THE INFLUENCE OF FLAMENCO ON
SELECTED WORKS OF PICASSO

THESIS

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By

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This thesis investigates, analyzes, and discusses Picasso's imagery in the cultural context of the nineteenth-century Spanish tradition of flamenco. Two published photographs featuring the elderly artist with the gypsy guitarist Manitas de Plata initiated the study, and led me to the conclusion that selected works by Picasso were influenced psychologically, thematically, and formally by his youth which was spent in the Andalusian province of Málaga and later in Barcelona. Picasso's early artistic education occurred at precisely the same time and place as the Golden Age of Flamenco in Spain, a cultural phenomenon that profoundly affected both his life and art.
PREFACE

The intention of this thesis is to investigate, analyze, and discuss the influence of flamenco on selected works of Picasso. The investigation was triggered by two photographs taken in 1965 by Lucien Clergue (fig. 1) that captured the eighty-four-year-old Picasso with the controversial flamenco guitarist Manitas de Plata during the week-long recording in Arles of Flamenco Guitar: Manitas de Plata (New York: The Classics Record Library of the Book-of-the-Month Club, Inc., 1965). These photographs (published in the text included with the records) initiated a closer analysis of Picasso's youth and artistic education at a time which coincided with the peak of a brief cultural phenomenon dubbed the Golden Age of Flamenco that swept across Spain during the second half of the nineteenth century. This study proposes that Picasso's exposure to the Golden Age made a significant contribution to his production of an enormous oeuvre replete with psychological, thematic, and formal references to flamenco. These references resounded throughout hundreds of spirited and innovative compositions that repeatedly depicted specific flamenco symbols such as guitars, dancers, bulls, corridas de toros (bullfights), café motifs, impoverished nomads, relentless lovers, and duende (strong emotion). The following essay
discusses selected works which illustrate how and why the highly emotional, indigenous Spanish art of flamenco either consciously or subconsciously made a dynamic impact on the life and art of one of the twentieth century's most revolutionary artists.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

By the time of Pablo Picasso's birth (October 25, 1881) in Málaga, that ancient Mediterranean city had firmly established itself as one of eight important Andalusian centers in the development of a brief cultural phenomenon known as the Golden Age of Flamenco that swept across Spain and attracted international attention from about 1840 to 1900 (fig. 2). Very little research has been conducted to interpret or discuss Picasso's experiences with late nineteenth-century flamenco. Yet the artist's direct exposure to flamenco's paradoxical philosophy, enigmatic way of life, emotional cante (song), rhythmic baile (dance), and virtuosic toque (guitar playing) was no doubt indelibly impressed upon him throughout his formative years of artistic education in Spain (1881-1900). This thesis will examine selected works from Picasso's prolific oeuvre that visually reflect flamenco imagery, ideology, and styles or methods of technical expression. Due to the recent advent of flamenco scholarship, it is now possible for art historians to interpret hundreds of Picasso's depictions of, for instance, Spanish guitars, guitarists, bulls, bullfights, café cantante (flamenco tavern) interiors and motifs, mendicant nomads, Jezebels, and aficionados.
(knowledgeable advocates) as recurrent validations of his life-long respect and enthusiasm for the noble art of flamenco.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, European academic philosophy and aesthetic principles were being challenged by poets, writers, painters, and musicians. While searching for innovative and liberalizing alternatives, Spanish intellectuals would gather for stimulating discussions (tertulia) in the legendary cafés cantantes that attracted clientele by the novel presentation of cuadros flamencos (groups of flamenco performers). Some of the more famous cafés included the Café Silverio in Seville, El Brillante in Madrid, and the Café de Chinitas in Málaga that was, according to Picasso's friend and biographer John Richardson, customarily frequented by Picasso's father and first art teacher, don José Ruiz Blasco. This was the same nineteenth-century café cantante immortalized in the lyrical and emotional flamenco poetry of Federico García Lorca.¹

As a teenager in Barcelona, the impressionable Picasso found his own tertulia in the avant-garde café cantante Els Quatre Gats. It was there, states Richardson, that Picasso

¹ D. E. Pohren, The Art of Flamenco (Madrid: Society of Spanish Studies, 1990), Footnote 1, p. 90. For examples of Lorca's flamenco poetry, see Llanto por Ignacio Sánchez Mejías and La Guitarra, as reprinted in Pohren, pp. 30-32.
learned about the latest trends in literature, philosophy, politics, and music. He elaborates:

It was for Picasso what Málaga's Café de Chinitas had been for his father. Just as this aspect of don José's life had always been exclusively masculine, so it was with his son. For all the founders' [of tertulía] liberal notions, this was still nineteenth-century Spain.²

Picasso and his father were among the nineteenth-century Spaniards who witnessed a rapid rise in the art of flamenco from a rural, gypsy primitivism to a respectable status of high art that peaked and declined due to over-commercialization. The café cantante period (1860-1900) gave birth to the flamenco professional who was amazed by his sudden and unprecedented popularity, elevated standard of living, and ennobled recognition as an "artist." Romantic curiosity brought waves of cultivated travelers to Spain and produced:

... a great number of literary and artistic creations, from Carmen of the Frenchman Merimée and the Spanish memories of the Englishman George Borrow to the printings of Doré, musical landscapes of the Russian Glinka or Rimsky-Korsakov to flamenco sketches and oil paintings by John L. Sargeant [sic].³


Exotic Spain was in fashion. Aficionados dubbed the era the "Golden Age of Flamenco." At the same time, bullfighting attracted modern audiences by its ancient, mysterious magnetism. In fact, scholars of the two art forms stress their virtual inseparability. Fernando Quiñones emphasizes that "a similar lifestyle, way of feeling and of understanding existence, comprise the inclination towards Flamenco and Bulls." Underscoring Quiñones, D. E. Pohren, the only non-Spaniard to be declared a "Flamencologist" and admitted into the Catedra de Flamencología (Professorate of Flamenco Studies) insists:

Flamenco and the Fiesta (spectacle of bullfighting) are deeply related. This connection is undeniable, and vital for an understanding of either. Both stem basically from the common people, and they stir the same basic emotions and passions. Both are given flashes of erratic genius by gypsies, and a sense of indomitable steadiness and responsibility by the Andalusians. And they have in common another important factor: they are the two most probable ways that the commoner can break out of his social and economic level.

In his chapter "Flamenco and the Bullfight," Pohren explains that the integral relationship between flamenco and bullfighting, while still largely misunderstood, has inspired many outstanding works including the poetry of

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4 Quinoñes, What is Flamenco?, p. 55.

García Lorca, the music of the guitarist Sabicas, and the psychological studies of González Climent. He goes on to discuss the significance of the guitar and its *duende* (soul; strong emotion) in this relationship and concludes, "for this guitar is the soul of flamenco, the soul of bullfighting . . . the timeless essence of Andalucía." 6

From the plethora of contemporary literature concerning Picasso's vast oeuvre, scholars and art lovers have been alerted to look for his autobiographical application of recurring motifs such as bulls, girlfriends, or harlequins. Surprisingly, another recurring motif, the guitar (possibly the most enduring invention of Renaissance Spain), has received comparably less recognition. Yet the guitar, like a fool-proof stage prop, appeared throughout his abundantly productive career. By his own admission, Picasso's oeuvre was a visual diary of his life. Based upon the precedent set by the autobiographic nature of other recurring motifs in his work, it would follow suit that at least some of his numerous depictions of guitars and guitarists were autobiographic expressions as well. In addition, the fact that Picasso's formative years and artistic education took place in cities which were important to the development of the flamenco guitar and its legendary players significantly

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strengthens the validity of this point. Furthermore, in the same spirit with which contemporary youths tend to idolize their heroes of twentieth-century rock guitar such as Jimi Hendrix or Eric Clapton, so Picasso's late nineteenth-century heroes of Golden Age flamenco guitar could have been Ramón Montoya or Paco Lucena, who then, according to Pohren's research, reigned in all eleven of Málaga's popular cafés cantantes.

A brief panoramic sweep of famous Picasso guitars illustrates his lifelong passion for the instrument and its players: The Old Guitarist (1903) evokes the pathos of his early Blue Period (fig. 3); his sheet metal and wire Guitar (1912) marks the invention of twentieth-century constructed sculpture (fig. 4); The Aficionado (also 1912) exemplifies his transition from High Analytic to Synthetic Cubism (fig. 5); The Rococo-Cubist Guitar Player (1916) illustrates the so-called "Crystal" or "Skyscraper" period and has been considered a prize possession of the Moderna Museet (Stockholm) for more than half a century (fig. 6); The Museum of Modern Art's famous Three Musicians (1921, fig. 7) features a harlequin-guitarist, spells the close of Picasso's Cubist period, and was completed the same year he designed the costumes and decor for Diaghilev's Cuadro Flamenco; six works entitled Guitar (all 1926) serve as
models from Picasso's maturing experimentation with assemblage (figs. 8-13).

During the upheaval of two World Wars and the Spanish Civil War, Picasso's passion for innovative guitar imagery was interrupted and the triumphant motif did not fully re-emerge until the 1960s with The Guitarist (1965), a recent acquisition of the Dallas Museum of Art (fig. 14). This picture was completed the same year that Picasso attended one of his last juergas (flamenco jam sessions) where he was photographed with gypsy guitarist Manitas de Plata during a recording session of the controversial flamenco musician in Arles (fig. 1).

From his Malagueñan exposure to the Golden Age of Flamenco, Picasso was fully cognizant of the growing popularity of the guitar. Due to his own creative imagination, he quickly found its design to be extraordinarily pliable. Based upon the pronounced repetition of the instrument throughout his "visual diary," it is reasonable to assume that Picasso relied upon the guitar motif like a simple, formulaic tool for stylistic experimentation, a principle of Renaissance formulation he would have been taught in his traditional painting and drawing classes in Spain. However, it may be as accurate to conclude that his appreciation and continued practice of formulation in art was inspired by the complex, dynamic, and
experimental ways it was being tested in Golden Age flamenco as opposed to the tedious dogma of nineteenth-century Spanish painting classes. In either case, I believe that Picasso embraced formulation for artistic experimentation and that he deliberately earmarked the Spanish guitar as an emblem of his unique revolution of twentieth-century art.

In order to trace the roots of formulation in Spanish painting, art historians can refer to *Arte de la pintura* (1649) written by another Andalusian, Francisco Pacheco, Velázquez's teacher. Further, Jonathan Brown, a preeminent scholar of sixteenth and seventeenth-century Spanish art, explains the tendency to use recurring motifs stating:

As has been seen before, and will be seen over and again, the use of prints was standard among the painters of Seville; one explanation for the practice is provided in this contract [between Ferdinand Sturm and Bishop Sebastian de Obregon for the altarpiece of the Evangelists in Seville Cathedral, 1553. Sturm copied a print of Albrecht Durer for the central scene depicting the Mass of St. Gregory], that is to say, the wishes of a conservative clientele that prized the proven orthodoxy of familiar formulas and was largely uninterested in what is now called artistic creativity.  

Tracing the roots of formulation in flamenco is more difficult, because its history narrowly escaped extinction by surviving through a complex, oral tradition for over a thousand years. Its recorded history finally began during

the eighteenth century, and the most recent scholarship of Pohren, Quiñones, and others is only now beginning to shed a long-awaited light on the conjectural nature of an ancient art form steeped in human paradox and duende.

It is essential to understand that flamenco embraces more than cante jondo (deep song), bullfighting, and guitars. It has often been compared to jazz in the United States because both musical styles resulted from cultural prejudice and poverty, and both have endured as vital, emotional outlets for their listeners by offering stimulating elements of surprise and dynamic contrast.

Pohren summarizes:

Flamenco is not just a music of southern Spain, as is generally believed. More than that, it is a way of life that influences the daily life of many southern Spaniards. One does not have to be a performer of flamenco to be a flamenco: a flamenco is anyone who is emotionally and actively involved in this unique philosophy. For this reason, no book is complete in dealing with the art of flamenco alone, for the art of flamenco is merely an outward expression of the flamenco way of life.8

Of Picasso's many biographers, each of whom he baited with "my work is like a diary,"9 John Richardson perhaps came closest to unraveling the mass of contradictions that have kept certain aspects of Picasso's creative thought and

8 Pohren, The Art of Flamenco, p. 15.

9 Richardson, A Life of Picasso, Vol. I, p. 3.
innovative processes as secretive as those of a flamenco gypsy when he realized that:

Even the one apparent constant in Picasso's character--his Spanish duende (soul): so intense, so black, so shot through with flashes of apocalyptic lightning--turns out to have its antithesis: a Mediterranean effulgence. Paradox, it turns out, is a specifically Andalusian phenomenon.10

Furthermore, Richardson states that Picasso later repudiated Málaga and everything associated with it, "except the cante jondo of the gypsies (the only music he really liked)."11 Despite the painter's youthful expatriation to France in 1900, his native Andalusian tradition of flamenco had already made its mark on his taste in music. This mark or influence, in my opinion, had a lifetime bearing on the painter's refusal to abandon particular Spanish artistic traditions in his psychological, thematic, and formal approaches to composing art.

For example, while his guitar imagery refers to his Spanish heritage in general, his career-long representation of guitars and their players is more specifically a psychological indication of his early childhood experiences with the passionate and innovative guitar music he heard in Málaga (and later throughout Spain) during the Golden Age of


Flamenco. Likewise, his eloquent and highly emotive variations on themes ranged from desolation and tragic suffering in Blue Period paintings such as The Ascetic (1903, Barnes Foundation; fig. 22) and The Blind Man's Meal (1903, The Metropolitan Museum; fig. 24) to light-hearted frivolity in Caricature of the Artist (1903, Museo Picasso; fig. 30) and Paloma (December 23, 1952-January 3, 1953; fig. 44). This is comparable to the dynamic contrasts in jondo (deep) and chico (light) themes and moods of flamenco forms such as haunting siguiriyas or rondeñas and intermediate malagueñas, whose countless styles and verses were (and still are) structured to express the most profound human emotions.

