

Vitalist Picasso

Bergson's "Psychic States",
Phantasmatic Luminescence and Occultist Cubism

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*There is no work of art that does not indicate an opening for life, a path beneath
the cracks. Everything I have written is vitalist, at least I hope it is. – Gilles Deleuze¹*

Spurred on by the vital force to experience states of 'becoming simian' and 'becoming tribal', Pablo Picasso may be regarded as a perpetual vitalist from the time he started living in Paris.² Yet the vitalisms he engaged constantly shifted, as is revealed by those he pursued during the different phases of his Cubisms. During his Analytical Cubism, Picasso had begun to explore the dissolution of matter and invisible realities conveyed by the new sciences of electromagnetic rays, x-rays, radioactivity and non-Euclidean geometry. Following Wilhelm Röntgen's discovery of invisible rays, Picasso seems to have recognized, following Linda Dalrymple Henderson's observation, "the inadequacy of human sense perception and raised fundamental questions about the nature of matter itself."³ By his Hermetic phase of Cubism, Picasso appears to have abandoned any confinement of the human body to a contour with a wholesome surface and a clear distinction between its interior and exterior, let alone a distinct separation from the world it inhabits. Instead, Picasso seems to have reconceived its unconstrained phenomenology

as surmized by Gilles Deleuze: “As there is no surface, the inside and outside, the contained and the uncontained no longer have a precise limit”.⁴ The phenomenological ramifications of this reconception are captured by Akira Mizuta Lippit:

No longer inside nor out, within nor without, body and world form a heterogeneous one (a one that is not one but together, side-by-side, a series of contiguous planes and surfaces, plateaus). You are in the world, the world is in you.⁵

Amidst laicization of the Radical Republic, the imposition of standardized time and the introduction of Taylorism, Picasso’s Hermetic Cubism became associated with *Bergsonisme*,⁶ inscribed as *Anarchiste*,⁷ aligned with Néo-Mallarméan evocation and referred to by the Neo-Symbolist journal, *La Phalange*, as “*l’Art négatif*”,⁸ and “*Le Mysticism Contemporain*”.⁹ In the literary newspaper, *Gil Blas*, it was identified as the product of “*une secte mystérieuse*”.¹⁰ It became construed as, according to André Salmon, “*les marques de l’occulte, du symbole ou de la mystique.*”¹¹ These correlations arose during the vibrant discursive network ignited by Picasso’s close relationships with Max Jacob, Guillaume Apollinaire and Salmon.

From the moment Picasso moved in with Jacob in 1901, he was exposed to Camille Flammarion’s paranormal phenomena plus Dr Gustave Geley’s *L’Être subconscient* and “*dynamo-psychism*”, mentioned by Serena Keshavjee in Chapter Four. He was also exposed to Bergsonism, Mallarméism, magnetism, mediumism, mysticism, spiritism and occultism, as well as astrology, fortune-telling, magic, palmistry, the Tarot, opium nights and neo-symbolist poetics, as Fernande Olivier vividly recalls:

Ce fut l’époque ou Max Jacob se vit menace d’acquérir une célébrité spéciale. Cartomancien, astrologue, chiromancien, voyant. Nouvelle fantaisie! Se prenait-il au sérieux? Était-il sincère? Pour ma part je n’ai jamais pu évaluer la part de sincérité de

*Max. Enfin cela fut un nouvel amusement. La superstition s'en mela. On le consultait sur tout.*¹²

By no means did this abate with the rapid growth from 1905 of what Peter Read calls Picasso and Apollinaire's "fraternal complicity" and development of their "interdisciplinary laboratory".¹³ Once joined by Salmon later that year, they formed "*la bande à Picasso*".¹⁴ So often did these writers gather at Picasso's that Salmon vividly recalled the sign Picasso drew over his studio door: *Le rendez-vous des Poètes*.¹⁵ Their fervent interdiscursivity intensified with the Bergsonism they explored alongside the Neo-Symbolist journals they read and to which they contributed: *La Phalange*, *Les Marges*, *Le Mercure de France*, *L'Occident*, *La Plume* and *Vers et Prose*.

Following their engagement with Bergson's *Time and Free Will*, *Matter and Memory* and *Creative Evolution*, by late 1909 their interdiscursivity entailed an exploration of Bergson's "*l'élan vital*", particularly intuition, sensory memory, empathy, "felt time" and the "turn of experience" in relation to Bergson's concepts of "psychic states", "sensory memory" and "becoming".¹⁶ Simultaneously their explorations encompassed "*la force vitale*", particularly some of the revelations of magnetism, occultism and spiritism. This entailed investigation of mediumistic visions, spectres and the ghosts of their friend, Henri 'le douanier' Rousseau. "Everyone who knew Rousseau remembers his liking for ghosts", recalled Guillaume Apollinaire, "teasing him, thumbing their nose at him and breaking wind in a way so foul that it made the functionary feel quite ill."¹⁷ Their investigations also appeared to entail the ways "a completely invisible emanation could manifest its presence on a photographic plate",¹⁸ as exposed by the phantasmatic photography of Hector Durville and Albert de Rochas, as well as Hippolyte Baraduc's *psychicones*. Through this network of mediation, "*la bande à Picasso*" was also exposed to the occultist research unleashed by Gerard Encause, "Papus", his

Kabbalistic Order of the Rose-Croix and its Librairie du Merveilleux with its monthly review, *L'Initiation*. This included Papus' books on occultism, magic and illustrated journals, as well as those he edited with stage magnetist, Donato: *Almanach de la Chance* and *La Vie Mystérieuse*. Launched in January 1909, the first issue of *La Vie Mystérieuse* entitled "Les Tables parlants" was followed by vividly illustrated articles on *Magnétisme*, *Cartomancie*, *Spiritisme*, as well as poltergeists, psychism, séances, spiritism and telepathy. Its November 1911 issue, "Le Mediumnisme et l'Art", was illustrated by Rousseau's paintings. *La bande à Picasso* was also aware of the Société Magnétique de France founded by Hector and Henri Durville, their *Journal du magnétisme et psychisme experimental* and their publishing house, *Librairie du magnétisme*, with treatises illuminating "la force psychique", phantasmatic doubles and magnetism as an "agent lumineux": A luminous force.¹⁹ With Baraduc and Madame Blavatsky founding members, the Société Magnétique was aligned with Parapsychology and Theosophy, while Durville drew upon the theosophical treatises of Annie Besant in translation from 1896.

To unravel the relationship of Picasso's Vitalism to *la force vitale* and Bergson's *l'élan vital*, his Hermetic Cubism shall be explored from three multidimensional perspectives. To navigate the rupture with positivist empiricism and scientific realism represented by Cubism and its relationship to *l'élan vital*, Picasso's durational portrait of Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler shall be initially compared with Léon Bonnat's *Portrait of the President of France, Armand Fallières*. After contextualizing these portraits within world standard time, Taylorism and the ergonomic reconception of the body as "*le moteur humain*", their differences shall be examined within a new psychology of time, Bergson's concept of psychic states, sensory memory and becoming. In the second part, Kahnweiler's portrait shall be rescrutinized through the lens of spiritist photography of *la force vitale* and *le corps vitale fluidique* captured by Baraduc, as well as the magnetist photography of phantoms and uncanny luminescence captured by Durville and

Rochas, particularly in relation to its auratic luminosity and dissolution of the body in space. In the final part, the fusion of *l'élan vital* and *la force vitale* shall be explored through the conjunctions of Bergsonism with hermeticism, mysticism and occultism in Picasso's illustrations for Jacob's semi-autobiographical prose-poems, *Saint Matorel* and *Le Siège de Jérusalem*, to illuminate how they manifest Occultist Cubism.

World Standard Time, A New Psychology of Time and Psychic States: Picasso, Bonnat and Bergson's *L'Élan Vitale*

In 1884 when representatives of 25 countries at the Prime Meridian Conference in Washington proposed that the earth be divided into 24 time zones one hour apart and Greenwich be established as zero meridian uniform time was established worldwide.²⁰ Five years later, Bergson's *Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience* was published.²¹ There he questioned whether the experience and memory of sensations, feelings and passion within the continual flow of "psychic states" that create inner life could be quantified within standardized time and measured in terms of units that impersonally regulate capitalist societies. Undeterred, President Raymond Poincaré hosted the *International Conference on Time* in Paris in 1912 to establish a uniform method of maintaining accurate time signals and transmitting them world-wide. At 10 a.m. on 1 July 1913, when the Eiffel Tower sent the first time-signal to be transmitted world-wide, World Standard Time became, as Stephen Kern observes, "the most momentous development in the history of uniform public time since the invention of the mechanical clock in the fourteenth century."²² Immediately corporations and institutions adopted it to monitor workers, rank students, gauge productivity, accelerate performance, enhance competition and increase profits. It became integral to implementation of Taylorism in

France and the development of ergonometry in which the body was reconceived as “*le moteur humain*”.²³

This standardization of time was, according to Josef Conrad, “authoritarian time” in which temporal precision became an obsession.²⁴ The ability to monitor work facilitated by the clock was blamed for dramatic increases in nervous breakdowns and what American neurologist, George Beard, termed neurasthenia: “New American nervousness”.²⁵ In France it seemed manifest by increasing numbers of male and female patients admitted to Salpêtrière, Bicêtre and La Charité suffering nervous breakdowns, manic depression and hysteria from disastrous working and living conditions.²⁶ For Bergson’s close friend, the French psychologist, Pierre Janet, a new psychology of time was required, which was endorsed by Bergson. Drawing upon neurology, psychology and metaphysics, Bergson pointed out that the intensity of sensations, feelings and passions could not be monitored through standardized measurements of time, let alone conceived in a mathematically measured instant as a point in time. Since standardized time disrupted the secure feeling of an affective and indivisible continuity emanating from what Bergson called “the complex symphony” of pleasurable and painful experiences played out in memories – in which past and present seemed synchronized with intuitions of future time – he envisaged that it could lead to a traumatizing fragmentation of the psyche.²⁷

