673] Once a detailed examination of the sketches is embarked on, the impossibility of uncovering any sequential pattern amongst them becomes obvious. In the absence of a logical order, Picasso's creative process parallels the metaphoric mode of his iconographic process - in fact they are inseparable and indistinguishable.

A sketch from the Musée Picasso (Fig.160) which may represent Picasso's earliest thoughts on the Pulcinella set, shows the overlapping facades of two buildings, each having a spiral staircase. A series of arched openings, which recall the Le Tricorne set, co-exist with a raked rectangular opening reminiscent of the Parade set proscenium arch. In the foreground an undefined object possibly stands for the dolphin-shaped fountain seen also in other examples, e.g., Fig.162. In Fig.160 a lamp is suspended from the wall above the arch, more or less in the centre of the sketch and a figure is indicated looking out of a shuttered window above. At the extreme left hand side is an arch which frames a cruciform shape. On the top half of this sheet Picasso wrote a number of words which amount to a list of items to be included in his sketch. These are: "Naples"; "le vesuve"; "arcades"; "deux fontaines"; then a word which is difficult to decipher but which could be "Criste"; and "maisons du docteur, de Tartalia et de

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[673] McQuillan, "Painters and the Ballet", pp.501-506, using highly selective examples has argued a rather different sequence leading up to the final set designs. The fact that she was dealing with a smaller number of designs, drawn exclusively from Cooper's book, made her task less complicated. She does not, for example, appear to have had knowledge of the annotated sketch taken as the starting point for my own discussion, and thus the logic of her approach is quite different.

Pimpinella". On the reverse of this sheet, Picasso made notes regarding the characters in the ballet (Fig.161).

The images evoked by Picasso's annotations to Fig.160 refer to a specific location. An Italian context is entirely congruent with the Commedia dell'Arte subject of the ballet. The scenario of Pulcinella was based on a Neapolitan manuscript, and it was in Naples that Picasso, Stravinsky and Massine had together attended a Commedia dell'Arte performance in 1917.[*74] Picasso's starting point here, as so often, was in his actual experience. Naples, Mt.Vesuvius (focal point of the Bay of Naples) arcades and fountains are all explicable simply in the context of that reality.[*75] "Maisons..." refers to the houses in and around which the ballet's narrative is enacted, and the building depicted in this loosely rendered sketch may be a first idea for one of these houses. The figure in the upstairs window and the lamp may be a cliche of traditional Commedia dell'Arte settings. A similar combination is to be found in illustrations of this genre, of which Picasso may have had knowledge.[*76] The word "Criste" may refer to what appears

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[*74] See above p.64

[*75] One writer has identified the specific location of the scene: "The first designs for Pulcinella, Z XXX: 11-24, represent an actual piazza in Naples, the Piazza della Borsa with the fountain of Neptune by Domenico Fontana (1601) with a sculpture of Neptune by Michelangelo Naccherino". Carandente, G. Picasso. Opere dal 1895 al 1971 della Collezione Marina Picasso, p.30.

[*76] See Nicoll, The World of Harlequin, frontispiece and Fig.17. It may be noted that a figure holding a lamp and leaning out of a window was used by Picasso later in Guernica. In Minotauromachy two female figures and a dove appear in an upstairs window. It is possible that the Commedia dell'Arte and Pulcinella provided the source for that usage.

to be a crucifix in the arched niche on the extreme left of the sketch. This architectural decoration may also refer to an observation drawn from Picasso's real experience. It may, however, be noteworthy that he included it in this somewhat tentative and apparently preliminary sketch.

The next design, Fig 162 introduces a folded screen placed in front of a building as a setting for the ballet. The screen is so disposed in space that it seems that Picasso may have intended the dancers to move through its arched opening. This drawing, though greatly simplified, nevertheless focuses on the houses. In front of the screen is the dolphin fountain. On the reverse side of the sheet (Fig.163) are some tentative ideas which have been scribbled over. In this drawing Picasso once again introduces an arcaded wall and alongside it a flattened 'circus tent' structure which recalls some of the Parade set designs. On the left another sketch, at right angles to the first, depicts a theatre space which emphasises the stage curtains and the way in which stage space is indicated by a succession of overlapping planes.

In Fig.164 the folded screens have been incorporated into a frontal and more or less symmetrical arrangement. A college effect is created by the scenic elements gathered together on a theatre stage, identified by its curtains. At the back is an arcade which has affinities with the bullring arcade of the Le Tricorne drop-curtain. Its left edge abuts a rusticated gothic-arched opening which suggests the entrance to a church. Directly in front of the arcade, and obscuring its two central arches is a landscape

which, in view of the annotation to Fig.160, can be identified as a depiction of the Bay of Naples. This is sketched on what is apparently intended to indicate either a board or a large piece of cloth stretched across the arcade. On either side of this landscape as indications of houses or buildings, are two folded screens with arched doors and windows. The arrangement on the right with the fountain, refers back to the previous example. The Bay of Naples sketch and folded screen buildings are presented as artificial and ephemeral stage effects which recall traditional Commedia dell'Arte sets that were non-illusionistic and portable. They are juxtaposed here to an arcade which appears more solid and which recalls the many arcaded bullrings in Picasso's oeuvre. Two realities co-exist - the solid arcade and the temporary, paper-thin fabricated sets of the Commedia dell'Arte. The reference to ecclesiastical architecture on the extreme left hand side recalls the crucifix in Fig.160.

From the idea of depicting buildings on a simple folding screen, Picasso went on to investigate the use of such a device to create a number of overlapping structures in the studies on the sheet represented by Fig.165. This type of building which was essentially two-dimensional and portable, once again accords with the ephemeral props of street players and the traditional practice of Commedia dell'Arte troupes. The inclusion of ground-plan sketches alongside the two drawings on the right of this sheet is evidence that Picasso was considering the way in which the folded 'buildings' would occupy a three-dimensional space. The drawing at the top left is different in conception from the other three.

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It combines a sharply receding building on the left with the outline of a frontal screen in the foreground. This outline anticipates the shape of the final set (Fig.207). The tiny sketch at the top left of Fig.165 is framed on three sides by a simplified proscenium arch below which the tilted horizontal emerges as a proscenium within a proscenium. On closer examination this small drawing provides a prototype for a whole series of designs in which the Bay of Naples scene is set within an elaborate theatre auditorium.[477]

In the next group of sketches (Figs.166-170) the imagery of the Bay of Naples, already suggested in Fig.164 is presented in more detail. This landscape scene is the focus of all the succeeding sketches. It appears initially, e.g., in Fig 169, as a distant scene viewed through the inner proscenium arch of a richly decorated theatre interior. By a gradual process of simplification and enlargement it comes to constitute the entire stage setting (Fig.207). These transformations will now be traced in greater detail.

Fig.166 is a sheet containing three sketches of the Naples scene. The smallest of the three drawings on this sheet (top left) demonstrates how the buildings of Fig.165 have been assimilated into a pictorial whole. The sharply receding townscape consists of a street flanked by tall buildings. In the centre foreground is a

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[477] For example see below Fig.173 (top and right) and Figs.171, 172 and 176 - all distinguished by the steeply tilted horizontal of the inner proscenium arch.

fountain surmounted by a statue of Neptune. The sharp orthogonals of the buildings lead the eye back towards the distant sea on which a number of craft float. Behind is a smoking volcano, and above, a full moon.[478] Fig.167 repeats these images in a broad style. Stylistically similar, though not illustrated here, is a sketch of the Neptune fountain only, referred to by Zervos as a "study for the first version" of Pulcinella.[479] The Neptune fountain occupied an important place in the early Pulcinella designs and is given detailed treatment in three further sheets of drawings (Figs.168-170). In the first of these, Neptune, holding a trident in his left hand, his right clutching a dolphin rather precariously, adopts a graceful and mannered pose. On the same sheet Picasso has drawn a building facade whose lower, arched opening reveals a spiral staircase in a way which recalls the first design discussed here (Fig.160). The fountain on the right suggests the "deux fontaines" that Picasso planned as part of his stage scenery indicating that this sheet of drawings might be located among the early ideas for the set. The scallop shell at upper right, though unique among the ballet designs is to be found among the objects of Picasso's Cubist still-life repertory.[480]

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[478] That this is a moon and not a sun image seems to be indicated by the fact that it is painted a glowing white in a dark sky. When Picasso uses a sun image, it is usually identified by radiating 'sun-rays' as seen in Fig.41. In addition, Cocteau's description of the Pulcinella set in "Picasso, a Fantastic Modern Genius", p.74, refers to "a moon-lit night in a street in Naples". The meanings of the images will be discussed in detail below.

[479] Zervos IV:23.

[480] For example, Souvenir of Le Havre (Z II(1): 367), Shells on a Piano (Z II(1): 395), The Scallop Shell (Notre Avenir est dans

Figs.169 and 170 are almost identical.[*1] Both contain at top left the scene of the Neapolitan piazza and bay, now placed within a complicated double proscenium arch. The foremost plane of this structure is drawn perspectivally and represents a fairly conventional proscenium decorated with arched niches in the lower storey, and aediculae with 'classical' columns and pediments above. Situated in a plane behind this are two curved storeys of curtained boxes or balconies. These appear to be a theatre auditorium, but they simultaneously refer to the arcaded rows of the amphitheatre surrounding a bullring. Above is a domed ceiling which has been flattened onto the picture surface. The curved auditorium is interrupted in the centre by a cut-out rectangle through which the Naples scene is visible. This rectangle, framed by curtains, represents a second proscenium arch. Between these three spatial planes - outer proscenium, inner proscenium/auditorium and background scenery - Picasso sets up a complex interrelationship of reality and illusion. The receding buildings of the Naples scene are linked to the upper balconies of the auditorium by a continuous line which travels along their upper edge. The ground plane is continuous from foreground to back, and the ambiguous placing of the Neptune fountain compounds the difficulty of separating these planes from each other.

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l'Air) (Z II(1): 311), and possibly also Still-life with Chair Caning (Z II(1):294) - all dating to spring 1912.

[*1] It is difficult to arrive at a reason for this apart from speculating that Picasso made a copy of the sheet to pass on to Diaghilev or some other interested party as the demonstration of a preliminary idea.

The fountain itself is reinvestigated in these two sheets. At the bottom left of Fig.169 Neptune is drawn with a more vigorous line and in greater detail. The somewhat effete pose seen in Fig.168 has been reinterpreted as one of greater power reflected in the facial expression and firm stance, while the dolphin is now inverted and firmly grasped by an outsize right hand. Neptune's left hand which holds the trident is the subject of a detailed investigation on the right of this sheet of drawings. This detail at first seems curious in view of the small scale of the Neptune figure in the sketches. If, however, the figure were to be enlarged to the scale required for the stage, the detailed treatment of this hand is understandable. The fact that it is shown in back view here is somewhat strange, however, and may suggest that Picasso conceived the fountain as a free-standing three-dimensional element. A further drawing on this sheet in which the fountain as a whole is considered reinforces the notion that Picasso regarded the Neptune fountain as an important element of the imagery of the set, at least at this stage of the project.

Before leaving these drawings, a final detail of Fig.169 must be considered. At the top right of this sheet, very faintly drawn, is a section of a gothic-arched interior which, like the crucifix of Fig.160 and the arched opening at the extreme left of Fig.164 refers to an ecclesiastical model. Comparison of the 'theatre' structure on the left of this same sheet with this drawing, indicates that the outer proscenium of the theatre is broadly related to this church-like interior. The gothic arch has been flattened

into a very gentle curve and the vault compressed into stylised flattened ribs.

The theatre interior is greatly elaborated in the following studies. Eight sketches (Figs.171-178) will be discussed as a group because of the obvious similarities among them. They depict a richly decorated auditorium with curtained balconies, classical ornament and a central ribbed vault which springs at its furthermost end directly from the top of a proscenium arch. This arch is occasionally frontal and given a classical treatment of columns and pediment (as in Fig.173 bottom left and Fig.174) but more often its horizontal member is tilted up to the right at a sharp angle, reversing the tilt of the Parade set.[482] There are only slight variations among these designs. The spatial ambiguities are preserved by the inclusion of the foreground curtains in some drawings and by the deliberate way in which the screen-houses of the Naples scene overlap the frame of the inner proscenium arch.[483]

That the landscape is a painted illusion is stressed by the almost pedantic reference that Picasso makes to the one-point perspective system. Having established this scene as a 'window on the world' framed by the inner proscenium arch, he immediately questions the illusion by allowing one of its elements to break through the picture plane. The folded screen-house thereby enters the next

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[482] In only one sketch, Fig.171 (top left), is the slope of the angle the same as in the Parade set.

[483] See especially Fig.171 (bottom left) and Fig.173 (right).

level of illusion, the interior of the theatre. This is a location which requires a suspension of disbelief and an acceptance of the illusion as real. There is thus established a play on the reality of conventional pictorial illusion as opposed to the illusion of the theatre. The theatre interior is itself located behind a foreground proscenium arch, which in turn would be contained within the actual proscenium of the theatre in which the ballet was performed. The actual spectator at the ballet would thus be confronted with a stage set which comprised a series of theatres within theatres. In thus juxtaposing a series of realities this set design by implication poses questions regarding the reality of a specific performance. It simultaneously draws attention to the essential paradox inherent in the artificial reality of performance in general. It is not clear from any of these designs how Picasso envisaged the construction of such a set. The designs which will be discussed next show varying degrees of simplification by comparison, and it seems likely that Picasso anticipated practical difficulties in the realisation of such highly complex designs.

In addition to the dialectic of realism set up in them, the drawings which refer to a theatre within a theatre are significant for the specific iconographic elements which they introduce. The most obvious of these are the musical instruments which Picasso uses decoratively in the panels between the ribs of the ceiling dome. Fig.176 has a water-colour rendering of the set in its upper left corner. Most of the remainder of this sheet is devoted to detailed studies of musical instruments and sheet music, while in

the upper right corner is a drawing of a member of the audience who peers through a pair of opera glasses. In each of the three groups of instrument depicted, Picasso includes both string and wind instruments, and one of the groups contains, in addition to these, a drum. The decorative motifs in the ceiling area include, in addition to the musical instruments, the tragic and comic masks which encapsulate the dialectic inherent in all drama and specifically in Greek drama. These masks appear as tiny circular forms to left and right of centre, and are seen most easily in Fig.173 (bottom left) in the two acute angles of a pediment. The pedimented proscenium arch is itself a reference to classical antiquity. Picasso investigated a number of classical architectural motifs in the Pulcinella sets, as can be seen in such drawings as Figs.171, 172, 174, 177 and 181. Antiquity is suggested by columns and pediments and pseudo-classical figures in niches flanking the proscenium. Although the theatre auditorium is often referred to as 'baroque' both because of its abundant ornament and its supposed modelling on the Teatro de San Carlo in Naples, the auditorium 'boxes' are hybrids of eighteenth century rococo theatres and Spanish bullrings.[***]

A process of simplification is apparent in Figs.179 and 180 which may be related to Picasso's need to fulfil the practical demands of the stage space. This suggestion is given plausibility by at-

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[***] Compare, for example, the drawing at the top right of Fig.179 with the first sketches for the Le Tricorne curtain (Figs.77 and 78). See Macdonald, Diaghilev Observed by Critics in England and the United States, 1911-1929, p.244, for an illustration of the Teatro de San Carlo.

tention to the extreme right edge of Fig.179. Here a series of parallel lines indicates the positions to be occupied by the various elements of the set in a floor plan. Fig.180, while retaining all the complex elements of the previous designs, abolishes the horizontal ground plane and thus draws the Naples landscape right forward onto the picture plane. The resultant flattening distorts the domed ceiling which, projected onto the picture surface, takes on the appearance of a central disc with radiating arms, not unlike a stylised sun. In the centre of this disc, above an unmistakable pedimented Greek temple, floats a trumpet-blowing female figure who is drawn in detail in Fig.181.[***] This figure is a recurrent motif in the subsequent

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[***] The elaborate hairstyle detailed at the bottom right of Fig.181 appears to be derived from that of the Empress Octavia in Ingres' study for Virgil Reading to Augustus, (Fig.182) while her profile seems directly related to that of Augustus in the same work. Meyer Schapiro, "Picasso's Woman with A Fan" in Modern Art 19th and 20th Centuries, London 1978, pp.111-120, identified this work of Ingres as a source for the 1909 Woman with a Fan, and it seems that Picasso was once again considering Ingres' style in 1920. For Ingres as a source see also Anthony Blunt, "Picasso's Classical Period (1917-25)", Burlington Magazine, 110, April 1968, pp.187-191, and Phoebe Pool "Picasso's Neo-Classicism: Second Period (1917-25)", Apollo, no. 83, March 1967, pp.198-207. Meyer, S. "Ancient Mediterranean Sources in the Works of Picasso 1892-1937", PhD dissertation, New York University, 1980, (University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor and London 1981), Chapter XI, Fig.4, reproduces a drawing by Picasso based on Ingres' Octavia head. Meyer dates this drawing to 1917 and (p.405) suggests as a second and visually closer source for this head a Roman female portrait bust of the Trajanic period from the Louvre, which she illustrates (Meyer, Chapter XI, Fig.7). The pose of Picasso's airborne allegorical figure is further reminiscent of the figure of Nemesis at the bottom centre of Ingres' Apotheosis of Napoleon (1853: Fig.183) a work which also includes images of the Allegories of Fame and Triumph. In the Pulcinella designs, the flying allegorical figure appears, although sometimes quite indistinctly, in the following sketches: Figs.184, 192 (top right and bottom centre), 197, 201 and 202.

designs. Cooper has identified her as "a ...g angel blowing a trumpet", and Buckle as "the figure of Fame ... ing her trumpet". McQuillan refers to "a kind of Parnassus scene with a trumpet-blowing muse and a Greek temple facade".[666] Reference to one of the Greek muses is congruent with the detailing of this figure. In addition to the trumpet, associated with Fame, she holds a sketchy, but nevertheless identifiable, laurel wreath aloft in her right hand - two specific attributes which also identify Calliope, the muse of epic poetry.[667]

On the right hand side of Fig.180 is a drawing of two spectators. The male figure is an enlarged version of the man with opera glasses at the top right of Fig.176. In front of him is a woman whose expressionless face and stiff upright posture contrast with his relaxed and active pose. Below the strongly defined, low-cut neckline of her garment, her body virtually disappears. The circular form which, at first glance seems to be part of her clothing, is in fact the flattened domed ceiling of yet another theatre interior depicted immediately below her. A large, disembodied hand adds to the ambiguity of her form. On a closer reading the female form is in fact circumscribed by the 'neckline' and becomes not so much a fictive spectator as a bust or effigy of such a person. In this respect she recalls the many sculpted female heads which Picasso included in his paintings and drawings of the 'artist's

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[666] Cooper, Picasso Theatre, p.51; Buckle, Diaghilev, p.380, referring to this figure as she appears in the study for Cuadro Flamenco (Fig.221); and McQuillan "Painters and the Ballet", p.502.

[667] Hall, A Dictionary of Signs and Symbols, p.217.

studio'. Her companion, though ostensibly raising his opera glasses in order to view a performance, may also be using them to scrutinise her, for she is simultaneously a spectator like him, and a work of art. The spectator figures will be discussed below in greater detail in the context of the Cuadro Flamenco set where they feature prominently.

