

From Mexico to Montparnasse and Back

A Diego Rivera retrospective, currently at the Houston Museum of Art, takes a new look at the celebrated Mexican muralist. Mixing well-known masterpieces with less-familiar works, the show tracks Rivera's encounters with Cubism, Surrealism and everyday Mexican life.

BY EDWARD J. SULLIVAN
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Nineteen fifteen was a watershed year for Diego Rivera. In Paris, where the Mexican painter had been living since 1909, the effects of the Great War were becoming more acutely felt, while in his native land a revolution was raging. Against this background, Rivera created *Zapatista Landscape (The Guerrilla)*, the undisputed masterpiece of his five-year romance with Cubism. Rivera demonstrated his pride in this imposingly large painting (57" by 49") by referring to it for years as his "Mexican trophy." The composition was suggested by a portrait of the revolutionary leader Emiliano Zapata taken by famed Mexican photographer Agustin Casasola. Rivera relocated Casasola's interior shot to the out-of-doors, placing Zapata, whose presence is suggested by a sombrero, serape and rifle, against a grand mountain range reminiscent of the volcanoes that dominate the Valley of Mexico.



Diego Rivera: Zapatista Landscape (The Guerrilla), 1915, oil on canvas, 57 by 49 inches. Museo Nacional de Arte/INBA Mexico City. Photos, unless otherwise noted, courtesy Cleveland Museum of Art.

In "Diego Rivera: Art and Revolution," the retrospective currently touring the U.S. and Mexico, *Zapatista Landscape* is the center-piece of the section devoted to Rivera's Cubist period (1912-17). One of the artist's most controversial early works, the painting has often been cited as the catalyst for the rupture of his friendship with Picasso, whom Rivera accused of plagiarizing the composition. Indeed, Picasso's 1915 painting of *Man Seated in Shrubbery* (as well as numerous other compositions from 1915-16) relied upon several of the principal techniques employed by Rivera in *Zapatista Landscape*, including an outdoor setting with planes of green foliage, voidlike areas of white and a series of "pointillist" dots in the middle section of the painting. Picasso later substantially repainted the canvas (now known as *Man Leaning on a Table* or *Seated Man*), probably to make it sufficiently different from Rivera's painting, but the Mexican artist was still unhappy. The quarrel escalated in Parisian artistic and literary circles, culminating in a fistfight between Rivera and Pierre Reverdy, the poet and art critic. In his masterful study of this milieu, art historian Kenneth E. Silver has described this incident as "symptomatic of the kinds of internecine conflicts that were disrupting the Parisian avant-garde [during the years of the First World War]." ²



Portrait of Adolfo Best Maugard (Young Man at Balcony), 1913, oil on canvas, 89'h, by 63'h, inches. Museo Nacional de Arte/INBA

The current exhibition has an agenda, and Cubism is a large part of it. Although only about 30 of the approximately 125 works in the show are directly related to Rivera's Cubist phase, they are among the strongest images in the show. The organizers, William H. Robinson of the Cleveland Museum, Luis Martin Lozano of Mexico City's Palace of Fine Arts and Agustin Arteaga, an independent curator from Mexico, have done a service to Rivera by including many of his most significant works from the teens. Their aim is to reinsert Rivera into a wider panorama of European modernism, and to accomplish this they employ the

Cubist paintings and drawings and other early works as paradigms of his originality within a modernist framework.

Rivera had already begun to exit from his earlier academic phase by the time he received a grant from the government of the Mexican state of Veracruz to study in Europe. Leaving Mexico in 1907, he did not return until 1921, except for a brief hiatus of just over three months in 1910-11 when he had his first solo exhibition in Mexico City. His Cubist phase began with work that took El Greco's Mannerist compositions as points of departure. One of the most significant transitional images between Rivera's Mannerist figural elongations and the beginnings of his Cubist investigation is the monumental 1913 *Portrait of Adolfo Best Maugard (Young Man at Balcony)*. This painting shows Best, an influential Mexican painter and teacher, standing against a Parisian backdrop that includes the tracks beside the Gare Montparnasse (near where Rivera lived, in an apartment below that of Piet Mondrian) and the oversized representation of the Ferris wheel which at the time stood on the Champ-de-Mars.

