

Dealing with Cubism:

Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler's Perilous Internationalism

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Just after the Court d'Appel exonerated Captain Alfred Dreyfus of all charges of German-Jewish espionage, the twenty-three year-old Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler opened his discrete two-room Galerie Kahnweiler at rue Vignon. Strategically close to Bernheim-Jeune and the Madeleine, this zone was fast becoming what Kahnweiler called “the commercial art centre”.¹ Following Louis Vauxcelles’ concept of the modern dealer as a rebel independent of the Paris gallery hierarchy known as “la bande des requins”, Kahnweiler put his faith in the avant-garde of his generation and they in him, as captured by him being photographed in Picasso’s studio (Fig. 1).² Zealously he attended the Salon des **Artistes** Indépendants and began buying the Fauve paintings of André Derain and Maurice Vlaminck, as well as those of Georges Braque and Kees Van Dongen.³ Intrepidly he exhibited Braque’s early Cubist paintings rejected by the 1908 Salon d’Automne. So avidly did he collect Cubism that by the time Pablo Picasso had painted his Cubist portrait of him during thirty sittings (Fig. 2), Kahnweiler had invested much of his 25,000 francs yearly income in acquiring two-thirds of Picasso’s studio with more artwork by Braques, **Juan** Gris and Fernand Léger than any other gallery. Quickly acquiring the reputation of “le marchand parisien des cubistes”,⁴ Kahnweiler cultivated such French patrons as Roger Dutilleul,⁵ alongside German, Russian, Czech and Swiss collectors.⁶ Yet after the Morocco crisis when *L’Action Française* launched its German-Jewish conspiracy campaign while other newspapers engaged in sensationalizing German infiltration of French culture as “pénétration pacifique”, a rupture and transformation ensued in Kahnweiler’s strategies.

Once Cubism became politicized as a German-Jewish conspiracy and a form of “pénétration pacifique” concocted by German art dealers to sabotage the French art market, no longer did Kahnweiler cultivate French collectors. Instead he pursued an exclusive international marketing policy strategically placing Cubist artwork by Picasso, Braque, Gris and Léger in avant-garde exhibitions stretching from Heinrich Thannhauser's Modern Munich Gallery to Michael Brenner's Washington Square Gallery. Yet the very success of Kahnweiler's internationalist tactics to cultivate an aura of global celebrity and selectivity around his artists, amidst *avant-guerre* discourses of persecutionist paranoia and espionage phobia, paradoxically inscribed his Cubists with Pan-Germanism. Correlatively he became aligned with a spyring of German Jewish art-dealers conspiring to disrupt French art market supremacy with dire ramifications. By the outbreak of the First World War, his gallery stock had become branded as “enemy goods”. By unravelling the constellation of conditions in which this transpired, this chapter will endeavour to reveal why Kahnweiler's internationalization ultimately proved so perilous to his entire stock and why, after the Armstice, every artwork that he had collected in France was sequestered by the French State.

Dealing with Anti-Germanism and Anti-Semitism: The Morocco Crisis, “Jewish-German Espionage” and “pénétration pacifique”

By the Morocco crisis in 1911 when France and Germany were on the brink of war, Kahnweiler's art dealing business had quietly burgeoned. Although Braque's November 1908 Cubist exhibition had been the first and last one-man show at the Galerie Kahnweiler, the latest paintings of Braque, Picasso, Manolo, Derain, Vlaminck, Gris and Léger were continually hanging on his gallery walls covered with sackcloth where they could be viewed by such international clients as the Czech, Vincenc **Kramář**, and the Russian modernist collectors, **Sergei Schhutkin** and Ivan **Morozov**.⁷ Successfully aligning his Modernist painters with Modernist writers, Kahnweiler had launched his *Livres d'artistes*, *Éditions Kahnweiler* **with**

Derain designing the emblem and illustrating Guillaume Apollinaire's *L'Enchanteur pourrissant* in 1909 and with Picasso illustrating Max Jacob's *Saint Matorel* in 1911.⁸ At Roger Fry's behest, Kahnweiler had made his first tentative foray into the London art market, sending three paintings by Derain and five by Vlaminck to the 1910 *Manet and the Post-Impressionist* exhibition at the Grafton Galleries.⁹ That year, he had also sent on consignment to the Neue Künstlervereinigung in Munich, four paintings each by Braque, Derain and Vlaminck with three drawings by Picasso and had despatched paintings by Derain, Vlaminck and Van Dongen to the Wallraf-Richartz Museum in Cologne.¹⁰ This marks the inception of Kahnweiler's policy of internationalism, particularly in Germany, which would become far more dynamic and strategic after the "German-Jewish Expionnage" and "pénétration pacifique" campaigns erupted following the Morocco crisis, Salon d'Automne Cubist scandal and the politicization of Cubism.

In 1909 when Braque had exhibited his Cubist painting at the Salon des Artistes Indépendants, the term "Cubists" gained currency.¹¹ By the Morocco crisis, Braque and Picasso had completed over one hundred Cubist paintings, including Picasso's Cubist portrait of Kahnweiler (Fig. 1), as well as his Cubist portraits of Wilhelm Uhde and Ambroise Vollard. However none of these were shown at either the Salon des Artistes Indépendants or the Salon d'Automne, Kahnweiler regarding a policy of exclusivity as far more efficacious in cultivating cudos for his artists than one of public exposure, particularly amidst the prickly Anti-German and Anti-Semitic cultural politics that erupted with the Morocco crisis.¹² Before the Morocco crisis, Cubists were inscribed by the national press as "farceurs", "fumistes" and "mystificateurs", particularly Albert Gleizes, Henri Le Fauconnier, Fernand Léger and Jean Metzinger when they had exhibited in Salle 41 at the 1911 Salon des Artistes Indépendants.¹³ After the Morocco crisis and the Franco-Prussian Accord, a dramatic discursive shift ensued. This was as evident in press discourses as it was in the spate of anticubist cartoons spawned

from the moment the controversial “Disaccord” was negotiated between France and Germany to settle the Agadir Crisis at the same time as *La Gioconda* disappeared from the Louvre.¹⁴

When Germany had refused to leave Agadir until French troops had withdrawn, and refused to grant France its protectorate over the Moroccan people until Germany had been ceded the French Congo, the Franco-German Accord had been negotiated. Spurned by *L’Action Française* as the “Désaccord”, from this moment onwards this virulent Anti-Semitic Royalist newspaper ran a series of articles in which scaremongering tactics were relentlessly deployed to convey the impression that France was under siege. From 17 September 1911 until the outbreak of the First World War, *L’Action Française* regularly published unsubstantiated reports of German-Jewish conspiracies under the ominous headline, “Jewish-German Espionage”.¹⁵ In these articles, the alien and the French-based German Jew were conflated into a single traitor conspiring with Germany to sabotage France not just militarily, but industrially, commercially and culturally. From the first article, the French Jew was accused of conspiring with Germans to bring about the invasion of French forts in the East while sabotaging France financially.¹⁶ By the First Balkan War when *L’Action Française* was well into its second series, their readers had been warned of French corporate takeovers by German conglomerates, the sabotage of French mines by Krupp and the German infestation of French car manufacturers.¹⁷ They were also warned that German-Jewish infiltration extended to major government positions as supposedly demonstrated by Berthold Frischauer’s purported manipulation of the Zola Monument Committee and Salomon Reinach’s promotion to Keeper of the National Museums.¹⁸ Upon the theft of **Leonardo da Vinci’s** *Mona Lisa* in August 1911, their Anti-Germanism and Anti-Semitism reached fever pitch.

Immediately *L’Action Française* announced that it was the result of a German-Jewish sabotage of the Louvre masterminded by Reinach.¹⁹ The Louvre was lambasted by Charles Maurras for having become a hotbed of Jews who were responsible for debasing a place which epitomized “le point du monde où l’esprit de la tradition leur a manifesté son avantage décisif

sur l'esprit des Révolutions."²⁰ In an article ominously entitled "Le vol de la «Joconde» : Le Louvre enjuivé", Maurras' colleague, Léon Daudet, connected its disappearance with the German-Jewish takeover of the Louvre and the long-standing Jewish cultural conspiracy that he maintained had begun upon Separation of Church and State in 1905 with the pillage of treasures from churches, convents and bishoprics.²¹ "Jews who do not traffic in money and human flesh", he gleefully explained to his readers, "generally traffic in artworks."²² Since Reinach's "compatriot", as Maurras called Alfred Dreyfus, had supposedly no compunction in selling secret documents on French national defence to Germany, so Daudet contended that Reinach, as one of the so-called "Juifs de Joconde", had followed suit "masking and camouflaging the stolen painting just as he had masked and camouflaged so many artworks for American collections."²³ This "ritual murder of French masterpieces", as Daudet called it, was not just prompted by the profit motive but, he asserted, was part of a Jewish plot to takeover the entire culture of France.²⁴

Already those called "Jews and méteques" by Maurice Pujo in *L'Action Française* had, he asserted, taken over the Paris Salons, particularly the Salon d'Automne which he claimed they had invaded in "fantastic proportions".²⁵ Already they had also taken over art-dealing, according to *L'Action Française* art critic, Louis Dimier.²⁶ "The reign of the barbaric merchant", as Dimier called it, that had supposedly displaced civilized connoisseurs was caused, he maintained, by Jewish gallery owners, although he refrained from casting specific aspersions, secure in the knowledge that his readers would have been sufficiently aware that these Jewish gallery owners included Nathan Wildenstein, Joseph (Josse) and Gaston Bernheim-Jeune, Berthe Weill, Adolphe Basler and Kahnweiler.²⁷ Once the xenophobic dimension of these conspiracy theories was pursued with a vengeance by the national press, it was not a French-born Catholic, legitimated by the principle of *jus sanguinis*, who stood as the accused for the theft of the *Mona Lisa* and two Iberian statues subsequently found missing from the Louve. Instead it was a "métèque" supposedly born in Poland of a Jewish family with

German affiliations and who was the writer most closely identified with Cubism: This was none other than Wilhelm de Kostrowitzky who had become known as Guillaume Apollinaire.²⁸ Hence despite Kahnweiler's tactics of keeping his Cubists out of the public domain, unbesmirched by abject associations, Cubism became identified with Germanism, Semitism and invasion by infiltration. By no means limited to *L'Action Française*, this "invasion" was sensationalized by the national press as "pénétration pacifique".

Even before *L'Action Française* had headlined the admission of German Jewish thieves to the Paris stock exchange, *Paris-Midi* had already done so.²⁹ Such other newspapers as the centrist, *Le Matin*, and the Radical, *Le Radical*, published reports of German products saturating the French market at the same time as German businessmen took over French businesses. They were joined by the popular Anarcho-Communist magazine, *L'Assiette au Beurre* to which many avant-garde artists contributed cartoons, including František Kupka.³⁰ Like the articles in *L'Action Française*, its cartoons seemed to seek to expose, albeit with ironic exaggeration and parodic distortion, the possibility of German "invasions" facilitated by strategies of dissimulation contrived by Jewish people. In a cover by Ricardo Floret where English toothpaste, American shoes and Egyptian cigarettes were depicted alongside cases marked *champagne de Paris*, beneath the title, "La Contrefaçon Allemande (MADE IN GERMANY)", Germany was portrayed as counterfeiting other nations' commodities, which it then exported as forgeries (Fig. 3).³¹ Only when country of origin needed to be divulged did the Germans reluctantly do so, as signified by another cartoon in this issue showing a Jew wielding a paint-brush over packaging to create the words, "MADE IN GERMANY" (Fig. 4).³² So alarming had this invasion become that, according to the moderate, centrist newspaper, *Le Matin*, "the protest against the insidious infiltration of anonymous German products, or those which masquerade under a French pseudonym, is mounting every day."³³ Yet when the abduction of national art treasures sensationalized by *L'Action Française* was followed by the French Police Commissionaire's confirmation that the *Mona Lisa* and two Iberian statues had

been stolen from the Louvre, French art was perceived as vulnerable to “pénétration pacifique”, as well as to corruption by such an alien art as Cubism promoted by Kahnweiler. This polemic came to a head when the Cubist room, *Salle XI*, at the 1912 Salon d’Automne opened with artworks by the Russian, Alexander Archipenko, the Czech, Kupka, the Austrian, **Moriz** Melzer, the Portuguese, Amadeo de Souza-Cardoza, the Pole, Louis Marcoussis and the Italian, Amedeo Modigliani, as illustrated by Fig. 5.