In *Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience*, Bergson argued that while the positivist, mechanistic and scientific conception of time may facilitate regulation of the political economy, the very idea of an homogenous and measurable time was artificial. It was antithetical to the inner ‘felt’ experience of time realized in memories of time past intermingled with the intensity of sensations during contemporary time and intuitive anticipation of future time, as he explained in *Time and Free Will*:

It is usually admitted that states of consciousness, sensations, feelings, passions, efforts, are capable of growth and diminution. We are even told that a sensation can be said to be twice, thrice, four times as intense as another sensation of the same kind. ... Sometimes the feeling which is suggested scarcely makes a break in the compact texture of psychic phenomena of which our history consists; sometimes it draws our attention from them, but not so that they become lost to sight; sometimes, finally, it puts itself in their place, engrosses us and completely monopolizes our soul.²⁸

Since the felt experience of time arises particularly from empathy with every state of the object or subject felt intuitively, what Bergson theorized was an empathic form of consciousness reconceptualising experience. As he explained: “We call intuition here the sympathy by which one is transported into the interior of an object in order to coincide with what there is unique and consequently inexpressible in it.”²⁹

Intuition and empathy were then able to lead to what Bergson called “the very inwardness of life”.³⁰ In this case, Bergson’s theory of “psychic states” entailed an empathic identity with persons and objects, especially artworks, through the psychological experience of time as duration, with fluctuating sensations that may, he considered, “engross us and completely monopolize our soul”.³¹ To explain how this happens, he added: “There are thus distinct phases in the progress of an aesthetic feeling, as in the state of hypnosis. ... the psychic states whose intensity we have just defined are deep-seated states”.³² Bergson then explained how these “deep-seated states” were able to change perception:

But little by little it permeates a larger number of psychic elements, tinging them, so to speak, with its own colour; and lo! Your outlook on the whole of your surroundings

seems now to have changed radically. How do you become aware of a deep passion, once it has taken hold of you, if not by perceiving that the same objects no longer impress you in the same manner? All your sensations and all your ideas seem to brighten up; it is like childhood again. We experience something of the kind in certain dreams”³³

As Gilles Deleuze highlighted from his readings of Bergson, in the realms of matter and space where life is liberated from organic barriers, divisions between persons and things may dissolve. As thresholds disappear, human subjects may be conceived in constant states of becoming. These are relative states of deterritorialization without boundaries, entailing a multiplicity of movement and interpenetrating positions in space over a duration of time. “Matter or mind/spirit, reality has appeared to us as a perpetual becoming”, Bergson explained. “This is the non-organic life which grips the world.”³⁴ Becoming is, as he elaborated, “the substantial state of being always on the verge of transforming itself”. It is, Deleuze concluded as if reiterating Bergson, “the powerful inorganic life that grips the world.”³⁵ How this happens may be illuminated by Picasso’s *Portrait of Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler* (Fig. 5.1).

INSERT FIGURES 5.1 AND 5.2 IN COLOUR SIDE-BY-SIDE HERE

In Chapter Two, as Pat Berman identifies, Munch’s bodies are boundaryless, in the process of becoming. Their slippery contours move in and out of the surrounding space to signify their imbrication within a creative energy or vitalist force in terms of Bergson’s concept of *L’élan vital*. The same may be said of Picasso’s dissolution of boundaries between persons and things in his Hermetic Cubist paintings and the disintegration of their solidity into

interpenetrating fragments, captured over time, from multiple perspectives. This is illuminated by Picasso's portrait of Kahnweiler (Fig. 5.1) and the challenges its reconceptions of the body posed to ergonomics, Taylorism, Hippolyte Taine's scientific exactitude and the scientific rationalism of Ernest Renan's *L'Avenir de la Science*.³⁶ It also posed a challenge, as Mark Antliff argues, to the Cartesian rationalism exalted by Charles Maurras.³⁷ These rationalisms were seemingly epitomized by portraits painted by the most commissioned and acquired of all artists in the Radical Republic, Léon Bonnat, caricatured by *L'Assiette au beurre* as "L'Artiste Officiel".³⁸ They were even evident in the impressionistic portrait of Bergson painted by the Parisian society painter, Jacques-Émile Blanche. (Fig. 5.3)

INSERT FIG. 5.3 IN COLOUR

From the time he exhibited his portrait of the first President of the Third Republic, Adolphe Thiers, at the 1877 Salon, Bonnat had become, according to the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, "the painter-laureate with the right to paint all the celebrities of the world, in politics, art, science and letters." Not without a touch of irony it surmised: "Everyone illustrious, as much in foreign countries as in France, was painted by Bonnat."³⁹ Drawing upon the sophisticated portraiture and spontaneous brush-marks of John Singer Sargent, Blanche was more concerned with capturing fashionable society and celebrities ranging from Comte Robert de Montesquiou and the Duchess of Rutland to Aubrey Beardsley, Charles Condor, Claude Debussy, Henry James, Vaclav Nijinsky, Anna de Noailles and Marcel Proust – the cousin of Bergson's wife. Such a celebrity had Bergson become, as indicated in the *Introduction* to the present volume, that Blanche insisted upon adding him to his retinue of celebrity portraits. During the painting of his portrait, Bergson had even asked Blanche about Cubism.⁴⁰ Yet far from this portrait

arising from any interest in Bergson's philosophy or indeed Cubism, it seemed to pertain more to Blanche's status, his "sole ambition" being, according to Proust, "a much sought-after man of the world".⁴¹ While Blanche was a founding exhibitor at the Salon National des Beaux-Arts, Bonnat was Honorary President of the Salon des Artistes Français and more concerned with scientific rationalism and empirical exactitude in art arising from direct visual observation.⁴² This is demonstrated by Bonnat's portrayal of the sixty-six-year-old President of the French Republic, Armand Fallières (Fig. 5.2), popularly known as « le père Fallières », father of the nation, painted four years before Blanche's portrait of Bergson and three years before Picasso's portrait of his twenty-six-year old German-born, Paris-based art dealer (Fig. 5.1).

A Senator with staunch allegiances to the *Gauche démocratique* who became President of the Senate from 1899 until 1906, Fallières remained in power as President of the Republic until 1913, supported by a union of left-wing parties. Three months after his election to the Presidency in 1906, his portrait was commissioned from Bonnat by l'État des Beaux-Arts for 10,000 francs.⁴³ An avant-garde outsider of 'official' art, reliant upon his dealers, Picasso created a strategic series of portraits of his art dealers and collectors, the last of which was his portrait of Kahnweiler. The first was one of Picasso's earliest collectors, Wilhelm Uhde. Uhde had opened his own gallery on rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs by 1908 with a small exhibition of Picasso's artwork followed by Picasso's Cubist portrait of him in Autumn 1909.⁴⁴ Simultaneously Picasso began producing similar portraits of his two other Paris-based art dealers, Clovis Sagot and Ambroise Vollard. The first art dealer in Paris to exhibit as many as 65 of Picasso's artworks in 1901 at his rue Lafitte gallery, Vollard had consistently bought large numbers of Picasso's paintings from 1906 and had continually advanced him generous sums.⁴⁵ As Gary Tinterow surmizes, "Vollard remained Picasso's most loyal – and most prestigious – dealer, even if prices continued to be low."⁴⁶ Hence Picasso's series of dealer portraits seems to

have been planned as leverage. Even though Picasso regarded somewhat immodestly his “Cubist Portrait” of Vollard “as the best one” of all those done of this avant-garde art dealer – by “almost everybody” as Picasso put it, including Pierre Bonnard, Paul Cézanne, Auguste Renoir and Félix Vallotton – ultimately it failed to curry favour.⁴⁷ Even though Vollard hastily mounted a large solo retrospective exhibition of Picasso’s artwork after it in December 1910, he never offered Picasso the security of a contract.⁴⁸

Despite Picasso not signing an exclusive three-year contract with Kahnweiler until 18 December 1912, his portrait may have been instrumental in securing it, as well as other deals. Given Picasso’s outright rejection of the Paris salon exhibition system, his portrait may have been instrumental to their agreement to exhibit Picasso’s Cubist paintings continually at the Galerie Kahnweiler.⁴⁹ It may have proven instrumental to the contracts Kahnweiler was negotiating with his European network of art dealers for their exhibition and sale of Picasso’s artwork.⁵⁰ It may have also proven instrumental to the contracts that Kahnweiler had begun negotiating with poets, composers and his artists for the publication of collaborative cross-disciplinary *livres d’artistes*, as elaborated in the third part of this chapter. Serendipitously, as Picasso would have been aware, Kahnweiler had visited Jacob to negotiate one of these contracts the day after the poet had experienced his apparition of Jesus on 22 September 1909. It was then that Kahnweiler had reportedly asked Jacob:

“Je voudrais éditer les livres illustrés par mes peintres. Apollinaire sera le premier, Derain illustrera l’Enchanteur Pourissant. As-tu quelque chose?”⁵¹

In light of these strategic motivations, as well as the aspiration to create a Bergsonian spatio-temporal reconception of Kahnweiler’s “psychic state” over “felt time”, Picasso’s portrait differed substantially from that of the President of France by Bonnat.