Rivera's Cubism has long been a focus of debate. In a 1917 essay, Reverdy complained about the "incorrectness" of Rivera's approach to Cubism and particularly censured him for making Cubist portraits. Reverdy believed portraiture to be the antithesis of Cubism's goals of reconceptualizing space and form.³ Andre Salmon, another poet-critic involved with Cubism, neglected to include the prolific Rivera in his 1916 exhibition of "Art moderne" and subsequently wrote that Rivera's abandonment of Cubism was the result of his envy of the dominance of Picasso and Braque. Later English and American critics who have helped to shape our canonical views of the "essential" Cubism have likewise given Rivera short shrift. In 1971, Douglas Cooper declared, somewhat dismissively, that Rivera "came late to Cubism. ...But for a few years ...he showed an understanding of what it was about and handled the idiom deftly, though he gave no signs of an original vision in his Cubist paintings."⁴ Earlier (in 1960), Rivera had merited only a one-line mention in Robert Rosenblum's *Cubism and Twentieth Century Art*.⁵ It was not until Ramon Favela looked carefully at Rivera's achievement in this area that the Mexican artist's accomplishments as a Cubist were examined with any real seriousness. The catalogue for the 1984 exhibition "Diego Rivera: The Cubist Years," which Favela curated for the Phoenix Art Museum, was a thorough investigation of this essential part of Rivera's artistic output.⁶



Two Women, 1914, oil on canvas, 78 x 63", Arkansas Arts Center Foundation, Little Rock

Marnham discusses the need to reconsider Rivera's position in the canon of 20th-century art, especially after the explosion of interest in the life of Frida Kahlo. "As this [Kahlo myth] has grown up," Markham writes, "Rivera has been transformed into a two-dimensional monster." David Craven, Leonard Flagrant and Anthony W. Lee have written more scholarly yet provocative studies of Rivera based on a view of the artist as primarily a socially committed activist. Lee's book on Rivera and the politics of San Francisco during the 1930s, which is the most historically balanced and jargon-free study of the three, underlines Rivera's importance to artistic, intellectual and social worlds in North America throughout the 1930s and 1940s. Further light is shed on Rivera's interactions with the Ford family and the automotive industry in a new

Is this an appropriate moment to revisit the art of Diego Rivera? The last major Rivera retrospective was held at the Detroit Institute of Arts in 1986. That exhibition, organized to celebrate the centenary of Rivera's birth, was considerably larger than the present show, including over 100 more works.⁷ The Detroit show also had the great advantage of being presented in a building that houses one of Rivera's masterpieces of fresco painting. Since then, Rivera has been the subject of a good deal of serious research. Several general studies of Mexican muralism (concentrating, to a great extent, on Rivera) have been published.⁸ More importantly, since the mid-1980s, numerous scholars in Mexico, the United States and Europe have contributed highly significant analyses of many aspects of Rivera's career. Mexican art historian Clara Bargellini has written eloquently on Rivera's very shadowy 1921 sojourn in Italy. A well-documented (if somewhat poetic) volume by Irene Herner illuminated the debacle of Rivera's Rockefeller Center murals. More information on Rivera's U.S. activities is found in Laurance P. Hurlburt's *The Mexican Muralists in the United States*.⁹

The past two years have seen the publication of four books that deal wholly or in part with Rivera and offer interesting new insights into his art.¹⁰ In the preface to his popular but serious biography *Dreaming with His Eyes Open: A Life of Diego Rivera*, Patrick



Majorcan Landscape (Olive Trees), 1914, oil on canvas, 35 x 42". Private collection.

book by Linda Downs (one of the curators of the Detroit retrospective of 1986) on the Detroit murals.¹¹

In light of this recent stress on Rivera's social engagement, it is curious that the Cleveland exhibition tends to take the opposite approach, essentially minimizing almost to nonexistence the political nature of his art and life. This is particularly puzzling given the show's subtitle, "Art and Revolution." Apparently the organizers are using the word "revolution" in its widest possible sense to evoke the transformative power that Rivera's art had in the 1920s and 1930s. The de-emphasizing of politics is partly the result of the exhibition having been conceived in four distinct thematic categories. (These were more rigidly adhered to in the Cleveland installation than in Los Angeles. The viewer was offered a more organic flow of the work at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, while in Cleveland large wall texts proclaimed "First Thematic Group," "Second Thematic Group" and so on.)