Dealing with Scandal: Salon d’Automne *Salle XI* and the Politicization of Cubism

Even before the 1912 Salon d’Automne *vernissage*, *Gil Blas* had forewarned its readers that they would need to remind themselves that the Grand Palais had been sanctioned for French art.³⁴ Yet when it opened on 1 October 1912 in the midst of the First Balkan War, the outrage exceeded all expectations. Immediately *Salle XI* at the centre of this Salon was attacked, which only intensified when the *Maison Cubiste* opened **there** a fortnight later.³⁵ Far from being welcomed as “*Le Triomphe de Cubisme*”, as parodied in a series of cartoons by Louis Marcoussis in which even the Salon Carré **at** the Louvre appeared cubified,³⁶ Léger’s *La Femme en bleu*, Metzinger’s *La Danseuse au café*, and Le Fauconnier’s *Montagnards attaqués par un ours*, which can be glimpsed in Fig. 5, were denounced as “intellectual deformations”,³⁷ their Cubist bodies being likened to decomposing syphilitics.³⁸ No stranger to invective, Apollinaire expressed surprise at this sudden crescendo of horror, venom and “gnashing of teeth” with accusations of degeneracy, disease, madness and abjection over avant-garde art.³⁹ Like others, he suspected it had erupted because Cubism had hit a raw nerve pertaining to the national psychopathology over degeneracy.

So rampant did degeneracy appear in the French Radical Republic by the 1912 Salon d’Automne, particularly “the venereal peril”, that it was identified as the source of France’s depopulation and the reason for its relative industrial and technological decline by comparison to Germany. From Neo-Darwinian and Neo Lamarckian perspectives, France’s degeneracy

was also viewed as an omen of devolution and ultimately, racial extinction. Although there were critics who recognized the connections between Cubism and the research being conducted on Non-Euclidian geometries, particularly by Henri Poincaré, most read their multiple perspectives of corporeal form experienced sensorially over time as signifying deformed and decomposing bodies.⁴⁰ As a corollary, they deduced that Cubism was trying to expose the **decomposition of the French body, particularly from “the venereal peril” of syphilis**, and the degeneration of the French race. Since it represented the antithesis of the Radical Republican Neo-Lamarckian mission to regenerate the body through modern sport and physical culture, it was perceived as un-French, if not anti-French and unpatriotic.⁴¹ Yet not only did the Cubist body appear as the evolutionary opposite of the healthy, wholesome “regenerated body”, but also as a form of madness able to induce madness, as epitomized by *Le Figaro's* cartoon showing the guardian of *Salle XI* so “*enragé*” that he needed to be escorted out by guards.⁴²

While Jean Claude in *Le Petit Parisien* branded the Cubists as degenerate, Vauxcelles likened their art to the ravings of idiots for which he was physically attacked by two of the *Salle XI* Cubists.⁴³ In engendering what *Le Matin* senior art critic, Georges Lecomte, called “repugnant deformations”, Picasso and the Salon d'Automne Cubists were accused of betraying French art. Although conspicuously absent from this Salon, long had Picasso been mythologized as the leader of Cubism, as confirmed by Gris’ Cubist portrait of him displayed six months earlier at the 1912 Salon des Artistes Indépendants.⁴⁴ As Picasso’s Cubism, just like the Cubism displayed in *Salle XI*, was seen as un-French and equivalent to “Made in Germany” products and personnel peacefully infiltrating France, Cubism became inscribed as an alien and abject art that had been promoted by a German-Jewish art dealer to corrupt French taste and to corrode the supremacy of French art from the inside. Once inscribed as degenerate and conspiratorially identified with “*pénétration pacifique*”, this is why it became so quickly the subject of political intervention.

“Never had nature and the human form been subjected to such outrage”, declared the powerful Paris Councillor, Pierre Lampué, in his open letter to the Arts Minister. “In this Salon where it spreads, ugliness accumulates.”⁴⁵ The artists who had produced it were no better than, he declared, “a band of hooligans who behave in the world of arts like *apaches*”.⁴⁶ In correlating the Salon d’Automne Cubists to “*apaches*”, Lampué was identifying them with the violent criminal underworld subculture known as “the sore of Paris”, which had become notorious for their assaults and muggings with folding knives and pistols in most arrondissements, particularly Belleville.⁴⁷ Since the State's most prestigious monument for contemporary art in Lampué's constituency had been defiled by the most vulgar human deformations that he considered had ever been perpetrated in the history of French art, this is why Lampué likened the Cubist perpetrators to dangerous gangsters, as he did those who had let this happen.

Seizing Lampué's letter, *Le Matin* was the first Parisian daily to publish it in full on its front page under the provocative headline, “The Salon d'Automne is a Scandal”.⁴⁸ It also published Lampué's brutal indictment of the Salon d’Automne President, Frantz Jourdain, for permitting this exhibition, with a photograph of his head wedged between photographs of two Cubist paintings, *Femme en bleu* and *Paysage*, exhibited by Léger, who by this time had become one of the Cubists represented by Kahnweiler.⁴⁹ This appeared below the sensationalist headlines: “Don't bother searching, this is art; the State lends ... the Grand Palais to it and the Arts Minister inaugurates it”.⁵⁰ As a corollary of the stigmatization of Cubism as an alien, criminal art, Jourdain was vilified as a felonious alien simply for having been born in Brussels. Amidst paranoia seething over “Made in Germany” commodities “peacefully penetrating” France, as captured by Figs. 3 and 4, as well as the Alsation, Henri Zislin's cartoon of a German businessman taking over Jacques Bonhomme's business, Cubism became indicted as a German-Jewish conspiracy concocted by its German-Jewish dealer.⁵¹

Fuelled by the sensationalist German-Jewish espionage reports published almost daily by *L'Action Française*, the very discretion with which Kahnweiler conducted his affairs became vulnerable to misconstrual as “pénétration pacifique”. Not hesitating to sensationalize the seeming collusion between Cubism and its German-Jewish dealer, a pamphlet on “the deplorable Cubists” had been circulated at the 1912 Salon des Artistes Indépendants.⁵² Headed *The Kubistes and Konistes*, it declared that they “have understood nothing about my [use of] ‘K’”.⁵³ This replacement of the letter “C” with an alliteration of the Germanic “K”, subtly identified the Cubists as German or, at least, as conspiring with a German whose surname began with ‘K’, which only seemed to be corroborated by the glowing articles in the German arts magazine, *Pan*, entitled “Kubisme”.⁵⁴ The invasion of this alien art had supposedly left the Salon d'Automne open to more alien artists from Germany, according to the prestigious art critic for *Le Temps*, François Thiébaud-Sisson, who had eclipsed French Art with their nightmarish fabrications.⁵⁵ Their takeover of the Salon d'Automne exhibition and Jury, as well as French contemporary art, was described by Thiébaud-Sisson in the same terms as “pénétration pacifique” having wrought, he concluded, “La crise de la peinture française”.⁵⁶ That these alien Cubists, spelt with the German “K”, had supposedly conspired with their German-Jewish dealer to invade the Salon d'Automne and degrade French art was sensationalized by the Anti-Semitic press. It was also hinted at when Cubism and through its association with it, the Salon d'Automne, became the subject of debates in the Chambre of Deputies. As the Député, Vincent Auriol, declared to the Chambre of Deputies, French art was being seriously menaced by the persistent efforts of neighbouring nations, particularly Germany.⁵⁷

How the greatness of France's artistic patrimony had been damaged by degeneracy and madness being exhibited in its *Grand Palais*, as epitomized by Cubism, was passionately expounded in the Chambre of Deputies Cubism debates by the Socialist Député, Jean-Louis Breton.⁵⁸ His **inflammatory supposition** that Cubism had been perpetrated by alien artists, and

exhibited in France's great palace in order to disgrace French art, **immediately** galvanized support across parliament.⁵⁹ Only the Socialist Député for Montmartre who wholeheartedly supported avant-garde art, Marcel Sembat, questioned why Cubism had been indicted as an alien art when the Salon Cubists were predominantly French.⁶⁰ He also rhetorically questioned why the entire 1912 Salon d'Automne exhibition of 1,770 artworks had been denounced due to 32 Cubists, and why the Cubist exhibition in two rooms out of thirty at the Salon d'Automne had been likened to an invasion.⁶¹ In his answer, Sembat pointed out how, during this *avant-guerre* when France and Germany were at war by subterfuge and when outcries over German espionage, commercial takeovers and cultural infiltration erupted daily, this was why so many were so easily alarmed by "revolutionaries".⁶²

Two years earlier when the Munich Decorative Arts **exhibition** had opened at the 1910 Salon d'Automne, a similar furore had erupted. French critics had expressed alarm at the threat to the charm, harmony, lightness, elegance and grace of French art posed by the severe geometries and awkward heaviness of German designs.⁶³ The very geometricity of Cubism, its decomposition of harmonious form and its seeming absence of grace not only made it seem un-French but also aligned it with Germanism, an inscription that became widespread during the First World War when Cubism became identified with the destructiveness of Germans and their purportedly compulsive death-drive to destroy all French art and culture.⁶⁴ Amidst this siege *avant-guerre* psychosis, French cultural supremacy was perceived as threatened by this invasive art alien to the French culture led by such alien artists as Picasso, not just by journalists and art critics, but by politicians. Since Picasso, Braque, Gris and Léger were perceived within this delusive trope as being controlled by the German-Jewish art dealer of Cubism, this left Kahnweiler in a precarious position. If he wished to continue dealing from the modern art centre of Paris, as I have called it, Kahnweiler realized that he would need to withdraw from the French art market altogether, abjure any contact with the Paris Salons and not draw any public attention to his gallery where he hung the latest Cubist artwork by Picasso,

Braque, Gris and Léger.⁶⁵ His strategy of concealment to the point of invisibility in France was to be complemented by his counter strategy of maximum exposure and visibility outside of it. This entailed developing an exclusive international marketing policy and the cultivation of an extensive network of international collectors. As Kahnweiler surmized more than forty years later to Francis Crémieux, “my business has always been much more an export business than a business within France.”⁶⁶ He then elaborated what this meant: “You must realize that the foundation of my activity has always been relations with other countries, the organization of exhibitions in other countries. In fact, in our total volume of business, exports outweigh sales in France by a very large margin.”⁶⁷

Dealing with Enmity: Exclusive Contracts, *La Peau de l'Ours* and Internationalization

To cultivate this “export business”, Kahnweiler decided to take control of artistic production by issuing exclusive contracts to his artists. In exchange for a monthly salary, his artists would then give him exclusive rights to their output and agree neither to sell their artwork to any other dealer nor exhibit it publicly in France – particularly at the Paris Salons. “At that time I really did have written contracts, something I no longer do”, Kahnweiler explained to Crémieux. “The painter promised to sell me his whole production. I promised to buy it, and the prices were determined by the dimensions, as it has always been done.”⁶⁸

At the height of the Paris Council furore over Cubism, on 30 November 1912 Braque was issued with a one-year exclusive contract for his paintings and drawings, as well as his papiers-collés.⁶⁹ During Sembat’s “defence of Cubism” in the Chambre of Deputies, a one-year exclusive contract was prepared for Derain.⁷⁰ Just after Sembat’s “defence of Cubism”, a three-year contract was negotiated with Picasso stipulating that he would receive a monthly salary on condition that he could only sell his paintings, sculptures, drawings and engravings to Kahnweiler at prices stipulated in the contract – the highest of all those negotiated – with the exception of artwork Picasso needed to keep for himself.⁷¹ After the Salon d’Automne

regulations were changed to prevent foreign artists from holding office,⁷² an exclusive contract was issued on 20 February 1913 to Gris and on 1 August 1913 to Léger.⁷³ These contracts meant that Kahnweiler had the power to place these artist's works in whatever international exhibition and with whatever dealer he considered would be beneficial for their international validation, without requiring their permission. These contracts also gave him the power to elevate their sale prices internationally. With his artists' work being shown in Amsterdam, Budapest, Cologne, Frankfurt, Munich, New York and London, paradoxically, as Pierre Assouline observes, "when the artworld was saying over and over again that it is to Paris that all must go, Kahnweiler, himself, exhibited everywhere save Paris."⁷⁴

Once these contracts were secured, Kahnweiler devoted his energy to expanding his international network in Germany, particularly through his business partner in Düsseldorf, Alfred Flechtheim, who had opened a gallery at Alleestrasse 7, and had reputedly spent his wife's dowry on acquiring Cubist artwork from Kahnweiler.⁷⁵ As internationalist and antinationalist as Kahnweiler, Flechtheim readily accepted the artwork of Picasso, Braque, Gris and Léger on a sale or return consignment basis with the profit margin to be divided equally between them.⁷⁶ He also accepted Kahnweiler's condition that no reciprocal arrangement would be extended for him to take Flechtheim's stock.⁷⁷ Exhibiting Cubism in his gallery in Düsseldorf, with the sponsorship of Paul Cassirir, Flechtheim was soon able to sell six Cubist paintings by Picasso to collectors and paintings by Picasso, Braque, Gris and Léger to major institutions.⁷⁸ With a network stretching across Germany and Switzerland, Flechtheim was also instrumental in placing Picasso and Braque's work in Berlin, Basel, Cologne and Zurich, as well as at the Second *Der Blaue Reiter* exhibition at the Neue Kunst Hans Goltz Gallery in Munich and at Herwarth Walden's *Galerie der Sturm* in Berlin.⁷⁹ He was just as instrumental in exhibiting their artwork with the cosmopolitan Sonderbund Artists' Association with as many as sixteen paintings by Picasso being hung at their international exhibition in Cologne alongside seven Braques.⁸⁰

