

“GUERNICA” OR PICASSO’S “ABHORRENCE OF THE MILITARY CASTE”

Jörg Martin Merz • Revoir Picasso’s symposium • March 27th, 2015



1. PABLO PICASSO
Guernica
1937
Oil on canvas, 349 x 776 cm
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It is well known that Picasso’s monumental canvas *Guernica* (fig.1) was painted for the Spanish Pavilion at the Paris World’s Fair in 1937. In early January of that year, representatives from the Spanish government visited the artist in the French capital asking him to paint a mural for the portico of the Pavilion on a subject of his own choice. Picasso had already embarked on the etchings *Dream and Lie of Franco* (fig.2 and 3), savagely caricaturing the Spanish fascist leader, but set them aside when they clearly did not meet with his visitors’ approval. He did not turn to the commissioned painting until 18-19 April, when he dashed off a series of sketches on the theme of the artist’s studio. On 1 May he started work

on the definite composition, which he finished by early June.

Guernica is a small Basque town that on 26 April 1937 was bombed by General Franco’s German allies in the Spanish Civil War. Newspapers reported this wanton act of destruction a few days before Picasso set to work, and this chronological proximity, soon combined with the title *Guernica*, led to the assumption “that the gratuitous outrage about the bombing roused Picasso from melancholy to anger. Acting as a catalyst to the anxiety and indignation mingled with him, it gave him the theme he had been seeking”¹. From the outset the painting was interpreted literally, as a “portrayal of the old Basque town’s destruction,”² some writers even maintaining that “the bombs are falling in this picture,”³ or that “*Guernica* is a picture of an air raid”⁴. Other critics were more cautious. One argued that, although “Picasso has not attempted anything in the nature of a realistic restatement of such a story [he] has been impelled rather to express his own emotion by means of imaginary figures and shapes, human, animal and abstract, related only in that they are all subservient to the dominating spirit of revolt from cruelty”⁵. Another simply stated that the canvas bore “no relation to the political event that was supposed to have provoked it”⁶. Forty years later a leading authority on the picture voiced a similar opinion: “except for its title, the painting has no manifest connection with the bombing, or even with the civil war. Picasso never claimed that it did, only that it was his response to the tragic events among his countrymen”⁷. The latter notion, however, stemmed not from Picasso, but from the author, who consequently adopted the conventional view that *Guernica* constituted a response to the bombing⁸.

What might be termed “mainstream” interpretations of the painting have continued to explain (away) its lack of unequivocal references to the historical event by invoking its



2. PABLO PICASSO
Dream and Lie of Franco, plate I
1937
Etching and aquatint,
31,7 x 42,2 cm
Kunstmuseum
Heidenheim
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3. PABLO PICASSO
Dream and Lie of Franco, plate II
1937
Etching and aquatint,
31,7 x 42,2 cm
Kunstmuseum
Heidenheim
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“universality” as a representation of warfare and the victims of warfare⁹. This view has enabled *Guernica* to become an iconic image acknowledged worldwide as a denunciation of war or, more specifically, “of terrorism against civilians from the air”¹⁰.

The painting’s figures can indeed generate associations with the horrors of war, tempting the beholder to believe that the title reflects the subject matter in a direct way.¹¹ Yet historical circumstances and visual evidence relating to the canvas suggest that the composition as a whole does not depict warfare as such.

WHEN WAS THE PAINTING TITLED “GUERNICA”?

While at work on the *Guernica*-canvas Picasso made the following statement to the American Artists’ Congress: “In the panel on which I am working and which I shall call ‘*Guernica*’, and in all my recent works of art, I clearly express my abhorrence of the military caste which has sunk Spain in an ocean of pain and death”. Issued in coincidence with an exhibition of Spanish war posters in New York City from 8 June to 4 July 1937, this statement was first published on 6 July in the *Daily Worker* and again on 18 July in the *Springfield Republican*¹². In the latter, the art critic Elizabeth McCausland concluded: “it is the bombing of Guernica, helpless Basque city, which is the subject of the great panels [*sic*], to be exhibited in the Spanish pavilion at the Paris International exposition, on which he [Picasso] is at work”. Unthinkingly adopted by other writers, McCausland’s equation of the painting’s title with its subject constituted the germ from which almost all subsequent interpretations have sprung. Picasso, however, did not mention the actual air raid in his statement, expressing only his intention to title the painting *Guernica* and outlining its theme as “abhorrence of the military caste”. His use of the future tense in connections with the title indicates that it was not yet fixed. Had he thus phrased his statement if the bombing of Guernica had really produced “the emotional shock which set [his] mind in motion”¹³?

The title *Guernica* was first recorded in a letter of 28 May 1937 from Max Aub, cultural attaché at the Spanish embassy in Paris, to the ambassador Luis Araquistáin, and is cited three days later in a note concerning the final payment to Picasso¹⁴. Aub was also the first who described the painting in an address given some days prior to the inauguration of the Pavilion, which took place on 12 July, when he introduced the subject matter as: “Picasso has represented here the tragedy of Guernica”¹⁵.

At the beginning of August 1937, when the Pavilion was finally finished, the inscriptions “Pablo Picasso” and “Guernica” appeared in capital letters on the lower section of the frame¹⁶. They are missing from photographs made a little earlier¹⁷, and this resulted in uncertainty about the title. A picture taken by Associated Press Photo on 30 July, for example, is captioned: “The destruction of Guernica in the Spanish Civil War is said to be the theme of mural painting by Pablo Picasso.”¹⁸ The lack of inscriptions also accounts for the use of other titles or none at all in press reports that appeared shortly after the opening.¹⁹ While *L’Humanité* gave the title as “*The Massacre of Guernica*”²⁰, *Ce soir* did not men-

tion *Guernica* and stated: “this canvas in black and white by the famous painter Pablo Picasso ... translates in terms of the artist’s astonishing style what he has called ‘an act of abhorrence towards the killing whose victim is the Spanish people’”²¹. The same phrase is quoted in the Catalan *Las noticias* in connection with a presentation of *Guernica* in Scandinavia scheduled for early 1938. Picasso is said to have written the words himself beneath the painting²². Yet the journalist George Sadoul (1904-1967) noted after visiting the artist’s studio that he had applied them to the etchings *Dream and Lie of Franco*²³. Nor did the commissioner of the Pavilion regard “*Guernica*” as self-explanatory, printing an explanation on the verso of a postcard of it: “Picasso... wanted to express in this painting the disintegration of the world plagued by the horrors of war”²⁴. Further evidence that the painting had not been titled *Guernica* comes from *Paris-soir*, which on 13 July reported only that “the greatest master of the epoch, Pablo Picasso, is dominating with a magnificent display”²⁵, and the magazine *Beaux-Arts*, which ten days later captioned a photograph of the painting simply “*Décoration de Picasso au Pavillon d’Espagne, à l’Exposition*”²⁶.

Towards the end of July, *Life* magazine carried the headline “Spain’s Picasso Paints Bombing of Guernica for Paris Exposition” reiterating in the caption to its reproduction that “the fresco, called Guernica, portrays that event”²⁷. A few days later, however, the Dadaist critic Paul Chadourne (1897-?), who had seen the canvas in Picasso’s studio, stated in a detailed article in *Marianne*: “Allow me, Picasso, to title the painting, which you did not name yourself, ‘The Disasters of War’”²⁸. There is no mention here of “Guernica”. Similarly, the text of the article “Death, Destruction and Disintegration Theme of Picasso Mural,” which appeared in *The Art Digest* on 1 August, explains that the title given in the illustration caption, “The Bombing of Guernica,” did not originate with the artist, but had been “affixed by other hands for purposes of identification and publication”²⁹. Moreover, other contemporary witnesses such as Josep Renau (1907-82) and Josep Lluís Sert (1902-83), both of whom had visited Picasso in January and later seen the painting in his studio, the painter Luis Quintanilla (1893-1978), who was working for the Spanish embassy in Paris at that time, did not recall that the picture was titled *Guernica* from the beginning³⁰.