The first category is a very mixed bag of juvenalia that includes academic drawings done during Rivera's years at the Academia de San Carlos in Mexico City. Several landscapes attest to his early study with the realist master Jose Marla Velasco, while other works done during Rivera's first few *Wanderjahre* in Europe bear reminiscences of such diverse artists as Fernand Khnop (*House on the Bridge*), the Barcelona modernist Hermen Anglada Camarassa (*Carnival*), J.B. Jongkind (*Mill at Damme*) and even Claude Monet (*Notre Dame, Pam*). The 1913 portrait of the Lithuanian-born Oscar Miestchaninoff, *The Sculptor*, depicts one of the many Jewish artists of the Montparnasse circle with whom Rivera was friendly. Miestchaninoff may hold a prize for being the figure most often portrayed by his contemporaries, including Soutine and Modigliani.¹² The inclusion of the Miestchaninoff portrait and the likeness of the Russian engraver Angeline Beloff, Rivera's first (common-law) wife, in *Two Women* (1914), as well as several portraits of her from the end of the decade, raise the important point of Rivera's many connections with Eastern European and Russian emigres in Paris. The relationship of his art with that of the avant-garde Russians as well as with Russian folk arts has not yet been sufficiently explored.

The second section of the show follows Rivera through Cubism and into the post-Cubist period just prior to his Italian trip. While a number of extremely interesting and important works are included here, such as the complex, mysterious *Majorcan Landscape (Olive Trees)*, 1914, some of the key monuments of this period owned by the Museo Dolores Olmedo Patifio in Mexico City (founded by one of the artist's most frequent portrait subjects) were not loaned. I particularly missed seeing *Mathematician* (ca. 1918). This painting portrays a gaunt man seated at a table with books. Drawn on the wall behind him are several enigmatic diagrams reminiscent of geometric formulas. As well as testifying to the artist's continuing interest in the elongated proportions of El Greco's figures, the picture also affirms Rivera's lifelong fascination with the exact sciences.

In 1917, Rivera ended his affiliation with Cubism to begin a reconsideration of the work of Cezanne, Degas, Renoir and Seurat. By 1919 he had embarked on a series of conversations with David Alfaro Siqueiros—who was spending two years in Paris as military attache at the Mexican embassy—about the possibility of creating new paradigms for Mexican art. In 1921, Rivera returned to Mexico, where he accepted the invitation of the recently appointed minister of education, Jose Vasconcelos, to participate in an ambitious program of creating murals for public buildings in the capital and elsewhere.

The exhibition gets into trouble in Part 3 (labeled, in Los Angeles, "Art for the Masses"), which begins with mural studies from the early 1920s. In 1922 (the year he began an initial three-year stint in the Mexican Communist party, before resigning in 1925¹³), Rivera made a brief trip to the Tehuantepec peninsula in the state of Oaxaca at the behest of Vasconcelos, who thought this Europeanized painter needed to familiarize himself with some of the indigenous traditions of his own country. That same year, Rivera began painting murals, the format for which he would gain his greatest fame. While his earliest mural (an allegory of



