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**The early criticism of André Salmon: A study of his thoughts
on Cubism**

Gersh-Nešić, Beth Susan, Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1989

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THE EARLY CRITICISM OF ANDRÉ SALMON:
A STUDY OF HIS THOUGHTS ON CUBISM

by

BETH SUSAN GERSH-NEŠIĆ

A dissertation submitted to
the Graduate Faculty in Art History
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
The City University of New York.

1989

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty of Art History in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

THE EARLY ART CRITICISM OF ANDRÉ SALMON: A STUDY OF HIS
THOUGHTS ON CUBISM

by

Beth Susan Gersh-Nešić

Advisor: Rose-Carol Washton Long

Determining the interrelationship of Salmon's membership in *la bande à Picasso*, his poetry, and nominalist philosophy is of paramount importance when analyzing his criticism of Cubism. This dissertation explores all four areas in order to extrapolate the consistencies and prejudices inherent in his critical points of view.

To accomplish this task each chapter is devoted to one aspect. The introduction rehearses the history of art-historical literature on Cubism and the place of Salmon's writings in relation to other histories of Cubism; the second chapter describes his life, locating him within the context of early twentieth century avant-garde circles in Paris; the third chapter explains his nominalist philosophy and its roots; the fourth chapter analyzes his application of nominalist ideas to his criticism of Cubism; the fifth chapter compares his version of the history of Cubism to those versions composed by other eyewitnesses Guillaume Apollinaire and Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler in order to further elucidate Salmon's unique vision of the Cubist movement; and the sixth chapter summarizes the strengths and weaknesses of his writings.

It is hoped that Salmon's separation of Picasso from the other practitioners of Cubism (here called "public" Cubists, after Christopher Green's differentiation of "public" and "private" Cubism in Léger and the Avant-garde) will help clarify the tenets of Cubism in a more authentic manner. That is to say, that repositioning Jean Metzinger, Albert Gleizes, etc., at the center of Cubism as Daniel Robbins suggests in his texts on these artists (rather than as the "satellites" as Robert Rosenblum described them in his book Cubism and Twentieth-Century Art) would reveal the true workings of the movement within the context of the art world at large. These Cubists, as Salmon explained, represented the movement to the artists who came to Paris to see their exhibitions, study their techniques, and then, stay in Paris or return to their homelands to spread the news and convert their students. Thus, the style of "public" Cubism was received as the model during the early part of the twentieth century, while Picasso's contribution galvanized the movement and then stood apart, tangential to the internationally recognized Cubist aesthetic. With this concept of the authentic Cubism in mind, Salmon's criticism confirms Robbins' view of Cubism, as well as adds to our understanding of the history of Cubism already informed by Apollinaire's and Kahnweiler's more popular versions.

For Dušan--with love and admiration.

Acknowledgments

Researching and writing this dissertation has been a pleasurable experience throughout, enhanced in no small measure by the generosity and good will of my professors, colleagues, friends and family. Their advice, patience, and good humor were the beacons which guided this study to its completion.

First and foremost, I would like to thank Professor Rose-Carol Washton Long, whose seminar on Cubism provided the opportunity to embark on a study of Salmon's criticism and whose encouraging response prompted my decision to continue this research for the doctoral dissertation. Her knowledge, insight, and suggestions opened doors to important information and fruitful directions that often brought about exhilarating moments, and her gentle reminders to strive for impeccable scholarly habits have helped me aspire to a higher standard of performance. Above all, her publications have served as models of excellence in scholarship and presentation, and I have tried to emulate in this exercise the vitality and clarity she has achieved in her own writing.

Second, I would like to thank the dissertation committee, Professors Jack Flam, Patricia Leighton, and George Corbin, for their remarks and suggestions which helped to strengthen the dissertation. Their critiques brought about more precision and attention to detail.

While preparing this dissertation, I was fortunate to meet four early modernist scholars who greatly expanded my horizons: Kenneth Silver, professor of art history at New York University, Richard Sieburth, professor of French literature at New York University, Lynn Wissing Gamwell, director of the University Art Gallery at the State University of New York at Binghamton, and Judith Cousins, research associate at the Museum of Modern Art, New York. To all I am indebted for their willingness to share and discuss at length their own research and sources.

In concert with the scholars I consulted in New York, several specialists I interviewed in Paris provided valuable information, among them Salmon scholars Jacqueline and Jacques Gojard, who published a bibliography of works by and about André Salmon; Salmon's friend Jacques Busse, who edited the Dictionnaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs, et graveurs when Salmon wrote his contributions; and Yvette Moch, an art dealer, who concentrates on early modernist French and Russian artists. Mademoiselle Moch tutored me in what might be considered a Salmonian appreciation of the École de Paris. In addition, I would like to express my gratitude to Madame Angèle (Léo) Salmon, who granted me permission to read her husband's papers submitted to the Fonds Doucet at the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève.

Following the suggestion of Monsieur and Madame Gojard, I wrote to Jenifer Stolkin, a teacher of French literature in London who had written her master's thesis on André Salmon. Mrs. Stolkin graciously

invited me to her home, shared her observations, and allowed me to read her thesis which helped create a foundation for this dissertation. For her recollections of her meeting with Salmon and her analyses of his disposition, motivations, and ideals, I am especially grateful.

Most of Salmon's articles were culled from the libraries in Paris (the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, the Fonds Doucet, and the Bibliothèque d'Art et l'Archéologie [Foundation Doucet] of the Universités de Paris). I greatly appreciated the financial support given to me by the Department of Art History of the City University of New York Graduate School and University Center which helped defray the travel expenses for my trip to Paris in 1984. I would also like to thank the librarians at the Parisian libraries and the New York libraries (the New York Public Library, the Frick Library, the Museum of Modern Art library, New York University libraries [the Elmer Holmes Bobst Library, the Institute of Fine Arts, and the Grey Fine Arts Library at Washington Square College], and the City University of New York Graduate School and University Center library) for facilitating my use of their holdings--with a special thanks to Paula Baxter, head library for the art division of the New York Public Library and former assistant librarian at the Museum of Modern Art, who always showered me with good cheer during my visits.

In addition to those who paved the way for my research, I am deeply indebted to my former colleagues at the Grey Art Gallery who saw me through the last four years of this project. I am grateful to have had the opportunity to learn how to operate a computer at the gallery and then utilize their facilities in order to print this dissertation. To Thomas Sokolowski, director; Frank Poueymirou, associate director; Wendell Walker, gallery manager; Michèle Wong, registrar; and Michael Richards, gallery preparator, thank you very much. Also, I would like to extend my appreciation to an unofficial member of the Grey Art Gallery, L. Meredith Phillips, our editor, who graciously took on the burden of editing this dissertation at full-speed after the defense.

With heartfelt gratitude, I would like to thank my friends (especially Wendy Shefferman who was the consultant for any matters concerning the translation and comprehension of French, and Marion Wolf who translated the German) and my family for their unwavering encouragement and understanding. My parents especially deserve recognition for introducing me to the arts and supporting my university studies.

Finally, I would like to thank my husband, Dušan, whose dedication to his own work was a source of inspiration and whose patience and determination created the format of this dissertation in accordance with the City University of New York Graduate School and University Center guidelines--srdačno ti hvala.

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Chapter I - Introduction

Since his death in 1969, a quiet resurgence of interest in André Salmon has produced several publications on his poetry,¹ but not one study devoted entirely to his art criticism.² This neglect of his most prolific contribution to cultural history is indeed unfortunate, for Salmon brought to his art criticism attitudes which can shed light on early twentieth-century ideas and issues. This dissertation

1. Three unpublished studies are: Jenifer Stolkin, "The Poetry of André Salmon," (M.A. thesis, St. Hughes College, Oxford University, 1970); Carol Jane Bream, "André Salmon et les chemins du cubisme" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1973); Eva Heide Zuhlke Abbas, "Une Introduction à l'oeuvre d'André Salmon," (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1984). Then, in 1981 Jacqueline Gojard, who is currently preparing a study of Salmon, wrote and edited three publications to commemorate the centennial of his birth: Jacqueline Gojard, ed., "André Salmon, 1881-1969," Cahiers Bleus (Troyes), no. 21 (Fall 1981)--an issue devoted to essays, poems, letters, and photographs by, about, or to Salmon; Jacqueline Gojard and Jacques Baron, L'Art vivant d'André Salmon, ex. cat. (Paris: Galerie Brigitte Schedhade, n.d. [c. 1981]); André Salmon, Le Manuscrit trouvé dans un chapeau, prefaced and ed. Jacqueline Gojard (Paris: Fata Morgana, 1983)--a facsimile of the 1919 original. Gojard also collaborated with P.A. Jannini and S. Zoppi on a collection of essays on Salmon's oeuvre: André Salmon, no. 9 Quaderni del Novecento Francese (Rome: Bulzoni; Paris: Nizet, 1987). Another French scholar who writes about art and literature, Serge Fauchereau, prefaced and edited a selection of Salmon's poetry entitled Carreaux (1918-1921) précédé d'extraits de Créances (1905-1910) (Paris: Gallimard, 1986). In addition, in 1968, one year before Salmon died, the publisher Gallimard reprinted several popular Salmon books including La Nègresse du Sacré-Coeur; Monstres choisis suivi de Tendres canailles; and Créances (1905-1910) suivi de Carreaux (1918-1921). Gallimard is currently reprinting Souvenirs sans fin.

2. Bianca Saletti, "L'Art vivant," André Salmon, no. 9 Quaderni del Novecento Francese, 171-187, provides a brief overview of this 1920 book about avant-garde art and general comments on his attitudes toward art; Hélène Seckel, ed., Les Demoiselles d'Avignon, ex. cat. (Paris: Musée Picasso, 1988), 672-680, comments on Salmon's involvement with Les Demoiselles d'Avignon.

focuses on one aspect of his art criticism, his opinion of Cubism, which evolved through the years 1910 to 1926.

Today, most people recognize the names Pablo Picasso, Guillaume Apollinaire, and Max Jacob, but few recall their companion André Salmon [fig. 1]. A superior talent, dwarfed by the genius of his cohorts; nonetheless Salmon significantly contributed to the discussions and projects which launched the Cubist revolution, bringing to it his unwavering commitment to innovation in the arts. Although today the literature on Cubism hardly touts his accomplishments, "en ce temps-là (il s'agit de l'époque 1905-7)," Max Jacob told his friend Marcel Béalu, "le grand poète de la bande, aux yeux de tous, c'était André Salmon."³ Indeed, from 1905 until 1935, André Salmon enjoyed a prominent place among his fellow writers,⁴ regarded as a "jack of all literary trades [poetry, art criticism,

3. Marcel Béalu, "Propos, souvenirs et anecdotes de Max Jacob," La Boîte à clous, February 1951, quoted in Michel Décaudin, La Crise des valeurs symbolistes (Toulouse: Privat, 1960), 260.

4. René Lalou, Histoire de la littérature française contemporaine (1870 à nos jours) (Paris: G. Crès et Cie, 1922), 39-42; Pierre Berger, André Salmon (Paris: P. Seghers, 1956), 12-14; Jean Follain, "Hommage à André Salmon," Cahiers Bleus (Troyes), no. 21 (Fall 1981): 48-50; Michel Décaudin, "Trois poètes des années vingt: André Salmon, Blaise Cendrars et Max Jacob," L'Information littéraire 22, no. 5 (November-December 1970): 219; Henri Lemaitre, L'Aventure littéraire du XX siècle, première époque 1890-1930 (Paris: Pierre Bordas, 1984), 419; Georges Lemaitre, From Cubism to Surrealism in French Literature (New York: Russell and Russell, 1941, repr. 1967), 138; Pierre de Boisdeffre, Une Histoire vivante de la littérature d'aujourd'hui (Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin, 1962), 540; Marcel Raymond, De Baudelaire au Surréalisme (Paris: Librairie José Corti, 1971), 219.

fiction, non-fiction, journalism, and playwriting] and a consummate master of many."⁵ Why then did art and literary historians lose interest in this formerly appreciated poet/critic André Salmon?

* * * * *

That André Salmon fell into semi-obscurity can be seen as a consequence of his questionable politics, stylistic independence, or overextended literary production. In view of the first, several sources claim that Salmon's willingness to report on the Franco side of the Spanish Civil War in 1936 for his newspaper Le Petit Parisien, and then to continue to contribute to the newspaper when it came under the control of the Vichy government in 1940, angered his friends and colleagues (especially Picasso⁶) to such an extent that the Comité National des Écrivains blacklisted him during the post-war "purge" which began in October 1944.⁷ For many, he became known as a

5. Malcolm Cowley, "André Salmon and his Generation," Bookman 56, no. 8 (February 1923): 716.

6. Stolkin, 39; Serge Fauchereau, preface, to Carreaux, 22; Pierre Cabanne, Pablo Picasso and His Times, trans. Harold J. Salemsen (New York: William Morrow, 1977), 315.

7. Pierre Assouline, L'Épuration des intellectuels (Paris: Éditions Complexe, 1985), 130, 162 (Liste des écrivains indésirable dressé par le Comité National des Écrivains); Stolkin, 42 (Stolkin's interviews with Jean Follain, 4 March 1968 and Léo Salmon, 6 April 1970 at which time Mme. Salmon recalled that the Comité threatened to "lui casser sa plume"). Other sources: Jacques and Jacqueline Gojard, interview by author, Paris, 18 June 1984; Jacques Busse, interview by author, Paris, 28 June 1984; Fauchereau, preface, to Carreaux, 22: ". . . un homme qui allait être reporter au pro-franquiste Petit Parisien au moment de la guerre d'Espagne et se retrouver un temps parmi les écrivains décrétés indésirables par la C.N.E. au lendemain de la guerre suivante."

"collaborator."⁸ Jenifer Stolkin, who interviewed Salmon shortly before his death, offered Salmon's own rationale: he felt vulnerable during the Nazi Occupation due to his Jewish ancestry,⁹ and he had pressing financial responsibilities for the care of his invalid wife, who was dying at that time. Stolkin also correctly pointed out that his columns on art were non-political and not demonstrably sympathetic to the Nazi regime. It seems that Salmon believed his reports on contemporary art events were free from the taint of world politics and a place of refuge during a troubled era.¹⁰

8. Françoise Gilot, interview with author, 25 March 1988, New York; Serge Fauchereau, letter to author, 28 March 1988.

9. Salmon's identification with his Jewish background is still an unresolved area of research. Jacques Cellard wrote in his book Trésors des noms de familles (Paris: Belin, 1983), 90-1: "Salomon, nom du grand roi biblique, est le plus souvent un nom de famille israélite. Mais les variantes Salamon, Solomon, et les formes syncopées Salmon et Solmon, sont d'ancien noms de baptême." Paul Lévy concurs in his book Les Noms des Israélites en France: Histoire et dictionnaire Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1960), 9: "... les Aaron, David, Jacob, Salomon, etc., noms portés par des juifs depuis les temps bibliques jusqu'à nos jours, mais aussi par des premiers chrétiens adoptaient volontiers des noms de l'Ancien Testament. . . . En Allemagne, on trouvait au XVIIe siècle de nombreux huguenots du nom de Salomon." In view of this information and the absence of any definitive statement from Salmon himself on his religious affiliations, Sidney Alexander's unequivocal assertion that Salmon was a Russian Jew, who lived at La Ruche, should be disregarded (Mark Chagall: A Biography (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1978), 135). Salmon never lived at La Ruche (which was predominantly Jewish in the 1910s and 1920s) and was not Russian (he, his father Émile Frédéric, and his paternal grandfather Théodore Frédéric were born in Paris). We know that he was married by the Roman Catholic church in 1909 and that he wrote a poem "Saint André" in 1923, in which the poet converses with his patron saint.

10. Stolkin, 42; Jenifer Stolkin, interview by author, London, 5 August 1985.

Although Salmon's wartime activities ostracized him from some literary circles during the "purge," evidently he was exonerated in the mid-1950s, for he received two awards from his peers: the Grand Prix de la Société des Poètes in 1958 and the Grand Prix de Poésie de l'Académie Française in 1964.

Even if Salmon remained loyal to the politics of his Resistance friends and colleagues, one would still have to recognize the cultural reasons for Salmon's demise as an important presence among France's literary giants and concede that he failed to keep step with his fellow avant-garde poets, especially the Surrealists. In that respect, Salmon's artistic career parallels that of his close friend André Derain, who also introduced advanced ideas to Picasso's circle as early as 1905-1906, and then, after World War I, adopted a more conservative, naturalistic style--a post-war "classicism"--which remained his signature style for the rest of his life.¹¹ The decision to resist new trends cast both Salmon and Derain outside the hotbed of avant-gardism later on in life.

Another related possibility for Salmon's decline was that he probably wrote too much in too many genres for his own good, consequently preventing a strong development in one genre. As the literary historian Henri Lemaitre explained, it seems that Salmon

11. Stolkin, 18.

stunted his own growth as a poet by devoting much of his time to looking at and writing about the visual arts.¹² Lemaitre's hypothesis calls attention to the interrelationship of Salmon's poetry and criticism as well as the formidable effort Salmon exerted in an area that he himself dismissed as secondary to his career as a poet.¹³

* * * * *

Among the scores of pages on art which Salmon wrote, his essay "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme" (a chapter in his book La Jeune Peinture française¹⁴) stands out as the most famous of all his commentaries. It is a valuable account by virtue of the fact that Salmon participated in Cubist circles and stands alongside the two more well-known eyewitness accounts by his friend Guillaume Apollinaire and art dealer Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler.¹⁵ However,

12. Lemaitre, L'Aventure littéraire du XXe siècle, 419.

13. Stolkin, Bream, and Abbas examine the interrelationship of Salmon's poetry and criticism throughout their studies.

14. André Salmon, La Jeune Peinture française (Paris: Albert Messein, 1912).

15. Publications by Guillaume Apollinaire in which the history of Cubism appears: "Les Cubistes," L'Intransigeant, 10 October 1911; "La Vie Anecdotique," Mercur de France, 16 October 1911; "Cubisme," L'Intermédiaire des chercheurs et des curieux, 10 October 1912; "Art et Curiosité: Le Commencement du Cubisme," Le Temps, 14 October 1912; Méditations esthétiques: Les peintres cubistes, (Paris: Eugene Figuière, 1913, first edition); repr. Méditations esthétiques: Les peintres cubistes, ed. by Leroy C. Breunig and Jean-Paul Chevalier (Paris: Collection Savoir/Hermann, 1965, 1980); in English: The Cubist Painters, trans. Lionel Abel (New York: Wittenborn, 1962). In this dissertation references to Méditations esthétiques: Les peintres cubistes will be cited from the Breunig and Chevalier edition printed in 1980. Publications by Daniel-Henry [Kahnweiler], "Der Kubismus,"

Salmon's version deviates considerably from the other two versions in its unorthodox assertion that "le cubism vient de Picasso qui ne le pratiqua point."¹⁶ In other words, Picasso was not a Cubist.

Unthinkable!--at least to contemporary audiences inculcated with the notion that Picasso's work of 1908 to 1920 (in tandem with Georges Braque's work of the same period) constitutes the only authentic Cubism. In order to fathom Salmon's contradictory opinion, let us first consider the history of Cubist literature.

When we hear the word "Cubism," the 1910-1920 works of Picasso and Braque come to mind. This mental image draws upon the predominant literature on the Cubist epoch, a conflation of Apollinaire's and Kahnweiler's histories wherein Picasso and Braque play the central roles. Since Apollinaire became the spokesman for the Cubists in 1911 and Kahnweiler (exclusive dealer of Picasso's and Braque's Cubist works) wrote the clearest explanation of Cubist's formal problem-solving in 1914-1915, their positions as privileged informants captured the contemporary public's credulity and that of subsequent generations as well.

Die Weissen Blätter, III, no. 9 (September 1916): 209-22; Daniel-Henry [Kahnweiler], Der Weg zum Kubismus (Munich: Delphin-Verlag, 1920); Confessions esthétiques (Paris: Gallimard, 1963); Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler with Francis Crémieux, Mes Galeries et mes peintres (Paris: Gallimard, 1961), 34-54.

16. Salmon, La Jeune Peinture française, 55.

Then, in 1936, Alfred Barr separated Apollinaire's ideas from Kahnweiler's, promoting the latter's in his ground-breaking exhibition Cubism and Abstract Art. Barr explained in the accompanying catalogue that Cubism was largely based on Picasso's and Braque's production of 1907-1920, reflecting more dependence on Kahnweiler's writings than on Apollinaire's.¹⁷ Firstly, Barr asserted that Picasso's and Braque's work from that thirteen-year period constituted the purest form of Cubism. Secondly, he divided their Cubist production into two campaigns: "Analytic" Cubism (1908 to 1913), the hermetic, monochromatic works depicting flickering light, *passage*, faceting and shifting planes [fig. 2], and "Synthetic" Cubism (1913 to approximately 1920 in Picasso's work, and 1913 to that moment [1936] in Braque's), the more colorful works depicting the flat, geometric forms delineated with conflicting plays of color and line, enhanced with paper collé, sand, and collage in order to construct, rather than depict, their analysis of structure [fig. 3].¹⁸ These two labels, Daniel Robbins theorized, were probably extracted from Kahnweiler's sentence in Der Weg zum Kubismus: "'Instead of an analytical description, the painter can, if he prefers, also create in this way a synthesis of the object. . . .'"¹⁹ Citing Robert Rosenblum's

17. Daniel Robbins, "Abbreviated Historiography of Cubism," Art Journal 47, no. 4 (Winter 1988): 277-283.

18. Alfred H. Barr, Cubism and Abstract Art (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1936, 1964, 1986), 29-46 and 77-98.

19. Kahnweiler, The Rise of Cubism, 12, cited in Daniel Robbins, "The Formation and Maturity of Albert Gleizes: A Biographical and Critical Study, 1881 through 1920" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1975), 132.

definitions of both terms (which I expanded upon above), Robbins conceded that these terms, although flawed, are not invalid.²⁰

However, Barr's widely accepted Picasso/Braque-centered explanation of Cubism's beginnings deserves reassessment in order to overcome our limited understanding of the movement as an international phenomenon.²¹

However, reevaluation of Barr's ideas is a recent development in the literature on Cubism. As late as 1983 Douglas Cooper and Gary Tinterow asserted in their exhibition "The Essential Cubism" that the Picasso/Braque collaboration had to be considered the purest example of the movement.²² In their effort to establish their scholarship as the definitive work on the aesthetic, they proclaimed: "As we see it, the first factor to note is that the form of Cubism originally created

20. Robbins, "Gleizes," 133.

21. Douglas Cooper, The Cubist Epoch (London, New York, and Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970); Robert Rosenblum, Cubism and Twentieth-Century Art (New York and London: Harry N. Abrams, 1960; repr., 1966, 1976); Edward F. Fry, Cubism (London and New York: Thames and Hudson, 1966; repr., New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1978); John Golding, Cubism: A History and an Analysis, 1907-1914 (London: Faber and Faber, 1959; repr., 1968); Pierre Daix, Cubists and Cubism, trans. R.F.M. Dexter (New York: Rizzoli, 1982); Eunice Lipton, Picasso Criticism, 1901-1939; The Making of an Artist-Hero, (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1976), 86; repr. of Ph.D. diss. (Harvard University, 1975); Lynn Wissing Gamwell, Cubist Criticism, 1907-1925 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980), 252; rev. of Ph.D. diss. (University of California at Los Angeles, 1977); William Rubin, "Cézannisme and the Beginnings of Cubism," In Cézanne: The Late Work, ed. William Rubin (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1977), 151-202.

22. Douglas Cooper and Gary Tinterow, The Essential Cubism: Braque, Picasso and Their Friends 1907-1920, ex. cat. (London: The Tate Gallery, 1983).

and practiced by Braque and Picasso, between 1908 and 1913, was their work alone. No school of like-minded artists was involved, nor did Braque and Picasso accept, at a later stage, a group of disciples who developed their own forms of Cubism independently. The Cubist idiom as we see it in the paintings of Braque and Picasso was evolved by and for themselves alone. . . ."²³

This statement negates the existence of those "nonessential" Cubists, who initially received and accepted the movement's name in the spring of 1911, when they exhibited in Room 41 of the Salon des Indépendants.²⁴ In contrast to Cooper and Tinterow, revisionists, such as Daniel Robbins, Ann Murray, Christopher Green, David Cottingham, Virginia Spate, Richard West and Patricia Leighton²⁵ have

23. Ibid., 11.

24. The word "cubisme" was first applied to Braque's work in an article by Charles Morice in Mercure de France, April 16, 1909. Later, in Hommes du jour, January 7, 1911, Henri Guilbeaux wrote "les cubistes et sous-cubistes que M. Charles Morice pourrait réunir en cohorte . . .". This statement confirms that the term had become common currency before the Salon des Indépendants held in March-April 1911. Meanwhile, Picasso did not participate in any public *salons*. In his review of Picasso's exhibition at Vollard's gallery (Paris-Journal, 22 December 1910), Salmon raised the question of whether Picasso was affiliated with Cubism and then firmly answered that he was not. Further information on the history of the term "Cubism" is offered in chapters four and five.

25. Daniel Robbins, "From Symbolism to Cubism: The Abbaye of Créteil," Art Journal 23, no. 2 (Winter 1963-64): 111-116; Daniel Robbins, Albert Gleizes 1881-1953: A Retrospective Exhibition, ex. cat. (New York: The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, 1975); Robbins, "Gleizes" (1975); Daniel Robbins, "Sources of Cubism and Futurism," Art Journal 41, no. 4 (Winter 1981): 324-327; Daniel Robbins, "Jean Metzinger: At the Center of Cubism," Jean Metzinger in Retrospect, ex. cat. (Iowa City: University of Iowa Museum of Art, 1985). Ann H. Murray, "Henri Le Fauconnier's 'Village en Montaigne,'" Bulletin of Rhode Island School of Design, January 1975: 21-38; Ann Murray, "Henri Le

rallied to the defense of these other Cubists in an effort to retrieve the original identity of Cubism as it was known during the height of its reign--that is, in terms of the paintings by Jean Metzinger, Albert Gleizes, Robert Delaunay, Fernand Léger, Henri Le Fauconnier, Roger de la Fresnaye, André Lhote, and Othon Friesz who exhibited in Room 41. This architectonic, Cézanne-inspired art was also composed of prismatic faceting, articulation of geometric forms, and simultaneous views, but their work's "legibility" distinguished it from Picasso's and Braque's more hermetic paintings, particularly those from their "Analytic" period. Robbins calls this movement "Epic" Cubism due to its clear depiction of heroic subject matter (such as Albert Gleizes' Le Dépiquage des Moissons, 1911 [fig. 4]) or allegory (such as Henri Le Fauconnier's L'Abondance, 1911 [fig. 5]).²⁶

 Fauconnier's 'Das Kunstwerk': An Early Statement of Cubist Aesthetic Theory and its Understanding in Germany, Arts Magazine 56, no. 4 (December 1981): 125-132. Christopher Green, Léger and the Avant-Garde (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1976); Christopher Green, Cubism and Its Enemies (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987). David Cottington, "Henri Le Fauconnier's L'Abondance and its Literary Background," Apollo n.s. 105, no. 108 (February 1977): 129-30; David Cottington, "Cubism, Law and Order: The Criticism of Jacques Rivière," The Burlington Magazine 126, no. 981 (December 1984): 744-750. Virginia Spate, Orphism: The Evolution of Non-Figurative Painting in Paris, 1910-1914 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979). Richard V. West, Painters of the Section d'Or, ex. cat. (Buffalo, N.Y.: Albright-Knox Art Gallery, 1967). Patricia Leighton, "Picasso: Anarchism and Art, 1897-1914" (Ph.D. diss., Rutgers University, 1983); "Picasso's Collages and the Threat of War, 1912-3," Art Bulletin 67, no. 4 (December 1985): 253-272; "The Dreams and Lies of Picasso," Arts Magazine 62, no. 2 (October 1987): 50-55; "'La Propagande par le rire': Satire and Subversion in Apollinaire, Jarry, and Picasso's Collages," Gazette des Beaux-Arts 88 (October 1988): 163-172; Re-Ordering the Universe: Picasso and Anarchism, 1897-1914, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989); "Editor's Statement," Art Journal 47, no. 4 (Winter 1988): 269-276. Although Leighton's work is principally on politics and Picasso, her research has cast a great deal of light on the other members of the Cubist movement.

However, it should be mentioned that these so-called "Epic" Cubists also painted non-heroic subject matter, such as studio nudes, still lifes, landscapes, and cityscapes, as did their "non-Epic" colleagues Picasso and Braque. According to Robbins, the "Epic" Cubists' subject matter and style distinguished their form of Cubism from its counterpart, the so-called "Essential" Cubism.²⁷

Unfortunately, Cooper and Tinterow's and Robbins' efforts to distinguish the "Essential" Cubists from the "Epic" Cubists obscure the fact that both groups shared much in common. They both grew out of a Symbolist background, contemplated similar ideals concerning the avant-garde,²⁸ knew each other, and exchanged thoughts on art in the studios and cafés.²⁹ On the other hand, these art historians help us

26. Robbins, "Gleizes," 91-118.

27. Ibid., 92.

28. Ibid., 31-48. In the chapter, "From Symbolism to Cubism: The Abbaye of Créteil," Robbins describes the intellectual influences on the "Epic" Cubists (poets such as Baudelaire, Mallarmé, Gustave Kahn, Alexandre Mercereau and Jules Romains). They often congregated at La Closerie des Lilas, where Salmon, Paul Fort and other contributors to the literary magazine Vers et Prose held forth. Also, they were all interested in the popular philosophical writings and lectures by Henri Bergson (Ibid., 102).

29. Jean Metzinger met Picasso in 1907. He frequented Picasso's studio and some of the cafés favored by Picasso and his friends (Robbins, "Jean Metzinger," 13, 24). Gleizes and Le Fauconnier, in the company of Apollinaire, met Picasso in 1911 at a bar in the rue d'Antin at the time that the Salon d'Automne was on exhibition. After they met, they all went to Picasso's exhibition at Kahnweiler's gallery. This was the first time Gleizes saw Picasso's work (Robbins, "Gleizes," 119).

recognize that two groups of Cubists developed separately in terms of style and intentionality. Picasso and Braque chose an enigmatic and mysterious visual language during their "Analytic" period, based upon veiling, obfuscation and absence in order to introduce the known layered upon the unknown and, thereby, widen the receiver's threshold of perception.³⁰ Their goal was to express in visual terms a philosophical meditation on subjective perception and objective truths. The co-existence of these two levels of knowledge also inspired Salmon's poetry, particularly those works collected in the book La Calumet, published in 1910.

Less mysterious, the "Epic" Cubists painted in a more visually accessible manner with the intention of serving society. Their meditation on Kantian epistemology, Bergson's theories of perception, and the seemingly transcendental possibilities of mathematics and physics (specifically non-Euclidean mathematics and the so-called "fourth dimension"), produced more "readable" works composed of stylized geometric forms and interpenetrating planes. Their depictions of the interrelationship between humankind and nature reflected their sympathy with Jules Romains' Unanism, which extolled the unity of the individual with the "multiple life of the group."³¹

 30. Françoise Gilot and Carlton Lake, Life with Picasso (New York, Toronto and London: McGraw Hill, 1964), 75-77. Although Gilot's book should be read cautiously, I believe that her recording of Picasso's statement on Cubism deserves recognition.

31. Robbins, "Gleizes," 44.

Unfortunately, the distinction between these two groups of Cubists is not clearly defined in most studies of the movement. Moreover, all too often students of art are asked to study the paintings of "Essential" Cubists Picasso and Braque and read Du Cubisme, a book written by "Epic" Cubist painters and theorists Jean Metzinger and Albert Gleizes.³² Surely this mismatching of "Essential" Cubist works with "Epic" Cubist philosophy undermines any responsible investigation of the Cubist epoch in general. However, had art historians heeded Salmon, who separated Picasso from the painters of Room 41 as early as December 1910,³³ some of our current misconceptions about Cubism might have been avoided.

The terms "Essential" Cubism and "Epic" Cubism are limited inventions. Christopher Green, however, distinguished between the two Cubist initiatives in his first chapter of Léger and the Avant-garde in the following manner:

Cubism began as a private movement. It was the esoteric obsession of two painters, Picasso and Braque, their poet friends, Guillaume Apollinaire, Max Jacob, and André Salmon, a German dealer, Daniel-Henri [sic] Kahnweiler, and a few

32. Jean Metzinger and Albert Gleizes, Du Cubisme (Paris: Figuière, 1912); in English: Cubism, trans. anon. (London: Unwin, 1913). J.M. Nash links Picasso and Braque to Metzinger and Gleizes' theory in "The Nature of Cubism: A Study of Conflicting Explanations," Art History 3, no. 4 (December 1980): 435-447.

33. La Palette [André Salmon], "Courriers des ateliers," Paris-Journal, 22 December 1910: "Devons-nous parler du cubisme? Le cubisme est une sottise invention de niais qui voulurent prendre Picasso pour directeur de conscience. . . Chaque jour il surprend de plus rares secrets et, bientôt, rencontrera le spectre nu de sa jeunesse qu'il saura couronner de roses ravies en ces jardins interdits aux cubistes balourds."

serious amateurs. The public *début* of Cubism was left to a small group of painters, who were encouraged by a common feeling of disillusionment with Impressionism. . . .³⁴

In the interest of clarity and fidelity to Salmon's texts, I shall borrow Green's classification of "public" Cubist in reference to Metzinger, Gleizes, et al. (whom Salmon considered simply "the Cubists") and refer to the other Cubists, Picasso and Braque, by name.

* * * * *

Since Salmon's history of Cubism does not correspond to Alfred Barr's concept of Cubism, scholars have rarely examined Salmon's writings beyond his "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme." Though entirely respectful of Salmon's position as a member of *la bande à Picasso*, some art historians have openly denigrated his criticism. For example, Pierre Daix said that Salmon was "out of touch," Eunice Lipton found him weak and "of mixed minds," and Lynn Wissing Gamwell scoffed at his lack of "unity and profound thought."³⁵

Despite these opinions, Salmon's "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme" still occupies an important place among the original documents from the Cubist epoch, evidenced by its translation into English twice for two anthologies: Herschel Chipp's Theories of Modern Art (in part) and Edward Fry's Cubism (in its entirety).³⁶ It has also been examined in

34. Green, Léger and the Avant-garde, 6.

35. Daix, Cubists and Cubism, 6; Lipton, 86; Gamwell, 252.

several studies of Cubism, most notably Christopher Gray's book Cubist Aesthetic Theories, John Golding's Cubism: A History and Analysis, 1907-1914, Eunice Lipton's dissertation Picasso Criticism, 1901-1939: The Making of an Artist-Hero, Lynn Wissing Gamwell's dissertation Cubist Criticism, 1907-1925, as well as referred to in passing in several other texts on Cubism.³⁷

Above all, Salmon's "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme" has received most of its attention because it contains the first published description of Picasso's Les Demoiselles d'Avignon [fig. 6].³⁸ However, most assessments of Salmon's commentaries reveal a misreading of Salmon's views on Cubism; for although, Salmon was the first critic

36. Herschel B. Chipp, ed., Theories in Modern Art (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1968), 199-206; Fry, 81-90.

37. Christopher Gray, Cubist Aesthetic Theories (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1953), 45; Golding, 59; Lipton, 79-88; Gamwell, 95-96; Daix, Cubists and Cubism, 22, 31; Malcolm Gee, Dealers, Critics, and Collectors of Modern Paintings: Aspects of the Parisian Art Market between 1910 and 1930 (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1981), 127, 139; repr. of Ph.D. diss., London University, 1977; Cooper, The Cubist Epoch, 22-23, 31-32, 66, 103; Mark Roskill, The Interpretation of Cubism (Philadelphia: Art Alliance Press/London and Toronto: Associated University Press, 1985), 26.

38. Leo Steinberg, "The Philosophical Brothel, Part 1," Art News 71, no. 5 (September 1972): 20-29; and "The Philosophical Brothel, Part 2," Art News 71, no. 6 (October 1972): 38-47; repr. and rev. in French in Les Demoiselles d'Avignon, ex. cat. (Paris: Musée Picasso, 1988), 319-366; repr. in English in October, no. 44 (Spring 1988): 17-74. William Rubin, "La Genèse des Demoiselles d'Avignon," in Les Demoiselles d'Avignon, 367-489. Adam Gopnik, "High and Low: Caricature, Primitivism, and the Cubist Portrait," Art Journal 43, no. 4 (Winter 1983): 375.

to point out the revolutionary features of Picasso's Les Femmes d'Alger ("la peinture-équation"),³⁹ he also indicated that the integration of *l'art nègre* belonged to Picasso's idiom because Picasso had chosen "pour directeurs les artistes sauvages."⁴⁰ Salmon did not intend the reader to infer that this African/Oceanic influence spread to his Cubist colleagues; on the contrary, he made it clear that "Jean Metzinger et Robert Delaunay. . . . vivant d'une vie moins intérieure que Picasso, . . . étaient beaucoup plus pressés de réaliser, fût-ce d'une façon moins complète."⁴¹ That the majority of art historians failed to read Salmon carefully and understand this concept has led not only to a misrepresentation of his ideas, but also to the suppression of a valuable aspect of his work. The most important feature of Salmon's criticism was his ability to view Picasso as a separate entity, outside of the mainstream and outside of any movement--even a movement which depended largely on his artistic innovations.

* * * * *

The crucial difference among Salmon's, Apollinaire's and Kahnweiler's histories of Cubism centers around one key issue: Who were in fact the authentic Cubists? In La Jeune Peinture française,

39. Salmon, La Jeune Peinture française, 43.

40. Ibid, 46.

41. Ibid., 53.

Salmon named Georges Braque, Henri Le Fauconnier, Jean Metzinger, Albert Gleizes, Fernand Léger, Robert Delaunay, Roger de la Fresnaye, Marcel Duchamp, Dunoyer de Segonzac, André Lhote, Albert Moreau, [Charles de?] Fontenay, Auguste Herbin, and Juan Gris; and in L'Art vivant, he subtracted André Lhote and added Henri Hayden, Jacques Villon, Serge Ferat, Gino Severini, Irène Lagut, Marie Blanchard, Henri Laurens, and Diego Rivera. In Méditations esthétiques: Les peintres cubistes, Apollinaire cited Picasso, Braque, Gleizes, Laurencin, Gris, Le Fauconnier, Delaunay, Léger, Picabia, Duchamp, Cézanne, and "*le cubisme instinctif . . . [qui] s'étend . . . sur toute l'Europe.*"⁴² Finally, Kahnweiler in Der Weg zum Kubismus named only Picasso, Braque, and Léger. Therefore, to reassess our current perception of Cubism, we must first examine the "histories" set down by the eyewitnesses, consider each historian's list of "authentic" Cubists, and then decipher the implications of each history. It is my contention that the variations introduced in each history reflect each critic's thoughts concerning the appropriate direction of avant-garde art.

With this criterion in mind, it seems logical to begin with Salmon, who published his first version of Cubism's history in April 1911 (preceding Apollinaire's articles on the origin of Cubism published in October 1911),⁴³ and then went on to be the first critic

42. Apollinaire, Méditations esthétiques: Les peintres cubistes, 69.

43. André Salmon, "Le 27e Salon des Indépendants," Paris-Journal, 20 April 1911, 5; Guillaume Apollinaire, "Les Cubistes," L'Intransigeant, 10 October 1911; Guillaume Apollinaire, "La Vie Anecdotique," Mercure

to include a section on Cubism in a book, La Jeune Peinture française. Released to the public in September 1912, La Jeune Peinture française, appeared before the December 1912 publication of Jean Metzinger and Albert Gleizes' theoretical book Du Cubisme. Salmon's early critiques, therefore, reacquaint art historians with the original notion that the artists from Room 41 at the 1911 Salon des Indépendants constituted the core movement. Salmon's book also appeared at a propitious moment, just prior to the October opening of the exclusively Cubist exhibition "La Section d'Or."⁴⁴ At that time, Apollinaire published his articles on the history of Cubism: one in L'Intermédiaire des chercheurs et des curieux and another in Le Temps.⁴⁵ After Du Cubisme appeared in December,⁴⁶ Apollinaire's book

de France, 16 October 1911; Guillaume Apollinaire, "Cubisme," L'Intermédiaire des chercheurs et des curieux, 10 October 1912.

44. Fry, 100-101. The exhibition "La Section d'Or" took place at the Galerie de la Boetie from October 10-30, 1912. Those who participated in the exhibition were Cubists Jacques Villon, Marcel Duchamp, Raymond Duchamp-Villon, Albert Gleizes, Jean Metzinger, Francis Picabia, Louis Marcoussis, André Lhote, Roger de La Fresnaye, Fernand Léger, and Juan Gris. Lectures were given during the exhibition by Guillaume Apollinaire (October 11), Maurice Raynal (October 18), and René Blum (October 25). Those who contributed to the first issue of the review La Section d'Or, printed during the exhibition, were Apollinaire, Roger Allard, Gabrièle Buffet, Adolphe Basler, Marc Brésil, Max Goth, Olivier Hourcade, Max Jacob, Pierre Muller, Maurice Princet, Maurice Raynal, R.N. Roinard, Pierre Reverdy, André Salmon, Paul Villes, André Warnod, and Francis Yard (Fry, 98).

45. Guillaume Apollinaire, "Le Cubisme," L'Intermédiaire des chercheurs et des curieux, 10 October 1912; Guillaume Apollinaire, "Art et Curiosité: Les Commencements du Cubisme," Le Temps, 14 October 1912.

46. Robbins, "Gleizes," 133; Fry, 111. According to Edward Fry, Du Cubisme was printed on December 27, 1912.

Méditations esthétiques: Les peintres cubistes was published in the spring of 1913.⁴⁷ The most popular source on Cubism from that era, Kahnweiler's book Der Weg zum Kubismus, written in 1914-1915, became available in German in 1920, and then was translated into French in 1946, followed by the translation into English in 1949.⁴⁸ All other books and articles on the Cubists spoke in general terms about Cubist theory but did not pinpoint whose work exemplified the Cubist aesthetic.

* * * * *

Although this study is primarily an analysis of Salmon's Cubist criticism, its ultimate purpose is to promote a reconsideration of Cubist criticism in general through a serious contemplation of Salmon's perspective on the Cubism movement. To accomplish this goal, a comparison of Salmon's views with those of Apollinaire and

47. Guillaume Apollinaire, Méditations esthétiques: Les peintres cubistes (Paris: Figuère, 1913).

48. Roskill, 107; Robbins, "Jean Metzinger," 9. As a German citizen, Kahnweiler was obliged to leave Paris at the beginning of World War I. He lived with Herman Rupf in Berne and published under the name Daniel Henry in the Bern periodical Neues Leben (1917), the Berlin periodical Das Kunstblatt (1919), the Swiss-German periodical Die Weissen Blätter (1916), and the German periodical Feuer. His first article on Cubism was "Der Kubismus," Die Weissen Blätter, III, no. 9, (September 1916): 209-222. Four years later this article was expanded into the book Der Weg zum Kubismus (Munich: Delphin-Verlag, 1920). Der Weg zum Kubismus was published in French as "La Montée du cubisme," Les Temps modernes 1, no. 4 (January 1946): 625-639 (with some modifications and additions); repr. in Confessions esthétiques (Paris: Gallimard, 1962), 9-60. In English translated from the original German: The Rise of Cubism, trans. Harry Aronson (New York: Wittenborn/Schultz, 1949).

Kahnweiler will elucidate what seems to me to be a central issue in their critiques of Cubism: an assessment of the teleological implications of the movement. It is hoped that a discussion in which Salmon, Apollinaire, and Kahnweiler are presented as equally valuable and informative--though clearly divergent in perspective--will demonstrate that a viable study of Cubism must acknowledge the various ways in which the movement was perceived, and that the positioning of Picasso and Braque as the benchmarks of authentic Cubism is not the definitive explanation.

To locate Salmon within the avant-gardist milieu and establish his as an independent personality, this study begins with a brief biography of Salmon from his childhood to the end of his life. Then, in chapter three, Salmon's personal form of nominalism is examined in order to prepare the way for an understanding of Salmon's perception of Cubism. Chapter four provides an analysis of Salmon's history of Cubism, and chapter five elaborates on this analysis through a comparison of this history with those by Apollinaire and Kahnweiler. Finally, in chapter six, an evaluation of Salmon's commentaries on art--their strengths and weaknesses--concludes this introduction to Salmon's critical oeuvre.

Chapter II - Biography

Historians of the Cubist epoch have relied on Salmon's books La Négresse de Sacré-Coeur, Une Orgie à Saint Petersburg, L'Air de la Butte, Montparnasse, and Souvenirs sans fin, which recount numerous anecdotes about the *Génération de 1910*, Parisian avant-gardists, whose anarchist ideologies were expressed through their art, literature, and humor.¹ Within this milieu, Salmon played a major role through his organization of exhibitions, lectures at symposia, and art criticism (which he wrote from 1909 to 1969²). This chapter will briefly

 1. The various sources which would attest to this statement are too numerous to mention here. Certainly books like Roger Shattuck, The Banquet Years: The Origins of the Avant Garde in France, 1885 to World War I (New York: Vintage Books, 1955, rev. 1968); Kenneth Silver, The Circle of Montparnasse: Jewish Artists in Paris, 1905-1945, ex. cat. (New York: Universe Books, 1985); Francis Steegmuller, Apollinaire: Poet Among Painters (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1963; and Jeanne Warnod, Washboat Days, trans. Carol Green (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1972) represent the wide variety of studies, where quotes from Salmon's books often appear to support information. In his preface to the new edition of Salmon's Carreaux (Paris: Gallimard, 1986), 7, Serge Fauchereau wrote: "André Salmon est une figure émietlée, quelque chose comme une note en bas de page. . . ." Fauchereau's assessment of Salmon's place in history seems to reflect his role as chronicler for the lives of Picasso, Jacob, and Apollinaire, whose biographies contain references to Salmon's memoirs as documentation. The term *Génération de 1910* appears in Léon Somville, Devanciers du surréalisme: Les groupes d'avant-garde et le mouvement poétique 1912-1925 (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1971), 173: "Portrait d'une génération. Apollinaire, Barzun, Beauduin, Salmon, Divoire, Mercereau, Romain, Cendrars, Marcello-Fabri: tous sont nés entre 1880 et 1890. Canudo, Gossez, Marinetti, Florian-Parmentier, sont à peine plus âgés. Ils publient leurs premières oeuvres après 1905 et arrivent souvent à la notoriété--comme avant-gardistes--vers 1910." Somville's book is the only source in which I have found this rubric, but in Malcolm Cowley's article "André Salmon and his Generation," in The Bookman 56, no. 8 (February 1923): 714-717, the author refers to the same concept.

2. Salmon's last essay on art was published in the exhibition catalogue, Marie Vassilieff: oeuvres cubistes, 1908-1915 (Paris:

describe Salmon's life, emphasizing his relationships with fellow poets and artists who, like himself, cherished individualism and experimentation.

* * * * *

Mon enfance fut douce et tout d'elle m'offense,
C'est un crime, je sais, mais elle a pardonné
Celle qui souffre tout du jour que je suis né³
Mon enfance fut douce et je hais mon enfance.

André Salmon was born on October 4, 1881, on the Boulevard Voltaire, the youngest of three children, the second son. Sheltered and fussed over by his mother, sister, and aunt, he spent most of his childhood at home, tutored by his family and their friends, including the Parnassian poet, Gaston de Raismes. His grandfather was Théodore Frédéric Salmon (1811-1876), a painter, and his father was Émile-Frédéric Salmon (1840-1913), an engraver and sculptor, who also dabbled in writing poetry, passing along to the young impressionable André a high regard for both the arts and letters.⁴

Galerie Hupel, 1969). The essay took the form of an interview between Salmon and Philippe Hupel, in which Salmon reminisced about Vassilieff and her art. The text is dated 28 August 1968 at Sanary.

3. André Salmon, Le Manuscrit trouvé dans un chapeau (Paris: Société littéraire de France, 1919; repr. Paris: Fata Morgana, 1983), 14.

4. E. Bénézit, Dictionnaire des Peintures, Sculptures, dessinateurs, et graveurs (Paris: Librairie Gründ, 1966), S.v. "Théodore Frédéric Salmon" and "Émile Frédéric Salmon." Jenifer Stolkin, "The Poetry of André Salmon" (M.A. thesis, St. Hugh's College, Oxford University, 1970), 2.

Salmon's sympathies with libertarian ideals began at home. Both his parents came from families who favored humanism, socialism, and atheism, revering Darwin and "the Commune" above all else. His father's brothers were socialist journalists: Yvan Salmon (Victor Noir) was a reporter for La Marseillaise and Louis Salmon Noir was the editor of Le Peuple.⁵ His maternal grandfather was François-Xavier Cattiaux, a *conseiller municipal* in Paris and a socialist with anarchist sympathies. (Salmon himself recalled that his grandfather introduced him to Louise Michel, a well-known anarchist during his childhood.⁶) As heir to the family's commitment to libertarian ideals, he brought to his art criticism a distaste for rules and

5. Stolkin, 2; Larousse du XXe siècle (Paris: Larousse, 1932), S. v. "Salmon." Louis Salmon changed his name to Louis Noir (1837-1901) and Yvan Salmon changed his name to Victor Noir (1848-1870). Victor Noir was killed in a duel with Prince Pierre Bonaparte over a defamatory article which Noir wrote.