It may thus be safely concluded that the canvas was not originally called *Guernica* and was therefore not necessarily “painted by Picasso under the stress of emotion caused by the destruction of the little city of Guernica by bombardment from the air”³¹. Rather than the newspaper-reports of the bombing, a letter of 28 April by José Gaos, general commissioner of the Spanish Pavilion, prompted the artist to set to work. Gaos expressed his hope that Picasso’s large painting and his sculptures would form the major artistic attractions of the exhibition already at the official opening on 25 May³².

WHO TITLED THE PAINTING “GUERNICA”?

Chadourne’s statement that the title was not Picasso’s brainchild is supported by Juan Larrea (1895-1980), a poet

in charge of the information office of the Spanish embassy. In 1970 he wrote that, after settling in Paris in May 1937, he was “in continuous contact with Picasso and witnessed the development of the several phases of ‘Guernica’.... If I am not mistaken, the mural received its name by *vox populi*. Paul Éluard, Christian Zervos, and other French personalities began to call it by this significant stark name inspired by that passionate temper of the times, a name that Picasso—sharing everyone’s outrage—accepted as his own”³³. Larrea added this remark to the 1977 edition of his monograph on *Guernica*, first published in 1947, including his discursive essay “Vision of Guernica”³⁴.

This essay exudes an air of panegyrics and mystification similar to that characteristic of the account of the painting given in the second 1937 fascicle of the *Cahiers d’art* published in late October³⁵. The latter was abundantly illustrated with Picasso’s preliminary studies and with photographs by Dora Maar, his principal mistress and his collaborator, of various stages in the completion of the canvas. Christian Zervos (1898-1970), editor of the *Cahiers d’art*, friend of the artist and his cataloguer, delivered a mixture of facts and eulogy in his introductory essay. Though stimulated by the political situation in Spain, the painting, he wrote, was not to be regarded as a moral protest, but rather as an outburst of righteous anger on the part of someone who aspired to absolute freedom and refused to accept anything that threatened it³⁶. Whereas the etchings *Dream and Lie of Franco* (fig. 2 and 3) would engulf Franco inexorably, the painting was marked by a defeatist air: “*Guernica* gives the most striking expression to a world of despair, where death is everywhere; where there is crime, chaos, and desolation everywhere; disaster more violent than lightning, flood, and hurricane, for everything is hostile, uncontrollable, beyond comprehension, whence rise the long, heart-rending cry of beings dying because of men’s cruelty”³⁷.

The artist, his painting, and the circumstances were referred to in various ways in the short essays following Zervos’s introduction, all of them written by members of his circle who were Picasso’s juniors by at least a decade. Jean Cassou (1897-1986) drew parallels between Picasso and Goya, George Duthuit (1891-1973) evoked the bombing, Pierre Mabillet (1904-52) drew up an indictment of Franco, Michel Leiris (1901-90) interpreted the painting as a letter of doom, and José Bergamín (1895-1983), like Cassou, played the Spanish card by lauding the “Spanish fury” in the painting³⁸.

The contribution by Paul Éluard (1895-1952), a poem titled “Paroles Peintes,” makes curiously no reference to *Guernica*³⁹. Another poem of his, “La Victoire de Guernica,” had been published in the previous fascicle of *Cahiers d’art*, issued in June or July, where it had been followed by a musical setting by George Auric (1899-1983) of some of its lines and by reproductions of all scenes of the first and final states of the *Dream and Lie of Franco*⁴⁰. The fourteen verses of the poem had not been written in connection with the painting, as has frequently been assumed, but were intended to accompany the same number of episodes in the first state of the *Dream and Lie of Franco*⁴¹. Picasso apparently rejected this idea and later

composed a poem of his own for the etchings (see below). Consequently, “La Victoire de Guernica” did not feature in Éluard’s comprehensive collection of poems dedicated to Picasso, which included “Paroles Peintes” and several illustrations of *Guernica*⁴². By 1949, when he was asked to provide a text for Alain Resnais’s (1922-2014) short film *Guernica*, Picasso had even forgotten about “La Victoire de Guernica” and called on the essayist Francis Ponge (1899-1988) to write one⁴³. Éluard was shocked, but succeeded in taking over the task, preparing an extended version of “La Victoire de Guernica” used in the film⁴⁴. In the Spanish Pavilion the poem had been exhibited as a poster in the topographical section on the first floor, flanked by a poster of the Basque countryside and a photograph of the bombed Guernica⁴⁵. On occasion it had also been published in conjunction with Picasso’s painting, without further explanation⁴⁶.

As early as 1 May 1937 – the very day that Picasso made his first drawings for his painting – Éluard expressed his outrage about the Guernica-massacre, while regretting his helplessness⁴⁷. A little later, Picasso’s canvas had evidently still not become associated with the bombing because it was in connection with the *Dream and Lie of Franco* that Éluard wrote “La Victoire de Guernica”. If the poet persuaded the painter to title his canvas *Guernica*, it can only have been at a later date. Dora Maar noted that it was indeed Éluard’s anger over the air raid, rather than the press reports, that influenced Picasso⁴⁸.

In sum, this evidence suggests that Larrea’s memory was not playing him false when he recalled that the title *Guernica* had been proposed by Éluard and other intellectuals.

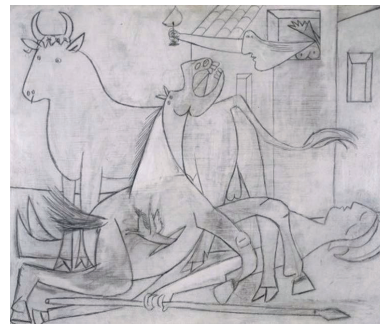
WHAT DOES GUERNICA REALLY DEPICT?

Curiously, discussions of *Guernica* have not drawn on Picasso’s anti-militarist statement quoted above, even though the painting (fig.1) gives unequivocal expression to the artist’s “abhorrence of the military caste”. The principal group, consisting of an overturned statue of a warrior and his mount, features prominently in the foreground⁴⁹. The supine warrior is rendered as a lifeless piece of sculpture, its neck and one arm broken and a shattered sword clutched in his right hand, whereas the wounded horse falling over him is depicted as a living creature, with markings to suggest its fur⁵⁰. Pierced by a spear hurled from above, the horse cries out in the throes of death, but does not trample on the warrior⁵¹. The distinction between the figure and the animal might be explained tentatively as indicating a difference in status: unlike soldiers, horses bear no responsibility for war and are deserving of empathy as the instruments of militarism.