John Richardson once quipped, "Since quicksilver would be easier to nail down than [Picasso's] precepts, methodologies have proved unequal to the task."\(^{12}\) While this statement rings true for the flamenco tradition as well, a critical look at how a few of Picasso's works relate to flamenco psychologically, thematically, and formally can assist in making a more authentic translation of his cryptic visual diary. In addition, this examination will reveal some uncharted aspects of his artistic procedures and offer

\(^{12}\) Richardson, A Life of Picasso, Vol. I, p. 3.
a new insight into his indefatigable propensity for extemporaneous composition.

Statement of the Problem

This thesis will investigate, analyze, and discuss the influence of flamenco on selected works by Pablo Picasso.

Methodology

An analysis of Picasso's imagery in the cultural context of nineteenth-century flamenco led to the conclusion that some of his most revolutionary concepts and compositions were influenced in a variety of ways by traditional flamenco. Further, several selections closely paralleled the toque libre (free style without a determined compás or beat) forms of malagueñas, verdiales, rondeñas, and jaber as that originated in his native Andalusian province of Málaga. Because of the prevailing lack of recorded flamenco history, ideology, and processes of technical expression, a brief summary of pertinent aspects from those arenas was provided as essential background information for the purposes of this discussion.

Primary data were collected by: 1) studying Picasso's works at the following museums: Museum of Modern Art, Hispanic Society of America Museum and Library, Guggenheim, Metropolitan Museum of Art (all New York); National Gallery of Art (Washington, D. C.); Dallas Museum of Art, Meadows
Museum (Dallas), and the Kimbell Art Museum (Fort Worth); 2) reviewing museum files containing pertinent information about Picasso; 3) attending flamenco and certain jazz guitar performances by Paco de Lucía, Paco Peña, Miguel Antonio, and Al di Meola; and 4) interviewing Miguel Antonio (a traditional flamenco guitarist/teacher), local luthiers (guitar makers), and other aficionados to obtain their input on the statement of the problem.

Secondary data were accumulated by: 1) making a thorough examination of any recent literature that was pertinent to the statement of the problem; 2) reviewing the literature concerning Picasso's flamenco costume designs and stage sets for Diaghilev's theatrical production, Cuadro Flamenco, as well as his association with the renowned Spanish composer and flamenco aficionado Manuel de Falla who attempted to establish the first academy of flamenco in Granada in 1922.

Attempts were made to confirm that Picasso was an aficionado of flamenco by contacting Paco de Lucía and Ramon de Algèrcíras. In addition, Spanish luthiers were contacted to discover whether Picasso might have observed the construction of guitars. These efforts yielded no published documentation. However, each time the suggestion that flamenco influenced Picasso's art was made to a flamenco performer, such as guitarist Miguel Antonio (now serving as
a musical coordinator for the Dallas Classic Guitar Society), or to long-time Dallas flamenco aficionados such as Dr. Bill West, Mrs. Heidi Michlin, and Dr. Anne Freeman (daughter of the late flamenco guitar maestro and luthier Edward Freeman), the suggestion was met with positive and receptive affirmations.

Each of these aficionados agreed that the thesis, as defined in the statement of the problem, was worth pursuing. They also all commented that the proposed connection between Picasso and flamenco had struck them as both logical (given the artist's time and place of birth in Málaga during the Golden Age of Flamenco) and increasingly obvious given the recurrent subjects (beginning with Picador [fig. 15] at age ten through The Guitarist [fig. 14] at age eighty-four) that speak the language of the flamenco tradition. In addition, all of the flamenco aficionados interviewed agreed that painters, but most especially a painter given Picasso's unique circumstances of time and place of birth and extraordinary vision, could extract basic concepts of critical artistic thought from flamenco ideology and musical technique for adaptation to a medium other than music. After all, the art of flamenco itself had, throughout history, been adapted for expression through the separate media of song, dance, guitar playing, bullfighting, poetry, and comedy. Continuing along that line of reasoning, it
became possible to detect certain formal similarities between several compositions by Picasso and compositions unique to the art of flamenco. The initial observations stimulated a desire to analyze those similarities and to evaluate their significance. Numerous parallels were readily apparent. For example, nineteenth-century flamenco compositions were developed around and based upon twelve-bar *falsetas* (melodic passages) limited to more or less four-chord cadences and strictly-defined rhythmic cycles with specific accents (compás). Similarly, the majority of Picasso's compositions were based on about a dozen or so series of subjects or "pictorial falsetas" consisting of, for example, portraits, feminine vanity and relaxation, musicians and/or their instruments, dancers and other performers, harlequins and other *commedia dell' arte* figures, bulls and bullfighting, café scenes and/or their patrons or motifs, animals, war, poverty and anguish. Innovative constructions in limited colors, ornamental lines, multiple perspectives, and juxtaposed spatial dimensions functioned as his "visual chords."

It is suggested that Picasso was familiar with certain ideological and structural processes of formulation used by flamenco performers and that he experimented with them to compose works based on personal "pictorial falsetas" which he extemporaneously and repeatedly improvised via surprising
combinations of "visual chords" and innovative media. Paradoxically, his self-imposed and well-rehearsed thematic and structural restrictions were precisely what paved the way for revolutionary and prolific freedom of artistic speech and *duende*. These personal observations and the enthusiastic confirmation of the thesis statement by present-day *aficionados* of flamenco inspired this study.

**Review of the Literature**

Initial research into the published literature concerning Picasso's use of the guitar as a recurring motif indicated that no significant attempt has been made to suggest a possible connection between his frequent depiction of the instrument and the influence of flamenco on his life and art. In his biography, *A Life of Picasso, Vol. I, 1881-1906* (New York: Random House, 1991), John Richardson touches upon the flamenco tradition by using key words such as *duende*, *cante jondo*, and *siguiriyas* (title of a flamenco form). However, he uses them more as literary devices for colorful and impassioned descriptions rather than as music or art historical devices for drawing iconographic and iconologic parallels between subjects and symbols in Picasso's art and flamenco.

Beginning his invaluable studies in 1951, the flamencologist D. E. Pohren has written and continued to revise one of the earliest flamenco trilogies, *The Art of*
Flamenco (first edition--1962; fifth edition--1990), Lives and Legends of Flamenco (first edition--1964; second edition--1988), and A Way of Life (1980), that provides significant scholarly research on the history and mechanics of flamenco. While he frequently discusses the impact of flamenco on fields other than music, such as poetry, philosophy, and psychology, he has not explored the influence of flamenco on the visual arts.

On the other hand, a small handbook entitled What is Flamenco?, published in 1992 by Fernando Quiñones and the staff of Editorial Cinterco in Madrid, has been referred to as the first illustrated guidebook of flamenco art. While many pictures, including John Singer Sargent's El Jaleo (fig. 16), are of great documentary and artistic value to the history of flamenco, none of Picasso's guitars, images of bullfighting, or theatrical flamenco costumes was included.

Possibly the most concrete evidence to support the suggestion that flamenco influenced the life and work of Picasso is recorded in two photographs taken in 1965 by Lucien Clergue (fig. 1). These photographs were taken when the eighty-four-year-old Picasso visited the controversial flamenco guitarist Manitas de Plata in Arles during the time of the recording of Flamenco Guitar: Manitas de Plata (New York: The Classics Record Library of the Book-of-the-Month
Club, Inc., 1965). The photographs were subsequently published in the text included with the records, and made me question whether Picasso may have been more intimately involved with his native Andalusian flamenco than art or music historians have yet considered.

By 1965, Picasso's reputation as one of the twentieth century's most inventive and versatile artistic giants had long been firmly established. Therefore, historians of Picasso or flamenco might question why the world-famous painter would have bothered to endorse the career of a gypsy whose reputation had already been dismissed by flamenco aficionados for his inaccurate compás (strict flamenco rhythm or beat), thus labeling him as "a farce" among flamenco guitarists. Perhaps Picasso's reasons for his association with Manitas will never be completely clear, but the fact that there was such an association has provided a precedent for further investigation into a possible connection between Picasso and flamenco.

Books, on-line data-base searches, exhibition catalogues, magazine indices, and a preliminary search of both English and Spanish dissertations about Picasso and flamenco confirm that the statement of the problem of this thesis is largely original. However, recent biographical scholarship on Picasso tends to return to his nineteenth-century Spanish roots to look for a deeper understanding of
the paradoxical nature of his life and creative processes. The following chapters will show how certain of Picasso's works relate to flamenco psychologically, thematically, and formally. This tendency can be substantially enhanced by taking a more critical look at the brief, but influential Golden Age of Flamenco, a Spanish phenomenon that occurred at precisely the same time and place of Picasso's origins.
CHAPTER II

A BRIEF HISTORY OF FLAMENCO AND THE GUITAR

The primary purpose of this chapter is to establish that the art of flamenco encompasses more than music alone. In fact, the preeminent flamenco scholar D. E. Pohren devoted the third book of his distinguished flamenco trilogy to just that aim, entitling it A Way of Life. Those who seek to understand the various ways in which flamenco influenced Picasso must have a basic knowledge of its complex historical, social, and technical development. That information is common and essential among flamenco aficionados. The following chapter is included to allow the reader, like an aficionado, to grasp certain profound connections between flamenco and Picasso such as the Andalusian adoration of the guitar and the mystical transmission of duende.

The Historical and Social Development of Flamenco

From 711, the Moorish conquest of Al-Andalus ("The Land of the Vandals," now Andalucía) dominated most of Spain (especially the southern regions), until their final expulsion in Granada seven centuries later. During the reign of Abd al-Rahman II (822-852), the court at Cordoba was home to one of Islam's most revered poets and musicians,
Ziryab of Baghdad, who brought musical systems (originally from India) that placed emphasis on enharmonic techniques (using intervals smaller than a semitone) and a repetitive ornamental style. This style was synthesized with other Moorish characteristics, such as the extensive use of melismas (Gk., song: a group of notes sung to a single syllable). Likewise, the complex hand movements and posturing of contemporary flamenco dance have antecedents in certain forms of Indian dance.

Most important to flamenco, Islamic rule tolerated the gypsies on Spanish soil and Arab influences penetrated the tradition until the crusading efforts of the Spanish Inquisition brought an abrupt halt to its legality. In 1499, the first anti-gypsy laws were passed and their nomadic way of life became punishable by service in slave galleys destined for the Americas or by death.

The gypsies were prohibited from participation in their customary trades of blacksmithing, horse trading, sheep shearing, and fortune-telling. Their language, caló or romaní, was made illegal during the seventeenth century, forcing them to withdraw from society to make their homes in the surrounding hills and caves scattered through-out Andalusia. When the cante gitano (gypsy song) eventually merged with the indigenous Andalusian folk music, the present form of flamenco was born.
The first descriptions of flamenco were recorded in guidebooks published for eighteenth-century tourists to Spain. The books mention the secretive nature of the art and cite dances (mostly fandangos) that were privately performed to the accompaniment of the guitar. According to the Evanses, in 1780 "comes the first mention by name of a gypsy singer, El Tio Luis el de la Juliana, from Jerez de la Frontera." By the middle of the nineteenth century, flamenco music is mentioned in the works of the English writer George Borrow and the Russian composer Mikhail Ivanovich Glinka, who wrote about the singer El Planeta from Triana (c. 1785-1860), the renowned "king of the Polo" (a gypsy cante still heard today).

Flamenco did not emerge as a public, performing art until the café cantante (such as Málaga's Café de Chinitas) became the favorite hangout for nineteenth-century Spanish intellectuals and bohemians. The first café opened in Velázquez's hometown of Seville in 1842, but the flamenco craze that led to its Golden Age did not catch on until other cafés sprang up in the 1860s in popular tourist cities such as Jerez, Granada, and Málaga (and as far away as Madrid and Barcelona).

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A typical café cantante (also called a tablao) was a large room crammed with small tables at one end and a wooden stage at the other. The customers, an audience of aficionados from all walks of life, crowded into an atmosphere of mysticism created by flickering oil lamps. They were entertained by a group of flamenco performers (cuadros) composed of one or two singers, three or four female dancers, two male dancers, accompanied by two guitarists. Sargent's *El Jaleo* (1882, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston) offers an accurate and dramatic illustration of the scene (fig. 16).

The café cantante period brought about the complete fusion of the Andalusian and gypsy traditions. The payos (non-gypsies) specialized in the Andalusian songs (malagueñas, verdiales, granadinos, and tarantas), while the cantaores gitanos (gypsy singers) tended to specialize in the forms of cante jondo (siguiriyas, soleares, and martinetes), characterized by the evocation of profound emotion. While the prevailing hierarchy of flamenco continues to place the singer on the highest level, the dancer on the second, and the guitarist on the third rung, solo flamenco guitar performances began to gain attention and respect during this period.

Good guitarists were in great demand and the competition was fierce among players. In their efforts to outdo each other, new techniques were introduced, but
outrageous showmanship led to tricks such as playing with a glove on one hand or playing complex falsetas while holding the guitar above the head. Such absurdities, although commonplace among rock guitarists a century later, were not condoned by flamenco maestros, such as the founder of modern flamenco Ramón Montoya (1880-1949), and they were blamed for the trivialization of the art that closed its Golden Age at the turn of the century.