6. Stolkin, 2 (from an unpublished manuscript for Salmon's Enfance). Stolkin had the opportunity to read Enfance at the time of her interview with André Salmon and his wife Léo in 1968. Some of the information she has included in her master's thesis came from this interview. I met with Mrs. Stolkin at her home in London in August 1985 and she related some other recollections from her interview with Salmon during our conversation. I am deeply indebted to Mrs. Stolkin for her thorough research and her ability to put into chronological order the events described in Salmon's memoirs which lack dates (Souvenirs sans fin, vol. 1 [Paris: Gallimard, 1955]; vol. 2 [Paris: Gallimard, 1956] and vol. 3 [Paris: Gallimard, 1961]). Eva Heide Zuhlke Abbas, "Une Introduction à l'oeuvre d'André Salmon" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1984), 10-13. Abbas pointed out that Salmon's portrait of his maternal grandfather, François-Xavier Cattiaux, can be found in Salmon's book La Terreur noire. In The Red Virgin: Memoirs of Louise Michel, ed. and trans. Bullitt Lowry and Elizabeth Ellington Gunter (University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1981) the editors mentioned that Michel joined the revolutionary movement when she heard of Victor Noir's death (p. 82).

organized trends in art as well as a penchant for examples of innovative free expression.

Virtually nothing more was published on his childhood and education, though some recollections are available in an unpublished manuscript entitled "Enfance." There, he wrote about his tutor Gaston de Raismes, who taught him little more than Latin and philosophy.⁷ Since he came from an educated, bourgeois household, it can be assumed that he attended secondary school,⁸ and that he followed the typical classical curriculum of required subjects: Latin, Greek, mathematics, literature, history, and philosophy.⁹ The mandatory instruction of philosophy (logic, ethics, and metaphysics) taught to *baccalaureate* students distinguished the French secondary educational system from most others.¹⁰ Therefore, it is not surprising to find that Salmon's

7. Stalkin, 3.

8. Fritz Ringer, "On Segmentation in Modern European Educational Systems: The Case of French Secondary Education, 1865-1920," in The Rise of the Modern Educational System: Structural Change and Social Reproduction, 1870-1920, ed. Detlef K. Muller, Fritz Ringer, and Brian Simon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press and Paris: La Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1987), 58. In his study on the stratification of the students in French and German schools, Fritz also gives some insight into young men, like Salmon, who were undoubtedly well educated, but were not inclined to continue their studies within the French university system: "Yet, for all we know, a substantial share of early leavers from French secondary schools ended up as marginal Parisian literati, rather than as budding capitalists."

9. Félix Ponteil, Histoire de l'enseignement: Les grandes étapes, 1789-1964 (Paris[?]: Sirey, 1966), 294; Celestin Bougle, The French Conception of 'Culture Générale' and Its Influences Upon Instruction (New York: Bureau Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1938), 39-40.

10. Bougle, 34.

orientation to life depended largely on philosophical thinking and that after the devastation of World War I, his thoughts became more philosophically, and less politically, charged, having found solice in his nominalism, a philosophy which he hoped would restore "l'émotion à l'impersonnel."¹¹

In 1897, when Salmon was sixteen years old, he accompanied his father to Saint Petersburg, Russia, where Salmon-père had to fulfill a commission. When the time came to depart within the year, André decided to stay behind maintaining his post as an *attaché auxiliaire* in the French Embassy [fig. 7]. The experience widened his horizons considerably, for after a relatively sheltered life, he was free to cultivate a wide-range of friendships--even among those involved with the shadier side of Russian society. That Salmon sought out the exotic and unusual early on anticipates his attraction to the subversive art crowds he would meet five years later in Paris.¹²

11. André Salmon, postface to Prikaz (Paris: La Sirène, 1919).

12. André Salmon, Une Orgie à Saint Petersburg (Paris: Le Sagittaire, 1925), 15. A lot of attention has been paid to this period in Salmon's life and has been referred to as "le mythe numéro 1 de Salmon" (Pierre Berger, André Salmon [Paris: Seghers, 1956], 45). The sense of "dépaysement" and affinity for the exotic and Slavic soul has been attributed to his experience of living in Russia during this impressionable period of his life. In 1919, he wrote his first epic poem, Prikaz, both a eulogy for the Bolshevik Revolution and a dirge lamenting the loss of innocence for the Russians and their country. "Le myth numéro 1 de Salmon" was erroneously amplified in Sidney Alexander's Marc Chagall: A Biography (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1978), 135. See chapter 1, note 9.

At this time (the turn of the century) Russia looked toward France for stylistic trends in the arts and it was not difficult for Salmon to keep abreast of literary and artistic events in Paris. Salmon read the progressive magazines La Revue blanche and Mercure de France (which arrived at the embassy) and patronized the bookseller Topin, who carried books by his favorite poets Rimbaud, Lautréamont, and Corbière.¹³ As for Russian literature, it seems that Salmon read Dostoievsky and Tolstoi,¹⁴ though it is not clear whether he read their books in Russian or in translation. He had, according to his memoirs, an adequate command of the Russian language.¹⁵

In 1901, nearly four years after his arrival in Russia, Salmon returned home to Paris to fulfill his military service. Although Salmon could have avoided conscription by claiming diplomatic immunity, he willingly returned to France to end his self-imposed exile. It is uncertain whether Salmon completed his service or was dismissed due to insubordination (both versions have been told); in either case, Salmon regained civilian status in late 1902, nearly a year after his induction.¹⁶

13. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 2:228.

14. Salmon mentioned Dostoievsky in Souvenirs sans fin with his nominalist decision to describe through invoking a name (1:30, 52, 92, 135, 137; 2:58, 79, 204; 3:70, 256, 354). The same was true for his many references to Tolstoi (1:136; 2:214, 230). These numerous references to these authors seem to be sufficient proof that Salmon was quite an admirer of their work.

15. Ibid., 3:88.

16. Stolkin, 10. Stolkin wrote that Salmon was dismissed for defying an officer. Jacqueline Gajard, ed. "André Salmon, 1881-1969," Cahiers

While serving in the French army, Salmon met the poet Fernand Caussy, a contributor to La Revue blanche, who suggested that he contact Pierre de Querlon of L'Ermitage when he returned to Paris. Salmon followed this advice and Querlon accepted one of Salmon's poems for publication.¹⁷ Salmon showed the same poem to an old friend of his father's, Octave Uzanne, a consultant in a publishing firm and a literary critic. Uzanne immediately told Salmon that the poem was too personal and not interesting for the public. Shaken by this critique, the embarrassed young man ran back to L'Ermitage to retrieve his poem just before it went to press.¹⁸

Despite Querlon's remarks and an aborted opportunity to see his poetry in print, Salmon remained determined to succeed as a poet. Living at this time at 244 rue Saint-Jacques on the Left Bank of Paris, he actively sought out the literary circles he wanted to join.¹⁹ On one occasion he visited Karl Boes, director of the review La Plume. Boes, in turn, invited Salmon to the gatherings of the review's contributors at the café Soleil d'Or (renamed Le Départ).²⁰

Bleus, no. 21 (Fall 1981): 4. The caption on page 4 states that Salmon completed his service on 16 November 1902.

17. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 1:18.

18. Ibid., 1:26.

19. Ibid., 1:11.

20. Ibid., 1:37.

himself), Apollinaire shared Salmon's youthful vigor which led to their restlessness and desire for change.

Guillaume Apollinaire's real name was Guillaume Albert Wladimir Alexandre Apollinaire de Kostrowitzky. Born out-of-wedlock in Rome on August 26, 1880, he was the son of Angélique Alexandrine Kostrowitzky, a member of Poland's lesser nobility. His father's identity has not been firmly established, but some scholars have named Francesco Flugi d'Aspermont, a wealthy military officer who was twenty years older than Apollinaire's mother. In 1885 he, his mother and his brother Albert moved to the French Riviera.²⁴ From that point on, Apollinaire considered France his adopted homeland.

Salmon and Apollinaire met one evening while attending a La Plume soirée; both recited their poems in their inimitable styles. According to Roger Shattuck in his book The Banquet Years: "Apollinaire leaned on the piano, puffed his tiny clay pipe, displayed his 'centurion's head,' and recited two of his poems to a not very responsive audience. On that same evening in 1903 another unfledged poet equally dissatisfied with the stillness of the literary scene recited a poem called 'Le banquet.' He was André Salmon, an athletic-looking young man with a certain wildness in his manner."²⁵ They recognized in each other a growing dissatisfaction with the La

24. Pierre-Marcel Adéma, Guillaume Apollinaire (Paris: La Table Ronde, 1968), 10-19.

25. Shattuck, 261.

Plume cenacle, and began to lampoon the poetry readings with their mischievous parodies and unwelcome disruptions, as Salmon described:

Nous avons, Guillaume et moi, un peu saboté les soirées.
Pour les rendre impossible? Oui. Nous pensions cela très
bien, très sain, très pur. C'est fou ce que la pureté peut
rendre les jeunes gens malfaisants.²⁶

It was clear, at this point, that these young poets, now twenty-two (Salmon) and twenty-three (Apollinaire), had become disenchanted, seeking instead a more vigorous tone that would express the upbeat, unpredictable rhythms of modern life; galvanized by this attitude, Max Jacob recalled in his memoirs, Salmon led the way.²⁷

Although Salmon did initiate ideas, Apollinaire quickly caught on, establishing himself as a forerunner in the public's eye. Thus, Salmon was soon overshadowed by his friend as a spokesman for the avant-garde, even though Salmon maintained a significant visibility through his newspaper and magazine articles. Moreover, these two fast friends had decidedly different personalities, as Gertrude Stein, in her Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas attempted to define: "Salmon was very lithe and alive, but Gertrude Stein never found him particularly interesting. She liked him. Guillaume Apollinaire on the contrary was very wonderful."²⁸

26. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 1:55.

27. Jean Paulhan, Discourse in honor of André Salmon upon receiving the Grande Prix de Poésie de l'Académie Française, conferred 17 December 1964, in "André Salmon, 1881-1969," Cahiers Bleus, no. 21 (Fall 1981): 58: "Mais Max Jacob a toujours soutenu que le précurseur, l'inventeur, le maître d'Apollinaire lui-même, était André Salmon."

Witty and personable, Apollinaire, the dramatic *poseur*, could speak on any subject with a semblance of authority, whether he knew anything about it or not. His taste, like Salmon's, had been formed by a Symbolist sensibility, but Apollinaire preferred to extol the superiority of art over nature and view the artist as a god-like visionary ministering to society with artistic revelations. For the more earthy Salmon and Max Jacob, Apollinaire was "trop symboliste," a phrase they used to taunt him.²⁹ To combat this ridicule, Apollinaire began to acquire Salmon's and Jacob's more pungent sense of humor and their use of the everyday, juxtaposed in bizarre combinations of events, characters, and words.³⁰

In the literature on Apollinaire, scholars vary in both their enthusiasm and skepticism regarding the poet/critic's genuine capacity to understand art.³¹ Although it is true that Apollinaire did not

28. Gertrude Stein, The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1933; repr., New York: Random House, 1960), 58.

29. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 1:181-182.

30. Claude Debon-Tournadre, "Apollinaire lecteur de Salmon, Casanova et Quelques Autres," La Revue des lettres modernes, no. 530-536 (1978): 65-71. Debon-Tournadre cited verses from poems by Salmon and Apollinaire to illustrate how Apollinaire copied Salmon's exoticism and lyricism in instances where the subject matter is similar; for example, dancers in Salmon's "Danseuses" published in 1910 and Apollinaire's "Attentives" written in 1915 (p. 67).

31. Harry E. Buckley, Guillaume Apollinaire as an Art Critic (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), 137-139; rev. of Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1969; Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler with Francis Crémieux, My Galleries and Painters, trans. Helen Weaver (New York: Viking Press, 1971), 41

discuss art in a clearly constructed, theoretical manner, it is also true that he grasped the issues. Thus, his references to the fourth dimension, his faith in the Nietzschean visionary artist, and his aggressive proselytizing about the superiority of the Cubist direction made his book Méditations esthétiques: Les peintres cubists seem closely aligned with the polemics found in the theoretical Cubist treatise Du Cubisme written by "public" Cubist painters Metzinger and Gleizes.

In contrast to Apollinaire, Salmon was more introverted, according to Fernande Olivier in her book Picasso et ses amis. Known for his story telling and acid tongue, Salmon "s'imposait par un esprit délicat, subtil, fin, délié, élégant."³² Also, unlike Apollinaire, he avoided joining groups and associating exclusively with one art movement, as he wrote:

Tout entouré d'amis, je me trouvais alors assez seul quand même. Dès 1907, dans le fameux article non recueilli dont j'ai parlé, Guillaume Apollinaire avait pu écrire qu'il ne m'avait pas plu "d'innover violemment." Je n'ai jamais singé le moindre manifest. Je ne suis pas, comme de naissance, président ou chef d'école. Je n'ai pas eu, satisfait de mon modernisme et de ce que l'on en savait reconnaître, besoin d'adhérer à l'Esprit nouveau. Sur ce plan, je me suis trouvé toujours moins près de Guillaume Apollinaire que de Picasso refusant de patronner le cubisme, son [Apollinaire's] cubisme. . . .³³

32. Fernande Olivier, Picasso et ses amis (Paris: Librairie Stock, 1933), 94.

33. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 2:232. I have been unable to find an article on Salmon written by Apollinaire in 1907. However there is a article published in 1908, but it does not content the words "d'innover violemment" (Guillaume Apollinaire, "André Salmon," Vers et Prose, June-August 1908). Another reference to his distaste for dogma was written much earlier in the article "Le Salon des Indépendants,"

Instead, he preferred to be a sympathetic commentator who simply promoted exhibitions which he deemed worthwhile. Choosing not to be a leader, like his cohort Apollinaire, Salmon placed himself in the role of observer with confidence that factual information, or evidence as he perceived it, would reveal the "marvelous" in life, the greatest mystery of all. Also, in contrast to Apollinaire, Salmon was more cautious and moderate by nature, evidenced by his decision to marry at age twenty-seven and hold a steady job to support himself and wife. (Apollinaire had several tempestuous love affairs and married suddenly--perhaps capriciously--in 1917, not long before his death). Though temperamentally dissimilar as people and Cubist advocates, Salmon and Apollinaire remained extremely close friends until Apollinaire's death in 1918.

In 1904, the two restless poets founded their own literary review: Le Festin d'Ésope.³⁴ Here they published articles on topics which reflected their interests in politics, literature, and art. They hoped that their magazine, full of innovative and anarchic ideas, would reach an audience of people like themselves, who wished to embrace the new century on its own terms. Among the many articles and

Paris-Journal, 19 March 1912: ". . . je déteste en tant que dogme. . .
 ."

34. Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, "Guillaume Apollinaire," Cahiers histoire et théorie de l'art, no. 6 (1981): 8.

poems submitted were André Salmon's poems "Féerie," "Prière," "La Bonne Auberge," and "La Rue";³⁵ Guillaume Apollinaire's gossip column, "Notes du mois";³⁶ and two articles by the Albanian Faik bég Konitza (alias "Thrank-Spirobeg") on an "Outline of a Method of How to Succeed in Winning Applause from the Bourgeois" and "The Most Colossal Mystification in the History of the Human Species"³⁷ (both representative of Le Festin d'Ésope's most cherished obsessions: promoting libertarian ideology,³⁸ ridiculing the bourgeoisie,³⁹ and exploring the mystical and occult).⁴⁰ Other contributors included Mécislas Golberg, Alfred Jarry, Jean Antoine Nau, Ernest Raynaud, and Paul Gerald. ⁴¹ Refugees from La Plume's anarchist contingent, these

35. André Salmon, "Féerie," Le Festin d'Ésope, no. 1 (November 1903); "Prière," Le Festin d'Ésope, no. 4 (February 1904); "La Bonne Auberge," Le Festin d'Ésope, no. 6 (April 1904); "La Rue," Le Festin d'Ésope, no. 8 (July 1904).

36. Guillaume Apollinaire, "Notes du mois," Le Festin d'Ésope, nos. 1-9 (November 1903-September 1904).

37. Steegmuller, 102-103.

38. Patricia Leighton, Re-Ordering the Universe: Picasso and Anarchism, 1897-1914 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 54; Patricia Leighton, "Picasso's Collages and the Threat of War, 1912-13," Art Bulletin 67, no. 4 (December 1985): 660.

39. Ibid.

40. In 1905, Apollinaire and Picasso were reading Saint Teresa, Pascal, and Goethe, especially Goethe's Conversations with Eckermann (Scott Bates, Guillaume Apollinaire [New York: Twayne Publishers, 1967], 75); Max Jacob studied Kabbala and drew up astrology charts (Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 2:94); and Salmon wrote about his experiences with all forms of prognostication in Voyages au pays des voyantes (Paris: Les Portiques, 1931).

41. Margaret Davies, Apollinaire (Edinburgh and London: Oliver & Boyd, 1964), 99.

writers expressed subversive political ideals through unusual literary compositions or essays on libertarian beliefs.

The staff of Le Festin d'Ésope consisted of Apollinaire, founder and director; Salmon, assistant editor; Jean Mollet (better known as "Baron" Mollet), general manager; and M. Bézanval (an overseer of sorts who attended more to his collection of Sarah Bernhardt memorabilia than to managing the magazine). Salmon's small room on the rue Saint-Jacques served as headquarters. After nine issues (May 1903 through August 1904) the publication collapsed due to a shortage of funds.⁴²

The formation of Le Festin d'Ésope marks a turning point in Salmon's early career as a poet. No longer a neophyte among the La Plume literati, Salmon established his leadership role as an innovative avant-gardist and a source of inspiration for his cohorts Apollinaire and Max Jacob.⁴³ Thus, in many ways, Salmon should be credited for launching much of this group's expressive devises; and yet, true to his nature, Salmon chose the supportive position as

42. Ibid., 85.

43. P. Berger, 14-15; Debon-Tournadre, 65-82; Paulhan, 58; Fauchereau, 11-15; Max Jacob, dedication to his novel Le Terrain Bouchaballe published in 1923: "À André Salmon poète et précurseur des poètes modernes. . . .", cited in Pierre-Marcel Adéma, "Max Jacob et Quelques Oeuvres d'André Salmon de 1904 à 1940," in André Salmon ed. P.A. Jannini and S. Zoppi (Rome: Bulzoni; Paris: Nizet, 1987), 18; Michel Décaudin, "Trois Poètes des années vingt: André Salmon, Blaise Cendrars, Max Jacob," Information littéraire 22, no. 5 (November-December 1970): 219.

secretary for Le Festin d'Ésope, coediting with the gadabout Apollinaire.⁴⁴ Salmon was also instrumental in bringing Apollinaire into Picasso's enclave at his studio in the Bateau Lavoir⁴⁵ shortly after Picasso met Apollinaire through "Baron" Mollet at the Austin Fox bar in Montmartre.⁴⁶ Thus, Salmon helped to knit together the Festin group with the Bateau Lavoir artists, producing what literary historians call the *école de la rue Ravignan*, a group "uni par l'amitié plus que par un dogme littéraire."⁴⁷ The members of the *école de la rue Ravignan* included Salmon, Apollinaire, Jacob, Raynal, Picasso, Braque, Manuel Hugué, and to a lesser extent, Alfred Jarry and the mathematician Maurice Princet.

44. Steegmuller, 103.

45. Shattuck, 263.

46. Steegmuller, 133.

47. Michel Décaudin, La Crise des valeurs symbolistes (Toulouse: Privat, 1960), 259-260: "Le Festin d'Ésope aura donc été la première acte par lequel ces jeunes poètes ont voulu s'affirmer. Cette entreprise de neuf mois et les prolongements qu'elle eut en 1905 dans La Revue immoraliste et Les Lettres modernes représentent leur efforts et leurs ambitions plus que les réunions de la rue Ravignan, qui ne prennent tout leur importance qu'en 1908-1909 à l'époque de la période dite nègre de Picasso et des premiers tableaux de Braque au sujet desquels on parlera de *cubes*. C'est pourquoi nous préférons à la formule *école de la rue Ravignan* qui a parfois été employée celle de *group du Festin d'Ésope*: group uni par l'amitié plus que par un dogme littéraire. . . ." The origin of this term is not revealed by Décaudin. The only other source where I have seen this term is in Salmon's own writings: André Salmon, "Letter from Paris," Apollo, July 1926, 37, and Souvenirs sans fin, 1:16: "Telle qu'elle s'est établie, répandue, la chronique nourrit la légende d'une école de la rue Ravignan (Guillaume Apollinaire, Max Jacob, et moi) manifestant par les rues de Montmartre au cri multiple de 'À bas LaFargue! À bas Rimbaud!' Il faut laisser au seul Max Jacob l'honneur et la responsabilité de l'affaire."

Concurrently, another post-Symbolist art/literary group emerged with similar interests in anarchism and idealism, known as the *Abbaye de Créteil*. The members included René Arcos, Charles Vildrac, Henri-Martin Barzun, Albert Gleizes, Georges Duhamel, Alexandre Mercereau, Albert Doyen, Jules Romains, Georges Perrin, and René Ghil. Members of both groups socialized together at La Closerie des Lilas, a café in Montparnasse, where poetry readings, songs, and discussions were presided over by the poets Paul Fort and Jean Moréas; however, the intrinsic ideology expressed through their art differed significantly.

In the case of the *école de la rue Ravignan*, the artists concerned themselves with the creative processes of making art and with the underlying value of art in relation to the individual. As Patricia Leighton points out in her book Re-ordering the Universe: Picasso and Anarchism, 1897-1914, the members of *la bande à Picasso* demonstrated their confidence in radically new philosophical and political ideals through devising radically new poetics for their works of art.⁴⁸ Their efforts, however, were not based on a consciously conceived program, as Salmon explained in his memoirs:

Mais personne ne songeait à l'institution d'une école et nous n'entendions diriger que nous-mêmes. Peut-être aurons-nous été aussi médiocres citoyens de la République des Arts et des

48. Leighton, Re-ordering the Universe, passim (especially chapter 3); Leighton, "La Propagande par le fait: Picasso's Early Paris Period, 1904-1907," 74-95. In the latter article Leighton describes Les Demoiselles d'Avignon as an anarchistic gesture, calculated to provoke responses ranging from shock (Braque) to comedy (Salmon, Jacob, and Apollinaire).

Lettres que de la République politique. Nous n'avons pas un instant songé à rendre service en révélant autre chose que nos ouvrages et nos personnes. . . . La critique littéraire n'a parlé d'une école de la rue Ravignan ou d'une école si improprement dite cubiste que vingt ans après. . . .⁴⁹

Roger Cranshaw's article on Picasso's and Braque's subversion of "programmicity" in essence contradicts Salmon's characterization of the *école de la rue Ravignan*, through the explanation that their conscious denial of developing specific signs and codes was ironically very much a "program" or, at least, a consciously controlled strategy.⁵⁰ Thus, Cranshaw believes that the intentionality of the group was not as cavalier as Salmon's statement suggests.

In contrast, the members of the *Abbaye de Créteil* felt that art should serve society and clearly convey the unity of humankind and nature (urban as well as rural environments) in order to inform the receiver. That is, rather than obfuscate and mystify to provoke awareness of avant-garde ideals (in the manner of *la bande à Picasso*), the *Abbaye de Créteil* produced more "readable" forms and more relevant subject matter, such as workers in the field or in the home. Through their art, they hoped that the poet/artist would inspire society, morally as well as spiritually, and reinforce a positive attitude toward the energy of modern life.⁵¹ In the poem "Prélude" by Charles

49. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 1:186-187.

50. Roger Cranshaw, "Cubism 1910-12: The Limit of Discourse," Art History 8, no. 4 (December 1985): 467-483. Patricia Leighton extends this viewpoint concerning conscious obfuscation in reference to Picasso alone in "The Dreams and Lies of Picasso," Arts Magazine 62, no. 2 (October 1987): 50-55.

Vildrac, from the collection Images et Mirages (1908), the fundamental philosophy of the artist's responsibility to society is expressed in the following verse:

Vraiment, il faudrait qu'on nous laisse vivre,
 Il faudrait qu'on nous permette de vivre.
 Car en vérité nous serons utiles
 Autant que celui qui sème ou bâtit,
 Et comme les mains qui tissent ou filent,
 En vérité nos mains seront utiles.⁵²

The intermingling of the two art/literary groups can be traced through studying individual members of each respective group who participated in various collaborative enterprises. For example, Jean Metzinger, who had been a regular at the meetings in Picasso's studio and later contributed to Paul Fort and Salmon's Vers et Prose, became closer to Delaunay and Gleizes over time. Gleizes, a part of the Abbaye group, worked alongside Mercereau, who also contributed to Vers et Prose. After the Cubism of Metzinger, Gleizes et al. officially entered the public arena, these poets, artists, and critics continued

 51. Daniel Robbins, "From Symbolism to Cubism: The Abbaye of Créteil," Art Journal 23, no. 2 (Winter 1963-64): 111-116; Daniel Robbins, "Sources of Cubism and Futurism," Art Journal 41, no. 4 (Winter 1981): 324-432; Daniel Robbins, Albert Gleizes, 1881-1953: A Retrospective Exhibition, ex. cat. (New York: The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, 1964), 13-14; Décaudin, La Crise des valeurs symbolistes, 226-248.

The Abbaye de Créteil, unlike the école de la rue Ravignan, began as a communal venture, somewhat in the spirit of Fourier's phalanx, wherein the group helps each individual realize his potential through sharing responsibilities, money, food, etc. The members of the Abbaye enacted their utopian dream from 1906 to 1908 in a communal setting inspired by notions of Kropotkinian communal anarchism. This socially minded orientation was invested in their lifestyle and their art.

52. Décaudin, La Crise des valeurs symbolistes, 231.

to work together on several projects, most notably the "Section d'Or" exhibition in October 1912, thus appearing to be a unified network devoted to the Cubist effort. Yet even at this most intensely productive and cooperative moment, Salmon, Picasso, Max Jacob, and Braque maintained their distance, while Apollinaire felt comfortable in a wide variety of Cubist alliances.⁵³

As mentioned above, the writers Alfred Jarry and Mécislas Golberg contributed to Le Festin d'Ésope. Both were quite independent thinkers of that era, advocates of anarchism, and eccentrics in their respective lives. Their radical ideas concerning art and aesthetics certainly inspired Cubism, but neither lived to see that era. Both died in 1907, Jarry at thirty-four and Golberg at thirty-nine. In his memoirs Souvenirs sans fin and L'Air de la Butte, Salmon devoted full chapters to each author, paying homage to their influence on his generation, and above all himself.⁵⁴

53. Adéma, 200-216.

54. Apollinaire also mentioned Jarry in the context of his article on Henri Rousseau, the naive painter that Jarry reputedly "discovered," (Guillaume Apollinaire, "Le Douanier," Les Soirées de Paris 15 January 1914) and in his announcements of the reprinting of his play Ubu roi, which contained reproductions of the original woodcut illustrations for the play (Guillaume Apollinaire, "Jarry, dessinateur," Paris-Journal, 28 June 1914) and Ubu aux colonies (Guillaume Apollinaire, "Les Nouvelles et les vues de la littérature et les arts," L'Europe nouvelle, 27 April 1918).

To describe the poet and playwright Alfred Jarry, who wrote the shocking and absurdist play Ubu roi, Salmon called him "Père Ubu" to signify that Jarry's life mirrored his theatrical creation [fig. 9].⁵⁵ Jarry's plays and essays served as vehicles for his anarchistic, subversive thinking. With this provocative spirit, he invented "Pataphysics," a pseudo-science wherein the laws govern opposites, chaos, chance, randomness, absurdity, and imaginary solutions.⁵⁶

Jarry's productions stunned genteel bourgeois audiences, while they captivated the bohemian avant-garde. Above all, Jarry's humor, which ridiculed bourgeois etiquette and lampooned social injustice, won over Salmon and his gang, inspiring their own free-spirited wordplay and practical jokes.⁵⁷ Despite Jarry's raucous style and anti-Symbolist sentiment, Salmon believed that this writer was one of the few true Symbolists:⁵⁸ "l'outrancier, l'extravagant, le symbolificocandard Jarry qui. . . m'assura d'une certaine voie. . ."⁵⁹ He was a Symbolist in his adherence to an element of mystery

55. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 1:145-163.

56. Ibid.

57. Shattuck, 218-219. In addition to being enamored with Jarry's sense of humor, Picasso was fascinated with Jarry's habit of punctuating a declaration with a few shots from the Browning revolver he carried with him most of the time. Shortly before his death, Jarry gave Picasso his revolver which Max Jacob perceived as an emblem of "the new psychic Picasso." He said that "the revolver was really the harbinger comet of the century." Max Jacob, Chronique des temps heroïques, (Paris, 1956), 48-49, quoted in Ron Johnson, "The 'Demoiselles d'Avignon' and Dionysian Destruction," Arts Magazine 55, no. 2 (October 1980): 103.

58. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 1:146-147

59. Ibid., 1:147.

and maintaining a distance from the audience, though in a rather vulgar manner. In this regard, Salmon admitted that he followed in Jarry's footsteps,⁶⁰ scavenging for provocative ammunition among the commonplaces of life and reordering his experiences in an absurdist manner.⁶¹

The richest part of Jarry's production was his theory of Pataphysics, which Salmon thought played a significant role in the formation of Cubist aesthetics.⁶² In a column written for Paris-Journal in 1911, some years after Jarry's death, Salmon paralleled the conceptual principles of Pataphysics, quoting from Jarry's Doctor Faustroll, to describe the Cubism practiced by Jean Metzinger, Albert Gleizes, et al.:

"Le consentement universel est déjà un préjugé bien miraculeux et incompréhensible. Pourquoi chacun affirme-t-il que la forme d'une montre est ronde, ce qui est manifestement faux, puisqu'on lui voit de profil une figure rectangulaire étroite, elliptique de trois quarts, et pourquoi diable

60. Ibid, 1:55: "Alfred Jarry, . . . précurseur du surréalisme, me louait de fonder ma poésie sur le quotidien."

61. André Salmon, Le Manuscrit trouvé dans un chapeau (Paris: Société Littéraire de France, 1919) is the best example.

62. It is interesting to note that in an interview, Eugene Ionesco said: "Jarry, the nihilist father of the college of pataphysics, was clearly a very interesting man, and the college follows a kind of European Zen, of French Zen; it is a school of criticism and nihilism. We mistrust everything and at the same time we laugh at everything; this is why I was an admirer of such pataphysicians as André Salmon and Raymond Queneau. Salmon founded the movement, and it did me the honor of nominating me satrap, which I remain. As Salmon, René Clair, and Queneau are all dead, we may say that pataphysics has gone into hiding." Sanda Miller, "Excuse Me Madam But It Seems to Me Unless I'm Mistaken that I've Met You Somewhere Before," Artforum 25, no. 7 (March 1987): 98.

n'a-t-on noté sa forme qu'au moment où l'on regarde l'heure? (Braque, Metzinger, Gleizes, Le Fauconnier, etc.) Peut-être sous le prétexte de l'utile. Mais le même enfant, qui dessine la montre ronde, dessine aussi la maison carrée, selon la façade, et cela évidemment sans aucune raison, car il est rare, sinon dans la campagne, qu'il voie un édifice isolé, et, dans une rue, même les façades apparaissent selon des trapèzes très oblique. (Robert Delaunay, Raoul Dufy).⁶³

Salmon then goes on in his own words:

Car, n'oublions pas que le mot cubisme n'a qu'une valeur conventionnelle, et que les cubistes usent de toutes sortes de figures géométriques.

Enfin, voici la définition de la *Pataphysique*: "La Pataphysique est la science des solutions imaginaires, qui accorde symboliquement aux linéaments les propriétés des objets décrits par leur virtuosité."

Et cela aide beaucoup à comprendre les efforts de plusieurs.⁶⁴

Of principal interest in this 1911 column is the absence of Picasso's name among those referred to as Cubists, firstly because Salmon did not consider Picasso a Cubist, and secondly because Salmon already knew that Picasso, like himself, had been influenced by Jarry. By addressing the question "Les cubistes savent-ils qu'il doivent tout à Alfred Jarry?" to Braque, Metzinger, Gleizes, Le Fauconnier, Delaunay, and Dufy, Salmon clearly established that he viewed these painters as "public" Cubists and separated these artists from the old Festin d'Ésope crowd that socialized with Père Ubu in the cafés,

63. La Palette [André Salmon], "Courrier des Arts," Paris-Journal, 1 December 1911.

64. Ibid.

absorbing his peculiar kind of wit, pugnaciousness, and self-mythologizing.⁶⁵

Jarry's impact on the *école de la rue Ravignan* lingered after his death on November 1, 1907, most notably in the guise of the famous banquet held in honor of the naive painter Henri Rousseau, whom Jarry had discovered in 1906 and introduced to *la bande à Picasso*. The banquet took place in Picasso's studio in 1908. Jarriesque in its merriment and practical joking, it honored an obscure, self-taught painter who believed his naive depictions of dreams and reality were equal to those of the masters of the Louvre. Even the mix-up with the

65. That Picasso is not named, while Braque, Delaunay, Metzinger, Leger, etc. are, supports Ron Johnson's theory that Salmon knew Picasso drew upon Jarry and Pataphysics for his work Les Demoiselles d'Avignon (completed shortly before Jarry's death). However, in Ron Johnson's article, entitled "Picasso's Demoiselles d'Avignon and the Theatre of the Absurd," Arts Magazine, October 1980, 102-113, the author states: "For a variety of reasons, the Demoiselles d'Avignon is often credited as the beginning of Cubism. . . .[and] much that is basic to Picasso's Cubism is not fundamental to other artists' creations which are nonetheless still called Cubism. The rudimentary reasons for this may be found in an article André Salmon wrote in Paris-Journal, entitled 'Un percurseur [sic] du cubism,' in which he discussed Alfred Jarry, pataphysics and Cubism. Salmon did not develop Picasso's relationship to pataphysics in any detail, however, he did reach the important conclusion that pataphysics enables one to understand the nature of Cubism." Here Johnson identified the ground-breaking importance of Les Demoiselles d'Avignon for Picasso's Cubism (as did Salmon) and its Jarriesque, theatricality (that is, the subversive and provocative intentionality), he erroneously assumed that Salmon's reference to the Cubists in his article automatically included Picasso. As mentioned in my introduction, when Salmon discussed Cubism, he did not include Picasso as part of the movement. Johnson's article is another example in which a misreading of Salmon's criticism has led to flawed conclusions. Another article on Jarriesque devices in works by *la bande à Picasso* is Patricia Leighton, "'La Propagande par le rire': Satire and Subversion in Apollinaire, Jarry, and Picasso's Collages," Gazette des Beaux-Arts 88 (October 1988): 163-172.

caterers (who scheduled their delivery for the following day) seemed like an example taken from the laws of Pataphysics.

Hostess Fernande Olivier and guests Maurice Raynal and Gertrude Stein (among others) wrote down their impressions of the evening years after the banquet, and in Pataphysical fashion, none agreed on what took place.⁶⁶ Especially annoyed with Stein's inaccuracies, Salmon submitted his own rendition of the story in an article entitled "Testimony against Gertrude Stein," published in transition.⁶⁷ A portion of his essay sheds light on her inability to comprehend his friends' Jarriesque humor and punning:

Her description of my drunkenness on this occasion is entirely false . . . It is evident that Miss Stein understood little of the tendency that we all had, Apollinaire, Max Jacob, myself and the others. . . . We invented an artificial world with countless jokes, rites and expressions that were quite unintelligible to others. Obviously she did not understand very well the rather peculiar French we used to speak.⁶⁸

The "peculiar French" which Salmon and his friends spoke also came from exposure to the poetic genre *Fantaisisme*. In essence,

66. Olivier, 68-70; Maurice Raynal, "Le Banquet Rousseau," Les Soirées de Paris, 15 January 1913; Stein, 103-108; other versions of the Rousseau banquet can be found in Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 2:48-65; Warnod, 123; Shattuck, 66-71; Alice B. Toklas, What Is Remembered (New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1963), 55-57.

67. André Salmon, "Testimony against Gertrude Stein," transition (The Hague) no. 23 (February 1935): 14-15; repr. in A Picasso Anthology: Documents, Criticism, Reminiscences, ed. Marilyn McCully (London: Art Council of Great Britain/Thames and Hudson, 1981), 63.

68. Ibid.

Fantaisistes retrieved experiences from everyday life and transformed them into the absurd through unlikely juxtapositions of words or events, blurring the line between fantasy and reality.⁶⁹ As *Fantaisistes*, Salmon, Apollinaire, and Max Jacob owed much to Jarry's innovations,⁷⁰ and, in some respects, their poetry foreshadowed Dada and Surrealism.

In tandem with Jarry's eccentric Symbolism and anarchism, Salmon found another equally fecund and unusual source in the Polish poet/essayist/anarchist Mécislas Golberg [fig. 10]. Here, in a vivid portrait, Salmon described this aesthete and the atmosphere of his home:

Quand on a discuté d'art enfin, ce fut dans le logis ouvrier de l'homme singulier, trop oublier, et qui influença fortement notre jeunesse. Mécislas Golberg, . . . oui, une logis d'ouvrier, rue de la Tombe-Issoire. On y trouvait Mécislas Golberg drapant à l'antique son effroyable maigreur. . . . Rue de la Tombe-Issoire on parlait d'art.⁷¹

Depicting his mentor like a Greco-Roman philosopher among his students, Salmon recalled this frail, tubercular man as a major force of guidance among the younger members of Paris' literary set.

69. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 1:147.

70. Décaudin, La Crise des valeurs symbolistes, 430-446.

71. André Salmon, L'Air de la Butte (Paris: La Nouvelle France, 1945), 188-192.

Unfortunately, little has been written about Mécislas Golberg and the specific ideas he relayed to his colleagues at La Plume and Le Festin d'Ésope. According to Salmon, Florent Fels, and our contemporary scholars Edward Fry, Pierre Aubéry, and Elzbieta Grabska,⁷² Golberg's ideas--particularly those set down in La Morale des lignes (published posthumously in 1907)--inspired the young poets and artists who belonged to the *école de la rue Ravignan* and the *Abbaye de Créteil*.⁷³

Perhaps it was Golberg's emphasis on the formal qualities of a work of art (point, line, and composition) as interpolators of higher states of being (universals) which initially appealed to these early modernists. For example, Golberg wrote:

L'esthétique, c'est de chercher une échelle de simplification, de l'imposer aux surfaces et aux faits, de spiritualiser en un mot les instants fugaces de la vie, les expressions qui paraissent périssable et confuses. . . . Créer une oeuvre d'art, c'est annoter le jeu d'équilibre des forces universelles, l'équilibre de la vie et de la mort, du rire et de la larme, de l'ombre et de la clarté. En partant de ce point de vue, il pose le schéma non plus de l'esprit, de l'âme, du coeur, mais d'une unité, d'une être.⁷⁴

72. Ibid.; Florent Fels, L'Art vivant de 1900 à nos jours, vol. I (1900-1914) (Genève: Pierre Cailler, 1950), 1:223-225; Edward F. Fry, Cubism (London and New York: Thames and Hudson, 1966; repr. New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1978), 45-46; Pierre Aubéry, "Mécislas Golberg et l'Art Moderne," Gazette des Beaux-Arts 66 (December 1965): 339-344; Pierre Aubéry, Anarchiste et Décadent: Mécislas Golberg (Paris: Minard, 1978), 77-108; Elzbieta Grabska, "Mécislas Golberg dans l'entourage d'Apollinaire," La Revue des lettres modernes 8, no. 217-222 (1969): 167-181.

73. Fels, L'Art vivant, 1:223; Fry, 45-46; P.A. Jannini, "Salmon/Golberg: Anarchia e Misura," André Salmon, no. 9 Quaderni del Novecento Francese (Rome: Bulzoni; Paris: Nizet, 1987), 46.

Here we find a rhapsodic description of the interplay between "fugitive" line and "the forces of universal equilibrium" which seems to pertain to an aesthetic evaluation of Picasso's and Braque's "Analytic" Cubist period, a period that developed three years after Golberg wrote this passage. However, Golberg, who might have met Picasso through Salmon, did not write La Morale des lignes with these young conceptual artists in mind. Rather, the book concentrates on the work of caricaturist André Rouveyre, an artist Golberg greatly admired, alongside Rodin, Bourdelle, and Matisse--all master draftsmen.⁷⁵

By extolling the virtues of the formal, rather than the anecdotal, Golberg's writing reflected Symbolist values available in contemporary essays, such as those by the artist/theoretician Maurice Denis.⁷⁶ Both Golberg and Denis believed that the formal elements of art (line, color, and form) denoted a metaphysical correspondence with nature, human emotions/states of mind, and universal truths. In this regard, their writings anticipated (to some extent) Vassily Kandinsky's book Concerning the Spiritual in Art.⁷⁷ More importantly,

74. Mécislas Golberg, La Morale des lignes (Paris: Albert Messein, 1908), 21; also quoted (with some errors) in Salmon, Souvenirs sans fins, 1:101.

75. Salmon, L'Air de la Butte, 101.

76. Maurice Denis, Théories, du symbolisme et de Gauguin vers un nouvel ordre classique (Paris: L. Rouart and J. Watelin, 1920); Maurice Denis, Nouvelles Théories sur l'art moderne, sur l'art sacré, 1914-1921 (Paris: L. Rouart and J. Watelin, 1922).

77. Vassily Kandinsky, Concerning the Spiritual in Art (1912). Both

Golberg's emphasis on the spiritual aspect of artistic creation contributed to the ideologies embraced by members of the *Abbaye de Créteil*,⁷⁸ where several of Golberg's essays were printed on a private press.⁷⁹

Although Salmon, in a letter to Florent Fels, claimed that Golberg's writings did not have an enduring influence on his own art criticism,⁸⁰ it is clear that Salmon's ideals concerning art and life in general owe much to his discussions with Golberg. Above all, it is likely that Golberg's emphasis on individualism, innovation, *mesure* (appropriate restraint),⁸¹ and disdain of established rules guided Salmon's critical approach to art. In particular, both Golberg and Salmon emphasized individualism, the basis of most anarchist ideals

Kandinsky and Golberg based their aesthetics on a fundamental belief in the symbolism of pure lines, shapes, and, in Kandinsky's book, color. Both thinkers embraced anarchism and believed in an anarchic orientation to the rules governing art. See Rose-Carol Washton Long, "Occultism, Anarchism, and Abstraction: Kandinsky's Art of the Future," *Art Journal* 46, no. 1 (Spring 1987): 38-45. Kandinsky was also familiar with Maurice Denis' writings on art (see Rose-Carol Washton Long, *Kandinsky: The Development of an Abstract Style* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980], 45-50).

78. David Cottingham, "Cubism and the Politics of Culture in France, 1905-1904" (Ph.D. diss., London University, 1987), 89.

79. Mécislas Golberg, *De l'Esprit dialectique* (Créteil: Éditeur de "L'Abbaye," 1907).

80. Letter from André Salmon to Florent Fels, February 25, 1947, quoted in P.A. Jannini, 46.

81. Jannini, 35-48. Fels' citation of Golberg: "Seuls les médiocres croient aux lois établies, à la défail," (Fels, 222) also supports Jannini's article on Golberg's belief in mavericks and individualists.

postulated by Max Stirner, Peter Kropotkin, and Michael Bakunin (among others). Golberg was quite familiar with all three anarchist leaders mentioned above,⁸² but it is interesting to note that in his memoirs Salmon only referred to Golberg's familiarity with Stirner.⁸³ It is likely, therefore, that Salmon was especially impressed with Golberg's discussions about Stirner's writings and that Golberg either introduced Stirner's ideas to Salmon or reinforced what had already been Salmon's preferred form of anarchism.⁸⁴

Golberg's and Jarry's evocation of anarchist ideals touched Salmon profoundly, reverberating throughout the young poet's criticism either as a polemic ("Nous avons tué la vieille critique!"⁸⁵) or as subtle innuendo ("Le sourire de la Joconde fut trop longtemps, peut-être, Le Soleil de l'Art"⁸⁶). Later in life, in 1959, Salmon revitalized his *anarchisant* tendencies by writing a sympathetic book about the history of anarchism, La Terreur noire, wherein he paid homage to his anarchist friend Golberg and other libertarian thinkers

82. Aubéry, Anarchiste et Décadent: Mécislas Golberg, 16, 129, 167. André Billy, L'Époque 1900 (Paris: Tallandier, 1951), 441: "L'écrivain le plus représentatif de tout le mouvement de pensée qui se résume dans le mot *anarchisme* et qui était issu de Hegel, de Max Stirner, de Proudhon, de Bakounine, de Tolstoï, de Netchaïev, de Nietzsche, du prince Kropotkine, d'Élisée Reclus etc., fut Mécislas Golberg."

83. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 1:90.

84. André Salmon, La Terreur noire (Paris: Jean-Jacques Pauvert, 1959), 38.

85. André Salmon, L'Art vivant (Paris: Crès, 1920), 9.

86. Salmon, La Jeune Peinture française, 48.

who fought for anarchist ideals during the early part of this century.⁸⁷

While Salmon embraced Golberg's anarchist aesthetics, Apollinaire absorbed Golberg's notion of the spiritual in art. Later, in 1922, André Rouveyre remembered the impact of Golberg's ideas on Apollinaire, stating in an interview: "La plupart des théories qu'Apollinaire a répandues; et qui ont fait fortune, avec tant de bruit et d'excitations dévergondées, notamment sur les bases propres de l'expression dans la déformation et la spiritualisation des lignes et les plans, sont dans Golberg."⁸⁸

Rouveyre also claimed, in the same interview, that Golberg helped Matisse formulate his ideas for his famous 1908 essay "Notes d'un peintre," published in La Grand Revue: "Il a fixé nettement tout cela et le développait encore autour de Matisse, lorsqu'il mourut. . .

.⁸⁹ If Rouveyre's statements are reliable, then it seems that Golberg touched a number of influential avant-gardists in both the Fauve and burgeoning Cubist camps.

* * * * *

87. Salmon, La Terreur noire, passim.

88. André Rouveyre, "Souvenirs de mon commerce. Dans la contagion de Mécislas Golberg," Mercure de France, 15 April 1922, quoted in Aubéry, Anarchist et Décadent: Mécislas Golberg, 104.

89. Ibid.

At the time that Salmon met Jarry and Golberg at La Closerie des Lilas, he struck up a friendship with another member of that café's crowd, the Spanish sculptor Manuel Hugué (called Manolo), resident of the Bateau Lavoir. After an evening at La Closerie des Lilas, Manolo led Salmon back to his apartment house and into the studio of his neighbor and compatriot Pablo Picasso [fig. 11]. This meeting took place some time in the fall of 1904 (though Salmon recorded it as 1903, before Picasso had settled at the Bateau Lavoir).⁹⁰

The day after this historic meeting, Salmon returned to Picasso's studio at the invitation of the painter and met Max Jacob on the studio's threshold. The artist had intentionally arranged for this meeting of the two poets, who became "spiritual brothers" from that time forward [fig. 12].⁹¹

Max Jacob had met Picasso on June 24, 1901 at his first Paris exhibition in Ambroise Vollard's gallery.⁹² Then in late 1904 or early 1905, Max Jacob and Picasso were introduced to Apollinaire by their mutual friend "Baron" Mollet, then managing editor of Le Festin d'Ésope. According to Max Jacob, this meeting took place in a café on the rue d'Amsterdam.⁹³ Over the next few months, the four

90. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 1:164.

91. Ibid.

92. Lina Lachgar, Max Jacob (Paris: Henri Veyrier, 1981), 32.

93. Max Jacob, "Souvenirs sur Picasso conté par Max Jacob," Cahiers d'art 6 (1927): 202.

men--Salmon, Apollinaire, Max Jacob, and Picasso--became a tightly knit foursome who met regularly at Picasso's studio in the Bateau Lavoir.

As Salmon recalled in his memoirs Souvenirs sans fin, he "penetrated" into the midst of Picasso's Blue Period: "Pour peindre, pour présenter les toiles, il fallait la bougie, . . . que Picasso tint haut devant moi quand il m'introduisit humainement au monde surhumain de ses affamés, de ses stropiats, de ses mères sans lait; le monde supra-réel de la Misère bleue."⁹⁴ On this occasion, Picasso lent Salmon the book Testament de ma vie première by anarchist poet Felicien Fagus and L'Arbre by the spiritual dramatist Paul Claudel,⁹⁵ two significant indications of the ideals both men held in common: a desire for unconditional liberty and the search for the Absolute.⁹⁶ Now as a "gang," Picasso, Salmon, Apollinaire, and Max Jacob embarked upon a more symbiotic relationship, as evidenced in their work which emerged after 1904.

94. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 1:170.

95. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 1:75-76.

96. La Palette [André Salmon], "Courriers des Ateliers," Paris-Journal, 31 July 1910: "Depuis, Picasso a encore évolué; si la recherche de l'absolu le rend parfois moins immédiatement séduisant, on ne doit pas oublier que plusieurs des jeunes peintres actuels les plus remarquables bénéficient de ses audacieuses tentatives, et, disons-le, de ses découverts." I would like to thank Lynn Wissing Gamwell for allowing me to copy her transcription of this article.

Of particular note is the circus imagery found in Salmon's poem "Cirque," published in a collection entitled Féeries (1907) which parallels Picasso's Rose Period.⁹⁷ In both contexts, the main characters are clowns, jugglers, tightrope walkers, harlequins, *saltimbanques*, and other circus/street performers depicted either practicing their acrobatic stunts or at rest, yet caught in an emotionally charged moment: in Salmon's poem, Mister Clown thinks about his beloved Dolores, the tightrope walker, as she performs her act, knowing full well that it is over between them; on the other hand, in Picasso's paintings La Famille des Acrobates avec un Singe (1905) [fig. 13] and La Famille d'Arlequin (1905) [fig. 14], the artist shows the familial intimacy of the artist's/performer's life off stage. The choice of subject matter can be traced to several possible roots: Charles Baudelaire's poem "Vieux Saltimbanques," Banville's poem "Odes funambulesque," Jules Laforgue's poem "Pierrot fumiste," the works of older painters such as Cézanne, Seurat, Degas, and Daumier (which were available in various exhibitions), the Cirque Médrano (which they frequented more than once a week), or the costume-ball popularity of these characters (which dates back to the medieval *commedia dell'arte*). These possible sources for Picasso's early harlequin paintings have been proposed by several scholars, most notably Theodore Reff, E. A. Carmean, Jr., Ronald Johnson, and Renato Poggioli.⁹⁸ Poggioli wrote: "The allegory of artist-acrobat suggests

97. André Salmon, Féeries (Paris: Vers et Prose, 1905).

98. Theodore Reff, "Harlequins, Saltimbanques, Clowns, and Fools," Artforum 10, no. 2 (October 1971): 30-43; E.A. Carmean, Jr., Picasso: The Saltimbanques, ex. cat. (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of

the tendency to dehumanize the human and to mechanize the vital; the allegory of the artist-Pagliaccio emphasizes his destined humanization and alienation."⁹⁹ Apollinaire's poems published in Alcools (1913) and Max Jacob's poems published in Le Cornet à Dés (1917) date back to this 1905-1907 period and also include the same or similiar characters who seem adrift within the structure of mainstream, bourgeois society.