The designs of an elaborate theatre-within-a-theatre appear to culminate in Fig.184. This is a gouache which unlike most of the designs discussed thus far, fills the entire sheet. This suggests that it can be regarded as a resolution of the previous designs, and may have been the design which Diaghilev rejected.*** The flattened ceiling links Figs.184 and 180 and in the former the gold delineation of the central disc and the decorative rather than structural treatment of the radiating 'ribs' suggest a sun image even more strongly. Surmounting the new frontal inner proscenium arch is a gold lyre which recalls a similar image in the Parade set. The combination of 'sun' and lyre evokes associations with Apollo, another reference back to the imagery of Parade. The trumpet-blowing muse and Greek temple facade can be detected with difficulty within the central disc of Fig.184. In conjunction with allusions to Apollo, the identification of this figure as

*** This speculation is based both on the size of the sketch in relation to others similar to it, and to the use of colour. Compared to the tiny sketches of virtually the same scene which precede it, this example appears to be a sketch that has been worked up for presentation. Denis Bablet, The Revolution of Stage Design in the 20th Century. Paris and New York 1977, p.167, publishes this design only as representative of the Pulcinella project, and comments that "in spite of its tremendous originality, this project was never realised".

Calliope, muse of epic poetry, becomes more likely. A further possible reference to the Apollonian aspects of art, via the notion of inspiration, is made in the violins and sheet music discernible in the triangular 'spandrels' between the ribs of the ceiling.[***]

Within an apparently purely decorative and, in terms of execution, fairly casual design, Picasso draws together images which reverberate in a complex metaphor. The elements of the metaphor all refer to the idea of art in its broadest sense and occur in the upper region of the sketch, above the heads of the painted spectators (some of whom may even be looking in that direction). The real, living spectators occupy a level of reality outside of the picture or stage design, although, by the very fact that they are attending a performance, they have voluntarily removed themselves from a neutral or natural reality (the world outside the theatre). Seated in this simultaneously real and artificial environment, they are simultaneously confronted with further levels of reality - the painted and hence illusory spectators who in turn confront a painted and illusory landscape. Although this landscape is an illusion for the real and painted spectators alike, for the former it is yet one further remove from their physical or living reality. Furthermore, the landscape simultaneously evokes both an illusion of three-dimensional space and depth which has its source in an actual environment, and the material reality of a painted theatre backdrop. Above and encompassing this complex and

[***] This interpretation is in line with the discussion of music as a symbol of artistic inspiration in the Nercure drop curtain.

evocative statement of reality, Picasso reaffirms the notion of the transcendent power of art. It is art, as crystallised in the conjunction of the antique and archetypal symbols of the white and gold ceiling - itself paradoxically an illusion - which allows the real, living spectator to transcend his physical condition and aspire towards a reality above and beyond it. There can be little doubt that for Picasso the theatre had become a location in which such transcendence was eminently possible.

It is doubtful, however, whether Diaghilev would have recognised or taken into account such subtleties in the execution of his commission. The following sequence of designs suggests that after Fig.184 Picasso did, indeed, go "back to the drawing board". He did not, however, abandon all the implications contained in the previous designs.

Fig.185 is a kind of tabula rasa. Its structure is formed by a series of rectilinear areas which continue to suggest the previous arrangement of three overlapping and interpenetrating spatial planes in a simplified scheme. Arches make provision for spectator 'boxes' and there is a suggestion of imagery above the innermost rectangle, whose scale, relative to the surrounding areas, has been increased. Fig.185 provides an armature around which the imagery of the following four designs is created. This structure is clarified by the distinct separation of four planes in Fig.186. The identity of these planes as a series of scenic cut-cloths is

elucidated by the labels "1er", "2e", "3a" and "fond"[33] with which Picasso has annotated this drawing in order to indicate their respective positions in space. The foremost plane is not numbered and is presumably to be equated with the proscenium arch of the real theatre. A characteristic ambiguity thus arises between the real and the fictive. What Picasso indicates as cut-cloth number one, is in fact the second of his sketched planes. The buildings of the Neapolitan scene are indicated as being separate from the back-cloth, and the Neptune fountain appears to be free-standing. The domed ceiling has all but disappeared, but the lyre is retained as a central motif.

Fig.187 follows a similar scheme. The lyre is now flanked by the masks of comedy and tragedy. Figures large in scale again occupy the auditorium boxes - one to a box - and although they look inwards, it is not clear whether they are scrutinising the performance or each other. The Neapolitan harbour scene is contained within a box-like frame and has been greatly simplified. The foreground buildings are reduced to arcades, and the perspective effect is reduced bringing the background landscape elements forward. In Fig.188 the dome is replaced by a gallery in which the members of an orchestra can be seen. Their instruments are contemporary ones, juxtaposed with the ancient Apollonian lyre which surmounts the proscenium arch. Like the spectator couple which occurs in most of the other sketches of this group and which has been seen in detail in Fig.180, the musicians recall late nine-

[33] Translated as "1st", "2nd", "3rd" and "back".

teenth century prototypes and particularly Degas' ballet paintings where the musicians in their 'pit' and the dancers on stage are placed in complex spatial relationships to each other [32] Fig.189 is a gouache and water-colour elaboration of Fig. 188. It is unique in being composed of five superimposed cut sheets of paper - one for each of the overlapping planes and a separate sheet for the musicians gallery above.[33] The spectators in their red-draped boxes are sketched in with greater definition. The most emphatic decorative element is now the centrally placed golden lyre. The blue-grey colouring of the harbour scene contrasts with the opulent red and gold of the theatre. These two colour groups are linked through touches of blue in the clothes of the female spectators and a conspicuous bright red glow in the landscape which denotes the fiery volcano.

The next stage in the development of the design lies in the transformation of the background landscape into the final set with the accompanying suppression of the theatre interior. At this stage new iconographic elements appear briefly but are not found in the final design. The sequence of these sketches is problematic, and both the Zervos numbering and the [illegible] of the Musée Picasso

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[32] The spectator couple and its 19th century relationships will be discussed below in the consideration of the sets for Cuadro Flamenco. See also McQuillan, "Painters and the Ballet" p.516.

[33] Zervos publishes Fig.189 as two separate designs, the musicians (Z 30:54) and the stage (Z 30:55). Although not clearly seen in illustration, the multi-layered structure of this design was observed in the original at the Musée Picasso, Paris. The method of superimposing separate cut sheets was also used in the Le Tricorne designs.

appear to be arbitrary. The arrangement adopted in the present study seems in general to follow a process of simplification which may have been Picasso's method. It must be remembered, however, that in addition to a linear development, it is certain that alternative solutions were worked on simultaneously.

Fig.190 is a sheet containing four separate sketches. At bottom left is a diagrammatic representation of the division of the set into a series of stage 'flats'. In this respect it is related to Fig.186. Three parallel and receding cut-cloths which echo the format of the proscenium arch, are indicated. The second of these is distorted into a curious curved shape suggesting the medallion of the dome, now completely flattened. A trapezoid shape projects forwards from the plane of the backcloth. The outline of this trapezoid is drawn with a heavy line similar to that of the base of each of the cut-cloths. This is an indication that the shape is a demarcation of the position of the tripartite folded screen which can be seen in the other sketches on this sheet. The centre panel of the screen is frontal and its two side flaps fold back to meet the backcloth. This is the form which was used in the final set, and this drawing is the first indication of Picasso's intention to change the flat backcloth. The top left hand sketch on the same sheet shows the harbour scene angled in and out of space in a manner which recalls the screen forms of the earliest designs (Figs.162 and 164).

The remaining two sketches on this sheet introduce a new image. In place of the two tiers of theatre boxes on either side of the

inner proscenium arch, are arrow-headed flag poles which suspend flowing draperies. In Fig.191 these are coloured in green, white and red stripes, the colours of the Italian flag, to which they may thus refer.[493] The reference to Italian nationalism is consistent with similar recollections of France and Spain in Parade and Le Tricorne. It can be interpreted as a tribute to Italy, original home of the Commedia dell'Arte, and underlines the geographical specificity of the Pulcinella set. In the sketches which include the Italian flag, the lyre above the proscenium is replaced by a motif which is impossible to identify because of its extremely vague delineation. In view of the flags, however, it seems at least plausible that this is a coat of arms or similar heraldic image. Like the location of the set, this may be derived from a real-life observation made by Picasso in Naples in 1917. These possible references to Italy are not found again, but Figs.190 and 191 signify a transition from the treatment of the Naples scene as a flat backcloth to its depiction on what appears to be a free-standing folded screen. Fig.192 reveals how this screen was derived from a flat rectangle divided into three parts. Three of the sketches on this sheet represent the folded screen within a theatre interior with 'sun' disc and airborne muse. The drawing at bottom right shows that Picasso briefly considered replacing the theatre interior with an enlarged landscape, and locating the screen centrally within this.

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[493] Although no colour illustration of Fig.191 is included here, this observation as to the colour was made from the original in the collection of the Musée Picasso, Paris, in June 1982. The flag motif recurs in Fig.205.

A group of drawings which reflect Picasso's concern with the means for realising his designs can be mentioned here (Figs.193-196). In the drawings on these four sheets, one or more components are examined in turn. A significant feature is Picasso's consideration of both a rigid free-standing screen structure and a softer draped hanging (similar in idea to Fig.164) for the central motif. In Fig.195 these two ideas are juxtaposed most obviously. Like the central drawing of Fig.192, four of the sketches on this sheet investigate an opposition of dark and light areas within this central structure. The presence of the lyre on the proscenium arch of the drawing at bottom left of Fig.194 should also be noted.

In Fig.197 a voluptuous cartoutured muse blows on her trumpet and simultaneously holds up a laurel wreath for display. On the right, a decorative ornamental figure is applied to the pillar of the framing proscenium arch. The Naples scene is presented centrally and the orthogonals of the screen indicate that the side-pieces are to be folded back, thus creating an inverted perspective. The geometricised nature of the final set is anticipated here in the exaggerated diagonal of the right hand flap of the landscape screen and the flattening of the corresponding diagonal on the left as it passes through two separate spatial planes. A horizontal joining these two diagonals at the tops of the buildings indicates that part of the sky will be included in the folding screen.

In Fig.196 the muse is replaced by the quadripartite diamond or lozenge shape which was identified as a sign for harlequin in one of the Le Tricorne curtain designs (Fig.100). A similar motif is

repeated below each of the four spectator galleries, although in these cases the lozenge is not divided up. Fig.199 is an elaboration of this design with the addition of colour.[494] In these sketches the disposition of spatial planes appears to be in accordance with the scheme represented in Fig.190. The front cloth is represented by the pair of fluted columns joined together by a flattened arch. The second plane includes the 'boxes' and the representation of a tilted and flattened dome in which the 'harlequin' lozenge is the central motif. The third cut-cloth would contain the patterned inner proscenium arch with its painted curtains within which the free-standing screen would be set. It is not clear whether sky and moon are part of the screen, or a separate backdrop. A touch of realism introduced in Figs.197-199 is the washing line strung between the two rows of buildings. (This is most clearly seen in Fig.198).

The final group of sketches at first continues the combination of decorative theatre interior and geometric landscape screen, with the latter element gradually taking precedence over the former. In Fig.201 the inner proscenium arch is flanked on either side by a low wall surmounted by two arches or niches, the inner one in the same plane as the proscenium, the outer at right angles to it and thus appearing to enclose a box-like space. The ribs of the vault above are simplified and flattened into six heavy black lines and the central medallion contains the muse motif. The landscape screen is given greater emphasis within the proscenium. It is

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[494] Fig.200 is a very light drawing, almost identical to Fig.198.

clearly placed in front of the orange/red curtains and cuts across the arch on the left.[455] Both here and in the next sketch (Fig.202) this screen has been simplified into four areas - three rectangular planes with sloping upper edges and one triangle on the left side.[456] The two central panels which represent a building facade and the Naples harbour, comprise the frontal plane, while the sections to their left and right angle back into space. The triangular plane on the left serves as a kind of conceptual buttress for its adjacent facade, which together with the right hand section of the screen appears to recede towards the harbour scene. This illusion is no sooner created than denied, since the central panel is in reality closer to the spectator than are the side flaps.[457] The auditorium setting of Fig.202 is again richly decorated in red and gold. The ribs, central medallion and the pillars flanking the proscenium are treated with a schematic chiaroscuro to provide an illusion of three-dimensionality that is played off against the flat geometric planes of the landscape screen. The muse is again

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[455] Neither this sketch nor the following one (Fig.202) are included in McQuillan, "Painters and the Ballet", or in Vogel, "Picasso als Bühnenbild und Kostümentwerfer für die Ballets Russes". Although colour reproductions are not included here I was able to view the original sketches at the Musée Picasso in Paris in 1982. In both, the colouring is dominated by contrasts of red/orange and yellow in the curtains and architectural motifs. The dark areas are a dark brown and there are touches of blue in the landscape and the background to the 'sun' disc.

[456] Not clearly visible in illustration is a distinct vertical separating the left hand edge of the harbour from the adjoining architecture.

[457] This effect is, of course, only notional in a two-dimensional drawing, but the use of inverted perspective is confirmed by the form taken by the final set.

treated with great levity and her two pendulous breasts are emphasised.

Fig.203 heralds the form of the final set. Apart from a flat, simplified framing curtain, all reference to a theatre interior has been eliminated. At top right the landscape screen is placed against a uniformly dark, almost black background, while at bottom left, there is a red and orange striped area between the stylised outline of the framing curtain and the background. This striped area reads as a second, shaped cut-cloth. At bottom right a more complex series of planes defines the background. A brown painted frame is introduced along the top and down the sides, serving as a reminder of the proscenium arch and replacing the draped red curtains. These have been partly overpainted in blue, and their upper scalloped edge is continued down on the sides creating a decorative border within the severe brown arch. In front of the screen in the horizontal ground plane, a brown trapezoid shape replaces the half-moon apron seen in Figs.201 and 202. The dark background is divided into two areas - a black and brown striped surround, and a more solidly black fan-shaped area. The simplification of the setting and the experimentation with framing devices is continued in Figs.204-206. In these examples the screen is slightly altered from the three preceding examples and approximates its form in the final set design (Fig.207).

Fig.204 is a sheet containing one gouache and three pencil sketches. It is identified as the next stage by the screen, which, in the gouache, has assumed the configuration it will have in the

final set. This gouache represents one final attempt to reconcile the plush curtains and patterned proscenium arch with the austere angles of the screen. The two sets of curtains, one framing the real proscenium arch, the other behind the set, recall the multiple curtains of the Parade drop-curtain and the complex spatial readings implied by it. The colours too, have echoes of the plush red and gold theatre interiors of the earlier sketches. The inner proscenium is a light yellow and is surrounded by yellow curtains. The landscape screen in yellows and browns, is placed against an orange background.[***] The three pencil sketches on this sheet show Picasso vacillating between placing the screen according to conventional artificial perspective (bottom left), inverted perspective (bottom right), or eliminating the screen altogether and adopting a painted landscape similar to that of Le Tricorne (top right). Also on this sheet but barely visible on the right hand side is a trapezoid shape which forms the floor cloth of the final set.

In Fig.205 Picasso again investigates a number of solutions. These range from a fairly elaborate design with curtains, medallion and a faint echo of the original vault (top left), to a version in which the solitary screen is surrounded by an unadorned proscenium arch (bottom left). The two sketches at the top have decorative flag motifs, recalling the references to Italy in Figs.190 and 191. The flags in the left hand version are clearly divided into three

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[***] I was not able to obtain a good colour photograph of this gouache. The observations made here regarding colour are based on direct observation of the original sketches at the Musée Picasso, Paris in June 1982.

vertical bands - the outer ones hatched in pencil and the central one blank indicating the colour white. The gouache on this sheet at the bottom right, comes close to the final set in its dark and light contrasts and the 'spotted' black sky - a starry sky which recalls the Le Tricorne set. Fig.206 is the immediate precursor of the final set design (Fig.207). Two gouache drawings at the top of Fig.206 show developments from the previous coloured sketch (Fig.205). The bordering arch is now clearly divided into two parallel surfaces. The side-flaps of the screen fold back and its form is clearly defined both in the right hand gouache and in the simple pencil drawing below. The 'stars' are transferred from the backcloth to the second cut-cloth and the dark tone of the backcloth is relieved by the application of horizontal striations. A pencilled diagram below indicates the placing of the screen in plan form and the positions of the openings of the two doors in the side flaps. A contemporary account tells us that the two doors were in fact cut out, so that the dancers could circulate freely through as well as around the landscape.

> In other circumstances I should have no quarrel with the houses that were cut into fantastic shapes by the insistent moon behind them - but their convention broke down badly when their windows opened and one found that solid human beings were living in them.[999]

The final set design on which all later accounts are based, is represented by Fig.207. This is almost identical to the top right gouache of the previous example. The significant changes are the

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[999] W.A.Propert, The Russian Ballet in Western Europe 1909-1920, London 1921. p.57. See also McQuillan, "Painters and the Ballet", p.499.

substitution of two large flat grey areas for part of the dark background, and the indication of the white floor cloth which played a vital part in the ballet. The effect of these additions, when viewed in the two-dimensional sketch, is to make explicit a contrast of light and dark areas which were implicit in the preceding few examples, and to introduce some impelling spatial ambiguities. Also on this sheet, at the left, is a simplified pencil drawing of the screen and a 'plan' showing the positions of the cut-cloths, the screen and the backcloth.

The radical nature of the final Pulcinella set design is especially pronounced when compared to the earlier sketches. The critical relationship between audience and performance which was established there by way of a surrogate fictive audience in a painted theatre interior, is here made real and immediate by presenting the actual audience with a significant challenge in establishing spatial relationships. When it is read two-dimensionally, the set consists of a number of clearly delineated flat, angular planes. The central element of this flattened space is, however, a fully three-dimensional structure. As McQuillan points out, rather than define a space within which the dancers move, the landscape screen occupies space.[503] While the traditional perspective lines of the buildings invite the audience to enter into the performance, the inverted perspective of the folded screen pushes out towards them.

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[503] McQuillan, "Painters and the Ballet", p.224 and p.506.

The ambiguities are multiple. The central panel is placed frontally on the stage, but the tilting horizontal of the blue sky warps this frontality. The orthogonal of the dark building on the left margin recedes sharply towards a central vanishing point which, if viewed according to the conventions of artificial perspective, would be located roughly at the top of the volcano. The moonlit harbour scene is thus both thrust forward by the inverted perspective and simultaneously pushed back by conventional artificial perspective devices. The two side flaps are bent away from the frontal plane in direct contradiction to the fictive convention of their orthogonals. These push-pull movements are locked into a two-dimensional plane by the three black surfaces which have horizontal blue striations. These surfaces which must, in fact, have formed part of the backcloth, link up in space and join with the dark building whose vertical blue windows echo the patterning of the other planes. Thus the space around the screen and the space within the screen are united. The dark blue rectangle which forms the inner framing cut-cloth can be read both as flat pattern and as star-flecked sky. The outer brown cut-cloth which is on the surface or foreground plane, is continuous with the horizontal of the ground plane which is notionally at right angles to it. The white floorcloth, similarly, is both a horizontal space-displacing plane and a flat geometric surface. In addition it takes on symbolic significance in terms of its brightness which is an equivalent for the moonlight. Reality and illusion are simultaneously opposed and made one. In its very economy, the set becomes a metaphor of the complex interface between the real (audience) and artificial (performance) worlds. Picasso gradually stripped away

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all overt symbols and anecdotal references as well as the intricate spatial structures which invaded the Pulcinella studies to arrive at a purified structure which elegantly presents the crucial dialogue between reality and illusion, audience and performer, life and art. As it stands, the force of the final Pulcinella imagery is both elucidated and reinforced as a result of its simplification.