Flamenco aficionados such as Manuel de Falla felt the blame belonged to "variety show" flamenco singers like Silverio Franconetti. Falla is said to have been so worried about the plight of the cante jondo that he joined the poet Lorca, the painter Ignacio Zuloaga, and other Spanish celebrities to organize the two-day "Primer Concurso de Cante Jondo" held June, 1922 in Granada. The idea had been to introduce an academy of flamenco for the preservation of cante jondo as an art of the people. This idea, however, did not work out and the disillusioned composer abandoned Andalusia forever. During the 1980s, Paco Peña, the first professor of flamenco in the Rotterdam Conservatory, at last brought Falla's dream to fruition when he founded the present day Centro Flamenco Paco Peña in Cordoba. In Peña's words:

Flamenco is rather like a drug. It gets in your blood. Was it the song first or the guitar? It
does not matter. The important thing to me is that flamenco is a living tradition.\textsuperscript{14}

**The Flamenco Tradition**

Serious problems have plagued flamenco scholarship because it is, after all, a folk art with very little written history. *Cante flamenco* (song), forms, musical structures, and reputations of former masters have survived only by word-of-mouth and direct imitation. The innovations of former flamenco maestros (masters) have customarily been passed down from father to son. Very little of the music was even notated because the majority of flamenco performers read neither music nor cifra (a form of tablature). However, with the advent of musical recording equipment and the recent scholarship of Pohren, Quinóñes, the Evanses, and, most importantly, the flamencos themselves, this custom is rapidly changing.

In trying to trace the roots of flamenco, even the origin of the word and its earliest application remain a matter for conjecture. Several theories have been introduced. The Evanses have attempted to summarize the most probable of them stating:

There are several theories of the derivation of the word. One holds that it is a corruption of the Arab *felag mengu*, meaning "fugitive peasant," which came to be applied to the gypsies and their music following their proscription after the expulsion from Spain. Another, less probable

theory holds that the word comes from a mispronunciation of flameante ("flaming") and was used as a description of the wild, fiery character of the music and musicians. Other theories are based on flamenco's literal meaning of "flemish" and postulate a connection with the servants who came from Flanders in the coronation retinue of Charles V in the sixteenth century.  

One certainty is that centuries and varieties of cultural influence have left their mark on flamenco. Fernando Quinoñes thinks that the first large migration of gypsies into Spain began in the Punjab region of India during the eighth and ninth centuries. From his research, the first known document concerning the arrival of gypsies to Spain (from the French Lands), dates to 1425 and the King of Aragon, Alfonso the Fifth. He concluded that the gypsies met with political and religious opposition because of their profound feeling for freedom and refusal to abandon their customs and beliefs.

In their laudable guitar text, Guitars: From the Renaissance to Rock (New York: Facts-on-File, 1977), Tom and Mary Anne Evans compiled a concise and factual definition of flamenco which states:

The great body of music known as flamenco is the product of a living tradition of great antiquity, centered in the Andalucía region of southern Spain. Over the centuries it has evolved into a highly organized tightly structured art form which makes use of the elements of song (cante), dance (baile), and guitar playing (toque). There are hundreds of different types of pieces within flamenco, which have generic names such as siguiriyas, soleares, alegrias, malagueñas [from

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15 Tom and Mary Anne Evans, Guitars, p. 171.
Mágala], fandangos, zapateado, rondeña, etc. They are defined by characteristic melodic, rhythmic, and harmonic structures; each has a characteristic mood (and sometimes subject matter) and many are regional variants of essentially similar forms.\(^\text{16}\)

In addition, the Evanses point out the paradoxical nature of the art of flamenco and its history by emphasizing that:

On the one hand it is a genuine folk art, an art of the people: shaped and molded by experiences of joy, hardship and suffering, it deals with the deepest emotions that lie at the roots of human experience. In this way it has a universality of appeal which operates far beyond the confines of its native Andalucía. But on the other hand, the feelings in which flamenco deal are expressed in musical forms of extraordinary complexity and sophistication which, while allowing great scope for improvisation, are governed by rules as strict as any classical composition.\(^\text{17}\)

The Evanses conclude that "flamenco is therefore at one and the same time a way of life, a true folk music, and a form of high art."\(^\text{18}\) Historically, the tradition has survived cultural extinction for centuries through an unbroken and secretive process handed down by word-of-mouth and technical imitation. This enigmatic process only began to be recorded during the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century. By the nineteenth century, flamenco was adding its oriental spice to the Romantic intellectual gatherings at

\(^\text{16}\) Tom and Mary Anne Evans, Guitars, p. 170.

\(^\text{17}\) Ibid.

\(^\text{18}\) Ibid.
taverns such as the Café de Chinitas in Málaga where Picasso's father was a regular patron. In Barcelona, don José's teenaged son patronized Els Quatre Gats where the discussions on duende must have been one of the more bohemian topics. According to the Evanses:

When a great singer, dancer or guitarist is truly inspired, emotion and conscious art are fused in a musical ecstasy. The attainment of this state is referred to by the term duende (literally "elf" or "spirit"), which is used almost mystically to describe the performer's immersion in his deepest feelings, and the communication of this state to the audience.¹⁹

Flamenco is a vital rather than static tradition which has always been affected and modified by the circumstances of the society in which it is rooted, "as indeed it must be if it is to remain a vital musical force."²⁰ This idea was reinforced by Paco de Lucía (1947– ), the most prodigious and internationally respected flamenco guitarist to emerge in decades, when he stated that "Flamenco has too much personality, and too much character and emotive force, to stay in the same form all its life."²¹

The Role of the Guitar

The role of the guitar within the tradition of flamenco was, until the café cantante period, one of accompaniment.

¹⁹ Tom and Mary Anne Evans, Guitars, p. 170.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.
Prior to this time, only minor attention had been given to the technical complexities involved in flamenco toque (guitar playing), falsetas, and compás (strict rhythm or beat), and there had been no serious studies by scholars outside of the flamenco tradition to define the sophisticated right hand techniques of rasgueado (continuous roll), pulgar (thumb), picado, or tremelo. However, "in July 1936 a series of concerts, recitals, and records by Ramón Montoya established the guitar solo as a legitimate art form." 22

The modern flamenco guitar shares a common ancestry with the classical, both being inventions of Renaissance Spain. The basic difference between the two involves the types of wood used in their construction (generally, Spanish cypress for flamenco and rosewood for classical). The constructional innovations of the luthier Antonio de Torres Jurado earned him widespread fame during the late nineteenth century. His recognition resulted, it is said, because he had "a certain feeling for the sound and spirit of flamenco to be able to build its guitars." 23 Other famous luthiers include Santos Hernández, Vicente Arias, José Ramirez, and Domingo Esteso. In Barcelona, perhaps Picasso knew of the guitar workshop of Enrique García.

22 Tom and Mary Anne Evans, Guitars, p. 178.
23 Ibid., p. 183.
The history of the guitar in flamenco is more precisely that of the players themselves. Pohren calls the guitarist "the unsung hero of flamenco" who must:

... devote himself to his art as much as a Segovia or a Paderewski, with an additional task: the great flamenco guitarist is not merely an interpreter of compositions, but is himself a spontaneous composer. His material must come from within. If he does not possess an inventive genius and a sense of spontaneity, combined with a deep-rooted sense of compás and the omnipresent duende, he is not top flight.

Further, Pohren reminds guitar historians that this instrument, by virtue of the compositions and virtuosity of the Spanish classicists Francisco Tarrega (1852-1909) and his student Andrés Segovia, and the flamencos Ramón Montoya, Niño de Ricardo, Sabicas, Paco de Lucía, Ramón de Algèrciras, and Paco Peña, has but recently been elevated to the platform of high art. Pohren states that:

A superior guitar becomes the guitarist's passion, to be protected at all costs. It becomes a part of him, something that he can part with only with great effort and sorrow. In many cases, such a guitar will even become a status symbol, elevating just another guitarist to the level of a celebrity. There is just such a guitar in Málaga, owned by a wonderful old man called Pepe el Calderero.

The famous guitar is a Santos (named after its maker) and the old man has been approached by aficionados from all over Spain just to see it. Art historians might react in

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25 Ibid., p. 73.
the same way just for look at the flamenco guitar of Manitas de Plata that became a Picasso canvas (fig. 1) in 1965 when:

... Picasso visited Arles especially to hear Manitas, who played for him on three occasions during the visit. Delighted by what he heard, Picasso suddenly took Manitas' guitar from him and drew a picture of a picador on it—a memento the guitarist treasures.

The rich history of the Spanish guitar stretches from the days of Ziryab in Cordoba, through its evolution from the vihuela to six-string guitar during the Renaissance, into a respectable instrument of high art by the close of the nineteenth century, to arrive as one of Picasso's most revolutionary and noble motifs. The artist himself turned luthier when he constructed his first and now world-famous Guitar (Museum of Modern Art) out of cardboard in 1912 (figs. 18-20; 4).

Perhaps the femininity of the guitar charmed Picasso. Its curves have always been poetically equated with the female figure. From its inception, this humble instrument has supplied a constant source of inspiration to artists and musicians. In the words of the greatest living flamenco guitarist, Paco de Lucía (fig. 21):

The guitar is like a friend. It must be discovered for yourself. Better, it is like trying to relate to a gorgeous, but intelligent, woman. It is an enemy until technique is conquered; you feel impotent or stupid. Once you

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do conquer technique and you are confident, you now have a beloved friend. And you can let yourself go as with a friend. Your music becomes an expression of yourself.²⁷

CHAPTER III

ASPECTS OF SPANISH CULTURE PERTINENT TO PICASSO AND FLAMENCO

Prior to beginning the art historical discussion in Chapter IV, it is essential to take a closer look at pertinent factors linking Picasso to flamenco. Two incontrovertible aspects include common geography and chronology. Other common denominators include Andalusian philosophy, formulation, visual imagery, psychology, thematic content, technical processes, and passion for paradox and duende. Attention is given to these aspects as a reminder that much of their power of cultural persuasion was thought to have been dismissed or forgotten by Picasso when he left Spain for good at the age of nineteen. Instead, he spent the rest of his career in France creatively redefining certain native flamenco motifs and artistic concepts into a vocabulary that came to be our modern art.

Geography and Chronology

Geographically, Andalusia (Spanish name Andalucía) is the southernmost region of Spain, bordering on the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea (fig. 2). The area occupies the basin of the Guadalquivir River and is one of Spain's
most fertile regions for citrus fruits, olives, and wine. After the second century, B.C., the region came under Roman control and was called Hispania. It was named Andalucía (after its fifth-century Vandal settlers) by the Muslims, who invaded it in the first half of the eighth century. Southern Spain was not completely recovered by the Spanish Crown until 1492 when the kingdom of Granada, the last Moorish stronghold on Spanish soil, was conquered during the Catholic Reconquest of Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand. In 1609, the Moriscos (Christians of Moorish descent) were expelled by Philip III, resulting in the loss of a large part of the laboring class. The region's prosperity suffered decline until the advent of tourism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Picasso's birthplace, the ancient Andalusian city of Málaga, is located on the Mediterranean Sea. It was founded by the Phoenicians (twelfth century, B.C.) who successively passed the city to the Romans, the Visigoths, and the Moors, before it fell to the Catholic Sovereigns five years before Granada (1487). Malagueñan exports include olives, almonds, and dried fruits.

In Volume I of A Life of Picasso, a monumental work that has already been distinguished as the beginning of the definitive biography of the artist, John Richardson captures the mood of late nineteenth-century Málaga as well as Picasso's lifelong "resentment of the backwardness,
listlessness and air of defeat that characterized the beautiful southern province where he spent the first ten years of his life (1881-91).”

Picasso's grandparents had known a Málaga that flourished from its agriculture, textile factories, ironworks, and lucrative trading connections with Britain and America. For years, his maternal family supported itself by vineyard production. But in 1878, phylloxera, the American grape disease that destroyed French vineyards in the 1860s, struck southern Spain, destroying its principal crops and plunging the region into unemployment, poverty, cholera epidemics, and despair (jondo).

It was in this unpropitious time for Málaga that the infant Picasso (b. October 25, 1881) would hear his first cante jondo of the flamencos. One suspects that the painter's earliest memories of the music were similar to those expressed by the expatriate flamenco guitarist Charo who recalls her own childhood in nearby Murcia:

At night, these breathtaking melodies serenade everybody, and the babies go to sleep listening to these sounds like lullabies. And that is why all my life, I felt passion for the guitar.

Perhaps, Picasso's subconscious passion for guitars and bulls sprang up from just such lullabies. John Richardson, however, believes that he probably inherited it from his

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28 Richardson, A Life of Picasso, p. 13.

father, don José Ruiz Blasco. Don José's provincial interests vacillated between painting pigeons and instructing drawing classes at San Telmo (School of Fine Arts and Crafts in Málaga). He curated the local museum and frequented local brothels. The rest of his time was devoted to the Fiesta with its attendant juergas (flamenco jam sessions) and tertulia at the Café de Chinitas.

As was the Andalusian custom of the day, don José soon initiated his son into his profession by instructing him in drawing and painting. Don José also introduced the lad to the Andalusian art of bullfighting and by the age of about ten, Picasso responded with his earliest extant picture, Picador (1889-90, Collection Claude Picasso, Paris; fig. 15).

Chronologically, Picasso's modest Andalusian childhood was spent in a city that was, paradoxically, both economically depressed by crop failure and culturally enriched by its participation in the Golden Age of Flamenco. Late nineteenth-century Spain, especially the southern regions, was in vogue. Tourists made pilgrimages to sunny Andalusia to experience the marvels of Moorish architecture, bullfights, gypsy jaleo (hell-raising), sunsets on the Costa del Sol, and Pedro Domecq sherry from Jerez de la Frontera. They had been drawn there by the Romantic literature of Washington Irving's Tales of the Alhambra (1829), Victor Hugo's Orientales (1828), and Theophile Gautier's Revue des
Deux Mondes (1842). The artist John Singer Sargent's visit there became the inspiration for his flamenco masterpiece El Jaleo exhibited in the Paris Salon of May, 1882 (fig. 16). According to art historian Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr., Edouard Manet, too, was an hispanomaniac because:

Beginning in the late 1850s, long before he actually visited Spain, Manet's paintings were touched by it in a variety of ways. Nearly half of the paintings he made from 1860 to 1867 were inspired by Spanish art or Spanish subjects, as were most of his published and exhibited prints.  