The attraction to these marginal characters might have come from several idealized notions about the vagabond worker. Undoubtedly, their unfettered existence, which enacted the pure anarchic life, represented the most concrete symbol of their ambitions. Also by depicting or describing balancing feats, Picasso and Salmon characterized the acrobats as the epitome of the avant-garde artist: one who tempers artistic talent with the rigors of self-imposed discipline.

In his memoirs Souvenirs sans fin, Salmon called this moment in Picasso's oeuvre (c.1905) his Harlequin Period,¹⁰⁰ and referred to his painting The Family of Saltimbanques, now owned by the National Gallery in Washington, D.C., as Les Bateleurs, its original name [fig.

Art, 1980); Ronald Johnson, "Picasso's Parisian Family and the 'Saltimbanques,'" Arts Magazine 51, no. 5 (January 1977): 90-95; and Renato Poggioli, The Theory of the Avant-garde, trans. Gerald Fitzgerald (Cambridge, Mass. and London, England: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1968), 142-143.

99. Poggioli, 143.

100. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 2:259.

15]. He remembered that Picasso depicted a fat man who resembled Apollinaire,¹⁰¹ a recollection that corroborated Max Jacob's memories of Picasso portraying Apollinaire and himself in those days.¹⁰² This aspect of the *saltimbanque* theme was investigated by Theodore Reff in his article entitled "Harlequins, Saltimbanques, Clowns, and Fools," a study of Picasso's The Family of Saltimbanques (1905).¹⁰³ Here Reff suggested that the collection of people depicted were actually Picasso's surrogate family on the Butte Montmartre, the members of *la bande à Picasso*.¹⁰⁴ Indeed, this assertion seems quite correct and corresponds to the memoirs of both Max Jacob and André Salmon, wherein both poets described their spontaneously created "fraternity." Max Jacob wrote the following recollection:

Nous ne nous quittions guère: nous allions attendre Guillaume Apollinaire à la sortie de la banque qui l'employait, rue Lepelletier. Nous déjeunions et dinions ensemble. Nos opinions littéraires se résumaient dans ces mots: "À bas La Forgue! Vive Rimbaud!" Le "vive Rimbaud" a fait fortune comme on sait.¹⁰⁵

While Salmon did not recall the same love/hate declarations, his general description of the atmosphere of friendship confirmed Max Jacob's, as exemplified in this passage from Souvenirs sans fin:

101. Ibid., 2:259-260.

102. Max Jacob, "Souvenirs sur Picasso," Cahiers d'arts, no. 2 (1927): 202.

103. Reff, "Harlequins, Saltimbanques, Clowns, and Fools," 30-43.

104. Ibid., 42-43.

105. Robert Guiette, "Vie de Max Jacob," La Nouvelle Revue française 43, nos. 250-251 (1934): 251.

C'est de 1903 [sic 1904] à 1906, de l'Époque bleue au Cubisme, que se tinrent au Bateau-Lavoir, dans l'atelier de Picasso, ces assemblées familiales dont personne aujourd'hui ne songe à contester l'importance. J'hésite devant les mots. J'hésite à dire que ce fut tout gratuit car l'ambition (sans souci de fortune) était vaste chez Picasso et chacun de nous entendait pousser très loin, au delà des limites aperçues, le plus ou moins de pensée qui le gouvernait tout entier. . . . Quand depuis les grands jours et les beaux soirs de la rue Ravignan, Max Jacob ne se souciait plus de tout de crier aux étoiles: "À bas Rimbaud!", dans l'esprit que j'ai dit. . . . Nous étions terriblement individualistes. Étions-nous modestes? Pas tellement.¹⁰⁶

Although Salmon recalled that Rimbaud was out of favor and Jacob remembered just the reverse, both testimonies provide compelling evidence about the intimate quality of the bond shared by Picasso, Salmon, Jacob, and Apollinaire (particularly in Jacob's account) and the anarchistic spirit that dominated the group's activities (especially in Salmon's memoirs). Salmon's self-mythologizing about his liberal days and libertarian connections¹⁰⁷ seems to reinforce Patricia Leighton's theories concerning the significance of Salmon's anarchist sympathies during the *avant-guerre* years,¹⁰⁸ and yet Salmon

106. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 1:186-187.

107. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, *passim*. Salmon wrote about several participants in the anarchists movement whom he had met or knew of. The following list of reference will demonstrated that his memoirs are dotted with these names--on the anarchist critic Félicien Fénéon: 1:54, 155, 352; 2:117, 161, 162, 163, 314; 3:107, 293, 256; on the anarchist poet Félicien Fagus: 1:40, 73, 76, 77, 198, 284, 352; on anarchist terrorists Ravachol: 1:167, 234, 245; 2:281; 3:54, 300, 310, 311, and Kibaltchiche (alias Victor Serge): 3:89, 302; 2:178, 277; 3:302-303; and, of course, his references to anarchist aesthetician Mécislas Golberg: 1:31, 55, 56, 69, 70, 74, 80-106, 130, 198, 235, 280, 282, 345; 2:54; 153; 162; 249 and Golberg's anarchist terrorist son Mécislas Charrier: 1:97-98.

108. Leighton, Re-ordering the Universe, 48-73.

also knew and admired other individualist thinkers, such as Maurice Barrès and André Derain, whose outlooks shifted from the extreme Left before the war to the extreme Right after the war.¹⁰⁹ Thus, scrutinizing Salmon's political sympathies in terms of Left or Right remains problematic. Rather, it is more telling to note his consistent loyalty to the core ideology of individualism. From that vantage point, he could comfortably and nostalgically look back upon his youthful *anarchisant* activities in 1959 from the more conservative position of a nominalist poet/critic without a sense of abandoning his fundamental ideals.

* * * * *

Toward the end of 1904, after the demise of Le Festin d'Ésope, the symbolist poet Paul Fort launched Vers et Prose, a publication dedicated to the presentation of both old and new trends in literature. Fort appointed Salmon secretary. Salmon also contributed poems to the magazine from time to time. The magazine's first issue appeared in 1905, and under its auspices a collection of poems by Salmon was published that year entitled Poèmes.¹¹⁰ Salmon's respect

109. On Barrès: Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 1:13, 33, 41, 46, 92, 149, 185, 195, 241, 260-281, 325; 2:11, 12, 60, 94, 110, 133, 159, 193, 249, 278, 279, 284; 3:39, 55, 65, 71, 76, 143, 166, 375. On Derain: 1:188, 192, 225, 244, 344, 378; 2:24, 40, 46, 49, 51, 52, 104, 109, 230, 252, 255, 256, 258, 263, 325, 333; 3:84, 98, 103, 132, 147, 157, 158, 179-185, 191, 193. Salmon also wrote several articles on Derain, a monograph in 1924, and dedicated his poem Peindre to the artist.

110. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 1:191-231.

for Paul Fort, Jean Moréas, and other poets who contributed to the magazine and met regularly at La Closerie des Lilas served the young poet in good stead as he began to find his own voice. In particular, Salmon returned to Moréas' lessons later in life when he formulated his own notion concerning the classic.¹¹¹ Salmon stayed with Vers et Prose's staff until 1906, when he decided to join a touring theatre group.¹¹²

Salmon's flirtation with life in the theatre did not last very long. He travelled with a small company through the French provinces, Belgium, Holland, and Switzerland, playing bit parts, assisting as stage manager, and doing other odd jobs. In his memoirs, Salmon quoted from one of Apollinaire's letters, written in verse, in which his friend envisioned Salmon's adventures on the tour:

Veux-tu me voir; il paraît que comique
Ton roman t'entraînant par l'Europe et l'Afrique
Sur ce grand chariot que Thespis éprouva
Tu régiras l'hyène et le fakir Deva.¹¹³

111. Salmon, L'Art vivant, 82: "Aux funérailles de Jean Moréas, M. Maurice Barrès nous restituant la parole dernière de son ami, son testament poétique: '"Les classiques, les romantiques, tout ça c'est des bêtises!'" Here Salmon reveals the juncture of their influence in his quotation of Barrès quoting Moréas.

112. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 1: 354-355.

113. Ibid., 1:353. A letter from Apollinaire to Salmon, Wednesday, 5 September 1906 in Correspondance, in Oeuvres complètes de Guillaume Apollinaire, 4:722-723.

In 1907, Salmon returned to Paris and settled on the rue Saint Vincent in Montmartre. He took up with his old friends at the Bateau Lavoir in full force and in the summer of that year he saw Les Demoiselles d'Avignon [fig. 6] in Picasso's studio for the first time [fig. 5]:¹¹⁴

Pour la première fois, chez Picasso, l'expression des visages n'est ni tragique ni passionnée. Il s'agit de masques à peu près délivré de toute humanité. Pourtant, ces personnages ne sont pas des dieux, non plus des Titans ou des héros; pas même des figures allégoriques ou symboliques. Ce sont des problèmes nus, des chiffres blancs au tableau noir.

C'est le principe posé de la peinture-équation.

La nouvelle toile de Picasso fut spontanément baptisée par un ami de l'artiste "Le b. . . philosophique." Ce fut là, je crois, la dernière farce d'atelier dont devait s'égayer le monde des jeunes peintres novateurs. La peinture, désormais, devenait une science et non des moins austères.¹¹⁵

Several sources agree that Salmon gave the painting its present title,¹¹⁶ and that Apollinaire was the "friend" who christened the canvas first as Le Bordel Philosophique.¹¹⁷ Apparently, naming the canvas began as a joke among members of *la bande à Picasso*. Picasso

114. William Rubin, "La Genèse des Demoiselles d'Avignon," Les Demoiselles d'Avignon, ex. cat. (Paris: Musée Picasso, 1988), 376.

115. Salmon, La Jeune Peinture française, 43-44.

116. Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, "Huit Entretiens avec Picasso," Le Point, October 1952, repr. in Picasso: Oeuvres reçues en paiement des droits de succession, ex. cat., ed. Dominique Bozo et al. (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1979), 46; Warnod, 123; Mark Roskill, The Interpretation of Cubism (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1985), 44; Rubin, "La Genèse des Demoiselles d'Avignon," 376.

117. Warnod, 123; Rubin, "La Genèse des Demoiselles d'Avignon," 376.

explained to Kahnweiler in 1933 that they combined the name Avinyo (a street in Barcelona where Picasso bought his paints) and Avignon, a homonym Max Jacob introduced to evoke an association with the home of his grandmother.¹¹⁸ Picasso never liked the name and preferred to call it "mon bordel."¹¹⁹

Nine years later, Salmon decided on the painting's present title, Les Demoiselles d'Avignon, when he included it at the Salon d'Antin of 1916. William Rubin believes that he selected the name to convey in an arcane manner that this depiction was of prostitutes (since the city Avignon had been known for its brothels and licentious society in the 17th century--indeed a nominalist's attempt to explain through the use of a word redolent with connotations). From Rubin's point of view, the opacity of the title was put in place to protect the painting from becoming a *succès de scandale*.¹²⁰ Although it is true that Salmon can be credited with naming the work of art for its debut, the reference to Avignon was probably bandied about by *la bande à Picasso* much before the Salon d'Antin. Most likely Apollinaire, who compiled a list of the Bibliothèque Nationale's pornographic books and wrote a parody of the Marquis de Sade's La Philosophie dans le boudoir entitled Les Onze Mille Verges (1907), suggested various scatological

118. Philippe Thiébaud, catalogue entry for Les Demoiselles d'Avignon in Picasso: Oeuvres reçues en paiement des droits de succession, 46.

119. Ibid.; Rubin, "La Genèse des Demoiselles d'Avignon," 376.

120. Rubin, "La Genèse des Demoiselles d'Avignon," 376-380.

sobriquets at the time that Picasso privately exhibited his masterpiece.¹²¹ His friends, in turn, responded in their Jarriesque fashion with puns of their own invention including "Avignon," "Avinyo" and other suggestive references. Thus it might be more correct to view Salmon as one who selected the title from a wide range of possibilities that were already proposed at one time or another.

* * * * *

While still living on the rue Saint-Vincent in 1908, Salmon began to feel the hardship of real poverty. He needed a part-time job in

121. Rubin, "La Genèse des Demoiselles d'Avignon," 376-377. Rubin wrote that Salmon explained the connotation of Avignon to Picasso from his knowledge of Petrarch and the troubadours' use of the word Avignon, which can be found in the Abbé de Sade's book Mémoires pour la vie de Pétrarque (Avignon, 1764). Rubin calls Salmon a "great reader of Petrarch." (p. 380) The only evidence I have found to support this assertion is in Salmon's poem "Sur le don des rime di Mess. Francesco Petrarca que me fait un ami," Les Étoiles dans l'encrier, (Paris: Gallimard, 1952), 28:

Pour le meilleur et pour le pire
Des heures que l'ange nous marque,
MERLIN, j'ai range ton Pétrarque
Auprès des Sonnets de Shakespeare.

According to Scott Bates, Apollinaire identified with Merlin (Scott Bates, Guillaume Apollinaire [New York: Twayne Publishers, 1967], 32-40). Therefore, I interpret this passage as Salmon's recalling having borrowed the Petrarch book from Apollinaire (a signifier of the beginning of their friendship), and his mentally replacing the book upon Apollinaire's shelf "next to Shakespeare's Sonnets" (a work by another of their favorite poets). I find the relationship between Petrarch and Apollinaire more important and perhaps the evidence to support my theory that Apollinaire came forth with the Avignon explanation/connotation, as he was the "great reader of Petrarch." In addition, Apollinaire's ideas had much in common with the Marquis de Sade's on the subject of women (Bates, 133-134).

order to support himself and his poetry. Through Charles Doury, a journalist and assistant editor at L'Intransigeant, he secured an appointment with the editor of the newspaper, Léon Bailby, who hired him immediately.¹²²

Salmon's first assignment combined an interview with the collector M. Deperdussin and a commentary on his collection of 18th century men's clothing, then on view at the Musée des Arts Decoratifs. Precipitating into the unknown (art and fashion, interviewing and reporting) caused the twenty-seven-year-old poet unforgettable anxiety, for until this moment he had only engaged in discussions about art with friends at Picasso's studio or with Golberg in his room near the Tombe d'Issoire. Now he would have to contemplate works of art on his own and reveal his thoughts to the public. In the following passage, Salmon recalled his thoughts prior to embarking upon his first critical exercise:

Le gilet de Robespierre, sous mes yeux, sous mon nez, au matin premier reportage?

Ça ne m'a fait aucun effet. Ce gilet, très joli, certes, n'était pas plus beau que les autres, outre que je n'ai pas du tout l'esprit de collection ... Je n'aime que ce qui vit et ce que j'aime des chose mortes est seulement ce qui se prolonge. . . .¹²³

Despite his initial displeasure, Salmon succeeded in writing the article. However, when he was asked to sign his work, Salmon selected

122. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 1:179-181.

123. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 2:16.

a pseudonym, André Tourette, instead of putting his own name under the article. "C'est le nom d'un personnage de roman," Salmon explained in his memoirs. "La Carrière d'André Tourette, par Lucien Muhlfeld . . . (qui) est un type de journaliste arriviste, cynique. Ça m'amusait."¹²⁴ (Salmon, after all, was known for his cynicism.) On the following day, Salmon interviewed the well-known artist Alfred Roll at his studio and this time he signed his article Paul Nerval (perhaps after the mid-nineteenth century, Romantic poet Gérard de Nerval¹²⁵). Bailby noticed Salmon's reluctance to sign his own name and asked the young journalist to do so in the future.¹²⁶ However, Salmon's delight in selecting names that resonated with inferences corresponded to his burgeoning nominalist aesthetic.

Thus, Salmon began his career as an art critic somewhat tentatively and ambivalently, without great enthusiasm or courage. Fortunately, he rectified this negative attitude in a review (not a report) of the Salon des Indépendants in 1909. Through his enthusiastic discussion of little-known and radically different young artists exhibited in this show (such as Amadeo Modigliani, Georges

124. Ibid.

125. Gérard de Nerval (1808-1855), poet, writer and translator, especially known for his translations into French of Goethe. His poetry influenced Baudelaire and Mallarmé, who referred to Nerval's suicide by hanging on a lamppost in his poem "Le Guignon" (C.F. MacIntyre, ed. and trans., French Symbolist Poetry [Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1958, 1971], 115).

126. Ibid, 2:17.

Braque, and Kees Van Dongen), Salmon acquired a reputation for being a strong and articulate advocate of the avant-garde.¹²⁷

Shortly after Salmon began to write for L'Intransigeant, he moved from the rue Saint-Vincent to the Bateau Lavoir. The exact source for the name "Bateau Lavoir" is not certain, but Jeanne Warnod credited Salmon as the one responsible for the name. She said that he thought this ramshackle, two-story apartment house resembled the laundry boats one saw on the Seine.¹²⁸ Salmon lived in the small studio next to the community water-pump, where Picasso met Fernande Olivier, who lived with him until 1912.¹²⁹

When Salmon moved into the Bateau Lavoir, he joined an exciting group of tenants: Picasso and Brancusi (there since 1904), Pascin (since 1905), Modigliani (since 1906), Van Dongen (since 1906), and the circle of other artists and writers who came to the various rooms or studios for lively discussions and spontaneous adventures. Among the regular guests were the mathematician Maurice Princet, the painter Marie Laurencin, and the American writer Gertrude Stein.¹³⁰

127. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin 2:30-1: "J'ai rapporté du Salon des Indépendants un papier court mais sonore; un papier du tonnerre. . . . Je criais l'honneur des fauves et j'annonçais la fortune du cubisme. J'ose dire que la presse quotidienne n'avait rien publié de ce ton depuis les articles consacrés par Gustave Geffroy aux impressionnistes, dans la Justice de Clemenceau."

128. Warnod, 6.

129. On Fernande Olivier's departure see: Pierre Daix, Picasso Créateur: La Vie intime et l'oeuvre (Paris: Seuil, 1987), 122-123.

130. Warnod, 29.

* * * * *

On July 13, 1909, André Salmon married Marie-Jeanne Blazy-Escarpette in the church Saint-Merri [fig. 16]. As the couple was poor, they cleverly took advantage of the concurrent festivities for the *Quatorze Juillet* (Bastille Day) in order to celebrate the occasion with dancing and music. In honor of the newlyweds, Apollinaire recited Poème lu au mariage d'André Salmon¹³¹ and Fernand Léger painted his Cubist work La Noce (1910-1911) [fig. 17] to commemorate this nuptial celebration.¹³²

Immediately after the wedding, André and Jeanne moved to the rue Rousselet on the Left Bank of Paris, not far from the Cité Falguière, where Modigliani would move not long after.¹³³ Within a few months the couple moved again, this time to 6, rue Joseph Bara, a location closer to the heart of Montparnasse, La Closerie des Lilas, and the popular cafés on the Carrefour Vavin (Le Sélect, Le Dôme, and La Rotonde).¹³⁴

131. Oeuvres complètes de Guillaume Apollinaire, 3:91-92.

132. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 2:139-140; Fry, 22.

133. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 2:103.

134. Ibid., 2:101.

Picasso also left the Bateau Lavoir in 1909, soon after his return from a productive summer in La Horta de San Juan, Spain. He found a new studio at 11 Boulevard Clichy, near Pigalle, and it was there, not at the Bateau Lavoir, where Picasso and Braque enjoyed their extraordinary period of collaboration [fig. 18].¹³⁵ By 1910, most of the young painters at the Bateau Lavoir had gone elsewhere and the intimacy of *la bande à Picasso* began to pale. Now Salmon and Modigliani lived on the Left Bank of Paris; Picasso, Braque, Apollinaire, Marie Laurencin, and Max Jacob (who replaced Salmon at the Bateau Lavoir) had begun to distance themselves by moving into various parts of Montmartre; and Léger settled west of Montparnasse in the artists' colony called La Ruche ("The Beehive"). Scattered throughout Paris, these poets and painters still gathered in cafés and studios to maintain their close ties.

By the spring of 1910, the work of Braque and Picasso had blossomed into their so-called "Analytic" period of Cubism. Meanwhile Léger and Metzinger, who still looked in on Picasso and Braque, began to develop their own Cubist vocabularies. Also, at this time, Salmon changed his newspaper affiliation from L'Intransigeant to the Paris-Journal, giving his post at L'Intransigeant to Apollinaire. Up until that point Apollinaire had been contributing occasionally to several publications.¹³⁶

135. Jane Fluegel, chronology for Pablo Picasso: A Retrospective, ed. William Rubin (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1980), 120; Bozo, 308.

136. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 2:108; Adéma, 163.

As the Paris-Journal's daily columnist on art from January 1910 to March 1912, Salmon gained notoriety for his provocative accounts of the art scene. He reviewed exhibitions and gossiped about France's current minister of culture, well-known collectors, and the artists themselves. On governmental decisions which concerned the arts, he would spearhead issues, often with punch, wit, and verve. As for the critiques on avant-garde trends, one notices that he seldom wrote about Cubism's intentions. He considered it a poor imitation of Picasso's style and disappointing in its uniformity. More impressed with originality and innovation, Salmon saved his unreserved praise for his friend Picasso.¹³⁷ Still, the critic believed that Cubism was not a complete failure.¹³⁸ "D'Ailleurs," he wrote, "il ne faut pas rire imprudemment des cubistes, dont l'effort est sincère, fécond, qui sait?"¹³⁹ Full of hope for these promising young artists, whose

137. André Salmon, "Le 27e Salon des Indépendants," Paris-Journal, 20 April 1911, 5: "Mais Picasso posa la première pierre, le premier cube du temple, et ce n'est pas ce qu'il fit de plus louable. Le cubisme est, en réalité, un moyen de composition tout à fait élémentaire, un procédé que pourrait indiquer un manuel à l'usage des débutantes..."

138. A[ndré] S[almon], "L'Art Contemporain," Paris-Journal, 21 november 1911, 4: "Tous les cubistes, qui ont recolté plus de horions que de palmes, ne font pas fortune, et s'ils s'égarent--ce que je redoute pour plusieurs--leur effort n'aura pas été totalement vain. D'autres viendront qui en bénéficieront, et, parmi les cubistes mêmes, je l'écrivais lors du Salon d'Automne. . . . Faisons donc crédit à Jean Metzinger, Albert Gleizes, Le Fauconnier, Léger, Marchand, etc. . . ."

139. La Palette [André Salmon], "Fernand Léger," Paris-Journal, 19 November 1911, 4. Salmon repeated the same sentiments in his 1913 review of "Le Salon d'Automne," Montjoie! 1, nos. 11-12 (November-December 1913): 2: "Néanmoins, le Salon de 1913 est un Salon nettement cubist . . . dont l'orthodoxie est moins avouée nous intéressent par la sévérité de leur composition, par l'économie

art reflected the geometry, mathematics, and philosophy that he, Picasso, and Apollinaire studied as well, Salmon promoted their work mainly by including notices about current or future exhibitions, writing short profiles on individual Cubist artists, and mentioning in passing the artists' whereabouts during the summer months when most people left Paris.

In addition to his mounting success as an art critic, Salmon's career as a poet came into its own. He published three volumes of poetry: Poèmes (1905), Féeries (1907), and Le Calumet (1910); received first prize in a poetry competition sponsored by Vers et Prose; ¹⁴⁰ and began his own literary journal Nouvelles de la république des lettres, a publication which did not confine itself to a "school," but rather promoted original poets and thinkers. After only four issues (July, September, October, and November-December 1910), Salmon and his staff abandoned the project. ¹⁴¹

At the end of March 1912, Salmon left the Paris-Journal and completed his first book on art, La Jeune Peinture française, which contained an introduction about the task of the critic, a chapter on Fauvism, his famous chapter "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme," and

particulière des lignes et des couleurs à quoi ils se soumettent et qu'aucun des artistes, en faveur avant 1908, ne leur auraient pu imposer."

140. Stolkin, 25.

141. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 2:202-204.

subsequent chapters on concurrent contemporary trends (*l'art vivant*) and women artists.

After this slender volume appeared, it received a favorable review from fellow Cubist advocate Apollinaire in L'Intransigeant (November 29, 1912), but a rather cool response from art critic Louis Vauxcelles in the newspaper Gil Blas (October 21, 1912). Vauxcelles hated Cubism, but liked Salmon's writing style.

La Jeune Peinture française reached the bookstores in the early fall before the Cubist painters Jean Metzinger and Albert Gleizes published their book entitled Du Cubisme in December 1912. That following spring of 1913, Apollinaire published his book Méditations esthétiques: Les peintres cubistes, which includes a history of Cubism, plus its aesthetics, antecedents, and classifications. In addition, several articles by Roger Allard, Maurice Raynal, Pierre Reverdy, and Olivier-Hourcade made their way into the daily newspapers and art magazines. Indeed, Cubism at this moment had become a sensation, and Salmon, along with these other noted Cubist critics, vied for a part of the limelight as they interpreted this shocking new trend. In Salmon's case, he defended the Cubists' anti-academic and anti-Impressionist stance, and their relationship to Picasso, though the Spaniard was not involved with their "school."¹⁴²

 142. André Salmon, "Picasso," L'Esprit nouveau, no. 1 (October 1920): 62: "Indifferent au destin de l'École, animateur du cubisme, Picasso égoïste le défend. On ne peut combattre pour Picasso sans soutenir le cubisme et les cubistes. Mais on peut préférer Picasso et son art."

Shortly before Salmon began to write La Jeune Peinture française, he engaged in another literary project: the launching of a new review called Les Soirées de Paris. This time André Billy, a novelist and literary critic, founded the magazine and appointed Apollinaire as associate editor with Salmon and René Dalize as contributing editors. The first issue appeared in February 1912, featuring an article on modern painting (that is, on Cubism) by Apollinaire and a patchwork of musings on contemporary life by Salmon.¹⁴³ Curiously, after the first few issues appeared, Salmon stopped contributing and was replaced by Charles Perres in May 1912.¹⁴⁴ According to Salmon, he withdrew from Les Soirées de Paris because he felt that the review provided an opportunity for Apollinaire to contribute after he had lost his job at L'Intransigeant due to the Mona Lisa scandal.¹⁴⁵ This retrospective rationale for bowing out of Les Soirées de Paris does not corroborate with the actual sequence of events. Apollinaire did not lose his job on account of his incarceration for the Mona Lisa theft on September 7, 1911, although he did encounter a cool reception upon being released from jail on September 12th. Although he continued to

143. Guillaume Apollinaire, "Du sujet de la peinture moderne," Les Soirées de Paris, no. 1 (February 1912): 1-4; André Salmon, "Observations déplacées," Les Soirées de Paris, no. 1 (February 1912): 28-30.

144. Roméo Arbour, Les Revues littéraires, no. 141, 58, cited in Buckley, 289.

145. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 2:123.

contribute to L'Intransigeant, the incident changed the tide. André Bailby, the editor, began to grow impatient with his partisanship with the avant-garde and finally fired him approximately two years after the Mona Lisa incident.¹⁴⁶

In light of the fact that Salmon's explanation seems odd, Salmon scholar Jenifer Stolkin proposed that Salmon left Les Soirées de Paris for a more specific reason. She believes that "his motives lay in the desire for individuality, especially in the face of possible opposition from the dominating personality of Apollinaire."¹⁴⁷ Stolkin's supposition seems plausible in view of a letter Apollinaire

146. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 2:101-126; Adéma, 187-197; Shattuck, 275-277. Apollinaire was dropped from L'Intransigeant in March 1914 (Shattuck, 286). The Mona Lisa scandal is fairly well-known. Briefly, to review Apollinaire's role in this drama: The Mona Lisa was stolen from the Louvre on August 21, 1911 and coincidentally, Apollinaire's shady secretary Géry Pieret disappeared at the same time. Before the disappearance of the Mona Lisa, Picasso bought two Iberian heads from Pieret who had acquired them from a mysterious source (supposedly the Louvre, where two such heads were reported missing). Then, as one of the few close associates of Pieret's, Apollinaire became involved with the crime and incarcerated on September 7, for both the theft of the Iberian heads and the Mona Lisa. The poet stayed in jail until September 12 and then was freed through the intervention of his friends, especially the efforts of Salmon's newspaper the Paris-Journal. (See: Intérim, "Courrier littéraire," Paris-Journal, 17 September 1911, for reports on Apollinaire in jail.) There is no evidence that Salmon as an individual worked on Apollinaire's behalf. Picasso, in the meantime, was summoned by the police to testify about his relationship with the accused, Apollinaire. Picasso denied knowing Apollinaire and left. Also, Picasso's signature does not appear in any reports on the petitions submitted on behalf for Apollinaire published in Paris-Journal. (I would like to thank Judith Cousins for sharing her research concerning this incident and for pointing out that Picasso's signature was not published in the Paris-Journal articles.)

147. Stolkin, 26.

wrote to Salmon after reviewing La Jeune Peinture française, in which he said:

Dans ton livre tu m'éludes tout le temps--je ne t'en veux pas parce que je ne déteste pas l'obscurité--mais cela me peine un peu parce que je t'aime beaucoup, que nous sommes des vieux amis je crois, et que je ne t'ai fait de mal.¹⁴⁸

Here it is evident that Apollinaire noticed the absence of his name in Salmon's text and felt hurt, since their history of being fellow avant-garde poet/critics had bound them together. This letter and Salmon's sudden decision to leave Les Soirées de Paris probably stem from the schism in their opinions of Cubism. In his memoirs, written more than forty years later, Salmon admitted:

Je n'avais pas besoin d'être d'accord sur tous les points avec Guillaume. . . . C'était son affaire et, à en pas même tenir compte de l'amitié, nous devions contracter bonne alliance. J'aimais l'art de peindre; Guillaume Apollinaire se préoccupait avant tout de mettre en valeur tout ce qui l'aiderait à l'affirmation de cet Esprit nouveau, pas encore qualifié de la sorte, mais qu'il tenait fortement en tête.¹⁴⁹

One might also consider the competitive spirit among all the Cubist critics; each hoped to provide the most definitive viewpoint on Cubism. At this point (1912), Apollinaire had been grandstanding on

148. Letter to Salmon from Apollinaire in "Correspondances," in Oeuvres complètes de Guillaume Apollinaire, 4:958. In Apollinaire's review of La Jeune Peinture Française ("La Vie Artistique," L'Intransigeant, 29 November 1912), he said that many of Salmon's ideas corresponded to his own and that he too had defended women artists. Perhaps, these remarks were meant to insinuate his influence on Salmon's criticism, which he believed should have been mentioned in the book.

149. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 2:109.

behalf of Cubism for over a year, while Salmon remained quite critical of Cubism's uniformity of look and purpose. Perhaps, due to their conflicting views, they could not coexist on the same magazine staff.

Coincidentally, Salmon left his post at the Paris-Journal to join opposing art critic Louis Vauxcelles at Gil Blas. Apparently, at the time that Salmon began working on Les Soirées de Paris, his own newspaper, the Paris-Journal, had undergone a crisis: the director, Gerault-Richard, had died in early 1912 and the chief editor, Chichot, had stepped into the vacant position. The sudden change of command made Salmon and his fellow staff members uneasy, causing many to leave immediately. Salmon decided to stay on. One evening while visiting Vauxcelles, the conservative critic proposed that his younger, more radical colleague (Salmon) join Gil Blas. The combination of various viewpoints promised to enliven the newspaper's daily arts column, and, perhaps, boost the newspaper's sales. In May, Salmon began to write for this newspaper under his established Paris-Journal pseudonym "La Palette."¹⁵⁰

In addition to changing his newspaper affiliation, Salmon also entered into a new friendship which would change his artistic affiliations as well. That summer (1912) in Audierne, Brittany, Salmon met the painter Moise Kisling, an emigré from Poland.¹⁵¹

150. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 2:125-126.

151. Ibid., 2:253.

Kisling moved into an apartment next to Salmon at 3, rue Joseph Bara.

Later, in his memoirs, Salmon described Kisling:

Je ne compare pas Kisling à Picasso, le cadet à l'aîné. . . .
C'est cependant un fait que l'atelier transporté de Pablo
n'étant plus, ne pouvant plus être ce qu'il fut sur la Butte,
le seul atelier au seuil duquel on aurait pu écrire, avec un
bout de craie, disons d'une autre couleur: "Au rendez-vous
des poètes," aura été, à partir de 1912, l'atelier de
Kisling, rue Joseph-Bara.¹⁵²

Around Kisling assembled a diverse and vivacious group of foreign writers and artists from Eastern Europe and Russia, resembling in spirit the "gang" that formed around Picasso at the Bateau Lavoir in 1904. Although Salmon did not specify the time when Kisling's studio became a "rendez-vous des poètes," Kenneth Silver, in an essay on the period, tells us that Kisling's popularity increased after World War I.¹⁵³ In Souvenirs sans fin, Salmon recalled his closest friend during this period:

Kisling devint tout de suite un roi de Montparnasse, bien avant la fortune du quartier. On lui faisait place à toutes les tables, qu'il paraisse à la Rotonde du père Libion, . . . ou au Dôme, lieu de réunion des peintres d'Europe Centrale ou Orientale parmi lesquels Pascin que Kisling connut avant moi, ou encore chez Rosalie, la bistrote italienne de la rue Campagne-Première. Dans les quatre mètres carrés du restaurant de Rosalie, quelqu'un menait la vie dure aux habitués; c'était Amedeo Modigliani, enfin révélé à soi-même inventeur de formes inimitables, hors la contrafaçon, Modigliani, de bonne heure, se plut à venir peindre auprès de Kisling dans l'atelier de la rue Joseph-Bara.¹⁵⁴

152. Ibid.

153. Silver, The Circle of Montparnasse, 1905-1945, 105.

154. Salmon, Souvenir sans fin, 2:255.

Thus, now in the company of Kisling, Pascin, and Modigliani, Salmon again found himself in the midst of another phalanx of the avant-garde. Picasso, Derain, Apollinaire, Max Jacob, Blaise Cendrars, Per Krohg (a Norwegian painter), Mondzain, Lipchitz, and many more would join them in the cafés situated along the Carrefour Vavin [figs. 19, 20, 21].

Meanwhile, the slow disintegration of the bonds which held together *la bande à Picasso* and their satellites had come to pass. By now, Salmon, Apollinaire, Picasso, Braque, and Max Jacob were in their early thirties. Picasso left Montmartre in October of 1912 to acquire more studio space on the Boulevard Raspail in Montparnasse, which, in turn, quieted the intensity of his close working relationship with Georges Braque,¹⁵⁵ who had married in 1912.¹⁵⁶ At the same time, Apollinaire broke off his long-standing relationship with Marie Laurencin,¹⁵⁷ and Max Jacob moved from 13, rue Ravignan to 17, rue

155. Picasso: A Retrospective, 151. At this point, Picasso had given Braque the nickname "Wilbur" to imply that they had a collaborative relationship like the Wright brothers, Roskill pointed out that the relationship after that summer lost its intensity as both started to experiment separately with papier collé and collage (Roskill, 56). Daix in Picasso créateur, 139, wrote: "À la rentrée de Braque fin novembre, il y aura entre eux, au surplus, toute la distance qui sépare Montmartre de Montparnasse. Ils restent du même bord, mais la cordée est bel et bien rompue."

156. Serge Fauchereau, Braque, trans. Kenneth Lyons (New York: Rizzoli, 1987), 31.

157. Adéma, 247; Shattuck, 280.

Gabrielle, where he became more involved with his mysticism and Catholicism.¹⁵⁸ On August 1, 1914, France began to mobilize its troops to enter World War I. Some artists left to fight in the war and others stayed behind. This sudden upheaval resulted in the regrouping of some artists' alliances and the collapse of others.

* * * * *

Immediately following the declaration of war, Salmon volunteered to serve in the Red Cross in order to support the war effort.¹⁵⁹ He then enlisted in the 294 Infantry to serve in Artois and Argonne.¹⁶⁰ From the front he sent articles about his experiences to L'Intransigeant,¹⁶¹ which were compiled in the book Le Chass'bi' (1916).¹⁶² These articles testify to Salmon's preoccupation with the everyday misery and inhumanity of war and demonstrate his shift to a humanist's concern for the quality of life, and a desire to see this concern transferred into art.¹⁶³ These feelings led to his epic poems

158. Pierre Andréu, Max Jacob (Paris: Wesmael-Charlier, 1961), 38. Max Jacob gave astrological readings, read tarot cards, and had visions of Christ. He converted to Catholicism on 18 February 1915, baptized Cyprien Max Jacob at the convent Sion, rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs. Picasso was his godfather. (Lachgar, 34.)

159. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 2:291.

160. Ibid., 2:296.

161. Ibid., 2:40.

162. André Salmon, Le Chass'bi' (Paris: Perrin et Cie, 1916).

163. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 2:40; Stolkin, 28-29 and 168-187.

Prikaz (written December 1918-January 1919, published in 1919), L'Âge de l'humanité (written in 1920, published in 1921), and Peindre (December 1919-June 1920, published in 1921)--a trilogy in which he expressed the need for a full integration of life and art.¹⁶⁴

Within his first year of combat Salmon was invalided out of the war when he contracted scarlet fever.¹⁶⁵ When fully recovered he turned his attention to the state of art at home, curating two exhibitions in 1916. The first, the Salon d'Antin, took place in July at the designer Paul Poiret's Galerie Barbazanges on the Faubourg Saint-Honoré. Entitled "L'Art Moderne en France," it included Picasso's Les Demoiselles d'Avignon (exhibited for the first time outside of the painter's studio)¹⁶⁶ as well as works by Chana Orloff, Georges Rouault, A.D. de Segonzac, Gino Severini, Kees Von Dongen, Marie Vassilieff, and Ortiz de Zarate (among others). The second exhibition Salmon organized in collaboration with Maurice Raynal and Guillaume Apollinaire. It took place in Oslo, Norway in November and December. This latter exhibition presented a greater cross section of avant-garde artists, such as: Picasso, Matisse, Metzinger, Gleizes, Derain, de la Fresnaye, Léger, Lhote, Friesz, Jacques Villon, Felix Vallotton, André Mare, Raoul Dufy, Albert Marquet, Dunoyer de Segonzac,

164. André Salmon, Prikaz (Paris: La Sirène, 1919); L'Âge de l'humanité (Paris: La Revue Nouvelle française, 1921); Peindre (Paris: La Sirène, 1921).

165. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 2:302.

166. Pierre Daix, Cubists and Cubism, trans. R.F.M. Dexter (New York: Rizzoli, 1982), 137.

Vlaminck, Paul Signac, Marguerite Matisse (Henri Matisse's daughter), Pierre Bonnard, Henri Edouard Cross, Dimitry Galanis, Jaqueline Marvel, J.L. Boussingault, Georgette Agutte, Jean Marchand, Hélène Perdriat, and Charles Péquin.¹⁶⁷ Since so many male artists were at the front, several women artists were selected for this wartime show. (It is important to note that Salmon made an effort to recognize women artists, not only at this time, but also in his reviews and books.)

When the war finally ended, the much-awaited peace was accompanied by tragedy for Salmon: Apollinaire died of influenza two days before the armistice was signed (November 9, 1918). Salmon arrived at Apollinaire's home within a few hours after the poet's death, ignorant of what had happened. In Louise Faure-Favier's biography of Apollinaire, she recalled this moment vividly:

Le premier qui se présenta fut André Salmon. Il était venu aux nouvelles, comme il faisait chaque jour. Et le concierge lui avait appris la mort. . . . Tout de suite il alla contempler son ami de toujours. Je le revois debout, le visage crispé par le chagrin.¹⁶⁸

The loss of Apollinaire affected Salmon deeply. To honor his contributions, Salmon wrote several essays on Apollinaire's poetry, art criticism, and interest in African art.¹⁶⁹

167. André Salmon, Maurice Raynal, and Guillaume Apollinaire, Den Franske Utstilling, ex. cat. (Oslo: Kunstnerbundet, 1916).

168. Louise Faure-Favier, Souvenirs sur Apollinaire (Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1945), 205.

169. André Salmon, "Vie de Guillaume Apollinaire, La Nouvelle Revue française, 1 November 1920; "L'Art en deuil," in Salmon, L'Art vivant, 163-166; "Vie Ancienne," L'Esprit nouveau, no. 26 (1924);

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Salmon stayed on with L'Intransigeant after the war ended, although not as a writer, but as the supervisor of the daily satirical drawings. One of the illustrators was a man named Maurice Radiguet, father of the soon-to-be infamous Raymond Radiguet. While Maurice worked under Salmon, his son delivered the daily drawings to Salmon himself. One day Raymond mentioned to Salmon that he too wrote poems and asked the older poet whether he might like to see some examples. Salmon agreed to read some of Radiguet's poems and to his great delight found them quite good. Salmon then introduced the young man to Max Jacob, who introduced him to Jean Cocteau, who became Raymond's lover and mentor.¹⁷⁰

Cocteau had already become fast friends with Salmon's and Jacob's friend Picasso. Picasso did not fight in World War I, as did Salmon, Apollinaire, and Braque. Instead he continued to work, searching for new ideas now that his Cubist companions had left him alone in Paris. Cocteau introduced him to the enchanting world of the Ballets Russes

 "Sur Guillaume Apollinaire," Le Beau Navire, February 1939;
 "L'Ascension de Guillaume Apollinaire," Je suis partout, 5 November 1943; "Noëls anciens," France-Asie, December 1948; "Un nouveau visage de Guillaume Apollinaire," Carrefour, 5 March 1952; "Au champ d'honneur, dans sa chambre de poète," Le Figaro littéraire, 13 June 1959.

170. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 2:42-44.

in 1916 and in 1917 they collaborated on the ballet Parade, performed to music by Eric Satie. Picasso also met a young Russian ballerina, Olga Koklova, whom he married in 1918. Olga became the wedge between Picasso and his old Montmartre/Montparnasse friends. Enticed by her ambition, he willingly allowed himself to fall in with a more elite social set.

As Picasso and Jacob busied themselves with their respective new lifestyles (Jacob, now a convert to Catholicism, spent long periods of time at the monastery Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire), Salmon became more involved with Kisling's circle of Russian and Eastern European émigrés. The Russian Revolution in 1917 had also rekindled Salmon's love of the Slavic soul, inspiring his first epic poem about the Russian Revolution entitled Prikaz (Order), written in six weeks--December 1918 to January 1919.¹⁷¹ The poem stressed the loss of innocence as one strives for ideals. In a sense, Prikaz not only mourns that loss for Russia, but also for Salmon himself. The ravages of both World War I and the Russian Revolution forced Salmon to come to terms with the poet's relationship with life (the theme of Saint André written from 1921 to 1936).

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171. André Salmon, Prikaz (Paris: La Sirène, 1919). The dates of Salmon's writing are provided in Germana Orlandi Cerenza, "André Salmon 'Prince de L'Épopée' lo Spazio Epico in Prikaz," André Salmon, no. 9 Quaderni del Novecento Francese, 93.

Before the war began in 1914, Salmon completed the manuscript for his second book on art, La Jeune Sculpture française, which could not be published until after the war in 1919. Conceived as a pendant to La Jeune Peinture française, in this book Salmon decided to discuss Picasso's and Braque's work of 1912-1913 and Picasso's Cubist constructions--both of which had evolved since he completed La Jeune Peinture française in the spring of 1912. Apparently, Salmon considered papier collé and collage to be sculpture, rather than painting, and he again resorted to the anecdotal narrative to describe how Picasso and Braque decided to fuse together simulated wood surfaces with other painted elements, demonstrating their resourcefulness, superior talents, and willingness to explore all forms of art--including their knowledge of the decorator's craft. (In Salmon's vignette about how Picasso and Braque acquired a decorator's brush, Salmon emphasized that Braque acquired the skill from his experience as a house decorator, while Picasso immediately caught on and transformed the signification of the image through his customary vision and intuition.¹⁷²) These innovations caused another revolutionary moment in art, and the ever-observant Salmon again called attention to a significant episode in Picasso's career, much in the same manner as he called attention to Picasso's Les Femmes d'Alger in his previous book La Jeune Peinture française.

 172. André Salmon, La Jeune Sculpture française (Paris: Albert Messein, 1919), 12-15.

Similar in manner to his introduction in La Jeune Peinture française, Salmon began La Jeune Sculpture française with some commentary about precedents. In his art-historical summary about the state of modern sculpture, Salmon selected Constantin Meunier and Rodin as the fathers of modern sculpture, much in the same way that he selected Gustave Courbet and Odilon Redon as fathers of modern painting in his previous book. However, Salmon's decision to begin his book with Constantin Meunier, a sculptor who depicts the heroic laborer; Auguste Rodin, who transformed academic poses from static to dynamic moments; Émile Bourdelle, who followed Rodin; and Aristide Maillol, who idealized the nude, reveals the fact that sculpture had moved more slowly than painting on the pathways of avant-garde solutions and that these more conservative sculptors still dominated the genre even as late as 1914.¹⁷³ In his highlighting of painters such as Picasso, Braque, and Derain (rather than sculptors), Salmon inferred that only painters had been able to push sculpture into new directions and their followers, Raymond Duchamp-Villon, Archipenko, and Elie Nadelman were the emerging talents in sculpture.¹⁷⁴ Conspicuously missing from Salmon's text were Cubist sculptors Jacques Lipchitz and Henri Laurens, whose work at the writing of this book was still very new and rarely shown. Evidently, in 1919, Salmon was able to make a few revisions before the book went to press, and at that

173. Ibid, 8-70.

174. Ibid., 83-101.

time he took the opportunity to add a footnote on these two sculptors.¹⁷⁵

The important points put forward in Salmon's second book on modern art were: the role of the poet/critic and the search for the appropriate words to discuss art, the infinite possibilities which are available to innovative artists, and the disintegration of the invisible line which separates painting from sculpture (as in Picasso's Guitar): "L'art est infini et indéfini." This idea, written in 1914, was echoed in his 1919 poem Peindre as "Peindre, . . . ne rien imiter que de l'illimité dans l'ordre et la mesure."¹⁷⁶ By 1919, Salmon's self-styled nominalist poetics became more pronounced. As a nominalist, Salmon meditated on the limitlessness of art, how art defied categorization, and the need for artistic freedom tempered by restraint ("dans l'ordre et la mesure"). That La Jeune Sculpture française included nominalist ideas that were taking form before World War I illustrates that Salmon's nominalist critical thinking began during the height of the Cubist epoch.

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From 1917 to 1920, Salmon enjoyed one of the most productive periods of his life. From December 1917 through September 1919, he

175. Ibid., 100.

176. André Salmon, Peindre (Paris: La Sirène, 1921), 16.

wrote his first novel, La Négresse du Sacré Coeur, a roman-à-clef about life in Montmartre with Picasso, Max Jacob, and Apollinaire.¹⁷⁷ The novel was published in 1920 and then nominated for the Prix Goncourt for that year. (Marcel Proust's À la recherche du temps perdu won instead.¹⁷⁸) Prior to the publication of this novel, he wrote a book entitled Histoire des Boches (1917), a narrative based on his experiences during the war; Monstres choisis (1918), a collection of short stories based on his life in Russia; Histoires montmartroises (1919), a collection of reminiscences; * and the three epic poems Prikaz, L'Âge de l'humanité, and Peindre mentioned above. Indeed, by 1922, Salmon had tried his hand at almost every form of writing, including the play Natchalo, scènes de la révolution russe, which was produced at the Theatre des Arts that year.

During this fever of production, a new biweekly magazine, L'Europe nouvelle asked Salmon to join as the art critic for their

177. André Salmon, La Négresse du Sacré Coeur (Paris: Nouvelle Revue française, 1920). In Souvenirs sans fin, 2:327, Salmon explained that the story revolved around the main character Léontine, a thirteen-year-old girl modelled after the child Picasso and Fernande Olivier adopted temporarily (perhaps around 1905-1906, but Salmon did not say when precisely), and the neighborhood artists and poets who knew her: Septime Febur (Max Jacob), Sorgue (Pablo Picasso), O'Brien (Pierre Mac Orlan), Karl Darnet (a composite of Germans Salmon knew), and Florimond Daubelle (André Salmon). In the preface to the English translation, Slater Brown augmented Salmon's list by claiming that Paroli is André Derain and Honore Gringole is Apollinaire (Black Venus, trans. Slater Brown [New York: Macauley Co., 1929]). It is interesting to note that in 1912 Picasso spent the summer in Sorgues, France.

178. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 2:332.

regular column. He accepted, writing for this publication from March 1918 to June 1921.¹⁷⁹ Toward the end of his tenure with L'Europe nouvelle, Salmon wrote for another biweekly journal, La Revue de France. Salmon contributed to this publication from 1921 to 1935. Meanwhile, at the same time that Salmon produced his biweekly column on art, he reported on murder trials for the newspaper Le Matin. He had begun this post in 1919 at the invitation of the popular author Colette, wife of the newspaper's editor Henry de Jouvenel.¹⁸⁰ In this capacity, Salmon revealed his sense of compassion and sympathy for the defendant, and antipathy for the injustices of the French judicial system. Although one considers murder a far cry from art, Salmon remained in character even in this area of writing and research: defending the underdog rather than the system, just as he defended the struggling, rebellious artists who defied the rules of the Academy on the rue Bonaparte.¹⁸¹

179. Salmon, Souvenir sans fin, 2:326.

180. Ibid., 314. Colette began her career as a ghostwriter for her first husband, Henri Gauthier-Villars, under his pseudonym Willy. She divorced Gauthier-Villars and several years later married Henry de Jouvenel. In her second husband's publication, Le Matin, her stories were published under her own name for the first time, beginning in October 1911 (Michèle Sarde, Colette, trans. Richard Miller, [New York: William Morrow and Co., 1980], 180).