Meaning in the Pulcinella set designs is not only located in the dialectic of reality which its spatial structuring presents. As a result of the radical process of transformation by which the set evolved, two groups of images exist, the elaborate images of the studies and their 'purified' counterparts in the final set as represented by Fig.207. It may be argued that the only relevant imagery is that which is extant in the final set design - the moonlit harbour with sailing boat and the volcano in the background. The elaborate framework from which the final set evolved contains several images which do not appear in Fig.207 - the Neptune fountain, the masks of comedy and tragedy, the lyre and musical instruments, and the sun disc which contains an allegorical or classical 'muse' figure. All of these can be accommodated under the general heading 'classical' and in the discussion of Fig.184 it was argued that they were employed by Picasso to construct a metaphor of the transcendent nature of art. Before proceeding with the discussion of the imagery of the final set, the problem of Picasso's classicism will be addressed.

The exact nature of Picasso's use of classical sources has proved difficult to define. In the most general sense, the mythological framework of classical art provided him with a paradigm within which to establish a personal mythological structure. At the same time, references to both classical subjects and styles can be identified at a number of different points in his work.[501] Contextualised within this oeuvre, the period of Picasso's involvement in the creation of works for the ballet coincides precisely with what both Blunt and Pool isolated as his second classical (or neo-classical period.[502] This period overlaps with the years of the First World War and coincides with the post-war period of reconstruction during which French culture witnessed a significant shift towards more conservative, ordered and hence 'classical' values.[503] While it is difficult to disregard the influence that this frequently explicit general trend must have had on Picasso's work of the period, nor to discount the specific in-

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[501] The principal studies dealing with Picasso's classicism are: Otto J.Brendel, "The Classical Style in Modern Art" and "Classic and Non-Classic Elements in Picasso's Guernica" in Whitney Oates (ed.) From Sophocles to Picasso, Bloomington 1962; Blunt, "Picasso's Classical Period (1917-23)", Phoebe Pool, "Picasso's Neo-Classicism: First Period 1905-6", Apollo, ns. 81, February 1965, pp.122-127 and "Picasso's Neo-classicism: second Period 1917-25", Mahar, "Neo-Classicism in the Twentieth Century: A Study of the Idea and its Relationship to Selected Works of Stravinsky and Picasso", Meyer, "Ancient Mediterranean Sources in the Works of Picasso 1892-1937"; and Silver, "'Esprit de Corps': The Great War and French Art 1914-25".

[502] Blunt, "Picasso's Classical Period (1917-23)" and Pool, "Picasso's Neo-Classicism: Second Period 1917-25".

[503] This movement is treated in detail by both Meyer, "Ancient Mediterranean Sources in the Works of Picasso 1892-1937" and Silver, "'Esprit de Corps': The Great War and French Art 1914-25". See especially Meyer Chs. IX, X and XI and Silver Chs. III - VII.

fluences of Cocteau, Satie and Stravinsky in this connection, the notion of a classical style which coincided with the post-war years needs to be viewed critically and with specific reference to the ballet designs and related works.

A number of factors must be taken into account. In the first place, and as Silver acknowledges, even if earlier classical periods or works are disregarded, Picasso's return to a more representational mode after the Cubist period can be dated to as early as the spring of 1914, and thus not only pre-dates the ballet designs, but also anticipates the general response of French art during and immediately after the war years.[22] Secondly, to isolate any single tendency is problematic in view of the fact that Picasso's creative process is characterised by constant shifts in style and the co-existence of a number of potentially antithetical styles. In spite of a dominant "artistic atavism" manifested specifically in what Silver and others denote as Picasso's "Ingres style", this characteristic mobility of style is especially apparent during the war years. Silver interprets the exacerbated

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[22] Silver, "'Esprit de Corps': The Great War and French Art 1914-1925", p.439 n.105 writes: "Although... I have no evidence that the [anti-modernist] campaign began as early as the spring of 1914, it is certain that war was imminent, and that this was perceived that spring, and that, if only by instinct, Picasso's new naissant, un-modernist style was still rooted in the conservative culture of wartime.... even if Picasso's change was wholly unrelated to social pressures, that he decided to exploit his new realism (and later new classicism) in response to these pressures is unmistakable". Mayer, 'Ancient Mediterranean Sources", p.291, dates the "new emphasis on structure and form... in... the arts in France" to "around 1916". Daix, in Daix and Rosselet, Picasso. The Cubist Years 1907-1916, on the other hand, implies that the uncertainty of the war (in its initial stages at least) resulted in a temporary break in Picasso's return to naturalism.

stylistic restlessness of these years both as a reflection of Picasso's determination not to renounce Cubism completely at this time, and to the "ideological turbulence" engendered by the war:

> the period 1914-25 is the most diverse (or inconsistent, or confused) moment of Picasso's career. Unlike the Blue or Rose periods, or Analytic Cubism, or the post-1925 Surrealist work, where we can sense a dominating impulse that, despite divergences, shapes all art of a given moment, Picasso is truly an eclectic during and after the Great War...[888]

In effect what is being argued by these various commentators is Picasso's insistence on an uncompromising artistic freedom which is characteristic of his work in all periods. A further factor which complicates the problem of Picasso's 'classical' vocabulary, is his 1917 visit to Italy. While it has been argued above that caution should be exercised in interpreting the Parade drop curtain as an immediate response to this journey, later manifestations of an Italian influence are clearer. The designs for Pulcinella which contain specific references to Naples are a case in point.

Such problems as these are compounded by the demonstrably un-classical approach which Picasso adopts towards many superficially 'classical' themes and formal devices. Discussing the problems presented in an interpretation of the diversity of style in the post-war works, Mahar endorses the notion of Picasso's creative independance and characterises the process of Picasso's stylistic eclecticism.

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[888] Silver, "'Esprit de Corps': The Great War and French Art 1914-1925", p.157.

> When Picasso seems to have borrowed a motif from an earlier style, there is always a curious ambivalence in his treatment of that motif. He appears unwilling to accept the conventions of any previous style nor to adopt the aesthetic convictions which made those conventions meaningful.... Picasso does not subordinate his own pictorial imagination or underlying aesthetic convictions to the restrictions of previous styles.[886]

In a critical analysis of the 1921 Three Women at a Spring, Maher significantly locates Picasso's 'neo-classical' style precisely within the context of the metaphorical process as outlined above.

> there is a lingering presence of selected aspects of tradition in Picasso's neo-classical works. These works 'recall', 'evoke', or imply earlier conventions. In other words, the effect of some of these works is to trigger the memory of the viewer and to provide clues to the personal imagery adopted by Picasso in a particular work. The conventions are fragmented into numerous elements, and these elements, divorced from the tradition which originally created them, are compounded anew into images that are symbolic of Picasso's conceptions of himself...[887]

As far as the ballet designs are concerned, scattered classical references have been identified prior to the Pulcinella project. These include evocations of mythological characters in the Parade drop-curtain and possible classical motifs (the column and arch) in its landscape; Apollonian and Dionysiac references in the juxtaposition of lyre and bacchic dancer in the Parade set; and the Latin inscription "Picasso Pinxit" on the Le Tricorne drop-curtain. The classical vocabulary of the Pulcinella designs is more insistent and self-conscious than these images.[888]

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[886] Maher, "Neo-Classicism in the Twentieth Century", p.473.

[887] Ibid., p.494.

[888] Mayer, "Ancient Mediterranean Sources" traces the incidence

A definition of the antique motifs and allusions of the Pulcinella designs proves elusive. While antique connections can be established for all the separate images, as outlined above, the context and style of the designs often acts to counter these. The Neptune fountain, significant on one level as a visual record of a specific geographical location, is simultaneously open to interpretation on the basis of its mythological meaning. Picasso's interest in the motif appears far from casual since it was explored in a number of sketches. This interest may be explained by the relationship which the god of the oceans has with two of Picasso's most personal symbols:

> By the time he reached adulthood, Picasso surely knew of the mythic connection between the god Poseidon, instigator of earthquakes, and the horses and dark bulls which the Greeks associated with this fierce god...[§§§]

The image of Neptune or Poseidon simultaneously evokes the conflicting characteristics of horse and bull.

> Animals which were sacred to him [Poseidon] were the horse, symbol of gushing springs and the bull,

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of ancient Mediterranean sources in general in Picasso's work from 1892-1937 and observes (p.404) that "Antiquity as a distinct and major source in Picasso's repertoire of works is evident only from 1920..." It is clear from the context that by "Antiquity" Mayer intends the civilisations of ancient Greece and Rome.

§§§ Gedo, Art as Autobiography, p.12. Gedo goes on to link the image of the bullfight to Picasso's childhood experience of an earthquake. Mayer, "Ancient Mediterranean Sources", p.324, cites André Gide's piece titled "Considerations sur la mythologie grecque", first published in the Nouvelle Revue Française of September 1919, as extremely influential in reviving interest in Greek myths in France at this time. According to Mayer (p.325), "In 'Considerations' [Gide] prescribed [the Greek myth] as a new vehicle for expression in modern literature, profoundly suggestive in content. Gide pointed to the fact that the ancient myth serves as a guide to the human psyche...".

> emblem either of his power to fertilise, or of his impetuosity. In the course of certain festivals dedicated to Poseidon and called Taureia, black bulls were thrown into the waves. In the same way horse races were celebrated in honour of Poseidon... [who] was said to have created the horse with a blow of his trident.[510]

Poseidon and his brothers Zeus (Jupiter) and Hades (Pluto), constituted an Olympian triumvirate, who dethroned their father, Cronus, and inherited the Universe from him - Zeus governing the heavens, Poseidon the seas, and Hades the underworld.[511] Poseidon was reborn after having been devoured by Cronus. The dolphin which commonly appears with him is a symbol of salvation.[512] The dolphin, moreover, can be linked to another water-related image which embodies much the same associations, and which occurred in the Parade

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[510] Felix Guirand, Mythologie Générale Larousse, transl. Delano Ames in Greek Mythology, London 1963, p.71.

[511] Hades, personifying the underworld and death may be identified with the moor in the Parade drop curtain, and also appears in Mercure (The Repo of Proserpina). Costello, Picasso's 'Vollard Suite', has suggested that the Artist of the Vollard Suite is a personification of Zeus (p.53): "...the bearded head of the Suite provides a link between the sculptor with whom Picasso identifies and the Supreme Greek god, Zeus." See also the same writer's discussion on pp.47-56, passim.

[512] Poseidon was the father of Pegasus another mythological embodiment of rebirth whose significance was familiar to Picasso as was seen in Chapter IV. For attributes of Poseidon, see Graves, The Greek Myths, Vol.1, pp.60-61 and p.239. Cronus swallowed his children (excepting Zeus) to circumvent the fulfilment of the prophecy that they would dethrone him. Later tricked by his wife into drinking an emetic, he vomited them up. Both Hades and Poseidon underwent this experience of rebirth which has overtones of the story of Jonah. Lee, "Picasso's War and Peace", p.35, notes that "Aquatic symbolism plays an integral part in the myth of Pegasus, since the horse was fathered by Poseidon. Athena presented the hybrid to the Muses, whereupon Pegasus kicked his hooves and left a depression in the earth creating the Hippocrene Spring, whose waters proved to be an inspiration to the arts". It should be noted here too, that in a study for Peace dated 24 July 1954, Pegasus is associated with what Lee describes as "three dolphin-like fish".

drop-curtain, namely the anchor.[513] Moreover, in one of the Pulcinella designs which details the treatment of the Neptune fountain (Fig.168) an isolated but meticulous drawing of a scallop shell appears alongside the figure of Poseidon. While this drawing may be construed as a purely formal treatment of a well-known antique motif, evidence that Picasso had included a similar shell in at least four Cubist works,[514] invites investigation of its meaning, which is indeed congruent with the context. The scallop shell has a definite iconography in antique art, and was used by the Romans to express the hope for a life after death.[515] The antique references in Pulcinella crystallise around notions of transcendence and rebirth. In their connection with images such as Pegasus and the anchor they recall motifs in the Parade drop-curtain. They also parallel a comparable range of symbols in Le Tricorne, and, as will be shown below, in Mercure. Cumulatively they exemplify that process of fragmentation and recombination which is totally characteristic of metaphor.

In the style which he applies to these images drawn from an earlier tradition, Picasso asserts his personal power of creation. The

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[513] Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols, p.81.

[514] See p.234

[515] Michael Godby, "The Boni Chimney-Piece in the Victoria and Albert Museum: a Fifteenth Century Domestic Cenotaph", De Arte, 27, September 1982, pp.14-17, gives an extensive account of the iconography of this motif both in antiquity and in the Renaissance, and observes that in Roman and Greek art the dolphin often replaced the shell as a vehicle for the souls of the dead. Picasso's repeated use of these images suggests that antique art not only provided the motifs, but that he was aware of their meanings.

exaggerated line which describes the figure of Neptune in Fig.168 harks back to the style of the Le Tricorne drop-curtain, and has little to do with 'classicism'. Similarly, the tragic and comic masks seen in Fig.187 are treated in pure Picasso 'shorthand', yet their presence in the theatrical context and the simple ideogrammatic up- and down-turned mouths cannot fail to call up for the viewer schooled in Western tradition the whole rich fabric of ancient Greek culture and its philosophical implications. The ancient lyre is as distanced from the twentieth century as the Greek gods themselves, but serves as a signifier of the classical poetic ideal. In the Pulcinella designs (Figs.184, 186, 187 and 189) it is schematised and flattened as are the violins of the ceiling decorations, and, as a member of the same class of stringed instruments and ancient ancestor of them, sets up a visual and iconographic parallel. The floating 'muse' figure is a hybrid of female classical types, allegorical females of academic art and a long Western tradition of sensuous nude female figures. The ambivalence of Picasso's approach to this figure has been noted, in passing, above. In Figs.197 and 202 this supposedly ethereal, ideal figure is no longer treated with the Ingres-like purity of line that Picasso used to define her earlier in Fig.181. Instead there is a Rubensian energy and voluptuousness which, in caricaturing the earlier style, calls into question any simple stylistic definition of classicism.[516] Silver has characterised Picasso's post-war art as

[516] Through this manipulation of style Picasso may quite probably have been satirising wartime propaganda which according to Silver, "'Esprit de Corps': The Great War and French Art 1914-1925", p.98, had presented France as "the inheritor pre-

> a kind of juggling act in which both proof of his non-revolutionary, traditional French affiliation and his wise-cracking were being proffered simultaneously in the same works.[117]

Picasso's style itself makes a significant contribution to his essentially metaphorical visual language. While individual parts can be singled out and analysed, any precise interpretation of their reconstituted whole will perpetually [illegible] gly beyond the reach of men with nets and measuring [illegible]

The image of the moon dominates the Pulcinella set (Fig.2[illegible] is reinforced by the white floorcloth - an equivalent for it[illegible] flection. Polunin recounts how Picasso painted this central moonlit scene himself, a fact which may indicate that it had particular significance for him.[118] According to Cooper:

> All the action took place on a chalk-white floor-cloth, freshly painted for each performance, which covered the front of the stage and heightened the effect of moonlight. There were no footlights and the stage was lit exclusively from above.[119]

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server and defender of classical culture". Silver, p.104, observes that "a large and varied cast of allegorical figures in antique garb, of traditional French symbols and the patriotic monuments of France were called back into service after August 1914", and that (p.101) "Antique goddesses representing Victory, Glory, Humanity, Civilisation, and, often an unspecified combination of all these personae flew above the skies of France". Silver provides examples of such images and notes further (p.102) that "These antique deities were often merged with France's own homegrown sweetheart, Ma. [illegible]ne".

[117] Ibid., p.288.

[118] Wheelwright, Metaphor and Reality, p.39, cited above p.11.

[119] Polunin, The Continental Method of Scene Painting, p.65.

[120] Cooper, Picasso Theatre, p.48.

The theatre afforded Picasso's painting an extra dimension since it allowed the manipulation of an artificial and independent light source. Diaghilev himself was responsible for much of the innovative lighting which was one of the hallmarks of his Russian Ballet.[121] It is tempting to speculate that Picasso worked closely with Diaghilev in conceiving the lighting patterns for his ballets. In the case of Pulcinella, it is clear that the use of direct lighting from above would have complemented Picasso's intentions. In the first place the elimination of footlights constitutes the removal of a barrier between audience and performers and thus reinforces the effects of the inverted perspective of the set. This would have been further underlined by the white floor-cloth which extended out towards the audience. Second, the lighting from above sustains the illusion of a light source in the sky and of the painted moon as that source. Like the stars in Le Tricorne which are repeated in the framing cut-cloth of the Pulcinella set, the moon paradoxically suggests both light and night. Although the moon's feminine and passive nature contrasts with the sun's active masculine associations, both are givers of light. Through its regulating and balancing effects in nature the moon is a mediator between heaven and earth, and its cyclical waxing and waning make it a symbol of death and rebirth...[122]

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[121] Jane Pritchard, archivist of the London Festival Ballet noted, in correspondence, the important role which Diaghilev played in devising the stage lighting for his ballets.

[122] Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols, p.204.

It has been mentioned above[523] that although the 'mountain' in the landscape of the Parade drop-curtain has been tentatively identified in the literature as Mount Vesuvius, there is little visual evidence to support this and the parallel seems to depend on an interpretation of the influence of Picasso's visit to Italy in 1917. In the Pulcinella set the mountain is more clearly and prominently defined and on the basis of the Neapolitan setting it can here be positively identified as Mt. Vesuvius. In addition, in at least one of the gouache sketches (Fig.189) a burst of bright red colour indicates not only a volcano, but one which is actively erupting. The symbolic power of the volcano lies in its dialectical nature:

> on the one hand there is the extraordinary fertility of the volcanic earth in such regions as Naples, California or Japan; but on the other hand the destructive fire of the volcano is linked with the idea of evil.[524]

While the presence of the volcano in the Pulcinella set can be explained as a literal reference to the specific location of Naples, as a symbol of fire and in combination with the land (earth), the sails of the boat (air) and the sea (water), Picasso may have been using it to complete a reference to the four elements which comprise the totality of creation.

The sailing vessel which is a constant image in the Pulcinella landscape scene is an insistent yet rarely noted motif in Picasso's

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[523] p.87.