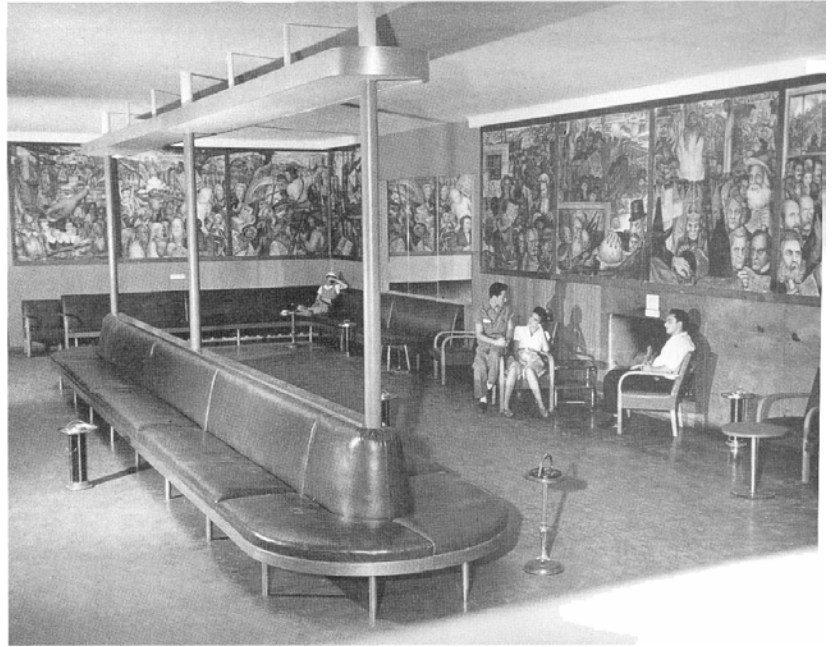
Tortilla Makers, 1926, 49 x 44'. San Francisco School of Medicine, University of California.

creation in the National Preparatory School, Mexico City) was something of a melange of sources from Byzantine mosaics to Giotto, Michelangelo and the central Italian Mannerists, his major fresco projects in Mexico and the U.S., from the 1920s into the '30s, evidenced a strong sense of social commitment. Rivera, who became one of the three artistic kingpins of the Mexican art scene along with Siqueiros and Jose Clemente Orozco, created in his murals some of the most impressive and emblematic images in the history of modern Mexican (and, indeed, Western) art.

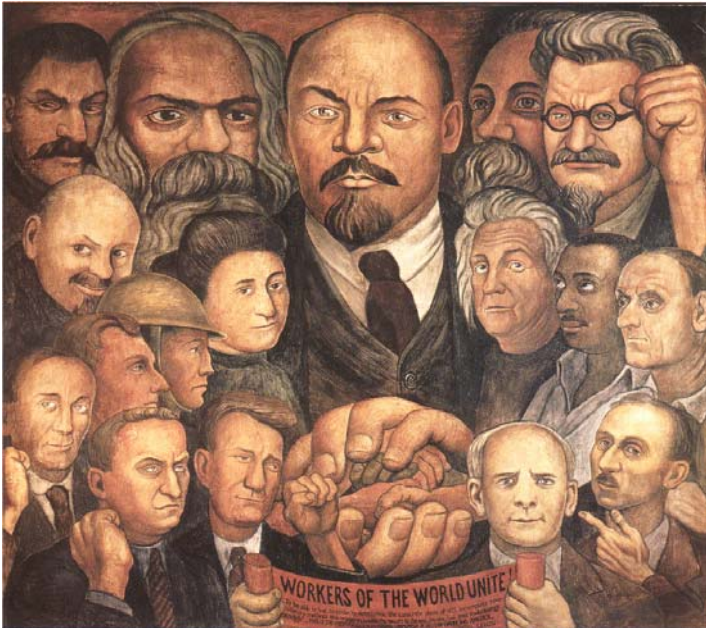
Rivera's mural paintings at the Ministry of Public Education and the National Palace in Mexico City and those at the Agricultural College in the nearby town of Chapingo are among his most extraordinary in narrative scope and physical size. Unfortunately, the visitor to the present exhibition comes away with very little sense of the significance of these murals. Even though there are a number of splendid preparatory drawings for some of the major mural commissions, as well as a series of lithographs reproducing details from the Public Education murals, they are presented in a somewhat decontextualized way. I'm no fan of photographic blowups of site-specific works of art, but in this case such a didactic tool might have been helpful in conveying at least a suggestion of the murals' impact.¹⁴