181. André Salmon with H. Beraud and E. Bourcier, L'Affaire Landru (Paris: Albin Michel, 1924). This book, based on Salmon's reports of this trial, not only informs the reader of Salmon's keen observations in the courtroom, but also reveals his compassionate attitude toward the defendant.

The return to critiquing art created more material for Salmon's old campaign on behalf of the avant-garde. In his next book on art, L'Art vivant (1920), Salmon reprinted several articles he wrote for Montjoie! (Introduction), L'Amour de l'art (on Derain), L'Europe nouvelle (Cubisme et camouflage), and Demain ("Mouvement des idées: Origines et intentions du cubisme").¹⁸² Salmon also commented on the recent avant-garde phenomenon, Dada, which he believed was less rigid in its tenets than Futurism: "Le mouvement Dada absurde apparemment, et pourtant plus logique que le Futurisme de Marinetti, ce futurisme destructeur qui, se détruisant d'abord, devait mourir d'être dogmatique."¹⁸³ Although not completely enamored with its ideas and modes of execution, for Salmon, Dada seemed relatively better than any movement as prescriptive as Futurism.

Moreover, the Dada group invited Salmon to contribute a poem to its premier issue of Littérature¹⁸⁴ and to speak at a symposium sponsored by the magazine.¹⁸⁵ That Dada challenged received ideas through contradiction, ambiguity, and absurdity appealed to Salmon's

182. André Salmon, "Le Salon [des Indépendants]," Montjoie! 2, no. 3 (March 1914): 21; André Salmon, "André Derain," L'Amour de l'art, no. 6 (October 1920): 196-199; André Salmon, "Mouvement des idées: Origines et Intentions du Cubisme," Demain no. 68 (26 April 1919): 485-489. I would like to thank Lynn Wissing Gamwell for making the Demain article available to me.

183. Salmon, L'Art vivant, 294-295.

184. André Salmon, "L'Âge de l'humanité [fragment]," Littérature, no. 1 (March 1919).

185. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 3:53-58.

Jarriesque sensibilities and appreciation of irreverence. Dada seemed to broaden the "perceptual set" of contemporary art much in the way that Cubism had previously; and yet the Dadaists did not presume that there was only one way to think about modern art. This commitment to originality, rather than conformity, cogently paralleled Salmon's basic code of aesthetics.

Salmon's ability to find value in a wide variety of vanguard movements such as Cubism, Dada, and the neo-naturalism of the École de Paris, can be gleaned from his numerous articles on all these different sensibilities in contemporary art. However, throughout the 1920s Salmon lavished most of his attention on his friends Modigliani, Kisling, Lipchitz, Chana Orloff, Léopold Lévy, Soutine, and Jules Pascin, who were, for the most part, members of the École de Paris.

The École de Paris evolved from the studio of André Lhote, who briefly painted in a Cubist manner. Relying principally on the influence of Cézanne, Puvis de Chavannes, and Ingres, this group appealed to Salmon's appreciation of the sensual and the exotic. But one wonders why this naturalistic style began to dominate the pages of Salmon's critiques after he had so vigorously hailed Picasso's "scientific" and "austere" plasticity. Did Salmon's taste change so radically after World War I? Actually Salmon's taste did not change at all, but rather reasserted itself during a period when classicism became the norm among the avant-garde. For example, even during the climax of the Cubist epoch in 1912, Salmon mourned the loss of

Picasso's poetic Rose Period in La Jeune Peinture française: "Jamais Picasso ne devait, ne le pouvant fatidiquement plus, redevenir le créateur fécond, ingénu et savant d'oeuvres d'humaine poésie."¹⁸⁶ Apparently, Salmon's fundamental taste was drawn to the naturalistic and the lyric imagery of the bygone Symbolist period.

In the twenties, Salmon entered his second decade of writing poetry and had firmly established his position as a well-respected man of letters. He contributed to the art magazines Cahiers d'art, L'Aujourd'hui de l'art, L'Art vivant, L'Esprit nouveau, plus many, many more, in addition to his literary writings, journalism, and biweekly column on the arts in La Revue de France. As the American writer Malcolm Cowley observed in his article "André Salmon and his Generation," (written for The Bookman in 1923), Salmon had become the quintessential literary type in French society: he had his pipe and his bowler hat, a soft-spoken raconteur's style, and a keen wit.¹⁸⁷ He also seemed to embrace a 'live-and-let-live' attitude toward life that Cowley believed represented the general atmosphere of Parisian vanguard circles. Clearly, Salmon was in his prime at age forty according to his peers [fig. 7].¹⁸⁸

186. Salmon, La Jeune Peinture française, 46.

187. Malcolm Cowley, "André Salmon and his Generation," The Bookman 56, no. 8 (February 1923): 714-718.

188. The most telling remark can be found in a questionnaire entitled "Pour un musée Français d'art moderne" conducted and edited by Georges Charensol for the magazine L'Art vivant 1, nos. 14-19 (15 July-1 October 1925). In issue no. 19 (1 October): 37, Charensol wrote in his short introduction to Salmon and his response: "Ce nom seul me dispense, je crois, d'en dire plus long. Aussi bien, est-ce par la

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After such enthusiastic recognition, how, then, did Salmon lose his notoriety and turn into a fairly obscure participant in the history of modern art and literature? Perhaps Salmon's "fall from grace" occurred during the Spanish Civil War when Salmon consented to report from the Fascist front for Le Petit Parisien. He had not been sympathetic to the Fascists, but the newspaper wanted two reporters to cover the two fronts, one on each side. Salmon's style of reportage focused mainly on the suffering at the front, rather than on political issues. With this neutral vantage point, he hoped that his readers would make up their own minds.¹⁸⁹ Instead, his position at the front incensed the French supporters of the Popular Front (many of whom were his friends). In 1936, Salmon deliberately sought out and arranged for an exclusive interview with the philosopher Miguel de Unamuno y Jugo, a spiritual leader of the Popular Front, to counterbalance the demands of his position with the newspaper. Although his remarks

réponse de l'auteur L'Art vivant que nous avons voulu terminer cette consultation." Thus, he gave Salmon the last word in this six-part series on the question. (It is interesting to note here, à propos of the magazine L'Art vivant that Salmon is credited with inventing this expression to indicate that he was referring to living artists. The expression first appeared in Salmon's third chapter in La Jeune Peinture française. He then entitled his third book on art L'Art vivant (see Malcolm Gee, Dealers, Critics, and Collectors of Modern Paintings: Aspects of the Parisian Art Market between 1910 and 1930 [New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1981], 127; repr. of Ph.D. diss., London University, 1977).

189. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 3:23.

exhibited an earnest sympathy with Unamuno's cause, Salmon criticized this ardent believer in Soviet Communism for knowing very little about the world outside of his own backyard.¹⁹⁰ In his memoirs, Salmon attempted to explain away his position at this time--it was a brutal war where neither side seemed right and both committed atrocities that he found horrifying to know of, and account for, as a journalist.¹⁹¹ Moreover, Salmon disdained doctrinaire political ideals that instigated war¹⁹² as much as he disdained doctrinaire manifestos that inspired art. Thus, it seems that neither side in the Spanish Civil War won Salmon's support.

When Salmon returned from Spain, he accepted an assignment to go to the Balkans, Turkey, and Syria. World War II had spread throughout Europe at this time (1940). He returned to France at the end of the year and continued to write about the arts for Le Petit Parisien which was now "authorized" under the Vichy government.¹⁹³ The decision to stay on came about when he returned to Paris, found his wife Jeanne dying, and realized that he had little choice but to earn money to pay for her care and the necessary medication.¹⁹⁴ After the war, this

190. André Salmon, Le Petit Parisien, 15 August 1936, 3, cited in Stolkin, 40.

191. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 3:23.

192. Stolkin, 40-41.

193. Histoire générale de la presse française, vol. 4 (1940-1958), ed. Claude Bellanger et al. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1975), 36-38.

194. Stolkin, 41.

decision would cost him a great deal; his colleagues, especially former Resistance writers, turned against him.¹⁹⁵ Temporarily ostracized from several literary circles, Salmon continued to write, turning his mind to the past and his memories.

In 1948, Salmon's wife died and his career fell to its nadir.¹⁹⁶ From 1945 to 1950, Salmon published reminiscences of Montmartre, Montparnasse, and other artists' haunts in Paris, but he did not publish any poetry until 1952, when a collection of poems entitled Les Étoiles dans l'encrier was put into print. From 1949 until 1955, he contributed to the Bénézit Dictionnaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs, et graveurs, composing entries on his old friends from Kisling's circle.¹⁹⁷ He also divided his time between his apartment on the rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs and his residence La Hune in Sanary, a town in the south of France.¹⁹⁸ In 1961, he moved to Sanary permanently, returning to Paris occasionally for the required visits

195. Ibid.

196. Abbas, 44.

197. E. Bénézit, Dictionnaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs, et graveurs, vol. II, (nouvelle édition augmentée), ed. Jacques Busse (Paris: Gründ, 1949): Brancusi; IV (1951): Foujita, Friesz, Gassier, Gauguin, Goerg, Gromaire, Grosz, Guérin, Hernandez et Heuze; V (1952): Hugo, Max Jacob, Jou, Jouve, Kisling, Laurencin, Lebasque, Léopold Lévy, Maillol, Manguin, Marquet; VI (1953): Modigliani, Louis Albert Moreau, Mucha, Oudot, Papazoff, Pascin, Planson, Pougny; VII (1954): Henri Rousseau; VIII (1955): Soutine, Utrillo, Vaillant, Valmier, Vlaminck; cited in Jacqueline and Jacques Gojard, eds., bibliography to André Salmon, no. 9 Quaderni del Novecento Francese, 202-203.

198. Abbas, 44.

to the Bénézit offices and a stroll through the bookstores along the rue Mazarine [fig. 22].¹⁹⁹

In 1952, another woman entered Salmon's life, Angèle Myey, whom he called Léo:

Il était bien tard pour renaitre.
Léo qui m'as rendu la vie,
Quand des décombres de mon être
Je tirais une liturgie.

.

Tout seul je ruminais tout ça
Frappé de mon propre fléau.
Quand tout de l'ombre s'effaçait
Devant moi paraissait Léo.²⁰⁰

Léo renewed Salmon's vigor and desire to write. They were married on August 29, 1953.²⁰¹

To add to his restored interest in life with his new companion, it seems that Salmon's wartime activities were reviewed and pardoned during this period, evidenced by his receiving two literary awards from his peers: the Grand Prix de la Société des Poètes in 1958 and the Grand Prix de Poésie de l'Académie Française in 1964. (Salmon received the Légion d'Honneur in 1932.)

199. Jacques Busse, editor of the Bénézit dictionary during the 1950s, interview by author, Paris, 18 June 1984; owners of bookstores along the rue Mazarine, interviews by author, Paris, June and July 1984.

200. André Salmon, "Léo" (1956); reprinted in Cahiers Bleus, no. 21 (Fall 1981): 51-52.

201. Who's Who in France (Paris: Jacques Lafitte, 1965), 2459.

From 1952 until his death on March 12, 1969 in Sanary, Salmon enjoyed another productive period of writing in various modes: poems, novels, short stories, books on art, and essays [fig. 8]. Among the most significant achievements during this period were his memoirs, Souvenirs sans fin, published in three volumes (in 1955, 1956, and 1961), and La Vie passionnée de Modigliani (1957).²⁰² In both invaluable books, Salmon emphasized the rebellious spirit and eccentric behavior of his friends, heroizing their individuality and originality as artists and people. That he focused on this aspect of their personalities reflects his own nominalist sensibilities--a frame of reference which will be discussed in the next chapter.

 202. André Salmon, La Vie passionnée de Modigliani (Veriers: Gérard and Paris: Intercontinentale du Livre, 1957).

Chapter III - Le Critique nominaliste

La critique d'art existe, mais elle est dans Darwin,
Gassendi et Kepler, Abeilard, Occam, et Roscelin,
Le Rabelais des Almanaches, Fourier, Marx, les Casuistes
Et les ouvrages à venir des poètes nominalistes.¹

In order to reconcile the sensibilities of a Symbolist with the aspirations of a twentieth-century modernist, Salmon turned to a philosophy based on the notion that all things are universals unto themselves. This specific kind of conceptualism was then identified as nominalism by the poet/critic Jean Royère in his review of Salmon's book of poetry Le Calumet, published in 1910.² Salmon's nominalism

1. André Salmon, Peindre (Paris: La Sirène, 1919), 21. Charles Darwin (1809-1882), English naturalist, was cofounder with Alfred R. Wallace of the theory of evolution and natural selection. Pierre Gassendi (1592-1655), French philosopher, scientist, teacher, and priest, taught mathematics and attempted to reconcile atomism and Epicurism ethics with the teachings of the Church. Johannes Kepler (1571-1630), a German astronomer and mathematician, was a follower of Copernicus and the heliocentric laws of the solar system. Pierre Abélard (1079-1142), French philosopher and teacher, was opposed to Roscelinus' nominalism. His moderate realism or conceptualism considered universals as thoughts, not facts, with a basis in particulars. Roscelinus (1045-1120), a nominalist theologian, believed that universals were nothing more than words. William of Ockham (c. 1285-1349), a Franciscan monk who was born in London and taught in Paris, augmented Roscelinus' nominalist theology. François Rabelais (1496-1533), a French Franciscan monk turned Benedictine, was a writer, humorist, and physician, known for his satirical stories and almanac. François Marie Charles Fourier (1772-1837), a French sociologist and reformer, tried to create a utopian socialist system. Karl Marx (1818-1883), a German socialist, political philosopher, and economist, wrote about dialectical materialism and materialistic socialism. "Les Casuistes" probably refers to casuistry, a form of art or science in which moral principles are judged according to a particular decision or a moral code, practiced by the Roman Catholic church during the 17th century. Peindre was written from December 1918 to June 1920 (Jacqueline Gojard, "Le Nominalisme d'André Salmon," in André Salmon no. 9 Quaderni del Novecento Francese [Rome: Bulzoni; Paris: Nizet, 1987], 67).

2. Jean Royère, "Le Calumet," La Phalange, 20 September 1910, 8.

was simultaneously an extension and rejection of his Symbolist roots. As an extension, it reaffirmed Symbolism's faith in conceptual intellection and individualism, but as a rejection, it denied the existence of extramental universals or Absolutes and instead perceived of each thought, word, and thing as a separate entity, a universal, each existing alongside one another, "un fait sur le plan merveilleux."³

In its original form as a medieval theology, nominalism denied the existence of universals outside of conceptually constructed ideas and deemed that God alone was the only true universal or Absolute. Oral references to universals were then considered merely "vocal emissions" or sounds, according to the first nominalist theologian in the twelfth century, Roscelinus.⁴ Rejecting the notion of universals as "Real" in the Platonic sense, the nominalist perceived the world as made up of individual elements, particulars, which exist in relation to one another, but not in terms of any classification. Classification and categorization were considered arbitrary systems

3. André Salmon, postface to Prikaz (Paris: La Sirène, 1919); repr. in Carreaux (1918-1921), précédé d'extraits de Créances (1905-1910), preface by Serge Fauchereau (Paris: Gallimard, 1986), 272. For other sources on Salmon and nominalism see: Fernand Lot, "André Salmon et le nominalisme," La Revue de Paris 76 (May 1969): 149-151; Jenifer Stolkin, "The Poetry of André Salmon" (M. A. thesis, St. Hughes College, Oxford University, 1970), 145; Eva Heide Zuhlke Abbas, "Une Introduction à l'oeuvre d'André Salmon" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1984), 241-243; Jacqueline Gojard, "Le Nominalisme d'André Salmon," in André Salmon no. 9 Quaderni del Novecento Francese, ed. P.A. Jannini and S. Zoppi (Rome: Bulzoni; Paris: Nizet, 1987), 49-73.

4. Julius A. Weinberg, A Short History of Medieval Philosophy (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1964), 61.

invented by humans. For example, the name "table" was considered a manmade invention used to identify like objects with four legs connected to a flat surface on top of those four legs. The nominalist recognized the object named "table" as being distinct from the name itself and the mind's concept of table. In addition, each object named "table" and each thought of "table" were regarded as unique.

Salmon's peculiar form of nominalism evolved from being an unconscious aesthetic in the 1910s to a consciously determined poetic in 1919. As a poetic, it existed among a host of similar literary movements involved in the crusade for nontraditional expression. It was also another interpretation of anarchist sympathies, which he shared with his friends engaged in the Cubist revolution. As literary historian Léon Somville explained: "Anarchie! Voilà peint d'un seul trait l'état de la poésie après le 'fracas symbolist'."⁵

A political philosophy, anarchism recommends the abolition of all government rule and law, but for early twentieth-century modernists, anarchism became an ideological position which granted permission to rebel against any ruling systems, including Symbolism's stringent "ivory-tower" Idealism.⁶ As part of this progressive circle, yet

 5. Léon Somville, Devanciers du surréalisme: Les groupes d'avant-garde et le mouvement poétique, 1912-1925 (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1971), 13. I would like to thank Professor Richard Sieburth of the Department of French, New York University, for recommending this book.

6. David Cottingham, "Cubism and the Politics of Culture in France, 1905-1914," (Ph.D. dissertation, London University, 1985), 32.

fundamentally an independent thinker, Salmon shaped his own interpretation of anarchism, which became known as his nominalist point of view.

But Salmon's nominalism was a nominalism *avant la lettre*. At first upon reading Royère's critical declaration, Salmon waited nearly sixteen months before responding *en passant* in an article published in Les Soirées de Paris (February 1912): "Jean Royère me persuade que je suis nominaliste, qu'y puis-je? Il n'a peut-être pas tort: Buridan est un bon maître, Guillaume d'Occam aussi, et je les aime tous deux parce qu'ils furent sanctifiés par l'exil."⁷ In this oblique admission, Salmon not only confirmed his familiarity with nominalist theology and theologians, but also revealed his attraction to strong individualist personalities such as Jean Buridan or William of Ockham whose espousal of nominalist theology resulted in papal chastisement for Buridan and excommunication for Ockham.⁸ Clearly the notion of

7. André Salmon, "Observations Déplacées," Les Soirées de Paris, no. 1 (February 1912): 28.

8. Jean Buridan (c.1295-1356) was a French philosopher and scientist who studied with William of Ockham in Paris. "In philosophy Buridan was a conservative nominalist, supporting the condemnation of radical Ockhamism during his rectorship in 1340. His own works were prohibited from 1474 to 1481 because of nominalist tendencies but received wide circulation during the next generation with extensive printings between 1487 and 1520." Paul Edwards, ed., The Encyclopedia of Philosophy (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co. and The Free Press, 1967), S.v. "Jean Buridan" by Nicholas Rescher. William of Ockham, Buridan's mentor, was "the single most influential philosopher of the fourteenth century" (Weinberg, 235). His nominalist theory denied the existence of universals except in men's minds and in language. Summoned to Avignon by Pope John XXII, his audacious theology did not find favor in the pope's eyes. In 1328 he fled from Avignon and was excommunicated. For further information on nominalism see: Weinberg, 235-265; Meyrick H. Carré, Realists and Nominalists (London: Oxford

nominalism carried a subversive connotation for Salmon, anti-authoritarianism and heresy which corresponded to Salmon's view of himself and his friends in *la bande à Picasso*. Salmon's attraction to heroic individualism dominated his critical writings and can be understood as an aspect of his nominalist poetics.

Although Salmon seemed to accept Royère's description of his poetry early in 1912, he did not submit his specific interpretation of nominalism until nine years after Royère's review appeared. Then, in the postface to his epic poem *Prikaz* (1919), Salmon wrote that his nominalism was "un art tendant encore à créer chaque chose par sa description verbale."⁹ This interpretation of nominalism as an aesthetic as well as a philosophy became Salmon's way of freeing himself to express conceptually his perceptions of life and art without "horrible liens," as he wrote in his poem *Saint André*:

Le poète nominaliste
Va donner vie au nom qu'il porte.
Point de hasard, point d'improvisiste,
À tout un univers libre d'horrible liens
Le verbe ouvre la porte.¹⁰

University Press, 1950; repr. 1961), 101-125; Ernest Moody, *The Logic of William of Ockham* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1935); Philotheus Boehner, *William of Ockham; Philosophical Writings* (Edinburgh and New York: Nelson, 1957).

9. André Salmon, postface to *Prikaz*.

10. André Salmon, *Saint André* (Paris: Gallimard, 1936), 7. Although *Saint André* was published in 1936 in its entirety, parts of the poem were published in literary magazines throughout the 1920s, beginning in *Action*, no. 8 (August 1921).

Salmon's desire to focus on the particular, and resist the "horrible ties" that constrain, began with his attraction to individualist anarchism, a political philosophy invented by Max Stirner.¹¹ Stirner advocated the cultivation of the self exclusively as opposed to the simultaneous cultivation of the self and the community as in Peter Kropotkin's communistic anarchy.¹² Stirner's anarchy also promoted a political condition wherein the autonomy of each person is guaranteed through the protection of free expression. Although such an ideal seems to permit the free reign of chaos, Stirner believed that through integrity and self-knowledge, people would live in a state of harmonious coexistence.¹³

11. "Max Stirner" (Johann Kaspar Schmidt), Der Einzige und sein Eigentum (Leipzig: Oho Wigand, 1845). Max Stirner's real name was Johann Kaspar Schmidt. A contemporary of the French anarchist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809-1865), he was born in Bayreuth, Germany, on October 25, 1806 and died in Berlin, June 25, 1856 (Jean Maitron, Le Mouvement anarchiste en France, Tome II: de 1914 à nos jours [Paris: François Maspero, 1975], 174-183).

12. Peter Kropotkin, La conquête du pain, Paris, 1892.

13. Andrew R. Carlson, Anarchism in Germany, vol. 1 (The Early Movement), (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, 1972), 53-76. Steven T. Byington translated Stirner's Der Einzige und sein Eigentum in 1907. The following later editions were consulted: Max Stirner, The Ego and His Own trans. Steven T. Byington, ed. James J. Martin (New York: Libertarian Book Club, 1963) and Max Stirner, The Ego and His Own, trans. Steven T. Byington, ed. John Carroll (New York: Harper and Row, 1971). The latter book is part of a series entitled Roots of the Right: Readings in Fascist, Racist and Elitist Ideology, ed. George Steiner. Carroll's introduction provides adequate proof that the extremism of libertarianism and the extremism of conservatism could resemble each other or touch upon similar points of view. This sort of "mirroring" effect accounts for Salmon's apparent shift from "Left" to "Right" without his abandonment of the basic principles of free will and expression.

Stirner published this political philosophy in his book Der Einzige und sein Eigentum, which appeared in 1845. However, the book did not become well-known among the French until it was translated in 1899 as L'Unique et sa propriété.¹⁴ Five years later, in 1904, the author and the political philosophy became the subject of two articles: one by Victor Basche and the other by Gustave Kahn, a Leftist intellectual Salmon especially admired.¹⁵ No doubt Salmon learned about different forms of anarchism through his libertarian family and companions, especially the well-known anarchist Mécislas Golberg. Broadly versed in the many interpretations of anarchist thinking, Golberg sounded especially Stirnerian in the following passage from his book La Morale des lignes:

La réalité dans le sens strict du mot est un fait isolé, autonome qui, tout en ayant des analogies avec d'autres faits, existe par lui-même. La réalité, c'est l'individualisation des faits confus, c'est de l'abstraction, de la quintessence des particularités fugaces, confuses, sans personnalité.¹⁶

Curiously, Golberg's depiction of reality was not optimistic nor enthusiastic about the *Belle Époque*, but instead was worried and

14. Max Stirner, "L'Unique et sa propriété," trans. Robert L. Reclaire, Bibliothèque sociologique (Paris), no. 28 (December 1899); repr. as L'Unique et sa propriété (Paris: Stock, 1900).

15. André Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin (Paris: Gallimard, 1955), 1:122. Victor Basche, L'Individualisme anarchiste: Max Stirner (Paris, 1904); Gustave Kahn, "Stirner et l'individualisme," La Nouvelle Revue 104 (September-October 1904): 131-136.

16. Mécislas Golberg, La Morale des lignes (Paris: Albert Messein, 1908), 14.

anxious about isolation, confusion, and lifelessness. This ominous analysis seems to be a response to the ills brought about by industrial progress, mounting political tensions,¹⁷ exposed social injustices, and violent confrontations between labor and management.¹⁸ To cope with the darker side of life, Salmon and like-minded libertarian thinkers found solace in subscribing to anarchist solutions which they felt would raise the standard of living and promote general well-being in the world at large. But anarchism was a political ideal pursued by several factions who subscribed to different interpretations of that ideal, as Salmon explained in his book on the history of anarchism La Terreur noire (1959). Salmon's description of anarchism as a factional movement demonstrates his nominalist manner of intellectual inquiry; that is, his characteristic approach of distinguishing the parts in relation to the whole. His book also provided an opportunity to voice his preference for Max Stirner's individualist anarchism which was distinctly different from Pierre Proudhon's mutualism, Michael Bakunin's collectivist anarchism, Peter Kropotkin's anarchist communism, the French trade unions'

 17. Kern, 287-312; Somville, 47; Patricia Leighton, "Picasso's Collages and the Threat of War, 1912-13," Art Bulletin 67, no. 4 (December 1985): 653-672; Patricia Leighton, Re-Ordering the Universe: Picasso and Anarchism, 1897-1914 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 121-142. In Somville and Leighton, the authors explain how world events surfaced in literary politics (Somville, 43-62) and works of art (Leighton, passim).

18. Eugenia W. Herbert, The Artist and Social Reform, France and Belgium, 1885-1898 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), 99-143, 195-197; Somville, 47; Cottingham, "Cubism and the Politics of Culture in France, 1905-1914," 19.

anarchosyndicalism, and the anarchist terrorism practiced by *la bande à Bonnot* and Ravachol.

La Terreur noire was written nearly half a century after Salmon's most active participation in anarchist circles (concurrent with the rise of Cubism before World War I). At this safe distance from events, Salmon's nostalgia painted a sympathetic picture of an idealistic movement misguided by acts of violence. It also rekindled his own identification with the movement, as evidenced in his declaration of his identification with Max Stirner, "la sort d'homme, . . . pour qui j'eus toujours une prédilection fraternelle."¹⁹ However, according to Salmon, Stirner was not popular among his libertarian peers.²⁰ Thus, it appears that Salmon's preference for Stirnerian anarchism was a mark of distinction, confirmed by his friend Jean Paulhan in this statement taken from an address given at a ceremony to honor Salmon in 1964: "En bon anarchiste, Salmon préférait d'ailleurs Max Stirner à Karl Marx et Jules Vallès à Lénine."²¹ Paulhan's decision to point out this particular aspect of Salmon's personality indicates that Salmon's allegiance to principles

19. André Salmon, La Terreur noire (Paris: Jean-Jacques Pauvert, 1959), 38. Salmon also intimated that they not only had much in common ideologically, but physiologically as well, as they both had large foreheads, hence the pseudonym "Stirner" taken from the German *stirn*, meaning forehead.

20. Ibid., 39; confirmed in Herbert, 81.

21. Jean Paulhan, Discourse in honor of André Salmon upon receiving the Grande Prix de Poésie de l'Académie Française, conferred on 17 December 1964, in "André Salmon, 1881-1969," Cahiers Bleus (Troyes), no. 21 (Fall 1981): 59.

supporting individualism was intrinsic to his whole being. But Salmon was not a Stirnerian in the strict sense; rather he was a libertarian thinker whose Stirnerian sympathies were translated into what became his nominalist orientation.

* * * * *

As mentioned earlier, Salmon's nominalism did not emulate the theological form of nominalism. Rather, it embraced the medieval nominalist view that language was basically arbitrary. This aspect of nominalism, which Royère recognized in Salmon's poetry, stems from Salmon's quest for a liberation of language from the constraints of Symbolist and Parnassian poetics. Through his search for a new lyricism, Salmon created an aesthetic, which he believed was "un art tendant encore à créer chaque chose par sa description verbale." Salmon's determination to savor the unique qualities of individual things harks back to Charles Baudelaire's review of the 1846 *salon*, which Salmon referred to in L'Art vivant.²² However, Salmon's manner

22. Charles Baudelaire, "On the Ideal and the Model," Salon of 1846; reprinted in Charles Baudelaire, Art in Paris, 1845-1862: Salons and Other Exhibitions, trans. Jonathan Mayne (London: Phaidon Press, 1965), 80-81. As a poet and art critic, Salmon felt that he was heir to the tradition set by poet/critic Charles Baudelaire (André Salmon, L'Air de la Butte [Paris: La Nouvelle France, 1946], 188), and evidently modelled himself after Baudelaire by letting his passions guide his taste and his opinion of the artist, as did Baudelaire. This emulation of Baudelaire is made clear in Salmon's selection of this passage from Baudelaire's "On Eclecticism and Doubt," Salon of 1846: "Quelque habile que soit un éclectique, c'est un homme faible; car c'est un homme sans amour. Il n'a donc pas d'idéal; il n'a pas de parti pris, --ni étoile ni boussole" from the page preceding the first page of his book L'Art vivant.

of creating through verbal description differed from Baudelaire's *correspondance* or Stéphane Mallarmé's "suggestion" in its determined specificity,²³ naming the species rather than the genus to underline the nature of each word as being simultaneously sound, signifier, and idea. Also, unlike Baudelairean and Mallarméan imagery, Salmon's nominalist subject matter was limited to the everyday. As he said in his postface to *Prikaz*, nominalism is the poet's "acceptation d'un fait sur le plan merveilleux. . . ." ²⁴ (In this regard, Salmon's specific form of nominalism appears to be closer in concept to Thomas Hobbes' secular version of nominalism, which considered each word, thought, and object as a universal unto itself.²⁵) This criterion distinguished his chosen aesthetic from that of the nineteenth-century Symbolists who retreated from the world in order to attain higher levels of consciousness or closer glimpses of the Absolute; in contrast, Salmon believed that his nominalism would restore "l'émotion à l'impersonnel,"²⁶ the impersonal being Symbolism's virtuosity.²⁷

23. In Symbolist terms this device was called *correspondance*, a term coined by Charles Baudelaire in the mid-nineteenth century: the evocation of an object, emotion, or sensation through the naming of another object, emotion, or sensation to "suggest" rather than describe, such as red/passion, white/purity, spleen/melancholia, temple/sanctity, in order to communicate ideas or concepts.

24. Salmon, postface to *Prikaz*.

25. Paul Edwards, ed., *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, S.v. "Thomas Hobbes" by R.S. Peters.

26. Ibid.

27. André Salmon, "Le Salon [des Indépendants]," *Montjoie!* 2, no. 3 (March 1914): 21; repr. in *L'Art vivant*, 9: "l'ère des virtuoses est close."

Salmon's introduction to the notion of universals and Absolutes no doubt came from his tutor, the Parnassian poet Gaston de Raismes, with whom Salmon studied as a young man (c. 1890). Concurrently, the Symbolist movement was in full bloom and became more influential as Salmon matured. Both literary movements rebelled against their predecessor Positivism (an epistemology based on empiricism) to find a means by which one would glimpse the Absolute. The Parnassians hoped to achieve this goal by concentrating on the perfection of form and meter,²⁸ while the Symbolists concerned themselves with content and lyricism.²⁹ Although the seeds of Symbolism were sown in Baudelaire's writings of the 1860s, Symbolism as a movement began in response to Mallarmé's poetry of the 1870s,³⁰ reaching its peak around 1885-1895.³¹ At the turn of the century, its poetics were continued

28. Herbert, 56. The Parnassian poets focused on meter and form, rather than lyricism. The movement flourished during the latter half of the nineteenth century (beginning c. 1870).

29. A. G. Lehmann, The Symbolist Aesthetic in France, 1885-1895 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1968; repr. Folcroft, Pa.: Folcroft Library Editions, 1978), 74-126 ("poetic knowledge") and 129-193 ("the symbolist view of language").

30. Jean Moréas, "Manifesto de symbolisme," Figaro littéraire, 18 September 1886, quoted in John Rewald, Post-Impressionism: From van Gogh to Gauguin (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1956, 1962, 1978), 133: "Charles Baudelaire should be considered the true precursor of the present movement. Stéphane Mallarmé endowed it with a sense of the mysterious and the inexpressible. . . ."

31. Herbert, 59-63; Lehmann, 16-18; H.R. Rookmaaker, Gauguin and Nineteenth-Century Art Theory (Amsterdam: Swets and Zeitlinger, 1972), 72: Rookmaaker confines Symbolism to the dates 1885 to 1990; Marcel Raymond, De Baudelaire au Surréalisme (Paris: Jose Corti, 1972), 57: Raymond also called the Symbolists the Generation of 1885 (p. 49) and the École de 1885 (p. 57); Michel Décaudin, La Crise des valeurs symbolistes; vingt ans de poésie française, 1895-1914 (Toulouse: Privat, 1960), 16-17.

through the work of Paul Fort and Jean Moréas, Salmon's mentors.³²

Salmon's concentration on the abstract qualities of language in poetry began with his admiration of nineteenth-century poets Gérard de Nerval, Charles Baudelaire, Paul Verlaine, Tristan Corbière, Jules La Forge, and Arthur Rimbaud, whose attention to the rhythm, sounds, and character of words became an intrinsic aspect of their aesthetic.³³

Then, Salmon's contact with Alfred Jarry swayed the poet toward a modernist interest in everyday life (rather than the dream or the myth which preoccupied the Symbolists) and the utilization of words that would express its absurdity as well as its vulgarity.³⁴ In addition, Salmon's attraction to Jarry's aesthetics resulted in his *Fantaisiste* Period with imagery that paralleled Picasso's in his Blue and Rose Periods (the isolated poet, clown, acrobat, prostitute, suicide, street merchant, thief, etc.--the *marginiaux* of society). However, unlike Picasso's depictions, Salmon's characters floated in and out in a succession of impressions, much like film sequences spliced together, in an atmosphere that was both commonplace and absurd, as if the poet had created a fantasy (hence the name *fantaisisme*) by virtue of integrating perceptions of ordinary life with that of the dream.

32. Décaudin, La Crise des valeurs symbolistes, 15-23, 51; Kenneth Cornell, The Post-Symbolist Period, French Poetic Currents, 1900-1920 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958), 1-13; Somville, 9-10; Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, I: 30-56.

33. Décaudin, La Crise des valeurs symbolistes, 15-23.

34. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 1:55: "Alfred Jarry, . . . me louait de fonder ma poésie sur le quotidien."

Fantaisisme was also a response to the faster tempo of life and what seemed to be a teeming quantity of sensations and short-lived impressions. Other writers and artists also responded by extrapolating the rhythms, sounds, and simultaneity of modernity (the faster speeds of trains and airplanes, the mass communication of telephones and telegraphs, and the collapse of the past, present, and future through the invention of motion pictures and records), incorporating these qualities into their poetry and art.³⁵ Out of this confrontation with the new grew numerous conceptual "isms," each claiming to have a better grasp of the relationship between life and art. Dozens of movements emerged, such as Unanism, Integralism, Impulsionism, Dynamism, Paroxysm, and Dramatism, vying for leadership among fellow writers and artists and promising a glimpse of the Absolute.³⁶ Salmon's nominalism was one among these many "isms."

35. Stephen Kern, The Culture of Time and Space, 1880-1918 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983), 1-9.

36. Unanimism (Henri Lemaitre, L'Aventure littéraire du XXe siècle, première époque 1890-1930 [Paris: Pierre Bordas, 1984], 359): a belief in rhythms in nature, specifically those in modern life which guide perception. Through emulating these rhythms in poetry, the Unanimist believed that he could lead humankind to a more spiritual level of consciousness. Based on ideas found in Whitman and Verhaeren, it is best represented in the writings of Jules Romains, e.g. La Vie unanime (1909). Integralism (Somville, 70-78): Adolphe Lacuzon published the manifesto for this movement in La Revue bleue, 16 January 1904, stating that poetry was a transcendental form of knowledge and a reflection of the pleasure of knowledge. Striving for perfection, poetry was considered a vehicle capable of perpetual creation and a creation of integration, weaving together the power of knowledge, rhythm, emotional nuances, the psychic world, and the condition of creativity in and of itself. Impulsionism (Somville, 79-82): invented by Florian-Parmentier, this poetic emphasizes the mysterious power of the poet's feelings "qui unit le poète au monde par le 'rythme.'" The poet senses beauty intuitively. Through this unity,

Cubism was another.

* * * * *

In her book Re-Ordering the Universe: Picasso and Anarchy, 1897-1914, Patricia Leighton submitted that *la bande à Picasso*

Lacuzon believed: "Le don du poète est une condition psychique supérieure, comme l'héroïsme." (Quoted from Philéas Lebesque's article "Le poésie et les poètes," in L'Essor septentrional, January 1906, 3, cited in Somville, 79.) Dynamism (Somville, 83-91): on January 16, 1910, A.M. Gossez held a conference entitled Le Dynamisme poétique. Recognizing a duality between dynamism and stasis in society, the poet reaches into his/her innermost resources--physical, emotional, and psychological -- in order to express a dynamic movement which he can inject into the rhythm of his verse. Founded in Rouen, it resembled the aforementioned Unanimism, Integralism, and Impulsionism by virtue of its emphasis on life's rhythms becoming actualized or emulated in the rhythms of the verse. Paroxysm (Somville, 92-113): Nicolas Beaudoin served as head of this school and published his manifesto in "La Poésie Paroxyste," Les Rubriques Nouvelles, 30 May 1911, 101-115. Perhaps closer in spirit to Surrealism, this poetic encourages exploration of the conscious and subconscious as the sole reality of the universe. In Somville's words: "le concept d' 'intropathie' rendait compte de la 'projection' par où l'artiste supprime la réalité extérieure et l'investit par la force de son imagination. Le monde se réduit, pensait Beauduin, à l'image que chaque personne en possède, pourvu qu'elle soit armée d'un génie suffisant, ..." (103). Dramatism (Somville, 114-146): A precursor of Unanimism, according to its founder Henri-Martin Barzun, Dramatism actually came from the same root, the Abbaye de Créteil. There, resident Barzun met Romain, but distinguished his ideologies from that of the other poet in his work La Terrestre tragédie (1906) and in his own revue Poème et Drame. Still, the basic concept revolves around attaining a spiritual level of consciousness through engaging in "la foule psychologique" and the simultaneous rhythms of life. Thus, the theory of "simultaneity" came out of this movement. Guillaume Apollinaire discussed Dramatism in his article entitled "La Peinture Moderne," in Der Sturm, February 1913 and included his name among the exponents of the movement. All of the "isms" cited above pertain to interpretations of experiencing and expressing the sensation of "simultaneity" as defined in Kern, 67-81, 314-318 and in Christopher Green Leger and the Avant-garde (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1976), 43, 77-80.

expressed their reactions to the demands and difficulties of modernity through politically charged works of art and written articles. This demonstration of their anarchist sympathies is certainly evident, but in the case of *la bande à Picasso* (as opposed to the *Abbaye de Créteil*) the emphasis was on the philosophical implications of anarchism more than on the political. In Salmon's writings particularly, it is apparent that the emphasis was on philosophy, illustrated in his decision to call Stirner a "metaphysician"³⁷ and his insinuation that philosophy was the salvation of art, which seems at the heart of his passage in Peindre:

La critique d'art existe, mais elle est dans Darwin,
Gassendi et Kepler, Abeilard, Occam, et Roscelin,
Le Rabelais des Almanaches, Fourier, Marx, les Casuistes
Et les ouvrages à venir des poètes nominalistes.³⁸

Here, Salmon invoked the names of theologians, scientists, sociologists, and mathematicians who all engaged in the study of natural phenomena, metaphysics, and/or epistemology in order to reach truths about existence. Utilizing these names to signify their scientific, political, sociological, and philosophical treatises, Salmon described in nominalist fashion his preference for ideals that stressed the individual, or the particular, in relation to the whole.

The common denominator among these thinkers was their willingness to explore the individual ingredients of natural phenomena and test

37. Salmon, La Terreur noire, 39.

38. Salmon, Peindre, 21.

their findings through scientific observation, applied logic, and/or experimentation, a trait Salmon praised in Picasso in his "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme." Therefore, within four lines of a poem, Salmon concisely explained his passionate admiration of hard-won intellectual achievements and his concept of the hero, one who reaps results through judicious study, intuitive reasoning, and rejection of the status quo. Salmon's concept of a hero was that of the maverick. Thus, Salmon admired that these thinkers, like his other heroes Picasso, Stirner, Golberg, and Jarry, separated themselves from the common herd through their subversive creations. Moreover, by identifying himself as the "nominalist poet," Salmon included himself in this illustrious company, promising to continue their commitment to progress (in the poet/critic's case, defending the emergence of avant-garde expressions).

Although Salmon's list of philosophers in this verse from Peindre provides some insight into Salmon's philosophical education and predilections, it is nevertheless an incomplete list of the philosophies which influenced this poet/critic. Not only was the political philosopher Stirner omitted, but philosophers Friedrich Nietzsche and Henri Bergson, whom Salmon mentioned in other contexts, seemed to be omitted as well.

Although Salmon did not include references to Nietzsche and Bergson in his poem, the impact of their philosophies on Salmon and his *Génération de 1910* was considerable. In Salmon's case in

particular, it is clear that he absorbed Nietzsche's ideas concerning the destruction of the old to make way for the new and Bergson's ideas concerning the relativistic simultaneity of human perception.

Therefore, in the remaining portion of this chapter, I will discuss the aspects of Nietzsche's and Bergson's philosophies which seem to be absorbed into Salmon's nominalism.

* * * * *

As several scholars have observed, Nietzsche's writings were "in the air" in France during the turn of the century, readily available to artists and writers who then incorporated their respective interpretations of Nietzsche's ideas into their personal philosophies, their "isms."³⁹ Salmon himself described his excitement upon reading

39. J. M. Nash, "The Nature of Cubism: A Study of Conflicting Explanations," Art History 3, no. 4 (December 1980): 445-446; Mark Rosenthal, "The Nietzschean Character of Picasso's Early Development," Arts Magazine 55, no. 2 (October 1980): 87-91; Anthony Blunt and Phoebe Pool, Picasso: The Formative Years (New York: 1962), 6-7; Ron Johnson, "Picasso's 'Demoiselles d'Avignon' and Dionysian Destruction," Arts Magazine 55, no. 2 (October 1980): 90-97; Ron Johnson, "Picasso's 'Demoiselles d'Avignon' and the Theatre of the Absurd," Arts Magazine 55, no. 2 (October 1980): 102-113; Ron Johnson, "Picasso's 'Old Guitarist' and the Symbolist Sensibility," Artforum 13, no. 4 (December 1974): 61-62; Ron Johnson, "Picasso's Parisian Family and the 'Saltimbanques,'" Arts Magazine 51, no. 5 (January 1977): 92-93; Leo Steinberg, "The Philosophical Brothel, Part 2," Art News 72, no. 6 (October 1972): 38-47; Mark Roskill, The Interpretation of Cubism (Cranbury, N.J. and London: Associated University Presses, 1985), 118. It is interesting to note that in 1904 Albert Lévy wrote a book on the relationship of Stirner and Nietzsche to respond to the theory that Nietzsche based his work on Stirner's philosophy. Lévy carefully poured through Nietzsche's library and reported that he did not find one book by Stirner (Albert Lévy, Stirner et Nietzsche [Paris, 1904], cited in James J. Martin, introduction to The Ego and His Own by Max Stirner [New York: Libertarian Book Club, 1963], xvi).

Nietzsche for the first time as a young man,⁴⁰ recalling that Henri Albert's translations of Nietzsche's writing appeared in Mercure de France around 1900.⁴¹

Salmon's familiarity with Nietzsche's writings appeared in two different ways in his "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme": most obviously his attempt to quote from Thus Spake Zarathustra (a misquote)⁴² and less obviously in his depiction of Picasso as a Nietzschean *Übermensch* (superman), a visionary and a loner.⁴³ In the case of the former, J.M. Nash pointed out, Salmon fell in line with his contemporaries Braque and Apollinaire, who also quoted Nietzsche.⁴⁴

40. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 3:245.

41. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 1:52, 255; Nash, 445-446: between 1898 and 1904, Henri Albert had translated several works by Friedrich Nietzsche, which appeared in the Mercure de France (1899). Concurrently, Henri Lichtenberger translated Nietzsche in his book La Philosophie de Nietzsche (Paris: Alcan, 1899). The next year, 1900, Jules de Gaultier wrote De Kant à Nietzsche and in 1904, he wrote Nietzsche et la réforme philosophique.

42. In La Jeune Peintre française (Paris: Albert Messein, 1912), 50, Salmon misquotes a portion from Nietzsche's Thus Spake Zarathustra, Prologue 5. Salmon said: "Nous avons fait la terre toute petite, disent les derniers hommes, et ils clignent." In Nietzsche, the passage is: "'The earth has become small, and on it hops the last man who makes everything small. His race is as ineradicable as the flea-beetle; the last man lives longest. 'We have invented happiness,' say the last men, and they blink.'" (Friedrich Nietzsche, Thus Spake Zarathustra, in The Portable Nietzsche, trans. Walter Kaufman [New York: Viking Press, 1954, 1969], 129.) Salmon also mentioned Nietzsche in his poem "Ecco Homo" in the collection of poems Les Étoiles dans l'encrier (Paris: Gallimard, 1952).

43. Salmon, La Jeune Peinture française, 41-60; André Salmon, "Picasso," L'Esprit Nouveau, no. 1 (October 1920): 61-81.

Although less direct than a quotation, evidence of Nietzsche's impact on Salmon's thinking is also apparent in this announcement of the end of old art criticism, published in Montjoie!, March 1914:

Nous avons tué la vieille critique.

Elle est morte à jamais. La critique remise aux mains des poètes rend impossible celle des critiques, magistrats improvisés, condamnant ou acquittant.

C'est la critique des poètes qui a délivré le public des plus solides préjugés. Les critiques nouveaux ne se fâchent pas, ne s'indignent pas, ne froncent pas les sourcils; les oeuvres inutiles, manquées, ne les mettent pas en courroux; ils les ignorent simplement.

Les critiques d'aujourd'hui admettent toutes les tentatives, ils encouragent les plus absurdes s'il le faut, car l'art a besoin du ferment de l'absurde.⁴⁵

44. Nash, 441. Nash noted that Apollinaire quoted from Twilight of the Idols in Méditations esthétiques: Les peintres cubistes (Paris: Figuière, 1913; Collection Savoir/Hermann, 1980), 62:

O Dionysos divin, pourquoi me tires-tu les oreilles? demande Ariane à son philosophique amant dans un de ces célèbres dialogues sur l'Ile de Naxos. --Je trouve quelque chose d'agréable, de plaisant à tes oreilles, Ariane: pourquoi ne sont-elles pas plus longues encore?.

Georges Braque quoted from Thus Spake Zarathustra ("A goal is a servitude") in his interview with Dora Vallier, "Braque, la peinture et nous," Cahiers d'art 29, no. 1 (October 1954): 13-24; repr. in Herschel B. Chipp, ed., Theories of Modern Art (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1968), 262.

45. André Salmon, "Le Salon [des Indépendants]," Montjoie! 2, no. 3 (March 1914): 21; repr. in André Salmon, L'Art vivant (Paris: G. Crès, 1920), 9. In the latter, Salmon wrote " . . . ils admettent les plus absurdes . . . "

Here the notion of destruction preceding innovation/creation was no doubt inspired by Nietzschean philosophy, promoted in such books as The Will to Power, a popular text among Salmon and his friends.⁴⁶

Also, the notion of the talented few (here the poets) leading the way to new revelations is reminiscent of Nietzsche's *Übermenschen*. Above all, Salmon continued the polemic cited above with an appeal to unite literature and the visual arts in an enterprise destined to become the new *ordre classique*: "Nous ne voulons être ni des énergumènes, ni des sergents de ville. Nous ne voulons pas confondre La Consigne avec La Discipline."⁴⁷

Salmon's attention to the issue of order in art corresponds to Nietzsche's discourse on the conflict of Apollonian vs. Dionysian drives--order and chaos--expounded upon in his book The Birth of Tragedy.⁴⁸ The conflict between imposed order and raw nature (intuition, randomness, libido) appeared frequently in Salmon's

46. Another somewhat Nietzschean adherent to the idea of destroying the past -- in terms of nineteenth-century decadence--and advocate of egocentric development was Maurice Barrès. A possible influence on Salmon's formation as a young poet, this nationalistic writer, known for his philosophy called "La Culte du moi," appealed to Salmon according to the latter's memoirs Souvenirs sans fin, 1:260-281. Barrès was also a friend of Henri Albert, translator of Nietzsche's works (Silvan Evans, The Life and Work of Maurice Barrès [London: Arthur H. Stockwell Ltd., 1962], 41). The anarchists Jean Grave and Camille Maclair tried to relate Barrès' individualism in his "culte du moi" to the anarchist movement in general (Herbert, 83).

47. Salmon, "Le Salon [des Indépendants]," Montjoie!, 21; repr. in L'Art vivant, 10-11.

48. Friedrich Nietzsche, The Birth of Tragedy and The Genealogy of Morals, trans. Francis Golffing (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1956).

writings as well, both before and after World War I (indicating that Salmon's interest in the return to the order of classicism was not a post-war conservatism as Kenneth Silver and Christopher Green suggest in their respective studies of the post-war period⁴⁹).