Focusing his portrait upon three-quarters of Fallières' body, Bonnat pictured Fallières seated and facing the beholder in a conventional anatomo-chronological scheme. Despite Fallières' august position, Bonnat portrays him with no signifier of ostentation or luxury to break his sombre attire, save for the crimson insignia glowing from his button-hole signifying his distinction as *Grand maître de la Légion d'honneur*. Painting him from direct observation and the same stationary position, as signified by the photograph of Bonnat perched on a four-legged wooden stool directly in front of the portrait holding his palette (Fig. 5.4), Fallières is rendered from a single perspectival vanishing point. As the singular light source travelling from the left-hand side of his body illuminates Fallières' physiology, the three-dimensional mass and solidity of the President's head and body seems to loom out of the darkness. Although rendered over some twenty sittings, due to these pictorial strategies, Bonnat's portrait appears as if Fallières were captured at a single moment in time and from the same position in space. Even though Blanche's portrayal of Bergson in oil paint appears Impressionistic (Fig. 5.3), his treatment of space and time is no different. Arising from some thirty visits made by Kahnweiler to Picasso's studio from mid-September 1910, Picasso's portrait appears almost the opposite.⁵² Even though Kahnweiler was photographed sitting on a settee in Picasso's studio (Fig. 5.5), unlike Bonnat's location of himself in front of his portrait for the camera (Fig. 5.4), Picasso is not in the photograph. He is the photographer who took this photograph.

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Unlike Bonnat and Blanche, Picasso did not render Kahnweiler's portrait from life, in the same stationary position with a single light source, let alone from direct observation of his art dealer sitting in the same position every time they met. Instead, his portrait appears to have been captured from Maurice Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological concept of embodied

perception, drawn from Bergson – before affective consciousness becomes measured, analysed and rationalized as in Bonnat’s and Blanche’s portrait.⁵³ This affective state entailed Picasso drawing upon his intuition and sensory memory of Kahnweiler during his mobile interactions with him from different spatial perspectives over time and facilitated by his transformation of form into multidimensional interpenetrating facets. As Bergson pointed out, “there is no perception which is not full of memories.”⁵⁴ To elaborate this point in relation to image memory, Bergson added: “Perception is never a mere contact of the mind with the object present; it is impregnated with memory-images which complete it as they interpret it.”⁵⁵ From their first meeting late in 1907 at Kahnweiler’s Madeleine Art Gallery, arranged through their mutual friend, Uhde, Picasso’s memory images of Kahnweiler would have accumulated and, following Bergson’s analogy, ‘melted’ into one another to form his durational being.

By Autumn 1910, Picasso and Kahnweiler had become close friends, as their correspondence reveals. In meeting and embracing almost daily, unlike Bonnat’s more formalised contact with the President of France, Picasso would have accumulated in his memory many sensory images of this friend for his portrait. While the mass and solidity of Fallières’ entire head and body are conveyed through finely gradated tonal modelling, rendered from the darkest dark to the lightest parts from what seems like a singular moment in the same space, Picasso has disregarded Kahnweiler’s three dimensionality. Only fragments of Kahnweiler’s head and body appear to be recalled from different perspectives over many moments and in the various spaces where he and Picasso would embrace, touch, chat, joke, laugh, listen to one another while tasting and smelling coffee, rolling tobacco, inhaling, exhaling and smelling cigarette smoke and absorbing their body odours when closely interacting with one another. Only fragments recalled in Picasso’s sensory memory are rendered as indexical signifiers. These include the five wavy strands of Kahnweiler’s dark hair as remembered through sight, smell and touch, juxtaposed with the straight shaft of his nasal bone

and the rectangular plane of light stretching from his left ear to his chin. In contrast to Bonnat's clear rendering of Fallières' crisp white shirt front and white spotted navy cravat, and Blanche's loose rendering of Bergson's white neck collar and shirt amidst his purple professorial cravat, the whereabouts of Kahnweiler's stiff white collar is imprecise. A corner of it may be hinted at by the white angles above what could be the knot of his tie, above what could be shirt pleats, and well above what could be an indexical signifier of his fob-watch chain looping across his suit coat. Further down the canvas where Kahnweiler's lap might be appears an indexical sign of Kahnweiler's clasped hands. Yet unlike Bonnat's rendering of the metacarpal bones and phalanges by the ligaments, arteries and veins throbbing within Fallières' hands, as well as the growth and patina of the President's nails, Picasso provides no comparable indication of Kahnweiler's anatomy. Following Deleuze's extrapolation from Bergson, Picasso appears to have captured his art-dealer as a body without organs.⁵⁶

Slightly displaced from the centre of Kahnweiler's portrait, in the space far left of his photograph (Fig. 5.5), Penrose had discerned a pair of wooden statues from New Caledonia that Picasso had acquired two years earlier, with the head appearing to face towards Kahnweiler.⁵⁷ Yet as these fragments seem to be viewed from different perspectives in space, it seems as if Picasso has rendered his memories of Kahnweiler's "psychic states" from his interaction with Kahnweiler's "whole personality" over time. As Albert Gleizes pointed out in *Du Cubisme*, "To establish pictorial space, we must have recourse to tactile and motor sensations, indeed to all our faculties. It is our whole personality which, contracting or expanding, transforms the plane of the picture."⁵⁸ In capturing Picasso's felt experience of Kahnweiler over time, following Bergson, Picasso's painting may then be regarded as a durational portrait, not a positivist view rendered through empirical exactitude in what Marcel Duchamp dubbed "retinal painting".⁵⁹ Instead of a single moment or the countable units of chronometric-time, Picasso seems to have endeavoured to capture Kahnweiler's "psychic states" in non-sequential time and "tactile"

space as conceived by Bergson's duration. Hence Bergson's concept of "psychic states" offered artists, as Patrick Jones surmises, "an alternative vocabulary to defend aesthetic experience in the face of an ever-encroaching, life-denying scientism".⁶⁰

While the head and body of the French President can be clearly disinterred from the surrounding space in Bonnat's painting (Fig. 5.2), as can the head and upper torso of Bergson in Blanche's portrait (Fig. 5.3), Picasso's portrait of Kahnweiler appears the opposite (Fig. 5.1). Not only can Fallières' head and body be identified absolutely but also clearly distinguished from the objects depicted in the painting: The muted green coloured velvet back-rest of the chair, the metal-studs securing the velvet to the seat and the carved wooden armrests (Fig. 5.2). By contrast, Kahnweiler's body and the objects surrounding him in Picasso's portrait can only be identified relatively in relation to one another. With no clear distinction between organic and non-organic matter in this continuum, life in Picasso's portrait appears liberated from organic barriers to convey an inorganic vitalism comparable to Bergson's *l'élan vital* (Fig. 5.1). By discontinuing lines and leaving geometric facets open, Picasso's painting of Kahnweiler's head and body, together with the surrounding objects, seems to flow from one into the other and melt into the surrounding space through interconnecting passages. It is as if, following Bergson, "matter is dissolved into numberless vibrations, all linked together in uninterrupted continuity, all bound up with each other, and travelling in every direction like shivers."⁶¹ So interpenetrating do these passages become that it seems impossible to determine exactly where space stops and Kahnweiler's body begins in a "psychic state" of becoming. In *L'évolution créatrice*, Bergson surmised this process:

I find, first of all, that I pass from state to state. I am warm or cold, I am happy or sad, I work or I do nothing, I look at what is around me or I think about something else. Sensations, feelings, desires, ideas – these are the changes into which my existence is

divided and which “colour” it. ... a slight effort of attention would reveal to me that there is no feeling, no idea, no desire which is not undergoing change every moment. ... This is especially so with psychic states that are more deeply internal, such as sensations, feelings, desires ... The truth is that we change without ceasing, and that the state itself is nothing but change.⁶²

When viewed from a Bergsonian perspective, the interpenetration of human form, clothing, objects, space and light in Picasso’s portrait could then represent the incessantly changing vitalism of Kahnweiler’s “psychic states”. Instead of Bonnat’s perception of the external world as a stable collection of physically contained objects separated in space, the artworks and artefacts in Picasso’s studio, which this art dealer knew so well from all his senses, appear to become interpenetrated within duration in what Maurice Blanchot calls “the silent thunder which reverberates amidst images dissolving into one another”.⁶³ As Bergson explains, “[W]e shall no longer consider states of consciousness in isolation from one another, but in their concrete multiplicity, in so far as they unfold themselves in pure duration”.⁶⁴ As he adds, “[I]nner duration, perceived by consciousness, is nothing else but the melting of states of consciousness into one another”. Once they “begin to permeate and melt into one another,” each seems to become “tinged with the colouring of all the others.”⁶⁵ At the same time, Bergson was also addressing the interrelationship of “*l’élán vital*” to “*la force vitale*”, as signified by his six public lectures at Columbia University in February 1913 entitled *Spirituality and Liberty*, followed by his inaugural lecture given three months later as President of the British Society for Psychological Research entitled *Fantômes des vivants et recherche psychique*.⁶⁶ As Gleizes and Metzinger perceptively surmized:

The Cubists taught a new way of imagining light ... Cubism will transport the three-dimensional object into a space at once spiritual and plastic in nature ... Profound realism merges insensibly into luminous spirituality.⁶⁷

Picasso and “La Force vitale”: Auratic Energies, X-Rays, Magnetic Luminosities and Phantasmatic Doubles

There are more things in Heaven and Earth, Horatio, than we believe communally. And our century, effectively to be the epoch whence the invisible, the occult, relegated to the level of chimeras by positivists, seems to be revealed to us.⁶⁸

Due to the rapid development of photographic technologies, the invisible dimensions of the occult were being constantly revealed by parapsychologist, magnetist and spirit photography. While Baraduc’s soul photography illuminated the vital radiation of the psyche as the “vital force” and *L’Âme Humaine*, Commandant Darget’s photographs captured “fluidic-magnetic” bodily emanations, such as *Rayons V (Vitaux)*. Rochas’ psychic photographs exposed the “exteriorisation of sensibility,” while Hector Durville’s magnetist photographs revealed phantasmatic doubles.⁶⁹ Through photography, as Keshavjee surmizes in the previous chapter, many of France’s acclaimed scientists were able to visualize an invisible force, while scientific technologies seemingly corroborated many discoveries of Occultism.