It's also unfortunate that none of Rivera's portable murals are included. For his 1931-32 retrospective at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, he painted eight of

these (now at the Modern, the Philadelphia Museum of Art and the Dolores Olmedo Museum).¹⁵ Later, he created a series of portable murals for the New Workers School on 14th Street in Manhattan, including the famous "Proletarian Unity" panel which reproduced the head of Lenin, whose presence in Rivera's Rockefeller Center mural so vexed the developers of the building



One of the portable murals Rivera created for the New Workers School in New York repeated the image of Lenin which had brought about the destruction of his mural at Rockefeller Center. View of Rivera's "Portrait of America" mural, 1933; at the New Workers School, New York. Photo Peter Juley/Archivo Frida Kahlo.



Proletarian Unity from the "Portrait of America" fresco, 1933, movable panel, 71 by 85 inches. Nagoya City Art Museum. Photo courtesy Mary-Anne Martin/Fine Art, New York.



"Portrait of America" panels (left to right) Mussolini, Proletarian Unity and Hitler; at the New Workers School, 1933. Photo Peter Juley/Archivo Frida Kahlo.

complex that they had the entire work destroyed. Thirteen of the 21 New Workers School panels were lost in a 1969 fire; the rest are in public and private collections in Mexico, Sweden and Japan. Any of these, or some of the recently detached and restored murals from the Ministry of Public Education in Mexico City, would have added immensely to the effectiveness of this section of the exhibition.

By 1940, Rivera's most important mural commissions were behind him. Later Mexico City projects, such as the 1947-48 Hotel del Prado mural, *Dream of a Sunday Afternoon in the Alameda* (housed, since Mexico City's devastating 1985 earthquake, in its own museum in the Alameda Park), or the 1952 glass-mosaic mural depicting the history of Mexican theater on the facade of the Teatro Insurgentes, are interesting but of lesser importance in his career. In Mexico, murals had lost their political appeal and the government no longer undertook such projects of programmatic decoration. The mural movement continued to exist on an ever-diminishing scale into the 1950s, but this was a period that beginning of "La Ruptura" (The Rupture), on the part of many Mexican artists to get beyond the didacticism and the esthetic constraints of muralism in favor of abstract other "international" movements.

Elsewhere, however, the legacy of muralism remained very much alive. The murals of revolutionary Nicaragua and Cuba, as well as those of Chile during the Allende era, all owe a debt to the Mexican muralists, but nowhere does their heritage survive as concretely as in California and the southwestern United States. Until the end of the 1930s, Rivera's San Francisco followers built on his politically-engaged work. Later, beginning in the 1960s, the Chicano mural movement in California, New Mexico, Texas and Illinois reap greater benefit from the example of the Mexicans (and, in many cases, from Rivera in particular). Although creating an iconography specific to the Chicano experience, Mexican-American muralists such as Judith Baca, John Valadez and many others have taken inspiration from Rivera (and other Mexican painters, including Frida Kahlo) that vary from homage to ironic appropriation. This ongoing mural tradition makes the exhibition's presentation in Los Angeles and also in Houston particularly poignant.

The show's fourth thematic group, including approximately 40 works, has a less coherent nature, serving as a catchall for the nonmural paintings and drawings Rivera did after Cubism. This portion of the exhibition is decidedly weaker than the other parts, mixing key images with those of lesser importance. However, both in Cleveland and in Los Angeles, the works in this section were separated into discrete arrangements that helped to clarify many points. A room at LACMA displayed what were labeled as "Paintings of Mexican Life." These included the 1925 masterpiece *Flower Day*, which shows a vendor of calla lilies at a market on the Day of the Dead. Collecting pre-Columbian sculpture became a virtual obsession for Rivera, and many of his

compositions such as *Flower Day* bear the blocky solidity of Aztec and Maya forms. Another testimony to this source of inspiration is *Tortilla Makers* (1926), a splendid painting of two women at work in a simple kitchen. Here, the still-life elements at the bottom of the picture, treated as solid, geometric forms, evidence Rivera's transformation of his Cubist past.