Examples of Salmon's preoccupation with the role of order/discipline in art can be found in his poetry in his depiction of the tightrope walker in "Cirque" (Féeries, 1907)--the symbol of the artist balancing skillfully to perform through discipline against the forces of nature (in this case gravity) and the snake charmer and Chinese merchant in "Asie" (Le Calumet, 1910). About the latter two, Salmon wrote:

Le charmeur de serpents et le marchand chinois
Songent, l'un au cobra et l'autre à ses balances
Propre également à confondre les lois
De l'équilibre et de l'humaine intelligence.⁵⁰

49. Kenneth E. Silver, Esprit de Corps: The Art of the Parisian Avant-Garde and the First World War, 1914-1925 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989), 235. Silver referred to Salmon as one of the writers who demonstrated a shift to the Right in his book L'Art vivant, published in 1920. The examples Silver selected, however, were first published in Montjoie! 2, no. 3 (March 1914): 21-22. I would like to thank Kenneth Silver for allowing me to read the galleys of his book and encouraging me to correct him in my dissertation. Christopher Green, Cubisme and its Enemies (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), 9 (characterizing Salmon as a "defector") and 187-188 (on Salmon's "dynamic view of the restoration of tradition" which Green said "was not altogether brand new; it reflected Mauclair's notion from the beginning of the century of tradition as progressive. . . ." This latter statement seems to infer that Salmon's idea was new to him at this post-war moment). My contention is that the issue had taken root before the war in his mediations of Clouard's demand for French literature's return to Renaissance poetics.

50. André Salmon, "Asie," from Le Calumet (Paris: Henri Falque, 1910); repr. in Créances (1905-1910) suivi de Carreaux (1918-1921) (Paris: Gallimard, 1968), 148.

Another poem in which Salmon expressed a preoccupation with order was Prikaz (the title is the Russian word for order in the sense of command or discipline).⁵¹

Salmon's meditation on equilibrium and proportion in concert with novelty and invention prompted him to respond to the conservative literary advocate Henri Clouard in February 1914 with the following remarks:

L'Ordre? Je m'y soumets joyeusement. Mais je ne souscris pas au projet de remettre le contrôle de la littérature à la Gendarmerie. Les devoirs du poète ne sont pas identiques aux devoirs du citoyen . . . les devoirs du critique avec ceux du créateur. Au critique appartient le soin de reconnaître et d'imposer les ouvrages d'une valeur proprement classique; mais il le doit faire en prenant garde à ne briser aucun élan. . . . Que vaut donc cet ordre qui veut que la critique précède l'oeuvre?⁵²

Here, Salmon explained that order should facilitate growth in the arts, not promote stagnation. Contemporaneous with his response to Clouard and the Montjoie! article cited above, Salmon wrote in his book La Jeune Sculpture française (written in 1914, but published after World War I in 1919) about the role of discipline (synonymous with the notion of order) in the following statement:

51. The title, which invokes a slogan used by the Russian Futurist poet Vladimir Mayakovski, is meant to be ironic, since the poem describes the mass chaos and upheaval during the Russian Revolution (Fauchereau, preface to Créances . . . Carreaux by André Salmon, 21).

52. A[ndré] S[almon], "Chronique des lettres," Gil Blas, 14 February 1914, quoted in Décaudin, La Crise des valeurs symbolistes, 413 n. 17. This paragraph was part of a response made to the conservative poet Henri Clouard, who had launched a campaign advocating a return to neo-classical guidelines for contemporary literature.

Dès lors, comment se discipliner?

Il ne faut pas se discipliner.

La discipline naît de la liberté. La discipline n'est pas autre chose que le choix des moyens raisonnables propres à la conquête de la plus extrême liberté.⁵³

Salmon's discussions about order and discipline related to another condition he often referred to: *mesure*. Salmon believed that *mesure* was the appropriate restraint that the artist imposed on the work of art in the midst of free invention. Conceived as an aspect of discipline, *mesure* emerged from a successful blend of skill and intelligence. Moreover, *mesure* did not emanate from a systematic approach to art making, but rather from intuition. Salmon considered order and *mesure* necessary components of the artistic process,⁵⁴ as he wrote in Peindre:

Peindre. C'est imiter l'imitation
Seul secret si tu dois recréer la nature
Et ne rien imiter
Que de l'illimité
Dans l'ordre et la mesure.⁵⁵

That the mind imposes a sense of order on an arbitrary assortment of things is a nominalist notion. According to Umberto Eco, William of

53. André Salmon, La Jeune Sculpture française (Paris: Albert Messein, 1919), 23.

54. P. A. Jannini, "Salmon/Golberg: Anarchia e Misura," in André Salmon, no. 9 Quaderni del Novecento Francese, 37-48.

55. Salmon, Peindre, 16.

Ockham's nominalism stated that the "concept of order . . . [is not] some sort of reality implied" in essences of things.⁵⁶ Therefore, order comes about through mental imaging, and the artist derives his inspiration from himself, not through divine intervention.⁵⁷ Eco went on to say that according to the nominalist theory of "a universe of particulars, beauty had to be sought in that uniqueness of the image which is generated by felicity or genius."⁵⁸ In other words, the artist or craftsman is directed by his own sense of order.⁵⁹ The concept that genius directs the artist is also part of Nietzsche's concept of the *Übermensch*.⁶⁰

Salmon shared his concern about the place of order and discipline in everyday life with most of France's intellectuals. Even before the onslaught of catastrophes experienced during World War I, the steady increase in tensions among nations and classes caused the French to look toward the qualities of order and discipline as a means to ensure stability in a society overwhelmed by modern inventions. According to David Cottingham, "the collapse in 1905-06 of the parliamentary *bloc*

56. Umberto Eco, Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages, trans. Hugh Bredin (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986), 88.

57. Ibid., 88-89.

58. Ibid., 89.

59. Ibid., 88-89.

60. Nietzsche, Prologue 3 and 4, Thus Spake Zarathustra; Friedrich Nietzsche, "Why I Write Such Excellent Books," in Ecco Homo (written in 188, published in 1908); repr. and trans. R.J. Hollingdale, (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1979), 71.

des gauches and its accompanying spirit of collaboration between liberal sections of bourgeoisie and organizations of the working class coincided with a heightening of international tension, as the result of the diplomatic confrontation with Germany over Morocco. . . ."⁶¹ In response, both the progressive and conservative movements called for a revivification of France through order, but neither agreed on how to implement this desire: the anarchists and trade unionists on the Left hoped to integrate tradition with modern living, while the staunch Catholics and Monarchists on the Right resisted modernization in favor of conserving the old-guard ways and traditions.⁶²

These sentiments permeated the society of arts and letters, giving rise to the War of the Two Banks ("La Guerre des Deux Rives") in which the avant-gardists (progressives) associated with the Left

61. David Cottington, "Cubism, Law, and Order: The Criticism of Jacques Rivière," The Burlington Magazine 126, no. 981 (December 1984): 744.

62. Ibid. Cottington points out Rivière's initial enthusiasm for Cubism and his identifying Cubism with French classicism. This point of view came about when he became close friends with Maurice Denis, André Gide, André Lhote and others who contributed to Gide's magazine La Nouvelle Revue française (Ibid, 749). Denis wrote in response to the questionnaire "Enquête sur l'orientation de la peinture moderne," Revue du temps présent, June 1911, 569 (cited in Cottington, "Cubism, Law and Order," 749): "Ainsi, L'Action française, dont je partage d'ailleurs la foi et les idées, fonde la nécessité de l'ordre français et de la monarchie sur les nécessités actuelles de notre société malade et divisée." Ideologically, Henri Clouard's conservative ideas paralleled Maurice Denis' in art. Salmon's response to Clouard, cited above (Gil Blas, 14 February 1914), reflects Salmon's differences with these conservatives. It should be noted that Salmon published fragments of his epic poem L'Âge de l'humanité in La Nouvelle Revue française (August 1919) when Jacques Rivière became editor. Salmon continued to contribute to that review from time to time until 1955.

Bank and the Boulevardists (traditionalists) associated with the Right Bank lashed out at one another through articles published in various literary reviews. Basing their arguments on corresponding ideological positions--innovation vs. preservation--they vied for attention and a leadership position in French literary society as a whole. In Léon Somville's book on the "war," he cited Marcel Pays' observation that "La Guerre des Deux Rives" (ca. September 1912 to the eve of World War I) paralleled the Balkan Wars (October 15, 1912-August 1913) in that a group of multi-interest Leftists (Unanists, Dramatists, Paroxysts, Integralists, neo-Symbolists, etc.) had banded together like the multi-national Balkan coalition (Serbs, Montenegrins, Bulgarians, and Greeks), to vanquish the foe: the Boulevardists in the case of the former and the Turks in the case of the latter.⁶³ Pays' analogy testified to the seriousness of the "war" among its constituency and may provide some insight into Picasso's collages from that period, in which the artist demonstrated how domestic and foreign crises conjoin "sur le plan merveilleux" (the common ground of absurd reality).⁶⁴

The Leftist struggle to promote a break with the past found strength in the nihilist philosophy of Nietzsche, but its faith in the

63. Marcel Pays, "Notre enquête--La rive gauche et le boulevard," Les Nouvelles, 23 and 24 October 1912, quoted in Somville, 58. Salmon mentioned "une guerre des deux rives" in Souvenirs sans fin, 2:171.

64. Patricia Leighton's study of Picasso's collages and the Balkan Wars in (Re-Ordering the Universe: Picasso and Anarchism, 1897-1914, 121-142) and Somville's study of *avant guerre* French literary history indicate that there is much more to be learned about the art and literature that emerged during this turbulent period, but such as discussion exceeds the limits of this dissertation.

power of human intellection and perception was enriched through the philosophy of relativism introduced at this moment by Henri Bergson. Bergson's theories especially encouraged Salmon to develop his own non-analytical approach to art criticism and his anecdotal style. No doubt the critic's repeated references to his subjective interpretation of an event, most noticeable in the "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme," reflect his familiarity with Bergsonian ideas.⁶⁵ Six years later, in his 1918-1919 poem Peindre, Salmon made his position more explicit:

L'art, c'est la pierre un jour jaille
 D'un bloc de feu
 Qui ne tombe jamais, qui jamais ne se fixe, froide et qui
 s'irradie,
 Si tu crois la saisir au compas de tes yeux,
 Alors tes yeux seront la pierre
 Froide jusqu'à ce que d'autres yeux
 La saisissent pour mieux prolonger l'infini de sa course.⁶⁶

In this passage, Salmon described his vision of art in general. He likened it to a projectile that erupts from a fiery body (the dynamic history of art). This projectile soars and never falls; it never becomes cold and fixed, like a stone, a common and terrestrial object. Rather, it radiates with its own energy, ever forward on an endless course. Composed of the stone (the mundane), this projectile enters into the stratosphere (a metaphor for a higher plane of being or thinking, the ethereal). Thus, in the poem, Salmon explained his

 65. Salmon, La Jeune Peinture française, 40-61.

66. Salmon, Peindre, 14.

nominalist vision of art as the integration of the mundane and the ethereal, or "un fait sur le plan merveilleux."

Salmon's vision of art as dynamic and in constant flux links his ideas to those of Henri Bergson, who viewed life as a constant condition of *becoming*--a principle which entered into the common currency of popularized philosophy during the turn of the century and on into the 1920s. For example, Bergson wrote in his book L'Evolution créatrice:

Essayons de voir, non plus avec les yeux de la seule intelligence, qui ne saisit que le tout fait et qui regarde du dehors, mais avec l'esprit, je veux dire avec cette faculté de voir qui est immanente à la faculté d'agir et qui jaillit, en quelque sorte, de la torsion du vouloir sur lui-même. Tout se remettra en mouvement, et tout se résoudra en mouvement. Là où l'entendement, s'exerçant sur l'image supposée fixe de l'action en marche, nous montrait des parties infiniment multiples et un ordre infiniment savant, nous devinerons un processus simple, une action qui se fait à travers une action du même genre qui se défait, quelque chose comme le chemin que se fraye la dernière fusée du feu d'artifice parmi les débris qui retombent des fusées éteintes.⁶⁷

Noting Bergson's and Salmon's use of the words "saisir" and "jaillir," and the imagery of a fiery projectile (fireworks) helps support the argument that Salmon was inspired by Bergson's writings and, perhaps, this particular passage.

67. Henri Bergson, L'Evolution créatrice (Paris, 1907; repr. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1941, 1983), 251. Henri Bergson (1859-1941) was a French philosopher who fostered interest in the nature of relativism. Marcel Proust's novel À la recherche du temps perdu, written from 1914-1920, illustrates Bergsonian theories of cognition that link the experience of time and memory.

Bergson's books, such as Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience (1889), Matière et mémoire (1896), Introduction à la métaphysique (1903), and L'Evolution créatrice (1907) certainly inspired the "public" Cubists who organized the exhibition "La Section d'Or" in October 1912, and for that reason they asked the philosopher to write a preface for the accompanying catalogue. Salmon related this story in his column for the Paris-Journal (November 26 and November 30, 1911), explaining to his audience that "le maître" was not familiar with these painters' work and had refused. Nevertheless, these Cubists believed that they had grasped Bergson's ideas and that their work expressed a conceptual understanding of the object in time and space according to Bergson's concept of the *durée* (duration), which Bergson had described and believed came into play during the experience of perception (the *aperçu*).⁶⁸

Bergsonian notions of conceptual perception supported Salmon's nominalist orientation, giving license to his belief that each work of art was an individual universe and that each encounter with the work of art made that work seem different. Thus, he separated the experience of viewing a work of art from the work itself. The work, then, had no signification of its own other than that imposed upon it

68. Henri Bergson, Creative Evolution, trans. Arthur Mitchell (New York: Henry Holt and Co.; Random House/Modern Library, 1944), 14, 234-237, 373-377; Edward F. Fry, Cubism (London and New York: Thames and Hudson, 1966; repr. New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1978), 67.

through the receiver's intellection which, in turn, was influenced by the specific circumstances under which the work was viewed (time and place)--as in the concept of Bergson's *durée*.⁶⁹

The independence of a work of art which had been conceived and created by a human being reminded Salmon of the relationship of the child to its parents: once the child is born, he or she is destined to find his or her own place, while the parents must step aside, for they are merely the instruments through which the child acquires life. In Peindre, Salmon expressed this idea in this verse:

La mère en travail voit dans un beau cortège
D'heures et de saisons le fils de ses entrailles
De son premier soleil à sa dernière neige,
Une vie recréée et choisie entre celles, ardentes,
Dont la main de l'esprit veut dérober la soie,
Et c'est ainsi, beautés vivantes,
Qu'on vous conçoit!⁷⁰

Thus, a work of art, like a human being, is only a victim of its destiny ("l'infini de sa course") and its importance or meaning cannot be "fixed" by either the artist or the critic, because, as Salmon warned in Peindre: "Si tu crois la saisir au compas de tes yeux,/Alors tes yeux seront la pierre/Froide jusqu'a ce que d'autres yeux/La saisissent pour mieux prolonger l'infini de sa course." In other words, if one presumes to interpret the work of art then the art loses its dynamism and becomes "cold [as a] stone."⁷¹ The implication

69. Bergson, Creative Evolution, 234.

70. Salmon, Peindre, 36.

71. Ibid., 14.

here is that the wise spectator (or critic) does not try to determine the meaning of a work of art for all time to come, nor wants to. Instead the spectator should only "seize" a meaning for himself in the moment and let others do the same out of their own free will.

In addition to not "fixing" the meaning of the work of art, Salmon specified: "L'art, c'est la pierre un jour jaillie / . . . / Qui ne tombe jamais, . . . qui s'irradie." Here, with the selection of the word "radiate," Salmon again invoked the Bergsonian notion that one perceives an object or event on multiple levels intellectually. The "radiation" of an object suggests that its appearance or meaning fluctuates, informing the mind with various significations simultaneously. Again, a function of Bergson's concept of *durée*.⁷²

This notion of radiation, experienced with the *durée*, provokes multiple readings of an object. In the case of a work of art, radiation allows for several interpretations. Therefore, it seems that Salmon's invocation of Bergson's theories on perception implicitly discouraged reading a work of art on one level or for one meaning, because it limits the spectator's experience as well as it limits the life of the piece. Instead, Salmon seemed to encourage savoring the multiplicity of the work's significations, accepting all "readings" as valid.

72. Bergson, Creative Evolution, 273.

The reasoning behind this interpretation of Salmon's passages in Peindre stems from an understanding of his nominalist orientation, which was firmly established at the writing of this poem. Salmon's nominalist view of art and life (demonstrated in his poetry as early as 1910) drew from Bergsonian concepts of relative perception and gained momentum from these theories. Also, conversely, Bergsonian philosophy probably contributed to Salmon's understanding of nominalist concepts, such as the theory that intellection is separate from perception, thus facilitating his grasp of the nominalist notion that all things, ideas, and signifiers are separate entities and universals unto themselves.

Salmon's nominalist criterion, which suppressed interpretation and supported evaluation of each work on an individual basis, guided his art criticism. This attitude led him to the conclusion that the critic's task was to determine trends and establish relationships between the artists and/or the works of art for his audience without ascribing a meaning to the work of art. In the introduction to La Jeune Peinture française, Salmon stated this view of his critical role specifically:

Je tenterai plutôt, avec une simplicité que j'ose croire louable, de mettre un peu d'ordre dans beaucoup de confusion, de découvrir des origines authentiques, de préciser certaines aspirations mal comprises, de surprendre des filiations et de créer, par de logiques rapprochements, des familles d'artistes si, à vrai dire, il n'est plus d'écoles. J'essaierai surtout de donner un résumé de l'histoire artistique de ces dernières années."⁷³

73. Salmon, La Jeune Peinture française, 1-2.

Again, concerned with the human desire to impose order on the arbitrariness of life, as discussed earlier, Salmon accepted the responsibility of organizing the art world into "families" of art, for, as he wrote later in the book: "Les écoles disparaissent faute d'étiquettes commodes. C'est fâcheux pour le public, car il aime les écoles qui lui permettent d'y voir clair sans effort."⁷⁴ Therefore, although as a nominalist he disdained systems and categorizations,⁷⁵ as a critic he felt it was his duty to serve his readers in a manner they seemed to expect.⁷⁶ In theory, this compliance seems to be a betrayal of his nominalist ideals, but in practice (as we shall see in the next chapter) Salmon demonstrated that his nominalist-inspired preference for individualism always prevailed.

74. Ibid., 54

75. André Salmon, Propos d'atelier (Paris: G. Crès, 1922), 36: "Nous renouerons la véritable traditions, grace à la Méthode hors des méthodes, dans le mépris des écoles et le dédain des systèmes."

76. André Warnod, "Echos et on-dit des lettres et des arts," L'Europe nouvelle, 11 October 1919, 1971: "Nos lecteurs savent combien André Salmon . . . est peu un critique pédant."

Chapter IV - Salmon's History of Cubism

Salmon published art criticism from age twenty-six to the end of his life.¹ Yet of all the articles he wrote during these six decades as an art critic, his "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme" still commands the most attention in art-historical literature. Such a limited acquaintance with Salmon's art criticism, especially on Cubism, has lead to a distorted sense of his attitudes concerning avant-garde art, and now it is clear that Salmon's numerous articles on Cubism deserve a broader and closer examination. This study examines the key essays written from 1910 to 1926 in an effort to demonstrate how Salmon's reaction to Cubism evolved over time, and how it reflected his nominalism orientation.² Above all, this study attempts to dispel the notion that Salmon's 1912 essay "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme" represents the definitive Salmonian version of the history of Cubism, for even the critic himself considered this work "dated" in 1919.³

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1. Beginning with his first article in L'Intransigeant, 3 March 1908 and ending with contribution to exhibition catalogues Marie Vassilieff (Paris: Galerie Hupel, 1969); Roger Toulouse (Rochechouart: Centre artistique et littéraire, 1969); and Claude Venard (Paris: Galerie F. Vercel, 1969).

2. Beginning with André Salmon, "Exposition Picasso," Paris Journal, 22 December 1910; and ending with André Salmon, "L'Anniversaire du Cubisme," L'Art vivant, no. 36 (15 June 1926): 444-445.

3. André Salmon, "La Vie artistique," L'Europe nouvelle, 18 January 1919: "un déjà vieillie La Jeune Peinture française (1912)."

As a nominalist, Salmon could not accept the pro-Cubist position that this movement represented the highest level of achievement for avant-garde art. Rather, Salmon remained circumspect and critical, regarding the core members of the Cubist movement as epigones of Picasso, and their aesthetic as a "jeu parnessien"--a game smothered by rules.⁴ Then he switched from disparagement to praise when he proclaimed that they were the rightful heirs to the classical Latin tradition, describing them as "smitten" with classicism.⁵ Salmon's decision to point out the "good" and "bad" aspects of the Cubist movement formed the basis of his articles on the history of Cubism, such as his review of the Salon des Indépendants (1911),⁶ "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme" (1912),⁷ and "Mouvement des idées: Origines et intentions du cubisme" (1919).⁸ These articles also reflect Salmon's shifting views on the subject, allowing us to see his critical evolution from complete resistance to a qualified acceptance of the

4. André Salmon, "La Semaine Artistique," L'Europe nouvelle, 15 February 1919. The idea that Cubism had oppressive rules was first expressed in "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme" in Salmon's comparison of Cubism to "gymnastics" (La Jeune Peinture française [Paris: Albert Messein, 1912], 55).

5. André Salmon, "Mouvement des idées: Origines et intentions du cubisme," Demain 68 (26 April 1919): 487; repr. in André Salmon, L'Art vivant (Paris: G. Crès, 1920), 116. Salmon's commentaries on Cubism and classicism were explored in this author's paper "Cubism According to André Salmon," given in a seminar on Cubism taught by Rose-Carol Washton Long, spring 1982.

6. André Salmon, "Le 27e Salon des Indépendants," Paris-Journal, 20 April 1911, 5.

7. André Salmon, La Jeune Peinture française, 41-61.

8. Salmon, "Mouvement des idées: Origines et intentions du cubisme," 485-489.

aesthetic associated with Braque, Metzinger, Gleizes, and the other so-called "Cubists" of this era. However, Salmon's vision of Picasso as the prime mover behind Cubism never changed: "Le cubisme est une sottise invention de niais qui voulurent prendre Picasso pour directeur de conscience. . . . Picasso n'a pas de disciples et il faut dénoncer ici l'impudence de ceux qui se réclament publiquement de lui, en des manifestes propres à égarer d'autres gobemouches," said Salmon in late 1910.⁹ That Salmon fervently protested the critics' attempts to link Picasso with the "public" Cubist movement reflects Salmon's firm opinion that Picasso's work was far superior to that of the "public" Cubists as well as other artists of his generation.

Salmon's separation of Picasso from Braque and the "public" Cubists appears in most of his essays,¹⁰ and, as such, can be considered the "Salmonian" interpretation of the Cubist phenomenon. He also believed that the name Cubism was a misconstrued,

9. André Salmon, "Picasso (Galerie Vollard)," Paris-Journal, 22 December 1910.

10. Ibid., André Salmon, "Le 27e Salon des Indépendants," Paris-Journal, 20 April 1911, 5; André Salmon, "Le Salon d'Automne," Paris-Journal, 30 September 1911, 5; Salmon, La Jeune Peintre française, 41-61; André Salmon, "Le Salon d'Automne," Montjoie! 1, s. 11-12 (November-December 1913): 1-2; André Salmon, "La Semaine artistique," L'Europe nouvelle, 18 January 1919, 139-140; Salmon, "Mouvement des idées: Origines et intentions du cubisme," 485-489; André Salmon, "Picasso et le cubisme," Feuillets d'art, 15 October 1919; André Salmon, "Picasso," L'Esprit nouveau, no. 1 (October 1920): 61-80; Salmon, L'Art vivant, 1920, 109-168; André Salmon, "Souvenirs," Vingt-cinq ans de peinture abstraite, ex. cat. (Paris: Galerie d'Art Braun et Cie, [June] 1932), 5-12; André Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin (Paris: Gallimard, 1956), 2:101-106.

misunderstood misnomer, like all categorizations (an illustration of his nominalist prerogative).¹¹ On both subjects, he wrote in his review of the 1911 Salon d'Automne:

Essayons, tout d'abord, de dissiper quelque malentendus. S'il est vrai que le cubisme est né des spéculations de Picasso, ce dernier ne fut jamais cubiste. Les premières manifestations cubistes, avec encore bien des indécisions (nous n'eumes pas tout de suite les beaux cubes solides d'aujourd'hui), furent dues à Georges Braque, dont quelques unes firent sensation aux Indépendants. Beaucoup plus intellectuel, Jean Metzinger, rassemble les éléments confus, diffus du cubismes; ébaucha, sinon une doctrine, du moins une théorie; de sort que si, vraiment, le cubisme vient de Picasso, Jean Metzinger, pourtant, est fondé à s'en dire le chef.¹²

That Cubism became the operative name always annoyed Salmon. Powerless to change the public's mind, Salmon resigned himself to the fact that Cubism, as a name and a movement, was here to stay. "Il n'était plus possible d'ignorer le cubisme," the critic confessed in La Jeune Peintre française. "Je bornai ma tâche à reconnaître dans la famille cubiste les artistes réellement doués de vertus picturales."¹³ This acceptance of the name, however, did not squelch his initial criticism; even as late as 1920 in an article on Seurat (not Cubism per se) Salmon reiterated his original position regarding the use of this label: "'cubisme,' que les nigauds entendent encore à la lettre, mais d'un emploi un peu plus dangereux."¹⁴

11. Salmon, La Jeune Peinture française, 54.

12. André Salmon, "Le Salon d'Automne," Paris-Journal, 30 September 1911, 5.

13. Salmon, La Jeune Peinture française, 58.

14. André Salmon, Propos d'atelier, (Paris: Crès, 1922), 43.

* * * * *

In his first account of the history of Cubism, written in his review of the 1911 Salon des Indépendants, Salmon made it known that Picasso deserved recognition for originating the ideas behind "public" Cubism, but that he himself was not part of their "school."¹⁵ Specifically, he said:

Nous ne ferons pas, sur le cubisme, des plaisanteries faciles. Qu'il nous suffise de rappeler aux jeunes maîtres "novateurs" que le cubisme fut inventé, il y a cinq ans, par un peintre espagnol, après de longues digressions esthétiques en compagnie de philosophes, de poètes, de mathématiciens. Cela parut d'abord un inoffensive jonglerie de l'esprit. Mais Picasso posa la première pierre, le premier cube du temple, et ce n'est pas ce qu'il fit de plus louable. Le cubisme est, en réalité, un moyen de composition tout à fait élémentaire, un procédé que pourrait indiquer un manuel à l'usage des débutants; il est acceptable; nous nous refusons seulement à tenir des préparations pour des oeuvres; depuis quarantes ans, on ne nous montre que des dessous.¹⁶

Of particular importance in this acknowledgment of the Cubist movement is Salmon's placing Picasso's Cubist beginnings in 1906. This year, which scholars often call the end of his Rose Period,¹⁷ became, in Salmon's estimation, the turning point that led to Picasso's Cubism, which, in turn, inspired the others. Salmon also characterized these

15. Salmon, "Le 27e Salon des Indépendants," Paris-Journal, 20 April 1911, 5.

16. Ibid.

17. Douglas Cooper, The Cubist Epoch, ex. cat. (London, New York and Los Angeles: The Los Angeles County Museum and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1971), 13.

followers of Picasso's lead (the "public" Cubists) as merely beginners, who incorporated Picasso's conceptual depictions in a methodical manner, as if they were preparing for the real breakthrough in their work. This side of Cubism, Salmon inferred, was a potential step forward to better things, yet it still was the *dessous* (the inferior side or the underlay).

Despite his criticism of the "school," Salmon singled out and praised a few Cubists who seemed to have promise:

Metzinger, avec beaucoup de sérieux, complique son cubisme, et donne de chaque objet le plan et le relief; Léger cristallise, sa palette est celle de Metzinger et aussi celle de Bracque [sic] absent, encore que ses figures cubiques, Nus dans un paysage, Femme cousant [figs. 23, 24], aient de neuves transparences; Gleizes, à qui l'on doit d'heureuses illustrations, reste le plus humain des cubistes; il est même--bien malgré lui--fortement académique. C'est le seul artiste de cette école chez qui la spéculation n'a pas tué l'amour de la matière, dont il faut bien, tout de même, tenir compte, s'il s'agit d'art plastique.

L'Abondance [fig. 5], de Le Fauconnier, et La Tour Eiffel [fig. 25], de Robert Delaunay, ne seront livrées qu'à la dernière heure. Nous n'en pouvons rien dire.

Avec Bracque [sic], André Derain fait défaut.¹⁸

Although these latter comments seem to contradict his initial negative remarks, they are, nevertheless, consistent with Salmon's nominalist views, which focused on the particular as opposed to the general. They are also consistent with his taste, for here it is evident that Salmon found the demonstration of a sculptural quality pleasing in

18. Salmon, "Le 27e Salon des Indépendants," Paris-Journal, 20 April 1911, 5.

Metzinger's "relief," Léger's "crystaliz[ation]," and in Gleizes' "plastic art." Therefore, it appears that Salmon's rancor was not aimed at the individual artists, but rather at the idea of an avant-garde "school" with rules, which contradicted the anarchist ideals he and these artists embraced.¹⁹

One year later, Salmon published his "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme" in his book La Jeune Peinture française. This detailed narrative described the drama as it unfolded simultaneously on several different planes, emulating the "Cubist" aesthetic of perceiving from all sides at once. For today's reader, the story provides not only a sense of atmosphere--industrious and bursting with innovations in several quarters all at the same time--but also a sense of who knew whom in this network of avant-garde artists. And yet, Salmon centered the action around one main character, Picasso, whom the critic believed inspired the "public" Cubist movement.

At the beginning of Salmon's story, Picasso appears to be at the end of his Rose Period (c. 1906) and full of anxiety about his next direction. He isolated himself from the other artists (the sign of a Nietzschean *Übermensch*) to begin experiments in a completely new vein. The result was Le b[ordell] philosophique (later renamed Les

19. André Salmon, "Le Salon des Indépendants," Paris-Journal, 19 March 1912, 5: "Les ennemis les plus acharnés du cubisme (que, je le répète, je déteste en tant que dogme). . . ."

Demoiselles d'Avignon) [fig. 6], which Salmon believed marked a pivotal moment in Picasso's career.²⁰ After its first private presentation to his friends,²¹ Salmon recalled that Picasso returned to the "study" and the "nude" in a manner reminiscent of his Rose Period, but in the muted colors of pink, white, and gray. Salmon continued:

Durant une assez courte période, Picasso parut se contenter de cet acquêt; le "b... philosophique" fut retourné contre le mur, et c'est à ce moment que furent peintes ces toiles d'une belle harmonie de tons, d'un si souple dessin, des nus, le plus souvent, qui constituèrent la dernière exposition de Picasso, en 1910.²²

The works Salmon recalled from this "short period," Femme à sa toilette (La Toilette [fig. 26]) and Femme se peignant [fig. 27],²³ are considered to be from 1906. Thus, Salmon (who seldom noted exact dates in his histories) either mistook the sequence of paintings or believed that the first version of Les Demoiselles d'Avignon was completed in 1906 and not 1907 as recent studies confirm.²⁴ However, it is crucial to note Salmon's time frame for Picasso's Cubist Period: it began in late 1906 with the research for Les Demoiselles d'Avignon

20. Salmon, La Jeune Peinture française; 43-44. Salmon, "Picasso," L'Esprit Nouveau, 64.

21. Salmon, Propos d'atelier, 16.

22. Ibid., 45.

23. Ibid.

24. William Rubin, "La Genèse des Demoiselles d'Avignon," in Les Demoiselles d'Avignon, ed. Hélène Seckel (Paris: Musée Picasso, 1988), 368.

and ended during the era of Les Trois Femmes in 1908-1909 [figs. 28, 29].²⁵ This period coincides with what Alfred Barr called "the beginnings of Cubism" in his 1936 catalogue Cubism and Abstract Art.²⁶

Although one can estimate the dates which seem to apply to Salmon's narrative through familiarity with the Cubist epoch, it is wise to resist applying absolute dates to the events recited in "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme." At best, we can surmise that Salmon saw the preparatory sketches for Les Demoiselles d'Avignon in the fall of 1906 and then presume that the sequence of events are valid. For example, Salmon was correct in his recollection that in December 1910 Picasso exhibited his Rose Period "nude studies" at Vollard's gallery, while in the studio he experimented with the faceted and cinematic forms that ushered in his "Analytic" Period of Cubism (corroborated in Apollinaire's review of the exhibition).²⁷ In

25. Salmon, "Le 27e Salon des Indépendants," Paris-Journal, 20 April 1911. In La Jeune Peinture française, 48, Salmon quipped "cet instant du Picassisme (le cubisme n'était pas inventé)," which seems to mean that Salmon considered Picasso's work produced before and during 1909 his Picassist--alias Cubist-- period (Charles Morice published the word "Cubism" for first time in his review of 16 April 16 1909); Salmon also mentioned the dates 1906-1908 in his article: "Dessins Inédits de Cézanne," Cahiers d'art, no. 10 (December 1926): 264.

26. Alfred H. Barr, Jr., Cubism and Abstract Art (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1936, repr. 1986), 29.

27. Guillaume Apollinaire, review of Picasso exhibition at Galerie Vollard, L'Intransigeant, 21 December 1910: "Bien qu'il s'agisse là d'oeuvres anciennes, de jeunesse, pourrait-on dire, la personnalité de l'artiste, la force de son talent, la beauté des ouvrages exposés donnent à cette manifestation une grande importance."

this way, Salmon accurately pointed out that Picasso's 1910 "Analytic" Cubist paintings were still not available to the public at large.

To add contrast to Picasso's struggle with a new visual language, Salmon introduced into the drama the Spaniard's arch-rival Henri Matisse, another major leader in avant-garde art circles. Matisse, it seems, kept his distance from Picasso and his *bande*,²⁸ even though he knew them. Salmon then added André Derain, who, like Matisse, charted his own course in art. According to Salmon, Picasso encouraged Derain to leave the *salon* atmosphere at Matisse's studio.²⁹ Although Derain and Picasso exchanged ideas, Derain could not surpass the formidable Picasso.³⁰ The insertion of Matisse and Derain as supporting characters helped to focus on Picasso's emergence as a strong contender for a leadership role, which the other two artists had already assumed in separate and different ways. (It should be noted that Salmon provided background information on Matisse and Derain in the previous chapter on Fauvism.)

Returning to Salmon's commentaries on Picasso, the critic recalled that during or after the second campaign of Les Demoiselles

28. Salmon, La Jeune Peinture française, 60: "Henri Matisse est seul. Cet homme célèbre, enrichi par l'art, peintre couronné n'a fait d'élèves que dans les faubourgs."

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid., 52: "André Derain devait, reconnaissons-le tout de suite, le rejoindre par des voies personnelles pour s'en écarter ensuite, sans le dépasser."

d'Avignon, Picasso painted "plusieurs nus redoutables, grimaçants et parfaitement dignes d'être exécrés"³¹ (the 1907 African Period).³² At this moment, according to Salmon, his "disciples" abandoned him, "conscients de leur faiblesse et redoutant l'exemple, haïssant les beaux pièges de l'Intelligence."³³ Intent on deforming nature, Picasso produced "une décomposition dynamique des puissances lumineuses . . . Les signes géométriques--d'un géométrie à la fois infinitésimale et cinématique."³⁴ A far cry from his sentimental Rose Period, Salmon observed³⁵ and then defended: "Le salut de l'âme sur la terre n'est-il pas dans un art tout neuf?"³⁶ In this statement, Salmon endorsed Picasso's new direction which had been inspired by both science and primitive art.

31. Ibid., 51.

32. Pierre Daix estimates that this statement refers to Picasso's work in fall 1908. Pierre Daix, "Les Trois périodes de travail de Picasso sur 'Les Trois Femmes' (automne 1907-automne 1908, les rapports avec Braque et les débuts du cubisme)," Gazette des Beaux-Arts 111 (January-February 1988): 148. Although I agree that this statement does not refer to Les Demoiselles d'Avignon, I do not believe that Salmon was referring here to Les Trois Femmes either, as Daix seems to infer. Since Salmon used the word "grimaçant," it seems likely that the works he had in mind are those which emulate African masks, including the first version of Les Trois Femmes. I would like to thank Judith Cousins of the Department of Paintings and Sculpture, The Museum of Modern Art, for directing my attention to this article.

33. Ibid., 51.

34. Ibid., 46.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid., 50.

Attempting to follow Picasso's lead were the frequenters of his studio, who, Salmon editorialized, failed to fully understand the Spaniard's new vocabulary. They did not study the African "soothsayers" like Picasso did.³⁷ Calling attention to Picasso's penchant for idols and fetishes created a portrait of a rather mystical person, a magician, whom Salmon called a "Prince-Alchimiste, . . . qui fait songer à Goethe, à Rimbaud, à Claudel."³⁸ But, Salmon warned: "Ceux qui voient dans l'oeuvre de Picasso les marques de l'occulte, du symbole ou de la mystique risquent fort de ne jamais le comprendre."³⁹ This remark, which seems to contradict other allusions, is a calculated denial of Picasso's association with the Symbolism that his friends disparaged. However, in choosing to compare Picasso with two spiritual poets, Goethe and Claudel, and one *enfant terrible*, Rimbaud, Salmon set a standard which he then proposed the "public" Cubists could not match:

Jean Metzinger et Robert Delaunay peignirent des paysages plantés de maisonnettes réduites à la stricte apparence de parallélipèdes [1906]. Vivant d'une vie moins intérieure que Picasso, demeures plus extérieurement peintres que leur devancier, ces jeunes artistes étaient beaucoup plus pressés de réaliser, fût-ce d'une façon moins complète.⁴⁰

That Salmon accused the "public" Cubists of being less spiritual, less original, and, hence, incapable of understanding Picasso's idiom,⁴¹

37. Ibid., 51.

38. Ibid., 52.

39. Ibid., 47.

40. Ibid., 53.

suggests that although Metzinger, Delaunay and Léger might have seen Picasso's private and public work, they had only digested a limited portion of the 1907-1910 production. According to Daniel Robbins, Metzinger frequented Picasso's studio at this time and probably picked up his ideas from this early Cubist period.⁴² This information corresponds to Salmon's allegation that the "public" Cubists partially understood "Picassisme" (the style of 1908-1909), which existed before the word "Cubism" was invented.⁴³

While Salmon described Picasso as an independent who influenced the Cubists, he did not consider Braque as a coequal in the enterprise (the role in which we place him today⁴⁴). Instead he portrayed

41. Salmon identified Picasso's singular development as "Picassisme (le cubisme n'était pas inventé)" [Ibid., 48], but I believe that in this passage Salmon specifically referred to the architectonic works produced in 1908-1909.

42. Daniel Robbins agrees with Salmon: "Metzinger's Nude of 1910 is perhaps his closest approach to the analytical Cubist style [the 1908-09 period] and concerns of Picasso and Braque. . . . By 1911, however, in such a work as Le Goûter [fig. 30] it is apparent that Metzinger was no longer following the lead of Picasso and Braque in their 'hermetic' approach [1910-1911 period]. . . ." Daniel Robbins, "Jean Metzinger: At the Center of Cubism," in Jean Metzinger in Retrospect, ex. cat. (Iowa City: University of Iowa Museum of Art, 1985), 43.

43. Salmon, La Jeune Peinture française, 48; Daix, "Les Trois périodes de travail de Picasso sur 'Les Trois Femmes,'" 149. Daix cites Gertrude Stein from her Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas in which she mentioned the hostility between *Picassistes* and *Matissistes*, ca. 1908.

44. William Rubin, "Cézannisme and the Beginnings of Cubism," in Cézanne: The Late Works, ex. cat., ed. William Rubin (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1977), 151-202; Leo Steinberg, "Resisting Cézanne: Picasso's 'Three Women', Part I," Art in America 66, no. 6 (November-December 1978): 114-133; Leo Steinberg, "The Polemical Part, Part II," Art in America 67, no. 2 (March-April 1979): 114-127; William Rubin, "Pablo, Georges, Leo and Bill," Art in America 67, no.

Braque as a follower of Picasso's,⁴⁵ who perpetuated Cubism's misidentification,⁴⁶ "borrowed" the Spanish master's deformation of the nude [Grand Nu of 1908, fig. 31],⁴⁷ and also limited his palette to greys, blacks, whites, and greens.⁴⁸ Then, to support his accusations, Salmon cited a review which shunted aside Picasso's efforts (since he did not exhibit in the *salons*) and claimed that Braque was the "true representative" of the Cubist school.⁴⁹ This description of Picasso as the private Cubist and Braque as the public

2 (March-April 1979): 128-147; Nicole Worms de Romilly and Jean Laude, Braque; Cubism, Late 1907-1914, ex. cat. (Paris: Maeght, 1982); Nadine Pouillon and Isabelle Monod-Fontaine, Oeuvres de Georges Braque (1882-1963): Collection du Musée National d'Art Moderne, ex. cat. (Paris: Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, 1982); Georges Braque: Les papiers collés, ex. cat., ed. Isabelle Monod-Fontaine (Paris: Musée National d'Art Moderne, Center Pompidou, 1982).

45. Salmon, La Jeune Peinture française, 54-56.

46. Ibid., 54.

47. Ibid..

48. Ibid., 56. Later, however, in his column "La Semaine artistique," L'Europe nouvelle, 29 March 1919; repr. in L'Art vivant, 127, Salmon called Braque "le chef d'école," adding: "Admet-on maintenant que Georges Braque soit à la fois le plus spontané et le plus dogmatique?" (Ibid., 128). Later, in his discussion on Metzinger, he wrote: "Georges Braque précisa le mouvement cubiste...augmenta les possibilités plastiques du cubisme, avec tant de rigueur et de bon sens à la fois qu'il fournit d'un coup tous les éléments solides sur quoi se peut fonder une école. . . ." (Ibid., 136). Then two years later in his biweekly column published in La Revue de France, Salmon described Braque as the Chardin of Cubism (André Salmon, "Les Arts et la Vie," La Revue de France, 1 December 1922, 618).

49. Ibid., 55.

Cubist corresponds to Salmon's story published on September 30, 1911 in the Paris-Journal,⁵⁰ Apollinaire's story published sixteen days later in Mercure de France,⁵¹ and a third story published anonymously in Gil Blas five days after Apollinaire's.⁵²

Salmon's characterization of Braque as a follower of Picasso helped the critic organize his genealogical explanation of Cubism's history. Apparently, he believed that Cubism was a "sub-school" composed of former-Fauves (such as, Braque, Metzinger, and Delaunay), who were previously under the spell of Matisse. In his "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme" Salmon specifically stated:

Déjà des élèves des Fauves, sans les abandonner, s'allient aux cubistes pour d'importantes manifestations.

Le cubisme ne serait-il donc qu'une sous-école, une province du royaume fauve, royaume formé de peuples agités de besoins adverses et méconnaissant l'autorité du prince étranger que leur hasard leur impose?⁵³

This identification of Cubism as a "sub-school" of Fauvism is another specifically Salmonian explanation and has bearing on his version of how Cubism received its name. As mentioned earlier, in September 1911 Salmon pinpointed the Cubist relationships as follows: Picasso invented it, Braque became known for it, and Metzinger led it. Then

50. Salmon, "Le Salon d'Automne," Paris-Journal, 30 September 1911, 5.

51. Guillaume Apollinaire, "La Vie Anecdotique," Mercure de France, 16 October 1911, 891-892.

52. Anonymous, "Les Arts," Gil Blas, 21 October 1911.

53. Salmon, La Jeune Peinture française, 61.

in his "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme," written in the spring of 1912, Salmon introduced Matisse, who baptized it, and an unnamed journalist, who publicized Matisse's utterance the next day. In this version, however, the Cubists reviewed were Metzinger and Delaunay, not Braque.⁵⁴ This explanation could be a result of Salmon's first review of the so-called "Cubist" phenomenon in March 1910, when he compared Delaunay, Dufy, Le Fauconnier, and Metzinger to the Parnassian poets, because "ils [les Parnassiens] aimaient la poésie des cubes."⁵⁵ It was at that time he identified nascent Cubism with this well-known group of young Fauves.

In his 1919 version Salmon added that Matisse had said "Mais c'est du cubisme!" in 1908 in front of landscapes he saw at the Salon d'Automne.⁵⁶ This final version augmented, but did not contradict, any of his previous renditions.⁵⁷ He never named Louis Vauxcelles as a participant in the drama.

The true story of how Cubism acquired its name has yet to be told.⁵⁸ Daniel Robbins traced the first use of the word "cube" to a

54. Ibid., 53, 55.

55. André Salmon, "Le Salon des Indépendants," Paris-Journal, 18 March 1910, 5.

56. Salmon, "Mouvement des idées: Origines et intentions du cubisme," 487; repr. in L'Art vivant, 115.

57. Salmon wrote another version of the history of Cubism for his column, "La Semaine artistique," L'Europe nouvelle, 18 January 1919, 139-140.

review of Metzinger's and Delaunay's work in 1906 written by Louis Chassevent,⁵⁹ which seems to agree with Salmon's story but not his time frame. Louis Chassevent's use of the word "'cube'" predates Louis Vauxcelles' review of Braque's landscapes at Kahnweiler's gallery in 1908--the review most often cited as the source of the name "Cubism."⁶⁰ But the actual use of the word "Cubism" did not appear until the following spring when Charles Morice reviewed the 1909 Salon des Indépendants for Mercure de France (1909) and described Braque as a victim of Cézanne and "cubisme."⁶¹ Perhaps Morice was Salmon's anonymous journalist who overheard Matisse and ran to his newspaper to repeat the new denomination.⁶² At this point, we may never know whether Salmon had Morice in mind, or Kahnweiler's choice, Vauxcelles.

58. I am indebted to Judith Cousins for her guidance and patience as we sifted through and compared notes on the various contemporary articles on the history of Cubism. Her chronology for the exhibition of Picasso's and Braque's 1907-1914 work, scheduled to open at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, in the fall of 1989, was being prepared for publication as I completed this dissertation.

59. Louis Chassevent, "22e Salon des Indépendants, 1906," Quelques petits salons, (Paris: 1908), 32, cited in Robbins, "Jean Metzinger: At the Center of Cubism," 11.

60. John Golding, Cubism: A History and Analysis, 1907-1914 (London: Faber and Faber, 1959), 20; Edward F. Fry, Cubism (London: Thames and Hudson, 1966; repr. New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1978), 17, 50-51. On the other hand, Pierre Daix refuted the general notion that Vauxcelles launched the term "Cubism" with his use of the word "cube" and submitted that the term "Cubism" came into common usage in April 1911. Pierre Daix, Cubists and Cubism, trans. R.F.M. Dexter (New York: Rizzoli, 1982), 7. This assertion is also inaccurate.

61. Charles Morice, Mercure de France, 16 April 1909.

62. Salmon, La Jeune Peinture française, 53-54.

Although Salmon added and subtracted from his tale about the naming of Cubism, he consistently associated the "public" Cubists with former Fauves and the demise of that short-lived movement. He therefore looked upon the "public" Cubist movement as largely made up of dissatisfied Fauves who had rebelled against their master Matisse and decided to follow Picasso, who was then studying *l'art nègre* and Cézanne. Salmon's main criticism of the "public" Cubists was not their inability to understand the Spanish painter, but their lack of individualism. It seemed to him that they had formed an avant-garde academy or *gymnasium* of physical culture, where things were learned by rote.⁶³ Though disappointed in such a limited enterprise, Salmon praised their rejection of the "amorphous" Impressionists and Fauve Henri Matisse,⁶⁴ and their interest in a conceptual understanding of men and things, or as Salmon explained: "L'idéal nouveau séparait les hommes qui commençaient à se regarder 'sur toutes les faces à la fois' et apprenaient ainsi à se mépriser."⁶⁵ This new way of conceptually depicting nature gained Salmon's respect provisionally, not only because it attempted to follow Picasso, but also because it aimed at savoring everyday experience, meditating on simultaneity, and thinking in a conceptual manner appropriated from the sciences and

63. Ibid., 55.

64. Ibid., 60.

65. Ibid., 51.

mathematics--some of the ingredients which launched his own nominalist poetics.

Because Salmon applauded this rational aspect of "public" Cubism in his "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme," his essay was more than a recitation of the events surrounding the rise of Cubism. It was a polemic, written to rally around Picasso and his so-called followers, who represented a new order for avant-garde art and challenged the sovereignty of its current "king of the Fauves," Henri Matisse.⁶⁶ As such, Salmon announced a *coup d'état* in the making--a Napoleonic invasion of sorts--engineered by another "foreign prince," Picasso, who was destined to wrest the leadership of the French avant-garde from its French ruler, Matisse.

This view of Picasso as the new commander of the avant-garde also gave Salmon an opportunity to suggest that through Picasso's integration of the "raisonnable" in art, the masculine principle had been restored.⁶⁷ This factor was introduced explicitly through Salmon's characterizations of Matisse's "feminine sensibilities"⁶⁸ and Picasso's "cold reason."⁶⁹ (The male principle is usually associated

66. Ibid., 53.

67. Ibid., 43.

68. Ibid., 53: "Avec ce sens féminin de l'à-propos, dont est formé son [Matisse's] goût. . . ." Ibid., 19: "Ses vrais dons sont des dons d'adresse, de souplesse, d'assimilation prompte, de science courte, mais vite acquise, des dons féminins."