Mounted warriors, a symbol of military prowess since antiquity, had become a popular motif for denouncing fascist war-mongering. For example, a 1933 photogravure by John Heartfield, based on Franz von Stuck’s painting *The War* of 1894, shows Hitler and a heroic nude riding triumphantly on an old hack across a battlefield covered with pale corpses, while a swastika-shaped lightning rends a dark cloud above⁵². Stuck’s composition also formed the basis of an anti-fascist



4. PABLO PICASSO
First sketch for Guernica
1 May 1937
Graphite on blue paper,
20,9 x 26,9 cm Museo
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Arte Reina Sofia
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5. PABLO PICASSO
Composition study for Guernica
1 May 1937
Graphite and oil on white
prepared plywood panel, 53,7
x 64,7 cm
Museo Nacional Centro de
Arte Reina Sofia
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poster issued by the Union of Spanish Youth in 1936⁵³. In a 1937 caricature titled *War-mad* William Gropper (1897-1977) went one step further, depicting Hitler as a savage Germanic warrior galloping on a skeleton horse with the word “WAR” inscribed in its ribs⁵⁴.

It should also be remembered that Franco had a penchant for riding on horseback and for equestrian images. As a young officer in Africa, he was known for riding a white horse, while as the leader of a “new Reconquista,” he was identified symbolically with St James the Moor-slayer, Spain’s patron saint, who was traditionally portrayed as a warrior astride a white horse⁵⁵. Picasso targeted this penchant in various scenes in the *Dream and Lie of Franco* (fig.2), as did Antonio Cañavate Gomez’ poster *S.E. el generalísimo*⁵⁶. Only in this context does the destruction of the equestrian image in *Guernica* acquire its full meaning. Yet the motif harbours an ambiguity: since it does not show the actual toppling of the sculpture, it can be viewed—and frequently has been—as embodying the consequences of war. In this reading, the warrior with his shattered sword represents either a battlefield casualty or a hero of the kind glorified in war memorials⁵⁷. Neither of these interpretations makes sense in relation to the massacre of civilians in the air raid on Guernica. The annihilation of the warrior and his horse in the painting can be properly interpreted only as a condemnation of militarism via one of its major symbols, the equestrian statue – that is, as an act of iconoclasm.

This conclusion is supported by an analysis of Picasso’s creative process⁵⁸. The main features are present in the very first drawings (figs.4 and 5). These recall bullfight scenes,⁵⁹ but with significant differences: first, the “picador” is clearly a warrior wearing an antique helmet; secondly, the bull is not aggressive; and thirdly, the location is not an arena, but an open space in front of an architectural structure⁶⁰. The horse and the warrior are difficult to decipher in the first sketch, but can be identified in analogy with the second, which is more explicit. This suggests that the scribbles in the centre of the first drawing represent the horse, apparently lying on its back with one rear leg raised, while the horizontal lines below are summary indications of the warrior. The configuration can be said to resemble a toppled equestrian statue like that in an etching titled *The Greatest of Despots, Overthrown by Liberty*, which shows the destruction of François Girardon’s statue of Louis XIV in the Place Vendôme, Paris, in 1792⁶¹.

The winged creature sitting on the bull in the background of the first drawing (fig.4) reappears in the second (fig.5) as a tiny winged horse emerging from a slit in the horse’s belly.

This “Pegasus” has generally been regarded as a symbol of the horse’s soul leaving its body in the moment of death,⁶² which reinforces the distinction, noted above in connections with the finished painting, between a living animal and the lifeless human being.

Both drawings include what the second study shows to be a woman holding a lamp in her outstretched hand as she leans out of a window. She was added to the first sketch as an afterthought, drawn over a vertical line that originally indicated a corner of the pedestal that had supported the statue, but in the second drawing became part of a building. At first glance, the motif might be understood simply as denoting that Picasso intended to represent a nocturnal scene, but it was retained almost unchanged right through to the final version and its significance is therefore likely to be deeper than that. If the woman is viewed in relation to the horse and warrior beneath, she can be said to be shedding the light of liberation on a destroyed symbol of militarism below.⁶³ This reading accords not only with the traditional iconographic formula of liberty depicted as a woman holding a lamp or a torch in her outstretched arm⁶⁴, but also with the “abhorrence of the military caste” and the thirst for freedom expressed by Picasso in the statement to the American Artists’ Congress.⁶⁵ Nothing was invoked more frequently by the Spanish Republicans than liberty. The second verse of the Anarchist’s anthem “A las barricadas” reads: “The most precious good is freedom and we have to defend it with faith and courage”⁶⁶. In posters supporting the Republican cause, liberty occasionally features as a torch held in an outstretched hand⁶⁷. In one of his photomontages Heartfield took his cue from the principal figure in Eugène Delacroix’s famous *Liberty Leading the People*⁶⁸.

The drawings do not denounce militarism as such, but represent its overthrow as a *fait accompli*. It would seem that the bull has accomplished this. Appearing in the background of the first drawing (fig.4), it towers over the group on the ground in the second (fig.5). Here, with hindquarters turned toward the supine warrior and with tail slightly lifted as if about to deposit excrements on him, the bull graphically expresses Picasso’s “abhorrence of the military caste”.

In the next drawing (fig.6), the bull gallops triumphantly over the horse and warrior lying in a heap on the ground. This traditional visual formula for the depiction of warfare harks back to images of the Riders of the Apocalypse and was employed, for instance, by Henri Rousseau in his large painting *The War* of 1894⁶⁹. Picasso was apparently dissatisfied



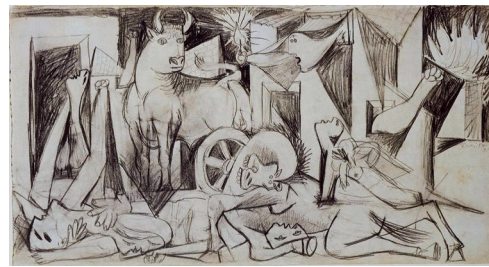
6. PABLO PICASSO
Composition study for Guernica
2 May 1937
Pencil and oil on white prepared plywood panel, 60 x 73 cm
Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, Madrid
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with the adaptation of the bull to the purpose of an allegory of war, because he returned to the previous scheme in the next drawing (fig.7), which again shows the bull towering over the group, but this time breaking wind over the warrior.



7. PABLO PICASSO
Composition study for Guernica
8 May 1937
Pencil on paper, 24,1 x 45,4 cm
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Only now did Picasso expand the scope of his horizontal image to include subsidiary groups on either side (fig.8). On the left, he inserted the upper part of a woman's body in front of a large gate, and on the right added a building in flames behind the figure of a kneeling woman holding a child that had already featured in the previous drawing (fig.7). This tripartite arrangement has usually been interpreted in purely formal terms, with reference to the symmetry and balance of the composition⁷⁰. Yet, as is frequently the case in triptychs, the lateral scenes relate thematically both to the central panel and, antithetically, to each other. In the present drawing they illustrate complementary aspects of militarism and its pursuit of war: the fire on the right denounces



8. PABLO PICASSO
Composition study for Guernica
9 May 1937
Pencil on white paper, 24 x 45,7 cm
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destructive aggression, while the gate on the left stands for the need for shelter. In the closely packed nocturnal scene the bull and the light-bearing woman appear over a mass of intertwined bodies that are no longer marked as warriors. The wheel in front of the bull's hind legs is echoed in the twisted neck of the horse, as though to indicate that it is rolling over the animal, while the woman crawling along on the right plunges her arm into the wound in the horse's flank as she gazes up at the light. There are also several raised fists, including two on either side of the woman on the left that are clenched gently as if shielding her, and a firmly clenched one on the right that is directed threateningly at the fire. The fists allude to the Communist salute, often illustrated in posters of the period, and introduce an overt element of political propaganda into the image.