Through the Bibliothèque Nationale, its Cabinet des Estampes and Adrienne Monnier’s *La Maison des Amis des Livres*, hermetic writings became increasingly accessible alongside those of the new sciences. Articles by Symbolists, Neo-Symbolists and Decadents on Occultism and Theosophy were published in the bi-monthly Symbolist journal, *Le Mercure de France*, as often as those on the new sciences, particularly Henri Poincaré’s *La Science et l’hypothèse* and

Le Bon's *L'Évolution de la matière*. Conversely, articles by Occultists on the interrelationship of the new sciences and Occultism were also published in *Le Mercure de France*, as demonstrated by Sar Péladan's *Le Radium et l'Hyper-physique* identifying x-rays and radium with supernatural phenomena.⁷⁰ Conterminously, five Nobel Prize winners, the physicist, Jean Baptiste Perrin, the physiologist, Charles Richet and the scientists, Marie and Pierre Curie, attended seances, as did Bergson.⁷¹ Joining hands with others at séances conducted by Eusapia Palladino from 1905, Marie Curie recalled "visions of light or luminescent points, visions of hands or limbs, sometimes ... as phosphorescent", including the luminosity of her own glowing hair.⁷² After attending these séances, Pierre Curie reported: "The result is that these phenomena really exist and it is no longer possible for me to doubt it." He then concluded: "In my opinion, there is a whole domain of completely new facts and psychical states of space about which we have had no conception."⁷³ Buoyed by this uncanny fusion of x-rays, electromagnetic rays and radium within an occulture of hauntology in which reality was being reconceived through invisible sources of energy, Hector Durville, assisted by his sons, Henri and Gaston, embarked upon a series of what he called "scientific experiments" at their School of Magnetism to unleash "la force vitale".⁷⁴

With the support of Baraduc, Madame Blavatsky, Gérard Encausse "Papus", Péladan, Rochas and other well-established Occultists, in 1887 Hector Durville launched the Société Magnétique de France. Following the success of the 1889 *Congrès Magnétique International* alongside the *Congrès Spirite et Spiritualiste international* and *Congrès International de Hypnotisme expérimental et thérapeutique*, Hector and Henri Durville opened the École pratique du Massage et de Magnétisme on Avenue Mozart in Paris, with a branch in Lyon.⁷⁵ They also launched the *Journal du magnétisme et psychisme expérimental*, and established their own publishing house, *Librairie du Magnétisme*, which published Hector Durville's treatises addressing the relationship of luminous projections and the human soul to "la force vitale".⁷⁶

In his *Treatise Expérimental du Magnetisme* and *Magnetisme Personnel ou Psychique*, Hector Durville demonstrated how the magnetic poles punctuated every part of the human body, as signified by the positive and negative signs inscribed on anatomy correlating to the attraction and repulsion of horse-shoe magnets.⁷⁷ Likened to a flickering flame that could project as far as five metres either horizontally or vertically, Durville considered magnetic energy constituted “la force vitale”.⁷⁸ Conceiving of the human body as both a receptor and transmitter, Durville commissioned drawings to illuminate how magnetic energies were not just attracted by the body but generated from it. So powerful were these magnetic energies that Durville likened them to rays and electrical sparks able to energize the body both physically and psychically. Since these magnetic energies seemed to radiate as a relatively invisible vital force field perceptible to clairvoyants, spiritists, theosophists, mediums, magnetizers and radiographers, as well as to particular cameras, Durville likened them to phantoms. Just before Picasso began his portrait of Kahnweiler (Fig. 5.1), photographs of their luminous emanations were published in Durville’s book, *Le Fantôme des Vivants*.⁷⁹

Conceiving of photography as having a unique receptivity to their energies, Durville and Rochas commissioned photographs from Paul Nadar onto magnesium plates to reveal how magnetism was able to mediate a phantasmatic doubling of the physical body. The radiating auras generated from magnetized subjects were likened to magnetic waves connected to the phantasmatic etheric and astral body double, as theosophized by Annie Besant in *Man and his Bodies*, its French translation being cited extensively by Durville in *Le Fantôme des Vivants*, as well as in *Magnétisme personnel ou psychique*.⁸⁰ That the etheric and astral bodies could form alongside the physical body as phantoms was initially captured by Paul Nadar. The son of Félix Nadar, he had achieved such renown for his experimental photography that he became Eastman Kodak’s agent in France and the photographer most commissioned by Durville and Rochas to capture phantasmatic doubles.⁸¹ Aware of the phantasmatic ramifications of this phenomenon,

Durville and Rochas explored, with the aid of Nadar, how these luminous emanations took the form of phantoms after magnetism. Following the phantom's powerful vibratory energy, which Durville also likened to "la force vitale", he stipulated that their appearance followed a choreography of distinct stages invariably reflecting the state and gender of the physical body. While Durville explored this phenomenon with a range of women – Marthe, Léontine, Madame François, Madame Vix and Mlle Thérèse – it appeared to be most clearly captured by Nadar's photographs of Mme Lambert's phantasmatic double from February 1908.⁸² (Fig. 5.6)

INSERT FIGURE 5.6 AND FIGURE 5.7 HERE

A medium who Durville and Rochas frequently magnetised, Lambert had long studied with Rochas but had rejected Spiritism and spurned the séances of Eusapia Palladino.⁸³ Once magnetized by Durville, Lambert found that throughout the day and night a phantom would visit her. Initially the phantom appeared as a fluid vaporous mass of light, accompanied by spots of light floating in darkness. Yet gradually Lambert found that it transformed into the form of a luminous, white pillar or column, taller and larger than herself (Fig. 5.6). After further magnetism, she watched it become increasingly luminous until it condensed into a human form taking the shape of a woman, with a body and face uncannily like her own. By no means did it shy away but continually visited Lambert until 1913 as subsequent photos reveal (Fig. 5.7). Situating itself about twenty centimetres from Lambert's left side, "it repeated", according to Durville, "like a shadow, all her movements and gestures".⁸⁴ Whenever she raised or lowered her arms, so did her phantom.⁸⁵ Rather than walking beside her, the phantom glided by her.⁸⁶ Animated by intense vibratory movements, Lambert found her phantasmatic double knocked loudly on tables, banged doors and created such intense energy and heat that it could be measured with a thermometer.⁸⁷ The power of the phantom to glide through walls and doors in

front of the physical body or vertically behind it, covering a kilometre in fifteen seconds, appeared to be matched by its power to radiate white light in different forms.⁸⁸ Yet what appeared most striking to Durville was that “this invisible body carried with it the very principle of life, as well as will, intelligence, memory, consciousness, psychic sensibilities while the visible body does not possess any [of these] faculties”.⁸⁹ In seeming to document how humans, once magnetized, could perpetually double with their etheric and astral bodies, these photographs appeared to demonstrate that human power was not confined to their physical body.

Amidst studies of these new energies, as indicated in Chapter Four, numerous French scientists exploring magnetism and what Albert Besnard and many others called *La force psychic*, conceptualized and visualized an invisible force as so dynamic and animating that it was able to transcend the material world. For Maurice Maeterlinck, this “prodigious force” was “the very fluid of life”.⁹⁰ The possibility of its presence in Picasso’s *Portrait of Kahnweiler* (Fig. 5.1) alongside the seemingly supernatural radiance unleashed by x-rays, may be illuminated by a comparison of Picasso’s *Kahnweiler* with the magnetic photography of *dédoublement* directed by Durville and the x-rays of Röntgen.

As if x-rayed by Röntgen, Kahnweiler’s soft body tissue appears to have been penetrated by light while his bones seem to resist with such metallic paraphernalia as his fob-watch chain appearing as resilient to x-rays as the wedding ring on Röntgen’s wife Anna’s finger. Without any indication of a contour separating Kahnweiler’s body from the surrounding space, like an x-ray there seems no longer an inside or outside, Kahnweiler’s body seeming to penetrate Picasso’s world as much as Picasso’s world penetrates his body. The mysterious light that seems to flicker and vibrate within this world without any identifiable source may be identified with the radiance unleashed by x-rays and with *éther luminifère*, scientificized by Gustave Le Bon as able to penetrate and dematerialize all substances, which was also conceived by Madame

Blavatsky as an “astral light” emanating from the “invisible universe”.⁹¹ Yet as these lights seem to glimmer in the space occupied by Kahnweiler’s body, they may also pertain to phantasmatic energies and auratic luminosities rarely visible to humans but captured by photography, particularly paranormal photographic plates conceived by Rochas as having “a sensibility to capture, as one knows, thousands of stars invisible to our eyes”.⁹²

In Picasso’s photograph of Kahnweiler, the light defines the contours of Kahnweiler’s face, body and hand and locates his position in Picasso’s studio. Yet in Picasso’s portrait of his art dealer (Fig. 5.1), there is no such clear distinction between Kahnweiler’s anatomy and the space in which it was immersed. Instead a white inner light seems to weave its way through Kahnweiler’s body while seeming to emanate from it and spiral around it in space, just as it does in Durville’s photograph of Madame Lambert in the state of “*dédoublement*” (Figs. 5.6 and 5.7). Since a halo of light seems to illuminate Kahnweiler’s head and neck while an oval of light mysteriously circumscribes his body, a model for Picasso’s articulation of light and shade may have been drawn from the original negative photographic plate of Kahnweiler (Fig. 5.8). As this arc of light in Picasso’s portrait appears to sweep down Kahnweiler’s head and flicker around the dark shaft where his charcoal suited torso seems to dissipate into darkness, Kahnweiler’s clasped hands seem to become spotlighted before this arc of light curves upward around the other side of his body to create the sensation of an aura.