69. Salmon, "Picasso," L'Esprit nouveau, 64: "Il a courbé sous la froide Raison son génie."

with rationality, while the female principle is usually associated with irrationality). In 1914, he reiterated this opinion in the following statement:

Henry Ottmann se voit, pour la première fois, appuyé de l'affection esthétique de M. Delaunay et des peintres de son group, affection qui s'explique, encore que M. Henry Ottmann demeure honnêtement, prudemment et, dirons-nous, virilement attaché à la forme. Tout ce qui répudie la forme n'aboutit qu'à la dévirilisation, à un amorphe féminin. Nos attaques contre l'école de Matisse, naguère, n'eurent jamais d'autre objet.⁷⁰

Albeit male-chauvinistic in attitude, Salmon was a man of his time, sharing his prejudice with his audience and effectively communicating the serious nature of Fauvism's inadequacy--its femininity. Cubism, brought about by a foreign pretender to the throne, had then returned masculinity to vanguard French art and by virtue of that accomplishment alone had to be considered superior to its immediate predecessors, even in its least remarkable examples such as the work of Ottmann.

However, the battle between masculine and feminine principles in the Picasso-Matisse rivalry was one side of the Cubist story; the other was the bifurcation of Cubism's direction through the leadership of Picasso and Henri Le Fauconnier, an older artist who actively participated in the "public" Cubist manifestations. Referring to Le Fauconnier's role, Salmon wrote:

70. André Salmon, "Le Salon [des Indépendants]," Montjoie! 2, no. 3 (March 1914): 26.

L'école s'augmentait alors de Le Fauconnier, personnel, transformant tout ce qu'il avait reçu, autoritaire dans ses affections et par cela très parent de Matisse qu'il rejetait; d'Albert Gleizes, qui venait au chœur des spéculatifs sans entendre renoncer tout à fait aux plénitudes terrestres Fernand Léger, au sein d'une calme académie, s'éveillait à l'art plus fier, avec de grands étonnements.⁷¹

Recent research and publications on Le Fauconnier corroborate Salmon's 1912 observation, for this artist held forth at weekly meetings in his studio, inviting Albert Gleizes, Léger, Metzinger, and other core members of the "public" Cubist school to these private gatherings.⁷²

Salmon's recognition of Le Fauconnier's role as a leader among the "public" Cubists has received criticism for being off the mark.⁷³ This kind of criticism reflects a Kahnweiler-dominated mentality which can only recognize Picasso's and Braque's contributions as noteworthy. Examining Salmon's assessments with a more open mind, it appears that Salmon probably drew upon his observations and familiarity with the

71. Salmon, La Jeune Peinture française, 56.

72. Ann H. Murray, "Henri Le Fauconnier's 'Das Kunstwerk': An Early Statement of Cubist Aesthetic Theory and Its Understanding in Germany," Arts Magazine 56, no. 4 (December 1981): 125-133; David Cottington, "Henri Le Fauconnier's L'Abondance and Its Literary Background," Apollo, n.s. no. 108 (February 1977): 129-130; Albert Gleizes, Souvenirs I. Le Cubisme 1908-14 (Paris: L'Association des Amis d'Albert Gleizes, 1957), 12; Christopher Green, Léger and the Avant-garde (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1976), 7: "They met at the *soirées* of Gleizes and Mercereau, at the studio of Le Fauconnier on the rue Visconti, and at the Montparnasse café, La Closerie des Lilas."

73. Daix, Cubists and Cubism, 96.

circle which exhibited in Room 41 at the 1911 Salon des Indépendants to build his genealogy. Le Fauconnier and "ses amis,"⁷⁴ Salmon said, were "liés par un faisceau de préoccupations communes."⁷⁵ Perhaps, in this statement, he was referring to their common depiction of "readable" forms and anecdotal subject matter which Picasso and Braque had already eschewed in their own Cubist paintings. Although Salmon announced the significant leadership roles of both Picasso and Le Fauconnier, neither painter publicly acknowledged this designation at that time.⁷⁶

The wide vision in Salmon's "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme"--that a confluence of several artistic tendencies (Derain's, Matisse's, Picasso's, and Le Fauconnier's) guided young artists toward "public" Cubism--constitutes one of the strengths of this eyewitness account of Cubism's rise to celebrity. Moreover, it charts the public and private moments of the story--the exhibitions in galleries and salons as well as the first glimpse of Les Demoiselle d'Avignon, which

74. Salmon, La Jeune Peinture française, 60.

75. Ibid., 57.

76. That Picasso was included in articles about Cubism depended on others who saw him as the main force behind this new aesthetic. However, in 1948, Picasso said about a delegate's introduction at the Peace Congress in Poland: "if he wanted to insult me, at least he should get his terminology straight and damn me for being the inventor of Cubism," in Françoise Gilot and Carlton Lake, Life with Picasso (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), 207. As for Le Fauconnier, Ann Murray points out Le Fauconnier's aloofness during the height of Cubism's cause célèbre in the Salons (Ann H. Murray, "Henri Le Fauconnier's 'Das Kunstwerk': An Early Statement of Cubist Aesthetic Theory and Its Understanding in Germany," 125-133).

from mid-1907 to July 1916 had only been seen by Picasso's dealers and friends in his studio. "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme" was also the first published commentary in which a description of Les Demoiselles d'Avignon and the events surrounding its execution appeared. On the basis of this first "peek" at Picasso's 1907 masterpiece, art historians have looked upon Salmon's "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme" as a classic among critiques on Cubism. However, the true value of the work lies beyond this information and rests in its presentation of the dynamism and simultaneity of events that occurred during this watershed of creative activity.

To impart this sense of dynamism and simultaneity, the very essence of what his generation considered modernity, Salmon approached the situation from a Bergsonian point of view by intermittently referring to himself, his observations, and his fallibility as a reporter. This emphasis on the first person singular, the "I" in relation to the "other," was also the prevalent device for his poetry.⁷⁷ Self-reflexive writing was certainly not unique to Salmon,

 77. Salmon, La Jeune Peinture française, 45: "Il est nécessaire de suivre pas à pas . . ."; Ibid., 50: "À cela, je n'entends pas répondre aujourd'hui. . . . Ce chapitre n'est pas autre chose qu'une histoire anecdotique du cubisme"; Ibid., 57: "Tout ce que je viens de résumer de la brève. . . . Je n'ai rien deviné. Le destin m'a simplement assigné un rôle de témoin et je m'essaie aujourd'hui à une déposition fidèle." An example of this self-conscious reference to himself and his limited perceptions can be found in his poem "Quatorze Juillet" from Le Calumet (1910): "Je me souviens, je me rappelle:/ Le chef d'orchestre est amoureux,/Tant pis pour lui, tant pis pour elle,/Coeurs perdus sur les grand flots bleus." (André Salmon, Créances (1905-1910) suivi de Carreaux (1918-1921) [Paris: Gallimard, 1968], 139.) In addition, most of his poetry is about himself and the condition of his life.

and certainly not nominalist, but rather characteristic of Baudelaire and de Nerval (among other poets) whom Salmon idolized. The specifically Bergsonian element is Salmon's way of calling attention to the relativity of perspective, which Bergson discussed in his books and lectures. This perspective had inspired Salmon's generation while they invented their new aesthetics. In addition, Salmon's selection of the word "anecdotal" reminds the reader that he took part in the drama and that this participation limited his awareness of the whole story "from all sides at once."

"Anecdotal" also suggests a cavalier or casual structuring of the narrative. However, conversely, La Jeune Peinture française was not conceived in a haphazard manner. Rather, the sequence of the chapters plays a major role in building Salmon's case concerning the authentic Cubist identity and should be kept in mind. "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme" is the second chapter in the book, placed after a chapter on Fauvism. As the second chapter, it enlarges upon some issues already introduced in the first chapter. Taking this chapter out of context, as some art historians have done in recent years,⁷⁸ misleads the reader and tacitly dismisses the importance of the preceding and

 78. Herchel B. Chipp, "Anecdotal History of Cubism," in Theories of Modern Art (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: The University of California Press, 1968), 199-206; Fry, "Anecdotal History of Cubism," in Cubism, 81-90; Eunice Lipton, Picasso Criticism, 1901-1939: The Making of an Artist-Hero (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1976), 79-88 (repr. of Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1975); Lynn Wissing Gamwell, Cubist Criticism, 1907-1925 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980), 95-96 (rev. of Ph.D. diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 1977); Daix, Cubists and Cubism, 22, 26, 31, 96.

following chapters. The significance of the first chapter on Fauvism is that it lays the foundation for the author's premise that contemporary avant-garde art stems from two main sources, Matisse and Picasso,⁷⁹ and that Cubism is just one solution among others that has grown out of these two formidable influences ("Le cubiste est un moyen, non le but"⁸⁰). Then, in the chapters following "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme"--"L'Art vivant" and "La Peinture féminine au XXe siècle"--Salmon profiles the other contemporary movements. Thus, the particular Salmonian view of Cubism is best understood when "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme" is read within its original context and alongside Salmon's other critiques on Cubism.

Furthermore, it should be remembered that when Salmon wrote his "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme" in the spring of 1912, Cubism itself was still considered to be a strange, aberrant phenomenon which few people took seriously and most people hoped would disappear. Therefore, part of Salmon's intention in writing his version of this history was to affirm its legitimacy by virtue of its recognition in a book on contemporary art. Yet, at this volatile moment, even Salmon stood at a short distance from Cubism's history and most of his disjunctive narrative ignores Cubism's theory. These issues he left to his fellow critics, such as Jean Metzinger, Albert Gleizes, Guillaume Apollinaire, Maurice Raynal, Olivier-Hourcade, Jacques

79. Salmon, La Jeune Peinture française, 15-17.

80. Ibid., 55.

Rivière, and Charles LaCoste, who were publishing books and articles on Cubism concurrently.⁸¹

After this frenzy of publishing on Cubism in 1912, Cubism's viability increased, and the Cubists themselves achieved a more mature direction, evident in paintings such as Metzinger's La Fumeuse (c. 1913-1914), Gleizes' Portrait de Eugène Figuière (1913), and Léger's Contrastes des Formes (1913) [figs. 32, 33, 34]. At that time, the fall of 1913, Salmon perceived that the Salon d'Automne was "nettement cubiste" (clearly under the Cubist spell) and that its presence had to be reckoned with as it had pushed itself into the forefront.⁸² It was this reconciliation to "public" Cubism which changed his contentiousness to tolerance, and even praise, bringing about a revised opinion of the movement:

81. Jean Metzinger and Albert Gleizes, Du Cubism (Paris: Figuière, 1912). Guillaume Apollinaire, "Le Cubisme," L'Intermédiaire des chercheurs et des curieux, 10 October 1912; Guillaume Apollinaire, "Art et Curiosité: Les Commencements du Cubisme," Le Temps, 14 October 1912; Guillaume Apollinaire, Méditations esthétiques: Les peintres cubistes (Paris: Figuière, 1913). Maurice Raynal, preface to Salon de juin: Troisième exposition de la Société Normande de Peinture Moderne, ex. cat. (Rouen: La Société Normande de Peinture Moderne, 15 June-15 July 1912), 9-11; Maurice Raynal, "Conception et Vision," Gil Blas, 29 August 1912; Maurice Raynal, "L'Exposition de La Section d'Or," La Section d'Or, 9 October 1912, 2-5; Maurice Raynal, "Qu'est-ce que . . . le 'Cubisme,'" Comoedia illustré, 20 December 1912. Olivier-Hourcade, "La Tendance de la peinture contemporaine (notes pour une causerie sur l'art contemporain)," Revue de France et des pays française, February 1912, 35-41. Jacques Rivière, "Sur les tendances actuelles de la peinture," Revue d'Europe et d'Amerique, 1 March 1912, 384-406. Charles LaCoste, "Sur le 'cubisme' et la peinture," Temps présent, 2 April 1913, 335-336.

82. André Salmon, "Le Salon d'Automne," Montjoie! 1, nos. 11-12 (November-December 1913): 1-2.

Je ne fis, au premier jour, aucun crédit au cubism. Témoins des âpres recherches de Picasso, je n'accordai aucune confiance particulière aux premiers qui mirent en application l'esprit de ses trouvailles. Je crois donc n'être suspect ni de snobisme, ni d'indulgence sentimentale.⁸³

Then, remembering his reasons for his initial negative reaction, Salmon continued in the spirit of equanimity, praising Cubism's "rigor," but warning against its tendency to emulate the sterile rigidity of academic training:

La rigueur du cubisme, alors même qu'il était entachés d'un parti pris de laideur, astreignit toute une jeunesse à une plus exacte discipline. Cela est si vrai que certains adversaires de ce mouvement parmi ceux dont l'opinion compte parce qu'elle consent au raisonnement, à la franche discussion, y voulurent voir un retour offensif à l'École. Certes, il peut naître un académisme aussi fâcheux que l'autre, et je sais tel atelier où le cubisme s'enseigne en quinze leçons, mais nous n'avons pas le loisir de nous attendrir sur le sort des victimes. L'art, au reste, veut des victimes et on les pourrait tout au plus souhaiter d'une plus belle qualité [fig. 35].⁸⁴

At this point Salmon, turned to the examples set by Seurat and Signac, two neo-Impressionists who concentrated on form as well as color. The latter, this critic noted, had received more attention than the former, but it was the former who exerted more influence on the "public" Cubists.⁸⁵ (This remark is amplified in his 1920 essay on Seurat, which will be discussed later.) Again, as in his "Histoire

83. Ibid., 2; repr. in L'Art vivant, 109.

84. Ibid.

85. Ibid.; repr. in L'Art vivant, 110.

anecdotic du cubisme," Salmon criticized the "public" Cubists' "orthodoxy,"⁸⁶ but still had some kind words for their economy of line, form, and color:

Il [Cubism] l'est non pas parce que des légions d'imitateurs s'inspirent, sinon de Picasso ou de Derain, mais de Gleizes ou de Metzinger, mais plutôt parce que ceux-là mêmes dont l'orthodoxie est moins avouée nous intéressent par la sévérité de leur composition, par l'économie particulière des lignes et des couleurs à quoi ils se soumettent et qu'aucun des artistes, en faveur avant 1908, ne leur auraient pu imposer.⁸⁷

In this statement, Salmon took another opportunity to remind his readers that Cubism came from Metzinger and Gleizes, not Picasso. He had already told them that he was not pleased with the standard of the exhibition as a whole, but "public" Cubism at least raised the standard above the previous one.⁸⁸ Salmon's remarks here seem to infer that Picasso's absence--as usual--accounted for the lackluster quality of this exhibition.

About five months after Salmon reviewed the Salon d'Automne in 1913, he submitted his critique of the Salon des Indépendants of 1914. Here Salmon's opinion of Simultanism, Synchronism, and Orphism conformed with his nominalist sensibilities, suspicious and negatively disposed to avant-garde "academies," as shown in his final remarks on that section of the exhibition:

86. Ibid.; repr. in L'Art vivant, 111.

87. Ibid.

88. Ibid., 1. Not in L'Art vivant.

Le public, à demi prévenu, croira--on ne fera jamais assez pour le détromper--que le synchronisme est la dernière étape du grand mouvement dont on l'instruit. Le synchronisme n'est que la pire des reculades. Art vulgare, sans noblesse, peu redoutable, en somme, parce que portant en soi son principe de mort.⁸⁹

Indeed, this evaluation is consistent with his abhorrence of rules and schools governing art which seem to annihilate the creative process.

Salmon's reviews of the 1913 Salon d'Automne and the 1914 Salon des Indépendants written for Montjoie! were certainly transitional pieces and as worthy of attention as his "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme." Although not more informative, they are nevertheless clearer statements about Cubism which help to identify Salmon's position more easily and profitably. For example, in his review of the 1914 Salon des Indépendants published in Montjoie!, Salmon again repeated his convictions concerning the heredity of Cubism and the major artists who surrounded its inception: "Mais ceux qui ont pris garde aux mouvements parallèles reconnaissent-ils pas que Derain peut devenir le Moréas d'un art dont Picasso sera le Mallarmé et dont Matisse est le Vielé-Griffin?"--which is to say that in terms of Cubism, Derain was simultaneously an avant-gardist and classicist, like Moréas; Picasso was an innovator, who inspired his colleagues and surpassed any subsequent interpretations of his work which were then labeled or codified for the public's consumption, as in the case

89. Salmon, "Le Salon [des Indépendants]," Montjoie! 2, no. 3 (March 1914): 23.

of Mallarmé and the Symbolists; while Matisse, like Vielé Griffin, was a man of his time, a leader for the previous generation of avant-gardists.⁹⁰

* * * * *

Five years later, after World War I, Salmon composed his most definitive explanation of Cubism for the short-lived weekly magazine Demain.⁹¹ This article, written in 1919, and his two Montjoie! reviews were then published in his third book on art, L'Art vivant (1920).

In L'Art vivant, an accumulation of Salmon's articles from 1914 to 1919, the critic demonstrated a maturity and clarity that can only come from hindsight and confidence in his perception. Indeed, here the flippant tone of "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme" gave way to a more authoritative voice, summarizing the history he had written in 1912 in a manner that is more coherent and instructive for the layman. In essence, L'Art vivant is Salmon's strongest and most informative book on art, and should be read along with his La Jeune Peinture française in order to enhance one's understanding of Salmon's views on Cubism.

90. Ibid., 26. For a more explicit comparison of Picasso and Mallarmé, see Salmon, "Picasso," L'Esprit nouveau, 59-60.

91. Salmon, "Mouvement des idées: Origines et intentions du cubisme," 485-489.

The outstanding strength of L'Art vivant lays in its crystallization of the entire Cubist endeavor. Rather than a presentation of separate events, Salmon portrayed the movement as a constellation of efforts, wherein a number of artists had made their contributions. Moreover, Salmon identified the roles of the various participants: Derain was the *régulateur*,⁹² Picasso was the *animateur*,⁹³ and Braque, Metzinger, Gleizes, Léger, Gris, Delaunay, Henry Hayden, Ferat, Severini, Irène Lagut, Marie Blanchard, Henri Laurens, Jacques Lipchitz, and Diego Rivera were the Cubists proper.⁹⁴ Lhote, mentioned in "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme" as one of the "public" Cubists, is now set apart and identified as the inventor of Totalism, an offshoot of Cubism.⁹⁵

Beginning with Derain, Salmon described his role as the *régulateur* outside of the Cubist group, yet a necessary model in their reevaluation of Fauve ideas. Derain began his career as a Fauve and turned toward a more volumetric representation of forms.⁹⁶ According to Salmon, his ideas came from looking backward toward El Greco, Negro

92. Salmon, L'Art vivant, 75-84;

93. Ibid., 169-173.

94. Ibid., 121-158.

95. Ibid., 85-88.

96. Ibid., 113.

art, and Cézanne,⁹⁷ which, in turn, inspired his fellow artists Matisse and Picasso to look in that direction as well.⁹⁸ Like Picasso in his "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme," Salmon characterized his friend as an independent hard worker, whose research yielded new insights for his own unique development.

From Derain, Salmon turned to André Lhote, whom he praised for his ability to break out of the Cubist system.⁹⁹ Cited as economic, picturesque, and classic, Salmon found in Lhote a serenity that is rich and delicate, "le bon moyen de dépasser tous les systèmes. . ."¹⁰⁰

It is noteworthy that with this remark aimed at Lhote, Salmon took the opportunity to grandstand about his own nominalist belief that art should resist settling into arbitrarily devised categories and should remain open to developing in a free manner:

Il ne faut pas vouloir être un peintre classique, un peintre académique, un peintre réaliste, un peintre impressionniste, un peintre fauve, un peintre cubiste, un peintre futuriste, un peintre riveriste, un peintre metzingeriste, un peintre totaliste; il faut vouloir être Le Peintre au service de la Peinture.

Tout le reste n'est qu'industrie, mystique ou gymnastique suédoise.¹⁰¹

97. Ibid., 113-116.

98. Ibid., 114.

99. Ibid., 86.

100. Ibid., 87.

101. Ibid.

After the sections on Lhote and similar independents Vlaminck and Van Dongen,¹⁰² Salmon began his chapter on Cubism, which includes parts of his apologia from his review of the 1913 Salon d'Automne,¹⁰³ his article on the origin and intentions of Cubism from Demain (a concise reiteration of his "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme"),¹⁰⁴ and then profiles of each Cubist.¹⁰⁵

Braque, whom Salmon esteemed as the Cubist par excellence is cited first, followed by Léger,¹⁰⁶ whose color sensibility reminded the critic of Odilon Redon and Eugène Delacroix: "Un amour de l'air dont le cubisme scientifique en réaction contre l'impressionnisme avait si grand besoin après quelques inévitables, et je dirai nécessaires, excès de doctrine."¹⁰⁷ (Again, Salmon conceded that Cubism's rigorous approach might contain some merit.) Then Salmon described Metzinger, the "codifier" for the movement's ideas.¹⁰⁸ He "est un cubiste des premiers jours."¹⁰⁹ Salmon claimed that his work

102. Ibid., 93-98 (Vlaminck); 98-105 (Van Dongen).

103. Ibid., 109-111.

104. Ibid., 112-120.

105. Ibid., 121-158.

106. Ibid., 121-128 (Braque); 128-132 (Léger).

107. Ibid., 129-130.

108. Ibid., 133-138; 136: "Metzinger . . . qui, seul codifia le cubisme."

109. Ibid., 133.

appealed to the Cubists and public's emotional side.¹¹⁰ As for the rest, Gris, Gleizes, and the more minor adherents,¹¹¹ they represented the new frontier. They had added lighter colors to Picasso's somber palette and "humanized" Cubism.¹¹² Salmon ended his chapter on Cubism with a eulogy for Guillaume Apollinaire, who died in 1918. It is entitled "L'Art en Deuil," and it describes his fellow poet/critic's personality and insight into contemporary art.¹¹³

Then, in a separate chapter, Salmon highlighted two *animateurs* (instigators) of Cubism: Picasso and Max Jacob.¹¹⁴ On Picasso, Salmon offered a prose-poem, rather than an essay, in which the critic expressed his admiration and astonishment in an almost incantatory fashion, as though such rhapsodic vagaries could be the only appropriate way to discuss the inexplicable nature of the subject: genius. This chapter and the previous one, "Origines et intentions du cubisme," stress the solitary odyssey of Picasso's life as a painter, his journey through the Blue Period to his audacious incorporation of primitive aesthetics in a manner unlike any of his peers.¹¹⁵

110. Ibid., 135-136.

111. Ibid., 139-142 (Gris); 142-148 (Gleizes); 149-158 (Henry Hayden, Jacques Villon, Serge Ferat, Gino Severini, Irène Lagut, Marie Blanchard, Henri Laurens, and Diego Rivera).

112. Ibid., 147.

113. Ibid., 163-166.

114. Ibid., 169-176.

115. Ibid., 112-117, 169-171.

In tandem with Picasso, Salmon introduced Max Jacob as another *animateur*. Jacob appears to be a muse, who inspired Picasso's intellect with his childlike perceptions of life.¹¹⁶ "Max Jacob est un dessinateur savant; un peintre riche de très anciens secrets et de la plus moderne fraîcheur."¹¹⁷ He, above all others, understood the relationship between the past and the present--that the former still informed the latter, exemplified in his parodies of venerated poetic styles.¹¹⁸

Following Salmon's section on the *animateurs* and a subsequent section on the painters from the war, the author turned to another body of work which he entitled "Vie Nouvelle." Here, Salmon clearly stated his views on contemporary art, revealing more of his thoughts on Cubism:

Pourquoi ne faut-il pas dire que le cubisme est un passage? Parce qu'il faudrait dire aussi que le fauvisme et l'impressionnisme furent des passages, qui pourtant furent pour les créateurs responsables de larges places, des carrefours, de beaux boulevards, voire des impasses, ainsi que l'écrivirent, à propos du cubisme, ceux-là mêmes qui nous parlent aujourd'hui du fameux passage.

Tout alors est passage.

Considérons plutôt que, depuis l'impressionnisme, il n'y eut qu'un seul mouvement jusqu'à la veille de la guerre: le mouvement révolutionnaire à tendance constructive, dont le

116. Ibid., 174-176.

117. Ibid., 175.

118. Marcel Raymond, De Baudelaire au surréalisme (Paris: José Corti, 1972), 255.

cubisme fut le plus net rayonnement, et à quoi le mot Fauvisme ne convenait pas mal, puisqu'il y avait quelque chose à dévorer.

Aujourd'hui, sans que les révolutionnaires de la veille soient devenus conservateurs, la volonté de construction se précise et hors de la doctrine étroite; elle s'humanise, même au sein de la famille cubiste dont les étrangers n'ignorent pas toujours les déchirements intérieurs.

Le cubisme n'est pas exactement un passage. Né de Cézanne, et pas de Cézanne seul, il permet de "mieux lire" Cézanne, et le reste.

Des peintres non moins audacieux, sans revenir au langage direct ne correspondant plus à notre esprit, ni à nos sens, travaillent à la traduction plastique de la vie nouvelle.

Il semble que le XXe siècle commence à l'armistice et qu'il y ait eu, depuis l'exposition universelle, vingt ans d'entre-siècles.¹¹⁹

These paragraphs, Salmon's most definitive assessment of early twentieth-century avant-garde art, proposed that the entire movement was a Cézanne-inspired revolution that had twisted and turned in various directions with Cubism as the most well-known but not the only response.¹²⁰ Viewing the landscape of contemporary art, Salmon declared that the revolution was about constructing,¹²¹ a desire to translate the three-dimensional properties of an object onto a two-dimensional surface--a conceptual translation which Salmon

119. Ibid., 205-206.

120. La Palette [André Salmon], "Les Arts [Picasso]," Gil Blas, 15 November 1913.

121. "Construction" became a popular term of praise after World War I and in this respect Salmon fell in step with his fellow critics. Kenneth E. Silver, Esprit de Corp: The Art of the Parisian Avant-Garde and the First World War, 1914-1925 (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1989), 321-324.

considered to be a fundamental feature of Cubist thinking and in keeping with the legacy of its predecessors from ancient Egypt, Greece, Rome, Mesopotamia, and Africa,¹²² and the classical artists El Greco, Poussin, Cézanne,¹²³ and Seurat.¹²⁴ With this rationale, Salmon concluded that Cubism was the legitimate heir to the "classique," a new form of classicism.

Salmon's preoccupation with reaffirming the classical spirit in French art appeared in his writings before World War I, most notably in his response to Henri Clouard published in Gil Blas, mentioned in chapter three ("L'Order? Je m'y soumetts joyeusement . . ."¹²⁵), and in his review of the Salon des Indépendants written for the March 1914 issue of Montjoie!, where he quoted an unidentified source who said: "'Classiques, nous acceptons le meilleur des plus audacieuses recherches d'hier . . .,'" adding: "tout en défendant de si profitables curiosités à l'avenir."¹²⁶ That Salmon proposed a backward glance toward the classical past to enhance the art of the future in March 1914 (before World War I intensified the French obsession with their classical Latin roots¹²⁷) contradicts Christopher

122. André Salmon, "L'Art nègre," in Propos d'atelier, 127-128.

123. André Salmon, Cézanne (Paris: Librairie Stock, 1923), 12.

124. André Salmon, "Le Révélation de Seurat," in Propos d'atelier, 56.

125. A[ndré] S[almon], "Chronique des lettres," Gil Blas, 14 February 1914, cited in Michel Décaudin, La Crise des valeurs symbolistes (Toulouse: Privat, 1960), 413.

126. Salmon, "Le Salon [des Indépendants]," Montjoie! 2, no. 3 (March 1914): 21.

127. Silver, 98-100.

Green's opinion that Salmon launched his nationalism/classicism campaign on behalf of Cubism during and after World War I.¹²⁸ However, Green correctly pointed out that Salmon joined his peers in pressing the issue further to satisfy an emerging nationalistic ardor,¹²⁹ and at that time, after the war, Salmon began to articulate his ideas with a nationalistic bent in such articles as "Mouvement des idées: Origines et intentions du cubisme" (1919).

Although establishing France's classical Latin lineage became a popular notion, Salmon's explanation stemmed from his predominating genealogical approach to art criticism, as already noted in our discussion of the 1912 "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme" and his verse "La critique d'art existe, mais il est dans Darwin..." in his poem Peindre (1921).¹³⁰ In "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme," the critic focused on the immediate history surrounding the movement (including its interrelationship with Fauvism), whereas in "Mouvement des idées: Origines et intentions du cubisme," Salmon emphasized Picasso's and the Cubists' reaching back to their ancestors El Greco, African art, Oceanic art, Ingres, Seurat, Cézanne, Seurat, and Henri Rousseau. This strategy of delineating the thoroughbred heritage of a young movement was Salmon's way of legitimizing it for his readers, who at

128. Christopher Green, Cubism and Its Enemies (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 188-191.

129. Green, Cubism and Its Enemies, 14, 20.

130. André Salmon, Peindre (Paris: La Sirène, 1921), 21.

the time were exposed to reports about the "German" origins of this strange-looking art.¹³¹ To defend Cubism, Salmon declared that the scepter of Latin classicism had been passed on to them, invoking names such as El Greco to verify Cubism's classical source: "Épris de classicisme--mais oui!--ils songent avec angoisse qu'il fallut attendre jusqu'a Cézanne pour que fut continué Greco, le rigoureux constructeur,"¹³² and Poussin: "Comme Nicolas Poussin, il [Othon Friesz] embellit ses paysages de 'fabriques': ces 'fabriques' reprises par d'autres, devaient être les premières pierres du temple cubiste."¹³³

Narrating a history also gave Salmon an opportunity to interject his nominalist belief that art needs the imposition of order. Employing such a criterion, Salmon traced the lineage of a movement through observing its formal affinities (use of line, color, and space), stressing its stylistic features and the role of discipline. "Le cubisme n'est pas autre chose qu'un retour offensive de l'École," Salmon wrote in his 1913 Montjoie! review of the Salon d'Automne.¹³⁴ "Si Vauxcelle veut dire d'École de la rue Bonaparte, il a tort. Mais s'il veut dire l'École en sois, la Règle, alors les défenseurs du

131. Salmon, L'Art vivant, 116.

132. Salmon, "Mouvement des idées: Origines et intentions du cubisme, 487; repr. in L'Art vivant, 116.

133. Salmon, La Jeune Peinture française, 28. He also said: "Le cubisme ne serait point sans lui." Ibid., 30.

134. Salmon, "Le Salon d'Automne," Montjoie! 1, nos. 11-12 (November-December 1913): 2.

cubisme pourront reprendre à leur compte sa déclaration dépouillée de toute intention péjorative et s'en servir en toute bonne foi."¹³⁵

Order was, in essence, a return to discipline and *mesure*, which heretofore had been suppressed in the Impressionist-Fauve aesthetic; it was also the *raisonnable* element Picasso found in African sculpture, which Salmon noted in his "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme."¹³⁶ Continuing this evaluation of 1912, Salmon later defined this rational aesthetic in 1914 as part of the classical Latin tradition--the will to "construct," to present ideas in a "plastic" manner. This notion came from a nominalist's meditation on Henri Clouard's neo-Renaissance arguments, the role of order in the midst of the creative process, and the post-World War I need to make sense of a world which seemed out of control, unrecognizable--even violated--due to the atrocities endured from 1914 to 1918. Moreover, the very indictment launched against Cubism at this moment, that it was *boche* (derogatory slang for German), stirred Salmon and fellow sympathizers to its defense,¹³⁷ forcing these critics to align the movement with something quintessentially French, ordered, and, therefore, honorable.

135. Salmon, "Mouvement des idées: Origines et intentions du cubisme," 489; repr. in L'Art vivant, 120.

136. Salmon, La Jeune Peinture française, 43.

137. Salmon, L'Art vivant, 118. Portions from pages 117-118 are not included in the original text, "Mouvement des idées: Origines et intentions du cubisme."

Salmon's notion of the "plastic" included the sense of order found in the classical tradition. Thus by declaring that Cubism was a "plastic" solution, he then insinuated it into the classical Latin tradition, using genealogy to establish Cubism as the offspring of what he considered the tradition of "construction" or "plasticity."

Previously, in Symbolist criticism, the word "plastic" meant simply the concrete manifestation of the visual arts (as opposed to the idea).¹³⁸ Whereas for Salmon a "plastic" sensibility meant a style that was contrary to the "amorphous" as practiced by the Impressionists and Post-Impressionists, as Salmon explained: "Les cubistes voient le post-impressionisme précipiter la peinture dans l'amorphe où l'art ne se soutient que par des jeux arbitraires et équivoques de la couleur abandonnée de toute forme."¹³⁹ Salmon's reference to this amorphous Post-Impressionist aesthetic also included their progeny the Fauves (Jean Puy, Kees Van Dongen, Othon Friesz, and Pierre Girieud) and the Colorists (Jules Flandrin, Dufrenoy, and L.M. Verdilhan), who delineated with color, rather than line.

In contrast, the "plastic" was sculptural, architectonic, "construction." To achieve the semblance of "plasticity," the

138. Denis, "De Gauguin et de Van Gogh au classicisme," Théories (1890-1910). Du Symbolisme et de Gauguin vers un nouvel ordre classique (Paris: L. Rouart and J. Watelin, 1913, 1920), 269: "le pittoresque et le pathétique le touchent bien davantage que la beauté plastique et l'ordonnance."

139. Salmon, "Origines et intentions du cubisme," 487; repr. in L'Art vivant, 116.

avant-garde artist "penetrates" the canvas, rather than paints on the surface like "amorphous" artists Gauguin and Delacroix.¹⁴⁰

Ostensibly, Salmon's dichotomy of the "plastic" and the "amorphous" seems to augment his dichotomy of the male and female principles vying for sovereignty over art, but on another level Salmon's advocacy of the "plastic" entailed more: it entailed a return to purity. "Plus que de figuration," Salmon said in "Mouvement des idées: Origins et intentions du cubisme," "les artisans de couleur ont eu souci de plasticité, et la plasticité c'est l'harmonie, c'est la perfection des volumes dans l'espace."¹⁴¹

In his 1920 article on *l'art nègre*, Salmon explained that avant-garde artists Henri Matisse, Maurice de Vlaminck, Pablo Picasso, André Derain, Othon Friesz, André Lhote, Luc-Albert Moreau, Dunoyer de Segonzac, and Marie Laurencin had "discovered" *l'art nègre*.¹⁴² All had been attracted to its primeval purity, as Salmon explained:

Aux artistes du XXe siècle, . . . l'esprit de critique gouvernaient impatients de mettre en accord leur art avec la vie nouvelle, les imagiers sauvages livraient les exemples plastiques d'une ambition de primitif à fonder un style, une culture sur la sensation humaine, profonde, la plus profonde,

140. Salmon, L'Art vivant, 62.

141. Salmon, "Mouvement des idées: Origines et intentions du cubisme," 487; repr. in L'Art vivant, 116.

142. Salmon, "L'Art nègre," in Propos d'atelier, 116, 124. The article was printed first in English as "Negro Art," The Burlington Magazine, 36, no. 202-207 (April 1920): 166; then in French as "Sur l'art nègre," Action no. 3 (April 1920); "L'Art nègre," Feuillets d'art, no. 6 (15 July 1920); and then again in Propos d'atelier, 115-133.]

la plus vierge, déjà purifiée par un haut sentiment capable d'épanouir (en la limitant) cette sensation en conception.¹⁴³

Through such excitement about their "discovery" of *l'art nègre*, these artists also felt a sense of rebellion against the Academy, the old avant-garde (Impressionism and Post-Impressionism),¹⁴⁴ and French colonialism which chafed their anarchist sensibilities,¹⁴⁵ because they had deemed *l'art nègre* equal in importance to the great artistic tradition of Western civilization.¹⁴⁶ Indeed, Salmon called *l'art nègre* "la source du classicisme parfait," locating its influence at the beginning of art, predating the Egyptians and Assyrians.¹⁴⁷ Following along Salmon's reasoning, *l'art nègre* is a primary source of classical "plasticity" for the the classical Latin tradition.

That Salmon linked *l'art nègre*, the classical tradition, and Cubism to the concept of "plasticity" in art lent credibility to the young movement and dignity to its efforts. Words such as "rigorous," "construction" and "anxiety" also served to impress upon the public the importance of Cubism's "scientific" foundation,¹⁴⁸ which seemed

143. Salmon, "L'Art nègre," in Propos d'ateliers, 120.

144. Salmon, La Jeune Peinture française, 61.

145. Patricia Leighton, "Anticolonialism and Primitivism in *la bande à Picasso*," a paper presented at the 77th Annual Meeting of the College Art Association, San Francisco, 17 February 1989.

146. Salmon, "L'Art nègre," in Propos d'atelier, 116.

147. Ibid., 127-128.

148. Salmon, La Jeune Peinture française, 44: "La peinture, désormais, devenait un science et non des moins austères."

aesthetically congruent with old master classicists El Greco, Poussin, and Ingres,¹⁴⁹ and the less renowned classicist (in Salmon's estimation) Seurat. Salmon's relating Seurat to the Cubist movement is especially unique to this critic, demonstrating again his desire to ground Cubism in a classical tradition that can accommodate diverse interpretations.¹⁵⁰

Salmon published several articles on Seurat in English, French, and German.¹⁵¹ Most of these articles are the same or reiterate the same themes, such as Salmon's emphasis on the neo-Impressionist's intellectual understanding of his past: "Le premier, par les voies et méthodes indiquées ici, Seurat eut souci du retour à la grande composition classique. Il osa le tableau quand, hormis les indigents académiques 'peintres de genre,' nul n'avait plus, depuis Courbet--ce gueux millionnaire--de goût que pour l'étude de plus en plus fugitive."¹⁵² However, "Seurat cessa, avant personne, de considérer

149. Salmon, L'Art vivant, 115; André Salmon, "L'Exposition Ingres," L'Europe nouvelle, 21 May 1921, 666; other Salmon articles on Ingres and Picasso were published in L'Europe nouvelle, 2 March 1918, 388; 13 April 1918, 679; 7 December 1918, 2309; and Vingt-cinq ans de peinture abstraite, ex. cat. (Paris: Galerie d'Art Braun, June 1932), 10.

150. Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler also mentioned Seurat in relation to Picasso and Braque in a different manner in his essay "La Place du Georges Seurat," Critique, nos. 8-9 (January-February 1947); repr. in Confessions esthétiques (Paris: Gallimard, 1962), 180-190.

151. In chronological order: André Salmon, "Georges Seurat," The Burlington Magazine, September 1920, 115-120; partially repr. in Seurat in Perspective, ed. Norma Broude (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1978), 60-61; Le Révélation de Seurat (Brussels: Sélection, 1921); "Die Offenbarung Seurats," Das Kunstblatt (Berlin), October 1922, 415-530; and in Propos d'atelier, 41-56.

152. Salmon, "Le Révélation de Seurat," Propos d'atelier, 48.

les objets selon leur existence apparente, en trompe l'oeil, pour leur préférer leur valeur d'expression."¹⁵³ Thus, according to Salmon, Seurat anticipated the Cubist's conceptual approach to depicting objects in space, and, conversely, Cubism became inspired with his "construction" of planes which lead to their subsequent solutions:

Seurat le reconstituteur permettra à l'avenir de réconcilier, au-delà de l'impressionnisme à courtes vues, les éléments adverses de l'art français dans les voies de la tradition, retrouvées à la fin du dix-neuvième siècle. Sans la volenté de Seurat, nous n'eussions eu ni Matisse, ni le cubisme qui ne dépend pas uniquement de Cézanne.¹⁵⁴

In this passage, Salmon revealed his great admiration for Seurat and his expectations for Cubism, that it would continue Seurat's successful marriage of science and art, and practice his underlying control during the process of innovation. This portrait of Seurat and his vision for the future of art stemmed from Salmon's nominalist values, his belief that the artist imposes order upon the unique and particular ingredients in art.

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Another issue taken up briefly in his book L'Art vivant was the presence of deformation in art and its incontestable Frenchness, dating back to the first quintessentially French art, the medieval

153. Ibid., 54.

154. Ibid., 42.

Gothic. Salmon attempted to draw the line of inheritance in this passage on deformation:

N'y-t-il donc pas toujours eu déformation, chez les anciens comme chez les modernes? Les gothiques ne sont-ils pas des déformateurs? Je n'ai jamais pu comprendre l'horreur qu'inspire une statuette cubiste ou un bois sculpté de Gauguin, ou une figure puissante de Bourdelle, aux maniaques encombrant leurs intérieurs de vierges et d'ascètes médiévaux.

Les canons de l'École aussi sont des déformations.¹⁵⁵

Again in a genealogist's fashion, Salmon attempted to suggest a national tendency by tracing deformation through styles as diverse as France's medieval churches, Gauguin's wooden sculptures, and Cubism in general. This idea, Salmon explained in a footnote, came from Camille Enlart, a professor of medieval art and curator of sculpture at the Musée Trocadero (today called the Musée des Monuments). According to Enlart, the tendency toward deformation conformed to the moment in which it had been conceived; thus, the eighteenth-century child and the twentieth-century child would naturally express themselves through deformation, but their forms would not resemble each other.¹⁵⁶

155. Salmon, L'Art vivant, 13. Salmon also attributed Picasso's deformation to Ingres' influence.

156. Ibid., 13-14. Salmon claimed that they discussed deformation and restoration during an interview arranged for by the newspaper Le Matin. Salmon generally reported on murders for Le Matin when L'Art vivant was published.

In La Morale des lignes, Salmon's mentor Mécislas Golberg claimed that deformation was "le principe même de la création humaine, notre *anima Dei*."¹⁵⁷ It was a form of individuation, ideation and conceptualization.¹⁵⁸ In a similar vein, Salmon considered deformation a manifestation of "conceptual" art: "des chiffres blanc au tableau noir" or the "miroir de l'intelligence."¹⁵⁹

But in seeking a satisfactory expression of this "conceptual" approach to art, Salmon saw in Cubism a *means*, but not an *end* in this direction.¹⁶⁰ He repeated this thought in "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme," attributing it to Jean Metzinger.¹⁶¹ He also quoted Metzinger's statement: "'Nous n'avions jamais eu la curiosité de toucher les objets que nous peignons.'"¹⁶² It seems that Salmon wanted the reader to know that art was not about nature, but about ideas. "La conception l'emporte sur la vision," he wrote in "Mouvement des idées: Origines et intentions du cubisme" --conception supersedes perception.¹⁶³

157. Mécislas Golberg, La Morale des lignes (Paris: Albert Messein, 1908), 27.

158. Ibid., 29-31.

159. Salmon, La Jeune Peinture française, 43 and 49.

160. André Salmon, "Ce que l'on verra au Salon d'Automne," Paris-Journal, 17 September 1911: "Cubisme est un *moyen*, non le *but*."

161. Salmon, La Jeune Peinture française, 55.

162. Ibid., 50.

163. Salmon, "Mouvement des idées: Origines et intentions du cubisme," 489; repr. in L'Art vivant, 119.

Previously, Maurice Denis took up the issue of deformation in his description of Gauguin as the painter of "decorative deformation." In this essay, Denis discussed two kinds of deformation: subjective and objective. Gauguin's work belonged to the latter category. Both Salmon and Denis viewed deformation as the manifestation of both conceptual art and the classical Latin tradition. "C'est ce qui explique que leurs déformations n'ont jamais connu les excès et les fantaisies monstrueuses que se sont permises depuis les artistes subjectivistes. Ainsi la notion du général, notion platonicienne, gréco-latine et classique, a toujours coexisté avec la liberté individuelle dans l'art occidental."¹⁶⁴ Perhaps Denis too drew his conclusion from Salmon's source, Camille Enlart, since this Symbolist painter/critic was particularly interested in sacred medieval art. On the other hand, Salmon might have acquired his concept of deformation from Denis' writings. In his memoirs, Salmon did mention his appreciation of Denis' theories and his painting Sagesse, but prefaced these remarks with the comment that he, Guillaume Apollinaire, and Maurice Raynal did not endorse any artists attached to Denis' Symbolist circle.¹⁶⁵

 164. Maurice Denis, Nouvelles Théories sur l'art moderne, sur l'art sacré 1914-1921 (Paris: L. Rouart et J. Watelin, 1922), 45.

165. Salmon, Souvenirs sans fin, 2:249. On Denis, Salmon wrote in 1912: "Trois livres de maîtres sur des maîtres vont paraître qui seront passionément lus, comme on a lu les livres de Maurice Denis et de Jacques-Émile Blanche" (La Palette [André Salmon], "Les Phares," Gil Blas, 27 October 1912, 4). Although Salmon did not make much of his affinities with Denis' aesthetic direction, some of his ideas bear a resemblance to Denis' critical notions as well as those held by Denis' close friend, Symbolist Émile Bernard. In particular, their

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Highlighting Cubism's roots is one aspect of L'Art vivant that represents the mature side of Salmon's Cubist criticism; another is its literary style. Although neither as candid nor as entertaining as La Jeune Peinture française, it does present a clearer and more concise outline of the history of Cubism. As discussed in chapter

articles on Cézanne seem to have made a lasting impression on Salmon, for one can find several parallels concerning these critics' (Salmon's, Bernard's and Denis') concepts of classicism, a combination of naiveté and knowledge. Salmon certainly read their articles: Émile Bernard, "Paul Cézanne," L'Occident, July 1904; Maurice Denis, "Cézanne," L'Occident, September 1907. Also see Émile Bernard, "Le l'art naif et de l'art savant," Mercure de France, n.s., 14 April 1895, 86-91. Cf. Salmon's commentaries on the naive painter Henri Rousseau in Propos d'atelier, 142-144:

Rousseau professe la franchise. Ce faible a l'esprit de décision. Sa franchise est celle du ton, d'accent et du trait. Il est pathétique dans le naturel mépris des moyens d'apprêter l'émotion. Il rouvre les grande voies classiques avec la décision d'un homme du dix-septième siècle et il est immortellement, revêtu de cette fraîcheur fluviale qui caractérise la poésie du moyen-âge. . . . Le Dounaier voulait toucher les coeurs, mais par des *moyens plastiques* honorant cette Raison dont le culte direct ne prenait pas son temps. . . . Mais il connut aussi la tendre admiration d'artistes peu suspects de snobisme, touchés profondément et directement par son incomparable sensibilité, son imagination vierge, à la fois précise et vagabonde, son don de la couleur et de la composition. Henri Rousseau ne savait pas dessiner. Il avait quelque génie et aucun talent. C'est vrai. Le génie n'est pas monnaie courante et tant d'hommes habiles nous ont donné le dégoût du talent! Qu'on y songe.

Likewise, it is telling to compare Salmon's characterization of Picasso with that of Denis' of Cézanne, for both Salmon and Denis discussed how the classical artist must exercise a remarkable mixture of spontaneity tempered by control. Denis, "Cézanne"; Salmon, La Jeune Peinture française, 42.

three, Salmon's poetry during the first decade of his career reflects his Symbolist roots and his absorption of post-Symbolist trends--simultaneity, Bergsonism, conceptualism, anarcho-individualism, and the urgency of modernity, which were then in evidence in La Jeune Peinture française. There, he paralleled the sudden shifts of subject matter, interjections of personal thoughts, and jerky, "cinematic," streams-of-consciousness that characterized his pre-World War I contemporary style. L'Art vivant, on the other hand, is a denser and more sober book that reflects Salmon's post-World War I poetic style, exemplified in his 1918-1921 epic poems Prikaz, Peindre, and L'Âge de l'humanité.

In L'Art vivant, Salmon gathered together his thoughts and some previously published commentaries in order to present his views in a more coherent fashion. It was also a product of the post-World War I period of reassessment of the heady days of the *Belle Époque*, when it seemed that science, art, and sheer imagination could create a better world. In 1918, after the armistice, Salmon's ideals concerning anarchy and artistic freedom also took on another complexion; he began to emphasize humanism as well as individualism, as stated in his postface to Prikaz, his nominalist ideals were dedicated to "restituant l'émotion à l'impersonnel."¹⁶⁶

 166. Salmon, postface, Prikaz (Paris: La Sirène, 1919). Another indication of Salmon's reevaluation of his political ideals can be found in his book Le Drapeau noir, which Patricia Leighton described as an "apologia for his movement away from prewar anarchism." Patricia Leighton, Re-Ordering the Universe: Picasso and Anarchism, 1897-1914 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 72.

Basing his judgement upon this nominalist imperative, it seems that Salmon's expectations for art became very specific, as he suggested in his introduction to L'Art vivant (1920): "Pour nous, fervents de l'art moderne, qui fondons notre goût d'un tel art sur notre amour de la vie--non pas parce que cette vie est aimable, douce, facile généreuse (hélas!) mais parce qu'elle est le fait de vivre," adding later: "Nous voulons toujours rompre le cercle à l'instant qu'il va se clore par l'effet de quelque mensongère rigueur académique, ou lorsqu'il semble menacé de se dissoudre dans l'amorphe par sa propre consommation."¹⁶⁷

Thus, it seems that Salmon's greatest fear was that art might resort to formulaic solutions or return to the "amorphous" style of Impressionism. It was a nominalist's fear, tempered by his anarchist sympathies and his own evolutionist biases; for, according to Salmon, truly good art had to push the parameters of its present condition to an unknowable and unfathomable incarnation, guided by "cet esprit de perfection que nous ont légué nos maîtres."¹⁶⁸

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167. Salmon, L'Art vivant, 14-15.

168. Salmon, La Jeune Sculpture française, 105.

It is clear that Salmon's reservations about Cubism (as well as Futurism and Synchronism) had a great deal to do with his personal vision of an appropriate and adequate modernist expression in the arts. This vision, however, did not come about after World War I, but rather before the war, as evidenced in his 1914 review of the Salon des Indépendants:

La Peinture qui depuis toujours était en retard de dix années sur les Letters . . . l'a rejoint aujourd'hui. Il fallait une alliance étroite, déintéressée, généreuse, tout d'amour, c'est-à-dire capable de création authentique pour atteindre à cela. La b  n  fice d'une telle rencontre est inestimable . . . C'est une si rare et si compl  te alliance qui peut vraiment, et seul favoriser l'Ordre classique.¹⁶⁹

Guided by his nominalist ideals, Salmon's believed that art should strive for the eradication of the boundaries between categories and genres with the hope that this freedom would ameliorate the arts.¹⁷⁰ This vision also included his belief in disciplined underpinnings, order, inherited from the classical Latin tradition. Thus, to Salmon, "public" Cubism seemed promising but not sufficiently original and experimental for his nominalist sensibilities. Picasso, on the contrary, fulfilled Salmon's expectations and to him Salmon conferred all his confidence for the future.