The painted canvas, in its first state, reduces the number of fists to one. It belongs to the warrior lying on the ground, who is thus characterized as a defeated, though defiant, Republican. At the same time the complementary character of the lateral scenes is elaborated. On the right a figure on fire appears in front of the burning building, while on the left the woman seated on the ground holds a baby in her arms. The bull's head, formerly turned right, now faces left and appears directly above the woman's head, making way for the new motif of the Republican's raised arm in the centre. This is expanded in the next stage, which shows the warrior's fist—now holding a sheaf of corn—backed by the sun and its rays. At the following stage Picasso eliminated the clenched fist and reduced the sun to an almond-shape surrounded by jagged prongs. This light source, placed above the fallen horse and warrior, recalls the sun as a symbol of liberty triumphing over fascism in the popular satirical cartoons called *aleluyas* in Spanish, and *aucas* in Catalan.⁷¹ An image in an *aleluya* relating to the defence of Madrid, for instance, shows a laughing sun captioned: "liberty is a sun / which can suffer eclipse / but will resurrect with aurora". Or again, an *auca* attacking General Queipo de Llano in 1937 features a grinning sun over three fascists lying on their backs on the ground in front of a castle, one of them marked with a swastika. The caption reads: "on 19 July the fascists shall lie on the ground with their paunches toward the sun", the date referring to the anniversary of the defeat of insurgents in Barcelona in 1936 and the allusion to the sun lampooning the Falange anthem

“Cara al Sol” (facing the sun).

In the finished painting, the light emanating from two lamps at the upper centre models the pyramidal group below in a cubist style (Fig.1). The distribution of light and shade establishes a contrast between the right side of the pyramid, which includes the kneeling woman gazing up at the lamps, where light prevails, and its left side, dominated by the horse and warrior, where irregular areas in black and white, and grey, appear in sharp opposition. The jumble of limbs and flashes of light in this section suggest an explosion—not a chance blast, but one issuing from the light above, which can thus be said to have overcome the horse and warrior. This “triumph” had been hinted at in earlier stages of the composition by the bull looming up behind the central group, but in the final version the bull’s body was moved round to the left to leave the centre dominated by the light.

Various scholars have pointed out that the havoc shown in *Guernica* is generated by the light depicted in the painting. This has been seen either as representing the bombing and its effects⁷², or in relation to the conventions of religious imagery. The latter, more plausible hypothesis was advanced by Robert Rosenblum, who cites the standard image of light emanating from a dove to symbolise the Holy Ghost, as encountered in El Greco’s paintings *Pentecost* or *The Coronation of the Virgin*.⁷³ In fact, *Guernica* is more closely indebted to a subject such as *The Conversion of St Paul* or *The Liberation of St Peter*, in which divine light strikes the principal figure directly⁷⁴. Picasso, however, avoided any suggestion of supernatural light by inserting an electric bulb into the sun⁷⁵. This transformation of the sun into a prosaic lamp possibly reflects the paramount importance of light and electricity at the Paris exposition⁷⁶. Certainly, in April 1937 the painter Marcel Roche (1890-1959), director of the Salon de la lumière, on the recommendation of Raoul Dufy (1877-1953) who decorated the Palais de l’Électricité et de la Lumière with the gigantic “La Fée électricité,” invited Picasso to a demonstration of the *technique de chromotypes*, that is, colour projections on a huge screen⁷⁷. It is not known whether Picasso attended, but he clearly set his work apart from the overwhelming colourism of Dufy, Delaunay, and others, by using black-and-white for *Guernica*⁷⁸. The electric bulb fits to the stage-like interior of the scene and indicates that the painting addressed contemporary reality rather than timeless themes.

HOW DO “GUERNICA” AND “DREAM AND LIE OF FRANCO” RELATE TO EACH OTHER?

Examination of the generally acknowledged relationship between Picasso’s canvas (fig.1) and his set of etchings (figs.2 and 3) has never progressed beyond noting that both employ typical *corrida* features (bull and horse) and that the last four episodes, added to the second plate after the canvas had been finished, various studies related to the painting⁷⁹. The bombing of Guernica supposedly encapsulated in the painting hardly seemed compatible with the ridicule heaped on Franco in the etchings. Yet if the canvas is interpreted as

representing Picasso’s “abhorrence of the military caste”, the prints emerge as its immediate precursor.

Picasso started work on the etchings on 8-9 January 1937 by outlining all nine episodes on the first plate and five on the second⁸⁰. He returned to the etchings when he embarked on the painting and on 1 May dedicated a set of them to Zervos, who duly published the fourteen images in the appendix of the first 1937 fascicle of the *Cahiers d’art*. Picasso occasionally turned his attention to the etchings while working on the canvas. On 25 May he shaded the existing scenes with aquatint and on 7 June he executed the remaining four panels in line, without shading. Accompanied by an abusive surrealist poem, written between 15 and 18 June, which was not previously published by Zervos, the set was issued in a folder titled *Sueño y mentira de Franco* and sold in the Spanish Pavilion in support of the Republican cause.

Composed in the manner of comic strips, though not to be read as a continuous narrative, the etchings resemble *aleluyas* and *aucas* (see above). All panels of the first plate and three of the second feature Franco caricatured as a polyp-like monster. Three of them on the first plate (fig.2) depict a confrontation between a rider (Franco), mounted on a horse, a “Pegasus”, or a pig, respectively, and the sun, foreshadowing the use of the sun in the painting (fig.11). In the first scene the sun grins sardonically at the horse and rider; in the eighth the rider attempts to mount a winged horse that is gazing at the sun; and in the ninth he rides a pig while aiming an arrow-headed lance at the sun. Both the first and eighth images show the rider injuring his mount, which is speared in the buttocks in the former, so that the intestines pour from the belly, and pierced through the neck and chest in the latter. The painting, on the other hand, depicts the fatal consequences of this act.

The last two images of the first state – that is, panel four and five on the second plate (fig.3) – represent encounters between a bull and the Franco-polyp. In the fourth scene the polyp is confronted by a bull’s head with rays issuing from it, while in the following image a bull has inflicted a large wound on a polyp-headed horse: entrails, including Franco’s flag and banner, spill from the animal’s belly. Picasso interrupted his work on the etchings at this point, but on 1 May 1937 he took up the thread he had abandoned in January when he made the first sketch for the painting (fig.4). This, too, juxtaposes a bull with a fallen horse. Here, in the new composition, he broke down the Franco-horse composite into two separate components, a horse and a warrior lying on the ground beneath. He also introduced the woman holding a light above them. In this way he transformed the rather coarse character of the etchings into something more abstract and impersonal. The bombing of Guernica played no part in this process.

The four scenes added to the second etching plate (fig.3) after completion of the painting represent tormented women with a graphic intensity surpassing anything in the studies for the painting. One woman screams in tearful anguish, another has just escaped from a fire with an injured child, a third bewails her dead baby, and the fourth is killed before her children’s eyes by an arrow piercing her throat.

The folder *Sueño y mentira de Franco* might be said to have performed a purpose similar to that of “bad banks” in today’s financial system. Giving free rein to his feelings, Picasso produced a passionate personal indictment of Franco and his regime. In contrast, the painting omits direct references to personalities and allegiances⁸¹. The collapse of the “military caste” in the centre would seem to be greeted with a mixture of curiosity and admiration by the woman approaching from the right. She is certainly not fleeing from an air raid, as has frequently been suggested. In fact, her pose and place in the composition recall (in reverse) those of the woman gazing up at the figure of Liberty in Delacroix’s *Liberty Leading the People* in the Louvre⁸². In formal and thematic terms she corresponds even more closely to the figure of the imprisoned Bonivard in the same artist’s *The Prisoner of Chillon* (also in the Louvre) since Bonivard acts as a symbol of liberty in Byron’s poem⁸³.