One way to understand these idealizing views of indigenous life, as well as others in the show such as *Bather in Tehuantepec* (1923) or *Grinder* (1926), is in relation to the utopian myth of proletarian life that was a prominent feature of politics in postrevolutionary Mexico. Rivera had, especially in the 1920s, a serious stake in sustaining the official rhetoric of change and social evolution. And often it was mostly rhetoric: land reforms had essentially not worked and the cycles of misery of the



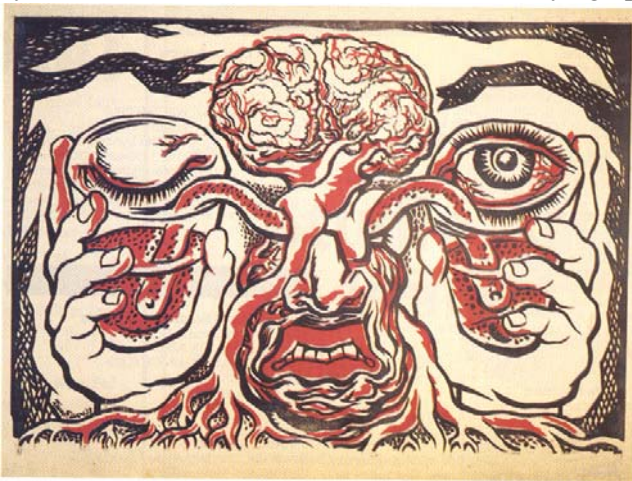
Symbolic Landscape (Minervegtanimortvida), 1940, oil on canvas, 47 x 60 inches. San Francisco Museum of Modern Art.

working classes continued. (Recent events in the state of Chiapas have made it abundantly clear that the rural poor are still desperately disenfranchised.) When, after Vasconcelos's resignation, the national mural program was canceled in 1924, Rivera remained the sole member of the muralist group who was consistently commissioned to do public projects. As such, he no doubt felt it important to support the social stances of the governments of Alvaro Obregón (1920-24) and Plutarco Elías Calles (1924-28). It was also true, however, that his strong socialist bias reinforced a sincere belief in the ultimate possibility of transformation of both the agrarian and urban societies of Mexico. In addition, he included biting critiques of the prevailing social systems in many of his murals. It's also worth noting that in paintings such as *Tortilla Makers*, the proletarian protagonists seem to bear witness less to the picturesque elements of everyday existence among the working classes and more to the backbreaking tedium that marked most of the hours of their days.

Depictions by Rivera and numerous other Mexican artists of the underprivileged masses may be understood, to a lesser extent, in light of the *indigenismo* movement that developed in parts of Latin America from the 1920s to the 1940s. *Indigenismo* had particularly strong resonance in those countries Argentinean critic Marta Traba classifies as "closed nations," places in which the strength of traditional cultures has served as a point of resistance to an assimilation of foreign forms of visual expression. Thus, indigenist images occur in the work of Rivera's Andean contemporaries such as José Sabogal (Peru), Camilo Egas (Ecuador) and Cecilio Guzmán de Rojas (Bolivia).

Rivera's depictions of rural peasants also served as a personal "rappel à l'ordre" after his extended immersion in the vanguard cultural atmosphere of Europe. While Rivera never totally abandoned the avant-garde forms that he had learned in Europe (indeed, he reworked the concept of the Cubist grid for his monumental mural compositions), he was interested in establishing a culturally specific iconography. Rivera's images of working-class life may seem tame in contrast to the more radicalized ones of Orozco or Siqueiros, but these dichotomies are easily collapsed when viewed within a wider spectrum of the complexities of Mexican society of the 1920s and 1930s. For all their differences, these three artists were involved in creating a new system of visual conceptualization of the Mexican national character.