Through Kahnweiler's other business partners, Heinrich Thannhauser and his son, Justin, as well as his close connections with Adolphe Basler, Otto Feldmann,⁸¹ Vincenc Kramá, Hermann and Margit Rupf, Ivan Morozov, Sergei Shchukin, Roger Fry, John Quinn, and Alfred Stieglitz, Kahnweiler was able to mediate the exhibition and sale of his Cubist stock far and wide.⁸² After organizing a solo exhibition of Picasso's drawings at the Stafford Gallery in London, Kahnweiler negotiated with Roger Fry to hang four Braques, seven Derains, nine Vlamincks and as many as thirteen Picassos in the Second Post Impressionist Exhibition at the Grafton Galleries in London, including his *Head of a Man*.⁸³ Not wasting a moment, in January 1913 Kahnweiler was able to exhibit two Braques alongside five Derains and three Vlamincks at the Rheinischer Kunstsalon in Cologne.⁸⁴ The following month he was able to show Braque's and Picasso's paintings as well as Picasso's etchings for *Saint Matorel* in Budapest.⁸⁵ Finally in March at *Moderne Galerie Heinrich Thannhauser* in Munich, Kahnweiler was able to mount the largest solo exhibition ever of Picassos: Over six weeks 76 paintings and 38 artworks on paper, including Picasso's *Femme au Violon*, which had been shown earlier at the Sonderbundes.⁸⁶ For the Armory Show travelling from New York to Boston and Chicago, Kahnweiler sent three Braques and four Picassos, including his *Woman with a Mustard Pot*, which was reproduced for the catalogue, and *Girl with a Mandolin (Fanny Tellier)*, which was reproduced in the *New York Times* and which helped to colour the Show as Cubist and unleash a spate of satire.⁸⁷ By October 1913, fifty Picasso paintings were on permanent display in Moscow at Shchukin's Gallery's huge Picasso Room. By December 1913, they were exhibited at *Le Valet de carreau* exhibition in Moscow; Feldmann's Neue Gallery in Berlin; Emile Richter's Kunstsalon in Dresden; Galerie Mirthke in Vienna; Gottfried Tanner's Moderne Galerie in Zurich; the Basel Kunsthalle and the Edinburgh Society of Scotch Artists.⁸⁸ Through Kahnweiler's exclusivist strategy, Werner Spies surmizes that Picasso and Braque "quickly became the invisible heroes of Cubism. The journals did not cease to speak of them – but in Paris it was only possible to see them in the gallery on rue Vignon."⁸⁹

To secure this exposure, Kahnweiler's marketing policy entailed the promotion of articles and catalogues for which he readily provided photographs of all the works in his inventory on the stipulation that their reproduction be accompanied by an acknowledgement of his gallery. That this marketing ploy proved successful is illustrated by the massive mass media coverage excavated by the newspaper cutting services that he employed to document his strategy: *Argus de la Presse* and *Courrier de la Presse*. Not only did they reveal how the number of articles increased exponentially since Kahnweiler embarked upon his internationalist strategy but how they also became bigger and more international.⁹⁰ Copious references to Kahnweiler's artists were not just cited in the *Volkstimme* in Frankfurt, *Berliner Morgenpost*, *Gazetta del popolo* of Turin, *Le Journal* of Brussels but British and American newspapers from the *Pall Mall Gazette* to *The New Freewoman*.⁹¹

That Kahnweiler's internationalism swiftly proved to be a culturally and financially viable strategy is demonstrated not only by this escalating press coverage in tandem with the extensive exhibitions and sales. It is also demonstrated by the inventory done of Kahnweiler's Picassos at the end of May 1913, which revealed that his thirty-three oil paintings – including *Trois femmes* – were worth 158,550 francs.⁹² The success of Kahnweiler's strategy is revealed by the substantial increase in financial rewards his artists reaped, as illustrated by Picasso's income in 1913. After paying Picasso 27,250 francs for twenty-three recent paintings in March that year, less than nine months later Kahnweiler had given him 24,150 francs, making Picasso earnings for this year, according to Michael C. Fitzgerald's calculations, "his top salary so far".⁹³ The success of Kahnweiler's internationalist strategy is well demonstrated by the contract he negotiated in 1914 with Michael Brenner in New York – known as the Brenner-Coady contract – for two annual exhibitions of ten Picasso and ten Gris paintings in Brenner's Washington Square Gallery and for Brenner to be given exclusive rights to sell their artwork in the United States for no less than 2,500 francs.⁹⁴ So lucrative did this deal prove to be that only a month and a half after signing this contract, Brenner and Kahnweiler decided to extend it

until 1 May 1916 for double the minimum sales figure, which was subsequently increased a month later to 6,000 francs.⁹⁵ Yet the success of Kahnweiler's exclusive internationalist strategy was demonstrated even more by the unexpectedly high prices attained by Kahnweiler's artists at *La Peau de l'Ours* Auction at the Hôtel Drouot.⁹⁶

While Kahnweiler encouraged Morozov and Schukin to bid on some of the twelve Picasso paintings that were auctioned, particularly *Les Bateleurs*, otherwise known as *La Famille des saltimbanques*, it was Kahnweiler's German business partner, Heinrich Thannhauser, who acquired it for 12,650 gold francs – nearly thirteen times the amount paid for it only five years earlier.⁹⁷ In “the blinking of an eye”, wrote Simone Ricci, the sale prices of almost every Modernist lot at the Hôtel Drouot far surpassed the reserves set by the established Parisian art dealers, Eugène Druet and Bernheim-Jeune.⁹⁸ Far from liquidating avant-garde art, particularly Cubism, as the neo-nationalist press had eagerly anticipated, this auction proved that their sales prices were rapidly appreciating. With the sale total representing quadruple of *La Peau de l'Ours* group investment directed by André Level, this auction demonstrated the investment viability of collecting avant-garde art, as well as its profitability for avant-garde artists given that 20% of the sales were set aside for droit de suite.⁹⁹ “The proof was all too clear”, Assouline surmizes. “Modern art sells.”¹⁰⁰ However the conspicuous presence and activity at the auction of the German art dealers, Flechtheim, Pietro Gaspari, Guthier from Dresden and Thannhauser struck an ominous note amongst many participants. When Thannhauser proved to be what Seymour de Ricci called the “the hero of the day”, buying the most highly priced Picasso, “the star-turn of the sale”, as de Ricci called it, “for well over its timidly set estimate of 8,000 francs”, in order to “import it to Germany for 11,500 francs”, the financial success of this auction was vulnerable to conflation with German infiltration of French culture.¹⁰¹ As the German art dealers at the auction were linked with Kahnweiler, and as the highest price was paid by his business partner, Thannhauser, the record prices attained at *La Peau de l'Ours* were construed by the neo-nationalist press as

masterminded by a German-Jewish auction ring formed to bid-up the sale prices of Cubism and modern painting as part of a conspiracy to corrupt French art. Of all the aspersions cast by the neo-nationalist press, the most vicious came from *Paris-Midi*.

In *Paris-Midi's* publication of the report by the British Consul-General to Dusseldorf, Germany was presented as being the most productive and prosperous nation in Europe.¹⁰² With exports having doubled between 1912 and 1913, coal production having quadrupled and iron production having increased six times since 1880, German industry and exports well outstripped French although, as *Paris-Midi* hastened to add, Germany still had to import most of its grain, beef and wine.¹⁰³ Unsettled by its rapid growth in power, Germany had been represented by *Paris-Midi* throughout 1913 as not just being militarily threatening and penetrating French retail markets, but industrially and commercially rivalrous of France. While readily reporting German rigging of the French stock exchange and sabotaging of industry, this newspaper was not reticent to portray Germany as envious of France's cultural supremacy, especially once the quadrennial International Art Exhibition opened at the Munich Glass Palace (*Internationale Kunstausstellung, Glaspalaste*) just before the 1913 Salon d'Automne.¹⁰⁴ Following an article entitled *Chez les indésirables*, the term “indésirables” had also been used by *Paris-Midi* to represent the Cubists as invaders.¹⁰⁵ In its reference to the 1913 enquêtes conducted by Francis Carco in *L'Homme Libre*, the Cubists were derided by *Paris-Midi* as “indésirables” for supposedly being closely allied with German culture.¹⁰⁶ Through Apollinaire at *L'Intransigeant* and André Salmon at *Paris-Journal* and *Gil Blas*, there were also regular reports of French Modernism, particularly Cubism, being acquired by German collections.¹⁰⁷ Even Salmon's proclamations that French modern painting occupied “la place maîtresse” at Alfred Flechtheim's Dusseldorf Gallery (*Galerie Alfred Flechtheim*) in January 1914, particularly with Picasso's “austères compositions cubistes”, paradoxically left Cubism vulnerable to misconstrual and contempt.¹⁰⁸ Following the high prices paid for these so-called “indésirables” by German collectors at *La Peau de l'Ours* auction, *Paris-Midi* then seized

upon this as new controvertible evidence of German intervention and, more specifically, of a German conspiracy deliberately hatched to inflate the market values of Cubist painting. This was expounded in an article that was all too consistent with “pénétration pacifique”, tellingly entitled “Before the Invasion”.¹⁰⁹

Already its author, Maurice Delcourt, had penned diatribes on Cubism. In this article, he asserted that Germans had deliberately pushed up the prices at this auction, particularly of the so-called “pasticheur”, Picasso, and what he called, “le bluff Cubiste”, in order to disrupt French art.¹¹⁰ As pastiches of Picasso's pastiches would then spread like a contagion to corrode French art, Delcourt speculated how the qualities of measure and order would gradually disappear from French national art to the great joy of Thannhauser and his compatriots.¹¹¹ “In the coming days”, he dramatically concluded, they “will no longer buy Picassos but ransack freely the Louvre museum, which will not be defended by either the blind snobs or the intellectual anarchists who comprise their unconscious accomplices. The money that they spent yesterday will have been well placed.”¹¹² By no means was Kahnweiler immune from other attacks. Even the Jewish art critic, Louis Mayer, known as Louis Vauxcelles, renown for his defence of avant-garde art, slyly pointed out that Kahnweiler was hardly the compatriot of père Tanguy, that Braque no longer swears by Kahnweiler and concluded “that there were a few too many Germans and Spaniards ... in the Fauve and Cubist business.”¹¹³

Hence paradoxically the very success of Kahnweiler's global market strategy during *avant-guerre* discourses of persecutionist paranoia and espionage phobia led to his Cubists becoming inscribed with Pan-Germanism while Kahnweiler became identified with a spying of German Jewish art-dealers conspiring to disrupt French supremacy in the art market. This was not just continually reinforced by the neo-nationalist press, but inadvertently by those critical supporters of Kahnweiler's artists, particularly Apollinaire, Roger Allard, Salmon and Maurice Raynal and their trumpeting of the German demand for Cubism.¹¹⁴ Their exuberant reports of the success of Cubist exhibitions in Germany only cemented suspicion of Cubism's

linkage with Germany, not France. Yet in light of this complexifying web of discourses in which Franco-German relationships were decoded as spy rings, the association of Kahnweiler, Uhde, Flechtheim, Basler and Heinrich Thannhauser – who had opened his vast *Moderne Galerie in Munich in 1909* – with Germanism, Judaism and the international market for French art was ripe for conspiratorial confluences.

This was brutally encapsulated by Tony Tollet's paper, *On the Influence of the Jewish-German Corporation of painting dealers in Paris on French Art*.¹¹⁵ Presented to the *Académie des sciences et belles lettres et arts*, Tollet accused German Jewish art-dealers of doubling as German spies in order to launch assaults on French culture and contaminate French taste.¹¹⁶ The evidence he cited for this cultural conspiracy conducted by a “cartel” of German-Jewish art dealers was the prevalence of avant-garde art, particularly Cubism, as illuminated by the following speech.

I want to speak to you of the crushing and pestilent influence that the cartel of painting dealers has had on French art for the last twenty years. I want to show you by what manoeuvres they come to falsify French taste; what influence they exerted to force the specimens with which they had first furnished their offices on our great public collections, and how they had imposed works stamped with German culture – Pointillist, Cubist, and Futurist, etc. – on the taste of our snobs ...

.¹¹⁷

Vitriolic as it was, Tollet's paper was by no means an isolated case but one of many examples demonstrating the intensification of persecutionist paranoia in which Cubism became conflated with Germanism.