(fig. 17)

An understated but significant contributing factor to foreign curiosity and infatuation with mid-nineteenth-century Spain must be credited to the Golden Age of Flamenco. By 1850, the body of music of the outcast gypsy clans, los flamencos, had evolved into the highly organized and tightly structured art form of flamenco as it is known today. Eager Spanish tavern owners competed with one another over slick commercial performances of flamenco for wealthy tourists in search of exotic entertainment. The flamencos themselves were both amazed and delighted by their unprecedented status as legitimate artists. Never before in their enigmatic history, which is believed to have begun as early as the eighth century in Spain, had they received any

sort of cultural recognition above the caste of a crude, primitive society that miraculously endured centuries of decentralization and discrimination. Their tricks of survival went unrecorded.

In Volume I of *A Life of Picasso*, John Richardson frequently alludes to Picasso's familiarity with *los gitanos* (the gypsies) and the flamenco tradition. His biography includes direct quotations from Picasso's own recollections of his childhood in Málaga. In fact, the artist confessed to Richardson that he would sneak off from his neighborhood to hang out in the gypsy quarter, otherwise known as the "Chupa y Tira," ("Suck and Throw," as in snail shells) near the Alcazaba in Málaga. According to Richardson:

Picasso's love for *cante jondo* originated in the "Chupa y Tira." But that was not all the gypsies taught him. Unbeknownst to his family, he learned not only how to smoke but how to smoke with a cigarette up his nostril; he also learned to dance rudimentary flamenco. "There was no end to the tricks I learned from the gypsies," he would say mysteriously.\(^\text{31}\)

These "tricks" take on a greater significance if, as is suggested in this thesis, they can be identified, defined, and correlated to both flamenco and Picasso's art. Geography and chronology had put the music and the artist together, and it is for that reason that many of Picasso's "tricks" were, in all probability, either consciously or unconsciously absorbed from the flamenco tradition that was

\(^{31}\) Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, p. 27.
in full bloom throughout his formative years in Spain. Currently, Picasso's enormous oeuvre is still described as an arcane mass of contradictions that stands little chance of being deciphered. At times, the artist himself claimed to be puzzled by his creative processes. Perhaps, a greater understanding of the flamenco tradition and some of its artistic psychology and technical processes can provide art historians and Picasso aficionados with greater insight into the painter's enigmatic manner of extemporaneous composition.

The Pictorial Tradition in Spain

The study of the evolution of the Spanish artistic tradition and its methodology, according to Jonathan Brown, a leading authority on Spain's Golden Age of Painting (c. 1474-1700):

... has tended to be neglected, in part because of a long-standing bias of western culture, which originated in the Renaissance, in favor of novelty and uniqueness.\(^3^2\)

From Brown's inexhaustible research on the subject, it becomes clear that unlike the doctrinal individualism nurtured by the Italian Renaissance, Spaniards nurtured a penchant for formulation rather than originality. "Right from the start," states Brown, "Spanish patrons were profoundly concerned with doctrinal orthodoxy."\(^3^3\) From the


\(^{3^3}\) Ibid., p. 309.
fifteenth century forward, Spanish tastes, molded by the
dictates of kings and the Counter-Reformation, evolved as a
concern for "correctness" that Picasso inherited and never
abandoned:

Picasso's lifelong absorption in bullfights, his
use of the monochromatic browns and ochers
peculiar to the Spanish landscape, his love of the
grotesque, his concern with the real even when
painting at his most obscure (by his own words, he
regards himself as above all a realist) -- all these
are indisputably in the tradition of Spanish
painting.  

Unlike traditional Spanish painters of the past,
Picasso's concerns for "correctness" and formulation
resulted from an intuitive understanding of keeping rules in
order to break away from them. Relating this idea to
flamenco compás may clarify the point. For example, the
performer knows that the strict rule of maintaining a steady
beat must be kept and that this is what allows him to make
radical departures from simple to more complex and abstract
cadences. Similarly, Picasso's experiments with Analytical
Cubism as, for example, "Ma Jolie" (Woman with a Zither or
Guitar) (fig. 37), kept real objects (the figure and the
guitar) and made radical departures from them by fragmenting
the planes in order to depict the objects so they could be
seen from several angles simultaneously.

Common Philosophical Roots

34 Lael Wertenbaker and the Editors of Time-Life
Just as formulation and decorum became watchwords in traditional Spanish painting, so they became precepts in other Spanish arts as well. The perpetuation of the hierarchical tradition of flamenco, in fact, continues to depend upon strict and rigid adherence to these principles. For example, both the dancer and the accompanying guitarist must know the compás of any given form presented. However, when a dancer makes a mistake, the guitarist must compensate for it and accept the blame as well. This injustice results because the dancer, by tradition, has held second place above the third-placed guitarist in rank. Fortunately, Manuel de Falla and other late nineteenth-century aficionados were not in agreement with such antiquated decorum.

Inherent in the suggestion that Picasso's personal concerns for nineteenth-century flamenco and Fiesta ran deeper than recreational value is an implicit understanding of the Andalusian philosophy that binds them together. This point has been stressed again because these art forms share a common heritage and philosophy that, as Pohren's following description from The Art of Flamenco will attest, sounds as though it could have come from a Picasso biography:

... the traditional flamencos are natural actors. Their preferred life is in the streets and cafés, where they can see and be seen, admire and feel admired. They enjoy being nattily dressed, and they have an indestructible attitude of being somebody unique. Armed with these assets, and a glass or two of aguardiente, they strut like cocks being at once expansive,
authoritative, friendly, condescending, formal, dignified, and, above all, individualistic.\textsuperscript{35}

Flamenco philosophy, as Pohren and others have observed, is not exclusive to flamenco performers alone. To reiterate his words:

One does not have to be a performer of flamenco to be a flamenco: a flamenco is anyone who is emotionally involved in this unique philosophy.\textsuperscript{36}

Accepting this basic description of a flamenco makes it possible to suggest that Picasso, although a payo (non-gypsy) by birth, was an emotionally-acculturated flamenco in wit and spirit.

Other Commonalities Between Picasso and Flamenco

Other notable factors that serve to substantiate the painter’s active involvement in the flamenco tradition include his particular visual imagery, psychology, thematic content, technical processes, and passion for paradox and duende. For example, many of Picasso’s compositions depict images of guitars and guitarists in works as early as \textit{The Old Guitarist} from 1903 (fig. 3), and as late as \textit{The Guitarist} from 1965 (fig. 14). Other flamenco-related images include picadors, matadors, aficionados, nomads, and brazen women. He continued to depict café cantante settings and motifs and identifiable flamenco types of guitars (versus Spanish classical types) in works such as \textit{Au Lapin}

\textsuperscript{35} Pohren, \textit{The Art of Flamenco}, p. 36.

\textsuperscript{36} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 21.
Agile (fig. 31), completed some years after his expatriation to France.

Much of his art is psychologically indicative of self-oriented wishful thinking and appears autobiographic in nature. Some titles of works support this suggestion. For example, in his sketch entitled Caricature of the Artist (fig. 30), Picasso has clearly depicted himself as a mischievous child or elf. On a more profound level, his work entitled The Aficionado (fig. 5) can be interpreted as an expression of his desire to depict himself as either the matador or the ardent fan. Along these same lines, some of his depictions of guitarists or bulls are ripe with possible autobiographic interpretations as well.

Similar to the compositional processes used in flamenco, Picasso developed his themes around about a dozen subjects such as portraits of himself and his lovers, feminine vanity and cruelty, the commedia dell' arte, poverty, bullfighting, music (especially guitar playing), dancers, and interiors or motifs found in cafés cantantes. Several of those themes appear to have poetic and emotional origins in the legends, lyrics, melodies, and rhythms of flamenco song (cante). Throughout his youth in Spain, Picasso heard styles of highly emotional singing produced during the Golden Age of Flamenco and he would have been very familiar with its three main categories. These categories include cante jondo (characterized by desolate
and profoundly emotional expressions of anguish), cante intermedio (less intense and characterized by Moorish ornamentalism), and cante chico (placing emphasis on rhythmic spontaneity and optimism).

The influence of cante flamenco is felt throughout Picasso's oeuvre and an examination of this aspect will follow in Chapter Four. Briefly, the emotional impact of the moods and themes represented in flamenco songs is particularly noticeable in Picasso's Blue Period paintings such as The Blind Man's Meal (fig. 24). This work, for example, depicts a theme based on poverty expressed in the desolate mood of a cante jondo. In contrast, Guitar, Sheet Music, and Wine Glass (fig. 38) depicts a much lighter theme based on music and illustrates the spontaneity and optimistic mood of a cante chico.

Picasso's background knowledge of flamenco has, I believe, been overlooked. Yet much of his art is reminiscent of particular flamenco precepts that he either consciously or unconsciously integrated into his work by way of limited pictorial themes presented in dynamic and multiple variations. Further, I believe that the flamenco tradition made a significant contribution to his ability to produce one of the largest and most revolutionary oeuvres known to the world of art.

Other flamenco techniques can be identified in Picasso's oeuvre. For example, la mirada fuerte (the strong
gaze) was adopted by the artist in practically all of his self-portraits. His earliest exposure to the technique would have been in Málaga where he noticed it in the facial gestures of bailaores (flamenco dancers). The flamencos had used the look for centuries as an expression of their psychological intensity of performance and domination over an audience. An example of this motif in Picasso's work appears in, *Self-Portrait: Yo Picasso*, from 1901. (fig. 27) This painting represents an early attempt by the artist to seize the attention of the viewer. The mirada fuerte has a long tradition with Andalusian performers and artists. Another Andalusian, Diego de Velázquez, initially adapted the technique for painting in his seventeenth-century masterpiece *Las Meninas* (fig. 28), copied by Picasso (fig. 29).

Other technical similarities between flamenco and certain works by Picasso relate more precisely to the styles of cante flamenco developed in Málaga. D. E. Pohren pointed out that Malagueñan flamencos early decided to create songs to "fit their every mood." Originating with the malagueñas, the toque libre style is one of flamenco's few free rhythmic styles without a determined compás. Liberalism in rhythmic expression was, for the most part, unique to Málaga. However, the flamencos were expected to adhere to compás (strict rhythmic cadence with specific accentuation) in conventional forms of flamenco puro and to present them with
technical virtuosity, dynamic contrast, and duende. Such elements were essential ingredients in Picasso's work, but they were invaluable to him as he moved from the compás of Analytical Cubism to the toque libre of Synthetic Cubism.

Picasso's penchant for paradox was described by John Richardson as being a "specifically Andalusian phenomenon." The artist's son told Richardson that his father repeatedly muttered that truth was a lie. Entire books are full of Picasso's quips and self-contradictory puns. Numerous compositions are filled with oppositional elements such as love and hate, ancient and novel, primitive and polished, and fun and formality juxtaposed against one another in the same canvas. His passion for enigmatic contradictions in speech and formal concept may stem from certain flamenco verses (many originating in Andalusia during the Golden Age) whose authors have always relished this type of self-contradictory psychology. Flamenco guitarists design their falsetas to express deliberate contrasts in speed, dynamics, and mood. The emotional impact is quickly apparent to its listeners and Picasso must have heard some of the best in flamenco history.

The last and, perhaps, most beguiling aspect pertinent to both Picasso and flamenco is duende. Out of respect for the hierarchy of flamenco which places all foreigners on the bottom rung of aficionados, the task of defining duende has
been passed to the flamencologist D. E. Pohren who offers the following gestalt analysis:

Desolate cantes (songs) followed, each fomenting the dejection of the impressionable gypsies. Moments such as these incite the jondo in men, and the miracle of the duende occurs; for the duende is the exposure of one's soul, its misery and suffering, love and hate, offered without embarrassment or resentment. It is a cry of despair, a release of tortured emotions, to be found in its true profundity only in real life situations, not in the make-believe world of theatres and night clubs and commercial caves as a product that can be bought and sold and produced at will.\(^\text{37}\)

Picasso spent a lifetime baring his soul to the entire world. His art, in one form or another, touched upon every conceivable emotion known to human nature, which he expressed in revolutionary artistic styles and innovative media. His rhythmic spontaneity is as refreshing (and sometimes shocking) to viewers today as it was when the paint was still wet. Certain aspects of flamenco influenced his paradoxical way of life and timeless artistic virtuosity. Geography and chronology brought the music and the painter together and those two aspects, thus far, remain the foundation to support the statement of the problem. Yet his "visual diary" recorded numerous entries that communicate the duende of flamenco. Perhaps, Picasso himself offered verification of this thesis when he said to

\[^{37}\text{Pohren, The Art of Flamenco, p. 23.}\]
John Richardson, "There was no end to the tricks I learned from the gypsies."\textsuperscript{38}
CHAPTER IV

THE INFLUENCE OF FLAMENCO ON
SELECTED WORKS OF PICASSO

In the preceding chapters, pertinent aspects of Spanish history and culture were examined in order to begin the discussion of selected works by Picasso through a new window, the art of flamenco. This discussion is based on an analysis of Picasso's visual imagery in the cultural context of Golden Age flamenco which was at its peak at the time of his birth in the Andalusian city of Málaga in 1881. Substantial evidence indicates that Picasso was a flamenco aficionado because he grew up with and was influenced by traditional ideological and technical processes of formulation used by flamenco performers. This chapter will show how selected works by Picasso relate to flamenco psychologically, thematically, and formally.

Picasso's earliest extant picture, Picador (1889-90; fig. 15), depicts an image from his Andalusian childhood based on the spectacle of bullfighting (Fiesta) which, according to flamenco scholars D. E. Pohren and Fernando Quinoñes, is inextricably linked to the art of flamenco. Fiesta, as defined by Pohren (see above, p. 4, n. 5), sets a philosophical precedent for the influence of flamenco on Picasso's images of bullfighting. Therefore, Picador may
now be considered as an example of the very earliest psychological and thematic influence of flamenco in Picasso's oeuvre.