[524] Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols, pp.341-342. The volcano is also an image encountered in the poetry of Max Jacob, where it is associated with the rainbow. See Kamber, Max Jacob and the Poetics of Cubism, p.11.

oeuvre. Palau y Fabre has published a small oil, The Port of Malaga (Fig.208) which he dates to "around 1889".[125] This small seascape treats sea and sky as flat areas. To the right is a building identified by Palau y Fabre as a lighthouse, while the left half is dominated by a triple-masted sailing vessel. Although such a juvenile work should not be interpreted as anything more than a direct rendering of an observation of nature, it does serve to establish a visual source for the motif in Picasso's own oeuvre. As will be seen, subsequent use of this motif demonstrate how, as is the case with horses, bulls and harlequins in Picasso's oeuvre, reality becomes invested with metaphorical values.

In August 1900, in the Barcelona publication Joventut, Picasso illustrated a poem by the Spanish symbolist poet Jean Oliva Bridgman with a drawing of two boats on a stormy sea (Fig.209). Although he does not mention the content of the poem which was titled To Be Or Not To Be, Palau y Fabre remarks of Bridgman's poetry in general, that by 1900

> [he had] abandoned his earlier pleasantly rambling style in favour of a more daring sort of poetry, blatantly Nietzschean in inspiration, which was a constant hymn to sensuousness and the life of the senses.[126]

Picasso's drawing (Fig.209) which echoes this tendency in the vigour of its line, shows the artist using the image of the boat to express a feeling of intense striving against a swirling 'sea

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[125] Palau y Fabre, Picasso 1881-1907, no.2, p.518. This dating implies that The Port of Malaga was made earlier than The Picador, (1890: Fig.17) which was previously considered to be Picasso's first oil.

[126] Ibid., p.196.

of life'. This treatment reveals an awareness of a general symbolism in which the activity of sailing is a metaphor for life. The individual is pitted against the elemental and inhuman forces symbolised by the ocean (and of course, personified in the figure of Poseidon). The sailing boat is also a familiar image in Christian iconography where it represents the Church and

> the attainment of Great Peace is depicted in the form of sailing the seas.... [Sailing is symbolic of] transition, evolution and salvation, or safe arrival at the haven.... [Sails represent] in Egyptian Heiroglyphics... the wind, the creative breath and the spur to action. They correspond to the Element of air.[527]

Although the boat in the Joventut illustration does not have sails, other instances of the boat image in Picasso's oeuvre do depict a vessel with sails. In a drawing Boat Putting out to Sea (1902: Fig.210) a group of figures on the shore is juxtaposed with another group in a boat who are rigging their craft in preparation for their imminent departure. The image of the sailing boat reappears in the 1930s. Four examples from the Vollard Suite all bearing the title Blind Minotaur (Figs.211-214) depict a sailing boat in which two bearded sailors rig the masts while they observe the movements of a blind minotaur and a young girl. Costello identifies the figures in the boat as Catalan fishermen "their beards, hats and clothing establishing their nationality", and tentatively associates them with images of the artist because of their resemblance to the sculptor of the Vollard Suite.[528] Similar imagery occurs

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[527] Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols, pp.281-282.

[528] Costello, Picasso's 'Vollard Suite', pp.303-305. The identification of Picasso as a sailor figure has already been discussed in connection with the Parade drop-curtain, and a similar connection cannot be ruled out in the Blind Minotaur.

in a sketch of 1934 which is related to, but does not form part of the Vollard Suite.[528] Composition with Minotaur (9 May 1936: Fig.215) combines bullfight, sailing boat and Minotaur images. In Minotaur dans un Barque (Fig.216) a masked female figure, from whose head wings sprout, supports a swooning girl, while another nude female struggles to free herself from the ships' mast to which she has been tied. The sailing boat, though greatly reduced in scale, is also seen in the background of Minotauromachy (1935: Fig.40). It is difficult and certainly beyond the scope of the present investigation to unravel the content of these works from the 1930s. Together with the early works cited here, however, they demonstrate that the sailing boat motif has a meaning for Picasso beyond the simply anecdotal.

The sheer number of studies for the Pulcinella set contributes to the formal, stylistic and iconographic richness of the project when viewed as a whole and from the point of view of an ongoing creative process.[529] In each of these areas the process is one of metaphor: in the formal rearrangement through the arrival at a clear simplified solution which expresses the complex interdependence of reality and illusion; through the manipulation of diverse vocabularies of style to produce forms which simultaneously pay homage to and satirise the past; and finally by the inclusion

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[528] Picasso. Opere dal 1895 al 1971 dalla Collezione Marina Picasso, no.218, p.327 (not illustrated).

[529] This is in contrast to a view which would consider the more complex designs as less relevant simply because they were rejected by Diaghilev. This 'rejection' itself is problematical since there is no reliable documentation as to which of the designs Diaghilev turned down.

of a group of symbolic images - the boat, the sea, Neptune or Poseidon, the moon and the volcano which point to the abiding question of existence as embodied in the dialectic of life and death.

Cuadro Flamenco

The original Cuadro Flamenco set survives as four separate 'paintings' (Figs.220, 224, 226 and 229) cut from the original set by Diaghilev in 1926. A single stage photograph (Fig.219) and one sketch (Fig.221) provide the only evidence as to the nature of set. The commissioning history of Cuadro Flamenco,[521] first formed on 22 May 1921, indicated the overlap between the designs for this ballet and those for Pulcinella. One study (Fig.217) is particularly significant in that, while it appears to belong to the Pulcinella group, it can equally be related to the Cuadro Flamenco project. It is the only sketch in which the landscape screen, placed within the elaborately decorated theatre, has the same form as in the final Pulcinella set. The Musée Picasso has numbered it in sequence with the Pulcinella sketches and describes it as "Etude de décor et rideau du scene Pulcinella". Zervos, however, dates it to 1924, in spite of the fact that it is inscribed, apparently in Picasso's own hand, "Gaité Lyrique 1923".[522] McQuillan describes it as "...an unused Pulcinella sketch..." which, published on the cover of the 1923 souvenir

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[521] See pp.70-73

[522] This inscription, which is not visible on photographs, was observed on the original gouache at the Musée Picasso, Paris in June 1982.

programme for the Ballets Russes' season at the Gaité Lyrique theatre in Paris (Fig.215) "...supplies the immediate prototype for the Cuadro Flamenco décor".[333]

The single sketch that can unequivocally be identified as a study for the Cuadro Flamenco set (Fig.221) follows Fig.217 very closely. The architecture and drapery are rendered in a flat yet vigorous and painterly style. The Pulcinella landscape screen has been substituted by a similar three-sided structure which is placed behind the framing drapes and reads as a room within a room. A photograph taken during a performance of Cuadro Flamenco (Fig.219) indicates that this entire set was a backdrop against which the Spanish dancers performed. The decorative flower painting on the frontal plane of the painted screen (Fig.220) and the vestiges of similar paintings on the receding sides, suggest that this part of the décor may have been devised in order to 'fill in' the blank space left by the removal of the Pulcinella landscape screen. Careful examination of Fig.221 reveals that where the drapes are parted to reveal the inner room there may originally have been a painted screen similar to that of Pulcinella and that this may indeed be a revised Pulcinella sketch. On either side the vertical hanging parts of the inner curtains are cut away sharply

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[333] The Gaité Lyrique was the theatre at which Cuadro Flamenco was first performed in May 1921. Subsequently the sixteenth and eighteenth seasons of the Ballets Russes were held at the same theatre in 1923 and 1925 respectively (see Diaghilev et Les Ballets Russes, Exhibition Catalogue, Paris 1979, p.163). Buckle, Diaghilev, p.453, apparently mistakenly, claims that the only other time that Diaghilev's company performed at this theatre was for one week in June 1925, when Pulcinella opened the season on the 15th.

on their inner edges by a vertical black line which interrupts the smooth curves of the folds of drapery. These lines are in positions which would roughly mark the edges of the Pulcinella landscape as seen in Fig.217. It appears that, as in Fig.217, the painted surface which displays the basket of flowers was in front of the drapery and that this was subsequently revised.

The Cuadro Flamenco set is directly related to the Pulcinella sketches in the treatment of the spectator figures in their theatre boxes. In the design of Fig.184, the arrangement of the two lower boxes of the Cuadro Flamenco set is already established. Although extremely sketchy in its rendering, close examination of the lower left box in Fig.184 discloses two figures which may be compared to the two females in the lower right box of the Cuadro Flamenco set (Fig.226). Similarly, the couple at the bottom left of the Cuadro Flamenco set (Fig.224) may just be identified in the lower right box of Fig.184.

Figs.227 and 228 represent the only surviving sketches for the spectator figures of the Cuadro Flamenco décor. The relationship which these two sketches bear to each other is not clear, but they may be considered as alternative ideas. The man with the top hat in Fig.228 may be related to a similar figure in another of the Pulcinella gouaches (F.g.189, the gentleman in the box on the immediate right of the stage). In any event, in painting the final décor, Picasso returned (in the case of the figures in the bottom left box) to an idea that had been sketched out in the course of the Pulcinella designs. The man with opera glasses is identifiable

in Figs.176 (top right), 180 (right) and 184 (bottom right).[524] The couple in the box at top left (Fig.229) do not have a precedent in any sketch, although the blonde and buxom woman has a close affinity with the females in the two sketches (Figs.227 and 228).

Picasso's concern with the spatial and conceptual relationships between audience and performers has been evident in many of the designs already discussed. The theme of the theatre interior is one of the earliest in Picasso's oeuvre and examples can be found as early as 1894 and 1896 (Fig.222).[525] Four theatre interiors and one street theatre were included among the diverse subject matter of the sixty-five works shown at Picasso's first Paris exhibition in June 1901.[526] According to Palau y Fabre, the 1901 exhibition at Vollard's was a veritable "tour de force" for the nineteen-year-old artist, and produced some of the earliest critical responses to Picasso's work in the Parisian press.[527] Writing in the daily paper, Le Journal, the critic Gustave Coquiot, an enthusiastic supporter, characterised Picasso in Baudelairean style as "wildly enamoured of modern life".[528]

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[524] No figures were painted in the top right box. It is possible that this omission was a result of the haste in which the set was completed. According to Cooper, Picasso Theatre, p.51, Picasso "painted the basket of flowers and the groups of spectators in the boxes with his own hand".

[525] For further examples see Z VI:11, 39, 40 and Z XVI:53.

[526] Palau y Fabre Picasso 1881-1907, pp.246-257. The exhibition was held at Vollard's gallery, the works referred to are illustrated in Palau y Fabre, nos.558, 618, 619, 620, and 504.

[527] Ibid., p.257.

[528] Gustave Coquiot, Le Journal, 17 June 1901, cited by Palau y Fabre, Picasso 1881-1907, p.514. Of all Picasso's reference

The theme of the theatre interior was to find its culmination when Picasso confronted a real theatre in making his ballet décors, and specifically in the Cuadro Flamenco set. Although Picasso's obvious preoccupation with the theme of spectators and spectacle requires no precedent in artistic tradition, there are a number of fairly obvious sources. McQuillan suggests the "later nineteenth century... sub genre of theatre audience paintings" and more specifically, the works of Degas, Manet and Renoir as sources.[839] Isaacson has noted numerous sources for these artists, in turn, in illustrated journals which date back to at least 1857.[840] While Isaacson presents a convincing case for the Impressionists having used these printed sources with full awareness of their potential for social comment, he distinguishes between such reportage and its transformation into a personal vision by the artist. In this connection, Brookner has shown that Renoir's Le Loge of 1874, (Fig.223) which both Cooper and McQuillan name as a source for the bottom left couple of the Cuadro Flamenco set (Fig.224).[841] is probably based on a work by Constantin Guys, the

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to specific newspapers in his cubist works. Le Journal is the title most frequently used. This can be seen as a conscious reference to the publication which accorded him an early recognition of his talents - a recognition which emphasised his engagement in the world around him. In the midst of the obscure and hermetic structure of the cubist works, Picasso could thus retain his link, however tenuous, with his public.

[839] McQuillan, "Painters and the Ballet", pp.228 and 516.

[840] Joel Isaacson, "Impressionism and Journalistic Illustration", Arts Magazine, 56 (10) June 1982, pp.95-115.

[841] Cooper, Picasso Theatre, p.51. McQuillan, "Painters and the Ballet", p.516.

nineteenth century artist immortalised by Baudelaire as "the painter of modern life".[542]

The Guys water-colour, Au Theatre (Fig.225) presently in Vienna, is in fact a more convincing source for Picasso than the better known work by Renoir. Although it has not been established whether or not Picasso would have ever seen this particular work, Guys' broad treatment of the figures is paralleled in the heavy brushstroke used for the Cuadro Flamenco couple.[543] Like Guys' gentleman, Picasso's male spectator raises his binoculars with both hands, and their hairstyles, too, are remarkably similar. Picasso's work also parallels that of Guys in the depiction of space. In Au Theatre the edge of the balcony cuts the figures at about waist height and they are framed above and to the sides by stylised flat drapes which recall not only the ornament of Picasso's theatre boxes, but also the simplified curtains which frame the central painted proscenium arch of the Cuadro Flamenco backcloth. The females figures in the Guys drawing hold a bunch of flowers and a fan respectively, and it may not be coincidental that the woman in Fig 224 holds a fan prominently in front of her breast, while one of the two women in the right hand box rests a bunch of flowers on the ledge in front of her (Fig.226). Guys stands as the supreme example of the nineteenth century painter of modern life, but the genre is sufficiently familiar to argue

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[542] Anita Brookner, "Art Historians and Art Critics - VII: Charles Baudelaire", Burlington Magazine, 1976. pp.269-275, p.276.

[543] The Guys drawing is in the Albertina, Vienna (Inv.24162). It was acquired c.1925, and the museum is unable to supply any details as to its provenance.

that even if Picasso did not specifically model his spectator figures on the example of Guys' work, he was at least referring to the general type.

The concept of "the painter of modern life" presupposes an artist engaged with contemporary concerns and an art which reaches out to the people at large. Picasso's wish for a closer engagement with his public at this time has been proposed above as a critical factor in his initial involvement with theatre design. The bourgeois spectators and the journalistic style in which Picasso has chosen to render them are a witty, ironic reference to the notion of realism. The references to late nineteenth century style and subject are a pointed recollection of the realism of the period. Yet in the context of a 'post-avant-garde' twentieth century they appear anachronistic and constitute a satirical criticism of what Picasso may have recognised as a burgeoning conservatism in Dieghilev's taste. The staging of Cuadro Flamenco harked back to the nineteenth-century fascination with Spain as a quasi-exotic land. Whilst the public and the critics received Cuadro Flamenco in this backward-looking context, for Picasso the authenticity of the Spanish dancers must rather have been an affirmation of his national and spiritual identity.

Mercure

The original stage setting for Mercure, the one ballet commissioned from Picasso by Comte Etienne de Beaumont, took the form of four separate scenes, corresponding to the four tableaux of the

scenario. These are illustrated here in the form of four contemporary photographs of these tableaux - "Night" (Fig.233), "The Bath of the Three Graces" (Fig.234), "The Three Graces and Cerberus" (Fig.235), and "The Rape of Proserpine" (Fig.236). These four photographs and what is probably a single preliminary sketch (Fig.232) are the sole surviving evidence on which a discussion of these sets can be based. No set designs for Mercure were found among the collection of the Musée Picasso.

Slight additional information is provided by three other photographs which record performances of the ballet (of which two, Figs.230 and 231 are illustrated here). McQuillan documents two of these photographs. The first (not illustrated) and according to her, more substantial of the two, accompanied a review of the first performance of Mercure.[444] McQuillan describes the photograph as showing the "...figures of Apollo and Venus in front of a fragment of a backcloth depicting a sun (or moon) surrounded by clouds, three v-shaped flying birds, and a cluster of reeds below". Although McQuillan identifies the style of this backcloth as congruent with that of other Mercure designs, there is no other record of this particular piece of décor in the Picasso literature or in documented collections. The notion of a backcloth is itself in conflict with the innovative design of this ballet which had as one of its significant features the elimination of the traditional backcloth. On the other hand, McQuillan's identification

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[444] André Levinson, "Quatrième Spectacle des Soirées de Paris'", 17 June 1924. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Archives Rondel. Ro12582, cited by McQuillan, "Painters and the Ballet", p.640.

of "three v-shaped flying birds" and the image of a sun or moon in this photograph, recalls the swallows of the Le Tricorne drop-curtain and the references to heavenly bodies in other ballet designs. If the presence of such imagery in the Mercure sets could be substantiated, it would provide yet another link in the iconographies of the ballet designs. The two remaining photographs (Figs.230 and 231) do not, however, assist in this matter. McQuillan suggests that the first photograph (Fig.230) dates from Diaghilev's 1927 revival of Mercure, and that the ill-defined landscape in the background is the work of some other hand than Picasso's.[545] In the second photograph (Fig.231) dancers and praticables appear against a blank backcloth which is congruent with the background seen in Figs.233-236.[546] The fact that a pencil sketch (Fig.232) exists for the first scene of "Night", suggests that there may have been similar diagrammatic indications for the other scenes which were either destroyed because of their very preparatory nature, or which lie undocumented in a private collection.[547]

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[545] Diaghilev purchased the Mercure production from Beaumont in 1927.

[546] Cooper, Picasso Theatre, p.58, uses the French 'praticable' as a term denoting a movable piece of stage scenery. McQuillan uses the English equivalent "practicable". Neither Massine nor Volumin use this term in their brief discussions of Mercure.

[547] As to the possible destruction of any works, Picasso, when working for Diaghilev, stipulated that all preliminary sketches would remain his own property, and we have seen that he took care to preserve these. The terms of the agreement with Comte de Beaumont, who commissioned Mercure, are, however, not as clear. Since more sketches for the Mercure drop-curtain and costumes are to be found in private collections, than for any of the other four ballet projects, it is presumed that they made their way there via Comte de Beaumont's own collection.

The concept of a stage set has been simplified to such an extent in Mercure that it is a moot point whether the term applies at all. This simplification follows quite logically from the Pulcinella designs. Quite simply, the Mercure set consisted of two cut-out canvas flats painted white and light grey which framed the stage, and a plain backcloth painted either white or black according to the scene.[848] Within this set appeared a succession of movable and moving décors (the praticables) which were propelled by the dancers themselves. These décors did not comprise the actual dance element which went on in and around them, but rather acted as transitional zones between sets and dancers. Because of the paucity of illustrative material for these décors, and the attendant difficulty of reconstructing them, Cooper's very clear description, presumably based largely on the evidence of the four surviving photographs (Figs.233-236) but perhaps also incorporating some first hand accounts, will be cited in full:

> For 'Night' [Fig.233] the centre of the stage was occupied by a schematic representation of a female figure lying on a couch, all in white with a large oval blue panel behind her. The arms and legs of the figure, like the legs of the couch, were made of bent rattan painted black. The head and neck, as well as the body, of this figure could be rocked back and forth during the dance; even the stars by which it was surrounded were movable. The décor of 'The Bath' [the second tableau, Fig.234] consisted of a large rectangular construction marbelised on the side facing the audience, whose inner surface, representing the water, was painted blue and tilted sharply upwards. Beside this and to the right stood a large amphora, while a white sheet was draped over its left corner. Three holes had been cut in the water surface through which emerged the upper part

[848] Because of the lack of detail, especially as regards the backgrounds, in the photographs of the four tableaux, the description of these sets draws on the detailed account given by Cooper, Picasso Theatre, pp.58-59.