The characterisation of the women’s emotions on the far left and right in *Guernica* is restrained in comparison with the last four images in the *Dream and Lie of Franco* and to the so-called “*Guernica*-postscripts” (drawings and paintings of weeping women produced after the painting had been finished). Neither of the women’s faces is extravagantly contorted and neither of them has tears in her eyes; their mouths are wide open, but not excessively so. Unlike the woman trapped by flames on the right, who would have every reason to cry, the mother seated on the left is not in danger. Nor needs her baby necessarily be dead, as has generally been assumed, since it bears no injury and is not threatened in any way⁸⁴. More probably, the child has fallen asleep after breastfeeding. The mother gestures reproachfully at the warrior on the ground while looking up at the bull. Her tongue, raised prominently towards the bull, signifies that, rather than crying, she is engaged in an animated dialogue with the animal, her protector⁸⁵.

THE TITLE “GUERNICA” AND PICASSO’S MAIN PREOCCUPATION

The title *Guernica* is connotative, not descriptive. It grants the painting a political thrust while camouflaging its initial purpose as an antimilitarist statement. The pacifism underlying this original intention needs further investigation. Picasso is known to have attracted the attention of the Rassemblement Universel Pour la Paix (RUP), which built and decorated the Pavillon de la Paix at the Paris expo, however, without his contribution⁸⁶. In later years he hinted at radical antimilitarist beliefs when confiding to the poet Rafael Alberti (1902-99) with regard to *Guernica* that he hoped his work would help to prevent war once and forever⁸⁷. Apparently he did not object to the standard interpretations of *Guernica* and only once remarked cryptically that “the bull there represents brutality, the horse the people”⁸⁸ which, by the way, does not contradict to the interpretation given here with *Guernica* and the *Dream and Lie of Franco* as expressions of his “abhorrence of the military caste”.

However, the Spanish artist never forgot that he had deeply

insulted the Spanish general. This looms in the background of the later history of *Guernica* – its travels in Europe and in America, its exhibition in the Museum of Modern Art in New York, and its eventual restitution to Spain in 1981 – which has often been recounted⁸⁹. Yet one important aspect has only recently come to light. Roland Dumas, Picasso’s lawyer, reported in his memoirs that, when Spain requested the restitution of the painting in the late 1960s, Picasso stood by his refusal and told Dumas in private: “I don’t want *Guernica* to enter Spain as long as Franco is alive”⁹⁰. This personal focus on the Spanish dictator was not mentioned in the official statement, issued in November 1970, which declared that the Museum of Modern Art agreed to “return the painting, together with the preparatory works, to the representatives of the Spanish government when the public liberties are re-established in Spain”. This was a clear-cut legal formula proposed by Dumas’ friend Maurice Duverger, a specialist in public law⁹¹. Picasso had not intended to set himself up as a watchdog for democracy in Spain. A shrewd artist, he was, however, not averse to others exalting his genius.

APPENDIX:

Autograph letter, dated 28 April 1937, from José Gaos, Commissaire Général du Gouvernement Espagnole à Paris, 55, Ave. George V, to Picasso, 23, Rue La Boétie, Paris.

Musée Picasso Paris, Fonds Pablo Picasso, box E/19, dossier Exposition internationale de 1937

Sr. D. Pablo R. Picasso,

Mi grande e ilustre amigo, Usted me perdonará che no me haya puesto nuevamente en relacion personal con usted, porque estoy abrumado por el trabajo, por respecto para el suyo tempo et porque nuestros comunes amigos Lacasa, Sert y Aub me han comunicado en cada ocasión las conversaciones que han tenido con usted. Es por esto precisamente por lo que le escribo, para rogarle que remita usted a esta Comisaria todas las facturas referentes a los factos de ejecucion de las obras con che usted ha accedido a dar a nuestro pabellón el relieve imico que representan el arte y nombre de usted.

Seguramente se ha enterada usted de que el Gobierno francés ha fijado la fecha del 25 de mayo para la apertura de la Exposición. Nuestro Gobierno y nosotros tenemos el mas decidido y comprensible interés por que nuestro pabellón abra en la misma fecha, y nuestro pabellón no puede abrir sin las obras de usted en los lugares proyectados! El Gobierno está dipuesto a aportar todo lo necesario por su parte para ello y nosotros a no regatear esfuerzo alguno. Por todo, me permito esperar que el 25 mayo su gran lienzo y sus esculturas de usted empazaran a ser el mayor atractivo artistico de la Exposición entera, non sólo de nuestro pabellón.

Tambien tenemos el mas vivo interés en disponer de las reproducciones de tus postales de usted desde la apertura esta Exposición : querria usted indicarnos el titulo que hace falta dar a la serie?

Con la mayor devoción
suyo José Gaos

Versions of this paper were presented on several occasions since August 2013, most recently at the colloquium *Revoir Picasso* in Paris in March 2015. I would like to thank all those who helped me in one way or another to develop the ideas presented here, in particular Emilie Bouvard and Laura Couvreur (Musée national Picasso- Paris), Michael Foster (Munich), René Hirner (Kunstmuseum Heidenheim), Markus Müller (Picassomuseum Münster), Ann Murray (University of Cork), and Jay Winter (Yale University).