Young Picasso was both allowed and expected to attend the bullfights in Málaga with his father and first art teacher don José Ruiz Blasco. However, he was not yet old enough to participate in men's tertulia (intellectual gatherings) and juergas (flamenco jam sessions) frequented by his father at the flamenco Café de Chinitas. Nevertheless, Picasso did, according to his friend and biographer John Richardson, sneak off to the flamenco district, "Chupa y Tira," to play with the gypsies. There he not only learned how to smoke, but also how to dance a rudimentary form of flamenco. Flamenco bailaores (dancers) introduced him to their techniques of dramatic and sensual posturing, ornamental arm and hand movements, anguished facial gestures, and psychologically-intense gazes (la mirada fuerte) which began to appear in self-portraits by the age of nineteen with a Self-Portrait sketched in charcoal on paper (1900, Museo Picasso, Barcelona; fig. 26). He also learned about styles of flamenco dress. His association with the flamencos at this time both put him in direct contact with the tradition and suggests that he was

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39 Richardson, A Life of Picasso, p. 27.
introduced to the knowledge of aficionados as early as the age of eight.

His early childhood was spent in Málaga during a time when the city was famous throughout Spain for its contributions to the cultural flowering of the Golden Age of Flamenco. Pohren elaborates on Málaga's unique gifts to the nineteenth-century flamenco tradition:

The province of Málaga has developed its own very personal world of flamenco. They early decided that the gypsy-style flamenco was not for them, and went on to innovate their own cantes to fit their every mood. They have the verdiales and rondeñas for gaiety, the jaberás for light philosophy, and for their cante grande, the serranas, and countless styles of malagueñas, whose verses encompass the most profound emotions. For a time, during the last thirty years of the past century, these malagueñas swept Spain, picking up quantities of admirers and interpreters who were not from Málaga.⁴⁰

One distinct characteristic peculiar to the malagueñas is that this form offers incalculable variations on theme and style and is one of the few "free forms" (toque libre) without a determined compás. This aspect of flamenco would not only have been known to Picasso, but may have later influenced his numerous experiments with assemblage. Six Guitar assemblages from 1926 (figs. 8-13) illustrate Picasso's adherence to the guitar motif as a formulaic tool, an object he earmarked for his formal experimentation.

Using one image, a guitar, assembled out of more or less the same set of scrap materials including cardboard, cloth, nails, tulle, pencils, and string, Picasso composed six innovative variations based on the same theme. In addition, Figures 8, 9, 11, and 12 express the gaiety and rhythmic freedom of Picasso's native verdiales. In contrast, Figures 10 and 13 echo the more profound and serious cante jondo of the serranas, as the knitting needle in Figure 10 appears to pierce the very heart of the image. This guitar, like the poetic Andalusian soul, has been physically stretched and emotionally flattened. As austere as the most desolate expressions of a cante jondo, it amounts to nothing more than a scrap of cloth tacked on a board. Yet its duende plays on... "for this guitar is the soul of flamenco, the soul of bullfighting... the timeless essence of Andalucía."

By the time Picasso was fourteen, don José had recognized his son's artistic potential and the teenager was sent to Madrid to see the paintings of Velázquez, Zurbaran, and Goya. No doubt this experience fired his imagination and stimulated his conversations at Els Quatre Gats in his new hometown of Barcelona. Over the next five years, Picasso completed his adolescence in northeastern Spain's

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41 Pohren, The Art of Flamenco, p. 31.
largest port and leading cultural center. The young bohemian eagerly participated in the local Catalonian snobbery that belittled Andalusian provincialism, with the exception of bullfighting and cante jondo which were said to have touched his very soul. Further, Picasso was keenly aware that flamenco music had historically just arrived at the peak of a centuries-old struggle to attain cultural recognition and respectability. Moreover, late nineteenth-century flamenco music was exotic and stylish.

By 1900, however, highly over-commercialized flamenco juerga brought about the decline of the Golden Age of Flamenco. This same year bade farewell to Picasso's permanent Spanish residency. Like most aspiring young painters in Barcelona at the turn of the century, Picasso believed that his career would be sentenced to obscurity if he did not get to Paris. Therefore, the self-determined young artist and his friend Casagemas packed up their easels and by October of that year, the pair had installed themselves in a studio in Montparnasse amidst a local colony of expatriate Spanish painters and sculptors.

Within months of setting foot on French soil, Picasso lost his friend Casagemas to suicide, an incident that combined with his periodic bouts of homesickness to precipitate paintings of deep, melancholic jondo in tones of blue. *The Old Guitarist* (fig. 3), now in the collection of
the Art Institute of Chicago, was completed in 1903 and its profound emotional impact is indicative of various psychological, thematic, and formal aspects influenced by the closing years of flamenco's Golden Age.

The *Old Guitarist* has more often been discussed in art history classes for its relation to the influence of El Greco's "mannerism," especially noticeable in the guitarist's elongated hands and curving posture. However, it is also possible to give an equal amount of consideration to the psychological and emotional impact made on the impressionable young Picasso who actually saw displaced flamenco performers left with nothing but their guitars shortly before he left for Paris. The painting poignantly depicts the image of a dejected nomad in symbolic gesture of the tragic theme of despair and poverty. Its blue tonality paints the desolate mood of a *sighiriyas* form and mood of *cante jondo*. The guitarist's dramatic posture, anguished face, and exaggerated arms and hands recall the techniques that Picasso absorbed from the gypsy *bailaores* in Málaga. Above all, the visual and emotional quality of this early work embodies and transmits the duende of the painter.

Another way to look at other *cante jondo* images from 1903, such as *The Ascetic* (Barnes Collection), *The Old Jew* (Pushkin Museum), and *The Blind Man's Meal* (Metropolitan Museum of Art) figs. 22-24, is to consider that they were
conceived by an artist who grew up during the café cantante period when gypsy mendicants were real-life subjects found on the streets of Spanish cities. John Richardson, on the other hand, has narrowed the influence on these depictions to religious imagery by stating that they could only have been conceived by someone who was brought up on the "agonized martyrs" found in Andalusian churches.

In dynamic contrast to his jondo depictions of blind beggars, Picasso's early self-portraits communicate psychological intensity which he expressed, in the manner of an egocentric flamenco dancer, by staring straight at the viewer. His Self-Portrait: Yo Picasso (Paris, 1901; fig. 27) is characterized by a strong gaze called la mirada fuerte that Picasso first observed with the gypsies of the "Chupa y Tira" district of Málaga when he attempted to learn some of the styles and techniques of flamenco dancing as a boy.

The mirada fuerte, in addition to its technical application by flamenco dancers, has historical roots in the tradition of Spanish painting. The visual depiction of the strong gaze proved to be both an effective and protective device of silent communication for Spanish artists dating from its invention by Velázquez in the mid-seventeenth century. In Las Meninas (c. 1656, Prado Museum, Madrid; fig. 28), Velázquez has assumed the dignified stance of King
Philip IV's royal painter. Yet his gaze is focused on the viewer rather than his large canvas on the left side of the painting. Adeptly avoiding controversy, Velázquez's mirada fuerte has come to be understood as the artist's silent and profoundly subtle testament to the nobility of the art of painting. Over a century later, Goya imitated Velázquez's stare in his portrait of The Family of Charles IV (1800, Museo del Prado), and by the time Picasso used it in Las Meninas, after Velázquez (1957, Museo Picasso, Barcelona; fig. 29), it was linked more exclusively to the Spanish tradition of painting. However, John Richardson's assertion that the mirada fuerte is "the key--the Andalusian key--that helps unlock the mysteries of Picasso's late work, and his work as a whole,"\(^42\) indicates that the artist had been equally influenced to use the look by the Spanish tradition of painting and his native Andalusian tradition of baile flamenco (dance).

Picasso's Caricature of the Artist (1903, Museo Picasso, Barcelona; fig. 30) is a comical expression of mirada fuerte and also offers a whimsical illustration of the colloquial meaning of the term flamenco. The caricature is indicative of the manner in which the Spaniards "use the term [flamenco] to describe a wit, a mischievous child or a

\(^{42}\) Richardson, A Life of Picasso, p. 10.
person who is indifferent to accepted social standards, "that one's a flamenco." It also relates to the themes of gaiety, joy, rebellion, and individualism contained in the verses, rhythms, and melodies of *cante chico* (light song) forms and styles of flamenco *malagueñas*, *verdiales*, and *rondeñas* produced in Málaga in the nineteenth century.

By 1905, Picasso had met the poet André Salmon and Fernande Olivier, who became the first in a string of women he paradoxically loved and hated. His palette lightened and the American art collectors Gertrude and Leo Stein bought pictures no longer expressing the intense *jondo* themes of desolation and poverty which the artist had absorbed in Spain and experienced during his first years in France.

Rose Period subject matter is characterized by light colors and circus themes. The mood of these canvases relates to the flamenco forms and verses of *cante intermedio* which are characteristically less intense and more ornamental than *cante jondo*. However, just as a pervasive melancholy continues to underscore *cante intermedio* (as in the *jaberas*), so there is an air of melancholy in works such as *Au Lapin Agile* (1904-05, Private Collection, Paris; fig. 31).

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Au Lapin Agile features a familiar image of a guitar player in an interior reminiscent of Picasso's days at Els Quatre Gats in Barcelona where young bohemians frequented the café cantante to talk and listen to music. The guitar is realistic enough, although its size is comparable to that of a baritone ukelele. The disheveled and expressionless musician is a reminder of the flamencos who were left without employment during the declining years of the Golden Age of Flamenco. The guitarist has assumed his traditional place on a small wooden stage crammed against a bare wall. He is seated in the customary flamenco position with both feet flat on the ground, his guitar resting on his right thigh, and holding his right hand fingers exactly perpendicular to the strings. Gone are his days of jaleo. An atmosphere of melancholy prevails and the non-responsive couple clearly indicates that his toques (guitar licks) have lost their duende.

In 1906, Picasso began to seek inspiration from a variety of sources. He had been greatly impressed by the exhibition of Iberian sculptures from Osuna held at the Louvre and was fascinated with the geometric experiments of Cezanne and by the imagination of Matisse, the only living artist he considered his rival. Such challenging prospects led him into a period of intensive experimentation and pictorial invention. It is logical to assume that he would
take all he had absorbed from the flamenco tradition in Spain into his revolutionary laboratory of art.

One element from his heritage, the Spanish guitar, would soon prove to be more vital to his oeuvre than ever before. Picasso may have been aware that the instrument had brought success to Manet when his canvas *The Spanish Singer* (1860, Metropolitan Museum of Art; fig. 17), one of the first two of his paintings to be accepted at the Paris Salon in 1861, earned him an honorable mention. Furthermore, John Singer Sargent's *El Jaleo*, based on cuadro flamenco (group performance) he saw in a café cantante in Spain, not only made its debut at the Salon of 1882, but was also critically acclaimed as the picture of the year.

A generation later, I believe Picasso composed his own version of success via hispanomania. He knew his native experience with flamenco was rare in the art world of Paris and could be kept a secret to himself. Andalusians were masters at such secrets, and, after all, he did know a few "gypsy tricks," remnants from the "Chupa y Tira," that were privy to someone who had been in Málaga during the Golden Age of Flamenco.

Picasso's successful experiments relied upon using simple, formulaic tools. His kit included: 1) a limited number of familiar motifs; 2) the critical selection of motifs in a composition for the expression of particular
moods and symbolic extrapolation; 3) an emphasis on variation of style versus subject; 4) formal and innovative variation on familiar themes versus originality; 5) repetition; 6) an Andalusian penchant for the depiction of deliberate pictorial or symbolic contradictions to create paradox and mystery; 7) comic relief; and 8) a burning desire to evoke duende in his art.

Parallel to a flamenco guitarist, Picasso saw the guitar as an essential tool. The motif was popular, pliable, and its design was easy to recognize despite the types of formal experiments in line, color, texture, perspective, and dimension to which he would later subject it in his Cubist inventions.

Picasso was armed with a knowledge of how flamenco performers train to become virtuosos in their respective fields of cante, baile, and toque. For example, Picasso would have known that in flamenco puro (authentic flamenco), there is no such thing as inventing original compositions. The various forms of flamenco (siguiriyas, bulerías, alegrias, and others) had been established within the ancient context of their evolution from primitive to high art. Unlike the classical tradition of music, there were no specific composers of flamenco's limitless variety of forms. There were only, and are still today, brilliant interpreters of the forms. The compositional or creative aspects of
flamenco are, therefore, determined by the individual artist's ability to work within the framework of a particular form in such a way as to create new material without disrupting its essential structure.

In addition, other interpretations claim that the visual imagery and theme in Picasso's early masterpiece *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* (1907, Museum of Modern Art; fig. 32) are not original. Even its title did not come from the artist himself. It was named nine years after completion by his poet-friend André Salmon and is said to be the result of Picasso's jokes about a notorious brothel on Avignon Street in Barcelona. However, its theme, feminine seduction and eroticism, could very well have been influenced by the *gitana* style (country-gypsy; primitive) of female flamenco dancing and singing.

The figures' arms recall the unrefined posturing and tantalizing motion of the upper torso known as the *baile de brazos* (literally "dance of the arms;" symbol of femininity and passion) perpetuated in the rural, less-commercial styles of gypsy-flamenco dance."44 Picasso revealed his penchant for paradox by covertly emphasizing "feminine angles" versus curves. The hypnotic gazes of the two central figures echo the ageless Andalusian *mirada fuerte*.