> of the bodies of the Three Graces - men wearing wigs of long black hair and outsize false breasts painted red. When the bath was removed the Three Graces, now in the form of cut-out praticables painted blue or white, each of which was carried by a concealed dancer who manipulated from behind a rattan lattice which made the heads go up and down, came on stage, holding hands [Fig.235]. They were accompanied by Cerberus, another praticable consisting of a large circle and two legs, painted black, on which a group of heads were drawn in white. The third tableau was played on a bare stage until the end when two large praticables were brought on with a freely drawn representation (again of rattan) of a prancing horse and a chariot in which a man was carrying off a woman. These formed the centrepiece of the Rape of Proserpine [Fig.236].***

From this account it seems that in the case of Mercure it is impossible to draw a clear distinction between set and costume designs. Are the praticables to be classed as a part of the stage setting or as performers within that setting? The dialogue has shifted from the audience-performer relationship to that between the performer and his own space. That space has been fully activated not through ambiguities set up by the spatial illusion which the sets creates, but by allowing the space itself to be thoroughly neutral and to become realised only in terms of its contents, be they praticables or dancers. The two framing cut cloths and plain backcloth which form the iconographically neutral basis of the Mercure sets are the direct descendents of the final Pulcinella set, while the movable praticables can be seen as elaborated forms of the free-standing tripartite folded landscape screen of that ballet.

*** Ibid.

This simplification of the stage decoration resulted in a significant shift in terms of iconographic signifiers. In Parade the meaning was located primarily in the heavily figureted and symbolic drop-curtain, less in by the set, with the cast of characters reduced to a skeleton. From Le Tricorne, through Pulcinella and Cuadro Flamenco to Mercure, there is a gradual transference of iconographic complexity from the décor to the performers, to the extent that they are finally scarcely distinguishable from each other. In Mercure it is the characters, reinforced by the hybrid praticables, which contain the primary content. The meaning of the drop-curtain, as argued above, is less specific.

In the first tableau of "Night", as depicted in the sole preliminary sketch (Fig.232) night is signified and identified by the presence of stars - images whose symbolism has been discussed above in connection with Parade, Le Tricorne and Pulcinella. In the sketch the stars are denoted by the word 'etoile' rather than in the calligraphic manner used in Le Tricorne and Pulcinella. This deliberate use of the word may be significant especially in view of the fact that the style of Mercure was markedly linear and calligraphic. Gertrude Stein interpreted the calligraphic style of Mercure as a return to a Spanish conception after the more sculptural concerns which Picasso's Italian visit had produced, and which manifested themselves in the early twenties' paintings:

> in Europe the art of calligraphy was always a minor art.... But for Picasso, a Spaniard... calligraphy is an art.... the Spaniards and the Russians are the only Europeans who are really a little Oriental.... The contact with Russia... stimulated his feeling for calligraphy... during the naturalist period which followed Parade and the voyage to Italy, the consolation offured to the side of him

> that was Spanish was calligraphy.... Calligraphy as I understand it in him had perhaps its most intense moment in the décor of Mercure. That was written, so simply written, no painting pure calligraphy. A little before that he had made a series of drawings, also purely calligraphic, the lines were extraordinary lines, there were also stars that were stars which moved, they existed they were really cubism, that is to say a thing that existed in itself without the aid of association or emotion.[550]

Some seven months after the première of Mercure, in December 1924, Max Morise made mention of the Mercure sketch in an article in the first issue of La Révolution Surréaliste.[551] What Morise appears to be responding to is the presence of the written word in a pictorial context, the implication being that Picasso was aware that the word has even greater revelatory powers than the image. According to Rosalind Krauss:

> By 1924 the Surrealists .. had seen a lot of writing in pictorial and quasi- pictorial contexts. But the source of the freshness and excitement of Mercure was the way the word seemed to be absorbed deep into the visual context as the fleeting and evanescent idea of the star, enveloped by and at the same time creating the luminous field which it defined.[552]

Poetic as it is, this description seems hardly to fit the small scale simplified pencil drawing to which, in the absence of any other visual evidence, it must be applied. As McQuillan has pointed out, the sketch must be distinguished from the actual stage décor in which the words were replaced by movable stars. According to her:

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[550] Gertrude Stein, Picasso, pp.34-38, passim.

[551] Cited in McQuillan, "Painters and the Ballet", p.637.

[552] Rosalind Krauss, "Magnetic Fields: The Structure" in Joan Miró: Magnetic Fields, Exhibition Catalogue, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York 1972, p.29, cited in McQuillan, "Painters and the Ballet", p.638.

> while Picasso may have employed the word in his sketch in an evocative manner, he may also have been carrying on his own tradition of the printed word as introduced in his Cubist paintings. In Cubist paintings the printed word placed a plane. The stars on the backcloth moved and did not remain in a fixed position. By inscribing 'etoile' in his sketch he was noting the general placements of these scintillating stars, and was noting the idea of a star, which could not possibly be rendered in a fixed form.[563]

This apparent reconciliation of the connotative and denotative powers of the word does not, however, solve the problem of why Picasso wrote the word 'etoile' seven times on this sketch, rather than drawing it in the calligraphic manner referred to by Gertrude Stein - a process which would have been both more rapid and more spontaneous. Although Picasso annotated several of his designs - the costume designs for Mercure are cases in point - this sort of annotation, usually a directive as to colour or some other formal aspect, is clearly distinguishable from the deliberate placement of the separate words 'etoile' in such a way that each word becomes an autonomous image.[564] The very fact that each word is written clearly and in upper case letters suggests the purposeful nature of their existence. In fact, it can be suggested that it was precisely to call attention to the star images that Picasso 'wrote' them rather than 'drew' them. The fact that they did not survive in photographs of the décors is not proof that they did not ever appear on the stage. It is not clear whether the only surviving photograph of the setting for "Night" (Fig.235) is from the ori-

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[563] McQuillar, "Painters and the Ballet", p.638.

[564] If, for example, Picasso had merely wanted to indicate the presence of a number of stars, he could have written this on the side of the sheet and indicated their positions with lines of direction as he did in the costume designs.

ginal production or from Diegh lev's revival of Mercure in 1927. Gertrude Stein's recollections are ambivalent, but they do not exclude the possibility that the written references to stars actually appeared in the ballet production. Morise, certainly, in his roughly contemporary article appears to be referring to a stage décor and not a pencil drawing. Polunin does not mention stars or words in his brief note on Mercure but he does, significantly, reiterate that Picasso's décors were always faithful to his sketches:

> Working in collaboration with Picasso was very pleasant, as on former occasions thanks to his interesting innovations and unchangeable decisions. Doubts and variations from the original design are always detrimental to the work of the executor, since they impair the freshness of the painting...[111]

In examining the meaning of the star, reference will therefore be made to the words which, while carrying the same primary meanings as the images, reveal additional meanings through their associative properties. The use of the word in a ballet design is, moreover, not an innovation in Mercure. In Parade the title of the ballet was written on a card carried by one of the managers, and some early designs for managers' costumes incorporate words. The inscription "AMO...XER..." on the bottle of the La Tricorne drop curtain has been discussed above. The source of the word in Picasso's work is, as McQuillan notes, dependent on Cubist usage. This usage, however, goes beyond the establishing of a specific spatial location. The word in Cubism besides having a formal function operates as a signifier of content, and as such is en-

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[111] Polunin, The Continental Method of Scene Painting, p.79.

riched by associational values. Thus, in Mercure, in addition to light symbolism which is also seen in Le Tricorne and Pulcinella, and which is here paradoxically employed to define Night, i.e., a condition of darkness, the star in its verbal form acquires additional meanings. The most obvious in the context of performance is the use of 'etoile' to denote the principal female dancer/s in a ballet company.[856] Further, the sound is unchanged if the word is split into two parts, as in 'e(t)' and 'toile'. 'Et' means 'and', while 'toile' which in general terms is translated as 'cloth' (usually linen), is also the word used to denote an oil painting (on canvas), a theatre curtain and the sail of a ship.[857]

By the simple expedient of replacing a visual image with its verbal counterpart Picasso has created a multivalent metaphor. Placed as they are around the image of the reclining Night figure, the words occupy the positions of heavenly bodies. Their primary meaning is immediately apparent. They are stars and they begin to sparkle; they exist in themselves; they are - as Gertrude Stein observed, "really cubism", i.e., autonomous. At the same time they are performers, the etoiles of the ballet - a reading reinforced by their kinetic properties - and, read as 'e(t) toile' they refer simultaneously to the work of the artist, the painted reality of theatre curtains and the sails of a boat at sea.

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[856] And of course it is used in both English and French in reference to any prominent figure in show business.

[857] M.A.Honsion, Harraps New Shorter French and English Dictionary, London 1940 (revised ed. 1967, reprinted 1974), p.T:17.

Night (Figs.232 and 233) is personified as a reclining female figure, which is congruent with the symbolism as described by Cirlot:

> Night is related to the passive principle the feminine and the unconscious. . . the Greeks believed that night and darkness preceded the creation of all things. Hence night - like water - is expressive of fertility, potentiality and germination.[888]

The association of night and water is also significant. Cooper has described Night as "a female figure lying on a couch, all in white with a large oval blue panel behind her".[889] This blue oval which frames the head and torso of Night like a mandorla simultaneously evokes images of sky and water. Although Cooper has described the backcloth for Mercure as "painted either white or black according to the scene..."[890] Polunin's account is rather different: "The scenery... consisted of a series of screens of intense and definite colour... [which] served as a background...." He goes on to describe the colours of these screens:

> The greyish-black colours, with their central portion of the bright tones of water-plants of the first act, the beautiful brick-red colour of the second act and the creamy, ostrich-egg-like tone of the last act required opaque painting.[891]

From this it appears that a central coloured portion was superimposed on the black backdrop. It can be assumed that "the bright tones of water-plants" is indicative of blues and greens, and al-

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[888] Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols, p.218.

[889] Cooper, Picasso Theatre, p.151.

[890] Ibid.

[891] Polunin, The Continental Method of Scene Painting, pp.79-80.

though unspecified, it is clear that the first act backdrop evoked water imagery for Polunin.

The image is elaborated in the second scene, the "Bath of the Three Graces", where water becomes a central image. In general terms, water, like night, symbolises a primeval state from which all matter is born. In the more specific form of a bath, water is symbolic of rebirth. Like night, too, it is a feminine principle.

> In the Vedas, water is referred to as matritamah (the most maternal) because, in the beginning, everything was like the sea without light.... The waters, in short, symbolise the universal congress of potentialities, the fons et origo, which precedes all form and all creation. Immersion in water signifies a return to the preformal state, with a sense of death and annihilation on the one hand, but of rebirth and regeneration on the other... Water is, of all the elements, the most clearly transitional between fire and air (the ethereal elements) and earth (the solid element). By analogy, water stands as a mediator between life and death... It can therefore be said that water conjoins these two images...[662]

The Three Graces were companions of Aphrodite "smiling divinities whose presence spread joy throughout the eternal world but also in the hearts of men".[663] They were also closely connected with Apollo, were well-known figures in art, and, since the 4th Century B.C., had been represented as three youthful nude females touching each other on the shoulder. In his burlesque treatment of these traditionally sensuous and beautiful female figures, it seems that Picasso may have been paying homage to Apollinaire. Apollinaire's

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[662] Cirlot, A Dictionary of Symbols, pp.345-357.

[663] Ames (ed.), Greek Mythology, p.70.

only effort as a playwright, Les Mamelles de Tirésias first performed on 24 June 1917, has a decidedly burlesque character. The principal character of Apollinaire's play is the male/female Tiresias/Therese, whose breasts were floating balloons attached to her body by long strings. In an interview with Pierre Albert-Birot published in Birot's magazine Sic in October 1916, Apollinaire predicted that "The cameral or stage theatre will become less important. Possibly a circus-theatre will come into being - more violent and more burlesque, as well as more simple than the former".[644] Like Apollinaire's Tiresias, Picasso's Three Graces subvert traditional conceptions of female sensuality. In so doing they call into question the traditionally positive and benevolent connotations of this mythological triad. The tension generated in the interval between the traditional type of the Three Graces and their parodied incarnations in Mercure, constitutes a powerful example of burlesque which depends for its effect on just such travesties of expected norms.

The scene which follows the "Bath of the Three Graces" is one in which they reappear together with Cerberus, apparently in pursuit of Mercury who has stolen their jewellery.[645] In this scene, generally described as "The Three Graces with Cerberus" (Fig.235) Picasso designed movable praticables for the Graces and for Cerberus. In yet another parody of their traditional selves, the Three Graces are here presented as cardboard cut-outs whose curved

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[644] Francis Steegmuller, Apollinaire. Poet Among the Painters, Harmondsworth 1973, p.261.

[645] See p.78

contours roughly suggest the archetypal female 'hour-glass' shape. Superimposed on those shapes are wire or rattan lattices in a diamond configuration, and surmounting the stick-like neck of each is a perfectly rounded scaled-down head inscribed with two eyes and a nose (visible on the left 'Grace' and less distinctly on the right one in the illustration). These three Graces each resemble no creature so much as Picasso's Harlequin (1915; Fig.4) whose connotations of death have been discussed previously. Such connotations are confirmed in the Three Graces by the presence of the triple-headed Cerberus. The displacement of the image of the Three Graces is complete. From idealised embodiments of female beauty and grace, the latter connoting transcendant and immortal qualities, the Graces are converted into companions of the monstrous Cerberus, guardian of the entrance to the underworld.[***]

The sinister implications of the first two scenes of the ballet - Night, and the watery environment of the Three Graces' bath - are continued in this third scene of the Graces and Cerberus and reach their climax in the final tableau of "The Rape of Proserpina" by Pluto (or Hades) god-king of the underworld (Fig.236). The tableau consisted of two praticables of similar shape but differing size. The one on the left in the illustration is larger and serves as a

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[***] Gasman, "Mystery, Magic and Love in Picasso. 1925-1938", p 301, discusses the pin-headed female monsters in Picasso's beach scenes of 1927-1929, which she refers to as the "Cabana Series". Gasman relates these pin-headed females to the Three Graces of Mercure: "As an attribute of mindless, dark and therefore enemy forces, the pinhead was attributed by Picasso to the three infernal graces who are evil fates guarding alongside their evil genius, the Cerberus, the 'House of Hades' in his 1924 setting for Mercure".

support for the chariot and the figures of Pluto and Proserpina. The practicable on the right forms the basis of the horse, which, though not connected to the chariot is understood as its means of locomotion. In a lyrical, calligraphic style which belies the incident's violent and pessimistic content, Pluto, assembled out of a circular head and a series of scroll-form lines, supports a swooning Proserpina who is likewise put together of decorative linear elements. Her breasts are the rolled-up ends of the single curving line that describes her profile. A snake-like line signifies her hair, while others double both as Pluto's chariot and as flosting draperies. A large circle with curving spokes stands for the chariot's wheel. The horse, similarly conceived, is a sprightly, whimsical creation which recalls the horse-manager of the Parade cast (Fig.237) as well as the abstracted linear 'circus horses' found in works of Joan Miró at about the same time (Fig.238).

Pluto, ruler of the underworld and a figure denoting death, is one member of the mythological triumvirate which is completed by his brothers Zeus and Poseidon who reign over the heavens and the seas respectively. Together they for a unity characteristic of all such triads.[567] It is certain that Picasso knew of the relationships

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[567] The most widely known, of course, being the Christian Trinity. Whilst it is possible that Picasso had some or even a great amount of knowledge of numerology, it is not necessary to prove this in order to support his understanding of the symbolism of the number 3 on the fairly basic level of its relationship to the perfect unity or the 'All'. As the Christian example shows, this is a widely accepted (if not fully understood) relationship in Western culture. Picasso's persistent inclusion of groups of three in his paintings strongly suggests that he intended this sort of symbolism. In this context it is in-

within this mythological triumvirate. The Pluto of Mercure recalls the presence of Poseidon in the set designs for Pulcinella, and although a Zeus-figure has not been located in the ballet designs, at least one writer suggests that such an image underlies Picasso's sculptor alter-ego in the Vollard Suite.[***] As Pluto signals death, so Proserpina denotes rebirth. The meaning of this final scene of rape and death embodies life not only in her presence but in the enlivened linear style of its creation. Just as the contextualisation of the Three Graces in Hades calls into question their immortal beauty, so the lively presentation of Pluto's rapacious and potentially deathly act questions the finality of death itself.

The scenario of the ballet Mercure is an assemblage of mythological fragments, each contributing some aspect of Mercury's multifaceted and chimerical nature. Picasso's set for the ballet was similarly a series of fragments which reassemble images from his previous ballet designs as well as from the totality of his oeuvre - the nocturnal starry sky, the three bathers/graces, the three graces /harlequin, the dog (Cerberus) and the horse, Pluto or Hades the sign of death, and Proserpine sign of life. Each of these fragments plays a part in the inexhaustible dialectic of life and death which for Picasso is central to existence and which is therefore the central metaphor of his art. In the Mercure décor this dialectic

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terasting to look back to the triple figure of Eve, argued as being present in the Parade drop-curtain, and to suggest that here too Picasso perceived an ultimate unity or perfection.

[***] Costello, Picasso's Vollard Suite, pp.47-56. See p.263 above.

is stated with utmost economy, reduced to pared-down stylistic elements which are set in a dynamic relationship to their conventional content.

VII. CONCLUSION

The richness and variety of Picasso's work for the ballet between 1917 and 1925 is an index of the artist's fierce defence of his artistic independence. Picasso did not allow himself to be limited by the scenarios with which he was presented by his patrons and collaborators or by preconceived notions of style or stylistic decorum in the sphere of the theatre. In the more pragmatic context of his social and personal framework he was bound neither by social pressures nor by economic restraints. Although the conventional view decrees that his relationship with Olga, his first wife, was indeed, if only temporarily, an inhibiting factor, it has been argued that what is perceived as Picasso's "conforming" social behaviour during the period 1917-1925 is open to question and that his artistic and financial status were assured some time before his meeting with Diaghilev in 1916.

In each of the five projects which, through their common focus on performance, provide a measure of continuity and uniformity to this short period in Picasso's extended career, he explored thematic and stylistic issues which extend both back and forwards to the totality of his oeuvre. Characteristically, each of these five

ballets reveals a fresh aspect, a new insight or a heightened significance as regards such issues.

Picasso's oeuvre may be said to pursue specific ends by way of elaborate, exploratory and seemingly limitless creative means. The ballet designs serve as an exemplar. In them he confronted the shift of his locus of creation from the confines of the canvas or small-scale sculpture, to the expanded, real and overtly presentational space of the stage. His artistic independence remained sacrosanct in the course of this shift. In these works for the ballet, as in his oeuvre as a whole, the only limits that were imposed were those of the demands of Picasso's art. In Picasso's designs for decorative theatre drop-curtains and stage settings a limited range of thematic links coheres beneath a diversity of formal and stylistic elements. The dialectic of life and death and the interface between artist and public emerge as two of the principal foci both in the macrocosm of Picasso's oeuvre and in the microcosm of the ballet designs. The method through which they are foregrounded is one of visual metaphor.