INSERT FIGURE 5.8 HERE

The whites flecked across Picasso’s picture plane and Durville’s photographic planes may signify how hauntological light, through luminous vibrations, was able to shimmer and sparkle across space like Durville’s description of the “jets of luminosity projected by the phantom”, and the “*force physique*” illustrated in Chapter 4, captured by Besnard (Fig. 4.6).

For Durville and Rochas, these phantasmatic energies represented what Baraduc had termed in 1897, “la force vitale”.⁹³ Yet with Kahnweiler appearing transparent, weightless, visible from all sides at once and auratically luminescent, Picasso seems to have also explored astral vision to capture him four dimensionally, with an aura, as defined by Annie Besant in *Man and His Bodies*:

It is the man himself, manifest at once on the four planes of consciousness, and according to its development is his power of functioning on each; it is the aggregate of his bodies, of his vehicles of consciousness; in a phrase, it is the form-aspect of the man ... thus that we should regard it, and not as a mere ring or cloud surrounding him.⁹⁴

In French translation by 1902, Besant’s auratic and astral vision theory was referenced by many, not just Durville. Their relationship to *dédoublement* was also the subject of a three-part series in the Institut de Recherches Psychiques de France’s first issues of *Le Monde Psychique*.⁹⁵ This concept also appeared integral to Bergson’s *l’élan vital*. Life does not evolve mechanically and rationally, as Bergson stipulated in *L’Évolution créatrice*. “Elle ne procède pas par association et addition d’éléments mais par dissociation et dédoublement.”⁹⁶ Hence as the body of Kahnweiler seems to dissolve into white light or uncanny luminescence, just as the body of Madame Lambert appeared to do in Durville’s photographs (Figs. 5.6 and 5.7), it may signify “la force vitale” of scientific magnetists and occultists, as well as “l’élan vital” of Bergson within what he called a “métapsychique” reality.⁹⁷ As Bergson explained to the British Society for Psychical Research in his 1913 presidential speech, *Fantômes des vivants et recherche psychique*:

There is, present and invisible, a certain metaphysic unconscious of itself – unconscious and therefore inconsistent, unconscious and therefore incapable of continually remodelling itself on observation and experience as every philosophy worthy of the name must do.⁹⁸

Hence although Cubism has been historiographically located as an antithesis of Occultism, not only does it seem that Picasso was aware of this occultist revival but arguably became immersed within it as is also conveyed by his close relationship with Max Jacob and their collaboration on *Saint Matorel* and *Le Siège de Jérusalem*.

“An art that speaks a secret language”: Max Jacob’s and Picasso’s Hermeticism, Mysticism and Occultist Cubism

No sooner had Picasso moved in with Jacob in 1901 on the Boulevard Voltaire than he had become absorbed in Jacob’s occultist esotericism. During this time when Picasso was “cooped up with this part-time fortune-teller”, as John Richardson puts it, Jacob taught him the rudiments of astrology, chiromancy and the Tarot.⁹⁹ From Jacob’s appraisal of Picasso’s creativity and palm-reading of his extraordinary lifeline, Jacob called Picasso “the Alchemist Prince”, identified with Hermes Trismegistus, the creator of alchemy, hermetic and cabbalistic texts on magic and astrology, renowned for his priapic phallus.¹⁰⁰ Magic, mysticism and the occult held a fascination for Jacob, almost as much as they did for Picasso and the third member of their triumvirate: Apollinaire. They drew upon them as an hermetic *conjunctio oppositorum*, a means of reconciling opposites.¹⁰¹ Despite Jacob’s mystical apparition of Jesus in 1909 and conversion to Catholicism, his biographer, Jean Rousselot, maintains that “Jacob remained far more Occultist than Christian” while his poetry, like Picasso’s painting, became increasingly hermetic.¹⁰²

On returning to the Bateau Lavoir from the Bibliothèque Nationale on 28 October 1909, Jacob saw a vision of Jesus on one of his watercolours hanging on the wall of his tiny room situated below Picasso's studio at the Bateau Lavoir. Overwhelmed by its beauty, instantly he recalls falling on his knees.

My eyes filled with tears ... An ineffable feeling of well-being overcame me. I remained transfixed without understanding what was happening. Instantly I felt that I was becoming a man ... a free man. Instantly also, as my eyes encountered the Ineffable Being, I felt divested of my human flesh, and two words simply chimed within me: To die, to be born.¹⁰³

Six years later, he was baptized as a Catholic, Cyprien-Max Jacob, at the Couvent de Sien with Picasso as his god-father. Ten years later he became a mystic monk.¹⁰⁴ It was this mystical experience that proved the catalyst for his prose-poems, *Saint Matorel* and *Le Siège de Jérusalum*.

For Picasso it appears to have been the experience of the magic-making African masks and carvings in the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro that had affected him like an encounter with supernatural spirits.¹⁰⁵ The result was what he called his first exorcism painting, *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, and his shift from painting harlequins and saltimbanques to Cubistic motifs. Yet after Jacob's apparition, Picasso's Cubist artworks became, according to Read, infused with "half hidden magic and a sense of impenetrable mystery".¹⁰⁶ For Jacob, this "impenetrable mystery" was integral to his immersion in Occultism and Hermeticism as a science of hidden wisdom that integrated the visible with the invisible forces of nature and the micro with macrocosmic as surmised by the Hermetic image and saying, "As above, so below". This Hermeticism was compounded by its association with the negative aesthetics of Neo-

Symbolism and Néo-Mallarméism, as manifest by the literary journal, *La Phalange*, in which Picasso's Hermetic Cubism was referred to as *l'Art négatif*, as mentioned earlier. This art of negation entailed situating the subject within the visible and invisible experienced by all the senses over time and space but only with oblique rather than direct references to it through a Néo-Mallarméan process of connotation and evocation. "The work of art must be distant from the subject", Jacob explained, "That's why it must be situated".¹⁰⁷ This is illuminated by the first Cubist *livre d'artiste* commissioned and published by Kahnweiler and illustrated by Picasso: *Saint Matorel*.¹⁰⁸

Although Derain had been initially chosen to illustrate *Saint Matorel*, he refused in no uncertain terms explaining "les préoccupations qui font l'objet de mon travail sont complètement absentes de ce livre."¹⁰⁹ Two years later he relented, illustrating Jacob's *Burlesque and Mystical Work of Saint Matorel*. Picasso's response was the opposite. To commemorate their hermetic relationship, Jacob added a telling dedication to Picasso when *Saint Matorel* was published in February 1911: "To Picasso, for all I know he knows, for all he knows I know."¹¹⁰

Consistent with Jacob's and Picasso's aesthetic of negation, there is no illustration of the main character. An employee of the Paris Metro, Victor Matorel straddles the character of a Hamlet "homunculus" and Jacob's alter ego, struggling between the forces of Hermeticism and Christianity. Opening with Matorel's confessions "revealing", in his words, "the secrets that God alone knows", the narrator of this Cubistic novel is Matorel's friend, Émile Cordier. A sweeper at the company, Cheiret et Cie, in the faubourg Saint-Antoine, who Matorel eventually converts, Cordier discloses that he shall reveal Matorel's adventures, both celestial and terrestrial.¹¹¹ "He speaks to me of the importance of earthly love, the cube and the circle", Cordier writes, "of armies of demons and angels ... He also speaks of his overwhelming

hallucinations.”¹¹² Yet by no means are these experiences consecutively sequenced in chronological order, as Jacob explains in his Prologue:

*Mais les formes sont immobiles et mobiles éternellement dans le ciel et il n’y a pas d’ordre chronologique pour Dieu ... Et nous sommes dans nos œuvres comme Jehovah dans les siennes. Il n’y a pas d’ordre chronologique pour nous.*¹¹³

Instead, Jacob deploys Bergson’s concept of time as duration fluidly oscillating between time present, past and future alongside spatial leaps between Matorel’s adventures on earth and his celestial experiences narrated in mystical dialogues.¹¹⁴ “Nothing functions as it is meant to”, surmizes Antonio Rodriguez. “In this increasingly complexified plot, a continuous time frame is abandoned; logic transgressed, serious concerns laced with irony and the mystical juggled with the quotidian.”¹¹⁵