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"44 Pohren, *The Art of Flamenco*, p. 60."
It is clear from Picasso's numerous studies for this painting that some kind of allegory was originally intended. Adding to the list of suggestions already thought to have influenced the work, certain flamenco legends such as the infamous girls from Gades come to mind. References to their erotic jaleo were preserved and passed to Picasso through the cantes de Cádiz, peteneras, and gypsy legends he heard in Spain. Quinoñes states:

It is very likely that these girls from Gades (present-day Cádiz), represent the oldest autochthonous Spanish folklore. Contemporary to Christ—and earlier it is believed—, Emperor Theodosio prohibited them [the girls] to develop their art in Rome three centuries later due to the moral advice from San Juan Crisostomo. The strong eroticism and provocativeness of the art is however compatible with good techniques and grace. It is also known that the puellae gaditanae [Latin for girls from Gades] formed small groups for hire to add charm to the big orgies, parties and feasts of the Imperial Rome; apart from singing, they danced. Their origin from Cádiz, where the atmosphere is noted as being happy and prosperous, is always present in historic findings, that even name some of the dancers and singers from Gades that succeeded in the Rome of the Caesares, like the famous Telethusa.45

In agreement with Quinoñes, the flamencologist Ricardo Molina has also stated that the "unruly art of these girls may still be reflected in certain features of the present flamenco."46 For example, the original verses of the

45 Quinoñes, What is Flamenco?, p. 18.

46 Ibid., p. 19.
peteneras were, according to flamenco legend, created by an alluring prostitute named Petenera. She was a destroyer of men's hearts who died violently by the hands of one of her deceived lovers. Was this to be the fate of Picasso's "girls?"

Rendered in the style of a cante intermedio, these women exert a certain degree of psychological intensity and ornamentalism. Their bodies effectively pictorialize the exotic Moorish discords of a tarantas. The drapery and the shifting alignment of the women's heads add a syncopated rhythm to otherwise rigid figures, and the emotional accent of the vibrant blue background sets them in motion. Such innovative abstractions were eventually reformulated and transposed into the revolutionary key of Cubism.

Picasso met Braque in the winter of 1907 and their friendship anticipated the invention of Cubism, a phenomenon described in the catalogue by William Rubin from the 1980 exhibition Picasso and Braque: Pioneering Cubism (New York: Museum of Modern Art), as "the most passionate adventure in our century's art." It was in those years (1907–14) that invention became the maxim and the guitar motif would reach an unprecedented peak in the history of art. Rubin confirms that Picasso bordered on obsession with the experimental

possibilities of the instrument's flexible design and its inherent potential for the extrapolation of pictorial ideas.

1912 stands out as a monumental year for the guitar. Braque and Picasso worked frenetically to compose the revolutionary language of Analytical Cubism. Picasso's passion for the Spanish guitar equalled that of a flamenco virtuoso. His studio was, during that time, practically wallpapered by hundreds of experimental drawings based on the motif (figs. 18, 19). He even went so far as to prove himself a luthier when he completed his cardboard *Maquette for Guitar* (fig. 20). This guitar he hung on his wall with an overindulgent pride that was customary among all the Spanish luthiers as, for example, the incomparable José Ramirez. The trial construction was later reproduced in sheet metal and wire to become the most famous *Guitar* (1912, Museum of Modern Art; fig. 4) the art world has ever known. If it could actually be played, its music would probably include a lively *toque chico* style of *bulerías* or a *malagueña* evocative of the brilliant innovations of Ramón Montoya or Paco Lucero during the Golden Age of Flamenco.

The 1912 *Guitar* has been described as a three-dimensional planar counterpart of Cubist painting. The overall length of Picasso's sculpture (77.5 x 35 x 19.3 cm) is approximately 9 to 10 inches shy of the overall length of actual flamenco guitars constructed by José Ramirez, Santos
Hernández, Domingo Esteso, and Marcelo Barbero, Sr. in Madrid between 1927 and 1954 (figs. 33-36). The division of the front and back facings (which must be of equal sizes on playable guitars) are familiar elements to luthiers who, of course, construct the pieces one at a time. The fingerboard, neck, and side panels are also constructed separately. Once the luthier has completed all the individual parts of a guitar, he then begins the process of assembling and gluing them together for the creation of his final product. A photographic examination of the luthier's constructional processes can offer a glimpse at procedures quite possibly seen by Picasso in Spain. Based on having eyewitnessed these procedures for years, I believe that Picasso saw and was influenced by them. He was so pleased with his own guitar invention that he joked to his friend Salmon, "I am going to hold on to the Guitar, but I shall sell its plan. Everyone will be able to make it himself." With that quip, his 1912 Guitar inaugurated the emergence of twentieth-century constructed sculpture.

It is reasonable to assume (though difficult to prove) that Picasso's idea for "constructing" the 1912 Guitar was influenced by his youth in Spain when famous guitar makers had shops on street corners in all of the country's major

48 Rubin, Picasso and Braque: Pioneering Cubism, p. 20.
cities. Like many curious Spaniards and tourists, the artist may have wandered at least once into a luthier's workshop where he could observe the construction of a guitar. Also during 1912, Picasso dedicated "Ma Jolie" (Woman with a Zither or Guitar) (fig. 37) to his current lover. The title of the work was based on the lyrics of a song, a device that serves as a reminder of his lifelong fascination with poetry and guitars. The artist was, at this time, shifting the guitar motif back and forth between his experiments in Analytical and Synthetic Cubism. In "Ma Jolie", the guitar acted as his familiar image (being one of the few recognizable objects) to guarantee that the essential framework of the composition could withstand the most complex degrees of formal abstraction he sought to attain. In the most complex forms of group flamenco performance, the familiar cadences of the guitar guarantee that the essential framework of the presentation can withstand the multiple degrees of rhythmic abstraction in song, dance, hand-clapping, and castanet simultaneously.

In contrast to its use in Analytical Cubism, the guitars of Synthetic Cubism acted more as decorative centerpieces for depictions of still-life pieces rendered in delightful series of papiers collés (painted-paper works). A witty guitar image of this type is in Guitar, Sheet Music, and Wine Glass, now in the McNay Art Institute in San
Antonio, Texas (fig. 38). In this composition, Picasso started with a large sheet of decorative wallpaper designed in white flowers against a peaceful beige ground. Next, he cut a circle out of the center sheet to express the boca (mouth) of the guitar. In striking contrast, he added a strip of vibrant blue paper to depict the neck of the guitar. The ornamental playfulness of the work is characteristic of the gaiety and optimism of the cante chico flamenco style associated with chuflas and alegrías. Picasso always took delight in paradoxical wit. As a cryptic challenge to Braque, he pasted a scrap from the headlines of a French newspaper to announce the arrival of Synthetic Cubism. The message read "The battle begins . . ." Much of flamenco's influence on Picasso's work must also be read between the lines. It is buried deep within a look here and a gesture there. Yet it resounds in recurrent guitar imagery, dynamic contrasts, rhythmic line, passionate moods, and themes developed around his native experience with the art. He was friends with other well-known aficionados such as Manuel de Falla and Lucien Clergue. If Picasso's works, as he said, were indeed a visual diary of his life, then which painting would contain the message of his knowledge and passion for the flamenco tradition? Perhaps, that painting is The Aficionado (1912, Kunstmuseum, Basel; fig. 5).
Beginning with its title, The Aficionado (knowledgeable flamenco enthusiast) paints the artist's most obvious tribute to his indomitable Andalusian heritage detailed in specific flamenco imagery. Perhaps it is the artist in the guise of a matador whose fake moustache is gently swept away to reveal that it is Picasso himself on his way to the Sunday afternoon Fiesta in Málaga. Paradoxically, his identification card is stamped "Le Torero," in French rather than Spanish. Under his right arm, the matador (or could it be a guitarist?) clutches a flamenco guitar that is clearly distinguished by its wooden pegs. Above the boca of the guitar, the letters begin the cry of "OL...e" that will be heard throughout the afternoon and late into an evening of juerga and jaleo filled with emotional cante jondo. This painting summarizes the gamut of psychological, thematic, and formal influences of Golden Age flamenco on Picasso's art and life. It confirms John Richardson's remarks concerning the "Andalusian key" that unlocks many of the mysteries revolving around the artist's passions. The strong gaze of the figure stares in timeless anticipation of being recognized for who he really is and why.

By 1913, papiers collés such as Man with a Hat (fig. 39), Bottle on a Table (fig. 40), and Bottle of Vieux Marc, Glass, and Newspaper (fig. 41) illustrate Picasso's recurrent references to café cantante motifs and his
progressive variations on the guitar motif. For example, in *Man with a Hat* (Paris, Winter 1912-13, Museum of Modern Art), the man's shoulders are recognizably formed out of the top portion of the body of a guitar with the *boca* being moved up into the figure's chest. The area between the two parallel lines extending from the *boca* has been sufficiently shaded to illustrate its binary function as the off-centered neck of a guitar and the expressionistic neck of the left half of the janus-faced man. Indicative of Picasso's passion for paradox, the artist drew the man's facial features on rectangles shaded in light and medium values for contrast. To the left of the man's face are echoes of smaller guitar bodies which are contrasted by the dark shade of *jondo* against a pure line of *alegrías* (expressing joy). The man's hat is an obvious reference to the style worn by male flamenco performers as illustrated in Sargent's *El Jaleo* (fig. 16).

With the declaration of World War I, Picasso, partly in reaction against the unfathomable state of political affairs, began his series of depictions of harlequins. In 1916, his *Guitar Player* (fig. 6) depicts a harlequin, in the guise of a skyscraper, whose desolate gaze appears to be frozen in time and space. This work is evocative of the *cante intermedio* of a somber *taranto*. The stippling dots punctuate the ornamental characteristics of this style, but
the emotional jondo, expressed by the nocturnal setting, persists. This guitarist, rising to the sky in search of peace, is a stark reminder of the high cost of modernization. Picasso's lover Eva died that year and part of his soul was buried with her.

Picasso's depression began to lift when he met the Russian ballerina Olga Koklova whom he married on July 12, 1918. While he continued his depictions of harlequin-guitarists, such as Harlequin Playing the Guitar (Collection of Jacqueline Picasso, Mougins), the artist was already beginning to make a major shift away from Cubist experimentation to return to more realistic representations. In 1921, Picasso agreed to collaborate with Serge Diaghilev and the Spanish composer and flamenco aficionado Manuel de Falla on the production of a suite of Andalusian songs and dances entitled Cuadro Flamenco. This collaboration briefly validated Picasso's direct participation with flamenco. However, both composer and artist had been too far removed from Spanish soil to prepare themselves for the dismal failure of their efforts to put flamenco into the Paris theater. Pohren's research on theatrical productions of flamenco explains that this arena tends to disfigure the purity and intimacy of the art form and, for that reason, this format had never been well-received in Spain. This turned out to be true for Diaghilev's production in France.
as well. Despite Picasso's ingenious set designs and costumes and Falla's lively folk music, Cuadro Flamenco opened and closed with only one production on May 22 in the Theatre de la Gaite-Lyrique.

Picasso again turned luthier with his 1924 constructed sheet metal and wire Guitar (Musée Picasso, Paris; fig. 42). However, the guitar motif is now explored more for its decorative rather than analytic or symbolic possibilities. Over the next few years, with the exception of a series of guitar assemblages in 1926, Picasso turned his attention away from the guitar motif, replacing it with numerous portraits of his lovers. Similar themes had been the subject of flamenco verses for a thousand years. Indeed, they form the core of the poetry of cante jondo. Problems in translation and insufficient flamenco scholarship have kept this pertinent aspect of Picasso's creative processes out of the reach and consideration of most art historians.

Picasso's tendency to paint harsh and unforgiving portraits of the women in his life, such as his sinister representation of a Bust of a Woman with Self-Portrait (1929, Private Collection; fig. 43), has antecedents in the lyrics of many flamenco songs. Time and again, flamenco verses bemoan the cruelty of seductive women and the deceit they employ against the men who adore them. Picasso grew up with these songs and their influence had a dynamic impact on
his life and art. The following verses, from the ancient debla form of cante jondo, sound a familiar masculine ring that reverberated throughout his personal and poetic experiences with women:

I am no longer what I was
nor will I be again;
I am a tree of sadness
in the shadow of a wall
Deblica bare ... (gypsy caló for "grand goddess")

A woman was the cause of
my first downfall;
there is no perdition in the world
that is not caused by women.
Deblica bare ...

In the neighborhood of Triana
There is neither pen nor ink
with which to write my mother,
whom I haven't seen for three years.
Deblica bare ...

The recent exhibition of Picasso and the Weeping Women: The Years of Marie-Therese Walter and Dora Maar (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: June 12-September 4, 1994) chronicled the turbulent relationships between the artist and his lovers. From his article on the exhibition, "A Trail of Tears," Patrick Pacheco states:

When it came to the seven women who were to sequentially—and sometimes concurrently—share his life, the painter was wildly unpredictable. As Francois Gilot, his mistress in later years, wrote in her memoirs, Life with Picasso, he could be "tender and childlike, hard and brutal." The masterly-wrought "pages" of Picasso's journal reflected the emotional roller-coaster he was on as he painted women as either fecund and pliant
Eves or castrating demons. "I see women," he once told Gilot, "as either goddess or doormats."49

Picasso's psychological intensity and unpredictable emotions became more than Gilot was willing to accept. However, by 1951, Picasso's artistic genius had been accepted around the world. He had become so famous that his seventieth birthday was celebrated in cities as far apart as Tokyo and London. He could relax with his art and enjoy it. That was the case with his portrait, rendered in India ink, of his daughter Paloma (1953, Jacqueline Picasso; fig. 44).

For Paloma, Picasso mimics Moorish ornamentalism (using a pen as his instrument) in the same way that a flamenco mimics the style using the voice, the body, or the guitar as his instrument. In harmony with the precepts of his native malagueñas, Picasso's complex networking of lines are rendered in a "free form" style, but they are not random. Rather, they are highly organized, tightly structured, and express the rhythmic gaiety of a flamenco cante chico (light song).

In 1965, Lucien Clergue photographed Picasso at the recording session of Flamenco Guitar: Manitas de Plata in Arles. How the painter came to endorse the career of the self-taught gypsy guitarist is not certain. However, why he

was there is obvious. At age eighty-four, Picasso had been an ardent flamenco aficionado for more than three-quarters of a century.