The turmoil of the Spanish Civil War and the Second World War occasioned an influx into Mexico of thousands of immigrants from throughout Europe. Among the artists who arrived as refugees were many Surrealists, including Remedios Varo, Leonora Carrington, Wolfgang Paalen, Alice Rahon, and Kati and José Morna. The atmosphere they created added to the already heady mix of intellectual and artistic life in Mexico's capital. While the refugees' affiliations with their fellow Mexican artists were sometimes slight or nonexistent, many Mexicans delved into Surrealism, the impact of which was strengthened by André Breton's six-month Mexican sojourn in 1938.¹⁶ That year, Rivera dedicated to Breton an unusual xylograph, *Communicating Vessels*, which



Communicating Vessels (Homage to André Breton), 1938, xylograph, two inks, 26 by 36 inches. Photo courtesy Mary-Anne Martin/Fine Art.

features a grotesque head, exposed brain and thick blood vessels connecting the skull to two bloody eye sockets. (The relationship of this print's composition and Frida Kahlo's 1939 masterpiece *The Two Fridas* is striking.) Although Rivera could hardly be called a Surrealist, the influence of the movement is evident in several significant paintings (most of which are included in the retrospective). The 1940 *Symbolic Landscape* (*Minervegtanimortvida*), with its metamorphoses of rocks into hands and tree trunks into the body of a woman (or vice versa), is reminiscent of paintings by Salvador Dalí, but without the Spanish artist's often troublingly self-conscious projections of psychoanalytic theories.

Rivera eventually became famous among his clients (including many North American collectors) for his paintings of peasant children. These



Self-Portrait, January 1941, oil on canvas, 24 by 16 inches. Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton.

tourist trophies vied with his portraits of wealthy Mexican and American women (and, to a lesser extent, men) to make him one of the most sought-after artists of the 1940s and '50s. Both of these genres are represented in the exhibition. *Pico and Inesita*, a 1928 portrait of the artist's daughter (by his second wife, Lupe Martin) with a friend, offers a more candid depiction of children than some of his cloying later ones. In the section devoted to the portraits there are several elegant portrayals of women, such as that of his daughter Ruth holding a large mirror and the *Portrait of Enriqueta Davila* surrounded by calla lilies (both 1949). Opinions about these late, highly stylized society portraits vary. I happen to like the caramelized, slightly congealed-looking American and Mexican beauty queens painted by Rivera, as in his well-known portrait of Paulette Goddard (1940-41).

The final works in "Diego Rivera: Art and Revolution" veer in the direction of didactic illustration. *Maternity* (1954) depicts an indigenous woman, three children, a white dove and a globe turned to display North America and the Soviet Union. *Containing the Ice of the Danube at Bratislava* and *Labor Day Parade in Moscow (May 1)*, both painted in 1956, the year before Rivera's death, remind us, a little too insistently, that Rivera had been readmitted to the Mexican Communist party in 1954, after four previously unsuccessful attempts to rejoin. Despite the inclusion of this political kitsch, the exhibition was pleasing in its installation in the two venues in which I saw it. While the art was tightly packed in Cleveland, it formed a coherent and instructive narrative there. At LACMA the show took on an airiness and luminosity. The works had ample space and they were all flattered by expert lighting and the use of subtle shades of brown, gray and green on the walls. Discrete spaces for the Surrealist-related pieces and the portraits created an intimacy that served as a perfect foil for the grander rooms in which the Cubist pictures were hung.

I left the show each time feeling as if I had seen some wonderful things (along with a few clunkers) but also feeling a bit frustrated. I simply wanted to see more and to get a more textured story. Rivera was a deeply complex, if not conflicted, artist. The exhibition provoked many thoughts about his place in the history of modern figurative art, but begged as many questions as it answered. D



Portrait of Natasha Gelman, 1943, oil on canvas, 45 by 60 inches. Photo courtesy San Francisco Museum of Modern Art. Not in the exhibition.

Opinions vary about Rivera's late, highly stylized society portraits; I happen to like the caramelized, slightly congealed-looking American and Mexican beauty queens he portrayed.

1. See John Richardson, *A Life of Pica. 'SO: 1907-1917: The Painter of Modern Life*, New York, Random House, 1996, pp. 412-14.
2. Kenneth E. Silver, *Esprit de Corps: The Art of the Parisian Avant-Garde and the First World War, 1914- 1925*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1989, p. 166.
3. For a summary of the relationships between Rivera and his antagonists in Paris during the years of the First World War, see Ramon Favela, *Diego Rivera: The Cubist Years* (exhibition

catalogue), Phoenix, Phoenix Art Museum, 1984, pp. 144-45. Christopher Green in *Cubism and Its Enemies*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1987, pp. 7-11, clarifies several of the principal arguments regarding Rivera and his position within Cubism.