It is clear that by their very natures the drop-curtains on the one hand, and the stage settings on the other, posed different creative problems which elicited different responses from Picasso. The drop-curtains, being two-dimensional, invited a more conventionally pictorial treatment than did the sets, which comprised multiple surfaces existing within a real space. The function of the drop-curtains demanded only the most cursory reference to the scenarios. The curtains were viewed for only a few minutes during

which time they were seen in isolation and unaffected by the dance action. Picasso could thus approach their design in a way analogous to his customary treatment of a conventional canvas or other flat surface. Perhaps because of the conventionality of the two-dimensional format, Picasso was able to introduce greater iconographic complexity in the drop-curtains than in the sets. Formal issues are raised in the drop-curtains in the context of the physical relationship between audience and performance and the extent to which a flat surface can suggest the interface between real and illusionistic space.

Conversely, while the sets invited investigation of structural and spatial tensions, opportunities for including iconographic elements (particularly figural ones) in them were limited. Although questions of content are raised in the sets, complex symbolism, though often explored in preliminary studies, was eliminated from the final designs.[669] The sets, though constantly before the audience's gaze had to compete for attention with the other visual aspects of the performance - the dancers in their visually arresting costumes. The confrontation between sets and audience was thus not as direct as that between drop-curtains and audience. Recognising the entirely different roles of the two elements of

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[669] This is particularly apparent in the case of Pulcinella where the sets underwent major reformulations in the process of conception. On the other hand, where Mercure is concerned, the almost complete absence of preliminary studies dictates that interpretation of content is confined to the surviving photographic evidence of the final sets.

the décors - drop-curtains and sets - Picasso was not constrained to treat them with stylistic continuity in any single ballet.[978]

The drop-curtains were all figurative paintings, albeit on a greatly expanded scale, in which Picasso was free to manipulate style and subject. The requirement was for some theme vaguely related to the scenario about to be presented on stage, but, more importantly, of a suitable decorative nature to capture the attention of the audience. In terms of this second parameter Picasso's drop-curtains were eminently successful, so much so, that for a period of almost fifty years their content was minimised both critically and historically in favour of their formal qualities. Close examination of the multiplicity of signs in these works suggests that, far from using them as arbitrary vehicles for decorative motifs, Picasso wove a rich content into their figurative fabric. That this content is only revealed through close study of particular signifiers and in the context of the broader meaning of Picasso's oeuvre, is entirely congruent with Picasso's creative process. In the most general terms, Picasso's technical virtuosity and great wealth of stylistic options allow meaning to remain hidden, or at least masked, behind the material profusion of his art. This masking of content is intensified by a method of frag-

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[978] Indeed the stylistic independence of the different elements external to the costumes: while the French and American managers of Parade did bear a stylistic resemblance to the set, based largely on their common cubist morphology, the flamboyant Le Tricorne costumes with their strong colours provided a contrast to the soft subtlety of the set, and for Mercure, in spite of the radical nature of the sets, the costumes depended on a loosely classical style of soft drapes. The costumes, however, raise questions of decorative function and character definition which have not formed a part of the present study.

mentation, mobilisation and rearrangement of elements which has been characterised in this study as the defining mode in which metaphor operates. Specifically, both the concealment of content beneath a complex outer surface and the transformation of the very elements of that surface are most clearly apparent in Picasso's cubist paintings, whose iconography has only lately begun to be examined in any great detail. In a similar manner the overtly decorative qualities of the ballet designs obscure their content.

The symbols which occur and recur in the curtains are combined in a way that makes them seem perfectly in keeping with the context of theatre decoration and yet they can also be read as disclosing a more profound symbolic meaning. The cryptic statements which Picasso made routinely when challenged as to the meaning of his works, confirm that he exploited the visible fabric of his art in order to retain its frequently personal and private substance.

The Parade drop-curtain addresses the dialectic of life and death in the private and public realms simultaneously. In it Picasso comes to terms both with his personal experience of death as embodied in the loss of and subsequent grieving over Eva, and the spectre of death which the ongoing war presented to the French nation. The vehicle of transcendence offered in the curtain is the eternal power of art raised to a metaphysical level. Picasso confronts his public head-on within the confines of the theatre. The audience is involved on three levels; through the sheer power of the scale and colour of the image; through its ambiguous

shifting illusionistic space; and through multiplicity of signs offered for decoding.

In its references to Andalusia, the flamenco and other traditional Spanish dances, alongside the Spanish bullfight, the Le Tricorne drop-curtain reiterates the dialectic of life and death as embodied in the Spanish concept of the "Duende". This, the second of Picasso's drop-curtains, through a selective use of symbols of rebirth and a positive statement of Picasso's own identity, invites interpretation as an affirmative statement about both life and art. The artist's confidence in the transcendent power of his art was, by 1919, confirmed both in the cessation of the horrific war and in Picasso's marriage to Olga (his first at the age of thirty-eight years).[171] Stylistically the Le Tricorne curtain is simplified and concrete; its strong linear quality and the relative absence of shadows and ambiguities reinforces its confident tone.

In the Mercure drop-curtain the emphasis is away from specific reference to personal and public contexts and towards a dematerialised and poetically evocative statement about artistic inspiration. Here the abstraction of form mirrors the conceptual and metaphysical nature of its content.

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[171] The significance of the marriage is not addressed in the literature, but, accepting a close intertwining of life and art in his oeuvre, it is not fanciful to suggest that Picasso, taking this step at a relatively mature age, saw it as an important milestone, even as a kind of exorcism of the events of the past.

In the drop-curtains Picasso drew on images and symbols that prevail throughout his oeuvre. Harlequin, horse, ladder, monkey, anchor, drum, dog, bullfight, torero, sailor and sailing vessel, swallows, pomegranate and musical instruments are all found elsewhere. Their continued employment in works for the ballet demonstrates Picasso's commitment to the meanings they convey in his oeuvre as a whole. Significantly it is through such continued and repeated use that these images attain their specific meaning which allows a continuous, though never linear, thread to be drawn through diverse works. Thus in terms of the personal aspects of its imagery the Parade drop-curtain resonates with the types of meanings previously developed by Picasso both in the Rose-period 'circus' works such as the Family of Saltimbanques and in the various works proposed as "memorial" or commemorative paintings. As a statement of public or even political import, on the other hand, the Parade drop-curtain introduces signs that will reappear later in Picasso's oeuvre, specifically in Guernica, the Dream and Lie of Franco, and Peace - all three major and overtly public works. On yet another level, which synthesises both public and private spheres, there are parallels between this drop-curtain and works such as Vive la France and the illustrations and notes contained in Picasso's correspondance with close friends such as Gertrude Stein and André Salmon during the First World War.

While the associations of the Le Tricorne and Mercure drop-curtains may not be as richly elaborated as those of the Parade curtain (their significantly simpler compositions and figurations dictate such a conclusion) these works too reverberate

with references to themes of the bullfight, the commedia dell'arte and music all of which have specific import in Picasso's oeuvre.

The sets placed greater restraints on Picasso than did the drop-curtains, since firstly they had to physically accommodate the action being played out on the stage, and secondly there was a certain minimum requirement by which the sets needed to refer to the events in the respective scenarios. In different ways in each of the five ballets Picasso allowed for the three-dimensional physical structure of the sets, yet at the same time maintained a 'pictorial' conception. Although the Parade set is the most complex in terms of the number of its moving parts, these are integrated in a manner which approximates the interlocking planes of cubism and presents some of the paradoxes of cubist space. The three-dimensionality of the set, however, reverses the relationship between surface and space found in cubist painting: whereas in cubist painting complex spatial layers and angles are conceptually understood in a flat surface, here the spatial layers and angles are real, while the flat surface is conceptualised. This tension in the Parade set is demonstrated by the negation of the intervening spaces between overlapping planes of the scenery as can be seen in the photographs of the original set. The flatness is accentuated by the absence of tonal passages and an emphasis on the flat colours of black and white.

The Le Tricorne set is structurally more simple. The footbridge, detached from its locus within the painted background, is the chief concession to three-dimensional space. The cut-cloth of the arch

and the backcloth of the painted landscape fuse visually to form a single pictorial surface, yet the footbridge allows the dancers to literally exist and move within this 'picture'.

With Pulcinella, Picasso abandoned a long-standing convention by which the set surrounds the performers, and constructed the principal element of the set as a free-standing screen within the dancers' space. As in the Parade set, the intrinsic two- and three-dimensional relationship of cubist space is exploited. The solution was reached as the culmination of a series of investigations into the nature of reality and illusion in the theatre, via the exploration of a theatre-within-a-theatre in the preliminary sketches. The Cuadro Flamenco set was simply a painted backcloth adapted from this theatre-within-a-theatre series. Its conventional form was conditioned by the short time in which it was required to be conceived and executed.

In Mercure the conventional idea of a set was dispensed with almost entirely, and Picasso introduced moving scenery which conflated the status of the performers (the dancers who physically moved the praticables) and their setting, and thereby achieved a partial synthesis.[372]

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[372] Although this combination of dancers and scenery does, to some extent, resolve the implicit and perpetual competition between these elements, it must be remembered that other costumed dancers nevertheless moved against the 'backgrounds' of the praticables. The praticables were foreshadowed by the managers in Parade, although the managers were, strictly speaking, 'characters' in costume who played active roles in the scenario, while in Mercure the praticables provided the context or setting for particular incidents.

Iconographically, in their closer relationship to the scenarios, the sets presented fewer opportunities for the inclusion of Picasso's repertoire of familiar symbolic images than did the drop-curtains, yet parallel concerns emerge in an analysis of their content. The Parade set states its dialectical nature by the use of the black and white colour opposition, and this dialectic is contextualised with reference to art by the inclusion of musical instruments - the mandolin which refers to Picasso's own art and perhaps specifically to cubism, and the Apollonian lyre and Dionysiac tambourine, stressing the dual aspects of art.

The dialectic is less overt in the sets for Le Tricorne where the tensions implicit in the simultaneous presentation of a day-time and nocturnal scene, which were explored in preparatory sketches, are resolved in the overall subtle colouring of the final set design. The dominating feature of the central arch with its associative reference to notions of resolution and unity reinforces this synthesis. The more relaxed stylistic character of this setting, though less strongly linear, parallels the confident tone of the Le Tricorne drop-curtain.

Not only did Picasso's style oscillate between the two extremes of a detailed descriptive realism and the pared-down and somewhat austere conceptualised style of cubism in the studies and sketches for the Pulcinella set, but thematically a whole range of relationships between audience and performance was examined in them. The investigation of this relationship, expressed in the large majority of the Pulcinella studies by the simultaneous presenta-

tion of audience and performance, is continuous with Picasso's early studies of Parisian theatre interiors and other treatments of the theme which anticipate the Parade set designs. It also evokes many works which depict the bullfighting arena and its spectators. In exploring the often ambiguous relationship between audience and performers, the Pulcinella studies inevitably re-examine the tension between the real and artificial worlds. This theme was finally fully stated in the Cuadro Flamenco set, while the final Pulcinella set focused on the specific images of sail-boat, volcano and moon which shift away from an emphasis on audience and performance and once again raise the central questions of life and death.

The scenario of Mercure raises similar questions through its various references to the mythological underworld and by implication to the entire notion of the mythological gods and goddesses in whom human frailty and divine immortality are combined. Mythological characters themselves become the actual structures of the sets. Apart from the first scene of "Night" which itself is congruent with references to darkness and the duality of light and dark, of life and death in Picasso's oeuvre, the Mercure sets in the form of the praticables are the mythological characters - the Three Graces, Cerberus, Pluto and Proserpina. Picasso boldly and radically revises established conventions of the theatre stage-set in his treatment of a theme which represents the very basis of the entire tradition of Western art and culture - the ancient Greek world.

In his oeuvre as a whole, Picasso's most consistent use of a traditional mythological image is that of the Minotaur which appears from the early 1930s on. Other specific mythological identities appear sporadically, with the Pegasus of the Parade drop-curtain being one of the earliest examples. Like Pegasus, however, none of these symbols are used by Picasso in their strictly traditional contexts. Though they retain traditional references (of which Picasso was almost certainly aware), their recontextualisation in Picasso's oeuvre invests them with new, expanded and specific meanings. In the Nercure set the mythological characters are formally recontextualised and recreated in an entirely un-classical or even anti-classical treatment. In so doing Picasso does not so much parody tradition as assert his belief that traditional meanings can endure if they are introduced in a current and up-dated language.

The structures of the ballet sets are congruent with the overall formal concerns of Picasso's art and its ongoing investigation of the ultimate nature of reality. Significantly, this investigation had been predominant in the cubist years (1907-1916) which immediately preceded the period of the ballet designs. Using a variety of stylistic options which range from the traditionally descriptive and material (exemplified most clearly in the studies for the Pulcinella set) to the conceptual or abstract (as evidenced in Nercure), the sets pursue the question of the relationship between the perceptually real and the illusions, artificialities and conceptual values of art. While he exploited the potential for including symbolic content on a vast scale which the two-dimensional

curtains offered, Picasso surely recognised that the sets allowed him an opportunity to formulate and manipulate notions of pictorial space in a real, three-dimensional context.[573]

The means by which Picasso weaves the intricately elaborate and rich material of his oeuvre has been characterised as one of metaphor in which specific meanings, themes and ideas are stated and re-stated with varying degrees of specificity and precision. The present investigation of the nature and meaning of the ballet designs has attempted to show how their individual parts are related to the overall fabric through a continuing process of rearrangement and transformation. The ballet designs which Picasso created between 1917 and 1925 disclose a metaphorical content which both enriches and is enriched by their contextualisation within the greater compass of his total oeuvre.

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[573] It was perhaps the same belief that prompted Picasso's initial idea of doing Pulcinella in modern dress (see p.66).

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THE ICONOGRAPHY OF PICASSO'S BALLET DESIGNS: 1917 - 1925

Volume II

Illustrations

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1. Harlequin, Paris 1901, oil on canvas, 80 x 60.3, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



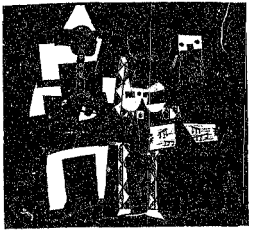
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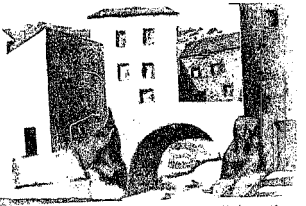
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4. Harlequin, Paris, late 1915, oil on canvas, 183.5 x 105.1, Museum of Modern Art, New York.



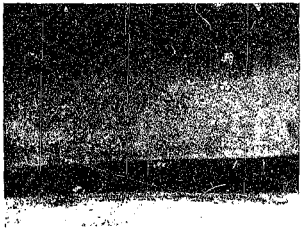
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12. Study for Parade drop-curtain, Rome or Paris 1916-17, pencil, 20 x 27.5, Musée Picasso, Paris.



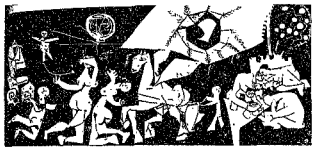
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22. Crucifixion, Paris, February 7 1930, oil on wood, 50 x 65.5, Musée Picasso, Paris.



23. From the Dream and Lie of Franco I, Paris, 8 January 1937, etching and aquatint, 31,4 x 42,1.



24. From the Dream and Lie of Franco II, Paris, 8 January 1937, etching and aquatint, 31,4 x 42,1.



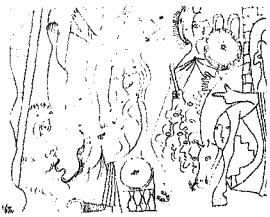
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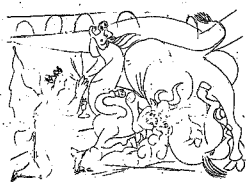
27. Study for Guernica, Paris, 1 May 1937, pencil on gesso on wood, 62.5 x 51.5, Prado, Madrid.



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38. In the Artist's Studio, January 1954, *india ink, size and location unknown.*



39. Goya, Ni mas ni menos ("Neither more nor less". Los Caprichos 41), 1799, etching.



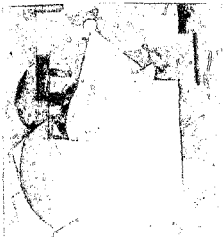
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44. Two Brothers, Gosol, Summer 1906, gouache on cardboard, 80.3 x 60.2, Musée Picasso, Paris.



45. *Crucifixion*, 917, pencil, 29 x 22, formerly collection of the artist.



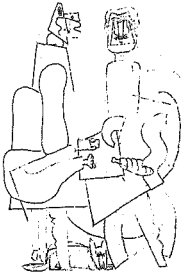
46. Two Acrobats with Dog, Paris 1905, gouache on cardboard, 105.5 x 75, Mr & Mrs William A.M.Burden, New York.



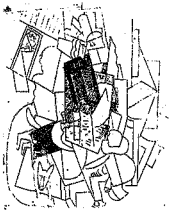
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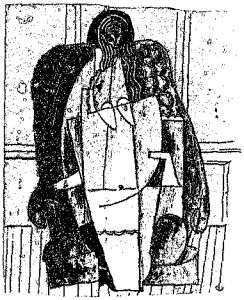
52. Parade. The drop-curtain, (detail), Paris 1917, tempera, 10.16 x 17.25m, Musée Nationale d'Art Moderne, Paris.



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58. Head of a Woman, Paris 1913, pencil, 23 x 20, Private Collection (verso of 55).



59. Jean-Baptiste Camille Corot (attr.), Le petite Jeanette, c.1848, oil on paper, 30 x 27, Musée du Louvre, Paris (Picasso Bequest).



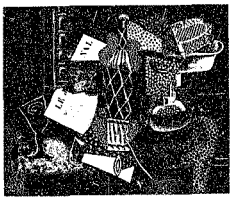
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62. Woman in White, Paris 1923, oil on canvas, 99 x 80, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



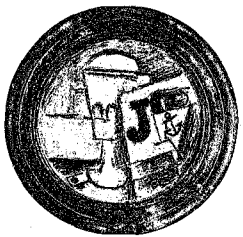
63. Still-Life with Bottle of Maraschino, Avignon, Summer 1914, oil and charcoal on canvas, 38 x 46, Mr & Mrs John Hay Whitney, New York.



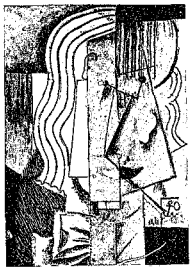
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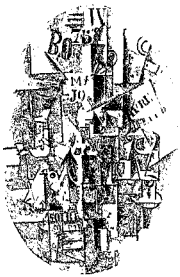
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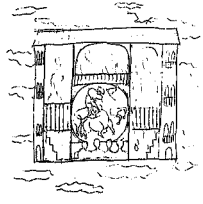
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75. Le Tricorne. The drop-curtain. London 1919, tempera on canvas, approx. 6 x 8m, Seagram Building, New York.