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1. R. Penrose: *Picasso. His Life and Work*, London 1958, p.270. Similar opinions were voiced by, among others, R. Arnheim: *The Genesis of a Painting. Picasso's Guernica*, Berkeley etc. (1962), reprint 1973, p.18, and A. Blunt: *Picasso's 'Guernica'*, London 1969, p.13.
2. E.A.J.: 'The Guernica Mural at the Valentine,' *New York Times*, 7 May 1939.
3. J. Peterson: 'Picasso's Mural,' *Weekly Masses*, 16 May 1939, p.31.
4. T.J. Clark: *Picasso and Truth. From Cubism to Guernica*, Princeton 2013, p.240.
5. T. McGreevy: 'Picasso's Guernica,' *Studio International* 16 (1938), p.311; remarks of a similar tenor were made by V. Clark: 'The Guernica Mural-Picasso and Social Protest,' *Science & Society* 5 (1941), no.1, p.75.
6. W. Lewis: 'Picasso,' *The Kenyon Review* 2 (Spring 1940), no.2, p.204.
7. H.B. Chipp: 'Guernica. Once a Document of Outrage, Now a Symbol of Reconciliation in a New and Democratic Spain,' *Art News* 79 (1980), no.5, p.111; see also F. Calvo Serraller: *El Guernica de Picasso*, Madrid 1999, p.27.
8. H.B. Chipp: *Guernica. History, Transformation, Meanings*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London 1988, p.70; see also J. Tusell: 'Picasso, "Guernica" and the Years of the Spanish Civil War,' exh. cat. *Picasso: war & peace*, Barcelona (Museu Picasso) 2004, p.29. A more considerate view reads: "While it is possible to believe that the bombing of the Basque town of Guernica on April 26, 1937 outraged Picasso more than any previous incident in the civil war, it is not self-evident that this particular incident and not another would have caused the artist to produce the imagery found in 'Guernica'" R.A. Greeley: *Surrealism and the Spanish Civil War*, New Haven-London 2006, p.147.
9. Penrose, *op. cit.* (note 1), p.277; see also St.A. Nash: 'Introduction: Picasso, war, and art,' St.A. Nash and R. Rosenblum, eds.: exh. cat. *Picasso and the War Years: 1937-1945*, San Francisco (Fine Arts Museum) 1998, p.17; G. van Hensbergen: *Guernica. The Biography of a Twentieth-century Icon*, London 2004, p.307.
10. J. Tulloch and R. Warwick Blood: *Icons of War and Terror. Media Images in an Age of International Risk*, New York 2012, p.16.
11. See the table of interpretations from 1938 to 1983 in L. Ullmann: *Picasso und der Krieg*, Bielefeld 1993, pp.146-47. References will henceforth be restricted to studies connected directly with my arguments in order to keep the footnote apparatus within manageable limits.
12. 'Picasso Gives Support to Loyalists in Spain,' *Daily Worker*, 6 July 1937, p.7; E. McCausland: 'Art in Spain During Fascist Rebellion,' *The Springfield Republican*, 18 July 1937, p.6E; reprinted with slight modifications in *eadem*: *Picasso*, New York 1944, pp.20-21, and frequently re-quoted later; see E.C. Oppler: *Picasso's Guernica*, New York and London 1988, p.224, n.1. Picasso's original text is not available. The dates of the poster-exhibition are reported in the WorldCat entry for *Exhibition of Spanish War Posters*.
13. R. Hinks: 'Art-Guernica,' *The Spectator* no.161, 28 October 1938, p.712.
14. Exh. cat. *Guernica-Legado Picasso*, Madrid (Museo del Prado) 1981, pp.153-55. No mention of the mural's title was made in the record of the first payment to Picasso, on 21 May 1937; see exh. cat. *Pabellón Español. Exposición Internacional de París 1937*, Madrid (Centro de arte Reina Sofia) 1987, pp.124, 273.
15. M. Aub: *Hablo Como Hombre*, Mexico 1967, pp.13-16; Oppler, *op. cit.* (note 12), pp.204-05; G. Malgat: *Max Aub et la France ou l'espoir trahi*, Marseille 2013, pp.73-76.
16. They are clearly visible in photographs; see, for instance, W. Rubin, ed.: exh. cat. *Pablo Picasso. Retrospektive im Museum of Modern Art*, New York, Munich 1980, p.309, fig. 617. The bill for the frame is dated 12 August 1937, see C.B. Freedberg: *The Spanish Pavilion at the Paris World's Fair of 1937* (Ph.D. diss. Harvard University 1981), New York-London 1986, vol.2, p.770.
17. Tusell, *op. cit.* (note 8), p.27, fig.10.
18. The photograph, in the archives of the Succession Picasso, is reproduced in M. Lefebvre-Peña: *Guerra-Gráfica*, Paris 2013, pp.172-73, fig.1.
19. This was first pointed out in A. Baldassari, ed.: exh. cat. *Picasso – Dora Maar. Il faisait tellement noir...*, Paris (Musée Picasso)-Melbourne (National Gallery of Victoria) 2006, p.166. For a brief survey of contemporary press coverage, see L. Gervereau: *Autopsie d'un chef-d'œuvre – "Guernica"*, Paris 1996, pp.160-67.
20. "Le pavillon de la République espagnole a été inauguré hier", *L'Humanité*, 13 July 1937, p.8.
21. "Cette toile blanche et noire du célèbre peintre Pablo Picasso [...] traduit dans le style surprenant de son auteur ce que celui-ci a appelé : 'l'acte d'exécution de l'attentat dont est victime le peuple espagnol.'" *Ce Soir*, 13 July 1937, p.4.
22. "Antes de lanzar el cuadro a la admiración de Europa, [Picasso] ha colocado al pie, por su mano, la siguiente leyenda: 'Acto de la execración de la agresión de que es víctima el pueblo español.'" *Las Noticias*, 28 November 1937, p.3.
23. G. Sadoul: 'Une demi-heure dans l'atelier de Picasso,' *Regards*, 29 July 1937, p.8.
24. "Picasso [...] a voulu exprimer dans cette œuvre la désagrégation du monde en proie aux horreurs de la guerre." A copy of this postcard is in Musée Picasso Paris, fonds Pablo Picasso, E/19, dossier Exposition internationale de 1937; reproduced in M. Müller, ed.: exh. cat. *Picasso's Imaginères Museum*, Münster (Graphikmuseum Pablo Picasso), 2001, p.67.
25. "[...] le plus grand maître de l'époque, Pablo Picasso, y domine dans une présentation magnifique." *Paris-Soir*, 13 July 1937, p.9.
26. See Gervereau, *op. cit.* (note 19), p.163.
27. *Life*, 26 July 1937, p.64.
28. "Permettez-moi, Picasso, d'appeler ainsi une œuvre à laquelle vous n'avez pas donné de nom." P. Chadourne: 'Les désastres de la guerre,' *Marianne*, 28 July 1937, p.6.
29. *The Art Digest*, 1 August 1937, p.19.
30. Undated manuscript by Renau in the library of the Museo Reina Sofia, Madrid, fol.1v; A.H. Barr, ed.: exh. cat. *Picasso-Fifty Years of His Art*, New York (Museum of Modern Art) 1946, p.264, note to p.200; P.S. Queirolo: 'La Guerra per Guernica', *La Rivista Dell'arte/Bolaffi* 12 (1981), no.113, p.30.

Quintanilla believed that Max Jacob, a friend of Picasso's, suggested the title.