Just before France declared War against Germany, the nation was portrayed as having become so invaded by German commerce and culture that it was posited as an outpost of Germany, with Cubism spelt with a K like its Maggi namesake – Kub-brand bouillon cubes – construed as a strategic Germanic instrument in its cultural imperialism, which was parodied

by Picasso in his 1914 Cubist painting in which the word “Kub” was central.¹¹⁸ Five days after War had been declared, the French Government ordered all advertisements for Maggi to be destroyed. This was even followed by a proposal from the Académie Française to eliminate the letter ‘K’ from the French alphabet.¹¹⁹ “Everything”, Tollet complained, “music, literature, painting, sculpture architecture, decorative arts, fashion everything – suffered the noxious effects of the asphyxiating gases of our enemies.”¹²⁰ That the German bombardment of French troops during the war was directly analogous to its pre-war assault on French culture was illuminated by Adolphe Willette's cartoon (Fig. 6) entitled “It’s not new!” While the French soldier is depicted as asphyxiated with poisonous gas, the French people were revealed as faring no better. Plagued with products marked *Made in Germany*, this includes beer, as signalled by Willette's waitress standing on a Munich labelled keg, as well as books, as signified by such authors as Friedrich Nietzsche and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe plus its excremental art – as epitomised by the juxtaposition of a Cubist painting with a toilet.¹²¹ After the Battle of Somme in a cartoon entitled *L’offensive Cubiste*, Willette’s colleague, the satirist Lucien Métivet, caricatured the war as a battle between a geometrical monster and “Artistes de France”, represented by Jean-Antoine Watteau, Eugène Delacroix and Honoré Daumier.¹²² So prevalent did the coupling of Cubism become with German painting, as signified by the term, *Cubisme est peinture boche*, that in 1916 these assertions by the revanchist-nationalist art writer, Camille Mauclair, and Salon des Artistes Français painter, Émile Bayard, were pastiched in a double-page spread in a new art journal supportive of Cubism and flanked with the art and statements by Cubists who were fighting against Germany in the war.¹²³

Due to his internationalism and particularly his dependence upon his German network, Kahnweiler was denounced as anti-France and therefore its enemy. This was why as soon as War with Germany was declared, Kahnweiler was classified as an “enemy alien” and forbidden to return to France. So much of an enemy had Kahnweiler become that within the first few months of war, Gris had requested that he not send letters to him in Paris but to Gris’

sister in Madrid, in order to avoid arousing his concière's suspicions.¹²⁴ "They say appalling things in the canteens of Montmartre and Montparnasse" Gris explained in a subsequent letter, "and make terrible accusations against myself and against anyone who had dealings with you."¹²⁵ Throughout the War, Kahnweiler's enemy status and alignment with the destruction of French culture through Cubism, would have only been exacerbated by the exhibitions continually mounted in France to reveal the mutilation of France's artistic heritage by German barbarity, epitomized by the year-long *Exposition d'œuvres d'art mutilées ou provenant des régions dévastées par l'ennemi*, organized by the Sous-Secrétaire d'État des Beaux-Arts and the Ville de Paris that opened at the Petit Palais on 25 November 1916.¹²⁶ Images of this devastation circulated rapidly through the national newspapers, **postcards** and in art magazines, as illustrated by the poignant photograph on the front page of *Les Arts* of the bombed chapel of Rheims in which its statue of the crucifixion was the only object left almost miraculously intact with the arms of Jesus appearing upraised as if railing against this catastrophe.¹²⁷ The rancour stirred by this exposure became **further** inflamed by the neo-nationalist press conflation of Germany's decimation of France's cultural heritage nationwide with the Cubist supposed contamination of French art initiated by Kahnweiler.

Even though Kahnweiler continued to pay rent on his rue Vignon Gallery, on 12 December 1914 his entire stock was sequestered by the French State as enemy property. Even though Braque and Léger fought for France, throughout the war and afterwards, Cubism continued to be identified as "la peinture boche": Krout painting.¹²⁸ Even though Picasso's collaboration with Jean Cocteau, Eric Satie, Serge Diaghilev and the Ballets Russes on *Parade* was organized for the benefit of the *mutilés de guerre* of the Eastern Ardenne region, performances were **reportedly** booed with outcries of "trahison", "métèques", "art munichois" and "Boches"!¹²⁹ The outrage galvanised by exposure of Germany's decimation of France's cultural heritage nationwide was further inflamed by Métivet's weekly caricatures, particularly his 16-page cartoon entitled "Marianne et Germania" to reveal how the embodiment of French

poise and grace had become corrupted by Art Nouveau designs, the Ballet Russes, Wagnerian music – banned from the French stage since 1915 – and most of all by Cubism.¹³⁰ “With indulgent smiles she watches as people are tricked by the ridiculous work of the Cubists”, he wrote, “cucubists, “art nouveau” furniture made by fraudulent cabinet makers.”¹³¹ After linking Cubism with German “junk” and “pseudo-imitation false rubbish” that Germany had supposedly “emptied” into France, Métivet then concluded with a dramatic exclamation to capture how this had culminated in Germany’s bloodthirsty obsession with demolishing France’s cultural heritage encapsulated by the *Exposition d’œuvres d’art mutilées*. “Kultur! Burn it down! Plunder it! Burgle it! Shoot it! Cut its throat! Let the fields and orchards be ravaged! Kultur! Then the universe will tremble, admire, applaud!”¹³²

Amidst this hostility, the well-connected French art dealer, Léonce Rosenberg, who had begun collecting Cubism before the War, was purportedly encouraged by Picasso to “save Cubism”.¹³³ Far from reticent to respond, as soon as Rosenberg began work as a volunteer for military service, he wrote to Kahnweiler’s Cubists, acquiring Picasso’s *Harlequin* as early as January 1915 and buying paintings directly from Gris three months later. Identifying himself as the saviour of Cubism and its new champion, by the end of 1916 he had contracted Braque and Gris, as well as Henri Laurens, Diego Rivera, Metzinger and Jacques Lipchitz, paying them all enough in monthly stipends to keep them working.¹³⁴ By 20 December 1916, when the modernist art market had begun to revive, Gris eagerly wrote to Rosenberg of “the artist’s stock exchange” at the Rotonde in Paris.¹³⁵ This burgeoning market was nourished by the new modernist journals, *SIC*, *Nord-Sud* and especially, *L’Élan*, named after Henri Bergson’s philosophy of “*L’élan vitale*” and launched in April 1915 by Amédée Ozenfant to foster French avant-garde art, including Cubism. With optimism buoying the modernist art market and critical support growing for Rosenberg’s Cubists amongst the avant-garde, by the end of 1918 Rosenberg felt sufficiently confident to open his *Galerie de L’Effort Moderne* with a succession of exhibitions by Laurens, Metzinger, Léger, Braque, Gris, Gino Severini, Picasso,

María Blanchard and Lipchitz. Yet despite the increasing visibility of Cubism, Vauxcelles remained undeterred in his anti-Cubist campaign in *Le Carnet de la Semaine*. By June 1918 in the article launching this campaign from 28 July-1 September 1918 under his pseudonym “Pinturricchio”, Vauxcelles maliciously announced the extinction of Cubism: “Integral Cubism is becoming exhausted, vanishing; evaporating”.¹³⁶

This so-called ‘evaporation’ of “Integral Cubism” was paradoxically exacerbated by the Cubists themselves. Disturbed by the continual besmirching of Cubism with France’s enemy and the alignment of them with traitors, many seemingly capitulated in their avant-garde practices and succumbed to the neo-nationalist imperative for French artists to return to French Classicism and recreate, if not regenerate, their patrimony. The beginning of this aesthetic rupture was observable in April 1916, according to the critic, Roger Bissière, who had written an article for *L’Opinion* tellingly entitled “The Wake-up of Cubists”, concluding that the “usefulness [of Cubism] has ceased to make itself felt, and whose disappearance seems almost a *fait accompli*.”¹³⁷ In his French Classicism inspired by Ingres, this aesthetic shift seem to be epitomized by Picasso’s pristine line drawings, particularly his portraits. Although this was pursued by Picasso alongside what Christopher Green has aptly called Picasso’s ‘Crystal Cubism’, a rationalization or crystallization of his pre-war Cubism, in January 1919 the Czechoslovakian Cubist painter, Otakar Kubin, noticed on settling back in Paris: “Cubism is something so outdated that one talks about it as one does of old news. Picasso now paints like Corot ... just recently he was painting like Ingres.”¹³⁸ This aesthetic shift was also observable in the Ingresesque line drawings of Gris, particularly in his portrait of Kahnweiler (Fig. 7). In stark contrast to Fig. 2, in Gris’ portrait of Kahnweiler executed in September 1921, every trace of the multiple perspectives and dissolution of form and space evident in Picasso’s Cubist portrait painted a decade earlier has been expunged. As Gris endeavoured to explain to Kahnweiler:

I have been thinking about what is meant by “quality” in an artist ... Well, now I believe that the “quality of an artist derives from the quantity of the past that he carries in him – from his artistic atavism. The more of this heritage he has, the more “quality” he has.¹³⁹

Nevertheless the Ingresque Classicism of Gris and Picasso did not deter Camille Mauclair. Even after the Treaty of Versailles when Kahnweiler had been permitted to return to Paris, Mauclair could not resist reinscribing Cubism as “Kroust” in his article “Cubisme et Bochie”.¹⁴⁰ Confounded with betrayal and treason through Cubism and his international art dealing, when legislation was passed to liquidate all enemy property after the Treaty of Versailles, Kahnweiler’s claim on his stock was dismissed as unlawful.

Only in February 1920 was Kahnweiler able to return to Paris. By May, he was able to lure both Braque and Gris back to his fold with lucrative contracts, as well as Laurens. Six months later he opened another gallery at 29 bis de la rue d’Astorg, prudently not in his own name but that of his French friend, André Simon.¹⁴¹ Optimistic about accessing his stock sequestered by the French State and showing it in his Galerie Simon, his hopes were soon dashed. No sooner had Germany defaulted on its compensations to France agreed under the Clauses of Reparation determined by the Treaty of Versailles – dubbed the “War Guilt Clause” – than the French State decided to sell all the stock sequestered from Germans who had resided in France.¹⁴² Yet given the swiftness with which the first auction of Kahnweiler’s stock was organized and held on 13-14 June 1921, after the League of Nations had agreed upon the final reparation figure of £6.6 billion **only** in April 1921, it would seem as if the French State were merely awaiting a pretext for doing so. Due to the identification of Kahnweiler’s and Uhde’s collections with Cubism and its connection with German and Jewish cultural conspiracies as well as an international, rather than national, network of German-Jewish art dealers, according to Christian Derouet, this is one of the major reasons why all of their collections were

designated to be sold at auction.¹⁴³ It was, Derouet concludes, an act of revanchist nationalism against the avant-garde and their dealers, specifically the German dealer of Cubism.¹⁴⁴ That it felt like bitter betrayal to Kahnweiler is revealed by his memoirs. “There was ... the absolute hostility of my colleagues”, he recalls, “the people in and around rue La Boétie who really hoped to ruin me.” Through ruining him, Kahnweiler concluded, “they simply hoped to ruin Cubism.”¹⁴⁵

Every artwork that Kahnweiler had bought and stored, as well as all of the *livres d'artiste* he had commissioned, were sold in four auctions from 1921 until 1923, followed by an auction of his private property that included his suits, hats and even his underwear.¹⁴⁶ As if to add insult to injury, Kahnweiler’s major rival, Léonce Rosenberg, who had opportunistically seized Kahnweiler’s position as the art dealer of Cubism during the First World War, was appointed as expert on three of the Auctions. Providing valuations for the auctioneers at the Hôtel Drouot and preparing the catalogues, nevertheless, as Derouet observes, invariably it was those Cubists whose artwork Rosenberg dealt with that were illustrated in the catalogue.¹⁴⁷ By no means were others unaware that Rosenberg was manipulating the auction for the benefit of his gallery and the ruin of Kahnweiler despite Rosenberg’s protests that it would be the “triumph of Cubism”. This was vividly illustrated by Braque’s verbal and physical assault upon the dealer followed by Matisse’s exclamation in support after Braque had punched Rosenberg in the face: “Braque is right, this man has stolen France and it is well known that he is doing this to steal France!”¹⁴⁸ No doubt Braque’s ire was inflamed by the prices of his artwork at these Auctions dropping before his very eyes by more than two-thirds. Not only was his substantially worked Cubist oil painting, *Bouteille de Rhum*, worth around 4,000 francs, blandly retitled as *Nature Morte* but also sold as *Lot 19* – as revealed by the auction sticker on the front (recto) of the canvas visible in the lower left hand corner of Fig. 8 – for as little 510 francs.¹⁴⁹ Yet by no means were Braque’s paintings the most devalued, as Malcolm Gee’s research has shown, those of Gris and Léger falling by nearly 90%.¹⁵⁰ Within this plummeting

market, Gris' portrait of Kahnweiler after his first sequestration sale and the auction of Uhde's collection may then be regarded as a defiant assertion of Kahnweiler's endurance and integrity as an art dealer dedicated to Braque's, Gris' and Leger's artwork, regardless of this overwhelming hostility, as signified by the paintings stacked directly behind him in Fig. 7, which **en**frame Kahnweiler's face and body. Nevertheless Kahnweiler was powerless to prevent his fall.