To undertake the journey of his soul to God, Matorel has to pass through nine stages of purification. Like the nine concentric circles of Danté’s *Inferno*, each contains their own earthly hells with Satanic temptations. In each stage, Matorel has then to negotiate the antithetical forces of God and Satan: Angels and demons; heaven and earth; hermetic knowledge and ardent sodomy. He also has to negotiate heterosexual temptation at the Moulin Rouge and most of all “the love of the infidel, Mademoiselle Léonie.”¹¹⁶ So formidable a temptress does she appear to be that two of Picasso’s four illustrations are devoted to Mademoiselle Léonie. (Fig. 5.9). Picasso had drawn her identity from, Jacob discerned, the acrobat performer at the Medrano Circus, who Picasso had encountered at the Taverne de l’Hermitage close to his new apartment, 11 boulevard de Clichy. After she became his model, Picasso had produced an Hermetic Cubist portrait of her in Spring 1910 entitled *Mademoiselle Léonie*.¹¹⁷

INSERT FIGURE 5.9 HERE

In *Saint Matorel*, Cordier narrates his encounter with Mademoiselle Léonie on the steps to the Metro Dauphine where she discusses her lovers while stipulating that Victor was the one she loved the most. Although Jacob never discloses how this apprentice laundress looks, nor does Picasso. In Picasso's illustration, Mademoiselle Léonie appears in fragments experienced over felt time and in different positions in space as known through sensory memory.¹¹⁸ Rounded forms in the upper part of her body may indicate the feel of her head with curling hair while the two parallel lines below may signify the cervical vertebrae of her long neck (Fig. 5.9). The diagonal line shooting across the body may signify her collar bone above curvular lines to provide a hint of breasts while the downward diagonal meeting curvular lines may signify the feel of her torso billowing out at the pelvis with her flesh sweeping around her buttocks. Yet in keeping with Jacob's and Picasso's Hermeticism, the identity of these parts of Mademoiselle Léonie's body are only hinted at and conjectured relatively, not absolutely, through the interrelationship of Picasso's indexical signifiers. So unspecific are these indexical signifiers that this acrobat's anatomy, like that of Kahnweiler in Picasso's portrait of him, seems to become a body without organs. With Picasso's lines rarely meeting and left open in 'passages', Mademoiselle Léonie's corporeality seems to dissolve into phantasmatic luminescence as signified by the whiteness of Picasso's paper.

In the next chapter, Matorel begs the angel to purge him of all of his wicked and salacious memories of Mademoiselle Léonie. "Remove all obsessions with carnal love," he cries, "a room with a tiny iron bed for 100 francs on the Boulevard Barbès."¹¹⁹ Although Jacob does not mention the chaise-longue that is meant to feature in Picasso's second etching of Mademoiselle Léonie, there are far more facets than in his previous image of Matorel's lover. While dark hatching rendered in multiple directions seems to suggest an abundance of body

and pubic hair, it may also evoke the lovemaking of both Léonie and Victor on the iron bed that lingers in Matorel's fantasies. It may also invoke the homosexual experiences that Matorel, like Jacob, had pursued. "Must I admit that I have been a sodomite," Matorel reluctantly confesses, "without joy, it is true, but with ardour!"¹²⁰ In a pitiful state of remorse that Jacob calls "mystery psychosis", Matorel flees Paris for the Lazarist Convent in Barcelona, the subject of Picasso's final etching.¹²¹

At the convent, Matorel's immersion in Catholicism and mysticism is likened to Paul Verlaine's imprisonment after shooting his lover, Arthur Rimbaud, followed by Verlaine's reconversion to Catholicism and his prison writings as a 'poète maudit' that eventually earned him the accolade, "prince of poets".¹²² These poems Matorel "had read like a confessional", Verlaine being the first French poet that Jacob had introduced to Picasso when Jacob had envisioned himself as a 'poète maudit'.¹²³ In the convent Matorel experiences hallucinations during influenza in which he argues with the planetary angels and demons of Mars, Venus and Saturne, as well as Satan and the demon, Zazel, to signify his negotiation of the spheres of Heaven and attainment of Spirituality as Frère Manassé.¹²⁴ It is also in the convent that Matorel appears to have written spiritualist poetry and produced hallucinatory drawings although, in this burlesque mixture of clown and saint, how this happens is never elucidated. Instead the reader is told that on Matorel's death, his "truly hallucinating" drawings were sent to Apollinaire while his poetry went to Mademoiselle Léonie who passed it onto a publisher, who had it read at the Comédie Française. "How and why these things happen", Jacob's omniscient narrator concludes: "Ah! ... mystère ... mystère!"¹²⁵

INSERT FIGURE 5.10 HERE

No less mysterious is Jacob's play, *Le Siège de Jerusalem : Grande tentation céleste de Saint Matorel* with its cast of forty including the Wolf of Saint Philip, Unicorn of Saint Thomas, Ram of Minerva, four angels and a choir plus Saint Matorel called Blanquetbleu, who is identified as dead.¹²⁶ Far from this mystery being clarified by the etchings commissioned from Picasso, it appears exacerbated by their highly tenuous relationship to the tests which Saint Matorel has to undertake in order to return to heaven – the greatest one entailing his entry into the besieged city of Jerusalem. Despite the few women in this almost male cast, two out of Picasso's three etchings are of women, possibly to evoke the Courtesan and the Lady who appears at the Adrianople Camp. The Courtesan, who constitutes one of the first tests, plays the temptress who endeavours to lure Saint Matorel repeatedly saying: "I shall do anything you want if you come with me".¹²⁷ That Picasso's nude woman with the guitar appears to be this alluring courtesan is signified by his relatively erotogenic signifiers discernible in Fig. 5.10.

Following the darkness in which Picasso had shrouded his memories of the felt experience of Kahnweiler (Fig. 5.1) and its correlation to the blackness of Picasso's photographic negative of his art dealer (Fig. 5.8), Picasso appears to have heavily inked his hatching and cross-hatching in this etching to evoke the sensation in which this prostitute's naked body seemed to loom out of a nocturnal ambience like Durville's photographs of phantoms. Consistent with Picasso's other Cubist representations of women, the guitar indicated in the title is seemingly evoked by the bold sweeping curves on the upper left and lower right of the etching plate, fused with her flesh to signify how this prostitute's body may be played like a guitar and pierced through its sound hole. The 'demoiselles d'Avignon' gazing directly at Saint Matorel and the beholder, together with evocations of her rounded abdomen, bulging buttocks, voluptuous breasts with clearly delineated nipples and vulva, seem to position this Cubistic figure as a prostitute ready for business. When located within Jacob's text, this

appears to be the moment when this seductress lures Saint Matorel before dramatically immolating: Literally bursting into flames.

INSERT FIGURE 5.11 HERE

By contrast, the “Lady” introduced in the second act with bishops and cardinals is the one whom the prince of Adrianople wishes to seduce due to the whiteness of her neck. This may be signified in Fig. 5.11 by Picasso’s light planes and white circular form around the centre of what appears to be a female body with faintly circumscribed breasts and a hint of nipples. Played off against the relatively explicit erotogenic signifiers of the prostitute looming out of darkness, it is the prostitute’s body that appears to be pierced with vitalist rays of phantasmatic luminescence. As the materiality of Picasso’s prostitute appears to dissolve into bursts and flickers of light and darkness, just like those to be found in the magnetism photographs by Durville (Figs. 5.6 and 5.7), she appears to emanate out of a fusion of Bergsonian felt time within phantasmatic luminescent space: Both *l’élán vital* and *la force vitale*. Capturing the mystical experience of Jacob’s visions, Picasso’s Cubistic etchings then appear as celestial and mysterious as Jacob’s main character’s spiritual conversion.

Hence while Cubism has been posited as an art that drew upon modernist experiences of the quotidian, by no means did Picasso’s explorations of Hermetic Cubism exclude Bergsonism, hermeticism, mysticism or occultism. At this potent Neo-Symbolist, Occultist and Modernist juncture before the ruptures wrought by the unprecedented destructions and decimations of the First World War and the publication of Einstein’s Theory of Relativity thereafter, it seemed possible to be an Anarchist, Bergsonist, hermeticist, mysticist, occultist, parapsychologist and Cubist in painting, photography and etching, as much as in prose. In the midst of Anarchisms, Bergsonisms, hermeticism, magnetism, mysticism, Neo-Symbolism and

Occultism, the imposition of World Standard Time, Taylorism and the ergonomic reconception of the body as “*le moteur humain*” was spurned by Picasso and other Cubists. The positivist empiricism and scientific realism inherent in Bonnat’s *Portrait of the President of France, Armand Fallières* (Fig. 5.2) and even Blanche’s *Portrait of Henri Bergson* (Fig. 5.3) were also rebuffed. Within the network of interrelationships spawned by *la bande à Picasso*, particularly their relationship to Bergsonisms, it was possible to conceive of a very different kind of portrait: This was a durational one that Picasso was able to draw from his sensory memories of his art dealer over ‘felt time’, not World Standard Time. Rather than depict Kahnweiler’s surface appearance, Picasso seemed to capture Kahnweiler’s “psychic states” and the “inwardness of his life”, amidst the perpetual flow of becoming within Bergson’s *l’élan vital* (Fig. 5.1). Drawing upon photography, not just Picasso’s explorations of capturing Cubistic architecture and Kahnweiler with his own camera but the scientific phantasmatic photography developed by Baradac, Durville and Rochas, amongst others mentioned in Chapter Four, Picasso seemed able to fuse Bergson’s *l’élan vital* with Baraduc’s, Durville’s and Rochas’ concepts of *la force vitale*. Following their revelations of extensive experimentation with scientific phantasmatic photography and Picasso’s exploration of photographic negatives (Fig. 5.8), Picasso was also able to capture auratic luminosities in his portrait of Kahnweiler and the dissolution of Kahnweiler’s body without organs within nocturnal space. Finally in portraying the mystical experience of Jacob’s visions in *Saint Matorel* and *Le Siège de Jérusalem*, Picasso’s Cubistic etchings appear as celestial and mysterious as Jacob’s main character’s spiritual conversion (Fig. 5.9, 5.10 and 5.11). As their phantasmatic luminescence seems to flicker uncannily through fragments of bodies, shards of objects and facets of unidentifiable forms, Picasso’s etchings become endowed with a mysterious vitalism that can also be discerned in his Hermetic Cubist paintings, epitomized by his *Portrait of Kahnweiler* (Fig. 5.1). Since this vitalism appears comparable to both *l’élan vital* and *la force vitale* identified in new scientific research

and apparent in their photography, it is then possible to deduce that this artwork constituted an Occultist Cubism created by Vitalist Picasso.