31. McGreevy, *op. cit.* (note 5), p.311.
32. Musée national Picasso-Paris, Fonds Pablo Picasso, box E/19, dossier Exposition internationale de 1937, unpublished, transcribed below in the appendix.
33. Larrea to Oppler, 10 December 1970, in Oppler, *op. cit.* (note 12), p.201. For Larrea's official function in Paris, see Chipp, *op. cit.* (note 8), p.196. He was in charge of marketing Picasso's etchings *Dream and Lie of Franco*, see M. Cabañas Bravo: *Josep Renau. Arte y Propaganda en Guerra*, Madrid 2007, p.205.
34. J. Larrea: *Guernica. Pablo Picasso*, New York 1947; new edition Madrid 1977, p.16. Recent authors have disregarded this information, with the exception of G. Latour: "Guernica". *Histoire secrète d'un tableau*, Paris 2013, p.76. The Spanish painter José María Ucelay (1903-79), who was living in Paris in 1937 and is said to have proposed the Basque painter Aurelio Arteta to execute the mural in the Spanish Pavilion instead of Picasso, stated in retrospect that Larrea suggested the subject "Guernica" to Picasso, see F.M. Martín: *El Pabellón Español en la Exposición Universal de París en 1937*, Seville 1983, pp.124-125, 128.
35. *Cahiers d'art* 12 (1937), nos.4-5, pp.105-56. This fascicle was delivered on 28 October 1937; see Gervereau, *op. cit.* (note 19), p.164. The "mystification" was pointed out by R. Robles Tardío: 'La recepción del Guernica, 1937-1947,' in *idem*, ed.: *Picasso y sus Críticos*, Barcelona 2011, pp.17-18.
36. "[...] dans la réaction violente de Picasso, il ne s'agit pas de protestation du sens moral [...] mais de la sainte colère de celui qui aspire à une liberté superbe et refuse d'accepter tout ce qui représente sa destruction." Ch. Zervos: 'Histoire d'un tableau de Picasso,' *Cahiers d'art* 12 (1937), nos.4-5, p.105. This text was reprinted with slight modifications in *idem*: *Pablo Picasso. Vol. 9: Œuvres de 1937-1939*, Paris 1958, pp.V-X.
37. "Dans *Guernica* on trouve exprimé de la manière la plus saisissante un monde de désespoir, où la mort est partout, partout le crime, le chaos et la désolation; un désastre plus violent que la foudre, l'eau et l'ouragan, car tout y est hostile, incontrôlable, hors de la portée de l'entendement, d'où se lève le long cri déchirant des êtres qui mourront par la cruauté des hommes." Zervos, *op. cit.* (note 36), p.106.
38. *Cahiers d'art* 12 (1937), nos.4-5, pp.112-140.
39. P. Éluard: 'Paroles peintes', *Cahiers d'art* 12 (1937), nos.4-5, p.123.
40. *Cahiers d'art* 12 (1937), nos.1-3, p.36. The music and reproductions were appended without pagination. For Éluard's poem, see his *Œuvres complètes*, Paris 1968, vol.1, pp.812-14; vol.2, pp.1525-26.
41. Undated letter from Éluard to Rose Adler, Bibliothèque littéraire Jacques Doucet, Paris, Ms 2364, quoted in J.-Ch. Gateau: Éluard, Picasso et la peinture (1936-1952), Geneva 1983, p.53.
42. P. Éluard: À Pablo Picasso, Geneva-Paris 1944, pp.22, 97-99, 103, 105. The poem is also missing from the second edition of 1947 and from an unauthorized Italian edition published by Mario De Micheli in Bologna in 1943 that includes a translation of "Paroles peintes" and reproductions of several drawings for *Guernica*. Gateau, *op. cit.* (note 41), p.98, explained this absence as a precaution taken because the manuscript was prepared in June 1944, when Paris was still occupied by German troops, yet, as Gateau himself notes (p.95) the book was not published until 18 December 1944, months after the Liberation.
43. F. Ponge: *L'Atelier contemporain*, Paris 1977, p.335.
44. P. Éluard: 'Guernica', *Europe* (1949), no. 47, pp.47-50; M.-L. Bernadac and G. Breteau-Skira, eds.: *Picasso à l'écran*, Paris 1992, pp.18-26.
45. Freedberg, *op. cit.* (note 16), p.439, fig.24e; Pabellón Español, *op. cit.* (note 14), p.133.
46. See, for instance, *London Bulletin* no.6, October 1938, pp.6-10.
47. "Je suis plein d'une rage incommensurable au sujet des massacres de Guernica. Mais je ne sais que faire." P. Éluard: *Lettres à Gala 1924-1948*, ed. P. Dreyfus, Paris 1984, p.281, letter 231.
48. Interview given in 1988; see J. Marín: 'Conversando con Dora Maar', *Goya* (2006), no.311, p.117.
49. J.O. Jordan broached this interpretation vaguely in an otherwise confused article: 'A sum of destructions: Violence, paternity, and art in Picasso's 'Guernica'', *Studies in Visual Communication* 8 (1982), no.3, p.20.
50. In interviews given in 1988 and in 1994 Dora Maar stated that the markings, applied with her assistance, represent the fur of the horse, see Marín, *op. cit.* (note 48), p.117; Gervereau, *op. cit.* (note 19), p.194; J. Lord: *Picasso e Dora*, London 1993, p.159. An often-voiced association of the markings with newsprint goes back to the writer Stephen Spender's review of the London *Guernica*-exhibition in the *New Statesman and Nation*, 15 October 1938; see Oppler, *op. cit.* (note 12), p.216. Among those who repeated this essentially nonsensical view was A. Baldassari: *Picasso papiers journaux*, Paris 2003, p.170.
51. This detail was noted by D. Marcus: 'Guernica. Arrest and emergency', Yve-Alain Bois, ed.: exh. cat. *Picasso harlequin 1917-1937*, Rome (Museo Centrale del Risorgimento) 2009, p.104.
52. The photogravure was first published in the *Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung* (Prague) 12, no.29, 27 July 1933, p.499; see D. Evans: *John Heartfield. Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung – Volks-Illustrierte 1930-38*, New York 1992, pp.140-41. It was probably exhibited in Paris in 1935; see A. Coles: *John Heartfield. Ein politisches Leben*, Cologne, Weimar and Vienna 2014, p.306. Stuck's painting, based on Albrecht Dürer's drawing *Memento mei* of 1505 (British Museum), was allegedly one of Hitler's favourite pictures and was frequently reproduced, see H. Voss: *Franz von Stuck 1863-1928*, Munich 1973, pp.271-72. It had already been used by Alméry Lobel-Riche in an anti-German frontispiece to Émile Verhaeren's poem *Le crime allemand* (Paris 1916).
53. J. Tisa, ed.: *The Palette and the Flame. Posters of the Spanish Civil War*, London and Wellingborough 1980, p.135.
54. *Daily Worker* (New York), 23 June 1937, p.6.
55. M.M. Basilio: *Visual propaganda, exhibitions, and the Spanish Civil War*, Farnham 2013, pp.162-65.
56. Tisa, *op. cit.* (note 53), p.25. See also André Fougerson's drawing *Homage to Franco!!!* of November 1937, which features Franco on horseback (Tate Gallery, London, image available online).
57. The stages in the development of the warrior are described most clearly by E. Cohen: 'L'outrage au mort', in A. Baldassari, ed.: exh. cat. *1937 Guernica* 2007, Paris (Musée Picasso) 2007, pp.44-45.
58. For full documentation of the preparatory works, see, for example, Arnheim, *op. cit.* (note 1), and *Guernica – Legado Picasso*, *op. cit.* (note 14).
59. This has often been pointed out – for instance, in M.-L. Bernadac, ed.: exh. cat. *Picasso. Toros y Toreros*, Paris (Musée Picasso), 1993, pp.182-87.
60. Similar motifs in Baldung Grien's 1544 woodcut *The Bewitched Groom* scarcely anticipate Picasso's intentions in *Guernica*, as claimed in W. Spies: 'Picasso und seine Zeit', in *idem*, ed.: exh. cat. *Pablo Picasso. Eine Ausstellung zum hundertsten Geburtstag. Werke aus der Sammlung Marina Picasso*, Munich (Haus der Kunst) 1981, pp.29-31, and in later publications by the same author.
61. For the coloured etching in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, see D. Gamboni: *The destruction of art. Iconoclasm and vandalism since the French Revolution*, London 1997, p.34, fig.8. The image is available in the Archives numériques de la Révolution française (<http://frda.stanford.edu/fr/catalog/yq018rk3988>; accessed 18 April 2015). See also the equestrian statues of Prussian emperors toppled in Metz after the armistice in November 1918, recorded in photographs available, for example, at <http://archives.ecpad.fr/wp-content/uploads/2010/06/1918-11.pdf>, pp.13-14 (accessed 18 April 2015).
62. This was already pointed out by Arnheim, *op. cit.* (note 1), p.40; see also Blunt, *op. cit.* (note 1), p.31.
63. There is no iconographical tradition to support the identification of this figure as an allegory of truth, as first advanced by H. Read: 'Guernica', *London Bulletin* no.6, October 1938, p.6.
64. M. Trachtenberg, *The Statue of Liberty*, London 1976, pp.65-83. The connection with the Statue of Liberty was first pointed out by Larrea in his contribution to the 1947 *Guernica*-colloquium at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, see Larrea 1977, *op. cit.* (note 34), pp.164-65.
65. See note 12 above.
66. "El bien máspreciado es la libertad hay que defenderla con fe y valor." http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/A_las_Barricadas (accessed 11 January 2015). International Brigaders were awarded the medal "Volunteers for Liberty"; see P. Preston: *The Spanish Civil War. Reaction, revolution and revenge*, New York-London 2006, fig.51.
67. Eduardo Vicente's "Solidaridad obrera" (<http://www.arte.sbhac.net/Carteles/Artelistas/EduardoVicente/Evicente.htm>) and Manuel Monleon's "El precio de nuestro heroico sacrificio será la libertad y el bienestar del mundo" (http://www.europeana.eu/portal/record/9200376/BibliographicResource_3000100234679.html?query=Chaos+) (accessed 10 January 2015).
68. Heartfield's photomontage was first published in *Die Volks-Illustrierte* (Prague) 1, no.1, 19 August 1936, p.16; see Evans, *op. cit.* (note 52), pp.392-93. When reprinted in *Regards* (Paris), no.141, 24 September 1936, p.11, it was titled "La liberté conduit le peuple d'Espagne"; see F. Fontaine: *La guerre d'Espagne – un déluge de feu et d'images*, Paris 2003, p.182.
69. Paris, Musée d'Orsay; Picasso was familiar with a lithograph of the painting; see Oppler, *op. cit.* (note 12), p.87, n.68; see also Josep Renau's photomontage for the title page of the December 1935 issue of *Nueva Cultura* illustrated in exh. cat. *Encuentros con los años '30*, Madrid (Centro de Arte Reina Sofia) 2012, p.269.
70. See, for instance, Clark, *op. cit.* (note 5), p.74: „The central pyramidal construction emerges at once, flanked on either side by forms which, although diverse within themselves, are, as far as weight is concerned, as near to symmetry as anything in cubist painting. This produces a structural quietness that seems far removed from the