76. Study for Le Tricorne drop-curtain, London 1919, pencil, location unknown.



77. Study for Le Tricorne drop-curtain, London 1919, pencil, 24 x 31, Musée Picasso, Paris.



78. Study for Le Tricorne drop-curtain, London 1919, pencil, 24 x 31, Musée Picasso, Paris.



79. Study for Le Tricorne drop-curtain, London 1919, pencil, 27 x 27.5, location unknown.



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81. Sketch for Le Tricorne drop-curtain, London 1919, oil on canvas, 36.5 x 35.4, Alexander Rosenberg, New York.



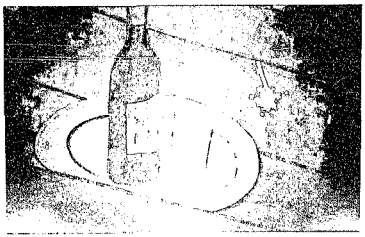
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83. Olga as a Ballerina, Juan-les-Pins 1920, pencil, 63 x 48, Marina Picasso.



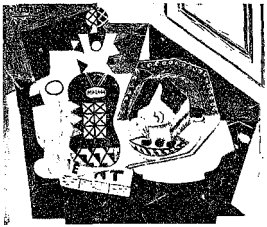
84. Le Tricorne. The drop-curtain, (detail), London 1919, tempera on canvas, 6 x 8m, Seagram Building, New York.



85. Le Tricorne. The drop-curtain, (detail), London 1919, tempera on canvas, 6 x 8m, Seagram Building, New York.



86. Bottle of Oporto and Glass, Paris 1919, oil on canvas, 50 x 61, location unknown.



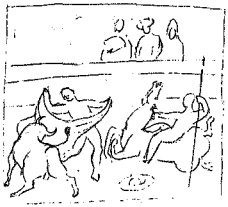
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88. Le Tricorne. The drop-curtain, (detail), London 1919, tempera on canvas, 6 x 6, Seagram Building, New York.



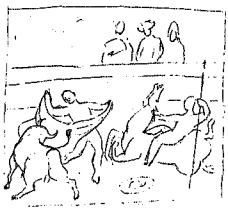
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91. The Picador (Study for Le Tricorne drop-curtain), London 1919, pencil 26.5 x 19.7, location unknown.



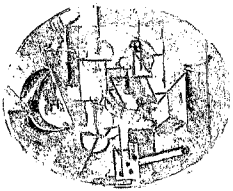
90. Bullfight Scene (Study for *Le Tricorne* drop-curtain), London 1919, pencil and ink, 19.7 x 26.5, Musée Picasso.



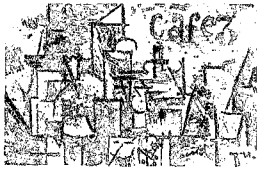
91. The Picador (Study for *Le Tricorne* drop-curtain), London 1919, pencil 26.5 x 19.7, location unknown.



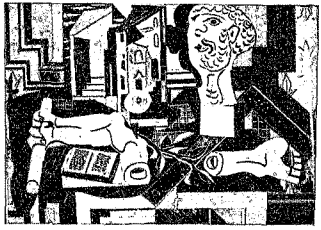
92. Le Tricorne. The drop-curtain, (*detail*), London 1919, tempera on canvas, 6m x 8m, Seagram Building, New York.



93. Pomegranate, Wine Glass and Pipe, Paris, Autumn 1911, oil on canvas, 23 x 29, formerly collection of the artist.



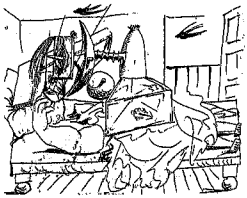
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96. Sketch for 'The First Communion' and other sketches, (album page), Barcelona 1896, pen and ink and pencil, 19.5 x 12, Museo Picasso B.rcelona.



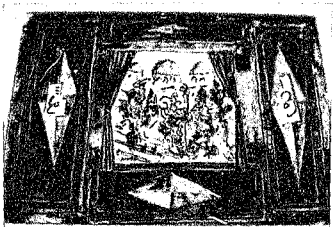
97. Construction with Swallows, Paris, 10 February 1934, India ink, 26 x 32.5, Musee Picasso, Paris.



98. Construction with Swallows, Paris, 10 February 1934, *India ink*, 26 x 32.5, Musée Picasso, Paris.



99. Vera Nemchinova and Felix dancing, London 1919, pencil, 30.5 x 23.5, Private collection.



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101. Guitar, Paris, Autumn 1919, oil, charcoal and pinned paper on canvas, 215.9 x 78.7, Museum of Modern Art, New York.



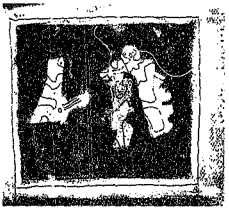
102. Mercure. The drop-curtain, Paris 1924, tempera on canvas, 400 x 300, Musée Nationale d'Art Moderne, Paris.



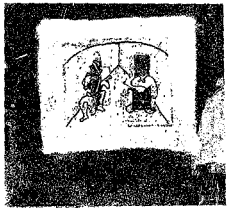
103. Pierrot (Sketch for Mercure drop-curtain), Paris 1924, pastel and pencil, size and location unknown.



104. Pierrot (Sketch for Mercure drop-curtain). Paris 1924, pastel and ink, 72 x 22, formerly collection Comte Etienne de Beaumont.



105. Harlequin and Pierrot (Study for Mercure drop-curtain), Paris 1924, pastel and pencil, 60 x 60, *Gerald Cramer*, Geneva.



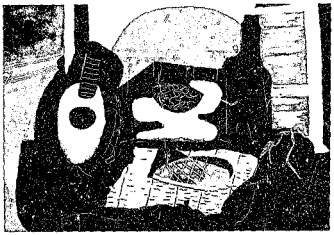
106. Harlequin and Pierrot (Study for Mercure drop-curtain) 1924, pastel and pencil, size unknown, Gerald Fisher.



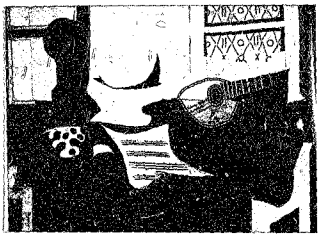
107. Sketches for Mercure drop-curtain, Paris 1924, pastel and pencil on grey paper, 26 x 22, Musée Picasso, Paris.



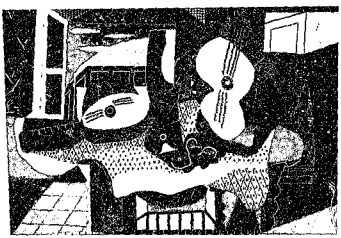
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112. *Picasso in his studio, 11, bd de Clichy*, Paris 1910 or 1911, photograph, Musée Picasso, Paris.



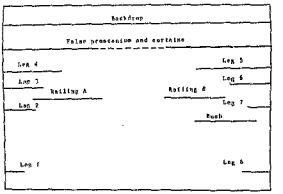
113. Georges Braque playing the concertina in his studio in the Hôtel Roma, rue Caulaincourt, Paris 1910, photograph.



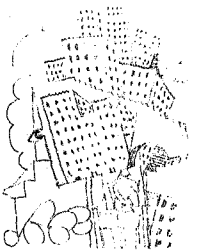
114. Picasso and Jacqueline in the great studio, Villa La Californie, Cannes 1956 photograph.



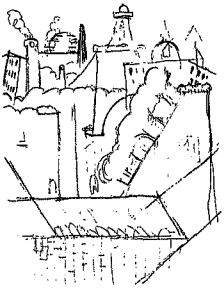
115. Parade. The set, Paris 1917, photograph, Library of the Paris Opera (Boris Kochno Bequest).



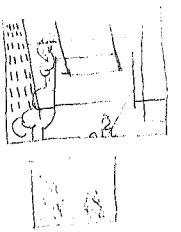
116. Diagram *showing positioning* of 'legs' and 'flats' of Parade set, illustration from Richard, H. Axsom, 'Parade': Cubism as Theater.



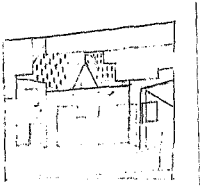
117. *Jean Cocteau*, Page from "Le Cahier romain", 1917, 29 x 22.5, E.Dermit, Paris.



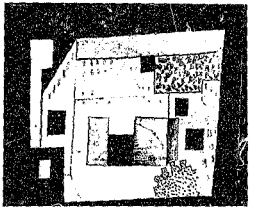
118. *View of Paris from Picasso's Studio, 5 bis rue Schoelcher, , Paris 1915-16*, pencil, size and location unknown.



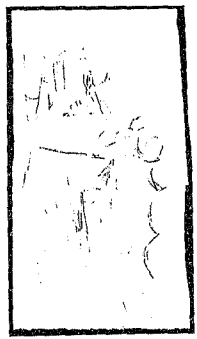
119. Sketch for Parade set, 1916 or 1917, pencil, 28 x 22.5, Musée Picasso, Paris.



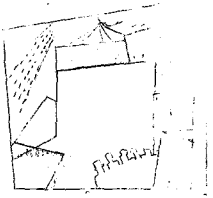
120. Sketch for Parade set, 1916 or 1917, pencil, 28 x 20, Musée Picasso, Paris.



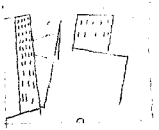
121. Sketch for Parade set, 1916 or 1917, pencil and water-colour, 12 x 14, Musée Picasso, Paris.



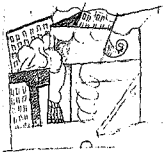
122. Sketch for Parade set, 1916 or 1917, pencil, 25 x 14, Musée Picasso, Paris.



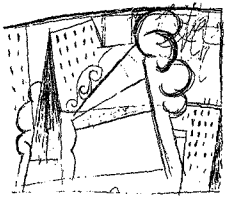
123. Sketch for Parade set, 1916 or 1917, pencil, 22.5 x 28, Musée Picasso, Paris.



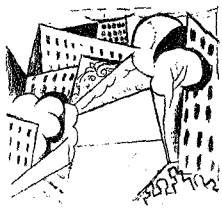
124. Sketch for Parade set, 1916 or 1917, pencil, 25 x 23, Musée Picasso, Paris.



125. Sketch for Parade set, 1916 or 1917, pencil, 28 x 22, Musée Picasso, Paris.



126. Sketch for Parade set, 1916 or 1917, pencil, 28 x 22.5, Musée Picasso, Paris.

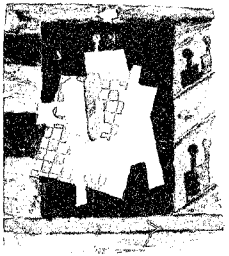


127. Sketch for Parade set, 1916 or 1917, pencil, 28 x 22.5, Musée Picasso, Paris.

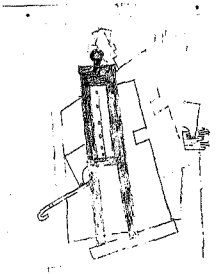


128. Sketch for Parade set, 1916 or 1917, pencil, 27.5 x 22.5, Musée Picasso, Paris.

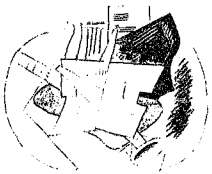
129. Group of Actors on a Theatre Stage, 1915 or 1916, pencil, 28.7 x 22.5, Musee Picasso, Paris.



130. Group of Actors on a Theatre Stage with Spectators, 1916, gouache, 29 x 22.5, Musee Picasso, Paris.



131. Several Persons on a Theatre Stage, 1916, pencil, 29 x 22.5, Musée Picasso, Paris.



132. Musical Instruments, Paris 1915, water-colour and pencil on paper, dimensions unknown, present location unknown.



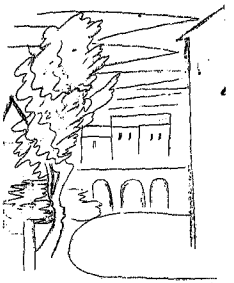
133. Sebastian Junyer-Vidal as a Rhapsode. Barcelona 1903, pencil and coloured pencil, 37 x 27, formerly in the Junyer-Vidal collection, Barcelona



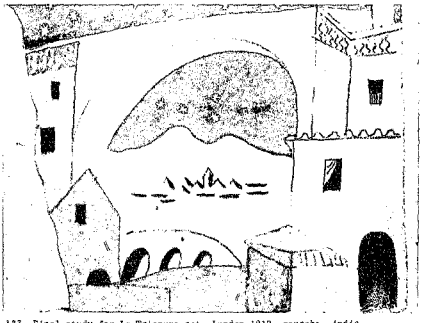
134. Sketch for Le Tricorne set, London 1919. water-colour on two superimposed sheets of paper, 21.5 x 23, Musée Picasso, Paris.



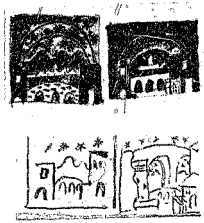
135. Sketch for Le Tricorne set, London 1919, water-colour on three superimposed sheets of paper, 20 x 26.5, Musée Picasso, Paris.



136. Sketch for Le Tricorne (Landscape), London 1919, pencil, 39 x 47, location unknown.



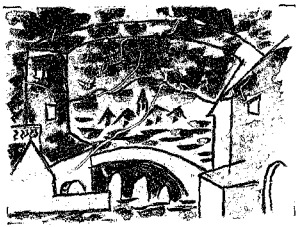
137. Final study for Le Tricorne set, London 1919, gouache, India ink and pencil, 20.5 x 27, Musée Picasso, Paris.



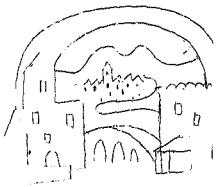
138. Two Studies for Le Tricorne set, London 1919, water-colour, 9 x 20.5, Musée Picasso, Paris.



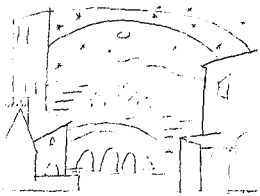
139. Sketch for Le Tricorne set, London 1919, pencil, pastel, charcoal on a double sheet of paper, 21 x 27.5, Musée Picasso, Paris.



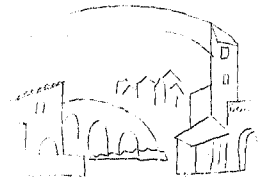
140. *Sketch for Le Tricorne* set, London 1919, water-colour, 19.6 x 26, Musée Picasso, Paris.



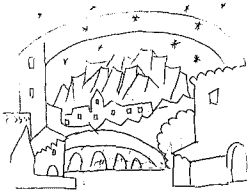
141. *Sketch for* Le Tricorne set, London 1919, pencil, 19.5 x 26, Musée Picasso, Paris.



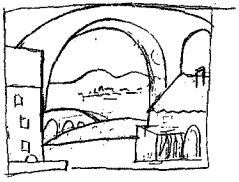
142. Sketch for Le Tricorne set, London 1919, pencil, 19.5 x 26, Musée Picasso, Paris.



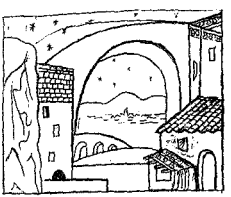
143. Sketch for Le Tricorne set, London 1919, pencil, 20.5 x 28, Musée Picasso, Paris.



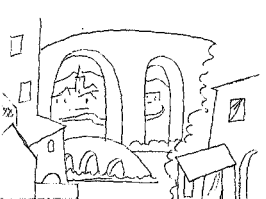
144. Sketch for Le Tricorne set, London 1919, pencil, 20.5 x 28, Musée Picasso, *Paris*.



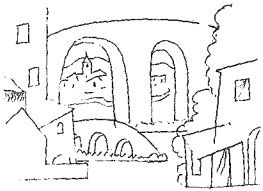
145. Sketch for Le Tricorne, London 1919, pencil, 19.5 x 26, Musée Picasso, Paris (verso of 141).



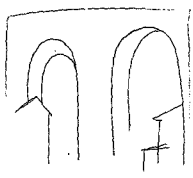
146. Sketch for Le Tricorne set, London 1919, pencil, 19.5 x 26.5, Musée Picasso, Paris.



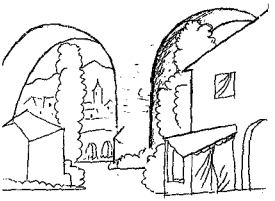
147. Sketch for Le Tricorne set, London 1919, pencil, 19.5 x 26.5, Musée Picasso, Paris.



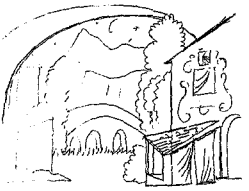
148. Sketch for Le Tricorne set, London 1919, pencil, 20.5 x 28.2, Musée Picasso, Paris.



149. Sketch for Le Tricorne set, London 1919, pencil, 19.5 x 26, Musée Picasso, Paris.



150. Sketch for Le Tricorne set, London 1919, pencil, 12.5 x 17.5, Musée Picasso, Paris.



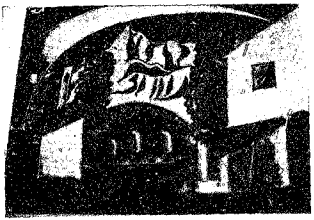
151. Sketch for Le Tricorne set, London 1919, pencil, 12.5 x 17.5, Musée Picasso, Paris.



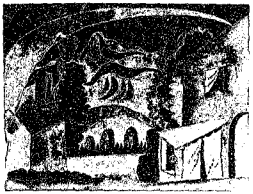
152. Sketch for Le Tricorne set, London 1919, pencil, 20.3 x 28.2, Musée Picasso, Paris.



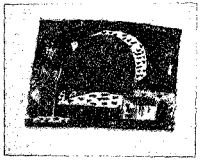
153. The Two Sisters, Barcelona 1902, pencil, 20.8 x 13.4, formerly Rosengart collection, Lucerne.



154. Sketch for Le Tricorne set, London 1919, gouache, 17.5 x 22.5, Musée Picasso, Paris.



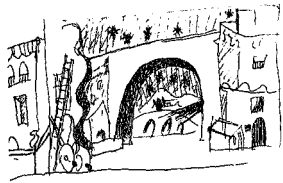
155. Sketch for Le Tricorne set, London 1919, water-colour, 17.3 x 22.3, Musée Picasso, Paris.



156. Sketch for Le Tricorne set, London 1919, pencil, pastel and charcoal on double sheet, 21 x 27.5, Musée Picasso, Paris.



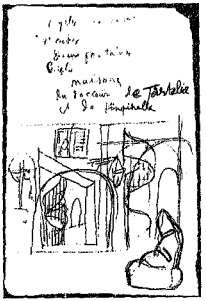
157. Sketch for Le Tricorne set, London 1919, water-colour and gouache, 10.5 x 13, Musée Picasso, Paris.



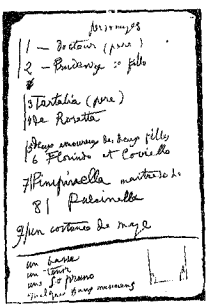
158. Sketch for Le Tricorne set, London 1919, pencil, 20 x 27, Wadsworth Athenaeum, Hartford, Conn.