Notes

1 Gilles Deleuze, *Negotiations, 1972-1990*, trans. Martin Joughin (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990; 1997) 143.

2 Fae Brauer, “Becoming Simian: Darwin, Picasso, Nolan and Creative Evolution”, *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science*, 2022, forthcoming; Fae Brauer, “Becoming Simian: Devolution as Evolution in Transformist Modernism”, *Picturing Evolution and Extinction: Regeneration and Degeneration in Modern Visual Culture*, eds. Fae Brauer and Serena Keshavjee (Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015) 127-156.

3

Linda Dalrymple Henderson, “X Rays and the Quest for Invisible Reality in the Art of Kupka, Duchamp, and the Cubists”, *Art Journal*, 47:44 (1988): 323-340.

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Gilles Deleuze, “The Logic of Sense,” ed. Constantin V. Boundos; trans. Mark Lester with Charles Stivale (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990) 87.

5

Akira Mizuta Lippit, “from Modes of Avisuality: Psychoanalysis – X-ray – Cinema”, Chapter 15, *The Spectralities Reader: Ghosts and Haunting in Contemporary Cultural Theory*, eds. Maria del Pilar Blanco and Esther Peeren (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2013) 258.

6

Louis Vernéde, “Le Bergsonisme ou une Philosophie de la Mobilité”, *La Phalange*, No. 72, 20 June 1912.

7

André Salmon, “Le Salon des Indépendants”, *Paris-Journal*, 18 March 1910, 4-5: *Ces*

cubistes ... se proclament volontiers anarchistes de l'art; venus après les journées d'émeute et de massacre, ils ne sont que des jacobins, ils académiseront à leur tour tyranniquement; Paul Adam, "Avant la guerre sociale", *Paris-Journal* (2 May 1910) 1; Fay Brauer, *L'Art révolutionnaire : The Artist as Alien. The Discourses of Cubism, Modern Painting and Academicism in the Radical Republic*, PhD (University of London: The Courtauld Institute of Art, 1997) 236-316; also refer Patricia Leighton, *Reordering the Universe: Picasso and Anarchism, 1897-1914* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989) 96-120.

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La Phalange, No. 62 (20 August 1911).

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La Phalange, No. 89 (15 November 1913).

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Gaston Sauvebois, "Le Cubisme," *Le Gil Blas* (5 October 1911) 1.

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André Salmon, *La jeune peinture française* (Paris: Société des Trente, Albert Messein, 1912) 27.

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Fernande Olivier, *Picasso et ses amis* (1933: Librairie Stock, Delamain et Boutelleau, 1933) 161.

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Peter Read, *Picasso and Apollinaire: The Persistence of Memory* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2008) 17-20.

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Henri Bergson, *Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience*, Thèse pour le Doctorat (Paris:

Ancienne Librairie Germer-Ballière et Cie; Félix Alcan, Editeur, 1889); *Time and Free Will: An Essay on the Immediate Data of Consciousness* trans. F. L. Pogson (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1910) 7-74; also refer Read, *Picasso and Apollinaire*, 56-60.

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Pascal Rousseau, "The Magic of Images: Hallucination and Magnetic Reverie in the Work of Henri Rousseau," *Henri Rousseau: Jungles in Paris* (London: Tate Publishing, 2005) 192.

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Michel Frizot, "The All-Powerful Eye: The Forms of the Invisible", *A New History of Photography*, ed. Michel Frizot; trans. Susan Bennett et al (Cologne: Könemann, 1998) 281.

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Hector Durville, *Le Magnétisme considéré comme agent lumineux. Extrait du "Traité expérimental de magnétisme"* (Paris 1896); Hector Durville, *Le Fantôme des Vivants, anatomie et physiologie de l'âme. Recherches expérimentales sur le dédoublement des corps de l'homme* (Paris 1909).

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Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880-1918* (Cambridge, Mass.; London, England: Harvard University Press, 1983; 2003) 10-11.

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Bergson, *Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience*, 1889.

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Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space*, 11.

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Fae Brauer, "Representing 'Le Moteur Humain': Chronometry, Chronophotography, 'The Art of Work' and the 'Taylored Body'", *Visual Resources: An International Journal of Documentation*, Vol. XIX, No. 2 (June 2003): 83-106.

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Joseph Conrad, *The Secret Agent: A Simple Tale* (London: Methuen & Co., 1907) 17.

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George Beard, *American Nervousness, Its Causes and Consequences. A Supplement to Nervous Exhaustion (Neurasthenia)*, (New York: G. P. Putnam Sons, 1881).

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Fae Brauer, “Capturing Unconsciousness: The New Psychology, Hypnosis and the Culture of Hysteria”, *A Companion to Nineteenth Century Art*, ed. Michelle Facos (London et al: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2019) 243-262.

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Bergson, *Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience*, 485.

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Henri Bergson, “The Intensity of Psychic States”, *Time and Free Will: An Essay on the Immediate Data of Consciousness; Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience*, 1889; trans. F. L. Pogson (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1910) 7-8. The translator acknowledges, p. x, that by this date, Bergson’s *Essai* was in its seventh edition due to “the professional philosophers”, as much as to “the ordinary cultivated public”.

29

The Creative Mind, tr., Mabelle L. Andison, New York: The Citadel Press, 1992 [1946]; translation of *La Pensée et le mouvant*.

30

Bergson, “The Intensity of Psychic States”, 21.

31

Bergson, “The Intensity of Psychic States”, 17.

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Bergson, “The Intensity of Psychic States”, 15.

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Bergson, “The Intensity of Psychic States”, 8.

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Henri Bergson, *L'évolution créatrice* (Paris: 1907; Presses Universitaires de France/Quadrige, 1941) 272.

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Alain Badiou, “Of Life as a Name of Being, or Deleuze’s Vitalist Ontology”, *Gilles Deleuze. Immanence et Vie*, ed. E. Alliez et al (Paris: Presse Universitaire de France, 1998).

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Mark Antliff, *Inventing Bergson: Cultural Politics and the Parisian Avant-Garde* (Princeton University Press, 1993).

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Umberto Brunelleschi, *L'Assiette au beurre*, 1902.

³⁹ Musée d'Orsay Documentation: Bonnat 1833-1922, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1922): 12.

⁴⁰ Paul Atkinson, *Henri Bergson and Visual Culture: A Philosophy for a New Aesthetic* (London, etc.: Bloomsbury Academic, 2021) 39.

⁴¹ A. Ferrier: 'Jacques-Emile Blanche, peintre et mémorialiste', *L'Oeil*, viii (1962): 108.

⁴² Brauer, *Rivals and Conspirators: The Paris Salons*, 107-138.

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Brauer, *Rivals and Conspirators: The Paris Salons*, 30-31, 164, 306.

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Pierre Daix and Joan Rosselet, *Picasso, The Cubist Years, 1907-1916: A Catalogue Raisonné of the Paintings and Related Works* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979) Plate 338, 253.

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Gary Tinterow, "Vollard and Picasso", *Cézanne to Picasso: Ambroise Vollard, Patron of the Avante Garde* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2006) 111-112: : *On the eve of the artist's departure for Barcelona and Horta de Ebro, Vollard gave Picasso 2,200 francs; following his return in September, he gave him 1,000 francs in October and another 1,000 in November.*

46

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47

Tinterow, "Vollard and Picasso", 111.

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Tinterow, “Vollard and Picasso”, 111.

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Brauer, *Rivals and Conspirators*, 333-345.

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Fae Brauer, “Dealing with Cubism: Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler's Perilous Internationalism”, *Dealing Art on Both Sides of the Atlantic, 1860-1940*, ed. Lynn Catterton (Leiden/Boston/Tokyo: Brill International Publishing, 2017) 133-134.

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Roland Penrose, “Picasso’s Portrait of Kahnweiler”, *The Burlington Magazine*, “Modern Art (1908-25)”, Vol. 116, No. 852 (March 1974): 129.

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Henri Bergson, *Matière et mémoire : Essai sur la relation du corps à l’esprit* (1896); *Matter and Memory: Essay on the Relation of Body and Spirit*, trans. Nancy Margaret Paul and W. Scott Palmer (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1911) 33.

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Albert Gleizes and Jean Metzinger, *Du Cubisme* (Paris: Eugène Figuière, Éditeurs, 1912).

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Marcel Duchamp, letter to Louise and Walter Arensberg, 28 January 1951; Archives of the Francis Bacon Foundation, Claremont, California, quoted by Arturo Schwarz, *Marcel Duchamp* (New York: Harry No. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1975) iii.