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169. Salmon, "Le Salon [des Ind  pendants]," Montjoie! 2, no. 3 (March 1914): 21; repr. in L'Art vivant, 10-11.

170. Andr   Salmon, La Jeune Sculpture fran  aise (Paris: Albert Messein, 1919), 4-5.

This study considers all the articles discussed above as examples of Salmon's "early" position on Cubism. However, in his 1926 article on the twentieth anniversary of Cubism, his view of Picasso and Cubism changed. Instead of insisting that Picasso had to be considered separately from the other Cubists, he capitulated to the notion that Cubism was composed of two "waves."¹⁷¹ Here, he indicated that Cubism began in 1906 at the Bateau Lavoir with Picasso and Braque, influenced by "ce tendre Matisse qui, avec ses Volumes Colorés et cette Couleur Pure qui rallia Derain, Vlaminck et Friesz, avait précédé Picasso et Braque dans la voie d'une ferme restauration."¹⁷² Salmon then added:

Ceux de 1906 avaient raison de prétendre s'avancer à la découverte des voies classiques perdues par les tristes piétons des piste académiques.

Dévots, fanatiques si l'on veut, du fait plastique en soi, ils recommandaient les maîtres. Il plaçaient l'élément plastique en son intégrité, au-dessus de tout argument sentimental. C'est ce dont Cézanne, sans qui Picasso cubiste n'eût pas été possible, avait tiré la dernière conclusion.¹⁷³

"En second vague," said Salmon, "[furent] Jean Metzinger, Albert Gleizes, Juan Gris et Marcoussis en tête."¹⁷⁴

171. Salmon, "L'Anniversaire du Cubisme," L'Art vivant, 15 June 1926, 445.

172. Ibid.

173. Ibid.

174. Ibid., 444.

This modified description of Cubism seems to conform with the histories he cited in the footnote at the end of his article: "Les Peintres Cubistes, de Guillaume Apollinaire; Le Cubisme [sic], de Gleizes et Metzinger; le Picasso, de Maurice Raynal; Du cubisme et des moyens de comprendre, par Albert Gleizes; Le Cubisme, propos de peintre, de Roland Chavenon; Picasso, par Jean Cocteau,"¹⁷⁵ texts which identified Picasso as a Cubist alongside the others. But, in the same article Salmon contradicted himself, returning to his original belief that even though Les Demoiselles d'Avignon had provoked the Cubist revolution, its creator remained isolated and his work enigmatic:

Le cubisme put apparaître tyrannique. On consent enfin à s'incliner devant sa leçon de liberté, telle que Picasso put jouir du plaisir secret de paraître parfois se démentir, recevant au besoin d'autrui, mais sans plus jamais rien rendre à personne, sinon l'essence même de sa luciférienne création.¹⁷⁶

175. Ibid., 445.

176. Ibid.

Chapter V - Cubism According to Salmon, Apollinaire and Kahnweiler

The influence of nominalism on Salmon's art criticism calls attention to the emphasis French intellectuals placed on philosophy in general and popular contemporary philosophies in particular.¹ At this moment especially, any given metaphysical or epistemological "ism" subscribed to by an artist or a writer constituted an identity or aesthetic orientation that allied or separated artistic personalities within the larger context of French literary society. The critics also drew upon philosophical theories for their commentaries, looking toward Nietzsche, Bergson, and the German Idealists Kant and Hegel for guidance on issues concerning aesthetics. In this chapter, I will compare the "histories" of Cubism told by André Salmon, Guillaume Apollinaire, and Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler to illustrate that the divergence in their perceptions of this revolution was largely based on their philosophical differences. Although they all agreed on the concept that art evolves and progresses, their conflicting notions of how Cubism fit into the scheme of things caused their different points of view.

 1. André Salmon, "Le 27e Salon des Indépendants," Paris-Journal, 20 April 1911, 5: ". . . le cubism fut inventé, il y a cinq ans, par un peintre espagnol, après de longues digressions esthétiques en compagnie de philosophes, de poètes, de mathématiciens. Cela parut d'abord une inoffensive jonglerie de l'esprit." Also periodicals, such as Mercur de France and Revue de France, had regular columns on philosophy in the section of the magazine devoted to the arts, science and politics.

As already stated in the introduction to this study, André Salmon, Guillaume Apollinaire, and Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler are the favored eyewitnesses consulted by art historians on the history of Cubism, and their writings, in conjunction with the theoretical commentaries published by their contemporaries Jean Metzinger, Albert Gleizes, Maurice Raynal, Pierre Reverdy, et al., constitute the primary sources for research on Cubism. However, the latter texts, filled with explanations concerning Cubism's formal intentions and revolutionary ideologies, should be analyzed with the caveat that each critic had certain Cubists in mind, but not all critics had the same Cubists in mind. As the influence of philosophy was particularly crucial at this moment (as was psychology for the Surrealists of the next generation), the following comparison concentrates on the differences among these eyewitness reports to demonstrate that each critic's version carries along with it an ideological criterion that evaluates Cubism's success or failure.

* * * * *

Let us begin with Apollinaire. Like his friend Salmon, Apollinaire wrote for the progressive periodicals published in Paris: La Revue blanche, La Plume, Je dis tout, their own Le Festin d'Esope, and L'Intransigeant, where he replaced Salmon in 1910. Salmon's decision to pass his column on to his friend implicitly conferred upon Apollinaire a sense of confidence in his ability to continue Salmon's campaign on behalf of progressive literature and art, for he knew

Apollinaire's avant-gardist sympathies equaled his own. Indeed, at this time, their ideas were almost identical, evidenced by Apollinaire's first response to the Cubist paintings shown at the 1910 Salon d'Automne:

L'on a un peu parlé d'une manifestation bizarre de cubisme. Les journalistes mal avertis ont fini par y voir de la métaphysique plastique. Mais ce n'est même pas cela, c'est une plate imitation sans vigueur d'ouvrages non exposés et peints par un artiste doué d'une fort personnalité et qui, en outre, n'a livré ses secrets à personne. Ce grand artiste se nomme Pablo Picasso. Mais le cubisme au Salon d'Automne c'était le geai paré des plumes du paon.²

Here we find a common attitude and language; both Apollinaire and Salmon hastened to point out in their first reviews of Cubism the debt it owed to an absent father, Picasso. They also discussed the concept of the "plastic" in art, apparently a Picassoesque sculptural quality on a two-dimensional surface.

However, seven months later, Apollinaire changed his mind:

Cet art cinématique, en quelque sorte, a pour but de nous montrer la vérité plastique sous toutes ses faces et sans renoncer au bénéfice de la perspective. Au demeurant, ce n'est pas ennuyeux et c'est fermement écrit. Art où l'on joue avec la difficulté qui reste vaincue. Je goûte pleinement les peintres dont je viens de parler [Robert Delaunay, Henri Le Fauconnier, Marie Laurencin, and Jean Metzinger].³

2. Guillaume Apollinaire, "Le Salon d'Automne," Poésie, Fall 1910; repr. in Guillaume Apollinaire, Chroniques d'art (1902-1918), ed. Leroy C. Breunig (Paris: Gallimard, 1960), 125-126.

3. Guillaume Apollinaire, "La Jeunesse artistique et les nouvelles disciplines," L'Intransigeant, 21 April 1911; repr. in Chroniques d'art, 165.

At this moment, in the spring of 1911, Apollinaire accepted the Cubists' name and movement (both repellent to Salmon), lifting the banner on their behalf to lead them forward toward notoriety. As he wrote in his preface to the catalogue which accompanied the first Cubist exhibition in Brussels:

Les peintres nouveaux qui ont manifesté ensemble cette année au Salon des Artistes indépendants de Paris, leur idéal artistique, acceptent le nom de cubistes qu'on leur a donné.

Cependant, le cubisme n'est pas un système et les différences qui caractérisent non seulement le talent, mais la manière même de ces artistes en sont une preuve manifeste.⁴

In these remarks, it seems that Apollinaire responded directly to Salmon's charge that the Cubist painters followed a prescribed set of rules. Thus began the schism between the two friends.

Principally, Salmon believed that the "public" Cubists had formed an avant-garde Academy based on a rigid system of rules that repelled this anarchist/nominalist sensibilities. Accordingly, he believed that Cubism was "a means, not an end," suggesting that this vanguard movement had not adequately achieved a definitive modernist expression, while Picasso, who stood apart from the "public" Cubists, was the true visionary from whom the art of the future would develop: "La vie de ce grand artiste ne sera pas assez longue pour parcourir tout le chemin que son oeuvre éclaire. L'Art présent et l'Art futur relèvent de sa bienfaisante tyrannie."⁵

4. Guillaume Apollinaire, preface, to Les Indépendants: VIIIème Salon annuel du Cercle d'Art, ex. cat. (Brussels: Musée moderne de Bruxelles, 10 June-3 July 1911); repr. in Chroniques d'art, 188.

Apollinaire, disagreeing with Salmon, not only denied Cubism's "systematic" approach,⁶ but also included Picasso in the Cubist movement, recognizing the potential and equality of all practitioners of the Cubist style.

However, in 1912, Apollinaire qualified his position by extolling the achievements of one kind of Cubism, Orphism, the "simultaneous" compositions of pure form and color executed by Robert Delaunay. He called this expression "la peinture pure." The notion of purity in art had been a theme in his criticism since 1907, when he announced that he had found in Matisse's work purity in the painter's concentration on line and color.⁷ In 1908, he wrote again about purity in art in his article "Les Trois Vertus plastiques" (purity, unity and truth).⁸ Purity, Apollinaire said, was unadulterated, like fire, and the purity of new expression came from "l'oubli après l'étude . . . [de] tous ceux des siècles écoulés. . . ."⁹ Four years

5. André Salmon, "Picasso," L'Esprit nouveau, no. 1 (October 1920): 67.

6. Guillaume Apollinaire, preface, to Les Indépendants; VIIIème Salon Annuel du Cercle d'Art; repr. in Chroniques d'art, 188.

7. Guillaume Apollinaire, "Henri Matisse," La Phalange, 15 December 1907; repr. in Apollinaire on Art: Essays and Reviews (1902-1918), trans. Susan Suleiman, ed. Leroy C. Breunig (New York: Da Capo Press, 1987), 39.

8. Guillaume Apollinaire, "Les Trois Vertus plastiques," IIIème Exposition du "Cercle de l'Art Moderne", ex. cat. (Le Havre: Cercle de l'Art Moderne, June 1908); repr. in Chroniques d'art, 56-58.

9. Ibid., 56.

later, in 1912, he created the analogy that "la peinture pure" would be "de même que la musique est de la littérature pure,"¹⁰ and his example of that *peinture pure* was Orphism, an offspring of Cubism, christened in homage to the god of poetry and music Orpheus. Orphism, Apollinaire believed, had pushed art to its highest level, a cerebral level, a conceptual representation of nature's rhythms, not an emulation of nature itself.¹¹ This satisfaction with Orphism's ability to convey a conceptual notion of nature ("pure painting") reflects his Idealist orientation--that is, the philosophical belief that the realm of ideas is separate from the realm of mundane reality.¹² Apollinaire believed that the realm of ideas creates its own reality.¹³ In accordance with such thinking, Apollinaire wrote in

10. Guillaume Apollinaire, "Sur le sujet de la peinture moderne," Les Soirées de Paris, 1 February 1912; rev. in Méditations esthétiques: Les peintres cubistes, ed. Leroy C. Breunig and Jean-Claude Chevalier (Paris: Collection Savoir/Hermann, 1980), 59. Apollinaire expanded on this theme in "Réalité, Peinture Pure," De Sturm, December 1912; repr. in Chroniques d'art, 266-270.

11. Guillaume Apollinaire, "Au Quai d'Orsay: Le Salon des Indépendants," L'Intransigeant, 18 March 1913; repr. in Chroniques d'art, 292; Guillaume Apollinaire, "Le Salon des Indépendants: Suite à notre numéro spécial," Montjoie!, 29 March 1913; repr. in Chroniques d'art, 304.

12. Paul Edwards, ed., Encyclopedia of Philosophy (New York: Macmillan and The Free Press, 1972), S.v. "Idealism" by H.B. Acton. The definition of *la peinture pure* has been taken from Rose-Carol Washton Long, Kandinsky: The Development of an Abstract Style (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 139: "Apollinaire's definition of 'pure art' as reaching 'the sublime without depending on any artistic, literary, or scientific conventions' has led some criticism to associate Orphism with abstraction. This interpretation is misleading, since Apollinaire sometimes categorized painters who were not abstract as Orphists."

13. Apollinaire's Idealism is best explained in Anna Balakian, Surrealism: The Road to the Absolute (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1959, 1970, 1986), 80-99.

May 1912:

Voulant atteindre aux proportions de l'idéal, ne se bornant pas à l'humanité, les jeunes peintres nous offrent des oeuvres plus cérébrales que sensuelles. Ils s'éloignent de plus en plus de l'ancien art des illusions d'optique et des proportions locales pour exprimer la grandeur des formes métaphysiques. C'est pourquoi l'art actuel, s'il n'est pas l'émanation directe de croyances religieuses déterminées, présente cependant plusieurs caractères du grand art, c'est-à-dire de l'Art religieux.¹⁴

Salmon, on the other hand, viewed the world as made up of one plane of reality. An advocate of the "un fait sur le plan merveilleux," Salmon could not share Apollinaire's belief that Cubism was a transcendental art nor share his enthusiasm for Orphism, which Salmon considered another example of systematic art.¹⁵ These differences in opinion led to different critical perspectives: Apollinaire, convinced that Cubism was a major achievement, was assured by Cubism's direction, while Salmon, appalled by Cubism's avant-garde academicism, remained unconvinced that it yielded the dynamism needed for the *prolongement* of art.

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14. Apollinaire, "La Peinture nouvelle," Les Soirées de Paris, no. 3 (April 1912): 91; repr. in Apollinaire on Art, 223; also included in "Méditations esthétiques," La Vie, 8 February 1913; repr. in Chroniques d'art, 280; also incorporated into Apollinaire's book Méditations esthétiques: Les peintres cubistes, 63.

15. André Salmon, "Le Salon [des Indépendants]," Montjoie! 2, no.3 (March 1914): 23.

In February 1912, Apollinaire published an article on modern painting in Les Soirées de Paris.¹⁶ Here Apollinaire discussed the new trends in art in general terms, but it was understood that he had Cubism in mind. One month later, Salmon began to write his book La Jeune Peinture française, which can be considered a response to Apollinaire's article. Salmon's book, published in September 1912, contained the first complete history of Cubism. In the October 10th issue of L'Intermédiaire des chercheurs et des curieux, Apollinaire published his version of the history of Cubism,¹⁷ and then, in the October 14th issue of Le Temps, he published more background information on the history of Cubism, a story about Derain, Vlaminck and Picasso entitled "Art et Curiosité: Les Commencements du Cubisme."¹⁸ It is not clear whether these two October articles were meant to be a response to Salmon's book, which Apollinaire reviewed for L'Intransigeant in late November.¹⁹ However, it seems that Apollinaire October 1912 articles were meant to complete one another, paralleling Salmon's lengthy recitation in his book. With this in

16. Guillaume Apollinaire, "Du Sujet dans la peinture moderne," Les Soirées de Paris, no. 1 (February 1912): 1-4.

17. Guillaume Apollinaire, "Le Cubisme," L'Intermédiaire des chercheurs et des curieux, 10 October 1912; repr. in Apollinaire on Art, 256-258. This version (with a few minor changes) appeared in his book Méditations esthétiques: Les peintres cubistes (Paris: Figuière, [spring] 1913).

18. Guillaume Apollinaire, "Art et Curiosité: Les Commencements du Cubisme," Le Temps 14 October 1912; repr. in Chroniques d'art 263-266. The Le Temps article was not reproduced in Apollinaire's book Méditations esthétiques: Les peintres cubistes.

19. Guillaume Apollinaire, "La Vie Artistique: La Jeune Peinture Française," L'Intransigeant, 29 November 1912; repr. in Chroniques d'art, 266.

mind, I will examine them together, as one complete version of Apollinaire's history of Cubism.

Cubism's history, according to Guillaume Apollinaire, began around 1902 on the island of Grenouillère (just outside of Paris) in the hands of the painters André Derain and Maurice de Vlaminck. There these young artists met and talked about the Impressionists Manet, Monet, Sisley, Degas, and Renoir, and Post-Impressionists Cézanne, Van Gogh, and Gauguin--the most avant-garde painters of this period.

Following this encounter, Vlaminck introduced Derain to his collection of African sculpture and masks he had acquired from a secondhand dealer (African art, according to Apollinaire, was still relatively unknown at that time). Then, with thoughts about Gauguin's primitive style and adventures in the South Seas, the two became quite enthusiastic about studying primitive art in order to liberate their aesthetic sensibilities.

In 1905, Apollinaire met Picasso, and Derain met Matisse (the leader of the Fauve school). A year later, Derain met Picasso "et cette liaison eut pour effet presque immédiat la naissance du cubisme qui fut l'art de peindre des ensembles nouveaux avec des éléments empruntés, non à la réalité de conception."²⁰

20. Apollinaire, "Art et Curiosité"; repr. in Chroniques d'art, 265.

In Apollinaire's first description of who was called a Cubist, published October 10, 1911, he named Picasso.²¹ Then, in the October 16, 1911 issue of Mercure de France, he wrote: "Le nom de cubisme a été trouvé par le peintre Henri Matisse, qui le prononça à propos d'un tableau de Picasso. Les premiers tableaux cubistes que l'on ait vu dans une exposition étaient d'ouvrage de Georges Braque."²² In his next version, published in L'Intermédiaire des chercheurs et des curieux one year later (October 10, 1912), Apollinaire wrote:

La nouvelle école de peinture porte le nom de cubisme qui lui fut donné en dérision par Henri Matisse qui venait de voir un tableau représentant des maisons dont l'apparence cubique le frappa vivement.

Cette école que je dus longtemps défendre seul, eut comme fondateurs: Pablo Picasso dont les inventions corroborées par le bon sens de Georges Braque qui exposa, dès 1908, un tableau cubiste au Salon des Indépendants, se trouvèrent confirmées par les études de Jean Metzinger qui exposa le premier portrait cubiste (c'était le mien [fig. 36]) au Salon des Indépendants en 1910 et le premier fit admettre aussi, la même année, une oeuvre cubiste par le jury du Salon d'automne.²³

21. Guillaume Apollinaire, "Les Cubistes," L'Intransigeant, 10 October 1911; repr. in Chroniques d'art, 198-200.

22. Guillaume Apollinaire, "La Vie anecdotique," Mercure de France, 16 October 1911, 892. In Lynn Wissing Gamwell, Cubist Criticism: 1907-1925 (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 1977), 44 n. 25., the author states that Apollinaire corrected the 10 October L'Intransigeant article with this 16 October Mercure de France article. Judging from my own reading of the latter, it seems that Apollinaire is not correcting himself, but simply augmenting his recollection. He still insists that Picasso received Matisse's derisive appellation, but that Braque was the first to show his similar "Cubist" work publicly. This version does not indicate that Matisse called Braque's work "Cubist."

23. Guillaume Apollinaire, "Le Cubisme," L'Intermédiaire des chercheurs et des curieux, 10 October 1912; repr. in "Notes et commentaires sur le texte," Méditations esthétiques: Les peintres cubistes, 142.

He then introduced the names of other painters who joined the movement at this time: Marie Laurencin, Albert Gleizes, Henri Le Fauconnier, Robert Delaunay, Fernand Léger, Francis Picabia, Louis Marcoussis, Georges Deniker, and a sculptor named Agero. He also stated that in Bohemia and Germany similar manifestations of Cubism had already begun.²⁴ Finally, in his Méditations esthétiques: Les peintres cubistes (1913), he repeated his October 10, 1912 version, adding that in the autumn of 1908 Matisse named Cubism.²⁵ Again, he did not specify who had been called a Cubist initially, thereby suppressing the role of individual efforts and enforcing a sense of simultaneous emergence within this pan-European phenomenon.

Following his reiteration of the history of Cubism in his book Méditations esthétiques: Les peintres cubistes (1913),²⁶ Apollinaire

24. Ibid.; repr. in Méditations esthétiques: Les peintres cubistes, 143.

25. Apollinaire, Méditations esthétiques: Les peintres cubistes, 66.

26. Much of what Apollinaire includes in Méditations esthétiques: Les peintres cubistes is not necessarily about Cubism per se, but, rather, trends in modern art as a whole. When Apollinaire selected the title Méditations esthétiques: Les peintres cubistes (Paris: Figuière, 1913) he envisioned that the words "méditations esthétiques" would be large and "les peintres cubistes" would be smaller. However, because Cubism had struck a cord in the public's eye, the publisher decided to print the words "les peintres cubistes" much larger than the words "méditations esthétiques," thereby calling attention to the controversial topic "Cubism." Edward F. Fry, Cubism (London: Thames and Hudson, 1966; repr. New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1978), 119-120. In the edition cited for this dissertation (Paris: Collection Savoir/Hermann, 1980), the publisher lists the book as Les Peintres Cubistes with that title on the cover, but on the title page the words "méditations esthétiques" are printed in small letters and "les peintres cubistes" are printed in large letters. Here I will refer to the 1980 edition as Méditations esthétiques: Les peintres cubistes.

introduced his own system of classification in order to account for the different Cubist styles: Scientific (Picasso, Georges Braque, Albert Gleizes, Marie Laurencin, and Juan Gris), Physical (Le Fauconnier), Orphic (Robert Delaunay, Francis Picabia, and Marcel Duchamp), and Instinctive ("ce mouvement s'étend maintenant sur toute l'Europe").²⁷ (This feature of Apollinaire surely irritated Salmon, the nominalist who detested categorization of any kind.)

All of Apollinaire's accounts of the history of Cubism are consistent and all declare Picasso and Braque as the "founders" and the other Cubists as equally important, if not more so.²⁸ For example, above all others, Apollinaire favored Robert Delaunay, whose Orphism seemed to be the "purest" achievement in art at that time.²⁹ Because of his great enthusiasm, it is believed that Apollinaire hoped to dedicate another book to Delaunay and that is why he did not include a profile on the Orphist in Méditations esthétiques: Les peintres cubistes.³⁰

27. Apollinaire, Méditations esthétiques: Les peintres cubistes, 67-69.

28. Ibid., 66.

29. Apollinaire, "Notes: Réalité, Peinture Pure," Les Soirées de Paris, 1 (December 1912); repr. in Chroniques d'art, 266-270; repr. and rev. in German: Der Sturm, December 1912; repr. in French: Robert Delaunay, Du Cubisme à l'art abstrait, eds. Pierre Francastel and Guy Habasque (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1957), 154-57.

30. Apollinaire, Méditations esthétiques: Les peintres cubistes, 25.

Although Salmon and Apollinaire agreed that Picasso played the central role in contemporary art and through his experiments Cubism gained momentum, Apollinaire subsumed Picasso into the general movement, while Salmon insisted that he remained aloof, following his own instincts. Also, Salmon declared that Les Demoiselles d'Avignon [fig. 6] represented a pivotal moment in Picasso's career, while Apollinaire seemed to ignore it as such.³¹ However, it is my contention that, in the following remarks from a 1913 essay on Picasso, a reference to Les Demoiselles d'Avignon can be inferred:

Un autre de ses amis l'amena un jour sur les confins d'un pays mystique où les habitants étaient à la fois si simples et si grotesques qu'on pouvait les refaire facilement.

Et puis vraiment, l'anatomie, par exemple, n'existait plus dans l'art, il fallait la réinventer et exécuter son propre assassinat avec la science et la méthode d'un grand chirurgien.³²

The so-called "pays mystique" could refer to the Musée de l'Homme, where, perhaps the "ami" Derain had led Picasso to see African and Oceanic artwork. (Apollinaire had already established that Derain and Vlaminck were familiar with African and Oceanic art before Picasso.³³)

31. Leo Steinberg, "The Philosophical Brothel, Part 1," Art News 71, no. 5 (September 1972: 20; repr. and rev. in Les Demoiselles d'Avignon, ex. cat., ed. Hélène Seckel (Paris: Musée Picasso, 1988), 319; repr. and rev. in English: October, no. 44 (Spring 1988): 17; Yve-Alain Bois, "Painting as Trauma," Art in America 26, no. 18 (June 1988): 134; Pierre Daix, "Dread, Desire and the Demoiselles," Art News 87, no. 6 (June 1988): 134.

32. Guillaume Apollinaire, "Pablo Picasso," Montjoie!, 14 March 1913; repr. in Chroniques d'art, 290; also included in Apollinaire's profile of Picasso published in Méditations esthétiques: Les peintres cubistes, 78-79.

33. Apollinaire, "Art et Curiosité"; repr. in Chroniques d'art 264.

Apollinaire seems to indicate here that Picasso's encounter with this primitive art caused Picasso's "assassination" and reinvention of art. Apollinaire's reference to destruction in Picasso's art anticipates future articles on Les Femmes d'Alger by modern art historians Pierre Daix and Ronald Johnson, who interpreted the painting as a dramatization of the Nietzschean destruction of Dionysian urges.³⁴ It should be mentioned that Apollinaire shared Salmon's interest in Nietzsche and was familiar with the Nietzschean ideas such as destruction before creation and the visionary *Übermensch*.³⁵ In this instance, it seems possible that in his characteristically cryptic style, Apollinaire referred in passing to Les Femmes d'Alger in order to reinforce his portrayal of Picasso as an *Übermensch* who could "reinvent" art through the "assassination" of its naturalistic vocabulary.

The renewal of art through the rejection of European and non-European traditions preoccupied Apollinaire, unlike Salmon who focused on an artistic lineage to establish virtue and legitimacy. In "Peinture nouvelle, notes d'art" written in 1912, Apollinaire denied the influence of the past on contemporary artists in this statement:

L'art d'aujourd'hui revêt ses créations d'une apparence grandiose, monumentale, qui dépasse à cet égard tout ce qui avait été conçu par les artistes des époques précédentes et cependant il n'y a dans cet art aucune trace d'exotisme.

34. Daix, "Dread, Desire and the Femmes," 133-137; Ron Johnson, "The 'Femmes d'Alger' and Dionysian Destruction," Arts Magazine 55, no. 2 (October 1980): 94-101.

35. Scott Bates, Guillaume Apollinaire (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1967), 72.

Certes nos jeunes artistes connaissent les oeuvres d'art chinois, les simulacres des Nègres et des Australiens, les minuties de l'art musulman, mais on ne trouve trace d'aucune de ces influences dans leurs oeuvres, non plus que des peintures primitives italiennes ou germaniques. L'art français d'aujourd'hui est né spontanément sur le sol français. . . . Voici la renaissance de l'art français, c'est-à-dire de l'art gothique et spontanément, sans apparence de pastiche. L'art d'aujourd'hui se rattache à l'art gothique à travers tout ce que les écoles intermédiaires ont eu de véritablement française, de Poussin à Ingres, de Delacroix à Manet, de Cézane [sic] à Seurat, de Renoir au Douanier Rousseau. . . .³⁶

Here, Apollinaire introduced a Franco-chauvinist spirit into his writings two years prior to World War I and nine years in advance of Salmon's statement that Paris had become the mecca for contemporary artists.³⁷ Similar in their strategies to support the Cubist effort, Apollinaire proclaimed Cubism as "Gothic" while Salmon proclaimed Cubism as "classic" in order to confirm its birthright as an indigenous product. (Apollinaire here referred to the French Gothic art developed in the early twelfth century under the supervision of Abbot Suger.) During the war, Apollinaire embraced Salmon's thinking and also allied the Cubists with the classical Latin tradition.^{38d}

That he addressed the uninitiated, writing in a lyric fashion about an esoteric "new painting" was the seductive quality of

36. Guillaume Apollinaire, "Peinture nouvelle, notes d'art," Les Soirées de Paris, no. 4 (May 1912): 114-115.

37. André Salmon, "La Peinture," La Revue de France, 1 April 1921, 441.

38. Guillaume Apollinaire, "Art and the War: Concerning an Allied Exhibition," Paris-Midi, 9 December 1916; repr. in Apollinaire on Art, 448.

Apollinaire's criticism. He presented himself as an informed judge, privy to the "secrets" of this unintelligible art and capable of fully comprehending it. Moreover, Apollinaire clothed the Cubism movement in a mysterious aura, penetrable by only those who were familiar with the new sciences and mathematics. For example, Apollinaire claimed that Cubism depended on geometry and a pictorial understanding of "the fourth dimension," what Apollinaire thought was an aspect of conceptual thinking. This interpretation of "the fourth dimension" reflects his Idealism and his continual search for the Absolute through the power of the mind.³⁹

But Apollinaire's version of the Cubists' quest for the Absolute inferred that all participants were equally advanced in this pursuit. He did not highlight the role of one individual artist (as Salmon's highlighted Picasso) nor leaders in advance of other practitioners of Cubism (as Kahnweiler explained in his Der Weg zum Kubismus); rather Apollinaire emphasized the commonality of the endeavor, the collective spirit of this avant-garde effort, and the variety within the communal enterprise that could be categorized, as Apollinaire demonstrated in Méditations esthétiques: Les peintres cubistes. In 1920, after

 39. Apollinaire first mentioned the fourth dimension on 25 November 1911 in a lecture at the Exposition d'Art Contemporain; followed by "Peinture nouvelle, notes d'art," Les Soirées de Paris, no. 3 (April 1912) and no. 4 (May 1912); repr. in Apollinaire on Art, 222; "Méditations esthétiques," La Vie, 8 February 1913; repr. in Chroniques d'art, 280; and Méditations esthétiques: Les peintres cubistes, 61. A full discussion about Cubism, the new geometries; and the fourth dimension are in Linda Dalrymple Henderson, The Fourth Dimension and Non-Euclidean Geometry in Modern Art (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 44-116.

Apollinaire's death, Salmon wrote about his friend's endorsement of communal efforts in the following passage:

À qui songeait notre Guillaume Apollinaire en ouvrant sur ces paroles l'une des plus profondes nouvelles de son Hérésiarque et Cie: "Placé sur la limite de la vie, aux confins de l'art, Justin Prérogue était peintre?" . . . Ce conte de Guillaume est l'histoire sainte d'une Jeunesse meurtrie et merveilleuse; une histoire justifiant les biens communs à plusieurs.⁴⁰

Apollinaire's optimistic vision of artists working together resembles the communistic anarchist ideals put forward by Peter Kropotkin,⁴¹ a political activist whom the *Abbaye de Créteil* group held in high esteem.⁴² Salmon, in contrast, preferred Stirner's emphasis on the

40. André Salmon, "Picasso," L'Esprit nouveau, no. 1 (October 1920): 63.

41. Patricia Leighton aptly wrote: "Apollinaire's ideas are redolent of Peter Kropotkin's esthetic ideas, most thoroughly developed in La Conquête du pain, Paris, 1892, widely reprinted throughout Europe" in "'La Propagande par le rire': Satire and Subversion in Apollinaire, Jarry and Picasso's Collages," Gazette des Beaux-Arts 88 (October 1988), 171 n. 9. It cannot be said that Apollinaire was a strict follower of Kropotkin (as Salmon was not a strict follower of Stirner), but the complexion of his sympathies reveal a propensity for communal ideas that is decidedly Kropotkinian. Apollinaire probably learned about Kropotkin from anarchist Mécislas Golberg while he visited him with Salmon. (André Salmon, L'Air de la Butte [Paris: La Nouvelle France, 1945], 189. Peter Kropotkin was a Russian activist of noble birth who lived in France sporadically during the 1870s and 1880s. He made an enormous contribution to the anarchist cause through his writings, especially in France (Eugenia W. Herbert, The Artist and Social Reform: France and Belgium, 1885-1898 [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961], 108, 121, 186, 189.) The ideas espoused by Kropotkin included the notion that there were revolutions and evolutions within the natural order of things, (see: Peter Kropotkin, Les Temps nouveaux, n.d.), and that people should not live under the law of the State, but under the law of the communities which had been formed through mutual consent (see: Peter Kropotkin, Paroles d'un révolté [Paris, 1885], and Anarchist Communism, n.d.). See also: Paul Eltzbacher, Anarchism: Exponents of the Anarchist Philosophy, trans. Steven T. Byington, ed. James J. Martin, (New York: Chip's Bookshop, 1958), 94-106.

individual over and above the group. This distinction between the two critics' anarchistic tendencies is of paramount importance when deciphering their differences and has much to do with the divergence in plot-line in their respective histories of Cubism. As already mentioned, Apollinaire told his story with additions and subtractions each time. Eventually, in his final versions, published in 1912 and 1913, several artists are cited as contributors to Cubism's birth: Matisse, Picasso, Braque, Metzinger, Delaunay, Gleizes, Léger, and Marie Laurencin. In Salmon's version, Picasso gave birth to the tenets which became Cubism, but he had nothing to do with the group's efforts (proof of his irrepressible individuality and ultimate superiority: he was not a conformist, but a pioneer).

Apollinaire's portrayal of the Cubists as a Nietzschean super-race, steeped in Idealism and involved in a Kropotkinian communal effort contrasted greatly with Salmon's portrayal of an avant-garde legion of programmed automatons. At the end of his life, Apollinaire tried to reassert this spirit of collectivity and cooperation in his essay on the *esprit nouveau* (1917).⁴³ It was his

42. Daniel Robbins, "The Formation and Maturity of Albert Gleizes: A Biographical and Critical Study 1881 through 1920" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1975), 31-48.

43. On 26 November 1917, Apollinaire gathered together artists, writers, and others for a conference on *L'Esprit Nouveau* at the Theatre du Vieux-Columbier. On 1 December 1918, his ideas were published in *Mercure de France* (posthumously) and then again in a book: Guillaume Apollinaire, *L'Esprit nouveau et les poètes* (Paris: Jacques Haumont, 1946). The premise for *L'Esprit nouveau* matches Salmon's own ideas concerning art. In the "Note de l'Éditeur," printed in the beginning of the 1946 text, the editor writes:

"Il [Guillaume Apollinaire] proclamait que l'ordre, le bon

desire to see all the arts bound together in a harmonious union of avant-garde activity.

Apollinaire's exuberant grandstanding on behalf of new art gained much from his natural lyricism and articulate analogies, which were always couched in a knowing and learned tone. This loftiness and eloquence probably swept the reader into a cloud of half-understanding and half-awe of those unintelligible forms on canvas. Indeed, Apollinaire's esoteric posturing, as one informed through his intimate connect with the artists,⁴⁴ must have impressed his sympathetic readership and enhanced his public persona as the self-appointed solitary defender of this unpopular aesthetic. In this regard, he also implied his own parity with the Cubist artists as a visionary.⁴⁵

sens et l'expérience étaient le point de départ de l'Esprit Nouveau . . . " Échapper à l'imitation servile de l'Antiquité; Éviter le désordre romantique; Repousser le wagnerisme échevelé; Rechercher des classiques l'esprit critique et le sens du devoir, tout en faisant la plus large place à l'imagination; Exalter la vie. Rechercher la nouveauté par l'effet de surprise."

44. Guillaume Apollinaire, "La Peinture Moderne," Der Sturm February 1913; repr. in Chroniques d'art, 271-272. Here Apollinaire compared Dramatism to the new tendencies in art, referring to his participation in that literary movement along with Alexandre Mercereau, Charles-Henri Barzun and Georges Polti. However, he did not clearly describe what Dramatism stood for in terms of aesthetics.

45. Guillaume Apollinaire, "Le Salon d'Automne," Poésie, Fall 1910; repr. in Chroniques d'art, 125-126; Guillaume Apollinaire, "Le Cubisme," L'Intermédiaire des chercheurs et des curieux, 10 October 1912; repr. in Apollinaire on Art, 257.

Salmon, on the other hand, resisted the role of interpreter of an artist's intention or direction. Comfortable with appraising the work of the individual artist and his/her predecessors, Salmon tentatively described Picasso's work in 1912 as the "réalisation de l'idée"⁴⁶ and the "public" Cubists as those who "se regarder 'sur toutes les faces à la fois,'"⁴⁷ waiting until 1919 to clarify further in his article "Mouvement des idées: Origines et intentions du cubisme" that for the Cubists "la conception l'emporte sur la vision."⁴⁸ Granted, Salmon emphasized the importance of science and mathematics for the new painters as strongly as Apollinaire, but he did not explain how the artist digested these concepts. Rather, he simply reported that Picasso synthesized the lessons learned from geometry and the anonymous African/Oceanic masters. He did not analyze the artist's intentions nor refer to "the fourth dimension" (the notion of a conceptual space or hyperspace) which Apollinaire believed was an integral part of the Cubist conceptualization. Instead, Salmon referred to the role played by the actuary/mathematician Maurice Princet, who discussed the new geometries with those who gathered at the studios of Montmartre.⁴⁹ Salmon's reluctance to campaign wholeheartedly on behalf of Cubism seems to imply his desire to

46. Salmon, La Jeune Peinture française (Paris: Albert Messein, 1912), 47.

47. Ibid., 51.

48. André Salmon, "Origines et Intentions du Cubism," Demain 68 (26 April 1919): 489; repr. in L'Art vivant, 119.

49. La Palette [André Salmon], "Courrier des Ateliers," Paris-Journal, 10 May 1910.

distance himself from the "public" Cubist movement and identify with the more individualistic artists, such as Picasso, Derain, and (later) Kisling.

That Apollinaire accepted all manifestations of Cubism equally, whether they came from the "founding fathers" Picasso and Braque or the more "advanced" interpreters, Robert Delaunay and Marcel Duchamp,⁵⁰ reflects this critic's catholicity and eagerness to embrace avant-gardism as a whole. He had a keen eye that could spot exciting new trends very shortly after their birth, and today we find that most people he favored are still considered "important" in art history. Apollinaire's ability to recognize talent among a myriad of modern artists seems uncanny. As we continue to consult Apollinaire's commentaries on the Cubist epoch, it is clear that his discussions still offer valuable information for current research on the period.

And yet, while we can still appreciate Apollinaire's contribution, we must recognize that Apollinaire favored Cubism when it provided publicity for his own avant-garde ventures, such as his poetry. Indeed, he proudly announced that he was the "discoverer" of the new painting and its only defender during its infancy.⁵¹ For Apollinaire, Cubism was a springboard to other things, and had he

50. Apollinaire, Méditations esthétiques; Les peintres cubistes, 108-111.

51. Apollinaire, "Le Cubisme," L'Intermédiaire des chercheurs et des curieux, 10 October 1912; repr. in Apollinaire on Art, 256-258.

lived, he might have used its notoriety to launch his new venture the *esprit nouveau*.⁵² Thus, we might view Apollinaire's history of Cubism as an extension of his personality, its pretension to mystery and esoterica (as exemplified in his discussion about "the fourth dimension"). For Apollinaire's ultimate goal was to call attention to himself and his creative endeavors--poetry, plays and fiction--in order to promote his Idealism and its relevance to modern life.

The difference in Apollinaire's and Salmon's epistemology, Idealism versus nominalism, manifested itself in their critical assessment of the future of Cubism in relation to art history in general. Apollinaire, convinced that Cubism visually expressed the existence of "the fourth dimension," was also satisfied that Cubism had achieved this transcendental goal through the conceptual abilities of the mind. Therefore, in Apollinaire's eyes, Cubism led art in a fruitful direction. He also believed that this super-race of artists, in tune with the rhythms of life, provided insight for humankind and thus served society, the ultimate goal for art.⁵³

52. As it happened, Amedée Ozenfant and Le Corbusier gave the name of Apollinaire's movement to their post-World War I magazine.

53. Apollinaire, Méditations esthétiques: Les peintres cubistes, 63: "Voulant atteindre aux proportions de l'idéal, ne se bornant pas à l'humanité, les jeunes peintres nous offrent des oeuvres plus cérébrales que sensuelles. . . . Les grands poètes et les grands artistes ont pour fonction sociale de renouveler sans cesse l'apparence que revêt la nature aux yeux des hommes." Apollinaire, L'Esprit nouveau et les poètes, 23: "Les poètes enfin seront chargés de donner par les téléologies lyriques et les alchimies archilyriques un sens toujours plus pur à l'idée divine, qui est en nous si vivante et si vraie, que est ce perpétuel renouvellement de nous-mêmes, cette création éternelle, cette poésie sans cesse renaissante dont nous vivons."

Salmon, a nominalist, was dissatisfied with Cubism because it seemed to emulate the Academy by its apparent dependence on rules. Thus, it seemed to this critic lacking in sincere individual achievement and dynamism. As for its social obligations, that issue did not enter into Salmon's criticism. Instead, his main concern was the integration of life and art, and the advancement achieved through this humanist direction.

* * * * *

Sharing Apollinaire's faith in the visionary artist and Salmon's preference for an art based on life's experience,⁵⁴ Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler also believed that art's direction conformed to a "spirit of the times." With this kind of aesthetic evolution in mind, the German art dealer/critic told his history of Cubism in Der Weg zum Kubismus (The Rise of Cubism) in terms of its propitious entry into the avant-garde, highlighting the collaboration between Pablo Picasso and Georges Braque [fig. 37].

Written in 1914-1915 and published in 1920, Der Weg zum Kubismus begins with a background summary of the aesthetic principles of Impressionism--its flatness and emphasis on ocular perception--which pioneering artists Seurat, Cézanne, and Derain rebelled against in

54. Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, Confessions esthétiques (Paris: Gallimard, 1963), 61.

their efforts to find "die Aufhebung des Widerstreits zwischen Darstellung und Aufbau im Gemälde."⁵⁵ On the history of Cubism, Kahnweiler began with Georges Braque (not Picasso) and how the movement got its name. According to Kahnweiler, Cubism first appeared in Braque's six landscapes painted in Estaque in 1908 which were presented to the jury at the next Salon d'Automne. Only two of these landscapes were accepted. Insulted by this decision, Braque withdrew all six and then exhibited them at Kahnweiler's gallery that following November [fig. 38]. However, Kahnweiler claimed that while the jury examined the entries for the Salon d'Automne, Matisse ridiculed Braque's works, describing them as made of "petits cubes."⁵⁶ Kahnweiler reported that the critic Louis Vauxcelles overheard Matisse, and then repeated the word "cube" in his review of Braque's exhibit at Kahnweiler's. Kahnweiler also erroneously recalled that after this episode in 1908, Vauxcelles called Braque's two entries in the Salon des Indépendants of 1909 "Cubist."⁵⁷ (In fact, he called them "bizarreries cubiques," while Charles Morice said that Braque was a "victime . . . du 'cubisme.'"⁵⁸) Kahnweiler believed that after

55. Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, Der Weg zum Kubismus (Munich: Delphin-Verlag, 1920), 14: "The elimination of conflict between representation and structure." I would like to thank Marion Wolf for her translations of the original German text. She carefully translated, and then in some instances consulted Harry Aronson's English translation (The Rise of Cubism [New York: Wittenborn/Schultz, 1949] for guidance, deferring to those decisions which seemed to make the most sense.

56. Ibid., 15.

57. Ibid., 16.

58. Louis Vauxcelles, review of the Salon des Indépendants, Gil Blas, 25 March 1909; Charles Morice, review of the Salon des Indépendants, Mercure de France, 16 April 1909. Pierre Daix in the exhibition

this 1909 exhibition, Braque teamed up with Picasso and their Cubist experiments developed into the sophisticated, hermetic language of the 1910-1912 period.⁵⁹

Hegelian in his approach, Kahnweiler explained that Cubism was a synthesis: Cézanne's architectonic reaction (antithesis) to Impressionism (thesis), which stirred the next generation to resolve the conflict.⁶⁰ Yet, according to Kahnweiler, only two artists, Picasso and Braque, arrived at the true Cubist synthesis initially. Then Léger achieved an equally important interpretation, hence qualifying as one among this elite group of "authentic" Cubists.⁶¹ (Curiously absent from the original German book was Juan Gris, another Cubist who exhibited exclusively, and under contract, at Kahnweiler's gallery.⁶² In the French version published in 1946 a section on Gris

catalogue for Picasso: Cubist Works from the Marina Picasso Collection (New York: Jan Krugier Gallery, 1987), 9, proposed that Charles Morice invented the term "Cubism," and Daniel Robbins in the exhibition catalogue for Jean Metzinger in Retrospect (Iowa City: University of Iowa Museum of Art, 1981), 11, claims that references to "cubes" in art can be traced back to reviews of Jean Metzinger and Robert Delaunay in 1906 by the critic Louis Chassevent. Louis Chassevent, "22e Salon des Indépendants, 1906," Quelques petits salons (Paris, 1908), 32.

59. Kahnweiler, Der Weg zum Kubismus, 20-21.

60. Ibid., 13-14.

61. Ibid., 47-51.

62. Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler with Francis Crémieux, My Galleries and Painters, trans. Helen Weaver (New York: Viking Press, 1971), 9; John Golding, Cubism: A History and Analysis, 1907-1914 (London: Faber and Faber, 1956, 1968), 96.

was added.⁶³) Kahnweiler's version of Cubism's history eventually became common currency among art historians and critics.

Kahnweiler's portrayal of his central heroes, "die großen Begründer des Kubismus" Picasso and Braque,⁶⁴ also reflects this eyewitness' predilection for dialectical phenomena, for it seems that in his history, the opposite natures of these two artists worked together to bring out the best in each other: "Beide sind grosse, bewundernswerte Künstler, jeder nach seiner Art. Braques Kunst ist ruhiger als Picassos nervös-zerwühltes Werk. Neben dem klaren Franzosen Braque steht der fanatische suchende Spanier Picasso."⁶⁵ To enhance these two portraits, Kahnweiler explained that each artist achieved a preliminary Cubism on his own: Braque with his *Estaque* landscapes and Picasso with his "seltsames, grosses Gemälde mit Frauen, Früchten und Vorhängen, das unvollendet blieb."⁶⁶ With these background vignettes, Kahnweiler established their equality during the preparatory stage (that one was not more "advanced" than the other) and then proposed that a synergetic relationship evolved between these

63. Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, "La Montée du Cubisme," Les Temps modernes 1, no. 4 (January 1946): 625-629; repr. in Confessions esthétiques, 9-60.

64. Kahnweiler, Der Weg zum Kubismus, 16: "the great founders of Cubism."

65. Ibid., 16: "Both are great (and) admirable artists, each in his own way. Braque's art is calmer while Picasso's oeuvre is nervously turbulent. Next to the clear-sighted Frenchman Braque stands the fanatically searching Spaniard Picasso."

66. Ibid., 17: "[an] odd large painting of women, fruit and drapery, which remained unfinished."

two artists when both were ready to explore mutually interesting problems.

Before Kahnweiler described how the Cubist revolution unfolded, he focused on Picasso alone, citing Les Femmes d'Alger [fig. 5] as a transitional point in Picasso's career, corresponding in this respect to Salmon's history published in 1912. Both critics explained that the painting revealed pictorial problems that Picasso had been struggling with on his own. To Salmon, it was the "la peinture-équation" and to Kahnweiler it was the "Aufzeigung des Dreidimensionalen durch Zeichnung auf der Fläche. Keine gefällige 'Komposition,' sondern unerbittlicher, gegliederter Aufbau. Dazu noch das Problem der Farbe, und endlich, als schwierigster Punkt, die Verquickung, Versöhnung des Ganzen."⁶⁷ Less inclined to pronounce Picasso's achievements as spectacular or revolutionary at this point in his career, Kahnweiler viewed this painting as an incomplete attempt to resolve the pictorial problems he believed Picasso had in mind:

Tollkühn greift Picasso alle Probleme auf einmal an. Harteckige Gebilde setzt er jetzt auf die Leinwand, Köpfe und Akte zumeist, in buntesten Farben, gelb, rot, blau, schwarz. Die Farben sind fadenförmig aufgetragen, um so als Richtungslinien zu dienen und im Verein mit der Zeichnung die plastische Wirkung zu bilden. Nach Monaten angestrengtesten Suchens sieht Picasso ein, daß auf diesen Wege das Problem nicht vollkommen zu lösen ist.⁶⁸

67. André Salmon, La Jeune Peinture française, 43; Kahnweiler, Der Weg zum Kubismus, 19: "[a] demonstration of the three-dimensional through drawing on the plane. Not pleasant 'composition,' but uncompromising, organically articulated structure."

68. Kahnweiler, Der Weg zum Kubismus, 19:

Earlier, Kahnweiler introduced this work as one which "Unvollendet ist es zu nennen."⁶⁹ The distinction, therefore, between Salmon's and Kahnweiler's versions is that Salmon considered the work complete and credited it as the decisive moment when Cubism took hold (tracing the beginning of Cubism to 1906, when, he believed, the preparatory stages had begun). Kahnweiler, on the other hand, described the work as incomplete and decided that the painting indicated Picasso's readiness to respond to Braque. It is understood at this point in the narrative that they both reached the same point separately in their struggle with the conflict of representation and structure. It should be noted, however, that in Salmon's version, the description of the painting and Picasso's procedures is glossed over, yet Salmon knew Picasso since 1904 and most likely had opportunities to see the painting progress, if not actually watch Picasso work.⁷⁰ Kahnweiler, in contrast, specified Picasso's purpose through a description of his

Recklessly, Picasso attacked all the problems at once. Now he places hard-edge forms on the canvas, heads and nudes mostly, in the brightest colors: yellow, red, blue and black. The colors are applied in a stringy formation to serve as guiding lines and to achieve, in conjunction with the drawing, a plastic effect. After months of the most laborious searching, Picasso recognizes that the problem cannot be solved in this manner.