realities of the Spanish war.“ See also F.D. Russell: *Picasso's Guernica. The labyrinth of narrative and vision*, London 1980, pp.91-94; Oppler, *op. cit.* (note 12), p.103.

71. This was first pointed out by Sadoul, *op. cit.* (note 23), p.8, and elaborated in S. Haro and I. Soto, eds.: exh. cat. *Picasso. Viñetas en el frente*, Barcelona (Museu Picasso) 2011, pp.32-81 (English translation pp.167-178); for the examples cited in the present text, see *ibid.* pp.33, 35, 45, figs.18, 20, 38-39.

72. R. Huhn, 'Art et technique: La lumière', exh. cat. *Exposition internationale des arts et techniques dans la vie moderne, Paris 1937. Cinquantenaire*, Paris (Musée d'art moderne) 1987, p.402. Huhn explored this view in greater detail in her 'Guernica contra Versöhnungsstrategien der Internationalen Ausstellung „Kunst und Technik im modernen Leben“, Paris 1937', in J. Held, ed.: *Der Spanische Bürgerkrieg und die bildenden Künste*, Hamburg 1989, p.111.

73. R. Rosenblum: 'Picasso's disasters of war: The art of blasphemy', in Nash and Rosenblum, *op. cit.* (note 9), pp.44-46.

74. The Conversion of St Paul has been variously cited as a source for the horse and warrior in *Guernica*, but without reference to the light striking the central group; see, for example, W. Hofmann: 'Picasso's *Guernica* in its historical context', *Artibus et historiae* 4 (1983), no.7, p.163.

75. In an interview given in 1988 Dora Maar claimed that the electric bulb was her idea; see Marín, *op. cit.* (note 48), p.117.

76. This was first suggested by W. Spies: 'Guernica und die Weltausstellung Paris 1937', in *idem: Kontinent Picasso. Ausgewählte Aufsätze aus zwei Jahrzehnten*, Munich 1988, pp.80-82; see also J.

Winter: 'Pacifism, *Guernica*, and the Spanish Civil War', in M. Baumeister and S. Schüler-Springorum, eds.: "If You Tolerate This..." *The Spanish Civil War in the age of total war*, Frankfurt am Main and New York 2008, pp.277-78.

77. Two unpublished letters by Roche to Picasso, dated 8 and 16 April 1937 respectively, are in the Musée Picasso Paris, Fonds Pablo Picasso, box E/19, dossier Exposition internationale de 1937. For Roche and the *Salon de la lumière*, see C. Buffat: 'La Fée Électricité et le mécénat électrique. La Fée Électricité de Dufy et le mécénat électrique dans l'entre-deux-guerres', *Annales historiques de l'Électricité* 4 (2006), no.1, pp.51-53.

78. A further factor prompting Picasso's limitation to black and white may have been a wish to relate *Guernica* to the photomurals in the Spanish Pavilion (R. Golan: *Muralnomad. The paradox of wall painting, Europe 1927-1957*, New Haven and London 2009, p.170) and to the decorations in the Pavillon de la Paix.

79. P. Picasso: *Traum und Lüge Francos*, with an afterword by W. Spies, Frankfurt am Main 1968, pp.28-40; French translation in exh. cat. *Picasso / Miró / Dalí. Évocations d'Espagne*, Charleroi (Palais des beaux-arts) 1985, pp.38-47.

80. B. Baer: *Picasso peintre-graveur*, vol.III, Berne 1986, pp.106-09; C. Pérez: 'Images of war', in Haro and Soto, *op. cit.* (note 71), pp.179-89.

81. This was already pointed out by P. O'Brian: *Pablo Ruiz Picasso*, Paris 1979, p.409 (orig. English ed. 1976).

82. This was noted, among others, by W. Virmond: 'Zu Picassos Historienbildern', in Arbeitsgruppe *Guernica*, ed.: exh. cat. *Guernica. Kunst und Politik am Beispiel Guernica*, Berlin (Neue Gesellschaft für Bildende Kunst) 1975, p.92.

83. H. Knirim: *Tradition und individuelle Schaffensweise. Studien zum Werk Picassos unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Druckgraphik* (Ph.D. diss., University of Münster 1976), Frankfurt am Main 1980, p.134.

84. Of the dozens of authors who have described the painting only W. Boeck: *Picasso*, Stuttgart 1955, pp.225-26, considered the possibility that the baby is asleep rather than dead.

85. This interpretation was first hinted at by Larrea 1947, *op. cit.* (note 34), p.60.

86. Musée Picasso Paris, Fonds Pablo Picasso, box G/7, dossier Rassemblement universel pour la paix, which contains several letters to Picasso, dated 1936-37, with invitations to participate in the organisation's activities.

87. "Mi esperanza más profunda [...] es que mi trabajo contribuya a impedir, en el futuro, otra guerra." R. Alberti: *Lo que canté y dije de Picasso*, Barcelona 1981, p.244.

88. J. Seckler: 'Picasso explains', *New Masses* 54 (1945), no.11, p.5.

89. See, for instance, Hensbergen, *op. cit.* (note 9) pp.82-332; Latour, *op. cit.* (note 34), pp.109-59.

90. "Dumas, je ne veux pas que *Guernica* entre en Espagne tant que Franco est vivant." R. Dumas: *Dans l'œil du Minotaure. Le labyrinthe de mes vies*, Paris 2013, p.88.

91. "Vous [MoMA] avez accepté de remettre le tableau, les études et les dessins aux représentants qualifiés du gouvernement espagnol quand les libertés publiques seront rétablies en Espagne." Dumas, *op. cit.* (note 89), pp.91-92. The document is printed in full in *Guernica – Legado Picasso*, *op. cit.* (note 14), p.160.