Manitas de Plata ("little hands of silver") is a sobriquet for Ricardo Ballardo. Although a Spanish-born gypsy, Manitas had been living in a gypsy encampment near Arles for several years when, in 1953, he came to the attention of E. Alan Silver, who was then president of the Connoisseur Society of New York. According to Silver's article, "Recording Manitas de Plata," from the text that accompanied the records, Silver said that he had first heard about Manitas from his friend and colleague Marc Aubort. Aubort had recently attended the Gypsy Festival of Les Saintes Maries de la Mar in Arles. While there, Aubort had recorded several tapes of Manitas de Plata and he attempted to contact the guitarist to ask for his permission to release some of the music on albums in the United States. Aubort's letters were returned unopened, forcing him to drop the matter.

However, in 1961, Silver's interest in Manitas was again revived by an article in Time magazine that hailed the gypsy guitarist as the "rage of the Riviera." By coincidence, Silver had attended an exhibition at New York's Museum of Modern Art where he met the French photographer Lucien Clergue, whose photographs of gypsies, bullfights,
and water-scene abstractions were being exhibited. Silver asked Clergue (then living in Arles) if he had ever heard of Manitas. To Silver's surprise, Clergue said that they were close friends and that he would persuade Manitas to allow Silver to arrange for a recording session. Clergue informed Silver that Manitas' reason for not recording sooner was because the gypsy feared that he would in some way be cheated.

Silver had wanted to bring Manitas to New York for the recording session, but again, the gypsy refused to travel by boat or plane. Therefore, Silver was forced to concede to the gypsy's conditions and arrived in Arles with three-quarters of a ton of recording equipment. Clergue agreed to photograph the recording session, and it was perhaps by his invitation that Picasso agreed to attend the juerga. This is, however, unconfirmed. Picasso's pleased expression (fig. 1) implies that he had a good time. Perhaps it was the cante jondo of Manitas that inspired the painter to a late return to his beloved guitar motif.

*The Guitarist* (1965, Dallas Museum of Art; fig. 14) represents a quixotic summation of Picasso's lifetime passion for flamenco. The guitarist dons the cape of a seventeenth-century Knight of Santiago and he is seated in the traditional flamenco position. In paradoxical contrast to his historical costume, the guitar is not a Spanish
acoustic. Rather, it is a 1965 electric rock guitar (identified by its shape). The bust in the lower left corner is emblematic of the past (Iberian sculpture) and of the present (self-portrait of the artist). The guitarist's eyes are fixed in the paradoxical and indomitable Andalusian mirada fuerte. In a deeply profound imitation of Velázquez, the message translates as Pablo Picasso's personal tribute to the nobility of the art of flamenco.
CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Pablo Picasso has been celebrated as one of the most revolutionary artists of the twentieth century. Scores of books have been published in hope of breaking new ground on his enigmatic and paradoxical way of life and processes of creating high art. His name has become a household word throughout the world and his aficionados revere his limitless scope of artistic ingenuity. Yet little consideration has been given to the influence of flamenco, despite knowledge that it is an Andalusian tradition which the artist himself revered. Biographers and historians never fail to give credit to the influence that his Andalusian origin had on his art, especially his early Blue Period compositions and his images of bullfighting. However, it has been the intention of this thesis to dig deeper into his rich cultural heritage in order to suggest that the enigmatic art of flamenco was, from the beginning, a contributing factor to Picasso's ability to endow his art with a spirit of vitality, innovation, and spontaneous duende that is perceptible in varying degrees to all who come into contact with it.
Picasso was born during a phenomenal moment in the history of Spain, The Golden Age of Flamenco. Due to the rapidly rising interest in flamenco music during the second half of the twentieth century, more information is now known about the era than could have been possible during most of the painter's lifetime. More importantly, the carriers of the flamenco tradition have themselves, at long last, experienced the necessary amount of cultural freedom and respectability to agree to let the rest of the world in on their philosophical secrets and highly sophisticated "tricks" of virtuosity.

Prior to flamenco's Golden Age in the Romantic 1800s, centuries of fear of cultural annihilation, dating back to the Catholic Reconquest of Spain in the fifteenth century, enshrouded the tradition and caused its followers to band together and form a code of absolute secrecy as a means of survival.

Many of the recent liberalizing tendencies now being enjoyed by the flamencos (payos and gypsies alike) are the result of the evolution of the Spanish Renaissance guitar to its unprecedented status of respectability in contemporary music. Guitar historians believe this phenomenon to be the result of the growing universal appeal of the guitar and the technical ability to disseminate flamenco music via recordings. Prior to these events, flamenco was still largely considered as just a Spanish folk art. This
misconception was partly dissolved by Picasso's passionate and revolutionary guitar imagery which raised the visual status of the guitar world-wide.

By virtue of his time and place of origin, Picasso had direct contact with flamenco music and philosophy in Málaga. There he became a knowledgeable enthusiast (aficionado) of the flamenco tradition. Without the recent scholarship of D. E. Pohren, Fernando Quinoñes, Tom and Mary Anne Evans, and John Richardson, it would have been almost impossible to trace specific connections between Picasso's artistic ingenuity and the flamenco tradition. This oversight is partially due to the prejudicial tendency to stereotype indigenous Spanish arts as primitive, unsophisticated, and backward. This, of course, is not true, although the myth has yet to be completely dispelled.

One of the reasons that it is difficult to demonstrate the various ways in which flamenco influenced Picasso's way of life is that the highly-structured music cannot be fully appreciated without a rudimentary understanding of its ideological and technical processes of composition. Hence, the flamenco aficionado, along with the performers themselves, plays an important role in the survival of the tradition as well.

This paper offers only a scant written account of flamenco's ancient historical evolution as opposed to the more immediate associations that can be directly absorbed
from participation in live or recorded flamenco *juerga*. However, a brief summary of the more significant aspects that flamenco and Picasso's art share in common may encourage art and music historians to acknowledge the influence of the flamenco tradition in Picasso's oeuvre.

A brief history of flamenco and the guitar was presented in Chapter II to enlighten readers to the vital and complex tradition of the music and the significance of the guitar within the Spanish culture. The instrument was invented in Spain during the Renaissance and has always commanded great respect there by virtue of its expressive and flexible potential, especially in the hands of flamenco virtuosos like Paco de Lucía or, paradoxically, in the hands of a painter such as Picasso.

In Chapter III, several aspects of Spanish culture were suggested as being pertinent to Picasso and flamenco. Those factors included a common geography, a common chronology, the Spanish art tradition, common philosophical roots, and other aspects that bind them together. Related visual images included guitars, bullfights, and *aficionados*. Themes based on poverty, feminine sensuality, and mischief were commonly depicted in similar emotional shades of dark, medium, or light. Other formal similarities could be compared based on the common denominator of compositional formulation.

It is an indisputable fact that Picasso was born and raised in the Andalusian city of Málaga until the age of ten.
during the peak of the Golden Age of Flamenco. From Volume I of John Richardson's biography A Life of Picasso it is now known that Picasso was exposed to flamenco by his father and by the flamenco gypsies in Málaga. Richardson used key flamenco terms such as cante jondo, duende, and siguiriyas in his descriptions of Picasso's personality and he named specific flamenco sites in Málaga such as the "Chupa y Tira" flamenco barrio and the Café de Chinitas that were still vivid to the painter from his childhood. In addition, the recent scholarship of Jonathan Brown, D. E. Pohren, Fernando Quinoñes, and others has made it possible to draw relevant parallels between the Spanish pictorial and flamenco traditions and to put them on equal ground with the Italian Renaissance. Part of the credit justly belongs to the sophisticated innovations that were evolving from the creative formulation nurtured by the art of flamenco.

Picasso had almost a century's worth of direct experiences with flamenco. Ever the student of history, he placed great value upon the pictorial ideas he gained from Spanish, Impressionist, and Expressionist compositions. Likewise, he borrowed ideas from ancient Iberian and African art and combined them with his native passion for flamenco and bullfighting. Perhaps it was the timeless essence of Andalusia that fostered his obsession for experimenting with primitive imagery and elevating its symbolic, thematic, and formal expressions to an unprecedented status of high art.
After all, he had been an eyewitness to just such a phenomenon throughout his entire adolescence in Spain. The flamenco tradition offered Picasso much more than just a music of southern Spain because it gave him a vital philosophical framework for living and an inexhaustible source for creative innovation.

Chapter IV briefly outlined the influence of flamenco on selected works of Picasso. Beginning with his early paintings, the influence of cante jondo was revealed in Picasso's Blue Period subjects, themes, and moods in works such as The Old Guitarist (fig. 3) and The Blind Man's Meal (fig. 24). In Caricature of the Artist (fig. 30), Picasso created a visual illustration for the colloquial meaning of the term "flamenco." In 1905, he made specific references to a flamenco café cantante in Au Lapin Agile (fig. 31). By 1907, the maturing Picasso had, in the manner of a maturing flamenco guitarist, assembled an artistic tool kit filled with familiar motifs and themes from which he could quickly draw for the expression of particular moods in a variety of technical expressions. The legendary flamenco girls of Gades may have exerted their influence on Les Demoiselles d'Avignon (fig. 32).

Over the next five years, Picasso favored the guitar motif for its experimental flexibility and enduring popularity. Bordering on obsession with the motif in his Cubist experiments, Picasso turned luthier himself by
constructing the 1912 Guitar (fig. 4) that not only marked the invention of constructed sculpture, but also became the most famous guitar in the world of art. The influence of flamenco is inherent in the title of his autobiographic oil on canvas, The Aficionado (fig. 5). However, his paradoxical papier collé entitled Man with a Hat (fig. 39) commands a more critical analysis before the guitar imagery and reference to the flamenco dancer's hat becomes apparent.

By 1926, Picasso was practically mass-assembling guitars out of every conceivable scrap of cardboard, string, nails, and knitting needles he could find in his studio. (figs. 8-13) This obsession, however, began to wane with the devastation of World and Spanish Civil Wars. During these years, the influence of flamenco in Picasso's art was expressed in terms of the paradoxical love/hate themes involving portraits of the women in his life. Flamenco lyrics offered him themes and pictorial subject matter that conveyed the jondo of the battle of the sexes which he depicted in sinister portraiture such as Bust of a Woman with Self-Portrait (fig. 43).

Moorish ornamentalism exerted a powerful influence on flamenco melodies and oriental posturing as well as Picasso's complex net-working of lines in sketches he made of his daughter Paloma (fig. 44). Using a medium of pen and Indian ink, the artist made the child's face become a lyrical masterpiece of ornamental line and rhythm that is
reminiscent of the toque libre of Picasso's native malagueñas.

Picasso lost direct contact with flamenco when he left Spain at the turn of the twentieth century. Aficionados are known to grieve such losses. This is, perhaps, why he either consciously or subconsciously used many of his compositions as vehicles for maintaining a passionate rapport with the tradition.

The artist had a special affinity for the plight of the third-rung flamenco guitarist who was gaining unprecedented status within the hierarchy of his own tradition. Today outstanding flamenco guitarists such as Paco de Lucía, Ramon de Algarcíras, and Paco Peña (founder of the Cordoban academy of flamenco) are performing in solo concerts around the globe. Along with many other aficionados Picasso recognized the guitarist as the "unsung hero" of flamenco music and it may have been for that reason that he depicted guitarists more often than other flamenco performers.

In 1965, possibly by invitation of the photographer Lucien Clergue, Picasso attended the recording session of the gypsy guitarist Manitas de Plata in Arles. Flamenco aficionados were shocked by the artist's apparent endorsement of the controversial, self-taught musician whose reputation among flamenco purists had been discredited on the grounds of his derivation from the strict compás (rhythm) that governs traditional flamenco.
This issue, while crucial to the preservation of traditional flamenco, may not have been a concern to an aficionado such as Picasso whose native Málaga had, long ago, developed its own personal world of toque libre flamenco. However, I believe that Picasso's reputation as an aficionado among flamenco purists was unjustly damaged by his association with the gypsy. This may offer one explanation for why flamencologists have not yet acknowledged the artist's multiple references to flamenco's influence and imagery that recurred throughout his prolific and revolutionary career in art.

Perhaps the cante jondo that the eighty-four-year-old Picasso heard in Arles in 1965 was just the inspiration he needed to compose one of his last "unsung heroes," The Guitarist (now in the Dallas Museum of Art; fig. 14), whose strong gaze transmits the duende of an ornamental malagueña dedicated to the noble art of flamenco.
GLOSSARY

aficionado - fan, enthusiast; in this thesis, a knowledgeable flamenco enthusiast.

aguardiente - dry ani, a fiery, licorice-flavored alcoholic drink popular in Spain.

alegrías - alegria = gaiety; the alegrias are a joyful flamenco form from the province of Cádiz.

bailor, -a - male, female flamenco dancer.

baile - flamenco dance, dancing.

baile de brazos - dance of the arms; symbol of femininity and passion.

boca - mouth; hole of a guitar.

bulerías - flamenco's most lively and driving form, decidedly gypsy in nature.

café cantante - the name given to commercial flamenco establishments in the nineteenth century.

caló - the language of the Spanish gypsies, consisting of romání, the pure gypsy language derived from Indian Sanskrit, and Spanish.

cantaor -a - male, female flamenco singer.

cante - song, singing.

cante chico - light song characterized by an emphasis on rhythm and an optimistic outlook. Its verses deal poetically with love, women, animals, and Andalusia and its people. Flamenco forms include the chuflas, rondeñas, and verdiales.

cante intermedio - intermediate song characterized by certain strange discords and rare oriental melodies influenced by the Moorish rule in Spain. Flamenco forms include the malagueñas, jaberías, taranto, and peteneras.

cante jondo (also cante grande) - deep song characterized by emotional profundity. The original expression of
flamenco. In its oldest form, it was derived from ancient religious chants and songs, which later developed into a more generalized lament of life. Flamenco forms include the debla, martinetes, polo, siguiriyas, and soleares.

cifra - a form of guitar tablature or musical notation.

compás - strictly defined rhythmic cycles or beats with specific accents in certain flamenco forms.

cuadro - a group of flamenco performers.

duende - elf or spirit; deep, trance-like emotion; soul of and feeling for flamenco.

falseta - a melodic passage played on flamenco guitar, also called variación (variation).