Not permitted to bid at these auctions, Kahnweiler formed a syndicate called Grassat with **his brother, Gustav**, Flechtheim, Hermann Rupf and **his step-daughter, Louise Leiris**, to endeavour to buy back some of his stock. **Although Kahnweiler gave them a list of lots to bid on, with few banks granting loans during the post-war recession, there was a limit to what they could do. Nevertheless in the first sequestration sale, they did manage to acquire 28 of the 130 paintings sold, including work by Braque, Gris and Léger, as well as all of Manolo's sculptures.¹⁵¹ However, none of the 26 paintings listed by Picasso, let alone his sculptures, gouaches, drawings or etchings for Max Jacob's *Saint Matorel*, seem to have been salvaged by Grassat, not even Picasso's portrait of Kahnweiler (Fig. 2).¹⁵² Despite Kahnweiler's estimate that it was worth at least 5,000 francs, it was significantly undervalued by Rosenberg at 3,000 francs and was sold in the First Auction for 2,000 francs to a M. Grunwald at 86 rue Notre Dame des Champs.¹⁵³ Even though Grassat were able to acquire 32 lots at the next sequestration sale, and further lots at the third and fourth sequestration sales, the auction prices were severely depressed, particularly of any artwork identified with Cubism. Only the non-Cubist artwork by Derain "held up, as one says on the stock exchange", according to a vengeful Vauxcelles in his article provocatively entitled "The Morality of A Sequestration". "It seems to me", he smugly concluded, "that the reign of the Cubists has come to an end".¹⁵⁴**

In looking back upon Kahnweiler's art dealing strategies from the perspective of these sequestration sales and the public disgrace they engendered, it is possible to conclude that while Kahnweiler's internationalism proved remarkably successful in launching his artists and

Cubism globally, when more than eight hundred of the artworks he had so assiduously fostered and collected were sold in four auctions by the State, ultimately it **proved** utterly perilous. Within Anti-German, Anti-Semitic neo-nationalist discourses, his internationalism indelibly inscribed him as an internationalist, not a French nationalist, who conducted business for the benefit of a network of Jewish-German art dealers and collectors, not French **Christian** ones. Within avant-guerre neo-nationalism, his conduct would have been construed as a form of betrayal of the nation in which he had made his home. This betrayal would have been regarded by such staunch Anti-German and Anti-Semitic revanchists as Léon Daudet and Camille Mauclair, as equivalent to treason. Within this constellation of conditions, the auction of Kahnweiler's entire stock and his personal affects may then be considered as an act of revenge to bring Kahnweiler's dealings with Cubism to an abrupt end. At a time of relative economic recession, it was a means of flooding the market with the cream of cubism, effectively devaluing it and earning the contempt and distrust of the very artists that Kahnweiler had supported, particularly Derain and Vlaminck. "When I think, Kahnweiler, that in rue Vignon you showed me a piece of paper with a few lines drawn on it in charcoal and a bit of newspaper glued to it, and told me it was beautiful", lamented Vlaminck, "And the sad part, Kahnweiler, is that I believed you!"¹⁵⁵ As Kahnweiler so astutely recognized, since no market in the world could withstand what he called the "avalanche" of Cubist artworks to be auctioned, it was not just a means of ruining Cubism, but of liquidating it from which it would not recover for more than twenty years.¹⁵⁶ Hence ultimately the Kahnweiler auctions may be regarded as a malicious tactic of both punishing Kahnweiler for having the temerity of dealing with Cubism internationally, **of purportedly betraying France** and of publicly disgracing him – **an experience that he so poignantly** likened to "assisting at his own execution".¹⁵⁷

Notes

¹ Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler and Francis Crémieux, *My Galleries and Painters*; 1st pb. *Mes Galeries et Mes Peintres* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1961; London: Thames & Hudson Ltd., 1971) pp. 34-35: *I had to look for a shop. The commercial art centre, after having been for dozens and dozens of years in rue Le Peletier and rue Lafitte, was in the process of shifting into the neighbourhood of the Madeleine. The house of Bernheim-Jeune, which had been in rue Lafitte, had opened one shop at the corner of boulevard de la Madeleine ... Druet, who had been in faubourg Saint Honoré, was moving to rue Royale, and it was in the same area that I found a little shop at 28 rue Vignon. It was occupied by a Polish tailor ... he rented it to me for 2400 francs a year, and it had only cost him 1800.*

² Pierre Assouline, *L'Homme de l'art: D.-H. Kahnweiler 1884-1979* (Paris: Éditions Balland, 1988) p. 60.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 35: *Every year I had visited the Salon des Indépendants, which in those days was truly the nursery of modern art, where everyone with the single exception of Picasso, exhibited. It was always open in those days, and there I began buying paintings by Derain and Vlaminck. This was in the middle of the Fauve period.*

⁴ Jacques de Gachons, “La Peinture d'après-demain(?)”, *Je sais tout*, 15 April 1912. Even then, he was closely questioned about his nationality and that of his artists.

⁵ *Les Années Cubistes 1907-1920 : chronologie, 1907*: II fait la connaissance du collectionneur Roger Dutilleul.

⁶ Liliane Meffre, «Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler : entre commerce et histoire de l'art», HiCSA - histoire culturelle et sociale de l'art, univ-paris1.fr/documents/pdf/CIRHAC, mentions Hermann Rupf, Wilhelm Uhde, Carl Einstein, Gottfried Friedrich Reber and Vincenc Kramář “client venu de Prague, ... un des premier acheteurs de toiles de Picasso (il acquit en 1911 chez Vollard l'autoportrait de Picasso peint en 1907), fréquente assidûment la rue Vignon.

⁷ Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler and Francis Crémieux, *My Galleries and Painters*, 1971, pp. 36-37.

⁸ Isabelle Monod-Fontaine, “Chronologie et Documents”, *Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler: Marchand, Éditeur, Écrivain* (Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou, 1984) pp. 100-103.

⁹ Assouline, *L'Homme de l'art*, pp. 150-151, mentions that Kahnweiler sent three paintings by Derain and five by Vlaminck. In “Manet and the Post Impressionists: a checklist of exhibits”, *The Burlington Magazine*, CLII, December 2010, p. 791, Anna Gruetzner Robins has identified these paintings, and also pointed out that this consignment included one Seine landscape by Pierre Girieud (no. 138). While Vlaminck's *Le Pont* (no. 109) was bought by Clive Bell, Derain's *Le parc de Saint-Carrières* (no. 118) is now in the [The Courtauld Gallery of Art](#).

¹⁰ Isabelle Monod-Fontaine, “Chronologie et Documents”, 1984, p. 104. These forays also include a photograph of a Cubist study by Picasso that Kahnweiler had sent to *The New Age*, at their request, which had been published by them in November 1911, and which had been described by G. K. Chesterton in “Impudent”, *Daily News*, 9 December 1911, as “a piece of paper on which Mr. Picasso has had the misfortune to upset the ink and tried to dry it with his boots.”

¹¹ Fae Brauer, *Rivals and Conspirators: The Paris Salons and the Modern Art Centre* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), p. 333.

¹² In Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler, *Mes Galeries et mes peintres. Entretiens avec Francis Crémieux* (Paris: Gallimard, 1961; 1982) p. 59, Kahnweiler maintained: *Ce n'est pas vrai que je le leur défends. C'est de leur propre mouvement qu'il s'abstiennent de prendre part aux Salons et aux expositions périodiques.* However, he also declared: *Ils ont ainsi l'avantage de ne pas se mélanger à la foule et de garder une certaine attitude discrète et aristocratique. Moi-même, je n'aime pas beaucoup cet esprit exhibitionniste des expositions.* One of the conditions stipulated in the contracts he drafted towards the end of 1912 was that his artists not exhibit in the Salons.

¹³ Fay Brauer, *L'Art Révolutionnaire: The Artist as Alien. The Discourses of Cubism, Modern Painting and Academicism in the Radical Republic*, PhD Thesis, The Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 1997, pp. 178-186.

¹⁴ Jeanne-Bathilde Lacourt, *Brouillon Kub, Les artistes cubistes et la caricature 1911-1918 : le catalogue* (Musée de l'Art Moderne de Villeneuve d'Asq, 2014).

¹⁵ Initially this series, *L'Espionnage Juif-Allemand*, ran weekly but by the end of October 1911, it ran every two to three days for a decade.

¹⁶ Fay Brauer, “Commercial spies and Cultural Invaders: The French press, *Pénétration-Pacifique* and Xenophobic Nationalism in the shadow of war”, *Printed Matters: Printing, publishing and urban culture in Europe in the modern period*, eds. Malcolm Gee and Tim Kirk (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing, 2002) p. 108.

¹⁷ “L'Espionnage Juif-Allemand II”, *L'Action Française*, 14, 16 and 25 August 1912; 1, 7, 11, 15, 16, 18 and 19 September 1912. These were all front-page reports.

¹⁸ Léon Daudet, “L'Espionnage Juif-Allemand”, *L'Action Française*, 17 September 1911, p. 1. An ardent anti-Dreyfusard, not surprisingly Daudet virulently opposed any monument being erected to Zola. Despite the immense distinctions earned in archaeology by Reinach, as well as in his position as Director of Musée des Antiquités Nationales at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, it was his family of German-Jewish bankers that Daudet stressed.

¹⁹ “Au Musée du Louvre: La «Joconde» volée”, *L’Action Française*, 23 August 1911, p. 1.

²⁰ Charles Maurras, “Au Louvre,” *L’Action Française*, 31 August 1911, p. 1.

²¹ Léon Daudet, “Le vol de la «Joconde», Le Louvre enjuivé”, *L’Action Française*, 25 August 1911, p. 1.

²² Ibid.: *Les juifs qui ne trafiquent pas sur l’argent et la chair humaine, trafiquent en général sur les objets d’art.* I am most grateful to Professor Neil McWilliam for bringing this quotation to my attention.

²³ L.D., “Juifs de Joconde: Les Reinach et Paul Léon”, *L’Action Française*, 26 August 1911, p. 1: *Il nous manque encore l’opinion d’un juif de Joconde : le juif mystérieux et caché qui se propose de maquiller et camoufler la tableau volé comme il a maquillé et camouflé tant d’objets d’art pour collections américaines.*

²⁴ Daudet, “Le vol de la «Joconde», *L’Action Française*, 28 August 1911.

²⁵ Maurice Pujo, “La Peinture au Salon d’automne,” *L’Action Française*, 28 October 1909.

²⁶ L. Dimier, “Chronique des Arts”, *L’Action Française*, 7 December 1913, p. 4.

²⁷ Ibid.: *Une véritable barbarie envahit le monde des acheteurs. ... Le nombre des amateurs éclairés diminue; les marchands sont en train d’éliminer ce qui reste. De plus en plus, la confiance que le public mettra dans les érudits sera le seul obstacle inopposé au règne de la barbarie marchands.* I am most grateful to Professor Neil McWilliam for bringing this quotation to my attention.

²⁸ Apollinaire was arrested in the evening of 8 September 1911. “Les Vols au Louvre, Une Arrestation”, *L’Action Française*, 9 September 1911, p. 1, was the first of many references to Apollinaire being Jewish, which included an accusation by Arthur Craven, published in *Maintenant*, March 1914. This connection may have been prompted by Apollinaire's mother's long liaison with Jules Weil although, as Apollinaire explained in a letter, anti-semites could not **imagine** a Pole not being a Jew.

²⁹ “L’Introduction des voleurs allemands à la Bourse de Paris”, *Paris-Midi*, 15 September 1911, p. 1; Léon Daudet, “Le Bilan du Trimestre”, *L’Action Française*, 4 October 1911, p. 1. The cartoon entitled *La Caricature à l’étranger*, which appeared on the front page of *Paris-Midi*, became a regular feature.

³⁰ Fae Brauer, “Magnetic Modernism: František Kupka's Mesmeric Abstraction and Anarcho-Cosmic Utopia”, *Utopia: The Avant-Garde, Modernism and (Im)possible Life*, EAM book series, eds. David Ayers, Benedikt Hjartarson, Tomi Huttunen, Harri Veivo, *European Avant-Garde and Modernism Studies* (Berlin & Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015) pp. 123-153.

³¹ Ricardo Floret, “La Contrefaçon Allemande (MADE IN GERMANY), *L’Assiette au Beurre*, no. 559, 30 December 1911, front cover.

³² “La Contrefaçon Allemande (Made in Germany)”, *L’Assiette au Beurre*, no. 559, 30 December 1911, p. 4.

³³ “L’Opinion française commence à s’alarmer”, *Le Matin*, 8 October 1912, p. 1.

³⁴ “Au Salon d'Automne”, “Les Arts”, *Gil Blas*, 11 September 1912, p. 5: *Le Grand Palais n'est plus le paisible asile favorable aux bucoliques. ... Les éleveurs placides ont fait place aux peintres ardents et aux décorateurs fiévreux, car parfois, rarement encore, on se souvient que le Grand-Palais consacré est à l'Art français. ... Et de quel œil les jeunes cubistes, intransigeants, impitoyables ...*

³⁵ Located by the prestigious Nineteenth Century Portrait Exhibition, the Cubist Room was regarded as being at the Centre of this tenth Salon d'Automne, which was only reinforced by spectators having to pass through it in order to reach the Portrait Exhibition.

³⁶ Louis Marcoussis, “Le Triomphe du cubisme”, *La Vie Parisienne*, no. 3642 (12 December 1912), p. 366; Brauer, *Rivals and Conspirators*, 2013, p. 359.