69. Ibid, 17: "[Les Demoiselles d'Avignon] must be considered unfinished."

70. On 8 August 1907, Fernand Olivier wrote a letter to Gertrude Stein, who was vacationing in Fiesole, about their summer in Paris with Picasso, Salmon and another friend (Judith Cousins and Hélène Seckel, chronology in Les Demoiselles d'Avignon, ex. cat. (Paris: Musée Picasso, 1988), 1:557.

technique as if he had been present during the execution of the work and yet wrote in his book Mes Galeries et mes peintres that he saw the painting with its additions à l'art nègre already in place--the final stage of the painting.⁷¹ Thus, the level of intimacy between painter and critic cannot be judged by the exactitude of the critic's recollection. (It is still a mystery as to why Salmon thought that Les Demoiselles d'Avignon had six figures when he had an opportunity to see the work at the very moment he wrote down this incorrect number.)

Following his profile of Picasso's 1907 experiments, Kahnweiler explained that the painter continued his African direction in 1908 while Braque painted landscapes that summer in Estaque. The two artists met in the winter, but still continued along separate paths until, coincidentally, they both focused their work on the structural problems inherent in landscape painting:

Wenn nicht schon die ganze Geschichte der Kunst den Beweis liefern würde, daß die Erscheinung des ästhetischen Gutes in ihrer Besonderheit durch den Geist der Zeit bedingt ist, als dessen Willensvollstrecker die stärksten Künstler der Zeit unbewußt handeln, so wäre dieser Beweis hier zu finden.⁷²

71. Kahnweiler, My Galleries and Painters, 38-39. Jane Fluegel dated the final state of Les Demoiselles d'Avignon as early as July 1907 and Kahnweiler's visit at some point afterward in "summer 1907." "Chronology," in Pablo Picasso: A Retrospective, ed. William Rubin (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1980), 87-88.

72. Kahnweiler, Der Weg zum Kubismus, 21: "If, in the whole history of art, there were not already sufficient proof that the appearance of the aesthetic product is determined by its spirit of the time [Zeitgeist], [that] its executors, the strongest artists of the period, act automatically, than this instance would prove it."

Here Kahnweiler suggested that the two artists shared a kindred spirit dictated by an overriding aesthetic spirit or *Zeitgeist* that prevailed upon these artists and bound them together in this extraordinary enterprise. Kahnweiler then characterized these "elect" artists as gifted individuals who had a special vision that had tapped into this preordained direction for art: "Der Künstler, als Vollstrecker des--unbewußten--plastischen Wollens der Allgemeinheit, geht stets auf im Zeitstil, der Ausdruck dieses Wollens ist."⁷³

In Kahnweiler's estimation, Picasso and Braque began to influence each other in 1908. He described how they employed color in order to shape or distort forms to resolve the "die Aufhebung des Widerstreits zwischen Darstellung und Aufbau im Gemälde."⁷⁴ Then in 1909 and 1910 they worked together, continuing their research and seeking a new language. Kahnweiler believed that at this juncture they introduced an occasional illusionistic detail, like the nail in Braque's Violon et palette (1909-1910) [fig. 2] to underscore the contrasting interplay of perceptual and conceptual art. Kahnweiler observed that at the end of this period the artists interwove the representation of the object in space with the representation of the object in one's memory, creating what is known as "Cubist" painting. As Kahnweiler wrote: "Der Maler beschränkt sich ferner nicht darauf, den Gegenstand so zu zeigen, wie er von einem gegebenen Standpunkte aus gesehen

73. Ibid., 42: "The artists, as the executor of the--unconscious--plastic will of mankind, always identifies with the contemporary style, which expresses that will."

74. Ibid., 14.

würde, sondern stellt ihn, wenn das zur Anschaulichmachung nötig ist, von mehreren Seiten dar, von oben, von unten."⁷⁵ Thus, to achieve this end, these painters drew upon "stereometrische Zeichnung auf der Fläche aufzeigen, oder gar, mittels mehrerer Darstellungen des gleichen Gegenstands, eine analytische Beschreibung von ihm geben, die der Beschauer erst in seinem Bewußtsein wieder zu einem Gegenstande verschmilzt."⁷⁶

After this detailed description of Picasso and Braque's odyssey toward Cubism, Kahnweiler turned to the art of Léger, another "Wegbereiter des Kubismus."⁷⁷ In Léger's case, however, Kahnweiler characterized Cubism as an aesthetic of simplified geometric forms:

Wir erkannten den Kubismus als das Streben, die dreidimensionale Mannigfaltigkeit der Außenwelt zu fassen in der Einheit des Gemäldes. Die dreidimensionale Mannigfaltigkeit, die Tiefendimension will der Kubismus wiedergeben--im Gegensatz zu den "Spielkarten" Manets, Gauguins, Matisses und zur Flächenprojektion [sic] Seurats. Wie denn der läppische Name "Kubismus" zufällig richtig traf: das Kubische betonen Braque und Picasso.

Das tut auch Léger: er ist Kubist.⁷⁸

75. Ibid., 30: "The painter no longer has to limit himself to depicting the object as it would appear from one given viewpoint, but wherever necessary for fuller comprehension, can represent it from various angles, from above, [and] from below."

76. Ibid., 34: ". . . stereometric drawing on the plane, even through multiple representations of the identical object, can provide an analytic description which the viewer fuses mentally into a single object."

77. Ibid., 47: "[a] pathfinder of Cubism."

78. Ibid., 48-49:

We have recognized Cubism as the endeavor to capture the three dimensional diversity of the outer world within the unity of the painting. Cubism seeks to reproduce that three

Here, Kahnweiler defined the Cubist aesthetic in terms of the "cubic," paralleling Apollinaire's explanation that "to cube" expressed the conceptual in Cubism:

Ce qui différencie le cubisme de l'ancienne peinture, c'est qu'il n'est pas un art d'imitation, mais un art de conception qui tend à s'élever jusqu'à la création. En représentant la réalité-conçue ou la réalité-crée, le peintre peut donner l'apparence de trois dimensions, peut en quelque sorte cubiquer.⁷⁹

(Salmon, on the contrary, never suggested that the root word "cube" had any real meaning in the word "Cubism.")

After his description of Léger as another interpreter of Cubism, Kahnweiler ended his history with a nodding glance toward two trends

dimensional diversity--the dimension of depth--in contrast to the "playing cards" of Manet, Gauguin, and Matisse, and the plane projections of Seurat. As the silly name "Cubism" accidentally hit upon it: the cubic is stressed by Braque and Picasso. Léger does the same: he is a Cubist.

79. Apollinaire, Méditations esthétiques: Les peintres cubistes, 67; in his articles "Le Cubisme," L'Intermédiaire des chercheurs et des curieux, 10 October 1912, and "Méditations esthétiques," La Vie, 8 February 1913; repr. in Chroniques d'art, 281. In the latter, Apollinaire varied his statement on "cubifying":

"L'aspect géométrique qui a frappé si vivement ceux qui ont vu les premières toiles cubistes venait de ce que la réalité essentielle y était rendue avec une grande pureté et que l'accident visuel et anecdotique en avait été éliminé. En représentant la réalité conçue, le peintre peut donner l'apparence de trois dimensions, peut, en quelque sort, cubiquer."

which utilized the "Formensprache des Kubismus": Futurism and Orphism. Orphism he called "die 'Malerei ohne Gegenstand.'"⁸⁰ In this kind of "painting without an object," Kahnweiler explained that the painter "farbige Formgebilde auf der Leinwand harmonisch komponieren will, ohne irgendwelche Anlehnung an Naturgegenstände."⁸¹ Although Kahnweiler did not mention Orphism by name he had probably heard Apollinaire's sobriquet at the moment he wrote Der Weg zum Kubismus, since it had been officially launched in 1912.⁸²

In closing, Kahnweiler reiterated his belief that Cubism was "ein Stil wächst organisch aus dem Kunstschaffen der Zeit," and that only Picasso and Braque were the true Cubists.⁸³

Although Salmon would probably agree with Kahnweiler's chronology, it is clear that these eyewitnesses did not use the word Cubism with a common meaning. For Salmon, Picasso neither participated in the Cubist movement nor in a Cubist partnership--though he considered his 1906-1908 work his "Cubist" period. Kahnweiler, however, visualized two artists working together on an experiment, with another, Léger,

80. Kahnweiler, Der Weg zum Kubismus, 52 and 54: "Cubist language of forms. . . painting without an object."

81. Ibid., 54: "[The painter] harmoniously composes colored forms on canvas without any dependence on natural objects."

82. On 11 October 1912, Apollinaire gave a lecture entitled "L'Écartèlement du cubisme," in which he first used the word "orphism" (cited in Chroniques d'art, 260 n. 1).

83. Ibid., 55: ". . . a style that grows organically out of the artistic production of its period."

working tangentially. These three artists constituted Kahnweiler's core group of Cubists, while Braque, Gleizes, Metzinger, Le Fauconnier, and Delaunay constituted Salmon's core group in all his references up until 1926.

They also agreed on Cézanne's influence, but not on the significance of that influence in terms of "public" Cubism. Both acknowledged the direct influence on Picasso, but in Salmon's analysis Cézanne did not exert direct influence on all Cubists. For Kahnweiler's part, he declared: "Cézannes großes Verdienst, durch das er der Vater der ganzen neuen Kunst wird, liegt aber gerade in seiner Rückkehr zum Aufbau."⁸⁴ While Salmon insisted: "Et ne fallut-il pas qu'eux-mêmes vinssent pour que s'affirmât dans le respect la loi de Cézanne, ce Cézanne dont aujourd'hui encore tant d'artistes ne copient ou n'interprètent que les tics?"⁸⁵ Therefore, although Salmon observed that Cézanne's paintings inspired the "public" Cubists, his charting of this inheritance includes the "filtering" of Cézanne through two contemporary artists: Picasso and Le Fauconnier. The Salmonian line of inheritance, therefore, meant Cézanne to Picasso to Cubism in the case of Metzinger, or from Cézanne to Le Fauconnier to Cubism in the case of Albert Gleizes. Kahnweiler drew a straight line from Cézanne to Picasso and Braque, who, in turn, interacted with their mutual interpretations of the master of Aix.

84. Ibid., 13: "Cézanne's great contribution which made him the father of the entire new art lies precisely in his return to structure."

85. Salmon, L'Art vivant, 116.

Similarly, both Salmon and Kahnweiler pointed to Les Demoiselles d'Avignon as a turning point in Picasso's career, but since both critics did not agree on Picasso's relationship with Cubism, the significance of this work does not indicate a parity of opinion. In Kahnweiler's version, he singled out Picasso's Les Demoiselles d'Avignon as a decisive moment in Picasso's career, but as a juncture rather than an end of sorts. He considered the work an integration of Picasso's 1906 style with his subsequent "African" style. Kahnweiler also considered the right-hand side (the more "African" side) as an incipient form of Cubism (believing that Cubism came from Picasso's exposure to African art).⁸⁶ However, Kahnweiler insisted that Picasso's initial response to primitive art depended on a familiarity with Gauguin's stylization of primitive art, a European approach, which adopted the general "opaque" geometric shapes in African/Oceanic sculpture.⁸⁷ Kahnweiler believed that at this point Picasso was still trying to reconcile representation with pictorial composition (at the

86. Kahnweiler, Der Weg zum Kubismus, 18-19: "Der Beginn [Les Demoiselles d'Avignon] des Kubismus! Der erste Anlauf. Verzweifelter, himmelstürmendes Ringen mit allen Problemen zugleich." ("The Beginning of Cubism! The first attack. A desperate, titantic struggle with all of the problems at once.") Salmon wrote a similar statement in his article "Picasso," L'Esprit nouveau, no. 1 (October 1920): 64:

. . . ce grand ouvrage Les Demoiselles d'Avignon, un document propre à confondre les imposteurs et leur clientèle d'incrédulés trop crédules; vaste tableau par la suite pris et repris, qui n'a pas encore quitté l'atelier, qui même n'en peut peut-être encore sortir et qui est comme le centre de son oeuvre, le cratère toujours incandescent d'où est sorti le feu de l'art présent.

87. Kahnweiler, Der Weg zum Kubismus, 27-28; Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, Les Sculptures de Picasso (Paris: Les Editions du Chêne, 1948), [8].

same time that Braque carried on his own experiments in the same vein).⁸⁸ After this period, Picasso and Braque worked together to reach the solution known as Cubism.⁸⁹ The breakthrough, according to Kahnweiler, occurred later after Picasso purchased a Wobe mask in the summer of 1912. The mask had two long, protruding cylinders to represent eyes, a wedge to represent the nose, and a parallelepiped to represent the mouth. Through the study of this mask, Picasso and Braque gained a conceptual understanding of primitive art's "abbreviation" of anatomical parts.⁹⁰ These "abbreviations," or "signs," introduced a new visual language and another way of perceiving form. As Kahnweiler wrote: "Les produits de ces arts sont des signes, des emblèmes, et non point un miroir, plus ou moins déformant, du monde extérieur. Cette évidence, reconnue, libère du coup les arts plastiques de toutes les servitudes des styles illusionnistes."⁹¹ Thus, unlike Salmon, Kahnweiler differentiated between two periods in which Picasso studied primitive art: the first time, perceptually, and the second time, conceptually. Salmon, on the other hand, believed that Picasso's initial study of "les images polynésiennes ou dahoméennes" immediately altered his art and

88. Kahnweiler, Der Weg zum Kubismus, 20-21.

89. Ibid., 23.

90. Ibid., 45-46; Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, "L'Art nègre et le cubisme," Présence africaine, no. 3 (Paris-Daar, 1948): 367-377; repr. in Confessions esthétiques, 222-236; trans. into English as "Negro Art and Cubism," Horizon, December 1948, 412-420; Kahnweiler, Les Sculptures de Picasso, [8].

91. Kahnweiler, Les Sculptures de Picasso, [8].

isolated him from the "public" Cubists (who did not incorporate primitivizing into their conceptual vocabularies).⁹² Salmon did not mention whether Picasso gained a better (or different) understanding of *l'art nègre* over time.

Salmon's discussion about Les Demoiselles d'Avignon in his "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme," was augmented in a subsequent article (written seven years later) in which he claimed that Picasso's made a preparatory sketch, a wooden statuette, and a charcoal drawing of Salmon himself, which were altogether at the "base of Cubism" [fig. 39, 40, 41].⁹³ All three works demonstrated that Picasso had not only "meditated on geometry," but also on primitive art.⁹⁴ These works, it seems, led up to "cet instant du Picassisme (le cubisme n'était pas inventé)" that Salmon mentioned in "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme,"⁹⁵ implying that these were the works on view for those who frequented Picasso's studio in 1908.⁹⁶

92. Salmon, La Jeune Peinture française, 43, 46, 51.

93. André Salmon, "La Semaine Artistique," L'Europe nouvelle, 18 January 1919, 139: "Dans le même temps, Picasso exécuta étude préparatoire à une statuette en bois, encore à tailler, un portrait de moi-même, au fusain qui, avec la grande bois en question, est à la base du cubisme."

94. Salmon, La Jeune Peinture française, 46-47.

95. Ibid., 48.

96. Robbins, 11. From 1905-1906, Metzinger was very close to Robert Delaunay. From 21 December 1908 to 15 January 1909, Metzinger exhibited with Picasso, Pascin, Herin, Dufy, Derain, Sonia Delaunay, and Braque at the Galerie Notre-Dame-des-Champs in Paris. In 1909, Metzinger met Gleizes (probably around October during the Salon d'Automne).

Salmon also made it clear that the deformation of the nude was not the only revolutionary aspect of Picasso's experiments, "Des nus naquirent dont la déformation, à laquelle nous étions préparés par Picasso lui-même, par Matisse, Derain, Braque, Van Dongen et d'abord Cézanne et Gauguin, ne surprit guère. C'est la hideur des faces qui glaça d'épouvante les demi-convertis,"⁹⁷ but that it was Les Demoiselles d'Avignon's assault on the senses, its aggressive demeanor, that administered the shock wave that no one was prepared for and no one could absorb adequately. Thus, according to Salmon, Picasso's isolation came about through his unintelligibility, his advanced approach to making forms. Whether it was "Picassisme" or Cubism, his work could not be understood nor appreciated by those who had witnessed its emergence in Les Demoiselles d'Avignon.

To corroborate Salmon's characterization of Picasso's isolation both figuratively and literally, Gleizes recalled that he was surprised to find someone else working in a similar vein when he first saw Picasso's work at an exhibition soon after the 1911 Salon des Indépendants.⁹⁸ This statement seems to clarify Salmon's phrase

97. Salmon, La Jeune Peinture française, 48. Undoubtedly, Salmon is referring to Picasso's Les Demoiselles d'Avignon (1907), Matisse's Blue Nude: Souvenir of Biskra (1907), Derain's Bathers (1907), Braque's Grand Nu (1908), and the general depiction of Van Dongen's work (mainly prostitutes painted, as Salmon said often, as if the artist used their cosmetics in place of his oils), Cézanne's bathers, and Gauguin's Breton and Tahitian types.

98. Daniel Robbins, Albert Gleizes, 1881-1953: A Retrospective Exhibition, (New York: The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, in collaboration with the Musée National d'Art Moderne, Paris, 1964), 17: "Gleizes and Le Fauconnier are supposed to have met Picasso for the

"Picasso avait, lui aussi, 'médité sur la géométrie'" inferring that the pervasive interest in geometry (both inside and outside Picasso's studio) had led to similar experiments.⁹⁹ Also, he was probably thinking of the pervasive interest in Cézanne architectonic paintings, works made up of the proverbial "cylinder, sphere and cube,"¹⁰⁰ which had been "discovered" recently at Vollard's gallery and at the Cézanne retrospective exhibition held at the 1907 Salon d'Automne.¹⁰¹ For most avant-garde artists, exposure to Cézanne's paintings provoked a turning point. Salmon noted that the turning point was evident in Les Demoiselles d'Avignon, but at no time did Salmon intimate that Les Demoiselles d'Avignon influenced the "public" Cubist movement.

It is significant that both critics concentrated on the formal aspects of Les Demoiselles d'Avignon and that these two seminal discussions of the work guided art historians toward formalist analyses for a long time. Even Salmon, who knew that the painting depicted prostitutes in a brothel, did not suggest that the painting had any meaning--in fact, he suppressed that possibility by suggesting

first time when Apollinaire introduced them in a bar, Rue d'Antin, at the moment of the Salon d'Automn in 1911. They accompanied Picasso and Apollinaire to Kahnweiler's gallery to look at Picasso's paintings."

99. Salmon, La Jeune Peinture française, 46.

100. The quote concerning the cylinder, sphere and cube was written by Paul Cézanne in a letter to Émile Bernard, dated 15 April 1904, and published in Bernard's article "Cézanne," L'Occident, July 1904.

101. The Cézanne retrospective is cited as an influential factor for artists of this period in John Golding, Cubism: A History and an Analysis, 1907-1914, 22.

that the painting was totally abstract in concept ("des chiffres blancs au tableau noir"), like mathematics or physics--the artist's reduction of nature to a conceptual equivalent.¹⁰² This formalist description of Picasso's work allowed Salmon to abstain from ascribing meaning to a work of art (as discussed in chapter three). Instead, he attributed significance to the deformation in Les Demoiselles d'Avignon, which hurled into the public arena an entirely new form of expression, a conceptual depiction of nature.

Kahnweiler also referred to "distortion" as part of the Cubist aesthetic. However, he viewed distortion as a product of the memory's recollection of the real object and one step toward the mature phase of Picasso's and Braque's Cubism.¹⁰³ Distortion, then, culminated in the "Formenschema"¹⁰⁴ which Kahnweiler later called "signes" in his book on Picasso's sculpture.¹⁰⁵ These signs replaced literal depictions. The artist then organized these signs into coherent and "rhythmic" configurations subordinate to the total composition. Thus, the artist's utilization of signs (these conceptual rather than perceptual forms) helped determine a reconciliation of representation and structure in the painting. The invention of signs also taught the spectator to see familiar objects anew.¹⁰⁶ Although Kahnweiler did

102. Salmon, La Jeune Peinture française, 43.

103. Kahnweiler, Der Weg zum Kubismus, 29.

104. Ibid., 33.

105. Kahnweiler, Les Sculptures de Picasso, [8].

106. Kahnweiler, Der Weg zum Kubismus, 34.

not say specifically that sign-imagery was "conceptual,"¹⁰⁷ in his selection of Kant's explanation "' . . . verschiedene Vorstellungen zueinander hinzutun, und ihre Mannigfaltigkeit in einer Erkenntnis begreifen,'"¹⁰⁸ he inferred that the forms depicted in Picasso's and Braque's work exemplified the Kantian notion of conceptualization.¹⁰⁹

Kahnweiler's evocation of a Kantian thought testifies to his familiarity with that philosopher's writings. At that time, a basic knowledge of Kant's work helped in the understanding of contemporary German art theory, which incorporated a neo-Kantian interpretation of art into various methodologies. Neo-Kantianism especially strengthened the German Idealist school of thought, espoused by the noted scholars Alois Riegl, Konrad Fiedler, Wilhelm Worringer, and Heinrich Wölfflin.¹¹⁰ As Yve-Alain Bois explained, neo-Kantianism

107. Ibid.

108. Ibid.: "' . . . to combine varied conceptions and perceive its multiplicity in one cognitive instance.'"

109. Forty years later, in 1961, he shifted his terminology and described Cubism as a *Gesaltism*. Kahnweiler, My Galleries and Painters, 56-57.

110. Evidence of Kahnweiler's knowledge of these writers' theories appears in the chapter "Les limites de l'histoire de l'art," in his book Confessions esthétiques, 68-83. In addition, Yve-Alain Bois's "Kahnweiler's Lesson," Representations, no. 18 (Spring 1987): 34-38, and Arnold Gehlen's "D.H. Kahnweilers Kunstphilosophie," in Pour Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, ed. Werner Spies (New York: George Wittenborn, 1965), 92-103, elaborate on Kahnweiler's range and utilization of this knowledge with much more precision. Bois wrote:

He [Kahnweiler] encountered the writings of the formalist critic Konrad Fiedler, so close to Kahnweiler in many respects, as well as those of Fiedler's friend Adolf von Hildebrand, whom Kahnweiler attacked. Through Wilhelm Worringer, he became familiar with the work of Alois Riegl and Heinrich Wölfflin, who offered him concepts that enabled

"authorized the emergence of a formalist criticism."¹¹¹ The German Idealist approach to art history with its emphasis on syntactical analysis¹¹² explored the intrinsic problems of artistic solutions and the inner drive of the artist to produce new visual vocabularies. In Kahnweiler's case, Bois continued, it "provided him with a distinct consciousness of the historical implication of all artistic production."¹¹³ Neo-Kantian Idealism was compatible with other philosophies that Kahnweiler embraced, such as Nietzsche's 'will to power' and *Übermensch* theories. In the case of the latter, Kahnweiler utilized this philosophy to explain the special characteristics of artists Picasso, Braque, and Léger, whom he portrayed as leaders in the visionary Cubist movement. He described their ability to achieve new visual vocabularies that would acclimate the public's eyes to different visual expressions. As Kahnweiler put it: "Ob das kubistisch in die Erscheinung tretende Gemälde ein ästhetisches Gut

him to theorize the historicity of all artistic production. With Carl Einstein's work as mediation, he could analyze his interest in "Negro art," and thus elaborate a general theory of sculpture (Bois, 34).

Bois cited as his source for this information: Werner Spies, "Vendre des tableaux: Donner a lire," Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, marchand, éditeur, écrivain, ex. cat. (Paris: Musée national d'art modern, Centre Georges Pompidou, 1984), 17-44.

111. Bois, "Kahnweiler's Lesson," 34.

112. W. Eugene Kleinbauer, Modern Perspectives in Western Art History: An Anthology of Twentieth-Century Writings on the Visual Arts (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971), 20-22, 124; Mark Roskill, The Interpretation of Cubism (Philadelphia: The Art Alliance Press/London and Toronto: Associated University Press, 1985), 106-107; Bois, 34.

113. Bois, "Kahnweiler's Lesson," 37.

sein wird, ein Gut, dem der ästhetisch eingestellte Beschauer die Wertform 'Schönheit' wird zuteilen müssen, hängt, wie immer, nur davon ab, ob der Maler die Gabe hat, oder nicht."¹¹⁴

Kahnweiler's depiction of these Nietzschean *Übermenschen* also included another contemporary German notion called *Zeitgeist* which Kahnweiler intimated in his statement: "Der Künstler, als Vollstrecker des--unbewußten-- plastischen Wollens der Allgemeinheit, geht stets auf im Zeitstil, der Ausdruck dieses Wollens ist."¹¹⁵ The concept of *Zeitgeist* accepts the notion that the "unbewußten plastischens Wollens der Allgemeinheit" is a given, outside the consciousness of the artist.¹¹⁶ Then the artist, as an individual, submits to his own innate artistic drive and intuition, the "will to create." This drive is called *Kunstwollen*. Through the impetus of *Kunstwollen*, the individual artist or a group of artists realizes the greater aesthetic climate of the period, the *Zeitgeist*. *Kunstwollen* is a concept developed by the German Idealists, above all, Alois Riegl, whose writings Kahnweiler had read.¹¹⁷ Riegl's ideas seem to be a grafting of Kantian notions onto Nietzschean theory in that he highlighted

114. Kahnweiler, Der Weg zum Kubismus, 42: "Whether the picture with the cubist appearance will be an aesthetic achievement, whether the aesthetically inclined viewer will be compelled to assign the word "beautiful" to it depends, as always, whether the painter has genius or not."

115. Ibid.

116. Ibid., 42: "[the] unconscious plastic will of humankind."

117. Spies, 38; Pierre Assouline, L'Homme de l'art: D. H. Kahnweiler, 1884-1979 (Paris: Editions Ballard, 1988), 177. Riegl lived from 1858 to 1905.

those artists who demonstrated the Kantian ideal (self-motivated and self-directed) and then explained their prominence in terms of the Nietzschean *Übermensch* theory (which posits that those who excel necessarily lead and create change). *Kunstwollen* also helped to explain Wilhelm Worringer's theory of psychologically induced art forms.¹¹⁸ As one who directed his own study of philosophy and art, Kahnweiler was especially attracted to the writings of both German art historians' work.¹¹⁹

Riegl's and Worringer's theories exemplified the German turn-of-the-century reaction against the materialist Darwinian theories, in particular, those expounded by the German architect Gottfried Semper (1803-1879), who explained that art's evolution was a function of technical innovation.¹²⁰ To counter this theory, Worringer explained that *Kunstwollen*, not ability, was the factor which determined changes in art from period to period, and that *Kunstwollen* came from the collective spiritual or psychological atmosphere of the location in which the art develops.¹²¹ Thus, the

118. Wilhelm Worringer, Abstraktion und Einfühlung (1907); Formenprobleme der Gotik (1912); Ägyptische Kunst: Probleme ihrer Wertung (1927).

119. Assouline, 177; Liliane Meffre, "Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler et Carl Einstein: les affinités électives," in Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler. marchand, éditeur, écrivain, 86.

120. Kleinbauer, 20-21.

121. Wilhelm Worringer, Form in Gothic, anonymous translation (New York: Schocken, 1957, 1964), 7-11.

belief that art progressed from crude renderings to more illusionistic renderings of nature was contested in his theory.

The inspiration for Worringer's thinking came from the writings of another German Idealist Konrad Fiedler, who argued that art and aesthetics (as the expression of "beauty") were not one in the same.¹²² With this as a given, Fiedler posited that art progressed by virtue of the artists' more sophisticated levels of conceptual thinking, and the manner in which these artists communicated their vision to the viewer. He wrote: "Das Kunstwerk muss an die Stelle der Natur treten, erst dann werden wir aufhören, die Kunst durch die Natur sehen zu wollen; wir werden uns vielmehr der Kunst unterwerfen, damit sie uns die Natur sehen lehre," Kahnweiler then paraphrased Fiedler in his book Confessions esthétiques: "Seul, l'homme qui est un familier de la peinture de son temps voit vraiment, pleinement. . . . chaque génération voit par les yeux de ses artistes."¹²³ Thus, Kahnweiler stretched Fiedler's notion that the artist must remake nature for the viewer's eyes. Employing this notion to present Cubism as a means of seeing nature anew, Kahnweiler wrote in Confessions esthétiques that contemporary avant-garde artists, like Picasso, Braque and Léger, "voyaient le monde tel qu'ils l'ont représenté."¹²⁴

122. Ibid., 8.

123. Gehlen, 94: "Art has to take the place of nature, only then shall we cease to perceive art through nature, instead we shall submit ourselves to art, so that it will teach us to view nature." Gehlen pointed out in his article that Kahnweiler paraphrased Fiedler.

124. Kahnweiler, "Forme et Vision," in Confessions esthétiques, 109.

As a man of broad interests and cosmopolitan tastes, Kahnweiler did not limit his interests to studying German Idealist philosophy. Having moved to Paris in 1907 to open a gallery,¹²⁵ he probably heard of Henri Bergson's enormous popularity and read his books or, at least, learned about his theories through Parisian intellectuals. Undoubtedly, he absorbed some Bergson ideas, evident in this statement in Der Weg zum Kubismus: "Unsere Kenntnis a priori dieser Formen ist die Voraussetzung, ohne die es für uns kein Sehen, keine Körperwelt gäbe."¹²⁶ and "L'oeuvre d'art prend naissance dans une réalité vécue. . . cette réalité se trouve donc conservée, sa durée assurée, autant que la mienne."¹²⁷ References to memory imaging and the *durée* testify to his familiarity with Bergsonian thought and its application to art, which the "public" Cubists Jean Metzinger and Albert Gleizes referred to in their articles and landmark book Du Cubisme, a book Kahnweiler had either read or knew of through his friends.

Kahnweiler's primarily Idealist approach appealed to the contemporary British critics Roger Fry and Clive Bell and, subsequently, to British and American art historians such as Alfred Barr, John Golding, Douglas Cooper, and Robert Rosenblum (in his 1959

125. Kahnweiler, My Galleries and Painters, 19.

126. Kahnweiler, Der Weg zum Kubismus, 40: "Our a priori knowledge of these forms is the precondition, without which there would be no seeing, no corporeal world."

127. Kahnweiler, "Naissance de l'oeuvre d'art," in Confessions esthétiques, 61.

book Cubism and Twentieth-Century Art). Thus, through his impact on these major writers, Kahnweiler's views on Cubism led the way in Cubist studies until the 1960s when Rosenblum broke the codes of the intentional punning in Picasso's collages and Leo Steinberg interpreted Les Femmes d'Alger as a metaphor of sexual penetration to correlate with its brothel setting.¹²⁸ These pioneering analyses introduced iconographic methods to the study of Picasso's proto-Cubist and "Synthetic" Cubist works.

Although Kahnweiler wrote Der Weg zum Kubismus during his exile from France, he gained leverage as an exclusive dealer of "authentic" Cubist works upon his return to France in 1920.¹²⁹ He, too, could consider himself the "discoverer" of Cubism, as did Apollinaire, and ride the crest with their fame.¹³⁰ Therefore, it appears that

128. Robert Rosenblum, "Picasso and the Typography of Cubism," Picasso in Retrospect, eds. Sir Roland Penrose and John Golding (New York: Harper and Row/Icon Edition, 1973), 33-47; rev. from a paper given at the College Art Association convention in Los Angeles on 28 January 1965; Leo Steinberg, "The Philosophical Brothel, Part 1," 20-29; and Part 2, Art News 71, no. 6 (October 1972): 38-47.

129. Kahnweiler, My Galleries and Painters, 52.

130. Daniel Robbins, Jean Metzinger in Retrospect, 9:

The circumstance that led to the identification of five French painters as the Cubists at the 1911 Salon des Indépendants are easily reconstructed. John Golding retrieved and published many of the facts in his 1959 Cubism: A History and an Analysis, 1907-1914, drawing heavily on the Souvenirs of Gleizes, a portion of which had been published in 1957. It is not difficult to understand the reasons why recognition of the roles of four of these five original Cubists -- Delaunay, Le Fauconnier, Gleizes, and Metzinger; that is all but Léger -- dropped out of historical consideration as important factors during those years, beginning in the late 1920's and 1930's, when the standard history and still prevailing interpretation of Cubism was

Kahnweiler's history not only set a trend in art-historical analyses of the Cubist aesthetic, but it also helped to promote his gallery, his artists, and his role as a missionary among Cubist advocates, spreading the word about this superior art, as he wrote:

Hier galt es einig, die Stellung des Kubismus in der Geschichte der Malerei zu zeigen, die Beweggründe darzulegen, die seiner Gründer Antrieb waren.

Das dieser neue Stil sich mehr und mehr der Erscheinung des Gemäldes bemächtigt, daß mehr und mehr Maler "kubistisch" malen, ist bekannt. Diese lyrische Malerei ist der Ausdruck des Geisteslebens unserer Zeit. Die notwendige, folgerichtige Entwicklung wird dazu führen, daß alle wahren Künstler der aufsteigenden Generation ihr angehören werden--im weiteren Sinne.¹³¹

developed. This was in large part the work of Alfred Barr, who based many of his facts and interpretations on the writing and opinion of Daniel-Henri Kahnweiler, the art dealer whose intellectual and commercial identification with Derain, Picasso, Braque, Gris, and Léger was initially more crucial than his desire to demonstrate that the artists whom he represented exclusively were, in fact, true Cubists. This process of wresting the paternity of Cubism from the publicly identified group and locating it among the Kahnweiler group began during the First World War when Kahnweiler, deprived of his gallery as an enemy alien, was living in exile in Switzerland, a refugee welcomed and comforted by one of his best and most sympathetic clients, Herman Rupf of Berne. . . ."

131. Kahnweiler, Der Weg zum Kubismus, 41:

Our mission was to fix the position of Cubism in the history of painting, and to demonstrate the motives which guided its founders. This new style has taken ever greater possession of the appearance of painting; [that] an ever growing number of painters has begun to paint "cubistically" is well-known. This lyric painting is the expression of the intellectual spirit of our time. The necessary, logical result of this will be that all true artists of the coming generation will espouse [Cubism]--in the wider sense.

Though Kahnweiler's writings promoted his business, his observations offered a clear description of Picasso's and Braque's working methods as their Cubism evolved from 1907 to 1912. Indeed, Kahnweiler called attention to the significance of Picasso's summer in Cadaques, the separate efforts of Picasso and Braque after their meeting in 1908, and their collaborative efforts begun in 1910 and carried on until 1912. Surely, one must appreciate that Alfred Barr, John Golding, Pierre Daix, Douglas Cooper, Lynn Gamwell, Robert Rosenblum, Mark Roskill, Yve-Alain Bois, and many other art historians have embraced Kahnweiler's rendition of Cubism's history, because it is the most lucid and logically constructed of all three eyewitness accounts. That it singled out Picasso, Braque, and Léger as the only true Cubists and ignored the "public" Cubists is one of its major shortcomings, for it cleverly persuaded the public into believing that its perspective on the Cubist revolution was the most informed, and thus, the most correct.

* * * * *

Let us consider the common denominators which ally Salmon, Apollinaire, and Kahnweiler in their efforts to support avant-garde art. Their understanding of Cubism differed on several issues, and yet all agreed that the art was a conceptual representation of nature and that this level of creative thinking represented the latest and highest level of intellectual achievement in the arts and Cubism (that

is, the Cubism each writer recognized) constituted a revolution by virtue of its conceptual depiction of nature.

As all three agreed that Cubism was a conceptual manner of painting so too did they agree that it was a reaction against the meticulous, naturalistic style taught at the École des Beaux-Arts and the optically synthetic method invented by the Impressionists. Consciously or unconsciously Hegelian in their subscribing to dialectical relationships, they all explained the advent of Cubism as the working of a "thesis" and an "antithesis." Apollinaire viewed Cubism as a result of new tendencies rebelling against the old traditions. Kahnweiler considered Cubism the "synthesis" developed by Picasso and Braque through their study of Cézanne in reaction to Impressionism. But, Salmon alone awaited the ultimate "synthesis," regarding Cubism as the "antithesis," the "means" and not the "end." Despite the differences in their respective positioning of Cubism in the dialectical equation, all felt confident that Cubism deserved recognition as the new frontier.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, each critic's reaction to Cubism reflected the philosophies espoused by that individual. When Cubism arose to its prominence in the avant-garde community, ideals subscribed to (Unanism, Dramatism, Simultanism, Nominalism) in literary circles were then transferred to characterizations of Cubism, shaping explanations of the movement to conform with these various poetics. Most of these literary movements

depended on philosophical underpinnings inspired by political sympathies, such as anarchism in the case of Salmon's and Apollinaire's criticism. Kahnweiler, a socialist rather than an anarchist,¹³² brought to his criticism a more cosmological outlook, transcending the political overtones of Salmon's and Apollinaire's criticism in an effort to ground art-historical processes in the larger context of the spirit of humankind, the *Zeitgeist*. His views reveal a more deliberate philosophical orientation based on Kant, Nietzsche, and Bergson, whereas Salmon and Apollinaire drew from the same sources selectively, subscribing to the areas which supported their anarchist ideals. Although the proportion of emphasis on politics and philosophy differed for each critic (Apollinaire the most political, Kahnweiler the least, and Salmon a balance of the two), essentially their criticism can be viewed as a synthesis of politics and philosophy whereby a teleological vision of art emerged. Therefore, the differences among these critics derive largely from the divergence in their notions concerning art's goal or destination.

* * * * *

To summarize: Salmon, a nominalist, preferred to focus on the individual's contribution and decipher specific characteristics which separated each artist from another. Thus, he saw Cubism as a constellation of events and efforts derived from conceptual thinking (expressed through deformation) and the classical Latin tradition from

132. Kahnweiler, My Galleries and Painters, 23.

which each Cubist (including Picasso) had sprung. He did not consider Cubism the definitive direction for avant-garde art, because of its seemingly systematic application. Superior art had to transcend doctrines and group efforts.

Apollinaire, a collectivist, described and praised Cubism as a group effort on the part of several artists, which promised to trigger a larger avant-garde movement, a movement he christened "L'Esprit Nouveau." Seeking a messianic collaboration of artistic vision, Apollinaire spoke about Cubism as a general tendency of avant-garde artists, pointing out (as an endorsement) its affinities with his own aesthetics: Dramatism. At once mysterious and uplifting, with the ability to open the public's eyes to new forms and new ideas, Apollinaire believed that Cubism had fulfilled art's duty to serve humankind.

Kahnweiler, finally, believed that the artist's manner of solving formal problems reflected the power of the creative mind. This outlook, which regarded art as self-contained and self-referential, promoted the notion that the Cubist painters invented their visual language based on an inner necessity, the *Kunstwollen*, and from the atmosphere of the times, the *Zeitgeist*. Thus, the expression of the twentieth-century *Zeitgeist* was Cubism: an art about the objecthood of the work of art and its formal solutions. As for the role of the Cubist in society, Kahnweiler did not comment; instead, he seemed to indicate that the movement's exclusivity (having described Cubism as a

select coterie of artists) lifted it out of direct participation in society and onto a higher plane--at once remote and in advance of the common herd as well as responsible for guiding that herd to new insights through art. These insights, it is understood, would be improvements on the last generation's ability to perceive life. Kahnweiler's vision of art, therefore, was evolutionary, like Salmon and Apollinaire, but, unlike Salmon, he thought that Cubism was an end itself, the inevitable and superior solution for his generation's art.

* * * * *

This comparison of the histories of Salmon, Apollinaire, and Kahnweiler has brought to light three different discourses on Cubism and Cubist criticism. In particular, it has emphasized the diversity of meanings ascribed to the critical term "Cubism. This examination of these critics' interpretations has attempted to provide a better understanding of the aesthetic concepts promoted by each critic and to highlight the significance of the diversity of thinking among artists and critics engaged in the Cubist movement. Drawn from a variety of sources--either actively or passively--these numerous "ideological discourses," as David Cottington put it,¹³³ reflect the complexity of the era in which the Cubist movement was conceived--above all, the

133. David Cottington, "What the Papers Say: Politics and Ideology in Picasso's Collages of 1912," Art Journal 47, no. 4 (Winter 1988): 358: "if our understanding of Cubism is to get beyond the subjectivism not only of formalist readings but also of idealist contextualizing we must uncover its material determinants, its ideological discourses."

factions and polarizations within the Parisian intellectual community which arose before, during, and after World War I.

Therefore, this study posits a more holistic approach to Cubism, wherein the acceptance of conflicting information can bring about new insights. Here, for example, rather than selecting one critic's history as definitive, let us consider some features which seem to have merit from each history. In Salmon's history, his separation of Picasso from the other Cubists helps to clarify Picasso's aesthetic criteria in relation to other artists and determine that Picasso's experimentation with conceptual forms and simultaneity was an ongoing presence in his work.¹³⁴ In Apollinaire's history, the characterization of the cohesive effort among the Cubists Metzinger, Gleizes, Delaunay, Léger, et al. brings to the fore the thrust behind the international Cubist movement. Apollinaire recognized early on the wide-spread permutations of the Cubist vocabulary and accepted these interpretations as part of the internationalization of the Cubist style. Kahnweiler's history is still valuable in terms of its chronology of Picasso's and Braque's collaboration. It reminds us that Picasso and Braque worked together to create a complex and mysterious aesthetic, but his positioning of Picasso and Braque at the center may be superseded in the future, as we begin to re-examine the history of Cubism "from all sides at once."

 134. Leo Steinberg, "The Algerian Women and Picasso At Large," in Other Criteria: Confrontations with Twentieth-Century Art (London, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1972, 1975, 1979): 144-149.

Chapter VI - Conclusion

Que reste-t-il donc au poète dans ce monde plein d'objets et d'événements étranges, mais privé des références et de significations? Il ne lui reste plus que son langage et son cœur, il ne lui reste plus qu'à transformer son langage en valeur et à s'en servir pour inoculer au monde les émotions de son cœur et pour, réciproquement, utiliser le monde afin de pouvoir exprimer son cœur. André Salmon . . . appelle cela une "poésie nominaliste" et lui donne comme fonction de "restituer l'émotion à l'impersonnel."¹

Salmon's views on avant-garde art were largely based on his nominalist orientation, a philosophy inspired by individualist anarchism. This nominalist sensibility caused Salmon's emphasis on individualism in the arts and the importance of the parts as well as the whole, be it events, artistic personalities, or specific works of art. This meditation on the value of individualism, guided by familiarity with philosophers William of Ockham, Nietzsche, and Bergson, and anarchists Max Stirner and Mécislas Golberg, influenced all Salmon's criticism, resulting in his unconditional acceptance of the maverick Picasso and his ambivalent acceptance of the more group-oriented, "public" Cubists.

To responsibly utilize Salmon's criticism, one must first come to terms with his preference for strident individuals and his appreciation of Picasso as an embodiment of his ideal. Though such an outlook limited Salmon's acceptance of group trends, such as "public" Cubism, Futurism, and Orphism, it inspired Salmon to write several

1. Henri Lemaître, L'Aventure littéraire du XXe siècle: première époque, 1890-1930, (Paris: Pierre Bordas, 1984), 412.

intimate accounts that (although flawed) provide invaluable records about Picasso's early career in Paris. Thus, Salmon can be credited as one of the principal architects of Picasso's public persona, along with Guillaume Apollinaire, Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, Maurice Raynal, and Jean Cocteau. (An example of Salmon's image of Picasso is evident in a caricature printed in the magazine L'Art vivant, January 15, 1925, where the titanic artist sits at his easel painting while slightly smaller men peer through periscopes to spy on what he is doing [fig. 42].) Unfortunately, Salmon's lack of enthusiasm for Braque, Gris, and the "public" Cubists undermined the quality of his commentaries on these artists, leaving behind a less reliable body of work on Cubism in general.²

Salmon's attraction to Picasso and other rugged individualists dominated his art criticism, inspiring him to write scores of essays on independent French artists such as Derain, Redon, and Henri Rousseau, as well as emigré artists such as Kisling, Pascin, Modigliani, Jacques Lipchitz, and Chana Orloff. He was especially

 2. Jean-Paul Crespelle, La Vie quotidienne à Montparnasse à la Grande Époque 1905-1930 (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1976), 45: "il [Salmon] fabulait dans le sensationnel, n'hésitant pas à déformer des faits dont il avait été le témoin et l'acteur pour obtenir un effet digne des manchettes des journaux. La somme de ses inventions fait de lui le plus authentique faux témoin de son temps." Crespelle's examples of Salmon "inventions" include his statement that Modigliani's brother attended Modigliani's funeral (he did not) and that Berthe Weill's address was rue Lafitte, when it was actually rue Taitbout. These examples seem pale as evidence that Salmon fabricated for the sake of a good story. However, Crespelle's remark cannot be ignored. Depending solely on Salmon's recollections is not always the best course to follow. This study has stressed Salmon's opinions, rather than his testimonies, and in this regard, Salmon is quite consistent.

drawn to exotic types: the foreign, the unusual, and the extraordinary. This predilection for the non-standard laid at the very foundation of Salmon's critical personality, shaping his judgment, and directing his attention to the artist himself or herself, rather than on the art at hand.

Salmon's interest in the individual, more than in the art, resulted in Salmon's characteristic anecdotal style, a device that allowed him to write in a self-aware manner, incorporating his understanding of Bergson's notion of relative perception. Thus, through the anecdotal, Salmon skirted definitive interpretations and offered, instead, personal observations passed off as journalistic information on the artist's influences, methods, and tastes. This was the framework which Salmon embellished with his opinions. The task of this study was to examine this framework in order to identify the nature of his critical prejudices.

Because Salmon's commentaries on Cubism are his best known and most often cited critiques, this study focused on only that aspect of his prolific oeuvre as an art critic, comparing his thoughts on Cubism to those of his fellow critics Apollinaire and Kahnweiler, who also drew upon eyewitness experiences to explain the Cubist phenomenon. Salmon's version of the history of Cubism, however, does not correspond to that of his fellow critics--he did not view Cubism as a Picasso/Braque-centered enterprise (as did Kahnweiler) nor as a pervasive European trend (as did Apollinaire)--rather, Salmon

considered Cubism as a movement among many contemporary movements that had not achieved the superior level evident in Picasso's work alone. This *leitmotiv* in Salmon's commentaries has never been firmly established heretofore; thus, over the years misinterpretations of his criticism have suppressed the uniqueness and significance of his vision.

Salmon's views on Cubism are seminal assessments of the movement--assessments made before the movement became an international style practiced throughout Europe. That Salmon explained Cubism as a constellation of various stages, participants, efforts, and events supports recent revisionist scholarship offered by Daniel Robbins, Ann Murray, Christopher Green, and David Cottington. These art historians agree that Cubism developed alongside of Picasso in several quarters, evidenced by the work of independent Cubist innovators Albert Gleizes and Henri Le Fauconnier. Salmon, in his "Histoire anecdotique du cubisme" written in 1912, was the first to record this interaction of these various personalities, but his story was superseded by the bravura of Apollinaire's Méditations esthétiques: Les peintres cubistes and the lucidity of Kahnweiler's Der Weg zum Kubismus.

In the comparison of Salmon's, Apollinaire's, and Kahnweiler's histories presented here in chapter five, it has been posited that each critic perceived Cubism from a teleological vantage point, based upon a belief that Cubism did or did not push avant-garde art in a positive direction. Apollinaire and Kahnweiler always maintained a

note of enthusiasm for what they considered Cubism, while Salmon, who placed Picasso outside of the movement, regarded Cubism cautiously. That Apollinaire, Kahnweiler, and Salmon did not agree on the promise of Cubism would be an incorrect interpretation of their criticism. Rather, it seems that Salmon and Kahnweiler agreed that Picasso was the leading artist of his day (along with Braque in Kahnweiler's estimation), while Apollinaire had shifted his confidence to Delaunay's Orphism, which seemed to this critic to be *la peinture pure*, the logical step forward from Cubism and yet still representative of the general Cubist movement. That Salmon, Kahnweiler, and Apollinaire interpreted some aspects of the Cubist revolution similarly and others differently provides sufficient grounds to revise our notions concerning the so-called "Cubist critics" and question the validity of centering Cubist studies on either Picasso and Braque, "public" Cubism, or Apollinaire's pan-Cubism. In this regard, the study of Salmon's views on Cubism can be seen as a therapeutic process which can bring about changes in our current understanding of Cubism.

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As the years went by and Cubism lost its radical edge, Salmon became primarily allied with the artists in the École de Paris. His favorites, Derain, Kisling, Pascin, and Chana Orloff,³ were

3. Beth S. Gersh, "André Salmon and the Artists of Montparnasse," a paper presented at the Jewish Museum, 3 December 1985, at a symposium organized in conjunction with the exhibition The Circle of

highlighted along with the "old masters" in his regular art columns that appeared until 1935.⁴ He seemed to lose touch with the avant-garde and live in the past, evidenced by the many memoirs and anecdotal histories he produced during the last twenty years of his life.

Salmon's latter-day penchant for nostalgia resulted in an art criticism punctuated with repetitious stories about the artists of Montmartre and Montparnasse. These repetitions can be appreciated as the proof of his consistent voice that centered its concerns on the condition of art: its need for individualism, humanism, and disciplined artistic freedom.

In conclusion, it is hoped that this study will revitalize Salmon's reputation as a valuable source for research on early twentieth-century French avant-garde art and foster a well-deserved respect for his peculiar view of Cubism. For through a positive consideration of his Cubist criticism, new insights and new perspectives on this era may develop in the future.

Montparnasse; Jewish Artists in Paris, 1905-1945 (22 October 1985-2 February 1986).

4. André Salmon published his last biweekly column on the arts in La Revue de France, 15 June 1935. He then wrote on the arts for Le Petit Parisien during World War II, signing his name John de Chrome; cited in the bibliography compiled by Jacqueline and Jacques Gojard, André Salmon, no. 9 Quaderni del Novecento Francese 9, (Rome: Bulzoni; Paris: Nizet, 1987), 237.

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