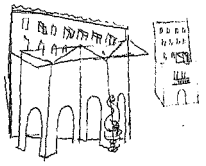
159. Performance of Le Tricorne, April 1976, photograph from London Festival Ballet's revival, London.



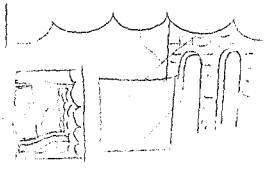
160. Study for Pulcinella set, Paris 1920, pencil, size unknown, Musée Picasso, Paris.



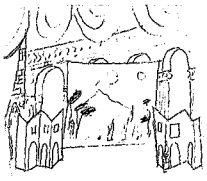
161. Study for Pulcinella set, Paris 1920, pencil, size unknown, Musée Picasso, Paris.



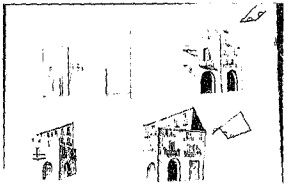
162. Study for Pulcinella set, Paris 1920, pencil, size unknown, Musée Picasso, Paris.



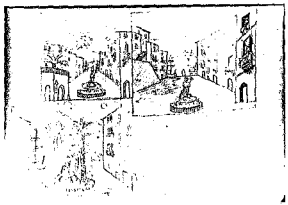
163. Study for Pulcinella set, Paris 1920, pencil, size unknown, Musée Picasso, Paris.



164. Study for Pulcinella set. Paris 1920, pencil, 21 x 27.5, Musée Picasso, Paris.



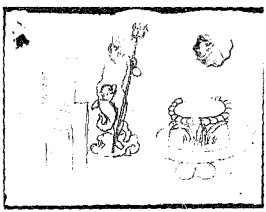
165. Study for Pulcinella set. Paris 1920, pencil, 20 x 27, Musée Picasso, Paris.



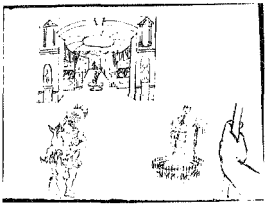
166. Study for Pulcinella set, Paris 1920, pencil, 20 x 27, Musée Picasso, Paris.



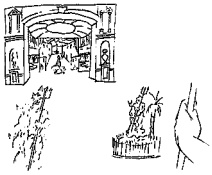
167. Study for Pulcinella set, Paris 1920, pencil, 10 x 14, Musée Picasso, Paris.



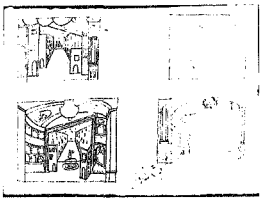
168. Study for Pulcinella set, Paris 1920, pencil, 19.5 x 27.5, Musee Picasso, Paris.



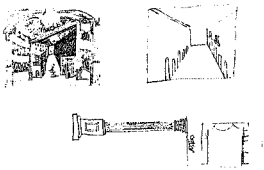
169. Study for Pulcinella set, Paris 1920, pencil, 20 x 27, Musée Picasso, Paris.



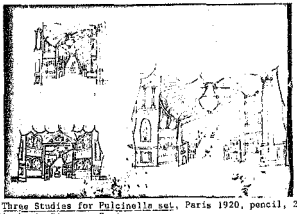
170. Study for Pulcinella set, Paris 1920, indian ink, 25 x 28.5, Musée Picasso, Paris.



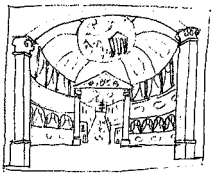
171. Study for Pulcinella set, Paris 1920, pencil, 20 x 27, Musée Picasso, Paris.



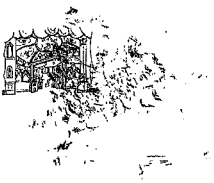
172. Study for Pulcinella set, Paris 1920, pencil, 23 x 34, Musée Picasso, Paris.



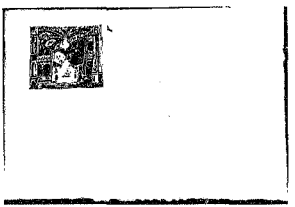
173. Three Studies for Pulcinella set, Paris 1920, pencil, 23.5 x 34, Musée Picasso, Paris.



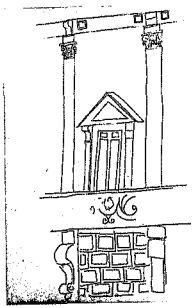
174. Study for Pulcinella set, Paris 1920, pencil, 17 x 23.5, Musée Picasso, Paris.



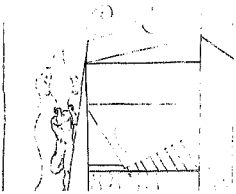
175. Study for Pulcinella set, *Paris 1920, pencil*, 24 x 34, *Musée* Picasso, Paris.



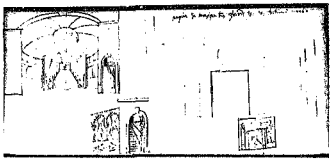
176. Study for Pulcinella set, (with details of musical instruments and a spectator), Paris 1920, gouache and pencil, 23.5 x 34, Musée Picasso, Paris.



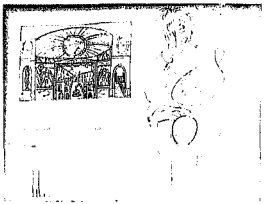
177. Study for Pulcinella set, (architectural detail), Paris 1920, pencil, 34 x 23, Musée Picasso, Paris.



178. Study for Pulcinella set (with caryatid), Paris 1920, pencil, 24 x 34, Musée Picasso, Paris.



179. Four studies for Pulcinella set, Paris 1920, pencil, 14.5 x 32, Musée Picasso, Paris.



180. Study for Pulcinella set, Paris 1920, pencil, 20 x 26, Musée Picasso, Paris.



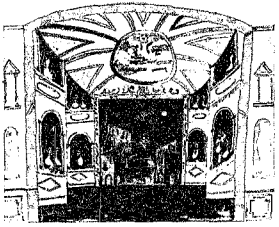
181. Study for Pulcinella set. Paris 1920, pencil, 19.5 x 26, Musée Picasso, Paris.



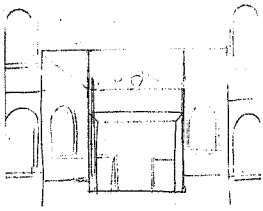
182. J-A.D. Ingres, Virgil Reading the Aeneid before Augustus, Octavia and Livia, c.1819, oil on canvas, 138 x 142, Musées Royaux des Beaux Arts de Belgique, Brussels.



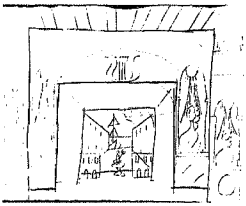
183. J-A.D. Ingres, The Apotheosis of Napoleon I, c.1856, graphite, water-colour and white gouache, 33 x 31, Musée du Louvre, Paris.



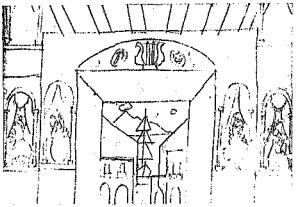
184. Study for Pulcinella set, Paris 1920, water-colour, 25 x 30, Musée Picasso, Paris.



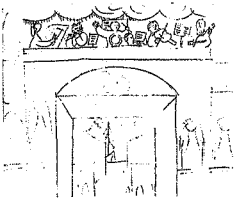
185. Study for Pulcinella set, Paris 1920, pencil, 22 x 32.5, Musée Picasso, Paris.



186 Study for Pulcinella set, Paris 1920, pencil, 22 x 32.5, Musée Picasso, Paris.



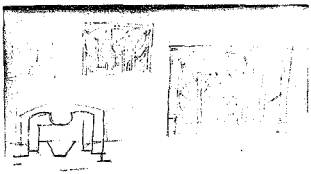
187. Study for Pulcinella set, Paris 1920, pencil, 16 x 22, Musée Picasso, Paris.



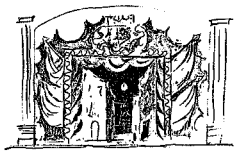
188. Study for Pulcinella set, Paris 1920, pencil, 14 x 16, Musée Picasso, Paris.



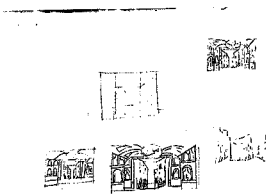
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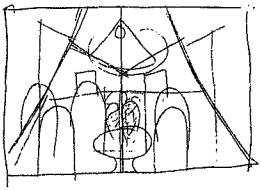
190. Study for Pulcinella set, Paris 1920, pencil, 21 x 34, Musée Picasso, Paris.



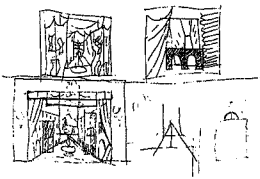
191. Study for Pulcinella set, Paris 1920, water-colour, 23.5 x 34, Musée Picasso, Paris.



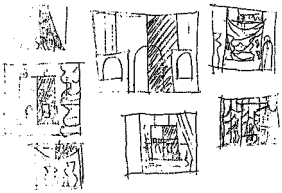
192. Study for Pulcinella set, Paris 1920, pencil, 24 x 34, Musée Picasso, Paris.



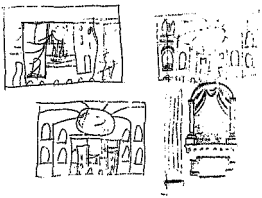
193. Study for Pulcinella set, Paris, 22 January 1920, pencil, 13 x 20, Musée Picasso, Paris.



194. Study for Pulcinella set, Paris, 22 January 1920, pencil, 13 x 20, Musée Picasso, Paris.



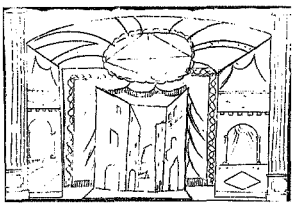
195. Study for Pulcinella set, Paris, 22 January 1920, pencil, 13 x 20, Musée Picasso, Paris.



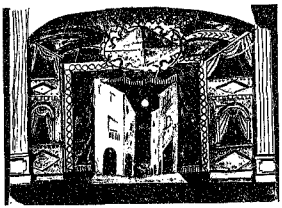
196. Study for Pulcinella set, Paris, 22 January 1920, pencil, 13 x 20, Musée Picasso, Paris.



197. Study for Pulcinella set, Paris 1920, pencil, 24 x 34, Musée Picasso, Paris.



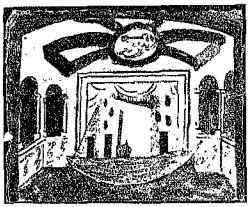
198. Study for Pulcinella set, Paris 1920, pencil, 24 x 34, Musée Picasso, Paris.



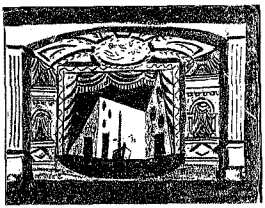
199. Study for Pulcinella set, Paris 1920, gouache, 26 x 34, Musée Picasso, Paris.



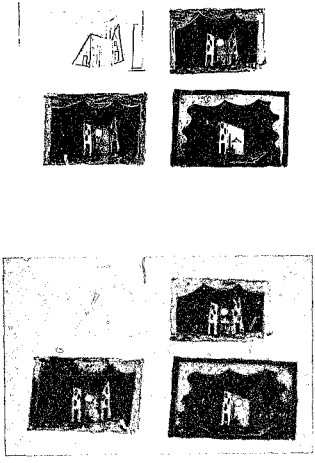
200. Study for Pulcinella set, Paris 1920, pencil, 26 x 34, Musée Picasso, Paris.



201. Study for Pulcinella set, Paris 1920, india ink and gouache, 11 x 13.5, Musée Picasso, Paris.



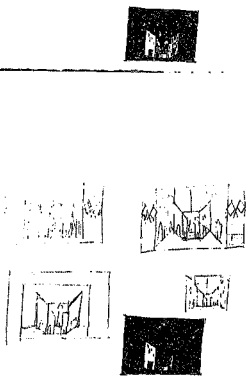
202. Study for Pulcinella set, Paris 1920, india ink and gouache, 10 x 13.5, Musée Picasso, Paris.



203. *Study for Pulcinella* set. Paris 1920, pencil and gouache, 20 x 26.5, Musée Picasso, Paris.



204. Study for Pulcinella set, Paris 1920, pencil and gouache, 23.5 x 34, Musée Picasso, Paris.

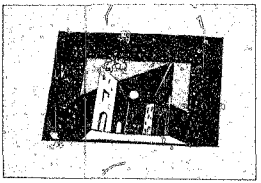


205. Study for Pulcinella set, Paris 1920, pencil and gouache, 23.5 x 34, Musée Picasso, Paris.



206. Study for Pulcinella set, Paris 1920, pencil and gouache, 23.5 x 34, Musée Picasso, Paris.

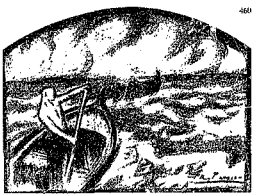




207. Sketch for final set Pulcinella, Paris 1920, pencil and gouache, 23.5 x 33.5, Musée Picasso, Paris.



208. The Port of Malaga, Malaga, c.1889, oil, 18 x 24, present location unknown.



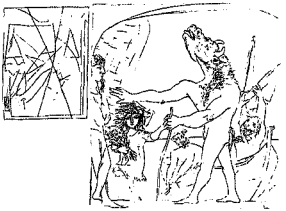
209. The Boatman ('To Be or not to ...'). Barcelona 1900, illustration for poem by J. Olive Bri[illegible] published in Joventut, 16 August 1900, location of original drawing unknown.



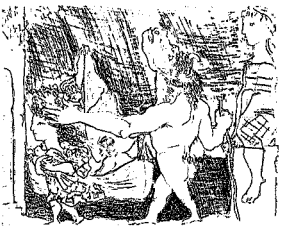
210. Boat Putting out to Sea, Paris 1902, India ink, 23.5 x 31.5, present location unknown.



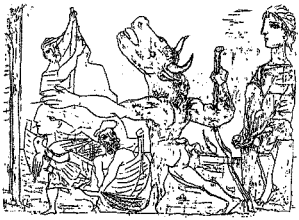
211. Blind Minotaur Guided by a Little Girl on the Night, Paris, November 1934, aquatint, 24.7 x 34.7.



212. Blind Minotaur, Paris, 22 September 1934, etching and engraving, 25.2 x 34.8.



213. Blind Minotaur, Paris 23 October 1934, etching, 23.9 x 30.



214. Blind Minotaur, Paris, 4 November 1934, etching and engraving, 22.6 x 31.2.



215. Composition with Minotaur, Paris, 9 May 1936, India ink and gouache, 50 x 65, Jan Krugier Gallery, Geneva.



216. Minotaur in a Boat, Paris, 19 February 1937, pastel and pencil, 20.5 x 23, Marina Picasso.



217. Study for Pulcinella set, Paris c.1923 (?), gouache, 22 x 23, Musée Picasso, Paris. Inscribed "Gaité Lyrique 1923".

BALLETS RUSSES

DE

SERGE DE DIAGHILEW



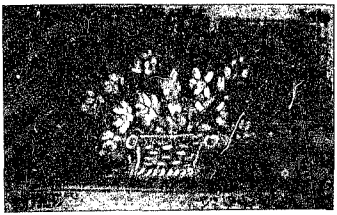
GAITÉ LYRIQUE

1923

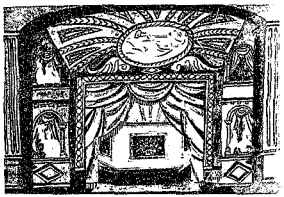
218. Programme cover, ..lets Russes Season, Theatre Gaité Lyrique, Paris



219. Cuadro Flamenco, London 1921, photograph taken dur[illegible] formance.



220. Cuadro Flamenco set, Basket of Flowers, Paris 1921, fragment of the set, tempera on canvas, 96 x 118, Galerie des Etats-Unis, Cannes.



221. Study for Cuadro Flamenco set, Paris 1921, gouache, Musée Picasso.



222. Boxes at the Theatre, Madrid 1901, black chalk, 20.7 x 35.7, Kroller-Muller Rijksmuseum, Otterlo.



223. Auguste Renoir, La Loge, 1874, oil on canvas, 80 x 64, Courtauld Institute Galleries, London.



224. Cuadro Flamenco set. The Box (lower left), Paris 1921, fragment of the set, tempera on canvas, 187.5 x 143, J.K.Thannhauser, New York.



225. Constantin Guys, Au Theatre, undated, water-colour, 181 x 248, Albertina, Vienna.



226. Cuadro Flamenco set. The Box (lower right), Paris 1921, fragment of the set, tempera on canvas, 190 x 130, Jacques Helft, Paris.



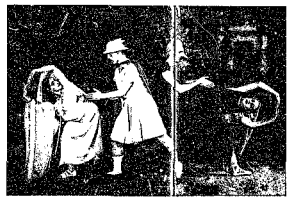
227. Study for Cuadro Flamenco set, Paris 1921, pencil, size unknown, Musée Picasso, Paris.



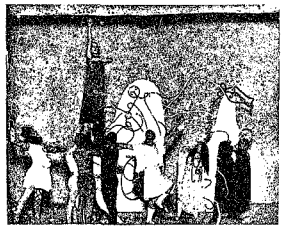
228. Study for Cuadro Flamenco set, Paris 1921, pencil, size unknown, Musée Picasso, Paris.



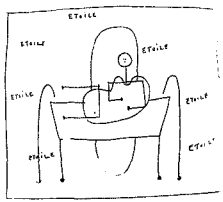
229. Cuadro Flamenco ; set, The Box (upper left), Paris 1921, fragment of the set, tempera on canvas, 140 x 132, formerly collection of the artist.



230. Scene from Mercure, Paris 1924, photograph



231. Scene from Mercure, Paris 1924, photograph.



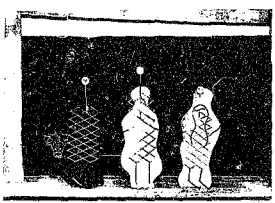
232. Study for Mercure set, "Night", Paris 1924, pencil, size unknown, location unknown.



233. Mercure set, first scene, "Night", Paris 1924, photograph.



234. Mercure set, second scene, "The Bath of the Three Graces", Paris 1924, photograph.



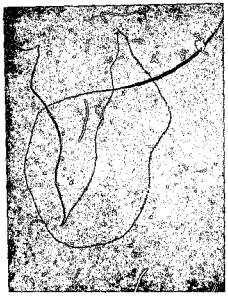
235. Mercure set, finale of second scene, "The Three Graces and Cerberus", Paris 1924, photograph.



236. Mercure set, third scene, "The Rape of Proserpina", Paris 1924, photograph.



237. The Horse. One of the Managers from Parade, Paris 1917, photograph.



258. Joan Miró, Circus Horse, 1927, oil on canvas, 100 x 81, Private Collection.

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