³⁷ Paul Sentenac: *... une déformation intellectuelle*; Brauer, *Rivals and Conspirators*, 2009, p. 354.

³⁸ M.-C. Jacquemaire, “Le Salon d'Automne”, *L'Homme Libre*, 24 November 1913, p. 1. *Inutile de dire que les lumières et les ombres sont réparties au hasard. Une autre formule est celle des chairs tombant en décomposition. Les visages coulent de toutes parts. Les yeux tombent sur le nez, le nez dans la bouche et les cheveux tout autour. Cela est répugnant ... la laideur, l'extravagance et le désordre.*

³⁹ Guillaume Apollinaire, «Jeunes peintres ne vous frappez pas», *Bulletin de la Section d'Or*, Galerie la Boétie, 9 October 1912: *Pourquoi tant de colères, messieurs les censeurs. Les cubistes ne vous intéressent-ils point? Ne vous y intéressez donc point. Mais voilà des cris, des grincements de dents, des appels au gouvernement ...*

⁴⁰ Fae Brauer, “The Einstein Eclipse: The Paradigmatic Fourth Dimension in Modern Art Before and After Relativity”, *Art History* (Vol. 39, Iss. 1 February 2016) pp. 182-188.

⁴¹ For the Radical Republic Neo-Lamarckian mission to regenerate the French body, refer Fae Brauer, “Becoming Simian: Devolution as Evolution in Transformist Modernism”, Chapter Seven, *Picturing Evolution and Extinction: Regeneration and Degeneration in Modern Visual Culture*, eds. Fae Brauer and Serena Keshavjee (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015) pp. 127-156; Fae Brauer, “Eroticizing Lamarckian Eugenics: The Body Stripped Bare during French Sexual Neoregulation”, *Art, Sex and Eugenics: Corpus Delecti*, eds. Fae Brauer and Anthea Callen (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing, 2008) pp. 97-138. **The cultural politics of the regenerated body is the subject of my current book entitled *Regenerating Men's Bodies: Modernist Biocultures, Neo-Lamarckian Eugenics and the French Fitness Imperative*.**

⁴² “C'est le gardien des fauves qu'on emmène ... Il est devenue enragé”, Max Aghion, “Au Salon d'Automne – Les Victimes”, *Les Temps*, 8 October 1912, p. 4; Archives Nationales de France.

⁴³ Guillaume Apollinaire, “Vernissage, l'inauguration du Salon d'Automne, Un petit incident au Grand-Palais”, *L'Intransigeant*, 1 October 1912, p. 1; also refer Louis Vauxcelles, *L'Intransigeant*, 3 October 1912, p. 2: *Mon*

cher directeur, ... l'Intransigeant d'hier annonce que quelques peintres cubistes ... «m'ont injurié copieusement». Faites-moi l'honneur de croire qu'il n'est pas de mon caractère de me laisser injurier «copieusement» sans répondre à l'insulteur. J'ai, en effet, répliqué aux deux jeunes malappris que l'incident aurait sa solution normale sur le terrain.

⁴⁴ Brauer, *Rivals and Conspirators*, 2013, pp. 333-334.

⁴⁵ Pierre Lampué, *Lettre ouverte à M. Bérard, Sous-Secrétaire d'État aux Beaux-Arts*, 5 October 1912 (Paris : Archives Nationales de France): ... *la nature et la forme humaine n'ont jamais subi de tels outrages ... dans ce salon on étale, on accumule les laideurs ...* .

⁴⁶ Ibid.: ... *une bande de malfaiteurs qui se comportent dans le monde des arts comme des apaches ...* .

⁴⁷ “L'Apache est la plaie de Paris. Plus de 30,000 rôdeurs contre 8,000 sergents de ville”, *Le Petit Journal* (20 October 1907): Front cover.

⁴⁸ For a reproduction of this letter in *Le Matin*, refer Brauer, *Rivals and Conspirators*, Figures 9.41.

⁴⁹ For a reproduction of this article in *Le Matin*, refer Brauer, *Rivals and Conspirators*, Figure 9.42.

⁵⁰ «Ne cherchez pas, c'est de l'art, L'État prête à ça les murs du Grand-Palais ET UN SOUS-SECRÉTAIRE D'ÉTAT L'A INAUGURÉ», *Le Matin*, 6 October 1912, p. 1.

⁵¹ Zislin, “Quand Jacques Bonhomme veut faire du commerce avec la Teutonie”, *Le Matin*, 2 September 1912, p. 1; refer Fay Brauer, “Commercial Spies and Cultural Invaders”, 2002, p. 110.

⁵² La Palette, “La protestation”, *Courrier des Ateliers, Paris-Journal*, 18 March 1912, p. 4. Although anonymous, the author of this column, André Salmon, detected the hand of Maurice Robin, a journalist at *Les Hommes du Jour*, renown for his hostility towards Cubism and its defenders, and who had insulted Apollinaire.

⁵³ In his article, “Les Protestations”, André Salmon writing as “La Palette” in “*Courrier des Ateliers*”, *Paris-Journal*, 18 March 1912, p. 4, pointed out that exhibitors at this Salon had received a typed sheet called “*Indépendance et Nouvelle Interview*”, headed *Les Kubistes et Konistes n'ont rien compris à mon K*, denouncing “*les déplorable tendances excentristes, cubistes, fauvistes et futuristes*”. Although anonymous, Salmon detected the hand of Maurice Robin, renown for his antipathy towards Modernism and its defenders.

⁵⁴ In his *Esprit de Corps. The Art of the Parisian Avant-Garde and the First World War, 1914-1925* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989) p. 11, Kenneth E. Silver identifies how spelling the word Cubist with a “K”, given the near non-existence of this letter in French, “makes it ostentatiously Germanic”; for articles in German art magazines, on Cubism, refer Max Deri, “Die Kubisten und der Expressionismus”, *PAN*, No. 31, 20 June 1912.

⁵⁵ Thiébauld-Sisson, “Le Salon d'Automne, LA PEINTURE,” *La vie artistique, Le Temps*, 1 October 1912, p. 4.

⁵⁶ Ibid.: *Ouvrez le catalogue du Salon d'automne, comptez les exposants qui y figurent, faites le tri des Français d'un côté, des étrangers de l'autre : vous arriverez pour les premiers au chiffre de 655, pour les seconds à celui de 315.*

⁵⁷ *Journal officiel, Chambre des Députés, 29 November 1912, p. 2835.*

⁵⁸ *Suite des Beaux-Arts, Chambre des Députés, Session extraordinaire de 1912, Journal Officiel, 3 December 1912, p. 2924: Depuis quelques années, sous prétexte de rénover l'art, de moderniser ses procédés, de créer des formes nouvelles, des formules inédites, certains exploiters de la crédulité publique se sont livrés aux plus folles surenchères d'extravagances et d'excentricités. Je ne songe nullement à leur en contester le triste droit, mais je ne puis admettre que notre administration des beaux-arts se prête à ces plaisanteries de très mauvais goût et livre gracieusement nos palais nationaux pour des manifestations qui risquent de compromettre notre merveilleux patrimoine artistique. (très bien! très bien! sur divers bancs.)*

⁵⁹ Ibid.: *Et cela d'autant plus que ce sont pour la plupart des étrangers qui viennent ainsi chez nous, dans nos palais nationaux, jeter consciemment ou inconsciemment le discrédit sur l'art français.*

⁶⁰ Ibid., Marcel Sembat: *... le Salon d'automne a eu, cette année, l'honneur, toujours périlleux et flatteur, d'être un objet de scandale. C'est aux peintres cubistes qu'il l'a dû.* By this time, the Cubist Salon group was discursively acknowledged as consisting of Braque, Gleizes, Robert Delaunay (despite his dissension), Georges Deniker, Marcel Duchamp, Roger de la Fresnaye, Gris, Le Fauconnier, Léger, Lhote, Jean Marchand, Metzinger, Félix Tobeen (Saint-Valery-sur-Somme), and Jacques Villon who were all French artists.

⁶¹ Ibid., Marcel Sembat: *Oui, cette année, nous avons été envahis par les cubistes ... Le Salon de 1912 renfermait exactement 1770 numéros ... Or, de ces 1770 numéros, nous étions affligés en tout de 32 Cubistes! ... Je le répète, l'excès déplorable de cette année*

⁶² Ibid., p. 2925, Marcel Sembat: *Dans les milieux, l'on est le plus vite alarmé sur les tendances révolutionnaires.*

⁶³ Brauer, "Rivals as Conspirators: The Salons at War", Chapter Nine, *Rivals and Conspirators*, 2013, pp. 329-331.

⁶⁴ Jean-Marc Hofman, *1914-1918 Le Patrimoine s'en va-t-en guerre* (Paris, Cité de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine: Norma Éditions, 2016). This catalogue accompanied the exhibition of this name which showed the immense number of photographs taken of the destruction of French culture, wrought by German soldiers, that were exhibited and published in France throughout the First World War.

⁶⁵ Brauer, *Rivals and Conspirators*, 2013.

⁶⁶ Kahnweiler and Crémieux, *My Galleries and Painters*, 1961; 1971, p. 104.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 74.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 36.

⁶⁹ Assouline, *L'homme de l'art*, 1988, p. 192: *Georges Braque est le premier de ses peintres auxquels il envoie, le 30 novembre 1912, une simple lettre-contrat manuscrite. L'un s'engage à tout vendre. L'autre à tout acheter pour la durée d'un an. Les prix s'échelonnent de 60 francs (pour une toile au-dessus de 41 24 cm) à 400 francs (pour une toile entre 116 81 cm et 130 89 cm) avec tous les paliers intermédiaires selon les formats. ... une "clause" spéciale mentionne les papiers collés "papiers bois, marbre ou tout autre accessoire" ...*

⁷⁰ Monod-Fontaine, "Chronologie et documents", 1984, p. 113; Assouline, *L'Homme de l'art*, 1988, pp. 192-193. Sembat's engagement in the Chambre of Deputies debates was sensationalized by some of the national press as *La défense du cubisme*; refer André Doriac, *La Chambre, La défense du cubisme. Elle est spirituellement présentée par M. Marcel Sembat, au cours de la discussion du budget des Beaux-Arts, L'Excelsior*, 4 December 1912, p. 2; refer Brauer, Chapter Four, *L'Art Révolutionnaire: The Artist as Alien*, 1997.

⁷¹ Ibid., Assouline, pp. 193-194. On 18 December 1912 Picasso sent his contract to Kahnweiler: "*Je vous confirme notre conversation comme suit. Nous avons convenu pour une période de trois ans à partir du deux décembre 1912. Je me engage pendant cette période à ne rien vendre à qui que ce soit en dehors de vous. Sont seuls exceptés de cette condition les tableaux et dessins anciens que me restent. ... Il est bien entendu que pendant trois ans je ne aurai pas le droit de vendre les tableaux et dessins que je garderai pour moi. Vous vous engagé de votre côté pendant trois ans à acheter au prix fixés tout ce que je produirai de tableaux et de goaches ainsi que au moins vingt dessins par an. ...*"

⁷² Brauer, *Rivals and Conspirators*, p. 360.

⁷³ Ibid., Monod-Fontaine, "Chronologie et documents", 1984, p. 113: *Lettre-contrat donnant à Kahnweiler l'exclusivité sur le travail de Gris (20 février)*; p. 115: *1 août, contrat (sur papier timbré) donnant à Kahnweiler l'exclusivité (pour trois ans) sur le travail de Léger.*

⁷⁴ Assouline, *L'Homme de l'art*, 1988, p. 202: *Au moment où le milieu de l'art dans le monde répète : c'est à Paris que tout se passe, Kahnweiler, lui, expose partout sauf à Paris.*

⁷⁵ Christian Zervos, "Entretien avec Alfred Flechtheim", *Feuilles volantes, supplément à Cahiers d'art*, no. 10, 1927, pp. 1-3.

⁷⁶ Assouline, *L'Homme de l'art*, 1988, pp. 209-210.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Pierre Daix and Joan Rosset, *Picasso, The Cubist Years, 1907-1916: A Catalogue Raisonné of the Paintings and Related Works* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979): Pablo Picasso's artwork consigned by Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler to Alfred Flechtheim and sold by Flechtheim includes *Femme au poires*, 1909; *Arlésienne*, 1912;

Guitar and Sheet-music, 1912; *Les oiseaux morts*, 1912; *Guitar and Coffee Table*, 1912, and *Glass, pipe and clock on mantelpiece*, 1914.

⁷⁹ One Braque and four Picassos were shown alongside Picasso's "beaux livres", *L'Enchanteur pourrissant* and *Saint Matorel*.

⁸⁰ *Internationale Kunsthauss Kunstaussstellung des Sonderbundes*.

⁸¹ Otto Feldmann and Flechtheim were friends, Feldmann having executed a full-length pencil portrait of Flechtheim in 1911. When living in Paris, Feldmann was introduced to Kahnweiler by Flechtheim and subsequently negotiated to show artwork from Kahnweiler's gallery at the Rheinischer Kunstsalon.