4. Douglas Cooper, *The Cubist Epoch*, London, Phaidon Press Limited, 1971, p. 128.
 5. Robert Rosenblum, *Cubism and Twentieth Century Art*, New York, Harry N. Abrams, 1960, p. 179.
 6. Favela, *Diego Rivera*. Favela's more recent book on Rivera represents a serious rereading of the beginnings of his career. See *El joven e inquieto Diego Maria Rivera: 1907- 1910*, Mexico City, Editorial Secuencia, 1991.
 7. *Diego Rivera: A Retrospective* (catalogue edited by Cynthia Newman Helms), Detroit, Detroit Institute of Arts, 1986.
 8. Teresa del Conde et al., *Los murales del Palacio de Bellas Artes*, Mexico City, Americo Arte Editores, 1995; Desmond Rochfort, *Mexican Muralists: Orozco, Rivera, Siqueiros*, New York, Universe Publishing, 1993.
 9. Clara Bargellini, "Diego Rivera en Italia," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estetica*, 66, 1995, pp. 85-136; Irene Herner de Larrea, *Diego Rivera: Paradise Lost at Rockefeller Center*, Mexico City, Edicupes, 1986; Laurance P. Hurlburt, *The Mexican Muralists in the United States*, Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1989.
 10. Patrick Marnham, *Dreaming with His Eyes Open: A Life of Diego Rivera*, New York, Alfred A Knopf, 1998; David Craven, *Diego Rivera: Epic Modernist*, New York, G.K Hall and Co., 1997; Leonard Folgarait, *Mural Painting and Social Revolution in Mexico, 1920-1940: Art of the New Order*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998. Anthony W. Lee, *Paintings on the Left: Diego Rivera, Radical Politics and San Francisco's Public Murals*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1999.
 11. Linda Downs, *Diego Rivera: The Detroit Industry Murals*, New York, W.W. Norton, 1999.
 12. Kenneth E. Silver deals with Miestchaninoff in his essay "Jewish Artists in Paris 1905-1945" in the exhibition catalogue *The Circle of Montparnasse: Jewish Artists in Paris 1905-1945*, New York, Jewish Museum, 1985. Rivera, who had many friends and fellow artists in this circle, is also satisfyingly discussed in Silver's study.
 13. Rivera was readmitted to the Mexican Communist party in July 1926 but was expelled in December 1929, when he was accused of anti-Stalinist (Trotskyite) ideological tendencies.
 14. At its Los Angeles venue, the exhibition was particularly well served by projections of large photographs of Rivera at work, making me think that similar photographs of the murals would have been welcome.
 15. Rivera's exhibition opened at the Museum of Modern Art, New York (then at 730 Fifth Avenue) on Dec. 23, 1931, and closed on Jan. 27, 1932. The show was attended by 56,575 people, a record for exhibitions of this duration at that time. As was true in the case of other shows at the museum in the 1930s and the 1940s, some of the works were for sale. According to a letter in the Archives of the Museum of Modern Art dated Jan. 27, 1932, from Alice Mallette to Henri Marceau of the Pennsylvania Museum of Art (known since 1937 as the Philadelphia Museum of Art), the exhibition's second venue, "all works cited as belonging to Diego Rivera are for sale."
 16. On Breton in Mexico see Fabienne Bradu, *Breton en Mexico*, Mexico City, Editorial Vuelta, 1996.
- "Diego Rivera: Art and Revolution" debuted at the Cleveland Museum of Art [Feb. 14-May 2], before traveling to the Los Angeles County Museum of Art [May 30-Aug. 16]. It is currently on view at the Houston Museum of Art [Sept. 19-Nov. 28] and will appear at the Museum of Modern Art, Mexico City [Dec. 17, 1999-Mar. 19, 2000]. The 413-page catalogue includes essays by 11 scholars from Mexico, the U.S and Europe.*

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