Fiesta - the spectacle of bullfighting including flamenco music.

flamenco - literally Flemish; colloquially flaming or a wit, and a mischievous child.

flamencologist - a flamenco theorist, scholar, and writer.

flamenco puro - authentic, traditional or pure flamenco.

gitano -a - male, female gypsy.

guitarra - guitar.

jaleo - hell-raising; an essential part of flamenco consisting of hand-clapping (palmas), finger-snapping (pitos), tongue-clacking, foot punctuations, and timely shouts of encouragement.

juerga - flamenco jam session.

maestro - master, teacher.

malagueñas - Andalusian, free-style song from the province of Málage.

matador (also torero) - bullfighter.

mirada fuerte - psychologically-intense gaze.

Moriscos - Christians of Moorish descent.

olé - shout of approval.
payo - non-gypsy.

peteneras - an unusual flamenco form whose verses are thought to have been authored by the legendary prostitute named Petenera possibly from the village of Paterna near Jerez de la Frontera. Flamencologists have linked this form with current songs in the Balkans, Turkey, and other Middle Eastern countries whose Sephardic Jewish populations retain the same Spanish language and customs from the time of their expulsion from Spain in 1492. (See pages 132-134 in Pohren's Art of Flamenco.)

picado - two-fingered runs on the guitar.

siguiriyas - a gypsy-conceived form of flamenco that is considered to be the most despondent form of flamenco music.

soleares - a gypsy-conceived flamenco form considered to be flamenco music's main embodiment of love.

tablao - name given to twentieth-century commercial flamenco taverns.

tocaor - flamenco guitarist.

toque - flamenco guitar playing and licks.

toque libre - free style flamenco form without a determined compás.
Fig. 1. Pablo Picasso listening to Manitas de Plata

Last year Pablo Picasso visited Arles especially to hear Manitas, who played for him on three occasions during the visit. Delighted with what he heard, Picasso suddenly took Manitas' guitar from him and drew a picture of a picador on it—a memento the guitarist treasures.
Fig. 2. PRINCIPAL SONG FORMS FROM EACH PROVINCE

Huelva: Fandangos.
Sevilla: Soleares, siguiriyas, bulerias, cantes "a palo seco", fandangos and tangos from Triana, sevillanas, cantes camperos.
Cádiz: Soleares, siguiriyas, bulerias, cantes "a palo seco", alegrias, mirabrás, romeras, caracoles, cantinas, tangos, tientos, tanguillo, chuflas, cantes camperos.
Málaga: Malagueñas, verdiales, rondeñas, jaberías, serranas, tangos del Piyayo, cantes camperos.
Córdoba: Soleares and alegrias from Córdoba, fandangos de Lucena, cantes camperos.
Jaén: Cantes mineros, cantes camperos.
Granada: Granaina, media granaina, zamba.
Aímeria: Tarantas, taranto.
Murcia: Cartageneras, from Cartagena and La Unión.
Badajoz: Fandangos and tangos extremeños.
Fig. 3. The Old Guitarist. Barcelona, Autumn 1903.
Oil on panel, 47 3/4 X 32 1/2" (121.3 X 82.5 cm).
Helen Birch Bartlett Memorial Collection.
Fig. 5. PICASSO. The Aficionado. Sorgues, summer 1912. Oil on canvas, 53 1/8 X 32 1/4" (135 X 82 cm). Daix 500. Kunstmuseum Basel. Gift of Raoul La Roche, 1952.
Fig. 6. *Guitar Player*. Paris, 1916. Oil and sand on canvas, (130 X 97 cm). Moderna Museet, Stockholm.
Fig. 7. Three Musicians. Fontainbleau, Summer 1921.

Fig. 9. Guitar. Paris, May 1926. Assemblage of cardboard, tulle, and string with pencil on cardboard, 4 1/8 X 4 3/4" (10.3 X 12 cm). Not in Zervos. Musée Picasso, Paris.

Fig. 10. Guitar. Paris, Spring 1926. Assemblage of canvas, nails, string, and knitting needle on painted wood, 51 1/4 X 38 1/8" (130 X 97 cm). Not in Zervos. Musée Picasso, Paris.
Fig. 11. **Guitar.** Paris, May 1926. Assemblage of string, button, and tulle with pencil and oil on cardboard, 5 5/8 X 4" (14.2 X 10 cm). Zervos VII, 21. Spies 65. Musée Picasso, Paris

Fig. 12. **Guitar.** Paris, May 1926. Assemblage of string, nails, and button with pencil, ink, and oil on cardboard, 9 3/4 X 4 7/8" (24.7 X 12.3 cm). Not in Zervos. Musée Picasso, Paris.

Fig. 13. **Guitar.** Paris, Spring 1926. Assemblage of cloth, paper, string, and nails on painted canvas, 38 3/8 X 51 1/4" (97.5 X 130 cm). Zervos VII, 9. Musée Picasso, Paris.
Fig. 14. Pablo Picasso. The Guitarist. 1965. Oil on canvas.
Fig. 15. **Picador.** Málaga, 1889-90. Oil on panel. Collection Claude Picasso, Paris.

Fig. 16. **John Singer Sargent.** *El Jaleo.* 1882. Oil on canvas (237 x 352 cm). Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston.
Fig. 17. Édouard Manet, The Spanish Singer. French, 1832-83. Oil on canvas; 58 X 45" (147.3 X 114.3 cm). Manet made his public debut at the Salon of 1861 with a portrait of his parents (Louvre, Paris) and The Spanish Singer. The paintings were well received, and the noted critic Théophile Gautier praised him as a gifted realist in the tradition of Spanish painters from Velázquez to Goya. As Gautier's own essays on Spanish culture had stimulated French printmakers to flood the market with illustrations of Spanish types, the theme of this picture was hardly novel. Yet, as Gautier observed, most of the illustrators romanticized their subjects, whereas Manet did not. Here the artist treats every detail with extraordinary finesse: the red shoulder strap, the rumpled trousers, the spent cigarette, and the soulful expression, captured in just two hours' work. Gift of William Church Osborn, 1949, 49.58.2.
Figs. 18 & 19. Wall arrangements at Picasso's 242, boulevard Raspail studio as photographed by the artist, November-December 1912, incorporating his first construction sculpture, the cardboard Guitar, at center, and various drawings and papiers collés.
Fig. 21. Presenting the Soul and Fire of Flamenco.
Fig. 22. Picasso. The Ascetic
Barcelona, 1903. Oil on canvas, 130 X 97 cm. Barnes Foundation, Merion Station, Pa.

Fig. 23. Picasso. The Old Jew
Barcelona, 1903. Oil on canvas, 125 X 92 cm. Pushkin Museum, Moscow.

Fig. 24. Picasso. The Blind Man's Meal.
Barcelona, 1903. Oil on canvas, 95.3 X 94.6 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Fig. 25. Picasso. The Old Guitarist.
Barcelona, 1903. Oil on panel, 122.9 X 82.6 cm. The Art Institute of Chicago.
Fig. 26. *Self-Portrait.* Barcelona or Paris, 1900. Charcoal on gray paper, 8 7/8 x 6 1/2" (22.5 x 16.5 cm). Museo Picasso, Barcelona.

Fig. 27. *Self-Portrait: Yo Picasso.* Paris, Spring 1901. Oil on canvas, 29 x 23 7/8" (73.5 x 60.5 cm). Zervos XXI, 192. D.B. V, 2. Private Collection.
Fig. 28. Diego de Velázquez. *Las Meninas*. c.1656. Oil on canvas (3.21 X 2.81 cm). Museo del Prado, Madrid.
Fig. 29. The Maids of Honor (Las Meninas), after Velázquez. Cannes, August 17, 1957. Oil on canvas, 76 3/8 X 102 3/8" (194 X 260 cm). Zervos XVII, 351. Museo Picasso, Barcelona.
Fig. 30. Caricature of the Artist. Barcelona, 1903. Pen and ink, 4 5/8 X 4 1/4" (11.8 X 10.7 cm). Not in Zervos. Museo Picasso, Barcelona.

Fig. 31. PICASSO. Au Lapin Agile. Paris, 1904-05. Oil on canvas (99 X 100.3 cm). Private Collection.
Fig. 33. **Flamenco guitar** by José Ramirez. Madrid, 1927.

*From the José Ramirez collection.*

- **Overall length:** 98 cm
- **Scale length:** 65 cm
- **Body length:** 48 cm
- **Body width:**
  - upper bout: 27.8 cm
  - waist: 24 cm
  - lower bout: 37 cm
- **Body depth:** increasing from 8.2 to 9 cm

On the death of José Ramirez I in 1923, the direction of the family firm was taken over by his son José II. José II was successful in building up the business, and his flamenco guitars of the 1920s and 1930s were held in high regard by many players.

The flamenco guitar has become much larger by the 1920s. This guitar has a wide body even by today's standards and is about half a centimeter wider than most other instruments of the 1920s. At his date, though, the body of the flamenco guitar was still noticeably shallower than that of the classical: the recent trend has been toward an increase in depth of the box.

The table carries eight fairly heavy fan struts. It has been heavily repaired, and the marks on the interior suggest that there were originally nine fans.

The fingerboard is made of rosewood. Since this is a heavy-bodied guitar, there can be no suggestion that rosewood was preferred to ebony for the sake of balance. In this case the consideration would have been solely one of cost.

In comparison with the guitars of similar date by Santos Hernández and Domingo Esteso, this is rather a coarse instrument, one of power rather than refinement. One would expect it to have given good service in a cuadro.
Fig. 34. **Flamenco guitars** by Santos Hernández.
Madrid, 1930. *From the José Ramírez collection.*
The guitar whose measurements are given is the one on the left.

- Overall length: 99 cm
- Scale length: 65 cm
- Body length: 48.3 cm
- Body width: upper bout 27.5 cm
  - waist 23.5 cm
  - lower bout 36.5 cm
- Body depth: increasing from 8.8 to 9.2 cm

Santos Hernández's flamenco guitars are so prized that the sight of three together is enough to make any aficionado's mouth water! The three instruments were all made in different years: that on the left (whose label we reproduce) is dated 1930, that on the right 1927. The guitar in the center was made some years earlier while Santos was employed by Manuel Ramírez's widow. The label of this guitar reads: "Fabrica de Violones y Guitarras/de la Viuda de Manuel Ramírez/Arlaban 8," and is stamped with the initials "S.H." Forgeries of Santos Hernández's guitars have been made in the past, a practice encouraged by the widespread belief that he did not sign his instruments. It should be noted, however, that all three of these guitars carry his signatures. Those of the left and in the center are signed on the underside of the table, that on the right carries a signature on the label.

The guitars on left and right are strutted with seven very broad flat fan bars in the lower bout, a feature common to Santos' mature instruments. The one in the center also has seven struts, but these are lighter and narrower. In all of the guitars, the transverse bar immediately below the soundhole runs straight across instead of being set on the diagonal, as was often the case on Santos' classical model.

Santos Hernández's guitars were the automatic first choice of many of the leading players of his day, including both Ramón Montoya and Niño Ricardo. The guitar whose measurements we give is an instrument of firmness, with great reserves of power. It has a slighter harder action than many flamenco guitars and is capable of really biting attack. At the same time, the top string has a surprisingly lyrical capability.
Fig. 35. Flamenco guitar by Domingo Esteso. Madrid, 1934.
Owned by Juan Martin.

Overall length: 98 cm
Scale length: 65.5 cm
Body length: 49 cm
Body width: upper bout 27.2 cm
waist 24 cm
lower bout 37 cm
Body depth: increasing from 9.4 to 9.6 cm

Although this is a large guitar with an unusually deep box, it is exceptionally lightly built for a modern flamenco guitar. Such weight reduction was made possible largely by the quality of timber; both the spruce of the table and the cypress of the body are excellent, and this has allowed the luthier to work them thinner than is often possible. The table is braced with seven light fan struts.

Domingo Esteso’s flamenco guitars have a character quite different from those of his contemporary rival Santos Hernández, being generally more mellow. The owner of this example says of it: "It has a very big full sound, and amazing vibrato as well. If you play high up, it has a vibrato that modern flamenco guitars don’t have. It is a sound which was very well suited to some of the older players such as Perico el del Lunar."
Fig. 36. Flamenco guitar by Marcelo Barbero Sr.
Madrid, 1954. From the collection of Malcolm Weller.

Overall length: 99 cm
Scale length: 65.5 cm
Body length: 48.2 cm
Body width: upper bout 28 cm
waist 24.2 cm
lower bout 36.8 cm
Body depth: increasing from 8.7 to 9.5 cm

Although Marcelo Barbero trained under José Ramirez II, and was later influenced by Santos Hernández, his guitars are highly individual in their qualities. Their appearance is characterized by neatness and restraint, which is apparent in the shape of the body, and the design of both head and rosette. In some of his guitars he used an unusual system of neck reinforcement in which he inserted six small transverse pieces of ebony into the neck immediately below the fingerboard. The table of this guitar is braced with five rather rounded fans.

This is one of only four guitars which Barbero made during the last year of his life. It is known as La Sevillana and was built originally for Pepe Martinez. Its tone is very clear, particularly on the top string. Every note is distinct, and there is a matching of sound quality across the instrument's range which is unusual in a flamenco guitar. Perhaps in deference to Pepe Martinez's lyrical style of playing, it is very slightly mellower than some others of Barbero's guitars which we have heard, which have a sound that can be best described as austere.
Fig. 42. Guitar. Paris, 1924. Painted sheet metal and wire, 43 3/4 X 25 X 10 1/2" (111 X 63.5 X 26.6 cm)
Fig. 43. Woman's Head and Self-Portrait. 1929. Oil on canvas, 2' 5" X 2'. Private collection.
Fig. 44. Paloma. Vallauris, December 23, 1952-January 3, 1953. India ink, 26 X 19 7/8" (66 X 50.5 cm). Not in Zervos. Collection Jacqueline Picasso, Mougins.
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