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Patrick Jones, “Strange Distance: Bergson and Symbolism”, ‘L’anomalie en question’, *TRANS – Revue de littérature générale et compare*, No. 26 (2021): 3.

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Bergson, *Matter and Memory*, 208-209.

⁶² Bergson, *Creative Evolution*, Chapter 1.

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Maurice Blanchot, “Bergson and Symbolism”, *Yale French Studies*, No. 4 (1949) 63.

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Bergson, *Time and Free Will*, 73.

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Henri Bergson, « Le rêve », « “Fantômes de vivants” et “recherche psychique” » (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2013).

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Albert Gleizes and Jean Metzinger, *Cubism* (1912); Edward F. Fry, *Cubism* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978) 108.

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Paris-Journal, 19 May 1905, as quoted by Arthur L. Miller, *Einstein, Picasso: Space, Time and the Beauty That Causes Havoc* (London: Hachette, 2008) 40.

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For an exploration of these relationships at this time to Duchamp, refer Fae Brauer, “Scientific Magnetism and Hauntological Metarealism: The Phantasmatic Doubles of Duchamp and Durville”, *Realisms of the Avant-Garde*, eds. David Ayers et al (Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2020) 42-75.

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Durville, *Le Magnétisme considéré comme agent*, 1896.

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Durville, *Traité Expérimental du Magnetisme*, 1890); *Magnetisme Personnel ou Psychique* (Paris: Librairie du Magnétisme, 1890; 1895; 1896); for more on Durville’s publications and practices, refer Fae Brauer, “Magnetic Modernism. František Kupka's Mesmeric Abstraction and Anarcho-Cosmic Utopia”, *Utopia. The*

Avant-Garde, Modernism and (Im)possible Life, eds. David Ayers et al (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2015) 135–163.

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Hector Durville, *Magnétisme personnel. Éducation de la pensée. Développement de la Volonté. Pour être Heureuse, Fort, Bien Portant et Réussir en tout* (Paris: Librairie du Magnétisme, 1899); refer illustrations: “Le Rayonnement psychique d’échange”.

79

Durville, *Le Fantôme des Vivants*, 275.

80

Annie Besant, *L’Homme et ses Corps*, translation de l’anglais par F. B. (Paris: Publications théosophiques, 1902); Durville, *Le Fantôme des Vivants*, 27–36.

81

The youngest son of Félix Gaspard Tournachon, aka Nadar, Paul Nadar (1856–1939) successfully ran his father’s third studio, 52 rue d’Anjou, and achieved renown for his aerial photography from hot-air balloons, use of artificial lighting, animation of still pictures and photo reportage.

82

Durville, *Le Fantôme des Vivants*, 167–169. Wilfried-René Chettéoui also points out Charles Lancelin’s participation in these experiments and how “diverses phases d’extériorisation du ‘double’ ont été décrites par les sujets eux-mêmes”, *La nouvelle parapsychologie. Une expérience métaphysique* (Paris 1993) 50.

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Durville, *Le Fantôme des Vivants*, 167–169.

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Durville, *Le Fantôme des Vivants*, 180.

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Durville, *Le Fantôme des Vivants*, 183.

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Durville, *Le Fantôme des Vivants*, 184.

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Durville, *Le Fantôme des Vivants*, 195.

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Léon Lefranc, “Le Corps Astral du Vivant. Forme – Matière – Couleur”, in: *Le Monde Psychique*, 1911, 70–81.

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Durville, *Le Fantôme des Vivants*, 353.

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Maurice Maeterlinck, “Luck”, *The Buried Temple: Works of Maeterlinck* (1910; 2015) 10.

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Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, *Isis Unveiled: A Master-Key to the Mysteries of Ancient and Modern Science and Theology* (New York: J. W. Bouton, 1877); Gustave Le Bon, *L'Évolution de la matière* (Paris: Flammarion, 1905); Linda Dalrymple Henderson, “L'éther de l'espace, medium de l'art, de la science et de l'occultisme”, *Repenser le medium* (Dijon: Les Presses de Réel, 2021) 71-103.

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Lt.-Colonel de Rochas d'Aiglun, *Les Sentiments, La Musique et Le Geste* (Grenoble: Librairie Dauphinoise, 1900) 269; Brauer, *Scientistic Magnetism and Hauntological Metarealism*, 52.

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Hippolyte Baraduc, *La Force vitale. Extrait de la Chronique Médicale*, 15 avril et 1er mai 1897 (Clermont (Oise): Imprimerie Daix Frère, 1897); *La Force vitale: Notre corps vital fluidique, sa formule biométrique* (Paris: P. Ollendorff, 1897).

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Annie Besant, *Man and His Bodies* (London: Theosophical Publishing Society, 1896) 85.

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Charles Lancelin, “Méthode de Dédoublément personnel”, *Le Monde Physique : Organe Mensuel de "l'Institut de Recherches Psychiques de France" pour l'étude expérimentale des Phénomènes spirites, magnétiques, hypnotiques et occultistes*, 1 (1 January 1911): 14-19; also refer Léon Lefranc, “Recherches

Expérimentales sur le deuxième corps invisible du l'homme vivant (Le corps astral) à l'aide de magnétisme", 3 (1 March 1911): 8-13; Léon Lefranc, "Le Corps Astral du Vivant", Deuxième Partie, Chapitre III, Essai de physiologie du corps Astral du vivant. FORME – MATIERE – COULEUR," 3 (1 March 1911): 72-80.

96

Bergson, *L'Évolution créatrice*, 1907; 1941, 90.

97

The entry for this painting on the Centre Pompidou website for their 2015 exhibition, *Marcel Duchamp, La Peinture, même*, refers to these white shapes as "des halos blancs et ocres [qui] évoquent un autre monde".

98

Henri Bergson, "Phantasms of the Living" and "Psychical Research": Presidential Address to the Society for Psychical Research, London, 23 May 1913; *Mind-Energy*, trans. H. Wildon Carr, ed. Keith Ansell Pearson and Michael Kolkman (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007) 77.

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John Richardson, with Marilyn McCully, *A Life of Picasso: Volume I: 1881-1906*, (New York: Random House, 1991) 270.

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Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, 274. Roland Penrose likened Picasso's studio to an alchemist's den.

101

Read, *Picasso and Apollinaire*, 28, points out that Apollinaire's library contained numerous books on occultism and demonology.

102

Jean Roussetot, *Max Jacob au sérieux essai* (Charlieu: La Bartavelle, 1994).

103

Max Jacob, *Récit de ma conversion*, 1951; Garnier, *Correspondance de Max Jacob*, 37-39.

104

Jacob moved to the monastery, Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, where his writing combined Heaven and Hell, Angels and Demons.

105

André Malraux, *La tête d'obsidienne* (Paris: Gallimard, 1974), cited in *Propos sur l'art : Pablo Picasso* (Paris: Gallimard, 1998) 138.

106

Read, *Picasso and Apollinaire*, 20.

107

Annette Thau, “The Esthetic Reflections of Max Jacob”, *The French Review*, Vol. XLV, No. 4 (March 1972): 803.

108

Max Jacob, *Saint Matorel; illustré d'eau-fortes par Pablo Picasso* (Paris: Henry Kahnweiler, Éditeur, 1911).

109

Letter, Derain to Kahnweiler, 1909; Garnier, *Correspondance de Max Jacob*, 40.

110

Jacob, *Saint Matorel*, unpaginated.

111

Jacob, *Saint Matorel*: Cordier also promises to reveal “the sad beauties of Matorel’s soul”.

112

Jacob, *Saint Matorel*.

113

Jacob, *Saint Matorel: Prologue, Le Cycle Matorel*.

114

These dialogues are on wisdom, sexual passion and the epistemological question of man as animal, magician or saint.

115

Max Jacob : Oeuvres, Antonio Rodriguez (Paris: Quarto, Gallimard, 2012).

116

Jacob, *Saint Matorel*, Chapitre II: An apprentice washer woman, Léonie lives with her mother and sister.

117

Joan Rosselet, “Mademoiselle Léonie”, plate 340: Daix, *Picasso: The Cubist Years 1907-1916*, 254.

118

Jacob, *Saint Matorel*: Amidst non-chronological time and discontinuities of space and place, the narrative leaps from this encounter to Matorel’s life in the seminary by which time Léonie had married, divorced, remarried and became a dancer at the Eldorado.

119

Jacob, *Saint Matorel*.

120

Jacob, *Saint Matorel*: ... *j’ai sodomite sans joie mais avec ardeur*.

121

Jacob, *Saint Matorel*: ... *psychose mystère*.

¹²² Verlaine is thought to have written some of his most powerful poetry in prison, as exemplified by his *Romances sans paroles*; refer *Paul Verlaine: A Bilingual Selection of his Verse*, trans. Samuel N. Rosenberg; ed. Nicolas Valazza (Penn State University Press, 2019; 2021).

123

Jacob, *Saint Matorel*; Judith Morganroth Schneider, “Max Jacob on Poetry”, *The Modern Language Review*, vol. 69, No. 2 (April 1974): 290-296.

124

Jacob, *Saint Matorel*: *Je crois que notre Eternité est en raison de notre Spiritualité*.

125

Jacob, *Saint Matorel*: *Comment et pourquoi ces choses arrivent? Ah mystère ... mystère!*

126

Max Jacob, *Le Siège de Jérusalem: Grande tentation céleste de Saint Matorel* (Paris: Eugène Delatre; Henry Kahnweiler, Éditeur, 1913); unpaginated.

127

Jacob, *Le Siège de Jérusalem: Je ferai tout ce que tu veux si tu viens avec moi.*