⁸² From Amsterdam, Barcelona, Basel, Berlin, Breslau, Budapest, Bremen, Cologne, Dublin, Frankfurt, Liverpool, London, St. Petersburg, Prague, Stockholm, Vienna and Zurich to New York and Washington.

⁸³ The Second Post-Impressionist Exhibition was held in London from 5 October until 31 December 1912.

⁸⁴ Monod-Fontaine, *Chronologie et documents*, 1984, p. 113.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 113-114.

⁸⁶ Sam Sherman, *Uncle Heinrich and his Forgotten History* (2010). Kahnweiler contributed 29 paintings to this exhibition. Heinrich Thannhauser made up the rest with his own collection and that of Wilhelm Uhde. Heinrich's son, Justin, wrote the catalogue, "Austellung Pablo Picasso": *And if any spectator who generally gives more than a superficial view leaves the gallery with the conviction that he has before him the work of a serious artistic will, a consistent artistic character, and a whole man – then this exhibition will not have failed its purpose.* Justin, who met Kahnweiler and Uhde at the Café du Dome in Paris, considered that meeting Kahnweiler had introduced him to "a profitable relationship with Picasso". Justin recalled that the Picasso show in 1913 was always considered by Picasso to be "the beginning of his appreciation in the world" (Daniel Catton Rich Papers).

⁸⁷ *The International Exhibition of Modern Art*, Association of American Painters and Sculptors, 69th Regiment Armory, Lexington Avenue, NYC: The Armory Show, 17 February – 15 March 1913.

⁸⁸ Picassos and Braques had been exhibited twice at the Rheinischer Kunstsalon in Cologne; *Le Valet de carreau* exhibition in Moscow; Feldmann's Neue Gallery in Berlin; Rheinischer Kunstsalon in Cologne; Emile Richter's Kunstsalon in Dresden; Galerie Mirthke in Vienna; Gottfried Tanner's Moderne Galerie in Zurich; the Kunsthalle in Basel and with the Edinburgh Society of Scotch Artists.

⁸⁹ Werner Spies, "Vendre des tableaux – donner à lire", *Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler: Marchand, Éditeur, Écrivain* (Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou, 1984) p. 20: *Ce qui aboutit en réalité au fait que Picasso et Braque deviennent*

très vite les héros invisibles du cubisme. Les journaux ne cessent de parler d'eux – mais à Paris on ne peut guère les voir que dans la galerie de la rue Vignon.

⁹⁰ That his publicity strategy proved successful is confirmed by Christopher Green, “The Crystal and the Flame: Cubism and the 1914-18 War”, *Cubism and War: The Crystal in the Flame* (Adjuntament de Barcelona, Museo Picasso, 2016) p. 12: *Their German dealer Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler might have cultivated a tiny circle of French, American and Swiss collectors willing to buy their work, while keeping them away from the Parisian Salon d’Automne and Indépendants, but he made sure that the Cubism he promoted was known from New York to London to Amsterdam to Cologne to Prague to Moscow.*

⁹¹ *The Sunday Times, The Literary Digest, Illustrated London News, The Daily News, The Daily Chronicle, The New Age, Morning Post, Pall Mall Gazette and The New Freewoman.* A survey of these extensive press cuttings was conducted by me at the Kahnweiler Archives, Galerie Louise Leiris, from 1983 until 1985, thanks to the cordiality of Maurice Jardot and Claude Laurens.

⁹² Michael C. Fitzgerald, *Making Modernism: Picasso and the Creation of the Market for Twentieth-Century Art* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1996), p. 31.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁹⁴ Monod-Fontaine, “Chronologie et documents”, 1984, p. 119; Assouline, *L’Homme de l’Art*, 1988, p. 219: *Kahnweiler leur accorde l’exclusivité, pour les États-Unis, de la vente de Braque, Gris, Léger, Picasso. En échange, Brenner et Coady s’engagent à lui acheter pendant la durée du contrat pour au moins 2500 francs d’œuvres. Ils prendront à leur charge les frais de transport et d’assurance dès que les tableaux auront quitté la rue Vignon.*

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, Assouline, with reference to the Kahnweiler archives, Galerie Louise Leiris, pp. 219-220: *Un mois et demi à peine après la signature de ce contrat, Brenner et Kahnweiler s’accordent pour le prolonger jusqu’au 1er mai 1916, dans les mêmes conditions, mais en élevant à 5000 francs la somme de leurs achats. Et le 22 avril 1914, un ultime additif étend le traité à tous les artistes de la galerie Kahnweiler moyennant un minimum d’achats supplémentaires de 6000 francs.*

⁹⁶ *Collection de la Peau de l’Ours ... dont la vente aux enchères publiques aura lieu à Paris Hôtel Drouot, salles n[umér]os 7 et 8 le lundi 2 mars 1914, à 2 heures* (Paris: Moderne Imprimerie, 1914) INHA, Paris, with the following note: *Les frères Josse Bernheim-Jeune et Gaston Bernheim de Villers furent marchands d’art et éditeurs; Ils reprirent la galerie fondée par leur père en 1863 et toujours en activité ; Eugène Druet, photographe, fut également expert et marchand d’art.*

⁹⁷ *Thannhauser: The Thannhauser Collection of the Guggenheim Museum*, ed. Mathew Drutt (New York: The Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, 2001) p. 10. In 1909, Picasso's painting had been acquired by Kahnweiler for 1,000 francs. Heinrich crowed that he would have been willing to spend twice that. The painting now resides in the District of Columbia's National Gallery.

⁹⁸ Seymour de Ricci, "La Peau de l'ours", *Gil Blas*, 3 March 1913, p. 4: *Le total inespéré, est de 106,250 francs. Toutes les demandes de MM. Druet et Bernheim jeune sont dépassés en un clin d'œil ...*

⁹⁹ Guy Habasque, "Quand on vendait la peau de l'ours", *L'Œil*, no. 15, March 1956; as referenced by Assouline, p. 222.

¹⁰⁰ Assouline, *L'Homme de l'Art*, 1988, p. 223: *La preuve est faite : la peinture moderne se vend.*

¹⁰¹ Ricci, "La Peau de l'ours", 1913, p. 4: *Reconnu dans l'assistance quelques marchands étrangers: M. Alfred Flechtehim, de Dusseldorf; M. Gaspari, de Munich; M. Guthier, de Dresde; M. Thannhauser, qui sera le héros de la journée. ... Le clou de la vente était la grande composition de Picasso, Les Bateleurs, œuvre capitale et qui n'a pas atteint son prix : les experts, timidement, en demandent, 8,000 francs. Pour 11,500 francs, M. Thannhauser l'emporte en Allemagne : il eût volontiers payé deux fois plus cher.*

¹⁰² *Un jugement sur l'Allemagne, ses importations et exportations ont triplé en trente ans, Paris-Midi*, 20 November 1913, 2. It was also known as the Koenig Report.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ The French participation in this exhibition, last held in Munich in 1909, was sanctioned by Bérard, who granted Armand Dayot, Inspecteur-Général des Beaux-Arts and the French Commissaire Général, autonomy in the selection of French art.

¹⁰⁵ M. Delcour, "Chez les indésirables", *Paris-Midi*, 2 January 1914; Kahnweiler Archives, Galerie Louise Leiris.

¹⁰⁶ M. D., "Les "indésirables" en Allemagne, Petite Gazette des Arts", *Paris-Midi*, 8 November 1913, p. 2. Carco's investigation was misconstrued as a means of gauging Germany's responses to the impact of Cubism upon the German Expressionists and the future of German art. However, connections between Picasso and Max Pechstein had been drawn from Pechstein's *Was ist mit dem Picasso* in *PAN*, followed by *PAN's* publication of M. R. Schlönlank's letter to Pechstein early in 1912. Connections between Cubism and Expressionism were identified by Max Deri in *Die Kubisten und der Expressionismus*, *PAN*, No. 31, 20 June 1912.

¹⁰⁷ "Les Autres," "L'Art français en Allemagne", *Gil Blas*, 13 February 1913, p. 4; La Palette, "UN IMPRESSIONNISTE RHENAN", *Les Arts, Gil Blas*, 10 July 1913, p. 3.

¹⁰⁸ La Palette, “L'EXPOSITION DE DUSSELDORF”, *Les Arts, Gil Blas*, 3 January 1914, p. 4. Kahnweiler and Flechtheim's close exchanges at this time – documented by their weekly if not daily correspondence in the Kahnweiler Archives at the Louise Leiris Gallery – would have also exacerbated this issue. This correspondence was only revealed in 1990.

¹⁰⁹ M. Delcour, “Avant l'Invasion”, *Paris-Midi*, 8 March 1914, p. 1. *Enfin les mœurs allemandes elles-mêmes ne participent-elles pas de façon intime à la vie des pseudo-rénovateurs de l'art français ... Or, une nouvelle preuve de cette ingérence allemande est éclatante ... Des «gros prix» y ont été atteints par des œuvres grotesques et informes d'indésirables étrangers et ce sont des Allemands, qui, comme nous n'avons cessé de le prédire, et pour cause, depuis quinze jours ont payé ou poussé jusqu'à ces prix.*

¹¹⁰ Ibid.: *Leur plan se précise. De naïfs jeunes peintres ne manqueront pas de tomber dans le piège. Ils imiteront l'imitateur Picasso, qui pasticha tout et ne trouvant plus rien à imiter, sombra dans le bluff cubiste ...*

¹¹¹ *Ainsi les qualités de mesure et d'ordre de notre art national disparaîtront-elles peu à peu, à la grande joie de M. Tannhauser et de ses compatriotes ...*

¹¹² Ibid.: *... qui, le jour venu, n'achèteront plus des Picasso, mais déménageront, gratis, le Musée du Louvre que ne sauront pas défendre les snobs aveugles ou les anarchistes intellectuels qui se font leurs complices inconscients. L'argent qu'ils ont dépensé hier aura été bien placé.*

¹¹³ Louis Vauxcelles, “La “jeune peinture française””, *Gil Blas*, 21 October 1912, p. 4: *On peut ... extraire une racine cubique. Je ne voudrais pas davantage invoquer l'argument nationaliste, et soutenir à mon tour que toute cette agitation vient de l'étranger. ... Qu'il y ait un peu trop d'Allemands et d'Espagnols dans l'affaire fauve et cubiste, et que Matisse se soit fait naturaliser berlinois, et que Braque ne jure plus que le marchand Kahnweiler ne soit pas précisément compatriote du père Tanguy et que ce paillard de Van Dongen soit natif d'Amsterdam, ou Pablo de Barcelone ...* . This was part of Vauxcelles' review of André Salmon's book, *La jeune peinture française* (Paris: Messein, 1912) in which he not only managed to attack his fellow contributor in the same newspaper, but also attempted to demolish his argument on the revolutionary nature of Cubism by insisting upon it constituting merely an offensive reversal of the École des Beaux-Arts: .. *une misère scolastique*; refer Brauer, *L'Art Révolutionnaire*, 1997, Chapter Five. Assouline, 1988, p. 171, notes how such accusations coming from a *quotidien de gauche*, as well as an imprecator whose true name was Mayer, were inevitably cause for alarm. Yet he adds, *Kahnweiler lit, observe, compte les points mais veut s'attacher à l'essentiel.*

¹¹⁴ Apollinaire and Kahnweiler's differences appeared to come to the fore over Kahnweiler's known preference of Fritz Burger's *Cézanne und Hodler: Einführung in die Probleme der Malerei der Gegenwart* (München: Delphin-Verlag, 1912), Max Raphael's *Von Monet zu Picasso: Grundzüge einer Ästhetik und Entwicklung der modernen*

Malerei (München: Delphin-Verlag, 1913), to Apollinaire's *Les Peintres Cubistes: Méditations éthétiques* (Paris: Eugène Figuière & Cie, Éditeurs, 1913). Their correspondance between 27 March 1913 and 3 April 1913, when Apollinaire's self-aggrandizing allegation – *J'ai défendu seul comme écrivain des peintres que vous n'avez choisis qu'après moi* – denigrating Kahnweiler as his follower, elicited Kahnweiler's deflective response that he preferred to laugh than be angered. Yet it seemed to have sealed a breach in their relationship.

¹¹⁵ Tony Tollet, *De l'influence de la corporation judéo-allemande des marchands de tableaux de Paris sur l'art français* (Lyon, 1915) pp. 6-7. Tollet's speech, delivered to the Académie des Sciences, Belles-Lettres, et Arts de Lyon, 6 July 1915, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. On 28 March 1916, he delivered another speech to the Académie des Sciences, Belles-Lettres, et Arts de Lyon, in which he blamed the Impressionist contamination of the Louvre upon the "juif Camondo" – Isaac de Camondo's collection having entered the Louvre in 1910-1911.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, as quoted by Assouline, *L'Homme de l'art: D.-H. Kahnweiler*, 1988, p. 236: *Tout cela ne sont que des affaires et l'on peut dire que des Juifs marchands de tableaux sont dans leur rôle, en agissant ainsi; he wrote. Mais si par surcroît, ils sont doublés de Germains, alors on comprendra la lutte méthodique qu'ils ont entreprise contre la culture française, l'influence qu'ils ont essayé et souvent réussi à prendre sur le goût français.*

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, as translated and quoted by Silver, *Esprit de Corps*, 1989) p. 8, note 10, p. 403: *Je veux vous parler de l'influence croissante et néfaste qu'avait prise sur l'art français, pendant ces vingt dernières années, la corporation de marchands de tableaux. Je veux vous montrer par quels agissements ils étaient arrivés à fausser le goût français; quelles influences ils ont mises en œuvre pour faire entrer dans nos grandes collections publiques des spécimens d'un art dont ils avaient au préalable amplement garni leurs offices, et comment ils ont imposés à l'admiration de nos snobs des œuvres empreintes de la culture allemande, pointillistes, cubistes, futuristes.*

¹¹⁸ J.-Edouard Driault, *Souvenez-vous! 1914. Rien d'Allemand!!! Des Allemands* (Paris: L. Tenin, 1918): *La France, avant la guerre, était envahie par les produits allemands; elle s'était mise à l'école de l'Allemagne.* As an art of corporeal syphilitic decomposition designed to corrode the wholesome French body and to destroy French art, Jacquemaire demanded a law be passed to prohibit the Cubists praxis.

¹¹⁹ Eberhard Demm, "Propaganda and Caricature in the First World War", *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 25, No. 1, January 1993, p. 177.

¹²⁰ Tollet, *De l'influence de la corporation judéo-allemande des marchands de tableaux*, 1915, as quoted by Silver, p. 8, note 10, p. 403; *Tout, musique, littérature, peinture, sculpture, architecture, art décoratif, mode, tout subissait déjà l'influence délétère des gaz asphyxiantes de nos ennemis.*

¹²¹ Adolphe Willette, "Ce n'est pas nouveau!", *Le Journal*, No. 3254, 3 May 1915, p. 1.

¹²² Lucien Métivet, “L’Offensive cubiste”, *Le Rire rouge*, no. 134, 9 June 1917, p. 4: *Par Watteau, Delacroix et le père Daumier! Serrez vos rangs. Artistes de France, contre ce sauvage qui se dit canaque, mais n’est que boche.*

¹²³ “Aux camarades : Cubisme est peinture boche”, *L’Élan*, no. 8, January 1916, with quotes from Mauclair’s response to an enquête, *Le Cubisme serait boche: Lui connaîtriez-vous un précurseur allemand? Non, dès qu’apparut le Cubisme les Allemands se mirent à l’imiter.*

¹²⁴ Juan Gris to D.-H. Kahnweiler, 16 August 1915; *Letters to Juan Gris*, collected by D.-H. Kahnweiler, trans. and ed. Douglas Cooper (London: 1956) pp. 8-9.

¹²⁵ Silver, *Esprit de Corps*, 1989, p. 6, note 7, p. 402. Juan Gris to D.-H. Kahnweiler, 19 April 1915; *Letters to Juan Gris*, collected by D.-H. Kahnweiler, trans. and ed. Douglas Cooper (London: 1956) p. 26.

¹²⁶ Hofman, *1914-1918 Le Patrimoine s’en va-t-en guerre*, p. 30. This exhibition, which ran from 25 November 1916 until 4 December 1917 at the Petit Palais, revealed in photographs and objects the devastation that had been wrought. The Inspecteur des Monuments announced its aim in no uncertain terms: *Conçue dans un esprit différent de ce qui a été réalisé, cette exposition, témoignage irrécusable de la barbarie allemande, ne montrerait que des œuvres d’art mutilées, martyriées, ayant subi le supplice de leur beauté dévastée ...*

¹²⁷ *Les Arts*, No. 134, April 1916.

¹²⁸ Christopher Green, *Cubism and War: The Crystal in the Flame* (Barcelona: Museu Picasso, 2016); also refer *Picasso: The Great War, Experimentation and Change* (New York: Scala:, 2016).

¹²⁹ Silver, *Esprit de Corps*, p. 116. Silver also mention that some witnesses recalled, “no doubt apochryphally”, that the audience was on the verge of assaulting the performers until a uniformed, bandaged and decorated Apollinaire intervened on behalf of the cast.

¹³⁰ Lucien Métivet, “Marianne et Germania” : histoire d’un Bonnet et un Casque”, contée et imagée par Lucien Métivet, *La Baïonette*, No. 146, 18 April 1918.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 252: *Avec sourires indulgents elle regarde se pâmer les gens devant les saugrenus travaux de cubistes, cucucubistes, des ameublements “art nouveau” dus à des ébénites fumistes.*

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 254: *Kultur! Incendiez! Pillez! Cambriolez! Fusillez! Égorgez! Que le champ soient ravagés et les vergers! Kultur! – Alors l’Univers tremblera, admirera, applaudira!*

¹³³ Fitzgerald, *Making Modernism*, pp. 55-66.

¹³⁴ Green, “The Crystal and the Flame”, pp. 15-16.

¹³⁵ Bibliothèque Kandinsky Archive, C5 9600 400: Letter from Gris to Léonce Rosenberg, 20 December 1916.

¹³⁶ Pinturichio, “Le Carnet des ateliers”, *Le Carnet de la Semaine*, 9 June 1918, p. 9, as quoted by Christopher Green, *Cubism and Its Enemies: Modern Movements and Reaction in French Art, 1916-18* (London: Yale University Press, 1987) p. 7.

¹³⁷ Bissière, “Le Réveil des cubists”, *L’Opinion*, 15 April 1916, p. 382: ... *l’utilité a cessé de se faire sentir et dont la disparition semble un fait à peu près accompli.*

¹³⁸ Archive of the National Gallery, Prague, fond 134, sign. 3716: Otakar Kubin, letter to Otakar Spaniel, 23 January 1919; as trans. Nicholas Sawicki, “Between Montparnasse and Prague: Circulating Cubism in Left Bank Paris”, Chapter 4, *Foreign Artists and Communities in Modern Paris, 1870-1914: Strangers in Paradise*, eds. Karen L. Carter and Susan Waller (Burlington, VT and Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2015) p. 78.

¹³⁹ Letter from Juan Gris to Kahnweiler, 27 November, 1921, *Letters*, ed. Cooper, p. 128.

¹⁴⁰ Camille Mauclair, “Cubisme et Bochie”, *L’Ouest*, 1 June 1921 (Bibliothèque littéraire Jacques Doucet, 7164 Fonds Picabia).

¹⁴¹ Kahnweiler’s Galerie Simon opened in September 1920.

¹⁴² From the time that this Clause came into effect, Germany’s coal deliveries were below the agreed level. Despite the attempt to resolve this dilemma at the Spa Conference in July 1920, specifically through payment of Germany for its coal, Germany continued to default on its obligations leading to a crisis in the Reparation Commission by 1922. When Germany defaulted on its coal deliveries for the 34th time in three years in January 1923, it was then that French and German soldiers occupied the Ruhr.

¹⁴³ Christian Derouet, “Quand le cubisme était un “bien allemand” ...”, *Paris Berlin 1900-1933* (Paris: Centre national d’art et de culture Georges Pompidou, 12 July-6 November 1978) p. 44: *Les mécontents furent trop heureux de faire du cubisme un amalgame lié à la “juiverie” allemande lorsque la guerre éclata.* Derouet also speculates: *Pour avoir voulu éviter le service militaire que aurait entraîné la naturalisation dans sa patrie d’adoption, Kahnweiler avait tout perdu.* However, Derouet seems to overlook Kahnweiler’s position as a committed Pacifist who abhorred the very thought of taking up arms. He also overlooks the ramifications of becoming a French soldier which, as Kahnweiler points out, would have entailed him taking up arms against members of his own German family.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 46: *C’était sans doute un des derniers procès qui fut intenté en France à l’avant-garde au nom d’un nationalisme revanchard.*

¹⁴⁵ Kahnweiler and Crémieux, *My Galleries and Painters*, 1961; 1971, p. 68.

¹⁴⁶ *Vente de Biens Allemands ayant fait l’objet d’une mesure de séquestre de Guerre. Collection Henry Kahnweiler, Tableaux, Sculptures & Céramique Modernes. Art Nègre. Livres en Édition de Luxe.* Paris les 13 et

14 juin 1921 *Deuxième Vente* (Paris: Ateliers Moreau Frères, 1921); *Vente de Biens Allemands ayant fait l'objet d'un mesure de séquestre de Guerre. Collection Henry Kahnweiler, Tableaux Modernes. Deuxième Vente* (Paris: Imprimerie Photomécanique, Catala Frères, les 17 et 18 novembre 1921); *Vente de Biens Allemands ayant fait l'objet d'un mesure de séquestre de Guerre. Collection Henry Kahnweiler, Tableaux Modernes. Troisième Vente* (Paris: Imprimerie Photomécanique, Catala Frères, 4 Juillet 1922); *Vente de Biens Allemands ayant fait l'objet d'un mesure de séquestre de Guerre. Collection Henry Kahnweiler, Tableaux Modernes. Quatrième et Dernière Vente*, Paris les 7 et 8 Mai 1923 (Paris: Imprimerie Photomécanique, Catala Frères, 4 Juillet 1923).

¹⁴⁷ Derouet, "Quand le cubisme était un "bien allemand", 1978, p. 45: *Un antiquaire parisien, Léonce Rosenberg fut chargé de l'expertise du séquestre. C'était le rival de Kahnweiler qui, inconséquent, avait vendu sa collection de Douanier Rousseau à Paul von Mendelson de Berlin peu avant 1914 pour accroître ses achats d'œuvres de Braque et de Picasso. ... Il avait entreprise une propagande ruineuse et exaltée de toutes les formes du cubisme mais échoua dans sa tentative de se substituer à Kahnweiler. ... Il acquitta avec compétence de la rédaction des catalogues, maintenant toutefois des imprécisions en ce qui concerne Kahnweiler, qu'il orthographiait généreusement de deux "H" et favorisant la reproduction des œuvres de Metzinger et de Léger, ses propres artistes.* Durand-Ruel was the expert appointed for the fourth auction.

¹⁴⁸ Assouline, *L'Homme de l'art*, 1984, p. 322: "Braque a raison, cet homme a volé la France et on sait bien ce que c'est que de voler la France."

¹⁴⁹ Anna Jozefacka and Luise Mahler, "Catalogue of the Collection", *Cubism: The Leonard A. Lauder Collection*, eds. Emily Braun and Rebecca Rabinow (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2014) p. 256.

¹⁵⁰ Malcom Gee, *Dealers, Critic, and Collectors of Modern Painting: Aspects of the Parisian Art Market Between 1900 and 1930* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1981), Appendix F, pp. 19-78.

¹⁵¹ *Vente de Biens Allemands ayant fait l'objet d'un mesure de séquestre de Guerre. Collection Henry Kahnweiler, Tableaux, Sculptures & Céramique Modernes. Art Nègre. Livres en Édition de Luxe.* Paris les 13 et 14 juin 1921, *Première Vente* (Paris: Ateliers Moreau Frères, 1921). Of the 22 paintings listed by Braque, Luise Mahler estimates that the Grassat syndicate acquired 11; of the 9 paintings listed by Gris, Mahler estimates that they acquired 8 and 3 of the 7 paintings of Léger. Most of this stock entered Kahnweiler's Galerie Simon on the understanding that when the artwork was sold, the partners of Grasset would be reimbursed.

¹⁵² *Ibid.* Picasso's paintings are listed numbers 65 to 90; his sculptures listed in lot 139 consisted of 5 bronze polychromed versions of *Le verre d'absinthe*; his etchings in lot 152 consisted of over 100 exemplars for *Saint Matorel*. Mahler points out that the lots for Picasso's artwork were not on Kahnweiler's list given to Grasset. This may have arisen from Picasso's lingering resentment of Kahnweiler for not having paid him 20,000 francs for

paintings that Kahnweiler had taken from him just before the outbreak of war. It may have also arisen from Picasso's contractual arrangement with Rosenberg. However, it is hard to imagine that Kahnweiler would not have wished to acquire Picasso's portrait of him.

¹⁵³ Derouet, "Quand le cubisme était un "bien allemand", 1978, p. 46.

¹⁵⁴ Pinturichio, "Moralité d'un Séquestre", *Le Carnet de la Semaine*, 27 November 1921, p. 8, as quoted by Green, *Cubism and Its Enemies*, p. 62.

¹⁵⁵ Assouline, *L'Homme de l'art*, 1984, p. 71.

¹⁵⁶ John Richardson, *A Life of Picasso: The Triumphant Years, 1917-1932* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2007) p. 185.

¹⁵⁷ Assouline, *L'Homme de l'art*, 1984, p. 320. In their correspondance about the auction of their respective collections, Uhde and Kahnweiler had used the German word for execution, "Hinrichtung". As Assouline writes: *On y survit, commente, stoïque, Wilhelm Uhde tandis que Kahnweiler dit boire jusqu'à la lie "le plaisir d'assister à ma propre exécution"*.